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## The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.

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**I**N writing the article "Demons, Angels, and Spirits (Hebrew)" for Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, considerable material was gathered on the names of individual spirits which the scope of the article — a part of an article on the spirits of all nations — made it impossible to use. The material is, accordingly, presented here.

In the earlier time the various angels and demons in which the Hebrews believed were not sufficiently personal to bear individual names. Apart from Satan, Azazel, Rahab, Leviathan, and, possibly, Lilith, we find only names for classes of beings. A great change is traceable in the literature of the second century B.C. and the centuries which followed. Proper names were then bestowed upon many spirits both good and bad. Two of these names, Gabriel and Michael, occur in the Book of Daniel (8 16 10 13. 21), but the apocryphal literature affords a considerable number.

The following is an alphabetical list of the good angels whose names are given in the various books:

**Adnârel** (according to Schwab<sup>1</sup> = אֲדִנְיָאֵל = אֲדִנְיָאֵל, 'my Lord is God'), an angel who, as second in rank, controls a fourth of the year or one of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 14). The name is a variant of *Narel* (see below), which appears in the same context.

**Arsyalalyur**, an angel who, according to Dillmann's text of En. 10 1, was sent to Enoch with a message from God. One MS reads *Asrêlyēr*, and the Greek texts read *Istrael* and *Ouriel*. The name is, therefore, a corruption of *Israel* or *Uriël*.

<sup>1</sup> *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie*, Paris, 1897, p. 42.

**Asfael**, an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20); probably a corruption of *Joseph-ēl*, 'God adds' (or 'repeats'),<sup>2</sup> or 'increase of God.'

**Berekeel**, an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17). The name means 'my blessing is God' or 'my blessing is God.'

**Fanuel**, an angel who presides over penitence and the hope of eternal life (Eth. En. 40 9), who administers punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), and who is one of the four archangels of the throne (40 2. 9. 10 71 7-13). The name is a corruption of *Penuel* (see below).

**Gidaiyal** or **Gedael**, meaning 'fortune of God' or 'divine good fortune' — an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

**Gabriel**, 'man of God' or 'hero of God.' He is a good angel, who explains visions to Daniel (Dan. 8 16 10 4 ff.) (Eth. En. 9 1), an archangel (Slav. En. 21 3), one of the four angels of the throne (Eth. En. 40 2. 9. 10, 71 7-13, Sib. Or. ii, 215), is over the serpent, Paradise and the cherubim (Eth. En. 20 7), is over all powers (40 9), is an angel of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3). He conducted Enoch into God's presence when Enoch became an angel (Slav. En. 21).

**Heel** (*i.e.* *hai-ēl*, 'life of God'), an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

**Helemmelek** (*i.e.* *h<sup>a</sup>lammelek*, 'is it for the king?' or, according to Halévy, corrupted from אֱלֵמֶלֶךְ), an angel who rules three months of the year, or one season (Eth. En. 82 13).

**Helayaseph** or **Hiluyaseph** (*i.e.* *hal<sup>e</sup>yôseph*, 'is it for increase?'), an angel of one of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17).<sup>3</sup>

**Iyasusael** (*i.e.* *yasus-ēl*, 'may God exult'), an angel of a fourth part of the year (Eth. En. 82 14).

**Iyelumiel** or **Elomeel** (perhaps a corruption of *'alônē-ēl*, 'trees of God'), an angel of a fourth of the year (Eth. En. 82 14).

**Keel** (*i.e.* *ke-ēl*, 'like God'), an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

**Kesbeel** or **Kasbeel** (probably a corruption of *kebes-ēl*, 'fuller of God' or 'cleanser of God'), an angel who reminded others of their oaths (Eth. En. 69 13).

**Meleyal** (*i.e.* *malē-ēl*, 'fullness of God'),<sup>4</sup> an angel who rules three months of the year (Eth. En. 82 13).

