

Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Volume I

Sources from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam

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Preface

“He (i.e., Enoch) is associated with many wonders, and he also has a famous book. It is unnecessary to recount the marvels connected with him in this place.”¹

This book—*Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Sources from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*—represents the public form of a research project begun over twenty-five years ago under the title “The Recovery of the Enochic Library.” Its initial objective was twofold: (1) to assemble the multitudinous citations of and references to writings attributed to the biblical antediluvian forefather Enoch in post-biblical Jewish, Christian, and Muslim literary sources (ranging in age from roughly the third century BCE up through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries CE) into one convenient collection; and (2) to compare, classify, and analyze these references and citations in order to develop a clearer picture of the scope and range of the “Enochic library,” or the entire corpus of works attributed to Enoch and his subsequent interreligious avatars. As first conceived, the intent of the project was to focus primarily upon those sources which explicitly mentioned or quoted from Enochic books, but the numerous allusions within these literatures to specific characters, motifs, and themes of an indubitably Enochic pedigree inevitably led to the expansion of the project’s parameters so as to also embrace passages from the aforementioned literatures which betray an acquaintance with the extant Enochic materials of Second Temple Jewish and early Roman Jewish and Christian provenance. This allows the inclusion not only of those later testimonia which display knowledge of particular Enochic literary themes (e.g., the story about the descent of the Watchers), but also those sources whose representation of the character of Enoch approximates the distinctive *curriculum vitae* assigned to him in early works like *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, or *Jubilees*.

As a result, the complete work divides conveniently into two parts. The present volume, Volume 1, is devoted to textual traditions about the narratological career of the character Enoch: the distinctive epithets frequently paired with his name, his cultural achievements, his societal roles, his interactions with the celestial world, his eventual fate, and the various identities he assumes outside the purely biblical world of discourse within other discursive networks and intellectual circles. Volume 2, currently under preparation, will feature those

¹ Ms. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. arab. 243, as cited by Ernst Trumpp, ed., *Gadla 'Adām: Der Kampf Adams* (Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 15.3; München: Verlag der K. Akademie, 1881), 120 n. 5.

sources which arguably display a knowledge of the contents of extant Enochic literature, including but not limited to *1 Enoch* (the Ethiopic Book of Enoch). Within both volumes, the separate chapters are arranged thematically and then sub-divided according to subject or motif. The sources appear in roughly chronological order, from oldest to youngest regardless of language or religious affiliation. Critical analysis or assessment of the citations has been deliberately minimized in order to invite readers to think about these texts and their various interconnections in new ways. Abbreviations of primary sources, learned journals, and monographic series follow for the most part the system established by *The SBL Handbook of Style*.

The long gestation period for this project has naturally occasioned a number of debts and obligations which I owe and now want to acknowledge before the wider scholarly community. First I want to thank my co-author, Annette Yoshiko Reed, who has encouraged me and cheerfully labored together with me on this lengthy work for approximately the past fifteen years; her sagacious contributions to the final form of the book are quite simply incalculable. Two scholars who took a keen interest in this project from its earliest days, William Adler and Steven M. Wasserstrom, provided me with a number of useful analytical and bibliographical suggestions. When he heard that I was beginning to assemble examples of post-biblical Enochica, James C. VanderKam forwarded to me (unsolicited!) a xerox copy of his pre-publication draft for his eventual 1996 article on "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature" (see Bibliography), an unexpected kindness for which I remain grateful. My conversations and correspondence over the years with two titans of Enochic scholarship, Michael E. Stone and George W. E. Nickelsburg, have helped mold the shape and the substance of this work. Research on various facets of this project was supported by major fellowships from the Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania (fall 2007) and the American Council of Learned Societies (fall 2015), and facilitated at an early stage by grants from the Society of Biblical Literature (1992), Winthrop University (1993–4), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (summer 1994). Since 1996 I have been indebted to the Blumenthal Foundation for its continuing generous financial support of my research and teaching efforts in Jewish and cognate studies at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. And last, but not least, I want to voice a special note of gratitude to the editorial staff at Oxford University Press for their extraordinary patience while awaiting the final delivery of this manuscript.

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Introduction

Across the ancient and medieval literature of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam one finds references to the antediluvian sage Enoch. The only biblical notice about Enoch is brief and cryptic, placing him the seventh in the line from Adam and recounting his mysterious removal from human society (Gen 5:21–4). Perhaps partly as a result, traditions soon flourished about his escape from death and his otherworldly travels.¹ By the third century BCE, Enochic lore had found extensive written expression in Aramaic. Enoch, in fact, is the subject of two of the oldest known Jewish books outside of the Hebrew Bible: the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 1–36) and the *Astronomical Book* (1 En. 72–82).² These books claim to record Enoch's own words and writings about what he saw in heaven and at the ends of the earth, his knowledge of the cosmos and celestial cycles, and his interactions with heavenly and fallen angels (cf. Gen 6:1–4).³

The *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book* are themselves reservoirs of even older lore, including some materials with connections to ancient Near

¹ For a survey of early traditions about the figure of Enoch, see James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).

² See now George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2001), 129–332 on the *Book of the Watchers*, as well as 9–17 for a summary of the Aramaic, Greek, Syriac, and Ethiopic witnesses to it. On the *Astronomical Book*, see Henryk Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2012), 334–574.

³ On the knowledge attributed to Enoch in these early works, see Kelly Coblenz Baultch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: "No One Has Seen What I Have Seen"* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 1 Enoch 6–16," in Ra'anan S. Boustán and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004b), 47–66; Jonathan Ben-Dov and Seth L. Sanders, eds., *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Judaism* (ISAW Series; New York: New York University Press, 2014). The *Book of the Watchers*, in particular, also contains early examples of some of the hallmarks of apocalyptic literature, such as heavenly ascent, angelic hierarchies, revelatory frame-narratives, and detailed concern for the post-mortem and eschatological fate of humankind; see further, e.g., John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 43–62; Michael E. Stone, "Enoch and Apocalyptic Origins," in Paul D. Hanson, ed., *Visionaries and their Apocalypses* (IRT 4; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 92–100; Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Eastern mythology and Babylonian divination and sciences.⁴ In turn, the oldest Enochic books were influential in the growth of a distinctive discourse about the antediluvian era. In the Second Temple period, a common perception developed wherein Enoch was considered to be an exemplary righteous individual who was transported to heaven and granted access to divine secrets regarding the governance of the cosmos, the progression of history, and the final judgment of the created order. Enoch was associated, moreover, with the rebuke of angelic Watchers who sinned by taking human wives, teaching secret knowledge to humankind, and siring Giants whose disembodied spirits now roam the earth as demons.

Both the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book* were long known from their Ethiopic versions, which are preserved as part of *Maṣḥafa Hēnok Nābiy* (“Book of Enoch the Prophet”)—an Enochic compendium known in the West as “1 Enoch.”⁵ Since the discovery of Aramaic fragments among the Dead Sea Scrolls, these books have attracted renewed attention as important sources for ancient Judaism.⁶

Among the results has been the recognition of the surprisingly long and varied tradition surrounding Enoch. Within 1 Enoch alone, for instance, we find evidence for intensive literary creativity. The two books from the third century BCE are here anthologized with materials attributed to Enoch from the second century BCE, such as the *Book of Dreams* (1 En. 83–90) and *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En. 91–108), together with the possibly first-century *Parables of Enoch* (1 En. 37–71).⁷ This compendium

⁴ Pierre Grelot, “La géographie mythique d’Hénoch et ses sources orientales,” *RB* 65 (1958a): 33–69; Paul D. Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 195–233; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984); Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988); Matthias Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994); Mark J. Geller, “New Documents from the Dead Sea: Babylonian Science in Aramaic,” in Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, and Sharon Keller, eds, *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (JSOTSup 273; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 224–9; Henryk Drawnel, “Some Notes on Scribal Craft and the Origins of the Enochic Literature,” *Henocho* 31 (2009): 66–72; Henryk Drawnel, “Between Akkadian *tupšarrutu* and Aramaic *spr*: Some Notes on the Social Context of the Early Enochic Literature,” *RevQ* 24 (2010): 373–403.

⁵ That is, as chapters 1–36 and 72–82 respectively. The *Book of the Watchers* is also partially extant in a Greek MS (c. fifth century CE; Codex Panopolitanus) as well as in excerpts preserved by the Byzantine chronographer George Syncellus. The Aramaic, Greek, and Ge’ez versions of the *Book of the Watchers* correspond relatively closely, while the extant Aramaic and Ge’ez versions of the *Astronomical Book* are notably divergent, and only a small possible fragment of a Greek version survives.

⁶ i.e., 4Q201–202, 4Q204–205, 4Q208–211. Aramaic fragments of these and other Enochic books were first published in J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). The full array of Aramaic evidence for the *Astronomical Book*, however, was not available until E. J. C. Tigchelaar and F. García Martínez’s publication of 4Q208–209 in Stephen J. Pfann and Philip Alexander, eds, *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 95–131.

⁷ For varying assessment of the formation of 1 Enoch itself, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 21–8; Devorah Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *VT* 33 (1983): 14–29; Annette Yoshiko Reed, “The Textual Identity, Literary History, and Social Setting of 1 Enoch: Reflections on

thus preserves some of the process by which the cosmological, angelological, and demonological interests of the earliest stage of Enochic tradition came to be expanded to embrace historical, eschatological, and ethical concerns as well.

Yet *1 Enoch* reflects only a selection of the Second Temple texts and traditions surrounding Enoch. Fragments of the *Book of Giants*, for instance, were discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls and bear intriguing connections to later Manichaean and Jewish traditions about Enoch's interactions with the sons of the fallen angels.⁸ An apocalypse of possibly Egyptian Jewish origin, *2 Enoch*, survives in Slavonic and Coptic translations, and claims to report on Enoch's journeys through multiple heavens.⁹ An apocalypse of possibly Byzantine Christian origins, *Vision of Enoch the Just*, survives in Armenian and predicts the end-times.¹⁰ One late Hekhalot text, *Sefer Hekhalot* or *3 Enoch*, attests continued interest in Enoch among late antique Jews, recounting Enoch's transformation into the exalted angel Metatron.¹¹

George Nickelsburg's Commentary on *1 Enoch* 1–36; 81–108," ARG 5 (2003): 279–96; Michael A. Knibb, "Christian Adoption and Transmission of Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of *1 Enoch*," JSJ 32 (2001): 396–415; Michael A. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch or Books of Enoch? The Textual Evidence for *1 Enoch*," in Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, eds, *The Early Enoch Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 21–40; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007a), 5–15. On the puzzling *Parables of Enoch*, see the contributions collected in Gabriele Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).

⁸ John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, eds, *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (WUNT 360; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

⁹ For up-to-date bibliography and discussion of *2 Enoch*, see Andrei A. Orlov and Gabriele Boccaccini, eds, *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (Studia Judaeslavica 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012). For the Coptic fragments, see Joost L. Hagen, "No Longer 'Slavonic' Only: 2 Enoch Attested in Coptic from Nubia," in Orlov and Boccaccini, eds, *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch*, 7–34. On the Slavonic manuscripts, see Grant Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch* (Studia Judaeslavica 6; Leiden: Brill, 2013). For an assessment of the Egyptian Jewish provenance of *2 Enoch*, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, "2 Enoch and the Trajectories of Jewish Cosmology: From Mesopotamian Astronomy to Greco-Egyptian Philosophy in Roman Egypt," JJP 22 (2014a): 1–24.

¹⁰ See Jacques Issaverdens, trans., *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian MSS of the Library of St. Lazarus* (2nd edn; Venice: Armenian Monastery of St Lazarus, 1934), 237–48, and the discussion in Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of the Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), 299; Anders Hultgård, "The Vision of Enoch the Just and Medieval Apocalypses," in Valentina Calzolari Bouvier, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, and Bernard Outtier, eds, *Apocryphes arméniens: Transmission-traduction-création-icônographie* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 1999), 156–8; Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Enoch in Armenian Apocrypha," in Kevork B. Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta, eds, *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective* (SVTP 25; Leiden: Brill, 2014b), 149–87; cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 116–17. See now, more broadly, Michael E. Stone, "Some Texts on Enoch in the Armenian Tradition," in Jeffrey Stackert, Barbara Neveling Porter, and David P. Wright, eds, *Gazing on the Deep: Ancient Near Eastern and Other Studies in Honor of Tsvi Abusch* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2010a), 517–30.

¹¹ On so-called *3 Enoch*, see Philip S. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," JJS 28 (1977): 156–80; Philip S. Alexander, "3 Enoch and the Talmud," JSJ 18 (1987):

The decades since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls have seen a renaissance in the study of Enochic literature. Even today, however, few scholars have attempted to correlate their studies of the surviving literature with analysis of the wealth of later citations and allusions to Enoch and his writings. The reason is largely logistical. Such references are spread across a remarkably broad range of religious traditions, literary corpora, and languages. At present, there is no single guide to them. The wide diffusion of Enochic texts and traditions signals their unique significance for understanding the intertwined religious cultures of the late antique and medieval Near East. Yet it also poses a practical challenge: in order to utilize these later references and allusions, scholars must consult texts of diverse languages in a variety of print and manuscript resources, many of which are not readily available in convenient form.

The aim of the present volume is to provide a comprehensive set of core references for easy and accessible consultation. In creating such a resource, it is our hope that the rich afterlives of Enochic texts and traditions can be studied more thoroughly by scholars of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity as well as by scholars of late antique and medieval religions. Specialists in the Second Temple period—the era in which Enochic literature first appears—will be able to trace (or discount) the survival of Enochic motifs and mythemes within Jewish literary circles from late antiquity into the Middle Ages, thereby shedding light on the trajectories of Jewish apocalypticism and its possible intersections with Jewish mysticism.¹² Students of Near Eastern esotericism and Hellenistic philosophies will have further data for exploring the origins of “gnosticism” and its possible impact upon sectarian currents in Judaism,

40–68; Annette Yoshiko Reed, “From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azazel: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7–8) and the Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch,” *JSQ* 8 (2001): 1–32; Daniel Boyarin, “Beyond Judaisms: Metatron and the Divine Polymorphy of Ancient Judaism,” *JSJ* 41 (2010): 323–65; Peter Schäfer, *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 103–49; Klaus Herrmann, “Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium,” in Ra’anan S. Boustán, Martha Himmelfarb, and Peter Schäfer, eds, *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia* (TSAJ 153; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 85–139.

¹² For the debate, see Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); Moshe Idel, “Enoch Is Metatron,” *Immanuel* 24–5 (1990): 220–40; Martha Himmelfarb, “Heavenly Ascent and the Relationship of the Apocalypses and the Hekhalot Literature,” *HUCA* 59 (1988): 73–100; Martha Himmelfarb, “Merkavah Mysticism since Scholem: Rachel Elior’s *The Three Temples*,” in Peter Schäfer, ed., *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs Kolloquien 65; München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006b), 19–36; Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004); Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); Philip S. Alexander, “What Happened to the Jewish Priesthood after 70?” in Zuleika Rodgers, Margaret Daly-Denton, and Anne Fitzpatrick McKinley, eds, *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Seán Freyne* (JSJSupp 132; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–34; Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Categorization, Collection, and the Construction of Continuity: 1 Enoch and 3 Enoch in and beyond ‘Apocalypticism’ and ‘Mysticism,’” *MTR* 29 (2017): 268–311.

Christianity, and Islam.¹³ Those interested in the intellectual symbiosis among Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Middle Ages—and especially in the transmission of the ancient sciences associated with Hermeticism (e.g., astrology, theurgy, divinatory techniques, alchemy, angelology, demonology)—will be able to view a chain of tradition reconstructed in its entirety for the first time in textual form.¹⁴ In the process, we hope to provide historians of religion with a new tool for assessing the intertextual relationships between different religious corpora and for understanding the intertwined histories of the major religious communities of the ancient and medieval Near East.

RECOVERING THE ENOCHIC LIBRARY

In light of the current status of *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch* in the modern West—as “non-canonical” books often categorized as “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha”—it might be tempting to dismiss Enochic books as “esoteric” or to limit their influence to the periods prior to the closing of Jewish and Christian biblical canons. Yet the continued significance of Enochic texts and traditions is suggested by the dazzling scope and variety of ancient and medieval references to them. Texts in a broad array of languages—including Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic—integrate motifs or mythemes from known Enochic books. In addition, direct references to words, “prophecies,” or “books” of Enoch can be found across a broad continuum of writings created by Jews, Christians, Muslims, Manichaeans, and “gnostics.”

Premodern estimates of Enoch’s literary productivity ranged from the early Muslim tradent Wahb b. Munabbih’s “thirty scrolls” to *2 Enoch*’s 360 or 366 books. However fantastical these claims, they point to widespread familiarity with Enochic materials. Only a few indubitably Enochic “books” survive today. From the ancient and medieval testimonies to Enoch’s loquacity, however, it seems probable that texts like *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch* represent only a small portion of what was once a much larger tradition.¹⁵ For many centuries, both old and new Enochic writings appear to have circulated in various forms among

¹³ John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

¹⁴ Steven M. Wasserstrom, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Muslim Literature: A Bibliographical and Methodological Sketch,” in John C. Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994c), 87–114; Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁵ So already Jonas Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, “The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch,” *Numen* 26 (1979): 89–103; see also Pierre Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” *RB* 82 (1975): 481–500.

Jews, Christians, Muslims, and others—together with other oral and written expressions of distinctively Enochic traditions about Enoch, the fallen angels, and the Giants.¹⁶ Even after the exclusion of “books of Enoch” from the Jewish Tanakh and most Christian Old Testaments—and even despite efforts to marginalize materials associated with Enoch by some rabbis and church fathers—materials related to Enoch remained remarkably widespread, traveling across credal and community boundaries in the Near East and beyond, throughout the first millennium of the Common Era.¹⁷

The popularity, scope, and diffusion of Enochic lore and literature were recognized even before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. After all, Enoch is the focus of perhaps the most famous example of so-called “extra-canonical” proof-texting, namely, the quotation of the *Book of the Watchers* as Scripture in the New Testament Epistle of Jude (i.e., *1 En.* 1:9 in Jude 14–15). Accordingly, Greek and Latin materials related to Enoch loomed large already in Johann Albert Fabricius’s 1713 *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*—the first publication to present Enochic excerpts and references under the rubric of “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.”¹⁸ Since then, some efforts to collect allusions and references to Enochic books have accompanied each spurt of interest in the so-called “Pseudepigrapha.” In the wake of the first modern editions, translations, and commentaries on the Ethiopic text of *1 Enoch* in the nineteenth century, for instance, Henry Lawlor gathered many of the relevant Greek and Latin materials from patristic literature.¹⁹ Likewise, after the resurgence of interest in Enoch after Milik’s 1976 publication of the Aramaic Enoch fragments, James VanderKam, William Adler, Martha Himmelfarb, and others compiled surveys of various sets of related Jewish and Christian materials.²⁰

¹⁶ On the circulation of excerpts and paraphrases of materials from *1 Enoch*, for instance, see S. P. Brock, “A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac,” *JTS* 19 (1968): 626–31; William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989).

¹⁷ William Adler, “Introduction,” in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3.4; Assen and Minneapolis: Van Gorcum and Fortress, 1996), 1–31; John C. Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library,” in John C. Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads*, 173–203; John C. Reeves, “Exploring the Afterlife of Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Medieval Near Eastern Religious Traditions: Some Initial Soundings,” *JSJ* 30 (1999a): 148–77; Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Christiani Liebezeit, 1713), 160–223. On Fabricius’s volume, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, “The Modern Invention of ‘Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,’” *JTS* 60 (2009b): 403–36; cf. also Annette Yoshiko Reed, “The Afterlives of New Testament Apocrypha,” *JBL* 133 (2015): 401–25.

¹⁹ H. J. Lawlor, “Early Citations from the Book of Enoch,” *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897): 164–225; H. J. Lawlor, “The Book of Enoch in the Egyptian Church,” *Hermathena* 30 (1904): 178–83. The first modern editions, translations, and commentaries on *1 Enoch*—by Richard Laurence, August Dillmann, R. H. Charles, and others—are discussed in detail in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 109–12.

²⁰ VanderKam, *Enoch*; James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” in VanderKam and Adler, eds, *Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 33–101; William

The present volume builds upon and synthesizes these earlier efforts. It extends and expands them, however, both in its scope and in its degree of comprehensiveness. Most collections of references to Enochic texts and traditions have focused on Christian materials, with special interest in patristic authors writing in Greek and Latin, but with little coverage of materials in Syriac and Coptic. They also have tended to end with the rise of rabbinic Judaism and the closing of the Christian biblical canon respectively. Later examples have been treated only partially or in passing, and the relevant references from Manichaeism and Islam have been relatively neglected. By contrast, this volume includes Second Temple Jewish and early Christian traditions alongside their late antique and medieval counterparts. In addition, it goes beyond Judaism and Christianity to include relevant materials from Muslim, Manichaean, and “gnostic” literature as well.

The materials that follow are the result of a systematic combing of the available manuscript and printed textual editions of those works wherein references to Enochic texts or traditions occur, or might be expected to occur. Works consulted include the Dead Sea Scrolls, so-called “Apocrypha” and “Pseudepigrapha,” other Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, and a range of Jewish and Christian interpretative literature (e.g., midrash, biblical commentaries). The New Testament, Christian apocrypha, Nag Hammadi literature, and the writings of church fathers from both western and eastern churches were also consulted. Together with Qurʾān and *tafsīr*, we have culled “tales of the prophets” (*qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) anthologies, Muslim esoteric texts (e.g., *Umm al-Kitāb*), and Christian and Muslim chronographies (e.g., Syncellus, Ṭabarī, Michael Syrus). In addition, various magical manuals and mystical treatises (e.g., Hekhalot literature, *Zohar*) have been examined. As a result, this volume offers a more representative perspective on the rich afterlives of Enochic texts and traditions within and between religions in the late antique and medieval Near East.

TRADITION AND TRANSMISSION

In recent decades, a new understanding of the dynamic interconnectivity of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam has begun to emerge as a result of renewed interest in tracing the afterlives of biblical traditions.²¹ Influential, in this regard, has been a shift away from the older scholarly obsession with “origins”

Adler, “Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978): 271–5; Martha Himmelfarb, “A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978): 259–69; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 71–108; Reed, *Fallen Angels*.

²¹ Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads*; John C. Reeves, ed., *Bible and Qurʾān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003a); Michael E. Pregill, “The Hebrew Bible and the Quran: The Problem of the Jewish ‘Influence’ on Islam,” *Religion Compass* 1 (2007): 643–59; Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblenz Bautch, and John C. Endres, S.J., eds, *The Fallen*

whereby the study of scriptures often focused on the recovery of hypothetical sources behind them. Scholars of the Hebrew Bible and specialists in ancient Judaism and Christianity have increasingly come into conversation around the trajectories of biblical interpretation and the continued lives of authoritative writings within and between religious communities. Alongside traditional source-critical, redaction-critical, and text-critical inquiries into the Torah/Pentateuch, for instance, new approaches have emerged in the attempt to recover what James Kugel has termed “the Bible as It Was”—that is, not simply the text of this or that biblical book as it came to be fixed in writing, but also the much broader array of common exegetical motifs and legends through which premodern peoples encountered the primeval and patriarchal past.²² What has emerged, in the process, is a new sense of the degree to which premodern Jews, Christians, and Muslims—as well as Samaritans, Manichaeans, “gnostics,” and others—participated in preserving and developing a common store of traditions about figures such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses.²³

So too with Enoch. The traditions associated with this figure, however, expose the limitations of modern notions of “the Bible” to capture the scope, dynamism, and complexity of premodern discourses about the biblical past.²⁴ There has been much attention, for instance, to Jewish and Christian traditions about the fallen angels in relation to the exegesis of Genesis 6.²⁵ What such studies have shown, however, is the impossibility of accounting for the history of interpretation without a sense of the ample influence of Enochic and other

Angels Traditions: Second Temple Developments and Reception History (CBQMS 53; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2014).

²² James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998b).

²³ e.g., Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); Roberto Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qurʾān and Muslim Literature* (trans. Michael Robertson; Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2002); Brannon M. Wheeler, *Moses in the Quran and Islamic Exegesis* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002a); Khalil Athamina, “Abraham in Islamic Perspective: Reflections on the Development of Monotheism in Pre-Islamic Arabia,” *Der Islam* 81 (2004): 184–205; Carol Bakhos, *Ishmael on the Border: Rabbinic Portrayals of the First Arab* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); Michael Pregill, “Isrāʾīliyyāt, Myth, and Pseudepigraphy: Wahb b. Munabbih and the Early Islamic Versions of the Fall of Adam and Eve,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34 (2008): 215–84.

²⁴ See further James E. Bowley and John C. Reeves, “Rethinking the Concept of ‘Bible’: Some Theses and Proposals,” *Henoch* 25 (2003): 3–18; John C. Reeves, “Problematising the Bible . . . Then and Now,” *JQR* 100 (2010b): 139–52.

²⁵ e.g., L. R. Wickham, “The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Genesis VI 2 in Early Christian Exegesis,” in James Barr, et al., eds, *Language and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Language and Biblical Exegesis: Papers read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference held at London, 1973* (Ostt 19; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 135–47; Ferdinand Dexinger, “Jüdisch-christliche Nachgeschichte von Genesis 6,1–4,” in Siegfried Kreuzer and Kurt Lüthi, eds, *Zur Aktualität des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für Georg Sauer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1992), 155–75; Walter H. Wagner, “Interpretations of Genesis 6.1–4 in Second-Century Christianity,” *JRH* 20 (1996): 137–56.

texts now commonly deemed “non-canonical.”²⁶ So too with Genesis 5 and traditions about Enoch, which took form from an ancient matrix of Mesopotamian traditions that continued to be developed in new ways in writings produced alongside and after what we know now as “the Bible.”²⁷

Traditions surrounding Enoch thus offer especially rich foci for tracing the transmission and transformations of traditions across religious boundaries. In light of new insights into scribal practices and textual fluidity from the biblical and related manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, it has become clear that the process of the formation of “the Bible” was much longer and more complex than previously imagined.²⁸ Likewise, the recent growth of concern for the mechanics of written and oral transmission and pedagogy among ancient Jews has re-described biblical “authorship” in continuum with interpretation, redaction, collection, and transmission—wherein oral/aural and written/visual components, moreover, often remained intertwined in various ways in various settings.²⁹ Just as these insights lead us to question the assumption of any clear line between Scripture and interpretation in relation to the Torah/Pentateuch,³⁰ so they also open the way for integrating what we know of the formation, transmission, and reception of Enochic literature into a more complete picture of the biblical past as remembered by premodern Jews, Christians, Muslims, and others.

The arrangement of the present volume is aimed at facilitating both trans-historical and comparative analysis. Rather than ordering the sources chronologically, or dividing them by religion or language, we have chosen to cluster them by theme or motif. As a result, the reader can readily see how elements of Enochic lore traveled across a variety of religious and historical settings, often redeployed in interesting new ways. Evident, thus, is the degree to which the premodern afterlives of some so-called “Pseudepigrapha” could sometimes

²⁶ So, e.g., Reed, *Fallen Angels*; Bernard J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1952); Richard Bauckham, “The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria,” *VC* 39 (1985): 313–30; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Angels’ and ‘Giants’ of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 354–77.

²⁷ i.e., inasmuch as the earliest Enochic writings predate the latest materials in the Hebrew Bible and inasmuch as they also preserve and develop even more ancient Mesopotamian traditions; see VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*.

²⁸ e.g., Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2008); David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); James E. Bowley, “Bible,” in Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible* (2 vols; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1:73–84.

²⁹ e.g., David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

³⁰ Bernard M. Levinson, “You Must Not Add Anything to What I Command You: Paradoxes of Canon and Authorship in Ancient Israel,” *Numen* 50 (2003): 1–51; Bernard M. Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

prove as rich and generative as the exegesis of texts in what we now know as “the Bible.”³¹ Here too, we find evidence for the poignant persistence of tradition even in the face of historical change and religious innovation.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

The period covered by this volume spans some of the most tumultuous eras in the history of the Near East, as well as some of the most formative periods in the development of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam as we know them. Works like the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book* took form among Jewish scribes writing in Aramaic in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great, when the land of Israel came under the rule of the Hellenistic Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies.³² Their immediate heirs—the authors of works like the “Animal Apocalypse” and “Apocalypse of Weeks” and other materials in the *Book of Dreams* and *Epistle of Enoch*—looked to Enoch for insights during and after the period of Seleucid rule, particularly in the turbulent decades surrounding the Maccabean Revolt.³³

The earliest known references to Enochic texts and traditions reflect the intellectual challenges posed by the encounter with Hellenism and Greek *paideia* in the third to second centuries BCE. Yet these traditions remained relevant even into the period of increasing Roman dominance of the Near East after the eastern campaigns of Pompey the Great and the Roman annexation of Judea in 63 BCE. In the first centuries BCE and CE, Jews continue to develop early Enochic traditions about the antediluvian era, the fallen angels, the origins of demons, the end-times, and Enoch himself. Enochic texts are preserved in multiple Aramaic copies among the Dead Sea Scrolls, in numbers greater, in fact, than most of the books that came to constitute the Hebrew Bible.³⁴ An

³¹ See the essays collected in Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads*.

³² John J. Collins, “Jewish Apocalyptic against its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment,” *BASOR* 220 (1975): 27–36.

³³ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*; Anthea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2011); Bennie H. Reynolds III, *Between Symbolism and Realism: The Use of Symbolic and Non-Symbolic Language in Ancient Jewish Apocalypses 333–63 BCE* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Daniel C. Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch: “All Nations Shall Be Blessed”* (SVTP 24; Leiden: Brill, 2013).

³⁴ See further George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Books of Enoch at Qumran: What We Know and What We Need to Think about,” in Bernd Kollmann, Wolfgang Reinbold, and Annette Steudel, eds, *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (BZnW 97; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 99–113; Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment,” in Boccaccini and Collins, eds, *The Early Enoch Literature*, 41–63; Bennie H. Reynolds, “Understanding the Demonologies of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Accomplishments and Directions for the Future,” *Religion Compass* 7 (2013):

interest in Enoch and Enochic traditions can be found in a number of the Greek texts that came to constitute the New Testament.³⁵ Beliefs about Enoch, thus, appear to be among those ideas current among multiple varieties of Jews in the first century CE—including the Palestinian Jewish sectarians known from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Egyptian Jewish philosophers like Philo of Alexandria, and the emergent movement surrounding Jesus of Nazareth.³⁶

Even when the movement surrounding Jesus became more distanced from its Galilean and Judaean roots, concern for Enoch continued. Among Gentile Christians, in fact, the figure of Enoch was soon given new layers of meaning; beginning already in the second century, church fathers like Justin Martyr and Irenaeus cited the antediluvian sage as a symbol of righteousness prior to circumcision, as well as drawing upon Enochic traditions about the fallen angels and Giants to reflect upon their own “pagan” religious and cultural backgrounds.³⁷ Yet, around the same time, some Jews among the emergent rabbinic movement seem to have rejected two cornerstones of Enochic literature—namely, the claim that Enoch escaped death and the idea that rebellious angels came to earth in the days before the flood.³⁸

Some Christians were clearly aware of the Jewish suspicion or rejection of Enochic books. Like Jude, the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* seems to consider at least one book by Enoch to be scriptural.³⁹ By the time of Origen, however,

103–14. Notably, the influence of Enochic material at Qumran spans not just angelology, demonology, and apocalyptic tradition, but also ‘science’; see Philip S. Alexander, “Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science,” in C[harlotte]. Hempel, A[rmin]. Lange, and H[ermann]. Lichtenberger, eds, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 223–44; Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008); Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Scientific Writings in Aramaic and Hebrew at Qumran: Translation and Concealment,” in Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, eds, *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran at Aix-en-Provence, 30 June–2 July 2008* (STDJ 94; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 379–402.

³⁵ For a summary, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 123–4. For a recent reassessment of the influence of Enochic demonologies, in particular, see the second chapter of Travis Proctor, “Rulers of the Air: Demonic Bodies and the Making of the Ancient Christian Cosmos” (PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2017).

³⁶ On Philo, see Robert A. Kraft, “Philo (Josephus, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon) on Enoch,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978): 253–57; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “To What Extent Did Philo’s Treatment of Enoch and the Giants Presuppose a Knowledge of the Enochic and Other Sources Preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls?” *Studia Philonica Annual* 19 (2007c): 131–42.

³⁷ Bauckham, “Fall of the Angels,” 313–30; Annette Yoshiko Reed, “The Trickery of the Fallen Angels and the Demonic Mimesis of the Divine: Aetiology and Polemics in the Writings of Justin Martyr,” *JECS* 12 (2004c): 141–71; Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Beyond Revealed Wisdom and Apocalyptic Epistemology: Early Christian Transformations of Enochic Traditions about Knowledge,” in Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, eds, *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality, Volume I: Thematic Studies* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2009a), 138–64.

³⁸ Philip S. Alexander, “The Targumim and Early Exegesis of ‘Sons of God’ in Genesis 6,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 60–71.

³⁹ *Barn.* 16:5–6; see further John C. Reeves, “An Enochic Citation in *Barnabas* 4:3 and the *Oracles of Hystaspes*,” in John C. Reeves and John Kampen, eds, *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor*

the use of Enochic books is paired with disparaging statements noting that such scriptures were not accepted by the Jews and were not considered “divine” by all Christian communities.⁴⁰ Tertullian, in fact, directly answers critiques of this very sort: he defends the scriptural bona fides of Enoch by arguing that Jude endorses Enoch, by stressing that the Jews reject all prophecies fulfilled by Christ, and by claiming that Enoch’s book bears authentic antediluvian antiquity.⁴¹

Concurrent with the closing of the Christian canon in the fourth and fifth centuries, Enochic books were increasingly maligned by ecclesiarchs in the Roman Empire. “Books of Enoch” are often cited as exemplary of the problem of “apocrypha.” Athanasius points to these particular books, for instance, when arguing that no authentic scriptures were produced prior to Moses. Augustine suggests that Enochic writings, even if they are authentic, are “too ancient” to be trusted—presumably because the lengthy time during which they were transmitted invited rampant textual corruption and distortion. Jerome intimates that acceptance of an Enochic writing as genuine by a textual community renders them suspect with regard to their orthodoxy.⁴²

Such rulings appear to have curtailed the wide circulation of these materials in the Roman Empire. Enochic texts and traditions continued, however, to spread among the populace and among learned monks and scribes, especially in Egypt.⁴³ Outside the Roman Empire, learned Christians seem to have been less troubled by “apocrypha”; Jacob of Edessa, for instance, defends the use of Enochic writings and argues that their suppression by Athanasius was merely a temporary measure.⁴⁴ The continued cultivation of Enochic lore in the Near East, moreover, is suggested by the evidence of Islamic literature.⁴⁵ In addition,

of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday (JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994a), 260–77.

⁴⁰ VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs,” 54–9.

⁴¹ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, esp. 195–8.

⁴² See further Adler, “Introduction,” 21–5; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 190–232.

⁴³ Lawlor, “Book of Enoch in the Egyptian Church”; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Two Enochic Manuscripts: Unstudied Evidence for Egyptian Christianity,” in Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, eds, *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 251–60; Birger A. Pearson, “The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon,” in George W. E. Nickelsburg, ed., *Studies on the Testament of Abraham* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 227–83; Birger A. Pearson, “Enoch in Egypt,” in Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline, eds, *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 216–31.

⁴⁴ Jacob of Edessa, *Ep.* 13.2; see William Adler, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Jacob of Edessa’s Letters and Historical Writings,” in Bas ter Haar Romeny, ed., *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of his Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute 18; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 49–65.

⁴⁵ e.g., David J. Halperin and Gordon D. Newby, “Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Ka’b al-Aḥbār,” *JAOS* 102 (1982): 631–8; Philip S. Alexander, “Jewish Tradition in Early Islam: The Case of Enoch/Idris,” in G. R. Hawting, et al., eds, *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts and Traditions in Memory of Norman Calder* (JSSSup 12; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 11–29; Patricia Crone, “The Book of Watchers in the Qur’ān,” in Haggai Ben-Shammai,

it is well established that excerpts or paraphrases of Second Temple texts like the *Book of the Watchers* were integrated within chronographies written in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic.⁴⁶ Related oral or written traditions may have continued to circulate among Byzantine, Syriac, and Armenian Christians, as well as among Muslims and Jews, perhaps helping to account for the puzzling re-emergence of Enochic traditions within medieval Jewish midrash and mysticism.⁴⁷

By virtue of the scope of the present volume, it facilitates exploration of such possibilities to an unprecedented degree. It is worth remembering, however, that during much of this time, Enochic books seem to have been largely lost to medieval Christians in the Latin West. Some sense of the loss of such works is palatable, for instance, among learned men like Robert Grosseteste (c.1175–1253), who sought to find and translate those texts preserved in the libraries of the Greek East. Grosseteste's efforts resulted in the recovery of patristic sources long forgotten in the West, but also in his Latin translation of the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*—a text that further fostered European curiosity about lost scriptures due in part to its quotations from the words and writings of Enoch.⁴⁸ The intensification of such efforts during the Renaissance, in turn, resulted not just in the much lauded “recovery” of ancient Greek philosophy and sciences but also in the publication and translation of many Jewish and Christian writings—some of which contained even more references to ancient books unknown to European Christians. In this, “books of Enoch” were especially

Shaul Shaked, and Sarah Stroumsa, eds, *Exchange and Transmission across Cultural Boundaries: Philosophy, Mysticism and Science in the Mediterranean World* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2013), 16–51; John C. Reeves, “Some Explorations of the Intertwining of Bible and Qurʾān,” in John C. Reeves, ed., *Bible and Qurʾān*, 43–60; John C. Reeves, “Some Parascriptural Dimensions of the ‘Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt,’” *JAOS* 135 (2015): 817–42; Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Fallen Angels and the Afterlives of Enochic Traditions in Early Islam,” forthcoming b. Note also Yishai Kiel, “Reimagining Enoch in Sasanian Babylonia in Light of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Traditions,” *AJS Review* 39 (2015): 407–32.

⁴⁶ e.g., Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (2 vols; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880–5), 2:249–97; Adler, *Time Immemorial*; Brock, “Fragment of Enoch,” 626–31; Siam Bhayro, “A Karshuni (Christian Arabic) Account of the Descent of the Watchers,” in Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg, eds, *Biblical Hebrews, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (JSOTSup 333; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 365–74.

⁴⁷ Martha Himmelfarb, “R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *AJS Review* 9 (1984): 55–78; Martha Himmelfarb, “Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature,” in Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads*, 115–41; Reeves, “Exploring the Afterlife,” 148–77; Rachel Adelman, *The Return of the Repressed: Pirqa de-Rabbi Eliezer and the Pseudepigrapha* (JSJSupp 140; Leiden: Brill, 2009); and see, most recently, Katharina E. Keim, *Pirquei deRabbi Eliezer: Structure, Coherence, Intertextuality* (AGJU 96; Leiden: Brill, 2017).

⁴⁸ Marinus de Jonge, “Robert Grosseteste and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,” *JTS* 42 (1991b): 115–25. For the polemical utility of Jewish apocryphal writings among Grosseteste and his peers, see Ruth Nisse, “Your Name Will No Longer Be Aseneth’: Apocrypha, Anti-Martyrdom, and Jewish Conversion in Thirteenth-Century England,” *Speculum* 81 (2006): 734–53; Ruth Nisse, “A Romance of the Jewish East: The Ten Lost Tribes and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Medieval Europe,” *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007): 499–523.

prominent, due to their mention in patristic literature as well as medieval Jewish productions like the Hebrew writings of R. Moses de León and the Zohar.⁴⁹ Accordingly, Enoch loomed large in the early modern imagination—not just among Christian Kabbalists like Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) but also among occultists like John Dee (1527–1608/9).⁵⁰

In 1606, Joseph Scaliger published portions of the chronographical works of George Syncellus,⁵¹ making substantial Greek excerpts of the “first Book of Enoch” widely available in the West for the first time. This publication largely settled the earlier debate about the existence of the mysterious book quoted in Jude and mentioned by Origen, Tertullian, and the Zohar. It also enabled critics of ecclesiastical power to adduce ancient scriptures outside of the Christian Bible for the purpose of advancing their own agendas. For Christians such as Samuel Fisher (1605–1665) and William Whiston (1667–1752), the very existence of extracanonical works like the “Book of Enoch” shed doubt both on the scriptural canons of European Christendom and on the authority of the clerics who promoted them.⁵² Fisher, for instance, made mention of the two most prominent examples at the time, namely, the “Book of Enoch” and the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*.⁵³ Efforts of this sort gained further ammunition with Fabricius’s 1713 re-publication of Syncellus’s Enochic excerpts alongside his own collection of all the Jewish and Christian references to Enoch’s writings known at the time.⁵⁴ Whiston translated these materials, in turn, for inclusion in his *A Collection of Authentick Records Belonging to the Old and New Testament*;

⁴⁹ Adolph Jellinek, “Hebräische Quellen für das Buch Henoch,” *ZDMG* 7 (1853): 249; Adolph Jellinek, ed., *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur* (6 vols; Leipzig, 1853–77; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938), 2:xxx–xxxii, 114–17; 3:195–7; Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edn; New York: Schocken Books, 1961), 200, 396 n. 144; Moshe Idel, *Messianic Mystics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 357 n. 99.

⁵⁰ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 2, 231–3; Ariel Hessayon, “Og King of Bashan, Enoch and the Books of Enoch: Extra-Canonical Texts and Interpretations of Genesis 6:1–4,” in Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene, eds, *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 22–3; cf. Nathaniel Schmidt, “Traces of Early Acquaintance in Europe with the Book of Enoch,” *JAOS* 42 (1922): 45–6.

⁵¹ Joseph Juste Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonium, 1658 [1606]), 404–6. Although Scaliger dismissed the ‘first Book of Enoch’ as a Jewish forgery, others would argue for its authenticity. See further Hessayon, “Og King of Bashan,” 31–40.

⁵² See further J. A. I. Champion, “Apocrypha, Canon and Criticism from Samuel Fisher to John Toland, 1650–1718,” in Allison P. Coudert, et al., eds, *Judaeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713)* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1999), 91–117.

⁵³ Champion, “Apocrypha, Canon,” 99.

⁵⁴ i.e., in a Latin translation together with the original Greek, Hebrew, etc. Fabricius built on the work of John Ernest Grabe (1666–1711), especially Grabe’s *Spicilegium SS. patrum, ut et haereticorum, seculi post Christum natum I. II. & III.* (2 vols; Oxoniae: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1698). Grabe there published the first edition of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1:129–253) and included an edition of Syncellus’s Enochic excerpts among the notes (1:347–54). Fabricius reprinted the former (*Codex pseudepigraphus VT*, 496–551) as well as quoting Grabe’s comments about the ‘Book of Enoch’ at length (e.g., *Spicilegium SS. Patrum*, 1:345, in *Codex pseudepigraphus VT*,

not only did Whiston render these texts accessible to readers not literate in Latin, but he used their antiquity to argue for the church's suppression of ancient truths.⁵⁵ In this, Whiston built on the precedent of earlier Quaker translations of Syncellus's Enochic fragments, just as later religious dissidents built upon his efforts by continuing to republish these materials.⁵⁶

As with most of what we now know as "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," Enochic texts would not be known in Western Europe and England in any full form until after British, French, and other colonial expansions enabled archaeological excavations and facilitated further contacts with churches and monasteries in Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. Thus it was only in the eighteenth century that manuscripts of *1 Enoch* finally entered Europe from Ethiopia,⁵⁷ and it was only in the nineteenth century that the first modern editions, translations, and commentaries were produced—events inaugurating the modern Western study of Enochic literature. In the centuries prior to these textual editions and studies, medieval and early modern Europeans encountered Enochic lore through scattered references of the sort collected in the present volume—passages that are fragmentary in their preservation of indubitably Second Temple exemplars and that are partial in comparison to what circulated outside the Roman Empire and Western Christendom, yet nonetheless rich enough to inspire the creative re-workings of Enochic motifs found in European literature from *Beowulf* to the writings of Dante (c.1265–1321) and John Milton (1608–1674).⁵⁸

202–4), while also reproducing Syncellus's Enochic excerpts via Scaliger (pp. 179–99) and Scaliger's comments on it (pp. 199–200). See further Reed, "Modern Invention."

⁵⁵ William Whiston, *A Collection of Authentick Records Belonging to the Old and New Testament* (2 vols; London: [n.p.], 1727). See further Reed, "Modern Invention."

⁵⁶ For an earlier English paraphrase of the excerpts, see Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London: William Stansby, 1613), 31. In addition, Hessayon ("Og King of Bashan," 39–40) notes that Grabe's edition of Syncellus's Enochic excerpts was translated into English and published as *The History of the Angels, and their Gallantry with the Daughters of Men* in 1715.

⁵⁷ Knowledge among antiquarians that a 'book of Enoch' was extant in Ethiopic is evidenced at least a century and a half prior to the arrival of the first manuscripts in Europe. See Daniel Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 152–3; also see especially Ted M. Erho and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "A Manuscript History of *Ethiopic Enoch*," *JSP* 23 (2013): 87–133.

⁵⁸ Enochic influence in most of these cases appears to have been indirect, mediated through other sources. See further Catherine Brown Tkacz, "Heaven and Fallen Angels in Old English," in Alberto Ferreiro, ed., *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 327–44; Theodore Silverstein, "The Passage of the Souls to Purgatory in the *Divina Commedia*," *HTR* 31 (1938): 53–63; Grant McColley, "The Book of Enoch and *Paradise Lost*," *HTR* 31 (1938): 21–39; Arnold Williams, "Milton and the Book of Enoch: An Alternative Hypothesis," *HTR* 33 (1940): 291–9. Others have nevertheless posed the possibility of the survival of an Old Latin translation of certain parts of *1 Enoch*. Note Montague Rhodes James, "A Fragment of the Book of Enoch in Latin," in Montague Rhodes James, *Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments* (TS 2.3; Cambridge: The University Press, 1893b), 146–50; R. E. Kaske, "Beowulf and the Book of Enoch," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 421–31; Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 2:21; Ruth Mellinkoff, "Cain's Monstrous Progeny in

The scope of the present volume does not encompass these early modern materials, even as we hope that our collection of materials might aid scholars of later periods as well. Likewise, we have chosen to limit the trajectory of medieval materials here explored to those cultures and corpora for which some comprehensiveness is possible. Hence, materials in Ge'ez and Amharic are not included, both due to the large quantity of relevant materials and to the preliminary state of scholarship about them.⁵⁹ So too we have given only cursory attention in this volume to materials in Armenian and Slavonic.⁶⁰ We hope that the present work helps to stimulate interest in combing these and other literary traditions for possible references to Enochic materials, as we begin now to gather the many scattered threads of these traditions from across the communities that constituted the religious landscapes of the Near East.

Beowulf: Part I, Noachic Tradition," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 143–62; Daniel Anlezark, "The Fall of the Angels in *Solomon and Saturn II*," in Kathryn Powell and Donald Scragg, eds, *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 121–33; Elizabeth Coatsworth, "The Book of Enoch and Anglo-Saxon Art," in *ibid.*, 135–50.

⁵⁹ This is stressed as a *desideratum* also in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 125.

⁶⁰ Michael Stone ("Some Texts on Enoch") has mapped out some of the main trajectories in the former. The wide diffusion of Enochic traditions in Slavonic folklore and literature is being explored by Florentina Badalanova Geller; see, e.g., her *Second (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch: Text and Context* (Max Planck Preprint 410; Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 2010).

Stock Epithets and Cross-Cultural Cognomens

From among what Francis I. Andersen once characterized as “a galaxy of epithets” which have clustered around the biblical character Enoch,¹ we have extracted three which are distinctive and particularly well attested among the various linguistic registers in which Enochic writings and lore are preserved. To these we have also appended one more apparently unique invocation of Enoch as messiah. Other common identifications and aliases—such as with the angel Metatron, the Graeco-Egyptian figure of Hermes-Thoth, and the qur’anic prophet Idrīs—will be assembled and fully discussed in separate chapters. Of course there is some overlap in the usage of these three epithets with each of the latter cognomens, and these instances are highlighted in the extracts below.

EPITHETS

“Seventh”

Qualifying the figure of Enoch with an ordinal number has an obvious utility for biblical readers and interpreters inasmuch as his name occurs in two different places in the genealogical tables found in the final redactions of the fourth and fifth chapters of the book of Genesis. According to Gen 4:17, Enoch was the son of the murderous Cain, the slayer of his brother Abel, thereby making Enoch a grandson of the first human couple. Enoch b. Cain’s only claim to fame lay in the bestowal of his name by his father on the first urban settlement in cultural memory. This localized Enoch, who is the third figure appearing in the Cainite family line traced from Adam, is never again recognizably referenced in biblical literature.²

¹ “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1:102.

² Although he may arguably re-surface within certain parascriptural traditions. See, e.g., the materials presented later in this volume about Enoch’s cultural innovations and his purported roles in human society.

The name “Enoch” is also applied, however, to a figure who occupies the seventh position in the genealogical chart of Adam’s descendants found in the final redacted versions of Gen 5:1–32,³ a list which was apparently designed by its scribal editors to supplant the competing roster of Adam’s progeny as traced through his firstborn but disinherited son Cain.⁴ A prominent feature of the new chart, attributed by most biblical scholars to the so-called “priestly” (P) school of tradents whose *floruit* was the middle centuries of the first millennium BCE, was its decimal structure and its deliberate positioning of the universal Flood during the climactic tenth generation of human existence. According to some scholars, this specific organizational principle was probably modeled upon an identical way of schematizing the earliest periods of ancestral history that is visible in certain versions of the so-called *Sumerian King List*,⁵ an admittedly reductive name for what is actually a related set of literary catalogues of Mesopotamian rulers and cities whose earliest exemplars date from the third millennium BCE, but whose latest renditions and adaptations continued to be copied, revised, and deposited in local temple archives well into the Hellenistic era.⁶ The compilers of Gen 5:1–32 apparently mimicked and expanded that basic arithmetical template in order to organize their recount of the antediluvian and immediately postdiluvian eras: after the destruction of the Flood, a second list of ten names (Gen 11:10–26)⁷ bridges the narrative gap

³ The editorial significance of the seventh position in biblical genealogies and chronographies has been explored by Jack M. Sasson, “A Genealogical ‘Convention’ in Biblical Chronography?” *ZAW* 90 (1978): 171–85; Jack M. Sasson, “Generation, Seventh,” *IDBSup* 354–6.

⁴ The Cainite list of Adam’s descendants, consisting of seven ancestral figures, appears in Gen 4:17–24. The success of the presumably newer scheme can be gauged from its exclusive adoption as a structuring principle for the delineation of ancestral “history” by affiliate works such as 1 Chr 1:1–3; Sir 49:16; Lk 3:36b–38; the *Cave of Treasures* cycle; and the later universal chronicles emanating from the Christian and Islamic worlds.

⁵ Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Assyriological Studies 11; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). Ten antediluvian kings are enumerated in WB 62 and in the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus. Geert De Breucker is thus mistaken when he claims “[i]n Mesopotamian tradition there were no more than nine antediluvian kings” and brands the total in Berossus as “probably a Jewish or Christian forgery”; quoted from his “Berossos: His Life and his Work,” in Johannes Haubold, et al., eds, *The World of Berossos: Proceedings of the 4th International Colloquium on “The Ancient Near East between Classical and Ancient Oriental Traditions”*, Hatfield College, Durham 7th–9th July 2010 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), 22.

⁶ Paul Schnabel, *Berossus und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1923; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968); J. J. Finkelstein, “The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet,” *JCS* 17 (1963): 39–51, esp. 44–51; Stanley Mayer Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* (Malibu: Undena, 1978); Alan Lenzi, “The Uruk List of Kings and Sages and Late Mesopotamian Scholarship,” *Journal of Ancient Near Religions* 8 (2008b): 137–69; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Primeval History: Babylonian, Biblical, and Enochic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 90–9; 238–43; John Day, “The Flood and the Ten Antediluvian Figures in Berossus and in the Priestly Source in Genesis,” in James K. Aitken, Katharine J. Dell, and Brian A. Mastin, eds, *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies* (BZAW 420; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 211–23, esp. 215–17.

⁷ Admittedly ten names are now only present in the Old Greek and its dependent versions which include the infamous Kainan *deuteros* as the son of Arpachshad and the father of Shelah,

between the death of Noah and the emergence of Abraham, who would become Israel's first national hero. The resultant decimal symmetry naturally highlights those names which are slotted in the boundary positions (Adam, Noah, and Abraham), and most of the narrative movement in the first half of the canonical book of Genesis is indeed fueled by tales and traditions associated with Adam, Noah, and Abraham.

It is however interesting to observe that there is one character embedded within these decadal charts who appears to violate these structural norms; namely, Enoch. Apart from Adam and Noah, his is the only character that receives any narrative development in the roster of names, ages, and lifespans that comprises the final form of Gen 5:1–32. Interest in Enoch would appear to be related to the long recognized affiliation of the seventh antediluvian forefather Enoch with the antediluvian Mesopotamian monarch who sometimes appears in the seventh position of the *Sumerian King List* and its congeners, a figure identified as Enmeduranki the king of Sippar,⁸ a legendary monarch who on the basis of his intimacy with the gods revealed to the citizenry of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon a set of reliable media (i.e., divinatory procedures) by which “secret” knowledge could be obtained.⁹ This same king's quasi-divine counselor Utu-abzu, one of the renowned *apkallus* or mythical mediators of supernal knowledge to human society during the antediluvian era, reputedly made ascent to the divine realm.¹⁰ The

whereas extant Masoretic and Samaritan versions of Gen 11:10–26 have only nine names. Kainan's presence however at this point in the postdiluvian genealogy of Shem's descendants in the Second Temple work known as *Jubilees* (cf. *Jub.* 8:1–3) suggests that a decimal structure was a basic feature of the older Hebrew narrative.

⁸ Heinrich Zimmern, “Überblick über die babylonische Religion in Bezug auf ihre Berührung mit biblischen Vorstellungen,” *apud* Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd edn; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 540–1; H. Ludin Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Oslo: I Kommissjon hos Jacob Dybwad, 1939), esp. 13–51; Pierre Grelot, “La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification,” *RSR* 46 (1958b): 5–26; 181–210, esp. 7–9, 183–9; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 23–51; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener-Verlag, 1988); Philip R. Davies, “Spurious Attribution in the Hebrew Bible,” in James R. Lewis and Olav Hammer, eds, *The Invention of Sacred Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 260; Day, “Ten Antediluvian Figures,” 217–18.

⁹ K 4364 + K 2486 as published by Heinrich Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901), 116–21. Improved editions of this text which incorporate newly joined tablets are W. G. Lambert, “Enmeduranki and Related Matters,” *JCS* 21 (1967): 126–38; W. G. Lambert, “The Qualifications of Babylonian Diviners,” in Stefan M. Maul, ed., *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994* (Groningen: Styx, 1998), 141–58.

¹⁰ For the pairing of the seventh *apkallu* Utu-abzu with Enmeduranki, see the Uruk tablet W 20030.7 as published by J. [J. A.] van Dijk, “Die Inschriftenfunde,” in H. J. Lenzen, ed., *XVIII. Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka* (Berlin: Mann, 1962), 44–52; Rykle Borger, “Die Beschwörungsserie *Bit Mēseri* und die Himmelfahrt Henochs,” *JNES* 33 (1974): 183–96. With regard to the *apkallus*, see especially Erica Reiner, “The Etiological Myth of the ‘Seven Sages,’” *Or* 30 (1961): 1–11; Jonas C. Greenfield,

ruler Enmeduranki's association with the city of Sippar, the site of an ancient temple dedicated to the worship of the Sumerian sun-god Utu (and later assimilated to the Babylonian deity Shamash), has been compared with the anomalous (for its context) lifespan of 365 years for the biblical Enoch, a sum that approximates the length in days of a solar year. There is thus a set of seemingly parallel motifs present in both the Mesopotamian and Israelite traditions that have long proved attractive for those scholars who wish to posit a close genetic linkage between Mesopotamian and biblical lore.¹¹

Jub. 7:39:

And I also give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first jubilees: while still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and instructed his son and his grandsons till the day of his death.¹²

Curiously unremarked by almost all modern commentators is the unusual reference made in this passage to "his death" (Ethiopic *motu*); namely, that of Enoch. This statement, one which is placed in the mouth of Noah immediately after the Flood, does not match what *Jubilees* has to say about the fate of Enoch in other places in the same work such as 4:23–4 and 10:17, both of which imagine Enoch to be alive in Paradise and prepared to bear witness about the sinful deeds of each human generation until the final Day of Judgment. Noah's remark also flatly contradicts what has to be considered one of Enoch's primary claims to fame—his apparent escape from death—in most of the other Jewish, Christian, and Muslim testimonia about this biblical forefather. Should this verse be added to the other negative assessments of the career of Enoch appearing sporadically among rabbinic sources?¹³ It at the very least suggests that *Jubilees*, like the biblical book of Genesis, is the product of redactors who compiled the work from different sources, not all of which shared identical evaluations of Enoch's singularity among his antediluvian peers.

"Apkallu," in Karel van der Toorn, et al., eds, *Dictionary of Demons and Deities in the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 72–4; Alan Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel* (SAA 19; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008a), 106–20; Amar Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers: A Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions," *JSP* 19 (2010): 277–320.

¹¹ See most recently Kvanvig, *Primeval History*.

¹² Translation adapted from that of R. H. Charles and Chaim Rabin in H. F. D. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 35. This anthology is henceforth referenced as AOT. See also R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or, The Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 65–6.

¹³ Christopher Rowland, "Things into Which Angels Long to Look: Approaching Mysticism from the Perspective of the New Testament and the Jewish Apocalypses," in Christopher Rowland and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament* (CRINT 3.12; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 43.

4Q369 Frg. 1 i 9–10 (ed. Attridge-Strugnell):¹⁴

.9 . [וקינן דור רביעי ומהללאל בנ] ומהללאל דור חמישי
 .10 . [וירד בנו וירד דור ששי וחנוך] בנו חנוך דור שביעי]

9. [and Qaynan a fourth generation and Mahalalel] his [son], and Mahalalel a fifth generation

10. [and Yared his son, and Yared a sixth generation and Enoch] his son, Enoch a seven[th] generation. . . .

Jude 14 (ed. Holmes):¹⁵

Προεφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνώχ. . . .

And Enoch—the seventh from Adam¹⁶—prophesied also with reference to these¹⁷. . . .

Vita Adae et Evae 53 (ed. Pettorelli-Kaestli):¹⁸

Et in ipsis lapidibus inuentum est quod prophetauit septimus ab Adam Enoch, dicens ante diluuium de aduentu Christi domini.

¹⁴ H[arold]. Attridge and J[ohn]. Strugnell, “4QPrayer of Enosh,” in Harold Attridge, et al., eds, *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 354. The editors’ identification of this text as a pseudepigraphic ‘Prayer of Enosh’ was convincingly refuted by James L. Kugel. “4Q369 ‘Prayer of Enosh’ and Ancient Biblical Interpretation,” *DSD* 5 (1998a): 119–48; reworked as James L. Kugel, “A Prayer about Jacob and Israel from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in James L. Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and his Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 186–221.

¹⁵ Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 480. See also Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Christiani Liebezeit, 1713), 160–1; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 10.

¹⁶ August Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch: Uebersetzt und erklärt* [Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1853], 1) notes that *1 En.* 60:8 employs the same epithet for this forefather; i.e., ‘the seventh from Adam.’ See also James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3.4; Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1996), 36.

¹⁷ Following C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (2nd edn; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 47. The full citation of Jude 14–15 can be found in Chapter 3 under the heading “Enoch as Prophet.”

¹⁸ Jean-Pierre Pettorelli and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, eds, *Vita Latina Adae et Evae—Synopsis Vitae Adae et Evae* (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphum 18–19; Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 1:432–4, 2:902–4; cf. also 2:511–13; 534–5; 569; 595; 626 for slightly different recensions of this same passage. See also Wilhelm Meyer, ed., “Vita Adae et Evae,” *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14.3 (München: Verlag der k. Akademie, 1878), 244; Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve: Second Revised Edition* (SBLEJL 17; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 96. This epilogue forms part of a concluding narrative about the fate of Seth’s writings that is found only in those manuscripts that belong to Group II in Meyer’s classification of textual witnesses.

And on these same stones was found what Enoch—the seventh from Adam—prophesied, speaking before the Flood about the (eschatological) advent of the Lord Christ.¹⁹

Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 15.23 (ed. Dombart):²⁰

Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divine illum Enoch, septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus.

We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh after Adam, left some divine writings.

Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.38 (ed. Dombart):²¹

Quid Enoch septimus ab Adam?

What about Enoch, the seventh after Adam?²²

Ms. Monacensi 287 fol. 59 (ed. Boll):²³

λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνώχ συνέγραψε τὴν μέλλουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀργὴν ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίνοις Ἑβραϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὐρέθησαν ἐκ τούτων ἐν ὄρει τινὶ καὶ μετὰ καιροὺς μετεκομίσθησαν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ.

It is also said that Enoch—the seventh after Adam—recorded the coming wrathful judgment of God in the Hebrew language on stone tablets, and that after the Flood, some of these were discovered on a certain mountain and then later they were transported to Palestine.²⁴

As in *L.A.E.* 53 above, Enoch is here represented as inscribing revelatory knowledge upon stone tablets, but unlike the archival function of the former source, where Enoch's information seems deliberately intended for the eyes of the postdiluvian inhabitants of the earth, it serves here a more urgent purpose of warning his contemporaries and their immediate offspring—the infamous “generation of the Flood” (דור המבול)—of their impending watery demise. This may reflect interaction with traditions like those which lie behind the homiletic speeches put into the mouth of Enoch by the authors responsible for the sixth-

¹⁹ This is followed by a text paraphrasing *1 En.* 1:9; Jude 14–16 (Vulgate). The full citation of *L.A.E.* 53 can be found in Chapter 3 under the heading “Enoch as Prophet.”

²⁰ B. Dombart, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini episcopi De civitate Dei* (2 vols; Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1877), 2:III.22–3. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 7 under the heading “Evaluated Negatively.”

²¹ *De civitate Dei* (ed. Dombart), 2:313.18. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 178.

²² See also St Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans* (LCL; 7 vols; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–72), 6:8. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 7 under the heading “Evaluated Negatively.”

²³ Franciscus Boll, ed., *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum VII: Codices Germanicos* (Bruxelles: Henrici Lamertini, 1908), 87.

²⁴ See also A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* (nouvelle édition; 4 vols; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 350; Yves Marquet, “Sabéens et Ihwān al-Ṣafāʾ,” *Studia Islamica* 24 (1966): 57–8. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 2 under the heading “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

century (?) Syriac *Cave of Treasures*²⁵ and its allied cycle of texts. Therein Enoch rebukes his extended family members for their moral lapses, until finally we read: “in the three hundred and sixty-fifth year of Enoch’s life, he knew that God would remove him (from earth). He summoned Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, and said to them: “I know that God is angry with this generation and has decreed a merciless punishment for them.”²⁶ One might contrast this pronouncement of doom upon his own contemporaries with what is presented as the first direct statement of Enoch within the editorial compilation of what forms the present day book of *1 Enoch*: “not to this generation, but rather to a distant generation do I speak” (*1 En.* 1:2). It may be worth contemplating whether this observable dichotomy in audience for Enoch’s oracles reflects a clash between two distinct understandings of his (and others’) prophetic vocation, an issue which we will explore further when we formally consider the topic of Enoch and prophecy.²⁷

Elijah of Anbār, *Book of Instruction* (ed. Juckel):²⁸

ܘܥܢܘܟ ܗܘܘ ܕܢܘܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ

Enoch, the one belonging to the seventh generation (from Adam), departed and was removed to Paradise. He signifies that in the seventh millennium our nature will move away to heaven.²⁹

Interpreting Enoch and his fate as a symbol of divine mysteries that would otherwise remain hidden is one of the oldest attested readings that we possess of his story. Both *Jubilees* and Ben Sira explicitly label the report of his sudden removal a “sign” (Hebrew *מוֹפֵת*; Greek *ὑπόδειγμα*; Ethiopic *te’mert*),³⁰ but they also offer already at least three different ideas about its meaning. Another one described here by this somewhat obscure tenth-century Nestorian bishop³¹

²⁵ Su-Min Ri, ed., *La Caverne des Trésors: Les deux recensions syriaques* (CSCO 486–7, scrip. syri 207–208; 2 vols; Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1987). Subsequent references to this work will employ the sigla CT^e and CT^w for the “eastern” and “western” recensions of the *Syriac Cave of Treasures* respectively along with the chapter divisions and stichometry employed by Ri.

²⁶ CT^e §13.14–15. Compare M. T. Houtsma, ed., *Ibn Wadīh qui dicitur al-Jaʿqubi historiae . . .* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1:8; John C. Reeves, “Some Explorations of the Intertwining of Bible and Qurʾān,” in John C. Reeves, ed., *Bible and Qurʾān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality* (Leiden/Atlanta: Brill/Society of Biblical Literature, 2003b), 49–50.

²⁷ See Chapter 3.

²⁸ Andreas Karl Juckel, *Ktābā dDurrāšā, die theologische Lehrdichtung des nestorianers Ēlījā von Anbār: Einführung, Text und Übersetzung des ersten Mēmṛā* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1983), 285.13–14.

²⁹ See also Witold Witakowski, “The Idea of *Septimana Mundi* and the Millenarian Typology of the Creation Week in Syriac Tradition,” in René Lavenant, ed., *V Symposium Syriacum 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988* (OCA 236; Roma: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 107.

³⁰ Sir 44:16; *Jub.* 4:24. The loan-word *דוגמה* ‘example’ is used of Enoch in the eleventh-century *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati*; see p. 44 for the referenced passage.

³¹ William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894), 230; Rubens Duval, *Anciennes littératures chrétiennes, II: La littérature syriaque* (3rd edn;

represents a millenarian refraction of a reading already visible in the fourth-century Genesis commentary of Ephrem Syrus: "(God raised Enoch) so that he (i.e., Adam) might know that everyone who imitated such a one would have their dwelling there (i.e., in Paradise)—either prior to death or after the (general) resurrection."³² It is the final clause of Ephrem's assessment that Elijah of Anbār appears to develop into an eschatological promise of eternal life for the righteous. There are also Nestorian precedents for reading the translation of Enoch as a scriptural symbol which pointed to the future resurrection of the dead.³³

A similar decoding of Enoch's destiny is visible in a curious Byzantine treatise which purports to reveal the spiritual truths that are embedded in the names, shapes, and sequential orderings of the Greek alphabet:

Pseudo-Sabas, *On the Mysteries of Letters* (ed. Bandt):³⁴

ὁμοίως πάλιν μετὰ ἑπτὰ γενεάς ἢ μετὰθευσι τοῦ Ἐνώχ γέγονε προμηνύουσα τὴν ἀθανασίαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως. . . .

Καὶ ὄρα μοι τὴν ἄρρητον σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ· ἄνωθεν εὐθέως σχεδὸν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἐνώχ, ὅστις ἐστὶν ἕβδομος ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήριον ἐδίδαξε.

Moreover in the same way the transposition of Enoch happened after seven generations in order to indicate the immortal character of the Resurrection. . . .

Now behold the ineffable wisdom of God: In the beginning, from the very foundation of the universe, since the time of Enoch, the one who was the seventh person (born) after Adam, He has taught the mystery of Christ.³⁵

In the next example, we encounter for the first time in the present work the popular cross-cultural assimilation of the biblical Enoch, seventh in line from Adam, to the Graeco-Egyptian figure of Hermes-Thoth and the qur'ānic prophet Idrīs. We will behold many more instances of this widespread set of adaptations in subsequent chapters.³⁶ This inter-religious interest in identifying Enoch with

Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1907), 204; Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922), 237–8.

³² R.-M. Tonneau, ed., *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum commentarii* (CSCO 152, scrip. syri 71; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1955), 55.9–10.

³³ Judith Frishman, "Themes on Genesis 1–5 in Early East-Syrian Exegesis," in Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay, eds., *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Lovanii: Peeters, 1997), 175.

³⁴ Cordula Bandt, *Der Traktat "Vom Mysterium der Buchstaben": Kritischer Text mit Einführung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (TUGAL 162; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 136.1–2; 184.5–7. Note also Adolphe Hebbelynck, *Les mystères des lettres grecques d'après un manuscrit copte-arabe de la bibliothèque bodléienne d'Oxford* (Louvain/Paris: J.-B. Istas/Ernst Leroux, 1902), 82.

³⁵ Compare Pseudo-Sabas, *On the Mysteries of Letters* (ed. Bandt), 108.12–17; Hebbelynck, *Les mystères des lettres grecques*, 27.

³⁶ See especially Chapter 6.

renowned figures from other cultures points to the social importance and popularity of the themes and values borne by this biblical forefather in the formative histories of revelatory gnosis, the advances of science, and the origin of various arts and technologies associated with the growth of civilizations.

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah* (ed. Ṣāwī):³⁷

فَعَلِمَ النُّجُومَ أَوَّلَهُ مِنْ إِدْرِيسَ (ع) وَهَرْمَسَ هُوَ إِدْرِيسُ وَهُوَ نَبِيٌّ وَهُوَ مِنْ أَهْلِ تَمَنَا لَا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَلْحَدِينَ وَكَانَ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ آدَمَ (ع) خَمْسَةَ آبَاءَ.

So star-lore³⁸ has its point of origin from Idrīs (upon whom be peace!), and Hermes is Idrīs, and he is a prophet. He is among our *imāms*, not one of the *imāms* of the heretics.³⁹ Between him and Adam, there were five forefathers.⁴⁰

The following citation is admittedly found in a much fuller form in the fifth-century Palestinian midrashic compilations *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* and *Leviticus Rabbah*.⁴¹ We have instead chosen to provide this more compact excerpt from the much later Yemenite work known as *Midrash ha-Gadol* due to this latter work's blatant interest in linking the multiple ascent traditions allegedly present in the Bible to the deity's predilection for the number "seven."⁴²

Midrash ha-Gadol ad Gen 5:24 (ed. Margalioth):⁴³

וּתְהַלֵּךְ חֲנוּךְ אֵת הָאֱלֹהִים כֹּל הַשְּׁבִיעִים חֲבִיבִין לְמַעַלָּה הַרְקִיעַ הַשְּׁבִיעִי חֲבִיב בְּאַרְצוֹת הַשְּׁבִיעִית חֲבִיבָה בְּדוֹרוֹת הַשְּׁבִיעִי חֲבִיב אָדָם שֶׁתּ אֲנוֹשׁ קִינָן מִהַלְלָאֵל יֵרֵד חֲנוּךְ וּתְהַלֵּךְ חֲנוּךְ אֵת הָאֱלֹהִים בְּאַבוֹת הַשְּׁבִיעִי חֲבִיב אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְעַקֵּב לֹא קָהָת עֶמְרָם מֹשֶׁה וּמֹשֶׁה עֵלָה אֶל הָאֱלֹהִים וְכֵן בְּכֹלֵן.

"And Enoch walked with God." (Gen 5:24). All those things which appear in the seventh position are favorites. Up above, the seventh heaven is favored. Among

³⁷ Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah* (*The Peaks of Prophecy*) (ed. Ṣālah Ṣāwī; Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), 280.2–4; see also Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *The Proofs of Prophecy: A Parallel English-Arabic Text* (trans. Tarif Khalidi; Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2011), 210.15–17. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 2 under the heading "Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning."

³⁸ For Arabic *ilm al-nujūm*, note the remarks of Ian Richard Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā')* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 50–2, 120 n. 131.

³⁹ By "heretics" he means those who deny the agency of prophetic inspiration in the discovery of sciences like astronomy, mathematics, and medicine.

⁴⁰ See also Khalidi, *Proofs of Prophecy*, 210; Everett K. Rowson, "Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī: Science of Prophecy," in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi, *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, Volume 2: Ismaili Thought in the Classical Age from Jābir ibn Ḥayyān to Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī* (Oxford, 2001; repr., London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2008), 151; Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 169–70.

⁴¹ *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 23.10 (Mandelbaum, 343–4); *Lev. Rab.* 29.11 (Margulies, 1080–1).

⁴² See also *Sefer Yeşirah* §42 (Hayman, 139–40); Gershom G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd edn; New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 66 n. 5. Citations from *Sefer Yeşirah* rely upon A. Peter Hayman, *Sefer Yeşirah: Edition, Translation and Text-Critical Commentary* (TSAJ 104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

⁴³ Mordecai Margalioth, ed., *Midrash ha-Gadol 'al ḥamishah ḥumshey Torah: Sefer Bereshit* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1947), 132.3–7.

the earths, the seventh is favored. Of the (antediluvian) forefathers the seventh was favored: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Yared, *Enoch* “and Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:24). Of the patriarchs the seventh was favored: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Levi, Qahat, Amram, *Moses* “and Moses ascended to God” (Exod 19:3). And it is the case with all such examples.

A conceptually parallel fascination with a lengthy series of heptadal structures which are seemingly embedded in time, the created order, ritual prescriptions, and salvation history is visible in an early Muslim tradition related by Wahb b. Munabbih (d. c.730?),⁴⁴ a renowned exponent of *Isrā’iliyyāt* (“Jewish lore”) among Muslim thinkers during the first century of Islam. Given the pre-Islamic pedigree of this numerological interest,⁴⁵ it seems possible that Wahb simply adapts and expands what is already a well-attested scholastic exercise.

The next excerpt, in addition to underscoring God’s predilection for the number “seven,” illustrates a trajectory that is especially common in Jewish esoteric and mystical literature from late antiquity and the Middle Ages; namely, the supposed transformation of the biblical forefather Enoch from a mortal being into the high-ranking angel named Metatron. Much more will be said about this significant development in a subsequent chapter.⁴⁶

Ms. British Library Hebr. 746 fol. 108b–109a (ed. Scholem):⁴⁷

קבלנו כי מטטרון שר הפנים ששמו כשם רבו הוא חנוך בן ירד וכן אמרו בברא' רבא ובהיכלות והוא שהיה הדור השביעי לאדם כי הקב"ה חבב השביעיות כמו השבת.

We have received a tradition that Metatron, the Prince of the Presence whose name is like the Name of his Lord, is Enoch b. Yared. Thus do they say in *Genesis*

⁴⁴ Tha'labī, *Kitāb qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' al-musammā bāl-'arā'is* (Cairo: Al-Sharafiyyah, 1880), 17–18; Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-Majālis fi Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā' or "Lives of the Prophets"* (trans. William M. Brinner; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 19–20. One might also compare an analogous roster of divinely created “sevens” which span space and time listed in *Pirqe R. El.* §18 (Luria, 43a–44a).

⁴⁵ Note, e.g., the speculations of the second-century BCE (?) Graeco-Jewish philosopher Aristobulus on the cosmic valence of the Sabbath and the number “seven” that are preserved by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 13.12.9–16 (*apud* Albert-Marie Denis, ed., *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca* [PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970a], 224–6; A. Yarbro Collins, “Aristobulus (Second Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction,” *OTP* 2:841–2), as well as Philo, *Opif.* 89–128; *Leg.* 1.8–15; and note “the mystery of (the number) seven” earnestly expounded as a teaching of Jesus by the first-generation apostle Peter in Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 17.9–10.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 6.

⁴⁷ Gershom Scholem, *Rešit ha-Qabbalah (1150–1250)* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1948), 252–3, at 252. This work is characterized as a thirteenth-century non-Ashkenazi kabbalistic anthology by Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), 647. For further information, see the detailed description in [George]. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part III, Section I: Kabbalah* (London: British Museum, 1909), 24. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 6 under the heading “Enoch as the Angel Metatron.”

Rabbah (sic!)⁴⁸ and in the Hekhalot (literature).⁴⁹ He was the one who belonged to the seventh generation after Adam. Now the Holy One, blessed be He, has a fondness for the number seven, as for example, the Sabbath.

Bahya b. Asher ad Gen 5:24 (editio princeps):⁵⁰

והנה חנוך דבק באור עליון שממנו נבראו ומשכו המאורות ביום רביעי והוא נזכר בבראשית ה' פעמים
 והתנוצץ לשבעה אורים וכן ה' חומשי תורה הם נחלקים לשבעה וכנגד ל' אורים אלו היתה המנורה
 בשבעה קנים והיתה מקשה רמו לאחדות ושבעה אורים אלו הם הנקראים צרור החיים והצדיק הזה דבק
 בהם כי מצא חן בעיני ה' וראוי היה לכך כי היה שביעי לדורות והיה כנגד יום ה' שהוא יום החיים שכלו
 שבת ומנוחה לפיכך זכה לחיי עד.

And behold, Enoch became attached to the upper light from which the luminaries had been created and drawn forth on the fourth day (of the creation-week). Now this (upper light) is mentioned five times in Genesis (cf. Gen 1:3–5), and it shone (with the intensity of) seven lights. So too are the (*parashiyot* of the) five volumes of the Torah divided into seven (subdivisions for readers),⁵¹ and corresponding to the seven lights is the menorah with seven stems, yet it is a single casting (cf. Exod 25:31, 36) which hints at its unity. These seven lights are the same ones which are termed “bundle of the living” (1 Sam 25:29). This righteous one became attached to them because he found favor in the sight of the Lord, and therefore it was fitting that he should be the seventh of the (initial human) generations and thereby correspond to the seventh day (of the week), for it is the day of revitalization which is entirely (made up) of cessation from labors and of rest. For this reason he won everlasting life.⁵²

“Righteous”

The adjective “righteous” (Greek *δίκαιος*, reflective of Hebrew צדיק or Aramaic קשיט) is the epithet that is most popularly associated with the figure of Enoch and is one that is well attested throughout all strata of the literature. The Greek and Ethiopic versions⁵³ of *1 En.* 1:2 introduce Enoch as “a righteous man to whom was revealed a vision from God,” and the prologue to the so-called “short version” of the Slavonic Book of Enoch, otherwise known among scholars as *2 Enoch*, mentions “the removal of Enoch the just” where the Slavonic adjective almost

⁴⁸ No such tradition is attested in *Genesis Rabbah*. It seems more likely that the eleventh-century midrashic anthology known as *Bereshit Rabbati* is the intended referent.

⁴⁹ Hekhalot (“palaces”) refers to a particular genre of Jewish mystical literature.

⁵⁰ Bahya ben Asher b. Hilawah, [*Perush ha-Torah*] ([Spain or Portugal]: Defus Shem 'Tov, [1492]), 8b. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 5 under the rubric “Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise.”

⁵¹ Cf. *m. Meg.* 4.2.

⁵² See also Alan Unterman, ed., *The Kabbalistic Tradition: An Anthology of Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 73–4.

⁵³ The relevant line unfortunately does not survive in the Aramaic fragments recovered from Qumran.

certainly renders one of the terms enumerated above.⁵⁴ The same epithet is arguably reflected in a negative way by some Hellenistic sources,⁵⁵ but this disapproving attitude is especially pronounced in early rabbinic interpretations which as a rule are not well disposed toward this forefather,⁵⁶ perhaps in response to the kinds of attributes and values which earlier or contemporary groups of interpreters had attached to him. What does emerge from these dissenting sources is a clear reluctance to concede that Enoch was "righteous" or that he had somehow escaped a mortal death as a result of his exemplary behavior. Over time this hostility to Enoch's alleged virtues would erode, and medieval Jewish literature is replete with traditions about Enoch's "righteousness," his supernatural removal from human concourse, and his bodily transmutation into the angel Metatron, all of which reprise motifs and themes found among the earliest strata of Enochic lore as attested in Second Temple and Roman era parascriptural literature.

A section of the relatively early midrash known as *Genesis Rabbah* preserves a representative series of disparaging assessments of Enoch.⁵⁷ Approaching these traditions sequentially, we first read there: "And Enoch walked with God. . . ." (Gen 5:24a). R. Ḥama in the name of R. Hosh'aya said: He (i.e., Enoch) is not inscribed within the book of the righteous, but instead the book of the wicked." The force of R. Ḥama's critique would seem to be aimed against those literary works or learning circles wherein one might find or hear Enoch described as "righteous,"⁵⁸ such as we have observed in the Enochic sources cited above or will see in the traditions presented below. R. Ḥama adamantly asserts that Enoch was never "righteous," only "wicked," thereby denying a positive valence for Enoch's biblical "walk with God." He would presumably attach a similar assessment to those teachers or writings who would read the biblical syntagm as an endorsement of Enoch's righteousness.

Gen. Rab. 25.1 then continues: "R. Aibo said: Enoch used to waver (between piety and sin). Sometimes he was righteous, other times he was wicked. The Holy One (i.e., God) thought: I will remove him (cf. Gen 5:24b) while he is

⁵⁴ John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 184–5.

⁵⁵ See Sir 44:16 (Greek); Wis 4:7, 10–11; Philo, *Abr.* 17–18; and the remarks of Reeves, *Heralds*, 185.

⁵⁶ The frosty attitude of the rabbinic Sages to Enoch is well illustrated in Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909–38), 5:156–7. Note especially the discussion of Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 122–47.

⁵⁷ *Gen. Rab.* 25.1 (Theodor-Albeck), 238–9. See also Reeves, *Heralds*, 185; John C. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in John C. Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBLJL6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994b), 197 nn. 45–6; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 138–9; Rowland, "Things into Which Angels Long to Look," 39–41.

⁵⁸ Yoram Erder, "Early Karaite Conceptions about Commandments Given before the Revelation of the Torah," *PAAJR* 60 (1994): 122.

righteous. R. Aibo (also) said: He (i.e., God) pronounced his judgment (upon Enoch) at Rosh Hashanah, at the time when He judges the entire world.” This interpretive tradition slightly tempers the more apodictic pronouncement of R. Ḥama by conceding that there were times during his earthly sojourn when Enoch was “righteous,” but that he was also an inveterate backslider: God seized upon one of those variable moments when Enoch happened to be “righteous” (i.e., while he “walked with God”) to remove him from further contact with human society. It seems possible that a corrosive influence was feared: the Hebrew word used by R. Aibo to characterize Enoch’s behavior (חַיִּי) has a semantic range, especially in Aramaic, which encompasses “pagan” religious practices such as idol-worship and polytheistic concepts. In other words, God took Enoch away (“...then he was no longer [there] because God took him” [Gen 5:24b]) before his religiously objectionable beliefs and lifestyle could spread more widely among his contemporaries.⁵⁹ That God’s removal of Enoch connoted his fatality⁶⁰ is implied in the second statement of R. Aibo which plays on the correspondence of the unusual 365-year lifespan accorded Enoch in Gen 5:23 to the same number of days in the liturgical year, a year which begins on Rosh Hashanah with the supernal pronouncement and recording of divine verdicts regarding, among other things, “who will die and who will live” during the coming year.⁶¹

Two anecdotes featuring dialogical encounters between a rabbinic Sage and certain non-rabbinic interlocutors complete this pericope of disparagement by demonstrating that Enoch’s “removal” (לְקִיחָה) by God need not necessarily connote his bodily ascension to heaven. In both instances an overlooked proof-text is invoked (Ezek 24:16) to show that the very same language used of the alleged ascents of Enoch and Elijah is actually ambiguous and can also refer to sudden death. These discussions serve to strengthen the exegetical points just raised by R. Aibo about Enoch’s mortality and moral turpitude, and they indirectly bear witness to the types of early biblical readers or interpreters who might mistakenly embrace Enochic literature or be deceived (from the Sages’ perspective) by its bold claims. By minimizing Enoch and his reputed roles in the inculcation of approved virtues and the authoritative history of revelatory wisdom, the rabbinic Sages fashioned an effective weapon for combating the spread of Enochic traditions among a broad spectrum of Jewish and Christian groups during late antiquity.⁶²

⁵⁹ See the discussion of this passage by S[h]lomo]. Pines, “Jähiliyya and ‘Ilm,” *JSAI* 13 (1990): 192–3 n. 36.

⁶⁰ The same lesson is also expressed in most texts of *Tg. Onk.* Gen 5:24b: “and he was no more, because God killed him” (וְלִיתְהוּי אֲרִי אֲמַרְתָּ יְיָהּ יִי).⁶¹

⁶¹ See, e.g., *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 23.1 (Mandelbaum, 333).

⁶² Michael E. Stone, “Pseudepigraphy Reconsidered,” *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 9 (2006): 1–15, at 6. Note also Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen, 2009; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 321–2.

It is therefore remarkable that in spite of this demonstrable unease with, and even hostility to, the figure of Enoch and the rich legendry surrounding his name that his reputation for piety and orthodox religious behavior enjoys a resurgence among certain medieval Jewish and Muslim circles. For the former, the name of Enoch typically heads the lists which begin to be generated of “the immortals,” or those heroes and heroines of the faith who “did not taste death” and who were admitted to Paradise while still alive.⁶³ For Muslim writers, Enoch in his qur’anic guise of Idrīs (Q 19:56; 21:85–6) embodied a level of piety and righteous behavior which equaled or surpassed the cumulative efforts of all the other members of his generation upon earth, and as a reward for his achievements God “raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:57), a transparent locution for his physical transferal while still alive to heaven.⁶⁴ Given the culturally interlocked nature of these particular Jewish and Islamic sources, it remains difficult to say whether their rehabilitation of the status of Enoch is indebted to the persistent survival or fresh re-promulgation of ancient Enochic literature within this new temporal setting, an interreligious sharing and adaptation of legendary themes and motifs, or some combination of these factors.

Jub. 10:17:

And in his life on earth he (i.e., Noah) surpassed all humans in achieving perfect righteousness, except Enoch; for Enoch had a special function to be a witness to the world’s generations and report all the deeds of each generation till the Day of Judgment.⁶⁵

*Ben Sira 44:16:*⁶⁶

חנוך [ממצ] א תמים והתהלך עם יי
ו[נל] קח אות דעת לדור דדור.

⁶³ Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:95–6 n. 67; Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 197 n. 44.

⁶⁴ There is however some disagreement over what happens to Idrīs *after* he ascends to heaven. Some commentators say he was granted eternal life and a permanent station there, while others assert that he eventually suffered death there. Some later commentators also undermine what appears to be the plain meaning of the text by interpreting the clause “raised him to a lofty place” to signify his “promotion” to the status of “prophet,” or even the “high esteem” with which God regarded him. For textual examples and further discussion, see Chapter 6.

⁶⁵ Translation adapted from that of AOT, 42. See also Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 81–2.

⁶⁶ Hebrew text is that of medieval Ms. B as provided by Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (SVT 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 176, coupled with the restorations found in Moshe Z. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-shalem* (2nd edn; Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1958), 306. Note the comments of Patrick W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 499; Benjamin G. Wright, III, “‘Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest’: Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood,” in Pancratius C. Beentjes, ed., *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28–31 July 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands* (BZAW 255; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 189–222, esp. 214–16.

Enoch [was found] to be perfect,⁶⁷ and he walked with the Lord
And was removed, (thereby becoming) an emblem of knowledge for all generations.

The Masada scroll of Hebrew Ben Sira and the Syriac version of Ben Sira, which was translated directly from a Hebrew *Vorlage*, lack this verse. On the other hand, the medieval Ms. B recovered from the Cairo Genizah begins its list of biblical heroes (Sir 44:1–49:16), like the Greek Sirach, with Enoch,⁶⁸ but the differences exhibited between these two renderings—neither of which “translates” the other—show that the reputation of Enoch was already a point of contention for some Jewish scribes during the second century BCE.

The precise significance of the final clause in the Hebrew text is frustratingly cryptic. Enoch serves as “an emblem of knowledge” (אמ דעת), but knowledge of or about what exactly? Does the curious phrase “sign of wisdom” (*te’merta tebab*) applied to the booklet known as the “Epistle of Enoch” in Ethiopic versions of *1 En.* 92:1 play on or echo this Hebrew epithet?⁶⁹ Some think this enigmatic statement hints at the erudite accomplishments that had already been attributed to this antediluvian forefather in parascriptural lore.⁷⁰ Yet when we read this ascription within the broader context of his individual integrity, his extraction by God, and his exemplary status for his every generation, it also seems plausible to view this label as an early expression of his parascriptural narrative roles as a recording witness to the sinful behaviors of the Flood generation and as an example to future generations of how God intends to reward those who choose to conduct their lives in perfect harmony with the divine will.⁷¹ A similar multi-generational “witnessing” and “recording” function for Enoch is communicated in *Jub.* 10:17, already cited.

⁶⁷ The phrase נמצא חמים is almost certainly a contamination from the following verse about Noah; cf. Gen 6:9 and the remarks of Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira*, 307; Dieter Lührmann, “Henoah und die Metanoia,” *NZw* 66 (1975): 107.

⁶⁸ A. E. Cowley and Ad. Neubauer, eds, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus (XXXIX.15–XLIX.11)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), 20–1; James L. Kugel, “Ancient Biblical Interpretation and the Biblical Sage,” in James L. Kugel, ed., *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (Cambridge: Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies, 2001), 12 n. 7.

⁶⁹ Randal A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation, and Judgment* (SBLJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 11. Qumran Aramaic remains for this passage are too fragmentary for a confident reconstruction, but there does not appear to be any reference to a “sign of wisdom there.”

⁷⁰ Grelot, “La légende d’Hénoch,” 181–2; Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols; trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:204; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 10–11; Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 46; Rowland, “Things into Which Angels Long to Look,” 42.

⁷¹ See already *Jub.* 4:24: “because he (Enoch) was placed there (Eden) as a sign (= Hebrew חַמָּה?) and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the Day of Judgment.” Note also VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 88 n. 40.

T. Levi 10:5 (ed. de Jonge):⁷²

ὁ γὰρ οἶκος, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξῃται κύριος, Ἰερουσαλήμ κληθήσεται, καθὼς περιέχει βίβλος Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου.

For the house which the Lord will choose will be called Jerusalem, according to what a book⁷³ of Enoch the righteous says.⁷⁴

It is notable that this source's designation of Jerusalem as a "house" parallels the discourse used in the Enochic Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 85–90), where the holy city Jerusalem (although this name is never used therein) is a "house" and the Temple is a "tower."⁷⁵ Dillmann suggested *1 En.* 89:50 as the source for this quotation, and he was followed by Lawlor, Charles, and Black.⁷⁶ Eibert Tigchelaar however intriguingly suggests that this quotation forms part of an anti-Samaritan polemic, and he furthermore asserts that the citation from the Enochic work pertains not to *T. Levi* 10:5, but to 10:2b–4, and so he suggests that *1 En.* 89:73–5 is the likely lemma.⁷⁷

T. Judah 18:1 (ed. de Jonge):⁷⁸

Ὅτι καίγε ἀνέγγων ἐν βίβλοισι Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις.

I have also read⁷⁹ in books of Enoch the righteous⁸⁰ all the evil things you will do in the last days.⁸¹

⁷² Greek text cited from M[arinus]. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (PVTG 1.2; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 37. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 161; Dillmann, *Henoch*, 263; R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908a), 49; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (2nd edn; Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 198; Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 269; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis*, 13; Robert A. Kraft, "Enoch and Written Authorities in *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*," in Robert A. Kraft, *Exploring the Scriptures: Jewish Texts and their Christian Contexts* (JSJSup 137; Leiden: Brill, 2009a), 166.

⁷³ The manuscript witnesses *g d m e c h i j* (de Jonge's sigla) read 'the book' (ἡ βίβλος).

⁷⁴ See also Marinus de Jonge, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in AOT, 532.

⁷⁵ Dillmann, *Henoch*, 262–3; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 46–7; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 382. A few manuscripts however read "Israel" instead of "Jerusalem," in which case the word "house" would refer to the *family* (בית) of Jacob.

⁷⁶ Dillmann, *Henoch*, 263; H. J. Lawlor, "Early Citations from the Book of Enoch," *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897): 170; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, lxxvi; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 269.

⁷⁷ Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic* (OTS 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 202 n. 76.

⁷⁸ Text cited from de Jonge, *Critical Edition*, 71. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 163; Charles, *Greek Versions*, 93; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 14; Kraft, "Enoch and Written Authorities," 167.

⁷⁹ The manuscript witnesses *e a f c h i j* (de Jonge's sigla) have "I know" (ἔγγνων or ἔγνωκα) instead of "I have read."

⁸⁰ The manuscript witnesses *c h i j* (de Jonge's sigla) lack the reference to "in a/the book/books of Enoch."

⁸¹ Lawlor ("Early Citations," 170–1) suggests that it is "an application" of *1 En.* 89:53ff. and that *Barn.* 16:5 may reflect the same source.

A multiplicity of Enochic tracts is known from Qumran or later collections of writings like *1 Enoch*, and so a corresponding plurality of “books”⁸² ascribed to Enoch in an early source is not surprising. This passage is however illustrative of a graver difficulty attending the various citations from Enochic writings in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that has been highlighted by R. H. Charles and Robert A. Kraft. The extant manuscripts fluctuate in their references to one or more writings attributed to Enoch and between the use of verbal formations like “I have read (in a book of Enoch) that such-and-such will transpire” versus “I know (without reliance upon any written source) that such-and-such will transpire,” leading Charles to suggest that almost all of the Enochic citations in the *Testaments* were later “interpolations” by Jewish scribes who were critical of Hasmonean rule and their control of the Temple cult.⁸³ By contrast, Kraft deems it “less likely that the Enoch references are additions to an earlier text that made little or no reference to Enoch, than the opposite.”⁸⁴ He plausibly suggests that a growing discomfort on the part of some of the scribes who transmitted the *Testaments* with the exalted status these writings accorded to Enoch, or with an implied endorsement of the revelatory nature of his *oeuvre*, may be responsible for the “demise of Enoch” among some manuscripts of the *Testaments*.

T. Dan 5:6 (ed. de Jonge):⁸⁵

Ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ σατανᾶς, καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πορνείας καὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τῷ Λευὶ ὑπακούσονται, τοῦ παρεδρεύειν τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευί, τοῦ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ἕξαμαρτάνειν ἐνώπιον κυρίου.

For I have read⁸⁶ in a book of Enoch the righteous⁸⁷ that your lord is Satan, and that all the spirits of immorality⁸⁸ and pride will obey Levi, to attend the descendants of Levi in order to make them commit sin against the Lord.⁸⁹

⁸² The manuscript witnesses *g l d* (de Jonge’s sigla) have the singular βίβλῳ.

⁸³ Charles, *Greek Versions*, xlvii; R. H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908b), lvii–lix.

⁸⁴ Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities,” 170.

⁸⁵ Greek text cited from de Jonge, *Critical Edition*, 108. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 163; Charles, *Greek Versions*, 137–8; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 12. The first two clauses of the Greek text are cited by Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities,” 168.

⁸⁶ The manuscript witnesses *c h i j* (de Jonge’s sigla) have the variant reading(s) “and I know/find” (καὶ ἔγνων/εὑρον).

⁸⁷ “The textual evidence suggests that the text behind *c h i j*, as is normal for that text type . . . did not refer to the book of Enoch here” (Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities,” 168).

⁸⁸ The manuscript witnesses *l f c h i j* (de Jonge’s sigla) have the variant reading *πονηρίας* “wickedness.” Cf. Eph 6:12.

⁸⁹ Dillmann (*Henoch*, lv) and Charles associate this saying with *1 En.* 71:15 (Charles points also to *2 En.* 18:3; cf. his *APOT* 2:440); Lawlor (“Early Citations,” 170) and Black (*Apocalypsis*, 12) with *1 En.* 54:6.

This passage with its surprising exposure of Satan as the ruler of this patriarch's descendants may furnish one of the earliest hints of an alleged ethnic association of the figure of the Antichrist with the tribe of Dan.⁹⁰

T. Benjamin 9:1 (ed. de Jonge):⁹¹

Ἵπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ καλὰς ἔσσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου. Πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπολείσθε ἕως βραχύ, καὶ ἀνανεώσεσθε ἐν γυναιξὶ στρήγους, καὶ βασιλεία κυρίου οὐκ ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν· ὅτι εὐθύς αὐτὸς λήψεται αὐτήν.

But—based on the words of Enoch the righteous—I also suspect that there will be deeds among you that are not good. For you will practice the immorality of the people of Sodom, and you will perish until only a few remain,⁹² yet you will renew yourselves with concupiscent women.⁹³ So the kingdom of the Lord will not remain among you, for He will immediately remove it.⁹⁴

As already signaled, one of the consequences of the “righteous” status of the seventh forefather was his putative intimate relationship with the divine world. This often manifests itself as being privy to special information that is normally not available to other humans. In these four instances cited from the early Christian *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, “Enoch the righteous” is credited with pronouncements about certain events which would take place during the future course of Israel’s history. The city of Jerusalem (or possibly Israel) would be chosen as God’s domicile, kingship would only temporarily be housed among the tribe of Benjamin, the levitical priesthood would eventually suffer corruption, and the offspring of Judah (Hasmonean rulers? the Jews?) would behave wickedly in the final days leading up to the eschaton. A connection

⁹⁰ Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (London, 1896; repr., Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 171–4; Charles, *Testaments*, 128–9. Note also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.30.2 along with the remarks of Marinus de Jonge, “Hippolytus’ ‘Benedictions of Isaac, Jacob, and Moses’ and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in Marinus de Jonge, *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge* (NovTSup 63; Leiden: Brill, 1991a), 214–15. A thorough exposition of this likely Christian notion has been supplied by Charles E. Hill, “Antichrist from the Tribe of Dan,” *JTS* n.s. 46 (1995): 99–117.

⁹¹ Text cited from de Jonge, *Critical Edition*, 175. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 165–6; Charles, *Greek Versions*, 226; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 14; Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities,” 169.

⁹² An allusion to the events depicted in Judg 19:1–20:48. The “immorality” of both Sodom and Benjamin consists of a callous inhospitality to the stranger, an interpretation that is consonant with those found in early passages like Ezek 16:49–50; Wis 19:13–17; Matt 10:14–15; *1 Clem.* 11:1–2; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.194–5. The inhabitants of “Gibeah which is part of Benjamin” (Judg 19:14) are similarly labeled “Sodomites” in some of the vernacular paraphrases of Judges 19–20 contained in early thirteenth-century *Bibles moralisées*; see especially Robert Mills, “Seeing Sodom in the *Bibles moralisées*,” *Spec* 87 (2012): 432–6.

⁹³ An allusion to the events depicted in Judg 21:1–25.

⁹⁴ Lawlor (“Early Citations,” 170) suggests *2 En.* 34:2; so also Charles. Both scholars however have misunderstood the scriptural allusions in this text.

between the tribe of Dan and Satan is also signaled. In three of the four passages, Enoch's message is explicitly linked to one or more "books" circulating under his name. If we accept with Kraft that the references to Enochic writings and sayings belong to a more primitive stage of the *Testaments'* manuscript history, we can safely fit this evidence of Enoch's credibility within the more general attitude of Christian writers to Enochic authority prior to the fourth century.

Another privilege connected with Enoch's "righteousness" that underscores his intimacy with God is his supposed removal from human society (Gen 5:24), a change in residence that can sometimes result in a largely unencumbered access to the different levels of heaven and even the divine throne room itself. This transferal is illustrated in our next textual example taken from the biblical commentary on the biblical Book of Genesis by Ephrem Syrus (d. 373). We have already cited a portion of Ephrem's interpretation of the sudden disappearance of Enoch in our preceding discussion when we considered the remarks of Elijah of Anbār. Enoch's escape from death and his physical relocation to or beyond the boundaries of human society is actually a major theme of the legendry which surrounds his life in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim narratives, and it will receive separate attention in a later chapter. But since Ephrem so closely weds the removal of Enoch with his "righteous" status—the rubric with which we are presently concerned—we will present the entire text here.

Ephrem Syrus, *Commentary ad Gen 5:21–4* (ed. Tonneau):⁹⁵

בְּחַסְדֵי אֱלֹהִים וְעַל מַעֲשֵׂי אֱלֹהִים, אֲדַבֵּר וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים
 וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים
 וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים וְגַם אֲדַבֵּר עִמָּךְ בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהִים.

It is written about Enoch that "he was pleasing to God, and then he was not (here)" (Peshitta Gen 5:24). For they say that He transferred him to Paradise while Adam was gazing at him, lest he think that he had been killed like Abel and experience distress over it. (He did it) too in order to comfort him about the righteous descendant he had, and so that he might know that everyone who imitated such a one would have their dwelling there (i.e., in Paradise)—either prior to death or after the (general) resurrection.⁹⁶

According to Ephrem, God first wanted to allay Adam's potential distress over a sudden unexplained absence of Enoch from his accustomed haunts. The deity thus decided to effect Enoch's transferal in Adam's presence so there might be

⁹⁵ Tonneau, ed., *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim*, 55.6–11.

⁹⁶ Additional English renderings are Edward G. Mathews, Jr. and Joseph P. Amar, *St. Ephrem the Syrian, Selected Prose Works: Commentary on Genesis, Commentary on Exodus, Homily on Our Lord, Letter to Publius* (FC 91; ed. Kathleen McVey; Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 133–4; Frishman, "Themes on Genesis 1–5," 181.

no misunderstanding about Enoch's disappearance. This reading however, while sentimentally touching, does not cohere with the chronographic scheme embedded in the Masoretic and Syriac versions of Genesis 5:3–32: Adam dies fifty-seven years before Enoch attains the age of 365, the point in narratological time when Enoch allegedly disappears from human society. Are we to understand that Adam was awoken and shown Enoch's removal at an early point in his postmortem state? This is hardly likely.

More importantly, however, Enoch's removal becomes an object lesson to Adam and the other members of Enoch's generation to show how God intends to reward those who lead lives in perfect harmony with the divine will.⁹⁷ Faintly embedded within this exegetical scenario is a rebuke directed at Adam: had the latter not stumbled in his obedience to God's commandment, he could have maintained a bodily presence within Paradise and not suffered expulsion. Thus Enoch, by virtue of his righteous lifestyle, physically replaces the first human who dwelt in the Garden when God takes him to Paradise.⁹⁸ Enoch's example proves that devotion to righteous behavior is a goal that can be successfully accomplished by mortal beings, and what is more, that an identical destiny awaits those who emulate his—as opposed to Adam's—conduct.⁹⁹ But this was not the only message that could be extracted from an Adam/Enoch dialectic. The sixth-century homilist Cyrus of Edessa interprets the very same ascension of Enoch as a sign of encouragement that was directed not to Adam or his wayward progeny, but instead to the angelic hosts who were becoming discouraged by human frailty and sinfulness and who were starting to question each other and even the deity himself about the utility of their service to what seemed to be a hopelessly depraved human species.¹⁰⁰ This hint at the mythic theme of an angelic jealousy of humanity and of even a rivalry in heaven echoes similar tensions found in our oldest strands of Enochic literature, and we might be justified in asking whether Cyrus has such literature in mind when he advances this particular reading of the removal of Enoch.

⁹⁷ A strikingly similar point is made by the Hebrew *Pseudo-Ben Sira* text below. Cf. also Midrash ha-Gadol ad Gen 5:24 (Margalioth, 132): *ולא אלו בלבד אלא כל הצדיקים הו עולין ומשמיעין במרום*: “But it is not these only (i.e., Enoch, Elijah, and Moses); rather, all those who are righteous are going to ascend and perform service in the heavenly heights.”

⁹⁸ One might compare the Armenian apocryphal story about Enoch's supplanting of Adam that is found in Erwin Preuschen, “Die apokryphen gnostischen Adamschriften,” in *Festgruss Bernhard Stade: Zur feier seiner 25 jährigen Wirksamkeit als Professor* (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1900), 165–252, at 199–200.

⁹⁹ This has been termed by Moshe Idel a “theodical approach to Enoch's connection with Adam”; see especially his “Adam and Enoch According to St. Ephrem the Syrian,” *Kabbalah* 6 (2001): 183–205, at 192.

¹⁰⁰ William F. Macomber, ed., *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts by Cyrus of Edessa: An East Syrian Theologian of the Mid Sixth Century* (CSCO 355–6; script. syri 155–6; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1974), 153–4 (text); 135 (trans.). See also Frishman, “Themes on Genesis 1–5,” 180.

Cologne Mani Codex 58.6–16 (ed. Koenen-Römer):¹⁰¹

πάλιν καὶ ὁ Ἐνώχ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔφη ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψει· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἐνώχ ὁ δίκαιος. λύπη μοί ἐστιν μεγάλη καὶ χύσις δακρῶν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου διὰ τὸ ἀκηκοῖναι με τὸν ὀνειδισμόν τὸν προελθόντα ἐκ στόματος τῶν ἀ[σ]εβῶν.

Moreover Enoch also speaks in a similar manner in his apocalypse: “I am Enoch the righteous. My sorrow was great, and a torrent of tears (streamed) from my eyes because I heard the insult which the wicked ones uttered.”¹⁰²

Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 19.3 (ed. Zycha):¹⁰³

Ubi uero horum quidem nihil memorat. Sola uero recenset antiquiora praecepta. Id est: non occides, non moechaberis, non peierabis—haec autem erant antiquitas in nationibus, ut est in promptu probare, olim promulgata per Enoch et Seth et ceteras eorum similes iustos, quibus eadem inlustres tradiderint angeli temperandae in hominibus gratia feritatis—cui non uideatur hoc eum de ueritatis lege et eius prophetis?

[The Manichaean teacher Faustus is speaking]: He (i.e., Jesus in Matt 5:21–33) mentions nothing about these (i.e., Jewish ritual laws), but only recounts the commandments from ancient times; for example: do not kill, do not commit adultery, do not bear false witness (i.e., moral prohibitions). As can be easily shown, moreover, these arrived among people long ago, being promulgated formerly by Enoch, Seth, and other righteous ones to whom these were delivered by illustrious angels in order to temper the savagery of humans. Can one not see that it is about this law and these legitimate prophets (that Jesus was speaking)?¹⁰⁴

According to Manichaean prophetology, certain antediluvian biblical forefathers such as Seth and Enoch were authentic mouthpieces for the basic truths of Manichaeism to the early generations of humankind, a repertoire of teachings which they received and disseminated as a result of the revelatory experiences for which they enjoyed an inter-religious renown among a number of biblically affiliated groups. The *Cologne Mani Codex*, an invaluable Greek text probably emanating from the fourth or fifth century and which purports to be a biographical account of the early life and missionary career of that infamous dualist prophet, connects five characters from the early chapters of the biblical Book of Genesis (Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, and Shem) and the Christian apostle Paul to the reception and teaching of what are couched as Manichaean doctrines. These characters are all made to describe ascent-experiences, conversations with angelic beings, and the careful recording in written form of what they learned about the composition and

¹⁰¹ Ludwig Koenen and Cornelia Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex . . . Kritische Edition* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988), 38. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the heading “Enoch as a Confidant and Apprentice of Angels.”

¹⁰² A revised translation of Reeves, *Heralds*, 183.

¹⁰³ Iosephus Zycha, ed., *Sancti Aureli Augustini . . . Contra Faustum* (CSEL 25; Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1891), 498.18–25.

¹⁰⁴ See also *NPNF* 4:240, and note Michel Tardieu, “Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament,” in Michel Tardieu, ed., *Les règles de l'interprétation* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), 136.

destiny of the universe. It is then no surprise that an African Manichaean bishop,¹⁰⁵ the fourth-century Faustus of Milevis, can be represented as endorsing the superiority of the primordial moral principles (no shedding of blood, etc.) supposedly taught by “Enoch, Seth, and other righteous ones (*iustos*)”—which are implicitly equated with Manichaeism and its stringent precepts for human behavior—to the elaborate layers of civil and ritual stipulations associated with “corrupted” forms of Jewish, “semi-Christian,” and pagan religiosity.¹⁰⁶

The use of the epithet “righteous” in Manichaean discourse however possesses an additional nuance beyond what we find when it is applied to an individual in early Jewish texts,¹⁰⁷ where the one receiving this cognomen “is completely successful in meeting the demands of the Torah” and is a person “whose merits outnumber his transgressions.”¹⁰⁸ “Righteousness” (Arabic *ṣiddiqūn*) is the Manichaean religion’s preferred self-designation,¹⁰⁹ and within that religion, the “practice of righteousness” refers to the observance of the distinctive precepts by one belonging to the caste of *electi* (males) or *electae* (females), those who constitute its sacerdotal class and who are actively engaged in the reclamation of the displaced fragments from the Realm of Light which are now embedded in the physical world.¹¹⁰ Therefore when Enoch is made to introduce himself as “Enoch the righteous” in the otherwise unattested Manichaean apocalypse already quoted,¹¹¹ this appellation connotes more than an individually established reputation

¹⁰⁵ Augustine, *Conf.* 5.3.3.

¹⁰⁶ Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (WUNT 63; 2nd edn; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992), 156; Jason David BeDuhn, *Augustine’s Manichaean Dilemma, I: Conversion and Apostasy, 373–388 C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 120.

¹⁰⁷ An exemplary discussion of the rabbinic categories of “the righteous and the wicked” is provided by Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (2nd edn; 2 vols; trans. Israel Abrahams; Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979), 1:483–511.

¹⁰⁸ Gershom Scholem, “*Tsaddik: The Righteous One*,” in Gershom Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (trans. Joachim Neugroschel; New York: Schocken Books, 1991b), 89–90.

¹⁰⁹ Hans Heinrich Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I* (Halle, 1930; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), 282–5; François de Blois, “Glossary of Technical Terms and Uncommon Expressions in Arabic (and in Muslim New Persian),” in François de Blois and Nicholas Sims-Williams, eds, *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts, Vol. II: Texts from Iraq and Iran (Texts in Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Zoroastrian Middle Persian)* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 56–7; Fernando Bermejo Rubio, “Further Remarks on the Manichaean Nature of *EYXH TΩN IPOBOΛΩN* (P. Kell. Gr. 98),” *ZPE* 168 (2009): 233–4.

¹¹⁰ See the primary source references gathered by John C. Reeves, “Manichaean Citations from the Prose Refutations of Ephrem,” in Paul Mirecki and Jason BeDuhn, eds, *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (NHMS 43; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 287 n. 127; Jason David BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body: In Discipline and Ritual* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 25–30.

¹¹¹ Mimicking of course “authentic” Enochic discourse such as *1 En.* 1:2, the prologue to the so-called “short version” of *2 Enoch*, and thinly veiled references to him such as *Wis* 4:7–11, as discussed by Reeves, *Heralds*, 184–5.

for just dealings and the correct observance of the divinely enjoined code of law. Enoch has become an *electus*, a paragon of the ascetic stringency demanded of its most extreme devotees by Manichaean religiosity. A question worth pondering is whether the later use in certain Jewish circles of the nominal adjective “righteous” to signify control over or renunciation of the sex drive that is remarked by Gershom Scholem owes anything to the way in which Manichaeans had appropriated and used this particular term.¹¹²

Pseudo-*Titus, De dispositione sanctimonii* (ed. de Bruyne):¹¹³

O diuina dei meditatio ut ante praeuidere de futuro seculo, ut enoch iustus de primo populo reputate constituitur scribere gesta hominum priora, et helias sanctus huius plebis serotinae nouae conscriberet acta.

O excellent plan of God which has provided for the future age! From among the earliest people Enoch the righteous was appointed to write down the deeds of the first humans, and the holy Elijah records the new deeds of this later people!¹¹⁴

2 *En. 1a:1* (short):

(This stems) from the secret book(s) about the taking away of Enoch the just.¹¹⁵

Q 19:56–7:

وذكر في الكتاب إدريس انه كان صديقا نبيا ورفعه مكانا عليا.

Mention in the book *Idris*, for he was a truthful one, a prophet; and We raised him to a lofty place.¹¹⁶

Q 21:85–6:

وإسمعيل وإدريس وذا الكفل كل من الصبرين وادخلتهم في رحمتنا إنهم من الصالحين.

(Make mention of) Ishmael, Idris, and Dhū'l-Kifl:¹¹⁷ each one of them was constant, and We made them enter in Our mercy, for they were among the righteous ones.

¹¹² Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky; trans. Allan Arkush; [Philadelphia/Princeton]: Jewish Publication Society/Princeton University Press, 1987), 155–6.

¹¹³ Donatien de Bruyne, “Epistula Titi, discipuli Pauli, de dispositione sanctimonii,” *Revue Bénédictine* 37 (1925): 55.271–4. A full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 5 below under the rubric “Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise.”

¹¹⁴ See also Aurelio de Santos Otero, “The Pseudo-*Titus* Epistle,” in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963–5), 2:153.

¹¹⁵ Adapted from the translation of Andersen, *OTP* 1:103.

¹¹⁶ A reference to the alleged ascension of Enoch as suggested by Gen 5:22–4 and as explicitly depicted by Enochic literature. Cf. *1 En.* 87:3 and see Reeves, “Some Explorations,” 44–9.

¹¹⁷ Dhū'l-Kifl is an enigmatic figure who appears here and in Q 38:48 wherein he is listed with Ishmael and Elisha. No clear biblical prototype is visible behind this label, and a number of different identifications have been proffered by both traditional and modern commentators. See I[srael]. Friedlaender, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman: Eine sagengeschichtliche und literarhistorische Untersuchung* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1913), 137 n. 7; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Biblical Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 157; Georges Vajda, “Dhū'l-Kifl,” *EI* 2:242; Aviva Schussman, “The Prophet Ezekiel in Islamic Literature: Jewish Traces and Islamic Adaptations,” in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A.

3 *Enoch* §9 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):¹¹⁸

אמר ר' ישמעאל אמר לי מסטרון מלאך שר הפנים כשבקש ה'ב'ה להעלות אותי למרום בתחלה שיגר לי ענפיאל יוז השר ונטלני מביניהם לעיניהם והרכיבני בכבוד גדול על רכב אש וסוסי אש ומשרתי כבוד והעלני עם השכינה לשמי מרום וכיון שהגעתי לשמי מרום והיו חיות הקדש ואופנים ושרפים וכרובים וגלגלי המרכבה ומשרתי אש אוכלה מריחין את ריחי בריהוק שלש מאות וששים וחמשת אלפים רבבות פרסאות ואומרים מה רית ילוד אשה ומה טעם סיפת לבן שהיא עולה לשמי מרום ושמש בין תרביי שלהבת משיב ה'ב'ה ואומר להם משרתי צבאי כרובי ואופני ושרפי אל ירע לכם בדבר זה שכל בני אדם כפרו בי ובמלכותי הגדולה והלכו ועבדו ע'ו ו[?] סלקתי שכינתי מביניהם והעליתי למרום זה שנטלתי מביניהם מובחר שבכולם זה שקול כנגד כולם באמונה ובצדקה ובכשרון מעש זה שנטלתי שכרי בעולמי תחת כל השמים.

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angelic Prince of the Presence, said to me, "When the Holy One, blessed be He, sought to elevate me to the (celestial) height, He dispatched the prince 'Anafiel YWY"¹¹⁹ to me, and while they (i.e., his human contemporaries) were watching he removed me from among them, and he transported¹²⁰ me in great dignity on a fiery chariot and horses and (with) noble ministrants. He raised me with the Shekinah up to the high heavens. As I approached the high heavens, the holy beasts, *ofannim*, seraphim, cherubim, chariot wheels, and ministering 'consuming fire' detected my odor at a distance of 365,000 myriad parasangs. They said: 'What?!? The smell of one born of woman?? Why should this (spawn of) a white drop¹²¹ ascend to the high heavens to serve among those who were hewn from flames?' The Holy One, blessed be He, answered them and said: 'O My servants, My hosts, My cherubim, My *ofannim*, and My seraphim! Do not upset yourselves about this matter. Every human disbelieves in Me and My great kingdom; they have gone and worshiped idols. Hence I have raised up My Shekinah from among them and brought it to the (celestial) height, and this one whom I took from among them is the choicest one of them all. He is the equal of all the rest

Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 321–2, 330–1; Heribert Busse, "Dhū l-Kifl," in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qurān* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2001–6), 1:527–9.

¹¹⁸ Peter Schäfer, ed., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981), 7. Cf. the parallel Ms. Munich 40 (*ibid.*, 6).

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Hekhalot Rabbati* and Zohar 2.202b. On the angel 'Anafiel, see Reuven Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1945), 163; Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edn; repr., New York: Schocken, 1978), 70; Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGJU 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 167–8; 202–5; Vita Daphna Arbel, *Beholders of Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 83.

¹²⁰ והרכיבני. Ms. Munich 40 reads והדריכני "and he led me."

¹²¹ Cf. *m. 'Abot* 3.1; *b. Nid.* 31a. Note also Q 16:4; 36:77; 80:18–19; cf. 53:45–6. With regard to the polarity remarked here between the holiness of heaven and the impurity of the human interloper, see the important observations of Ra'anana S. Boustani, *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism* (TSAJ 112; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 115–19.

of them in piety, righteousness, and proper behavior.¹²² Therefore I removed this one as My reward in My world beneath all the heavens."¹²³

Similar to what we find in the concluding words of this passage from the so-called 3 *Enoch*, the bulk of the remaining excerpts included in this section emphasize the singular righteousness of Enoch among his peers, a motif which dovetails nicely with the exemplary religious conduct often ascribed to Enoch in the Enochic literature,¹²⁴ but which classical Jewish and Christian literature tends to avoid. It should be remarked that all of these sources postdate the rise of Islam.

*Pseudo-Ben Sira recension A 22 (ed. Yassif):*¹²⁵

מפני מה הללו לא טעמו מיתת א"ל שכולם היו צדיקים בדורם חנוך כל דורו היו רשעים גמורים והוא היה צדיק גמור ולכן נדמה למלאכי השרת שלא יאמרו הרשעים שבדור מה העלילו צדקו והרי הוא כאותן שמרדו במקום לפיכך לא מת.

[They asked:] Why did these not experience the taste of death? He responded to them: Because each of them were the righteous ones within their (respective) generation. (With regard to) Enoch, his entire generation was completely wicked, but he was completely righteous. Because he seemed like one of the ministering angels, [and]¹²⁶ so that the wicked ones of his generation could not say "How did his righteousness benefit him, since he (was punished) like those who rebelled against the Omnipresent!" he did not die.¹²⁷

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* (ed. Aguadé).¹²⁸

ولم يكن في زمانه أكثر ذكرا الله منه كان يرتفع الى السماء في كل يوم من ذكره أكثر مما يرتفع من ذكر أهل زمانه.

¹²² Note the testimonia of Maqdisi and Tha'labi below for verbally similar appraisals of Enoch vis-à-vis his contemporaries.

¹²³ With regard to this final section, compare Idel, *Ben*, 136; Joseph Dan, ed., *The Heart and the Fountain: An Anthology of Jewish Mystical Experiences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 68–9.

¹²⁴ 1 *En.* 93:3; *Jub.* 10:17.

¹²⁵ Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle-Ages: A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 253–4. The full citation from this source is presented in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to *Gan Eden* or the (Eastern?) Ends of the Earth."

¹²⁶ This addition would seem to be presupposed.

¹²⁷ Compare the text of *Pseudo-Ben Sira* recension B: חנוך שכל דורו רשעים גמורים היו והוא היה צדיק (With regard to) Enoch, since all of his generation was completely wicked, whereas he was completely righteous and seemed like one of the ministering angels, he was therefore brought while (still) alive into the Garden of Eden." Text from Yassif, *Tales of Ben Sira*, 253–4. The same explanation is repeated almost verbatim in the eleventh-century *Bereshit Rabbati* of R. Moshe ha-Darshan: שכל דורו היו רשעים גמורים והוא היה צדיק גמור: "since all of his (Enoch's) generation was completely wicked and he was completely righteous, he was therefore made like one of the ministering angels." Text cited from Ḥanokh Albeck, ed., *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (Jerusalem: Mekitze Nirdamim, 1940), 96.26–97.1.

¹²⁸ 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-ta'rikh* (ed. Jorge Aguadé; Madrid: al-Majlis al-A'lā lil-Abḥāth al-'Ilmīyah, 1991), 36.16–18. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

During his (i.e., Enoch's) time invocation of God was relatively rare: each day there would rise to heaven more invocations from him than would rise from (the rest of) the people of his time.

Pseudo-Aṣma'ī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (ed. Dānīsh-Pazhūh):¹²⁹

وكان عابدا مجتهدا يصعد له من العمل كل يوم مثل ما يصعد لسائر ولد آدم لكثرة كان فيهم من المشركين وعبيدة الأوثان.

And he (Enoch) was a diligent devotee (of God): more service would ascend from him (i.e., Enoch) each day than would ascend from the rest of the descendants of Adam because the vast majority of those among them were polytheists and engaged in the worship of idols.

Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau):¹³⁰

وكان يصعد له في اليوم من العمل ما لا يصعد لبنى آدم في الشهر.

More service would ascend from him (i.e., Enoch) in a day than would ascend from (the other) humans in a month.

Ka'b al-Aḥbār apud Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*:¹³¹

قال كعب أما إدريس فإن الله أوحى إليه إني رافع لك كل يوم مثل عمل جميع بنى آدم فأحب أن تزاد عملا.

Ka'b (al-Aḥbār) said (with regard to the verse "...and We raised him to a lofty place" [Q 19:57]): As for Idrīs, God revealed to him: "It is time for Me to raise you up! Each day you perform just as much service as (that of) the rest of humanity, and I want you to add to (your) service!"

Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (ed. de Goeje):¹³²

وقال غيره من اهل التوراة . . . وهو أول من خط بعد آدم وجاهد بسبيل الله.

Another (authority) from the people of the Torah said (of Enoch): . . . He was the first after Adam to write and to dedicate himself to the path of God.

¹²⁹ [Pseudo-Aṣma'ī], *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānīsh-Pazhūh; Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1996), 9.5–6. Important information about this source is in Edward G. Browne, "Some Account of the Arabic Work Entitled 'Nihāyatu'l-irab fī akhbār'il-Furs wa'l-'Arab,' Particularly of That Part Which Treats of the Persian Kings," *JRAS* (1900): 195–259; Mario Grignaschi, "La *Nihāyatu-l-'Arab fī Aḥbār-i-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab* (première partie)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 22 (1969): 15–67; Mario Grignaschi, "La *Nihāyatu-l-'Arab fī Aḥbār-i-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab* et les *Siyaru Mulūki-l-'Aḡam* du Ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffā," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 26 (1973): 83–184; Sarah Bowen Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory, and Conversion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 156–8. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

¹³⁰ Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabir* (9 vols; ed. Eduard Sachau, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1905–40), 1/1:16.16–17. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise."

¹³¹ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān (Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī)* (15 vols; Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2002), 9:127 (#23770). The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

¹³² Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk (Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari)* (15 vols; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1964–5), 1/1:173.3–4. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (ed. Huart):¹³³

وكان يصعد له من العمل في كل يوم مثل عمل بني آدم كلهم فشكر الله ذلك له فرفعه مكانا عليا.

More service would ascend from him each day than the service offered by all (the other) humans, and God decided he deserved recognition for this (activity), so He “raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:57).

Interestingly Enoch’s removal from human society was also explicitly deemed a “reward” (שכר) in the Jewish Hekhalot text excerpted above,¹³⁴ although there the reward was described as being for God Himself, whereas in the philologically related tradition recounted by Maqdisī (فشكر الله ذلك له), Enoch is the one receiving the reward; namely, a blissful fate of escaping death and sojourning among the inhabitants of heaven. Maqdisī knows some Jewish mystical traditions from his reading of the Karaite writer Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Qirqisānī,¹³⁵ inasmuch as the latter’s *Kitāb al-anwār* roundly condemns and even quotes from Rabbanite speculations about the angelification of Enoch.¹³⁶ A similar locution however is already present several generations prior to Maqdisī in the report of the Andalusian historian ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb,¹³⁷ and so perhaps we should resist the temptation to posit some sort of linguistic connection between these particular Jewish and Muslim traditions.

Wahb b. Munabbih *apud* Tha‘labī, *‘Arā’is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā*:¹³⁸

(وقال وهب) كان يرفع له كل يوم من العبادة مثل ما يرفع لاهل الارض جميعهم في زمانه.

(Wahb [b. Munabbih] said:) Every day there would ascend from him (i.e., Idrīs) as much worship as would come up from all the (other) people on earth in his time.¹³⁹

As briefly noted above, Wahb b. Munabbih (d. c.730?) was a principal channel for the transmission of Jewish biblical and aggadic traditions into early Islam.

¹³³ Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (6 vols; ed. Cl. Huart; Paris: E. Leroux, 1899–1919), 3:12.3–4. For information about this source, see the anonymous article “al-Muṭaḥhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī,” *EI* 7:762; also Tarif Khalidī, “Mu’tazilite Historiography: Maqdisī’s *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ*,” *JNES* 35 (1976): 1–12. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

¹³⁴ 3 *Enoch* §9 (ed. Schäfer): “this one whom I took from among them is the choicest one of them all. He is the equal of all the rest of them in piety, righteousness, and proper behavior. Therefore I removed this one as My reward in My world beneath all the heavens.”

¹³⁵ Steven Mark Wasserstrom, “Species of Misbelief: A History of Muslim Heresiography of the Jews” (PhD diss., The University of Toronto, 1985), 90.

¹³⁶ e.g., Leon Nemoy, ed., *Kitāb al-anwār wa'l-marāqib* [5 vols; New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1939–43], 1.4.2 [31.15–32.1], which provides a “quotation” from the *‘Otiyyot de-R. ‘Aqiva*.

¹³⁷ ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-ta'riḫ* (ed. Aguadé), 36.16: فشكر الله فعله “so God rewarded his behavior.”

¹³⁸ Tha‘labī, *K. qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, 47.1–2.

¹³⁹ Note also Tha‘labī, *‘Arā’is al-Majālis* (trans. Brinner), 84. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric “Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death.”

al-Kisā'ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):¹⁴⁰

وكان مشغلا بالعبادة ومجالسة الصالحين حتى بلغ الحلم فانفرد بالعبادة حتى برز فيها على جميع من كان في عصره.

He was rigorous in (his) religious devotion and (in seeking out) the company of pious men until he had attained puberty. Then he isolated himself in order to practice devotion until he surpassed in it everyone else who lived in his time.

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):¹⁴¹

כי לקח אותו אלהים רבנין אמרי חנוך היה תחלה לצדיקים אמר הב"ה כל דורו רשעים וזה השלים אחרי
אך אני אעשנו דוגמה.

"For God took him" (Gen 5:24). The Sages say (that) Enoch was the first of the righteous ones. The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "The whole of his generation is wicked, but this one is completely devoted to Me. Hence I will make him an example!"

Of special interest here is the label "example" (דוגמה) that is applied to Enoch because it is reminiscent of the terminology encountered over a millennium earlier in Sir 44:16 where, as we have seen, Enoch is portrayed as an "emblem" (אות) or "example" (ὁπόδειγμα). It even seems possible that the word choice in *Bereshit Rabbati* may directly reflect the older apocryphal source, given the long recognized presence of Second Temple literary survivals in this medieval anthology of aggadic lore.

Ms. British Library Hebr. 746 fol. 108b–109a (ed. Scholem):¹⁴²

ושמעתי שעליו נרמו וצדיק יסוד עולם בשביל צדיק אחד העולם מתקיים וזהו חנוך בן ירד.

And I have heard that (the verse) "a righteous one (is) the foundation of the world" (Prov 10:25) alludes to him: the world endures on account of one righteous individual, and this is Enoch b. Yared.¹⁴³

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Ṣāliḫānī):¹⁴⁴

وهذا حنوخ تمسك بوصايا الله الطاهرة وعمل بها وتبع الخير وصرّف عن الشرّ مواظبا على العبادة ثلاثمائة سنة.

This Enoch devotedly kept the commandments of God Most Holy, and he put them into practice. He followed what was good and kept away from what was evil, remaining diligent in devotional service for three hundred years.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ I. Eisenberg, ed., *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā': Vita Prophetarum auctore Muḥammed ben 'Abdallah al-Kisā'ī* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1922–3), 1:81.19–21.

¹⁴¹ Albeck, *Bereshit Rabbati*, 26.25–27.2; cf. also Margalio, *Malakey 'elyon*, 74. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

¹⁴² Scholem, *Rēshit ha-Qabbalah*, 253. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 6 under the heading "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

¹⁴³ See also Idel, "Adam and Enoch," 201; Idel, *Ben*, 647.

¹⁴⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Antoine Ṣāliḫānī; Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1890), 11.1–3. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Gan Eden or the (Eastern?) Ends of the Earth."

¹⁴⁵ An exegesis based ultimately upon Gen 5:22: יתחלך חנוך את האלהים אחרי הולדו אח מתשלח שלש מאות שנה "After he fathered Methuselah, Enoch walked with God for three hundred years."

Sefer ha-Ḥešeḡ §30 (ed. Epstein):¹⁴⁶

כי חנוך הצדיק נעשה מלאך.

For Enoch the righteous was made into an angel.

Sefer ha-Ḥešeḡ §76 (ed. Epstein):¹⁴⁷

גביריה בג' יה' צדי"ק לפי שחנוך היה צדיק איש אלהים וראה הקב"ה שהיה צדיק ביותר ולא האמין בצדקתו לפי שיצר הרע שולט בבשר ודם.

GBYRYH, (which) in *gematria* is equivalent to YHY ṢDYQ, because Enoch was righteous, a man of God, and God noticed that he was especially righteous, but He did not believe in his righteousness since the evil impulse was in control of all humanity.

God's somewhat surprising distrust of Enoch expressed in this particular testimony is reminiscent of the calumnies directed against his reputation within certain early rabbinic sources such as the passages from *Genesis Rabbah* already cited.

Lastly we include here a source whose assimilation of the biblical Enoch and the qur'ānic Idrīs to an ancient king from the Iranian epic tradition may be facilitated by their common connection to the epithet "righteous" or "just."

Abū Ma'shar *apud* Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār):¹⁴⁸

[وقال] إن الهرامسة كانوا ثلاثة أما هرمس الأول وهو المثلث بالنعم فإنه كان قبل الطوفان ومعنى هرمس لقب كما يقال قيصر وكسرى وتسميه الفرس في [سريها] الهجد وتفسيره ذو عدل وهو الذي تذكر الحرائية بنوته وتذكر الفرس أن جده كيومرت وهو آدم وتذكر العبرانيون [أنه] أخنوخ وهو بالعربية إدريس.

