

Chapter 1

‘Og King of Bashan, Enoch and the Books of Enoch: Extra-Canonical Texts and Interpretations of Genesis 6:1–4’*

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It is not the Writer, but the authority of the Church, that maketh a Book Canonical
[Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), part III, chap. 33 p. 204]

For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of the giants
(Deuteronomy 3:11)

Renaissance Humanist, Franciscan friar, Benedictine monk, Doctor of Medicine and ‘Great Jester of France’, François Rabelais (c.1490–1553?) was the author of *La vie, faits & dits Heroiques de Gargantua, & de son filz Pantagruel* (Lyon, 1564). A satirical masterpiece with liberal dollops of scatological humour, it tells the irreverent story of Gargantua, his son Pantagruel and their companion Panurge. Gargantua and Pantagruel are giants and in an allusion to the Matthean genealogy of Christ the first book begins with a promised account of how ‘the Giants were born in this world, and how from them by a direct line issued *Gargantua*’. Similarly, the second book introduces a parody of the Old Testament genealogies:

And the first was *Chalbroth*
who begat *Sarabroth*
who begat *Faribroth*
who begat *Hurtali*, that was a brave eater of pottage, and reigned in the time of the flood.

Acknowledging readers would doubt the veracity of this lineage, ‘seeing at the time of the flood all the world was destroyed, except *Noah*, and seven persons more with him in the Ark’, Rabelais described how the giant *Hurtali* survived the deluge. Citing the authority of a rabbinic school known as the Massorettes, ‘good honest fellows, true *ballokeering* blades, and exact *Hebraical* bagpipers’, Rabelais explained that *Hurtali* did not get in the ark (he was too big), but rather sat astride upon it, with ‘one leg on the one side, and another on the other, as little children use to do upon their wooden

horses'. In this manner Hurtali steered the ark away from danger. Appreciative of his good deed those inside sent him up an abundance of food through a chimney.¹

Rabelais's Hurtali was none other than Og the king of Bashan, whom Moses and the children of Israel slew in the battle of Edrei (Numbers 21:33). It was said of Og that he alone remained of the remnant of giants and that his iron bedstead in Rabbath was nine cubits long and four cubits broad (Deuteronomy 3:11). In *The Guide for the Perplexed* Moses ben Maimonides (1135–1204) elucidated the meaning of Og's enormous bedstead. The verse was not an example of hyperbole, for Scripture 'tells us that Og was double as long as an ordinary person, or a little less'. Undoubtedly this was an exceptional height among men, 'but not quite impossible'.² Maimonides's literal reading of the text was intended to negate the authority of the Talmud's commentary. According to a legend in the Babylonian Talmud (final redaction undertaken from late fifth century CE) Og uprooted a mountain to throw at the camp of Israel. God, however, sent ants which burrowed through the mountain above Og's head, so that it sank around his neck. As Og struggled to free himself his teeth projected on each side. Moses then took an axe and leaping into the air struck at Og's ankle, killing him.³ Other interpretations accounted for Og's presence after the flood. Thus the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash Rabbah (assembled and edited about fifth century CE) connected him with the 'one that had escaped' (Genesis 14:13).⁴ Likewise, the *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (final redaction probably undertaken in the ninth century) told of how Og sat down on a piece of wood 'under the gutter' of the ark. After swearing an oath to Noah that he and his descendants would serve him as slaves in perpetuity, Noah made an aperture in the ark through which he passed victuals daily to Og.⁵ A tractate of the Babylonian Talmud also gave Og's parentage. He was the son of Ahijah the son of Shemhazai. Rashi (1040–1105) noted in a gloss

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¹ François Rabelais, *The first Book* (trans. Sir Thomas Urquhart, 1653), p. 9; Rabelais, *Second Book* (trans. Urquhart, 1653), pp. 5–6, 8–9.

² Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed* (trans. M. Friedländer, 2nd edn, New York, 1956), part ii, cap. xlvii, p. 248.

³ Isidore Epstein and Maurice Simon (eds and trans.), *Babylonian Talmud*, 34 vols (1935–48), Seder Zera'im, p. 331 (Berakoth 54b).

⁴ *Babylonian Talmud*, Seder Tohoroth, p. 433 (Niddah 61a); H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (ed. and trans.) *Midrash Rabbah*, 10 vols, (1939), I 350 (Bereshith xlii.8).

⁵ *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (trans. Gerald Friedlander, 1916), 167; Louis Ginzburg (ed.), *Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin, 7 vols, (1913–38; reprinted, Baltimore, 1998), I 160.

on Numbers 13:33 that Shemhazai and Azael fell from heaven in the days of the generation of Enos.⁶

I

These stories of Og king of Bashan illustrate several important intellectual themes: Jewish exegesis of the Torah, the transmission of Jewish legends and their reinterpretation within a hostile Christian environment, and Christian awareness of Jewish sources in the Renaissance. Moreover, as a giant, as the progeny of a fallen angel, Og provides a link with texts under the name of Enoch. These influential extra-canonical writings have been discussed extensively by scholars, especially after the discovery of books attributed to Enoch among the Dead Sea Scrolls. While our understanding of the formation, reception and adaptation of the Enochic corpus within various contexts – the Hellenistic and early Roman period, sectarian Judaism, rabbinic Judaism, early Judaeism, Syrian, Egyptian, North African and European Christianity, Gnosticism, Manichaeism and Medieval Jewish mysticism – has been significantly enhanced, comparable developments in Western Europe between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment have been relatively neglected. This essay attempts to fill that gap by tracing the dissemination of the Enochic corpus. In the process it explores Protestant and Catholic attitudes towards the canon; the Christian discovery of Kabbalistic literature and its appropriation and fusion with magical texts; encounters between Europeans and Ethiopians; the influence of Oriental studies; the concerns of early modern scholarship and contemporary knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic sources; Protestant opposition to doctrines based on oral traditions; and sectarian interest in extra-canonical texts.

II

And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him (Genesis 5:21–4).

Etymologically, Enoch may come from the Hebrew root meaning ‘to dedicate’ or ‘to teach’. The name may be translated as dedicated or teacher. Enoch was the seventh antediluvian patriarch. Alone of the antediluvian patriarchs he did not suffer the pains of death, though his pious life was much the shortest. His 365 years has long been recognized as a reference to the solar calendar. Moreover, the priestly editor of Genesis may have modelled the figure of Enoch on Mesopotamian traditions and a version of the so-called Sumerian King List, for the position of seventh antediluvian

⁶ *Babylonian Talmud*, Seder Tohoroth, p. 433 (Niddah 61a); M. Rosenbaum and A.M. Silberman (eds), *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi's Commentary. Numbers* (New York, 1949; reprinted, 5 vols, Jerusalem, 1973), p. 65.

king was usually occupied by Enmeduranki, originator of divination, recipient of divine mysteries and ruler of Sippar (city of the sun-god, Shamash). Yet it is also noteworthy that while the seventh antediluvian sage Utuabzu ascended to heaven, Enoch was taken. Even so, belief in Enoch's 'translation' to heaven, if not universal among Jews, nonetheless helped develop the legend of a beloved and wise seer of priestly character, the 'scribe of righteousness', the first man born on earth 'who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom'.⁷

A number of writings are pseudonymously attributed to Enoch. Some of these pseudepigrapha are conventionally designated 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch. The so-called Hebrew Book of Enoch (3 Enoch) is a composite work extant in several recensions of different length. What has arguably been identified as an original core (3 Enoch 3–15) has been dated to about 450–850, though this has been contested. Several strands are also present, notably traditions of the angel Metatron. This character appears to embody three originally independent figures – the angel Yahoel, the lesser YHWH, and Metatron, who himself resembles the archangel Michael. 3 Enoch has been characterized as a relatively late example of Hekhaloth literature and also as a Merkabah text. The Hekhaloth books describe the heavenly halls or palaces through which the visionary passes, while Merkabah mysticism is a rabbinic term for the assemblage of 'speculations, homilies, and visions connected with the Throne of Glory and the chariot which bears it'. Though 3 Enoch seems to have emanated from Babylonian rabbinic circles it has been observed that no mention is made of Enoch in either the Palestinian or Babylonian Talmud, nor in the Tannaitic Midrashim (exegetical Midrashim of a mainly legal nature on the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy). This silence has been interpreted as rabbinic criticism of some of 3 Enoch's teachings.⁸

2 Enoch or 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch' as it called in some documents, is extant only in Slavonic. It survives in a number of fragmentary texts and more than 10 complete manuscripts, the oldest of fourteenth-century provenance. These texts are generally taken to represent two recensions of unequal length, with the greater part of the shorter recension usually assumed to be the more original. 2 Enoch appears to be the work of one author, with few interpolations. It contains an account of Enoch's ascent into the celestial realm, his journey through the seven heavens and his metamorphosis near the Throne of Glory, as well as material about the creation of the world and the story of Melchizedek's miraculous birth to a barren old woman on the day of her death. Though 2 Enoch probably circulated among a Jewish rather than early Christian community, it is considered to be almost heterodox in character. Some scholars believe it was written in Hebrew and translated into Greek, others that it was composed in Greek but based partly on a Hebrew version. Attempts to date it have also proved inconclusive. 2 Enoch has been assigned to an Alexandrian

⁷ 1 Enoch 12:4; Jubilees 4:17.

⁸ Ginzburg (ed.), *Legends of the Jews*, V, 156; Gershom Scholem *Kabbalah* (New York, 1978), p. 373.

Jew of the first century CE. At the other extreme it is supposedly the product of a Greek monk of the ninth or tenth century.

