

Celestial Landscapes and Heavenly Ascents: The Slavonic *Book of the Holy Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch)*

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1 Former Discourses in Exploring the *Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*: Towards a New Epistemological Paradigm

In his analysis of *2 Enoch*, Józef Tadeusz Milik followed unconditionally André Vaillant's thesis that the *terminus post quem* for the Slavonic edition of the longer recension is between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ As for the *Vorlage* of the shorter recension, he maintained that it was originally written in Greek, and argued that it was probably composed by a monk who lived and worked in the ninth or tenth century in Constantinople,² concluding that

[t]he Greek author of the Book of the Secrets of Enoch [...] used the Enochic Pentateuch in the form with which we are familiar through the Ethiopic version. In his description of secrets of heaven and earth he drew freely on the Book of Watchers (e.g. the name of the Ophanim angels), and the Astronomical Book (e.g. the year of 364 days); some features were taken from the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. Some rare copies of this bulky opus must have been accessible in the monastic libraries in Constantinople, since the patriarch Nicephorus, at the beginning of the 9th century, was familiar with their stichometry.³

1 Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 108–9, re: Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, xxiii–xxv.

2 Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 109–12, re: Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, xiii–xiv, xxiv.

3 Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 109–10.

In a seminal article published in 1980, Madeleine Scopello challenged Milik's position by addressing common *topoi* attested in both the Sethian Gnostic *Zostrianos* (NHC VIII.1) and the Slavonic *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*,⁴ thus reversing the hitherto dominant, formidable trend in defining the latter as a "late" text. In this she argues that *2 Enoch* was one of the apocalypses known to Gnostic authors.⁵ As Scopello observes, the angelification of *Zostrianos* at NHC VIII 5.15–20 closely recalls that of Enoch in *2 En.* 22:8–10.⁶ General similarities abound as well: both texts are celestial travelogues led by heavenly escorts, culminating in the acquisition of esoteric knowledge not revealed even to angels.⁷ Scopello thus introduced a startlingly innovative approach into scholarship on Enochic literature: that already in the mid-third century CE (the *terminus post quem* for a Greek version of *Zostrianos*), the Greek version

4 Scopello, "The Apocalypse of *Zostrianos*."

5 Ibid., 376.

6 In *Zost.* NHC VIII 5.14–22, *Zostrianos* testifies: "I was baptized there, and I received the image of the glories there and I became like one of them. I traversed the atmospheric realm and passed by the Aeonic copies after immersing myself [there] seven times [in] living [water], once for each of the aeons [...]" (tr. Turner, "Zostrianos," 548). Cf. *2 En.* 22:10: "And I looked at myself, and I was like one of the Glorious Ones, and there was no difference of aspect (var. appearance)" (Н ЗЪГЛАДАЪ ВСА САМЪ Н БЫХ ЯКО ЕДННЪ ѿ СЛАВНЫЪ. Н НЕ БАШЕ РАЗАНЪННА ВЗОРНАГО). However, as Scopello observes, while *Zostrianos*'s identification with the Glorious Ones marks the beginning of his heavenly journey, in the Slavonic text it occurs in the narrative about the visionary's ascent to the highest (designated either as the Seventh or as the Tenth) Heaven.

7 On the human seer as receiving supra-angelic knowledge, compare *Zost.* NHC VIII 12.8.15–18 and *2 En.* 24:2–3. Here too, the parallel obtains at different stages in the ascent: while in *2 Enoch* the text-unit about the revelation of esoteric knowledge communicated to the visionary is placed between the statement concerning the identification of Enoch with the Glorious Ones and the Divine narrative-testimony about the secrets of Creation, in *Zost.* it marks the end of the narrative about the mysteries revealed to the initiated. While it is true that the shifting of "quotations from *2 Enoch*" (to paraphrase Scopello) within the fabric of *Zost.* may be explained as a decisive ideological blueprint of its author, whose aim was to incorporate into his composition the theological discourse of Gnosticism, the logistics of the very act of reshuffling within the narrative the "formulaic bricks" borrowed from the Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic repertoire remains open to question. The matter merits further study elsewhere, but it is worth remarking that the formulaic theory of Albert Lord (cf. his *Singer of Tales*), as applied to the comparative study of Homeric Greek poems and contemporary South-Slavonic folk epics, may provide just the right methodology for dealing with the phenomenon of "Enochic loci" in Gnostic writings (as originally discussed by Scopello). The implementation of Lord's methodology in examining the "narrative thesaurus" of the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* against the background of Gnostic heritage, thus detecting the "formulaic bricks" attested in these two traditions, may bring surprising results. The primary task of such an enquiry would be to identify the constituents of their common thesauri, investigating whether the detected parallels are due to cross-textual interdependence and fertilization, or to the prior existence of a certain shared pool of inherited proto-traditions.

of the composition that we now designate as *2 Enoch* was already in circulation. Meanwhile, in 1994 John C. Reeves, arguing that Scopello “has presented a compelling case for the textual dependence of *Zostrianos* upon *2 Enoch*,” embarked on bringing into the scope of the discussion the Manichaean evidence, suggesting that “a plausible argument can also be made for Mani’s possible reliance upon portions of this same Enochic composition.”⁸ Albeit briefly, he examines the “intriguing correlation between material found in Slavonic Enoch and Manichaean traditions.”⁹ He is interested predominantly in common *loci* of celestial geography, and in particular in the scheme of the ten-fold heavens of the Universe¹⁰ (as attested in *1Ke* 88.6–7, 118.20, 170.4 and some Manichaean Sogdian fragments¹¹ on the one hand, and *2 Enoch* 21–22 on the other), suggesting that “apart from later kabbalistic texts [...] this seems to be the sole reference to ‘ten heavens’ in Jewish cosmological discussion.”¹² Reeves further explores the intriguing correlation between the Manichaean interpretation of the “the motif of ‘Heavenly Paradise’ that features a supernal Tree of Life” and that found in *2 En.* 8:3–4,¹³ noting that “there is a conception common to both traditions that the Tree of Life serves as either a temporary or permanent domicile for God.”¹⁴ He also compares and contrasts the portrayal of the shackled angels hanging up in the darkness of the Second Heaven, awaiting the Great Judgment (*2 En.* 7:1–5), to that of the “heavenly captives” who are “fastened upon,” or “suspended from the firmament” (as presented in some Manichaean sources).¹⁵ Reeves notes:

If, as the Enochic tale alleges, evil came to earth from heaven (and bearing in mind Enoch’s status as Apostle of Light in Manichaean teaching), then a neat solution for the apparent enigma is to identify the wicked watchers of Enoch with captive archons from the Realm of Darkness who were imprisoned in heaven by agents of the Realm of Light. Such an interpretive step receives textual warrant only through *2 Enoch* 4.¹⁶ It thus seems highly likely that Mani was cognizant of at least this peculiar

8 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 184.

9 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” p. 187.

10 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 186.

11 Henning, “A Sogdian Fragment,” 307 (lines 78, 81).

12 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 202 (n. 78).

13 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 187–91.

14 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 190.

15 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 201 (notes 75, 76 and 77).

16 Reeves follows the segmentation of the text according to Pennington’s translation; cf. her “*2 Enoch*,” 330–31. Note that in Andersen’s translation this is chapter 7; cf. “2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse*) of Enoch,” 112–14.

tradition, and moreover utilized its testimony in adapting the Enochic tale of the “descent of the Watchers” to its new Manichaean setting.¹⁷

While Reeves’s arguments are further developed in works of other scholars,¹⁸ his contribution to the subject remains somewhat overlooked, like that of Scopello.¹⁹ Responding to the work of Scopello and Reeves, the present study thus offers a close reading of the ascent narrative in 2 *En.* 1–20, adducing numerous additional thematic parallels to some other ancient sources: the Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Zostrianos*, the *Secret Book of John*, and the *Apocalypse of Paul*; the Manichaean (Berlin) *Kephalaia*; the Qumran fragments from 1 *En.*, the *Book of the Giants* and the *Damascus Document*; the Babylonian Talmud, as well as Syriac and Jewish Aramaic incantation texts. All this evidence, it will be argued, should lead us to contest the epistemological paradigm championed by Milik wherein the Church Slavonic corpus preserves relatively late, derivative Enochic traditions of little relevance for understanding religious literature and scribal practices of antiquity.

2 The Slavonic *Book of the Holy Secrets of Enoch the Just* and the Utilisation of the Ascent Theologoumenon

Scholars have noticed that the 2 *Enoch* shares common ground with a cluster of ascent apocalypses²⁰ circulating in the Byzantine Commonwealth (such as

17 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 187.

18 Cf. Kósa, “*Book of Giants* Tradition,” esp. 148–49, n. 24.

19 See further Scopello, “Angels in Ancient Gnosis,” 32–33, noting the neglect of Gnostic ascent narratives by scholars treating ancient Jewish and Christian anagogic literature (ibid., 32, n. 76). Nonetheless, the explorations of Scopello prompted an interdisciplinary cross-fertilization between methodologies employed by scholars working on 2 *Enoch* and by specialists in Gnostic and Manichaean studies; see the discussion in Reeves (*Heralds*, 40–41), Pearson (*Ancient Gnosticism*, 88), Burns (“Apocalypse of Zostrianos”; *Apocalypse*, 142), Piovanelli (“From Enoch to Seth,” 79–112), and others.

20 The approach here to the bibliographical overview of the literature on the subject of heavenly journeys (with special emphasis on the anabasis pattern, as attested in 2 *Enoch*) is of necessity rather selective. On the variety of uses of the ascent theologoumenon, see the seminal contributions by Widengren, *The Ascension of the Apostle*; Segal, “Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity, and Their Environment,” 1333–94; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*; Frankfurter, “The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity,” 129–200; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*; Yarbro Collins, “Ascents to Heaven in Antiquity,” 553–72; Schattner-Riese, “Levi in the Third Sky,” 801–20.

the *Apocalypse of Abraham*,²¹ the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (3 *Baruch*),²² the *Ascension of Isaiah*,²³ the *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary*,²⁴ the *Apocalypse of Paul*,²⁵ etc.). Their Church Slavonic editions were meticulously studied against the extant Greek *Vorlagen*, with one conspicuous exception—the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. There are no traces of its Greek *Vorlage*, except for the brief entry in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* (ninth century) in which a vague reference is made to a composition attributed to Abraham.²⁶ A tantalizing piece of information related to the same matter is presented by Epiphanius of Salamis (writing around 375 CE). Alongside the Sethian treatise attributed to Allogenes the Stranger, he lists an apocalypse purportedly composed by Abraham (*Pan.* 39.5.1):

They [i.e. Sethians] compose certain books in the names of great men and say that there are seven books in Seth's name, and give the name, "Strangers," to other, different books. And they compose another in the name of Abraham which they call an "apocalypse" and is full of wickedness, and others in the name of Moses, and others in others' names.²⁷

The fact that an "apocalypse" composed in the name of Abraham was mentioned by Epiphanius together with other compositions, the authorship of which was attributed by Gnostics to Seth and Allogenes, raises the question whether the above quoted fragment from the *Panarion* might actually contain an hitherto overlooked reference to the Greek *Vorlage* of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which is yet another composition that, similarly to 2 *Enoch*, survives exclusively in Church Slavonic. In any case, such a reference indicates that Slavonic apocalypses ought to be taken into consideration in a more systematic way in (re)constructing the scope of scribal sources employed in Gnostic writings.