[And he (i.e., Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī) said] that the Hermeses are three. Now the first Hermes—who was three-times blessed—had his floruit before the Flood. (The name) "Hermes" signifies a title, in the same way one says "Caesar" or

¹⁴⁶ Yitzhaq Meir Epstein, ed., *Sefer ha-Ḥešeḡ 'al shemot Metatron šar ha-panim...* (Lemberg: S. L. Kugel, Lewin & Comp., 1865), 4b. On this work, see Joseph Dan, "The Seventy Names of Metatron," in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1981), 3:19–23; repr. in Joseph Dan, *Jewish Mysticism* (4 vols; Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1998–9), 1:229–34; Joseph Dan, "Three Types of Ancient Jewish Mysticism," in Joseph Dan, *Jewish Mysticism*, 1:57 n. 67; also Daniel Abrams, "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Metatron in the Godhead," *HTR* 87 (1994): 301–5, esp. 302–3 n. 39; Daniel Abrams, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts and Textual Theory: Methodologies of Textual Scholarship and Editorial Practice in the Study of Jewish Mysticism* (2nd edn; Jerusalem/Los Angeles: The Magnes Press/Cherub Press, 2013), 607 n. 318; Idel, *Ben*, 248 n. 18. Idel identifies this work's author as R. Nehemiah b. Shlomo the Prophet, whose *floruit* is the early decades of the thirteenth century. See also Moshe Idel, "Some Forlorn Writings of a Forgotten Ashkenazi Prophet: R. Nehemiah ben Shlomo ha-Navi," *JQR* 95 (2005b): 183–96, esp. 187–90. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

¹⁴⁷ *Sefer ha-Ḥešeḡ* (ed. Epstein), 9b.

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (4 vols; ed. 'Amir Najjār; Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyah al-'Ammah lil-Kitāb, 2001), 1:185.15–19; see also August Müller, ed., *Ibn Abi Useibia* (2 vols in 1; Cairo and Königsberg: al-Maṭba'al-Wahbiya, 1882–4), 1:16.24–7.

“Khusraw.” The Persians in their biographies term him *’llhjd* <read *Ōshahanj*>,¹⁴⁹ which means “the one who is just.”¹⁵⁰ He is the one whose prophetic status the Ḥarrānians mention. The Persians say that his grandfather was Kayōmart (i.e., Gayōmart), who is Adam. The Hebrews say that he is Enoch, and he is Idris in Arabic.¹⁵¹

“Scribe of Righteousness”

The sobriquet “scribe of righteousness” for Enoch occurs in the fifth- or sixth-century Akhmim Greek translation¹⁵² of the Enochic booklet known as the *Book of Watchers* at *1 En.* 12:4 (ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης) and perhaps also at 15:1 (γραμματεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας), both of which given the semantic range of the radical could arguably render an original Aramaic ספר קושט, which is unfortunately not extant in either passage. This particular epithet is especially prominent in late antique and medieval literature of Egyptian Christian provenance.¹⁵³ Given the tactile absence of an unambiguous Semitic *Vorlage* for this title, its exclusive early occurrence among texts of Egyptian authorship (both Greek and Coptic), and the likely semantic force of the phrase “scribe of righteousness/truth”—i.e., the one who inscribes a soul as innocent (righteous) or guilty (wicked) in the context of the heavenly assize in the afterlife—it seems very likely that this phrase entered Akhmim *1 Enoch* (and subsequent daughter versions like the Ethiopic translation) from the *Testament of Abraham* and its kindred literature, rather than vice versa. In other words, the title “scribe of righteousness” is meaningless apart from the “Egyptian” narrative setting

¹⁴⁹ The name is corrupt in all extant versions of this report, but it was correctly identified as Hōshang by C. F. Seybold, “Lipperts *Ibn al-Qifti’s Ta’riḥ al-Ḥukamā’*,” *ZDMG* 57 (1903): 805–10, at 807. See the discussion of van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 125 n. 14.

¹⁵⁰ An echo of the hoary epithet (δικαίος) long associated with the biblical character of Enoch? For the assignment of this epithet (Persian *pēshdād* “law-giver; redresser of wrongs” and its Semitic synonyms) to the legendary Persian ruler, see Seybold’s citations from Ṭabari, *Ta’riḥ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:171–2; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Maḥāṭih al-’ulūm* (ed. Gerlof van Vloten; Leiden: Brill, 1895), 98.12–99.1. There are other features of the hagiography linked to this king that overlap with Enochic lore; see A. Shapur Shahbazi, “Hōshang,” *Enclr* 12:491–2; William F. McCants, *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 107–17.

¹⁵¹ See also Martin Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistus and Arab Science,” *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 51; A[lexander]. Fodor, “The Origins of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (1970): 336; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 125.

¹⁵² For this dating, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 70; Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 2:17; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 12.

¹⁵³ For numerous instances in Coptic apocrypha and iconography, see Birger A. Pearson, “The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon,” in George W. E. Nickelsburg, ed., *Studies on the Testament of Abraham* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 227–83; David Frankfurter, “The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity: Regional Trajectories,” in VanderKam and Adler, eds, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 187–9.

provided in *T. Abr.* 11:1–10. The attributes and role accorded to Enoch here are largely identical to those of the god Thoth in the *Book of the Dead* §182 (note the popular hermetic assimilation of these two figures!)¹⁵⁴ and point toward the eventual assimilation of Enoch and Graeco-Egyptian Hermes in late antique esoteric currents of speculative lore. If this is so, it renders moot the various interpretations of this epithet which rely upon a largely theological association of the noun “righteousness” with personal piety.¹⁵⁵

T. Abr. 11:1–4 recension B (ed. James):¹⁵⁶

καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Κύριε, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ κριτῆς, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος, ὁ ἐλέγχων τὰς ἁμαρτίας; καὶ λέγει Μιχαήλ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Θεωρεῖς τὸν κριτήν; οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἄβελ, ὁ ἐν πρώτοις μαρτυρήσας· καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν ὧδε ὁ θεὸς κρίνειν· καὶ ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράψωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐκάστου.

And Abraham said to Michael: “O Lord, who is this judge? And who is the other one who exposes their sins?”¹⁵⁷ And Michael said to Abraham: “Do you see the judge? This is Abel, the one who suffered martyrdom among the ancient ones, and God brought him here to judge. And this one who exhibits proofs is Enoch, the teacher of heaven and earth and the scribe of righteousness.”¹⁵⁸ For the Lord sent them here in order that they might record the sins and the righteous deeds of every person.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ See especially the perspicacious discussion of Mathias Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham* (SVTP 2; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 139–40, although he does not question the Jewish background of the title “scribe of righteousness.”

¹⁵⁵ Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 54–6.

¹⁵⁶ Montague Rhodes James, *The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Text Now First Edited with an Introduction and Notes* (TS 2.2; Cambridge: The University Press, 1892), 115–16. The full citation of this source appears below in Chapter 5 under the rubric “Enoch Serves There as Witness or Recording Scribe.”

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *Herm. Vis.* 1.1.5 for a similar phraseology.

¹⁵⁸ See Black, *Book of Enoch*, 152; John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), 77; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 117–18; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 270. James's Ms. B of the *Testament of Abraham* describes Enoch as ὁ μαρτυρὸς τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας, “the witness for the Last Day,” a depiction which is in turn dependent upon the Greek version of *Apoc. Paul* §20 (for which see Constantinus Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* [Leipzig: Herm. Mendelssohn, 1866], 50). Note James, *Testament of Abraham*, 46, and compare the role of Enoch-Metatron as eschatological “witness” (ἰν) in the Hekhalot texts; note also *Jub.* 4:19, 22–4; 10:17; 4Q227 (4QpsJub*) Frag. 2 lines 3–4; 2 *En.* 11:37 (short version). The Latin *Apoc. Paul* §20 however terms him *scriba iusticiae* “scribe of righteousness” (see the following text); note also Slavonic *Quaes Bart.* 1.16 *apud* J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 656.

¹⁵⁹ For another translation, see that of E. P. Sanders in *OTP* 1:900.

Apocalypse of Paul §20 (ed. James):¹⁶⁰

Et cum ingressus fuisset interiora portae paradisi, exiuit in hoccursum mihi homo senior cuius uultus fulgebat <ut> sol; et complexus me <dixit:> Aue, Paule, dilecti<ssi>me deo. Et hoscultatus est me ilare uultu. Fle<bat>, et dixi ei: Frater, quare ploras? Et iterum suspirans et plorans dixit: Nocemur enim ab hominibus et contristant nos ualde; multa sunt enim bona que praeparauit dominus et magna repromissio est eius, set multi nou percipiunt ea. Et interrogauit angelum et dixi: Quis est hic, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hic est Enoch scriba iusticiae.

And when I had entered inside the gates of Paradise, an old man came to meet me whose face shone like the sun. And he embraced me and said: "Hail, Paul, O esteemed one of God!" And with a joyful face he kissed me, (but then) he shed tears. And I said to him: "Father, why do you weep?" Sighing and weeping again, he said: "Because we are hurt by humans and they greatly trouble us. There are many good things which the Lord has prepared and His promise is great, but many do not accept them." And I asked the angel and said: "Lord, who is this?" He answered me: "This is Enoch, the scribe of righteousness."¹⁶¹

"The Lord's Messiah"

The final epithet is included here as a curiosity. It appears in two manuscript witnesses to the so-called "eastern" (*orientaux*) recension of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*,¹⁶² an influential biblically based hierohistory which became the dominant narrative for structuring and recounting the pre-Christian past among oriental Christian and Muslim historians from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries of the Common Era. It displays a particular obsession with antiquity, since slightly more than one-third of the *Cave of Treasures* is devoted to stories associated with the antediluvian forefathers and the Flood. Contained within certain versions of this lengthy collection of legends is a tearful farewell speech delivered by Noah and his sons upon their final departure from the sepulcher (i.e., the cave from which the work receives its title) which sheltered the mortal remains of their patriarchal forebears and functioned as a cultic shrine for the righteous descendants of Seth prior to the coming of the Flood. Paradise, the holy mountain upon whose summit Eden is situated, the cave, and its entombed occupants

¹⁶⁰ Montague Rhodes James, *Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments* (TS 2.3; Cambridge: The University Press, 1893a), 21.22–31. An excellent appraisal of the tangled manuscript and versional history of this important work is R. P. Casey, "The Apocalypse of Paul," *JTS* 34 (1933): 1–32.

¹⁶¹ See also Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 536; Hugo Duensing, "Apocalypse of Paul," in Hennecke, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2:771–2. The Coptic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* has another brief heavenly meeting between Paul and Enoch (*ibid.*, 2:795). According to Casey ("Apocalypse of Paul," 22–3), the description of Paradise found in this expansive portion of *Apoc. Paul* is "an elaboration of Slavonic Enoch viii–ix."

¹⁶² Ri, ed., *La Caverne des Trésors*.

are sequentially invoked and extolled by the Flood-hero and his family as they complete their preparations for loading and boarding the Ark.

One of the more unusual features of this speech is its unqualified assumption that the cadaver of Enoch was interred together with those of his ancestors and immediate progeny within the family tomb. This terrestrial disposition of his body conflicts with the explicit notice provided earlier in the same work that Enoch did not experience death but instead was corporeally transferred by God “to the Region of Life and to pleasing lodgings adjoining Paradise—to a place lifted above death.”¹⁶³ His sudden anomalous withdrawal from human society also conspicuously lacks the formulaic funerary notices accompanying the death and burial of the antediluvian forefathers in almost all versions of the *Cave of Treasures* cycle of stories. Unlike those of his progenitors or of his son and grandson, the body of Enoch was not ritually prepared for burial and so should not be present alongside the other corpses in the tomb. It remains unclear whether the scribes responsible for these manuscripts (and their analogues) are aware of this problem or how they would resolve the tension between these two contradictory accounts about the fate of Enoch.

The other interesting aspect about these particular manuscripts' rendering of this narrative episode is their invocation of Enoch as “the messiah of the Lord.” To our knowledge this is the only place in the vast literature about or associated with Enoch where he bears this highly charged title. One might compare the notorious identification of the raptured Enoch with the “Son of Man,” a Semitic anthropomorphic locution which morphs into a christological title in formative Christianity, but this particular assimilation is peculiar to the final chapter of the so-called *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 37–71), an Enochic booklet that is only extant in Ethiopic. Might it result from a corruption or misreading of another similarly graphed term? In order to gauge this possibility, we have paired these manuscripts' texts with that of the closely allied *Chronicle of Zūqnīn*, a late eighth-century history from northern Mesopotamia whose initial portion mirrors important components of the so-called “western” (*occidentaux*) recension of the *Cave of Treasures*.

Ms. Mingana 11 fol. 74 recto (ed. Ri):¹⁶⁴

ܐܒܝܕܝܢ ܒܫܠܘܡܐ ܘܘܨܝܒܝܢ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

Abide in peace, O Enoch, O righteous one and messiah of the Lord!¹⁶⁵ Intercede for us with your Lord!

¹⁶³ CT^a §13.19 (ed. Ri, 104.3–5); cf. CT^w §13.19 (ed. Ri, 105.3–5).

¹⁶⁴ CT^a §17.14 (ed. Ri, 134.3–4) according to this manuscript which is held by Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Library. This same manuscript was adopted by Ri as the “base” for his critical edition of the eastern recension of the *Cave of Treasures*. An almost identical reading is attested in Ri's Ms. H (= Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek Or. III): “Abide in peace, O Enoch, O righteous messiah of the Lord!” See Albrecht Götze, “Die Nachwirkung der Schatzhöhle,” ZS 3 (1924): 55.

¹⁶⁵ The remaining manuscripts and print editions representative of the “eastern” recension lack this specific encomium to Enoch. They instead simply list his name alongside those of Methuselah and Lamech, terming them collectively “servants of God.” Compare however *Chronicle of Zūqnīn*.

Chronicle of Zūqnīn (ed. Chabot):¹⁶⁶

ܘܢܝܢ ܥܡܢ ܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܘܢܝܢ ܥܡܢ ܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐܢܐ.

Abide in peace, O Enoch, righteous servant of God! Intercede for us with your Lord!¹⁶⁷

In contrast to the invocation of Enoch as “the messiah of the Lord,” the *Chronicle of Zūqnīn* terms him a “righteous servant of God.” Similar language is present in one manuscript witness to the “western” recension of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, where Enoch is singled out as “the servant of the Lord.” The titles “His servant” (ܡܘܨܬܐ) and “His messiah” (ܡܘܨܬܐ) are orthographically similar, and it seems probable that Enoch’s unusual messianic status, signaled just in two manuscripts, is due to a faulty reading or copying of the Syriac word for “servant.” It is tempting to correlate Enoch’s office of “servant” or “attendant” to God in these Syriac texts with that of his later avatar Metatron in speculative works like the Hebrew *3 Enoch*, where Enoch-Metatron is explicitly described as “attending (ܫܡܫ) the Divine Throne.”¹⁶⁸ Perhaps the singular invocation of Enoch along with his divine service is a tacit recognition of his unique status as a human being who was favored by God and transported to Heaven where he could associate with the angels and potentially serve as an intercessor for his fellow humans before the divine throne.

“Portraits” of Enoch

Descriptions of the bodily appearance of Enoch can occasionally be found in the literature that discusses his importance for the history of culture and in accounts of heavenly journeys where a particularly favored tourist encounters him within his new supernal environment. The following testimonia constitute an initial assemblage of such “portraits.”

T. Abr. 10:7–10 recension B (ed. James):¹⁶⁹

ὁ δὲ κριτῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθεῖν τὸν τὰ ὑπομνήματα γράφοντα. καὶ ἰδοὺ χερουβὶμ βαστάζοντα βιβλία δύο, καὶ ἦν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθῆς σφόδρα· καὶ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τρεῖς στεφάνους, καὶ ὁ εἰς στέφανος ὑψηλότερος ὑπῆρχεν τῶν ἐτέρων δύο στεφάνων· οἱ δὲ στέφανοι ἐκαλοῦντο στέφανοι μαρτυρίας. καὶ εἶχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κάλαμον χρυσοῦν.

¹⁶⁶ J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* (2 vols; CSCO 91, 104; Paris: Reipublicae, 1927–33), 1:9.14–15. Enoch is the only forefather mentioned by name in this chronicle’s version of the prayer offered by Noah and his sons prior to their boarding of the Ark.

¹⁶⁷ Note the association of the epithet “righteous” with Enoch which seems to derive from authentic Enochic literature. The intercessory role accorded Enoch is also reminiscent of the same function he performs in *1 Enoch* 12–16 for the errant Watchers.

¹⁶⁸ *3 Enoch* §10, §11, §17, where these sigla follow the paragraphing used in *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer). See also Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 50; and the Mandaic incantation discussed by Baruch A. Levine, “The Language of the Magical Bowls,” *apud* Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia* (5 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1969–70), 5:358–9; Jonas C. Greenfield, “Notes on Some Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls,” *JANESCU* 5 (1973a): 154–5.

¹⁶⁹ James, *Testament of Abraham*, 114.20–6.

Then the judge ordered the one who writes the records to come. And behold, cherubim (came) carrying two books, and there was with them an extremely enormous man who had on his head three crowns, and one crown was higher than the other two crowns. Now the crowns are called the crowns of witness. And the man had a golden pen in his hand.

In response to Abraham's later question about this large man's identity, he is identified as "Enoch, the teacher of heaven and earth and the scribe of righteousness."

Apocalypse of Paul §20 (ed. James):¹⁷⁰

Et cum ingressus fuisset interiora portae paradisi, exiuit in hoccursum mihi homo senior cuius uultus fulgebat <ut> sol; et complexus me <dixit:> Aue, Paule, dilecti<ssi>me deo.

And when I had entered inside the gates of Paradise, an old man came to meet me whose face shone like the sun.¹⁷¹ And he embraced me and said: "Hail, Paul, O esteemed one of God!"

Pseudo-Aṣma'ī, *Nihāyat* (ed. Dānīsh-Pazhūh):¹⁷²

وذكر انه كان رجلا طويلا ضخم البطن عريض الصدر قليل شعر الجسد طويل شعر الراس وكانت احدى عينيه اعظم من الأخرى وكان في جسده نكتة بيضاء من غير برص. وهو اخنوخ بن مهلايل بن قينان وانما سمي ادريس لكثرة دراسته لكتب آدم وشيث.

It is said that he was a tall man (with) a large stomach. He was broad-chested and had very little body hair, (although) he had long hair on his head. One of his ears was larger than the other. There was a white spot on his body that was not a leprosy scar.¹⁷³ He was Enoch b. Mahalalel (*sic!*) b. Qaynān, and he was named "Idrīs" due to his frequent study of the books of Adam and Seth.

Wahb b. Munabbih *apud* Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha):¹⁷⁴

قال وهب بن منبه إن إدريس النبي عليه السلام كان رجلا طويلا ضخم البطن عريض الصدر قليل شعر الجسد كثير شعر الرأس وكانت احدى اذنيه اعظم من الأخرى وكانت في جسده نكتة بيضاء من غير برص وكان رفيق الصوت رفيق المنطق قريب الخطى إذا مشى وانما سمي إدريس لكثرة ما كان يدرس من كتاب الله تعالى وسنن الاسلام.

According to Wahb b. Munabbih, Idrīs the prophet—upon whom be peace—was a tall man (and) had a large stomach. He was broad-chested and had very little body hair, (although) he had an abundance of hair on his head. One of his ears was larger than the other. There was a white spot on his body that was not a leprosy scar. He was soft-spoken and gentle in his manner of speaking and took short steps

¹⁷⁰ James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 21.22–5. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Scribe of Righteousness."

¹⁷¹ With regard to the motif of Enoch's shining face, see 2 *En.* 65:11 (short) and especially the discussion of Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 289–91.

¹⁷² [Pseudo-Aṣma'ī], *Nihāyat* (ed. Dānīsh-Pazhūh), 9.2–4. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

¹⁷³ For this physical description, see also Wahb *apud* Ibn Qutayba below and the tradition attributed to Samurah cited by Brannon M. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran: An Introduction to the Quran and Muslim Exegesis* (London and New York: Continuum, 2002b), 46.

¹⁷⁴ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (2nd edn; ed. Tharwat 'Ukkāsha; Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1969), 20.8–21.8.

when he strode. He bore the name "Idris" on account of the quantity of knowledge and religious practices which he learned from the Scripture of God Most Exalted.

Wahb b. Munabbih is a frequently cited source for so-called *Isrā'īliyyāt* or Muslim traditions about biblical characters allegedly stemming from Jewish sources. See our discussion in Chapter 2 (p. 95).

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim* (ed. Badawī):¹⁷⁵

وكان - عليه السلام - رجلا آدم اللون تامّ القامة أجلع حسن الوجه كئ اللحية مليح التخاطيب تامّ الباع عريض المنكبين ضخيم العظام قليل اللحم براق العينين أكحل متأنياً في كلامه كثير الصمت ساكن الاعضاء إذا مشى أكثر نظره إلى الأرض كثير الفكرة به جدّ وعسبة يحرك - إذا تكلم - سبانه وكانت مدته على الأرض اثنتين ومئتين سنة.

He was, upon him be peace, a ruddy-faced man of full stature, bald, of handsome appearance, thick-bearded, having nice lineaments and perfect arm-span, broad-shouldered, very stout (but) with little flesh, with flashing, dark-lined eyes, deliberate in his speech, often silent, his limbs motionless. When he strolled about, he mostly looked at the ground, deep in thought. He was earnest and stern. Whenever he talked, he gesticulated with his index finger. His duration on the earth amounted to eighty-two years.¹⁷⁶

Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert):¹⁷⁷

صورة هرمس الهرامسة وهو إدريس قيل أنه كان رجلا آدم تامّ القامة أجلع حسن الوجه كئ اللحية مليح الشمال والتخاطيب تامّ الباع عريض المنكبين ضخيم العظام قليل اللحم براق العين أكحلها متأنياً في كلامه كثير الصمت ساكن الاعضاء إذا مشى أكثر نظره إلى الأرض كثير الفكرة به عسبة وإذا اغتاط احتدّ يحرك سبانه إذا تكلم وكانت مدة مقامه في الأرض اثنين ومئتين سنة.

The appearance of "Hermes of the Hermeses," he being Idris. It is said that he was a ruddy man of full stature, bald-headed, of handsome appearance, thick-bearded, having pleasantly good qualities and lineaments with a perfect arm-span, broad-shouldered, very stout (but) with little flesh, with flashing, dark-lined eyes, deliberate in his speech, often silent, his limbs motionless. When he strolled about, he mostly looked at the ground, deep in thought, frowning at it. Whenever he became angry, he would gesticulate with his index finger. The duration of his time on earth amounted to eighty-two years.

¹⁷⁵ Abū'l Wafā' al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim: Los Bocados de oro: Edición crítica del texto árabe con prólogo y notas* (ed. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Badawī; Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1958), 10.3–8. For information about this eleventh-century anthologist, see especially Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik: Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition," *Oriens* 13–14 (1960–1): 132–58; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 94–5; 184–96; Emily J. Cottrell, "al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik," in Henrik Lagerlund, ed., *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy between 500 and 1500* (2 vols; Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 2:815–18. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

¹⁷⁶ This same physical description is cited almost verbatim by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, K. '*Uyūn al-Anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:184.14–17; also by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrazūri, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrah fī tārikh al-ḥukamā wa'l-falāsifa* (ed. M.-A. Abū Rayyān; Alexandria: Dār al-Ma'rifa al-Jamī'a, 1993), 138.13–139.2. Neither will therefore be reproduced here.

¹⁷⁷ Julius Lippert, *Ibn al-Qiftī's Tārīkh al-Hukamā'* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), 5.10–15.

Enoch as Culture Hero

What Enoch Discovered, Learned, Taught, and Wrote

One of the most curious things about Enoch, says Michael Stone, is that he bursts onto the Jewish literary scene “full-formed”:¹ there are suspiciously few intimations within the tersely formulated biblical passages wherein his name occurs of the remarkable types of achievements or behaviors that cluster around him in a wide range of multilingual parascriptural sources. As Stone suggests, this arresting situation could very well be indicative of the antiquity of the figure of Enoch and the renown he already enjoyed among those scribal circles responsible for the production and transmission of biblical literature. Silence within the preserved sources proves nothing about absence. There is no reason to think that ancient Israelite religious thought was bereft of the mythological complexity and the rich ethnic memories keyed to national identity that are easily found among its geographic and temporal peers.

We will begin our consideration of the various accomplishments associated with Enoch by Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and other biblically fixated writers by examining what is one of the oldest extant expositions of the traditions surrounding this seminal character. We will then use the information which it conveys to catalog and to structure the different aspects of his commemorative profile as a renowned innovator, benefactor, and inventor among the early generations of humanity.

ENOCH'S CURRICULUM VITAE

Among the oldest texts which discuss the significance of the figure of Enoch for Israelite culture is the Jewish Second Temple era literary work known as the *Book of Jubilees*. Originally composed in Hebrew, it today survives in what is

¹ Michael E. Stone, “Pseudepigraphy Reconsidered,” *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 9 (2006): 6; repeated in Michael E. Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2011), 115.

most likely its complete form only in Ethiopic, but a number of fragmentary remains are available in varying proportions in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac. It seems clear from the evidence supplied by the Dead Sea Scrolls that *Jubilees* enjoyed respect among certain scribal circles as an authoritative writing: it was purportedly dictated to Moses by the Angel of the Presence from “heavenly tablets” during the Israelite lawgiver’s forty-day sojourn on Sinai. Almost as many manuscripts of *Jubilees* and its congeners (works labeled by modern scholars “pseudo-*Jubilees*”) as of those of what will become the “canonical” books of Genesis and Exodus have been recovered from Qumran,² and it is cited by name as a reliable “exposition of their fixed times to which Israel is blind” in at least one sectarian composition (see CD 16.2–3).³

It remains unclear exactly when Hebrew language exemplars of *Jubilees* and its derivatives finally disappear from Jewish literary history. Its obvious importance as a repository of early chronographic, speculative, and exegetical lore insured that later writers who took an interest in biblically modulated accounts of primeval and pre-monarchical Israelite history continued to copy, translate, and creatively adapt its contents within their own compilations of traditions about creation, the human forefathers, the Flood, the emergence of the different peoples, nations, and cultural institutions, and the lives of the prophets.⁴

The original Hebrew version of *Jub.* 4:17–24, a passage which contains perhaps the oldest summary of Enoch’s significance for early human history, is unfortunately not extant among the fragments of this work that were recovered from Qumran.⁵ We present therefore an English rendering of the Ethiopic text followed by the quotation of a significant portion of this passage embedded within a thirteenth-century Syriac chronicler who, according to most scholars

² A convenient catalog of the fragmentary remains of *Jubilees* from Caves 1, 2, 3, 4, and 11 is Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique* (2 vols; Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 1:365–8. 4Q216–227 appear with their photographic plates in J[ames C]. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, “*Jubilees*,” *apud* Harold Attridge, et al., eds, *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1–185 and plates I–XII. For the Cave 11 fragments (11Q12), see especially Adam Simon van der Woude, “Fragmente des Buches Jubiläen aus Qumran Höhle XI,” in Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann, eds, *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 140–6; “11Q *Jubilees*,” *apud* Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, eds, *Qumran Cave 11, II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 207–20 and plate XXVI.

³ Chaim Rabin, ed., *The Zadokite Documents* (2nd edn; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 75. Another text that may cite the *Book of Jubilees* as a scriptural work (... כְּסֵפֶר חֲכָמִים) is 4Q228. See VanderKam and Milik, “*Jubilees*,” 177–85, esp. 182–3.

⁴ For a still valuable listing of later, largely non-Jewish, writings which appear to cite or be indebted to *Jubilees*, see Hermann Rösner, *Das Buch der Jubiläen, oder, Die kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues’s Verlag, 1874), 251–382.

⁵ Only a smattering of letters from a Hebrew text of *Jub.* 4:17–18 survives.

who have closely studied these fragments, was copying a Syriac version that had been translated directly from a Hebrew text.⁶

*Jub. 4:17-24:*⁷

And he was the first among men born on earth to learn to write and to acquire knowledge and wisdom; and he wrote down in a book details about the signs of heaven according to the order of their months, so that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their several months. And he was the first to write a testimony; and he warned the sons of men about what would happen in future generations on the earth, and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known the days of the years, and set in order the months, and recounted the sabbaths of the years, just as we made them known to him. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision in his sleep, just as it will happen to the sons of men in every generation till the day of judgment: he saw and knew all of it; and he wrote his testimony and left it as a testimony on earth for all the sons of men for every generation. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week of it, he took a wife, and her name was Edni, the daughter of Danel, his father's brother's daughter; and in the sixth year in that week she bore him a son, and he called him Methusaleh. And he was with the angels of God these six jubilee years, and they showed him everything on earth and in the heavens, and the power of the sun; and he wrote down everything. And he bore witness to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men—for these had begun to form unions with the daughters of men and so defile themselves; and Enoch bore witness against them all. And he was taken away from the sons of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honor; and there he records the condemnation and the judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the sons of men. And because of him the water of the Flood did not reach the land of Eden; for he was established there as a sign⁸ to bear witness against all the sons of men and keep a record of all the deeds of every generation till the Day of Judgment.

*Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 (ed. Chabot) = Jub. 4:17-19, 21:*⁹

ܐܘܨܝܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܟܠ ܕܡܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܗܐ ܕܥܘܢܝܐ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܥܘܢܝܐ
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⁶ Eugène Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés," *RB* 30 (1921): 229-32; S[e]bastian J. P. Brock, "A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac," *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968): 631; James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 9-10; Denis, *Introduction*, 1:387.

⁷ Adapted from the translation of R. H. Charles and Chaim Rabin in H. F. D. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 22-4. This anthology is henceforth referenced as AOT.

⁸ Cf. Sir 44:16.

⁹ J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum 1234 pertinens* (2 vols; CSCO 81-2; Paris: Reipublicae, 1916-20), 1:39.1-8. See also Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques," 77-9; James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (CSCO 510, scrip. aeth. 87; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), 263.

This Enoch was the first to learn letters and (to receive) instruction and (obtain) wisdom.¹⁰ He recorded the signs of the heavens in a book in order to inform humanity about the variations of the seasons and of the years in accordance with the courses (of the heavenly bodies) and in accordance with (the progression of) their months. He announced the days that (completed) the year and established the number of the months. And everything which has happened and (everything) which will come to be he beheld in his dream-vision—indeed, (he beheld) everything that will come upon humanity and their (successive) generations until the Day of Judgment. And he was with the angels of God.

According to this “curriculum vitae” outlining Enoch’s achievements, his reputation as a memorable national ancestor rests upon a roster of intellectual and technical accomplishments which were particularly valued by his society. He was the first human, we are told, to “learn” to write, a verb which suggests that the written characters invented to convey linguistic statements and pronouncements were “taught” to Enoch by one or more extraterrestrial entities, presumably the same angels who are mentioned later in this passage. In other words, writing and the material technologies associated with its practice are not considered by this writer to be human inventions. They belong instead among a revelatory knowledge which originates from the supernal world. Using this new method for recording, preserving, and transmitting information, Enoch is said to have prepared a book wherein he cataloged his observations of the perceived motions of heavenly bodies like the sun, moon, planets, and stars which could be used for the construction of calendars, seasonal almanacs, and time-reckoning schemes. He moreover is said to have written down “everything” which the angels revealed to him about the cosmological structures of the universe. He also “saw” those things that were going to take place on earth in the future, up to the Day of Judgment—thereby acquiring for himself unimpeachable credibility as a prophet—and then wrote them down in order to warn later generations about the consequences of their behavior. He directed his admonitions and messages not only to his fellow humans, but to the angelic Watchers as well, a group of heavenly pedagogues who had descended to earth at God’s behest during the lifetime of his father Yared “in order to instruct human beings and to act (with) justice and righteousness upon earth” (*Jub.* 4:15; cf. *1 En.* 6:6), but who soon abused their positions of authority and engaged in forbidden behaviors which led to the wholesale corruption of the human race. Enoch’s interaction with the angels was not unusual. He in fact enjoyed an extraordinary

¹⁰ Compare 4Q213 (4QLevi^a ar) frag. 1 i 9 = Ms. Cambridge T.S. 16 fol. 94r col. e lines 17–18, where Levi tells his children to teach their offspring ספר ומסר וחוכמה “scribal arts, instruction, and wisdom,” a trioka of scholastic accomplishments which is repeatedly mentioned in this exhortation. For a possible nexus, note the remarks of Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 208; Henryk Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–4Q211) from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 58–9.

intimacy with God's angelic hosts, spending "six jubilees of years"¹¹ in their company, and learning and writing down all which they taught him. Thanks to these accomplishments, and perhaps because of his ultimately futile efforts in calling his contemporaries back to the proper service of the deity, Enoch was permanently removed from human society, escorted by the angels to the Garden of Eden, the original dwelling place of the first human couple, and was permanently installed there as an administrative scribe who would record "all the wickedness of human beings" until the final Day of Judgment. There in Paradise he fulfills the functions of a "sign" and a "witness" to later human generations about the rewards and punishments associated with a life lived in obedience to or rebellion against the commandments of God. He also is depicted as resuming one of the specific cultic duties originally performed by his ancestor Adam before the latter's expulsion from Eden (*Jub.* 3:27; 4:25).

ENOCHE AS PURVEYOR OF STAR-LORE AND CALENDAR RECKONING

One achievement for which Enoch receives early and widespread recognition within biblically affiliated literatures is his mastery of the astronomical sciences. This particular attainment is sometimes coordinated with finding or publicizing the information requisite for the preparation of calendars and the correct reckoning of time, and it is an accomplishment that is arguably already encoded in the anomalous 365-year lifespan accorded to this ancient forefather by the biblical chronologies. Even so, the connection of Enoch with astronomy is one that is almost completely ignored by literature affiliated with the classical rabbinic tradition.¹² However, after Enoch and his qur'anic avatar Idris had achieved a widespread fusion with the Graeco-Egyptian figure of Hermes/Thoth and the occult sciences associated with that revealer's name,¹³ Enoch eventually re-enters Jewish literature as an authoritative teacher and exponent of astral lore. An otherwise unknown Enochic pseudepigraphon, entitled the "Balances of Enoch" (מאזני חנוך), is even approvingly cited by the medieval polymath Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1164) using the incipit "Enoch said: . . ." but it is apparent from the early Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Moladot* ("Book

¹¹ See our remarks on this phrase in our presentation of 4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) frag. 2, p. 59.

¹² Martha Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature," in John C. Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBLJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 119–20.

¹³ See 6.2.

of Nativities”) that it is “Hermes” who actually should be credited as this work’s “author.”¹⁴

Enoch’s prowess in astronomy, astrology, and calendar reckoning is acquired in two main ways. Sometimes he is depicted as undergoing a special tutelage at the hands of one or more angelic instructors, a scholastic lineage that can be traced back as far as *1 Enoch* 72–82 and *Jubilees* (4:17, 18, 21). His privileged access to this educational curriculum is sometimes connected with the fame he has won, even among the inhabitants of heaven, for his exemplary observance of the divine precepts given to humanity for proper worship and social conduct. Other early writings however simply credit Enoch himself with “inventing” or “discovering” these sciences, an achievement that is presumably due to his own acute powers of observation. In both scenarios, nevertheless, Enoch serves as the authoritative source of information about these sciences for the subsequent generations of humankind.

4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) frag. 2:¹⁵

1. [...] ח]נוך אשר למדנוהו
2. [...] ששה יובלי שנים
3. [...] א]רץ אל תוך בני האדם ויעד על כולם
4. [...] וגם על העירים וכתוב את כול
5. [...] שמים ואת דרכי צבאם ואת [החוד] שים
6. [...] א]שר לוא ישגו הצ[דיקים] ...

1. [... En]och, after which we (i.e. the angels) taught him¹⁶
2. [...] six jubilees of years
3. [... ear]th among humans, and he testified against¹⁷ all of them
4. [...] and also against¹⁸ the Watchers.¹⁹ He wrote down everything
5. [...] heavens and the courses of their host(s) and [the mont]hs
6. [... s]o that the ri[g]hteous] might not err [...]

¹⁴ Shlomo Sela, ed., *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Nativities and Continuous Horoscopy* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 92–5; 228.

¹⁵ VanderKam and Milik, “Jubilees,” 171–5 and pl. XII (PAM 43.238). See also J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 12–13; Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (2nd edn; 2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1:616.

¹⁶ Cf. *Jub.* 4:18: “just as we (i.e., the angels) made them known to him.” Note James C. VanderKam, “Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources,” in James C. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 314.

¹⁷ Or alternatively “about.” So Deborah Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *VT* 33 (1983): 22.

¹⁸ Or “about,” again with Dimant.

¹⁹ Note also *Jub.* 4:22.

This fragment belongs to the small group of texts termed “Pseudo-Jubilees” by Milik (4Q225–227)²⁰ and mentions certain accomplishments which are attributed to Enoch in *Jub.* 4:17–24. Its mention of “six jubilees of years” (ששה יובלי שנים) intersects with *Jub.* 4:21 (“and he was with the angels of God these six jubilees of years”), but there in accordance with the way by which *Jubilees* counts jubilee periods the sum must be totaled as 294 years (6×49), whereas the “six jubilees of years” according to a biblical reckoning corresponds to the “300 years” (6×50) of Gen 5:22.²¹ There is no reason to assume that 4Q227 counts jubilees the same way that *Jubilees* does; it is equally plausible that the “300 years” of Gen 5:22 is the intended referent.²²

Origen, *In Numeros homilia* 28.2 (ed. Baehrens):²³

De quibus nominibus plurima quidem in libellis, qui apellantur Enoc, secreta continentur et arcana.

Indeed, many of these names are in the pamphlets called “Enoch” which contain secret and arcane information.²⁴

The “names” referenced by Origen in this passage are those bestowed by God upon the stars (כוכבים) in accordance with what “the prophet” (i.e., David) affirmed in Ps 147:4. Access to these special “star-names,” which are presumably different from the exoteric appellations awarded them by human societies, can

²⁰ “[T]he texts employ language that is familiar from and to some extent characteristic of *Jubilees*, but the documents themselves are not actual copies of *Jubilees*” (VanderKam and Milik, “Jubilees,” 142). See also James C. VanderKam, “The *Aqedah*, *Jubilees*, and Pseudo-Jubilees,” in Craig A. Evans and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds, *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 241–61, at 242; Michael Segal, “Qumran Research in Israel: Rewritten Bible and Biblical Interpretation,” in Devorah Dimant, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research* (STJD 99; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 324.

²¹ Note also Salomon Buber, ed., *Midrash 'Aggadah 'al hamishah humshey torah: Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch nach einer Handschrift aus Aleppo* (2 vols; Vienna: Abraham Fanto, 1894), 1:14.29–30: שלש מאות שנה עם המלאכים הלך “He walked with the angels for three hundred years.”

²² Pace James C. VanderKam, “The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees,” in Esther G. Chazon and Michael E. Stone, eds, *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 156.

²³ W. A. Baehrens, ed., *Origenes Werke, Siebenter Band: Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung* (GCS 29–30; 2 vols; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1920–1), 2:282.6–7. See also Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Christiani Liebezeit, 1713), 174; H. J. Lawlor, “Early Citations from the Book of Enoch,” *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897): 203; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 20 (first sentence only); Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. edn; 3 vols in 4; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), 3/1:262–3. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7.

²⁴ See also James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3.4; Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1996), 57; Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 197–8. Origen has just quoted Ps 147:4, which affirms that God has counted and given names to all the stars (כוכבים).

be gained by consulting certain *libelli* (“pamphlets”) bearing the name of the seventh antediluvian forefather Enoch. Given the close association in Semitic mythologies between heavenly luminaries and divine entities,²⁵ or even more particularly within Enochic literature between stars and angels,²⁶ it is almost certain that these secret names referenced by Origen are those identifying the specific angels who are esoterically linked with particular stars, planets, and constellations.²⁷ Information like this was carefully guarded by its custodians in order to control the theurgic use of these potent syllables. That such knowledge might be quarantined in writings qualified as “secret” and “arcane” is reminiscent of the obligation imposed upon members of the Jewish Essene sect “to likewise conceal the books of their sect *and the names of the angels*.”²⁸

Anatolius, *apud* Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 7.32.19 (ed. Schwartz):²⁹

τοῦ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον παρ’ Ἑβραίοις μῆνα περὶ ἰσημερινῶν εἶναι παραστατικά καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ μαθήματα.

But that the first month according to the Jews occurs around the (vernal) equinox is also proven by the teachings in what is ascribed to Enoch.³⁰

²⁵ The literature on such an affiliation is immense. Consult, e.g., Jean Bottéro, *La religion babylonienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952), 11–13, 60–2; Erica Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 85/4; Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1995), 1–24; Francesca Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 185–202. Some biblical lemmata illustrating this theme include Judg 5:20; Job 38:7; Ps 103:20–1; Dan 8:10.

²⁶ *1 En.* 18:11–19:1; 21:1–10; 86:1–6; 88:1–3; 90:21. According to *1 En.* 72:1 and 75:3, the archangel Uriel supervises the courses of the heavenly luminaries. See also *2 En.* 4:1–2; 11:1–5; 19:1–6.

²⁷ Note especially *1 En.* 82:9–20 where “the orders of the stars” and “the names of their leaders” are cataloged. A large number of these names bear the theophoric suffix *-el*, a common feature of angelic names. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 20) thinks Origen is making “a clear reference to the last section of the Astronomical Book of Enoch, which lists many names of angels, presiding stars, seasons, and days.” Origen’s explicit use of the plural *libelli* however shows that he has multiple Enochic works in view. The final chapters of the present form of the “Book of Watchers” (*1 Enoch* 33–6) may offer another candidate for inclusion among these Enochic *libelli*; see James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch 72–82: The Book of the Luminaries,” *apud* George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 349.

²⁸ Josephus, *B.J.* 2.142: *συντηρήσειν ὁμοίως τὰ τε τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὄνόματα.*

²⁹ Text cited from Eduard Schwartz, ed., *Eusebius Werke, Zweiter Band: Die Kirchengeschichte... Zweiter Teil: Die Bücher VI bis X, Über die Märtyrer in Palästina* (GCS 9.2; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), 726.3–5. See also H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, eds., *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History* (2 vols; LCL; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 2:238–9; Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 175–6; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 19; Schürer, *History*, 3/1:263.

³⁰ Lawlor and Oulton suggest that *1 En.* 72:6, 9, 31, 32 are the referents for these “teachings.” For further discussion, see William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1989), 93; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 148 n. 88; VanderKam, “1 Enoch 72–82,” 349.

As a number of commentators have noted, this particular teaching is in accord with the information about the movements of the sun that is imparted in *1 En.* 72:6–10, 32.³¹

Pseudo-Eupolemus *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.17.8–9 (ed. Mras):³²

συζήσαντα δὲ τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἱερεῦσι πολλὰ μεταδιδάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι, φάμενον Βαβυλωνίους ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸν εὐρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ εὑρεσιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἐνώχ ἀναπέμπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εὐρηκέναι πρῶτον τὴν ἀστρολογίαν, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίους.... Ἐλλήνας δὲ λέγειν τὸν Ἄτλαντα εὐρηκέναι ἀστρολογίαν, εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐνώχ.

While Abraham was living in Heliopolis among the Egyptian priests, he taught them many things. He introduced astrology and other such things to them, saying that the Babylonians and he himself had discovered them, but the discovery of them he traced back to Enoch; indeed, this one (Enoch) was the first to discover astrology, not the Egyptians.... the Greeks say that Atlas discovered astrology, but Atlas is the same (person) as Enoch.

Here we have reference made to a tradition that is remarkably consonant with the one found in the Qumran Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen or 1Q20) about the biblical patriarch Abraham's brief sojourn among the Egyptians (cf. Gen 12:10–20). According to both of these sources, Abraham was the conduit through which valuable knowledge originating in Mesopotamia reached Egypt, a claim that is also made by Artapanus and Josephus.³³ But in contrast to these latter two sources, in both Pseudo-Eupolemus and 1QapGen the name of Enoch looms large. Moreover, the connection made by Pseudo-Eupolemus of the Greek Titan Atlas with astrology is also a feature of the following citation wherein “the Aramaean philosopher” Bardaisan (d. 222 CE) is explicitly credited with identifying Enoch as the “originator” of astrology:

³¹ e.g., Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 19; Otto Neugebauer, “The ‘Astronomical’ Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72 to 82),” in Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch, or, 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 395; Daniel C. Olson, *Enoch, A New Translation: The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch, Translated with Annotations and Cross-References* (North Richland Hills: BIBAL Press, 2004), 144; VanderKam, “1 Enoch 72–82,” 422–4.

³² Karl Mras, ed., *Eusebius Werke, Achter Band: Die Praeparatio Evangelica* (GCS 43; 2 vols; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954–6), 1:503.24–504.3, 7–8. See also Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume I: Historians* (SBLTT 20; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 174; Albert-Marie Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970a), 198.

³³ Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.18.1 (ed. Mras), 1:504.14–16; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.166–8. Note too the pseudo-Orphic fragment of almost certainly Jewish provenance that is cited by Clement, *Strom.* 5.14.123.1–2; see Otto Stählin, ed., *Clemens Alexandrinus, Zweiter Band: Stromata Buch I–VI* (GCS 15; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906), 409.15–410.5.

Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* 11 (ed. Scher):³⁴

ܡܘܨܝ ܗܘܘ ܩܝܡܝܢ ܒܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ
ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ
.ܘܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܣܐ

The Chaldean (heresy) preceded the other heresies in its springing up, for Bardaišan says that Enoch was the name of its originator. However, a man whose name was Atlas, brother of Prometheus, became especially celebrated for it in the sixteenth year of the blessed Moses while he exercised guidance in the wilderness.³⁵

This curious notice is also referenced by Kevin van Bladel,³⁶ who plausibly suggests that this particular identification of Enoch as the discoverer of “Chaldeanism”; i.e., astrology, may stem ultimately from the lost chronicle of the ‘Abbāsid court astrologer Theophilus of Edessa, a Christian chronicler whose work was widely exploited by subsequent Islamicate and Byzantine historians.³⁷ The cited synchronism between Moses and Atlas certainly reinforces van Bladel’s observation that this information must have been excerpted from a world chronicle which correlated biblical and other national histories. It should however be noticed that remnants from the the equally lost *Chronicle* of Eusebius preserve the notice that “Atlas, the brother of Prometheus, became a celebrated astrologer” (*Atlans, frater Promethei, praecipuus astrologus fuit*) and had synchronized this event with the sixteenth year of the Egyptian Pharaoh Mispharmuthosis,³⁸ a closely parallel statement that reveals an arresting series of correspondences between these two texts. It seems likely that Theodore, or his posited source, either the aforementioned Theophilus of Edessa, or one of the intervening tradents of the fourth-century *Chronicle* between Eusebius and Theophilus, misread or garbled this original synchronism. Eusebius elsewhere displays an acquaintance with the career and literary activities of Bardaišan, an important

³⁴ Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* (CSCO 55, 69; 2 vols; ed. A[[dai]. Scher; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue, 1910–12), 2:286.5–11. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch/Idris as Graeco-Egyptian Hermes/Thoth.”

³⁵ Translation taken from John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 58 n. 82.

³⁶ See Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 175.

³⁷ Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1997), 400–9; 631–71; Robert G. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa’s Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (TTH 57; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); David Pingree, “From Alexandria to Baghdad: The Transmission of Astrology,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 8 (2001): 13–21; reprinted in Isabelle Pingree and John M. Steele, eds, *Pathways into the Study of Ancient Sciences: Selected Essays of David Pingree* (TAPA 104.3; Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society Press, 2014), 27–35. The twelfth-century Syriac chronicle of Michael Syrus, “which relies very heavily on Theophilus... for civil matters” (ibid., 35) records a very similar tradition about the discovery of astrology; see J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d’Antioche, 1166–1199* (4 vols; repr., Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), 1:38.

³⁸ Rudolf Helm, ed., *Eusebius Werke, Stebenter Band: Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (3. Aufl.; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984), 37b d.

early Syrian Christian teacher who combined biblical themes and astrological conceptions into a distinctive set of teachings which continued to win adherents among scripturally conversant intellectuals well into the medieval era of the Islamicate realms.³⁹ The association of Atlas with astrology was a common one in Greco-Roman sources,⁴⁰ and as we saw above, the biblically based Pseudo-Eupolemus actually merges the identities of scriptural Enoch and the Greek mythological Titan Atlas, an ironic equation given Enoch's prominent role as the messenger of the divine verdict against the Watchers and their gargantuan offspring (1 *En.* 12:1–16:4; Qumran Book of Giants).

Ka'b al-Aḥbār apud Hamdānī, *Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren):⁴¹

ثم اوصى بعده الى إدريس واسمه في التوراة اخنوخ وشالت وكان اول نبي بعثه الله وعلمه الحساب وكان شالت يحسب بالنجوم فرأى في حساب ان الارض ستغرق ومن عليها.

(According to Ka'b al-Aḥbār): Then he (i.e., Yared) appointed Idris as executor (of God's laws) after him—his name in the Torah is Enoch (Akhnuḥk) and Shālt (*sic*). He (i.e., Idris) was the first prophet whom God called. He taught him computation.... Shālt (*sic*) was computing with the stars and he saw in his calculation that the earth and those on it would be drowned in water.

This particular testimony stems from a fragment of a larger work expounding traditions about Adam and Eve that is attributed to the enigmatic figure of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, reportedly an early Jewish convert to Islam who was originally from the Yemenite kingdom of Ḥimyar.⁴² He is repeatedly singled out by later Muslim traditionists as one of the chief conduits through which Jewish aggadic and eschatological lore was passed on into Islam. Interestingly Ka'b's "Adam and Eve book" as transmitted by Hamdānī (d. 945) is closely aligned with the Christian *Cave of Treasures* cycle of tales about the early generations of humanity and the Flood that achieved a quasi-scriptural status among eastern

³⁹ Still unsurpassed among modern studies of Bardaisan and his thought is H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen, 1966; repr., Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014).

⁴⁰ Ben Zion Wacholder, "Pseudo-Eupolemus' Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham," *HUCA* 34 (1963): 96 n. 83; Holladay, *Fragments I*, 187 n. 38; Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Abraham as Chaldean Scientist and Father of the Jews: Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154–68, and the Greco-Roman Discourse about Astronomy/Astrology," *JSJ* 35 (2004a): 144 n. 75.

⁴¹ Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl: Erstes Buch* (ed. Oscar Löfgren; 2 vols; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1954–65), 1:25.11–13, 17–18. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

⁴² Manuscript and print works attributed to Ka'b are listed by Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (15 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1967–2010), 1:304–5. For further information about Ka'b, see Mark Lidzbarski, *De prophetis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis: Prolegomena* (Lipsiae: Guilelmi Drugulini, 1893), 31–40; Israel Wolfensohn, *Ka'b al-Aḥbār und seine Stellung im Ḥadīth und in der islamischen Legendenliteratur* (Gelnhausen: F. W. Kalbfleisch, 1933), 13–35; Reuven Firestone, "Jewish Culture in the Formative Period of Islam," in David Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York: Schocken, 2002), 291–8; John C. Reeves, "Jewish Apocalyptic Lore in Early Islam: Reconsidering Ka'b al-Aḥbār," in John Ashton, ed., *Revealed Wisdom: Studies in Apocalyptic in Honour of Christopher Rowland* (AJEC 88; Leiden: Brill, 2014a), 200–16.

Christian and Muslim chroniclers and exegetes during the final centuries of the first millennium of the Common Era.⁴³

Notable in this extract is the extremely common identification of biblical Enoch with the qur'ānic prophet Idrīs (Q 19:56–7; 21:85), an equation that achieves wide acceptance by the ninth century. The “computation” (*ḥisāb*) or “reckoning” usually associated with Enoch/Idrīs are the algorithms associated with the construction of calendars and the calculations for plotting celestial motions and forecasting future celestial events such as eclipses and planetary conjunctions. These kinds of calculations can even predict the onset of universal catastrophes like the coming Flood, and as we will see, there are additional texts which impute knowledge of this imminent cataclysm to the astrological prowess of Enoch/Idrīs.

The curious name “Shālt” is almost certainly a corruption of the distinctive cognomen “Sethel” which some streams of Syro-Mesopotamian gnosis use in place of “Seth” for this particular son of Adam.⁴⁴ The presence of this lexeme hints that “heterodox” portraits of the progeny of Adam have also been utilized in the “author’s” melding of the various traditions which circulated among biblically affiliated communities during late antiquity and the early medieval era. While both Seth and Enoch are often credited in later literature with similar or even identical cultural accomplishments, this testimony uniquely appears to equate these two figures.

Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica* (ed. Mosshammer):⁴⁵

ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ κατ’ ἐπιτροπήν τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἀρχάγγελος Οὐριήλ ἐμήνυσε τῷ Ἐνώχ τί ἐστὶ μῆν καὶ τροπή καὶ ἐνιαυτός, ὡς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἐνώχ φέρεται.

For in that (year)⁴⁶ at the behest of God Who is over all things the archangel Uriel, who controls the stars, revealed to Enoch what a month is, and a season, and a year, as it is recorded in the book of this same Enoch.⁴⁷

⁴³ Albrecht Götze, “Die Nachwirkung der Schatzhöhle,” *ZS* 2 (1923): 51–94; 3 (1924): 53–71; 153–77; Andreas Su-Min Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne des Trésors: Étude sur l’histoire du texte et de ses sources* (CSCO 581, subsidia t. 103; Lovanii: Peeters, 2000).

⁴⁴ For some discussion of this form of the name of Seth, see Reeves, *Heralds*, 112–15.

⁴⁵ Alden A. Mosshammer, ed., *Georgii Syncelli: Ecloga Chronographica* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1984), 34.16–19. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 199; Guilielmus Dindorf, ed., *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Cp.* (CSHB; Bonnae: E. Weber, 1829), 60.14–17.

⁴⁶ i.e., the year 1286 A.M., which had been calculated by the Alexandrian chronicler Panodorus to be equivalent to the year 165 in the life of Enoch. Cf. LXX Gen 5:21–2; William Adler and Paul Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45 n. 1, where their reference to Gen 4:23 should be corrected to 5:21–2. Note also Ian Moyer, “Berossos and Manetho,” in Johannes Haubold, et al., ed., *The World of Berossos: Proceedings of the 4th International Colloquium on “The Ancient Near East between Classical and Ancient Oriental Traditions”*, Hatfield College, Durham 7th–9th July 2010 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), 220.

⁴⁷ Translation adapted from those of Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 86; Adler and Tuffin, *Chronography*, 45; VanderKam, “1 Enoch 72–82,” 350. See the similar statements of Cedrenus and

This acknowledgement of the special role of the archangel Uriel as suzerain of the stars and the mediator of calendrical lore to Enoch appears to reflect knowledge about the contents of what is communicated in the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch* 72–82⁴⁸ as well as other “booklets” comprising the ancient corpus of Enochic literature.⁴⁹

Abū Ma’shar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, *Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* (ed. Najjār):⁵⁰

قال أبو مشعر هو أول من تكلم في الأشياء العلوية من الحركات النجومية وإن جده كومرت وهو آدم عليه السلام علم ساعات الليل والنهار.

Abū Ma’shar said: He (i.e., Enoch) was the first person to speak about supernal things such as the movements of the stars, and it was from his grandfather Kayōmart, who is (the same figure as) Adam, upon whom be peace, whom he learned the hours of the night and the day.⁵¹

The Abū Ma’shar who is cited here is Abū Ma’shar Ja’far b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī (d. 886), perhaps the most influential writer on astronomical and astrological topics in the Islamicate world, and a renowned theorist and author who eventually came to the attention of medieval Western intellectuals under the name of Albumasar.⁵² The information contained in the present citation supposedly is extracted from his *Kitāb al-Ulūf* or “The Book of the Thousands,” a work of historical astrology which synchronized past events and predicted future events on the basis of major planetary conjunctions. Although this book is no longer extant as an integral work, quotations from it and brief digests of portions of its contents appear in a number of literary sources devoted to historiography, biographies of philosophers, and histories of scientific discoveries. It seems almost certain that Abū Ma’shar serves as the Arabophonic source of the

Michael Glycas, my p. 74; also Pseudo-Mas’ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān, wa-‘ajā’ib al-buldān wa’l-ghāmīr bi-al-mā’ wa’l-‘imrān* (Cairo, 1938; repr., Beirut: Dār al-Andalus lil-ṭibā’ah wa’l-nashr, 1966), 78.23–4.

⁴⁸ The names of neither Enoch nor Uriel figure in the surviving fragments of the Aramaic *Urtext* of *1 Enoch* 72–82. Within Ethiopic *1 Enoch*, note 72:1; 74:2; 75:3–4; 78:10; 79:2; 80:1; 82:7–8.

⁴⁹ See *1 En.* 33:3–4; *2 En.* 22:10ff.

⁵⁰ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, *Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* (4 vols; ed. ‘Amir Najjār; Cairo: al-Hay’ah al-Miṣriyah al-‘Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001), 1:186.1–2; see also August Müller, ed., *Ibn Abi Useibia* (2 vols in 1; Cairo and Königsberg: al-Maṭba’ al-Wahbiya, 1882–4), 1:16.27–9.

⁵¹ Compare the same tradition transmitted *apud* Ibn Juljul: “his grandfather Jayōmarth taught him (علمه) the hours of the night and day” and *apud* Shahrāzūrī: “his grandfather Kayōmarth worked out (عمل) the hours of the night and day.” Abū Ma’shar *apud* Ibn al-Qifṭī does not contain this particular clause. For Ibn Juljul, see van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 124; for Shahrāzūrī, see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ fī tārikh al-ḥukamā’ wa’l-falāsifa* (ed. M.-A. Abū Rayyān; Alexandria: Dār al-Ma’rifā al-Jāmi’a, 1993), 131.

⁵² David Pingree, “Abū Ma’shar,” *EncIr* 1:337–40; David Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Ma’shar* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 30; London: Warburg Institute, 1968); David Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology: From Babylon to Bikāner* (Serie Orientale Roma 78; Roma: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, 1997), 53–4.

legend about the three distinct Hermes in Islamicate literatures,⁵³ a legend which of course is indebted in turn to the late antique Graeco-Egyptian figure of Hermes Trismegistus.

There are two interesting things to note in this excerpt. The association of the first human being, Iranian Gayūmart or biblical Adam, with a system for dividing the hours that comprise day and night is reminiscent of one liturgical portion of the pseudepigraphic *Testament of Adam* in its Greek, Syriac, and Armenian versions that circulates under the title “Hours of the Day and Night”⁵⁴ and thus hints at possible acquaintance with this parascriptural source. One might compare wording above with that of the much more unambiguous tradition about Adam that is recounted by Ibn Ḥumayd (d. 862), one which is certainly based on Christian recensions of the *Testament of Adam*: “He (Adam) taught him (Seth) the hours of the night and the day, and he taught him what creaturely worship took place in each one of those hours. He then informed him that for every hour, there was some class of created being conducting its worship during it.”⁵⁵ This accords with those editorial sections known as the *horarium* and the angelic “hierarchy” that are present in the aforementioned versions of the *Testament of Adam*. The primary difference in Abū Ma’shar is that Adam teaches these schemes not to Seth, but to Enoch.

Moreover, the explicit identification of Enoch as the grandson of the Protoplast suggests that the otherwise colorless Enoch of Genesis 4 (Enoch b. Cain b. Adam) has undergone conflation with his more famous namesake of Gen 5:21–4. This is not an unusual occurrence within later sources.⁵⁶ An identical confusion may explain why Enoch later enjoys recognition as a builder of monuments (e.g., the Pyramids) and a founder of cities, a theme we will explore in more detail in Chapter 3.

Ya’qūbī, *Ta’riḫ* (ed. Houtsma):⁵⁷

ويزعمون أنّ لهم نبياً مثل اوراني وعابدهون وهرمس وهو المثلث بالنعمة ويقال إنه إدريس النبي وهو أول من خط بالعلم وعلم علم النجوم.

⁵³ Martin Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistus and Arab Science,” *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 53; Charles S. F. Burnett, “The Legend of the Three Hermes and Abū Ma’shar’s *Kitāb al-Ulūf* in the Latin Middle Ages,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 231–4.

⁵⁴ Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBLJL 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 86–7; 95–6; 108–9.

⁵⁵ Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (*Annales quos scripsit Abu Dja’far Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*) (15 vols; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1964–5), 1/1:153.8–10. Emphasis added.

⁵⁶ See for example the brief notice of I[sraël]. Friedlaender, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman: Eine sagengeschichtliche und literarhistorische Untersuchung* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1913), 264–5.

⁵⁷ M. T. Houtsma, ed., *Ibn Wadih qui dicitur al-Ja’qubi historiae...* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1:166.3–5; Ya’qūbī, *Ta’riḫ* (2 vols; Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, 1960), 1:147.21–3. This passage is also quoted by T. J. de Boer, “Ūrānī,” *ZA* 27 (1913): 8–15, at 9.

And they (i.e., the Roman rulers who followed the Šābian religion) assert that they have a prophet, such as 'Urānī⁵⁸ and 'Abīdīmōn and Hermes, and he is three-times blessed. It is said that he is the prophet Idrīs, and he was the first to write with a pen and to teach the science of the stars ('ilm al-nujūm).

The Arabic phrase 'ilm al-nujūm (lit. "star-lore") signifies both astronomy and astrology.⁵⁹

Ibn al-Haytham, *Kitāb al-munāẓarāt* (ed. Madelung and Walker):⁶⁰

ويقال إن إدریس علیہ السلام هو الذي أظهر علم النجامة والحساب.

And it is said that Idrīs—peace be upon him—is the one who revealed knowledge about the stars and about computation.

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah* (ed. Šāwī):⁶¹

كما قد روى أن أصل النجوم من إدریس النبي (ع) وتناول قوم في قول الله عز وجل في قصة قوله ورفعناه مكانا عليا أن الله عز وجل رفعه إلى الجبل الذي هو في سرّة الأرض وبعث إليه ملكا حتى علمه أسباب الفلك وما فيه من الحدود والبروج والكواكب ومقدار سيرها وسائر ذلك من علوم النجوم وقالوا إن هرمس المذكور في الفلاسفة هو إدریس فاسمه في الفلاسفة هرمس وفي القرآن إدریس وهذا الاسم مشاكلان لتلك الأسماء مثل جالينوس وأرسطاطاليس وغير ذلك مما في آخرها سين واسمه في سائر الكتب المنزلة أخنوخ . . . فعلم النجوم أصله من إدریس (ع) وهرمس هو إدریس وهو نبي وهو من أمّتنا لا من أمّة الملحدین وكان بينه وبين آدم (ع) خمسة آباء.

Likewise it has been related that the principle(s) of astronomy originate from the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace! Some people have interpreted what God, may He be praised and extolled, has said in the qur'ānic verse "And We raised him to a lofty place" (19:57) as follows. (They say) that God, may He be praised and extolled, raised him up to the mountain that is at the navel of the earth, and He sent him an angel in order to teach him the heavenly courses,⁶² the celestial sphere, and what pertained to it with regard to the zodiacal terms,⁶³ the signs, the planets and the periods of their movements, and the remainder of those things which belong to the science of the stars. They say that the Hermes who is mentioned among the

⁵⁸ For discussion of the various forms of this name and its possible referents, see de Boer, "'Urānī," 8–15; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 188–9 n. 102; Emily Cottrell, "Adam and Seth in Arabic Medieval Literature: The Mandaeen Connections in al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātim's *Choicest Maxims* (11th C.) and Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī al-Ishrāqī's *History of the Philosophers* (13th C.)," *Aram* 22 (2010): 509–47, at 526–30. Neither van Bladel nor Cottrell noticed Ya'qūb's citation of this name, a circumstance which has implications for their respective discussions.

⁵⁹ Ian Richard Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā)* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 50–2, 120 n. 131.

⁶⁰ Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker, *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shi'i Witness* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 88.10–11. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch/Idrīs as Graeco-Egyptian Hermes/Ithoth."

⁶¹ Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah (The Peaks of Prophecy)* (ed. Ṣalāḥ Šāwī; Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), 278.7–14; 280.2–4; see also Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *The Proofs of Prophecy: A Parallel English-Arabic Text* (trans. Tarif Khalidi; Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2011), 209.7–14; 210.15–17.

⁶² Regarding this term, see Kevin van Bladel, "Heavenly Cords and Prophetic Authority in the Quran and its Late Antique Context," *BSOAS* 70 (2007): 223–46.

⁶³ Astrological "terms" denote five subdivisions correlated with the planets within each zodiacal sign. See Tamsyn Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 97.

philosophers is (the same figure as) Idrīs; i.e., his name among the philosophers is Hermes, but in the Qur'ān he is Idrīs. These two names are similar to those names which have a final *sīn* like Galenus, Aristoteles, and the rest. His name in the remaining revealed scriptures is Enoch⁶⁴. . . . So star-lore has its point of origin from Idrīs (upon whom be peace!), and Hermes is Idrīs, and he is a prophet. He is among our *imāms*, not one of the *imāms* of the heretics.⁶⁵ Between him and Adam, there were five forefathers.⁶⁶

The last sentence may be intended to correct earlier scholars like Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī who make Enoch the grandson of Adam, thus mistakenly but understandably conflating Gen 4:17 with 5:21–4.

Agapius, *Kitāb al-'Unvān* (ed. Vasiliev):⁶⁷

وهو ادريس وزعم بعض الحكماء ايضا ان اختوخ الذي هو ادريس عرف واظهر ودل على الكتاب والحروف والنجوم والحساب وزعم ماناثون الحكيم المصرى المنجم ان الله رفع اخنوخ حتى ماس الفلك النادير وعرف البروج التى فيه والكواكب الثابتة والجارية ولشياه والحدود والوجوه من العشرات والصور التى فيها وغير ذلك من اسرار علم النجوم ولذلك يقال ان كتابه فى النجوم يسما كتاب المعانى وجميع الحرائين الذين يعبدون الاصنام والكواكب متمسكون بقول ماناثون المصرى.

Now he (i.e., Enoch) is Idrīs. One of the philosophers also has claimed that Enoch—who is Idrīs—discovered, revealed, and provided guidance about writing, alphabetic characters, the stars, and arithmetical computation. Mānāthōn (i.e., Manetho), the Egyptian sage and astrologer, asserted that God raised Enoch until he traveled all around the ecliptic and discovered the constellations of the zodiac⁶⁸ that are on it, the stationary and wandering stars, the lots (?),⁶⁹ the planetary fields of influence, the decans made up of tens and the constellations which rise in them,⁷⁰ and other similar secrets of star-lore. For that reason it is said that his book on the stars is called *The Book of Meanings*. All the Ḥarrānians—those who worship idols and the celestial bodies—are devoted to the doctrine of Mānāthōn the Egyptian.⁷¹

⁶⁴ An analogous emphasis upon the revelatory origin of the wisdom displayed by Hermes is found in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa* or “Book of the Apple,” a work widely cited in Arabic by tenth-century authors and later translated into Persian, Hebrew, and Latin. See D. S. Margoliouth, “The Book of the Apple, Ascribed to Aristotle,” *JRAS* (1892): 228 (text); 251 (trans.).

⁶⁵ By “heretics” he means those who deny the agency of prophetic inspiration in the discovery of sciences like astronomy, mathematics, and medicine.

⁶⁶ Other translations are Khalidī, *Proofs of Prophecy*, 209–10; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 169–70; Everett K. Rowson, “Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī: Science of Prophecy,” in Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi, *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia, Volume 2: Ismaili Thought in the Classical Age from Jābir ibn Ḥayyān to Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī* (Oxford, 2001; repr., London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2008), 149–51.

⁶⁷ Alexandre Vasiliev, “*Kitāb al-'Unvān*: Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj, première partie (I),” *Patrologia Orientalis* 5 (1910): 591.9–592.3. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch as Idrīs.”

⁶⁸ Cf. Q 15:16; 25:61; 85:1.

⁶⁹ So van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 173 n. 30. Vasiliev renders as “les horoscopes.”

⁷⁰ For most of this terminology, see W[il]ly. Hartner and P[aul]. Kunitzsch, “Minṭaqat al-burūdj,” *EI* 7:81–7.

⁷¹ See especially van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 172–5, who convincingly argues that this report stems from the lost Syriac chronicle of the ‘Abbāsīd court astrologer Theophilus of Edessa. His

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart):⁷²

وانزل عليه النجوم والطب.

He (i.e., God) revealed to him (information about) astronomy and medicine.

Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (ed. Ragep-Mimura):⁷³

وهكذا يحكى عن هرمس المثلث بالحكمة وهو ادريس الببى عليه السلام انه صعد الى فلك زحل ودار معه ثلاثين سنة حتى شاهد جميع احوال الفلك ثم نزل الى الارض فخير الناس بعلم النجوم وقال الله عز اسمه ورفعناه مكانا عليا.

And so it is related about Hermes the thrice-endowed with wisdom—and who is the prophet Idrīs, may peace be upon him—that he ascended to the sphere of Saturn and revolved with it for thirty years until he witnessed all the states of the celestial sphere.⁷⁴ Then he descended back to earth and instructed people about star-lore. God Most High said (of him): “and We raised him up to a lofty place” (Q 19:57).⁷⁵

Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*:⁷⁶

وأول من نظر في علم النجوم والحساب.

And he (Idrīs) was the first to make astronomical observations and calculations.

Wahb *apud* Kisā'i, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):⁷⁷

وحكى ابن الازهرى عن وهب ان ادريس عليه السلام اول من اتخذ السلاح وجاهد في سبيل الله تعالى وقاتل ولد قابيل وهو اول من لبس الثياب وكانوا من قبل يلبسون الجلود واول من وضع الميزان والمكيال واثار علم النجوم.

Ibn al-Azharī relates on the authority of Wahb (b. Munabbih) that Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) was the first to take up weapons and to undertake a *jihād* for the

indiscriminate blending of pagan and Christian sources suggested to William Adler that Agapius knew “some garbled material ultimately derived from Panodorus” (*Time Immemorial*, 104).

⁷² Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (6 vols; ed. Cl. Huart; Paris: E. Leroux, 1899–1919), 3:12.2. For information about this source, see the anonymous article “al-Muṭaḥhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḥḥarī,” *EI*² 7:762; also Tarif Khalidi, “Muṭazilite Historiography: Maqdisī's *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh*,” *JNES* 35 (1976): 1–12.

⁷³ F. Jamil Ragep and Taro Mimura, eds, *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity, On Astronomy: An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistle 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 88.6–89.3. Slightly variant texts appear in Fr[jedrich]. Dieterici, ed., *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwān es-Safā in Auswahl* (Die Philosophie der Araber im IX. und X. Jahrhundert n. Chr. 11; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1883), 121.1–4; *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-khullān al-wafā'* (4 vols; Bombay: Maṭba'at Nukhbat al-Akhbār, 1887–8), 1:69.21–4.

⁷⁴ According to ancient astronomy, Saturn occupied the seventh celestial sphere and had an orbital period of thirty years. See the references cited by van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 181; note also Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, 50.

⁷⁵ Friedrich Dieterici, *Die Propädeutik der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert* (Die Philosophie der Araber im IX. und X. Jahrhundert n. Chr. 3; Berlin: E. S. Mittler, 1865), 67–8; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 180–1; Ragep-Mimura, *On Astronomy*, 62–3.

⁷⁶ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq al-Nisābūrī al-Tha'labī, *Kitāb qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' al-musammā bāl-'arā'is* (Cairo: Al-Sharafiyyah, 1880), 46.14.

⁷⁷ I. Eisenberg, ed., *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā': Vita Prophetarum auctore Muḥammad ben 'Abdallah al-Kisā'i* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1922–3), 1:82.15–18.

path of God Most High,⁷⁸ and he fought with the descendants of Cain. He was the first one to wear clothing—prior to this they would wear animal skins—and he was the first one who established a balance (for weighing) and a (dry) measure and (who wrote down) works about astronomy.

Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):⁷⁹

ثم اخذ نمرود في التكبر والتجبر حتى انه ادعى الالهية وكان مع ذلك مولعا بالنظر في النجوم وكان الله تعالى قد اعطاه لادريس (ع) فلما رفعه الله الى السماء اخذ هذا العلم رجل عابد اسمه هرمس خليفة ادريس فلم يزل المؤمنون يتعلمونه الى ان جاء نمرود.

Then Nimrod was affected by arrogance and audacity to the point that he announced his own divinity. Along with this, he became enamored with the study of the stars. Now God Most High had bestowed it (i.e., study of the stars) upon Idris (upon whom be peace!). When God raised him to heaven, this science was retained by a pious man whose name was Hermes, a successor of Idris, and the faithful did not cease learning about it until the advent of Nimrod.⁸⁰

Visible in the background of this narrative vignette is an amalgamation of the popular eastern legend about a trifold succession of teachers bearing the name “Hermes” with a more focused series of tales featuring the biblical character Nimrod as one of the first human instigators of unsanctioned cultic activities after the universal Flood. One might compare, for example, the ways in which the *Cave of Treasures* tale-cycle develops its profile of Nimrod as the founder of cults devoted to the veneration of fire (i.e., Zoroastrianism) and horses among the Persians and as the principal devotee and promulgator of so-called “Chaldeanism”; i.e., the astrological and magical arts associated with the eastern priestly castes of the Chaldeans and the Magi.⁸¹

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim* (ed. Badawī):⁸²

وكان اول من استخرج علم النجوم.

He (i.e., antediluvian Hermes) was the first one who discovered astrology.

⁷⁸ See also Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.4; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1863–93), 473.

⁷⁹ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:124.15–19.

⁸⁰ For another translation, see Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisā'i* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 132.

⁸¹ e.g., Su-Min Ri, ed., *La Caverne des Trésors: Les deux recensions syriaques* (CSCO 486–7, scrip. syri 207–8; 2 vols; Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1987), 1:208–17 (§27), 2:80–3; Su-Min Ri, *Commentaire*, 317–57.

⁸² Abū'l Wafā' al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim: Los Bocados de oro: Edición crítica del texto árabe con prólogo y notas* (ed. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Badawī; Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1958), 8.10–11. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

Sefer Noah (ed. Jellinek):⁸³

ואחר ארבעה דורות עמד חנוך בן ירד והשכיל ביראת אלהים והנהיג עצמו בטהרה והיה רוחץ ומתקדש במים חיים ומפיל תחינה לפני בורא הכל ונגלה המקום בחלום שנשטם בו הספר הדרך שנתנה בו ומה מלאכתו וקדושה טהרתו והשכים והלך למערה ואיתר עד הצהריים ומכה החמה בא נפשו שם שלא יבינו בו אנשי המקום ולפני האל ברוך הוא התחנן ועלה בטהרה והתחזק בשם הטהור ובשעה שהבין בו נהרו עיניו בכל דרכיו ויתגהג בו והלך עד שנדמה לקדושי מרום ונבדל מן דרי הארץ ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים כי בספר הזה החכים והערים בתקופות ומזלות ובכל מאורות המשרתים לכל חדש וחדש והשמות הנקרא' לכל תקופה והמלאכים המשרתים בארבע תקופות השנה והשכיל שמות הארץ ושמות השמים וגם שמות חמה ולבנה והוסיף לכבדו בכל כחו והבין בכל חכמה יותר על אדם הראשון והבין כי לא עצרו כח לעמוד בו דורות הבאים אחריו כי עצום ומכובד הוא והצפינו עד עמוד גח בן למך איש צדיק תמים היה בדורותיו.

After four generations there arose Enoch b. Yared, and he paid heed to the fear of God. He conducted himself in purity: he would bathe and consecrate himself in running water, and he would plead in supplication before the Creator of all. There was revealed to him in a dream the place within which there was hidden a book, the way how he should apply it, what its use was, and its pure sanctity. He arose early and went to the cave and waited until noon. Due to the intensity of the sun, he brought himself within so that the people of the place did not observe him.⁸⁴ He beseeched the Blessed Deity and ascended (to heaven) in purity. He acquired possession of the Pure Name, and at the moment that he understood it, his eyes illuminated all his paths. He guided himself with it and continued until he became like one of the supernal holy ones and was removed from the inhabitants of the earth. "And he was no more, for God took him" (Gen 5:24). Now by using this book, he grew wise and astute with regard to the cycles and the constellations and all the (heavenly) luminaries which officiate in each and every month and the names which are invoked for every cycle and for the ministering angels during the four seasons of the year. He learned (from it) the names for the earth and the names for the heavens and even the names for the sun and the moon.⁸⁵ He continued to venerate it with all his energy, and he gained insight into every type of wisdom, more so even than Adam the Protoplast. But he discerned that the generations who would come after him would not have the strength to persist with it, for it was powerful and exalted. So he hid it until the advent of Noah b. Lamech, "a righteous man who was perfect among his generations" (Gen 6:9).

⁸³ Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur* (6 vols; Leipzig, 1853–77; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938), 3:157.32–158.13. This important anthology of primary texts is henceforth cited as Jellinek, *BHM*.

⁸⁴ *Emend בנפשו ונפשו?* An alternative rendering is "and through the sun's power his soul came there, so that the local people should not perceive [יבינו] him." Translation quoted from Michael E. Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," in Michael E. Stone, Aryeh Amihay, and Vered Hillel, eds, *Noah and his Book(s)* (SBLEJL 28; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010b), 22–3. Yet the context seems to indicate that Enoch was worried about others seeing him *physically* enter the cave: he waits until noon when the sunshine is most intense and people have retreated indoors before he makes his move through the cave's entrance. Hebrew *נפש* here thus seems to signal Enoch's "corporeal self" rather than his soul.

⁸⁵ Parallel versions of these first two sentences appear in two manuscript versions of the magical manual *Sefer ha-Yashar* (Ms. Oxford Michael 473) §III 28–32 and T.-S. K. 1.21 1a.18–1b.5, both published by Irina Wandrey, "Das Buch des Gewandes" und "Das Buch des Aufrechten": *Dokumente eines magischen spätantiken Rituals, ediert, kommentiert und übersetzt* (TSAJ 96; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 201, 298.

The rubric *Sefer Noah* was a conscious misnomer invented by Jellinek for his anthology of smaller midrashim. To create it, he actually combined three separate but conceptually cognate compositions:⁸⁶ (1) The prologue to the so-called *Sefer Asaf ha-Rofe*, wherein a pharmacology and book of medical lore is revealed to Noah by the angel Raphael after the Flood;⁸⁷ (2) an apocryphal penitential "Prayer of Adam" which results in the revelation by the angel Raziel of a "holy book" containing arcane knowledge to him;⁸⁸ and (3) the prologue to *Sefer ha-Razim*, a notorious magical grimoire whose genealogy is traced to a book revealed by the angel Raziel to Noah immediately before the Flood.⁸⁹ More distantly related to these three compositions are the various tales about Adam's post-expulsion penitence and subsequent revelatory events featured in eastern Christian texts like the *Testament of Adam*, the isolated anecdotes in the Zohar about Raziel's gift of a "book" to Adam,⁹⁰ and the genealogy of religio-medical lore supplied by the Christian chronographer Bar Hebraeus.⁹¹

Megillat Evyatar (Ms. Cambridge University Library T.-S. 10K7.1) fol. 4.25–9:⁹²

והיו כל החשבונות מתחשבים לפני ה' עד שנברא אדם ומסר לו בגן עדן חשבון ימים ולילות שנים
וחדשים תקופות ומחזורות ועיבורים שנ' זה ספר תולדות אדם ואדם מסרם לחנוך ונכנס בסוד העיבור

⁸⁶ Cf. also Plessner, "Hermes Trismegistus," 53–4.

⁸⁷ Süßmann Muntner, *Mavo le-Sefer Asaf ha-Rofe* (Jerusalem: Hotza'at Genizah, 1957), 147–54. Jellinek's text of this passage is transcribed from Munich Staatsbibliothek Ms. Hebr. 231, a copy which dates from the sixteenth century. See Elinor Lieber, "Asaf's 'Book of Medicines': A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model," *DOP* 38 (1984): 238 n. 38.

⁸⁸ See also the apocryphal narrative extracted from a Yemenite manuscript early in the last century by Louis Ginzberg and published by him under the title of "The Son of Samael" in *Ha-Goren* 9 (1913): 38–41; reprinted in Louis Ginzberg, *Al halakhah wa-aggadah* (Tel Aviv: Devir, 1960), 227–8. Lately the various witnesses to this "Prayer of Adam" have been assigned to the wider complex of *Sefer ha-Razim* traditions published and analyzed by Bill Rebiger and Peter Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II: Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II* (2 vols; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 1:106*–109*; 2:1, 12–14, 179–85. There are also parallels contained in the early medieval magical manual known as the *Sefer ha-Yashar*.

⁸⁹ Mordecai Margalioth, ed., *Sefer ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Jerusalem: The American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966); Michael A. Morgan, *Sefer ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (SBLTT 25; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983); Rebiger-Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*.

⁹⁰ Note especially Zohar 1.55b; cf. 1.37b and 1.118a. See also Rebecca Scharbach, "The Rebirth of a Book: Noachic Writing in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," in Stone, Amihay, and Hillel, *Noah and his Book(s)*, 118–19.

⁹¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh mukhtasar al-duwal* (ed. Antoine Šalihāni; Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1890), 12.3–13.6; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Paul Bedjan; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890), 5.10–6.18. The information found herein is an interesting amalgam of hermetic and Graeco-Oriental protographic lore with roots in the traditions surrounding Hellenized writers like Manetho, Berossus, and Philo of Byblos.

⁹² Solomon Schechter, "Saadyana," *JQR* o.s. 14 (1902): 463. This passage is essentially identical to *Pirqa R. El.* §8; see R. David Luria, *Pirqa de-Rabbi Eliezer ha-Gadol* (Warsaw: T. Y. Bamberg, 1852), 18a–b.

ועיבר את השנה שנ' ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים ואמרי מאי את האלהים שנתחכם בעיבור שמסר אלהים לאדם וחנוך מסר לגנזכנס עמו בסוד העיבור ועיבר את השנה שנ' עוד כל ימי הארץ זרע וקציר.

All calendrical computations were calculated in God's presence. But after Adam was created, He transmitted (the algorithm) to him in the Garden of Eden (for) the calculation of days and nights, years and months, seasons, annual festivals, and intercalation formulas, as Scripture attests: "This is the book of the generations of Adam" (Gen 5:1). And Adam transmitted them to Enoch and he was introduced to the secret of intercalation,⁹³ and he (Enoch) intercalated the year, as Scripture states: "and Enoch walked with God" (Gen 5:24). What does "with God" mean? He received instruction in the process of intercalation which God had transmitted to Adam. Enoch transmitted in turn to Noah and introduced him to the secret of intercalation, and he (Noah) intercalated the year, as Scripture states: "seedtime and harvest recur all the days of the earth" (Gen 8:22).⁹⁴

Aryeh Amihay and Daniel Machiela have suggested that this tradition about Enoch transmitting the secret of intercalation to Noah may be indebted to an "ancient" refraction of "one of those [traditions] contained in 1 Enoch or Jubilees."⁹⁵

Midrash 'Aggadah (ed. Buber):⁹⁶

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עם המלאכים הלך שלש מאות שנה בגן עדן היה עמו ולמד מהם עיבור ותקופות ומזלות והכמות רבות.

"And Enoch walked with God..." (Gen 5:22, 24). He walked with the angels for three hundred years. He was with them in the Garden of Eden, and he learned about intercalation, the seasons, the constellations, and many types of wisdom from them.⁹⁷

⁹³ For important observations about alleged direct connections between Adam and Enoch, see Moshe Idel, "Enoch Is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 228–31.

⁹⁴ The esoteric dimensions of this tradition about the transmission of calendar lore are briefly explored by Ronald C. Kiener, "The Status of Astrology in the Early Kabbalah: From the *Sefer Yesirah* to the *Zohar*," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 6:3–4 (1987): [7*]–[9*].

⁹⁵ Aryeh Amihay and Daniel Machiela, "Traditions of the Birth of Noah," in Stone, Amihay, and Hillel, *Noah and his Book(s)*, 67.

⁹⁶ *Midrash 'Aggadah* (ed. Buber), 1:14.29–15.1; also Reuven Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1945), 76. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise."

⁹⁷ Compare *Jub.* 4:21: "And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything" (Charles). Note also 4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) frag. 2 above. *Jub.* 4:23 describes how the angels situated Enoch within the Garden of Eden. Given the longstanding association of *Midrash 'Aggadah* with the school of R. Moshe ha-Darshan, it seems credible that some form of *Jubilees* has influenced our text. See Hanokh Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1940), 19–20; Charles Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch, ou, Livre des palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989), 47; Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees*," 118; Hananel Mack, *Mi-sodo shel Moshe ha-Darshan* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2010), 195–7.

Georgius Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historiōn* (ed. Bekker):⁹⁸

περιέχεται δὲ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν ἀποκρύφων Ἐνώχ ὅτι Οὐριήλ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐμήνυσε τῷ Ἐνώχ, τί ἐστὶ μῆν καὶ τροπὴ καὶ ἐνιαυτός, καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔχειν νβ' ἑβδομάδας.

Now it is included in the apocryphal book of Enoch that the angel Uriel revealed to Enoch what a month is, and a season, and a year; and that a year consisted of fifty-two weeks.⁹⁹

Michael Glycas, *Annales* (ed. Bekker):¹⁰⁰

λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀστράσι τεταγμένος ἄγγελος, ὁ θεϊότατος δηλαδὴ Οὐριήλ, πρὸς γε τὸν Σήθ καὶ τὸν Ἐνώχ κατιῶν ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ὥρων μηνῶν τροπῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν διαφορὰς. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Γεώργιον πρῶτος ἐξεύρεν ὁ Σήθ γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἑβδομάδας, καὶ τοῖς ἀστροῖς καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα ὥστε γνωρίζεσθαι.

It is said that the angel who is posted among the stars, obviously the divine Uriel, came down to Seth and then to Enoch (and) he taught them the distinctions among hours, months, seasons, and years. According to Georgius (Syncellus),¹⁰¹ Seth was the first to discover Hebrew letters, the signs of heaven, the seasons of the years, and the months and weeks, and he assigned names to the stars and the five planets so that they could be recognized.¹⁰²

Shahrestānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal* (ed. Kaylānī):¹⁰³

حكّم هرمس العظيم المحموده آثاره المرضية أقواله وأفعاله الذي يعد من الانبياء الكبار ويقال هو إدريس النبي عليه السلام. وهو الذي وضع أسامي البروج والكواكب السيارة ورتبها في بيوتها وأثبت لها الشرف والوبال والواج والحضض والمناظر بالتثليث والتسدس والتربيع والمقابلة والمقارنة والرجعة والاستقامة. وبين تعديل الكواكب وتقوميتها.

Wisdom of the great Hermes, whose deeds are most praiseworthy, whose words and exploits are most gratifying, who is counted as one of the greatest prophets, and who is said to be the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace! He is the one who fixed the names for the zodiacal signs and the planets. He organized them in their houses, and he determined their exaltations, dejections, apogees, and depressions; their trine, sextile, and quartile aspects; and their oppositions, conjunctions,

⁹⁸ Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Compendium historicarum* (CHSB 33–4; 2 vols; Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1838–9), 1:21.11–13.

⁹⁹ See also VanderKam, “1 Enoch 72–82,” 350.

¹⁰⁰ Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Michaelis Glycae Annales* (CSHB 27; Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1836), 228.6–13. See also Franz Cumont and F[ranciscus]. Boll, eds, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum V: Codicum Romanorum, Partem Priorem* (Bruxelles: Henrici Lamertin, 1904), 140.

¹⁰¹ Michael's reference appears to be to Josephus, *Ant.* 1.68–71 which was indeed noticed by George Syncellus.

¹⁰² See also Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 105 n. 119. Note Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 318; A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* (nouvelle édition; 4 vols; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 350–1; Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 51 n. 46.

¹⁰³ Shahrestānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal* (2 vols; ed. M. S. Kaylānī; Beirut: Dār el-Marefah, n.d.), 2:45.1–6.

retrograde, and direct motions. He also explained the planetary equations and their true positions.¹⁰⁴

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perush le-Torah shīṭah aḥeret* to Gen 5:29 (ed. Weiser):¹⁰⁵

...או ראה זה במזלו.

...or he (i.e., Enoch) saw this (i.e., Noah's destiny) in his constellation (i.e., horoscope).

While Enoch does not invent or discover star-lore in this particular explanation as to how Lamech acquired his insight into the character of his newborn child (see Gen 5:29), it is taken for granted that the forefather Enoch controlled the skills needed for reading a natal horoscope. A similar assumption informed the prowess in astral calculations attributed to Enoch/Idris by Ka'b al-Aḥbār in the extract from his "Adam and Eve book" preserved by Hamdānī, p. 63. One might also compare what is said of Enoch in the testimony excerpted from Qazwīnī, p. 76.

Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr* to Q 19:56–7:¹⁰⁶

وقيل ان الله سبحانه علمه علم النجوم والحساب وعلم الهيئة وكان ذلك معجزة له.

It is said that God Most Praiseworthy taught him star-lore, mathematics, and cosmography.¹⁰⁷ This was the miracle associated with him.

Prophetic vocation in Islam is frequently tied to "signs" or "miracles" which serve to confirm the veracity of the divine message.

Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg):¹⁰⁸

وأول من نظر في علوم النجوم والحساب.

And (he was) the first to give attention to astronomical observations and calculations.

¹⁰⁴ For other translations, see Theodor Haarbrücker, *Abu-'l-Fath' Muhammad asch-Schah-rastānī's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen* (2 vols; Halle: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1850–1), 2:61; Shahrastani, *Livre des religions et des sectes* (2 vols; ed. Daniel Gimaret, Guy Monnot, and Jean Jolivet; Louvain: Peeters/UNESCO, 1986–93), 2:153; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 220.

¹⁰⁵ Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perushey ha-Torah* (3 vols; ed. Asher Weiser; Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1977), 1:174. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁰⁶ Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. H. M. 'Aqil; Beirut: Dār al-Balāgha, 1991), 81. Ṭabarsī was a twelfth-century Shi'ite commentator; see Etan Kohlberg, "Ṭabrisī (Ṭabarsī)," *EI* 10:40–1. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as Idrīs."

¹⁰⁷ Compare 4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) frag. 2 published by Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 12; also VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 171–5 and pl. XII (PAM 43.238).

¹⁰⁸ 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi al-tārikh* (14 vols in 7; ed. Carl Johan Tornberg; Leiden: Brill, 1851–76), 1:42.22–3. This passage is cited in abbreviated form by Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 88.

Bahya b. Asher *ad* Gen 5:24 (editio princeps):¹⁰⁹

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים מעלת מדת התהלות לא יזכרה רק בצדיקים כגון חנוך נח ואברהם" הוא שהזכיר כאן בחנוך ויתהלך חנוך וכתיב בנח את האלהים התהלך נח וכתיב באברהם התהלך לפני והיה תמים וכלן השיגו מהלך השמש וכחותיו הגדולים המורים על שלטנות אדון הכל ורוממותו יתברך כמו שאני עתיד לכתוב בע"ה בפסוק את האלהים התהלך נח והנה חנוך דבק באור עליון שממנו נבראו ונמשכו המאורות ביום רביעי והוא נזכר בבראשית ה' פעמים והתנצץ לשבעה אורים... ושבעה אורים אלו הם הנקראים צרור החיים והצדיק הזה דבק בהם כי מצא הן בעיני ה'.

"And Enoch walked with God..." (Gen 5:24). The graded attribute of "walking (with God)" is only expressed of those who were righteous, such as Enoch, Noah, and Abraham. It is so mentioned with regard to Enoch: "and Enoch walked..." (Gen 5:24), and it is written of Noah: "Noah walked with God..." (Gen 6:9), and it is written of Abraham: "Walk before Me and be perfect!" (Gen 17:1). Each one of them comprehended the movement of the sun and its great powers which teach about the sovereignty of the Lord of All and His eminence, may He be blessed, as I plan to write more about with the help of God with regard to the verse "Noah walked with God..." (Gen 6:9).¹¹⁰ And behold, Enoch became attached to the upper light from which the luminaries had been created and drawn forth on the fourth day (of the creation-week). Now this (upper light) is mentioned five times in Genesis (cf. Gen 1:3–5), and it shone (with the intensity of) seven lights... These seven lights are the same ones which are termed "bundle of the living" (1 Sam 25:29). This righteous one became attached to them because he found favor in the sight of the Lord.¹¹¹

In addition to knowing "the movement of the sun and its great powers,"¹¹² it seems possible that the seven lights with which Enoch formed an "attachment" may also encode a reference to the planets and Enoch's supposed mastery of their orbits and positions.

Qazwīnī, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld):¹¹³

ومن الناس من يزعم ان هرمس الاول الذي تسميه اليونانيون اخنوخ بن يرد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن انوش بن شيث بن آدم (ع) وهو ادريس علم بطوفان نوح اما بالوحي او بالاستدلال على ذلك من احوال الكواكب فامر ببناء الاهرام وايداعها الاموال وصحايف العلوم اشفاقا عليها من ادريس واحتياطاً عليها وحفظاً لها.

And there are some people who allege that "the first Hermes," the one whom the Greeks (*sic!*) call Akhnūkh b. Yared b. Mahalā'il b. Qaynān b. Enōsh b. Shīth b. Adam (upon whom be peace!), and who is Idris, learned about the Flood of Noah

¹⁰⁹ Bahya ben Asher b. Hilawah, [*Perush ha-Torah*] ([Spain or Portugal]: Defus Shem Tov, [1492]), 8b. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise."

¹¹⁰ Bahya ben Asher, [*Perush ha-Torah*], 11a. Here comprehension of the "powers" of the sun is expanded to encompass knowledge about "the planetary spheres" (הגלגלים), "the stars" (הזכוכים), and "the constellations" (המזלות).

¹¹¹ See also Alan Unterman, ed., *The Kabbalistic Tradition: An Anthology of Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 73–4.

¹¹² Compare *Jub.* 4:20: "they (i.e., the angels of God) showed him (i.e., Enoch) everything on earth and in the heavens, and the power of the sun; and he wrote down everything."

¹¹³ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Zakarija Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie* (2 vols; Göttingen, 1848–9; repr., Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1967), 2:179.2–6.

either by revelation, or because he was informed about it from the positions of the stars. So he ordered the building of the pyramids and the depositing within them of treasures and scientific writings. Being concerned for them, Idris (acted) in order to protect them and preserve them.¹¹⁴

Abraham Ibn Ezra (*ad Gen 5:29*) offers an astonishingly parallel explanation for Enoch's foreknowledge about the Flood: "Perhaps Enoch discerned via prophecy that Noah would revitalize the world, and that it would be through his agency that the curse would be removed from the ground... or he saw this (destiny) in his constellation (i.e., horoscope)."¹¹⁵ It seems likely that the Jewish biblical commentator (d. 1164) and the Muslim geographer (d. 1283) are paraphrasing a common "hermetic" source.¹¹⁶

Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan):¹¹⁷

כאזו יצא ענוך ביום... וראה את המזלות והכוכבים... וראה את
 כוכבי המזלות והכוכבים... וראה את המזלות והכוכבים...
 והכוכבים.

After Yared (was) Enoch his son.... He discovered knowledge about the zodiac and the courses of the planets.... He also instituted festival-days for the entrance of the sun into each zodiacal sign, for the new moon, and for when each planet entered into its house or its ascension.

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Šāliḫānī):¹¹⁸

الأول هرمس الساكن بصعيد مصر الاعلى وهو أول من تكلم في الجواهر العلوية.

The first Hermes was the one who dwelt in Upper Egypt. He was the first (person) who discoursed about celestial substances (*sic*).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ See also Leon Nemoy, "The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids (*Tuḥfat al-kirām fī khabar al-ahrām*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī," *Isis* 30 (1939): 27; A[lexander]. Fodor, "The Origins of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (1970): 337.

¹¹⁵ The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹¹⁶ See, e.g., the observations of Moshe Idel, "Hermeticism and Judaism," in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus, eds, *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), 62–3; Moshe Idel, "Hermeticism and Kabbalah," in Paolo Lucentini, Ilaria Parri, and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, eds, *Hermetism from Late Antiquity to Humanism: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Napoli, 20–24 novembre 2001* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 402.

¹¹⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Bedjan), 5.10, 16–17, 19–21. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

¹¹⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Šāliḫānī), 11.9–10. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

¹¹⁹ "Substances" (*jawāhir*) is probably a corruption of "events" (*ḥawādith*). See van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 128 n. 31; 130 n. 36.

R. Samuel Ibn Zarza, *Sefer Meqor Hayyim* (editio princeps):¹²⁰

ומצאתי כתוב כי נכתב בספר דתות הנביאים כי חנוך היה חכם גדול והסידר והכניס העמים תחת עבודת האל ית' ושהוציא תחלה חכמת הכוכבים.

And I discovered what was written in the *Book of the Religious Laws of the Prophets*; namely, that Enoch was a great sage and a saint, and that he united the nations under the worship of God, may He be sanctified, and that he was the first to promulgate astronomical science.¹²¹

Hebrew הכוכבים is a calque of Arabic *'ilm al-nujūm*;¹²² literally “star-lore,” a category of knowledge within Muslim science that encompasses both astrology and astronomy.

Sefer ha-Kasdim (Ms. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Gaster 177 ff. 36a–b):¹²³

זה הספר ששמשו בו הכשדים בבחינתם ועיונם בחכמת האלהות . . . וכתבו אותם הספרים ועשו ספרים הרבה והאחרונים לא ידעו ללמוד באותן הספרים עד שבא רזיאל וגלה הסודות ואחריו חנוך הקדמון ומאותה שעה נתפזרה זאת החכמה בכל העולם.

This is the book which the Chaldeans used in their investigations and speculations about divine gnosis . . . they wrote down these books and produced many writings, but those who arose afterwards did not know how to learn (from) these books until (the angel) Raziel came and revealed the secrets,¹²⁴ and after him the first Enoch (revealed them). Since his time this science (i.e., astrology) has spread throughout the entire world.¹²⁵

“Chaldean science,” or the kind of cosmological speculations and investigations associated with that particular ethnonym, is invariably astral in nature. Even though the word “astrology” is not explicitly used in this passage, it is still closely allied with those traditions which name the biblical forefather Enoch as complicit in the

¹²⁰ R. Samuel Ibn Zarza, *Meqor Hayyim* (Mantua: [n.p.], 1559), 9a; cf. also Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Sefer Rav Pe'alim* (Warsaw: Halper ve-Ayzenshtadt, 1894), 65; Moshe Idel, “Hanokh—Topher min'alayim hayah,” *Kabbalah* 5 (2000): 269. A more complete citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

¹²¹ For other translations, see Moshe Idel, “The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance,” in David B. Ruderman, ed., *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 125; Moshe Idel, “Hermeticism and Judaism,” 65; Moshe Idel, “Hermeticism and Kabbalah,” 403.

¹²² Contrast Piergabriele Mancuso, *Shabbatai Donnolo's Sefer Hakhmoni: Introduction, Critical Text, and Annotated English Translation* (SJHC 27; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 231 n. 57.

¹²³ Moses Gaster, “The Wisdom of the Chaldeans: An Old Hebrew Astrological Text,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22 (1900): 329–51, at 347. See also Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha, and Samaritan Archaeology* (3 vols; repr., New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971), 3:104. A photograph of fol. 36a is inserted between pp. 346 and 347 of the original article, and pp. 104 and 105 of the reprint. Two additional manuscripts for this work are signaled by Reimund Leicht, “Toward a History of Hebrew Astrological Literature: A Bibliographical Survey,” in Gad Freudenthal, ed., *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 290 n. 274.

¹²⁴ The angel Raziel is also notorious in certain esoteric circles for revealing hidden knowledge—often in the form of a book—to Adam.

¹²⁵ For another translation, see Gaster, “Wisdom,” 338–9; Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, 1:347–8.

development of the astronomical sciences. Behind the revelatory angel Raziel lies the archangel Uriel,¹²⁶ the heavenly entity who according to our earliest layers of Enochic literature was charged with the task of imparting astral lore to Enoch.¹²⁷ The syntagm “the first Enoch” is a calque derived from the Arabophonetic hermetic legends about a trifold succession of renowned sages who each bore the name “Hermes,” the initial member of whom was usually dubbed “the first Hermes” or “the antediluvian Hermes” and assimilated to the biblical character Enoch. While the account about a trifold succession of Hermes first appears in the ninth-century *Book of Thousands* by Abū Maʿshar, a plurality of Hermes arguably figures in the older Graeco-Egyptian hermetic treatises, and two different Hermes termed “the first Hermes” (τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ) and “the second Hermes” (τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ) occur in the *Book of Sothis* attributed to Pseudo-Manetho that is cited in the Byzantine era world chronicle of George Syncellus.¹²⁸

Pseudo-Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:¹²⁹

فنبأه الله عز وجل على رأس أربعين سنة فأثابه وراييل الملك يعلمه علم الفلك والكواكب وسعودها ونحوها وصور الدرج والبروج، وقيل انه أول من نظر في النجوم بعد آدم عليه السلام.

Afterwards God (may He be glorified and exalted!) made him (i.e., Enoch) a prophet at the beginning of his fortieth year. Then the angel Uriel¹³⁰ came to him, instructing him in knowledge about the celestial sphere, the stars, their good portents, their bad portents, the shapes of (their) paths (?), and the signs of the zodiac.¹³¹ It is said that he was the first person to observe the stars after Adam (upon whom be peace!).

ENOCH AS SAVANT OF COSMOLOGICAL ARCANA

The type of wisdom (Aramaic חכמה) or knowledge frequently associated with the name of Enoch and his cross-cultural avatars embraces a vast reservoir of topics. These include cosmology, cosmography, angelology, magical praxis,

¹²⁶ The names “Raziel” and “Uriel” have the same gematria value of 248.

¹²⁷ *1 En.* 33:3–4; 72:1; 74:2; 75:3–4; 78:10; 79:2; 80:1; 82:7–8.

¹²⁸ W. G. Waddell, *Manetho* (LCL 350; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 208–11; cf. Georgius Syncellus (ed. Dindorf), 72.14–73.17.

¹²⁹ Pseudo-Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*, 78.22–79.1. Regarding the spurious nature of this work, see B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, “Note sur un ouvrage attribué à Maçoudi,” *JA* 9. série, 7 (1896): 133–44; C[haries] Pellat, “al-Masʿūdī, Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn,” *EI* 6:785; Michael Cooperson, “Masʿūdī,” *EncIr*; Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 46.

¹³⁰ Arabic وراييل الملك. According to Carra de Vaux’s ms. C, this same angel was responsible for the revelation of the *Book of Secret(s)* to Adam. Some Jewish kabbalistic sources effect an equation between the angels Uriel and Raziel due to the numerical equivalence of the letters in their names. The orthography for the name of the angel V(e)revel in the Slavonic *Book of Enoch* (*2 En.* 22:10ff.), long recognized as a rendering of the Semitic syllables of Uriel, is very close to that employed here.

¹³¹ Compare *1 En.* 33:3–4; 72:1; 74:2; 75:3–4; 78:10; 79:2; 80:1; 82:7–8; *2 En.* 22:10ff.; Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica* (ed. Mosshammer), 34.16–19; Georgius Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historiōn* (ed. Bekker), 1:21.11–13; Michael Glycas, *Annales* (ed. Bekker), 228.6–13.

computation, annotated inventories of the various objects, places, and sites which comprise both the physical universe and the “supernatural” locales situated “above” and “below” it, and a host of arts, sciences, and technologies deemed useful for human society. Such prowess becomes especially pronounced in the genealogies of knowledge which inflect scriptural Enoch/Idrīs with the attributes of the scholar-sage Hermes as the latter figure came to be constructed in Graeco-Egyptian, H̄arranian, and Islamic hermetic circles. To quote from one influential collection of biographical testimonies to the history of medicine, “there are some who say that Hermes discovered all the crafts, philosophy, and medical arts.”¹³² This particular source does not elaborate on the circumstances surrounding these discoveries or inventions, but they are not very difficult to discern. According to our sources, there are primarily two ways by which Enoch manages to acquire such expertise.

One way can be categorized as experiential: it usually involves an encounter between Enoch and one or more supernatural, usually angelic, guides. In this scenario Enoch is temporarily removed from human society and then shown various sites on earth and in the heavens. Occasionally he is permitted to approach the throne of God Himself and procure information directly from the deity. At other times he is allowed to read or transcribe written books or tablets which are archived in heaven. Often he is exhorted to share the results of his tutelage with his son Methuselah and the other residents of the earth. Textual instances which illustrate this mode of education are already present in some of our earliest datable examples of Enochic literature, and they continue to recur in various guises throughout the multilingual spectrum of primary witnesses.

The second way in which Enoch is said to acquire his extraordinary range of knowledge is one that is not dependent upon individual visionary experience, but is instead grounded in an authoritative chain of written transmission which reflects the values of scribal wisdom or scholasticism.¹³³ According to these texts and their contextual frameworks, Enoch inherits or is awarded custodianship of one or more “books” or writings that were once in the possession of prominent ancestral predecessors like Adam or Seth. Then, after learning from and supplementing these ancient texts, he bequeathes them in turn to one of his descendants who proves worthy of this important legacy. Enoch thus functions as an essential link in the chain of tradition by which such knowledge acquires its authority.

¹³² Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *K. ‘Uyūn al-anbā’* (ed. Najjār), 1:155.7–8.

¹³³ See especially Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 22–5; 173–205.

4Q534 (4QNoah ar) 1 I, 4–8:¹³⁴

3. דועה בלבה תה[וא] 3
 4. בעלימותה להוה... [וכאנ]ש די לא ידע מדעם עד ערן די 4
 5. [י]נדע תלחת ספריא vacat 5
 6. [ב]אדין יערם ידע ש[...].ן חזין למאתה לה על ארכובתה 6
 7. [ובאבוהי וב]א[בהתוהי [...]] חין יזקונה עמה לתוון מלכה וערמומ[תה] 7
 8. [ן]ידע רזי אנשא וחוכמתה לכל עממיא תהך ידע רזי כול חיאי 8

3...and knowledge [wi]ll be in his heart.

4. During his youth he will be...¹³⁵ [and like on]e who knows nothin[g until] the time when

5. [he] understands three books.

6. Then he will gain wisdom and will know... a vision to come to him on his knees¹³⁶

7. and with his father and [with] his ancestors (?).... Counsel and wisdom will be with him

8. and he will know the secrets of humanity, and his wisdom will go forth to all peoples, and he will know the secrets of all living things.

Ever since the influential study of Joseph A. Fitzmyer,¹³⁷ most scholars identify the unnamed subject of this fragmentary text as Noah.¹³⁸ It is however often brought into the orbit of Enochic literature; e.g., “Zur Henochliteratur gehört auch diese Ankündigung der Geburt Noahs, das Erwählten Gottes....”¹³⁹ Ben Zion Wacholder and André Caquot went so far as to argue that the “chosen one of God” (בחיר אלהא) discussed in this text is in fact Enoch himself.¹⁴⁰ We

¹³⁴ Émile Puech, ed., *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII, Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 132 and planche VII. Compare the transcription of Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1997–8), 2:1070; see also PAM 41.917 and 43.591. We have omitted Puech’s readings where the extant photographs do not provide visible support for his suggestions.

¹³⁵ Puech states that the reading כלטיש is “certaine,” but the photograph does not support him. Compare however Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 128 s.v. לטוש.

¹³⁶ Cook, *Dictionary*, 24. The meaning of this word, whose reading seems secure, within this context remains unclear.

¹³⁷ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348–72.

¹³⁸ Criticism of this identification, however, has been provided by Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 243 n. 54; Devorah Dimant, “Noah in Early Jewish Literature,” in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 146 n. 89; Devorah Dimant, review of Émile Puech, ed., *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII, Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549, DSD* 10 (2003): 292–304, at 298.

¹³⁹ Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 269.

¹⁴⁰ Wacholder, *Dawn of Qumran*, 243 n. 54; André Caquot, “4QMess ar 1 i 8–11,” *RevQ* 15 (1991): 145–55.

therefore include this disputed passage for the sake of assembling a comprehensive collection of all possible Enochic references.

The seemingly casual mention of the subject's intellectual mastery of "three books" has attracted the lion's share of attention from scholars interested in this particular text. Although the specific identity of the "three books" is not given within the surviving text, a number of scholars nevertheless speculate that three Enochic books are intended.¹⁴¹ Milik had pointed out that the medieval Samaritan *Sefer 'Asaṭir* portrays Noah studying "three works of antediluvian wisdom" prior to the Deluge, and later bequeathing them to his descendants Arpachshad, Elam, and Ashur; Milik also sought to bring each one of these three books into a closer relationship with Enoch.¹⁴² It is clear, however, that the Samaritan titles in the *Sefer 'Asaṭir* are not Enochic works, but instead books of Adam.¹⁴³ On the other hand, the predicted universal dissemination of the "wisdom" of this text's "chosen one of God" about the "secrets of humanity" and indeed the "secrets of all living things" accords well with the tales about the international circulation of arcane lore found in IQ Genesis Apocryphon, Pseudo-Eupolemus, and the later Hermetic legends, all of which have discernible linkages with either the name or the reputation of Enoch.

Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae Propheticae* 2.1 (ed. Stählin):¹⁴⁴

Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ βλέπων ἀβύσσους, καθήμενος ἐπὶ Χερουβίμ, ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει, ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνώχ τῷ εἰρηκότι· καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας.

"Blessed are You, the One who sees into the depths while seated on the cherubim," says Daniel,¹⁴⁵ agreeing with Enoch, who said: "And I saw the whole material world."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII*, 124, 137–8; Pierre Grelot, "Hénoch et ses écritures," *RB* 82 (1975): 481–500; Beyer, *Texte*, 226, 269, where he states: "Die drei Bücher . . . können innerhalb des Henochkreises nur die drei Bücher Henochs sein"; Florentino García Martínez, "4QMess Ar and the Book of Noah," in Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 8–9; James R. Davila, "4QMess Ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism," *DSD* 5 (1998): 375, where the author accepts an Enochic ascription provided that Noah is indeed the figure treated in this text; Jeremy Penner, "Is 4Q534–536 Really about Noah?" in Stone, Amihay, and Hillel, *Noah and his Book(s)*, 106–8.

¹⁴² Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 65–8.

¹⁴³ Z[e]ev. Ben-Hayyim, "Sefer 'Asaṭir," *Tarbiz* 14 (1942–3): 116; Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, "The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch," *Numen* 26 (1979): 97. A reference to both a *Book of Adam* and a *Book of Enoch* occurs in Zohar 1.58b.

¹⁴⁴ Otto Stählin, ed., *Clemens Alexandrinus, Dritter Band: Stromata Buch VII und VIII, Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae Propheticae, Quis dives salvetur, Fragmenta* (GCS 17; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909), 137.15–17. Note also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 171–2; Lawlor, "Early Citations," 182; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 11; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 73; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 90.

¹⁴⁵ LXX Dan 3:54 in the version of Theodotus.

¹⁴⁶ Black (*Apocalypsis*, 11) associates this declaration with 1 *En.* 19:3; this was originally suggested by August Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch: Uebersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1853), lvj; but see Lawlor, "Early Citations," 181–2, who discounts the association; also 2 *En.* 40:1, 12. VanderKam ("1 Enoch," 44–5) opines that the larger context in Clement makes 19:3 a likely reference. The suggested correlations(s) with 2 *Enoch* are dismissed by VanderKam and by A[nn]e. Pennington, "2 Enoch," in *AOT*, 323–4.

At first glance the first-person subject in this citation from Clement of Alexandria should be God in light of its parallelism with the enthroned entity whose keen eyesight even from the heights of heaven can penetrate “the depths.” But one should compare this acclamation with what is probably the same passage quoted by Origen:¹⁴⁷

Origen, *De Principiis* 4.4.8 (35) (ed. Koetschau):¹⁴⁸

Sed et in libro suo Enoch ita ait: “Ambulavi usque ad imperfectum” . . . scriptum namque est in eodem libello, dicente ipso Enoch: “Universas materias perspexi.”

But also Enoch in his book says thus: “I traveled all the way to where it was incomplete”¹⁴⁹ . . . For it is written in the same book, where Enoch himself says: “I perceived all kinds of matter.”

Here it is explicitly stated that it is Enoch “himself” who functions as the antecedent of what is undoubtedly the same first-person citation. The anomaly can perhaps be reconciled by ascribing telescopic vision to any sentient entity—mortal or divine—fortunate enough to enjoy a view of the entire universe from the vantage point of the heavenly throne-room.

Cologne Mani Codex 58.16–60.12 (ed. Koenen-Römer):¹⁵⁰

ἔλεγεν δὲ [ὁ]τι τῶν δακρῶν ἐν [τοῖς] ὀφθαλμοῖς μου ὄν[των] καὶ δεήσεως ἐν τῷ [στό]ματι ἐθεώρησα ἐπι[στάν]τας μοι ἀγγέλους ἐ[πτά] ἐκ τοῦ ὕρου κα[τερχομέ]νου[ς. ἰδὼν δὲ] αὐτοὺς ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ δέου[ς] ὥστε τὰ γόνατά μου ἀλλήλοις προσάρασειν. καὶ ἄλιν εἶπεν οὕτως· ἔφη μοι εἰς τῶν ἀγγέλων Μιχαὴλ τοῦνομα· τούτου χάριν πρὸς σὲ ἀπεστάλην ἵνα ὑποδείξωμέν σοι πάντα τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀποκαλύψωμέν σοι τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον καὶ χώρόν σοι δεῖξω τὸν τῶ[ν] δυσσεβῶν καὶ ὁποῖος τυγχάνει ὁ τῆς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνόμων τόπος. φησὶ δὲ ἄλιν ὅτι ἐκείνο[ι] ἐπεκάθισάν με ἐπὶ ἄ[ρ]ματος ἀνέμου καὶ εἰ[ς] τὰ πέρατα τῶν οὐρ[ανῶν] ἀνήνεγκαν. καὶ το[ὺς] κό[σμου]ς διεπεράσαμ[εν], τὸν τε κόσμον [τοῦ θανά]του [καὶ κό]σμο[ν] τοῦ σκό[τους] καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσηξάν με εἰς κόσμον πλουσιώτατον ὃς εὐκλέεστατος μὲν τῷ φωτὶ ἐτύγγανεν, περικαλλέστερος δὲ ὢν εἶδον φωστήρων. πάντα δὲ ἐθεώρησεν καὶ ἐξήτασεν τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἴ τι αὐτῷ εἶπον, ἐνεχάραξεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς γραφαῖς.

He says: “While the tears were still in my eyes and the prayer was yet on my lips, I beheld approaching me [seven] angels descending from heaven. [Upon seeing] them I was so moved by fear that my knees began knocking.”

He says moreover: “One of the angels, whose name was Michael, said to me: ‘I was sent to you for this purpose—in order that we might show you all the deeds

¹⁴⁷ Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 182.

¹⁴⁸ Paul Koetschau, ed., *Origenes Werke, Fünfter Band: De Principiis (ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ)* (GCS 22; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913), 358.32–3, 359.4–5. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 174.

¹⁴⁹ “He is quoting 1 Enoch 21:1 . . . where Enoch recounts his journey to the chaos that lies beyond the ends of the earth”; so Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 90. He here follows VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 54–6; see also Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 197.

¹⁵⁰ Ludwig Koenen and Cornelia Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex . . . Kritische Edition* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988), 38–40. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric “Enoch as a Confidant and Apprentice of Angels.”

and reveal to you the place (appointed) for the pious, and to show you the place (appointed) for the impious, and what sort of place of punishment the lawless are experiencing.”¹⁵¹

He says also: “They seated me upon a chariot of wind¹⁵² and brought me to the ends of the heavens.¹⁵³ We traversed worlds—the world of [dea]th, the world of [dar]kness, and the world of fire. And after these (worlds) they brought me into a world of extraordinary richness which was resplendently luminous, even more beautiful than the heavenly luminaries which I (also) beheld.”¹⁵⁴

All these things he saw, and he questioned the angels, and that which they told him he recorded in his writings.¹⁵⁵

Ms. New York JTS 1777 fol. 33b:¹⁵⁶

כי הש"י יול"י מרוב אהבתו את חנוך בן ירד טרם הלכתו גלה לו סוד העליוני והתחתני ולמדוהו סוד קשרם יחד שהוא סוד הקרבן בפרטיו וצוהו ואמר לו סודות כך וכך תגלה לבני אדם וסודות כך וכך יהיו לך לבדך ואין לזרים אתך כבשים יהיו ללבושיך.

For God, may He be forever blessed, out of His great love for Enoch, the son of Yared, revealed to him before He took him the secret of the upper and lower realms, and He taught him the secret of binding them together, which is the secret of the sacrifice with its specifications.¹⁵⁷ He commanded him and said to him: Such and such secrets you can reveal to humanity, but such and such secrets will remain with you alone, for nothing (can be revealed) to the laypersons with you; “keep them hidden (lit. ‘suppressed’) under your clothing” (Prov 27:26).¹⁵⁸

Ms. Tel Aviv Gross 42 fol. 153a lines 20–3 (ed. Rebiger and Schäfer):¹⁵⁹

זה ספר הריזים שנגלה לחנוך בן ירד בן מהללאל בן קינן בן אנוש בן שת בן אדם בשנת שלש מאות שנה לחיי ירד ותכתבהו באבן ספיר באר היטיב.

This is the *Book of Secrets* which was revealed to Enoch b. Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynan b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam in the three hundredth year of the life of Yared. (He was told): “and you will inscribe it very clearly on a sapphire stone!”

¹⁵¹ Compare *1 En.* 39:3–5; 41:2.

¹⁵² The same conveyance figures in *1 En.* 70:2, *pace* Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, “The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes,” *HTR* 70 (1977): 62.

¹⁵³ Compare *1 En.* 71:3–4.

¹⁵⁴ Compare the Greek version of *1 En.* 22:2.

¹⁵⁵ For Enoch as author, see Reeves, *Heralds*, 39–41. The present translation is a revision of the one found in *ibid.*, 183–84. Further discussion of this “Enochic” fragment appears in Greenfield and Stone, “Enochic Pentateuch,” 62–3; John C. Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library,” in John C. Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads*, 181–4; John C. Reeves, “Alleged Jewish Pseudepigrapha Cited in the *Cologne Mani Codex: A New Translation and Introduction*,” in Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov, eds, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 2* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, in press).

¹⁵⁶ Idel, “Hanokh—Tophet,” 269.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Zohar 1.58b; 3.240a–b.

¹⁵⁸ Following the reading of Prov 27:26 provided in *b. Hag.* 13a; see also Ephraim E. Urbach, “The Homiletical Interpretations of the Sages and the Expositions of Origen on Canticles, and the Jewish-Christian Disputation,” *SchHier* 22 (1971): 258. For another translation, see Idel, “Hermeticism and Kabbalah,” 402.

¹⁵⁹ Rebiger-Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*, 1:4* (§§2–3).

Most of the textual witnesses to the infamous Jewish grimoire known as the *Sefer ha-Razim* identify the flood-hero Noah as its initial recipient.¹⁶⁰ This Yemenite manuscript departs from that pattern by having it revealed to and then transcribed by Enoch. The same attribution occurs in Ms. New York Public Library, Jewish Items 40 fol. 5a, line 14,¹⁶¹ a manuscript also of Yemenite provenance. One should note however that the tenth-century Genizah fragment Ms. Cambridge University Library T.-S. A45.28 fol. 1a lines 1–3 (= *Sefer ha-Razim I* §§2–3) seems to presume Enoch, not Noah, as the book's recipient since Noah was not yet born when Yared was three hundred years old.¹⁶²

R. Isaac b. Jacob ha-Kohen, *Ma'mar 'al ha-ašiluth ha-sem'olit* §12 (ed. Scholem):¹⁶³

וחסיד אחד גדול בתורה היה פרוש רוב ימיו עד יום פטירתו והיה מלומד בניסים ורגיל בשאלת החלום והתענה כמה ימים עד השיב לו המלאך שהוא בעל החלום זאת נחלת עבדי י"י וצדקתם זאת היא הקבלה העליונה המסורה לחנוך המעוטר בסליית של אור האש הגנוז והוא נחלת עבדי י"י וצדקתם.

There was a great *hasid* who spent most of his life up unto his death in interpreting the Torah. He was experienced with miracles and trained in the incubation of dreams. He once fasted for a number of days until the angel whom he was dreaming responded to him (about the meaning of the verse) "This is the inheritance of the servants of the Lord and their righteousness" (Isa 54:17): This is the supernal tradition which was transmitted to Enoch, the one wrapped up in a prayer-shawl of the light from the hidden fire, and he is "the inheritance of the servants of the Lord and their righteousness" (*ibid.*).

The "secret" exegesis of the passage from Isa 54:17, here applied to Enoch, is particularly interesting in that it occurs within the larger context of an extended discussion of the Masoretic orthography of Gen 1:21 where God is depicted as creating "great sea monsters" (התנינים הגדלים). The absence of the expected letter *yod* in the plural form for "sea monsters" encouraged some interpreters to read this word as a hint about the immediate removal and sequestration of one of these "monsters" for the righteous to enjoy at a special banquet planned for the End of Days.¹⁶⁴ It is intriguing to note that knowledge of the roles of Leviathan and Behemoth in this precise eschatological setting is also found in *1 En.*

¹⁶⁰ In addition to the manuscripts analyzed by Rebigier-Schäfer, see Margalioth, *Sepher ha-Razim*; Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim*; Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 225–34; Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 191–6; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. 170–5; Yuval Harari, *Early Jewish Magic: Research, Method, Sources* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute/Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2010), 110–12; 219–20.

¹⁶¹ Rebigier-Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*, 1:25.

¹⁶² Rebigier-Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*, 1:124*: מפי רדיאל המלאך בשנת שלש מאות שנה לחיי ירד בן: >אנוש< בן שת בן אדם ותכתבדו באבן ספיר היטב מהללאל בן קינן בן >אנוש< בן שת בן אדם ותכתבדו באבן ספיר היטב by Margalioth, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 113.

¹⁶³ Gershom Scholem, "Qabbalot R. Ya'aqov we-R. Yiṣḥaq beney R. Ya'aqov ha-Kohen," *Madda'ey ha-Yahadut* 2 (1927): 263.16–19.

¹⁶⁴ See especially *b. B. Bat.* 74b–75a.

60:7–10, 24–5,¹⁶⁵ and one wonders whether this peculiar content in the *Similitudes* of Enoch (albeit attested now only in Ethiopic!) can somehow be responsible for an identical collocation of motifs within this thirteenth-century Castilian demonological treatise.

Zohar Ḥadash, *Terumah* fol. 42d (ed. Margaliot):¹⁶⁶

עאל לגנתא דעדן אשכח תמן אילנא דחיי ענפוי ואנבי דאילנא ארה בהו ואתיישיב בגייה ההוא רוחא דנהירו דחיי אתו שליחן מלאכי עילאי ואוליפו ליה חכמתא עילאה יהבו ליה ספר דהוה סמיר גו אילנא דחיי ואוליף מניה ידע אורחוי דקב"ה ואשתדל אבתריה הה"ד ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עד דההוא נהירו אשתלים בגייה.

He entered the Garden of Eden and found there the Tree of Life, the branches and the fruits of the Tree. He breathed their aroma, and that spirit of the Light of Life took up residence within him. Messengers—supernal angels—came and taught him supernal wisdom. They gave him a book that had been hidden within the Tree of Life,¹⁶⁷ and he studied it and discerned the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, and he strove to follow Him, as it is written (in Scripture) “And Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:24) until that light had been perfected within him.

With regard to “that spirit of the Light of Life” (ההוא רוחא דנהירו דחיי) with which Enoch is infused, one might compare the Mandaean celestial entity *Nhūr-Hai* or “Light of Life,” one of a group of four beings known as the “Sons of Holiness” who play a role in the investiture of souls who are ascending to heaven in garments of light.¹⁶⁸

Zohar 1.37b (ed. Vilna):¹⁶⁹

ואמר רבי אבא ספר דחיי נחתו ליה לאדם הראשון וביה הוה ידע חכמתא עלאה וספרא דא מטא לבני אלהי חכימי דרא ומאן דזכי לאשגחא ביה ידע ביה חכמה עלאה ומשיגחין ביה וידעין ביה וספרא דא נחית ליה מארי רדיון ותלת שליחן ממנן קמיה ובשעתא דנפק אדם מגנתא דעדן אחיד בההוא ספרא כד נפיק (מניה) סאט מניה (לתרעא). צלי ובכי קמי מאריה ואחיבו ליה כמלקדמין בגין דלא תתנשי חכמתא מבני נשא וישתדלון למנדע למאריהון. וכן תנינן ספר הוה ליה לחנוך ורא ספר מאתר דספרא דתולדות אדם הוה ורא חכמתא דהא מארעא אתנשיל הה"ד ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים והוא הנער כדכתיב חנוך לנער על פי דרכו וכל גנזי עלאי אתמסרן בידיה ורא מסיר יהיב ועביד שליחותא ואליף מפתחן אתמסרן בידיה ומאה ברכאן נטיל בכל יומא וקשיר קשירין למאריה מעלמא נטיל ליה קב"ה

¹⁶⁵ Note also 4 Ezra 6:49–52; 2 Bar. 29:4.

¹⁶⁶ Reuven Moshe Margaliot, ed., *Sefer Zohar Ḥadash* (repr., Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 2002), 84. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch as the ‘Reincarnation’ of Adam.”

¹⁶⁷ Compare the Coptic gnostic treatise *Pistis Sophia* 3.134: “Because even for the righteous themselves who have never done evil, and have not committed sins at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the Books of Jeu, which I (i.e., Jesus) caused Enoch to write in Paradise when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life.” Cited from Carl Schmidt, ed., *Pistis Sophia* (NHS 9; trans. Violet MacDermot; Leiden: Brill, 1978a), 349.

¹⁶⁸ Mark Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920), 83, 106; Mark Lidzbarski, *Ginzā: Der Schatz, oder, Das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925), 194–5; Kurt Rudolph, *Theogonie, Kosmogonie und Anthropogonie in den mandäischen Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 127–8.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 80–1.

לשמושיהּה"ד כי לקח אותו אלהים ומן דא אתמסר ספרא דאקרי ספרא דהנון. בשעתא דאחיד ליה קב"ה אחמי ליה כל גנדי עלאי אחמי ליה אילנא דחיי בגו מציעות גהא וטרפוי וענפוי וכלא חמינין בספריה.

R. Abba said: They brought down to Adam the protoplast (from heaven) an actual book,¹⁷⁰ and using it he became knowledgeable about supernal wisdom. That book later reached the "sons of God" (Gen 6:1?)—the wise of their generation—and whoever gained the privilege to peruse it learned from it supernal wisdom. They devoted attention to it and became learned in it. That book was brought down to Adam by the "lord of mysteries,"¹⁷¹ preceded by three messengers. At the time when Adam was expelled from the Garden of Eden, he clutched this book, but when he exited from the Garden, it flew away from him. He prayed and wept before his Lord, and they returned to him as before so that wisdom might not be forgotten by humanity, and that they might strive to obtain knowledge of their Lord.

We are thus taught that Enoch also had a book, and that book was from the (same) place as the "book of the generations of Adam" (Gen 5:1). Truly this is a secret of wisdom, for he was removed from the earth, as scripture states: "and he was not, for God took him" (Gen 5:24), and he is the "youth" of whom it is written: "Educate the youth (חנך לער) in accordance with His way" (Prov 22:6). All of the celestial treasures were delivered into his charge,¹⁷² and that was communicated, granted, and made (his?) commission. One thousand keys (to the aforementioned treasures) were delivered into his charge.¹⁷³ Every day he takes one hundred *berakhot* and ties them (as) knots upon his Lord. The Holy One, blessed be He, removed him from the world in order to serve Him, as scripture says: "for God took him" (Gen 5:24). From this (individual) was transmitted the book that is called the *Book of Enoch*. At the time when God took him, He revealed to him all the celestial treasures, (and) He showed him the Tree of Life in the midst of the Garden and its leaves and branches, all of which we see in his book.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Gen 5:1: זה ספר תולדת אדם. For further discussion, see Reeves, *Heralds*, 34–5.

¹⁷¹ Presumably the angel Raziel. See Zohar 1.55b; Rebiger-Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II*, 2:105.

¹⁷² See also Zohar 1.56b.

¹⁷³ Note *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 27.11–12: ומנהו על כל גניה ואזרות שיש לו ברקיע ורקיע ומפחות. כל אחד ואחד מסור בידו. A slightly variant version of this same text appears in what Jellinek called *Sefer Hanokh* (actually a version of 'Otiyyot de R. 'Aqiva; cf. Jellinek, *BHM* 2:114–15) and in the so-called *3 Enoch* (Peter Schäfer, ed., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* [TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981], 36–7 [§72]). See also David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (TSAJ 16; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988), 417.

¹⁷⁴ Compare Daniel C. Matt, *Sefer ha-Zohar: The Zohar, Pritzker Edition* (12 vols; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004–17), 1:237–9. The final part of this text is quoted by Lawlor, "Early Citations," 186; also Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (repr., New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1973), 22 n. 2. The latter author calls attention to *1 En.* 24:4–5, *2 Enoch* 8, and select pericopae from the so-called "Hebrew Book of Enoch." Cf. also *1 En.* 32:3–6. Note too the discussion of Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), 414–15.

Zohar 1.55b (ed. Vilna):¹⁷⁵

בשעתא ההיא רמו קב"ה לרפאל ואתיב ליה ההוא ספרא וביה הוה משתדל אדם ואנח ליה לשת בריה וכן לכל אינון תולדות עד דמטא לאברהם וביה הוה ידע לאסתכלא ביקרא דמאריה והא אתמר וכן לתנוך אחייב ליה ספרא ואסתכל מניה ביקרא עלאה.

