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0521853788 - Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature

Annette Yoshiko Reed

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FALLEN ANGELS AND THE HISTORY OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

This book considers the early history of Jewish–Christian relations through a focus on traditions about the fallen angels. In the *Book of the Watchers*, an Enochic apocalypse from the third century BCE, the “sons of God” of Gen 6:1–4 are accused of corrupting humankind through their teachings of metalworking, cosmetology, magic, and divination. By tracing the transformations of this motif in Second Temple, Rabbinic, and early medieval Judaism and early, late antique, and Byzantine Christianity, this book sheds light on the history of interpretation of Genesis, the changing status of Enochic literature, and the place of parabiblical texts and traditions in the interchange between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In the process, it explores issues such as the role of text-selection in the delineation of community boundaries and the development of early Jewish and Christian ideas about the origins of evil on the earth.

Annette Yoshiko Reed is presently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University, where she teaches courses on the Hebrew Bible, early Judaism, and early Christianity. Her publications span the fields of Biblical Studies, Jewish Studies, and Patristics, and include articles in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, *Vigiliae Christianae*, and *Journal of Early Christian Studies*. She has coedited two volumes, *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (with Adam H. Becker, 2003) and *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (with Ra’anan S. Boustán; Cambridge University Press, 2004). She is presently working on a book about “Jewish-Christianity” and the diversity of late antique Judaism.

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ANNETTE YOSHIKO REED

McMaster University



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*To my father, Dr. Steven R. Reed,
who taught me how (and why) to think.*



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Preface

This book is a revision of my dissertation, which was written in the Department of Religion at Princeton University under the supervision of Martha Himmelfarb, Peter Schäfer, and John G. Gager. I cannot imagine a more stimulating intellectual environment in which to study, nor kinder people with whom to work. I offer them my warmest thanks for their support and inspiration, academic and otherwise. The dissertation and book also benefited much from feedback from, and conversations with, Adam H. Becker, Raʿanan Boustan, Peter Brown, Patricia Crone, Fritz Graf, Elaine Pagels, John C. Reeves, and Burt Visotzky. For their comments and advice, I am grateful to Kirsti Copeland, David Frankfurter, Paula Fredriksen, Bob Kraft, Eileen Schuller, Michael E. Stone, and Peter Widdicombe. Funding for the dissertation on which this book is based was provided by the Center for the Study of Religion at Princeton University. Earlier versions of several chapters were presented at the Center’s Religion and Culture workshop as well as at the conference *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Imagined Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* and in the Early Jewish–Christian Relations and Pseudepigrapha sections of the Society of Biblical Literature’s annual meetings. Extended versions of some of the arguments in Chapters 1, 2, 5, and 7 have been published in different forms in earlier articles: “From Asael and Šemiḥazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7–8) and the Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch” (*Jewish Studies Quarterly* 8 [2001]: 1–32); “The Textual Identity, Literary History, and Social Setting of 1 Enoch: Reflections on George Nickelsburg’s Commentary on 1 Enoch 1–36; 81–108.” (*Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 5 [2003]: 279–96); “The Trickery of the Fallen Angels and the Demonic Mimesis of the Divine: Etiology, Demonology, and Polemics in the Writings of Justin Martyr” (*Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12 [2004]: 141–71); and “Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 1 Enoch 6–16”

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PREFACE

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(*Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 47–66).

I would also like to express my appreciation to colleagues, students, and staff in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University – not least for fostering such an intellectually stimulating and supportive academic context that I was able to complete extensive revisions during my first year of full-time teaching. A grant from McMaster’s Arts Research Board, moreover, provided support for the preparation of the manuscript and indexes, and I am grateful to Christopher Cubitt, Marko Geslani, Jeremy Penner, Lily Vuong, and Susan Wendel, for their help. Warm thanks, as well, to Jonathan Geen for his aid during the final stage of reviewing proofs. Lastly, on behalf of myself and Cambridge University Press, I would like to thank the Koret Foundation Publication Program for their generosity in awarding this book a subvention to help defray the costs of publication.

