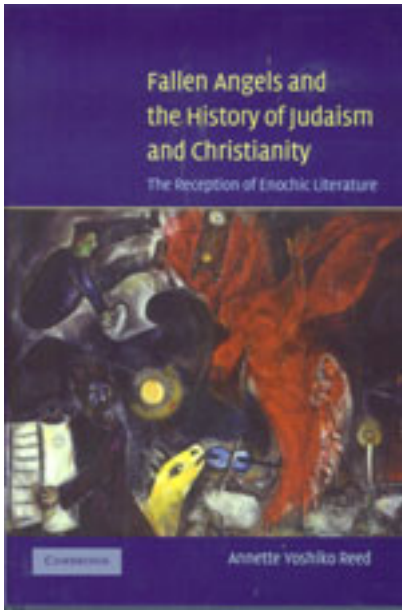


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Reed, Annette Yoshiko

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

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Siam Bhayro
University of Cambridge
Cambridge, United Kingdom

As the title suggests, the author of this revised doctoral dissertation lacks nothing in ambition. The aim is a comparative analysis of the reception, in various Jewish and Christian traditions, of the “distinctive treatment of the fallen angels as corrupting teachers of humankind” (5) as told in the Enochic narrative of the Book of Watchers (hereafter BW; i.e. *1 En.* 1–36). The author further states that the reception history of this aspect of BW “provides a lens through which to examine broader issues” (2), including the early history of Jewish-Christian relations and ideas concerning the origin of evil.

In order to accomplish this, the author would have to come to terms with both the vast and rapidly expanding array of sources on BW and the not insignificant amount of literature associated with the various subsequent Jewish and Christian corpora in which the Enochic traditions manifest. The former is accomplished in the first two chapters, which deal specifically with BW and its context. The latter is accomplished in the following five chapters, which examine BW traditions in prerabbinic Judaism, rabbinic Judaism, and Christianity, as far as the early Middle Ages. On the whole, and considering the magnitude of the project, the author does very well, managing to produce a good synthesis of the various sources and providing a well-informed and erudite piece of scholarship that is a pleasure to read.

The content of the latter chapters could perhaps have been strengthened in two respects. First of all, on a number of occasions throughout the book Reed mentions the canonicity of *1 Enoch* within the Ethiopian Church, mostly as part of her general argument against sidelining the text as sectarian (e.g., 276). Beyond this, however, very little is made of the reception history of the Enochic traditions within the Ethiopian context, perhaps due to the comparatively small number of secondary sources available on this subject. Still, considering the importance of the Ethiopian tradition to Reed's general argument, this is a significant gap in coverage. R. W. Cowley refers to a number of Ethiopic manuscripts containing commentaries on *1 Enoch* (*Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 436, 457), and, moving beyond exegesis, there are clear examples of Enochic traditions manifesting in later Ethiopian texts, such as the reference to Noah's face shining (*1 En.* 106:1–5 with the Chronicle of Johannes IV, f. 111vb; for an English translation, see B. Tafla, *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV [1872–89]* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977], 33). Indeed, Reed's decision to ignore the Ethiopian chronicles is in marked contrast to the attention given to the Byzantine chronicles.

Second, Reed discusses the angelic name Azael in relation to the Aramaic incantation texts (252). With the recent increase in the number of such texts in publication, it is clear that they represent an important archive that cannot be ignored. It is, therefore, a shame that Reed neglects to mention the appearance of Shemihazah in another Aramaic incantation text (J. A. Montgomery, "A Magical Bowl-Text and the Original Script of the Manichaeans," *JAOS* 32 [1912]: 434–38, esp. 435). Considered in the light of Montgomery's comment, "I have found a number of connections between the bowl-texts and Ethiopic angelology" (436–37), Reed's decision not to investigate this corpus further could be significant.

Furthermore, Reed's bibliography on the incantation texts is out of date. This is unfortunate, as the most recently published occurrence of Azael in a bowl text (M163:18) is found in a text that not only concurs more with the Enochic traditions than the examples that she cites (252), but also invokes the Holy Trinity in conjunction with the Lord of hosts (M163:29). This could have proved useful in the context of her discussion on the early relationship between Judaism and Christianity (for M163, see D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls* [London: Kegan Paul, 2003], 120–38).