At that time God signaled to Raphael, and he returned to him (i.e., Adam) that book, and Adam studied it. He bequeathed it to his son Seth, and thus it transpired for all those of his line until it reached Abraham, who gained knowledge from it so as to look upon the glory of his Lord, as has been said.¹⁷⁶ So too Enoch was given a book,¹⁷⁷ and he understood from it about the supernal glory.¹⁷⁸

Zohar 2.180b (ed. Vilna):¹⁷⁹

ובספרא דרזין דחנוך ה' ודאי קיימא על חמש סמכין דנפקין מגו ברצינא וכדין אפיק חמש קיימין אחרנין ואשתכח האי ה' ברזא דעשרה וכד אתפרשת קיימא ה' דא על סמכין ואינון הוו תליסר מכילין דרחמי בחד דרגא דאתוסף עלייהו ואלין אינון תריסר דקיימין בשית זמנין אינון ארבעין ותרין זמנין שבעין ותרין הוו אבל נוחתי לתתא והכא אתפרשו שבילין לכל סטר דאינון תלתין ותרין אשתאר ארבעין ותרין אודנין ימינא ושמאלא הא ארבעין ותרין אלין מ"ב אתוון עלאין דאינון אתוון רברבן דאורייתא בגין דאית אתוון רברבן ואית אתוון זעירין אתוון לעילא אתוון זעירין לתתא כגוונא דלעילא בגין דאית שמהן קדישין עלאין דקיימין ברעו דרוחא ולבא בלא מלולא כלל ואית שמהן קדישין תחתין דקיימין במלה ובמשיכו דמחשבה ורעו עלייהו ואית שמהן אחרנין לתתא דאינון מההוא סטרא אחרא דאיהו מסטרא דמסאבא ואלין לא קיימין אלא ברעו דעובדא לתתא לסלקא רעו דההוא עובדא דלתתא לגביה בגין דאיהו סטרא אחרא לאו איהו אלא דעובדין דהאי עלמא לאסתאבא בהון כגוונא דבלעם ואינון בני קדם וכל אינון דמתעסקי בההוא סטרא אחרא ואלין לא קיימי באתוון רשימין מן כ"ב דאורייתא בר תרין ואלין ה' וק' וסמכי זון בסמיכו אתוון דשקר אבל אלין אינון אשתמודעאן לגבייהו יתיר ועל דא בתהלה לידוד בכלהו כתיב ו' בכל את ואת בר מאלין תרין דלא כתיב ו' דהא ו' שמא דקודשא בריך הוא איהו ובגין כך אינון ארבעין ותרין אתוון דעלמא דא אתברי בהו אשתכח האי ה' עלאה לסלקא לתשעין ותרין תשעין הוו בר תרין אודנין ימינא ושמאלא ורוחא דא ואם שרה הבת תשעים שנה תלד אבל איהו בחשבנא תשעין ותרין וכד אתוסף דרגא דרזא דברית איהו רקיעא תמינאה וקיימא לתמנא יומין הא מאה ואלין ודאי מאה ברכאן בכל יומא דאצטריכא כנסת ישראל לאתעטרא בהו וכלא ברזא דה' האי ה' איהו דיוקנא דילה בתרין נונין רזא דמאה ואינון חמש סמכין רתיכין דנפקי מגו ברצינא ואינון חמש אחרנין דנפקין מינה ועל דא דיוקנאה כגונא דא - ו' תרין נונין ונקודה דקיימא באמצעיחא ועל דא ו' קיימא ביניהו תדיר כגוונא דא נון בגין דהכא איהו אתריה לאתעטרא ואף על גב דרזין אחרנין אינון ברזא דה' אבל דא איהו ברוין דספרא דחנוך והכי הוא ודאי.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *Sefer Raziel ha-malak* (Amsterdam: Avraham Mendes Qavitiyo, 1701), 2a; Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 81.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. *Jub.* 12:27; 21:10.

¹⁷⁷ These are apparently two distinct books; Zohar 1.72b explicitly mentions both a *Book of Adam* and a *Book of Enoch*. Note also Zohar 2.275b.

¹⁷⁸ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 1:313.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82. This passage is also referenced (correct his "80b" to "180b") by Moses Bottenwieser, *Outline of the Neo-Hebraic Apocalyptic Literature* (Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1901), 10.

And in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*¹⁸⁰ the letter *hē* actually stands on five bases which came forth from the midst of the (dark) Flame.¹⁸¹ Then it brings forth five additional columns, and this *hē* consequently (realizes) “the mystery of ten.” When it is separated, this *hē* stands on bases, and they are the thirteen measures of compassion¹⁸² together with one rung that has been added to them, and they are twelve which come up six times. They are forty-two times—they were seventy-two (i.e., twelves times six), but they descend below, and paths separate out there on all sides, which amount to thirty-two. Forty are left, and two ears on the right and on the left; hence, (the figure) forty-two. These are the forty-two supernal letters, which are the large letters of the Torah, because there are large letters and there are small letters.¹⁸³ The large letters are above, and the small letters are below, and everything that is below is like what its kind is above. This is because there are higher holy names which rely upon the will of the spirit and the heart, without any (spoken) word at all, and there are lower holy names which rely upon the (spoken) word and a prolongation of thought and will upon it, and there are other lower names which are from that Other Side,¹⁸⁴ the one that is the side of impurity, and they rely only upon the will of the act below, a will raising up that lower act toward him. Because of this, the Other Side is instantiated solely by the acts done in this world, which becomes polluted by them, such as for example (those things perpetrated by) Balaam and those “children of the East”¹⁸⁵ and those who are preoccupied with that Other Side. These do not rely on written letters from the twenty-two (letters) of the Torah, save for two, and these are *het* and *qof*, and support for them is provided by the (two other) letters of (the word) “lie” (שקר), but these are better known to them. On account of this, in (the psalm beginning) “a work of praise by David” (Ps 145:1), the letter *vav* is written in (the middle of) every one of its verses, except for these two where *vav* is not written,¹⁸⁶ for lo, *vav* is the name of the Holy One, blessed be He.

Therefore they are forty-two letters with which this world was created. It can be discovered that this supernal *hē* amounts to ninety-two: they were ninety, apart

¹⁸⁰ Interestingly this is one of the “titles” found within Old Slavonic manuscripts of that Enochic work known to modern scholars as *2 Enoch* or the “Slavonic Book of Enoch”; cf. Andersen, *OTP* 1:102 note a; Margalioth, *Sepher ha-Razim*, 56. Nothing within this excerpt however corresponds to what has been published from those manuscripts.

¹⁸¹ i.e., the *הַיְהוּא הַקָּרִי הַחֲדָשׁ* “the dark (or hard) Flame” from which emanate the various aspects of the Godhead according to zoharic theosophy. See the remarks of Daniel Chanan Matt, *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1983), 207–8; Charles Mopsik, “Late Judeo-Aramaic: The Language of Theosophic Kabbalah,” *Aramaic Studies* 4 (2006): 26–7.

¹⁸² Cf. Exod 34:6–7.

¹⁸³ Matt suggests that this refers to the *litterae majusculae* and *minusculae* prescribed by the Masoretes in the copying of biblical manuscripts.

¹⁸⁴ The realm of evil in zoharic cosmology. See Gershom Scholem, “*Sitra Aħra*: Good and Evil in the Kabbalah,” in Gershom Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (trans. Joachim Neugroschel; New York: Schocken Books, 1991a), 56–87.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. 1 Kgs 5:10. The Zohar appears to use this particular ethnonym to refer to adepts in the art of magic, such as Chaldean magicians, Šābian polytheists, or even Muslims. Note especially Zohar 1.223b; 2.188a; Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (3 vols; Oxford: The Littman Library, 1989), 305 n. 89; and the wide-ranging remarks of Gil Anidjar, “Jewish Mysticism Alterable and Unalterable: On Orienting Kabbalah Studies and the ‘Zohar of Christian Spain,’” *Jewish Social Studies* n.s. 3 (1996): 89–157; also Elliot R. Wolfson, *Luminal Darkness: Imaginal Gleanings from Zoharic Literature* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007), 19–20 n. 18.

¹⁸⁶ Namely, the verses of this acrostic psalm which begin with the letters *het* and *qof*.

from two ears, the right and the left, and this secret is (embedded) in (the verse) “Can Sarah, who is ninety years old, give birth?” (Gen 17:17), but the sum is ninety-two. And when the rung of the mystery of the covenant (of circumcision) is added—it being the eighth firmament and being fulfilled on the eighth day—they become one hundred. These are certainly the one hundred blessings which the Congregation of Israel needs to adorn herself with on a daily basis. All of this is part of the secret of (the letter) *hē*.

This *hē* has its form like two *nuns*: a mystery of one hundred. They are five bases, vehicles, which emerge from the midst of the (dark) Flame, and they are five others which emerge from it. For this reason, its form is like this: ןן, two *nuns* with a point standing in the middle, and so *vav* always stands between them, like this: וון, because there is the place where it is adorned. And even though there are other secrets that belong to the mystery of (the letter) *hē*, this is the one that is in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, and this is certain.¹⁸⁷

Zohar 2.277a–b (ed. Vilna):¹⁸⁸

... עד דאתיליד חנוך בן ירד כיון דאתיליד הוה אשכח סמוך לגנתא שריאת ההוא נהירו לאתגהרא בגויהו אתרבי ברבו קודשא ושריא עליה נהירו דמנצא עאל לגנתא דעדן אשכח תמן אילני דחיי וענפי ואנבו דאילנא ארח ביה <ואתיישב בגויה ההוא רוחא דנהירו דחיי> אתו שלחן מלאכי עלאי אוליפו ליה חכמתא עלאה יתבו ליה ספר דהוה סמיר גו אילנא דחיי ואוליף מניה ודע אורחוי דקב”ה ואשתדל אבתריה הו”ד ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עד דההוא נהירו אשתלים בגויה כיון דההוא נהירו אשתלים לתתא בעא לסלקא לדוכתיה ובגין לאתזאה ההוא שלימו ברזא דחנוך יומא חד עאל גו גנתא דעדן ואתמו ליה סמירין דגנתא ואנח ההוא ספר וג’.

... (the light¹⁸⁹ was lost) until Enoch b. Yared was born. When he was born, he found himself near the Garden. That light began to shine within him. He was anointed with a holy anointment and a sparkling light settled upon him.¹⁹⁰ He entered the Garden of Eden and found there Trees (*sic!*) of Life, with the branches and fruit of the Tree. He breathed its aroma and <and that spirit of the Light of Life took up residence within him>.¹⁹¹ Emissaries—celestial angels—came (and) instructed him in supernal wisdom. They gave him a book which had been concealed within the Tree of Life, and he studied it and discerned the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, and strove to follow Him, as Scripture attests: “and Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:24) until the light which was within him was perfected. As soon as the light was perfected below, it sought to ascend to its (proper) place. And hence He showed that perfection through the mystery of Enoch,¹⁹² (who) one

¹⁸⁷ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 6:7–10.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal’akey ‘lyon*, 82.

¹⁸⁹ An emblem of Adam’s supernal soul. Here Enoch is being represented as the reincarnation of Primordial Adam; see Tiqqney ha-Zohar §70 fol. 137a.

¹⁹⁰ Compare Enoch’s analogous investiture in 2 *En.* 22:8–10.

¹⁹¹ Emending *וואתיישב* to accord with the text of *Zohar Ḥadash, Terumah* 42d (see above).

¹⁹² See *Zohar* 3.217b.

day entered into the Garden of Eden, and they showed him the secrets of the Garden, and he left that book, etc.¹⁹³

Zohar 3.10b (ed. Vilna):¹⁹⁴

תאנא בספרא דחנך בשעתא דאחזיאו ליה חכמתא דרוין עלאין וחמא אינא דגנתא דעדן ואחזי ליה חכמתא ברוא עלאה וחמא דכלהו עלמין הוו מתקשראן דא ברא שאיל לון על מה קיימין אמרו ליה על י קיימי כללו ומניה אתבניאו ואשתלשלו דכתיב כלם בחכמה עשית וחמא דכלהו מזדעזעו מדחילו דמאריהו ועל שמיא אתקרון כללו.

It is taught in the *Book of Enoch* that at the time they revealed to him the wisdom of the supernal mysteries he saw the Tree which is in the Garden of Eden. They showed to him the celestial secret wisdom, and he discerned that all the worlds were bound to each other. He asked them how they (the worlds) were sustained. They responded: each one of them stands upon the letter *yod*, and from it they were built and knotted together, as scripture affirms: "all of them You formed with wisdom" (Ps 104:24). He discerned that all of them quaked due to reverence for their Lord, and that all of them were named after His own name.

ENOCH AS INVENTOR OF WRITING OR CONTRIBUTOR TO BOOK CULTURE

A discovery or cultural innovation that is commonly associated with Enoch is that of writing itself; i.e., the creation of a system of written characters which can serve as a "technology of the intellect"¹⁹⁵ and be used for recording information useful for a society's social, intellectual, and religious life. Our oldest reference to this significant accomplishment is probably the laconic statement found in *Jub.* 4:17: "And he was the first among men born on earth to learn to write."¹⁹⁶ The passage in its larger context (4:17–19) goes on to report that Enoch put his invention to immediate use, producing books containing information about the construction of calendars and prophetic warnings about future events on earth. The same book later speaks about the accessibility of "the words of Enoch" for consultation by his righteous descendants (*Jub.* 21:10). For

¹⁹³ For another translation, see Unterman, *Kabbalistic Tradition*, 98. See also Zohar *Ḥadash*, *Terumah* 42d; Philip S. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch," in Stone-Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible*, 111. Compare Zohar 2.55a; and 3.10b.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82–3.

¹⁹⁵ This felicitous phrase forms the sub-title of the first section of a programmatic essay by the social anthropologist Jack Goody introducing his edited volume *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 1–26. See also Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (trans. Betsy Wing; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 15.

¹⁹⁶ Adapted from the translation of Charles and Rabin in *AOT*, 22–3.

the author(s) of the Qumran *Book of Giants*, Enoch is “the renowned scribe” (ספר פרשא),¹⁹⁷ an early indication of the intimate connection between this biblical forefather and the production of written texts. Testimony supplied by the later Slavonic Book of Enoch suggests that what seems like fantastic numbers of works could plausibly circulate under Enoch’s name: “And I (i.e., Enoch) sat down for a second period of thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote everything accurately. And I wrote 366 books.”¹⁹⁸

Pseudo-Titus, *De dispositione sanctimonii* (ed. de Bruyne):¹⁹⁹

... ut enoch iustus de primo populo reputate constituitur scribere gesta hominum priora.

From among the earliest people Enoch the righteous was appointed to write down the deeds of the first humans.²⁰⁰

No specific reason (perhaps it was his righteousness?) is given for the choice of Enoch to perform this clerical task. Had he already demonstrated that he was particularly adroit in the scribal arts?

Pseudo-Sabas, *On the Mysteries of Letters* (ed. Bandt):²⁰¹

Πρώτα μὲν οὖν πάντων ὑπάρχουσι τὰ Σύρα γράμματα, καὶ ἡ Σύρα γλῶσσα ἡ βαθεῖα τῶν Χαλδαίων· ἔμαθε δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ θείας ἐμπνεύσεως, ὡς τινες ἱστορικοὶ φασιν, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνώχ γενεά....

Ἄποῦ δὲ αὐτῶ τῶ Ἐνώχ πρὸ τετρακισχιλίων ἐτῶν τῆς παρουσίας Χριστοῦ ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα ἔδωκε, λέγω δὴ τὰ Σύρα ἤγουν Χαλδαῖα γράμματα καὶ τὰς εἰκοσιδύο ταύτας αὐτῶν προσηγορίας τὰς ὀνομαζούσας αὐτόν....

The language and the letters of the Syrians; i.e., the profound language of the Chaldeans, existed before any others. According to what certain historians have reported, these letters were learned thanks to divine inspiration during the generation of Enoch....

¹⁹⁷ Cook, *Dictionary*, 195. Discussions of this epithet appear in John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), 76–7; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 117–19.

¹⁹⁸ 2 En. 23:6 (long). Adapted from the translation of F. I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1:140.

¹⁹⁹ Donatien de Bruyne, “Epistula Titi, discipuli Pauli, de dispositione sanctimonii,” *Revue Bénédictine* 37 (1925): 54.267–55.274. A full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 5 under the rubric “Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise.”

²⁰⁰ See also Aurelio de Santos Otero, “The Pseudo-Titus Epistle,” in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963–5), 2:153.

²⁰¹ Cordula Bandt, *Der Traktat “Vom Mysterium der Buchstaben”: Kritischer Text mit Einführung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (TUGAL 162; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 148.10–12; 182.16–19. For a slightly variant Coptic version of this text, see Adolphe Hebbelyneck, *Les mystères des lettres grecques d’après un manuscrit copte-arabe de la bibliothèque bodléienne d’Oxford* (Louvain/Paris: J.-B. Ista/Ernst Leroux, 1902), 107.

Inasmuch as God gave them (alphabetic letters) to Enoch four thousand years before the coming of Christ, by which I mean the Syrian letters or those of Chaldea and their twenty-two names by which they are designated . . .²⁰²

Ms. Monacensi 287 fol. 59 (ed. Boll):²⁰³

Λόγος ἄδεται ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι αἱ τῶν ἀστέρων πλοκαὶ καὶ ὀνομασίαι μνηῶν τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ εἴ τι οὖν ἄλλο ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις λεγόμενον Σήθ ὁ τοῦ Ἀδάμ υἱὸς ἐν πλαξὶ πετρίναις Ἑβραϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐνεγράψατο παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐκδιδαχθεὶς, εἶτα μετὰ τὴν τῶν γλωσσῶν διαίρεσιν Ἄμμων ὁ Ἕλλην ἐμήκυνε καὶ καθεξῆς ἕτεροι. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνὼχ συνέγραψε τὴν μέλλουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀργὴν ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις Ἑβραϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὐρέθησαν ἐκ τούτων ἐν ὄρει τινὶ καὶ μετὰ καιροὺς μετεκομίσθησαν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ.

A teaching presented from of old concerning the conjunctions of the stars and the designations for the months and the years and whatever else can be said about supernal matters was inscribed by Seth, the son of Adam, on stone tablets in the Hebrew language in accordance with what he had learned from an angel of God. Then after the division of languages, it was expounded by Ammon the Hellene²⁰⁴ and afterwards others. It is also said that Enoch—the seventh after Adam—recorded the coming wrathful judgment²⁰⁵ of God in the Hebrew language on stone tablets, and that after the Flood, some of these were discovered on a certain mountain and then later they were transported to Palestine.²⁰⁶

Ka'b al-Aḥbār apud Hamdānī, *Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren):²⁰⁷

ثم اوصى بعده الى إدريس واسمه في التوراة اخنوخ وشالت وكان اول نبي بعثه الله وعلمه الحساب والكتاب . . . وكان اخنوخ عالما بالطوفان وكان يكتب هذا العلم في صفائح الحديد والحجارة ويلقيها في الماء ويدفنها وكانت الغش تزدد في الدنيا حتى كان ايام نوح.

(According to Ka'b al-Aḥbār): Then he (i.e., Yared) appointed Idrīs as executor (of God's laws) after him—his name in the Torah is Enoch (Akhnūkh) and Shālt (*sic*).²⁰⁸ He (i.e., Idrīs) was the first prophet whom God called. He taught him computation and writing/Scripture . . . Enoch had gained knowledge about the Flood. He wrote down this information on sheets of iron and (slabs of) stone, and then he tossed

²⁰² For some discussion of this curious text, see E[mile]. Amélineau, "Les traités gnostiques d'Oxford," *RHR* 21 (1890): 261–94, esp. 284–6; Guy G. Stroumsa, "The Mystery of the Greek Letters: A Byzantine Kabbalah?" *Historia Religionum* 6 (2014): 35–44.

²⁰³ Franciscus Boll, ed., *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum VII: Codices Germanicos* (Bruxelles: Henrici Lamertini, 1908), 87.

²⁰⁴ Ammon (= the god Amun) is usually identified as an Egyptian king and not a "Hellene." See Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge, 1986; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 32 n. 115; Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 211–19.

²⁰⁵ For the expression, cf. Matt 3:7; Lk 3:7. This seems to refer to the Flood rather than to the eschaton.

²⁰⁶ See also Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 350; Yves Marquet, "Sabéens et Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'ī," *Studia Islamica* 24 (1966): 57–8.

²⁰⁷ Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren), 1:25.11–15; 26.8–10. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

²⁰⁸ Almost certainly a corruption of "Seth" or even "Sethel"; see our remarks on this text in our discussion, p. 64.

them in the water and submerged them.²⁰⁹ Corruption continued to increase in the present world until the days of Noah.

The use of Arabic *al-kitāb* is ambiguous with regard to what Enoch was actually taught.²¹⁰ Was it Scripture itself, or was it the visual characters for inscribing phonemes and useful information in written form, or was it a specific technique of writing? Each of these possibilities invites amplification in the subsequent reports about Enoch's writing prowess.

Ibn Hishām *apud* Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrat rasūl Allāh* (ed. Wüstenfeld):²¹¹

وكان أول بني آدم اعطي النبوة وخط بالقلم...

...he (i.e., Enoch) was the first of the descendants of Adam to whom prophecy and writing with a pen were given.²¹²

Here it would appear that the prophetic vocation and the production of scriptures are inextricably linked together: authentic prophets "author" books, and genuine scriptures derive from recognized prophets.²¹³

Wahb *apud* Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān*:²¹⁴

قال وهب ادريس النبي اول من كتب بيده من اهل الدنيا انزل عليه الكتاب السرياني وعلمه اياه جبريل فاوّل ما انزل الله تبارك وتعالى عليه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم في صحيفة ويعدّه في الصحيفة مكتوب شهد انه لا اله الا هو الى اخر الآية ثم انزل عليه ابجد الى اخرها فكتب وقرأ وما رفع الله ادريس استخلف ابنه متوشلح.

Wahb said: The prophet Idrīs was the first to write with his hand among the inhabitants of this world. The Scripture was revealed to him in Syriac, and Gabriel taught him its letters/verses. The first thing that God, may He be praised and exalted, revealed to him on a written page was "In the Name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful" (Q 1:1-7?), and next after it in writing on a page (He revealed to him) "God bears witness that there is no deity apart from Him" (Q 3:18) up to the end of the verse. Then he (Gabriel?) revealed to him the *abjad* (Semitic alphabet)

²⁰⁹ Alternatively: "he inscribed a certain character on sheets of iron and (slabs of) stone, threw them into the water, and suppressed them (from flooding)." This anecdote does not appear in the *Cave of Treasures* or its related literatures.

²¹⁰ See, for example, the discussion of Daniel Madigan, "Book," in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2001-6), 1:242-51.

²¹¹ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Kitāb sīrat rasūl Allāh: Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāq bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hishām* (2 vols in 3; Göttingen: Dieterichs, 1858-60), 1/1:3.13. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

²¹² For another translation, see A[lfred]. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 3.

²¹³ John C. Reeves, "Scriptural Authority in Early Judaism," in James E. Bowley, ed., *Living Traditions of the Bible: Scripture in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Practice* (St Louis: Chalice Press, 1999b), 63-84; John C. Reeves, "Manichaeans as Ahl al-Kitāb: A Study in Manichaean Scripturalism," in Armin Lange, et al., eds, *Light against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World* (JA)Supp 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 249-65.

²¹⁴ Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar 'an Wahb ibn Munabbih*... (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1928), 22.8-12. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

to its end, and he wrote it down, and pronounced it. And after God raised Idrīs up, his son Methuselah replaced him.

Wahb *apud* Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha):²¹⁵

قال وهب بن منبه . . . وأنزل الله تعالى عليه ثلاثين صحيفة وهو أول من خط بالقلم.

According to Wahb b. Munabbih . . . God Most Exalted revealed to him (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) thirty scrolls. He was the first to write with a pen.²¹⁶

Wahb *apud* Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-nafisa* (ed. de Goeje):²¹⁷

قال وهب أول من خط بالقلم ادريس واسمه اخنوخ (ع).

According to Wahb, Idrīs was the first who wrote with a pen, and his name (in biblical literature) is Enoch, upon whom be peace!

Wahb b. Munabbih (d. c.730?) is a frequently cited source for so-called *Isrā'īliyyāt* or Muslim traditions about biblical characters allegedly stemming from Jewish teachings.²¹⁸ A fixed cluster of traditions about Enoch/Idrīs appears to be associated with this particular tradent, such as the formal equivalence of these two scriptural characters, his authorship or reception of “thirty scrolls,” and his association with haberdashery. It is possible that Wahb was the tradent responsible for bringing the figures of Enoch and Idrīs together, an association that may have been facilitated by the remarkable literary productivity and ascension to heaven ascribed to the homophonous character Ezra/Esdras in Syriac and Arabic language versions of 4 Ezra 14:38–50, a transposition of location that is missing from the extant Latin manuscripts of this first-century pseudepigraphon.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (2nd edn; ed. Tharwat 'Ukkāsha; Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1969), 20.13; 20.18–21.1. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²¹⁶ Perhaps 2 En. 22:12 lies behind this tradition?

²¹⁷ Aḥmad b. 'Umar Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-a'lāq an-nafisa* (Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum 7; 2nd edn; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden: Brill, 1892), 191.12–13.

²¹⁸ Georges Vajda, “Isrā'īliyyāt,” *EI* 4:211; Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 335 n. 2; Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (2 vols; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), esp. 1:189–273; Haim Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1982), 58–61 and 151–2 n. 142; A. A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs* (ed. and trans. Lawrence I. Conrad; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 122–35; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 10–13; Roberto Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qur'ān and Muslim Literature* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002), 138–41; Michael Pregill, “Isrā'īliyyāt, Myth, and Pseudepigraphy: Wahb b. Munabbih and the Early Islamic Versions of the Fall of Adam and Eve,” *JSAI* 34 (2008): 219 n. 8.

²¹⁹ Paul Casanova, “Idrīs et 'Ouzair,” *JA* 205 (1924): 356–60; Hermann Gunkel, “Das vierte Buch Esra,” in E[mil]. Kautzsch, ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900), 2:401 note n. For Wahb's use of 4 Ezra, see especially Viviane Comerro, “Le quatrième Esdras et la littérature islamique,” *RHPR* 80 (2000): 137–51.

Abū Ma'shar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, K. 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' (ed. Najjār):²²⁰

وأنة ألف لاهل زمانه كتبا كثيرة بأشعار موزونة وقواف معلومة بلغة أهل زمانه في معرفة الأشياء الأرضية والعلوية وهو أول من أنذر بالطوفان ورأى أن آفة سماوية تلحق الأرض من الماء والنار.

He authored many books for the people of his time containing information about terrestrial and celestial things in rhythmically balanced verse and in familiar rhymes using the language of the people of his time. He was the first person who warned of the Flood, and he saw that a heavenly affliction would come upon the earth from water and fire.

This hermetic tradition echoes some of the material surveyed above pertaining to the efforts of certain antediluvian worthies, such as Seth or Enoch, to insure the survival for humanity of critical knowledge about the arts and sciences from the ravages of the Flood.

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* (ed. Aguadé):²²¹

فنبأ الله إدریس وعلمه الخط بالقلم فهو أول من خط بالقلم وهو أنفع العلوم وأشرفها.

God made Idrīs a prophet, and He taught him how to write with a pen. Thus he became the first person who wrote with a pen, and it was very useful for the sciences and their advancement.

Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Houtsma):²²²

وكان اخنوخ أول من خط بالقلم وهو ادریس النبي.

Enoch was the first who wrote with a pen; he is (the same figure as) Idrīs the prophet.

Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Houtsma):²²³

ويزعمون أن لهم نبيا مثل اوراني وعابيديون وهرمس وهو المثلث بالنعمة ويقال إنه إدریس النبي وهو أول من خط بالقلم.

And they (i.e., the Roman rulers who followed the Šābian religion) assert that they have a prophet, such as 'Urānī and 'Abīdīmōn and Hermes, and he is three-times blessed. It is said that he is the prophet Idrīs, and he was the first to write with a pen.

²²⁰ Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' (ed. Najjār), 1:186.3–6; *Ibn Abi Useibia* (ed. Müller), 1:16.30–2.

²²¹ 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-ta'rikh* (ed. Jorge Aguadé; Madrid: al-Majlis al-'Alā lil-Abhāth al-'Ilmiyah, 1991), 36.1–2. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

²²² Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Houtsma), 1:8.22–9.1; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Beirut), 1:11.21. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

²²³ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Houtsma), 1:166.3–5; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Beirut), 1:147.21–2. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning."

Ibn Ishāq *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje):²²⁴

واخنوخ ادريس النبي وكان اول بني آدم اعطى النبوة فيما زعم ابن اسحاق وخط بالقلم.

Enoch is Idris the prophet. He was the first of the descendants of Adam granted prophecy—so Ibn Ishāq maintained²²⁵—and the first to write with a pen.

Ibn Ishāq (d. 767) was the author of the *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, or simply *Sīra*, a voluminous biography of the Prophet Muḥammad which originally contained three parts focusing respectively on legends regarding Muḥammad's predecessors (the *Mubtada*), the Prophet's early life and activities (the *Mab'ath*), and his military campaigns (the *Maghāzī*). This tradition about Idris ostensibly stems from the first part of this biographical treatise, a section which was almost completely purged when the Egyptian scholar 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām made his popular ninth-century epitome of the *Sīra*.²²⁶

"another (authority) from the people of the Torah" *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje):²²⁷

وقال غيره من اهل التوراة ولد ليرد اخنوخ وهو ادريس فنبأه الله عز وجل وقد مضى من عمر آدم ستمائة سنة واثنان وعشرون سنة وأنزل عليه ثلاثون صحيفة وهو أول من خط بعد آدم.

Another (authority) from the people of the Torah said (that) Enoch—who is Idris—was born to Yared. God (may He be praised and glorified!) made him a prophet after 622 years had elapsed from the lifespan of Adam.²²⁸ He revealed thirty scrolls to him. He was the first after Adam to write.

Abū Dharr *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje):²²⁹

وقد حدثنا احمد بن عبد الرحمان بن وهب قال حدثني عمي قال حدثني الماضي بن محمد عن ابي سليمان عن القاسم بن محمد عن ابي ادريس الخولاني عن ابي ذر الغفاري قال قال لي رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وسلم) يا ابا ذر اربعة يعني من الرسل سريانئون آدم وشيث ونوح وخنوخ وهو أول من خط بالقلم وأنزل الله تعالى على خنوخ ثلاثين صحيفة.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Waḥb—his paternal uncle—al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad—Abū Sulaymān—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, the Messenger of God (may peace be upon him!) said to me, "O Abū Dharr! Four—meaning messengers—were Syrians: Adam, Seth, Noah,

²²⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:172.17–18.

²²⁵ Other authorities give Seth this distinction. For some further references, see Cornelia Schöck, *Adam im Islam: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Sunna* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1993), 14 n. 62; 31–2. Note however the tradition recounted in Hamdānī (allegedly from Ka'b al-Aḥbār), p. 93.

²²⁶ See especially Gordon Darnell Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).

²²⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.1–4.

²²⁸ Corresponding to the year of Enoch's birth according to the *anno mundi* chronology of the Hebrew Masoretic Text.

²²⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:174.1–6.

and Enoch, and he (the latter) was the first to write with a pen. God (may He be exalted!) revealed thirty scrolls to Enoch."²³⁰

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille):²³¹

وقام بعده ولده اخنوخ وهو ادريس النبي عليه السلام والصايبه تزعم انه هرمس ومعنى هرمس عطارد وهو الذي اخبر الله في كتابه انه رفعه مكانا عليا وكانت حياته في الارض ثلثمائة سنة وقيل اكثر من ذلك وهو اول من درز الدرز وخط بالابرة وانزلت عليه ثلثون صحيفة وكان انزل قبل ذلك على آدم احدى وعشرون صحيفة وانزل على شيث تسع وعشرون صحيفة فيها تهليل وتسبيح.

After him his child Enoch arose, and he is (the same figure as) Idrīs the prophet, upon whom be peace! The Šābians²³² maintain that he is Hermes, (the name) "Hermes" being an expression for the planet Mercury. He is the one about whom God stated in His Scripture (i.e., the Qur'ān) that He raised him "to a lofty place" (Q 19:57). He lived on earth for three hundred years, although some have said it was much longer than this.²³³ He was the first to sew a seam and to stitch with a needle. Thirty scrolls were revealed to him, just as before him twenty-one scrolls were revealed to Adam and twenty-nine scrolls were revealed to Seth.²³⁴ Within them (Enoch's scrolls) were psalms of praise and hymns.²³⁵

For another roughly contemporaneous reference to Enoch as a hymnodist, one might compare the Middle Iranian fragment M 22 R: 'w]d tw hy nwx 'y pd nw[g/////r 'c hwnyw'z'n "[an]d you, O Enoch, who in (his) songs (is) [sweete]r than the minstrels."²³⁶ One wonders whether this curious association of Enoch with music and song reflects a later confusion of identity between Enoch and Enosh, a figure who receives blame in some traditions for introducing idols and their cultic service (including music) into the world.²³⁷ See also our discussion of this same testimony in Chapter 3, p. 144.

²³⁰ For another reference to this tradition, see Brannon Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 113.

²³¹ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar: Les prairies d'or* (9 vols; ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille; Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861–77), 1:73.1–8.

²³² The pagan inhabitants of the Mesopotamian city of Ḥarrān.

²³³ This sentence is excerpted by Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. 'Aqil), 88.

²³⁴ According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille), 1:69.7–9, the scrolls revealed to Adam and Seth were prescriptive in their content.

²³⁵ A partial translation of this passage appears in E[dgar]. Blochet, *Études sur le gnosticisme musulman* (Rome: Casa Editrice Italiana, 1913), 66–7.

²³⁶ Walter Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch," SPAW (1934): 28 n. 7; see also Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings* (Delmar: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975), 37. The peculiar orthography for "Enoch" (*hy nwx*) should be corrected to *hwnwx*; see Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts, Vol. III, Part 1: Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 194.

²³⁷ The differing assessments of the orthopraxy of Enosh were studied by Steven D. Fraade, *Enosh and his Generation: Pre-Israelite Hero and History in Postbiblical Interpretation* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984); John C. Reeves, "Enosh," in John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow, eds, *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2010a), 590–1.

Agapius, *Kitāb al-'Unvān* (ed. Vasiliev):²³⁸

وزعم بعض الحكماء أيضا ان اخنوخ الذى هو ادريس عرف واطهر ودل على الكتاب والحروف والنجوم والحساب.

One of the philosophers also has claimed that Enoch—who is Idrīs—discovered, revealed, and provided guidance about writing, alphabetic characters, the stars, and arithmetical computation.

Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart):²³⁹

وادريس أول من خط بالقلم بعد آدم.

Idrīs was the first after Adam to write with a pen.

Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*:²⁴⁰

وكان ادريس أول من خط بالقلم.

Idrīs was the first to write with a pen.

Chronicles of Yerahmeel §26 (Bodleian Ms. 2797 Heb. d. 11 fol. 22b):²⁴¹

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים ספרים רבים נכתבו ממנו.

“And Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:22, 24). Many books were written by him.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perush le-Torah shīṭah aḥeret to Gen 5:29* (ed. Weiser):²⁴²

כי ספרים רבים חבר בתכמות רבות והם היום נמצאים.

For he (Enoch) authored many books on many types of learning, and they (these books) remain extant today.

The same declaration about Enoch's prolific authorship and the survival of his works to the present day also figures in the following testimony about the so-called “Babylonian” Hermes:

Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad B. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Kitāb al-adwā' al-Kaldāniyin*:²⁴³

له تصانيف كثيرة في ايدي الناس الى اليوم ككتاب المطول وكتاب العرض وكتاب قضيب الذهب وكتاب في مذهبه في مطارج ساعات الكواكب ومذهبه في نوبة بيوت الفلك.

He authored numerous writings which remain in the possession of people to the present, such as the *Book of Longitude*, the *Book of Latitude*, the *Book of the Rod of*

²³⁸ Vasiliev, “*Kitāb al-'Unvān* (I),” 591.9–10. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch as Idrīs.”

²³⁹ Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:11.12–13.

²⁴⁰ Tha'labī, *K. qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 46.13.

²⁴¹ Eli Yassif, ed., *Sefer ha-Zikronot hu' Divrey ha-Yamim le-Yerahmeel* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), 119. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 5 under the rubric “Enoch Returns with Elijah at the Eschaton.”

²⁴² Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perushey ha-Torah* (ed. Weiser), 1:174. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²⁴³ *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-anbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:185.10–12. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric “Evaluated Positively or Neutrally.”

Gold,²⁴⁴ and the book which contains his doctrine on the projections of the hours (*sic*)²⁴⁵ of the planets and his doctrine on the equalizing of the houses of the celestial sphere.

Michael Syrus, *Chronicle* 1.5 (ed. Chabot):²⁴⁶

ܕܢܘܚ ܟܘܢ ܘܕܝܠܘܗ ܟܘܢ ܕܝܘܘܨܐ ܕܡܘܠܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܘܬܐ ܕܘܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܘܬܐ ܕܘܠܝܘܬܐ
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According to their three books,²⁴⁷ Enoch was 165 years old when he engendered progeny, but according to the Syriac and the Hebrew (versions) he was 65 years old. They say that Enoch was the first person to discover the art of producing books and written characters and that he pleased God for three hundred years. Due to this (behavior), God removed him to a locale known only to Him where He; i.e., God could enjoy (him). An assertion which some believe is that he was removed to Paradise, and that God brought him to the place where Adam was before he violated the commandment.²⁴⁸

Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr* to Q 19:56–7:²⁴⁹

و(ادريس) جدّ اب نوح (ع) واسمه في التوراة اخنوخ وسمى ادريس لكثره درسه الكتب يعنى كتب الله وحكمه وهو اّول من خط بالقلم.

“*Idris*” was the grandfather of the father of Noah (upon whom be peace). His name in the Torah is Enoch (*Akhnūkh*), and he was called “*Idris*” due to his constant study (*dars*) of books, meaning books and wisdom of God. He was the first one who wrote with a pen.

Ibrāhīm b. Wāṣif Shāh, *Kitāb al-ajāʾib al-kabīr* (ed. Chwolsohn):²⁵⁰

وكان يقال له هرمس باسم عطارد وعلم ابنه صابى الخط فقبل لكل من كتب بعده صابى . . . وكان ادريس دفع الوصية والصحف الى ابنه نتوشلخ وأمر صابى بمعونته وكان صابى قد بلغ مبلغا جليلا من العلم.

²⁴⁴ For discussion of this particular work, see especially van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 28; Emily Cottrell, “L’Hermès arabe” de Kevin van Bladel et la question du rôle de la littérature sassanide dans la présence d’écrits hermétiques et astrologiques en langue arabe,” *BO* 72 (2015): 358.

²⁴⁵ Read شاعات “rays” in place of ساعات? Compare Louis Cheikho, ed., *Kitāb Tabaqāt al-Umam*, ou, *Les catégories des nations par Abou Qāsim ibn Ṣāʿid l’Andalous* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1912), 19.3–6.

²⁴⁶ Michael Syrus, *Chron.* (ed. Chabot), 1:9 (translation); 4:4 (text).

²⁴⁷ Presumably representative of the Greek chronographic tradition, several representatives of which have been cited in Michael’s preceding narratives. Perhaps Eusebius, Annianus, and Methodius?

²⁴⁸ See *Jub.* 4:23–6, and cf. *1 En.* 24:3–25:7; 70:1–4. Note also *Pistis Sophia* 2.99; 3.134; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan), 5.13; Zohar 1.37b; 2.55a; 2.277a–b; 3.10b; and the broader presentation of sources in Chapter 5.

²⁴⁹ Jazāʾirī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (ed. ‘Aqīl), 81. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch as Idris.”

²⁵⁰ Passage transcribed from Arabic Ms. 518 of the Asian Museum in St Petersburg by D[aniel]. Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier und der Ssabismus* (2 vols; St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856), 2:534–5; note also Victor Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique* (St.- Pétersbourg: Commissionnaires de l’Académie Impériale des sciences, 1881), 167–73. With regard to the common ascription of some versions of this work to Maṣ’ūdī, see Michael Cook, “Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt,” *Studia Islamica* 57 (1983): 72–8.

Some call him (i.e., Enoch/Idris) Hermes after the name of 'Uṭārid (i.e., the planet Mercury). He taught his son Šābī how to write; hence all those who wrote after him were also called "Šābī" (i.e., Šābians)... Idrīs passed on his testament and his books to his son Methuselah, and he commanded Šābī to assist him, for Šābī had already attained a significant amount of knowledge.²⁵¹

The name Šābī, along with its variants Šāb and Šābī', forms part of the onomastic of hermetic wisdom associated with the Mesopotamian city of Ḥarrān. Labeled as the son of Enoch/Idris by some tradents (as we have seen),²⁵² or as the son of Methuselah b. Enoch and brother of Lamech by others,²⁵³ he is often portrayed as the eponymous founder of Šābianism, a sanctioned religious affiliation first mentioned in the Qur'an (Q 2:62; 5:69; 22:17) whose precise historical referent remains a matter of controversy, but which during the ninth century and thereafter became one of the designations for the peculiar astral cult practiced in Ḥarrān and its immediate environment. This particular cultural environment is also emphasized in the following testimony, although the name of a different eponymous founder is invoked:

Kisā'i, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁵⁴

فلما نزلت هذا الحروف علمها آدم وعلمها لولده شيت ثم توارثها حتى صارت الى انوس ثم الى قينان ثم الى مهلائيل ثم الى يرد حتى بعث الله اخنوخ الاصغر وهو ادريس فانزل الله عليه خمسين صحيفة وانزل عليه هذا الحروف بعينها فكتبها ادريس عليه السلام وهو اول من خط بالقلم بعد انوس بن شيت ثم علمها ادريس لاولاده وقال لهم يا بني اعلمو انكم صابنون فتعلموا الكتابة في صغركم لتتفعلوا بها في كبركم فالصابنون لهم الكتابة وذلك قوله تعالى والصابئين والنصارى قلم يزاوا يتوارثون صحف شيت وادريس وسفر آدم الى زمان نوح والزمان ابراهيم بعد ان نصره الله تعالى على مرود فخرج ابراهيم مهاجرا يريد ارض الشام الى بلاد ابائه فلما صار ارض حران من بلاد الجزيرة وجد فيها قوما من الصابئين يقرؤون الكتب المقدمة ويؤمنون بها وبما فيها فقال ابراهيم الهى ما ظننت ان احدا يوحى غيرى وغير من معى من المؤمنين فاوحى الله اليه يا ابراهيم ان الارض لا تخلو من قائم يقوم فيها بحجة الله فامرهم الله ان يدعوه الى ان يدعوه الى ان دينه فدعاهم فأبوا وقالوا كيف نؤمن بك وانت لا تقرأ كتابنا فانسأهم الله ما كانوا يصيبونه من العلم والكتب فتحققوا ان ابراهيم نبيا مرسلا ثم قرأ ابراهيم عليهم كتبهم التى كانوا يدرسونها فأمن بعضهم ثم افترق الصابنون فمنهم من آمن به وهم البراهمة وكانوا معه لا يفارقونه وفارقة منهم بقوا على دينهم في ارض حران ولم يهاجروا مع ابراهيم الى الشام وقالوا نحن على دين شيت وادريس ونوح فسموا بالوثوية ثم فتح ابراهيم تابوت آدم فاذا فيه سفر آدم وصحف شيت وادريس وفيه ايضا اسم كل نبى مرسل من بعد ابراهيم فقال ابراهيم لقد سعد ظهر من تخرج منه هذا الانبياء كلهم فاوحى الله اليه ان يا ابراهيم انت ابوهوم وهم اولادك فلذلك سمى ابراهيم اب الانبياء عليه السلام.

And after these letters (of the alphabet) had been revealed, Adam learned them and taught them to his son Seth. The latter bequeathed them to Enosh, then (they came)

²⁵¹ Note the discussion of Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 1:237–8.

²⁵² Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 26.5: "Šāb was the son of Idrīs, upon whom be peace! The *ḥunafā'* (pre-scripural monotheists? pagans?) can be traced to him, for they are called Šābians." See also Shahrāzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* (ed. Abū Rayyān), 163.9–11, where Šāb is further correlated with Ṭāṭ, who is of course Graeco-Egyptian Thoth/Tat.

²⁵³ Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:178.7–8: "It is said that Methuselah had another son besides Lamech who was called Šābī, and it is said that the Šābians are named 'Šābians' after him." See also Ma'sūdī, *Kitāb at-Tanbih wa'l-Ischrāf* (2nd edn; ed. M. J. de Goeje; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1967), 91.3–4; Birūnī, *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiya 'ani'l-qurūn al-khālīya: Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albērūnī* (ed. C. E. Sachau; Leipzig, 1878; repr., Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1923), 206.15–16; 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, [*Kitāb*] *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh* (11 vols; Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1997), 1:58.12.

²⁵⁴ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:70.17–71.20.

to Qaynān, then (they came) to Mahalalel, then (they came) to Yared, up to when God sent Enoch the younger; i.e., Idrīs.²⁵⁵ Then God revealed fifty writings to him,²⁵⁶ and He revealed to him these very same letters, and Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) wrote them down. He was the first to write with the pen after Enosh b. Seth. Afterwards Idrīs taught them to his offspring, and he said to them: "My children! Be apprised that you are Šābi'ūn (i.e., Šābians)! Learn the art of writing while you are young in order to benefit by it when you are old!" So the Šābi'ūn had scribes, and this is (in) His exalted speech: "Šābi'ūn and Christians" (Q 2:62). They did not cease to bequeath the writings of Seth and Idrīs and the book of Adam up to the time of Noah and up to the time of Abraham. After God Most Exalted gave him help against Nimrod, Abraham departed to seek refuge in the land of Syria, the region of his ancestors. When he came to the land of Ḥarrān in the region of Jazīra (i.e., northwestern Mesopotamia),²⁵⁷ he met a group of the Šābi'ūn reading the ancient books and believing in them and in what was contained in them. Then Abraham said: "My God, I did not think that anyone apart from me and those with me believed in Your Oneness." God then revealed to him: "O Abraham! The earth does not lack a steadfast one who can affirm on it the evidence for God!" God then commanded him to summon them to his religion, and he summoned them, but they refused and said: "How can we believe in you? You do not read our book!" Then God made them forget what they deemed to be important from the knowledge and the books (in their possession), and they ascertained that Abraham was a prophet who had been sent (by God). Then Abraham recited to them their books which they had studied, and some of them believed. Afterwards the Šābi'ūn became divided: some of them believed in him—and they became the Barāhima and they stayed with him,²⁵⁸ not parting from him—whereas another faction of them continued in their religion in the land of Ḥarrān, and they did not migrate with Abraham to Syria. They said: "We are of the religion of Seth, Idrīs, and Noah!" and they named themselves *al-Nūḥiyya* (i.e., the Noahites).²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ According to Cornelia Schöck (*Adam im Islam*, 179 n. 1049), the peculiar designation "Enoch the younger" represents Kisā'īs (or his source's) attempt to correct an erroneous confusion and conflation between the figures of Enoch and Enosh. A simpler and better explanation for the phrase "the younger Enoch" is that it distinguishes him as the son of Yared from his identically named older cousin; namely, Enoch, the son of Cain who belongs to the third generation of humanity after Adam and who is associated with the initial appearance of urban civilization in Gen 4:17.

²⁵⁶ This particular tradition appears somewhat garbled inasmuch as the sum of "fifty writings" is usually not assigned to Enoch/Idrīs, but instead to his predecessor Seth.

²⁵⁷ Jazīra was the district of upper Mesopotamia where Ḥarrān was located. See G[uy]. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), 86–114.

²⁵⁸ The Barāhima are a sect notorious in medieval Muslim and Jewish theological writings for rejecting the authority of prophecy as commonly accepted by those religions. They are sometimes linked with India and hence the name is often understood as a rendering of "Brahmans." Here however an aetiological connection is forged with the name of "Ibrāhīm." For some useful discussions about the conflicting testimonies surrounding this curious group, see Binyamin Abrahamov, "The Barāhima's Enigma: A Search for a New Solution," *Die Welt des Orients* 18 (1987): 72–91; Norman Calder, "The Barāhima: Literary Construct and Historical Reality," *BSOAS* 57 (1994): 40–51; Sarah Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam: Ibn al-Rāwandī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, and their Impact on Islamic Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 145–62.

²⁵⁹ Compare the curious testimonia about the Šābian teacher named Qanṭār b. 'Arfakhshad that is supplied by two late medieval Egyptian sources (Sakhāwī; Maqrīzī) excerpted by

Later Abraham opened the box (*tābūt*) of Adam,²⁶⁰ wherein was the book of Adam and the writings of Seth and Idrīs. Therein also were the names of every prophet who would be sent (by God) after Abraham. So Abraham said: "Clearly fortunate is the one from whom all these prophets will spring!" And God revealed to him: "O Abraham! You are their father, and they are your offspring!" For this reason, Abraham is termed "father of the prophets."²⁶¹

Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁶²

حديث ادريس النبي عليه السلام وكان ادريس على صورة جدّه شيت وهو اول من خط بالقلم بعد شيت واول من كتب في الصحيفة.

Tale about the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace! Idrīs was in the image of his ancestor Seth, and he was the first who wrote with a pen after Seth, and he was the first who wrote on a page.

Ibn al-Athīr, *K. al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg):²⁶³

وخط بالقلم.

(He was the first to) write with the pen.

Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan):²⁶⁴

وكان ادريس هو اول من خط بالقلم.

Now this Enoch was the first of all human beings to discover books and writings.

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:²⁶⁵

وفي بعض الأخبار انه أول من كتب [من ولد] آدم عليه السلام. وقال اخرون انه لم يخل قط جيل ولا امة من الكتاب لان ادريس بدت فيه النبوة وعلم عدة خطوط وامر يجمع المصاحف وتركها في الهيكل وامر بني آدم وغيرهم بدرتها.

According to some of the learned sages, he was the first person to write [among the descendants of] Adam (upon whom be peace!). Others say that no nation or

Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:514, 613. Both of these sources maintain that Qanṭār privileged the religious teachings of Noah. See also the important role ascribed to Noah by another group of Ṣābians in the preservation and transmission of antediluvian books as attested by 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī, *Al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa'l-'adl* (20 vols in 15; ed. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, et al.; Cairo: Al-Shirkah al-'Arabīyah lil-Tibā'ah wa'l-Naṣhr, 1958–66), 5:152.15–153.1.

²⁶⁰ For some further references to Adam's *tābūt*, see Uri Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early Shī'a Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979): 46–7, 49–50, 61–3; Etan Kohlberg, "Some Shī'i Views of the Antediluvian World," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 41–2; John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 68.

²⁶¹ For another translation, see Thackston, *Tales*, 75–6; most of this text is also translated in Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:502–3. See also Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 1:246–7; 639–41; Jaakko Hämeen-Antilla, *The Last Pagans of Iraq: Ibn Waḥshīyya and his Nabatean Agriculture* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 174 n. 21.

²⁶² *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:81.17–19.

²⁶³ Ibn al-Athīr, *K. al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), 1:42.22. This passage is cited in abbreviated form by Jazā'irī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 88.

²⁶⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Bedjan), 5.13. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

²⁶⁵ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*, 77.21–78.2.

people possessed any type of writing until prophecy manifested in Idrīs. He taught (them) the counting of lines, and he gave instructions about the binding together of pages and their depositing within a temple. He commanded the descendants of Adam and others about their study.

ENOCH AS HABERDASHER

This is an interesting tradition which seems to be based upon a confusion or conflation of the homophonic Arabic verbs *khaṭṭa* “write” and *khāṭa* “sew.”²⁶⁶ It would not seem to be an unrelated development that in later Jewish kabbalistic lore, Enoch is given the vocation of a cobbler.²⁶⁷ Interestingly a similar tradition is applied to the caliph and Shī‘ī hero ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib by the seminal *ishrāqī* philosopher Mollā Ṣadrā (d. 1640/1).²⁶⁸ It should be observed that several of these sources couple his sewing with the practice of a supererogatory piety that is unmatched among his contemporaries, and that his dwelling place eventually becomes the site for an important Shī‘ī shrine, the al-Sahlah Mosque in the Irāqī city of Kūfa.²⁶⁹

‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīkh* (ed. Aguadé):²⁷⁰

وكان خياطاً فاذا وخر بالابرة وخره ذكر الله معها وإذا أخرجها ذكر الله مع إخراجها. فشكل الله فعله فسماه إدریس وإنما اسمه أخنوخ.

He became a tailor, and whenever he pierced a hole with the needle he would invoke God at the same time, and whenever he pulled it back out, he would simultaneously invoke God. God rewarded his behavior and then renamed him “Idrīs.” His (former) name however was Enoch.

Wahb *apud* Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma’ārif* (ed. ‘Ukkāsha):²⁷¹

وأول من حاك الثياب وليسها وكانت من قبله يلبسون الجلود . . .

... and he (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) was the first to weave (cloth) garments and wear them. Those who lived before his time wore animal skins.²⁷²

²⁶⁶ William F. McCants, *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 82 n. 192.

²⁶⁷ Idel, “Ḥanokh—Topher,” 265–86; Michael Schneider, “Ḥanokh topher min’alayyim ve-hamasoret ha-muslimit,” *Kabbalah* 6 (2001): 287–319.

²⁶⁸ Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality of Shi‘i Islam: Beliefs and Practices* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2011), 320.

²⁶⁹ Najam Haider, *The Origins of the Shi‘a: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 238–9.

²⁷⁰ ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-ta’rīkh* (ed. Aguadé), 36.15–16. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²⁷¹ Ibn Qutayba, *K. al-ma’ārif* (ed. ‘Ukkāsha), 21.1–2. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²⁷² This list of “firsts,” also attributed to Wahb, is repeated by Ibn Qutayba, *K. al-ma’ārif* (ed. ‘Ukkāsha), 552.9–11.

Wahb *apud* Ibn Rustah, *K. al-a'lāq al-nafisa* (ed. de Goeje):²⁷³

وهو أول من خاط الثياب ولبسها وكان من قبله يلبسون الجلود.

And he (i.e., Enoch) was the first to sew²⁷⁴ (cloth) garments and wear them; any who lived before his time wore animal skins.

Abū Ma'shar (?) *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār):²⁷⁵

وهو أول من خاط الثياب ولبسها.

He (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) was the first one to sew clothes and to wear them.

It is unclear whether this information was once included within the *Kitāb al-Ulūf* of Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, or whether it actually originates from Wahb b. Munabbih and was subsequently amalgamated with the Enoch/Idrīs/Hermes traditions by a later collector of antiquarian lore.²⁷⁶

Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje):²⁷⁷

وقطع الثياب وخاطها . . .

...and he (Enoch) was (the first) to cut and stitch clothing.

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille):²⁷⁸

وهو أول من درز الدرز وخاط بالإبرة . . .

He was the first to sew a seam and to stitch with a needle.

Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (ed. Huart):²⁷⁹

وأول من خاط الثياب ولبسها وكان من قبله يلبسون الجلود . . .

...and he (Enoch/Idrīs) was the first to stitch together garments and wear them. Prior to this (development) one would simply wear animal skins.

Tha'labī, *Arā'is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*:²⁸⁰

وأول من خاط الثياب ولبس الخيط . . .

...and he (Idrīs) was ... the first to sew garments and clothing with thread.

Kisā'ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁸¹

وكان يتعيش من كد يديه وكان خياطاً وهو أول من خاط الثياب فكان كلما خرز خرزة سنج الله تعالى وقدمه ورثها كان يخيط خرزا يغفل فيه عن التسبيح فكان يفتقه ثم يخيط بالتسبيح.

²⁷³ Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-nafisa* (ed. de Goeje), 191.13–14.

²⁷⁴ خاط; compare Wahb's statement in Ibn Qutayba above, which reads "weave."

²⁷⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-anbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:186.12–13; *Ibn Abi Useibia* (ed. Müller), 1:17.5–6.

²⁷⁶ Van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 127.

²⁷⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.4.

²⁷⁸ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille), 1:73.5.

²⁷⁹ Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:11.13–12.1.

²⁸⁰ Tha'labī, *K. qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 46.13–14.

²⁸¹ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:81.22–82.2.

He sustained himself by working with his hands: he became a tailor, and he was the first to sew garments. Whenever he would sew a seam, he would praise God Most High and sanctify Him, and if sometimes when he sewed a seam he would forget during it to offer praise, he would rip it apart, (and) then sew (it) while offering praise.

The following statement occurring slightly later in this same source should undoubtedly be registered under this rubric as well:

Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁸²

وحكى ابن الأزهري عن وهب ان ادريس عليه السلام أول . . . من لبس الثياب وكانوا من قبل يلبسون الجلود.

Ibn al-Azharī relates on the authority of Wahb (b. Munabbih) that Idrīs, upon whom be peace... was the first one to wear clothing—prior to this they would wear animal skins.

Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr to Q 19:56–7*:²⁸³

وكان خياطاً وأول من خاط الثياب . . .

... and he (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) was a tailor, the first who sewed clothing.

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:²⁸⁴

وفي بعض الأخبار أنهم كانوا يلبسون القمص من فاخر الحرير والخز وغيرهما من الملوّنات والمنسوجات بالذهب والمنظومات بالجواهر ويلبسون التيجان. وقد كانت حواء أمرت بالنسج والمغزل فغزلت القطن والكتان والوبر ونسجت وكست أولادها وقد لبس آدم عليه السلام من غزل حواء.

According to some of the learned sages, they would wear shirts made of splendid materials, silk, woven cloth, and other things which were colored, woven with gold, and studded with jewels. They would also wear crowns. Already while Eve was still alive, she had been instructed about weaving and spinning. She spun cotton, flax, and fur, and she wove (these things) and dressed her children. Adam (upon whom be peace!) wore some of what Eve had woven.

This would seem to be a rebuttal of the tradition often found in Islamic sources that the invention of sewn clothing was an innovation fostered by Enoch/Idrīs. A comparable tradition attributed to Ibn 'Abbās about Eve's involvement with the spinning of wool and the weaving of cloth is mentioned in two places by Ṭabarī.²⁸⁵ One should also note that one Mandaean story about the early lives of Adam and Eve on earth depicts Eve weaving a garment for the Protoplast to wear from the wool which he previously sheared off the sides of hairy animals; presumably, sheep and goats.²⁸⁶ There is finally a medieval Jewish tradition of uncertain age which credits Eve with the weaving of expensive

²⁸² *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:82.15–17.

²⁸³ *Jazā'irī, Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. 'Aqil), 81. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as Idrīs."

²⁸⁴ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*, 78.2–6.

²⁸⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:123.6–10; cf. also 1/1:163.11–13.

²⁸⁶ *Right Ginza* (ed. Lidzbarski), 244.24–7.

coverlets for the couches fashioned from precious metals that are installed within the fifth chamber of the celestial Garden of Eden.²⁸⁷

Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran):²⁸⁸

الصادق (ع) قال . . . فإنَّ مسجد السهلة بيت إدریس النبی (ع) الذي كان يخيظ فيه ويصلّى فيه ومن دعا الله فيه بما أحبّ قضي له حوائجه ورفعه يوم القيامة مكانا عليًّا الى درجة إدریس (ع).

(Ja'far) al-Šādiq said: . . . The al-Sahlah mosque (in Kūfa) was the domicile of the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace! It was where he would sew clothing and pray. Anyone who supplicates God in that place—whatever he wants, He will fulfill his request and elevate him on the Day of Resurrection to “a lofty place” to the rank of Idrīs, upon whom be peace!

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Enoch's early reputation as one who was mathematically gifted would appear to undergird his association with systems for measuring not only time (e.g., calendars and almanacs), but also for determining physical quantities.

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'riḫ* (ed. Aguadé):²⁸⁹

ثم أنزل الله على إدریس الميزان وهو القسطاس بالروميّة والعربيّة قال الله عزّ وجلّ وزنوا بالقسطاس المستقيم.

Later God revealed the balance to Idrīs. This is the (pair of) scales used by the Romans and the Arabs. God, may He be exalted and extolled, has said: “Weigh using accurate scales!” (Q 26:182; cf. also 17:35).

Kisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁹⁰

وحكى ابن الازهرى عن وهب ان ادريس عليه السلام اول . . . من وضع الميزان والمكيال.

Ibn al-Azharī relates on the authority of Wahb (b. Munabbih) that Idrīs, upon whom be peace . . . was the first one who established a balance (for weighing) and a (dry) measure.

²⁸⁷ Jellinek, *BHM* 2:50.1; *Liqqūṭim we-ḥibburim* (Constantinople: Astruc de Toulon, 1519), fol. 3b.24–5.

²⁸⁸ Muḥammad Baqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (110 vols; Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyah, 1956–74), 11:280.5–9. Note also *ibid.*, 11:284.6–8. For a useful discussion of the intellectual significance of this author and this massive compilation, see Rainer Brunner, “The Role of *Ḥadīth* as Cultural Memory in Shī'ī History,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30 (2005): 318–60, esp. 336–47.

²⁸⁹ 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-ta'riḫ* (ed. Aguadé), 36.7–8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²⁹⁰ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:82.15–18.

MEDICAL LORE

For ancient historians, the history of medicine is closely allied with developments in the fields of astrology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, apotropaic magic, numerology (i.e., iatromathematics), alchemy, and other disciplines rarely viewed as relevant to the practice of medicine in the twenty-first century. Practically all of these subjects were however brought under the purview of the figure of Hermes and his disciples within the context of late antique Graeco-Egyptian hermeticism, and once an identification between Hermes and Enoch was made among the aficiandos of this system of esoteric knowledge, the latter scriptural character began to wield an augmented list of accomplishments commonly ascribed to this non-scriptural revelatory agent.

Abū Maʿshar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, K. *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* (ed. Najjār):²⁹¹

وهو أول من بنى الهياكل ومجد الله تعالى فيها وأول من نظر في الطب وتكلم فيه.

He (the “first Hermes” = Enoch/Iḍrīs) was the first person to build temples and glorify God Most High in them, and he was the first person to study medicine and talk about it.

Abū Maʿshar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, K. *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* (ed. Najjār):²⁹²

وكان بارعا في علم الطب والفلسفة [وعارفا بطبائع الأعداد وكان تلميذه فيثاغورس الأرمطاطيقى وهرمس هذا جدد من علم الطب والفلسفة] وعلم العدد ما كان قد درس بالطوفان ببابل.

He (i.e., the “second Hermes”) was proficient in the knowledge of medicine and of philosophy, [and he was knowledgeable about the nature of numbers. Pythagoras the arithmetician was his student. This Hermes renewed some of the knowledge of medicine and philosophy] and the knowledge of numbers that had been wiped out by the Flood in Babylon.²⁹³

The master-disciple relationship between the second or “Babylonian Hermes” and the pre-Socratic philosopher Pythagoras is reversed in the cognate biographical entry supplied by Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 1248).²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, K. *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* (ed. Najjār), 1:186.2–3; *Ibn Abi Useibia* (ed. Müller), 1:16.29–30.

²⁹² Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, K. *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* (ed. Najjār), 1:186.17–187.2; *Ibn Abi Useibia* (ed. Müller), 1:17.8–10.

²⁹³ See also Fodor, “Arabic Legends of the Pyramids,” 337; Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistus,” 52; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 126.

²⁹⁴ Julius Lippert, *Ibn al-Qifṭī's Tar'ih al-Hukamāʾ* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), 346.19. Cf. Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistus,” 52 n. 2.

Abū Ma'shar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, K. 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' (ed. Najjār):²⁹⁵

وكان طبيباً فيلسوفاً عالماً بطبائع الأدوية القتالة والحيوانات [المؤذية].... وكان له تلميذ يعرف بأسقليبيوس وكان مسكنه بارض الشام.

He (i.e., the "third Hermes") was a physician-philosopher, knowledgeable about the natures of lethal drugs and harmful animals... He had a student who was known as Asclepius, and he was an inhabitant of the land of Syria.²⁹⁶

Maqdisī, K. *al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (ed. Huart):²⁹⁷

وانزل عليه النجوم والطب.

He (i.e., God) revealed to him information about astronomy and medicine.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Kitāb al-adwā' al-Kaldānīyin*:²⁹⁸

حكيماً فيلسوفاً.

(He was also) a physician-philosopher.

Pseudo-Aristotle, *Secretum secretorum* (ed. Bacon):²⁹⁹

Dignum utique est ut tu scias magnam medicinam que dicitur "gloria inestimabilis" que etiam vocatur "thesaurus philosophorum".... Quidam siquidem volunt et affirmant quod Enoch novit hoc secretum per visionem. Volunt enim dicere quod iste Enoch fuit magnus Hermogenes quem Greci multum commendant et laudant, et ei attribuunt omnem scienciam secretam et celestem.

It is imperative that you gain knowledge about a great medicine which is called "the inestimable glory," the one which is also called the "treasure of the philosophers".... There are some hold and affirm that Enoch knew this secret by means of a vision. They wish to assert that this Enoch was the great Hermogenes whom the Greeks greatly celebrate and praise, and they attribute to him every secret and celestial science.³⁰⁰

According to Roger Bacon's glossed edition of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*, a widely distributed medieval "mirror for princes" and compendium of astrological and talismanic lore ultimately based on eastern

²⁹⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' (ed. Najjār), 1:187.5–6, 8–9; *Ibn Abi Useibia* (ed. Müller), 1:17.13, 16.

²⁹⁶ See also Fodor, "Arabic Legends of the Pyramids," 337; Plessner, "Hermes Trismegistus," 52; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 127.

²⁹⁷ Maqdisī, K. *al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:12.2.

²⁹⁸ *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' (ed. Najjār), 1:185.9. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric "Evaluated Positively or Neutrally."

²⁹⁹ Robert Steele, ed., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. V: Secretum secretorum cum glossis et notulis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1920), 98–9.

³⁰⁰ See also Robert Steele, "A Mediaeval Panacea," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 10 (1917): 93–106; George Molland, "Addressing Ancient Authority: Thomas Bradwardine and *Prisca Sapientia*," *Annals of Science* 53 (1996): 217–22.

Alexander Romance legendry,³⁰¹ the biblical forefather Enoch received the recipe for compounding this “wonder drug” which would effect “miraculous cures” in a divinely vouchsafed vision. The name “Hermogenes” appears to reflect the increasingly common association in the West of Enoch with the legend of Hermes Trismegistus,³⁰² a connection that is independently affirmed in the fourteenth-century *De causa Dei* of the British scholar Thomas Bradwardine.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Important discussions of the *Secretum secretorum*, its different language versions, and its cultural influence are Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (8 vols; New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), 2:267–78, which basically reproduces Lynn Thorndike, “The Latin Pseudo-Aristotle and Medieval Occult Science,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 21 (1922): 248–58; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, “The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb Sirr al-asrār*: Facts and Problems,” *Oriens* 23–24 (1974): 147–257; W. F. Ryan and Charles B. Schmitt, eds, *Pseudo-Aristotle, the Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influence* (London: Warburg Institute, 1982). For the impact of this work specifically upon Bacon, note especially William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 45–53; Steven J. Williams, “Roger Bacon and his Edition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*,” *Spec* 69 (1994): 57–73.

³⁰² Thorndike, *History of Magic*, 2:253.

³⁰³ Molland, “Addressing Ancient Authority,” 222.

Enoch's Roles in Human Society

In addition to the specific discoveries attributed to Enoch and the new kinds of technology or behaviors which he supposedly introduced among his peers, he also enjoyed widespread recognition for pioneering or exemplifying certain important vocational roles found in pre-industrial society. A catalog of these specific job descriptions follows.

ENOCH AS TEACHER

1QapGen 19.25 (ed. Machiela):¹

[...ש] אלו להון ספרא וחכמתא וקושטא וקריה קודמיהון לספר מלי חנוך.

...and they (i.e., the Egyptian nobles) sought booklore,² wisdom, and truth for themselves, and so I read in their presence the book of³ the words of Enoch.⁴

¹ Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 73. See also the earlier treatment of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (2nd rev. edn; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 60.

² This word was first read as *ḥḥḥ* “goodness” by Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956), a reading retained by Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 60, and Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 84.

³ Fitzmyer had previously read *חנך* [כתב] מלי חנוך, a restoration in accord with the wording of 1QapGen 5.29, which reads *חנך מלי חנוך*. See Matthew Morgenstern, Elisha Qimron, and Daniel Sivan, “The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *AbrN* 33 (1995): 32, 40.

⁴ Compare Pseudo-Eupolemus *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.8: *συζήσαντα δὲ τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἱερεῦσι πολλὰ μεταδιδάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι, φάμενον Βαβυλωνίους ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸν εὐρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ εὐρεσιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἐνώχ ἀναπέμπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εὐρηκέναι πρῶτον τὴν ἀστρολογίαν, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίους.... Ἕλληνας δὲ λέγειν τὸν Ἄτλαντα εὐρηκέναι ἀστρολογίαν, εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐνώχ. Text cited from the edition provided by Karl Mras, ed., *Eusebius Werke, Achter Band: Die Praeparatio Evangelica, Erster Teil: Einleitung, Die Bücher I bis X* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954), 503–4; see also Albert-Marie Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970a), 198. 1QapGen 19.29 (ed. Machiela, 73) also makes a reference to “all the words of Enoch” (*כל מלי חנוך*).*

T. Abr. 11:3 recension B (ed. James):⁵

Καὶ ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ.

And this one who exhibits proofs is Enoch, the teacher of heaven and earth and the scribe of righteousness.⁶

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim* (ed. Badawī):⁷

وخرج هرميس عن مصر ودار الأرض كلها وعاد إلى مصر ورفع الله إليه بها قال الله تعالى ورفعناه مكانا عليا وذلك بعد اثنتين ومائتين سنة ودعا الخلائق من أهل سائر الأرض إلى الباري عز وجل باثنتين وسبعين لسانا وآتاه الله الحكمة فكلمهم بلغاتهم المختلفة وعلمهم وأدبهم.

Hermes (i.e., the antediluvian Hermes who was identified in the previous paragraph as Enoch)⁸ departed from Egypt and traveled around the whole earth. He then went back to Egypt, and God raised him up to Himself there. God Most High has said: "...and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57). This took place after eighty-two years. He called upon creatures; i.e., all the earth's people, (to worship) the Creator, may He be praised and extolled, using seventy-two languages. God gave him wisdom so that he spoke to them in their different languages, taught them, and educated them.

Şā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* (ed. Cheikho):⁹

وذكر جماعة من العلماء أن جميع العلوم التي ظهرت قبل الطوفان إنما صدرت عن هرمس الأول الساكن بصعيد مصر الأعلى وهو الذي يسميه العبرانيون خنوخ النبي ابن يارد بن مهلائيل بن أنوش بن شيث بن آدم عليه السلام وهو إدريس النبي عليه السلام وقالوا أنه أول من تكلم في الجواهر العلوية والحركات النجومية وأول من بنى الهياكل ومجدد تعال فيها وأول من نظر في علم الطب وألف لأهل زمانه قصائد موزونة في الأشياء الأرضية والسمائية وقالوا أنه أول من أنذر بالطوفان ورأى أن آفة سماوية تلحق الأرض من الماء والنار فخاف ذهاب العلم ودروس الصنائع فبنى الأهرام والبرابي في صعيد مصر الأعلى وصوّر فيها جميع الصناعات والالات ورسم فيها صفات العلوم حرصا منه على تخليدها لمن بعده وخيفة أن يذهب رسمها من العالم.

Most of the learned class however say that all those sciences arose before the Flood, they having originated from the first Hermes who lived in highest Upper Egypt. He is the one who the Hebrews call the prophet Enoch, the son of Yared b. Mahalalel b. Enosh (*sic!*) b. Seth b. Adam, upon whom be peace, and he is (the same as) the prophet Idris, upon whom be peace. They say that he was the first person to speak

⁵ Montague Rhodes James, *The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Text Now First Edited with an Introduction and Notes* (TS 2.2; Cambridge: The University Press, 1892), 115. See also Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Serves There as Witness or Recording Scribe."

⁶ For another translation, see that of E. P. Sanders in *OTP* 1:900.

⁷ Abū'l Wafā' al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim: Los Bocados de oro: Edición crítica del texto árabe con prólogo y notas* (ed. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Badawī; Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1958), 8,6–9. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

⁸ Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 7.11: ...وعند العبرانيين خنوخ...

⁹ Louis Cheikho, ed., *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Umam, ou, Les catégories des nations par Abou Qâsim ibn Şā'id l'Andalous* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1912), 39.7–16. See also Julius Lippert, *Ibn al-Qiftī's Tar'ih al-Hukama'* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), 348.15–349.3; and compare also *ibid.*, 6.14–22.

about celestial substances¹⁰ and the movements of the stars. He was the first person to build temples and glorify God Most Exalted in them, and he was the first person to study the science of medicine. He authored balanced *qaṣīdas* (i.e., poetry) for the people of his time containing information about terrestrial and celestial things. They say that he was the first person who warned of the Flood, and he saw that a heavenly affliction would come upon the earth from water and fire. He was afraid that knowledge and study of the crafts would be lost, and so he built the Pyramids and the ancient temples in highest Upper Egypt. He drew within them all the crafts and the tools, and indicated pictorially the characteristics of the sciences, for he wanted to immortalize the sciences for those who would come after him inasmuch as he feared that all trace of them might depart from the world.¹¹

Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina clericalis* (ed. Hilka and Söderhjelm):¹²

Enoch philosophus, qui lingua arabica cognominatur Edric, dixit filio suo: Timor domini sit negotiatio tua, et veniet tibi lucrum sine labore.

The philosopher Enoch, who in the Arabic language is named Idrīs, said to his son: "Let fear of the Lord be your business, and you will have wealth without toil."¹³

One might compare with the first clause of this purported quotation from Enoch/Idrīs to his son the first saying which occurs in the Arabic language *Testament to Ammon* attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, hermetic characters who exhibit an identical filial relationship: "The first thing which I command you about is a fear of God Almighty and Exalted and a love of obeying him."¹⁴ Due to its early placement within the narrative structure of the *Disciplina clericalis*, a "new" Enochic pseudepigraphon came to be generated upon the basis of this Latin text when a part of its initial sections was translated into Hebrew during the sixteenth century as the ספר חנוך or the "Book of Enoch."¹⁵

¹⁰ "Substances" (*jawāhir*) is probably a corruption of "events" (*ḥawādith*). See Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 128 n. 31; 130 n. 36. The same "corruption" appears also in Ibn al-Qiṭṭī and Bar Hebraeus.

¹¹ See also van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 129–30.

¹² Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, *Petri Alfonsi Disciplina Clericalis* (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 38.4; Helsingfors: Druckerie der finnischen Litteraturgesellschaft, 1911b), 2.16–17. See also Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, eds, *Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1911a), 2.22–5.

¹³ See also Joseph Ramon Jones and John Esten Keller, *The Scholar's Guide: A Translation of the Twelfth-Century Disciplina Clericalis of Pedro Alfonso* (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1969), 35; Eberhard Hermes, ed., *The Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi* (trans. P. R. Quarrie; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 104; John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 76–7.

¹⁴ Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 23.3–4; Ibn al-Qiṭṭī, *Tarikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 7.10.

¹⁵ Auguste Pichard, *Le livre d'Hénoch sur l'amitié, traduit de l'hébreu* (Paris: Librairie Orientale de Dondey-Dupré, 1838); A. M. Habermann, "Sefer Hanokh," *Mahberot lesifrut* 5 (1951): 80–93; Haim Schwarzbaum, *Jewish Folklore between East and West: Collected Papers* (ed. Eli Yassif; Beersheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1989), 259.

Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert):¹⁶

وزعم جماعة من العلماء أن جميع العلوم التي ظهرت قبل الطوفان إنما صدرت عن هرمس الأول الساكن بصعيد مصر الأعلى وهو الذي يسمّيه العبرانيون خنوخ النبي بن يارد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن أنوش بن شيث بن آدم وهو إدريس النبي صلعم على ما تقدّم ذكره في أول الكتاب وقالوا أنه أول من تكلم في الجواهر العلوية والحركات النجومية وأول من بنى الهياكل ومجد الله فيها وأول من نظر في علم الطبّ وألف لأهل زمانه قصائد موزونة في الأشياء الأرضية والسمائية وقالوا أنه أول من أنذر بالطوفان ورأى أنّ آفة سماوية تلحق الأرض من الماء والنار فحاف ذهاب العلم ودروس الصنائع فبنى الأهرام والبرابي في صعيد مصر الأعلى وصوّر فيها جميع الصناعات والالات ورسم فيها صفات العلوم حرصا منه على تخليدها لمن بعده خيفة أن يذهب رسمها من العالم والله أعلم.

Most of the learned class however claim that all those sciences arose before the Flood, they having originated from the first Hermes who lived in highest Upper Egypt. He is the one who the Hebrews call the prophet Enoch, the son of Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam, and he is (the same as) the prophet Idris, may God bless him and grant him salvation! Mention was previously made of him in the first part of this book.¹⁷ They say that he was the first person to speak about celestial substances¹⁸ and the movements of the stars. He was the first person to build temples and glorify God in them, and he was the first person to study the science of medicine. He authored balanced *qaṣīdas* (i.e., poetry) for the people of his time containing information about terrestrial and celestial things. They say that he was the first person who warned of the Flood, and he saw that a heavenly affliction would come upon the earth from water and fire. He was afraid that knowledge and study of the crafts would be lost, and so he built the Pyramids and the ancient temples in highest Upper Egypt. He drew within them all the crafts and the tools, and indicated pictorially the characteristics of the sciences, for he wanted to immortalize the sciences for those who would come after him inasmuch as he feared that all trace of them might depart from the world. But God knows best!¹⁹

Sefer ha-Kasdim (Ms. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Gaster 177 ff. 36a-b):²⁰

וכתבו אותם הספרים ועשו ספרים הרבה והאחרונים לא ידעו ללמוד באותן הספרים עד שבא רזיאל וגלה הסודות ואחריו חנוך הקדמון ומאותה שעה נתפורה זאת החכמה בכל העולם.

They wrote down these books and produced many writings, but those who arose afterwards did not know how to learn (from) these books until (the angel) Raziel came and revealed the secrets, and after him the first Enoch (revealed them). Since his time this science (i.e., astrology) has spread throughout the entire world.²¹

¹⁶ Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 348.15–349.3.

¹⁷ For what follows, compare Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 6.14–22.

¹⁸ As noted above, “substances” (*jawāhir*) is probably a corruption of “events” (*ḥawādith*). See van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 128 n. 31; 130 n. 36. The same “corruption” was apparently copied from this portion of Ibn al-Qiftī by Bar Hebraeus; see p. 77.

¹⁹ Cf. van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 129–30.

²⁰ Moses Gaster, “The Wisdom of the Chaldeans: An Old Hebrew Astrological Text,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22 (1900): 329–51, at 347. See also Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha, and Samaritan Archaeology* (3 vols; repr., New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971), 3:104. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

²¹ For another translation, see Gaster, “Wisdom,” 338–9; Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, 1:347–8. A more comprehensive discussion of this source can be found in Chapter 2.

For the peculiar expression "the first Enoch" (חנוך הקדמון), see our discussion of this testimony in Chapter 2, p. 79.

Sefer ha-Yashar (ed. Dan):²²

ומהללאל בן קינן חי ששים שנה וחמש שנים ויולד את ירד וחי ירד שנים וששים שנה ומאת שנה ויולד את חנוך וחי חנוך חמש וששים שנה ויולד את מתושלח ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים אחרי הגליוו את מתושלח ויעבוד את ה' וימאס בדרכי בני האדם הרעים ותדבק נפש חנוך במוסר ה' בדעת ובבינה וידע את דרכי ה' ויפרד בחכמתו את נפשו מבני האדם ויסתר את נפשו מהם ימים רבים.

ויהי מקץ ימים רבים ושנים בהיותו עובר לפני ה' ויהי הוא מתפלל לפני ה' בבית ובחדר ויקרא אליו מלאך ה' מן השמים ויאמר חנוך חנוך ויאמר הנני ויאמר אליו קום צא מביתך וממקומך אשר נחבאת שמה ומלכת על כל בני האדם למען אשר תלמדם את הדרך אשר ילכו בה ואת המעשה אשר יעשו ללכת בדרכי ה' ויקם חנוך ויצא מביתו וממקומו ומן התדר אשר היה שם בדבר ה' וילך את בני האדם וילמדם דרך ה' ויאסוף את בני האדם בעת ההיא ויודיעם את מוסר ה'.

ויצו ויעבירו קול בכל מקומות בני האדם לאמר מי האיש אשר יחפץ לדעת את דרכי ה' ואת המעשה הטוב יבוא אל חנוך ויתאספו אליו מכל בני האדם בעת ההיא ויהי כל אשר יחפץ את הדבר הזה ילך אל חנוך וימלוך חנוך על בני האדם בדבר ה' ויבואו וישתחוו לו ארצה וישמעו כולם יחד את דבריו ותהי רוח אלהים אל חנוך וילמד את כל אנשיו חכמת אלהים ודרכיו ויעבדו בני האדם את ה' כל ימי חנוך ויבואו בני האדם לשמוע את חכמתו וגם כל מלכי בני האדם הראשונים והאחרונים ושריהם ושופטיהם באו אל חנוך בשמעם את חכמתו וישתחוו לו אפים ארצה ויבקשו גם הם מאת חנוך אשר ימלוך עליהם ויאבה להם לדבר הזה.

ויתקבצו כולם בשלושים ומאת מלכים ושרים וימליכו את חנוך עליהם והיו כולם תחת ידו ותחת דבריו וילמד אותם חנוך חכמה ודעת ודרך ה' וישם שלום בין כולם ויהי שלום בכל הארץ בימי חנוך וימלוך חנוך על כל בני יאדם מאתים וארבעים שנה ושלוש שנים ויהי עושה משפט וצדקה לכל עמו וידריכם בדרכי ה'.

ואלה תולדות חנוך מתושלח ואלישוע ואלימלך בנים שלשה ואחיותיהם מלכא ונעמה וחי מתושלח שבע ושמונים שנה ומאת שנה ויולד את למך ויהי בשנת חמשים ושש שנים לחיי למך וימת אדם בן תשע מאות ושלושים שנה היה במותו ויקברו אותו שם ובניו וחנוך ומתושלח בנו בכבוד גדול וקבור את המלכים במערה אשר דבר להם ה' ויעשו כל בני האדם במקום ההוא מספד ובכי גדול על אדם על כן היתה להוק בבני האדם עד היום הזה וימת אדם על אשר אכל מעץ הדעת הוא ובניו כאשר דבר אליהם ה'.

ויהי בשנת מוח אדם היא שנת מאתים וארבעים שנה ושלש שנים למלכות חנוך ויהי בעת ההיא וישם חנוך על לבו להפרד ולהבדל מבני האדם ולהסתר מהם כבראשונה לעבוד את ה' ויעש חנוך את הדבר הזה אך לא הסתיר את נפשו מהם כל הימים ויסתר מבני האדם שלשת ימים ויגלה להם יום אחד ובכל שלשת הימים אשר הוא בחדר מתפלל ומשבח אל ה' אלהיו ובוים אשר יצא אל עבדיו להראות להם ולמד להם דרך ה' וכל אשר ישאלו ממנו דובר אליהם ויעש כמעשה הזה ימים רבים ושנים וישב אחרי כן ויסתר את נפשו ימים ויגלה לעמו יום אחד לשבעה ימים ואחרי כן יום אחד בחדש יום אחד בשנה עד אשר בקשו פניו כל המלכים וכל השרים וכל בני האדם ויתאוו כולם לראות את פני חנוך ולשמוע את דבריו ולא יוכלו כי יראו כל בני האדם מחנוך יראה גדולה ויראו מגשת אליו מאימת האלהים אשר על פניו על כן לא יוכל איש לראות את פניו פן יוסר וימות.

ויתיעצו כל המלכים וכל השרים לאסוף את כל בני האדם יחד לבוא אל חנוך מלכם לדבר כולם עמו בעת אשר יצא אליהם ויעשו כן ויהי היום ויצא חנוך אליהם ויתקבצו כולם ויבואו יחד אליו וידבר להם חנוך את

²² Joseph Dan, ed., *Sefer Hayashar* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1986), 49–53. This text is also available in Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur* (6 vols; Leipzig, 1853–77; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938), 4:129–32; Reuven Margalio, *Mal'akey Elyon* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1945), 76–8. Jellinek's collection is henceforth referenced as *BHM*.

כל דבריהם וילמד להם חכמת ודעת ויורם את יראת ה' ויתבהלו מאד כל בני האדם ויתמהו ממנו על חכמתו וישתחוו לפניו כולם ארצה ויאמרו יהי המלך יהי המלך.

ויהי מימים בהיות כל המלכים וכל השרים וכל בני האדם מדברים עם חנוך וחנוך מלמד אותם את דרכי ה' ויקרא מלאך ה' אל חנוך מן השמים בעת ההיא ויאמר להעלותו השמים להמליכו על בני האלהים בשמים כאשר מלך על בני האדם בארץ בעת ההיא כשמוע חנוך את הדבר הזה ויצו ויקבצו לו את כל יושבי הארץ וילמד אותם חכמה ודעת ומוסר ה' ויאמר אליהם נשאל נשאלתי לעלות השמים לא ידעתי יום לכותי ועתה אלמד אתכם חכמה ומוסר לעשות בארץ אשר תחיו בה טרם אשר אלך מאתכם ויעש כן וילמד אותם חכמה ודעת ומוסר ויזכית אתהם וישם להם חוקים ומשפטים לעשותם בארץ וישם להם שלום ויורה אותם חיי עולם וישב אתם ימים אחדים וילמד ויורה להם את כל הדברים האלה.

ויהי בעת ההיא ובני האדם יושבים את חנוך וחנוך מדבר אליהם וישאו עיניהם וראו והנה דמות סוס גדול יורד מן השמים וילך הסוס ברוח הארץ ויגידו לחנוך את אשר ראו ויאמר אליהם חנוך בעבורי הסוס ה הוא יורד לארץ כי הגיעו העת והיום אשר אלך לי מאתכם ולא אראה עוד אליכם וירד הסוס והוא בעת ההיא ויעמוד לפני חנוך וכל בני האדם אשר את חנוך רואים אותו ויצו עוד חנוך בעת ההיא ויעבירו קול לאמר מי האיש אשר יחפר לדעת את דרכי ה' אלהיו ויבוא ביום הזה אל חנוך טרם הלקחו ממנו ויתקבצו ויביאו כל בני האדם ויבואו אל חנוך ביום ההוא וגם כל מלכי הארץ ושריהם ורוזניהם לא סרו מאתו ביום ההוא וילמד חנוך את כל בני האדם חכמה ודעת ומוסר ה' ביום ההוא ויצום מאוד לעבוד את ה' וללכת בדרכיו כל ימי חייהם וישם שלום עוד בין כולם.

ויהי אחרי כן ויקם וירכב על הסוס ויצא וילך ויצאו וילכו אחריו כל בני האדם כשמונה מאות אלף איש וילכו אתו מהלך יום אחד ויהי ביום השני ויאמר אליהם שובו לכם לאהליכם למה תלכו פן תמותו וישבו מהם מעליו וילכו אתו הנשארים מהם מהלך ששת ימים וחנוך דובר אליהם בכל יום שובו לאהליכם פן תמותו ולא אבו לשוב וילכו אתו ויהי ביום הששי וידבר עוד חנוך אליהם לאמר שובו לכם לאהליכם מאתי כי מחר אעלה לי השמימה והיה כל הנשאר מהם אתי ימותו וישבו עוד מהם ביום הששי ויתרו עוד אנשים וידבקו עמו ויאמרו אליו עמך נלך אל המקום אשר תלך חיי ה' כי המות יפריד בינינו ובינך ויהי כי מתאמצים הם ללכת אתו ויהדל לדבר אליהם וילכו אחריו ולא שבו להם והמלכים האלה בשוכם ויפקדו כולם לדעת את מספר האנשים הנשארים אשר הלכו אחרי חנוך.

ויהי ביום השביעי ועל חנוך בסערה השמימה בסוסי אש ורכבי אש וישלחו כל המלכים אשר היו עם חנוך ביום השמיני לקחת את מספר האנשים אשר נשארו עם חנוך במקום אשר עלה משם השמימה וילכו מלאכי כל המלכים האלה וימצאו כל הארץ מלאה שלג במקום ההוא ועל השלג אבנים גדולות מאבני שלג ויאמרו איש אל רעהו נבקע את השלג הזה פן מתו האנשים אשר נשארו עם חנוך תחת השלג הזה ויעשו כן ויבקשו בכל השלג ההוא וימצאו את מספר האנשים אשר היו עם חנוך מתים תחת השלג ויבקשו את חנוך ולא מצאו כי עלה השמימה.

ויהיו כל ימי חנוך אשר חי בארץ שלש מאות וחמש וששים שנה בשנת מאה ושלוש עשרה שנה לחיי למך בן מתושלח עלה חנוך השמימה ויהי בעלות חנוך השמים ויקומו כל מלכי הארץ ויקחו את מתושלח בנו וימשחו אותו ומליכוהו עליהם תחת אביו.

Mahalalel b. Kenan was sixty-five years old when he fathered Yared, and Yared was one hundred and sixty-two years old when he fathered Enoch, and Enoch was sixty-five years old when he fathered Methuselah. And after he had fathered Methuselah, Enoch walked with God and served the Lord and rejected the wicked ways of humanity. The soul of Enoch attached itself to the instruction of the Lord in knowledge and understanding, and he gained knowledge of the ways of the Lord. His study led him to separate himself from human society, and he concealed himself from them for a long time.²³

²³ For Enoch's self-imposed isolation from human society, one might compare the similar assertion made about Idrīs by Kisā'ī (cf. I. Eisenberg, ed., *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā': Vita Prophetarum*

After the passage of many years during which he was engaged in service²⁴ before the Lord, it happened that he was praying to the Lord in an inner chamber. An angel of the Lord called out to him from heaven, saying "Enoch! Enoch!" He responded, "Here I am." He (the angel) said to him: "Arise and depart from your house and the place wherein you were concealed, and assume rulership over all of humanity so that you might instruct them in the way they should behave and about the action(s) they should perform in order to walk in the ways of the Lord." So Enoch arose and left his house and his place and the chamber where he was in accordance with the word of the Lord. He traveled among humanity and taught them the way of the Lord. He moreover convoked a general assembly at that time in order to instruct them about the discipline expected by the Lord.

He issued a decree and circulated a message among all the places where humanity dwelt which said: "Whoever wishes to know the ways of the Lord and proper behavior should come to Enoch!" And there gathered around him at that time representatives from throughout all humanity, and it was the case that all who desired this thing would come to Enoch. Enoch ruled over humanity at the behest of the Lord: they would come and prostrate themselves before him on the ground, and they would all listen together to his words. Divine inspiration would fill Enoch, and he would teach all present the wisdom of the Lord and His ways. Humanity thus served the Lord during the lifetime of Enoch, and they came to listen to his wisdom. Moreover, all the former and current kings of humanity along with their officers and judicial officials came to visit Enoch once they heard of his wisdom, prostrating themselves before him with their faces on the ground. Even they besought Enoch to exercise sovereignty over them, and he acceded to their request.

So they all assembled together—about one hundred and thirty kings and princes—and installed Enoch as their ruler, and they all submitted themselves to his power and his commands. Enoch instructed them in wisdom, knowledge, and the way of the Lord, and established good relations among all of them, and thus there was peace throughout the whole earth during the lifetime of Enoch. Enoch exercised rule over humanity for two hundred and forty-three years, and he effected justice and righteousness for all his people. He supervised their progress in the ways of the Lord.

These are the descendants of Enoch: three sons (named) Methuselah, Elishua, and Elimelek, and their sisters Malka and Na'amah. When Methuselah was one hundred and eighty-seven years old, he fathered Lamech. Lamech was fifty-six years old when Adam died:²⁵ the latter was nine hundred and thirty years old when he died. Seth, his sons, Enoch, and his son Methuselah buried him in a cave which the Lord had spoken about to them;²⁶ his burial was conducted with great

auctore Muhammed ben 'Abdallah al-Kisa'i [2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1922–3], 1:81.19–21). In both narratives God acknowledges the saint's attainments by returning him to social life as an instructor.

²⁴ Read עובר for עובר; cf. Jelinek, *BHM* 4:129.

²⁵ This figure can be generated from the information provided by the Masoretic text of Gen 5:3–32.

²⁶ Compare *Seder 'Olam Rabbah* §1: מאדם ועד המבול אלף ושלש מאות וחמשים ושלש שנה חנוך קבר אדם וחיה: "From Adam until the Flood there were 1656 years. Enoch buried Adam, and

dignity like that of a monarch. All of humanity were engaged in great mourning and weeping for Adam, and on account of this behavior, it became a custom among humans (to act similarly at funerals) unto this day. Adam died because he ate from the Tree of Knowledge. He and his progeny (must die), in accordance with what the Lord said to them.

The year Adam died—which was the two hundred and forty-third year of the reign of Enoch²⁷—Enoch resolved to separate himself and to sequester himself from humanity and to conceal himself from them as before in order to serve the Lord. So Enoch did this thing, although he did not conceal himself from them all the time. He would withdraw from humanity for three days, and then show himself to them for one day at a time. During each three-day period which he spent in the chamber he would pray and offer praise to the Lord his God, and on the (following) day he would emerge to his servants so as to be seen by them and to teach them the way of the Lord. Every question which they would ask him he would answer for them. He followed this pattern for many days and years, periodically hiding and then revealing himself to his people: one day per week, and after this one day per month, and then one day per year, until finally all the kings, princes, and people sought his presence, and all of them desired to see the face of Enoch and to listen to his words, but they were unable to do so, for every human being greatly revered Enoch and were afraid to approach him due to the divine awe which was on his face. For this reason no one was able to look at his face, lest he be chastised and suffer death.²⁸

All the kings and princes decided to assemble everyone in one body together to approach Enoch their ruler so that all might speak with him at the time he came forth to him, and they did so. It came to pass that on the day when Enoch finally emerged to them, all of them were gathered together, and so they came together to him. Enoch spoke to them regarding all their concerns, and he taught them wisdom and knowledge, and he instructed them in the fear of the Lord. Everyone was very intimidated, and they were astounded at his wisdom, and they all prostrated themselves on the ground and said, “Long live the king! Long live the king!”

Several days later, while all the kings, princes, and everyone were speaking with Enoch and (while) Enoch was teaching them the ways of the Lord, at that time an

he remained alive after him (another) fifty-seven years.” Text cited from Chaim Milikowsky, *Seder Olam: Critical Edition, Commentary, and Introduction* (2 vols; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2013), 1:219.2–3. This agrees with the tradition that Adam died when Enoch was 308 years old which is attributed to “another authority from the people of the Torah” that is quoted by Abū Jafar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk (Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari)* (15 vols; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1964–5), 1/1:173.7–9. For the cave where Adam is buried, see our further remarks, p. 169.

²⁷ i.e., when he was 308 years old (243 + 65, the age when Enoch begat Methuselah). See the preceding note.

²⁸ Claude Addas mistakenly attributes this legend about Enoch’s graduated return to the eremitic life to “les ‘trois Livres d’Hénoch,’ (sic) et kabbalistique”; see his “Idris,” in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *Dictionnaire du Coran* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007), 411–12. He also conflates this story with the material in the Slavonic Book of Enoch about the revelation of 360 books to Enoch during his first sojourn among the angels in heaven.

angel of the Lord cried out to Enoch from heaven and said that he should ascend to heaven in order that he might rule over the divine beings in heaven the same way that he had ruled over human beings on earth. At that time when Enoch heard this utterance, he commanded that all the inhabitants of the earth should gather to him so that he might teach them wisdom, knowledge, and the instruction(s) of the Lord. He said to them, "I have been summoned to ascend to heaven, (but) I do not know the day of my departure. I will therefore teach you wisdom and morality to practice on the earth whereon you live before I depart from you." And he did so. He taught them wisdom, knowledge, and morality, and he admonished them. He ordained for them statutes and ordinances to observe on the earth, he re-established peace among them, and instructed them about eternal life. He remained among them for several days teaching and instructing them about all these matters.

While humanity was sitting with Enoch and Enoch was speaking to them, they lifted up their eyes and looked, and behold, there was the form of a large horse descending from heaven, and it came in the direction of the earth. They told Enoch what they had seen, and Enoch said to them: "It is on my account that this horse has descended to earth, for the time and the day have arrived when I must leave you and I will never be seen by you again." At that time the horse descended and stood before Enoch, and all the people who were with Enoch saw it. Once again at that time Enoch issued an order and promulgated a decree which said: "Whoever wishes to know the ways of the Lord his God should come today to Enoch, before he is removed from him!" All of humanity gathered together and came to Enoch that day, and moreover, none of the kings of the earth nor their princes or officers departed from him at that time. That day Enoch taught everyone wisdom, knowledge, and proper behavior expected by the Lord, and he strictly commanded them to serve the Lord and to walk in His paths all the days of their lives. He re-established peace once more among all of them.

After this he arose, mounted the horse, took his leave, and departed. The whole of humanity, about eight hundred thousand people, also left and followed after him. They traveled with him one day's journey. On the second day, he said to them: "Return to your houses! Why do you keep going? You may die!" Some of them thereupon turned back, but the rest of them continued traveling with him on his journey for six days. Enoch would say to them each day: "Return to your houses! You risk death," but they were unwilling to turn back and kept traveling with him. On the sixth day, Enoch addressed them yet again, saying: "Return from being with me to your own houses, for tomorrow I will ascend to heaven. Each of you who remains here with me will die!" Some more of them turned back on that sixth day, but still there were people who remained and clung to him, saying: "We will accompany you to the place where you are going! We swear by God that death will not effect a separation between us and you!" Since they were determined to go with him, Enoch ceased warning them, and so they continued following him without turning back. Those kings who had turned back later counted everyone in order to determine the number of people who were left and who continued following after Enoch.

On the seventh day, Enoch ascended via a storm wind—on fiery horses and fiery chariots—to heaven.²⁹ The following day, all those kings who had previously been with Enoch sent (messengers) in order to get information about the number of people who had remained with Enoch in the place from where he had ascended to heaven. All the royal messengers came and discovered that all the ground of that place was covered with snow, and on top of the snow were large boulders, some of which were also composed of snow. They said to one another, “Come, let us split open this snow lest the people who were still with Enoch die. (They are surely) beneath this snow.” They did so, and they made search throughout all that snow, and they found the sum total of the people who were with Enoch all dead beneath the snow. They also made search for Enoch, but they did not find him, for he had ascended to heaven.

All the days which Enoch lived on the earth were three hundred and sixty-five years. It was in the one hundred and thirteenth year of Lamech b. Methuselah’s life that Enoch ascended to heaven.³⁰ After Enoch had ascended to heaven, all the kings of the earth arose and took Methuselah his son and anointed him to rule as king over them in place of his father.³¹

ENOCH AS PROPHET

Here are collected those texts which explicitly ascribe the status of a prophet to Enoch or one of his avatars. Prophecy was a religious institution that was widespread among the eastern Mediterranean religions of antiquity, and a “prophet” was usually conceived as a human being who mediated between the terrestrial and divine worlds. Although the prophetic vocation exhibits some overlaps with that of the priest or with that of the expert in divinatory arts, it typically does not require expertise in ritual performance (like the former) or mastery of a scholastic curriculum or complicated systems of signs (like the latter). Its primary emphasis instead is on an accurate verbal transmission of messages originating from the domain of the gods to their human clients, as well as representing their society’s interests when in the presence of the divine. Psychological conditions like trance, ecstasy, and enthusiasm are often associated with prophetic behaviors, and shaman-like experiences like that of an

²⁹ Cf. 2 Kgs 2:11.

³⁰ According to the universal chronicle of Sa’id b. al-Biṭriq (Eutychius), a tenth-century work allied with the *Cave of Treasures* cycle, Enoch ascended to heaven when Lamech was 13 years old. See L[ouis]. Cheikho, ed., *Eutyctii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (CSCO 50, ser. arab. III, t. 6; Beryti: E Typographeo Catholico, 1906), 11.1–4.

³¹ For a brief discussion of this passage and its possible reliance upon earlier Enochic works, especially 2 *Enoch*, see Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909–38), 5:157–8 n. 59. See also Philip S. Alexander, “From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch,” in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 112–13.

“ascent to heaven” or of conversations with angelic beings begin to dominate the discourse about prophets and prophecy among the biblically allied religious communities of southwest Asia during the course of the first millennium of the Common Era.

While the character Enoch displays certain attributes that were associated with the prophetic office in some early Jewish sources (e.g., *Jub.* 4:19),³² the explicit labeling of Enoch as a “prophet” appears to be a Christian innovation, one which is subsequently adopted and further amplified within Manichaean and Muslim texts.³³ This section will limit itself to listing those testimonies wherein the title of “prophet” is explicitly applied, either nominally or verbally, to Enoch or one of his cross-cultural avatars. Passages allegedly emanating from Enochic books or treatises which behave “prophetically”—i.e., by emulating forms of prophetic oracles or proof-texts used within their surrounding society—are gathered separately in Chapter 7.

Jude 14–15 (ed. Holmes):³⁴

Προεφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνώχ λέγων· Ἴδού ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ, ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων καὶ ἐλέγξαι πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.

And Enoch—the seventh from Adam³⁵—prophesied also with reference to these,³⁶ saying: “Lo, the Lord is coming³⁷ with His holy myriads to execute judgment against all, and to convict every godless one for all their godless deeds which they

³² “The notion of Enoch as prophet follows from the eschatological exhortations voiced in Enochic pseudepigrapha such as the *Book of the Watchers*, *Book of Dreams*, and *Epistle of Enoch*, as well as the use of *vaticinia ex eventu* in the latter two.” This observation is quoted from Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 156.

³³ Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Pseudepigraphy and/as Prophecy: Continuity and Transformation in the Formation and Reception of Early Enochic Writings,” in Philippa Townsend and Moulie Vidas, eds, *Revelation, Literature, and Community in Late Antiquity* (TSAJ 146; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 25–42.

³⁴ Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 480. See also Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Christiani Liebezeit, 1713), 160–1; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 10.

³⁵ August Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch: Uebersetzt und erklärt* [Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1853], I) notes that 1 *En.* 60:8 employs the same epithet for this forefather; i.e., “the seventh from Adam.” See also James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3.4; Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1996), 36.

³⁶ C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (2nd edn; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 47.

³⁷ The unusual Greek aorist may render a rare Aramaic “prophetic perfect.” See the discussions of [James C.] VanderKam, “The Theophany of Enoch I 3b-7, 9,” *VT* 23 (1973): 148; Edward Mazich, “‘The Lord Will Come with His Holy Myriads’: An Investigation of the Linguistic Source of the Citation of 1 Enoch 1,9 in Jude 14b-15,” *ZNW* 94 (2003): 276–81, at 278–80.

have impiously committed, and for all the hard words that godless sinners have spoken against Him.”³⁸

Vita Adae et Evae 53 (ed. Pettorelli-Kaestli):³⁹

Et in ipsis lapidibus inuentum est quod prophetauit septimus ab Adam Enoch, dicens ante diluuium de aduentu Christi domini: Ecce ueniet dominus in sanctis milibus suis facere iudicium et arguere omnes impios de omnibus operibus suis, quibus locuti sunt de eo peccatores et impii, murmuratores et querelosi, qui secundum concupiscentias suas ingrediuntur, et os eorum locutum est superbiam.

And on these same stones⁴⁰ was found what Enoch—the seventh from Adam—prophesied, speaking before the Flood about the (eschatological) advent of the Lord Christ: “Behold, the Lord will come with His holy thousands to pronounce judgment and to confute all the impious of all their works, those things which sinners, impious ones, murmurers, and complainers have said about Him, those who walk in accordance with their desires and whose mouths have spoken insolently.”⁴¹

It seems possible that the motif of Enoch’s transmission of antediluvian knowledge via its inscription upon stone that is visible both here and in the Greek astrological manuscript cited in Chapter 2 (p. 93) is indebted to hermetic traditions about how the so-called “first Hermes,” often identified by knowledgeable scribal circles with the biblical character Enoch, likewise prepared lapidary accounts which recorded the intellectual and technological achievements of the pre-Flood inhabitants of the earth.

³⁸ Compare the Codex Panopolitanus (Akhmim) Greek version of *1 En.* 1:9 as well as the rendition of Jude 14–15 that is quoted by the *Chronicon Paschale*. See 4Q204 I 15–17 (PAM 43.200); Pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Novatianum* 16, cited and discussed by Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (2 vols; Erlangen and Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1888–92), 2/2:797–801; H. J. Lawlor, “Early Citations from the Book of Enoch,” *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897): 165–6; R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 5–7; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 185–6. Important discussions are those of VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 35–6; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 104–5.

³⁹ Jean-Pierre Pettorelli and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, eds, *Vita Latina Adae et Evae—Synopsis vitae Adae et Evae* (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphum 18–19; 2 vols; Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 1:432–4, 2:902–4; cf. also 2:511–13; 534–5; 569; 595; 626 for slightly different recensions of this same passage. See also Wilhelm Meyer, ed., “Vita Adae et Evae,” *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14.3 (München: Verlag der k. Akademie, 1878), 244; Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve: Second Revised Edition* (SBLEJL 17; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 96. This epilogue forms part of a concluding narrative about the fate of Seth’s writings that is found only in those manuscripts that belong to Group II in Meyer’s classification of textual witnesses.

⁴⁰ Referring to the large tablets of stone and clay which Seth had inscribed with information about the lives of his parents and deposited in a chamber of the dwelling where his father Adam would pray to God (see *L.A.E.* 51.1–52.1 [ed. Pettorelli-Kaestli], 1:426–8).

⁴¹ Compare *1 En.* 1:9; Jude 14–16. For other translations (based be it noted on different Latin recensions), see Anderson and Stone, *Synopsis*, 97; M. D. Johnson in *OTP* 2:294.

Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1.10.1 (ed. Harvey):⁴²

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς...πίστιν...καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς... κρίσιν δικαίον ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιησῆται· τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους [τούς] παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφῆμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψη.

For the Church, although it is scattered throughout the whole of the inhabited world even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: [She believes in One God...and one Jesus Christ, the Son of God...] and in the Holy Spirit, Who has announced through the prophets [various doctrines deemed by the writer ecclesiastical "truths," among which are]... that He should execute a just judgment upon all;⁴³ that He might send "the spirit-forces of evil"⁴⁴ and those angels who transgressed and became apostates, as well as those who are wicked, unjust, lawless, and profane among humankind, into eternal fire.⁴⁵

To judge from his reference here (and cognate language elsewhere) to "those angels who transgressed and became apostates," it looks as if Irenaeus held Enoch to be one of those pre-Christian "prophets" who was authentically inspired by God to presage the advent of Christ and the Christian religion.

Clement of Alexandria, *Adumbrationes* Jude 13–14 (ed. Stählin):⁴⁶

"Sidera errantia," hoc est errantes et apostatas significat; ex huiusmodi stellis sunt, qui angelorum cecidere de sedibus, quibus propter apostasian "caligo tenebrarum reservatur in sempiternum." "Prophetavit autem de his septimus," inquit, "ab Adam Enoch." His verbis prophetiam comprobat.

"Wandering stars" (Jude 13): this "wandering" means "apostate ones," being those stars who were angels who fell from their seats. For their apostasy, "the thick gloom of darkness is reserved forever" (ibid.). He says: "Enoch, who was the seventh from Adam, also prophesied about them" (Jude 14). With these words he confirms the prophecy.⁴⁷

⁴² W. Wigan Harvey, ed., *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis: Libros quinque adversus haereses* (2 vols; Cantabrigiae: Typis Academicis, 1857), 1:90–1. See also Lawlor, "Early Citations," 196; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 11.

⁴³ Cf. Jude 15: ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων.

⁴⁴ Quoting this phrase from Eph 6:12. See BDAG², 679.

⁴⁵ See especially the remarks of Reed on this passage in her *Fallen Angels*, 149–52. VanderKam ("1 Enoch," 42–3) calls attention to this passage's "verbal similarity" to 1 En. 106:13–14. Perhaps an even closer correlation can be made with 1 En. 108:3–6.

⁴⁶ Otto Stählin, ed., *Clemens Alexandrinus, Dritter Band: Stromata Buch VII und VIII, Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae Propheticae, Quis dives salvetur, Fragmente* (GCS 17; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909), 208.14–17. See also Lawlor, "Early Citations," 201 n. 3.

⁴⁷ See also ANF 2:573.

Tertullian, *De Idololatria* 15.6 (ed. Reifferscheid and Wissowa):⁴⁸

haec igitur ab initio praeuidens spiritus sanctus etiam ostia in superstitionem uentura praececinuit per antiquissimum propheten Enoch.

Thus the Holy Spirit, foreseeing these things from the beginning, predicted through Enoch, the oldest prophet, that even doors would become objects of superstition.⁴⁹

The “things” which this aspect of the deity foresaw were wicked demons co-opting and appropriating various objects and locales within the physical world in order to lead humanity astray and to encourage misdirected homage. Spaces of entrance into and egress from enclosed areas, such as doors, gates, and thresholds, are often identified by cultures as particularly vulnerable to the influences of malific forces.⁵⁰ But perhaps most interestingly, Tertullian here labels Enoch the “oldest” prophet, a distinctive view which was doubtlessly encouraged by the language used in Jude 14–15 and one which will recur in biblically affiliated literatures well into the medieval period. One might compare, for example, the report about Enoch below contained in the historical compendium of the tenth-century Muslim historian Maqdisī which identifies him as the first individual to be granted prophetic status after Adam.⁵¹

Priscillian, *Liber de fide et de apocryphis (Tractatus III)* 56–7 (ed. Schepss):⁵²

Quis est hic Enoc quem in testimonium profetae apostolus Iudas adsumpsit?... Aut fortassis Enoc profeta esse non meruit quem Paulus in epistula ad Hebraeos facta ante translationem testimonium habuisse testatur.... De quo si non ambigitur et apostolis creditur quod profeta est... praedicans deum propheta damnatur?⁵³

⁴⁸ August Reifferscheid and Georg Wissowa, eds, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera: Pars I* (CSEL 20; Lipsiae: G. Freytag, 1890), 48.15–17. Cf. also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 169; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 181; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. edn; 3 vols in 4; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), 3/1:262; J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. van Winden, *Tertullianus, De idololatria: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (VCSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 52.

⁴⁹ See also ANF 3:70–1; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 202 n. 3; Waszink and van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 53; VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 50–1; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 89 (who follows Lawlor in opining that this passage “may be another allusion” to *1 En.* 19:1).

⁵⁰ For the ominous character of doors, gates, and thresholds, see *Gen. Rab.* 91.6 (Theodor-Albeck, 1121); Lactantius, *Inst.* 2.14.12; Q 12:67; James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1913), 43; Bernhard Heller, “The Relation of the Aggada to Islamic Legends,” *Muslim World* 24 (1934): 283.

⁵¹ Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad’ wa’l-tā’rikh* (6 vols; ed. Clément Huart; Paris: E. Leroux, 1899–1919), 3:11.8–12.4. See also the remarks of William Adler, “Introduction,” in VanderKam and Adler, *Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 26.

⁵² Georgius Schepss, ed., *Priscilliani quae supersunt: Maximam partem nuper detexit adiectisque commentaris criticis et indicibus* (CSEL 18; Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1889), 44.19–20, 45.2–5, 9–10. See also Schürer, *History*, 3/1:263.

⁵³ See E.-Ch. Babut, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1909), 120–35; 160; 231–40; Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the*

against the commandment of our forefathers and descend from this holy mountain, he will never again re-ascend⁶⁰ it!”

Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām* (ed. Pāshā):⁶¹

كان ودّ وسواع ويعقوب ويعقوب ونسر قوما صالحين ماتوا في شهر فجزع عليهم ذوو أقاربهم فقال رجل من بني قابيل يا قوم هل لكم أن تعمل لكم خمسة أصنام على صورهم غير أني لا أقدر أن أجعل فيها أرواحا قالوا نعم فنحت لهم خمسة أصنام على صورهم ونصبها لهم فكان يأتي أخاه وعمه وابن عمه فيعظمه يسعى حوله حتى ذهب ذلك القرن الأوّل وعملت على عهد يردى بن مهلايل بن قينان بن أنوش بن شيث ابن آدم ثم جاء قرن آخر فعظموهم أشدّ من تعظيم القرن الأوّل ثم جاء من بعدهم القرن الثالث فقالوا ما عظم أولونا هؤلاء إلا وهم يرجون شفاعتهم عند الله فعبدوهم وعظم أمرهم وأشدت كفرهم فبعث الله إليهم إدريس عليه السلام وهو أخنوخ بن يارد بن مهلايل بن قينان نبيا فدعاهم فكذبوه فرفعه الله اليه مكانا عليا.

Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq, and Nasr⁶² were pious people who died during the same month, and those who were their relatives were overcome with grief about them. Then an individual from the progeny of Qābil (i.e., Cain) said: "O, people! Shall I make for you five statues modeled upon their likenesses? I am however not able to put breath in them." They responded: "Yes!" So he sculptured five statues for them modeled upon their (relatives') likenesses and set them up for them.

A person would approach (the statue of) his brother, his uncle, or his cousin, venerate it, and walk around it until he would depart. This was the first generation, and it was done at the time of Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam.

Then another generation came, and they venerated them more intensely than the initial generation had done. After them the third generation came, and they said: "Our predecessors venerated these (statues) only because they hoped they could make intercession with God." Then they worshipped them and their power was revered, and their irreligion became much more acute. So God sent to them the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace, who is (the same as) Enoch b. Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān. Idrīs called upon them (to change their ways), but they did not believe him. Then God raised him to Himself "to a lofty place (Q 19:57)."⁶³

Ibn Hishām apud Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrat rasūl Allāh* (ed. Wüstenfeld):⁶⁴

قال ابو محمد عبد الملك بن هشام النحويّ هذا كتاب سيرة رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وآله) قال محمد بن عبد الله... بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم خليل الرحمن بن تراح وهو أزر بن ناحور بن ساروح بن راعو بن فالغ بن عيبر بن شالغ بن ارفخشذ بن سام ابن نوح

⁶⁰ Emend to *صعد*.

⁶¹ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām* (2nd edn; ed. Aḥmad Zaki Pāshā; Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1924), 51.10–52.8.

⁶² According to Q 71:23, these were five deities worshipped by the generation of Noah; see also the cognate tale found in al-Kisā'ī, p. 138.

⁶³ For another translation, see Nabih Amin Faris, *The Book of Idols: Being a Translation from the Arabic of the Kitāb al-Aṣnām by Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī* (Princeton Oriental Studies 14; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 44–5. Note also Julius Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (3rd edn; Berlin, 1927; repr., Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1961), 14; G. R. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 103–4. Hawting suggests that the synchronism with Yared is indebted to 1 En. 6:6.

⁶⁴ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Kitāb sīrat rasūl Allāh: Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāq bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hishām* (2 vols in 3; Göttingen: Dieterichs, 1858–60), 1/1:3.4–5, 10–14.

بن لامك بن متوشلخ بن خنوخ وهو إدريس النبي فيما يزعمون والله اعلم وكان أول بني آدم اعطي النبوة وخط بالقلم بن يرد بن مهليل بن قين بن يانوش بن شيث بن آدم (صلعم).

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām the grammarian said: This is the book *Sirat Rasūl Allāh* (i.e., Life of the Apostle of God). Muḥammad was the son of ‘Abdullah... b. Ishmael b. Abraham, the friend of the Compassionate One,⁶⁵ b. Terah—who is Āzar⁶⁶—b. Naḥor b. Serug b. Re’u b. Peleg b. ‘Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah b. Lamech b. Methuselah b. Enoch—who is (the same as) the prophet Idrīs according to what they claim, but God knows best; he was the first of the descendants of Adam to whom prophecy and writing with a pen were given—b. Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam. May God bless him and grant him deliverance!⁶⁷

Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr* to Q 19:56–7:⁶⁸

ادريس: وهو جد أبي نوح واسمه أخنوخ عليه السلام. انه كان صديقا: يعني مؤمنا بتوحيد الله عز وجل. نبيا.

“Idrīs” was the grandfather of the father of Noah, and his name was Akhnūkh (i.e., Enoch), upon whom be peace! The phrase “for he was a truthful one” means he was a believer in the unity of God, may He be praised and exalted, “a prophet.”

Wahb apud Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān*:⁶⁹

واخنوخ اسمه في التوراة عبراني وتفسيره بالعربي ادريس وهو ادريس عليه السلام واخنوخ اسمه سرياني وانزل في التوراة انه حي الى موت جميع الخلق وموت الملائكة فيدوق الموت حتما مقضيا وانه عاش في الارض ثلاث مائة سنة وخمسا وستين سنة ثم رفعه الله الى السماء السابعة فهو مع الملائكة وقال الله واذكر في الكتاب ادريس انه كان صديقا نبيا ورفعناه مكانا عليا وقال بعض اهل العلم ورفعناه مكانا عليا اي انه رفعه في النسب مكانا عليا ان ليس بعد آدم وشيث نبي غيره والله اعلم.

قال وهب ادريس النبي اول من كتب بيده من اهل الدنيا انزل عليه الكتاب السرياني وعلمه اياه جبريل فاوّل ما انزل الله تبارك وتعالى عليه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم في صحيفة ويعدّه في الصحيفة مكتوب شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو الى اخر الآية ثم انزل عليه ابجد الى اخرها فكتب وقرأ ولما رفع الله ادريس استخلف ابنه متوشلخ.

And the name (of Yared’s heir) in the Hebrew Torah is Enoch. Its meaning in Arabic pertains to learned studies. He is (the same as) Idris, upon whom be peace! The name “Enoch” is Syriac. It is revealed in the Torah that he remained alive while the all the rest of the created beings and the angels died. Then he had a taste of death “(as) a decree judicially decided” (Q 19:71). He was alive on earth for 365 years, and then God raised him up to the seventh heaven, and he is (now) together with the angels. God said: “Mention in the book Idrīs, for he was a truthful one, a prophet; and We raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:56–7). Some of the scholars say that (the Qur’ānic phrase) “and We raised him to a lofty place” means namely that

⁶⁵ A frequent appellation based on Q 4:125, which in turn channels Isa 41:8; 2 Chr 20:7; Jas 2:23; 1 Clem. 10:1.

⁶⁶ This is the Qur’ānic name for Abraham’s idol-worshipping father (Q 6:74).

⁶⁷ For another translation, see A[lfred]. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq’s Sirat Rasūl Allāh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 3.

⁶⁸ Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān* (3 vols; Beirut: Dār al-Katāb al-‘Ilmiyah, 2003), 2:316. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric “Enoch/Idrīs and the Angel of the Sun.”

⁶⁹ Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar ‘an Wahb ibn Munabbih...* (Hyderabad: Maṭba‘at Majlis Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyah, 1928), 21.16–22.12.

He elevated him "to a lofty place" with respect to his lineage, for after Adam and Seth there had been no other prophet (until he). But God knows best!

Wahb said: The prophet Idrīs was the first to write with his hand among the inhabitants of this world. The Scripture was revealed to him in Syriac, and Gabriel taught him its letters/verses. The first thing that God, may He be praised and exalted, revealed to him on a written page was "In the Name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful" (Q 1:1-7?), and next after it in writing on a page (He revealed to him) "God bears witness that there is no deity apart from Him" (Q 3:18) up to the end of the verse. Then he (Gabriel?) revealed to him the *abjad* (Semitic alphabet) to its end, and he wrote it down, and pronounced it. And after God raised Idrīs up, his son Methuselah replaced him.

‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta’rikh* (ed. Aguadé):⁷⁰

وتتابعت بنو إسرائيل على الفاحشة وزين لهم الشيطان أعمالهم وأحدث لهم الرباط وأنواع المزمار والملاهي الى زمن إدريس عليه السلام فنبأ الله إدريس وعلمه الخط بالقلم فهو أول من خط بالقلم وهو أنفع العلوم وأشرفها. . . .

ثم أنزل الله على إدريس الميزان وهو القسطاس بالرومية والعربية قال الله عز وجل وزنوا بالقسطاس المستقيم. . . .

وأنزل الله على إدريس ثلاثين صحيفة فلم يزل إدريس ومن كان معه على تينك الركعتين اللتين كان آدم صلأهما تطوعا حتى مات. قال: وإيها سمى إدريس لكثرة درسه لذكر الله عز وجل والكتب وكان خياطاً فاذا وحز بالإبرة وحزة ذكر الله معها وإذا أخرجها ذكر الله مع إخراجها. فشكر الله فعله فسمأه إدريس وإيها اسمه أخنوخ ولم يكن في زمانه أكثر ذكرا الله منه كان يرتفع الى السماء في كل يوم من ذكره أكثر ممأ يرتفع من ذكر أهل زمانه. . . .

قال الله عز وجل واذكر في الكتاب إدريس انه كان صديقا نبيا ورفعهناه مكانا عليا يعنى في السماء الرابعة.

The children of Israel pursued licentiousness and Satan embellished their deeds for them. He introduced the lute for them, as well as the different kinds of songs and musical instruments up until the time of Idris, upon whom be peace! God made Idris a prophet, and He taught him how to write with a pen. Thus he became the first person who wrote with a pen, and it was very useful for the sciences and their advancement. . .

Later God revealed the balance to Idrīs. This is the (pair of) scales used by the Romans and the Arabs. God, may He be exalted and extolled, has said: "Weigh using accurate scales!" (Q 26:182; cf. also 17:35). . .

And God revealed thirty books to Idrīs. Idrīs never ceased, nor did those who were with him, from performing those prostrations which were part of Adam's prayers until his death. They say he was named "Idrīs" due to the breadth of his study as it pertained to the invocation of God, may He be exalted and praised, and His scripture. He became a tailor, and whenever he pierced a hole with the needle he would invoke God at the same time, and whenever he pulled it back out, he would simultaneously invoke God. God rewarded his behavior and then renamed him "Idrīs." His (former) name however was Enoch. During his time invocation of God was relatively rare: each day there would rise to heaven more invocations from him than would rise from (the rest of) the people of his time. . .

⁷⁰ ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-ta’rikh* (ed. Jorge Aguadé; Madrid: al-Majlis al-‘Alā lil-Abhāth al-‘Ilmīyah, 1991), 35.20–36.2; 36.7–8; 36.13–18; 36.22–37.1.

God, may He be exalted and extolled, said: "Mention in the book Idrīs, for he was a truthful one, a prophet; and We raised him to a lofty place." (Q 19:56–7). It means (he was raised up) to the fourth heaven.⁷¹

Pseudo-Aṣma'ī, *Nihāyat al-arab fi akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (ed. Dānish-Pazhūh):⁷²

وكان اخنوخ أول نبي بعث من ولد آدم بعد شيث.

Enoch was the first prophet sent from among the descendants of Adam after Seth.

Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau):⁷³

أول نبي بعث في الأرض بعد آدم إدريس وهو اخنوخ ابن يرث وهو اليارث.

[According to Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī—his father—Abū Šāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās:] The first prophet sent to earth after Adam was Idrīs—he being Enoch b. Yaredh, that is al-Yāredh.⁷⁴

Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. Girgas):⁷⁵

وكان أول نبي بعد شيث إدريس واسمه اخنوخ بن يرد بن مهليل.

The first prophet after Seth was Idrīs, and his name was Enoch b. Yared b. Mahalalel.

Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha):⁷⁶

وولد لشيث أنوش وبنون وبنات وولد لأنوش قينان وولد لقينان مهلاييل وولد لمهلاييل اليارث وولد لليارث أخنوخ وهو إدريس عليه السلام.

قال وهب بن منبه إن إدريس النبي عليه السلام كان رجلا طويلا ضخما البطن عريض الصدر قليل شعر الجسد كثير شعر الرأس وكانت إحدى أذنيه أعظم من الأخرى وكانت في جسده نكتة بيضاء من غير برص وكان رقيق الصوت رقيق المنطق قريب الخطى إذا مشى وإنما سمي إدريس لكثرة ما كان يدرس من كتاب الله تعالى وستن السلام وأنزل الله تعالى عليه ثلاثين صحيفة وهو أول

⁷¹ See also van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 166.

⁷² [Pseudo-Aṣma'ī], *Nihāyat al-arab fi akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-Pazhūh; Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1996), 9.5. Important information about this source is in Edward G. Browne, "Some Account of the Arabic Work Entitled "Nihāyatu'l-irab fi akhbār'il-Furs wa'l-'Arab; Particularly of That Part Which Treats of the Persian Kings," *JRAS* (1900): 195–259; Mario Grignaschi, "La Nihāyatu-l-'Arab fi Aḥbār-i-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab (première partie)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 22 (1969): 15–67; Mario Grignaschi, "La Nihāyatu-l-'Arab fi Aḥbār-i-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab et les Siyaru Mulūki-l-'Aḡam du Ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffā," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 26 (1973): 83–184; Sarah Bowen Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory, and Conversion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 156–8. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

⁷³ Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (9 vols; ed. Eduard Sachau, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1905–40), 1/1:16.15–16. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise."

⁷⁴ The asserted fluctuation between Yared and "al-Yāred" is also related in Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:166.3; 172.7. The identification of the prophet Idrīs with biblical Enoch b. Yared was asserted earlier in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau), 1/1:16.2.

⁷⁵ Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (ed. Vladimir Girgas; Leiden: Brill, 1888), 3.8–10. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as Idrīs."

⁷⁶ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (2nd edn; ed. Tharwat 'Ukkāsha; Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1969), 20.8–21.8.

من خط بالقلم وأول من حاك الثياب ولبسها وكانت من قبله يلبسون الجلود واستجاب له الف إنسان ممن كان يدعوهم فلما رفعه الله اختلفوا بعده وأحدثوا الاحداث الى زمن نوح وهو ابو جد نوح ورفع وهو ابن ثلاثمائة وخمس وستين سنة. وفي التوراة إن اخنوخ أحسن خدام الله فرفعه الله إليه وولد لإدريس النبي عليه السلام متوشلخ على ثلاثمائة سنة من عمره وولد لمتوشلخ ملك وولد للملك غلام فسماه نوحا.

To Seth was born Enosh, as well as (other) sons and daughters,⁷⁷ and to Enosh was born Kenan, and to Kenan was born Mahalalel, and to Mahalalel was born Yared, and to Yared was born Enoch, and he is Idris, upon whom be peace!

According to Wahb b. Munabbih, Idrīs the prophet—upon whom be peace—was a tall man (and) had a large stomach. He was broad-chested and had very little body hair, (although) he had an abundance of hair on his head. One of his ears was larger than the other. There was a white spot on his body that was not a leprosy scar. He was soft-spoken and gentle in his manner of speaking and took short steps when he strode. He bore the name “Idrīs” on account of the quantity of knowledge and religious practices which he learned from the Scripture of God Most Exalted. God Most Exalted revealed to him thirty scrolls. He was the first to write with a pen⁷⁸ and the first to weave (cloth) garments and wear them. Those who lived before his time wore animal skins.⁷⁹ He was questioned by a thousand men with regard to what he required of them,⁸⁰ but when God raised him up (to heaven) they disobeyed him and acted wickedly until the time of Noah. He was the great-grandfather of Noah. He was raised up (to heaven by God) at the age of 365 years.⁸¹

According to the Torah, Enoch was the most excellent servant of God, and so God raised him up to Him.⁸² To Idrīs the prophet—upon whom be peace—was born Methuselah after three hundred years of his life.⁸³ And to Methuselah was born Lamech, and to Lamech was born a boy, and he named him Noah.⁸⁴

Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Houtsma):⁸⁵

ثم قام بعد يرد اخنوخ بن يرد... واخذ بنو شيث ونساؤهم وابناؤهم في الهبوط فعظم ذلك على اخنوخ فدعا ولده متوشلخ وملكاً ونوحاً فقال لهم ائى اعلم ان الله معذب هذه الامة عذاباً عظيماً ليس فيه رحمة... وهو ادريس النبي.

Then after Yared there arose Enoch, the son of Yared... He admonished the descendants of Seth, together with their wives and children, about descending (from the mountain), for this (behavior) distressed Enoch. He summoned his

⁷⁷ Cf. Gen 5:7: *... واولد بني وبنوه...*

⁷⁸ Perhaps 2 *En.* 22:12 lies behind this tradition?

⁷⁹ This list of “firsts,” also attributed to Wahb, is repeated by Ibn Qutayba, *K. al-ma'arif* (ed. Ukkāsha), 552.9–11.

⁸⁰ A context similar to what is in 2 *Enoch* 64–7? See the discussion, p. 143.

⁸¹ Cf. Gen 5:23.

⁸² Cf. Gen 5:24 and the remarks of Georges Vajda, “Judeo-Arabica,” *REF* 98 (1935): 73.

⁸³ Compare Gen 5:21: *... واولد انا متوشلخ...* The 300-year period stems from a misunderstanding of Gen 5:22.

⁸⁴ See John C. Reeves, “Some Explorations of the Intertwining of Bible and Qur'an,” in John C. Reeves, ed., *Bible and Qur'an: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality* (Leiden/Atlanta: Brill/Society of Biblical Literature, 2003b), 48–9.

⁸⁵ M. T. Houtsma, ed., *Ibn Wadīh qui dicitur al-Ja'qūbī historiae...* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1:8.17–21; 9.1; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (2 vols; Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960), 1:11.16–20. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

offspring—Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah—and said to them: “I know that God will inflict a great merciless punishment on this generation!” ... He is (the same figure as) Idris the prophet.

Ibn Ishāq apud Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje):⁸⁶

ثم نكح يرد فيما حدثنا ابن حميد قال نأ سلمة عن ابن اسحاق وهو ابن مائة سنة واثنين وستين سنة بركا ابنة الدرسميل بن محويل بن خنوخ بن قين بن آدم فولدت له اخنوخ بن يرد واخنوخ ادريس النبي وكان اول بني آدم أعطى النبوة فيما زعم ابن اسحاق وخط بالقلم فعاش يرد بعد ما ولد له اخنوخ ثمانمائة سنة وولد له بنون وبنات فكان كلما عاش يرد تسعمائة سنة واثنين وستين سنة ثم مات.

As we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, Yared was 162 years old when he married⁸⁷ Barak<y>ā,⁸⁸ the daughter of al-Darimasīl b. Maḥūyāl b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.⁸⁹ She bore to him his son Enoch, and Enoch is Idrīs the prophet. He was the first of the descendants of Adam granted prophecy—so Ibn Ishāq maintained⁹⁰—and the first to write with a pen. Yared lived after he had fathered Enoch (another) 800 years, and he fathered (additional) sons and daughters. The total lifespan for Yared was 962 years. Then he died.⁹¹

“another (authority) from the people of the Torah” apud Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje):⁹²

وقال غيره من اهل التوراة ولد ليرد اخنوخ وهو ادريس فبناؤه الله عز وجل وقد مضى من عمر آدم ستمائة سنة واثنان وعشرون سنة وانزل عليه ثلثون صحيفة وهو اول من خط بعد آدم وجاهد في سبيل الله وقطع الثياب وخاطها واوّل من سبى من ولد قابيل فاسترق منهم وكان وصي والده يرد فيما كان اباؤه اوصوا به اليه وفيما اوصى به بعضهم بعضا وذلك كله من فعله في حياة آدم.