**Milkiel** (Eth. En. 82 13), corrupted to *Melkeyal* (v. 15), an angel who rules the summer months. His name means 'my king is God.' He was also called '*Tamaani*,' and 'sun' (Eth. En. 82 15).

**Michael** (*i.e.* 'who is like God?'), the guardian angel of Israel (Dan. 10 13. 21). He is one of the good angels (Eth. En. 9 1), one of the four angels of the throne (40 2. 9. 10, 71 7-13, Sib. Or. ii, 215), is set over the ser-

<sup>2</sup> According to Schwab, p. 68 = אֱלֵאֵל, 'angel of reunion.'

<sup>3</sup> Schwab, *op. cit.* p. 58, אֱלֵיִם.

<sup>4</sup> According to Schwab, *op. cit.*, 172, 'God fills [the world].'

pent Semyaza and the host of evil angels to punish them (Eth. En. 10 11), is accordingly accounted one of the angels of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), is set over the best portions of men and peoples (20 5), is slow to anger (40 9), commands another angel (60 4. 9. 11), discusses fallen angels (67 11), talks to other angels (68 4 69 14), conducts Enoch to Paradise (24 6), talks with him (60 5), takes Enoch to God, disrobes Enoch of his earthly garments, and puts on him his angelic clothing (Slav. En. 22 6 ff.).

**Narel** (*i.e.* 'light of God'), an angel who rules three months of the year (Eth. En. 82 13).

**Penuel**, one of the four angels of the throne (Sib. Or. ii, 215). His name, 'face of God,' is taken from Gen. 32 31, and is most appropriate to an angel who stands near to God. In the Enoch literature the name is corrupted to *Fanuel*.

**Rafael** (*i.e.* 'healer of God'), one of the four angels of the throne (Sib. Or. ii, 215). He was sent to heal Tobit's blindness, to give Sarah to Tobit, and to bind Asmodæus (Tob. 3 17). He goes with the young Tobias (Tob. 5 4-6. 21), teaches him to drive away an evil spirit (Tob. 6), is obeyed by Tobias as to the demon (Tob. 8 2 ff.), is sent by Tobias to Media (Tob. 9 1 ff.), on his return opened Tobit's eyes (Tob. 11 2 ff., 7 ff.), and finally revealed his identity (Tob. 12 15).

**Raguel**, an angel who took vengeance on the earth and luminaries (Eth. En. 20 4). The occurrence of his name in Eth. En. 23 4 instead of *Rufael*, shows that it is a corruption of that name.

**Ramiel** (*i.e.* 'my high one is God,' or, if the first element was *rahām*, 'my compassionate one is God'), a good angel who presides over true visions (Apoc. Bar. 55 3 63 6). The Enoch apocalypses regard Ramiel as one of the fallen angels or demons. His presence in Baruch in a good character shows that the traditions were not uniform.

**Rufael** (a variant form of *Rafael*<sup>5</sup>), a good angel (Eth. En. 10 4 13 1), one of the four angels of the throne (Eth. En. 40 9 71 7-13) who acts as Enoch's conductor (22 3. 6 32 6). He is an angel of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), and was set over the sicknesses and wounds of men (cf. 40). He is said once to have talked with Michael concerning fallen angels (68 4).

**Suryan**, according to Dillmann's Ethiopic text one of the good angels (Eth. En. 9 1). The name is a corruption of *Rafael* as the Gr. text and better Ethiopic MSS show.

**Uriel** (*i.e.* 'light of God,' or 'my light is God'). He spoke to Enoch (Eth. En. 19 1), and afterward became his conductor (21 5. 9 33 3); he revealed to Enoch various astronomical secrets (72 1 74 2 75 3 79 6 80 1 82 7). He presides over thunder and trembling (20 2). He was sent at various times to Ezra (2 Es. 4 1 7 1 10 28. 29), and talked with him at various times, answering his questions (4 26. 36 5 15. 20 10 30 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> *Rufael* (*i.e.* *Rôfael*) is the Hebrew form; *Rafael*, the Aramaic.

