

# The Book of the Watchers

(*Chapters 1–36*)

## Superscription to the Book

1:1 THE WORDS OF THE BLESSING WITH WHICH ENOCH BLESSED THE RIGHTEOUS CHOSEN who will be present on the day of tribulation, to remove all the enemies; and the righteous will be saved.

### *Introduction: An Oracle of Judgment (1:2—5:9)*

2 And he took up his discourse<sup>a</sup> and said,  
“Enoch, a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God,  
who had the vision of the Holy One and of heaven, which  
he showed me.  
From the words of the watchers and holy ones I heard every-  
thing;  
and as I heard everything from them, I also understood  
what I saw.  
Not for this generation do I expound,  
but concerning one that is distant I speak.  
3 And concerning the chosen I speak now,  
and concerning them I take up my discourse.

### *The Theophany*

4 “The Great Holy One will come forth from his dwelling,  
and the eternal God will tread from thence upon Mount  
Sinai.

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. *parable* (Aram *matlaʿ*: Gk *parabolē*).

- He will appear with his army,<sup>a</sup>  
 he will appear with his mighty host from the heaven of  
 heavens.
- 5 All the watchers will fear and <quake>,<sup>b</sup>  
 and those who are hiding in all the ends of the earth will  
 sing.  
 All the ends of the earth will be shaken,  
 and trembling and great fear will seize them (the watchers)  
 unto the ends of the earth.
- 6 The high mountains will be shaken and fall and break apart,  
 and the high hills will be made low and melt like wax  
 before the fire.
- 7 The earth will be wholly rent asunder,  
 and everything on the earth will perish,  
 and there will be judgment on all.
- 8 With the righteous he will make peace,  
 and over the chosen there will be protection,  
 and upon them will be mercy.  
 They will all be God's,  
 and he will grant them his good pleasure.<sup>c</sup>  
 He will bless (them) all,  
 and he will help (them) all.  
 Light will shine upon them,  
 and he will make peace with them.
- 9 Look, he comes with the myriads of his holy ones,  
 to execute judgment on all,  
 and to destroy all the wicked,  
 and to convict all humanity  
 for all the wicked deeds that they have done,  
 and the proud and hard words that wicked sinners  
 spoke against him.

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<sup>a</sup> Eth: Gk *from his camp* (same Gk noun).

<sup>b</sup> Eth *all will fear and the watchers will quake*: Gk *all will fear and the watchers will believe*.

<sup>c</sup> Gk *good pleasure (eudokian)*: Eth *prosperity* (=Gk *euodian*).

*The Indictment<sup>a</sup>*

- 2:1 “Contemplate all (his) works, and observe the works of heaven, how they do not alter their paths; and the luminaries <of><sup>b</sup> heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order.
- 2 Observe the earth, and contemplate the works that take place on it from the beginning until the consummation, that nothing on earth changes, but all the works of God are manifest to you.
- 3 Observe <the signs of summer and winter. Contemplate the signs of><sup>c</sup> winter, that all the earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it.
- 3:1 Contemplate and observe how all the trees appear withered and (how) all their leaves are stripped, except fourteen trees that are not stripped, which remain with the old until the new comes after two or three years.
- 4:1 Observe the signs of summer, whereby the sun burns and scorches, and you seek shelter and shade from its presence, and the earth burns with scorching heat, and you are unable to tread on the dust or the rock because of the burning.
- 5:1 Contemplate all the trees; their leaves blossom green on them, and they cover the trees. And all their fruit is for glorious honor.
- Contemplate all these works, and understand that he who lives for all the ages made all these works. 2/ And his works take place from year to year, and they all carry out their works for him, and their works do not alter, but they all carry out his word.
- 3 Observe how, in like manner, the sea and the rivers carry out and do not alter their works from his words.

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<sup>a</sup> The textual witnesses in this section are often at odds with one another, frequently because of omissions in one or another. For details, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 150–51.

<sup>b</sup> Gk *Eth in*.

<sup>c</sup> Text of this section uncertain. For the rationale of this emendation, see *1 Enoch* 1, 150.

- 4 But you have not stood firm nor acted according to his  
commandments;  
but you have turned aside, you have spoken proud and  
hard words with your unclean mouth against his  
majesty.  
Hard of heart! There will be no peace for you!

### *The Verdict*

- 5 “Then<sup>a</sup> you will curse your days, and the years of your life  
will perish,  
and the years of your destruction will increase in an  
eternal curse;  
and there will be no mercy or peace for you!
- 6 Then you will leave your names as an eternal curse for all the  
righteous,  
and by you all who curse will curse,  
and all the sinners and wicked will swear by you.<sup>b</sup>  
But all the <chosen><sup>c</sup> will rejoice;  
and for them there will be forgiveness of sins and all mercy  
and peace and clemency.  
For them there will be salvation, a good light,  
and they will inherit the earth.<sup>d</sup>  
But for all you sinners there will be no salvation,  
but on all of you a curse will abide.
- 7 For the chosen there will be light and joy<sup>e</sup> and peace,  
and they will inherit the earth.  
But for you wicked there will be a curse.<sup>f</sup>
- 8 Then wisdom will be given to all the chosen;  
and they will all live,  
and they will sin no more through godlessness or pride.

<sup>a</sup> Aram: Gk Eth *therefore*.

<sup>b</sup> Eth omits the rest of this verse.

<sup>c</sup> Gk corrupt for *sinners*. Emendation by analogy with v 7a.

<sup>d</sup> Distich closely parallels v 7ab and could be a doublet.

<sup>e</sup> Eth (=Gk *chara*): Gk *grace* (*charis*).

<sup>f</sup> Gk adds a veritable doublet of v 7ab.

In the enlightened man there will be light,  
 and in the wise man, understanding.<sup>a</sup>  
 And they will transgress no more,  
 nor will they sin<sup>b</sup> all the days of their life,  
 9 nor will they die in the heat of <God's> wrath.<sup>c</sup>  
 But the number of the days of their life they will complete,  
 and their life will grow in peace,  
 and the years of their joy will increase in rejoicing and  
 eternal peace  
 all the days of their life.”