Of all the Enochic pseudepigrapha 1 Enoch has received most attention. Undoubtedly a composite work, the longest version of the text is extant in more than 60 manuscripts. The oldest of these is clearly divided into five parts, while some later copies are divided into chapters. Modern scholarship has fixed the number of chapters and introduced verses. In this arrangement there are 108 chapters consisting of five books, with an appended chapter. Some books have been further subdivided into sections:

- 1–36, *The Book of the Watchers*
- 1–5, The Oracular Introduction
- 6–11, The Shemihazah narrative
- 12–16, Enoch's Ascent to Heaven
- 17–19, Enoch's first journey
- 20–36, Enoch's second journey
- 37–71, *The Similitudes of Enoch (The Book of Parables)*
- 72–82, *The Astronomical Book (The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries)*
- 83–90, *The Book of Dreams*
- 85–90, The Animal Apocalypse
- 91–107, *The Epistle of Enoch*
- 93:1–10; 91:11–17, The Apocalypse of Weeks
- 106–7, The Book of Noah
- 108, Concluding discourse

These five books are thought to span maybe two or three centuries, ranging from possibly before 200 BCE to the end of the first-century BCE, or perhaps later still. Four Aramaic manuscripts identified as sizeable portions of the Astronomical Book have been discovered at Qumran Cave 4. On palaeographic grounds the oldest has been dated by its editor to the late third or early second-century BCE. In its earliest form this material is considered to be probably the oldest stratum of the Enochic corpus. Aramaic fragments recognized as belonging to the Book of the Watchers have also been uncovered at Qumran Cave 4. The same editor has assigned the oldest to about 200–150 BCE. The Book of the Watchers is thus likely to date from the third-century BCE and elements are commonly deemed some of the earliest known forms of Jewish apocalyptic literature. The Epistle of Enoch conceivably originated in circles ancestral to the Essenes and was perhaps written about 170 BCE. Two fragments of this work have been found at Qumran Cave 4, the older dated to the middle of the first century BCE. The Apocalypse of Weeks, which forms part of the Epistle, was most likely an independent composition that was reused by the author of the Epistle. The Book of Dreams, it has been suggested, arose out of the conflict between pietistic Judaism and Hellenism in the late 160s BCE. An Aramaic fragment unearthed at Qumran Cave 4 has been dated to 150–125 BCE. The Animal Apocalypse within the Book of Dreams appears to have been written during

the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid empire (166–160 BCE) and contains a generally agreed reference to Judas Maccabeus as the ‘great horn’ (90:9). Though not found at Qumran either among the Aramaic fragments identified from Cave 4, or the Greek fragments identified from Cave 7, the *Similitudes of Enoch* are usually regarded as a unit of Jewish composition. They may be assigned to the late first-century BCE, with two verses (56:5–6) plausibly understood as an allusion to the Parthian invasion of Judaea in 40 BCE. Alternatively, it has been carefully argued that the work belongs to the first century CE. Notions of a later date seem far-fetched.

III

And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown (Genesis 6:1–4).

The *Book of the Watchers*, a fusion of diverse sources and traditions, is partly eschatological (1–6, 10:14–11:2). It opens with a prophetic oracle announcing divine judgment upon everything, upon all the righteous and ungodly. What follows has been viewed as an early type of expository narrative. The core appears to be a cycle of legends that coalesced in the story of Shemihazah, leader of a rebellious band of angels. This was subsequently conflated with material concerning the angelic chieftain Asael. Full of interpolations, inconsistencies and word plays, it begins with what is commonly regarded as a paraphrase of Genesis 6:1 – though the opposite has sometimes been argued, namely that the passage predates the definitive version of Genesis.

‘And it came to pass’ that the ‘children of heaven’ saw and lusted after the ‘beautiful and comely’ daughters of men (6:1–2). In ‘the days of Jared’ they descended upon the summit of Mount Hermon, where they bound themselves with ‘imprecations’ (6:6). The leaders and all the rest of the Watchers ‘took for themselves wives from all whom they chose’. They began to cohabit with them and to defile themselves with them. They taught them sorcery and spells and showed them ‘the cutting of roots and herbs’ (7:1).

And they became pregnant by them and bore great giants of three thousand cubits; and there were [not] born upon earth off-spring [which grew to their strength]. These devoured the entire fruits of men’s labour, and men were unable to sustain them. Then the giants treated them violently and began to slay mankind. They began to do violence to and to attack all the birds and the beasts of the earth and reptiles [that crawl upon the earth], and

the fish of the sea; and they began to devour their flesh, and they were drinking the blood. Thereupon the earth made accusation against the lawless ones (1 Enoch 7:2–6).⁹

The major function of the Shemihazah narrative was to explain the origin of evil in the world. This was attributed to an act of rebellion against God. It has been suggested that the story recalls a time of conflict and parallels have been drawn with Greek myths, notably Hesiod's *Catalogues of Women and Eoiae* (c.750–650 BCE). Likewise, similarities with several Hurrian myths preserved in Hittite have been emphasized. A concern with the maintenance of family purity, particularly the protection of the purity of the priesthood, has also been discerned. In addition, resemblances have been observed between several rebel angels' names and astral deities, while it has been noted that Mount Hermon was a holy site where the worship of Pan was established in the Hellenistic period. In the same way, the Asael legend attributes the genesis of certain sinful acts to the teaching of forbidden knowledge. Thus Asael divulged the secrets of weapon making and metallurgy to promote advances in warfare, and the mysteries of wearing jewellery and applying make-up to enhance women's sexual charms (8:1). Moreover, the Asael material has been linked both with the ritual of sending a scapegoat [Azazel] into the wilderness on the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16), and the Prometheus myth recounted in the writings of Hesiod and Aeschylus. Other significant aspects of the Book of the Watchers include Enoch's ascent to heaven where he beholds God seated on his throne (14:8–25). Modelled on Ezekiel's vision of the chariot throne (Ezekiel 1) and a precursor of Merkabah mysticism, it is regarded as the earliest Jewish ascent apocalypse.

IV

The author of the Book of Jubilees (c.160–140 BCE), a midrashic commentary on Genesis and more briefly on Exodus down to the revelation on Mount Sinai, knew the Book of the Watchers. Though dependent on parts of the Enochic corpus, Jubilees differs in several important respects. In Jubilees 'the angels of the Lord', 'those who are named the Watchers', do not descend because of their lust for the daughters of men. Rather, God sends them to instruct the children of men to 'do judgment and uprightness on the earth' (Jubilees 4:15–16). Only then do they sin by defiling themselves with the daughters of men (Jubilees 4:22). Thus heaven remains untainted since evil originated on earth.

Significantly, the myth of the Watchers was known at Qumran. *The Damascus Rule* (c.100 BCE), one of the earlier layers of the preserved literature, contains a catalogue of the many who were led astray by thoughts of 'guilty inclination' and 'eyes of lust'. It begins with the 'Heavenly Watchers' that fell for having 'walked in

⁹ Matthew Black (ed.), *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch, Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*, 7 (Leiden, 1985), pp. 27–8.

the stubbornness of their heart'.¹⁰ Similarly, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (first-century BCE) seems to have been influenced by a form of the Enochic corpus and the Book of Jubilees. An elaboration on Genesis recast in the first person singular, it may once have contained a version of the story of the Watchers.¹¹ Also identified among the Aramaic fragments at Qumran are copies of the so-called Book of Giants (possibly second-century BCE). Based on the story of wicked angels begetting gigantic progeny, it has been plausibly connected with a partially extant Manichean Book of Giants (third century) and, contentiously, with a text concerning Shemhazai and Azael excerpted from *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* (c.1050), commonly attributed to Rabbi Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne.

In contrast to traditions circulating at Qumran, Philo Judaeus of Alexandria (c.20 BCE–c.50 CE) seems not to have been familiar with the Book of the Watchers. His treatise 'On the Giants' is an allegorical commentary on Genesis 6:1–4. Drawing on Greek philosophy, Philo discussed the origins and destiny of the human soul, contrasting it with the flesh. Suggestively, his rendering of 'sons of God' as 'angels of God' is found in versions of the Septuagint preserved in the Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century) and some later manuscripts.¹² Philo, however, is not without difficulty for though the majority of his works are preserved in their original Greek, it was the early Christians who saved and transmitted them. Similar issues of textual contamination cast a shadow over the corpus of the Jewish aristocrat, Flavius Josephus (c.37–100). Extant in corrupt manuscripts, the earliest of which date from the ninth century, Josephus' writings are bedevilled with inconsistencies. Nevertheless, Josephus remains a valuable historian. Among the traditions he recorded for his Greek-educated largely gentile audience at Rome was one concerning the descendants of Adam's son, Seth:

They discovered the science with regard to the heavenly bodies and their orderly arrangement. And in order that humanity might not lose their discoveries or perish before they came to be known, Adamos having predicted that there would be an extermination of the universe, at one time by a violent fire and at another time by a force with an abundance of water, they made two pillars, one of brick and the other of stones and inscribed their findings on both, in order that if the one of brick should be lost owing to the flood the one of stone should remain and offer an opportunity to teach men what had been written on it and to reveal that also one of brick had been set up by them. And it remains until today in the land of Seiris.

It has been observed that some features of Josephus' story about two stelae are more appropriate in an Enochic context. Nor is it inconceivable that Josephus reworked or repeated a source containing vestiges of the Watchers myth for he continued

¹⁰ CD, in G.Vermes (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3rd edn, Harmondsworth, 1990), p. 84.

¹¹ 1QapGen, in Vermes (ed.), *Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 252–59.

¹² Philo Judaeus, 'De Gigantibus', 6, in *The Works of Philo*, trans. C.D. Yonge (1997), p. 152.

by relating that many ‘angels of God’ fathered children with women. The angels’ offspring proved ‘insolent’ and ‘despisers of every good thing’. According to tradition their outrageous conduct resembled the heinous acts ‘said by the Greeks to have been done by giants’.¹³

V

The influence of 1 Enoch on the New Testament has long been debated. The Similitudes of Enoch have been compared with the eschatological figure called ‘Son of man’ and the parable of the last judgment (Matthew 25:31–46). Furthermore, a verse from the Book of the Watchers (1:9) is explicitly quoted in the Epistle of Jude (c.50–150):

And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and all of their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him (Jude 14–15).

Though it has not been established if Jude’s letter is an authentic or pseudonymous composition, it is evident that the author had a scribal background and was Greek-educated. His apparent borrowing from a Jewish ‘farewell discourse’ known as the Assumption of Moses (early first century CE) together with other allusions, suggest that he knew more than a single passage of the Enochic corpus. Indeed, his representation of the fallen angels as great sinners (Jude 6) resembles traditions about the Watchers.¹⁴ While the Epistle of Jude may imply that its author regarded the Book of the Watchers as a genuine Enochic writing, the pseudonymous Epistle of Barnabas (c.70–135) is more explicit. It considers Enoch a prophet, citing as Scripture an extract supposed to be a summary of an Enochic text, as well as quoting a saying of Enoch’s unknown in the extant corpus.¹⁵ Likewise, the Apocalypse of Peter (c.100–150) probably uses imagery derived from a version of the Noachic book preserved in the Enochic corpus.¹⁶

Drawing on a combination of Jewish traditions of fallen angels and Roman adaptations of Greek myths Justin Martyr (c.100–165) imagined that the angels’ unholy union with women produced demons. These creatures subdued the human race partly by magical writings, partly by the fear they occasioned, and partly by teaching the offering of sacrifices, incense and libations. The demons sowed

¹³ Steve Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus. Translation and Commentary. Vol.3. Judean Antiquities 1-4*, trans. Louis Feldman (Leiden, 2000), pp. 24–7.

¹⁴ Cf. 1 Enoch 15:3; 2 Peter 2:4–10.