**Uryan**, a good angel (Eth. En. 9 1). The name is a corruption of *Uriel*. Charles emends the text to *Uriel*.

**Zalbesael** or **Zēlbeseēl**, one of the angels of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17). Perhaps the name is a corruption of *zalpath-ēl*, 'God's sprinkler.' He would then be the angel of the rainy season. Schwab, *op. cit.*, 123, explains it as לֵב־שֵׁאל, *Zeh-lebh-she-ēl*, 'here is the heart of God.'

**Zutel** or **Zotiel**, a guardian of Paradise (Eth. En. 32 2). Perhaps the first element of the name is to be connected with the Aramaic *zûṭ*. The name would then mean 'little one of God.'

The conceptions of **Demons** which appear in the Apocryphal literature are of four distinct types. Two of these regard the arch-demons as fallen angels, but in one type this angelic genesis of demons is much more prominent than in the other. In the canonical literature Satan was regarded as one of the number of the Divine beings who formed Jahweh's court (Job 1. 2). The steps by which in the canonical literature he became the great opposer of good may easily be traced.<sup>6</sup> In one type of Apocryphal thought Satan became the arch-demon, who tempted man and led him astray (see Wis. 2 24 and Slav. En. 3 31). These writers simply took Satan over from the canonical literature, and his semi-Divine or angelic origin apparently was forgotten. The author of Wisdom apparently moved in an atmosphere of philosophic thought in which neither angels nor demons played any considerable part. The author of Slavonic Enoch, though he makes much of angels, has almost nothing to say of demons. He probably believed in them, but the interest of his narrative led him to place the emphasis elsewhere. These writers call Satan by the Gr. tr. of his name, *Diabolos*, or 'devil.' They identify him with the serpent of Eden, and account for the origin of sin by his agency in leading man astray.

The authors of Eth. En. 1-36 and of the Enoch Parables (En. 37-70) represent a different type. They are much more keenly interested in tracing the origin of demons and of evil. Instead of taking one arch-demon from the canonical literature, they go back to the narrative of Gen. 6 2-4, and account for the origin of demons and of sin by elaborat-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *e.g.* Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iv, 597 ff.

ing the hint there given. Persian dualism had sufficiently influenced their thought, so that matter was to them corrupt. That angels should come to earth and have connexion with human wives implied, they thought, a previous rebellion and sin on the part of the angels. The hint which supplied the point of departure for this view was probably given by the story of Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job. These angelic hosts who sinned were numerous, but they were led by certain archangels, whose names are given somewhat differently by the two writers. These with their followers landed on Mount Hermon, and after satisfying themselves with human wives taught men various sins. One taught enchantments, another astrology, another the making of swords, another the art of abortion, and another that of writing. The one who taught the use of coats of mail and of swords also seduced Eve (cf. Eth. En. 6-9 and 69). These writers, like the author of the J document of the Hexateuch, regard the arts of civilization as having had a common origin with sin. Among the names of these arch-demons the canonical names of Satan and Azazel are found (see the list below), but these play a comparatively small part. The rôle of Azazel is more prominent than that of Satan. The larger number of these angels (and to these are attributed the most hurtful influences) are called by names not found in the canonical literature. What these names are and how they originated is pointed out in the alphabetical list of demons below. It appears from these names that many of them were called by names appropriate to angels. The degradation of these names to demons was in accord with the theory that they were fallen angels. In one passage (Eth. En. 21 6) they are identified with the stars. Having introduced sin into the world, these fallen angels were regarded as the presiding geniuses of various forms of transgression and corruption. They were themselves, however, thought to be already undergoing punishment. They were bound and were being tormented by a great fire (Eth. En. 21 5-10 54 1-5).