## The Rebellion of the Watchers (Chapters 6–11)

### *The Conspiracy*

6:1 When the sons of men<sup>d</sup> had multiplied, in those days, beautiful and comely daughters were born to them. 2/ And the watchers, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them.<sup>e</sup> And they said to one another, “Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men,<sup>f</sup> and let us beget children for ourselves.”  
 3 And Shemihazah, their chief, said to them, “I fear that you will not want to do this deed, and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin.”

<sup>a</sup> For the distich Eth has *but those who have wisdom will be humble*.

<sup>b</sup> Eth *nor will they be judged*.

<sup>c</sup> Emending Gk to *en orgē thymou <theou>* positing an omitted word.

<sup>d</sup> Language about “sons of God,” “sons of men,” and “daughters of men” in these chapters reflects Gen 6:1-4, on which this myth is based. We might translate “sons of God” as “heavenly beings,” “sons of men” as “humans” or “human men,” and “daughters of men” as “human women.” However, to retain the complex relationships among these terms, to indicate gender distinctions where they are evident, and to avoid the confusion that would arise from the partial replacement of the terms, it seems best to translate the text literally in this section, reminding the reader that this is a story about the illicit mating of beings from the divine and the human realms.

<sup>e</sup> Gk<sup>s</sup> adds *and went astray after them*: Syr adds *and went astray*.

<sup>f</sup> Gk<sup>s</sup> Syr add *of earth*.

- 4 And they all answered him and said, “Let us all swear an oath, and let us all bind one another with a curse, that none of us turn back from this counsel until we fulfill it and do this deed.”
- 5 Then they all swore together and bound one another with a curse. 6/ And they were, all of them, two hundred, who descended in the days of Jared onto the peak of Mount Hermon. And they called the mountain “Hermon” because they swore and bound one another with a curse on it.
- 7 And these are the names of their chiefs:<sup>a</sup> Shemihazah—this one was their leader; Arteqoph, second to him; Remashel, third to him; Kokabel, fourth to him; <Armumahel>, fifth to him; Ramel, sixth to him; Daniel, seventh to him; Ziqel, eighth to him; Baraqel, ninth to him; Asael, tenth to him; Hermani, eleventh to him; Matarel, twelfth to him; Ananel, thirteenth to him; Setawel, fourteenth to him; Samshiel, fifteenth to him; Sahriël, sixteenth to him; <Tummiel>, seventeenth to him; Turiel, eighteenth to him; Yamiel, nineteenth to him; Yehadiel, twentieth to him. 8/ These are their chiefs of tens.<sup>b</sup>

### *The Deed and Its Results*

- 7:1 These and all the others with them took for themselves wives from among them such as they chose.<sup>c</sup> And they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves through them, and to teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants.
- 2 And they conceived from them and bore to them great giants. And the giants begot Nephilim, and to the Nephilim were born †Elioud†. And they were growing in accordance with their greatness.

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<sup>a</sup> The angelic names, which are often corrupted in the Gk and Eth, are largely attested in the Aram. For these and the emendations made here, see *1 Enoch 1*, 175.

<sup>b</sup> The original wording of this verse is uncertain. See *1 Enoch 1*, 175.

<sup>c</sup> For the textual problems in this chapter, see *1 Enoch 1*, 182–83.

- 3 They were devouring the labor of all the sons of men,<sup>a</sup> and men were not able to supply them. 4/ And the giants began to kill men and to devour them. 5/ And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another's flesh. And they drank the blood.
- 6 Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones.

### *The Secrets the Watchers Reveal<sup>b</sup>*

- 8:1 Asael taught men to make swords of iron and weapons and shields and breastplates and every instrument of war. He showed them metals of the earth and how they should work gold to fashion it suitably, and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women. And he showed them concerning antimony and eye paint and all manner of precious stones and dyes. And the sons of men made them for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and led the holy ones astray.<sup>c</sup> 2/ And there was much godlessness on the earth, and they made their ways desolate.
- 3 Shemihazah taught spells and the cutting of roots.  
 Hermani 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.  
 Ziqel taught the signs of the shooting stars.  
 Arteqoph taught the signs of the earth.  
 Shamsiel taught the signs of the sun.  
 Sahriël taught the signs of the moon.

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<sup>a</sup> Aram fragment attests *sons of men*: Gk<sup>a</sup>, as often, has only *men*. This single word has been left in the translation in its next two occurrences and elsewhere in these chapters where no Aram exists.

<sup>b</sup> Translation of this chapter is based on a fairly certain resolution of very complex textual data. See *1 Enoch 1*, 188–90.

<sup>c</sup> Gk<sup>a</sup> Eth omit this sentence, attested in Gk<sup>b</sup>. It reflects a form of the myth in which the angelic revelations are primary and lead to the seduction of the holy ones. Cf. 10:8.

And they all began to reveal mysteries to their wives and to their children.<sup>a</sup>

4 (And) as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven.

### *The Intercession of the Four Archangels*

9:1 Then Michael and Sariel<sup>b</sup> and Raphael and Gabriel looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth and saw much bloodshed on the earth. All the earth was filled with the godlessness and violence that had befallen it.

2 And entering in, they said to one another, “The earth, devoid (of inhabitants), raises the voice of their cries to the gates of heaven. 3/ And now to <us>, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make suit, saying, ‘Bring in our judgment to the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of the majesty, before the Lord of all lords in majesty.’”

4 And approaching, they said to the Lord of the Ages, “You are the God of gods and Lord of lords and King of kings and God of the ages. And the throne of your glory (exists) for every generation of the generations that are from of old. And your name (is) holy and great and blessed for all the ages.

5 For you have made all things and have authority over all. And all things are manifest and uncovered before you, and you see all things, and there is nothing that can be hidden from you.

6 You see what Asael has done, who has taught all iniquity on the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven, <which the sons of men were striving to learn.><sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sentence attested in Gk<sup>s</sup>, supported by Aram.

<sup>b</sup> For this name, attested in Aram, Gk has forms of *Uriel* (*ouriēllouēl*) and *Eth sureʿēllsureyāl*, probably reflecting a Gk confusion of *sigma* and *omicron*. For the textual evidence on this chapter, see *1 Enoch 1*, 202–5.