To my parents, Steven R. and Michiko Reed, and to my husband, Dove C. Sussman, I owe greater debts than words can express.

Annette Yoshiko Reed

Hamilton, Ontario, November 1, 2004

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of other sources follow P. H. Alexander et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, Mass., 1999) and H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (trans. M. Bockmuehl; Minneapolis, 1996).

1. SUBDOCUMENTS AND MANUSCRIPTS OF 1 ENOCH

- BW *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 1–36).
 Sim. *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 En. 37–71).
 AB *Astronomical Book* (1 En. 71–82).
 BD *Book of Dreams* (1 En. 83–90).
 EE *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En. 91–105/6/7).
 “AW” “Apocalypse of Weeks” (1 En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17).
 “AA” “Animal Apocalypse” (1 En. 85–90).
 Gr^{Pan} Codex Panopolitanus; M. Black and A. Denis, eds. *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece: Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum* (Leiden, 1970) 19–36.
 Gr^{CB} Chester Beatty–Michigan Papyrus XII; Black and Denis, *Apocalypsis*, 37–44.
 Gr^{Syn} Excerpts of BW in Sync. [see below]
 Gr^{Vat} Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1809; Black and Denis, *Apocalypsis*, 36–37.

2. TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES OF 1 ENOCH

- Black, *Commentary*. M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (Leiden, 1985).

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- | | |
|--|--|
| Charles, <i>Commentary</i> . | R. H. Charles, ed. and trans., <i>The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch</i> (Oxford, 1912). |
| Fleming and Radermacher, <i>Henoch</i> | J. Flemming and L. Radermacher, eds. and trans., <i>Das Buch Henoch, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-commission der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Leipzig, 1901). |
| Knibb, <i>Commentary</i> . | M. A. Knibb, <i>The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments</i> . 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978). |
| Milik, <i>Commentary</i> . | J. T. Milik, <i>The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4</i> (Oxford, 1976). |
| Nickelsburg, <i>Commentary</i> . | G. W. E. Nickelsburg, <i>1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, chapters 1–36, 81–108</i> (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 2001). |
| Tiller, <i>Commentary</i> | P. A. Tiller, <i>A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch</i> (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta, 1993). |

3. EDITIONS AND COLLECTIONS OF OTHER MAJOR

PRIMARY SOURCES

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| AMB | J. Naveh and S. Shaked, eds., <i>Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity</i> (Jerusalem, 1985). |
| APOT | R. H. Charles, ed., <i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English</i> . 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913). |
| <i>Ber. Rabbati</i> | <i>Midrash Bereshit Rabbati</i> , ed. H. Albeck (Jerusalem, 1983). |
| BHM | A. Jellinek, ed., <i>Bet ha-midrash</i> , 5 vols. (Jerusalem, 1967). |
| B-M | A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, eds., <i>The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus</i> (Cambridge, 1906–40). |

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- CMC *Cologne Mani Codex*; ed. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Über das Werden seines Leibes* (Opladen, 1988).
- Gen.Rab. *Genesis Rabbah*; ed. H. Albeck and J. Theodor, *Bereshit Rabba mit Kritischem Apparat und Kommentar*. 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1965).
- Gött. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*; vol. I: *Genesis*, ed. J. W. Wevers (Göttingen, 1974).
- MSF J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993).
- OTP J. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. (New York, 1983–85).
- PGM K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, eds., *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2 vols. (2nd. ed.; Stuttgart, 1973–74).
- Stuckenbruck, BG L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (Tübingen, 1997).
- Sync. George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*; ed. A. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig, 1984); trans., W. A. Adler and P. Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* (Oxford, 2002).
- Yerahmeel *Chronicle of Yerahmeel*; trans. M. Gaster, *The Chronicle of Jerahmeel* (New York, 1971).

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