The Book of Tobit represents a third type of thought. In

it but one demon appears, — *Asmodæus*, — and he is clearly, as his name implies, of Persian origin. The author of this book had so come under Persian influence, probably by living in the East, that its demonology or demonological vocabulary influenced him more than did that of the canonical, or even the apocryphal, writings of his people.

A fourth type of thought is represented by *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *the Ascension of Isaiah*. In these works the demonology, while very real and all pervasive, is made up in a rational way, and such contact as it has with canonical thought is at quite a different angle of that thought. The world is thought to be pervaded by evil spirits, but these spirits are simply the personification of the evil propensities of man, — jealousy, lust, pride, chicanery, injustice, rapacity, etc. Writers who thus made evil spirits of the sinful tendencies of men about them moved in a somewhat different realm of thought from those who connected these evil spirits with the story of Gen 6 2-4, and gave to these spirits orthodox Hebrew names. Over this mass of evil spirits the two writers under consideration believed that *Beliar* presided. *Beliar* to them takes the place of the devil in *Wisdom* and *the Secrets of Enoch*, of *Semyaza* in the other *Enoch* books, and of *Asmodæus* in *Tobit*. *Beliar* is a form of *Belial*. *Belial* had been used by Nah. 2 1 (1 15) as the name of a great evil power. Possibly *Belial* was an old name for *Sheol*, though that is uncertain. If it were so, it is easy to see why these writers took it as the name of the prince and leader of all evil and destructive spirits.

To most of the Jews of the period, as indeed to most of the men of that time, the world was full of supernatural agencies. As there were angels to accomplish every good act, so there were demons or evil spirits to perpetrate every evil deed or to prompt every sinful impulse. Some of the writers, however, manifest no trace of this demonology; such are *Ben Sira* and the authors of the *Books of Maccabees*. The subject-matter of *Sirach* as well as the philosophical point of view of *Ben Sira* excluded any reference to them, while the author of *1 Mac.* had probably come suffi-

ciently under incipient Sadduceeism so that demons had little or no place in his thought. To most men, however, demons in one form or another were very real, and played an important part in life.

The various fallen angels and demons mentioned in the literature, together with the functions assigned to each, are as follows :

**Akibeel** was, according to Dillmann's Ethiopic text, one of the arch-demons who led the hosts of revolting angels that married human wives (Eth. En. 6 7). The Gr. and Charles's Eth. text read *Kokabel* (see below). The name is a corruption of *Kokabel*.

**Amezarak** (Dillmann), **Amiziras** (Charles), is the angel who taught conjurers and root-cutters their arts (Eth. En. 8 3). The Gr. text reads *Semiazas*, and the name is undoubtedly a corruption of *Semyaza* (see below).

**Ananel** (Eth. *Khananel*, 'favor of God'), one of the arch-demons who brought sin to earth (Eth. En. 69 2).

**Anani**, according to Dillmann's text one of the arch-demons who descended on Mount Hermon (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Ananel*, of which the name is in any case a corruption.

**Arazyal** (a corruption of *Sahariel*,<sup>7</sup> 'my moon is God') was one of the arch-demons who came to earth and married human wives (Eth. En. 6 7).

**Aristiqifa** (Dillmann), **Artaqifa** (Charles), one of the arch-demons who descended to earth and brought sin (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is probably a corruption of *Arakab*, 'rider,'<sup>8</sup> from Heb. *rākāb*.

**Armaros**, one of the archangels who fell (Eth. En. 6 7). He taught men conjurations (8 3). Dillmann thought the name a corruption of the Heb. *herem*, 'something devoted.' Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, takes it to be *רזרז*, 'he consecrates a mystery.' Charles, *Enoch*, 1912, p. 16, derives it from *רזרז*, an incantation.