21 Cf. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*; Orlov, *Heavenly Priesthood in the Apocalypse of Abraham*.

22 Cf. Kulik, 3 *Baruch*.

23 Cf. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*; Giambelluca Kossova et al., *Ascensio Isaiae*.

24 Cf. Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*.

25 Cf. Trunte, *Reiseführer durch das Jenseits: die Apokalypse des Paulus in der Slavia Orthodoxa*.

26 Hennecke, Schneemelcher, ed., Henning, ed. and tr. *New Testament Apocrypha*, 50.

27 Williams, tr., *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, 279.

3 Witnesses to the *Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*

The extant witnesses to the *Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch* in which the composition survives in full are classified into two recensions: the longer (MSS S,²⁸ J,²⁹ P³⁰ and M³¹), and the shorter (MSS U,³² Bars/Sok,³³ Srezn,³⁴ МРU³⁵). Along with them a group of witnesses (MSS N,³⁶ VL/Jov,³⁷ Bars₁/Sok³⁸) renders retailed, somewhat trimmed editions of either the longer or the shorter recensions;

- 28 MS 321/447 (fols. 269r–323r), the National Library of Serbia (Belgrade); Bulgarian redaction (fourteenth century). The manuscript was destroyed during the bombardment on the 6th of April 1941. The first edition was produced by Sokolov, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoj Literature*, Vyp. Tretii (vii/2): *Slavianskaia Kniga Enokha*, 1–80.
- 29 MS 13,3,25 (fols. 93r–125r), the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg; Bulgarian redaction (fifteenth–sixteenth cent.). Published (with the assistance of A. Panayotov) by Macaskill, *Slavonic Texts*, 38–236.
- 30 MS Khlud D. 69 [XAYA. A. 69] (fols. 58–82), the State Historical Museum (the Addendum to the Khludov Collection), Moscow; Ruthenian redaction (copied from a Bulgarian protograph in 1679 in The Orthodox Monastery of the Exaltation of the Cross in the city of Poltava). The first edition was produced by Popov, “Bibliograficheskie Materialy,” 89–139.
- 31 MS 552, the Archaeographic Collection of the Romanian Academy of Sciences Library, Bucharest; Bulgarian redaction (dated 1485–1510); copied in Moldavia (presumably in the scriptorium of the Dobrovăț Monastery). Unpublished.
- 32 MS 3/18 (fols. 626r–638v), the Uvarov Collection, the State Historical Museum, Moscow; North-Russian redaction copied most probably in Novgorod or Pskov (fifteenth century), based on an earlier Bulgarian copy. Published in Sokolov and Speranskii, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoj Literature* (Part 1), 109–30.
- 33 MS 2729 (fols. 9r–34v), the Barsov Collection, the State Historical Museum, Moscow; Russian redaction, (seventeenth century). Published in 1889 by Sokolov, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoj Literature*, Vyp. Tretii (vii/2): *Slavianskaia Kniga Enokha*, 82–107.
- 34 MS 45,13,4 (fols. 357r–366v), the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg; Russian redaction (sixteenth century); published by Macaskill (with the assistance of Panayotov), *Slavonic Texts*, 38–234. See also Sreznevskii, “Otchet Otdeleniiu,” esp. 109–11, 122–23.
- 35 MS 1828 (fols. 522r–544r), the Uvarov Collection, the State Historical Museum, Moscow; Russian redaction (seventeenth century). Published by Mil’kov and Polianskii, *Kosmologicheskie Proizvedeniia*, 459–93.
- 36 MS 151/443 (fols. 1r–24v), the National Library of Serbia, Belgrade; Serbian redaction (sixteenth century), copied from an earlier Russian text. Published in 1884 by Novaković, “Apokrif o Enohu,” 70–81. The manuscript was destroyed during the bombardment on the 6th of April 1941.
- 37 MS *Slave* 125 (fols. 308v–330v), the Austrian National Library, Vienna; Serbian redaction, copied in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries from an earlier Russian text. Published by Jovanović, “Apokrif o Enohu,” 209–38.
- 38 MS 2730 (fols. 87r–98v), the State Historical Museum, Moscow; Russian redaction, copied in 1701. For the earliest critical edition, see Sokolov and Speranskii, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoj Literature* (Part 1), 131–42.

they constitute an additional class of texts which may be designated as representatives of the abbreviated redaction. In the latter case some of the narrative units that are originally attested in the longer and the shorter recensions are either considerably compressed, or altogether removed. This is most probably a result of the intervention of the scribes who could no longer comprehend the content of the earlier manuscripts on the basis of which they produced their copies. Finally, there also exists a parallel cluster of fragments, most of which (with only a few exceptions) derive from the shorter recension.³⁹ The storyline of the composition (as attested in longer and shorter recensions, and in the abbreviated redaction) may be divided into several distinct parts. These will be examined, compared, and contrasted to the evidence emerging after the discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Library.

4 Prior to Ascent: The Seer's State of Anxiety (2 *En.* 1–2)

Provided in this narrative unit is brief but crucial information concerning the calendrical framework of the forthcoming celestial journey of “the righteous Enoch.” It is reported to have commenced on the first day of the New Year,⁴⁰ a festival which—in terms of social anthropology—is universally regarded as the archetypal temporal marker of the ultimate “liminal stage.”⁴¹ Thus the account about Enoch’s ascent acquires symbolic overtones of a “rite of passage”⁴² testimony reporting the experience of the narrator (a point to which I shall return later).

39 For a survey of witnesses, see Badalanova Geller, *Second (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch*, 12–15; idem, “Heavenly Writings,” 199–203; idem, “Enochic Texts and Related Traditions,” 513–19.

40 That is, on the day of the regnal New Year, 1st of Nisan (cf. Esth 3:7); hence Enoch appears to have ascended to heaven at the spring/vernal equinox.

41 Significantly, *The Great Reading Menology* (Великие Четъи-Минеи), compiled in the 1530s–1540s under the supervision of the Metropolitan of Moscow Makarii, assigns in the rubric for 31st December a fragment from 2 *Enoch*, entitled *A Homily From the Books of the Righteous Enoch Who Was Before the Flood* (Слово ѿ кнѣгъ Еноха праведнаго, прежде потопа), which is almost identical with the fourteenth-century *Měnilo Pravednoe* (Мнѣило праведное) from the collection of the Trinity Lavra of Saint Sergius; see Dolgov, ed., *Velikie Minei Chetii*, 2496–99. This suggests that the New Year reference in 2 *Enoch* had practical applications for identifying liminal periods within the ritual calendar of the Eastern Orthodox Church and was not just perceived as a literary trope. See also the discussion in Badalanova Geller, *Second (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch*, 10.

42 Further on the concept of “liminality” in relation to “the rites of passage” and “initiation rites,” see Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*; Turner, “Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*”; idem, “Liminality and Communitas.”

The visionary is visited by two angels who are to elevate him to the Throne of the Lord situated in the zenith of heavens. At that time Enoch is 365 years old, and his age is interpreted as a numerical metaphor allegorically referring to his role as the inventor of the calendar; as it will become clear at a later stage, the image of Enoch as the archetypal astronomer becomes the focal point of the description of his explorations into the movements of celestial luminaries, which he carries out when he reaches the Fourth Heaven (2 *En.* 11–17).

But how does Enoch's otherworldly trip begin? The patriarch was asleep in his bed, apparently resting after having observed the mandatory New Year rites and ceremonies, when suddenly a profound sorrow overwhelmed him: "a great sadness entered his heart" [ВЪЗЫДЕ ВЕЛІЕ СКРЪБЬ ВЪ СРЪЦЕ МОЕ] and he was "weeping with his eyes" [ПЛАЧЕСА ОУНМА МОИМА], while he struggled to comprehend the source of his grief (2 *En.* 1:3). The motif of the state of anxiety and distress experienced by the visionary prior to his heavenly ascent is one of the universal *topoi* of Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic compositions and is likewise attested in a number of writings circulating in the Byzantine Commonwealth concurrently with 2 *Enoch*. It is found, for instance, in the incipit of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (3 *Baruch*), which is devoted to the emotional state and indeed despair of the visionary lamenting over the destruction of Jerusalem, before his ascent to celestial realms under the guidance of *angelus interpres*. One such example comes from the thirteenth-fourteenth century Serbian redaction of 3 *Baruch* copied in the Dragolev Codex;⁴³ the text is entitled "A Sermon of Saint Baruch⁴⁴ when the angel Panuil [Phanuel] was sent to him on the Holy Mountain of Zion beside the river, as he cried over the captivity of Jerusalem. O Lord, give Thy blessing" (УЪТЕНІЕ СЪГО ВАРОХА, ІЕГ<Д>А ПОСЛАНЫ БЫ̂ К НЕМОУ АНГЛЪ ПАНУИНА ОУ СЪОУ ГОРОУ СЪОУНЮ НА РЪЦЪ, ІЕГ<А> ПЛАКА СЕ О ПЛЪНЕНІИ ІЕРОУСАЛЪМСЦЪМЪ. ГН̂ БЛѠСВН).⁴⁵ The text in question reads:

When King Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem and enriched Babylon, then I, Baruch, cried loudly and said: "Lord, in what way was King Nebuchadnezzar righteous? Why did You not spare Your city Jerusalem which is Your vineyard of glory? Why have You acted so, Lord?" As I was crying, an angel of the Lord appeared and said to me: "Be silent, O man, concerning your grief. This is what was meant to happen to Jerusalem.

43 The manuscript was originally part of Prof. P.S. Srećković's collection, subsequently donated to the National Library of Belgrade, MS 651/632.

44 The opening part of the title (i.e., the expression "A Sermon of Saint Baruch") may be also interpreted as "Reading According to Saint Baruch." From the point of view of the scribe, the text may have been intended to be read during a Church service.

45 The text was published by Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi*, 191–207.

But thus speaks the Lord Almighty to you, as He sent me before your face so that I could tell you all the mysteries of God. For your tears, and your voice entered the ears of the Almighty God. But give me your word that you will not embellish or withhold anything [from what I will tell you]. I will relate to you many mysteries which no man has ever seen.” And I, Baruch, said to the angel: “As the Lord God lives, [...] should I embellish or withhold anything, may the Lord be my Judge.”⁴⁶

The apocalyptic trope of a “deeply troubled” visionary overwhelmed by spiritual apprehension and distress before his heavenly ascent features also in Gnostic tradition. One such case is presented by *Zostrianos* (NHC VIII 3.13–28), where the sage is engulfed by anxiety “which weighs upon the eponymous seer prior to revelation.”⁴⁷ As soon as he begins contemplating the idea of delivering himself “to the beasts of the desert for a violent death,” he faces “the messenger of the knowledge of the eternal Light,” and “very quickly and very gladly” goes with him “to a great light cloud” (NHC VIII 3.26).⁴⁸ The trope of profound grief suddenly engulfing the seer prior to the mystery of revelation occurs also in the introductory chapter of yet another Gnostic tractate, the *Secret Book of John* (NHC II 1.30–2.20), written in the form of a dialogue between the resurrected Christ and his disciple John, son of Zebedee.⁴⁹ When the latter was subjected to a verbal insult by “the Pharisee named Arimanius,” he “turned away from the temple and went to a mountainous and barren place,” as he was “distressed within.” But it was exactly the state of distress that would prompt the mystery of revelation:

At the moment I was thinking about this, look, the heavens opened, all creation under heaven lit up, and the world shook. I was afraid, and look, I saw within the light [someone standing] by me. As I was looking, it seemed to be an elderly person. Again it changed its appearance to be a youth. Not that there were several figures before me. Rather, there was a figure with several forms within the light. These forms were visible through each other, and the figure had three forms. The figure said to me: “John, John, why are you doubting? [...] I am the incorruptible and the undefiled one. [Now I have come] to teach you what is, what [was],

46 Cf. Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi*, 192–93; see also Gaylord, “3 Baruch,” in Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:662.