قال وتوفي آدم (ع) بعد ان مضى من عمر خنوخ ثلثمائة سبة وثمان سنين تمتة تسعمائة وثلثين سنة التي ذكرنا انها عمر آدم. قال ودعا خنوخ قومه ووعظهم وامرهم بطاعة الله عز وجل ومعصية الشيطان والا يلبسوا ولد قابيل فلم يقبلوا منه وكانت العصابة بعد العصابة من ولد شيث تنزل الى ولد قابيل.

قال وفي التوراة ان الله تبارك وتعالى رفع ادريس بعد الثلثمائة سنة وخمس وستين سنة مضت من عمره وبعد خمسمائة سنة وسبع وعشرين سنة مضت من عمر ابيه فعاش ابوه بعد ارتفاعه اربعمائة وخمسا وثلثين سنة تمام تسعمائة واثنين وستين سنة وكان عمر يارد تسعمائة واثنين وستين سنة وولد خنوخ وقد مضت من عمر يارد مائة واثنان وستون سنة.

⁸⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:172.14–173.1.

⁸⁷ According to Gen 5:18, Yared was 162 years old when he fathered Enoch.

⁸⁸ Read بركا in place of بركا on the basis of Maqdisī (below, p. 133). This would be close to the spelling of the name of Yared's wife given in *Jub.* 4:16 (ⲛⲓⲕⲏ), the ultimate source of at least the wife's name. See also the scholion to Gen 5:18 found in P. A. de Lagarde's Greek Ms. r of Genesis: γυνὴ ἰάρεδ βαραχα θυγάτηρ ἀσουήλ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ. Syriac fragments give the name as ܩܒܝܠ ܩܘܡܐ ܕܐܕܡ. The latter texts are cited from R. H. Charles, *Maṣḥafa Kufālē, or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895), 16 n. 8.

⁸⁹ The more distant ancestors stem from the so-called “Cainite genealogy” found in Gen 4:17–24. *Jub.* 4:16 states: “her name was Bāraka, the daughter of Rasuyāl (who was) the daughter of his father's sister”; most translations correct the Ethiopic textual tradition's “sister” to “brother” on the basis of the Greek and Syriac witnesses cited in the preceding note.

⁹⁰ Other authorities give Seth this distinction. For some further references, see Cornelia Schöck, *Adam im Islam: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Sunna* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1993), 14 n. 62; 31–2. Note however the tradition recounted in Hamdānī (allegedly from Ka'b al-Aḥbār), p. 93.

⁹¹ Essentially a translation of Gen 5:18–20.

⁹² Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.1–18.

Another (authority) from the people of the Torah said (that) Enoch—who is Idrīs—was born to Yared. God (may He be praised and glorified!) made him a prophet after 622 years had elapsed from the lifespan of Adam.⁹³ He revealed thirty scrolls to him. He was the first after Adam to write and to dedicate himself to the path of God, and (the first) to cut and stitch clothing. He was the first to capture some of the offspring of Qābil and to enslave them.⁹⁴ He was the designated successor of his father Yared: he committed to him that which his forefathers had bequeathed to him and to each one succeeding them. All of this he accomplished during the lifetime of Adam.

(The same source) said (that) Adam (upon whom be peace!) died after Enoch had lived for 308 years, (thus) completing the 930 years we mentioned (earlier) as being the lifespan of Adam.⁹⁵ (The same source) said (that) Enoch sent for his people and warned them, and commanded them to obey God, may He be praised and glorified, and to resist Satan, and not to associate with the descendants of Qābil.⁹⁶ However, they did not submit to him. Group after group of the descendants of Seth began descending (the mountain) to the descendants of Qābil.

It says in the Torah that God, may He be praised and glorified, raised up Idrīs when he was 365 years old and when his father was 527 years old.⁹⁷ After his ascension, his father lived another 435 years to complete 962 years. This was the lifespan of Yared; namely, 962 years. Enoch was born when Yared was 162 years old.

Abū Dharr *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje):⁹⁸

وقد حدثنا احمد بن عبد الرحمان بن وهب قال حدثني عمي قال حدثني الماضي بن محمد عن ابي سليمان عن القاسم بن محمد عن ابي ادريس الخولاني عن ابي ذر الغفاري قال قال لي رسول الله (صلعم) يا ابا ذر اربعة يعني من الرسل سريانئون آدم وشيث ونوح وخنوخ وهو اول من خط بالقلم وانزل الله تعالى على خنوخ ثلاثين صحيفة.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wāḥb—his paternal uncle—al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad—Abū Sulaymān—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Abū Idrīs al-Khawḷānī—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, the Messenger of God (may peace be upon him!) said to me, “O Abū Dharr! Four—meaning messengers—were Syrians: Adam, Seth, Noah, and Enoch, and he (the latter) was the first to write with a pen. God (may He be exalted!) revealed thirty scrolls to Enoch.”⁹⁹

⁹³ Corresponding to the year of Enoch's birth according to the *anno mundi* chronology of the Hebrew Masoretic Text.

⁹⁴ A confusion with a tradition usually associated with Seth. See Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 85–6; C. Huart and C. E. Bosworth, “Shīth,” *EI* 9:489.

⁹⁵ This correlates with the calculation found in the rabbinic chronography known as *Seder 'Olam*. We read therein: חנוך קבר אדם וחיה אחריו חמשים ושבע שנה “Enoch buried Adam and lived after him fifty-seven years.” The 308 of our text plus the 57 of *Seder 'Olam* yields a sum of 365 years, which is the amount of time which scriptural texts say that Enoch lived on earth. The text of *Seder 'Olam* is quoted from Milikowsky, *Seder Olam*, 1:219.2–3.

⁹⁶ Compare *Sub.* 4:22 and the traditions contained in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*.

⁹⁷ This latter computation is not expressed in Gen 5:18–20, although it can easily be generated from the data provided.

⁹⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:174.1–6.

⁹⁹ For another reference to this tradition, see Brannon Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 113.

"anonymous tradents" *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* (ed. de Goeje):¹⁰⁰

وقد زعم بعضهم ان الله بعث ادريس الى جميع اهل الارض في زمانه وجمع له علم الماضين وان الله عز وجل زاده مع ذلك ثلاثين صحيفة قال فذلك قول الله عز وجل ان هذا لفي الصحف الاولى صحف ابراهيم وموسى وقال يعنى بالصحف الاولى التى انزلت على ابن آدم هبة الله وادريس عليهما السلام.

Some of them maintain that God sent Idrīs to all the people of the earth living during his era.¹⁰¹ He collected for him the knowledge of his predecessors, and God, may He be praised and exalted, augmented it with those thirty scrolls. (The same source) says (that) this is (the significance) of the divine scripture: "This is in the first scrolls, the scrolls of Ibrāhīm and Mūsā" (Q 87:18–19). (The same source) says, the phrase "first scrolls" means those that were revealed to the son of Adam, Hibat Allāh (i.e., Seth),¹⁰² and to Idrīs, upon whom be peace.¹⁰³

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḥ* (ed. Huart):¹⁰⁴

قصة ادريس النبي (ع) يزعم اهل هذا العلم انه اخوخ بن يارد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن انوش بن شيث بن آدم واهمه بركيا بنت الدرسيلا بن محويل بن اخوخ بن قين بن آدم واقما سمي ادريس لكثرة درسه وهو اول نبي اعطى الرسالة بعد آدم وكان مستخلفا خلافة نبوة لا خلافة رسالة وادريس اول من خط بالقلم بعد آدم واول من خاط الثياب ولبسها وكان من قبله يلبسون الجلود وكان ولد آدم حى وتباه الله بعد وفاة آدم وانزل عليه النجوم والطب واسمه عند اليونانيين هرمس وكان يصعد له من العمل في كل يوم مثل عمل بنى آدم كلهم فشكر الله ذلك له فرفعه مكانا عليا.

Story of Idrīs the prophet, upon whom be peace! People who know this lore claim that he is (the same as) Enoch b. Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam. His mother was Barakyā, daughter of al-Darmasālā b. Maḥūyal b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.¹⁰⁵ He received the name "Idrīs" on account of the large number of his scholarly pursuits.¹⁰⁶ He was the first prophet given a message after Adam, the one whom he succeeded being of the succession of the prophets (and) not of the succession of messengers. Idrīs was the first after Adam to write with a pen, and he was the first to stitch together garments and wear them. Prior to this (development) one would simply wear animal skins. The children of Adam were alive when God made him a prophet, but it was after the death of Adam. He revealed to him information about astronomy and medicine. By the Greeks he is named Hermes. More service would ascend from him each day than the service offered by all (the

¹⁰⁰ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:174.7–11.

¹⁰¹ A reference perhaps to Manichean prophethood? Hermeticism also constructs a universal mission for some of its teachers.

¹⁰² "Hibat Allah" means "gift of God." See Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 1/1:152.18–21, which connects the designation with Gen 4:25.

¹⁰³ See also Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume I: General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 342–4. This interpretation suggests that the "scrolls" in question were not those authored by Abraham or Moses, but rather "earlier scriptures" which came into their possession.

¹⁰⁴ Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḥ* (ed. Huart), 3:11.8–12.4. For information about this source, see the anonymous article "al-Muṭaḥhar b. Ṭāhīr al-Maqdisī," *EI* 7:762; also Tarif Khalidi, "Mu'tazilite Historiography: Maqdisī's *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḥ*," *JNES* 35 (1976): 1–12.

¹⁰⁵ Compare *Jub.* 4:16; Ibn Ishāq *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:172.14–173.1; and 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi al-tāriḥ* (14 vols in 7; ed. Carl Johan Tornberg; Leiden: Brill, 1851–76), 1:42.20–1. But see Tha'labī, p. 136.

¹⁰⁶ Compare Ibn Qutayba, *K. al-ma'ārif*, p. 130.

other) humans,¹⁰⁷ and God decided he deserved recognition for this (activity), so He “raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:57).¹⁰⁸

Ka'b al-Aḥbār apud Hamdānī, *Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren):¹⁰⁹

ثم اوصى بعده الى ادريس واسمه في التوراة اخنوخ وشالت وكان اول نبي بعثه الله وعلمه الحساب والكتاب فلم يطعه احد من ولد شيث واختلطوا بنسل قايين فرفع الله اليه ادريس كما قال جل ثناؤه ورفعناه مكانا عليا واستخلف ادريس بعده المتوشخ يحذر الناس العذاب ثم اوصى من بعده الى ابنه ملك واسمه في التوراة لامك فكان ملك يعظهم ويخبرهم ان العذاب سينزل بهم فكانوا يوذونه فبعث الله اليهم نوحا صلى الله عليه وكان شالت يحسب بالنجوم فرأى في حساب ان الارض ستغرق ومن عليها وذلك قول الله تعالى يعلمون ظاهرا من الحياة الدنيا وهم عن الآخرة هم غافلون فدعا شالت متوشخ وملكاً ونوحاً فقال أي بني قد علمت ان الله يعذب هذا الأمة التي ليس فيها رحمة وأنتم بقية هذا الجيل يعني جيل القدس فليكن منكم رجل إماماً لقومه ولاكن اعملوا بالصبر واليقين والاخلاص فلما قضى وصيته ذهب الله له الى المكان الذي ليس يجيه فيه الموت سلطان ولم يبق من بني شالت في الجيل المقدس الا هولاء الثلاثة متوشخ وملك ونوح وأهلهم وامرهم ان لا يهبطوا الى الارض التي فيها بنو قايين الملعون وكان اخنوخ عالماً بالطوفان وكان يكتب هذا العلم في صفايح الحديد والحجارة ولبقيها في الماء ويدفنها وكانت الغش تزدد في الدنيا حتى كان أيام نوح.

(According to Ka'b al-Aḥbār): Then he (i.e., Yared) appointed Idris as executor (of God's laws) after him: his name(s) in the Torah are Enoch (Akhnūkh) and Shālt (*sic*).¹¹⁰ He (i.e., Idrīs) was the first prophet whom God called. He taught him computation and writing/Scripture. Not a single one of the descendants of Seth would obey him; instead, they mixed promiscuously with the progeny of Cain. So God raised Idrīs up to Him, as His exalted praise iterates: “We raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:57). Idrīs appointed Methuselah to be his successor after him: he would warn the people about the (coming) punishment. Then he designated his son Lamech to be his legatee after him. His name in the Torah is Lāmek. Lamech would warn them and appeal to them about the punishment that was going to descend upon them and (how) they would suffer harm from it.

Then God sent Noah to them—may God bless him! Shālt (*sic*) was computing with the stars and he saw in his calculation that the earth and those on it would be drowned in water. And this (accords) with the speech of God Most Exalted: “They know the superficial aspect of the present life, and they are forgetful of the End” (Q 30:7). So Shālt (*sic*) summoned Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah and said: “O my

¹⁰⁷ See Ibn Sa'd, p. 42; and Tha'labī, p. 43.

¹⁰⁸ Compare 3 *Enoch* §9 (ed. Schäfer): “this one whom I took from among them is the choicest one of them all. He is the equal of all the rest of them in piety, righteousness, and proper behavior. Therefore I removed this one as My reward in My world beneath all the heavens.”

¹⁰⁹ Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl: Erstes Buch* (ed. Oscar Löfgren; 2 vols; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1954–65), 1:25.11–26.6, 8–10.

¹¹⁰ Almost certainly a corruption of “Seth” or even the gnostic cognomen “Sethel.” The text at this point begins to follow closely the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* narrative found in Carl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle “Mē'ārath Gazzē”* (2 vols; Leipzig, 1883–8; repr., 2 vols in 1; Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1981), 2:70ff., esp. 73.3–13; CT §§13.14–14.1 (ed. Ri, 1:102–5). Note also the so-called *Chronicle of Zūqnīn* (J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* [2 vols; CSCO 91, 104; Paris: Reipublicae, 1927–33], 1:7.24ff.) and especially the *Kitāb al-Majāll* or “Book of Rolls” apud Margaret Dunlop Gibson, ed., *Apocrypha Arabica* (Studia Sinaitica 8; London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1901), 22–3 (text); 23 (trans.); reprinted by A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *La Caverna dei Tesori: Testo arabo con traduzione italiana e commento* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor, 26; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1979), 22–3.

sons! I know that God will punish this people mercilessly!¹¹¹ You are all that remains of this people (i.e., of a holy people)¹¹² and there will arise from among you a man who will be the *imām* for his community.¹¹³ However, conduct yourselves in the meantime with patience, conviction, and faithfulness!" After he had finished his testament, God conducted him to a place where death exercised no authority.¹¹⁴ Of the descendants of Shālt (*sic*), none remained on the sacred <mountain>¹¹⁵ except for those three; namely, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, together with their families.¹¹⁶ They were ordered to never go down to the land which was inhabited by the abominable descendants of Cain. . . .

Enoch had gained knowledge about the Flood. He wrote down this information on sheets of iron and (slabs of) stone, and then he tossed them in the water and submerged them.¹¹⁷ Corruption continued to increase in the present world until the days of Noah.

Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perush le-Torah shīṭah aḥeret* to Gen 5:29 (ed. Weiser):¹¹⁸

אולי חנוך ראה בדרך נבואה כי נח החיה העולם ועל ידו סרה הקללה מהאדם . . . או ראה זה במזלו כי ספרים רבים חבר בחכמות רבות והם היום נמצאים.

Perhaps Enoch discerned via prophecy that Noah would revitalize the world, and that it would be through his agency that the curse would be removed from the ground . . . or he saw this (destiny) in his constellation (i.e., horoscope), for he (Enoch) authored many books on many types of learning, and they (these books) remain extant today.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ Compare *Kitāb al-Majāll* (ed. Gibson, 22.18–20): فدعا ممتولخ ولامك ونوح وقال انا اعلم ان الرب سغضب على: "and he (Enoch!) summoned Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, and said: 'I know that the Lord will become irritated with this people, and he will pronounce against them a merciless verdict.'"

¹¹² Compare *Kitāb al-Majāll* (ed. Gibson, 22.20–1): . . . وانتم بقية اليا والاجيال المقدسة . . . "But you, the ones who remain of the fathers and of the holy peoples."

¹¹³ Compare *Kitāb al-Majāll* (ed. Gibson, 22.22–23): واعلموا انه لن يولاد في هذا الطور المقدس بعدكم انسان يكون: "Know that there will not be born after you on this holy mountain a man who will serve as a father and leader for his people."

¹¹⁴ Compare *Kitāb al-Majāll* (ed. Gibson, 22.23–23.1): وما استتم اخنوخ وصيته هذا رفعه الله ال ارض الحياة وجعله: "And after Enoch finished this testament, God raised him up to the Land of Life and made him reside near Paradise in a country where death is not present."

¹¹⁵ Emending الجبل to الجبل in accordance with the *Cave of Treasures* cycle of traditions. Note however the text of Ms. Paris BN arabe 76 fol. 12b (= Arabic *Apoc. Pet.*?): وانتم يقايا هذا الاجيال وانه ليس يولد: "And you are the remnant of this tribe: no other people will be born after you on this holy mountain to become a leader for the members of its people"; text quoted from Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, 2:73.5–7.

¹¹⁶ Compare *Kitāb al-Majāll* (ed. Gibson, 23.2–3): فلم يبق منهم على الطور غير الثلاثة اليا ممتولخ ولامك ونوح: "And there did not remain any of them (i.e., of the descendants of Seth) on the mountain except for the three forefathers Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah."

¹¹⁷ Alternatively: "he inscribed a certain character on sheets of iron and (slabs of) stone, threw them into the water, and suppressed them (from flooding)." This anecdote does not appear in the *Cave of Treasures* or its related literatures.

¹¹⁸ Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perushey ha-Torah* (3 vols; ed. Asher Weiser; Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1977), 1:174.

¹¹⁹ Compare Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Zakarīya Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie* (2 vols; Göttingen, 1848–9; reprinted, Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1967), 2:179.4–5; note Moshe Idel, "Hermeticism and Judaism," in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus, eds,

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (p. 77), the language used by Ibn Ezra here closely parallels what the geographer Qazwīnī says a couple of centuries later: “And there are some people who allege that ‘the first Hermes,’ the one whom the Greeks (*sic!*) call Akhnūkh b. Yared b. Mahalā’īl b. Qaynān b. Enōsh b. Shith b. Adam (upon whom be peace!), and who is Idrīs, learned about the Flood of Noah either by revelation, or because he was informed about it from the positions of the stars.”¹²⁰ Qazwīnī however does not explicitly employ the words “prophet” or “messenger,” although the term “revelation” (*waḥy*) arguably implies that Enoch indeed enjoyed such status.¹²¹

Tha’labī, ‘Arā’is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā:¹²²

قال الله تعالى واذكر في الكتاب ادريس انه كان صديقا نبيا (قال اهل العلم) باخبار الماضين وقصص النبيين هو ادريس بن يرد وقيل ياريد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن انوش بن شيث بن آدم واسمه اخنوخ وسمى ادريس لكثرة درسه الكتب وصحف آدم وشيث وأمه اشوت.

وكان ادريس اول من خط بالقلم واول من خاط الثياب ولبس الخيط واول من نظرق علم النجوم والحساب بعثه الله الى ولد قابيل ثم رفعه الى السماء.

God Most Exalted said: “Mention in the book Idrīs, for he was a truthful one, a prophet...” (Q 19:56–7). (Scholars say) in narratives about past peoples and in tales about the prophets (that) Idrīs was the son of Yared—he is said to be Yārid b. Mehālā’īl b. Qīnān b. ‘Anūš b. Šīth b. Adam—and his name was ‘Akhnūkh, but he was called Idrīs on account of his intensive study of the books and scrolls of Adam¹²³ and Seth. His mother was (named) ‘Ašūt.

Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), 62–3; Moshe Idel, “Hermeticism and Kabbalah,” in Paolo Lucentini, Ilaria Parri, and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, eds, *Hermeticism from Late Antiquity to Humanism: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Napoli, 20–24 novembre 2001* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 402; Shlomo Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 185.

¹²⁰ See Chapter 2 (p. 76) for the full citation of this source.

¹²¹ John Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 209–10; Daniel A. Madigan, “Revelation and Inspiration,” in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qurān* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2001–6), 4:437–48, at 439–41.

¹²² Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq al-Nisābūrī al-Tha’labī, *Kitāb qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’ al-musammā bāl-‘arā’is* (Cairo: Al-Sharafiyyah, 1880), 46.10–15.

¹²³ With regard to Enoch’s study of Adamic writings, one might compare the cognate tradition found in the Samaritan “Adler Chronicle”: זה אחלקם ספר האמות אשר הכינו וכתבו אבינו אדם “this one (Enoch) studied the *Book of Letters* (or *Elements*) which our forefather Adam compiled and wrote”; quoted from Elkan N. Adler, “Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine,” *REJ* 44 (1902): 193. The notice in this relatively late chronicle is in turn indebted to the Samaritan apocryphon known as *Sefer Asafir*, where the Adamic book which Enoch learns is the “Book of Signs” (ספר האמות). See Z[iv]. Ben-Hayyim, “Sefer Asafir,” *Tarbiz* 14 (1942–3): 115; Moses Gaster, *The Asatir: The Samaritan Book of the “Secrets of Moses”* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927), 198–208. Compare also the Samaritan *Tūlida*, where one of the three “divine” books which circulated among God’s beloved ones between the eras of Adam and Moses was the “Book of Signs” (ספר האמות). See Ad[olf]. Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1873), 6–7 (text).

Idrīs was the first to write with a pen, the first to sew garments and clothing with thread, and the first to make astronomical observations and calculations. God sent him to the descendants of Qābil. Then He raised him to heaven.

Above we encountered testimonies from Ṭabarī and Maqdisī which reflect the information found in *Jub.* 4:16 that Enoch's mother (and Yared's wife) was named Barak(y)ā. The conflicting information supplied by Tha'labī about 'Ašūt being the name of Enoch's mother stems from an understandable conflation of the "Sethian" Enoch (Gen 5:21–4) with the "Cainite" Enoch (Gen 4:17), for 'Ašūt is the name borne by one of the wives of Cain.¹²⁴

Kisā'ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):¹²⁵

حديث ادريس النبي عليه السلام وكان ادريس على صورة جدّه شيت وهو اول من خطّ بالقلم بعد شيت واول من كتب في الصديقة وكان مشتغلا بالعبادة ومجالسة الصالحين حتى بلغ الحلم فانفرد بالعبادة حتى برز فيها على جميع من كان في عصره فجعله الله نبيا وانزل عليه ثلاثين صحيفة وورث صحف شيت وتابوت آدم عليه السلام وكان يتعيش من كد يديه وكان خياطا وهو اول من خاط الثياب فكان كلما حرز خرزة سبّح الله تعالى وقرده وربما كان يخط خرزا يغفل فيه عن التسبيح فكان يفتقه ثم يخط بالتسبيح حتى اتت عليه اربعون سنة فبعثه الله الى اولاد قابيل رسولا وكانت اولاد قابيل جبابرة في الارض مشتغلين بالملاهيّة والغناء والمزامير والطناير حتى ان احدهم كان لا يتحرّز بذلك من الناس وكان النفر منهم يجتمعون على المرأة فيزنون بها وكانت الشياطين معهم يزيّنون لهم عملهم وكانوا يزنون بالامهات والبنات والاخوات واختلط بعضهم ببعض وكانوا قد اتخذوا خمسة اصنام بتسويل الشياطين لهم ذلك على صورة اولاد قابيل وهم وذّ وسواع ويغووث ويعوق ونسرا وهذه اسماء اولاد قابيل فبعث الله تعالى اليهم ادريس عليه السلام يامرهم بعبادة الله والاقرار بانه رسول الله فكان يدعومهم الى ذلك وينهاهم عن المنكر ومع ذلك كان يقسم الدهر نصفين ثلاثة ايام من الجمعة كان يدعو القوم الى عبادة الله تعالى واربعة ايام كان يتعبّد حتى انه كان يصعد له في كل يوم من الاعمال الصالحة ما لا كان يصعد لجميع الناس من ولد آدم.

Tale about the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace! Idrīs was in the image of his ancestor Seth, and he was the first who wrote with a pen after Seth, and he was the first who wrote on a page. He was rigorous in (his) religious devotion and (in seeking out) the company of pious men until he had attained puberty. Then he isolated himself in order to practice devotion until he surpassed in it everyone else who lived in his time. God made him a prophet and revealed thirty writings to him. He also inherited the writings of Seth and the box (*tābūt*) of Adam.¹²⁶

He sustained himself by working with his hands: he became a tailor, and he was the first to sew garments. Whenever he would sew a seam, he would praise God Most High and sanctify Him, and if sometimes when he sewed a seam he would forget during it to offer praise, he would rip it apart, (and) then sew (it) while offering praise.

When he was 40 years old, God sent him as a messenger (*rasūl*) to the descendants of Qabil (i.e., Cain). The descendants of Qabil were giants on the earth, occupied

¹²⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:167.4–6: "According to Ibn Ishāq, Cain married his sister 'Ašūt, a daughter of Adam. She bore him a male and a female: Enoch b. Cain and "Eden bt. Cain." This same tradition is repeated by Ibn al-Athīr, *K. al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), 1:40.14–16. But compare the list of Adam and Eve's progeny found in Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:146.12–14: "Cain and his twin sister, Abel and Līvūdhā, 'Ašūt the daughter of Adam and her twin brother, Seth and his twin sister, and Ḥazūra and her twin brother." For (Ḥ)azūra as the sister of Seth, compare *Jub.* 4:7–8.

¹²⁵ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:81.17–82.15.

¹²⁶ See the preceding story in al-Kisā'ī's collection.

with amusements, singing, playing reed instruments, and strumming string instruments to the point that none of them exercised caution with regard to this (behavior) among the people. A gang of them would crowd around a woman and have sex with her, and the satans who were with them would commend them for their deed.¹²⁷ They would have sex with (their) mothers, daughters, and sisters, and they mixed indiscriminately with each other. Badgered by the satans, they acquired five idols for themselves (fashioned) according to the likeness of the descendants of Qabil, and they were (named) Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq, and Nasr,¹²⁸ these being the names of the descendants of Qabil.

God Most High sent Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) to them. He gave them directives with regard to the worship of God and sought (their) acknowledgment that he was the messenger (*rasūl*) of God. Then he appealed to them about this, and he prohibited them from engaging in abominable deeds. While doing this, he divided the period into two halves: three days of the week he would summon the people to the worship of God Most High, and the (remaining) four days he devoted himself to God's service, reaching the point that each day he would raise to Him more pious deeds than what all the rest of the progeny of Adam would raise.

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī):¹²⁹

ووعدهم انه سيأتي بعده عدة أنبياء وعرفهم ان من صفات النبي المبعوث ان يكون برينا من المذمات والآفات كلها كاملا في الفضائل الممدوحات كلها لا يقصر عن مسألة يسأل عنها مما في السموات والأرضين وأن يدل على ما فيه الشفاء من كل أم وأن يكون مستجاب الدعوة في كل ما طلبه من إنزال الغيث ورفع الآفات وغير ذلك من المطالب وأن يكون مذهبه ودعوته المذهب الذي يصلح به العالم وتكثر عمارته.

He (i.e., antediluvian Hermes) promised them (his contemporaries) that a number of prophets would be coming after him, and he announced to them that some of the attributes of the prophet who was sent (by God) are that he will be free of any reprehensible qualities and blemishes, perfect in every praiseworthy virtue, will not fail to answer correctly questions asked about anything in the heavens and the earths, and that he will point out a remedy for every pain found there, and that his prayers will be answered with regard to everything that he requests, such as the sending down of rain, the alleviation of plagues, and other sorts of requests, and that his doctrine and his preaching would be the doctrine which improves the world and which increases its prosperity.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Kitāb al-adwā' al-Kaldāniyyin*:¹³⁰

... أنه كان ملكا عمت مملكته أكثر المعمور ونبيا ذكره الله تعالى وهو إدريس عليه السلام وهو عند اليهود وقيل أخنوخ.

¹²⁷ Cf. Q 6:43; 8:48.

¹²⁸ According to Q 71:23, these were five deities worshipped by the generation of Noah. See the longer story provided by Ibn al-Kalbī (p. 126) and the annotations provided there.

¹²⁹ Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 9.13–18. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

¹³⁰ *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a, *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (4 vols; ed. 'Amir Najjār; Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyah al-'Ammah lil-Kitāb, 2001), 1:185.8–9. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric "Evaluated Positively or Neutrally."

... for he was a king whose kingdom encompassed most of the inhabited world, and a prophet whom God Most Exalted has mentioned—he being Idrīs, upon whom be peace, and the one who is called Enoch by the Jews.

Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg):¹³¹

فكان أول بني آدم أعطى النبوة.

And he (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) was the first one among the descendants of Adam granted prophecy.

Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert):¹³²

اختلف علماء الأمم في أول من تكلم في الحكمة وأركانها من الرياضة والمنطق والطبيعى والالهى وكل فرقة ذكرت الأول عندها وليس ذلك هو الأول على الحقيقة ولما أنعم الناظرون النظر رأوا أن ذلك كان نبوة أنزلت على إدريس وكل الأوائل المذكورة عند العالم نوعاهم من قول تلاميذه أو تلاميذ تلاميذه.

Erudite ones among the nations differed over the first one who spoke about wisdom and its basic principles, mathematics, logic, natural science, and theology, for each group thought that the first one belonged to it, but that one was not truly the first. When investigators thoroughly scrutinized (this state of affairs), they saw that these (things) were prophetic information revealed to Idrīs. All of those *Erfinder*en who are mentioned by the world somehow are dependant upon the teaching of his (i.e., Idrīs's) pupils or the pupils of his pupils.¹³³

Ṭabarsī, *Tafsir* to Q 19:56-57:¹³⁴

وقوله (مكانا عليا) رفيع الشأن برسالات الله تعالى.

The expression “a lofty place” refers to high status (i.e., the lofty rank of the prophetic mission on behalf of God Most High).¹³⁵

Here the widespread tradition of an actual ascent to heaven by Enoch/Idrīs is undermined by interpreting the wording of the qur'ānic passage metaphorically. His exemplary behavior among his sinful peers earned him a promotion to the status of “prophet.”¹³⁶

¹³¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *K. al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), 1:42.21–2. This passage is cited in abbreviated form by Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 88.

¹³² Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 1.5–9.

¹³³ For another translation, see Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation* (2nd edn; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 328.

¹³⁴ Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. H. M. 'Aqil; Beirut: Dār al-Balāgha, 1991), 81. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch as Idrīs.”

¹³⁵ Compare John Walbridge, *The Wisdom of the Mystic East: Suhrawardī and Platonic Orientalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 22–3.

¹³⁶ Some pertinent remarks on the hierarchical relationship between “prophets” and “ordinary humans” are provided by Shlomo Pines, “Shī'ite Terms and Conceptions in Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 165–251, at 178–92.

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:¹³⁷

وولد <ليارد> وهو ابن مائة سنة ابنه خنوخ ويقول بعض اهل التاريخ انه تم للعالم في وقته ألفان وستمائة سنة واربع سنين. وخنوخ هو ادريس النبي عليه السلام ونباه الله تعالى وسمي ادريس لكثرة درسه لكتاب الله عز وجل وستن الدين وانزل الله سبحانه وتعالى عليه ثلاثين صحيفة فكمملت الصحف المنزلة يومئذ ثلاثين صحيفة وعهد <يارد> الى خنوخ ورفع اليه وصية ابيه وعلمه العلوم التي كانت عنده ودفع اليه مصحف السر فلم يدفعه بعد شيث غير ادريس عليهما السلام. وفي بعض الأخبار انه اول من كتب [من ولد] آدم عليه السلام. وقال اخرون انه لم يخل قط جيل ولا امة من الكتاب لان ادريس بدت فيه النبوة وعلم عدة خطوط وامر يجمع المصاحف وتركها في الهيكل وامر بني آدم وغيرهم بدرسها. . . .
فجعله ابوه سالما الهيكل وعلمه المصحف وكان حريصا على دراستها وعلى الصوم والصلاة حق شب فنباه الله عز وجل على رأس اربعين سنة.

When <Yared>¹³⁸ was 100 years old, he engendered his son Enoch. Some of the chroniclers say that at that time the age of the world was 2,604 years.¹³⁹ Enoch is the prophet Idrīs (upon whom be peace!), and God Most High made him a prophet. He was named Idrīs because of his intensive study of the Scripture of God (may He be glorified and exalted!) and religious practices. God (may He be praised and extolled!) revealed thirty writings to him, and the writings that had been revealed up to that time were thirty (in number). <Yared> empowered Enoch and entrusted him with the legacy of his father. He taught him the knowledge which he had received from him, and he handed over to him the *Book of Secret(s)*¹⁴⁰ which had not been given to anyone else aside from Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) after (the time of) Seth.

According to some of the learned sages, he was the first person to write [among the descendants of] Adam (upon whom be peace!). Others say that no nation or people possessed any type of writing until prophecy manifested in Idrīs. He taught (them) the counting of lines, and he gave instructions about the binding together of pages and their depositing within a temple. He commanded the descendants of Adam and others about their study. . . .

His father put him unharmed in the temple, and he taught him the writings. He was diligent in his studies, and seriously applied himself to fasting and to prayer

¹³⁷ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān, wa-'ajā'ib al-buldān wa'l-ghāmir bi-al-mā' wa'l-imrān* (Cairo, 1938; repr., Beirut: Dār al-Andalus lil-ṭibā'ah wa'l-nashr, 1966), 77.14–78.2, 21–22. Regarding the spurious nature of this work, see B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, “Note sur un ouvrage attribué à Maçoudi,” *JA* 9. série, 7 (1896): 133–44; C[h]arles Peilat, “al-Mas'ūdī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn” *EI* 6:785; Michael Cooperson, “Mas'udi,” *EncIr*; Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 46.

¹³⁸ Printed edition reads بوارد; other manuscripts have يرد. Emend to يرد.

¹³⁹ Another manuscript reads 1640 years. Neither figure correlates with any known biblical chronology.

¹⁴⁰ Arabic مصحف السر. This is presumably the same book which is mentioned slightly earlier in Pseudo-Mas'ūdī's account as “the Book on the Secret of Kingship (*sic*)” (كتاب سر الملكوت) which the angel <Raziel> taught to Adam. . . they (Adam's successors) had transmitted it sealed without ever looking in it. A number of orthographic variants for this angel's name can be found in B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, *Làbrégé des merveilles* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1898), 85 n. 6. This appears to be an oikotype of the legend found in Jewish sources about the revelation of what is variously known therein as the *Sefer ha-Razim* (“Book of Secrets”), *Sefer ha-Yashar* (“Book of the Upright One”), or *Sefer Adam* (“Book of Adam”) to Adam and to Enoch by the same angel Raziel.

until he reached adulthood. Afterwards God (may He be glorified and exalted!) made him a prophet at the beginning of his fortieth year.

ENOCH AS AUTHORITY ON RELIGION AND ITS PRACTICES

Here are collected those sources wherein Enoch is credited with having a special expertise in the ritual and material aspects of religious observance. This occasionally goes so far as to credit Enoch explicitly with exercising the office of priest.¹⁴¹ There are passages to this effect already in the Second Temple era Hebrew *Book of Jubilees*. According to the Syriac rendering of *Jub.* 4:25, after his removal from human society, Enoch "was the first to make an offering of incense at the evening (sacrifice) for a pleasing aroma before the Lord on the Mountain of the South (*sic*)."¹⁴² He is credited by Noah in *Jub.* 7:38–9 with formulating and transmitting the set of authoritative ritual teachings which he is passing down to his own sons during the initial years of the postdiluvian age. In *Jub.* 21:10, information about the proper handling of leftover sacrificial meat is derived from ancestral writings ascribed to both Enoch and Noah. Another intriguing connection between knowledge about proper sacrificial ritual and Enoch occurs in the Slavonic Book of Enoch (*2 En.* 59:1–5):

He who acts lawlessly with the soul of an animal acts lawlessly with his own soul. For a person brings one of the clean animals to make a sacrifice on account of sin, so that he may have healing for his soul. If he brings it to the sacrifice from clean animals and birds <and cereals>, then there is healing for that person, and he will heal his soul. Everything that has been given to you for food, bind by four legs, so as to perform the healing properly. And there is healing and he will heal his soul. And he who puts to death any kind of animal without bonds, <puts his own soul to death> and acts lawlessly with his own flesh. And he who does any kind of harm whatsoever to any kind of animal in secret, it is an evil custom, and he acts lawlessly with his own soul.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 185–6; 5Q13 Frgs. 1 and 2 as reconstructed by Menahem Kister, "5Q13 and the *Avodah*: A Historical Survey and its Significance," *DSD* 8 (2001): 136–48, at 137; Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (trans. David Louvish; Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 93–4 and *passim*; Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 70–6, 113–20, 200–3; Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006a), 16–21, 28–30, 56–8.

¹⁴² $\text{ܐܢܫܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܢܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܢܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܢܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ}$. Text cited from Eugène Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés," *RB* 30 (1921): 73; see also James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (CSCO 510, scrip. aeth. 87; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), 263. The Ethiopic version(s) of *Jub.* 4:25–6 has suffered several corruptions which are discussed by VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*, 186–7. Absolutely clear however is that this verse portrays Enoch acting in the capacity of a priest.

¹⁴³ Adapted from the translation of F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:184.

Passages like these suggest that in some scribal circles the figure of Enoch possessed priestly credentials, an affiliation that continues to resurface in chronologically later Jewish, Christian, and even Muslim sources.

T. Zebulon 3:4 (ed. de Jonge):¹⁴⁴

Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν γραφῇ νόμου Ἐνώχ γέγραπται, τὸν μὴ θέλοντα ἀναστῆσαι σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπολυθήσεται τὸ ὑπόδημα καὶ ἐμπτύεσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον.

It is on account of this¹⁴⁵ that it is inscribed in a writing of a law of Enoch that the one who does not wish to raise up seed for his brother will have his sandal taken off and his face spat upon.¹⁴⁶

Apostolic Constitutions 8.5.3 (ed. Funk):¹⁴⁷

σὺ ὁ δοὺς ὄρους ἐκκλησίας διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ παρακλήτῳ διὰ τῶν σῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν χάριτι σῆ παρεστῶτων ἐπισκόπων, ὁ προορίσας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἱερεῖς εἰς ἐπιστασίαν λαοῦ σου, Ἄβελ ἐν πρώτοις, Σῆθ καὶ Ἐνώχ καὶ Ἐνώχ καὶ Νῶε καὶ Μελχισεδέκ καὶ Ἰώβ.

You who imposed laws for the church by the incarnate advent of Your Christ, by the witness of the Paraclete, by Your apostles, and by us bishops, who by Your grace are present here; Who from the beginning predetermined priests for the government of Your people: first Abel, (then) Seth, and Enosh, and Enoch, and Noah, and Melchizedek, and Job.¹⁴⁸

‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, Kitāb al-ta’rikh (ed. Aguadé):¹⁴⁹

وأنزل الله على إدریس ثلاثین صحيفة فلم یزل إدریس ومن كان معه علی تینك الرکعتین اللتين كان آدم صلأهما تطوعا حتى مات.
قال: وإنما سعى إدریس لکثر درسه لذكر الله عز وجل والکتب

And God revealed thirty books to Idrīs. Idrīs never ceased, nor did those who were with him, from performing those prostrations which were part of Adam’s prayers

¹⁴⁴ M[arinus]. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (PVTG 1.2; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 92. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 163; R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908a), 120; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 14.

¹⁴⁵ i.e., the brothers’ sale of Joseph into slavery, the proceeds from which were used to purchase footwear.

¹⁴⁶ A periphrastic form of LXX Deut 25:9? Lawlor (“Early Citations,” 169) posits such and opines a scribal error for νόμου Μωυσέως. Note that according to the textual apparatus in de Jonge, manuscripts *chj* read Μωυσέως in place of Ἐνώχ. On the other hand, manuscript *d* omits νόμου “law.” See the discussions of Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 112–13; Robert A. Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities in *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*,” in Robert A. Kraft, *Exploring the Scriptures: Jewish Texts and their Christian Contexts* (JSJSup 137; Leiden: Brill, 2009a), 167–8.

¹⁴⁷ Franciscus Xaverius Funk, ed., *Didaskalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderbornae: Libreria Ferdinandi Schoeningh, 1905), 474.11–16.

¹⁴⁸ For another translation, see D. A. Fiensy and D. R. Darnell, “Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers,” *OTP* 2:688. See also Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 114; Christopher Rowland, “Things into Which Angels Long to Look: Approaching Mysticism from the Perspective of the New Testament and the Jewish Apocalypses,” in Christopher Rowland and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament* (CRINT 3.12; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 50.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-ta’rikh* (ed. Aguadé), 36.13–15. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

until his death. They say he was named "Idris" due to the breadth of his study as it pertained to the invocation of God, may He be exalted and praised, and His scripture.

Wahb *apud* Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha):¹⁵⁰

وأما سمى إدريس لكثرة ما كان يدرس من كتاب الله تعالى وسنن الإسلام واستجاب له الف إنسان ممن كان يدعوهم فلما رفعه الله اختلفوا بعده وأحدثوا الاحداث الى زمن نوح.

He (i.e., Enoch) bore the name "Idris" on account of the quantity of knowledge and religious practices which he learned from the Scripture of God Most Exalted. . . . He was questioned by a thousand men with regard to what he required of them, but when God raised him up (to heaven) they disobeyed him and acted wickedly until the time of Noah.

The interrogation of Enoch by one thousand of his contemporaries is reminiscent of the crowd scene near the conclusion of the Slavonic Book of Enoch (2 *Enoch* 64–7) where "up to two thousand men"¹⁵¹ gather around Enoch at a place called Akhuzan (= Jerusalem?)¹⁵² to receive final guidance from him prior to his departure into the heavens. A similar episode appears at the end of the biographical sketch of the "Life of Enoch"¹⁵³ that forms part of the late medieval narrative midrash known as the *Sefer ha-Yashar*,¹⁵⁴ where "the whole of humanity, about eight hundred thousand people" (כל בני האדם בשמונה מאות אלף איש) assemble around Enoch to be instructed by him on his final day among mortals upon earth.

Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Houtsma):¹⁵⁵

ثم قام بعد يرد اخنوخ بن يرد فقام بعبادة الله سبحانه ولما اتت له خمس وستون سنة ولد له متوشلح واخذ بنو شيث ونساؤهم وابناؤهم في الهبوط فعظم ذلك على اخنوخ فدعا ولده متوشلح ولمكا ونوحا فقال لهم اني اعلم ان الله معذب هذه الامة عذابا عظيما ليس فيه رحمة وكان اخنوخ اول من خط بالقلم وهو ادريس النبي فاوصى ولده ان يخلصوا عبادة الله ويستعملوا الصدق واليقين ثم رفعه الله بعد ان اتت له ثلثمائة سنة.

Then after Yared there arose Enoch, the son of Yared, and he was engaged in the worship (and) praise of God. When he was 65 years old, he engendered Methuselah. He admonished the descendants of Seth, together with their wives and children, about descending (from the mountain),¹⁵⁶ for this (behavior) distressed Enoch. He summoned his offspring—Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah—and said to them:

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Qutayba, *K. al-ma'ārif* (ed. 'Ukkāsha), 20.17–18; 21.2–3. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁵¹ Adapted from Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:190. Some manuscripts read "four thousand men."

¹⁵² Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 5:117 n. 109; 162 n. 60; Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 327.

¹⁵³ The title which Adolph Jellinek gives this composition in his nineteenth-century anthology entitled *Bet ha-Midrash* (= *BHM*), 4:129–32.

¹⁵⁴ *Sefer Hayashar* (ed. Dan), 49–53; Jellinek, *BHM* 4:131; Margaliot, *Ma'akey 'elyon*, 78.

¹⁵⁵ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Houtsma), 1:8.17–9.3; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Beirut), 1:11.16–22.

¹⁵⁶ As in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, the progeny of Seth are depicted as inhabiting the slopes of a mountain immediately below Paradise, whereas the wicked progeny of Cain populate the plain below them.

"I know that God will inflict a great merciless punishment on this generation!"¹⁵⁷

Enoch was the first who wrote with a pen; he is (the same figure as) Idrīs the prophet. He enjoined his offspring to be faithful in the worship of God and to practice righteousness and true religion. Then God raised him (to heaven) after three hundred years had passed.¹⁵⁸

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādīn al-jawhar* (ed. Barbūj de Meynard-de Courteille):¹⁵⁹

وقام بعده ولده اخنوخ وهو ادريس النبي عليه السلام والصابية تزعم انه هرمس ومعنى هرمس عطارد وهو الذي اخبر الله في كتابه انه رفعه مكانا عليا وكانت حياته في الارض ثلثمائة سنة وقيل اكثر من ذلك وهو اول من درز الدرز وخط بالابرة وانزلت عليه ثلثون صحيفة وكان انزل قبل ذلك على آدم احدى وعشرون صحيفة وانزل على شيث تسع وعشرون صحيفة فيها تهليل وتسبيح.

After him his child Enoch arose, and he is (the same figure as) Idrīs the prophet, upon whom be peace! The Šābians¹⁶⁰ maintain that he is Hermes, (the name) "Hermes" being an expression for the planet Mercury. He is the one about whom God stated in His Scripture (i.e., the Qur'ān) that He raised him "to a lofty place" (Q 19:57). He lived on earth for three hundred years, although some have said it was much longer than this.¹⁶¹ He was the first to sew a seam and to stitch with a needle. Thirty scrolls were revealed to him, just as before him twenty-one scrolls were revealed to Adam and twenty-nine scrolls were revealed to Seth.¹⁶² Within them (Enoch's scrolls?) were psalms of praise and hymns.¹⁶³

This striking nexus in Mas'ūdī of Šābians, Enoch/Idrīs, and liturgical poetry may be related to the intriguing report about the "philosophic divine service" found in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Šafā'* or "Epistles of the Brethren of Purity," a sectarian tenth-century compendium of scientific and philosophical lore whose authorship and cultural provenance remain hotly contested.¹⁶⁴ According to this source, the communal recitation of a so-called "supplication of Idrīs" (*al-tawassul al-Idrīsī*) along with a "prayer of Plato" and a "secret psalm of Aristotle" formed part of a ritual celebration which was held three evenings

¹⁵⁷ Slightly abbreviated from its source in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*; see CT* §13.15–16 (ed. Ri); also Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, 2:73.3–5; and the tradition attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār by Hamdānī, p. 134. The phrase "this generation" in both the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* and Ya'qūbī may signal a deliberate contrast with *I En* 1:2, whose words stress that the oracles contained therein pertain not to "this" but a "distant generation." For further discussion, see Reeves, "Some Explorations," 49–52.

¹⁵⁸ A creative fusion of Q 19:56–7 and Gen 5:22–4. Reverberations of the apocryphal Enoch's stock epithet as "the righteous one" (ὁ δίκαιος > the Semitic radical קַדַּח) are also audible here.

¹⁵⁹ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādīn al-jawhar*: *Les prairies d'or* (9 vols; ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille; Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861–77), 1:73.1–8.

¹⁶⁰ The pagan inhabitants of the Mesopotamian city of Ḥarrān.

¹⁶¹ This sentence is excerpted by Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 88.

¹⁶² According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille), 1:69.7–9, the scrolls revealed to Adam and Seth were prescriptive in their content.

¹⁶³ A partial translation of this passage appears in E[dgar]. Blochet, *Études sur le gnosticisme musulman* (Rome: Casa Editrice Italiana, 1913), 66–7.

¹⁶⁴ For the status quaestionis, see especially Nader El-Bizri, ed., *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: The Ikhwān al-Šafā' and their Rasā'il* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

every month.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately the contents of these hymns are not provided within the *Rasā'il*.

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī):¹⁶⁶

ولد هرميس الهرامسة مصر في مدينة منف منها وهو باليونانية ارميس فقبل هرميس ومعنى ارميس عطارد ويسمى ايضا عليه السلام عند اليونانيين طرميس وعند العرب إدريس وعند العبرانيين خنوخ وهو ابن يارد بن مهلائيل بن قيبان بن أنوش بن شيث بن آدم عليهم السلام.

وكان قبل الطوفان الكبير الذي غرق الدنيا وهو الطوفان الأول وكان بعده طوفان آخر غرق أهل مصر فقط وكان في بداية أمره تلميذا لغوثاديمون المصري وكان غوثاديمون أحد أنبياء اليونانيين والمصريين وهو أوراني الثاني عندهم وإدريس أوراني الثالث عليه السلام وتفسير اسم غوثاديمون السعيد الجد.

وخرج هرميس عن مصر ودار الأرض كلها وعاد إلى مصر ورفع الله اليه بها قال الله تعالى ورفعناه مكانا عليا وذلك بعد اثنتي عشرة سنة ودعا الخلائق من أهل سائر الأرض إلى الباري عز وجل باثني وسبعين لسانا وآتاه الله الحكمة فكلمهم بلغاتهم المختلفة وعلمهم وأدبهم وبنى لهم مائة مدينة وهما مدن عظام أصغرها الرها وكان اول من استخرج علم النجوم وأقام لكل إقليم سنة تليق بهم وتقارب آراءهم وخدمته الملوك وأطاعه أهل الأرض كلها واول الجزائر التي في البحار وخدمه اربعة ملوك وكل واحد منهم ولى - بأمره عليه السلام - الأرض كلها فأولهم ايلوس وتفسيره الرحيم والثاني ابنه أوس والثالث اسقليوس والرابع آمون وهو ايسيلوخس.

ودعا إلى دين الله والقول بالتحديد وعبادة الخلق وتخليص النفوس من العذاب وحرض على الزهد في الدنيا والعمل بالعدل وطلب الخلاص في الآخرة وأمرهم بصلوات ذكرها لهم على صفات بيئتها لهم وصيام في أيام معروفات من كل شهر والاقدام على الجهاد لاعداء الدين والزكاة عن الاموال ومعونة الضعفاء بها وغلظ عليهم في الطهارة من الجنابة والحيض ومس الموق وأمرهم بتحريم أكل الخنزير والحمار والكلب وغيرها من المأكول وحرم السكر من كل شيء من المشروبات وشدد فيه أعظم تشدداً وجعل لهم أعيادا كثيرة في أوقات معروفة وصلوات فيها وقربانات منها لدخول الشمس رؤس البروج ومنها لرؤية الهلال وأوقات القرانات وكلها صارت الكواكب إلى بيوتها وأشرفها أو ناظرت كواكب أخرا قريبا قريبا والقرابين فيها جاء به ثلاثة أشياء البخور والذبايح والخمر ويقربون من باكورة الأشياء من الرياحين الورد ومن الحبوب الحنطة والشعير ومن الفاكهة العنب ومن الأشربة الخمر ووعدهم انه سيأتي بعده عدة أنبياء وعرفهم ان من صفات النبي المبعوث ان يكون بريئا من المنذات والآفات كلها كاملا في الفضائل الممدوحات كلها لا يقصر عن مساندة يسأل عنها مما في السموات والأرضين وأن يدل على ما فيه الشفاء من كل ألم وأن يكون مستجاب الدعوة في كل ما طلبه من انزال الغيث ورفع الآفات وغير ذلك من المطالب وأن يكون مذهبه ودعوته المذهب الذي يصلح به العالم وتكثر عمارته.

ورتب الناس ثلاث طبقات كهنة وملوكا وريعية ومرتبة الكاهن فوق مرتبة الملك لأن الكاهن يسأل الله في نفسه ومملكه وريعية وليس للملك ان يسأل الله تعالى في شيء الا في نفسه وريعية وليس للريعية ان تسأل الله شيئا الا لانفسها فقط.

¹⁶⁵ Henry Corbin, "Sabian Temple and Ismailism," in Henry Corbin, *Temple and Contemplation* (trans. Philip Sherrard; London: KPI, 1986), 154–8; Henry Corbin, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism* (trans. Nancy Pearson; Boulder, 1978; repr., New Rochelle: Omega Publications, 1994), 149–50 n. 57; Yves Marquet, "Sabéens et Iḥwān al-Ṣafā' (suite et fin)," *Studia Islamica* 25 (1966): 97–8; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (rev. edn; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 34–5; Carmela Baffioni, "Traces of 'Secret Sects' in the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'," in Frederick De Jong, ed., *Shī'a Islam, Sects and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious Practice and Methodological Considerations* (Utrecht: Publications of the M. Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992), 20–1.

¹⁶⁶ Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 7.9–10.8, 16–19. Information about this eleventh-century anthologist is provided by Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik: Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition," *Oriens* 13–14 (1960–1): 132–58; Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Mubashshir b. Fātik," *EI* 7:282–3; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 94–5; 184–96; Emily J. Cottrell, "al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik," in Henrik Lagerlund, ed., *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy between 500 and 1500* (2 vols; Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 2:815–18. A slightly expanded version of this same collection of traditions appears in Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrzūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ fi tārikh al-ḥukamā' wa'l-falāsifa* (ed. M.-A. Abū Rayyān; Alexandria: Dār al-Ma'rifa al-Jāmi'a, 1993), 135.1–140.2.

وكان - عليه السلام - رجلا آدم اللون تام القامة أجلس حسن الوجه كئ الحية ملبح التخاطيب تام الباع عريض المنكبين ضخ
العظام قليل اللحم بزاق العينين أكحل متأنيا في كلامه كثير الصمت ساكن الاعضاء إذا مشى أكثر نظره إلى الأرض كثير الفكرة به
جد وعيسة يحرك - إذا تكلم - سبابته وكانت مذته على الأرض الثنتين وهما نين سنة.

... وانتهت شريعته - وهى الملة الحنيفية وتعرف أيضا بدين القيمة الى مشارق الأرض ومغاربها وشمالها وجنوبها وطريق
الأرض بأسرها حتى لم يبق على وجه الأرض آدمى الا وهو يدين بها وكانت قبلته الى حقيقة الجنوب على خط نصف النهار.

Hermes of the Hermes was born in Egypt in their city of Memphis. In Greek he is "Ermīs," and it is pronounced "Hermīs"; "Armīs" means (the planet) Mercury. He is also named, may peace be upon him, "Trimīs" among the Greeks, "Idrīs" among the Arabs, and "Enoch" among the Hebrews. He was the son of Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam, upon them be peace.

His *floruit* preceded the Great Flood which submerged the inhabited world, this being the first Flood. Another Flood took place after it that drowned only the people of Egypt. He was at the beginning of his career a student of Agathodaimon the Egyptian. Agathodaimon was one of the prophets of the Greeks and the Egyptians. He was "the second 'Urāni" for them, and Idrīs, upon whom be peace, was "the third 'Urāni."¹⁶⁷ The meaning of the name "Agathodaimon" is "blessed with good fortune."

Hermes departed from Egypt and traveled around the whole earth. He then went back to Egypt, and God raised him up to Himself there. God Most High has said: "... and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57). This took place after eighty-two years.¹⁶⁸ He called upon creatures (i.e., all the earth's people) (to worship) the Creator, may He be praised and extolled, using seventy-two languages.¹⁶⁹ God gave him wisdom so that he spoke to them in their different languages, taught them, and educated them. He built for them a hundred and eight great cities, the smallest of which was Edessa.¹⁷⁰ He was the first one who discovered astrology. He established for each *klima*¹⁷¹ a religious norm which was suitable for them and

¹⁶⁷ With regard to this enigmatic name, see the references cited in the discussion of Ya'qūbi, *Tārīkh* (ed. Houtsma), 1:166.3-5.

¹⁶⁸ The same figure of "eighty-two years" appears in Ibn al-Qifī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 2.9; also 5.9-10. This cipher conflicts with the biblically based 365-year lifespan typically associated with Enoch/Idrīs and likely stems from a confusion of the "first Hermes" with Asclepius. See Emily Cottrell, "L'Hermès arabe" de Kevin van Bladel et la question du rôle de la littérature sassanide dans la présence d'écrits hermétiques et astrologiques en langue arabe," *BO* 72 (2015): 381 n. 188.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Ibn al-Qifī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 3.5-6.

¹⁷⁰ Registered as "188 cities" in Ibn al-Qifī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 3.9-10.

¹⁷¹ Arabic *كَلِمَة* corresponds to Hebrew *קלמה*, Syriac *ܟܠܡܬܐ*, and Persian *کلمه*, an astrological designation stemming from Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Tetrabiblos* for one of the seven geographic zones of the surface of the earth (*ἐπτά κλίματα*) that is dominated by a particular planet. One might compare the present passage with one found in the early Syriac dialogue known as *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, a third-century text attributed to Bardaisan of Edessa: "the Chaldeans maintain that the earth is divided into seven parts named 'climates' (*كَلِمَة*), and that one of the Seven rules over each of these parts, and that in each of these regions the will of its Ruler prevails and is called 'law.'" The translation of this passage is adapted from that of H. J. W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries: Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen, 1965; repr., Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 55. For more on the *klimata*, see Franz Boll, "Die astrologische Ethnographie in der *Tetrabiblos* und ihre Quelle," in Franz Boll, *Studien über Claudius Ptolemäus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Astrologie* (Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband 21; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1894), 181-244; Tamsyn Barton, *Ancient*

which was close to their views.¹⁷² Kings were in his service, and the population of the whole earth and the population of the islands in the seas obeyed him. Four kings served him. Each one of them governed by his command, upon him be peace, the whole earth. The first of them was 'Ilāwūs, his (name) meaning "the Merciful"; the second was his son 'Awūs; the third was Asclepius; and the fourth was 'Ammōn, and he is 'Ibsilūkhūs.¹⁷³

He called for the judgment of God, belief in God's unity, worship (of God) by people, and saving souls from punishment. He instigated for asceticism in this world, for acting justly, and for pursuing deliverance in the next world. He commanded them about prayers, mentioning to them (their) attributes which he explained to them. (He also commanded) fasts on certain days of each month, the undertaking of holy war against enemies of the religion, the distribution of alms from (their) wealth, and the assistance of the weak with it. He made them swear oaths of ritual purity from pollutants, menstruation, and touching the dead. He commanded them about a prohibition of eating pig, ass, camel, dog, and other kinds of foods. He prohibited intoxication from every kind of beverage, and he demanded this very forcefully. He created many festivals for them at certain times, as well as the prayers and offerings during them. Among them is that of the coming of the sun to the start of the zodiacal signs. Another of them is when the new moon is seen, and (another) is at the times of astrological conjunctions. They should make offerings every time the planets arrive at their houses and exaltations or are aspecting with other planets.¹⁷⁴ The offerings which he set forth for it (i.e., sacrifice) include three things: incense, slaughtered animals, and wine. They offer roses for the first fruits of aromatic things; of grains, they offer wheat and barley; of fruit, grapes; and of drink, wine. He promised them that a number of prophets would be coming after him, and he announced to them that some of the attributes of the prophet who was sent (by God) are that he will be free of any reprehensible qualities and blemishes, perfect in every praiseworthy virtue, will not fail to answer correctly questions asked about anything in the heavens and the earths, and that he will point out a remedy for every pain found there, and that his prayers will be answered with regard to everything that he requests, such as the sending down of rain, the alleviation of plagues, and other sorts of requests, and that his doctrine and his preaching would be the doctrine which improves the world and which increases its prosperity.¹⁷⁵

He organized people into three strata: priests, kings, and citizens. The station of the priest is above the station of the king, because the priest queries God on behalf of himself, his king, and his citizens, while it is not for the king to query God Most

Astrology (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 179–85; Nasr, *Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, 143–7.

¹⁷² See the Hebrew *Sefer datot ha-nevi'im* quoted by the fourteenth-century Andalusian writer R. Samuel Ibn Zarza in his *Sefer Meqor Hayyim* for a periphrastic rendering of this same statement.

¹⁷³ These represent corruptions of the names Helios/Eleos, Zeus, Asclepius, and Seleucus respectively. See Ibn al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 3.16–18; Cottrell, "L'Hermès arabe" de Kevin van Bladel," 384–5.

¹⁷⁴ Roughly paralleled in Ibn al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 3.19–4.5.

¹⁷⁵ Roughly paralleled in *ibid.* 4.6–12.

Exalted for anything other than for himself and his citizens, and it is not for the citizens to query God for anything other than what is for themselves alone.¹⁷⁶

He was, upon him be peace, a ruddy-faced man of full stature, bald, of handsome appearance, thick-bearded, having nice lineaments and perfect arm-span, broad-shouldered, very stout (but) with little flesh, with flashing, dark-lined eyes, deliberate in his speech, often silent, his limbs motionless. When he strolled about, he mostly looked at the ground, deep in thought. He was earnest and stern. Whenever he talked, he gesticulated with his index finger.¹⁷⁷ His duration on the earth amounted to eighty-two years.

... His religious law (*shari'a*), which is (that of) the religious community of the *hanifiyya* and which is also known as "the true religion" (Q 98:5), extended to the eastern and western and northern and southern ends of the earth, and it spread completely throughout the earth until there remained no human on the surface of the earth who did not practice this religion. Their direction of prayer (*qibla*) was towards true south along the meridian line at midday.¹⁷⁸

Interrogatio Joannis (ed. Bozóky):¹⁷⁹

Detulit autem Enoc libros et tradidit filiis et docuit eos facere formam sacrificiorum et locum sacrificiorum.

Enoch took those books and transmitted them to his sons, and he taught them how to observe the form and place of sacrificial rituals.

This curious work originated in Bulgaria among the dualist sect of the Bogomils and was brought to western Europe and translated into Latin during the twelfth century.¹⁸⁰ It identifies Enoch as one who was misled by Satan into writing

¹⁷⁶ Expanded in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 4.13–19. See also D[aniel]. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (2 vols; St Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856), 2:531; Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Sefer Rav Pe'alim* (Warsaw: Halter ve-Ayzenshtadt, 1894), 65.

¹⁷⁷ This physical description is quoted almost verbatim by Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 5.10–14; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:184.14–17; Shahrazūri, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* (ed. Abū Rayyān), 138.13–139.2.

¹⁷⁸ Roughly paralleled in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 5.7–9. See also Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:531; and for an annotated translation of the whole passage, van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 185–8.

¹⁷⁹ Edina Bozóky, ed., *Le livre secret des Cathares: Interrogatio Iohannis, apocryphe d'origine bogomile: Édition critique, traduction, commentaire* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980), 66. The Latin text is quoted from the Vienna manuscript which is "[I]e plus précieux des manuscrits." See also Ioannis Caroli Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Lipsiae: Vogel, 1832), 890–1; Hermann Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen, oder, Die kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1874), 382; Richard Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1929), 297–311. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 7 under the rubric "Evaluated Negatively."

¹⁸⁰ In addition to the study by Bozóky, important discussion of this work can be found in Émile Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles (second et dernier article)," *RHR* 138 (1950): 204–13; Bernard Hamilton, "Wisdom from the East: The Reception by the Cathars of Eastern Dualist Texts," in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds, *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 38–60, esp. 53–6; Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven: Yale University

After Yared (was) Enoch his son. At the age of 165 he engendered Methuselah.¹⁸² And because he pleased God for three hundred years, he was removed to the place wherein God takes delight—it is said to Paradise—the locale where Adam the protoplast¹⁸³ first transgressed the commandment.¹⁸⁴ Now this Enoch was the first of all human beings to discover books and writings. The ancient Greeks declare that Enoch is Hermes Trismegistus, and that he taught humans the construction of cities and established admirable laws, and that during his time one hundred and eighty cities were built, the smallest of which was Edessa. He (also) discovered knowledge about the zodiac and the courses of the planets, and he determined for humanity (the ways) by which they should worship God; moreover, that they should fast and pray and give alms and fulfill vows and offer tithes. He rejected abominable foodstuffs and drunkenness. He also instituted festival-days for the entrance of the sun into each zodiacal sign, for the new moon, and for when each planet entered into its house or its ascension. He ordained that sacrifices be offered from spices, animals, wines, and every sort of first-fruit. They (the Greeks) declare that he received this instruction from Agathōdhmōn (i.e., Agathodaimon), saying that Agathōdhmōn is Seth b. Adam; that is, the elder (one) who is the ancestor of Enoch.¹⁸⁵ They also say that Asqalipidis (i.e., Asclepius) the wise king was a student of Hermes; that is, Enoch.¹⁸⁶

When God removed Enoch to Himself, Asclepius became distressed (with) a great sadness because the earth and its inhabitants had been deprived of his (Enoch's) blessings and wisdom. So he sculpted his (Enoch's) form very admirably—as he was when he entered heaven—and installed it as an image of Hermes in the temple wherein he would pray and worship God. When he would enter there, he would take a seat before him as if he were still alive and seek blessing(s) from him. It is said that this deed was the cause of image worship in the world, for the Greeks after many generations thought that the image was (actually) the image of Asclepius, and on account of this they exalted him greatly and swore oaths by him prior to (the advent of) Christianity. For Hippocrates said: "I adjure you, my students, by the creator of death and life and by my father and your father, Asclepius."

¹⁸² This age is based on the LXX reading of Gen 5:21; MT and Peshitta read 65.

¹⁸³ We are reading the character string ܐܢ ܕܢܐܪ as an abbreviation for ܐܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ ܕܢܐܪ.

¹⁸⁴ Compare the slightly more verbose treatment of Enoch contained in Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Antoine Ṣāliḥāni; Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1890), 10.18–11.4.

¹⁸⁵ These statements about the identification of Enoch with Hermes and Agathodaimon with Seth stem ultimately from the Ṣābian community of Ḥarrān.

¹⁸⁶ Compare the curious tradition contained in *The Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos that identifies Asclepius as the "son" of the divine entity Sydyk (Συδύκ) *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 1.10.25; 1.10.38. This deity furthermore bears the very same epithet (τῷ λεγομένῳ δικαίῳ) which qualifies Enoch in post-biblical literature. The anthology of medical aphorisms which concludes this Syriac citation cements the standard association of Asclepius with his Phoenician counterpart Ešmun and the arts of healing, but he is blamed here instead for the invention of idolatry. The broader association of Hermes Trismegistus (a title also used by Philo of Byblos!) with Asclepius is ultimately indebted to the literary dialogues produced and transmitted within Greco-Egyptian hermeticism, a treasury of esoteric lore which had already migrated eastwards by the second century CE. The story blaming Asclepius for the inauguration of idol-worship has been copied by Bar Hebraeus from Arabophonic hermetic lore; note Ibn al-Qiṣṣī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 8.11–17; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 1:244; 2:532.

He also said: "His name (i.e., that of Asclepius) was etymologically connected¹⁸⁷ with virtue, light, and healing;¹⁸⁸ therefore, it is proper for all physicians to conduct themselves with purity, temperance, and sanctity." And Galen said: "One ought not to reject the healing which takes place for the ill when they enter the temple of Asclepius."¹⁸⁹ Hippocrates said: "The staff on which he leaned was marsh mallow."¹⁹⁰ And Galen said: "By this he was hinting at balance, which is best, for the marsh mallow moderates between heat and coldness."¹⁹¹

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Ṣāliḫānī):¹⁹²

حنوخ بن يرد) ولد له مؤشلع وعمره على الرأي السبعيني مائة وخمس وستون سنة وعلى رأي اليهود خمس وستون سنة وهذا حنوخ تمسك بوصايا الله الطاهرة وعمل بها وتبجح الخير وصرف عن الشر مواظبا على العبادة لثمائة سنة فنقله الله الى حيث شاء حيا وقيل الى الفردوس.

(Enoch b. Yared): Methuselah was his son. According to the view of the Septuagint, his (i.e., Enoch's) age (when he fathered Methuselah) was 165 years, but according to the Jewish view, it was 65 years. This Enoch devotedly kept the commandments of God Most Holy, and he put them into practice. He followed what was good and kept away from what was evil, remaining diligent in devotional service for three hundred years. Then God removed him while he was still alive to where he wished (to go), and it is said (he was taken) to Paradise.¹⁹³

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Ṣāliḫānī):¹⁹⁴

والقدمون من اليونانيين يزعمون ان حنوخ هو هرمس ويلقب طريسيجيسطيس اي ثلاثي التعليم لانه كان يصف البارى تعالى بثلاث صفات ذاتية هي الوجود والحكمة والحياة والعرب تسميه ادريس وقيل ان الهرامسة ثلثة الاؤل هرمس الساكن بصعيد مصر الاعلى وهو اول من تكلم في الجواهر العلوية وانذر بالطوفان وخاف ذهاب العلوم ودرس الصنائع فبنى الاهرام وصور فيها جميع الصناعات والالات ورسم فيها طبقات العلوم حرصا منه على تخليدها لمن بعده والثاني هرمس البابتي سكن كلوادا مدينة الكلدانيين وكان بعد الطوفان وهو اول من بنى مدينة بابل بعد تمرد بن كوش والثالث هرمس المصري وهو الذي يسمي

¹⁸⁷ Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 1057.

¹⁸⁸ The same etymology occurs in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 9.13–15.

¹⁸⁹ See the remarks of Franz Rosenthal, "An Ancient Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 30 (1956): 62 n. 33.

¹⁹⁰ Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 913. Compare the reference found in the Hebrew *Sefer ha-Yaqqar* of the tenth-century Sicilian Jewish physician Shabbetai Donnolo: "therefore did the wise Hippocrates prescribe for all potions the mixing therewith of honey; i.e., *Attikon hédion*." Translation cited from Joshua Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (Athens: Verlag der byzantinisch-neugriechischen Jahrbücher, 1939), 164. Starr dismisses the reference here (i.e., in Donnolo) to Hippocrates as "false." For more marvels featuring the marsh mallow, see Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *The Last Pagans of Iraq: Ibn Waḥshiyya and his Nabatean Agriculture* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 221–4; Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner, "*Picatrix*": *Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Magḫrīḫī* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 27; London: The Warburg Institute, 1962), 368–71.

¹⁹¹ The citations attributed to Hippocrates and Galen are dependent upon Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 10.17–19; cf. 14.1–4. See also Rosenthal, "An Ancient Commentary," 68–70. For another translation of the entire Syriac passage, see Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus* (2 vols; London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1:5–6.

¹⁹² Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Ṣāliḫānī), 10.18–11.4.

¹⁹³ Compare the briefer account in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Bedjan), 5.10–12.

¹⁹⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Ṣāliḫānī), 11.6–13.6.

طربسميجسطيس اي المثلث بالحكمة لانه جاء ثالث الهرامسة الحكماء ونقلت من صحفه نبذ وهي من مقالاته الى تلميذه طاطي على سبيل سوال وجواب بينهما وهي على غير نظام وولاء لانّ الاصل كان باليا مفرقا والنسخة موجودة عندنا بالسرانية. وقيل أنّ هرمس الأوّل بنى مائة وثمانين مدينة صغراها الرها وسنّ للناس عبادة الله والصوم والصلاة والزكاة والتعبيد لحلول السيارة بيوتها وشارفها وكذلك كلها استهلّ الهلال وحلّت الشمن برجا من الاثني عشر وان يقرّبوا قرابين من كلّ فاكهة باكورتها ومن الطيب والذبايح والخمور انفسها وحرم السكر والمائل النجسة والصابية تزعم ان شيث بن آدم هو اغاثادهمون المصريّ معلم هرمس وكان اسقليبياديس الملك احد من اخذ الحكمة عن هرمس وولده هرمس ربيع الارض المعصورة يومئذ وهو الربيع الذي ملكه اليونانيون بعد الطوفان وما رفع الله هرمس اليه حزن اسقليبياديس حزنا شديدا تأسفا على ما فات الارض من بركته وعلمه وصانع له تمثالا على صورته ونصبه في هيكل عبادته وكان التمثال على غاية ما يمكن من اظهار اهبة الوقار عليه والعظمة في هيئته ثم صورته مرتفعا الى السماء وكان يميل بين يديه تارة ويجلس اخرى ويتذكّر شيئا من حكمه ومواعظه على العبادة وبعد الطوفان ظنّ اليونانيون ان الصورة لاسقليبياديس فعضّموه غاية التعظيم وكان ابقراط اذا عهد الى تلامذته يقول نشدتم الله باري الموت والحياة واي وياكم اسقليبياديس وكان يصوره ويبيده نبات الخطميّ رمزا منه الى فضيلة الاعتدال في الامور واللين والمؤاناة والمطوعة في المعاملة وقال جالينوس لا يجب ان يرفض الشفاء الذي يحصل عليه المرضى بدخولهم هيكل اسقليبياديس اقول كلها ورد من اخبار ما قبل الطوفان ولم يستند الى بناء نبوي فهو حدس وتخمين لعدم الخبر به على الوجه.

The ancient ones among the Greeks claim that Enoch is Hermes, and he bears the surname Trismegistus, meaning a teaching about “three,” because he depicted the Most Exalted Creator with these three attributes: existence, wisdom, and vitality.¹⁹⁵ The Arabs call him Idrīs.

It is said that there are three Hermeses. The first Hermes was the one who dwelt in Upper Egypt. He was the first (person) who discoursed about celestial substances (*sic*).¹⁹⁶ He warned about the Flood. He feared the loss of the different types of knowledge: he investigated the professions and then built the Pyramids and pictured within them all the crafts and the tools, and he depicted within them the categories of the sciences out of his desire to perpetuate them for those who would come after him.¹⁹⁷

The second Hermes was Babylonian. He dwelt in Kalwādhā, a city of the Chaldeans.¹⁹⁸ He lived after the Flood. He was the first to rebuild the city of Babylon after Nimrūd b. Kūsh.¹⁹⁹

The third Hermes was Egyptian. He was the one who was called Trismegistus, meaning three times in wisdom, because he appeared as the third of the Hermes sages. Portions from his writings have been translated, these being some of his treatises for his disciple Ṭāṭī having the style of questions and answers between

¹⁹⁵ “Trinitarian” readings for this epithet are common in Byzantine Christian writers, as noted by van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 128 n. 32; cf. also Charles Burnett, “The Establishment of Medieval Hermeticism,” in Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson, *The Medieval World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 128 n. 33. Note also Pseudo-Majrīṭī, *Das Ziel des Weisen* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 12; ed. Hellmut Ritter; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1933), 225.17–18 (text); Ritter-Plessner, “Picatrix”: *Das Ziel des Weisen*, 237 (translation); Mubashshir Ibn Fāṭik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 11.2.

¹⁹⁶ “Substances” (*jawāhir*) is probably a corruption of “events” (*ḥawādith*). See van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 128 n. 31; 130 n. 36.

¹⁹⁷ An abridgement of Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 348.15–349.3.

¹⁹⁸ A datum paralleled in *ibid.* 346.16: سكن مدينة الكلدانيين وهي كلواذا. For the importance of this same city among the Chaldeans, see Mas’ūdī, *Kitāb at-Tanbih wa’l-Ischrāf* (2nd edn; BGA 8; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1894; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1967), 78.14–15; B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, *Maçoudi: Le livre de l’avertissement et de la revision* (Paris: L’Imprimerie Nationale, 1896), 113.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Gen 10:8–10; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 346.17–18.

them. They do not have organization or continuity because the original was worn (and) disintegrating.²⁰⁰ Its text is available among us in Syriac.²⁰¹

It is said that the first Hermes built one hundred and eighty cities, the smallest of which was Edessa. He prescribed for humanity the worship of God, fasting, prayer, almsgiving, and the festival celebration at the advent of the planets in their houses and at their apogees, and similarly, at every time when the new moon appears and when the sun enters one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. (He commanded) that they should present offerings: from every sort of fruit their first-fruits, and from the spices, the blood sacrifices, and the wine their very best. He prohibited drunkenness and impure foodstuffs. The Šābians maintain that Seth b. Adam is (the same figure as) the Egyptian Agathodaimon, the teacher of Hermes.²⁰²

Asqlībyādhīs (i.e., Asclepius) the king was one who received wisdom from Hermes. Hermes assigned him rulership over a fourth of the inhabited world at that time, it being the quadrant which became the kingdom of the Greeks after the Flood. After God raised Hermes to Himself, Asclepius experienced a great sadness (and) grief over how the earth would be neglected by his blessing(s) and his knowledge. So he fashioned for himself a statue in his form, and he set it up in the temple where he worshiped. The statue was most extraordinary in how it was furnished with an appearance that was dignified and awesome in its prestige. Then he painted him being raised up to heaven, and sometimes he would stand before it, and at other times take a seat (there), and he would recall something from his wisdom or from his exhortations about divine service.²⁰³

After the Flood the Greeks thought that the image was of Asclepius. Therefore they greatly venerated it. Hippocrates, well known as one of his pupils,²⁰⁴ used to say: "I adjure you by God, the creator of death and life, and by my father and yours, Asclepius!" He had painted him with a *khiṭmī*-plant (i.e., marsh mallow) in his hand, symbolizing by it the excellence of moderation in one's affairs and flexibility, agreeability, and compliability in social relations.²⁰⁵ Galen said: "One does not need to reject the cure which is attained by the sick when they enter the temple of Asclepius."²⁰⁶

Now I (i.e., Bar Hebraeus) say that everything that has been said in reports about what happened before the Flood and which cannot be traced via *isnād*²⁰⁷ to the

²⁰⁰ Most of this paragraph is cited almost verbatim from Ibn al-Qiṣṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 349.23–350.2. See also van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 91.

²⁰¹ See also Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 1:795.

²⁰² For another translation of this paragraph, see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:495–6.

²⁰³ Much of this is a paraphrase that parallels Ibn al-Qiṣṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 8.8–17.

²⁰⁴ Based on his affiliation with the Asclepiads of the island of Kos. See A. Dietrich, "Buḳrāt," *El Supplements*, 154; William F. McCants, *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 122–4.

²⁰⁵ A longer form of this tradition is found in Ibn al-Qiṣṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 14.1–4; note also 10.17–19. For more on the marsh mallow, see Hämeeen-Anttila, *Last Pagans of Iraq*, 221–4; Ritter-Plessner, "Picatrix": *Das Ziel des Weisen*, 368–71; Rosenthal, "An Ancient Commentary," 68–70.

²⁰⁶ See the remarks of Rosenthal, "An Ancient Commentary," 62 n. 33.

²⁰⁷ i.e., by an authoritative chain of named tradents.

report of a prophet is (only) surmise and conjecture, for it lacks an authority who would report it correctly.²⁰⁸

Zohar 1.58b (ed. Vilna):²⁰⁹

תא חזי כיון דאתייליד נח חמא עובדיהון דבני נשא דאינון חטאן קמי קב"ה והוה גניז גרמיה ואשתדל בפולחנא דמאריה בגין דלא למוהך באורחיהו וכי תימא במה אשתדל בהווא ספרא דאדם וספרא דחנך והוה אשתדל בהו למפלח למריה. תא חזי דהכי הוא דהא נח מנא הוה ידע לקרבא קרבנא למריה אלא בגין דאשכח חכמתא על מה מתקיים עלמא וידע דעל קרבנא מתקיים ואלמלא קרבנא לא הוה קיימי עלאי וחזאי.

Come (and) see. When Noah was growing up, he saw how the deeds of humankind were sinful before God. He therefore withdrew himself and studied the (sacrificial) service of his Lord so that he would not walk in their paths. You ask what he studied? The *Book of Adam* and the *Book of Enoch*—he lavished attention upon them in order to (learn the proper) service of his Lord.²¹⁰ Come (and) see. For this is how Noah knew how to present an offering to his Lord (cf. Gen 8:20–2): because he discovered the wisdom by which the world is sustained. He recognized that it is sustained by sacrifice; were it not for sacrifice, neither the upper nor the lower worlds would exist.²¹¹

Zohar 3.240a–b (ed. Vilna):²¹²

רבי אלעזר פתח באתי לגני אחותי כלה וגו'. האי קרא אוקמוה אבל אית סתרים בקרבנא הכא וכלא אתמר. א"ל רבי שמעון יאות הוא דשרית מלה וסתמת אימא אמר בגין דחמינא בספרא דחנוך מלה ואוליפנא. אמר אימא והיא מלה דחמיית ושמעת. אמר כלה חד מלה קב"ה אמר דא באתי לגני בגין דכל קרבנין דעלמא כד סלקין כלהו עיילין לגו גתא דעדן בקדמיתא רזא דכ"י והיאך בקדמיתא ושירותא דקרבנא בשעתא דבר נש אודי חטאי עליה ונכיסו וזריקו דמיה על מדבחא.

R. Eleazar began (and quoted): “I have come to my garden, my sister, my bride... eat, O friends, drink and imbibe, O beloved ones” (Cant 5:1). They have explained this verse, but there are secret doctrines pertaining to sacrifice here,²¹³ and it has all been previously expressed.²¹⁴ R. Simeon said to him: Is it right that you should begin an exposition and “keep a word sealed” (i.e., not reveal everything)? He (Eleazar) said: Because I saw the exposition in the *Book of Enoch*, and I learned it (from there). R. Simeon said: Tell that exposition that you have seen and heard.

²⁰⁸ A translation of most of this passage is provided by Cottrell, “L’Hermès arabe’ de Kevin van Bladel,” 389–90. Compare the parallel account found in his Syriac “secular history.” See especially Lawrence I. Conrad, “On the Arabic Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus,” *ParOr* 19 (1994): 344–6.

²⁰⁹ Cf. also Margaliot, *Malakey ’elyon*, 81.

²¹⁰ Sacrificial regulations are associated with Enochic (and Noachic) prescriptions by *Jub.* 7:38–9; 21:10; 2 *En.* 59:1–5. Enoch himself offers sacrifice in *Jub.* 4:25.

²¹¹ Compare Daniel C. Matt, *Sefer ha-Zohar: The Zohar, Pritzker Edition* (12 vols; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004–17), 1:333–4; Rebecca Scharbach, “The Rebirth of a Book: Noachic Writing in Medieval and Renaissance Europe,” in Michael E. Stone, Aryeh Amihay, and Vered Hillel, eds, *Noah and his Book(s)* (SBLJL 28; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 129.

²¹² Cf. also Margaliot, *Malakey ’elyon*, 83.

²¹³ The text established by Matt for the Pritzker edition of the Zohar has דקרבנא ושיה סדרים “six arrangements of sacrifice.”

²¹⁴ Read וכלא לא אתמר? This would produce a more consistent text; i.e., “and all of it cannot be (openly) expressed.”

He said: The word (spoken) by the Holy One, blessed be He, is all one. He said this—"I have come into my garden"—because all the offerings of the world when they ascend come into the Garden of Eden initially—a mystery of the Assembly of Israel. How so? Initially and at the beginning of the sacrifice when a man confesses his sins over it, they slaughter it and sprinkle some of its blood upon the altar.²¹⁵

Zohar 3.248b (ed. Vilna):²¹⁶

אשכחנא בספרא דחנוך דאמר כמה דבראש חדש דאתדכיאת סיהרא לאתקרבא בבעלה אצטריך למיהב לסטרא אחרא חולקא חדא בההוא זינא דילה אוף ה"נ אצטריכת לאתתא בשעתא דאתדכיאת לאתקרבא בבעלה למיהב חולקא חדא לס"א בההוא זינא דילה ומאן איהו ההוא חולקא סופרתא בטנופא דלחון זעיר מריש דשערא בנין דבעי לאטרקא רישא ולאכרכא לון דא בדא ולא יזיל אבתרה ההוא סטרא בישא לאבאשא לה ואתפרש מנה בכל סטריך ומה תעביד מזההו שערא וסופרין לבהר דתכרך לון כחדא אצטריך לאנחא לון באתר דלא עברין תמן בני נשא או בגו חורין תחאין דחצרא ותגניו לון תמן.

We find in the *Book of Enoch* where it says that just as on the day of the new moon, when the moon is rendered pure so that she might approach her husband, it is necessary to give one portion of its type (of filth) to the "other side," so too at the time a woman is rendered pure, so that she might have conjugal relations with her husband, it is incumbent for her to give one portion of its type (of filth) to the "other side."²¹⁷ And what is that portion? Her nail-clippings with their filth, and a small portion of hair from (her) head, (procured) when one needs to comb the head. (She proceeds) to wrap them together, and that evil side will not pursue after her to do harm to her, and will keep separate from her on all sides. What should she do with that hair and nail-clippings after she has wrapped them up together? She must leave them in a place where no humans pass by, or (leave them) in deep holes of the yard, and conceal them there.²¹⁸

This apotropaic spell is reminiscent of the content of Ms. Brit. Lib. Hebr. 746 fol. 108b–109a where Enoch allegedly counteracts the magical conjurations of Enosh and his generation by his own use of "names" and "adjurations." Nothing however is said there about his recording or transmission of them in a book, as is allegedly the case here.

Ms. New York JTS 1777 fol. 33b (ed. Idel):²¹⁹

כי הש"י יולי' מרוב אהבתו את חנוך בן ירד טרם הלקחו גלה לו סוד העליוני והתחתוני ולמדוהו סוד קשרם יחד שהוא סוד הקרבן בפרטיו.

For God, may He be forever blessed, out of His great love for Enoch, the son of Yared, revealed to him before He took him the secret of the upper and lower

²¹⁵ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 9:604–5.

²¹⁶ Cf. also Margalioth, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 83.

²¹⁷ According to Zohar 3.79a, the serpent contaminated Eve with "twenty-four types" (זיין) of filth, a number based on the gematric value of ויניב in Gen 3:15. For an exemplary discussion of the motif of Eve's sexual violation by the serpent (*b. Shabb*. 145b–146a; *Yebam*. 103b; *'Abod. Zar*. 22b), see Daniel Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 82–3.

²¹⁸ Compare Zohar 3.79a for a similar complex of motifs. See also Matt, *Zohar*, 9:626.

²¹⁹ Moshe Idel, "Ḥanokh—Tophar min'alayim hayah," *Kabbalah* 5 (2000): 269. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric "Enoch as a Savant of Cosmological Arcana."

realms, and He taught him the secret of binding them together, which is the secret of the sacrifice with its specifications.²²⁰

R. Samuel Ibn Zarza, *Sefer Meqor Hayyim* (editio princeps):²²¹

ומצאתי כתוב כי נכתב בספר דתות הנביאים כי חנוך היה חכם גדול וחסיד ושהכניס העמים תחת עבודת האל יי' ושהוציא תחלה החכמה הכוכבים ושם דתות לכל יושבי השבעה אקלימים לכל אחד הדת אשר יאות לפי טבע אותו האקלים וצוה להם שיעשו מועדים ושיעשו בהם קרבנות בזמנים מיוחדים כפי מעלות הכוכבים בהם כל אחד לפי הכוכב השולט באותו אקלים לשמור את קבול אותו אקלים וצוה לקצת מהם שלא יאכלו מאכלי ידוע' והתיר אותם לקצתם ושישמרו מלשכב עם הנדות ושישמרו עצמם מטומאת המתים ושתהיה כונתם להתמדת היישוב וחלק העם לשלשה משמרות כהנים ומלכים והמון וענינים רבים אחרים ע"כ.

And I discovered what was written in the *Book of the Religious Laws of the Prophets*; namely, that Enoch was a great sage and a saint, and that he united the nations under the worship of God, may He be sanctified, and that he was the first to promulgate astronomical science, and that he established religious laws for all the inhabitants of the seven *klimata*, (establishing) for each of them the religious law that was proper for the nature of that *klima*. He commanded them that they should celebrate festivals and that they should offer sacrifices on them at particular times in accordance with the rising of those stars among them, each one according to the star that governs that *klima*, in order to guard against what might be in opposition for that *klima*.²²² He (Enoch) commanded some of them that they should not eat certain foods, but he permitted them to others among them; and that they should exercise care in sexual relations with menstruants; and that they should guard themselves against incurring corpse pollution; and that their focus should be on the endurance of the population. He divided the people into three classes: priests, kings, and the masses. (He also commanded them) about many other matters. Thus far the quotation.²²³

It is apparent from this citation that the Hebrew *Sefer datot ha-nevi'im* quoted by the fourteenth-century R. Samuel Ibn Zarza enjoys some kind of literary affiliation with the gnomological collection of Hermes traditions assembled by the mid-eleventh-century Muslim scholar Mubashshir b. Fätik in his *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*.²²⁴ Such a familiarity would not be surprising. This latter work was extraordinarily popular in the West, undergoing transla-

²²⁰ For another translation, see Idel, "Hermeticism and Kabbalah," 402.

²²¹ R. Samuel Ibn Zarza, *Meqor Hayyim* (Mantua: [n.p.], 1559), 9a; cf. also Idel, "Ḥanokh—Tophet," 269; Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Sefer Rav Pe'alim*, 65.

²²² Hebrew אקלים corresponds to Arabic اقليم, Syriac ܡܠܚܘܬܐ, and Persian کشور, an astrological designation stemming from Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Tetrabiblos* for one of the seven geographic zones of the surface of the earth (ἐπὶ τὰ κλίματα) that is dominated by a particular planet.

²²³ For other partial translations, see Moshe Idel, "The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance," in David B. Ruderman, ed., *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 125; Moshe Idel, "Hermeticism and Judaism," 65; Moshe Idel, "Hermeticism and Kabbalah," 403.

²²⁴ This represents an abridgement of what is found in Mubashshir b. Fätik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 9.5–19. Note also M[oritz]. Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigraphischen Literatur insbesondere der geheimen Wissenschaften des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Asher in Comm., 1862), 52–3 n. 3.

tion and adaptation into Latin, Spanish, and several other European vernaculars.²²⁵ Hebrew however is not mentioned by those bibliographers who have compiled lists of these versions.

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:²²⁶

ويقال انه لما ولد ادريس عليه السلام ضعف أمر عبادة الأصنام من أولاد قابيل وسقط عظيم من أصنامهم الذين كانوا يعبدونه ويعتكفون عليه ويذبحون وكان ملكهم يومئذ محويل فاجتمعوا اليه ليتداولوا فيها ظهر لهم فجاءهم ابليس في صورة شيخ قد كثر شببه وكان الشيب عندهم عجيبا لأنهم لم يكونوا راوه اذ لم يكن قبل ذلك شيب ولا ظهر لهم الا بعد نوح عليه السلام بعد الطوفان.

وقيل أول من شاب ابراهيم عليه السلام فقال يا رب ما هذا؟ قال وقار قال اللهم زدني وقارا.

ويقال انه أتاهم ابليس في صورة روحاني له جناحان فقال لملكهم محويل انه قد ولد الان لمهلليل ولد يكون عدوا للالهة وعدوا للملك وسبب فسادها ولذلك أصانكم ما انتم به مشغولون فقال محويل فهل تقدر على هلاكه؟ قال سأحرص على ذلك. فوكل الله بادريس ملاءكة يحفظونه فاذا أتاهم ابليس ومن معه من جنوده منعوهم منه.

وظهر في وقته كوكب من كواكب النوائب أقام ظاهرا نيفا وثلاثين يوما فجعله أبوه سالما الهيكل وعلمه الصحف وكان حريصا على دراستها وعلى الصوم والصلاة حق شب فبناه الله عز وجل على رأس اربعين سنة فأثاه وراييل الملك يعلمه علم الفلك والكواكب وسعودها ونحوسها وصور الدرج والبروج. وقيل انه أول من نظر في النجوم بعد آدم عليه السلام.

وفي التوراة ان ادريس عليه السلام احسن خدمة الله فرفعه الله تعالى اليه.

ولما رأى ادريس بني قابيل في المحاصي وعبادة الأصنام سأل الله ان يرفعه اليه وان يطهره من خطاياه فأجابته الى ذلك وأوحى الله اليه ان يلازم الهيكل هو وشيعته اربعين يوما وأوصى ادريس الى ابنه متوشلخ لان الله أوحى اليه ان اجعل الوصية في ابنك متوشلخ فاني سأخرج من ظهره نيبا يرضي فعله.

It is said that at the time when Idris (upon whom be peace!) was born, the grip of idol-worship had weakened among the descendants of Cain, and one of the more esteemed of their idols—those to which they offered worship and to which they were addicted and would make sacrifices—collapsed. At that time their king was Yamaḥuel.²²⁷ So they assembled themselves before him in order to confer with him about what had happened. Iblīs (i.e., Satan) came among them in the form of an old man who had an abundance of white hair. Now white hair among them was a marvelous thing; they had never seen it before, because white hair did not exist before this (time) and would not appear among them until after Noah (upon whom be peace!) and after the Flood. It is said that the first to have white hair was Abraham (upon whom be peace!). He (i.e., the king) then said: "O Lord! What is this!?" He (Iblīs) answered: "(White hair is) a marker of dignity." He (the king) responded: "O God! Increase my dignity!"

(Others) say that Iblīs came to them (the idolatrous descendants of Cain) in the shape of a spiritual entity with two wings. He told their king Yamaḥuel that Mahalalel (*sic!*) had fathered a child who was going to foment opposition to divinity and to kingship, and that he would cause their corruption, (this being the meaning) "of (the collapse of) that idol of yours about which you are concerned." Then Yamaḥuel said: "Can you bring about his demise?" He (Iblīs) answered:

²²⁵ Rosenthal, "Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition," 132–58; Rosenthal, "Al-Mubashshir b. Fāṭik," *El* 7:282–3; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 193–6; Cottrell, "al-Mubashshir ibn Fāṭik," 2:815–18.

²²⁶ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, 78.7–79.8.

²²⁷ Printed edition reads محويل. Manuscript variants are محويل and محويل. The figure intended seems to be Meḥyuael (מחויאל) b. Irad from the Cainite genealogy in Gen 4:18.

"I will endeavor to do so." But God assigned for Idris angels to protect him, and when Iblis and some of those who were with him from his forces came (to do Idris harm), they kept them from harming him. At that time there appeared a certain moving star (comet?) which stayed visible for more than thirty days.

His father put him unharmed in the temple, and he taught him the writings. He was diligent in his studies, and seriously applied himself to fasting and to prayer until he reached adulthood. Afterwards God (may He be glorified and exalted!) made him a prophet at the beginning of his fortieth year. Then the angel Uriel²²⁸ came to him, instructing him in knowledge about the celestial sphere, the stars, their good portents, their bad portents, the shapes of (their) paths (?), and the signs of the zodiac.²²⁹ It is said that he was the first person to observe the stars after Adam (upon whom be peace!).

According to the Torah, Idris was the most excellent servant of God, and so God raised him up to Him.²³⁰

When Idris saw the descendants of Cain being disobedient and engaged in idol-worship, he asked for God to raise him up to Him and to purify him of his sins, and God complied with this (request). God suggested to him that he and his followers should remain in the temple for forty days. Idris appointed his son Methuselah as his legatee because God had revealed to him: "Make a legacy for your son Methuselah, for I am going to bring out a prophet from his household who will please me with what he does."²³¹

ENOCH AS RULER/LAWGIVER

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī):²³²

وخدمته الملوك وأطاعه أهل الأرض كلها واول الجزائر التي في البحار وخدمه اربعة ملوك وكل واحد منهم ولي - بأمره عليه السلام - الأرض كلها فأولهم ايلوس وتفسيهه الرحيم والثاني ابنه آوس والثالث اسقلقيوس والرابع آمون وهو ايسيلوخش... .

²²⁸ Arabic الملاك. According to Carra de Vaux's ms. C, this same angel was responsible for the revelation of the *Book of Secret(s)* to Adam. It should be noted that some Jewish kabbalistic sources effect an equation between the angels Uriel and Raziel due to the numerical equivalence of the letters in their names. The orthography for the name of the angel V(e)reveil in the Slavonic Book of Enoch, long recognized as a rendering of the Semitic syllables of Uriel, is very close to that employed by the Arabic here.

²²⁹ Compare 1 *En.* 33:3-4; 72:1; 74:2; 75:3-4; 78:10; 79:2; 80:1; 82:7-8; 2 *En.* 22:10ff.; Alden A. Mosshammer, ed., *Georgii Syncelli: Ecloga Chronographica* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1984), 34.16-19; Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Compendium historiarum* (CHSB 33-4; 2 vols; Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1838-9), 1:21.11-13; Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Michaelis Glycae Annales* (CSHB 27; Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1836), 228.6-13.

²³⁰ See Ibn Qutayba, p. 130. Compare Gen 5:24 and the remarks of Vajda, "Judaeco-Arabica," 73.

²³¹ Presumably a prediction of the advent of Noah.

²³² Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 8.11-15, 9.18-10.2. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

ورُتّب الناس ثلاث طبقات كهنة وملوكا ورعيّة ومرتبّة الكاهن فوق مرتبة الملك لأن الكاهن يسأل الله في نفسه ومملكه ورعيته وليس للملك ان يسأل الله تعالى في شيء الا في نفسه ورعيته وليس للرعيّة ان تسأل الله شيئا الا لانفسها فقط.

Kings were in his service, and the population of the whole earth and the population of the islands in the seas obeyed him. Four kings served him. Each one of them governed by his command, upon him be peace, the whole earth. The first of them was 'Ilāwūs, his (name) meaning "the Merciful"; the second was his son 'Awūs; the third was Asclepius; and the fourth was 'Ammōn, and he is 'Ibsilūkhus. . .

He organized people into three strata: priests, kings, and citizens. The station of the priest is above the station of the king, because the priest queries God on behalf of himself, his king, and his citizens, while it is not for the king to query God Most Exalted for anything other than for himself and his citizens, and it is not for the citizens to query God for anything other than what is for themselves alone.²³³

Muwaffaq al-Din As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Kitāb al-adwā' al-Kaldāniyin*:²³⁴

... أنه كان ملكا عمت مملكته أكثر المعمور.

... for he was a king whose kingdom encompassed most of the inhabited world.

Sefer ha-Yashar (ed. Dan):²³⁵

וימלוך חנוך על בני האדם בדבר ה' ויבואו וישתחוו לו ארצה וישמעו כולם יחד את דבריו ותהי רוח אלהים אל חנוך וילמד את כל אנשיו חכמת אלהים ודרכיו ויעבדו בני האדם את ה' כל ימי חנוך ויבואו בני האדם לשמוע את חכמתו וגם כל מלכי בני האדם הראשונים והאחרונים ושריהם ושופטיהם באו אל חנוך בשמעם את חכמתו וישתחוו לו אפים ארצה ויבקשו גם הם מאת חנוך אשר ימלוך עליהם ויאבה להם לדבר הזה.

ויתקבצו כולם כשלושים ומאת מלכים ושרים וימליכו את חנוך עליהם והיו כולם תחת ידו ותחת דבריו וילמד אותם חנוך חכמה ודעת ודרך ה' ישם שלום בין כולם והיה שלום בכל הארץ בימי חנוך וימלוך חנוך על כל בני יאדם מאתים וארבעים שנה ושלוש שנים והיה עושה משפט וצדקה לכל עמו ודרכים בדרכי ה'.

Enoch ruled over humanity at the behest of the Lord: they would come and prostrate themselves before him on the ground, and they would all listen together to his words. Divine inspiration would fill Enoch, and he would teach all present the wisdom of the Lord and His ways. Humanity thus served the Lord during the lifetime of Enoch, and they came to listen to his wisdom. Moreover, all the former and current kings of humanity along with their officers and judicial officials came to visit Enoch once they heard of his wisdom, prostrating themselves before him with their faces on the ground. Even they besought Enoch to exercise sovereignty over them, and he acceded to their request.

So they all assembled together—about one hundred and thirty kings and princes—and installed Enoch as their ruler, and they all submitted themselves to his power and his commands. Enoch instructed them in wisdom, knowledge, and

²³³ Expanded in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-hukamā* (ed. Lippert), 4.13–19. See also Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:531; Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Sefer Rav Pe'elim*, 65.

²³⁴ *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' (ed. Najjār), 1:185.8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric "Evaluated Positively or Neutrally."

²³⁵ *Sefer Hayashar* (ed. Dan), 49–53; Jellinek, *BHM* 4:129–30; Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 77. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as Teacher."

the way of the Lord, and established good relations among all of them, and thus there was peace throughout the whole earth during the lifetime of Enoch. Enoch exercised rule over humanity for two hundred and forty-three years, and he effected justice and righteousness for all his people. He supervised their progress in the ways of the Lord.

ENOCH AS BUILDER

Avatars of the biblical forefather Enoch enjoy a reputation for the founding and building of cities, the establishment of temples, and especially the construction of the famous Pyramids in Egypt. Hermetic traditions transmitted among Arabic language make the antediluvian or “first Hermes” responsible for the construction of the Pyramids, where they function as repositories for the pictorial archiving of the various arts and sciences which were revealed by this ancient instructor to the initial generations of the human race. While the cross-cultural assimilation of scriptural Enoch/Idrīs to Graeco-Egyptian Thoth/Hermes may have been sufficient cause for the vocations of builder or urban planner to be added to Enoch’s repertoire of skills, it should not be forgotten that Gen 4:17–18 already connects the founding of the first city to be built in the world with the name “Enoch.” Despite a dearth of versional evidence,²³⁶ several scholars have plausibly suggested that the Hebrew text of Gen 4:17–18 should be read as crediting Enoch with being the builder of a city²³⁷ named after his son ‘Irad, namely, the ancient city of Eridu in southern Mesopotamia.²³⁸ Recollection of this suggestive passage together with an unconscious conflation of the Cainite and Sethite Enochs may have been a reinforcing factor for the credibility of this attribute.

Abū Ma’shar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a, *Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* (ed. Najjār):²³⁹

وكان مسكنه مصر تخير ذلك فبنى هناك الأهرام وبنى مدائن التراب وخاف ذهاب العلم بالطوفان فبنى البرابي وهو الجبل المعروف [بالبرابر] بأخميم وصور فيها جميع الصناعات وصناعاتها نقشا وصور جميع آلات الصناعات وأشار إلى صفات العلوم لمن بعده برسوم حرصا منه على تغليد العلوم لمن بعده وخيفة أن يذهب رسم ذلك من العالم.

He made Upper Egypt his residence. He selected this (place), and then he built in that place the Pyramids, and he built cities of clay. He was afraid that knowledge

²³⁶ *Jub.* 4:9 and Josephus, *Ant.* 1.62 explicitly make Cain the builder of a city which was named “Enoch.”

²³⁷ e.g., Karl Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte (Gen. 1–12,5) untersucht* (Giessen: J. Ricker’sche Buchhandlung, 1883), 120–2, 527.

²³⁸ William W. Hallo, “Antediluvian Cities,” *JCS* 23 (1971): 63–4; Patrick D. Miller, Jr, “Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel: A Study in Comparative Mythology,” *HAR* 9 (1985): 241–2; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Primeval History: Babylonian, Biblical, and Enochic* (JSJSup 149; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 247–9.

²³⁹ Ibn Abi Uṣaybi’a, *K. ‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* (ed. Najjār), 1:186.6–10; see also August Müller, ed., *Ibn Abi Uṣaybi’a* (2 vols in 1; Cairo and Königsberg: al-Maṭba’ al-Wahbiya, 1882–4), 1:16.32–17.4.

would be lost in the Flood, and so he built the ancient temples, that is, the mountain which is known [as al-Birbābir] in Akhmīm. He drew within them pictures of all the crafts and their uses. He drew all the tools of the artisans, and indicated the characteristics of the sciences to those who would come after him pictorially, for he wanted to immortalize the sciences for those who would come after him inasmuch as he feared that all trace of them might depart from the world.

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī):²⁴⁰

وَبْنَى لَهُمْ مِائَةَ مَدِينَةٍ وَتَمَانِي مَدَنٍ عَظَامٍ أَصْغَرُهَا الرِّهَاءُ.

He built for them a hundred and eight great cities, the smallest of which was Edessa.²⁴¹

Qazwīnī, *ʿAjā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld):²⁴²

فَامَرَ بِنَاءَ الْأَهْرَامِ وَإِدَاعِهَا الْأُمُولَ وَصَحَائِفَ الْعُلُومِ أَشْفَاقًا عَلَيْهَا مِنْ أَدْرِيسَ وَاحْتِيَاطًا عَلَيْهَا وَحِفْظًا لَهَا.

So he ordered the building of the pyramids and the depositing within them of treasures and scientific writings. Being concerned for them, Idrīs (acted) in order to protect them and preserve them.²⁴³

Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Bedjan):²⁴⁴

مَتَّى كَرُمَا حَتَّمَا كَرَمَلُوكَ دَسَّيَا Dَسَّيَا

The ancient Greeks declare that Enoch is Hermes Trismegistus, and that he taught humans the construction of cities and established admirable laws, and that during his time one hundred and eighty cities were built, the smallest of which was Edessa.²⁴⁵

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Ṣālihānī):²⁴⁶

وَخَافَ ذَهَابَ الْعُلُومِ وَدَرَسَ الصَّنَاعَاتِ فَبَنَى الْأَهْرَامَ وَصَوَّرَ فِيهَا جَمِيعَ الصَّنَاعَاتِ وَالآلَاتِ وَرَسَمَ فِيهَا طَبَقَاتِ الْعُلُومِ حَرَصًا مِنْهُ عَلَى تَحْلِيلِهَا لَمَنْ يَبْعَدُ وَالثَّلَاثِي هَرْمَسَ الْبَابَلِيَّ سَكْنَ كَلُوَادًا مَدِينَةَ الْكَلْدَانِيَّيْنَ وَكَانَ بَعْدَ الطَّوْفَانِ وَهُوَ أَوَّلُ مَنْ بَنَى مَدِينَةَ بَابِلَ بَعْدَ نُرُودِ بَنِ كُوشَ . . . وَقِيلَ أَنَّ هَرْمَسَ الْأَوَّلَ بَنَى مِائَةَ وَتَمَانِينَ مَدِينَةَ صِغَرُهَا الرِّهَاءُ.

²⁴⁰ Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 8.10. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

²⁴¹ Registered as “188 cities” in Ibn al-Qiṣṣī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert), 3.9–10.

²⁴² *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 2:179.5–6.

²⁴³ See also Leon Nemoj, “The Treatise on the Egyptian Pyramids (*Tuhfat al-kirām fi khabar al-ahrām*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,” *Isis* 30 (1939): 27; A[lexander]. Fodor, “The Origins of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (1970): 337.

²⁴⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Bedjan), 5.13–16. The full citation of this source appears earlier in this chapter, under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

²⁴⁵ “Elsewhere Bar Hebraeus regards Nimrod as the founder of Orhay [i.e., Edessa].” Quotation cited from J. B. Segal, *Edessa: ‘The Blessed City’* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 2 n. 2. This detail about the founding of Edessa demonstrates that Bar Hebraeus is at least partially indebted here to the gnomological anthology *Kitāb mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* of the eleventh-century Fātimid intellectual al-Mubashshir b. Fātik. See van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 184–96, at 186.

²⁴⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Ṣālihānī), 11.11–15; 12.3–4.

He feared the loss of the different types of knowledge: he investigated the professions and then built the Pyramids and pictured within them all the crafts and the tools, and he depicted within them the categories of the sciences out of his desire to perpetuate them for those who would come after him.

The second Hermes was Babylonian. He dwelt in Kalwādhā, a city of the Chaldeans. He lived after the Flood. He was the first to rebuild the city of Babylon after Nimrūd b. Kūsh...²⁴⁷

It is said that the first Hermes built one hundred and eighty cities, the smallest of which was Edessa.

Here too may be the best spot to situate a reference to Enoch as a metaphorical builder of the human body in that he supposedly discussed within one of his books the mysteries surrounding the practice of levirate marriage.

Zohar 2.100a (ed. Vilna):²⁴⁸

הכא אית רזא דרוזין. בספרא דחנוך בנימא דא דאתבני לא אתבני אלא בהוא רוחא אחרא דשביק תמן בההוא מאנא וכד שארי לאתבנא דא משיך אבתריה דההוא רוח דאזיל ערסילאח ומשיך ליה לגביה ותמן תרי רוחות דאינן חד לבתר דא איהו רוח דא איהו נשמה ותרווייהו חד.

Now here is an awesome mystery.²⁴⁹ In the *Book of Enoch*, this “building” which is built²⁵⁰ is constructed by that other spirit which was left there in the “vessel.” When construction begins, that (spirit) draws after him the spirit which roams about naked, and it (the spirit) attracts it (the other spirit). There are two spirits which are “one” afterwards: one is רוח and the other is נשמה, and the two are in fact one.²⁵¹

Finally we include two late reports which attribute the construction of the Ka’ba in Mecca to Idrīs.

Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab* (ed. Chwolsohn):²⁵²

...وحكى غير المسعودى أنّ البيت الأوّل الكعبة ويذكرون أنّ ادریس عليه السلام اوصى به واطوى ان يكون الحجّ اليه وهو عندهم بيت زحل.

Mas’ūdī reports²⁵³ instead that the first temple was the Ka’ba,²⁵⁴ and they (i.e., the Šābians) say that Idrīs, upon whom be peace, enjoined it, and he also enjoined that the Pilgrimage be made to it. But according to them, it was a sanctuary for Saturn.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁷ Cf. Gen 10:8–10.

²⁴⁸ Cf. also Margaliot, *Mal’akey ‘elyon*, 81.

²⁴⁹ See the selection from the *Havdalah de-Rabbi ‘Aqiva* cited below where a similar phraseology is employed.

²⁵⁰ Via levirate marriage.

²⁵¹ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 5:39–40.

²⁵² Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:516.1–3.

²⁵³ Mas’ūdī only says (*Murūj* [ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille], 4:44.2–3) that certain idolators claim that the Ka’ba was once a temple dedicated to the worship of Saturn. He does not include the tradition about the involvement of Idrīs in its construction or in the establishment of its rituals. Cf. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:673 n. 17.

²⁵⁴ i.e., the cubical building enclosed by the Great Mosque in Mecca. For the notion of the Ka’ba as the first sanctuary for humanity and the obligation to make pilgrimage there, see already Q 3:96–7.

²⁵⁵ See also E[dgar]. Blochet, “Études sur le gnosticisme musulman,” *RSO* 2 (1908–9): 752–3; E[dgar]. Blochet, *Études*, 36–7.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abi Ṭālib al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb nukhbat al-dahr fi 'ajā'ib al-barr wa'l-bahr* (ed. Chwolsohn):²⁵⁶

وزعم المسعودي ان الصابية تزعم ان البيت الحرام هيكل زحل وان ادريس نص عليه واوصى بالحيج اليه.

Mas'ūdī says that the Šābians claim that the Ka'ba (cf. Q 5:97) was a temple to Saturn, and that Idrīs set it up and enjoined pilgrimage to it.²⁵⁷

ENOCH AS WARRIOR

"another (authority) from the people of the Torah" *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje):²⁵⁸

... واؤل من سبي من ولد قابيل فاسترق منهم.

... and he (i.e., Idrīs) was the first to capture some of the offspring of Qābil and to enslave them.

As noted above, the notion that Enoch/Idrīs was the first on earth to engage in warfare with the progeny of Cain and to enslave their captives is a tradition that is usually associated with the forefather Seth.²⁵⁹

Wahb *apud* Kisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁶⁰

وحكى ابن الازهرى عن وهب ان ادريس عليه السلام اول من اتخذ السلاح وجاهد في سبيل الله تعالى وقتل ولد قابيل.

Ibn al-Azharī relates on the authority of Wahb (b. Munabbih) that Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) was the first to take up weapons and to undertake a *jihād* for the path of God Most High,²⁶¹ and he fought with the descendants of Cain.

ENOCH AS LEGATEE OF YARED

"another (authority) from the people of the Torah" *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje):²⁶²

وكان وصي والده يرد فيما كان آباؤه اوصوا به اليه وفيما اوصى به بعضهم بعضا.

He was the designated successor of his father Yared: he committed to him that which his forefathers had bequeathed to him and to each one succeeding them.

²⁵⁶ Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:383.6–8.

²⁵⁷ See also Blochet, "Études," 752–3; Blochet, *Études*, 36–7.

²⁵⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.5.

²⁵⁹ Thackston, *Tales of the Prophets*, 85–6; Huart-Bosworth, "Shith," *EI* 9:489.

²⁶⁰ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:82.15–16.

²⁶¹ See also Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.4; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1863–93), 473.

²⁶² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.5–6.

Ka'ḇ al-Aḥbār *apud* Hamdānī, *Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren):²⁶³

ثُمَّ أَوْصَى بَعْدَهُ إِلَى إِدْرِيسَ وَاسْمُهُ فِي التَّوْرَةِ أَخْنُوخَ وَشَالَت.

(According to Ka'ḇ al-Aḥbār): Then he (i.e., Yared) appointed Idrīs as executor (of God's laws) after him—his name in the Torah is Enoch (Akhnuḥk) and Shālt (*sic*).²⁶⁴

Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg):²⁶⁵

وَكَانَ وَصَى وَالِدَهُ يَرَدَ فِيمَا كَانَ أَبَاؤُهُ وَصَّوْا بِهِ إِلَيْهِ وَفِيمَا أَوْصَى بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا.

He was the designated successor of his father Yared: he committed to him that which his forefathers had bequeathed to him and to each one succeeding them.

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:²⁶⁶

وَعَهْدُ <يَارَدَ> إِلَى خَنُوقَ وَرَفَعَ إِلَيْهِ وَصِيَّةَ أَبِيهِ وَعَلَّمَهُ الْعُلُومَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ عِنْدَهُ وَدَفَعَ إِلَيْهِ مِصْحَفَ السَّرِّ فَلَمْ يَدْفَعْهُ بَعْدَ شَيْئٍ غَيْرِ إِدْرِيسَ عَلَيْهِمَا السَّلَامُ.

وَفِي بَعْضِ الْأَخْبَارِ أَنَّهُ أَوَّلُ مَنْ كَتَبَ [مَنْ وُلِدَ] آدَمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ.

<Yared> empowered Enoch and entrusted him with the legacy of his father. He taught him the knowledge which he had received from him, and he handed over to him the *Book of Secret(s)*²⁶⁷ which had not been given to anyone else aside from Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) after (the time of) Seth.

ENOCH AS HERMIT²⁶⁸

Kisā'ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁶⁹

وَكَانَ مُشْتَغَلًا بِالْعِبَادَةِ وَمَجَالَسَةِ الصَّالِحِينَ حَتَّى بَلَغَ الْحِلْمَ فَانْفَرَدَ بِالْعِبَادَةِ حَتَّى بَرَزَ فِيهَا عَلَى جَمِيعٍ مِمَّنْ كَانَ فِي عَصْرِهِ.

He was rigorous in (his) religious devotion and (in seeking out) the company of pious men until he had attained puberty. Then he isolated himself in order to practice devotion until he surpassed in it everyone else who lived in his time.

Ms. New York JTS 8117 fol. 2b lines 20–2 (ed. Rebiger and Schäfer):²⁷⁰

וְאָדָם שֶׁם הַסֵּפֶר תַּחַת אַבְנֵי סִפְרֵי עֵד כִּי יָהִיוּ לוֹ בְּנִים וּבְנוֹת וּמָהֵם הִיָּה אַחַת שֶׁשְּׁמוֹ שֵׁת וְאֵלָיו לָמַד אָדָם חֻמַּת זֶה הַסֵּפֶר וְהִנִּיחוּ אֶצְלוֹ אַחֵר מוֹתוֹ וְאַחֵר בֵּא לְיָדֵי חֲנוּךְ בֶּן יִרְדָּה הוּא אִירֻמִּיטִיס וְאַחֵר בֵּא לְיָדֵי נֹחַ בֶּן לֶמֶךְ.

²⁶³ Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren), 1:25.11–12. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²⁶⁴ Almost certainly a corruption of “Seth” or even the gnostic cognomen “Sethel.” See our discussion, p. 64.

²⁶⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *K. al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), 1:43.3–4.

²⁶⁶ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, 77.18–21.

²⁶⁷ See the note on this source in this chapter, under the rubric of “Enoch as Prophet.”

²⁶⁸ For Enoch's renunciation of marriage, see Erwin Preuschen, “Die apokryphen gnostischen Adamschriften,” in *Festgruss Bernhard Stade: Zur feier seiner 25 jährigen Wirksamkeit als Professor* (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1900), 165–252, at 199–200.

²⁶⁹ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:81.19–21.

²⁷⁰ Bill Rebiger and Peter Schäfer, eds, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II: Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II* (TSAJ 125, 132; 2 vols; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 1:7* (\$25).

Adam placed the book²⁷¹ beneath a sapphire stone until after he had sons and daughters. Among them was one whose name was Seth. Adam taught him the wisdom of that book, and he left it with him after his death. Afterwards it came into the possession of Enoch, the son of Yared, who was a hermit.²⁷² And afterwards it came into the possession of Noah, the son of Lamech.

Sefer ha-Yashar (ed. Dan):²⁷³

ומהללאל בן קינן חי ששים שנה וחמש שנים ויולד את ירד ויהי ירד שנים וששים שנה ומאת שנה ויולד את חנוך ויהי חנוך חמש וששים שנה ויולד את מתושלח ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים אחרי הולידו את מתושלח ועבוד את ה' וימאס בדרכי בני האדם הרעים ותדבק נפש חנוך במוסר ה' בדת ובבינה וידע את דרכי ה' ויפרד בחכמתו את נפשו מבני האדם ויסתר את נפשו מהם ימים רבים...

ויהי בשנת מות אדם היא שנת מאתיים וארבעים שנה ושלוש שנים למלכות חנוך ויהי בעת ההיא ושם חנוך על לבו להפרד ולהבדל מבני האדם ולהסתר מהם כבראשונה לעבוד את ה' ויעש חנוך את הדבר הזה אך לא הסתיר את נפשו מהם כל הימים ויסתר מבני האדם שלשת ימים ויגלה להם יום אחד ובכל שלשת הימים אשר הוא בחדר מתפלל ומשבת אל ה' אלהיו ובוים אשר יצא אל עבדיו להראות להם ולמד להם דרך ה' וכל אשר ישאלו ממנו דובר אליהם ויעש כמעשה חזת ימים רבים ושנים וישב אחרי כן ויסתר את נפשו ימים ויגלה לעמו יום אחד לשבעה ימים ואחרי כן יום אחד בחדש ויום אחד בשנה עד אשר בקשו פניו כל המלכים וכל השרים וכל בני האדם ויתאוו כולם לראות את פני חנוך ולשמוע את דבריו ולא יכולו כי יראו כל בני האדם מחנוך יראה גדולה ויראו מגשת אליו מאימת האלהים אשר על פניו על כן לא יוכל איש לראות את פניו פן יוסר וימות.

ויהי עמו כל המלכים וכל השרים לאסוף את כל בני האדם יחד לבוא אל חנוך מלכם לדבר כולם עמו בעת אשר יצא אליהם ויעשו כן ויהי היום ויצא חנוך אליהם ויתקבצו כולם ויבואו יחד אליו וידבר להם חנוך את כל דבריהם וילמד להם חכמה ודעת ויורם את יראת ה' ויתבהלו מאד כל בני האדם ויתמהו ממנו על חכמתו ושתחוו לפניו כולם ארצה ויאמרו יהי המלך יהי המלך.

Mahalalel b. Kenan was 65 years old when he fathered Yared, and Yared was 162 years old when he fathered Enoch, and Enoch was 65 years old when he fathered Methuselah. And after he had fathered Methuselah, Enoch walked with God and served the Lord and rejected the wicked ways of humanity. The soul of Enoch attached itself to the instruction of the Lord in knowledge and understanding, and he gained knowledge of the ways of the Lord. His study led him to separate himself from human society, and he concealed himself from them for a long time. . . .

The year Adam died—which was the two hundred and forty-third year of the reign of Enoch²⁷⁴—Enoch resolved to separate himself and to sequester himself from humanity and to conceal himself from them as before in order to serve the Lord. So Enoch did this thing, although he did not conceal himself from them all the time. He would withdraw from humanity for three days, and then show himself to them for one day at a time. During each three-day period which he spent in the chamber he would pray and offer praise to the Lord his God, and on the (following) day he would emerge to his servants so as to be seen by them and to teach

²⁷¹ i.e., a book of arcana which the angel Raziel presented to him after his expulsion from Paradise.

²⁷² Hebrew אירמיטיס appears to transcribe Greek ἐρημίτης “hermit” (cf. Lampe, *PGL* 548).

²⁷³ *Sefer Hayashar* (ed. Dan), 49–53; Jellinek, *BHM* 4:129–30; Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 76–7. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric “Enoch as Teacher.”

²⁷⁴ i.e., when he was 308 years old (243 + 65, the age when Enoch begat Methuselah).

אהי"ה אש"ר אהי"ה ת"י ת"י ה"י ה"י ה"י ה"י דין רוא יש רז רזיא רז רזא דנן למישויבא חלש מיד גבור ומכין מיד תקיף ועני מיד עשיר. אני פל בר פל שוכרתיו ביה נתפריק ונשתיב ונמלט מיד מלכין ושלטונין ומיד שנאין ובעל דבבין ומן צריכת בשר ודם ומיד כל בני אדם ומדינה של גיהנם. ומכל גזירות קשות ומכל מיני פורעניות ומכל בני אדם וחיה דקיימין לאבאשא לי לקבלי. לישוי פומי כפומא דאריא לישני כלישן עגלה ואלכש זיוא כסוסיא דנורא ואיעול קדמיהון כפר בר פר פאָני בר פְּטַרְי דפרק ישראל במדברא מן סיחון ועוג. כן נתפרק ונשתיב מיד מלכין ומיד שלטונין ומיד סנאין ובעלי דבבין ומגזירות קשות ומצריכות בשר ודם ומכל מיני פורעניות ומכל בני אדם דקיימין לאבאשא לי. מגן אתה לצדיקים אתה היה לי מגן ומחסה אמן.

I (now) quote for you a secret which has been transmitted by the (authority of the) great God who/which can deliver one from any affliction: "This is the secret, this is the secret, [this is] the most awesome of secrets. Do not communicate this most awesome of secrets to the uninitiated, nor should it be recited publicly, [but] an initiate may transmit it to another initiate. I, Enoch b. Yared, wrote it down in the seventieth year of my youth."²⁷⁸ Seventy-seven angels came against me, (and) I bound them with their own implements and sealed them with their own weapons.²⁷⁹ I then turned and discerned this secret through the mystery of the name EL, EL, EL, EL, EL, EL, YHW, YHW, YHW, YHW, YHW, YHW, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh, Ehyeh asher ehyeh. It is the most awesome of secrets. This secret of the secrets is for delivering the weak from the grasp of the strong, the lowly from the grasp of the powerful, and the poor from the grasp of the wealthy. When I have invoked it, I, so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, can be rescued, delivered, and saved by it from the power of kings and rulers, and from the power of enemies and adversaries, and from every mortal need, and from the jurisdiction of Gehenna, and from all harsh decrees, and from every kind of retribution, and from any of the progeny of Adam and Eve who rise up against me to cause harm to me. May my mouth be made like the mouth of a lion; (may) my tongue be (made) like the tongue of a heifer; and may I put on a radiance like (that of) fiery horses and come before them KPR BR PR Ma'anē b. Feṭērayy (?),²⁸⁰ the one who rescued Israel in the desert from Siḥon and 'Og.²⁸¹ So too may there be rescue and deliverance from the power of kings, and from the power of rulers, and from the power of enemies and adversaries, and from harsh decrees, and from mortal needs, and from every kind of retribution, and from all humans who rise up to do harm to me. You who are a shield for the righteous, may You be a shield and a refuge for me, amen!"²⁸²

²⁷⁸ Or possibly "occultation," but this meaning seems less likely.

²⁷⁹ The Aramaic equivalent of Hebrew זיין; cf. Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (repr., New York: The Judaica Press, 1982), 393 s. v. זיין.

²⁸⁰ So vocalized in the text published by Scholem.

²⁸¹ Scholem thinks this may be a *historiola* referencing a story which we no longer have.

²⁸² For further, largely linguistic, discussion of this text, see Hannu Juusola, "Notes on the Aramaic Sections of *Havdalah de-Rabbi Aqiba*," *Studia Orientalia* 99 (2004): 106–19.

Ms. British Library Hebr. 746 fol. 108b–109a (ed. Scholem):²⁸³

זכה חנוך לכך מפני מעשי אנוש הרשע ודורו שהיו מכחישין פמליא של מעלה בכשפים והוא קנא קנא גדולה לשם ובטלן בכח השמות ובהשבעות שאמר והבדילו הקב"ה מחביריו והשליט נשמתו על גופו ונהפך בשרו ללפיד אש ונעשה מלאך.

Enoch merited such (a boon) on account of the deeds of the wicked Enosh and his generation, for they were weakening the celestial retinue with magical spells, but he exercised tremendous zeal for the sake of God and he neutralized them via the power of the names and the adjurations which he invoked. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, separated him from his fellows, granted his soul authority over his body, transformed his flesh into flames of fire, and he was made into an angel.

Zohar 1.56b (ed. Vilna):

חנוך נטיל ליה קב"ה מארעא ואסקיה לשמי מרומים ואמסור בידיה כל גנוי עלאין ומ"ה מפתחן סתרי גליפין דבהו משחמשי מלאכי עילאי וכלהו אתמסרו בידיה.

The Holy One, blessed be He, removed Enoch from earth and raised him to the supernal heights and delivered into his charge all the celestial treasures, and forty-five keys—secret glyphs which the celestial angels deploy—all this was delivered into his charge.²⁸⁴

ENOCH AS FUNERAL DIRECTOR

Seder 'Olam Rabbah §1 (ed. Milikowsky):²⁸⁵

מאדם ועד המבול אלף ושש מאות וחמשים ושש שנה חנוך קבר אדם וזיה אחריו חמשים ושבע שנה.

From Adam until the Flood there were 1,656 years. Enoch buried Adam, and he remained alive after him (another) fifty-seven years.²⁸⁶

Sefer ha-Yashar (ed. Dan):²⁸⁷

ואלה תולדות חנוך מתושלח ואלישוע ואלימלך בנים שלשה ואחיותיהם מלכא ונעמה ויהי מתושלח שבע ושמונים שנה ומאת שנה ויולד אח למך ויהי בשנת חמשים ושש שנים לחיי למך וימת אדם בן תשע מאות

²⁸³ Gershom Scholem, *Rēshit ha-Qabbalah (1150–1250)* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1948), 253. This work is characterized as a thirteenth-century non-Ashkenazi kabbalistic anthology by Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), 647. For further information, see the detailed description in G[eorge]. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part III, Section I: Kabbalah* (London: British Museum, 1909), 24. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 6 under the heading “Enoch as the Angel Metatron.”

²⁸⁴ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 1:321. ²⁸⁵ Milikowsky, *Seder Olam*, 1:219.2–3.

²⁸⁶ This agrees with the tradition that Adam died when Enoch was 308 years old which is attributed to “another authority from the people of the Torah” that is quoted by Ṭabari, *Tārīkh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.7–9.

²⁸⁷ *Sefer Hayashar* (ed. Dan), 49–53. This text is also available in Jellinek, *BHM* 4:130; a slightly different text in Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 77. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric “Enoch as Teacher.”

ושלשים שנה היה במותו וקברו אותו שת ובניו וחונך ומתשלח בנו בכבוד גדול כקבור את המלכים במערה אשר דבר להם ה' ויעשו כל בני האדם במקום ההוא מספד ובכי גדול על אדם על כן היתה לחוק בבני האדם עד היום הוה וימת אדם על אשר אכל מעץ הדעת הוא ובניו כאשר דבר אליהם ה'.

These are the descendants of Enoch: three sons (named) Methuselah, Elishua, and Elimelek, and their sisters Malka and Na'amah. When Methuselah was 187 years old, he fathered Lamech. Lamech was 56 years old when Adam died.²⁸⁸ the latter was 930 years old when he died. Seth, his sons, Enoch, and his son Methuselah buried him in a cave which the Lord had spoken about to them;²⁸⁹ his burial was conducted with great dignity like that of a monarch. All of humanity were engaged in great mourning and weeping for Adam, and on account of this behavior, it became a custom among humans (to act similarly at funerals) unto this day. Adam died because he ate from the Tree of Knowledge. He and his progeny (must die), in accordance with what the Lord said to them.

The cave where Adam is buried is presumably Machpelah, since this is the site where most Jewish sources locate the grave of Adam and Eve.²⁹⁰ The same location is also probably signaled in Zohar 1.57b:

He (i.e., God) decreed death for him (i.e., Adam). Yet the Holy One, blessed be He, had mercy on him and let him be interred at the time of death close to the Garden. What had Adam done? He had made a cave, and he and his wife had hidden in it (after their expulsion). How did he know it was close (to the Garden)? He noticed a certain thin (shaft of) light streaming at that spot, one which had originated from the Garden of Eden, and he formed a desire to be buried there. That place was near the gate of the Garden of Eden.

It should however also be noticed that the chronological notices, the multiple attendants, and the context also suggests a parallelism with the *Cave of Treasures* cycle made popular in oriental Christian and Muslim tales about the death and burial of the antediluvian forefathers.

²⁸⁸ This figure can be generated from the information provided by the Masoretic text of Gen 5:3–32.

²⁸⁹ Compare *Seder 'Olam Rabbah* §1 in the immediately preceding testimony.

²⁹⁰ Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 5:126 n. 137; Michael Stone, "The Death of Adam—An Armenian Adam Book," *HTR* 59 (1966): 291.

Enoch's Interactions with Angels

One of the dominant tinctures visible in portraits of Enoch and his doings is his close association with angelic beings, an association that arguably is already embedded in the terse wording of Gen 5:22–4 where the twice-repeated phrase “and Enoch walked with God” (וַיִּהְיוּ חֹנֵן אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים) could also be read “and Enoch habitually associated with divine beings.”¹ According to *Jub.* 4:21, “he was with the angels of God these six jubilee years, and they showed him everything on earth and in the heavens, and the power of the sun;² and he wrote down everything.”³

ENOCH AS A CONFIDANT AND APPRENTICE OF ANGELS

4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) Frag. 2:⁴

1. [...] ח. נון אחר אשר למדוהו

2. [...] ששה יובלי שנים

¹ John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 131; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 30–1.

² Within its immediate context this short clause refers to the dominant role of the sun in constructing the 364-day calendar that is endorsed by the author(s) of *Jubilees*. It may however also be the seed from which the later Islamicate legend about the friendship of Enoch and the Angel of the Sun germinates. See p. 185.

³ Adapted from the translation of R. H. Charles and Chaim Rabin in H. F. D. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 23. This anthology is henceforth referenced as AOT.