**Armen**, one of the leaders of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is evidently a corruption, but whether of *Ramiel*, which occurs in 6 7, or of *Arakiel*, which occurs in a Gr. text, it is difficult to say. If *Arakiel* is the name, it is perhaps a corruption of *Baraqel* (see below). Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, would derive it from the Aramaic *אֲרִיקָאֵל*, 'God's earth.' This is very improbable.

<sup>7</sup> So Charles, *Eth. Version of the Book of Enoch*, 1893, pp. 14 ff., n. 23. In the *Book of Enoch*, 1912, he emends the name to *Sariël*.

<sup>8</sup> Charles, *Eth. Version*, p. 227. Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, derives it from the Aramaic *אֲרִיכָב*, 'he causes to ride,' 'the charioteer.'



**Armors** (Dillmann), **Armārōs** (Charles), a leader of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). Probably the same name as *Armaros* (see above). One form of the Gr. makes it *Arearos*, as though from the Heb. 'ārar, 'to curse.'

**Asael** (Heb. 'asahēl, 'God has created') was one of the leaders of the evil angels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name was borne by one of David's nephews (cf. 2 S. 23 24 2 18 ff.).

**Asbeel** (לשבת, 'thought of God'), one of the archangels of evil, who led good angels to unite with women (Eth. En. 69 5). The name may possibly be a variant of *Asael* or *Azazel*.

**Asmodæus** (from Pers. *Aeshma-daeva*,<sup>9</sup> 'evil deity or spirit'), an evil spirit who had connection with a certain Sara, and who killed seven husbands as soon as they had married her (To. 3 8). He was bound by the angel Rafael (3 17), and finally, by Rafael's directions, driven away (8 2 ff.).

**Asradel** (Dillmann), **Asderel** (Charles), one of the evil angels who taught men the course of the moon. Charles<sup>10</sup> holds that the name is a corruption of *Sahariel*.

**Azazel** (supposed to mean 'entire removal' *BDB*), one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). Probably originally לזאזל, 'strong one of God.' He is the wilderness demon of the canonical literature. He taught mankind metal work (8 1. 2) and wickedness (9 6 10 8). He is told by Enoch that he should have no peace (13 1); chains are prepared for him and his hosts, that they may be bound and cast into the abyss (54 5). He is to be judged by the Messiah (55 4).

**Baraq'āl** (Dillmann), **Barāqāyāl** (Charles), (better with some MSS *Baraqel*, i.e. 'lightning of God'), the evil angel who taught astrologers their arts (Eth. En. 8 8).

**Baraqel**, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is the true form of the preceding one.

**Basasael** (Dillmann), **Basasaēyal** (Charles), one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The form of the name in Greek (Σαμύλ or Σεμύλ) suggests that it is a corruption of *bešami'el*, 'in the name of God.'

**Bat'raal** (Eth. En. 69 2, *Bataryal*), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Charles's text makes the name *Batarel*. It is, I think, a corruption of *bethū'el*, which is in turn a corruption of *methū'el*, 'man of God.'<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 150.

<sup>10</sup> *Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> The derivation of Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie*, p. 90, and Schmidt (*Harper Memorial*, ii, 344), בחראל, 'hinder part of God,' is most improbable.

**Behemoth**, the male primeval sea-monster whose waters were embosomed with those of the female monster Leviathan to start the process of creation. The idea is borrowed from the Bab. creation epic (cf. Barton, *JAOS*, xv [1890], 17-20). Leviathan was a Heb. name for the Bab. dragon *Tiamat*. In Job 41 Leviathan had been used as a poetical name for the crocodile, some mythological features having been mingled there with the description. In connection with the crocodile an interpolator of Job had described the hippopotamus under the name Behemoth, the plural of *behēmāh*, 'cattle,' using the plural intensively. The author of the Enoch Parables, finding Behemoth associated with Leviathan in Job, concluded that Behemoth was the name of the primeval male demon-dragon.