47 Burns, “Apocalypse of Zostrianos,” 30.

48 Sieber, “Zostrianos VIII.1,” 370.

49 Turner and Meyer, “Secret Book of John,” 108.

and what is going to come. [...] So now, lift up your [head] that you may [hear] the things I shall tell you today, and that you may relate them to your spiritual friends who are from the unshakable generation of the perfect human.”⁵⁰

On the other hand, the encounter between the visionary and his heavenly escort in 2 *En.* 1:3–4 is much more elaborate than that in some Gnostic apocalyptic compositions (e.g., *Zostrianos*). Thus, while pondering upon the cause of his distress, Enoch is suddenly confronted by two huge men⁵¹ with snow-like hands/arms⁵² (var. with hands/arms as golden wings),⁵³ whose faces were as luminous as sunlight⁵⁴ (var. as luminous as candles).⁵⁵ Their wings were brighter than gold,⁵⁶ and their eyes were as radiant as burning candles.⁵⁷ The words uttered by them were emerging from their mouths like blazing flames,⁵⁸ while their garments were idiosyncratically characterised, “like a polychromatic burst of singing.”⁵⁹ Scholars have been struggling with the interpretation

50 *Ap. John* ННС II 1.30–2.20, tr. Turner and Meyer, “Secret Book of John,” 108.

51 MS S: АВНСТА МН СЕ ДВА МОУЖА ПРѢВЕЛНКА ЗЪЛО; MS J: ЯВНШЖ МН СА ДВА МЖЖА ПРѢВЕЛНКА СЪЛО; MS P: ЯВНША МН СА ДВА МЪЖА ПРЕВЕЛНКА СЪЛО; MS U: ЯВНСТА МН СА ДВА МОУЖА ВЕЛНКА СЪЛО; MS N: ЯВНСТА МН СЕ ДВА МЪЖЕ ПРѢВЕЛНКА СЪЛО.

52 MS S: РЖЦѢ НХ БЪЛЪНШН СНЪГА; MS J: РЖЦѢ НМ БЪЛЪНШН СНЪГА; MS P: РЖЦѢ НХ БЪЛЪНШН СНЪГА.

53 MS U: РОУЦѢ ЕЮ ЯКО КРНЛЪ ЗАТЪ; MS N: РОУЦѢ ЈЕЮ ЯКО КРЫЛЪ ЗАТН.

54 MS S: Н БЪШЕ ЛНЦЕ ЕЮ ЯКО СЛНЦЕ СЪВТЕЩЕСА; MS J: Н БЪШЕ ЛНЦА НМЪ ЯКО СЛНЦЕ СЪВТАЩЕ СА; MS P: Н БЫША НМ ЛНЦА ЯКО СЛНЦЕ СЪВТАЩАСА; MS N: ЛНЦЕ ЈЕЮ ЯКО СЛНЦЕ СЪВТЕ СЕ.

55 MS U: ЛНЦЕ ЯКО СВѢЩН ГОРАСТА.

56 MS S: КРЫЛЪ НХ СВѢТЛЪНШН ЗАТ; MS J: КРНЛА НМЪ СВѢТЛЪНШН ЗАТА; MS P: КРЫЛА НХЪ СВѢТЛЪНШН ЗАТА.

57 MS S: СЪУН ЕЮ ЯКО СВѢЩН ГОРАЩН; MS J: СЪУН НМ ЯКО СВѢЩН ГОРАЩН; MS P: СЪУН ЖЕ НХ ЯКО СВѢЩА ГОРАЩА; MS N: СЪУН ЈЕЮ ЯКО СВѢШН ГОРЕШН. The phrase is missing from MS U.

58 MS S: НЗЪ ОУСТЬ НХ СЪГНЪ НСХОДА; MS J: НЗ ОУСТЬ НМ СЪГНЪ НСХОДА; MS P: СЪ ДСТЬ НХ СЪГНЪ НСХОДА; MS U: НЗ ОУСТЬ ЕГО ЯКО СЪГНЪ НСХОДА; MS N: НЗЪ ОУСТЬ ЈЕЮ СЪГНЪ НСХОДЕН.

59 MS S: ОДЪАНІЕ НХ ПЪНІЕ РАЗДЪАНІЕ ВНОМ МНОГЫХ БАГРН; MS J: ОДЪАНІЕ НМЪ ПЪНІЕ РАЗДАНІЕ ВНОМ МНОГЫ БАГРЫ; MS P: СЪДЪАНІЕМ Н ПЪНІЕМЪ РАЗДААНІА ВНОМЪ БАГРЫ; MS U: СЪДЪАНІА ЕЮ ПЪНІЮ РАЗДААНІЮ; MS N: СЪДЪАНІЕ ЈЕЮ ПЪНІЕ РАЗАНУ ПО. Significantly, the Church Slavonic noun ПЪНІЕ may be employed in other sources to render Gr. ὕμνος, ὕμνησις, ἀνεσις, ψδῆ, thus denoting not only the concept of “singing” in general, but also functioning as a term for “hymn”/“ode.”

of the latter passage ever since the publication of the first edition of *2 Enoch*, but without reaching consensus.⁶⁰

The answer to this linguistic conundrum appears to be rather straightforward, if one considers the fact that the Church Slavonic term denoting “clothing” (ѠДѢАНІЕ) is conventionally used to render the Greek term *στιχάριον*,⁶¹ which is phonetically close to the term *στιχηρά* (Slav. СТІХЕРА), denoting “hymn.” In short, the Slavonic scribe who was responsible for the original translation of the Greek *Vorlage* of *2 Enoch* either misread the noun *στιχάριον* (“vestment”/“garment”/“clothing”) as *στιχηρά* (“song”/“hymn”), or intentionally used paronomasia; and since the *στιχάριον* was known to be “multicoloured,” the *στιχηρά* was likewise described as “polychromatic.” To sum up, the apparent misreading of (or versed wordplay with) the Greek *Vorlage* triggered *ad hoc* the mechanism of domestic Slavonic hermeneutics. Furthermore, the resulting exegesis of the aural icon of angelic agency became supported by the subsequent description (*2 En.* 22:2) of the Throne of the Lord as “polyphonic” (МНОГЪГЛАСНН), and this imagery corresponds to the general apocalyptic concept of “seeing the voice” (cf. Rev 1:12–15).

To return to parallels between the descriptions of the commencements of celestial journeys in Slavonic apocalyptic tradition (e.g. *2 Enoch*) and the Gnostic one (e.g. *Zostrianos*): when urged by their angelic escort to set off to the heavenly realm, both visionaries *rush* to fulfil the requests immediately, with no delay. Thus Enoch testifies that, having “hastened and bowed” before his luminous visitors (ОУЕДРН Н^Х Н ПОКЛОННХСА НМА), he quickly leaves his house and closes the doors behind him, as instructed (Н ОУСКОРН^Х ПОСЛОУШАЕ НЗЫДО^Х ВЪНЬ НЗ ДОМОУ МОЕГО Н ЗАТВОРН^Х ДВЕРН ЪКОЖЕ РЕКОСТА МН). He then urges his children not to search for their father until

60 Morfill and Charles suggest: “their dress had the appearance of feathers”; see idem, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, 2. While stating that “the text at this point seems to be incorrigibly corrupt,” Andersen maintains that the phrase should be translated as “their clothing was various singing”; see idem, “2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse*) of Enoch,” 106. Pennington, on the other hand, suggests “their clothing was a diffusion of foam”; see idem, “2 Enoch,” 329. Other scholars also joined the discussion by arguing that the decipherment of this idiosyncratic Enochic expression (e.g. ѠДѢАНІЕ ЕЮ ПЪНІЮ РАЗДААНІЮ) should be based on the semantic coverage of Church Slavonic terms denoting “clothing” (ѠДѢАНІЕ) and “singing” (ПЪНІЕ), and especially on the conventional association of these two terms (as attested in the stock phrase “garments of glory”) within general framework of Isa 59:17, 61:10, Ps 34:26, Job 29:14, etc.; see the discussion in Navtanovich, “ѠДѢАНІЕ ЕЮ,” esp. 6.

61 Together with lexeme ѠДѢАНІЕ in the Slavonic domain there circulated a specialised term СТІХАРЬ (denoting “vestment worn during liturgical ceremonies”), which was a calque of Gr. *στιχάριον*.

the Lord returns him to them. In a similar way, Zostrianos hurries to follow the instructions of the angel: “I very quickly and very gladly went up with him.”

5 Rising to the First Heaven (2 *En.* 3–6): Means of Ascent

The content of the ensuing ascent-narrative (2 *En.* 3–20) deals with matters of cosmographic templates and cosmological knowledge. It is presented as a testimony of the visionary who rises through different strata of the Universe, heaven after heaven, from the lowest to the highest, and vividly describes the otherworldly landscapes he observes there, along with the celestial dwellers inhabiting them. If one compares and contrasts the logistics of heavenly journeys in 2 *Enoch* and some Gnostic texts (e.g., *Zostrianos*), the following common features become apparent. Both Enoch and Zostrianos are transported upwards on *clouds*. In the case of Enoch, the visionary is taken on the wings of his heavenly escort, who carry him up to the First Heaven, after which he is “deposited on clouds” which “moved along.” Zostrianos, on the other hand, simply states that he goes up with the angel “to a great light-cloud.” The description of Enoch’s heavenly journey, however, is much more elaborate than that of Zostrianos, which may be explained by the different types of apocalyptic discourses employed in these two texts. In the case of 2 *Enoch*, the explicitly outlined template of celestial architecture functions as a spatial framework of the visionary’s gradual exposure to the secrets of the Universe and his progressive acquisition of revelatory knowledge, with each heaven marking a higher stage of his initiation. In fact, 2 *Enoch* exhibits the typical traits of an archaic narrative rendering “rites of passage” (Van Gennepe) and “liminal experiences” (Turner); hence the strict layout of its celestial template, the transparency of which is so striking. In contrast, in the case of 1 *Enoch* (including data from the Dead Sea Scrolls) and some Gnostic apocalypses (such as NHC XI,3 *Allogenes*), the scheme of multilayered heavens is somehow blurred, and details concerning their numbers appear to be not of primary but of secondary importance, with the cosmographic details of the over-worldly journey being trimmed while the emphasis shifts to the final phase of the acquisition of revelatory knowledge by the visionary.

At the First Heaven, Enoch encounters the rulers of the stellar ranks, and the angels who guard the awesome storehouses of snow and ice, along with the hoards of the clouds from which they enter and exit.⁶² There the visionary

62 Similar *topoi* are employed in Job 38:22–23; see also the reference to the storehouses of the winds, the hail, the mist, and the clouds in 1 *En.* 41:3–5.

further observes related meteorological and atmospheric phenomena, and comes across “two hundred angels who rule over the stars and the heavenly congregation, and who fly with their wings thus encircling along all the planets” (Н ПОКАЗАШЖ МН .С̄. АГГЛАЬ, НЖЕ ВЛАДАЕ^Т ЗВЪЗ^ААМН, Н СЛОЖЕНІЕ НБ̄СЕ^М. Н ЛЪТАЖ^Т КРНЛЫ СВОИМН, Н СЪБЪХОДА^Т ПО ВСѢ^Х ПЛАВАЮЩИ^Х; 2 *En.* 4:1–2). Significantly, their number is identical with that of “the Watchers who parted from the Lord with their Prince Satanail” (СН СЖ^Т ГРНГОРН, НЖЕ С̄ВРЪГОШЖ С̄ Г̄А .С̄. ТЪМЖ СЪ КНАЗЕ^М СВОИ^М САТАНАИЛЕ^М; 2 *En.* 18:3).⁶³

6 The Second Heaven (2 *En.* 7): The Imprisonment of Chained Apostate Angels

At the Second Heaven, described as a massive celestial prison, Enoch encounters shackled apostate angels (implicitly identified as Watchers’ associates/subordinates)⁶⁴ and converses with them. They plead with him, asking him to pray to God and make a petition before Him on their behalf concerning their future fate, which remains to be decided. To quote the longer recension of 2 *En.* 7:1–5 (MS S):