<sup>c</sup> All textual witnesses of this line are corrupt. For emendation, see *1 Enoch 1*, 204.



- 7 And (what) Shemihazah (has done) to whom you gave authority to rule over them who are with him.
- 8 They have gone in to the daughters of the men of earth, and they have lain with them, and have defiled themselves with the women.  
And they have revealed to them all sins, and have taught them to make hate-inducing charms.
- 9 And now look, the daughters of men have borne sons from them, giants, half-breeds.  
<And the blood of men is shed on the earth,><sup>a</sup>  
And the whole earth is filled with iniquity.
- 10 And now look, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit,  
and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven, and it <does not cease><sup>b</sup> to come forth from the presence of the iniquities that have come upon the earth.
- 11 You know all things before they happen,  
and you see these things and you permit them,  
and you do not tell us what we ought to do to them with regard to these things.”

### ***The Commissioning of the Four Archangels***

#### *Sariel Commissioned to Instruct Noah*

- 10:1 Then the Most High declared, and the Great Holy One spoke.  
And he sent <Sariel><sup>c</sup> to the son of Lamech, saying,
- 2 “Go to Noah and say to him in my name, ‘Hide yourself.’  
And reveal to him that the end is coming, that the whole earth will perish;  
and tell him that a deluge is about to come on the whole earth and destroy everything on the earth.
- 3 Teach the righteous one what he should do,  
the son of Lamech how he may preserve himself alive and escape forever.

<sup>a</sup> Line attested only in Gk<sup>s</sup>, which is corrupt. See *1 Enoch* 1, 204.

<sup>b</sup> Positing an Aram corruption from *does not cease* to *is unable* (Gk Eth).

<sup>c</sup> Name emended to match 9:1.

From him a plant will be planted,  
and his seed will endure for all the generations of  
eternity.”<sup>a</sup>

*Raphael Commissioned to Imprison Asael*

- 4 To Raphael he said,  
“Go, Raphael, and bind Asael hand and foot, and cast him  
into the darkness;  
And make an opening in the wilderness that is in  
Doudael.<sup>b</sup>
- 5 Throw him there, and lay beneath him<sup>c</sup> sharp and jagged  
stones.  
And cover him with darkness, and let him dwell there for  
an exceedingly long time.  
Cover up his face, and let him not see the light.
- 6 And on the day of the great judgment, he will be led away  
to the burning conflagration.
- 7 And heal the earth, which the watchers have desolated;  
and announce the healing of the earth, that the plague  
may be healed,  
and all the sons of men may not perish because of the  
mystery that the watchers told and taught their sons.
- 8 And all the earth was made desolate by the deeds of the  
teaching of Asael,  
and over him<sup>d</sup> write all the sins.”

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<sup>a</sup> The translation of Aram *‘alam* and its Gk and Eth equivalents is problematic. No single English translation is satisfactory. Normally, it is translated *eternity* and in its adjectival form *eternal*. Here the plural is translated *ages*, and the singular is rendered *eternity*, which better conveys the immense time than does *the age*. For the adjective, *everlasting* seems better to convey the notion of an extended time than *eternal*, although this latter is used with reference to the Deity. The *‘alam* is thought of as consisting of an everlasting sequence of periods (alternatively *all the ages* or *all the days* [or *generations*] of *eternity*). When *‘alam* follows a preposition, the noun is rendered *from of old* or *forever* or *for an exceedingly long time* where appropriate (cf. 10:5 with 10:6). No English word indicates the fact that in the Greco-Roman period *‘alam* is acquiring spatial as well as temporal connections (*world* as well as *age*).

<sup>b</sup> Gk<sup>s</sup> Eth: Gk<sup>a</sup>: *Dadouël*. See *1 Enoch* 1, 222.

<sup>c</sup> Eth *over him*.

<sup>d</sup> Or *concerning him*.

*Gabriel Commissioned to Destroy the Giants*

- 9 And to Gabriel he said,  
 “Go, Gabriel, to the bastards, to the half-breeds, to the sons  
 of miscegenation;  
 and destroy the sons of the watchers from among the sons  
 of men;  
 send them against one another in a war of destruction.  
 Length of days they will not have;  
 10 and no petition will be (granted) to their fathers in their  
 behalf,  
 that they should expect to live an everlasting life, nor even  
 that each of them should live five hundred years.”

*Michael Commissioned to Imprison Shemihazah  
 and his Associates and to Destroy the Giants<sup>a</sup>*

- 11 And to Michael he said,  
 “Go, Michael, bind Shemihazah and the others with him, who  
 have mated with the daughters of men, so that they were  
 defiled by them in their uncleanness.  
 12 And when their sons perish and they see the destruction of  
 their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations in  
 the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgment and  
 consummation, until the everlasting judgment is consum-  
 mated.  
 13 Then they will be led away to the fiery abyss, and to the tor-  
 ture, and to the prison where they will be confined forever.  
 14 And everyone who is condemned and destroyed henceforth  
 will be bound together with them until the consummation  
 of their generation. <And at the time of the judgment, which  
 I shall judge, they will perish for all generations.>  
 15 Destroy all the spirits of the half-breeds and the sons of the  
 watchers, because they have wronged men.

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<sup>a</sup> For the textual problems of this section, see *1 Enoch 1*, 217–19.

*Michael Is to Renovate the Earth*

- 16 Destroy all perversity from the face of the earth,  
and let every wicked deed be gone;  
and let the plant of righteousness and truth<sup>a</sup> appear, and it  
will become a blessing,  
(and) the deeds of righteousness and truth will be planted  
forever with joy.
- 17 And now all the righteous will escape,  
and they will live until they beget thousands,  
and all the days of their youth and their old age will be  
completed in peace.
- 18 Then all the earth will be tilled in righteousness,  
and all of it will be planted with trees and filled with  
blessing;
- 19 and all the trees of joy will be planted on it.  
They will plant vines on it,  
and every vine that will be planted on it will yield a  
thousand jugs of wine,  
and of every seed that is sown on it, each measure will  
yield a thousand measures,  
and each measure of olives will yield ten baths of oil.
- 20 Cleanse the earth from all impurity and from all wrong and  
from all lawlessness and from all sin,  
and godlessness and all impurities that have come upon  
the earth, remove.
- 21 And all the sons of men will become righteous,  
and all the peoples will worship (me),  
and all will bless me and prostrate themselves.
- 22 And all the earth will be cleansed from all defilement and  
from all uncleanness,  
and I shall not again send upon them any wrath or  
scourge for all the generations of eternity.