**Beliar** (same as **Belial**, 'worthless,' Hastings' *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, [vol. ii, 458]). The chief of demons and evil spirits in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah (cf. Test. of Reuben 2 1 6 3, Simeon 5 3, Levi 19 1, Issachar 6 1 7 7, Dan 1 7 4 7 5 10, Naphtali 3 1, Joseph 7 4, and Benj. 7 1. 2; Ascen. Isa. 1 8. 9 2 4 3 11. 13 4 2. 4. 16. 18 5 1. 4. 15).

**Danel** (*i.e.* *dani-el*, 'my judge is God'), one of the troop of evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Spelled *Danyal* in 69 2.

**Devil** (*i.e.* *diabolos*, 'calumniator,' 'slanderer' — the Gr. tr. of *Satan*). The arch-demon who tempted Adam and caused him to sin in Eden (Wis. 2 24, Slav. En. 31 3). These writers identify the Devil with the serpent of Gen 3.

**Ezeqeel**, one of the host of evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The Gr. form of the name, *Ezekiel*, shows that it was originally identical with the name of a Hebrew prophet, and meant 'may God strengthen.'<sup>12</sup>

**Gadreel** (*i.e.* *gadar-ēl*, 'wall of God'),<sup>13</sup> the angel who led Eve astray, taught men murder, the use of weapons and coats of mail (Eth. En. 69 6). His functions in the Enoch parables are similar to those assigned by the first Enoch apocalypse to *Azazel*. Perhaps *Gadreel* is a corruption of *Azazel*, and its identity with a good Hebrew etymology merely accidental.

**Izezeel** (Dillmann), **Azāzēl** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is, perhaps, a corruption of *Ezeqeel*, יְהוֹקָאֵל, of the list in 6 7,<sup>14</sup> to which it corresponds. Charles takes it to be a corruption of *Azazel*.

**Kesdeya**, an evil archangel who taught men the smiting of spirits and demons, the art of abortion, etc. (Eth. En. 69 12). This is simply כְּשָׂרָא, 'Chaldaean.' The nation of astrologers (cf. Dan 2) which de-

<sup>12</sup> Schmidt's derivation (*Harper Memorial*, ii, 344), as an Aramaic compound, חַשְׁקָאֵל, 'sky of God,' is very improbable.

<sup>13</sup> Charles takes it to be עֲדַרְיָאֵל, 'God is my helper.'

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, p. 227.

stroyed Judah is here made one of the demons who fell from a high estate.

**Kokabiel** or **Kokabēl** (*i.e.* 'star of God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7 69 2). He taught men the signs (8 3).

**Leviathan**, the primitive female sea-dragon and monster of evil. See above on *Behemoth*.

**Nuqael** (Dillmann; *Neqael*, Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Ezekiel*.

**Penemue**, an evil archangel who taught men to discern bitter and sweet, wisdom and writing (Eth. En. 69 s.r.). Schwab, *op. cit.*, 223, regards it as פנימיה = 'the severe looks of God.' One MS gives the name *Tuniel*; it is probably a corruption of *Nathaniel*, 'gift of god.' Halévy and Charles take it to be פנימא, 'the inside.'

**Ramuel** (Dillmann), **Ramiel** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Perhaps from *Rahamiel*, 'my compassionate One is God,' or *Ramiel*, 'my exalted one is God.'

**Rumael**, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). Perhaps a corruption of *Rum'el*, 'height of God,' or *ram-el*, 'God is exalted,' or of the preceding name.

**Rumyal**, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2), a corrupt duplicate of the preceding.

**Samsapeel**, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name is a variant form of *Simapisiel* (see below).

**Saraqyal**, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads better, *Baraqiyal*, which makes it the same as *Baraqel* (see above).

**Sartael**, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Satarel*. It is probably a corruption of *Sathar'el*, 'covering of God.' Schmidt takes it as an Aramaic formation, meaning, 'God's side.'