And these men took me and raised me up to the Second Heaven. And they showed to me [what was there]; and I saw darkness much deeper than the darkness on Earth. And there I beheld enchained prisoners (ВЕРНЖИИ) kept under watch who were hanging, awaiting the Measureless (var. Great) Judgment (var. Tribunal). And these angels were much darker than earthly darkness, and they produced incessant crying at all times. And I said to the two men who were with me, “Why are these ones being made to suffer unceasingly?” The two men answered me, “These are the Lord’s apostates who did not obey the command of the Lord, but followed their own will, and withdrew [from God] with their Prince, [and with those angels] who are sentenced in the Fifth Heaven [i.e., the Watchers].” I became saddened on their account; and these angels bowed before me, and said to me, “Man of God, pray for us to the Lord.” And I answered them, saying, “Who am I to pray for the angels, as

63 For the formulaic number “two hundred,” see the discussion below.

64 See also the discussion in Rubinstein, “Observations on the *Slavonic Book of Enoch*,” 7–10.

I am but a mortal man? Who knows where I myself am going and what will befall me and who will pray on my behalf?"⁶⁵

The text-unit quoted above is almost identical with the corresponding chapters in MSS P and J, except that the lexeme ВЕРНЖНН (as attested in MS S) is replaced by ВЕРЫЖННКЫ (in MS J), or by ВЕРЫЖННКН (in MS P), as a plural form of the masculine noun ВЕРЫЖННКЪ (elsewhere spelled as ВЕРНЖЫННКЪ/ВЕРНЖННКЪ).⁶⁶ The text of chapter 7 (verses 1–5) in MS P reads as follows:

And these men took me and raised me up to the Second Heaven. And they showed to me darkness much deeper than the darkness on Earth. And there I beheld enchained prisoners (ВЕРЫЖННКН) kept under watch, who were hanging, awaiting the Great and Measureless Judgment (var. Tribunal). And these angels were much darker than earthly darkness, and they produced incessant crying at all times. And I said to the two men who were with me, "Why are these ones being made to suffer unceasingly?" The two men answered me, "These are the Lord's apostates who did not obey the command of the Lord, but followed their own will, and withdrew [from Him] with their Prince, and those [angels] who are sentenced in the Fifth Heaven [i.e., the Watchers]." I became saddened on their account; and they bowed before me, saying, "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord." And I answered them, saying, "Who am I to pray for the angels, as I am but a mortal man? Who knows where I myself am going and what will befall me and who will pray on my behalf?"⁶⁷

The mythologoumenon of the apostate angels hanging in chains in the dark abode of the Second Heaven is likewise attested in the other two witnesses to the longer recension: MSS J and M.⁶⁸

65 Cf. Sokolov, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoj Literature*, Vyp. Tretii (vii/2): *Slavianskaia Kniga Enokha*, 5–6.

66 For the semantic coverage of forms ВЕРНЖЫЪ/ВЕРНЖЫННКЪ ("prisoner shackled in chains"), see Miklosich, *Lexicon*, 61; Sreznevskii, *Materialy*, 245; Bonchev, *Rechnik na Tsŭrkovnoslavanskiia Ezik*, 71.

67 Cf. Popov, "Bibliograficheskie Materialy," 92–93.

68 Significantly, the detail of "confinement by enchainment" is absent from all known witnesses to the shorter recension and the abbreviated redaction. Thus the old hypothesis of Sokolov regarding the priority of the longer recension over the shorter gains further weight, since it is unlikely that the local Slavonic scribes would have invented *ad hoc* the motif of "the bound angels" as a mere embellishment to the narrative, especially in the light of the attestations of the topos of "bondage as Watchers' punishment" in 1 *Enoch* 10; see also the discussion below.

Recalling the parallel attestations of the “firmaments as penitentiary” cosmographic paradigm in Manichaean corpus and in the Slavonic *Book of the Holy Secrets of Enoch the Just*, as originally highlighted by Reeves (see above), it may be observed that, while in the latter case the imprisoned apostate angels are “hanging in chains” in the dark abode of the Second Heaven, in the former “the captive archons” are “fastened upon,” or “suspended from the firmament.”⁶⁹ In both cases the offenders appear to be subjected to an identical punishment—they are to hang in/from a celestial spot situated above the terrestrial realm; but while in Slavonic texts the motif of fetters/chains with which the hanging angels are bound is spelled out in a rather direct manner, in the Manichaean texts it is implied. Additional data (related to the function the defeated archons had in the construction of the cosmos) from Coptic Manichaica was further provided by Kósa, who underlines that the trope of the rebellious demons and/or the Watchers (*egrēgoroi*) “bound with chains/fetters” is attested on several occasions in the Berlin *Kephalaia* (e.g. *1Ke* 58.24–28; 93.25–27; 268.15–17, etc.),⁷⁰ and suggests that “the motif of enchainment seems to be a widely spread” one.⁷¹ Frequently attested within the Manichaean cosmographic template,⁷² however, are also recurrent references to both the firmaments and the earths as possible *loci* of punishment. One such case is presented by *1Ke* 51.25–32; according to this text, the Living Spirit has judged

a[1] the rulers, the powers of sin who had faulted and sinned against the sons [of] the First Man, [...] according to right[e]ous judgement. He has bound them in heaven and earth. He put each one to the place fitting for him, he weighed each of them [acco]rding to his c[ru]elty and oppression. [While] some [of] the[m] he enclosed in [the prison, ot]hers he hung head down.⁷³

Then again, the defeated Watchers (*egrēgoroi*) may be imprisoned in a subterranean realm (e.g. “the depths of the earth, below the mountains,” *1Ke* 117.1–4),

69 Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 184–87.

70 For additional references to “bound” or “fettered” demons in the Manichaean corpus, see the data presented in Kósa, “Imprisoned Evil Forces,” esp. 73.

71 Kósa, “*Book of Giants* Tradition,” 165.

72 Cf. Kósa, “*Book of Giants* Tradition,” 164–67 (with reference to *1Ke* 58.24–28, 79.31–33, 88.23–24, 88.27–30, 93.25–27, 117.1–4, 118.20–23, etc.); idem, “Imprisoned Evil Forces,” 71–78 (with reference to *1Ke* 22.15, 31.27–28, 51.25–32, 52.16–19, 76.4–8, 92.12–14; 104.27–28, 105.7–10, in addition to references from *1Ke* immediately cited above; *Psalms-Book, Part 2* 11.14–17; 209.29–210.10; *Acta Archelai* 8).

73 *1Ke* 51.25–32, tr. Gardner, *Kephalaia*, 56, in Kósa, “Imprisoned Evil Forces,” 73.

despite the fact that their rebellion took place in the firmament.⁷⁴ And although the Manichaean tradition may refer to enchained demons in prisons situated in various locations (the firmament[s], the earth[s], or below ground), the image of the shackled prisoners *hanging in chains* in a celestial jail is missing. Significantly, it appears to be the hallmark of *2 Enoch*.

In contrast, in *1 En.* 10 the Watchers and their offspring are neither “hanging in chains,” nor “fastened upon,” or “suspended from the firmament.” Instead, they are sentenced by the Lord to be bound;⁷⁵ Raphael is to bind Azazel “by his hands and his feet, and throw him into the darkness” (*1 En.* 10:4–5),⁷⁶ while Michael is to punish “Semyaza and others with him who have associated with the women” by binding them “for seventy generations under the hills of the earth until the day of their judgment and of their consummation, until the judgment which is for all eternity is accomplished” (*1 En.* 10:11–13).⁷⁷ No hanging in chains, or fastening upon the firmament is mentioned here, but bondage in darkness “until the end of all generations” (*1 En.* 10:15).

In the light of the data presented above, it appears that the celebrated fragment from the Epistle of Jude 6 concerning the fate of “the angels who kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation” is much closer to the Slavonic *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, rather than to *1 Enoch*, contrary to the conventional opinion of scholars.

As in *2 En.* 7:1, according to which the apostate angels are hanging in chains in the darkness of the Second Heaven, in the Epistle of Jude 6 they are likewise “reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.” As in the Epistle of Jude, in *2 Enoch* no illicit transmission of secret knowledge on behalf of the angels to their human wives is mentioned. The reason given for the punishment of the condemned angels in the Second Heaven is their apparent failure to obey the commandments of the Lord;⁷⁸ instead

74 Kósa, “*Book of Giants* Tradition,” 164.

75 For binding as an act of divine judgment carried out by Raphael and Michael, see Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of the Rebellious Angels*, 224; briefly analysed by him is also the parallel interpretations of this motif in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 10:4–8) and *Jub.* 5:6; 10:7–8; see *ibid.*, 16, 28. See also the discussion in Arcari, “Illicit Unions,” 435, as well as the contribution of Losekam, in this volume.

76 See also Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of the Rebellious Angels*, 22; Drawnel, “The Punishment of Asael (*1 En.* 10:4–8) and Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature.”

77 Cf. Knibb, “*1 Enoch*,” 194–96; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 180–86 (with reference to his convincing reconstruction of 4Q202 21–28).

78 This is also the case with some Aramaic magic bowls, where the sin of the angels “is not that of revealing the Lord’s secrets, but rather of transgressing their Lord’s command.” See Paz, “Eternal Chains,” esp. 544.

of following His will, they are reported to have turned away from Him, along with the brotherhood of the Watchers and their Prince. His identity is to be revealed only when the visionary ascends further up and encounters them on the higher, Fifth, Heaven; this is no one else but the notorious Satanail (2 *En.* 18:3–4). Thus in the Slavonic *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* there appear to be two separate congregations of fallen angels who are detained on the Second and on the Fifth heavens respectively. The narrative about the Fifth Heaven (as we shall see later) actually clarifies the sub-text of the narrative about the Second Heaven and provides a more detailed explanation of the nature of the transgression of the apostate angels enchained there; the latter are simply designated as associates/subordinates of the Watchers who, in turn, are described as repentant, remorseful warrior-giants. Having broken their Covenant with God, they left the celestial realm together with their Prince, after which they engaged in carnal relationships with earthly women. In contrast to their imprisoned brethren on the Second Heaven (who were never described as warriors), the Watchers in the Fifth Heaven are not shackled. In fact, nowhere in the surviving manuscripts containing the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch the Just* are the chained angels hanging in the Second Heaven called “Watchers.”⁷⁹ Designated as “Watchers” in 2 *Enoch* are only repentant celestial warrior-angels interned on the Fifth Heaven. Their subordinates, who are jailed in the Second Heaven, are simply regarded as their “brethren” (2 *En.* 18:7). Still, both angelic congregations—that on the Second, and that on the Fifth Heaven—appear to have been punished for abandoning the celestial realm in exchange for terrestrial dwelling. In Jude 6, angelic sin is formulated in a rather similar way: they “kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation.”

This, in turn, raises once again the thorny issue of the chronological framework of the *Vorlage* of 2 *Enoch*, and strengthens the argument that a Greek version of the Semitic original was already in circulation at the nascence of Christianity.⁸⁰

79 The terms which are used in 2 *Enoch* 18 to denote “the Watchers” represent Slavonic transliteration(s) of the Greek term Ἐγγήγοροι; see the discussion below.

