

READING AND TRANSLATING WITH SCRIPTURE

*A Study of Textual Growth in the Enochic Theophany
in the Book of the Watchers 1:1-9*

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Abstract

The Enochic Theophany in the Book of the Watchers 1:1-9 is a dynamic text that grew and evolved as it was translated into, and transmitted in, new and changing socio-linguistic and socio-religious contexts. This dissertation traces and examines how the Enochic theophany continued to grow and evolve in Aramaic, Greek, Ethiopic and Latin versions, and focuses on the hermeneutical and text-critical implications of these features of textual growth. Rather than dismissing these shifts and developments in the text as 'corruptive' or 'degenerative' features in the history and life of the Enochic theophany, the methodology employed in this project envisages them as vital and generative features that reveal how the text was read, interpreted, and re-signified as it was translated and transmitted. This study does not attempt to recover an irretrievable 'original Aramaic' text, or to restore the hypothetical margins of the Aramaic fragments using the later versions as a guide, but instead traces the vitality and dynamism of the Enochic theophany as a participant in an ongoing and shifting theophanic and Enochic-Noahic discourse that was not static or unilinear. Therefore, the focus will be less on what the text was, but rather on what the text came to be.

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Reading and Translating with Scripture: A Study of Textual Growth in the Enochic Theophany in the Book of the Watchers 1:1-9

The Enochic theophany in the *Book of the Watchers* 1:1-9 was a dynamic text that continued to grow and evolve as it was translated into new socio-linguistic systems, and as it was transmitted and cultivated in new or changing socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts. The Enochic theophany was a dynamic and accretive text-type that continued to grow in dialogue with the hermeneutical contexts in which it was transmitted, and with the hermeneutical frameworks that were associated with the text.

The translation and transmission of the text were in effect recreative processes, transforming the language of the Enochic theophany, reshaping its associative aspect, and redefining its relationship with the Pentateuchal and Prophetic materials, in the latter's Hebrew, Greek and Ethiopic versions. The contexts in which the Enochic theophany was composed, translated, and transmitted were critical for its ongoing development and transformation.

The Enochic theophany is fragmentarily preserved in three primary versions; the Aramaic fragments of 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c discovered at Qumran, a Greek text-type preserved in the 5th-6th century Codex Panopolitanus (G^{CP}), and in the Ethiopic text-types preserved in the manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* dated to the 15th-20th centuries CE. In addition, the final verse of the Greek Enochic theophany in 1:9 is preserved in the quotation in the *Epistle of Jude* 14b-15 (G^{Jude}), and in the Latin quotations in Pseudo-Cyprian's *Ad Novatianum* and Pseudo-Vigilius' *Contra Varimadum*. Finally, Amharic translations and commentary materials are often preserved in the marginalia of the manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch*, and in the Amharic Andämta commentaries on *Mäshafä Henok* (Book of Enoch).

Using this textual evidence, we will explore the ongoing growth and development of the Enochic theophany as it was translated and transmitted into new socio-linguistic systems and socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts. We will explore the growth and evolution of the text in negotiation with the context in which it was introduced. Rather than seeing variants, and secondary features of textual growth, as corruptive or degenerative features in the history of the text, in essence as a problem to be reckoned with, this project seeks to explore these features as vital and dynamic features in the history and life of the Enochic theophany.

This project does not seek to reconstruct or recreate the Urtext, nor is this project limited by the presumption that any of the versions, even the Aramaic fragments, are indicative of a 'final form' of the Enochic theophany. In the case of the Enochic theophany, we cannot be certain that either of these constructs existed. The desire to isolate these hypothetical states in the life of a text may be more illuminating for how we as modern readers approach ancient texts, and how our reading is shaped by modern constructs of what textual unity and authority is, rather than for readers and audiences in antiquity. Therefore, rather than focusing on the reconstruction of an Urtext, an original Aramaic Enochic theophany, this project uses a retrospective and prospective text-critical methodology to isolate features of textual growth, and to illustrate unique stages in the life and history of the text. The focus is less on what the text was, but more on what the text came to be.

In the following sections, we will briefly introduce the textual evidence for the Enochic theophany and will establish the parameters for this textual study. The Enochic theophany is only fragmentarily preserved in Aramaic, Greek, and in Ethiopic (Ge'ez). The

type and nature of the fragmentation, however, is unique in each of these three primary versions. In these sections, we will also briefly introduce the chapters in this dissertation. Thereafter, we will examine previous approaches to the Enochic theophany in scholarship, focusing on how it has been interpreted as an incorporate part of the Enochic oracle (*Book of the Watchers* 1-5), and how the Enochic theophany has been interpreted in modern scholarship through the hermeneutical lens of the 'canonical' or 'biblical' literature. We will then define the methodology and key terms used in this project.

The Aramaic Enochic Theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c

Fragmented portions of the Aramaic *Book of the Watchers* (hereafter *BW*) are preserved in five manuscripts discovered in Cave 4 at Qumran: 4QEn^a (4Q201), 4QEn^b (4Q202), 4QEn^c (4Q204), 4QEn^d (4Q205), and 4QEn^e (4Q206). In 1976, J.T. Milik published the *editio princeps* of the Aramaic fragments.¹ In the subsequent decades, many new editions of the fragments, or revisions of Milik's readings, have been published.² The Aramaic manuscripts are fragmentary, and only provide fragmented access into the form(s) of the text as it circulated at Qumran and amongst other contemporaneous socio-religious groups and communities. These manuscripts provide a vital, but only fragmented and limited glimpse into the text as it circulated in the mid to late Second Temple period. Isolated and fragmented portions of the Enochic theophany are preserved in two manuscripts. Firstly, in 4QEn^a which is approximately dated to the first half of the 2nd century BCE, although Milik inferred on orthographic grounds that it was probably copied

¹ Milik, J.T. 1976. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

² An assessment of the editions of the fragments is included in *Chapter 1*.

from another manuscript dating ‘from the third century at the very least.’³ This manuscript preserves limited and disjointed portions of 1:1-6 in fragments 1ia and 1ib. Secondly, in 4QEn^c which Milik dated approximately to the late 1st century BCE,⁴ yet is probably a copy of a manuscript exemplar dated to circa 100 BCE.⁵ 4QEn^c fragmentarily preserves isolated words and clauses in the final verse of the Enochic theophany (1:9), alongside sections of 2:1-3 and 3:1-5:1.⁶ This manuscript thereafter preserves additional portions of the Aramaic *BW* including limited sections from chapters 6, 10, 13-14, 18, 30-32 and 35-36,⁷ and limited sections from the *Animal Apocalypse* in *Dream Visions* (89:31-37), the *Epistle of Enoch* (104:13-105:2), and the *Birth of Noah* narrative (106:1-2, 13-19, 107:1-2).⁸

In approaching the Aramaic fragments, we are hindered by the reality that these fragments are only a witness to a fragmented textual tradition. In 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, there are no overlapping portions in the Enochic theophany and therefore it is not certain that they are witnesses to an identical text-type. The Aramaic fragments do not provide access into a standardized or ‘final form’ of the Enochic theophany, nor can we

³ Milik, p.141.

⁴ Ibid, pp.178-179.

⁵ Ibid; Knibb, M.A. 2008. ‘The *Book of Enoch* or *Books of Enoch*? The Textual Evidence for 1 *Enoch*’, in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, Brill, Leiden, p.41.

⁶ For reconstruction and reading of these fragmented portions, see: Milik, pp.184-185; Drawnel, H. 2019. *Qumran Cave 4: The Aramaic Books of Enoch: 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.204-212.

⁷ Milik also suggested that 4QEn^c 1v preserved two words from 12:3 in addition to 10:13-19 and a single word in 4QEn^c 1vii from 15:11 in addition to 14:18-20. Similar identifications have been made by Drawnel, however, these are far from certain. See: Milik, pp.189-190, 199-200. See also: Drawnel, pp.218-219, 254-255.

⁸ Drawnel, pp.271-293; Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2007. ‘The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment’, in *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini, J.J. Collins), Brill, Leiden, p.47.

be certain that they preserve the *only* form of the Aramaic Enochic theophany that circulated in the Second Temple period.⁹

Beyond their immediate relevance to the subject at hand, however, these manuscripts are also vital for understanding the broader textual history of the *BW*. 4QEn^a is the earliest dated manuscript featuring this text.¹⁰ After the content in *BW* 10 that is preserved in 4QEn^a, however, the fragments of 4QEn^a do not directly correspond to anything preserved in the other Aramaic Enochic manuscripts or to the corresponding sections in the *BW* in the later Greek and Ethiopic versions.

As highlighted by Stuckenbruck, 4QEn^a fragments 2-8 do not neatly correspond to any section of the Greek and Ethiopic versions of *BW*.¹¹ The placement of two fragments by Milik, identified as corresponding to 10:21-11:1 (frg. o) and 12:4-6 (frg. p), has been furthermore challenged by Drawnel on palaeographic considerations, and neither can be easily placed or identified with any corresponding section in the other Aramaic manuscripts or later versions.¹² 4QEn^a therefore may attest to a text-type of the Aramaic *BW* distinct from that preserved in the other Aramaic Enochic manuscripts, perhaps with additional or unique stratum, or instead may attest to a distinct or unique stage in the compositional and transmissional development of the Aramaic *BW*.

4QEn^c provides compelling evidence that a form of the *BW*, inclusive of chapters 1-36, circulated at least as early as the late 1st century BCE. Milik proposed that 4QEn^c (4Q204)

⁹ The broad plethora of compositional, redactional and editorial processes reflected in the Qumran material suggests the probability that the *BW* may not have been in an entirely fixed or static state, but instead may have been in a state of continual growth, like that exemplified in *Serekh Ha-Yahad*.

¹⁰ Milik, p.141.

¹¹ Stuckenbruck, 'The Early Traditions...', pp.43-46. Also, see discussion by Drawnel, where frg. 2 is instead labelled frg. 22, frg. 3 is labelled frg. 23, and frg. 8 is identified as frg. 24: Drawnel, pp.140-142.

¹² Drawnel, pp.138-140.

was conjoined with the fragments of 4QEnGiants^a (4Q203) as part of an Enochic collection within a singular manuscript, where only the *Astronomical Book* was included in a separate manuscript.¹³ Furthermore, Milik hypothesized that ‘The compiler of this Pentateuch was quite conscious of its analogy with the Mosaic Pentateuch’.¹⁴ Whilst this hypothesis is improbable, and has been challenged by Knibb and Stuckenbruck,¹⁵ the configuration of the fragments of 4QEn^c nevertheless suggests that this manuscript at least contained a limited Enochic collection inclusive of the *BW*, *Dream Visions*, *Epistle of Enoch*, and the *Birth of Noah* narratives. There is no evidence, however, that this ‘collection’ was anything more than a loose collection of writings, and it was not necessarily a structured or unified corpus.

A third manuscript, 4QEn^b, which dates approximately to the middle of the 2nd century BCE,¹⁶ does not preserve any portion of *BW* 1:1-9, yet nevertheless attests to the textual seam that links the end of the Enochic oracle in 5:9 with the beginning of the watchers narrative in 6:1.¹⁷ The combined evidence of these three manuscripts provides strong grounds to justify the claim that the Enochic oracle (chapters 1-5) already prefaced the composite *BW* at least as early as the first half of the 2nd century BCE. A similar view was offered by VanderKam, who suggested that the antiquity of 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c indicates that the *BW*, inclusive of the Enochic oracle, was already written before the Maccabean

¹³ Ibid, pp.178-183.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.183.

¹⁵ Knibb challenged this presumption and stated that ‘it seems more likely that the fragments, although copied by the same scribe, belong to a different manuscript.’ A longer examination and refutation of Milik’s thesis was completed by Stuckenbruck. Knibb, ‘The *Book of Enoch*...’, pp.41-42; Stuckenbruck, ‘The Early Traditions...’, pp.48-51.

¹⁶ Milik, pp.164-165; Knibb, ‘The *Book of Enoch*...’, p.45.

¹⁷ Also highlighted in: Garcia Martinez, F. & Tigchelaar, E.J.C. 1989. ‘The “Books of Enoch (1 Enoch)” and the Aramaic Fragments from Qumran’, *RevQum* 14, p.138.

period.¹⁸ If Milik's assessment that 4QEn^a was copied from a 3rd century BCE manuscript is correct,¹⁹ then it is probable that a text-type of the Aramaic *BW* inclusive of the Enochic theophany circulated as early as the 3rd century BCE; although this text-type did not necessarily correspond directly to the form of the Aramaic *BW* in the other Aramaic Enochic manuscripts or the later versions.

In this study, we will focus primarily on 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, which preserve the fragmented but not overlapping portions of an Aramaic version of the Enochic theophany. However, on occasion, the other Aramaic Enochic manuscripts preserve language features that are fruitful for understanding the 'probable' and 'possible' language of the fragmented margins of the Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, as does the other Aramaic literature discovered at Qumran.

As we will observe in *Chapter 1*, it is difficult to productively read the Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c without frequent appeal to the language preserved in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic versions. As a result, a retrospective methodology is implicit in most reconstructions and restorations of the Aramaic fragments in scholarship, wherein the margins of the fragments, and fragmentarily preserved words, are reconstructed and restored using the language of the latter versions as a guide. As we will observe in *Chapter 1*, this process of retrospective reconstruction is not devoid of methodological risk. The chronological gap between the Greek text-type preserved in G^{CP} and these Aramaic manuscripts is significant, and whilst the Greek reflects a translation from an

¹⁸ VanderKam, J.C. 1984. *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, Catholic Biblical Association of America, Washington D.C., p.112; Elsewhere, VanderKam also supports a 3rd century date: VanderKam, J.C. 1996. '1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature', in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (eds. J.C. VanderKam, W. Adler), Van Gorcum, Assen/Fortress Press, Minneapolis, p.33.

¹⁹ Milik, p.141.

Aramaic text, it was not necessarily a text that was a close or exact equivalent to the text-type(s) preserved in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c.

Therefore, in *Chapter 1* we will explore the Aramaic fragments of the Enochic theophany as it is preserved in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, and will attempt to decouple the reconstruction and restoration of these fragments from the text-types preserved in G^{CP} and in the Ethiopic manuscripts. These latter versions will be consulted primarily as *conversation partners*, rather than as the framework and exemplar for reconstructing and restoring the Aramaic – for the definition of the term *conversation partners* as it is employed in this project see later subchapter on Methodology. In addition, we will explore the language of the fragmented Aramaic Enochic theophany in dialogue with cognate Hebrew and Aramaic literature and will highlight the unique features of the Aramaic that are not featured in the later versions.

The Greek Enochic Theophany in Codex Panopolitanus (G^{CP}) and the Epistle of Jude 14b-15 (G^{Jude})

The only surviving complete Greek witness to *BW 1:1-9* is found in Codex Panopolitanus (G^{CP}),²⁰ which is normally dated to the late 5th or 6th century CE.²¹ The codex was

²⁰ The name of the codex is derived from the Latin of the location (Panopolis) where it was discovered. In contemporary scholarship, it is also referred to as the Akhmim Codex or the Gizeh manuscript, and is catalogued as P.Cair.10759. Although originally housed in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, it is now in the Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum (BAAM 0522). Photographs of the leaves are available for consultation in a Photographic Archive maintained by Oxford University. See: Black, M. & Denis, A-M. 1970. *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece - Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca*. PVTG 3, Brill, Leiden, p.8; Henderson, T.P. 2011. *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics: Rewriting the Story of Jesus' Death, Burial, and Resurrection*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, p.13; Houghton, H.A.G & Monier, M. 2020. 'Greek Manuscripts in Alexandria', *JTS* 71, pp.121-122.

²¹ A sixth century dating was advocated by Black and Knibb. Milik, Nickelsburg, initially by Stuckenbruck, and more recently Knibb have suggested either the 5th or 6th century CE. More recently, in the article '1 Enoch 1: A Comparison of Two Translations' Stuckenbruck has suggested a late 5th century CE dating. Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.7; Knibb, M.A. 1978. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments Vol.2*, (with assistance of E. Ullendorff), Clarendon Press, Oxford p.17; Milik, pp.71-72; Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 2001. *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108*,

discovered in a burial at Akhmim (ancient Panopolis) in Egypt during the 1886-87 excavation directed by Eugène Grébaut.²² The precise context of the burial is no longer known due to poor record keeping and supervision of the excavation process,²³ but the burial is generally dated to the 8th-12th centuries CE.²⁴

This Greek witness provides vital evidence for the continued growth and evolution of the Enochic theophany in dialogue with the interpretation and function of the text in a unique socio-linguistic and socio-religious context. However, it is only a fragmented witness to the life of the Enochic theophany in Greek. In approaching this witness, we are only approaching a fragmented portion of a vibrant and synchronically complex Greek Enochic tradition.

The *editio princeps* of the Enochic text was published by Bouriant in 1892.²⁵ The following year Lods published a list of corrections and the plates of the text.²⁶ Several subsequent studies and reproductions of the Greek quickly followed, including eventually a new

Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, p.12; Stuckenbruck, 'The Early Traditions...', p.42; Knibb, 'The Book of Enoch...', p.48; Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2016. '1 Enoch 1: A Comparison of Two Translations', in *New Vistas on Early Judaism and Christianity: From Enoch to Montréal and Back* (eds. L. DiTommaso, G.S. Oegema), Bloomsbury T&T Clark, London/New York, p.25; Coblentz Bautch, K. 2018. 'Panopolitanus and Its Relationship to Other Greek Witnesses of the Book of the Watchers', in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini* (eds. J.H. Ellens et al), De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, pp.76-77.

²² For a description of the excavation, see: Van Minnen, P. 2003. 'The Greek Apocalypse of Peter', in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (eds. J.N. Bremmer, I. Czachesz), SECA 7, Peeters, Leuven, p.17.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See: Van Minnen, 'The Greek Apocalypse...', pp.17-19; Van Minnen, P. 2007. 'The Akhmim Gospel of Peter' in *Das Evangelium nach Petrus: Text, Kontexte, Intertexte* (eds. T.J. Kraus, T. Nicklas), TU 158, De Gruyter, Berlin, pp.53-54.

²⁵ Bouriant, U. 1892. 'Fragments du texte grec du livre d'Énoch et de quelques écrits attribués à saint Pierre', in *Le papyrus mathématique d'Akhmîm – Fragments du texte grec du livre d'Énoch et de quelques écrits attribués à saint Pierre* (eds. J. Baillet, U. Bouriant), MPMAFC 9/1, Ernest Leroux, Paris, pp.91-147.

²⁶ In addition to the 1893 publication, Lods also produced his own edition in 1892. Lods, A. 1893. *L'Évangile & l'Apocalypse de Pierre. Le texte grec du Livre d'Énoch*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire ix. 3, Paris, 217-3 5 + 34 plates; Lods, A. 1892. *Le Livre d'Hénoch. Fragments grecs découverts à Akhmim (Haute-Égypte)*, Ernest Leroux, Paris.

edition published by Black,²⁷ although interest in G^{CP}, particularly in relation to codicology and orthography, has waned in recent decades.²⁸

The codex includes extracts from the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a Greek version of the *BW* (only 1:1-32:6), and a limited excerpt from the *Martyrdom of St Julian of Anazarbus*. The works in this composite codex are commonly assigned to the 5th-6th centuries CE; this date was suggested by Cavallo and Maehler's paleographic analysis of the codex.²⁹ The texts are all copied on parchment. Blank folio are included between the texts, and the codex features limited ornamentation and adornment. Whilst the *Gospel of Peter* includes ornamental crosses at the top of each leaf,³⁰ these are not included in the folio belonging to the *BW*.

The lack of ornamentation is not surprising considering that the Enochic folio originated in a temporal context, and possibly also a spatial context, distinct from the Petrine texts. According to Milik, the Enochic and Petrine texts circulated independently before being bound together within Codex Panopolitanus.³¹ More recently, Van Minnen has suggested that the portion of the Greek *BW* incorporated into Codex Panopolitanus was a 'leftover'

²⁷ Editions or reproductions of G^{CP} include: Dillmann, A. 1892. 'Über den neugefundenen griechischen Text des Henoch Buches' *SAB* 51, 53, pp.1039-54,1079-92; Charles, R.H. 1906. *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch Edited from Twenty-Three MSS, together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series xi, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp.3-75; Flemming, J. & Radermacher, L. 1901. *Das Buch Henoch*, GCS5, J.C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, pp.18-60; Swete, H.B. 1899. *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, iii, 2nd edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.789-808; Swete, H.B. 1899. *The Psalms of Solomon with the Greek Fragments of the Book of Enoch*, C.J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.25-44; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, pp.19-36.

²⁸ Recent exploratory and summatory studies of the Enochic text in Codex Panopolitanus include: Coblenz Bautch, pp.72-86; Arcari, L. & Del Verme, M. 2008. 'Il Papiro Gizeh: Un testimone della tradizione enochica greca e altri testi ad esso Collegabili; Status quaestionis e nuove linee di ricerca' *BeO* 50, pp.1-80.

²⁹ Cavallo and Maehler did not examine the book-hand of the fragment from the *Martyrdom of St Julian of Anazarbus*, but only the Enochic and Petrine scribal hands. Cavallo, G. & Maehler, H. 1987. *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800*, B.I.C.S. Bulleing Supplement 47, Institute of Classical Studies, London, p.90; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.7.

³⁰ Larson, E.W. 1995. *The Translation of Enoch: From Aramaic into Greek*, New York University, Ann Arbor, (ProQuest – Retrieved: 5 May 2018), p.65.

³¹ Milik, p.71. See also: Larson, *The Translation of Enoch...*, p.71.

from another manuscript.³² The significant temporal gap between the date of the Enochic and Petrine scribal hands and the date of the burial context, eliminates the possibility that these texts were specifically copied for inclusion in this burial site.³³ The exact provenance and nature of the scribal contexts in which these texts were copied and produced is uncertain, although the lack of ornamentation in the Enochic quire is suggestive of a distinct provenance from the Petrine quires.

The Enochic text probably had a life of its own prior to its incorporation into this composite codex. Whilst it does not feature the same type of ornamentation as the Petrine texts, the probability that it was still produced within a Christian milieu and for a Christian readership is suggested by the presence of *nomina sacra* within the text (see Fig. I.1).³⁴

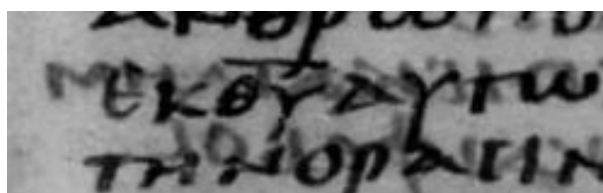


Fig. I.1
Codex Panopolitanus
Nomina Sacra ΘΥ in BW 1:2

Codex Panopolitanus features BW 19:3-21:9 followed directly by the near complete text of 1:1-32:6a, without 3:1b-5:1a which may have been omitted by homoioteleuton. No portion from chapters 32:6b-36:4 is attested whilst 19:3-21:9 is included twice in the codex, and the overall composition is split according to two scribal hands.³⁵

³² Van Minnen, "The Greek Apocalypse...", p.22.

³³ For an extended discussion of the theories pertaining to the inclusion of the Enochic and Petrine texts in this composite codex, see: Larson, *The Translation of Enoch...*, pp.70-71; Coblentz Bautch, pp.76-77.

³⁴ The origins and use of the *nomina sacra* are explored in: Hurtado, L.W. 1998. 'The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal', *JBL* 117/4, pp.655-673; Metzger, B.M. 1981. *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Paleography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, pp.36-37; Roberts, C.H. 1979. 'Nomina Sacra: Origins and Significance' in *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt: The Schweich Lectures 1977*, Oxford University Press, London, pp.26-48.

³⁵ Various explanations for this duplication, and the significance of the scribal hands, were evaluated by Larson: Larson, *The Translation...*, pp.71-74. See also: Coblentz Bautch, pp.77-79; Dugan, E. 2021. 'Enochic

It is not certain whether this Greek text-type preserved in G^{CP} testifies to a distinct Greek version that did not include chapters 32:6b-36:4. This final unit may have been omitted by an error of the copyist, or alternatively the final leaves of the manuscript, inclusive of this unit, may have been displaced during the repurposing of the text for its new codicological context.

Whilst the text-type preserved in G^{CP} was almost certainly translated from an Aramaic text-type, it does not provide direct access to the character or nature of this translation, nor is it likely that it is a direct or close equivalent of the Aramaic Vorlagen used by the Greek translators. In a study of the Greek versions of *BW* and the *Epistle of Enoch (EE)*, Barr suggested that the Greek translation 'belonged to the same general stage and stratum of translation as the Septuagint translation of Daniel.'³⁶ However, it is not certain that these two Greek Enochic texts reflect a singular translational process, or conjoined translational activity, and therefore such conclusions are tentative, and perhaps even presumptive. In addition to the Greek papyrus fragments (7QpapEN gr) discovered in Cave 7 at Qumran that have been hypothetically identified with a Greek version of *EE*,³⁷ this collective evidence is often assumed to suggest an early date for the translation of the Aramaic Enochic literature into Greek, perhaps in either the 2nd or 1st century BCE.³⁸

Biography and the Manuscript History of 1 Enoch: The Codex Panopolitanus Book of the Watchers', *JBL* 140, pp.113-138.

³⁶ Barr, J. 1978. 'Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch (I)', *JSS* 23, pp.184-198.

³⁷ See: Nebe, G.W. 1988. '7Q4-Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation' *RevQum* 13, pp.629-633; Puech, É. 1996. 'Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = 1 Hénoch 103 et 105' *RevBib* 103, pp.592-600; Muro, E.A. 1997. 'The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7 (7Q4, 7Q8 & 7Q12 = 7QEn gr = Enoch 103:3-4, 7-8)', *RevQum* 19, pp.307-312; Puech, É. 1997. 'Sept fragments grecs de la Lettre d'Hénoch (1 Hén 100, 103, et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (=7QHéng)' *RevQum* 18, pp.313-323; Larson, *The Translation...*, pp.188-191.

³⁸ Larson, *The Translation*, pp.vii, 203.

These Cave 7 fragments, however, are unlikely to attest to the existence of a Greek version of *EE* at Qumran. Stuckenbruck challenged this identification on the basis that it was dependent on the shorter text-type for 103:3-4 and 103:5-6 preserved in the Chester Beatty Papyrus, as opposed to the longer reading preserved in *Ethiopic Enoch*, the former being more economically explained as an omission through homoioteleuton.³⁹ A similar argument was made by Nickelsburg, who challenged the identification both on the basis that the fragments were 'too small to allow a certain identification'⁴⁰, and the dependence of the identification on the contracted text preserved in Chester Beatty Papyrus, a manuscript that was frequently and characteristically defective.⁴¹ The identification of these fragments with a Greek version of *EE* is tenuous at best, and therefore it does not provide an effective *terminus ad quem* for the translation of the Aramaic Enochic literature into Greek.

Our limited knowledge about the translation of the Aramaic Enochic literature into Greek was cogently encapsulated by Knibb, who stated:

'We have no precise information about the circumstances in which the Enochic writings were translated into Greek, nor do we know whether each section of the corpus was translated separately, or whether, say, the three sections grouped together in 4Q204 were translated at the same time.'⁴²

We do not have clear evidence that the Enochic literature was translated into Greek in conjoined translational activity, nor is it likely that these Greek documents can be

³⁹ Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2007. *1 Enoch 91-108 (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature)*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, pp.513, 517, 526.

⁴⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.49.

⁴¹ For Nickelsburg's systematic refutation of this identification, see: Nickelsburg, George W.E. 2004. 'The Greek Fragments of "1 Enoch" from Qumran Cave 7: An Unproven Identification', *RevQum* 21, pp.631-634 (esp. 632-633).

⁴² Knibb, 'The Book of Enoch...', p.42.

productively mined to understand translational techniques and processes.⁴³ As we will observe in *Chapter 1* and *Chapter 2*, the G^{CP} text-type does not always closely correspond to the preserved text in 4QEn^a, and this Greek text-type reflects ongoing growth and development, including inner-Greek revisions that improve the style of the Greek, that limits its value as a witness to these translational processes.

The G^{CP} text-type reflects transmission in a Christian socio-religious context in upper Egypt – in the final section of *Chapter 2*, we will examine some features of textual growth in G^{CP} in light of this context. According to Frankfurter, ‘upper Egypt was a culture of sparse literacy and a fluid sense of scriptural authority.’⁴⁴ This fluidity is in marked contrast to the fixity promulgated in the writings of Athanasius in the 4th century CE, particularly in *Festal letter 39* (c. 367 CE).⁴⁵ Within the context of a defence of a defined canon of scripture, Athanasius therein attributes the promulgation of ‘apocryphal’ Enochic, Isaianic, and Mosaic works to the Melitians.⁴⁶

⁴³ Larson provides some suggestive evidence that may affirm the hypothesis that G^{CP} and G^{Syn} hearken back to a single Greek translation of the *BW*, including some shared non-literal renderings of the Aramaic in 10:2 and 10:8. However, Larson’s assessment of the ‘translation techniques’ employed in the Greek *BW* and the Greek *EE*, as preserved in the Chester Beatty Papyrus, and the claim that these corroborate the claim that they reflect the work of a single translator, is problematic. Many of the common features, including non-literal or idiomatic Greek phrasing, may be better explained as a reflection of the similar socio-linguistic contexts in which these Greek versions were transmitted and revised, rather than as indicative of translational processes – in none of the offered examples can we be certain that these are translational renderings, rather than secondary revisions of the Greek. An example of a revision of a Greek reading to improve the style of the Greek may be preserved in the Enochic preamble in 1:2e (‘current generation’), and again in 1:9 (separation of ‘words’ in ‘hard words’) – see *Chapter 2* (pp.160-161) and *Chapter 3* (pp.261-262) for further on these examples. The evidence offered by Larson is insufficient to determine the translation techniques exemplified in the Greek versions. In none of the surviving Greek versions, do we have access to a text-type that can be regarded as uniquely indicative of translational processes, and therefore any assessment of the character and translation techniques is at best only tenuous. For the view of Larson, see: Larson, *The Translation...*, pp.191-198.

⁴⁴ Frankfurter, D. 1996. ‘The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity: Regional Trajectories’, in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (eds. J.C. VanderKam, W. Adler), Van Gorcum, Assen/Fortress Press, Minneapolis, p.170.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.171.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

This might provide one type of Christian socio-religious context ‘in which Jewish apocalypses were read and, presumably, biblical pseudepigrapha were still composed.’⁴⁷

As concluded by Frankfurter, the testimony of Athanasius provides evidence for the circulation of Enochic texts – amongst other Isaianic and Mosaic works – within certain Christian contexts in the mid-4th century. The G^{CP} text-type attests to the continual transmission of Enochic literature, or at least the Greek *BW*, in Christian contexts and communities in upper Egypt into the 5th or early 6th centuries CE.⁴⁸

In *Chapter 2*, we will explore the language of G^{CP}, and its unique interpolations, additions and redactional features, in connection with its own temporal and socio-religious context. We will explore the possibility that the G^{CP} text-type reflects ongoing growth and development in a Christian socio-religious and hermeneutical context. In addition, we will highlight the value of this text-type and the hermeneutical and manuscript tradition to which it testifies.

The only other preserved witness to the Greek versions of *BW* 1:1-9 is found in the *Epistle of Jude* which includes a quotation of 1:9 in verses 14b-15 (hereafter *G^{Jude}* when referring only to verses 14b-15). The precise literary and text-critical relationship between the quotation in *G^{Jude}* and the G^{CP} text-type is uncertain. Whilst it is possible that the quotation in *G^{Jude}* reflects a new translation direct from an Aramaic text, it is more probable that the quotation was taken, adapted, or paraphrased from a pre-existing Greek translation that was similar but not identical to the text-type preserved in G^{CP}.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.172.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.199.

The most recent critical edition of *Jude* was published by Wasserman in 2006.⁴⁹ Whilst this volume did not deviate significantly from previous editions in the text reconstructed, there is one key differentiated reading adopted by Wasserman from that typically included in critical editions of *Jude*. In this study, we will draw directly upon the manuscript evidence and the edition produced by Wasserman and the extensive *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM),⁵⁰ and will respond to additional text-critical studies including that published by Landon.⁵¹

P⁷² is the earliest manuscript preserving G^{Jude} and is typically dated to around 300 CE.⁵² This manuscript is a vital witness to textual growth in the G^{Jude} text-type, as it often preserves secondary readings and omits an entire stanza, possibly by homoioteleuton. The preferability of working with an eclectic text for G^{Jude}, rather than operating with a single manuscript such as P⁷² as the primary foundation for this study, is suggested by the presence of secondary features of textual growth even in the earliest exemplars.

In *Chapter 3*, we will compare and examine these two Greek versions of 1:9. Therein, we will also draw upon as conversation partners the Latin versions of this quotation preserved in Pseudo-Cyprian's *Ad Novatianum* 16.5⁵³ and in Pseudo-Vigilius' *Contra*

⁴⁹ A brief overview and critique of critical editions published prior to 2006 is included in: Wasserman, T. 2006. *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission*, CBNT 41, Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, pp.4-13.

⁵⁰ Edition: Aland, B. & Aland, K. & Mink, G. & Strutwolf, H. & Wachtel, K. 2005. *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior IV: Catholic Letters, Part 1: Text: Instalment 4: The Second and Third Letter of John, The Letter of Jude*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart.

⁵¹ Landon, C. 1996. *A Text-Critical Study of the Epistle of Jude*. JSNTSup 135, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield.

⁵² For further on dating and related issues, see: Wasserman, T. 2005. "Papyrus 72 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex", *NTS* 51, pp.137-154. The codex was first published by Testuz: Testuz, M. 1959. *Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX*, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny/Genève.

⁵³ Edition: Diercks, G.F. 1972. *Novatiani Opera Quae Supersunt*, CCSL 4, Brepols, Turnhout, p.150.

Varimadum 1.13⁵⁴ to understand the ongoing growth of this verse in Christian hermeneutical contexts.

Neither provides an exact parallel to G^{CP} or G^{Jude}, although Pseudo-Cyprian provides a valuable witness to a Greek text-type that reflects characteristics of both. Pseudo-Vigilius reflects a Greek text-type closer to G^{Jude} than that preserved in G^{CP} and Pseudo-Cyprian, although it also contains several unique features and omissions. The quotation in Pseudo-Vigilius is attributed to *Jude* (Et in epistola Iudae apostoli) whilst in Pseudo-Cyprian it is introduced by the phrase 'sicut scriptum est' (as it is written) and may have been taken from an independent Greek text-type, or perhaps a pre-existing Latin translation of *BW* 1:9.

The Latin versions attest to the use of the Enochic theophany in ongoing doctrinal and theological controversies. The quotation in *Ad Novatianum* appears within the context of a refutation of Novatian's approach to dealing with lapsed Christians who had apostatized during the Decian persecution. The treatise strings together a sequence of citations in chapters 16-17 concerning the coming judgement.

The text was erroneously attributed to Cyprian, and whilst it is probable that the work was composed in North Africa between 253-257 CE,⁵⁵ it cannot be irrefutably associated with any author of the period. More recently, Ciccolini suggested that the character of

⁵⁴ Edition: Schwank, B. & De Bruyne, D. & Fraipont, J. 1961. *Florilegia Biblica Africana saec. V: Contra Varimadum, Solutiones, Testimonia, De Trinitate*. CCL 90, Brepols, Turnhout, p.28.

⁵⁵ Quasten, J. 1986. *Patrology: Volume II: The Anti-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus* (repr.), Christian Classics Inc., Westminster, Maryland, p.367.

the New Testament texts cited in *Ad Novatianum*, may suggest an African origin,⁵⁶ and further concludes:

‘The author claims to be writing during a persecution (Novat. 5) during which Christians who had previously apostatized at the Decian persecution demonstrated courage (Novat. 6). If the author wrote in Africa, he must be referring to the Valerian persecution of 257/258 CE.’⁵⁷

The *Contra Varimadum* is erroneously attributed to Vigilius of Thapsus, a late 5th century Bishop of Thapsus, who was the author of *Contra Arianos* (*Against the Arians*), *Contra Eutychetem* (*Against Eutyches*), and possibly *Contra Felicianum* (*Against Felicianus*).⁵⁸ In addition to Vigilius, the author has also been identified as Augustine, Athanasius, Idacius, and Cerealis.⁵⁹ The author of this work is unknown, except that he was a Bishop exiled by the Vandals who consequently lived in Naples.⁶⁰ According to Walker, the text must be broadly dated to 439-484, although ‘it was most probably written during the years 445-450.’⁶¹

The only other textual witness to the Greek versions of the *BW*, namely the Byzantine *Chronography* of Syncellus⁶² does not preserve any section of the Enochic theophany in 1:1-9, and only features excerpts including 6:1-9:4, 8:4-10:14 and 15:8-16:1.⁶³ This text

⁵⁶ Ciccolini, L. 2020. ‘Scripture in the North African Treatises of Pseudo-Cyprian’ in *The Bible in Christian North Africa* (eds. J. Yates, A. Dupont), De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, p.153.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Petri, S. 2013. ‘Vigilius of Thapsus’ in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine* (eds. K. Pollmann, W. Otten), Oxford University Press, (Retrieved: 15/06/2021).

⁵⁹ Walker, G.S.M. 1963. ‘Review: *Florilegia Biblica Africana saec. V: Contra Varimadum, Solutiones, Testimonia, De Trinitate*. (eds. B. Schwank, D. De Bruyne, J. Fraipont), Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, vol. XC., Turnhout, Belgium, Brepols, 1961’, *JTS* XIV, p.203.

⁶⁰ McClure, J. 1979. ‘Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to Early Sixth Centuries’, *JTS* 30, p.95.

⁶¹ Walker, p.203.

⁶² Edition: Mosshammer, A.A. 1984. *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica*, Teubner, Leipzig, pp.11-13, 24-26. Translation: Adler, W. & Tuffin, P. 2002. *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.16-18, 33-35.

⁶³ Whilst Knibb states 6:1-9:4, Stuckenbruck instead suggests 6:1-11:4. Knibb, ‘Book of Enoch....’, pp.48-49; Stuckenbruck, ‘The Early Traditions...’, p.42.

dates to the early 9th century CE although is probably reliant on the 5th century CE chronographic works of Panodorus or Annianos.⁶⁴ This version is essential for understanding the types of variation that may have existed in the Greek versions of *BW* that circulated in late antiquity, however, it is only of secondary value to our study of the Greek Enochic theophany.

The Enochic Theophany in the Eth. I and Eth. II Manuscripts of Ethiopic Enoch

The Ethiopic manuscripts attest to different stages or locations in the ongoing growth and development of the Enochic theophany, and more broadly also in relation to *Ethiopic Enoch* as a contiguous literary whole. However, even in the case of the Ethiopic manuscripts we only have access to a fragmented Ethiopic tradition. Each manuscript provides a limited glimpse and only limited access into the ongoing growth and redaction of the Ethiopic versions of the Enochic theophany.

The earliest manuscript exemplars for *Ethiopic Enoch* date no earlier than the 15th century, and therefore we do not have evidence for earlier stages in the transmission and redaction of the Ethiopic versions. The manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* are typically classified into two broad categories. The first category (Eth. I) does not reflect an individual recension but is a broad umbrella term used to designate the oldest manuscripts or manuscript types of *Ethiopic Enoch*. Whilst there are dominant readings or traits, which distinguish them from the standardizing recension reflected in Eth. II manuscripts, there are many unique readings and text-types preserved in the Eth. I manuscripts.

⁶⁴ Knibb, 'Book of Enoch...', pp.48-49.

The *editio princeps* was published by Laurence in 1831 based on the Eth. II manuscript Bod.531, and thereafter an edition was published by Dillmann in 1851.⁶⁵ The delineation of the manuscripts into these two categories (Eth. I/Eth. II), however, is indebted to the pioneering work of Flemming.⁶⁶ This demarcation has been developed and expanded further by Charles,⁶⁷ Knibb,⁶⁸ Uhlig,⁶⁹ Stuckenbruck, and Erho.⁷⁰ The delineation of the manuscripts into two categories has evolved since the work of Flemming, and the number of manuscripts identified in each category has increased, although the basic two-fold division has remained relatively unchanged.⁷¹ This system is not a perfect method for defining the value or character of a manuscript, and there are several manuscripts which defy easy classification.

Whilst Uhlig utilized this two-fold system for categorizing the Ethiopic manuscripts, he nevertheless further defined the character and process of recension inherent in these manuscripts.⁷² By the end of the 13th century the Enochic text, according to Uhlig, featured a significant number of variants, lacunae, and readings that were frequently representative of paraphrase with an inclination towards textual simplification.⁷³ Almost

⁶⁵ Laurence, R. 1838. *Libri Enoch Prophetarum versio aethiopica*, Parker, Oxford; Dillmann, A. 1851. *Liber Henoch, aethiopice ad quinque codicum fidem editus cum variis lectionibus*, Fr.Chr.G. Vogel, Leipzig.

⁶⁶ Flemming, J. 1902. *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text*, TUGAL 7/1, J.C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, V-XIII.

⁶⁷ Charles classified them as types α and β , without any significant disagreement in his grouping of the individual manuscripts, apart from the inclusion of a greater number than Flemming. Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, xxi-xxiv.

⁶⁸ Knibb, M.A. 1978. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments Vol.1*, (with assistance of E. Ullendorff), Oxford University Press, Oxford, p.28.

⁶⁹ Uhlig, S. 1984. *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, JSRZ V,6, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh, p.483ff.

⁷⁰ Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2007. *1 Enoch 91-108 (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature)*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, pp.19-26; Erho, T.M. & Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2013. 'A Manuscript History of Ethiopic Enoch', *JSP* 23, pp.87-133; Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', pp.29-32.

⁷¹ For further on this delineation of the manuscripts, see: Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, xvii-xxiv; Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, pp.21-37; Uhlig, pp.470-91.

⁷² Uhlig, pp.488-90.

⁷³ Ibid.

all of the quotations from *Ethiopic Enoch* in Ethiopian church writings belong to the Eth. I text-type, according to Uhlig.⁷⁴

The possible quotation of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 in *Mäshafä Milad* postulated by Milik,⁷⁵ is in fact a quotation taken from Ethiopic *Jude*. *Mäshafä Milad* dates to the mid-15th century and is one of several works ascribed to the Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob.⁷⁶ The unit in Ethiopic *Jude* 14b-15 is quoted twice in *Mäshafä Milad*, in the context of Christological and ecclesiastical disputation; in one context the full verse is featured, whilst in another only the initial half of the unit is quoted.⁷⁷ Milik regarded these two quotations as 'free renderings' of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9,⁷⁸ however, as demonstrated by Knibb, the text agrees with the version in Ethiopic *Jude*, albeit with minor differences.⁷⁹

As highlighted by Knibb, the British Library manuscript Add.11678 (BL.11678), which contains a collection of prayers and dates to the 15th century, contains a quotation of an early text-type of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9.⁸⁰ Whilst this quotation in BL.11678 is introduced with a stanza (በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሳብዕ፡ እምነ፡ አዳም፡ አቡነ፡)⁸¹ adapted from or inspired by Ethiopic *Jude* 14a (በከመ፡ ተነበየ፡ ሄኖክ፡ በእንቲአሆሙ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሳብዕ፡ እምነ፡ አዳም፡),⁸² the rest of

⁷⁴ Most of these church writings should be dated to the 15th century according to Uhlig: Ibid, p.489.

⁷⁵ Milik, p.86.

⁷⁶ Haile, G. 2007. 'Milad: Mäshafä milad', in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica: Volume 3 He-N* (ed. S. Uhlig), Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, p.964.

⁷⁷ Edition: Wendt, K. 1962. *Das Mashafa Milad (Liber Nativitatis) und Mashafa Sellase (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Ya'qob*, CSCO 235, Peeters, Leuven, pp.66, 123.

⁷⁸ A similar view is reflected in a review published by Berger, who noted the variation between the quotations in *Mäshafä Milad* and *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 yet was unaware that the quotations were instead closely reflective of the text-type in Ethiopic *Jude*. See: Berger, K. 1980. 'Knibb, M.A. "The Ethiopic Book of Enoch" (Book Review)', *JSJPHRP* 11, p.103; Milik, p.86.

⁷⁹ Knibb, M.A. 2008. 'The Text-Critical Value of the Quotations from 1 Enoch in Ethiopic Writings', in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22, Brill, Leiden, pp.180-181.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Quotation in folio 12v and 13r. Manuscript digitalized in online British Library collection.

⁸² Edition: Hofmann, J. & Uhlig, S. 1993. *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: Die Katholischen Briefe*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, p.255.

the quotation mirrors *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9, in close agreement to the text-type embodied in the Eth. I manuscript Tana.9.

Since Uhlig published his study in 1984, the number of manuscripts available for study has increased exponentially. In a preliminary study published in 2012, Stuckenbruck and Erho suggested that as many as 115 manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* had now come to light,⁸³ including as many as 17 that belong to the Eth. I group.⁸⁴ In a more recent paper, that number was revised by Stuckenbruck to 'nearly 150' and it is possible to 'now speak of 17, possibly 19, such exemplars.'⁸⁵ This ongoing project led by Stuckenbruck has continued to identify an increasing number of manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch*.⁸⁶

Other manuscripts have been identified in projects aimed at digitalizing and studying the collections of particular churches, monasteries or regions.⁸⁷ For example, the Endangered Archives Program (EAP) in association with the British Library, funded the EAP704 project led by Gervers in 2014, which digitalized the monastic archives of Marawe Krestos and Däbrä Abbay in the Shire region of Tigray province.⁸⁸ This project digitalized the 17th

⁸³ Stuckenbruck, L.T. & Erho, T.M. 2012. 'The Book of Enoch and the Ethiopian Manuscript Tradition: New Data', in 'Go Out and Study the Land' (*Judges 18:2*): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel (eds. A.M. Maeir, J. Magness et al), SuppJSJ 148, Brill, Leiden, p.259.

⁸⁴ Stuckenbruck and Erho conclude 'this brings us to an accessible total of fifteen, possibly sixteen manuscripts, with the probability that we know about a seventeenth'. Stuckenbruck & Erho, 'The Book of Enoch...', p.260.

⁸⁵ Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1...', pp.28-29.

⁸⁶ A study of the known manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* was published by Erho and Stuckenbruck, which narrated the history of the manuscripts already known and utilized in Western scholarship, and briefly introduced new manuscript discoveries. This identified 28 new manuscripts in addition to those that had already been employed in critical editions/translations published to date. See: Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', pp.87-133.

⁸⁷ In addition to the below example, additional projects aimed at manuscript digitalization have been formative in bringing additional manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* to light, including the Ethio-SPaRe project (Denis Nosnitsin), the Ethiopian Manuscripts Digital Library (Meley Mulugetta), the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project (Steve Delamarter), and the larger Ethiopian Manuscript Digital Archive associated with Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML) in Collegeville.

⁸⁸ The description of the award grant and the parameters of Gerver's project were introduced on the EAP website (<https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP704>).

century manuscript of *Ethiopic Enoch* catalogued as EAP704/2/5 that is housed in the Monastery of Marawe Krestos.⁸⁹ Whilst this manuscript should be grouped with the Eth. II manuscript type, it includes many important and unique variants that are important for understanding the types of changes introduced into the Ethiopic text during its transmission⁹⁰ – this is also pertinent for many other Eth. II manuscripts, including for example, MG.18, IES.675 and Qär53.⁹¹

The Eth. I manuscripts provide evidence for the diversity of readings present in manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* prior to the process of standardization. They should not be understood as a manuscript family, but they often provide vivid and compelling glimpses into the pre-standardized Enochic text. This category of manuscripts often features readings that are closer to that preserved in G^{CP} than the manuscripts of Eth. II, but also often preserve a vestige of its own Greek Vorlage (G^{Eth}).

Included in Eth. I are several distinct textual forms that attest to distinct streams of transmission. The collective evidence of the Eth. I manuscripts indicate that the textual form of the Enochic theophany was fluid and evolving, and that the degree and nature of this fluidity was differentiated by different functional and contextual factors which cannot be entirely reconstructed. It is probable that this fluidity extends back into the Zagwe dynastic period, which ended in 1270, and possibly earlier.⁹²

⁸⁹ This manuscript was digitalized and is accessible on the EAP archive (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP704-2-5>).

⁹⁰ For example, in 1:8 this manuscript includes the unique reading ብርሃነ፡ አምላክ፡፡ rather than the standard reading ብርሃነ፡ አምላክ፡፡ in most Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts.

⁹¹ A full list of the manuscripts included in this project is incorporated into the introduction to the eclectic critical text of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9 in the *Supplement Critical Texts*.

⁹² Little is known about literary activity and the modus operandi of scribes in the Zagwe dynastic period. See: Binns, J. 2017. 'Monks and Missionaries: The Growth of Popular Christianity' in *The Orthodox Church of Ethiopia: A History*, I.B. Tauris, London, pp.101–120.

The earliest recoverable form of the Ethiopic Enochic theophany, as preserved in the Eth. I manuscripts, provides valuable access into a Greek text-type (G^{Eth}) related to but distinct from that preserved in G^{CP}. The Eth. I manuscripts, however, only provide limited and fragmented access into the Greek Enochic tradition, and we do not have access to a manuscript that can easily or simplistically be approached as a ‘translated’ text or as uniquely indicative of translational processes.

Whilst the translation of Enoch into Ge’ez should probably be dated to the 4th-6th centuries CE, as indicated by Knibb, the earliest Enochic manuscripts can be dated no earlier than the 15th century.⁹³ As indicated by Stuckenbruck, whilst there are 17 known Eth. I manuscript exemplars that preserve *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9, this number can be extended to 19 to include EMML.8347 and EMML.8703.⁹⁴ According to Stuckenbruck, EMML.8703 clearly belongs to Eth. I, whilst EMML.8347 bears a closer affinity to the Eth. II text-type, and is an early exemplar thereof, yet features erasures of Eth. I readings.⁹⁵ The value of these two manuscripts as a witness to Eth. I readings is limited, however, by the quality of the microfilms which, according to Stuckenbruck, do not often provide a clear enough image to discern the erased Eth. I readings.⁹⁶

The Eth. I manuscript EMML.8400 has been dated approximately to 1400 CE, accurate to within only a few years.⁹⁷ An additional three Eth. I manuscripts can be confidently dated to the 15th century (Schøyen, Tana.9, EMML.1768), whilst an additional three manuscripts (GG.151, RT, Abb.55) date to the end of the 15th or early 16th centuries. An

⁹³ Knibb, *Ethiopic* Vol.2, p.27; Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1...’, pp.29-32.

⁹⁴ Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1...’, pp.29-31.

⁹⁵ The evaluation of these two manuscripts is indebted to private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ This dating was clarified in private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

additional six manuscripts (Parma, BL.485, Berlin MS., EMML.2080, EMML.7584, Camb.1570) are approximately dated to the 16th century, whilst another (EMML.8703) dates to the late 16th or early 17th century. A further five manuscripts (BL.491, Abb.35, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.8347)⁹⁸ date to the 17th century.⁹⁹ The earliest Ge'ez manuscripts thus postdate the translation of the text from Greek to Ge'ez by close to a millennium. An analogous period also separates the earliest Ethiopic manuscripts from the Greek text-type preserved in G^{CP}.

The Eth. II type manuscripts reflect an ongoing and gradual process of revision which produced a more standardized text. As indicated by Knibb, it is probable that any process of revision and standardization was an ongoing process that continued for a lengthy period of time.¹⁰⁰ Stuckenbruck and Erho have suggested that the Eth. II manuscript type is a product of practices beginning and continuing into the 16th and 17th centuries, that revised and corrected the Ethiopic text 'into a version more usable within the church' primarily for liturgical purposes.¹⁰¹ This process was gradual and may have been more totalizing in certain regions and contexts whilst influencing the transmission of the text to a lesser extent in other manuscript subcultures. Furthermore, Stuckenbruck concludes that 'its manuscripts reflect a largely standardizing and uniform reworking of the text, ironing out morphological and grammatical infelicities, as well as awkward turns of

⁹⁸ The EMML.8347 manuscript is listed here, despite its closer affinity to the Eth. II text-type, because it attests to erasures of Eth. I readings.

⁹⁹ The dating of these manuscripts is indebted to the work of Stuckenbruck and Erho. The dates here included are taken directly from: Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1...', pp.30-31. The number of manuscripts included in the Eth. I category and dated to the 16th century or earlier was previously much reduced. In the edition of Knibb, only four specific manuscripts were dated to the 16th century or earlier – BL.485/485a, Berlin MS., Abb.55, Tana.9 (Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.27). Nickelsburg, however, added an additional two manuscripts to this category – EMML.1768 and EMML.6281 – the latter has been more recently dated by Stuckenbruck to the 17th century instead (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.16).

¹⁰⁰ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.28.

¹⁰¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, pp.19-26; Stuckenbruck & Erho, 'The Book of Enoch...', p.260.

phrase.¹⁰² A similar view was espoused by Knibb, who stated that in the Eth. II manuscripts 'the text has been revised and 'improved' so that it reads more smoothly.'¹⁰³

The Eth. II manuscript type, however, does not present a uniform text – the assessment of the character of the Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts in this study is chiefly based on *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9 alone, and the picture does change in later sections of *Ethiopic Enoch*. The Eth. II manuscripts attest to a wide range of syntactical and semantic variation.

Nevertheless, this manuscript type became increasingly standardized and this revisional process was not only syntactically and linguistically motivated, but also included theological and hermeneutical revisions of obscure or problematic clauses.

Most of the features of the Enochic theophany that are characteristic of Eth. II are already attested in some Eth. I manuscripts, suggesting that this revisional process was based partly on already existing readings found in a group or groups of Eth. I manuscripts.¹⁰⁴ Several of these standardized readings may reflect processes of selection, whereby a preferable variant was selected in dialogue with concurrent hermeneutical practices, rather than reflecting new or direct interventions in the text. Whilst this process of standardization cannot be traced back further than the 17th century, there is limited evidence to suggest minor and isolated revisions already in Eth. I manuscripts such as Abb.55, and perhaps also to a lesser extent as evidenced in smaller omissions in Tana.9.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1...', p.29.

¹⁰³ Knibb, 'The Book of Enoch...', p.52.

¹⁰⁴ This characterization of the Eth. II readings, and their attestation in Eth. I manuscripts, is chiefly based on *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9 alone.

¹⁰⁵ This assessment is based on private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

In *Chapter 4*, we will explore the evidence preserved in the Eth. I manuscripts and will identify the earliest recoverable stratum of the Ethiopic versions (Eth.^{ERS}). Using this Eth.^{ERS} as a foundation, we will assess the character and relationship of the Ethiopic version against the Greek text-type preserved in G^{CP}, and will explore whether the Greek Vorlage of the Ethiopic (G^{Eth}) may preserve earlier readings than reflected in the G^{CP} text-type. By isolating this earliest recoverable stratum, where it is possible, we can continue to explore the types of change and features of textual growth exhibited in the Ethiopic versions.

Thereafter, in *Chapter 5*, we will build upon the text-critical analysis in *Chapter 4*, and will explore the types of changes introduced during the transmission of the Ethiopic version in the Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts, and the hermeneutical significance of these features of textual growth. We will explore these features both categorically, and their connection to hermeneutical traditions and practices. A full list of the manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* included in this project, the abbreviations used to refer to these manuscripts in the chapters that follow, and an eclectic critical text of the Eth.^{ERS} is included in *Supplement Critical Texts*.

Reading the Seams in the Enochic Oracle and the Book of the Watchers

That the Enochic oracle, located in chapters 1-5, is a distinct stratum within the composite *BW*, has been the consensus in scholarship since the early 20th century. In 1900, Beer suggested that chapters 1-5 formed a distinct unit.¹⁰⁶ Beer divided the initial 36 chapters of *1 Enoch*, corresponding to the *BW*, into 1-5, which served as an

¹⁰⁶ Beer, G. 1900. 'Das Buch Henoch' in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments II* (ed. E. Kautzsch), Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, pp.224-230.

introduction to the unified whole, followed by additional units in chapters 6-11, 12-16 and 17-36.¹⁰⁷

A similar model was proposed in 1912 by R.H. Charles, who suggested that the Enochic oracle (*BW* 1-5) was included as an introduction to the entire book of *1 Enoch* by the final redactor.¹⁰⁸ Charles regarded chapters 6-11 as 'excerpts of an earlier Book of Noah which had been incorporated into the Enochic corpus',¹⁰⁹ and chapters 17-19 as a unit distinct from 20-36.¹¹⁰ The Enochic oracle (*BW* 1-5) therefore reflected the final stage in the growth and development of the Enochic literature into a contiguous and unified whole. Whilst Charles regarded chapters 1-36 as a unit distinct from the remainder of *1 Enoch*, he inferred that a text inclusive of 6-36 may have circulated originally without chapters 1-5.¹¹¹

The probability that chapters 1-5 prefaced the *BW* as a distinct Enochic work, was only confirmed with the discovery of the Aramaic Enochic fragments at Qumran and their eventual publication by Milik in 1976. As stipulated by Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, the Aramaic manuscripts discovered at Qumran provide sufficient confirmation that the *BW* originated as a work independent from the other Enochic literature.¹¹²

Milik argued that the Qumran evidence indicated a fivefold division of the Enochic material, comprised of the *Astronomical Book*, *BW*, *Book of Giants*, *Book of Dreams*, and the *Epistle of Enoch*.¹¹³ Milik contended that the *Book of Parables* (*1 Enoch* 37-71), the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Charles, R.H. 1912. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.2.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, xi.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, xlvii.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Garcia Martinez & Tigchelaar, 'The "Books of..."', p.138.

¹¹³ Milik, p.4.

only section of *1 Enoch* not discovered at Qumran, eventually replaced the *Book of Giants* in this fivefold textual corpus. In assessing the significance of the material evidence, Milik claimed that:

‘At the beginning of the first century B.C. there existed in all probability the Pentateuch of Enoch, which was copied on two separate scrolls, containing respectively the Astronomical Book and the four other works. This pentateuchal collection was to be altered during the Christian era by the elimination of the Book of Giants and the insertion of the Book of Parables.’¹¹⁴

This Enochic Pentateuch hypothesis elaborated upon the similar proposition proposed by G.H. Dix in 1925-26.¹¹⁵ This Pentateuchal hypothesis, however, has not been widely accepted, and a compelling rebuttal of this proposal was published by Greenfield and Stone in 1977.¹¹⁶

Regarding the relationship of the Enochic oracle (*BW* 1-5) to the rest of the *BW*, Milik argued that chapters 1-5 and 26-36 were the product of a ‘third-century Judean author’ and should be ‘attributed exclusively to the author of the existing book’,¹¹⁷ whilst chapters 6-19 reflected a pre-existing source called the *Visions of Enoch*.¹¹⁸ Milik suggested that the author ‘used an early written source which he incorporated without any great changes in his own work (En. 6-19).’¹¹⁹ Chapters 20-25 reflect a reworking of Enoch’s western journey in chapters 17-19 with an eschatological focus.¹²⁰

Furthermore, Milik suggested that this written source ‘*Visions of Enoch*’ predated the account in *Genesis* 6:1-4, which itself may reflect an abridgement of this *Visions of*

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Dix, G.H. 1925-26. ‘The Enochic Pentateuch’, *JTS* 27, pp.29-42.

¹¹⁶ Greenfield, J.C. & Stone, M.E. 1977. ‘The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes’, *HTR* 70, pp.51-65.

¹¹⁷ Milik, p.25.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, pp.25, 27-28.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p.25.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Enoch.¹²¹ Rather than envisaging the Enochic text as dependent upon, or reflecting traditions developed from *Genesis* 6:1-4, Milik suggested that 'it is the text of Gen. 6:1-4, which, by its abridged and allusive formulation, deliberately refers back to our Enochic document, two or three phrases of which it quotes verbatim.'¹²² This division, and authorial account, of the Aramaic *BW* has not been widely accepted in subsequent scholarship.

Milik's account of the origins and development of the Aramaic *BW* is a continuation of the overemphasis placed on concepts of authorship that dominated the scholarly dissection of *1 Enoch* in the scholarship of the 19th century. Early Enochic scholarship dissected *1 Enoch*, primarily in dialogue with the Ethiopic version, with an eye and interest in authorial unities. For example, as early as 1853, Dillmann regarded the composite text *1 Enoch*, known at this time only in its complete contiguous form in the Ethiopic, as the work of a single author who incorporated several additions such as chapters 6-16, 91:12-17, and 106-107 into their work.¹²³

The Aramaic Enochic fragments provide sufficient confirmation that the Enochic oracle already prefaced the *BW* as a distinct Enochic work as early as the first half of the 2nd century BCE.¹²⁴ Fragment 1ii of 4QEn^b probably preserves the seam between chapters 1-5 and 6-11, fragmentarily preserving two words from 5:9 and thereafter preserving

¹²¹ This thesis was initially supported by Black, although it has received little additional support in subsequent scholarship. An early critic of this view was Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar. Milik, p.31; Black, M. 1985. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*. SVTP 7, E.J. Brill, Leiden, pp.14, 124-125; Garcia Martinez & Tigchelaar, 'The "Books of..."', p.137.

¹²² Milik, p.31.

¹²³ Dillmann, A. 1853. *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Vogel, Leipzig, v. For similar approaches, see: Schodde, G.H. 1882. *The Book of Enoch translated with Introduction and Notes*, Warren F. Draper, Andover, p.20ff; Schürer, E. 1885. *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (trans. S. Taylor, P. Christie), vol. iii, div. ii, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, pp.54-73.

¹²⁴ Milik, p.25.

fragmented text from 6:1-4.¹²⁵ The Aramaic Enochic oracle was evidently not composed as an introduction to a unified *1 Enoch*, as a contiguous and redacted whole in close alignment with the contiguous form preserved in Ethiopic, as suggested by Beer and Charles. Nevertheless, we cannot be certain whether the Enochic oracle was composed as an introduction to a text-type or version of the *BW*, or a larger or distinct Enochic text, or whether it circulated independently before being included at the beginning of the composite *BW*.

In the decades since the publication of the fragments, the scholarly consensus has reverted to the basic delineation of *BW* proposed by Charles (1-5, 6-11, 12-16, 17-19, 20-36).¹²⁶ This division of the text has also been more recently defended by VanderKam who argued that:

‘There is some reason for regarding the *BW* as a collection of several originally independent units which an editor has amalgamated into a passable literary unit.’¹²⁷

Whilst this division of the text reflects distinct seams within the text, it does not eliminate the possibility that these units each reflect ongoing and complex compositional and redactional processes in the Aramaic version. Whilst it is feasible that these units reflect some type of compositional continuity, it is not entirely clear how these units are related at a compositional level.

On the basis of the surviving Ethiopic and Greek versions, Charles astutely observed that the language in the Enochic oracle contained parallels with every other section in *1 Enoch*

¹²⁵ Ibid, pp.165-166.

¹²⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.132.

¹²⁷ VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth...*, p.110.

except for chapters 72-82 (*Astronomical Treatise*).¹²⁸ The high number of language parallels between the Enochic oracle and the distinct strata in chapters 6-11 and 12-16, suggests that the compositional development of the Enochic oracle may have been indebted to, and embedded within, an ongoing compositional process that produced the other sections of the *BW*. In *Chapter 2* and *Chapter 4*, we will highlight some of these preserved language parallels between 1-5 and 6-11 and 12-16.

The fragmentary nature of the Enochic oracle in the Aramaic fragments from Qumran, and our dependence on the Greek and Ethiopic versions to understand the interrelationship of the various components of the Aramaic *BW*, however, limit our ability to understand this ongoing compositional and redactional process. Whilst the relationship between the units in *BW* is difficult to reconstruct, the preliminary unit in chapters 1-5 can be read in continuity with the text that follows in 6-36, and it is likely that there is a hermeneutical significance to the current position of this unit at the beginning of the composite *BW*. There are sharp literary seams in the *BW* in the surviving Greek and Ethiopic versions, and whilst these probably mirror the literary seams of the Aramaic, whether these seams were as palpable in the Aramaic texts from Qumran is less certain.

More recently, Nickelsburg suggested that chapters 1-5 originally introduced a text that did not contain the entirety of chapters 6-36, possibly without chapters 6-11. Nickelsburg suggests:

‘But it is uncertain whether chaps. 6-11 were added later to provide the non-Enochic narrative background to what was throughout an Enochic book.’¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xlviii.

¹²⁹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.25.

Elsewhere, Nickelsburg argued that the Enochic oracle in chapters 1-5 may have originally prefaced an Enochic Testament, including chapters 12-33 (or inclusive of 34-36), the sections in 81:1-82:4 and 91 and some portions of 92-105.¹³⁰ Nickelsburg suggests that whilst 'this work had a testamentary form, it was held together loosely by the narrative continuity set in the past tense.'¹³¹ Nickelsburg's Testamentary hypothesis, in similar fashion to Milik's Enochic Pentateuch hypothesis, has not been widely accepted in contemporary scholarship.¹³²

There are also internal seams in the Enochic oracle. This unit begins with a superscription in *BW* 1:1 that identifies the text and the speaker of the discourse, namely the patriarch Enoch, and introduces the two primary subjects of the content of the oracle, the chosen righteous and the wicked ones.¹³³ As we will observe, in *Chapter 1* on the Aramaic of 4QEn^a, superscriptions of this type appear elsewhere in prophetic and wisdom literature. The initial 'words of the blessing' also appears in liturgical texts at Qumran, and therefore it possibly indicates a broader function to the Enochic superscription, beyond just identifying it as a prophetic and oracular discourse, and it may hint at a liturgical function or origin for the Enochic oracle.

The unit that follows in *BW* 1:2-3a is a self-contained unit in the Enochic oracle. In this study, this unit is identified as the Enochic preamble, insofar that this unit introduces and

¹³⁰ Ibid. Elsewhere, Nickelsburg instead states that chapters 1-5 'were composed as an introduction to a stage in the development of the Enochic corpus that included chapters 6-36...'. Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 2004. 'Where is the Place of the Eschatological blessing?', in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (eds. E.G. Chazon et al), Brill, Leiden/Boston, p.56.

¹³¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.25.

¹³² For a cogent criticism of Nickelsburg's methodology and his Testamentary hypothesis, see: Knibb, M.A. 2008. 'Interpreting the Book of Enoch: Reflections on a Recently Published Commentary', in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22, Brill, Leiden, pp.79-82.

¹³³ G^{CP} preserves 'chosen righteous ones' whilst 4QEn^a partially preserves 'chosen...'. *Ethiopic Enoch* preserves the binarized form 'chosen ones and righteous ones'. The 'wicked ones' is preserved in a limited number of Eth. I manuscripts, whilst the standardized Eth. II reading is 'evil ones and wicked ones', whilst G^{CP} preserves the secondary reading 'the enemies'. See *Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5* for further.

establishes the temporal and contextual framework for the oracular content that follows in 1:3b. This unit also functions as a narrative microcosm, summing and encapsulating the prophetic career and experience of Enoch. The Enochic preamble alludes to events described in chapters 12-36 and defines the context in which the oracle was received and mediated by Enoch. The content of the preamble locates the subsequent Enochic oracle in 1:3bff at the end of Enoch's prophetic career, after his celestial journeys and revelatory experiences in 12:1ff, even though the oracle is in an initial position in *BW*.

The subsequent unit is a theophanic discourse, which extends from 1:3b, beginning with the description of God's descent from his abode in heaven, until 1:9 where God's descent is again described, focusing instead on the judgment that will accompany his descent.

The Enochic theophany reflects similar tropes to that characteristic of other Hebrew and Greek theophanies. As highlighted by Scriba, theophanies are often articulated in two parts; firstly, the description of the coming of God with accompanying phenomena, and thereafter, the subsequent earthly or cosmic reactions to God's manifestation.¹³⁴ The Enochic theophany in 1:3b-4 articulates this first part, whilst the reaction of all creation is articulated in 1:5-7.

The judgment of the sinners and wicked ones is continued in 5:4-9, however, this unit is separated from the Enochic theophany by a distinct unit in 2:1-5:3. In Nickelsburg's view, this unit is a 'long section of wisdom teaching about the orderly conduct of the nonanimated cosmos (2:1-5:3).'¹³⁵ It is probable that the content in 5:4 should also be grouped with this unit in 2:1-5:3, rather than with the content of 5:5-9. The exact literary

¹³⁴ Scriba, A. 1995. *Die Geschichte des Motivkomplexes Theophanie*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, p.9.

¹³⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.25.

and compositional relationship between 1:1-9 and these two additional units in the Enochic oracle, however, is unclear.

In his commentary, Black regarded 1:1-9 as a distinct unit, whilst 2:1-5:9 was described as a 'Nature Homily.'¹³⁶ Black argued that apart from 'the theme of judgment, the two parts (1, 2-5) have very little in common...', and suggested that the author of this homily was dependent on earlier material including astronomical and calendrical scrolls.¹³⁷ The introductory unit in 1:1-9 was described as a *Prooimium* by Black – the term being picked up from the work of Dillmann – that focused on the Great Judgment.¹³⁸ In a similar vein, VanderKam also suggested a marked division between the content of chapters 1 and 2-5, the former serving as 'an introduction announcing judgment', whilst the latter unit focuses on 'the lawfulness of nature and the unlawfulness of humanity.'¹³⁹

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, however, broke down the Enochic oracle into five distinct units in their translation of *1 Enoch*.¹⁴⁰ The Enochic superscription in 1:1 was regarded as a superscription to the book as a whole, and the preamble in 1:2-3a more narrowly as an Introduction to the Oracle of Judgment (1:2-5:9).¹⁴¹ The unit in 1:3b-9 was described as the Theophany, 2:1-5:3 as the Indictment, and 5:4-9 as the Verdict.¹⁴² Similar divisions were also proposed by Nickelsburg in his commentary on *1 Enoch*.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.13.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p.12.

¹³⁸ Ibid; Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, p.90.

¹³⁹ VanderKam, J.C. 1995. *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, South Carolina, p.25.

¹⁴⁰ Nickelsburg, G.W.E. & VanderKam, J.C. 2004. *1 Enoch: A New Translation Based on the Hermeneia Commentary*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, pp.19-23.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Nickelsburg therein described 1:3c-9 as a Theophany for Judgment, 2:1-5:4 as the Accusation, and 5:5-9 as the Consequences of the Judgment. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.129.

It is possible that the unit in 2:1-5:3 originated in a distinct literary context and has been adapted into a new setting between 1:1-9 and 5:4-9, which are more clearly related in terms of content. Nevertheless, it is possible to read the Enochic oracle as a literary and conceptual unity, and the text can be productively read inclusive of this additional unit. In this study, however, we will focus primarily on the superscription, preamble, and the theophany in 1:1-9. The Enochic superscription (1:1) and preamble (1:2-3a) frame and introduce the content of the theophany (1:3b-9), and therefore, these units will be investigated as a conceptual and literary unity in this study.

Scripture in the Enochic Theophany and Contemporary Scholarship

Prior to the discovery of the Aramaic Enochic fragments at Qumran, the canonical scriptures had already served as the primary lens through which the language of the Enochic theophany in *BW* 1:1-9 was read and interpreted. A key contributor to this hermeneutical trajectory in scholarship was R.H. Charles. Whilst Charles observed parallels between the phraseology of the Enochic oracle in *BW* 1-5 and every other section of *1 Enoch*, apart from the *Astronomical Book* in chapters 72-82,¹⁴⁴ Charles also highlighted a series of parallels with the canonical Scriptures; including parallels in the Enochic preamble (1:2-3a) with the language of *Numbers* 24:3-4, in the Enochic superscription (1:1) with the Mosaic superscription in *Deuteronomy* 33:1, and in the Enochic theophany in 1:3b-6 with *Isaiah* and the Minor Prophets, particularly *Micah* 1:3ff.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xlviii.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, pp.4-7.

The parallels with *Numbers* 24 and *Deuteronomy* 33, were also noted and explored by Black in his commentary on *1 Enoch*. Black regarded these texts as formative for the author of the Enochic theophany, suggesting that ‘the author has clearly Dt. 33 in mind throughout this passage’, and elsewhere that the Enochic preamble in 1:2 was ‘largely modelled’ on the Balaam prophecy in *Numbers* 24:3ff.¹⁴⁶ By Black’s estimation, the Aramaic text could be reconstructed, restored, and even modified in dialogue with this parallel passage in *Numbers* 24. An example of this in practice, can be observed in Black’s insertion of the additional phrase ‘Oracle of Enoch’ at the beginning of the preamble in 1:2 to rectify the ‘awkwardness’ of the shift from third- to first-person speech, despite the absence of this phrase from any of the three surviving versions.¹⁴⁷

The most extensive study of the parallels between the Enochic theophany in *BW* 1:1-9 and canonical Scripture was published by Hartman in 1979.¹⁴⁸ Hartman’s study of the intertextual dynamics of the Enochic oracle in *BW* 1:1-5:9 was embedded within a broader examination of the nature of ‘apocalyptic’ and the formative aspect of this for the development of early Christian traditions. Hartman’s study aimed ‘to seek for an answer to the question as to what this text meant to its first receivers.’¹⁴⁹ In adopting the premise of an ‘ideal theory’ as the basis for a meaning of the language and text of the Enochic oracle, including the Enochic theophany in 1:1-9, Hartman sought to identify a meaning of the text in its own context.¹⁵⁰ An additional aim in the second chapter of his

¹⁴⁶ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.103.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p.104.

¹⁴⁸ Hartman, L. 1979. *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1:5*, CBNTS 12, CWK Gleerup, Lund.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p.9.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp.7-11 (esp.10).

monograph, was ‘to show how the text makes use of OT texts which apparently belong to the cultural heritage of the author (and of his addressees).’¹⁵¹

Using an English translation of a mixed text, Hartman listed those Scriptural parallels manifest in the Enochic theophany in five parallel columns.¹⁵² The first column listed those ‘passages of which I have been in no doubt that they and no others lie under our text.’¹⁵³ The texts included in this first column were envisaged as having ‘influenced our text to such an extent that it has almost become a quotation.’¹⁵⁴ Some of the key texts contained in this category by Hartman, include the following:¹⁵⁵

<i>BW 1:1 (Enochic Superscription)</i>	<i>Deuteronomy 33:1</i>
<i>BW 1:2 (Enochic Preamble)</i>	<i>Numbers 23:7, 24:3-4</i> <i>Psalms 78:3-6</i>
<i>BW 1:3b-4 (Beginning of Theophany)</i>	<i>Isaiah 26:21</i> <i>Micah 1:3</i> <i>Amos 4:13</i>
<i>BW 1:6-7 (Destruction of the Earth)</i>	<i>Isaiah 40:4</i> <i>Habakkuk 3:6, 9</i> <i>Micah 1:4</i> <i>Isaiah 64:2 (LXX version)</i>
<i>BW 1:8 (Fate of the Righteous)</i>	<i>Numbers 6:24-26</i>
<i>BW 1:9 (Second Theophany)</i>	<i>Deuteronomy 33:2</i> <i>Jeremiah 25:31</i>

The next four columns listed texts where the influence was less explicit or self-evident, or where the parallels were limited to common motifs or phraseology that did not necessarily indicate direct influence or dependence.¹⁵⁶ Hartman’s analysis, however, was based on a mixed text, which incorporated features primarily from the text-types preserved in G^{CP} and G^{Jude}, and to a lesser extent also the Ethiopic versions. Hartman did

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p.11.

¹⁵² Ibid, pp.22-26.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p.22.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, pp.22-24.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p.22.

not delineate between parallels that were also evident in the Aramaic fragments of the Enochic theophany, and those which may have been introduced during the translation of the text from Aramaic into Greek, and thereafter from Greek into Ethiopic.

The model created by Hartman presumed a form of intertextual stability in the text as it was translated and transmitted and did not delineate between the different layers of the Enochic theophany across the versions. The Enochic theophany continued to grow and evolve as it was translated and transmitted in new socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts, and it is likely that the character of the language, and the presence or strength of parallels with Scriptural texts, continued to grow and shift throughout this process.

A similar mode of intertextual reading guided Nickelsburg's interpretation and treatment of the Enochic theophany. Nickelsburg noted similar parallels to those proposed by Hartman. However, whilst Hartman envisaged a parallel with *Psalms* 78:3-6 in the Enochic preamble, Nickelsburg instead envisaged a closer relationship with the language of the Balaam oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24:15-17, suggesting that this text was the model which the Enochic author modified for their own purposes.¹⁵⁷ In his commentary, Nickelsburg's analysis of the Enochic theophany suggested that these texts, including also *Deuteronomy* 33:1ff and *Micah* 1:3ff were not only formative for the Enochic author but were also actively imitated or modified during the compositional process.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.137.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.129, 135-149.

Similar claims for dependency on the Hebrew Scriptures have since been proposed by Tigchelaar,¹⁵⁹ particularly in relation to *Numbers* 24:15-17.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, Segal proposed an allusion to the Sea of Reeds in *Exodus* 14-15 in *BW* 1:5,¹⁶¹ whilst Lange suggested that there was a 'strong likelihood' that *BW* 1:9 employed language from *Jeremiah* 25:31 to articulate the eschatological judgment of all flesh.¹⁶²

A more balanced approach was adopted by VanderKam, who in an article explored the character of the language in the Enochic theophany in *G^{CP}* 1:3b-9.¹⁶³ VanderKam focused on the character of this text-type in isolation and did not presume that this was a standardized Greek text-type. Furthermore, VanderKam focused on the language of the Enochic theophany considering the language of the canonical theophanies but did not simply presume direct dependency or derivation. In a separate monograph, VanderKam also focused on the significance of the parallels between the Enochic preamble and the Balaam oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24, and explored these parallels in light of their Ancient Near Eastern context.¹⁶⁴ We will return to assess many of these parallels in *Chapters 1-3*.

In addition to the presence of parallels shaping the interpretation of the Enochic theophany in scholarship, the absence of parallels with, and elements from, the

¹⁵⁹ Tigchelaar, E. 2010. 'Aramaic Texts from Qumran and the Authoritativeness of Hebrew Scriptures: Preliminary Observations', in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. M. Popović), SuppJSJ 141, Brill, Leiden, pp.165-166.

¹⁶⁰ Tigchelaar, E. 2008. 'Balaam and Enoch', in *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, early Christianity, and Islam* (eds. G.H. Kooten, J. van Ruiten), Brill, Leiden, pp.87-99.

¹⁶¹ Segal, M. 2010. 'Text, Translation, and Allusion: An Unidentified Biblical Reference in *1 Enoch* 1:5', *CBQ* 72, pp.464-474.

¹⁶² Lange, A. 2018. 'The Text of Jeremiah in *1 Enoch*', in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini* (eds. J.H. Ellens et al), DCS 38, De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, pp.127-129.

¹⁶³ VanderKam, J. 1973. 'The Theophany of Enoch 1 3b-7, 9', *VT* 23, pp.129-150.

¹⁶⁴ VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth...*, pp.115-118.

canonical texts has also been formative for scholarly approaches to *BW*. The absence of any explicit reference to Moses, Mosaic law or Torah in the *BW* and only sporadically featured in the other Enochic literature (a reference to the covenant in 93:6 and allusion to Moses as a figure in the *Animal Apocalypse* in 85-90), suggested to Boccaccini, the existence of a distinct stratum in Second Temple period Judaism, that he coined Enochic Judaism, that was either non-Mosaic or anti-Mosaic in nature.

According to Boccaccini, Enochic Judaism emerged in the 4th century BCE as a reaction against the Zadokite priesthood and order.¹⁶⁵ At the heart of this movement was a unique concept of the origin of evil that was centred around the description of the fallen angels, or sons of God, in *Genesis* 6:1-4.¹⁶⁶ For Boccaccini, this document was a component part of an originary movement, in which the 'Enochians completely ignore the Mosaic torah and the Jerusalem temple, that is, the two tenets of the order of the universe.'¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ A similar thesis was previously proposed by Sacchi, who argued for the origins of an Enochian theological worldview distinct from the Zadokites in the early 4th century BCE. See: Sacchi, P. 1990. 'The Book of the Watchers and Apocalyptic' in *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (trans. W.J. Short), JSPSS 20, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, pp.62-63; Sacchi, P. 2005. 'History of the Earliest Enochic Texts', in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, pp.401-407.

¹⁶⁶ See: Boccaccini, G. 1998. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*, William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, pp.71-79; Boccaccini, G. 2002. *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel*, William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, pp.90-91. See also: Boccaccini, G. 2000. 'Qumran and the Enoch Groups', in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls Vol. 1: The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth), BIBAL Press, Richland Hills, Texas, pp.63-92; Boccaccini, G. 2005. 'Response: Texts, Intellectual Groups, and Social Groups', in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, (ed. G. Boccaccini), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, pp.417-425; Boccaccini, G. 2007. 'Enochians, Urban Essenes, Qumranites: Three Social Groups, One Intellectual Movement', in *The Early Enoch Literature*, (eds. G. Boccaccini, J.J. Collins), SuppJSJ 121, Brill, Leiden, pp.301-327; Boccaccini, G. 2013. 'The Evilness of Human Nature in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Paul and 4 Ezra: A Second Temple Jewish Debate', in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall* (eds. M. Henze, G. Boccaccini), Brill, Leiden, pp.63-79.

¹⁶⁷ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene...*, p.74.

A similar approach was taken by Bedenbender, who argued that what was central in the 'Mosaic concept' became 'marginal in the Enochic one' and that there was 'ideological competition' between Enochic and Mosaic Judaism.¹⁶⁸ Bedenbender acknowledged the allusions or parallels between the Enochic literature and the Pentateuchal and Prophetic literature, yet nevertheless argued that these connections are '*never* made explicit.'¹⁶⁹ The possibility that the Enochic literature attests to the existence and development of a communal identity or movement, however, has been extensively critiqued elsewhere in scholarship.¹⁷⁰

A similar premise pervades the approach of Nickelsburg. Nickelsburg claimed that 'the Enochic authors presented their material as revealed Wisdom that provided an alternative or rival to the Mosaic Torah.'¹⁷¹ More recently, Nickelsburg conceded that 'the non-Mosaic character of most of *1 Enoch* does not add up to an anti-Mosaic bias or polemic.'¹⁷² Whilst Nickelsburg proposed that the beginning of the Enochic theophany in

¹⁶⁸ Bedenbender, A. 2002. 'Traces of Enochic Judaism within the Hebrew Bible', in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism: Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19-23, 2001* (ed. G. Boccaccini), Zamorani, Torino, pp.39-40.

¹⁶⁹ Bedenbender, A. 2007. 'The Place of the Torah in the Early Enoch Literature' in *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini, J.J. Collins), SuppJSJ 121, Brill, Leiden, p.65. For a specific critique of Bedenbender's approach, see: Langlois, M. 2020. 'Moses versus Enoch? On the Reception of the Mosaic Torah in the Book of Enoch' in *The Early Reception of the Torah* (eds. K. De Troyer et al), De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, pp.176.

¹⁷⁰ For critiques of the scholarly construct of Enochic Judaism, and the use of the Enochic literature as a basis for reconstructing socio-religious identities and movements in the Second Temple period, see: Reed, A.Y. 2005. 'Interrogating "Enochic Judaism": 1 Enoch as Evidence for Intellectual History, Social Realities, and Literary Tradition', in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, pp.336-344; Reeves, J.C. 2005. 'Complicating the Notion of an "Enochic Tradition"', in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, pp.373-383; Heger, P. 2010. '1 Enoch – Complementary or Alternative to Mosaic Torah?', *JSJPHRP* 41, pp.29-62.

¹⁷¹ Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 1998. 'Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?', in *Hesed Ve-Emet: Studies in Honor of Ernest D. Frerichs*, (eds. J. Magness, S. Gitin), BJS 320, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia, p.124.

¹⁷² Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 2007. 'Enochic Wisdom and its Relationship to the Mosaic Torah', in *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini, J.J. Collins), SuppJSJ 121, Brill, Boston, p.88.

1:1-4 is closely modelled on the Blessing of Moses in *Deuteronomy* 33:1-3 and the Balaam oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24:15-17,¹⁷³ he nevertheless surmised that 'to judge from what the Enochic authors have written, and not written, the Sinaitic covenant and the Mosaic Torah were not of central importance to them.'¹⁷⁴ Nickelsburg concluded:

'The final redactor of the Book of the Watchers also seems to allude to this covenant and Torah in 1:4, which stipulates Sinai as the location of God's descent for the final judgment. However, God's judgment of "all flesh" (Jews and Gentiles) suggests that the Mosaic Torah is not the only benchmark for this judgment.'¹⁷⁵

Nickelsburg further concludes:

'Although there is no evidence that the Enochic authors disregarded the content of the Pentateuchal laws, they have sidestepped Moses and identified Enoch as the primordial recipient of all heavenly wisdom.'¹⁷⁶

There is little in the Enochic theophany to warrant or sustain the argument that the *BW* was developed and grew in a context that was consciously, and characteristically, non-Mosaic or anti-Mosaic.¹⁷⁷ The parallels with *Deuteronomy* 33:1 might suggest that the Mosaic literature was formative for the development of this theophany. The absence of Moses, explicitly in the *BW*, is no more surprising than the absence of any other figure who would be out of place in this primordial setting.

¹⁷³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.136-141, 143-145.

¹⁷⁴ Nickelsburg, 'Enochic Wisdom...', p.82. Also see: Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.50-52.

¹⁷⁵ Nickelsburg, 'Enochic Wisdom...', p.82.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p.85.

¹⁷⁷ For additional critiques of this dualistic view of Second Temple period Judaism, and the constructs of Enochic and Mosaic Judaism, see: VanderKam, J.C. 2007. 'Mapping Second Temple Judaism', in *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini, J.J. Collins), JSJSup 121, Brill, Leiden, pp.1-20; Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2011. 'Pentateuch and Biblical Interpretation' in *The Qumran Legal Texts between the Hebrew Bible and Its Interpretation* (eds. K. De Troyer, A. Lange), CBET 61, Peeters, Leuven, p.52.

The strength of the parallels with the Hebrew Pentateuchal and Prophetic materials has typically been read in terms of dependency, direct imitation, or repurposing. Many of these parallels are viable, if not likely, reflections of the character of the language of the Enochic theophany. However, the significance of these parallels has typically been read through a post-canonical lens, that focuses on influence or dependence, and the authority or priority of the canonical text over the Enochic theophany.

It may be more fruitful, however, to read these parallels less in terms of dependence or influence, which presumes subordination, but instead to read them with an eye for how they transform and re-signify these Theophanic, Prophetic and Pentateuchal traditions. A helpful metaphor for understanding these parallels is used by Najman in a study of *4 Ezra*, wherein it is suggested that *4 Ezra* reconstitutes and reboots Ezra-Nehemiah.¹⁷⁸

Najman suggests:

‘The sense of reboot is an extremely bold attempt at constituting or reconstituting a tradition, as it aspires to displace what is already in place.’¹⁷⁹

In the Enochic theophany, this reboot or reconstitution may not aspire to displace, and it is likely that the language of this text both pre-empts and echoes these other textual traditions, affirming and re-signifying them. Yet at a micro level it displaces or updates the focus of the theophanic discourse. Israel and the surrounding nations are no longer dichotomously evoked, but instead chosenness and election are defined in ethical terms. The dichotomization in the Enochic theophany instead is based primarily on ethical

¹⁷⁸ Najman, H. 2014. *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.16-20.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p.19.

criteria, wherein the chosen righteous ones will be blessed, and the wicked ones are condemned.

The Enochic Theophany and the Pseudepigrapha

A similar problem is evident in the description of *1 Enoch* as a Pseudepigraphon, or the designation of this text within the broad category of Pseudepigrapha. The problem with this term, and the hermeneutical framework which accompanies it, is that it anachronistically separates the Enochic text from the canonical literature which exhibit similar literary features and devices. The term lacks precision in how it is deployed, and the scope and nature of the texts included within this grouping.¹⁸⁰

As expounded by Kraft, the term is often used to refer to the Jewish texts and material which fit outside the narrow terms 'canonical', or 'apocryphal' – the latter term often being used in Protestant scholarship with a limited sense, only encompassing the texts that are called 'Deutero-Canonical' in the Roman Catholic tradition.¹⁸¹ This is primarily a designation of authority or type, and is not always used specifically with a technical function.

As indicated by Reed, this category has developed to encompass texts that are neither pseudonymous nor falsely attributed.¹⁸² Furthermore, as articulated by VanderKam, 'the definition of pseudepigrapha that underlies the category is so vague that the word has become almost a catch-all for whatever is left after one eliminates the books of the Bible,

¹⁸⁰ See: Kraft, R.A. 1994. 'The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity', in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.C. Reeves), Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia, pp.58-59.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p.59.

¹⁸² Reed, A.Y. 2009. 'The Modern Invention of 'Old Testament Pseudepigrapha'', *JTS* 60, pp.405-406.

the writings of Philo and Josephus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹⁸³ The categories of 'Apocrypha' and 'Pseudepigrapha' are artificial categories externally imposed upon the literature, for which the terms are not always appropriate, and imposes value judgments on this literature that is distinct from the 'biblical' texts.¹⁸⁴

According to Najman and Peirano, the category of Pseudepigraphon was developed for bibliographic classificatory purposes by Hellenistic grammarians in Alexandria and Pergamum.¹⁸⁵ It originated in the context of debates around the legitimate ascription of texts to authors or figures. There is no evidence for any debate about the ascription of the Enochic theophany, or the Enochic literature, to Enoch in the early Second Temple period. Therefore, identifying the text as pseudepigraphic, or squirreling the text away into a distinct category from those 'canonical' texts that exhibit similar discourse features, prioritizes a canonical framework that postdates the composition and early reception of the Enochic literature.

In addition, it imposes a modern concept of authorship and authorial attribution onto this type of literature, and contextualizes the text using standards and criteria that belong in a period other than its own.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, the label pseudepigrapha, reflects Enlightenment prejudices against religious authority and suspicions about the attribution of texts that do not correspond to how pseudonymous attribution was perceived or

¹⁸³ VanderKam, J.C. 2001. *An Introduction to Early Judaism*, William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, p.58.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Najman, *Losing the Temple...*, p.38; Peirano, I. 2012. *The Rhetoric of the Roman Fake: Latin Pseudepigrapha in Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.37-40.

¹⁸⁶ See discussion in: Najman, H. 2007. 'How Should we Contextualize Pseudepigrapha? Imitation and Emulation in 4 Ezra', in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino Garcia Martinez* (eds. A. Hilhorst et al), SuppJSJ 122, Brill, Leiden/Boston, pp.529-530, 533ff.

functioned in the Second Temple period.¹⁸⁷ In describing the use of pseudonymous attribution in *4 Ezra*, Najman suggests an interpretation of this literary device, that resonates with the pseudonymous attribution in the Enochic oracle:

‘My suggestion is that *pseudonymous attribution should be seen as a metaphorical device, operating at the level of the text as a whole, whereby the actual author emulates and self-identifies as an exemplar*. Accordingly, the practice of pseudonymous attribution should be seen as a spiritual discipline, an asceticism of self-effacement’¹⁸⁸

Later in this article, Najman expounded further upon this ideal of self-effacement:

‘Pseudepigraphic texts such as *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, and *4 Ezra*, efface their own compositional contexts when they attach their new traditions to a founding figure from the past. In so doing, they situate themselves within another context: a perfectionist practice of self-effacing oneself in order to emulate an exemplary figure.’¹⁸⁹

The designation ‘pseudepigrapha’ could be reconfigured to focus more specifically on those which use pseudonymous attribution, including the ‘canonical texts’ that feature this, perhaps including for example *Ecclesiastes*. Therefore, it could be used with a more technical function, describing texts with common discourse features or with a particular compositional strategy.

It has the potential to be a helpful term for delineating texts with similar features, particularly in relation to the Aramaic literature discovered at Qumran. As suggested by Tigchelaar, ‘most of the Aramaic texts are pseudepigraphic, related to or associated with pre-Mosaic figures or to persons connected with the Eastern Diaspora.’¹⁹⁰ There are

¹⁸⁷ Najman, H. 2003. *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, SuppJSJ 77, Brill, Leiden, pp.6-7.

¹⁸⁸ Najman, ‘How Should we...’, p.535.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p.536. The Greek *Epistle of Enoch* 104:10-11 may also hint at competing Enochic exemplars; indicating distinct streams of emulation, or different competing individuals, movements, or groups which self-effaced and emulated Enoch as exemplary figure within their own literary works. For distinction between the Greek and Ethiopic versions therein, see: Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, pp.591-593.

¹⁹⁰ Tigchelaar, ‘Aramaic Texts from...’, p.157.

common features in how their discourses are styled, and to whom they are attributed, that warrant the designation of these texts to a common discourse model. The Enochic literature can be suitably called 'pseudepigraphic', prioritizing the attribution of the text to a primordial figure as the determinative quality of the text, and thereby grouping the text with other texts that utilize similar authorizing strategies.

The term 'pseudepigrapha', however, also carries associative meanings connected to canonical hermeneutical frameworks and assumptions. In a seminal article, Kraft expounded upon the 'tyranny of canonical assumptions', which he defined as 'the temptation to impose on those ancients whom we study our modern ideas about what constituted "scripture" and how it was viewed.'¹⁹¹ These canonical assumptions extend to the delineation of the non-canonical categories 'Deuterocanonical', 'Apocrypha', and 'Pseudepigrapha', which reflect later categories that are alien to the world in which much of this literature originated. Kraft further reflects that:

'Somehow the special status given to works protected by canonical assumptions serves to blind us to the ongoing processes that were in operation in the production of proto-canonical, and post-canonical works.'¹⁹²

These canonical assumptions can blind us to writings that either claim authority for themselves through authorizing strategies, or those which may have functioned as authoritative writings by the communities who read and transmitted them, but which for a myriad of different factors, eventually were discarded or fell outside of this canonical divide.

¹⁹¹ Kraft, R.A. 2007. 'Para-mania: Beside, Before and Beyond Bible Studies, *JBL* 126, p.17.

¹⁹² Ibid, p.21.

The designation of the term 'pseudepigrapha' to a text, shapes the way that we approach a text. Similar problems pervade genre labels such as 'rewritten bible' and 'parabiblical', in projecting a later textual and canonical framework onto the literature of the Second Temple period.¹⁹³

This canonical consciousness, and the identification of the Enochic literature as pseudepigraphic, has shaped the way that the Enochic literature has been read in contrast to, or against the framework of the canonical literature. Labelling the Enochic text as 'Pseudepigraphic' is also a claim of legitimacy, and secondarily of status and authority, that has implications for how we consequently read and interpret the text. By establishing a contrast between the canonical text, for example with *Numbers* 24:15ff and *Deuteronomy* 33:1, and the pseudepigraphic text, the Enochic theophany which presumably echoes or parallels these passages, we have established a tiered hermeneutical framework that dictates how these parallels are to be read.

Rather than focusing on what these parallels with 'biblical' texts indicate regarding common discourse features, and the theological and literary trajectory of the traditions embedded in the Enochic theophany, the parallels are read in light of the priority given to the canonical text. This is not to suggest that the parallels are not hermeneutically significant, yet these parallels can both limit and aid our understanding of the history and life of the Enochic theophany. The Enochic theophany is more than just a pastiche of allusions to 'biblical' texts.

¹⁹³ See discussion in: Najman, H. 2010. *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation, and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*, SuppJSJ 53, Brill, Leiden, pp.189-204; Najman, *Seconding Sinai...*, pp.7-8.

In the article, 'The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the "Canon"', Najman suggested that literature, as works of art, have an inherent life, that is derivative from human life, yet is ultimately their own.¹⁹⁴ The avenues and streams in which this life is guided, is shaped by the context in which a text is read, interpreted, translated, and transmitted. In this article, Najman states:

'In other words, some texts have an excess of vitality that expresses itself in the fact that they provide the basis for translations, for new texts in languages other than the original, texts that purport to "say the same" as the original text although they are self-evidently different. Again, I want to say the same about scriptures: such texts have an excess of vitality that expresses itself in the fact that they provide the basis for new texts.'¹⁹⁵

This idea, that the inherent vitality of a text is a driving force towards translation, and the creation of new texts, provides a suitable explanation for the Enochic theophany. The inherent vitality of a pre-existing theophanic tradition, that undoubtedly included many of the now canonical theophanies amongst other texts that have not survived, was a driving force behind the impulse towards the creation of new or reformulated theophanic discourse, such as evident in the Enochic theophany. However, the Enochic theophany is a melting pot of different textual and liturgical traditions, and models of influence or dependency overlook a key aspect of this literary impulse.

The Enochic theophany, and the production of a new theophanic text, does not indicate that the groups and communities responsible for its composition and cultivation were only interpreting an authoritative textual past, a textual heritage that was fixed and static. The gaze of these communities was not only directed towards an authoritative textual past but was also pointed towards an authoritative textual present and future.

¹⁹⁴ Najman, H. 2012. 'The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the "Canon"', *JSJ* 43, p.516.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

The generativity of the textual past overflows into the textual present and future – that is, the theophanic text was written with its own reception in view.

The Enochic theophany does not only attest to a mode of Scriptural interpretation, but also reflects the ongoing development of traditions beyond the margins of those texts – that is, it reflects continual growth of traditions outside of the perimeters of that which is preserved in the ‘canonical’ Scripture, or that are only fragmentarily preserved within that body of literature. The literary impulse that produced the Enochic theophany, also can be observed in the continual growth of the text in response to the hermeneutical environments in which it was translated and transmitted, as reflected in the Greek and Ethiopic versions.

Textual Growth in the Enochic Theophany and Compositional and Traditional Processes

The compositional processes that produced the Aramaic text-type(s) of the Enochic theophany, as preserved in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, was conjoined with ongoing *traditional processes* in the Second Temple period. In reflecting upon the relationship of *Jubilees* to the Pentateuchal tradition, Najman and Tigchelaar productively defined *traditional processes*:

‘Just as compositional practices that gave rise to the Pentateuchal text continued, so too, the development of ideas and textual forms in *Jubilees* should not be separated from the development of ideas and textual forms in the Pentateuch, as if they were two distinct processes. We would like to suggest that we think in terms of *traditional processes*. From these processes, texts of more or less fixity sometimes precipitate out, just as, in chemistry, separable solids sometimes form within a medium that remains liquid.’¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Najman, H. & Tigchelaar, E. 2014. ‘Unity after Fragmentation’, *RevQ* 26, p.497.

This metaphor is helpful for understanding the relationship of the Enochic theophany to the canonical theophanies, and how it fits within an ongoing theophanic discourse that was not bound by 'canonical' boundaries or fixity. These textual traditions were generative, not only producing new texts, but also redefining and pushing the limits and nature of the theophanic text, in turn reinvigorating the discourse.

This model of generativity provides an apt explanation for the relationship between the Enochic theophany and the Hebrew theophanies in *Isaiah* and the Minor Prophets, the Noahic and Enochic accounts in *Genesis*, and other Pentateuchal traditions. This model developed initially by Najman,¹⁹⁷ and further expanded in conjunction with Tigchelaar, inherent in the term *traditionary processes*, locates the writing and rewriting of *Jubilees* in continuity with the compositional processes reflected in the Pentateuchal traditions, particularly *Genesis*.¹⁹⁸ Whilst Najman and Tigchelaar concluded that 'Jubilees is at once both new and part of the ongoing, dynamic tradition of Torat Moshe', similarly, the Enochic theophany is both new and located within an ongoing Enochic-Noahic discourse, and an ongoing theophanic discourse and tradition.¹⁹⁹

This metaphor is also helpful for characterizing the development and growth of the Enochic theophany in the Greek and Ethiopic versions. Unlike the model constructed in relation to *Jubilees* and the Pentateuchal tradition, where this precipitation reflects the production of a new text, in the Enochic theophany, this precipitation also generates new versions out of the fabric, and within the structural framework, of this same text. In the

¹⁹⁷ Najman, H. 2013. 'Traditionary Processes and Textual Unity in 4 Ezra', in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall* (eds. M. Henze et al), SuppJSJ 164, Brill, Leiden/Boston, pp.99-117.

¹⁹⁸ Najman & Tigchelaar, 'Unity after Fragmentation', p.497.

¹⁹⁹ Najman elsewhere suggests that 'we should think, not in terms of compositional processes aimed at the production of fixed texts, but rather in terms of traditionary processes from which texts sometimes precipitate out...'; Najman, 'Traditionary Processes...', p.99.

Enochic theophany, as it was transmitted in the Greek and Ethiopic versions, there were shifts from relative states of fixity to fluidity in the transmission of the text. We will observe elements of this ongoing precipitation in the chapters on G^{CP}, G^{Jude} and the Ethiopic versions (*Chapters 2-5*), where we will delineate features of ongoing textual growth and development.

The fragmented preservation of the Aramaic Enochic theophany at Qumran, however, limits our ability to understand the Aramaic version(s) as it circulated in the mid to late Second Temple period. The lack of any overlapping portion in the Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c suggests that we should avoid presuming that the text was fixed or static at Qumran, and therefore the Aramaic fragments should not be treated either as the 'final form' or as an 'authored' product.

The problem in treating the fragments as the 'final form' is that it presumes that texts in antiquity evolved towards a fixed or static state, that compositional processes ended with a final fixed form. Moreover, it therein presumes that this type of compositional activity was cognitively and functionally distinct from the type of literary activity associated with the text after it reached this 'final form'. Fixity, however, is perhaps less the norm in the Second Temple period. According to Popović, 'instability' and 'uncontrolled' are the rule rather than the exception for the literature of this period. Popović astutely concludes that the 'burden of the canon' obfuscates these textual realia.²⁰⁰ Consequently, it should not be presumed that the Aramaic version

²⁰⁰ Popović, M. 2017. 'Scribal Culture of the Hebrew Bible and the Burden of the Canon: Human Agency and Textual Production and Consumption in Ancient Judaism: A Response to Judith H. Newman', in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation* (eds. H. Najman & K. Schmid), Brill, Leiden, p.257.

fragmentarily preserved at Qumran was a ‘final form’, nor that it was the only Aramaic version that circulated in the Second Temple period.

Moreover, greater caution is warranted before using the Greek and Ethiopic versions as a productive tool to reconstruct, restore, and read the partially preserved margins, and the hypothetical margins where no text is preserved, of the Aramaic Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c. We will explore this further in *Chapter 1*. The text-types preserved in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic are closely related, however, both feature their own unique elements that are indicative of continued growth and development of these versions – we will isolate many of these features in *Chapter 2-5*. In these Greek and Ethiopic versions, however, there are significant periods of evidentiary silence that limit their value, and problematize their use, as a tool to reconstruct and restore the Aramaic version of the Enochic theophany, and to understand the language of this version in its own temporal context.