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<sup>a</sup> These two nouns here and in the next line may be double translations of Aram *qushbā*?

- 11:1 Then I shall open the storehouses of blessing that are in  
 heaven,  
 and make them descend upon the earth, upon the works  
 and the labor of the sons of men.
- 2 And then truth and peace will be united together  
 for all the days of eternity and for all the generations of  
 humanity.”

## **Enoch's Interaction with the Fallen Watchers (Chapters 12–16)**

### *An Editorial Introduction*

- 12:1 Before these things, Enoch was taken; and no human being<sup>a</sup>  
 knew where he had been taken, or where he was, or what had  
 happened to him.
- 2 His works were with the watchers,  
 and with the holy ones were his days.

### *Enoch's First Mission to the Fallen Watchers*

#### *Enoch Is Sent to the Watchers*

- 3 I, Enoch, was standing, blessing the Lord of majesty, the King  
 of the ages. And look, the watchers of the Great Holy One  
 called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me,
- 4 “Enoch, righteous scribe, go and say to the watchers of  
 heaven—who forsook the highest heaven, the sanctuary of  
 the(ir) eternal station, and defiled themselves with women.  
 As the sons of earth do, so they did and took wives for them-  
 selves. And they worked great desolation on the earth—  
 5/ ‘You will have no peace or forgiveness.’
- 6 “And concerning their sons, in whom they rejoice—

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. *none of the sons of men*. This translation for the generic term is adopted here—  
 after where feasible.

The slaughter of their beloved ones they will see,  
 and over the destruction of their sons they will lament and  
 make perpetual petition,  
 and they will have no mercy or peace.

*Enoch Is Sent to Asael*

- 13:1 “And, Enoch, go and say to Asael,  
 ‘You will have no peace.  
 A great sentence has gone forth against you, to bind you.  
 2 You will have no relief or petition,  
 because of the unrighteous deeds that you revealed,  
 {and because of all the godless deeds and the unrighteous-  
 ness and the sin that you revealed to humans.}”<sup>a</sup>  
 3 Then I went and spoke to all of them together.  
 And they were all afraid,  
 and trembling and fear seized them.

***The Fallen Watchers Commission Enoch  
 to Intercede for Them***

- 4 And they asked that I write a memorandum of petition for them, that they might have forgiveness, and that I recite the memorandum of petition for them in the presence of the Lord of heaven. 5/ For they were no longer able to speak or to lift their eyes to heaven out of shame for the deeds through which they had sinned and for which they had been condemned. 6/ Then I wrote out the memorandum of their petition, and the requests concerning themselves, with regard to their deeds individually, and concerning <their sons> for whom they were making request, that they might have forgiveness and longevity. 7/ And I went off and sat by the waters of Dan in the land of Dan, which is south of Hermon, to the west. I recited (to God) the memorandum of their petition until I fell asleep.

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<sup>a</sup> Bracketed passage appears to be an expanded doublet of the previous line.

*Enoch's Ascent to Heaven and  
Second Commission to Preach to the Watchers*

*Narrative Summary*

- 8 And look, dreams came upon me, and visions fell upon me. And I saw visions of wrath, and there came a voice, saying, "Speak to the sons of heaven to reprimand them." 9/ And when I had awakened, I went to them. And all of them were assembled together, and they were sitting and weeping at Abel-Main,<sup>a</sup> which is between Lebanon and Senir, covering their faces. 10/ And I recited in their presence all the visions that I had seen in the dream, and I began to speak the words of truth and the vision and reprimand to the watchers of heaven.

*The Commission Summarized*

- 14:1 THE BOOK OF THE WORDS OF TRUTH AND THE REPRIMAND OF THE WATCHERS WHO WERE FROM OF OLD, according to the command of the Great Holy One <in the dream that I dreamed>.<sup>b</sup> 2/ In this vision I saw in my dream what I now speak with a human tongue and with the breath of my mouth, which the Great One has given to humans, to speak with them and to understand with the heart. 3/ As he created and destined humans to understand the words of knowledge, so he created and destined me<sup>c</sup> to reprimand the watchers, the sons of heaven.
- 4 I wrote up your petition, and in the vision it was shown to me thus,  
that you will not obtain your petition for all the days of eternity;  
but judgment has been consummated in the decree against you,

<sup>a</sup> For these place names and the text of v 10, see *1 Enoch 1*, 248–50.

<sup>b</sup> Bracketed words, omitted in Gk and Eth, supplied from Aram. See *1 Enoch 1*, 251.

<sup>c</sup> For this clause Aram reads *be destined and made and created me*.

- 5 that from now on you will not ascend into heaven for all the  
ages;  
and it has been decreed to bind you in bonds in the earth  
for all the days of eternity.
- 6 And that before these things, you will see the destruction of  
your sons, your beloved ones,  
and that you will have no pleasure in them,  
but they will fall before you by the sword.<sup>a</sup>
- 7 Accordingly, you will not obtain your petition concerning  
them, nor concerning yourselves.  
You will be petitioning and making supplication;  
. . . but you will not be speaking any word from the writ-  
ing that I have written.<sup>b</sup>

*Enoch's Ascent and Vision*

- 8 In the vision it was shown to me thus:  
Look, clouds in the vision were summoning me, and mists  
were crying out to me;  
and shooting stars and lightning flashes were hastening me  
and speeding me along,  
and winds in my vision made me fly up and lifted me  
upward and brought me to heaven.
- 9 And I went in until I drew near to a wall built of hailstones;  
and tongues of fire were encircling them all around,  
and they began to frighten me.
- 10 And I went into the tongues of fire, and I drew near to a  
great house built of hailstones;  
and the walls of this house were like stone slabs,  
and they were all of snow, and the floor was of snow.
- 11 And the ceiling was like shooting stars and lightning flashes;  
and among them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven  
was water,
- 12 and a flaming fire encircled all their walls, and the doors  
blazed with fire.