⁴ [James C.] VanderKam and J. T. Milik, “Jubilees,” *apud* Harold Attridge, et al., eds, *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 173 and pl. XII (PAM 43.238). See also J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 12–13; Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (2nd edn; 2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1:616. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

1. [...En]och, after which we taught him⁵

2. [...] six jubilees of years⁶

*Cologne Mani Codex 58.6–60.12 (ed. Koenen-Römer):*⁷

πάλιν καὶ ὁ Ἐνώχ τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἔφη ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψει· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἐνώχ ὁ δίκαιος. λύπη μοί ἐστιν μεγάλη καὶ χύσις δακρῶν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου διὰ τὸ ἀκηκοῦναι με τὸν ὀνειδισμόν τὸν προελθόντα ἐκ στόματος τῶν ἄ[σ]εβῶν. ἔλεγεν δὲ [ὅ]τι τῶν δακρῶν ἐν [τοῖς] ὀφθαλμοῖς μου ὄν[των] καὶ δεήσεως ἐν τῷ [στό]ματι ἐθεώρησα ἐπι[στάν]τας μοι ἀγγέλους ἐ[πτά] ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κα[τερχομέ]νου[s]. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκινήθην ὑπὸ δέους ὥστε τὰ γόνατά μου ἀλλήλοις προσαράσσειν. καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν οὕτως· ἔφη μοι εἰς τῶν ἀγγέλων Μιχαὴλ τοῦνομα· τούτου χάριν πρὸς σέ ἀπεστάλην ἵνα ὑποδείξωμέν σοι πάντα τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀποκαλύψωμέν σοι τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον καὶ χώρόν σοι δείξω τὸν τῶ[ν] δυσσεβῶν καὶ ὁποῖος τυγχάνει ὁ τῆς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνόμων τόπος. φησὶ δὲ πάλιν ὅτι ἐκείνο[ι] ἐπεκάθισάν με ἐπὶ ἄ[ρ]ματος ἀνέμου καὶ εἰ[s] τὰ πέρατα τῶν οὐρ[ανῶν] ἀνήνεγκαν. καὶ το[ὺς] κό[σ]μους διεπεράσαμ[εν], τὸν τε κόσμον [τοῦ] θανά[του] καὶ κό[σ]μοι[ν] τοῦ σκό[τους] καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆξάν με εἰς κόσμον πλουσιώτατον ὃς εὐκλεέστατος μὲν τῷ φωτὶ ἐτύγγανεν, περικαλλέστερος δὲ ὢν εἶδον φωστήρων. πάντα δὲ ἐθεώρησεν καὶ ἐξήτασεν τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶ τι αὐτῷ εἶπον, ἐνεχάραξεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς γραφαῖς.

Moreover Enoch also speaks in a similar manner in his apocalypse: “I am Enoch the righteous.⁸ My sorrow was great, and a torrent of tears (streamed) from my eyes because I heard the insult which the wicked ones uttered.”

He says: “While the tears were still in my eyes and the prayer was yet on my lips, I beheld approaching me s[even] angels descending from heaven. [Upon seeing] them I was so moved by fear that my knees began knocking.”

He says moreover: “One of the angels, whose name was Michael, said to me: ‘I was sent to you for this purpose—in order that we might show you all the deeds and reveal to you the place (appointed) for the pious, and to show you the place (appointed) for the impious, and what sort of place of punishment the lawless are experiencing.’”⁹

He says also: “They seated me upon a chariot of wind¹⁰ and brought me to the ends of the heavens.¹¹ We traversed worlds—the world of [dea]th, the world of

⁵ Cf. *Jub.* 4:18: “just as we made them known to him.”

⁶ Cf. *Jub.* 4:21: “and he was with the angels of God these six jubilees of years,” which in accordance with the way by which *Jubilees* counts jubilee periods must total 294 years (6 × 49), whereas the “six jubilees of years” according to a biblical reckoning corresponds to the “300 years” (6 × 50) of *Gen* 5:22.

⁷ Ludwig Koenen and Cornelia Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex . . . Kritische Edition* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988), 38–40.

⁸ This is a standard epithet for Enoch in Enochic and dependent literature. See *1 En.* 1:2 (cf. 12:4); the prologue to *2 Enoch*; *T. Levi* 10:5; *T. Judah* 18:1; *T. Dan* 5:6; and the discussion in John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 184–5.

⁹ Compare *1 En.* 39:3–5; 41:2.

¹⁰ The same conveyance figures in *1 En.* 70:2 *pace* Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, “The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes,” *HTR* 70 (1977): 62.

¹¹ Compare *1 En.* 71:3–4.

[dar]kness, and the world of fire. And after these (worlds) they brought me into a world of extraordinary richness which was resplendently luminous, even more beautiful than the heavenly luminaries which I (also) beheld."¹²

All these things he saw, and he questioned the angels, and that which they told him he recorded in his writings.¹³

3 *Enoch* §§4–5 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):¹⁴

זיווגי ה'ב'ה' במרום לשר ולנגיד בין מלאכי השרת.

"The Holy One, blessed be He, joined me to the ministering angels in the heavenly height as a prince and a leader."¹⁵

Wahb *apud* Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān*:¹⁶

...ةكئالم اع م وهف.

... and he (Enoch) was with the angels.¹⁷

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah* (ed. Ṣāwī):¹⁸

... أن الله عز وجل رفعه الى الجبل الذي هو في شرة الأرض وبعث اليه ملكا حتى علمه.

(They say) that God, may He be praised and extolled, raised him up to the mountain that is at the navel of the earth, and He sent him an angel in order to teach him.

¹² Compare the Greek version of *1 En.* 22:2.

¹³ For Enoch as author, see Reeves, *Heralds*, 39–41. The present translation is a revision of the one found in *ibid.*, 183–4. Further discussion of this “Enochic” fragment appears in Greenfield and Stone, “Enochic Pentateuch,” 62–3; John C. Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library,” in John C. Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994b), 181–4; John C. Reeves, “Alleged Jewish Pseudepigrapha Cited in the *Cologne Mani Codex*: A New Translation and Introduction,” in Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov, eds, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures, Volume 2* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, in press).

¹⁴ Peter Schäfer, ed., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981), 5. A shorter variant version is published in Reuven Margalioṭ, *Ma'akey 'elyon* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1945), 75. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch as the Angel Metatron.”

¹⁵ Compare P[hilip] S], Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1:258; Charles Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch, ou, Livre des palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989), 102; Joseph Dan, ed., *The Heart and the Fountain: An Anthology of Jewish Mystical Experiences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 65–6; Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), 135.

¹⁶ Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar 'an Wahb ibn Munabbih*... (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1928), 22.4. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

¹⁷ Cf. *1 En.* 12:2; 106:7.

¹⁸ Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah* (*The Peaks of Prophecy*) (ed. Ṣalāḥ Ṣāwī; Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), 278.9–10; see also Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *The Proofs of Prophecy: A Parallel English-Arabic Text* (trans. Tarif Khalidi; Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2011), 209.9–10. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 2 under the heading “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

Abū Ḥudhayfah *apud* Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (ed. Huart):¹⁹

رفع في كتاب أبي حذيفة ان الملائكة كانوا يصفحون بنى آدم في زمن ادريس ويزورونهم رحالهم ومجالسهم لطيب الزمان
وصلاح اهله.

According to the book by Abū Ḥudhayfah, during the time of Idrīs the angels would pass among human beings and visit them in their settlements and places of gathering, for it was a blessed age in which righteousness was resident.

Abū Ḥudhayfah refers to the anthologist Iṣḥāq b. Bishr (d. 821), the compiler of an early “stories of the prophets” collection.²⁰

Midrash 'Aggadah (ed. Buber):²¹

יחי ירד ולמה נקרא שמו ירד שבימי ירדו המלאכים מן השמים והיו מלמדים הבריות האיך יעבדו
להקב"ה ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עם המלאכים הלך שלש מאות שנה בגן עדן היה עמם ולמד מהם
עיבור ותקופות ומזלות וחכמות רבות.

“And Yared lived...” (Gen 5:18). And why was his name called “Yared” (ירד)? Because during his days the angels would “descend” (ירדו) from Heaven²² and instruct created beings in how they might serve the Holy One, blessed be He.²³ “And Enoch walked with God...” (Gen 5:22, 24). He walked with the angels for three hundred years. He was with them in the Garden of Eden, and he learned

¹⁹ Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'riḫ* (6 vols; ed. Clément Huart; Paris: E. Leroux, 1899–1919), 3:12.5–7.

²⁰ Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 403; Roberto Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qur'ān and Muslim Literature* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002), 141–4; William M. Brinner, “Introduction,” in Tha'labī, *Arā'is al-Majālis fi Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā* or “*Lives of the Prophets*” (trans. William M. Brinner; Leiden: Brill, 2002), xix; Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 167 n. 12.

²¹ Salomon Buber, ed., *Midrash 'Aggadah 'al hamishah humshey torah: Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch nach einer Handschrift aus Aleppo* (2 vols; Vienna: Abraham Fanto, 1894), 1:14.28–15.1; also Margaliot, *Malakey 'elyon*, 76. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 5 under the rubric “Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise.”

²² Compare *1 En.* 6:6; 106:13; 1QapGen 3.3; *Jub.* 4:15; Origen, *Comm. in Joannem* 6.42 (Erwin Preuschen, ed., *Origines Werke, Vierter Band: Der Johanneskommentar* [GCS 10; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903], 151.10–15); Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.3 (Epiphanius, *Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25, 31, 37; 3 vols; ed. Karl Holl; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915–33], 1:172.15–20); CT §10.14–15 (Su-Min Ri, ed., *La Caverne des Trésors: Les deux recensions syriaques* [CSCO 486–7, scrip. syri 207–8; 2 vols; Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1987], 1:80–1); Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ* (M. T. Houtsma, ed., *Ibn Wadīh qui dicitur al-Ja'qūbī historiae...* [2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1883], 1:7.12–8.8); Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ (Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk (Annales quos scripsit Abu Džafar Mohammed ibn Džarir at-Tabarī)* [15 vols; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1964–5], 1/1:168.6–18), and cf. also Ibn 'Abbās *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.18–174.1; Michael Syrus, *Chron.* 1.3 (J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche, 1166–1199* [4 vols; reprinted, Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963], 4:2); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Paul Bedjan; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890), 4.16–25.

²³ Note *Jub.* 4:15; 5:6, the former of which describes an analogous instructional mission on the part of the angels, and the latter of which connects their charge with a command from God. Similar themes are present in versions of the Jewish *Midrash of Shemhazai and 'Azael* and the Muslim legend of Hārūt and Mārūt.

about intercalation, the seasons, the constellations, and many types of wisdom from them.²⁴

Shahrestānī, *Kitāb al-mīlāl wa'l-nihāl* (ed. Kaylānī):²⁵

ولا تستبعدوا معاشر الصابئة تلقي الوحى على الوجه المذكور ونزول الملك على النسق المعقود وعندكم أن هرمس العظيم صعد الى العالم الروحاني فانخرط في سلكهم.

Šābian communities do not think it likely that revelation happens in the manner that has been mentioned or that an angel might descend (to earth) in accordance with what is professed. Yet it is your opinion that the great Hermes ascended to the spiritual world and joined their company!²⁶

Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 (= Jub. 4:21):²⁷

... and he (i.e., Enoch) was with the angels of God.

... and he (i.e., Enoch) was with the angels of God.

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:²⁸

ويقال انه أتاهم إبليس في صورة روحاني له جناحان فقال لملكهم يحويل انه قد ولد الان لمهلاييل ولد يكون عدوا للالهة وعدوا للملك وسبب فسادها ولذلك أصانكم ما انتم به مشغولون فقال يحويل فهل تقدر على هلاكه؟ قال سأحرص على ذلك. فوكل الله بادريس ملاءمة يحفظونه فاذا أتاهم إبليس ومن معه من جنوده متعوههم منه. وظهر في وقته كوكب من كواكب الذوائب أقام ظاهرا نيفا وثلاثين يوما.

(Others) say that Iblīs came to them (the idolatrous descendants of Cain) in the shape of a spiritual entity with two wings. He told their king Yamahuel that Mahalalel (*sic!*) had fathered a child who was going to foment opposition to divinity and to kingship, and that he would cause their corruption, (this being the

²⁴ Compare *Jub.* 4:21: "And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything" (Charles). Note also 4Q227 (4QsJub^c) frag. 2. *Jub.* 4:23 describes how the angels situated Enoch within the Garden of Eden. Given the longstanding association of *Midrash Aggadah* with the school of R. Moshe ha-Darshan, it seems credible that some form of *Jubilees* has influenced our text. See Ḥanokh Albeck, *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1940), 19–20; Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch*, 47; Martha Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature," in Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads*, 118; Ḥananel Mack, *Mi-sodo shel Moshe ha-Darshan* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2010), 195–7.

²⁵ Shahrestānī, *Kitāb al-mīlāl wa'l-nihāl* (2 vols; ed. M. S. Kaylānī; Beirut: Dār el-Marefah, n.d.), 2:38.8–9. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 5 under the heading "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise."

²⁶ Given the standard equation of Hermes, Idris, and Enoch, this reference to an ascension and apotheosis of Hermes is almost certainly indebted to passages like 1 *En.* 12:1–2; 70:1–4; 71:1–17 and those *Hekhalot* texts treating of the metamorphosis of Enoch into Metatron.

²⁷ J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum 1234 pertinens* (2 vols; CSCO 81–2; Paris: Reipublicae, 1916–20), 1:39.8.

²⁸ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān, wa-'ajā'ib al-buldān wa'l-ghāmīr bi-al-mā' wa'l-'imrān* (2nd edn; Beirut: Dār al-Andalus lil-ṭibā'ah wa'l-nashr, 1966), 78.15–21. Regarding the spurious nature of this work, see B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, "Note sur un ouvrage attribué à Maçoudi," *JA* 9. série, 7 (1896): 133–44; C[harles] Pellat, "al-Mas'ūdī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn," *EI* 6:785; Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 46.

meaning) "of (the collapse of) that idol of yours about which you are concerned." Then Yamaḥuel said: "Can you bring about his demise?" He (Iblis) answered: "I will endeavor to do so." But God assigned for Idris angels to protect him, and when Iblis and some of those who were with him from his forces came (to do Idris harm), they kept them from harming him. At that time there appeared a certain moving star (comet?) which stayed visible for more than thirty days.²⁹

Zohar Ḥadash, *Terumah* fol. 42d (ed. Margaliot):³⁰

...הא שלימו דלתתא הוה גרע דהא אתאביד בחובא דאדם קדמא נחת לתתא ואתסמר גו אילני גנתא ... אתפשטא תמן בכל סטרי גנתא עד דאתיליד תנוך בן ירד כיון דאתיליד הוה אשתכח סמוך לגנתא שריאת ההיא נהירו לאנהרא בגויה אתרבי ברבו קודשא ושריא עליה נהירו דא מנצא עאל לגנתא עדן אשכח תמן אילנא דחיי ענפוי ואנבי דאילנא ארז כרו ואחיישיב בגויה הווא רוחא דנהירו דחיי אתו שליחן מלאכי עילאי ואוליפו ליה חכמתא עילאה יהבו ליה ספר דהוה סמיר גו אילנא דחיי ואוליף מגיה וידע אורחוי דקב"ה ואשתדל אבתריה הה"ד ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עד דהווא נהירו אשתלים בגויה כיון דהווא נהירו אשתלים לתתא בעא לסלקא לדוכתיה ובגין לאחזאה הווא שלימו ברא דחנוך.

... the perfection below was lacking since it had been lost through the transgression of Adam the Protoplast. He (i.e., Adam) descended below and hid himself among the trees of the garden. There he was stripped of all the aspects of the garden until Enoch b. Yared was born. After he had been born, he found himself near the Garden. That light began to shine within him. He was anointed with a holy anointment, and that sparkling light settled upon him.³¹ He entered the Garden of Eden and found there the Tree of Life, the branches and the fruits of the Tree. He breathed their aroma, and that spirit of the Light of Life took up residence within him. Messengers—supernal angels—came and taught him supernal wisdom. They gave him a book that had been hidden within the Tree of Life, and he studied it and discerned the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, and he strove to follow Him, as it is written (in Scripture) "And Enoch walked with God" (Gen 5:24) until that light had been perfected within him. After that light was perfected below, it sought to ascend to its (proper) place and display that perfection (that was accomplished) through the mystery of Enoch.

One day he went inside the Garden of Eden, and they showed him the secrets of the garden, and he left that book and everything that he had seen outside (the garden), and it remains guarded among the Companions.³² Afterwards he cloaked himself (with) that light inside that garment in order to show the supernal heights and by this (display) to bring shame on those who protested before their Lord that He should not create humanity in the world.

²⁹ For another translation, see B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, *Labrégé des merveilles* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1898), 87.

³⁰ Reuven Mosheh Margaliot, ed., *Sefer Zohar Ḥadash* (repr., Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 2002), 84. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the 'Reincarnation' of Adam."

³¹ Compare Enoch's analogous investiture in 2 *En.* 22:8–10.

³² i.e., the legendary associates of R. Shim'on b. Yoḥai in the production, reception, and exposition of the Zoharic corpus of writings.

Zohar 2.277a–b (ed. Vilna):³³

עד דאתיליד חנוך בן ירד כיון דאתיליד הוה אשכח סמוך לגנתא שריאת ההוא נהירו לאתנהרא... בגווייהו אתרבי ברבו קודשא ושריא עליה נהירו דמנצנא עאל לגנתא דעדן אשכח תמן אילני דחיי וענפי ואנבו דאילנא ארה ביה <ואתישיב בגויה ההוא רוחא דנהירו דחיי> אתו שליחן מלאכי עלאי אוליפו ליה חכמתא עלאה יחבו ליה ספר דהוה שמיר גו אילנא דחיי ואוליף מניה ידע אורחוי דקב"ה ואשתדל אבתריה ה"ד ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עד דההוא נהירו אשתלים בגויה כיון דההוא נהירו אשתלים לחתא בעא לסלקא לדוכתיה ובגין לאחזאה ההוא שלימו ברוא דחנוך יומא חד עאל גו גנתא דעדן ואחמו ליה טמירין דגנתא ואנת ההוא ספר וגו'.

... (the light³⁴ was lost) until Enoch b. Yared was born. When he was born, he found himself near the Garden. That light began to shine within him. He was anointed with a holy anointment and a sparkling light settled upon him.³⁵ He entered the Garden of Eden and found there Trees (*sic!*) of Life, with the branches and fruit of the Tree. He breathed its aroma and <and that spirit of the Light of Life took up residence within him>.³⁶ Emissaries—celestial angels—came (and) instructed him in supernal wisdom. They gave him a book which had been concealed within the Tree of Life,³⁷ and he studied it and discerned the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, and strove to follow Him, as Scripture attests: “and Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:24) until the light which was within him was perfected. As soon as the light was perfected below, it sought to ascend to its (proper) place. And hence He showed that perfection through the mystery of Enoch,³⁸ (who) one day entered into the Garden of Eden, and they showed him the secrets of the Garden, and he left that book, etc.³⁹

Zohar 3.10b (ed. Vilna):⁴⁰

תאנא בספרא דחנוך בשעתא דאתידאו ליה חכמתא דרוין עלאין וחמא אילנא דגנתא דעדן אחזיו ליה חכמתא ברוא עלאה וחמא דכלהו עלמין הוו מתקשראן דא ברא שאיל לון על מה קיימין אמרו ליה על י

³³ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82.

³⁴ An emblem of Adam's supernal soul. Here Enoch is being represented as the reincarnation of Primordial Adam; see Tiqquney ha-Zohar §70 fol.137a.

³⁵ Compare Enoch's analogous investiture in 2 *En.* 22:8–10.

³⁶ Emending ואתישיב בגויה נהירו רוחא דנהירו דחיי according with the text of Zohar *Ḥadash*, *Terumah* 42d (see p. 175).

³⁷ Compare the Coptic gnostic treatise *Pistis Sophia* 3.134: “Because even for the righteous themselves who have never done evil, and have not committed sins at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the Books of Jeu, which I (i.e., Jesus) caused Enoch to write in Paradise when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life.” Cited from Carl Schmidt, ed., *Pistis Sophia* (NHS 9; trans. Violet MacDermot; Leiden: Brill, 1978a), 349.

³⁸ See Zohar 3.217b.

³⁹ For another translation, see Alan Unterman, ed., *The Kabbalistic Tradition: An Anthology of Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 98. See also Zohar *Ḥadash*, *Terumah* 42d, which is translated by Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (3 vols; Oxford: The Littman Library, 1989), 627; also Philip S. Alexander, “From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch,” in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 111. Compare Zohar 2.55a and 3.10b.

⁴⁰ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82–3.

קימי כלו ומוניא את בניאיו ואשתלשלו דכתיב כלם בחכמה עשית וחמא דכלהו מודעזו מדחילו דמאריהון ועל שמיא אתקרין כלו.

It is taught in the *Book of Enoch* that at the time they revealed to him the wisdom of the supernal mysteries he saw the Tree which is in the Garden of Eden. They showed to him the celestial secret wisdom, and he discerned that all the worlds were bound to each other. He asked them how they (the worlds) were sustained. They responded: Each one of them stands upon the letter *yod*, and from it they were built and knotted together, as scripture affirms: "all of them You formed with wisdom" (Ps 104:24). He discerned that all of them quaked due to reverence for their Lord, and that all of them were named after His own name.⁴¹

Sefer ha-Yashar (ed. Dan):⁴²

ויהי מקץ ימים רבים ושנים בהיותו עובר לפני ה' ויהי הוא מתפלל לפני ה' בבית ובחדר ויקרא אליו מלאך ה' מן השמים ויאמר הנוך הנוך ויאמר הנני ויאמר אליו קום צא מביתך וממקומך אשר נחבאת שמה ומלכת על כל בני האדם למען אשר תלמדם את הדרך אשר ילכו בה ואת המעשה אשר יעשו ללכת בדרכי ה' וקם הנוך ויצא מביתו וממקומו ומן החדר אשר היה שם בדבר ה' וילך את בני האדם וילמדם דרך ה' ויאסוף את בני האדם בעת ההיא ויודיעם את מוסר ה'.

After the passage of many years during which he was engaged in service⁴³ before the Lord, it happened that he was praying to the Lord in an inner chamber. An angel of the Lord called out to him from heaven, saying "Enoch! Enoch!" He responded, "Here I am." He (the angel) said to him: "Arise and depart from your house and the place wherein you were concealed, and assume rulership over all of humanity so that you might instruct them in the way they should behave and about the action(s) they should perform in order to walk in the ways of the Lord." So Enoch arose and left his house and his place and the chamber where he was in accordance with the word of the Lord. He traveled among humanity and taught them the way of the Lord. He moreover convoked a general assembly at that time in order to instruct them about the discipline expected by the Lord.

ENOCH WIELDS ANGEL-LIKE POWER

Sefer Noah (ed. Jellinek):⁴⁴

ואחר ארבעה דורות עמד הנוך בן ירד והשכיל ביראת אלהים והנהיג עצמו בטהרה והיה רוחץ ומתקדש במים חיים ומפיל תחינה לפני בורא הכל ונגלה המקום בחלום שנטמן בו הספר הדרך שנהג בו ומה מלאכתו וקדושה טהרתו והשכים והלך למערה ואיחר עד הצהרים ומכח התמה בא נפשו שם שלא יבינו

⁴¹ Compare Daniel C. Matt, *Sefer ha-Zohar: The Zohar, Pritzker Edition* (12 vols; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004–17), 7:54.

⁴² Joseph Dan, ed., *Sefer Hayashar* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1986), 49–53. This text is also available in Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur* (6 vols; Leipzig, 1853–77; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrman, 1938), 4:129–32 (this collection henceforth referenced as *BHM*); Margalio, *Malakey Elyon*, 76–8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Teacher."

⁴³ Read עובר for עובר; cf. Jellinek, *BHM* 4:129.

⁴⁴ Jellinek, *BHM* 3:157.32–158.13.

בו אנשי המקום ולפני האל ברוך הוא התחנן ועלה בטהרה והחזיק בשם הטהור ובשעה שהבין בו נהרו עיניו בכל דרכיו ותנהג בו והלך עד שנדמה לקדושי מרום ונבדל מן דרי הארץ ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים.

After four generations there arose Enoch b. Yared, and he paid heed to the fear of God. He conducted himself in purity: he would bathe and consecrate himself in running water, and he would plead in supplication before the Creator of all. There was revealed to him in a dream the place within which there was hidden a book, the way how he should apply it, what its use was, and its pure sanctity. He arose early and went to the cave and waited until noon. Due to the intensity of the sun, he brought himself within so that the people of the place did not observe him.⁴⁵ He beseeched the Blessed Deity and ascended (to heaven) in purity. He acquired possession of the Pure Name, and at the moment that he understood it, his eyes illuminated all his paths. He guided himself with it and continued until he became like one of the supernal holy ones and was removed from the inhabitants of the earth. "And he was no more, for God took him" (Gen 5:24).

Zohar 1.56b:⁴⁶

חנך נטיל ליה קב"ה מארעא ואסקיה לשמי מרומים ואמסור בידיה כל גנוי עלאין ומ"ה מפתחן סתרי גליפין דבהו משתמשי מלאכי עילאי וכלהו אתמסרו בידיה.

The Holy One, blessed be He, removed Enoch from earth and raised him to the supernal heights and delivered into his charge all the celestial treasures, and forty-five keys—secret glyphs which the celestial angels deploy—all this was delivered into his charge.⁴⁷

ENOCH BEARS WITNESS AGAINST THE WATCHERS

According to *Jub.* 4:22, Enoch "bore witness to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men—for these had begun to form unions with the daughters of men and so defile themselves; and Enoch bore witness against them all."⁴⁸

4Q213 (4QLevi^a ar) Frag. 4:⁴⁹

[...] 2. [א הלא קבל] ח[ן]ך [...]

2. [...] did not [E]noch accuse....

⁴⁵ Emend *בנפשו* to *נפשו*? ⁴⁶ Margalioth, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 73.

⁴⁷ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 1:321.

⁴⁸ Adapted from the translation of Charles and Rabin in *AOT*, 23.

⁴⁹ PAM 43.241. Transcriptions are provided by Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 23; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 208; Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "The First Manuscript of Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran (4QLevi^a aram)," *Mus* 107 (1994): 276–7; Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 120–1; Florentino García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1997–8), 1:448–9; M[ichael]. E. Stone and J[onas]. C. Greenfield, "The Aramaic Levi Document," in James C. VanderKam, et al., eds, *Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 21–3; Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 216–17.

Several scholars (Milik, Kugler, García Martínez-Tigchelaar) read the name “Enoch” in this line, but only the final *kaph* is clearly visible in the photograph. If the name “Enoch” is indeed present, one might compare *Jub.* 4:22. Beyer however does not include the name. Stone and Greenfield opine that such a reading is very dubious and discard it from their transcription.⁵⁰

4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) Frag. 2:⁵¹

3. [...]א.רן אל תוך בני האדם ויעד על כולם

4. [...] וגם על העידים וכתוב אח כול

3. [...]ear]th among humans, and he testified against⁵² all of them

4. [...] and also against⁵³ the Watchers.⁵⁴ He wrote down everything....

ENOCH/METATRON/IDRĪS MEDIATES BETWEEN HEAVEN AND DISPLACED ANGELS⁵⁵

Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 4.16.2 (ed. Harvey):⁵⁶

Sed et Enoch sine circumcissione placens Deo, cum esset homo, Dei legatione ad angelos fungebatur et translatus est et conservatur usque nunc testis justi iudicii Dei, quoniam angeli quidem transgressi deciderunt in terram in iudicium; homo autem placens, translatus est in salutem.

But Enoch also was pleasing to God despite his uncircumcised state. Even while he was (still) human, he acted as the ambassador of God to the angels, and (later) he was translated (to heaven), and he is still preserved (there) as a witness of the just verdict of God,⁵⁷ since the angels who sinned fell to earth for judgment, whereas the man who was pleasing was translated for deliverance.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ It is not listed among the occurrences of the name “Enoch” in Martin G. Abegg, Jr, James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, Volume One: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2:837. See also the remarks of David Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16,” *HUCA* 50 (1979): 129–30; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 218.

⁵¹ VanderKam and Milik, “Jubilees,” 173 and pl. XII (PAM 43.238). See also Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 12–13; Parry and Tov, *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, 1:616. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

⁵² Or alternatively “about.” So Devorah Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *VT* 33 (1983): 22.

⁵³ Or “about,” again with Dimant. ⁵⁴ Note also *Jub.* 4:22.

⁵⁵ This motif will receive a fuller discussion in Volume 2.

⁵⁶ W. Wigan Harvey, ed., *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis: Libros quinque adversus haereses* (2 vols; Cantabrigiae: Typis Academicis, 1857), 2:190. See also Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Christiani Liebezeit, 1713), 168; H. J. Lawlor, “Early Citations from the Book of Enoch,” *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897): 195; and Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. edn; 3 vols in 4; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), 3/1:262.

⁵⁷ See *Jub.* 4:24; 3 *Enoch* §5 (ed. Schäfer); *Otiyyot de R. Aqiva*.

⁵⁸ Note Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 195–6; also James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds, *The Jewish*

Gordon Incantation Bowl Text D lines 10–11:⁵⁹

כולהון שביתין ובטילין מן מימריה דאל קנא ונוקים הו דשלח עוזא ועזאל ומיטטרון איסרא רבא דכורסיא.

May all of them (viz., malicious magical spells) be stopped and nullified by the command of the “zealous and vengeful God”⁶⁰—He who sent ‘Uzza and ‘Azael and Metatron, the great prince of the throne.

While the reference to these three angelic names may be an allusion to their “testing” after their condemnation of human sinfulness, or perhaps their opposition to the elevation of Enoch-Metatron,⁶¹ this however fails to explain why the name “Metatron” appears here as an agent who was dispatched by God. It seems more likely that this magic bowl’s reference to God’s dispatch of Metatron is based on the latter figure’s role as a messenger and mediator between the denizens of heaven and earth such as is visible in *1 Enoch*, the apocryphal *Book of Giants*, and *Bereshit Rabbati* (see p. 182).

Ibn ‘Abbās *apud* Tha‘labī, ‘*Arā’is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā*:⁶²

يدل عليه ما روى قيس بن عباد عن ابن عباس في هذه القصة قال كانت امرأت فضلت على النساء بالحسن والجمال كما فضلت هذا الزهرة على سائر الكواكب قالوا فلما أمسى هاروت وماروت بعد ما قارفا الذنب هما بالصعود الى السماء فلم تطاوعمها أجنبتهما فعلمتا ما حل بهما فقصدا الى ادريس عليه السلام فاخبراه بامرهما وسألوه ان يشفع لهما الى الله تعالى وقال له اناريناك يصعد لك من العبادة مثل ما يصعد لجميع اهل الارض فاشفع لنا الى الله تعالى قال ففعل ادريس ذلك فخيرهما الله بين عذاب الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة فاخترتا عذاب الدنيا لانه ينقطع فهما ببابل يعذبان. واختلف العلماء في كيفية عذابهما.

Confirming the veracity of this is what Qays b. ‘Abbād related from Ibn ‘Abbās with regard to this story. He said: “She was a woman who exceeded other women in loveliness and beauty in the same way that al-Zuhara exceeds all other stars. They say that at the time of evening when Hārūt and Mārūt, after engaging in their sin, were ready to ascend to heaven, their wings would not obey them. Then they knew what had befallen them. They went to Idrīs (upon him be peace!) and recounted their case to him, and they asked him if he would petition God Most High on their behalf. They said to him: ‘We have noticed that you send up an amount of devotional service that is equivalent to that sent up by the rest of the inhabitants of the earth. Intercede for us with God Most High!’” He said: “Idrīs did that, and God gave them an option between punishment in this world and punishment in the world to come. They selected punishment in this world because it will have an end. They are in Babylon undergoing punishment.”

Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity (CRINT 3.4; Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1996), 42, who plausibly suggests that Irenaeus read Gen 5:21–4; 6:1–4 through the lens of *1 Enoch*, and especially Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 149–51; 157–8.

⁵⁹ Cyrus H. Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums,” *ArOr* 6 (1934): 319–34, at 328.

⁶⁰ Cf. Nah 1:2.

⁶¹ Jonas C. Greenfield, “Notes on Some Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls,” *JANESCU* 5 (1973a): 152.

⁶² Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq al-Nisābūrī al-Tha‘labī, *Kitāb qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’ al-musammā b’al-‘arā’is* (Cairo: Al-Sharafiyyah, 1880), 49.11–18.

Mujāhid apud Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*.⁶³

عن مجاهد واما شان هاروت وماروت فان الملائكة عجبته من ظلم بنى آدم وقد جاءتهم الرسل والكتب والبيئات فقال لهم... ربهم اختاروا منكم ملكين انزلهما يحكمان في الارض بين بنى آدم فاختراروا هاروت وماروت فقال لهما حين انزلهما عجبتما من بنى آدم ومن ظلمهم ومعصيتهم واما تأتيتهم الرسل والكتب من وراء واتمتا ليس بيني وبينكما روول فافعلوا كذا وكذا ودعا كذا وكذا فامرهما بامر ونهاهما ثم نزل على ذلك ليس احد الله اطوع منهما فحكما فعذلا فكانتا يحكمان النهار بين بنى آدم فاذا امسيا عرجا وكاتا مع الملائكة وينزلان حين يصجان فيحكمان فيعدلان حتى انزلت عليهما الزهرة في احسن صورة امراة تغاصم فقضيا عليها فلما قامت وجد كل واحد منهما في نفسه فقال احدهما لصاحبه وجدت مثل مار جدت قال نعم فبعثا اليها ان اثنتا نقض لك فلما رجعت قال لها وقضيا لها اثنتا فاثنتا فكشفا لها عن عورتها واما كانت شهوتها في انفسهما ولم يكونا كبتى آدم في شهوة النساء ولذتها فلما بلغا ذلك واستحلاه وافتتنا طارت الزهرة فرجعت حيث كانت فلما امسيا عرجا فردا ولم يؤذن لهما ولم تحملهما اجنتهما فاستغاثا برجل من بنى آدم فاتياه فقالا ادع لنا ربك فقال كيف يشفع اهل الارض لاهل السماء قالا سمعنا ربك يذكر بخير في السماء فوعدهما يوما وغدا يدعو لهما فدعا لهما فاستجيب له فخيرا بين عذاب الدنيا وعذاب الاخرة فنظر احدهما لصاحبه فقالا نعلم ان انواع عذاب الله في الاخرة كذا وكذا في الخلد ومع الدنيا سبع مرات مثلها فامرا ان ينزلا ببابل فتم عذابهما وزعم انهما معلقان في الحديد مطويان يصفقان باجنتهما.

According to Mujāhid, the subject of Hārūt and Mārūt pertains to when the angels were amazed at the wickedness of human beings even after messengers, books, and explanations had been provided for them. Their Lord said to them (i.e., the angels): "Choose from among yourselves two angels whom I will send down to adjudicate among the human beings upon the earth." They chose Hārūt and Mārūt. Then He said to them at the time when He sent them down: "Are you amazed at the human beings and at their wickedness and their rebelliousness? However, messengers and books only come to them individually from afar, whereas there is no messenger between Me and you! Therefore (you should) do so and so while avoiding so and so!" Hence He gave them a command and forbade them (certain things).

Then they accordingly came down—and no one was more obedient to God than they—and they judged and acted justly. They would adjudicate during the daylight hours among human beings, and when it was evening they would ascend and remain among the angels. They would go back down (to earth) when it was morning. They continued to judge and act justly until al-Zuhara came to them in the beautiful form of a woman. She was party to a lawsuit, and they pronounced judgment against her. Passion arose in each one of them for her. One of them said to his colleague: "Do you feel similarly to how I feel?" He answered, "Yes." They sent for her (saying): "Come to us and we will rule in your favor." When she returned, they spoke to her and issued a ruling in her favor. (Then they said): "Come with us," and she came to them, and they exposed their genitals to her. However, their lechery was in their hearts, for they were not like human beings with regard to lust for women and its pleasures.

After they had finished with this, and having taken delight in her and becoming infatuated with her, al-Zuhara flew away and returned to where she formerly was. When it was evening, they tried to ascend, but they were repelled: it was not permitted for them to do so, nor were their wings able to carry them. They sought the help of a mortal man:⁶⁴ they came to him and said: "Invoke your Lord for us." He

⁶³ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (30 vols; Bulaq, 1905–II; repr. as 12 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rīfah, 1986), 1:365; Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān (Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī)* (15 vols; Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2002), 1:602 (#1692).

⁶⁴ Based on the parallel passages in other sources, this human intercessor is Idrīs (i.e., Enoch).

answered: "How can the inhabitants of earth intercede for the inhabitants of heaven?" They said: "We heard your Lord speak well of you in heaven." He promised them he would pray for them.⁶⁵ He prayed for them and his prayers were answered. They were made to choose between punishment in this world or the Final Punishment. They each looked at one another and said: "We know that the types of divine punishment in the hereafter are like such and such and are eternal, whereas in comparison (those for) this world (will cease?) after seven times. It was decreed that they be sent down to Babylon and endure their punishment there. It is said that they are suspended in iron (chains), inverted, (and) flapping their wings."⁶⁶

2 En. 7:1–5 (long):

And those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment. And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness. And unceasingly they made weeping, all the day long. And I said to the men who were with me: "Why are these ones being tormented unceasingly?" Those men answered me: "These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince⁶⁷ and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven." And I felt very sorry for them; and those angels bowed down to me and said to me: "O Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!" And I answered them and said: "Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows where I am going and what will confront me? Or who indeed will pray for me?"⁶⁸

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):⁶⁹

ר' יוסף אמר בשעה שנגזרה גזרה לברא מבול בעולם שגר הב"ה למסטרון שליח לשמחזאי א"ל עתיד הב"ה להחריב העולם עמד שמחזאי והרים קולו בבכי ובזעקה והיה מצטער על העולם ועל בניו שכל אחד מהם היה אוכל אלף גמלים ואלף חוסים ואלף מין בהמה עתה ממה יחיו.

R. Joseph said: At the time that the decision for the coming of the Deluge into the world was reached, the Holy One, blessed be He, dispatched Metatron as a messenger to Shemḥazai. He reported to him: "The Holy One, blessed be He, is planning to destroy the world." Shemḥazai arose and loudly wept and lamented,⁷⁰ and grieved for the world and for his sons, "for each of them would eat one thousand

⁶⁵ Amending the text in accordance with the reading of the al-Turkī edition.

⁶⁶ See E[nn]o]. Littmann, "Hārūt und Mārūt," in *Festschrift Friedrich Carl Andreas zur Vollendung des siebenzigsten Lebensjahres am 14. April 1916 dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1916), 78–9; Leo Jung, *Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan Literature* (Philadelphia, 1926; repr., New York: Ktav, 1974), 137; Mahmoud Ayoub, *The Qur'an and its Interpreters* (2 vols; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984–92), 1:132–3; John C. Reeves, "Some Parascrptural Dimensions of the 'Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt,'" *JAOS* 135 (2015): 817–42.

⁶⁷ i.e., Satanael.

⁶⁸ Adapted from the translation of F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:112–14.

⁶⁹ *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 30.11–15.

⁷⁰ Compare this pericope with 1 En. 12:3–13:5; 15:2–16:4. Metatron is, of course, the "angelified" Enoch.

camels, one thousand horses, and one thousand of every kind of cattle (daily). How now will they survive?"

al-Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):⁷¹

وأما هاروت وماروت فهما مقيدان مسلسلان في بئر بارض بابل الى يوم القيامة قبل ايهما منعاً من الصعود الى السماء فبقيا على ذلك فلما كان في ايام ادريس عليه السلام مضيا اليه وقالوا له انه قد كان منا زنة واحدة وقد منعنا من الصعود الى السماء فهل لك ان تدعو الله لنا حتى يتجاوز ربنا عن خطئنا فقال ادريس وكيف لي ان اعلم بالتجاوز فقال ادع لنا فان رايتنا فهو الاستجابة وان لم ترانا فقد هلكتنا فظهر ادريس عليه السلام وصلى ركعتين ودعا الله ثم التفت اليهم فلم يرهما فعلم ادريس ان العقوبة قد حلت بهما واخطفا من موضعهما الى ارض بابل من العراق ثم خيرا بين عذاب الدنيا والآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا لان الدنيا دار الزوال فهما في بئر بارض بابل منكسان هناك الى يوم القيامة.

Now Hārūt and Mārūt were bound and chained in a pit in the land of Babylon until the day of final judgment. It is said that they are prohibited from re-ascending to heaven and remain in this condition.

Formerly, in the days of Idrīs (upon whom be peace!), they went to him and said to him, "We have made one mistake and are prohibited from re-ascending to heaven. Can you call upon God for us so that our Lord will disregard our sin?" Idrīs replied, "How will I know He has disregarded (your sin)?" They said, "Pray for us. If you (continue to) see us, then He will have granted (your prayer), but if you do not see us, then we are ruined."

Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) purified himself, prayed two *raka'āt*,⁷² and called to God. Then he glanced back toward them, but he did not see them, and so Idrīs knew that they had incurred punishment, and that they had been carried away from their place to the land of Babylon in Irāq.

Then they could choose between punishment in this world or punishment in the next world. They chose punishment in this world, because this world is a dwelling place of impermanence. They are in a pit in the land of Babylon, hanging upside down in that place until the day of final judgment.⁷³

Qazwīni, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld):⁷⁴

ومنهم هاروت وماروت خصلهم الله وهما ملكان معذبان ببابل قال ابن عباس لما اخرج آدم من الجنة عرياناً نظرت اليه الملائكة وقالت الهنا هذا آدم بديع فطرتك اقله ولا تخذله حتى مزم بملاء من الملائكة فوبخوه على نقضه عهد ربه وكان ممن وبخه يومئذ هاروت وماروت فقال آدم يا ملائكة ربي ارحموا ولا توبخوا فذلك الذي جرى على كان قضاء ربي وقدره فابتلاه الله حتى عصيا ومنعنا من صعود السماء فلما كان ايام ادريس عم سارا اليه وذكرنا له قضتهما ثم قال له هل لك ان تدعو لنا حتى يتجاوز عنا ربنا فقال ادريس كيف لي علم بالتجاوز عنكما فقال ادع لنا فان رايتنا فهو الاستجابة وان لم ترنا هلكتنا فتوضى ادريس عم ودعا الله تعالى ثم التفت فلم يرهما فام ان العقوبة قد حلت بهما فاخطفا الى ارض بابل ثم خيرا بين عذاب الدنيا وعذاب الآخرة فاختارا عذاب الدنيا فهما مسلسلان معذبان في بئر بارض بابل منكسين الى يوم القيامة.

⁷¹ I. Eisenberg, ed., *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā': Vita Prophetarum auctore Muḥammed ben 'Abdallah al-Kisā'i* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1922-3), 1:45.22-46.10.

⁷² A fixed sequence of utterances, bows, and prostrations.

⁷³ A translation is also available in Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisā'i* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 47-8.

⁷⁴ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Zakariya Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie* (2 vols; Göttingen, 1848-9; repr., Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1967), 1:61.18-29. Max Grünbaum calls attention to the correspondence between Qazwīni's narrative and the Jewish *Midrash of Shemḥazai and 'Azael*; see his "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Mythologie aus der Hagada," in Max Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde* (ed. Felix Perles; Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1901), 61.

And among those whom God purged were Hārūt and Mārūt: they were two angels who were punished in Babylon. Ibn 'Abbās said: When Adam was cast out naked from Paradise, the angels noticed him and said, "O our God! This is Adam, a marvel among your creation(s)! Bear with him and do not abandon him!" (Sentiments such as these were expressed) until he passed by a group of angels who chided him for his failure to fulfill the charge of his Lord, and among those chastising him at that time were Hārūt and Mārūt. Adam said, "O angels of my Lord! Have pity and stop your scolding, for that which has happened to me was fixed and determined by my Lord!"⁷⁵ Thereupon God tested them (i.e., the scolding angels) until they became disobedient, (and as a result) they were barred from ascending to heaven.⁷⁶

At the time of Idrīs (upon whom be peace!), they approached him and related their story to him. Then they asked him, "Can you make appeal for us so that our Lord might disregard us?"⁷⁷ Idrīs responded, "How will I know He has disregarded you?" They said, "Pray for us. If you (continue to) see us, then He will have granted (your prayer), but if you do not see us, then we are ruined." Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) performed ritual ablution and called upon God Most Exalted. Then he glanced back and did not see them, and so he knew that they had incurred punishment,⁷⁸ and that they had been carried away to the land of Babylon. They were offered a choice between punishment in this world or final punishment, and they chose punishment in this world. Hence they are painfully shackled in a pit in the land of Babylon (where) they are suspended upside down until the Day of Resurrection.⁷⁹

Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran):⁸⁰

قال إنَّ الله تبارك وتعالى غضب على ملك من الملائكة فقطع جناحه وألقاه في جزيرة من جزائر البحر فبقى ما شاء الله في ذلك البحر فلما بعث الله إدریس (ع) جاء ذلك الملك إليه فقال يا نبي الله ادع الله أن يرضى عني ويرد عليّ جناحي قال نعم فدعا إدریس ربّه فردَّ الله عليه جناحه ورضى عنه.

⁷⁵ Compare the parallel version of this opening scene that is found in *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:45.2–13; Thackston, *Tales*, 46–7.

⁷⁶ Compare *I En* 14:5: "And from now on you will not ascend into heaven for all eternity, and it has been decreed that you are to be bound in the earth for all the days of eternity." Translation is that of Michael A. Knibb, "I Enoch," in *AOT*, 201.

⁷⁷ Compare *I En* 13:4–5: "And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness, and to take the record of their petition up to the Lord in heaven. For they (themselves) were not able from then on to speak, and they did not raise their eyes to heaven out of shame for the sins for which they had been condemned" (*AOT*, 199).

⁷⁸ Compare *I En* 13:6–8: "And then I wrote out the record of their petition and their supplication in regard to their spirits and the deeds of each one of them, and in regard to what they asked, (namely) that they should obtain absolution and forbearance. And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan which is south-west of Hermon; and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep. And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell upon me, and I saw a vision of wrath, (namely) that I should speak to the sons of heaven and reprove them" (*AOT*, 199–200).

⁷⁹ Another translation of this pericope is available in Jung, *Fallen Angels*, 129–30. See also Toufy Fahd, "Anges, démons et djinns en Islam," in *Génies, anges et démons* (Sources orientales 8; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971), 173–4.

⁸⁰ Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (110 vols; Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyah, 1956–74), 11:277.1–5. The full citation of this source can be found in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death." See also Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'iri, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. H. M. 'Aqil; Beirut: Dār al-Balāgha, 1991), 85.9–13.

[A *ḥadīth* from Abū 'Abdallāh (i.e., the sixth *imām* Ja'far al-Ṣādiq)]. He said: If God, may He be blessed and exalted, becomes angry with one of the angels, He cuts off his wing and casts him down onto an island among the islands of the sea, and he remains (there) in that sea however long God wishes. When God had sent Idrīs, upon whom be peace, an angel like this came to him and said: "O prophet of God! Will you please implore God to readmit me to His favor and to restore my wing to me?" He answered: "Yes." Then Idrīs made appeal to His Lord, and God restored his wing to him and readmitted him to His favor.⁸¹

Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. 'Aqil):⁸²

قال رسول الله (ص) ان ملكا من الملائكة كانت له منزلة فأهبطه الله من السماء الى الارض فأق ادريس فقال اشفع لي عند ربك فصلى ثلاث ليال لا يقتر وصام ايامها لا يقتر ثم طلب الى الله في السحر للملك فأذن له في الصعود الى السماء.

[Excerpted from the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī]. The Prophet of God, may God bless him, once said: A certain angel once enjoyed a particular status, but later God cast him from heaven to earth. He came to Idrīs and said: "Could you please intercede with your Lord on my behalf?" So he prayed three nights without stopping, and he fasted during their days without stopping; then he made appeal to God at daybreak for the angel. As a result God permitted him to re-ascend to heaven.

ENOCH/IDRĪS AND THE ANGEL OF THE SUN

One unusual cluster of traditions attached to Enoch/Idrīs and his reputed close relationship with members of the angelic world involves his friendship with the so-called "Angel of the Sun"; i.e., the entity responsible for the movement of the sun across the heavens. The seed from which this particular legend developed may already be visible in *Jub.* 4:21 where a portion of the knowledge recorded by Enoch which he received from angelic interlocutors included "the power of the sun" (*šeltāno la-ḍaḥay*). Reinforcing this specific friendship are the solar associations of the biblical character which we surveyed in Chapter 1.

Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr* to Q 19:56–7:⁸³

ادريس: وهو جد أبي نوح واسمه أخنوخ عليه السلام. انه كان صديقا: يعنى مؤمنا بتوحيد الله عز وجل. نبيا... ورفعهه مكانا عليا: يعنى في السماء الرابعة وفيها مات وذلك حين دعا للملك الذى يسوق الشمس.

"Idrīs" was the grandfather of the father of Noah, and his name was Akhnūkh (i.e., Enoch), upon whom be peace! The phrase "for he was a truthful one" means he

⁸¹ This story is briefly summarized by Antoine Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes: From Greek God to Alchemical Magus* (trans. Joscelyn Godwin; Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1995), 20.

⁸² Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. 'Aqil), 86.2–5. The full citation of this source can be found in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death." See also Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 11:278.2–4.

⁸³ Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān* (3 vols; Beirut: Dār al-Katab al-'Ilmiyah, 2003), 2:316.

was a believer in the unity of God, may He be praised and exalted, “a prophet.” The phrase “and We raised him to a lofty place” means (he was raised) to the fourth heaven. Yet he died there, and this was at the time he prayed on behalf of the angel who bears the sun.⁸⁴

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad’ wa’l-ta’riḫ* (ed. Huart):⁸⁵

واختلف الناس كيف رفع في كتاب أبي حنيفة ان الملائكة كانوا يصفحون بنى آدم في زمن ادريس ويزورونهم رجالهم ومجالسهم لطيب الزمان وصلاح اهله فاستاذن ملك الشمس في زيارته فاذن له فسأله ادريس ان يرفعه الى السماء ليعبد الله فيها مع الملائكة فرفعه الله فهو في السماء الرابعة وروى عن عبد الله بن العباس انه سال ملك الشمس ان يعلمه الاسم الذي يصعد به الى السماء فعلمه فرقى به الى السماء الرابعة . . . وروى انه رفع الى السماء الدنيا كما رفع عيسى.

People differ in opinion as to how he was raised up. According to the book by Abū Ḥudhayfah, during the time of Idrīs the angels would pass among human beings and visit them in their settlements and places of gathering, for it was a blessed age in which righteousness was resident. The Angel of the Sun asked for permission to pay him (Idrīs) a visit, and he gave his assent. Then Idrīs asked him to raise him up to the heavens so that he would worship God there and be in the company of the angels. So God raised him up, and he was placed in the fourth heaven.

‘Abdallāh Ibn ‘A[bbās] relates that he asked the Angel of the Sun to teach him the Name by means of which he could ascend to heaven. He taught it to him, and using it he ascended to the fourth heaven. . . . It is also related that he was raised up to the nearest heaven, just as Jesus was raised.

It is interesting that the Angel of the Sun repeatedly occurs in this folktale in connection with the “fourth heaven.” This is presumably based upon a cosmology like that articulated in 2 *Enoch* 11–17, where the sun (and moon) occupy the fourth heaven above earth.⁸⁶ According to the late antique magical grimoire known as the *Sefer ha-Razim*, the sun has its “stately chamber” (חופה) in the “fourth firmament,” and among the spells associated by this manual with that same supernal level is the infamous “Prayer to Helios”; i.e., to the sun.⁸⁷

Ibn ‘Abbās apud Tha‘labī, *‘Arā’is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*:⁸⁸

وكان سبب رفعه الى السماء على ما قال ابن عباس واكثر الناس انه سار ذات يوم فاصابه وهج الشمس فقال يا رب اني مشيت في الشمس يوما فتأذيت فكيف بمن يحملها خمسمائة عام في يوم واحد اللهم خفف عنه ثقلا واحمل عنه حرها فلما أصبح الملك

⁸⁴ For another translation, see William F. McCants, *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 75 n. 141.

⁸⁵ Maqdisī, *K. al-bad’ wa’l-ta’riḫ* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:12.4–13.

⁸⁶ This is also the case with the Ptolemaic cosmology. See Bernard R. Goldstein, “Astronomy among Jews in the Middle Ages,” in Gad Freudenthal, ed., *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 137; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 167 n. 13.

⁸⁷ Mordecai Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Jerusalem: The American Academy for Jewish Research, 1966), 96–100; Bill Rebigier and Peter Schäfer, eds, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II: Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II: Band I: Edition* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 70*–75* (§§201–16); Michael A. Morgan, *Sefer ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (SBLTT 25; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 67–72.

⁸⁸ Tha‘labī, *K. qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*, 46.15–21.

وجد من خفة الشمس وحرها مالا يعرف فقال يا رب خففت عنى حر الشمس فما الذى قضيت على فيه فقال تعالى ان عبدى ادريس سالتى ان اخفف عنك ثقلها وحرها فأجبته الى ذلك فقال يا رب اجمع بينى وبينه واجعل بينى وبينه خلة فاذن الله له.

According to what Ibn 'Abbās and many other people have said, the reason He raised him to heaven is (as follows). One day he was traveling and the blazing glare of the sun beat upon him. He said, "O Lord! I have (just) traveled in the sun one day and I have harmed myself. How can one bear it for (a distance of) five hundred years in one day? O God, lighten its weight for him and relieve him of its heat!" When it was morning, the angel (who normally bore it) sensed the reduced weight of the sun and the diminishment of its heat. He ascended and said: "O Lord! The sun's heat has decreased in intensity; how will I accomplish that with which I have been charged?" The Most Exalted replied, "My servant Idrīs asked Me to relieve you of its burden and its heat, and I agreed with him about this." Then he (the angel) said, "O Lord, let he and I meet and establish a friendship!" God heard him (and did so).

Enoch's legendary friendship or association with the Angel of the Sun may even have an echo in the kabbalistic Torah commentary of the Iberian Jewish teacher Bahya b. Asher (d. 1340):

Bahya b. Asher *ad* Gen 5:24 (editio princeps):⁸⁹

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים מעלת מדת התהלכות לא יזכרה רק בצדיקים כגון חנוך נח ואברהם" הוא שהזכיר כאן בחנוך ויתהלך חנוך וכתוב בנח את האלהים התהלך נח וכתוב באברהם התהלך לפני והיה תמים וכלן השיגו מהלך השמש וכוחותיו הגדולים המורים על שלטנות ארון הכל ורוממותו יתברך

"And Enoch walked with God..." (Gen 5:24). The graded attribute of "walking (with God)" is only expressed of those who were righteous, such as Enoch, Noah, and Abraham. It is so mentioned with regard to Enoch: "and Enoch walked..." (Gen 5:24), and it is written of Noah: "Noah walked with God..." (Gen 6:9), and it is written of Abraham: "Walk before Me and be perfect!" (Gen 17:1). Each one of them comprehended the movement of the sun and its great powers which teach about the sovereignty of the Lord of All and His eminence, may He be blessed.⁹⁰

As can be seen from some of these passages, the motif of Enoch's friendship with the angel who was responsible for the motion of the sun is thickly intertwined with his ultimately fateful (for most storytellers) encounter with the powerful Angel of Death, stories about which are provided in our next section. We also include here the occasional tendentious notices flatly asserting Enoch's demise, a claim which probably arose in response to the more popular traditions in circulation about his mysterious occultation and even in certain instances his apotheosis at the command of God.

⁸⁹ Bahya ben Asher b. Hilawah, [*Perush ha-Torah*] ([Spain or Portugal]: Defus Shem Tov, [1492]), 8b. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise."

⁹⁰ See also Alan Unterman, ed., *The Kabbalistic Tradition: An Anthology of Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 73–4.

ENOCH ENCOUNTERS THE ANGEL OF DEATH

Tg. Onk. Gen 5:24 (ed. Sperber):⁹¹

והליך חנוך בדרחלחא דימי וליתוהי ארי אמית יתיה יי.

And Enoch walked in fear of the Lord, and then he was no longer there, because the Lord made him die.

The tenth-century Karaite writer Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī astutely points out that this targumic tradition paradoxically contradicts the other Rabbanite claims that Enoch ascended to heaven and remains alive there.⁹²

Ka'b *apud* Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*:⁹³

قال كعب أما إدريس فإن الله أوحى إليه إنى رافع لك كل يوم مثل عمل جميع بنى آدم فأحب أن تزداد عملا فأتاه خليل له من الملائكة فقال إن الله أوحى الى كذا وكذا فكلم لي ملك الموت فليؤخرني حتى أزداد عملا فحمله بين جناحيه ثم صعد به الى السماء فلما كان في السماء الرابعة تلقاهم ملك الموت متحدرا فكلم ملك الموت في الذي كلمه فيه إدريس فقال وأين إدريس فقال هو ذا على ظهري قال ملك الموت فالعجب بعثت أقبض روح إدريس في السماء الرابعة فجعلت أقول كيف أقبض روحه في السماء الرابعة وهو في الأرض فقبض روحه هناك فذلك قول الله تبارك وتعالى ورفعته مكانا عليا.

Ka'b (al-Aḥbār) said (with regard to "...and We raised him to a lofty place" [Q 19:57]): As for Idrīs, God revealed to him: "It is time for Me to raise you up! Each day you perform just as much service as (that of) the rest of humanity, and I want you to add to (your) service!" Then a friend of his who was an angel came to him, and he said: "God has revealed to me the following (message): "The Angel of Death told Me that he would not postpone for Me (your death) until I add to (your) service!" So he conveyed him between his wings (and) then ascended with him to Heaven. When he was in the fourth heaven, the Angel of Death who had come down there encountered them. The Angel of Death said to the one who had been talking with Idrīs: "Where is Idrīs?" He answered: "He is the one who is on my back!" The Angel of Death responded: "How remarkable! I was sent forth to collect the soul of Idrīs in the fourth heaven, and I began to say 'How can I collect his soul in the fourth heaven when he is on earth?'" So he collected his soul at that place. This then is (the meaning of) the Word of God, May He be blessed and exalted: "... and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57).⁹⁴

Ibn 'Abbās *apud* Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*:⁹⁵

ابن عباس قال رفع الى السماء السادسة فمات فيها.

⁹¹ Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic* (4 vols in 5; Leiden: Brill, 1959–73), 1:8.

⁹² Leon Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisānī's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA* 7 (1930): 361.

⁹³ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:127 (#23770).

⁹⁴ See also Brannon M. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran: An Introduction to the Quran and Muslim Exegesis* (London and New York: Continuum, 2002b), 47–8; Claude Addas, "Idrīs," in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *Dictionnaire du Coran* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007), 411.

⁹⁵ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:128 (#23773).

Ibn 'Abbās⁹⁶ said (with regard to "... and We raised him to a lofty place" [Q 19:57]): He was raised up to the sixth heaven.⁹⁷ He then died there.

Ḍaḥḥāk apud Ṭabarī, Jāmi':⁹⁸

سمعت الضحاک يقول في قوله ورفعته مكانا علياً ادريس أدركه الموت في السماء السادسة.

I (i.e., 'Abīd b. Sulaymān) heard al-Ḍaḥḥāk say with regard to the verse "... and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57): As for Idrīs, death overtook him in the sixth heaven.

Pseudo-Aṣma'ī, Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab (ed. Dānish-Pazhūh):⁹⁹

حديث قصة ادريس. وذكر انه كان رجلا طويلا ضخم البطن عريض الصدر قليل شعر الجسد طويل شعر الراس وكانت احدى عينيه اعظم من الأخرى وكان في جسده نكتة بيضاء من غير برص. وهو اخنوخ بن مهلايل بن قينان وانما سمي ادريس لكثرة دراسته لكتب آدم وشيث. وكان اخنوخ أول نبي بعث من ولد آدم بعد شيث وكان عابدا متجهدا يصعد له من العمل كل يوم مثل ما يصعد لسائر ولد آدم لكثرة كان فيهم من المشركين وعبيدة الأوثان.

فاحبه ملك الموت حبا شديدا فاستأذن له في مؤاخاته فاذن الله عز وجل له في ذلك فهبط عليه في صورة ادمي مثله. فكان ادريس اذا افطر اتاه رزقه فقول للملك الموت اذن فكل معي فقول ملك الموت ما اشتهي شيئا فيأكل ادريس ويقولان جميعا الى الصلاة فيصيب ادريس الكلال والفتور وملك الموت لايسأم ولايفتر. فقال له ادريس اني اراك لاتاكل ولاتشرب ويصيبني الكلال ولايصيبك ولو كنت انسيا مثلي لاكلت وشربت واصابك مثل ما يصيبني من الكلال والفتور. فاسالك بالذي فؤاك على هذا الامر الا اخبرتني من انت؟

قال عليه السلام انا ملك الموت رأيت ما يصعد لك من الخير كل يوم فاستأذنت الله عز وجل في مؤاخاتك فاذن لي. فقال ادريس يا ملك الموت اني سائلك حاجة. قال وما هي؟ قال ادريس تذيقتي الموت ساعة من نهاري فقد بلغني عند كرب وشدة لأعرف كنه ذلك فيجدوني على الاجتهاد والعبادة. قال ملك الموت ذاك الي ريتا. فاوحى الله اليه ان اقبض روح عبيدي ساعة من نهار. فقبض ملك الموت روح ادريس ساعة ثم سرحها فرجعته الى جسده. فقال له ملك الموت كيف رايت غصص الموت وكريهه؟ قال كما بلغني من شدته.

⁹⁶ Cousin of the Prophet and an early authority on the interpretation of the Qur'an who is frequently termed the "father of qur'anic exegesis." See L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās," *EP* 1:40-1; W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 67-8; Haim Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1982), 56-7 and 150 n. 140; Claude Gilliot, "Portrait 'mythique' d'Ibn 'Abbās," *Arabica* 32 (1985): 127-84. He is particularly important as a tradent of *Isrā'īliyyāt*; cf. Gordon D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 10.

⁹⁷ The tradition about Idrīs being raised by God to the sixth heaven is also repeated by the late medieval Egyptian polymath Suyūṭī; see Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, 46. According to the Jewish Aramaic *Sidrey de-Shimmushy Rabba* (cf. also Ms. Oxford 1811 fol. 93b for a "hebraicized" version), the angelified Enoch/Metatron is resident in the sixth heavenly "palace." See Chapter 5.

⁹⁸ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:128 (#23774).

⁹⁹ [Pseudo-Aṣma'ī], *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-Pazhūh; Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1996), 9.1-10.25. Important information about this source is in Edward G. Browne, "Some Account of the Arabic Work Entitled 'Nihāyatul-'irab fī akhbār il-Furs wa'l-'Arab,' Particularly of That Part Which Treats of the Persian Kings," *JRAS* (1900): 195-259; Mario Grignaschi, "La *Nihāyatul-'Arab fī Aḥbār il-Furs wa-l-'Arab* (première partie)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 22 (1969): 15-67; Mario Grignaschi, "La *Nihāyatul-'Arab fī Aḥbār il-Furs wa-l-'Arab* et les *Siyaru Mulūki-l-'Aḡam* du Ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 26 (1973): 83-184; Sarah Bowen Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory, and Conversion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 156-8.

واني سائلك حاجة اخرى. قال وما هي يا نبي الله؟ قال تدخلني جهنم لانظر لما اعد الله فيها لاعدائه من السلاسل والاغلال والحميم وغير ذلك من انواع العذاب ليكون اجهد لعبادتي. قال ملك الموت يا نبي الله فذاك ايضا ليس لي. فاوحى الله عز وجل اليه ان انطلق بعبيدي على جناح من اجنتحك حتى تستفتح بابا من ابواب جهنم فتدخله اليها ليري ما فيها فبسط ملك الموت لادريس جناحا بين اجنتحه وحمله حتى انطلق به الى النار فانتهى به الى باب من ابوابها فاستفتح فقيل له من هذا؟ فقال انا ملك الموت. قيل وهل امرت فينا بشيء؟ قال لو امرت لم اناظركم غير ان معي ادريس نبي الله قد احبب ان ينظر الى جهنم. وقد اذن الله بذلك ليكون اشد لا جتهاده. قال ففتح له باب منها فلما دخل ادريس اليها وعابنها بما فيها حُرّ مغشياً عليه فاحتمله ملك الموت حتى اخرجه ووضعه خارجا حتى افاق وقد نحل جسمه واصفر لونه لهول ما رأى. قال ملك الموت ما كنت احبب ان يصيبك بسبب صحبتك اياي ما اصابك قال له ادريس يا ملك الموت فيقبت لي حاجة اخرى فقال وما هي يا نبي الله؟ قال احبب ان تحملني حتى تدخلني الجنة فانظر الى ما اعد الله جل جلاله فيها من النعيم لاوليائه. قال ملك الموت ان ذلك ليس لي فدعا ادريس ربه فاوحى الله الى ملك الموت ان احمل عبيدي ونبيي ادريس على جناح من اجنتحك حتى تنتهي به الى باب من ابواب الجنة فتدخله لينظر الى ما فيها من النعيم. فحمله ملك الموت حتى انطلق به الى باب من ابواب الجنة فاستفتح فقيل له من انت؟ فقال انا ملك الموت قيل فهل امرت فينا بشيء؟ قال لو امرت لم اناظركم غير ان معي ادريس وقد احبب ان ينظر الى ما اعد الله لاوليائه في الجنة من النعيم وقد اذن له ربه تبارك وتعالى ان ينظر الى ذلك ففتح الباب فدخل ادريس عليه السلام اليها فنظر الى ما لا عين رأت ولا اذن سمعت ولا خطر على قلب بشر من النعيم والقصور والحدود والولدان المخلدن فطاف فيها ساعة.

فقال له ملك الموت انصرف بنا يا نبي الله فقد اوتيت سؤلك. فاقبل ادريس الى شجرة فتعلق بها وقال لا خرجت حتى يكون الله هو الذي يخرجني. فقضى الله لهما ملكا من ملائكة الجنة فقال ملك الموت لادريس اجعل هذا حكما بيني وبينك فقال قد رضيت ففص ملك الموت على الملك القصة من اولها الى اخرها.

فقال الملك لادريس تكلم يا نبي الله بحجتك فقال ادريس ان الله عز وجل كتب على جميع خلقه الموت وقد ذقته واوجب ان كل احد من بريته لاند ان يرد النار وقد وردتها ولا ينبغي ان يدخل احد من الامميين جنة فيخرج منها فلست بخارج منها حتى يكون الله تبارك وتعالى هو الذي يخرجني منها فاوحى الله تبارك وتعالى اسمه الى ملك الموت ان قد خصمك عبيدي وقد صدق في جميع ما قال فحمله والجنة فذلك قوله عز وجل ورفعناه مكانا عليا.

A narration of the tale of Idrīs. It is said that he was a tall man (with) a large stomach. He was broad-chested and had very little body hair, (although) he had long hair on his head. One of his ears was larger than the other. There was a white spot on his body that was not a leprosy scar.¹⁰⁰ He was Enoch b. Mahalalel (*sic!*) b. Qaynān, and he was named "Idrīs" due to his frequent study of the books of Adam and Seth. Enoch was the first prophet sent from among the descendants of Adam after Seth. He was a diligent devotee (of God); more service would ascend from him (i.e., Enoch) each day than would ascend from the rest of the descendants of Adam because the vast majority of those among them were polytheists and engaged in the worship of idols.

The Angel of Death had an unyielding affection for him, and he asked God for permission for him to fraternize with him, and God to Whom belongs might and majesty gave him permission regarding this. So he came down to him in a human form like his (i.e., like that of Idrīs). Now Idrīs was breakfasting at the time he came to him. He set out nourishment for him, and said to the Angel of Death: "Come and dine with me!" But the Angel of Death said: "I do not want anything." Then Idrīs ate, and the two of them arose together to engage in prayer. Then Idrīs was overcome by weariness and fatigue, but the Angel of Death did not tire nor grow weary. So Idrīs said to him: "I have noticed about you that you do not eat and do not drink, and that while weariness overcomes me, it does not overcome you. If

¹⁰⁰ For this physical description, see also Ibn Qutayba and the tradition attributed to Samurah cited by Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, 46.

you were human like me, you would eat and drink, and some weariness and fatigue would overcome you similar to what overcomes me. Therefore I must ask you about this power you have over this matter. Please tell me who you are!"

He said: "Greetings! I am the Angel of Death. I have noticed how something good comes up for you every day. So I asked God, to Whom belongs might and majesty, for permission to fraternize with you, and He granted me permission."

Then Idris said: "O Angel of Death! I have a request to ask of you." He answered: "What would that be?" Idris said: "Allow me to taste death for a moment during the day. Then I can be informed by it about (its) pain and distress so that I might know the true nature of this (event), and it will spur me in (my) exertion and worship." The Angel of Death said: "This must be taken up with our Lord." Then God revealed to him: "Take the soul of My servant for an hour of the day." So the Angel of Death took the soul of Idris for an hour; then he released it and returned it to his body. The Angel of Death then said to him: "What do you think about the chokings of death and its distress?" He answered: "It (the experience) informed me quite a bit about its misery!"

[Idris said]: "Now I have another request to ask of you." And he replied: "What would that be, O prophet of God?" He said: "I want you to admit me to Jahannam so that I might see what God has prepared in it for His enemies such as the iron chains, the shackles, the scalding water,¹⁰¹ and the rest of those types of punishment in order to make me more diligent in my worship!" The Angel of Death said: "O prophet of God! This too is not possible for me (to do)." But God, to Whom belongs might and majesty, revealed to him: "Take my servant on one of your wings until you come to one of the gates of Jahannam, and then conduct him through it so that he might see what is in it!" So the Angel of Death extended to Idris one of his wings, and he carried him until he arrived with him at the Fire. He landed with him by one of its gates. It opened, and a voice said to him: "Who is this?" He responded: "I am the Angel of Death." It said: "Do you want to command us about something?" He replied: "If I had a command, I would not need to behold you. However, Idris the prophet of God is with me, and he wants to look at Jahannam, and God has agreed to this so that he might fortify his religious exertions." It said: "One of its gates has been opened for him." Then when Idris came through it and saw with his own eyes what was in it (i.e., Jahannam), he fell down unconscious beside it (i.e., the gate). The Angel of Death picked him up, removed him, and put him down outside until he regained consciousness. His body became gaunt and his complexion became pale from the trauma of what he had seen.

The Angel of Death said: "I do not want to injure you. For the sake of your friendship, I will be careful to do you no harm!" Idris said to him: "O Angel of Death! I still have one final request." And he replied: "And what would that be, O prophet of God?" He said: "I want for you to bear me until you can bring me within Paradise, and then I can look at what God, Who is most majestic, has prepared in it for the enjoyment of His supporters." The Angel of Death said: "Truly this is not possible for me (to do)." But Idris petitioned his Lord, and God

¹⁰¹ For the scriptural roots of these punishments, see Q 76:4; 40:71; 55:3-4; 56:42.

revealed to the Angel of Death: "Carry My servant and My prophet Idris on one of your wings until you come to one of the gates of Paradise, and then conduct him through it so that he might look at some of the pleasant things which are in it!" So the Angel of Death carried him until he landed with him next to one of the gates of Paradise. It opened, and a voice said to him: "Who are you?" He answered: "I am the Angel of Death." It said: "Do you want to command us about something?" He replied: "If I had a command, I would not need to behold you. However, Idris is with me, and he wants to look at some of the delights of what God has prepared for his supporters in Paradise. His Lord, may He be blessed and exalted, has granted him permission to look at these things." So the gate was opened, and Idris (upon whom be peace!) entered through it. He viewed what (previously) no eye had ever seen, (heard) what (previously) no ear had ever heard, and (conceived) what (previously) no human heart had ever thought of as he was experiencing some of the delights, palaces, houris, and never-aging youths.¹⁰² He wandered about there for an hour.

Then the Angel of Death said to him: "Come back to us, O prophet of God, lest something bad happen to you!" But Idris approached a tree, attached himself to it, and said: "I will not come out! God Himself is the only One Who can make me leave!" Then God sent to them one of the angels of Paradise. The Angel of Death asked Idris: "Can this (angel) resolve the dispute between me and you?" He responded: "I agree (to this)." So the Angel of Death recounted the story (of what had happened) from its beginning to its end.

Then the angel said to Idris: "O prophet of God, now expound your argument!" And Idris said: "Truly God has ascribed death for all of His creatures,¹⁰³ and I have tasted it! And He has made it binding that each one of His creatures will inevitably come to the Fire,¹⁰⁴ and I have already been to it! It does not seem to me that He would permit a human being to enter Paradise and then have him come out from it. So I will not exit from it until God Himself, may He be blessed and exalted, makes me leave it!" Then God, may His Name be blessed and exalted, revealed to the Angel of Death: "My servant has defeated you, for he has spoken correctly with regard to everything which he has said!" So he (i.e., the Angel of Death) left him and Paradise. This then is (the meaning of) His discourse, may He be blessed and exalted: "... and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57).

Ibn 'Abbās *apud* Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart):¹⁰⁵

وروى عن عبد الله بن العباس انه سال ملك الشمس ان يعلمه الاسم الذى يصعد به الى السماء فعلمه فرقى به الى السماء الرابعة ويعث الله ملك الموت فقبضه هناك وروى انه رفع الى السماء الدنيا كما رفع عيسى.

'Abdallāh Ibn 'A[bbās] relates that he asked the Angel of the Sun to teach him the Name by means of which he could ascend to heaven. He taught it to him, and using it he ascended to the fourth heaven. Thereupon God sent the Angel of Death and made him die there.

¹⁰² Cf. Q 56:11–40; 76:13–21.

¹⁰³ Cf. Q 3:185.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Q 19:71.

¹⁰⁵ Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:12.10–12.

Ibn 'Abbās *apud* Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā':¹⁰⁶

فكان ادريس يساله وكان مما ساله ان قال اخبرت انك اكرم الملائكة على ملك الموت وامكنهم عنده فاشفع لي اليه ليؤخر اجلي فازداد شكرا وعبادة فقال الملك لا يؤخر الله نفسا اذ اجاء اجلها قال قد علمت ذلك ولكنه اطيب لنفسي فقال انا مكلمة لك وما كان يستطيع ان يفعل لاحد من بنى آدم فهو فاعله لك. ثم حمله الملك على جناحه حتى رفعه الى السماء ووضعه عند مطلع الشمس ثم انه اتى ملك الموت فقال له لي اليك حاجة فقال له افعل لك كل شئ استطيعه فقال لي صديق من بنى آدم تشفع بي اليك لتؤخر اجله فقال ليس ذلك الي ولكن ان احببت اعلمته اجله ومتى يموت فيتقدم في نفسه قال نعم فنظر في ديوانه فاخبره باسمه وقال انك كلمتني في انسان ما اراه يموت ابدا قال وكيف ذلك قال اتى لاجده يموت عند مطلع الشمس قال فاني اتيتك وتركته هناك فقال له فانطلق فلا اراك تجده الا وقد مات والله ما بقي من اجل ادريس شئ فرجع الملك فوجده ميتا.

Idrīs would question him. One of his requests was: "I have been told that you are the angel held in highest esteem by the Angel of Death and possibly the most influential among them with him. Intercede with him for me so that I might delay my appointed time (for death) in order that I might prolong praise and worship (of God)." The angel replied, "God Himself is unable to delay one's appointed time (for death) when it arrives!" He (Idrīs) said, "I already know this; however, I want to satisfy myself." Then he (the angel) said, "I will speak to him about you (so that) whatever he is able to do for a mortal being he might do for you."

Then the angel bore him upon his wing until he ascended with him to Heaven. He set him down there at (the place of) sunrise. Then he went to the Angel of Death and said to him, "I have a request to make of you." He (Death) answered him, "Anything which I am able to do I will do for you." He said, "My human friend¹⁰⁷ has asked me to plead with you about (the possibility of) postponing his appointed time (for death)." He (Death) said, "This is not possible for me (to do); however, if you like, I can reveal for him his appointed time and when he will die, and then he can prepare himself." He (Idrīs's friend) said, "Yes," and so he (Death) looked in his book and asked him for his name. (Upon finding his name), he said: "The man about whom you spoke to me—I think that he will never die!" He (Idrīs's friend) said, "How can that be!?" He (Death) said, "I find about him (here) that he can only die at the place where the sun rises!" He (Idrīs's friend) replied, "When I came to you here, I left him there!" He (Death) replied, "Hurry! (But) I believe you will discover (when you return to him) that he is already dead, for by God, nothing is left of the appointed time for Idrīs!" When the angel returned, he found him dead.

Wahb *apud* Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā':¹⁰⁸

(وقال وهب) كان يرفع له كل يوم من العبادة مثل ما يرفع لاهل الارض جميعهم في زمانه فعجبته منه الملائكة واشتاق اليه ملك الموت فاستأذن الله في زيارته فأذن له فأثابه في صورة بنى آدم وكان ادريس يصوم الدهر فلما كان وقت افطاره دعاه الى طعامه فأبى أن يأكل وفعل ذلك ثلاث ليال فأذكره وقال له في الليلة الثالثة اتى اريد أن أعلم من أنت قال أنا ملك الموت استأذنت ربى أن أزورك وأصاحبك فأذن لي في ذلك فقال له ادريس لي اليك حاجة قال وما هي قال اقبض روحي فأوحى الله تعالى اليه أن اقبض روحي فقبض روحي ثم ردها الله عليه بعد ساعة فقال له ملك الموت فما الفائدة في سؤالك قبض الروح قال لا ذوق كرب الموت وغمه فاكون له أشد استعدادا ثم قال له لي اليك حاجة أخرى قال وما هي قال ترفعني الى السماء لا نظر اليه والى الجنة فأذن له في ذلك فلما قرب من النار قال لي اليك حاجة قال وماتريد قال تسأل مالكا فيفتح لي أبواب النار حتى أردتها ففعل ذلك

¹⁰⁶ Tha'labī, *K. qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 46.21–30.

¹⁰⁷ Word-play on صديق "truthful one, righteous one," which is the most common epithet for Enoch within Enochic literature.

¹⁰⁸ Tha'labī, *K. qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 47.1–17.

ثم قال فكما ارتبني النار فأرني الجنة فذهب به إلى الجنة فاستفتحها ففتحت له أبوابها فدخلها فقال له ملك الموت اخرج لتعود إلى مقرك فتعلق بشجرة وقال لا أخرج منها فبعث الله ملكا حكما بينهما فقال له الملك مالك لا تخرج قال لأن الله تعالى قال كل نفس ذائقة الموت وقد ذقته وقال تعالى وإن منكم إلا وإردها وقد وردتها وقال تعالى وما هم منها بمخرجين فلست أخرج فقال الله تعالى لملك الموت دعه فإنه باذني دخل الجنة وبأمرى لا يخرج فهو حى هناك فتارة يعبد الله في السماء الرابعة وتارة يتنعم في الجنة والله أعلم.

(Wahb [b. Munabbih] said:) Every day there would ascend from him (i.e., Idrīs) as much worship as would come up from all the (other) people on earth in his time.¹⁰⁹ The angels were amazed at him, and the Angel of Death yearned for him. He asked God for permission to visit him. He gave him permission, and so he came to him in human form. Now Idrīs had been fasting for a long period, and so when the time (for fasting) was completed he broke his fast and invited him to his meal. But he (the angel) refused to eat, and he acted similarly for three evenings. He (Idrīs) thought this was strange, and so he said to him on the third night, "I want to know who you are?" He replied, "I am the Angel of Death. My Lord has granted me permission to visit you and associate with you; He has permitted me this." Idrīs said to him, "I have a request to make of you." He replied, "What would that be?" He said, "Take my soul!" God Most Exalted revealed to him (i.e., the angel) that he should take his soul, and so he took his soul. Then God returned it to him after a time. The Angel of Death said to him, "What good resulted from your requested taking of the soul?" He said, "To experience the pain of death and its sorrow in order to be more prepared."

He (Idrīs) said to him: "I have another request for you." He replied, "What is it?" He said: "(I want) you to carry me up to heaven in order to see it and the Garden."¹¹⁰ He permitted him to do this. When he approached the Fire, he said: "I have a request for you." He answered, "What do you want?" He said, "For you to ask Mālik (see Q 43:77)¹¹¹ to open the gates of the Fire for me so that I can repel it." He did that. Then he said, "In the same way that you showed me the Fire, show me the Garden." So he led him to the Garden. He asked for it to be opened, and its gates were opened for him. Then he went into it. The Angel of Death said to him, "Depart, so that you might return to your abode." But he attached himself to a tree and replied, "I shall not leave it!" God sent an angel to adjudicate between them. The angel said to him: "Why won't you leave?" He responded, "Because God Most Exalted has said: 'Every soul will taste death' (Q 3:185), and I have already tasted it. The Most Exalted also has said: 'There is not one of you but will descend to it (i.e., Hell)' (Q 19:71), and I have already descended to it. The Most Exalted also has said: 'And they will not be expelled (from Paradise)' (Q 15:48)—I do not have to leave!" God Most Exalted said to the Angel of Death, "Let him be, for with My permission he entered the Garden and by My command he does not have to leave." Now he

¹⁰⁹ Note the emphasis upon the singular righteousness of Idrīs during his generation, a motif which accords well with the level of righteousness sometimes ascribed to Enoch in the Enochic literature. Compare *1 En.* 93:3; *Jub.* 10:17; *3 Enoch* §9 (ed. Schäfer).

¹¹⁰ i.e., *Gan Eden* or Paradise.

¹¹¹ An angel who is in charge of Hell. See Gisela Webb, "Angel," in McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qurān*, 1:89.

lives there; he sometimes serves God in the fourth heaven and at other times he enjoys the delights of the Garden.¹¹² God is All-knowing.¹¹³

The story wherein Idrīs tricks the Angel of Death into allowing him entrance to Paradise is an oikotype of the Jewish legends featuring similar chicanery on the part of the third-century Palestinian amora R. Joshua b. Levi at the expense of the Angel of Death.¹¹⁴ Further discussion of the similarities between these tales is provided in the excursus, pp. 200–9.

Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):¹¹⁵

وكان ادريس مع ذلك شديد الحرص على دخوله الجنة وكان قد رأى في الكتب ان لا يدخلها احد دون الموت والبعث وكان يجاهد قومه في الله تعالى وكان يعبد الله حقَّ العبادة فبينما هو يسبحُ الله اذ عرض اليه ملك الموت في صورة الرجل في نهاية الجمال فقال له ادريس عليه السلام من انت فقال انا عبد من عبيد الله اعبدته مثل عبادتك وقد احببت ان اصحبك فهل تأذن لي في ذلك فأذن له ادريس في ذلك فسار جميعاً يومهما حتى اذا كان في آخر النهار اذ هما برأع يرعى عنهما فقال له ملك الموت لو اخذنا شاة من غنم هذا الرجل فكنا نغفر عليها في هذه الليلة فقال له ادريس فكيف نغفر على ما لا يحل لنا فانطلقه فأَنْ اصبحتنا له لا يتركتنا بلا رزق فلما كان الليل رزقهما الله طعاما فاكل ادريس ولم ياكل ملك الموت وقاما وباتا جميعاً يصلين حتى اصبح وكان حالهما في اليوم الثاني كذلك فلما كان في اليوم الثالث قال له ادريس انك قد صحبتني يومين وليتين ولم اراك تاكل شيئاً وبارك معك ذلك قوياً على عبادة الله قوياً البدن حسن الوجه طأب الراتحة فقال يا نبي الله اني كذلك منذ انا فقال له ادريس من انت فاخبرني فقال انا ملك الموت فقال ادريس فقد صحبتني لقبض روعي فقال لا لان ربي لم يامرني بذلك ولو كان امرني لم انظرك طرفه عين لكنته امرني ان اصحبك فقال له ادريس لي اليك حاجة احب ان تقبض روعي قال فما تريد بذلك وللموت من الكرب ما لا يحصى فقال له ادريس لعل الله ان يجيبني بعد ذلك فاكون في اشد عبادتي اياه فقال له ملك الموت فما مرادك يا نبي الله ان تذوق الموت مرتين ولكنني لا يمكنني ان اقبض روحك الا بامر الله تعالى فاسئل ربك ذلك فاجوزي الله تعالى الى ملك الموت اني قد علمت ما في قلب عبدي ادريس فاقبض روحه فقبض ملك الموت روحه ثم احياه الله تعالى في الحال.

فكان بعد ذلك يجرد في العبادة حتى انه كان اكثر الناس صوما وصلاتا وكان ملك الموت يصادقه ويأتي اليه فقال ادريس لملك الموت هل تستطيع ان توقفني على جهنم حتى انظر اليها فقال فما حاجتك الى ذلك ولجهنم من الالهوام ما لا تصبر عليها وما لي الى ذلك سبيل ولكنني احملك الى قريب منها والله اعلم بحاجتك فحمله ملك الموت حتى اوقفه على طريق مالك خازن النار فلما رآه مالك هناك واقفاً كثر في وجهه كثرة كادت نفس ادريس تخرج من بدنه فاجوزي الله الى مالك يقول وعزتي وجلالي لم أرى عبدي ادريس سوء بعد كشرتك هذه ابداً ارجع اليه فاحمله واوقفه على سفير جهنم فصاح مالك لخرزة جهنم حتى يقبلوها باطباقتها فنظر ادريس الى تلك الالهوام والانكال والعذاب والنيران والقطران والحياة والعقارب فلولا ان الله تعالى قواه لكان صعق منه ثم ان مالك احتمله حتى اوقفه في مكانه الذي هو به فجاءه ملك الموت فاحتمله الى الارض فعاش يعبد الله ولا يكتهل بنوم ولا يتهنى بطعام خوفاً من عذاب الله تعالى ممّا عاينه.

فاقبل يوماً على ملك الموت وقال له هل لك ان تدخلني الجنة حتى انظر اليها فقال له ملك الموت الجنة محرمة على كل الناس حتى لا يدخلها احد في الدنيا قبل الموت فان اهل الجنة لا يموتون ولكن حاجتك الى الله غير اني احملك واقعدك على طريق رضوان خازن الجنان فاسئله حاجتك ففعل ذلك واقبل رضوان ومعه الملائكة فنظروا الى ادريس فقالوا لملك الموت من هذا فقال هذا ادريس نبي من اهل الارض وقد اراد ان ينظر الى اهل الجنان ليكون اجتهاده في عبادة ربه اكثر فقال رضوان ان ذلك اني ربي تعالى فاجوزي الله تعالى الى رضوان اني قد علمت ما يريد عبدي ادريس وقد امرت غصنا من اغصان شجرة طوي ان يتدلى اليه فيتعلق به فيدخله الجنة فاذا دخلها فاقعده على اعلى شجرة فيها فلما دخل الجنة ورأى عجائب ما فيها من النعيم قال له رضوان الآن اخرج فقال اخرج من يدخل فيها فحاجته في ذلك فارسل اليه ملك الموت وقال ما لي على قبض روحه طاقة فقال له ادريس يا ملك الموت انما سلطك الله على قبض روعي وقد فعلت ولا تقبض روعي مرتين وقد قبضت روعي واحياى الله تعالى

¹¹² Compare *Jub.* 4:23–5.

¹¹³ Note also Tha'labi, *Ar'ās al-Majālis* (trans. Brinner), 83–5.

¹¹⁴ See *b. Ketub.* 77b; *Ma'aseh R. Joshua b. Levi* in *Liqqutim we-ḥibburim* (Constantinople: Astruc de Toulon, 1519), [3a]–[4a] (see below); Jellinek, *BHM* 2:48–51; D[avid]. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1933), 21.

¹¹⁵ *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:82.18–85.15.

وقد دخلت جهنم ورايتها وكان حتما حتم بها ربّي على عباده بالمولوت والورود فقال كلّ نفس ذآئفة الموت وقد ذقت الموت وقال وان منكم الا واردها كان على ربك حتما مقضيا وقال خالد بن قيس فيها وقد دخلت الجنة ولا اخرج منها فقال ملك الموت يا رب وادريس في موضع لا ادخله وما لي على قبض روجه سبيل فاوحى الله تعالى الى ملك الموت ان عبدى ادريس حاجك في الكلام فاتركه في جنتي ولا تؤذيه فلبث ادريس عليه السلام في الجنة باذن الله تعالى فذلك قوله تعالى واذكر في الكتاب ادريس انه كان صديقا نبيا ورفعناه مكانا عليا.

Nevertheless Idris was intensely bent on gaining entrance to Paradise, but he had seen in books that one may not enter there before death and resurrection. He exerted himself among his people on behalf of God Most High, and he served God properly (with his) worship.

Once while he was engaged in offering praise to God, the Angel of Death appeared to him in the form of a man of the utmost attractiveness.¹¹⁶ Idris (upon whom be peace!) said to him: "Who are you?" He (i.e., the angel) answered: "I am a servant from the servants of God. I worship Him like you. Would you like for me to keep company with you? Will you permit me this?" Idris permitted him this. The two of them traveled together that day until the final part of the day, when they came across a herdsman who was grazing some sheep. Then the Angel of Death said to him: "If we took a sheep from the flock of this man and hid it, we could break our fast with it tonight!" Then Idris responded to him: "How could we break our fast with what is not permitted to us? Let him be, for the One Whom we have taken as our companion will not leave us without a means of sustenance." When night fell, God provided them with food, and Idris ate, but the Angel of Death did not eat anything.

Then the two of them arose and passed the whole of the night in prayer until it was daybreak. It was the same for them on the second day. When it was the third day, Idris said to him: "You have been together with me for two days and two nights, and I have not seen you eat a thing! Despite this, I see that you are irrepresible in the worship of God, strong of body, handsome of face, and pleasant of odor!" Then he said: "O prophet of God, I have always been like this." Then Idris asked him: "Who are you? Please tell me!" So he said: "I am the Angel of Death." Idris said: "Have you accompanied me in order to take my soul?" He said: "No, my Lord did not command me about that. But had He so commanded me, I would not have delayed even a blink of the eye (to take) yours. However, He did command me to accompany you."

Then Idris said to him: "I have need of you—I want you to take my soul!" He responded: "Why would you want that? Death entails torment that cannot be measured!" Idris said to him: "Perhaps God will bring me back to life after that, and then I could be more attentive in my worship of Him." Then the Angel of Death said to him: "So what you want, O prophet of God, is to taste death twice! But I have no ability to take your soul unless it is by the command of God Most High, so ask your Lord about this!"

Then God Most High revealed (this message) to the Angel of Death: "I know what is in the heart of my servant Idris. Therefore take his soul!" So the Angel of

¹¹⁶ Compare *T. Abr.* 16:1–10 (recension A); 13:1–3 (recension B) where (the Angel of) Death conceals his gruesome appearance by appearing before Abraham in disguise as a radiant handsome youth.

Death took his soul. Then God Most High immediately brought him back to life. After this he was meticulous in his devotion so that he fasted and prayed more than (any of) the people, and the Angel of Death treated him as his friend and would come to (visit) him.

Idris then said to the Angel of Death: "Are you able to position me over Jahannam (i.e., Hell) so that I can see into it?" He responded: "Why would you want (to do) that? Jahannam contains horrors which you could not endure, so why should I do that? However, I will carry you to a spot close to it. God knows best why you request this!" So the Angel of Death carried him in order to position him by the path of Mālik, the Keeper of the Fire.¹¹⁷ When Mālik saw him standing there, his face broke into a grin, and the soul of Idrīs was at the point of departing from his body.¹¹⁸ So God revealed (this message) to Mālik, saying: "By My Might and Greatness, my servant Idrīs will never see anything as terrible as that grin of yours! Go back to him and carry him and position him on the border of Jahannam so that he can see what is in it." So Mālik returned to him, took hold of him, and positioned him on the border of Jahannam. Then Mālik called out to the keepers of Jahannam so that they might rake through it layer by layer, and Idrīs looked at these horrors, the chains, the punishments, the fires, the tar, the snakes, and the scorpions. Had God Most High not fortified him, he would have lost his mind. Afterwards Mālik carried him to the place where he had been before, and the Angel of Death came to him and carried him back to the earth. From then on he lived serving God and growing gray: he could not sleep or enjoy the taste of food out of fear of the punishment of God Most High which his own eyes had witnessed.¹¹⁹

One day he approached the Angel of Death and said to him: "Are you able to introduce me into Paradise so that I might look at it?" The Angel of Death replied to him: "Paradise is prohibited for all people! No person who belongs to this world can enter it before death, because the people of Paradise never die. However, your request is for God Alone. I will carry you and seat you by the path of Riḍwān, the Keeper of Paradise.¹²⁰ Then ask him about your request."

So he did this. Then Riḍwān and the angels who were with him approached, and they looked at Idrīs, and they asked the Angel of Death: "Who is this?" He replied: "This is the prophet Idrīs, one of the inhabitants of the earth. He wants to have a look at the inhabitants of Paradise in order to increase his effort in worshiping his Lord." Riḍwān responded: "That is for my Lord Most High (to decide)." Then God

¹¹⁷ Based on Q 43:77. Mālik is almost certainly the biblical Molech, the chthonic god to whom children were sacrificed with fire (Lev 18:21; 20:2–5; 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 32:35; cf. 1 Kgs 11:7). See also Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran* (Baroda, 1938; repr., Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009), 257.

¹¹⁸ Angelophanies or particularly awesome sights experienced by a visionary or celestial voyager can sometimes produce "breathlessness" in the seer. See the texts cited in Reeves, *Heralds*, 173–4.

¹¹⁹ Compare the horror Enoch expresses when he catches a glimpse of the "guards of the gates of hell" in 2 *En.* 42:1–2 (long); 13:25–6 (short). Moreover, the same sequence of destinations (first the tourist goes to hell, and then afterwards views paradise) is present in this section of 2 *Enoch*; contrast the closely related medieval Jewish tale *Ma'aseh R. Joshua b. Levi* where they are in the opposite order.

¹²⁰ Based on Q 3:15; 9:21, 72. See Wim Raven, "Riḍwān," *EI* 8:519; Webb, "Angel," 89.

Most High revealed (this message) to Riḍwān: “I know what my servant Idrīs wants. I therefore have commanded one of the branches of the tree (named) Ṭūba¹²¹ to hang down toward him. He should cling to it, and it will bring him into Paradise.”

Then he entered it, after he had taken his seat on the uppermost part of the tree. When he had entered Paradise, he beheld the wonders from among the amenities which it contained. Riḍwān said to him: “Now come out!” But he answered: “Could one who goes into it (ever) come out?” Then he argued with him about this. So he dispatched the Angel of Death to him, but he said: “What power do I have to take his soul?” Then Idrīs said to him: “O Angel of Death! God granted you authority to take my soul, and you have already done so—you cannot take my soul twice. After you had taken my soul, God Most High brought me back to life. Then I went into Jahannam and looked at it. My Lord has pronounced a verdict on all His servants with regard to death and to approaching (afterlife destinations), for He has said: “Every living thing tastes death” (Q 3:185), and so I have tasted it. He has also said: “Each one of you will approach it (i.e., Hell): it is a verdict pronounced by your Lord” (Q 19:71). He moreover has said: “Remaining forever in it (i.e., Paradise)” (Q 20:76). “I have now entered into Paradise, and I can never depart from it!”

Then the Angel of Death said: “O Lord! Idrīs is in a place where I cannot enter, and I have no way of taking his spirit!” So God Most High revealed (this message) to the Angel of Death: “My servant Idrīs has defeated you in the argument; leave him in My Paradise and do not annoy him!” So Idrīs (upon whom be peace!) stayed in Paradise at the order of God Most High, and this is consonant with the word of the Most High: “Mention in the book Idrīs, for he was a truthful one, a prophet; and We raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:56–7).¹²²

Pseudo-Mas‘ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:¹²³

وقيل انه كانت له قصة مع ملك الموت وقد سأل الله ان يذيقه طعم الموت ثم سأل الله ان يريه رضوانا ويدخله الجنة ففعل ولم يخرج من الجنة ورفع الله وهو ابن مائة وخمسين سنة.

And a tale is told about him encountering the Angel of Death. He asked God that He grant him a taste of death; afterwards, he asked God that He grant permission for him to enter Paradise, and He did so. He never departed from Paradise. God raised him up, and he was 150 years old (when this happened).¹²⁴

Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran):¹²⁵

قال إن الله تبارك وتعالى غضب على ملك من الملائكة فقطع جناحه وألقاه في جزيرة من جزائر البحر فبقى ما شاء الله في ذلك البحر فلما بعث الله إدریس (ع) جاء ذلك الملك اليه فقال يا نبي الله ادع الله أن يرضى عني ويرد علي جناحي قال نعم فدعا إدریس ربّه فردّ الله عليه جناحه ورضى عنه قال الملك لإدریس ألك إن حاجة قال نعم أحب أن ترفعني الى السماء حتى أنظر الى

¹²¹ Based on Q 13:29. See David Waines, “Tree(s),” in McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, 5:361.

¹²² See also Thackston, *Tales*, 87–91; Christian Lange, *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 116.

¹²³ Pseudo-Mas‘ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*, 79.9–12.

¹²⁴ For another translation, see Carra de Vaux, *Làbrégé des merveilles*, 88.

¹²⁵ Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 11:277.1–13. See also Jazā‘irī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* (ed. ‘Aqil), 85.9–19.

ملك الموت فإنه لاتعيش لى مع ذكره فأخذه الملك الى جناحه حتى انتهى به الى السماء الرابعة فإذا ملك الموت جالس يحرك رأسه تعجبًا فسلم إدریس على ملك الموت وقال له ما لك تحرك رأسك قال إن رب العزة أمرنى أن اقبض روحك بين السماء الرابعة والخامسة فقلت رب كيف يكون هذا وغلظ السماء الرابعة مسيرة خمسمائة عام ومن السماء الرابعة الى السماء الثالثة مسيرة خمسمائة عام (ومن السماء الثالثة الى الثانية مسيرة خمسمائة عام خ ل) وكل سماء وما بينهما كذلك فكيف يكون هذا ثم قبض روحه بين السماء الرابعة والخامسة وهو قوله ورفعناه مكانا عليًا قال وسقى إدریس لكثرة دراسة الكتب.

[A *ḥadīth* from Abū ‘Abdallāh (i.e., the sixth *imām* Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq)]. He said: If God, may He be blessed and exalted, becomes angry with one of the angels, He cuts off his wing and casts him down onto an island among the islands of the sea, and he remains (there) in that sea however long God wishes. When God had sent Idrīs, upon whom be peace, an angel like this came to him and said: “O prophet of God! Will you please implore God to readmit me to His favor and to restore my wing to me?” He answered: “Yes.” Then Idrīs made appeal to His Lord, and God restored his wing to him and readmitted him to His favor. The angel said to Idrīs: “Can I grant you a request?” He replied: “Yes. I would love for you to raise me up to heaven so that I might see the Angel of Death, for I do not enjoy life while remembering him.”¹²⁶ So the angel took him upon his wing until he eventually landed with him in the fourth heaven.¹²⁷ There the Angel of Death was sitting, shaking his head in astonishment. Idrīs greeted the Angel of Death and said to him: “Why are you shaking your head?” He answered: “Because the Lord Almighty charged me to collect your soul between the fourth and the fifth heaven(s), and I said (to Him), ‘How will this happen? The breadth of the fourth heaven is (the distance of) a journey lasting five hundred years, and from the fourth heaven to the third heaven is (the distance of) a journey lasting five hundred years, [and from the third to the second is (the distance of) a journey lasting five hundred years, etc.].’¹²⁸ Each heaven and what is between them is just like this! So how will this happen?!” Thereupon he collected his soul between the fourth and the fifth heaven(s), and this explicates His scriptural declaration: “and We raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:57). He said: he bore the name Idrīs on account of his constant study (*dirāsa*) of books.

Jazā’irī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* (ed. ‘Aqil):¹²⁹

قال رسول الله (ص) ان ملكا من الملائكة كانت له منزلة فأهبه الله من السماء الى الارض فأق ادریس فقال اشفع لى عند ربك فصلى ثلاث ليال لا يفتر وصام ايامها لا يفتر ثم طلب الى الله فى السحر للملك فأذن له فى الصعود الى السماء فقال له الملك احب ان اكافيك فاطلب حاجة فقال ترىنى ملك الموت لعلى انس به فإنه ليس يهتونى مع ذكره شيء فبسط جناحه ثم قال اركب فصعد به فطلب ملك الموت فى سماء الدنيا فقيل انه قد صعد فاستقبله بين السماء الرابعة والخامسة فقال لملك الموت ما لى اراك قاطبًا قال اتعجب انى كنت تحت ظل العرش حتى امرت ان اقبض روح ادریس بين السماء الرابعة والخامسة فسمع ذلك ادریس فانتفض من جناح الملك وقبض ملك الموت روحه مكانه وذلك قوله تعالى واذكر فى الكتاب ادریس انه كان صديقًا نبيا ورفعناه مكانا عليًا.

[Excerpted from the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī]. The Prophet of God, may God bless him, once said: A certain angel once enjoyed a particular

¹²⁶ Jazā’irī: “I would love for you to raise me up to the fourth heaven.”

¹²⁷ Jazā’irī: “So the angel raised him up to the fourth heaven.”

¹²⁸ The bracketed text is lacking in Jazā’irī.

¹²⁹ Jazā’irī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* (ed. ‘Aqil), 86.2–12. See also Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 11:277.19–278.11.

status, but later God cast him from heaven to earth. He came to Idris and said: "Could you please intercede with your Lord on my behalf?" So he prayed three nights without stopping, and he fasted during their days without stopping; then he made appeal to God at daybreak for the angel. As a result God permitted him to re-ascend to heaven. The angel then said to him: "Would you like for me to repay you? Then make a request!" So he said: "You can show me the Angel of Death, for he is high over humanity, and I cannot enjoy anything while remembering him." He extended his wing (and) then said: "Climb on!" Then he ascended with him and he looked for the Angel of Death in the heaven over the inhabited world. It has been said that he continued to ascend, and he (finally) met with him between the fourth and the fifth heavens. He said to the Angel of Death: "Why do I see you frowning at me?" He said: "I am surprised, for I was beneath the Shadow of the Throne when I was ordered to collect the soul of Idris between the fourth and the fifth heavens!" When Idris heard this, he jumped off the wing of the angel, and the Angel of Death collected his soul "at once" (אטא). This then is the meaning of His Most Exalted Word: "Mention in the book Idris, for he was a truthful one, a prophet; and We raised him to a lofty 'place' (אטא)" (Q 19:56-7).

EXCURSUS: MA'ASEH R. JOSHUA B. LEVI AND ENOCHIC LORE

As some scholars have noticed,¹³⁰ the more expansive forms of the story of Enoch's encounter with the Angel of Death that we find in some of these Muslim sources are paralleled within medieval Jewish legendry by the so-called "Tale of R. Joshua ben Levi" (*Ma'aseh R. Joshua b. Levi*), a story that recounts how this renowned amoraic Sage tricks the Angel of Death and manages to enter Paradise alive. In order to facilitate an examination of these parallels, we present here a transcription and translation of the first printed edition of this widespread story. The Hebrew text is transcribed from the digital images of the volume entitled *Liqqūṭim we-ḥibburim* (Constantinople: Astruc de Toulon, 1519) posted on the web by the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. Our pagination reflects the incomplete state of the initial leaves of this digital copy, for almost the whole of the preceding edition of the *Alphabet of Ben Sira* is missing from this particular copy.

[3a]

1. מעשה שאירע לר' יהושע בן לוי זל' אמרו חכמים זל'
2. שר' יהושע בן לוי
3. היה צידק¹³¹ גמור וכיון שהגיע זמנו ליפטר מן העולם אמר קבה' למלאך המות
4. לך ועשה לר' יהושע כל מה שייבקש ממך הלך אצלו ואמר לו יהושע בן לוי

¹³⁰ e.g., Schwarzbaum, *Legends*, 146 n. 122.

¹³¹ *Sic.* Read צידק instead.

5. הגיע זמנך ליפטר מן העולם אבל כל דבר שאתה מבקש ממני אני עושה לך
6. כששמע ר' יהושע כך אמר לו אני מבקש ממך שתראני מקומי בגן עדן אמר
7. לו מלאך המות לך עמי ואראנו לך אמר לו ר' יהושע חן לי החרב שלך שלא
8. תבהלני בו מיד נתן לו את החרב והלכו שניהם עד שבאו אצל תומות גן עדן
9. מיד קפץ ר' יהושע מן החומה ונפל לתוך גן עדן ואחז מלאך המות בכנף ט¹³²
10. טליתו ואמר לו צא מכאן ונשבע ר' יהושע שלא יצא ולא היה רשות
11. למלאך המות להכנס התוכו אמרו מלאכי השרת לפני קבה' ראה מה עשה
12. יהושע בן לוי בזרוע נטל חלקו בגן עדן אמר להם קבה' לכו ובדקו ממנו
13. אם נשבע שבועה קודם זאת והיה מפר שבועתו אף זה יפיר ואם לאו לא
14. יפיר אותה יצאו ובדקו שמימי לא עבר שבועה אמר להם קבה' אם כן לא
15. יצא משם כיון שראה מלאך המות שלא היה לו יכולת להוניא¹³³ מגן עדן
16. אמר לו חן לי החרב שלי ולא רצה לתת לו עד שיצתה בת קול ואמרה לו חן
17. לו החרב שלו שהוא צריך לבריות אמר לו ר' יהושע השבעה לי שלא תראהו
18. לשום אדם בשעה שאתה נוטל נשמתו שקודם זה בכל מקום שהיה מוצא שום
19. אדם היה שוחט אותו בפני הכל אפ' שכב בחיק אמו באותה שעה נשבע
20. לו ונתן לו החרב והלך אליהו זל' עם ר' יהושע בן לוי והלך ומצא ר'
21. שמעון בן יוחאי שהיה יושב על שלש עשרה תכתקי פיחא
22. א'ל' אתה הוא בן לוי
23. אמר לו הן אמר לו נראתה הקשת מימין אמר לו הן אמר לו אם כן אין אתה בן
24. לוי ולא היה הדבר כן כי לו נראתה הקשת בימיו ולמה אמר נראתה שלא ר'¹³⁴
25. רצה להחזיק טובה לעצמו ולמה שאלו מפני הקשת לפי שהיה ברית בין
26. קבה' בין הארץ וכל זמן שנראתה קבה' מרחם על הארץ ועל הבריות וכל זמן
27. שיש צדיק בדור אין העולם צריך לקשת שבשביל צדיק אחד העולם עומד
28. שנאמר וצדיק יסוד עולם הלך מלאך המות ומצא לרבן גמליאל ואמר לו כך
29. וכך עשה ר' יהושע בן לוי אמר לו רבן גמליאל יפה עשה לך אלא בוא ואשלהך
30. אליו ואמור לו בקשה אני מבקש ממנו שיחפש גן עדן ושיכתוב הכל ט
31. ושישלח כתב אלי ואראה אם יש מאומות העולם בגן עדן או אם יש מישראל
32. בגיה[נ]ם הלך מלאך המות לגן עדן לר' יהושע ויגד לו את כל דברי רבן גמליאל
33. ואמר ר' יהושע כן אעשה לך הלך ר' יהושע וחפש גן עדן כלו ומצא בו שבעה

[3b]

1. ¹³⁵[שבעה] בתים בגן עדן ובכל בית שנים עשר רבוא מילין באורך וברחוב
2. עשרה מילין הבית הראשון כנגד הפתח הראשון בגן עדן ושוכבים
3. שם גרי שבישראל שנתגירו מאיליהן והקירות שלה

¹³² Sic. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹³³ Sic. Read להניאו instead.

¹³⁴ Sic. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹³⁵ Sic. Delete.

4. בנויים בזכויות וקורותיה ארזים וכשבאתי למדוד אותה עמדו כל הגוים
5. לרחות אותי ענה עובדיהו הצדיק שהוא ממונה עליהם ואמר להם ומנין ¹³⁶
6. זכיהם שבא זה עמכם מיד הניחוני למדוד אותה הבית השנית
7. כנגד הפתח השנית בגן עדן והוא בני מכסף וקורותיה
8. ארזים ויושבים בו בעלי תשובה ומנשה בן חזקיהו ממונה עליהם
9. הבית השלישית כנגד הפתח השלישית בגן עדן והוא בני מכסף זהב
10. ויושבים בו אברהם יצחק ויעקב וכל ישראל היוצאים
11. ממצרים ומתי המדבר ומשה ואהרן ממונה עליהם ושם כלי זהב וכלי כסף וכל
12. טובות ונעימות שבשמים ובארץ ושם כל בני דוד חרץ מאבשלום ושם
13. דוד ושלמה וכלאב בן דוד שם הוא ושם כל מלכי יהודה חרץ ממנשה שהוא מ¹³⁷
14. ממונה על בעלי תשובה וראיתי חופות במטות וכסאות ונרות של זהב ושל
15. אבנים יקרות ומרגליות ואמרת לי למי אלו מזומנים ענה המלך דוד ואמר לי לבנים
16. השוכבים בעולם שבאת ממנו ואמרת לי יש שמה מאומות העולם שאפילו
17. בבני עשו יש אנשים טובים אמר לי לא שכל טובה שהם עושים הקה' משלם
18. שכרן בחייהן באותו העולם ולבסוף יורשים גהינם אבל רשע שבישראל לוקה¹³⁹ ע¹³⁸
19. עונותיו בחייו בעולמו חוכה לעולם הבא שנאמר ומשלם לשונאיו אל פניו
20. הבית ד' כנגד הפתח הרביעי בגן עדן והוא בני יפה מאד כבית אדם
21. הראשון וקורותיו מעצי זית בשביל שהיו ימיהם מרורים כזית¹⁴⁰
22. הבית ה' כנגד הפתח החמישי בגן עדן והוא בני מכסף וזהב ומפז
23. ומכתם ומזכויות ומבדולת ונהר גיזון מושך אל תוכו וקורותיו זהב וכסף
24. והפרש מעלה מכל ריח הלבנון והפרש המטות זהב וכסף ובשמים ותכלת ו¹⁴¹
25. וארגמן מאגרת¹⁴² חוה ותולעת שני ושם משור מאגרת¹⁴³ המלך ושוכבים בו משיח
26. בן דוד ואלהיו זל' ואפירון¹⁴⁴ מעצי הלבנון ובתוך האפירון משיח בן דוד שוכן
27. בו שם שהוא אהבת בנות ירשלם ואלהיו זל' נוטל ראשו של משיח ומניחו
28. בחיקו ואומר לו החרש כי הקץ קרוב הוא ואבות העולם והשבטים ומשה ואהרן
29. ודוד ושלמה וכל מלך ומלך מישאל ומבית דוד באים אליו כל שני וחמישי ושבת
30. ובכל יום טוב ובוכים עמו ומחזיקים אותו ואומרים לו החרש והשען ביוצרך
31. כי הקץ קרוב הוא ואף קרח ועדתו ודתן ואבירם ואבשלום באים אליו כל יום
32. רביעי ושואלין אותו עד מתי קץ הפלאות עד מתי תשוב תחינו ומתהומות
33. הארץ תשוב תעלנו והוא אומר להם לכו אצל אבותיכם כששומעין כך אינם
34. שואלין את האבות וכשנכנסתי לפני משיח בן דוד שאל אותי ואמר לי מה
35. ישראל עושים בעולם שבאת משם ואמרת לי מחכים אותך בכל יום תמיד

¹³⁶ Sic. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹³⁷ Sic. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹³⁸ Sic. Read לוקה.

¹³⁹ Sic. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹⁴⁰ Sic.

¹⁴¹ Sic. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹⁴² Sic. Read מאגרת. ¹⁴³ Sic. Read מאגרת. ¹⁴⁴ Sic. Read ואפירון or אפירון.

[4a]

1. מיד הרים קולו בבכיה הבית השישי יושבים בו מתי מצוה הבית
2. השביעי יושבים בו מתי חלאים מיסורין
3. בשביל עונותיהם של ישראל כל זה ראיתי בגן עדן ואמר
4. ר' יהושע בקשתי לראות גהינם ולמדוד אותי באותה שעה ימייתי
5. את ר' ישמעאל כהן גדול ועשרה הרוגי מלכות ובאה השמעתה ולא יכולתי
6. ללכת עם אותו מלאך המות לגהינם כשהיה יום אחד עמדתי וקבלתי עם
7. <קפוד>¹⁴⁵ מלאך והלך עמי האור עד שבאתי לשערי גהינם והנם פתוחות והרשעי'
8. שהיו שם ראו את האור ושמחו ואמרו זה לזה זה האור שיוציאנו מכאן וראיתי
9. בתים בגהינם וארכן עשרה מילין על עשרה מילין והם פתוחות גבים ואריות
10. של אש עומדים ואוכלין את הרשעים ואחר שאוכלין אותם ומשברין א'¹⁴⁶
11. אותם עומדים כמראה אש על רגליהם ונופלין באש ונשרפו באותו בית עשרה
12. משפחות מאומות העולם ואבשלום בן דוד ממונה עליהם ואומר גי' לגי'
13. אם אנו חטאנו שלא רצינו לקבל את התורה אתם מה חטאתם משיבים להם אף
14. אנו כמוכם ואומרים לאבשלום אתה שאבותיך קבלו את התורה למה לא קיימת
15. אותה אומר להם בשביל שלא שמעתי למצות אבי ומלאכים עומדים עליו מכאן
16. ומכאן המקלות שלהן ומפילין את הרשעים והם נשרפים כלם וא' ח' תופשין
17. לאבשלום ורצין להכותו ולשרפו באש ובת קול אומרת להם אל תכו אותו
18. ואל תשרפוהו שהוא מזרע ישראל והוא בן דוד עבדי ומניחין אותו על כסאו ו¹⁴⁷
19. ומושיבין אותו בכבוד כמלך ואין מורידי אותו מעל כסאו לאחר כך מוציא'
20. את הרשעי' מן האש כאלו לא נשרפו ולא נגע בהן אש ומפילי' אותם כבראשונה
21. ונשרפים באש בגהינם ועושין להם כך שבע פעמים ארבעה ביום ושלושה ב¹⁴⁸
22. בלילה ואבשלום ניצל מכל אלה בשביל זכות דוד אמר ר' יהושע כשראיתי כל
23. אלה חזרתי לגן עדן וכתבתי דברים ושלחתי אותם לרבן גמליאל ולקוני ישראל
24. והודעתי להם כל מה שראיתי בגן עדן ובגהינם השם יצילנו מדינה של גהינם.

The story of what happened to R. Joshua b. Levi of blessed memory. The Sages of blessed memory have reported that R. Joshua b. Levi was a totally righteous individual. When it was his appointed time to be removed from the world, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to the Angel of Death: "Go and do anything that R. Joshua asks of you."¹⁴⁹ He thereupon went to him and said to him: "Joshua b. Levi, your appointed time to be removed from the world has arrived. However, anything you ask of me I will do for you."

When R. Joshua heard this, he said to him: "I ask of you that you might show me my place in *Gan Eden*."¹⁵⁰ The Angel of Death said to him: "Come along with me

¹⁴⁵ Printed text reads קפור.

¹⁴⁶ *Sic*. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹⁴⁷ *Sic*. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹⁴⁸ *Sic*. The printer set the first letter of the next word, but then decided to let it begin the next line.

¹⁴⁹ See *b. Ketub. 77b*: אמרו ליה למלאך המות זיל עביד ליה רעותיה.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: א"ל אחוי לי דוכתאי.

and I will show it to you." R. Joshua said to him: "Give me your sword so that you do not intimidate me with it."¹⁵¹ Immediately he handed over to him his sword, and the two of them traveled together until they arrived at the walls of *Gan Eden*. R. Joshua suddenly leaped from (the top of) the wall and fell within *Gan Eden*.¹⁵² The Angel of Death grabbed the hem of his shawl and said to him: "Come out from there!" But R. Joshua swore that he would never exit,¹⁵³ and the Angel of Death did not possess the authority to enter inside it.

The ministering angels spoke before the Holy One, blessed be He: "See what Joshua b. Levi has done? He has taken his portion in *Gan Eden* by force!" The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: "Go and make an investigation of him. If he has ever sworn an oath prior to this one and then violated his oath, then also this one he may violate, but if not, he cannot violate it!" They went forth and conducted an investigation, (discovering) that he had never transgressed against an oath during his lifetime. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: "If so, then he cannot come out of there!" When the Angel of Death saw that he was unable to bring him out of *Gan Eden*, he said to him: "Give me back my sword!" But he resisted giving it back to him until a *bat qol* issued forth and said to him: "Give him back his sword, for it is needed for the created order."¹⁵⁴ R. Joshua said to him: "Swear to me that you will not show it to any person at the time you are taking their soul." Before this, at every place where a particular person was leaving (this world), he would slaughter them in full view of everyone, even if they were (an infant) asleep in the bosom of their mother. At that time he swore to him, and so he gave him the sword.

Elijah of blessed memory traveled with R. Joshua b. Levi.¹⁵⁵ He went and found R. Shimon b. Yoḥai who was sitting on thirteen thrones of gold.¹⁵⁶ He said to him: "Are you ben Levi?" He said to him: "Yes." He said to him: "Has the rainbow appeared during your lifetime?" He said to him: "Yes." He said to him: "If so, you cannot be ben Levi!" But the matter was not so, for the rainbow had never appeared during his lifetime. Why then did he say it had appeared? He did not wish to claim merit for himself. But why did they ask about the rainbow? Because it was (the sign of) a covenant between the Holy One, blessed be He, and the earth: every time that

¹⁵¹ Ibid.: א"ל הב לי סכינך דלמא מבעתה לי בארזחא.

¹⁵² Ibid.: כי מטא להתם דליה קא מחוי ליה שורר נפל להוהא גיסא.

¹⁵³ Ibid.: נקטיה בקרנא דגלמייהא א"ל בשבעתא דלא אחינא.

¹⁵⁴ *B. Ketub. 77b.*: נפקא בת קלא ואמר לה ליה רב ניהליה דמתבעא לברייתא.

¹⁵⁵ Solomon Schechter has observed that "the prophet Elijah . . . frequently had communion with R. Joshua ben Levi"; quoted from his *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology: Major Concepts of the Talmud* (London, 1909; repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1961), 241. See also the references cited by Israel Lévi, "Le conte du *Diable dupé* dans le folklore juif," *REJ* 85 (1928): 143–4 n. 1.

¹⁵⁶ So *b. Ketub. 77b*, where we find R. Shimon b. Yoḥai seated on "thirteen thrones of gold" (תכתקי פיוא): the word for "throne" is Middle Persian *taxtag* (NP *taxt*). Other Hebrew renderings of this tale state: קינבין של צדיקים; שהיה יושב על י"ג קינבין על י"ג. For the problematic קינבין, one might compare קינף "canopy," which is in turn a loanword from Greek *κωνωπεῖον* or Latin *conopeum*. Greek *κωνωπεῖον* derives from *κόνωψ* "gnat, mosquito"—hence a *κωνωπεῖον* is a gauze net or covering that protects one from these flying insects. According to Jastrow (p. 1363), קינבין are "curtained couches"; note also *Aruch* 6:138 and Even-Shoshan, s.v., where it is defined as "a couch with a canopy over it," and compare French *canapé* "couch." Note however Syriac *ܩܢܒܐ* and Arabic *قنب*, both of which signify "a sail for a ship." The use of the "b" phoneme instead of the "p" in the Hebrew form may reflect this Semitic (as opposed to a Western language) background.

it appeared, the Holy One, blessed be He, exercised mercy with regard to the earth and the created beings. But any time a righteous individual is among a generation, the world does not need the rainbow because the world continues to endure on account of the one righteous person, just as scripture affirms: "a righteous person founds a world" (Prov 10:25).¹⁵⁷

The Angel of Death went and found Rabban Gamaliel and said to him: "Thus and so has R. Joshua b. Levi done!" Rabban Gamaliel said to him: "He has treated you well. However, come and I will send you back to him. Report to him a request which I am making of him—that he should explore *Gan Eden* and that he should record everything and that he should send the document back to me. Then I can see if there are any Gentiles in *Gan Eden* or any Jews in Gehin[n]om." The Angel of Death went to *Gan Eden* to R. Joshua and reported to him all the words of Rabban Gamaliel. R. Joshua said: "Thus will I do for you!"

R. Joshua went and explored the whole of *Gan Eden*.¹⁵⁸ He found that there were seven chambers in *Gan Eden*. Each one of those chambers was twelve myriads of miles in length and ten (myriads?) of miles in width. The first chamber was opposite the first gate in *Gan Eden*. Reclining there were the converts among Israel who had converted voluntarily. Its walls were constructed from glass and its beams were cedar. When I entered in order to measure it, all the Gentile nations arose to push me away. The righteous Obadyahu¹⁵⁹ spoke up—for he was the one appointed over them—and said to them: "It is on account of their merit that this one has come among you!" Immediately they allowed me to measure it.¹⁶⁰

The second chamber was opposite the second gate in *Gan Eden*. It was constructed of silver and its beams were cedar. Dwelling in it were the penitent ones, and Manasseh b. Hezekiah was appointed over them.

The third chamber was opposite the third gate in *Gan Eden*. It was constructed of silver and gold. Dwelling in it were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the Israelites who came forth from Egypt including those who perished in the wilderness. Moses and Aaron were appointed over them. Vessels of gold and silver were there, and every type of pleasant and delightful thing which exists in heaven or

¹⁵⁷ This consultation of R. Shimon b. Yoḥai by Elijah and R. Joshua b. Levi is based on the story found in *Gen. Rab.* 35.2 (Theodor-Albeck, 328–9). For the remainder of the paragraph, cf. *b. Yoma* 38b.

¹⁵⁸ For related descriptions of Paradise, see *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 22.2–23.10; Jellinek, *BHM* 2:49.9–50.17; *Midrash Konen* (apud Jellinek, *BHM* 2:28.8–30.3); Eli Yassif, ed., *Sefer ha-Zikronot hu' Divrey ha-Yamim le-Yerahmeel* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), 104.24–105.9; and the various texts assembled by J. D. Eisenstein, *Otzar ha-midrashim* (2 vols; New York: [s.n.], 1915), 1:83–95. Note also the important remarks of Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–38), 5:31 n. 90; 32–4 n. 97; and Micha Perry, *Masoret we-shenui: Mesirat yeda' be-qerev Yehudey Ma'arav Europa be-yemey ha-beynayim* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2010), 197–254.

¹⁵⁹ Identified in *Midrash Konen* (apud Jellinek, *BHM* 2:28.14) as עובדיה הנביא. But it seems likely that the infamous eleventh-century Norman convert is meant. On this figure, see S. D. Goitein, "Obadyah, A Norman Proselyte," *JJS* 4 (1953): 74–84; Norman Golb, "Notes on the Conversion of European Christians to Judaism in the Eleventh Century," *JJS* 16 (1965): 69–74.

¹⁶⁰ Compare Jellinek, *BHM* 2:49.14–16: וכשבאתי למדדה עמדו כל תגרים ובקשו לעבור ענה עובדיה הצדיק: שהוא ממונה עליהם וא' ל' מגין זכותכם שישב זה עמכם מיד הניחוני למדדה.

on earth. Also there were all the descendants of David, except for Absalom. David and Solomon were there, and Kilab b. David was there,¹⁶¹ and all the kings of Judah were there, except for Manasseh who had charge of the penitents (in the second chamber). I saw canopied couches and thrones and lamps made of gold, precious jewels, and pearls. I said: "For whom are these things being prepared?" King David responded and said to me: "For the children who are asleep in the world from which you have come." And I said to him: "Will there be some there from the Gentile nations, for there are some good people even among the descendants of Esau (i.e., Christians)?" He said to me: "No, since for any good thing they might do, the Holy One, blessed be He, provides its recompense while they are still alive in that world, and so in the end they inherit Gehinnom. But He punishes a wicked person among Israel during their lifetime in that world so that they are worthy of the World to Come, as scripture states: "He recompenses His enemies in the present¹⁶² [in order to destroy them. He does not delay (recompense) for His enemy; He recompenses him in the present]." (Deut 7:10).

The fourth chamber is opposite the fourth gate in *Gan Eden*. It was constructed very beautifully like the domicile of Adam the Protoplast.¹⁶³ Its beams were of olive wood because their days were bitter like the olive.

The fifth chamber is opposite the fifth gate in *Gan Eden*. It was constructed from silver, gold, choice gold, fine gold, glass, and crystal, and the River Gihon flows through the midst of it. Its beams were of silver and gold. It effused aloft some of every (pleasant) fragrance of Lebanon, and couches of gold and silver were spread with spices, blue, and purple (fabrics) woven by Eve, and scarlet and twisted byssus woven by the king (?).¹⁶⁴ Reclining in it were the Messiah b. David and Elijah of blessed memory. A pavilion made of woods from Lebanon (was there), and the Messiah b. David dwelt in the midst of the pavilion, the one who is the beloved of the daughters of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁵ Elijah of blessed memory would take the head of the Messiah and let it rest in his lap. He would say to him: "Be quiet! For the appointed time is close!" The ancestors of the world and of the tribes and Moses and Aaron and David and Solomon and each and every king of Israel and from the lineage of David would come to him every Monday, Thursday, Sabbath, and festival day and weep with him and encourage him and say to him: "Be quiet and rely on your Creator, for the appointed time is close!" And also Qorah and his congregation, and Dathan and Abiram, and Absalom would come to him every Wednesday and ask him: "How long until the appointed time for miraculous events? How long before you turn to resurrect us and you turn to bring us up from the depths of the earth?" He would say to them: "Go to your ancestors!" And when they would hear this, they would never ask the ancestors. When I entered before the Messiah b.

¹⁶¹ Cf. 2 Sam 3:3.

¹⁶² Literally "to his face"; i.e., the here and now, as opposed to the afterlife.

¹⁶³ Ginzberg suggests emending the text to read בוני מישוה וארים "constructed from jasper and carnelian"; cf. Ezek 28:13. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:32 n. 95.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Jellinek, *BHM* 2:50.1-2: חולעת שני תעוים מארינת המלאכים "and scarlet and twisted byssus woven by the angels." Instead of "the angels," Ms. Vatican Ebr. 44 fol. 303b.21 reads "the kings" (המלכים).

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Cant 3:9-10.

David, he asked me and said to me: "How does Israel fare in the world from which you came?" I said to him: "They hope for you (to come) every day, constantly." He at once raised his voice in weeping.

The sixth chamber: dwelling in it were those who had provided for the burial of deserted corpses. The seventh chamber: dwelling in it were those who died of chastising diseases on account of the transgressions of Israel.

All this I saw in *Gan Eden*. R. Joshua said: "I would like to see Gehinnom and to measure it." At that time they were executing R. Ishmael the high priest and the (other) ten imperial martyrs.¹⁶⁶ The news arrived (about this), and I was unable to go with that Angel of Death to Gehinnom. When it was another¹⁶⁷ day, I arose and I was taken with the angel <Qippōd>,¹⁶⁸ and the light accompanied me until I arrived at the gates of Gehinnom, which were open. The wicked ones who were there beheld the light and rejoiced and said to one another: "This is the light which will bring us out from here!" I saw chambers in Gehinnom: their dimensions were ten miles by ten miles. There were open pits and fiery lions rising up¹⁶⁹ and consuming the wicked, and after they consumed them and broke them into pieces, there arose something which looked like fire around their feet, and they collapsed into the fire and were burned up. In that chamber were ten ethnic groups from the nations of the world, and Absalom b. David was the one who had charge over them. One nation would say to another: "If our sin was to be unwilling to accept the Torah, then what was your sin?" They would respond to them: "We too were like you!" They said to Absalom: "You whose ancestors accepted the Torah—why did you not keep it?" He answered them: "It is because I did not obey the instructions of my father!" Angels were standing over them on this side and that (with) their rods and casting down the wicked, and all of them were being burned up. Afterwards they seized Absalom and wanted to attack him and burn him in the fire, but a *bat qol* addressed them, (saying): "Do not attack him and do not burn him up, for he is of Israelite descent and a son of My servant David!" Then they left him on his throne, and they seated him in honor like a king, and none could bring him down off his throne. After this they would bring the wicked out of the fire: it was as if they had not been burned and there was no damage done to them, and they would cast them in as before, and they would (again) be burned up in the fire in Gehinnom. They would do (this) to them seven times: four times during the daylight hours, and three times during the night. Absalom escaped from all these (torments) because of the merit of David.¹⁷⁰

R. Joshua said: "When I had seen all these things, I returned to *Gan Eden* and wrote descriptions and sent them to Rabban Gamaliel and the elders of Israel.

¹⁶⁶ An allusion to the infamous *Tale of the Ten Martyrs*. ¹⁶⁷ Read אחר in place of אחד?

¹⁶⁸ For this "chef de l'enfer," see *Midrash Kohen* (apud Jellinek, *BHM* 2:30.17): שר של גיהנם קיפוד שר של "the prince of Gehinnom is named Qippōd"; note also Moise Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1897), 240.

¹⁶⁹ Compare *Midrash Kohen* (apud Jellinek, *BHM* 2:31.1–2): פתוח גבים וגבים ואריות של אש עומדין שם.

¹⁷⁰ The emphasis upon fire and its by-products as a punishment for the inhabitants of Hell is closely analyzed by Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, 1983; repr., Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 107–16.

I informed them about everything I had seen in *Gan Eden* and in Gehinnom." May the Lord deliver us from the judgment of Gehinnom!

The medieval Jewish *Ma'aseh R. Joshua b. Levi* considerably expands a terse talmudic tale (*b. Ketub.* 77b) that recounts the circumstances surrounding the moment of death of the first-generation Palestinian amora R. Joshua b. Levi.¹⁷¹ According to this talmudic narrative, in contradistinction to some of his colleagues, R. Joshua b. Levi did not avoid interacting with those afflicted by a particularly noxious insect infestation because he was confident that his conscientious study of Torah would protect him from harm. In reward for such faith, the Angel of Death was obligated to fulfill whatever wish R. Joshua b. Levi might have at the time of his death. Curious to see his place in Paradise, R. Joshua convinced the Angel of Death to give him a preview of its delights, and he managed to escape the Angel of Death's grasp and remain in Paradise. In the *Ma'aseh R. Joshua b. Levi* and its associated cycle of tales, this aggadic kernel grows into one of the most prominent exemplars of the rich storehouse of legendry about the Jewish cosmography of Heaven and Hell.