Returning to the concept of textual vitality introduced in the last subchapter, the vitality of a text can be a driving force behind both the production of new texts and the translation of the text, but it can also be a fundamental element in the ongoing growth *within* the text. The vitality of a text is interlinked with the reading and interpretation of a text, and therefore this vitality can inspire both continuity and innovation. In the Enochic theophany, the textual evidence indicates that the language of the text continued to grow and shift in dialogue with the socio-religious context in which it was read and transmitted, and in dialogue with the hermeneutical frameworks through which it was interpreted. The vitality of the Enochic theophany ensured that it continued to grow and evolve through ongoing practices of redaction, editing, lexical replacement or updating,

and other transmissional processes. We will observe many examples of these processes in *Chapters 2-5*.

The shifts in the text during its transmission can be an impediment to the search for an ‘Urtext’, however, they are essential to understanding the continued life of a text, and how it was read, interpreted, and adapted throughout its translation and transmission. These shifts are features of textual growth that are inherent features of the vitality and life of a text as it continued to be recreated or re-signified, sometimes only in the context of an individual clause or stanza, throughout the period of its transmission.

This textual growth in the Enochic theophany is not unilinear, and nor is it unconnected to external modes of reading, or alternate texts. For example, it is evident that the Enochic theophany as it is preserved in the manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* grew and evolved in dialogue with, and was often revised against, the language from similar passages elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch*, including sections that correspond to the Aramaic *Dream Visions*, as we will observe in *Chapter 5*.

An excess of vitality can produce new texts, or it can be a driving force behind translation, but it can also be transformative in the transmission of a text. This vitality is the impulse behind the emendation, correction, updating, replacement, and resignification of the Enochic theophany as it grew and evolved into late antiquity in Greek versions, and into modernity in the Ethiopic versions.

Methodological Approach in this Study

Whilst this study will focus primarily on the Enochic theophany in *BW 1:1-9*, as it grew, evolved, and shifted throughout the history of its translation and transmission, it also proposes a holistic way to read the material evidence in its own context. In effect, we will

trace the vital and generative aspect of the Enochic theophany as it was translated and transmitted into new and changing socio-religious, socio-linguistic, and hermeneutical contexts.

A key methodological component of this project is a retrospective text-critical analysis of the preserved text in the Aramaic, Greek, and Ethiopic versions. However, the aim of this retrospective text-critical methodology is not to produce an Urtext, nor is this study built on the presumption that such a thing necessarily existed, or that even if it did, that this Urtext could ever be restored or isolated. In none of the three surviving language versions, do we have anything that could be described as an Urtext or Ur-translation, or an 'original text' or an 'autograph'.²⁰¹

The methodological approach utilized in this study involved three primary approaches to reading the text:

- (1) Retrospective Text-Critical Analysis – using the tools of text-criticism, each manuscript witness, or reading, is examined to identify secondary features, and to delineate the earliest recoverable stratum of each tradition, a stratum not to be equated with an Urtext.
- (2) Prospective Text-Critical Analysis – whilst a retrospective approach reads 'backwards', this approach reads 'forwards', identifying the features of growth and development, and identifying streams or avenues of growth, often located in specific clauses or stanzas.

²⁰¹ Regarding NT Textual Criticism, Epp helpfully states that 'the very notion of "the original text" is elusive and that "original" must be recognized as multilayered and multivalent.' Epp, E.J. 2007. 'It's All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism', *HTR* 100, p.279. For further on the multivalency of the 'original', see: Epp, E.J. 1999. 'The Multivalence of the Term "Original Text" in New Testament Textual Criticism', *HTR* 92:3, pp.245-281.

(3) Synchronic reading – reading the text and/or individual manuscript as it reflects and participates in the discursive space in which it was transmitted and read, and according to the contemporary hermeneutical frameworks which were applied to the text. This synchronic approach locates and interprets the text-critical data, and the text more broadly, in its own unique temporal and socio-religious location.

In this project, a retrospective methodology is applied to define and categorise relationships between individual readings, and to highlight the continuities and discontinuities reflected in the textual evidence. In the manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch*, this retrospective approach can be further qualified through the analysis of a larger number of manuscripts, and it benefits from a greater understanding of the relationships, both geo-historical and socio-cultural, between individual manuscripts and manuscript families. In adopting this approach, we can observe the continuities and discontinuities, common and variant readings, that characterise the Enochic theophany as a continually evolving and growing text-type. The retrospective approach feeds into and aids the prospective approach.

A key benefit of the prospective text-critical approach is that it follows the temporal trajectory of this textual growth. It looks forwards, focusing on the compositional and hermeneutical practices and processes that drive textual growth and development, rather than backwards, focusing on linear relationships between readings and establishing temporal relationships between variants.

A prospective approach explores the generative and dynamic aspects of textual development. In the case of the Enochic theophany and this project, this prospective

approach is guided by the premise that texts are not stable or fixed but are fluctuating in nature, insofar as a text fluctuates between periods of relative fixity or stability followed by periods of increased growth and dynamism during its transmission. This approach thus sees variants or discontinuities not as a problem to be reckoned with,²⁰² or as corruptive or degenerative features of the history of a text, but instead envisages them as indicative elements of textual growth and evolution that are a testament to the continued vitality and dynamism of a text.

This approach envisages these shifts, both major and minor, as productive features in the history of a text. To strip away these features uncritically, without assessing their significance, is to strip away this generativity. The adoption of a prospective approach, however, is itself a boon for understanding the pre-history of a text or a manuscript, and therefore is also a significant aid to the retrospective approach. By understanding these shifts and variant readings as productive features and tracing the avenues and streams of the text's ongoing development and growth, we better understand the trajectories of growth that resulted in the textual forms and text-types that are preserved in our surviving witnesses. Understanding these trajectories of growth is essential to better understand the earlier stages in the life of a text. These trajectories are furthermore, not unilinear, but multilinear. Often, we can only define the outcomes of changes in the text, and not always understand the nature, purpose, or context of the change.

²⁰² For the distinction between 'reading' and 'variant', and the presumptions inherent in such language, see: Epp, E.J. 1976. 'Toward the Clarification of the Term 'Textual Variant'' in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. J.K. Elliot), NTS 44, Brill, Leiden, pp.153-173.

A salient point in this prospective approach is a model of inevitable inner-textual generativity – as articulated by McGann, ‘every text has variants of itself screaming to get out...’.²⁰³ Furthermore as indicated by McGann:

‘The textual condition’s only immutable law is the law of change. It is a law, however, like all laws, that operates within certain limits. Every text enters the world under determinate socio-historical conditions, and... they establish the horizon within which the life histories of different texts can play themselves out. The law of change declares that these histories will exhibit a ceaseless process of textual development and mutation – a process which can only be arrested if all textual transformations of a particular work fall into non-existence.’²⁰⁴

This prospective text-critical approach finds a close parallel in Narrative Textual Criticism, which values variants regardless of whether they attest to the earliest recoverable text, and has a less keen focus on recovering the ‘original’ text.²⁰⁵ In a review of Ehrman’s *Orthodox Corruptions of Scripture*, Peterson surmised that ‘the most reliable guide to the development of Christian theology is the ever changing text of the New Testament.’²⁰⁶ Regardless of whether this assessment is accurate, the ever changing text of the Enochic theophany is a vital indication of how the text continued to be interpreted and re-signified as it was read and transmitted in new and evolving hermeneutical contexts.

In the next chapter, we will explore the preserved language of the Aramaic fragments of 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, and will attempt to decouple the reconstruction and restoration of

²⁰³ McGann, J.J. 1991. *The Textual Condition*, Princeton Studies in Culture, Power, History, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., p.10; quoted in, Epp, ‘It’s All about Variants...’, p.293.

²⁰⁴ McGann, p.9; quoted in, Epp, ‘It’s All about Variants...’, p.293.

²⁰⁵ For a cogent definition of Narrative Textual Criticism see: Epp, ‘It’s All about Variants...’, pp.290-291. For examples of this approach, see: Epp, ‘It’s All about Variants...’, pp.275-308; Also, see: Parker, D.C. 1997. *The Living Text of the Gospels*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Ehrman, B.D. 1993. *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York; Kannaday, W.C. 2004. *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels*, SBLTCS 5, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, Georgia.

²⁰⁶ Peterson, W.L. 1994. ‘Bart D. Ehrman, "The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament" (Book Review)’, *JR* 74, pp.563-564.

these fragments from the language of the later versions. The language of the Aramaic will be explored in light of the Hebrew and Aramaic literature of the Second Temple period, and we will explore whether models of dependency on the Prophetic and Pentateuchal materials can be sustained on the basis of the Aramaic fragments alone. This chapter will serve as the foundation for the chapters that follow, highlighting the unique aspects of the Aramaic, that will allow for a clearer understanding of the unique aspects of the Greek and Ethiopic versions.

This study is based on a new reading of the Aramaic fragments of 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, in dialogue with previous reconstructions and restorations, and a new reading and edition of Codex Panopolitanus in dialogue with previous editions. These are included in the *Supplement Critical Texts*. A new and original eclectic critical text of the Eth.^{ERS} of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9 is the foundation for *Chapters* 4 and 5, and this is also included in the *Supplement Critical Texts* for the convenience of the examiners. This critical text is based on a direct study of the Eth. I and Eth. II manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9 – a full list of manuscripts consulted is included in the preface to this eclectic text.

The term ‘conversation partner(s)’ is used in this study to refer to texts, manuscripts, or manuscript traditions that are brought into dialogue with the primary text or manuscript under discussion. This term is distinct from ‘intertext’, insofar, as it does not presume that these texts necessarily existed in a shared discursive space or context, but recognizes that they can nevertheless illuminate the primary text that is being discussed. Thus, the ‘conversation partner’ can be illuminating for understanding a manuscript or version of the Enochic theophany, but it is not determinative.

For example, in *Chapter 1*, the Greek version preserved in Codex Panopolitanus, and the Ethiopic version and text-types preserved in the manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch*, are often brought into dialogue with 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c to understand the character of the preserved Aramaic, and to weigh the possibilities and probabilities of the partially preserved margins of the fragments. These later versions are only employed as conversation partners, and not as a model or exemplar for broadly reconstructing and restoring the fragmented margins of the text, nor as hermeneutically determinative for understanding the preserved text. In *Chapters 1-5*, other texts such as the *Andəmta* commentary materials, the Ethiopic version of *Jude*, or other Scriptural or theophanic texts, are also employed as conversation partners for exploring the Enochic theophany, without the presumption that these are hermeneutically determinative for how the Enochic theophany is to be read and interpreted, or that there are always clear or direct relationships of dependence or influence between the conversation partner and the Enochic theophany.

Except in the context of the discussion of preceding scholarship, the title *1 Enoch* is not used in this project. This term implies unity where unity is lacking and projects a contiguousness and singularity onto the text that is only attested in the Ethiopic version. The Aramaic version will be referred to as the Aramaic *Book of the Watchers* (Aramaic *BW*), and the Greek text-type in Codex Panopolitanus as the Greek *Book of the Watchers* (Greek *BW*). The contiguous text-type preserved only in the Ethiopic manuscripts is referred to as *Ethiopic Enoch*.²⁰⁷ All translations are my own except where otherwise

²⁰⁷ A broader study of the nomenclature of *1 Enoch* and the *Book of the Watchers* was completed as a part of this project but omitted from the dissertation due to space considerations.

indicated, and all quotations from the Hebrew Bible follow the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (5th edition).²⁰⁸

Some common insignia used in this study include:

G^{CP}	Greek text-type in Codex Panopolitanus
G^{Jude}	Enochic quotation in <i>Epistle of Jude</i> 14b-15
G^{Syn}	Greek text-type in <i>Chronography</i> of Syncellus
G^{Eth}	Greek Vorlage of the Ethiopic Version
Eth.^{ERS}	Earliest Recoverable Stratum of the Ethiopic Version

²⁰⁸ Elliger, K. & Rudolph, W., & Kittel, R. & A. Schenker et al. 1997. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (5th edition), Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart.

Chapter 1 – The Aramaic Enochic Theophany in 4QEn^a (4Q201) and 4QEn^c (4Q204)

An Aramaic version of the Enochic theophany is fragmentarily preserved in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c. This limited glimpse into the Aramaic Enochic tradition includes a fragmented preservation of the Enochic superscription, preamble, and theophany that corresponds to, but is not a simple equivalent of, the unit in 1:1-9 in the Greek and Ethiopic versions. Portions of 1:1-6 are preserved in fragments 1ia and 1ib of 4QEn^a (4Q201) whilst an isolated portion of 1:9 is preserved in fragment 1ia of 4QEn^c (4Q204). Isolated phrases and clauses are intelligible; however, it is difficult to productively read the fragments without consulting the form and language of the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} and in the Ethiopic versions. Reading and reconstructing the fragments therefore is a delicate and methodologically fraught task.

Only fragmented glimpses into the form and language of the Aramaic Enochic theophany are preserved in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c. Each manuscript may provide glimpses into unique textual forms, however, there is no overlapping text in the Enochic theophany in these two manuscripts to ascertain to what extent they preserved a unanimous text-type. Moreover, it should not be assumed that these fragmented glimpses attest to an Aramaic text-type equivalent to that utilized by the Greek translator(s) that produced the Vorlage manuscript(s) from which G^{CP} and G^{Eth} were derived.

In this chapter, we will explore the limitations and potential of the fragments of the Aramaic Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c. In the first section, we will explore how the fragments have been read and reconstructed in previous scholarship, and how the

language of G^{CP} has often shaped and determined this formative process. We will assess the legacy of Milik's *editio princeps* and the retrospective methodology inherent in his reconstructions and restorations. In the latter sections, we will then appraise the character of each stanza that is fragmentarily preserved. This appraisal is both text-critical and hermeneutical.

More broadly, we will decouple the reconstruction and reading of the Aramaic fragments from the later versions and will consult them only as conversation partners – for the definition of this term as employed in this study, see subchapter on methodology in *Introduction*. We will focus primarily on the preserved form of the Aramaic fragments and not on an 'original Aramaic' or hypothetical Aramaic text. The focus is not on the recovery of a lost and irretrievable 'original Aramaic' text, if such a literary construct necessarily existed, but on reappraising and assessing the Aramaic considering the discursive space of the culture in which it was composed, read, and interpreted. We will primarily focus on what is preserved in the margins, rather than on the hypothetical margins or reconstructed text, yet will assess the potential of the partially preserved margins where it is sufficiently preserved.

The Reconstruction and Restoration of the Aramaic Fragments of the Enochic

Theophany

The *editio princeps* of the Aramaic Enochic manuscripts was published by Milik, with the collaboration of Black, in 1976.²⁰⁹ The methodology employed by Milik was not without its detractors, and several scholars have since proposed corrections to his transcriptions

²⁰⁹ Milik, J.T. 1976. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

and reconstructions, his Aramaic-Greek and Greek-Aramaic glossaries, and his literary-critical analysis of the Aramaic Enochic material.²¹⁰

This edition was quickly followed by entirely new editions and/or revisions of Milik's transcription of these Aramaic fragments by Knibb in 1978,²¹¹ Beyer in 1984,²¹² and Black in 1985.²¹³ In a critique and response to Milik's methodology, Sokoloff also published isolated notes and corrections in 1979.²¹⁴ The transcription of Knibb, included only as footnotes on his commentary and translation of the Eth. II manuscript Rylands.23, showed greater conservatism than Milik. The editions of Black and Beyer corrected many of Milik's errors or misreading of the fragments, yet also produced their own unique omissions or errors – e.g., Black omitted the fragmented stanza of 1:3b from his critical notes, presumably by error.²¹⁵

More recently, a comprehensive edition of 4QEn^a (4Q201) was published by Langlois in 2008, which included greater reflection on the role of the Greek and Ethiopic versions as a tool for textual reconstruction.²¹⁶ The edition of Langlois was thereafter followed by a critical response and transcription of 4QEn^a published by Puech in 2010.²¹⁷

²¹⁰ See: Barr, 'Aramaic-Greek Notes (I)', pp.184-198; Barr, J. 1979. 'Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch (II)', *JSS* 24, pp.179-192; Sokoloff, M. 1979. 'Notes on the Aramaic Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 4', *Maarav* 1/2, pp.197-224; Stuckenbruck, L.T. 1990. 'Revision of Aramaic-Greek and Greek-Aramaic Glossaries in The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4 by J.T. Milik', *JJS* 41, pp.13-48.

²¹¹ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.57ff.

²¹² Beyer, K. 1984. *Die Aramäischen Texte Vom Toten Meer*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, p.232ff.

²¹³ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.326ff.

²¹⁴ Sokoloff, 'Notes on the...', pp.197-224.

²¹⁵ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

²¹⁶ Langlois, M. 2008. *Le premier manuscrit du Livre d'Hénoch: Étude épigraphique et philologique des fragments araméens de 4Q201 à Qumrân*. Les Editions du Cerf, Paris.

²¹⁷ Puech, É. 2010. "Notes sur le manuscrit araméen 4Q201 = 4QHénoch^a. À propos d'un livre récent", *RevQum* 24, pp.627-49.

The most recent and comprehensive edition of the Aramaic Enochic fragments has been published by Drawnel in 2019.²¹⁸ Whilst the scale and scope of this new edition ensures that it is a vital contribution to the study of the Aramaic Enochic literature, it nevertheless does not depart significantly from previous editions of the Aramaic Enochic theophany, in terms of the reconstructions and readings adopted, or the methodology employed. As highlighted by Gzella, in a critical review of Drawnel's edition, there is little that is new in Drawnel's constitution of the text of the Aramaic Enochic fragments, and it primarily weighs and chooses between the options already postulated by Milik, Beyer, Langlois and Puech.²¹⁹ Furthermore, in the frequent attempt to reconstruct entire formulations from tiny dots of ink, the boundaries between reliable identifications and pure speculation is often somewhat blurred.²²⁰ The new edition of Drawnel may replace Milik's edition as the standard text consulted in modern scholarship, but to date, Milik's edition has served as the primary resource and foundation for the interpretation of the Aramaic Enochic fragments.

Milik's edition did not feature a detailed reflection or explanation of his methodology and approach to the reconstruction of the Aramaic Enochic fragments, nor did he clarify to what extent his reconstruction and restoration was dependent on the later versions.

²¹⁸ Drawnel, H. 2019. *Qumran Cave 4: The Aramaic Books of Enoch: 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

²¹⁹ Gzella states: "Wie bereits bei seiner Bearbeitung von 4Q208–4Q211 bietet Verf. bei der Textkonstitution insgesamt wenig Neues, sondern wägt im paläographischen Kommentar (ohne Vollständigkeit) ab zwischen bekannten Lesungen von Milik, Beyer und für 4Q201 auch Langlois, wobei ihn jetzt vor allem das Urteil, und, etwas spitz formuliert, öfter noch die Phantasie Émile Puechs führte." Gzella, H. 2021. 'Review: Drawnel, H. - Qumran Cave 4. The Aramaic Books of Enoch, 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2019', *BO* 78, p.183.

²²⁰ This was cogently noted by Gzella: "Die Textgrundlage der Interpretation bleibt daher im wesentlichen gleich, allerdings verschwimmen bei dem Versuch, noch aus ein paar winzigen Tintenpünktchen ganze, oft komplizierte Formulierungen zu gewinnen, die Grenzen zwischen dem, was man zuverlässig ermitteln kann, und reiner Spekulation." Ibid.

Therefore, we can only extrapolate his method from limited statements and text-critical notes.

It is evident, however, that the language and structure of the later versions influenced and shaped Milik's reconstruction and restoration of the Aramaic Enochic theophany.

This is hinted at in the preface to the volume where Milik stipulated:

'Moreover, I decided to restore the Aramaic text of the passages known in ancient translations with which the fragments of 4Q overlap in varying degrees, ranging from a few words to an almost continuous text. These restorations are enclosed within brackets, so that the reader will see at a glance what is effectively preserved of the actual fragments of the Qumran manuscripts.'²²¹

Whilst Milik suggests that the restorations are designed to give the reader perspective on what is 'effectively preserved of the actual fragments', the restoration of the margins of the fragments creates a text that is unlikely to have ever existed in Aramaic.

In the portion of the Aramaic Enochic theophany that is preserved in 4QEn^a, Milik's reconstruction and restoration of the margins and lacuna of the fragments is heavily indebted to the language of G^{CP}. In the unit preserved in 4QEn^c the evidence of G^{Jude} was also instrumental in his retrospective reconstruction. The evidence of the Ethiopic is consulted but when there is disagreement between the Greek and the Ethiopic, Milik shows a general preference for the reading of the Greek. Apart from a few examples where the language is reconstructed and restored in dialogue with other fragments of the Aramaic Enochic literature, the bracketed text, which is the majority of Milik's edition of the Aramaic Enochic theophany, is a retrospective and hypothetical translation of the Greek versions back into the 'original Aramaic'.

²²¹ Milik, vi.

If this retrospective translation was limited to the bracketed text, the hypothetical margins of the preserved Aramaic, then the method might be less problematic. But there are occasions where the reconstruction of the Aramaic was shaped by the reading of the Greek versions, where we cannot be certain that the Greek provides unfettered access into the wording of an Aramaic text-type. The feasibility of this process is problematized by the significant number of disagreements between the preserved Aramaic and these later Greek versions.

The process of retrospectively translating the Greek back into Aramaic is dependent on the presumption that there existed at Qumran an Aramaic text that was a close equivalent to the surviving Greek versions. Even if we accept the premise that the Greek versions are a close equivalent of an Aramaic version, it is a *non sequitur* to presume that it is inevitably indicative of a translation from an Aramaic text that was a close equivalent to the Qumran version(s). This presumption and methodological process blurs the realia of the evidence.

In a critique of Milik's methodology, Sokoloff also astutely observed the limited value of the later versions for hypothetical reconstructions of the Aramaic:

'In view of this, it seems to me that Milik's wholesale reconstruction of complete lines in very badly broken passages on the basis of the Ethiopic and Greek translations are for the most part superfluous and sometimes misleading. To judge from the photographs, Milik's attempt to squeeze every ounce out of the text has led him occasionally to see letters where they do not exist and to read extremely broken letters as if they were certain or nearly so.'²²²

These remarks are particularly pertinent to Milik's transcription of the Enochic theophany. If we limit our focus to the Enochic theophany as it is fragmentarily preserved

²²² Sokoloff, 'Notes on the...', p.198.

in 4QEn^a fragments 1ia and 1ib, corresponding to 1:1-6 in the Greek and Ethiopic versions, then Milik's reconstruction comprises 85 hypothetical words unattested in the Aramaic that are restored based on the later versions. It includes a meagre 13 words that are fully preserved, and an additional 19 words that are partially preserved, often only by isolated letters.²²³

If we query these last two categories, then the extent to which Milik's transcription was dependent on the later versions is further highlighted. Of the 13 'fully preserved' words, two are not clearly legible in the fragments and their identification is reliant on the later versions – מלי (words of) in 1:2, ויפע (and He will shine forth) in 1:4. A third example in 1:6, the noun רמן (heights/high places) reconstructed by Milik reflects the influence of the G^{CP} reading ὄρη ὑψηλά (high mountains).

Of the 'partially preserved' words, 6 out of the 19 are preserved by only a single letter – three of these are questionable identifications and could be identified as multiple different letters. A further 6 from this category are preserved by only two letters. The reconstruction and restoration of the 'margins' of the fragments therefore is a methodologically fraught process. The evidence of the later versions is at best only suggestive of what the margins of the fragments may have read. The process of retroversion presumes too close a relationship between the language of the Aramaic and Greek versions of the Enochic theophany.

Stuckenbruck has highlighted elsewhere, the significant differentiation between the Aramaic fragments and the surviving Greek and Ethiopic versions, including in the

²²³ These figures are based only on Milik's transcription, and do not entirely correspond with the evidence of the fragments.

fragments pertaining to the *Astronomical Book*, but also in relation to 4QEn^a fragments 2-8 which do not neatly correspond to any section of the Greek and Ethiopic versions of *BW*.²²⁴ Significant differentiation is also attested across the versions in the lists of the watchers in *BW* 8:3; wherein, the Aramaic is significantly distinct in particular from the text-type preserved in G^{CP}, which may only attest to a summated or contracted text.²²⁵ Moreover, in the preceding description of Azazel's illicit instruction in 8:1, the text-types in G^{CP} and G^{Syn} are not closely aligned, and it is likely that both text-types reflect ongoing textual growth.²²⁶ Overall, both Greek text-types reflect ongoing growth and

²²⁴ Stuckenbruck, 'The Early Traditions...', pp.43-46.

²²⁵ In 8:3, which is also preserved in G^{Syn} and fragmentarily in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^b, the version preserved in G^{CP} may only attest to a summated or contracted text. G^{Syn} features an expanded text which includes the addition of numbers in the watchers list but otherwise more closely corresponds to the longer text preserved in the Aramaic materials. Neither Greek text-type, however, provides a close or direct correspondence to the text fragmentarily preserved in the Aramaic text-types, and both reflect some type of editorial intervention and textual growth during the transmission of these text-types. In 8:3, the Ethiopic version corresponds more closely to the shorter text-type preserved in G^{CP} than the longer text preserved in G^{Syn} and the Aramaic fragments. See: Knibb, 'The Book of Enoch...', pp.37-39.

²²⁶ In 8:1, the G^{Syn} text-type includes several expansions, including its identification of Azazel as the tenth of the leaders or archons, that are absent in G^{CP}, the Ethiopic and 4QEn^b. The G^{CP} text-type also includes the unique reading διδάγματα ἀγγέλων, absent in G^{Syn}, the Ethiopic and probably also in 4QEn^b. This reading in G^{CP} may have originated as a marginal heading or gloss, that has been incorporated into the text (see: Coblentz Bautch, K. 2008. 'Decoration, Destruction and Debauchery: Reflections on 1 Enoch 8 in Light of 4QEn^b', *DSD* 15, p.87; Lods, *Le Livre...*, xxi; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p.18). Whilst 8:1 in G^{Syn} associates the guilt for the seduction of the holy ones with humanity itself (καὶ παρέβησαν καὶ ἐπλάνησαν τοὺς ἁγίους), this reading and implication is absent in G^{CP}, which in 8:2 infers instead that humanity was the one seduced (καὶ ἐπόρνευσαν καὶ ἀπεπλανήθησαν). This reading in 8:2 is absent in G^{Syn}. It is not clear whether 4QEn^b frg. 1 iii 1 partially preserves an equivalent of the G^{CP} 8:2 verb ἐπόρνευσαν, as argued by Larson – Milik reconstructed the verb in 4QEn^b as [יִי]ִּנִּי (see: Larson, *The Translation of Enoch...*, p.154; Milik, p.170; Coblentz Bautch, 'Decoration, Destruction and Debauchery...', p.88ff). These Greek text-types each preserve a distinct understanding of the guilt of humanity and the angels, or holy ones. Nickelsburg and Coblentz Bautch have argued that G^{Syn} may preserve an earlier reading in 8:1, more closely aligned to the text fragmentarily preserved in 4QEn^b, in distinction to the text preserved in G^{CP}/Ethiopic, although this hypothesis is far from certain. Nickelsburg defended the unique G^{Syn} reading in 8:1, and adopted it in his eclectic translation, and using secondary textual evidence argued that G^{Syn} preserved an ancient reading and not an 'accidental variant' of the text preserved in G^{CP}/Ethiopic. Coblentz Bautch concluded that the unique reading of G^{Syn} predated Synkellos and the source from which this text-type was derived, yet did not explicitly conclude that this textual form was preferable or earlier than that preserved in G^{CP}. See: Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1...*, pp.188, 195-196; Coblentz Bautch, 'Decoration, Destruction and Debauchery...' pp.83-95 (esp. p.95). For further on the G^{Syn} variant, or interpolation, in 8:1 and its interpretation, see: Bhayro, S. 2005. *Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 322, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster, p.149ff; Black, *Book of Enoch...*, p.18.

development, and neither version provides simple or unfettered access into the language of the Aramaic versions and text-types.

Milik's dependence on G^{CP} as a vehicle to recovering the 'original Aramaic', however, has influenced the types of questions that have been asked of the text. A similar dependence was also implicit in Black's reconstructive approach. In the introduction to his commentary and edition, Black indicates that in his approach, 'attempts to go beyond the Greek to the original Aramaic are confined to passages where the Aramaic is extant or where there are *cruces interpretum*'.²²⁷ Yet Black's reconstruction often restores the Aramaic significantly beyond the margin of the fragments using the Greek version. Similar restorations are featured in the editions of Beyer, Puech and Drawnel.

Where there is overlap in the Enochic theophany, the Greek versions often preserve readings distinct from and at odds with the sense of the Aramaic. The evidence often indicates that G^{CP} features a revisional reading not a translational reading. The decision to retrospectively translate the Greek back into Aramaic, whilst not uncritically attempted by Milik, blurs the realia of the evidence. Yet the presumption that the Greek provides access to the Aramaic text, or to the approach and style of the Greek translator, has pervaded subsequent scholarship. For example, in an article published after Milik's edition, Barr stipulated:

²²⁷ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.6.

‘Where an Aramaic fragment exists, even if a small one, it enables us to judge the character of the Greek rendering, in a way that was impossible so long as there was no extant evidence lying behind the Greek. For example, it becomes possible for us to make a first estimate of how far the Greek allowed or encouraged variety in its rendering of any one Aramaic term, and conversely how far it sought to use the same Greek term consistently to render the same Aramaic term. In this sense we can begin to judge how far the translation can be assessed, even in the most approximate way, as “literal” or “free”.’²²⁸

In this article, Barr critiqued the absence of any reflection on the translation character of the Greek in Milik’s edition, which Barr regarded as a prerequisite before attempting the retroversion of the Greek into Aramaic.²²⁹ Barr did not, however, explicitly question the value of this retrospective methodology.²³⁰ Barr’s analysis of select portions of the overlapping fragments is astute, yet even when the Greek may reflect a translational reading of a text-type equivalent to the preserved Aramaic, the overlapping text is insufficient to isolate a theoretical ‘translational strategy’ or style of the Greek translator(s). Without an assessment of this style or strategy – which is improbable due to the limited value of G^{CP} for understanding the ‘translated’ Greek text-type – it is unlikely that we can successfully use the Greek as a tool for recovering the ‘original Aramaic’.

The overlapping text is of essential value in assessing possible relationships between Aramaic and Greek readings for isolated phrases or lexemes. Nevertheless, such examples are insufficient to warrant a broader retrospective approach. In a similar critique of Milik’s approach, Stuckenbruck shrewdly concluded:

²²⁸ Barr, ‘Aramaic-Greek Notes (I)’, p.184.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

‘Even if the Greek material stems from a translation of the Aramaic, it cannot be assumed that the Vorlage for the extant Greek versions was completely identical with the visible portions of the Qumran fragments. Moreover, the process of translation and textual transmission through copying and editing has inevitably given rise to a number of departures.’²³¹

In addition, eclectic translations produced from a combination of the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic materials can similarly obfuscate the unique nature of these later versions. The eclectic approach is a fruitful enterprise and has pedagogical value, but the eclectic approach can mislead the reader into thinking that we can recover more of the ‘original’ text than is actually possible on the basis of the fragmentary Aramaic. Eclectic translations are often used in discussion of the Enochic literature in the Second Temple period in contemporary scholarship with little reflection on what exactly is being read, and with little reflection on what is happening beneath the surface of the translation. In the case of the Enochic theophany, it is unlikely that an eclectic approach gives us unfettered access into the form of the text in the Second Temple period.

The reading of the Greek versions has shaped the way that the fragments of the Aramaic Enochic theophany have been reconstructed, restored, and read. Other threads of the academic discourse have also shaped and influenced this process. The parallels between the Enochic theophany and the theophanies in *Deuteronomy* 33:1ff, *Micah* 1:3ff, *Isaiah* 26:21 and the Balaam oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24:3, 15-17 has guided how the fragments have been read and restored and often overshadowed the preserved language of the Aramaic.

Prior to the publication of Milik’s edition of the Aramaic fragments in 1976, many parallels with these cognate Hebrew texts had already been observed in the Greek text-

²³¹ Stuckenbruck, ‘Revision of Aramaic-Greek...’, pp.16-17.

type preserved in G^{CP}.²³² The parallels with *Deuteronomy* 33:1ff, *Micah* 1:3ff and *Numbers* 24:3, 15-17 have often functioned as the lens through which this text has been read, interpreted, and occasionally even reconstructed in modern scholarship.

For example, Black inserted extra words into his reconstruction of the unpreserved ‘margins’ of *BW* 1:2, that were not present in G^{CP} or the Ethiopic, based on hypothetical parallels between the Aramaic fragments and *Numbers*. Black reconstructed the initial stanza of the Enochic preamble in 4QEn^a frg. 1ib as [ואמר אימר חנוך] ונטב מתליה.²³³ This initial verb ונטב (And he took up) is not even fragmentarily preserved in the Aramaic, yet Black’s edition appears to infer that this is a confirmed reading – it may reflect an editorial error and Black may have intended for it to be bracketed as a hypothetical reconstruction. Nevertheless, Black’s reconstruction may be indebted to the recurring speech marker ‘and he took up his parable and said’ that appears in *Numbers* 24:3, 15 (וַיִּשָּׂא מִשְׁלוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר) and G^{CP} (Καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν).

However, this is not the only questionable feature of Black’s transcription in 1:2. The bracketed noun אימר (word of) is not preserved in G^{CP} or the Ethiopic. Black’s reconstruction was derived from *Numbers* 24:15-17, where the Balaam oracular preamble begins with the noun נְאֻם (oracle of). This reconstruction is interconnected with Black’s hypothesis that the Enochic preamble ‘is largely modelled on the Balaam prophecy at Num. 24:3f’.²³⁴

²³² In his commentary, R.H. Charles had already noted the parallels with *Deuteronomy* 33:1, *Micah* 1:3 and *Isaiah* 26:21 (*Book of Enoch*, pp.4-5). Limited aspects of the parallels with the sensory imagery of the Balaam oracular preamble were also noted by Charles (*Book of Enoch*, p.4; *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3).

²³³ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.326.

²³⁴ Ibid, p.103.

To rectify the awkward shift from third- to first-person speech in the Enochic preamble, which is only attested in the G^{CP} text-type, Black suggested that the Aramaic was originally supplemented by this Aramaic rendering of נְאֻם בְּלִעָם.²³⁵ Black concludes that:

‘If we supplement En^a 1 I 2 by אִימַר חֲנוּךְ, ‘Oracle of Enoch’, we obtain an exact parallel to the Balaam prophecy, and the omission of the words can be readily explained as a scribal error.’²³⁶

There are other possible explanations for this shift in voice and agency in the text, and Black’s methodology assumes a closer relationship between the Enochic preamble and the Balaam oracular preamble than can be justified by 4QEn^a alone.

This is not the only instance where Black has overestimated the parallel with the Balaam oracular preamble. Black reconstructed the initial noun as מְתִלְיָה (his parable), despite the partial preservation of the plural suffix ending [י] מְתִלְיָה (his parables). The Aramaic in 4QEn^a preserves a plural noun with a third-person suffix, yet Black has corrected it to a singular noun without justifying this editorial decision. This correction may have been suggested to Black by the singular form attested in G^{CP} (τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ) yet considering Black’s speculative restoration of the margins of the fragment in dialogue with *Numbers* 24, it is possible that this decision was also influenced by the singular noun מְשָׁלוֹ (his parable) that appears in this recurring speech marker in the Balaam pericope.²³⁷

A similar presumption may be reflected in Beyer’s reconstruction of a partially preserved word in 4QEn^a frg. 1ib, as the noun מַחֲנֵי (his camp). There is insufficient space for three distinct letters, and nor does the lettering support Beyer’s reconstruction. Whilst Beyer

²³⁵ Ibid, p.104.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

does not indicate the basis for this reconstruction, it can only be defended through appeal to G^{CP} which reads ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ (from his camp).

The noun παρεμβολή appears commonly as a translational equivalent in the LXX for the Hebrew noun מחנה (camp, army).²³⁸ Beyer does not clearly indicate the reason for his reconstruction, yet it is likely that this general pattern of translational equivalency and the reading of G^{CP} were the primary justification. However, whilst this noun is common in Hebrew, it is not preserved elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic. Beyer's reconstruction reflects an overestimation of the value of G^{CP} and of Greek translations of Hebrew literature, for the reconstruction and restoration of the margins of the Aramaic fragments. Additional reconstructions have been postulated by Langlois, Puech, and Drawnel,²³⁹ which will be assessed later in this chapter. The evidence of G^{CP} and the Hebrew canonical literature, however, has been read by Beyer into the Aramaic fragment.

Another prominent example is found in the 'hypothetical margins' of 4QEn^a. The reconstruction of these margins highlights the extent to which parallels with the Hebrew 'canonical' texts has ultimately shaped and determined the reconstruction and restoration of the Aramaic Enochic theophany. The beginning of 1:4 in 4QEn^a was restored by Milik using a retrospective methodology and translated as:

[ואלה עלמה ינחת על ארעה וידרך על סיני טורה] 'And the Everlasting God shall come down upon earth, and tread on Mount Sinai...' ²⁴⁰

²³⁸ It appears as an equivalent in, for example, *Genesis* 32:3, 8, 9, 11, 22, and *Exodus* 14:19.

²³⁹ See: Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.82-83, 86-87, 98-99, 104-105; Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630; Drawnel, pp.74-76.

²⁴⁰ Milik, p.142.

The restoration of this stanza reflects a conflation of the language of G^{CP} and the Hebrew of *Micah* 1:3. The verb יִנְחֵת (He will descend) restored by Milik is not attested in G^{CP} or by any Ethiopic manuscript. G^{CP} does feature the contextually peculiar accusative construction ἐπὶ γῆν (upon the earth), which would be a feasible equivalent of Milik's hypothetical Aramaic reading על ארעה (upon the earth), however, the versions do not support the insertion of an additional verb. In *Chapter 4*, we will explore the possibility that the G^{CP} reading reflects a misreading of the adverb ἐκεῖθεν (from there), which is supported by the Ethiopic reading ወእምህ: (and from there), for the accusative ἐπὶ γῆν.²⁴¹ If this premise is correct, then the insertion of a preliminary verb is unnecessary in this context.

Milik's decision to prioritise G^{CP} over the contextually intelligible Ethiopic reading, and to restore an Aramaic verb that is not supported by either version, was also guided by the general parallel between this stanza and *Micah* 1:3b. This latter passage includes the verb וְיִרְדֹּ (And He will descend) – Milik does not explicitly comment on the motivation of this reconstruction.²⁴²

A similar reconstruction was also adopted by Beyer (וינחת מרא עלמה לארעה),²⁴³ whilst Milik's reconstruction was followed by Drawnel,²⁴⁴ who suggested that the 'reconstructed line length additionally confirms such a supposition.'²⁴⁵ This reconstruction of the hypothetical margins is feasible but it is only validated by the general nature of the parallel between the opening stanzas of the Enochic theophany

²⁴¹ See *Chapter 4* for discussion.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Beyer, p.232.

²⁴⁴ Drawnel, p.77.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, p.83.

and the theophany in *Micah* 1:3ff. Whilst this is possible it does propose a stronger relationship between the language of these theophanies than what is corroborated by the evidence of the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic versions. In essence, the language of the canonical *Micah* has been read into the ‘hypothetical margins’ of the Aramaic fragments.

In the preceding discussion, we have highlighted two common approaches to reconstructing and restoring the ‘original Aramaic’ text. These include using the G^{CP} text-type to retrospectively restore and reconstruct the partially preserved and hypothetical margins, and using the language of ‘canonical’ texts as the basis for restoring the fragmented Aramaic. These two retrospective and reconstructive approaches are key legacies of Milik’s edition of the Aramaic Enochic fragments.

The language of the later versions and the ‘canonical’ texts has often shaped how the margins of the text have been restored in modern scholarship. Whilst at times this methodology may be productive, the danger is that it presumes correspondence with the later versions, where correspondence should not be simply presumed. In essence, this process produces a conflated text, that consequently obscures and obfuscates the unique aspects of the Aramaic.

In the remainder of this chapter, we will limit our investigations to the preserved, or partially preserved, text of the Aramaic Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c. We will limit our discussion to only the recoverable text and will not further assess previous restorations and reconstructions of the hypothetical margins of the Aramaic fragments, except where they have shaped the reconstruction of the partially preserved margins of the fragments.

Our investigations will not focus on recovering the ‘original Aramaic’ text, regardless of whether such a literary construct ever existed, and we will attempt to decouple the reconstruction and reading of the fragmented Aramaic Enochic theophany from the later versions. These later versions will only be employed as conversation partners, not as the model or exemplar for recovering and restoring the Aramaic Enochic theophany – for the definition of the term ‘conversation partner’ as employed in this study see the subchapter on Methodology in *Introduction*.

We will evaluate the relationship of the preserved text to the preceding theophanic tradition and will assess how the traditional processes that produced the Aramaic Enochic theophany participated in an ongoing theophanic tradition indebted to, but that also produced, the Hebrew Pentateuchal and Prophetic materials, and to what extent this can be validated by the Aramaic evidence alone.

The Enochic Superscription in 4QEn^a (BW 1:1)

4QEn^a frg. 1ia	חנך לבח[ירין...] [...]	...Enoch (to) the chosen ones...
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The opening verse of the Aramaic Enochic theophany is only fragmentarily preserved in 4QEn^a fragment 1ia. Only the proper name חנך (Enoch) is fully attested, whilst לבח[ירין] (the chosen ones) is partially preserved – for scholarly reconstructions see *Supplement Critical Texts*. Only the right stroke and the rightmost half of the top stroke of the ח in the latter noun is preserved, and as indicated by Langlois, whilst this identification is probable, the letter is also akin to ה or ת.²⁴⁶ Langlois further highlighted a dark area

²⁴⁶ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.70-71.

directly above the proper name, which may reflect a supralinear scribal addition; an inclusion of a supralinear *waw* above and between the *nun* and final *kaph* of חֲנֹךְ.²⁴⁷

Disagreement in scholarship is primarily limited to the identification of the hypothetical letter that straddles the initial edge of the fragment. In the *editio princeps*, Milik reconstructed the letter as a final *nun* (ן) as an anticipatory object suffix that anticipates the לבח[ירין] (chosen ones), who are the object of Enoch's blessing. Milik regarded this reading as preferable over ב[ר] because 'otherwise one ought to see, on the right-hand margin of the fragment, the left-hand end of the upper bar of the Kaph.'²⁴⁸

The alternate possibility, that the letter was a final *kaph* (ך) was suggested by Beyer and Langlois.²⁴⁹ Whilst indicating that the small trace could be identified either as a ק/ך/ך, Langlois preferred the reconstruction of a final *kaph* (ך).²⁵⁰ The recent editions of Puech and Drawnel have followed the reconstruction of Milik. Puech argued that Milik's reconstruction was preferable and that a final *kaph* 'est impossible'.²⁵¹ The lack of any clear indication of the head of the final *kaph*, which would be expected to be visible before its base, problematized Langlois' reconstruction.²⁵² Drawnel suggested that 'there remains only a dot from the tail of the final *nun*' and consequently followed the identification of Milik.²⁵³

No portion of the letter is clearly legible, and the reconstruction is primarily suggested by the size of the gap that precedes חֲנֹךְ (Enoch). The angle of the fragment's initial edge

²⁴⁷ Ibid, pp.70, 77, 86.

²⁴⁸ Milik, p.143.

²⁴⁹ Beyer, p.232; Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.70, 77.

²⁵⁰ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.70, 77.

²⁵¹ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.628.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Drawnel, p.74.

could disguise the presence of a final *nun*, as suggested initially by Milik, that may have straddled the margin of the edge – the size of the gap would nevertheless be larger than what is typical elsewhere in the fragments. Even if this ‘dot’ belonged to the tail of a letter, it is insufficiently preserved to justify a larger reconstruction of this initial edge of the fragment. In this instance, we will adopt a conservative reading of the fragment without any reconstruction, whilst recognizing the preferability of Milik’s reconstruction over that of Beyer and Langlois.



Fig. 1.1

Initial stanza in 4QEn^a frg. 1ia. The initial letter is not clearly visible except for an ink dot at the bottom right-hand side that may correspond to the shaft of a letter.

The Aramaic presumably included the verb before the proper name ܥܢܚ (Enoch), perhaps mediated by this anticipatory object suffix, rather than after the proper name as attested in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic. Moreover, whilst ܥܢܚ (Enoch) is contained within the initial genitive chain in the Greek and the Ethiopic, in the Aramaic this proper name was probably independent of this introductory designation.

Regardless, of whether we affirm the reconstruction of a final *nun* or *kaph*, it is evident that the Aramaic preserved a reading unique from the later versions. The proper name ‘Enoch’ cannot have been included in the introductory genitive chain as attested in the later versions (G^{CP}: Λόγος εὐλογίας Ἐνώχ/Eth.^{ERS}: ܥܢܚ: ܢܠܚܐ: ܢܠܚܐ: ܢܠܚܐ:). This was also noted by Drownel who observed that in the Aramaic ‘the subject is postpositive to its predicate,

in line with the general Semitic tendency.’²⁵⁴ Drawnel further concluded ‘The Aramaic archetype for the Greek line must have been different.’²⁵⁵

That 4QEn^a preserves a distinct syntactical formulation from the later versions is probable even without a secure identification of the initial letter of the fragment, as either option, a final *kaph* or final *nun*, would indicate a difference in the syntactical structure of the Aramaic and Greek. This distinction suggests that attempting to reconstruct this verse in its entirety, and to recover the ‘original Aramaic’, through a retrospective translation of the Greek into Aramaic may overlook other syntactical and lexical differentiation in the Enochic superscription in 4QEn^a.

There is little more that can be ascertained about the Aramaic Enochic superscription in 4QEn^a, and the relationship of the Aramaic to its inherited textual heritage, without retrospectively restoring the verse in dialogue with the later versions. If such an approach is adopted, then it is possible to flesh out the verse, and the significance of the intertextual dimensions of the verse can be explored. However, such an enterprise produces a conflated Aramaic text – a conflation of 4QEn^a which probably dates to the early 2nd century BCE, that is itself probably indicative of a 3rd century BCE composition, and an anachronistic Aramaic text created retrospectively from a late 5th or 6th century CE Greek text-type preserved in G^{CP}.

Even though this verse is scantily preserved in the Aramaic, the interpretation of this stanza has had significant ramifications for the interpretation of the Enochic theophany in modern scholarship. Scholarly approaches to the Aramaic Enochic superscription are a

²⁵⁴ Drawnel, p.78.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

continuation of the interpretative approach to the later Greek and Ethiopic versions prior to the discovery of the Aramaic Enochic fragments.

The semantic and syntactic parallel between the language of *BW* 1:1 in G^{CP} and the Mosaic superscription in *Deuteronomy* 33:1 has been recognized throughout the history of modern Enochic scholarship.²⁵⁶ Charles alluded to the parallel with *Deuteronomy* 33:1 in a footnote in his translation and commentary on *1 Enoch* but did further interpret this parallel.²⁵⁷ Charles independently also suggested that the redaction of the Enochic material into a fivefold structure, as exemplified in the Ethiopic version, was 'intended by its final editor' to emulate the five sections of the Pentateuch, Psalms, Proverbs and Sirach amongst other Jewish works.²⁵⁸ Whilst these hypotheses are stated independently in Charles' commentary, they have contributed to the establishment of a scholarly hermeneutical framework through which *BW* 1:1 has been viewed, and it is likely that Charles' approach was formative for the Enochic Pentateuch hypothesis postulated by Dix²⁵⁹ and adapted by Milik.²⁶⁰

The significance of the parallel with *Deuteronomy* 33:1 has been central to the interpretation of the verse in subsequent scholarship. Hartman suggested that the similarities signified a relationship near citation,²⁶¹ whilst VanderKam postulated that the Enochic author 'begins with words modelled on Deut 33:1.'²⁶² Black speculated that 'the author has clearly Dt. 33 in mind throughout this passage,'²⁶³ and suggested that 1:1-9 'is

²⁵⁶ Cf. Schodde, pp.63-64.

²⁵⁷ Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p.4.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, xlv.

²⁵⁹ Dix, pp.29-42.

²⁶⁰ Milik, pp.4, 22, 54-55, 57-58, 76-77, 109-110, 183-185, 227, 310.

²⁶¹ Hartman, pp.22-26.

²⁶² VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth...*, p.115.

²⁶³ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.103.

modelled chiefly on Dt. 33.1-2, where a verse announcing the blessing of Moses is followed by the description of a Sinai theophany.²⁶⁴

The most extensive evaluation of the parallels between the Enochic and Mosaic superscriptions was completed by Nickelsburg, who hypothesized that the Enochic superscription originally introduced an Enochic Testament.²⁶⁵ This was comprised of chapters 1-5 (possibly including 6-11), 12-33 (or continuing to 36), 81:1-82:4, 91, followed by limited portions of 92-105.²⁶⁶ According to Nickelsburg, these units had a separate origin and the Enochic Testament was a redacted text not an original or homogenous composition.²⁶⁷ The Enochic superscription was an incorporate element of this redactional process and furthermore it 'interpreted the Enochic collection as a testament that paralleled the last words of Moses',²⁶⁸ and therefore introduced a larger portion of text than just the theophany and oracle in 1:3c-5:9.²⁶⁹

This theophany and oracle, according to Nickelsburg, was instead introduced by the preamble in 1:2-3 rather than the Enochic superscription.²⁷⁰ Therefore, the reworking of *Deuteronomy* 33:1 was a feature of a redactor's attempt to present the Enochic material in the form of a Testament. Nickelsburg's testamentary hypothesis, however, has not been widely accepted in scholarship.

Nickelsburg's Enochic Testament hypothesis is largely dependent on inferences drawn from the presence of multiple Enochic texts in the fragments of 4QEn^c, and the

²⁶⁴ Ibid, pp.112-13.

²⁶⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.25.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, pp.24-25.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p.25.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, p.135.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p.137.

composite form of the text in the contiguous text-type in *Ethiopic Enoch*.²⁷¹ It is doubtful, however, that the contiguous text-type preserved in the latter should be read as a development in parallel or continuity with the growth and redaction of the Enochic literature in the Aramaic versions. As highlighted by Knibb, whilst our knowledge of 4QEn^c is constrained by its fragmentary preservation, 'Nickelsburg does not consider the possibility that it consisted of a loose collection of Enochic texts, in which there were no redactional links to bind the different texts together.'²⁷² Nor does the content of the Enochic theophany, including the Enochic superscription, have a distinctive testamentary character that would sustain or justify this model of the development of the Aramaic Enochic literature. Ultimately, none of the Aramaic Enochic fragments clearly indicate a textual form that would correspond to this hypothetical Enochic Testament postulated by Nickelsburg.

The Aramaic *BW* 1:1 in 4QEn^a is insufficiently preserved to permit a detailed examination of the nature and function of this parallel with the Mosaic superscription. As a result, we are primarily reliant on G^{CP} and the Ethiopic to establish and understand the parallel between the Enochic and Mosaic superscriptions.

The premise that the Enochic superscription was modelled upon, cited, or imitated the Mosaic superscription has since been rejected by Drawnel in his edition of the Aramaic Enochic fragments. According to Drawnel, 'The Enochic line is, however, neither an imitation of the biblical text, nor a citation of Deut 33...'.²⁷³ Drawnel provides a limited

²⁷¹ For a cogent criticism of Nickelsburg's methodology and his Testamentary hypothesis, see: Knibb, 'Interpreting the Book ...', pp.79-82. For Nickelsburg's account of the development of this Testament, and of the contiguous form attested in *1 Enoch*, see: Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.22-26.

²⁷² Ibid, p.81.

²⁷³ Drawnel, p.78; See also: Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.135.

critique of Nickelsburg's testamentary hypothesis, and suggests that the Enochic superscription does not introduce a poem, as in the case of *Deuteronomy* 33, but instead introduces the entire *BW*.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, Drawnel highlights that *Deuteronomy* 33 is also not a testament but instead is a 'poetic piece'.²⁷⁵ Whilst this is true of the superscription in the later versions, it is not possible to affirm or reject the thesis that the Enochic superscription was modelled on the Mosaic superscription, on the basis of this fragmented stanza in 4QEn^a.

The only clear correspondence between the preserved Aramaic and the Mosaic superscription in *Deuteronomy* 33:1a is the probability that 4QEn^a included the proper name 'Enoch' within this subordinate relative verbal clause. In *Deuteronomy* 33:1a, a demonstrative pronoun is utilized with an emphatic noun to introduce and identify the literary form of the discourse (וְזֹאת הַבְּרָכָה אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַךְ מֹשֶׁה).²⁷⁶ The proper name 'Moses' is then included within the subordinate relative verbal clause, rather than in construct with the preliminary identification of the discourse as a 'blessing'.

As we have already observed, 4QEn^a probably preserves a different word-order and syntactical formulation from that preserved in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic. In these latter two versions, the proper name 'Enoch' appears within the introductory title 'Word of the Blessing of Enoch' (G^{CP}: Λόγος εὐλογίας Ἐνώχ/Eth.^{ERS}: ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ዘሂኖክ፡)²⁷⁷, rather than within the subsequent verbal clause as probable in 4QEn^a.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ This is similarly rendered in the LXX, *Καὶ αὕτη ἡ εὐλογία ἣν εὐλόγησεν Μωϋσῆς*. Edition: Wevers, J.W. 2011. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, vol.III,3.: Deuteronomium*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, p.362.

²⁷⁷ For Ethiopic variants see *Chapter 4*.

Beyond this observation, however, any significant reconstruction of the ‘original Aramaic’ is dependent on the language of the later versions, which are syntactically unique, and/or the language of *Deuteronomy* 33:1, where the parallel can hardly be defended or affirmed by 4QEn^a alone. Whilst we are unable to affirm or reject some form of literary relationship between the Enochic and Mosaic superscriptions using 4QEn^a, the limited evidence suggests that we should hesitate to reconstruct or hypothesize authorial models based on this alleged parallel. We will reflect further on this in *Chapter 2*.

The Enochic Preamble in 4QEn^a (BW 1:2-3a)

4QEn^a 1ia & 1ib	<p style="text-align: center;">[...]²⁷⁸ ××[...]²⁷⁸ מתלוה</p> <p style="text-align: center;">... ומן מְלִי [עירין] וקדישין כלה ש[מעט...] ... [.....לד]ן דרה להן לד[ר ר] חִיק אנה א[מ]ר[...]</p>	<p>[And he took up?] his parables [and said...?]</p> <p>...</p> <p>And from the words of [the watchers] and the holy ones, everything [I heard...]</p> <p>...</p> <p>[... for this] generation but rather for the dista[nt gen]eration I spe[ak...]</p>
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The Enochic preamble (*BW* 1:2-3a) is partially preserved in 4QEn^a in the middle three lines of fragment 1ia and the initial two lines of fragment 1ib. Only 6 words are fully preserved, the remainder are at least partially obscured by the edge of the fragments. There are several stock phrases in this unit that appear elsewhere in the Aramaic Enochic literature, and therefore identification is probable despite this obscuration.

The Greek and Ethiopic versions have served as the foundation for the reading and reconstruction of this unit, despite the probability that neither version provides a close witness to the form of the Aramaic Enochic preamble embodied in 4QEn^a. The language and content of the Balaam pericope, particularly the oracular formula in *Numbers* 24:15-

²⁷⁸ As noted by Drawnel, the initial letter is a final ם instead of the expected initial form מ; Drawnel, p.74.

17, has shaped how this text has been restored, reconstructed, and read. The premise that the unit is modelled on *Numbers* 24:15-17, a hypothesis that is principally asserted based on the later versions, has shaped the text-critical and literary-critical treatment of the Enochic preamble. We will examine the Aramaic Enochic preamble in three separate units as per previous table – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement* Critical Texts.

The introductory speech marker in *BW* 1:2a is reminiscent of the recurring prophetic speech marker in the Balaam pericope in *Numbers* 23-24. As early as 1882, Schodde recognised an allusion to *Numbers* 24:2-4, 15 in *BW* 1:2,²⁷⁹ whilst Charles noted the parallel in his 1906 critical edition²⁸⁰ and in his translation and commentary published in 1912.²⁸¹ Neither scholar, however, evaluated the significance of the parallel or allusion. In *Numbers*, the recurring speech marker וַיִּשָּׂא מִן־שִׁלּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר (and he took up his parable and said) marks the beginning of a new oracle or section within an oracle, appearing a total of seven times in 23:7, 18 and 24:3, 15, 20, 21, 23.

The premise that the Enochic preamble is reworking, imitating, appropriating or is dependent on the Balaam pericope has dominated the discussion of the Enochic preamble in modern scholarship. It has shaped the way that the Aramaic preamble has been reconstructed and read. In a systematic intertextual analysis of *BW* 1-5 in G^{CP}, Hartman suggested that the formulaic speech marker of 1:2a was derived from *Numbers* 24:3-4,²⁸² and included it in a category of texts which ‘have influenced our text to such an extent that it almost has become a quotation.’²⁸³ VanderKam suggested that the

²⁷⁹ Schodde, p.64.

²⁸⁰ Charles, *Ethiopic Version*, p.2.

²⁸¹ Charles, *Book of Enoch*, pp.4-5.

²⁸² Hartman, p.23.

²⁸³ *Ibid*, p.22.

characterisation of Enoch was coloured with language borrowed from the Balaam stories in *Numbers* 22-24, and that the Enochic preamble authenticated the words of Enoch 'not by appeal to Gen 5:21-24 or to the AB, but by introducing him as a diviner-seer in the mold of Balaam.'²⁸⁴ The speech of Enoch in 1:2 is introduced using an imitation of the speech marker in the Balaam oracles.²⁸⁵

A close relationship was also supported by Suter²⁸⁶ and Black.²⁸⁷ Black suggested that *BW* 1:2 was 'largely modelled on the Balaam prophecy at Num. 24.3f' and indicated that textual complications in *BW* 1:2 should be rectified by appeal to the syntax and form of its model.²⁸⁸ As we observed earlier, Black reconstructed the fragmented margins of 1:2 in 4QEn^a using the Balaam oracular preamble as a model. Black's approach to 'textual complications' underpins his hypothetical reconstruction of the margins of the fragment as *אימר חנוך* (words of Enoch) – this initial noun is not attested by any textual evidence yet provides a close correspondence to the clause-initial noun *נאם* (oracle) in the Balaam oracles in 24:3, 15. Black's model of authorial dependency may have also inspired the reconstruction of the preserved Aramaic noun *מתליה* (his parable)²⁸⁹ as a singular form in imitation of the singular form attested in the Balaam oracular preamble, despite the clear attestation of a plural noun in 4QEn^a.

In more recent scholarship, the focus has shifted towards interpreting the entirety of the Enochic preamble in dialogue with the oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24:15-17.

Nickelsburg suggested that there was a clear parallel between *BW* 1:2-3b and *Numbers*

²⁸⁴ VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth...*, pp.115-118, 122 (esp.118).

²⁸⁵ VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man...*, p.64.

²⁸⁶ Suter, D.W. 1981. 'Masal in the Similtudes of Enoch', *JBL* 100, p.202.

²⁸⁷ Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp.103-104.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, p.326.

24:15-17 but maintained that it was nevertheless unclear 'whether this author intends a specific allusion to the figure of Balaam.'²⁹⁰ Nickelsburg concluded that 'even if no association with Balaam is intended, the form and content of his ancient oracles provide a model which this author modifies for his own purposes.'²⁹¹

A similar proposal was suggested by Tigchelaar, who preludes his assessment of the passage by stating that the relation between the two passages is 'undisputed' although a 'detailed analysis of the parallels is problematic due to the incomplete and complex textual base of the *Book of 1 Enoch*.'²⁹² Tigchelaar further suggested that the 'close correspondence' between the broader unit of *BW* 1:2-3b and *Numbers* 24:15-17 indicates that the former should be read 'against the background of its model', namely this Balaam oracular preamble, and by 'paying particular attention to its modifications'.²⁹³

Only one word in this introductory speech marker is sufficiently preserved in 4QEn^a to substantiate this hypothesis. The Aramaic noun מַתַּל is a semantic equivalent of the Hebrew noun מִשַּׁל and has a similar semantic range and function (proverb/parable/discourse).²⁹⁴ In the recurring speech marker of *Numbers* 23-24 it strictly appears as a singular noun with a singular suffix. In 4QEn^a, however, it is apparent that the Aramaic noun is a plural form as indicated by the form of the suffix. Whilst

²⁹⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.137.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Tigchelaar, 'Balaam and Enoch', pp.87-88.

²⁹³ Ibid, p.89.

²⁹⁴ For further on Hebrew מִשַּׁל, see: Johnson, A.R. 1969. 'משל' in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (eds. M. Noth et al), Brill, Leiden, pp.162-169; Clines, D.J.A. (ed.) 2001. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew: Volume V, מ-נ*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, pp.537-539. For Aramaic מַתַּל, see: Cook, E.M. 2015. *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, p.150.

Balaam raises ‘his parable’, Enoch instead raises ‘his parables’. This Aramaic plural noun is distinct from the singular form featured in *Numbers* 24:15 and in G^{CP}.

No legible portion of either speech verb is preserved in 4QEn^a fragment 1ia. The only portions of the second speech verb that is preserved, usually reconstructed in scholarship as מָרָא[וּ], are two ink dots at the bottom margin of the caveat in the fragment. This reconstruction is plausible, if not probable, yet it cannot be confirmed by the fragment.



Fig. 1.2
Beginning of 1:2a in 4QEn^a frg. 1ia including noun [י]מתלזה but not preserving the subsequent verb.

The reconstruction of this introductory speech marker in 4QEn^a is dependent on the speech marker in G^{CP}, and similar forms attested elsewhere in Aramaic literature. A similar speech marker appears in 4QEn^b (4Q212 frg. 2.13), in the context of the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 93:3), where it appears as נסב חנוך מתלה ואמר (And aga[in] Enoch took up his parable and said...),²⁹⁵ and again earlier in 4QEn^b (4Q212 frg. 3i8).²⁹⁶ It also appears in a broken context in 4QApocrLevi^b (4Q541 frg. 3.2 – [י]מתלז).²⁹⁷

The reconstruction of the verbs at the margins of the fragments proposed by Milik (see *Supplement Critical Texts*), whilst not certain, are a feasible reconstruction based on these parallel Aramaic texts. However, it is probable that, whilst the device in 4QEn^a may have echoed the Balaam pericope, we are dealing with a common formulaic speech marker in literary Aramaic.

²⁹⁵ Milik, p.264.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, p.263.

²⁹⁷ Edition: Puech, É. 2001. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXI: Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII: Textes Araméens Première Partie 4Q529-549*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.233.

In addition to the similar speech marker preserved in other Aramaic literature from Qumran, the introductory speech marker is also preserved in G^{CP} 1:2 (καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν/and he took up his parable and said). The unique element of G^{CP} in this clause, however, is the singular form of the noun παραβολήν in contrast to the plural form preserved in 4QEn^a.

The singular form in G^{CP} parallels the singular form of the noun in the Balaam pericope. It is possible that the direct correspondence between the language and syntax of the clause in G^{CP} and LXX *Numbers* 24:15 (καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν)²⁹⁸ is partially indicative of an intertextual realignment of the clause during translation or transmission. The translator may have translated the Aramaic phrase in 1:2a in dialogue with, or in light of, LXX *Numbers* – Milik argued this in relation to the speech marker in *Numbers* 23:1.²⁹⁹

Other explanations for the shift from a plural to singular form are feasible. Nickelsburg suggested that the Aramaic plural form, whilst distinct from the singular form preserved in speech formulae in Biblical texts, was inspired ‘by attraction to the plural “words” in 1:1.’³⁰⁰ Nickelsburg additionally argued that ‘it is equally possible that this line introduces the whole corpus as a collection of “parables”’³⁰¹, rather than *BW* in isolation. This latter hypothesis, however, is problematized by the lack of concrete evidence for a developed and contiguous Enochic corpus at Qumran. Meanwhile, Drawnel suggested that ‘the plural might result from the second introduction of Enoch’s speech in 1:3...’.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ Edition: Wevers, J.W. 1982. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Vol. III, 1: Numeri*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, p.292.

²⁹⁹ Milik, p.89.

³⁰⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.139.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Drawnel, pp.79-80.

Whilst 4QEn^a probably featured a similar phrase to that attested in 4QEn^g and in G^{CP}, and therefore plausibly paralleled the recurring Balaam speech marker in *Numbers* 24, only the noun is clearly preserved in 4QEn^a.³⁰³ This Aramaic text-type preserves a plural noun that is at odds with the singular form in G^{CP}, and that is preserved unilaterally in the singular in both the Hebrew and Greek versions of *Numbers*. If the Aramaic text is modelled on the Balaam oracular speech marker, then the speech marker has been adapted for its own unique literary context.

Parallels are not incontrovertible proof of dependency, and it is plausible that this recurring speech marker was a formulaic literary device utilized in the Aramaic Enochic theophany, that was not simply, or directly, dependent or modelled upon the form of the speech marker in the Balaam pericope. The fragmentary nature of this stanza in 4QEn^a, and of the Aramaic literature in the Second Temple period, suggests that we should be careful to avoid overprioritizing the canonical text when assessing the significance of the parallel.

The next portion of the Enochic theophany is preserved in the first line of fragment 1ib and the third line of fragment 1ia – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement Critical Texts*. The identification of the construct noun מִלִּי (words of) is uncertain yet probable. Neither G^{CP} nor the Eth.^{ERS} preserves a comparable construct form. In G^{CP}, the parallel reading (καὶ ἁγιολόγων ἁγίων ἤκουσα ἐγώ – And the holy words of the holy ones I indeed heard) includes the hapax ἁγιολόγων which reflects a secondary inner-Greek

³⁰³ Alternatively, the Aramaic plural form may reflect a scribal error. The scribe who copied 4QEn^a may have altered the singular to a plural in BW 1:2 due to their familiarity with the Hebrew form מְשֻׁלּוֹ, and its phonetic similarity to the Aramaic plural [י]מתליוה.

transmissional development. The Ethiopic omits this clause entirely – possibly indicative of an omission already featured in G^{Eth}.



Fig. 1.3

Lettering of second word in first line of frg. 1ib, probably to be reconstructed as מְלִי (words of)

The bracketed reconstruction עִירִין proposed by Milik has only been challenged by Knibb, who instead suggested that מְלִי (words of) should instead be reconstructed as the plural noun מְלֵ [אַכִּין] (angels).³⁰⁴ This hypothesis may be interconnected with Knibb's argument that the Greek ἀγιολόγων is a corruption of ἀγγέλων (angels), which would provide a direct equivalent to the Aramaic מְלֵ [אַכִּין] (angels)³⁰⁵ – see *Chapter 2* for further comment.

The reconstructed עִירִין can only be justified in conjunction with the analogous noun pairing designation לַעִירָא וְקַדִּישָׁא in 4QEn^e frg. 1 xxii:15 (4Q206), which corresponds to *BW* 22:6.³⁰⁶ An ink dot on the edge of the fragment in 4QEn^a may correspond to a final *nun*, as argued by Langlois, Puech and Drawnel; however, this identification is far from certain.³⁰⁷ No equivalent of this noun is preserved in 1:2 in G^{CP} or Eth.^{ERS}.

Outside of the Aramaic *BW*, the hendiadys עִירִין וְקַדִּישָׁא appears again in the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 93:2) in 4QEn^g frg. 1 iii:21 (4Q212).³⁰⁸ As noted by Nickelsburg, the probability of Knibb's reconstruction is diminished by the absence of מְלֵאכָא elsewhere in the Aramaic Enochic fragments from Qumran,³⁰⁹ although the Eth.^{ERS} here does feature

³⁰⁴ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.57.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Edition: Milik, p.229.

³⁰⁷ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.80; Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.628; Drawnel, p.75.

³⁰⁸ Edition: Milik, p.264.

³⁰⁹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.140.

the equivalent noun ܡܠܬܝܬܝܐ: (angels) suggesting the possibility, at least, that the G^{Eth} may have featured the noun ἄγγέλων.

In 4QEn^a, the source of the oral revelation are the watchers and the holy ones, namely the angelic beings who mediate between God and Enoch. It is possible that the hendiadys in 1:2b has been emended by a Greek translator or revisor, to remove the possibility that this entity could be mistaken for the fallen watchers. Nickelsburg stipulated that ‘the Greek translator(s) adopted “watchers” as the designation for the rebels and thus distinguished them from the others, who were almost uniformly known as “angels”’.³¹⁰

The nomenclature in 1:2 functions as a dual title, referring to a singular entity, rather than two distinct categories of celestial beings. This dual title creates an effective contrast within this introductory unit in the Aramaic *BW* between the ‘watchers and holy ones’ and the fallen beings who are simply referred to as ‘watchers’ in 1:5 – the title in 1:5, however, is not preserved in the fragmentary 4QEn^a, but only in the Greek and Ethiopic versions.

The next phrase in 4QEn^a reads כלה שׁ [מעַת] – only the right edge of the שׁ is preserved although the shape of the ligature is comparable to שׁ elsewhere in the fragment. Whilst the identification of this letter is probable, the reconstruction of the entire verb is indebted to the equivalent verb in G^{CP} (ἤκουσα ἐγώ – I indeed heard).

A common hypothesis in scholarship is that the sensory imagery in the Enochic preamble is modelled upon the form of the Balaam oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24:15-17. This

³¹⁰ Ibid.

proposal is interconnected with the previous parallel examined in 1:2a. Recent proponents of this theory include Nickelsburg and Tigchelaar.³¹¹

Several parallels suggest some general relationship between the two preambles. If we briefly redirect our focus to the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS}, it is evident that both texts begin with an identification of the prophet and include similar imagery describing the visual aspect of Enoch's revelation. This is followed by three sensory qualifications, involving 'hearing', 'knowing' and 'seeing.' In the Balaam oracle the allusion to 'hearing' the 'words' of revelation precedes the clauses featuring the sensory imagery where Balaam is 'seeing' the Vision of God.

BW depicts this in reversed order. Enoch either 'sees' or 'has' a vision (G^{CP}: is having the vision/Eth.^{ERS}: sees the vision) revealed by God or by the angels (G^{CP}: by God, or singular being/Eth.^{ERS}: angels), and then consequently 'hears' the 'words' (4QEn^a: words/G^{CP}: hapax ἀγιολόγων and 'everything'/Eth.^{ERS}: 'everything') from the watchers and holy ones, or angels (4QEn^a: [watchers] and holy ones/G^{CP}: holy ones?). The Greek and Eth.^{ERS} then include a verb that indicates that Enoch understood this revelation.

Apart from the initial prophetic speech marker, the only aspect of this sensory imagery that is preserved in the Aramaic is Enoch 'hearing' the words, and even in this context only the initial letter of the verb is preserved. Whilst the Enochic texts do not directly mirror the syntax of the Balaam oracle, they nevertheless demonstrate a similar concern with signifying their hero's sensory experience of revelation, yet in the Aramaic Enochic

³¹¹ Ibid, p.138; Tigchelaar, 'Balaam and Enoch', pp.87-99.

text this revelation is clearly mediated by the ‘watchers and holy ones’ and not God as in the Balaam oracular preamble.

According to Nickelsburg, ‘an analysis of the text’s modifications of the Balaam oracles highlights some of its author’s emphases, which anticipate essential elements in the texts that follow in Enoch.’³¹² Furthermore, ‘even if no association with Balaam is intended, the form and content of his ancient oracles provide a model, which this author modifies for his own purposes.’³¹³ Whilst there are a curious number of parallels in language and imagery between the Aramaic Enochic preamble and the Balaam oracular preamble, only one aspect of the sensory imagery is actually preserved in the Aramaic fragments, and therefore to talk of authorial intent oversteps what is permitted by the fragments.

The Enochic preamble has hitherto focused on qualifying the nature and form of the revelation received by Enoch, and the identity of the mediators of this revelation, however, the next stanza preserved in 4QEn^a instead identifies the recipients of the discourse – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement* Critical Texts. The reading of this stanza appears on the fourth line of fragment 1ia and on the second line of fragment 1ib.

There are two primary elements of scholarly disagreement in the reconstruction of this stanza. The first is the identification of the precise form of the demonstrative ‘this’ that straddles the initial edge of the fragment. The form ׀[לד], first postulated by Knibb, is the most probable reconstruction.³¹⁴ As indicated by Drawnel, the attestation of ׀דן in 4QVisionsofAmram^b (4Q544 frg. 2.12), suggests the feasibility of Milik’s reconstruction

³¹² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.138.

³¹³ Ibid, p.137.

³¹⁴ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58.

and ‘might be interpreted as a demonstrative pronoun used attributively with an additional deictic element -ה...’.³¹⁵ However, Drawnel also concludes that ‘in the reconstruction of the line here there is not enough space to keep Milik’s reading.’³¹⁶ The identification of this deictic pronoun, however, is dependent on the reading of the Eth.^{ERS} (אנה:) – without this, the final *nun*, could be identified with several contextually viable alternatives.

The second aspect of scholarly disagreement is embedded in the final word that is partially preserved at the left-most edge of fragment 1ia. Only the upper edge of the initial and final letter is clearly preserved, and identification is uncertain (see Fig. 1.4). The preceding preservation of the first-person singular pronoun suggests that it belonged to a verb.



Fig. 1.4
Portion of 4QEn^a frg. 1ia preserving pronoun אנה followed by upper edge of two letters straddling the edge of the fragment.

The initial letter fragmentarily preserves the two arms of an initial א (*aleph*). Whilst Milik, Beyer and Black reconstructed a form of the Aramaic verb מלל, it is probable that the left tip of a ר (*resh*) is preserved at the edge of the fragment. Langlois’s analysis demonstrated convincingly that the upward stroke of the third letter was closer to the scribal flourish on a ר rather than the upward stroke on a ל.³¹⁷ Therefore, it is probable that it belonged to a participle form of אמר rather than a first-person imperfect form of

³¹⁵ Drawnel, p.76.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.80-82.

מלל.³¹⁸ The medial letter is probably a מ (*mem*), and as demonstrated by Langlois, the upper portion of the letter is characteristic of the upper concaved stroke of a מ elsewhere in the fragment.³¹⁹ Although contrary to Drawnel, the upper portion of the letter is not ‘well preserved’.³²⁰ The use of the first-person pronoun אנא with a participle of אמר, as reflected in this fragment, is preserved elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic in 1QapGen 5:9 (1Q20) and in 4QEn^a (4Q212 frg. 1.v).³²¹

The Aramaic Enochic preamble preserves the noun דרה (generation) in the first half of the stanza, and partially attests the second iteration of the noun in the second half of the stanza לד[ר] חיק (distant generation). Whilst the Eth.^{ERS} possibly preserves the noun ‘generation’ in both halves of this stanza,³²² in G^{CP} the second iteration of the noun is omitted, which probably reflects an inner-Greek stylistic revision in this text-type. The preserved Aramaic להן (but/rather) often mediates a comparative clause, and therefore it is probable that a negative particle preceded the initial edge of the fragment – this contrastive particle להן is also mirrored in the later versions (G^{CP}: ἀλλά/Eth.^{ERS}: አላ:), whilst a preliminary negative particle is attested in both versions (G^{CP}: καὶ οὐκ/Eth.^{ERS}: ወአከ:), which suggests the probability that the Aramaic featured an equivalent negation.

If 4QEn^a did attest to a preliminary negative particle and demonstrative ‘this’, then this Aramaic text-type would specify that Enoch did not speak to the current generation but rather to a distant generation. This comparative clause creates an effective contrast between the current generation, who live in the imminence of the Noahic deluge, and

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Drawnel, p.75.

³²¹ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.80.

³²² The second iteration of the noun in many Eth. I manuscripts, however, may reflect a secondary reinsertion to improve the parallelism. For further, see *Chapter 4*.

the future generation who live in the imminence of the eschaton. The stanza thus features two parallelistic clauses that repeat the noun דר/דרה (generation) and creates an effective contrast between this generation – the generation concurrent with Enoch and the impending Deluge – and the distant righteous generation who are the envisioned audience of the Enochic oracle.

The Enochic preamble may echo herein language from the Deluge pericope in *Genesis* 7:1:

<p><i>Genesis</i> 7:1 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לְנֹחַ בְּאַתָּה וְכָל־בֵּיתְךָ אֵל־ הַתֵּבָה פִּי־אֲתָךְ רְאִיתִי צָדִיק לְפָנַי בְּדֹר הַזֶּה:</p>	<p>And the LORD said to Noah, ‘Go, you and all your household, into the Ark. For you I have seen as righteous before me in this generation.’</p>
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The phrase בְּדֹר הַזֶּה (in this generation) creates an efficacious contrast between Noah and his contemporary generation. 4QEn^a only preserves the final *nun* of a word that may have paralleled the demonstrative ‘this’ in *Genesis*. Previously in *Genesis* 6:9, Noah is similarly described as being ‘blameless in his generation’, although without the preliminary use of the demonstrative ‘this’:

<p><i>Genesis</i> 6:9 אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת נֹחַ נֹחַ אִישׁ צָדִיק תָּמִים הָיָה בְּדֹרֹתָיו אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלָּךְ־נֹחַ:</p>	<p>These are the Toledot of Noah. Noah, a Righteous Man, was blameless in his generation. With God Noah walked.</p>
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4QEn^a may feature a veiled allusion to the status contrasts embedded in these contexts in the Noah pericope in *Genesis*. In this Aramaic text-type, a contrast is created between Enoch and ‘this generation’, the unrighteous who live in the imminence of the judgement and destruction of the Deluge, and the distant generation who are the recipients of the oracle and who live in the imminence of the eschatological judgment that is predicted in the Enochic oracle in 1:3b-9.

That this distant generation are the chosen righteous of the ‘distant generation’ can only be confirmed by the later versions, wherein this stanza is followed by a secondary clarification of the identity of the recipients of the discourse (G^{CP}: καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν νῦν λέγω/Eth.^{ERS}: በእነተ፡ ጎሩዖን፡ እቤ፡).³²³ The identification of the distant generation as the ‘elect’ in 1:3 also interlinks this stanza with the previous reference to the ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους/ጎሩዖን፡ ወጺዖን፡ in the Enochic superscription. This ‘distant generation’ is thus identified as the chosen righteous who are the recipients of the Enochic blessing and oracle. However, whilst this additional qualification of the status of Enoch’s audience is vividly expressed in the later versions, it cannot be entirely confirmed in 4QEn^a alone.

The echoing of *Genesis* 7:1 in the Enochic preamble effects a temporal and moral comparison between the distant generation, for whom the Enochic oracle is addressed to, and the immoral generation that is concurrent with the lives of Enoch, Noah, and the Deluge. The stanza dismisses the relevance of his oracle for the generation of the Deluge and instead projects the oracle forward in time to a distant and elect generation. This evocation of language from *Genesis* 7:1 thus both temporally locates its audience, highlights the election of this generation in similar manner to the election of Noah and Enoch, and creates a series of efficacious contrasts.

This contrast may also function in tandem with the preceding identification of Enoch as a ‘Righteous Man.’ This epithet is not preserved in 4QEn^a, yet it is attested in G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS}. In G^{CP}, at the beginning of the Enochic preamble in 1:2a Enoch is introduced as Ἐνώχ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος (Enoch, a Righteous Man). This syntactical and lexical construction is identical to the epithet associated with Noah in LXX *Genesis* 6:9, Νῶε

³²³ See *Supplement Critical Texts* for Ethiopic variants.

ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος (Noah, a Righteous Man). The G^{CP} phrase also closely resembles the epithet in the Eth.^{ERS} (ሄኖክ፡ ብእሲ፡ ጸድቕ፡ – Enoch, a Righteous Man).³²⁴

An Aramaic form of this epithet [א]גברא קשיט is attested in 4QTobit^b (4Q197 frg. 4.iii.9),³²⁵ wherein Tobiah is called the ‘son of a Righteous Man’ by Raguel. This occurrence suggests that the Aramaic Enochic epithet reflects a dynamic and re-identifiable tradition on the ‘Righteous Man’, of which 4QTobit^b is a later witness. However, we cannot be certain that an equivalent epithet was preserved in 4QEn^a, as no portion of this epithet is preserved.

At least in the later versions, Enoch is qualified using an epithet that parallels the epithet from *Genesis* 6:9. If this epithet was also featured in the Aramaic, then both the qualification of Enoch, the initial recipient of the angelically mediated revelation, and the distant generation who are the chosen righteous and the final recipients of the revelation, may echo language from the Noah pericope in *Genesis*. The Deluge pericope in *Genesis* and the Enochic preamble reflect shared language features as part of a vital and ongoing Enochic-Noahic and Deluge discourse. The limitations imposed by the fragmentary nature of the Aramaic Enochic preamble, however, prevents a firm conclusion in this regard. We will explore this further in *Chapter 2*.

³²⁴ See *Chapter 4* for variants. This Ethiopic epithet is identical to that in *Genesis* 6:9 (ላኖኑ፡ ብእሲ፡ ጸድቕ፡), apart from the attachment of a topicalizing prefix ለ in *Genesis*, and the distinction in proper name.

³²⁵ Edition: Fitzmyer, J.A. 1995. ‘Tobit’ in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: Qumran Cave XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*, (eds. M. Broshi et al), Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.51.

Another interpretation of this stanza has been suggested by Nickelsburg³²⁶ and Tigchelaar,³²⁷ who argued that this stanza in *BW* 1:2c is directly dependent on *Numbers* 24:17a:

Numbers 24:17a אֲרֵאֵנוּ וְלֹא עַתָּה אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ וְלֹא קָרוֹב I see him but not now, I behold him but not near....

This interpretative approach fits within the broader hypothesis that the Enochic preamble reflects a systematic imitation or modification of semantic and thematic elements from the Balaam oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24:15-16. There is no explicit semantic parallel between *Numbers* 24:17 and *BW* 1:2c, yet both texts exhibit a similar concern with the temporal dimensions of their discourse. Whilst the Enochic preamble clearly articulates the future location of this audience, *Numbers* 24:17 features a more subtle wording that projects the relevance of the Balaam oracle into the future.

Nickelsburg hypothesized that this clause was ‘taken over’ from *Numbers* to identify ‘the generation that will be affected by the future theophany.’³²⁸ This suggestion is embedded within a broader argument that the Enochic author is systematically replicating and modifying the structure and content of the introductory formula in *Numbers* 24:15-17 in a new composition.³²⁹ Nickelsburg suggests that this ‘disjunctive’ phrase in *Numbers*, ‘not now, but then’, is also ‘modified’ in the Enochic superscriptions in 92:1 and 37:2.³³⁰ It is possible that this passage reflects a reworking of the content of

³²⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.137-141.

³²⁷ Tigchelaar, ‘Balaam and Enoch’, pp.88-89.

³²⁸ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.141.

³²⁹ Ibid, pp.137-141.

³³⁰ Ibid, p.141.

Numbers 24:17, and has interpreted it eschatologically and theophanically, as suggested by Tigchelaar.³³¹

The parallel between *BW* 1:2c and *Numbers* 24:17 in isolation, however, is not compelling. The possibility that the clause reflects a continued reworking of the Balaam oracle in *Numbers* 24, however, may be further corroborated by 24:14:

<i>Numbers</i> 24:14	וְעַתָּה הִנְנִי הוֹלֵךְ לְעַמִּי לָכֵּה אִיעָצֶךָ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה הָעָם הַזֶּה לְעַמְּךָ בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים:	And now, behold I will go to my people, for I will counsel you as to what this people will do to your people in the end days.
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The eschatological character of this verse, or at least its pliability towards eschatological re-interpretation, may underpin the language of the Enochic preamble in *BW* 1:2c-3a.

Whilst *Numbers* 24:14 does not explicitly locate its audience in the distant future, it nevertheless highlights the concern of its message with the events of the בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים.

The hypothesis of Nickelsburg, and developed by Tigchelaar, however, relies on a theory of dependency that can only be wholly defended in dialogue with the language of the later versions.

The sensory imagery of the Enochic preamble may reflect a dependency upon, and modification thereof, the sensory imagery exhibited in *Numbers* 24:15-17, although the Aramaic is insufficiently preserved to corroborate this thesis. The only sensory element of the Enochic preamble preserved in 4QEn^a is the possibility that Enoch ‘heard’ the words of the watchers and holy ones, and even in this instance, only a single letter of the verb is preserved in 1:2b.

³³¹ Tigchelaar, ‘Balaam and Enoch’, pp.95-96.

Regardless of whether the Enochic preamble is echoing, alluding to, or reworking language from any specific pretext, it is insufficiently preserved in 4QEn^a to warrant the construction of larger models of authorial processes that presume a high level of dependency.

The Descent of God in 4QEn^a (BW 1:3b-4)

4QEn^a frg. 1ia & 1ib	[...][ר]בָּהּ מִן מֶלֶךְ [vacat] Gap [.....]תָּהּ וַיּוֹפֵעַ מִן חֲסִין גְּבוּרָתָהּ	The Gre[at] Holy O[ne] will go forth from [His abode?]. Gap ...[His camp?] And He will appear with (or: from) [the strength] of [His] might.
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Fragments 1ia and 1ib of 4QEn^a permit a partial reconstruction of the Aramaic Enochic theophany in 1:3b-4. If 4QEn^a is read in isolation from the later versions, then it is apparent that the Great Holy One, an alternate title for God, goes forth and appears in might. In 4QEn^a, it is unclear from whence God has departed and to where this movement is directed. The exact identity of this ‘strength’ is also unclear.

Once the fragments are read in dialogue with the later versions, the broad aspect of the scene is clarified. God goes forth from his celestial abode located in heaven, and treads upon Mount Sinai with the strength of his might, using language with militaristic overtones. The Greek and Ethiopic attest to minor conceptual and syntactical differentiation in the exact scene that is described, but there is a broad thematic similarity between the two versions.

The *editio princeps* of Milik has formed the foundation for the reconstruction and reading of this stanza in scholarship, and disagreement is primarily limited to the margins of the fragments – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement Critical Texts*.

The reading of the initial clause is relatively standard in scholarship. The initial verb and subject ינפק קדישׁ [ה] are preserved in fragment 1ib whilst 1ia partially preserves the lettering of the following מן בֵּה [ר]. The identification of the medial ב in בֵּה [ר] is probable but uncertain, and only the left-most side of the upper horizontal stroke is legible (see Fig. 1.5). In practice, this identification is further authenticated by the equivalent reading in G^{CP} (ὁ μέγας) and the Eth.^{ERS} (ወለደ፡). The lettering of the preposition מן straddles the bottom edge of fragment 1ia although identification is secure.



Fig. 1.5
Portion of fragment 1ia that preserves
[...]מן בֵּה [ר]

The identification of the final letter in fragment 1ia is uncertain and the letter was omitted, perhaps justifiably, in Knibb's transcription.³³² Only the right-edge of a vertical stroke is attested on the brink of the fragment. However, as demonstrated by Langlois in his exhaustive analysis of 4QEn^a (4Q201), the stroke is analogous to the front portion of the מ in the preceding preposition מן.³³³ In addition, the preceding verb of motion ינפק and the preposition מן require that the מ belonged to a noun functioning as locative object. The basic sense of the noun can be ascertained only in dialogue with G^{CP} (ἐκ τῆς κατοικίσεως αὐτοῦ – from His abode) and the Eth.^{ERS} (እማነደሩ፡ – from His abode/dwelling).

Disagreement is primarily limited to the margins of the fragment, including the identification of the final noun in the stanza, where two plausible reconstructions have been suggested. As exhibited in the *Supplement Critical Texts*, Milik proposed the

³³² Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58.

³³³ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.72-73, 83.

reconstruction מְ[דוּרָה],³³⁴ from the noun מְדוּר/מְדָר (n.m. dwelling/abode).³³⁵ This reconstruction was also adopted by Beyer,³³⁶ Larson,³³⁷ and most recently by Drawnel.³³⁸ The alternate reading מְ[וֹתְבָה], from the noun מוֹתָב (n.m. seat/dwelling) was postulated by Langlois³³⁹ and supported by Puech.³⁴⁰ Both of these reconstructions presume the presence of a third-person masculine possessive suffix attached to the noun, mirroring the noun and genitive pronoun ‘His abode’ attested in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic.

Langlois argued that the reading מְ[וֹתְבָה] was preferable due to the general pattern of translational equivalency between the Greek noun κατοικησίων in the LXX and the noun מוֹשָׁב in the corresponding Hebrew text.³⁴¹ Langlois offered *Genesis* 10:30, 27:39 and *Exodus* 12:40 as examples of this general pattern.³⁴² Another piece of evidence in Langlois’ analysis is the common translation of the Hebrew מוֹשָׁב (n.m. seat/dwelling/assembly)³⁴³ in the Targums using the noun מוֹתָב not מְדוּר³⁴⁴ – this is only compelling evidence if it is presumed that 4QEn^a mirrored or echoed this Hebrew equivalent.

Underpinning Langlois’ argumentation is a hypothetical model of translational equivalency that is superimposed onto the Aramaic of 4QEn^a. Langlois employs a similar model of translational equivalency again in the reconstruction of a noun in the next

³³⁴ Milik, p.142.

³³⁵ Cook, p.134.

³³⁶ Beyer, p.232.

³³⁷ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.232.

³³⁸ Drawnel, pp.74, 83.

³³⁹ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.82-83, 86-87, 98-99, 104-105.

³⁴⁰ Puech, ‘Notes sur le manuscrit...’, p.630.

³⁴¹ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.83.

³⁴² Also, *Numbers* 15:2, *2 Samuel* 9:12, *2 Kings* 2:19. Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.83.

³⁴³ Brown, F. & Driver, S.R. & Briggs, C.A., Robinson, E., & Strong, J. 2010. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic: Coded with the Numbering System from Strong’s Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*, Peabody, Massachusetts, p.444.

³⁴⁴ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.83.

stanza in 4QEn^a (BW 1:4c).³⁴⁵ Whilst this model is persuasive regarding the relationship between the Hebrew מושב on the one hand and the Aramaic and Greek cognates on the other, the evidence is less compelling for any translational equivalency between the Aramaic and Greek nouns. The LXX versions do not preserve an example of κατοικίσις that can be compared with an Aramaic Vorlage.

The Aramaic noun מוֹתָב is not attested in the Aramaic sections of *Daniel* and *Ezra* and is attested only once in the Qumran Aramaic literature in a broken context in 4QFourKingdoms^a (4Q552 frg. 6 – מוֹתָבָה).³⁴⁶ Indeed, מְדוֹר is the more common form recurring throughout the Aramaic portions of *Daniel* (2:11, 4:22, 4:29, 5:21). The noun also appears once in 4QApocrLevi^a (4Q540 frg. 1:4),³⁴⁷ twice in 11QtgJob (11Q10 32:5, 7A:4),³⁴⁸ and in the Aramaic of the Targums.³⁴⁹ As indicated by Drawnel, the phrase אֶתֶר מְדוֹרָה attested in 11QtgJob 7A:4 also refers to God's dwelling.³⁵⁰

In his edition of 4QEn^a (4Q201), Langlois does indicate that either form is feasible yet nevertheless opts for מוֹתָב, seemingly on the justification of this model of translational equivalency.³⁵¹ Whilst the noun מוֹתָב may have been attested in 4QEn^a – possibly as a Hebraism, in appeal to, the use of מושב in association with the Divine residence or throne, as in *Psalms* 132:15 and *Ezekiel* 28:2 – the evidence preserved in Qumran Aramaic

³⁴⁵ In relation to the reconstructed Aramaic noun [מְדוֹרָה] (from His camp). Ibid, pp.99-100.

³⁴⁶ Puech, É. 2009. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXVII: Qumrân Grotte 4 XXVII: Textes Araméens Deuxième Partie – 4Q550-4Q575a, 4Q580-4Q587*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.71.

³⁴⁷ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, p.219.

³⁴⁸ Jongeling, B., Labuschagne C.J., & Van Der Woude, A.S. 1976. 'The Job Targum from Cave 11', in *Aramaic Texts from Qumran Vol.1*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, p.62; Cook, p.134; Sokoloff, M. 1974. *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI, Bar-Ilan University, At Ahva Press, Jerusalem*, p.90.

³⁴⁹ It is a designation for terrestrial or celestial abodes in Targum Neofiti and in the fragments of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch from the Cairo Genizah; Sokoloff, M. 2002. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period: Second Edition*, Bar Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan/John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, p.317.

³⁵⁰ Drawnel, p.83.

³⁵¹ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.83.

suggests that Milik's reconstruction may be preferable. Yet, both reconstructions belong to the hypothetical margins of the fragment and can only be read into the Aramaic using the language of the later versions. In 4QEn^a, it is probable that God is going forth from 'His abode', however, this reading is reliant on the Greek and Ethiopic versions.

The language of 4QEn^a 1:3b parallels language from *Micah* 1:3, *Isaiah* 26, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen). Whilst the title 'Great Holy One' in 4QEn^a bestrides the edges of fragments 1ia and 1ib, the term also appears in 1QapGen 0:11, 2:14 and 12:17.³⁵² This nomenclature shifted during translation, or was revised, in the later versions. In G^{CP}, it is split into two distinct nominative forms 'The Holy One [my] and Great One' with an intervening genitive pronoun.³⁵³ The dissection of this title into two distinct titles is also attested in the Eth.^{ERS}, which features a compound noun phrase ቅዱስ፡ ወወሊድ፡ (Holy and Great One), without the intervening genitive pronoun of the Greek.³⁵⁴ This Ethiopic compound title is repeated consistently in *BW*, with an occasional reversal in the order of the titles.³⁵⁵

The Aramaic title in 4QEn^a may reflect a recasting of the common title קדוש (Holy One) for God that appears in *Habakkuk* 3:3, *Isaiah* 40:25, *Job* 6:10, and *Proverbs* 9:10.³⁵⁶

Alternatively, it might reflect a conflation of this Hebrew epithet with the less common

³⁵² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.144.

³⁵³ See *Chapter 2* for further.

³⁵⁴ This is the majority reading in Eth. I/Eth. II. The addition of an intervening conjunction is probably an inner-Ethiopic feature, however, it is possible that G^{Eth} featured a compound phrase with an intervening καὶ.

³⁵⁵ In 10:1, the preserved title is ዓሊድ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ whilst in 14:1 it appears in reverse (ቅዱስ፡ ወዓሊድ፡). The same order ቅዱስ፡ ወወሊድ፡ appears in 25:3.

³⁵⁶ The title קדוש in the theophany in *Habakkuk* 3:3 may have inspired the title employed in *BW* 1:3b for God, however, the frequency of this construction elsewhere in *BW* and in cognate literature, suggests that it is probably symptomatic of a broader textual dialogue. The iteration of this title in *Proverbs* 9:10 is in a plural form, and therefore might allude to a plural 'Holy Ones', however, the parallelism with 'the Lord' suggests that it nevertheless refers to God. See: Kidner, D. 1973. *The Proverbs: An Introduction and Commentary*, Inter-Varsity Press, London, p.83.

Aramaic title ‘Great God’ attested in *Ezra* 5:8 (אַלֹהֵא רַבָּא) and *Daniel* 2:45 (אַלֹהֵא רַב), as hypothesized by Fitzmyer and reiterated by Nickelsburg.³⁵⁷ This conflation is unlikely to be an innovative element in the Enochic theophany. The title ‘Great Holy One’ is common throughout the *BW*, recurring in additional strata in 1:3, 10:1, 14:1, 25:3. It also appears in the *Dream Visions* (84:1), three times in the *Epistle of Enoch* (92:2, 97:6 and 98:6), and three times in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (0:11, 2:14, 12:17).³⁵⁸ Unconflated Greek forms of the title also appear in 1:2, 93:11 (the Holy One) and in 14:2, 103:4 and twice in 104:1 (the Great One).

The epithet ‘great’ is frequently attached to God in the Hebrew theophanies, although as suggested by Black, it is never used as a simpliciter as exemplified in these Qumran Aramaic texts.³⁵⁹ Rather than interpreting the appearance of this title in 1:3b as an explicit allusion to, or conflation of, the titles from these Hebrew texts, it is probably more apt to understand it as a common and preferred title for God within the discursive space of an ongoing Aramaic literary tradition.

The Aramaic title has a vital comparative function that operates in a comparable manner to the description of Enoch as a ‘Righteous Man’.³⁶⁰ These titles evoke a comparison between the one described and another entity. In 1:3b, this title establishes and affirms the hierarchy between God, as the ‘Great Holy One’, and the angels and divine entourage

³⁵⁷ Fitzmyer, J.A. 1971. *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, 2nd edition, Biblical Institute Press, Rome, p.89; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.144.

³⁵⁸ Edition: Machiela, D.A. 2009. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13-17*, Brill, Leiden, pp.32, 36, 56.

³⁵⁹ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.104.

³⁶⁰ The description of Enoch as a ‘Righteous Man’ is only preserved in G^{CP}/Eth.^{ERS}.

who are frequently referred to as ‘holy ones’ (קדישין).³⁶¹ This title for angels is preserved earlier in 4QEn^a in *BW* 1:2.

These titles create an effective contrast in 4QEn^a between the holiness of God and his faithful angels, and the unholy actions and conduct of the watchers (עיריין) who descend to earth in *BW* 6:1ff.³⁶² This contrast is unlikely to be an innovation original to the Enochic theophany as this pattern in language, and the epithets themselves, are attested elsewhere in *BW*. The rhetorical contrast between the holy and unholy, adherence to holiness and the violation of holiness are central components in chapters 6-16, and this paradigmatic contrast in 1:2-4 is key to the series of contrasts within the Enochic theophany that interconnect this unit to chapters 6-16.

The description of God’s descent in *BW* 1:3b may be indebted to language from *Micah* 1:3. The start of the Enochic theophany closely parallels the semantic and syntactical structure of the beginning of the *Micah* theophany:

Micah 1:3a כִּי־הֵנָּה יְהוָה יֵצֵא מִמְּקוֹמוֹ For behold, the LORD comes forth
from his place.

In his commentary, Nickelsburg argued that the Enochic theophany, and a similar passage in the *Testament of Moses* 10:3, reflect a ‘traditional conflation’ of *Micah* 1:3-4, *Deuteronomy* 33, and *Jeremiah* 25:30-31.³⁶³ This hypothesis is only suggestive at best without drawing upon the later versions to reconstruct the hypothetical margins of the Aramaic.

³⁶¹ VanderKam, ‘Theophany...’, p.134.

³⁶² The unit in 6:1ff is only fragmentarily preserved in Aramaic and the nomenclature used for the watchers is not preserved. The phrase in 6:2 οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ in G^{CP} may reflect a secondary inner-Greek development.

³⁶³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.144.

The verb in 4QEn^a is clause-initial and is not preceded by an interjective or conjunctive particle as in Micah (כִּי־הֵנָּה) – the absence of an Aramaic interjective in 4QEn^a is suggested by the lengthened vacat between the verb and the initial edge of the fragment. The Aramaic may be indebted to a version of *Micah* which did not feature the injective and particle, although this is not corroborated by the textual evidence.³⁶⁴ Whilst the Hebrew (יָצָא) and Aramaic (נִפֵּק) verbs articulate a similar type of motion, the Hebrew features a participle whilst the Aramaic preserves an imperfect verb to articulate the forward motion.

There is a clear resemblance between the first stanza of the theophanies in *Micah* 1:3 and *BW* 1:3b. Both portray the forward motion of God as directed away from, rather than to, a designated location. Whilst the Hebrew מִקוֹם and the two hypothetical Aramaic reconstructions מוֹתֵב/מְדוֹר are not simple equivalents, there is a functional equivalence in their contextual use as an identification for God's abode. The location of this abode is not apparent in 4QEn^a, although in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic it is clearly of a celestial nature. In *Micah*, this 'abode' may refer to either a terrestrial or celestial location. The movement away from this abode in *BW* 1:3b is only the initial axis of movement. Only in the secondary stanza, which is not preserved in 4QEn^a, is the topographical destination of the movement qualified.

The description of God's movement or descent is a common trope in Hebrew theophanies. However, in most other literary contexts, including in *Deuteronomy* 33:2 and *Exodus* 19:1, 20, the movement is directed towards, not away from, a specified

³⁶⁴ In 1QpMic (1Q14 frg.1), the final ה of the interjective הֵנָּה is preserved and there is sufficient space in the bracketed margin for the conjunction כִּי although no portion is preserved; Barthélemy, D. & Milik, J.T. 1955. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 1: Qumran Cave 1*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.77.

location. The theophany in *Habakkuk* 3:3a likewise describes God's movement as directed away from a designated location, however, therein the movement is directed away from the region of Teman and Mount Paran and not from a celestial abode.³⁶⁵

If we limit our exploration to 4QEn^a and decouple it from the later versions, then *Micah* 1:3 is not the only text which parallels the beginning of the Enochic theophany. *Isaiah* 26:21 also begins with the same initial clause as *Micah* 1:3:³⁶⁶

In *Isaiah*, however, the second clause is unique from *Micah*. The second stanza of the Enochic theophany proper in G^{CP} 1:4a provides a closer parallel to the second clause of *Micah* than that exhibited in *Isaiah*, however, this is not preserved in the Aramaic, so we can only ascertain this parallel in relation to the language of the later versions.

³⁶⁵ Whilst these terms possibly originated as precise topographical designations located in the south, they eventually acquired a more generic and secondary sense as a reference to the region or the south. Teman particularly came to function as a direct term for 'south'. See: Roberts, J.J.M. 1991. *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, p.132.

topography of the Levant, the theophanies in *Micah* 1:3ff, *Isaiah* 26:21ff and *BW* 1:3b-4 all portray vertical movement, between the celestial and earthly sphere – that the movement presupposed in *Isaiah* 26:21ff is vertical is probable yet contextually uncertain, unlike in *Micah* and *BW*, where it is more explicitly articulated.

This vertical movement has a unique literary function in the Enochic theophany in *BW*. The vertical movement of God and his angels echoes, pre-empts and contrasts the description of the watchers' descent in 6:1ff. In terms of the chronological sequence of events in the *BW*, it echoes the descent of the watchers – whilst the Enochic oracle is the initial unit in the *BW*, in terms of the narrative chronology, it describes events after the watchers' descent in 6:1ff. However, in terms of the structural order of *BW*, it pre-empts the illegitimate descent of the watchers.

In his commentary, Nickelsburg argued that the author(s) were dependent on and had modelled the beginning of the Enochic theophany on *Micah* 1:3ff. According to Nickelsburg, the Hebrew verb יָצָא is a common verb in Hebrew theophanic texts 'in connection with God's activity as warrior and judge.'³⁶⁷ It is probable that the use of the verb נִפֵּק (pe. to go/come out)³⁶⁸ in 4QEn^a functions as an equivalent of this verb as employed in the theophanic literary tradition, although it does not necessarily follow that this verb, which is the only wholly preserved word in this Aramaic stanza, is definitive proof that the Aramaic Enochic theophany was modelled on *Micah* 1:3ff.

To affirm an authorial model of dependence upon *Micah* 1:3ff, based on this Aramaic verb, probably extrapolates more from this stanza than is feasible considering its

³⁶⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.144.