<sup>a</sup> The text of this verse is problematic. See *1 Enoch* 1, 251–52.

<sup>b</sup> The text of this verse is also problematic and perhaps missing a line. See *1 Enoch* 1, 252–53.



- 13 And I went into that house—hot as fire and cold as snow,  
and no delight of life was in it.  
Fear enveloped me, and trembling seized me,  
14 and I was quaking and trembling, and I fell upon my face.  
And I saw in my vision,  
15 And look, another open door before me:  
and a house greater than the former one,  
and it was all built of tongues of fire.  
16 All of it so excelled in glory and splendor and majesty  
that I am unable to describe for you its glory and majesty.  
17 Its floor was of fire,  
and its upper part was flashes of lightning and shooting  
stars,  
and its ceiling was a flaming fire.  
18 And I was looking and I saw a lofty throne;  
and its appearance was like ice,  
and its wheels were like the shining sun,  
and †the voice (*or* sound) of†<sup>a</sup> the cherubim,  
19 and from beneath the throne issued rivers of flaming fire.  
And I was unable to see.  
20 The Great Glory sat upon it;  
his apparel was like the appearance of the sun  
and whiter than much snow.  
21 No angel could enter into this house and look at his face  
because of the splendor and glory,  
and no human could look at him.  
22 Flaming fire encircled him and a great fire stood by him,  
and none of those about him approached him.  
Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him,  
but he needed no counselor; his every word was deed.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Eth, which could reflect Ezek 10:5: Gk (*its*) *boundary was (horos)*, perhaps suggesting the sides of the throne, or it may be a corruption of *choros* (choir). For other alternatives, see *1 Enoch 1*, 258, 264.

<sup>b</sup> Gk omits first clause, and Eth, the second. Cf. *2 Enoch 33:4*.

- 23 And the holy ones of the watchers<sup>a</sup> who approached him did not depart by night,  
nor <by day><sup>b</sup> did they leave him.

*The Oracle*

- 24 Until now I had been on my face, prostrate and trembling.  
And the Lord called me with his mouth and said to me,  
“Come here, Enoch, and hear my word(s).” 25/ And one of  
the holy ones came to me and raised me up and stood me (on  
my feet) and brought me up to the door. But I had my face  
bowed down.
- 15:1 But he answered and said to me—and I heard his voice—  
“Fear not, Enoch, righteous man and scribe of truth;  
come here, and hear my voice.
- 2 Go and say to the watchers of heaven, who sent you to  
petition in their behalf,  
‘You should petition in behalf of humans,  
and not humans in behalf of you.
- 3 Why have you forsaken the high heaven, the eternal  
sanctuary;  
and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the  
daughters of men;  
and taken for yourselves wives, and done as the sons of  
earth;  
and begotten for yourselves sons, giants?
- 4 You were holy ones and spirits, living forever.  
With the blood of women you have defiled yourselves,  
and with the blood of flesh you have begotten,  
and with the blood of men you have lusted,  
and you have done as they do—  
flesh and blood, who die and perish.
- 5 Therefore I gave them women,  
that they might cast seed into them,  
and thus beget children by them,  
that nothing fail them on the earth.

<sup>a</sup> For *watchers* Gk reads *angels*. For the reading see *1 Enoch 1*, 258.

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured phrase added to fill out parallelism. See *1 Enoch 1*, 259, 265–66.

- 6 But you originally existed as spirits, living forever,  
and not dying for all the generations of eternity;  
7 therefore I did not make women among you.’  
The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling;  
8 But now the giants who were begotten by the spirits and  
flesh—  
they will call them evil spirits on the earth,  
for their dwelling will be on the earth.  
9 The spirits that have gone forth from the body of their flesh  
are evil spirits,  
for from humans<sup>a</sup> they came into being, and from the  
holy watchers was the origin of their creation.  
Evil spirits they will be on the earth, and evil spirits they  
will be called.  
10 The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling;  
but the spirits begotten on the earth, on the earth is their  
dwelling.<sup>b</sup>  
11 And the spirits of the giants <lead astray>, do violence, make  
desolate, and attack and wrestle and hurl upon the earth  
and <cause illnesses>. They eat nothing, but abstain from  
food and are thirsty and smite. 12/ These spirits (will) rise up  
against the sons of men and against the women, for they have  
come forth from them.  
16:1 From the day of the slaughter and destruction and death of the  
giants, from the soul of whose flesh the spirits are proceed-  
ing, they are making desolate without (incurring) judgment.  
Thus they will make desolate until the day of the consum-  
mation of the great judgment, when the great age will be  
consummated. It will be consummated all at once.  
2 And now (say) to the watchers who sent you to petition in  
their behalf, who formerly were in heaven,  
3 ‘You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you;  
but a stolen mystery you learned;

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<sup>a</sup> Gk<sup>s</sup>: Gk<sup>a</sup> *Eth for from above*. One reading is a Gk corruption of the other. See *1 Enoch 1*, 268.

<sup>b</sup> For the textual problems and conjectures in the rest of this section, see *1 Enoch 1*, 268–69.

and this you made known to the women in your hardness  
of heart;  
and through this mystery the women and men are  
multiplying evils on the earth.’

4 Say to them,  
‘You will have no peace.’”

## Enoch’s Journey to the Northwest (Chapters 17–19)

### *The Journey Narrative Begun*

17:1 And they took me (and) led (me) away to a certain place in  
which those who were there were like a flaming fire; and  
whenever they wished, they appeared as human beings.  
2 And they led me away to a dark place and to a mountain  
whose summit reached to heaven. 3/ And I saw the place  
of the luminaries and the treasuries of the stars and of the  
thunders, and to the depths of the ether, where the bow of  
fire and the arrows and their quivers (were) and the sword of  
fire<sup>a</sup> and all the lightnings.  
4 And they led me away to the living waters and to the fire of the  
west, which provides<sup>b</sup> all the sunsets.  
5 And I came to the river of fire, in which fire flows down like  
water and discharges into the great sea of the west. 6/ I saw  
all the great rivers.  
And I arrived at the great river and the great darkness.  
And I departed (for) where no human<sup>c</sup> walks. 7/ I saw the  
wintry winds of darkness and the gushing of all the waters of  
the abyss. 8/ I saw the mouth of all the rivers of the earth and  
the mouth of the abyss.