In her analyses of the subsequent corpora, Reed sets herself an almost impossible task, and, obviously, she has had to prioritize in terms of coverage. Perhaps she could have made more of the two areas just highlighted, but she has done a remarkable job all the same.

Regarding the analysis of BW and particularly *1 En.* 6–11, I have three specific comments. First, Reed states, “While describing the proliferation of human wickedness that prompted God to *cleanse the earth with the Flood*, Genesis recounts,” followed by a quote from Gen 6:1–4 (5, emphasis added). Of course, the problem here is that, as has already been discussed by Van Ruiten, these verses in Genesis have nothing to do with the following flood story. Indeed, Gen 6:1–4 and 6:5–8:19 are two distinct literary units, and their subsequent association, which makes the actions of the sons of God a wicked act and part of the rationale for the flood, is a very distinct, but secondary, line of exegesis (J. Van Ruiten, “The Flood Story in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Interpretations of the Flood* [ed. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuisen; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 79–81). Furthermore, as has been discussed by the present reviewer, the idea that the flood is sent to cleanse the earth is also secondary and Enochic (*1 En.* 10:20–22) and contrary to the biblical narrative (S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005], 243, 258–59).

Second, Reed states that BW “appears to integrate at least five *originally independent* units into the larger narrative framework” (24, emphasis added). Now, it is true that scholars divide BW into four or five units, but the use of the phrase “originally independent” troubles me. For instance, the first unit of BW is the introduction (*1 En.* 1–5), which was clearly composed as an introduction for BW (see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 132). Furthermore, *1 En.* 12–16 was composed with reference to *1 En.* 6–11, *1 En.* 17–19 developed a theme raised in *1 En.* 12–16, and *1 En.* 20–36 expanded yet again on the section it follows (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 25, 229–30, 290, etc.; Reed herself clearly is aware of this [e.g., 26]). In other words, can any of these units truly be said to have been “originally independent”?

Finally, Reed’s treatment of the chapter divisions in *1 En.* 6–11 also causes concern. The wider context is the recognition that *1 En.* 6–11 is a composite narrative with several strata. Rather than try to unravel the various strands, Reed chooses to consider the narrative as it now stands, to “discern an attempt to interweave the various strands into a meaningful whole through the imposition of a literary structure, however loose” (29). This, in itself, is a good idea, but it should not be done at the exclusion of previous attempts to unravel the strands. Thus, in describing what she regards as “three descriptions of the Watchers’ transgressions, each with a different focus” (27), she states that the first is found in *1 En.* 6–7, the second in *1 En.* 8, and the third in *1 En.* 9, each concluding with an account of violence followed by the cry of the oppressed (*1 En.* 7:4–6; 8:4; 9:9–10, respectively). This approach to the chapter divisions then continues through the author’s analysis (30–34).

The problem here is that most analyses of this passage have rightly suggested, for example, that the cry of the earth in *1 En.* 7:6 leads straight into the cry of humankind in

1 En. 8:4, with the intervening material being an obvious insertion [e.g., Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 165]. In discussing her “three descriptions,” Reed neglects the issue of how and why one strand (to continue her very useful metaphor) was effectively cut. In other words, any attempt to draw conclusions from how a text has been interwoven, which ignores the composition of the various strands, is extremely problematic. Reed’s apparent willingness to do this, coupled with a result that fits in so conveniently with the chapter divisions, comes across as too simplistic.

To be fair, Reed does explain very clearly her reasons for doing this (26–27), including an important discussion of the shortcomings of source-critical and form-critical analyses. At this point, however, her criticism that previous scholars, by performing such analyses, “tacitly dismiss the redacted product as a muddled combination and conflation of originally coherent ‘legends’ ” (26) does seem rather harsh on pretty much every other scholar who has published in this field and perhaps betrays an attempt to justify her own neglect of this approach, as well as her call “to move beyond questions about the origins of its composite parts, to consider also the purpose and effect of their present arrangement” (27). The present reviewer doubts whether one can truly appreciate the purpose and effect of their present arrangement without first understanding how they were thus arranged. This is something I attempted to do in my own monograph (Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch* 6–11), and it is perhaps unfortunate, for both the author and the present reviewer, that our books appeared simultaneously.

Despite these very finite reservations, this is a worthwhile book, and there is much to be gained from Reed’s synthesis. As stated above, this book lacks nothing in ambition. For the most part, it succeeds and is a most welcome addition to Enochic scholarship