³⁶⁸ Cook, p.158.

fragmented status. Nickelsburg's argument is heavily dependent on the evidence of G^{CP}, and therefore we will assess these arguments further in *Chapter 2*.

The next section of the Enochic theophany preserved in 4QEn^a corresponds to 1:4c in G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS} – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement* Critical Texts. No element of the stanza in 1:4a is preserved whilst only the final two letters of the final word in 1:4b is preserved. Therefore, in the Aramaic Enochic theophany in 1:3b-4c, only the first stanza and the final stanza are sufficiently preserved to allow for a productive reading of the text.

The later versions hint at what 4QEn^a 1:4a-c might have expressed, although we cannot be certain that there was a close correspondence. In G^{CP}, the stanza in 1:4a indicates that the 'God of Eternity' (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος) will tread upon Mount Sinai. This title may reflect an equivalent to the Aramaic epithet 'God of the Ages' (אלה עלמיה) preserved in 4QTQahat^{ar} (4Q542 frg. 1:i:2).³⁶⁹ Whilst this title is not preserved in 4QEn^a, in G^{CP} it functions as an alternate title for God in parallelism with '[my] Holy One, the Great One' (ὁ ἅγιός [μου] ὁ μέγας).

In G^{CP} 1:4b, it is proclaimed that God will shine forth *from* his camp. The Ethiopic instead indicates that God will appear *with* or *in* his army/camp. This prepositional distinction is crucial to the interpretation of the stanza. In previous scholarly reconstructions, as exemplified in the *Supplement* Critical Texts, the bracketed margins of 4QEn^a is typically restored in accordance with G^{CP}. Beyer, Puech and Drawnel all restored the independent preposition מן whilst Langlois included an enclitic form of the same preposition. In the *editio princeps*, Milik instead proposed the reconstruction עם (with) in dialogue with the

³⁶⁹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, p.268.

reading of the Ethiopic. The difference is crucial yet neither option can be established conclusively as the preferable reading – see *Chapter 4* for further comment. We can only speculate on what preposition was preserved in 4QEn^a.

The final stanza in 1:4c, which is fragmentarily preserved in 4QEn^a, is in parallelism with the preceding stanza in 1:4b in the later versions. The Greek and the Ethiopic attest an identical verb in clause-initial position in both stanzas to introduce two aspectual elements of the divine movement or entourage. The second iteration of this verb is preserved in 4QEn^a, and it is possible that the preceding stanza may have included an identical verb.

4QEn^a preserves a portion of text that corresponds to the final two letters of the final word in 1:4b and then the majority of 1:4c. The lettering here is broken and fragmentary and several letters cannot be identified with any certainty. Milik's transcription and reconstruction was significantly influenced by the language of G^{CP} and the Ethiopic, and his reconstruction of the gaps and obscured letters was determined by this retrospective restorative methodology.

Despite Milik's optimistic approach to the reconstruction of 1:4b, only the final ה on the initial word is legible. The bracketed [עם חילה ר] בָּה was retrospectively restored by Milik in dialogue with the Ethiopic ብሔሩ (with His army/in His camp), although Milik's rationale for the reconstruction of the adjective [ר] בָּה is unclear.³⁷⁰ It is possible that the reconstruction of this adjective reflects an attempt by Milik to align his reading of the fragmentary letter that straddles the initial-edge of the lacuna as a ב with the reading of the Ethiopic – no text-critical note is provided to justify this reconstruction. Overall, Milik

³⁷⁰ Milik, pp.142, 144-145.

followed Charles in designating the unique reading of G^{CP} (ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ) as a revisional reading of a ‘corrector’, prioritising the hypothetical G^{Eth} reading (ἐν τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ) presupposed by the Ethiopic.³⁷¹

Opting to reconstruct the form in conjunction with G^{CP}, Beyer instead restored מַחֲנֵי[מֶ].³⁷² The restoration of the initial preposition is dependent on a retrospective translation from the G^{CP} preposition ἐκ. Beyer did not clearly indicate the reason for this reconstructed noun form, and this reading is problematic based on the preserved lettering of the fragment. There is insufficient spacing between the individual strokes for the lettering to belong to three distinct letters (see Fig. 1.6). The fragments do not confirm the presence of a ʾ (*yodh*) yet Beyer’s transcription includes this as a positive identification.



Fig. 1.6
Final two letters of final
word in 1:4c in 4QEn^a

Beyer’s reconstruction was probably not based on the script or orthography of the fragment. Instead, Beyer has retrospectively translated the Greek noun παρεμβολῆς into a Hebraicized form of Aramaic. This Hebrew noun מַחֲנֵה (*camp*) was commonly translated in the LXX as παρεμβολῆς – examples include *Genesis* 32:3 and *Exodus* 14:19. However, whilst this noun is common in Hebrew, it is not preserved elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic.³⁷³ In most contexts where this Hebrew noun could have been utilized in literary

³⁷¹ Ibid, pp.144-145.

³⁷² Beyer, p.232.

³⁷³ It is not attested elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic or in Biblical Aramaic. It occurs once, however, in *Targum Jonathan of Numbers* 13:19.

Aramaic, alternate nouns are attested – for further, see discussion of Beyer’s reconstruction in initial subchapter.

Whilst Milik reconstructed the noun in alignment with the Ethiopic, and Beyer reconstructed the noun in dialogue with G^{CP} and the Hebrew canonical literature, neither Black or Knibb opted to reconstruct the final noun in 1:4b.³⁷⁴ More recently, Langlois has argued that the letter prior to the final ה is analogous to the shape of the left-most edge of a ת, and proposed the reconstruction [ממשרי]תה.³⁷⁵ The validity of this reconstruction is supported by the relative frequency of the noun in the Qumran Aramaic literature.³⁷⁶

The Aramaic noun משרי (encampment) appears in 1QapGen 21:1 (1Q20), where it refers to the various stages of encampment in Abraham’s journey to Bethel.³⁷⁷ The noun is also preserved in a broken context in 4QpapVision^b (4Q558 frg. 42) and in close association with Mount Sinai in 4QVision^a (4Q556 frg. 1:2-3). 4QVision^a provides an interesting parallel to the possible use of the noun in BW 1:4b, as both passages refer to Mt Sinai and a ‘camp/encampment’.

In similar fashion to Beyer, Langlois’ argumentation relies on the premise that G^{CP} is a close equivalent of an Aramaic Vorlage equivalent to 4QEn^a. Langlois suggested that παρεμβολή, attested in G^{CP}, was consistently deployed as an equivalent for Hebrew מחנה in the LXX versions, and secondarily that this Hebrew form was equivalized into the Aramaic Targums as משרי.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ Black did not include this noun in his critical notes, although this may have been an error or oversight (Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327). Knibb did not attempt to reconstruct the form but indicated sufficient space for an additional letter (ה[...]) (Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.54).

³⁷⁵ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.99-100.

³⁷⁶ The following examples were all referenced by Langlois in support of his reconstruction. Ibid, p.99.

³⁷⁷ Edition: Machiela, p.78.

³⁷⁸ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.99.

The identification of the penultimate ת cannot be conclusively confirmed although Langlois' palaeographical analysis is compelling. A close examination suggests that the letter features one diagonal upper and one lower diagonal stroke that are located at the edge of the fragment; these may reflect one distinct stroke, or two conjoined or distinct strokes. The slight curvature of the lower stroke suggests that Langlois' identification is the most probable identification. However, as indicated by Langlois in his preliminary palaeographical analysis, several other letters are plausible including א, ב, ה, and ת.³⁷⁹ Whilst the תה postulated by Langlois is a probable identification, to narrow down the feasible options for reconstruction is impractical without consulting the later versions. The reconstruction of the next word in 4QEn^a is similarly problematic. The three initial letters are clearly identifiable as ויו, which probably belongs to the beginning of an indicative verb. This is followed by two broken textual markings that could belong to a single letter or two small distinct letters.³⁸⁰



Fig. 1.7
4QEn^a frg. 1ib line 4
Verb beginning with ויו

In practice, the range of feasible reconstructions is narrowed down in dialogue with the semantic sense of the verbs attested in the later versions (G^{CP}: καὶ φανήσεται/Eth.^{ERS}: ወያስተርኢ:). The reading ויופנ published by Milik is the standard reconstruction in scholarship.³⁸¹ The only variation from this reconstruction was published by Knibb who conservatively and cautiously rendered the form ...ויו, including two final subsequent

³⁷⁹ Ibid, pp.91-92.

³⁸⁰ If they are two letters, then they may have been reduced in size due to an estimation of the space left on the line by the scribe who copied the manuscript.

³⁸¹ Milik, p.142.

dots that marked the presence of two partially visible letters which were not identifiable.³⁸² However, as indicated by Langlois, the only verb that works with the initial letters attested and the meaning of the Greek and Ethiopic verbs, is the verb יָפַע.³⁸³ This verb appears frequently in the Hebrew of *Job*, the *Psalms* and once in the theophany in *Deuteronomy* 33:2,³⁸⁴ with the semantic range of ‘to rise, shine forth, appear’.³⁸⁵ The root יָפַע typically appears only in the Hiphil in Classical Hebrew, and therefore as indicated by Langlois, the plausible Aramaic reconstruction would be an Aphel causative form (יְפִיעֵנִי).³⁸⁶ Whilst the verb is more commonly attested in Hebrew it also appears elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic literature; once in a broken context in 4QVisionsofAmram^e (4Q547 frg. 3:1, תּוּפֵעַ)³⁸⁷ and once in 11QtgJob 29:6 (וְהוּרָא פִּיעַ)³⁸⁸ where it is used as an equivalent for the Hebrew Hiphil הוֹפִיעַ in *Job* 37:15.

According to Nickelsburg, this clause is dependent on *Deuteronomy* 33:2, where a Hebrew Hiphil form of the verb appears:

<i>Deuteronomy</i> 33:2	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה מִסִּינַי בָּא וְזָרַח מִשְׁעִיר לָמוֹ הוֹפִיעַ מִהַר פָּאֲרָן וְאֵתֶה מִרְבֶּבֶת קֹדֶשׁ מִיְמִינוֹ אֲשַׁדֶּת	And the LORD said, ‘From Sinai He comes and He rises from Seir for them, <u>He shines forth</u> from Mount Paran, and He comes from the Myriads of Qodesh, lightning from His right hand.’ ³⁸⁹
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³⁸² Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

³⁸³ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.99.

³⁸⁴ It also appears in *Psalms* 50:2, 80:2, 94:1, *Job* 3:4, 10:3, 10:22, 37:15.

³⁸⁵ Clines, D.J.A. (ed.). 1998. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew: Volume IV*, ל-י, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, p.252.

³⁸⁶ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.99.

³⁸⁷ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, p.381.

³⁸⁸ Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job...*, p.84.

³⁸⁹ The meaning of אֲשַׁדֶּת is uncertain, and the partition of the form into separate parts ‘fire of the law’ is problematic. For the interpretation of the noun as ‘lightning flashing’, see: Tigay, J.H. 1996. *The JPS Torah Commentary: Deuteronomy*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia/Jerusalem, p.320.

Nickelsburg stipulates that ‘the variety of texts to which one has recourse for parallels suggests that the present passage reflects unconscious combination rather than explicit selective citation.’³⁹⁰ Yet he nevertheless concludes that ‘read in the light of the superscription, the passage appears to be controlled by the wording of Deuteronomy 33, with the description of the Sinai theophany projected into the future.’³⁹¹

There is a clear verbal parallel between *Deuteronomy* 33:1 and 4QEn^a as both feature the verb יפע with God as the subject. However, this is the only lexical or thematic parallel that can be confirmed based on 4QEn^a, which only clearly preserves the initial three letters of the verb. To intelligibly read this verb form, let alone to read it within its context, we are reliant on the later versions to retrospectively restore 4QEn^a. The evidence is insufficient to warrant the reconstruction of a model of authorial processes. In addition, the appearance of this verb in literary Aramaic outside of passages that are ‘dependent’ on *Deuteronomy* 33, suggests the probability that it was a frequent and functional verb in literary Aramaic, and was not strictly dependent on its use in Hebrew psalmody and poetry for intelligibility.

The final two features identifiable in 4QEn^a probably reflect a construct phrase preceded by an enclitic ׁ indicating accompaniment. The prefix ׁ is not entirely preserved and no portion of the subsequent noun to which it is attached is preserved on the fragment. This is followed by four letters clearly identifiable from the following noun. Milik reconstructed the construct noun phrase as ב[תקר] גברו[תה].³⁹²

³⁹⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.144.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Milik, p.142.

Regarding the second noun, disagreement in scholarship is limited to the exact location of the internal *matres lectionis* (ו). Beyer and Black instead located it directly prior to the ר as גבור[תה].³⁹³ The placement of the *matres lectionis* after ר, however, has been followed by Knibb, Langlois and Puech.³⁹⁴ The similarity between ו and ר in the orthography of 4QEn^a does complicate the reading of these two letters. The upward flourish on the top left of the third letter strongly suggests that the third letter is a ר, whilst the fourth letter is orthographically consistent with ו elsewhere in the fragments (see Fig. 1.8).

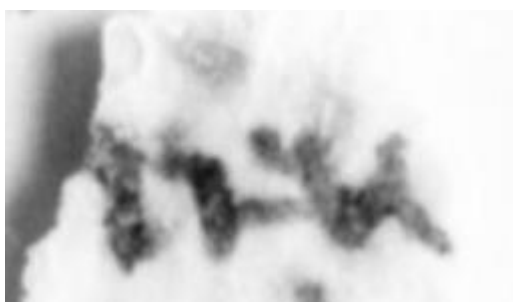


Fig. 1.8

The portion of 4QEn^a frg. 1ia corresponding to גבור[תה].

As indicated by Langlois a small supralinear ink marking located between the second and third letter, suggests the possibility that a letter has been inserted above the line as a correction.³⁹⁵ Whilst Milik's reconstruction גבור[תה] is viable, it is possible that we should instead read גב'ור[תה].

Whilst the identification of the initial noun is uncertain, similar language appears elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic literature. Milik proposed the reconstruction ב' [תקר] whilst Black advocated [בכוח].³⁹⁶ Langlois instead proposed the reconstruction ב' [חסן]. This last reconstruction is validated by the construct phrase ובחסן גבורתי (and in power of my

³⁹³ Beyer, p.232; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

³⁹⁴ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59; Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.84-85; Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630.

³⁹⁵ Langlois, *Le premier...*, p.73.

³⁹⁶ Milik, p.142; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

strength) preserved in 4QEnGiants^c (4Q531 frg. 22).³⁹⁷ The unique element expected in 4QEn^a 1:4c would be a third-person masculine suffix form in contrast to the first-person suffix attested in 4QEnGiants^c.

In 4QEnGiants^c the phrase is embedded within first-person speech and does not refer to God's entourage. Whilst it may be indebted to *BW* 1:4c, it is more likely indicative of a common stock phrase in literary Aramaic of the period, or at least within Enochic-Noahic discourse. Just as we observed earlier that the Aramaic Enochic theophany features language akin to that exhibited in the Noahic pericope in *Genesis*, it is likely that this partially preserved parallel attests to shared language tropes in the Enochic and Noahic material.

The phrases in 4QEn^a and 4QEnGiants^c both preserve the noun גברו, which suggests the plausibility of Langlois' reconstruction of the initial noun. Yet 4QEnGiants^c provides another similar construct phrase with a differentiated nuance that indicates that these phrases may not have been lexically fixed. Located earlier in 4QEnGiants^c (4Q531 frg. 22:3) is the phrase ובתקוף חיל דרעי (and in might of strength of my arm)³⁹⁸ that features the comparable phrase ובתקוף חיל. A similar phrase also appears in *Daniel* 4:27 בְּתִקְוַי חֲסִנִי (in strength of my power). Whilst the comparable phrase in 4QEnGiants^c, proposed as an equivalent by Langlois, employs חסן in initial position, in each of these additional examples the noun תקף appears instead in this stock phrase.

The probability of Langlois' reconstruction is strengthened by the similar phrase used in 4QEnGiants^c, yet the use of an additional phrase in this same fragment and again in

³⁹⁷ Milik, p.307; Stuckenbruck, L.T. 1997. *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, TSAJ 63, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, p.162.

³⁹⁸ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, p.162.

Daniel, does suggest that whilst the syntactical formulation was standardized, the stock phrase may have contained an element of semantic fluidity, whereby different lexical forms were interchanged.

If this is the case, Milik's reconstruction of תִּקְרֵי may be equally appropriate in this context. This latter noun is more common in cognate Aramaic literature. The noun תִּקְרֵי occurs three times in 1QapGen (13:16, 20:14, 22:31),³⁹⁹ five times in 11QtgJob (16:2, 32:6, 33:1, 36:7, 37:4), once in 4QFourKingdoms^a (4Q552 frg. 2:lii),⁴⁰⁰ in addition to the previously mentioned examples in 4QEnGiants^c and *Daniel*. The only occurrence of the noun חֲסִין in the Qumran corpus occurs in 4QEnGiants^c, yet it is also attested in *Daniel* 2:37, 4:27. The validity of Milik's reconstruction relies on the frequency of that noun in literary Aramaic of the period, whilst Langlois' hypothesis is dependent on the presence of an equivalent construction in another Enochic-Noahic text.

Another problematic aspect in these reconstructions, is that the identification of the initial substantive enclitic כ is not assured. Only the first half of the letter is visible (see Fig. 1.9). This further increases our reliance upon the Greek and Ethiopic to justify the reconstruction.



Fig. 1.9
Edge of frg. 1ib with כ or מ

³⁹⁹ Edition: Machiela, pp.59, 75, 83.

⁴⁰⁰ Edition: Puech, *DJD XXXVII*, p.264.

The preserved right-stroke of the letter arguably appears closer to that typical of מ in 4QEn^a than the expected substantive enclitic כ – this was also noted by Langlois.⁴⁰¹ The identification of the letter as a כ is a common feature of the editions of Milik, Beyer, Puech and Drawnel,⁴⁰² whilst Knibb did not transcribe the letter.⁴⁰³ Despite the closer parallel between the shape of the right-most stroke and the preliminary portion of a מ, Langlois nevertheless advocated that the substantive enclitic כ be restored to the text.⁴⁰⁴

It is possible that the letter was a misshapen כ or that the inclusion of an מ is indicative of a copying error. The primary justification for restoring a כ in this context, is the reading of G^{CP} and the Ethiopic. The language of these later versions may legitimize the hypothesis that an Aramaic text featured an enclitic כ, but it does not necessarily follow that the Aramaic text embodied in 4QEn^a necessarily featured this enclitic כ. The Greek and Ethiopic versions presuppose a כ to indicate accompaniment, but 4QEn^a may attest a variant reading; perhaps, an independent preposition מן, or the beginning of a noun starting with an initial מ. At least, on the limited and fragmentary nature of the evidence, we should be cautious before reconstructing and restoring 4QEn^a based on the language of the later versions, presuming a strict correspondence.

The Ends of the Earth in 4QEn^a (BW 1:5-6)

4QEn^a frg. 1ia & 1ib	[קצוי] ארעה ויזון עון כ[ל קצוי] [...] GAP [...][...] וי[...]	[...ends of] the earth, and they will sha[ke al]l ends [of...] GAP [...]xxx and[...]
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⁴⁰¹ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.91-92.

⁴⁰² Milik, p.142; Beyer, p.232; Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630; Drawnel, pp.74-76.

⁴⁰³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

⁴⁰⁴ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.99-100, 105.

The unit in *BW* 1:5-6 is partially preserved in a dislocated portion of fragment 1ia which preserves the second ‘ends of...’, whilst the remaining text is preserved on fragment 1ib. The reconstruction of this unit is far from certain. We will explore this unit in two sections.

Scholarly disagreement is primarily limited to the reconstruction of the initial letter of the fragment and the final letter on the subsequent noun – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement* Critical Texts. Milik read the initial letter as a ת (ת[קצו]...), and therefore as a feminine noun, and the final letter on the first noun as a ה (ה[ארעה]).⁴⁰⁵ Knibb proposed that the initial noun ‘the earth’ instead featured a final א rather than the ה.⁴⁰⁶ This is primarily an orthographic distinction.⁴⁰⁷ In a valid correction of previous reconstructions, Langlois indicated that both ‘ends of’ should be reconstructed as a masculine plural construct noun with a final י (yodh).⁴⁰⁸

The broader reconstruction and restoration of this unit is dependent on G^{CP}. It is unlikely that the fragment can be read efficaciously, or the initial [קצוי] could be justified, without consulting this text-type. The duplicated stock phrase ‘ends of the earth’ in 4QEn^a is paralleled by the similar phrase in G^{CP} 1:5:

καὶ ἔσουσιν ἀπόκρυφα ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς
[γῆς]⁴⁰⁹ καὶ σεισθήσονται πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς

And they will sing hidden things in
all the ends of the [earth], and all
the ends of the earth will be shaken

The partially attested ל[כ] might correspond to the Greek πάντα (adj. all). 4QEn^a thus fragmentarily attests most of the second stanza but does not preserve the second

⁴⁰⁵ Milik, *Book of Enoch*, p.142.

⁴⁰⁶ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

⁴⁰⁷ The orthography is distinct from that frequently attested elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic, as in for example, 4Q541 9:i:4. See: Puech, *DJD XXXI*, pp.241-243.

⁴⁰⁸ Langlois, *Le premier...*, pp.85-87, 100-102, 105.

⁴⁰⁹ This bracketed noun is omitted in G^{CP}. See *Supplement* Critical Texts.

iteration of ארעה, and only partially attests the verb. The identification of the initial [קצוי] in the first stanza is dependent on G^{CP}, and similar language preserved elsewhere in Aramaic in 4QApocryphonofLevi^b (4Q541 frg. 9:i:4).⁴¹⁰ In this first stanza, only ארעה (the earth) is preserved. An equivalent of καὶ ἄσσοισιν ἀπόκαρφα ἐν παῖσιν is also not preserved in 4QEn^a.

Neither stanza is attested in the Eth.^{ERS}, and it may have been omitted already in G^{Eth} by homoeoteleuton. The portions of G^{CP} that are unattested in 4QEn^a show signs of inner-Greek textual growth. Whilst G^{CP} is a witness to a text-type that featured a unit similar to 4QEn^a it is unlikely to provide direct access to the broader context of these isolated words in 4QEn^a – for further, see *Chapter 2*.

The ‘ends of the earth’ is a common stock phrase employed in Aramaic and Hebrew literature. Nickelsburg suggested that the phrase paralleled *Jeremiah* 25:31 (בָּא שְׂאוֹן עֵדִי – קִצֵּה הָאָרֶץ).⁴¹¹ It is unlikely that 4QEn^a echoes any specific text, and it probably draws upon a common literary trope that has a totalizing function. The phrase appears elsewhere in the Qumran Aramaic literature including in 11QtgJob 13:5 (לקצוי ארעה – ends of the earth) where it is an equivalent to the Hebrew לְקִצּוֹת in *Job* 28:24.⁴¹² A close equivalent is also preserved in 4QApocryphonofLevi^b (4Q541 frg. 9:i:4) which reads בְּכֹל קִצּוֹי אֶרֶעָ (in all ends of the earth).⁴¹³

This stock phrase also appears thrice in Deutero-Isaiah; in 40:28 it describes the totality of God’s power and his role as creator, whilst in 41:5 the ‘ends of the earth’ tremble at

⁴¹⁰ Edition: Puech, *DJD XXXI*, p.241.

⁴¹¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, pp.143, 146.

⁴¹² Edition: Jongeling, Labuschagne & Van Der Woude, p.28.

⁴¹³ Edition: Puech, *DJD XXXI*, p.241.

the coming of the Lord. In 41:9, Israel is taken or seized from the ‘ends of the earth’ by God. This stock phrase also appears in *Jeremiah* 49:36, and *Deuteronomy* 13:6.⁴¹⁴ The plural construct קצות in these Hebrew literary contexts may have influenced Milik’s editorial decision to reconstruct the form as ת[קצו...], rather than the plural construct form קצוי that appears elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic.

The verb זוע (to shake) does not appear elsewhere in Qumran Aramaic with the ‘ends of the earth’, or any geomorphic or topographic entity, as its subject. The reconstruction [זון]עון as a peal of זוע is dependent on the nuance of the G^{CP} verb σεισθήσονται, however, the use of the verb σειώ (to shake) with ἄκρον as subject or object is an uncommon feature in Greek, just as it is uncommon in Aramaic. In Aramaic, the verb זוע appears once in the peal in 11QtgJob 33:4 with a horse as subject (לא יזוע ולא יתוב מן אנפי (חרב).⁴¹⁵ A relatively common use of the peal verb, is as a part of a verbal hendiadys with דול (to tremble) or דהל (to fear) – the former appears in 1QapGen 0:7 (דאלין וזאעין),⁴¹⁶ whilst the latter appears in *Daniel* 5:19 and 6:27 (זאעין ודחלין).

If this reconstruction and restoration of the fragment is valid, then we are dealing with an expression that is peculiar to this literary context. Even in G^{CP}, however, it is not clear what the contextual meaning of the stanza is, as both the preceding and following stanzas feature the watchers as the nominal subject.

The only portion of 1:6 that is preserved in 4QEn^a is not clearly legible (see Fig. 1.10) – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement Critical Texts*. The final two letters of the

⁴¹⁴ Similar language appears in *Deuteronomy* 28:49,64, 30:4, *Isaiah* 13:5, 42:10, 43:6, 48:20, 49:6 and 62:11, *Jeremiah* 10:13, 12:12, 25:31,33 and 51:16, *Psalms* 46:10, 61:3, 135:7, *Proverbs* 17:24, *Nehemiah* 1:9, *Job* 28:24.

⁴¹⁵ Edition: Jongeling, Labuschagne & Van Der Woude, p.64.

⁴¹⁶ Edition: Machiela, p.31.

fragment are comparable to the appearance of the initial *waw* and *yodh* (...י) elsewhere in the fragments and probably is the beginning of an indicative verb.



Fig. 1.10
Final unit of 4QEn^a frg. 1ib that
probably corresponds to beginning of
1:6

The identification of the initial word is uncertain. Milik and Black reconstructed it as the nominal subject רמן (heights) of a preceding verb, whilst Beyer reconstructed it as an adjectival complement 'high' of a plural noun 'mountains'.⁴¹⁷ Beyer's reconstruction is indebted to the appearance of an adjectival complement 'high' in G^{CP} (ὄρη ὑψηλά) and the Ethiopic (አድባር፡ ነዋጌን፡). Whilst Beyer's reconstruction is feasible, the reconstruction of a medial *yodh* is unlikely on paleographical grounds, and the bifurcation of a singular noun into a noun and adjectival complement may be an indicative feature of the translation of the text from Aramaic into Greek.

The noun רמה (height/high place)⁴¹⁸, if this reconstruction is correct, already embodies the nuance of both the noun and adjectival complement reflected in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic. This bifurcation may reflect an interpretive decision of the Greek translator(s) to render 'high place' into a functional equivalent 'high mountains'. The noun is relatively uncommon in the Qumran Aramaic literature but appears once in 1QapGen 14:10 and

⁴¹⁷ Milik, p.142; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327; Beyer, p.232.

⁴¹⁸ Cook, p.223.

21:11,⁴¹⁹ and within the topographical designation רמת הצור (Ramat-Hazor) in 1QapGen 21:8, 10⁴²⁰, and in 4QTestamentofJacob (4Q537 frg. 24:2).⁴²¹

Milik's edition, however, implies that the identification of the initial ܪ (*resh*) is an assured identification and has seemingly blurred the distinction between a confirmed and possible letter. This identification is contentious, and more recent editions have rejected this reconstruction. The primary justification for the reconstructions of Milik and Beyer lies in G^{CP} 1:6 which includes 'high mountains' (ὄρη ύψηλά) as the subject of three initial verbs of destruction.

Milik read the following *waw/yodh* (ܝ) in dialogue with the subsequent Greek verb καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται (and they were humbled). On this basis, and with only a *waw* and *yodh* visible, Milik suggested the reconstruction [ܝܢܫܠܝܢ] (and they will be made low), from the verb ܫܠܝܢ (to humble/be low).⁴²² Milik's reconstruction does not provide a perfect correspondence to G^{CP}, yet without the Greek it is unlikely that this line in 4QEn^a could be productively read. Milik's reconstruction is feasible, although unlikely based on the form of ܪ preserved elsewhere in 4QEn^a. In effect, Milik has read G^{CP} into the fragmentary Aramaic of 4QEn^a.

More recent editions have instead identified this initial word as a verb. Langlois proposed the reading [ܝܢܫܠܝܢ] (and they will fall), whilst Puech and Drawnel proposed [ܝܢܫܠܝܢ] (and they will shake).⁴²³ The reconstruction of Puech and Drawnel is dependent on the initial verb καὶ σεισθήσονται (and they will shake) that is preserved in G^{CP} 1:6a whilst

⁴¹⁹ Machiela, pp.60, 79.

⁴²⁰ Ibid, pp.78-79.

⁴²¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, p.188.

⁴²² Brown, Driver & Briggs, p.1117.

⁴²³ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.85-87, 100-102, 105; Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630; Drawnel, pp.74-76.

Langlois' reading is instead dependent on the subsequent verb *καὶ πεσοῦνται* (and they will fall).

The proposal of Langlois is peculiar considering the absence of any additional literary context where *נתר* (to cause to fall off/out)⁴²⁴ is used with an equivalent sense – elsewhere in Qumran or Biblical Aramaic it typically articulates the stripping of leaves off a tree by human or natural causes.⁴²⁵

More recently, Drawnel contended that the partially preserved letters correspond to the top of the *waw*, the right arm of an *ayin*, and the head of an additional *waw* which leans against a final *nun*⁴²⁶ Only the final *nun*, however, is clearly legible, and this reading is no more assured than Milik's reconstruction.

This subsequent *waw/yodh* was reconstructed by Langlois as *[...תפרקו]* (and they will break apart) in accordance with the third verb *καὶ διαλυθήσονται* preserved in G^{CP} 1:6a, whilst Puech and Drawnel reconstructed the verb instead in dialogue with *καὶ πεσοῦνται* (and they will fall). In each example, the stanza cannot be productively read and reconstructed without reliance on the later versions. In these examples, G^{CP} was formative and perhaps even determinative for the adopted reconstructions.

However, the evidence of the later versions should suggest greater caution is required before reconstructing the stanza using either version as a model. In particular, the restoration of 4QEn^a using the Greek verb *σεισθήσονται* (and they will shake) may be problematic. The Eth.^{ERS} does not preserve any equivalent of this Greek verb (see *Chapter 4*), and there is a distinct possibility that this verb is an inner-Greek addition that was not

⁴²⁴ Cook, p.162.

⁴²⁵ E.g., in 1QapGen 13:17, *Daniel* 4:11.

⁴²⁶ Drawnel, p.76.

attested in G^{Eth}. At a minimum, the absence of any equivalent of this verb in the Ethiopic, should suggest greater caution is required before reconstructing 4QEn^a based on this verb in G^{CP}. We should hesitate to assume that this Greek verb necessarily provides access to its own Aramaic vorlage, and that the latter was comparable to 4QEn^a.

Whilst this final portion of fragment 1ib probably corresponds to 1:6, it is not possible to reconstruct the precise formulation in 4QEn^a without recourse to a retrospective translation from the later versions. Multiple reconstructions are feasible if this approach is adopted and therefore the results are tenuous. This approach assumes too neat of a parallel between 4QEn^a and G^{CP}, a relationship that is problematic considering the extent of the variation between their overlapping sections in the Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a.

God's Judgment in 4QEn^c (BW 1:9)

4QEn^c (4Q204) frg. 1ia	רבו[את קדישו]הי ב[שרא על עובד]י [רברבן וקשין]	...[myr]iads of His holy ones... ...[fl]esh upon works [of...] ...proud and hard (pl.)...
--	---	---

The only portion of the Enochic theophany (BW 1:1-9) preserved in 4QEn^c is found in three broken lines that correspond to 1:9 in the Greek and Ethiopic versions. The absence of any textual overlap in the Enochic theophany in 4QEn^c and 4QEn^a prevents any assessment of whether they attest to an analogous text-type of the Enochic theophany.

The lettering of 4QEn^c fragment 1ia is more clearly defined than 4QEn^a fragment 1ib and identification of the content and textual location of the fragment is less controversial.

Scholarly disagreement is primarily isolated to the hypothetical restored text at the margins of the fragment – for scholarly reconstructions, see *Supplement Critical Texts*.

Apart from the retrospective bracketed text, variation in the reconstruction of this unit is primarily limited to the first line of the fragment and the initial word of the third line. Drawnel indicated that the medial ו in רב[ואת] was partially visible, and argued similarly regarding the ה in the suffix והי on the subsequent noun.⁴²⁷ Drawnel suggested that ‘the left part of the head of the *waw* is legible’ whilst regarding the latter example, ‘the lower part of the right stroke of the *he* stands on the edge of the tear.’⁴²⁸ This did not signify a change in the reconstructed form yet signaled a shift in the degree to which this reading was preserved. Neither letter, however, can be identified based purely on the preserved lettering (see Fig. 1.11).

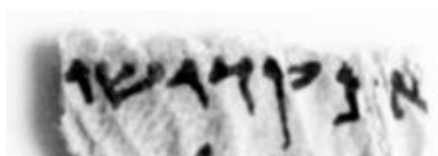


Fig. 1.11
First stanza in 4QEn^c frg. 1ia that preserves [...]את קדישון[...]

Black reconstructed a *matres lectionis* marking the plural ending in רברבין in the third stanza, although this is not clearly preserved and is indicative of a hypercorrection of the fragment (see Fig. 1.12).⁴²⁹



Fig. 1.12
Third stanza in 4QEn^c frg. 1ia that does not include the *matres lectionis* plural ending on רברבן

The Aramaic corresponds to three stanzas of G^{CP} 1:9 (see underscored text in *Supplement* Table 1.9), although there is not a direct equivalence between the syntactical structures and word-order of the two versions. We will assess the evidence for 1:9 in the Greek and Ethiopic versions in *Chapter 3* and *4* and will only draw upon it here as a conversation

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

partner. It is clear, however, that neither G^{CP} or G^{Jude} reflects a simple equivalent to the language of 4QEn^c, and it is probable that the uniqueness of 4QEn^c extended into the ‘hypothetical margins’ of the fragments. A retrospective translation of the Greek into Aramaic may obfuscate this textual realia.

The first stanza in 4QEn^c preserves the sobriquet that identifies the entity that accompanies God in his eschatological descent. Only the ending of the initial noun is preserved in 4QEn^c yet the preserved letters align with the plural form of the quantifier רבו (adj. ten thousand/myriad).⁴³⁰ The reconstruction of this noun [רבו]אֵת is probable in light of the ‘myriads’ in G^{CP} (ταῖς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ), G^{Jude} (ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ) and the Eth.^{ERS} (𐤓𐤁𐤕𐤍).

The second component of this sobriquet is the substantive קדִישׁוֹ [הִי] ([His] holy ones) which refers to the holy ones, i.e. the angels, who will accompany God. The final *waw* is probably indicative of a third-person masculine suffix, with God as the presumed subject – this suffix corresponds to the masculine singular genitive pronoun αὐτοῦ attested in G^{CP} and in some G^{Jude} manuscripts.

Only in G^{Jude} is the subject explicitly identified as ‘the Lord’ whilst in G^{CP} and Eth.^{ERS} there is only an implicit subject. The length of the preceding lacuna in 4QEn^c suggests the probability that 4QEn^c also did not include an explicit subject of the clause-initial verb. In the broader literary context of the Aramaic Enochic theophany, the unidentified subject should be identified as synonymous with the ‘Great Holy One’ who is introduced in 1:3b-4. Whilst God in the Enochic theophany is the ‘Great Holy One’, his accompanying

⁴³⁰ Cook, p.218; Brown, Driver, Briggs, p.1112.

celestial host are the 'myriads of holy ones'. The use of this language establishes the hierarchical relationship between God and his accompanying host.

According to Drawnel, this 'whole clause may be based on Deut 33:2: *וְאֵתָה מְרַבֶּבֶת קֹדֶשׁ*'.⁴³¹

A similar hermeneutical approach was also advocated by Beer, Milik and Hartman.⁴³² The preserved stanza, however, also reflects similar tropes in other cognate literature including *Zechariah* 14:5c which stipulates that the Lord God will come with all his holy ones:

Zechariah 14:5c *וּבֹא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי כָל־קְדוֹשִׁים עִמּוֹ* And the LORD God will come, all the
holy ones with you [or: him]

It is possible that the Enochic passage was modelled upon *Deuteronomy* 33:2, however, it is unlikely that this can be confirmed by the isolated phrase *את קדישון[הי]* (myriads of His holy ones). The precise language of the fragment parallels two lexical forms in *Deuteronomy* 33:2, yet this may signify a compositional and formative process distinct from direct dependency or imitation.

The second phrase preserved in the fragment is the latter half of a collective term for humanity *לכול בשרא* (all flesh). The initial quantifier *לכול* (all/to all) is not preserved nor is the initial letter of the noun *שרא* [ב] (flesh). The reconstruction of the preceding quantifier, however, is suggested due to the appearance of a quantifying particle before the noun in the later versions (G^{CP}: *πᾶσαν σάρκα*/Eth.^{ERS}: *ሕጡ፡ ሀገ፡*/Pseudo-Cyprian/Pseudo-Vigilius: *omnem carnem*), apart from G^{Jude}.

⁴³¹ Drawnel, p.206.

⁴³² Beer, p.237; Milik, p.186; Hartman, p.26.

The judgment of 'all flesh' is a common trope in Hebrew theophanies including *Jeremiah* 25:30-31, *Isaiah* 66:15-16 although it also appears frequently in *Genesis* where it appears ten times.⁴³³ This metonymic phrase (כל בשר) appears also in *BW* 7:5 (4QEn^a frg. 3.ii), however, in this context it does not have a human referent. Instead, it refers therein to the beasts of the earth that are destroyed by the offspring of the watchers.⁴³⁴ The phrase is also attested in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (4Q213b frg. 1:1) where it reads מן כל בשר (from all flesh).⁴³⁵

In 4QEn^c, this metonymic collective term for all of humanity possibly echoed the Deluge pericope in *Genesis* where it appears 8 times. As we observed in 4QEn^a 1:2-3a, there are several parallels with the language of the Deluge pericope that may reflect the role of this pericope in the traditionary processes that produced the Enochic theophany. The Enochic theophany is not only participating in an ongoing theophanic discourse, but also in an ongoing discourse and resignification of the Deluge cycle.

The following על עובד[י] begins an explanatory subordinate clause. In G^{CP}, this clause begins with the genitive preposition περί (concerning), which is followed by the quantifier πάντων (all) and then the construct phrase ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν (works of their ungodliness). In 4QEn^c, the preposition על (upon/concerning) is followed directly by the noun [...] עובד which probably should be reconstructed as the plural construct [...] עובד, although this reconstruction is dependent on the plural form ἀσεβείας in G^{CP}. Only the preposition and construct noun are preserved in 4QEn^c.

⁴³³ Genesis 6:12, 13, 17, 19; 7:15, 21; 8:17; 9:11, 15, 17.

⁴³⁴ Drawnel, p.101.

⁴³⁵ Edition: Stone, M.E. & Greenfield, J.C. 1996. 'Aramaic Levi Document: 213b' in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert XXII: Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (eds. Brooke et al.), Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.38.

The next stanza in 4QEn^c features two adjectival complements רברבין וקשין which either modified an unpreserved preceding noun, or alternatively functioned as a substantive. Milik reconstructed the preceding margins of the fragments as ועל לכול מלין (and upon all the words).⁴³⁶ The possibility that the Aramaic included a noun is intimated by the appearance in G^{CP} and in some G^{Jude} manuscripts of the noun λόγων (words), although in G^{CP} it is separated from its adjectival complement by the verb and pronoun (καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων).

The possibility that this phrase in 4QEn^c functioned as a substantive, however, is suggested by a similar example in BW 5:4 as preserved in 4QEn^a frg. 1iic wherein the same phrase appears as a substantive and does not modify a noun ‘words’ עלוהי רברבן וקשין (upon him proud and hard things).⁴³⁷ Despite the absence of the noun ‘words’ in 5:4, the corresponding section in G^{CP} nevertheless includes this noun (κατελάλησατε μεγάλους καὶ σκληροὺς λόγους – you have spoken [against] great and hard words). The presence of this noun in G^{CP} 5:4 despite its absence in the corresponding passage in 4QEn^a suggests the possibility that the noun was a secondary explanatory gloss in the G^{CP} text-type.⁴³⁸ Moreover, the ‘words’ in G^{CP} 1:9 might also be a secondary feature. In 4QEn^c the ‘proud and hard things’ may have functioned substantively rather than attributively.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁶ Milik, p.184.

⁴³⁷ Drawnel, p.87.

⁴³⁸ In addition, in G^{CP} 5:4 an equivalent for both adjectives is attested, whilst G^{CP} 1:9 only featured an equivalent for וקשין and no direct equivalent of רברבין. It is plausible that σκληρῶν was a translational rendering of both adjectival complements in G^{CP} 1:9 yet this would be curious considering the use of two adjectival complements in G^{CP} 5:4.

⁴³⁹ The phrase μεγάλα καὶ σκληρά appears in *Epistle of Enoch* (1 Enoch 101:3) in the Chester Beatty Michigan Papyrus, without the noun ‘words’ although this unit is not preserved in Aramaic.

Considering that the noun λόγους appears in G^{CP} 5:4, without a direct equivalent in the corresponding Aramaic, it is plausible that 4QEn^c 1:9 also did not feature a direct equivalent. The presence of λόγων in G^{CP} and G^{Jude} probably reflects late synonymous explanatory glosses. In essence, it is probable that the Greek versions attest to inner-Greek revisional tendencies and we should hesitate before presuming a simple equivalence between 4QEn^c and the Greek versions. A retrospective approach inevitably overlooks the significant disagreement between the Aramaic textual evidence and the surviving Greek versions, and relies on the presumption that the Greek reflects a translation of an Aramaic text-type equivalent to 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c.

The basic nuance of ‘words’ is probably embedded in the Aramaic with or without this additional noun, and therefore it was probably elliptical. Similar language appears also in *Daniel* 7:8, 11, 20. The adjective רַבְרָבָן appears in *Daniel* 7:8 (וַיִּפֹּם מִמְּלַל רַבְרָבָן) and 7:20 (וַיִּפֹּם מִמְּלַל רַבְרָבָן) without the noun מְלִין (words), whilst in 7:11 it does directly modify this noun (מְלִין רַבְרָבָן). It also appears in 11QtgJob 22:7 without the noun (רַבְרָבָן תְּמַלֵּל).⁴⁴⁰ In each instance the adjective refers to ‘great words’ even in the two contexts in *Daniel* where it does not appear, and it is plausible that the substantive was elliptical in 4QEn^c 1:9.

In *Chapters 3-5*, we will further explore the revisional practices evident in the Greek and Ethiopic versions of 1:9. Whilst it is likely that the Aramaic text-type(s) of 1:9 embodied a similar content or nuance to the Greek versions, it is unlikely that the latter provides unfettered access into the precise language and formulation of the Aramaic versions.

⁴⁴⁰ The initial substantive is spelt רַבְרָבָן in 11QtgJob, which probably reflects a scribal copying error – it features a reversal of the third and fourth letters. In the quoted text, the letters have been reversed to their normal order. Edition: Jongeling, Labuschagne & Van Der Woude, p.42.

Conclusion

The Aramaic fragments of 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c are a valuable witness to a form of the Aramaic Enochic theophany in the Second Temple period. It is not certain that they reflect an identical text-type of the Enochic theophany, nor is it likely that the fragments preserve anything that can be regarded as the 'original Aramaic' or the Vorlage of the later translations. The Aramaic fragments provide us with fragmented glimpses into a fragmentary textual tradition.

The significant disagreement, both syntactical and lexical, between the preserved Aramaic text and the later versions, suggests the problematic nature of using these versions to recreate the hypothetical 'margins' of the text. In this chapter, we observed numerous examples where the Aramaic preserved distinct syntactical and semantic forms, including in the text corresponding to 1:1, 1:2, and possibly also in 1:4c and 1:9c. By retrospectively translating and recreating the 'original Aramaic', using G^{CP} and the other versions as the foundation of our methodological process, we obfuscate the realia of the textual evidence, and inevitably read the later text into the earlier text.

The Greek versions of the Enochic theophany are a translation of an Aramaic Vorlage, yet it is not self-evident that this Vorlage was a close equivalent to the form of the Enochic theophany preserved at Qumran. The version contained in G^{CP}, and the quotation in G^{Jude}, also only provide a fragmented glimpse into a dynamic, productive, and growing Greek textual tradition.

The Aramaic fragments contain parallels with several Hebrew texts including *Numbers* 24:15, *Genesis* 7:1, *Deuteronomy* 33:2, amongst others, yet the fragmentary nature of the parallels is insufficient to warrant a claim of direct dependency. Only the later

versions permit any full exploration of the significance of these parallels, and yet in doing so, we are primarily making a claim that is true for these later versions.

Just as we have highlighted examples of parallels with cognate Hebrew texts, we have also observed parallels, or similar language, featured in cognate Aramaic literature. Yet these parallels are not normatively suggested to be indicative of direct dependency but are broadly indicative of the literary and language heritage of the authors, editors and tradents of these additional texts. This model may be more suitable for the Enochic theophany.

This inherited textual heritage is a key part of the milieu in which the Enochic theophany was composed and developed. This textual tradition was indebted to, and participated in, ongoing and dynamic theophanic and Enochic-Noahic discourses. The vitality and dynamism of these ongoing discourses ensured the continual growth of these traditions beyond the margins of those pretexts and contributed to the development of the Aramaic Enochic theophany.

Chapter 2 – The Greek Enochic Theophany in Codex Panopolitanus (G^{CP})

The only surviving Greek witness to the entirety of *BW* 1:1-9 is found in Codex Panopolitanus (G^{CP}). This Greek text-type provides us with a fragmentary glimpse into a larger and synchronically complex Greek textual tradition – in effect, a fragmented glimpse into a fragmented Greek textual tradition. It offers limited access to a particular stage in the life and growth of a Greek version of the Enochic theophany.

The G^{CP} text-type may provide fragmented glimpses into an Aramaic Vorlage that was unique from the versions preserved in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, however, it is not indicative of a ‘translated’ Greek text. As highlighted in *Chapter 2*, where the Aramaic is sufficiently preserved, there are examples of syntactical and structural disagreement between the versions that either indicates inner-Aramaic variation or ongoing inner-Greek development. G^{CP} may provide glimpses into translational processes, yet these glimpses are only fragmentary, and it is unlikely that we can isolate a broad translational style or strategy.

This Greek text-type is of limited value in recovering or reconstructing the ‘original Aramaic’, yet it is of great value for understanding the form and growth of the text in a Christian socio-religious and hermeneutical context. This manuscript attests to a text-type that was transmitted, read, interpreted, and altered in a literary and socio-religious context distinct from the Aramaic versions at Qumran. Therefore, the literary character and the presence, function, and significance of Scriptural parallels in the Greek, does not necessarily map onto those inherent in those Aramaic text-types.

The location of the burial in which this codex was discovered, at ancient Panopolis, locates the G^{CP} text-type within a Christian context in Egypt, although the Enochic text evidently had a life of its own prior to its incorporation into this composite codex. This codex is a Christian material artifact, and G^{CP} is to a limited extent, a Christianized textual artifact and text-type.

The definition of 'Christianization' in this study follows the cogent encapsulation of this process by Frankfurter, who suggested that 'Christianization amounts to an ongoing and historically contingent *process* without an end-point...'.⁴⁴¹ This text-type reflects the gradual enculturation and accommodation of the Enochic theophany into a distinct socio-religious system as it was read and re-signified. The inherent vitality and dynamism of the theophany as a discourse-type, and of the Enochic theophany as text, ensured that it continued to grow and be re-signified in unique and evolving socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts.

In this chapter, we will explore the language and character of the G^{CP} text-type and will assess whether it reflects Septuagintal types of intertexts, or whether it responds to or incorporates alternate versions and traditions. We will assess the nature of the language with the preserved Aramaic as a conversation partner, to assess whether G^{CP} reflects similar or analogous traditions. In focusing on textual growth and development in the Enochic theophany, we will explore how the G^{CP} text-type reflects ongoing development in conjunction with the socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts in which it was transmitted.

⁴⁴¹ Frankfurter, D. 2018. *Christianizing Egypt: Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, p.257.

The Enochic Superscription in G^{CP} (BW 1:1) and Deuteronomy 33:1

The Greek Enochic oracle in *BW* 1:2-5:9 is prefaced in 1:1 by an Enochic superscription that is a conflation of formulaic devices from different discourse types. Nickelsburg has argued that the language directly imitates or modifies the Mosaic superscription in *Deuteronomy* 33:2.⁴⁴² The Enochic superscription is insufficiently preserved in 4QEn^a to justify models of authorial processes, and therefore the G^{CP} text-type has served as the primary foundation for the interpretation of this verse in contemporary scholarship.

However, as we observed in *Chapter 2*, it is probable that 4QEn^a reflects a syntactical structure distinct from G^{CP}, and therefore this Greek text-type does not provide unfettered access into the language of the ‘original Aramaic’ or its Aramaic Vorlage. Because of this distinction, Drawnel concluded that ‘The Aramaic archetype for the Greek line must have been different.’⁴⁴³ However, this may instead reflect a Greek translational shift or inner-Greek development, and it may or may not actually reflect a distinction between the Aramaic Vorlage of the Greek and 4QEn^a. Contrary to Drawnel’s explicit assertion, either possibility is feasible.

The Enochic superscription establishes the type of discourse that follows in 1:2ff. The initial introductory device λόγος εὐλογίας (Word of the Blessing) defines the discourse type and is functionally analogous to the introductory discourse marker דברי (words of) in superscriptions in Hebrew Prophetic and Wisdom literature.

The predominant form of this discourse marker in the Prophetic literature is the plural דברי in construct with the name of the prophet or sage (e.g. *Amos* 1:1). The singular noun

⁴⁴² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.129, 135-136.

⁴⁴³ Drawnel, p.78.

דבר (n.m. word) typically appears only when the noun is in construct with the tetragrammaton דבר־יהוה (e.g. *Joel* 1:1), which has a rhetorical function distinct from that employed in the Enochic superscription. The plural construct is usually in clause-initial position, whereas the singular form is often subordinate to the wayyiqtol ויהי (e.g. *Jonah* 1:1). Moreover, Greek translations of Hebrew texts typically included the noun λόγος (word) as an equivalent of the singular דבר, and the plural λόγοι (words) for the Hebrew plural construct דברי.

Following this general pattern, the expected Aramaic equivalent would be the plural construct מלי (words of) rather than the singular construct מלה (word of). This reading מלי was restored by Milik into the hypothetical margins of 4QEn^a,⁴⁴⁴ and whilst this restoration is uncertain, it is recommended by the form of this discourse marker in other texts preserved at Qumran.⁴⁴⁵ The likelihood that the Aramaic Enochic superscription featured an Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew formulaic plural דברי, is probable considering the attestation of דברי ברכה (Words of the Blessing) in the Hebrew of 1QSb 1:1, 3:22.⁴⁴⁶

However, in G^{CP} a singular noun λόγος is preserved rather than the expected plural equivalent λόγοι. This pattern is reflected, for example, in Greek translations of *Amos* 1:1 and *Nehemiah* 1:1 (see *Supplement* Table 2.1). Apart from examples in *Proverbs* 30:1 and 31:1, the Greek versions typically mirror the word-order and value of the Hebrew.

⁴⁴⁴ Milik, p.141.

⁴⁴⁵ Drawnel suggested examples in *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20 v.29/xix.25), and 4QEn^c (4Q204 frg. 7.ii.9) and 4QWordsofMichael (4Q529 frg. 1.1). Drawnel, p.78.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.135.

There are two feasible evaluations of the singular λόγος in G^{CP}. Firstly, the Aramaic Vorlage of this Greek text-type may have already featured a singular noun rather than the expected plural form that was typical in this discourse marker. Alternatively, G^{CP} may reflect an inner-Greek development and may not testify to the language of an Aramaic version.

The shift from a plural to a singular noun may be an incorporate feature of this Greek version. The plural דברי may have been translated or emended into a singular λόγος in association with the alternate introductory device λόγος κυρίου (Word of the Lord) attested in Prophetic literature, or it may reflect the formulaic use of λόγος as an introductory device in other literary contexts including the *Sibylline Oracles* 6:1 (λόγος ἔκτος), 8:1 (λόγος ὄγδοος)⁴⁴⁷ and the Greek *Apocalypse of Esdras* 1:0 (λόγος καὶ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου).⁴⁴⁸ There is a marked continuity and discontinuity in this formulaic introductory device, as it was probably featured in the Aramaic, and in the G^{CP} text-type. However, we are here dealing only with possibilities and probabilities, as we do not have direct or unfettered access into the form in an Aramaic text-type.

This introductory device provides a close parallel to the introductory discourse marker in the Prophetic and Wisdom literature; however, it more closely parallels an equivalent device in a liturgical context in 1QSb. In G^{CP}, the introductory device ‘word(s) of’ is not in apposition to the proper name, as evident in the prophetic and wisdom materials, but is in construct with an additional noun that defines the discourse type. In G^{CP}, the introductory device λόγος is in construct with the genitive noun εὐλογίας (blessing). The

⁴⁴⁷ Edition: Kurfess, A. 1951. *Sibyllinische Weissagungen. Urtext and Übersetzung*, Heimeren, München, p.158.

⁴⁴⁸ Edition: von Tischendorf, C. 1866. *Apocalypses apocryphae: Apocalypsis Esdrae*, Hermann Mendelssohn, Leipzig, p.24.

device 'Words of the Blessing' is not attested in the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and Wisdom literature yet appears in the *Rule of the Blessing* (1QSb) in 1:1, 3:22 and possibly should be restored to the vacant space in 5:20.⁴⁴⁹

1QSb 1:1 ⁴⁵⁰	דברי ברכ[ה] למשכיל לברך את ירא[י אל עושי את] רצונו	<u>Words of the Blessing</u> for the Maskil to bless the ones who fear God, the ones who do his will...
1QSb 3:22 ⁴⁵¹	דברי ברכה למ[שכיל לברך] את בני צדוק הכהנים אשר בחר בם אל	<u>Words of the Blessing</u> for the Maskil to bless the Sons of Zadok the Priests, which God has chosen them.

In the *Rule of the Blessing*, this formulaic device introduces a benediction to be read by the Maskil (משכיל), upon those who fear God and do his will in 1:1, and on the Sons of Zadok in 3:22. The manuscript, inclusive of 1QS/1QSa/1QSb, should be dated on palaeographic grounds to the Hasmonean period (100-75 BCE).⁴⁵² Milik interpreted 1QSb as a separate work from the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa 1-2), whilst recognizing that their fragments were from a singular manuscript and were written by the same scribal hand.⁴⁵³ Milik regarded 1QSb only as an appendix to 1QS,⁴⁵⁴ however, more recently, Johnson has argued that they represent a single composite document (1QS-1QSa-1QSb).⁴⁵⁵

The recurring superscription in 1QSb does not introduce a theophany as in *BW* 1:1, yet both identify the text as a ברכה (blessing). Both feature a similar word-order, featuring this introductory device followed by a personal identification of the agent. In *BW* 1:1 the

⁴⁴⁹ Edition: Barthélemy, D. & Milik, J.T. 1955. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 1: Qumran Cave 1*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp.120, 124.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid, p.120.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, p.124.

⁴⁵² Newman, J.H. 2019. 'Rule of Blessing (Sb)' in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. G.J. Brooke, C. Hempel), Bloomsbury, London/New York, p.339.

⁴⁵³ Barthélemy & Milik, *DJD:1*, p.119.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Brooks Johnson, M. 2018. 'One Work or Three? A Proposal for Reading 1QS-1QSa-1QSb as a Composite Work', *DSD* 25, pp.141-177.

agent is Ἐνώχ (Enoch) whilst in 1QSb it is the למשכיל (Maskil). This is followed by the verb ברך in 1QSb and its Greek equivalent εὐλογέω (to bless) in *BW* 1:1, which probably reflects a translation of the Aramaic verb ברך. In *Chapter 2*, we observed, however, that 4QEn^a may reflect a syntactical structure distinct from G^{CP}, and that the proper name ‘Enoch’ was initially separate from this introductory designation ‘Words of the Blessing’. This might suggest a distinction in the Aramaic Vorlage of the Greek version, or alternatively, it may indicate a Greek translational or transmissional shift.

As suggested by Newman, in the case of 1QSb it is ‘not clear whether the ascription was understood to indicate authorship or to designate a Maskil as the performer of the text, or both.’⁴⁵⁶ The Maskil as an office, had a variety of functions, including didactic, apotropaic, and liturgical.⁴⁵⁷ This parallel between the Enochic superscription and 1QSb may indicate that the Enochic theophany had a liturgical function, or only that this introductory device developed secondarily into a liturgical discourse marker.

The superscription in 1QSb may be indicative of compositional activity that draws upon the Enochic superscription. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, both fit within an ongoing and evolving liturgical tradition, and have drawn upon a common discourse marker that was used in benedictions and in associated literary and liturgical texts. If this latter proposal is valid, then the parallel would tell us less about the relationships between these texts but would nevertheless be illuminating for the study of discourse conventions.

⁴⁵⁶ Newman, p.339.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

In *Chapter 2*, we explored the possibility that the Enochic superscription was modelled on or imitated the Mosaic superscription in *Deuteronomy* 33:1. Nickelsburg envisaged that the Enochic superscription ‘imitates Deut 33:1’ and furthermore that ‘the allusions to *Deuteronomy* 33 here and in vv 3, 4, 9, taken together with other passages, suggest that the book is being introduced as an Enochic testament.’⁴⁵⁸ This interpretation was critiqued by Drawnel, who suggested that *Deuteronomy* 33 is not a testament but is instead ‘a poetic piece construed according to the norms of Semitic poetry.’⁴⁵⁹

Whilst Moses’ blessing is uttered before his imminent death, Enoch’s blessing is uttered before his second and final removal from earth.⁴⁶⁰ There is a temporal analogy between the blessings of Moses and Enoch. However, in *Deuteronomy* 33:1 the temporal context is explicitly identified, whilst in *BW* 1:1 it is not explicitly located before Enoch’s removal. If the Enochic superscription was modelled upon or imitated the Mosaic superscription we might expect this temporal analogy to be made more explicit. Drawnel suggests that the parallel is unlikely as Enoch, unlike Moses, is not about to die.⁴⁶¹ This is not compelling evidence for the refutation of Nickelsburg’s thesis. The juxtaposition between the eventual fate of Enoch and Moses could be a key aspect of the Enochic author’s imitation of *Deuteronomy* 33:1, if such a parallel was preserved in an Aramaic text-type, which is not confirmed by 4QEn^a alone.

Semantic parallels in G^{CP} that support a relationship between the two superscriptions, include their common identification as a ‘blessing’ (εὐλογία/ברכה) and the subsequent use of the verb εὐλογέω/ברך. For example, LXX *Deuteronomy* 33:1 and G^{CP} 1:1 both feature

⁴⁵⁸ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.135.

⁴⁵⁹ Drawnel, p.78.

⁴⁶⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.135.

⁴⁶¹ Drawnel, p.78.

the third-person aorist indicative verb εὐλόγησεν (he blessed). LXX *Deuteronomy* attests the nominative noun ἡ εὐλογία (the blessing) whilst G^{CP} attests the genitive form εὐλογίας – this distinction is only indicative of their unique syntactical position. In both passages, the benediction is directed against a differently defined entity, in *Deuteronomy* it is directed to the τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ (the sons of Israel) and in G^{CP} to the ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους (chosen righteous ones).

It is possible that the parallel between *BW* 1:1 and *Deuteronomy* 33:1 was weakened during the translation of the Enochic superscription from Aramaic into Greek. In *Chapter* 2, we observed that the syntactical formulation in 4QEn^a was probably distinct from G^{CP}/Eth.^{ERS}, and it was plausibly closer to the syntactical order of *Deuteronomy* 33:1 in the Hebrew and Greek versions:

Deut.	וְזֹאת הַבְּרָכָה אֲשֶׁר בָּרַךְ מֹשֶׁה אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	And this is the blessing which
33:1a	אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ:	Moses, the man of God,
Deut.	καὶ αὕτη ἡ εὐλογία ἣν εὐλόγησεν	blessed the sons of Israel
33:1a	Μωσῆς ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς	before his death.
(LXX) ⁴⁶²	υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ	

The syntactical reconstruction of 4QEn^a, however, is dependent on whether one reads the initial letter as a final *nun*, following Milik, Black, Puech and Drawnel (Aramaic 1), or as a final *kaph* following Beyer and Langlois (Aramaic 2) – bracketed readings are hypothetical reconstructions of the ‘margins’ of the fragments.⁴⁶³

Aramaic 1	לבח[ירין]	—	חנך	[בה]	[ברך]	[די]	[ברכתה]	[מלי]
Aramaic 2	לבח[ירין]	—	חנך	—	ך[בר]	—	—	—
Deut. 33:1	אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	מֹשֶׁה	—	בָּרַךְ	אֲשֶׁר	הַבְּרָכָה	זֹאת

⁴⁶² Edition: Wevers, *Septuaginta: Deuteronomium*, p.362.

⁴⁶³ See *Supplement Critical Texts* for scholarly reconstructions.

If the first Aramaic reconstruction is adopted, then the primary distinction would be the inclusion of a preliminary object marker (ܒܗ[ܐ]) in the Aramaic, and the attachment of the epithet ܐܝܫ ܗܥܠܐܝܝܡ (man of God) in *Deuteronomy* 33:1. If the second reconstruction is adopted, then there is a closer syntactical equivalency between *BW* 1:1 and *Deuteronomy* 33:1 as the verb ܒܪܚ would appear in both texts directly anterior to the proper names Enoch and Moses.

The problem with both reconstructions is that they are somewhat misleading. No letter is clearly visible, and its identification is primarily hypothesized on the size of the initial gap, and the possibility that a final *nun* or *kaph* straddled the initial edge of the fragment. An ink dot preserved in 4QEn^a may belong to the shaft of a final *nun*, however, whilst this is plausible, it is also speculative.

If we redirect our focus back to G^{CP}, the syntactical distinction is clear. The proper name 'Enoch' does not appear directly after the verb 'to bless' but is attached to the initial formulaic introductory device 'Word(s) of the Blessing.' This order is also the majority reading in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1.⁴⁶⁴ Whilst G^{CP} reads Λόγος εὐλογίας Ἐνώχ καθὼς εὐλόγησεν ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους, a closer Greek equivalent to the Aramaic word-order, presuming that the reconstructions in scholarship are accurate, would be Λόγος εὐλογίας καθὼς (or: ἦν) Ἐνώχ εὐλόγησεν ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους.

G^{CP} may reflect a repositioning of the proper name Enoch, and in the process, the Greek may reflect a weakening of the literary parallel with *Deuteronomy* 33:1. The syntactical shift from the Aramaic to the Greek of *BW* 1:1 would suggest that the allusion to or

⁴⁶⁴ Majority Eth. I/Eth. II is ܐܠ: ܒܠܗܝ: ܡܝܪܥܝܢ: – variants assessed in *Chapter 4*.

imitation of *Deuteronomy* 33:1, if it was actually embedded in the Aramaic, may not have been recognized and replicated by the Greek translator.

The evidence does not entirely confirm a parallel with *Deuteronomy* 33:1, and the evidence of 1QSb suggests the preferability of understanding the limited parallel in terms of discourse conventions. If the introductory device ‘Word(s) of the Blessing’ was a discourse feature, rather than a direct imitation of *Deuteronomy* 33:1, as suggested by 1QSb, then the strength of the parallel between the Mosaic and Enochic superscriptions is further weakened.

In the Enochic superscription in G^{CP}, the blessing is directed towards the chosen righteous ones (ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους) who will be present on the Day of Tribulation (ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης), which is an alternate designation for the יום יהוה (Day of the Lord).⁴⁶⁵ In the Enochic superscription, the primary purpose of the ‘Day of Tribulation’ is to remove all the enemies (ἐξῆραι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς).

The ‘Day of the Lord’ is a common trope in oracles of woe or destruction, wherein the Lord is predicted to bring judgment upon Israel, Judah, or Jerusalem for their iniquities, or upon external enemies.⁴⁶⁶ According to Minear, these verdicts were often surprising, insofar as there would be ‘condemnation where approval was expected, or vindication where the penitent expected punishment.’⁴⁶⁷ The primary concern of the prophets was the certainty that the day would come, not the precise day or year in which it would

⁴⁶⁵ The preference for this alternate designation is interlinked with a general avoidance of using the tetragrammaton, which never appears in the Enochic literature.

⁴⁶⁶ The ‘Day of the Lord’ appears in *Isaiah* 13:6 (twice), *Ezekiel* 13:5, 30:3 (יום ליהוה), *Joel* 1:15, 2:1, 11, 3:4, 4:4, *Amos* 5:18, 20, *Obadiah* 15, *Malachi* 3:23 and *Zephaniah* 1:7, 14.

⁴⁶⁷ Minear, P.S. 1993. ‘Day of the Lord’ in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (eds. B.M. Metzger, M.D. Coogan), Oxford University Press, Oxford, p.157.

fall.⁴⁶⁸ Alternate phrases such as ‘that day’ amongst others, as a reference to the ‘Day of the Lord’, appear close to 200 times in the prophetic books.⁴⁶⁹

The ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης (Day of Tribulation), however, finds its closest parallel with the ‘Day of Distress’ (יּוֹם-צָרָה) – which appears in 2 Kings 19:3, Isaiah 37:3, Obadiah 12, 14, Habakkuk 3:16, and Zechariah 1:15.⁴⁷⁰ This term is probably related also to the עַת צָרָה (Time of Distress) featured in Daniel 12:1 and in 1QWarScroll (1Q33 I:12, XV:1).⁴⁷¹ The ‘Day of Distress’ (יּוֹם-צָרָה), however, was more commonly translated into Greek using the noun θλίψις (trouble, distress, oppression),⁴⁷² rather than ἀνάγκη (distress, calamity, tribulation, necessity)⁴⁷³ as attested in G^{CP}.⁴⁷⁴

Milik regarded ἀνάγκης as a translation of Aramaic עֲקָה and in 4QEn^a restored the clause בְּיוֹם עֲקָתָה (in the Day of Tribulation). This noun is not preserved elsewhere in the Aramaic Enochic fragments but does appear in 4QapocrDan (4Q246 i:4) עֲקָה תִּתָּא עַל אֲרֵעָא (tribulation is coming upon the land).⁴⁷⁵ It also appears in similar passages in 11QtgJob

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Hiers, R.H. 1992. ‘Day of the Lord’ in *Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary*, D-G (eds. D.N. Freedman, G.A. Herion), Doubleday, p.82.

⁴⁷⁰ However, this term can also refer to a general period of distress, as in *Psalms* 20:1, 50:15, 77:3, 86:7 and *Proverbs* 24:10, 25:19, and possibly in *Nahum* 1:7. It is often embedded in first-person discourse including *Jeremiah* 16:19, *Psalms* 77:3, 86:7, *Genesis* 35:3.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Schultz, B. 2009. *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*, STDJ 76, Brill, Leiden/Boston, pp.90, 242.

⁴⁷² Liddell, H.G. & Scott, R. & Jones, H.S. 1996. *A Greek-English lexicon 9th ed. (rev. and augm. throughout by Henry Stuart Jones; with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie and with the cooperation of many scholars)*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.802; Muraoka, T. 2009. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Peeters, Leuven. p.38.

⁴⁷³ Liddell & Scott, p.101; Beekes, R.S.P. & Beek, L. van. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek Vol.1*, Brill, Leiden, p.97; Muraoka, p.331.

⁴⁷⁴ For example, the evidence indicates this for 2 Kings 19:3, Isaiah 37:3, Nahum 1:7, Habakkuk 3:16, Zephaniah 1:15, Obadiah 12, 14, Proverbs 24:10 and the passages in the Psalms which feature the fixed phrase ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως. Exceptions are found in Jeremiah 16:19 and Proverbs 25:19 which instead attest the noun κακός (evil, bad, wrong).

⁴⁷⁵ Edition: Puech, E. 1996. ‘4QApocryphe de Daniel ar’, in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert XXII: Qumran Cave 4: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.167.

29:9, 4QTJacob (4Q537 frg. 1-3:4), 4QapocrLevi^a (4Q540 frg. 1:1) and 4QVision^c (4Q557 frg. 1:8).⁴⁷⁶

The 'Day of Tribulation' in the Enochic theophany may allude to, or reflect, a tradition emanating from *Zephaniah* 1:1ff. This latter oracle extrapolates upon the Day of the Lord (יום יהנה), wherein God will sweep away all living creatures, and will stretch out his hand against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, and against idolatrous priests and those who worship other gods. Amidst this explicit condemnation, 1:15 pauses and extrapolates what the Day of the Lord signifies.

<i>Zeph.</i>	יום עברה היום הזה יום צרה ומצוקה	A Day of Wrath is this day, a Day of
1:15	יום שואה ומשואה יום חשך ואפלה יום ענן וערפל:	Distress and Tribulation, a Day of
		Devastation and Desolation, a Day of
		Darkness and Gloom, a Day of Cloud
		and Thick Darkness.

The phrase יום צרה ומצוקה (Day of Distress and Tribulation) is one of the descriptive terms used in *Zephaniah* 1:15 to elucidate the meaning and significance of the 'Day of the Lord' and is translated closely in LXX *Zephaniah* as ἡμέρα θλίψεως καὶ ἀνάγκης.⁴⁷⁷ The Enochic superscription here may echo the language used to describe the Day of the Lord in *Zephaniah* 1:15.

Regardless of whether this term is indebted to *Zephaniah*, the Enochic phrase has an afterlife in the Aramaic Enochic literature and in Greek translations. The term appears again in the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 100:7), as ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνάγκης⁴⁷⁸ in the Greek version preserved in the Chester Beatty Michigan Papyrus.⁴⁷⁹ The 'Day of Distress' is also attested

⁴⁷⁶ Cook, p.186.

⁴⁷⁷ Edition: Ziegler, J. 1943. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graece, Vol. XIII: Duodecim Prophetiae*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, pp.277-278.

⁴⁷⁸ In this context it is used in the dative rather than the genitive form of *BW* 1:1.

⁴⁷⁹ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.40.

in *Tobit* 4:9 as εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης, where Tobit who is near to death, exhorts his son Tobias to right conduct, including looking after the poor and sacrificial alms-giving, so that good treasure would be stored up for a 'day of distress'. In *Tobit* it is not used eschatologically, as it is in the Enochic literature, and therein it probably refers to a more personal type of distress and 'day of need'. This non-eschatological use of the term also appears in *Hebrews* 7:27 (ἡμέραν ἀνάγκην), where it also refers to a specific day of need or necessity.

The term is picked up in a prophetic judgement in *Luke* 21:8-28. This eschatologically imbued speech describes the persecution of Jesus' followers and the coming of the Son of Man in a cloud with great power and glory. Embedded in 21:23 is a declaration of woe upon the women who are pregnant and nursing infants, because in 'those days' (ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις) there will be great 'distress' upon the earth (ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). The exact 'Day of Tribulation' is not used but the two nouns are used proximally, and it is probable that this language is an incorporate part of this ongoing eschatological discourse.

In the Enochic superscription in G^{CP}, we have noticed a series of parallels with Prophetic, Pentateuchal, Qumran texts, and Greek texts and translations. If this unit is to be interpreted as modelled on the Mosaic superscription in *Deuteronomy* 33:1, of which there are some basic structural and conceptual parallels, then this is only a small part of the textual heritage inherent in the traditionary processes that produced the Enochic theophany. These parallels are indicative features of the origins and growth of the Enochic theophany within an ongoing and living theophanic tradition, and as features of

growth within the traditionary processes in which these precursor texts were continually vital and generative.

The Enochic Preamble in G^{CP} (1:2-3a) and Balaam and Noah

The Enochic preamble contains several language parallels with the Balaam oracles in *Numbers* 24 and the Deluge pericope in *Genesis* 6-7, which may suggest that Enoch is styled as a primordial prophet in the guise of Balaam and as a 'Righteous Man' in the mould of Noah. Neither of these roles or titles are clearly attributed to Enoch in *Genesis* 5:21-24, although Enoch and Noah are already interlinked in the Priestly genealogy through the unique language that characterizes their relationship with God, 'and Enoch/Noah walked with God', in 5:22 (וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ עִנּוֹךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים) and 6:9 (אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלָּךְ-).¹

The Enochic preamble in G^{CP} contains several transmissional developments unique to this text-type. Some of these developments improve the style of the Greek and/or clarify obscure language, however, some probably also contributed to the obscuration of the language. In addition to the obscure hapax ἁγιολόγων, the passage also features a sudden shift from third- to first-person speech in the middle of the preamble. This shift was probably already embedded in the Aramaic Vorlage of this Greek text-type, although the evidence preserved in 4QEn^a is insufficient to verify where the transition from third- to first-person speech occurred in the Aramaic version(s). Regardless, it is possible that this Greek text-type has obfuscated this transition.

In the G^{CP} text-type, the Enochic preamble is structured in a concentric pattern. This pattern reflects the function of the preamble as a narrative microcosm, as a micro-narrative within the larger macro-narrative. This narrative microcosm summates the

prophetic experience and career of Enoch, and temporally and spatially contextualizes the oracle that follows in 1:3b-5:9 in relation to the celestial journeys of Enoch and the watcher narrative featured in chapters 6-36. The fragments of 4QEn^a do not sufficiently preserve the language of the Enochic preamble to ascertain whether this concentric structure was an incorporate part of the Aramaic version(s).⁴⁸⁰

In G^{CP}, the Enochic preamble is divided into two halves reflecting the use of third-person speech in the first half, and the subsequent transition to first-person speech in the second half. Both halves can be further delineated into three tiers that are paralleled by corresponding content in the other half of the preamble, as indicated below.

- (a1) And taking up his parable he said,
 - (b1) 'Enoch, [is] a Righteous Man,
 - (c1) a vision from God was revealed to him, who was having the vision of the Holy One and of heaven, [and] He showed [it] to me.
 - (c2) *And the holy words of the holy ones* I indeed heard, and as I heard from them everything, so I indeed understood [what] I was seeing.
 - (b2i) But not for the current generation I intend, but upon which is distant I indeed speak,
 - (b2ii) And concerning the chosen I now speak,
- (a2) and concerning them I take up my parable.

The Enochic preamble is framed in layer (a) with two identifications of the discourse as a parable. In tier (a1) the clause is syntactically and semantically analogous to the recurring prophetic speech marker in *Numbers* 24 that marks the beginning of Balaam's oracles. A similar prophetic speech marker in (a2) closes the Enochic preamble and features a first-person aorist verb (ἀνέλαβον) and pronoun (μου), in contrast to the third-person speech and the aorist participle (ἀναλαβών) that opens the preamble in (a1).

⁴⁸⁰ A concentric pattern has been observed in the arrangement of *Daniel* 2-7. See: Lenglet, A. 1972, 'La Structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7', *Bib* 53, pp.169-190.

The verb ‘to take up’ (ἀναλαμβάνω) probably replicates a common Aramaic speech marker. In *Chapter 1*, we noted that whilst 4QEn^a preserves a plural ‘his parables’, the G^{CP} text-type only attests a singular form ‘his parable’ (τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ). G^{CP} may reflect an inner-Greek intertextual realignment of a plural noun to a singular noun due to the influence of LXX *Numbers* 24:15, as both read identically καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν.⁴⁸¹

The duplicated speech marker in (a1) and (a2) may only frame and provide symmetry to the structure of the preamble, however, it may mould Enoch in the guise of Balaam. In the Enochic preamble, however, this device is embedded within a structure that summates the career and experience of Enoch. The Enochic preamble is a resume or micro-narrative of Enoch’s prophetic career and experience.

The distinction in voice between (a1) and (a2) reflects the gradual shift within the Enochic preamble from Enoch as recipient to eventual mediator within the revelatory process. These two layers reflect a shift from the voice of the narrator in (a1), also reflected in the Enochic superscription in 1:1, to the active voice of Enoch in (a2). These two layers frame the inverted content of the preamble in G^{CP} which has its pivot point amidst layers (c1) and (c2).

The two units in layer (b) feature a reidentification of language from *Genesis* 6:9 and an allusion to 7:1. This has already been briefly explored in *Chapter 1*, which attests to the reworking of language from *Genesis* 7:1 in layer (b2i). The efficacy of this latter allusion is

⁴⁸¹ Milik argued this in relation to *Numbers* 23:1. Milik, p.89.

more vivid in 4QEn^a than in G^{CP}, although it is possible that the Ethiopic reflects a Greek text-type in G^{Eth} more closely aligned with the Aramaic.

The first half of layer (b) in G^{CP}, that is not preserved in 4QEn^a, reidentifies the epithet ascribed to Noah in *Genesis* 6:9 (נֹחַ אִישׁ צַדִּיק/Νωε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος). This epithet is reidentified with Enoch (Ἐνώχ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος) and appears in the same syntactical and semantic formulation as in LXX *Genesis* 6:9⁴⁸² – both texts use the phrase in direct apposition to the proper name.⁴⁸³ Whilst δίκαιος embodies a broad semantic range it is frequently and normatively utilized as an equivalent for Hebrew צַדִּיק.⁴⁸⁴ The phrase in G^{CP} also closely resembles the wording in the Eth.^{ERS} ሄኖክ፡ ብሊሊ፡ ጸድቅ፡ (Enoch, a Righteous Man).⁴⁸⁵ As indicated in *Chapter 1*, this epithet is attested in Aramaic ([גברא קשיטא]) in 4QTobit^b (4Q197 frg. 4.iii.9).⁴⁸⁶ In its literary context in the Enochic preamble, the reidentification of the title with Enoch legitimizes his role as intermediary between heaven and earth, and as conveyor of the impending judgement of God, in the imminence of the Deluge.

This parallel has been often overlooked or dismissed in scholarship's predominant focus on the parallel with *Numbers* 24:15-17. The phrase 'Enoch, a Righteous Man' was interpreted by Nickelsburg as an interpretive modification of the phrase נֶאֱמַר בְּלָעָם בֶּנוֹ בְּעוֹר. Nickelsburg proposed that 'righteous man' is a textual modification that exchanges the identification of Balaam as the son of Beor as featured in *Numbers* 24:15 with language

⁴⁸² For variants, see: Wevers, J.W. 1974. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Vol. I: Genesis*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, p.110.

⁴⁸³ The only variation between G^{CP} 1:2b and LXX *Genesis* 6:9 is the emendation of the proper name.

⁴⁸⁴ For example, in LXX *Genesis* it is utilized in various declensions to translate the singular צַדִּיק (7:1, 18:23, 20:4, and twice in 18:25) as well as the plural form צַדִּיקִים (twice in 18:24, once in 18:26, 28). A similar relationship of translational equivalency is evident in *Exodus* 23:7, *Deuteronomy* 4:8, 16:19, 25:1, 32:4.

⁴⁸⁵ See *Supplement Critical Text* and *Chapter 4* for variants and analysis.

⁴⁸⁶ Edition: Fitzmyer, 'Tobit', p.51.

that is later employed in *BW* 15:1.⁴⁸⁷ More recently, Tigchelaar has suggested that the phrase is an interpretive rendering of the obscure phrase *שֶׁתָּם הַגִּבֹּר הָעֵינִי* from *Numbers* 24:15.⁴⁸⁸ The author of the Enochic preamble allegedly read the hapax *שֶׁתָּם* as a prefix relative particle plus *תָּם* (adj. blameless/complete) in similar fashion to that arguably reflected in the LXX translation *ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὁρῶν*.⁴⁸⁹ A similar recasting of this clause is attested in *Targum Onqelos* (גברא דשפיר חזי – the man who sees openly/clearly).⁴⁹⁰ Tigchelaar concludes that ‘the Enochic phrase “a righteous man”, may simply substitute the reference to the father of Num 24:15, but it is also possible that it has been influenced by a double understanding of *שֶׁתָּם*’.⁴⁹¹ According to this approach, the qualification of Enoch using this phrase would be emblematic of the broader and sequential reworking of *Numbers* 24:15-17 within the Enochic preamble in 1:2-3a.⁴⁹²

The reidentification of the Noahic epithet with Enoch in layer (b1) has a comparative function in the Enochic preamble. The comparative function of this epithet is more vivid in *Genesis* 6:9, and therefore the efficacy of the reidentification may be reliant on an awareness of the literary context in which the epithet is used in *Genesis*. In *Genesis* 6:9 the phrase is qualified by two supplementary clauses, wherein Noah is declared a righteous man and blameless in contrast to his generation. A final cryptic clause stipulates that Noah walked with God, using similar language to *Genesis* 5:21-24.

The language used to legitimize Noah in *Genesis* 6:9 has an implicit comparative function. Whilst Noah is directly compared to his generation in the secondary clause in *Genesis*, it

⁴⁸⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.139.

⁴⁸⁸ Tigchelaar, ‘Balaam and Enoch’, pp.90-91.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, p.91.

⁴⁹² Ibid, p.90.

is also implicit in his identification as a *אִישׁ צַדִּיק*, a title that implies exceptionality. Using this epithet, Noah is marked out as distinct and exceptional in his generation, and as distinct from all those who lived prior the deluge.

The reidentification of this phrase to Enoch in the Enochic preamble, is probably interconnected with their similar description in *Genesis*. In the Priestly genealogical account of *Genesis* 5:21-24 Enoch is said to walk with God twice; in 5:22 *וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ חֲנוּךְ אֶת־* *הָאֱלֹהִים* (And Enoch walked with God) whilst the second iteration in 5:24 includes an identical phrase followed by an additional clause *וְאֵינּוּ כִּי־לָקַח אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים* (And he was not, for God took him).⁴⁹³ The phrase also appears in relation to Noah in 6:9, albeit in a syntactically reversed order. The parallels in the characterization of these two figures in *Genesis*, might underpin the reidentification of the epithet in the Enochic preamble.

The appropriation of the term *צַדִּיק* in the Enochic preamble was also noted by Peters who suggested that once the Noahic narrative in *BW* 6-11 had been ‘recontextualized into the final form of *BW* (chs. 1-36), it was Enoch who appeared in the text as the first “righteous man” (*קִשְׁט*) (1 Enoch 1:2), an attribution that remained with Enoch throughout the compositional history of the books at the same time that Noah’s righteousness was subsumed or even suppressed.’⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ As indicated by VanderKam, the distinction between the initial plural definite *אֱלֹהִים* that is used twice to depict Enoch walking with God/angels and the anarthrous *אֱלֹהִים* in the final clause was probably formative for expositors. VanderKam states that ‘later interpreters developed this definite plural as a reference to angels among whom they pictured Enoch as living both during and after his 365 years.’ VanderKam, J.C. 2001. ‘The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch’, in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, (ed. P.W. Flint), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, p.134; VanderKam, *Enoch and the growth...*, p.31. See also: VanderKam, ‘1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs...’, p.88.

⁴⁹⁴ Peters, D.M. 2008. *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conversation and Controversies of Antiquity*, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, p.37.

However, it is admittedly unclear, whether this epithet was attested in 4QEn^a and the Aramaic version(s), or whether the G^{CP} text-type instead reflects a translational shift in the text. It is possible that the Greek translator has been influenced by the form of the epithet as it appears in LXX *Genesis*.⁴⁹⁵ Therefore, an alternate possibility is that this title in the Enochic preamble is indicative of the influence of Greek translations of *Genesis* on the translation or transmission of the Enochic preamble.

In its context in the Enochic preamble in G^{CP}, the epithet fits within layer (b1). Combined with layer (b2), this unit identifies and legitimizes Enoch as the recipient and eventual mediator of the revelation from heaven, and subsequently identifies and legitimizes the ‘distant generation’ as the recipients of the revelation from Enoch. The possibility that this Noahic epithet ‘Righteous Man’ was an Aramaic feature, rather than a Greek translational modification, is plausibly suggested by the parallel to the language of *Genesis* 7:1 that is preserved in the other half of this preamble in 1:2c in 4QEn^a.

The reworking of *Genesis* 7:1 has an important role within the structure of the Enochic preamble, where it establishes a temporal and moral contrast between the distant generation, for whom the Enochic oracle is addressed to, and the immoral generation who live concurrent with Enoch, Noah, and the deluge. The Enochic preamble in 4QEn^a evokes and dismisses the relevance of his oracle for the generation of the deluge and instead projects it onto a distant and elect generation. This evocation of Noah’s generation in 1:2c is obfuscated in G^{CP}; however, the Eth.^{ERS} corresponds more closely to

⁴⁹⁵ This possibility is dismissed by Larson, who suggests ‘the adjective may ultimately derive from the description of Noah in *Genesis* 6:9, though one does see something of tendency in second temple literature to apply the adjective “righteous” to any biblical hero.’ Larson, E.W. 2005. ‘The LXX and Enoch: Influence and Interpretation in Early Jewish Literature’, in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini), William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, p.88.

4QEn^a which may have been reflected in the G^{Eth}. Therefore, the G^{CP} text-type may preserve an inner-Greek revision.

4QEn^a and the Eth.^{ERS} both attest a demonstrative particle ‘this’ in (b2i) alongside the noun ‘generation’ to evoke the generation concurrent with Noah and the deluge, and to rule them out as the intended recipients of Enoch’s oracle. In G^{CP}, this demonstrative particle is replaced by an adjectival use of the adverb νῦν (καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὴν νῦν γενεάν διεισοσύμην). According to Larson, the adjectival use of this adverb is an uncommon feature in the LXX, although similar examples are attested in LXX *Genesis* 29:34, 30:20, *Exodus* 9:14 and *4 Maccabees* 12:18.⁴⁹⁶

Larson interpreted this adjectival νῦν as a translation of the Aramaic near demonstrative ‘this’, and consequently as a translational feature of the Greek text.⁴⁹⁷ This interpretation is unlikely, considering the close relationship between 4QEn^a and the Eth.^{ERS}, which both include the near demonstrative ‘this’. Either G^{CP} reflects a secondary revisional reading, that replaced a Greek rendering of ‘this generation’ for the alternate ‘current generation’ as part of a stylistic revision, or an Ethiopic translator or scribe has made an intuitive reversal of this change. It is probable, however, that G^{CP} reflects a secondary revision of the clause, and that G^{Eth} here reflects a text-type closer to 4QEn^a.

This adjectival νῦν in G^{CP} probably reflects an inner-Greek stylistic revision that removes the repetition of the demonstrative pronoun and the noun γενεά (generation).⁴⁹⁸ The G^{CP} text-type thereafter omits the second iteration of the noun ‘generation’ in the second

⁴⁹⁶ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.236.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, pp.235-236.

⁴⁹⁸ Alternatively, it might reflect a scribal error – a duplication of the adverbial νῦν attested in 1:3a (καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν νῦν λέγω).

half of the stanza ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πόρρω οὔσαν ἐγὼ λαλῶ (but upon which is distant I speak).

This noun is preserved in 4QEn^a (קִיָּה [רָר] לֵד) and also in several Eth. I manuscripts – it is uncertain if this is a feature of the Eth.^{ERS}, or if it has been reinserted during transmission as part of an inner-Ethiopic stylistic revision (see *Chapter 4* for further). The language in 4QEn^a is closer than G^{CP} to the wording of *Genesis* 7:1 and it is probable that this Aramaic echo of *Genesis* 7:1 has been obscured during the transmission of this Greek text-type.⁴⁹⁹

The probability that this reflects an inner-Greek revision is furthermore suggested by the addition of an extra verb (διανοέομαι – to intend/devise/design/ponder/comprehend)⁵⁰⁰ in this clause in G^{CP} (καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὴν νῦν γενεὰν διανοούμην). An equivalent of this verb is not preserved in 4QEn^a or in the Ethiopic. It is possible that this verb was uniquely featured in the Aramaic Vorlage of the Greek, however, the absence of this verb in the Ethiopic, in agreement with 4QEn^a, strongly suggests that it is a transmissional interpolation in the G^{CP} text-type.

The verb διανοέομαι appears as an aorist imperative in *BW* 2:2 and 5:1, and therefore the addition of the verb does further interconnect the Enochic preamble with other sections in the Enochic oracle. The addition of an extra verb in the G^{CP} text-type improves the parallelism of the two halves of (b2i), and it may have been added as part of a stylistic revision. The omission in G^{CP} of the second reiteration of the noun ‘generation’, however, eliminates the original focus of the parallelism.

⁴⁹⁹ This shift may indicate that the reviser did not read any parallel between the Enochic preamble and LXX *Genesis* 7:1 which also features the demonstrative pronoun ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ (in this generation). The efficacy of the allusion to *Genesis* 7:1 in 4QEn^a 1:2c is probably reliant on this demonstrative.

⁵⁰⁰ Muraoka, p.155; Liddell & Scott, p.353.

Whilst the Eth.^{ERS} and 4QEn^a both attest a structure wherein the two clauses within the stanza are separated by a contrasting conjunction, in neither version are verbs utilized within both clauses. The second clause in the Greek uses a different verb form with a paralleled sense (ἐγὼ λαλῶ). This verb provides a close parallel to the verb preserved in this context in 4QEn^a (ܐܢܝ ܕܠܐܠܐ). In the Greek, these two verbal clauses are separated by the conjunction ἀλλὰ (but/rather), that agrees with the ܐܠܐ preserved in 4QEn^a.

The audience of the Enochic oracle identified in 1:2c, namely the ‘distant generation’, is further qualified with an additional clause in 1:3a (καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν νῦν λέγω – And concerning the chosen ones I now speak). The identification of the distant generation as the ‘elect’ interlinks this entity with the ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους (chosen righteous ones) who are introduced in the Enochic superscription. This additional clause in *BW* 1:3a (layer B2i) functions as a bridge between the reworking of *Genesis* 7:1 in 1:2c in layer (b1) and the final speech marker located consequently in 1:3a. This final speech marker in layer (a2) frames the two references to the location of the audience in layers (b1)/(b2) and frames the entire unit of the Enochic preamble.

The concentric structure of the Enochic preamble in G^{CP} is less self-evident in layer (c), and it is likely that this text-type reflects inner-Greek development. The Aramaic text-type preserved in 4QEn^a is insufficiently preserved to help understand this inner-Greek development, although where it is preserved 4QEn^a often features a reading unique from G^{CP}. In this middle unit in layer (c) of G^{CP}, the text does not provide unfettered access to the language of its own Aramaic Vorlage.

The units in (c1) and (c2) are unified in their narratological focus but are distinct in terms of their voice, and the agency of the revelation. The first half of this layer continues the

third-person speech from (a1) and (b1) and reflects the voice of an external narrator, or Enoch narrating in third-person speech. The second half (c2), however, shifts suddenly into first-person speech, wherein Enoch becomes the active voice and agent. This first-person speech then continues in the layers (b2i), (b2ii) and (a2) that we have already explored.

The two halves of layer (c) are also distinct in terms of prophetic agency. In (c1) the focus is upon the role of God within the revelatory process, whilst in (c2) the focus shifts instead to the role of the holy ones as mediators within this revelatory process. There is also a simultaneous shift from Enoch as recipient to agent within the revelatory process, and as one acted upon to an actor within this type-scene.

The shift from past to present tense in layer (c) marks the temporal relationship of the oracle in *BW* 1:3b-5:9 to those revelatory experiences of Enoch described in the preamble. Despite the fronted location of the Enochic oracle in the *BW*, the description of Enoch's revelatory experiences and celestial journeys in the preamble using the past tense, locates the prophetic performance of the oracle after the events described in chapters 12-36. In this manner, the Enochic preamble works in tandem with the Enochic superscription in 1:1 to temporarily locate the Enochic theophany and oracle at the end of the career of Enoch, directly prior to Enoch's final ascension.⁵⁰¹

The innermost layer (c) of the Enochic preamble describes the sensory aspects of Enoch's revelatory experience. In *G^{CP}*, it can be divided into four distinct subunits. The first two

⁵⁰¹ The parallel between the Enochic and Mosaic superscription may have this temporal function. The Mosaic superscription introduces Moses' final discourse before his ascension up the mountain at the end of his life, whilst the Enochic superscription would thus appropriate this temporal quality. Enoch's oracle is positioned by the superscription and preamble as his final utterance before his own ascension.

subunits focus on the visual aspects of the revelation, whilst the latter two focus on the aural and cognitive aspects. The language of the unit is distinct from the fragmentary 4QEn^a and the Eth.^{ERS}, and it is evident that this text-type reflects ongoing inner-Greek growth and development.

C1i	ὄρασις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῷ ἀνεφγμένη	A vision from God was revealed to him,
C1ii	ἦν· ἔχων τὴν ὄρασιν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδειξέν μοι	who was having the vision of the Holy One and of heaven, [and] He showed [it] to me.
C2i	καὶ ἁγιολόγων ἁγίων ἤκουσα ἐγώ, καὶ ὥς ἤκουσα παρ' αὐτῶν πάντα	And the holy words of the holy ones (or: speaking holy of holy things) I indeed heard, and as I heard from them everything,
C2ii	καὶ ἔγνων ἐγὼ θεωρῶν	so I understood [what] I was seeing

The broad consensus in contemporary scholarship is that this unit in the Enochic preamble reflects a reworking and modification of the sensory imagery used in the Balaam oracular preamble in *Numbers* 24:15-17. The clear appropriation of the formulaic speech marker ‘And he lifted up his parable and said..’ in 1:2a, that recurs in the Balaam oracles in *Numbers* 24, is the most convincing evidence for this hypothesis. There is a general parallel in the sensory aspects of both the Enochic and Balaam preambles that legitimizes some form of relationship, even if it is not necessarily one of dependence.

This hypothesis has been expounded in detail by Nickelsburg and Tigchelaar. Nickelsburg argued that ‘even if no association with Balaam is intended, the form and content of his ancient oracles provide a model, which this author modifies for his own purposes.’⁵⁰² In Nickelsburg’s commentary, each stanza of his reconstructed Enochic text, is juxtaposed against a distinct unit in the Balaam oracular preamble.⁵⁰³ The parallels between *1 Enoch*

⁵⁰² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.137.

⁵⁰³ Ibid, p.138.

1:2-3b and *Numbers* 24:15-17 in particular, led Tigchelaar to suggest that ‘we should read the text of 1 Enoch 1:2-3b against the background of its model’ and later that ‘one way of doing so is by paying particular attention to modifications.’⁵⁰⁴

However, the only way to establish the parallels with *Numbers* 24:15-17 is by creating a text conflated of elements from 4QEn^a, G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS}, as no single witness preserves a text that corresponds in all sections to the language of *Numbers*. A good example is found in 1:2b, in what is the opening unit in (c1i), where G^{CP} does not convey a close parallel to the Balaam oracular preamble, yet the Eth.^{ERS} preserves a unique reading that corresponds closely. In this initial clause in the description of Enoch’s revelatory experiences, the passage has been correlated with *Numbers* 24:15c:

<i>Numbers</i> 24:15c	:וַיִּפְתָּח הָאֵל וַיִּבְרָךְ אֶת־עֵינָיו	And the Oracle of the Man opened of eye
<i>Numbers</i> 24:15c (LXX) ⁵⁰⁵	φησὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶν	He said, the Man who sees truly...
G ^{CP} 1:2b	ὄρασις ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτῷ ἀνεωγμένη	A vision from God was revealed to him
Eth. ^{ERS} 1:2b	ዘእምሳብ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ አዕይንቲህ፡ ከሠታት፡	Who was with God whilst his eyes were uncovered

In *Numbers* 24:15c, the metaphor of eyes being uncovered articulates Balaam’s revelatory experience. The passage in G^{CP}, however, does not feature the expected noun ὀφθαλμοί (n.pl. eyes), but instead attests the noun ὄρασις (n.f. vision/sight), which appears again in the next clause in the Enochic preamble. The duplication of this noun in G^{CP} therefore might reflect a scribal error. That this noun is a secondary feature of the G^{CP} text-type is suggested by the attestation of the noun ‘eyes’ in the Ethiopic. The Eth.^{ERS} attests to a close semantic and thematic parallel with the Balaam oracular preamble in

⁵⁰⁴ Tigchelaar, ‘Balaam and Enoch’, p.89.

⁵⁰⁵ Edition: Wevers, *Septuaginta: Numeri*, p.292.

Numbers 24:15-17, whilst G^{CP} reflects a reformulation of this revelatory process. In this instance, the Eth.^{ERS} and plausibly the G^{Eth} preserves an earlier reading than that preserved in G^{CP}.

Indeed, Black suggested that the Ethiopic reflects an Enochic text that jointly reworked this phrase in 24:15c (שָׁתָם הָעֵינַן) with a similar expression that appears in 24:16c וְגִלְיֵי עֵינָיִם (uncovered of eyes).⁵⁰⁶ The possibility that the Ethiopic text preserves a parallel with this latter clause וְגִלְיֵי עֵינָיִם had already been suggested by Charles, who on this basis, inferred that the Ethiopic featured the preferable construction.⁵⁰⁷ Black furthermore suggested that the text in G^{Eth} was preferable to the reading of G^{CP}, and restored the noun ὀφθαλμός.⁵⁰⁸

The possibility that G^{CP} reflects a secondary development, is also suggested by the unusual syntactical position of the noun ὄρασις.⁵⁰⁹ This can be resolved by the addition of a relative pronoun. For example, Black proposed the insertion of ὃ prior to the noun,⁵¹⁰ turning it into a relative clause subordinate to the preceding Ἐνώχ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιός [ἐστίν]. Alternatively, the noun may have been dislocated in G^{CP} from an original position after ἐκ θεοῦ (from God).

⁵⁰⁶ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.104.

⁵⁰⁷ Charles instead inferred a relationship with the parallel unit in *Numbers* 24:4; Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3.

⁵⁰⁸ Black argued that the Ethiopic reading was superior to G^{CP} and proposed that G^{Eth} read οὗ παρὰ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνεωγμένοι; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.104. Nickelsburg recommended that the Greek should be reconstructed as ὅστις ἐκ θεοῦ ὄρασις αὐτοῦ ἀνεωγμένη (whom from God a vision was revealed to him). Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.137.

⁵⁰⁹ It is also possible that G^{CP} may reflect a transmissional reorientation of the language in dialogue with LXX *Numbers* 24. This passage also uses the same noun ὄρασιν later in 24:16 in the clause καὶ ὄρασιν θεοῦ ἰδὼν ἐν ὕπνῳ, although not in the clause in 24:15 that has typically been interpreted as the unit imitated by the Enochic author.

⁵¹⁰ Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19.

The secondary nature of the G^{CP} reading is also suggested by the infrequent use of the noun ὄρασις with the verb ἀνοίγω (to open, unlock, disclose).⁵¹¹ The verb appears often in cognate Greek literature with other nouns as object, including a mouth (e.g. *Daniel* 10:16), doors or windows (*1 Samuel* 3:15, *Genesis* 8:6), and even the heavens (*Ezekiel* 1:1). It does not appear elsewhere with the noun ὄρασις. In contrast, the noun ὀφθαλμός appears frequently with this verb, appearing in for example, LXX *Genesis* 21:19, *Tobit* 2:10, 11:7, *Isaiah* 35:5. It is also attested elsewhere in the Greek Enochic literature in *Dream Visions* 89:44, as preserved in the Vatican Fragments,⁵¹² where it is used in relation to the sheep (καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ὧν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἠνοίγησαν).⁵¹³

Whilst it is probable that the Ethiopic reflects an earlier stratum of the Greek (G^{Eth}), the clause preserved in G^{CP} does not provide a simple correspondence to the language of *Numbers* 24:15c without emending the text.

The metaphor of eyes being opened to indicate the acquisition of knowledge or revelation is common in Semitic literature, and it is unlikely that *Numbers* 24:15 is the only text that was formative for its use in our Enochic passage, or for its ongoing interpretation. Similar language is attested in LXX *Genesis* 3:5, where Satan lures Eve into eating the fruit of the tree amidst the garden of Eden, inferring that her eyes will be opened upon eating the fruit. This passage uses the compound verb διανοίγω (to open up/reveal), that is related to our verb in *BW* 1:2. This verb is attested again in *Genesis* 3:7

⁵¹¹ Liddell & Scott, p.145.

⁵¹² A Greek version of 89:42-49 was copied into the margins of the 11th century Codex Vaticanus Gr.1809. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.13. Edition: Mai, A. 1844. *S. Cyrilli Alexandrini Commentarium in S. Lucae Evangelium nec non eiusdem alia opuscula XVI*, Nova Patrum Bibliotheca 2, Rome, iv; Gildemeister, J. 1855. 'Ein Fragment des Griechischen Henoch', *ZDMG* 9, pp.621-624.

⁵¹³ An additional example is found in *Epistle of Enoch* 106:2 in the Chester Beatty Michigan papyrus. Edition: Kenyon, F. G. 1941. *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible. Fasciculus VIII. Enoch and Melito. Plates*, Emery Walker, London.

once Adam and Eve have eaten the fruit (καὶ διηνοιχθήσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν δύο – And the eyes of those two were opened).⁵¹⁴ Similar metaphoric language is also attested in a comparable setting associated with Adam and Eve in *Apocalypse of Moses* 18:3, 20:1, 21:5.⁵¹⁵ Whilst Adam and Eve's eyes are opened illegitimately, Enoch's eyes are opened legitimately by God.

This metaphoric language in the Enochic preamble was not dependent for its interpretation on this parallel with *Numbers* 24:15c. Whilst the broader parallels with *Numbers* 24:15-17 might suggest that the Balaam oracular preamble was formative for the development of the Enochic oracular preamble, none of the three surviving versions corroborate all parallels with this text. Only a conflated text, or a reconstructed and restored Greek text, adopting elements from G^{CP}, 4QEn^a and the Ethiopic can sustain this model of dependency.

Another unique feature of G^{CP} is the initial clause in layer (c2) of the Enochic preamble. In 4QEn^a, this clause is fragmentarily preserved as 'And from the words of...', however, in G^{CP} it is alternatively preserved as καὶ ἀγιολόγων ἁγίων ἤκουσα ἐγώ. Whilst a first-person pronoun appears at the end of layer (c1ii), the 'me' in 'He showed [it] to me', the shift to first-person speech only becomes clear in this clause in layer (c2i). Enoch becomes an active speaker in this stanza, and there is a shift in G^{CP} from third- to first-person verbal forms with first-person nominative pronouns. In this unit, the focus shifts from the visual aspect of Enoch's revelatory experience to the aural aspects. The language of this unit in

⁵¹⁴ Edition: Wevers, *Septuaginta: Genesis*, p.90.

⁵¹⁵ Edition: von Tischendorf, pp.9-12.

the Enochic preamble in G^{CP}, however, is obscure – we will reflect further on the hapax ἁγιολόγων later in this chapter.