80 Significantly, the concept of “the chains of the demons of the underworld” is likewise glossed in the Sethian treatise *Three Forms of the First Thought* (NHC XIII 41.1–42.3); see Turner, “Three Forms of First Thought (NHC XIII,1),” 726–27:

“I am their father, and I shall tell you a mystery, // ineffable and unspeakable by [any] mouth. // Every bond I loosed from you, // and the chains of the demons of the underworld I broke, // the very chains that bound and restrained my members. // The high walls of darkness I overthrew, // and the secure gates of those pitiless ones I broke, // and I smashed their bars. // And the evil force and the one who beats and hinders you, // and the tyrant, the adversary, the king, and the present enemy, // all these I explained to those

As for the “demon bound in chains” mythologoumenon, in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages it engendered a constellation of *historiolae* related to magic rites and witchcraft. In a recent article Yakir Paz analyzes certain specific allusions to Enochic literature (e.g., *1 En.* 10:4–5, 12–15; *2 En.* 7:1 and *3 En.* 5) in incantation bowls against evil demons, with a special emphasis on transmission and reception of the myth of the fallen angels. While building his argument (on the basis of data presented in Syriac and Jewish Aramaic incantation texts),⁸¹ Paz also mentions further parallels from Muslim sources (e.g., the account of the two fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt). In his exhaustive survey of traditions pertinent to the adaptations of “the motif of suspension of the fallen angels,” Paz suggests that its “earliest attestation is probably in the long version of *2 En.* 7:1.”⁸² In addition, he brings into discussion a relevant fragment from the medieval *Aggadat Bereshit* containing an account about the punishment of the fallen angels, the wording of which closely parallels the one found in the Slavonic text (i.e., *2 En.* 7). The Hebrew text runs as follows:

Uzza and Azael “were the heroes of old, the men of renown” (Gen. 6:4). At the beginning they were men of renown, and now where are they? R. Eliezer son of R. Yosef said: They were suspended by iron chains and suspended in the mountain of darkness.⁸³

Meanwhile, the narrative permutations of the *historiolae* of the evil demons fettered in chains engender a specific iconographic idiom, the most palpable representations of which are the portrayals of the “bound malevolent spirit,” as found in magic bowls.⁸⁴ At the same time, the “shackled demon” mythologoumenon appears to have functioned as the formative template of incantation texts in various linguistic environments (e.g., Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Slavonic,⁸⁵ Romanian, etc.). Ethnographic data indicates that such

who are mine, // who are children of light, // so that they may nullify them all, // be liberated from all bonds, // and return to the place where they were in the beginning.”

It seems to the present author that a reference to “the chains of the demons of the underworld” in this passage and parallels with *2 Enoch* is unlikely to be coincidental.

81 Paz, “Eternal Chains.”

82 Paz, “Eternal Chains,” 538.

83 Paz, “Eternal Chains,” 539.

84 See the image presented by Vilozny, “The Art of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 31 (Fig. 1, depicting the demons being chained by their hands, necks, and feet).

85 For Slavonic tradition, see the incantation against the child-stealing witch in the chapter “Sisinius’s prayers against fevers” in Sokolov, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoĭ Slavianskoĭ Literature*, Vyp. 1–v, 38. See also the discussion in Badalanova Geller, “Between Demonology and Hagiology.”

spells, prayers and invocations are customarily inscribed on textile, parchment, metal plates, clay implements, etc., thus functioning as protective amulets and talismans.⁸⁶ Besides, they may be orally performed by magical practitioners as verbal rituals (either malevolent or benevolent). As for the “binding” motif, it may be employed in erotic spells and charms intended at fixing a bond between the client and the object of his/her sexual desire. Alternatively, such spells may aim at the destruction of such a bond between certain targeted individuals (whose interpersonal relations the practitioner aims at harming). The idiom of “binding/tying/fastening” (of both the angelic/demonic and human agents), along with its reversed construing (that is, “unbinding/untying/unfastening”), appears thus to have verbalized the very nature of magical rites and ceremonies, i.e. the attempt at impacting the social setting of the individual’s existence, saturated in the realm of angelic and/or demonic agency.⁸⁷ The Enochic trope of demonic punishment appears to have been instrumentalized by magical practitioners, and the trope of “binding the demon” became a ritual act. The narrative of the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (chapter 7) appears to be the earliest source in which such types of ritual vocabularies and prescriptions are coined.

7 The Third Heaven (2 *En.* 8–10): Paradise and Hell

On the Third Heaven Enoch finds himself in the blessed realm of Paradise, a “place of inconceivable beauty” (МѢСТО ТО НЕСЪВѢДНО ДОБРОТОЖ). Significantly, the cosmographic template of the location of Paradise on the Third Heaven coincides with that attested in the testimony of the apostle Paul in 2 Cor 12:2–4. A similar celestial scheme is employed in some recensions of the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* 25:3 (following the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* 37:5), the *Vision of Paul*, etc.⁸⁸

86 Palaeographic evidence points out that on many occasions these texts may be copied by monks, or by members of the clergy.

87 The trope of malevolent opponents being shackled with chains of iron brought from Hell (i.e. Sheol and Gehenna) is likewise attested in Aramaic counter-charms against sorceries and witchcraft; see Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts*, 31–32, 121–22.

88 For the description of the Paradise *topoi* in Slavonic parabiblical writings, see Sedel’nikov, “Motiv o Rae”; Uspenskiĭ, “Drevnerusskoe Bogoslovie”; Badalanova Geller, “Recasting the Bible”; idem, “Hierotopia and Ethno-Geography.”

In 2 *En.* 8:3 “the Tree of Life” (ДРЪВО ЖИЗНЬНО) is in the center of Paradise.⁸⁹ Enoch compares its appearance to that of crimson-gold fire (ЗЛАТОВН^АНО, И ЦРЪВЕНО ѿБРАЗО^М. И ѿГНЕЗРАУНО), and clarifies that its majestic body marks the heavenly spot where the Lord rests when He goes into the Garden (НА НЕ^М ЖЕ ПОУНВАЕ^Т ГЪ ЕГДА ВЪСХОДИ^Т ВЪ РАИ). As for the “spatial” characteristics of “Edom’s Garden” itself, it is situated on the border between the realm of “mortality/ephemerality/transience” (ТЛѢНІЕ/ТЪЛѢНІЕ), and that of “immortality/imperishability/eternity” (НЕТАЛѢНІЕ/НЕТЪЛѢНІЕ).⁹⁰ Two springs emanate from there: from one milk and honey issue forth (ЕДННЪ ТОУН^Т МЕ^А И МЛѢКО), and from the other—oil/chrisem (ѢЛЕН)⁹¹ and wine (ВННО).

The similar trope of the four rivers issuing forth from Paradise is attested in a vast number of Church Slavonic witnesses to the *Vision of Paul*, for instance.⁹² Thus, according to one of the Bulgarian versions of the latter text, entitled “A Discourse-Homily Addressed to Christian(s) for the Sake of the Suffering Soul and For the Solace on Behalf of Saint Apostle Paul Who Once Ascended to the Third Heaven” (СЛОВО ПОДУЕНІЕ ХР^ЪТІАНѠМѠ РАДИ ДІП^А БОЛЕЗНЮ И ШТЕШЕННЕ ЗА СЪАГО АПОСТОЛА ПАВЛА НЕКОЕ ВРЕМЕ КАКВО СА ВОЗНЕСЕ ДО ТРЕТО НЪО) from MS 1081 (fols. 25v–42v) from the Bulgarian National Library, copied in 1821, the following description of the four rivers streaming within the Paradise landscape is made:

There were four rivers streaming there. The one from the western side of the Holy City⁹³ is of honey, from the southern side is as white as milk, from the east is of oil [and from the north is of wine]. And I, Paul, said to the Angel: “My Lord, what are these rivers running in this City?” And he answered me: “These four rivers are called on earth with their own names. The river of honey is called Fision [= Pishon], the river of wine is called Tigar [= Tigris], the river of oil is called Gion [= Gihon], and the river of milk is called Efrat [= Euphrates]. This is for the sake of the saints who lived in this world having sought after no food or drink, but suffered

89 Cf. Rev 2:7: “To everyone who conquers, I will give permission to eat from the tree of life that is in the paradise of God.”

90 In other Church Slavonic sources, the noun ТЛѢНІЕ is employed to convey Gr. φθορά, σαθρότης, whereas its antonym НЕТАЛѢНІЕ is used to translate Gr. ἀφθαρσία.

91 The form used here (ѢЛЕН, Gr. ἔλαιον), is identical to that attested in the episode of the angelification of Enoch (cf. 2 *En.* 22:8–9): “And the Lord said to Michael, “Take Enoch and extract him from his earthly garments; and anoint him with sweet (var. blessed/holy) chrisem (ПОМАЖИ ЕЛЕЕМЪ БЛАГЫМЪ)! And dress him with garments of glory!”

92 Generally, see van Ruiten, “Four Rivers of Eden.”

93 As in other Church Slavonic sources, Paradise is identified with the Heavenly Jerusalem.

from hunger and thirst, and from evil for the sake of the Lord, and this is how they spent their days [during their life-time]; when they enter the City, they are awarded by the Lord with thousands of honours.”⁹⁴

The unfolding description of the paradisaical landscape in the above quoted Bulgarian redaction of the *Vision of Paul* appears to have been reproducing a spatial template similar to that of *2 Enoch*. In both cases, the blissful abode on the Third Heaven is imagined as an eternal dwelling of the righteous in which they are to rest after their death. Also on the same heaven, next to the radiant residence of the righteous, a dreadful dungeon is engulfed by darkness. It is to this “frightening place of all kinds of tortures and torments” (ТОУ МѢСТО СТРАШНО ЗѢЛО, ВСѢКА МЖКА МДҀЕНІА НА МѢСТѢ ТОМ) which, according to *2 En.* 10:1, is situated in the northern side of the Third Heaven (НА СѢВЕРНЖ СТРАНЖ), where the human sinners are sent after their lifespan expires. There they are tormented by “strange, pitiless angels, carrying swift weapons and causing merciless torture” (И АГГАН ТОУЖНИ И НЕ МЛѢТНВЫ, ПОСАЩЕ ОРЖЖІА НАПРАСНА, МЖҀЕЩЕ НЕ МЛОѢТНВНО; *2 En.* 10:3).

The list of sins committed by those sentenced to the dark dungeon in the Third Heaven is long: it includes witchcraft, sorcery, divination, idolatry, apostasy, stealing of human souls, harassing the poor and taking away their property, refusing to feed the hungry but starving them to death instead, etc. (*2 En.* 10:4–6). One of the most distinct characteristics of the celestial landscape of the Third Heaven is that it encompasses the eternal abodes of both the righteous and the sinners; of course, the former are to dwell in everlasting light, while the latter are to suffer in infinite darkness.