¹⁵ Barnabas 4:3; 1 Enoch 106:19–107; Barnabas 4:4; Barnabas 16:5; cf. 1 Enoch 89:56, 66; 1 Enoch 90:26–9.

¹⁶ Apocalypse of Peter 8; cf. 1 Enoch 106:10.

murders, wars, adulteries and wickedness among men.¹⁷ Similarly, Justin's renegade pupil Tatian (c.110 x 120–c.173) believed that roaming demons introduced the doctrine of Fate after their expulsion from heaven.¹⁸ In the same way a *Plea on Behalf of Christians* (c.176–80), traditionally attributed to Athenagoras, declared that the angels were created free agents. Some of those who were placed about the first firmament 'fell into impure love of virgins', engendering giants whose souls were wandering demons.¹⁹

Against Heresies (c.175–85) by Irenaeus of Lyons (c.130 x 140–c.202?) locates the scene of the angels' transgression in heaven and maintains that the uncircumcised Enoch discharged the office of God's legate to the fallen angels.²⁰ Other references confirm Irenaeus' familiarity with a Greek version of the Book of the Watchers, notably a section in *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* (after c.175), which recounts how the fallen angels taught their wives forbidden knowledge including the 'virtues of roots and herbs', dyeing in colours, cosmetics, philtres, passion, hatred, 'spells of bewitchment', sorcery and idolatry.²¹ In *Stromateis* Clement of Alexandria (c.150–c.210 x 215) attributed the angels' fall to their lack of self-control. Overcome by sexual desire they descended to earth where, in an apparent borrowing from the Book of the Watchers, they revealed secrets to women.²² Elsewhere, he noted that Jude affirmed the truth of Enoch's prophecy and quoted an Enochic saying unknown in the extant corpus - though this may have been a gloss.²³

Tertullian of Carthage (c.155 x 160 - after 220?) believed that the Holy Spirit sang through 'the most ancient prophet Enoch', who had predicted that 'the demons, and the spirits of the angelic apostates' would turn all things contained in heaven, the sea and on earth into idolatry. Tertullian quoted the Epistle of Enoch's condemnation of idol worshippers and idol makers; 'I swear to you, sinners, that against the day of perdition of blood repentance is being prepared'. He added that those angels who deserted God discovered the curious art of astrology.²⁴ In another work, a rhetorical defence of Christianity from charges of sacrilege and disloyalty to the Emperor, Tertullian remarked that 'we are instructed' by 'our sacred books how from certain angels, who fell of their own free-will, there sprang a more wicked demon-brood, condemned of God along with the authors of their race'.²⁵ It was, however, in his bitter denunciations of women's sexuality and the dangers of pagan vices that Tertullian expounded at greatest length on the fallen angels and the origin of female

¹⁷ Justin Martyr, *Second Apology*, 5; cf. 1 Enoch 9:8–9; 1 Enoch 15:8–9; Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, 5.

¹⁸ Tatian, *Address to Greeks*, 9.

¹⁹ [Athenagoras?], *Plea on Behalf of Christians*, 24, 25; cf. 1 Enoch 15:3.

²⁰ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 4.16.2; cf. 1 Enoch 14:7.

²¹ Irenaeus, *Demonstration*, 18; cf. 1 Enoch 6:1–2, 7:1, 8:1.

²² Clement, *Stromateis*, 3.7.59, 5.1.10; cf. 1 Enoch 16:3.

²³ Clement, *Commentary on the Epistle of Jude*; Clement, *Selections from the Prophets*, 2.1; cf. 1 Enoch 19:3.

²⁴ Tertullian, *On Idolatry*, 15,4,9; cf. 1 Enoch 19:1; 1 Enoch 99:6–7; 1 Enoch 6:1–2.

²⁵ Tertullian, *Apology*, 22; cf. 1 Enoch 15:8–9.

ornamentation. While moralizing *On the Apparel of Women* Tertullian acknowledged that ‘the Scripture of Enoch’ was not received by some, ‘because it is not admitted into the Jewish canon’. Yet if it was rejected for having been ‘published before the deluge’ he could justify how it ‘safely survived that world-wide calamity’. Recalling that Noah was Enoch’s great-grandson, he reasoned that Methuselah passed on his father’s teaching to him. Equally, Noah could have renewed this ‘Scripture’ under the Spirit’s inspiration. Indeed, it seemed that the Jews had discarded Enoch’s testimony since it foretold of Christ.²⁶

In his controversial work *On First Principles* Origen (c.185–c.254) refers to ‘the book of Enoch’ in a context that suggests he distinguished it from ‘holy Scripture’. He continues with two quotations from a Greek translation of the Book of the Watchers, the second a saying previously cited by Clement of Alexandria – an author whom Origen read attentively.²⁷ In his *Commentary on the Gospel of John* written at Alexandria Origen explained that the Hebrew name ‘Jared’ also yielded the meaning ‘going down’. If it was legitimate to accept the Book of Enoch as sacred then it was in Jared’s days that ‘the sons of God came down to the daughters of men’. Moreover, in an apparent allusion to Philo:

Under this descent some have supposed that there is an enigmatical reference to the descent of souls into bodies, taking the phrase ‘daughters of men’ as a tropical expression for this earthly tabernacle.²⁸

In his *Homilies on Numbers* Origen spoke of Enoch’s books in the plural, though it is uncertain to which parts of the corpus he referred. His vindication of Christianity against the Platonist Celsus is even more revealing. Origen’s adversary allegedly claimed that other angels visited the human race before Jesus. This Origen refuted, charging his adversary with misunderstanding the Book of Enoch. Nor was Celsus apparently aware that ‘the books which bear the name Enoch do not at all circulate in the Churches as divine’.²⁹

When Jerome (c.331 x 347–420) finished his memoir *On Illustrious Men* (393?) not only was the Book of Enoch considered apocryphal, but many rejected the Epistle of Jude as well. Nevertheless, ‘by age and use’ Jude’s Epistle had gained authority and was ‘reckoned among the Holy Scriptures’.³⁰ Jerome also mentioned in his *Homilies on the Psalms* that he had read in ‘a certain apocryphal book’ that when the sons of God came down to the daughters of men they descended upon Mount Hermon. Though he did not regard this text as authoritative it is noteworthy that in his earlier *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (completed c. 391–93) Jerome had

²⁶ Tertullian, *Apparel of Women*, 1.3; see also, Tertullian, *Apparel of Women*, 1.2, 2.10; cf. 1 Enoch 8:1–3; Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins*, 7.

²⁷ Origen, *On First Principles*, 1.3.3, 4.35; cf. 1 Enoch 21:1; 1 Enoch 19:3.

²⁸ Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, 6.25.

²⁹ Origen, *Homilies on Numbers*, 28.2; Origen, *Against Celsus*, 5.52,54–5.

³⁰ Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, 4; see also, Jerome, *Commentary on the Epistle to Titus*, 1.12.

supposed that the *Nephilim* or ‘falling ones’ of Genesis 6:4 was a fitting name ‘both for angels and for the offspring of holy ones’.³¹

That Enoch ‘the seventh from Adam’ left some ‘divine writings’ could not be denied by Augustine of Hippo (354–430), for this was testified by ‘the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle’. Yet in *The City of God* (c.413–c.422 x 429) he dismissed as fables those ‘scriptures which are called apocryphal’, because their obscure origin was ‘unknown to the fathers’ from whom the authority of ‘the true Scriptures’ had been transmitted by a well-established succession. Nor was it without reason that these writings had no place in the ‘canon of Scripture’ preserved by the Temple priests, ‘for their antiquity brought them under suspicion’. Thus the writings produced under Enoch’s name with their fables about giants were not genuine since they had been judged so by ‘prudent men’. Augustine did not doubt that ‘according to the Hebrew and Christian canonical Scriptures’ there were many giants before the flood, but these were not the offspring of angels. Without denying that some copies of the Septuagint translated ‘sons of God’ as ‘angels of God’, Augustine maintained that the ‘sons of God’ were ‘according to the flesh the sons of Seth’, sunk into community with women ‘when they forsook righteousness’.³² This was not a new Christian interpretation, for it had been tentatively advanced by Julius Africanus (c.160–c.240) – according to extracts from his chronicle made by a Byzantine chronographer.³³

VI

In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (c.380), a redacted collection eventually rejected by the Church on account of the interpolations of Arian heretics, the Book of Enoch along with other writings was condemned as apocryphal, ‘pernicious and repugnant to the truth’.³⁴ It was also denounced as apocryphal in the *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* (early sixth century?), traditionally if erroneously ascribed to Athanasius (d.373), and the *Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books* (seventh century?), appended in some manuscripts to the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius of Sinai. Significantly, the Books of Enoch were not even mentioned among the apocryphal writings enumerated in the so-called *Gelasian Decree* (early sixth century?), a spurious decretal attributed in some copies to Pope Gelasius I (492–6), but more likely of South Gallic origin. One title that was rejected by the *Gelasian Decree*, however, was a ‘book of the giant named Ogia who is said by the heretics to have fought with a dragon after the flood’. This work has been identified with the Manichean Book of Giants.³⁵

³¹ Jerome, *Commentary on Psalm CXXXII*, 3; Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, trans. C.T.R. Hayward (Oxford, 1995), p. 37.

³² Augustine, *The City of God*, 15.23, 18.38.

³³ William Adler and Paul Tuffin (eds), *The chronography of George Synkellos* (Oxford, 2002), 19.25–6.

³⁴ *Apostolic Constitutions*, 6.16.

³⁵ *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, in Jacques Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* (162 vols, Paris, 1857–66), XXVIII, col. 431.

VII

About 386 Priscillian, contested bishop of Avila, was executed at Trier on criminal charges. Priscillian was probably the author of a *Book on Faith and on Apocrypha* (late fourth century), a defence of his doctrine and conduct, which argued that it had been apostolic practice to ‘read from outside the canon’. Though he appears not to have known the Book of Enoch, the writer used the authority of Jude, ‘the twin of the Lord’, to question why the prophecy of Enoch was condemned.³⁶ While some of Priscillian’s followers were eventually reconciled with the Spanish Church others were denounced as dangerous heretics. It has been suggested that during the seventh century a collection of texts with Priscillianist affiliations, some based partly on apocryphal sources, were transmitted from Spain to Ireland. No fragments of the Enochic corpus, however, have been discovered in the rich Irish literature of the period. Even so, several scholars have detected Enochic motifs such as the constituent elements of man, the naming of Adam, the seven heavens and the seven principal archangels behind ideas expressed in disparate texts. Yet there are more likely direct and intermediate sources. Thus some of the eight angels invoked in a sacrilegious prayer of Aldebert, a Frankish bishop condemned at the Lateran Synod of 745, were probably derived from the books of Daniel, Esdras and Tobit rather than Enoch.³⁷ Similarly, two early ninth century Breton manuscripts contain an account of the creation of the world. Products of Early Celtic religious culture they supposedly depend on the Book of Enoch. Another manuscript, however, also identified as ninth-century Breton contains a story of the birth of Noah. This is widely regarded as an abridged Latin version of the beginning of the Noachic book preserved in the Enochic corpus (1 Enoch 106:1–18). It has been argued that this fragment represents part of a larger if not complete Latin translation of the Book of Enoch. This seems unduly optimistic. The tale is introduced with an inept scribal addition, concludes with a warning of the flood and is followed by several miscellaneous texts grouped around the theme of punishment awaiting unrepentant sinners.³⁸ Indeed, there are only two known references in Western literature derived from a Latin version of the Book of Enoch. These citations by pseudo-Cyprian and pseudo-Vigilius are from the same passage quoted in the Epistle of Jude.