As we have seen, Muslim oikotypes of this particular tale are present in the medieval *qiṣṣat al-anbiyā'* anthologies of Tha'labī and Kisā'i. In their accounts however it is the prophet Idrīs (= Enoch) who cheats the Angel of Death and successfully enters Paradise alive. Both anthologists also recount how Idrīs managed to view the horrors of Hell prior to ensconcing himself safely in Paradise. One might compare the structurally similar narrative sequence found in *2 Enoch* 42–3 (long) where Enoch is portrayed as first viewing Hell before proceeding on to a tour of Paradise. The Slavonic passage lacks however the astonishingly parallel sequence of events which connect the Muslim and Jewish tales of how the hero successfully outwits the Angel of Death and is able to remain in Paradise.

How or why did the Muslim prophet Idrīs and the Jewish sage R. Joshua b. Levi assimilate? The key to resolving this puzzle perhaps lies in the language used by the storyteller when first introducing the character of R. Joshua b. Levi in the medieval recastings of the talmudic prototype of this tale. According to the *Ma'aseh*, "The Sages of blessed memory have said that R. Joshua b. Levi was *totally righteous*," a characterization that is absent from his portrayal in *b. Ketub.* 77b where he is instead used to exemplify the apotropaic benefits of diligent Torah study. Eli Yassif has suggested that this particular shift in character development is governed by the different audiences to which the talmudic aggada and the later folktale are directed, the former an insular group of erudite scholars who could appreciate the benefits of a life spent in Torah study, but the latter a much larger uneducated populace "who neither knew or studied Torah."¹⁷² But

¹⁷¹ See Howard Schwartz, *Tree of Souls: The Mythology of Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 206–7.

¹⁷² Eli Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale: History, Genre, Meaning* (trans. Jacqueline S. Teitelbaum; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 257.

what also has to be noticed is that the sobriquet “righteous” is probably one of the most frequent epithets that accompanies the name of Enoch and that of his Muslim avatar Idrīs.¹⁷³ In much the same way that the *Ma’aseh* introduces R. Joshua as one who was “totally righteous” (צדיק גמור), Tha’labī starts his account and Kisā’ī concludes his with a citation of Q 19:56–7: “Mention in the book Idrīs, for he was a righteous one, a prophet; and We raised him to a lofty place,” the site where the qur’ānic application of Arabic *ṣiddīq* to the figure of Idrīs precisely duplicates the way that Enoch is often linguistically presented in Hebrew, Aramaic, and other dependent literatures. This rhetorical tactic may be the crucial clue that permits a thematic fusion between R. Joshua b. Levi and Enoch/Idrīs.

¹⁷³ See the numerous examples assembled in Chapter 1.

Enoch's Escape from Death

The idea that the removal of Enoch from human society necessarily connoted his entrance while still alive into Paradise is one that involves a series of developments in the understanding of this particular biblical character and his putative role in the narrative recountals of the antediluvian era. His escape from death is the logical outcome of his early association with the epithet “righteous,” for we find it reiterated in Israelite wisdom literature that “a *righteous* status delivers (one) from death” (וְצַדִּיקָה תְּצִיל מִמוּת).¹ A similar sentiment is also visible in Josephus and in early Christian paraenesis from the end of the first century. According to the Jewish historian, Enoch “found refuge near the divine realm” (ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον) after having lived within human society for 365 years, and as a result “his death had not been recorded” (ὄθεν οὐδὲ τελευτήν αὐτοῦ ἀναγεγράφασι) in scripture.² He says nothing however as to how or why Enoch managed to achieve this feat.³ The anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews attributes Enoch’s avoidance of death to his “faith” (πίστις) and echoes the Old Greek rendition of Gen 5:24 by declaring that his sudden disappearance was directly tied to his exemplary behavior. “He had pleased God” (εὐαρεστηκέναι τῷ θεῷ), and as a result “he could not be found, for God had transferred him” (οὐχ ἠύρισκετο διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός).⁴ Similarly *1 Clem.* 9:2–3 has Enoch as the first example in its list of past religious worthies “who rendered

¹ Prov 10:2; 11:4 (and cf. 11:8); Wis 3:1–9; 5:15; 6:17–20. See also the discussions of a wider variety of texts in C[hristopher]. R. A. Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition,” *JJS* 43 (1992): 17–18; Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 206–14; Samuel L. Adams, *Wisdom in Transition: Act and Consequence in Second Temple Instructions* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 215–32.

² Josephus, *Ant.* 1.85. For the Greek text, see Benedictus Niese, ed., *Flavii Iosephi Opera* (7 vols; Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1885–95), 1:20.8–10.

³ Later when discussing the fate of Elijah (*Ant.* 9.28), Josephus states that “it is recorded in the sacred books that they (i.e., Elijah and antediluvian Enoch) became invisible; no one knows about their death” (ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγέγραπται βίβλοις ὅτι γέγονασιν ἀφανεῖς, θάνατον δ’ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν). The Greek text is from *Iosephi Opera* (ed. Niese), 2:274.18–19. An excellent discussion of those passages where Josephus recounts the final dispositions of Enoch and Elijah is James D. Tabor, “Returning to the Divinity: Josephus’s Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah, and Moses,” *JBL* 108 (1989): 225–38.

⁴ Heb 11:5. See also Sir 44:16; Wis 4:10–14.

consummate service" (τελείως λειτουργήσαντας) to God: as one "who was found to be true in his obedience (to God), he was transferred, and (mention of) his death is not found" (ὅς ἐν ὑπακοῇ δίκαιος εὐρεθείς μετετέθη, καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῦ θάνατος).⁵

ENOCH IS TAKEN ALIVE TO GAN EDEN OR THE (EASTERN?) ENDS OF THE EARTH

In these passages, the Garden of Eden is imagined as being a terrestrial, as opposed to a celestial, locale.⁶ It is in such cases typically situated at a great distance from human population centers. It is most often placed in the extreme eastern regions of this world, and is frequently located on the top of a mountain. An early expression of this idea is already found in *Jub.* 4:23–4:⁷

And he (i.e., Enoch) was taken away from the sons of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honor; and there he records the condemnation and the judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the sons of men. And because of him the water of the Flood did not reach the land of Eden; for he was established there as a sign⁸ to bear witness against all the sons of men and keep a record of all the deeds of every generation till the Day of Judgment.

Cologne Mani Codex 59.4–60.12 (ed. Koenen-Römer):⁹

καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν οὕτως· ἔφη μοι εἰς τῶν ἀγγέλων Μιχαὴλ τοῦνομα· τούτου χάριν πρὸς σέ ἀπεστάλην ἵνα ὑποδείξωμέν σοι πάντα τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀποκαλύψωμέν σοι τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον καὶ χώρὸν σοι δείξω τὸν τῶ[ν] δυσσεβῶν καὶ ὁποῖος τυγχάνει ὁ τῆς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνόμων τόπος. φησι δὲ πάλιν ὅτι ἐκείνο[ι] ἐπεκάθισάν με ἐπὶ ἄ[ρ]ματος ἀνέμου καὶ εἰς[ι] τὰ πέρατα τῶν οὐρ[ανῶν] ἀνήνεγκαν. καὶ το[ὺς κό]σμοις διεπεράσαμ[εν], τὸν τε κόσμον [τοῦ θανά]του [καὶ κό]σμο[ν] τοῦ σκό[τους] καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσηξάν με εἰς κόσμον πλουσιώτατον ὃς εὐκλεέστατος μὲν τῷ φωτὶ ἐτύγχανεν, περικαλλέστερος δὲ ὢν εἶδον φωστήρων. πάντα δὲ ἐθεώρησεν καὶ ἐξήτασεν τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶ τι αὐτῷ εἶπον, ἐνεχάραξεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς γραφαῖς.

⁵ Greek text cited from Bart D. Ehrman, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers: I Clement, II Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache* (LCL 24; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 50.

⁶ For a stimulating discussion of this idea, see Markus Bockmuehl, "Locating Paradise," in Markus Bockmuehl and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds., *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 192–209.

⁷ Adapted from the translation of R. H. Charles and Chaim Rabin in H. F. D. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 23–4. This anthology is henceforth referenced as AOT.

⁸ Cf. Sir 44:16.

⁹ Ludwig Koenen and Cornelia Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex... Kritische Edition* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988), 40. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch as a Confidant and Apprentice of Angels."

Cave of Treasures §13.14–19 (ed. Ri):¹⁷

وبعثت روحه من بين يديه وبعثت روحه من بين يديه وبعثت روحه من بين يديه
 بعثت روحه من بين يديه وبعثت روحه من بين يديه وبعثت روحه من بين يديه
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After he buried him, his son Enoch arose to serve God for fifty years, up to (his) three hundred and sixty-fifth year. Enoch knew that God would remove him during his lifetime, and he summoned Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, and said to them: "I know that God is angry with this generation, and that He has decreed a merciless punishment for them. You are the survivors of this generation. Never again will a human being be born on this mountain who will become a leader of his people. Now take care that you serve God in purity and in holiness."

After Enoch had commanded them these things, God removed him to the Region of Life and to pleasing lodgings adjoining Paradise—to a place lifted above death.

*Ms. Paris Bibliothéque Nationale arabe 76 fol. 12b = Arabic Apoc. Pet.? (ed. Bezold):*¹⁸

فلما خدّم اخنوخ بين يدي الله خمسين سنة في سنة ثلاث مائة وخمسة وستين سنة حياته علم بانه سينقله الله اليه حينئذ دعا
 متوشلح وللامك ولنوح وقال لهم اني اعلم بان الله سيغضب على هذا الشعب ويحكم عليه حكما ليس فيه رحمه وانتم بقايا
 هذا الاجيال وانه ليس يولد انسان اخر بعدكم في هذا الجبل المقدس ليكون سيد اهل قومه ائما انتم انظروا كيف تخدمون بين
 يدي الله بالبقاء والطهارة فلما تمت وصية اخنوخ خطفه الله الى ارض الحياه الى مسكن البهيّة الذي حول الفردوس للبلد العالي
 من الموت.

So when Enoch had served God for fifty years, he learned that God was going to remove him to Himself in the three hundred and sixty-fifth year of his life. At that time he summoned Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, and he said to them: "I know that God is growing angry at this generation and that He will judge them with a judgment which will be merciless. And you are the remnant of this tribe: no other people will be born after you on this holy mountain to become a leader for the members of its people. You nevertheless should remain attentive with regard to how you serve God with devotion and saintliness."¹⁹ And when Enoch had finished

¹⁷ Su-Min Ri, ed., *La Caverne des Trésors: Les deux recensions syriaques* (CSCO 486–7, scrip. syri 207–8; 2 vols; Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1987), 103.1–105.5 (text), quoted from the so-called "occidental" version (= CT^w).

¹⁸ Carl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle "Mē'arath Gazzē"* (2 vols; Leipzig, 1883–8; repr., 2 vols in 1; Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1981), 2:71.17–73.10. Bezold had identified this manuscript as Ms. Paris BN arabe 54 (2:v–vi), but the manuscript was mislabeled and is actually Paris Ms. BN 76; cf. Paul de Lagarde, *Mitteilungen: Vierter Band* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1891), 6–8. A somewhat variant version of this same tradition is contained in the *Kitāb al-Majāll* or "Book of Rolls" *apud* Margaret Dunlop Gibson, ed., *Apocrypha Arabica* (Studia Sinaitica 8; London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1901), 22.16–23.1 (text); 23 (trans.); reprinted by A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *La Caverna dei Tesori: Testo arabo con traduzione italiana e commento* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor, 26; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1979), 22–3 (text).

¹⁹ Read *الطهارة* in place of the text's *البهية*?

his testament, God carried him away to the Land of Life, to a residence of magnificence which was near Paradise, to a region that was raised above Death.

Ka'b al-Aḥbār apud Hamdānī, *Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren):²⁰

فلم يطعمه احد من ولد شيث واختلطوا بنسل قايين فرفع الله اليه ادريس كما قال جَلَّ ثَنَاهُ ورفعناه مكانا عليًا واستخلف ادريس بعده المتوشلخ يحذر الناس العذاب . . . فلَمَّا قَضَىٰ وصِيَّتَهُ ذهبَ اللهُ له الى المَكانِ الذي ليس يَجِيه فيه للموت سلطان.

Not a single one of the descendants of Seth would obey him (i.e., Idrīs); instead, they mixed promiscuously with the progeny of Cain. So God raised Idrīs up to Him, as His exalted praise iterates: “We raised him to a lofty place” (Q 19:57). Idrīs appointed Methuselah to be his successor after him: he would warn the people about the (coming) punishment . . . After he had finished his testament, God conducted him to a place where death exercised no authority.²¹

***Pseudo-Ben Sira* recension A 22 (ed. Yassif):²²**

ועוד שאלו מפני מה כל בריות מתים חוץ משני דורות אילו מלחם העוף ודורו של יונדב בו רכב (א"ל) לא אילו בלבד אלא אחת עשרה שנמלטו ממיתה והן בגן עדן ואילו הן חנוך אליהו ומשיח וסרח בת אשר ובתיה בת פרעה וחירם מלך צור ואליעזר עבד אברהם ועבד מלך הכוש ונכדו של ר' יהודה הנשיא ויעבץ ור' יהושע בן לוי ודורו של מלחם העוף ודורו של יונדב מפני מה הללו לא טעמו טעם מיתה א"ל שכולם היו צדיקים בדורם חנוך כל דורו היו רשעים גמורים והוא היה צדיק גמור ולכך נרמה למלאכי השרת שלא יאמרו הרשעים שבדור מה הועילו צדקו והרי הוא כאותן שמרדו במקום לפיכך לא מת ולא עוד אלא שמלאכי השרת מזועזעין מפניו חנוך זה מסטרוין ושבעים שמות יש לו.

They asked another question: Why (when) all created beings are mortal are there two immortal lineages (of created beings); namely, those of the phoenix and of Jonadab b. Rechab? [He responded:] Those are not the only ones. Actually eleven (others) have escaped death and now reside in the Garden of Eden.²³ They are Enoch, Elijah, the Messiah, Seraḥ bt. Asher, Bityah bt. Pharaoh, Hiram the king of Tyre, Eliezer the servant of Abraham, Eved-melekh the Cushite, the grandson of R. Judah the Prince, Yabetz, and R. Joshua b. Levi (along with) the lineages of the phoenix and of Jonadab. [They asked:] Why did these not experience the taste of death? He responded to them: Because each of them were the righteous ones within their (respective) generation. (With regard to) Enoch, his entire generation was completely wicked, but he was completely righteous. Because he seemed like

²⁰ Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl: Erstes Buch* (ed. Oscar Löfgren; 2 vols; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1954–65), 1:25.13–15; 26.3–4. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²¹ Compare *Kitāb al-Majālī* (ed. Gibson, 22.23–23.1): *وجعله* “And after Enoch finished this testament, God raised him up to the Land of Life and made him reside near Paradise in a country where death is not present.”

²² Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle-Ages: A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 253–4.

²³ Medieval Jewish literature transmits varying lists of those privileged “not to taste death.” Compare the present roster with those found in *Derekh Eretz Zuṭa* §1 end (cf. Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature,” 197 n. 44); *Kallah Rabbati* (ed. Higger) 3.23; Ḥanokh Albeck, ed., *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (Jerusalem: Mekitze Nirdamim, 1940), 96.17–98.11. See also Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909–38), 5:95–6 n. 67; and Radaq *ad* 2 Kgs 2:1.

one of the ministering angels, [and]²⁴ so that the wicked ones of his generation could not say "How did his righteousness benefit him, since he (was punished) like those who rebelled against the Omnipresent!" he did not die. And not only this (boon did he receive), but even the ministering angels tremble in his presence, for this Enoch became Metatron, and he acquired seventy names.²⁵

Elijah of Anbār, *Book of Instruction* (ed. Juckel):²⁶

ענוך הוּבְרָא מִבְּנֵי אָדָם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְנִשְׁמַר לְפָנָיו.

Enoch, the one belonging to the seventh generation (from Adam), departed and was removed to Paradise.

Michael Syrus, *Chronicle* 1.5 (ed. Chabot):²⁷

וְעֵנוֹךְ הָיָה מִבְּנֵי אָדָם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְנִשְׁמַר לְפָנָיו וְנִשְׁמַר לְפָנָיו וְנִשְׁמַר לְפָנָיו וְנִשְׁמַר לְפָנָיו.

Due to this (good behavior), God removed him (i.e., Enoch) to a locale known only to Him where He; i.e., God could enjoy (him). An assertion which some believe is that he was removed to Paradise, and that God brought him to the place where Adam was before he violated the commandment.²⁸

Chronicles of Yerahmeel §26 (Bodleian Ms. 2797 Heb. d. 11 fol. 22b):²⁹

ואינו כי לקח אותו אלהים ונתנו בגן עדן.

"And he was no more, for God took him" (5:24) and placed him in the Garden of Eden.

Radaq *ad* 2 Kgs 2:1:

... ודעת המונינו גם חכמינו כי הכניסו האל בגן עדן עם גופו כמו שהיה אדם הראשון קודם שחטא וכן הכניס חנוך שם ובדרש כי עשרה הם שנכנסו חיים לגן עדן.

...and both popular and scholarly opinion holds that God conducted him (i.e., Elijah) bodily into the Garden of Eden, paralleling Adam the Protoplast's state

²⁴ This addition would seem to be presupposed.

²⁵ Compare the text of *Pseudo-Ben Sira* recension B: חנוך שכל דורו רשעים גמורים היו והוא היה צדיק גמור "ע והוא היום מלאך שכל מלאכי השרת מחיירין ממנו (With regard to) ונדמה למלאכי השרת ולפיכך נכנס בחייו בגן עדן" (5:24) and placed him in the Garden of Eden. Now he is an angel whom all the ministering angels hold in awe." Text from Yassif, *Tales of Ben Sira*, 253–4.

²⁶ Andreas Karl Juckel, *Ktābā dDurrāšā, die theologische Lehrdichtung des nestorianers Ēlijā von Anbār: Einführung, Text und Übersetzung des ersten Mēmra* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1983), 285.13. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 1.

²⁷ J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche, 1166–1199* (4 vols; repr., Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), 1:9 (translation); 4:4 (text). The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric "Enoch as Inventor of Writing or Contributor to Book Culture."

²⁸ See *Jub.* 4:23–6. Cf. *1 En.* 24:3–25:7; 70:1–4? Note also *Pistis Sophia* 2.99; 3.134; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (see p. 217); *Zohar* 1.37b; 2.55a; 2.277a–b; 3.10b.

²⁹ Eli Yassif, ed., *Sefer ha-Zikronot hu' Divrey ha-Yamim le-Yerahmeel* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), 119. The full citation of this source appears later in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch Returns with Elijah at the Eschaton."

prior to his transgressing (the commandment), and so too He conducted Enoch there. In midrash we find that ten individuals entered the Garden of Eden while still alive.³⁰

Kisā'i, Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' (ed. Eisenberg):³¹

وكان ادريس مع ذلك شديد الحرص على دخوله الجنة وكان قد راى في الكتب ان لا يدخلها احد دون الموت والبعث وكان يجاهد قومه في الله تعالى وكان يعبد الله حقَّ العبادة... .

فاقبل يوما على ملك الموت وقال له هل لك ان تدخلنى الجنة حتى انظر اليها فقال له ملك الموت الجنة محرمة على كل الناس حتى لا يدخلها احد في الدنيا قبل الموت فان اهل الجنة لا يموتون ولكنك حاجتك الى الله غير اني احملك واقعدك على طريق رضوان خازن الجنان فاسئله حاجتك ففعل ذلك واقبل رضوان ومعه الملائكة فظنوا الى ادريس فقالوا لملك الموت من هذا فقال هذا ادريس نبي من اهل الارض وقد اراد ان ينظر الى اهل الجنان ليكون اجتهاده في عبادة ربه اكثر فقال رضوان ان ذلك الى ربى تعالى فاوحى الله تعالى الى رضوان اني قد علمت ما يريد عبدى ادريس وقد امرت غصنا من اغصان شجرة طوبى ان يتدلّى اليه فيتعلّق به فيدخله الجنة فاذا دخلها فاقعهه على اعلى شجرة فيها فلما دخل الجنة ورأى عجائب ما فيها من النعيم قال له رضوان الآن اخرج فقال اخرج من يدخل فيها فحاجته في ذلك فارسل اليه ملك الموت وقال ما لي على قبض روحه طاقة فقال له ادريس يا ملك الموت انما سلطك الله على قبض روحي وقد فعلت ولا تقبض روحي مرتين وقد قبضت روحي واحيانى الله تعالى وقد دخلت جهنم ورايتها وكان حتما حتم بها ربى على عباده بالموت والورود فقال كل نفس ذاتة الموت وقد ذقت الموت وقال وان منكم الا واردها كان على ربك حتما مقضيا وقال خالد بن قيس في حكاية ادريس قال ملك الموت يا ربى وادريس في موضع لا ادخله وما لي على قبض روحه سبيل فاوحى الله تعالى الى ملك الموت ان عبدى ادريس حاجك في الكلام فاتركه في جنتى ولا تؤذيه فلبث ادريس عليه السلام في الجنة باذن الله تعالى فذلك قوله تعالى واذكر في الكتاب ادريس انه كان صديقا نبيا ورفعناه مكانا عليا.

Nevertheless Idrīs was intensely bent on gaining entrance to Paradise, but he had seen in books that one may not enter there before death and resurrection. He exerted himself among his people on behalf of God Most High, and he served God properly (with his) worship. . . .

One day he approached the Angel of Death and said to him: "Are you able to introduce me into Paradise so that I might look at it?" The Angel of Death replied to him: "Paradise is prohibited for all people! No person who belongs to this world can enter it before death, because the people of Paradise never die. However, your request is for God Alone. I will carry you and seat you by the path of Rīdḡwān, the Keeper of Paradise."³² Then ask him about your request."

So he did this. Then Rīdḡwān and the angels who were with him approached, and they looked at Idrīs, and they asked the Angel of Death: "Who is this?" He replied: "This is the prophet Idrīs, one of the inhabitants of the earth. He wants to have a look at the inhabitants of Paradise in order to increase his effort in worshipping his Lord." Rīdḡwān responded: "That is for my Lord Most High (to decide)." Then God Most High revealed (this message) to Rīdḡwān: "I know what my servant Idrīs wants. I therefore have commanded one of the branches of the tree (named) Ṭūba³³ to hang down toward him. He should cling to it, and it will bring him into Paradise."

³⁰ See *Derekh Eretz Zuta* §1 end, quoted in Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature," 197 n. 44.

³¹ I. Eisenberg, ed., *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā': Vita Prophetarum auctore Muḥammad ben 'Abdallah al-Kisā'i* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1922–3), 1:82.18–21; 84.14–85.15. The full citation of this text appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

³² Based on Q 3:15; 9:21, 72.

³³ Based on Q 13:29.

wherein God takes delight—it is said to Paradise—the locale where Adam the Protoplast³⁹ first transgressed the commandment.⁴⁰

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Ṣāliḫānī):⁴¹

حنوخ بن يرد) ولد له مؤولح وعمره على الرأى السبعيني مائة وخمس وستون سنة وعلى رأى اليهود خمس وستون سنة. وهذا حنوخ تمسك بوصايا الله الطاهرة وعمل بها وتتبع الخير وصرف عن الشر مواظبا على العبادة ثلاثمائة سنة فنقله الله الى حيث شاء حيا وقيل الى الفردوس.

(Enoch b. Yared): Methuselah was his son. According to the view of the Septuagint, his (i.e., Enoch's) age (when he fathered Methuselah) was 165 years, but according to the Jewish view, it was 65 years. This Enoch devotedly kept the commandments of God Most Holy, and he put them into practice. He followed what was good and kept away from what was evil, remaining diligent in devotional service for three hundred years. Then God removed him while he was still alive to where he wished (to go), and it is said (he was taken) to Paradise.⁴²

Zohar Ḥadash, *Terumah* fol. 42d (ed. Margalioṭ):⁴³

ימא חד עאל גו גנתא דעדן ואחמו ליה סמירן דגנתא ואנח ההוא ספר וכל מה דחמא לבר ואחיו צניע בגו חבריא.

One day he (i.e., Enoch) went inside the Garden of Eden, and they showed him the secrets of the garden, and he left that book and everything that he had seen outside (the garden), and it remains guarded among the Companions.⁴⁴

Zohar 2.277a-b (ed. Vilna):⁴⁵

... עד דאתיליד חנוך בן ירד כיון דאתיליד הוה אשכח סמוך לגנתא שריאת ההוא נהירו לאתנהרא בגויהו אתרבי ברבו קודשא ושריא עליה נהירו דמנצא עאל לגנתא דעדן אשכח תמן אילני דחיי וענפי ואנבי דאילנא ארח ביה ואתיישב גו רוחא דנהירו דחיי אתו שליחן מלאכי עלאי אוליפו ליה חכמתא עלאה יהבו ליה ספר דהוה סמירן גו אילנא דחיי ואוליף מגיה יודע אורחוי דקב"ה ואשתדל אבתריה הה"ד ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עד דההוא נהירו אשתלים בגויה כיון דההוא נהירו אשתלים לתתא בעא לסלקא לדוכתיה ובגין לאחזאה ההוא שלימו ברוא דחנוך ימא חד עאל גו גנתא דעדן ואחמו ליה סמירן דגנתא ואנח ההוא ספר וגו'.

... (the light⁴⁶ was lost) until Enoch b. Yared was born. When he was born, he found himself near the Garden. That light began to shine within him. He was magnified with a saintly dignity and a sparkling light encompassed him. He entered

³⁹ I am reading the character string אבנמ מג as an abbreviation for אבנמ מנכא.

⁴⁰ Compare the slightly more verbose treatment of Enoch contained in Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Antoine Ṣāliḫānī; Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1890), 10.18–11.4.

⁴¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Ṣāliḫānī), 10.18–11.4.

⁴² Compare the briefer account in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Bedjan), 5.10–12.

⁴³ Reuven Moshe Margalioṭ, ed., *Sefer Zohar Ḥadash* (repr., Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 2002), 84. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the 'Reincarnation' of Adam."

⁴⁴ i.e., the legendary associates of R. Shim'on b. Yoḥai in the production, reception, and exposition of the Zoharic corpus of writings.

⁴⁵ Cf. Reuven Margalioṭ, *Mal'akey 'elyon* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1945), 82.

⁴⁶ An emblem of Adam's supernal soul. Here Enoch is being represented as the reincarnation of Primordial Adam; see Tiqquney ha-Zohar §70 fol. 137a.

the Garden of Eden and found there Trees (*sic!*) of Life, with the branches and fruit of the Tree. He breathed its aroma and restored within himself the spirit of the light of life. Emissaries of the celestial angels came (and) instructed him in supernal wisdom. They gave him a book which had been concealed within the Tree of Life,⁴⁷ and he studied it and discerned the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, and struggled to follow Him, as Scripture attests: "and Enoch walked with God" (Gen 5:24) until the light which was within him was perfected. As soon as the light was perfected in the terrestrial plane, it sought to ascend to its (proper) place. And hence He showed that perfection in the mystery of Enoch,⁴⁸ (who) one day entered into the Garden of Eden, and they displayed for him the secrets of the Garden, and he left that book, etc.⁴⁹

Zohar 3.10b (ed. Vilna):⁵⁰

תאנא בספרא דחנוך בשעתא דאחזיאו ליה חכמתא דרוזין עלאין וחמא אינא דגנתא דעדן אחזיו ליה חכמתא ברזא עלאה וחמא דכלהו עלמין הוו מתקשראן דא בדא שאיל לון על מה קיימין אמרו ליה עלי קיימי כלהו ומוניא אתבניאו ואשתלשלו דכתיב כלם בחכמה עשית וחמא דכלהו מזדעועו מדחילו דמאריהון ועל שמיא אתקרין כלהו.

It is taught in the *Book of Enoch* that at the time they revealed to him the wisdom of the supernal mysteries he saw the Tree which is in the Garden of Eden. They showed to him the celestial secret wisdom, and he discerned that all the worlds were bound to each other. He asked them how they (the worlds) were sustained. They responded: each one of them stands upon the letter *yod*, and from it they were built and knotted together, as scripture affirms: "all of them you formed with wisdom" (Ps 104:24). He discerned that all of them quaked due to reverence for their Lord, and that all of them were named after His own name.

ENOCH IS TAKEN ALIVE TO HEAVEN/PARADISE

In these examples heaven or Paradise is a celestial rather than a terrestrial destination.

⁴⁷ Compare the Coptic gnostic treatise *Pistis Sophia* 3.134: "Because even for the righteous themselves who have never done evil, and have not committed sins at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the Books of Jeu, which I (i.e., Jesus) caused Enoch to write in Paradise when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life." Cited from Carl Schmidt, ed., *Pistis Sophia* (NHS 9; trans. Violet MacDermot; Leiden: Brill, 1978a), 349.

⁴⁸ See Zohar 3.217b.

⁴⁹ For another translation, see Alan Unterman, ed., *The Kabbalistic Tradition: An Anthology of Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 98. See also Zohar Hadash, *Terumah* 42d, which is translated by Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (3 vols; Oxford: The Littman Library, 1989), 627; also Philip S. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch," in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 111. Compare Zohar 2.55a and 3.10b.

⁵⁰ Cf. Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82–3.

Sir 44:16 (ed. Rahlfs):⁵¹

Ενώχ εὐηρέστησεν κυρίῳ καὶ μετετέθη
ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας ταῖς γενεαῖς.

Enoch pleased the Lord and was taken up,
An example of repentance for (future) generations.

The first half of Sir 44:16 paraphrases LXX Gen 5:24, whereas the contrition referenced in the second half of the verse “would seem to presuppose sinful behavior that required forgiveness, a lifestyle that ill accords with the usual depiction of a ‘righteous’ Enoch.”⁵² The Masada scroll of Hebrew Ben Sira and the Syriac version of Ben Sira, which was translated directly from a Hebrew *Vorlage*, lack this verse. On the other hand, the medieval Ms. B begins its list of biblical heroes, like the Greek version, with Enoch.⁵³

This may also be the best place to catalog another place in Ben Sira where the name of Enoch appears to be mentioned:

Ben Sira 49:14 (T.-S. 16.314):⁵⁴

מעט נוצר על הארץ >כתונך<⁵⁵
וגם הוא נלקח פנים.

Few like Enoch were created on the earth,
For indeed he was openly (?) taken.

The second half of the verse certainly refers to the removal of Enoch from human society, although his ultimate destination remains unclear. The difficult expression פנים, literally “face” or “presence” and rendered adverbially as “openly” above, might signal Enoch’s attainment of a position among those angels and other attendants who were imagined to populate the heavens and enjoy communion with the divine “Presence.”⁵⁶

⁵¹ Compare also the slightly variant Hebrew text (and our notes) provided in Chapter 1.

⁵² Reeves, *Heralds*, 185; see also 199 n. 8, and cf. Wis 4:7, 10–11; Philo, *Abr.* 17–18; *Gen. Rab.* 25.1.

⁵³ A. E. Cowley and Ad[olf]. Neubauer, eds, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus (XXXIX.15–XLIX.11)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), 20–1; Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (SVT 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 176; James L. Kugel, “Ancient Biblical Interpretation and the Biblical Sage,” in James L. Kugel, ed., *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (Cambridge: Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies, 2001), 12 n. 7.

⁵⁴ S[olomon]. Schechter and C[harles]. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1899), 19 (text); Beentjes, *Book of Ben Sira*, 88.

⁵⁵ The Hebrew manuscript has כהניך, but the versions unanimously support a reading of כתונך.

⁵⁶ Moshe Z. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-shalem* (2nd edn; Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1958), 340; Jonas C. Greenfield, “Prolegomenon,” in Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1973b), xlvi n. 27; Benjamin G. Wright III, “Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest: Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood,” in Pancratius C. Beentjes, ed., *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28–31 July 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands* (BZAW 255; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 217; Rachel Elijor, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (trans. David Louvish; Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 97, 185; Christopher Rowland, “Things into which Angels Long to Look: Approaching Mysticism from the Perspective of the New Testament and the Jewish Apocalypses,” in Christopher Rowland

Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 4.16.2 (ed. Harvey):⁵⁷

... Enoch... translatus est.

... Enoch... was translated (to heaven).

Pistis Sophia 2.99 (ed. Schmidt):⁵⁸

ΝΑΪ ΝΕ ΠΩΘΟΜΗΝΤ̄ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΜΠΟΥΟΪΝ· ΝΜΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΪΩΘΟΜΗΝΤ̄ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΣΕΩΩ ΕΜΑΩΟ ΕΜΑΩΟ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΑΣΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΞΜ ΠΝΟΣ ΣΝΑΥ ΝΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΪΘΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ †ΝΑ† ΝΗΤΝ ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΧΩ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν ΝΗΝΟΣ ΜΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ· ΝΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΟΤ̄Ε ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΝΤΟΥΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΚΕΦΑΛΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΞΙΟ· ΝΑΪ ΕΤΝΑΧΙ ΜΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΝΡΪ ΝΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΡΩΜΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΧΩΣΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΧΩΡΗΜΑ ΝΤΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ [ΝΤΕ] ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΣΟΕΚ̄ ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΡΧΡΕΙΑ ΜΜΟΥΟΥ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΑΣΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΞΙ ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΣΝΑΥ ΝΪΘΟΥ· ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΥΟΣΑΪΣΟΥ ΝΣΙ ΕΝΩΧ ΕΪΩΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΜ ΠΩΗΝ ΜΠΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΜ ΠΩΗΝ ΜΠΩΝ̄Ξ ΞΡΑΪ ΞΜ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΙΣΟΣ ΝΑΔΑΜ.

These are the three portions of the Kingdom of Light. The mysteries of these three portions of the light are extremely numerous. You will find them in the two great *Books of Jeu*. But I will give you and I will say to you the great mysteries of every portion. Those which are superior to every place are the heads, according to place and according to rank, which will take the whole race of humankind into the elevated places, according to the space of the inheritance. Now you have no need for the remainder of the inferior mysteries, but you will find them in the two *Books of Jeu* which Enoch wrote when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life in the Paradise of Adam.⁵⁹

Two “Books of Jeu” (*1 Jeu* and *2 Jeu*) form part of the Bruce Codex of gnostic manuscript writings dating from late antiquity which was procured by the Scottish tourist James Bruce in Egypt in 1769 and which eventually was acquired by the Bodleian Library in Oxford.⁶⁰ There is however no mention in them of

and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament* (CRINT 3.12; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 44.

⁵⁷ W. Wigan Harvey, ed., *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis: Libros quinque adversus haereses* (2 vols; Cantabrigiae: Typis Academicis, 1857), 2:190. See also Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Christiani Liebbezeit, 1713), 168; H. J. Lawlor, “Early Citations from the Book of Enoch,” *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897): 195; and Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. edn; 3 vols in 4; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), 3/1:262. The full citation of this text appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric “Enoch/Metatron/Idris Mediates between Heaven and Displaced Angels.”

⁵⁸ Carl Schmidt, ed., *Pistis Sophia* (Haunia: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1925a), 246.18–247.7; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 492–4.

⁵⁹ Translation adapted from that of MacDermot, 493–5. See also Carl Schmidt, ed., *Koptisch-agnostische Schriften, Erster Band: Die Pistis Sophia—Die beiden Bücher des Jeû—Unbekanntes alt-agnostisches Werk* (GCS 13; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905), 158; Roelof van den Broek, *Gnostic Religion in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 18.

⁶⁰ Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts Discovered at Chenoboskion* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960), 76–86.

Enoch or of his putative authorship of these two books. Intriguingly, approximately a millennium later, Zoharic literature clusters the themes of heavenly books, the Tree of Life in Paradise, and Enoch; see especially Zohar 1.37b.

Pistis Sophia 3.134 (ed. Schmidt):⁶¹

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΟΥΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΡΕΦΗΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΑΪΣΚΥΛΛΙ ΜΜΟΪ ΑΪΕΪ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟC XE
 ΕΪΕΝΟΥΞΜ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΡ-ΛΑΛΥ
 ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΕΝΕΞ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΡΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΤΗΡΦ· ΖΑΠC ΕΡΟΥ ΠΕ
 ΕΤΡΕΥΞΕ ΕΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΞΙ ΝΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΟΥ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΪΤΡΕ ΕΝΩΧ'
 CΖΑΪCΟΥ ΖΡΑΪ ΞΜ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC ΕΪΩΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΜ ΠΩΗΝ ΜΠCΟΟΥΝ
 ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΜ ΠΩΗΝ ΜΠΩΝΞ· ΑΥΩ ΑΪΤΡΕΚΑΛΥ ΞΜ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΑΡΑΡΑΔ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΪΚΩ ΝΚΑΛΑΠΑΤΑΥΡΩΘ' ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΞΙΞΝ ΞΜΜΟΥΤ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΤΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ
 ΝΤΕΟΥ ΖΙΧΩΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΥ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΝΑΪΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΜΝ ΝΖΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ·
 ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΪΚΑΛΥ ΕΦΡΟΕΙC ΕΝΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΚΑΤΑΚΥCΜΟC·
 ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΦΘΟΝΙ ΕΡΟΥ ΝCΕΤΑΚΟΥ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΝΑΤΑΛΥ
 ΝΗΤΝ ΕΪΩΑΝΟΥΩ ΕΪΧΩ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΜΠCΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΤΗΡΦ.

Now at this time, for the sake of sinners, I have troubled myself. I have come to the world that I might save them. Because even for the righteous themselves who have never done evil, and have not committed sins at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the *Books of Jeu*, which I caused Enoch to write in Paradise when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life. And I caused him to place them on the rock of Ararad, and I appointed the archon Kalapatauroth, who is over Gemmut, upon whose head are the feet of Jeu, and who goes round all the aeons and the Heimarmene, I appointed that archon to watch over the *Books of Jeu* because of the Flood, so that none of the archons should be jealous of them and destroy them—these which I will give to you when I have finished speaking to you of the distribution of the All.⁶²

Ephrem Syrus, *Stanzas Against Bardaisan* (ed. Mitchell):⁶³

ܘܡܐ ܠܡܝܠܠܝܝܳܡ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܗܘܳܝܳܬܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܟܳܬܳܘܳܒܳܘܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܘܳܚܳܠܳܘܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ
 ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ
 ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ
 ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ
 ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ ܘܳܗܳܘܳܘܳܢ ܕܠܘܠܳܗܝܳܡܳܢ

For that first millennium is a type for the final millennium, in that just as the death of Adam put to death all those of that millennium [... two were?] saved: one who flew off and one who was rescued. Our Lord also in the final millennium resurrects the dead by His resurrection, for all the dead are found in His millennium. Then there will come a flood of fire, wherein the wicked sink down, but the righteous in it are saved: the living (righteous ones) are snatched away just like Enoch was; the dead (righteous ones) are rescued through the sign of Noah.

⁶¹ Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 349.12–350.2; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 698–700.

⁶² Translation adapted from that of MacDermot, 699. See also Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, 228–9; Broek, *Gnostic Religion*, 18.

⁶³ C. W. Mitchell, ed., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan* (2 vols; London: Williams and Norgate, 1912–21), 2:162.1–25.

Pseudo-Titus, *De dispositione sanctimonii* (ed. de Bruyne):⁶⁴

Si helias uir nobilis corporis manens, ad ministrandum sibi puerum petit cui et sanctam arram melotem suam reliquit raptus igneo curro, in paradiso iam adsignatus, ubi et enoch in corpore manens qui de primo seculo est translatus. O diuina dei meditatio ut ante praeuidere de futuro seculo, ut enoch iustus de primo populo reputate constituitur scribere gesta hominum priora, et helias sanctus huius plebis serotinae nouae conscriberet acta.

So Elijah, a noble man who still remains in the body, asked a boy to be his servant, one to whom he also left his cloak as a sacred pledge when he was taken up into Paradise in a fiery chariot. There Enoch too remains in the body, who was transferred (there) during the first age. O excellent plan of God which has provided for the future age! From among the earliest people Enoch the righteous was appointed to write down the deeds of the first humans, and the holy Elijah records the new deeds of this later people!⁶⁵

***Chronicon Paschale* (ed. L. Dindorf):⁶⁶**

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διὰ πίστεως καὶ εὐαρεστήσεως ἐκφυγὼν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου.

This is the one (i.e., Enoch) who through having faith and being well pleasing escaped the path of death.⁶⁷

3 *Enoch* §9 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):⁶⁸

אמר ר' ישמעאל אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים כשבקש ה'ב'ה' להעלות אותי למרום בתחלה שיגר לי ענפיאל יי השר ונטלני מביניהם לעיניהם והרכיבני בכבוד גדול על רכב אש וסוסי אש ומשרתי כבוד והעלני עם השכינה לשמי מרום וכיון שהגעתי לשמי מרום והיו חיות הקדש ואופנים ושרפים וכרובים וגלגלי המרכבה ומשרתי אש אוכלה מריחין את ריחי בריחוק שלש מאות וששים וחמשת אלפים רבבות פרסאות ואומרים מה ריח ילוד אשה ומה טעם טיפת לבן שהיא עולה לשמי מרום וישמש בין תוצבי שלהבת משיב ה'ב'ה' ואומר להם משרתי צבאיי כרוביי ואופני ושרפיי אל ירע לכם בדבר זה שכל בני אדם כפרו בי ובמלכותי הגדולה והלכו ועבדו ע'ו[?] סלקתי שכינתי מביניהם והעליתיה למרום וזה שנטלתי מביניהם מובחר שבכולם וזה שקול כנגד כולם באמונה ובצדקה ובכשרון מעש וזה שנטלתי שכרי בעולמי תחת כל השמים.

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angelic Prince of the Presence, said to me, "When the Holy One, blessed be He, sought to elevate me to the (celestial) height, He

⁶⁴ Donatien de Bruyne, "Epistula Titi, discipuli Pauli, de dispositione sanctimonii," *Revue Bénédictine* 37 (1925): 54.267–55.274.

⁶⁵ See also Aurelio de Santos Otero, "The Pseudo-Titus Epistle," in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963–5), 2:153.

⁶⁶ Ludovicus Dindorf, ed., *Chronicon Paschale ad exemplar Vaticanum* (CSHB; 2 vols; Bonnae: E. Weber, 1832), 1:36.8–9. See Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970b), 22; Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique* (2 vols; Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 1:117.

⁶⁷ For the expression, see Jer 21:8; for the sorts of behaviors it can emblemize, see Did 5:1–2.

⁶⁸ Peter Schäfer, ed., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981), 7. Cf. the parallel Ms. Munich 40 (*ibid.*, 6). The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 1 under the rubric of Enoch as "Righteous."

dispatched the prince 'Anafiel YWY⁶⁹ to me, and while they (i.e., his human contemporaries) were watching he removed me from among them, and he transported⁷⁰ me in great dignity on a fiery chariot and horses and (with) noble ministrants. He raised me with the Shekinah up to the high heavens. As I approached the high heavens, the holy beasts, *ofannim*, seraphim, cherubim, chariot wheels, and ministering 'consuming fire' detected my odor at a distance of 365,000 myriad parasangs. They said: 'What?!? The smell of one born of woman?? Why should this (spawn of) a white drop⁷¹ ascend to the high heavens to serve among those who were hewn from flames?' The Holy One, blessed be He, answered them and said: 'O My servants, My hosts, My cherubim, My *ofannim*, and My seraphim! Do not upset yourselves about this matter. Every human disbelieves in Me and My great kingdom; they have gone and worshiped idols. Hence I have raised up My Shekinah from among them and brought it to the (celestial) height, and this one whom I took from among them is the choicest one of them all. He is the equal of all the rest of them in piety, righteousness, and proper behavior.⁷² Therefore I removed this one as My reward in My world beneath all the heavens.'⁷³

Q 19:57:

...ورفعنه مكانا عليا.

... and We raised him (i.e., Idrīs) to a lofty place.⁷⁴

Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām* (ed. Pāshā):⁷⁵

فدعهم فكذبوه فرفعه الله اليه مكانا عليا.

He (i.e., Idrīs) called upon them (to change their ways), but they did not believe him. Then God raised him to Himself "to a lofty place (Q 19:57)."

⁶⁹ Cf. *Hekhalot Rabbati* §§241–8 in *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 106–11, and Zohar 2.202b. On the angel 'Anafiel, see Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 163; Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edn; repr., New York: Schocken, 1978), 70; Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGJU 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 167–8; 202–5; Vita Daphna Arbel, *Beholders of Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 83; Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 279–80, 301.

⁷⁰ הורכיבני. Ms. Munich 40 reads הורכיבני "and he led me."

⁷¹ Cf. *m. 'Abot* 3.1; *b. Nid.* 31a. Note also Q 16:4; 36:77; 80:18–19; cf. 53:45–6. With regard to the polarity remarked here between the holiness of heaven and the impurity of the human interloper, see the important observations of Ra'anan S. Boustan, *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism* (TSAJ 112; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 115–19.

⁷² Note the testimonia of Maqdisī and Tha'labī for verbally similar appraisals of Enoch vis-à-vis his contemporaries.

⁷³ With regard to this final section, compare Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), 136; Joseph Dan, ed., *The Heart and the Fountain: An Anthology of Jewish Mystical Experiences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 68–9.

⁷⁴ A reference to the alleged ascension of Enoch as suggested by Gen 5:22–4 and as explicitly depicted by Enochic literature. Cf. *1 En.* 87:3 and see John C. Reeves, "Some Explorations of the Intertwining of Bible and Qur'ān," in John C. Reeves, ed., *Bible and Qur'ān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality* (Leiden/Atlanta: Brill/Society of Biblical Literature, 2003b), 44–9.

⁷⁵ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām* (2nd edn; ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā; Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1924), 52.7–8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī, *Tafsīr to Q 19:56–7*:⁷⁶

رفع كما رفع عيسى عليهما السلام ولم يمّت.

He (i.e., Idrīs) was raised up like Jesus was raised up (upon them be peace!), and he did not die.⁷⁷

Tg. Ps.-J. to Genesis 5:24 (ed. Rieder):⁷⁸

ופלת חנוך בקושטא קדם ה' והוא ליתותי עם דיירי ארעא ארום איתניגד וסליק לרקיעא במימר קדם ה' וקרא שמייה מיטטרון ספרא רבא.

And Enoch served the Lord faithfully, and suddenly he was no longer together with the inhabitants of the earth, for he was snatched up, and he ascended to heaven at the behest of the Lord. He renamed him Metatron, the great scribe.⁷⁹

One might profitably compare here the negative testimony of the tenth-century Karaite writer Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī: *وكان بعض البغداديّين يزعم ان حنوخ واوليها قد ماتا وانه لا يجوز ان يصعدا الى السماء* “some of the people of Baghdād assert that Enoch and Elijah died, for it is impossible that they should have ascended to heaven.”⁸⁰

Tg. Tos. to Genesis 4:23 (Oxford Bodleian Ms. Heb. c 74):⁸¹

ואמר למך לנשוהי עולו עמי לאידרון בית משכבא לאקמא זרעא מנכון ארי חנוך סליק לעילא וחובל קי[ן] שכבז מרע בען יתכניש לעמיה.

Lamech said to his wives, “Come with me to the chamber—the bedroom—so that (I can) produce progeny through you. For Enoch ascended above, and Tubal-cai[n] lies ill; he will soon die.”

⁷⁶ Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī, *Tafsīr al-Mujāhid* (Beirut: Dār al-Katab al-'Ilmiyah, 2005), 151 #919. A slightly variant version of this same tradition where it is also attributed to Mujāhid is quoted by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān (Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī)* (15 vols; Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2002), 9:127 (#23771).

⁷⁷ See also Brannon M. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran: An Introduction to the Quran and Muslim Exegesis* (London and New York: Continuum, 2002b), 48.

⁷⁸ David Rieder, ed., *Targum Yonatan ben 'Uzziel 'al hamishah humshey Torah* (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1974), 8; Margaliot, *Mal'akey Elyon*, 73.

⁷⁹ Note *I En.* 12:1–4 (removal of Enoch from society, his consorting with angels, his office as scribe); also *Jub.* 4:23–4; *T. Abr.* (recension B) 11:3. This may be one of the earliest articulations of the equation of Enoch with the angel Metatron; so Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmelische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), 149. For aspects of the Enoch-Metatron cycle of legends, see especially Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:162–4 n. 61; also C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (London, 1938; repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 68–9.

⁸⁰ Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wa-l-marāqib* (5 vols; ed. Leon Nemoy; New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1939–43), 1.19.5.18–19; translation from Leon Nemoy, “Al-Qirqisānī's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity,” *HUCA* 7 (1930): 395.

⁸¹ Michael L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (2 vols; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), 1:15; a photograph of the manuscript is found on plate 118 of vol. 2.

Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau):⁸²

أول نبي بعث في الأرض بعد آدم إدريس وهو خنوخ ابن يرث وهو البارذ وكان يصعد له في اليوم من العمل ما لا يصعد لبني آدم في الشهر فحسده إبليس وعصاه قومه فرفعه الله إليه مكانا عليا كما قال وأدخله الجنة وقال لست بمخرجه منها وهذا في حديث لادريس طويل فولد خنوخ متوشلخ ونفرا معه وإليه الوصية فولد متوشلخ ملك ونفرا معه وإليه الوصية فولد ملك نوحا صلعم.

[According to Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī—his father—Abū Šāliḥ—Ibn ‘Abbās:] The first prophet sent to earth after Adam was Idrīs—he being Enoch b. Yaredh, that is al-Yāredh.⁸³ More service would ascend from him in a day than would ascend from (the other) humans in a month.⁸⁴ Then Iblīs became envious of him and his people disobeyed him, so God raised him up to Himself “to a lofty place” (Q 19:57) just as (scripture) says. He brought him into Paradise, and He said: “You will never depart from it!” (cf. Q 15:48). This (information) is in a lengthy *ḥadīth* about Idrīs. Now Enoch engendered Methuselah and other children in addition to him, and he became his designated successor. Methuselah engendered Lamech and other children in addition to him, and he (i.e., Lamech) was his (i.e., Methuselah’s) designated successor. Lamech engendered Noah, may God bless him and grant him deliverance!

Wahb *apud* Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma’ārif* (ed. ‘Ukkāsha):⁸⁵

وفي التوراة إن اخنوخ أحسن خدام الله فرفعه الله إليه.

According to the Torah, Enoch was the most excellent servant of God, and so God raised him up to Him.⁸⁶

Ya’qūbi, *Ta’riḥ* (ed. Houtsma):⁸⁷

ثم رفعه الله بعد ان اتت له ثلثمائة سنة.

Then God raised him (to heaven) after three hundred years had passed.⁸⁸

⁸² Muḥammad b. Sa’d, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabir* (9 vols; ed. Eduard Sachau, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1905–40), 1/1:16.14–20.

⁸³ The asserted fluctuation between Yared and “al-Yāred” is also related in Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḥ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (*Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*) (15 vols; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1964–5), 1/1:166.3; 172.7. The identification of the prophet Idrīs with biblical Enoch b. Yared was asserted earlier in Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau), 1/1:16.2.

⁸⁴ Compare Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad’ wa’l-ta’riḥ* (6 vols; ed. Cl. Huart; Paris: E. Leroux, 1899–1919), 3:12.3–4; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq al-Nisābūrī al-Tha’labī, *Kitāb qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’ al-musammā bāl-‘arā’is* (Cairo: Al-Sharafiyyah, 1880), 47.1–2.

⁸⁵ Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma’ārif* (2nd edn; ed. Tharwat ‘Ukkāsha; Cairo: Dār al-Ma’ārif, 1969), 21.5–6. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

⁸⁶ Cf. Gen 5:24 and the remarks of Georges Vajda, “Judaico-Arabica,” *REF* 98 (1935): 73.

⁸⁷ M. T. Houtsma, ed., *Ibn Wadīh qui dicitur al-Ja’qubi historiae*... (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1:9.2–3; Ya’qūbi, *Ta’riḥ* (2 vols; Beirut: Dār Ṣadīr, 1960), 1:11.22–3. The full citation of this source appears in this Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

⁸⁸ A creative fusion of Q 19:56–7 and Gen 5:22–4. Reverberations of the apocryphal Enoch’s stock epithet as “the righteous one” (ὁ δίκαιος > the Semitic radical צדק) are also audible here.

'*Otiyyot de Rabbi 'Aqiva* (ed. Jellinek):⁸⁹

ולקחתיו לחנוך בן ירד מביניה' והעליתיו בקול שופר ובתרועה למרום.

"I took him; i.e., Enoch b. Yared, from among them and brought him up with the sound of the *shofar* and with a trumpet blast to the celestial realm."

Sa'īd b. al-Bitriq̄ (Eutyichius), *Naẓm al-jawhar* (ed. Cheikho):⁹⁰

وفي ثلاثة عشر سنة من حياة لامخ اصطفى الله اخنوخ ورفعته اليه والعرب تسميه ادريس وكان لخنوخ وقت رفعه الله اليه
ثلاثة عشر سنة.

When Lamech was 13 years old (*sic!*),⁹¹ God chose Enoch and raised him up⁹² to Himself. The Arabs call him Idris. The span of time which Enoch spent (here before) God raised him to Himself was three hundred and sixty-five years.

Agapius, *Kitāb al-'Unvān* (ed. Vasiliev):⁹³

وعاش اخنوخ مائة وخمسة وستين سنة على ما في التفسير الصحيح الى ان ولد له متوشلح وعاش من بعد ان ولد له متوشلح
مايتي سنة فكانت سنه ثلاثماية وخمس وستين سنة وكان جميع دهره يتضرع الى الله ان ينقله الى الفردوس فاستجاب الله
صلاته وقبل دعوته فنقله الله الى الفردوس لتمام مايتي سنة من مولد متوشلح ولتمام ثلاث عشر سنة من مولد ملك واما على ما
في التوراة الفاسدة الى في ايدي اليهود والسريانية الى هي نسختها فانه مكتوب فيها ان اخنوخ عاش خمس وستين سنة فولد له
متوشلح وعاش من بعد ان ولد له متوشلح ثلاثماية ونقله الله الى الفردوس لتمام ثلاثماية سنة من مولد متوشلح ولتمام مائة سنة
وثلاثة عشر سنة من مولد ملك ابى نوح.

According to what is in the authentic rendering (of the Torah),⁹⁴ Enoch had lived for 165 years when he fathered Methuselah, and he was alive for 200 years after he had fathered Methuselah. Thus his (total number of) years amounted to 365 years. Over the course of his entire life he would entreat God to remove him to Paradise. Finally God responded to his prayer and accepted his plea, and God transported him to Paradise. (This happened) at the completion of 200 years after the birth of Methuselah and 13 years (*sic!*) after the birth of Lamech.⁹⁵ On the other hand, according to the corrupted Torah which the Jews possess and the Syriac rendering (i.e., the Peshitta) which is a copy of it, one finds written in it that Enoch had lived for 65 years when he fathered Methuselah and that he was alive for 300 years after

⁸⁹ Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur* (6 vols; Leipzig, 1853–77; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938), 2:114 (this collection henceforth referenced as *BHM*) under the rubric "Sefer Ḥanokh," later recognized by him as part of the '*Otiyyot* (*BHM* 3:xv n. 3; 6:xxxixiii). The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

⁹⁰ L[ouis]. Cheikho, ed., *Eutyichii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (CSCO 50, ser. arab. III, t. 6; Beryty: E Typographie Catholico, 1906), 11.1–4.

⁹¹ According to the chronology used in the Septuagint, Lamech was 33 years old when Enoch was removed; according to that of the Hebrew Masoretic Text, Lamech was 113 years old. See Josef Karst, ed., *Eusebii Werke, Fünfter Band: Die Chronik* (GCS 20; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), 38–9. Since Eutyichius otherwise follows the LXX numbering, one should probably emend his "thirteen" to "thirty-three."

⁹² Echoing Q 19:57.

⁹³ Alexandre Vasiliev, "Kitāb al-'Unvān: Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj, première partie (I)," *Patrologia Orientalis* 5 (1910): 591.1–9. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as Idris."

⁹⁴ i.e., the Septuagint.

⁹⁵ As noted above with regard to the figures of Eutyichius, this number should be "33."

he had fathered Methuselah. God removed him to Paradise at the completion of 300 years after the birth of Methuselah and 113 years after the birth of Lamech, the father of Noah.

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart):⁹⁶

وروي أنه رفع إلى السماء الدنيا كما رفع عيسى.

It is also related that he was raised up to the nearest heaven, just as Jesus was raised.

Zayd b. Arqam *apud* Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart):⁹⁷

وروي عن زيد بن أرقم خلاف هذا كله أنه رفع إلى الجنة وفي حديث أنه أذيق الموت وأورد النار فان صحت الرواية فيها ونعمت لأن هذا الخبر نظائر دخول آدم وزوجته الجنة ورفع عيسى.

Zayd b. Arqam relates an account which is completely different. He states that he was raised to Paradise,⁹⁸ whereas according to *ḥadīth* he tasted death and was conveyed to Hell. Should this account be authentic, it would be correct to say that this story parallels those of the introduction of Adam and his wife into Paradise and of the ascension of Jesus.

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim* (ed. Badawī):⁹⁹

وخرج هرميس عن مصر ودار الأرض كلها وعاد إلى مصر ورفع الله إليه بها قال الله تعالى ورفعناه مكانا عليا وذلك بعد اثنتين ومائتين سنة.

Hermes departed from Egypt and traveled around the whole earth. He then went back to Egypt, and God raised him up to Himself there. God Most High has said: "... and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57). This took place after eighty-two years.¹⁰⁰

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):¹⁰¹

כי לקח אותו אלהים רבנין אמרי חנוך היה תחלה לצדיקים אמר הב"ה כל דורו רשעים וזה השלים אחרי אף אני אעשנו דוגמה מה עשה הב"ה נטלו מבני אדם.

⁹⁶ Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:12.12–13.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3:12.13–16.

⁹⁸ A reminiscence of the recurring tradition that the translated Enoch was installed in Eden? See *1 En.* 60:8; *Jub.* 4:23–6; perhaps *1QapGen* 2:23; and the excursus in James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 184–8.

⁹⁹ Abū'l Wafā' al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim: Los Bocados de oro: Edición crítica del texto árabe con prólogo y notas* (ed. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Badawī; Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1958), 8.6–8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

¹⁰⁰ The same figure appears in Julius Lippert, *Ibn al-Qiftī's Tarīḥ al-Hukamā* (Leipzig: Dieterichsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), 2.9; also 5.9–10. This cipher conflicts with the biblically based 365-year lifespan typically associated with Enoch/Idris and likely stems from a confusion of the "first Hermes" with Asclepius. See Emily Cottrell, "L'Hermès arabe" de Kevin van Bladel et la question du rôle de la littérature sassanide dans la présence d'écrits hermétiques et astrologiques en langue arabe," *BO* 72 (2015): 381 n. 188.

¹⁰¹ *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 26.25–27.2. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

"For God took him" (Gen 5:24). The Sages say (that) Enoch was the first of the righteous ones. The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "The whole of his generation is wicked, but this one is completely devoted to Me. Hence I will make him an example!" What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He removed him from human society.

Midrash 'Aggadah (ed. Buber):¹⁰²

יחי ירד ולמה נקרא שמו ירד שבימי ירדו המלאכים מן השמים והיו מלמדים הבריות האין עבדו להקב"ה ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עם המלאכים הלך שלש מאות שנה בגן עדן היה עמם ולמד מהם עיבור ותקופות ומולות וחכמות רבות ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים לפי שהיה צדיק הקב"ה לקחו מבני אדם ועשה אותו מלאך והוא מטטרון ומחלוקת בין ר' עקיבא ותביריו בדבר זה וחכמים אומרים חנוך היה פעם צדיק ופעם רשע אמר הקב"ה ער שהוא בצדקו אסלקנו מן העולם כלומר אמיחנו שנאמר הנני לוקח [ממך] את מחמד עיניך במגפה.

"And Yared lived..." (Gen 5:18). And why was his name called "Yared" (ירד)? Because during his days the angels would "descend" (ירדו) from Heaven¹⁰³ and instruct created beings in how they might serve the Holy One, blessed be He.¹⁰⁴ "And Enoch walked with God..." (Gen 5:22, 24). He walked with the angels for three hundred years. He was with them in the Garden of Eden, and he learned about intercalation, the seasons, the constellations, and many types of wisdom from them.¹⁰⁵ "Then he was no more, for God took (לקח) him" (Gen 5:24). Because he was righteous, the Holy One, blessed be He, removed him from human society and made him an angel; namely, Metatron.¹⁰⁶ There was a dispute between R. Aqiva and his associates on this matter. But the Sages say Enoch vacillated between righteousness and wickedness. The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "While

¹⁰² Salomon Buber, ed., *Midrash 'Aggadah 'al hamishah humshey torah: Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch nach einer Handschrift aus Aleppo* (2 vols; Vienna: Abraham Fanto, 1894), 1:14.28–15.4; also Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 76.

¹⁰³ Compare 1 En. 6:6; 106:13; 1QapGen 3.3; *Jub.* 4:15; Origen, *Comm. in Joannem* 6.42 (Erwin Preuschen, ed., *Origines Werke, Vierter Band: Der Johanneskommentar* [GCS 10; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903], 151.10–15); Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.3 (Epiphanius, *Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25, 31, 37; 3 vols; ed. Karl Holl; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915–33], 1:172.15–20); *CT* §10.14–15 (ed. Ri. 1:80–1); Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Houtsma, 1:7.12–8.8); Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:168.6–18, cf. Ibn 'Abbās *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.18–174.1; Michael Syrus, *Chron.* 1.3 (ed. Chabot, 4:2); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Bedjan, 4:16–25).

¹⁰⁴ Note *Jub.* 4:15; 5:6, the former of which describes an analogous instructional mission on the part of the angels, and the latter of which connects their charge with a command from God. Similar themes are present in versions of the Jewish *Midrash of Shemhazai and 'Azazel* and the Muslim legend of Hārūt and Mārūt; see John C. Reeves, "Some Parasciptural Dimensions of the 'Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt,'" *JAOS* 135 (2015): 817–42.

¹⁰⁵ Compare *Jub.* 4:21: "And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything" (Charles). Note also 4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) frag. 2. *Jub.* 4:23 describes how the angels situated Enoch within the Garden of Eden. Given the longstanding association of *Midrash 'Aggadah* with the school of R. Moshe ha-Darshan, it seems credible that some form of jubilees has influenced our text. See *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 19–20; Charles Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch, ou, Livre des palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989), 47; Martha Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of Jubilees in Medieval Hebrew Literature," in Reeves, ed., *Tracing the Threads*, 118; Hananel Mack, *Mi-sodo shel Moshe ha-Darshan* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2010), 195–7.

¹⁰⁶ See *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 5:24; 3 *Enoch* §§4–5 in *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer); 'Otiyyot de R. Aqiva (Jellinek, *BHM* 2:114–15); *Pseudo-Ben Sira A 22* (ed. Yassif); *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 26.25–27.7.

he is still righteous, I will take him up from the world.” This actually means “I will effect his demise,”¹⁰⁷ as scripture attests: “behold I will take (לקח) from you by the plague that which gives your eyes delight” (Ezek 24:16).¹⁰⁸

Sefer Noah (ed. Jellinek):¹⁰⁹

ולפני האל ברוך הוא התחנן ועלה בסהרה והחזיק בשם הטהור ובשעה שהבין בו נהרו עיניו בכל דרכיו ויתנהג בו והלך עד שנרמה לקרושי מרום ונבדל מן דרי הארץ ואיננו כי לקח אותו.

He beseeched the Blessed Deity and ascended (to heaven) in purity. He acquired possession of the Pure Name, and at the moment that he understood it, his eyes illuminated all his paths. He guided himself with it and continued until he became like one of the supernal holy ones and was removed from the inhabitants of the earth. “And he was no more, for God took him” (Gen 5:24).

Midrash ha-Gadol ad Gen 5:24 (ed. Margalioth):¹¹⁰

ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים תאנה שלשה עלו ושימשו במרום ואלו הן חנוך ומשה ואליהו חנוך דכתיב כי לקח אותו אלהים משה דכתיב ועל משה מערכות מואב ולא ידע איש את קבורתו ואליהו דכתיב ועל אליהו בסערה השמים ולא אלו בלבד אלא כל הצדיקים הן עולין ומשמשין במרום שנאמר ונתתי לך מהלכים בין העומדים האלה ילמד סתום מן המפורש.

“...and he was not there, for God took him” (Gen 5:24). A *baraita*.¹¹¹ Three ascended and (now) perform service in the heavenly heights, and they are Enoch, Moses, and Elijah. (Why) Enoch? Because scripture states, “for God took him” (Gen 5:24). (Why) Moses? Because scripture states, “and Moses made ascent from the plains of Moab... and no one knows his place of burial” (Deut 34:1–6). (Why) Elijah? Because scripture states, “and Elijah ascended in a heavenly storm-wind” (2 Kgs 2:11). But it is not these only; rather, all those who are righteous are going to ascend and perform service in the heavenly heights,¹¹² as scripture states: “and I will grant you passage among those standing ones (i.e., angels)” (Zech 3:7). So something concealed can be learned from an explicit declaration!¹¹³

Shahrestānī, Kitāb al-milal wa'l-nihāl (ed. Kaylānī):¹¹⁴

ولا تستبعدوا معاشر الصابئة تلقي الوحي على الوجه المذكور ونزول الملك على النسق المعقود وعندكم أن هرمس العظيم صعد إلى العالم الروحاني فانخرط في سلكهم فإذا تصور صعود البشر فلم لا يتصور نزول الملك وإذا تحقق أنه خلع لباس البشرية فلم لا يجوز أن يلبس الملك لباس البشرية.

¹⁰⁷ Compare *Tg. Onk.* Gen 5:24: *וְלִיְחֹרֵי אֲרִי אֲמִיחִיָּהּ יָד*. Text cited from the edition prepared by Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic* (4 vols in 5; Leiden: Brill, 1959–73), 1:8.

¹⁰⁸ For an excellent exposition of the *Midrash 'Aggadah* passage in terms of its affinities with Second Temple literature, see Himmelfarb, “Some Echoes of Jubilees,” 118–20.

¹⁰⁹ Jellinek, *BHM* 3:157.32–158.13. The rubric *Sefer Noah* is a conscious misnomer.

¹¹⁰ Mordecai Margalioth, ed., *Midrash ha-Gadol 'al ḥamishah ḥumshey Torah: Sefer Bereshit* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1947), 132.8–13.

¹¹¹ Literally “extraneous” or “outside.” It refers to a rabbinic tradition or dictum of tannaitic vintage which is not recorded in the Mishnah.

¹¹² For the notion that the righteous will “become like or superior to the angels,” see the discussion of Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism,” 17–18.

¹¹³ See the remarks of Idel, *Ben*, 647.

¹¹⁴ *Shahrestānī, Kitāb al-milal wa'l-nihāl* (2 vols; ed. M. S. Kaylānī; Beirut: Dār el-Marefah, n.d.), 2:38.8–11.

Šābian communities do not think it likely that revelation happens in the manner that has been mentioned or that an angel might descend (to earth) in accordance with what is professed. Yet it is your opinion that the great Hermes ascended to the spiritual world and joined their company!¹¹⁵ If you can conceive of an ascent of (one who is) flesh, then why can you not conceive of a descent of an angel? And if it is true that one stripped off his fleshly clothing, then why cannot an angel acquire (and) wear fleshly garb?¹¹⁶

Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Kitāb al-adwā' al-Kaldāniyin*:¹¹⁷

ورفعه الله اليه في عمود من نور والحرائيون تذكر أنه رفع في نار بعثها الله اليه ولهذا تحرق اجسادها بعد الموت ومنها من يحرقها قبل الموت تقربا الى الله وعبادة.

God raised him up to Himself in a column of light.¹¹⁸ The Ḥarrānians relate that he ascended in a fire which God had sent to him, and this then is why they cremate their bodies after death. There are some of them who burn them before death as a ritual rapprochement to God and type of worship.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Given the standard equation of Hermes, Idrīs, and Enoch, this reference to an ascension and apotheosis of Hermes is almost certainly indebted to passages like *1 En.* 12:1–2; 70:1–4; 71:1–17 and those Hekhalot texts treating of the metamorphosis of Enoch into Metatron.

¹¹⁶ For other translations, see Theodor Haarbrücker, *Abu-'l-Fath' Muhammad asch-Schah-rastāni's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen* (2 vols; Halle: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1850–1), 2:50; Shahrastani, *Livre des religions et des sectes* (2 vols; ed. Daniel Gimaret, Guy Monnot, and Jean Jolivet; Louvain: Peeters/UNESCO, 1986–93), 2:142–3; Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 220. For discussion, see Louis Massignon, "Inventaire de la littérature hermetique arabe," in Louis Massignon, *Opera minora: Textes recueillis, classés et présentés avec une bibliographie* (3 vols; ed. Youakim Moubarac; Beirut: Dār al-Maaref, 1963), 1:653; Yves Marquet, "Sabéens et Ihwān al-Šafā," *Studia Islamica* 24 (1966): 59; Tamara M. Green, *The City of the Moon God: Religious Traditions of Harran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 183–4. The same tradition about the ascension of Hermes occurs earlier in the Epistles of the Brethren of Purity; see Carmela Baffioni, "Traces of 'Secret Sects' in the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Šafā," in Frederick De Jong, ed., *Shī'a Islam, Sects and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious Practice and Methodological Considerations* (Utrecht: M. Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992), 14. It also appears in the roughly contemporary *Kitāb al-Amad 'alā l-abad* of 'Āmirī; see Everett K. Rowson, *A Muslim Philosopher on the Soul and its Fate: Al-'Āmirī's Kitāb al-Amad 'alā l-abad* (AOS 70; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1988), 145; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 180.

¹¹⁷ *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (4 vols; ed. 'Āmir Najjār; Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001), 1:185.13–15. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric "Evaluated Positively or Neutrally."

¹¹⁸ See the remarks of Henry Corbin, *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques de Shihabaddin Yahya Sohrawardi (Opera metaphysica et mystica II)* (Bibliothèque iranienne 2; Tehran and Paris: Institut franco-iranien and Adrien-Maisonnette, 1952), 52. According to an apocryphal tradition put into the mouth of Hippocrates, an identical fate (i.e., ascent to God on a column of light) was experienced by Asclepius; see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:183.14–15; Franz Rosenthal, "An Ancient Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 30 (1956): 61–2; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb Sirr al-Asrār*," *Oriens* 23–4 (1974): 189; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 159. In the medieval *Secretum secretorum* of Pseudo-Aristotle, it is Aristotle himself who ascends to heaven on a column of light.

¹¹⁹ See also B. R. Sanguinetti, "Deuxième extrait de l'ouvrage arabe d'Ibn Aby Ossaïbi'ah sur l'histoire des médecins," *JA sér.* 5, t. 4 (1854): 187–8; Cottrell, "'L'Hermès arabe' de Kevin van Bladel," 382.

Ramban *ad* Lev 18:4:

והעוזבים כל עניני העולם הזה ואינם משגיחים עליו כאילו אינם בעלי גוף וכל מחשבתם וכוננתם בבוראם בלבד כענין באליהו בהדבק נפשם בשם הנכבד יחיו לעד בגופם ובנפשם כנראה בכתוב באליהו וכידוע ממנו בקבלה וכמו שבא במדרשים בחנוך ובבני העולם הבא העומדים בתחיית המתים.

And those who abandon all the affairs of this world and pay no regard to it as if they were not corporeal beings, with all their thought and focus being only on their Creator—as in the case of Elijah—by uniting their soul(s) with the Most Honored Name: they will live forever both bodily and spiritually, as is apparent from the verse about Elijah and with what is known about him from tradition, and is similar to what occurs in midrashim about Enoch and about the denizens of the World To Come who will arise during the resurrection of the dead.¹²⁰

Zohar 1.37b (ed. Vilna):¹²¹

מעלמא נטיל ליה קב"ה לשמושיה הה"ד כי לקח אותו אלהים ומן דא אתמסר ספרא דאקרי ספרא דחנוך. בשעתא דאחיד ליה קב"ה אחמי ליה כל גנזי עלאי אחמי ליה אילנא דחיי בגו מציעות גנתא וטרפוי וענפוי וכלא חמינן בספריה.

The Holy One, blessed be He, removed him from the world in order to serve Him, as scripture says: "for God took him" (Gen 5:24). From this (individual) was transmitted the book that is called the *Book of Enoch*. At the time when God took him, He revealed to him all the celestial treasures, (and) He showed him the Tree of Life in the midst of the Garden and its leaves and branches, all of which we see in his book.¹²²

Zohar 1.56b (ed. Vilna):¹²³

חנוך נטיל ליה קב"ה מארעא ואסקיה לשמי מרומים.

The Holy One, blessed be He, removed Enoch from earth and raised him to the supernal heights.

Zohar 2.55a (ed. Vilna):¹²⁴

אשכחנא בספרא דחנוך דלבתר דסליק ליה קב"ה ואחמי ליה כל גנזימא דמלכא עלאי ותחאי אחמי ליה אילנא דחייא ואילנא דאתפקד עליה אדם ואחמי ליה דוכתיה דאדם בגנתא דעדן וחמא דאלמלי נסיר אדם פקודא דא יכיל לקיימא תדירא ולמהוי תדירא תמן. הוא לא נטר פקודא דמאריה נפק בדימוס ואתענש.

¹²⁰ Compare the rendering of a variant edition that is supplied by Moshe Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2005a), 55.

¹²¹ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 80–1. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric "Enoch as Savant of Cosmological Arcana."

¹²² Compare Daniel C. Matt, *Sefer ha-Zohar: The Zohar, Pritzker Edition* (12 vols; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004–17), 1:237–9; a partial translation appears in Melila Hellner-Eshed, *A River Flows from Eden: The Language of Mystical Experience in the Zohar* (trans. Nathan Wolski; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 366. The final part of this text is quoted by Lawlor, "Early Citations," 186; also Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 22 n. 2. The latter author calls attention to *1 En.* 24:4–5, *2 Enoch* 8, and select pericopae from the so-called "Hebrew Book of Enoch" or *3 Enoch*. Cf. also *1 En.* 32:3–6. Note too the discussion of Idel, *Ben*, 414–15.

¹²³ Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 73. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Wiolds Angel-Like Power."

¹²⁴ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 81.

We find in the *Book of Enoch* that after the Holy One, blessed be He, had raised Enoch up to Himself and shown him all the treasures of the King, both the upper and the lower ones, He showed him the Tree of Life and the Tree about which Adam was commanded,¹²⁵ and He showed him the place where Adam was in the Garden of Eden,¹²⁶ and Enoch saw that if Adam had observed the commandment, he would have been able to live forever, and remain there (in the Garden) forever. (However), since he did not observe the commandment of his Lord, he was pardoned and punished.¹²⁷

Menahem b. Benjamin Recanati, *Perush Bereshit* (ed. Jellinek):¹²⁸

וראיתי לקצת חכמי הקבלה האחרונים שכתבו כי מצאו בספר חנוך בן ירד כשלקח אותו אלהים כהוב בו סוד זה עם שאר סודות מופלאות... ואמר חנוך ראיתי שם מלאכים ממונים גדולים ועונין קדוש קדוש קדוש וגו'.

I have seen where some of the recent kabbalistic sages have written that they have found this esoteric topic¹²⁹ written about together with a number of other marvelous mysteries in the *Book of Enoch*, the son of Yared, the one whom God took (to heaven)¹³⁰.... And Enoch said: "I beheld there great supervisory angels who responded, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, etc.'"¹³¹

***Sefer ha-Yashar* (ed. Dan):¹³²**

ויהי מימים בהיות כל המלכים וכל השרים וכל בני האדם מדברים עם חנוך וחנוך מלמד אותם את דרכי ה' ויקרא מלאך ה' אל חנוך מן השמים בעת ההיא ויאמר להעלותו השמים להמליכו על בני האלהים בשמים כאשר מלך על בני האדם בארץ בעת ההיא כשמוע חנוך את הדבר הזה ויצו ויקבצו לו את כל יושבי הארץ וילמד אותם חכמה ודעת ומוסר ה' ויאמר אליהם נשאל נשאלהי לעלות השמים לא ידעתי יום לכתי ועתה אלמד אתכם חכמה ומוסר לעשות בארץ אשר תחיו בה טרם אשר אלך מאתכם ויעש כן וילמד אותם חכמה ודעת ומוסר ויוכיח אתהם וישם להם חוקים ומשפטים לעשותם בארץ וישם להם שלום ויורה אותם חיי עולם וישב אתם ימים אחדים וילמד ויורה להם את כל הדברים האלה.

ויהי בעת ההיא ובני האדם יושבים את חנוך וחנוך מדבר אליהם וישאו עיניהם ויראו והנה דמות סוס גדול יורד מן השמים וילך הסוס ברוח הארץ ויגידו לחנוך את אשר ראו ויאמר אליהם חנוך בעבורי הסוס ההוא יורד לארץ כי הגיעו העת והיום אשר אלך לי מאתכם ולא אראה עוד אליכם ויורד הסוס ההוא בעת ההיא ויעמוד לפני חנוך וכל בני האדם אשר את חנוך רואים אותו ויצו חנוך בעת ההיא ועיבירו קול לאמר מי האיש אשר יחפוץ לדעת את דרכי ה' אלהיו ויבוא ביום הזה אל חנוך טרם הלקחו ממנו ויתקבצו ויביאו כל בני האדם ויבואו אל חנוך ביום ההוא וגם כל מלכי הארץ ושריהם ורוניהם לא סרו מאתו ביום ההוא

¹²⁵ See *1 En.* 24:3–25:7; 32:3–6 and compare *Zohar* 1.37b; 2.277a–b; and 3.10b.

¹²⁶ The initial part of this text is quoted by Lawlor, "Early Citations," 186.

¹²⁷ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 4:284. This passage is briefly discussed by Idel, *Ben*, 414–15.

¹²⁸ Jellinek, *BHM* 3:197–8. This passage is referenced by [Adolph] Jellinek, "Hebräische Quellen für das Buch Henoch," *ZDMG* 7 (1853): 249. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric "Evaluated Positively or Neutrally."

¹²⁹ Pertaining to the Garden of Eden.

¹³⁰ See also Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 83–4 n. 44.

¹³¹ *Isa* 6:3. Compare *1 En.* 39:12. See the similar traditions found in the *Sidrey de-Shimmusha Rabba*.

¹³² Joseph Dan, ed., *Sefer Hayashar* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1986), 49–53. This text is also available in Jellinek, *BHM* 4:129–32; Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 76–8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Teacher."

וילמד חנוך את כל בני האדם חכמה ודעת ומוסר ה' ביום ההוא ויצום מאוד לעבוד את ה' וללכת בדרכיו כל ימי חייהם וישם שלום עוד בין כולם.

והי אחרי כן ויקם וירכב על הסוס ויצא וילך ויצאו וילכו אחריו כל בני האדם כשמונה מאות אלף איש וילכו אתו מהלך יום אחד ויהי ביום השני ויאמר אליהם שובו לכם לאהליכם למה תלכו פן תמותו וישבו מהם מעליו וילכו אתו הנשואים מהם מהלך ששת ימים וחנוך דובר אליהם בכל יום שובו לאהליכם פן תמותו ולא אבו לשוב וילכו אתו ויהי ביום הששי וידבר עוד חנוך אליהם לאמר שובו לכם לאהליכם מאתי כי מחר אעלה לי השמימה והיה כל הנשאר מכם אתי ימות וישבו עוד מהם ביום הששי ויתרו עוד אנשים וידבקו עמו ויאמרו אליו עמך נלך אל המקום אשר תלך חי ה' כי המות יפריד בינינו ובינך והי כי מתאמצים הם ללכת אתו ויחדל לדבר אליהם וילכו אחריו ולא שבו להם והמלכים האלה בשוכם ויפקדו כולם לדעת את מספר האנשים הנשואים אשר הלכו אחרי חנוך.

ויהי ביום השביעי ויעל חנוך בסערה השמימה בסוסי אש ורכבי אש וישלחו כל המלכים אשר היו עם חנוך ביום השמיני לקחת את מספר האנשים אשר נשאו עם חנוך במקום אשר עלה משם השמימה וילכו מלאכי כל המלכים האלה ויצאו כל הארץ מלאה שלג במקום ההוא ועל השלג אבנים גדולות מאבני שלג ויאמרו איש אל רעהו נבקע את השלג הזה פן מתו האנשים אשר נשאו עם חנוך תחת השלג הזה ועשו כן ויבקשו בכל השלג ההוא ויצאו את מספר האנשים אשר היו עם חנוך מתים תחת השלג ויבקשו את חנוך ולא מצאו כי עלה השמימה.

Several days later, while all the kings, princes, and everyone were speaking with Enoch and (while) Enoch was teaching them the ways of the Lord, at that time an angel of the Lord cried out to Enoch from heaven and said that he should ascend to heaven in order that he might rule over the divine beings in heaven the same way that he had ruled over human beings on earth. At that time when Enoch heard this utterance, he commanded that all the inhabitants of the earth should gather to him so that he might teach them wisdom, knowledge, and the instruction(s) of the Lord. He said to them, "I have been summoned to ascend to heaven, (but) I do not know the day of my departure. I will therefore teach you wisdom and morality to practice on the earth whereon you live before I depart from you." And he did so. He taught them wisdom, knowledge, and morality, and he admonished them. He ordained for them statutes and ordinances to observe on the earth, he re-established peace among them, and instructed them about eternal life. He remained among them for several days teaching and instructing them about all these matters.

While humanity was sitting with Enoch and Enoch was speaking to them, they lifted up their eyes and looked, and behold, there was the form of a large horse descending from heaven, and it came in the direction of the earth. They told Enoch what they had seen, and Enoch said to them: "It is on my account that this horse has descended to earth, for the time and the day have arrived when I must leave you and I will never be seen by you again." At that time the horse descended and stood before Enoch, and all the people who were with Enoch saw it. Once again at that time Enoch issued an order and promulgated a decree which said: "Whoever wishes to know the ways of the Lord his God should come today to Enoch, before he is removed from him!" All of humanity gathered together and came to Enoch that day, and moreover, none of the kings of the earth nor their princes or officers departed from him at that time. That day Enoch taught everyone wisdom, knowledge, and proper behavior expected by the Lord, and he strictly commanded them to serve the Lord and to walk in His paths all the days of their lives. He re-established peace once more among all of them.

After this he arose, mounted the horse, took his leave, and departed. The whole of humanity, about eight hundred thousand people, also left and followed after him. They traveled with him one day's journey. On the second day, he said to them: "Return to your houses! Why do you keep going? You may die!" Some of them thereupon turned back, but the rest of them continued traveling with him on his journey for six days. Enoch would say to them each day: "Return to your houses! You risk death," but they were unwilling to turn back and kept traveling with him. On the sixth day, Enoch addressed them yet again, saying: "Return from being with me to your own houses, for tomorrow I will ascend to heaven. Each of you who remains here with me will die!" Some more of them turned back on that sixth day, but still there were people who remained and clung to him, saying: "We will accompany you to the place where you are going! We swear by God that death will not effect a separation between us and you!" Since they were determined to go with him, Enoch ceased warning them, and so they continued following him without turning back. Those kings who had turned back later counted everyone in order to determine the number of people who were left and who continued following after Enoch.

On the seventh day, Enoch ascended via a storm wind—on fiery horses and fiery chariots—to heaven.¹³³ The following day, all those kings who had previously been with Enoch sent (messengers) in order to get information about the number of people who had remained with Enoch in the place from where he had ascended to heaven. All the royal messengers came and discovered that all the ground of that place was covered with snow, and on top of the snow were large boulders, some of which were also composed of snow. They said to one another, "Come, let us split open this snow lest the people who were still with Enoch die. (They are surely) beneath this snow." They did so, and they made search throughout all that snow, and they found the sum total of the people who were with Enoch all dead beneath the snow. They also made search for Enoch, but they did not find him, for he had ascended to heaven.

Bahya b. Asher ad Gen 5:24 (editio princeps):¹³⁴

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים מעלת מדת התהלות לא יזכרה רק בצדיקים כגון חנוך נח ואברהם הוא שהזכיר כאן בחנוך ויתהלך חנוך וכתוב בגנה את האלהים התהלך נח וכתוב באברהם התהלך לפני והיה תמים וכלן השיגו מהלך השמש וכחותיו הגדולים המורים על שלשנות אדון הכל ורוממותו יתברך כמו שאני עתיד לכתוב בע"ה בפסוק את האלהים התהלך נח והנה חנוך דבק באור עליון שממנו נבראו ומשכו המאורות ביום רביעי והוא נזכר בבראשית ה' פעמים והתנוצץ לשבעה אורים וכן ה' חומשי תורה הם נחלקים לשבעה וכנגד ז' אורים אלו היתה המנורה בשבעה קנים והיתה מקשה רמו לאחדות ושבעה אורים אלו הם הנקראים צרור החיים והצדיק הזה דבק בהם כי מצא חן בעיני ה' וראוי היה לכך כי היה שביעי לדורות והיה כנגד יום ה' שהוא יום החיים שכלו שבת ומנוחה לפיכך זכה לחיי עד.

"And Enoch walked with God..." (Gen 5:24). The graded attribute of "walking (with God)" is only expressed of those who were righteous, such as Enoch, Noah, and Abraham. It is so mentioned with regard to Enoch: "and Enoch walked..."

¹³³ Cf. 2 Kgs 2:11.

¹³⁴ Bahya ben Asher b. Hilawah, [*Perush ha-Torah*] ([Spain or Portugal]: Defus Shem Tov, [1492]), 8b.

(Gen 5:24), and it is written of Noah: "Noah walked with God..." (Gen 6:9), and it is written of Abraham: "Walk before Me and be perfect!" (Gen 17:1). Each one of them comprehended the movement of the sun and its great powers which teach about the sovereignty of the Lord of All and His eminence, may He be blessed, as I plan to write more about with the help of God with regard to the verse "Noah walked with God..." (Gen 6:9).¹³⁵ And behold, Enoch became attached to the upper light from which the luminaries had been created and drawn forth on the fourth day (of the creation-week). Now this (upper light) is mentioned five times in Genesis (cf. Gen 1:3–5), and it shone (with the intensity of) seven lights. So too are the (*parashiyot* of the) five volumes of the Torah divided into seven (subdivisions for readers),¹³⁶ and corresponding to the seven lights is the menorah with seven stems, yet it is a single casting (cf. Exod 25:31, 36) which hints at its unity. These seven lights are the same ones which are termed "bundle of the living" (1 Sam 25:29). This righteous one became attached to them because he found favor in the sight of the Lord, and therefore it was fitting that he should be the seventh of the (initial human) generations and thereby correspond to the seventh day (of the week), for it is the day of revitalization which is entirely (made up) of cessation from labors and of rest. For this reason he won everlasting life.¹³⁷

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:¹³⁸

ثم سأل الله ان يريه رضوانا ويدخله الجنة ففعل ولم يخرج من الجنة ورفع الله وهو ابن مائة وخمسين سنة.

Afterwards, he asked God that He grant permission for him to enter Paradise, and He did so. He never departed from Paradise. God raised him up, and he was one hundred and fifty years old (when this happened).¹³⁹

ENOCH/IDRĪS IS RAISED TO THE FOURTH HEAVEN

Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr* to Q 19:56–7:¹⁴⁰

ادريس: ... ورفعته مكانا عليًا: يعنى في السماء الرابعة وفيها مات وذلك حين دعا للملك الذى يسوق الشمس.

¹³⁵ Bahya ben Asher, [*Perush ha-Torah*], 11a. Here comprehension of the "powers" of the sun is expanded to encompass knowledge about "the planetary spheres" (הגלגלים), "the stars" (הכוכבים), and "the constellations" (המזלות).

¹³⁶ Cf. *m. Meg.* 4.2.

¹³⁷ See also Unterman, *Kabbalistic Tradition*, 73–4.

¹³⁸ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān, wa-'ajā'ib al-buldān wa'l-ghāmīr bi-al-mā' wa'l-'imrān* (2nd edn; Beirut: Dār al-Andalus lil-ṭibā'ah wa'l-nashr, 1966), 79.10–12. Regarding the spurious nature of this work, see B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, "Note sur un ouvrage attribué à Maçoudi," *JA* 9. série, 7 (1896): 133–44; C[harles] Pellat, "al-Mas'ūdī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn," *EP* 6:785; Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabbān to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 46.

¹³⁹ For another translation, see B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, *Labrégé des merveilles* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1898), 88.

¹⁴⁰ Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān* (3 vols; Beirut: Dār al-Katab al-'Ilmiyah, 2003), 2:316. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch/Idris and the Angel of the Sun."

(Regarding) Idris: ... and the phrase "and We raised him to a lofty place" means (he was raised) to the fourth heaven.¹⁴¹ Yet he died there, and this was at the time he prayed on behalf of the angel who bears the sun.¹⁴²

Ka'b apud Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*:¹⁴³

قال كعب أما إدريس فإن الله أوحى إليه إنى رافع لك كل يوم مثل عمل جميع بنى آدم فأحب أن تزداد عملا فأناه خليل له من الملائكة فقال إن الله أوحى إلى كذا وكذا فكلم لى ملك الموت فليؤخرنى حتى أزداد عملا فحمله بين جناحيه ثم صعد به إلى السماء فلما كان في السماء الرابعة تلقاهم ملك الموت متحدرا فكلم ملك الموت في الذى كلمه فيه إدريس فقال وأين إدريس فقال هو ذا على ظهري قال ملك الموت فالتعجب بعثت أقبض روح إدريس في السماء الرابعة فجعلت أقول كيف أقبض روحه في السماء الرابعة وهو في الأرض فقبض روحه هناك فذلك قول الله تبارك وتعالى ورفعه مكانا عليا.

Ka'b (al-Aḥbār) said (with regard to "... and We raised him to a lofty place" [Q19:57]): As for Idris, God revealed to him: "It is time for Me to raise you up! Each day you perform just as much service as (that of) the rest of humanity, and I want you to add to (your) service!" Then a friend of his who was an angel came to him, and he said: "God has revealed to me the following (message): 'The Angel of Death told Me that he would not postpone for Me (your death) until I add to (your) service!'" So he conveyed him between his wings (and) then ascended with him to Heaven. When he was in the fourth heaven, the Angel of Death who had come down there encountered them. The Angel of Death said to the one who had been talking with Idris: "Where is Idris?" He answered: "He is the one who is on my back!" The Angel of Death responded: "How remarkable! I was sent forth to collect the soul of Idris in the fourth heaven, and I began to say 'How can I collect his soul in the fourth heaven when he is on earth?'" So he collected his soul at that place.¹⁴⁴ This then is (the meaning of) the Word of God, May He be blessed and exalted: "... and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57).¹⁴⁵

Abū Hurayra apud Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*:¹⁴⁶

أبي هريرة... قال لما أسري بالنبي صعد به جبريل إلى السماء الرابعة فاستفتح فقيل من هذا قال جبرائيل قالوا ومن معه قال محمد قالوا أوقد أرسل إليه قال نعم قالوا حيّاه الله من أخ ومن خليفة فتعم الأخ ونعم الخليفة ونعم الصحىء جاء قال فدخل فإذا هو برجل قال هذا إدريس رفعه الله مكانا عليا.

¹⁴¹ See the traditions attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār in the following testimony and to Mujāhid, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Abū Hurayra, and Anas b. Mālik in Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:128 (#23775-8).

¹⁴² Narrative renderings of this legend are in the testimonia extracted from Maqdisī and Tha'labī below. For another translation, see William F. McCants, *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 75 n. 141.

¹⁴³ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:127 (#23770).

¹⁴⁴ Compare Tg. *Onk.* Gen 5:24: וַיִּלְחָצוּ אֶרֶץ אֲמֹתַי יְרֵחָהּ. Qirqisānī points out that this targumic tradition paradoxically contradicts the other Rabbanite claims that Enoch ascended to heaven and remains alive there; see Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisānī's Account," 361. Note also Muqātil, p. 236.

¹⁴⁵ See also Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, 47-8; Claude Addas, "Idris," in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *Dictionnaire du Coran* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007), 411.

¹⁴⁶ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:128 (#23777).

Abū Hurayra said: During the Night Journey (*isrāʾ*) of the Prophet,¹⁴⁷ Gabriel ascended with him to the fourth heaven. He asked for it to be opened, and they said: "Who is there?" He answered: "Gabriel." They asked: "And who is with him?" He answered: "Muḥammad." They said: "And has He revealed to him?" He answered: "Yes." They said: "Greetings from a brother and from a proxy! Such an excellent brother and such a wonderful successor! Of course, come in!" He did so. After he entered and while he was walking, he said: "That was Idrīs whom God raised up to a lofty place."

Anas b. Mālik *apud* Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*:¹⁴⁸

حدثنا أنس بن مالك أن نبي الله حدث أنه لما عرج به إلى السماء قال أتيت على إدريس في السماء الرابعة.

Anas b. Mālik has reported to us that the Prophet of God said that at the time when he ascended to Heaven: "I came upon Idrīs in the fourth heaven."

Abū Ḥudhayfah *apud* Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-badʾ waʾl-taʾriḫ* (ed. Huart):¹⁴⁹

في كتاب أبي حنيفة أن الملائكة كانوا يصفحون بنى آدم في زمن إدريس ويؤزرونهم رحالهم ومجالسهم لطيب الزمان وصلاح أهله فاستأذن ملك الشمس في زيارته فأذن له فساله إدريس أن يرفعه إلى السماء ليعبد الله فيها مع الملائكة فرفعه الله فهو في السماء الرابعة.

According to the book by Abū Ḥudhayfah,¹⁵⁰ during the time of Idrīs the angels would pass among human beings and visit them in their settlements and places of gathering, for it was a blessed age in which righteousness was resident. The Angel of the Sun asked for permission to pay him (Idrīs) a visit, and he gave his assent. Then Idrīs asked him to raise him up to the heavens so that he would worship God there and be in the company of the angels. So God raised him up, and he was placed in the fourth heaven.

Ibn ʿAbbās *apud* Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-badʾ waʾl-taʾriḫ* (ed. Huart):¹⁵¹

وروى عن عبد الله بن العباس أنه سأل ملك الشمس أن يعلمه الاسم الذي يصعد به إلى السماء فعلمه فرقى به إلى السماء الرابعة وبعث الله ملك الموت فقبضه هناك.

ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿA[bbās] relates that he asked the Angel of the Sun to teach him the Name by means of which he could ascend to heaven. He taught it to him, and using

¹⁴⁷ i.e., Muḥammad's legendary vision about his nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (cf. Q 17:1), from which he embarked on a tour through the heavens and the celestial world. For further discussion and bibliography, see Michael Sells, "Ascension," in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2001–6), 1:176–81; Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, 326–32; Brooke Olson Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys, Earthly Concerns: The Legacy of the Miʾrāj in the Formation of Islam* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁴⁸ Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:128 (#23778).

¹⁴⁹ Maqdisī, *K. al-badʾ waʾl-taʾriḫ* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:12.5–9.

¹⁵⁰ i.e., Ishāq b. Bishr, author of an early "stories of the prophets" collection. See Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, 1968), 403; Roberto Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qurʾān and Muslim Literature* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002), 141–4; William M. Brinner, "Introduction," in Thaʿlabī, *Arāʾis al-Majālis fi Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* or "Lives of the Prophets" (trans. William M. Brinner; Leiden: Brill, 2002), xix; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 167 n. 12.

¹⁵¹ Maqdisī, *K. al-badʾ waʾl-taʾriḫ* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:12.10–12.

it he ascended to the fourth heaven. Thereupon God sent the Angel of Death and made him die there.¹⁵²

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* (ed. Aguadé):¹⁵³

قال الله عز وجل واذكر في الكتاب إدریس انه كان صديقاً نبياً ورفعتناه مكاناً علياً یعنی في السماء الرابعة.

God, may He be exalted and extolled, said: "Mention in the book Idrīs, for he was a truthful one, a prophet; and We raised him to a lofty place." (Q 19:56–7). It means (he was raised up) to the fourth heaven.

Wahb *apud* Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā':¹⁵⁴

فهو حتى هناك فتارة يعبد الله في السماء الرابعة وتارة يتنعم في الجنة والله أعلم.

Now he (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) lives there: he sometimes serves God in the fourth heaven and at other times he enjoys the delights of the Garden.¹⁵⁵ God is All-knowing.¹⁵⁶

Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran):¹⁵⁷

قال الملك لإدریس ألك إلى حاجة قال نعم أحب أن ترفعني إلى السماء حتى أنظر إلى ملك الموت فإنه لا تعيش لي مع ذكره فأخذه الملك إلى جناحه حتى انتهى به إلى السماء الرابعة.

The angel said to Idrīs: "Can I grant you a request?" He replied: "Yes. I would love for you to raise me up to heaven so that I might see the Angel of Death, for I do not enjoy life while remembering him."¹⁵⁸ So the angel took him upon his wing until he eventually landed with him in the fourth heaven.¹⁵⁹

Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. 'Aqil):¹⁶⁰

فقال له الملك احب ان اكافيك فاطلب حاجة فقال ترينى ملك الموت لعلى انس به فإنه ليس يهتنون مع ذكره شيء فيسط جناحه ثم قال اركب فصعد به فطلب ملك الموت في سماء الدنيا فقبل انه قد صعد فاستقبله بين السماء الرابعة والخامسة.

The angel then said to him: "Would you like for me to repay you? Then make a request!" So he said: "You can show me the Angel of Death, for he is high over

¹⁵² Again, compare Tg. *Onk.* Gen 5:24: *וליוחיי אורי אמייתו יי*. . . . Text cited from Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic*, I:8.

¹⁵³ 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* (ed. Jorge Aguadé; Madrid: al-Majlis al-A'lá lil-Abhāth al-'Ilmiyah, 1991), 36.22–37.1. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁵⁴ Tha'labī, *K. qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 47.17. The complete citation of this source appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

¹⁵⁵ Compare *Jub.* 4:23–5.

¹⁵⁶ Note also Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-Majālis (trans. Brinner), 83–5.

¹⁵⁷ Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (110 vols; Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyah, 1956–74), 11:277.5–6. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death." See also Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. H. M. 'Aqil; Beirut: Dār al-Balāgha, 1991), 85.13–14.

¹⁵⁸ Jazā'irī: "I would love for you to raise me up to the fourth heaven."

¹⁵⁹ Jazā'irī: "So the angel raised him up to the fourth heaven."

¹⁶⁰ Jazā'irī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. 'Aqil), 86.5–8. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death." See also Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 11:278.4–7.

humanity, and I cannot enjoy anything while remembering him." He extended his wing (and) then said: "Climb on!" Then he ascended with him and he looked for the Angel of Death in the heaven over the inhabited world. It has been said that he continued to ascend, and he (finally) met with him between the fourth and the fifth heavens.

Interestingly, a Slavonic manuscript list of apocryphal books reportedly situates Enoch in "the fifth heaven."¹⁶¹

ENOCH/IDRĪS/METATRON IS RAISED TO THE SIXTH HEAVEN

Ibn 'Abbās apud Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*:¹⁶²

ابن عباس قال رفع الى السماء السادسة

Ibn 'Abbās said (with regard to "... and We raised him to a lofty place" [Q 19:57]): He was raised up to the sixth heaven.¹⁶³

Ibn 'Abbās was a cousin of the Prophet and an early authority on the interpretation of the Qur'ān who is frequently termed the "father of Qur'ānic exegesis."¹⁶⁴ He is particularly important as a tradent of *Isrā'īliyyāt*.¹⁶⁵

Daḥḥāk apud Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*:¹⁶⁶

سمعت الضحاک يقول في قوله ورفعته مكانا عليا إدریس أدركه الموت في السماء السادسة.

I (i.e., 'Abīd b. Sulaymān) heard al-Daḥḥāk say with regard to the verse "... and We raised him to a lofty place" (Q 19:57): As for Idrīs, death overtook him in the sixth heaven.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:141 note h.

¹⁶² Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:128 (#23773).

¹⁶³ The tradition about Idrīs being raised by God to the sixth heaven is also repeated by the late medieval Egyptian polymath Suyūṭī; see Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, 46. According to the Jewish Aramaic *Sidrey de-Shimmushey Rabba* (and see also Ms. Oxford 1811 fol. 93b for a "hebraicized" version of the same), Enoch/Metatron is resident in the sixth heavenly "palace."

¹⁶⁴ L. Veccia Vaglieri, "'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās," *EP* 1:40-1; W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 67-8; Haim Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1982), 56-7 and 150 n. 140; Claude Gilliot, "Portrait 'mythique' d'Ibn 'Abbās," *Arabica* 32 (1985): 127-84.

¹⁶⁵ Gordon D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 10.

¹⁶⁶ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (ed. Beirut, 2002), 9:128 (#23774). The full citation of this passage is in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

¹⁶⁷ This passage is also catalogued in Chapter 4.

Ṭabarsī, *Tafsir to Q 19:56–7*.¹⁶⁸

وقيل انه رفع الى السماء السادسة.

It is said that he ascended to the sixth heaven.¹⁶⁹

Sidrey de-Shimmusha Rabba (ed. Scholem):¹⁷⁰

בהיכלא שתיתאה הנוך דאתלבש בלבוש זיוא דנהורא ושני שמיא וגופיה ושמיא מסטרון כשם רביה וחזותמיה בגשמיה והוא רבא דהיכלא שחיתאה והוא מסרת לכל נפשאת דסלקן מארעא לרום רקיעא ומצטרפן ומתלבשן ומתפשטן מכל מישכי טנוף גופתא ומתלבשן בגופיה בזיוא קרניאתא דמטמרין ומצטטרין בזיוא דקב"ה דהוא חי עלמיא דמתמן פרחין נפשאת וסלקן מעלמא לעלמא עד עלמא רבא הוא עלמא דזייה מבהקא לשיתא עלמי ומתמן מתפנקן ומתעדנן נפשאת וגזייהא כמה דאתגזרו מתמן בה שעתא דאתבריוא ואנן לית לן רשותא לגלויי פתגמין ורדן דאינן כבשונו של עולם.

In the sixth palace is Enoch,¹⁷¹ clothed in a resplendent garment of light. He (i.e., God) changed his name and his body, and He re-named him Metatron, a name corresponding to that of his Lord. He bears His seal on his body. He is in charge of the sixth palace which is the guard station for all the souls which ascend from earth to the celestial height. They are purged, divested, and stripped of every foul bodily skin¹⁷² and then clothed with a body of radiant splendor¹⁷³ which they had preserved and fashioned with the Glory of the Holy One, blessed be He, Who is the Eternal Living One. From there the souls fly and ascend from world to world until (they reach) that great world which is the world whose effulgence illuminates the six worlds (below it). Once there the souls and bodies are pampered and refreshed in accordance with what they had decreed there at the time they were created. We do not have the authority to reveal the words and mysteries for they are "the secret of the world."¹⁷⁴

Ms. Oxford 1811 fol. 93b (ed. Idel):¹⁷⁵

בהיכל ששי הנוך דאתלבש בלבוש זיוא דנהורא ושינה שמו וגופו ושמו מסטרון כשם רבו וחזותמו בג[ר]מיה והוא רב של היכלות והוא מערה לכל הנפשות שהם עולים מן הארץ לרום השמים ומצטרפן ומלבנן ומפשטן מכל טנוף שבגוף ומתלבשין בדיו קדמיתא דמטמרין בחייה דקב"ה דהוא חי העולמים דמתמן פרחין נשמתא ועולים מן העולם ועד העולם הוא עולם דזייה מאיר ב' עולמות והמן מתפנקין

¹⁶⁸ Jazā'iri, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. 'Aqil), 81. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as Idrīs."

¹⁶⁹ Compare John Walbridge, *The Wisdom of the Mystic East: Suhrawardī and Platonic Orientalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 22–3.

¹⁷⁰ Gershom Scholem, "Sidrey de-Shimmusha Rabba," *Tarbiz* 16 (1945): 196–209, updated and reprinted in Esther Liebes, ed., *Devils, Demons and Souls: Essays on Demonology by Gershom Scholem* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004), 124–5. Note also Jellinek, *BHM* 6:III.12–21.

¹⁷¹ Ṭabarsī, *Tafsir to Q 19:56–7* similarly situates Idrīs in the sixth heaven. Most *mi'rāj* traditions locate him in the fourth heaven.

¹⁷² Jellinek has מושבי instead of מישכי.

¹⁷³ See Gershom Scholem, "Tselem: The Concept of the Astral Body," in Gershom Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (trans. Joachim Neugroschel; New York: Schocken, 1991c), 270.

¹⁷⁴ For the phrase "the secret of the world" (כבשונו של עולם), see *b. Hag.* 13a and Rashi *ad loc.*

¹⁷⁵ *Apud* Scholem, "Sidrey de-Shimmusha Rabba," in Scholem, *Devils* (ed. Liebes), 144. This is a partially "hebraicized" version of the preceding Aramaic testimony.

ומתעדין נפשא וגוייתא דאתגורו מתמן בשעה שנבראו ואנו אין לנו רשות לגלות דברים ורזין שהם כבשותו של עולם.

In the sixth palace is Enoch, clothed in a resplendent garment of light. He (i.e., God) changed his name and his body, and his name became Metatron, (a name) corresponding to that of his Lord. He bears His seal on his body. He is in charge of the palaces, and he uncovers all those souls which ascend from earth to the celestial heights. He purges, bleaches, and strips them of all bodily defilement, and then they are clothed with the original brilliance which was withheld from them by the serpent of the Holy One, blessed be He, Who is the Eternal Living One. From there the souls fly and ascend from the world to that world which is the world whose effulgence illuminates the six worlds (below it). Once there the souls and bodies are pampered and refreshed (in accordance with) what they had decreed there at the time they were created. We do not have the authority to reveal the words and mysteries for they are "the secret of the world."

ENOCH/HERMES/IDRĪS/METATRON IS RAISED TO THE SEVENTH HEAVEN

One relatively early source which situates Enoch in the seventh heaven is the Ethiopic version¹⁷⁶ of *Ascen. Isa.* 9:6–9: "And he raised me up into the seventh heaven, and I saw there a wonderful light and innumerable angels. There I saw all the righteous from the time of Adam, and there I saw the holy Abel and all the righteous. And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him,¹⁷⁷ stripped of the garments of the flesh: I saw them in their celestial garments, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory."¹⁷⁸ This placement is paralleled by what is found in the allied *Greek Legend of Isaiah*; see p. 244.

Wahb *apud* Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān*:¹⁷⁹

وانه عاش في الارض ثلاث مائة سنة وخمسا وستين سنة ثم رفعه الله الى السماء السابعة فهو مع الملائكة.

He (i.e., Enoch) was alive on earth for three hundred and sixty-five years, and then God raised him up to the seventh heaven, and he is (now) together with the angels.

3 *Enoch* §13 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):¹⁸⁰

אמר רבי ישמעאל אמר לי מסטרון מלאך שר הפנים כל זאת עשה לי ה' כסא מעין כסא הכבוד ופרש עלי פרש של זיו ושל זוהר ותואר וכבוד ויפי ותן וחסד מעין פרש של כסא הכבוד שכל מיני זיו מאורות

¹⁷⁶ R. H. Charles, ed., *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900), 119–20.

¹⁷⁷ The parallel Latin and Slavonic versions refer only to "certain righteous men" without specifying their names.

¹⁷⁸ Translation adapted from that of Charles, ed., *Ascension of Isaiah*, 60.

¹⁷⁹ Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar 'an Wahb ibn Munabbih*.... (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1928), 22.3–4. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁸⁰ *Synopsis* (ed. Schäfer), 9.

שבעולם קבועין בו ושמו על פתח היכל שביעי והושיבני עליו והכרח יצא עלי בכל רקיע ורקיע לאמר מטטרון עבדי שמתין לשר ולגיד על כל שרי מלכותי . . . וגם אני מניתיו על כל גנזי היכל ערבות ועל כל אוצרות חיים שיש לי בשמי מרום.

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angelic Prince of the Presence, said to me, "The Holy One, blessed be He, made all this for me: a throne just like the Throne of Glory, and He spread over me a canopy of splendor and brightness and beauty and glory and loveliness and grace and favor just like the canopy of the Throne of Glory which had attached to it every kind of resplendent light that exists in the universe. He set it up at the door of the seventh palace and seated me upon it. And with regard to me, the herald went out into each and every heaven, saying: '(This is) My servant Metatron! I have installed him as a prince and as a ruler over all the princes of My kingdom . . . and moreover I have appointed him in charge of all the treasures of the palace (named) 'Araboth and of all the storehouses of life which I have in the heavenly heights!'"

'*Otiyyot de R. 'Aqiva* (ed. Jellinek):¹⁸¹

ועשיתיו משרת לכסא כבוד (ושמתיו על) היכלי ערבות לפתח לו דלתותיה' וכסא הכבוד לסלסל ולסדר חיות הקדש לקשור בראשם כתרם ואופני הדר לכתור להם עוז וכבוד כרובי הוד להלבישם הדר וזיקי זוהר להזכירם זיו זוהר שרפי להבה להתעטפם גאון חשמלי אורה להתאורם נהורא בכל שחר ושחר להכין לי מושב בשבתי על כסאי בכבוד ויקר לראות כבדי במרום עוזי ברוי עליוני' וברוי תחתונים.

I made him an attendant to the Throne of Glory. [I appointed him over]¹⁸² the palaces of 'Araboth to open their doors; over the Throne of Glory to adorn and order it;¹⁸³ over the holy creatures to tie crowns on their heads; over the magnificent *ofannim* to crown them with strength and glory; over the splendid cherubim to clothe them with magnificence; over the shining sparks to announce their shining radiance; over the fiery seraphim to cloak them with majesty; over the glitters of light to gird them with luminescence each and every morning; in order to prepare Me a place to sit when I sit down upon My Throne in glory and honor, (and) to display My glory in the celestial height [and] My power over supernal and lower mysteries.

. . . I established his throne outside the entrance of My palace. . . .¹⁸⁴

Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:¹⁸⁵

فَقِيلَ أَنَّهُ رَفَعَ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ السَّابِعَةِ.

And it is said that he (i.e., Enoch) ascended to the seventh heaven.

¹⁸¹ Jellinek, *BHM* 2:115, under the rubric "Sefer Ḥanokh," later recognized by him as part of the '*Otiyyot* (*BHM* 3:xv n. 3; 6:xxxxiii). The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

¹⁸² Philip S. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:311 suggests this emendation.

¹⁸³ Move לו from preceding clause to here.

¹⁸⁴ Compare Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:311–12.

¹⁸⁵ Pseudo-Mas'ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*, 79.9.

Greek Legend of Isaiah 2.26–7 (ed. von Gebhardt):¹⁸⁶

Καὶ ὡς ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν ἕβδομον οὐρανὸν ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἑτέρας λεγούσης μοι· Ἐνίσχυσον, Ἰσαΐα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς· καὶ εὐθέως ἐνίσχυσέν με τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί. Καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ· Ἄβελ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ Σήθ τὸν δίκαιον, Ἰάρεθ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ Ἐνώχ τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν δικαίων γεγεννημένους.

And when he brought me into the seventh heaven, I heard a different voice saying to me: "Be strong, O Isaiah, son of Amoz!" Immediately that spirit who was addressing me strengthened me. And I saw there all the righteous ones since Adam: Abel the righteous, Seth the righteous, Yared the righteous, and Enoch the righteous, and all of those descended from them who were righteous.

One wonders whether this occasional placement of the prophet Idrīs in the seventh heaven of some Christian and Muslim cosmologies reflects a familiarity with and even a tacit endorsement of the Metatron mythology found in a prominent strand of Jewish Hekhalot literature. The work which almost single-handedly develops the legend whereby the antediluvian forefather Enoch becomes the chief angel Metatron is the compilation known as *3 Enoch* or the "Hebrew Book of Enoch." In *3 Enoch*, Metatron is depicted as being installed on a throne like that of God Himself "by the entrance of the seventh palace"; i.e., on the threshold of the seventh heaven.¹⁸⁷ One might compare the location in the seventh heaven of the throne of the archon named Sabaoth who figures in the classical gnostic text known by modern scholars as *On the Origin of the World*.¹⁸⁸ Therein the throne of Sabaoth is placed "in front of his palace" (104.35–105.1)¹⁸⁹ which adorns the seventh heaven. Note too that according to the curious Slavonic apocryphon known as the *Apocalypse of Abraham*,¹⁹⁰ the angelic character who bears the name Yael—one who is arguably a prototype for Metatron¹⁹¹—inhabits the seventh heaven.

ENOCH SERVES THERE AS WITNESS OR RECORDING SCRIBE

Enoch's service as a heavenly witness or record-keeping scribe is already presaged in *Jub.* 4:24 and 10:17. In addition to the testimonia surveyed below, one

¹⁸⁶ Oscar von Gebhardt, "Die Ascensio Isaiae als Heiligenlegende," *ZWT* 21 (1878): 346. See also Charles, ed., *Ascension of Isaiah*, 145. Compare with *Ascen. Isa.* 9:6–9, p. 242.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *3 Enoch* §13 (= §894) in *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 8–9, 288.

¹⁸⁸ *Orig. World* (NHC II,5) 103.32–105.19; cf. *Hyp. Arch.* (NHC II,4) 95.13–96.3.

¹⁸⁹ Translation is that of Marvin Meyer, "On the Origin of the World," in Marvin Meyer, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Edition* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 207.

¹⁹⁰ *Apoc. Abr.* 10:8.

¹⁹¹ Reeves, *Heralds*, 71–3.

should also include the following passage from the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch*, a pseudepigraphical work reliant in some fashion upon the Christian *Apocalypse of Paul* that is treasured among the writings of the Falasha or "Ethiopian Jewish" community: "He took me away from this gate and brought me to another city named 'Aqrābā, which means the 'Land of the Living.' There I saw Enoch and Elijah writing down the deeds of the just of the earth. . . . I asked my guide: 'Whose is this city?' He said to me: 'The Land of the Living. Those in it are Enoch and Elijah, who write God's commandments, and who live there forever.'" ¹⁹²

T. Abraham 11:1–10 recension B (ed. James):¹⁹³

καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ· Κύριε, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ κριτής, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος, ὁ ἐλέγχων τὰς ἁμαρτίας; καὶ λέγει Μιχαήλ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Θεωρεῖς τὸν κριτήν; οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἄβελ, ὁ ἐν πρώτοις μαρτυρήσας· καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν ὧδε ὁ θεὸς κρίνειν· καὶ ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράψωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐκάστου. καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἀβραάμ· Καὶ πῶς δύναται Ἐνώχ βαστάσαι τὸ βάρος τῶν ψυχῶν, μὴ ἰδὼν θάνατον; ἢ πῶς δύναται δοῦναι πασῶν τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπόφασιν; καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαήλ· Ἐὰν δώσῃ ἀπόφασιν περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ συγχωρεῖται· ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ τοῦ Ἐνώχ αὐτοῦ ἀποφαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ἀποφαινόμενος, καὶ τούτου οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ γράψαι. ἐπειδὴ ἠῤῥατο Ἐνώχ πρὸς κύριον λέγων· Οὐ θέλω, κύριε, ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπόφασιν, ὅπως μὴ τινὸς ἐπιβαρῆς γένωμαι· καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Ἐνώχ· Ἐγὼ κελεύσω σε ἵνα γράψῃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ψυχῆς ἐξιλεουμένης, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν ζωὴν· καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐὰν μὴ ἐξιλεωθῇ καὶ μετανοήσῃ, εὐρήσεις τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς γεγραμμένας, καὶ βληθήσεται εἰς τὴν κόλασιν.

And Abraham said to Michael: "O Lord, who is this judge? And who is the other one who exposes their sins?"¹⁹⁴ And Michael said to Abraham: "Do you see the judge? This is Abel, the one who suffered martyrdom among the ancient ones, and God brought him here to judge. And this one who exhibits proofs is Enoch, the teacher of heaven and earth and the scribe of righteousness. For the Lord sent them here in order that they might record the sins and the righteous deeds of every person." And Abraham said: "And how is Enoch able to bear the burden of the souls, since he did not experience death? Or how is he able to give judgment upon all the souls?" And Michael said: "If he were to give judgment concerning them, it would not be accepted. But it is not Enoch's business to pronounce judgment; instead, the Lord is the one who pronounces judgment, and this one (Enoch) only writes. For Enoch prayed to the Lord saying: 'O Lord, I do not want to give judgment upon the souls in order that I not

¹⁹² J[oseph]. Halévy, *Tēzāza Sanbat (Commandements du Sabbat) accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1902), 199, 200; Wolf Leslau, *Falasha Anthology* (YJS 6; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 67, 68.

¹⁹³ Montague Rhodes James, *The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Text Now First Edited with an Introduction and Notes* (TS 2.2; Cambridge: The University Press, 1892), 115–16.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Herm. Vis. 1.1.5 for a similar phraseology.

be too severe with someone.' And the Lord replied to Enoch: 'I will command you to write the sins of a soul that makes atonement, and it will enter into eternal life.¹⁹⁵ But if the soul has not made atonement and repented, you will find that its sins are already written, and it will be thrown into punishment.'

For the significance of this witness and discussion of the sobriquet "scribe of righteousness," see our remarks in Chapter 1.

Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 4.16.2 (ed. Harvey):¹⁹⁶

... Enoch ... translatus est et conservatur usque nunc testis iusti iudicii Dei.

... Enoch ... was translated (to heaven), and he is still preserved (there) as a witness of the just verdict of God.¹⁹⁷

3 *Enoch* §§4–5 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):¹⁹⁸

... שכשחטאו בני דור המבול וסרחו במעשיהם ואמרו לאל סור ממנו שנ' ואמרו לאל סור ממנו ודעת דרכיך לא חפצנו נטלני ה' ב'ה' מביניהם להיות עד עליהם בשמי מרום לכל באי העולם כדי שלא יאמרו רחמנו אכזרי הוא מה חטאו כל אותן האוכלוסין נשיהם בניהם ובנותיהם סוסיהם פרדיהם מקניהם וקנינים וכל עופות שהיו בעולם שאבדן ה' ב'ה' עמהם בימי המבול מה העולם יאמרו אם הללו דור המבול חטאו בהמה וחייה ועופות מה חטאו שספו עמהם לפיכך העלני ה' ב'ה' בחייהם לעיניהם לשמי מרום להיות עד עליהם לע'ה.

When the Flood-generation acted sinfully and committed corrupt deeds and said to God, "Depart from us!" as scripture attests, "They say to God, 'Leave us alone! We do not want to learn Your ways!'" (Job 21:14),¹⁹⁹ the Holy One, blessed be He, took me (i.e., Enoch) from among them to be a witness against them in the high heavens for (the sake of) all the future inhabitants of the world. (This has been done) so that they (i.e., the future inhabitants) might not say "The Merciful One is (actually) cruel! How did all those (different) groups act sinfully? Did their wives, their sons, their daughters, their horses, mules, cattle, and other livestock, as well as all the birds which were in the world, (also act sinfully), those whom the Holy One, blessed be He, destroyed with them at the time of the Flood? Even should the world admit that those of the generation of the Flood acted sinfully, what was the transgression of the cattle, wild animals, and birds?"²⁰⁰ For this reason the Holy

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Matt 18:8–9; 19:17.

¹⁹⁶ *Sancti Irenaei* (ed. Harvey), 2:190. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 168; Lawlor, "Early Citations," 195; and Schürer, *History*, 3/1:262. The full citation of this text appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch/Metatron/Idris Mediates between Heaven and Displaced Angels."

¹⁹⁷ See *Jub.* 4:24; 3 *Enoch* §5 (ed. Schäfer); 'Otiyyot de R. 'Aqiva.

¹⁹⁸ *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 5. A shorter variant version is published in Margaliot, *Malakey 'elyon*, 75. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

¹⁹⁹ For the narratological placement of Job 21:7–15 in the context of the Flood generation, see Reeves, *Heralds*, 187–8.

²⁰⁰ Note already *b. Sanh.* 108a: אם אדם חטא בהמה מה חטאו. This specific objection against God's seemingly indiscriminate destruction of organic life during the Flood appears in the polemical questions of the ninth-century Jewish "heretic" Hiwi al-Balkhi. See Israel Davidson, *Saadia's Polemic against Hiwi al-Balkhi: A Fragment Edited from a Genizah MS* (New York: The Jewish

One, blessed be He, visibly took me up to the high heavens while they were still alive in order to be a witness against them in the World to Come.²⁰¹

'Otiyyot de Rabbi 'Aqiva (ed. Jellinek):²⁰²

ולקחתיו להנוך בן ירד מביניה' והעליחיו בקול שופר ובחרועה למרום להיות לי לעד עד ד' חיות שבמרכבה לעולם הבא.

"I took him (i.e., Enoch b. Yared) from among them and brought him up with the sound of the *shofar* and with a trumpet blast to the celestial realm to be a witness for Me with²⁰³ the four creatures of the Chariot to the World to Come."

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):²⁰⁴

ובכל יום ויום יושב על אותו כסא פעם אחת ביום בשעה שכותב זכויותיהם של ישראל.

Each and every day he sits upon that throne (for) a time each day when he records the merits of Israel.²⁰⁵

Zohar *Ḥadash*, *Terumah* fol. 42d (ed. Margaliot):²⁰⁶

ימא חד עאל גו גנתא דעדן ואחמו ליה טמירין דגנתא ואנח הווא ספר וכל מה דחמא לבר ואיהו צניע בגו חברייא לבתר אתלבש הווא נהירו גו הווא לבושא לאחזאה לעילא ולמהי כסופא בהדיה לכל אינון דעבדו קסרגא במאריהון דלא יחברי בר נש בעלמא הה"ד ואינון כי לקח אותו אלהים ואינון בהאי עלמא ואינון כדקא הוה בהאי עלמא.

One day he went inside the Garden of Eden, and they showed him the secrets of the garden, and he left that book and everything that he had seen outside (the garden), and it remains guarded among the Companions.²⁰⁷ Afterwards he cloaked himself (with) that light inside that garment in order to show the supernal heights and by this (display) to bring shame on those who protested before their Lord that He should not create humanity in the world. As it is written (in Scripture): "And he was no more, because God took him" (Gen 5:24): "and he was no more" signifies "in this world"; "and he was no more" means "as he existed in this world."

Theological Seminary, 1915), 52–3; Judah Rosenthal, "Ḥiwi al-Balkhi: A Comparative Study," *JQR* 38 (1947–8): 323.

²⁰¹ In light of *m. Sanh.* 10.3, Alexander is probably correct in interpreting this expression as a reference to the postdiluvial age. Cf. also *Jub.* 4:24; 10:17.

²⁰² Jellinek, *BHM* 2:114, under the rubric "Sefer Ḥanokh," later recognized by him as part of the 'Otiyyot (*BHM* 3:xv n. 3; 6:xxxxiii). The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

²⁰³ Read עמ for ער.

²⁰⁴ *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 27.4–5. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

²⁰⁵ Compare *Jub.* 4:23–4. Note especially *b. Hag.* 15a: מיטשרון דאחיבא ליה רשוחא למיתב למיכתב *b. Hag.* 15a: זכוותא דישראל.

²⁰⁶ *Sefer Zohar Ḥadash* (ed. Margaliot), 84. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the 'Reincarnation' of Adam."

²⁰⁷ i.e., the legendary associates of R. Shim'on b. Yoḥai in the production, reception, and exposition of the Zoharic corpus of writings.

ENOCH ADMINISTERS CELESTIAL TREASURIES AND STOREHOUSES

3 *Enoch* §13 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):²⁰⁸

וגם אני מנתייו על כל גנוי היכל ערבות ועל כל אוצרות חיים שיש לי בשמי מרום.

And moreover I have appointed him in charge of all the treasuries of the palace (named) Araboth and of all the storehouses of life which I have in the heavenly heights!

'*Otiyyot de-Rabbi 'Aqiva* (ed. Jellinek):²⁰⁹

פקדתיו על כל גנוים ואוצרות שיש לי בכל רקיע ורקיע ומפתחי כל אחד ואחד מסרתי בידו.

I appointed him to be over all My treasuries and storehouses in each level of heaven, and I handed over into his charge the keys to each one.²¹⁰

Zohar 1.37b (ed. Vilna):²¹¹

וכל גנוי עלאי אתמסרין בידיה דא מסיר ויהיב ועביד שליחותא ואלין מפתחן אתמסרין בידיה ומאה ברכאן נטיל בכל יומא וקשיר קשירין למאריה.

All of the celestial treasuries were delivered into his charge,²¹² and that was communicated, granted, and made (his?) commission. One thousand keys (to the aforementioned treasuries) were delivered into his charge.²¹³ Every day he takes one hundred *berakhot* and ties them (as) knots upon his Lord.²¹⁴

Zohar 1.56b (ed. Vilna):²¹⁵

חנוך נטיל ליה קב"ה מארעא ואסקיה לשמי מרומים ואמסור בידיה כל גנוי עלאין.

The Holy One, blessed be He, removed Enoch from earth and raised him to the supernal heights and delivered into his charge all the celestial treasuries.²¹⁶

²⁰⁸ *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 9.

²⁰⁹ Jellinek, *BHM* 2:114–15, under the rubric “Sefer Ḥanokh,” later recognized by him as part of the *'Otiyyot* (*BHM* 3:xv n. 3; 6:xxxxiii). The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric “Enoch as the Angel Metatron.”

²¹⁰ See Zohar 1.37b; 1.56b.

²¹¹ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 80–1. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Savant of Cosmological Arcana.”

²¹² See also Zohar 1.56b.

²¹³ Note *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 27.11–12: ומנהו על כל גנויה ואוצרות שיש לו ברקיע ורקיע ומפתחות. כל אחד ואחד מסרין בידי. A slightly variant version of this same text appears in what Jellinek called *Sefer Ḥanokh* (actually a version of *'Otiyyot de R. 'Aqiva*; cf. Jellinek, *BHM* 2:114–15) and in 3 *Enoch* §72 (*Synopse* [ed. Schäfer], 36–7). See also David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988), 417.

²¹⁴ Note Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 629.

²¹⁵ Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 73. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 4 under the rubric “Enoch Wields Angel-Like Power.”

²¹⁶ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 1:321.

ENOCH AS LEADER OF THE ANGELS

3 *Enoch* §§4–5 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):²¹⁷

אמר ר' ישמעאל באותה שעה שאלתי את מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים אמרתי לו מה שמך אמר לי יש לי שבעים שמות כנגד שבעים לשונות שבעולם וכולם על שמו של מ'מ'ה' אבל מלכי קרא אותי נער אמר ר' ישמעאל אמרתי לו למטטרון מפני מה אתה נקרא בשם קונך בשבעים שמו' ואתה גדול מכל השרים וגבוה מכל המלאכים וחביב מכל המשרתים ונכבד מכל הצבאים ורב מכל האדירים במלוכה ובגדולה ובכבוד ומפני מה קורין אותך בשמי מרומים נער...

R. Ishmael said: At that time I queried the angel Metatron, the Prince of the Presence. I said to him, "What is your name?" He answered me, "I have seventy names which correspond to the seventy languages spoken in the world, and each one of them is based upon the name of the King (Who is) the King of Kings. However, my Sovereign calls me 'Youth' (*na'ar*)."²¹⁸

R. Ishmael said: I asked Metatron, "For what reason are you named after the name of your Creator with seventy names? Inasmuch as you are greater than all the other princes and higher than all the other angels and more beloved than the other ministrants and more honored than the other hosts and mightier than all the other distinguished ones, why then do they call you 'Youth' in the high heavens?"

3 *Enoch* §§5–6 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):²¹⁹

באותה שעה באו שלשה מלאכים ממלאכי השרת עוזה ועזאל והיו מסטינין עלי בשמי מרום ואמרו לפני ה'ב'ה' לא יפה אמרו ראשונים לפניך לא חברא אדם. עוד משיב ה'ב'ה' ואומר להם אני עשיתי ואני אשא אני אסבול ואמלט. וכיון שראו אותי אמרו לפניו רבונו של עולם מה טיבו של זה שעולה למרום מרומים לא מבני בניהם של הללו שאבדו בימי המבול הוא מה טיבו ברקיע. עוד משיב ה'ב'ה' ואומר להם מה טיבכם שאתם נכנסים לדברי שאני חפצתי בזה יותר מכולכם להיות שר ולנגד עליכם בשמי מרום.

At that time three angels came from the Angels of the Presence—"Uzza, 'Azza, and 'Azael—and were denouncing me (i.e., Enoch) in the heavenly heights.²²⁰ They said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Was it not good (advice) when the former ones (troops of angels) counseled You not to create man?²²¹ The Holy One, blessed be He, replied and said to them: "I have created and I will forgive, I will endure and

²¹⁷ *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 5. A shorter variant version is published in Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 75. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

²¹⁸ For possible explanations of this designation, see Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 628–9; Gary A. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *JJTP* 6 (1997): 131–2. Note the bibliographical references provided by Idel, *Ben*, 170–1 n. 87.

²¹⁹ *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 5–7.

²²⁰ Note that the depiction of these angels exhibits an inverse relationship to the portrayal of their archetypes in *1 En.* 13:1–6.

²²¹ Here Enoch assumes the narratological role played by Adam (see *b. Sanh.* 38b) in the "angelic objection to humanity's creation" tale-type. An exact parallel to this deviating pattern appears in the version of the Muslim "Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt" that is recounted by the fifteenth-century Persian historian Mīrkhwānd. See Muḥammad b. Khāwandshāh b. Maḥmūd Mīrkhwānd, *The Rauzat-us-safa; or, Garden of Purity* (5 vols; trans. E[duard]. Rehatsek; London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1891–4), 1:75–8; note also Max Grünbaum, "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Mythologie aus der Hagada," in Max Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde* (ed. Felix Perles; Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1901), 62.