Overall, the parallels with *Numbers* 24:15-17 are compelling when we deal with a conflated text, however, the version preserved in G^{CP} reflects a textual tradition where many of these parallels may have broken down during transmission. In *Chapter 4*, we will assess the Enochic preamble in Eth.^{ERS} in dialogue with G^{CP}, and we will explore whether the Ethiopic version preserves earlier and preferable readings in the Enochic preamble.

The Descent of God in G^{CP} (BW 1:3b-4) and the Hebrew Theophanies

The Enochic preamble in 1:2-3a directly preludes the description of God's descent in 1:3b-4. God comes forth from his abode and descends upon the summit of Mount Sinai accompanied by a mighty force from the heaven of heavens. God's descent in 1:3b-4 pre-empt, and echoes, central themes, and language from chapters 6-16. In G^{CP}, numerous language parallels interconnect 1:3b-9 and 6-16.

In *Chapter 1*, we observed that 4QEn^a preserves verbal, conceptual, and thematic parallels with the Hebrew theophanies in *Micah* 1:3-4 and *Deuteronomy* 33:3ff. These parallels have shaped the interpretation of this unit in modern scholarship.⁵¹⁶ The Aramaic BW 1:3b-4 may echo or conflate language features from the theophanies in *Micah* and *Deuteronomy*, in a creative and integrative compositional process embedded within ongoing traditionary processes. However, the feasibility of this is only confirmed to a limited extent by 4QEn^a due to the fragmentary nature of this witness. Furthermore,

⁵¹⁶ E.g.; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.105; Hartman, p.23; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.144.

the G^{CP} text-type often features new or developed textual parallels and connections.

Textual parallels are not static or unchanging.

The first stanza of the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} closely mirrors the syntactical structure of 4QEn^a. The theophany begins with God coming out (ἐξελεύσεται) from his heavenly abode (ἐκ τῆς κατοικίσεως αὐτοῦ). The reference at the end of 1:4c to the ‘heaven of heavens’ (τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν) confirms that this abode (κατοικίσεως) is of a heavenly rather than terrestrial nature. In 1:4b, God descends and treads (or: tramples) upon the summit of Mount Sinai. In G^{CP}, the movement of God is directed towards Sinai, not away from Sinai as in *Deuteronomy* 33:2ff.

The Enochic theophany avoids using the tetragrammaton, and the titles and epithets commonly associated with the Israelite God in the Hebrew Pentateuchal and Prophetic literature. In G^{CP}, God is introduced in 1:3b using the binarized title ‘the Holy one [my], the Great one’ (ὁ ἅγιός [μου] ὁ μέγας), and in 1:4a as ‘the God of Eternity’ (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος).

A key difference between 4QEn^a and G^{CP}, is the syntactical form of this title in 1:3b. The Greek has split the title (קדוש[ה] ר[ב] – the Great Holy One) into two separate nominative forms with an intervening genitive pronoun. Similar titles for God appear elsewhere in G^{CP} including in 10:1 (ὁ μέγας ἅγιος) and in 14:1 (τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μεγάλου)⁵¹⁷ – in G^{Syn}, the title in 10:1 appears instead as ὁ ἅγιός ὁ μέγας.⁵¹⁸ In G^{CP}, a similar title appears in 25:3, however, it is entirely restructured. The form of the title in G^{CP} has been emended, reworked, or recontextualized in each of these passages. The lack of consistency in the

⁵¹⁷ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, pp.24, 28.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid, p.24.

Greek, and the deviation between the Greek versions, strongly suggests that these titles continued to evolve during the transmission of the G^{CP} text-type.

The addition of the pronoun μου (my) is probably a transmissional feature of G^{CP}. It may be a scribal duplication of the pronoun μου in 1:3a, or an interpolation in the text associated with its liturgical recitation. A similar interpolative 'us' (ἡμῶν) appears in 1:8, which might hint at a communal and liturgical context of transmission for the G^{CP} text-type.⁵¹⁹

A similar genitive pronoun is also attached to θεός in the theophany in LXX *Zechariah* 14:5c, a passage which is conceptually and thematically analogous to the Enochic theophany in 1:3b-4.

LXX <i>Zechariah</i> 14:5c ⁵²⁰	καὶ ἥξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. And the Lord my God will come and all the angels with him
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Variations of the second title 'the God of Eternity' (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος) are common in Greek translations and literature, although it does not appear elsewhere in theophanic discourse. As indicated by VanderKam, 'the word αἰών is ambiguous; it can mean: eternity, the time which the world lasts, and the world itself.'⁵²¹ Therefore, either 'the God of Eternity' or 'the God of the World' could be appropriate in this literary context.⁵²²

⁵¹⁹ Alternatively, it may reflect a conflation of the title for God with similar titles in other Greek literature in the memory of a scribe who copied this text-type. General parallels are found, for example, in *Isaiah* 36:12 (ὁ κύριός μου) and *Luke* 12:45 (ὁ κύριός μου ἔρχεσθαι) where the pronoun is attached to 'the Lord'. This genitive pronoun appears in conjunction with 'God', for example in *Revelation* 3:2,12 (τοῦ θεοῦ μου) and in *John* 20:28 (ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου). Similar language also appears in *Jonah* 2:3, 7, *Philemon* 3:8, *John* 20:13, *Luke* 16:3, 20:42, *Acts* 2:34, *Revelation* 7:14.

⁵²⁰ Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Duodecim Prophetæ*, p.324.

⁵²¹ VanderKam, 'The Theophany...', p.135; Sasse, H. 1964. 'αἰών', in *TDNT I*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, pp.197-208.

⁵²² It appears again in *2 Corinthians* 4:4 (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) although it there has a polemical function, and the semantic range of the noun αἰώνος is limited by the demonstrative τούτου. Similar titles appear elsewhere with an adjectival form rather than a noun, including the title ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος in the

In G^{CP}, this title is unparalleled elsewhere in *BW*, however, it is akin to language used in *BW* 9:4 to describe God, where he is referred to as:

<p>G^{CP} <i>BW</i> 9:4b⁵²³</p>	<p>Σὺ εἶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος</p> <p>You are Lord of Lords, and the God of Gods, and the King of the Ages/Eternity, and the Throne of your Glory is for all the generations of the age...</p>
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In the Enochic theophany in G^{CP}, the noun used for the heavenly abode of God (κατοικήσεώς), finds a parallel in a polemical context in *BW* 15, where it refers to the abode of the ‘spirits of heaven’ and their giant offspring (for texts, see *Supplement* Table 2.3). These examples are embedded within the command given to Enoch to go and condemn the watchers of heaven for forsaking the high heaven, the eternal sanctuary (15:3), and for laying and defiling themselves with women (15:4). The description of God’s licit descent from ‘His abode’ thus pre-empt the condemnation of the watcher’s illicit descent and their abandonment of their correct abode in heaven as articulated in *BW* 15.

In the Enochic theophany, the movement and descent of God from heaven is juxtaposed against the wrongful conduct of the watchers, through a series of paradigmatic language parallels and contrasts. It is unclear whether these series of contrasts were as self-evident in the Aramaic versions and text-types, but the structured relationship between the language of the Enochic theophany and chapters 12-16 is clear in the G^{CP} text-type.

Apocalypse of Ezra 7:5 and *Susanna* 35. Alternate forms include θεὸν αἰώνιον in *Baruch* 4:8 and θεὸς αἰώνιος in *Isaiah* 40:28/*Genesis* 21:33 and ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος in *Isaiah* 26:4.

⁵²³ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.23.

The use of the noun κατοικήσεώς to refer to God's heavenly abode is an unusual feature of the language of the Enochic theophany.⁵²⁴ This noun appears in *2 Chronicles* 6:21b, in the context of Solomon's prayer of dedication for the new temple.⁵²⁵ However, only in the corresponding Hebrew text does it clearly refer to an abode in heaven, whilst in the Greek versions it instead infers that the abode is the earthly temple, and that God will listen from heaven. Similar language also appears in the corresponding passage in *LXX 1 Kings* 8:30.

In *Chapter 1*, we observed that a unique aspect of the Enochic theophany is that it features movement directed towards, and not away from, a designated location. In the Enochic theophany, God descends to Mount Sinai from his heavenly abode, not away from Sinai.⁵²⁶ Most Hebrew theophanies depict movement directed northwards away from Mount Sinai, Mount Paran, Teman, or Seir (e.g. *Habakkuk* 3:3, *Deuteronomy* 33:2, *Exodus* 19:1, 20).

Another element of G^{CP}, which is not explicitly preserved in 4QEn^a, is that the Enochic theophany depicts the vertical movement of God between heaven and earth. God moves down from heaven to earth, not horizontally across the topography of the earth as is more frequent in the Hebrew theophanies. The theophanies in *Micah* 1:3ff, which includes an explicit verb indicating descent, and *Isaiah* 26:21 arguably convey vertical movement. In addition, in both passages God's movement is directed away from מִמְּקוֹמִי (from his place). Neither passage, however, explicitly defines this location as a celestial or extra-terrestrial abode. Similar language of God's descent to Sinai appears in *Exodus*

⁵²⁴ The term also refers to a general 'dwelling'/'abode' in *LXX Genesis* 27:39, *Exodus* 12:40, *2 Samuel* 9:12, *2 Kings* 2:19, *1 Esdras* 1:19

⁵²⁵ Cf. VanderKam, 'The Theophany...', p.135.

⁵²⁶ This was also noted in: *Ibid*, p.133.

19:11, 18, 34:5,⁵²⁷ however, it there appears in a narrative context and not in a poetic theophanic discourse.

Vertical movement is key to the narrative polemics in the *BW*. From the watchers' illicit descent to earth in chapters 6-11, to Enoch's licit ascent from earth to heaven in chapters 12-33,⁵²⁸ the description of their movement is interlinked with their respective sin and downfall, and virtue and ascent. This focus on vertical movement in 1:3b-4 interlinks the Enochic theophany to the rest of the *BW*. In *G^{CP}*, the description of God's descent with the hosts of heaven becomes a paradigmatic model of licit descent that is juxtaposed against the watchers' illicit descent in 6:1ff.

The eschatological judgment in *BW* 1:5-9 preludes and echoes the temporally located judgment of the watchers that is narrated in 10:1-11:1, 12:1-13:3, and 15:1-16:14.

Whether this was an early function of this passage in the Aramaic version(s), or whether this is merely caused by the dislocation of this text from an alternate literary context, the theophany in *BW* 1:3b-4c in its present context in *G^{CP}* is juxtaposed against the myth of the watchers' descent.

In the *G^{CP}* text-type, a verbal parallel interlinks the description of God's descent with *LXX Zechariah* 14:3. Amidst a description of the Lord coming forth in a day of war to fight against the nations, the Lord comes forth using the same verb featured in *G^{CP}* 1:3b.

LXX	καὶ ἐξελεύσεται κύριος καὶ παρατάσσεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκεῖνοις καθὼς ἡμέρα παρατάξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου.
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⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Chapters 34-36 are not attested in *G^{CP}* and so they are not included in the present discussion. The presence of these chapters in the Ethiopic, however, almost certainly indicates that they were included in other Greek text-types and versions.

Zechariah 14:3⁵²⁹ And the Lord will come out and He will be arrayed for battle with those nations just as the day of His battle-line in a day of war.

The verb ἐξελεύσεται is identical to the initial verb used in the description of God's descent in *BW* 1:3b. This is a common Greek verb for movement, and is common in *Zechariah*, however, it here provides a closer parallel to the Enochic theophany than the initial verb in the Greek versions of *Micah* 1:3 and *Deuteronomy* 33:3. Both passages in *BW* and *Zechariah* are laden with militaristic imagery. In the Enochic theophany in 1:4b-c, the two terms παρεμβολῆς (camp/army) and δυνάμει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ (strength of His might) echo passages, such as *Zechariah* 14, where God comes forth in battle.

In *Chapter 1*, we observed that 4QEn^a 1:3b preserves language that closely parallels *Micah* 1:3 and *Isaiah* 26:21 (כִּי־הִנֵּה יְהוָה יֵצֵא מִמְּקוֹמוֹ). The Aramaic may preserve a reworking, or at least, an echo of the initial stanza in these theophanies. The Aramaic Enochic theophany reflects ongoing traditionary processes and participated in an ongoing theophanic discourse in which these two texts were vital in ongoing literary and compositional activity.

The Greek Enochic theophany then features a parallelistic stanza that describes the movement of God from his celestial abode and clarifies that this movement is vertical and not horizontal. The God of Eternity (καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος) will tread down upon the earth, upon Mount Sinai (ἐπὶ γῆν πατήσκει ἐπὶ τὸ Σεινὰ ὄρος). The Greek verb πατήσκει has two accusative objects, one before the verb (ἐπὶ γῆν) and one after (ἐπὶ τὸ Σεινὰ ὄρος). Whilst the initial stanza in 1:3b describes the movement of God away from a designate location, this secondary stanza describes where this movement is directed towards.

⁵²⁹ Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Duodecim Prophetæ*, p.323.

The stanza in 1:4a preserves a parallel with *Micah* that is not attested in the fragmentary Aramaic. The second half of *Micah* 1:3 reads ‘and He will descend and tread upon the high places of the earth’ (וְיֵרֵד וְדָרַךְ עַל־בָּמוֹתַי אֶרֶץ:). G^{CP} provides a conceptual and thematic parallel to this stanza. In *Micah*, the plural ‘high places of the earth’ is paralleled in G^{CP} by the singular ‘Mount Sinai’. A key contrast between the passages, however, is the absence of any equivalent of the verb ‘He will descend’ in the Enochic theophany. In G^{CP}, the verb πατήσεται ‘He will tread/trample’ provides a basic parallel with the Hebrew verb used in *Micah* (דָּרַךְ), however, there is no parallel with the Greek version. LXX *Micah* instead attests the unique verb ἐπιβήσεται (and He will sit) and does not directly replicate this Hebrew verb.

The two final stanzas in G^{CP}, in 1:4b and 1:4c, begin with an identical verb φανήσεται (He will appear/shine forth), that provides parallelism between these two stanzas, and provides a basic parallel to LXX *Deuteronomy* 33:2 (καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἐκ Σηιρ ἡμῖν).⁵³⁰ The extent of the parallelism between these two stanzas, however, is dependent on the prepositions preserved in the second half of each stanza. In 1:4b, God appears *from* his camp/army (ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ) whilst in 1:4c God appears *with* the strength of his might from the heaven of heavens (ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν).

The parallelism between these two stanzas would be improved if the preposition is changed in 1:4b from ἐκ to ἐν in accordance with the reading of 1:4c. A reading of ‘with/in’ rather than ‘from’ in 1:4b is also preserved in the Ethiopic (በጥቅምቱ - with His army/in His camp), which reflects an interpretation of παρεμβολῆς in G^{Eth} as either an

⁵³⁰ Edition: Wevers, *Septuaginta: Deuteronomium*, p.362.

accompanying army, or as a camp, perhaps with either military or cultic overtones. In G^{CP}, the preposition ‘from’ suggests that the noun παρεμβολῆς refers to a military camp or barracks, or at least refers to a spatially defined entity, rather than a physical army in battle formation – see *Chapter 4* for further comment.

The militaristic overtones and associative aspect of the language of God’s descent in G^{CP} is also reflected in the phrase in the parallel stanza in 1:4c, ‘in the strength of His might’ (ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ). The initial noun δύνᾱμις (power/might/military force) is often used as a term for military forces, appearing elsewhere in LXX *Joel* 2:11 and in LXX *1 Kings* 15:20.⁵³¹ The phrase ‘strength of His might’, using δύνᾱμις and ἰσχύς (strength/might) is not a standard Greek idiom and is indebted to its Aramaic Vorlage. Nevertheless, in G^{CP} the accompanying forces of God are clearly described using language with strong militaristic overtones.

The efficacy of this language as a metaphor for hosts of angelic beings, is perhaps strengthened in G^{CP}, by the attestation in *BW* 20:1 of the phrase ‘angels of strength’ (Ἄγγελοι τῶν δυνάμεων)⁵³² before the list of the seven archangels. Similar language is used in *BW* 18:14 to describe the forces of heaven (καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)⁵³³ who, alongside the stars that transgressed the command of the Lord, are imprisoned at the end of heaven and earth.

The Greek theophany in 1:3b-4a provides a general parallel to the Hebrew and Greek versions of the *Micah* theophany without providing strict lexical correspondences. Whilst there are broad thematic and conceptual parallels that interconnect the Enochic

⁵³¹ VanderKam, ‘The Theophany...’, p.138.

⁵³² Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.32.

⁵³³ *Ibid*, p.31.

theophany in G^{CP} 1:3b-4 and *Micah* 1:3ff, the parallels with *Micah* may not have been replicated by the Greek translator(s), and it is evident that both theophanies developed in unique directions in their respective Greek versions. The G^{CP} text-type stresses, and perhaps even heightens, the militaristic aspects of the coming of God.

In addition, the G^{CP} text-type contains clear features of shared language with *BW* 6-16 that suggests that the description of God's descent with his celestial hosts echoes, and pre-empt, the watchers' descent and their eventual punishment. The traditionary processes that produced the Enochic theophany were not only responding to, and borne out of, the 'canonical' theophanies but was also borne out of the language and content of other units in *BW* 6-16.

The Watchers and the Hidden Things in G^{CP} (BW 1:5)

This unit describes the reaction of the inhabitants of the earth and the watchers to God's descent with his celestial entourage in 1:3b-4. In 1:5a, the abstract 'all' is probably a collective reference to all of humanity, or alternatively, to all the living creatures upon the earth. In G^{CP}, humanity show fear at the coming of God in his power, whilst the watchers instead 'believe' in response.

The next two stanzas in 1:5b-c are not attested in the Ethiopic. In 1:5b, the watchers are predicted to sing 'hidden things' in the extremities of the earth. In 1:5c, these extremities will 'be shaken' at the coming of God, which pre-empt the longer description of the destruction of the high hills and high mountains in 1:6-7. The final stanza in 1:5d indicates that 'a trembling and great fear' will seize 'them' until the ends of the earth. The 'them' may only refer to the watchers alone, or may also include the vague 'all' from 1:5a.

In this section, we will focus on three unique features of G^{CP}. Firstly, the identity of the πάντες, and secondly, the idea that the watchers will believe (πιστεύουσιν). The third feature is the peculiar phrase ᾗσουσιν ἀπόκρυφα (they will sing ‘hidden things’). A fourth element, the τρόμος καὶ φόβος μέγας (trembling and great fear) from the final stanza will be discussed in dialogue with the Eth.^{ERS} in *Chapter 4*.

In 1:5a, the πάντες (all) does not have a clear subject. A nominative plural αὐτοί may have been omitted in the G^{CP} text-type by scribal error or to improve the parallelism between (καὶ φοβηθήσονται πάντες) and the following clause (καὶ πιστεύουσιν οἱ ἐγρήγοροι).⁵³⁴ An alternate possibility was suggested by Milik, who argued that this initial verb and the quantifying particle should be read in conjunction with the following clause. On this basis, Milik restored to 4QEn^a the reading ודחלון כל עיריה (And all the watchers will fear), even though this stanza is not preserved in 4QEn^a;⁵³⁵ the equivalent Greek reading would be καὶ φοβηθήσονται πάντες οἱ ἐγρήγοροι. Milik re-signified the verb φοβηθήσονται to refer to the watchers, whilst regarding the verb πιστεύουσιν as a secondary explanatory gloss with no equivalent in the Aramaic.⁵³⁶

More recently, Nickelsburg suggested that the watchers were the subject of both verbs, but that the meaning of the second verb in the Ethiopic, which instead reads ‘and they will shake/quake’, was preferable in this context.⁵³⁷ This reading was justified through appeal to similar language in *BW* 13:3 wherein, upon Enoch’s completion of his commission to rebuke Asael, it concludes concerning the watchers that ‘And all of them

⁵³⁴ An example of πάντες αὐτοί, although not in conjunction with the verb used in G^{CP}, is found in LXX 2 *Samuel* 23:6, *Micah* 3:7. Indeed, in the similar stanza that appears later in G^{CP} 13:3 this αὐτοί is preserved, albeit in a distinct syntactical order (καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐφοβήθησαν).

⁵³⁵ Milik, pp.142, 145.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.142.

were afraid, and trembling and fear took/seized them (G^{CP}: καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτοὺς τρόμος καὶ φόβος).⁵³⁸ Nickelsburg justified this reconstruction on the basis that 1:5 was probably dependent on this parallel text in 13:3.

The use of πάντες as an abstract subject, rather than as a quantifier on οἱ ἐγγήγοροι, however, is in accord with the similar abstract subject in 1:7b (G^{CP}: καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολείται – and all which is upon the earth will be destroyed). The πάντες in 1:5 anticipates and pre-empts the πάντα in 1:7b where it clearly refers to all creatures, both humans and animals, which inhabit the earth. In 1:7b, this may echo language from the Deluge pericope in *Genesis* 6:9-7:23, and it is possible that this πάντες in 1:5a also echoes the frequent use of this quantifying particle within the Deluge pericope. Whilst the destructive activity in 1:6-7 may describe the final eschatological judgment; an alternate possibility is that it also echoes and anticipates the first global judgment illustrated in the Deluge pericope.

An alternate reading was proposed by VanderKam, who highlighted similar language in the Sinaitic theophany in *Exodus* 19:16 (וַיִּחַרְדּוּ כָּל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר בְּמִחְנֶה:) and 20:18 (וַיִּרְאֵהָ הָעָם וַיִּנְעֻזוּ).⁵³⁹ VanderKam argued that the author of the Enochic theophany ‘has taken the motif of fear at God’s advent from the Sinai narratives, but he has universalized that fear by making all of the earth’s inhabitants, as well as the Watchers, cringe at the approach of the judging God.’⁵⁴⁰ This universalizing language may ‘have been suggested to him by the references to “all of the people” in the Sinai narratives.’⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁸ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...* p.27.

⁵³⁹ VanderKam, ‘The Theophany...’, p.140.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

The Enochic theophany may articulate the universalized fear of humanity, or the entire created order, in parallelism with a description of the reaction of the watchers. The two clauses would thus function as *parallelismus membrorum*. The topographical reference to Mount Sinai in 1:4a, as the locus point of God's descent, may have inspired this appeal to language from the Sinaitic narrative in *Exodus*. This argument is compelling, however, in both passages in *Exodus* the 'all' has an explicit noun complement that clarifies the identity of the group, which is lacking in the Enochic text.⁵⁴²

A description of the reaction of the watchers to God's descent is not unexpected, however, the verb πιστεύουσιν (and they will believe) is peculiar in this context. The οἱ ἐγρήγοροι probably refers only to the fallen watchers – the term is prioritized in G^{CP} as a reference to the fallen watchers, and appears with this sense in 10:7, 9, 15 and 16:2. Alternate designations include 'the watchers of heaven' which appears in 12:4, 13:10, 15:2 and 'the watchers, the sons of heaven' in 6:2 and 14:3.⁵⁴³ As indicated by Nickelsburg, in both the Greek and Ethiopic versions, a term for angels (αγγελοι/መለከት) is typically used instead to refer to the non-fallen watchers.⁵⁴⁴

The verb πιστεύουσιν, with the watchers as nominal subject, is distinct from the Eth.^{ERS} reading ወደሉለቀቁ: (and they will shake). Charles suggested that the verb σαλευθήσονται (they will shake) underlies the Ethiopic. Furthermore, Charles argued that the Ethiopic 'accords perfectly' with 10:12-14, whilst the G^{CP} reading is 'wholly at variance with all

⁵⁴² A similar complement may have been attested in Aramaic. For example, 4QEn^a frg. 3.ii (1.iii.c) features כל בני אנושא that may have been similarly attested in 1:5. The lack of any textual evidence to justify this reconstruction, and the lack of a suitable explanation to explain its omission in G^{CP} and Eth.^{ERS}, however, limits the value of this hypothesis.

⁵⁴³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.140.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

that follows' and that 'it is possibly a deliberate change.'⁵⁴⁵ It is probable that the Ethiopic preserves an earlier reading, and G^{CP} reflects textual growth.⁵⁴⁶

The idea that the fallen watchers would 'believe' at the final judgment is not attested elsewhere in the Enochic literature,⁵⁴⁷ and is peculiar considering the severity of the judgement imposed upon them in chapters 10-16. A viable explanation was proposed by Black, who suggested that G^{Eth} may have read *επισεισθησονται*,⁵⁴⁸ which was misread by a scribe and copied in the G^{CP} text-type as *πιστεύουσιν*. Therefore, G^{CP} may feasibly reflect a misreading that produced an intelligible shift from this hypothetical *επισεισθησονται*. It is also possible that G^{CP} reflects an exegetical intervention in the text that introduced a new theme into the eschatological judgment. This intervention may have served as a lexical correction rather than an innovation, although in terms of its outcome, it introduced a new concept into the text.

That the G^{CP} reading reflects the transmission of this text-type in a Christian socio-religious context, has already been noted in scholarship.⁵⁴⁹ Milik suggested that this clause in G^{CP} contained an allusion to the 'Originistic conception of the conversion of the evil spirits.'⁵⁵⁰ Whilst the concept of 'conversion' probably reads too much into the text, the idea of fallen watchers, evil spirits or demons believing in God or Christ is attested elsewhere in Christian literature, for example in *James* 2:19:

James 2:19 σὺ πιστεύεις ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, καλῶς ποιεῖς· καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσιν καὶ φρίσσουσιν

⁵⁴⁵ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3.

⁵⁴⁶ The priority of the Ethiopic and the secondary character of G^{CP} has also been defended in: Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p.6; Hartman, p.24; Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', p.35.

⁵⁴⁷ Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.97.

⁵⁴⁸ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.107.

⁵⁴⁹ Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.92.

⁵⁵⁰ Milik, p.145.

You believe that God is One, you do correctly, even the demons believe and tremble.

In *James* 2:19, even the demons ‘believe’ and ‘shudder/tremble’ at the thought that God is One. Whilst in G^{CP} the order of verbs is φοβηθήσονται, probably referring to humanity, and then πιστεύουσιν used specifically in relation to the watchers, the passage in *James* instead includes two consecutive verbs πιστεύουσιν (they believe) and φρίσσουσιν (they shudder) in relation to τὰ δαιμόνια (the demons). It is unlikely that a scribe emended the G^{CP} verb in conjunction with this specific passage, or at least, not with this text in isolation. But it is likely that this textual growth in G^{CP} should be understood within a broader cultural dialogue on the nature of the eschatological judgment and the reaction of evil angels and spirits to God’s descent.

Alternatively, this feature of textual growth may reflect a conflation with a common Greek verbal pairing. The verbs ‘to fear’ and ‘to believe’ is attested as a pairing in Hebrew and Aramaic literature, although it is more commonly preserved in Greek translations and compositions. For example, the verbs appear in two parallelistic clauses in *Exodus* 14:31, mirrored closely in the LXX versions:

<i>Exodus</i> 14:31	וַיִּירָאוּ הָעָם אֶת־יְהוָה וַיִּאֱמִינוּ בַיהוָה וּבַמֶּלֶךְ עֲבָדָיו:
<i>Exodus</i> 14:31 (LXX)	ἐφοβήθη δὲ ὁ λαὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ Μωυσῇ τῷ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ

This verbal pairing also appears in parallelistic clauses in LXX *Deuteronomy* 28:66,⁵⁵¹

Sirach 2:8, *Luke* 8:50, *Mark* 5:36 and *Acts* 9:26. This verbal pairing was a common literary trope, and they were inflected and modified according to their literary context. The unique reading of G^{CP} may reflect a conflation of the more common ‘fear and tremble’

⁵⁵¹ The Hebrew uses the distinct verb חָרַד (to dread/fear) instead of יָרָא (to fear).

with the similar ‘fear and believe’ by a scribe who copied the text. Whilst it is not clear that this change reflects scribal ‘intent’, in terms of the outcome of this change, the verbal emendation realigns the clause to this verbal pairing. Conjoined with this semantic shift is a hermeneutical shift that reorients the response of the ‘watchers’ so that even they will believe in God’s power upon his descent.

This feature of textual growth possibly should be read in dialogue with the following stanza in G^{CP} 1:5b, wherein the watchers sing ‘hidden things’ in all the extremities of the earth. As highlighted in *Chapter 1*, the final word of 1:5b and the initial two-thirds of 1:5c are fragmentarily attested in 4QEn^a – the portions of G^{CP} corroborated by the Aramaic are underlined in the table below.

1:5a	καὶ φοβηθήσονται πάντες καὶ πιστεύσουσιν οἱ ἐγγήγοροι
1:5b	καὶ ᾄσουσιν ἀπόκρυφα ἐν πασιν τοῖς ἄκροις <u>τῆς [γῆς]</u>
1:5c	καὶ <u>σεισθήσονται πάντα τὰ ἄκρα</u> τῆς γῆς
1:5d	καὶ λήμψεται αὐτοὺς τρόμος καὶ φόβος μέγας μέχρι τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς

No portion of 1:5b-c is preserved in the Ethiopic and it is possible that G^{Eth} may have already omitted this unit by homoioteleuton – see *Chapter 4* for further comment.

However, whilst 4QEn^a confirms that a general equivalent of these clauses was featured in an Aramaic version, 4QEn^a did not necessarily feature a close equivalent to καὶ ᾄσουσιν ἀπόκρυφα (And they will sing hidden things).

This verb and noun complement in G^{CP} has puzzled most Enochic scholars, and the idea of the watchers singing ‘hidden things in all the ends of the earth’ is incongruent with the content of the rest of the Enochic theophany. Prior to the discovery of the Aramaic fragments, Charles argued that the entirety of 1:5b-c had been added by a Greek

scribe.⁵⁵² This addition was linked to the emendation of the previous verb in G^{CP} to καὶ πιστεύουσιν.⁵⁵³ According to Charles, ‘the scribe seems to have been thinking of 2 Enoch 18 where the singing of the Watchers is mentioned.’⁵⁵⁴

The notion that the entire middle unit is an interpolation is improbable in light of the evidence of 4QEn^a. It is feasible that a scribe may have been influenced by the language of 2 Enoch 18, although it is not self-evident that the communities who read and transmitted the G^{CP} text-type, would have had access to and been familiar with this text.

A feasible proposition was proposed by Milik, who argued that G^{CP} reflects a translational misreading of an Aramaic verb. The translator misread the Aramaic verb ויעניו as ‘and they shall sing’ instead of the pu’al form of the alternate verb ‘and they shall be punished’.⁵⁵⁵ A pael form of ענה (to punish/oppress) is possibly preserved in 4QEnGiants^a 7:i:5⁵⁵⁶ – however, the verb is otherwise not attested in Biblical or Qumran Aramaic.⁵⁵⁷ The idea of the punishment of the watchers in 1:5 is thematically and structurally congruent with their eventual punishment in chapters 12-16, and therefore Milik’s proposition is eminently plausible.

The transformation of the punishment of the watchers into a prediction of their singing ‘hidden things’ – possibly referring to secret knowledge or mysteries – may also underpin the earlier textual shift in 1:5a where the watchers ‘believe’ in God. Knibb states that these readings are ‘clearly very improbable, since we expect a reference to the terror of the Watchers’ and that ‘these readings were perhaps introduced because the translator

⁵⁵² Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p.6.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Milik, p.145.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ The verb, with a similar meaning, is attested in *Targum 1 Kings* 7:26 and *Targum Zechariah* 7:5.

or copyist thought that the Watchers here mentioned were good angels', rather than as fallen angels as evident in the Ethiopic text.⁵⁵⁸ The absence of this clause in 1:5b in the Ethiopic, and its fragmentary state in 4QEn^a, however, limits our ability to understand the development of this clause.

The noun complement ἀπόκρυφα may not be a revisional reading, although the function and meaning of the noun has changed due to the modification of the preceding verb. In its current context in G^{CP}, the ἀπόκρυφα is the object of the verb ἄσουσιν, and therefore refers to the things that were sung rather than the place in which the watchers will be punished. However, if this verb reflects a translational recasting of the stanza than the ἀπόκρυφα may reflect an Aramaic text-type which instead referred to the place in which the watchers were to be punished.

This noun also appears in the Greek *Epistle of Enoch* 100:4 in the Chester Beatty Michigan Papyrus, wherein the angels will come down descending into the 'hidden places' in that day, an alternate term for the Day of Judgment (καὶ καταβήσονται ἄγγελοι καταδύνοντες εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ).⁵⁵⁹ These 'hidden places' allude to the prison for the fallen angels, located at the extremities of the earth, that is described in *BW* 21:7-10.⁵⁶⁰ In Greek translations of Hebrew texts, ἀπόκρυφος typically refers to a secret or hidden place⁵⁶¹ – often as an equivalent of Hebrew סֵתֶר, as in *Deuteronomy* 27:15. VanderKam noted similar examples as well, in *Daniel* 2:22 where the Aramaic pael passive participle

⁵⁵⁸ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

⁵⁵⁹ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.40.

⁵⁶⁰ It may also anticipate the pits reserved for the confinement of the spirits of the souls of the dead in *BW* 22:1-14.

⁵⁶¹ E.g., *Deuteronomy* 27:15, *Psalms* 9:29-30, 16:12 26:5, 30:21, 63:5, 80:8, *Isaiah* 4:6, 45:3, *Maccabees* 1:23.

‘place of hiding’ (מִסְתָּרָא) is rendered ἀπόκρυφα in Theodotian.⁵⁶² Therefore, it is likely that the noun initially functioned as a designation of a place.

In its literary context in G^{CP}, however, the noun complement ἀπόκρυφα refers to the ‘hidden things’ that will be sung, and to something known by the watchers that has not yet been fully revealed or made known. Knibb suggested that ‘we are presumably meant to understand the “hidden things” sung by the Watchers to be the praises of God.’⁵⁶³ This is unlikely considering the lack of textual support that would suggest that the Greek noun designated ‘praise’. An alternate possibility, proposed by VanderKam, is that the noun originally modified the watchers, and has been converted from a pael passive participle in the Aramaic into a Greek noun during translation.⁵⁶⁴ This is feasible considering the similar example in *Daniel* 2:22, where an Aramaic passive participle is rendered as a noun in the Greek of Theodotian.⁵⁶⁵ However, this proposal does not account for the function of the verb ‘and they will sing’ within this stanza.

The idea that the fallen watchers would sing ‘hidden things’ may evoke the illicit instruction revealed by Asael and his companions articulated in chapters 6-16. Whilst this knowledge is illicitly communicated to mankind, the ‘singing’ in 1:5b does not clearly imply the transmission of illicit knowledge. In these additional strata, the noun normatively used for this illicit teaching is μυστήριον (n. mystery/secret) as in 9:6, 10:7 and 16:3.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶² See also Psalm 18:12 (11); VanderKam, ‘Theophany...’, p.142.

⁵⁶³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

⁵⁶⁴ VanderKam, ‘Theophany...’, pp.142-143.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ For a comparable view: Ibid, p.141.

The change of the preliminary verb therefore may indicate an interpretation of ἀπόκρυφα as designating a new or yet to be revealed knowledge or revelation, without pejorative associations. That this noun refers to hidden words or knowledge in its context in G^{CP}, or that it would have been read accordingly by the groups who transmitted this text-type, is suggested by the word's meaning in Christian literature. Therein, the noun is a frequent designation for 'hidden' words or secrets, that are, will be, or have been made known.

For example, the *Gospel of Thomas* begins with the superscription:

Gospel of Thomas 1:1 οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ [ἀπόκρυφοι] οὓς ἐλάλησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ
(P. Oxy. 654.1-3)⁵⁶⁷ ζῶν καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰουδᾶ ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶ(ς).
These are the [hidden] words [which] the Living Jesus
[sp]oke, an[d Judas who] is also (called) Thomas [wrote
(them) down.]

The noun is not preserved in the Greek version; however, the reconstruction is strongly suggested based on the Nag Hammadi Coptic version.⁵⁶⁸ Similar references to 'hidden words' are attested in Hippolytus' *Elenchus* 7, 20 and in the *Acts of Thomas* 39.⁵⁶⁹ As indicated by Fitzmyer, in these contexts, the noun does not contain the pejorative sense embedded in the later meaning of 'apocryphal'.⁵⁷⁰

Similar language of the 'treasures' of wisdom and knowledge being hidden in Christ appears in *Colossians* 2:2b-3, whilst the noun often referred to hidden, secret, or concealed words, knowledge or books in Patristic literature.⁵⁷¹ The 'hidden things' as a metaphor for secret or esoteric knowledge or revelation is also featured in Coptic Nag

⁵⁶⁷ Edition/Translation: Fitzmyer, J.A. 1959. 'The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi* of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas', *TS* 20, p.513.

⁵⁶⁸ For a survey of reconstructive approaches/readings of this unit, see: Nagel, P. 2010. 'Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654, 1–5 und der Prolog des Thomasevangeliums', *ZNW* 101, pp.267-293.

⁵⁶⁹ Fitzmyer, 'The Oxyrhynchus...', p.514.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Lampe, G.W.H., 1961. *A Patristic Greek lexicon*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp.198-199.

Hammadi tractates and literature including, for example, in the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (II, 7) 138, *On the Origin of the World* (II, 5) 123, and the *Gospel of Phillip* (II, 3) 84.

The noun also developed as a textual category, and whilst this meaning is unlikely to have been formative for this textual shift, it does reflect an additional associative meaning of the noun in its current literary context. In Athanasius' *Festal Letter* 39, dated approximately to 367 CE, Enochic literature is linked to the Melitians, who promoted and valued such literature amongst other 'apocryphal' books.⁵⁷² Therein, Athanasius condemns and repudiates such books, stating 'Who has made the simple folk believe that those books even belong to Enoch even though no Scriptures existed before Moses?'.⁵⁷³ As indicated by Frankfurter, Athanasius infers that the Melitians 'read and actively promoted the authority of Enochic, Isaianic, and Mosaic pseudepigraphon'.⁵⁷⁴

The watchers in 1:5c may be singing 'hidden things', which may hint at liturgical recitation or performance of 'hidden books' or 'hidden knowledge'. Whilst it is unlikely that this shift in G^{CP} reflects the direct influence of Christian texts or thought systems,⁵⁷⁵ it is probable that the noun would have been interpreted accordingly by the communities responsible for the transmission of the G^{CP} text-type.

⁵⁷² Brakke, D. 1994. 'Canon Formation and Social Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt: Athanasius of Alexandria's Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter', *HTR* 87:4, pp.395, 398. Also: Brakke, D. 2010. 'A New Fragment of Athanasius' Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter: Heresy, Apocrypha, and the Canon', *HTR* 103:1, pp.47-66.

⁵⁷³ Frankfurter, 'The Legacy...', p.171; Athanasius Festal Letter 39, in: Lefort, L.T. & Athanasius. 1955. *S. Athanase: Lettres festales et pastorales en copte 1*. CSCO 150-51, Scr. Coptici 19-20, Louvain, pp.20-21.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ The label 'Christian' is used here to also encompass texts and thought systems often called 'Gnostic'. The appropriateness of such nomenclature for describing and understanding the diversity of thought and mythological worldview contained in the literature traditionally called 'Gnostic' is widely debated. For further, on the scholarly construct of 'Gnostic Christianity'/'Gnosticism': Williams, M.A. 1996. *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

This transformative shift from a verb that indicated the fallen watchers quaked at the coming of God in judgment, to a verb that implies a transformation to a state of believing in God, or in his power and authority, may be entwined with the preceding textual growth in 1:5a. This shift in 1:5a might attempt to remove the incongruity of the idea of the watchers quaking and then singing.

The combination of these features in G^{CP} produces a unit that expresses an idea incongruent with the text that follows in 1:5c-d, and the rest of the Enochic oracle in 1:6-5:9. The final stanza 'and trembling and great fear will take/seize them until the ends of the earth' is incongruent with the transformation of 1:5a-b in G^{CP}, and consequently the transformation of this unit is not comprehensive. It may or may not reflect an exegetical intervention in the text, but the combination of these changes does produce a unique hermeneutical outcome. At the coming of God, the fallen watchers will believe and sing hidden things, things that had not yet been made known, to the ends of the earth.

The High Mountains, the High Hills, and Seismic Destruction in G^{CP} (BW 1:6-7)

The pericope in 1:6-7 depicts the reaction of the physical world to God's descent and impending judgment. The high mountains will be shaken, and will fall, and break apart (καὶ σεισθήσονται καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται ὄρη ὑψηλά). The high hills will be made low, so that the mountains will flow away (καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται βουνοὶ ὑψηλοὶ τοῦ διαρυῆναι ὄρη). In the final stanza of 1:6 the high mountains or hills, or possibly only the latter, will melt like wax from before fire (καὶ τακήσονται ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρὸς ἐν φλογί). In G^{CP}, several glosses in 1:6 build upon the core theme of the unit.

The destruction of the earth continues in BW 1:7 where it is predicted that the earth will be utterly split apart (καὶ διασχισθήσεται ἡ γῆ [σχίσμα ῥαγάδι]). This image may

articulate the fragmentation of the foundations of the earth in a seismic or Deluge event.

The second and third stanzas of 1:7 focus on the punishment and judgment of the inhabitants of the earth (καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολεῖται, καὶ κρίσις ἔσται κατὰ πάντων).

In G^{CP}, these final two stanzas of 1:7 pre-empt the extended description of the purpose of God's descent in 1:9, where God descends to enact judgment upon all, to destroy all the ungodly, and to convict all flesh. In addition to these thematic parallels, there are several lexical parallels that interconnect these verses. Both feature the verb ἀπόλλυμι (to destroy/ruin) and the noun κρίσις (judgment).

As demonstrated in *Chapter 1*, the only portion of 1:6-7 preserved in 4QEn^a (יִכְרַח [...]יְהוָה...)) cannot be productively read without relying overtly on G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS} to reconstruct and restore the margins of the fragments. Multiple reconstructions have been proposed, however, any identification is far from certain, and therefore 4QEn^a is of little productive value in the discussion of G^{CP} 1:6-7.

The language of 1:6-7 is reminiscent of several Hebrew theophanies and their Greek translations. As established earlier in 1:3b-4, the language of the Enochic theophany echoes the language and motifs of the theophany in *Micah* 1:3ff, and this passage contains vivid parallels to the imagery in 1:6-7, although this is unlikely to be the only passage intrinsic to the traditionary processes that continued to shape the Enochic theophany.

Elements of 1:6-7 may also echo language from other theophanies and oracles of judgment. VanderKam suggested that whilst the idea of falling mountains is not found in the Hebrew theophanies, nevertheless, 'the idea resembles God's levelling of the high

mountains so that the new exodus of his people may proceed unhindered.⁵⁷⁶ This concept is drawn from *Isaiah* 40:4, although VanderKam notes that *Baruch* 5:7 and *Assumption of Moses* 10:4 also derived this idea from *Isaiah*.⁵⁷⁷

Another possibility was suggested by Nickelsburg, who highlighted the parallel between the splitting of the earth in *BW* 1:7, and the language of *Isaiah* 24:19-20, and suggested that 1:7 evokes a judgment akin to the deluge.⁵⁷⁸ This interpretive approach is plausible. The final stanza of G^{CP} 1:7 vividly echoes the Deluge pericope in *Genesis* 6:11-17, and the destruction therein of all living creatures who inhabit the earth. The splitting of the earth in the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} may articulate a Deluge event, although it is only in the Ethiopic that this is made explicit, through a lexical revision that recasts the stanza (see *Chapter 5*).

Parallelistic clauses or noun pairings featuring mountains and hills are common in the Prophetic literature,⁵⁷⁹ as is the verbal articulation of seismic activity in association with the actions of God. The shaking and destruction of hills and mountains appears in cognate literature including *Nahum* 1:5.

<i>Nahum</i> 1:5	הָרִים רָעֲשׂוּ מִפְּנֵי הַתְּמָנְגָּה וְהַתְּמָנְגָּה מִפְּנֵי הָרִים וְהַתְּמָנְגָּה מִפְּנֵי הָרִים	The mountains shake before him, and the hills melt. And the earth lifts (or: heavens) from before him, that is the world and all who inhabit on it.
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⁵⁷⁶ VanderKam, 'Theophany...', p.144.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.146-47.

⁵⁷⁹ See *Deuteronomy* 33:15, *Psalms* 72:3 (LXX 71:3), 114:4, 6 (LXX 113:4, 6), 148:9, *Hosea* 4:13, 10:8, *Amos* 9:13, *Micah* 4:1, 6:1, *Joel* 4:18, *Isaiah* 2:2, 14, 30:17, 25, 40:4, 41:15, 49:13, 54:10, 55:12, 65:7, *Ezekiel* 6:3, 34:6, 36:4, 6 and in Greek also in Theodotian *Daniel* 3:75, LXX *Numbers* 23:9, LXX *Isaiah* 10:18, 44:23, 49:13.

A parallel to the Enochic theophany is also found in *Psalms of Solomon* 11:4, where the high mountains will be made low (ὄρη ὑψηλὰ ἐταπείνωσεν),⁵⁸⁰ in similar fashion to the destructive process ascribed to the high hills in the Enochic passage. Furthermore, as in the Enochic theophany, this passage features two parallelistic clauses referring to both mountains and hills. *Isaiah* 40:4, as indicated by VanderKam,⁵⁸¹ also features similar imagery (וְכָל-הָר וְגִבְעָה יִשְׁפָּלוּ – and every mountain and hill will be made low) and was probably generative for the Enochic theophany.

It is unlikely that the Enochic theophany is drawing upon, or dependent upon a single text in isolation. It belongs within an ongoing theophanic discourse and reflection upon the final judgment and descent of God. The language, concepts, and rhetoric evident in this discourse trajectory does reflect the language of pretexts, but even in these pretexts the language was shaped by the established and normative conventions and tropes of this discourse type, and it is likely that this is also true for the Enochic theophany.

Whilst the actional processes articulated in G^{CP} 1:6-7 are seismic in nature, the verbs featured in this text-type are relatively uncommon in Greek translations of Hebrew texts that described a similar destructive process. The initial verb σείω (to shake) in 1:6 appears in LXX *Nahum* 1:5 (τὰ ὄρη ἐσειέσθισαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ – the mountains have been shaken by him). It also appears earlier in G^{CP} 1:5 in relation to the ‘ends of the earth’. The verb is intelligible in 1:6, however, it is more commonly used with the earth or heavens, rather than with ‘mountains’ or ‘hills’, as subject.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ Edition/Translation: Wright, R.B. 2007. *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, T&T Clark International, London/New York, pp.138-139.

⁵⁸¹ VanderKam, ‘Theophany...’, p.144.

⁵⁸² For example, LXX *Joel* 2:10, 4:16, *Haggai* 2:6, 2:21, *Isaiah* 13:13, 24:18, *Jeremiah* 8:16, 27:46, 28:29, 30:15, *Daniel* 2:40. Or alternatively with kings/kingdoms in LXX *Isaiah* 14:16.

The verb πίπτω (to fall) with mountains as subject is also uncommon in Greek translations. The verb is attested in relation to valleys in *Ezekiel* 31:12 (ἐν πάσαις ταῖς φάραγξιν ἔπεσαν οἱ κλάδοι αὐτοῦ), 38:20 (καὶ πεσοῦνται αἱ φάραγγες)⁵⁸³ and with the hills in *Hosea* 10:8 (καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς).⁵⁸⁴ The final verb διαλυω is also attested with mountains in *1 Kings* 19:11 (καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα κραταιὸν διαλύον ὄρη),⁵⁸⁵ however, it is not commonly used in such contexts.

Based on the unique reading of the Eth. I Manuscript Tana.9 (ወይወድቁ፡ ወይደነግ፡), which we will discuss in *Chapter 4*, Stuckenbruck suggested that this Ethiopic reading corresponded with the two verbs καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται.⁵⁸⁶ If this proposal is correct, then the initial verb καὶ σεισθήσονται in 1:6 might be a duplication of the verb from earlier in 1:5. The Ethiopic verb (ወይወድቁ፡) provides a clear parallel to the Greek καὶ πεσοῦνται, however, the parallel between the second Ethiopic verb (ወይደነግ፡) and καὶ διαλυθήσονται is less self-evident.

In this expanded G^{CP} text-type, however, the high mountains will be shaken, will fall and will break apart. In the text discussed so far, there is little direct resemblance between the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} 1:6-7 and *Micah* 1:3ff. The most vivid parallel between the two is attested in G^{CP} 1:6d, where both feature a nigh-identical metaphor. The parallel with G^{CP} is most astute in LXX *Micah*:

LXX <i>Micah</i> 1:4b ⁵⁸⁷	καὶ αἱ κοιλάδες <u>τακῆσονται</u> <u>ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου</u> <u>πυρὸς...</u>	<u>And the valleys will melt like wax from</u> <u>before the fire...</u>
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⁵⁸³ Edition: Ziegler, J. 1952. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Vol. XVI, 1: Ezechiel*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Gottingen, pp.236-237, 276.

⁵⁸⁴ Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Duodecim Prophetiae*, p.170.

⁵⁸⁵ Edition: Rahlfs, A. 1926. *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, p.684.

⁵⁸⁶ Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', p.36.

⁵⁸⁷ Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Duodecim Prophetiae*, p.206.

G^{CP} 1:6d καὶ τακήσονται ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ And they will melt like wax from
προσώπου πυρὸς ἐν φλογί before the fire, in a flame.

The ordering of the elements is identical, however, the subject of the verb is distinct.

Both feature a third-person plural future indicative form of *τήκω* (to melt/dissolve).⁵⁸⁸

Whilst in LXX *Micah* the plural verb describes action related to the ‘valleys’ (*αἱ κοιλάδες*), in the Enochic text it applies to the ‘high hills’ (*βουνοὶ ὑψηλοί*), or alternatively to both the ‘high hills’ and the ‘high mountains’ (*ὄρη ὑψηλά*) from 1:6a.

The other unique element of G^{CP} is that it features the additional dative complement *ἐν φλογί* (in a flame), that may reflect a secondary interpolation. The phrase ‘like wax before the fire’ is common in Hebrew and Greek literature of the Second Temple period, and appears elsewhere in LXX *Psalms* 67:3, *Isaiah* 63:19b-64:1a, and *Judith* 16:5b. However, only in these two texts, is the inflection and ordering nigh identical.⁵⁸⁹

The frequency of this metaphor highlights its essential productivity. The metaphor was continually repurposed and reformulated for its literary context and was not a static or fixed idiom. These changes signaled elements that were contextually significant.

Considering the malleability of this metaphor, the employment of an almost identical formulation in G^{CP} and LXX *Micah* 1:4 is strongly suggestive that the literary parallel has been recognized and relayed into this Greek text-type during translation, or that the language has evolved in dialogue with LXX *Micah* during transmission.

⁵⁸⁸ Nickelsburg regarded this image as probably derived from *Micah* 1:3-4 and as suggestive of an erupting volcano. The image in G^{CP} probably highlights the totality of the destruction of mountains and hills. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.146.

⁵⁸⁹ Other examples, which omit the ‘fire’ include LXX *Psalms* 21:15, 57:9, 96:5, *Judith* 16:15. A similar idiom without the verb is employed in *Joseph and Aseneth* 28:10.

A curious feature of G^{CP}, is that it corresponds more closely to LXX *Micah* than Hebrew *Micah* 1:4. Both Greek texts indicate that the subject will ‘melt’ like wax before the fire. In Hebrew *Micah* 1:4, however, the verb ‘to melt/dissolve’ instead appears earlier in the unit in direct relation to the mountains:

Micah 1:4 :וְנִמְסוּ הַהָרִים תַּחְתֵּי וְהַעֲמָקִים יִתְבַּקְּעוּ כְּדֹנַג מִפְּנֵי הָאֵשׁ כְּמַיִם מִגָּרִים בְּמוֹרָד:
And the mountains will melt underneath him, and the valleys will
be split apart, like wax from before the fire, like water poured
down a descent.

Just as LXX *Micah* 1:4 doesn’t provide a strict correspondence to the word-order of the Hebrew, the G^{CP} text-type may not provide a strict correspondence to the wording of its Aramaic Vorlage. In contrast to Hebrew *Micah*, LXX *Micah* instead features the verb ‘to melt’ (τακήσονται) in place of the verb יִתְבַּקְּעוּ (they will be split apart) and the verb ‘to shake’ (σαλευθήσεται) in the clause-initial position. A verb comparable to the latter is not attested at all in the Hebrew, whilst LXX *Micah* does not feature any close equivalent of Hebrew יִתְבַּקְּעוּ.

Whilst יִתְבַּקְּעוּ does not have a close equivalent in G^{CP} 1:6, it arguably finds its parallel in the clause-initial verb in 1:7 (διασχισθήσεται).⁵⁹⁰ In Hebrew *Micah*, the valleys are split open, whilst in the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} the earth is split apart. Therefore, whilst the G^{CP} text-type features several close parallels to the language of LXX *Micah*, it does also feature parallels with Hebrew *Micah*, that are not preserved in LXX *Micah*.

The G^{CP} text-type features unique parallels with both the Hebrew and Greek versions of *Micah* 1:4, and it probably continued to evolve and grow in dialogue with Greek translations of *Micah* 1:4. The language of 1:6-7 may not just be indebted to *Micah* for

⁵⁹⁰ This correspondence was also suggested by Black. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.108.

compositional processes in an Aramaic version, and the translation and transmission of the text may have been further shaped by the language of *Micah*.

G^{CP} 1:6-7 also contains several readings unattested in Eth.^{ERS}, and therefore may reflect secondary glosses, interpolations, or additions in this text-type. The verb σεισθήσονται in 1:6a, which has no direct correspondence in the Eth.^{ERS}, may reflect a duplication of the preceding iteration of the verb in 1:5. Several other examples are suggested based on syntactical and grammatical considerations. For example, in 1:7 the noun σχίσμα (division/fragment) is included in G^{CP} in a nominative form, where in its syntactical context an accusative form would be expected. The nominative form of σχίσμα may indicate that it was a marginalia gloss that has been secondarily inserted into the G^{CP} text-type (see final subchapter).

Another interpolation may be attested in the final element in 1:6c, which reads ἐν φλογί (in a flame). Whilst this reading is intelligible in its context, it might reflect a conflation of a distinct phrase with the preceding metaphor 'like wax from before the fire' (for further, see *Chapter 4*).

The verbal clause τοῦ διαρυῖναι ὄρη in 1:6c, which is not attested in Eth.^{ERS}, may also be a secondary interpolation. The image of mountains flowing away, however, is reminiscent of *Judges* 5:5. In the Hebrew, this verb (הָרִים נָזְלוּ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה) provides some basic correspondence to our Enochic passage. All the other verbs in *BW* 1:6, however, are future indicative forms, and the infinitive διαρυῖναι is peculiar in its context, as is the repetition of the noun ὄρη.

Alternatively, this clause may have been introduced due to the similar imagery in the Enochic theophany and *LXX Micah* 1:3-4. The Enochic clause may articulate a process

akin to καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ καταφερόμενον ἐν καταβάσει (and like water it will flow down in descent) in *Micah* 1:4c which directly follows the clause καὶ αἱ κοιλάδες τακίσονται ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρὸς..., which has clearly influenced the G^{CP} text-type.⁵⁹¹

The unit in G^{CP} 1:6-7 continued to grow during transmission in dialogue with imagery and language from other theophanies and comparable discourse types. Whilst we cannot be certain regarding the processes in which these features entered the text, or whether they reflect practices of inter-reading with specific texts such as *Micah*, it is evident that this unit grew and evolved within a broader and ongoing theophanic discourse on the implications of God's manifestation upon the physical world.

The Fate of the Righteous and the Chosen in G^{CP} (BW 1:8)

The unit in 1:8 focuses on the fate of the righteous ones and the chosen ones in the end-time, and the covenantal promises of God. In the G^{CP} text-type, their fate is further developed through the addition of several clauses that are not preserved in the Ethiopic. This unit reflects ongoing textual growth and enculturation in a context where the fate of the righteous ones and chosen ones was productively read and re-signified.

The unit begins with a declaration that God will make peace with the righteous ones. As indicated by Black, this introductory stanza might suggest the cessation of divine anger, reflecting a similar image to that later attested in *Romans* 5:1, 9-11.⁵⁹² In the third stanza, mercy will be bestowed upon them – probably referring to both the righteous ones and the chosen ones.

⁵⁹¹ Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Duodecim Prophetæ*, p.206.

⁵⁹² Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.108.

The terms ‘peace’ and ‘mercy’ are intimately connected in G^{CP}. The two nouns for ‘peace’ and ‘mercy’ appear twice as a noun pairing in *BW* 5:5-6 (ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη), and again in 12:6 (ἔλεον καὶ εἰρήνην). The fate of the righteous ones in 1:8 contrasts the fate of the sinners in 5:5-6, who will have no mercy or peace, and the similar fate of the fallen watchers in 12:6. In G^{CP}, the fate of the righteous ones and the chosen ones echoes and pre-empt the fate of the sinners and the fallen watchers and their progeny. This parallel follows the series of contrasts and pre-emptive parallels that we observed in 1:1-7 in relation to chapters 12-16. Furthermore, G^{CP} 1:8 broadly shares similar vocabulary to 5:5-9, and several terms including ‘peace’, ‘mercy’, ‘light’ and ‘chosen’ are repeated therein.⁵⁹³ The language in 1:8 broadly echoes, anticipates, and pre-empt the language of this final section in the Enochic oracle in 5:5-9.

These two stanzas in 1:8a and 1:8c are separated by a stanza that proclaims that there will be ‘preservation’ (συντήρησις) upon the chosen ones. The separation of the righteous ones and the chosen ones into distinct entities in 1:8 might indicate that the ‘chosen righteous ones’ in *BW* 1:1 also originated as a noun pairing ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’, as reflected in the Eth.^{ERS}.

The hapax noun συντήρησις does not appear elsewhere in *BW* or in cognate literature – furthermore, the equivalent verb συντηρέω (to preserve) is not attested elsewhere in *BW* or the Greek Enochic literature. In this context, the Eth.^{ERS} instead preserves a verbal form ‘and He will protect them’ (ወላዕቲኦም), which might suggest that G^{Eth} included a verbal form, rather than the noun συντήρησις, and perhaps even an alternate lexeme.

⁵⁹³ Also noted in: Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.147.

The preservation, or protection, of the 'chosen ones' might allude to the preservation of a remnant in the Deluge.⁵⁹⁴ The fate of the righteous ones and chosen ones in 1:8 does not explicitly allude to the Deluge pericope, however, the possible echoing of *Genesis* in 1:7b might intimate that 1:8 concurrently describes the fate of the righteous ones and chosen ones in the first judgment, namely the Deluge, and in the final judgment in the eschaton. The vague temporal setting in 1:8 allows the content to serve as a template for God's promises to his people in multiple temporal settings.

The entirety of 1:8 was interpreted by Hartman as 'inspired by the Aaronitic Benediction in Nu 6:24-26, understood by our author as dealing with the blessing of the faithful in the time of consummation.'⁵⁹⁵ The Enochic verse expounds upon motifs inherent in this benediction, although the order of the parallels is distinct in each text. These themes are picked up again further in 5:4-6, where they are interlinked with parallels with *Deuteronomy* 27:26, 28:15, 20, 45, 58 and 29:17-18.⁵⁹⁶ Only three units in G^{CP} 1:8 do not have a close parallel in the Aaronite Benediction including: 'and they will all belong to God', 'and He will give to them (His) good-pleasure', and finally 'And He will support all, and He will help us.'

Hartman included these parallels in a category of texts which influenced the Enochic text to the point where it is almost a quotation⁵⁹⁷ – including the parallels in this category is misleading, as there are significant differences between the passages. The parallels are

⁵⁹⁴ A similar thesis is suggested by Nickelsburg, who suggests parallel passages in 10:2 and 89:1, where God protects Noah from the impending judgment of the deluge. Ibid, p.148.

⁵⁹⁵ Hartman, p.25.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid, pp.31-34.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid, pp.22, 25.

primarily limited to isolated words and themes, and there are not exact parallels in word-order or syntactical structures.

For example, whilst the Enochic phrase ‘and a light will shine for them’ (καὶ φανήσεται αὐτοῖς φῶς) has a basic semantic and conceptual parallel with *Numbers* 6:25a (ἐπιφάναι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σέ... /יָאֵר יְהוָה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ)⁵⁹⁸ the parallel is hardly sufficient to justify the claim that it has influenced the Enochic text to the point where it is almost a quotation.⁵⁹⁹ The Enochic passage may reflect ongoing interpretation of the Aaronite benediction, in conjunction with language from other strata of *BW*, however, it is more advantageous to understand these parallels in terms of *traditionary processes* rather than direct derivation or imitation.

The first of these three units not paralleled in the Aaronite Benediction, ‘and they will all belong to God’, is a peculiar construction. As a result, Black suggested the possibility that the Aramaic text may have instead read ‘And they shall all be/become sons of God’, following similar language in *Deuteronomy* 14:1, *Psalms* 82:6, and *Ps.Sol.* 17:30.⁶⁰⁰ However, the language is intelligible without emendation and it may have covenantal overtones in G^{CP}.⁶⁰¹

The second clause not paralleled in the Aaronite Benediction, is distinct in both the Greek and Ethiopic versions. The Eth.^{ERS} reading ወይህርሑ፡ (and they will prosper) provides a nuance distinct from the Greek καὶ τὴν εὐδοκίαν δώσει αὐτοῖς (and He will give to them (His) good-pleasure). The noun εὐδοκία (good-pleasure/good-will/satisfaction) is not

⁵⁹⁸ Edition: Wevers, *Septuaginta: Numeri*, p.119.

⁵⁹⁹ Hartman lists it as 6:26 following LXX. Hartman, p.25.

⁶⁰⁰ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.108.

⁶⁰¹ The covenantal nature of the language in 1:8 was explored by Nickelsburg. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.147-148.

attested elsewhere in *BW*, or in the Greek Enochic literature. Charles suggested that the noun was corrupt for εὐοδίαν (good journey) and cited as evidence MS. B of *Sirach* 43:26 where the same corruption was attested.⁶⁰² Whilst this is feasible, this noun is not attested elsewhere in *BW* or the Greek Enochic literature, and this suggested emendation does not clearly help in understanding the meaning of the stanza, or the relationship between G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS}.

An alternate proposal was offered by Black, who suggested that the Ethiopic might reflect a G^{Eth} reading of εὐοδωθήσονται.⁶⁰³ G^{CP} may reflect a reorientation of a verbal clause, such as that suggested by Black, into a noun form. The following clause ወይትባረከ፡ in the Eth.^{ERS} may reflect εὐλογηθῆσονται in the G^{Eth} – the verbs εὐοδωθήσονται και εὐλογηθῆσονται would thus function in parallelism. Whilst the G^{CP} reading is peculiar, it does find a close precedent in *Sirach* 11:17b (καὶ ἡ εὐδοκία αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα εὐοδωθήσεται)⁶⁰⁴ and it is possible that the Ethiopic reflects a translational simplification of the clause rather than a variant in G^{Eth}. A similar connection between the chosen ones and God's good-pleasure is attested in 1QS 8:6 and in 1QH 12(4):32-33,⁶⁰⁵ and therefore G^{CP} might attest to a similar Aramaic expression.

The third reading unparalleled in the Aaronite Benediction (And He will support all, and He will help us), is not preserved in the Eth.^{ERS}, and features an awkward shift from third- to first-person speech. This stanza may reflect a secondary interpolation that elaborated upon the fate of the righteous ones and chosen ones.

⁶⁰² Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.

⁶⁰³ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.108.

⁶⁰⁴ Edition: Ziegler, J. 1980. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Vol.XXII,2: Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, p.176.

⁶⁰⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.148.

The final stanza in 1:8 repeats the motif already featured in the initial stanza in 1:8a.

According to Nickelsburg, ‘this verse here is framed by a double assertion that God will make “peace” with the righteous; the repetition reinforces the importance of this term...’.⁶⁰⁶ This stanza is not preserved in the Ethiopic, and it is probable that it is a doublet in G^{CP}, as suggested by Stuckenbruck.⁶⁰⁷

Nevertheless, whilst this final stanza in G^{CP} is indicative of textual growth, it has a coherent and viable function in framing the Enochic verse in this text-type. This doublet further highlights the cessation of the divine wrath against the righteous ones and is a key part of the accentuation of the salvation and deliverance of the righteous ones in the G^{CP} text-type, an accentuation that is not self-evident in the Eth.^{ERS}. We will further assess these interpolations in the next subchapter and in *Chapter 4*.

The Language of the Enochic Theophany in G^{CP} in its Historical and Socio-Religious Context

In recent years, several scholars have highlighted features of textual growth in G^{CP} that reflects the transmission of this text-type in its Egyptian and Christian socio-religious milieu. In the volume, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, Reeves and Reed suggested that the epithet ‘scribe of righteousness’ attributed to Enoch in 12:4 (ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης), and similarly featured in 15:1 (γραμματεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας) may have entered into G^{CP} in dialogue with the *Testament of Abraham* and associated literature.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid, p.147.

⁶⁰⁷ Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1’, p.37.

⁶⁰⁸ Reeves, J.C. & Reed, A.Y. 2018. *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Volume 1: Sources from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p.46.

Whilst this title may reflect an Aramaic equivalent ספר קושטא, they argued that this epithet was ‘especially prominent in late antique and medieval literature of Egyptian Christian provenance.’⁶⁰⁹ In addition to the absence of any preserved Aramaic equivalent that would confirm the origins of this title, and the ‘semantic force’ of the language, they argued that the title ‘scribe of righteous’ is ‘meaningless apart from the “Egyptian” narrative setting provided in *T. Abr.* 11:1-10.’⁶¹⁰

Another example of textual growth in G^{CP} was posited by Litvinau, who hypothesized that there was Gnostic influence in a unique reading in 5:8 καὶ ἔσται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πεφωτισμένῳ φῶς καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιστήμονι νόημα (And there will be light in the enlightened man, and knowledge in the man of understanding).⁶¹¹ Additional examples in G^{CP} have been highlighted in 8:1a (διδάγματα ἀγγέλων), 15:1 (πνεύματα σκληρὰ γιγάντων), and 18:15 (ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστιν), by Olson amongst others.⁶¹² Based on these three glosses, Olson suggested that there were connections between Codex Panopolitanus and the alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis, and that this Enochic text-type was a descendent of a copy owned by Zosimos, or an individual within his broader circles.⁶¹³ Another possible example of textual growth in G^{CP} 1:1, that is indicative of transmission in a Christian socio-religious context, has been recently

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid, pp.46-47.

⁶¹¹ Following Litvinau’s translation; Litvinau, F. 2019. ‘A note on the Greek and Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch 5:8’, *JSP* 29, pp.28-35 (esp. p.29).

⁶¹² Olson, D.C. 2013. ‘From the Alchemist’s Library? Zosimos of Panopolis and Codex Panopolitanus’, *Henoch* 35, p.136ff. See also: Milik, p.169; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.127; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.267-268.

⁶¹³ Olson, p.136ff.

proposed by Stuckenbruck⁶¹⁴ – this proposal has informed the following analysis and will be discussed therein.

In the following sections, we will focus on three examples of textual growth found in the Enochic theophany in G^{CP}, in 1:1, 1:2 and 1:7, and secondarily on examples in 1:8 – see *Supplement* Table 2.9. We will evaluate the significance of these unique readings in light of the socio-religious context in which this text-type was transmitted, and in dialogue with cognate Greek literature as conversation partners, to understand the hermeneutical outcomes and trajectory inherent in this textual growth.

The Fate of the Righteous in 1:1 and 1:8

The first example is found at the end of the Enochic superscription in *BW* 1:1. The second half of the superscription describes the Day of Tribulation as a day in which all the enemies will be removed. G^{CP} then features a secondary clause using a future passive indicative verb (καὶ σωθήσονται δίκαιοι), that articulates the salvation of the righteous ones on this day. This final clause is syntactically, lexically, and hermeneutically peculiar in its context.

The verb σώζω (to save, maintain, preserve)⁶¹⁵ does not appear elsewhere in G^{CP}, nor is a close cognate attested in the fragmentary Aramaic *BW*, or in the sections of *Ethiopic Enoch* corresponding to *BW*. In addition, the future passive σωθήσονται is contextually peculiar considering the previous clause includes an aorist infinitive ‘to remove’ (ἐξῆραι) to articulate the removal of the ‘enemies’ – an aorist verb, or an infinitive, might be

⁶¹⁴ Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2021. ‘Has Christian Tradition Influenced the Ge’ez and Greek Versions of 1 Enoch’, in *Beyond Canon: Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition* (eds. M.T. Gebreananaye et al), T&T Clark, London, pp.55-66.

⁶¹⁵ Muraoka, p.667; Liddell & Scott, p.1748.

expected if these two clauses were in parallelism. Drawnel also regarded this clause as secondary because of the improved parallelism of the shorter version preserved in the Ethiopic. Drawnel suggested that the G^{CP} reading ‘is an explanatory gloss of the scribe anxious to draw a contrast between the fate of the sinners and the just; cf. 10:17.’⁶¹⁶

Furthermore, the ‘enemies’ and ‘righteous ones’ are not commonly attested as lexical contrasts. The use of these two nouns as opposed entities is only preserved in passages with no corresponding Hebrew or Aramaic parallel, such as in LXX *Esther* 14:6, *Proverbs* 15:28b-c, *Wisdom* 18:7. The parallelism between the ‘enemies’ and the ‘righteous ones’ in G^{CP} is an unusual pairing in Greek translations of Hebrew and Aramaic literature. A more common pairing is δίκαιος (righteous) and ἁματωλός (sinner), as attested in LXX *Proverbs* 11:31 and LXX *Psalms* 74:11. Indeed, the G^{CP} noun ἐχθρούς (enemies)⁶¹⁷ is not paralleled in the Enochic superscription in Eth.^{ERS}, which instead preserves the reading 𐤌𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤔 (wicked ones). Therefore, G^{CP} may also attest to a replacement of an earlier equivalent of ‘wicked ones’, for this alternate and contextually peculiar Greek noun.

The ‘righteous/righteous ones’ appear elsewhere in G^{CP}, including earlier in 1:1 (ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους), in 1:8 (καὶ μετὰ τῶν δικαίων), and in 5:6 (παῖσιν τοῖς δικαίοις). If this clause ‘and the righteous ones will be saved’ is an interpolative addition to G^{CP}, then it is building upon language already used in the Enochic text. The explicit salvation of the ‘righteous ones’, using the verb σώζω and δίκαιος as a nominative subject, however, is not attested elsewhere in the Enochic literature.

⁶¹⁶ Drawnel, p.79.

⁶¹⁷ The noun ἐχθρός preserved in G^{CP} 1:1 does not appear elsewhere in G^{CP} or G^{Syn}, and only appears in the Greek *Epistle of Enoch* 103:12 (οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν) preserved in the Chester Beatty Michigan papyrus.

Soteriological language is not common in *BW*.⁶¹⁸ The noun σωτηρία (salvation) appears twice in the final unit of the Enochic oracle in 5:6; in the clause ἔσται αὐτοῖς σωτηρία (there will be salvation for them) and again in the contrasting clause καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς οὐχ ὑπάρξει σωτηρία (and all of you, who are sinful, will not have salvation). The unit in G^{CP} 5:6 is syntactically obscure and some of this material therein may also be interpolative in this text-type.

The Eth.^{ERS} provides additional support for the premise that ‘and the righteous ones will be saved’ in G^{CP} 1:1 is secondary, as the clause is entirely absent from all Ethiopic manuscripts. In addition, both stanzas in 5:6 that feature the noun σωτηρία are not preserved in the Eth.^{ERS} Either the Ethiopic reflects a Greek Vorlage (G^{Eth}) that had omitted all references to salvation, or alternatively, their presence in G^{CP} may be indicative of textual growth during the transmission of this text-type.

That this reading in 1:1 might reflect the transmission of the G^{CP} text-type in a Christian socio-religious and hermeneutical context, has also been recently argued by Stuckenbruck. As stated by Stuckenbruck, apart from the translations of Knibb and Uhlig, who based their translations on single Ethiopic manuscript witnesses, all modern translations incorporate this clause into their edition and presuppose that the reading belonged to the earliest recoverable stratum of the Enochic theophany.⁶¹⁹ Stuckenbruck’s analysis challenges the presumption that G^{CP} here reflects the older textual tradition, and challenges Nickelsburg’s hypothesis that it reflects the

⁶¹⁸ The verb σώζω only appears in the Greek *Epistle of Enoch* in 98:10, 99:10, 102:1, 8, 106:16 in the Chester Beatty Michigan papyrus.

⁶¹⁹ Stuckenbruck, ‘Has Christian Tradition...’, p.56.

dichotomized and differentiated fates of the righteous and wicked at the eschaton, a contrast also reflected in *Deuteronomy* 33:27, 29.⁶²⁰

In Nickelsburg's analysis of G^{CP} 1:1, this clause contributes to the text's accentuated focus on the righteous, and their promise of salvation.⁶²¹ This emphasis may be true for the G^{CP} text-type where the fate of the righteous ones, and their impending salvation, is strengthened by the presence of several interpolative features in 1:8 that further focus on the fate of the righteous. However, Nickelsburg's explanation is less relevant for understanding the Ethiopic version where judgment even includes 'upon all the righteous ones' at the end of 1:7 (1:8a).⁶²² This additional clause is not preserved in G^{CP}, and therefore only in the Ethiopic is the judgment clearly extended to include the righteous ones.

In G^{CP} 1:8, several interpolations further extrapolate upon the fate of the righteous and God's interaction with them in the eschaton. The phrase καὶ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν (and He will help us) is not attested in the Ethiopic. The plural pronoun 'us' has no clear subject in the Enochic theophany, and this interpolation might signal the recitation of this text-type in a liturgical or communal context.

Similar soteriological language of God 'helping' his people, appears in LXX *Isaiah* 49:8, which is quoted in 2 *Corinthians* 6:2, however, such language is most frequent in LXX *Psalms*.⁶²³ In the Enochic literature, similar language of God helping his chosen ones, or

⁶²⁰ Ibid, p.37; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp.135-136.

⁶²¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.130.

⁶²² A similar argument is also made in: Stuckenbruck, 'Has Christian...', p.58

⁶²³ Similar language of God helping his chosen people is frequent in LXX *Psalms*. For example, it is used to beseech aid and deliverance from God in LXX *Psalms* 43:27, 54:4, 70:5, 78:9, 85:17, 108:26, 118:86, 117, and to request deliverance from the wicked in LXX *Psalms* 36:40. It also appears in *Ode*. 2:38, *Baruch* 4:17, *Daniel* 6:15, 10:13, 21, 11:45. The language of God 'helping' his people eventually also encompassed the

the righteous ones, only appears in the *Epistle of Enoch* 100:4. In similar fashion, another interrelated interpolation in G^{CP} 1:8 (καὶ πάντων ἀντιλήμψεται – And He will support all), only appears elsewhere in the *Epistle of Enoch* 100:8, 103:15.

At a minimum, we have access to two distinct text-types. In G^{CP}, the fate of the righteous ones is highlighted through several additions in 1:1, 8 and 5:6-7 that focus on their salvation. In G^{CP}, this focus on the fate of the righteous ones is compounded by the absence of the clause in 1:7 (1:8a) that specifies that the judgment will even encompass the righteous. In the Eth.^{ERS}, the salvation of the righteous ones is not explicitly articulated, and the precise verb and noun for salvific activity is not attested in 1:1 and 5:6-7, whilst their judgment is clearly articulated in 1:7 (1:8a). These two text-types preserve two different accounts of the fate of the righteous ones in the final judgment. Only in the G^{CP} text-type, is their salvation a key characteristic of the Enochic theophany. The absence of this language in the Ethiopic suggests the possibility that it is a secondary and late feature of textual growth in the G^{CP} text-type, that was not attested in the G^{Eth}. The growth of the G^{CP} text-type may be conjoined with ongoing discursive hermeneutical practices which reflected upon the fate of the righteous ones in the final judgment and eschaton. Whilst we cannot be certain, it is viable that this textual growth reflects the transmission of the G^{CP} text-type in a Christian socio-religious context, wherein God's salvific activity was an essential and accentuated component of the final judgment.

bestowal of grace, as evident in the use of βοήθεια (help, aid, grace) in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* 6.17 and Origen's *De Principiis* 3.1.17.

The Holy Words in BW 1:2

The G^{CP} text-type in 1:2 features a unique reading (καὶ ἁγιολόγων ἁγίων ἤκουσα ἐγώ).

The hapax ἁγιολόγων can be read as a verbal adjective (speaking holy things), or as a plural noun with an adjectival prefix (holy words).⁶²⁴ The hapax is not attested elsewhere in Greek Jewish literature and is at odds with the wording of 4QEn^a (ומן מלי [עירין] וקדישין) – And from the words of [the watchers] and the holy ones).⁶²⁵

In his *editio princeps* of the Aramaic fragments, Milik argued that ἁγιολόγων was a corruption of ἀπο λόγων (from the words of).⁶²⁶ The scribe supposedly misread the uncial letter Π as two distinct letters, Γ followed by Ι (ΓΙ).⁶²⁷ This hypothesis is feasible, however, it does not explain the absence in G^{CP} of any equivalent to the bracketed yet probable reconstruction [עירין] (watchers). On the contrary, Knibb suggested that ἁγιολόγων was a corruption of ἀγγέλων (angels) and proposed the reconstruction καὶ ἀγγέλων ἁγίων ἤκουσα (And the holy angels I heard).⁶²⁸ The proposal of Knibb, however, does not explain the absence of the initial ומן מלי (And from the words of) that is preserved in 4QEn^a.

A combination of these two proposals was offered by Larson, who proposed the reconstruction καὶ ἀπὸ λόγων ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ἤκουσα (And from the words of the holy angels I heard).⁶²⁹ Larson suggested a two-stage process of corruption. Firstly, ἀγγέλων was omitted by homoeoteleuton, and secondly ἀπὸ λόγων was misread and transcribed

⁶²⁴ This hapax is regarded as dubious, yet interpreted as a verbal adjective in: Liddell & Scott, p.9.

⁶²⁵ The gap probably included a reference to the 'watchers' which appears elsewhere in tandem with the phrase 'holy ones' as in 4QEn^c (לעירא וקדישא). Milik, p.142.

⁶²⁶ Ibid, p.143.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.57.

⁶²⁹ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.234.

as ἁγιολόγων.⁶³⁰ Larson's proposal is feasible although it is unclear why he rejected Knibb's proposal that ἁγιολόγων originated as a misreading of ἀγγέλων, suggesting that it was too common, yet nevertheless asserts that the common phrase ἀπὸ λόγων could have been misread.⁶³¹ More recently, Drawnel has dismissed the validity of Larson's proposal, and defended Milik's original proposal.⁶³²

The entire clause is omitted in the Eth.^{ERS}, perhaps by homoeoteleuton. However, it is possible that a similar reading was preserved in G^{Eth} that was consequently omitted by the translators, or by later transmitters of the Ethiopic text-type, due to the obscurity of the language, or the apparent similarity of the clause to the following unit in 1:2b which indicates that Enoch 'heard from them everything.'

Milik's proposal provides a compelling explanation for this textual shift, however, it does not necessarily explain the significance of the shift. The transformation of 'from words of' to 'holy words' may represent a resignification of the clause in this Greek text-type. To date, the approach in scholarship has primarily assumed a degenerative process, that this reading was produced by a misreading or textual corruption, and not on how it could have been productively read within the socio-religious context in which this text-type was transmitted.

The hapax ἁγιολόγων does not appear elsewhere in Greek literature, however, similar language is attested in Greek Patristic literature.⁶³³ In Pseudo-Dionysius' *De Ecclesiasticis Hierarchias* 1.4 (M.3.376B), the noun ἁγιογραφος refers to a work written by inspiration

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Ibid. For example, similar readings of 'from the words of' appears in LXX *1 Samuel* 28:20, LXX *2 Kings* 19:6, *1 Maccabees* 2:62, 10:40, LXX *Psalms* 118:161, *Sirach* 47:22, *Revelation* 22:19, *Test. Benjamin* 9:1 whilst similar language appears in *Deuteronomy* 28:14, 33:3.

⁶³² Drawnel, p.81.

⁶³³ The sources pertaining to ἁγιογραφος follow: Lampe, p.18.

(ἐν ἁγιογράφοις ἡμῶν – in our holy writings).⁶³⁴ This word is not used within direct exposition of scripture, but in this context, operates within a systematic and meticulous exposition of liturgical rites.⁶³⁵ The term is also used as a reference to the historical books of the Hebrew Bible in, for example, John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa libri quattuor* 4.17 (M.94.1180B).⁶³⁶

The hapax in the Enochic text should not be interpreted as dependent on this additional term, or the texts in which it is preserved, however, it provides a relevant analogy to how similar terms were employed in late antiquity. The function of the Enochic hapax may be illuminated by the meaning of this additional term. The term ἁγιογραφος denotes holy writings, and therefore reflects a written medium, whilst in contrast, the Enochic ἁγιολόγων denotes holy words, with an oral medium vital to the literary context in G^{CP} 1:2. In its literary context, the ἁγιολόγων refers to the holy and inspired words that are heard by Enoch.

Therefore, in this literary context in G^{CP}, this obscure term may reflect a recasting of the nature of the 'words' that were received by Enoch, a recasting that emphasized their sacred and inspired character. This 'corruption' from 'and from the words of' to 'the holy words' therefore may reflect a productive element of textual growth in a context where the sacred and inspired nature of the angelic revelation was a key aspect of the text's

⁶³⁴ The noun appears again in 3.2 (425C); Heil, G. & Ritter, A.M. & Pseudo-Dionysius. 2012. *Corpus Dionysiacum II. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: De Coelesti Hierarchia, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, De Mystica Theologia, Epistulae*, PTUS 67, De Gruyter, Berlin, pp.67, 80.

⁶³⁵ Rorem, P. 1993. *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to their Influence*, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, p.96.

⁶³⁶ Edition: Kotter, B. & Ledrux, P. & Kontouma-Conticello, V. & de Durand, G.M. 2010-11. *Jean of Damascène: La Foi Orthodoxe*, 2 Vols., SC 535/540, Cerf, Paris; Chase, F.H. Jnr (trans.). 1958. *The Fathers of the Church Vol. 37: St. John of Damascus: Writings*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C., p.373.

own self-legitimization, and the self-legitimization of the communities and tradents who read and interpreted the Enochic theophany.

The Schism in BW 1:7

In 1:7, G^{CP} features two lexemes which may reflect secondary glosses or interpolations in this text-type. This stanza in G^{CP} 1:7 reads καὶ διασχισθήσεται ἡ γῆ [σχίσμα ῥαγάδι] (And the earth will be split, [a schism, to a crevice]), wherein the lexical forms σχίσμα and ῥαγάδι are syntactically and contextually peculiar.⁶³⁷ For example, the noun σχίσμα (division) is included in G^{CP} in a nominative form, that is obscure in its syntactical context. Neither have a direct equivalent in the Ethiopic, and both may attest to secondary glosses in the G^{CP} text-type, glosses that were not attested in the G^{Eth}.

Most modern translators have interpreted these nouns adverbially, or as indicative of exaggerated emphasis (utterly asunder, or asunder).⁶³⁸ Lods translated the entire stanza ‘et la terre sera fendue déchirée par une crevasse’ (And the earth will be split and torn by a fissure), thereby incorporating both obscure words into his translation.⁶³⁹ Charles suggested that both σχίσμα and ῥαγάδι were translational renderings of the same Hebrew word,⁶⁴⁰ and loosely translated them ‘be [wholly] rent in sunder.’⁶⁴¹

In contrast, Nickelsburg interpreted σχίσμα as a gloss intended to clarify the meaning of the less common adverbial ῥαγάδι,⁶⁴² and only translated the latter in conjunction with

⁶³⁷ Flemming and Radermacher suggested that ῥαγάδι (MS: ῥαγάδει) instead be restored as ῥαγάδες. Flemming & Radermacher, p.18.

⁶³⁸ This approach may be reflected in the translation of Flemming and Radermacher ‘Und die Erde wird bersten...’. Ibid, p.19.

⁶³⁹ In a footnote, Lods suggested a more literal translation was ‘sera fendue d’une fente’. Lods, *Le livre...*, p.70.

⁶⁴⁰ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5; *Book of Enoch*, p.7.

⁶⁴¹ Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p.7.

⁶⁴² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, pp.142-43.

the verb as ‘will be wholly rent asunder.’⁶⁴³ In this approach, the nominative noun σχίσμα would refer to geomorphic phenomena, whether a crack, cleft, or fissure, caused by seismic activity. The validity of Nickelsburg’s proposition relies on reading σχίσμα as an equivalent for the noun σχισμή (cleft, crack, fissure).⁶⁴⁴ The latter appears in relation to rocks (πετρῶν) in LXX *Isaiah* 2:19, 21, and *Sibyl* 3:607, and to mountains (ὄρος) in *Jonah* 2:6, and *Odes of Solomon* 6:6.⁶⁴⁵ On the other hand, the noun ῥαγάς (a crevice/ravine/rent)⁶⁴⁶ only appears in LXX *Isaiah* 7:19, where it describes the caves and crevices in which insects inhabit.

The exact relationship between σχίσμα and ῥαγάδι in G^{CP} 1:7 is uncertain; however, they are not simple semantic equivalents. Moreover, it is not certain that the noun σχίσμα, if it originated as a secondary gloss or interpolation, was introduced in a temporal and socio-religious context wherein it was normatively used to describe geomorphic phenomena.

The addition of σχίσμα in a nominative form may suggest that it was added as the subject of the verb, rather than as a clarificatory gloss on the adverbial ῥαγάδι, wherein we would expect an accusative form. The inclusion of the noun in a nominative form, however, may be better explained in dialogue with marginalia readings in the nominative form, rather than the contextually required genitive form, in the manuscript P⁷² from the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex, which includes the *Epistle of Jude and 1-2 Peter*.

⁶⁴³ Ibid, p.142.

⁶⁴⁴ Liddell & Scott, p.1746; Muraoka, p.666; Beekes & Beek, p.1437.

⁶⁴⁵ A use of σχίσμα with a cognate meaning of cleft/division, appears in relation to hoofs in Aristoteles (H.A.499^a a7) and in relation to leaves in Theophrastus (H.P.3. II,I). It also refers to a rent garment in *Matthew* 9:16 and *Mark* 2:21, but is not typically used in relation to geomorphic elements. Examples follow: Liddell & Scott, p.1746.

⁶⁴⁶ Muraoka, p.611; Liddell & Scott, p.1354; Beekes & Beek, p.1270.

In P⁷², as highlighted by Wasserman, the inclusion of marginalia notes in nominative forms probably indicates influence from Coptic – which has numerous Greek loanwords, normatively borrowed only in the nominative form as Coptic does not have case endings.⁶⁴⁷ This suggests the possibility that the nominative σχίσμα originated as a marginalia reading in G^{CP} 1:7. Overall, the nominative form may reflect the influence of Coptic on the scribe who added the marginalia reading, or it might suggest instead a gloss on the verbal process.

The gloss, however, can also be productively explained in dialogue with the primary meaning of σχίσμα attested in New Testament and Patristic literature. This noun primarily developed as a reference to socio-religious and theological divisions, rather than as a reference to geomorphic phenomena. The noun denotes socio-religious divisions or disagreement in *John* 7:43, 9:16, 10:19, and *1 Corinthians* 1:10, 11:18, 12:25.⁶⁴⁸

The noun developed with a similar meaning and function in Christian heresiology.⁶⁴⁹ According to Löhr, the nomenclature of ‘schism’ and ‘heresy’ were only vaguely differentiated from each other in early Christian literature.⁶⁵⁰ That it eventually developed as a category distinct from heresy, however, is evident in Basil of Caesarea’s *Epistulae* 188.1 (3.268D; M.32.665A), wherein schism is succinctly defined: σχίσμα δὲ τὸ περὶ τῆς μετανοίας διαφόρως ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας (And schism is to be at

⁶⁴⁷ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.31; See also: Metzger, B.M. 1977. *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp.141-152; Testuz, p.8.

⁶⁴⁸ It also refers to torn cloth/material in *Matthew* 9:16 and *Mark* 2:21. The noun σχισμή appears in *Jonah* 2:6, *Isaiah* 2:19, 21.

⁶⁴⁹ Examples following: Lampe, p.1360.

⁶⁵⁰ Löhr, W.A. 2010. "Schisma". *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online*. De Gruyter, Berlin/New York, (Accessed 25/05/2021).

variance regarding penance with those belonging to the Church).⁶⁵¹ It appears elsewhere with a similar meaning, for example, in John Chrysostom's *Homily 27.2 on 1 Corinthians 11:18* (10.242B).⁶⁵²

The ongoing development and redefinition of 'schisma' as nomenclature and category was intimately conjoined with the development of 'heresy', as an externalized socio-religious and ideological category of otherness within evolving Christian communities and networks. In reflecting upon the development of this nomenclature, and its role in the development of Christianity in the fourth to sixth centuries CE, Lyman explicates:

'Amid the diversity of ascetic life, the varied traditions of the great Christian capitals, and individual intellectual creativity, stability was achieved through the regulation of theological thought in line with ancient revelation and the shifting of boundaries to define it. The category of "schism" developed as a middle ground for marking significant disagreements, yet not excluding as a "heretic".'⁶⁵³

Anxiety about division and disunity, perhaps borne out of second-century conflicts, but replayed in the context of the third and fourth century, was a fundamental component in the development of this nomenclature. Considering the context in which the G^{CP} text-type was transmitted, it may be viable to read this nominative σχίσμα in G^{CP} as an interpolation that reflected this developing category in Christian heresiology. In terms of the hermeneutical outcome generated by this interpolative addition, the G^{CP} text-type may reflect a figurative interpretation of the stanza in 1:7a, that imagined the splitting of

⁶⁵¹ Edition/Translation: Deferrari, R.J. (trans.) & Basil. 1930. *Letters, Volume III: Letters 186-248*, LCL 243, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, pp.10-11.

⁶⁵² Parker, J.H. (trans.), John Chrysostom. 1845. *The homilies of S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the First Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, F. and J. Rivington, Oxford, p.371.

⁶⁵³ Lyman, J.R. 2007. 'Heresiology: The invention of 'heresy' and 'schism'', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Constantine to c.600* (eds. A. Casiday, F.W. Norris), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.309.

the earth as a prediction of socio-religious division and disunity, the ‘schisma’, upon the earth or within the church.

This interpolation reorientates the stanza from a description of the seismic splitting of the earth, to a prediction of socio-religious disunity and schism in the church in the end-times. Considering the earlier glosses in 1:1 and 1:8, which reflect ongoing reflection on the fate of the righteous in the final Day of Tribulation, and the promises of God guaranteed to the righteous, this gloss in 1:7 may reflect a similar concern with the experience of the righteous who live in the imminence of the eschaton.

This recasting of the clause in G^{CP} thus finds an analogy in the Ethiopic version where select Eth. I manuscripts, and the standardized reading in Eth. II, attest to a lexical shift of the initial verb in this stanza from ‘will be split’ to ‘will sink’. This verbal shift in the Ethiopic, however, recasts the destructive process from seismic activity to a deluge event (see *Chapter 5*).

The two lexical forms attested in G^{CP} therefore may reflect two distinct hermeneutical possibilities in the text, wherein ῥαγάδι preserves an interpretation of the stanza that prioritizes a geomorphic and seismic interpretation of the ‘splitting’, and σχίσμα preserving a figurative and socio-religious interpretation of this actional process.

Conclusion

The transmission of the Enochic theophany in the G^{CP} text-type features traces of enculturation. This enculturation of the text in a Christian socio-religious context is not indicative of corruptive or degenerative processes, but reflects ongoing textual growth and evolution, that was part of a vital and dynamic process of ongoing compositional and hermeneutical activity.

The inherent vitality and dynamism of the theophany as a discourse-type, and of the Enochic theophany as text, ensured that it continued to grow and be re-signified in unique and evolving socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts. The G^{CP} text-type provides vital evidence for the continued vitality, dynamism, and generativity of the Enochic theophany in a Christian socio-religious context, and for the ongoing influence of Greek translations of Scripture on the transmission of this Greek text-type.

The Enochic theophany in G^{CP} does not provide unfettered access into an Aramaic text-type or version, and therefore should not be broadly used as a tool for restoring and reconstructing the hypothetical and broken margins of 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c. Where there is textual overlap, the G^{CP} text-type often features unique syntactical and lexical formulations, and this text-type evidently reflects ongoing textual growth and development.

The G^{CP} text-type of the Enochic theophany is still a productive conversation partner in reading the Aramaic fragments, however, it is problematic to use them uncritically to restore broken or hypothetical units of the text. The value of such restorations is limited. It is probable that the Enochic theophany in the G^{CP} can be read as a guide to the possible form of the text in the Second Temple period, and to understand the location of this text within this broad historical setting. However, it does not provide unfettered access into the form of the Enochic theophany in this context.

Chapter 3 – The Enochic Theophany (BW 1:9) in Codex Panopolitanus, the Epistle of Jude 14b-15 and the Latin Versions

The Enochic theophany in *BW* 1:9 concludes the eschatological focus of the oracle in 1:1-8. The exact relationship between the initial descent of God described in 1:3b-7 and the second theophany in 1:9 is uncertain. The latter can be interpreted as a secondary description of a singular descent of God, or alternatively it could be envisaged as a distinct temporal event.

This passage was quoted and re-signified in the *Epistle of Jude* 14b-15 (G^{Jude}) and in Latin in Pseudo-Cyprian and Pseudo-Vigilius, to serve as a prediction of the Parousia of Christ. In each work, the quotation plays a contextual role in stressing the judgment of the sinners, their opponents, or heretical or schismatic Christians. Only in G^{CP} is this verse subordinated to its broader context and role in the Enochic theophany (*BW* 1:1-9), and it is evident that the conclusion to the theophany was enculturated, re-signified, and revitalized by the groups responsible for its appropriation.

In this chapter, we will explore the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} 1:9 in dialogue with the Enochic quotation in the *Epistle of Jude* 14b-15 (G^{Jude}). The Latin quotations in Pseudo-Cyprian's *Ad Novatianum* 16.5⁶⁵⁴ and in Pseudo-Vigilius' *Contra Varimadum* 1.13 will be explored only as conversation partners⁶⁵⁵ – for Latin and Greek texts see *Supplement* Table 3.1. At times, we will also consult the fragmentary attestation of the verse in 4QEn^c, in the Eth.^{ERS}, and the quotations in Ethiopic *Jude* and in *Māshafä Milad*,⁶⁵⁶ when they can illuminate the textual history and growth of the Greek text-types. Our primary

⁶⁵⁴ Edition: Diercks, p.150.

⁶⁵⁵ Edition: Schwank, & De Bruyne, & Fraipont, p.28.

⁶⁵⁶ Edition: Wendt, pp.66, 123.

focus will be on the G^{CP} and G^{Jude} text-types, however, these additional Aramaic, Latin and Ethiopic versions will be consulted as conversation partners.

The Relationship between the Greek and Latin Text-types and Versions

The relationship between the text-types in G^{CP} and G^{Jude} has not been conclusively resolved in scholarship. This is partly interconnected with the predominant focus on the function of the Enochic quotation in *Jude*, at the expense of examining the verse in G^{CP} in its own literary and codicological context, and the function of the verse as it bridges and interlinked 1:1-8 and 2:1-5:9.⁶⁵⁷

Four primary explanations for the relationship between the Enochic quotation in G^{Jude} and the G^{CP} text-type have been offered in scholarship:

- (1) Paraphrased or Adapted quotation – that G^{Jude} is indicative of a paraphrased rendering of a Greek text, either related to or distinct from G^{CP}.
- (2) Quotation from memory – that G^{Jude} reflects a quotation from memory by the author of *Jude*, that may reflect innovations or memory-induced alterations.
- (3) Direct quotation – G^{Jude} as a quotation from a pre-existing translation, version, or manuscript distinct from G^{CP}.
- (4) Translation – G^{Jude} is indicative of a new translation from an Aramaic text-type.

⁶⁵⁷ Contextual studies of the quotation in *Jude* outnumber contextual studies of the verse in G^{CP}. For the former: Osborn, C.D. 'The Christological Use of 1 Enoch 1:9 in Jude 14, 15', *NTS* 23, pp.334-341; Dunnett, W.M. 1988. 'The Hermeneutics of Jude and 2 Peter: The Use of Ancient Jewish Traditions', *JETS* 31, pp.287-292; Charles, J.D. 1991. 'Jude's Use of Pseudepigraphical Source-Material as Part of a Literary Strategy', *NTS* 37, pp.130-145; Hultin, J. 2021. 'Jude's Use of 1 Enoch' in *The Catholic Epistles: Critical Readings* (ed. D.R. Lockett), T&T Clark, London/New York, pp.227-238.

The thesis that G^{Jude} reflects a quotation from a pre-existing translation (options 1-3) has been adopted by most modern scholars. Kelly argued that the general agreement between G^{Jude} and G^{CP} indicates that the author probably read the verse in Greek rather than in ‘the Semitic original’, and concludes that ‘while literary dependence is certain, it is likely that he is quoting from memory.’⁶⁵⁸ A similar thesis was defended by Donelson who suggested that it is unclear whether the author quoted roughly from memory, or introduced a precise quotation in consultation with a manuscript.⁶⁵⁹ A similar proposal is implied by VanderKam, who contends that ‘Jude quoted in a slightly free way’.⁶⁶⁰

A direct quotation was implied by Lindars who stipulated that ‘1En 1⁹ is actually quoted verbatim in the NT’, namely in *Jude* – without qualifying exactly what the author quoted from ‘verbatim’.⁶⁶¹ Nickelsburg also stipulated that *Jude* quoted 1:9 ‘verbatim’,⁶⁶² whilst Larson suggested that *Jude* is indicative of a quotation from a pre-existing Greek translation.⁶⁶³ The fundamental problem with the idea of quotation ‘verbatim’ in the foregoing hypotheses, however, is that this model presumes that the verse was not adapted for its new literary context, and assumes a high level of conformity between the G^{Jude} text-type and another hypothetical and unattested Greek version.

The idea that G^{Jude} reflects adaptation for its new literary context was postulated by Dehandschutter, who argued that ‘in the case of Jude there is a *quotation*’ and

⁶⁵⁸ Kelly, J.N.D. 1969. *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, Adam and Charles Black (Publishers), London, p.276.

⁶⁵⁹ Donelson, L.R. 2010. *I & II Peter and Jude: A Commentary*, Westminster John Knox, Louisville, Kentucky, pp.189-91.

⁶⁶⁰ VanderKam, ‘Theophany...’, p.147.

⁶⁶¹ Lindars, B. 1981. ‘Enoch and Christology’, *ET* 92, p.296.

⁶⁶² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.86.

⁶⁶³ Larson, *The Translation...*, pp.201-203.

‘quotations are often adapted to their context.’⁶⁶⁴ This may include, in the case of *Jude*, Christological adaptation. Osburn envisaged that *Jude* reflected a conscious alteration and adaptation of an Aramaic text ‘in view of his eschatological purposes and his christological understandings.’⁶⁶⁵ The premise of ‘adaptation’ was supported by Mason, although Mason also concluded that ‘several divergences may also imply knowledge of the Enoch text both in Greek translations and in the original Aramaic.’⁶⁶⁶ It is unclear whether Mason envisaged the differences between G^{CP} and G^{Jude} to be the product of this ‘adaptation’ or the influence of the Aramaic on the author’s memory of the Greek. Several scholars have argued for the fourth option, that the author of *Jude* translated directly from an Aramaic text, including Bauckham,⁶⁶⁷ Osburn,⁶⁶⁸ Mazich,⁶⁶⁹ and Wasserman.⁶⁷⁰ This hypothesis is based on alleged ‘Semitic’ features which could theoretically indicate direct dependence on an Aramaic text-type. These include, for example, the use of an aorist ἤλθεν as an equivalent of a prophetic perfect, and the use of ἐν with a dative complement to indicate accompaniment,⁶⁷¹ mirroring a function of the prefix כ in Aramaic.⁶⁷² Moore also inferred that ‘Jude appears to cite the Aramaic Enoch’ yet indicates that this process was nevertheless ‘perhaps from memory.’⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁴ Dehandschutter, B. 1986. ‘Pseudo-Cyprian, Jude and 1 Enoch: Some Notes on 1 Enoch 1:9’, in *Tradition and Re-interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram* (ed. J.W. van Henten), Brill, Leiden, p.117.

⁶⁶⁵ Osburn, C.D. 1977. ‘The Christological Use of 1 Enoch 1:9 in Jude 14, 15’, *NTS* 23, p.340.

⁶⁶⁶ Mason, E.F. 2014. ‘Watchers Traditions in the Catholic Epistles’ in *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (eds. A.K. Harkins et al), Augsburg Fortress Publishers, Minneapolis, p.72.

⁶⁶⁷ Bauckham, R.J. 1983. *Word Biblical Commentary: Jude-2 Peter*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Michigan, pp.93, 96-97.

⁶⁶⁸ Osburn, pp.337-338.

⁶⁶⁹ Mazich, E. 2003. ‘“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, pp.276-281.

⁶⁷⁰ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.300.

⁶⁷¹ Mazich, pp.278-280.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

⁶⁷³ Moore, N.J. 2013. ‘Is Enoch Also among the Prophets? The impact of Jude’s citation of “I Enoch” on the Reception of both texts in the Early Church’, *JTS* 64, p.504.

However, as indicated by Black, the shared vocabulary of the two Greek text-types suggest that they are indicative of a single Greek translation, and not separate translations from the Aramaic.⁶⁷⁴ The arguments that G^{Jude} was translated from an Aramaic text, only provide evidence for the use and adaptation of a Greek text-type that was itself evidently derived from an Aramaic text, and does not necessarily provide evidence for a new translational process. The premise that Jude used an Aramaic text, rather than a pre-existing Greek translation, however, is often uncritically assumed in New Testament scholarship.

Three primary arguments have been postulated regarding the source of the Latin quotation in Pseudo-Cyprian. Firstly, Pseudo-Cyprian may have quoted from a pre-existing Latin translation of an Enochic text. Secondly, Pseudo-Cyprian may have translated or adapted directly from a Greek text-type of *BW* 1:9. Thirdly, Pseudo-Cyprian may have quoted from, or adapted further, the G^{Jude} text-type.

The first two options are preferable considering the closer agreement between Pseudo-Cyprian and G^{CP}, than between Pseudo-Cyprian and G^{Jude}. Zahn argued that the quotations in Pseudo-Cyprian and Pseudo-Vigilius attested to the existence of a Latin version of *1 Enoch*.⁶⁷⁵ This interpretation was also broadly adopted by Harnack, Charles, James and Leipoldt,⁶⁷⁶ whilst this interpretation was acknowledged by Knibb and

⁶⁷⁴ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.109. See also: Beyer, p.230.