By the tenth century the Latin fragment of the Noachic book was in England, perhaps at Worcester. Hitherto, the Book of Enoch seems to have been unknown in the British Isles. In his commentary on *The seven Catholic Epistles* Bede (c.673–735) had declared that the book was reckoned among the Apocrypha by the Church. Though he alluded to its extraordinary account of giants fathered by angels this

³⁶ A.S. Jacobs, ‘The Disorder of Books: Priscillian’s Canonical Defense of Apocrypha’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 93 (2000), pp. 146–7.

³⁷ The names of angels are Uriel (2 Esdras 4:1, 1 Enoch 19:1), Raguel (Tobit 3:7, 1 Enoch 20:4), Tubuel, Michael (Daniel 10:13, 1 Enoch 9:1), Adinus (1 Esdras 9:48), Tubuas, Sabaoc and Simiel.

³⁸ BL, MS Royal 5 E. XIII, fols 79v–80r, printed in Robert Charles (ed.), *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1893), pp. 373–5.

was not a summary of the original work, but rather a paraphrase of Augustine's censorious account. Likewise, Bede's reading of *Nephilim* derived from Jerome.³⁹ More contentious are the various correspondence and partial correspondences noticed by some critics between the Book of Enoch and *Beowulf* (before 1025). Thus the poet's portrayal of Grendel as a gigantic creature and eater of human flesh has been compared with Enochic traditions about the giants. Yet even proponents of this misguided view have conceded that Grendel's descent is not from rebel angels, nor even Seth but Cain. While legends that Cain was the son of Satan, and that his offspring begat a mixed multitude are undoubtedly of Jewish origin, they are not Enochic. Nor is the interpretation that the daughters of Cain mated with the sons of Seth.

VIII

In his *Flowers of History* Roger of Wendover (d.1236), Benedictine monk and chronicler of St Albans Abbey related that Enoch pleased God, was translated to paradise where he lived with Elijah, discovered certain letters and wrote a book, as was contained in the Epistle of Jude. Adapted from Peter Comestor's University textbook the *Historia Scholastica* (c.1169 x 1175), this formula was repeated in the *Great Chronicle* of Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259), Roger's successor at St. Albans.⁴⁰ Variations are found in several English chronicles such as the popular *Universal Chronicle* of the Chester monk Ranulph Higden (d.1363) and the *Eulogium historiarum* (c.1366), compiled by a Malmesbury monk from Higden and other sources. The *Eulogium* also reiterated the explanation that the giants were the progeny of the sons of Seth and the daughters of Cain.⁴¹ This exposition recurs in the *Chronicle of England to AD 1417* by John Capgrave (1393–1464), an Austin friar of King's Lynn. In an echo of Tertullian's belief that Enoch and Elijah were the two witnesses who would suffer bloody death at the hands of Antichrist (Revelation 11:3–12), Capgrave maintained that Enoch and Elijah would return from paradise to preach against the errors of Antichrist, when they would be martyred. Furthermore, in a passage reminiscent of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Naturale* (c.1245), Capgrave observed that:

³⁹ Bede, *Super Catholicas Exposito* (709 x 716?), Bede, *Quaestiones super Genesim* (725 x 731), in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* (221 vols, Paris, 1844–64), XCIII, cols 128–9, 293.

⁴⁰ Roger de Wendover, *Flowers of History*, Rolls Series 84, ed. Henry Hewlett, 3 vols.(1886–89), I 4; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, RS 57, ed. Henry Luard, 7 vols.(1872–83), I 4; cf. Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* (c.1170), in Migne (ed.), PL CXC VIII, cap. xxx, cols 1080–81.

⁴¹ Churchill Babington et al. (eds), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, RS 41, 9 vols (1865–86), II, 222–3; Frank Haydon (ed.), *Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis)*, RS 9 (3 vols, 1858–63), I 22, 24.

This Ennok mad a book of prophecie, which the lawe acoundith among bokis that be clepid Apocripha; of which I have mech wondir, for in the Epistil of Judas, which is incorporate to the Bible, the same Apostil makith mynde of this book.⁴²

IX

Martin Luther (1483–46) denied that Enoch would return before the last judgment, unless this was to be in spirit. Luther also noted that Enoch’s prophecy was to be read nowhere in the Scriptures and that for this reason some ancient Church Fathers would not receive Jude’s epistle as canonical. Dismissing this as insufficient cause to reject a book, Luther maintained that Enoch had preached and published the ‘Word of the Lord’, which he had learned through his father Adam, ‘by influence from the holy Ghost’.⁴³ Similarly, Jean Calvin (1509–64) doubted that Enoch’s prophecy was an apocryphal text, supposing that Jude had received it from the Jews by oral tradition.⁴⁴ Reused by reformers like Lancelot Ridley (d.1576) and Augustin Marlorat (1506–62) these arguments became part of the Protestant arsenal in the larger battle against Catholic doctrine.⁴⁵ Thus William Perkins (1558–1602) renounced all unwritten traditions that were made articles of faith and rules of God’s worship, for all such doctrines were written ‘in the books of the Prophets and Apostles’. Even if some book penned by a Jew under Enoch’s name was extant in Jude’s days and afterwards lost, knowing if Enoch had written the prophecy was unnecessary to salvation. Had the work existed it was apocryphal because Moses was ‘the first penman of Scripture’. Nor was it true that some canonical books were missing, for not one sentence or tittle of the canon had perished. To doubt this was to question the fidelity of the Church, the keeper of the canon.⁴⁶

Reiterating Protestant objections to ‘traditions’ and unwritten ‘verities’ urged by the Church of Rome, Andrew Willet set out his thoughts on Enoch’s prophecy in *Hexapla in Genesin* (Cambridge, 1605). Disagreeing with Tertullian, Willet insisted that there was no genuine ‘prophetically booke of Henoch’. Nor did he consider it possible that part of it might be true. Dismissing the Franciscan Miguel de Medina’s opinion that a book under Enoch’s name had never existed, he also supposed it unlikely that ‘the true booke of Henoch’ was extant in Jude’s days and afterwards

⁴² Francis Hingeston (ed.), *The Chronicle of England by John Capgrave*, RS 1 (1858), 12, 15; cf. Tertullian, *Treatise on the Soul*, 50; Vincent of Beauvais, *Bibliotheca Mundi* (4 vols, Douai, 1624), I, col. 7.

⁴³ Martin Luther, *A commentarie or exposition vppon the twoo Epistles generall of Sainct Peter, and that of Sainct Jude*, trans. Thomas Newton (1581), p. 168v.

⁴⁴ Jean Calvin, *The Comentararies of M. Jhon Caluin vpon the first Epistle of Sainct Iohn, and vpon the Epistle of Jude* (1580), sig. C.

⁴⁵ Lancelot Ridley, *An Exposition vpon the epistle of Jude y^e apostle of Christ* (1549), sig. Hii^{r-v}; Augustin Marlorat, *A Catholike and ecclesiastical exposition vpon the epistle of S. Jude the Apostle*, trans. I.D. (1584), sig. Diiii.

⁴⁶ William Perkins, *A godlie and learned exposition vpon the whole Epistle of Jude* (1606), pp. 110–11.

corrupted with fables. Rather, Willet cited Augustine's testimony, arguing that the Book of Enoch was produced by heretics and 'altogether forged'.⁴⁷ In the same vein, Samuel Otes (c.1578–1658) claimed that 'the Scriptures' were perfect, though why some writings were lost was best known to God. Declaring unwritten traditions superfluous he fulminated against the Council of Trent:

Traditions are gathered of an evill egge: digge the Papists never so deep, they shall not find the myne nor spring of them in the Primitive Church.⁴⁸

X

According to the Acts of the Apostles Philip baptized a eunuch of 'great authority' under the Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians (Acts 8:26–39). Not until the fourth century, however, with the supposed missionary activities of Frumentius of Tyre (died c.380), was Christianity introduced into Ethiopia. By the early sixth century Ethiopia was a predominantly Christian country, largely due to the evangelizing of most likely Syrian monks who may have arrived from South Arabia. Beginning probably with the Gospels it appears that before the end of the fifth century Greek texts of the Bible were translated into Ethiopic. Syrian monks may also have used Syriac versions in conjunction with the Greek in their Bible translations. Among the texts rendered into Ethiopic, possibly before the end of the sixth century, were the Book of Jubilees and the Book of Enoch. It seems likely that the translators of Enoch used a Greek text, though it has been argued that they relied on an Aramaic version either directly or with recourse to the Greek. The oldest known manuscript of Ethiopic Enoch was discovered in the Church of Holy Gabriel on the island of Kebran, and dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Though it contains some textual corruptions introduced by scribal error or emendation this manuscript is superior to later copies, which indicate a process of progressive degeneration during transmission. In a number of manuscripts the Book of Enoch is usually combined with the Ethiopic Bible, frequently appearing next to the Book of Job, Daniel or books attributed to Solomon. Accorded canonical status in the Ethiopian Church the work was often quoted in Ethiopic literature and is one of many sources for the *Kebrā Nagast* (final redaction about 1320). Based on the Queen of Sheba's legendary visit to Solomon (1 Kings 10:1–13), the epic *Kebrā Nagast* or 'Glory of the Kings' tells of their affair, the birth of their son Menelik and his theft of the Ark of the Covenant, which he brought to Aksum, the new Zion. Conflating Enochic and Koranic traditions as well as material found in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (final redaction about sixth century), the hundredth chapter narrated the angels' fall. Assuming the mind and body of men, the rebel angels descended amidst the children of Cain. After playing musical instruments to accompany dancing they enjoyed an orgy with the daughters of Cain. The women conceived but died in childbirth. Their

⁴⁷ Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin* (Cambridge, 1605), p. 70.