I will deliver” (Isa 46:4). When they saw me, they spoke before Him: Master of the universe! What is the distinction of this one²²² who has ascended to the height of heights? Is he not one of the offspring of those who perished in the waters of the Flood?²²³ What right has he to be in the heavenly firmament? The Holy One, blessed be He, again replied and said to them: What right do you have to interrupt Me?²²⁴ I take more pleasure in this (one) than all of you; he shall become prince and leader over you in the heavenly heights.²²⁵

3 *Enoch* §13 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):²²⁶

אמר רבי ישמעאל אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים כל זאת עשה לי ה' ב'ה' כסא מעין כסא הכבוד ופרש עלי פרש של זיו ושל זוהר ותואר וכבוד ויופי והן וחסד מעין פרש של כסא הכבוד שכל מיני זיו מאורות שבעולם קבועין בו ושמו על פתח היכל שביעי והושיבני עליו והכרוח יצא עלי בכל הקיע וריקיע לאמר מטטרון עבדי שמתיו לשר ולנגיד על כל שרי מלכותי ועל כל בני מרומים חוץ משמנה שרים הגדולים הנכבדים והנוראים שנקראים יו בשמו של מלכם וכל מלאך ומלאך וכל שר ושר שיש לו דבר לדבר לפני ילך לפניו ודבר אליו וכל דבר ודבר שהוא מדבר בשמי עליכם תנטרן ותפעלון מפני ששר החכמה ושר הבינה מסרתים לו ללמדו חכמת עליונים ותחתונים וחכמת העה"ז וחכמת העה"ה וגם אני מניתיו על כל נגיד היכל ערבות ועל כל אצרות חיים שיש לי בשמי מרום.

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angelic Prince of the Presence, said to me, “The Holy One, blessed be He, made all this for me: a throne just like the Throne of Glory, and He spread over me a canopy of splendor and brightness and beauty and glory and loveliness and grace and favor just like the canopy of the Throne of Glory which had attached to it every kind of resplendent light that exists in the universe. He set it up at the door of the seventh palace and seated me upon it. And with regard to me, the herald went out into each and every heaven, saying: ‘(This is) My servant Metatron! I have installed him as a prince and as a ruler over all the princes of My kingdom and over all the denizens of the heights, except for the eight great respected and awesome princes who are termed “Lord” after the Name of their King.²²⁷ Each and every angel and each and every prince, should any of them have something to say before Me, let that one come before him and speak to him. You will observe and perform each and every word which he speaks to you in My Name²²⁸ because I have handed over to him the prince of wisdom and the prince of understanding in order to teach him the wisdom of the supernal ones and of the ones down below, the wisdom of This World and the wisdom of The World to

²²² Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 8.4; 17.4. The initial language of their objection echoes that of the anonymous angelic reaction to the contemplated creation of Adam by God.

²²³ Note the post-Deluge setting. There is no hint in this pericope of the more sinister role these angels normally play as fallen Watchers, sexual predators, and imparters of illicit teachings to a corrupt humanity.

²²⁴ Cf. *m. 'Abot* 5.7.

²²⁵ Compare Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1:258–9; Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch*, 102; Dan, *The Heart and the Fountain*, 66–7.

²²⁶ *Synopsis* (ed. Schäfer), 9.

²²⁷ High-ranking angels who have the Tetragram or a portion of its consonantal components joined to their name. One example of such—Anafiel YWY—appears in 3 *Enoch* §9. A wide-ranging discussion of this category is available in Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch*, 216–18.

²²⁸ See Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 188–9.

Come. And moreover I have appointed him in charge of all the treasuries of the palace (named) 'Araboth and of all the storehouses of life which I have in the heavenly heights!"²²⁹

'*Otiyyot de Rabbi 'Aqiva* (ed. Jellinek):²³⁰

ושמתיו שר על השרים ועשיתיו משרת לכסא כבוד [ושמתיו על] היכלי ערבות לפתוח לו דלתותיה' וכסא הכבוד לסלסל ולסדר חיות הקדש לקשור בראשם כתרים ואופני הדר לכתור להם עזו וכבוד כרובי הוד להלבישם הדר חיכי זוהר להזכירם זיו זוהר שרפי להבה להתעטפם גאווה חשמלי אורה להתאזרם נהורא בכל שחר ושחר להכין לי מושב בשבתי על כסאי בכבוד ויקר לראות כבודי במרום עזוי ברוי עליוני' וברזי תחתונים.

... קבעתי כסאו בפתח היכלי מבחוץ לישב ולעשות דין וכל פמליא שלי שבמרום וכל שר ושר העמדותי לנגדו ליסול רשות לעשות לו רצוני.

I made him ruler over all the (angelic) princes. I made him an attendant to the Throne of Glory. [I appointed him over]²³¹ the palaces of 'Araboth to open their doors; over the Throne of Glory to adorn and order it;²³² over the holy creatures to tie crowns on their heads; over the magnificent *ofannim* to crown them with strength and glory; over the splendid cherubim to clothe them with magnificence; over the shining sparks to announce their shining radiance; over the fiery seraphim to cloak them with majesty; over the glitters of light to gird them with luminescence each and every morning; in order to prepare Me a place to sit when I sit down upon My Throne in glory and honor, (and) to display My glory in the celestial height [and] My power over supernal and lower mysteries.

.... I established his throne outside the entrance of My palace so that he might sit and pronounce judgment, and My entire company in the celestial height and every prince I made stand before him to procure permission to act for him in accordance with²³³ his will.²³⁴

Pseudo-Ben Sira recension A 22 (ed. Yassif):²³⁵

... שמלאכי השרת מזועזעין מפניו.

... even the ministering angels tremble in his presence.

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):²³⁶

ומסר לו הב' ה' ע' מלאכים כנגד ע' האומות ופקד לו כל פמליא של מעלה וכל פמליא של מטה ומסר לו חכמה ובינה יותר מכל המלאכים ועשה לו גדולה יותר מכל מלאכי השרת.

²²⁹ For other translations, see Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:263–4; Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch*, 106.

²³⁰ Jellinek, *BHM* 2:115, under the rubric "Sefer Hanokh," later recognized by him as part of the '*Otiyyot* (*BHM* 3:xv n. 3; 6:xxxxiii). The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

²³¹ Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:311 suggests this emendation.

²³² Move לו from preceding clause to here. ²³³ Move כאשר to here?

²³⁴ Compare Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:311–12.

²³⁵ Yassif, *Tales of Ben Sira*, 254. The full citation from this source is presented at under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to *Gan Eden*."

²³⁶ *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 27.5–7. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 6 under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

The Holy One, blessed be He, gave him seventy angels corresponding to the seventy nations, and He charged him with the supervision of the celestial retinue and the lower retinue. He endowed him with wisdom and understanding superior to that of all (the other) angels, and He made him to be greater than all the ministering angels.

Ms. British Library Hebr. 746 fol. 108b–109a (ed. Scholem):²³⁷

והשלישו הקב"ה על פמליא של מעלה ושל מטה והוא מקבל ממדת הדין של מטה וכתוב ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים.

The Holy One, blessed be He, placed him in charge of the celestial retinue and over what lies below, and he receives (the verdicts?) from the lower Attribute of Stern Judgment. And it is written about him: "and he was no more, for God took him" (Gen 5:24).

Zohar Ḥadash, *Midrash Ruth* fol. 85c (ed. Margaliot):²³⁸

כתיב ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים מגו עלמא דא דבני נשא ואתמשך חנוך זעיר זעיר עד דאתעבד מה דאתעבד ושארין בדוכחיה כדקא יאות מטסרון וברבא ותקיפא ממנא דאנפין דמיניה אזדעזעו עילאין ותאין ושלטיין ושמשיין עילאין דקריבין ליה לשלסאה ולאפקא מיניה חילא ועסרין קדישיין.

It is written in Scripture: "Enoch walked with God, and (then) he was no more, for God took him" (Gen 5:24). (He took him) from the midst of this world of human beings. Enoch was gradually drawn forth (from this world) until he had been made into what he was made, taking up residence in that place which was proper for him as the great and powerful Metatron, Officer of the Presence. Upper and lower entities, rulers and celestial ministers who approach him for authority and to bring out from him power and holy crowns tremble before him.²³⁹

ENOCH RETURNS WITH ELIJAH AT THE ESCHATON

As we have noticed from the several instances that have been quoted above, it is not unusual to see Enoch and Elijah alive and performing certain divinely assigned tasks in Paradise. One particular task which achieves prominence within certain strands of Christian apocalyptic literature involves their joint return to human society during the final years leading up to the End of Days.

²³⁷ Gershom Scholem, *Rēshit ha-Qabbalah (1150–1250)* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1948), 253. This work is characterized by Idel (*Ben*, 647) as a thirteenth-century non-Ashkenazi kabbalistic anthology. For further information, see the detailed description in G[eorge]. Margoliouh, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part III, Section I: Kabbalah* (London: British Museum, 1909), 24. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 6 under the heading "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

²³⁸ *Sefer Zohar Ḥadash* (ed. Margaliot), 170.

²³⁹ See also Matt, *Zohar*, II:199; Unterman, *Kabbalistic Tradition*, 76.

Their eschatological pairing and return to earth however is a somewhat unusual occurrence in Jewish literature.

Chronicles of Yerahmeel §26 (Bodleian Ms. 2797 Heb. d. 11 fol. 22b):²⁴⁰

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים ספרים רבים נכתבו ממנו ואיננו כי לקח אוהו אלהים ונתנו בגן עדן עד עת
שיבא אליהו עמו והשיב לב אבות על בנים.

"And Enoch walked with God" (Gen 5:22, 24). Many books were written by him. "And he was no more, for God took him" (5:24) and placed him in the Garden of Eden until that time when Elijah shall come with him and "restore the hearts of the fathers to the children" (Mal 3:24).²⁴¹

Radaq ad Gen 5:24:

ידעת התרגום גם קצת חכמים כי חנוך ואליהו הכניסם האל חיים בגן עדן בנפש ובשר ועודם שם חיים
אוכלים מפרי העץ ועובדים את ה' כמו שהיה אדם הראשון קודם שהטא ויהיו שם עד ימות המשיח.

And the opinion of the Targum as well as some of the Sages is that God brought Enoch and Elijah while still alive—both body and soul—into Paradise, and they continue to live there eating from the fruit of the Tree and serving the Lord, just as Adam the Protoplast used to do before he transgressed, and they will stay there until the messianic age.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Yassif, ed., *Sefer ha-Zikronot*, 119.

²⁴¹ This passage intimates that Enoch and Elijah are in Paradise and will return together at the eschaton, a tradition that is popular in early Christian apocalyptic sources. Note however *1 En.* 89:52; 90:31; *L.A.B.* 48:1; and the remarks of James C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3.4; Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1996), 98–100; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 384, 405. The translation of Moses Gaster (*The Chronicles of Jerahmeel; or, The Hebrew Bible Historiale* [London, 1899; repr., New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971], 57) fails to render the crucial prepositional phrase עמו "with him."

²⁴² Note the remarks of Moshe Idel, "Enoch Is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/5 (1990): 227.

Enoch's Association or Equation with Other Figures

One of the primary factors driving the promulgation of Enochic lore among a variety of intellectual circles in both East and West during late antiquity and the medieval era was a homogenizing habit of identifying or assimilating one's native deities, ancestors, and folk heroes with what were recognized or perceived to be their functional equivalents in other cultures. The generation of such fusions or translations—a process termed “theological onomasiology” by Jan Assmann—promoted the formation of “a common world with integrated networks of commercial, political, and cultural communication” among a variety of different peoples,¹ fostering the notion of an overarching unity of thought and worship which served to counteract the centrifugal pull of ethnic separation and cultural alterity. By identifying Enoch with the intellectually respectable figure of Hermes Trismegistus, the latter figure's well-known accomplishments in the fields of theological speculation, science, civil engineering, and medicine received a biblical imprimatur which at the very least would encourage further efforts toward advancing these and allied disciplines by religiously responsible Jews and Christians. Assimilating Enoch to the enigmatic qur'anic prophet Idrīs dispels any lingering doubts about the prophetic credentials of the biblical forefather and supplies the latter figure with a much needed curriculum vita. The internal dynamics which fostered an equation sometime during the second half of the first millennium CE between biblical Enoch and the important heavenly angel known as Metatron however remain frustratingly opaque to us.

¹ Jan Assmann, “Translating Gods: Religion as a Factor of Cultural (Un)translatability,” in Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser, eds, *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space between* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 25–36, at 28.

ENOCH AS THE ANGEL METATRON

One of the most astonishing developments in the legendry surrounding the figure of Enoch is his reported transformation from a mortal human being into a celestial being who one scholar has labeled “the most important of postbiblical Jewish angels.”² Pregnant hints pointing toward this angelomorphosis are in the so-called “Similitudes” or “Parables” of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71) and the Slavonic Book of Enoch (*2 Enoch*),³ but the distinctive name Metatron does not occur as such within either of these collections of Enochic lore. The origin of the name “Metatron” remains a point of dispute despite a large number of attempts to offer an etymological or functional explanation for the alphabetic characters used in its spelling(s).⁴ Its occurrence as an appellation for an angelic figure does not seem to predate the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, but such a pronouncement might require some adjustment depending on how one resolves the disputed questions surrounding the dating and geographic provenance of certain works like the cosmological tract known as *Re'uyyot Yehezqel*,⁵ the various microforms comprising the macroform commonly termed *3 Enoch* along with their redactional history,⁶ and the seemingly ever-expanding corpus of the Mesopotamian incantation bowls.⁷ Yet in all of these sources, it is only in *3 Enoch* that the angel Metatron is explicitly identified with the biblical

² Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 190.

³ *1 En.* 39:14; 70:1–71:15; *2 En.* 22:1–10.

⁴ Convenient summaries of these proposals can be found in Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch, or, The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge, 1928; repr., New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973), 125–46; Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 92–6; also 176–80 for a possible connection between an obscure Slavonic word and the name Metatron; Michael T. Miller, “Folk-Etymology, and its Influence on Metatron Traditions,” *JSJ* 44 (2013): 339–55.

⁵ Arthur Marmorstein, “A Fragment of the Visions of Ezekiel,” *JQR* n.s. 8 (1917–18): 367–78; Jacob Mann, “Pereq Reiyot Yehezqel,” *Hašofeh* 5 (1921): 256–64; Shlomo Aharon Wertheimer, *Batey Midrashot* (2nd edn; 2 vols; ed. Abraham Joseph Wertheimer; Jerusalem, 1948–53; repr., Jerusalem: Ktav wa-Sefer, 1968), 2:125–34; Ithamar Gruenwald, “Re'uyot Yehezqel,” in Israel Weinstock, ed., *Temirin: Texts and Studies in Kabbala and Hasidism* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1972), 101–39.

⁶ Note especially the remarks of Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 243–58; Klaus Herrmann, “Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium: The Transformation of Merkavah Mysticism in *3 Enoch*,” in Ra'anan Boustan, Martha Himmelfarb, and Peter Schäfer, eds, *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia* (TSAJ 153; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 85–139.

⁷ The bibliography on the Babylonian incantation bowls is immense. For some essential orientation, see Michael G. Morony, “Religion and the Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” *Religion Compass* 1 (2007): 414–29; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 183–93; Yuval Harari, *Early Jewish Magic: Research, Method, Sources* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute/Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 2010), 104–9; 182–96; Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford, and Siam Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls, Volume One* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1–27.

forefather Enoch.⁸ This state of affairs, coupled with the demonstrable hostility directed toward laudatory or celebratory descriptions of the figure of Enoch by Palestinian rabbinic sources, has led some scholars to suggest that it was within Babylonian Jewish circles that the equation between Enoch and Metatron was first made.

Tg. Ps.-J. to Genesis 5:24 (ed. Rieder):⁹

ופלח חנוך בקושטא קדם ה' והא ליהותי עם דיירי ארעא ארום איתנגיד וסליק לרקיעא במימר קדם ה' וקרא שמייה מיטטרון ספרא רבא.

And Enoch served the Lord faithfully, and suddenly he was no longer together with the inhabitants of the earth, for he was snatched up, and he ascended to heaven at the behest of the Lord. He renamed him Metatron, the great scribe.

Some affinities with the earlier portraits of Enoch's career are visible here.¹⁰ According to Peter Schäfer, "this is the only Palestinian source in which such an identification of Enoch with Metatron is made."¹¹ This circumstance naturally raises the question as to whether it constitutes the earliest, or at least one of the earliest, testimonies to this particular assimilation.¹² Studies of *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* have shown however that it combines interpretative strata which stem from almost a millennium of exegetical activity,¹³ the latest layers of which postdate the Muslim conquest of the Levant. One cannot therefore pronounce with any degree of certainty that this particular targumic passage provides an independent witness to the late antique melding of Enoch and Metatron.

3 Enoch §§4–5 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):¹⁴

אמר ר' ישמעאל באותה שעה שאלתי את מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים אמרתי לו מה שמך אמר לי יש לי שבעים שמות כנגד שבעים לשונות שבעולם וכולם על שמו של מ'מ'ה אבל מלכי קרא אותי נער אמר ר'

⁸ Aspects of the Enoch-Metatron cycle of legends are synopsized by Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909–38), 5:162–4 n. 61; also C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (London, 1938; repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 68–9.

⁹ David Rieder, ed., *Targum Yonatan ben 'Uzziel 'al hamishah humshey Torah* (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1974), 8; Reuven Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1945), 73.

¹⁰ Note 1 *En.* 12:1–4 (removal of Enoch from society, his consorting with angels, his office as scribe); also *Jub.* 4:23–4; *T. Abr.* (recension B) 11:3.

¹¹ Peter Schäfer, *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 115. While the treatise known as *Re'uyyot Yehezq'el* may ultimately be of Palestinian provenance, it pointedly does not identify Metatron with Enoch.

¹² Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmelische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), 149.

¹³ Eyal Ben-Eliyahu, Yehudah Cohn, and Fergus Millar, *Handbook of Jewish Literature from Late Antiquity, 135–700 CE* (Oxford and New York: The British Academy/Oxford University Press, 2012), 118–19.

¹⁴ Peter Schäfer, ed., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1981), 5. A shorter variant version is published in Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 75.

ישמעאל אמרתי לו למטטרון מפני מה אתה נקרא בשם קונך בשבעים שמו' ואתה גדול מכל השרים וגבוה מכל המלאכים וחביב מכל המשרתים ונכבד מכל הצבאים ורב מכל האדירים במלוכה ובגדולה ובכבוד ומפני מה קורין אותך בשמי מרומים נער השיב ואמר לי מפני שאני הוא חנוך בן ירד שכשחטאו בני דור המבול וסרחו במעשיהם ואמרו לאל סור ממנו שני' ויאמרו לאל סור ממנו ודעת דרכיך לא תפצנו נטלני ה'ביה' מביניהם להיות עד עליהם בשמי מרום לכל באי העולם כדי שלא יאמרו רחמן אכזרי הוא מה חטאו כל אותן האוכלוסין נשיהם בניהם ובנותיהם סוסייהם פרדיהם מקניהם וקנינים וכל עופות שהיו בעולם שאבדן ה'ביה' עמהם בימי המבול מה העולם יאמרו אם הללו דור המבול חטאו בהמה וחיה ועופות מה חטאו שספו עמהם לפיכך העלני ה'ביה' בחייהם לעיניהם לשמי מרום להיות עד עליהם לע'ה חיוני ה'ביה' במרום לשר ולגיד בין מלאכי השרת.

R. Ishmael said: At that time I queried the angel Metatron, the Prince of the Presence.¹⁵ I said to him, "What is your name?" He answered me, "I have seventy names which correspond to the seventy languages spoken in the world, and each one of them is based upon the name of the King (Who is) the King of Kings. However, my Sovereign calls me 'Youth' (*na'ar*)."¹⁶

R. Ishmael said: I asked Metatron, "For what reason are you named after the name of your Creator with seventy names? Inasmuch as you are greater than all the other princes and higher than all the other angels and more beloved than all the other ministrants and more honored than the other hosts and mightier than all the other distinguished ones, why then do they call you 'Youth' in the high heavens?" He responded by saying to me: "Because I am (actually) Enoch b. Yared. When the Flood-generation acted sinfully and committed corrupt deeds and said to God, 'Depart from us!' as scripture attests, "They say to God, "Leave us alone! We do not want to learn Your ways!" (Job 21:14),¹⁷ the Holy One, blessed be He, took me from among them to be a witness against them in the high heavens for (the sake of) all the future inhabitants of the world. (This has been done) so that they (i.e., the future inhabitants) might not say "The Merciful One is (actually) cruel! How did all those (different) groups act sinfully? Did their wives, their sons, their daughters, their horses, mules, cattle, and other livestock, as well as all the birds which were in the world, (also act sinfully), those whom the Holy One, blessed be He, destroyed with them at the time of the Flood? Even should the world admit that those of the generation of the Flood acted sinfully, what was the transgression of the cattle, wild animals, and birds?"¹⁸ For this reason the Holy One, blessed be He, visibly took me up to the high heavens while they were still alive in order to be a

¹⁵ "Métatron porte fréquemment ce titre dans *III Hénoch*." Quoted from Charles Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch, ou, Livre de palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989), 80.

¹⁶ For possible explanations of this designation, see Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (3 vols; Oxford: The Littman Library, 1989), 628–9; Gary A. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *JJTP* 6 (1997): 131–2; Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 133–6. Note also the bibliographical references provided by Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), 170–1 n. 87.

¹⁷ For the narratological placement of Job 21:7–15 in the context of the Flood generation, see John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 187–8.

¹⁸ Note already *b. Sanh.* 108a: אס אדם חטא בהמה מה חטאו. This particular objection against God's seemingly indiscriminate destruction of organic life during the Flood appears in the polemical questions of the ninth-century Jewish heretic Ḥiwi al-Balkhi. See Israel Davidson, *Saadia's Polemic against Ḥiwi al-Balkhi: A Fragment Edited from a Genizah MS* (New York: The Jewish Theological

witness against them in the World to Come.¹⁹ The Holy One, blessed be He, joined me to the ministering angels in the heavenly height as a prince and a leader.”²⁰

Otiyyot de Rabbi ‘Aqiva (ed. Jellinek):²¹

אלף אמר הקב"ה א"י ברה"י ליקחתי פ"קדתי למטטרון עבדי שהוא אחד אחד מכל בני מרומי כלם איברתי בדורו של אדם הראשון וכיון שהסתכלתי בבני דור המבול שהם מקלקלים ובאמי סילקתי שכניתי מבנייהם ועליתי בקול שופר ובתרועה למרום שנא' עלה אלקים בתרועה יי' בקול שופר ולקחתי להנוך בן ירד מבנייה' העליתיו בקול שופר ובתרועה למרום להיות לי לעד עד ד' חיות שבמרכבה לעולם הבא פקדתי על כל נגים ואוצרות שיש לי בכל רקיע ורקיע ומפתחי כל אחד ואחד מסרתי בידי ושמתיו שר על השרים ועשיתי משרת לכסא כבוד [ושמתיו על] היכלי ערבות לפתוח לו דלתותיה' וכסא הכבוד לסלסל ולסדר חיות הקדש לקשור בראשם כתרים ואופני הדר לכתור להם עוז וכבוד כרובי הוד הלהבישם הדר חיקי זוהר להזכירם וזו זוהר שרפי להבה להתעספם גאון השמלי אורה להתארום נהורא בכל שחר ושחר להכין לי מושב בשבתי על כסאי בכבוד ויקר לראות כבודי במרום עויד ברי' עליוני' וברד' תחתונים רוממתי עליכם רום קומתו בתוך כל רמי הקומות שבעת אלפים פרסאות גדלתי כסאו מהוד כסאי והרבותי כבודו מהוד כבודי הפכתי בשרו ללפיד אש וכל עצמות גופו לגחלי אור שמתו מראוי כמראה בזק ואור עפעפי כאור לא נעדר הבהקתי פניו באור זיו השמש וזוהר עיניו כזיו כסא כבוד שמתו לבושו כבוד הוד והדר וכסות מעילו פאר ובאוה ועוז כליל כתר מלכות של חמש מאות על חמש מאות פרסה ונתתי עליו מהודי ומהדרי ומזוי כבודי שעל כסא הכבוד קראתיו בשמי י"דו"ד הקטן שר הפנים וידוע רזים וכל רז ורז גליתי לו באהב וכל סוד וסוד הודעתי כאשר קבעתי כסאו בפתח היכלי מבחוץ לישב ולעשות דין וכל פמליא שלי שבמרום וכל שר ושר העמדותי לנגדו ליטול רשות לעשות לו רצונו.

Aleph. The Holy One, blessed be He said: "I fortified him (א),²² I took him (ב), I appointed him (ג)"²³ to be Metatron, my servant, who is the most distinguished of all the beings inhabiting the supernal heights. I fortified him during the generation of Adam the Protoplast, but when I discerned that the members of the generation

Seminary, 1915), 52–3; Judah Rosenthal, "Ḥiwi al-Balkhi: A Comparative Study," *JQR* 38 (1947–8): 323.

¹⁹ In light of *m. Sanh.* 10.3, Alexander is probably correct in interpreting this expression as a reference to the postdiluvial age. Cf. also *Jub.* 4:24; 10:17.

²⁰ Compare Philip S. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:258; Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch*, 101–2; Joseph Dan, ed., *The Heart and the Fountain: An Anthology of Jewish Mystical Experiences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 65–6. For the final sentence, see *Idel, Ben*, 135.

²¹ Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur* (6 vols; Leipzig, 1853–77; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938), 2:114–15, under the rubric "Sefer Ḥanokh," but later recognized by him as part of the *Otiyyot*. This anthology is henceforth indicated as Jellinek, *BHM*. See also Jellinek, *BHM* 3:xxv n. 3; 6:xxxiii, and note the slightly variant versions published by Shlomo Aharon Wertheimer, *Midrash 'Otiyyot de-Rabbi 'Aqiva ha-shalem* (Jerusalem: Y. D. Frumqin, 1914), 10–11, and in Margaliot, *Ma'akey 'elyon*, 75. Compare 3 *Enoch* §§72–3 (*Synopsis* [ed. Schäfer], 36; cf. also §295 and §405); Ḥanokh Albeck, ed., *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (Jerusalem: Mekitze Nirdamim, 1940), 27.7–28.4; *Batey Midrashot* (ed. Wertheimer), 2:351–2, and see the comments of Philip S. Alexander, "Appendix: 3 Enoch," *apud* Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. edn; 3 vols in 4; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), 3/1:272; David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988), 417; *Idel, Ben*, 126–30.

²² See Moshe Idel, "Enoch Is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 226 n. 20.

²³ The first letter of each of these three words spell out the name of the Hebrew letter *aleph*.

of the Flood were behaving ever more corruptly,²⁴ I took up My Shekinah from among them,²⁵ and I ascended with the sound of the *shofar* and a trumpet blast to the celestial realm, as Scripture attests: "God ascended with a trumpet blast; the Lord (went up) with the sound of the *shofar*" (Ps 47:6).²⁶

I took him; i.e., Enoch b. Yared, from among them and brought him up with the sound of the *shofar* and with a trumpet blast to the celestial realm to be a witness for Me with²⁷ the four creatures of the Chariot to the World to Come.²⁸ I appointed him to be over all My treasuries and storehouses in each level of heaven, and I handed over into his charge the keys to each one,²⁹ and I made him ruler over all the (angelic) princes. I made him an attendant to the Throne of Glory. [I appointed him over]³⁰ the palaces of 'Araboth to open their doors; over the Throne of Glory to adorn and order it;³¹ over the holy creatures to tie crowns on their heads; over the magnificent *ofannim* to crown them with strength and glory; over the splendid cherubim to clothe them with magnificence; over the shining sparks to announce their shining radiance; over the fiery seraphim to cloak them with majesty; over the glitters of light to gird them with luminescence each and every morning; in order to prepare Me a place to sit when I sit down upon My Throne in glory and honor, (and) to display My glory in the celestial height [and] My power over supernal and lower mysteries.

I raised the height of his stature seven thousand³² *parasangs* over yours, among all those who have tall statures. I amplified his throne using some splendor from My Throne, and I augmented his glory from the splendor of My Glory.³³ I transformed his flesh into flames of fire,³⁴ and all the bones of his body became glowing coals.

²⁴ Compare *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 27.8: שהם מקולקלים ורעים "for they were corrupt and wicked." Replace ובאים with ורעים? Alexander suggested emending ובאים to ובאו.

²⁵ Compare *I En.* 42:1–2, and note the important observations of Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (trans. Allan Arkush; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 163–6.

²⁶ Compare *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 1.1 (ed. Mandelbaum, 2); 3 *Enoch* §§7–8 (ed. Schäfer).

²⁷ Read עַם for עַד. ²⁸ See Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 4.16.2.

²⁹ See Zohar 1.37b; 1.56b.

³⁰ Philip S. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:311 suggests this emendation.

³¹ Move לו from preceding clause to here. ³² Some versions read "seventy thousand."

³³ The first two sentences of this paragraph are quoted in a slightly variant form by the tenth-century Karaite scholar Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Qirqisāni in the section of his *Kitāb al-anwār* ("Book of Lights") where he criticizes Rabbanite anthropomorphic credulity. The passage there reads as follows: "It is said in the *Alphabet of Aqiba* that the great and glorious Creator said: 'I have taken Enoch the son of Jared and I have exalted his standing above you among all those of high standing: seventy thousand *parasangs* have I magnified his throne above mine and I have made his dignity more abundant than my own'" (Leon Nemoj, ed., *Kitāb al-anwār wa'l-marāqib* [5 vols; New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1939–43], 1.4.2 [31.15–32.1]; translation is that of Wilfrid Lockwood from Bruno Chiesa and Wilfrid Lockwood, eds, *Yaqub al-Qirqisani on Jewish Sects and Christianity* [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984], 124). Qirqisāni subtly tweaks the syntax of the Hebrew text to generate a blasphemous comparative statement. See also Philip S. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28 (1977): 158–9; Philip S. Alexander, "Appendix: 3 Enoch," 274.

³⁴ Compare *Tiqquney ha-Zohar* §70 fol. 119b: וְהָיָה בְּשָׂרָא דְּהָאֵשׁ לְפָנֵי אֵשׁ "this is the Enoch whose flesh was transformed into flame(s) of fire." Text cited from Margalioth, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 73–4.

I made his appearance like that of lightning and the light flashing from his eyelids like "a light that does not fail" (Zeph 3:5). I brightened his face with the shining light of the sun, and the luminosity of his eyes was like the luster of the Throne of Glory.³⁵ I made his garment splendidly glorious and majestic and his covering cloak exalted and distinguished and strong. [I placed on his head]³⁶ a circular royal crown measuring five hundred by five hundred *parasangs*, and I endowed him with some of My splendor, majesty, and luminescent glory which is on My Throne of Glory. I addressed him with My name, the "lesser YHWH," Prince of the Presence and Knower of Mysteries.³⁷ I revealed to him every mystery in love, and each and every esoteric secret I communicated to him. I established his throne outside the entrance of My palace so that he might sit and pronounce judgment, and My entire company in the celestial height and every prince I made stand before him to procure permission to act for him in accordance with³⁸ his will.³⁹

Pseudo-Ben Sira recension A 22 (ed. Yassif):⁴⁰

ולא עוד אלמלאכי השרת מזועזעין מפניו הנוך זה מסטרון ושבעים שמות יש לו.

And not only this (boon did he receive⁴¹), but even the ministering angels tremble in his presence, for this Enoch became Metatron, and he acquired seventy names.⁴²

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):⁴³

כי לקח אותו אלהים ורבנן אמרי חנוך היה תחלה לצדיקים אמר ה"ה כל דורו רשעים וזה השלים אחרי אף אני אעשנו דוגמה מה עשה ה"ה נטלו מבני אדם וחדשו גוף של אש ושם שמו מסטרון ועשה לו כסא של אש כנגד כסאו וכמה שעורו של אותו הכסא מ' אלפים רבבות פרסאות של אש ובכל יום יום יושב על אותו כסא פעם אחת ביום בשעה שכותב זכיותיהם של ישראל ומסר לו ה"ה ע' מלאכים כנגד ע' האומות ופקד לו כל פמליא של מעלה וכל פמליא של מטה ומסר לו חכמה ובינה יותר מכל המלאכים ועשה לו גדולה יותר מכל מלאכי השרת.

"For God took him" (Gen 5:24). The Sages say (that) Enoch was the first of the righteous ones. The Holy One, blessed be He, said: "The whole of his generation is wicked, but this one is completely devoted to Me. Hence I will make him an example!" What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He removed him from human society and renovated him, (giving him) a body of fire,⁴⁴ and renamed his

³⁵ Compare *1 En.* 106:2, 5, 10; 1QapGen 5.12–13. ³⁶ So *Bereshit Rabbati* version.

³⁷ Compare *Bereshit Rabbati*, p. 270. ³⁸ Move כאשר to here?

³⁹ Compare Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:311–12.

⁴⁰ Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle-Ages: A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 254. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 5.

⁴¹ i.e., immortality.

⁴² Compare the text of *Pseudo-Ben Sira* recension B: ממונן השרת מתייראין ממנו "Now he is an angel whom all the ministering angels hold in awe." Text from Yassif, *Tales of Ben Sira*, 254.

⁴³ *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 26.25–27.7; cf. also Margalioth, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 74–5.

⁴⁴ Compare *2 En.* 22:8–10, especially verse 10: "And I looked at myself, and I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference." Translation is cited from that of F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:138. Note also 3 *Enoch* §19 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer): "As soon as the Holy One, blessed be He, took me in (His) service to attend the Throne of Glory and the wheels of the *Merkaba* and the needs of the *Shekina*, forthwith my flesh was changed into flames, my sinews into flaming fire, my bones into coals of burning juniper, the

name Metatron and fashioned for him a fiery throne corresponding to His own fiery throne. The height of that throne is as much as forty thousand myriad *para-sangs* of fire. Each and every day he sits upon that throne (for) a time each day when he records the merits of Israel.⁴⁵ The Holy One, blessed be He, gave him seventy angels corresponding to the seventy nations, and He charged him with the supervision of the celestial retinue and the lower retinue. He endowed him with wisdom and understanding superior to that of all (the other) angels, and He made him to be greater than all the ministering angels.

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):⁴⁶

ולא עוד אלא שבכל יום ויום יושב חנוך בן ירד ששמו מטטרון ג' שעות בשמי מרום ונוטל כל הנשמות של קטנים שמתו על חומשי תורה ומביאן תחת כסא הכבוד ומושיבין כתות תרות תבורות תבורות אגודות אגודות סביבות פניו ומלמדן תורה וחכמה ואגדה ושמעיה ומסיים להם [ספר] תורה שנאמר את מי יורה דעה וגו' עתיקי משדים.

And not only this, but each and every day Enoch b. Yared, whose name is Metatron, sits for three hours in the heavenly heights, and takes all the souls of the children who died while still engaged in elementary Torah study and brings them beneath the Throne of Glory. He seats them in different groups, companies, and factions all around facing him, and he teaches them Torah, wisdom, story, and tradition, and thus brings their Torah study to a proper conclusion, as it has been expressed in Scripture: "To whom will he teach knowledge, and who will he make understand tradition? The ones weaned from milk, the ones taken away from breasts!" (Isa 28:9).⁴⁷

Midrash 'Aggadah (ed. Buber):⁴⁸

ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים לפי שהיה צדיק הקב"ה לקחו מבני אדם ועשה אותו מלאך והוא מטטרון.

"Then he was no more, for God took (לקח) him" (Gen 5:24). Because he was righteous, the Holy One, blessed be He, removed him from human society and made him an angel; namely, Metatron.⁴⁹

light of my eyelids into splendor of lightnings, my eyeballs into firebrands, the hair of my head into hot flames, all my limbs into wings of burning fire, and the whole of my body into glowing fire." Translation cited from Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 627.

⁴⁵ Compare *Jub.* 4:23–4. Note especially *b. Hag.* 15a: רשותא למיתב למיתב וכוחא דישורא.

⁴⁶ *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 28.13–17. See also 'Otiyyot de-Rabbi 'Aqiva in *Batey Midrashot* (ed. Wertheimer), 2:353.5–11 for a slightly more expansive text.

⁴⁷ Metatron's role as a tutor for children who tragically die before they can complete their elementary education is already a talmudic trope. See *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 3b and the other primary source references in John C. Reeves, "Metatron as Apocalyptic Persona," in John C. Reeves, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postrabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 180; Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 105–6.

⁴⁸ Salomon Buber, ed., *Midrash 'Aggadah 'al hamishah humshey torah: Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch nach einer Handschrift aus Aleppo* (2 vols; Vienna: Abraham Fanto, 1894), 1:15.1–2; also Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 76. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise."

⁴⁹ See *Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 5:24; 3 *Enoch* §§4–5 (ed. Schäfer); 'Otiyyot de R. 'Aqiva (Jellinek, *BHM* 2:114–15); *Pseudo-Ben Sira A 22* (ed. Yassif); *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 26.25–27.7.

Sidrey de-Shimmusha Rabba (ed. Scholem):⁵⁰

בהיכלא שחיתאנה חנוך דאתלבש בלבוש זיוא דנהורא ושני שמיא וגופיה ושמיא מטטרון כשם רביה.

In the sixth palace is Enoch,⁵¹ clothed in a resplendent garment of light. He (i.e., God) changed his name and his body, and He re-named him Metatron, a name corresponding to that of his Lord.

Ms. Oxford 1811 fol. 93b (ed. Idel):⁵²

בהיכל ששי חנוך דאתלבש בלבוש זיוא דנהורא ושינה שמו וגופו ושמו מטטרון כשם רבו.

In the sixth palace is Enoch, clothed in a resplendent garment of light. He (i.e., God) changed his name and his body, and his name became Metatron, (a name) corresponding to that of his Lord.

Ms. British Library Hebr. 746 fol. 108b–109a (ed. Scholem):⁵³

קבלנו כי מטטרון שר הפנים ששמו כשם רבו הוא חנוך בן ירד וכן אמרו בברא' רבא ובהיכלות והוא שהיה הדור השביעי לאדם כי הקב"ה חבב השביעיות כמו השבת והעולם הבא ושאריתן בעבור אור השבעה ספירות שהוא צדק [?] בעולם הזה חוכה חנוך לכך מפני מעשי אנוש הרשע דורו שהיו מכחישי פמליא של מעלה בכשפים והוא קנא גדולה לשם ובסלן בכה השמות ובהשבעות שאמר והבדילו הקב"ה מחביריו והשליט נשמתו על גופו ונהפך בשרו ללפיד אש ונעשה מלאך והשליטו הקב"ה על פמליא של מעלה ושל מטה והוא מקבל ממדת הדין של מטה וכתוב ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים והוא שר העולם והוא כלול ממדותיו של הקב"ה ושמו כשם רבו ה' הקטן ושמתיו שעליו נרמו וצדיק יסוד עולם בשביל צדיק אחד העולם מתקיים והוא חנוך בן ירד.

We have received a tradition that Metatron, the Prince of the Presence whose name is like the Name of his Lord, is Enoch b. Yared. Thus do they say in *Genesis Rabbah* (*sic!*) and in the *Hekhalot* (literature). He was the one who belonged to the seventh generation after Adam. Now the Holy One, blessed be He, has a fondness for the number seven,⁵⁴ as for example, the Sabbath and the World to Come and their residue due to the light of the seven <th of the (?)> *sefirot* which is the planet

⁵⁰ Gershom Scholem, "Sidrey de-Shimmusha Rabba," *Tarbiz* 16 (1945): 196–209, updated and reprinted in Esther Liebes, ed., *Devils, Demons and Souls: Essays on Demonology by Gershom Scholem* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004), 124–5. Note also Jellinek, *BHM* 6:111.12–21. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch/Idris/Metatron Is Raised to the Sixth Heaven."

⁵¹ Note Ṭabarsī, *Tafsir* to Q 19:56–7 which similarly situates Idris in the sixth heaven. Most *miṣrāj* traditions locate him in the fourth heaven.

⁵² *Apud* Scholem, "Sidrey de-Shimmusha Rabba," in Scholem, *Devils* (ed. Liebes), 144. This is a partially "hebraized" version of the preceding testimony. The full citation of this source is in Chapter 5 under the rubric "Enoch/Idris/Metatron Is Raised to the Sixth Heaven."

⁵³ Gershom Scholem, *Rēshit ha-Qabbalah (1150–1250)* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1948), 252–3. This work is characterized by Idel (*Ben*, 647) as a thirteenth-century non-Ashkenazi kabbalistic anthology. For further information, see the detailed description in G[eorge]. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part III, Section I: Kabbalah* (London: British Museum, 1909), 24.

⁵⁴ See also *Sefer Yeşirah* §42 (Hayman, 139–40); Gershom G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd edn; New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965), 66 n. 5. Citations from *Sefer Yeşirah* rely upon A. Peter Hayman, *Sefer Yeşira: Edition, Translation and Text-Critical Commentary* (TSAJ 104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

Jupiter (?). Enoch merited such (a boon) on account of the deeds of the wicked Enosh and his generation, for they were weakening the celestial retinue with magical spells, but he exercised tremendous zeal for the sake of God and he neutralized them via the power of the names and the adjurations which he invoked.⁵⁵ Then the Holy One, blessed be He, separated him from his fellows, granted his soul authority over his body, transformed his flesh into flames of fire, and he was made into an angel. The Holy One, blessed be He, placed him in charge of the celestial retinue and over what lies below, and he receives (the verdicts?) from the lower Attribute of Stern Judgment. And it is written about him: "and he was no more, for God took him" (Gen 5:24). He is the Prince of the World and he is included among the Attributes of the Holy One, blessed be He. His name is like the Name of his Lord; (namely), the lesser YHWH. And I have heard that (the verse) "a righteous one (is) the foundation of the world" (Prov 10:25) alludes to him: the world endures on account of one righteous individual, and this is Enoch b. Yared.⁵⁶

Sefer ha-Ḥesheq §30 (ed. Epstein):⁵⁷

... ובג' תורה להודיע שהוא נולד מורע אדם וחיה שהוא חנוך בן ירד ואב ואם היה לו כבשר ודם ... חנוך הצדיק נעשה מלאך ועלה לרקיע ברוח סערה גדולה והסבילו בנהר דינור ונעשה כלו אש.

... and in gematria (the same value as) Eve to indicate that he (i.e., Metatron) was born from the seed of Adam and Eve, for he is Enoch b. Yared, and he had a father and a mother like mortal beings ... For Enoch the righteous was made an angel. He ascended to the firmament in a great wind storm,⁵⁸ and He made him bathe in the river of fire, and the whole of him was made fiery.⁵⁹

Sefer ha-Ḥesheq §59 (ed. Epstein):⁶⁰

יהיה והיה בג' ב"ן לפי שהיה אדם שהוא חנוך בן ירד ובג' בכ"ל לפי שהוא סובל את העולם כלו והוא נשען באצבע הקב"ה ורמז בו השם הנכבד שני פעמים עשרים וששה גם בג' אליהו גם יהוא"ל גם כל"ב לפי שהוא לב של עולם גם כל השמות רמוזים הם שהוא ממונה על התורה והתורה מתחיל בב' וסיימו בלמ"ד הם אותיות ל"ב מורה על ל"ב נתיבות ההכמה שבו נברא העולם כדאיתא בס"י והוא שר העולם.

YHWH WHYH, (which) in gematria is equivalent to BN (*ben*), because he (i.e., Metatron) was a man, for he was Enoch *ben* Yared. And (its equivalent) in *gema-*

⁵⁵ i.e., the magical incantations wielded by the righteous Enoch effectively countered those utilized by his wicked contemporaries. See Moshe Idel, "Adam and Enoch According to St. Ephrem the Syrian," *Kabbalah* 6 (2001): 192.

⁵⁶ See also Idel, *Ben*, 647.

⁵⁷ Yitzhaq Meir Epstein, ed., *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq 'al shemot Metatron šar ha-panim* ... (Lemberg: S. L. Kugel, Lewin & Comp., 1865), 4b. On this work, see Joseph Dan, "The Seventy Names of Metatron," in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1981), 3:19–23; reprinted in Joseph Dan, *Jewish Mysticism* (4 vols; Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1998–9), 1:229–34; also Daniel Abrams, "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Metatron in the Godhead," *HTR* 87 (1994): 301–5, esp. 302–3 n. 39; Idel, *Ben*, 248 n. 18. Idel identifies this work's author as R. Nehemiah ben Shlomo the Prophet, whose *floruit* is the early decades of the thirteenth century.

⁵⁸ Cf. *1 En.* 14:8; 39:3.

⁵⁹ See Moshe Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2005a), 63 n. 62.

⁶⁰ *Sefer ha-Ḥesheq* (ed. Epstein), 7b–8a.

tria is BKL (*be-kol*), because he bears the *entire* world, and he is supported by the finger of God. And two times twenty-six points to the Ineffable Name, also in *gematria* (it equals the numerical value of the name) Elijah, also (the angelic name) Yaho'el,⁶¹ also KLB (*ke-lev*),⁶² because it is the *heart* of the world. Indeed all the Names are indicated, because he is appointed over the Torah, and the Torah begins with the letter *beth* and ends with the letter *lamed*. These letters *lamed-beth* form a guide to the thirty-two paths of wisdom by which the world was created according to *Sefer Yeşirah*,⁶³ and he is the prince of the world.⁶⁴

Zohar *Ḥadash*, *Terumah* fol. 42d (ed. Margaliot):⁶⁵

הה"ד ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים ואיננו בהאי עלמא כדקא הוה בהאי עלמא כי לקח אותו אלהים לדיקנא אחרא בהאי איהו גער תדיר ורוא דא אוקימנא חנוך לנער על פי דרכו לאנהאט עלמין כלהו גם בי יוקין לא יסור ממנה דהא תדיר אשתכח ביה ואתהדר גער בחנוך אתכליל דיקנא דעלמא טמירא איהו כורסייא דמאריה עביד שליחן בעלמא כד עלמה בדינה נפק ואיקרי מטטרו"ן רבון על כל חיילין עלאין וסבא איהו גער עאל מעלמא לעלמא ואחישבא רוגוא.

As it is written (in Scripture): "And he was no more, because God took him" (Gen 5:24): "and he was no more" signifies "in this world"; "and he was no more" means "as he existed in this world." "Because God took him" means "(he became) another image"; in that (world) he is permanently a youth. This secret we found (in the verse): "Enoch became a youth following His way" (Prov 22:6) (so as) to conduct all the worlds.⁶⁶ "Even should he grow old, he will not deviate from it" (ibid.): Behold, he is permanently found in it, and he reverted to a youth. In Enoch is contained the form of the hidden world. He is the throne of his Lord. He was made (one of the messengers) for the world. When the world is (under the attribute of) judgment, Metatron goes forth and is called "the leader over all the celestial armies."⁶⁷ The old man who is a youth goes from one world to another, and the anger subsides.⁶⁸

⁶¹ For the identification of Enoch-Metatron with Yaho'el/Yoel, see Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edn; repr., New York: Schocken, 1978), 68–70. The names "Yaho'el" and "Elijah" are anagrams when spelled in Hebrew characters.

⁶² All of these ciphers add up to 52, or 26 x 2.

⁶³ *Sefer Yeşirah* §1 (Hayman, 59–64) as interpreted in *Sefer ha-Bahir* §43 (Abrams, 140–1) and §75 (Abrams, 162–3). Citations from *Sefer ha-Bahir* rely upon the semi-diplomatic text of the edition of Ms. Munich 209 (which was copied in 1298) prepared by Daniel Abrams, *The Book Bahir: An Edition Based on the Earliest Manuscripts* (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 1994), 118–227.

⁶⁴ Compare however *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), §§47, 56 which seem to differentiate this particular "prince" from Metatron. See also Moshe Idel, *Messianic Mystics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 50; Moshe Idel, *Ben*, 199.

⁶⁵ Reuven Moshe Margaliot, ed., *Sefer Zohar Ḥadash* (repr., Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 2002), 84. The full citation of this source is found in this chapter, under the rubric "Reincarnation" of Adam."

⁶⁶ See Zohar 2.179a. ⁶⁷ See p. 298.

⁶⁸ See also Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 627; Idel, *Ben*, 411–12; and especially Zohar 2.277a–b. Idel calls attention to this passage's affinities with 2 *Enoch* and suggests that the availability of this work in a Semitic language version may explain these parallels.

Tiqquneq ha-Zohar §70 fol. 137a (ed. Margalio):⁶⁹

דבר אחר זה ספר תולדות אדם דא ספרא דחנך נער דעליה אתמר ויהלך חנך את האלהים ואינו כי לקח אותו אלהים.

Another opinion: "This is the book of the generations of Adam" (Gen 5:1). This is the *Book of Enoch* the youth,⁷⁰ about whom it was said: "And Enoch walked with God, and then he was (here) no more, for God took him" (5:24).

EXCURSUS: PASSAGES FEATURING METATRON
AS THE "LESSER YHW(H)"

Peter Schäfer has strangely asserted "[t]he title *YHWH ha-qatan* is unique to 3 Enoch and needs to be explained first and foremost within the parameters of the historical setting of 3 Enoch";⁷¹ be that as it may, it is manifestly not the case that the rubric of the "lesser YHWH" is limited to so-called 3 *Enoch*. The following list brings together a select number of primary sources which either explicitly or implicitly utilize this same title.

Pistis Sophia 1.7 (ed. Schmidt):⁷²

אֲנִי נְתִירִי עֵינִי עִבְדֵי עֶמְתֵי נְנִירְכָּוֹן נְתֵסְפָּירָא אִי־
פִּינֵי נְגָבֵרִינָא פַּגְגֵּלוֹס נְתֵ נְאִיִּוֹן אֲנִי מְפֹּרְסֹוֹן נְסִי נְאִירְכָּוֹן
נְנִירְכָּוֹן אַלְלָא נֵעַמְעֵעַ נֵעַ נְפֵ אֲנֹכ נֵעַ גָּבֵרִינָא פַּגְגֵּלוֹס אֲסַפְּוֹ נֵעַ
נְתִירִי עֶמְתֵי נְנִירְכָּוֹן נְנִירְכָּוֹן אִי־פִּי־עֶסְחֵת עִבְדֵי עֶמְתֵי
תְּמִנְתְּרֹוֹמֵי זִי־תִנְ תְּכֵלְעֵי־סִי מְפֹּרְסֵי מְמִי־סְתֵרִיִּוֹן אִי־פִּינֵי נְעִי־סַבֵּעַ
תְּמִאֲלָא נְיָו־זִאֲנִינָא נְבְּאִי־סִי־תֵי־סֵי זִאֲנֵי מֵפִא־טָוֹם מְמֹוֹ אִי־סִי־נֵי נְפֹוֹסֹוֹן
עִזֹוֹיִן עֵרֹס תְּאִי־עִנְטִי־אִי־סִי־נֵי־נְטֹוֹ־תֵי־ מְפֹּרְסֵי־נִי־אֲוֹ פַּגְגֵּלוֹס נֵעַ־נֵי־נֵי
נֵעַ עִבְדֵי־פִּי־סֹוֹן נְטֵ־אֲפֹוֹסֵי־זִי־נֵי־נֵי־ אֲנִי־נֵי־נֵי־ אֲנִי־נֵי־
נֵי־בִּבְאִי־נֵי־עֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־נֵי־
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⁶⁹ Reuven Moshe Margalio, ed., *Sefer Tiqquneq ha-Zohar* (repr., Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1978), 273. Cf. Margalio, *Mal'akeq 'elyon*, 83, 90, 104, 279. The full citation of this source is found in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as the 'Reincarnation' of Adam."

⁷⁰ For this epithet, see *Zohar* 1.37b.

⁷¹ Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 324. This claim is repeated in his *Jewish Jesus*, 103.

⁷² Carl Schmidt, ed., *Pistis Sophia* (Haunia: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1925a), 12.2–13.2; Carl Schmidt, ed., *Pistis Sophia* (NHS 9; trans. Violet MacDermot; Leiden: Brill, 1978a), 12.2–13.2.

(The post-resurrection Jesus is addressing his disciples): And when I entered the world, I came into the midst of the archons of the sphere, and I assumed the form of Gabriel, the angel of the aeons. The archons of the aeons did not recognize me; they thought that I was the angel Gabriel. Now it happened that when I came into the midst of the archons of the aeons, I looked down at the world of human beings, at the command of the First Mystery. I discovered Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, before she had conceived him, and I cast into her a power which I had received from the Lesser Yao (Ἰσακὸς ὁ ἄριστος), the one who is Good, the one who is in the Middle, so that he should be able to preach before me and prepare my way and baptize with the water of forgiveness. Now that power was in the body of John. And again, in place of the soul which he was due to receive from the archons, I found the soul of the prophet Elijah among the aeons of the sphere. I took it in and I took his soul and brought it to the Maiden of Light, and she gave it to her *παράλημπτορες*.⁷³ They brought it to the sphere of the archons, and they cast it into the womb of Elizabeth. But the power of the Lesser Yao, he of the Middle, and the soul of the prophet Elijah were bound together in the body of John the Baptist.⁷⁴

3 Enoch §15 (Ms. V228; ed. Schäfer):⁷⁵

אמר ר' ישמעאל אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים מתוך אהבה שאהב אותי ה'ביה יותר מכל בני מרומים עשה לי לבוש של גאון שכל מיני מאורו(ת) קבועין בו והלבישני ועשה לי מעיל כבוד שכל מיני תאר זיו וזהר הדר קבועין בו והעט(פ)ני ועשה לי כתר מלכות שקבועין בו ארבעים וחשע אבני תאר כאור גלגל החמה שזיוו הולך בארבע(ה) רוחות ערבות רקיע ובשבעה רקיעים ובארבע רוחות העולם וקשרו על ראשי וקראני יי הקטן בפני כל פמיליאה שלו שבמרד שנאמר כי שמי בקרבו.

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angelic Prince of the Presence, said to me, "Due to the love with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved me, being more than (His love) for all the members of the heavenly heights, He made a majestic garment for me on which all kinds of luminaries were attached, and He clothed me (with it). He made a glorious cloak for me on which all kinds of ornamentation, brilliance, splendor, (and) adornment were fixed, and He wrapped me (in it). He made a royal crown for me in which forty-nine beautiful stones were set, each (of them shining) like the disc of the sun, and its brilliance shone throughout the four directions of the heaven 'Aravot,⁷⁶ and throughout the seven heavens, and throughout the four directions of the world. He fastened it upon my head, and He called me "the lesser YHWH" in the presence of His entire company in the heavenly

⁷³ i.e., "collectors." With regard to the use of this term in *Pistis Sophia*, see especially Ioan P. Couliano, *The Tree of Gnosis: Gnostic Mythology from Early Christianity to Modern Nihilism* (trans. H. S. Wiesner; San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1992), 105–7.

⁷⁴ Translation adapted from those of Schmidt-MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 12–13; Carl Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften, erster Band: Die Pistis Sophia, Die beiden Bücher des Jeü, Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk* (GCS 13; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905), 7–8; Carl Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia: Ein gnostisches Originalwerk des dritten Jahrhunderts aus dem Koptischen übersetzt* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1925b), 8–9. This passage is briefly discussed by Herrmann, "Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium," 97–8.

⁷⁵ *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 9.

⁷⁶ i.e., the seventh heavenly sphere in most Jewish cosmographies.

heights, in accordance with what is said in Scripture: "For My Name is in him" (Exod 23:21).⁷⁷

Otiyyot de Rabbi 'Aqiva (ed. Jellinek):⁷⁸

קראתיו בשמי יד"ד הקטן שר הפנים וידוע רויס וכל רז ורז גליתי לו באהב וכל סוד וסוד הודעתיו כאשר קבעתי כסא בפתח היכלי מבחין לישב ולעשות דין וכל פמליא שלי שבמרום וכל שר ושר העמדותי לנגד ליטול רשות לעשות לו רצוני.

I addressed him with My name, the "lesser YHWH," Prince of the Presence and Knower of Mysteries.⁷⁹ I revealed to him every mystery in love, and each and every esoteric secret I communicated to him. I established his throne outside the entrance of My palace so that he might sit and pronounce judgment, and My entire company in the celestial height and every prince I made stand before him to procure permission to act for him in accordance with⁸⁰ his will.⁸¹

Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wa'l-marāqib* 1.4.13 (ed. Nemoj):⁸²

وقالوا في ال حلمود ان ميسترون هو "كسן واسمه كاسم استاذة.

They say in the Talmud that Metatron is "the little Lord" and that his name is like the name of his Master.⁸³

There is of course no "talmudic" text (i.e., from the Bavli or Yerushalmi) which conjoins these two statements. Qirqisānī must have in mind a Hekhalot type text like one of those exemplified in the previous two testimonies.

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille):⁸⁴

ثم اقبل القفطي على ابن طولون فقال ايها الامير هولاء يزعمون واثار الى اليهودى ان الله تعالى خلق آدم على صورته وعن نبي من انبيائهم سماه له في كتابه انه رآه في بعض الايام ابيض الرأس واللحية وان الله تعالى قال انى انا النار المحرقة والحمى الاكلة وانا الذى اخذ الابناء بذنوب الاباء ثم في توراتهم ان بنات لوط سقيته الخمر حتى سكر وزنا بهن وحملن منه وولدن وان موسى

⁷⁷ See also P[hilip S]. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:265. Further references to Metatron as the "lesser YHWH" in manuscripts of 3 *Enoch* occur in *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), §§73, 76, 295, and 405.

⁷⁸ Jellinek, *BHM* 2:114–15, under the rubric "Sefer Hanokh," later recognized by him as part of the 'Otiyyot (*BHM* 3:xxv n. 3; 6:xxxxiii), and note the slightly variant versions published by Wertheimer, *Midrash 'Otiyyot de-Rabbi 'Aqiva*, 10–11, and in Margalio, *Malakey 'elyon*, 75. Compare 3 *Enoch* §§72–3 (*Synopse* [ed. Schäfer], 36; cf. also §295 and §405); *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 27.7–28.4, and see the comments of Alexander, "Appendix: 3 Enoch," 3/1:272; Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 417; Idel, *Ben*, 126–30. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

⁷⁹ Compare *Bereshit Rabbati*, p. 270.

⁸⁰ Move כאשר here?

⁸¹ Compare Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:311–12.

⁸² Qirqisānī, *K. al-anwār wa'l-marāqib* (ed. Nemoj), 1:35.9–10.

⁸³ Leon Nemoj, "Al-Qirqisānī's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA* 7 (1930): 355.

⁸⁴ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar: Les Prairies d'or* (9 vols; ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille; Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861–77), 2:389.7–390.5; 390.10–391.4. The final paragraph about Metatron also appears in Ibn Ḥazm; see p. 269.

رد على الله تعالى الرسالة مرتين حتى اشتد غضب الله عليه وان هارون صنع العجل الذي عبده بنو اسرائيل وان موسى اظهر معجزات لفرعون فعلت السحرة مثلها . . . ثم الاكبر من قولهم وكفرهم في يوم عيد الكفور وهو يوم الاستغفار وذلك لعشر يخلو من تشرين الاول ان الرب الصغير ويسمونه ميططرون يقوم في هذا اليوم قائما وينتف شعر رأسه ويقول ويلى اذا خربت بيتي وايتمت بنتي وقامتى منكسة لا ارفعها حتى ابني بيتي.

Then the Copt turned toward Ibn Ṭūlūn,⁸⁵ and he said: "O, *amīr!* These (people)," and he motioned toward the Jew, "claim that God Most Exalted created Adam in His image (cf. Gen 1:26–7), and with regard to one of their prophets whose name is mentioned in His book, they say that he saw Him one day (with) white hair and a beard (cf. Dan 7:9). (They also say) that God Most Exalted said, "I am the burning fire and the consuming fever" (cf. Deut 4:24), and "I am the one who chastises the children for the sins of the parents" (cf. Exod 34:7). Moreover, in their Torah (one finds) that the daughters of Lot gave him wine until he got drunk and engaged in sex with both of them, and that they both got pregnant by him and gave birth (cf. Gen 19:30–8); that Moses twice refused his mission until the wrath of God was kindled against him (cf. Exod 4:14); that Aaron made the calf which the Israelites worshipped (cf. Exod 32:1–4); and that Moses produced miracles before Pharaoh which the magicians then reproduced (cf. Exod 7:11, etc.)."

"But the worst of their declarations and impieties occur on the day of the festival of *Kifūr*, which is the day for seeking forgiveness and which transpires on the tenth of Tishrin al-Awwal, (when they claim) that the 'little lord' whom they call Metatron stands up on that day: standing up and pulling the hairs out of his head, he says, 'Woe is Me! For I have destroyed My house and orphaned My daughter; My stature is bent down (and) I will not raise it until I have rebuilt My house!'"⁸⁶

Gannat Bussame in Ms. Syr. Vat. 494:⁸⁷

طلسه دم بدها حياها كنهه لحدومره كونهه ملى ونسبته كونهه جودله بدها حياها
 دسلهه دكتر معاه.

I bring attention to only one (false deity): the lesser Adonai, the leader of the host of the greater Adonai, a foul error accorded worship by the Israelites.

There are some Hebrew manuscript references to a "great(er) YHWH (i.e., Adonai)."⁸⁸ A so-called "greater Yao" (πνοσ νῶλω) also appears in Coptic gnostic literature.⁸⁹ What is undoubtedly the very same entity occurs in

⁸⁵ Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (d. 884 CE), 'Abbāsīd governor of Egypt.

⁸⁶ See also Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78–9.

⁸⁷ Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* (2 vols; Paris, 1938; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1975), 2:115.22–4.

⁸⁸ See *Batey Midrashot* (ed. Wertheimer), 2:351 n. 25; Alexander, "Historical Setting," 161–2; idem, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:310.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Pistis Sophia* 2.86 (ed. Schmidt), 196.2–6; *Pistis Sophia* 4.140 (ed. Schmidt), 366.7–9; 2 *Jeu* 50 (*apud* Carl Schmidt, ed., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* [NHS 13; trans. Violet MacDermot; Leiden: Brill, 1978b], 119.16–18).

Syro-Mesopotamian “gnostic” lore as “Yah Rabba” (ܝܗ ܪܒܒܐ).⁹⁰ As Alexander notes, also relevant here is the Mandaean numen Yōrabbā (*iurba*), an entity who is usually identified as Adonai, the God of the Jews, and who is also associated with the older indigenous solar deity Šamiš.⁹¹

Severus b. al-Muqaffa', *Kitāb al-ihānī* (ed. Leroy-Grébaut):⁹²

واتقت ايضا بقولها انه يسوع المسيح راي اشمعت اليهود القايلين بادوناي قاطوا وافرقة القايلين منهم ان الملاك الذي نادا موسى وقال انا الرب على زعمهم هو الرب الذي خلق العالم.

Moreover when they say “Jesus Christ,” they guard against sharing the opinion of the *Ashma'at* (sect of) Jews who speak of the “<lesser>”⁹³ Adonai,” and of the sects among whom there are some who affirm that the angel who called out to Moses and said to him: “I am the Lord”⁹⁴—they allege that he was the Lord who created the universe.

The term *Ashma'at* along with its recognizable variants is used by some Christian and Muslim heresiologists to demarcate the “Rabbanite” (as opposed to the Karaites) community within Islamized Judaism. They are often accused by these external writers of believing that the universe was created by a separate demiurgic entity bearing the name “the lesser YHWH.”⁹⁵

Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-ḥiṣāl fi'l-milal wa'l-ahwā' wa'l-niḥal*:⁹⁶

فانهم يقولون ليلة عيد الكبور وهي العاشرة من تشرين الاول وهي اكتوبر يقوم الميطرون ومعنى هذا اللفظة عندهم الرب الصغير تعالى الله عن كفرهم قال ويقول وهو قائم ينتف شعره ويبيكي قليلا قليلا ويلى اذ خربت بيتي وايتمت بنى وبناتى فامنى منكسة لا ارفعها حتى ابني بيتي واردد اليه بنى وبناتى.

Now they say the night of the festival Kibūr, which is the tenth day of (the month) of Tishrin al-Awwal; i.e., October, Metatron stands up—according to them, this expression means “the little Lord” (God is high above such impieties!)—(and) he slowly intones, while he is standing and pulling at his hair and weeping, “Woe is

⁹⁰ Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* (CSCO 55, 69; 2 vols; ed. A[ddai]. Scher; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue, 1910–12), 2:335.15.

⁹¹ Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (2 vols; Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1905–15), 2:xxii–xxiii; Mark Lidzbarski, *Ginzā: Der Schatz, oder, Das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925), 258 n. 1; E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 191.

⁹² L. Leroy and S. Grébaut, “Sévère Ibn al-Moqaffā', évêque d'Aschmounain: Histoire des conciles (second livre),” *Patrologia Orientalis* 6 (1911): 529.3–5. With regard to this work, see Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (5 vols; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–53), 2:308–9.

⁹³ Emending the printed text's meaningless قاطوا قاطون. For some discussion of this locution, see Alexander, “Historical Setting,” 161–2.

⁹⁴ Exod 3:1–6; 6:2. For the association of Metatron with the angel who appeared to Moses on Horeb in the fire of the burning bush, see the fragment assigned to *Hekhalot Zutratī* published in *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), §341; note also the remarks of Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch*, 370–1.

⁹⁵ See especially Steven M. Wasserstrom, “Species of Misbelief: A History of Muslim Heresiography of the Jews” (PhD thesis; University of Toronto, 1985), 54–69; Steven Mark Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, 184–7.

⁹⁶ Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-ḥiṣāl fi'l-milal wa'l-ahwā' wa'l-niḥal* (5 vols in 3; [Cairo]: al-Maṭaba'ah al-Adabiyah, [1899–1903]), 1:223.11–16.

me, for I have destroyed my house and orphaned my sons and my daughters! My stature⁹⁷ is bent down, and I will not raise it until I rebuild my house and bring back my sons and daughters to it!"⁹⁸

Bereshit Rabbati (ed. Albeck):⁹⁹

ולקח את הגוך בן ירד... ונתן לו מההודו ומזו כבודו שעל כסא הכבוד וקראו בשם ה' הקטן שר הפנים
יודע רבים.

He took Enoch b. Yared... He gave him some of His majesty and some of the splendor of His glory associated with the Throne of Glory and called his name "the lesser YHWH," Prince of the Presence and Knower of Mysteries.

Ms. British Library Hebr. 746 fol. 108b–109a (ed. Scholem):¹⁰⁰

ושמו כשם רבו ה' הקטן.

His name is like the Name of his Lord; (namely), "the lesser YHWH."

Abū al-Faḍl Su'ūdī, *Muntakhab takhjiḷ man ḥarraf al-Injīl* (ed. van den Ham):¹⁰¹

ومن فضائح طائفة منهم يقال لهم الاسمعية مشبهة مجسمة يعتقدون ان خالقهم في صورة شيخ ابيض الراس والحية ويزعمون ان له في السماء الثالثة خليفة يسمونه الله الاصغر ويزعمون انه مدبر العالم.

Among the infamies of a group of theirs (i.e., Jews) called the *Asma'iyya* is *tashbih* and *tajsīm*:¹⁰² they believe that their Creator has the form of an old man, white of head and beard. They assert that He has a vice-regent in the third heaven whom they call the "lesser God," and they claim that he is the ruler of this world.

ENOCH/IDRĪS AS GRAECO-EGYPTIAN HERMES/THOTH

The coupling of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian deity Thoth can be traced as far back as the fifth century BCE.¹⁰³ Equating the resulting Hermes/Thoth amalgam with the scriptural figures of Enoch or Idrīs effectively subsumes this renowned Graeco-Egyptian intellectual and spiritual teacher within a prophetic genealogy that produces the scaffolding for important interpret-

⁹⁷ Read قامتى (as in Mas'ūdī, p. 268) instead of the printed text's قامتى.

⁹⁸ See also Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 100–1.

⁹⁹ *Bereshit Rabbati* (ed. Albeck), 27.10–28.1. See also Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 88.

¹⁰⁰ Scholem, *Rēshit ha-Qabbalah*, 253. This work is characterized by Idel (*Ben*, 647) as a thirteenth-century non-Ashkenazi kabbalistic anthology. For further information, see the detailed description in Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts*, 24. The full citation of this source appears in this chapter, under the rubric "Enoch as the Angel Metatron."

¹⁰¹ F. J. van den Ham, ed., *Disputatio pro religione Mohammedanorum adversus Christianos* (Leiden: Brill, 1890), 188.11–14.

¹⁰² i.e., anthropomorphizing and ascribing corporeality to God.

¹⁰³ Already visible in Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.138.

ative currents within certain intellectual movements within late antique and medieval Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.¹⁰⁴

It is unclear when, where, and by whom the equation between Enoch and Hermes/Thoth was first made. The latter figure's enduring connection with important cultural discoveries like the invention of writing, the publication and archiving of books featuring revelatory wisdom, astral computations, and the postmortem judgment of the dead offered a roster of accomplishments and responsibilities which exhibit a number of overlaps with those attributed to Enoch in Second Temple and Hellenistic Jewish literature.¹⁰⁵

The ultimate crystallization of the Hermes/Thoth assimilation however appears in the figure of Hermes Trismegistus, or "thrice-great Hermes," a cognomen which appears to be used for the first time in literature emanating from the second century CE.¹⁰⁶ Initially functioning as an honorific expressing praise for a famous ancient sage who mediated revelatory wisdom to human society, the adjective eventually comes to be read as a kind of coded reference to the existence of three distinct qualities, vocational offices, or even "historical" personalities, the last of which appears to be inaugurated in the ninth-century *Kitāb al-Ulūf* or *The Book of Thousands* of the Baghdādī astrologer Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī.¹⁰⁷ According to Abū Ma'shar, there were in actuality three Hermeses. The first lived before the Flood and was identical with the scriptural figures of Enoch and Idrīs. The second Hermes, an inhabitant of Babylonia, revived learning after the Flood. The third Hermes was an Egyptian physician and philosopher who cultivated medical and alchemical pursuits, and is identical with the Hermes who plays a prominent role in the literary corpus which bears his name. Another—perhaps related—way of resolving these separate identities is found in the twelfth-century (and later) prologues to Latin translations of certain Arabic alchemical and astrological treatises: in these particular testimonia, the first Hermes is Enoch, the second is the Flood-hero Noah, and the third is "Hermes Triplex," so-called "because he combined three powers which had been granted to him by the power of God" (*propter trinam virtutum collectionem, sibi videlicet a domino Deo attributam*).¹⁰⁸ This same figure also reportedly

¹⁰⁴ See the important remarks of Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 155–7.

¹⁰⁵ See especially A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* (nouvelle édition; 4 vols; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 83–104; Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge, 1986; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 22–9.

¹⁰⁶ Fowden, *Egyptian Hermes*, 216–17.

¹⁰⁷ M[artin]. Plessner, "Hermes Trismegistus and Arab Science," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 45–59, esp. 50–4; A[lexander]. Fodor, "The Origin of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (1970): 335–63, esp. 336–46; Charles S. F. Burnett, "The Legend of the Three Hermes and Abū Ma'shar's *Kitāb al-Ulūf* in the Latin Middle Ages," *JWCI* 39 (1976): 231–4.

¹⁰⁸ Robert of Chester, *Praefatio* to Morienus Romanus, *Liber de compositione alchymiae* as published in *Moriēni Romani, quondam eremitae Hierosolymitani, De transfiguratione metallorum,*

exercised the three separate vocations of a king, a philosopher, and a prophet. This Enoch-Noah-Hermes Triplex schema appears to be a tentative attempt on the part of some Western scholars¹⁰⁹ to read Abū Ma'shar's "three Hermes" through a biblically refracted lens.

Stobaei Hermeticum XXIII.5–8 (*Kore Kosmou*):¹¹⁰

τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ὁ πάντα γνοὺς Ἑρμῆς· ὃς καὶ εἶδε τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ ἰδὼν κατενόησε καὶ κατανοήσας ἴσχυσε δηλώσαι τε καὶ δεῖξαι. καὶ γὰρ ἂ ἐνόησεν ἐχάραξε καὶ χαράξας ἔκρυψε, τὰ πλεῖστα σιγήσας ἀσφαλῶς ἢ λαλήσας, ἵνα ζητῆ ταῦτα πᾶς αἰὼν ὁ μεταγενέστερος κόσμος· καὶ οὕτως τοὺς συγγενεῖς θεοὺς δορυφορεῖν ἀνάβαινον εἰς ἄστρα. ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ διάδοχος ὁ Τάτ, υἱὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ παραλήπτωρ τῶν μαθημάτων τούτων, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ Ἰμούθης, Πτανὸς καὶ Ἡφαίστου βουλαῖς, ἄλλοι τε ὅσοι τῆς οὐρανοῦ θεωρίας πιστῆν ἀκρίβειαν ἔμελλον βουλομένης τῆς πάντων βασιλίδος ἱστορήσαι προνοίας. Ἑρμῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπελογεῖτο τῷ περιέχοντι ὡς οὐδὲ τῷ παιδί παρέδωκεν ὀλοτελῆ θεωρίαν διὰ τὸ ἔτι τῆς ἡλικίας νεοειδῆς... διάγνωσις πλησίον τῶν Ὀσίριδος κρυφίων ἀποθέσθαι τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων σύμβολα, ἐπικατευξάμενον δὲ καὶ τοὺς λόγους τούσδε εἰπόντα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπελθεῖν.

ἀλλ' οὐ καθήκον ἀτελῆ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, ὦ τέκνον, ταύτην με καταλείψαι, εἰπεῖν δ' ὅσα τὰς βίβλους κατατιθέμενος ἐξείπεν Ἑρμῆς. ἐξείπε γὰρ οὕτως· "ὦ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι, τῶν ἀφθάρτων αἰ τετεύχάτε μου χειρῶν, ἃς τῷ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας φαρμάκῳ χρίσας ἐπικρατῶ, ἀσαπείς παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ ἀφθαρτοὶ διαμείνατε χρόνους, ἀθεώρητοι καὶ ἀνεύρετοι γιγνόμενα παντὶ τῷ τὰ γῆς ταύτης παροδεύειν μέλλοντι πεδία, ἄχρῃς οὐ γέρων οὐρανὸς συστήματα ὑμῶν ἄξια τεκνώσθαι, ἃς ψυχὰς ὁ δημιουργὸς προσηγόρευσε." τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὰς βίβλους καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κατευξάμενος ἔργοις ἰδίας τεμενίζεται ζῶνας.

Such a person who gained knowledge about all things was Hermes. He was one who saw all things,¹¹¹ and having seen, he understood; and having understood, he had the power to clarify and to explain. For also that which he gained knowledge about he inscribed, and then he concealed what he had inscribed, deeming silence about the greater part of these things to be safer than to speak of them, in order that each subsequent generation in the world might seek after these things.

ϕ *occulta, summaque antiquorum philosophorum medicina, libellus, nusquam hactenus in lucem editus* (Parisii: Apud Gulielmum Guillard, in via Iacobaea, sub diuae Barbarae signo, 1559), 1.

¹⁰⁹ For other occurrences of this particular schema, see Julius Ruska, "Zwei Bücher De Compositione Alchemiae und ihre Vorreden," *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* 11 (1928): 31; Theodore Silverstein, "Liber Hermetis Mercurii Triplicis de VI rerum principiiis," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 13 (1955): 247.

¹¹⁰ A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, eds, *Hermès Trismégiste: Corpus Hermeticum* (4 vols; Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1945–54), 4:2–3.

¹¹¹ Compare the "quotation" attributed to Enoch by Clement of Alexandria, *Ecl.* 2.1; also Origen, *de Princ.* 4.4.8(35); and *1 En.* 19:3.

Thereupon he ascended to the stars in order to join the gods, to whom he was akin. Meanwhile his successor was Tat,¹¹² who was both his son and the heir of those teachings. Not long afterwards came Asclepius-Imouthes,¹¹³ following the wishes of Ptah,¹¹⁴ who is also Hephaistos,¹¹⁵ and still others who, by the will of that Providence which reigns over all things, were obliged to make a careful study of the heavenly doctrine. Hermes then defended himself before what surrounded him for not transmitting the complete doctrine even to his own son, because he was still extremely young. . . . Eventually he decided to deposit these sacred symbols of the cosmic elements next to the secret relics of Osiris,¹¹⁶ and after speaking over them a prayer and saying these words, he departed to heaven.

But it is not appropriate, my son, that I should leave this report unfinished. I must tell you what Hermes said when he was depositing the books. For he spoke as follows: "O holy books which my hands have made imperishable, which have been anointed with the drug of immortality, I hold power! Stay free of rot and decay throughout all ages and times, and remain invisible and undiscovered by any who in the future pass over the plains of this land until the time when Heaven, having grown old, bears entities worthy of you, those whom the Creator has appointed souls."¹¹⁷ After saying these things to the books and making prayer to his own works, he entered the sacred enclosure of the divine beings.¹¹⁸

While the name of Enoch does not figure within this hermetic source, the description it provides of a Hermes "who saw all things" and who wrote down everything which he saw so that his son and subsequent generations might benefit from his experiences is reminiscent of the final chapters of the "Astronomical Book" (*1 Enoch* 72–82) where the relationship between Enoch and his son Methuselah is similarly depicted. The departure of Hermes "to heaven" and his apotheosis also exhibit intriguing similarities to the sudden

¹¹² i.e., the Egyptian god Thoth. See Fowden, *Egyptian Hermes*, 32–3.

¹¹³ "The original Egyptian Asclepius was Imhotep, an official of the Third Dynasty whose fame in medicine, architecture, writing, astrology, and other arts caused later generations to deify him and treat him as a son of Ptah and godson of the great Thoth." Quoted from Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation, with Notes and Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 125. See also Fowden, *Egyptian Hermes*, 32.

¹¹⁴ See the textual remarks on this passage of R[ichard]. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1904), 122; Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 3:cxxxviii n. 2.

¹¹⁵ Compare the second-century Theban horoscope quoted and discussed by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 119–20.

¹¹⁶ Such as his mummy and other objects associated with the cult of the dead. See the remarks of Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 3:clv–clvi.

¹¹⁷ For clarification, see Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 3:cxli–cxliii.

¹¹⁸ Other translations are Walter Scott, ed., *Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings Which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus* (4 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924–36), 1:459–61; Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 4:2–3; Festugière, *La révélation*, 370. A comprehensive introduction to the hermetic *Kore Kosmou* tractate is provided by Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 3:cxxvi–ccxix, of which pp. ccxv–ccxviii detail some of its affinities with "le livre d'Hénoch." S.H. XXIII.43 goes on to term Hermes the "recording secretary of the gods" (θεῶν ὑπομνηματογράφος).

removal of Enoch from human society (Gen 5:21–4) and his eventual angelomorphosis into the celestial entity named Metatron. Martin Hengel has rightly characterized the correspondences in portraiture between the Hermes of this passage and that of extra-biblical Enoch as “astonishing.”¹¹⁹

Montgomery Bowl 25 lines 3–4 (ed. Montgomery):¹²⁰

... בשום יופיאל שמך יהואל קרן לך ששנגיאל יהוה וכן ית[רת ד] שמהתון [דא] רמסה מיסטרון ית.

In the name of Yophi'el, your name is Yaho'el, they call you Shasangiel YHWH,¹²¹ and so too the rest of the names of [H]ermes (?) Metatron YH.

Several scholars have read the final words of this line as endorsing an assimilatory equation among the designations Hermes, Metatron (the angelified Enoch), and a shortened form of the four-letter name of the God of Israel. The crucial vocable “Hermes” emerges however only if we accept the restoration that was proposed by Montgomery.¹²² Scholars who have recently studied this text are much more reluctant to admit the name of Hermes to this angelic roster.¹²³

Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* 11 (ed. Scher):¹²⁴

בגמלתא מנהיגא ליהוה דמזימסא כמבא ביהוה יוהא איהו דמזימסא
 דמזימסא איהוה כמבא ביהוה יוהא איהו דמזימסא כמבא ביהוה
 איהוה יוהא איהו דמזימסא כמבא ביהוה יוהא איהו דמזימסא
 כמבא ביהוה יוהא איהו דמזימסא כמבא ביהוה יוהא איהו דמזימסא

The Chaldean (heresy) preceded the other heresies in its springing up, for Bardaisan says that Enoch was the name of its originator. However, a man whose name was Atlas, brother of Prometheus, became especially celebrated for it in the sixteenth year of the blessed Moses while he exercised guidance in the wilderness. After the return from Babylon, Ta'ūṭōsis (i.e., Thoth) became celebrated (for) the reading of horoscopes.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols; trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:215.

¹²⁰ James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1913), 207, with the emendations of J[acob]. N. Epstein, “Gloses babylo-araméennes,” *REJ* 73 (1921): 53–4; Jonas C. Greenfield, “Notes on Some Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls,” *JANESCU* 5 (1973a): 155–6; Jonas C. Greenfield, “Prolegomenon,” in Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, xxxviii–xxxix; Alexander, “Historical Setting,” 166–7.

¹²¹ Greenfield pointed to the occurrence of variant spellings of these same three names in the concluding section of *3 Enoch* (§§76–7) which lists “the seventy names” given by God to Metatron (“Prolegomenon,” xxxix). For these names, see *Synopse* (ed. Schäfer), 37–9.

¹²² Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, 208; Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 110; A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *JWCI* 27 (1964): 6; Alexander, “Historical Setting,” 166–7.

¹²³ Shaul Shaked, “Peace Be upon You, Exalted Angels’: On Hekhalot, Liturgy and Incantation Bowls,” *JSQ* 2 (1995): 201–3; Rebecca Macy Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 354–9; Christa Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 57.

¹²⁴ Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* (ed. Scher), 2:286.5–11.

¹²⁵ Translation taken from Reeves, *Heralds*, 58 n. 82.

The appearance of the Egyptian Thoth¹²⁶ in this genealogy of astrological knowledge and that character's manifold connections with Graeco-Egyptian hermeticism suggests that biblical Enoch might function here as an avatar of the antediluvian teacher Hermes. As we have seen above in the excerpt from the *Kore Kosmou*, Thoth/Tat is sometimes identified as the "son" of Hermes.¹²⁷

Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-tarbi' wa'l-tadwīr* (ed. Pellat):¹²⁸

وخبړني عن هرمس اهو ادريس؟

And tell me about Hermes: is he Idris?

The enormously popular assimilation of biblical Enoch to Graeco-Egyptian Hermes, an equation that is difficult to date with any precision, became more complicated after the promulgation of the Qur'ān. The ninth-century satirist Jāhīz articulates the anxiety which some contemporary theologians must have felt over the implications of identifying the Qur'ānic prophet Idrīs with Enoch, a connection which is also difficult to pinpoint, but which was already gaining considerable traction in *tafsīr* and chronographic literature. One scholar endorses Jāhīz's query as the "earliest reference in Islamic history that identifies Idrīs with Hermes."¹²⁹

Abū Ma'shar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār):¹³⁰

[وقال] إن الهامسة كانوا ثلاثة أما هرمس الأول وهو المثلث بالنعم فإنه كان قبل الطوفان ومعنى هرمس لقب كما يقال قيصر وكسرى وتسميه الفرس في [سيرها] اللهد وتفسيره ذو عدل وهو الذي تذكر العراقيّة بنوته وتذكر الفرس أن جده كيومرت وهو آدم وتذكر العراقيون [أنه] أخنوخ وهو بالعربية إدريس.

[And he (i.e., Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī) said] that the Hermeses are three. Now the first Hermes—who was three-times blessed—had his *floruit* before the Flood. (The name) "Hermes" signifies a title, in the same way one says "Caesar" or

¹²⁶ According to David Frankfurter, "Thoth had thus become by the Roman period the primary pseudonymous authority for diverse priestly texts, imbuing them with a kind of ultimate antiquity and secrecy"; quoted from his *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 239–40. For the significance of the Egyptian deity Thoth in late antiquity, see also Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926), 6–9; Fowden, *Egyptian Hermes*, 22–4; 57–74.

¹²⁷ D[aniel]. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (2 vols; St Petersburg, 1856; repr., Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1965), 1:780–802.

¹²⁸ Charles Pellat, *Le Kitāb al-tarbi' wa'l-tadwīr de Gāhīz* (Damas: Institut français de Damas, 1955), 26 (\$40).

¹²⁹ Hayrettin Yücesoy, "Translation as Self-Consciousness: Ancient Sciences, Antediluvian Wisdom, and the 'Abbāsīd Translation Movement,'" *Journal of World History* 20 (2009): 538–45; the quotation comes from p. 543. See also van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 155 n. 143; 167–8.

¹³⁰ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (4 vols; ed. 'Amir Najjār; Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyah al-'Ammah lil-Kitāb, 2001), 1:185.15–19; see also August Müller, ed., *Ibn Abi Useibia* (2 vols in 1; Cairo and Königsberg: al-Maṭba' al-Wahbiya, 1882–4), 1:16.24–7.

“Khusraw.” The Persians in [their biographies] term him *ʾIhjd* <read *Ōshahanj*>,¹³¹ which means “the one who is just.” He is the one whose prophetic status the Ḥarrānians mention. The Persians say that his grandfather was Kayōmart (i.e., Gayōmart), who is Adam. The Hebrews say [that he is] Enoch, and he is Idris in Arabic.¹³²

Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫ* (ed. Houtsma):¹³³

ويزعمون أن لهم نبياً مثل اوراني وعابديهون وهرمس وهو المثلث بالنعمة ويقال إنه إدريس النبي.

And they (i.e., the Roman rulers who followed the Ṣābian religion) assert that they have a prophet, such as ʾUrānī¹³⁴ and ʾAbīdimōn and Hermes, and he is three-times blessed. It is said that he is the prophet Idris.

Ibn al-Haytham, *Kitāb al-munāzarāt* (ed. Madelung and Walker):¹³⁵

ويقال إن إدريس عليه السلام هو الذي أظهر علم النجامة والحساب وإنه يسمى هرمس بلسان اليونانية.

And it is said that Idris—peace be upon him—is the one who revealed knowledge about the stars and about mathematics, and that he is named Hermes in the language of the Greeks.¹³⁶

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Aʿlām al-nubuwwah* (ed. Ṣāwī):¹³⁷

وقالوا إن هرمس المذكور في الفلاسفة هو إدريس قاسمه في الفلاسفة هرمس وفي القرآن إدريس وهذان الاسمان مشاكلان لتلك الأسماء مثل جالينوس وارسطاطليس وغير ذلك مما في آخرها سين واسمه في سائر الكتب المنزلة أخوخ.

They say that the Hermes who is mentioned among the philosophers is (the same figure as) Idris; i.e., his name among the philosophers is Hermes, but in the Qurʾān he is Idris. These two names are similar to those names which have a final *sin* like Galenus, Aristoteles, and the rest. His name in the remaining revealed scriptures is Enoch.

¹³¹ The name is corrupt in all extant versions, but it was correctly identified as Hōshang by C. F. Seybold, “Lipperts *Ibn al-Qifī*’s *Taʾriḫ al-Ḥukamāʾ*,” *ZDMG* 57 (1903): 805–10, at 807. See the discussion of van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 125 n. 14.

¹³² See also Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 1:791.

¹³³ M. T. Houtsma, ed., *Ibn Wadīh qui dicitur al-Jaʿqubi historiae ...* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1:166.3–4; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫ* (2 vols; Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960), 1:147.21–2. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

¹³⁴ For discussion of the various forms of this name and its possible referents, see van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 188–9 n. 102; Emily Cottrell, “Adam and Seth in Arabic Medieval Literature: The Mandaeen Connections in al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik’s *Choicest Maxims* (11th C.) and Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī al-Isḥrāqī’s *History of the Philosophers* (13th C.),” *Aram* 22 (2010): 509–47, at 526–30. Neither of these authors noticed Yaʿqūbī’s citation of this name, a circumstance which has implications for their respective discussions.

¹³⁵ Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker, *The Advent of the Fatimids: A Contemporary Shiʿi Witness* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 88.10–12.

¹³⁶ See also Madelung and Walker, *Advent of the Fatimids*, 138; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 169.

¹³⁷ Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Aʿlām al-nubuwwah (The Peaks of Prophecy)* (ed. Ṣalāḥ Ṣāwī; Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), 278.11–14; see also Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *The Proofs of Prophecy: A Parallel English-Arabic Text* (trans. Tarif Khalidi; Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2011), 209.11–14. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 2 under the heading “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille):¹³⁸

وقام بعده ولده اخنوخ وهو ادريس النبي عليه السلام والصابية تزعم انه هرمس ومعنى هرمس عطارد وهو الذي اخبر الله في كتابه انه رفعه مكانا عليا.

After him his child Enoch arose, and he is (the same figure as) Idrīs the prophet, upon whom be peace! The Šābians¹³⁹ maintain that he is Hermes, (the name) “Hermes” being an expression for the planet Mercury. He is the one about whom God stated in His Scripture (i.e., the Qur’ān) that He raised him “to a lofty place” (Q 19:57).

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad’ wa’l-ta’rīkh* (ed. Huart):¹⁴⁰

واسمه عند اليونانيين هرمس.

By the Greeks he (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) is named Hermes.

Rasā’il *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* (ed. Ragep-Mimura):¹⁴¹

وهكذا يحكى عن هرمس المثلث بالحكمة وهو ادريس النبي عليه السلام.

And so it is related about Hermes the thrice-endowed with wisdom—and who is the prophet Idrīs, peace be upon him.

‘Āmirī, *Kitāb al-Amad’ alā l-abad* (ed. Rowson):¹⁴²

وأما الفرس فإنهم يزعمون أن ابتداء تاريخهم أول يوم من سني آدم - وأدم عندهم كيومرث - وأن ذلك كان هرمزروز من فروردين ماه عند دخول الشمس أول الحمل ؛ وأن زرادشت الذي يدعون نبوته زعموا انه في وقت ظهوره كان قد مضى من سني آدم ثلثة آلاف سنة شمسية ؛ وأنه قد أطلق هذا القول عند ادعائه النبوة وكان ذلك عند مضي ثلثين سنة من ملك بشتاسف، ثم التواريخ من بعد بشتاسف معروفة عندهم. وزعموا أن اخنوخ - وهو الذي يسميه أهل الغرب الهرمس وأهل الإسلام إدريس قد ولد له متوشلخ - وهو جم الملك ؛ وولد لمتوشلخ في آخر عمره لامخ - وهو والد نوح -.

As for the Persians, now they claim that the beginning of their history was the first day of the years of Adam—and Adam is, according to them, Kayūmarth, and that this was Hurmuzrōz of Farwardīn Māh,¹⁴³ at the time of the first entrance of the sun into Aries. They assert moreover about Zarādusht, the one whom they claim was a prophet, that there had elapsed three thousand solar years of the years of Adam at the time of his advent. He announced this at the time when he proclaimed

¹³⁸ Mas’ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille), 1:73.1–4.

¹³⁹ The pagan inhabitants of the Mesopotamian city of Harrān.

¹⁴⁰ Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad’ wa’l-ta’rīkh* (6 vols; ed. Cl. Huart; Paris: E. Leroux, 1899–1919), 3:12.2–3. For information about this source, see the anonymous article “al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī,” *EF* 7:762; also Tarif Khalidi, “Mu’tazilite Historiography: Maqdisī’s *Kitāb al-bad’ wa’l-ta’rīkh*,” *JNES* 35 (1976): 1–12.

¹⁴¹ F. Jamil Ragep and Taro Mimura, eds, *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity, On Astronomia: An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistle 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 88.6–7. Slightly variant texts appear in Fr[iedrich]. Dieterici, ed., *Die Abhandlungen der Ikhwān es-Safā in Auswahl* (Die Philosophie der Araber im IX. und X. Jahrhundert n. Chr. 11; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1883), 121.1–2; *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ wa-khullān al-wafā’* (4 vols; Bombay: Maṭba’at Nukhbat al-Akhbār, 1887–8), 1:69.21–2. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

¹⁴² Everett K. Rowson, *A Muslim Philosopher on the Soul and its Fate: Al-‘Āmirī’s Kitāb al-Amad’ alā l-abad* (AOS 70; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1988), 66.6–12.

¹⁴³ i.e., the first day of the month Fawardin, or Nawrōz, the Iranian New Year.

his prophetic status, and that was when thirty years of the reign of Bishtāsf had elapsed.¹⁴⁴ Thereafter the histories after Bishtāsf are well known among them. They also assert that Enoch—who is the one whom the people of the West call Hermes and whom Muslims call Idris—engendered Methusaleh, he being (identical with) King Jam, and Methusaleh during the latter portion of his life engendered Lamech, who was the father of Noah.¹⁴⁵

Jam or Jamshīd is a mythical early king of Iran renowned for a number of cultural achievements. Due to his subjection of the demons and the eventual loss of his throne, he is often correlated by a number of chroniclers with the biblical Solomon,¹⁴⁶ but this is nevertheless recognized as being an impossible synchronism,¹⁴⁷ and so he is frequently discussed in universal histories in conjunction with Noah and the Flood. No other writer however explicitly identifies him with Methuselah. One might compare however the following obscure legend featuring Methuselah which apparently derives from the lost *Midrash Avkir*:¹⁴⁸

Methuselah the righteous¹⁴⁹ . . . sat fasting for three days in the waters of the Euphrates river.¹⁵⁰ He then said to the Holy One, blessed be He: “Master of the Universe! It was Your idea to create humanity in Your image and Your likeness. But now the one who was created in Your image is ruled by demons and spirits, and evil spirits afflict him!” Immediately the Holy One, blessed be He, granted power to Methuselah the righteous, and he inscribed the Ineffable Name on his sword

¹⁴⁴ The traditional date for the first appearance of Zoroaster as a prophet. Bishtāsf is the legendary Iranian ruler Vištāspa/Hystaspes. Pertinent information about him can be found in John C. Reeves, “An Enochic Citation in *Barnabas* 4:3 and the *Oracles of Hystaspes*,” in John C. Reeves and John Kampen, eds, *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (JSOTSup 184: Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994a), 276–7.

¹⁴⁵ For another translation, see Rowson, *A Muslim Philosopher*, 67.

¹⁴⁶ e.g., Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (ed. Riḍa Tajaddud; [Tehran: Maktabat al-Assadi, 1971]), 370.4–5: “It is said, but God knows best and is the most wise, that Solomon b. David was the first one to enslave the jinn and the satans and make them his servants, but according to the doctrines of the Persians, the first one who subjected them was Jamshīd b. Awanjhān (i.e., Hoshang).”

¹⁴⁷ Mario Grignaschi, “La Nihāyatu-l-‘arab fi aḥbāri-l-Furs wa-l-‘Arab: (Première partie),” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 22 (1969): 24–5.

¹⁴⁸ With regard to this midrash, see especially Salomon Buber, *Liqūṭim mi-Midrash Avkir* (Vienna: G. Breg, 1883); Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Sefer Rav Pe‘alim* (Warsaw: Halṭer va-Ayzenshtadt, 1894), 27–8, 133–47; Leopold Zunz and Ḥanokh Albeck, *Haderashot be-Yisrael* (2nd edn; Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1954), 430 nn. 33–4; Ḥananel Mack, *Mi-Sodo shel Mosheh ha-Darshan* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2010), 126.

¹⁴⁹ Also *t. Soṭah* 10.3, where the forefather is labeled מְתוּשֶׁלַח הַצַּדִּיק, and see the further references signaled by Saul Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-feshuṭah* (2nd edn; 10 vols in 9; New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992), 8:718. This epithet derives from the otherwise unexplained seven-day delay for the onset of the Flood signaled in Gen 7:4 which became a prescribed period of mourning for the death of Methuselah. See, e.g., the extract from *Yalq. Shimoni* §42 that purportedly stems from *Midrash Avkir* that is cited by Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Sefer Rav Pe‘alim*, 134.

¹⁵⁰ Reminiscent of the legend found in *L.A.E.* 6:1–2, although there the duration is longer (forty days) and the river is the Jordan (for Adam) and the Tigris (for Eve).

and instantly killed 900,000 myriads (of demons. He continued killing) until Agrīmus,¹⁵¹ the first-born son of Adam the Protoplast, approached and stood before Methuselah and implored him (to stop). He contracted an agreement with him,¹⁵² and he (Agrīmus) wrote down and gave to him the names of the demons and the *lilū*-devils. They put them (the demons) in iron restraints and they put them under guard, but the remainder hid themselves among the peaks of the mountains and the abysses of Okeanos.¹⁵³

Bīrūnī, *Āthār al-bāqiya 'an-il-qurūn al-khāliya* (ed. Sachau):¹⁵⁴

وقد يسمي هرمس بادريس الذي ذكر في التورية اخوخ وبعضهم زعم ان بوذاسف هو هرمس.

The one named Hermes is Idrīs, who is mentioned in the (Jewish) Torah (under the name) Aḥnūkh (i.e., Enoch). Some however claim that Būdhāsaf is Hermes.

The figure of Būdhāsaf, whose name is clearly a reflex of the Sanskrit term *bodhisattva*, appears in some Muslim histories of religion as an eastern “pseudo-prophet,” the alleged inventor of the Persian script, and according to some tradents, the founder of the religion of the Ṣābians.¹⁵⁵

Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim* (ed. Badawī):¹⁵⁶

ولد هرميس الهرامسة بمصر في مدينة منف منها وهو باليونانية ارميس ققبل هرميس ومعنى ارميس عطارد ويسمى ايضا عليه السلام عند اليونانيين طرميس وعند العرب إدريس وعند العبرانيين خنوخ وهو ابن يارد بن مهلائيل بن قيثان بن أنوش بن شيث بن آدم عليهم السلام.

¹⁵¹ A reference to the Persian Ahriman? This identification is endorsed by Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:166; Scholem, *Origins*, 296 n. 191. Scholem claims that this “first-born of Adam and Lilith” is mentioned “in many aggadoth preserved in the Cairo Genizah” and that a truncated form of this same myth is quoted by Eleazar of Worms from a “Book of Secrets.” One might compare the “Watcher” named “Agramas” (ΑΓΡΑΜΑΣ) in the so-called *Untitled Text* of the Bruce Codex of Coptic gnostic writings; see Schmidt-MacDermot, *Books of Jeu*, 239.26.

¹⁵² Compare the agreement struck between God and Maṣṣema in *Jub.* 10:1–17, or that between R. Ḥanina b. Dosa and the demoness Agrat bt. Maḥlat in *b. Pesah.* 112b.

¹⁵³ Arthur Marmorstein, “Midrash Avkir,” *Devir* 1 (1923): 138.15–139.10. See also Louis Ginzberg, “Haggadot qeṭu’ot,” *Ha-Goren* 9 (1913): 66–8; Louis Ginzberg, *‘Al halakhah we-aggadah* (Jerusalem: Devir, 1960), 249. The same tale is also present in Oxford Ms. Bodl. 2797 (*Chronicles of Yerahmeel*); see Eli Yassif, ed., *Sefer ha-Zikronot hu’ Divrey ha-Yamim le-Yerahmeel* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), 113.5–9.

¹⁵⁴ Bīrūnī, *Āthār al-bāqiya 'an-il-qurūn al-khāliya: Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albērūnī* (ed. C. E. Sachau; Leipzig, 1878; reprinted, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1923), 206.8–9.

¹⁵⁵ Mas’ūdi, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille), 2:111.3–112.5; 4:44.9–45.9; Mas’ūdi, *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa’l-Ischrāf* (2nd edn; Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 8; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 90.15–91.1; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Mafātīh al-‘ulūm* (ed. Gerlof van Vloten; Leiden: Brill, 1895), 36.5–8; Bīrūnī, *Āthār* (ed. Sachau), 204.17–19. See especially the important remarks of Bruce B. Lawrence, *Shahrastānī on the Indian Religions* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 105–8; also van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 35 n. 61, 115–18; Patricia Crone, “Buddhism as Ancient Iranian Paganism,” in Teresa Bernheimer and Adam Silverstein, eds, *Late Antiquity: Eastern Perspectives* (Cambridge: The E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2012), 25–41; Iain Gardner, Jason BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley, *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings: Studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex* (NHMS 87; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 81–8.

¹⁵⁶ Abū’l Wafā’ al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim: Los Bocados de oro: Edición crítica del texto arabe con prólogo y notas* (ed. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī; Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1958), 7.9–12. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

Hermes of the *Hermeses* was born in Egypt in their city of Memphis. In Greek he is "Armīs," and it is pronounced "Harmīs"; "Armīs" means (the planet) Mercury. He is also named, may peace be upon him, "Ṭrimīs" among the Greeks,¹⁵⁷ "Idrīs" among the Arabs, and "Enoch" among the Hebrews. He was the son of Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam, upon them be peace.

Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg):¹⁵⁸

وحكماء اليونانيون يسمونه هرمس الحكيم وهو عظيم عندهم.

The Greek philosophers call him (i.e., Enoch) Hermes the sage, and he is highly esteemed among them.¹⁵⁹

Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-mīlal wa'l-niḥal* (ed. Kaylānī):¹⁶⁰

حكم هرمس العظيم المحمودة آثاره المرضية أقواله وأفعاله الذي يعد من الانبياء الكبار ويقال هو إدريس النبي عليه السلام.

Wisdom of the great Hermes, whose deeds are most praiseworthy, whose words and exploits are most gratifying, who is counted as one of the greatest prophets, and who is said to be the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace!¹⁶¹

Robert of Chester, *Praefatio to Morienus Romanus, Liber de compositione alchymiae*:¹⁶²

Legimus in historiis veterum autorum, tres fuisse philosophus, quorum unusquisque Hermes vocabatur. Primus autem illorum fuit Enoch, qui alio nomine Hermes, & alio nomine vocabatur Mercurius. Secundus vero fuit Noë, qui similiter alio nomine Hermes, & alio nomine Mercurius est nuncupatus. Eorum autem tertius, fuit Hermes qui post diluuium in Aegypto regnavit, & eius regnum diu obtinuit. Iste autem a nostris antecessoribus dictus est triplex, propter trinam virtutum collectionem, sibi videlicet a domino Deo attributam. Erat autem iste rex & philosophus & propheta.

We read in histories authored by the ancients that there have been three philosophers, each of whom was called Hermes. The first of them was Enoch, which is another name for Hermes, and another name he was called was Mercury. The second was Noah, which is another name for Hermes, and Mercury called by another

¹⁵⁷ Undoubtedly a corruption of "Trismegistus." See also van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 185.

¹⁵⁸ 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi al-tārikh* (14 vols in 7; ed. Carl Johan Tornberg; Leiden: Brill, 1851–76), 1:42.23. This passage is cited in abbreviated form by Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'iri, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. H. M. 'Aqil; Beirut: Dār al-Balāgha, 1991), 88.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *Jub.* 4:16; Ibn Ishāq *apud* Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (*Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*) (15 vols; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1964–5), 1/1:172.14–173.1 and the annotations provided there; Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-tārikh* (ed. Cl. Huart), 3:11.8–10.

¹⁶⁰ Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-mīlal wa'l-niḥal* (2 vols; ed. M. S. Kaylānī; Beirut: Dār el-Marefah, n.d.), 2:45.1–3. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric "Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning."

¹⁶¹ For other translations, see Theodor Haarbrücker, *Abu-'l-Fath' Muhammad asch-Schahrastānī's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen* (2 vols; Halle: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1850–1), 2:61; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 220.

¹⁶² *Moriēni Romani* (Paris, 1559), 1. Labeled a forgery by Julius Ruska, the authenticity of this prologue is convincingly defended by Richard Lemay, "L'authenticité de la préface de Robert de Chester à sa traduction du *Morienus*," *Chrysopoeia* 4 (1990–1): 3–32.

name. The third one of them was the Hermes who ruled in Egypt after the Flood, and his kingdom endured for a long time. This was said by our ancestors; namely, he was triplex (threefold),¹⁶³ because he combined three powers which had been granted to him by the power of God. Now this man was a king, a philosopher, and a prophet.¹⁶⁴

Liber Hermetis Mercurii Triplicis de VI rerum principiis (ed. Silverstein):¹⁶⁵

Legimus in ueteribus diuinorum hystoriis tres fuisse philosophos, quorum primus Enoch, qui et Hermes et alio nomine Mercurius dictus fuit; alius Noe, qui similiter Hermes et Mercurius nuncupatus fuit; tercius uero Hermes Mercurius Triplex dictus fuit, quia et rex et philosophus et propheta floruit.

We read in ancient histories that there have been three divine philosophers. The first of them was Enoch, who is said to also be Hermes and otherwise named Mercury. Another is Noah, who also was named Hermes and Mercury. The third was said to be Hermes Mercurius Triplex, who achieved distinction as a king, a philosopher, and a prophet.¹⁶⁶

Septem tractatus Hermetis sapientia triplicis (ed. Ruska):¹⁶⁷

In historiis diuinarum rerum, tres praeclaros viros philosophos, quemlibet uocatum Hermetem, legimus. Horum primus Enoch ante diluuium fuit, qui angelis comitantibus, igneo curru in coelum abiit. Secundus autem Noe, qui in archa, Dei iussu, a diluuiio multarum aquarum saluus euit. Eorum enim alteruter alio nomine Hermes, alio nomine uocatus est Mercurius, ad differentiam Hermetis, qui post diluuium regnavit in Aegypto... Hic enim tertius clarissimus uir, qui regali diademate decoratus, diu rex Aegypto imperauit, a trina uirtute Ter magnus dictus est. Ipsum namque ferunt regum, philosophum, atque prophetam fuisse.

We read in the histories of divine things about three men who were outstanding philosophers, each of whom was named Hermes. The first of them, Enoch, was before the Flood; he was the one who went up to heaven in a fiery chariot accompanied by angels. The second of them was Noah, the one who was saved in the Ark at the command of God from the Flood of many waters. One of the two who had the other name Hermes was called by the alternate name Mercury to distinguish him from the Hermes who reigned in Egypt after the Flood... This third one was a very famous man: he wore the

¹⁶³ For this specific configuration of the "Hermes triplex" constellation; namely, Enoch, Noah, and the postdiluvian Egyptian Hermes, see especially Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (8 vols; New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), 2:215; Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 48–9; Burnett, "Legend of the Three Hermes," 231; George Molland, "Addressing Ancient Authority: Thomas Bradwardine and *Prisca Sapientia*," *Annals of Science* 53 (1996): 222.

¹⁶⁴ One might also compare the "vocational" readings of this epithet found in Pseudo-Majrīṭī, *Das Ziel des Weisen* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 12; ed. Hellmut Ritter; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1933), 225.17–18 (text); Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner, "Picatrix": *Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Majrīṭī* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 27; London: The Warburg Institute, 1962), 237 (translation); Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 11.2; and Ibn al-Matrān, *apud Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a*, *K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭ-ṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:185.6–15.

¹⁶⁵ Silverstein, "Liber Hermetis," 247.

¹⁶⁶ The relationship between this text and what is found in the preface by Robert of Chester is discussed by Silverstein, "Liber Hermetis," 235–6; Burnett, "Legend of the Three Hermes," 231.

¹⁶⁷ Ruska, "Zwei Bücher," 31; Burnett, "Legend of the Three Hermes," 231.

royal crown and ruled as king of Egypt for a long time, (and) he was said to exercise a trifold triple power. They say he was a king, a philosopher, and a prophet.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Asʿad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, Kitāb al-adwāʾ al-Kaldāniyyin:¹⁶⁸

قال الشيخ موفق الدين أسعد بن إلياس بن المطران في اختصاره كتاب الادواء الكلدانية معنى تسمية هرمس المثلث بالنعم أنه كان ملكاً عمت مملكته أكثر المعمور ونبياً ذكره الله تعالى وهو إدریس عليه السلام وهو عند اليهود وقيل أخنوخ حكيمًا فيلسوفًا.

The master Muwaffaq al-Dīn Asʿad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān says in his abridgement of the *Book of the Remedies of the Chaldeans* that the name “Hermes” means the one who was three-times blessed, for he was a king whose kingdom encompassed most of the inhabited world, and a prophet whom God Most Exalted has mentioned—he being Idrīs, upon whom be peace, and the one who is called Enoch by the Jews. (He was also) a physician-philosopher.

Ibrāhīm b. Wāṣif Shāh, Kitāb al-ajāʾib al-kabir (ed. Chwolsohn):¹⁶⁹

وكان يقال له هرمس باسم عطارد.

Some call him (i.e., Enoch/Idrīs) Hermes after the name of ʿUṭārid (i.e., the planet Mercury).

Qazwīni, ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt (ed. Wüstenfeld):¹⁷⁰

ومن الناس من يزعم ان هرمس الاول الذي تسميه اليونانيون اخنوخ بن يرد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن انوش بن شيث بن آدم
... (ع)

And there are some people who allege that “the first Hermes,” the one whom the Greeks (*sic!*) call Akhnūkh b. Yared b. Mahalāʾil b. Qaynān b. Enōsh b. Shīth b. Adam (upon whom be peace!)....

Bar Hebraeus, Chronicon Syriacum (ed. Bedjan):¹⁷¹

...
...

¹⁶⁸ *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, K. ‘*Uyūn al-anbāʾ fi ṭabaqāt al-aʿjabbāʾ*’ (ed. Najjār), 1:185.6–9. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric “Evaluated Positively or Neutrally.”

¹⁶⁹ Passage transcribed from Arabic Ms. 518 of the Asian Museum in St Petersburg by Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 2:534–5; note also Victor Rosen, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique* (St.-Pétersbourg: Commissionsaires de l’Académie Impériale des sciences, 1881), 167–73. With regard to the common ascription of some versions of this work to Maṣʿūdī, see Michael Cook, “Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt,” *Studia Islamica* 57 (1983): 72–8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Inventor of Writing or Contributor to Book Culture.”

¹⁷⁰ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Zakariya Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini’s Kosmographie* (2 vols; Göttingen, 1848–9; repr., Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1967), 2:179.2–4. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

¹⁷¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum* (ed. Paul Bedjan; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890), 5.13–14, 22–5. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

כאמרת סגנון גמולו וסגנון סגנון אבות האסכולות של כלל נביאי האלמותיים הם וסגנון
 אסכולה גמולו וסגנון.

The ancient Greeks declare that Enoch is Hermes Trismegistus. . . . And they (the Greeks) declare that he received this instruction from Agathōdhmōn (i.e., Agathodaimon), saying that Agathōdhmōn is Seth b. Adam; that is, the elder (one) who is the ancestor of Enoch. They also say that Asqalipidis (i.e., Asclepius) the wise king was a student of Hermes; that is, Enoch.

These statements about the identification of Enoch with Hermes and Agathodaimon with Seth stem ultimately from Graeco-Egyptian hermetic writings used by the Ṣābian community of Ḥarrān.

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. Ṣāliḥānī):¹⁷²

والاقدمون من اليونانيين يزعمون ان حنوخ هو هرمس ويلقب طريسميجيستيس اي ثلاثي العليم لانه كان يصف البارى تعالى بثلاث صفات ذاتية هي الوجود والحكمة والحياة.

The ancient ones among the Greeks claim that Enoch is Hermes, and he bears the surname Trismegistus, meaning a teaching about “three,” because he depicted the Most Exalted Creator with these three attributes: existence, wisdom, and vitality.¹⁷³

Sefer ha-Kasdim (Ms. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Gaster 177 ff. 36a–b):¹⁷⁴

והאחרונים לא ידעו ללמוד באותן הספרים עד שבא רזיאל וגלה הסודות ואחריו חנוך הקדמון ומאותו שעה נתפזרה זאת החכמה בכל העולם.

But those who arose afterwards did not know how to learn (from) these books until (the angel) Raziel came and revealed the secrets,¹⁷⁵ and after him the first

¹⁷² Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Antoine Ṣāliḥānī; Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1890), 11.6–8. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices.”

¹⁷³ “Trinitarian” readings for this epithet are common in Byzantine Christian writers, as noted by van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 128 n. 32; cf. also Charles Burnett, “The Establishment of Medieval Hermeticism,” in Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson, *The Medieval World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 128 n. 33. Note also Pseudo-Majrīḥī, *Das Ziel des Weisen* (ed. Ritter), 225.17–18 (text); Ritter-Plessner, “*Picatrix*,” 237 (translation); Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 11.2.

¹⁷⁴ Moses Gaster, “The Wisdom of the Chaldeans: An Old Hebrew Astrological Text,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22 (1900): 329–51, at 347. See also Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha, and Samaritan Archaeology* (3 vols; repr., New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971), 3:104. A photograph of fol. 36a is inserted between pp. 346 and 347 of the original article, and pp. 104 and 105 of the reprint. Two additional manuscripts for this work are signaled by Reimund Leicht, “Toward a History of Hebrew Astrological Literature: A Bibliographical Survey,” in Gad Freudenthal, ed., *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 290 n. 274. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

¹⁷⁵ The angel Raziel is notorious in certain Jewish esoteric circles for revealing hidden knowledge—often in the form of a book—to Adam.

Enoch (revealed them). Since his time this science (i.e., astrology) has spread throughout the entire world.¹⁷⁶

The curious expression “the first Enoch” (חֲנוּךְ הַקְּדָמוֹן) is obviously a Hebrew calque and re-biblicization of the Arabic “the first Hermes” who appears in numerous medieval hermetic and pseudo-hermetic texts. See also our discussion of this testimony in Chapter 2.

ENOCH AS IDRĪS

The name “Idris” is used twice in the Qurʾān (19:56–7; 21:85–6) to refer to a prophet who embodied conscientious piety and truthfulness, virtues which led to his elevation by God to “a lofty place.” No further elaboration is offered therein, but these motifs are tantalizing in light of the legendry surrounding the biblical forefather Enoch. Although the origin of this particular name remains unknown,¹⁷⁷ it was by the early eighth century associated with the biblical character Enoch. Many Muslim traditionists explain the name as a reflex of the verbal root (*darasa*) apparently visible in the name (see the examples provided below), but this is almost certainly a later valiant attempt to address what had become an obvious *crux interpretum*. Of especial interest is the suggestion of Michel Tardieu that the name “Idrīs” signals Enoch’s legendary status as “the one who has disappeared (from human society).”¹⁷⁸ Haim Schwarzbbaum has moreover called attention to the numerous parallels (e.g., *b. Ketub. 77b*) discernible between the evolving portrait of Muslim Idris and the late antique hagiographic development of the third-century Palestinian Jewish sage R. Joshua b. Levi, a shadowy figure who like Enoch/Idrīs successfully defies the Angel of Death and who also enjoys renown as a scholar of heavenly wisdom.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ For another translation, see Gaster, “Wisdom,” 338–9; Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, 1:347–8.

¹⁷⁷ The most thorough study of the name “Idrīs” is that of Yoram Erder, “The Origin of the Name Idris in the Qurʾān: A Study of the Influence of Qumran Literature on Early Islam,” *JNES* 49 (1990): 339–50; see now Yoram Erder, “Idris,” in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2001–6), 2:484–6; also see Paul Casanova, “Idris et ‘Ouzair,” *JA* 205 (1924): 356–60; Philip S. Alexander, “Jewish Tradition in Early Islam: The Case of Enoch/Idrīs,” in G. R. Hawting, J. A. Mojaddedi, and A[lexander]. Samely, eds, *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts and Traditions in Memory of Norman Calder* (JSSSup 12; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 11–29; Claude Addas, “Idrīs,” in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, ed., *Dictionnaire du Coran* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007), 410–13.

¹⁷⁸ Michel Tardieu, “Les gnostiques dans la *Vie de Plotin*: Analyse du chapitre 16,” in Luc Brisson, et al., eds, *Porphyre, La vie de Plotin II* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1992), 503–63, esp. 532–3.

¹⁷⁹ Haim Schwarzbbaum, *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1982), 146 n. 22, and note the further discussion of this theme at the end of Chapter 4.

Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām* (ed. Pāshā):¹⁸⁰

فبعث الله إليهم إدريس عليه السلام وهو أخنوخ بن يارد بن مهلايل بن قينان نبياً.

So God sent to them the prophet Idrīs, upon whom be peace, who is (the same as) Enoch b. Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān.

Pseudo-Aṣma'ī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (ed. Dānīsh-Pazhūh):¹⁸¹

حديث قصة ادريس... وهو اخنوخ بن مهلاييل بن قينان وانما سمي ادريس لكثرة دراسته لكتب آدم وشيث.

A narration of the tale of Idrīs... He was Enoch b. Mahalalel (*sic!*) b. Qaynān, and he was named "Idrīs" due to his frequent study of the books of Adam and Seth.

Wahb *apud* Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān*:¹⁸²

واخنوخ اسمه في التوراة عبراني وتفسيره بالعربي ادريس وهو ادريس عليه السلام واخنوخ اسمه سرياني.

And the name (of Yared's heir) in the Hebrew Torah is Enoch. Its meaning in Arabic pertains to learned studies. He is (the same as) Idrīs, upon whom be peace! The name "Enoch" is Syriac.

Ibn Hishām *apud* Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrat rasūl Allāh* (ed. Wüstenfeld):¹⁸³

خنوخ وهو ادريس النبي فيما يزعمون والله اعلم...

...Enoch—who is (the same as) the prophet Idrīs according to what they claim, but God knows best!

Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr to Q 19:56–7*:¹⁸⁴

ادريس: وهو جد ابي نوح واسمه اخنوخ عليه السلام.

"Idrīs" was the grandfather of the father of Noah, and his name was Akhnūkh (i.e., Enoch), upon whom be peace!

This expression of the genealogical relationship of Noah to Enoch/Idrīs matches the biblical family tree sketched in Gen 5:21–32.

¹⁸⁰ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām* (2nd edn; ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā; Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1924), 52.6–7. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁸¹ [Pseudo-Aṣma'ī], *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānīsh-Pazhūh; Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1996), 9.1, 4. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch Encounters the Angel of Death."

¹⁸² Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar 'an Wahb ibn Munabbih...* (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1928), 21.16–22.1. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁸³ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, ed., *Kitāb sīrat rasūl Allāh: Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hishām* (2 vols in 3; Göttingen: Dieterichs, 1858–60), 1/1:3.12–13. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁸⁴ Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān* (3 vols; Beirut: Dār al-Katab al-'Ilmiyah, 2003), 2:316. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 4 under the rubric "Enoch/Idrīs and the Angel of the Sun."

Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau):¹⁸⁵

أول نبي بعث في الأرض بعد آدم إدریس وهو خنوخ ابن يرد وهو الیارد.

[According to Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī—his father—Abū Šāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās:] The first prophet sent to earth after Adam was Idrīs—he being Enoch b. Yaredh, that is al-Yāredh.¹⁸⁶

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* (ed. Aguadé):¹⁸⁷

فشكر الله فعله فسماه إدریس وإمًا اسمه أخنوخ.

God rewarded his behavior and then renamed him "Idrīs." His (former) name however was Enoch.¹⁸⁸

Dinawarī, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ḥiwāl* (ed. Girgas):¹⁸⁹

وكان أول نبي بعد شيث إدریس واسمه اخنوخ بن يرد بن مهليل ويسمى ادریس لكثرة دراسته.

The first prophet after Seth was Idrīs, and his name was Enoch b. Yared b. Mahalalel. He was called "Idrīs" due to the multitude of his studies.

Wahb *apud* Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* ('Ukkāsha):¹⁹⁰

وولد لشيث أنوش وبنون وبنات وولد لأنوش قينان وولد لقينان مهليل وولد لمهليل الیارد وولد لليارد أخنوخ وهو إدریس عليه السلام.

وإمًا سمى إدریس لكثرة ما كان يدرس من كتاب الله تعالى وسنن الاسلام

To Seth was born Enosh, as well as (other) sons and daughters,¹⁹¹ and to Enosh was born Kenan, and to Kenan was born Mahalalel, and to Mahalalel was born Yared, and to Yared was born Enoch, and he is Idrīs, upon whom be peace!

... He bore the name "Idrīs" on account of the quantity of knowledge and religious practices which he learned from the Scripture of God Most Exalted.

Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Houtsma):¹⁹²

وهو ادریس النبي.

He (i.e., Enoch) is (the same figure as) Idrīs the prophet.

¹⁸⁵ Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabir* (9 vols; ed. Eduard Sachau, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1905–40), 1/1:16.15–16.

¹⁸⁶ The asserted fluctuation between Yared and "al-Yāred" is also related in Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:166.3; 172.7. The identification of the prophet Idrīs with biblical Enoch b. Yared was asserted earlier in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (ed. Sachau), 1/1:16.2.

¹⁸⁷ 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* (ed. Jorge Aguadé; Madrid: al-Majlis al-'Alā lil-Abḥāth al-'Ilmiyah, 1991), 36.16. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁸⁸ See also van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 166.

¹⁸⁹ Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Dinawarī, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ḥiwāl* (ed. Vladimir Girgas; Leiden: Brill, 1888), 3.8–10.

¹⁹⁰ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (2nd edn; ed. Tharwat 'Ukkāsha; Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1969), 20.8–10; 20.17–18. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Prophet."

¹⁹¹ Cf. Gen 5:7: ויחי שש אחרי הולידו את אנש . . . ויולד בנים ובנות.

¹⁹² Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Houtsma), 1:9.1; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Beirut), 1:11.21. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

Wahb *apud* Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-a'lāq al-nafisa* (ed. de Goeje):¹⁹³

قال وهب أول من خط بالقلم ادريس واسمه اخنوخ (ع).

Wahb said: The first person to write with a pen was Idrīs, and his name (in biblical literature) is Enoch, upon whom be peace!

Bar Bahlūl, *Lexicon* (ed. Duval):¹⁹⁴

ادريس اسم نبي اسمه عnoch.

Idrīs: the name of a prophet, and he is Enoch.

Ibn Ishāq *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje):¹⁹⁵

ثم نكح يرد فيما حدثنا ابن حميد قال سأ سلمة عن ابن اسحاق وهو ابن مائة سنة واثنين وستين سنة بركتنا ابنة الدرهميل بن محويل بن خنوخ بن قين بن آدم فولدت له اخنوخ بن يرد واخنوخ ادريس النبي.

As we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, Yared was 162 years old when he married¹⁹⁶ Barak<y>ā,¹⁹⁷ the daughter of al-Darmasīl b. Maḥūyāl b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.¹⁹⁸ She bore to him his son Enoch, and Enoch is Idrīs the prophet.

“another (authority) from the people of the Torah” *apud* Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje):¹⁹⁹

وقال غيره من اهل التوراة ولد ليرد اخنوخ وهو ادريس.

Another (authority) from the people of the Torah said (that) Enoch—who is Idrīs—was born to Yared.

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah* (ed. Ṣāwī):²⁰⁰

وقالوا إن هرمس المذكور في الفلاسفة هو ادريس فاسمه في الفلاسفة هرمس وفي القرآن ادريس وهذان الاسمان مشاكلان لتلك الاسماء مثل جالينوس وارسطاطاليس وغير ذلك مما في آخرها سين واسمه في سائر الكتب المنزلة اخنوخ.

¹⁹³ Aḥmad b. 'Umar Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-a'lāq an-nafisa* (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 7; 2nd edn; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden: Brill, 1892), 191.12–13. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Haberdasher.”

¹⁹⁴ Rubens Duval, ed., *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule* (3 vols; Paris: Reipublicae, 1901), 1:42. See also R[obert]. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (2 vols; Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901), 1:43.

¹⁹⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:172.14–17.

¹⁹⁶ According to Gen 5:18, Yared was 162 years old when he fathered Enoch.

¹⁹⁷ Read برکتا in place of برکتا on the basis of Maqdisī. This would be close to the spelling of the name of Yārad's wife given in *Jub.* 4:16 (ⲛⲓⲕⲏ), the ultimate source of at least the wife's name. See also the scholion to Gen 5:18 found in P[aul]. A. de Lagarde's Greek Ms. r of Genesis: γυνὴ ἰάρεδ βαραχα θυγάτηρ ἀσουήλ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ. Syriac fragments give the name as ܒܪܟܬܐ ܒܪܟܬܐ. The latter texts are cited from R. H. Charles, *Maṣḥafa Kufālē, or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895), 16 n. 8.

¹⁹⁸ The more distant ancestors stem from the so-called “Cainite genealogy” found in Gen 4:17–24. *Jub.* 4:16 states: “her name was Bāraka, the daughter of Rāsuyāl (who was) the daughter of his father's sister”; most translations correct the Ethiopic textual tradition's “sister” to “brother” on the basis of the Greek and Syriac witnesses cited in the preceding note.

¹⁹⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:173.1–2.

²⁰⁰ Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A'lām al-nubuwwah* (ed. Ṣāwī), 278.11–14; see also Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *The Proofs of Prophecy* (trans. Khalidi), 209.11–14. The full citation of this passage can be found in Chapter 2 under the heading “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

They say that the Hermes who is mentioned among the philosophers is (the same figure as) Idrīs; i.e., his name among the philosophers is Hermes, but in the Qurʾān he is Idrīs. These two names are similar to those names which have a final *sin* like Galenus, Aristoteles, and the rest. His name in the remaining revealed scriptures is Enoch.

Saʿid b. al-Biṭrīq (Eutychius), *Naẓm al-jawhar* (ed. Cheikho):²⁰¹

وفى ثلاثة عشر سنة من حياة لامخ اصطفى الله اخنوخ ورفعته اليه والعرب تسميه ادريس.

When Lamech was 13 years old (*sic!*),²⁰² God chose Enoch and raised him up²⁰³ to Himself. The Arabs call him Idrīs.

Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿUnvān* (ed. Vasiliev):²⁰⁴

وعاش اخنوخ مائة وخمسة وستين سنة على ما في التفسير الصحيح الى ان ولد له متوشلح وعاش من بعد ان ولد له متوشلح مائتي سنة فكانت سنيه ثلثمائة وخمس وستين سنة وكان جميع دهره يتضرع الى الله ان ينقله الى الفردوس فاستجاب الله صلته وقبل دعوته فنقله الله الى الفردوس لتمام مائتي سنة من مولد متوشلح ولتمام ثلث عشر سنة من مولد لك واما على ما في التوراة الفاسدة الى في ايدي اليهود والسريانية الى هي نسختها فانه مكتوب فيها ان اخنوخ عاش خمس وستين سنة فولد له متوشلح وعاش من بعد ان ولد له متوشلح ثلثمائة ونقله الله الى الفردوس لتمام ثلثمائة سنة من مولد متوشلح ولتمام مائة سنة وثلثة عشر سنة من مولد لك ابي نوح وهو ادريس وزعم بعض الحكماء ايضا ان اخنوخ الذي هو ادريس عرف واظهر ودل على الكتاب والحروف والنجوم والحساب وزعم ماناثون الحكيم المصرى المنجم ان الله رفع اخنوخ حتى ماس الفلك الداير وعرف البروج التي فيه والكواكب الثابتة والجارية ولاشياء والحدود والوجوه من العشرات والصور التي فيها وغير ذلك من اسرار علم النجوم ولذلك يقال ان كتابه في النجوم يسما كتاب المعاني وجميع الحرائين الذين يعبدون الاصنام والكواكب متمسكون بقول ماناثون المصرى.

According to what is in the authentic rendering (of the Torah),²⁰⁵ Enoch had lived for 165 years when he fathered Methuselah, and he was alive for 200 years after he had fathered Methuselah. Thus his (total number of) years amounted to 365 years. Over the course of his entire life he would entreat God to remove him to Paradise. Finally God responded to his prayer and accepted his plea, and God transported him to Paradise. (This happened) at the completion of 200 years after the birth of Methuselah and 13 years (*sic!*) after the birth of Lamech.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, according to the corrupted Torah which the Jews possess and the Syriac rendering (i.e., the Peshitta) which is a copy of it, one finds written in it that Enoch had lived for 65 years when he fathered Methuselah and that he was alive for 300 years after he had fathered Methuselah. God removed him to Paradise at the completion of

²⁰¹ L [ouis]. Cheikho, ed., *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (CSCO 50, ser. arab. III, t. 6; Beryti: E Typographico Catholico, 1906), 11.1–2. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 5 under the rubric “Enoch Is Taken Alive to Heaven/Paradise.”

²⁰² According to the chronology used in the Septuagint, Lamech was 33 years old when Enoch was removed; according to that of the Hebrew Masoretic Text, Lamech was 113 years old. See Josef Karst, ed., *Eusebius Werke, Fünfter Band: Die Chronik* (GCS 20; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), 38–9. Since Eutychius otherwise follows the LXX numbering, one should probably emend his “13” to “33.”

²⁰³ Echoing Q 19:57.

²⁰⁴ Alexandre Vasiliev, “*Kitāb al-ʿUnvān: Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj, première partie (I)*,” *Patrologia Orientalis* 5 (1910): 591.1–592.3.

²⁰⁵ i.e., the Septuagint.

²⁰⁶ As noted above with regard to the figures of Eutychius, this number should be “33.”

300 years after the birth of Methuselah and 113 years after the birth of Lamech, the father of Noah.

Now he (i.e., Enoch) is Idrīs. One of the philosophers also has claimed that Enoch—who is Idrīs—discovered, revealed, and provided guidance about writing, alphabetic characters, the stars, and arithmetical computation. Mānāthōn (i.e., Manetho), the Egyptian sage and astrologer, asserted that God raised Enoch until he traveled all around the ecliptic and discovered the constellations of the zodiac²⁰⁷ that are on it, the stationary and wandering stars, the lots (?),²⁰⁸ the planetary fields of influence, the decans made up of tens and the constellations which rise in them,²⁰⁹ and other similar secrets of star lore. For that reason it is said that his book on the stars is called *The Book of Meanings*. All the Ḥarrānians—those who worship idols and the celestial bodies—are devoted to the doctrine of Mānāthōn the Egyptian.²¹⁰

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille):²¹¹

وقام بعده ولده اخنوخ وهو ادريس النبي عليه السلام.

After him his child Enoch arose, and he is (the same figure as) Idrīs the prophet, upon whom be peace!

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart):²¹²

قصة ادريس النبي (ع) يزعم أهل هذا العلم أنه اخنوخ بن يارد بن مهلائيل بن قيثان بن انوش بن شيث بن آدم وأمه بركيا بنت الدرهميلا بن محويل بن اخنوخ بن قين بن آدم وإنما سُمي ادريس لكثرة درسه.

Story of Idrīs the prophet, upon whom be peace! People who know this lore claim that he is (the same as) Enoch b. Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam. His mother was Barakyā, daughter of al-Darmasalā b. Maḥūyal b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.²¹³ He received the name "Idrīs" on account of the large number of his scholarly pursuits.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ Cf. Q 15:16; 25:61; 85:1.

²⁰⁸ So van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 173 n. 30, following a suggestion to emend to الاسيايه *al-Asyāyah*. Different categories of "lots" are briefly discussed by Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett, eds, *Abū Ma'šar on Historical Astrology: The Book of Religions and Dynasties (on the Great Conjunctions)* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1:593–7. Vasilev renders without any explanation "les horoscopes."

²⁰⁹ For most of this terminology, see W[iljly]. Hartner and P[aul]. Kunitzsch, "Minṭaqat al-burūdī" *EI* 7:81–7.

²¹⁰ See especially van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 172–5, who convincingly argues that this report stems from the lost Syriac chronicle of the 'Abbāsid court astrologer Theophilus of Edessa. His indiscriminate blending of pagan and Christian sources suggested to William Adler that Agapius knew "some garbled material ultimately derived from Panodorus" (William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* [Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989], 104).