⁶⁷⁵ Zahn, T. 1892. *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons II*, Erlangen-Leipzig, pp.797-801.

⁶⁷⁶ Harnack, A. 1895. *Ueber eine bisher nicht erkannte Schrift des Papstes Sixtus II vom Jahre 257/8*, Leipzig, p.57; James, M.R. 1893. *Apocrypha Anecdota*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.146-150; Leipoldt, J. 1907. *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons I*, J.C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, p.16; Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.7.

Denis.⁶⁷⁷ More recently, the idea of a pre-existent Latin translation has been rejected by Milik and Daniélou.⁶⁷⁸

Whilst the existence of this Enochic verse in Latin does not provide convincing evidence for a Latin translation of the entirety of *1 Enoch*, it is plausible that the *BW*, or a portion thereof, was translated into Latin. The primary arguments for a pre-existent Latin translation, or the dependency of Pseudo-Cyprian on an Enochic text rather than G^{Jude} include: the absence of an equivalent for 'the Lord' as per G^{CP} but against G^{Jude}, the reading 'omnem carnem' equivalent to 'all flesh' in *BW* 1:9 but against 'all the wicked' in G^{Jude}, the presence of the clause 'et perdere omnes impios' corresponding to a clause attested in G^{CP} but omitted in G^{Jude}, and the closer correlation of 'multis milibus nuntiorum suorum' to G^{CP}, with the inherent shift from 'holy ones' to 'angels'.⁶⁷⁹

In addition to Pseudo-Cyprian introducing the verse with 'sicut scriptum est', this evidence suggests the probability that Pseudo-Cyprian has taken the quotation from *BW* 1:9, rather than *Jude*, however, it is not essential that this quotation was taken from a pre-existing Latin version. Pseudo-Cyprian may reflect a translation directly from a Greek text-type that was related to but not identical to G^{CP}.

An alternate hypothesis was proffered by Thiele, who suggested that Pseudo-Cyprian attests to an early version of *Jude* called the 'Karthago-Text' that was closer to the G^{CP} text-type than that which is reflected by the surviving manuscripts of *Jude*.⁶⁸⁰ Pseudo-Cyprian, therefore, would be a witness to an archaic and early form of the quotation in

⁶⁷⁷ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.21; Denis, A.M. 1970. *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs de l'Ancien Testament*, Brill, Leiden, p.26.

⁶⁷⁸ Milik, pp.185-186; Daniélou, J. 1978. *Les origines du christianisme latin*, Cerf, Paris, pp.139-144.

⁶⁷⁹ Dehandschutter, p.116.

⁶⁸⁰ Thiele, W. 1972. 'Probleme der Versio Latina in den Katholischen Briefen', in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland), Berlin/New York, p.105.

Jude in an early Latin version. As highlighted by Dehandschutter, however, no other evidence for the K-text of *Jude* 14-15 has been preserved.⁶⁸¹ Therefore, the argument of Thiele is somewhat speculative considering the absence of corresponding evidence.

Overall, the evidence indicates that Pseudo-Cyprian reflects a text-type related to that preserved in G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS}, but it is not an exact equivalent. Whilst we can posit the possibility that Pseudo-Cyprian provides evidence for another Greek text-type, we cannot be certain that it was translated directly from Greek, or if it was taken from a pre-existing Latin translation derived from this Greek text-type.

The Latin quotation in Pseudo-Vigilius corresponds closely to the G^{Jude} text-type and introduces the quotation as from 'the Epistle of Jude the Apostle'. However, there are several features of Pseudo-Vigilius which agree more closely with G^{CP} and Pseudo-Cyprian, including the phrase 'omnem carnem' (all flesh), which is entirely omitted or absent in all manuscripts of G^{Jude}. The Pseudo-Vigilius quotation, however, omits any equivalent of the final stanza that is attested in all other versions (Pseudo-Cyprian: *et de omnibus verbis impiis quae de Deo locuti sunt peccatores*), and in other stanzas features only contracted readings.

Parallels between G^{CP} and Jude 14b-15

The G^{CP} text-type and the earliest recoverable stratum of G^{Jude} are included in the table below – this stratum of G^{Jude} corresponds to the 'initial-text' reconstructed by Wasserman.⁶⁸² For the critical text of G^{CP}, see *Supplement Critical Texts*. Underscored words are differentiated features where there is still a basic semantic and syntactic

⁶⁸¹ Dehandschutter, p.117.

⁶⁸² Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.176-184.

equivalency between the readings. Unique readings have been bracketed. The text has been split into four comparable units to facilitate our comparison.

	Codex Panopolitanus (G^{CP})	Epistle of Jude 14b-15 (G^{Jude})
I	1:9 ὅτι ἔρχεται <u>σὺν</u> [ταῖς] μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ [καὶ τοῖς] <u>ἁγίοις</u> [αὐτοῦ] <u>Because He comes with</u> His myriads, [and His] <u>holy ones</u>	14b. ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν [κύριος] <u>ἐν ἁγίαις</u> μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ <u>Behold, [the Lord] has come with</u> His <u>holy</u> myriads
II	ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων [καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς] to enact judgment against all [and He will destroy all the ungodly ones]	15. ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων to enact judgment against all
III	καὶ ἐλέγξει <u>πᾶσαν σάρκα</u> περὶ πάντων ἔργων [τῆς] ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν and <u>He will convict all flesh</u> concerning all their ungodly deeds which they have done	καὶ ἐλέγξει <u>πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς</u> περὶ πάντων [τῶν] ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν and <u>to convict all the ungodly</u> concerning all their ungodly deeds which they have done
IV	καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν [λόγων], [καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν] κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. and the hard [words] which they have spoken, [and concerning all which they have spoken] against Him, the ungodly sinners.	καὶ [περὶ πάντων τῶν] σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. and [concerning all the] hard things which they have spoken against Him, the ungodly sinners.

The above evidence indicates that G^{CP} features a fuller text whilst G^{Jude} features by contrast a briefer text. The general overlap in vocabulary and lexical forms is strongly suggestive that they hearken back to a singular translation or archetype, even if they concurrently reflect different processes of textual growth, and distinct versions or revisions of this translation. Neither version should be considered a close equivalent or exemplar of a translational text – on this basis, the term ‘earliest recoverable stratum’ is preferable over the term ‘initial text’ used by Wasserman in relation to *Jude*.

The two versions feature several identical readings. In unit (II), the clause ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων (to enact judgment against all) is identical in both versions. In unit (III), the clauses are near identical except for the presence in G^{Jude} of the aorist infinitive ἐλέγξει (to convict) in contrast to the future indicative ἐλέγξει in G^{CP} (He will convict). Otherwise, the variants are limited to the presence/absence of definite particles and the difference between the complement of the initial verb (G^{CP}: πᾶσαν σάρκα/G^{Jude}: πάντας τοὺς ἄσεβεῖς).

In unit (IV), apart from the unique bracketed readings there is a close lexical and inflectional equivalency between the two versions. The phrase σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν (hard things which they have spoken) is attested in both, as is the final clause κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἄσεβεῖς (against him, ungodly sinners). Both versions attest to the bracketed καὶ περὶ πάντων (and concerning all) although in unique positions within the unit. G^{CP} features the interpolative subordinate verbal clause ὧν κατελάλησαν (which they have spoken against) which may be a duplicate of the preceding verbal clause ὧν ἐλάλησαν (which they have spoken).⁶⁸³

The highest level of disagreement is found in unit (I), where each version attests to unique syntactical and lexical constructions. Even in unit (I), however, there is a general overlap in vocabulary, although it is employed in different constructions.

Overall, there is a general pattern of lexical and syntactical equivalency. In both versions, we can see the basic blueprint of a common Greek translation. The verse in *Jude* has been adapted for its new literary and hermeneutical context, whilst the verse in G^{CP} has

⁶⁸³ Charles, Milik and Knibb have argued that it is a dittography. Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, pp.5, 7; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19; Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.60.

undergone significant growth and redaction throughout the transmission and enculturation of that text-type.

There are nevertheless several unique readings that are text-critically and hermeneutically significant. We will hereafter focus on seven aspects of this variation, including:

- (1) The initial introductory particle (G^{CP}: ὅτι/G^{Jude}: ἰδοὺ)
- (2) The aspectual variant in the clause-initial verb (G^{CP}: ἔρχεται/G^{Jude}: ἦλθεν)
- (3) The addition of κύριος as the nominal subject in G^{Jude}
- (4) The syntactical construction used for God's myriads.
- (5) The inflected form of ἐλέγχω (to convict) in unit (III)
- (6) The noun complement at the beginning of unit (III) (G^{CP}: πᾶσαν σάρκα/G^{Jude}: πάντα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς)
- (7) The syntax and word-order of unit (IV) and the unique readings of G^{CP} (λόγων/ῶν κατελάλησαν)

#1 – The Initial Introductory Particle

The G^{CP} text-type begins with the subordinate conjunction ὅτι (that/since/because) whilst G^{Jude} begins with the exhortative and interjective particle ἰδοὺ (behold). The precise form preserved in G^{CP} is στεῖ, however, the particle is typically standardized in editions to clarify that it should be read as the subordinating conjunction στί.⁶⁸⁴ The spelling στεῖ with the final diphthong is, however, unusual in G^{CP} which typically features the spelling στί with the simple final vowel (e.g. 5:1, 4, 10:2).

⁶⁸⁴ This standardized orthography is included in the following editions: Lods, p.5; Flemming & Radermacher, p.20; Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19.

Milik hypothesized that the temporal conjunction $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ (when/while) was the preferable reconstruction, and that G^{CP} reflected a translation from the Aramaic כִּדִּי (when).⁶⁸⁵ This reading was also supported by Drawnel.⁶⁸⁶ This temporal conjunction, however, does not appear elsewhere in G^{CP} . Furthermore, Milik's proposal is unlikely considering that interchange between $\epsilon\iota$ and ϵ is not a common phenomenon in G^{CP} , whilst $\epsilon\iota$ and ι are a recurrent orthographic variation. For example, in G^{CP} the preposition $\epsilon\pi\iota$ is attested both as $\epsilon\pi\iota$ (e.g. 1:8b) and $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ (e.g. 1:4a). Therefore, it is probable that $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ is an orthographic variant of $\sigma\tau\iota$.

This opening clause is not preserved in 4QEn^c, however, the reading of G^{Jude} corresponds closely to the interjective particle 'Ecce' (Behold) attested in Pseudo-Cyprian and Pseudo-Vigilius and in the Eth.^{ERS} ($[\omega]\zeta\upsilon\colon$ – [And] behold).⁶⁸⁷ Nickelsburg suggested that $\omega\zeta\upsilon\colon$ (and behold) may be corrupt for $\eta\zeta\upsilon\colon$ (therefore behold), which may reflect a translation of the combined phrase $\sigma\tau\iota$ $\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$.⁶⁸⁸ This is not validated by manuscript evidence, and the corruption is graphically implausible. As highlighted by Knibb, the addition of the conjunctive ω (and) is so frequent in Ethiopic Biblical manuscripts that it hardly merits attention.⁶⁸⁹

It is probable that G^{Jude} preserves an earlier Greek reading and that G^{CP} reflects a secondary revision. The change in the Greek may appear cosmetic when the two versions are divorced from their literary context, however, a contextual analysis highlights that the unique reading of G^{CP} reflects textual growth interconnected with the fate of the

⁶⁸⁵ Milik, p.186.

⁶⁸⁶ Drawnel, p.206.

⁶⁸⁷ Two Eth. I manuscripts (Tana.9/Schøyen) omit the initial conjunction. This reading may belong to the Eth.^{ERS}. See *Chapter 4*.

⁶⁸⁸ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.143.

⁶⁸⁹ Knibb, 'Interpreting the Book...', p.84.

righteous in 1:8. In the late nineteenth century, Lods argued that G^{CP} had introduced ὅτι to improve the connection between 1:8c and 1:9a.⁶⁹⁰ In contrast to the sharp literary divide that separates 1:8c and 1:9a in the Eth.^{ERS}, the emendation of the interjective particle to a subordinating particle in G^{CP} provides the continuous reading ‘and a light will shine for them (i.e. the righteous), and He will set peace upon them, because (or: so that) He comes with His myriads and His holy ones to enact judgment against all.’

The broader unit of 1:8 focuses on the eschatological actions and promises of God upon the righteous ones and chosen ones. This shift in the G^{CP} text-type from an interjective to a subordinating conjunction interconnects the promises and actions of God in 1:8 with God’s manifestation in 1:9, wherein the description of God’s eschatological descent fails to mention any action or promise to his chosen people. At a minimum, if the shift in G^{CP} was not a revision devised to create a subordinate link between the two verses, it has that outcome in its literary context.

In *Chapter 2*, we explored the possibility that G^{CP} 1:1 and 1:8 shows signs of enculturation in the Christian socio-religious context in which it was transmitted. This enculturation reflects an increased concern with the fate of the righteous in the final judgment, and God’s promises and blessings guaranteed to them. It is possible that the shift from the interjective particle to a subordinating conjunction in G^{CP} 1:9 should be understood in dialogue with this textual growth and enculturation in 1:8.

⁶⁹⁰ Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.99.

#2 – The Aspectual Variant in the Initial Verb of Movement

A similar explanation may illuminate the differentiated initial verb of movement. G^{CP} features the present middle verb ἔρχεται (He comes) whilst G^{Jude} includes the aorist ἦλθεν (He has come). The aorist in G^{Jude} is commonly interpreted as an equivalent of the Aramaic prophetic perfect,⁶⁹¹ and as the earlier and preferable reading.⁶⁹²

This aorist verb was a key element of Bauckham's hypothesis that G^{Jude} was indicative of a new translation from an Aramaic version.⁶⁹³ Bauckham envisaged that G^{Jude} provided the 'more literal' translation of an Aramaic prophetic perfect, whilst G^{CP} reflects a more idiomatic rendering.⁶⁹⁴ A similar argument was adopted by VanderKam, who suggested that G^{CP} reflects an 'idiomatic rendering' of a Semitic perfect whilst the aorist of G^{Jude} provided the more 'literal translation.'⁶⁹⁵

The aorist in G^{Jude}, if interpreted as an equivalent of the prophetic perfect, does not constitute definitive or compelling proof of dependence on an Aramaic text. As cogently surmised by Dehandschutter, 'it is not necessary to see in ἦλθεν the proof of an Aramaic Vorlage of Jude: ἦλθεν could also be present in the case of a Greek Vorlage.'⁶⁹⁶ The failure of this 'Aramaic origins' hypothesis is the implicit assumption that G^{CP} is a close witness to a translated text, and that the differentiation between G^{CP} and G^{Jude} is best

⁶⁹¹ Mayor, J.B. 1907. *The Epistle of St Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter*, MacMillan and Co., London, p.45; Chaîne, J. 1939. *Les épîtres catholiques; la seconde épître de saint Pierre, les épîtres de saint Jean, l'épître de saint Jude*, J. Gabalda, Paris, p.322; Bauckham, R.J. 1981. 'A Note on a Problem in the Greek Version of 1 Enoch i. 9', *JTS XXXII*, p.136; Black, M. 1973. 'The Maranatha Invocation and Jude 14,15 (1 Enoch 1:9)', in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule* (eds. B. Lindars, S.S. Smalley), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.194; VanderKam, 'The Theophany...', p.148.

⁶⁹² Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.99.

⁶⁹³ Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter...*, pp.93, 96-97.

⁶⁹⁴ Bauckham, 'A Note...', p.137; Bauckham, *Jude-2 Peter*, pp.93, 96-97. This argument was developed by Osburn and Mazich: Osburn, pp.334-341; Mazich, pp.276-281.

⁶⁹⁵ VanderKam, 'The Theophany...', p.148.

⁶⁹⁶ Dehandschutter, p.118.

explained in terms of distinct translational processes. It is more probable that neither text-type is a close or direct witness to an Aramaic Vorlage, or an Ur-Greek text-type.

This verbal differentiation signifies distinct temporal processes in these Greek text-types.

In G^{Jude}, God's movement is articulated as a prophetically expected and completed actional process. The coming of God, or instead of Jesus Christ in his Parousia, is a future expected moment, but is prophetically guaranteed and assured.

In G^{CP}, the present verb continues the present and future aspect of the preceding unit in 1:3b-8. Furthermore, this verb is also subordinate to the description of the fate of, and promises directed to, the righteous ones in 1:8. Whilst in G^{Jude} the aorist probably describes an event in the future, a common function of the prophetic perfect, it does not contain the immediacy reflected in the present middle verb in G^{CP}.

This subordination is vital to the present immediacy of the verb in G^{CP}. In 1:8, it is declared that God will make peace with the righteous ones, and preservation and peace will be bestowed upon the chosen ones (1:8a-b). They will be granted mercy and they will belong to God (1:8c-d). God will give them His good-pleasure (or: good-will), and all will be blessed, supported, and helped (1:8f-g). Moreover, God will shine a light for them (1:8h). A final stanza reiterates that God will grant them peace.

God is only the implicit agent of these verbs and is never explicitly identified in G^{CP} 1:8, as is also true in 1:9a. The 'present' aspect of the verb in 1:9a contrasts with the future aspect of these verbs in 1:8. Whilst in 1:8 these promises and guarantees are in the future, in G^{CP} 1:9a God comes in the present to bring them into fruition. In similar fashion to the preceding shift from an exhortative particle to a subordinating conjunction, the G^{CP} text-type might reflect a shift from a prophetic perfect to a present verb that stresses

the immediate nature of the coming judgment and the subordination of this judgment to the promises and blessings guaranteed to the righteous ones and chosen ones. This shift might further indicate a liturgical function for the G^{CP} text-type.

The evidence of the Latin and Ethiopic is split. The combined evidence of the Ethiopic may indicate that G^{Eth} also attested an aorist verb. The majority Eth. I reading, and probable Eth.^{ERS} reading, is the perfect verb መጽአ፡ (He has come),⁶⁹⁷ which maps on to the aorist of G^{Jude}. A minority of Eth. I manuscripts feature the imperfect form ይመጽአ፡ (He will come) which would provide a closer parallel to G^{CP}. The imperfect is only preserved in two Eth. I manuscripts (Tana.9, Schøyen), and in one Eth. II manuscript (Curz.56).

However, this imperfect verb is also preserved in a quotation of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 in the British Library manuscript Add.11678 (BL.11678), which contains a collection of prayers and dates to the 15th century.⁶⁹⁸ This manuscript features a reading (ናሁ፡ ይመጽአ፡ በትእልፊት፡ ቅዱሳን፡) in close agreement with the Tana.9 text-type and might provide further evidence for an original imperfect in the Eth.^{ERS}.⁶⁹⁹

An imperfect verb is also attested in the Ethiopic *Epistle of Jude*⁷⁰⁰ and in two separate quotations from the latter in *Mäshafä Milad*.⁷⁰¹ It is unclear how the imperfect verb in Ethiopic *Jude* relates to its own Greek Vorlage, as no Greek manuscript preserves a present or future verb in this context. Whilst this minority Eth. I reading may attest to the Eth.^{ERS}, it is possible that this instead reflects a correction in dialogue with the reading of

⁶⁹⁷ Attested in Eth. I: BL.485, BL.491, Berlin MS., Abb.35, Abb.55, RT, GG.151, Parma, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584. Also attested in majority Eth. II inc. Bod.74, Rylands.23, MG.18.

⁶⁹⁸ This manuscript is discussed in the *Introduction*.

⁶⁹⁹ Tana.9 instead reads በትእልፍት፡.

⁷⁰⁰ Edition: Hofmann & Uhlig, p.255.

⁷⁰¹ Edition: Wendt, pp.66, 123.

Ethiopic *Jude*. This verb therefore may only attest to an inner-Ethiopic development, rather than an original imperfect verb in the Eth.^{ERS}.

On the other hand, whilst Pseudo-Vigilius attests a future form (*veniet*), Pseudo-Cyprian instead preserves a prophetic perfect (*venit*) that may correspond to the aorist attested in G^{Jude}.⁷⁰² The text-type in Pseudo-Vigilius typically mirrors the G^{Jude} text-type more closely than G^{CP}, yet here it preserves a reading closer to the latter.

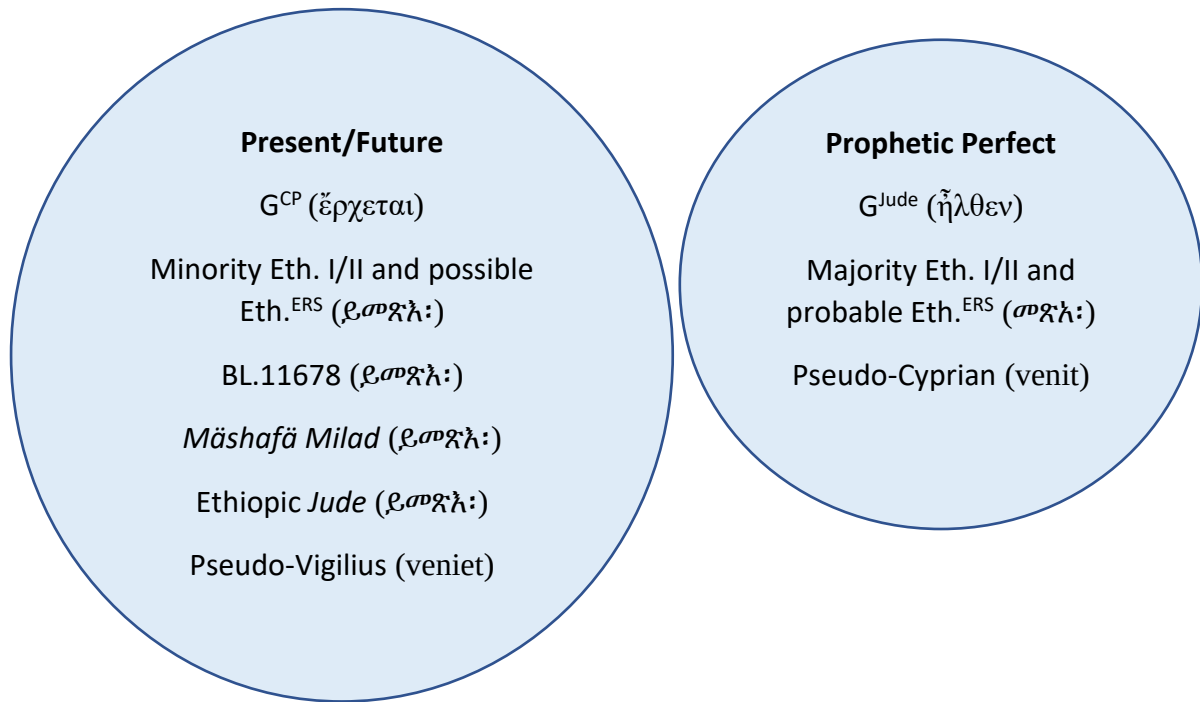
Alternatively, the future verb in Pseudo-Vigilius might reflect adaptation for its literary context in *Contra Varimadum*, or influence from other quotations in this handbook, including the quotation of a Latin text-type of *Isaiah* 66:15 which also attests a future form (*veniet*).⁷⁰³ The use of future forms elsewhere in this string of quotations might underpin a shift from ‘*venit*’ (He has come) to ‘*veniet*’ (He will come). Similarly, Pseudo-Cyprian might reflect a correction, or modification, in dialogue with a Greek or Latin text-type of *Jude*, rather than attesting to an Enochic text with a prophetic perfect.⁷⁰⁴

There are two distinct groupings in the textual evidence, as indicated in the table below. The aorist form in G^{Jude} is normatively regarded as the earlier Greek form, or as dependent on an Aramaic prophetic perfect. However, we can not dismiss the possibility that there was greater cross-contamination in this verbal form than presumed in this normative model.

⁷⁰² Whilst others have interpreted this verb as a perfect, Drawnel interpreted it as a present indicative in agreement with G^{CP}. Drawnel, p.206.

⁷⁰³ Edition: Schwank, & De Bruyne & Fraipont, p.28.

⁷⁰⁴ The general possibility that Pseudo-Cyprian reflects partial adaptation to a Greek Enochic text is inferred in: Dehandschutter, p.117.



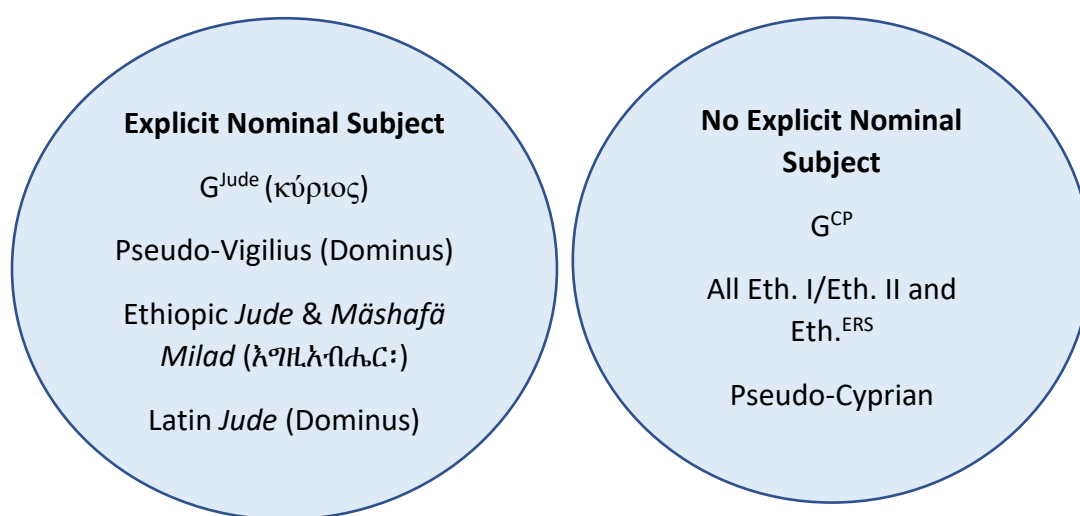
The latter versions do not provide conclusive proof that G^{Jude} reflects an earlier reading, yet it is possible that G^{CP} reflects a revised text, that links the return of God in 1:9 with the extended description of the fate and promises guaranteed to the righteous ones in 1:8. G^{Eth} may have featured either the reading of G^{Jude} or G^{CP}. Whilst the majority reading of Eth. I/Eth. II corresponds closely to the aorist/prophetic perfect of G^{Jude}, it is possible that this is a secondary inner-Ethiopic development, as the minority reading is attested in the early exemplars Tana.9 and Schøyen and in the quotation in BL.11678. Alternatively, this minority Eth. I reading might suggest the influence of Ethiopic *Jude* on the transmission of these manuscripts.

The Ethiopic variants will be explored further in *Chapter 4*, however, it is evident that the evidence is inconclusive. The versions may not indicate unilinear growth, from a prophetic perfect to a present or future verbal form, but instead may reflect continual shift between the two forms as it was transmitted.

#3 – The Interpolation of κύριος in Jude

A unique feature in G^{Jude} consists of the interpolative addition of κύριος as the nominal subject of the initial aorist verb ἤλθεν, and the limited preservation of this title in alternate versions. The anarthrous reading κύριος is the majority manuscript reading and is the earliest reading in G^{Jude}, although an important secondary variant reading ὁ κύριος testifies to the ongoing growth of this nominal subject in this textual tradition.⁷⁰⁵

The nominal subject κύριος (Lord) is preserved in G^{Jude} whilst an equivalent title ‘Dominus’ is preserved in Pseudo-Vigilius. The nominal subject is not attested in G^{CP}, in Pseudo-Cyprian and in the Eth.^{ERS}. The presence of the nominal subject is compelling evidence that the quotation in Pseudo-Vigilius is dependent on a Greek or Latin text-type of *Jude*, rather than on an Enochic text.



The evidence suggests that the addition of an explicit nominal subject in G^{Jude} was a component part of the adaptation of the verse for its new literary context. In the broader

⁷⁰⁵ The secondary variant is preserved in several important manuscript witnesses including 01, 326, 424Z, 436, 1409, 1837C. Another curious manuscript reading, which instead explicitly identifies the nominal subject as ‘God’ is preserved in a solitary manuscript L884 (ἡγθεν ο θεος). For manuscript attestation: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.176-177, 297.

context of the Enochic theophany in G^{CP} and the Ethiopic, an explicit subject is not required as God is already introduced as subject in 1:3b-4. However, once the verse is taken out of its literary context in the Enochic oracle, the subject of the verb becomes opaque. The noun may have been introduced as a nominal subject in G^{Jude} that explicitly clarifies the subject of the actional process described in this unit, although this interpolation probably also reflects the broader focus on Lordship evident in *Jude*.

This interpolation is often interpreted as part of a recasting or resignification of the Enochic theophany as a prophetic prediction of the Parousia of Jesus Christ.⁷⁰⁶ That the title refers to Christ in *Jude* 14b has been defended by Bauckham, who argues that it refers to Christ in 14b whilst the independent occurrences in verses 5 and 9 probably refer to God.⁷⁰⁷ An alternate possibility suggested by Bauckham, is that the title was added 'by analogy with other theophany texts (Isa 40:10; 66:15; Zech 14:5; cf. 1 Enoch 91:7) which were also applied to the Parousia in primitive Christianity.'⁷⁰⁸ A similar idea was proffered by Black, who suggested that *BW* 1:9 was widely circulated and used in early Christianity and that the addition of the explicit nominal subject was a traditional Christian adaptation of the passage.⁷⁰⁹

It is possible that this interpolation attests to a resignification of the theophany in *BW* 1:9 as a reference to the Parousia of Jesus, or that the passage was already interpreted Christologically prior to addition of the title. If the latter is correct, the addition of the

⁷⁰⁶ Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, pp.94, 96-97; Black, 'Maranatha...', p.194; Kelly, p.276; Osburn, p.337; Joseph, S.J. 2013. 'Seventh from Adam (Jude 1:14-15): Re-examining Enochic Traditions and the Christology of Jude', *JTS* 64, p.473.

⁷⁰⁷ Bauckham, R.J. 1990. *Jude and The Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*, Bloomsbury, London, p.282.

⁷⁰⁸ Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, p.94

⁷⁰⁹ Black, 'Maranatha...', pp.10-11.

nominal title would only make explicit what was already implicit in the hermeneutical context in which this feature of textual growth was introduced.

A Christological interpretation of this feature was dismissed by Dehandschutter who argued that the noun is anarthrous in its context and that whenever *Jude* used this title to refer to Jesus, the text features it within the explicit Christological formula 'our Lord Jesus Christ' as in verses 17, 21 and 25.⁷¹⁰ This anarthrous noun is also used in a textually uncertain context in verse 5, and again in verse 9. However, Dehandschutter's argument that κύριος may have been an original feature of *BW* 1:9 that was omitted in a common manuscript ancestor of G^{CP} and the Ethiopic versions is speculative,⁷¹¹ and unlikely considering the absence of this nominal subject in Pseudo-Cyprian.

A similar conclusion is reached by Landon, who examined the broader use of κύριος and ὁ κύριος in *Jude*.⁷¹² Landon surmised that the definite article is normally used prior to the title when applied to Christ, and therefore, if the articular reading in G^{Jude} is 'original' than it might support the identification of the title with Christ.⁷¹³ Landon concludes, however, that the articular ὁ κύριος in verses 5, 9 and 14 reflects 'an anti-adoptionist alteration to the text' and therefore the original function of κύριος was anarthrous in this context.⁷¹⁴

More recently, Wasserman has confirmed the identification of the anarthrous κύριος as the earlier reading and suggests that 'the article may have been introduced by scribes

⁷¹⁰ Dehandschutter, p.118.

⁷¹¹ Ibid, p.119.

⁷¹² Landon only included a limited number of manuscripts in his text-critical study. Landon listed the following manuscripts as supporting the reading of κύριος (P72 A B C K L Ψ 049), and for ὁ κύριος (N 181 378). These are not the only manuscript readings attested. Landon, p.114.

⁷¹³ Ibid.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid.

under the influence of the near-parallel in Matt 25:31 (ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου).⁷¹⁵

Wasserman also affirmed that the addition of the explicit nominal subject by the author of *Jude* was ‘in reference to the Parousia of the Lord Jesus.’⁷¹⁶

It is not certain that the title was added as an explicit reference to Christ, or whether it originated instead as a title for God – the articular ὁ κύριος may reflect a secondary reidentification of the term with Christ. In G^{Jude}, it is possible that κύριος is not used Christologically, although considering the more frequent use of κύριος in *Jude* as a title for Jesus Christ than for God, it inevitably establishes an interlink between the one descending in *Jude* 14b and the Christological formulas used in *Jude* 17, 21 and 25. Other passages including *Matthew* 25:31 which depicts the coming of the ‘Son of Man’ with ‘all the angels with him’ suggests that if a Christological meaning was not intended by the addition of the title κύριος, it would have probably been understood Christologically by the communities who read and transmitted *Jude*.⁷¹⁷

The introduction of this epithet may also be indicative of the influence of LXX *Zechariah* on the Enochic theophany. As indicated in the below table, the form of the verse in G^{Jude} is remarkably akin to the language of LXX *Zechariah* 14:5c:

G ^{Jude} 14b	ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν Behold, He has come	κύριος Lord	ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ ⁷¹⁸ with His holy myriads
LXX <i>Zechariah</i> 14:5c ⁷¹⁹	καὶ ἥξει And He will come	κύριος ὁ θεός μου Lord, my God,	καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. and all the holy ones with Him

⁷¹⁵ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.297.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

⁷¹⁷ Kelly, p.276.

⁷¹⁸ Edition: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.176-178.

⁷¹⁹ Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Prophetae*, p.324.

There is a broad thematic and conceptual parallel between the versions, that is strengthened by the addition of κύριος. Indeed, it is possible that *BW* 1:9 is indebted to the theophany in *Zechariah* 14:5 in the Aramaic version, although the fragments are insufficiently preserved to confirm this hypothesis. This proposal is contrary to that of Nickelsburg, who suggested that the passage is primarily indebted to *Deuteronomy* 33:2 – in conjunction with additional parallels to *Jeremiah* 25:30-31 and *Isaiah* 66:15-16.⁷²⁰

As we will see in the next section, *Zechariah* 14:5c was interpreted Christologically in early Christian literature, and this text may have been read into the Enochic theophany in *G^{Jude}*. The absence of the title in *G^{CP}*, the Ethiopic versions and Pseudo-Cyprian, indicates the probability that it is a feature of textual growth indebted to the adaptation and recasting of the verse within *G^{Jude}*. This interpolation of the nominal subject may reflect a Christological resignification of the passage in *Jude*, or it may reflect the insertion of the title used in the theophany in *Zechariah* 14:5c.

#4 – The Syntactical Construction used for God’s Myriads

Variation is also attested in the syntactical construction used to identify the celestial hosts that accompany God. In *G^{CP}*, the clause reads σὺν ταῖς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ (with His myriads and His holy ones). These two groups could function as duplicate references to a singular entity. However, in other contexts where the *Eth.^{ERS}* features a binarized noun pairing, such as ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’ in 1:1, the passage in *G^{CP}* clearly refers to a singular ‘chosen righteous ones’ (ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους).

⁷²⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.149.

The binarized form ‘His myriads and His holy ones’ probably reflects a resignification of the unit as a prediction that God will be accompanied by two distinct entities.

The manuscripts of G^{Jude} exhibit several critical variants for this clause. The reading normatively adopted as the earlier reading is ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ (with His holy myriads),⁷²¹ where the identificatory term refers to a singular entity, with μυριάσιν functioning as an anarthrous substantive and ἁγίαις as an adjective of quality.⁷²²

This clause is partially attested in 4QEn^c [רבו]את קדישן[הי] (myriads of His holy ones).⁷²³ According to Drawnel, ‘Jude 14 ἁγίαις μυριάσιν manifestly interprets [קדישן[הי]] (without the pronominal suffix) as an adjective (ἁγίαις) modifying the preceding noun μυριάσιν ([רבו]את).’⁷²⁴ There is a broad similarity between these two versions, although in this G^{Jude} variant the adjective ἁγίαις functions as a qualifying term (holy) rather than a quantifying term (holy ones). In both versions, however, the term only refers to a singular entity.

This syntactical formulation in G^{Jude}, however, continued to evolve throughout the transmission of this version. The reading for G^{Jude} that we have followed hitherto is included as reading (I) in the table below. Seven additional variants are included, with manuscript attestation in the right column:⁷²⁵

I	ἐν αἱγιαῖς μυριασιν αὐτου	02 03 018 020 049 056 0142 1 3 5 6 18 33 35... ⁷²⁶
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⁷²¹ It is accepted as the preferable reading in the *Editio Critica Maior* and in Wasserman’s edition: Aland & Aland & Mink & Wachtel, p.422; Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.176-178. Also accepted by: Osburn, p.337.

⁷²² Landon, p.115.

⁷²³ Milik, p.184.

⁷²⁴ Drawnel, p.206.

⁷²⁵ Manuscript readings follow the apparatus of Wasserman’s edition. Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.176-178.

⁷²⁶ For full list of manuscript attestation, see: Ibid, p.177.

II	εν μυριασιν αγιας αυτου	04 322 323 378f 630 631 634 1003 1241 1243 1292... ⁷²⁷
III	εν αγιων αγγελων μυριασιν	P ⁷²
IV	εν μυριασιν αγιων αγγελων	01
V	εν αγιας μυριασιν αγγελων	044
VI	εν αγιας μυριασιν αγγελων αυτου	61 93f 181 326 665f 1836 1837 2242 2544 L422 L585
VII	εν αγιας μυριασιν	38C 1852 2516f
VIII	εν μυριασιν αγιων αγγελων αυτου	88 104 442 459 915 1838 1842 1845 1846 L596

Variants (III), (IV), (V), (VI) and (VIII) all include the interpolative gloss *αγγελων* (angels), that clarifies that the entity should be identified as angelic beings. This interpolation eliminates the hermeneutical possibility that the ‘holy ones’ referred to the Christian Saints.

This interpolation was a common textual feature in manuscripts of G^{Jude}, suggesting either an early addition to an ancestor text-type, or analogous but unrelated hermeneutical interventions in the text. Osburn suggested that it might be a scribal alteration influenced by similar passages such as *Matthew* 25:31 and *2 Thessalonians* 1:7.⁷²⁸ Many manuscripts of Ethiopic *Jude* 14b also include a similar interpolative gloss ‘angels’ (በእጳጳሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ [መለከት፡])⁷²⁹ and Pseudo-Cyprian reads similarly (cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum). This interpolation in G^{Jude} probably originated as an explanatory gloss, as in Ethiopic *Jude* 14b, whilst Pseudo-Cyprian might instead attest to a translational modification wherein the ‘myriads of holy ones’ or ‘holy myriads’ has been interpreted and translated as ‘angels’.

⁷²⁷ Ibid, p.178.

⁷²⁸ Osburn, pp.337-338.

⁷²⁹ The bracketed ‘angels’ is not attested in all manuscripts but appears in: BL.526, BL.529, BL.13264, EMDA.00016, EMDA.00124, EMDA.00158, GG.00086.

The preposition ‘cum’ in Pseudo-Cyprian agrees closely with the unique preposition σύν in G^{CP}.⁷³⁰ However, the ἐν of G^{Jude} agrees with the proclitic ἰ in Eth.^{ERS} 1:9 and Ethiopic *Jude*, and with the preposition ‘in’ in Pseudo-Vigilius.⁷³¹ Pseudo-Cyprian includes the possessive pronoun ‘His’ attested in 4QEn^C and G^{CP} and in most variants of G^{Jude}, but unattested in Ethiopic *Jude* and Pseudo-Vigilius. Pseudo-Vigilius only reads the contracted ‘with myriads/thousands’ (in millibus). Both Latin versions omit any equivalent of the lexeme ‘holy’ (sanctis) – indeed, Wasserman suggests that the complete absence of ‘holy’ in these Latin versions ‘strengthens the impression that “holy ones” was interpreted as “angels” at some point.’⁷³²

The Eth.^{ERS} omits any equivalent of the possessive pronoun ‘His’, but otherwise closely mirrors 4QEn^C. The evidence of the versions is mixed, and it is likely that the Latin versions reflect dependence on a Greek text-type distinct from both G^{Jude} and G^{CP} in this instance, or that they reflect ongoing development and growth of Latin text-types independent of the Greek versions.

The above evidence may only indicate the tip of the iceberg in textual diversity in this unit in text-types of *BW* 1:9 and *Jude* 14b. This unit attests to a high level of variation in the manuscripts of G^{Jude}, and this unit evidently continued to develop in conjunction with the enculturation of the text in Christian hermeneutical contexts.

Whilst P⁷² preserves an early and unique variant reading (III), Wasserman has demonstrated that the uniqueness of this manuscript only pertains to word-order. Wasserman highlights that the scribe of P⁷² has ‘made a number of transpositions

⁷³⁰ Drawnel, p.206.

⁷³¹ Ibid.

⁷³² See footnote 281: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.300.

elsewhere, some of which involve a leap followed by a correction where omitted words are inserted out of order; this is probably what happened here.⁷³³ Wasserman thus concluded that this unique reading in P⁷² should instead be understood as a parallel witness to reading (IV) preserved in manuscript 01.⁷³⁴

Milik argued that reading (VIII) provides the closest reading to the Aramaic Enochic text,⁷³⁵ and a similar suggestion was proposed by Drawnel.⁷³⁶ However, the similarity between 4QEn^c and reading (VIII) is probably incidental, as the addition of the interpolative explanatory gloss ἀγγέλων (angels) probably attracted the qualifying adjective ‘holy’ to this second subject (‘holy angels’) rather than as a direct qualification of the ‘myriads’ (‘holy myriads’).

The weight of the transcriptional evidence favors reading (I), that we have explored so far. Reading (I) is the normative reading used in comparative analysis of the Greek versions and was included in the editions of Charles⁷³⁷ and Black,⁷³⁸ and in the critical apparatus of Knibb.⁷³⁹

Whilst reading (I) is typically prioritized in editions and translations of G^{Jude}, Landon has argued that the variant word-order in reading (II) is syntactically preferable. Landon stipulates that the preferred syntactical construction in Greek is substantive followed by adjective, when using anarthrous substantives with qualitative adjectives.⁷⁴⁰ Landon provides six examples where this order is maintained, once in verse 7, twice in verse 12,

⁷³³ Ibid, p.299.

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ Milik, p.184.

⁷³⁶ Drawnel, p.206.

⁷³⁷ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.

⁷³⁸ Black, *Apocalypse...*, p.10.

⁷³⁹ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.4.

⁷⁴⁰ Landon, p.115.

and once in verses 13, 20 and 21.⁷⁴¹ The rule in *Jude*, according to Landon, is ‘preposition + substantive + adjective’.⁷⁴² This rule is attested by the second manuscript reading where μυριασιν is the substantive and αγιας is the qualitative adjective.⁷⁴³

The word-order of reading (II) would also mirror the word-order of the Eth.^{ERS} (በጎረቤቶቻቸው ጥቂቶች፡ – with myriads/ten thousands of holy ones) and Pseudo-Cyprian (cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum – with the many thousands of His angels).⁷⁴⁴ Whilst Landon’s thesis is feasible, his argument also may support the reverse, that reading (II) was introduced as a stylistic revision of reading (I). The revision of the quotation in G^{Jude} by a later scribe may have improved the conformity of the quotation to the general syntactical style of *Jude*. Stylistic conformity is often a product of the transmission of a text.⁷⁴⁵

More recently, Wasserman has argued that reading (I) is the initial-reading of G^{Jude}.⁷⁴⁶ Wasserman regarded the interpolative gloss αγγελων (angels) in reading (VI) as a secondary feature of this initial text-type.⁷⁴⁷ After the addition of this interpolation, the noun αγγελων attracted the qualitative αγιας (holy), in turn necessitating the change in the case ending to αγιων.⁷⁴⁸ The omission of the genitive pronoun αὐτοῦ in readings (III), (IV), (V), and (VII) are therefore secondary developments from the similar readings in (VI), (VIII) and (I).

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ This argument is critiqued and supplemented in: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.301.

⁷⁴⁴ Pseudo-Cyprian omits ‘holy ones’ and instead features ‘angels’. It is possible that the latter was intended as a direct translation for this former term.

⁷⁴⁵ This possibility is also recognized by Landon. Landon, p.115.

⁷⁴⁶ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.298-301.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid, p.300.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.

In defense of reading (I) as the initial-reading, Wasserman contended that if the interpolative gloss ἀγγελων had originated as a gloss on reading (II) then we would instead expect the reading μυριασιν αγιας αγγελων αυτου which is entirely absent in the manuscripts of G^{Jude}.⁷⁴⁹ Furthermore, Wasserman points out that the grammatical rule highlighted by Landon is irrelevant because the noun μυριασιν has an additional qualifier in the genitive pronoun αυτου.⁷⁵⁰ The argument of Wasserman is compelling, and it is probable that reading (I) is the earliest of these variants in G^{Jude}, although it does not provide a strict correspondence to the reading of 4QEn^c.

G^{CP} does not correspond closely to any of these G^{Jude} variants, nor to the reading of the Latin and Ethiopic versions. The bifurcated reading of G^{CP} therefore may reflect a stylistic and theological revision of the clause, that separates the singular ‘myriads of holy ones’ into the dual entities ‘myriads’ and ‘holy ones’.

A persuasive explanation for this process has been offered by Bauckham, who suggested that the bifurcation reflects a Christian reinterpretation of the Enochic theophany in 1:9.⁷⁵¹ Bauckham’s argument is interlinked with a broader examination of the interpretation of *Zechariah* 14:5b in New Testament and Patristic literature. The Enochic theophany in *BW* 1:9 was embedded within an ongoing theophanic tradition that was indebted to and interconnected with the interpretation of this theophany. In *Zechariah* 14:5b, the Lord God will come accompanied by all the ‘holy ones with Him’ (LXX: καὶ ἔξει κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ).⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid, p.301.

⁷⁵¹ Bauckham, ‘A Note...’, pp.136-138.

⁷⁵² Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Duodecim Prophetæ*, p.324.

This theophany in *Zechariah* was adapted and interpreted Christologically as a prediction of the Parousia of Christ in the New Testament and early Christian literature.⁷⁵³ The bifurcation of the phrase ‘myriads of His holy ones’ into two distinct entities in G^{CP} reflects a hermeneutical intervention in the text in a hermeneutical context where the meaning of the term ‘holy ones’ was opaque. Even though the term οἱ ἅγιοι (the holy ones) was a common translation for the Hebrew and Aramaic equivalent term, Bauckham suggests that the precise identification of this term was less apparent in a Christian hermeneutical context.⁷⁵⁴

Whilst the term οἱ ἅγιοι was used in early Christian texts to refer to ‘angels’, and *Zechariah* 14:5b was interpreted as referring to ‘angels’, the term was more typically used as a reference to other Christians.⁷⁵⁵ According to Bauckham, most of the passages that interpreted the phrase from *Zechariah* 14:5b (καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ) as referring to ‘angels’ rather than ‘holy ones’ clarify this point by including ἀγγέλοι (angels) as a secondary or replacement term.⁷⁵⁶ For example, this is reflected in *Matthew* 16:27, 25:31, *Mark* 8:38, *2 Thessalonians* 1:7, *Apocalypse of Peter* 1 (attested in Ethiopic), *Sibylline Oracle* 2:242.⁷⁵⁷ Bauckham concludes that the only New Testament texts that use οἱ ἅγιοι to refer to angels, without clarifying whether it is an identificatory term for ‘angels’ or ‘Christians’, are *1 Thessalonians* 3:13, *Ephesians* 1:18, *Colossians* 1:12 and our current quotation of *BW* 1:9 in *Jude* 14b. As we have seen, the noun ‘angels’ (ἀγγέλων)

⁷⁵³ For example, it was formative for *Matthew* 16:27, 25:31, *Mark* 8:38, *Luke* 9:26.

⁷⁵⁴ Bauckham, ‘A Note...’, p.138.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

may have been interpolated into G^{Jude} as a clarificatory term during the transmission of this text-type – a similar clarification is interpolated in the transmission of Ethiopic *Jude*.

A bifurcated phrase similar to that preserved in G^{CP} is attested in *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:14.⁷⁵⁸ In this passage, which is only preserved in Ethiopic, ‘the Lord will come with His angels and with the hosts of the holy ones from the seventh Heaven’ (ይመጽእ፡ እግዚእ፡ ምስሉ፡ መላእክቲሁ፡ ወምስሉ፡ ኀይላተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ እምሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡).⁷⁵⁹ Two verses later it is clarified that the second entity ‘holy ones’ are the Christian dead who will arise and accompany the Lord in his final coming.

Bauckham provides a compelling account that explains the unique bifurcated reading in G^{CP}.⁷⁶⁰ The bifurcated form probably reflects a reformulation of this Greek text-type in a Christian hermeneutical context. Whilst there are later texts where the ‘holy ones’ refer to angels,⁷⁶¹ the term does primarily develop in Christian hermeneutical contexts as an identificatory term for faithful Christians.⁷⁶²

This account is compelling; however, it is also possible that this revisional growth in G^{CP} may also have been stylistic in nature, removing Semitisms from the text such as the use of *ἐν* to indicate accompaniment. Another possibility is that the transmission of the G^{CP} text-type has been influenced by LXX *Deuteronomy* 33:2.⁷⁶³ Two similar phrases appear therein including *σὺν μυριάσιν Καδης* (with myriads of Kadesh) and *ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ*

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁹ Edition: Charles, R.H. 1900. *The Ascension of Isaiah, Translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the New Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic, is here Published in Full*, A. & C. Black, London, p.96.

⁷⁶⁰ Bauckham, ‘A Note...’, p.138.

⁷⁶¹ See: Hermas’ *Visiones Pastoris* 3.4.1 and John Chrysostom’s *Homiliae* 82:1 in *John*.

⁷⁶² See: Ignatius’ *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* 1.2 and Justinus Martyr’s *Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo* 139.4.

⁷⁶³ The parallels between the two texts were interpreted by Nickelsburg as an indication that the Aramaic was indebted to *Deuteronomy* 33:2. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.149.

ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ (from His right hand, angels with him). The use of the dative preposition σύν and the μυριάσιν are two direct parallels to G^{CP}. The two distinct entities that accompany God in *Deuteronomy* 33:2 provides another parallel between these two texts.

At a minimum, the evidence is not analogous for the Greek text-types in G^{CP} and G^{Jude}. The passage in *Jude* appears closer to the language of LXX *Zechariah* 14:5b and as we have seen in the last section it is possible that the interpolative κύριος reflects a reorientation of the language to this theophany. The passage in G^{CP}, however, is lexically and structurally closer to LXX *Deuteronomy* 33:2 and it is possible that this syntactical reformulation reflects influence from this additional text.

Alternatively, G^{CP} may reflect a bifurcation of the singular 'myriads of His holy ones' into a binary phrase 'with His myriads and His holy ones' where the former refers to 'angels' and the latter to the holy Christian Saints who will accompany the Lord. The evidence of the latter versions demonstrates that the precise formulation used to articulate God's myriads continued to develop and grow as the text was enculturated into distinct hermeneutical and literary contexts.

[#5 – The Inflected Form of ἐλέγχω and Verbal Changes in G^{CP}](#)

Several unique readings in this verse reflect the revision of several verbs in G^{CP} and the contraction of two clauses into one in G^{Jude}. At the beginning of unit (II), both versions feature the identical clause ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων (to enact judgment against all), including an aorist infinitive ποιῆσαι in both versions. The next stanza in G^{Jude} also

features an aorist infinitive ἐλέγξει (to convict),⁷⁶⁴ whilst G^{CP} instead preserves a future indicative ἐλέγξει (He will convict).⁷⁶⁵

In G^{CP}, this future indicative verb is complemented by the future indicative verb in the preceding stanza, καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς (and He will destroy all the ungodly ones), with the verb ἀπολέσει (He will destroy). This verb is omitted entirely in all manuscripts of G^{Jude}, which has condensed or contracted these two stanzas into one shorter reading.

The two subsequent verbs in G^{Jude} and G^{CP} are identical in both text-types. These aorist verbs ἡσέβησαν (they have done) and ἐλάλησαν (they have spoken) are employed in subordinate clauses and do not have God as their nominal subject, and instead refer to the actions of the ‘ungodly ones’.

In G^{Jude}, all the verbs are included as aorist forms, including the initial ἦλθεν (He has come). The Enochic quotation in G^{Jude} can thus be broken down into five distinct units; the description of God’s descent using an aorist indicative verb, two parallel clauses using aorist infinitives that describe the purpose of God’s descent, and then two parallel subordinate clauses using aorist indicative verbs that describe the iniquities of the ungodly ones who are the object of God’s judgment (see *Supplement* Table 3.5).

⁷⁶⁴ One common variant reads ἐξελέγξει. This compound variant, according to Wasserman, reflects an amplification of the original ἐλέγξει. Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.179-180, 310.

⁷⁶⁵ MS reads λενξει. This verb is typically reconstructed as ελεγξει (he will convict) where the initial epsilon has been omitted by error and there has been a phonetic shift from γ to ν. Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.5; Flemming & Radermacher, p.20; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19. Charles emended to the aorist infinitive ἐλέγξει in dialogue with G^{Jude} (Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5). There is not a common interchange between αι and ει in G^{CP} and an indicative form is preferable in this context, which would mirror the indicative verb ἀπολεσει (He will destroy).

There is a clear pattern and structure in the adapted Enochic quotation in G^{Jude}. Whilst it is tempting to use this structure to argue that G^{Jude} preserves the earlier and exemplary version, stylistic conformity is often an indication of transmissional processes. The vivid internal structure and stylistic conformity of the Enochic quotation in G^{Jude} reflects the adaptation of the verse for its new literary context.

However, G^{CP} may have also been revised during its transmission. The unit in G^{CP} predominantly features present and future indicative verbs to describe the actions of God. The only aspect of God's actions described using an aorist form is the infinitive ποιῆσαι, and thereafter G^{CP} is distinct from G^{Jude}. G^{CP} has six distinct units, beginning with a middle indicative verb (He comes) followed by a single aorist infinitive (to enact judgment) that defines the primary purpose of God's descent. This is followed by two future indicative verbs that further clarify the actions of God upon humanity, and then two aorist verbs that are identical to those in G^{Jude} that describe the actions of the ungodly.

G^{CP} may reflect a revision of the aorist verbs to further interlink the content of 1:9 to the content of the preceding verse in 1:8 – as was shown in the use of the subordinating particle ὅτι, and the possible shift from an initial aorist verb to a present verb in 1:9a. The verbs in G^{CP} 1:8 are all third-person future indicative verbs. This use of future verbs in 1:8 even extends to interpolative features of that unit, including καὶ πάντων ἀντιλήμψεται καὶ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν (And He will support all, and He will help us) and the final clause καὶ ποιήσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην (And He will set peace upon them), wherein all interpolated verbs are included in the future form. The use of a subordinating particle and present

verb in unit (I) of 1:9 and the use of future indicative verbs in units (II) and (III) contributes to the subordination of 1:9 to 1:8.

In G^{CP}, the future indicative ἐλέγξει (He will convict) may indicate a broader revision from the aorist, denoting prophetically expected but assured action, to the future aspect evident in 1:8. This future indicative verb, in conjunction with the initial particle and verb of movement, might reflect a revisional feature of textual growth that further subordinates the final judgment of God to the promises directed to the righteous ones and chosen ones in 1:8.

The subordinate clauses in units (III) and (IV) of G^{CP} 1:9, which have the ungodly as their nominal subject, are identical to *Jude*. The ungodly sinners have completed ungodly deeds, and spoken harsh words against God, in the aorist tense. In both G^{CP} and *Jude*, these are completed events, or at least are prophetically completed. However, in G^{CP} God's actions are described in the present and future tense. This provides an immediacy which is absent in *Jude* but also continues the tense and aspect reflected in God's promises to the righteous in G^{CP} 1:8.

The later versions do not conclusively confirm which is the earlier Greek form, whether ἐλέγξει (G^{Jude}) or ἐλέγξει (G^{CP}). Pseudo-Cyprian (et arguere) and Pseudo-Vigilius (et arguere) both agree with G^{Jude} whilst the Eth.^{ERS} includes an indicative form (ወይዘላፍ፡) that closely agrees with G^{CP}.⁷⁶⁶ Either direction of development is feasible considering the textual evidence.

⁷⁶⁶ The variant readings of Eth. I/Eth. II are discussed in *Chapter 4 & 5*. Ethiopic *Jude* follows closely the contracted reading of G^{Jude} in this stanza.

Brown-deVost suggested that the subordinating verb forms in *Jude*, the Latin versions, and the revised Ethiopic reading (Eth β – ወይትዋቀስ/ሥ:) are probably ‘inner corruptions due to a translator’s impulse to make all the verbs in this section agree with the subordinate למעבד in line 1; the imperfect of Pan and Eth α appears more original’.⁷⁶⁷ This verb is not attested in 4QEn^c, however, and can only be speculatively restored on the basis of G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS}.

G^{Jude} may reflect an emendation of present and future verbs to improve the parallelism of the unit – this might be a stylistic revision or adaptation that integrates the verse into its new literary context. An element of revision is probably implicit in the conflation of the two stanzas ‘and He will destroy’ and ‘He will convict’ into one stanza, which are attested separately in G^{CP}, Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Vigilius and the Eth.^{ERS}. Therefore, these verbal emendations and omissions may be an incorporate part of a broader stylistic revision of the unit.

Alternatively, unit (I) in G^{CP} provides three feasible examples where this text-type has been syntactically altered to subordinate the theophany to the content of 1:8. It is feasible that G^{CP} is indicative of an emendation of aorist infinitives to indicative verbs as a part of this revision. It is not clear whether these changes reflect theological or exegetical concerns with the temporal aspect of the events in 1:9 and the lack of any direct promise to God’s chosen people within the passage. This revision may smooth the sharp transition from 1:8 to 1:9 and subordinate God’s judgment and destruction in 1:9 to

⁷⁶⁷ Brown-deVost, B. 2016 ‘4QEn^c (4Q204) Column I: A New Reconstruction’ in *New Vistas on Early Judaism and Christianity: From Enoch to Montréal and Back* (ed. L. DiTomasso, G.S. Oegema), Bloomsbury T&T Clark, London, p.66.

God's promises of peace, protection, and blessing to the righteous ones and chosen ones in 1:8.

#6 – The Noun Complement of the Judgment

So far, the evidence has indicated that both G^{CP} and G^{Jude} reflect textual growth. The earliest recoverable reading of G^{Jude} has often aligned closely with the Eth.^{ERS} and Latin versions, however, it is clear the former also continued to grow and evolve in dialogue with the hermeneutical and socio-religious contexts in which this text-type was transmitted, and in accordance with its new literary context. Furthermore, neither of the Latin versions have directly corresponded to G^{Jude}. Both Latin versions, and the Eth.^{ERS}, preserve the additional stanza 'and He will destroy all the ungodly ones' that is not attested in G^{Jude}. Moreover, only Pseudo-Vigilius attests the interpolative nominal subject κύριος, which is absent in G^{CP}, the Eth.^{ERS}, and in Pseudo-Cyprian.

In the case of the noun complement of the verb ἐλέγχω (to convict), the G^{CP} text-type preserves an earlier reading whilst G^{Jude} attests to a revisional feature conjoined with the adaptation of the Enochic theophany for its new literary context. This noun complement in G^{CP} is πᾶσαν σάρκα (all flesh), which agrees closely with 4QEn^c which fragmentarily attests the reading שר[א לכול ב] (all flesh). The reading of G^{CP} is also supported by Pseudo-Cyprian and Pseudo-Vigilius (omnen carnem – all flesh) and by the Eth.^{ERS} (ἁλῶ: ἡ γὰρ – all flesh). The general conformity of Pseudo-Vigilius to G^{Jude}, and the attribution in Pseudo-Vigilius of the quotation to Jude and not Enoch, suggests the possibility that some *Jude* manuscripts, or an early Latin witness to *Jude*, may have instead included πᾶσαν σάρκα (all flesh). No surviving *Jude* manuscript, however, attests this manuscript reading.

As indicated in *Chapter 1*, the judgment of ‘all flesh’ was a common trope in Hebrew theophanies including *Jeremiah* 25:30-31, *Isaiah* 66:15-16 as well as in *Genesis* where it appears ten times (6:12, 13, 17, 19; 7:15, 21; 8:17; 9:11, 15, 17). The phrase is usually closely translated in the Greek versions, as also reflected in the reading attested in G^{CP} which agrees with 4QEn^c.

It is probable that G^{CP} reflects a translational reading whilst G^{Jude} attests to ongoing reidentification of the object of the judgment. Four common variants in G^{Jude} are included in the table below, with manuscript attestation included in the right column:

I	παντας τους ασεβεις	all the ungodly ones	02 03 04 044 5 33 61 81 93 94 101 142 216T 307 321 326 330 378... ⁷⁶⁸
II	παντας τους ασεβεις αυτων	all their ungodly deeds	018 020 049 1 3 18 35 38 42 43 51 57 62 76 82 88... ⁷⁶⁹
III	πασαν ψυχην	every soul	P ⁷² 01 1852
IV	παντας ασεβεις	all ungodly ones	6 322 323 424C... ⁷⁷⁰

These variants can be explained according to two directional processes. The author of G^{Jude} may have reidentified the σάρκα (flesh) with ψυχήν (soul) as a functional equivalent, and therein recast the judgment as directed against the soul of every being, rather than the metaphoric use of σάρκα (flesh) as a reference to humanity. This may signal an ontological change or a replacement of a metaphoric term with a sense equivalent. The reading πᾶσαν ψυχήν was adopted in the *Critica Editio Maior*,⁷⁷¹ and was supported by J. Daryl Charles and Wachtel.⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁸ For full list of manuscript attestation, see: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.180.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid, pp.180-181.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid, p.181.

⁷⁷¹ Aland, Aland, Mink, Strutwolf & Wachtel, p.423.

⁷⁷² Charles, J.D. 1993. *Literary Strategy in the Epistle of Jude*, University of Scranton Press, London, p.303; Wachtel, K. 1995. *Der Byzantinische Text der Katholischen Briefe: eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF 24, De Gruyter, Berlin/New York, p.359.

If this premise is adopted, then the variant παντας τους ασεβεις may indicate a secondary theological revision of the clause that specifies that the eschatological judgment will be directed only against the ‘ungodly ones’, rather than all mankind inclusive of God’s chosen people. This revision would consequently remove the universal aspect of the judgment implied in the idea in that God would convict every ‘soul’ and limit the object of God’s judgment in the theophany in G^{Jude}.

The preferability of the second reading παντας τους ασεβεις, however, has been advocated by Kubo, Albin, Landon, and Wasserman in text-critical treatments of *Jude*.⁷⁷³ The reading was also included as the preferable reading in the critical edition of Charles and in the critical apparatus of Black and Knibb.⁷⁷⁴ This reading is also supported by the Latin versions. As indicated by Wasserman, ‘the main stream of the Latin (V), the Bohairic, the Harklean and some manuscripts of the Philoxenian represent either παντας τους ασεβεις or παντας ασεβεις.’⁷⁷⁵

Kubo suggested that the over repetitiveness of ἀσεβής in the Enochic quotation in G^{Jude}, as the term appears again in the final unit of the quotation, was problematic to scribes and therefore πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς was replaced by πᾶσαν ψυχήν.⁷⁷⁶ This replacement may have harmonized the passage with the reading of *Romans* 2:9 (ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχήν – upon every soul).⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷³ Kubo, S. 1965. *P72 and the Codex Vaticanus*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah, p.88; Albin, C.A. 1962. *Judasbrevet, Traditionen, Texten, Tolkningen*, Natur Och Kultur, Stockholm. pp.738-739; Landon, pp.117-119; Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.301-304.

⁷⁷⁴ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19; Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.4; Black, ‘Maranatha...’, p.193.

⁷⁷⁵ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.302.

⁷⁷⁶ Kubo, p.88.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

The variant reading παντας τους ασεβεις may also explain why the previous clause και απολέσαι παντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς was omitted or redacted in G^{Jude}. The end of the stanza και απολέσαι πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς was conflated with the first half of the following stanza καὶ ἐλέγξει⁷⁷⁸ πᾶσαν σάρκα to produce the mixed reading και ἐλέγξει παντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς.⁷⁷⁹ The additional G^{Jude} variant παντας ἀσεβεῖς, as indicated by Wasserman, is likely to reflect either scribal deletion of the article as superfluous, or omission by homoioteleuton.⁷⁸⁰

A similar argument was also postulated by Landon who supported the second reading on structural and stylistic grounds. Landon argued that παντας τους ασεβεις is an incorporate part of a 'stylistically polished formula' of πᾶς plus definite article, plus adjective or substantive.⁷⁸¹ In *Jude*, this formula allegedly works as part of a triadic unity; 'all the ungodly', 'all the deeds' and 'all the hard utterances'.⁷⁸² Similar triadic structures are present throughout *Jude*, according to Landon, and the unique reading of this text is indicative of a reformulation of the verse for its new literary context.⁷⁸³

Landon argues that the author based this triadic structure on the clause και απολέσει παντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς that is featured in G^{CP} but not in G^{Jude}.⁷⁸⁴ As a part of this projection of a triadic structure into the Enochic verse, the author of *Jude* effectively merged the two clauses και απολέσει παντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς (and He will destroy all the ungodly ones) and και ἐλέγξει πᾶσαν σάρκα (and He will convict all flesh) into the singular clause και ἐλέγξει παντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς (and to convict all the ungodly ones).⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁷⁸ Or ἐλέγξει as in G^{CP}.

⁷⁷⁹ See similar arguments of: Bauckham, *Jude-2 Peter*, p.94; Osburn, p.338.

⁷⁸⁰ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.304.

⁷⁸¹ Landon, p.117.

⁷⁸² Ibid.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid, p.118.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.

The proposal of Landon argues for this conflation as generated by stylistic and structural considerations rather than hermeneutical factors.⁷⁸⁶ Landon proposed a two-step transformative process: firstly the author of *Jude* has adopted the reading παντας τους ασεβεις as part of parallelism with two readings from later in *Jude* 15 (πάντων τῶν ἔργων/πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν), and this reading was then altered further during its transmission to remove the over repetitiveness of ασεβεις, and to harmonize the passage with *Romans* 2:9.⁷⁸⁷

The final manuscript reading παντας τους ασεβεις αυτων (all their ungodliness/ungodly deeds) is also a secondary reading, that introduces the pronoun αυτων from the subsequent clause περὶ πάντων [τῶν] ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν (concerning all their ungodly deeds).⁷⁸⁸ The insertion of this pronoun appears to indicate a misunderstanding or conflation of the noun ἀσεβεῖς which clearly refers to the ungodly of mankind, with the later adjectival form ἀσεβείας which refers to the deeds of mankind.⁷⁸⁹ Landon's thesis is compelling, however, it does not explain why this broader structural or stylistic reconfiguration was necessary to this unit.

Bauckham proposed that the combination of these two stanzas into one, has the effect of reidentifying the judgment more specifically with the ἀσεβεῖς, 'whom Jude wishes to identify as the false teachers.'⁷⁹⁰ It is likely that that the 'ungodly' in this Enochic quotation in G^{Jude} is to be identified with the opponents of Jude, the false teachers.⁷⁹¹ The repetition of ἀσεβεῖς throughout *Jude*, where it appears six times, contributes to the

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid, p.119.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid, pp.117-119.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid, p.119.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁰ Bauckham, *Jude-2 Peter*, p.94; A similar argument was made in: Osburn, p.338.

⁷⁹¹ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.303.

accentuated focus on the eventual fate of these ungodly false teachers, which is articulated in the adapted Enochic quotation.⁷⁹² As indicated by Wasserman, the impending judgement of the author's opponents is anticipated as early as verse 4, where they are referred to as ἀσεβεῖς.⁷⁹³

Alternatively, the clause may have also been omitted in *Jude*, due to theological problems with the temporal sequence of the actions of God in this unit. In this verse in G^{CP} and in the Latin versions and Eth.^{ERS}, God destroys the ungodly before humanity is judged for their actions. The redaction would remove this peculiar temporal sequence. This adaptation redirects the focus of God's judgment onto the 'ungodly' and removes the universality inherent in the phrase 'all flesh.'

The totalizing judgment was problematic in hermeneutical contexts where the theophany was interpreted, or reidentified, as a prediction of the Parousia of Christ. For example, in the Ethiopic version the verb that precedes 'all flesh' was revised from ወይዘለፍ፡ (and He will convict) to ወይትዋቀስ፡ (and He will contend with/intercede with) to remove the totalizing aspect of the judgment (for further, see *Chapter 5*). If this thesis is correct, then variants (II) and (III) in G^{Jude} would reflect secondary revisions or developments from this earlier redaction of the Enochic theophany. This proposal provides a feasible explanation for the absence of the stanza 'and to destroy all the ungodly ones' in the quotation in G^{Jude}.

The reading πᾶσαν ψυχὴν reflects a secondary development or scribal change in the transmission of G^{Jude}. The omission of the clause from unit (II) of the Enochic theophany

⁷⁹² Ibid; Mayor, p.26.

⁷⁹³ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.303.

would thus be embedded within the broader reformulation of the verse in *Jude*. In this instance, the evidence indicates the relative stability of two clauses attested in G^{CP}, in contrast to the contraction of these clauses in G^{Jude} into a singular clause.

#7 – The ‘Hard Words’ of the Ungodly Sinners

The final element of variation between the Greek versions is in the fourth and final unit of the Enochic theophany. The variants in this unit are indicative of the obscurity of the Greek to later readers and transmitters.

In G^{CP}, the verb κατελάλησαν is a duplication of the verb ἐλάλησαν.⁷⁹⁴ This latter verb has been displaced from its complement κατ’ αὐτοῦ in G^{CP}, whilst in G^{Jude} they are included together. The order of the units in G^{CP} indicates displacement. Another unit that has been dislocated in G^{CP} is καὶ περὶ πάντων. In G^{Jude}, this clause is located at the front of the unit, whilst in G^{CP} it has moved to the middle of the unit (see *Supplement Table 3.7*).

The word-order of this unit in G^{Jude} parallels the word-order of the preceding stanza περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν – apart from the addition of the definite article τῶν, and its absence in G^{CP}, this previous stanza is identical in both versions. G^{Jude} may reflect a stylistic reconfiguration of the verse to improve the internal parallelism.

The reading of both versions is intelligible although in G^{CP} the basic sense of the κατελάλησαν is already expressed earlier in the verse, and without this verb the precise location of κατ’ αὐτοῦ would be unintelligible.

The contextual meaning of σκληρῶν was obscure to later transmitters and both versions reflect reconfiguration to clarify the meaning of the unit. The unit καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν

⁷⁹⁴ Charles, Milik and Knibb have argued that it is a dittography. Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5, 7; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19; Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.60.

ἐλάλησαν λόγων is entirely omitted in Eth.^{ERS}, according to Drawnel by parablepsis, which only preserves the final subject ‘the sinners and wicked ones’.⁷⁹⁵ Bauckham and Landon have argued that λόγων in G^{Jude} was an explanatory gloss on the obscure σκληρῶν.⁷⁹⁶ This reading has significant manuscript attestation although it is not the majority manuscript reading.⁷⁹⁷

A similar reading is also attested in Pseudo-Cyprian (*verbis impiis*), which follows more closely to the word-order in G^{Jude} throughout this unit, whilst the entire unit is omitted in Pseudo-Vigilius. Wasserman concluded that ‘external evidence is ambiguous, but intrinsic and transcriptional probability speak strongly against λόγων.’⁷⁹⁸ The evidence is uncertain, however, it is probable that this is an accretive feature of G^{Jude}.

The presence of the noun λόγων in both G^{CP} and G^{Jude}, albeit in distinct syntactical positions, might suggest that this was an initial or early feature of the Greek version of the Enochic theophany, a feature reflected in both Greek text-types. In *Chapter 1*, we observed that 4QEn^C (רַבְרַבִּין וְקָשִׁין) *may* or *may not* have featured a subsequent noun complement ‘words’ and that these adjectives may have functioned substantively.⁷⁹⁹ In the recurring example in 5:4 it is evident that these adjectives עלוהי רברבן וקשין (upon him proud and hard things/words) are substantives and did not have a noun complement.

In G^{CP} 5:4, the text preserves the explanatory gloss ‘words’ κατελαλήσατε μεγάλους καὶ σκληροὺς λόγους (you have spoken great and hard words), despite the absence of this in

⁷⁹⁵ Drawnel, p.207.

⁷⁹⁶ Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, p.93; Landon, p.120.

⁷⁹⁷ It is preserved in, for example, 01 04 6 33 76 81 88 93...; For full list of manuscript readings and attestation, see: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.183.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid, p.307.

⁷⁹⁹ Drawnel and Brown-deVost reconstructed the noun ‘words’ in the hypothetical margins of the text. Drawnel, p.205; Brown-deVost, p.67.

the corresponding Aramaic. It is probable that both examples in G^{CP} are secondary glosses on the text to explain the substantive ‘great and hard’ which was obscure to later transmitters. The G^{CP} text-type also probably reflect a secondary stylistic revision after the insertion of this explanatory gloss, as the separation of λόγων from σκληρῶν in G^{CP} reflects a stylistic revision of the Greek during the transmission of that text type.

Wasserman suggests that the initial absence of λόγων in the G^{Jude} text-type ‘is another fresh argument for the fact that the author of Jude used a Semitic source.’⁸⁰⁰ This argument is far from compelling, as it would only provide evidence that the Greek text-type quoted and adapted by *Jude* was closer to the Aramaic text, than the late text-type preserved in G^{CP}. The addition of λόγων might be a late element of textual growth in the G^{CP} text-type. The argument that *Jude* translated directly from an Aramaic text is not compelling. It is dependent on the presumption that any ‘Semitic’ feature of G^{Jude} is indicative of direct dependence on the Aramaic, rather than dependence on an early Greek translation that was closer to the Aramaic than the late text-type preserved in G^{CP}.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have observed features of both Greek versions that are indicative of ongoing growth, contraction, and development of the Enochic theophany. The possibility that G^{Jude} may provide a superior exemplar of 1:9 to that featured in G^{CP} has been suggested by Dehandschutter⁸⁰¹ and more recently by Coblentz Bautch⁸⁰². Neither G^{CP} nor G^{Jude}, however, are likely to be a close representative of a ‘translated’ Greek text. Both versions indicate ongoing textual growth and revision in dialogue with the

⁸⁰⁰ Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.306.

⁸⁰¹ Dehandschutter, p.117.

⁸⁰² Coblentz Bautch, p.86

hermeneutical frameworks that were applied to the text by the scribes and exegetes responsible for its continued transmission. These Greek text-types grew and evolved as the text was enculturated into a Christian socio-religious and hermeneutical framework, and as it was transmitted in this new context.

The close semantic and lexical parallels between the versions renders the 'Aramaic Origins' hypothesis less feasible than the alternate possibility, that both hearken back to a single Greek version. Yet both Greek text-types have evolved and grown in unique ways. The text-type in G^{CP} preserves several unique readings in 1:9, in comparison to the Aramaic, Latin and Ethiopic versions, that attest to limited stylistic and theological revision of the language during the transmission of this text-type. In G^{Jude}, the quotation exhibits signs of adaptation for its new literary context, including the contraction of two stanzas into one, and the shift from the universal 'all flesh' to the more limited 'all the ungodly ones'.

It is probable that the author of *Jude* has adapted a Greek text-type that was related to, but distinct, from the late text-type preserved in G^{CP}. The secondary versions are not dependent on a Greek text identical to G^{CP}, but neither can we presume that the text-type in G^{Jude} reflects dependency on a text equivalent to G^{CP}. These versions are witnesses to different stages and transmissional contexts in the textual history of the Greek Enochic theophany, and each have their own unique features of textual growth and/or contraction.

Chapter 4 – The Enochic Theophany in the Eth. I Manuscripts and the Greek Vorlage of the Ethiopic

The manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* attest to the continued growth and development of the Enochic theophany as it was translated from Greek into Ethiopic (Ge'ez) and as it was transmitted in a contiguous form. In the Ethiopic literary tradition, the Enochic literature is unilaterally preserved in a contiguous literary form, and the Enochic theophany in 1:1-9 does not only preface the *BW* as a singular Enochic text (chapters 1-36), but also frames the entirety of *Ethiopic Enoch*. This contiguity contributed to how the Ethiopic Enochic theophany evolved and was interpreted in the Ethiopic tradition.

In this chapter, we will explore and appraise the language of the earliest recoverable stratum of the Enochic theophany preserved in the Eth. I manuscripts (hereafter, Eth.^{ERS}). Rather than attempting to recreate an Ethiopic Urtext, or to systematically reconstruct the Greek Vorlage of the Ethiopic versions (G^{Eth}), our primary goal will be to isolate and appraise the Eth.^{ERS} using both a retrospective and prospective text-critical methodology – a full eclectic critical text of the Eth.^{ERS} is included in *Supplement Critical Texts*.

The premise that we will evaluate, is whether the Ethiopic preserves elements of a Greek version at variance with G^{CP}, and whether the Ethiopic can provide valuable insight into the synchronically complex nature of the Greek textual tradition in late antiquity. We will challenge the presumption that G^{CP} provides access to an 'unquestionably superior' text than the Ethiopic versions, as suggested by Milik and reiterated by others, or that it inevitably provides closer 'access' to the Aramaic original.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰³ Milik, pp.71-72; Olson, p.135.

In the first section, we will briefly assess the character of the Ethiopic text and its relationship to the G^{CP} text-type. In the second section, we will examine the character and type of manuscripts that are included in the Eth. I category and the nomenclature Eth. I/Eth. II that is used to delineate the manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch*. Therein, we will focus on a selection of unique readings preserved in the Tana.9 manuscript, and the value of Tana.9 for understanding the Eth.^{ERS}. The assessment of the Eth. I manuscripts in this chapter, and the relationship between these manuscripts, is based chiefly on *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9 alone – the textual affinities and relationships between these manuscripts are still uncertain, and the picture changes in later sections of *Ethiopic Enoch*.

The fourth section, which is the predominant focus of this chapter, will examine the language of the Eth.^{ERS} and the implications of the Ethiopic for understanding the theoretical G^{Eth} and its relationship to G^{CP} . Throughout this section we will also explore and appraise the hermeneutical and text-critical significance of variant readings in the Eth. I manuscripts, and occasionally also in Eth. II manuscripts.

The Translation of G^{Eth} into Ethiopic and the G^{CP} Text-type

The exact circumstances in which the Enochic literature was translated into Ethiopic is unknown, although it is probable that this process was interconnected with the translation of the Masaheft Qeddusat (Holy Scriptures) from Greek into Ethiopic. This translational activity is associated with the Aksumite period and began in the 4th century

CE,⁸⁰⁴ and was probably finished by the beginning of the 6th century CE.⁸⁰⁵ More specifically, Knibb suggested that 'it is plausible to assume that the Book of Enoch was translated into Ethiopic in the fifth or sixth century as part of the translation of the Scriptures as a whole into Ge'ez.'⁸⁰⁶

The premise that the Ethiopic Enochic theophany, and *Ethiopic Enoch* more broadly, was translated from a Greek version or a loose collection of Greek Enochic texts has been broadly accepted in modern scholarship. It is unclear whether the unification of the Enochic literature into the contiguous form attested in the Ethiopic, reflects an innovation in the Ethiopic textual tradition, or whether the Ethiopic reflects a translation of a contiguous Greek text-type. Knibb firmly locates this process in the Greek textual tradition, stating 'it seems virtually certain that such a Pentateuch existed in Greek (and served as the Vorlage of the Ethiopic)' whilst the possibility that it is an Ethiopic innovation is 'quite unlikely'.⁸⁰⁷ There is little evidence to defend either assertion.

Regarding the sections corresponding to *BW*, Charles argued that the Ethiopic and G^{CP} were more closely related than the Ethiopic was to the text-type preserved in G^{Syn} (chapters 6:1–9:4, 15:8–16:1).⁸⁰⁸ Charles surmised that the evidence affirms that the

⁸⁰⁴ For this approximate dating, see: Isaac, E. 2012. 'The Bible in Ethiopic', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible Volume 2: From 600 to 1450* (eds. R. Marsden & E.A. Matter), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.110. The possibility that the translation began earlier than the 4th century is evaluated in: Asale, B.A. 2020. *1 Enoch as Christian Scripture: A Study in the Reception and Appropriation of 1 Enoch in Jude and the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Canon*, Pickwick Publications, Eugene, Oregon, pp.79-82.

⁸⁰⁵ Bausi, A. 2013. 'Ethiopian Christianity, Bible in' in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception (EBR) Online, Volume 8: Essenes – Fideism* (eds. D.C. Allison, Jr. et al), De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, p.149.

⁸⁰⁶ Knibb, 'The Text-Critical...', p.226; See also: Knibb, 'The Book of Enoch...', p.43.

⁸⁰⁷ Knibb, 'The Book of Enoch...', pp.42-43.

⁸⁰⁸ Charles instead uses the insignia G^g for Codex Panopolitanus (G^{CP}), and the insignia G^S for the text-type preserved in the *Chronography of Syncellus* (G^{Syn}), and the abbreviation E for the Ethiopic version: Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, xiv.

Ethiopic was translated from a manuscript-type that was also the parent, or an ancestor of, the text that is preserved in G^{CP}.⁸⁰⁹

More recently, Nickelsburg defended a similar premise and suggested that both G^{CP} and the Ethiopic version are descended from a 'common archetype.'⁸¹⁰ Nickelsburg argued that a combination of the parallels in word-order and the presence of 'readings in the Ethiopic that must have derived from a corrupt Greek text' indicates that a chain of transmission from Aramaic to Greek to Ethiopic provides the best explanation of the textual evidence.⁸¹¹

A similar view was espoused by Knibb, who suggested that the Eth. I manuscripts broadly correspond to the version preserved in G^{CP}, and in relation to non-BW portions of *Ethiopic Enoch*, also the Vatican fragment and the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus.⁸¹² The Vorlage used by the Ethiopic translators (G^{Eth}), however, was not an exact equivalent of the text-type preserved in any of the surviving Greek versions. The Ethiopic is also a unique version in its own right, with its own unique innovations. As surmised by Knibb, broadly in relation to *Ethiopic Enoch*:

'The Ethiopic reflects not only the kind of changes that occur when texts are translated from Aramaic into Greek, and from Greek into Ethiopic, and the kind of changes that occur when texts are copied over a long period of time, but also evidence of editorial intervention.'⁸¹³

The possibility that the Ethiopic translators used an Aramaic version, rather than a Greek version in exclusion, was first suggested by Ullendorff in a paper presented in 1959 and

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁸¹⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.13.

⁸¹¹ Ibid, pp.15-16.

⁸¹² Knibb, 'The Book of Enoch...', p.52.

⁸¹³ Ibid, p.44.

published the following year.⁸¹⁴ Ullendorff argued that ‘... the Greek text appears to have been primarily invoked as a translation aid, perhaps in obscure or difficult places.’⁸¹⁵ This thesis, however, is no longer widely accepted. Similar arguments for the use of Hebrew or Syriac models for the translation of the biblical texts has also been discredited in recent scholarship.⁸¹⁶ In a critique of this hypothesis, VanderKam ably demonstrated that:

‘The few readings which commend themselves as evidence for the theory that the translators of E used A directly can be accounted for more economically by positing that Greek copies which differed somewhat from the very poor ones that have survived contained these reading and caused their introduction into E.’⁸¹⁷

An examination of the Enochic theophany in the Eth.^{ERS} indicates that the Greek Vorlage used by the Ethiopic translators (G^{Eth}) was related to but also distinct from the G^{CP} text-type. Parallels in word-order and syntax in the Enochic theophany strongly suggest that the G^{Eth} text-type was broadly related to the G^{CP} text-type. However, this relationship is one of ancestry, and it is unlikely that either G^{CP} or G^{Eth} are a simple equivalent of this proto-text, and neither is a simple equivalent of the ‘original Greek translation.’

Ultimately, they should be understood as byproducts of a common archetype text.⁸¹⁸

In the Enochic theophany, the syntax and ordering of lexical units typically correspond and there is the basic template of a Greek version underpinning both Eth.^{ERS} and the G^{CP}

⁸¹⁴ Ullendorff, E. 1960. “An Aramaic ‘Vorlage’ of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?” in *Atti de convegno internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma 2-4 aprile 1959)*, Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura 48, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, pp.259-267.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid, pp.262-63. See also: Ullendorff, E. 1967. *Ethiopia and the Bible: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.61-52.

⁸¹⁶ Polotsky elegantly dismissed the evidence for Syriac loanwords or influence in the Ge’ez translations as indicative of verbal misunderstandings by scholars. Polotsky, H.J. 1964. ‘Aramaic, Syriac, and Ge’ez’, *JSS* 9, pp.1-10. See also: Bausi, ‘Ethiopian Christianity...’, pp.149-150.

⁸¹⁷ VanderKam uses the abbreviation A for Aramaic and E for Ethiopic. VanderKam, J.C. 1987. ‘The Textual Base for the Ethiopic Translation of 1 Enoch’, in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, Brill, Leiden, p.395.

⁸¹⁸ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, xiv-xv; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.18.

text-type. The G^{CP} and G^{Eth}, however, were only fraternal twins, not identical twins. Both preserve unique readings and features and their own unique omissions, additions, and revisions.

In assessing the relationship between G^{Eth} and G^{CP} we are inevitably restricted by the reality that G^{Eth} is only a theoretical text, informed by the language of the Ethiopic, and not an actual text. Moreover, the Eth.^{ERS} is a vital witness to the G^{Eth} but it is not a direct or unfettered witness, nor is it a simple equivalent of the Ethiopic Ur-translation. Consequently, we only have fragmented and not unfettered access into the G^{Eth} text-type.

The Ethiopic typically mirrors the word-order and syntax preserved in G^{CP} although there are exceptions to this rule.⁸¹⁹ Changes often include those required by their differentiated linguistic systems, although in some instances the G^{Eth} may have contained a unique word-order or syntax compared to G^{CP}, as is often true in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:8.

Each version also contains its own unique secondary features and developments that indicate the continued and independent development of each text-type. The G^{CP} text-type contains its own unique secondary features that are not likely to have been preserved in G^{Eth}, whilst the Eth.^{ERS} also attests to the continued reworking of its syntax during the transmission of the Ethiopic.

Tana 9 and the Enochic Theophany in the Eth. I Manuscripts

The Eth.^{ERS} provides valuable access into a Greek text-type that was related to but distinct from that preserved in G^{CP}. However, the Eth.^{ERS} does not provide unfragmented

⁸¹⁹ Nickelsburg briefly validated that the Ethiopic follows the word-order of the Greek, although this was in the context of confirming that the Ethiopic version is a translation of a Greek rather than Aramaic Vorlage. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.15.

or unfettered access into the Greek Enochic tradition, and we do not have access to a manuscript that can easily or simplistically be approached as a ‘translated’ text or as uniquely indicative of translational processes.

Whilst the translation of Enoch into Ge’ez should probably be dated to the 4th-6th centuries CE, the earliest manuscript exemplars of *Ethiopic Enoch* date no earlier than the 15th century.⁸²⁰ The number of Eth. I manuscripts available to Charles, Knibb, Uhlig and in previous text-critical studies was, however, significantly reduced compared to that currently available. As indicated by Stuckenbruck, there are at least 17 known Eth. I manuscript exemplars that preserve *Ethiopic Enoch* 1, although this number can probably be now further extended to 19 to include EMML.8347 and EMML.8703.⁸²¹ According to Stuckenbruck, EMML.8703 is clearly Eth. I, whilst EMML.8347 instead bears a closer affinity to the Eth. II text-type, and is an early exemplar thereof, yet features erasures of Eth. I readings.⁸²² These 19 manuscripts are detailed in *Supplement* Table 4.a.

The Eth. I exemplar EMML.8400 has been dated approximately to 1400 CE, accurate to within only a few years.⁸²³ An additional three Eth. I manuscripts can be confidently dated to the 15th century (Schøyen, Tana.9, EMML.1768), whilst an additional three manuscripts (GG.151, RT, Abb.55) date to the end of the 15th or early 16th centuries. An additional six manuscripts (Parma, BL.485, Berlin MS., EMML.2080, EMML.7584, Camb.1570) are approximately dated to the 16th century, whilst another (EMML.8703)

⁸²⁰ Also noted by: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.27.

⁸²¹ Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1...’, pp.29-31.

⁸²² The value of these two manuscripts as a witness to Eth. I readings is limited by the quality of the microfilms, which according to Stuckenbruck do not provide a clear enough image to discern the erased Eth. I readings. This evaluation of these two manuscripts is indebted to private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

⁸²³ This dating was clarified in private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

dates to the late 16th or early 17th century. A further five manuscripts (BL.491, Abb.35, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.8347)⁸²⁴ date to the 17th century.⁸²⁵ The earliest manuscripts thus postdate the translation of the text from Greek to Ge'ez by close to a millennium. An analogous period also separates the earliest Ethiopic manuscripts from the Greek text preserved in G^{CP}. This period of evidentiary silence promotes caution in comparing these texts.

The character of the Ethiopic Enochic Theophany is varied amongst the Eth. I manuscripts. This category is not representative of a singular recension or text-type, and it is apparent that many of the revisional readings and features that became the majority or standardized reading in the Eth. II recension were already present in early Eth. I manuscript exemplars. The Eth. I manuscripts attest to differentiated modes and streams of transmission and reveal distinct revisional and editorial practices. The evidence of the Eth. I manuscripts is sufficient to broadly understand the diachronic and synchronic aspect of this ongoing process of textual growth and evolution, however, they only provide fragmented and not unfettered access into the early history of the text.

Many Eth. I manuscripts can be grouped based on shared readings and variants, and therefore it is possible to talk about Eth. I manuscript sub-groups. Uhlig separated the Eth. I manuscripts incorporated into his study into three overlapping subgroups, one inclusive of Abb.35, Abb.55 and EMML.6281, a second inclusive of Abb.55, EMML.2080

⁸²⁴ The EMML.8347 manuscript is listed here, despite its closer affinity to the Eth. II text-type, because it attests to erasures of Eth. I readings.

⁸²⁵ The dating of these manuscripts is indebted to the work of Stuckenbruck and Erho. The dates here included are taken directly from: Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1...', pp.30-31. The number of manuscripts included in the Eth. I category and dated to the 16th century or earlier was previously much reduced. In the edition of Knibb, only four specific manuscripts were dated to the 16th century or earlier – BL.485/485a, Berlin MS., Abb.55, Tana.9 (Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.27). Nickelsburg, however, added an additional two manuscripts to this category – EMML.1768 and EMML.6281 – the latter has been more recently dated by Stuckenbruck to the 17th century instead (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.16; Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', p.31).

and a third inclusive of Tana.9, Berlin MS., BL.485, BL.491 and Abb.35.⁸²⁶ Uhlig's model did not consider evidence from several important Eth. I manuscripts which are now accessible, including: GG.151, Parma, RT, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.7584, EMML.8400, EMML.8347, EMML.8703. These subgroups are not entirely distinct categories but are instead rough groupings based on corresponding readings, and there is a degree of convergence.

Furthermore, Stuckenbruck has established the close affinity of four Eth. I manuscripts, namely GG.151, Parma, RT, and Schøyen.⁸²⁷ The provenance of the first two is firmly established, both associated with the Monastery of Gundä Gundē, whilst the provenance of the latter two is uncertain.⁸²⁸ Based on textual agreements, Stuckenbruck suggested that they reflect a distinct textual subgroup, wherein GG.151, Parma and RT were particularly closely related, although none were a direct copy or equivalent of each other.⁸²⁹ Stuckenbruck also suggested a close correspondence between RT, GG.151 and Parma and the additional manuscripts Camb.1570, EMML.1768 and EMML.7584.⁸³⁰ Where Schøyen disagrees with GG.151, Parma and RT, it demonstrates a close affinity to BL.485.⁸³¹ This picture of the affinities and relationships between the Eth. I manuscripts is still evolving, and it is likely that it will continue to change and develop in the future.

Other basic relationships are feasible, based on manuscript readings in the Enochic theophany. For example, in the Enochic theophany the Eth. II manuscript IES.675, which

⁸²⁶ Uhlig, pp.488-90.

⁸²⁷ Stuckenbruck, L.T. 2017. 'Witnesses to the Ethiopic I Recension of Mäshafä Henok from Gundä Gunde: A Comparison', in *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile* (ed. A.C. McCollum), Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, p.474.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ Ibid, p.490.

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

⁸³¹ Ibid.

preserves several early readings, shows a clear affinity to Abb.35 (e.g. in 1:4c both include variant ቢጋይለ፡ ጽንዑ፡ እምስማየት፡). In addition, GG.151 often shares unique readings with Abb.55 (e.g. in 1:5c both read [ወ]በረዓድ፡ ዐቢይ፡) and often agree in minor variants (e.g. both have singular ወይረህ፡ in 1:5a, and both omit proclitic *።* on ይወል፡ in 1:3b) – these parallels are based chiefly on the Ethiopic Enochic theophany alone, however, and do not entirely reflect the character of these manuscripts in later sections.

In *Chapter 5*, we will focus on revisional readings in the Eth. I/Eth. II text-types, that are indicative of hermeneutical and syntactical interventions in the text. In this section, however, we will primarily focus on the Eth.^{ERS}. The earliest recoverable stratum (Eth.^{ERS}) is not an alternate designation for the ‘urtext’, and nor does this chapter presume that an ‘urtext’ can be recovered or that this should be the primary goal of text-criticism.

The term ‘earliest recoverable stratum’ (Eth.^{ERS}) is used to designate the earliest readings that are preserved in the Eth. I manuscripts, that can be recovered using the tools of text-criticism, without the presumption that the ‘earliest’ reading is necessarily the ‘original’ reading. As the meta focus of this study is on textual growth and development in the Enochic theophany, understanding and defining this ‘earliest recoverable stratum’ is important for understanding subsequent features of growth, redaction, and development. Reading backwards, to isolate this stratum, is the preliminary step before reading forwards, exploring this growth and development in its own cultural and hermeneutical context.

The value of each Eth. I manuscript for isolating the Eth.^{ERS} is not identical. For example, Tana.9 preserves several unique readings which often provide a close parallel to G^{CP}. The value of Tana.9 for identifying this earliest stratum is significant. In some instances, we

can be confident that Tana.9 preserves the earlier reading, whilst in other examples it preserves a unique reading that is secondary in character. Some unique readings of Tana 9 include:

	Tana 9	Majority Eth. I
1:1a	ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ሄኖክ፡ Word of the Blessing of Enoch	ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ዘሄኖክ፡ Word of the Blessing of (za-) Enoch
1:2b	ሄኖክ፡ ብእሲ፡ ቡሩክ፡ ወጻድቅ፡ Enoch, a Blessed and Righteous Man	ሄኖክ፡ ብእሲ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ⁸³² Enoch, a Righteous Man
1:3a	ወበእንቲአሆሙ፡ ወአውሳእኩ፡ ምስለ፡ ምሳሌ፡ And concerning them. And I answered with a parable...	ወበእንቲአሆሙ፡ አውሳእኩ፡ ምስለ፡ ⁸³³ And concerning them I answered [with] a parable...
1:6a	ወይወድቁ፡ ወይደነግ፡ አድባር፡ ወነዋጎት፡ And the Mountains and High Places will fall, and they will quake.	ወይደነግ፡ አድባር፡ ነዋጎን፡ ⁸³⁴ And the High Mountains will quake.
1:8a	ወለኩሎሙ፡ ጻድቃን፡ And for all the Righteous.	ወላዕለ፡ ጻድቃን፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ⁸³⁵ And upon the Righteous
1:9a	ናሁ፡ ይመጽእ፡ Behold, He will come...	ወናሁ፡ መጽእ፡ ⁸³⁶ And Behold, He has come...
1:9b	ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍትሐ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ⁸³⁷ ...in order to enact judgment upon all of them.	ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍትሐ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ ⁸³⁸ ...in order to enact judgment upon them.

⁸³² Many Eth. I manuscripts dislocate ‘Enoch’ from the adjacent construction ‘Righteous Man’, and make it the explicit subject of the preceding verbal phrase ‘And he answered and said’, as in: Abb.35, Berlin MS., BL.485, BL.491.

⁸³³ ወበእንቲአሆሙ፡ አውሳእኩ፡ - is the minority Eth. I reading yet corresponds with the word-order of G^{CP}. It is attested in GG.151, Parma, Tana.9. A similar reading በእንቲአሆሙ፡= አውሳእኩ፡ ምስለ፡ is preserved in EMM.2080. The secondary variant ወአውሳእኩ፡ በእንቲአሆሙ፡ is preserved in other Eth. I manuscripts, is the standard Eth. II reading, and was included in Charles’ edition (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.2).

⁸³⁴ In Eth. I, there is limited variation on the adjective ‘high’. See *Supplement Critical Texts*.

⁸³⁵ Attested in BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55, Berlin MS., GG.151, RT, Parma, Schøyen, Camb.1570, EMM.1768, EMM.2080, EMM.2436, EMM.6281, EMM.7584.

⁸³⁶ No other manuscript omits the initial conjunction ወ on the interjective particle ናሁ፡. Tana.9 preserves an imperfect verb ይመጽእ, which is only attested elsewhere in Schøyen and Eth. II Curz.56. All other Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts preserve the perfect መጽእ.

⁸³⁷ Whilst this reading is only attested in Tana.9, some other manuscripts read ኩሎ፡ including RT, Parma, EMM.2080, in close correspondence with G^{CP} and G^{Jude}.

⁸³⁸ Attested in BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55, Berlin MS., GG.151, Schøyen, Camb.1570, EMM.1768, EMM.2436, EMM.6281, EMM.7584 and majority Eth. II inc. Rylands.23, Bod.74, MG.18.

In some of these examples, the difference between the reading of Tana.9 and the majority Eth. I reading is minimal. For example, Tana.9 in 1:1a does not include the proclitic *#* which is unilaterally preserved in the other Eth. I manuscripts. This could be explained as an accidental omission in Tana.9 but it may attest to an earlier syntactical construction wherein the proper name ‘Enoch’ was used in apposition with the construct clause ‘Words of the Blessing’ to create a construct triad ‘Words of the Blessing of Enoch’. The inclusion of a proclitic *#* to indicate possession may be a secondary addition to clarify the syntactical construction. The addition does not change the meaning of the clause, but it does change the syntax.

The examples in 1:8a and 1:9a are also primarily syntactical in nature, yet both may reflect an earlier stratum. For example, in 1:9a the absence of the conjunctive *ወ* on the interjective particle ‘Behold’ (*ከሁ፡*) provides an interesting parallel to the absence of the conjunctive *καί* before the interjective *ἰδοὺ* in *G^{Jude}*. This conjunction is also absent in Ethiopic *Jude*, and in the quotation of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 in BL.11678 – this quotation in this manuscript, which contains a collection of prayers and dates to the 15th century, broadly corresponds to the Tana.9 text-type. The imperfect *ይመጽእ፡* is also preserved in Schøyen, and the Eth. II manuscript Curz.56, yet it may preserve the reading of the Eth.^{ERS} as it agrees more closely with the reading of *G^{CP}* than *G^{Jude}*.

A vital feature of Tana.9 for understanding the textual history of the Ethiopic Enochic theophany is the preservation of an additional verb in 1:6a. Tana.9 uniquely preserves the clause-initial verb *ወይወድቁ፡* (and they will fall) which provides a close correspondence to the Greek verb *καὶ πεσοῦνται* (and they will fall) in *G^{CP}* 1:6a. Charles, who did not have access to Tana.9, interpreted this Greek reading as a secondary gloss, commenting

‘These words are omitted by E and against the parallelism’.⁸³⁹ Tana.9 provides firm evidence that Eth.^{ERS} and the G^{Eth} did feature an equivalent of this verb. This manuscript therefore provides limited access to an earlier stage in the textual history of the Ethiopic Enochic theophany.

However, Tana.9 is not devoid of secondary features and cannot be read as a simple or direct equivalent of the Eth.^{ERS}. In Tana.9, the expanded reading ብሩክ፡ ወጸድቅ፡ in 1:2b is distinct from the majority Eth. I reading (ብእሲ፡ ጸድቅ፡) – the latter corresponds closely to G^{CP} (Ἐνώχ Ἄνθρωπος δίκαιός). Tana.9, in this instance, preserves a curious feature of textual growth. Whilst Tana.9 is an important witness to the Eth.^{ERS}, and often a good guide to the possible language of G^{Eth}, it is not a simple equivalent of either.

Apart from these examples in Tana.9, many variants in the Eth. I manuscripts are primarily indicative of syntactical changes and shifts in the text, and do not always change the basic meaning of the clause and unit. However, there are three additional features of the Eth. I manuscripts which introduce significant semantic and hermeneutical shifts in the Ethiopic Enochic theophany.

In the below table, three sets of variants are listed from 1:1b, 1:7a and 1:9b – the Eth.^{ERS} reading is listed first whilst the secondary reading is second. Manuscript attestation is included in the third column. The first example reflects the interpolation of an additional noun, turning ‘wicked ones’ into a compound phrase ‘evil ones and wicked ones’. The other two examples both reflect lexical manipulation or replacement, where the first

⁸³⁹ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.

listed lexeme has been altered to the second listed lexeme. In each of these examples, the second reading became the standardized Eth. II reading.

1:1b	Single noun ረሲዓን (wicked ones)	Abb.55, Tana.9, RT, GG.151, Parma, EMML.1768, EMML.7584 ¹ , Camb.1570
	Compound noun እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡ (evil ones and wicked ones)	Schøyen, EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.7584 ² , BL.485 (ወረሲዓን), BL.491 (እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡), Abb.35 (እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡), Berlin MS (እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡), EMML.8400 (እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡)
1:7a	ሠጠጠ፡/ለጠጠ፡ (to split, cleave)	BL.485, Berlin MS. Abb.35 ¹ , Tana.9, Schøyen, EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.8400
	ሠጥመ፡/ለጥመ፡ (to sink/flood)	BL.491, Abb.35 ² , Abb.55, RT, GG.151, Parma, EMML.1768, EMML.7584, Camb.1570
1:9b	ዘለፈ፡ (to convict, reprove, admonish)	BL.485, BL.491, RT, GG.151, Parma, Schøyen, Berlin MS., Abb.35, Abb.55, Tana.9, EMML.1768, EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.7584, EMML.8400
	ወቀሰ፡ (to contend with)	Camb.1570

If we adopt the above as a guide, it is possible to broadly divide the manuscripts into three groups, those which contain all three early readings (I), those which contain two early readings and one secondary reading (II), and the third category, those which only contain one early reading and two secondary readings (III). The only manuscript to contain all three early readings is Tana.9, whilst no Eth. I manuscript contains all three secondary readings. The manuscripts can therefore be divided accordingly:

I	Tana.9
II	BL.485, Abb.35, Abb.55, Berlin MS., RT, Schøyen, GG.151, Parma, EMML.1768, EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.7584, EMML.8400
III	Camb.1570, BL.491

We will explore the text-critical and hermeneutical implications of these features of textual growth in *Chapter 5*. Using this delineation as a guide to the Ethiopic Enochic

theophany, however, it is apparent that the character of the Eth. I manuscripts is typically mixed, and all the manuscripts preserve some secondary readings that eventually became the 'standardized' Eth. II readings, or in the case of Tana.9, their own unique features of textual growth.