⁴⁸ Samuel Otes, *An explanation of the generall Epistle of Saint Iude* (1633), pp. 309–11.

surviving offspring split open their mothers' bellies and came forth by their navels. They grew to be giants, whose height reached to the clouds.⁴⁹

XI

Enoch the 'scribe of righteousness', the first man born on earth who 'learned writing', was credited with recording 'the signs of heaven according to the order of their months' that men might know 'the seasons of the years'.⁵⁰ In a supposed citation from a Samaritan Hellenistic fragment (third or second century BCE) doubtfully attributed by the Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260–c.339) or his source to the Jewish Hellenistic historian Eupolemus, Enoch was also recognized as the discoverer of astrology and equated with the Greek Atlas.⁵¹ Moreover, according to a quotation from the lost *Book of Imouth* by Zosimus of Panopolis (late third–early fourth century) 'ancient and divine scriptures' said that certain angels lusted after women and afterwards instructed them in 'all the works of nature'. These teachings were inscribed in the *Book of Chemes*, 'whence the art is called alchemy'. Though 'Chemes' is suggestive of Noah's son Ham (Cham), Zosimus' marriage of Enochic traditions with a mythic account of the origins of alchemy is significant in a Hellenistic Egyptian context.⁵² For it may anticipate the commingling of Enoch and the Egyptian god of knowledge, wisdom and writing, 'the three times great' Thoth – considered by the Greeks as the divine equivalent of their own 'thrice-great' Hermes.⁵³ Thus the learned Franciscan monk Roger Bacon (c.1214–c.1294) remarked that some identified Enoch with 'the great Hermogenes, whom the Greeks much commend and laud', attributing to him 'all secret and celestial science'.⁵⁴ Similarly, the Syrian chronographer Gregory Abû'l Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus (1226–86), observed that the ancient Greeks said that Enoch was Hermes Trismegistus. It was he who 'made manifest before every man the knowledge of books and the art of writing', who invented 'the science of the constellations and the courses of the stars'.⁵⁵ Like these Greeks, the inhabitants of Harran in north-western Mesopotamia, who took the name Sabi'an when they fell under Muslim domination, were said to speak of Enoch as being the Koranic prophet Idris, asserting the same was Hermes. It is therefore noteworthy that a Hermetic treatise of probably Arab origin linking the fifteen fixed stars with fifteen plants, stones and talismen is

⁴⁹ Ernest W. Budge (ed.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1932), pp. 184–8.

⁵⁰ 1 Enoch 12:4; Jubilees 4:17; Black (ed.), *Book of Enoch*, p. 124; cf. Eusebius, *The Church History of Eusebius*, 7.32.19.

⁵¹ Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9.17.8–9.

⁵² Adler and Tuffin (eds), *Chronography of George Synkellos*, 14.4–14.

⁵³ Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 274D; Plato, *Philebus*, 18B–D.

⁵⁴ Roger Bacon, *Secretum secretorum*, in Robert Steele (ed.), *Rogeri Baconi, Opera*, 16 fascicule 5 (Oxford, 1909–40), p. 99.

⁵⁵ Ernest W. Budge (ed.), *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj*, 2 vols (1932), I 5.

ascribed in some fourteenth-century Latin manuscripts to Enoch and in other copies to Hermes.⁵⁶ Indeed, the Arab geographer Ibn Battūta (1304?–77?) reported that Hermes was also called by the name of Khanūkh [Enoch], that is Idris. This Idris was said to have speculated on the movement of celestial bodies, to have warned men of the coming of the deluge and to have built the pyramids, ‘in which he depicted all the practical arts and their tools, and made diagrams of the sciences’ that they might remain immortalized.⁵⁷

XII

A collection of several books, the greater part purporting to be the sayings of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai (second century) and his companions but more likely written mainly by Moses de Leon (d.1305), *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (*The Book of Splendour*) is the most important work of Kabbalistic literature. According to the *Zohar* the Book of Enoch related that after God caused Enoch to ascend ‘He showed him all supernal mysteries, and the Tree of Life in the midst of the Garden and its leaves and branches’.⁵⁸ While it has been suggested that this account derives from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 32:3–6), or the Hebrew Book of Enoch (3 Enoch), more discerning commentators have observed that although the *Zohar*’s author drew on sources ranging from the Babylonian Talmud to Joseph Gikatilla’s *Ginnat Egoz* (*A Garden of Nuts*) (1274), he also fabricated quotations from several non-existent texts. Thus the *Zohar*’s Enochic references may be largely unconnected with the known writings pseudonymously attributed to Enoch. Even so, with the endowment by the Medicis in the 1460s of a Platonic Academy in Florence there developed Christian circles engaged in earnest study of the Kabbalah and with it magic and texts circulating under the names of antediluvian patriarchs and Kings of Israel. Foremost among these speculators was the brilliant Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94), who spent vast sums collecting books, had Kabbalistic literature translated into Latin and consulted Hebrew manuscripts. Seventeenth-century sources citing supposedly contemporary testimony maintained that Pico had purchased a copy of the Book of Enoch.⁵⁹ This title, however, is not recorded in the catalogue of Pico’s Kabbalistic manuscripts compiled by Jacques Gaffarel (1601–81). Yet Pico did possess an early fourteenth-century commentary ‘according to the path of truth’ on the Pentateuch by the Italian Menahem ben Benjamin Recanati. Later printed as *Perush al Ha-Torah*

⁵⁶ *BL*, MS Harleian 1612, fols 15r–18v; *BL*, MS Harleian 80, fols 81–4; *BL*, MS Royal 12, C. XVIII, 8; *BL*, MS Sloane 3847, no.4.

⁵⁷ H.A.R. Gibb (ed.), ‘*Travels of Ibn Battūta, AD 1325–54*’, *Hakluyt Society*, 2nd series, 110 trans. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 50–51.

⁵⁸ *The Zohar*, trans. Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, 5 vols (1931–34), I, 139 (37b); cf. *Zohar*, I, 177 (55b), I, 181 (56b), I, 189 (58b).

⁵⁹ Thomas Bang, *Cælum Orientis* (Copenhagen, 1657), pp. 18–19; August Pfeiffer, *Henoch* (Wittenberg, 1683), cap. 4 § 3; Gottfried Vockerodt, *Historia Societatum et rei literariae ante diluuium* (Jena, 1687), p. 31.

(Venice, 1523), this contained expositions upon Enoch's translation, his prophetic books, the sons of God and the daughters of men, the fallen angels, the brevity of man's life and the giants.⁶⁰ It is therefore noteworthy that Pico observed that 'the secret theology of the Hebrews' transforms the 'holy Enoch' into an 'angel of divinity', whom they call the angel of the *Shekhinah* (the Divine Presence).⁶¹ Indeed, in his *Apologia* (Naples, 1487), Pico condemned necromancers for the 'incantations and bestialities' they mendaciously said originated with Solomon, Adam and Enoch.⁶² Like Pico, a character in Johannes Reuchlin's dialogue *De verbo mirifico* (Basel, 1494), inveighs against 'triflers in the magical art', complaining that he found only ignorance hidden behind such splendid titles as the Book of Solomon and the Book of Enoch.⁶³ Significantly, a character in Reuchlin's *De arte Cabalistica* (Hagenau, 1517), having spoken of books on Kabbalistic contemplation in everyday use, adduces numerous writings regarded as lost, including some cited on good authority such as the Books of Enoch.⁶⁴

XIII

In 1513 a Psalter was issued at Rome entitled *Alphabetum seu potius syllabarium literarum Chaldaearum* (Rome, 1513). Probably based on a manuscript in the Vatican library this was the first book printed in Ethiopic. Its editors were an Ethiopian friar from Jerusalem named Thomas Walda Samuel and his pupil, the German Orientalist and correspondent of Reuchlin, Johannes Potken (1470–1524). In 1548 an Ethiopic New Testament was published in Rome, the work of another Ethiopian monk arrived via Jerusalem, Abba Täsfa Seyon (known locally as 'Pietro Indiano') and his assistants. Rome's large Ethiopian community had been granted a church, renamed Santo Stefano degli Abissini by Pope Sixtus IV in 1479, and an adjoining hospice, and it was a monk from this community who in 1546 encountered a French Orientalist recently expelled from the Society of Jesus. The Frenchman was Guillaume Postel (1510–81), who was to translate a sizeable portion of the *Zohar* and another Kabbalistic text *Sefer Yezirah* (*Book of Formation*) from Hebrew into Latin. In *De Etruriae regionis* (Florence, 1551), Postel declared that Enoch's prophecies made before the flood were preserved in the ecclesiastical records of the Queen of Sheba, and that to this day they were believed to be canonical scripture in Ethiopia.⁶⁵ Moreover, in another volume entitled *De Originibus* (Basel, 1553),

⁶⁰ Jacques Gaffarel, *Codicum Cabalisticorum manuscriptorum* (Paris, 1651), p. 22.

⁶¹ Pico, *On the Dignity of Man*, trans. C.G. Wallis (Indianapolis, 1965), pp. 5–6.

⁶² Pico, *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols (Basel, 1572–73), I, 181.

⁶³ Johannes Reuchlin, *Sämtliche Werke* (Stuttgart, 1996), Band I, 1, p. 122.

⁶⁴ Johannes Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, eds Martin and Sarah Goodman, (Nebraska, 1993), pp. 90–91.

⁶⁵ Guillaume Postel, *De Etruriae regionis* (Florence, 1551), pp. 108–9, 242–3.

Postel claimed that the Ethiopian priest had explained to him the meaning of the Book of Enoch.⁶⁶

Postel's discovery was digested by the English Protestant exile John Bale (1495–1563), who reaffirmed that the prophet Enoch's work was held in the Queen of Sheba's ecclesiastical archives and that it remained canonical scripture in Ethiopia.⁶⁷ Postel's writings were also an important source for the mathematician and magician John Dee (1527–1608), whose copy of *De Originibus* is heavily annotated throughout.⁶⁸ Other works consulted by Dee included Johannes Pantheus' *Voarchadvmia contra alchimiã* (Venice, 1530), which displayed 26 characters purporting to be the Enochic alphabet, and Petrus Bonus's *Introductio in Divinam Chemiã artem* (Basel, 1572), which cited Roger Bacon's remark that some identified Enoch with 'the great Hermogenes'.⁶⁹ In May 1581 Dee gazed into a crystal ball and imagined he saw something, but a few occasions excepted, he needed the services of a scryer to communicate with spirits directly. The following March Edward Kelley (1555–95) became his scryer. Dee recorded in several volumes Kelley's supposed visions and angelic conversations, conceding that he could find no other way to attain 'true wisdom'. In 1583 these revelations took the form of a paradisaical angelic language, characters represented as letters and numbers dictated to fill grids of forty-nine rows by forty-nine columns. These tables were referred to as the 'Liber mysteriorum sextus et sanctus' or the Book of Enoch. While this work has not been deciphered, its existence is testimony to Dee's conviction that Enoch had received divine mysteries through angelic intermediaries.⁷⁰

XIV

In 1520 a Portuguese embassy under Dom Rodrigo de Lima arrived in Ethiopia, known as the land of Prester John. During their stay the embassy's chaplain Francisco Álvares composed a narrative later printed in Portuguese (Lisbon, 1540) and Italian. At Aksum they found a lengthy chronicle, which told of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and the birth of their son at Jerusalem. Though the Andalusian adventurer Leo Africanus (c.1494–after 1550?) omitted Ethiopia from his *Della descrittione dell'Africa* (Venice, 1550), the English version *A geographical historie of Africa* (1600) included an account of Ethiopian customs and beliefs derived from Álvares

⁶⁶ Guillaume Postel, *De Originibus* (Basel, 1553), title page, pp. 10–11, 59, 72, 100.