Significantly, the realm allocated for the post-mortem sufferings of sinful humans is strictly separated from the space allotted for the brotherhood of the fallen angels (e.g., the Watchers and their associates). Humans are sentenced on the Third Heaven, while angels—on the Second and on the Fifth Heavens; under no circumstances are the human and angels (even the fallen ones!) to mix. At the same time, the motif of punishment by hanging of (occasionally) enchained mortal sinners occurs in other writings (e.g. the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*, etc.). It is also typical for the vernacular iconography of the Beyond, as attested in mural paintings on the open galleries or women’s compartments of virtually every single church in the Balkans; as it happens, this region, once part of the Byzantine Commonwealth, appears to have been the ultimate

94 The fragment is found on fol. 33r.

homeland of the anonymous scribes who carried out the translation of the *Vorlage* of 2 *Enoch* from Greek into Church Slavonic.⁹⁵

Then again, in some narratives of the post-mortem punishment (which forms the very core of the axiology of the Beyond), the concept of “sin” appears to be intertwined with the concept of “intellectual ineptness” (or “lack of sense of reason”).⁹⁶ Thus the idea that the fall of humankind was caused by ontological ignorance is manifested in a rather straightforward way in 2 *En.* 30:15–17, in the passage containing God’s testimony concerning the creation of man. Emphasized in this anthropogonic account is that after His having created the primordial Adam out of seven substances and given him free will (Н ДА^Х ЕМ⁸ ВОЛА^А ЕГО), God pointed out to him two pathways—that of the light and that of the darkness (Н ОУКАЗА^Х ЕМОУ .В. ПЖТН, СВ^Р Н ТЪМЖ):

And I told him “Here is Good, and here is Evil (СЕ ТН ДОБРО А СЕ ЗЛО)”; so that I may come to know whether he [= Adam] has love for Me or abhorrence (ДА ОУВ^М ЛЮБОВ ЛН НМА^Т КЪ М’Н^Б ЛАН ПЕНАВНСТЬ); and so that it might become plain who among his kin is to be the one that shall be devoted to Me (ДА ЯВНТСА ВЪ РОД^Б ЕГО ЛЮБАЦЕН МА). Whereas I knew his nature (АЗ ЖЕ ВНА^БХ^Х Е^СТВО ЕГО), he did not know his nature (СОН ЖЕ НЕ В^БАШЕ СВОЕГО Е^СТВА), and [it was because of this ignorance that] he was to sin (ЈАКО СЪГР^БШНТН ЕМОУ ЕС). This is why ignorance is more lamentable than sin (ТОГО РАДН НЕВ^Б<Д^Б>Н^Б ЕС ГОРЕ СЪГР^БШЕНИА). And I said to him, “After the sin, there is nothing but death (Н Р^БХ ПО СЪГР^БШЕНИ^Н ННО РАЗВ^Б СЪМР^ТБ).”⁹⁷

The translation of this passage is notoriously difficult, since the Church Slavonic verb СЪГР^БШАТН/СЪГР^БШНТН (conventionally used to render Gr. ἀμαρτάνω, but also πταίω) may denote “to sin,” “to trespass,” “to commit a crime,” “to err,” “to make a mistake,” “to do something wrong,” etc.⁹⁸ The semantic coverage of its cognate forms СЪГР^БШЕНИЕ/ГР^БХЪ (Gr. ἀμαρτία, ἀμάρτημα, παράπτωμα)

95 As for the question of the mutual interdependence between the codes of the iconography, verbal art and literature, it remains understudied.

96 Anthropological and folklore research recently undertaken in the Balkans shows that in vernacular Christian exegesis the concept of “intellectual blindness” is intertwined with that of the Original Sin (and hence the fall of humankind), and this type of discourse is of paramount importance for Slavonic ethnohermeneutics; this theme, within the context of Folk Bible traditions, is discussed elsewhere.

97 Quoted *apud* Andersen’s translation of MS J, “2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse*) of *Enoch*,” 152.

98 See Miklosich, *Lexicon*, 921.

includes not only “sin,” but also “error,” “mistake,” “fault,” etc.⁹⁹ Significantly, in *2 En.* 30:16 the concept of “sin” (СЪГРѢШЕННІЕ) is bound to that of “ignorance” (НЕВѢДѢННІЕ), with the latter being recognised as the cause for the former. One finds this association most striking, especially against the background of some basic Gnostic concepts. In fact, there is a similar statement in *Zostrianos* (NHС VIII,1) in the description of the end of his heavenly trip, during which “the mysteries of each aeon and angelic entities ruling them have been revealed” to him. Following the revelation concerning the Fourth Aeon, *Autogenēs*, Zostrianos is conveyed the following enigmatic message:

Now all the others that reside in matter were all persistent. It was because of their knowledge of majesty, their audacity and power, that they came into existence and adorned themselves. Because they did not know God, they shall pass away.¹⁰⁰

The identification of the concept of “ignorance” as a cause for “passing away”—either in literally, or metaphorical sense—in *2 Enoch* and *Zostrianos* is yet another intriguing parallel between these two works.

8 The Fourth Heaven (*2 En.* 11–17)

When taken by his celestial escort to the Fourth Heaven, Enoch studies the trajectories of the Sun and the Moon and “measures carefully” the size of the gates through which the two luminaries enter and exit. The content of this sub-unit shares common ground with the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.*).¹⁰¹ It is also on this heaven where Enoch acquires astronomical and calendrical lore; in his testimony he does not just produce a practical table of calendar reckoning but describes in detail a systematic mathematical scheme of the heavenly bodies and their regular movements. Enoch is thus portrayed as someone able to mastermind numbers, perceived as a mystical projection of the harmony of the macrocosm. And although *2 En.* draws upon calendrical and astronomical details similar to those found in *1 En.*, the narrative strategies employed

99 See Miklosich, *Lexicon*, 921.

100 Cf. *Zost.* NHС VIII 128.7–18 in Turner, “Zostrianos,” 581.

101 The relationship between these two texts was never a subject of a separate study.

in these two compositions bring forth two separate, self-contained storylines. Indeed, *2 En.* does not recycle abridged renditions of the *Astronomical Book* (i.e. *1 En.*), but produces its own compendium of calendrical and astronomical data, encapsulating it within a self-contained narrative describing the celestial landscape.

While analysing the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.*), Otto Neugebauer managed to prove that it was based on Babylonian astronomy, and, taking on board the Aramaic fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls, he argued that *1 En.* brought—or, more precisely, transferred—Babylonian astronomical theory to Jewish Palestine.¹⁰² Unfortunately, Neugebauer never introduced the data from *2 En.* into the discussion, thus failing to recognize that Babylonian epistemological models are conveyed in both *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch*.

9 The Fifth Heaven as a Domain of the Repenting Angels (*2 En.* 18)

When Enoch reaches the Fifth Heaven on the wings of his angelic escort, he encounters there a celestial host of what initially appears to be “an uncountable” multitude of warriors (МНОГЫЖ ВОЕ НЕИЗЪУЪТЕННІЕ). At a later point (*2 En.* 18:3), their quantity would be clarified as two hundred,¹⁰³ and this tell-tale formulaic number is the same as the one attested in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 6:6–7).¹⁰⁴ Significantly, in several Manichaean (Sogdian,¹⁰⁵ Middle Persian,¹⁰⁶ etc.) sources (e.g. the *Book of Giants*), the number of rebellious demons is also given as two hundred.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile, the term employed to designate the Watchers in different Slavonic MSS fluctuates in its spelling: *Grigore* [ГРІГОРЕ], *Grigorē* [ГРІГОРѢ],

¹⁰² Neugebauer, *The ‘Astronomical’ Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch*. See also Drawnel, “*1 Enoch* 73:4–8 and the Aramaic *Astronomical Book*,” 687–704; idem, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–4Q211) from Qumran*.

¹⁰³ Occasionally (in MSS S, J and M) it is embellished and upgraded to “two hundred myriads.” On the other hand, while in most of the witnesses to *2 Enoch* the number of the Watchers is defined as “two hundred,” in some versions of the longer recension (MSS J and P) there occurs a peculiar clarification that there were only three Watchers who actually descended to the crest of Mound Hermon and broke their Covenant with God (И ѿ ПНХЪ СОИИДОШАСА ТРИ НА ЗЕМАЮ ѿ ПРСТА ГДАНА, НА МЪСТО ЕРМОНЕ ПРОТОРГОШАСА, СЪВЪЩАНІА НА РАМѢ ГОРЫ ІЕРМОНСКІА).

¹⁰⁴ See the discussion in Fröhlich, “Giants and Demons,” esp. 99, 109.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Henning, “Book of the Giants,” 68–71.

¹⁰⁶ Henning, “Book of the Giants,” 70.

¹⁰⁷ See Kósa, “*Book of Giants* Tradition,” 148, 164, 167–68, 171, 175; Wilkens, “Remarks,” esp. 223.

Grigori [Грнгорн], *Grigorie* [Грнгорїє], *Grigorii* [Грнгорїн/Грнгорнн], *Grigor'i* [Грнгорьн], *Grigory* [Грнгоры], *Egrigor'/Egrigori/Egrigori* [Егрнгорь/Егрнгорн/Егрнгорнн], *Igrigor'i* [Игрнгорьн], etc.¹⁰⁸ As noticed by scholars,¹⁰⁹ all these alterable forms are in fact inconsistent transliterations of the Greek term(s) Γρήγοροι, Ἐγρήγοροι (= the Watchers). This would indicate that the Greek *Vorlage* (or, most probably, *Vorlagen*) of the composition now designated as 2 *Enoch* contained a particular term similar to (or identical with) the angelonym ἐγρήγοροι, as attested in the *Chronography* of George Synkellos,¹¹⁰ in the excerpt "From the First Book of Enoch, Concerning the Watchers" (Ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνώχ περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων; i.e., 1 *En.* 6.1–9.11).¹¹¹ Meanwhile the linguistic analysis of lexicographical data gathered from the extant witnesses to 2 *Enoch* shows that in *Slavia Orthodoxa* there circulated a corpus of multiple orthographic permutations of the Greek term(s) Γρήγοροι, Ἐγρήγοροι; in all surviving sources these angelonyms were transliterated, but never translated (as it is usually the case with *onomastica sacra*).¹¹² The forms designating the Watchers in Slavonic witnesses to 2 *Enoch* are thus to be regarded as borrowings from a certain parabiblical thesaurus of Enochic lore, the imprints of which can be traced back to the early Byzantine Greek chronographa (and in particular to the works of Panodorus or Annianus, on the bases of which George Synkellos builds his discourse), notwithstanding the Aramaic counterparts of the term in the Qumran fragments from the *Book of Giants*.¹¹³

Furthermore, as duly noted by W. Henning already in 1943, in his study on "The Book of the Giants," the term *Egrēgoroi* (as a designation of the Watchers), was likewise employed in some Coptic Manichaean texts (such as the *Kephalaia*).¹¹⁴ Further philological explorations into the geography of

108 See the survey of relevant lexicological data in Badalanova Geller, "Unde malum?"

109 See the discussion in Charles and Forbes, "2 *Enoch*," 439–40 (n. XVIII.3); Andersen, "2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse*) of *Enoch*," 130 (n. 18a).

110 See Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus*, 20–23, 42–47, 60.

111 See Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus*, 20–30; Adler and Tuffin, *Chronography of George Synkellos*, 16–23. On textual emendation in Synkellos' *Enoch* excerpts, see Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 175–82.

112 In contrast, in Church Slavonic versions of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the term denoting the Watchers is translated; see Badalanova Geller, "Enochic Texts and Related Traditions," 480–82.

113 See also the analysis of the term 𐤆𐤍 as "wakeful (one)" in the *Book of Giants* fragments from Qumran in Stuckenbruck, "203. 4QEnoch Giants^a ar," 26–27.

114 See Henning's publication of some pertinent fragments from *1Ke* 92.24–31 ("Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who is ἔνωια, is in the third heaven. He is ... with the wrath ... and a rebellion..., when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district [rebelled and] descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of

the lexicographic blueprints of the cognate terms denoting “the Watchers” (e.g. the Greek Γρηγόροι/Εγρηγόροι, the Coptic *Egrēgoroi*, the Slavonic Грнгоре/Грнгорѣ/Грнгорн/Грнгоріе/Грнгорін/Грнгорнн/Грнгорьн/Грнгоры/Егрнгорѣ/Егрнгорн/Егрнгорнн/Нгрнгорьн, etc.) in various cultural environments may clarify the multilingual dimensions of the Enochic corpus.

Enoch’s testimony about his experience on the Fifth Heaven commences with a brief description of circumstances surrounding his encounter with the brotherhood of the Watchers. The visionary reports that “their appearance was like that of humans” (ВНДѢНІЕ Н^х АКО ВНАДѢНІЕ УЛБѢУЕ), and “their immensity was greater than huge giants” (ВЕЛНУБСТВО Н^х ВЕЩЕ ЦЖДОВЬ ВЕЛНКУ^х). Their faces were morose (Н ЛНЦА Н^х ДРАХЛА), and their mouths were constantly silent (Н МЛѢУАНІЕ ОУСТЬ Н^х ВЪСЕГДА); this appears to be the explanation as to why there was no service held on the Fifth Heaven (Н НЕ ВѢ СЛОУЖЕНІА НА .Ѓ.МЬ НБСН). However, in contrast to the account about the apostate angels imprisoned in Second Heaven (2 *En.* 7), no hanging on chains is mentioned in the description of the Fifth Heaven, or confinement. There is only a depressing, grim awareness of the forthcoming Great Tribunal to which its inhabitants are condemned, and a deafening silence of those awaiting it.