The preservation of the secondary verb $\omega\phi\lambda$ in 1:9b is limited to one Eth. I manuscript, Camb.1570, however, even this manuscript preserves the early reading in 1:1b. The Camb.1570 manuscript contains many of the readings that were incorporated into the standardized Eth. II text-type and is early evidence for the text-type of the Ethiopic Enochic theophany that may lie in the background of the Eth. II recension. Yet, it still contains a range of earlier readings.

Many of the features of textual growth that became the standardized reading in the Eth. II recension are already featured in Eth. I manuscripts and evidently their origins predate the earliest manuscript exemplars. Therefore, in approaching even the earliest Eth. I manuscripts we are dealing with a mixed text for the Ethiopic Enochic theophany, not a simple representative of the Eth.^{ERS}, yet all preserving aspects of this earlier stratum.

The Language of the Earliest Recoverable Stratum of the Ethiopic Enochic

Theophany

The earliest recoverable stratum (Eth.^{ERS}) does not always reflect a text distinct from that preserved elsewhere in the Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts. In many contexts, the text is standard throughout the surviving manuscripts, whilst in other sections of the Enochic theophany a high level of variation is exhibited. The Eth.^{ERS} is particularly distinct from the Eth. II text-type, and even in comparison to many Eth. I manuscripts, in the Enochic preamble in 1:2-3a, the portrayal of the destructive activity in 1:6-7, and in the

description of God’s eschatological descent in 1:9. These units feature key semantic and hermeneutical developments. In this next section, we will appraise the language of the Eth.^{ERS} where it can be isolated, and where it cannot, we will explore the potential offered by the textual variants. We will assess the character of the Ethiopic Enochic theophany, and the possible language of G^{Eth} using G^{CP}, G^{Jude} and the Aramaic versions as conversation partners.

Ethiopic Enoch 1:1 – Enochic Superscription

The Enochic superscription in the Eth.^{ERS} begins with an introductory device, included as reading (I) in the below table – this reading corresponds closely to that preserved in G^{CP}.

I	ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ዘሄኖክ፡	Eth. I – majority inc. Abb.35, Abb.55, RT, GG.151, Parma, Schøyen, Camb.1570, EMML.1768, EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.7584 Eth. II – majority inc. Bod.74, Rylands.23, MG.18 ⁸⁴⁰
II	ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ሄኖክ፡	Eth. I – Tana.9
III	ራእይ፡ ዘረእየ፡ ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ዘሄኖክ፡	Eth. I – Berlin MS.
IV	ዘሄኖክ፡ ቃለ፡ በረከት	Eth. I – EMML.6281
V	ቃለ፡ በረከት፡	Eth. I – EMML.8400 (includes ዘሄኖክ፡ ነቢይ፡ above text as title)
VI	ዘሄኖክ፡	Eth. I – BL.485
VII	ዘሄኖክ፡ ነቢይ፡	Eth. I – BL.491

As we assessed in the last section, it is possible that Tana.9 preserves here an earlier syntactical construction, and the inclusion of a proclitic *ዘ* may reflect a secondary addition that clarified or updated the syntax. Reading (I) nevertheless provides a close

⁸⁴⁰ Also inc. Curz.55, Curz.56, BL.484, BL.490, BL.492, BL.499, Abb.16, Abb.99, Paris.50, Paris.32, Paris.395, Princeton, EMDA.00219, Qär.53, EMML.36, EMML.201, EMML.5003.

correspondence to G^{CP} in word-order and number, and is attested in the majority of Eth. I manuscripts.⁸⁴¹

In *Chapter 2*, we observed that the initial ‘word of’ that fronts the Enochic superscription is similar to a common introductory device featured in the prophetic materials. The G^{CP} reading probably reflects a similar device in the Aramaic, although the title is not preserved in 4QEn^a, and the Greek possibly reflects a conversion of a plural into a singular form. In Ethiopic, there was a general tendency to translate the Greek plural ‘words of’ using a singular noun ‘word of’, as exemplified in *Amos 1:1* (see *Supplement Table 4.1*).⁸⁴² There is also a normative use of ቃለ: in these Ethiopic titles regardless of whether the Greek preserves λόγος or ῥῆμα.

The standardized form of this introductory device in Ethiopic translations has consequences for our understanding of G^{Eth}. Whilst the Ethiopic singular can function as a collective noun, it is unclear whether the Vorlage featured a singular or plural noun ‘word(s) of’. Either form could underlie the singular ቃለ:. The use of this standard form may suggest that pre-existing Ge’ez translations of the Prophets played a limited role, even only as a model of translational style, in the translation of the Enochic superscription from Greek into Ethiopic.

Following this introductory device, the Ethiopic Enochic superscription clarifies that Enoch blessed the chosen ones and righteous ones (በከመ: ባረከ: ኅሩያነ: ወጸድቃነ:), those who must be present (እለ: ሀለዉ: ይኩኑ:) on the Day of Tribulation (በዕለተ: ምንዳቤ:). As indicated

⁸⁴¹ A broader study of these variant readings and the influence of the titles of *Ethiopic Enoch* on this introductory device has been removed due to space considerations.

⁸⁴² Edition: Pereira, F.M.E. 1917. *O Livro do Profeta Amós: E a Sua Versão Etiópica Estudo Literário*. Imprensa Da Universidade, Coimbra, p.14.

by Knibb, the Ethiopic subjunctive here ‘conveys the idea of obligation or necessity’ in contrast to G^{CP} which instead uses a future form that does not indicate necessity.⁸⁴³

In the Ethiopic Enochic superscription, the primary purpose of the Day of Tribulation is to ‘remove’ all the wicked ones (ለአሰሰሎ፡ ሰሉ፡ ረሲዓን።); this contrasts with G^{CP} wherein the alternate noun ‘enemies’ is attested (πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς). In the Ethiopic, the fate of the chosen ones and righteous ones, who are blessed, is juxtaposed against the fate of the wicked ones, who are to be removed. The interpolative addition of the ‘evil ones’ to the ‘wicked ones’ in many Eth. I manuscripts (ለአሰሰሎ፡ ሰሉ፡ እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን።) may reflect an attempt to improve the parallelism between this term and the preceding compound phrase ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’ (ኅዩያን፡ ወጸድቃን፡) – for further see *Chapter 5*.

This preceding compound phrase ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’ is distinct from the appositional phrase preserved in G^{CP} ‘chosen righteous ones’ (ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους). Either the Ethiopic or Greek phrase provides a feasible correspondence to the fragmentary reading preserved in 4QEn^a ([לְבָרִי] יִרְיִן), however, the Ethiopic shows a broader preference for binarized phrases that might suggest inner-Ethiopic transmissional development. For example, in 1:3b the title for God is preserved in G^{CP} as two nominative titles (ὁ ἅγιός [μου] ὁ μέγας), whilst in the Eth.^{ERS} it is preserved as a binarized title (ፆዱስ፡ ወወቢድ፡) with a medial conjunctive ወ. The evidence is not certain, however, the addition of an interpolation in እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን።, that consequently converts it into a binarized form, might suggest a similar process of conversion is reflected in the title ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’ in the Eth.^{ERS}.

⁸⁴³ Two additional examples where both the Greek and Ethiopic texts convey the idea of necessity are *Daniel* 2:28 and *Revelation* 4:1. Knibb, *Ethiopic* Vol.2, p.57.

The Ethiopic phrase በዕለተ፡ ምንዳቤ፡ (Day of Tribulation) is an uncommon formulation, although similar terms appear in Ethiopic *Zephaniah* 1:15 (ዕለተ፡ ሕማም፡ ወምንዳቤ፡)⁸⁴⁴ and *Jeremiah* 37:7 (መዋዕለ፡ ምንዳቤ፡).⁸⁴⁵ The Greek phrase featured in G^{CP} (εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης) appears in near identical form in the *Epistle of Enoch* 100:7 as preserved in the Chester Beatty Michigan Papyrus (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνάγκης στερεᾶς – in Day of Firm/Stead-fast Tribulation).⁸⁴⁶ The Ethiopic translation of the *Epistle of Enoch* 100:7 (በዕለተ፡ ጸሕብ፡ ኃዖል፡ – in Day of Strong Affliction)⁸⁴⁷ instead features the noun ጸሕብ፡ (affliction, trouble, weariness),⁸⁴⁸ however, the term appears also in 96:2 (ወበዕለተ፡ ምንዳቤሆሙ፡ ለኃጥኣን፡ - and in the Day of Tribulation of the Sinners)⁸⁴⁹ with the same lexeme as in the Enochic superscription.

It is probable that the Ethiopic term was translated uniquely in each context and was not a standardized phrase in Ge'ez. In 1:1, it is probable that the noun ἀνάγκης underpins Ethiopic ምንዳቤ፡, although this is far from certain.⁸⁵⁰ Overall, the Ethiopic Enochic superscription agrees closely with the word-order and syntactical structure of the G^{CP} text-type.

Ethiopic Enoch 1:2-3a – Enochic Preamble

In contrast to the Enochic superscription, the Eth.^{ERS} of the Enochic preamble does not provide a close correspondence to the language of the G^{CP} text-type. Each version

⁸⁴⁴ Edition: Löfgren, O. 1930. *Jona, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania, Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi äthiopisch, unter Zugrundelegung des Oxforder Ms. Huntington 625, nach mehreren Handschriften*, Almqvist & Wiksells, Uppsala, p.37.

⁸⁴⁵ Quotations of *Jeremiah* follow EMMML.1768.

⁸⁴⁶ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.40.

⁸⁴⁷ Edition: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol. 1*, p.381.

⁸⁴⁸ Leslau, W. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic): Ge'ez-English/English-Ge'ez with an index of the Semitic roots*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, p.551.

⁸⁴⁹ Edition: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.358.

⁸⁵⁰ Leslau, p.551.

features significant differentiation that attests to the ongoing growth and reformulation of this unit as it was translated and transmitted. In certain examples, we may be dealing with a translational recasting by the Ethiopic translator(s), or inner-Ethiopic transmissional developments, rather than a distinction in G^{Eth} against G^{CP}.

For example, the Enochic speech marker in 1:2a is distinct from that preserved in 4QEn^a and G^{CP}. The Enochic speech marker ‘And he took up his parable(s) and said’, (4QEn^a: ...[?]תלתמ.../G^{CP}: Καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν), is rendered in the Eth.^{ERS} as ‘And he answered and said’ (ወአውሥኡ ወይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡). Variant readings are included below:

I	ወአውሥኡ ወይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡ And he answered and said, ‘Enoch...	Eth. I – majority inc. Abb.55, GG.151, Parma, RT, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584, Tana.9, Camb.1570 Eth. II – minority inc. Bod.74, Curz.55, Princeton
II	ወአውሥኡ፡ እንከ፡ ወይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡ And he answered therefore, and said, ‘Enoch...	Eth. I – EMMML.8400
III	ወአውሥኡ፡ እንከ፡ ሄኖክ፡ ወይቤ፡ And Enoch answered therefore, and said...	Eth. I – Berlin MS., BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Schøyen, EMMML.6281 Eth. II – minority inc. MG.18, Abb.99, IES.675
IV	ወአውሥኡ፡ ሄኖክ፡ ወይቤ፡ And Enoch answered and said...	Eth. II – majority inc. Curz.56, Rylands.23, EMDA.00219

The most pertinent distinction between the Eth.^{ERS} in (I) and the Aramaic and Greek versions is the absence of any noun corresponding to ‘parable’. Charles suggested that the Ethiopic ‘is a poor attempt at rendering the phrase ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολήν’ and that the ‘Ethiopic translators indeed found this phrase difficult and never rendered it literally.’⁸⁵¹ In his commentary, Knibb suggested that the preserved Ethiopic presupposes

⁸⁵¹ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.2.

an Aramaic reading ענה חנוך ואמר whilst G^{CP} presupposes גסב חנוך מתלה ואמר.⁸⁵² Neither reading, however, corresponds to the fragmentary stanza in 4QEn^a. More recently, Nickelsburg contended that the Greek idiom was problematic for the Ethiopic translator, who omitted the noun whilst translating the verbs using a conjunctive phrase.⁸⁵³

The premise that the phrase was problematic for the Ethiopic translator(s) is feasible. It is unusual, however, that the noun ‘parable’ was entirely omitted in this translational reformulation. The noun is preserved elsewhere in similar speech markers. For example, if we look at the speech marker as it appears in the Balaam pericope in Ethiopic *Numbers*, we find that the noun ‘parable’ is preserved in 23:3, 24:3, 15 ወ[መስ]ለ: ነገ[ሮ]: ወይቤ: and in 24:23 [መስ]ለ: ነገ[ሮ]: ወይቤ:.⁸⁵⁴ These passages preserve the noun despite the syntactical reformulation. Whilst it is feasible that the idiom was never rendered literally in the Ethiopic, it is unusual for the noun to have been entirely omitted during translation.

The absence of any equivalent to the noun (παρὰβολήν/[ἱ]μετλήθη) in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:2 is curious considering the general agreement between the Ethiopic and G^{CP} in the similar phrase used in 1:3a. This noun is therein embedded within the closing unit of the Ethiopic Enochic preamble (ወበእንተከሆመ: አውሳእኩ: ምስለ፤ – And concerning them I answered/uttered a parable). In the Eth.^{ERS}, this clause in 1:3a exhibits a verbal analogy to 1:2a in the two forms ወአውሥክ:/ወአውሳእኩ, which both incorporate the verb አውሥክ (to answer, respond).⁸⁵⁵ This verb does not provide a simple correspondence to the verb

⁸⁵² Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.57.

⁸⁵³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.139.

⁸⁵⁴ The text and incorporated brackets follow Dillmann. An exemplar of this passage is found in EMMML.2436 which reads ምስለ: ነገር: ወይቤ: in these passages without the suffix on ‘word’. Edition: Dillmann, A. 1853–1855. *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici Tomus Primus, sive Octateuchus Aethiopicus*, 3 fasc., Leipzig, pp.284–285.

⁸⁵⁵ Leslau, pp.620–21.

ἀναλαμβάνω (to take up, raise) attested in G^{CP}, yet in both versions the Enochic preamble begins and closes with a parallel verb.

Even if we accept that the reformulation of the speech marker was indicative of the difficulty it posed to the Ethiopic translator(s), this argument does not adequately explain why the noun was preserved in 1:3a but omitted in 1:2a. The omission of the noun in 1:2a may reflect a reworking that highlights that the ‘parable’ begins at the end of the preamble in 1:3a, and not after the initial speech marker in 1:2a. This may explain why the noun is preserved in 1:3a whilst any equivalent is omitted in 1:2a.

If this is not the function of this change, then it is at least a by-product of that change. In G^{CP} and 4QEn^a, the parable is preliminarily introduced in 1:2a and is inclusive of the content of the Enochic preamble in 1:2-3a. In the Eth.^{ERS}, however, the Enochic preamble in 1:2-3a is separated from the content of this parable (1:3bff). Enoch’s parable begins therefore in 1:3b and the preamble is not an incorporated component of the parable. The Eth.^{ERS} thus provides evidence of a semantic and structural reworking of 1:2a by the translator or a reviser.

An alternate reading of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:3a was proposed by Knibb and Isaac. Knibb suggested that this Ethiopic phrase should be read ‘and I talked concerning them with the Holy One and Great One who will come out from his dwelling.’⁸⁵⁶ This approach reads ምስሉ: in 1:3a as the preposition ‘with’ rather than as an accusative form of the noun ምስሉ meaning ‘parable’.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁶ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58.

⁸⁵⁷ ምስሉ means a proverb/parable but also can mean ‘likeness/figure/image/representation.’ Another noun ምሳሌ also refers to a parable/proverb. See: Leslau, p.365; Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58.

The feasibility of this approach is dependent on how one interprets the longer reading of Tana.9 which reads ወኢውሣእኩ፡ ምስለ፡ ምሳሌ፡ (And I answered with a parable). Isaac suggested that Tana.9 featured the preferable reading and that ‘the other MSS must have lost mesālē, probably because of homoeoteleuton.’⁸⁵⁸ However, in Tana.9 the additional noun ምሳሌ፡ might reflect a duplication, or gloss clarifying that the ምስለ፡ should be read as an accusative form of ‘parable’ rather than as the more common preposition ‘with’. Therefore, the majority Eth. I reading should probably still be read as including the noun ‘parable’.

As reflected in the previous table, the Enochic speech marker in 1:2a continued to evolve and grow throughout the transmission of this text, as it was syntactically and lexically reworked. As a result, it is unclear whether the omission of the noun is a translational or a transmissional feature, and therefore the Eth.^{ERS} may not correspond here closely to the wording of G^{Eth}. Textual growth in this preliminary Enochic speech marker is also interconnected with textual growth and revision in the following clause in the Enochic preamble.

As observed in *Chapter 2*, the preamble in G^{CP} introduces Enoch using the sobriquet ‘Enoch, a Righteous Man’ (Ἐνώχ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιός). This sobriquet mirrors the phrase ascribed to Noah in *Genesis* 6:9 in the Hebrew and Greek versions (נֹחַ צַדִּיק/Νωε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος). In a similar fashion, the Eth.^{ERS} preserves it in apposition to the proper

⁸⁵⁸ Isaac, E. 1983. ‘1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Second Century B.C. – First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction’, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth) Doubleday, New York, p.13.

name Enoch (ሄኖክ: ብእሲ: ጳድቅ:), which also preserves a basic parallel to *Genesis* 6:9 (ለኖኅ: ብእሲ: ጳድቅ:).⁸⁵⁹

This sobriquet, however, is frequently divorced from ‘Enoch’ in Eth. I manuscripts, where the proper name is relocated to be an internal component of the Enochic speech marker, as indicated in examples (III) and (IV). Regardless of whether it was read in the Ethiopic tradition as an allusion to, or echo of, the Noahic sobriquet in *Genesis* 6:9, the Eth.^{ERS} nevertheless preserves the lexical and syntactical parallel. It is probable that this sobriquet was also attested in apposition to the proper name ‘Enoch’ in G^{Eth}. This inner-Ethiopic relocation, however, divorces the proper name ‘Enoch’ from this sobriquet and thus obfuscates this parallel.

The following unit in the Enochic preamble (1:2b-c) qualifies the sensory aspect of Enoch's revelatory experience, although the identification of the Eth.^{ERS} for this unit is uncertain. The Enochic preamble indicates that Enoch was with God whilst his eyes were opened (ዘእምነብ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ ከሡታት።)⁸⁶⁰, which is unique from G^{CP}, which instead indicates that a vision from God was revealed or unlocked to him. This reflects significant differentiation in the sensory imagery associated with the revelatory process.

The idea of eyes being opened as an idiom for a revelatory vision, corresponds to the language of *Numbers* 24:4 (עֵינָיו נִפְתָּחוּ/ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ)⁸⁶¹, where Balaam's eyes are uncovered. However, similar language pervades other passages, and

⁸⁵⁹ Several manuscripts of Ethiopic *Genesis* feature syntactical variation. For example, a unique reading ውበላሊቱ፡ ጻድቅ፡ is included in three manuscripts (Kebran.4, Collegeville; Bibliothèque National Manuscrits Ethiopiens 3, Paris; Magale.2, Collegeville) which transforms the phrase ‘righteous man’ to a construct noun phrase ‘and a man of righteousness’. Edele, B.A. 1995. *A Critical Edition of Genesis in Ethiopic*, Duke University, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global (Retrieved: 15/11/2018), p.58.

⁸⁶⁰ Berlin MS. reads ከሠታተ:

⁸⁶¹ Edition: Wevers, *Septuaginta: Numeri*, p.292.

this imagery was probably a common conceptual metaphor. The Ethiopic Enochic preamble also features a verbal parallel with the Ethiopic Balaam pericope, which attests the same verb ከሠተ (to uncover, open, reveal)⁸⁶² in 24:4 (ዘከሠተ፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ይከውም፤ – whose eyes were opened whilst he slept).⁸⁶³

G^{CP} instead reads ὁρασις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῷ ἀνεωγμένη (a vision from God was revealed to him), with the unique noun ὁρασις (vision) instead of an equivalent to the Ethiopic ‘eyes’. The unique reading of G^{CP} attests to a duplication of the noun ὁρασιν from the next clause in the preamble, and the Eth.^{ERS} probably preserves an earlier reading in the Enochic preamble that was also preserved in G^{Eth}. Indeed, Black suggested that the Ethiopic presupposes a Greek text that read οὐ παρα τοῦ θεοῦ οφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνεωγμένοι.⁸⁶⁴

In 1:2c, the Eth.^{ERS} then indicates that Enoch saw a vision of the Holy One who was in the heavens – a secondary variant, included as reading (II) below, introduces a significant shift in the text:

I	ረአየ፡ ቀዱስ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡	A vision of the Holy One who is in the heavens.	Eth. I – majority inc. BL.485, BL.491(?), Tana.9, Schøyen, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436(?), EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8347, EMMML.8400, EMMML.8703
II	ራአየ፡ ቀዱስ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡	A holy vision which is [located] in the heavens.	Eth. I – minority inc. Abb.35, Abb.55, Berlin MS.(?) (ዘበ፡ ሰማያት፡), Parma, GG.151, RT

⁸⁶² Leslau, p.297.

⁸⁶³ Edition: Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti...*, p.284.

⁸⁶⁴ Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp.104, 326.

A variant in the final letter on Φ^{Eth} introduces a significant innovation in the content of the revelatory experience that is attributed to Enoch. In reading (I), it features the 6th order $\dot{\eta}$ and functions as a substantive adjective, whilst in reading (II) it features a 1st order $\acute{\eta}$ and consequently functions as an attributive adjectival complement to the ‘vision’. The letters $\acute{\eta}$ (1st order) and $\dot{\eta}$ (6th order) are orthographically similar and often difficult to distinguish in the Eth. I manuscripts. Therefore, this may reflect a transcriptional misreading that consequently produced a significant hermeneutical innovation in the Enochic preamble.

Reading (I) provides a close analogy to G^{CP} ($\tilde{\eta}\nu \tilde{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu \tau\eta\nu \tilde{\omicron}\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\nu \tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon} \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon} \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$) although it is unlikely that G^{Eth} preserved a reading identical to G^{CP} .⁸⁶⁵ The Eth.^{ERS} thus indicates that Enoch had a vision of the Holy One, namely God, who *is in* heaven, whilst in G^{CP} , Enoch has a vision of the Holy One *and of* Heaven.⁸⁶⁶ Heaven is a locative reference in the Ethiopic, whilst in the Greek it is an intrinsic part of the vision.

The following clause in the Enochic preamble in Eth.^{ERS} indicates that the vision was revealed to Enoch by the angels ($\text{H}\dot{\lambda}\text{C}\dot{\lambda}\text{E}\dot{\lambda}\text{: } \text{m}\dot{\lambda}\dot{\lambda}\dot{\eta}\dot{\lambda}\text{:}$), and that Enoch heard from them everything ($\text{w}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\delta\dot{\eta}\text{: } \lambda\sigma\text{m}\text{:}\text{h}\text{b}\text{m}\text{:} \text{h}\text{m}\text{:}$), and that he understood what he saw ($\text{w}\dot{\lambda}\dot{\lambda}\text{m}\text{C}\dot{\eta}\text{: } \lambda\text{h}\text{: } \text{H}\dot{\lambda}\dot{\omega}\dot{\lambda}\text{:}$). The categories of the sensory imagery (seeing/hearing/knowing) correspond to that reflected in G^{CP} yet there is not a general correspondence in syntax. In both versions, the sensory imagery in the Enochic preamble may have been revised and emended during transmission.

⁸⁶⁵ Black suggested the G^{Eth} reading $\kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\rho\omega\nu \omicron\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$; Ibid, p.326.

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1’, p.33.

The next stanza indicates that the vision was not revealed for the sake of Enoch's contemporary generation, not for 'this generation' (ወአኮ፡ ለዝ፡ ትውልድ፡) but for the sake of the 'distant generation'. A key element of variation is attested in Tana.9 which omits the conjunctive ወ (and/but) on the negation አኮ፡ (not) and the appearance of the stand-alone particle ዛ፡ instead of the majority Eth. I reading ለዝ፡ (for this). The omission of the conjunction is unique to Tana.9, whilst the absence of proclitic ዘ on the verb 'to see' is attested in several other manuscripts, although none preserve the exact wording of Tana.9 (እሬኢ፡ አኮ፡ ዛ፡ ትውልድ፡ እላ፡ ለእንተ፡ ትመጽእ፡ ርኅቅተ፡).

The below table includes the first half of this stanza, along with the reading of the previous clause, to highlight the unique nature of the Tana.9 reading in 1:2d-e:

I	ወአእመርኩ፡ አነ፡ ዘእሬኢ፡፡ ወአኮ፡ ለዝ፡ ትውልድ፡	And I indeed understand what I saw. But not for this generation...	Eth. I – BL.491 (ለዝትውልድ፡፡), GG.151, Parma (ዘእሬኢይ/ለዝ፡) ⁸⁶⁷ , RT (defective) ⁸⁶⁸ , EMMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMMML.7584 (ዘእሬኢይ፡), Camb.1570 Eth. II – majority inc. Rylands.23, Bod.74, Qär.53
II	ወአእመርኩ፡ አነ፡ እሬኢ፡ አኮ፡ ዛ፡ ትውልድ፡	And I indeed understand, I do not see this generation...	Eth. I – Tana.9 only
III	ወአእመርኩ፡ አነ፡ እርአይ፡ ወአኮ፡ ለዝ፡ ትውልድ፡	And I indeed understand, I see (?), but not for this generation...	Eth. I – BL.485, Abb.35 ¹ (Abb.35 ² ዘእሬኢ፡), Schøyen, Berlin MS. (omits አነ፡), EMMML.6281, EMML.8400.
IV	ወአእመርኩ፡ አነ፡ ዘእርአይ፡፡ ወአኮ፡ ለዝ፡ ትውልድ፡	And I indeed understand what I see. But not for this generation...	Eth. I – Abb.55, EMMML.1768(?)

⁸⁶⁷ Reading from: Stuckenbruck, 'Witnesses...', p.479.

⁸⁶⁸ RT reads ወአእመር፡ አነ፡ ዘእሬኢይ፡ ወአኮ፡ ለዝ፡ ትው... see: Ibid.

The identification of the Eth.^{ERS} is uncertain in this unit. Reading (I) was regarded by Charles as preferable,⁸⁶⁹ although Charles did not have access to Tana.9. The presence of this reading in the early exemplar EML.2080 suggests the feasibility of this identification. Following this initial reading, Black suggested the G^{Eth} reading *καὶ ἐγὼν ἔγνων* (And I indeed understood what I saw).⁸⁷⁰ This latter reading corresponds closely to G^{CP} (*καὶ ἔγνων ἐγὼ θεωρῶν*), with the key difference that G^{CP} preserves a participle form, rather than the perfect indicative verb featured in reading (I) and in the G^{Eth} reading proposed by Black. The absence of any article in G^{CP}, however, does represent a key correspondence to Tana.9 which omits the proclitic *h*.

Several Eth. I manuscripts also feature punctuation (⋈/⋈) that would indicate that the verb ‘to see’ should be read with *ወእለመርከ፡ እነ፡* rather than with the beginning of the next clause *ወእከ፡ ለዝ፡ ትውልድ፡*.⁸⁷¹ The weight of the transcriptional evidence suggests that reading (I) is the Eth.^{ERS}, however, this identification is far from certain.

The Eth. I manuscripts exhibit a similar type of variation in the subsequent unit in 1:2f. Whilst 1:2e highlights that the audience of Enoch’s discourse is not ‘this generation’, the next clause uses a contrastive conjunction to identify the actual audience. A common element throughout the manuscripts, is this uniform division of 1:2e-f into two contrastive clauses mediated by the conjunction *ኣለ፡* (but/rather). Neither clause features a speech verb, in contrast to G^{CP}, which features a unique verb in each clause; *διενοούμην*

⁸⁶⁹ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3.

⁸⁷⁰ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.326.

⁸⁷¹ For example, BL.491, Abb.55, EML.1768(?), EML.2436.

(I explicate/intend) and ἐγὼ λαλῶ (I indeed speak). The readings of 1:2f in the Eth. I manuscripts are included below:⁸⁷²

I	እላ፡ ለእንተ፡ ትመጽእ፡ ትውልድ፡ ርቅ...	But for the sake of the [distant] generation [which] is coming...	Eth. I – EMMML.2080 (defective)
II	እላ፡ ለእንተ፡ ትመጽእ፡ ርኅቅተ፡ (sing. acc.)	But for the sake of the distant one [which] is coming...	Eth. I – Tana.9
III	እላ፡ ለዘ፡ ትመጽእ፡ ርሕቅት፡ (sing. subject)	But for this distant one [which] will come forth	Eth. I – EMMML.8400
IV	እላ፡ ለዘ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ርኅቅት፡ (sing. subject)	But for this distant one [which] will come forth...	Eth. I – BL.491 (ለዘይመጽእ፡), Abb.35 ² (ርኅቅት፡)
V	እላ፡ ለዘ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ርኅቅተ፡ (sing. acc.)	But for this one [which] will come forth in the distance...	Eth. I – Berlin MS., BL.485, Schøyen (ለዘይመጽእ፡), Abb.35 ¹
VI	እምዘ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ርሕቅት፡ (sing. acc.)	...from this one [which] will come in the distance...	EMML.6281(?)
VII	እላ፡ ለዘ፡ ይመጽእ፡ እምርሒቃት፡ (pl.)	But for this one [which] will come forth from the distant ones.	Eth. I – Abb.55 (እምርኅቃት፡ ?), GG.151, Parma, Camb.1570, EMMML.7584
VIII	እላ፡ ለዘ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ትውልድ፡ ርሒቃን፡ (pl.)	But for this, the distant generations [which] will come forth	Eth. I – EMMML.2436 (ለዘይመጽእ፡) Eth. II – majority inc. Rylands.23, EAP704/2/5, EMML.5003, Princeton ⁸⁷³

Apart from the distinction between the singular and plural ‘distant one(s)’, in the final adjectival form, the basic meaning of the unit is comparable across the Eth. I manuscripts. The audience of the Enochic discourse is the distant generation(s) that is yet to come forth. The discourse is projected to a generation living in the distant future, who are temporally divorced from Enoch and his contemporary generation. There is a basic correspondence between the meaning of the stanza in Eth. I and the Greek and Aramaic versions, although each version has its own unique features.

⁸⁷² RT is not preserved and therefore not included in this table. The form of the substantive adjective is not legible in EMMML.1768. The only element clearly identifiable is ወእላ፡ ለዘ፡ ይ***፡.

⁸⁷³ Some Eth. II feature this plural ‘distant ones’ with a singular verb including Abb.99, Bod.74.

All Eth. I manuscripts preserve the verb መጽክ (to come), although three different inflected forms are preserved. In examples I-III, it appears as a third feminine singular imperfect (ትመጽክ፡). In IV-VII, it is a third masculine singular imperfect (ይመጽክ፡). In VIII, it is a third masculine plural form (ይመጽኩ፡). The weight of the transcriptional evidence supports the singular forms over the plural, which reflects a secondary revision of the unit. The feminine singular is preserved in the key manuscripts Tana.9 and EMML.2080, as well as EMML.8400. However, the masculine singular form is supported by a greater number of manuscripts, and therefore identification of the Eth.^{ERS} is uncertain.

In similar fashion, there is variation in the form of the substantive adjective ‘distant ones’; including a singular accusative form (ርሕቅተ፡), a non-accusative (ርጎቅተ፡), plural forms with a proclitic preposition ‘from’ (እምርሒቃት፡) and plural forms without the preposition (ርሒቃን).⁸⁷⁴ There is a basic parallel with G^{CP}, although the significant syntactical and semantic differentiation between the two, problematizes the use of G^{CP} as a point of comparison.

The use of a plural form in EMML.2436, and in many Eth. II manuscripts reflects a transformation of the identity of the discourse’s recipients. Instead, of the recipients being the singular ‘distant generation’, it broadens the group to encompass the ‘distant generations.’ This is possibly an exegetical shift, wherein the text is reinterpreted to fit within a broader understanding of the generation(s) living in the imminence of the eschaton.

The first clause in 1:2e unilaterally preserves the noun ትውልድ፡ (generation) in all Eth. I manuscripts, yet apart from two manuscripts (EMML.2080, EMML.2436) this noun is

⁸⁷⁴ The substantive adjective is not legible in EMML.1768. See *Supplement* Critical Texts for further.

omitted from 1:2f. This omission of this noun in the majority of Eth. I manuscripts might parallel the omission of the noun in G^{CP} (ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πόρρω οὕσαν ἐγὼ λαλῶ) and therefore suggest that the noun in 1:2f reflects a secondary re-insertion to improve the parallelism.

This noun is preserved in the second half of the stanza in the majority of Eth. II manuscripts (ለዘ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ ትውልድ፡ ርሒቃን፡)⁸⁷⁵, and is also partially preserved in that position in 4QEn^a (אָ[מ]אָנָה אֶחָד [רַב־לֵוִי] דָּרָה לֵהֵן לְדָ[...]). In 4QEn^a, in two Eth. I manuscripts (EMML.2080/EMML.2436) and in the majority Eth. II reading, the following adjective ‘distant’ functions as an attributive adjective. This is distinct from the substantive function of the adjective in the remaining Eth. I manuscripts and its adverbial function in G^{CP}.

The parallel with 4QEn^a suggests the possibility that EMML.2080, EMML.2436 and the majority Eth. II reflect a G^{Eth} closer to the wording of the Aramaic than G^{CP}. Both G^{CP} and the majority reading of Eth. I may reflect secondary stylistic revisions that removed the repetition of the noun. This thesis is only tentative, and it is feasible that the text preserved in EMML.2080 and EMML.2436 reflects a secondary re-insertion of the noun ‘generation’ in 1:2f to improve the parallelism of the two clauses in this contrastive stanza. Yet, the parallel with the reading of 4QEn^a suggests that the former thesis is viable.

Another curious element of this stanza is the absence of any speech verb in the Ethiopic. G^{CP} includes a speech verb in both halves of this stanza, whilst in 4QEn^a a speech verb is fragmentarily preserved in the second half of the stanza (אָ[מ]אָנָה). In the Eth.^{ERS},

⁸⁷⁵ Following Rylands.23. The plural ርሒቃን፡ is the majority Eth. II reading as is the plural verb form ይመጽኡ፡. The singular verb ይመጽኡ፡ appears for example in Abb.99, BL.492, BL.499, Bod.74, Paris.32, IES.675, EMML.201, EMML.4437, EMML.5591.

however, a speech verb $\lambda\Omega$: (I speak) only appears in the following stanza in 1:3a, and it is likely that this instead corresponds to the G^{CP} clause $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\rho\iota \tau\omega\nu \epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\nu \nu\tilde{\nu}\nu \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ (And concerning the chosen ones now I speak).

In the preceding discussion, we have focused on delineating the $Eth.^{ERS}$ of the Enochic preamble as it is preserved in the $Eth.$ I manuscripts. In portions of the preamble, there is little or no significant variation amongst the $Eth.$ I manuscripts, whilst in others they attest to ongoing syntactical changes. Syntactical shifts, however, are often conjoined with hermeneutical shifts in the passage.

The value of the $Eth.$ I manuscripts as a witness to the possible language of G^{Eth} in the Enochic preamble is mixed. For example, in the initial Enochic speech marker in 1:2a, the $Eth.^{ERS}$ provides a reading that is distinct from the Aramaic and Greek versions, and it is possible that the earliest recoverable stratum is not indicative of a translational reading nor does it probably reflect the reading of G^{Eth} .

However, in the unit in 1:2f, identifying the ‘distant generation’ as the eventual recipients of the Enochic discourse, the $Eth.^{ERS}$ may preserve a reading closer to 4QEn^a than reflected in G^{CP} , and therefore it possibly reflects a G^{Eth} reading closer to this Aramaic version. The evidence indicates that the $Eth.$ I manuscripts provide crucial access to a Greek Vorlage (G^{Eth}) that was distinct but related to the G^{CP} text-type, however, they do not provide unfettered access to the G^{Eth} , and the $Eth.^{ERS}$ (where it can be confidently isolated) certainly does not provide comprehensive access into the G^{Eth} .

Ethiopic Enoch 1:3b-4 – The Beginning of the Enochic Theophany

The beginning of the Enochic theophany in 1:3b in the $Eth.^{ERS}$ agrees closely with the Aramaic and Greek evidence. In the first stanza, the ‘Holy and Great One’ goes forth from

his abode (ይወጽእ፡ ቀዱስ፡ ወዓቢይ፡ እማኅደሩ፡). The Ethiopic includes a medial conjunction that separates the title into a binarized compound phrase, where ‘great’ functions as a substantive, in contrast to 4QEn^a which probably preserves it as an attributive form (הַגָּדוֹל הַקָּדוֹשׁ – the Great Holy One).

The Ethiopic may indicate the presence of a conjunctive καί in G^{Eth} (ο αγιος και μεγας) as intimated by Black,⁸⁷⁶ in contrast to the two appositional nominative forms that are attested in G^{CP} (ὁ ἅγιός [μου] ὁ μέγας). However, the general preference for compound forms in the Ethiopic text, and the binarization of an originally singular form earlier in 1:1b (ኩሉ፡ [እኩያን፡ ወ]ረሲዓን፡), suggests that the addition of the conjunctive ወ may be an inner-Ethiopic transmissional feature, and therefore does not necessarily reflect the G^{Eth}.

In *Chapter 1* and *Chapter 2*, we observed that the Aramaic and Greek versions of 1:3a provide a general semantic and thematic parallel to the description of God’s descent in *Micah* 1:3a and *Isaiah* 26:21a in the Hebrew versions. In the Ge’ez, the parallel with *Micah* 1:3a is, however, closer than the equivalent passage in *Isaiah*. The Ethiopic version of *Isaiah* 26:21a reflects a distinct word-order and syntax from the Ethiopic Enochic theophany, and itself mirrors the distinct reading of LXX *Isaiah*.

<i>BW</i> 1:3a	ይወጽእ፡ ቀዱስ፡ ወዓቢይ፡ እማኅደሩ፡	The Holy and Great One goes forth from his abode...
<i>Micah</i> 1:3a ⁸⁷⁷	ናሁ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ይወፀእ፡ ⁸⁷⁸ እምቤቱ፡	Behold, the Lord goes forth from his house...

⁸⁷⁶ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

⁸⁷⁷ Edition: Fuhs, H.F. 1968. *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha Edition Und Textkritischer Kommentar Nach Den Handschriften in Oxford, London, Paris, Cambridge, Wien Und Frankfurt Am Main*. (pr. Bonner biblische Beiträge 28), Peter Hanstein Verlag, Bonn, p.45.

⁸⁷⁸ A variant verb ይመጽእ is found in select manuscripts of Ethiopic *Micah*. See: *ibid*.

Isaiah ናሁ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚእ፡ እምቅደሱ፡ Behold, the Lord God from his
26:21a⁸⁷⁹ ያመጽእ፡ መቅደፍቱ፡⁸⁸⁰ sanctuary brings forth wrath...

The next clause in the Eth.^{ERS} features the title ወአምላክ፡ ዓለም፡ (And the Lord of the World/Eternity).⁸⁸¹ The prefix ወ on the title ወአምላክ፡ ዓለም፡ is included in most Eth. I manuscripts,⁸⁸² however, the precise function of this title in the broader unit of 1:3b-4 is contextually uncertain. Punctuation in the Eth. I manuscripts often indicates that it should be read as an explicative phrase.

As argued by Knibb, this conjunctive element presupposes that ወአምላክ፡ ዓለም፡ is to be read in conjunction with the end of 1:3b, rather than the beginning of 1:4a.⁸⁸³ Knibb suggests that ‘this understanding of the text receives some support from the fact that it produces a couplet with *parallelismus membrorum*’ and that consequently the additional ወ should be understood as the equivalent of the waw explicativum in Hebrew.⁸⁸⁴ If this approach is adopted, then the title is a secondary epithet in parallelism with the preceding title ‘Holy and Great One’ and does not directly function as the explicit subject of the verb in 1:4a.

A similar argument was also postulated by Stuckenbruck, who read the designation as a ‘explication of the divine epithet rather than as a subject of the following verb in 1:4.’⁸⁸⁵

Stuckenbruck accordingly translated 1:3b-4a:

⁸⁷⁹ Edition: Bachmann, J. 1893. *Der Prophet Jesaia nach der Aethiopischen Bibelübersetzung*. E. Felber, Berlin, p.45.

⁸⁸⁰ Some manuscripts read እግዚአብሔር፡ ያመጽእ፡. See: Ibid.

⁸⁸¹ The designation አምላክ፡ can be used with the meaning of ‘God’ or ‘Lord’. See: Leslau, p.344.

⁸⁸² Some omit conjunction including BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Schøyen, Tana.9.

⁸⁸³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁵ See footnote 59: Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1’, p.34.

“The Great Holy One will come forth from his dwelling – that is, the Lord of the World, and from there he will tread upon Mount Sinai...”⁸⁸⁶

By contrast, in several Eth. II manuscripts – including EMDA.00219, EAP704/2/5 and EMML.4750 – the punctuation indicates that it is the subject of the following stanza in 1:4a. This aligns more closely with G^{CP} where the title is the explicit subject of the verb in 1:4a (καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐπὶ γῆν πατήσκει ἐπὶ τὸ Σεινὰ ὄρος), although this parallel may be only coincidental. The contextual function of the sobriquet for God in this clause, however, was obscure to transmitters of the text, and it was subject to ongoing revision, as reflected in the variant readings below:

I	ወአምላክ: ዓለም:	Eth. I – majority inc. Abb.55, GG.151, Tana.9, RT, Parma, Camb.1570, EMML.1768, EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.7584, EMML.8400 Eth. II – majority inc. Rylands.23, Curz.55, Bod.74
II	አምላክ: ዓለም:	Eth. I – BL.491 Eth. II – Ullendorff MS.
III	ወአምላክ:	Eth. I – Berlin MS.
IV	አምላክ:	Eth. I – BL.485, Abb.35
V	አምላክ:	Eth. I – Schøyen
VI	አምላክ:	Eth. I – EMML.6281

The noun ዓለም: can have both a temporal and spatial dimension. According to Assefa, the examples with temporal connotations far outweigh those with spatial connotations.⁸⁸⁷

Assefa suggests that only three examples of this noun in *Ethiopic Enoch* has a clear spatial sense, in 12:4, 41:4 and 58:4.⁸⁸⁸ In 1:4, Assefa suggests that the dependent word is a genitive of quality, and therefore signifies a ‘property of the word “God”’.⁸⁸⁹ The general

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid, pp.33-34.

⁸⁸⁷ Assefa, D. 2015. ‘The Term ‘ālam in 1 Enoch’, *Aethiopica* 18, p.101.

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid, pp.101-102.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid, p.102.

argument of Assefa is compelling, drawing upon similar titles in *Isaiah* 40:28 and *Genesis* 21:33. However, the associative aspect of this Ethiopic noun in 1:4 can have both temporal and spatial connotations, and it is not necessary to limit the associative aspect of this title in this literary context, where the context itself does not explicitly rule out either nuance. In this context in the Enochic theophany, God is both the ‘God of the World’ and the ‘God of Eternity’.

After this explicative title, the Ethiopic theophany continues in 1:4a with a unique reading that stipulates that ‘from there’ (ወእምህየ፡) God will tread upon Mount Sinai (ይከይድ፡ ዲበ፡ ሲና፡ ደብር፡). In 1:4b-c, God will appear with his army/host or in his camp (ወያስተርኢ፡ በጎዕደንቱ፡), featuring the distinct prepositional reading በ (in/with) rather than the ἐκ (from) preserved in G^{CP}, and God will appear in/with the strength of his might from heaven (ወያስተርኢ፡ በጽንዓ፡ ኃይሉ፡ እምስማይ፡). The conjunctive ወ on ወእምህየ፡ in Eth. I begins a new stanza and provides further proof that the previous title ‘God of the World/Eternity’ should be read with 1:3b, rather than as the explicit grammatical subject of 1:4a.

The Ethiopic phrase ‘from there’ is distinct from the unique G^{CP} reading ‘upon the earth’ (ἐπὶ γῆν).⁸⁹⁰ Radermacher suggested that ἐπὶ γῆν may be a corruption of the adverb ἐκεῖθεν.⁸⁹¹ This adverb may have been attested in G^{Eth} as the Ethiopic reading would provide a close correspondence.⁸⁹² Both Knibb and Black recognised the possibility that

⁸⁹⁰ G^{CP} manuscript reads επελ.

⁸⁹¹ Flemming & Radermacher, p.18.

⁸⁹² The explanation was footnoted by Charles in his edition and was adopted by Nickelsburg in his commentary and translation. Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.142.

the Greek was corrupt but also surmised that the reverse may be equally plausible; the Ethiopic may reflect a misreading of ἐπὶ γῆν as ἐκεῖθεν.⁸⁹³

This explanation is eminently plausible considering that the uncial G^{CP} reads ΕΠΕΙΓΗΝ whilst G^{Eth} presupposes ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ. A scribal error based on a visual misreading is plausible, or alternatively it may reflect an audio-visual error. The adverb ἐκεῖθεν, and its common Hebrew equivalent מִשָּׁם, is a common structural element in Hebrew theophanies (e.g. *Hosea* 2:17, *Amos* 6:2, 9:2, *Obadiah* 4, *Isaiah* 52:11, *Jeremiah* 13:6), and therefore the Ethiopic probably preserves the contextually preferable reading.

An intertextual reading, however, underpins a hypothesis proposed by Nickelsburg.

Whilst Nickelsburg followed the Ethiopic in his translation, he suggested in a critical note that the dual reference to the location of the descent in G^{CP} ('upon the earth' and 'Mount Sinai') might instead be indicative of a 'double reading' by the Greek translator.⁸⁹⁴ On the basis that this clause is closely dependent on *Deuteronomy* 33:2, Nickelsburg proposed that 'upon Mount Sinai' should be understood as the initial point of reference. In this scenario, the reading 'upon the earth' is secondary and therefore is reduced to the status of a 'meaningless gloss'.⁸⁹⁵

The ወእምህዮ፣, however, is intelligible in its context and it is feasible that the Eth.^{ERS} reflects the adverb ἐκεῖθεν in G^{Eth}. Similar language appears elsewhere in the portion of *Ethiopic Enoch* corresponding to *BW*, wherein the phrase recurs throughout the celestial journey of Enoch in 22:7ff, and therein has a contextual function as a marker for Enoch's movement. The adverbial ወእምህዮ፣ in 21:7 is paralleled in G^{CP} by καὶ ἐκεῖθεν (καί + ἐκεῖθεν),

⁸⁹³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol. 2*, p.58; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.105.

⁸⁹⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.142.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid.

and a similar parallel appears in these respective versions in 22:1, 23:1 whilst the uncontracted reading καὶ ἐκεῖθεν is attested in 26:1, 28:1. The Ethiopic probably reflects a Greek text-type which instead featured a parallel between the movement of God from his heavenly abode, and the movement of Enoch on his celestial journey accompanied by the archangel Uriel.

The Ethiopic verbs used in 1:3b-4 also provide a series of parallels to other passages in Ethiopic Scripture. Just as the opening stanza of 1:3b in 4QEn^a and G^{CP} provide a close parallel to the language of *Micah* 1:3a, the Ethiopic version also parallels the verb used in the Ethiopic version of *Micah* 1:3a (see earlier in subchapter).

The clause-initial verb ወያስተርኢ: in 1:4b and repeated in 1:4c is attested frequently in the Ethiopic canonical theophanies. A causative form ወእስተርኢየኒ: በሴይር: (And He will appear in Seir) appears in *Deuteronomy* 33:2 with God as subject. In *Romans* 3:21 it is used in relation to the manifestation of God's righteousness, whilst in *Micah* 4:1 the subject is instead the 'Mountain of God' (ያስተርኢ: ደብረ: እግዚአብሔር:).⁸⁹⁶ This Ethiopic verb is a common translational equivalent of the Greek verb φαίνω (to appear/shine/cause to shine), which is preserved in 1:4b and 1:4c in G^{CP}. Another example of correspondence between these two lexemes is attested in the Enochic oracle in 2:2 (Eth: ያስተርኢ:/G^{CP}: φαίνεται).

A curious feature of the Eth.^{ERS}, however, is that this Greek verb may not have been always translated with this Ethiopic verb as a standard equivalent. In G^{CP} 1:8, the verb φανήσεται, which is identical to that preserved in this text-type in 1:4b and 1:4c, is instead alternately rendered in the Ethiopic as ወይበርህ: (And He will shine). The Greek

⁸⁹⁶ Edition: Fuhs, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha*, p.45.

verb contains two primary nuances, ‘to shine/cause to shine’ and ‘to appear’ and in 1:4b-c it is probably a translation from the Aramaic verb preserved in 4QEn^a (וַיִּזְרֹחַ – and He will shine forth), or a near equivalent.

This Aramaic verb and its equivalent Hebrew form was not always translated literally in Greek translations.⁸⁹⁷ However, in this instance in G^{CP}, the Greek verb conveys the broad associative aspect of this Aramaic verb. The Ethiopic version, however, reflects a contextualized translation of this verb in 1:4b-c and 1:8 based on a determination of its primary contextual meaning. This introduces a slight hermeneutical shift in the text as the Ethiopic verb does not contain the same broad associative meaning in 1:4b-c as preserved in G^{CP}.

The Ethiopic noun ትዕይንት: in 1:4b is a common translational equivalent of the Greek noun παρεμβολή that appears in G^{CP},⁸⁹⁸ and it is probable that G^{Eth} featured the same noun. The noun and proclitic prefix ብትዕይንት: could mean ‘with His army/host’, as the noun often refers to a military host as in *Judges* 8:10 (ወትዕይንትሎም: ምስሊሆም:/and their armies with them). Alternatively, it could be read as ‘in His camp/encampment’ and carry a similar nuance, despite the prepositional distinction, to the G^{CP} reading ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ (from His camp), perhaps referring to a military camp. Either option is feasible, as the Ethiopic noun contains a broad semantic meaning. Another contextual interpretation of this Ethiopic noun is that it may allude to the Tabernacle and Tent of

⁸⁹⁷ For example, in *Psalms* 94:1 the verb יִפְתָּח is translated ἐπαρρησιάσατο (he spoke boldly). In *Job* 3:4 the verb תּוֹפֵחַ is rendered ἔλθοι (it has come), whilst in *Job* 10:3 תַּשְׁכִּחַ is rendered προσέσχες (you have paid attention). Similar patterns of figurative interpretative approaches, or paraphrase, are found in *Job* 37:15 (עֲרִיבִיה/פּוֹיָהּ), *Psalms* 50:2 (עֲרִיבִיה/ἐμφανῶς ἦξει), *Deuteronomy* 33:2 (עֲרִיבִיה/κατέσπευσεν), *Psalms* 80:2 (הַעֲרִיבִיה/ἐμφάνηθι). The Greek translators typically prioritized one primary nuance, either expressing ‘motion/movement’, the ‘giving of light’ or some mode of ‘revealing’.

⁸⁹⁸ Other contexts where there is translational equivalency include *Judges* 8:10, *Exodus* 32:19, *Leviticus* 14:8.

Meeting (e.g. *Exodus* 32:19, 26, *Leviticus* 14:8), or more broadly to the camp of Israel (e.g. *Exodus* 19:16). In *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:4b, this noun carries both militaristic and cultic associations.

The proclitic Ω permits either a reading of the dative ‘in’ or the dative of accompaniment ‘with’. Therefore, it could signify that God appears with his army/host, in his camp/encampment, or alternatively, even within his Tabernacle. Whilst the subsequent phrase ‘strength of His might’ in 1:4c, similarly attested in G^{CP} , might suggest that the ፋዕይንት should be understood as referring to a military host or army, the cultic associations of the noun in this context are significant. The Aramaic of 4QEn^a is insufficiently preserved here to be of direct assistance in interpreting these variants.

This prepositional distinction between Eth.^{ERS} and G^{CP} reflects two different approaches to the meaning of this noun in its literary context. This prepositional shift significantly alters the meaning of 1:4b, regardless of which direction these variants are read. It is possible that G^{CP} may reflect an inner-Greek transmissional shift from the dative form $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ τῇ παρεμβολῇ αὐτοῦ), either meaning ‘in His camp’ or ‘with His army’, to the genitive form used with $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ). The preserved reading in G^{CP} provides parallelism ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ) with the end of 1:3b, which indicates that God comes forth from his abode ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ τῆς κατοικίσεως αὐτοῦ), and perhaps also with the final clause in 1:4c ($\alpha\pi\omicron$ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν). The Ethiopic reading, which may presuppose a dative in G^{Eth} $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ τῇ παρεμβολῇ αὐτοῦ), however, provides parallelism with the following clause in 1:4c ($\text{ወያስተርኢ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጽንዑ፡}$). Both versions thus preserve parallelism with a different clause within this unit in 1:3b-4c.

Prepositional variation is a common feature of manuscript transmission, and this shift in the text may reflect a misreading during the transmission of the G^{CP} or G^{Eth} text-type. However, if this is the case, then the scribal error has consequently recast the actional process and contributed to the growth of the text. The broad semantic range of the Greek noun *παρεμβολῆς* allowed for distinct hermeneutical approaches to this stanza in its literary context, and it is likely that this ensured the continual growth and development of this unit, as the preposition was re-signified in conjunction with changing interpretations of the meaning of the Greek noun in its literary context.⁸⁹⁹

It is possible that the unique preposition of Eth.^{ERS} might reflect an inner-Ethiopic development. Drawnel suggests that the Ethiopic preposition reflects an ‘accommodation’ to the meaning of the Ethiopic verb *ያስተርኢ*: (and He will appear).⁹⁰⁰ That the preposition ‘from’ in G^{CP} might attest to an earlier reading, and that the ‘in/with’ in Eth.^{ERS} might reflect an inner-Ethiopic shift is suggested by a similar process evident in Ethiopic *Deuteronomy* 33:2. In 33:2b, the Greek *καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἐκ Σηρ ἡμῖν* (And He appeared from Seir to us) features the preposition ‘from’, whilst the corresponding Ethiopic passage features the proclitic *በ* (in/with) in *ወእስተርኢ[ኒ]: በሴይር*: (And He appeared in Seir).⁹⁰¹ A similar prepositional shift of ‘from’ to ‘in/with’ is found in the subsequent clause in 33:2c, where the LXX reads *καὶ κατέσπευσεν ἐξ ὄρους Φαραν* (and

⁸⁹⁹ This is contrary to Drawnel who suggests erroneously that ‘it is difficult to assume that here the Greek term means ‘army’’. Without drawing upon the reconstructed and ultimately hypothetical Aramaic in 4QEn^a, it can not be confidently asserted that either nuance of the Greek noun is preferable in its literary context. See: Drawnel, p.83.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁰¹ Edition: Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti...*, p.377; Wevers, *Septuaginta: Deuteronomium*, p.362.

He hastened from Mount Paran) is mirrored in the Ethiopic version with ወአዕረፈ፡ በደብረ፡ ፋራን፡ (and He will rest in Mount Paran).⁹⁰²

Whilst Ethiopic *Deuteronomy* 33 might attest to a Greek text-type with a unique prepositional reading, it might instead reflect a translational or transmissional shift of ‘from’ to ‘in/with’. Therefore, it might reflect a similar process to that evident in Eth.^{ERS} 1:4c, where the Ethiopic may preserve a similar prepositional shift during translation or transmission. The evidence is uncertain in this instance, and the priority of either reading can be defended on the basis of internal parallelism. The broad semantic range of the Greek noun, and its Ethiopic counterpart, may have contributed to this prepositional shift.

In contrast to the difficulty in isolating the Eth.^{ERS} of the Enochic preamble, the language of the Enochic theophany in 1:3b-4 is relatively unproblematic. Only minor variants are preserved in Eth. I for 1:3b-4 yet the language often features associative meanings that are distinct from G^{CP} and features one critical example of prepositional variation that may suggest a unique reading in G^{Eth} or may reflect an inner-Ethiopic development.

Ethiopic Enoch 1:5 – The Fear of Humanity and the Shaking of the Watchers

After the description of God’s descent onto Mount Sinai in 1:3b-4, the passage in 1:5 describes the consequent reaction of humanity and the watchers to God’s manifestation. The Ethiopic is comprised of three units. In 1:5a, ‘all’ will be afraid (ወይፈርሁ፡ ኩሉ፡), and in 1:5b, the watchers will shake (ወዖድለቀልቁ፡ ትጉሃን፡). The final unit in 1:5c indicates that fear and great trembling will seize ‘them’ until the ends of the earth (ወይነሥሐሙ፡ ፍርሃት፡ ወረዓድ፡

⁹⁰² Ibid.

ዐቢይ፡ እስከ፡ አጽናፈ፡ ምድር፡). The ‘them’ probably refers to the watchers in 1:5b rather than the abstract ‘all’ in 1:5a.

Whilst the plural verb in 1:5a (ወይፈርሁ፡) provides a close correspondence to G^{CP} (καὶ φοβηθήσονται), and is preferable in this literary context, it is not the majority Eth. I reading. The majority reading instead features the singular verb (ወይፈርህ፡), as indicated in the table below:

I	ወይፈርሁ፡ ኩሉ፡	And all will fear	Abb.35, RT, EMMML.6281 (ወይፈርህዎ)
II	ወይፈርህ፡ ኩሉ፡	And all will fear	BL.485, BL.491, Abb.55, Berlin MS., Tana.9, Schøyen, GG.151, Parma, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8400, Camb.1570

The change from the plural to a singular verb, however, only reflects a syntactical shift that realigns the clause to use a singular verb form with ኩሉ፡ as subject, as is common in other literary contexts such as *Exodus* 19:16 (ወደንገፀ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ጥቁ፡).⁹⁰³ As explored in *Chapter 2*, the abstract ‘all’ in 1:5a is probably a collective reference to all the inhabitants of the earth, and plausibly parallels the similar motif in *Exodus* 19:16.⁹⁰⁴ The identity of the collective ‘all’, however, is not explicitly clear in this context, in neither the Eth.^{ERS} or G^{CP}.

The ትጉሃን፡ (watchers) in 1:5b refers to the fallen and disgraced watchers who descended to earth and took wives in 6:1ff. Whilst the Enochic theophany antecedes this textual unit in 6:1ff, it describes events located in the distant future, after the events described in chapters 6:1ff. The Eth.^{ERS} reading ወደደለቀልቁ፡ ትጉሃን፡ (And the watchers will shake) preserves an earlier reading and may reflect a G^{Eth} reading distinct from that preserved in

⁹⁰³ Edition: Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti...*, p.130.

⁹⁰⁴ See: VanderKam, ‘The Theophany...’, p.140.

G^{CP}, which instead indicates that the watchers will ‘believe’ (καὶ πιστεύουσιν οἱ ἐγγήγοροι).

As concluded in *Chapter 2*, G^{CP} reflects a secondary emendation or shift in the text. Black suggested that G^{CP} might reflect a misreading of (ἐπι)σεισθησονται (they will be shaken [upon]), plausibly featured in G^{Eth}, for πιστεύουσιν (they will believe).⁹⁰⁵ The verb featured in the Ethiopic (አ)ድለቅለቀ has a broad semantic range inclusive of ‘to shake, be shaken, to quake/tremble’,⁹⁰⁶ and provides a close correspondence to this Greek verb.

The Eth.^{ERS} does not contain the middle two stanzas that are preserved in G^{CP} and are fragmentarily preserved in 4QEn^a – for further, see *Chapter 1* and *2*. This unit may have been already omitted in G^{Eth} by homeoteleuton.

The next stanza (1:5c) in Eth.^{ERS} provides a close correspondence to the G^{CP} text-type. This stanza features only minor variation in the Eth. I manuscripts and therefore the Eth.^{ERS} reads ወይነሥአሙ፡ ፍርሃት፡ ወረዓድ፡ ዐቢይ፡ እስከ፡ አጽናፈ፡ ምድር። (And fear and great trembling will seize them until the ends of the earth), with the variation primarily limited to the phrase ‘fear and great trembling’:

I	ፍርሃት፡ ወረዓድ፡	BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Tana.9, RT (ፍርሃት፡ ወረዓድ፡), Camb.1570 (ወረዓድ፡), EMML.1768 (ወረዓድ፡), EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.8400
II	ፍርሃተ፡ ወረዓድ፡	Schøyen, Berlin MS. (ወረዓድ፡)
III	ፍርሃት፡ ወበረዓድ፡	Abb.55(?), GG.151, Parma (ፍርሃት), EMML.7584

The disagreement between (I) and (II) is limited to the initial noun – in (I) the ‘fear’ is the subject of the clause-initial verb, whilst in (II) the ‘fear’ is marked as the accusative

⁹⁰⁵ Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp.107, 327

⁹⁰⁶ Leslau, p.131.

complement. Reading (III) includes a proclitic particle *ἰ* (with) on the second noun, that disrupts the binarized nature of the first two readings and redefines ‘the trembling’ as a secondary aspect of the stanza. The word-order of these two nouns is unique in Eth.^{ERS} compared to G^{CP}, where they appear in the alternate sequence *τρόμος καὶ φόβος μέγας* (trembling and great fear).

It is possible that both versions in 1:5 echo, or preserve an internal allusion, to language featured in chapters 12-16. The closest parallel is found in 13:3b (see *Supplement Table 4.5*), which describes the reaction of the watchers to Enoch’s message of condemnation from God in 12:3-13:2.

The initial portion of 13:3 corresponds closely to the initial clause earlier in 1:5a. This parallel passage in 13:3, where the ‘all’ clearly refers to the disgraced watchers, might suggest that the abstract ‘all’ in 1:5a does not function as a collective reference to humanity, but is also limited to the fallen watchers. The close correspondence between the language of these two verses in 1:5a/c and 13:3, suggests the possibility that the language in the Enochic theophany in 1:5 alludes to elements of the judgment and condemnation of the watchers, and that it may pre-empt narrative elements from chapters 12-16.

The sequence of the ‘fear’ and ‘trembling’ in the Eth.^{ERS} is analogous in 1:5c and 13:3, and likewise the sequence of ‘trembling’ and ‘fear’ in G^{CP} is analogous in 1:5c and 13:3. Both versions feature a unique sequence, yet both are uniform in the sequential order in their own respective versions.

That the Ethiopic may preserve the earlier word-order, is possibly indicated in another passage in 14:13c. In this context, both G^{CP} and the Ethiopic preserve the order ‘fear’ and

‘trembling’, albeit in a distinct semantic context. In first-person speech, Enoch describes his physical reaction to his vision of the celestial realm and the heavenly temple. Echoing the similar response of the watchers in 1:5 and 13:3, Enoch experiences ‘fear’ and ‘trembling’ in response to his vision (see *Supplement Table 4.5*).

The syntactical and semantic structure in 14:13c is not a simple equivalent for 1:5c/13:3, nor is the subject of the ‘fear’ and ‘trembling’ identical. However, this passage does feature the same two lexemes to express a singular reaction of Enoch in 14:13c, akin to the singular reaction of the watchers in 1:5/13:3. The language of 1:5c may draw upon or echo the language from these two contexts in *BW* 12-16. Overall, when 1:5a is read in conjunction with 1:5c, it is evident that *Exodus* 19:16 is unlikely to be the only passage that was generative for 1:5a.

However, the actional process reflected in this recurring language in 1:5c and 13:3 also parallels another actional process within *Ethiopic Enoch*. In 7:1, the watchers take and choose for themselves wives. The verbs used therein highlight the agency of the watchers and the lack of agency and the violence forced upon these ‘wives’. The initial verb used in 7:1 highlights the agency of the watchers, ወነሥኡ፡ ለጾሙ፡ አንስተ፡ (And they seized/took for themselves wives). The verb appears again to describe the watcher’s seizure of ‘wives’ in 12:4 and 15:3 where it appears within an explicit condemnation of their actions.

This verb does not always imply a violent actional process, such as ‘they seized’, and can convey the less overt ‘they took’, however, in these literary contexts it is clear that no agency or personhood is granted to the ‘wives’. Just as in 7:1, the watchers seize wives for themselves, so in 1:5c the fear and great trembling seizes the watchers. In *Eth.*^{ERS}

1:5c, the watchers have lost any semblance of agency, and the description of the reaction of the watchers might evoke this inner-textual comparison and highlight their impending retribution.

This parallel use of the verb ነሥክ (to take, seize, receive, capture, lift, raise, take as wife)⁹⁰⁷ in the Eth.^{ERS} corresponds to an equivalent verb in both contexts in the G^{CP} text-type. Therefore, it is probable that this lexical correspondence was also preserved in G^{Eth}. The omission of two stanzas in the Ethiopic, either as an inner-Ethiopic feature or in G^{Eth}, however, strengthens the connection between the fear of the watchers in 1:5b, and their loss of agency in 1:5c. This parallel in G^{CP} is disrupted by the two middle stanzas. In addition, the omission of these two stanzas in the Ethiopic strengthens the parallel between Eth.^{ERS} 1:5 to this alternate passage in 13:3, by removing the intervening content.

Ethiopic Enoch 1:6-7 – The Destruction of the High Mountains, High Hills, and the Earth

This unit in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6-7 arguably reflects the highest number of hermeneutically significant variants in the Ethiopic Enochic theophany. Key variants for understanding the ongoing growth and development are found in the verbs that articulate the destruction of the high mountains and the high earth in 1:6, and the nature of the destructive activity associated with the earth in 1:7.

In 1:6, the high mountains (አድባር፡ ነዋኃን፡) will fall and will quake (ወይወድቁ፡ ወይደነግ፡), whilst the high hills (አውግር፡ ነዋኃት፡) will be made low (ወይቴሐቱ፡) and will melt like wax

⁹⁰⁷ Leslau, p.404.

from before the flame (ወይትመስወ፡ ከመ፡ መዓረ፡ ግራ፡ እምላህብ፡). As we observed earlier in this chapter, the verb ‘to fall’ (ወይወድቁ፡) in 1:6a is preserved only in Tana.9 yet agrees closely with G^{CP} (πесоῦνται).⁹⁰⁸

Stuckenbruck suggested a correspondence between 1:6a (ወይወድቁ፡ ወይደነግ፡) and the second and third Greek verbs in G^{CP} 1:6a (καὶ πесоῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται).⁹⁰⁹ The unique ወይወድቁ፡ in Tana.9 almost certainly preserves a translation of καὶ πесоῦνται, however, it is less certain that ወይደነግ፡ reflects a translation of διαλυθήσονται. This Greek verb has a range of meanings such as ‘scatter/dissolve/break up’,⁹¹⁰ however, the Ethiopic verb has a differentiated semantic range encompassing ‘be terrified/be confounded/tremble/quake’.⁹¹¹

Apart from this unique reading preserved in Tana.9, the language of 1:6 in the Eth. I manuscripts chiefly only preserves minor variants. Variant spellings and forms of the attributive adjective ‘high’⁹¹² appear as a complement to ‘mountains’ and there are variant forms of the clause-initial verb in 1:6c, with both singular and plural endings preserved in Eth. I (see *Supplement Critical Texts*).

The metaphor used in 1:6c does not agree strictly with G^{CP} which preserves the lengthier and conflated reading πυρὸς ἐν φλογί (fire in a flame). G^{CP} closely mirrors the wording of LXX *Micah* 1:4b apart from the absence of καὶ αἱ κοιλάδες (and the valleys) – which is the subject in *Micah* but not in the Enochic text – and the addition of this ἐν φλογί. The

⁹⁰⁸ This has been recognized in previous scholarship. See: Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1’, p.36; Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.3.

⁹⁰⁹ Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1’, p.36; ‘Witnesses...’, p.484.

⁹¹⁰ Liddell & Scott, p.351.

⁹¹¹ Leslau, p.137.

⁹¹² For example, ነዋነን፡ is preserved in BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55, GG.151, Parma, EMML.1768, EMML.2436, EMML.7584, Camb.1570. Berlin MS. reads ነዋነ፡. The alternate ነዋነ፡ is preserved in Tana.9, Schøyen, EMML.2080, EMML.6281, EMML.8400.

premise that πυρός (fire) reflects the earlier stratum in the Greek Enochic text rests on the presumption that the language of this unit already mirrored LXX *Micah* 1:4b, and that the G^{CP} text-type was not reworked, emended, or influenced by this Greek translation during transmission. The noun Ἀϋ·ν: (flame/heat)⁹¹³ featured in the Eth.^{ERS} እምላህ·ነ: (from the flame), however, corresponds more closely to the sense of φλογί (flame)⁹¹⁴ than πυρός. It is probable that G^{Eth} preserved a reading distinct here from the expanded reading of G^{CP} and that the Eth.^{ERS} attests to an unconfated form of the metaphor.

The language of Ethiopic *Micah* 1:4 provides a helpful comparison, both in how the translations mirror and diverge – this comparison is limited by the probability that G^{Eth} did not necessarily feature a rendering nigh identical to LXX *Micah*, as reflected in G^{CP}. It is clear, however, that Ethiopic *Micah* was not as formative for the transmission and development of the Ethiopic Enochic passage as demonstrable in the Greek versions of *Micah* and G^{CP}.

Eth. ^{ERS} 1:6c	ወይትመስወ: ከመ: መዓረ: ግራ: እምላህ·ነ:	And they will melt like wax from [before] the flame.
Ethiopic <i>Micah</i> 1:4b ⁹¹⁵	ወይትመስወ: አውግር: ከመ: ሰምዕ: ዘእምቅድመ: ገጸ: እሳት:	And the hills will melt like wax which is from before the face of the fire.

There is one expected disagreement between these Ethiopic texts, which is also similarly reflected in the Greek version preserved in G^{CP}, where Ethiopic *Micah* features an explicit subject ‘hills’ (አውግር:) in place of αἱ κοιλῶδες in Greek *Micah*, whilst in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6c the initial verb does not have an explicit subject as also is evident in G^{CP}.

⁹¹³ Leslau, p.308.

⁹¹⁴ Liddell & Scott, p.1683.

⁹¹⁵ Edition: Fuhs, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha*, p.45.

This metaphor in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6c contains several features unique from the version preserved in Ethiopic *Micah*. In our Enochic passage the phrase መግረ፡ ግራ፡, which refers figuratively to wax but literarily denotes the ‘sweetness of the honey-comb’,⁹¹⁶ appears instead in *Micah* as ሰጦ፡ which refers more literally to the wax of a candle.⁹¹⁷ The connotations of the two nouns are distinct, although both clearly have a similar contextual meaning and function.

The relationship between the wax and the heat source is also uniquely formulated in each text. In *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6b, this relationship is marked using a proclitic form of the preposition ‘from’ that corresponds to the G^{CP} preposition (ἀπό) but does not attest an independent equivalent of the genitive noun προσώπου preserved in G^{CP} and LXX *Micah*. Ethiopic *Micah*, however, preserves a clear equivalent of this preposition and noun in the protracted phrase ዘእጦቅድ፡ ገጸ፡ (which is from before the face of...). The process is more clearly defined in the formulation of the metaphor in Ethiopic *Micah*, whereas *Ethiopic Enoch* may only preserve a simplification or contraction of this metaphor, using only the proclitic preposition in isolation.

Finally, Ethiopic *Micah* preserves the noun እሳት፡ (fire) that corresponds closer to πυρός (fire) than exhibited in the ላህብ፡ (flame) preserved in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6b. This deviation in *Ethiopic Enoch* could be explained as evidence for the presence of φλογί (flame) in G^{Eth} rather than πυρός (fire). The probability that G^{Eth} featured φλογί is suggested by the normative correspondence between πυρός (fire) and እሳት፡ (fire) elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch*. For example, in 10:13 the G^{CP} noun πυρός is mirrored in *Ethiopic Enoch* by እሳት፡,

⁹¹⁶ Leslau, p.326.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid, p.530.

and again the same equivalency between forms of $\pi\tilde{\upsilon}\rho$ and $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau$: occurs 22 times in chapters 14-24 of *Ethiopic Enoch*/G^{CP}.⁹¹⁸ Either the passage in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6c is a unique example where $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ (fire) was translated by the alternate noun $\lambda\upsilon\text{-}\eta$: (flame), or perhaps more likely, G^{Eth} only preserved the noun $\phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}$.

The metaphor in *Ethiopic Enoch* might reflect a G^{Eth} text-type that did not correspond as closely to LXX *Micah* as that preserved in G^{CP}, and therefore might indicate that the G^{CP} text-type was reworked during transmission to strengthen this parallel. At a minimum, it is apparent that the parallel with LXX *Micah* is not as demonstrative in *Ethiopic Enoch* as in G^{CP}, and that G^{CP} might reflect a conflation with LXX *Micah*.

The geomorphic imagery continues in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7a and thereafter the theophany shifts back to focus on the consequences of God's coming for the inhabitants of the earth. In 1:7, the earth will be split (ወትሠጠጥ፡ ምድር፡) and everything upon the earth will be destroyed ($\text{ወኸሉ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ይትሐጐል፡፤}$), and there will be judgment upon all ($\text{ወይከውን፡ ፍትሕ፡ ላዕለ፡ ከሉ፡}$), even upon the righteous ones (1:8a: ወላዕለ፡ ጸድቃን፡ ከሎሙ፡።). Whilst there is no explicit agent in this articulation of judgment in the Eth.^{ERS}, a shift in the final letter in the noun for judgment from a nominative ፍትሕ፡ to an accusative form ፍትሕ፡ , introduces an agent into the unit and reflects a shift from 'And judgment will be upon all' to 'And He will deliver judgment upon all'.⁹¹⁹

Like the collective 'all' in 1:5a, the identity of the 'all' in 1:7b and 1:7c is not entirely clear in its context. In 1:7b, the destruction of everything upon the earth probably encompasses animate beings and creatures and inanimate elements of the natural world,

⁹¹⁸ This parallel appears in 14:9, 10, 12 (twice), 15, 17, 19, 22 (twice), and in 17:1, 3, 4, 5 (twice), 18:9, 11, 15, 21:3, 7, 23:2, 4, 24:1.

⁹¹⁹ See *Supplement Critical Texts* for manuscript attestation.

including the mountains, hills, and the earth. In 1:7c, in the context of the judgement of ‘all’, this collective reference may have a more limited value, referring only to living creatures, or only to humanity. These motifs of judgment and destruction in 1:7 pre-empt their more explicit portrayal in 1:9.

The passage in 1:7 features two key elements of variation in the Eth. I manuscripts that introduce a significant thematic and semantic shift in the nature of the destructive activity associated with God’s manifestation. Only in the Eth.^{ERS} is the earth split apart in a seismic event, whilst in the secondary revisional reading preserved in Eth. I, the earth will instead be flooded. Both verbs may articulate destructive activity associated with a deluge, yet only in the revisional reading is this hermeneutical possibility made explicit.

The Eth. I manuscripts preserve the following readings for *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7a:⁹²⁰

I	ወትሠጠጥ፡ ምድር፡	And the earth will be split	Eth. I – majority inc. BL.485, Abb.35 ² , Berlin MS., Tana.9, Schøyen (ወተሳጠጥ), EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400, EMMML.8703 (Eth. I/II)
II	ወትሠጠም፡ ምድር፡	And the earth will sink (or: be flooded)	Eth. I – minority inc. BL.491, GG.151, Abb.35 ¹ , Abb.55, RT, Parma, EMMML.1768, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8347 (Eth. I/II) Eth. II – majority inc. Bod.74, Rylands.23, Abb.30, Vat.71, Munich.30, EMMML.201, EMMML.2440, IES.675
III	ወታሠጥም፡ ምድር፡	And the earth will cause to sink (or: And you will cause the earth to sink)	Eth. I – only Camb.1570 Eth. II – minority inc. Bod.531, BL.490, Qär.53, EMMML.6930 ⁹²¹

⁹²⁰ The variation is isolated to this clause-initial verb whilst the subsequent noun complement ምድር፡ (earth) is stable throughout the surviving manuscripts.

⁹²¹ Also attested in Eth. II EMMML.6686 (marginalia ወትሠጠ፡) and EMMML.7103 (ወታሰጥም፡ with marginalia correction ተሰጠ).

The clause-initial verb ወትሠጠጥ : (And it will be split) in reading (I), is the most widely attested Eth. I reading and is the Eth.^{ERS} – it is a medio-passive form of ሠጠጠ (to tear apart, split, rend, cleave asunder).⁹²² In some manuscripts it appears instead with a root-initial ሰ (sa) – the letters ሰ (sa) and ሠ (ša) are pronounced as a single phoneme in the Ge'ez reading tradition and are often interchanged in the manuscripts with no effective change in meaning.⁹²³

Reading (II) features the alternate verb ሰጥመ/ሠጥመ (to submerge, inundate, sink, plunge, drown, flood)⁹²⁴ – the root-initial ሰ (sa) is also frequently interchanged with ሠ (ša) in this variant. This variant shifts the destructive activity epitomized in reading (I) from a seismic destruction, whereby the earth is split, into a deluge-styled destruction in which the earth is flooded. This variant is the standardized Eth. II reading and is adopted in the modern edition of the *Andəmta*.⁹²⁵

The shift from reading (I) to (II) reflects a lexical shift or emendation that introduces a thematically and hermeneutically significant alternate reading into the Enochic theophany. That the shift should be explained in this direction and not in reverse is confirmed by G^{CP}. This is due, principally, to the semantic overlap between the Ge'ez verb ወትሠጠጥ : and the G^{CP} verb διασχισθήσεται (will be split through). The verb ሠጠጠ (to

⁹²² Dillmann, *Lexicon...*, p.270; Leslau, p.538.

⁹²³ For the phonetic equivalency of the sibilants and their interchangeability in the manuscripts, see: Dillmann, A. 1857. *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, T.O. Weigel, Leipzig, pp.34-35; Dillmann, A. & Bezold, C. (rev.), Crichton, J.A. (trans.). 2005. *Ethiopic Grammar*, 2nd Edition, Williams & Norgate, London, pp.42-48, 61-65; Lambdin, T.O. 1978. *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)*, Scholars Press, Missoula, Montana, pp.13-15; Bausi, A. 2016. 'On editing and normalizing Ethiopic texts', in *150 Years After Dillmann's Lexicon: Perspectives and Challenges of Ge'ez Studies* (ed. A. Bausi), Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, pp.51-54; Weninger, S. 2005. 'Ge'ez' in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, Volume 2 (D – Ha)* (ed. S. Uhlig), Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, pp.732-733.

⁹²⁴ Leslau, pp.518-519; Dillmann, *Lexicon...*, p.400.

⁹²⁵ The modern edition of the *Andəmta* reads ወትሠጠጥ : ምድር፤ whilst the version preserved in Abb.161 reads ወትሠጥም : ምድር፡ with a variant in the order of the middle radical. See: Anonymous. 2003 E.C. $\text{መጽሐፈ ሄኖክ, ትንሣኤ ማሳተሚያ ድርጅት, አዲስ አበባ}$.

split/rend) describes a similar destructive process to the Greek verb διασχίζω (to rend, sever, separate, to tear [in two]).⁹²⁶

These Greek and Ethiopic verbs articulate similar destructive processes; however, they are not exact functional or translational equivalents. There is a conceptual and semantic overlap between the meaning of these two verbs in 1:7a, yet their broader usage outside of this context suggests that they usually articulated distinct actional processes. This Ethiopic verb is not a common translational equivalent for the Greek verbs

διασχίζω/σχίζω.⁹²⁷

The Ge'ez verb ሠጠጠ does not commonly appear with a geomorphic noun complement like ምድር (earth). Instead, it is more typically used with alternate noun complements such as clothing, fabric, curtains (e.g. *Isaiah* 37:1, *Matthew* 27:51, *Mark* 15:38, *Joshua* 9:13⁹²⁸), or with bodies of water (e.g. *Exodus* 14:21, *Ethiopic Enoch* 89:24a). Other verbs occur more frequently with geomorphic complements.⁹²⁹ One prominent exception is found in *Numbers* 16:31, where this Ethiopic verb does appear with ምድር as its noun complement (ተሠጠጠ፡ ምድር፡).⁹³⁰ In this context, the Ethiopic verb corresponds to the alternate Greek

⁹²⁶ Beekes & Beek, p.1437; Muraoka, p.160; Liddell & Scott, p.414.

⁹²⁷ Other passages where διασχίζω may have featured in the Greek Vorlage of an Ethiopic text, such as *Psalms* 34:15 (Eth. 34:19) and *Wisdom of Solomon* 18:23, instead attest different roots. The former attests ὀλλῶ (to break/break off) whilst the latter features κόπτω (to cut/cut off). Several variants are attested in *Wisdom of Solomon* 18:23, including προσσχίσε (MS.130), εσχίσειν (MS.534), διέστησε (755Cant.^{lem}) and therefore it is possible that the Ethiopic is a translation from an alternate textual form. In contexts where the Greek verb σχίζω depicts the cutting of wood, the corresponding Ge'ez passage utilizes alternative verbs, such as ሠፀረ/ሠፂረ (to cut/split) in *1 Samuel* 6:14 and *Genesis* 22:3.

⁹²⁸ *Joshua* 9:13 is numbered 9:11 in the Ethiopic. See: Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti...*, p.398.

⁹²⁹ In contexts where διασχίζω/σχίζω are used with geomorphic complements such as earth/rock(s), the Ge'ez instead typically features ነቀፀ 'to split/rend asunder' (e.g. *Isaiah* 48:21, *Zechariah* 14:4, *Matthew* 27:51).

⁹³⁰ Edition: Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti...*, p.268.

lexeme ῥήγνυμι (to break, tear, burst out) in LXX *Numbers* 16:31,⁹³¹ and probably does not reflect a direct translation of διασχίζω/σχίζω.

The evidence supports identifying ወትሠጠጥ፡ as the Eth.^{ERS} reading, yet the obscurity of the use of this verb with a geomorphic complement may provide a partial explanation for the lexical change preserved in the Eth. I manuscripts. The contextual meaning in 1:7a may have become obscure to later scribes and readers. This may provide a partial explanation for this lexical manipulation; however, it is unlikely to be the only factor involved in this scribal revision, which was also introduced in dialogue with hermeneutical requirements – the hermeneutical significance of this shift and the nature of this revisional activity will be explored further in *Chapter 5*.

Whilst it is only in the revisional reading in 1:7a-b that the Deluge motif is made explicit in the Ethiopic Enochic theophany, the language of the Eth.^{ERS} already featured a limited echo of the Deluge pericope. Whilst the verb ወትሠጠጥ፡ in 1:7a may only articulate a seismic destructive process, not a deluge event, this verb does appear in the Deluge pericope in Ethiopic *Genesis* 7:11b, where it describes the rupturing of the abyss, and the unleashing of torrents of rain from heaven:

<i>Genesis</i> 7:11b	በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ተሰጠ፡ ኩሉ፡ ቀላዖት፡ ወተርኅወ፡ አስራብ፡ ሰማይ። ⁹³²	In that day, every abyss <u>was split</u> , and the cataracts/torrents of heaven were opened.
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Several lexical parallels between the Ethiopic Enochic theophany and the Ethiopic Deluge account in *Genesis*, suggests that the interpretation of 1:6-7 as a Deluge event was already feasible prior to the emendation of the clause-initial verb in 1:7a. The stanza in

⁹³¹ Ibid.

⁹³² Edition: Edele, p.62.

1:7b does not strictly correspond to the language used in the Deluge pericope, but similar language and themes appear in 7:21-22, which describes the destruction of all living creatures in the flood:

<i>Genesis</i>	ወጥተ፡ ከሉ፡ ዘሥጋ፡ ወዘይትኅወስ፡ ዲበ፡	And all flesh died, and that which
7:21-22	ምድር፡ ወከሉ፡ እጓለ፡ እመሕያው፡ ወከሉ፡	crawled upon the earth, and every
	ዘመንፈስ፡ ወከሉ፡ ዘሀሎ፡ ላዕለ፡ የብስ፡	living creature. And all which had a
	ጥተ፡ ⁹³³	spirit, and all which was upon dry
		ground died.

As observed in *Chapter 2*, the destructive activity in G^{CP} 1:6-7 echoes language attested in LXX *Micah* 1:3ff and in additional Prophetic and Theophanic texts. In the Eth.^{ERS}, these parallels are less apparent, and we can already see a shift in the language of the Eth. I text towards a text-type where a Deluge event is more clearly articulated.

A final clause in 1:7d (1:8a) appears in many Eth. I manuscripts (ወላዕለ፡ ጸድቃን፡ ከሉሙ፡ – and even upon all the righteous ones).⁹³⁴ which does not have a direct equivalent in the G^{CP} text-type. In the editions of Dillmann and Flemming, this clause was included with 1:7, whilst in Charles' edition this clause was bracketed as secondary and was grouped with the content of 1:8 rather than 1:7.⁹³⁵ More recently, Stuckenbruck has reaffirmed that it should be read in conjunction with 1:7.⁹³⁶ In some manuscripts, the punctuation clearly indicates that it should be read with 1:7c (e.g. Abb.35, Abb.55, GG.151), whilst in others the punctuation does not clearly delineate how it should be read (e.g. Berlin MS., BL.485, EMML.2080). If it relates to 1:7c, as is likely, then it indicates that the 'judgment' that will be upon 'all' in 1:7c, even includes 'upon all the righteous ones.' This reading extends the mandate of the judgment. No equivalent reading is preserved in G^{CP}.

⁹³³ Ibid, p.63.

⁹³⁴ See *Supplement* Critical Texts for variants.

⁹³⁵ Dillmann, *Liber Henoch*, p.1; Flemming, p.2; Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.

⁹³⁶ Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', p.36 (footnote 74).

The possibility that this additional reading relates to the judgment of 1:7c, and that it reflects a G^{Eth} reading that was omitted in the G^{CP} text-type, is suggested by the interpolative gloss in G^{CP} 1:1 that clarifies the fate of the righteous. In *Chapter 2*, we explored the possibility that the final clause in the Enochic superscription in G^{CP} (καὶ σωθήσονται δίκαιοι) might reflect a secondary gloss that clarified the fate of the righteous on the Day of Tribulation. In G^{CP}, similar interpolations in 1:8 further highlighted the assistance and promises guaranteed by God to his chosen ones and righteous ones.

The Ethiopic here might reflect a G^{Eth} text-type that stressed that even the righteous ones would be judged when God comes in judgment – this might have been omitted in the G^{CP} text-type as part of the focus on the salvation of the righteous and the assistance guaranteed to them. Alternatively, it might reflect an inner-Ethiopic or G^{Eth} gloss that builds upon the theme of judgment in the Enochic theophany. If this latter premise is valid, then both G^{CP} and G^{Eth} might preserve distinct, but categorically similar, glosses clarifying the fate of the righteous.

Ethiopic Enoch 1:8 – The Fate of the Righteous and Chosen Ones

Ethiopic Enoch 1:8 focuses on God’s interaction with the righteous and the chosen. God is never explicitly identified as the subject of the actional processes in 1:8, yet it is contextually clear that the subject of these verbs is the ‘Holy and Great One’ who comes forth from his abode in 1:3b-4.

In 1:8, God will ensure peace for the righteous ones (ለጸድቃን[ሰ]: ሰላም: ይገብር:) and will protect the chosen ones (ወየዕቅቦሙ: ለኅፋያን:). Mercy will be set upon them (ወይከውን: ሣህል: ላዕሊሆሙ:) and all of them will be of, or belong to, God (ወይከውኑ: ኩሎሙ: ዘአምላክ:). This is

followed by two clauses where the righteous ones and chosen ones are the subject of two verbs, which indicate that they will prosper and be blessed (ወይሴርሑ፡ ወይትባረኩ፡). Finally, God will shine the Light of God for them (ወይበርህ፡ ሎሙ፡ ብርሃነ፡ አምላክ፡). The focus on the fate of the righteous and the chosen in 1:8, and their relationship with God, mediates the description of the judgment of humanity that is preliminarily described in 1:7b-c and is continued in 1:9.

The semantic and syntactical structure of 1:8 is distinct from the G^{CP} text-type. There is minor transmissional variants in the Eth. I manuscripts yet the verse is relatively stable in contrast to 1:6-7.

A minor variant is found in the initial clause of 1:8 that features an interpolative ሎሙ፡. This interpolation is only preserved in a minority of Eth. I manuscripts and there is no equivalent in G^{CP}, however, it is the standardized reading in the Eth. II text-type and is also preserved in the marginalia of several Eth. I manuscripts. This feature provides syntactical clarification that the ‘righteous ones’ are the recipients of the peace.

I	ለጸድቃን[ሰ]፡ ⁹³⁷ ሰላም፡ ይገብር፡	Eth. I – majority inc. BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55, Berlin MS., Tana.9, GG.151, Parma, Schøyen, RT, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8400, Camb.1570
II	ለጸድቃን[ሰ]፡ ⁹³⁸ ሰላም፡ ይገብር፡ ሎሙ፡	Eth. I – minority inc. EMMML.2436, RT ² (supralinear ሎሙ፡), Abb.35 ² (supralinear ሎሙ፡), EMMML.7584 ² (supralinear ሎሙ፡) Eth. II – majority inc. Bod.74, Rylands.23, Abb.30

The opening stanza of the Eth.^{ERS} 1:8 generally agrees with the word-order and semantics of G^{CP}, yet reflects a minor syntactical differentiation in the initial preposition. The Greek

⁹³⁷ For manuscripts that omit topicalizing particle ሰ, see *Supplement Critical Texts*.

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

reads ‘with’ (μετά)⁹³⁹ whilst the Ethiopic instead reads ‘for’ the righteous ones (ለጳጳሳታ[ሰ]:).

The Eth.^{ERS} typically preserves a less expansive text than G^{CP}. In addition, the Ethiopic preserves contracted clauses, as in ወደቅበሙ፡ ለኅዲያን፡ (and He will protect the chosen ones) in 1:8b, in contrast to the lengthier G^{CP} reading καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις [καὶ εἰρήνη] where the Greek includes the bracketed gloss ‘and peace’ and includes a verb and noun rather than only a verb as in the Eth.^{ERS} (ወደቅበሙ፡). Black suggested that the Ethiopic might reflect a G^{Eth} reading καὶ συντηρησει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς – omitting the secondary gloss καὶ εἰρήνη and featuring a form of the verb συντηρέω (to preserve) rather than the noun συντήρησις (preservation).⁹⁴⁰

In addition to this interpolative καὶ εἰρήνη in 1:8b, the Eth.^{ERS} does not attest two additional G^{CP} readings. These include the clause καὶ πάντων ἀντιλήμψεται καὶ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν in 1:8f (And He will support all, and He will help us) and the final clause in 1:8g καὶ ποιήσει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην (And He will set upon them peace).

The Eth.^{ERS} also preserves a distinct syntactical formulation in several stanzas. *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:8f preserves two parallelistic verbal clauses ወደሰርሑ፡ ወደጎባረኩ፡ (And they will prosper, and they will be blessed). It is possible that the Eth.^{ERS} reflects a unique reading in G^{Eth} distinct from G^{CP}. This Ethiopic reading is standard throughout the Eth. I manuscripts, except for one variant reading preserved in Berlin MS., which reads ወደሰብሑ፡ (and they will praise) instead of ወደሰርሑ፡ (and they will prosper), with a distinct middle radical.

⁹³⁹ MS reads μεγα. Emended to μετά following previous editions. See *Supplement Critical Texts*.

⁹⁴⁰ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

A comparison of the Eth.^{ERS} (ወይሴርሑ፡ ወይትባረኩ፡) and the G^{CP} reading, highlights that there is a basic but not direct correspondence between the language in these two versions. There are differentiated verbal subjects and actional processes. G^{CP} reads καὶ τὴν εὐδοκίαν δώσει αὐτοῖς (And He will give to them [His] good-pleasure), where God is the presumed subject of the verb (δώσει) and there is a separate expressed object (αὐτοῖς). In the Eth.^{ERS} reading ወይሴርሑ፡ (and they will prosper) the assumed subject is instead the 'righteous ones' referred to earlier in 1:8, and there is no expressed object of the verb.

In summation, there is not a simple or direct equivalence between the two versions in this initial half of the verbal hendiadys. There is a general correspondence between the second half of this unit, where G^{CP} reads καὶ πάντας εὐλογήσει (and He will bless all) and the Eth.^{ERS} ወይትባረኩ፡ (and they will be blessed), although the Eth.^{ERS} does not feature any equivalent of this Greek quantifier πάντας (all).

The reading preserved in G^{CP} is peculiar, and several alternate reconstructions have been proposed as lying in the background of both G^{CP} and the Ethiopic. Black suggested that εὐδοθησονται underpinned the Ethiopic reading,⁹⁴¹ whilst Charles suggested that the noun εὐδοκίαν (good-pleasure/good-will) preserved in G^{CP} was corrupt for εὐοδίαν (good journey).⁹⁴²

In *Chapter 2* we explored the possibility that G^{CP} 1:8 has been supplemented by several transmissional interpolations. However, the Eth.^{ERS} also includes features not preserved in G^{CP}. In the final stanza in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:8g, the Ethiopic preserves the lengthier

⁹⁴¹ Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp.108, 327.

⁹⁴² Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.7.

reading, whereas G^{CP} might reflect a contracted reading or an omission. Therein, the Ethiopic indicates that God will shine ‘for them’ the ‘Light of God’ (ብርሃነ: አምላክ:), whilst G^{CP} only includes the noun ‘light’ (φῶς).

It is not entirely clear whether the Ethiopic features a gloss ‘of God’ (አምላክ:) to provide contextual clarification, or if it preserves a unique G^{Eth} reading distinct from G^{CP}.

Nickelsburg interpreted the longer Ethiopic reading as ‘probably a gloss’.⁹⁴³ The language of the Ethiopic, however, might echo similar language featured in *Isaiah* 60:19, where the Lord is described as an everlasting Light:

<i>Isaiah</i>	וְהָיָה לְךָ יְהוָה לְאֹרֶךְ עוֹלָם וְאֱלֹהֶיךָ לְתִפְאַרְתּוֹ	ἀλλ’ ἔσται σοι κύριος φῶς αἰώνιον καὶ ὁ θεὸς δόξα σου ⁹⁴⁴	But the LORD will be for you, an Eternal Light, and God your Glory.
60:19b			

Similar language also appears in Qumran literature, including in 4QpapPrQuot (4Q503 frg. 29) which refers to the ‘God of Lights’ (אל אור[ים]).⁹⁴⁵ The idea that God shines forth light for his people is found in 4QShir^b (4Q511 frg. 2:i:2-4), where the ones who know righteousness (כול יודעי [צדק]) are called to exalt God, and later it is asserted that God makes the light shine (לאיר אור).⁹⁴⁶ In a broken context in 4QH^e (4Q431 frg. 2:II:3), where the end-times are in focus, God shines forth light (הופיע אור).⁹⁴⁷ Whilst the precise phrase does not appear in the Qumran Hebrew and Aramaic literature, similar imagery is precedent in this corpus, and it is not infeasible that the Eth.^{ERS} might preserve here an earlier reading than G^{CP}.

⁹⁴³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.143.

⁹⁴⁴ Edition: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Isaías*, p.347.

⁹⁴⁵ Edition: Baillet, M. 1982. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VII: Qumrân Grotte 4 III, 4Q482-4Q520*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.113.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid, p.221.

⁹⁴⁷ Edition: Eshel, E. 1999. ‘431. 4QHodayot^e’ in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIX: Qumran Cave 4 XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (eds. E. Chazon et al.), Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.206.

Similar language is also preserved in Greek literature, as in *1 John* 1:5 (ὅτι ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστίν) and in *Revelation* 22:5 (ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίσει ἐπ’ αὐτούς). The closest parallel, however, is found in *Sibyl.* 5:482, which reads ἀντὰρ ἔπειτα θεοῦ φάος ἡγεμονεύσει (But then, the Light of God will lead...).⁹⁴⁸ The context in which it appears in the Sibylline Oracles, is distinct from that in the Enochic oracle, yet it provides an intriguing parallel which might suggest that the Eth.^{ERS} preserves a viable Greek reading from its Vorlage (G^{Eth}).

The possibility that the lengthier reading of the Ethiopic is secondary, however, might be validated by the absence of the ‘of God’ from references to ‘light’ in the final section of the Enochic oracle in 5:6-8. In none of these additional contexts, does the phrase ‘Light of God’ appear again (see *Supplement Table 4.8*).

The unique reading ‘Light of God’ preserved in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:8 might reflect a unique reading in G^{Eth}, distinct from the ‘light’ in G^{CP}, and therefore might plausibly reflect an earlier stage in the Greek text-type underpinning these two Greek versions. Alternatively, the feature might be a secondary gloss originating during the transmission of G^{Eth} or as an inner-Ethiopic feature, that clarifies the significance of the ‘light’.

A further distinction in 1:8 between the language of the Eth.^{ERS} and G^{CP}, is the occasional distinction in word-order in stanzas that otherwise feature a close semantic correspondence. Whilst in 1:8a and 1:8d there is a close coherence in word-order, in 1:8c the Ethiopic preserves a reversed word-order, even though the ordering of the Greek is a feasible structure in Ge’ez:

⁹⁴⁸ Translation: Collins, J.J. 1983. ‘Sibylline Oracles’, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth), Doubleday, Garden City, New York, p.404.

Eth. ^{ERS} 1:8c	ወይከውኃ፡ (verb)	ሃህል፡ (subject)	ለዕሊሆሙ፡ (prepositional phrase)
G ^{CP} 1:8c	καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς (prepositional phrase)	γενήσεται (verb)	ἔλεος (subject)

In 1:8c, the Ethiopic instead locates the prepositional phrase at the end of the clause, unlike its fronted position in G^{CP}. There is no significant change in meaning although there is a loss of emphasis on the prepositional phrase through this shift in word-order. It is possible that the clause in 1:8c reflects a syntactic reversal by the translator or reviser, to provide improved parallelism between 1:8c and 1:8d, as in the latter the Ethiopic closely corresponds to the word-order of G^{CP}:

Eth. ^{ERS} 1:8d	ወይከውኃ፡	ሃህሎም፡	ዘእምላክ፡
G ^{CP} 1:8d	καὶ ἔσονται	πάντες	τοῦ θεοῦ

At a minimum, the differentiated order in Eth.^{ERS} 1:8c thus creates, or reflects, a differentiated parallelistic structure from that featured in G^{CP}. In G^{CP}, the clause in 1:8c parallels the clause in 1:8b as both begin with a fronted prepositional phrase, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς in 1:8b and καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτούς in 1:8c. In *Ethiopic Enoch*, however, the clause in 1:8c is in parallelism with 1:8d, as both stanzas begin with an inflected form of the verb ከ፡ (to be). It is possible that the Ethiopic here reflects a translational shift in the text, although it may indicate differentiation in syntax and word-order between G^{Eth} and G^{CP}.

Ethiopic Enoch 1:9 – God’s Judgment

The Eth.^{ERS} 1:9 preserves a text-type that corresponds to aspects of both Greek versions, but also contains its own unique features, as noted in *Chapter 3*. It is predicted that He, presumably again God although there is no explicit subject of the verb, will come forth with the ten thousands of His holy ones. In this eschatological manifestation, God brings

judgment against all, destroys all the wicked ones, and convicts (or: reproves) all flesh on account of what they have done. The final stanza preserved partially in 4QEn^c and in G^{CP} appears only in a contracted form in Eth.^{ERS}, which stipulates that the sinners and wicked ones have acted against God.

The opening stanza closely mirrors the syntactical formulation of the G^{Jude} text-type.

Eth. ^{ERS}	[ወ]ናሁ፡	መጽአ፡	-	በትእልፊት፡	ቅዱሳን፡	-
G ^{Jude}	ἰδοὺ	ἦλθεν	κύριος	ἐν ἀγίαις	μυριάσιν	αὐτοῦ

Both versions begin with an interjective ‘behold’, in contrast to G^{CP} which begins with a subordinating conjunction (ὅτι). Whilst the majority Eth. I reading features an attached conjunctive ወ, this conjunction is absent in Tana.9, and this conjunction might reflect an inner-Ethiopic addition. Alternatively, the omission of this conjunction might reflect a correction in Tana.9 against Ethiopic *Jude*, where this conjunction is already absent.

The aorist ἦλθεν in G^{Jude} provides a close correspondence to the perfect መጽአ፡ featured in the Ethiopic, in contrast to the present middle indicative ἔρχεται in G^{CP}. However, both Tana.9 and Schøyen, and one Eth. II manuscript (Curz.56), preserve an imperfect verb ይመጽአ፡, which might correspond to the G^{CP} present verb. This reading is also preserved in the quotation of 1:9 in BL.11678, discussed in *Chapter 3*, which broadly corresponds to the Tana.9 text-type.

However, just as the omission of the conjunction in Tana.9 might reflect a correction against Ethiopic *Jude*, the same might be true regarding this verb, which is attested as the earliest recoverable reading in Ethiopic *Jude*.⁹⁴⁹ Tana.9 and Schøyen might reflect a

⁹⁴⁹ Edition: Hofmann & Uhlig, p.255.

correction in dialogue with Ethiopic *Jude*. Therefore, it is possible that the picture is murkier than indicated in this model.

As noted in *Chapter 3*, the subject κύριος (Lord) in G^{Jude} probably reflects an interpolation added for its new literary context, and this title is not preserved in either the Eth.^{ERS} or G^{CP}. Another distinct feature of the Eth.^{ERS} and G^{Jude} is the order of the two lexical units ‘myriads’ and ‘holy ones’. In the reading of G^{Jude} above, which follows the earliest recoverable stratum of G^{Jude} defined by Wasserman,⁹⁵⁰ the word-order is an adjective of quality (‘holy’) followed by the substantive noun ‘myriads’. The adjective ‘holy’ is not functioning substantively, but instead is functioning attributively, describing the myriads as holy. In the Ethiopic the word-order and function is distinct, with the order featuring the quantifier followed by the substantive adjective. The ‘myriads’ quantifies the ‘holy ones’.

In G^{CP}, this has been bifurcated into a compound noun phrase (σὺν ταῖς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ). G^{CP} reflects a reworking of the clause during the transmission of this text-type, however, it does mirror the word-order of the Ethiopic. The evidence indicates that the Eth.^{ERS} broadly reflects a Greek Vorlage (G^{Eth}) closer to G^{Jude} than G^{CP}, yet with a syntactical distinction in the formulation of the ‘myriads of holy ones.’ One unique feature of the Ethiopic is the absence of any equivalent to the genitive pronoun αὐτοῦ (His) that follows this noun phrase.