⁶⁷ John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Brytanniae posterior pars* (Basel, 1559), p. 3.

⁶⁸ Postel *De Originibus*, pp. 54, 59 [*Royal College of Physicians* (London) D 144/14, 21b].

⁶⁹ Johannes Augustinus Pantheus, *Voarchadvmia contra alchimiã* (Venice, 1530), pp. 15v–16r [*BL*, C. 120.b.4(2)]; Petrus Bonus, *Introductio in Divinam Chemiã artem* (Basel, 1572), p. 110 [*R. Coll. Phys.* D 107/3, 7c].

⁷⁰ James Halliwell (ed.), *Private Diary of John Dee*, *Camden Society*, 19 (1842), pp. 11, 15, 89; *BL*, MS Sloane 3188, fol. 7r–v; *BL*, MS Sloane 3189; Meric Casaubon (ed.), *A True & Faithful Relation* (1659), pp. 174, 418.

and Zagazabo, the Ethiopian ambassador who accompanied Álvares on his departure in 1526.⁷¹ Zagazabo's confession of faith, together with letters sent by the Ethiopian Emperor to the King of Portugal and the Pope, was published by Damião de Góis (Louvain, 1540) and afterwards translated into English. Alluding to the *Kebra Nagast* it recounted how Menelik cunningly stole 'the true tables of the couenant' from the Ark.⁷²

In 1613 what became the first of four ever-expanding editions of Samuel Purchas's monumental work on Ecclesiastical, Theological and Geographical History was issued at London. For his survey of Ethiopia Purchas drew principally on Álvares, a narrative ascribed to João Bermudez (Lisbon, 1565), and a relation by the Spanish 'Frier and Iyer', Luis de Urreta (Valencia, 1610). According to Urreta, Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85) had despatched two priests to catalogue the matchless library of the Ethiopian Emperor housed in the monastery of the Holy Cross upon Mount Amara. This fantastical collection, supposedly begun by the Queen of Sheba, was said in Purchas's words to contain 'innumerable' books of 'inestimable' value, including texts attributed to Noah, Abraham, Solomon, Job and Esdras, as well as the Gospels of Bartholomew, Thomas and Andrew. In addition, it held:

the writings of *Enoch* copied out of the stones wherein they were engrauen, which intreate of Philosophie, of the Heauens and Elements.⁷³

Urreta's report reappeared in the Jesuit Nicolao Godigno's *De Abassinorum rebus* (Leiden, 1615).⁷⁴ It was also used by George Sandys in *A Relation of a Journey* (1615), Sandys cautiously repeating Urreta's claim that with other 'mysteries that escaped the Flood' the Ethiopians possessed written in their 'vulgar' tongue the 'oracles of *Enoch*' engraved by him upon pillars.⁷⁵ A similar paraphrase is found in Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmus* (Oxford, 1625), who seems to have relied upon Purchas and Sandys.⁷⁶

XV

The French Humanist Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) owned an edition of Purchas. Though he could not read English himself Peiresc thought the voyages rather good and initially considered having the volumes translated into Latin. In July 1633 one of Peiresc's contacts, the Capuchin Gilles de Loches, visited him at Aix-

⁷¹ Leo Africanus, *A geographical historie of Africa*, trans. John Pory (1600), pp. 395–405.

⁷² Joannes Boemus, *The manners, lawes, and customes of all nations*, trans. E. Aston (1611), p. 558.

⁷³ Luis de Urreta, *Historia Ecclesiástica, Política, Natural, y moral des los grandes y remotos Reynos de la Etiopia* (Valencia, 1610), pp. 103–7; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613), p. 567.

⁷⁴ Nicolao Godigno, *De Abassinorum rebus* (Leiden, 1615), p. 108.

⁷⁵ George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun in An. Dom. 1610.* (1615), p. 171.

⁷⁶ Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus* (Oxford, 1625), pp. 735–36.

en-Provence. Loches had returned from a seven-year stay in the Levant where he had studied Oriental languages and attempted to procure Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts for Peiresc. In October Loches supplied Peiresc with a list of rare books he had seen in divers convents and monasteries including, it seems, ‘*Mazhapha Einock*, or the Prophecie of *Enoch*, foretelling such things as should happen at the end of the World’. Peiresc responded by asking him to translate a passage to confirm if it was genuine or forged.⁷⁷ Loches, however, did not have it. Nonetheless, Peiresc informed his correspondents that a version of the Book of Enoch had been discovered in one of the Oriental languages and that it was written in the form of prophecies just before Enoch’s ascent to heaven.⁷⁸ Hoping to locate it in the Vatican, Peiresc was promised a catalogue of the library’s Coptic collection by Cardinal Barberini.⁷⁹ In July 1634 another Capuchin, Agathange de Vendôme, replied to Peiresc from Cairo about the Ethiopic books he had requested. Vendôme had found a volume of prophecies and occult things that spoke of Enoch and angels. Yet more than two years passed before gifts to the Capuchins ensured that it was removed from the Levant and shipped to Marseilles.⁸⁰

On 25 October/4 November 1636 the small Ethiopic book written on thick parchment was finally in Peiresc’s hands at Aix-en-Provence. Referring to it as the ‘Revelations of Enoch’ he supposed it the same volume that Postel had seen and expected the text to be, if not a faithful version, at least consistent with things mentioned by Jude, Origen and others. That same day Peiresc wrote to Loches, now guardian of the Capuchin convent at Bourges, reminding him of his undertaking to translate it.⁸¹ While awaiting a response Peiresc spread word of the manuscript in his possession. Declining the help of learned men like Claude Saumaise (1588–1653) he kept faith with Loches, who had apparently recently completed his study of Ethiopic grammar.⁸² But Loches procrastinated, pleading that he was overburdened and unable to work on a full translation before Easter. Undeterred, Peiresc settled for a sample, sending him a facsimile of the first page. Again Loches delayed, claiming that the Ethiopic script had been copied inaccurately.⁸³ Peiresc died on 14/24 June

⁷⁷ Apollinaire de Valence (ed.), *Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs missionnaires et religieux de l’ordre des Capucins, 1631–37* (Paris, 1891), pp. 12–13; Pierre Gassendi, *Viri Illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc* (Paris, 1641), Book V, 269; Pierre Gassendi, *The Mirrour of true Nobility & Gentility*, trans. W. Rand (1657) Book V, 89–90.

⁷⁸ Jacques Philippe Tamizey de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres de Peiresc aux freres Dupuy* (7 vols, Paris, 1888–98), IV, 396; Agnès Bresson (ed.), *Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Lettres à Claude Saumaise et à son entourage, 1620–37* (Florence, 1992), p. 348, n.2.

⁷⁹ de Valence (ed.), *Correspondance*, p. 22.

⁸⁰ de Valence (ed.), *Correspondance*, p. 69; Gassendi, *Mirrour*; V, 90, 123.

⁸¹ Bresson (ed.), *Peiresc*, p. 348, n.2; de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres*, III, 600; de Valence (ed.), *Correspondance*, pp. 276–7.

⁸² de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres*, III, 609; Bresson (ed.), *Peiresc*, p. 351 n. 17; Bresson (ed.), *Peiresc*, pp. 348–49.

⁸³ Bresson (ed.), *Peiresc*, 360; de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres*, III, 618; de Valence (ed.), *Correspondance*, pp. 279, 303, 308, 310.

1637. The book he had acquired after much trouble and at great expense remained untranslated.⁸⁴

Peiresc's scholarship was commemorated by his friend the astronomer Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) in *Viri Illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc Senatoris Aquisextiensis Vita* (Paris, 1641). Peiresc's library was bequeathed to his brother Palamède and on his demise to Palamède's son, Claude, who in 1647 sold the collection at Paris. Together with the bulk of the manuscripts the so-called '*Mazhapha Einock*' was purchased for Cardinal Jules Mazarin. In 1655 a third edition of Gassendi's biography was issued at The Hague with an appendix by the French physician and chemist Pierre Borel (1620?–71). From Paris Borel communicated the fate of Peiresc's collection to a Prussian émigré resident in London, Samuel Hartlib (c.1660–62). In March 1656 Hartlib wrote to John Worthington, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge with news that 'Liber Enoch est in Bibliothecâ Mazarinâ'.⁸⁵ On 16/26 July 1659 another of Hartlib's correspondents, the German émigré Henry Oldenburg (c.1618–77), reported from Paris his conversation with the mathematician and Orientalist Claude Hardy (c.1598–1678). Acting on Hardy's directions Oldenburg had found the 'Revelationes Enochi' in Mazarin's library. He described it as having '83. leaves in a good faire character, bound in wood, cased in calfs leather, in smal 4to'. Oldenburg had also heard a story that Peiresc got the book from Loches for having 'freed him from ye Turkish Gallies'. Furthermore, it was said that Loches had translated the prophecy before his death at the convent.⁸⁶ Hartlib was doubtless intrigued for on 6 August 1659 the natural philosopher John Beale (c.1603–c.1682) sent him tidings from Hereford of the prophecies of Seth and Enoch. In Beale's opinion Enoch's prophecies had long ago been controverted; Origen, Jerome, Athanasius and others regarded them as 'no better than Apocryphall fables', Tertullian spoke highly of them, while Augustine was quite fair, but excluded them from 'the chastity of the Canon'.⁸⁷ Beale, moreover, was in touch with Hartlib's acquaintance John Evelyn (1620–1706), to whom the English version of Gassendi's memoir of Peiresc was dedicated. In his treatise on engraving in copper Evelyn discussed the relics of antediluvian patriarchs mentioned by Josephus and the twelfth century Byzantine chronographer George Cedrenus. Evelyn observed that:

The *Æthiopians* are said at this day to glory much in possessing the Books of *Seth* and *Enoch*, as those who have lately written of the *Abyssines* relate. *Origen*, *St. Augustine*, and *Hierom* have likewise made honourable mention of them; and *Tertullian* plainly reproves those who (in his time) thought they could not be preserved.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres de Peiresc*, VI, 660.