²¹¹ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Barbier de Meynard-de Courteille), 1:73.1–2.

²¹² Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart), 3:11.8–11.

²¹³ Compare Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:172.14–17; and *Jub.* 4:16. But see Tha'labī.

²¹⁴ Compare Pseudo-Aṣma'i, *Dinawarī*, and Ibn Qutayba; Ṭabarsī.

Ka' b al-Aḥbār *apud* Hamdānī, *Iklīl* (ed. Löfgren):²¹⁵

ثم اوصى بعده الى إدريس واسمه في التوراة اخنوخ وشالت.

(According to Ka' b al-Aḥbār): Then he (i.e., Yared) appointed Idris as executor (of God's laws) after him—his name in the Torah is Enoch (Akhnuḥk) and Shālt (*sic*).²¹⁶

Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (ed. Ragep-Mimura):²¹⁷

وهكذا يحكى عن هرمس المثلث بالحكمة وهو إدريس الببى عليه السلام انه صعد الى فلك زحل ودار معه ثلاثين سنة حتى شاهد جميع احوال الفلك ثم نزل الى الارض فخير الناس بعلم النجوم وقال الله عز اسمه ورفعناه مكانا عليا.

And so it is related about Hermes the thrice-endowed with wisdom—and who is the prophet Idrīs, peace be upon him—that he ascended to the sphere of Saturn and revolved with it for thirty years until he witnessed all the states of the celestial sphere.²¹⁸ Then he descended back to earth and instructed people about star-lore. God Most High said (of him): “and We raised him up to a lofty place” (Q 19:57).²¹⁹

‘Āmirī, *Kitāb al-Amad ‘alā l-abad* (ed. Rowson):²²⁰

وزعموا أنّ اخنوخ - وهو الذي سميّه أهل الغرب الهرمس وأهل الإسلام إدريس - قد ولد له متوشلخ - وهو جم الملك؛ وولد لمتوشلخ في آخر عمره لامخ - وهو والد نوح.

They also assert that Enoch—who is the one whom the people of the West call Hermes and whom Muslims call Idrīs—engendered Methusaleh, he being (identical with) King Jam, and Methusaleh during the latter portion of his life engendered Lamech, who was the father of Noah.²²¹

Bīrūnī, *Āthār al-bāqiya ‘an-il-qurūn al-khāliya* (ed. Sachau):²²²

وقد يسمى هرمس بادريس الذي ذكر في التوراة اخنوخ.

²¹⁵ Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl: Erstes Buch* (ed. Oscar Löfgren; 2 vols; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1954–65), 1:25.11–12. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric “Enoch as Prophet.”

²¹⁶ Almost certainly a corruption of “Seth” or even the gnostic cognomen “Sethel.” See our discussion about this source in Chapter 3.

²¹⁷ Ragep-Mimura, eds, *On Astronomia*, 88.6–89.3. Slightly variant texts appear in Dieterici, ed., *Die Abhandlungen der Ikhwān es-Safā' in Auswahl*, 121.1–4; *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-khullān al-wafā'* (ed. Bombay), 1:69.21–4. The full citation of this source can be found in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

²¹⁸ According to ancient astronomy, Saturn occupied the seventh celestial sphere and had an orbital period of thirty years. See the references cited by van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 181; note also Ian Richard Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā')* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 50.

²¹⁹ Friedrich Dieterici, *Die Propädeutik der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert* (Die Philosophie der Araber im IX. und X. Jahrhundert n. Chr. 3; Berlin: E. S. Mittler, 1865), 67–8; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 180–1; Ragep-Mimura, *On Astronomia*, 62–3; Michael Muhammad Knight, *Magic in Islam* (New York: TarcherPerigee, 2016), 128–9.

²²⁰ Rowson, *A Muslim Philosopher*, 66.10–12. The full citation of this source appears in this same chapter under the rubric “Enoch/Idris as Graeco-Egyptian Hermes/Thoth.”

²²¹ For another translation, see Rowson, *A Muslim Philosopher*, 67.

²²² Bīrūnī, *Āthār* (ed. Sachau), 206.8–9. The full citation of this source appears above in this same chapter under the rubric “Enoch/Idris as Graeco-Egyptian Hermes/Thoth.”

The one named Hermes is Idrīs, who is mentioned in the (Jewish) Torah (under the name) Aḥnūkh (i.e., Enoch).

Tha'labī, 'Arā'is al-majālis fi qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā':²²³

قال الله تعالى واذكر في الكتاب ادريس انه كان صديقا نبيا (قال اهل العلم) باخبار الماضين وقصص النبيين هو ادريس بن ادم وقيل ياريد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن انوش بن شيث بن آدم واسمه اخنوخ وسمى ادريس لكثرة درسه الكتب وصحف آدم وشيث وامه اشوت.

(Scholars say) in narratives about past peoples and in tales about the prophets (that) Idrīs was the son of Yared—he is said to be Yārīd b. Mehālā'il b. Qīnān b. 'Anūš b. Šīth b. Adam—and his name was 'Akhnūkh, but he was called Idrīs on account of his intensive study of the books and scrolls of Adam and Seth. His mother was (named) 'Ašūt.²²⁴

With regard to Enoch's study of Adamic writings, one might compare the cognate tradition found in the Samaritan "Adler Chronicle": זה אתלמד ספר האותיות "this one (Enoch) studied the *Book of Letters* (or *Elements*) which our forefather Adam compiled and wrote."²²⁵ The notice in this relatively late chronicle is in turn indebted to the Samaritan apocryphon known as *Sefer Asaṭīr*, where the Adamic book which Enoch learns is the "Book of Signs" (ספר האותות).²²⁶ Compare also the Samaritan *Tūlīda*, where one of the three "divine" books which circulated among God's beloved ones between the eras of Adam and Moses was the "Book of Signs" (ספר האותות).²²⁷

Mubashshir b. Fātik, Mukhtār al-ḥikam (ed. Badawī):²²⁸

ويسمى ايضا عليه السلام عند اليونانيين طرميس وعند العرب إدريس وعند العبرانيين خنوخ وهو ابن يارد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن أنوش بن شيث بن آدم عليهم السلام.

And he is also named, may peace be upon him, "Trimīs" among the Greeks, "Idrīs" among the Arabs, and "Enoch" among the Hebrews. He was the son of Yared b. Mahalalel b. Qaynān b. Enosh b. Seth b. Adam, upon them be peace.

²²³ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq al-Nisābūrī al-Tha'labī, *Kitāb qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' al-musammā bāl-'arā'is* (Cairo: Al-Sharafiyyah, 1880), 46.10–13.

²²⁴ Compare Ṭabarī and Maqdisī above who reflect the information found in *Jub.* 4:16 that Enoch's mother (and Yared's wife) was named Barak(y)ā. The conflicting information here stems from an understandable confusion of the "Sethian" Enoch (Gen 5:21–4) with the "Cainite" one (Gen 4:17), for 'Ašūt is the name borne by one of the wives of Cain. Note Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:167.4–6: "According to Ibn Ishāq, Cain married his sister 'Ašūt, a daughter of Adam. She bore him a male and a female: Enoch b. Cain and 'Eden bt. Cain." This same tradition is repeated by Ibn al-Athīr, *K. al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), 1:40.14–16. But compare the list of Adam and Eve's progeny found in Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:146.12–14: "... Cain and his twin sister, Abel and Līvūdḥā, 'Ašūt the daughter of Adam and her twin brother, Seth and his twin sister, and Ḥazūra and her twin brother." For (Ḥ)azūra as the sister of Seth, compare *Jub.* 4:7–8.

²²⁵ Elkan N. Adler, "Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine," *REJ* 44 (1902): 193.

²²⁶ See Z[iv]. Ben-Ḥayyim, "Sefer Asaṭīr," *Tarbiz* 14 (1942–3): 115; Moses Gaster, *The Asaṭir: The Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses"* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927), 198–208.

²²⁷ See Ad[olf]. Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1873), 6–7 (text).

²²⁸ Mubashshir Ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam* (ed. Badawī), 7.10–12. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

Ibn al-Athīr, *K. Al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg):²²⁹

ثم نكح يرد في قول ابن اسحاق وهو ابن مائة واثنتين وستين سنة برکتا ابنة الدرهميل بن محويل بن حنوخ ابن قين بن آدم فولدت له حنوخ وهو ادريس النبي.

According to a tradition recounted by Ibn Ishāq, Yared married Barak<y>ā²³⁰ the daughter of al-Darmasil b. Maḥūyal b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam when he was 162 years old,²³¹ and she bore him Enoch. He is the prophet Idrīs.

Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina clericalis* (ed. Hilka and Söderhjelm):²³²

Enoch philosophus, qui lingua arabica cognominatur Edric....

The philosopher Enoch, who in the Arabic language is named Idrīs. ...²³³

Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Kitāb al-adwā' al-Kaldāniyin*:²³⁴

قال الشيخ موفق الدين أسعد بن إلياس بن المطران في اختصار كتاب الادواء الكلدانيين معنى تسمية هرمس المثلث بالتعم أنه كان ملكا عمت مملكته أكثر المعمور ونبيا ذكره الله تعالى وهو ادريس عليه السلام وهو عند اليهود وقيل أخنوخ حكيمًا فيلسوفًا.

The master Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān says in his abridgement of the *Book of the Remedies of the Chaldeans* that the name “Hermes” means the one who was three-times blessed, for he was a king whose kingdom encompassed most of the inhabited world, and a prophet whom God Most Exalted has mentioned—he being Idrīs, upon whom be peace, and the one who is called Enoch by the Jews. (He was also) a physician-philosopher.

Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr* to Q 19:56–7:²³⁵

الكتاب) القرآن و(ادريس) جدّ اب نوح (ع) واسمه في التوراة اخنوخ وسمى ادريس لكثرة درسه الكتب يعني كتب الله وحكمه وهو اول من خط بالقلم وكان خياطًا واول من خاط الثياب وقيل ان الله سبحانه علمه علم النجوم والحساب وعلم الهيئة وكان ذلك معجزة له.

وقوله (مكانا عليا) رفيع الشأن برسالات الله تعالى وقيل انه رفع الى السماء السادسة.

²²⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *K. al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), 1:42.19–21.

²³⁰ Read بركا in place of بركا.

²³¹ According to Gen 5:18, Yared was 162 years old when he fathered Enoch.

²³² Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, *Petri Alfonsi Disciplina Clericalis* (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 38.4; Helsingfors: Druckerie der finnischen Litteraturgesellschaft, 1911b), 2.16–17. See also Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, eds, *Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1911a), 2.22–3.

²³³ See also Joseph Ramon Jones and John Esten Keller, *The Scholar's Guide: A Translation of the Twelfth-Century Disciplina Clericalis of Pedro Alfonso* (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1969), 35; Eberhard Hermes, ed., *The Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi* (trans. P. R. Quarrie; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 104; John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 76.

²³⁴ *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' fiṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:185.6–9. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 7 under the rubric “Evaluated Positively or Neutrally.”

²³⁵ *Jazā'irī, Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 81. Ṭabarsī was a twelfth-century Shi'ite commentator; see Etan Kohlberg, “Ṭabarsī (Ṭabarsī),” *EI* 10:40–1.

(The word)²³⁶ *al-kitāb* refers to the Qur'ān, and "Idrīs" was the grandfather of the father of Noah (upon whom be peace). His name in the Torah is Enoch (*Akhnūkh*), and he was called "Idrīs" due to his constant study (*dars*) of books, meaning books and wisdom of God.²³⁷ He was the first one who wrote with a pen, and he was a tailor, the first who sewed clothing. It is said that God Most Praiseworthy taught him astronomy, mathematics, and cosmography.²³⁸ This was the miracle associated with him.²³⁹

The expression "a lofty place" refers to high status; (i.e.,) the lofty rank of the prophetic mission on behalf of God Most High. It is said that he ascended to the sixth heaven.²⁴⁰

al-Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):²⁴¹

فلما نزلت هذا الحروف علمها آدم وعلمها لولده شيث ثم نوارثها حتى صارت الى انوس ثم الى قينان ثم الى مهلائيل ثم الى يرد حتى بعث الله اخنوخ الاصغر وهو ادريس.

And after these letters (of the alphabet) had been revealed, Adam learned them and taught them to his son Seth. The latter bequeathed them to Enosh, then (they came) to Qaynān, then (they came) to Mahalalel, then (they came) to Yared, up to when God sent Enoch the younger; i.e., Idris.

According to Cornelia Schöck, the peculiar designation "Enoch the younger" represents al-Kisā'i's (or his source's) attempt to correct an erroneous confusion and conflation between the figures of Enoch and Enosh.²⁴² A simpler and better explanation for the phrase "the younger Enoch" is that it distinguishes him as the son of Yared from his identically named older cousin; namely, Enoch, the son of Cain who belongs to the third generation of humanity after Adam and who is associated with the initial appearance of urban civilization in Gen 4:17. An attribute like "younger" or "lesser" paired with the name "Enoch" is also reminiscent of the language used to denote the plurality of Hermes found in medieval Islamic hermetic legendry.²⁴³

²³⁶ Interpretive references (within the parentheses) are to the text of Q 19:56–7.

²³⁷ A word play on the verbal root (درس) apparently visible in the name Idrīs.

²³⁸ Compare 4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) frag. 2 published by J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 12; also J[ames C]. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "Jubilees," *apud* Harold Attridge, et al., eds, *Qumrān Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 171–5 and pl. XII (PAM 43.238).

²³⁹ i.e., as a sign of his prophetic vocation.

²⁴⁰ Compare John Walbridge, *The Wisdom of the Mystic East: Suhrawardī and Platonic Orientalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 22–3.

²⁴¹ I. Eisenberg, ed., *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā': Vita Prophetarum auctore Muḥammed ben 'Abdallah al-Kisā'i* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1922–3), 1:70.17–20. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric "Enoch as Inventor of Writing or Contributor to Book Culture."

²⁴² Cornelia Schöck, *Adam im Islam: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Sunna* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1993), 179 n. 1049.

²⁴³ Note also "the first Enoch" (חנך הקדמון) who appears in *Sefer ha-Kasdim* (Ms. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Gaster 177 ff. 36a–b).

Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāmah* (ed. Le Strange and Nicholson):²⁴⁴

وقومى از اصحاب تواريخ گفته اند هوشنگ پدر خنوخ بودست وخنوخ نام ادریس است عليه السلام وقومى ديگر گفته اند هوشنگ برادرى داشت بدر نام واين برد پدر خنوخ بود يعنى ادریس عليه السلام.

There are national historians who say that Hōshang was the father of Enoch, and Enoch is the name of Idrīs, upon whom be peace! And other people say that Hōshang had a brother whose name was <Y>ared,²⁴⁵ and the son of <Y>ared was the father of Enoch; i.e., Idrīs, upon whom be peace!

Further traditions about the Iranian legendary ruler Hōshang are briefly examined on pp. 295–6.

Pseudo-Mas‘ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān*:²⁴⁶

وولد <ليارد> وهو ابن مائة سنة ابنه خنوخ ويقول بعض اهل التاريخ انه تم للعالم في وقته ألفان وستمائة سنة واربعة سنين. وخنوخ هو ادریس النبي عليه السلام ونبأه الله تعالى وسمي ادریس لكثرة درسه لكتاب الله عز وجل وسنن الدين وأزل الله سبحانه وتعالى عليه ثلاثين صحيفة فكمملت الصحف المنزلة يومئذ ثلاثين صحيفة.

When <Yared>²⁴⁷ was 100 years old, he engendered his son Enoch. Some of the chroniclers say that at that time the age of the world was 2,604 years.²⁴⁸ Enoch is the prophet Idrīs (upon whom be peace!), and God Most High made him a prophet. He was named Idrīs because of his intensive study of the Scripture of God (may He be glorified and exalted!) and religious practices. God (may He be praised and extolled!) revealed thirty writings to him, and the writings that had been revealed up to that time were thirty (in number).

Qazwīnī, *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā’ib al-mawjūdāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld):²⁴⁹

ومن الناس من يزعم ان هرمس الاول الذي تسميه اليونانيون اخنوخ بن يرد بن مهلائيل بن قينان بن انوش بن شيث بن آدم (ع) وهو ادریس... .

And there are some people who allege that “the first Hermes,” the one whom the Greeks (*sic!*) call Akhnūkh b. Yared b. Mahalālīl b. Qaynān b. Enōsh b. Shīth b. Adam (upon whom be peace!), and who is Idrīs. . . .

²⁴⁴ G[uy]. Le Strange and R[eynold]. A. Nicholson, *The Fārsnāma of Ibnu’l-Balkhī* (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s. 1; Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press and Luzac & Co., 1921), 10.1–4.

²⁴⁵ Emend يرد to يرد?

²⁴⁶ Pseudo-Mas‘ūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān wa-min abādat al-hidhān, wa-‘ajā’ib al-buldān wa’l-ghāmir bi-al-mā’ wa’l-‘imrān* (Cairo, 1938; repr., Beirut: Dār al-Andalus lil-ṭibā‘ah wa’l-nashr, 1966), 77.14–18. Regarding the spurious nature of this work, see B[ernard]. Carra de Vaux, “Note sur un ouvrage attribué à Maçoudi,” *JA* 9, série, 7 (1896): 133–44; C[harles] Pellat, “al-Mas‘ūdī, Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn,” *EF* 6:785; Michael Cooperson, “Mas‘ūdī,” *EncIr*, Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 46.

²⁴⁷ Printed edition reads يوارد; other manuscripts have يرد. Emend يرد.

²⁴⁸ Another manuscript reads 1640 years. Neither figure correlates with any known biblical chronology.

²⁴⁹ Qazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 2:179.2–4. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 2 under the rubric “Enoch as Purveyor of Star-Lore and Calendar Reckoning.”

Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'rikh* (ed. Šālihānī):²⁵⁰

والعرب تسميه ادريس.

The Arabs call him Idrīs.

Karshuni Pseudo-Hippolytus (ed. Lagarde):²⁵¹

والعرب تسمى اخنوخ ادريس.

And the Arabs call Enoch Idrīs.

ENOCH/HERMES/IDRĪS AS HŌSHANG

According to Kevin van Bladel, the identification of Enoch/Hermes with the ancient Iranian mythological figure of Hōshang, grandson of the first human or the first king Gayūmart, was probably first proposed by Abū Ma'shar or "one of his recent predecessors."²⁵² When his numerous cultural accomplishments are taken into account, the figure of Hōshang does offer an attractive mantle within which to package this amalgam of biblical, Egyptian, and qur'ānic characters for an eastern Iranian or central Asian audience largely unacquainted with Western scriptural traditions.²⁵³ How this attested Irano-Jewish assimilation of Hōshang to Enoch/Hermes might mesh with an alternative one recently proposed by Yishai Kiel between the Iranian mythological hero Yima/Jamshīd and Jewish Enoch/Metatron was unfortunately not addressed by the latter author.²⁵⁴ But if we accept Kiel's suggested correlations between Enoch, Metatron, and Yima/Jamshīd, these different equations might represent parallel non-convergent attempts at a syncretic identification between two foundational religious characters, one originating in Babylonian Jewish circles and the other among non-Jewish intellectual groups in the early Muslim East.

Abū Ma'shar *apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār):²⁵⁵

وتسميه الفرس في [سريها] اللهجد وتفسيره ذو عدل وهو الذي تذكر الحرائية بنوته وتذكر الفرس أن جده كيومت وهو آدم وتذكر العبرانيون [أنه] أخنوخ وهو بالعربية ادريس.

²⁵⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Ta'rikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (ed. Šālihānī), 11.8–9. The full citation of this source appears in Chapter 3 under the rubric "Enoch as Authority on Religion and its Practices."

²⁵¹ Paul de Lagarde, ed., *Materialen zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs* (2 vols; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1867), 2:63.14–15.

²⁵² Van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 155.

²⁵³ Fodor, "Origin of the Arabic Legends," 345. See also the wider ranging remarks of Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "Iranian Epic and the Manichaean *Book of Giants*: Irano-Manichaica III," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48 (1995): 193.

²⁵⁴ Yishai Kiel, "Reimagining Enoch in Sasanian Babylonia in Light of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Traditions," *AJS Review* 39 (2015): 407–32.

²⁵⁵ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *K. 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Najjār), 1:185.16–19; *Ibn Abi Useibia* (ed. Müller), 1:16.25–7.

The Persians in [their biographies] term him (i.e., Hermes) *'llhjd* <read *Ōshahanj*>,²⁵⁶ which means “the one who is just.”²⁵⁷ He is the one whose prophetic status the Hārriānians mention. The Persians say that his grandfather was Kayōmart (i.e., Gayūmart), who is Adam. The Hebrews say [that he is] Enoch, and he is Idrīs in Arabic.²⁵⁸

Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart):²⁵⁹

...ويدل على أن هوشناك الملك كان قبل ادريس او في زمنه أن الفرس زعمت أنه أول من أمر بقتل السباع الضارية وأن يتخذ من جلودها ملابس ومفارش ويدل أيضا أن طهمورث الملك كان في زمنه وعهده وان كان عاش بعده كيومرث الذي هو بمنزلة آدم عند اكثهم ويزعمون أنه أول كتب الكتاب وفطر الناس اليه كما يقول اهل الاسلام أن ادريس أول من خط بالقلم وفي زمانه قصة هاروت وماروت.

Hōshang the king²⁶⁰ either predates Idrīs or was his contemporary,²⁶¹ for the Persians maintain that he (i.e., Hōshang) was the first to command the killing of savage predatory animals and then the making of clothing and blankets from their skins.²⁶² (Traditions about Idrīs) also indicate that Ṭahmūrath the king would have belonged to his age and era, even though Gayōmard—the one corresponding to the position of Adam in most of their (i.e., the Persians’) opinions—would have lived after him. They maintain that he was the first to write a book, creating it for the people²⁶³ just as Muslims say that Idrīs was the first to write with a pen. It was during his *floruit* that the episode of Hārūt and Mārūt took place.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁶ The name is corrupt in all extant versions of this report, but it was correctly identified as Hōshang by Seybold, “Lippert *Ibn al-Qifī’s Ta’rikh al-Hukamā’*,” 807. See the discussion of van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 125 n. 14.

²⁵⁷ An echo of the hoary epithet (*δικαιος*) long associated with the biblical character of Enoch? For the assignment of this epithet (Persian *pēshdād* “law-giver; redresser of wrongs” and its Semitic synonyms) to this legendary Persian ruler, see Seybold’s citations from Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:171–2; Khwārizmī, *K. Maḥāṣin al-‘ulūm* (ed. van Vloten), 98.12–99.1. There are other features of the hagiography linked to this king that overlap with Enochic lore; see A. Shapur Shahbazi, “Hōshang,” *EncIr* 12:491–2; William F. McCants, *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 107–17.

²⁵⁸ See also Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistus and Arab Science,” 51; Fodor, “Origin of the Arabic Legends,” 336; van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 125.

²⁵⁹ Maqdisī, *K. al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh* (ed. Huart), 3:13.10–17.

²⁶⁰ For an informative discussion of the pre-Islamic Iranian epic cycle of kings and heroes, see Ehsan Yarshater, “Iranian National History,” in Ehsan Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 3 (1): The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 359–477.

²⁶¹ Hōshang is sometimes identified with the biblical forefather Mahalalel. According to the twelfth-century *Fārs-nāmah* attributed to Ibn al-Balkhī, Hōshang was the father (پدر) of Enoch, thus identifying him with biblical Yared. See Le Strange-Nicholson, eds, *Fārsnāma*, 10.1–2; Sarah Bowen Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory, and Conversion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 57.

²⁶² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* (ed. de Goeje), 1/1:171.7–8: “He (i.e., Hōshang) ordered the killing of savage predatory animals and the making of clothing and blankets from their skins.”

²⁶³ An obscure phrase in context. Huart thinks it refers to a legend about Ṭahmūrath and communal fasting that is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, but it is difficult to see how that would pertain to the *Erfinder* theme that is being applied to Idrīs.

²⁶⁴ For the coalescing of Iranian legends around the figure of Idrīs/Hermes, see Louise Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 48 n. 31.

ENOCH AS THE "REINCARNATION" OF ADAM

There is a persistent tendency visible within certain exegetical schools to forge thematic connections between the biblical figures of Adam and Enoch.²⁶⁵ The latter character via his righteous behavior was often imagined as restoring the original situation of harmony between God and humanity which the former had thoughtlessly forfeited by his disobedience in the Garden. Perhaps one of the clearest expressions of this imagined syzygy between Adam and Enoch occurs in a work by the Geronese kabbalist R. Ezra b. Solomon when he declares that "before his consumption (of the forbidden fruit), Adam was completely immaterial and wore angelic garb, like Enoch and Elijah."²⁶⁶

Zohar *Hadash*, *Terumah* fol. 42d (ed. Margaliot):²⁶⁷

דאול בקושטא בנו ארעא הוה משכח נהירו דאביד אדם קדמא דאיטמר ההוא נהירו בגנתא דעדן ... סלקא לעילא לא אחיישא בדוכתיה דהא לא הוה אשתלים מכל סטרין דהא שלימו דלתתא הוה גרע דהא אחאביד בחובא דאדם קדמא נחת לתתא ואתטמר גו אילני גנתא אתפשטא תמן בכל סטרי גנתא עד דאחייליד חנוך בן ירד כיון דאחייליד הוה אשתכח סמוך לגנתא שריאת ההיא נהירו לאנהרא בגוויה אתרבי ברבו קודשא ושריא עליה נהירו דא מנצצא עאל לגנתא דעדן אשכח תמן אילנא דחיי ענפוי ואבני דאילנא ארח בהו ואחיישיב בגוויה ההוא רוחא דנהירו דחיי אתו שליחן מלאכי עילאי ואוליפו ליה חכמתא עילאי יהבו ליה ספר דהוה סמיר גו אילנא דחיי ואוליף מניה וידע אורחוי דקב"ה ואשתדל אבתריה הה"ד ויתהלך תנוך את האלהים עד דההוא נהירו אשתלים בגוויה כיון דההוא נהירו אשתלים לתתא בעא לסלקא לדוכתיה ובגין לאחזאה ההוא שלימו ברוח דחנוך יומא חד עאל גו גנתא דעדן ואחמו ליה סמירין דגנתא ואנח ההוא ספר וכל מה דחמא לבר ואיהו צניע בנו חברייא לבתר אתלבש ההוא נהירו גו ההוא לבושא לאחזאה לעילא ולמהוי כיוסופא בהדיה לכל אינון דעברו קטרוגא במאריהון דלא יתברי בר נש בעלמא הה"ד ואינון כי לקח אותו אלהים ואינון בהאי עלמא ואלמא כי לקח אותו אלהים לדיוקנא אחרא בהאי איהו נער תדיר ורוחא דא אוקימנא חנוך לנער על פי דרכו לאנהגא עלמין בלחו גם כי יזקין לא יסור ממנה דהא תדיר אשתכח ביה ואתהדר נער בחנוך אתכליל דיוקנא דעלמא סמירא איהו כורסייא דמאריה עביד שליחן בעלמא כד עלמא בדינה נפק ואיקרי מטסרין רבון על כל חילין עלאין וסבא איהו נער עאל מעלמא לעלמא ואחיישבא רוגזא.

... since he (i.e., Enoch) conducted himself uprightly (lit. "walked in truth") on earth, he found the light that had been lost by Adam the Protoplast, because that light had been hidden in the Garden of Eden. He ascended above. He did not seat himself in his (i.e., Adam's) place because he was not perfect from all the sides, for the perfection below was lacking since it had been lost through the transgression of Adam the Protoplast. He (i.e., Adam) descended below and hid himself among the trees of the garden. There he was stripped of all the aspects of the garden until Enoch b. Yared was born. After he had been born, he found himself near the Garden. That light began to shine within him. He was anointed with a holy anoint-

²⁶⁵ See especially Idel, "Enoch Is Metatron," 223–37; Idel, "Adam and Enoch," 183–205; Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–53.

²⁶⁶ R. Ezra b. Solomon, *Sod 'et'z ha-da'at* (Ms. Oxford Christ Church College 198 fol. 7b): אדם קודם אכילתו היה כולו רוחני ולבוש מלאכות כחנוך ואליהו. The text is cited from what was transcribed and published by Scholem, *Major Trends*, 404 n. 87.

²⁶⁷ *Sefer Zohar Hadash* (ed. Margaliot), 84.

ment, and that sparkling light settled upon him.²⁶⁸ He entered the Garden of Eden and found there the Tree of Life, the branches and the fruits of the Tree. He breathed their aroma, and that spirit of the Light of Life took up residence within him.²⁶⁹ Messengers—supernal angels—came and taught him supernal wisdom. They gave him a book that had been hidden within the Tree of Life,²⁷⁰ and he studied it and discerned the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, and he strove to follow Him, as it is written (in Scripture) “And Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:24) until that light had been perfected within him. After that light was perfected below, it sought to ascend to its (proper) place and display that perfection (that was accomplished) through the mystery of Enoch.

One day he went inside the Garden of Eden, and they showed him the secrets of the garden, and he left that book and everything that he had seen outside (the garden), and it remains guarded among the Companions.²⁷¹ Afterwards he cloaked himself (with) that light inside that garment in order to show the supernal heights and by this (display) to bring shame on those who protested before their Lord that He should not create humanity in the world. As it is written (in Scripture): “And he was no more, because God took him” (Gen 5:24): “and he was no more” signifies “in this world”; “and he was no more” means “as he existed in this world.” “Because God took him” means “(he became) another image”; in that (world) he is permanently a youth. This secret we found (in the verse): “Enoch became a youth following His way” (Prov 22:6) (so as) to conduct all the worlds.²⁷² “Even should he grow old, he will not deviate from it” (ibid.): Behold, he is permanently found in it, and he reverted to a youth. In Enoch is contained the form of the hidden world. He is the throne of his Lord. He was made (one of the messengers) for the world. When the world is (under the attribute of) judgment, Metatron goes forth and is called “the leader over all the celestial armies.”²⁷³ The old man who is a youth goes from one world to another, and the anger subsides.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁸ Compare Enoch's analogous investiture in 2 En. 22:8–10.

²⁶⁹ One might compare the Mandaean celestial entity Nhūr-Hai “Light of Life,” one of a group of four beings known as the “Sons of Holiness” and who play a role in the investiture of souls ascending to heaven in garments of light. See Mark Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920), 83, 106; idem, *Ginzā*, 194–5; Kurt Rudolph, *Theogonie, Kosmogonie und Anthropogonie in den mandäischen Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 127–8.

²⁷⁰ Compare the Coptic gnostic treatise *Pistis Sophia* 3.134: “Because even for the righteous themselves who have never done evil, and have not committed sins at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the Books of Jeu, which I (i.e., Jesus) caused Enoch to write in Paradise when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life.” Translation cited from Schmidt-MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 349.

²⁷¹ i.e., the legendary associates of R. Shim'on b. Yoḥai in the production, reception, and exposition of the Zoharic corpus of writings.

²⁷² See Zohar 2.179a.

²⁷³ One of the titles originally borne by the archangel Michael (cf., e.g., 2 En. 22:6), some of whose attributes were absorbed by the “new” figure of Metatron. See, e.g., the Cairo Genizah magical incantation T.-S. K 1.128 lines 4–5 where Metatron (מיטטרון) is invoked as “the Prince of the Host of the Lord” (שר צבא יי) published by Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 129.

²⁷⁴ See also Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 627; Idel, *Ben*, 411–12; and especially Zohar 2.277a–b.

Moshe Idel has called attention to this passage's affinities with the Slavonic Book of Enoch (2 *Enoch*) and speculates that the availability of this work in a Semitic language version may explain these parallels.²⁷⁵ While no such text is presently extant, there do exist intriguing hints of "Hebraisms" in the Slavonic versions of the work which are suggestive of a Semitic language milieu.²⁷⁶ The third-century prophet Mani also seems to know some of the contents of 2 *Enoch*, and he can only have acquired such knowledge from a Semitic language—in this case Aramaic—source.²⁷⁷

Zohar Ḥadash, Midrash Ha-ne'elam to Shirha-Shirim fol. 69a-b (ed. Margaliot):²⁷⁸

וכד ברא קב"ה לאדם הראשון אע"פ ליה בגנתא דעדן בחד לבוש יקר דנהורא דג"ע... ופרחו אינון לבושין מיניה וסליקו; נשמתא זהרא דאספקלריא דלעילא מיניה ואשחר ערום מכלא... וההוא זהרא דנשמתא עילאה דפרחה מניה סליקא לעילא והות גניזא בחד אוצר דאיהו גוף עד דאוליד בנין ונפק חנוך לעלמא כיון דאתא חנוך ההוא זהרא עילאה נשמתא קדישא נחתת ביה והוא חנוך בההוא רבו עילאה דשבק מניה אדם הה"ד ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים וגו'.

And when the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam the Protoplast, He introduced him into the Garden of Eden (clothed) in a garment of glory that was consubstantial with the light of the Garden of Eden... [but he sinned] and those garments flew off of him, and the luminous soul which opened a window to what was above departed from him, and he was left stripped of all (these things)... and that luminosity of the supernal soul which flew away from him ascended upwards, and it was put away into a certain treasury which was the "Body"²⁷⁹ until the time that he engendered offspring and Enoch came into the world. When Enoch came, that supernal light—the holy soul—descended into him, and Enoch was invested with the supernal dignity which had left Adam, as scripture affirms: "And Enoch walked with God, etc." (Gen 5:21).²⁸⁰

Zohar 2.277a-b (ed. Vilna):²⁸¹

עד דאתיליד חנוך בן ירד כיון דאתיליד הוה אשכח סמוך לגנתא שריאת ההוא נהירו לאתנהרא... בגווייהו אתרביו ברבו קודשא ושריא עליה נהירו דמנצצא עאל לגנתא דעדן אשכח תמן אינלי דחי וענפי

²⁷⁵ With regard to Idel's suggestion, note the remarks of Daniel Abrams, *Kabbalistic Manuscripts and Textual Theory: Methodologies of Textual Scholarship and Editorial Practice in the Study of Jewish Mysticism* (2nd edn; Jerusalem and Los Angeles: The Magnes Press/Cherub Press, 2013), 305–6.

²⁷⁶ S[h]olomo. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," in R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and C. Jouco Bleeker, eds, *Types of Redemption: Contributions to the Theme of the Study-Conference Held at Jerusalem 14th to 19th July 1968* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 72–87, esp. 73.

²⁷⁷ John C. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in John C. Reeves, *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994b), 184–91.

²⁷⁸ *Sefer Zohar Ḥadash* (ed. Margaliot), 137.

²⁷⁹ For the "Body" (גוף) as a heavenly repository of souls, see especially the references supplied by Joel Hecker in Daniel C. Matt, *Sefer ha-Zohar: The Zohar, Pritzker Edition* (12 vols; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004–17), 11:452.

²⁸⁰ See also Hecker *apud* Matt, *Zohar*, 11:450–52; Idel, "Enoch Is Metatron," 230–1; Idel, *Ben*, 410–11; Idel, *Ascensions on High*, 43; Alan Unterman, ed., *The Kabbalistic Tradition: An Anthology of Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 74–5. Idel denies that this passage is dependent upon a doctrine of metempsychosis: "This is certainly not a matter of transmigration of a soul from one body to another, as can be found in another kabbalistic source where Enoch is portrayed as a transmigration of Adam" (*Ben*, 411).

²⁸¹ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82.

ואנבוי דאילנא ארז ביה <ואתמישיב בגויה ההוא רוחא דנהירו דחיי> אתו שליחן מלאכי עלאי אוליפו ליה חכמתא עלאה יתבו ליה ספר דהוה סמיך גו אילנא דחיי ואוליף מניה וידע אורחוי דקב"ה ואשתדל אבתריה הה"ד ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים עד דהווא נהירו אשתלים בגויה כיון דהווא נהירו אשתלים לתתא בעא לסלקא לדוכתיה ובגין לאחזאה ההוא שלימו ברזא דחנוך יומא חד עאל גו גנתא דעדן ואחמו ליה סמיךין דגנתא ואגח ההוא ספר וגר.

... (the light²⁸² was lost) until Enoch b. Yared was born. When he was born, he found himself near the Garden. That light began to shine within him. He was anointed with a holy anointment and a sparkling light settled upon him.²⁸³ He entered the Garden of Eden and found there Trees (*sic!*) of Life, with the branches and fruit of the Tree. He breathed its aroma and <and that spirit of the Light of Life took up residence within him>.²⁸⁴ Emissaries—celestial angels—came (and) instructed him in supernal wisdom. They gave him a book which had been concealed within the Tree of Life,²⁸⁵ and he studied it and discerned the ways of the Holy One, blessed be He, and strove to follow Him, as Scripture attests: “and Enoch walked with God” (Gen 5:24) until the light which was within him was perfected. As soon as the light was perfected below, it sought to ascend to its (proper) place. And hence He showed that perfection through the mystery of Enoch,²⁸⁶ (who) one day entered into the Garden of Eden, and they showed him the secrets of the Garden, and he left that book, etc.²⁸⁷

Tiqqune ha-Zohar §70 fol. 137a (ed. Margaliot):²⁸⁸

דבר אחר זה ספר תולדות אדם דא ספרא דחנוך נער דעליה אתמר ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים ואינונו כי לקח אותו אלהים ואמאי קארי ליה תולדות אדם אלא הכא רזא דגלגולא תולדות אדם אתקרי דמניה נפק ואינוו הוה תולדה זיליה.

Another opinion: “This is the book of the generations of Adam” (Gen 5:1). This is the *Book of Enoch* the youth,²⁸⁹ about whom it was said: “And Enoch walked with God, and then he was (here) no more, for God took him” (5:24). Then why do they call it “. . . of the generations of Adam” (5:1)? It was so called only because of the esoteric teaching of the reincarnation of the descendants of Adam, since he (Enoch) proceeded out from him (i.e., Adam) and he was his descendant.²⁹⁰

²⁸² An emblem of Adam's supernal soul. Here Enoch is being represented as the reincarnation of Primordial Adam; see *Tiqqune ha-Zohar* §70 fol. 137a.

²⁸³ Compare Enoch's analogous investiture in *2 En.* 22:8–10.

²⁸⁴ Emending ואתמישיב גו רוחא דנהירו דחיי to accord with the text of *Zohar Ḥadash, Terumah* 42d.

²⁸⁵ Compare the Coptic gnostic treatise *Pistis Sophia* 3.134: “Because even for the righteous themselves who have never done evil, and have not committed sins at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the Books of Jeu, which I (i.e., Jesus) caused Enoch to write in Paradise when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life.” Translation cited from Schmidt-MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 349.

²⁸⁶ See *Zohar* 3.217b.

²⁸⁷ For another translation, see Unterman, *Kabbalistic Tradition*, 98. See also *Zohar Ḥadash, Terumah* 42d, which is translated by Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 627; also Philip S. Alexander, “From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch,” in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 111. Compare *Zohar* 2.55a and 3.10b.

²⁸⁸ *Sefer Tiqqune ha-Zohar* (ed. Margaliot), 273. Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 83, 90, 104, 279.

²⁸⁹ For this epithet, see *Zohar* 1.37b. ²⁹⁰ See *Zohar* 2.277a–b.

ENOCH AS FLOOD-HERO?

A few scholars have noticed that some of our earliest testimonies about the biblical character of Enoch endow him with certain attributes that are also ascribed to the Flood-hero in Mesopotamian versions of that widely dispersed myth.²⁹¹ Is it possible that Enoch at one time could have played this role in an early form of the Israelite version of this story? Suggestive in this regard is an observable thematic continuity between the meaning of one of the names for the Mesopotamian Flood-hero—Utnapishtim—and the immortal fate ascribed to Enoch in Gen 5:24 and its parascriptural congeners. The proper name “Utnapishtim” is commonly understood to mean “he found (*ūta*) life (*napištim*)”; i.e., “achieved immortality,” and may be an Akkadian interpretation of the name of the Flood-hero in the Sumerian version of this tale, Ziusudra, which means “life of long days.”²⁹² Moreover, the name “Utnapishtim” appears to have been mentioned at least once in a Second Temple era Jewish work connected with Enochic literature, the so-called “Book of Giants.”²⁹³ While Noah admittedly preserved “life,” it is the figure of Enoch whose eventual fate more closely mirrors that of the earlier Flood-heroes of Sumerian and Semitic mythology.

1QapGen 2.19–24 (ed. Machiela):²⁹⁴

19. באדין אנה למך רסת על מתושלה אבי וכולא לה [ח]ר[ת] לחנוך
 20. אבוהי וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע בדי הוא רחים ור[] ועם קדשיא
 21. עדבה פליג ולה מחוין כולא וכדי שמע מתושל[ח] אבי
 22. רס על חנוך אבוהי למנדע מנה כולא בקוששא []
 23. רעותה ואזל לה קדמת לפרוין ותמן אשכחה לחנוך [אבוהי
 24. [ו] אמר לחנוך אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי די אנה לך את[ית] []

Then I, Lamech, hurried to Methuselah, my father, and [communicated] all this to him [so that he might consult ... Enoch] his father, and come to know everything

²⁹¹ Note the remarks of Pierre Grelot, “La légende d’Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification,” *RSR* 46 (1958b): 5–26; 181–210; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 175–8; John C. Reeves, “Resurgent Myth: On the Vitality of the Watchers Traditions in the Near East of Late Antiquity,” in Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblenz Bautch, and John C. Endres, S.J., *The Fallen Angels Traditions: Second Temple Developments and Reception History* (CBQMS 53; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2014b), 96–104.

²⁹² Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 229–30.

²⁹³ John C. Reeves, “Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?” *JBL* 112 (1993): 110–15; Martin Schwartz, “Qumran, Turfan, Arabic Magic, and Noah’s Name,” in Rika Gyselen, ed., *Charmes et sortilèges, magie et magiciens* (Res orientales 14; Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l’Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002), 231–8; Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 58 s.v. ‘tbnbyš.

²⁹⁴ Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 36–7. Departures from Machiela’s transcription are noted *infra*.

with certainty from him since he is loved and fav[ored] (?) by God... and with the Holy Ones] has his lot been apportioned, and (hence) they (God and the angels) reveal everything to him. *vacat*

When [my father] Methuselah heard [these things], he hurried to Enoch, his father, to learn from him the truth of the whole matter [...] his approval, and he departed eastward to Parvayyim.²⁹⁵ There he found Enoch²⁹⁶ [his father... and] he said to Enoch, his father, "O my father and master, I have co[me] to you [...]."

The fragmentary column 2 of the so-called "Genesis Apocryphon" from Qumran recounts Lamech's anxiety about the true biological parentage of his newborn son Noah due to the decidedly preternatural qualities of the young child, and it is indisputably related to the story about the birth of Noah that is found in *1 En.* 106:1–107:3. In both narrative scenarios, Enoch is pictured as dwelling in a distant locale far from human society²⁹⁷ where he can interact with the angels and be privy to "the mysteries of the Holy Ones" (Ethiopic *1 En.* 106:19).

1Q19 Frag. 3:²⁹⁸

[...] 3. בור הולד כי נכבדים [...].

[...] 4. אביו וקאשר ראה למך את [...].

[...] 5. את חדרי הבית כחדודי השמש [...].

3... a fir]stborn was born, when glorious things [...]

4... his father. And when Lamech beheld the [...]

5... (illuminated?) the rooms of the house as the rays of the sun [...].²⁹⁹

This fragment appears to stem from a Hebrew version of the birth of Noah, a topic that seems to have enjoyed some popularity in Second Temple literature.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ A difficult line to read, but the reconstructions and analyses of Fitzmyer, Machiela, and García Martínez are untenable, the last of which is based on that of Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 41 n. 1. The best reading is perhaps קרמח לפרוין ואול לה, originally proposed by Henri Lignée and accepted by André Dupont-Sommer and Pierre Grelot. See P[ierre]. Grelot, "Parwaïm des Chroniques à l'Apocryphe de la Genèse," *VT* 11 (1961): 32–4; Stephen A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 1974), 71 n. 201; Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 206.

²⁹⁶ Following Cook, *Dictionary*, 233. Machiela proposes a reading of ארעא לקך, but such a syntagm is otherwise unattested in Aramaic for expressing spatial limits.

²⁹⁷ Note that the "standard epithet" accompanying the name Utnapishtim in Akkadian sources is *rēqu/rūqu* "far, distant." See Wolfram von Soden, ed., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (3 vols; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965–81), 2:971 s.v. *rēqu(m)*, 995 s.v. *rūqu(m)*; Tigay, *Evolution*, 229.

²⁹⁸ D[ominique]. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 85 and pl. XVI (PAM 40.536).

²⁹⁹ Compare *1 En.* 106:2, 5, 10; 1QapGen 5.12–13; 'Otiyyot de R. 'Aqiva (apud Jellinek, *BHM* 2:115.10–12).

³⁰⁰ James C. VanderKam, "The Birth of Noah," in Zdzisław Jan Kapera, ed., *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Kraków: The Enigma Press, 1992), 213–31; Aryeh Amihay and Daniel Machiela, "Traditions of the Birth of Noah," in Michael E. Stone, Aryeh Amihay, and Vered Hillel, eds, *Noah and his Book(s)* (SBLEJL 28; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 53–69.

Devorah Dimant has argued that 1Q19 and so-called 1Q19 *bis* may attest the existence of a more primitive Hebrew narrative work upon which both *I Enoch* and 1QapGen are reliant.³⁰¹

al-Kisā'i, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. Eisenberg):³⁰²

فاخذها الطلق فاقبل عليها ملك وقال لها انطلقى معى الى غار النور الذى ولد فيه ادريس ونوح فانطلقت اليه فاذا فيه فرش
ووسائد وآلات الولادة فخفف الله عليها الطلق.

Then labor pains seized her, and an angel came to her and said to her: "Hurry with me to the 'cave of light,' the place wherein Idrīs and Noah were born." So she hurried to it, and once in it (found) mats, cushions, and things relating to childbirth, and God alleviated her labor pains.³⁰³

This "cave of light" wherein this medieval storyteller depicts the birth of Abraham arguably has its antecedents in the similarly radiant imagery that characterizes the legendry surrounding the birth of Noah in *I En.* 106:1–107:3 and the Hebrew fragment 1Q19. Similarly "the Sages say that when Moses was born, light filled the entire house" (*b. Soṭah* 12a). Apocryphal Christian gospels also situate the birth of Jesus within a light-filled cave.³⁰⁴ John Renard has characterized the present "cave of light" as a symbol used to "link the various divine envoys."³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ See Devorah Dimant, "Noah in Early Jewish Literature," in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 130 n. 34; 145–46; Devorah Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work," *JJS* 53 (2002): 223–37, esp. 234–7.

³⁰² *Vita Prophetarum* (ed. Eisenberg), 1:129.22–130.2.

³⁰³ See also Thackston, *Tales*, 137. ³⁰⁴ Note *Prot. Jas.* 19:2; *Ps.-Mt.* 13.

³⁰⁵ John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 69.

The Books of Enoch and their Reputation

Writings ascribed to the biblical forefather Enoch exhibit a checkered reputation among those literate circles who link their cultural identities to a biblical world of discourse. Initially on account of their purported antiquity and the reputation for piety and intellectual prowess enjoyed by their putative author, Enochic books were viewed as valuable repositories of antediluvian data which shed light on the “historical” events surrounding the advent of the universal Flood, the manifold cultural boons attributable to their namesake, and the types of cultic service and liturgical celebrations sanctioned by the deity. The bestowal of a prophetic office upon Enoch also paved the way for his enlistment within a movement who combed the writings attributed to prominent non-Christian prophets and sages for expressions of a *praeparatio evangelica* for the edification of their constituencies.

EVALUATED POSITIVELY OR NEUTRALLY

Assembled here are those sources which use the name of Enoch or cite passages from his works, whether authentic or forged, that clearly consider such an ascription to be a valuable asset.

***Barnabas* 4:3 (ed. Prigent-Kraft):¹**

τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἤγγικεν, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνώχ λέγει. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἦξει.

The final temptation has drawn near, about which it was written, as Enoch² says: “For the Lord has shortened the times and the days for this purpose, in order that His Beloved One might hasten to come to his inheritance.”

¹ Pierre Prigent and Robert A. Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé* (SC 172; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971), 92–4.

² The Latin translation (of uncertain date) reads “Daniel” instead of “Enoch.”

Scholars are divided over which section of verbiage in this text represents the Enochic "quotation," evaluated by Lawlor as being "not even a free quotation of anything in our Book."³ In spite of the punctuation supplied by the modern editors, it seems more likely that the words following the phrase "as Enoch says" (ὡς Ἐνώχ λέγει) is the quote from "Enoch."⁴

Barnabas 16:5 (ed. Prigent-Kraft):⁵

λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ παραδώσει κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν.

For the Scripture says: "And it will come to pass at the End of Days that the Lord will hand over the sheep of the pasture and the sheep-fold and their tower to destruction."

What is the anonymous "scripture" (ἡ γραφή) which is cited in this passage? A number of scholars argue that it is reliant upon passages in the Enochic Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 85–90),⁶ although Milik and VanderKam think it "is a conglomerate of expressions scattered all over our Enochic writing."⁷

Barnabas 16:6 (ed. Prigent-Kraft):⁸

γέγραπται γάρ· Καὶ ἔσται, τῆς ἑβδομάδος συντελουμένης οἰκοδομηθήσεται ναὸς θεοῦ ἐνδόξως ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου.

For it is written: "And it will come to pass when the week is finished that a temple of God will be splendidly built for the name of the Lord."

This is another anonymous "scriptural" quotation which scholars have sought to locate within the Enochic library of writings. The apparent use of a chronological scheme involving the enumeration of "weeks" is reminiscent of the so-called "Apocalypse of Weeks" now found in *1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:12–17. Charles and

³ H. J. Lawlor, "Early Citations from the Book of Enoch," *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897): 172.

⁴ John C. Reeves, "An Enochic Citation in *Barnabas* 4:3 and the *Oracles of Hystaspes*," in John C. Reeves and John Kampen, eds, *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994a), 260–77; note also James C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3.4; Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1996), 37–8.

⁵ Prigent-Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé*, 190. See also Lawlor, "Early Citations," 171; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 13; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 46.

⁶ *1 En.* 89:56, 66–7 was suggested by Adolf Hilgenfeld, ed., *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum* (4 vols in 1; 2nd edn; Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1884), 2:40; Lawlor ("Early Citations," 171) suggested *1 En.* 89:53–6 and connected it with *T. Judah* 18:1 (171); Charles (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch, or, 1 Enoch* [2nd edn; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912], lxxxix) and Black (*Apocalypsis*, 13) associated it with *1 En.* 89:56.

⁷ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 47; VanderKam, "1 Enoch," 38–9.

⁸ Prigent-Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé*, 190–2. See also Black, *Apocalypsis*, 13; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 257.

Black both associated it with *1 En.* 91:13.⁹ Milik suggested however that the citation was not Enochic at all, but rather “a verbal quotation from the Greek version of pseudo-Ezekiel, to be added therefore to the meagre collection of other quotations from this apocryphon.”¹⁰

T. Simeon 5:4 (ed. de Jonge):¹¹

Ἐώρακα γὰρ ἐν χαρακτήρι γραφῆς Ἐνώχ ὅτι υἱοὶ ὑμῶν μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἐν πορνείᾳ φθαρῆσονται, καὶ ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσιν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ.

For I have seen in the writing of the scripture of Enoch that your sons will be led astray together with you¹² by sexual misconduct, and they will do wrong to Levi with a sword.

Lawlor suggested *1 En.* 10:9, 12a; *2 Enoch* 34 (?) as the possible background for this particular allusion.¹³

T. Levi 14:1 (ed. de Jonge):¹⁴

Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα, ἔγνω ἀπὸ γραφῆς Ἐνώχ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τέλει ἀσεβήσετε ἐπὶ κύριον, χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐν πάσῃ κακίᾳ, καὶ αἰσχυνθήσονται ἐφ’ ὑμῖν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι γενήσεσθε χλευασμός.

And now, children, I know from a scripture of Enoch¹⁵ that at the end you will act impiously against the Lord, laying hands [upon Him]¹⁶ in all wickedness, and your brothers will feel shame because of you, and you will be made an object of ridicule among all the Gentiles.

Lawlor suggested this was simply “a general reference,” and he directed attention to *1 En.* 89:53ff.¹⁷ Martha Himmelfarb thinks this “scripture of Enoch” (γραφῆς Ἐνώχ) may refer to the Enochic “Book of Watchers.”¹⁸

⁹ Charles, *Book of Enoch*², lxxxii; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 13.

¹⁰ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 257. See VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 39–40 for a full discussion of this issue.

¹¹ M[arinus]. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (PVTG 1.2; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 20. See also Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Christiani Liebezeit, 1713), 161; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 13.

¹² Manuscript witnesses *c h i j* (de Jonge’s sigla) lack the phrase “together with you.”

¹³ Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 170. See also Robert A. Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities in Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs,” in Robert A. Kraft, *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and Their Christian Contexts* (JSJSup 137; Leiden: Brill, 2009a), 166.

¹⁴ de Jonge, *Critical Edition*, 41. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 161; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 13.

¹⁵ Manuscripts *c h i j* lack this reference to “from a scripture of Enoch.”

¹⁶ Manuscripts *c h i j* supply the object “upon him” (ἐπ’ αὐτόν); cf. de Jonge’s critical apparatus.

¹⁷ Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 170.

¹⁸ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 21–2, 126 n. 5.

T. Levi 16:1 (ed. de Jonge):¹⁹

Καὶ νῦν ἔγνων ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι ἐβδομήκοντα ἐβδομάδας πλανηθήσεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην βεβηλώσετε καὶ θυσίας μιανεῖτε.

And now [I have read]²⁰ in a book of Enoch²¹ that for seventy weeks you will go astray, and you will desecrate the priesthood and pollute the offerings.

Lawlor cautiously proposed that *1 En.* 10:12 plus 15:8–16:1 formed the content of this “book of Enoch” (βιβλίῳ Ἐνώχ).²²

T. Naphtali 4:1 (ed. de Jonge):²³

Ταῦτα λέγω, τέκνα μου, ὅτι ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἁγία Ἐνώχ ὅτι καίγε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν Σοδόμων.

I say these things, my children, because I have read in a holy²⁴ scripture of Enoch that even you yourselves will fall away from the Lord, living in accordance with every wicked thing of the Gentiles, and you will perform every lawless deed of those who inhabited Sodom.²⁵

Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 22.3 (ed. Oehler):²⁶

Sed quomodo de angelis quibusdam sua sponte corruptis corruptior gens daemonum evaserit, damnata a deo cum generis auctoribus et cum eo quem diximus princepe, apud litteras sanctas ordine cognoscitur.

You learn from what is contained in the sacred books how certain angels voluntarily corrupted themselves (and) brought into being a race of demons condemned by God, (they) together with the authors of their race and the prince about whom we spoke.²⁷

The “sacred books” (*litteras sanctas*) which Tertullian here invokes almost certainly refer to Enoch.²⁸

¹⁹ de Jonge, *Critical Edition*, 43. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 162–3; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 13.

²⁰ Emending de Jonge’s ἔγνων “I know” to ἀνέγνων on the basis of manuscript witness *d*. Cf. *T. Judah* 18:1.

²¹ The manuscript witnesses *c h i j* (de Jonge’s sigla) lack the reference to “in a/the book of Enoch.” See Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities,” 167.

²² Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 170.

²³ de Jonge, *Critical Edition*, 117. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 164–5; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 14; Kraft, “Enoch and Written Authorities,” 168.

²⁴ The manuscript witnesses *l d e a f c h i j* (de Jonge’s sigla) lack the adjective “holy.”

²⁵ Instead of “Sodomites” (Σοδόμων), manuscript *g* reads “demons” (δαιμόνων). Lawlor (“Early Citations,” 170) suggests *2 En.* 34:2; so also Charles.

²⁶ Franciscus Oehler, ed., *Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani: Quae supersunt omnia* (3 vols; Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel, 1853–4), 1:207. See also Tertullian, *Apology* [♣] *De Spectaculis* (LCL; reprint-ed, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 116–19; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 177–8.

²⁷ See also Tertullian, *Apology* (LCL), 116–19.

²⁸ Compare his *De idol.* 15.6 and *De cultu fem.* 1.3.1. See Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 177–8, who calls attention to the similar concepts found in Jude 6, Justin Martyr, and Athenagoras; VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 47–8.

Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum* 1.3 (ed. Turcan):²⁹

Scio scripturam Enoch, quae hunc ordinem angelis dedit, non recipi a quibusdam, quia nec in armarium Iudaicum admittitur. Opinor, non putaverunt illam ante cataclysmum editam post eum casum orbis omnium rerum abolitorem salvam esse potuisse. Si ista ratio est, recordentur pronepotem ipsius Enoch fuisse superstemem cataclysmi, Noë, qui utique domestico nomine et hereditaria traditione audierat et meminerat de proavi sui penes Deum gratia et de omnibus praedieatis eius, cum Enoch filio suo Mathusalae nihil aliud mandauerit quam ut notitiam eorum posteris suis traderet. Igitur sine dubio potuit Noe in praedicationis delegatione successisse, uel quia et alias non tacuisset tam de Dei conseruatoris sui dispositione quam de ipsa domus suae gloria. Hoc si non tam expedite haberet, illud quoque assertionem scripturae illius tueretur: proinde potuit abolefactam eam uolentia cataclysmi in spiritu rursus reformare, quemadmodum et Hierosolymis Babylonia expugnatione deletis omne instrumentum Iudaicae litteraturae per Esdram constat restauratum. Sed cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedica-rit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiciendum est, quod pertineat ad nos. Et legimus omnem scripturam aedificationi habilem divinitus inspirari. A Iudaeis potest iam videri propterea reiecta, sicut et cetera fere quae Christum sonant. . . . Eo accedit, quod Enoch apud Iudam apostolum testimonium possidet.

I am aware that the scripture of Enoch, which has assigned this role to angels, is not acceptable to some because it is not admitted into the Jewish canon. I suppose they thought that, having been published before the Flood, it could not have safely survived that world-wide calamity, the destroyer of all things.³⁰ If such is the reason (for rejecting it), let them remember that Noah, the survivor of the Flood, was the great-grandson of Enoch himself; and he, of course, had heard and remembered, from familial renown and inherited tradition, about his great-grandfather's "favor in the sight of God" (Gen 6:8) and about all his preachings, because Enoch had given no command to Methuselah other than to transmit the knowledge of them to posterity.³¹ Therefore there can be no doubt that Noah might have succeeded in safeguarding (his) preaching; or, had it been otherwise, he would not have been silent about the plan of God, the one who preserved him, and about the glory of his own household. If he (i.e., Noah) had not had this (conserving power) by so short a route, there is still another reason to warrant our assertion of (the authority) of this scripture: just as it could have been destroyed by the violence of the Flood, so it could have been restored again through the Spirit in the same way that, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonian attack, every document of Jewish literature is generally agreed to have been restored through Ezra. But

²⁹ Marie Turcan, *La toilette des femmes (De cultu feminarum)* (SC 173; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971). See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 169–71; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. edn; 3 vols in 4; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), 3/1:262.

³⁰ Note the response of the Coptic *Pistis Sophia* (see Chapter 5) to this possible objection to the very existence of a "book of Enoch," as was already pointed out by Lawlor, "Early Citations," 184.

³¹ Charles and Nickelsburg deem this sentence to be a paraphrase of *1 En.* 82:1–2; see Charles, *Book of Enoch*², 174–5; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 334.

since in the same scripture Enoch has also preached about the Lord, nothing at all must be rejected by us which pertains to us; and we read that “every scripture suitable for edification is divinely inspired.”³² It may have been later rejected by the Jews for that (very) reason, just like almost all the other (texts) that speak about Christ... In addition to that, Enoch has a testimony in the apostle Jude.³³

Tertullian refers of course at the end of this passage to Jude 14–15. VanderKam nicely synthesizes the importance of this passage by stating “here... for the first time in extant Christian literature one finds arguments for the genuineness or scriptural status of 1 Enoch.”³⁴ Nathaniel Schmidt rightly considered it peculiar that Tertullian never seizes on those “significant passages” from *1 Enoch* 37–71 treating “the Son of Man,” a circumstance suggesting that the Enochic *Similitudes* were unknown to that writer.³⁵

Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum* 2.10 (ed. Turcan):³⁶

Quod si idem angeli qui et materias eiusmodi et illecebras detexerunt, auri dico et lapidum illustrium, et operas eorum tradiderunt, etiam ipsum calliblepharum uellerumque tincturas inter cetera docuerunt damnati a Deo sunt, ut Enoch refert, quomodo placebimus Deo gaudentes rebus illorum qui iram et animaduersionem Dei propterea prouocauerunt?

But if those very angels—the ones who disclosed both the material substances of this kind and their charms, I mean of gold and shiny stones, and taught men how to work them, and then instructed them, among their other (teachings), in eyelid-powder and the dyeing of fleeces—have been condemned by God, as Enoch tells us, how shall we please God while we take joy in the things of those who, on these accounts, have provoked the anger and the vengeance of God?³⁷

VanderKam thinks Tertullian refers here to *1 En.* 8:1 (as in *De cultu feminarum* 1.2) and *1 Enoch* 10.³⁸ Lawlor pointed out that Tertullian’s use of the transliter-

³² 2 Tim 3:16. Tertullian seems to imply that the “Jewish scriptures” restored by Ezra (cf. 4 Ezra 14:1–48) included works by figures like Enoch. Note the remarks of Robert A. Kraft, “‘Ezra’ Materials in Judaism and Christianity,” in Robert A. Kraft, *Exploring the Scripturesque*, 137; Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 195–7.

³³ Adapted from the translations in ANF 4:15–16; Pieter W. van der Horst, “Antediluvian Knowledge,” in Pieter W. van der Horst, *Japeth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 149–50; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 195–6.

³⁴ VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 51–2. See also William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1989), 82.

³⁵ Nathaniel Schmidt, “The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch,” in Robert Francis Harper, Francis Brown, and George Foot Moore, eds, *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (2 vols; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908), 2:348.

³⁶ Turcan, *La toilette des femmes*. See also Schürer, *History* 3/1:262; Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 169.

³⁷ Translation adapted from that in Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 180 n. 43.

³⁸ VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 53.

ated word *calliblepharum* (τὸ καλλιβλέφαρον of the Gizeh papyrus text) in the present passage indicates that he was using a Greek translation of this Enochic booklet.³⁹

Tertullian, *De Idololatria* 4.2 (ed. Reifferscheid and Wissowa):⁴⁰

Antecesserat Enoch praedicens omnia elementa, omnem mundi censum, quae caelo, quae mari, quae terra continentur, in idololatrian versuros daemones et spiritus desertorum angelorum, ut pro deo adversus deum consecrarentur.

Enoch was predicting ahead of time that the demons and the spirits of the fugitive angels would transform all the elements, all that belonged to the world, all that is contained in the heaven, in the sea, (and) in the earth, into objects of idolatry so that they could be consecrated—instead of God—as God.

Lawlor suggested that Tertullian was quoting a variant version of *1 En.* 19:1.⁴¹ The final clause suggests that the standard rabbinic interpretation of Gen 4:26, whereby Enosh and his generation become the first idolaters, may lie behind this particular tradition.

Tertullian, *De Idololatria* 4.2–3 (ed. Reifferscheid and Wissowa):⁴²

Denique idem Enoch simul et cultores idoli et fabricatores in comminatione praedamnat: Et rursus iuro uobis peccatores, quod in diem sanguinis perditionis iustitia parata est, qui seruitis lapidibus, et qui imagines facitis aureas et argenteas et ligneas et lapideas et fictiles et seruitis phantasmatis et daemoniis et spiritibus infernis et omnibus erroribus non secundum scientiam nullum ab iis inuenietis auxilium.

Finally, the same Enoch threatens and condemns both the worshippers and the makers of idols: “And again I swear to you, O sinners, that judgment is being prepared: a day of bloody perdition! You who serve stones, and who make images of gold and silver and wood and stone and clay, and serve specters, and demons, and infernal spirits, and all errors not according to knowledge, you will not find any help from them.”

Dillmann and Lawlor suggested that Tertullian is quoting *1 En.* 99:6–7,⁴³ and they are followed by almost all commentators.⁴⁴

³⁹ Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 208 n. 3.

⁴⁰ August Reifferscheid and Georg Wissowa, eds, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera: Pars I* (CSEL 20; Lipsiae: G. Freytag, 1890), 33.13–17. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 168–9; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 180; J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. van Winden, *Tertullianus, De idololatria: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (VCSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 26–8.

⁴¹ Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 181. See also the discussion of VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 48–9.

⁴² *Tertulliani Opera: Pars I* (ed. Reifferscheid and Wissowa), 33.21–8. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 169 (for an abbreviated text); Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 304–5; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 180; Waszink and van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 28.

⁴³ Dillmann, *Henoch*, 72; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 181.

⁴⁴ Note also J.-C. Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 40.

Origen, *De Principiis* 1.3.3 (ed. Koetschau):⁴⁵

Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.

But also in the book of Enoch we find similar descriptions.

Origen has just quoted *Herm. Vis.* 5, *Man.* 1.1 which affirms the unicity of God and which describes the deity as the One who created “all things” (τὰ πάντα) out of that which was non-existent (ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος). Schürer thought that Origen may be alluding to the depiction of creation found in 2 *Enoch* 24–30,⁴⁶ a position that was also endorsed by André Vaillant and apparently Neil Forsyth.⁴⁷ But this suggestion was flatly rejected by Milik.⁴⁸ Paul Koetschau thought the celebration of nature and its perfect obedience to God that is found in 1 *Enoch* 2–5 might be the passage intended, but this potential solution is questioned by VanderKam.⁴⁹ Reed perspicaciously observes that here—as opposed to his later works—Origen displays no discernible qualms about referencing the “book of Enoch” alongside other “holy scriptures.”⁵⁰

Yet among Christian sources, we begin to observe a change in attitude toward books and traditions ascribed to Enoch during the middle decades of the third century. This first becomes visible in the later works of Origen, where the initial indifference about Enoch’s “scriptural” status he displays in his relatively early *De principiis* (c.225 CE) is gradually replaced by a growing suspicion about the inauthenticity of the Enochic pseudepigrapha.

Origen, *Commentarium in Joannem* 6.42 (25) (ed. Preuschen):⁵¹

Ἰορδάνης μὲν ἐρμηνεύεται “Κατάβασις αὐτῶν.” τούτῳ δέ, ἢ οὕτως εἶπω, γεινῆα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰαρέδ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐρμηνεύεται “Καταβαίνων”, ἐπειδήπερ γεγένηται τῷ Μαλελεήλ, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ γέγραπται, εἴ τῳ φίλον παραδέχεσθαι ὡς ἅγιον τὸ βιβλίον, ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καταβάσεως ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

“Jordan” means “the descent of them.” Now close to this (name), I could say, is the name of “Yared” which also itself means “descending,” since according to what is

⁴⁵ Paul Koetschau, ed., *Origenes Werke, Fünfter Band: De Principiis (ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ)* (GCS 22; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913), 51.8–9. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 174–5; Schürer, *History*, 3/1:262; cf. also 3/2:749.

⁴⁶ Schürer, *History*, 3/2:749.

⁴⁷ André Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1952), x; Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 244.

⁴⁸ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 109.

⁴⁹ VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 55.

⁵⁰ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 197.

⁵¹ Erwin Preuschen, ed., *Origines Werke, Vierter Band: Der Johanneskommentar* (GCS 10; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903), 151.10–15. Greek text also cited by Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 175; A. E. Brooke, *The Commentary of Origen on S. John's Gospel* (2 vols; Cambridge: At the University Press, 1896), 1:160.6–11; Black, *Apocalypsis*, 11; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 152. A partial citation is provided by Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 208.

written in (the book of) Enoch, if one is disposed to accept the book as sacred, Yared was born to Mahalalel during the days when the sons of God descended to the daughters of humans.⁵²

Origen, *In Numeros homilia* 28.2 (ed. Baehrens):⁵³

De quibus nominibus plurima quidem in libellis, qui apellantur Enoc, secreta continentur et arcana; sed quia libelli isti non videntur apud Hebraeos in auctoritate haberi, interim nunc ea, quae ibi nominantur, ad exemplum vocare differamus.

Indeed, many of these names are in pamphlets called “Enoch” which contain secret and arcane information. But because those pamphlets do not appear to have authority among the Jews, we will defer for the moment appealing to those things that are mentioned there as an example.⁵⁴

Hilarius, *Commentarius in Psalmum* 132.6 (ed. Zingerle):⁵⁵

Hermon autem mons est in Phoenice, cuius interpretatio anathema est; quod enim nobiscum anathema nuncupatur, id Hebraice Hermon dicitur. fertur autem id, de quo etiam nescio cuius liber extat, quod angeli concupiscentes filias hominum, cum de caelo descenderent, in hunc montem maxime excelsum conuenerint.

But Hermon is a mountain in Phoenicia whose (name) means “anathema.” That which is called “anathema” among us is termed “Hermon” in Hebrew. Moreover it is said in a book whose identity I do not know that angels, desiring the daughters of men, when they came down from heaven, assembled on the peak of this high mountain.⁵⁶

As Lawlor observed, the remarks made about Mount Hermon in this passage cast doubt on “whether he [i.e., Hilary] had ever seen” the story about the descent of the two hundred angelic Watchers or was even aware of its Enochic pedigree, although he later apologizes for referencing materials unmentioned in the Pentateuch (*libro legis*).⁵⁷

⁵² Cf. *1 En.* 6:6 (4Q201 1 iii, 4 and Syncellus); 106:13 (4Q204 5 ii, 17); 1QapGen 3.3; *Jub.* 4:15; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 117; VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 56–7, 81; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 91 (his reference there to 6:5 should be corrected to 6:6); Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 197.

⁵³ W. A. Baehrens, ed., *Origenes Werke, Siebenter Band: Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung* (GCS 29–30; 2 vols; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1920–1), 2:282.6–9. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 174; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 203; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 20 (first sentence only); Schürer, *History*, 3/1:262–3.

⁵⁴ See also VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 57; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 197–8. Origen has just quoted Ps 147:4, which affirms that God has counted and given names to all the stars (כוכבים).

⁵⁵ Antonius Zingerle, ed., *S. Hilarii episcopi Pictaviensis: Tractatus super Psalmos* (CSEL 22; Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1891), 689.8–13. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 176; Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 220 n. 3; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 152; Schürer, *History*, 3/1:263; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 117.

⁵⁶ See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 93.

⁵⁷ Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 220–1.

recognized.⁶² He here offers a defense of the authenticity of the “book of Enoch” (ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ) in line with the arguments employed by much earlier patristic authors like Tertullian, emphasizing that it is a true literary artifact from the pre-Mosaic age with “no deceptions in it.” Unfortunately the actual contents of the “book of Enoch” which Jacob references remain unknown.

Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* 5 (ed. Scher):⁶³

ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ
ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ ܩܢܘܢ ܗܘܢܘܚ
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Those who are (termed) Nazirē (Nasarenes?):⁶⁴ (their name) means “those who abstain from many things.” They have borrowed from the school of Pythagoras their (practice) of not eating meat or any thing that has a soul in it. They say that the (present) Book of the Torah is not that of Moses, and they possess revelations (apocalypses?) attributed to Enoch and Abraham.⁶⁵

The final sentence of this singular account about a pre-Christian Jewish sect of “Nasarenes,” including its cryptic reference to books of Enoch and Abraham, is also found in the encyclopaedic Mamluk period compilation *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiz waʿl-ʿitibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ waʿl-āthār* of Maqrīzī (d. 1442),⁶⁶ an intriguing datum which was first noticed by Steven Wasserstrom.⁶⁷

⁶² See especially William Adler, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Jacob of Edessa’s Letters and Historical Writings,” in Bas ter Haar Romeny, ed., *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of his Day* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 49–65. For the possibility that Jacob may also have known a work like the Enochic “Book of Giants,” see John C. Reeves, “Jacob of Edessa and the Manichaean Book of Giants?” in Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, eds, *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (WUNT 360; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 199–211.

⁶³ Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* (CSCO 55, 69; 2 vols; ed. A[ddai]. Scher; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue, 1910–12), 1:368.7–11.

⁶⁴ Presumably identical to the Transjordanian Jewish sect named “Nasaraioi” (Νασαραῖοι) who are mentioned only by Epiphanius in his *Anacephalaeosis* and in *Panarion* 18.1.1–3.5. See Karl Holl, ed., *Epiphanius (Ancoratus und Panarion), Erster Band: Ancoratus und Panarion Haer. 1–33* (GCS 25; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915), 168.4–10; 215.13–217.16. For further discussion of this particular sect, see especially Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (New York, 1961; repr., Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 66–74; Ray A. Pritz, *Nazarene Jewish Christianity* (Jerusalem and Leiden: The Magnes Press and Brill, 1988), 45–7.

⁶⁵ See also Sebastian P. Brock, “Some Syriac Accounts of the Jewish Sects,” in Robert H. Fischer, ed., *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East* (Chicago: The Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1977), 276.

⁶⁶ Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*: “ويقولون بأن التوراة ليست كلها لموسى ويتمسكون بصف منسوبة إلى اخنوخ وادريس عليه السلام” and they say that the Torah is not totally Mosaic, and they cling to scriptures which are attributed to Enoch and Abraham, upon whom be peace!” Text cited from [A. I.] Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe* (2nd edn; 3 vols; Paris: L’Imprimerie royale, 1826–7), 1:115.2–3.

⁶⁷ Steven M. Wasserstrom, “Species of Misbelief: A History of Muslim Heresiography of the Jews” (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1985), 246.

Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje):⁶⁸

فبعث الله اليهم نوحا مخوفهم بأسه ومحدّرهم سطوته وداعيا لهم الى التوبة والمراجعة الى الحق والعمل بما امر الله به رسله وانزله في صحف آدم وشيث وخنوخ ونوح يوم ابتعشه الله نبيا اليهم فيما ذكر ابن خمسين سنة.

God sent Noah to them to frighten them (with) His determination and to warn them of His attack. He would call upon them to repent, to return to the truth, and to act in accordance with what God commanded His messengers and (with what) was revealed by Him in the scrolls of Adam, Seth, and Enoch. At the time when God sent Noah as a prophet to them, he reportedly was 50 years old.⁶⁹

Ms. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. arab. 243:⁷⁰

له عجائب كثيرة وله كتاب معلوم وهو يغني عن ذكر عجائبه في هذا الموضوع.

He (i.e., Enoch) is associated with many wonders, and he also has a famous book. It is unnecessary to recount the marvels connected with him in this place.

This testimony comes from an Arabic language prototype of the Ethiopic *Gadla 'Adām* or *The Combat (or Struggles) of Adam and Eve with Satan*, a work that forms part of the larger cycle of *Cave of Treasures* narratives in the Christian East.⁷¹

Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Kitāb al-adwā' al-Kaldāniyyin*:⁷²

قال الشيخ موفق الدين أسعد بن إلياس بن المطران في اختصاره كتاب الادواء الكلدانيين معنى تسمية هرمس المثلث بالتعم أنه كان ملكا عمت مملكته أكثر المعمور ونبيا ذكره الله تعالى وهو إدريس عليه السلام وهو عند اليهود وقيل أخنوخ حكيما فيلسوفا له تصانيف كثيرة في ايدي الناس الى اليوم ككتاب المطول وكتاب العرض وكتاب قضيب الذهب وكتاب في مذهبه في مطارج ساعات الكواكب ومذهبه في نوبة بيوت الفلك فهذه ثلاث نعم اجتمعت له لم يسمع أنها اجتمعت لغيره من الامم ورفعها الله اليه في عمود من نور والحرانيون تذكر أنه رفع في نار بعثها الله اليه ولهذا تحرق اجسادها بعد الموت ومنها من يحرقها قبل الموت تقريبا الى الله وعبادة.

The master Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās Ibn al-Maṭrān says in his abridgement of the *Book of the Remedies of the Chaldeans* that the name "Hermes" means the one who was three-times blessed, for he was a king whose kingdom encompassed most of the inhabited world, and a prophet whom God Most Exalted has mentioned—he being Idris, upon whom be peace, and the one who is called Enoch by

⁶⁸ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk (Annales quos scripsit Abu Dja'far Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari)* (15 vols; ed. M. J. de Goeje; Leiden, 1879–1901; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1964–5), 1/1:184.19–185.2.

⁶⁹ See also Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Tabarī, Volume I: General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 354; Brannon M. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran: An Introduction to the Quran and Muslim Exegesis* (London and New York: Continuum, 2002b), 53.

⁷⁰ Ernst Trumpp, ed., *Gadla 'Adām: Der Kampf Adams* (ABAW 15.3; München: Verlag der K. Akademie, 1881), 120 n. 5. Unfortunately he does not provide the folio number for his citation.

⁷¹ For the Ethiopic version, see *Gadla 'Adām* (ed. Trumpp), 120.10–12. This passage had already been noticed by Lawlor, "Early Citations," 205–7.

⁷² *Apud* Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (4 vols; ed. 'Amir Najjār; Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyyah al-'Ammah lil-Kitāb, 2001), 1:185.6–15.

birth to Cain. After (another) seven years she gave birth to Abel, and after fifty-three years Cain killed Abel. Adam and Eve mourned for him for one hundred years, and then they engendered Seth (who was) in his likeness, after his image.”

“Annianus the monk” was a fifth-century Alexandrian chronographer whose work survives via citations in the later Byzantine and Syriac chronographic traditions.⁷⁸ This alleged quotation does not stem from the present texts of either *1* or *2 Enoch*.⁷⁹ The parallel passages in *Chronicon ad annum 1234* and Bar Hebraeus also retain the reference to the “book of Enoch” (ספר בלכא גנאלא), although the *Chronicon* credits anonymous “chroniclers” rather than Annianus for the “quotation.”

Roger Bacon, *Opus majus* 2.16 (ed. Bridges):⁸⁰

Et similiter alios libros fecerunt, tangentes Christi mysteria, ut in libro Enoch et in libro de testamentis patriarcharum et in libris Esdrae tertio, quarto et quinto, et in multis aliis libris de quorum aliquibus fit mentio in sacro textu, ut de libris Nathan et Samuelis et Abdon prophetarum.

Other books similarly impinge upon the mysteries of Christ, as in the book of Enoch, and in the book of the testaments of the patriarchs,⁸¹ and in the third, fourth, and fifth books of Ezra, and in a number of other books, some of which are mentioned by Holy Scripture, such as the books of the prophets Nathan, Samuel, and Abdo.⁸²

R. Moses de León, *Sefer Mishkan ha-‘Edut* (ed. Bar-Asher):⁸³

וראיתי בספרי החכמות בתכמי עליון הקדמונים אשר אמרו בזה שראו בספר חנוך והודיעו כי בנסוע הרקיע הזה נגבה למעלה סוד טבעת הגדולה אשר לפאת דרום והוא יתר התקועה אצל הרקיע לפאת [ה] היא והרקיע עומד ושם נראה גוון אחד ועליו ממונה זורח אור שר אחד והוא מתחת יד הימין ושם יאמר עניינם שמותם ותכונתם והרקיע חוזר שם כבראשונה אור שר אחד העומד מימין הכסא. והוא שר גדול אשר לפאה ההיא ושם נראה גוון אחד ועליו ממונה זורח אור שר אחד וגומ' והוא סוד שם המפורש אשר ממנו עומדים ומרעידים כל צבא השמים ומחנות של מעלה. ואזי הרקיע חוזר ונראין בתוכו באותו

⁷⁸ Georg Friedrich Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1867), 29–43; Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronologie* (2 vols; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880–5), 2:189–96; S[e]bastian. P. Brock, “A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac,” *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968): 626–9; William Adler and Paul Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), lxii–lxix.

⁷⁹ Brock, “Fragment,” 626–7; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 187–8, wherein he states: “either Annianus or a later source misattributed it to *1 Enoch*.”

⁸⁰ John Henry Bridges, ed., *The “Opus Majus” of Roger Bacon* (3 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897–1900), 3:71.15–19. This particular passage appears only in the Vatican manuscript published by Bridges in this supplementary volume; one might compare the passage which references 4 Ezra and the T. 12 Patr. in *ibid.*, 2:390–1.

⁸¹ Thanks to the work of his friend Robert Grosseteste, the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* first became available in Latin during the thirteenth century. See Annette Yoshiko Reed, “The Modern Invention of ‘Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,’” *JTS* 60 (2009b): 411.

⁸² Read Addo for Abdo? Cf. 2 Chr 13:22.

⁸³ R. Moses de León, *Sefer Mishkan ha-Edut* (ed. Avishai Bar-Asher; Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2013), 144.2409–145.2431; cf. also Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash: Sammlung kleiner*

הגון אותיות של אש שחורה על גבי אש לבנה. והגון ההוא לבן. ועל שם זה נקרא לבנת הספיר. ואמרו חז"ל שם אבן דזהרא תמיד. והטבעת ההיא מחזיק ברכיק ועומד. ובשעה שעומד בא ממונה אחד העומד [[על]] י"ב אלף משמרתים שומרי הסף משמרת שערי אותו הרקיע לצד דרום וקורא אותיות השם המיוחד ויודע כי למען מעלת הצדיקים אשר בגן עדן ניתן לו הרשות להסתכל בהן וכיון ששומעין כל גדודיו כך רואים את האותיות פורחות באות הרקיע כלם באימה ובריאה ורעש גדול בקולות ורעמים עונים בשכמל"ו. והצדיקים העומדים בגן עדן שומעין ל[[כ]]ל חילי מרומים בתוך הרקיע וכורעים ומשתחיים ואומרים קק'ק יי צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו. ואמרו כי אביהם הוקן אברהם ע"ה הוא שומע ושמת ואומ' מלוא כל הארץ כבודו. ובנסוע הרקיע לצד פאת צפון אמרו כי שם טבעת אהרת ועליו השר הגדול העומד משמאל הכסא. ואוחז באותו הטבעת והרקיע עומד והוא גבוה על י"ח רבוא חילים וגדודים כלם כלפידי אש מביט ורואה אותיות השם המהוקק על הרקיע ובכל דבור ודבור שיצא [[מפינו יוצאים]] מתוכו י"ח [[אלף]] ברכים של אש ואש אדומה וקורא האותיות ויודע כי למען הצדיקים אשר בגן עדן.

And I looked in esoteric books of wisdom (authored) by the ancient exalted sages which recount what they said about this, for they looked in the *Book of Enoch*. They disclose that when this firmament moves, it is raised upward toward⁸⁴ the large ring which is at the southern corner. There is a stake fixed next to the firmament at that corner, and the firmament stops (moving?). A color is visible there, and appointed over it and shining is the light of a prince, and he is beneath the right-hand side, and there he recounts their affairs, their names, and their characteristics, and the firmament turns around there as it was before (shedding?) the light of that prince who stands to the right of the Throne. He is a mighty prince who is at that corner. Another⁸⁵ color is visible there, and appointed over it and shining is the light of a prince, etc.⁸⁶ It is the mystery of the Ineffable Name before which all the host of heaven and the celestial retinues stand and tremble. Then the firmament turns, and there is visible within it—in that color—letters of black fire on top of white fire,⁸⁷ and that color is white. For that reason this (firmament) is termed *libnat sappir*.⁸⁸ They have said (in the Targum?) that it is dazzling, a precious stone which constantly shines.⁸⁹

That ring catches hold of the firmament and it stops. And when it stops, the appointed one who stands over the twelve thousand ministrants who perform

Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der jüdischen Literatur (6 vols; Leipzig, 1853–77; repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938), 2:xxxi. This work is henceforth indicated as Jellinek, *BHM*.

⁸⁴ I have followed Jellinek's suggestion to read ער in place of the manuscript's סוד.

⁸⁵ Read אחד for the manuscript's אחר?

⁸⁶ Two manuscripts supply the following text here: והוא מחת יד הימין והרקיע חזר ועומד שם "and who is beneath (the one standing to) the right. The firmament turns around and stops there, and at the place where the firmament stops gleam the letters of the Name which has been inscribed with the twenty-two alphabetic characters."

⁸⁷ *y. Šeqal*. 6.1, 49d; *y. Sotah* 8.3, 22d, both of which describe the Torah given by God to Moses as a "white-fire" background inscribed with "black-fire" lettering. Note also *Deut. Rab.* 3.12; *Tanḥuma, Bereshit* §1; *Midr. Teh.* 90.12.

⁸⁸ See *Exod* 24:10; also note *Ezek* 1:26; 10:1. Among the commentators, only Saadya Gaon (*apud Ibn Ezra ad Exod* 24:10) argues that the word *libnat* can be connected with the color "white."

⁸⁹ No extant targumim provide this information.

guard service over the gates of that firmament comes to the southern side and pronounces the letters of the Special Name. He discloses (them) on account of the excellence of the righteous who are in the Garden of Eden. He is granted the authority to examine them. And when all his troops hear (the Name and) then they see the letters flying about in that firmament, all of them (are seized) with fear, awe, and great quaking at the noise and the thundering, and they say: "May the name of His glorious kingdom be blessed forever and ever!"⁹⁰ And the righteous standing in the Garden of Eden, (when they) hear the sound of the celestial armies in the midst of the firmament, they kneel down and prostrate themselves and say: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts! The whole earth is full of His glory!"⁹¹ They say that when their venerable ancestor Abraham, upon whom be peace, hears this (expression of praise), he (is the one who) responds: "The whole earth is full of His glory!"⁹²

When the firmament moves toward the northern corner, they say that another ring is there. Over it (is appointed) a great prince who stands to the left of the Throne. He takes hold of that ring and the firmament stops. It is high above eighteen myriads of armies and troops, all of whom are like flames of fire. He observes and sees the letters of the Divine Name which are inscribed on the firmament. Every utterance which emanates from his mouth brings forth in turn eighteen thousand fiery lightning bolts and red fire. He pronounces the letters and discloses (them) for the sake of the righteous who are in the Garden of Eden.

R. Moses de León, *Sefer Mishkan ha-'Edut* (ed. Bar-Asher):⁹³

וראיתי בעיני הרקיע הזה נפלאות ועניינים גדולים סתומים במה שאמרו ומספר חנוך אשר מצאתי בסוד החכמה הפנימית ולא כתבתי אותם בכאן כי אינם ראויים לגלות כל כך ודי ברמזים אלו. על כי כוונתי לכתוב בפ' קהלת בע"ה עניינים סתומים על הדברים האלה. ועל כן איני מאריך בכאן במקום הזה.

Now with regard to this heaven I have seen marvelous and profoundly esoteric things in what they (i.e., the Sages of blessed memory) have said as well as from what is in the *Book of Enoch*, where I found the secret of the esoteric wisdom, but I have not written them down here because they are not suitable for disclosure completely in this way—using these hints will have to suffice. Because I intentionally wrote, with the help of God, on the esoteric dimensions of these matters in my commentary on Qohelet, I therefore will not prolong (my remarks) on this (topic) at this place.

R. Moses de León, *Sefer Mishkan ha-'Edut* (ed. Bar-Asher):⁹⁴

ואמ' ומענייני אותו ספר חנוך הידוע אצל החכמים הקדמונים כי הוא מספר כל ענייני הגן ומגלה אותן. כי שלש חומות יש בגן זו לפנים מזו מחיצות ידועות והרקיע אשר אמרנו חופה על כלם ובין כל מחיצה

⁹⁰ *m. Yoma* 3.8; 4.1–2; etc.

⁹¹ *Isa* 6:3.

⁹² *Isa* 6:3b.

⁹³ R. Moses de León, *Sefer Mishkan ha-'Edut* (ed. Bar-Asher), 150.2501–5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.2545–153.2553; cf. also Jellinek, *BHM* 2:xxxii. Compare Zohar 3.196b (quoted *apud* Jellinek, *BHM* 3:194–5) and Jellinek, *BHM* 3:131–40. This last text, although published by Jellinek as a variant version of *Seder Gan 'Eden*, is actually the second part of a pseudepigraphic work composed by R. Moses de León as a "Testament of R. Eliezer." See Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3rd edn; repr., New York: Schocken, 1978), 183 and 407 n. 127.

ומחיצה נטעים נטעי נעמנים ואילנות של בשמים מור ואהלות והיכלות נעמים וכלים מכלים שונים ורוחות בני אדם שם כפי מעשיהם בעולם הזה ורואים בין כל מחיצה ומחיצה אלה לאלה כמו בין עשש[י]ת דקות כזוהר דק. והמחיצה אשר מבחוץ היא החומה החיצונה מותכנת על מתכונתה כמראה אש לבנה ואינה אש זולתי למראית העין. ובכל יום יום על החומה הזאת נראים כמין עופות מצפצפים מנגנים בכל מיני ניגון וזמרה בבקר בבקר.

And they have said that (it is) among the topics of that *Book of Enoch*—the one renowned among the ancient sages because it recounts all the features of the Garden and reveals them. For there are three walls in the Garden, arranged concentrically (to form) recognizable compartments. The firmament which we spoke of covers all of them. Within each compartment⁹⁵ are plants, lovely saplings, spice trees, “myrrh and aloe-wood” (Cant 4:14), beautiful palaces, “and ornaments, each one differing from the other” (Esth 1:7). The souls of human beings are there in accordance with their deeds while in the present world (i.e., during their lifetimes). Those who are within a compartment can view those within another compartment, like (they were using) fine lamps (with) a diffuse luminance. The partition which is outermost is the middle wall, designed by its composition to appear like white fire, but there is no (actual) fire save for (its) appearance. Each and every day, there are visible upon this wall some things like birds chirping (and) singing all kinds of music and song, each and every morning.

R. Moses de León, *Sefer Mishkan ha-Edut* (ed. Bar-Asher):⁹⁶

ואמ' תנוך כי ראה אותם ואין ידוע מי הם ומה ענינם. ברוך חכם הריים. והסוד הידוע בספרו של חז"ל כי קודם שנכנס אדם הראשון שם לא היה הגן ריקם. ואע"פ שהנטיעות והעדונים שם אלא כי שם היו כל הרוחות העתידות להיות בעולם כלם בדמותן וצורתם ותארם כמו שהיו לאח"כ. ואמנם כי הם היו שם מיום היותם ועדיין היום על נט עומדות אותם העומדות שם כי אין נראות למי אשר הוא בגוף והוא זולתי למי שהוא צדיק גמור ביותר וראה כי לא לחנם כתב הב"ה בתורתו פסוק ויטע יי אלהים גן בעדן וגו' ואמר כי אדם הראשון כי שנכנס לשם לא ראה אותם בתחלה עד זמן דכת' ותפקחנה עיני שניהם כי אין ידעו וראו אותן ונתבושו מאיליהם מאותו הזוהר ומעלת אותן הרוחות שהיו שם. ושם הראה לו הב"ה דור ודורשיו וכל כי לכלם [ראת] איש איש על עבודתו ועל משאו. אבל אין אחד גופני המלבוש בלבוש הגוף זה יכול לראות אותם הצדיקים אשר שם זולתי כמין עופות עומדים על גג וגב החומה מבחוץ. והנוך לא ראה כתחלה לעמוד על בוריו של דבר. וכיון שהרגיל עצמו את האלהים ראה ועמד על הכל. וידע תוכן כל הדברי על בורין ואמיתתן והכל מצוי בספרו.

Now Enoch stated that he saw them, but it remains unknown who they are or what they signify. Blessed be he who is adept in the(se) mysteries!⁹⁷ This particular secret is in the *Book of <Enoch>*.⁹⁸ Before Adam the Protoplast had been introduced there, the Garden was not empty. And not only were the plants and the delightful things there, also there were all the souls destined to exist in the

⁹⁵ The Hebrew term מחיצה used throughout this passage can signify either a “partition” or “the area enclosed by partitions.”

⁹⁶ R. Moses de León, *Sefer Mishkan ha-Edut* (ed. Bar-Asher), 153.2553–154.2569; cf. also Jellinek, *BHM* 3:195–6.

⁹⁷ Quoting a *berakhah* from *b. Ber.* 58a.

⁹⁸ Adopting Jellinek’s suggestion to read תנוך instead of חז"ל “the Sages of blessed memory.”

world, each of them endowed with the likeness, form, and appearance which they would have afterwards. Truly they have been (there) since the day they came into existence, and they still by a miracle remain there at present. Those waiting there are not visible to anyone corporeal, except to the one who is totally righteous. Such a one can see that it was not for nothing that the Holy One, blessed be He, wrote in His Torah the verse: "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, etc." (Gen 2:8).

They say that when Adam the Protoplast was introduced therein, he initially did not see them until the time of which it is written in Scripture: "and the eyes of both of them were opened..." (Gen 3:7). Then they recognized and saw them and became embarrassed before them due to the splendor and status of those souls who were present there. It was there that the Holy One, blessed be He, "showed him each generation and its scholars, etc."⁹⁹ He saw all of them, each in accordance with his service and his burden. However, no one corporeal who is clothed in the vestment of this body can perceive those righteous (souls) who are there. (They are visible) only as something like birds standing on the top of and beside the outermost wall. Enoch did not notice (them) at first while he still remained in his normal (i.e., bodily) state, but after he had trained himself to be with God, he saw (them) and comprehended the whole subject, and he grasped the gist of all matters with complete certainty. All of this can be found in his book.

Zohar, Haqadmah, 1.13a (ed. Vilna):¹⁰⁰

וכדין אתחזי ודאי דאיהי נפש חיה נפש דהתיא חיה קדישא ולא מסטרא אחרא. ודא איהו ישרצו המים בספרא דהנוך יתרשמון מיא דזרעא קדישא רשימו דנפש חיה ודא רשימו דאנת יו"ד דאתרשים בבשרא קדישא מכל שאר רשומין דעלמא.

And then it is made absolutely clear that it is a "living soul" (cf. Gen 2:7), which is a holy life-form and which does not stem from the "other side."¹⁰¹ And this is the meaning of (the verse) "let the waters swarm" (Gen 1:20) in the *Book of Enoch*: Let the water of the holy seed be imprinted with the mark of the "living soul," and this mark is the letter *yod* which is imprinted on the holy flesh more often than the rest of the marks in the world.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ See *b. Sanh.* 38b; *'Abod. Zar.* 5a; and *'Abot R. Nat.* A §31 (Schechter, 46a), which contains the following relevant observation: "יש אומרים לא הראונו אלא צדיקים בלבד" and there are some who say that He showed him righteous (descendants) alone."

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Reuven Margalio, *Malakey 'elyon* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1945), 81.

¹⁰¹ See Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (3 vols; Oxford: The Littman Library, 1989), 447–74; Gershom Scholem, "Sitra Aḥra: Good and Evil in the Kabbalah," in Gershom Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (trans. Joachim Neugroschel; New York: Schocken, 1991a), 56–87.

¹⁰² Compare Daniel C. Matt, *Sefer ha-Zohar: The Zohar, Pritzker Edition* (12 vols; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004–17), 1:89–90. For the midrashic identification of the letter *yod* with the phallus and the covenant of circumcision, see the important textual study of Elliot R. Wolfson, "Circumcision and the Divine Name: A Study in the Transmission of Esoteric Doctrine," *JQR* 78 (1987–8): 77–112.

Zohar 1.72b (ed. Vilna):¹⁰³

רבי שמעון אמר אילו הוינא שכיח בעלמא כדי יחייב קב"ה ספרא דחנוך בעלמא וספרא דאדם אתקיפנא דלא ישתכחון ביני אנשא בגין דלא חיישו כל חכמאן לאסתכלא בהו וטען במלין אחרנין לאפקא מרשו עלאה לרשו אחרא. והשתא הא חכימי עלמא ידעין מלין וסתמין לון ומתתקפיי בפולחנא דמאריהון.

R. Shim'on [ben Yoḥai] said: If I had been in the world when the Holy One, blessed be He, placed the *Book of Enoch* and the *Book of Adam* in the world,¹⁰⁴ I would have tried to prevent their dissemination among humankind because all the wise ones were not careful in studying them, and they went astray by (their) strange words so as to depart from the authority of the Most High to (the dominion of) another power. Now, however, the wise of the world understand these things and keep them secret, and thereby strengthen themselves in the service of their Lord.¹⁰⁵

Zohar 2.103b–104a (ed. Vilna):

ובספרא דחנוך ותעמוד מלדת לאו על לאה אתמר אלא על רחל אתמר ההיא דמבכה על בניה ההיא דאשתרשת ביהודה.

And in the *Book of Enoch* (the verse) “and she ceased bearing” (Gen 29:35) is not said of Leah, but instead it is said of Rachel, the one “weeping for her children” (Jer 31:14), the one rooted in Judah.¹⁰⁶

Zohar 2.105b (ed. Vilna):¹⁰⁷

וכלא יקום והא אתמר ורבים מישני אדמת עפר יקיצו כמה דאתמר בספרא דחנוך חברייא אסתכלו באינון אתון אדמ"ת עפ"ר ואינון אעל דא¹⁰⁸ פמת"ר אינון אתון טסאן באורא וקלא אתער ואודע הקיצו ורנו שוכני עפר.

And all will arise, for it has been said: “And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake...” (Dan 12:2). In accordance with what is said in the *Book of Enoch*, the colleagues (of R. Simeon) looked at those letters עפ"ר אדמ"ת, and they became אע"ד פמת"ר. Those letters flew into the air, and a voice stirred and proclaimed: “Awaken and sing, O dwellers in the dust” (Isa 26:19).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Cf. Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 81.

¹⁰⁴ A verbal allusion to *y. Šabb. 1.2, 3b*. See Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 81 n. 21; Matt, *Zohar*, 1:429.

¹⁰⁵ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 1:429–30; Melila Hellner-Eshed, *A River Flows from Eden: The Language of Mystical Experience in the Zohar* (trans. Nathan Wolski; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 366.

¹⁰⁶ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 5:65–6. Matt's duplicate reference to “the Book of Enoch” reflects his reliance here on the text of the 1558–60 Mantua edition of the *Zohar*, which reads: ובספרא דחנוך ותעמוד מלדת לאו על לאה אתמר אלא על רחל אתמר ההיא דמבכה על בניה ההיא דאשתרשת ביהודה באנופין ולא כשרת לאולרא כיון דנסר לה קב"ה ואתקין לה כדין אתכשרת לאתעברא ולאולרא ובספר דחנוך ותעמוד מלדת לאו על לאה אתמר אלא על רחל אתמר. ואינון אע"ד to ואינון אעל דא

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Margalio, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 81.

¹⁰⁸ Emend דא

¹⁰⁹ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 5:79–80.

Zohar 2.192b (ed. Vilna):¹¹⁰

בספרא דחנון אשכחנא דהוה אמר הכי ברא יחידאה יתיליד לההוא רישא חוורא וכד ייתון מבשרא
 דחמרי יטעין ליה בההוא דעייל מרגלן בוגין דדהבא בלא דעתא דיליה דחוקנא יציר בציורא בחרס.

In the *Book of Enoch* we discovered that it said this: "A single son will be born to him of the white hair, and when they of the asses" flesh shall come, they will lead him astray through him who puts pearls into husks of gold without his knowing it, and an image will be fashioned with drawing (and) with a chisel."¹¹¹

The phrase "(they) of the asses' flesh" (מבשרא דחמרי) is based on the Hebrew phrase in Ezek 23:20 (בשר חמורים בשרט) where it refers to the relative size of Egyptian male genitalia. Traditional and modern commentators on the Zohar read the present text to connote "Egyptians" as well. However, given the imagery of Gen 16:11–12 (cf. *1 En.* 89:11) and the thirteenth-century cultural context in Andalusia, one might make a case for reading this expression as a reference to "Ishmael" or Islam.¹¹²

Zohar 2.217a (ed. Vilna):¹¹³

תרי זמני כתיב יראי י' יראי י' אלא יראי י' לעילא יראי י' לתתא יראי י' קיימין לתתא ואינן מלין קיימין
 בדיוקניהון לעילא ורזא דא אשכחנא בספרא דחנון דכל מלין דצדיקיא די בארעא אינן מתעטרן וקיימין
 קמי מלכא ומשתעשע בהו קב"ה ולכתר אינן נחתי וקיימין קמיה בדיוקנא דההוא צדיק דקאמר לון
 ואשתעשע קב"ה בההוא דיוקנא ולבתר אכתיבו בספר זכרון לפניו לקיימא קמיה בקיומא תדיר.

Two times it is written: "those who revere the Lord" (Mal 3:16); that is, "those who revere the Lord" *above* and "those who revere the Lord" *below*. "Those who revere the Lord" remain below, but their words rise with their images to the upper world. We discovered this mystery in the *Book of Enoch*, (where it says that) all the words of the righteous on earth are adorned with crowns and stand before the King, and the Holy One, blessed be He, takes delight in them. Afterwards they descend and then rise before His presence in the image of that righteous man who uttered them, and the Holy One, blessed be He, takes delight in that image. Then they inscribe (them) in "a book of remembrance before Him" (Mal 3:16) for eternal preservation.¹¹⁴

Zohar 2.275b (ed. Vilna):¹¹⁵

ואתערו שופריה דיעקב אבינו מעין שופריה דאדם קדמאה בגין דיעקב יושב אוהלים ואוליף תמן בבית
 שם ועבר ואברהם ויצחק למפלח לקב"ה בגין איהו בכור דכתיב בני בכורי ישראל ועבודה בבכורות ודאי
 הוה. ספרא דאדם קדמאה הוה ליה ליעקב וספרא דחנון וספרא די"ס יצירה דאברהם אבינו והא אתערו
 מסכת ע"ז דאברהם אע"ה ת' פרקים ומכל אינן ספרים אוליף ליעקב אע"ה איש תם יושב אוהלים
 חכמתא סגיא והוה שופריה ושרטוטין דיליה כגוונא דשרטוטין דאדם קדמאה.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82.

¹¹¹ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 6:88.

¹¹² See Moritz Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1877), 300.

¹¹³ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82.

¹¹⁴ Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 6:238. The passage is partially translated in Hellner-Eshed, *A River Flows*, 108.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Margaliot, *Mal'akey 'elyon*, 82.

They dealt with (the tradition) “the beauty of our ancestor Jacob is a reflection of the beauty of Adam the protoplast,”¹¹⁶ for Jacob was “one who sat in tents” (Gen 25:27) and received instruction there in the academy of Shem and ‘Eber and Abraham and Isaac in the service of the Holy One, blessed be He, since he was the first-born as scripture attests: “My son, My first-born, Israel” (Exod 4:22), and hence the birth-right was actually his. Jacob possessed the *Book of Adam*, the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Sefer Yetzirah* of Abraham our ancestor, and they dealt with four hundred chapters of Abraham’s tractate on idol-worship.¹¹⁷ Jacob, “a simple man, one who sat in tents” (Gen 25:27) learned much wisdom from all these books, and his beauty and bodily lineaments were similar to those of Adam the protoplast.

Zohar 3.236b (ed. Vilna):¹¹⁸

דא יחודא קדישא ושפיר איהו והכי הוא בספרא דתנוך דאמר כי האי גוונא דמאן דמייד יחודא דא בכל יומא חדוה זמינא ליה מלעילא. תו אית ביה ש"מ דאתכליל מן ע' רברבא אלן שבועין שמהן ברזא דאבוהן קדישין ודא הוא שמע שם ע' ישראל.

This unification is sacred and beautiful, and it speaks this way in the *Book of Enoch* of the one who concentrates on this unification every day: rejoicing is appointed for him in the upper world.¹¹⁹ There is in it (i.e., the *Book of Enoch*) moreover a *shin* (and) a *mem* combined with a large *ayin*: these, according to a secret of the holy ancestors, are seventy names, and so this is what (the imperative) *Shema'* (שמע, from Deut 6:4) signifies; (namely) the seventy (= ע) name(s) (שמ) of Israel.¹²⁰

Zohar 3.253b (ed. Vilna):

אשכחנא בספרא דתנוך שאו שערים אלן אינון תרעין דלתתא מאבהן ואינון תלתא בתראין ראשיכם אלן אינון ראשי אלפי ישראל ואינון אבהן עלאי ואינון ראשין דאינון תרעין ובגין אלן אינון אופנים דסחרן ונטלין לון על כתפיהו אמרי שאו שערים ראשיכם שאו למאן לראשיכם דאינון ראשין עלייכו ושלטינן עלייכו.

I find in the *Book of Enoch*: “Lift, O gates” (Ps 24:7, 9). These are gates which are below the Patriarchs,¹²¹ and they are (the) three final ones. “Your heads” (ibid.)—these are the chiefs of the tribes of Israel, and are the celestial Patriarchs, and are the summits of those gates. And because these are wheels which move and bear them on their shoulders, (Scripture) says: “Lift, O gates, your heads” (ibid.)—lift

¹¹⁶ A close paraphrase of *b. B. Meṣ.* 84a; also *b. B. Bat.* 58a. For discussion of this motif, see Elliot R. Wolfson, “Re/membering the Covenant: Memory, Forgetfulness, and the Construction of History in the Zohar,” in Elisheva Carlebach, John M. Efron, and David N. Myers, eds, *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honor of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi* (Hanover and London: Brandeis University Press, 1998), 219–20.

¹¹⁷ See *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 14b.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Margaliot, *Malakey 'elyon*, 83.

¹¹⁹ This same tradition was ascribed earlier on this same page to the equally “fictional” *Book of Rav Hamnuna the Elder*. With regard to such titles, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem, 1974; repr., New York: Meridian, 1978), 223.

¹²⁰ See Zohar 3.307a below. Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 9:585.

¹²¹ The Patriarchs correspond to the *sefirot* Ḥesed, Gevurah, and Tiferet. Note Tishby, *Wisdom of the Zohar*, 348 n. 422; Matt, *Zohar*, 9:642–3 n. 434.

the one(s) who are your “heads”; i.e., those who are chiefs over you and rulers over you.¹²²

Zohar 3.307a (ed. Vilna):

אמר רב המנונא סבא כל מאן דמיחד יהודא דא בכל יומא חדוה זמין ליה מלעילא... והכי אית בספרא דהנוך.

R. Hamnuna the elder said: everyone who concentrates on this unification every day has rejoicing appointed for them in the upper world... and thus it is in the *Book of Enoch*.¹²³

Tiqquney ha-Zohar §70 fol. 136a (ed. Margalio):¹²⁴

דבר אחר זה ספר תולדות אדם זה ספר דהא כמה ספרין אינון ספרא דרב המנונא סבא ספרא דהנוך ספרא דרבי כרוספדאי.

Another opinion: “This is the book of the generations of Adam” (Gen 5:1). This book is one like these books: the *Book of Rav Hamnuna the Elder*, the *Book of Enoch*, (and) the *Book of R. Kruspedai*.

Menahem b. Benjamin Recanati, *Perush Bereshit* (ed. Jellinek):¹²⁵

וראיחי לקצת חכמי הקבלה האחרונים שכתבו כי מצאו בספר חנוך בן ירד כשלקח אותו אלהים כתוב בו סוד זה עם שאר סודות מופלאות וכבר הזכירו רבותינו ז”ל הספר ההוא בספר הזוהר ולפי דברי הספר ההוא דע כי גן עדן של מטה היא מוכן מיום שנבראו רוחות הצדיקים לגור שם בצורתם ומשם פורחות למעלה ומוזרין ומשיגין השגה אמיתית כל אחד לפי מעלתו ובחיותם בגן עדן של מטה לובשין סוד המלבוש המחדש להם בהריחם אויר גן עדן ונתון הלבוש ההוא לכל רוח ורוח באותה צורה ודמות שהיה בזה העולם ממש ונמשך להם אור השכינה ממעלה דרך חלונות הרקיע שעל גבי גן עדן והצדיקים משתחיים נגד האור ההוא וניונון באור ההוא היו השכינה על ראשיהן עטרה וכשפורחין בגן עדן שלמעלה אז פושטין מעליהן המלבוש ההוא והיא העליה והירידה ואמר חנוך ראיתי שם מלאכ”ם ממונים גדולים ועונים קדוש קדוש קדוש וגו’.

I have seen where some of the recent kabbalistic sages have written that they have found this esoteric topic¹²⁶ written about together with a number of other marvelous mysteries in the *Book of Enoch*, the son of Yared, the one whom God took (to heaven).¹²⁷ Our Sages of blessed memory have previously mentioned that book in the Zohar. According to the words of that book:¹²⁸ “Know that the terrestrial Garden of Eden was founded on the day when the souls of the righteous were created so that they might sojourn there in their proper shape. From there they fly upward, radiate splendor, and attain true comprehension, each one in accordance

¹²² Compare Matt, *Zohar*, 9:642.

¹²³ See *Zohar* 3.236b for the same reference.

¹²⁴ Text is taken from Reuven Moshe Margalio, ed., *Sefer Tiqquney ha-Zohar* (repr., Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1978), 271. Cf. Margalio, *Mal’akey ‘elyon*, 83.

¹²⁵ Jellinek, *BHM* 3:197–8. This passage is referenced by [Adolph] Jellinek, “Hebräische Quellen für das Buch Henoch,” *ZDMG* 7 (1853): 249.

¹²⁶ Pertaining to the Garden of Eden.

¹²⁷ See also Margalio, *Mal’akey ‘elyon*, 83–4 n. 44.

¹²⁸ Compare *Zohar*, *Haqadmah* 1.7a.

with their station. While they are in the terrestrial Garden of Eden, they wear an esoteric garment which renews itself for them when they smell the air of the Garden of Eden. That garment is bestowed upon each soul—along with that shape and form which it has in this substantial world—and the supernal light of the Shekinah is prolonged for them by means of windows in the firmament which is above the Garden of Eden. The righteous prostrate themselves before that light and are sustained by that light, and the radiance of the Shekinah is a crown on their heads.¹²⁹ When they fly about in the celestial Garden of Eden, then they strip that garment off themselves. This is the ascent and the descent.”

And Enoch said: “I beheld there great supervisory angels who responded, ‘Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, etc.’”¹³⁰

ŞAHĀ’IF IDRĪS AND SUNAN IDRĪS

There are a significant number of quotations allegedly drawn from an indeterminate number of so-called *Şahā’if* or *Şuḥuf Idris* “Books of Idrīs” and *Sunan Idrīs* “Sayings and Doings of Idrīs” that were available to medieval Shī’ite scholars in book collections at various sites in the Muslim East. We learn about these particular works primarily from a compilation of quotations made by the prominent Iraqi jurist Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 1266)¹³¹ which appear in two different collections of traditions. One is his own *Sa’id al-su’ūd*,¹³² and the other is the massive seventeenth-century *Bihār al-anwār* of the Iranian scholar Majlisī (d. 1698).¹³³ There is very little discernible overlap with Enochic materials known from other sources. The following list provides a descriptive catalog of the content of these excerpts which were not previously included in the chapters of the present work:¹³⁴

- a. from “the writings (*şahā’if*) of Idrīs”: on the six days of the creation-week, culminating with the divine declaration establishing “the Day of Assembly (i.e., Friday) as the most precious of all the days; it is the one dearest to Me!”¹³⁵ The manuscript, which Ibn Ṭāwūs came across in the library of

¹²⁹ Compare *1 En.* 39:4–7.

¹³⁰ *Isa* 6:3. Compare *1 En.* 39:12.

¹³¹ M. J. Kister, “Ḥaddithū ‘an banī isrā’ila wa-lā ḥaraja: A Study of an Early Tradition,” *IOS* 2 (1972): 231 n. 120. With regard to Ibn Ṭāwūs, see Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

¹³² ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’id al-su’ūd* (Najaf: al-Maṭba’ah al-Ḥaydariyah, 1950), 32–9.

¹³³ Muḥammad Baqir b. Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (110 vols; Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmīyah, 1956–74). For a useful discussion of the intellectual significance of this author and this massive compilation, see Rainer Brunner, “The Role of *Ḥadīth* as Cultural Memory in Shī’i History,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30 (2005): 318–60, esp. 336–47.

¹³⁴ See Chapters 2, 4, and 5.

¹³⁵ Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’id al-su’ūd*, 32.4–33.2.

the Imām ‘Alī shrine in Najaf,¹³⁶ is described as “an ancient copy almost two hundred years old” whose beginning and end were lost.

- b. from “the writings (*ṣahā’if*) of Idrīs”: on the creation of Adam.¹³⁷
- c. from “the writings (*ṣuḥuf*) of Idrīs”: God shows Adam the prophets who will come from him.¹³⁸
- d. from “the writings (*ṣuḥuf*) of Idrīs”: on the death of Adam and the succession of Seth, Enosh, Qaynān, and Mahalalel.¹³⁹
- e. from the *Sunan Idrīs*, introduced by the following statement: “I discovered a writing entitled *Sunan Idrīs* in a single manuscript deposited in the endowment legacy (*waqf*) of the shrine named *bi’l-Ṭāhir* in Kūfa. It was in the handwriting of a certain ‘Isā; he had translated it from Syriac into Arabic. (It had been transmitted) by Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābi’ the secretary,¹⁴⁰ and in it is (as follows).” A number of exhortations regarding proper religious practices and especially prayer follow.¹⁴¹
- f. from “the book (*ṣahīfat*) of Idrīs”: this is an intriguing collection of twenty-nine extracts of varied content. The account begins: “Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, who is known as Ibn Mattūyah, said: I discovered this writing in Syriac among what had been revealed to the prophet Idrīs—Enoch—may the blessing of God be upon Muḥammad and upon him. It was fragmentary and faded, so I saw to the fee for translating it into Arabic.”¹⁴² Many of the extracts which follow begin with a direct address of the prophet by the deity as “O Enoch!” One passage appears to provide a roster of the cosmic wonders which Enoch saw while he was sojourning among the angels.¹⁴³ Particularly arresting is the thirteenth extract¹⁴⁴ wherein we find a possible reference to “Sahm the giant and his fellow giants” who persisted in “infidelity and unbelief and continued to engage in fornication and deviant behavior, and they subjugated My servants and devastated My communities.” The passage goes on to depict the mayhem inflicted upon earth by these rogue tyrants, and states that “they

¹³⁶ Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 322.

¹³⁷ Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 11:120.16–121.23; a slightly variant version in Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d al-su’ūd*, 33.3–34.13.

¹³⁸ Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 11:151.12–153.2.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11:269.3–12; also Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d al-su’ūd*, 37.18–38.5.

¹⁴⁰ Regarding this figure (d. 994), see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, 1:588–604; Wilferd Madelung, “Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi’ on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gilān,” *JNES* 26 (1967): 17–57; Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 165.

¹⁴¹ Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 11:283.3–284.5; compare the attribution and content in Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Sa’d al-su’ūd*, 39.7–40.16. A *maṣḥaf Idrīs* is referenced with regard to the Flood story in *ibid.*, 40.17–25. Note also the remarks of Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 336–7.

¹⁴² Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (ed. Tehran), 95:452.2–5.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 95:458.5–23.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 95:463.1–464.8.

shed blood to the point that their deeds made the earth and the heavens weep. (They were) boastful, deluded by the size of their bodies and their corporeal greatness and their powerful strength and their assets for war.” The only other narrative setting which features the characters Enoch and a giant named Sahm within a social context of violent destruction and bloodshed is the Manichaean *Book of Giants*, and therefore this specific extract may preserve some valuable textual residue from that compilation. The form of the appellation “Sahm” (*shm*) is identical to the way it occurs in some Arabic accounts and seems to reflect the spelling of the name as it occurs in the Sogdian fragments of the *Book of Giants*.¹⁴⁵

EVALUATED NEGATIVELY

On the face of it, there is little reason why reputedly ancient books like those ascribed to early scriptural figures like Adam, Seth, or Enoch should not enjoy esteem among biblically affiliated communities. After all, “primeval books contain the promise of a wisdom from the very dawn of humanity,”¹⁴⁶ and thus are potential sources of insight into how the divine world intersects with nature and with history. This would appear to be the attitude, for example, of Jacob of Edessa, an eastern Christian scholar whose endorsement of a *Book of Enoch* we cataloged above. But over the course of the first seven centuries of the first millennium CE, we are also witness to a conscious narrowing of the criteria used in assessing and assigning scriptural value to written texts. This winnowing process is first visible in several early Jewish texts which attempt to limit the temporal boundaries within which “authoritative scriptures” were produced to the period between Moses and the early Second Temple era during the time of Ezra.¹⁴⁷ Any books purportedly emanating prior to the career of Moses or after the generation of the “Men of the Great Assembly” are thereby rendered “apocryphal” with regard to their candidacy for canonical status. It remains unclear how influential this particular model was for early Christian writers who also appealed to Jewish scriptures, although the figure of Moses was an important signpost for them as well. Further complicating this issue for Christian thinkers was the use of a wide variety of pseudepigraphical works associated with

¹⁴⁵ W. B. Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” *BSOAS* 11 (1943–6): 54–5; John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), 42–3 nn. 85–8; Enrico Morano, “Some New Sogdian Fragments Related to Mani’s *Book of Giants* and the Problem of the Influence of Jewish Enochic Literature,” in Goff, Stuckenbruck, and Morano, *Ancient Tales of Giants*, 187–98.

¹⁴⁶ Nathan Wolski, *A Journey into the Zohar: An Introduction to the Book of Radiance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 73.

¹⁴⁷ Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.38–43; 4 *Ezra* 14:37–48; *b. Bat.* 14b–15a.

characters of both the Old and New Testaments by groups from which an evolving "orthodoxy" wished to separate themselves. "Apocryphal" books thus came to be associated with "heretics," and the reading or study of such books posed a dangerous threat to the unwary believer. The prestige which Enochic literature had once enjoyed was gradually eroded by suspicion and eventually condemnation.

Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.52, 54 (ed. Koetschau):¹⁴⁸

ἐλθεῖν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους λέγουσι πολλάκις καὶ ὁμοῦ γε ἐξήκοντα ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα· οὕς δὴ γενέσθαι κακοὺς καὶ κολάζεσθαι δεσμοῖς ὑποβληθέντας ἐν γῆ· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς θερμὰς πηγὰς εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνων δάκρυα....

πολλῶ δὲ πλέον οὐ προσήσεται ἅπερ ἔοικε παρακούσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ γεγραμμένων θεοκέναι ὁ Κέλσος... πᾶν δὲ συγκεχυμένως ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐλληνοθῶτων πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀγγέλων ἐξετάσει τίθησι τὰ ἀτρανώτως ἐλθόντα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ γεγραμμένων· ἅτινα οὐδ' αὐτὰ φαίνεται ἀναγνοὺς οὐδὲ γνωρίσας ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐ πᾶν φέρεται ὡς θεῖα τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνώχ βιβλία· ὅθεν νομισθεῖται ἂν ἐρριφέναι τὸ ὁμοῦ ἐξήκοντα ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα καταβεβηκέναι, κακοὺς γενομένους.

For they say that others (i.e., other angels) have often come, even sixty or seventy at the same time, who then became wicked, and were punished by being thrown under the earth in chains. This is the reason why there are hot springs, which are from their tears....¹⁴⁹

Much more would he (i.e., Apelles)¹⁵⁰ not admit what Celsus seems to have laid down, because he has misunderstood what is written in what is ascribed to Enoch... because he was completely confused in what he said about the angels who came to humans, he used examples which he did not understand from what is written in what is ascribed to Enoch. He appears neither to have read them nor to know that the books ascribed to Enoch are not generally held¹⁵¹ to be divine by the churches, although he used this source for the statement that sixty or seventy descended at the same time, who then became wicked.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Paul Koetschau, ed., *Origines Werke, Zweiter Band: Buch V–VIII Gegen Celsus, Die Schrift von Gebet* (GCS 3; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899), 56.6–9; 58.9–11, 13–19. See also Schürer, *History*, 3/1:262; Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 173–4; Black, *Apocalypse*, 12.

¹⁴⁹ Note also the repetition of this tradition in Origen, *C. Celsum* 5.55 (ed. Koetschau), 59.8–11. Cf. *1 En.* 67:11.

¹⁵⁰ A prominent sectarian follower of the second-century Christian teacher Marcion. See especially Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (2nd edn; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), 177–96, 404*–420*.

¹⁵¹ The phrase οὐ πᾶν φέρεται is best translated as "not all held" or "not generally held" (Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953], 305; VanderKam, "1 Enoch," 81; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 198), suggesting (unlike the phraseology of other translations) that some communities did accept Enochic works as "divine."

¹⁵² See also ANF 4:566–7; Chadwick, *Origen*, 305; VanderKam, "1 Enoch," 58–9, 81–2; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 198.

descendisse illos in montem Ermon, et ibi inisse pactum, quomodo uenirent ad filias hominum, et sibi eas sociarent. Manifestissimus liber est, et inter apocryphos computatur...legi in cuiusdam libro de isto libro apocrypho suam haeresim confirmantis.

"Like the dew of Hermon, which comes down upon the mountain(s) of Zion" (Ps 133:3). "Dew of Hermon": We read in a certain apocryphal book that at the time when the sons of God were descending to the daughters of humanity (cf. Gen 6:1–4), they came down upon Mount Hermon and there made a pact to approach the daughters of humanity and (sexually) unite with them.¹⁶⁰ This book is most explicit and it is classified as apocryphal... I have read about this apocryphal book in a book of a certain author who used it to confirm his own heresy.¹⁶¹

Jerome, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Titum* 1.12 (ed. Vallarsi):¹⁶²

Qui autem putant totum librum debere sequi eum qui libri parte usus sit, videntur mihi et apocryphum Enochi, de quo apostolus Iudas in epistola sua testimonium posuit, inter ecclesiae scripturas recipere.

Whoever supposes that one who uses a portion of a book is bound to use the entire book seems to me to be accepting among the Scriptures of the Church the apocryphal book of Enoch, since the apostle Jude cites a testimony from it in his epistle.¹⁶³

Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 4 (ed. Herding):¹⁶⁴

Iudas, frater Iacobi, parvam quae de septem catholicis est epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, assumit testimonium, a plerisque reicitur...

Jude, the brother of James, left behind a brief epistle which is among the seven catholic ones,¹⁶⁵ and because he quotes therein from the book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it (i.e., the epistle) is rejected by many.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ A clear reference to *1 En.* 6:6.

¹⁶¹ See also Marie Liguori Ewald, *The Homilies of Saint Jerome: Volume I (1–59 on the Psalms)* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1964), 338; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 22–3; Lawlor, "Early Citations," 219–20; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 94, who thinks the heretic Jerome mentions here was Origen, not Mani.

¹⁶² Domenico Vallarsii, ed., *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri Operum: Tomus septimus, Pars prima* (2nd edn; Venetiis: Guilelmum Zerletti, 1769), 708. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 177; Lawlor, "Early Citations," 220 n. 2; Schürer, *History*, 3/1:263.

¹⁶³ See also Thomas P. Scheck, *St. Jerome's Commentaries on Galatians, Titus, and Philemon* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 307; Beth Langstaff, "The Book of Enoch and the *Ascension of Moses* in Reformation Europe: Early Sixteenth-Century Interpretations of Jude 9 and Jude 14–15," *JSP* 23 (2013): 155.

¹⁶⁴ Guilelmi Herdingii, ed., *Hieronymi De viris inlustribus liber* (Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1879), 10.6–9. Cf. Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 177; Lawlor, "Early Citations," 220 n. 1; Schürer, *History*, 3/1:263; Langstaff, "Book of Enoch," 143 n. 35.

¹⁶⁵ James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude.

¹⁶⁶ See the discussions of VanderKam, "1 Enoch," 35; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 204; Langstaff, "Book of Enoch," 142–4.

Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 15.23 (ed. Dombart):¹⁶⁷

Omittamus igitur earum scripturarum fabulas, quae apocryphae nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum certissima et notissima successione pervenit. In his autem apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa nulla est canonica auctoritas. Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divine illum Enoch, septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistula canonica Iudas apostolus dicat. . . . nisi quia ob antiquitatem suspectae fidei iudicata sunt, nec utrum haec essent, quae ille scripsisset, poterat inveniri, non talibus proferentibus, qui ea per seriem successionis reperirentur rite servasse. Unde illa, quae sub eius nomine proferuntur et continent istas de gigantibus fabulas, quod non habuerint homines patres, recte a prudentibus iudicantur non ipsius esse credenda.

Let us therefore leave unmentioned the fables in those writings which are called apocrypha, because their origin was obscure and uncertain to the fathers from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has come down to us by a certain and known line of transmission. Although there is some truth to be found in these apocryphal writings, they contain so many false statements that they have no canonical authority. We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh after Adam, left some divine writings, since this is said by the apostle Jude in his canonical epistle. . . . Their antiquity made them suspicious, and made it difficult to determine if these were his authentic writings, and they were not treated as authentic by those who carefully preserved the canonical books by a continuous transmission. Hence the writings produced under his name containing fables about giants not having human fathers are correctly judged to be non-genuine by the prudent.¹⁶⁸

Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.38 (ed. Dombart):¹⁶⁹

Quid Enoch septimus ab Adam, nonne etiam in canonica epistula apostoli Iudae prophetasse praedicatur? Quorum scripta ut apud Iudaeos et apud nos in auctoritate non essent, nimia fecit antiquitas, propter quam videbantur habenda esse suspecta, ne proferrentur falsa pro veris. Nam et proferuntur quaedam quae ipsorum esse dicantur ab eis, qui pro suo sensu passim quod volunt credunt. Sed ea castitas canonis non recepit, non quod eorum hominum, qui Deo placuerunt, reprobetur auctoritas, sed quod ista esse non credantur ipsorum.

What about Enoch, the seventh after Adam? Is it not even declared in the canonical epistle of the apostle Jude that he prophesied?¹⁷⁰ But the writings of these men (i.e., the Hebrew prophets who predate Abraham) could not be held as authoritative

¹⁶⁷ B. Dombart, ed., *Sancti Aurelii Augustini episcopi De civitate Dei* (2 vols; Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1877), 2:111.16–112.1. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 177–8.

¹⁶⁸ For other translations, see St Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans* (LCL; 7 vols; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–72), 4:556–9; Leo Jung, *Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan Literature* (Philadelphia, 1926; repr., New York: Ktav, 1974), 108–9; VanderKam, “1 Enoch,” 87; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 202–3.

¹⁶⁹ *De civitate Dei* (ed. Dombart), 2:313.18–28. See also Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus*, 178.

¹⁷⁰ Jude 14–15.

either among the Jews or among us on account of their extreme antiquity, which made it seem necessary to regard them with suspicion, lest false things should be set forth instead of true. For, some writings that are said to be theirs are quoted by those who, according to their own whims, loosely believe what they please. But the purity of the canon has not admitted these writings—not because the authority of these men who pleased God is rejected, but because they (i.e., the writings) are not believed to be theirs.¹⁷¹

Michael Syrus, *Chronicle* 11.22 (ed. Chabot):¹⁷²

...ܘܥܘܣܐ ܪܫܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܫܐ ܕܪܫܝܬܐ ܕܪܫܝܬܐ...

[Cyriacus of Sijistān and Bar Salta of Resh'ayna] composed a book of lies and named it *Revelation of Enoch*.

The *Revelation* or *Apocalypse of Enoch* which these two forgers compiled was cleverly marketed as a political tract to give false hope to the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (d. 750) while facing the 'Abbāsīd rebellion.¹⁷³

Interrogatio Joannis (ed. Bozóky):¹⁷⁴

Et <Sathanas> misit ministrum suum et assumpsit eum supra firmamentum et ostendit illi deitatem suam et precepit illi dari calamum et atramentum: et sedens

¹⁷¹ Translation largely reproduces that of Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 203.

¹⁷² *Chronique* (ed. Chabot), 2:507 (translation); 4:465 (text).

¹⁷³ See Armand Abel, "L'Apocalypse de Bahîra et la notion islamique de Mahdi," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* 3 (1935): 5; Armand Abel, "Changements politiques et littérature eschatologique dans le monde musulman," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 28; David Bundy, "Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Literature," *SBLSP* 30 (1991): 751; Moshe Gil, "The Creed of Abū 'Amīr," *IOS* 12 (1992): 37; Michael Cook, "An Early Islamic Apocalyptic Chronicle," *JNES* 52 (1993): 29 n. 45; John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (NHMS 41; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 184; Saïd Amir Arjomand, "Islamic Apocalypticism in the Classic Period," in Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, eds, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (3 vols; New York and London: Continuum, 1998), 2:258; Haelewyck, *Clavis*, 48–9.

¹⁷⁴ Edina Bozóky, ed., *Le livre secret des Cathares: Interrogatio Iohannis, apocryphe d'origine bogomile: Édition critique, traduction, commentaire* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980), 66. The Latin text is quoted from the Vienna manuscript which is "[l]e plus précieux des manuscrits." See also Ioannis Caroli Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Lipsiae: Vogel, 1832), 890–1; Hermann Rönisch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen, oder, Die kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1874), 382; Richard Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1929), 297–311. In addition to the study by Bozóky, important discussion of this work can be found in Émile Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles (second et dernier article)," *RHR* 138 (1950): 204–13; Bernard Hamilton, "Wisdom from the East: The Reception by the Cathars of Eastern Dualist Texts," in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds, *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 38–60, esp. 53–6; Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 262–74; Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Longman, 2000), 83–6. Note also the references supplied by James H. Charlesworth, *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Guide to Publications, with Excursuses on Apocalypses* (Metuchen and London: The American Theological Library Association and The Scarecrow Press, 1987), 238.

scripsit septuaginta VI libros. Et precepit ei eos deferri in terram. Detulit autem Enoch libros et tradidit filiis et docuit eos facere formam sacrificiorum et locum sacrificiorum. Et fecerunt ita et clausurunt regnum celorum ante homines. Et dicebat eis: Videte quia ego sum Deus et non est alius deus preter me.

And <Satan> sent his minister (to Enoch) and raised him above the firmament and displayed to him his divine nature, and he then commanded that he be given pen and ink. Sitting himself down, Enoch wrote seventy-six books.¹⁷⁵ Those he commanded him to take to earth. Enoch took those books and transmitted them to his sons, and he taught them how to observe the form and place of sacrificial rituals. They did this in order to “shut the kingdom of heaven before men” (Matt 23:13). And he (i.e., Satan) said to them: “Know that I am God; there is no other god apart from me!” (cf. Deut 4:35; 32:39).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Variant readings: sixty-six; sixty-seven.

¹⁷⁶ For other translations, see Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 190; Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 461; Geo Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and his Ascension* (Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1955), 141; Ioan P. Couliano, *The Tree of Gnosis: Gnostic Mythology from Early Christianity to Modern Nihilism* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1992), 203; Willis Barnstone and Marvin Meyer, eds, *The Gnostic Bible* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 2003), 746; Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), 486 n. 140.

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