A key feature of *Eth.*^{ERS} 1:9 thereafter, is a closer verbal agreement with G^{CP} than G^{Jude}.

	1:9b	1:9c	1:9c	1:9d
G ^{CP}	ποιῆσαι	ἀπολέσει	-	ἐλέγξει
G ^{Jude}	ποιῆσαι	Clause omitted	-	ἐλέγξει

⁹⁵⁰ Edition: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, p.176.

Eth. ^{ERS}	ይግበር፡	ወያዝኡሎም፡	-	ወይዘለፍ፡
Ethiopic <i>Jude</i> ⁹⁵¹	ይግበር፡	Clause omitted	ወይዘለፍ፡	ወይዘለፍ፡

In 1:9b, both Greek versions preserve an aorist infinitive form (to do/enact), mirrored by the Ethiopic subjunctive in Eth.^{ERS} and Ethiopic *Jude*. In the following stanza in 1:9c, this verbal clause is omitted in G^{Jude} and Ethiopic *Jude*, so our comparison is limited to G^{CP} and Eth.^{ERS} 1:9, where both feature imperfect verbal forms (He will destroy).

Many Eth. I manuscripts here preserve a subjunctive form of this verb (ወያዝኡሎም፡), which reflects a secondary harmonization of the verb to the preceding subjunctive ይግበር፡ – the imperfect, however, belongs to the Eth.^{ERS} and is preserved in Tana.9, EMML.2080, BL.485, Abb.35, Abb.55, GG.151, Parma, Camb.1570 and EMML.7584. In 1:9c, Ethiopic *Jude* then features an additional verbal clause that has no direct equivalent in G^{Jude} or in the Enochic text – however, this may reflect an interpolation from *Matthew* 16:27 A-Text which reads (ይዘለፍ፡ ለክሉ፡ በከመ፡ ምግባሩ፡) and is probably an inner-Ethiopic feature of textual growth.⁹⁵²

The fourth example, however, provides another pertinent contrast. In 1:9d, G^{CP} preserves an imperfect verb (He will convict) in contrast to the aorist infinitive form (to convict) preserved in G^{Jude}. Compelling arguments can be made for the priority of both verbal forms – see *Chapter 3*. However, it is pertinent that in the Eth.^{ERS} an imperfect verb is included, and not an infinitive as in G^{Jude} – one Eth. I manuscript (BL.491) features a subjunctive form (ወይዘለፍ፡), which reflects a secondary harmonization akin to that preserved earlier in this verse in (ወያዝኡሎም፡). Therefore, in the second and fourth

⁹⁵¹ Edition: Hofmann & Uhlig, pp.255-256.

⁹⁵² Edition: Zuurmond, R. 2001. *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: Part III: The Gospel of Matthew*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, p.174.

examples, the Eth.^{ERS} agrees with the imperfect forms preserved in G^{CP}, suggesting that the G^{Eth} therein probably featured imperfect verbs rather than infinitives.

Apart from the initial stanza in 1:9a, the Eth.^{ERS} 1:9 provides a closer correspondence to G^{CP} than G^{Jude}. The stanza καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς (and He will destroy all the wicked ones) preserved in G^{CP} is closely mirrored in the majority Eth. I reading ወደጎገሉሎሙ፡፡ ለረሲዓን፡. The only disagreement is the absence of a quantifying particle in the Ethiopic as an equivalent to πάντας (all). In these middle three stanzas, the Eth.^{ERS} text provides sufficient parallel with the language of G^{CP} to justify the premise that the G^{Eth} closely corresponded to the wording of the former with minor disagreements and variation.

Variation in the Eth. I manuscripts is limited, however, a key variant appears in 1:9d.

Whilst the majority of Eth. I manuscripts feature variant forms of ἡλᾶ (to rebuke, blame, reprove, reproach, admonish, convict, chastise),⁹⁵³ a secondary revision ወይጥቀስ፡ from the verb ወቀሰ/ወቀሠ (to contend with, intercede, reprimand, reproach, admonish, condemn, judge)⁹⁵⁴ appears in one Eth. I manuscript (Camb.1570) and eventually became the standardized reading of the Eth. II recension.

The probability that the verb ἡλᾶ was the earlier lexical form is confirmed by the close semantic parallel between the meaning of this root and the root attested in the same clause in G^{CP} and G^{Jude} (ἐλέγχω – to reprove, accuse, convict)⁹⁵⁵. In addition, this lexeme ἡλᾶ appears as the standard reading in Ethiopic *Jude*, which also reflects a translation from ἐλέγχω.

G ^{CP} and Eth. ^{ERS}	καὶ ἐλέγξει πᾶσαν σάρκα	ወይጥቀስ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡
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⁹⁵³ Leslau, pp.636-637; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.1037.

⁹⁵⁴ Leslau, p.616; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.911.

⁹⁵⁵ Beekes & van Beek, p.404; Liddell & Scott, p.531.

G ^{Jude} and Ethiopic <i>Jude</i>	καὶ ἐλέγξει πάντας τοὺς ἄσεβεῖς	ወይዘሮም፡ ለኩሎም፡ ኃጥኣን፡
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This revision of ዘለፈ to ወቀሰ in *Ethiopic Enoch* changes the type of judgment that is embedded in 1:9d. This verse features an example of lexical replacement that signifies an exegetical and theological intervention in the text – for further, see *Chapter 5*.

Another inner-Ethiopic variant is found in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9b. The majority Eth. I/Eth. II reading (IV), which was followed in the editions of Flemming and Charles,⁹⁵⁶ reflects ongoing development of this clause wherein the quantifier has been omitted:

I	ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍትሐ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎ፡	...in order to enact judgment upon all	Eth. I – EMML.2080 only
II	ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍትሐ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎም፡	...in order to enact judgment upon all of them	Eth. I – Tana.9 only
III	ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍትሐ፡ ላዕሌሆም፡ ኩሎ፡	...in order that judgment shall be enacted upon them all	Eth. I – Parma, RT (ፍትሐ፡ ይግበር፡)
IV	ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍትሐ፡ ላዕሌሆም፡	...in order to enact judgment upon them	Majority Eth. I/Eth. II ⁹⁵⁷

As indicated by Isaac, both Tana.9 and EMML.2080 provide an aspect of agreement with the reading of G^{CP}, G^{Jude} and Pseudo-Cyprian,⁹⁵⁸ which all feature a quantifier ‘all’ in this stanza. It is probable that EMML.2080 preserves the Eth.^{ERS}, as it closely agrees with the Greek (κατὰ πάντων) preserved in both G^{CP} and G^{Jude}, whilst the majority Eth. I reading (IV) probably reflects a secondary development from reading (III) caused by the omission of ኩሎ፡.

The final unit in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 does not provide a close correspondence to the wording of either G^{CP} and G^{Jude} and may be indicative of a complex transmissional

⁹⁵⁶ Flemming, p.2; Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4.

⁹⁵⁷ See *Supplement Critical Text* for manuscript attestation.

⁹⁵⁸ Isaac, E. 1983. ‘New Light upon the Book of Enoch from Newly-Found Ethiopic Mss’, *JAOS* 103, p.400.

process. This unit was problematic to later transmitters and copyists of the text and none of the three surviving versions likely reflect a translational Greek reading.

The initial unit በእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘገብኩ፡ (concerning everything which they have done) provides a basic correspondence to the wording preserved in G^{CP} περὶ πάντων ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν (concerning all the works of their ungodliness which they have done).⁹⁵⁹ No equivalent of ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν (works of their ungodliness), however, is preserved in Eth.^{ERS} 1:9. The omission of this unit is curious, as a similar clause is preserved in both G^{Jude} and Ethiopic *Jude* (በእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ግብረ፡ ጎጣውኢሆሙ፡ ዘእበሱ፡).⁹⁶⁰ This clause may have been omitted in the Ethiopic due to the generic nature of the term ‘all flesh’ in the preceding clause. It might reflect a recasting of the stanza to remove the theological implications of ascribing ‘ungodliness’ to ‘all flesh’, as the latter term would inevitably encompass the righteous and chosen ones as well as the sinners and wicked ones.

The rest of this final unit in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 has little direct correspondence to the versions preserved in 4QEn^c, G^{CP}, G^{Jude} and Ethiopic *Jude* (see *Supplement Table 4.9* for texts). Whilst there is little direct correspondence between *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 and Ethiopic *Jude*, as would be expected due to the probability of significant differentiation in their respective Vorlage, neither version features a literal or close translation of the Greek substantive adjective σκληρῶν (harsh/hard things). In Ethiopic *Jude*, it is possible that the peculiar clause ዘኢይከውን፡ ቃለ፡ (words which were not/vain words) might reflect an attempt to paraphrase the basic sense of its Vorlage.

⁹⁵⁹ Literally, ‘which they have acted ungodly’.

⁹⁶⁰ Ethiopic *Jude*, however, also omits the quantifier ‘all’. Edition: Hofmann & Uhlig, p.256.

According to Charles, the final verb in Eth.^{ERS} should be emended to ἁλῶ, following the reading of G^{CP}/G^{Jude} (ἡσέβησαν) and in accordance with G^{CP}/G^{Jude}/Pseudo-Cyprian the reading ወበእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፅፁብኑ፡ ዘነበቡ፡ should be restored to the text.⁹⁶¹ No such reading is attested in any Ethiopic witness, and whilst this is feasible it is also speculative.

However, the term was problematic to the Ethiopic translators and in each instance was either paraphrased, omitted, or continued to be reformulated or contracted during the transmission of these texts. It is possible that Eth.^{ERS} 1:9 reflects an element of differentiation in G^{Eth} from the other Greek versions, however, the Eth.^{ERS} is unlikely here to provide a close or direct witness to this differentiated reading.

The Eth.^{ERS} and the G^{CP} Text-type

The Eth.^{ERS} reflects a Greek Vorlage (G^{Eth}) that was distinct but related to that preserved in G^{CP}. These versions are related, and are by-products of a common Greek archetype, however, they are not direct equivalents. In some instances, the Eth.^{ERS} probably reflects a Greek text-type closer to the form of the Aramaic Enochic theophany preserved in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c, and in one stanza in 1:9a preserves a reading closer to the G^{Jude} text-type.

Elsewhere, the Eth.^{ERS} reflects a text-type that is related to the G^{CP} text-type, yet omits many secondary interpolations and revisions featured in that text-type. For example, the Eth.^{ERS} does not preserve any equivalent of verbal clauses attested in G^{CP} 1:1e (καὶ σωθήσονται δίκαιοι), 1:6a (καὶ σεισθήσονται), 1:6b (τοῦ διαρρηῖναι ὄρη), 1:8f (καὶ πάντων ἀντιλήμψεται καὶ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν) and 1:8g (καὶ ποιήσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην), and of isolated words as in 1:6c (πυρός), 1:7a (σχίσμα ῥαγάδι) and 1:8b (καὶ εἰρήνη). In many of

⁹⁶¹ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4.

these cases, it is likely that these reflect expansionistic tendencies in this latter Greek text-type. Consequently, it is probable that the Eth.^{ERS} reflects a less accretive text-type and might reflect a Greek text-type (G^{Eth}) without these interpolations.

There are also several semantic disagreements between G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS} where it is probable that the former attests to a revisional or secondary reading. Some of these may reflect hermeneutical interventions in the text and produce intelligible readings whilst in other examples they further obscure the meaning of the clause or stanza in which they feature.

For example, these two text-types attest to differentiated readings in 1:1b (τοὺς ἐχθρούς/ረሲዳን፡), 1:2b (ὄρασις/አዕይንቲሁ፡), 1:4a (ἐπὶ γῆν/ወእምህዮ፡), 1:5a (πιστεύουσιν/ወያድለቀልቁ፡), and 1:9a (ὅτι ἔρχεται σὺν ταῖς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ/[ወ]ናሁ፡ መጽአ፡ በትእልፊት፡ ቅዱሳን፡). Three additional examples in 1:4c (ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν/እምስማይ፡), 1:8b (ἔσται συντήρησις/ወየዐቅበሙ፡) and 1:8e (καὶ τὴν εὐδοκίαν δώσει αὐτοῖς/ወይሰርሐ፡), may also reflect an earlier reading preserved in Eth.^{ERS} than G^{CP}, although these examples are less certain. In these final three examples, the Eth.^{ERS} probably attests to a Greek text-type with an earlier reading to that preserved in G^{CP}, although compelling arguments may also suggest the priority of the G^{CP} reading.

Many features of contrast between the Eth.^{ERS} and G^{CP}, however, instead probably attest to inner-Ethiopic developments, such as the title for the ‘chosen righteous ones’ in 1:1a (ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους/ኅሩያን፡ ወዲድቃን፡) and the preposition in 1:4b (ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ/በትዕይንቱ፡). In these examples, the Greek may reflect the preferable reading, and the Eth.^{ERS} probably preserves inner-Ethiopic syntactical changes. The use of distinct verbs in 1:2a (ወአውሥኦ፡) and 1:2c (ወአውሣእኩ፡) to that attested in G^{CP} probably also attests

to changes during the translation or transmission of the Ethiopic text-type, rather than a distinction between G^{CP} and G^{Eth}.

The Eth.^{ERS} also features a contracted text in contrast to G^{CP}, and in some of these examples, such as in 1:2a (τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ), 1:2c (ἐγὼ λαλῶ), and in 1:9e (G^{CP}: καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν) it is likely that these examples reflect inner-Ethiopic omissions during translation or transmission. The Eth.^{ERS} also attests to a reading in 1:7 (1:8a) that is not attested in G^{CP} and may reflect an inner-Ethiopic addition (ወላዕለ፡ ጸድቃን፡ ከሉሙ፡).

Other omissions in Eth.^{ERS} may be indicative of units already omitted in the G^{Eth} including the sections in G^{CP} in 1:2b (καὶ ἀγιολόγων ἁγίων ἤκουσα ἐγώ) and 1:5b (καὶ ἄσουσιν ἀπόκρυφα ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς [γῆς] καὶ σεισθήσονται πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς). Whilst both sections in G^{CP} probably reflect ongoing growth and development, both units are partially attested in 4QEn^a, and it is likely that their entire omission reflects processes of contraction in G^{Eth} or in the Ethiopic.

The Eth.^{ERS} often preserves a unique and preferable reading to that attested in G^{CP}, and therefore may reflect a G^{Eth} differentiated from G^{CP}. However, the Eth.^{ERS} is not a simple or direct witness to the G^{Eth} or the ‘original Ethiopic text’, and this text-type reflects ongoing textual development and growth during translation and transmission, and unique omissions and additions. Nevertheless, the Eth.^{ERS} is a valuable conversation partner for evaluating the character of G^{CP}, and for understanding the synchronically complex nature of Greek versions of the Enochic theophany in late antiquity.

Conclusion

The Eth.^{ERS} provides vital although only fragmented glimpses into the diversity in the Greek versions of the Enochic theophany in late antiquity. This access is not unfettered and the Eth.^{ERS} reflects ongoing processes of revision and textual growth. The absence of manuscript evidence prior to the 15th century limits our capacity to fully comprehend these formative processes.

No individual manuscript provides a uniform witness to the Eth.^{ERS}. Whilst many early exemplars including Tana.9 and EMMML.2080, often uniquely preserve the earliest recoverable stratum of the Ethiopic, every Eth. I manuscript preserves its own unique features of textual growth and development. The Eth. I manuscripts attest to a living textual tradition wherein the Enochic theophany continued to be read, interpreted, corrected, and emended, as the text was copied and transmitted.

The value of the Eth.^{ERS} for understanding the synchronically complex nature of the Greek Enochic theophany in late antiquity has often been overlooked in previous studies. The over-prioritization of the G^{CP} text-type as a witness to the life of the Enochic theophany, and more broadly also of the *BW*, diminishes the pivotal role that the larger pool of evidence available in the Ethiopic tradition can play for understanding the life and form of the Enochic theophany in late antiquity and into early modernity.

Chapter 5 – Textual Growth in the Enochic Theophany in the Eth. I and Eth. II Recensions and Text-types

The Ethiopic Enochic theophany continued to grow as the text was syntactically, lexically, and hermeneutically revised throughout its transmission. This process was interconnected with shifts in the hermeneutical approaches that were applied to the text and in dialogue with the texts that were read alongside or into the Enochic theophany. The contiguous transmission of the Enochic theophany within *Ethiopic Enoch* contributed to the ongoing growth and development of the Enochic theophany, as obscure language was intra-textually interpreted and revised against other sections in *Ethiopic Enoch*. In this chapter, we will assess the hermeneutical and text-critical implications of some variant readings attested in the Eth. I/Eth. II manuscript types. This is an extension of our appraisal of the earliest recoverable stratum of the Eth. I text-type (Eth.^{ERS}) in the preceding chapter.

Our concern in this chapter is less with ‘scribal changes’ as a socio-historical reality but rather with the hermeneutical outcomes of the changes and shifts introduced into the Enochic theophany in the Ethiopic tradition. We will explore the transmissional features of the Ethiopic in alignment with the theological and hermeneutical shifts that they introduce into the text. The text-critical value of these textual realia is entwined with their hermeneutical value, and therefore this chapter will explore them concurrently. In none of these examples, am I providing a radical new approach to the directionality of the changes, nor am I dispensing entirely with a retrospective text-critical methodology. Rather, the aim is to provide a framework through which these textual changes can be

viewed as productive and generative features in the transmission of the Enochic theophany, and not as corruptive or degenerative features.

We will explore these revisional features in both the Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts. This system provides a helpful framework for distinguishing between the more standardized Eth. II text-type and the pre- or non-standardized Eth. I manuscripts. However, this delineation is not as neat as the model implies. For example, whilst EMM.L.8347 reflects a text-type closer to Eth. II, and probably represents an early and important exemplar thereof, it features erasures of Eth. I readings.⁹⁶² Furthermore, there are several other Eth. II manuscripts such as MG.18 and IES.675 that preserve pre- or non-standardized readings in the Enochic theophany.⁹⁶³

The variant readings of the Ethiopic manuscripts attest to the emergence of a distinct hermeneutical framework associated with, and often even embedded within, the Enochic theophany. Some of these variants are aligned with the standardized Eth. II text-type, whilst other examples should be understood as non-aligned revisions. We will explore these revisional features based upon functional rather than theological categories. In this chapter, we will primarily focus on one example of Lexical Manipulation, one of Lexical Replacement and one Interpolation. Additional examples are attested in the Eth. I and Eth. II manuscripts, which also attest numerous examples of syntactical revisions and lexical and prepositional updating – due to space considerations, many examples have been omitted from this dissertation.

⁹⁶² The evaluation of this manuscript is indebted to private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

⁹⁶³ Both attest the unrevised reading in 1:9 that we will explore later in this chapter.

We will also explore the possibility that these examples were introduced in dialogue with other strata of *Ethiopic Enoch*, and secondarily how these revisional readings were legitimized and interpreted in manuscript marginalia and in the orthodox Andəmta commentary tradition. We will focus primarily on changes that reflect hermeneutical transformations and interventions in the Enochic theophany, and those that are indicative of changes in the way that the text was being read and what it was being read alongside.

Lexical Manipulation – The Splitting and Flooding of the Earth in Ethiopic

Enoch 1:7a

The opening clause in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7 (ወትሠጠጥ፡ ምድር፡ – And the earth will be split) features an example of lexical manipulation on this clause-initial verb that introduces a significant shift in the nature of the destructive activity. The lexical revision is indicative of a nuanced resignification of the type and nature of the destruction wrought upon the earth in 1:7a.

This lexical manipulation transforms the destructive activity from a seismic event that splits the earth to a deluge event that floods the earth. This hermeneutically loaded and generative revisional reading eventually became the standardized reading in the Eth. II recension. It was considered a legitimate and meaningful reading in later tradition, as exemplified in the interpretation of the clause in manuscript marginalia and in the Andəmta commentaries. There are three common manuscript readings and one isolated manuscript reading for 1:7a.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶⁴ For further regarding manuscript attestation, see footnotes on equivalent table in *Chapter 4*, and *Supplement Critical Texts*.

	<i>Ethiopic Enoch 1:7a Variants</i>	Manuscript Attestation
I	ወትሠጠጥ፡ ምድር፡ And the earth will be split	Eth. I – majority reading
II	ወትሠጠም፡ ምድር፡ And the earth will sink (or: be flooded)	Eth. I – minority reading Eth. II – majority reading
III	ወታሠጥም፡ ምድር፡ And the earth will cause to sink (or: And you will cause the earth to sink)	Eth. I – Camb.1570 only Eth. II – minority reading
IV	ወይትቶጠፋጥ፡ ኩላ፡ ምድር፡ And all the earth will break/shatter	Eth. II – MG.18 only

In *Chapter 4*, we explored these variants in dialogue with G^{CP} and demonstrated that reading (I) belonged to the Eth.^{ERS}. This clause-initial verb ወትሠጠጥ፡ (And it will be split) is the most widely attested Eth. I manuscript reading and is a medio-passive form derived from ሠጠጠ (to tear apart, split, rend, cleave asunder).⁹⁶⁵

The lexical manipulation under investigation is reflected in readings (II) and (III), which reflect a revision of the 6th order final ጥ (ṭ) featured in reading (I) to the orthographically similar but phonetically dissimilar 6th order final ም (m). The orthographic change is slight although it introduces a new actional process into the clause.⁹⁶⁶

Readings (II-III) feature the alternate lexeme ሰጥመ/ሠጥመ with the broad lexical range of ‘to submerge, inundate, sink, plunge, drown, flood’.⁹⁶⁷ The second variant shifts the destructive activity from a seismic or geomorphic destruction, whereby the earth is split, into a deluge styled destruction in which the earth is flooded. Reading (II) is the standardized Eth. II reading and is adopted in the modern Andəmta edition.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶⁵ Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.270; Leslau, p.538.

⁹⁶⁶ As indicated in *Chapter 4*, the root-initial ሰ (sa) is frequently interchanged with ሠ (ša) in variants (I)/(II)/(III).

⁹⁶⁷ Leslau, pp.518-519; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.400.

⁹⁶⁸ Edition: Anonymous. 2003 E.C. መጽሐፈ ሄኖክ, ትንሣኤ ማሳተሚያ ድርጅት, አዲስ አበባ.

Reading (III) is a secondary variant of this lexical revision and reflects a morphological shift from a passive to a subjunctive causative verb. How, exactly, this change should be understood is dependent on whether the verb is interpreted as a third- or second-person form. The forms would look identical in Ge'ez. If interpreted as a third-person form, then the earth remains the presumed subject of the verb. If it is instead a second-person form, then the earth is presumably not the subject, but the object of the action and God becomes the implicit and assumed subject of the actional process.

Whilst variant (III) is attested chiefly in Eth. II manuscripts, it is attested in one Eth. I manuscript (Camb.1570), suggesting that it was an early development from the second variant. The shift may reflect an orthographic or audio-visual error, whereby a scribe mistook the 6th order ት (tə) for 4th order ታ (tā).

The fourth reading (IV) ወይትቅጥፍጥ፥ is attested in a single Eth. II manuscript,⁹⁶⁹ and is a passive reflexive verb (medio-passive) from ቅጥፍጥ (to crush, smash, break open, burst asunder).⁹⁷⁰ This verb is not clearly related to variants (I-III) but may have been introduced as a lexical updating or revision of the obscure verb ሠጠጠ፥ featured in reading (I).

These manuscript readings attest to ongoing revision of this stanza which lexically altered the destructive process envisaged in 1:7a. The lexical shift is not between cognate verbs, and this lexical manipulation or resignification entirely transforms and reconfigures the destructive activity. It is possible that the shift from final ጥ (t) to the orthographically similar but phonetically dissimilar final ሞ (m) was introduced through an orthographic or

⁹⁶⁹ The verb features a supralinear corrective ት that has been included here in superscript.

⁹⁷⁰ Leslau, p.454; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.469.

audio-visual scribal error. However, the presence of similar language in other strata of *Ethiopic Enoch*, and the curious and generative hermeneutical shift that is embedded through this lexical change suggests that it is a productive and generative revisional feature. It is indicative of an exegetical intervention in the text, or the influence of hermeneutical approaches to the text on the actual language of the text, by the scribes responsible for its continued transmission.

That the shift should be explained in the direction already indicated and not in reverse is confirmed by the G^{CP} reading, as demonstrated in *Chapter 4*. However, therein we also observed that whilst this Greek (διασχισθήσεται) and Ethiopic (ወጥሰዋል) verbs convey similar destructive processes they are not exact functional or translational equivalents. Whilst this does not diminish the probability that reading (I) is a translational rendering, it does suggest that its contextual meaning in 1:7a may have been obscure to later scribes and readers. This may provide a partial explanation for this lexical manipulation; however, it is unlikely to be the only factor involved in this scribal revision.

Reading (I) has been incorporated into most critical editions and translations of *Ethiopic Enoch*, often with little reflection on the hermeneutical significance of the variants. For example, Charles included this reading in his eclectic critical text whilst variants (II-III) were included only in his apparatus.⁹⁷¹ Many of the Eth. I manuscripts that feature the first reading were not available to Charles, and his preference was primarily based on the semantic parallel between this Ge'ez reading and G^{CP}.⁹⁷²

⁹⁷¹ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4.

⁹⁷² For the list of manuscripts used by Charles, see: Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, xvii-xxiv; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.17.

In Nickelsburg's commentary, the variants in 1:7a are discussed only in a textual footnote. Nickelsburg stipulated that reading (I) may consist of a correction against a Greek text, but that the similarity between the two readings strongly supports it as the earlier reading.⁹⁷³ Reading (II) was therefore either an inner-Ethiopic corruption or a 'shrewd scribal revision *ad sensum*'.⁹⁷⁴ The latter possibility although astute was not further developed by Nickelsburg.

The critical edition and translation produced by Knibb, based on a single Eth. II manuscript (Rylands.23), attests the second reading as is normative for this manuscript type. Knibb accordingly translated the clause as 'And the earth will sink'.⁹⁷⁵ Uhlig's eclectic translation also preferred the reading of the Greek and first Ge'ez reading and consequently translated the clause 'Und die Erde wird zerbrechen' but translated reading (II) as 'wird versinken' in his notes.⁹⁷⁶ A similar approach was exemplified in the translation by Isaac, who translated the clause 'And earth shall be rent asunder...', whilst translating reading (II) as 'shall sink' in his notes.⁹⁷⁷

The hermeneutical implications of this revisional reading was briefly explored by Lods in the late nineteenth century. Lods dismissed, however, the variant as a scribal error of ትሠጠጥ (təšaṭam) for ትሠጠቅ (təšaṭaq) or ትሠጠጥ (təšaṭat).⁹⁷⁸ Lods argued that the G^{CP} reading should be preferred over this Ethiopic variant because the idea of a deluge as a destructive force is a concept that is foreign to apocalypses as a literary type, and

⁹⁷³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, pp.142-143

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁵ Knibb, *Ethiopic* Vol.2, p.5; See Vol.1, p.3 for text.

⁹⁷⁶ Uhlig, p.508.

⁹⁷⁷ Isaac, '1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch...', p.13.

⁹⁷⁸ Lods, *Le livre...*, p.93.

therefore is unlikely to have been an original feature of the Enochic theophany.⁹⁷⁹ In similar fashion, Black argued that this lexical shift was an Eth. II feature that ‘seeks to introduce a reference to the deluge’,⁹⁸⁰ despite the presence of this reading in Eth. I manuscripts.

This reading has been acknowledged in most editions, translations, and commentaries of the text to date, yet the implications of this revision for understanding the development of the Enochic theophany has been mostly overlooked due to the predominant focus on reconstructing the Urtext. Secondary variants are often dismissed as correlative rather than generative features of the transmission of *Ethiopic Enoch*. This variant is generative insofar as it introduces a new, intelligible, and hermeneutically productive meaning to the clause. The revisional reading introduces a significant hermeneutical shift in the Enochic theophany, transforming the nature and theological implications of the destructive activity articulated in 1:7. This transformation may indicate how the passage was already being read by the scribes and exegetes responsible for its continued transmission.

The other two stanzas in 1:7 already featured language reminiscent of the Noahic Deluge that may have inspired this interpretative approach and the lexical manipulation. The next stanza in 1:7b indicates that everything upon the earth will be destroyed (ወኸሉ፡ ዘውሰተ፡ ምድር፡ ይትሐገል፡), and as indicated in *Chapter 4*, echoes the Deluge pericope in *Genesis*. The language echoes the coterminous judgment and punishment of all flesh in the Deluge in *Genesis*, which is also illustrated in *Ethiopic Enoch* 10.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁰ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.108.

That the lexical manipulation was introduced in response to hermeneutical requirements is suggested by the appearance of alternate forms of our revised reading ወትሰጠም: (and it will sink) elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch*. Whilst the Ge'ez verb ሰጥመ does not feature again in the sections corresponding to *BW*, it appears in passages corresponding to the *Book of Parables* (48:9, 56:8), the *Astronomical Book* (81:8) and the *Dream Visions* (83:4 and thrice in 89:5-6). The verb appears only in the medio-passive stem as in the revised reading in 1:7a.

The similarity between the literary context of 1:7a and these additional passages suggests that our passage may have been revised in dialogue with these additional texts. In these five passages, the verb is closely associated with the judgment of God. In the two passages in *Ethiopic Enoch* 83:4 and 89:5-6 (*Dream Visions*), the verb clearly describes a deluge event.

The closest parallel to the language and literary context of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7a are both found in the section of *Ethiopic Enoch* corresponding to *Dream Visions* (83-90) – see *Supplement Table 5.1* for critical text. In 83:4, the verb ሰጥመ (to sink/submerge/flood) is embedded twice in Enoch's descriptive recounting of his vision of the forthcoming Deluge, wherein the earth is destroyed and swallowed into a great ocean or abyss.⁹⁸¹ The verb appears in a prediction that hills will sink upon hills (ይሰጠም:) – this peculiar expression highlights the totalizing nature of the deluge's devastation. The second occurrence (ወይሰጠም:) depicts the high trees, which have already been cast down,

⁹⁸¹ The Ethiopic features the noun ቀላይ which can have the meaning of 'ocean/sea' or 'abyss' but can also refer to other bodies of water including 'depth of a river/sea', 'pool/pond', or refer to a 'pit/ravine', or to the underworld (*Amos* 9:2). See: Leslau, p.431; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.415.

sinking into the ocean. The verbal action is not explicitly connected to the 'earth' as in 1:7a but both passages nonetheless illustrate similar destructive processes.

A range of lexical and conceptual parallels to our passage in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7 suggest that our revisional reading may be connected to similarities between these two passages, perhaps originating as an exegetical or lexical harmonization. For example, both 1:7 and 83:4 include the same geomorphic complements 'earth' (ምድር:), 'mountains' (እድባር:), and 'hills' (እውግር:), and both feature the adjective 'high' (ነዋሐን:).

These semantic elements are attested in the passage that preludes 1:7a. In 1:3b-6, the high mountains quake, the high hills are made low and dissolved like wax before a flame, at the coming of God. A moment of Divine judgment is described in both 83:4 and 1:7 although the temporal and spatial location of the destruction is distinct in each context. In 1:6-7 the destruction of the earth is explicitly connected to God's descent, which may allude to and echo the forthcoming deluge although this is not made explicit. On the contrary, in Enoch's vision in 83:4 the destruction is explicitly predictive of the forthcoming deluge. Whilst the language in Eth.^{ERS} 1:6-7 may evoke language from the Deluge pericope in *Genesis*, the destruction is not as intimately or explicitly connected with this motif.

It is possible that the language of Aramaic *BW* 1:6-7 was generative for the development of the Aramaic of 83:4. Nickelsburg suggested that in 83:4 'the imagery recalls Enoch's description of the fearful cosmic upheaval that will attend God's appearance for the final judgment (1:6-7)' and that it represents the 'typical Enochic typology of flood and final judgment.'⁹⁸² If this is correct, then the stanza in *BW* 1:7a may be inter-generative.

⁹⁸² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p.349.

Namely, the language of the Aramaic *BW* 1:6-7 was generative and formative for the compositional development of the Aramaic *Dream Visions* in 83:4ff, whilst the language of the latter in its Ethiopic version may have been formative and associated with this revisional reading in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7a.

The second passage that may be interconnected with this lexical manipulation is found in the *Animal Apocalypse* in *Ethiopic Enoch* 89:5-6. The verb ሰጥመ/ሠጥመ is attested three times in Enoch's description of an allegorical dream vision which narrates the history of the world from creation until the time of the Patriarchs. All three occurrences are embedded in the allegorical recasting of the Noahic deluge. In 89:5, the Bulls as figurative of the peoples of the earth, sink or drown (ይሠጠሙ፡) and perish in water (ወይትጎጉሉ፡ በውእቱ፡ ማይ፡).

The verb also appears twice in 89:6. The first example refers to the bulls, elephants, camels, and donkeys who will sink into the earth (ተሠጥሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር፡) – these elephants, camels and donkeys refer to the offspring of the union of the watchers and mortal women, whilst the bulls are a collective reference to the progeny of Cain and Seth. The second iteration of the verb is in conjunction with the verb ሐግላ (to perish/destroy)⁹⁸³ and indicates that they will perish and drown in the sea (ወተጎጉሉ፡ ወተሠጥሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀላይ፡). This verb ሐግላ also appears in our passage in 1:7b (ወኸሉ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ይትሐገሉ፡ – and all which is upon the earth will be destroyed). The pre-existing allusion to the destruction of the living creatures of the earth, and the explicit declaration that judgment will be enacted upon all in 1:7c, probably interconnected *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7 with these similar passages in 83:4 and 89:5-6.

⁹⁸³ Leslau, p.215.

This lexical revision emends the verb ትሠጠጥ፡ to ትሠጠም፡. The nature and type of destruction portrayed in 1:7 is recast by this demonstrative lexical change, and the deluge is read into *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7 by this hermeneutical intervention. It is not clear whether this shift reflects a deliberate lexical harmonization or revision of the obscure 1:7a in direct dialogue with the Ethiopic *Dream Visions*, or whether this process only reflects ongoing practices of reading the destructive activity in 1:7a through the hermeneutical lens of these latter passages. These passages contain a broad range of lexical, thematic, and conceptual parallels that ensured that they were interpreted contiguously and conterminously.

This lexical manipulation recasts the event described in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6-7 as a prediction of the forthcoming Noahic deluge, rather than as a description of the reaction of the physical world to the coming of God in judgment. It is not clear whether the lexical manipulation is indicative of a new hermeneutical approach to 1:7, and its broader context in 1:4-7, or whether the manipulation is indicative of a hermeneutical approach to the text that pre-existed the change. The change may have been exegetically innovative, or it may have been a corrective change that aligned the text with a concurrent and orthodox hermeneutical approach to the Enochic theophany. If the latter is correct, then the lexical shift is indicative of the way that the text was already being read and interpreted.

This hermeneutical approach to *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:6-7 became determinative for the interpretation of the text in the Ethiopic tradition. This reading is the standardized rendering in the Eth. II text-type. Many Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts feature marginalia notes that indicate that the unit in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7 was interpreted as a prediction by Enoch

of the forthcoming Deluge. The reading is also the normative reading in the Amharic Andəmta (አንድምታ) commentary tradition, where 1:7 is interpreted as a prophecy of the impending Deluge.

The Amharic Andəmta (አንድምታ) material began to coalesce into a literary form during the Gondarine period (17th century).⁹⁸⁴ Whilst the commentary tradition and much of its material began as an oral and informal text, it was only converted into a written text following an imperial decree in 1674 E.C.⁹⁸⁵ According to Asale:

‘This tradition was developed as a direct result of theological debates which persistently troubled the church and which councils – such as the fifteenth century EOC Council at Däbrä Məṭmaq failed to fully rectify. This commentary tradition was fully realized during the Gondarene era (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries).’⁹⁸⁶

That the early development of this commentary tradition was interconnected with marginal annotations in the manuscripts was proposed by Cowley, who suggested that these marginal annotations ‘are probably the actual literary nucleus around which this oral tradition crystallised and was reduced to writing.’⁹⁸⁷ This tradition is probably not contemporaneous with the temporal context of the lexical manipulation, but it may be indicative of an older hermeneutical approach to the text that significantly predates its crystallization into a literary form. Therefore, it is an important witness to an early interpretation of the variant reading.

⁹⁸⁴ Lee, R. 2014. ‘The Ethiopic ‘Andəmta’ Commentary on Ethiopic Enoch 2 (1 Enoch 6-9)’, *JSP* 23, p.181; Cowley, R.W. 1983. *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.23.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁶ Asale, p.84.

⁹⁸⁷ Cowley, R.W. 1972. ‘The Beginnings of the andem Commentary Tradition’, *JES* 10, p.1.

The following text from the Andəmta on Mäshafä Henok is based upon a modern edition and includes my own translation.⁹⁸⁸ The text corresponding to *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:7a-b is underlined to distinguish it from the commentary material. The quoted text reflect readings typical of Eth. II manuscripts. In this commentary tradition, a sentence or unit of the Ge'ez text is usually followed by a translation into Amharic, which is often periphrastic or interpretively derived, and is then complemented by further interpretation or commentary on the text.⁹⁸⁹

ወትሠጠም፡ ምድር፤
 ምድር፡ በማየ፡ አይኅ፡ የምትሰጠምለት፤
 አንድም፡ በምጽአት፡ የምትሰጠምለት፤

ወከሉ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ይትጎጥራል፤
 በማየ፡ አይኅ፡ በምጽአት፡ ሰው፡ ሁሉ፡
 ከሚጠፋለት፤

And the earth will sink.
 The earth will sink in the water of the flood.
 There is another view, [that] in the coming time
 (end-time) it will sink.

And all which is upon the earth will be
 destroyed.
 In water of the flood, in the coming time; every
 man will be destroyed.

In this tradition, the verb in 1:7a is interpreted as an allusion to the Deluge. The Amharic commentary uses the same noun አይኅ፡ (flood/deluge) to describe the event in 1:7 as in the Ge'ez version of the Deluge cycle in *Genesis* 6:17, 7:7, 10, 17 and *Ethiopic Enoch* 10:2.⁹⁹⁰ This commentary tradition envisaged it as a prediction of the destructive forces of the Noahic Deluge. The possibility that this deluge is linked to the end-time በምጽአት፡ (in the coming-time/end-time), a reference to the final judgment, is included as a contrastive hermeneutical approach.⁹⁹¹

⁹⁸⁸ This passage is in ምዕራፍ ፩ in: Anonymous. 2003 E.C. መጽሐፈ ሄኖክ, ትንሣኤ ማሳተሚያ ድርጅት, አዲስ አበባ.

⁹⁸⁹ The techniques employed in the Andəmta commentaries are introduced in: Cowley, *The Traditional Interpretation...*, pp.3-5; Lee, p.179-180; Cowley, R. 1971. 'Preliminary Notes on the baläandəṃ Commentaries', *JES* 9, p.10.

⁹⁹⁰ Edition: Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti...*, pp.12-13.

⁹⁹¹ The Andəmta commentary in the Abb.161 manuscript interprets the destructive process in 1:7 as a flood but instead compares the destructive process to Moses' subjugation of Dathan and Abiram.

This interpretive approach also appears in the marginalia notes of several Eth. II manuscripts. For example, this interpretation appears in EMMML.4750 as በማየ፡ አይኅ (in waters of the flood) followed directly underneath by በምጽአት፡ (in the end-time/coming-time). Similar marginalia notes also appear in EMMML.5003 and IES.675. The Eth. I manuscript EMMML.2080 also may feature a similar marginalia reading, even though it features the unrevised reading, however, only a contracted version of the interpretation በማ፡ አ (ba-mā: ‘a) is featured in the marginalia, and the date of the note is uncertain.⁹⁹²

The language in G^{CP} 1:7a and in the unrevised reading of the Eth.^{ERS} does not contain an explicit allusion to the deluge, although this allusion still may be implicit therein. This revisional reading, however, introduces a vivid and generative allusion to the Deluge cycle. Our passage in 1:7a has likely been revised in dialogue with language used elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch*. The revision of the Enochic theophany at times was a self-revisional process, wherein the text was corrected, emended, or harmonized in dialogue with similar language constructions contained in other strata of *Ethiopic Enoch*. This revisional feature, often dismissed as an inner-Ethiopic corruption, highlights the role of intra-texts from elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch* in the ongoing growth and revision of the Ethiopic Enochic theophany.

Lexical Replacement – The Judgment of ‘all Flesh’ in Ethiopic Enoch 1:9d

The description of God’s manifestation in 1:9 features an example of lexical replacement that signifies an exegetical and theological intervention in the Enochic theophany. This exegetical intervention changes the root of the clause-initial verb in 1:9d. The manuscripts attest readings derived from two different verbal roots, ዘለፈ (to rebuke,

⁹⁹² The final letter of the marginalia reading is not clearly identifiable.

reprove, reproach, admonish, accuse, convict, chastise),⁹⁹³ and ወቀሰ/ወቀሠ (to contend with, reprimand, reproach, admonish, accuse, condemn, judge).⁹⁹⁴ This revision of ዘለፈ to ወቀሰ changes the nature of the judgment that is articulated.

In *Chapter 3*, we explored the hermeneutical implications of the variants in 1:9 featured in G^{CP} and G^{Jude}. This verse was subject to ongoing revision in Christian hermeneutical contexts that re-signified it as a prophecy pertaining to the Parousia of Christ. In similar fashion, this lexical replacement in the Ethiopic attests to a theological reidentification of the type of judgment enacted upon ‘all flesh’ that is interconnected with the transmission of the Ethiopic Enochic theophany in Christian hermeneutical and socio-religious contexts. We will begin by assessing the diachronic and synchronic relationship between these two manuscript readings, and then we will explore the implications of this lexical replacement for our understanding of the textual history of *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9.

	<i>Ethiopic Enoch</i> 1:9d Variants	Manuscript Attestation
I	ወይዘለፍ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡ And He will reprove/convict all flesh...	Eth. I – EMMML.2080, Schøyen, Parma (ኩሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡(?)), EMMML.1768 (partially obscured), EMMML.2436 (ወይዘለፍ፡) BL.485 (ወይዘለፍ፡), GG.151 (ወይዘለፍ፡)
II	ወይዘለፍ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡ And He will reprove/convict all flesh...	Eth. I – Berlin MS., Tana.9, Abb.35, Abb.55, RT(?), EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584 (ኩሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡) Eth. II – MG.18, IES.675
III	ወይዘለፍ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡ And to reprove/convict all flesh...	Eth. I – BL.491 only
IV	ወይትዋቀሰ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡ And He will contend [with] all flesh...	Eth. I – Camb.1570 only Eth. II – Majority inc. Bod.74, Rylands.23, Qär.53, Curz.55 ⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹³ Leslau, pp.636-637; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.1037.

⁹⁹⁴ Leslau, p.616; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p.911.

⁹⁹⁵ See *Supplement Critical Texts* for further.

The lexeme ዘለፈ is the most common root attested in the Eth. I manuscripts, whilst ወቀሰ is the standardized reading in the Eth. II text-type. The reading ወይትዋቀሰ፡ is also included in the modern edition of the Amharic Andəmta on Mäshafä Henok,⁹⁹⁶ and in manuscripts of the Andəmta including Abb.161.⁹⁹⁷

Whilst most Eth. II manuscripts include the revisional reading, there are nevertheless a few manuscripts of this type which instead feature variants of the earlier lexical reading ዘለፈ, including MG.18 (c. 18th cent.) and IES.675 (c. 19th-20th cent.).⁹⁹⁸ The evidence therefore indicates that the unrevised lexical reading continued to be transmitted in certain manuscript subcultures.

The revised reading ወይትዋቀሰ፡ is attested by one Eth. I manuscript (Camb.1570), which indicates that the revisional reading can be dated at least as early as the late 16th century, although it may have originated much earlier. This lexical replacement may have been an incorporate part of the standardizing and harmonizing revisional process that produced the Eth. II recension, although this is uncertain. At a minimum, it was adopted as the standardized reading.

The diversity in the inflected forms of ዘለፈ indicates that this reading was not static in the transmission of the text, but that the precise form was subject to ongoing change in response to the socio-linguistic environment of the scribes. The variation in the clause-initial verb is primarily limited to the first radical. These variants may be indicative of the

⁹⁹⁶ Edition; Anonymous. 2003 E.C. መጽሐፈ ነዋሕ, ትንሣኤ ማሳተሚያ ድጅርት, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

⁹⁹⁷ This manuscript is housed in the collection of Antoine d'Abbadie in the Paris National Bibliothèque under the title የነዋሕ ትርጓሜ (Explication d'Hénoch): D'Abbadie, A. 1859. *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris, pp.171-172; In Chaîne's catalogue, it was labelled 'Commentaire du livre d'Énoch, en amharique': Chaîne, M. 1912. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Éthiopiens de La collection Antoine D'Abbadie*, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, p.97. No dating for the manuscript was included, although presumably the text can date no earlier than the 18th century.

⁹⁹⁸ Dating follows: Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', pp.132-133.

different socio-linguistic contexts in which these manuscripts were transmitted, although it is possible that these variants have been introduced through an audio-visual or graphical misreading, or due to changes in vocalization.

The subjunctive verb (ወይዝልፍ፡) in reading (IV) is only attested by a single Eth. I manuscript (BL.491) – this probably reflects a harmonization to the subjunctive verb preserved earlier in 1:9b (ይግበር፡), and the subjunctive form preserved in BL.491 in 1:9c (ወያኅጊሉሙ፡). Alternatively, it may only reflect a copying error, as this manuscript features a subsequent dittography, in the inclusion of an extra ዘሥጋ፡ (of flesh) and omits ቅዱሳን፡ (holy ones) earlier in this verse in 1:9a.

The presence of ዘለፈ in the majority of Eth. I manuscripts strongly recommends it as the earlier reading, whilst the standardized form of ወይትዋቀስ፡ (and He will contend with) recommends it is a secondary and revisional reading.⁹⁹⁹ As indicated in *Chapter 4*, the probability that ዘለፈ attests to the earlier lexical form is suggested by the close semantic agreement between this verbal root and that attested in the same clause in G^{CP} and G^{Jude} (ἐλέγχω – to reprove, accuse, convict).¹⁰⁰⁰ The same Ge'ez lexeme ዘለፈ also appears in this stanza in Ethiopic *Jude* as a translation of this Greek lexeme.

The exact context and origins of the revisional shift is unclear and it is possible that the revisional reading significantly predates the surviving manuscripts. The evidence, however, raises two important questions. Firstly, are there semantic or linguistic reasons

⁹⁹⁹ The only variation in the revised reading is limited to orthographic interchange in the final grapheme, ስ (s) or its phonetic equivalent ሥ (š). For example, the latter appears in BL.492, Rylands.23 and EMDA.00219. The secondary verb appears otherwise consistently in the medio-passive stem (t-stem) and as a third-person verb in the Eth. II manuscripts.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Beekes & van Beek, p.404; Liddell & Scott, p.531.

for this lexical replacement? Secondly, what theological and exegetical factors may have been involved in this process?

There is some semantic overlap between these two verbs, although they are not simple lexical equivalents. The unrevised lexeme *ḥḥḏ* has two primary functions in the texts in which it is used. It frequently has a meaning of ‘to convict/condemn’.¹⁰⁰¹ A second common meaning is ‘to reprove/rebuke/admonish’. This latter sense appears to be the primary meaning reflected in the verb as it appears elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch*, as in 13:8, 10, 14:1, 3 89:64 and 96:4 where it articulates the reproof and admonishment of the ‘sons of heaven’ or ‘watchers’.¹⁰⁰² The verb typically poses a totalizing condemnation or judgment. Whilst the sense of ‘to reprove’ fits the context of these additional passages in *Ethiopic Enoch* it is probable that it incorporates the former semantic nuance as an associative meaning.

The revised verb *ḥḥḏ* appears frequently in *Job*, *Isaiah*, and *Luke* with a primary meaning of ‘to contend with/accuse’.¹⁰⁰³ A second common meaning is ‘to judge/admonish/condemn’ which appears often in the Prophets.¹⁰⁰⁴ The verbs *ḥḥḏ* and *ḥḥḏ* appear in tandem together in *Micah* 6:2,¹⁰⁰⁵ however, they are not used interchangeably, and lexical variation between these two roots is not common. Whilst there is a limited semantic overlap between these two verbs, they are not representative of simple lexical equivalents. The verb *ḥḥḏ* is used in contexts primarily where judgment

¹⁰⁰¹ For example, it has this meaning in *Habakkuk* 1:12, *Job* 15:6, *Numbers* 35:30, *1 Timothy* 5:19, *Hebrews* 10:28, *Jubilees* 4:4.

¹⁰⁰² Other passages with this sense of the verb include *Job* 21:4, *Titus* 1:9, *Luke* 3:19.

¹⁰⁰³ For example, *Job* 13:3/14:3, *Isaiah* 1:18, 43:26, *Luke* 2:34, 21:15.

¹⁰⁰⁴ For example, *Hosea* 2:2, *Joel* 4:2a, *Isaiah* 41:6. This verb also appears in *Isaiah* 29:21 as *ḥḥḏ* (they will contend/judge), although it may therein be a revisional reading. A variant reading of *ḥḥḏ* (they will be avenged/punished/vindicated) is also attested.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Edition: Fuhs, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha*, p.57.

is equivalent to total condemnation or reproof, whilst *ወቀሰ* does not normatively convey the same totalizing judgment. As a result, this revisional feature (*ዘለፈ* > *ወቀሰ*) introduces a semantic and hermeneutical shift in the text.

In addition to this differentiated meaning, there is also a syntactical distinction in how they are used in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9d. For example, whilst the verb *ወይትዋቀስ* (and He will contend with) has a reflexive or reciprocal meaning, the variant forms of *ዘለፈ* are active verbs. In the former ‘all flesh’ is included within this reflexive actional process. In the unrevised reading, God is the exclusive agent and actively reproves or convicts all flesh.

That this shift was not introduced due to the obscurity of the lexeme *ዘለፈ* is suggested by a broader examination of the language of *Ethiopic Enoch*. The verb *ዘለፈ* appears elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch* without any lexical variation. For example, it appears in 13:8 (*ወእዝልፎም* – and I will convict/rebuke them)¹⁰⁰⁶ and 13:10 (*ወእዝልፍ* – and I will convict/condemn).¹⁰⁰⁷ It also appears in 14:1 (*ወዘለፍ* – and He convicted/rebuked),¹⁰⁰⁸ again in 14:3 (*እዝልፎም* – I will convict/rebuke them),¹⁰⁰⁹ and 89:64 (*ወኢዝልፎም* – and I will not rebuke them)¹⁰¹⁰ and 96:4 (*ይዘልፈኩም* – and He will convict/rebuke you).¹⁰¹¹

In each of these passages the verb articulates an absolute and totalizing judgment upon the ‘sons of heaven’ or the ‘watchers’. The clear and consistent use of the verb

¹⁰⁰⁶ As per Berlin MS., GG.151, Abb.35, Abb.55. Variant *ወእዝልፎም* in BL.485, BL.491 whilst most Eth. II manuscripts including Rylands.23 read *ወእዝልፎም*.

¹⁰⁰⁷ This reading in GG.151, Abb.35, Abb.55 and most Eth II. Variant *ወእዝልፎም* in BL.491 and Tana.9, probably reflecting a revision based on the use of a suffix in 13:8.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Majority reading – found in GG.151, Abb.35, Abb.55. Variant *ዘለፋ* in BL.485 and *ዘለፈ* in Berlin MS. Tana.9 reads *ወዘልፈ*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Variant *እዝልፎም* in Berlin MS., Abb.35, Abb.55, BL.485, BL.491.

¹⁰¹⁰ Variant *ወኢዝልፎም* in Tana.9.

¹⁰¹¹ Variant *ይዘልፈኩም* in many manuscripts inc. BL.485, BL.491, Abb.55, and in many Eth. II incl. Bod.74, Curz.55, Vat.71, Munich.30.

elsewhere in *Ethiopic Enoch* indicates that it is unlikely that the verb in 1:9d was revised due to the obscure contextual meaning of the verb.

The evidence suggests that the revision may be interconnected with its broader literary context in 1:9. As we observed in *Chapter 3*, the Greek Enochic theophany in 1:9 was interpreted Christologically and re-signified as a prophecy pertaining to the Parousia of Christ. The transmission of the Ethiopic version may indicate similar changes influenced by the application of a similar hermeneutical framework to the Enochic theophany.

A comparison with the quotation preserved in Ethiopic *Jude*, where this verbal root is left unchanged, may illuminate the shift in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 (see *Supplement Table 5.2* for critical text of Ethiopic *Jude* 14b-15).¹⁰¹² In the clause that we are investigating, Ethiopic *Jude* (ወይዘላፎሙ፡ ለኸሎሙ፡ ታጥኝ፡) agrees more closely with the G^{Jude} variant παντας τους ασεβεις (all the wicked ones) than the variant readings πασαν ψυχην (every soul) or παντας τους ασεβεις αυτων (all their ungodliness).¹⁰¹³ The verb ወይዘላፎሙ፡ (and He will convict them) is almost certainly a translation from the Greek verb ἐλέγξει (and to reprove/convict) attested in G^{Jude}. The reading was not subject to revision and does not appear to have been theologically problematic or semantically obscure to the scribes and communities who transmitted and interpreted Ethiopic *Jude*.

The principal piece of evidence relevant to our present discussion is the subsequent noun complement. Whilst in Ethiopic *Jude* 15 the object of God's conviction and reproof is limited to the specific ታጥኝ (sinners), in our passage in 1:9d the object of the verb is a collective term for all of humanity ኸሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡ (all flesh).

¹⁰¹² Edition: Hofmann & Uhlig, p.256.

¹⁰¹³ For further see *Chapter 3*.

This differentiated object is key to understanding the lexical shift in 1:9, and why there is lexical stability in the comparable clause in Ethiopic *Jude* 15 and in the additional passages in *Ethiopic Enoch* which feature the lexeme 𐩧𐩬𐩺. Only in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 is the verb used to refer collectively to all of humanity. The additional four occurrences of 𐩧𐩬𐩺 previously examined in *Ethiopic Enoch* relate directly to the condemnation, or reproof of the ‘sons of heaven’, alternatively called ‘watchers’. These terms are often interpreted in the Andəmta commentary tradition as a reference to the ‘offspring of Seth’¹⁰¹⁴ but are not typically interpreted as a broad or collective reference to all of humanity.

The lexeme 𐩧𐩬𐩺 in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9d may have indicated a totalizing condemnation of humanity that was inconsistent with the interpretation of the broader passage. The idea that God, or Christ, would come to reprove or convict ‘all flesh’ was theologically problematic in a socio-religious context where the passage was interpreted as a prophecy pertaining to the Parousia of Christ. This exegetical intervention therefore clarifies the nature of the actional process described, in alignment with the expectation of a less totalizing eschatological judgment. Instead of God ‘rebuking’ and ‘convicting’ all of humanity for their actions in a totalizing judgment, as implied by the verb 𐩧𐩬𐩺, the text is lexically revised to clarify that God, or Christ, ‘contends with’ and ‘judges’ mankind for their actions (ወቀሰ), without effecting a totalizing judgment on all mankind that was inclusive of both the righteous and the sinners.

¹⁰¹⁴ This interpretation is featured in the Amharic introduction to the Andəmta on Mäshafä Henoch. Cowley, R.W. 1974. ‘Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition’, *JES* 12, p.160; Lee, p.184. Also see: Asale, pp.98-99.

This theological revision tones down the totalizing aspect of the Enochic clause and aligns the text more closely with New Testament descriptions of Christ's role as judge in his second-coming. For example, the similar clause in *Matthew* 16:27, describes the coming of the 'Son of Man' in the 'Glory of his Father' and 'with His angels', to recompense every man according to his deeds (ይፌድዮ፡ ለኩሉ፡ በከመ፡ ምግባሩ።).¹⁰¹⁵ This verse features a different verb but like our revised reading also implies a less totalizing judgment. A similar clause appears after our verb in 1:9d, where it reads በእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘገብሩ፡ (according to all which they have done). This passage is thematically akin to our current passage although the scribal change in 1:9d does not derive the updated lexeme from *Matthew* 16.

The influence of *Matthew* on the transmission of this Enochic quotation in Ethiopic *Jude* is clear, wherein some manuscripts add በከመ፡ ምግባሩ። to *Jude* 15a, to further define the nature of Christ's action in the stanza ወይፌድዮ፡ ለኩሉ፡ [በከመ፡ ምግባሩ።] (and He will recompense all [according to his deeds]).¹⁰¹⁶ Indeed, this additional verbal phrase (ወይፌድዮ፡ ለኩሉ፡), which has no direct equivalent in G^{Jude}, also might reflect an early interpolation based on *Matthew* 16. It is evident that Ethiopic *Jude* has grown in conjunction with *Matthew* 16, and this further suggests that practices of inter-reading theophanic descriptions of Christ's return was a contributing factor in how these texts continued to evolve in their Ethiopic versions.

The revisional reading in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9d reflects a revision introduced in alignment with a broader theological dialogue on the ምጽአት፡ (Advent/Coming), and the role of

¹⁰¹⁵ Edition: Zuurmond, p.174.

¹⁰¹⁶ This interpolation is attested in BL.526, BL.13264, EMDA.00016, EMDA.00019, EMDA.00124, EMDA.00158, GG.00086 and similarly in BL.529 (በከመ፡ ምግባሮም።).

Christ within the judgment of ‘all flesh.’¹⁰¹⁷ Whilst the ‘Son of Man’ in *Ethiopic Enoch* 46:1-2 and 69:26 (*Book of Parables*) is explicitly interpreted Christologically in the Andəmta tradition,¹⁰¹⁸ there are also hints of a Messianic interpretation of the judgment described in 1:9. Whilst the Andəmta material and the marginalia notes on the manuscript almost certainly postdate the lexical revision, they may indicate ongoing hermeneutical activity that extends as far back as the period of this revisional activity. In the Andəmta commentary found in the Abb.161 manuscript, the commentary quotes a clause from the Parable of the Judgment in *Matthew* 25:42 to interpret *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9d-e. The Andəmta commentary provides a simplified Amharic translation of the first and second halves of the Ge’ez of 1:9d-e, intersected with this quotation (see *Supplement* Table 5.2.2 for text of Abb.161).

The precise hermeneutical function of this quotation ርኅብኩ፡ ወኢያብላፅከሙኒ፡ (I was famished but you did not feed me) from *Matthew* 25:42 is not explicitly clear in its literary context.¹⁰¹⁹ The quotation of this clause may evoke its broader literary context in 25:31-46, and the theme of judgment that permeates throughout this passage. The content of this unit is relevant to an exegete eager to apply a Christological interpretation to the judgment in 1:9.

¹⁰¹⁷ That the theophany was interpreted as a prediction of the Parousia of Christ may be hinted at already in marginalia notes on several manuscripts. For example, BL.484 and BL.490 both include the abbreviation ሞጽ (məṣṣ) in their marginalia, which may be a contraction of ሞጽአት (məṣṣ’at:) which can refer generically to the end-time but can also allude specifically to the second-coming of Christ.

¹⁰¹⁸ The identity of the ‘Son of Man’, the Christological interpretation of these passages, and the tension between these references and the later identification of Enoch as the ‘Son of Man’ in 71:14 is explored in: Assefa, D. 2018. ‘The Identity of the Son of Man in the Traditional Ethiopian Commentaries of 1 Enoch’ in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini* (eds. J.H. Ellens et al), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, pp.24-27.

¹⁰¹⁹ The quotation is absent from the modern edition of the Andəmta commentary on Mäshafä Henoch.

For example, in *Matthew* 25:41 Jesus proclaims, “Then He will say to those on his left, ‘Depart from me, O you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.” A reference to the ‘Son of Man’ in 25:31 possibly also provides a hermeneutical interlink with 1:9, reading ‘When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then He will sit on his glorious throne.’¹⁰²⁰ The inclusion of this quotation hints at a hermeneutical framework which envisaged *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9 as describing the appearance of the ‘Son of Man’, and therefore the second-coming of Christ. The final stanza in the Amharic commentary makes it clear that the judgment will be directed only against the sinners and wicked ones for their actions, and not against all flesh. All flesh will be contended with, but not all flesh will be convicted.

The precise purpose of the lexical shift in 1:9 and its Christological interpretation are not made explicitly clear in the *Andəmta* commentaries. Whilst it is not clear that *Matthew* 25:42 is the impetus for the lexical change, it does suggest the possibility that the lexical revision reflects an exegetical intervention in the text that is an intrinsic part of a broader Messianic and Christological interpretation of 1:9 in the Ethiopic commentary tradition.

The Christological and Ecclesiastical disputation in the *Mäshafä Milad* further confirms that the Enochic theophany was interpreted Christologically. Whilst the relevant quotation in *Mäshafä Milad*, briefly explored in the *Introduction*, is taken from *Ethiopic Jude* and not directly from *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9, the quotation is utilized within the context of 15th century Christological disputation that further confirms that this unit was already interpreted Christologically prior to our earliest manuscript evidence.

¹⁰²⁰ Edition: Zuurmond, pp.260-261.

According to Asale, Christological debates and controversies were definitive for the EOTC church, and the external relations of the church, in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.¹⁰²¹ This prolonged Christological controversy was only settled in 1885.¹⁰²² The influence of *Ethiopic Enoch* on the development of Christology in the EOTC was also noted by Nickelsburg,¹⁰²³ although as indicated by Asale it was ‘one important source amongst several others that come together to shape this theology.’¹⁰²⁴ That Enoch prophesied concerning Christ is also intimated in the *Sénkéssar* (Ethiopian Synaxarium), which interprets *Ethiopic Enoch* 46:1 and 48:2-3, as pertaining to Christ.¹⁰²⁵

The lexical shift in 1:9 was embedded within an ongoing hermeneutical approach to the theophany as a prediction of the Parousia of Christ (ግድግዳ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ – Parousia/Second-coming of Christ) in the final judgment. Whilst the verb ወቀሰ does not appear in *Matthew* 25, and therefore was not introduced directly in dialogue with this passage, it appears elsewhere in passages that describe the intervention of Christ on behalf of the holy ones or chosen ones of God. For example, it is attested in *Romans* 8:33-34 where Christ sits at the right hand of God and contends ‘on our account’ (ይነብር፡ በየማነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወይትዋቀሥ፡ በእንቲእነ፡), and earlier in 8:26-27 where it is used with the Spirit as subject (see *Supplement* Table 5.2.3 for texts).

In *Ethiopic Romans* 8:33-34, only Christ can ‘contend with’ the chosen of God. It is Christ who sanctifies and judges the chosen of God and who functions as an intermediary

¹⁰²¹ Asale, p.105.

¹⁰²² Ibid.

¹⁰²³ Nickelsburg, G.W.E. & VanderKam, J.C. 2012. *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37-82*, Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, p.78.

¹⁰²⁴ Asale, p.106.

¹⁰²⁵ Asale, p.102; Budge, E.A.W. 1928. *Synaxarium: The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church Vol.2*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.556.

between God's chosen people and God. It is possible that this understanding of the eschatological judgment underpins the shift from a totalizing verb for judgment with a verb that is used in relation to Christ's role as intercessor for the chosen people of God.

The idea of 'all flesh' being reproved and convicted in the judgment described in *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:9d was problematic in a Christological interpretation of the passage. The unrevised verb was not problematic in the quotation of the verse in *Ethiopic Jude* 14-15, and in the other passages in *Ethiopic Enoch*, due to the limited nature of the recipients of that judgment in these additional contexts.

The shift from ዘለፈ to ወቀሰ reflects an exegetical intervention that clarifies that 'all flesh' will be 'contended with' without the implication of a totalizing judgment that would conflict with a Christological interpretation of 1:9. This lexical replacement reflects a theological and lexical harmonization of 1:9 in dialogue with a Christological hermeneutical approach to the passage.

Interpolations in the Enochic Theophany

The Ethiopic Enochic theophany also grew during its transmission through several interpolative additions to the text. Some of these interpolations may have been prompted by a desire to improve the parallelism of the text, or to elucidate or update obscure language. These interpolations contribute to the ongoing development and growth of the Ethiopic text.

A key interpolation appears in the final stanza of the Enochic superscription (1:1) which illuminates the purpose of the 'Day of Tribulation'. The standardized Eth. II reading and a common Eth. I reading is በዕለተ፡ ምንዳቤ፡ ለአሰሰሎ፡ ኩሎ፡ እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡፡ (in the Day of

Tribulation to remove all of the evil ones and wicked ones).¹⁰²⁶ This reading is also quoted in the modern edition of the *Andəmta* commentary on *Mäshafä Henok*.¹⁰²⁷

According to this manuscript reading, the ‘evil ones’ and the ‘wicked ones’ will be removed on the Day of Tribulation – these either refer to two distinct entities or are contiguous terms for a singular entity. Some Eth. I manuscripts instead include the accusatively marked reading *ኩሎ፡ እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓነ፡* (all of the evil ones and the wicked ones).¹⁰²⁸ This reading was included in Charles’ edition as the preferable Ethiopic reading.¹⁰²⁹

This tandem noun pairing ‘evil ones and wicked ones’ is paralleled in the Ethiopic by the *ኅሩያን፡ ወዲድቃን፡* (chosen ones and righteous ones) that are introduced earlier in the Enochic superscription. The passage in its entirety stipulates that whilst the ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’ will be present on the Day of Tribulation, the purpose of this day is to ‘to remove all the evil ones and the wicked ones.’

As observed in *Chapter 4*, the tandem noun pairing ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’ in 1:1 is probably an inner-Ethiopic translational or transmissional feature wherein the noun and accusative adjectival complements attested in G^{CP} (ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους – chosen righteous ones) has been converted into a compound substantive noun pairing. The Ethiopic displays a general tendency to binarize nouns and adjectival complements into

¹⁰²⁶ Attested in Eth. I MSS: Schøyen (*ኩሎ፡*), EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.6281 (*ኩሎ፡*), EMML.7584². Also in majority Eth. II inc. for example, Rylands.23, Bod.74, Curz.55, BL.490, Abb.16 (*ወረሲእን፡*), Abb.30, Paris.50, Munich.30, Princeton, EMDA.00219, Qär.53, MG.18 (*ወረሲዓን፡*), EMML.4437.

¹⁰²⁷ Anonymous. 2003 E.C. መጽሐፈ ሄኖክ, ትንሣኤ ማሳተሚያ ድጅርት, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

¹⁰²⁸ Attested in Eth. I Berlin MS., BL.491, Abb.35 and EMML.8400. And in Eth. II IES.675 (*ወረሲእን፡*). Some manuscripts include one noun in the accusative but leave the other noun unmarked as in Eth. I BL.485 (*ኩሎ፡ እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓነ፡*).

¹⁰²⁹ Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.2.

compound phrases – another example includes the binarized title in 1:3b ‘Holy and Great One’.

In the example currently under investigation, the majority Eth. I reading and standardized Eth. II reading is indicative of a revisional interpolation of እኩዖን፡ (evil ones) into the superscription. Many Eth. I manuscripts feature the non-binarized reading ኩሉ፡ ረሲዓን፡ (all the wicked ones),¹⁰³⁰ and it is probable that this reading belongs to the Eth.^{ERS} – this order of directionality has also been argued by Stuckenbruck.¹⁰³¹

Whilst G^{CP} does not feature a noun equivalent to either of these two Ethiopic nouns, and instead reads τοὺς ἐχθρούς (the enemies), it also only features a singular noun in isolation. The ‘evil ones’ in the Ethiopic version may have been interpolated into the Enochic superscription to improve the parallelism with the compound pairing ‘chosen ones and righteous ones’ introduced earlier in the superscription. Alternatively, it may reflect an exegetical clarification of the identity of the groups that will be ‘removed’ on the Day of Tribulation.

The interpolation of እኩዖን፡ (evil ones), however, is peculiar considering that similar compound noun constructions elsewhere feature the noun ኃጥኣን፡ (sinners). For example, in the pairing ኃጥኣን፡ ወረሲዓን፡ (sinners and wicked ones) in Eth.^{ERS} 1:9. If the objective was only to improve the parallelism of the stanza than this would be an appropriate clause to emulate. These two identificatory nouns appear again in 5:6-7 whilst the noun እኩዖን፡ (evil ones) does not appear again in the Enochic oracle in 1:1-5:9. Likewise, this

¹⁰³⁰ This is attested in: Abb.55, Berlin MS., Tana.9, RT, GG.151, Parma, EMML.1768, EMML.7584¹ and Camb.1570. Also attested in Eth. II Paris.656 (ኩሉ፡ ረሲዓን፡), however, the omission of this initial noun may be introduced by scribal error, as is frequent in this manuscript.

¹⁰³¹ Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1’, p.32.

identificatory noun does not appear in the description of the four pits reserved for the spirits of the dead in 22:1-14, where the sinful of humanity are referred to as ቃጥኣን፡ (sinners).

The possibility that እኩያን፡ (evil ones) introduced a new entity into the process of ‘removal’ on the Day of Tribulation is suggested by the broader use of that lexeme in the section of *Ethiopic Enoch* corresponding to *BW*. The identificatory noun ‘evil ones’ is not used elsewhere in *Ethiopic BW* as an equivalent for humanity, or a subset of humanity. The noun እኪይተ፡ (evils)¹⁰³² in 16:3 refers to humanity’s multiplication of evilness upon the earth, however, therein it refers to the deeds of humanity and is not used as an identificatory term.

The noun is attested, however, as an identificatory term for the giant offspring that were born through the sexual union of the watchers and humanity. In *Ethiopic Enoch* 15:8-9, these offspring are referred to as ‘evil spirits’. The passage in 15:8 indicates that these evil spirits (መንፈሳተ፡ እኩያን፡)¹⁰³³ will dwell upon the earth whilst in 15:9 it is clarified that these evil spirits (ወነፍሳት፡ እኩያን፡)¹⁰³⁴ are those that have gone forth from their fleshly bodies. In 16:1, it is further predicted that these spirits would remain upon the earth and bring desolation until the final Day of Judgment, when the great earth would be wholly consummated.

The addition of እኩያን፡ (evil ones) into the Enochic superscription clarifies that on the Day of Tribulation these ‘evil spirits’ will be removed alongside the ‘wicked ones’. This latter

¹⁰³² BL.491, Abb.35 and Abb.55 and many Eth. II read እኪት፡ whilst Berlin MS. reads እኩያት፡.

¹⁰³³ BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55 and many Eth. II read መንፍሳት፡ BL.499 and Hamburg.271 add ርኩሳን፡ ወ before እኩያን፡.

¹⁰³⁴ BL.485, BL.491, Abb.55, Curz.55, BL.492, BL.499, Munich.30, Princeton, read ነፍሳተ፡ and Berlin MS. reads ነፍሳት፡.

term is clearly attested elsewhere in the Ethiopic *BW* as a reference to fallen humanity. If this hypothesis is valid, it would suggest that the responsible exegetes or scribes have conflated the ‘Day of Tribulation’ in 1:1 with the ‘Day of Judgment’ mentioned in 15:8-16:1. The interpolation may reflect an exegetical process in which these two passages were read and interpreted contiguously. At a minimum, the interpolative feature creates an additional connection between these two separate strata in the Ethiopic *BW* that is not present in the versions of the Enochic superscription featured in the Eth.^{ERS} or in G^{CP}. The ‘Day of Tribulation’ in the Enochic superscription was also subject to textual growth in the G^{CP} text-type. As highlighted in *Chapter 2*, this manuscript includes an interpolative addition καὶ σωθήσονται δίκαιοι (And the righteous ones will be saved) at the end of the Enochic superscription that clarifies that the righteous ones will be saved. The brevity of the Enochic superscription, and the importance of the precise wording and implications of the clause in later socio-religious contexts, may have inspired these interpolations that elucidated further the objective and function of the Day of Tribulation.

Another interpolation that reflects a generative hermeneutical outcome within the Enochic theophany is found in a solitary manuscript witness. The Eth. II manuscript, Paris.656, includes an interpolative መላእክት: (angels) in 1:5 as a gloss on the noun ጥጉሃን: (watchers). This interpolation clarifies that the ‘watchers’ are indeed ‘angels’. This manuscript is characterized by a high number of textual omissions, and often only reflects a paraphrased text-type, although it is possible that this interpolative feature was already embedded in the main text of the manuscript from which it was copied or paraphrased. This interpretation contrasts with the common interpretation in the

Andəmta, which typically identified the fallen ‘watchers’ (or ‘sons of God’) as referring to the Children of Seth, and as fallen or corrupted holy men.¹⁰³⁵

This interpolative gloss suggests that the identity of the term ‘watchers’ was uncertain to many of the scribes and exegetes who read and transmitted the text. This interpolation probably originated as a shorthand marginalia note. The connection between the watchers and angels is plausibly established in the marginalia of certain manuscripts. The note መል appears in several manuscripts (inc. EMM.L.4750), possibly as an abbreviation for ‘angels’ (መላእክት), although it is not always clear if it refers to the contents of 1:4 or 1:5. Another manuscript (Curz.56) identifies the watchers as the ደቂቅ ሲት (Children of Seth).¹⁰³⁶ Whilst it was possibly introduced into the main text through a copying error, it has nevertheless become an incorporated part of the text and is a contextually viable reading.

A similar phenomenon appears in the quotation in Ethiopic *Jude* 14b-15 where መላእክት (angels) appears as a gloss on ቅዱሳን (holy ones) in many manuscripts.¹⁰³⁷ In this latter context, the interpolative gloss clarifies that the ‘holy ones’ are angelic beings and that it does not function as an identificatory term for a sub-section of humanity. Similar glosses appear in manuscripts of G^{Jude}, and therefore this was a common explanatory gloss.¹⁰³⁸

As observed in *Chapter 4*, a unique interpolation is attested in the Eth. I manuscript Tana.9. In the Enochic preamble in 1:2b, Tana.9 features the unique reading ሄኖክ ሰለሰ:

¹⁰³⁵ This interpretation of the watchers as the ‘Children of Seth’ is featured in the Amharic introduction to the Andəmta on Mäshafä Henoch. Cowley, ‘Old Testament Introduction...’, p.160; Lee, p.184. Also see: Asale, pp.98-99.

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁷ This interpolation appears for example in BL.526, BL.529, BL.13264, EMDA.00016, EMDA.00124, EMDA.00158, GG.00086.

¹⁰³⁸ For this variant reading, see *Chapter 3*.

ቡሩክ፡ ወዲድቅ፡ (Enoch, a Blessed and Righteous Man), that reflects an expansion of the epithet ሄኖክ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዲድቅ፡¹⁰³⁹ (Enoch, a Righteous Man) ascribed to Enoch in the Eth.^{ERS}. The addition of ቡሩክ፡ further highlights the exceptionality of Enoch, and clarifies that Enoch is blessed, and connects Enoch to the righteous ones and chosen ones in 1:8e who will be blessed by God. This is a non-aligned revisional feature, as this interpolation was not incorporated into the standardized Eth. II text-type.

The Enochic theophany continued to grow through interpolative additions that clarified elements in the text. The precise wording of the Enochic theophany was generative for the ongoing development and growth of the text, but also the precise wording had theological and hermeneutical implications that resonated and mattered to those responsible for the continual transmission of *Ethiopic Enoch*.

Conclusion

The Ethiopic Enochic theophany continued to grow and evolve in the Eth. I and Eth. II manuscripts. The three key features of textual growth in 1:7a, 1:9c and 1:1b in Eth. I manuscripts produced new and generative hermeneutical outcomes in the text, although it is possible that they reflect pre-existing hermeneutical frameworks and modes of reading the Enochic theophany. These shifts may reflect innovative textual growth, or alternatively, they may accentuate what the text already meant to the scribes and exegetes who read and copied the Ethiopic Enochic theophany.

We also observed a non-aligned revisional reading and interpolation in 1:2b in Tana.9. This manuscript attests to a unique text-type, and whilst this reading is not attested

¹⁰³⁹ For further on the Eth.^{ERS} reading, see *Chapter 4*.

elsewhere, it is possible that it hints at a greater level of internal diversity in the Enochic theophany than is indicated in the surviving Eth. I manuscripts.

The three features in 1:7a, 1:9c and 1:1b eventually were incorporated into the standardized recension of the Enochic theophany in the Eth. II manuscripts. All three examples are attested in early Eth. I exemplars and therefore it is probable that they date significantly earlier than the surviving manuscript evidence, and therefore whilst these readings are reflected in the standardized Eth. II recension, these generative shifts in the text were not necessarily introduced in the context of this standardization.

Whilst the types of changes evident in the standardized Eth. II manuscripts is limited in contrast to the greater diversity in Eth. I, this process of standardization did not entirely limit this textual growth, and productive lexical revisions and reformulations are preserved in many Eth. II manuscripts.

The Eth. I and Eth. II manuscripts reflect ongoing textual growth in the Enochic theophany as it was read and revised intra-textually alongside other strata in *Ethiopic Enoch*, but also as it was read and re-signified by the hermeneutical frameworks that were applied to the text by the individuals and communities responsible for its ongoing transmission.

Concluding Remarks

The Enochic theophany in the *Book of the Watchers* 1:1-9 continued to grow and evolve as it was translated into new socio-linguistic systems, and as it was transmitted within new or changing socio-religious contexts. The Enochic theophany was a dynamic and accretive text-type that grew and evolved in dialogue with the hermeneutical contexts in which it was transmitted, and with the hermeneutical frameworks that were associated with the text. The temporal, socio-religious and literary contexts in which the Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic text-types were transmitted, interpreted, and quoted, shaped how the Enochic theophany evolved as a text.

The translation and transmission of the Enochic theophany were recreative processes. These processes transformed its language, reshaped its associative aspect, and continually redefined its relationship with the Hebrew, Greek and Ethiopic versions of the Pentateuchal and Prophetic materials, and established new connections with additional texts and bodies of literature.

A prominent traditio-historical study of theophany as a complex of motifs or ideas was published in 1995 by Scriba, wherein the later Jewish and Christian theophanies were interpreted in light of the Old Testament theophanies, and theophany was defined in association with their 'ursprungliche' meaning.¹⁰⁴⁰ Scriba astutely recognized the importance of early 'errors' ('irrtum'), or variants, and the importance of examining each text in its various stages of transmission, for understanding how this textual tradition and these motifs were adapted in later Jewish and Christian contexts.¹⁰⁴¹ Moreover, Scriba

¹⁰⁴⁰ Scriba, p.11.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid, p.12.

acknowledged that this process was interconnected with oral traditions, within which older or unique motifs could have been preserved even when they had dropped out of the textual tradition.¹⁰⁴²

However, the problem with defining theophany primarily in conjunction with these precursor texts, is the inherent over-prioritization of the 'canonical' texts over those, such as the Enochic theophany, which nevertheless played a vital and generative role in this discourse trajectory. It is not clear that the intelligibility of later theophanies was always strictly dependent on their precursor texts, nor that their complex of motifs and ideas was always interpreted through the lens of the meaning of similar motifs in earlier theophanies.

The Enochic theophany is not just interpreting an authoritative textual past, but is revitalizing and reshaping this discourse, just as the theophanies in *Micah* and *Isaiah*, for example, also revitalized and reshaped a preexisting and ongoing theophanic discourse. Whilst the Enochic theophany was indebted to precursor texts and traditions, it is unlikely that these are entirely embodied in the preserved 'canonical' texts, and we should avoid the presumption that these 'older' texts represent fixed and static points within this evolving discourse, or that the meaning and function of these motifs and ideas were fixed.

The Enochic theophany has often been interpreted and deconstructed through the lens of the canonical literature, as if this text was little more than a pastiche of allusions and parallels to the Prophetic and Pentateuchal materials. The significance of these parallels is often read through a post-canonical lens, that focuses on influence or dependence, and

¹⁰⁴² Ibid.

the authority or priority of the canonical text over the Enochic theophany. However, it is more fruitful to read these parallels with an eye for how the Enochic theophany transforms and re-signifies this ongoing theophanic discourse, and how it participates within a broader Enochic-Noahic discourse. The Enochic theophany is an equal participant in this ongoing discourse, even if it belongs in a unique temporal and socio-historical context from its precursors.

The Enochic theophany is more than just a pastiche of allusions to 'biblical' texts. The language of the Enochic theophany is interconnected with other strata of the *Book of the Watchers*, particularly chapters 6-11 and 12-16. The Enochic theophany is not only responding to and re-signifying 'biblical' and 'canonical' theophanies and traditions, but it is also responding to and engaging with other Enochic traditions and narrative concepts. For example, the legitimate descent of God in the Enochic theophany in 1:3b is juxtaposed against the illegitimate descent of the watchers in 6:1ff. Interpreting this text only through the lens of the 'biblical' literature overlooks the broader role of the Enochic theophany in its literary context and its rich and nuanced resignification of Enochic narrative concepts and language.

In the Introduction, we explored the possibility that the Enochic theophany reflects an excess of vitality, in conjunction with a study published by Najman.¹⁰⁴³ The inherent vitality of a pre-existing theophanic tradition, that undoubtedly included many of the now canonical theophanies amongst other texts that have not survived, was a driving force behind the impulse towards the creation of new or reformulated theophanic discourse, as is evident in the Enochic theophany.

¹⁰⁴³ Najman, 'The Vitality...', p.516.

The inherent vitality of a text was also a driving force towards translation, and the ongoing growth and evolution of a text during its transmission. This intrinsic vitality and generativity were key aspects in the traditionary processes that produced the Enochic theophany, but were also key factors in its continual growth, evolution, and resignification. New versions and text-types developed out of the fabric of, and within the structural framework, of this same text. This vitality is the impulse behind the emendation, correction, updating and resignification of the Enochic theophany as it grew and evolved into late antiquity in Greek versions, and into modernity in the Ethiopic versions.

Whilst the preserved Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic textual evidence gives us glimpses into the life and history of the Enochic theophany as a text, these glimpses are only fragmentary. We only have fettered access into the form(s) of the Enochic theophany in these three fragmented textual traditions. In each tradition, the type and extent of the fragmentation is distinct, however, in none are we able to entirely reconstruct and understand the text in its various life stages.

Tracing and reconstructing the life and history of the Enochic theophany as a text using this fragmentary textual evidence, can be productively compared to the restoration of a mosaic. Just as a mosaic is a fractured whole, made up of individual and fragmented pieces that together reflect a unified and coherent entity, the textual evidence for the Enochic theophany each represent fragmented pieces of a fractured but irretrievable whole. If you reconstructed a mosaic, using only a limited number of tiles, you would obtain glimpses into the entire mosaic, and possibly even a broader framework through which the unpreserved portions of the mosaic could be understood. Whilst we can

hypothesize on what may have been articulated on these missing pieces, we inevitably miss out on the intricacies and subtleties preserved in each tile that are a vital part of the mosaic as a unified whole.

For example, without the early Eth. I exemplar Tana.9 we would have no evidence to support an Ethiopic equivalent (ወይወድቁ፡) of the G^{CP} verb καὶ πεσοῦνται (and they will fall) in 1:6. In this stanza, this manuscript provides a fragmented glimpse into an earlier stage and stratum in *Ethiopic Enoch*, that would be otherwise unknown. Furthermore, this manuscript preserves unique variants that testify to the types of changes introduced into the Ethiopic Enochic theophany during its transmission, and testifies to how the text was being interpreted, and what texts and hermeneutical frameworks were being read alongside and into the Enochic theophany.

The greater number of Ethiopic manuscripts ensures that these portions of the mosaic is more vividly preserved, however, the limited and fragmentary nature of the Aramaic and Greek textual evidence, ensures that other portions are only scantily preserved. The Aramaic fragments of the Enochic theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c preserve vital glimpses into Aramaic text-types of the Enochic theophany, that often reflect unique readings and syntactical structures compared to G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS}. This differentiation often reflects the continual growth and evolution of the Enochic theophany as it was translated and transmitted in new versions, but also may indicate a greater level of textual diversity in the Aramaic Enochic theophany than often presumed. We can not be certain that 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c attest to an identical text-type of the Enochic theophany or that they closely mirrored the Aramaic Vorlage used by the Greek translator(s). It is not certain that they reflect the only Aramaic text-type or version that circulated in the Second Temple period.

Consequently, using the Greek and Ethiopic versions as a tool for the retrospective restoration and reconstruction of the edges of the Aramaic fragments, and of the hypothetical bracketed margins, creates a conflated Aramaic text that distorts the realia of the textual evidence. The preserved Aramaic does not closely correspond to these later versions, and therefore these restorations are of limited value for understanding the form(s) of the Aramaic Enochic theophany in the Second Temple period.

The quest for the 'Urtext' or the 'original Aramaic' reduces the Greek and Ethiopic text-types to the status of derivative or corrupt versions. This quest overlooks the value of these later versions for understanding the ongoing development of the Enochic theophany in later socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts, and the significance of textual variants or 'corruptions' for understanding ongoing compositional and traditionary processes. The Greek and Ethiopic text-types highlight the generative nature of the Enochic theophany in later contexts, and the ongoing vitality of the Enochic theophany as a living text. In the Ethiopic text-types, we have access into a living, vital and innovative textual tradition, not a corrupt or degenerative textual tradition.

The G^{CP} text-type preserves a vital but only fragmented witness into the greater diversity in Greek versions of the Enochic theophany in late antiquity. This Greek text-type may provide fragmented glimpses into an earlier stratum of the Greek Enochic theophany, in similar fashion to the Ethiopic exemplar Tana.9, however, it also preserves its own unique features and readings that reflect the continual growth and evolution of this text-type in late antiquity in Christian socio-religious and hermeneutical contexts. This Greek text-type is not a simple or unfettered witness to a 'translated' text, nor should it be uncritically read as a witness to its own Aramaic Vorlage or an 'Ur-Greek' text-type.

The Eth.^{ERS} often preserves fragmented glimpses into its own Greek Vorlage (G^{Eth}), that testifies to the extent of the inner-Greek diversity in the Enochic theophany in late antiquity. The text-types in G^{CP} and the Eth.^{ERS} are closely related, and the Ethiopic often reflects a less accretive Greek text-type than preserved in G^{CP}, however, the Eth.^{ERS} does not provide unfettered or simple access into its own Greek Vorlage. The Eth.^{ERS} contains unique readings and omissions that either reflect distinctions in G^{Eth} from G^{CP}, or alternatively, often reflect inner-Ethiopic translational and transmissional developments.

These versions attest to a theophanic tradition, wherein, the precise wording and language of that tradition was vital for the communities who transmitted this text, and where the precise wording and language was generative and contributed to how the text grew, evolved and was re-signified.

Each Enochic fragment and manuscript preserves a fragmented glimpse into the life and history of the Enochic theophany as text, from its origins in Aramaic, to its eventual translation and transmission in Greek and Ethiopic, and to an extent also in Latin, versions. We only have fragmented access into each version or text-type. Our understanding of the Enochic theophany is thus fettered and incomplete, like a partially reconstructed mosaic.

The Enochic theophany does not indicate that the groups and communities responsible for its composition and cultivation were only interpreting an authoritative textual past, a textual heritage that was fixed and static. The gaze of these communities was also pointed towards an authoritative textual present and future. The generativity of the textual past overflowed into the textual present and future. The Enochic theophany therefore reflects an ongoing and vibrant theophanic discourse and tradition, wherein

new theophanies were not merely derivative and dependent on 'authoritative' or 'canonical' theophanies but were vital and generative components in an ever-shifting discourse.

Supplement – Critical Texts, Translations and Tables

FOR THE CONSULTATION AND CONVENIENCE OF THE EXAMINERS ONLY, AND NOT FOR EXAMINATION

The Enochic Theophany in 4QEn^a and 4QEn^c – Critical Text, Scholarly Reconstructions, and Translation

4QEn^a frg. 1ia (BW 1:1)	Milik ¹⁰⁴⁴	[מלי ברכתה די ברך בה] וְ חַנֵּךְ לְבַחְ[ירין קשיטין]
	Knibb ¹⁰⁴⁵	[חנך לבח[ירין]
	Beyer ¹⁰⁴⁶	[מלי ברכתה די ברך] וְ חַנֵּךְ לְבַחְ[יריה קשיטיה]
	Black ¹⁰⁴⁷	[מלי ברכתא כדי ברך] חנוך לבח[ירין קשיטין]
	Larson ¹⁰⁴⁸	[...בה] וְ חַנֵּךְ לְבַחְ[ירין]
	Langlois ¹⁰⁴⁹	[...כַּרְ] וְ חַנֵּךְ לְבַחְ[ירין] [...]
	Puech ¹⁰⁵⁰	[מלי ברכתה די ברך בה] וְ חַנֵּךְ לְבַחְ[ירין קשיטין] [...]
	Drawnel ¹⁰⁵¹	[בה] וְ חַנֵּךְ לְבַחְ[ירין]
	Edition and Translation	[...] חנֵךְ לְבַחְ[ירין] [...] ...Enoch (to) the chosen ones... ¹⁰⁵²

4QEn^a frg. 1ia (BW 1:2a)	Milik ¹⁰⁵³	[ונסב] מתלוה[י וא] מֶרְ [חנך גבר קשטה]
	Knibb ¹⁰⁵⁴	[מתלוה]י
	Beyer ¹⁰⁵⁵	[כדי נסב] מתלוה[י וא] מֶרְ [חנך גבר קשיט]
	Black ¹⁰⁵⁶	ונטב מתליה [ואמר אימר חנוך]
	Larson ¹⁰⁵⁷	[...] מתלוה[י וא] מֶרְ [...]
	Langlois ¹⁰⁵⁸	[...] מתלוה[י וא] מֶרְ [...]

¹⁰⁴⁴ Milik, p.141.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.57.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Beyer, p.232.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.326.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.232.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.76-77, 86.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630.

¹⁰⁵¹ Drawnel, p.74.

¹⁰⁵² This translation does not presume the contents and syntax of the hypothetical preceding unit that is not preserved. Accordingly, the ל may function as an object marker rather than as a dative 'to' implied in this translation. This translation only attempts to mirror the preserved Aramaic, and not the broader syntactical construction in which it was hypothetically employed.

¹⁰⁵³ Milik, p.142.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.57.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Beyer, p.232.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.326.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.232.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.77-79, 86.

	Puech ¹⁰⁵⁹	[ונסב] מתלוה [י א] מר [חנוד ...]
	Drawnel ¹⁰⁶⁰	[מתלוה] י וא [מֶר ...]
	Edition and Translation	¹⁰⁶¹ [מתלוה] י ... × × [...] ...his parables...

4QEn^a frg. 1ia & 1ib (BW 1:2b)	Milik ¹⁰⁶²	ומן מִלִּי [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת אנה]
	Knibb ¹⁰⁶³	[ומן מִלִּי] אכין [קדישין כלה] [שמעת]
	Beyer ¹⁰⁶⁴	ומן מִלִּי [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת...]
	Black ¹⁰⁶⁵	ומן מִלִּי [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת]
	Larson ¹⁰⁶⁶	[ומן מִלִּי] [] וקדישין כלה []
	Langlois ¹⁰⁶⁷	ומן מִלִּי [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת]
	Puech ¹⁰⁶⁸	ומן מִלִּי [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת אנה...]
	Drawnel ¹⁰⁶⁹	[ומן מִלִּי] [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת]
	Edition and Translation	[ומן מִלִּי] [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת] ...And from the words of [the watchers] and the holy ones everything [I heard]...

4QEn^a frg. 1ia & 1ib (BW 1:2c)	Milik ¹⁰⁷⁰	[לא להדין] דרה להן לד [ר] חיק אנה אִמֶּ [לל]
	Knibb ¹⁰⁷¹	[לד] דרה להן לד [ר] חיק אנה אִמֶּ [מר]
	Beyer ¹⁰⁷²	[ולא חשבת על ד] דרה להן לד [ר] חיק אנה מִמֶּ [לל]
	Black ¹⁰⁷³	[ולא להדין] דרה להן לד [ר] חיק אנה אִמֶּ [לל]
	Larson ¹⁰⁷⁴	[ד] דרה להן לד [ר] חיק אנה אִמֶּ [ר]
	Langlois ¹⁰⁷⁵	[...] דרה להן לד [ר] חיק אנה אִמֶּ [...]

¹⁰⁵⁹ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', pp.628-630.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Drawnel, pp.74-75.

¹⁰⁶¹ As noted by Drawnel, the initial letter is a final ם instead of the expected initial form מ; Drawnel, p.74.

¹⁰⁶² Milik, p.142.

¹⁰⁶³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.57.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Beyer, p.232.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.326.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.232.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.77-79, 86, 95-97, 104-105.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', pp.628-630.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Drawnel, pp.74-75.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Milik, p.142.

¹⁰⁷¹ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58.

¹⁰⁷² Beyer, p.232.

¹⁰⁷³ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.326.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.232.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.80-82, 86-87, 97-98, 104-105.

	Puech ¹⁰⁷⁶	[לא לד]ן דרה להן לד[ר] חיק אנה אמר[...]
	Drawnel ¹⁰⁷⁷	[לד]ן דרה להן לד[ר] חיק אנה אמר[...]
	Edition and Translation	[...לד]ן דרה להן לד[ר] חיק אנה א[מ]ר[...] [... for this] generation but rather for the dista[nt gen]eration I [speak...]...

4QEn^a frg. 1ia & 1ib (BW 1:3b)	Milik ¹⁰⁷⁸	v[acat] ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן מ[ד]ורה
	Knibb ¹⁰⁷⁹	ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן [...]
	Beyer ¹⁰⁸⁰	ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן מ[ד]ורה
	Black ¹⁰⁸¹	N/A
	Larson ¹⁰⁸²	[...] ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן מ[ד]ורה
	Langlois ¹⁰⁸³	ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן מ[ד]ורה
	Puech ¹⁰⁸⁴	[vacat] ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן מ[ד]ורה
	Drawnel ¹⁰⁸⁵	va[cat] ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן מ[ד]ורה
	Edition and Translation	[vacat] ינפק קדיש[ה] ר[ב]ה מן מ[ד]ורה The [Gr]eat Holy O[ne] will go forth from...

4QEn^a frg. 1ia & 1ib (BW 1:4c)	Milik ¹⁰⁸⁶	[עם חילה] ר[ב]ה ויפ[ע] ב[תקף] גבור[תה] מן שמי שמייה
	Knibb ¹⁰⁸⁷	[...] ה ויו[...]. גבור[תה]
	Beyer ¹⁰⁸⁸	[מן מח] ניה ויפ[ע] ב[תקף] גבור[תה]
	Black ¹⁰⁸⁹	ויפ[ע] [בכות] גבור[תה]
	Larson ¹⁰⁹⁰	[...] ר[ב]ה ויפ[ע] ב[תקף] גבור[תה]
	Langlois ¹⁰⁹¹	[ממשרי] תה ויפ[ע] ב[תקף] גבור[תה]
	Puech ¹⁰⁹²	[מן משרי] תה ויפ[ע] ב[תקף] גבור[תה] מן שמי שמייה

¹⁰⁷⁶ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', pp.628-630.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Drawnel, pp.74-76.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Milik, p.142.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Beyer, p.232.

¹⁰⁸¹ Black omitted the entirety of the stanza from his reconstruction; however, this omission was probably an error. See: Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

¹⁰⁸² Larson, *The Translation...*, p.232.

¹⁰⁸³ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.82-83, 86-87, 98-99, 104-105.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Drawnel, pp.74-76.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Milik, p.142.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Beyer, p.232.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.233.

¹⁰⁹¹ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.82-83, 86-87, 98-99, 104-105.

¹⁰⁹² Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630.

	Drawnel ¹⁰⁹³	[מן משרי] תֵּה וּיּוֹפֵעַ בְּ[חסן] גברו[תה]
	Edition and Translation	[.....] תֵּה וּיּוֹפֵעַ בְּ/מ[חסן] גברו[תה] ...[His camp?] And He will appear with (or: from) [the strength] of [His] might.

4QEn^a frg. 1ia & 1ib (BW 1:5b)	Milik ¹⁰⁹⁴	[בכל קצו] תֵּה ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת ארעה...]
	Knibb ¹⁰⁹⁵	[קצות] ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת ארעה]
	Beyer ¹⁰⁹⁶	[בכל קצו] תֵּה ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת ארעה]
	Black ¹⁰⁹⁷	[בכל קצות] ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצ[ות ארעה]
	Larson ¹⁰⁹⁸	[...קצו] תֵּה ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת...]
	Langlois ¹⁰⁹⁹	[...קצו] יֵ ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת...]
	Puech ¹¹⁰⁰	[בכל קצו] יֵ ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת ארעה...]
	Drawnel ¹¹⁰¹	[קצו] יֵ ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת...]
	Edition and Translation	[קצו] יֵ ארעה וּיּוֹז[עון כ] ל קצו[ת...] [ends of] the earth, and they will sha[ke al] ends [of...]

4QEn^a frg. 1ib (BW 1:6a?)	Milik ¹¹⁰²	[וישתריון] רִמָּן וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ טורין רמין
	Knibb ¹¹⁰³	N/A
	Beyer ¹¹⁰⁴	[טורין ר] מִיָּן וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ
	Black ¹¹⁰⁵	[וישפלו] רמין
	Larson ¹¹⁰⁶	[רִמָּן וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ...]
	Langlois ¹¹⁰⁷	[...יִשְׁפֹּלוּ] וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ
	Puech ¹¹⁰⁸	די ארעה וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ וּיִשְׁפֹּלוּ טורין רמין...

¹⁰⁹³ Drawnel, pp.74-76.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Milik, p.142.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Beyer, p.232.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.233.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.85-87, 100-102, 105.

¹¹⁰⁰ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630.

¹¹⁰¹ Drawnel, pp.74-76.

¹¹⁰² Milik, p.142.

¹¹⁰³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.59.

¹¹⁰⁴ Beyer, p.232.

¹¹⁰⁵ Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

¹¹⁰⁶ Larson, *The Translation...*, p.233.

¹¹⁰⁷ Langlois, *Le Premier...*, pp.85-87, 100-102, 105.

¹¹⁰⁸ Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit...', p.630.

	Drawnel ¹¹⁰⁹	[ויז] וְעוֹן וי[נפלון...]
	Edition and Translation	[...]××× וי[...] [....]××× and[...]

4QEn^c frg. 1ia (BW 1:9)	Milik ¹¹¹⁰	[...עם רבו] את קדישו[הי...] [...לכול ב]שרא על עובד[י רשעהו...] [...כול מלין] רברבן וקשין [די מללו...]
	Knibb ¹¹¹¹	ברבו] את קדישו[הי [ב]שרא על עובד [רב]רבן וקשין]
	Beyer ¹¹¹²	[...ברבו] את קדישו[הי...] [...לכול ב]שרא על עובד [רשעהו...] [...כול מלין] רברבן וקשין [די אמרו...]
	Black ¹¹¹³	[עם רבו] את קדישו[י] [לכל ב]שרא [...] [...] [...כול מלין] רברבין וקשין [...]
	Larson ¹¹¹⁴	רבו] את קדישו[הי [ב]שרא על עובד[י [רברבן וקשין]
	Brown-DeVost ¹¹¹⁵	[...עם רבו] את קדישו[הי...] [...עם כול ב]שרא על עובד[י רשעהו...] [...כול מלין] רברבן וקשין [די מללו...]
	Drawnel ¹¹¹⁶	רב]את קדישוה[י [ב]שרא על עובד[י [רברבן וקשין]
	Edition and Translation	רבו] את קדישו[הי [ב]שרא על עובד[י [רברבן וקשין] ...[myr]iads of His holy ones... ...[fl]esh upon works [of...] ...great and harsh (pl.)...

¹¹⁰⁹ Drawnel, pp.74-76.

¹¹¹⁰ Milik, p.184.

¹¹¹¹ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.60.

¹¹¹² Beyer, p.232.

¹¹¹³ Black did not include [י] על עובד in his critical notes although this may have been an accidental omission.

Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.327.

¹¹¹⁴ Larson, *The Translation...*, pp.276-277.

¹¹¹⁵ Brown-deVost, pp.63, 66-67.

¹¹¹⁶ Drawnel, p.204.

The Enochic Theophany in Codex Panopolitanus – Critical Text and Translation

<p>G^{CP} (BW 1:1)</p>	<p>Λόγος εὐλογίας Ἐνώχ¹¹¹⁷ καθὼς¹¹¹⁸ εὐλόγησεν ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους οἵτινες ἔσονται εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης ἐξῆραι¹¹¹⁹ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς [καὶ σωθήσονται δίκαιοι]¹¹²⁰</p> <p>Word of the Blessing of Enoch, according to which he blessed the chosen righteous ones, who will be on the Day of Tribulation, to remove all the enemies [but the righteous ones will be saved.]</p>
<p>G^{CP} (BW 1:2-3a)</p>	<p>Καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ἐνώχ¹¹²¹ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιός [ἐστίν],¹¹²² ὅρασις ἐκ θεοῦ¹¹²³ αὐτῷ ἀνεωγμένη ἦν ἔχων τὴν ὅρασιν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,¹¹²⁴ ἔδειξέν¹¹²⁵ μοι.</p>

¹¹¹⁷ MS. reads αἰνωχ. Bouriant incorrectly transcribed as ενωχ (Bouriant, p.111). Spelling standardized following Lods and Black (Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.3; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19).

¹¹¹⁸ MS. reads καθως. Bouriant and Lods emended to καθ' ον, as an equivalent for Ethiopic ብሔም: (Bouriant, p.111; Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.3) The MS reading, however, agrees with the Ge'ez variant ብሔም:, and is intelligible without emendation, and is followed also by Swete, Charles and Black (Swete, *Psalms of...*, p.18; Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19).

¹¹¹⁹ MS. reads ἐξαιρε. Bouriant follows manuscript (Bouriant, p.111). Lods, Swete, Charles and Black standardize orthography to the aorist active infinitive ἐξῆραι (Lods, *Le Livre...*, p.3; Swete, *Psalms of...*, p.18; Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19) Contraction of final αι to ε is common, although not uniform, in the orthography of G^{CP}. For example, G^{CP} preserves both ἔσται (3.s. Fut. Indic. – it will be) in 1:8 and the contracted ending εστε with final epsilon in 1:7 and 5:5. Reconstruction to the third-person singular future active indicative ἐξαιρεῖ is feasible (this appears in *Testament of Levi* 18:4, *Genesis* 41:44 and *Exodus* 28:38), however, the orthography of G^{CP}, and the syntax of 1:1, suggests that the aorist infinitive is the preferable form.

¹¹²⁰ καὶ σωθήσονται δίκαιοι – Absent from Eth.^{ERS} and bracketed as secondary interpolation in G^{CP} text-type.

¹¹²¹ MS. αἰνωχ – MS followed by Bouriant (p.111). Following Lods (*Le Livre...*, p.3), Swete (*Psalms of...*, p.25), Flemming and Radermacher (*Das Buch Henoch*, p.18) Charles (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3) and Black (*Apocalypsis...*, p.19) who standardized the spelling of the proper name.