⁸⁵ James Crossley (ed.), *Diary and Correspondence of John Worthington*, Chetham Society, 13 (1847), I, 59, 82–3.

⁸⁶ A.R. Hall and M.B. Hall (eds), *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, 13 vols (Madison, Wisc., and London & Philadelphia, 1965–86), I, 282.

⁸⁷ *SUL*, HP 65/7/1A–B, 2A.

⁸⁸ John Evelyn, *Sculptura* (1662), p. 13.

Like Evelyn, Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82) of Norwich mused upon ‘*Enochs Pillars*’, considering them somewhat fabulous, though his reference to Josephus was a misattribution.⁸⁹ Browne also composed a catalogue of rarities entitled ‘*Musæum Clausum*’ or ‘*Bibliotheca Abscondita*’. Among the remarkable books in this collection was one obtained by Peiresc – ‘*Mazhapha Einok*, or, the Prophecy of *Enoch*’.⁹⁰

XVI

In his misconceived discourse on oriental tongues the German Christianus Ravius (1613–77) remarked that printed books in Ethiopic were so scarce that he believed there were none ‘in all *England*’.⁹¹ Ravius’s work was dedicated to James Ussher (1581–1656), Archbishop of Armagh, who had attempted to procure an Ethiopic New Testament through an English merchant at Aleppo. Ussher was also one of the eminent scholars who supported the publication of *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1653–57). Its principal editor was Brian Walton (1600–61), who had formerly supported Archbishop Laud’s policies and taken refuge with the royalist garrison at Oxford. Walton credited Edmund Castell (1606–85) with correcting the Ethiopic text of the Polyglot Bible and rendering the Ethiopic version of the Song of Solomon into Latin. Castell afterwards greeted the restoration of Charles II with *Sol Angliæ Oriens* (1660), a set of laudatory verses in all seven languages employed in the Polyglot. Appended was an entreaty for aiding Castell’s great enterprise, a lexicon to accompany the Polyglot. Castell was assisted with the Ethiopic part of the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669) by the German Johann Michael Wansleben (1635–79). While in London, Wansleben had overseen the printing in 1661 of an Ethiopic grammar and lexicon by Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704). A counsellor of Duke Ernst of Saxe-Gotha and correspondent of Oldenburg, Ludolf later bemoaned Wansleben’s inept supervision, characterizing him as a man of ‘little Judgment, less Faith, and no Honesty’. Perhaps this was because Wansleben converted to Catholicism and became a Dominican.⁹² Even so, in 1670 Wansleben made a complete copy of the so-called ‘*Mazhapha Einock*’ and probably about the same time transcribed the preface, middle and end of the text for Ludolf. On examining these extracts, however, Ludolf declared that Peiresc had been deceived, for ‘the knavery of those he employ’d’ had foisted upon him ‘another Book with a false Title’. Ludolf found nothing of either Enoch or his prophecies but only some ‘very clear discourses of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth, and the Holy Trinity’ by Abba Bakhayla Mîkâ’êl-Zosimus.⁹³

In late 1683 or early 1684 Ludolf examined the famous ‘*Revelationes Enochî*’, which had since been transferred from Mazarin’s library to the Bibliothèque Royale,

⁸⁹ L.C.Martin (ed.), *Sir Thomas Browne. Religio Medici and other works* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 24–5.

⁹⁰ Sir Thomas Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684), p. 200.

⁹¹ Christianus Ravius, *A discovrse of the orientall tongves* (1649), pp. 23, 133–4.

⁹² Hiob Ludolf, *A New History of Ethiopia* (1684 edn), sig. F^v-2.

⁹³ Ludolf, *New History of Ethiopia*, p. 269.

Paris. Finding that the last of the volume's four tracts consisted of a discourse concerning the birth of Enoch, Ludolf concluded that this was the probable source for the manuscript's misleading title. He wrote a contemptuous note at the head of the original document, later printed in essence, charging its author with plundering refuse from old fragments. Ludolf was certain of this because he had compared the Ethiopic text with extracts from a Greek version of the Book of the Watchers copied by a Byzantine chronographer.⁹⁴

XVII

In the early ninth century George (fl. 810), the Syncellus or adviser to the Patriarch of Constantinople Tarasius (784–806), wrote a universal history. Syncellus envisaged his *Chronography* stretching from the Creation to his own time, though he reached only the beginning of the Roman Emperor Diocletian's reign (285 AD) before his death. For the antediluvian section Syncellus drew on the work of two early fifth century Alexandrian monks, Panodorus and Annianus. Though it has been suggested that much of this part of the chronicle is a clumsy polemic against these very authorities, Syncellus's reworking of their material and his extensive excerpts from their sources has resulted in the preservation of material earlier than Panodorus and Annianus. Thus Syncellus quoted apparently by way of Panodorus and Annianus from several lost texts such as Julius Africanus's *Chronography*, the original Greek version of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicle* and Zosimus of Panopolis's *Book of Imouth*. Through these and other intermediary sources Syncellus also preserved earlier works still, like an epitome of Manetho's list of Egyptian dynasties derived from recensions of Africanus and Eusebius, and an abridgement of Berossus' *Babyloniaca* extracted from recensions of the Greek antiquaries Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus. Moreover, it was through his Alexandrian authorities that Syncellus cited or paraphrased revised Greek versions of Jewish pseudepigrapha – the Testament of Adam, the Book of Jubilees and the Book of Enoch.

Though he considered the Book of Enoch 'apocryphal, questionable in places' and 'contaminated by Jews and heretics', Syncellus preferred it to the 'lies' of Berossus and Manetho, if only because it was 'more akin to our Scriptures'. Syncellus gave excerpts from 'the first book of Enoch concerning the Watchers' (1 Enoch 6:1–9:4, 8:4–10:14, 15:8–16:1), as well as abbreviated summaries from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 10:4–12) and the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82). In addition, he quoted a passage about the burning of Mount Hermon on 'the day of the great judgment' and the limiting of man's age to 120 years unknown in the extant

⁹⁴ Hiob Ludolf, *Iobi Ludolfi ... ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam* (Frankfurt upon Main, 1691), pp. 347–8; Ernest W. Budge (ed.), *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and Earth* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 141–4.

Enochic corpus. It seems that these extracts were carefully selected by Panodorus and emended either by Syncellus or his Alexandrian predecessor(s).⁹⁵

Syncellus's chronicle was the most important witness to the Greek version of the Book of Enoch until the late nineteenth century when a fifth- or sixth-century mutilated manuscript was discovered in a Christian grave at Akhmîm (Codex Panopolitanus) containing two corrupt copies of the Book of the Watchers. Another witness is a fourth-century papyrus codex that came to light in the first half of the twentieth century having the subscription 'The Epistle of Enoch' (in its present condition it contains an almost continuous Greek text of 1 Enoch 97:6–107:3). There is also an extract from the Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 89:42–9) in Greek found in a late tenth- or eleventh-century tachygraphical manuscript in the Vatican library and deciphered in 1855. Furthermore, a sixth- or seventh-century manuscript containing a Coptic fragment of the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:3–8) was discovered in the northern cemetery of Antinoë in 1937. Then there are allusions. Thus a stichometry of canonical and apocryphal books (sixth century?) appended to a *Chronography* under the name of the Patriarch of Constantinople Nicephorus (806–15) gave the length of 'Enoch' as 4800 stichoi or lines. Moreover, the twelfth century Byzantine chronographer George Cedrenus, who slavishly followed Syncellus for much of antediluvian history, appears to have provided a laconic paraphrase of Syncellus's first excerpt from the Book of the Watchers. In addition, Michael the Syrian, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (1166–99) quoted in his *Chronicle* from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 6:1–7). This Syriac citation relates that 200 of the sons of God under the leadership of Semiazos abandoned their angelic way of life to join their brethren, the sons of Seth and Enos. They took wives from the daughters of Cain who afterwards gave birth to 'great giants, that is plunderers, mighty and renowned assassins, and audacious bandits'. It has been argued that Michael's account by way of a Syrian chronicler, possibly Jacob of Edessa (c.640–708) or his younger contemporary John of Litarba, drew on Annianus's *Chronography* – the same source used by Syncellus.⁹⁶ Similarly, the Syrian chronographer Bar Hebraeus preserved a legend mediated to him from Annianus through Michael's *Chronicle*. In this version the Watchers are the sons of Seth and are called 'Sons of God' because of the chaste and holy life they led on Mount Hermon. Their leader was a man named Samyâzôs, the first king, while their offspring were 'mighty men of names' notorious for 'murders and robberies'.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ William Adler, *Time Immemorial* (Washington, DC, 1989), pp. 83, 86, 88, 151–4, 176, 179.

⁹⁶ S.P. Brock, 'A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 19 (1968), pp. 626–31.

⁹⁷ Budge (ed.), *Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj*, I, 3–4.

XVIII

In 1583 the French-born Protestant convert Joseph Juste Scaliger (1540–1609) published a major work on chronology entitled *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* (Paris, 1583), which he regarded as a test for the minds of his age. But it was while collecting material for an edition of Jerome's Latin version of the second book of Eusebius's *Chronicle* that Scaliger, alerted by a reference in Cedrenus, encountered the *Chronography* of George the Syncellus. In 1601 an eleventh-century manuscript of Syncellus's chronicle was located in the library of Catherine de Medici. Extracts were made by Scaliger's friend, the Protestant scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), and by mid-June 1602 the codex sent from Paris to Leiden, where Scaliger examined it carefully. Scaliger found the text of Syncellus incoherent and mutilated, dismissing its author as silly and verbose. Yet he could not ignore the monk's 'treasury', concluding that Eusebius's *Chronicle* would have to be reconstructed.⁹⁸ This awesome if flawed endeavour duly appeared in *Thesaurus temporum* (Leiden, 1606), together with extensive notes that included some of Syncellus's excerpts from the Book of Enoch – and Scaliger's disdainful comments:

So much for the forged first book of Enoch. I cannot decide whether it took the Jews more spare time to write all of this, or me more patience to copy it out. It contains so many loathsome and shameful things that I would not think it worth reading if I did not know that Jews make a habit of lying, and that even now they cannot stop producing such rubbish. But because it is translated from the Hebrew ... and the book is very old, and Tertullian cites from it ... I preferred to swallow the tedium of copying it out rather than bear the blame for continuing to deprive my kind readers of it.⁹⁹

Scaliger's publication was used by Samuel Purchas in a chapter on 'the cause, and coming of the Flood'. Purchas introduced his theme with a discussion of '*Henoch the seuenth from Adam who walked with God whom God tooke away that he should not see death*'. Like Tertullian and Calvin, Purchas believed that Enoch and Elijah were 'witnesses of the resurrection', though he rejected the notion that they would come and 'preach against Antichrist' and be slain by him as a 'Popish' dream.¹⁰⁰ Adhering to accepted Protestant exegesis Purchas also supposed that either Jude received Enoch's 'testimony' by oral tradition or that the prophecy, perhaps forged by a Jew, was written and subsequently lost. Indeed, he thought it apparent that 'the booke bearing *Enochs* name' was 'very fabulous'. Nonetheless, Purchas considered it appropriate to translate most of Scaliger's Greek text, printing an abbreviated English version that conflated Syncellus's three longer citations from the Book of the Watchers into a single extract:

⁹⁸ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1983–94), II, 536–48.