### *A Digression: A Summary of What Enoch Saw*

18:1 I saw the treasuries of all the winds. I saw how through them  
he ordered all created things.

<sup>a</sup> Gk omits the phrase.

<sup>b</sup> Eth *receives*.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. *no flesh*, which could mean *no living being*.

- 2 I saw the foundation of the earth and the cornerstone of the earth. I saw the four winds bearing the earth and the firmament of heaven. 3/ And I saw how the winds stretch out the height of heaven. They stand between earth and heaven; they are the pillars of heaven.
- 4 I saw the winds of heaven that turn and bring to (their) setting the disk of the sun and all the stars.
- 5 I saw the winds on the earth bearing the clouds.  
I saw the paths of the angels.  
I saw at the ends of the earth the firmament of heaven above.

### *The Journey Narrative Concluded*

- 6 I came and saw a place that was burning night and day, where (there were) seven mountains of precious stones—three lying to the east and three to the south. 7/ And of those to the east, (one was) of colored stone, and one was of pearl, and one was of <jasper>.<sup>a</sup> And those to the south were of flame-colored stone. 8/ And the middle one of them reached to heaven like the throne of God—of antimony; and the top of the throne was of lapis lazuli. 9/ And I saw a burning fire.
- 10 And beyond these mountains is a place, the edge of the great earth; there the heavens come to an end. 11/ And I saw a great chasm among pillars of heavenly fire. And I saw in it pillars of fire descending; and they were immeasurable toward the depth and toward the height.<sup>b</sup>
- 19:1 And Uriel said to me, “There stand the angels who mingled with the women. And their spirits—having assumed many forms—bring destruction on men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as to gods until the day of the great judgment, in which they will be judged with finality. 2/ And the wives of the transgressing angels will become sirens.”

<sup>a</sup> The identity of the stone is uncertain. See *1 Enoch* 1, 286.

<sup>b</sup> As it is preserved, the text narrates Enoch's progress to two places, followed by two angelic interpretations. Additionally, in Enoch's next journey, from west to east (chaps. 21–32), the order of stations suggests the transposition here of 19:1-2 between 18:11 and 18:12. See *1 Enoch* 1, 287.

- 18:12** Beyond this chasm I saw a place where there was neither firmament of heaven above, nor firmly founded earth beneath it. Neither was there water on it, nor bird; but the place was desolate and fearful. 13/ There I saw seven stars like great burning mountains.
- 14 To me, when I inquired about them, the angel said, “This place is the end of heaven and earth; this has become a prison for the stars and the hosts of heaven. 15/ The stars that are rolling over in the fire, these are they that transgressed the command of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, for they did not come out in their appointed times. 16/ And he was angry with them and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sins—ten thousand years.”
- 19:3** I, Enoch, alone saw the visions, the extremities of all things. And no one among humans has seen as I saw.

## Enoch’s Journey Eastward (Chapters 20–36)

### *List of the Seven Archangels*

- 20:1 These are the names of the holy angels who watch.
- 2 Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the world and Tartarus.
- 3 Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the spirits of men.
- 4 Reuel, one of the holy angels, who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries.
- 5 Michael, one of the holy angels, who has been put in charge of the good ones of the people.<sup>a</sup>
- 6 Sariel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the spirits<sup>b</sup> who sin against the spirit.

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<sup>a</sup> Textual witnesses are confused here. The verse may originally have ascribed to Michael supervision over all of Israel or over the righteous of Israel. See *1 Enoch 1*, 294–96.

<sup>b</sup> Eth adds *of the sons of men*.

- 7 Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of paradise and the serpents and the cherubim.
- 8 Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God has put in charge of them that rise.
- The names of the seven archangels.<sup>a</sup>

### *The Place of Punishment for the Disobedient Stars*

- 21:1 I traveled to where it was chaotic. 2/ And there I saw a terrible thing; I saw neither heaven above, nor firmly founded earth, but a chaotic and terrible place. 3/ And there I saw seven of the stars of heaven, bound and thrown in it together, like great mountains, and burning in fire.
- 4 Then I said, “For what reason have they been bound, and for what reason have they been thrown here?”
- 5 Then Uriel said to me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader, he said to me, “Enoch, why do you inquire, and why are you eager for the truth? 6/ These are the stars of heaven that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have been bound here until ten thousand years are fulfilled—the time of their sins.”

### *The Prison of the Fallen Angels*

- 7 From there I traveled to another place, more terrible than this one. And I saw terrible things—a great fire burning and flaming there. And the place had a narrow cleft (extending) to the abyss, full of great pillars of fire, borne downward. Neither the measure nor the size was I able to see or to estimate.
- 8 Then I said, “How terrible is this place and fearful to look at!”
- 9 Then Uriel<sup>b</sup> answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me, “Enoch, why are you so frightened and shaken?”

<sup>a</sup> Eth omits this verse.

<sup>b</sup> Gk omits the name. Perhaps it is a gloss. Cf. 19:1-2; 18:13, which have only one name.

And I replied, “Because of this terrible place and because of the fearful sight.”

10 And he said, “This place is a prison for the angels. Here they will be confined forever.”

### *The Mountain of the Dead*

22:1 From there I traveled to another place. And he showed me to the west a great and high mountain of hard rock. 2/ And there were four hollow places in it, deep and very smooth. Three of them were dark and one, illuminated; and a fountain of water was in the middle of it.

And I said, “How smooth are these hollows and altogether deep and dark to view.”

3 Then Raphael answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me, “These hollow places (are intended) that the spirits of the souls of the dead might be gathered into them. For this very (purpose) they were created, (that) here the souls of all human beings should be gathered. 4/ And look, these are the pits for the place of their confinement. Thus they were made until the day (on) which they will be judged, and until the time of the day of the end of the great judgment that will be exacted from them.”