**Satan**, an archangel who, having turned away with the ranks of those below him, is hurled to the abyss (Slav. En. 29 4 31 4). He is the chief of the demons (Test. Gad, 6 7). Although he is being punished (Eth. En. 53 3), the earth-dwellers are subject to him (54 6). In Eth. En. 65 3 'satans' signifies demons in general. Satan is of course taken over from the canonical books.

**Semyaza**,<sup>15</sup> the leader of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 3. 7 69 2). The name is apparently the Heb. *shemī'az*, 'my name is mighty,'<sup>16</sup> *shem* standing as in Lev. 24 11 instead of the name of God. He was the

<sup>15</sup> Also spelled *Shamiazāz*, Eth. En. 6 7 (Charles).

<sup>16</sup> Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 343 ff., derives it from the Aramaic שמיא קורר, 'he sees the name,' or, שמיא קורר, 'he surveys the heavens.'

leader (Eth. En. 9 7) of two hundred angels who united themselves to women and whose wives brought forth giants (7 1. 2).

**Simapisiel** (Dillmann), **Simipesiel** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is evidently the same which appears above as *Samsapeel*. If this is the original form of it, it was a late Hebrew compound, *Sh<sup>e</sup>ma<sup>t</sup>-pi-šē-ēl*, 'hearken to the mouth of God.'<sup>17</sup>

**Tamiel** (i.e. תמיאל, 'my perfect one is God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7).

**Temel** (Dillmann), the evil angel who taught men astrology (Eth. En. 8 3). The name is a corruption of *Tamiel*. Charles so reads it.

**Tumael**, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Tamiel*.

**Tarel**, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Turel* (see below). Charles reads it *Turel*.

**Turel** (Dillmann), **Turuel** (Charles), (i.e. Aram. *ṭūr-el*, 'mount of God,' or, Heb. *ṣūr-ēl*, 'rock of God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Schwab, *op. cit.*, 264, regards it as תוראיל, 'powerful beauty.' This is improbable. Charles regards it as a corruption of *Tamiel*.

**Turyal**, according to Dillmann's text one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). Charles reads the name *Turel*, which makes it the same as the preceding, of which it was doubtless a corruption.

**Urakibameel**, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Arakibaramiel*. A comparison of 69 2 shows that here the names of two angels have been blended into one. The two angels were *Arakib* ('rider'?) and *Ramiel*.<sup>18</sup>

**Yatreel**, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Sathar-el*, 'covering of God'; cf. *Sartael* of ch. 6 7.

**Yeḡon**, an archangel of evil who led astray all children of angels (Eth. En. 69 4). One MS reads the name *Qoyen*, i.e. *Cain*. This probably points to the real origin of the name. The first murderer was made a demon.

**Yomyael**, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name is a corruption of *Rumael*, which stands in the text of 69 2—itsself a corruption of *Rami-el*, 'my high or compassionate one is God.' Charles takes it as ימיאל, 'day of God.'

**Zaqebe**, according to Dillmann's text one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Zaqiel*. The name is a corruption of *Ezekiel*.

As Charles had pointed out (*Ethiopic Version of the Book*

<sup>17</sup> Schmidt, *ibid.*, takes this to be a corruption of שמשאל, 'God's sun.' Charles, as שמיאל, with the same meaning.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 227. Also his *Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. 16.

of *Enoch*, 227 ff.), the lists of evil angels in the earliest Enoch apocalypse and the Parables (Eth. En. 67 69 2) go back to the same original. That original list the present writer would reconstruct as follows: Shemiaz, Arakab, Raḥamiel (or Ramiel), Kokabel, Tamiel, Daniel, Ezekiel, Baraqel, Asahel (afterward confused with Azazel), Ḥerem, Ḥananel, Shemapishael, Satharel, Turel, and Sahariel. Raḥamiel (or Ramiel) and Ezekiel were used twice over. This probably occurred through variations in the spelling which gave rise to doublets. Some of the others in our alphabetic list arose from other variant spellings of this original list.