But why are the Watchers being punished? Enoch is eager to find out the roots of their grievous sin and asks his celestial escort to explain them to him. The narrative then begins unfolding—as in the accounts concerning the Second and the Third Heaven—as a dialogue, and the visionary is duly informed about the events leading to Watchers’ punishment. While 1 *En.* focuses in a somewhat obsessive way on the mythologoumenon of the illicit transmission of esoteric knowledge by rebellious angels to their earthly wives (the overwhelming impact of which is palpable throughout the entire composition to the extent that it becomes its hallmark),¹¹⁵ 2 *Enoch* is entirely free of the theme. As in the narrative unit about the apostate angels hanging in chains in the celestial prison on the Second Heaven (2 *En.* 7), in the account about the Fifth Heaven there is no reference to the proscribed crossing of epistemological boundaries between the celestial and terrestrial realms, neither is

heaven to the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth ...”) and 1*Ke* 171.16–19 (“Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were ... and there descended those who were sent to confound them”); Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 71. See also Kósa, “*Book of Giants* Tradition,” 153–54.

115 The literature on the subject is vast; for recent publications, see Reed, “Gendering Heavenly Secrets”; Drawnel, “Knowledge Transmission.”

there mentioned the violation of the gender-bound restrictions of knowledge transmission. The storyline is simple and straightforward: instead of obeying the orders of the Lord and keeping the Covenant with Him, the Watchers decided to follow “their own will,” and “parted from Him with their Prince Satanail.” At this point Enoch is promptly reminded that “those who followed in their footsteps” are the prisoners in the Second Heaven, engulfed by deep darkness (НЖЕ СЖ^Т НА ВТОРЪ^М НБСН СЪБАРЪЖНМН ТЪМОЖ ВЕЛНКОЖ) whom he has already seen. In short, the guilt of the Watchers and their subordinates turns out to be the annulment on their behalf of their primordial Covenant with the Lord, as a result of their decision to exercise their free will. Significantly, a similar line of argument is presented in the *Damascus Document* (4Q266 2 ii 14–21):

And now, sons, listen to me and I shall open your eyes so that you can see and understand the deeds of God, so that you can choose what he is pleased with and repudiate what he hates, so that you can walk perfectly on all his paths and not allow yourselves to be attracted by the thoughts of a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes. For many have gone astray due to these; brave heroes stumbled on account of them, from ancient times until now. For having walked in the stubbornness of their hearts the Watchers of the heavens fell; on account of it they were caught, for they did not heed the precepts of God. And their sons, whose height was like that of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains, fell. All flesh which was on the dry earth expired and they became as if they had never been, because they had realized their desires and had failed to keep their creator’s precepts, until his wrath flared up against them. Through it, the sons of Noah and their families strayed, through it, they were cut off.¹¹⁶

Like in *2 Enoch*, in the *Damascus Document* the nature of Watchers’ misconduct is interpreted in terms of “their walking after the stubbornness of their hearts.” The “mighty warriors” are considered to have transgressed not because they revealed secret knowledge to their wives (as in *1 En.*), but “because they did not keep God’s commandments.” These parallel attestations of one and the same idea—the identification of the Watchers’ sin as an act of infringement of the Covenant between them and the Lord, and a further wrongful exercise of free will—in both *2 Enoch* on the one hand, and certain compositions discovered in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., the *Damascus Document*) on the

116 Quoted after García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:553–55 (CD–A 1–11); see also Fraade, “History (?),” 522–23.

other—shows that the hitherto maintained hypothesis of the lack of any such correspondences between these two traditions should be reassessed.

One further matter. The case of the Watchers' transgression gets even more complicated when one takes into consideration the fact that in *2 En.* 18:1 they are described as warriors, which would mean that the refusal to follow the orders of their Commander-in-chief would qualify as grievous misconduct, similar to that of soldiers deserting combat. As members of the Heavenly Host, they are supposed to follow unconditionally the orders of the Lord, and never question, let alone disobey them. Besides, the angels are supposed to be free of carnal bondage with the human race and are expected to dwell in the incorporeal domain of their celestial homeland. Instead, the Watchers "descended from the Throne of the Lord" down to "the crest of the Mount Hermon," where they broke their Covenant with Him and engaged in carnal relationships with "the daughters of men," thus defiling the earth with their deeds (Н ѠСКВРЪННСА ЗЕМЛА ДЪЛАМН Н^X). As a result of their having engaged in sexual encounters with the human race, a hybrid progeny was sired, whose deeds further polluted the terrestrial realm.

In both *1 En.* and *2 En.* the summit of Mount Hermon is designated as a spatial mark of iniquity, leading to total desecration of the Universe. According to *1 En.* 6:6, this is the spot where the Watchers came down and swore their oath. In *2 En.* 18:4 the crest of Mount Hermon is described as the place where the Watchers descended from the Throne of the Lord (a detail missing from *1 En.*) and broke their Covenant with Him (ПРЪТРЪГОША СЪБЪЦАНІЕ НА РАМЪ ГОРЫ ЕРМОНСКЫЕ), thus polluting the earth with their deeds.¹¹⁷

The closing paragraph of the text-unit devoted to the Fifth Heaven poses further questions; they are related to the singular image of the repenting angels, as presented in *2 En.* 18:8–9. Thus, after his having witnessed the sorrowful laments and overwhelming bereavement of the Watchers on account of the gloomy destiny of their brothers languishing in the darkness of the Second Heaven, the visionary urges them "to start holding a liturgy and begin serving before the face of the Lord" (ПОСТАВНТЕ СЛОУЖБН ВАШЕ Н СЛОУЖНТЕ ПРЪ^А ЛИЦЕ^М ГННМЪ). The Watchers "listened to Enoch's admonishment and lined up in four ranks in this Heaven" (ПОСЛОУШАШЕ НАКАЗАНІА МОЕГО Н СТАШЖ НА УЕТРН УННН НА ПЪСН СЕ^М), after which "four trumpets sounded together with a loud voice" (ВЪСТРЖЪНШЖ .Д. РН ТРЖБН ВЪКОУПЪ ГЛСО^М ВЕЛНКО^М) and "the *Grigori* began singing in accord, and their voices ascended

117 On the axiology of "Mount Hermon" as a spatial icon of Watchers' sin, see Charles and Forbes, "2 *Enoch*," 440 (n. XVIII. 4); Andersen, "2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse*) of *Enoch*," 132 (n. 18e).

to the face of the Lord” (ВЪСПѢШЖ ГРНГОРН ЕДННОГЛА^СНО. Н ВЪЗЫДЕ ГЛА^С Н^Х ПРѢ^А ЛНЦЕ^М ГНА). The question as to whether the Lord is going to take into consideration the repentance of the Watchers, as formulated in 2 *Enoch*, remains open.

The crucial point raised by the present analysis, however, is that the image of the repenting (fallen) angels in 2 *Enoch*—which plays such an important role in the eschatological macro-narrative unfolding in a parascriptural heritage of *Slavia Orthodoxa*—parallels that of repentant giants praying to God for mercy in the Qumran *Book of Giants*,¹¹⁸ and that of kneeling giants, likewise repenting their sins, in the *Book of Giants* in Manichaean tradition.¹¹⁹ These significant parallels between Enochic traditions, as attested in Aramaic, Coptic and Slavonic, are of utmost importance for the study of the apocalyptic traditions in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

10 The Sixth Heaven (2 *En.* 19)

On the Sixth Heaven, positioned below the Lord’s footstool, Enoch sees “seven cohorts of angels, most bright and very glorious—their faces radiant, more than the shining sun’s rays” (ВНАДѢ^Х ТОУ .З. УЕТЬ ДГГЛА ПРѢСВѢТЛН Н СЛАВНЫ ЗѢЛО. Н ЛНЦА Н^Х СНАЕЦП ПА^В ЛОУУЪ СЛНУНЫХЪ ЛЪЦЕЦЕСА). Responsible for keeping the equilibrium of the Universe, they are in charge of monitoring the movements of the stars (ЗВѢЗ^АНОЕ ХОЖ^АЕНІЕ), the rotation of the Sun (СЛНУНО ОБРАЦЕНІЕ), the phases of the Moon (ЛОУНО ПРѢМѢНЕНІЕ), and the well-being of the cosmos (МНРСКОЕ БЛГОТВОРАЕНІЕ). Enoch does not engage in dialogue with them, but reports on their celestial and terrestrial obligations:

there are angels who oversee seasons and years, and angels [in charge] of rivers and seas, and angels [in charge] of every earthly fruit, and of every grass; these are the ones providing all sustenance to every living being; and there are angels [in charge] of all human souls who write down all the deeds [of all people], and [of] their lives before the face of the Lord.¹²⁰

118 Perhaps the earliest attestation of this motif is found in 4QEnGiants^a (copied in the middle of the first century BCE); see García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 103. See also the discussion in Goff, “Sons of the Watchers,” esp. 117, 124–25.

119 See the discussion in Kósa, “*Book of Giants* Tradition,” 172–77.

120 Cf. Sokolov, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoj Literature*, 18–19.

To sum up, the description of the Sixth Heaven replicates, to a certain degree, that of the First Heaven. At the same time, it appears to be the upper crust of the multiple firmaments below the footstool of the Lord.

11 Reaching the Highest Heaven (2 *En.* 20–22)

There are two types of celestial maps in 2 *Enoch*. According to the first one, attested only in one of the witnesses to the longer recension (MS S), but in all witnesses to the shorter recension (MSS U, Srezn, MPU, Bars/Sok) and the abbreviated redaction (MSS N, VL/Jov, Bars1/Sok), the number of heavens is seven.¹²¹ The template of the sevenfold firmaments is the most popular one in Slavonic parabiblical traditions; for instance, it is implemented in the storyline of *Isaiah's Vision*,¹²² and certain indigenous apocalyptic compositions, including the “revelations” of some male and female seers prophesying in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, whom the members of the local communities venerated—and even worshiped—as “Living Saints,” thus implicitly associating them with Enoch as the archetypal visionary.¹²³

According to some witnesses to the longer recension of the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (MSS J, P, and M), however, the heavens are reported to be not seven, but ten, and this scheme—seven plus three—is likewise attested in the Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V,2)¹²⁴ and in some Manichaean sources (e.g. *1Ke* 88.6–7, 118.20, 170.4).¹²⁵ Still, the comparison between the descriptions of the celestial landscapes witnessed by the visionaries during their ascents, as presented in the Coptic and the Slavonic accounts, shows that the only cosmographic feature these compositions have in common is the pattern of the “tenfold firmament.”

It is often asserted that the passages containing the description of the eight, ninth and the tenth heavens (as found in 2 *En.* 20:3, 2 *En.* 21:6, and 2 *En.* 22:1) are

121 On the concept of the seven heavens in Jewish and Christian apocalypses, see Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 21–54.

122 See Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i Legendi*, 131–64. The main difference between 2 *Enoch* and *Isaiah's Vision* is that in the latter case the visionary does not ascend bodily, while in the former he does. This is why Enoch's body is anointed and hence he acquires an angelic status, whereas Isaiah does not.

123 See the discussion in Badalanova Geller, “South Slavic,” esp. 289–91.

124 Scopello and Meyer, “Revelation of Paul,” 313–19. See also the discussion in Kaler, *Flora Tells a Story*, 60–62, 168–71.

125 See above the earlier discussion in Reeves (“Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 186, 202) and others.

interpolations.¹²⁶ The analysis of the content of these chapters, however, raises questions about the background of the scribes responsible for these insertions, since they demonstrate significant knowledge of Jewish cosmological models, as attested in the Babylonian Talmud.