5 There I saw the spirit of a dead man making suit, and his lamentation went up to heaven and cried and made suit.

6 Then I asked Raphael, the watcher and holy one<sup>a</sup> who was with me, and said to him, “This spirit that makes suit—whose is it—that thus his lamentation goes up and makes suit unto heaven?”

7 And he answered me and said, “This is the spirit that went forth from Abel, whom Cain his brother murdered. And Abel

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<sup>a</sup> Aram: Gk Eth *angel* suggesting that elsewhere in this section, where there are no Aram counterparts, *holy angel* may also have translated Aram *watcher(s)* and *holy one(s)*.



- makes accusation against him until his posterity<sup>a</sup> perishes from the face of the earth, and his posterity is obliterated from the posterity of men.”
- 8 Then I asked about all the hollow places, why they were separated one from the other.
- 9 And he answered me and said, “These three were made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And this has been separated for the spirits of the righteous, where the bright fountain of water is.
- 10 And this has been created for <the spirits of the> sinners, when they die and are buried in the earth, and judgment has not been executed on them in their life. 11/ Here their spirits are separated for this great torment, until the great day of judgment, of scourges and tortures of the cursed forever, that there might be a recompense for their spirits. There he will bind them forever.
- 12 And this has been separated for the spirits of them that make suit, who make disclosure about the destruction, when they were murdered in the days of the sinners.
- 13 And this was created for the spirits of the people who will not be pious, but sinners, who were godless, and they were companions with the lawless. And their spirits will not be punished on the day of judgment, nor will they be raised from there.”
- 14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said, “Blessed is the judgment of righteousness and blessed are you, O Lord of majesty and righteousness, who are Lord of eternity.”<sup>b</sup>

### *The Fire of the West*

- 23:1 And from there I traveled to another place, to the west of the ends of the earth. 2/ And I saw a fire that ran and did not rest or quit its course day and night, but continued.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. *seed*.

<sup>b</sup> Textual witnesses to this verse differ. See *1 Enoch 1*, 301–2.

- 3 And I asked and said, “What is this that has no rest?”  
 4 Then Reuel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me, “This course of fire is the fire of the west, which pursues<sup>a</sup> all the luminaries of heaven.”<sup>b</sup>  
 24:1/ And he showed me mountains of fire that burned day and night.

### *The Mountain of God and the Tree of Life*

- 24:2 And I proceeded beyond them, and I saw seven glorious mountains, all differing each from the other, whose stones were precious in beauty. And all (the mountains) were precious and glorious and beautiful in appearance—three to the east were firmly set one on the other, and three to the south, one on the other, and deep and rugged ravines, one not approaching the other. 3/ The seventh mountain (was) in the middle of these, and it rose above them in height, like<sup>c</sup> the seat of a throne. And fragrant<sup>d</sup> trees encircled it. 4/ Among them was a tree such as I had never smelled, and among them was no other like it.<sup>e</sup> It had a fragrance sweeter smelling than all spices, and its leaves and its blossom and the tree<sup>f</sup> never wither. Its fruit is beautiful, like dates of the palm trees.  
 5 Then I said, “How beautiful is this tree and fragrant,<sup>g</sup> and its leaves are lovely, and its blossoms<sup>h</sup> are lovely to look at.”  
 6 Then Michael answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me and was their leader, 25:1/ and he said to me,

<sup>a</sup> Gk to *ekdiōkon*: Eth corrupt. However, cf. 20:4, which applies the verb *ekdeikōn* (takes vengeance on) to Reuel. See *1 Enoch* 1, 310–11.

<sup>b</sup> Eth adds a clause here that indicates Enoch’s movement to a new place. See *1 Enoch* 1, 311.

<sup>c</sup> Text of previous clause uncertain. See *1 Enoch* 1, 312.

<sup>d</sup> Eth (= Gk *euōdē*): Gk *beautiful to see* (*eueidē*).

<sup>e</sup> On the text, see *1 Enoch* 1, 312.

<sup>f</sup> Perhaps originally *and the blossom of the tree*.

<sup>g</sup> Gk: Eth. *beautiful to see*. See above note h.

<sup>h</sup> Eth *its fruit*.

- “Enoch, why do you inquire and why do you marvel about the fragrance of this tree, and why do you wish to learn the truth?”
- 25:2 Then I answered him—I, Enoch—and said, “Concerning all things I wish to know, but especially concerning this tree.”
- 3 And he answered me and said, “This high mountain that you saw, whose peak is like the throne of God, is the seat where the Great Holy One, the Lord of glory, the King of eternity, will sit, when he descends to visit the earth in goodness. 4/ And (as for) this fragrant tree, no flesh has the right to touch it until the great judgment, in which there will be vengeance on all and a consummation forever. Then it will be given to the righteous and the pious,
- 5 and its fruit will be food for the chosen. And it will be transplanted to the holy place, by the house of God, the King of eternity.
- 6 Then they will rejoice greatly and be glad, and they will enter into the sanctuary. Its fragrances <will be><sup>a</sup> in their bones, and they will live a long life on the earth, such as your fathers lived also in their days,<sup>b</sup> and torments and plagues and suffering will not touch them.”
- 7 Then I blessed the God of glory, the King of eternity, who has prepared such things for people (who are) righteous, and has created them and promised to give (them) to them.

***Jerusalem, the Center of the Earth  
and the Place of Punishment***

- 26:1 And from there I proceeded to the center of the earth, and I saw a blessed place where there were trees that had branches that abide and sprout. 2/ And there I saw a holy mountain.

<sup>a</sup> Emending an evident corruption in Aram original, *1 Enoch 1*, 313.

<sup>b</sup> Eth adds *sorrow* at the beginning of the next line.

From beneath the mountain water (came) from the east, and it flowed toward the south. 3/ And I saw to the east another mountain higher than it, and between them a deep valley that had no breadth, and through it water was flowing beneath<sup>a</sup> the mountain. 4/ And to the west of this, another mountain lower than it and not rising very high, and a deep and dry valley beneath it, between them, and another deep and dry valley,<sup>b</sup> at the apex of the three mountains. 5/ And all the valleys were deep, of hard rock, and no tree was planted on them.