¹¹²² It is unclear if this relates to the preceding 'Enoch a Righteous Man', or the following clause 'a vision from God was revealed to him.' Charles suggested that it is 'to be taken with ἀνεωγμένη or omitted' (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3). This verb was marked to be read with the subsequent clause also by Lods (*Le Livre...*, p.3), and Flemming and Radermacher (*Das Buch Henoch*, p.18). However, Swete and Black indicated that it should be read with the preceding clause (*Psalms of...*, p.25; *Apocalypsis...*, p.19). Drawnel suggested that this verb 'may result from the erroneous rendering of the Aramaic apposition [גברא קשיטא] to the subject as a nominal clause...' (Drawnel, p.80). Alternatively, it may reflect a transmissional interpolation that clarifies the relation of the epithet to the proper name. The Semitic appositional construction was obscure to later Greek transmitters, and this interpolation may reflect an attempt at smoothing out an awkward syntactical expression in this Greek text-type.

¹¹²³ MS. features nomina sacra ΘΥ.

¹¹²⁴ Charles suggested that this was corrupt for κατὰ τον ουρανον, which mirrors the Ethiopic reading (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3). A similar reading of κατὰ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς was inserted into the main text in the edition of Flemming and Radermacher (*Das Buch Henoch*, p.18). However, whilst the reading of G^{CP} may here reflect a secondary transmissional development, it is intelligible in its context and should not be emended.

¹¹²⁵ MS. reads ἐδιξεν – contraction of the diphthong ει to ι is common in medial position in G^{CP}. This rule contrasts with the general lengthening of the simple vowel iota to the final diphthong ει as in 1:6 (φλογει) in final position. For further on similar patterns of interchange, see: Gignac, F.T. *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods Volume 1 Phonology*, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino – La Goliardico, Milano, pp.43, 189-193.

	<p>*καὶ ἀγιολόγων ἀγίων*¹¹²⁶ ἤκουσα ἐγὼ καὶ ὡς ἤκουσα παρ' αὐτῶν πάντα καὶ ἔγνων ἐγὼ θεωρῶν¹¹²⁷ καὶ οὐκ εἰς¹¹²⁸ τὴν νῦν γενεὰν διεννοούμεν ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ¹¹²⁹ πόρρῳ οὕσαν ἐγὼ λαλῶ¹¹³⁰ (3a) Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν¹¹³¹ νῦν λέγω καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέλαβον τὴν παραβολήν μου</p>
	<p>And taking up his parable he said, 'Enoch, [is] a Righteous Man, a vision from God was revealed to him, who was having the vision of the Holy One and of heaven, [and] He showed [it] to me. *And the holy words of the holy ones* (or: speaking holy of holy things) I indeed heard, and as I heard from them everything, so I indeed understood [what] I was seeing. But not for the current generation I intend but upon which is distant I indeed speak. (3a) And concerning the chosen ones I now speak and concerning them I take up my parable.</p>
G^{CP} (BW 1:3b-4)	<p>καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ὁ ἅγιός [μου]¹¹³² ὁ μέγας ἐκ τῆς κατοικήσεως αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ θεὸς¹¹³³ τοῦ αἰῶνος [ἐπὶ¹¹³⁴ γῆν]¹¹³⁵ πατήσκει ἐπὶ¹¹³⁶ τὸ Σεινὰ¹¹³⁷ ὄρος καὶ φανήσεται ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς¹¹³⁸ αὐτοῦ καὶ φανήσεται ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν</p>

¹¹²⁶ The contextual meaning of the hapax ἀγιολόγων is obscure and it may reflect a transcriptional error. For interpretation of the hapax in scholarship, and a generative and contextualized interpretation of this hapax, see *Chapter 2*.

¹¹²⁷ MS reads θεωρον.

¹¹²⁸ MS reads ις – Contraction of initial diphthong to simple vowel iota. This is unusual for this preposition in G^{CP} as the fuller orthography εις appears twice in 5:1 and twice in 5:2. However, there are other examples of interchange between the diphthong and iota in initial position. For example, the aorist imperative ἴδετε (see!) is written as εἶδετε in 2:2 and 5:3, as ἰδετε in 2:3 and as ἰδεται in 2:4, where the final epsilon has lengthened to the diphthong αι.

¹¹²⁹ MS reads επει – Whilst the preposition επι (upon/on) appears normatively as επει (e.g. 1:2, 4a, 4b, 7, 2:2) with this final diphthong ει, it also appears once with the simple vowel iota in 1:8 where it is attested as επι.

¹¹³⁰ MS reads αλλω – the unintelligible form αλλω reflects a scribal error. Following the suggestion of Swete (*Psalms of...*, p.25) the first and second letter have been switched, and restored as the verb λαλω, in conjunction with the preceding nominative pronoun ἐγὼ. The clause ἐγὼ λαλῶ appears also in LXX *Deuteronomy* 5:1, *Jeremiah* 4:12 and *Ezekiel* 44:5.

¹¹³¹ MS reads εγλεκτων. A similar interchange of γ for κ appears in G^{CP} 5:7 and twice in 5:8 (all εγλεκτοις), in contrast to the spelling with κ in εκλεκτους in 1:2.

¹¹³² This pronoun is not attested in Aramaic/Ethiopic. It is syntactically peculiar in its context, intervenes the parallelism of the two Divine titles, and disrupts the third-person speech that is characteristic of the Enochic theophany in 1:3b-9 in all three textual traditions.

¹¹³³ MS uses nomina sacra θς.

¹¹³⁴ MS reads επει.

¹¹³⁵ This bracketed phrase is a secondary development in the G^{CP} text-type. See *Chapter 2* for further.

¹¹³⁶ MS reads επει.

¹¹³⁷ The scribe has possibly run out of space as the alpha is written above the penultimate letter. The letter is by the same hand as the scribe who copied this unit. It may be a scribal correction by the same scribe after the completion of the manuscript.

¹¹³⁸ MS reads παρενβολης.

	And [my] Holy One, the Great One, will come out from His dwelling. And the God of Eternity [upon the earth] will tread upon Mount Sinai, And He will appear from His camp, And He will appear with the strength of His might from the heaven of heavens.
G^{CP} (BW 1:5)	καὶ φοβηθήσονται πάντες καὶ πιστεύσουσιν οἱ ἐγγήγοροι, καὶ ἄσουσιν ¹¹³⁹ ἀπόκρυφα ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς [γῆς] ¹¹⁴⁰ καὶ σεισθήσονται ¹¹⁴¹ πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς, ¹¹⁴² καὶ λήμψεται αὐτοὺς τρόμος καὶ φόβος μέγας μέχρι ¹¹⁴³ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς And all will fear, and the watchers will believe, And they will sing hidden things in all the ends of the earth. And all the ends of the earth will be shaken, And a trembling and great fear will seize them until the ends of the earth.
G^{CP} (BW 1:6)	[καὶ σεισθήσονται] ¹¹⁴⁴ καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται ὄρη ὑψηλά ¹¹⁴⁵ καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται ¹¹⁴⁶ βουνοὶ ὑψηλοὶ [τοῦ διαρυῆναι ὄρη] καὶ τακήσονται ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρὸς ἐν φλογί ¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹³⁹ MS. reads ἀσωσιν. Milik suggested that it was a mistranslation of יעני (they will be punished). Black suggested the reading ζητησουσιν ἀποκρυφα, which would correspond to this latter text (he presumed to reflect Greek ζητούντες ἀποκρυβῆναι) which originated as a misreading of בעון למסתתת. The emendation to ἄσουσιν follows Lods (*Le Livre...*, p.4), whilst Bouriant instead suggested the less probable reading of [σχ]ἀσωσιν (Bouriant, p.111).

¹¹⁴⁰ Noun omitted in G^{CP}. Probably omitted in error due to the similar ending of the next clause. The preceding τῆς requires the reinsertion of a noun – that this should be reconstructed γῆς is probable due to the attested ערע in the corresponding section in 4QEn^a. This was also added in editions of Flemming and Radermacher (p.18), Swete (*Psalms of...*, p.25).

¹¹⁴¹ MS. reads σισθησονται.

¹¹⁴² The entire two middle stanzas was bracketed as secondary by Flemming and Radermacher (p.18) and was removed to the marginalia of the main text by Charles (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.3), who regarded it as an interpolation ‘at variance with the closing genuine words of this verse...’. Charles envisaged it as an addition by a scribe who was thinking of Slavonic Enoch 18, which mentions the singing of the watchers. No portion of this unit is preserved in the Eth.^{ERS}, whilst it is fragmentarily preserved in 4QEn^a.

¹¹⁴³ MS. reads μεχρει.

¹¹⁴⁴ MS reads σισθησονται. It is possible that this reoccurrence of the verb is an example of dittography, introduced due to the previous iteration of the verb in 1:5.

¹¹⁴⁵ MS reads υψηλα. There is limited interchange elsewhere between η and ε in this unit in G^{CP}. For example, in 1:9 the aorist verb εσεβησαν (3.pl. Aor. Indi. – they have done) features initial ε instead of expected η, although this may reflect influence from the following aorist verb ελαλησαν (3.pl. Aor. Ind. – they have spoken).

¹¹⁴⁶ MS reads πεινωθησονται with supralinear and corrective τα written above the beginning of the verb.

¹¹⁴⁷ MS reads φλογει. The final diphthong is common in G^{CP}, which reflects frequent phonetic and orthographic interchange between ει and ε. In addition to this noun φλογει (n. flame/light/blade) in 1:6 and παγαδει (n. crevice) in 1:7 both feature the final diphthong ει instead of the simple vowel iota as in the standardized readings φλογι and παγαδι. This unit ἐν φλογί was bracketed by Charles as a dittography (Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5), although it is more likely to be an explanatory gloss – however, it is intelligible in its context.

	<p>And the high mountains [will be shaken], and they will fall, and they will break apart.</p> <p>And the high hills will be made low (or: humbled), [so that the mountains will flow away.]</p> <p>And they will melt like wax from the presence of the fire, in a flame.</p>
<p>G^{CP} (BW 1:7)</p>	<p>καὶ διασχισθήσεται ἡ γῆ [σχίσμα ῥαγάδι]¹¹⁴⁸ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ¹¹⁴⁹ τῆς γῆς ἀπολεῖται καὶ κρίσις ἔσται¹¹⁵⁰ κατὰ πάντων.</p>
	<p>And the earth will be split apart [a schism, to a crevice (or: fragmentarily)]</p> <p>And all which is upon the earth will be destroyed,</p> <p>And judgment will be against all.</p>
<p>G^{CP} (BW 1:8)</p>	<p>καὶ μετὰ¹¹⁵¹ τῶν δικαίων¹¹⁵² τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσει, καὶ ἐπὶ¹¹⁵³ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται¹¹⁵⁴ συντήρησις [καὶ εἰρήνη]¹¹⁵⁵, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς γενήσεται¹¹⁵⁶ ἔλεος, καὶ ἔσονται πάντες τοῦ θεοῦ¹¹⁵⁷, καὶ τὴν εὐδοκίαν¹¹⁵⁸ δώσει αὐτοῖς καὶ πάντας εὐλογήσει [καὶ πάντων ἀντιλήμψεται¹¹⁵⁹ καὶ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν]¹¹⁶⁰, καὶ φανήσεται αὐτοῖς φῶς [καὶ ποιήσει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην]¹¹⁶¹</p>

¹¹⁴⁸ MS reads *ραγαδει* and emended to standardized *ῥαγάδι* following Charles. Swete emended to *ραγωδες*.

¹¹⁴⁹ MS reads *επει*, standardized to *ἐπί*.

¹¹⁵⁰ MS reads *εστε*, standardized to *ἔσται* with Charles – the fuller orthography is attested elsewhere in G^{CP} 1:8, whilst the contracted *εστε* appears again in 5:5.

¹¹⁵¹ MS. reads *μεγα*. Emended to *μετά* following Bouriant (p.112), Lods (*Le Livre...*, p.5), Flemming and Radermacher (p.18), Charles (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5) and Black (*Apocalypsis...*, p.19).

¹¹⁵² MS. reads *δικεων*. Spelling standardized, following all except Bouriant; Ibid.

¹¹⁵³ Manuscript here reads contracted spelling with simple final iota rather than final diphthong as elsewhere in G^{CP}.

¹¹⁵⁴ See spelling in 1:7.

¹¹⁵⁵ This bracketed unit may be an interpolative gloss in G^{CP} as it is unattested in the Ethiopic and is unnecessarily repetitive in its context. Black suggested that ‘the translator of G expands by adding *καὶ εἰρήνη*’ (Black, *Book of Enoch*, p.108), however, it is probably a transmissional interpolation.

¹¹⁵⁶ MS. reads *γενηται*. Manuscript reading followed by Bouriant (p.112), Flemming and Radermacher (p.20). This emendation was suggested by Lods (*Le Livre...*, p.5), and followed by Charles (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5) and Black (*Apocalypsis...*, p.19).

¹¹⁵⁷ MS. uses *nomina sacra* *θγ*.

¹¹⁵⁸ MS. reads *ευδοκειαν*. Following standardized reading in editions, except Bouriant: Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁹ MS. reads *αντειλημψεται*. Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁰ These two bracketed verbal clauses are not attested in the Ethiopic and may reflect a secondary interpolation in the G^{CP} text-type. Charles suggested that the first was ‘genuine’ as it was ‘supported by the parallelism’ whilst his notes suggested that the second verbal clause was an example of dittography.

Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5. This unit was also bracketed as secondary by: Flemming & Radermacher, p.20.

¹¹⁶¹ This stanza is bracketed as a possible interpolation, or duplication of 1:8a. Also bracketed by: Flemming & Radermacher, p.20. Charles regarded it as genuine as it was supported by the parallelism. Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.

	<p>And with the righteous ones He will make peace, And upon the chosen ones will be preservation [and peace]. And upon them will be mercy And they will all belong to God (or: and they will all be of God), And He will give to them (His) good-pleasure (or: good-will). And He will bless all, [And He will support all, and He will help us]. And a light will shine for them, [And He will set peace upon them]</p>
<p>G^{CP} (BW 1:9)</p>	<p>ὅτι¹¹⁶² ἔρχεται σὺν ταῖς¹¹⁶³ μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις¹¹⁶⁴ αὐτοῦ, ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ ἀπολέσει¹¹⁶⁵ πάντα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἐλέγξει¹¹⁶⁶ πᾶσαν σάρκα περὶ πάντων ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν¹¹⁶⁷ καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων, [καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν]¹¹⁶⁸ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.¹¹⁶⁹</p> <p>Because (or: so that) He comes with His myriads and His holy ones, to enact judgment against all, and He will destroy all the ungodly ones, and He will convict all flesh concerning all their ungodly deeds which they have done,¹¹⁷⁰ and the hard words which they have spoken, [and concerning all which they have spoken against him], the ungodly sinners.</p>

¹¹⁶² MS reads *οτε*. Interchange between a final simple iota and the diphthong *ει* is common in G^{CP}, particularly elsewhere in the preposition *επι/επει* and therefore it is probable that this particle in G^{CP} should be read as the subordinating conjunction *ὅτι* (that/therefore) as suggested by Lods (*Le Livre...*, p.20) rather than as the temporal conjunction *ὅτε* as suggested by Milik (Milik, p.186). Contrary to Drownel, there is no reason to suppose that *ὅτι* is corrupt for *ὅτε* (Drownel, p.206), as the former is intelligible in G^{CP}, although it might reflect a syntactical emendation that subordinates 1:9 to the content of 1:8. G^{Jude} instead attests the interjective *ἰδοῦ*, which agrees closely with the interjective [ʔ]ʕu· in the Eth.^{ERS} and the similar 'Ecce' in Pseudo-Cyprian and Pseudo-Vigilius.

¹¹⁶³ MS reads *τοῖς*. Emendation following Lods (*Le Livre...*, p.5), Flemming and Radermacher (p.20), Charles (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5), and Black (*Apocalypsis...*, p.19). This may reflect a transcriptional and scribal error due to the subsequent *καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις*.

¹¹⁶⁴ MS reads *αγείοις*.

¹¹⁶⁵ *καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς* – entire clause omitted in G^{Jude}.

¹¹⁶⁶ MS reads *λενξει*. This verb is typically reconstructed as the future *ελεγξει* (he will convict) where the initial epsilon has been omitted by error and a phonetic shift from *γ* to *ν*. This reconstruction is aided by the attestation of the same verb *ἐλέγχω* (to convict/reprove) in G^{Jude} (Lods, *Le Livre*, p.5; Flemming and Radermacher, p.20; Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.19). Charles emended to the aorist infinitive *ἐλέγξει* in dialogue with G^{Jude} (Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.), however, the final diphthong is intelligible as the ending of an indicative verb. There is not a common interchange between *αι* and *ει* in G^{CP} and the indicative form is intelligible and mirrors the indicative verb *ἀπολεσει* (He will destroy) in the preceding clause. Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.

¹¹⁶⁷ MS reads *εσεβησαν*.

¹¹⁶⁸ As per Charles, this bracketed clause is dittographic (Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.5.). This is also omitted in G^{Jude}.

¹¹⁶⁹ MS reads *ασεβεις*.

¹¹⁷⁰ Literally, 'which they have acted ungodly'.

*Ethiopic Enoch 1:1-9 – Critical Text and Translation of the Earliest Recoverable
Stratum (Eth.^{ERS})*

The eclectic critical text included in this Supplement is primarily based on 17 Eth. I manuscripts – isolated readings from EMML.8347 and EMML.8703 were also consulted.¹¹⁷¹ In total, 51 manuscripts of *Ethiopic Enoch* were independently consulted through high quality photographs or digitalized versions, or through direct consultation of the physical manuscript where access was possible. A further 9 manuscripts have been included in this study through the critical notes and readings included in the critical editions published by Charles in 1906¹¹⁷² and Knibb in 1978¹¹⁷³ – including Ullendorff MS., Abb.197, Cer.110, Frank.Or., Munich.30, Ham.271a, Tana.9, BL.24185 and BL.24990. An additional 8 manuscripts were consulted through critical notes and readings published by Stuckenbruck – including EMML.6281, EMML.7584, EMML.8400, EMML.8347, EMML.8703, RT, Parma and Camb.1570.¹¹⁷⁴ Consequently, this eclectic edition is based on 68 manuscripts in total.

Out of the manuscripts independently consulted, several have not been included in any critical edition published to date – for example, these include GG.151, EMDA.00219, Qär.53, MG.18, Schøyen, Paris.656, Paris.395, EAP704/2/5, IES.675 and the EMML manuscripts. Several manuscripts do not include *Ethiopic Enoch* 1:1-9 and therefore have not been included in this project – these include, for example, Pontificio Istituto Biblico

¹¹⁷¹ According to Stuckenbruck, whilst EMML.8703 should be clearly included in the Eth. I category, EMML.8347 represents an early exemplar of Eth. II, yet features erasures of Eth. I readings. The value of these manuscripts is limited, however, by the quality of the microfilms, and according to Stuckenbruck, these microfilms do not provide a clear enough image to discern the erased Eth. I readings. This assessment is based on private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

¹¹⁷² Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, pp.2-4.

¹¹⁷³ Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol. I*, pp.1-5.

¹¹⁷⁴ Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', pp.25-40; Stuckenbruck, 'Witnesses...', pp.473-491.

Banco A 2, II manuscript (2:3-108:15) the Church of Zion Prophets Codex (52:7-60:3, 84:6-89:54 and 91:11-108:15), BL Or. 485a, EMLL 2063 (excerpts of Maṣḥafa mitata berhānāta samāy of Enoch), and IES 392 (Addis Ababa).

Two Eth. I manuscripts include interlinear or marginalia corrections or variant readings, namely Abb.35 and EMLL.7584. In these instances, the initial manuscript reading is numbered Abb.35¹/EMML.7584¹ and the secondary reading, correction or marginalia variant is listed as Abb.35²/EMML.7584².

The manuscripts included in this study are listed in the below table,¹¹⁷⁵ along with their approximate dating,¹¹⁷⁶ current location and the recension class of the manuscript – the manuscripts have been listed according to the classification of Erho and Stuckenbruck, except for four manuscripts (EMDA.00219, Qār.53, MG.18, EAP704/2/5) which have been classified through my own analysis of their contents.

Manuscript Number	Abbreviation	Location	Dating	Recension
Bodleian Or. 531	Bod.531	Bodleian Library, Oxford	18 th c.	Eth. II
Bodleian Bruce 74	Bod.74	Bodleian Library, Oxford	18 th c.	Eth. II
Curzon 55 (British Library Orient. 8822)	Curz.55	British Library, London	18 th c.	Eth. II
Curzon 56 (British Library Orient. 8823)	Curz.56	British Library, London	18 th c.	Eth. II
British Library Orient. 484	BL.484	British Library, London	18 th c.	Eth. II
British Library Orient. 485	BL.485	British Library, London	16 th c.	Eth. I

¹¹⁷⁵ The manuscripts have been listed according to the catalogue numbers in accordance with the lists of Knibb, Nickelsburg, and Erho and Stuckenbruck. Additional manuscript names or catalogue numbers are included in brackets. See: Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.17.; Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol. 2*, pp.23-25; Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', pp.118-120, 132-133.

¹¹⁷⁶ The manuscript dates included here primarily follows those proposed by Erho and Stuckenbruck. In the case of some manuscripts, the dates are approximate only, and very few are definite. See: Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', pp.87-133; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, pp.23-25. Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', pp.30-31. Also: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, pp.21-27.

British Library Orient. 490	BL.490	British Library, London	18 th c.	Eth. II
British Library Orient. 491	BL.491	British Library, London	17 th c. ¹¹⁷⁷	Eth. I
British Library Orient. 492	BL.492	British Library, London	18 th c.	Eth. II
British Library Orient. 499	BL.499	British Library, London	18 th c.	Eth. II
BL. Add. 24185	BL.24185	British Library, London	19 th c.	Eth. II
BL. Add. 24990	BL.24990	British Library, London	18 th c.	Eth. II
Rylands Library Eth. 23	Rylands.23	Rylands Library, Manchester	18 th c.	Eth. II
Berlin Orient Petermann II Nachtrag 29	Berlin MS.	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin ¹¹⁷⁸	16 th c.	Eth. I
Abbadian 16	Abb.16	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	19 th c.	Eth. II
Abbadian 30	Abb.30	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	18 th c.	Eth. II
Abbadian 35	Abb.35	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	17 th c.	Eth. I
Abbadian 55	Abb.55	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	15-16 th c.	Eth. I
Abbadian 99	Abb.99	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	19 th c.	Eth. II
Abbadian 197	Abb.197	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	19 th c.	Eth. II
Paris Bibliothèque National Éth. 50 (Éth. 114)	Paris.50	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	17 th c.	Eth. II
Paris Bibliothèque National Éth. 32 (Éth. 49)	Paris.32	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	18 th c.	Eth. II
Paris Bibliothèque National Eth. 656 (Griaule 348/Acquisition number 291)	Paris.656	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	20 th c.	Eth. II
Paris Bibliothèque National Eth. 395 (Griaule 91)	Paris.395	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	19 th -20 th c.	Eth. II
Munich Äthiop. 30	Munich.30	Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Munich	18 th c.	Eth. II

¹¹⁷⁷ Following updated dating of Stuckenbruck. Later date of 18th century was included by Knibb and Nickelsburg: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.23; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p.17; Stuckenbruck, '1 Enoch 1', p.30.

¹¹⁷⁸ For further on the location of this manuscript, and its acquisition: Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', pp.102-103.

Hamburg Orient 271a (Westenholz MS.)	Ham.271a	Hamburg	18 th	Eth. II
Frankfurt Orient Rüppell II 1	Frank.Or.	Frankfurt	18 th	Eth. II
Princeton Eth. 2 (Garrett Collection Dep. 1468) ¹¹⁷⁹	Princeton	Princeton University Library	18 th -19 th c.	Eth. II
Vatican Étiop. 71 (Vat.et.71)	Vat.71	Vatican City	18 th c.	Eth. II
Cerulli 75	Cer.75	Vatican City	1931-32 CE	Eth. II
Cerulli 110	Cer.110	Vatican City	1921-22 CE	Eth. II
Cerulli 131	Cer.131	Vatican City	19 th c.	Eth. II
Univ. Lib. Add. 1570 (Cambridge 1570)	Camb.1570	Cambridge University Library	1588 CE	Eth. I
Lake Tana 9/Kebrān 9 (EMML 8292)	Tana.9	Kebrān	15 th c.	Eth. I
Edward Ullendorff MS ¹¹⁸⁰	Ullendorff MS.	Unknown	Early 18 th c.	Eth. II
Biblioteca Palatina Parm. 3843 (Mordini 198)	Parma	Bibliotheca Palatina, Parma ¹¹⁸¹	Early 16 th c.	Eth. I
Remnant Trust Enoch (RT)	RT	Winona Lake, Indiana ¹¹⁸²	Late 15 th / Early 16 th c.	Eth. I
Schøyen Ms. 2657	Schøyen	Private collection of Martin Schøyen, Oslo ¹¹⁸³	15 th c.	Eth. I
Gundä Gundē 151 (Mordini 29)	GG.151	Monastery of Gundä Gundē, Tigray Province, Ethiopia ¹¹⁸⁴	Late 15 th / Early 16 th c.	Eth. I
EMDA 00219 (G4-IV-12)	EMDA.00219	Dabra Ḍaḥāy Qeddus Mārḳos Church, Gojjam Province	19 th -20 th c.	Eth. II

¹¹⁷⁹ The origins and acquisition of the Princeton Ethiopic manuscripts was described by Isaac in: Isaac, E. 1980. 'The Princeton Collection of Ethiopic Manuscripts', *PULC* 42, pp.33-52.

¹¹⁸⁰ The Ullendorff manuscript was examined by Knibb and included in the collated readings for his critical edition. The manuscript was acquired by Ullendorff although the exact origins, time of acquisition and current location of the manuscript are unknown. See: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, pp.22-23, 26; Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', pp.112-113.

¹¹⁸¹ Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', p.123.

¹¹⁸² Ibid, p.128.

¹¹⁸³ Ibid, p.127.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p.123.

Qāranəyo 53 (G1-IV-333/EMDA 00202)	Qār.53	Monastery of Qāranəyo Mādhane ‘Alām, Goḡgam province ¹¹⁸⁵	18 th c.	Eth. II
Moṭa Giyorgis 18 (G1-IV-202/EMDA 00106)	MG.18	Church of Moṭa Giyorgis, Goḡgam province ¹¹⁸⁶	18 th /19 th c.	Eth. II ¹¹⁸⁷
IES 675 (EMML 1531)	IES.675	Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa ¹¹⁸⁸	19 th -20 th c.	Eth. II ¹¹⁸⁹
EAP704/2/5	EAP704/2/5	Monastery of Marawe Krestos, Shire District, Tigray Province (EAP Archives) ¹¹⁹⁰	1600-1699 CE	Eth. II
EMML 36	EMML.36	Church of St Rāgu’ēl, Addis Ababa District, (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹¹	Late 18 th /Early 19 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 201	EMML.201	Ba’atā Church, Addis Ababa (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹²	1922-1923 CE	Eth. II
EMML 629	EMML.629	Patriarchate Library, Makkāalanā, Addis Ababa (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹³	c. 1961 CE	Eth. II
EMML 1279	EMML.1279	Private Library of Mammerē Ṭebabu Asmāqa, Dābrā Libānos, Shoa (HMML Collegeville). ¹¹⁹⁴	20 th c.	Eth. II

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p.131.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁷ This manuscript probably should be included in Eth. II, however, it features numerous readings that are distinct from the predominant readings of the Eth. II group of manuscripts.

¹¹⁸⁸ This manuscript was digitalized and is accessible on the EAP archive (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP286-1-1-102>).

¹¹⁸⁹ Whilst this text-type broadly belongs to Eth. II, it features several Eth. I readings (e.g. ወይዘላፍ፡in 1:9) and shares several unique readings with Abb.35 that suggests that it is related to this manuscript-type.

¹¹⁹⁰ This manuscript was digitalized and is accessible on the EAP archive (<https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP704-2-5>).

¹¹⁹¹ Manuscript information taken from: Macomber, W. F. 1975. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville Vol. I: Project Numbers 1 – 300*, Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, St John’s Abbey and University Collegeville, Minnesota, p.38.

¹¹⁹² Ibid, p.211.

¹¹⁹³ Macomber, W.F. 1976. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville Vol. II: Project Numbers 301 - 700*, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John’s Abbey and University Collegeville, Minnesota, p.378.

¹¹⁹⁴ Haile, G. 1979. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville Vol. IV: Project*

EMML 1768	EMML.1768	Däbrä Hayq ʾġstifānos, Ambāssal, Wallo (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹⁵	15 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 1950	EMML.1950	Däbrä Hayq ʾġstifānos, Ambāssal, Wallo (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹⁶	17 th -18 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 2080	EMML.2080	Private library of Mamher Hāyla Māryām, Däbrä Hayq ʾġstifānos, Ambāssal, Wallo (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹⁷	16 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 2436	EMML.2436	Church of Ankobār Mādhanē ʾĀlām, Ankobarr, Shoa (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹⁸	17 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 2440	EMML.2440	Church of Ankobarr Madhāne ʾĀlām, Ankobarr, Shoa (HMML Collegeville) ¹¹⁹⁹	1663 CE	Eth. II
EMML 3407	EMML.3407	Church of Marto Mikāʾēl, Gubbālāfto, Yağgu, Wallo (HMML Collegeville) ¹²⁰⁰	19 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 4437	EMML.4437	Church of Sallā Dengāy (Māreqos), Mogā and Wadarrā, Shoa (HMML Collegeville) ¹²⁰¹	1682-1706 CE	Eth. II

Numbers 1101-1500, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's Abbey and University Collegeville, Minnesota, p.282.

¹¹⁹⁵ Haile, G. & Macomber, W.F. 1981. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. V: Project Numbers 1501-2000*, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's Abbey and University Collegeville, Minnesota, pp.240-243.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid, pp.465-466.

¹¹⁹⁷ Haile, G. & Macomber, W.F. 1982. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001-2500*, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's Abbey and University Collegeville, Minnesota, p.147.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibid, pp.492-493.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid, pp.494-495.

¹²⁰⁰ Haile, G. 1985. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. VIII: Project Numbers 3001-3500*, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's Abbey and University Collegeville, Minnesota, p.244.

¹²⁰¹ Haile, G. 1993. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. X: Project Numbers 4001-5000*, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's University Collegeville, Minnesota, p.153.

EMML 4750	EMML.4750	Church of Boru (Mēdā) Sellāsē, Tahulladare, Wallo (HMML Collegeville) ¹²⁰²	18 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 5003	EMML.5003	Church Dasē Mikā'ēl (HMML Collegeville)	18 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 5589 (EMIP 1105)	EMML.5589	Private Library of Nebura ed Keflē (HMML Collegeville)	19 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 5591 (EMIP 1091)	EMML.5591	Private Library, Addis Ababa (HMML Collegeville)	1921/1922 CE	Eth. II
EMML 6281	EMML.6281	Addis 'Alām Maryam (HMML Collegeville)	17 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 6686	EMML.6686	Debre Libanos (HMML Collegeville)	17 th -18 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 6930	EMML.6930	Bete Golgotha, Lanta (HMML Collegeville)	18 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 7103	EMML.7103	Jerr Selassie, Selale (HMML Collegeville)	18 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 7584	EMML.7584	Zuramba (HMML Collegeville)	Late 16 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 8098	EMML.8098	Goha Sion Mariam (HMML Collegeville)	18 th c.	Eth. II
EMML 8347	EMML.8347	Nārga Selassie, Dek Island of Tana Lake (HMML Collegeville)	17 th c.	Eth. II ¹²⁰³
EMML 8400	EMML.8400	Data Estifanos (HMML Collegeville)	ca. 1400 CE	Eth. I
EMML 8703	EMML.8703	Wāzazer Kidanā Mehrāt (HMML Collegeville)	Late 16 th / Early 17 th c.	Eth. I ¹²⁰⁴

¹²⁰² Ibid, p.289.

¹²⁰³ According to Stuckenbruck, EMML.8347 represents an early exemplar of Eth. II, yet features erasures of Eth. I readings. The value of this manuscript is limited, however, by the quality of the microfilms, and the microfilms do not often provide a clear enough image to discern the erased Eth. I readings. This assessment is based on private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

¹²⁰⁴ A similar issue with the quality of the microfilms pertains to this manuscript, as in EMML.8347. Assessment based on private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

Eth. ^{ERS} 1:1	ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ [ዘ]ሄኖክ፡ ¹²⁰⁵ በከመ፡ ¹²⁰⁶ ባረከ፡ ኅሩያነ፡ ወጸድቃነ፡ ¹²⁰⁷ እለ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ይኩኑ፡ ¹²⁰⁸ በዕለተ፡ ምንዳቤ፡ ለአሰሰሎ፡ ኩሉ፡ ¹²⁰⁹ ረሲዓን፡ ¹²¹⁰
	Word of the Blessing of Enoch, just as he blessed the chosen ones and righteous ones, those who must be present on the Day of Tribulation, to remove all the wicked ones.
Eth. ^{ERS} 1:2-3a	ወአውሥኡ፡ ¹²¹¹ ወይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡ ¹²¹² ብእሲ፡ ጸድቅ፡ ¹²¹³ ዘእምነበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ ከሥታት፡ ¹²¹⁴ ወይሬኢ፡ ራእየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘበስማያት፡ ¹²¹⁵ ዘአርአዩኒ፡ ¹²¹⁶ መላእክት፡ ¹²¹⁷

¹²⁰⁵ ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ዘሄኖክ፡ – attested in majority Eth. I inc. Abb.35, Abb.55, GG.151, Parma, Schøyen, RT, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584 and most Eth. II inc. Rylands.23, Bod.74, MG.18, EMDA.00219, EMMML.4750. Proclitic *ዘ* on *ሄኖክ*፡ is not attested in Tana.9. Berlin MS. reads ራእይ፡ ዘርእየ፡ ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ ዘሄኖክ፡. BL.485 reads ዘሄኖክ፡ only. BL.491 reads ዘሄኖክ፡ ነቢይ፡ EMMML.8400 reads ቃለ፡ በረከት፡ only but includes ዘሄኖክ፡ ነቢይ፡ above the main text as a title. EMMML.6281 reads ዘሄኖክ፡ ቃለ፡ በረከት፡.

¹²⁰⁶ Following በከመ፡ in BL.485, Tana.9, Berlin MS., RT, Parma, Schøyen, GG.151, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584. Secondary variant ዘከመ፡ in BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.8400 and in most Eth. II inc. Rylands.23, Bod.74, Qär.53. Some Eth. II instead read በከመ፡ as per Eth.^{ERS}, including EMMML.201, MG.18. All editions preferred በከመ፡ except Dillmann who included ዘከመ፡ (Dillmann, *Liber Henoch...*, p.1).

¹²⁰⁷ The variant order ጸድቃነ፡ ወኅሩያነ፡ is preserved in EMMML.8347 according to Stuckenbruck ('1 Enoch 1', p.32).

¹²⁰⁸ Berlin MS. includes singular verbs ሀለዉ፡ ይኩኑ፡. Plural forms attested in all other Eth. I.

¹²⁰⁹ ኩሉ፡ appears in BL.485, Abb.55, Tana.9, GG.151, RT, Parma, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584. Other Eth. I manuscripts include ኩሉ፡ BL.491, Abb.35, Berlin MS., Schøyen, EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400.

¹²¹⁰ ኩሉ፡ ረሲዓን፡ preserved in Tana.9, Abb.55, GG.151, RT, Parma, EMMML.1768, EMMML.7584, Camb.1570. Secondary variant እኩያን ወረሲዓን in Schøyen, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584² and majority Eth. II. The accusative form ኩሉ፡ እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡ in BL.491, Berlin MS., Abb.35, EMMML.8400. BL.485 includes only one noun in the accusative (ኩሉ፡ እኩያን፡ ወረሲዓን፡). The longer reading inclusive of 'evil ones' was included in the critical texts of Flemming (*Das Buch Henoch*, p.1), Dillmann (*Liber Henoch...*, p.1), and Charles (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.2), yet reflects a secondary interpolation.

¹²¹¹ Many Eth. I include እንከ፡ following this initial verb – this is a revisional feature aimed at improving the syntax and the transition between the Enochic superscription in 1:1 and the beginning of the Enochic preamble in 1:2a – and is attested in: BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Berlin MS., Schøyen, EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400 and in Eth. II MG.18, IES.675, Abb.99. Variants of the initial verb include Ullendorff MS. which omits the conjunction (አውሥኡ፡) and EMMML.6281 which features a first-person suffix 'and he answered me' (ወአውሥኡ፡), according to Stuckenbruck ('1 Enoch 1', p.33). One Eth. II manuscript EMMML.201 reads ወአውሥኡ፡ ጲጥሮስ፡ ወይቤ፡ (And Peter answered and said), with a unique proper name.

¹²¹² ወይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡ – majority Eth. I inc. EMMML.2080, GG.151, Tana.9, Abb.55, RT, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8400. Also, in several Eth. II inc. Bod.74, Curz.55, Abb.30, Paris.50, Princeton, Qär.53 (ወይቤ፡ omitted but read in this position above the line). Several Eth. I include proper name prior to second verb (ሄኖክ፡ ወይቤ፡) inc. BL.485, BL.491, Berlin MS., Abb.35, Schøyen, EMMML.6281, and majority Eth. II including Rylands.23, BL.484, EMMML.4437, MG.18.

¹²¹³ ብእሲ፡ ጸድቅ፡ is majority reading of Eth. I/Eth. II. BL.485 reads ብእሲ፡ ጸድቅ. Tana.9 reads ብእሲ፡ ቡሩክ፡ ወጸድቅ፡. Berlin MS. reads ብእሲ፡ ጸድቅ፡.

¹²¹⁴ ከሥታት፡ – Berlin MS. reads ከሥታት፡.

¹²¹⁵ ራእየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘበስማያት፡ (vision of the Holy One who is in the heavens) – this reading is closer to G^{CP} and is the majority Eth. I/Eth. II reading. Alternative reading ራእየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘበስማያት፡ (A holy vision which is [located] in the heavens) in Abb.35, Abb.55, Parma, GG.151, Parma, RT (ዘበስማያት፡). Variant in Berlin MS. reads ራእየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘበ፡ ስማያት፡(?). Eth. II Vat.71 adds እግዚአብሔር፡.

¹²¹⁶ Berlin MS. and EMMML.8400 instead read ወአርአዩኒ፡ with conjunctive ወ, as does Eth. II Curz.55.

¹²¹⁷ EMMML.1768 reads መላእክት፡.

	<p>ወስማዕኩ፡ እምነቤሆሙ፡¹²¹⁸ ኩሎ፡¹²¹⁹ ወእእመርኩ፡ እነ፡¹²²⁰ ዘእፊኢ፡¹²²¹ ወእኩ፡ ለዝ፡¹²²² ትውልድ፡ አላ፡ ለዘ፡¹²²³ (or፡ ለእንተ፡)¹²²⁴ ትመጽእ፡¹²²⁵ [ትውልድ፡]¹²²⁶ ርሕቅት፡¹²²⁷ (1:3a) በእንተ፡ ጎሩያን፡ እቤ፡¹²²⁸ ወበእንቲአሆሙ፡ አውሣእኩ፡¹²²⁹ ምስለ፡¹²³⁰</p>
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¹²¹⁸ Schøyen reads ብኅቤሆሙ፡. Eth. II manuscripts, EMDA.00219 and Paris.656 add proclitic ዘ (ዘእምነቤሆሙ፡).

¹²¹⁹ BL.485 reads ኩሎ.

¹²²⁰ Pronoun omitted in Berlin MS.

¹²²¹ Majority reading in Eth. I/Eth II. BL.485, Berlin MS, Schøyen, EMLL.6281, EMLL.8400 instead read እርአይ፡. Abb.35¹ reads እርአይ፡ but has supralinear corrective reading of ዘእፊኢ፡ by different scribal hand (Abb.35²). Tana.9 reads እፊኢ፡ without relative particle. Abb.55 reads ዘእርአይ፡. This proclitic za- is a supralinear corrective reading in Eth. II MG.18 ('እፊኢ፡')

¹²²² This is proclitically attached to consequent noun in BL.491 and in Eth. II EMDA.00219. Tana.9 instead reads እኩ፡ ዛ፡.

¹²²³ BL.491 and Schøyen include this proclitically attached to following verb. This proclitic attachment is also attested in many Eth. II inc. Bod.74, Curz.55, Curz.56, BL.484, BL.490, BL.492, BL.499, Abb.16, Abb.30, Abb.99, Paris.32, Paris.50, Paris.395, Princeton, EMDA.00219. In the Eth. I manuscript EMLL.6281, this plus preceding አላ፡ is replaced with እም (Stuckenbruck, 'Witnesses...', p.479).

¹²²⁴ Following Tana.9 and EMLL.2080 for bracketed variant. The majority Eth. I reading provides a closer correspondence to fragmentary reading of 4QEn^a, however, the early exemplars Tana.9 and EMLL.2080 may attest to an earlier Ethiopic reading, whilst the majority Eth. I reading might reflect a secondary harmonization to improve the parallelism.

¹²²⁵ Feminine singular form ትመጽእ፡ is featured in Tana.9, EMLL.2080, EMLL.8400. Masculine singular ይመጽእ፡ appears in majority of Eth. I manuscripts yet reflects a secondary emendation of the feminine form due to a distinct interpretation of the gender of the noun ትውልድ፡ – masculine verb attested in BL.485, BL.491, Berlin MS., Abb.35, Abb.55, GG.151. Parma, Schøyen, Camb.1570, EMLL.1768, EMLL.6281, EMLL.7584. A plural form ይመጽኡ፡ is preserved in EMLL.2436 and in many Eth. II including Rylands.23, Curz.55, Curz.66, Princeton, Qär.53, MG.18, EAP704/2/5, EMLL.36. Entire clause is not preserved in RT.

¹²²⁶ This noun is omitted in majority of Eth. I manuscripts but is preserved in EMLL.2080, EMLL.2436, Camb.1570 and EMLL.7584² and is mirrored by the appearance of an equivalent noun in 4QEn^a (𐤒 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓 – this second noun, however, is omitted in G^{CP}. This noun is attested in most Eth. II manuscripts including Bod.74, Curz.55, Rylands.23, Abb.30, Princeton, IES.675, Qär.53, MG.18 (as supralinear insertion). Charles suggested that it was an Eth. II addition, although he did not have access to these Eth. I manuscripts or 4QEn^a (Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.2.). It may only reflect a secondary inner-Ethiopic re-insertion to improve the parallelism, but it also may represent the Eth.^{ERS} reading, and in this instance the minority Eth. I reading might attest to a G^{Eth} which preserved this noun, in contrast to the defective G^{CP}. This reading was regarded by Stuckenbruck as an insertion which was picked up in the Eth. II recension (Stuckenbruck, 'Witnesses...', p.479).

¹²²⁷ The identification of the Eth.^{ERS} is here uncertain, as in previous three words. The singular non-accusative form ርሕቅት፡ is only attested in BL.491, EMLL.8400, Abb.35². The singular accusative ርሕቅተ፡ is attested in BL.485, Berlin MS., Tana.9, Schøyen, Abb.35¹, EMLL.6281. A plural form with proclitic 'from' is attested (እምርሕቅት፡) is attested in Abb.55, GG.151, Parma, Camb.1570, EMLL.7584. A plural form without this proclitic (ርሕቅት፡) is attested in EMLL.2436, and in many Eth. II including Rylands.23, Bod.74, Curz.56, BL.490, Abb.30, MG.18, Qär.53, EMLL.201, EMLL.4750. EMLL.2080 is defective here, whilst EMLL.1768 is not legible.

¹²²⁸ Berlin instead reads ጎሩያን፡ ወእቤ፡, with accusative 'chosen ones' and a proclitic conjunction on the speech verb. Eth. II Curz.55 instead reads ይቤ፡. Many Eth. I manuscripts punctuate 'concerning the chosen ones I speak' to be read with the preceding clause (inc. Schøyen, EMLL.1768, EMLL.2080, EMLL.2436, EMLL.6281). In contrast, the remaining Eth. I manuscripts punctuate it with the following clause from 1:3a 'and I uttered concerning them a parable.'

¹²²⁹ ወበእንቲአሆሙ፡ አውሣእኩ፡ - is the minority Eth. I reading yet corresponds with the word-order of G^{CP}. It is attested in GG.151, Parma, Tana.9 (ወበእንቲአሆሙ፡). A similar reading በእንቲአሆሙ፡== አውሣእኩ፡ ምስለ፡ is preserved in EMLL.2080. The secondary variant ወአውሣእኩ፡ በእንቲአሆሙ፡ is preserved in other Eth. I manuscripts, is the standard Eth. II reading, and was included in Charles' eclectic edition (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.2).

¹²³⁰ Tana.9 instead reads ወበእንቲአሆሙ፡ ወአውሣእኩ፡ ምስለ፡ ምሳሌ፡ (And concerning them. And I answered with a parable...).

	And he answered and said, ‘Enoch, a Righteous Man, who was before God when his eyes were opened, and he saw the vision of the Holy One who is in heaven, which the angels showed me, and I heard from them everything. And I indeed understand what I saw, but not for this generation but for the distant [generation] that will come, (1:3a) concerning the chosen ones I speak. And concerning them I answer [with] a parable...
Eth.^{ERS} 1:3b-4	ይወፅእ፡ ¹²³¹ ቅዱስ፡ ¹²³² ወዐቢይ፡ ¹²³³ እማኅደሩ፡ ወእምላክ፡ ዓላም፡ ¹²³⁴ (1:4) ወእምሆ፡ ¹²³⁵ ይከይድ፡ ¹²³⁶ ዲበ፡ ሲና፡ ደብር፡ ወያስተርኢ፡ ¹²³⁷ በትዕይንቱ፡ ¹²³⁸ ወያስተርኢ፡ ¹²³⁹ በኃይለ፡ ጽንዑ፡ ¹²⁴⁰ እምስማይ፡ ¹²⁴¹
	The Holy and Great One will come forth from His dwelling – that is, the Lord of the World/Eternity. ¹²⁴² (1:4) from there He will tread upon Mount Sinai,

¹²³¹ Some Eth. I have proclitic *il*, which is a secondary feature, but which may have one of three functions. It may subordinate the beginning of the theophany in 1:3b to the content of the Enochic preamble in 1:3a. Alternatively, it may function as a discourse marker. Thirdly, it may create a relative construction, i.e. ‘the one who is the Holy and Great one will come forth’ (Stuckenbruck, ‘Witnesses...’, p.481). This proclitic *il* appears in BL.491, Camb.1570, EMMML.2080 (letter possibly added by a second scribe as correction), EMMML.2436, EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584² and in most Eth. II including Rylands.23, Curz.55, Bod.74, EMMML.4437. The particle is absent in most Eth. I inc. BL.485, Abb.55, Berlin MS., Tana.9, Schøyen, GG.151, Parma, RT, EMMML.1768, EMMML.7584¹, EMMML.8400, and Eth. II BL.492. Abb.35 instead reads *il*ይመፅእ፡ (He will come), which is also similarly attested with an orthographic variant in Eth. II IES.675 (ይመፅእ፡). Abb.35 probably reflects a scribal misreading of *ω* for *σ*. One Eth. II manuscript (MG.18) omits proclitic *il* but includes it as a supralinear correction.

¹²³² Tana.9 defectively reads ቅዱ፡.

¹²³³ Following Berlin MS., Abb.55, GG.151, Schøyen, EMMML.2080. Many Eth. I/majority Eth. II read ወዓቢይ፡.

¹²³⁴ This title and its role in the syntactical structure of the stanza was difficult for later readers and copyists. Some manuscripts punctuate this title with the preceding stanza, and some with the following stanzas (as reflected in G^{CP}). Some include final :: after እማኅደሩ. The Eth. I manuscripts with punctuation after ወእምላክ፡ ዓላም፡ include Abb.55, GG.151. Many only include word dividers, providing no clear indication how to read the title in its context. Furthermore, some manuscripts omit initial conjunction on እምላክ፡ including BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Schøyen (እምላክ፡), Tana.9, and Eth. II Ullendorff MS. and MG.18 (corrective supralinear addition). One Eth. I manuscript (EMMML.6281) reads እምላክ (his God/Lord). Some Eth. I omit ዓላም including BL.485, Abb.35, Berlin MS., Schøyen and Eth. II MG.18 (omits ዓላም but included as supralinear correction). The Eth. II manuscript BL.492 instead reads እምላክ፡ ዘለዓለም፡.

¹²³⁵ Parma reads variant final letter (ወእምሆይ፡).

¹²³⁶ Verb omitted in BL.491 – the second stanza is therein reliant on the clause-initial verb in 1:3b (ይወፅእ፡).

¹²³⁷ GG.151 reads ወያስተራኢ፡. Schøyen reads ወያስተራኢ፡.

¹²³⁸ BL.491 reads defective በትዕይንቱ. According to Stuckenbruck ወያስተርኢ፡ በትዕይንቱ፡ is omitted in RT through homoioarcton then restored in supralinear text (Stuckenbruck, ‘Witnesses...’, p.482). Both Parma and RT have orthographic variant በትዕይንቱ፡.

¹²³⁹ Berlin MS. reads ወያስተራኢ፡.

¹²⁴⁰ Eth. I manuscripts feature variation in word-order. Following majority reading of Eth. I inc. BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Berlin MS. (በኅ(?)ይለ፡ ጽንዑ፡), Tana.9 (በኅይለ፡ ጽንዑ፡), Schøyen (final letter *o* obscured by margin, possibly *o*), EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400, and in minority of Eth. II including IES.675, MG.18 (በኃይለ፡ ጽንዑ፡). Other manuscripts read በጽንዑ፡ ኅይለ፡ inc. Abb.55, GG.151, RT (በጽንዑ፡ ኃይለ፡), Parma, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768 (በጽንዑ፡ ኅይለ፡), EMMML.2080 (በፅንዑ፡ ኃይለ፡) EMMML.2436 (በጽንዑ፡ ኃይለ፡), EMMML.7584 and in majority Eth. II including Rylands.23 (በጽንዑ፡ ኃይለ፡), Curz.55 (በጽንዑ፡ ኃይለ፡), Bod.74 (በጽንዑ፡ ኃይለ፡), Abb.16 (በጽንዑ፡ ኃይለ፡).

¹²⁴¹ Abb.35 reads እምስማይት፡. This reading is also preserved in Eth. II IES.675.

¹²⁴² Translation following interpretation of Knibb and Stuckenbruck, who regard it as an explicative phrase. Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.2*, p.58; Stuckenbruck, ‘1 Enoch 1’, p.34.

	And He will appear with His army/host (or: in his camp) And He will appear with the strength of His might from heaven.
Eth.^{ERS} 1:5	ወይፈርህ፡ ¹²⁴³ ኩሉ፡ ወያድለቀልቁ፡ ትጉሃን፡ ወይነሥኦሙ፡ ፍርሃት፡ ¹²⁴⁴ ወረዓድ፡ ¹²⁴⁵ በቢይ፡ ¹²⁴⁶ እስከ፡ አጽናፈ፡ ምድር። And all will fear, And the watchers will shake, And fear and a great trembling will seize them [or: take them) until the ends of the earth.
Eth.^{ERS} 1:6	ወይወድቁ፡ ¹²⁴⁷ ወይደነግ፡ አድባር፡ ነዋኝን፡ ¹²⁴⁸ ወይቴሐቱ፡ ¹²⁴⁹ አውግር፡ ነዋኝት፡ ¹²⁵⁰

¹²⁴³ The plural verb ወይፈርህ፡ is only preserved in a minority of Eth. I manuscripts, however, it agrees with the plural of G^{CP}. The plural appears in Abb.35 and RT but also in two Eth. II manuscripts Paris.395 and IES.675 (ወይፈርህ፡). The variant ወይፈርህዎ፡ with a suffix (And he will fear it/him) appears in EMMML.6281. The singular verb ወይፈርህ is the majority Eth. I reading and appears in BL.485, BL.491, Abb.55, Berlin MS., Tana.9, Parma, GG.151, Schøyen, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8400 and in most Eth. II manuscripts inc. Rylands.23, Bod.74, EMMML.5003, MG.18.

¹²⁴⁴ Orthographic variant ፍርሃት፡ in BL.491, RT, EMMML.2080, EMMML.5003. Berlin MS. and Schøyen read accusative ፍርሃት፡.

¹²⁴⁵ The Ethiopic presupposes a different order (φοβος και τρομος) to that in G^{CP} (τρομος και φοβος). The reading ፍርሃት፡ወረዓድ፡ is attested in the most Eth. I manuscripts, inc. – BL.485, BL.491 (ፍርሃት፡), Abb.35, Tana.9, Camb.1570, RT, EMMML.1768, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400 and most Eth. II manuscripts inc. Bod.74, Rylands.23, MG.18. Berlin MS. has first-radical variant ወረዓድ፡. RT, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768 have second-radical variant ወረዓድ፡. Some Eth. I feature secondary variant ወበረዓድ፡ (and with trembling), inc. GG.151, Abb.55(?), Parma, and EMMML.7584.

¹²⁴⁶ Attested in most Eth. I inc. for example GG.151., Parma, RT, Schøyen, Berlin MS., Abb.55, GG.151, EMMML.2080. Other Eth. I inc. BL.485, BL.491 and most Eth. II inc. Rylands.23 and MG.18 attest orthographic variant ዓቢይ፡. Abb.35 omits and includes ዓቢይ፡ in marginalia.

¹²⁴⁷ ወይወድቁ፡ is attested only in Tana.9, and is omitted in all other Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts, yet closely corresponds to G^{CP} (και πεσοῦνται) and clearly preserves an earlier stratum of the Ethiopic text. RT omits entire verse except for third stanza.

¹²⁴⁸ ነዋኝን፡ – Abb.55, EMMML.2080, Abb.55, Parma, GG.151 (ነዋኝን፡), BL.485 (ነዋሐን), EMMML.1768, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584, Camb.1570, and Eth. II Bod.74, Rylands. 23, Princeton. ነዋኝት – BL.491, Schøyen, Abb.35 (ነዋሃት፡), Tana.9 (ወነዋኝት፡), EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400, and Eth. II MG.18, EAP704/2/5, EMMML.4437. This former reading reflects a harmonization with the similar adjective in the next stanza. Variant ነዋኝ፡ in Berlin MS. Eth. II Ullendorff reads ነዋኝን፡.

¹²⁴⁹ ወይቴሐቱ፡ አውግር፡ ነዋኝት፡ omitted in Schøyen through homoioteleuton according to Stuckenbruck ('Witnesses...', p.484).

¹²⁵⁰ ነዋኝት፡ - is attested by most Eth. II manuscripts and a limited number of Eth. I. inc. Abb.35, Abb.55, BL.491. Orthographic variant ነዋኝት፡ in EMMML.2080, GG.151, Parma. ነዋኝት – BL.485, Tana.9. Berlin MS. reads accusative ነዋኝት፡. This entire stanza is omitted in Schøyen. Eth. II Ullendorff reads ነዋኝን፡.

	ወይትመስወ፡ ¹²⁵¹ ከመ፡ መዓረ፡ ግራ፡ እምላህብ፡ ¹²⁵²
	And the high mountains will fall and quake, And the high hills will be made low, And they will melt like wax from [before] a flame.
Eth. ^{ERS} 1:7- 1:8a	ወትሠጠጥ፡ ¹²⁵³ ምድር፡ ወኸሉ፡ ¹²⁵⁴ ዘውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ¹²⁵⁵ ይትሐገ፡ ¹²⁵⁶ ወይከውን፡ ፍትሕ፡ ¹²⁵⁷ ላዕለ፡ ኸሉ፡ ¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵¹ This plural verb agrees with the plural καὶ τακίσονται in G^{CP}. It is preserved in Eth. I manuscripts BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55, Berlin MS., GG.151, Tana.9, Camb.1570, EMMML.1768, EMMML.7584 and in some Eth. II inc. Rylands.23, MG.18, BL.491. Several Eth. I have singular ወይትመስወ፡ inc. BL.485, RT, Parma, Schøyen, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400 and Eth. II Bod.74, Abb.16, EMMML.201. The shift from a plural to a singular verb may be indicative of an audio-visual error, due to the similar lettering of ወ./ው, however, the use of a singular verb with a plural subject is not an unusual feature in Ge'ez. In *Ethiopic Micah* 1:4, the Ethiopic manuscripts also exhibit similar variation between the singular verb ወይትመስወ፡ and the plural ወይትመስወ፡ in relation to the plural አውግር. The singular verb can still be interpreted collectively, and this does not change the meaning of the clause.

¹²⁵² Orthographic variant እምላህብ፡ in Parma, EMMML.2436, EMMML.8400, GG.151(?). BL.485 has proclitic conjunction ወእምላህብ፡ (and from the flame).

¹²⁵³ This reading agrees with G^{CP} and is found in many Eth. I manuscripts including BL.485, Berlin MS. (ወትሰጠጥ፡), Abb.35¹ (original reading, final letter changed though from ጥ to ም, and early reading then added into margin), Tana.9, Schøyen (ወተሰጠጥ፡), EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436 (ወትሰጠጥ፡), EMMML.6281, EMMML.8400. Secondary reading ወትሠጠጥ፡ is majority reading in Eth. II and is preserved in many Eth. I manuscripts inc. BL.491 (ወትሰጠጥ፡), Abb.35² (corrective reading with final letter emended in text), Abb.55, GG.151, Parma, RT, EMMML.1768 (ወትሰጠጥ፡), EMMML.7584, EMMML.8347, and in Eth. II Rylands.23 (ወትሰጠጥ፡), Bod.74, IES.675, EMMML.4750 (ወትሠጥም፡). Secondary variant of this reading ወታሠጥም፡ is attested in Eth. I Camb.1570 and in Eth. II BL.490, Bod.531, Qär.53, EMMML.6686 (marginalia ወትሠጠ፡), EMMML.6930, EMMML.7103 (ወታሰጥም፡ with marginalia correction ተሰጠ), whilst Paris.50 has marginalia gloss of ወታሰጥ፡. Variant ወይትትቀጠቀጥ፡ ኸሉ፡ ምድር፡ is attested in Eth. II MG.18 – the supralinear letter is probably included as a correction on the masculine prefix ይ, and indicates correction to ወትትቀጠቀጥ፡.

¹²⁵⁴ Tana.9, Parma, Schøyen instead read ወኸሉ፡.

¹²⁵⁵ Noun omitted, along with the preceding preposition and quantifier, by EMMML.8400 – by homoioteleuton according to Stuckenbruck ('1 Enoch 1', p.36). Also omitted in Eth. II manuscript BL.499.

¹²⁵⁶ Following Abb.55, RT, Schøyen, Tana.9(?), GG.151, Berlin MS. (ይት-ነገ፡), Abb.35 (ይት-ነገ፡), Parma (ይት-ነገ፡), Camb.1570, EMMML.1768(?), EMMML.2080, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8400. Variant with 6th order first radical in EMMML.2080 (ይት-ሐገ፡?). Variant with 4th order radical ይት-ነገ፡ attested in BL.491 (plus conjunction) and EMMML.2436 and in many Eth. II manuscripts inc. Bod.74, Rylands.23, MG.18. Several Eth. I inc. BL.485, BL.491 (ወይት-ነገ፡), EMMML.6281 include conjunction (ወይት-ሐገ፡). This conjunction separates the verb from the rest of the preceding stanza, and instead subordinates the 'all which is upon the earth' to the actional process of the verb in 1:7a rather than the verb ይት-ሐገ፡ used in 1:7b.

¹²⁵⁷ Following Eth. I reading (And judgement will be upon all) as in Abb.35, Abb.55, RT, Camb.1570, EMMML.2080, EMMML.2436, EMMML.7584, EMMML.8400. This reading agrees with G^{CP} (καὶ κρίσις ἔσται κατὰ πάντων). The majority reading in Eth. I is the accusative ፍትሕ፡ (And He will bring judgment upon all) in BL.485, BL.491, Berlin MS., Tana.9, GG.151, Parma, Schøyen, EMMML.1768, EMMML.6281. However, the accusative shifts the nominal subject from the 'judgment' to 'God' and therein introduces an explicit agent into the stanza.

¹²⁵⁸ Following majority Eth. I reading. Variant ኸሉ፡ attested in Schøyen, EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584 – possibly a scribal error based on the analogous reading in the subsequent clause. Parma reads ኸሉ, whilst ላዕለ፡ ኸሉ፡ is omitted in Abb.55.

	(1:8a) [ወላዕለ፡ ጸድቃን፡ ከሎሙ፡ ¹²⁵⁹] ¹²⁶⁰
	And the earth will be split, And everything that is upon the earth will be destroyed, And judgement will be upon all, [1:8a: and even upon all the righteous ones].
Eth. ^{ERS} 1:8b-g	ለጸድቃን[ሰ]፡ ¹²⁶¹ ሰላም፡ ይገብር፡ ¹²⁶² ወየዐቅቦሙ፡ ¹²⁶³ ለኅሩያን፡ ¹²⁶⁴ ወይከውን፡ ሣህል፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ ¹²⁶⁵ ወይከውን፡ ከሎሙ፡ ዘአምላክ፡ ወይሴርሑ፡ ¹²⁶⁶ ወይትባረኩ፡ ወይበርህ፡ ሎሙ፡ ብርሃን፡ ¹²⁶⁷ አምላክ፡
	To the righteous ones He will make peace, And He will protect the chosen ones, And mercy will be upon them, And they will be, all of them, of God. And they will prosper, and they will be blessed, And the Light of God will shine for them.

¹²⁵⁹ Tana.9 instead reads ወለከሎሙ፡ ጸድቃን፡. EML 8400 omits ወላዕለ፡ and ከሎሙ፡. Eth. II MG.18 omits ከሎሙ፡.

¹²⁶⁰ This clause has been relocated from beginning of 1:8 to end of 1:7 – in contrast to where it was positioned by Charles and Nickelsburg – but following the reading of Stuckenbruck ('1 Enoch 1', pp.36-37). The punctuation in many manuscripts suggests that this bracketed clause was read with 1:7 rather than 1:8. For example, in Eth. I Abb.35 (ከሎሙ፡), Abb.55 (ከሎሙ፡), GG.151 (ከሎሙ፡), Schøyen (ከሎሙ፡), Parma (ከሎሙ፡), RT (ከሎሙ፡), EML.1768 (ከሎሙ፡), and in Eth. II BL.490 (ከሎሙ፡), Abb.30 (ከሎሙ፡), Abb.99 (ከሎሙ፡), Princeton (ከሎሙ፡), IES 675 (ከሎሙ፡), EML.4437 (ከሎሙ፡), EML.5003 (ከሎሙ፡), EML.5591 (ከሎሙ፡), Paris.50 (ከሎሙ፡), Rylands.23 (ከሎሙ፡) and Qär.53 (ከሎሙ፡). Eth. II EMDA.00219 instead reads ወላዕለ፡ ጸድቃን፡ ከሎሙ፡, whilst there is a reversal of word-order in Eth. II EAP704/2/5 (ወላዕለ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ጸድቃን፡).

¹²⁶¹ Most Eth. I manuscripts omit topicalizing ሰ including BL.485, Berlin MS, Abb.35¹, Abb.55, GG.151, Schøyen, RT, Parma, Camb.1570, EML.1768, EML.2080¹, EML.7584¹, EML.8400. Variant ለጸድቃን፡ with topicalizing ሰ in BL.491, Abb.35², Tana.9, EML.2080², EML.2436, EML.7584². The topicalizing particle is the majority reading in Eth. II manuscripts, including for example Bod.74, Curz.55, BL.490, Rylands.23, Abb.16, Vat.71, Qär.53, MG.18, IES.675, EML.4437. Paris.395 reads ለጸድቃን፡ ሰ፡. MG.18 reads ለጸድቃን፡, however, this is a replacement reading, with an underlying reading scraped off. The addition of the topicalizing particle reflects a syntactical clarification.

¹²⁶² Some Eth. I manuscripts add ሎሙ (to/for them) as object of verb, inc.: BL.491, EML.2436, and as a supralinear addition in Abb.35², RT², EML 7584². Also included in most Eth. II except BL.492, EML 4750. Absent in following Eth I manuscripts: BL.485, Berlin MS., Abb.35¹, Abb.55, GG.151, Tana.9, Camb.1570, RT¹, Parma, Schøyen, EML.1768, EML.2080, EML.6281, EML.7584¹, EML.8400. One manuscript, EML.1768, has a supralinear mark after ይገብር፡ that may indicate a marginalia reading although this is uncertain as the marginalia is water damaged.

¹²⁶³ Majority Eth. I reading ወየዐቅቦሙ፡ in, for example, Berlin MS., Abb.55, GG.151, RT, Schøyen, EML.1768, EML.2080 (ወየ(ያ)ዐቅቦሙ፡) and orthographic variant ወየኅቅቦሙ፡ in BL.485, Abb.35, Parma, EML.2436, and most Eth. II manuscripts inc. Rylands.23, Qär.53, MG.18. Variant ወየኅቅቦሙ፡ in BL.491 and possibly in Eth. II manuscript IES.675.

¹²⁶⁴ First radical variant ለኅሩያን፡ in BL.485.

¹²⁶⁵ Entire clause ወይከውን፡ ሣህል፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ omitted in Berlin MS. Some Eth. I manuscripts read accusative ሣህል፡ including BL.485, Abb.35² (corrective change), Abb.55, GG.151, Parma, Schøyen, EML.1768, EML.6281, EML.7584.

¹²⁶⁶ Berlin MS. reads ወይሴርሑ፡ ወይትባረኩ፡. Eth. II Ullendorff omits ወይትባረኩ፡.

¹²⁶⁷ BL.485 reads ብርሃን፡, also in Eth. II BL.499.

Eth.^{ERS} 1:9	¹²⁶⁸ [ወ]ናሁ፡ ¹²⁶⁹ መጽእ፡ ¹²⁷⁰ በትእልፊት፡ ¹²⁷¹ ቅዱሳን፡ ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ፍትሐ፡ ¹²⁷² ላዕለ፡ ኩሉ፡ ¹²⁷³ ወያኅጉሎሙ፡ ¹²⁷⁴ ለረሲዓን፡
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¹²⁶⁸ Two manuscripts omit initial conjunctive ወ – Tana.9, and Eth. II Paris.656 (preserves a paraphrased text only). This parallels Ethiopic *Jude* 14b where this conjunction is absent. The conjunction may be a secondary addition that marks 1:9 as relative to 1:8 (i.e. ‘that is, behold’). The omission in Tana.9, however, might also reflect a correction against Ethiopic *Jude* 14b, as this manuscript also features the imperfect ይመጽእ፡ instead of the usual perfect, as also reflected in Ethiopic *Jude*. Tana.9 therefore might reflect an intertextual correction. As a result, this conjunction is bracketed as a possible reading of Eth.^{ERS}.

¹²⁶⁹ The perfect መጽእ፡ is preserved in BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Abb.55, Berlin MS., GG.151, RT, Parma, Camb.1570, EMML.1768, EMML.2080, EMML.2436, EMML.6281, EMML.7584, and in majority Eth II inc. Rylands.23, Bod.74, MG.18, and also agrees with G^{Jude}. Two Eth. I manuscripts instead feature imperfect ይመጽእ፡ – Tana.9, Schøyen and Eth. II manuscript Curz.56. This imperfect could also be read as a present ‘he comes’ and as agreeing with the present in G^{CP} (ἔρχεται). The perfect is supported by the weight of the manuscript evidence and is adopted here as the Eth.^{ERS}, however, the imperfect may be preferable.

¹²⁷⁰ Variant በትእልፍተ፡ in Tana.9. Variant በትእልፈተ፡ in Camb.1570, EMML.7584. Variant በትዕልፈተ፡ አእላፍ፡ (with a myriad of thousands) in Eth. II Ullendorff MS.

¹²⁷¹ Omitted in BL.491.

¹²⁷² EMML.2080, Schøyen, and RT have reversed order of verb and noun (ከመ፡ ፍትሐ፡ ይግበር፡). Parma reads ፍትሕ.

¹²⁷³ Following reading of EMML.2080 ላዕለ፡ ኩሉ፡. Tana.9 has the unique but similar reading of ላዕለ፡ ኩሎሙ፡. RT and Parma include the quantifier (ላዕሊሆሙ፡ ኩሉ፡). These manuscripts both feature the qualifier and the independent preposition that agrees closely with G^{CP}/G^{Jude} (κατὰ πάντων). The majority Eth. I/Eth. II reading is ላዕሊሆሙ፡. This is a secondary development from an earlier reading equivalent to RT and Parma, wherein the quantifier has been secondarily omitted. The reading ላዕሊሆሙ፡ is attested in all other Eth. I manuscripts. Charles suggested that it was corrupt for ላዕሊሆሙ፡ and referred to the readings of G^{CP}, G^{Jude} and Pseudo-Cyprian as evidence for the preferability of this reading (Charles, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4). Charles did not have access to Tana.9 or EMML.2080, and whilst his precise reconstruction is not attested, his instincts were correct.

¹²⁷⁴ Following imperfect in EMML.2080, Tana.9, BL.485 (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), Abb.35, Abb.55 (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), GG.151 (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), Parma (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), Camb.1570 (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), EMML.7584, that corresponds closely to the future indicative ἀπολέσει in G^{CP}, and is also preserved in many Eth. II inc. IES.675 (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡) Other manuscripts include subjunctive ወያኅጉሎሙ፡ form that may agree instead with G^{Jude}, including BL.491, Berlin MS. (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), RT (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), Schøyen (ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), EMML.1768 (partially obscured but probable ወያኅጉሎሙ፡), EMML.2436, EMML.6281. The evidence is mixed, and the Eth.^{ERS} is not certain here. The imperfect provides a close correspondence to G^{CP}, and the shift to the subjunctive probably reflects a secondary inner-Ethiopic syntactical revision. This syntactical shift improves the parallelism with the previous subjunctive ይግበር፡. The Eth. II manuscript MG.18 features the unique reading ወኣኅጉሎሙ፡.

	<p>ወይዘላፍ፡¹²⁷⁵ ኩሉ፡¹²⁷⁶ ዘሥጋ፡ በእንተ፡¹²⁷⁷ ኩሉ፡¹²⁷⁸ ዘገብሩ፡¹²⁷⁹ ወረሰዩ፡¹²⁸⁰ ላዕሌሁ፡¹²⁸¹ ኃጥኣን፡ ወረሲዓን፡¹²⁸²</p>
	<p>[And] Behold, he has come with ten thousands of (or: myriads) holy ones, in order to enact judgement upon all, and He will destroy the wicked ones, and He will convict (or: reprove) all flesh concerning everything which they have done, and they have acted against Him,¹²⁸³ the sinners and wicked ones.</p>

¹²⁷⁵ Following the reading of several Eth. I manuscripts, including EMMML.2080, BL.485 (ወይዘላፍ፡), GG.151 (ወይዘላፍ፡), Parma, Schøyen (ወይዘላፍ፡), EMMML.2436 (ወይዘላፍ፡), EMMML.1768 (partially obscured). Variants of the root ዘለፈ include ወይዘላፍ፡ in Berlin MS., RT, Tana.9, Abb.35, Abb.55, EMMML.6281, EMMML.7584, and Eth. II MG.18, IES.675. ወይዘላፍ፡ (subjunctive) only in Eth. II BL.491 and reflects a secondary revision to subordinate this clause to two preceding clauses which also feature subjunctive forms in this manuscript. The secondary revisional reading ወይትዋቀስ/ሥ፡ (and he will contend with) is preserved in Camb.1570 and in majority Eth. II inc.: Bod.74, Curz.55, Curz.56, BL.484, BL.490, BL.492, BL.499, Rylands.23, Abb.16, Abb.30, Abb.99, Paris.50, Paris.32, Paris.395, Princeton, EMDA.00219, Qär.53, Vat.71, Cerulli.75, Cerulli.110, Cerulli.131, EAP704/2/5, EMMML.36, EMMML.201 (ዘገብሩ፡), EMMML.629, EMMML.1950, EMMML.2440, EMMML.3407, EMMML.4437, EMMML.4750, EMMML.5003, EMMML.5589, EMMML.5591, EMMML.6686, EMMML.6930, EMMML.7103, EMMML.8098, Munich.30, Frankfurt.Or., Abb.197, Bod.531, BL.24185, BL.24990, Hamburg.271a, Ullendorff MS.

¹²⁷⁶ ኩሉ፡ – Parma, EMMML.7584, and BL.491.

¹²⁷⁷ ዘበእንተ፡ – BL.491.

¹²⁷⁸ Variant ኩሉ፡ in Parma. Variant ኩሉ፡ in Schøyen(?), EMMML.1768, EMMML.7584. BL.491 includes additional ዘሥጋ፡.

¹²⁷⁹ Singular verb ዘገብሩ፡ preserved in GG.151, Parma, and possibly Eth. II EMMML.201. Charles indicated that the reading was corrupt and defective and suggested the reconstruction ኩሉ፡ ግብሩ፡ ርስዓኖሙ፡ ዘ (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4).

¹²⁸⁰ Following majority Eth. I reading. The variant ወዘረሰዩ፡ (with proclitic relative pronoun) is preserved in EMMML.2080, whilst Tana.9 reads ዘረሰዩ፡. Singular ወረሰዩ፡ preserved in GG.151, Parma. Charles suggested that the Ethiopic verb should be emended to ርስዑ፡, following the reading of G^{CP}/G^{Jude} (ῥῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ) and in dialogue with G^{CP}/G^{Jude}/Pseudo-Cyprian that the reading ወበእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዕፁብት፡ ዘነበቡ፡ should be restored to the text (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4). No such reading is attested in any Ethiopic witness.

¹²⁸¹ ላዕሌሁ፡ in Berlin MS. and Eth. II MG.18.

¹²⁸² Following majority Eth. I/Eth. II reading. Three manuscripts include the accusative form of the nouns, see first two variants. ኃጥኣን፡ ወረሲዓን፡ in BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35. ኃጥኣን፡ ወረሲዓን in Berlin MS. RT only reads ኃጥኣን፡.

¹²⁸³ Literarily, 'they have set against him'. Possibly emend to ርስዑ፡ (they have transgressed) as argued by Charles (*Ethiopic Enoch*, p.4).

Supplement Table 1.9 (Chapter 1, on 4QEn^c BW 1:9)	
G ^{CP} BW 1:9	ὅτι ἔρχεται σὺν ταῖς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἐλέγξει πᾶσαν σάρκα <u>περὶ πάντων ἔργων</u> τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν <u>καὶ σκληρῶν</u> ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων, καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.

Supplement Table 2.1 (Chapter 2, on G^{CP} BW 1:1)¹²⁸⁴		
BW 1:1a – Λόγος εὐλογίας Ἐνώχ		
Amos 1:1	דְּבָרֵי עָמוֹס	Λόγοι Ἀμώς
Nehemiah 1:1	דְּבָרֵי נְחֶמְיָה בֶּן־חַכְנְיָה	Λόγοι Νεεμια υἱοῦ Ἀχαλια.
Proverbs 30:1	דְּבָרֵי אֲגוּר בֶּן־נֶחֱמִי	Τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους, υἱέ
Proverbs 31:1	דְּבָרֵי לִמְיָאֵל	Οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι
Zechariah 8:1	יְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת לְאֵמֶר:	Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου παντοκράτορος λέγων
Zechariah 9:1/12:1	מִשָּׁא דְבַר־יְהוָה	Λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου
Joel 1:1	דְּבַר־יְהוָה	Λόγος κυρίου,
Malachi 1:1	מִשָּׁא דְבַר־יְהוָה	Λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου
Jeremiah 1:1	דְּבָרֵי יִרְמְיָהוּ בֶן־חֶלְקִיָּהוּ	Τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ
Hosea 1:1a	דְּבַר־יְהוָה	Λόγος κυρίου
Jonah 1:1a	יְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יֹנָתָן	Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰωναν
Zephaniah 1:1	דְּבַר־יְהוָה	Λόγος κυρίου
Ecclesiastes 1:1	דְּבָרֵי קְהֵלֶת	Ρήματα Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ

Supplement Table 2.3 (Chapter 2, on G^{CP} BW 1:3b-4)¹²⁸⁵		
BW 15:7b	τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἢ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν	The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their <u>abode</u> .

¹²⁸⁴ Hebrew readings follow: Elliger, K. & Rudolph, W., & Kittel, R. & A. Schenker et al. 1997. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (5th edition), Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart. Greek readings follow: Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Duodecim Prophetiae*, pp.148, 180, 205, 228, 244, 275, 305, 309, 318, 328; Ziegler, J. 1957. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, Vol. XV: *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, p.149; Rahlfs, pp.224, 227, 238.

¹²⁸⁵ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, pp.29-30.

BW 15:8	καὶ νῦν οἱ γίγαντες οἱ γεννηθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ σαρκὸς πνεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡ <u>κατοίκησις</u> αὐτῶν ἔσται.	And now the giants, the ones begotten from spirit and flesh, mighty flesh upon the earth, and in earth will be their <u>abode</u> .
BW 15:10	πνεύματα οὐρανοῦ, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡ <u>κατοίκησις</u> αὐτῶν ἔσται καὶ τὰ πνεύματα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ γεννηθέντα, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ <u>κατοίκησις</u> αὐτῶν ἔσται.	The spirits of heaven, in heaven will be their <u>abode</u> , and the spirits that were begotten on earth, upon the earth will be their <u>abode</u> .

Supplement Table 2.9 (Chapter 2, on The Language of G ^{CP} in its Historical and Socio-Religious Context)		
1:1	ἐξῶραι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ <u>σωθήσονται δίκαιοι</u>	...to remove all the enemies, but <u>the righteous ones will be saved</u> .
1:2	καὶ <u>ἁγιολόγων</u> ἁγίων ἤκουσα ἐγώ	And the <u>holy words</u> of the holy ones I indeed heard...
1:7	καὶ διασχισθήσεται ἡ γῆ [<u>σχίσμα ῥαγάδι</u>]	And the earth will be split apart [<u>a schism, to a crevice (or: fragmentarily)</u>]
1:8	καὶ μετὰ τῶν δικαίων τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσει καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γενήσεται ἔλεος καὶ ἔσονται πάντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐδοκίαν δώσει αὐτοῖς καὶ πάντας εὐλογήσει καὶ <u>πάντων ἀντιλήμψεται καὶ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν</u> καὶ φανήσεται αὐτοῖς φῶς καὶ ποιήσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην.	And with the righteous ones He will make peace, And upon the chosen ones will be preservation <u>and peace</u> . And upon them will be mercy, And they will all belong to God, And He will give to them (His) good-pleasure. And He will bless all, <u>And He will support all, and He will help us,</u> And a light will shine for them, <u>And He will set peace upon them.</u>

Supplement Table 3.1 (Chapter 3, Introductory Section)	
4QEn ^c 1:9	G ^{CP} BW 1:9
<p>רבו קדישו יהי בשר על עובדו] וקרבן וקרבן</p>	<p>ὅτι ἔρχεται σὺν ταῖς μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἐλέγξει πᾶσαν σάρκα περὶ πάντων ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἡσέβησαν καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων, καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.</p>

G^{Jude} (Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior)¹²⁸⁶	G^{Jude} (Wasserman)¹²⁸⁷
14 Προεφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων· ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ 15 ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων καὶ ἐλέγξει <u>πᾶσαν ψυχὴν</u> περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.	14 προεφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων· ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ 15 ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων καὶ ἐλέγξει <u>πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς</u> περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.
Pseudo-Cyprian, Ad Novatianum 16.5¹²⁸⁸	Pseudo-Vigilius, Contra Varimadum 1.13¹²⁸⁹
Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum facere iudicium de omnibus Et perdere omnes impios Et arguere omnem carnem De omnibus factis impiorum quae fecerunt impie Et de omnibus verbis impiis quae de Deo locuti sunt peccatores.	Et in epistola Iudae apostoli: Ecce veniet Dominus in millibus facere iudicium Et perdere omnes impios Et arguere omnem carnem De omnibus operibus impietatis eorum

Supplement Table 3.5 (Chapter 3, on Variant #5)¹²⁹⁰		
14b	ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ	Behold, the Lord <u>has come</u> (aor. ind.) with His holy myriads
15a	<u>ποιῆσαι</u> κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων	<u>to enact</u> (aor. inf.) judgment against all,
15b	καὶ <u>ἐλέγξει</u> πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς	and <u>to convict</u> (aor. inf.) all the ungodly ones,
15c	περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν <u>ἠσέβησαν</u>	concerning all the ungodly works which <u>they have done</u> (aor. ind.)
15d	καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ὧν <u>ἐλάλησαν</u> κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.	and concerning all the hard things which <u>they have spoken</u> (aor. ind.) against Him, the ungodly sinners.

¹²⁸⁶ Edition: Aland & Aland & Mink & Wachtel, pp.421-424.

¹²⁸⁷ Edition: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.4-13.

¹²⁸⁸ Edition: Dierks, p.150.

¹²⁸⁹ Edition: Schwank, & De Bruyne, & Fraipont, p.28.

¹²⁹⁰ Greek text follows: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.174-184.

Supplement Table 3.7 (Chapter 3, on Variant #7)	
G ^{CP} 1:9c	καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν [λόγων], καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. And the hard [words] which they have spoken, and concerning all which they have spoken against Him, the ungodly sinners.
G ^{Jude} 15c ¹²⁹¹	καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν [λόγων] ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. And concerning all the hard [words] which they have spoken against Him, the ungodly sinners.

Supplement Table 4.a (Chapter 4, on Tana 9 and the Enochic Theophany in the Eth. I Manuscripts)				
Manuscript Number	Abbreviation	Location	Dating	Recension
British Library Orient. 485	BL.485	British Library, London	16 th c.	Eth. I
British Library Orient. 491	BL.491	British Library, London	17 th c.	Eth. I
Berlin Petermann II Nachtrag 29	Berlin MS.	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin ¹²⁹²	16 th c.	Eth. I
Abbadian 35	Abb.35	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	17 th c.	Eth. I
Abbadian 55	Abb.55	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	15 th -16 th c.	Eth. I
Gundä Gundē 151 (Mordini 29)	GG.151	Monastery of Gundä Gundē, Tigray Province, Ethiopia	Late 15 th /Early 16 th c.	Eth. I
Schøyen Ms. 2657	Schøyen	Private collection of Martin Schøyen, Oslo	15 th c.	Eth. I
Univ. Lib. Add. 1570 (Cambridge 1570)	Camb.1570	Cambridge University Library	1588 CE	Eth. I
Lake Tana 9/Kebrān 9 (EMML 8292)	Tana.9	Kebrān	15 th c.	Eth. I
Biblioteca Palatina Parm. 3843 (Mordini 198)	Parma	Parma	Early 16 th c.	Eth. I
Remnant Trust Enoch	RT	Winona Lake, Indiana	Late 15 th /Early 16 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 1768	EMML.1768	Däbrä Hayq Ḑstifānos, Ambāssal, Wallo (HMML Collegeville)	Late 15 th c.	Eth. I

¹²⁹¹ Greek text follows: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.182-184; Bracketed [λόγων] is not included in this edition.

¹²⁹² For further on the location of this manuscript, and its acquisition: Erho & Stuckenbruck, 'A Manuscript History...', pp.102-103.

EMML 2080	EMML.2080	Däbrä Hayq ʾEstifānos, Ambāssal, Wallo (HMML Collegeville)	16 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 2436	EMML.2436	Ankobār Mādhane ʾAlām	17 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 6281	EMML.6281	Addis ʾAlām Maryam	17 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 7584	EMML.7584	Zuramba	Late 16 th c.	Eth. I
EMML 8347	EMML.8347	Nārga Selassie, Dek Island of Tana Lake	17 th c.	Eth. II ¹²⁹³
EMML 8400	EMML.8400	Data Estifanos	ca. 1400 CE	Eth. I
EMML 8703	EMML.8703	Wāzazer Kidanā Mehrāt	Late 16 th /Early 17 th c.	Eth. I ¹²⁹⁴

Supplement Table 4.1 (Chapter 4, on Eth. ^{ERS} 1:1) ¹²⁹⁵			
	MT	LXX	Ge'ez
<i>Hosea</i> 1:1	דְּבַר־יְהוָה	Λόγος κυρίου	ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር:
<i>Amos</i> 1:1	דְּבַר־עָמוֹס	Λόγοι Αμώς	ቃለ: አሞጽ:
<i>Joel</i> 1:1	דְּבַר־יְהוָה	Λόγος κυρίου	ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር:
<i>Zephaniah</i> 1:1	דְּבַר־יְהוָה	Λόγος κυρίου	ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር:
<i>Micah</i> 1:1	דְּבַר־יְהוָה	Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου	ወኮነ: ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር: ጎበ: ሚካያስ:
<i>Jeremiah</i> 1:1	דְּבַר־יְרֵמְיָהוּ	Τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ	ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር: ዘኮነ: ጎበ: ኤርሚያስ:
<i>Ecclesiastes</i> 1:1	דְּבַר־קְהֵלֶת בֶּן־דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם:	Ῥήματα Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.	ቃለ: መከብብ: ወልደ: ዳዊት: ንጉሠ: እስራኤል:
<i>Zechariah</i> 1:1	בַּחֲדָשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי בְּשָׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְגִישׁ הָיָה דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־זְכַרְיָה	Ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ μηνὶ ἔτους δευτέρου ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐγένετο	...ኮነ: ቃለ: እግዚአብሔር: ጎበ: ዘካርያስ:

¹²⁹³ According to Stuckenbruck, EMML.8347 represents an early exemplar of Eth. II, yet features erasures of Eth. I readings. The value of this manuscript is limited, however, by the quality of the microfilms, and the microfilms do not often provide a clear enough image to discern the erased Eth. I readings. This assessment is based on private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

¹²⁹⁴ EMML.8703 is clearly Eth. I according to Stuckenbruck. However, in similar fashion to EMML.8347, the microfilms do not often provide a clear enough image to discern the erased Eth. I readings. This assessment is based on private correspondence with Loren T. Stuckenbruck (24/12/2021).

¹²⁹⁵ Hebrew and Greek readings follow Table 2.1. Ethiopic readings from: Fuhs, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha*, p.45; Fuhs, H.F. 1971. *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Hosea* (Bonner biblische Beiträge 38), Peter Hanstein Verlag, Bonn, p.31; Pereira, p.14; Dillmann, A. 1879. "Der äthiopische Text des Joel", in *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger: von den ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Reformatoren: eine exegetisch-kritische und hermeneutisch-dogmengeschichtliche Studie* (ed. A. Merx), Verlag des Buch des Waisenhauses, Halle A.S., p.451; Löfgren, pp.3, 35, 57; Mercer, S.A.B. 1931. *The Ethiopic Text of the Book of Ecclesiastes*, Luzac, London, p.33; Quotation of *Jeremiah* 1:1 follows EMML.1768 (f.89a).

		λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ζαχαριαν	
Jonah 1:1	הַיְהוָה יָרַד בַּיָּם	Καὶ ἐγένετο <u>λόγος</u> κυρίου	ወኮነ፡ ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኀበ፡ ዮናስ፡

Supplement Table 4.5 (Chapter 4, on Eth. ^{ERS} 1:5)			
G ^{CP} 13:3b ¹²⁹⁶	καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτοὺς τρόμος καὶ φόβος	And all of them were afraid, And it seized them trembling and fear.	
Eth. ^{ERS} 13:3b	ወእመኹ፡ ከሎሙ፡ ፈርሁ፡ ወፍርሃት፡ ነሥሐሙ፡ ወረዳድ፡	And all of them were afraid, And fear seized them, and trembling.	
G ^{CP} 14:13c ¹²⁹⁷	φόβος με ἐκάλυψεν καὶ τρόμος με ἔλαβεν	Fear covered me, and trembling seized/took me.	
Eth. ^{ERS} 14:13c	ፍርሃት፡ ¹²⁹⁸ ከደኒ፡ ወረዳድ፡ ¹²⁹⁹ አካዘኒ፡ ¹³⁰⁰	Fear covered me, and trembling seized me.	

Supplement Table 4.8 (Chapter 4, on Eth. ^{ERS} 1:8)				
	G ^{CP1301}		Ethiopic Enoch	
5:6g	ἔσται αὐτοῖς σωτηρία, φῶς ἀγαθόν	Salvation will be to them, a good light...	Not attested	
5:7a	καὶ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς φῶς καὶ χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη	And to the chosen ones [will be] light and grace and peace...	ወለኅዲያን፡ ¹³⁰² ይከውን፡ ብርሃን፡ ¹³⁰³ ወፍሥተ፡ ወሰላም፡	And to the chosen ones will be light and grace and peace...
5:8a	τότε δοθήσεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς φῶς καὶ χάρις	Then light and grace will be given to the chosen ones...	ወእመሃ፡ ¹³⁰⁴ ይትወህበሙ፡ ¹³⁰⁵ ለኅዲያን፡ ጥበብ፡ ¹³⁰⁶	And then wisdom will be given to the chosen ones...

¹²⁹⁶ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.27.

¹²⁹⁷ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.28.

¹²⁹⁸ Majority reading. BL.491 includes proclitic ወ. Possibly emend following Tana.9 (ፍርሃት፡).

¹²⁹⁹ Tana.9 reads ወረዳድ፡.

¹³⁰⁰ Following BL.485. Most Eth. I/Eth. II manuscripts read አካዘኒ፡.

¹³⁰¹ Edition: Black, *Apocalypsis...*, p.20.

¹³⁰² Following most Eth. I, including, for example: BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35¹, Abb.55, Tana.9. Some manuscripts add topicalizing ሰ, as in Berlin MS. and majority Eth. II. Some omit conjunctive ወ incl. Berlin MS., Eth. II BL.492.

¹³⁰³ Berlin and Tana.9 read ብርሃን፡.

¹³⁰⁴ Following Tana.9. Variant ወእመሃ፡ in, for example, BL.485, Berlin MS., Abb.35, Abb.55.

¹³⁰⁵ Tana.9 reads ይትወህበ፡.

¹³⁰⁶ Berlin MS., Abb.55 and Tana.9 read ጥበብ፡.

5:8e	καὶ ἔσται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πεφωτισμένῳ φῶς	And light will be in the enlightened man... ¹³⁰⁷	Not attested	
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Supplement Table 4.9 (Chapter 4, on Eth. ^{ERS} 1:9) ¹³⁰⁸				
Eth. ^{ERS}	ወረሰዩ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ኃጥኣን፡ ወረሲዓን።	And they have acted against Him, the sinners and wicked ones		
G ^{CP}	καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων, καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.	And the hard words which they have spoken, and concerning all which they have spoken against Him, the ungodly sinners.		
G ^{Jude}	καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.	And concerning all the hard things which they have spoken against Him, the ungodly sinners.		
Ethiopic <i>Jude</i>	ወበእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘነበቡ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ [ዘኢይከውን፡ ቃለ፡] ¹³⁰⁹ ኃጥኣን፡ ወጸልኩዋን።	And concerning all which they have spoken against Him, [words which will not be (vain words)], the sinners and deceivers.		

¹³⁰⁷ For further on this peculiar phrase, and the justification of the translation 'enlightened man', see: Litvinau, pp.29-34.

¹³⁰⁸ Texts of *Jude* follow: Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, pp.182-184; Hofmann & Uhlig, p.256 (brackets are my own).

¹³⁰⁹ This bracketed clause is preserved in most surveyed manuscripts of Ethiopic *Jude*, yet appears semantically and syntactically peculiar in its context, and its meaning is uncertain.

Supplement Table 5.1 (Chapter 5, on Variants in 1:7a)	
<p><i>Dream Visions</i> 83:4¹³¹⁰</p>	<p>4. ወለበ፡ ይወድቅ፡¹³¹¹ ዲበ፡ ምድር፡¹³¹² ርኢከዋ፡ ለምድሩ፡ ከመ፡ ትትወኃ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀላይ፡ ዓቢይ፡¹³¹³ ወኢድባር፡ ዲበ፡¹³¹⁴ ኢድባር፡ ይስቀሉ፡¹³¹⁵ ወአውግር፡ ዲበ፡ አውግር፡¹³¹⁶ ይስጠሙ፡ ወዕፀው፡ ነዋኃን፡¹³¹⁷ ይትገዘሙ፡ እምጥንዳቲሆሙ፡¹³¹⁸ ወይትገደፋ፡¹³¹⁹ ወይሠጠሙ፡¹³²⁰ ውስተ፡ ቀላይ፡፡</p> <p>And when it fell upon the earth, I saw the earth as it was swallowed down into a great ocean, and mountains were suspended upon mountains, and hills <u>sank</u> upon hills, and high trees were ripped up from their roots, and they were cast down <u>and they sank</u> into the ocean.</p>
<p><i>Dream Visions</i> 89:5-6¹³²¹</p>	<p>5. ወኸሎሙ፡ አልህምት፡¹³²² እለ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዓፀድ፡¹³²³ ተጋብኡ፡¹³²⁴ እስከነ፡¹³²⁵ ርኢከዎሙ፡ ይሠጠሙ፡¹³²⁶ ወይትወኃ፡¹³²⁷ ወይትጋሎሉ፡ በውእቱ፡¹³²⁸ ማይ፡፡</p> <p>6. ወወእቱ፡ መስቀር፡ ይጸቢ፡¹³²⁹ ዲበ፡ ማይ፡ ወኸሎሙ፡¹³³⁰ አልህምት፡ ወነጌያት፡¹³³¹ ወአግማል፡ ወአዕዱግ፡ ተሠጥሙ፡ ውስተ፡¹³³² ምድር፡ ወኸሉ፡ እንስሳ፡ ወኢከህልኩ፡ ርኢዮቶሙ፡¹³³³ ወእሙንቱሂ፡¹³³⁴ ስእኑ፡ ወዲእ፡¹³³⁵ ወተጋሎሉ፡¹³³⁶ ወተሠጥሙ፡¹³³⁷ ውስተ፡ ቀላይ፡፡</p>

¹³¹⁰ The readings follow Rylands.23 manuscript in consultation with Knibb's edition. Some key variants are included in footnotes. See: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, p.136ff.

¹³¹¹ Following Rylands.23 and majority Eth. II. Several Eth. I incl. BL.485, BL.491, Abb.35, Berlin MS. and Tana.9 instead read ወትወድቅ. Abb.55 omits this verb.

¹³¹² This word and three preceding are omitted in Bod.74

¹³¹³ Ullendorff MS. reads ዓቢይ፡ ቀላይ፡.

¹³¹⁴ BL.491 and Ullendorff MS. read ውስተ፡

¹³¹⁵ Berlin MS. features this after the next word rather than in its present position.

¹³¹⁶ Berlin MS. omits this and directly preceding word.

¹³¹⁷ Berlin MS. reads ነዋኃን፡, Curz.56 and Ullendorff MS. read ነዋኃን፡. Tana.9 reads ነዋኃ፡.

¹³¹⁸ Berlin MS, Abb.35 and Tana.9 reads እምጥንድሙ፡, whilst BL.491 reads እምጥንዳቲሆሙ፡.

¹³¹⁹ BL.491 reads ወይትገደፋ፡, Berlin MS. reads ወይገድፋ፡.

¹³²⁰ This verb is used twice in this passage, but in each context with a differentiated spelling.

¹³²¹ The readings follow Rylands.23 manuscript in consultation with Knibb's edition. Some key variants are included in footnotes. See: Knibb, *Ethiopic Vol.1*, pp.297-298.

¹³²² Absent in Tana.9.

¹³²³ This word and preceding two omitted in Abb.55.

¹³²⁴ Tana.9 has proclitic ወ.

¹³²⁵ Following Rylands.23 and majority Eth. II. Tana.9 has እስከኒ, Berlin MS. has እስከ፡ እነ፡, Abb.55 includes proclitic ወ.

¹³²⁶ BL.491 has የሐጠሙ.

¹³²⁷ Omitted in Abb.55.

¹³²⁸ BL.491 has ለውእቱ.

¹³²⁹ Following Rylands.23 and majority Eth. II. Tana.9 has መሥዋር፡ ይፀቢ፡, BL.491 has ይጸቢ መስቀር፡.

¹³³⁰ Omitted in Abb.55.

¹³³¹ BL.485, Tana.9, Abb.35 have ወነጌያት፡ Berlin MS. has ወናጌያት፡, Abb.55 has ነጌያት(?).

¹³³² Tana.9 has ዲበ. Bod.74 has ዲበ፡ ውስተ፡.

¹³³³ As per Rylands.23. Abb.35 reads ርኢዮቶሙ፡, BL.492 reads ነጽሮቶሙ፡.

¹³³⁴ Rylands.23, Bod.74, Frankfurt.Or., Curz.55, BL.24990, BL.492, Munich.30, Vat.71 have ወእሙንቱ፡, Berlin MS. has ወእሙንቱሰ፡, Tana.9, Ullendorff MS. and BL.24185 have ወእሙንቱኒ. Omitted by Abb.55.

¹³³⁵ The next four words are omitted in Abb.55.

¹³³⁶ Ullendorff MS has ተጋሎሉ፡.

¹³³⁷ Verb omitted in Curz.56 and BL.484.

	<p>5. And all the bulls, those of that enclosure, were gathered together until I saw [that] <u>they were sinking</u>, and they were swallowed down, and they perished in that water.</p> <p>6. And that boat floated upon the water, and all the bulls and elephants and camels and donkeys <u>sank</u> into the earth, and all the [other] creatures. And I was not able to see them. And they were not able to get out, and they were destroyed, and they sank into the ocean.</p>
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Supplement Table 5.2 (Chapter 5, on Variants in 1:9d)	
Ethiopic <i>Jude</i> 14b-15 ¹³³⁸	<p>ናሁ፡ ይመጽእ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእእላፊሁ፡ ቅዱሳን።¹³³⁹ ከመ፡ ይግብር፡ ኩነኔ፡ ወይፈድዮ፡ ለኩሉ።¹³⁴⁰ ወይዘለፎሙ፡ ለኩሉሙ፡ ኃጥኣን፡ በእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ግብረ፡ ኅጣውኢሆሙ፡ ዘአበሱ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘነበቡ፡ ለዕሌሁ፡ ዘኢይከውን፡ ቃለ፡ ኃጥኣን፡ ወጽልሕዋን።</p> <p>Behold, the Lord comes with His myriads of holy ones, In order to enact judgment, and He will recompense everyone, <u>and He will convict all the sinners</u> concerning every deed of their sins, which they have transgressed. And concerning all which they have spoken against Him, words which will not be (vain words), the sinners and deceivers.</p>

Supplement Table 5.2.2 (Chapter 5, on Variants in 1:9d)	
D'Abbadie 161 Paris National Bibliothèque ¹³⁴¹ Ethiopic Andəmta on ዘሄኖክ፡ ነቢይ፡ (Enoch the Prophet) Folio 2r, (marked as Page 3)	<p><u>ወይትዋቀስ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘሥጋ፡ በእንተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘገብሩ፡ ወረሰዩ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ኃጥኣን፡ ወረሲዓን።</u>¹³⁴²</p> <p>And He will contend with all flesh concerning all which they have done. And they have acted against Him, the sinners and wicked ones.</p> <p>ሥጋዊን፡ ሁሉ፡ ይወቅሳል፡ ርኅብኩ፡ ወኢያብላዕከሙኒ፡ ብሎ፡ ኃጥኣን፡ ረሲዓን፡ ስላደረጉበት፡ ሁሉ፡</p>

¹³³⁸ Edition: Hofmann & Uhlig, pp.255-256.

¹³³⁹ Some manuscripts add interpolative gloss 'Angels'. For example, added in BL.526, BL.529, BL.13264, EMDA.00016, EMDA.00124, EMDA.00158, GG.00086.

¹³⁴⁰ Some manuscripts add በከመ፡ ምግባሩ፡, as in BL.526, BL.13264, EMDA.00016, EMDA.00019, EMDA.00124, EMDA.00158, GG.00086. BL.529 instead reads ወይፈድዮሙ፡ ለኩሉሙ፡ በከመ፡ ምግባሮሙ።

¹³⁴¹ This manuscript is a part of the collection of Antoine D'Abbadie in the Paris National Bibliothèque. Manuscript information is taken from: D'Abbadie, A. 1859. *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris, pp.171-172.

¹³⁴² Underscored text corresponds to Ge'ez of 1:9. The precise wording adopted in the Andəmta commentary traditions corresponds broadly with the Eth. II text type, with some limited variation.

	He will contend with all flesh, “I was famished but you did not feed me” (<i>Matthew</i> 25:42). It means, the sinners and wicked ones for all they have done.
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Supplement Table 5.2.3 (Chapter 5, on Variants in 1:9d) ¹³⁴³		
<i>Romans</i> 8:33-34	ወመኑ፡ ወእቱ፡ አንከ፡ ዘየትዋቀሥ፡ ለኅሩያነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለእመ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ያጸድቅ፡ መኑ፡ ዘይኬንን፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ዘሞተ፡ ወተንሥኡ፡ እምወታን፡ ወሀሎ፡ ይነበር፡ በየማነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወይትዋቀሥ፡ በእንቲአነ፡	And who then is <u>the one who can contend with the chosen ones of God?</u> For He himself sanctifies. Who can judge? Christ Jesus who died and he was raised from the dead, and <u>He sits in the right hand of God, and He contends/intercedes concerning us.</u>
<i>Romans</i> 8:26-27	ወቆሞነ፡ በእንቲአሁ፡ ውይረድኡ፡ ለነ፡ ድካመነ፡ በመንፈሱ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወምንትነ፡ ውእቱ፡ አንከ፡ ጸሎትነ፡ ለእመ፡ ኢናአምር፡ ጽፋነ፡ ወባሕቱ፡ መንፈስ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ይትዋቀሥ፡ ለነ፡ በእንተ፡ ሕማምነ፡ ወምንደቤነ፡ ወውእቱ፡ የሐትቶ፡ ለልብነ፡ ወያኣምር፡ ዘይሔሊ፡ ምንፈስ፡ ወይትዋቀሥ፡ በኅበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡	And He will help us, for our weakness, with His Holy Spirit. And so what [value] then is our prayer if we do not understand our utterance. <u>But rather, the Spirit, He Himself intercedes/contends for us concerning our suffering and our affliction.</u> And the one who searches our heart, and knows which is the intent of the spirit, <u>and He intercedes/contends by (or: before) God concerning the holy ones.</u>

¹³⁴³ Edition: Platt, T.P. 1830. *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri et Servatoris Jesu Christi Aethiopice*, London.

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