According to MS J, the visionary is shown the Throne of the Lord from a distance and deduces that it must be situated on the Tenth Heaven (2 *En.* 20:3); the fragment is rather short and runs as follows:

And they showed me from a distance the Lord who was sitting on his exceedingly high Throne, for this is where God is, on the Tenth Heaven, which in the Hebrew language is called Aravoth (אַרַבּוֹתָ).¹²⁷

A similar phrase is inserted in MS P:

What is therefore on the Tenth Heaven, given that it is there where the Lord dwells? God is on the Tenth Heaven, which in the Hebrew language is called Aravat (אַרַבָּאֵת).¹²⁸

Meanwhile, the name of the Tenth Heaven in MSS J and P renders the Hebrew term *Araboth*.¹²⁹ Significantly, the latter is also found in 3 *En.* 41:3.¹³⁰ It is also attested in the Babylonian Talmud (*Hag.* 12b), where all the seven heavens are listed by name (*Vilon, Raqia, Shechaqim, Zevul, Ma'on, Machon, and Araboth*). B. *Hag* 12b also provides the following description:

Araboth is that in which there are Right and Judgment and Righteousness, the treasures of life and the treasures of peace and the treasures of blessing, the souls of the righteous and the spirits and the souls which are yet to be born, and dew wherewith the Holy One, blessed be He, will hereafter revive the dead. [...] There [too] are the Ofanim and the Seraphim, and the Holy Living Creatures, and the Ministering Angels, and the Throne of

126 Cf. Morfill and Charles, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, 27 (n. 6); Andersen, “2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse*) of Enoch,” 135 (n. 20d), 136 (n. 21j). Elsewhere the present author suggested that the numerical shift from *seven* to *ten* in celestial topography of heavens (as attested in MSS P and J) may have reflected (or been impacted by) the conversion from the Glagolitic to Cyrillic script (and the subsequent transposition from the Glagolitic numeral system into Cyrillic). See earlier discussion in Badalanova Geller, “Poetics of Errors.”

127 *Apud* Andersen’s translation of MS J, “2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse*) of Enoch,” 134.

128 Cf. Popov, “Bibliograficheskie Materialy,” 103.

129 See also the comments on the forms *Аравотъ, Арватъ, Аравотъ* in Sokolov and Speranskii, *Materialy i Zametki po Starinnoi Slavianskoï Literature* (Part 2v), 158–59 (n. 1).

130 Alexander, “3 (*Hebrew Apocalypse*) of Enoch,” 292, 305.

God; and the King, the Living God, high and exalted, dwells over them in *Araboth*, for it is said: Extol Him that rides upon *Araboth* whose name is the Lord (Ps 68:5).¹³¹

In short, in *b. Hag. 12b*, the term *Araboth* denotes the realm where righteousness and justice dwell, referring specifically to the highest (in this particular case, seventh) heaven; under the same token it functions as “a poetic name for heaven.”¹³² However, in *b. Hag. 12b* the term *Araboth* is not listed together with the terms *Mazzalôt* or *Kokabîm*;¹³³ they are absent from the text, which means that the medieval Slavonic scribe responsible for this addendum into the redactions of 2 *Enoch*, even if he had access to *b. Hag. 12b*, the latter was not used as a direct source. The knowledge about the *Araboth* as the highest heaven may have been transmitted orally. In both schemes, the Jewish cosmology (i.e. *Hag. 12b*) and *Slavonic Enoch* (MSS J and P), the term *Araboth* refers to the zenith of the celestial realm.¹³⁴

As for the references to the names of the Eighth and the Ninth Heavens, they are found in 2 *En. 21:6* (*en bloc* with the name of the Tenth Heaven, which occurs immediately after that, in 22:1). Here follows the passage concerned from MS P:

And Gabriel swept me up like the wind takes away a leaf, and he moved me along and put me down before the Face of the Lord. And I saw the Eighth Heaven, which is called in the Hebrew language *Muzaloth* (ЕЖЕ НАРЕЧЕТСА ЕВРЕЙСКИМЪ ЯЗЫКОМЪ МЪЗЛАОТЪ), the changer of the seasons (ПРЕМЪНИТЕЛЬ ВРЕМЕНЕМЪ), of dryness (СЪХОТН) and wetness (МОКРОТН), and the twelve zodiac signs (ДВАНДЕСАТИМЪ СОДІАМЪ), which are above the Seventh Heaven. And I saw the Ninth Heaven, which in the Hebrew language is called *Kukhavym* (Н ВНАДЪХЪ ѿ-Е НЪБО, ЕЖЕ ПО ЕВРЕЙСКЪ ЗОВЕМЪ КЪХАВЫМЪ), where the heavenly houses of the twelve

131 Cf. *Soncino Talmud Chagigah* (<https://www.halakhah.com/pdf/moed/Chagigah.pdf>).

132 Jastrow, *Dictionary*, III 3.

133 See the discussion below.

134 As pointed out by Ryan, brief articles about a certain mysterious star *Aravan* occur in some seventeenth-eighteenth centuries Russian miscellanea containing calendrical and astronomical/astrological fragments (e.g. Pascal Tables (*Paskhaliia*), astrological articles entitled *Planetnik*, the *Seal of Solomon* rebus, etc.); see Ryan, “The Oriental Duodenary Animal Cycle in Old Russian Manuscripts,” 16–17. The latter detail indicates that in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries the scientific thesaurus of the Orthodox Slavs employed the term *Araboth* (in a somewhat amended version) as an astronomy.

zodiac signs are. And on the Tenth Heaven, *Aravoth* (НА ДЕСАТОМЪ НѢСН ДРАВОӨЪ), I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire.¹³⁵

Significantly, nowhere in the text of *2 Enoch* do the scribes mention any of the first seven heavens by name. Special terms are used to designate only the “superfluous heavens” (i.e., the Eighth, the Ninth and the Tenth). In other words, only those heavens which appear to be incompatible with the (otherwise) dominant scheme of the seven heavens are defined by special appellations. As mentioned above, these particular passages in MSS J and P, which are missing from the other text-witnesses of *2 Enoch*, are most probably interpolations. Furthermore, the designations of the three additional heavens (*Muzaloth*, *Kukhavim* and *Aravoth*) are in fact “domesticated” Slavonic versions of genuine Hebrew words (i.e., *Mazzaloth*, *Kokabim* and *Araboth*) which are otherwise widely attested in the Targumim, Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and midrashic literature. Thus the lexeme *kokavim* is used as a common term designating stars, planets and zodiac signs.¹³⁶ The lexeme *mazzalot* has a similar semantic coverage: it means “planet,” “constellation,” and even “luck.”¹³⁷ The Hebrew terms *Kokabim* and *Mazzaloth* often occur together (as in *b. Ber.* 10a), but not in conjunction with the poetic word *Araboth* (as used in *b. Hag.* 12b). The taxonomy of the different heavenly strata in the celestial scheme in *2 Enoch* is a rather exceptional case; this more probably indicates the oral transmission of cosmological knowledge. This specific “heavenly thesaurus” (as employed in MSS J and P) betrays the scribe’s attempt not only to iron out the problematic details concerning the troubling deviations from the conventional patterns of heavenly topography (i.e., ten versus seven heavens), but also to revive the dormant memory of the Jewish lineage of *Slavonic Enoch*.

To sum up: While most of the text-witnesses to *2 Enoch* maintain that the celestial habitat is divided into seven strata, in some of the extant redactions of the longer recension the number of heavens is ten; and since a similar scheme of the “ten-layered” celestial realm is attested in the Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul*, as well as in some Manichaean sources, this detail raises some important questions that may relate to the reception history of both *2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Would it be plausible to consider the possibility that at the time when the Greek translation of the Semitic *Vorlage* of *2 Enoch* was made, there were two concurrent protographs based on either the model of

135 Cf. Popov, “Bibliograficheskie Materialy,” 104.

136 Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 619.

137 Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 755.

“the seven heavens” or on that of “the ten heavens”? And can we contemplate whether the latter celestial scheme was likewise known to the author(s) of the Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul* and the Manichaeans? This hypothesis may bring new nuances to the discussion opened by Madeleine Scopello as to whether *2 Enoch* was not “part of the stock knowledge of a cultivated man such as the author of *Zostrianos*” (see above), and indeed of the rich multilingual milieu fostering Gnostic ideology.¹³⁸

12 Conclusion

The initial stage of the present argument was aimed at describing and challenging a deeply entrenched misconception about the origins and the nature of *2 Enoch*, as propagated by J.T. Milik: that the composition was late and derivative in comparison to *1 Enoch*. His viewpoint appeared to be substantiated by the discovery of Qumran Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* in the Dead Sea Scrolls, suggesting that they attest to the only legitimately ancient version of the Enochic corpus. When a sober view is taken of all the palaeographic evidence, it appears that the Slavonic manuscripts in which *2 Enoch* survives are in fact older than the Ethiopic manuscripts which preserved *1 Enoch*, and that there is virtually no evidence to support the common assumption that Slavonic Enoch was either “late,” or a “secondary” composition based upon redrafts of the textual corpus of *1 Enoch*. The differences between the two texts are substantial, even if based on a similar theme: *1 Enoch* is a compendium of complex data comprising astronomy, cosmology, angelology, etc., and is organized into a cluster of distinct books, while *2 Enoch* is a unified narrative reflecting the kind of heavenly journey and revealed knowledge, some of which became appropriated in Gnostic texts. *2 Enoch* is much less encumbered with technicalities in comparison to *1 Enoch*, but it manages to convey the key message of how this biblical patriarch was brought up to the seventh (or the tenth) stratum of heaven, and how he witnessed the cosmic structures and logistics of the Universe, with the crucial detail of returning to earth to convey this esoteric knowledge to his descendants. As a chronicle, *2 Enoch* was much more likely to have inspired other visionary works of this kind, since it was more accessible and adaptable to oral transmission while appealing to the imagination of anyone contemplating the idea of heavenly ascents.

Due to the legacy of scholarship which has treated *2 Enoch* as a secondary work containing relatively few novel contributions to the discourse on the

¹³⁸ Scopello, “*The Apocalypse of Zostrianos*,” 380.

Second Temple Judaism or early Christianity, important data from this text has either been missed or neglected, including comparisons with Gnostic literature from Nag Hammadi, Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran, or Manichaean sources. Some recent studies (e.g., by Scopello and Reeves) have changed the discourse, but without managing to alter the commonly held view of *2 Enoch* as relatively unimportant in comparison with *1 Enoch*. While the present work is not intended as a comprehensive survey of certain key themes and motifs in *2 Enoch* and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Nag Hammadi Library and Manichaean literature, our main argument is that these parallels need to be taken into consideration. They include: the state of anxiety prior to the ascent (*2 En.* 1–2; cf. *Zost.* NHC VIII 3.13–28; *Ap. John* NHC II 1.30–2.20); the description of the enchained angels hanging in the Second Heaven (*2 En.* 7.1–5; cf. *1Ke* 58.24–28 *passim*); the designation of sin as ignorance, in contrast to salvific knowledge (*2 En.* 30.15–17; cf. *Zost.* NHC VIII 128.9–14; *Test. Truth* NHC IX 31.10–15, 31.22–32.8, etc.); the designation of the Watchers (*2 En.* 18) as giant warriors, their sin as wrongly exercised free will (cf. CD 2.14–21), and their response as penitence (*2 En.* 18:8–9; cf. 4QENGiants^a); the notion that there are not seven, but ten heavens (some witnesses to the long recension of *2 En.* 20:3; cf. *Apoc. Paul* NHC V,2), the last three of which bear adaptations of Hebrew words otherwise known from the Targumim, Talmudim, and midrash.

The present analysis suggests that *2 Enoch* may well have influenced Gnostic literature in its role as the very first Jewish literary work of its kind to describe the adventure and wonders of a heavenly journey, which ancient storytellers and scribes would certainly have cherished and reiterated time and time again.

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