- 6 And I marveled at the mountain, and I marveled at the valley, I marveled exceedingly.
- 27:1 Then I said, “Why is this land blessed and all filled with trees, but this valley is cursed?”
- 2 Then <Sariel><sup>c</sup> answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me, “This cursed valley is for those who are cursed forever. Here will be gathered all the cursed, who utter with their mouth an improper word against the Lord and speak hard things against his glory. Here they will be gathered, and here will be (their) habitation 3/ at the last times, in the days of righteous judgment in the presence of the righteous for all time. Here the godless<sup>d</sup> will bless the Lord of glory, the King of eternity. 4/ In the days of their judgment they will bless †in mercy†<sup>e</sup> in accordance with how he has apportioned to them.”
- 5 Then I blessed the Lord of glory, and his glory I made known and praised magnificently.

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<sup>a</sup> Eth *toward*.

<sup>b</sup> Aram evidently omitted *deep and dry*.

<sup>c</sup> Gk Eth read *Uriel*. Emendation follows 20:6, where Sariel's place in the sequence and his function agree with this vision. Aram at 9:1 indicates that the names are confused.

<sup>d</sup> Eth *the merciful*, perhaps influenced by *in mercy* in v 4.

<sup>e</sup> Meaning is obscure. Perhaps the text originally referred to a plea for mercy. Cf. 63:1, 5-6.

*To the Paradise of Righteousness<sup>a</sup>*

- 28:1 And from there I went to the midst of the mountain range of the desert. And I saw it desolate, and it alone was full of trees <and plants>. 2/ Water was pouring forth from above. 3/ Flowing like a copious watercourse, approximately to the northwest, it brought water and also dew from all around.
- 29:1 From there I went to another place in the desert, and I departed to the east of this mountain range. 2/ I saw trees <of the field> breathing fragrances of frankincense and myrrh, and their trees were like nut trees.
- 30:1 Beyond these I departed far to the east. And I saw another vast place—valleys of water, 2/ in which were aromatic cane like reeds. 3/ On the banks of these valleys I saw the fragrant cinnamon.
- 31:1 Beyond these valleys, I departed to the east. And I saw other mountains, and also on them I saw trees, from which flowed the nectar called storax and galbanum.
- 2 Beyond these mountains I was shown another mountain, and on it were aloe trees. All the trees were full of . . . . . , and it was like the bark of the almond tree. 3/ When they grind this bark, it is sweeter than any perfume.
- 32:1 Beyond these mountains, approximately to their northeastern side I saw other mountains, filled with choice nard and *tspr* and cardamom and pepper.
- 2 From there I proceeded to the east of all these mountains, far from them to the east of the earth. And I passed over the Red Sea and departed far from it. And I crossed over the darkness, far from it.
- 3 I passed by the paradise of righteousness, and I saw from afar trees more plentiful and larger than these trees, differing

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<sup>a</sup> The textual situation in these chapters is especially complex due to the plethora of sometimes obscure proper names, the technical nature of the subject matter, and the disagreements among Gk, Eth, and two Aram mss. For details, see *1 Enoch 1*, 320–28.

from those—very large <and> beautiful and glorious and magnificent—and the tree of wisdom, whose fruit the holy ones eat and learn great wisdom. 4/ That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves, like (those of) the carob, and its fruit like the clusters of the vine—very cheerful; and its fragrance penetrates far beyond the tree.

5 Then I said, “How beautiful is the tree and how pleasing in appearance.”

6 Then <Gabriel>,<sup>a</sup> the holy angel who was with me, answered, “This is the tree of wisdom from which your father of old and your mother of old, who were before you, ate and learned wisdom. And their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they were driven from the garden.”

### *To the Ends of the Earth*

33:1 And from there I proceeded to the ends of the earth, and I saw there great beasts, and they differed each from the other; and birds also, differing (in) their appearance and their beauty and their voices, differed each from the other.

To the east of these beasts I saw the ends of the earth, on which the heaven rests, and the gates of heaven open. 2/ I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the gates from which they emerge, 3/ and I wrote down all their outlets, one by one, according to their number and their names, according to their conjunction and their position and their time and their months, as Uriel, the holy angel<sup>b</sup> who was with me, showed me. 4/ He showed me and wrote down for me everything, and also he wrote down their names and their appointed times and their functions.

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<sup>a</sup> *Raphael* in Gk and Eth is emended to *Gabriel*, following the sequence in 20:7, and the consonance of Gabriel's responsibility there with the present station of Enoch's journey.

<sup>b</sup> For angel, Aram has [*one of the*] *watchers*. Cf. 22:6, note b.

*Enoch's Journeys North, West, South,  
and East: A Summary*

- 34:1 And from there I proceeded to the north, at the ends of the earth, and there I saw great and glorious wonders at the ends of the whole earth. 2/ There I saw three gates of heaven open in heaven. From them the winds in the north emerge. When they blow, (there is) cold and hail and hoarfrost and snow and dew and rain. 3/ Through one gate they blow for good, and when they blow through two of the gates, they blow with violence, and there is affliction on the earth.
- 35:1 From there I proceeded toward the west, at the ends of the earth, and I saw there three gates of heaven open, as I saw in the east, the same number of gates and the same number of outlets.
- 36:1 From there I proceeded toward the south, at the ends of the earth, and there I saw three gates of heaven open, and from there the south wind and dew and rain emerge.
- 2 From there I proceeded toward the east, at the ends of the earth, and there I saw three gates of heaven open toward the east and above them, small gates. 3/ Through each of these small gates pass the stars of heaven, and they proceed westward on the path that is shown them.
- 4 And when I saw, I blessed—and I shall always bless—the Lord of glory, who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show his great deeds to his angels and to the spirits of human beings,<sup>a</sup> so that they might see the work of his might and glorify the deeds of his hands and bless him forever.

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<sup>a</sup> All Eth mss add here *so that they might glorify his work and all his deeds*, which appears to be a doublet of the following two clauses whose parallelism seems original.