⁹⁹ Joseph Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum*, 5 parts (Leiden, 1606), Notæ pp. 244–5; Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, II, 685–6.

¹⁰⁰ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 30.

And it came to passe when the sonnes of men were multiplied, there were borne to them faire daughters, and the Watch-men ... lusted and went astray after them: and they said One to another, *Let vs chuse vs wiues of the daughters of men of the earth.* And Semixas their Prince said vnto them, *I feare me you will not do this thing, and I alone shall be debter of a great sinne.* And they all answered him and said: *We will sweare with an oath, and will Anathematise or Curse our selues not to alter this our mind till we haue fulfilled it:* and they all sware together. These came downe in the dayes of Iared to the top of the hill, *Hermon.* And they called the hill, *Hermon,* because they sware and Anathematised on it. These were the names of their Rulers, *Semixas, Atarcuph, Arachiel, Chababiel, Orammame, Ramiel, Sapsich, Zakiel, Balkiel, Azalzel, Pharmaros, Samiel & c.*

*These tooke them wiues, and three generations were borne vnto them: the first were great Giants; the Giants begate the Naphelim, to whom were borne Eliud; and they taught them and their wiues sorceries and inchantments. Ezael taught first to make swords and weapons for warre, and how to worke in mettals. He taught to make womens ornaments, and how to looke faire, and Iewelling. And they beguiled the Saints: and much sinne was committed on the earth. Other of them taught the vertues of Roots, Astrologie, Diuinations, & c. After these things the Giants began to eate the flesh of men, and men were diminished: and the remnant cried to heauen, because of their wickednesse, that they might come in remembrance before him ...*¹⁰¹

Syncellus had been brought to the scholarly world's attention. The fragments from the Book of Enoch published by Scaliger were discussed in *De patriarcha Henoch* (Franeker, 1615) by Johannes Drusius (1550–1616), professor of Hebrew at Franeker University in Friesland. From Armagh Ussher wrote to John Selden pointing out a discrepancy between the Samaritan chronology and the 'corrupt' copy of Syncellus concerning Enoch's age at the birth of Methuselah (Genesis 5:21).¹⁰² In the Vatican library another manuscript of Syncellus's chronicle was found and a transcript procured by Peiresc to assist the work of Johannes Baptista Altinus. Peiresc also had the Vatican manuscript copied, compared with the codex in the Bibliothèque Royale and then corrected by Saumaise to help Jean-Jacques Bouchard (1606?–41) with his translation of Syncellus.¹⁰³ Naturally Peiresc's interest in Syncellus became entwined with his obsession with the Book of Enoch. On 25 February/7 March 1637 the German-born Catholic convert and librarian to Cardinal Barberini, Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661) wrote to his patron from Rome. Holstenius informed Peiresc that he once heard the renowned Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) say that he had done some work on the Greek version of the Book of Enoch. Peiresc told Saumaise he was willing to pay handsomely for a transcript of the Greek text and on 7/17 April he wrote to Grotius, at that time the resident Swedish ambassador in Paris,

¹⁰¹ Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, p. 31.

¹⁰² Richard Parr, *The Life Of the Most Reverend Father in God, James Usher* (1686), p. 383.

¹⁰³ Gassendi, *Mirrouir*, III, 208, V, 136; de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres*, I, 49, 55–6, 73–94, 108, 119; V, 287; Jean François Boissonade (ed.), *L. Holstenii Epistolæ ad diversos* (Paris, 1817), pp. 99, 104, 110, 168.

implored him to share his research.¹⁰⁴ Peiresc, however, first received a response to an earlier communication concerning his untranslated Ethiopic volume: Grotius referred him to Scaliger's *Thesaurus temporum*.¹⁰⁵ On 10/20 April Peiresc wrote to Grotius again, asking for his opinion on Syncellus's excerpts from the Book of Enoch and information as to the whereabouts of the manuscript used by Scaliger.¹⁰⁶ In May 1637, less than a month before his death, deluded, Peiresc despatched a last letter to Loches suggesting that he compare the Syncellus excerpts published by Scaliger with the facsimile of the first page of the so-called 'Mazhapha Einock'.¹⁰⁷

About 1637 the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601–80), whose study of hieroglyphic writing had been encouraged by Peiresc, made a discovery in the monastic library of San Salvatore in Messina, Sicily. According to his account in *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (Rome, 1652–54), Kircher had found a Greek fragment of the Book of Enoch - doubtless derived from or preserved in a copy of Syncellus's chronicle.¹⁰⁸ Kircher printed the text together with a Latin translation and detailed notes, citing Augustine, Tertullian, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Zosimus of Panopolis and Syncellus, as well as authors in Arabic who had reported the syncretic tradition identifying Enoch with Hermes and Idris.¹⁰⁹ While Kircher was engaged in his labours the Dominican Jacques Goar (1601–53) was busy editing Byzantine texts, issuing editions of Cedrenus (Paris, 1647) and Syncellus (Paris, 1652). Based on the codex in the Bibliothèque Royale and accompanied with a Latin translation, Goar's preface rebutted Scaliger's charge that Syncellus's *Chronography* was derived solely from Eusebius, arguing that the monk had relied on diverse sources.

Though Syncellus's excerpts from the Book of Enoch were translated from Greek into English by Purchas, and from Greek into Latin by Kircher and Goar, the text's provenance and authority continued to be debated by mainly learned men. On the continent Thomas Bang's *Cælum Orientis et prisici mundi triade* (Copenhagen, 1657) provided the most exhaustive discussion yet. Bang referred to every pertinent patristic source available in Greek and Latin, cited Jewish writings such as the *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* and the *Zohar*, alluded to Jewish authors like Rashi and Recanati, and mentioned relevant work by Pantheus, Postel, Scaliger and Kircher. Afterwards, the subject was treated by among others; Balthasar Bebelius in *Ecclesie antediluvianæ vera et falsa* (Strasbourg, 1665), Joachim Johannes Mader in *De Bibliothecis atque Archivis virorum clarissimorum* (Helmstadt, 1666), the Swiss theologian Johann Heinrich Heidegger in *De historia sacra Patriarcharum exercitationes selectae*

¹⁰⁴ Boissonade (ed.), *Holstenii Epistolæ*, pp. 286–7; de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres*, V, 468; Bresson (ed.), *Peiresc*, 373; B.L. Meulenbroek (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius. 1637* (The Hague, 1971), VIII, 225–6.

¹⁰⁵ B.L. Meulenbroek (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius. 1 March–31 December 1636* (The Hague, 1969), VII, 561; Meulenbroek (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, VIII, 200–201.

¹⁰⁶ Meulenbroek (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, VIII, 233–4, 313.

¹⁰⁷ de Valence (ed.), *Correspondance*, 319–20.

¹⁰⁸ Athanasius Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, 4 vols (Rome, 1652–54), II 68.

¹⁰⁹ Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, I, 66–7; II 68–78.

(Amsterdam, 1667–71), August Pfeiffer in *Henoch, descriptus exercitatione philologica ad Gen. 5 v.22.23.24.* (Wittenberg, 1683), and Gottfried Vockerodt in *Historia Societatum et rei literariae ante diluuium* (Jena, 1687).

In England Protestant antipathy to doctrines based upon unwritten traditions continued to inform the majority of responses to Enoch's prophecy. Thus John Donne (1572–1631) scorned a Catholic theologian for suggesting that the Book of Enoch was 'Canonical Scripture in the time of the Jews'.¹¹⁰ Similarly, in *A Practical Commentary, or an exposition with notes On the Epistle of Jude* (1657) Thomas Manton maintained that whether the prophecy was written or unwritten the same 'spirit' that spoke in Enoch inspired the Apostle. That Jude had quoted 'Enochs Prophesie' rather than authentic Scripture was 'done by the providence of God' to preserve this ancient 'memorial to the Church'. Yet Manton also noted that the Jews have 'some Relicks of this Prophesie in their Writings' and that some spoke of a volume extant in 'primitive times' consisting of 4,082 lines called 'the *Prophesie of Enoch*'. Though that work was condemned as apocryphal it was possible for good books to be lost – but not Scripture.¹¹¹ John Edwards (1637–1716) advocated the same doctrine in a discourse on the authority and style of the Bible: it was impossible to prove that any book belonging to the canon was missing. As Jude's Epistle did not mention any 'Book or Writing of Enoch' none could infer that such a work was lost.¹¹² There were, however, some dissenting voices.

The self-proclaimed 'High-Priest' and 'Recorder to the thirteen Tribes of the Jewes' TheaurauJohn Tany (1608–59) asked:

Enock the seventh from *Adam*, what wrote he? for he was higher then any; where is the hieroglyphicks he wrote in? where is that? there was such a man your riddle saith, and that man wrote more, then all the Old and New-Testaments, and we have none of them, where are they?¹¹³

Tany paraphrased Genesis 6:2 as 'The Sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and saw them beautiful', understanding the verse as a reference to the 'fallen' angels. He seems, moreover, to have been familiar with vestiges of the myth of the Watchers preserved in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.¹¹⁴ Modelled on the 'Testament of Jacob' (Genesis 49), incorporating Jewish material - though arguably of late second-century Christian origin, alluded to by Origen and Jerome, extant in Greek, Armenian and Slavonic, this extra-canonical text was translated from a late tenth-century Greek manuscript into Latin by Robert Grosseteste (c.1170–1253), bishop of Lincoln, in 1242. Grosseteste's version was rendered into English in a translation attributed to Anthony Gilby (c.1510–85) that was frequently reprinted – 16 editions were issued between 1574 and 1647. Before the flood, according to the

¹¹⁰ John Donne, *Fifty sermons. The second volume* (1649), p. 347.

¹¹¹ Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary* (1657), pp. 432–33.

¹¹² John Edwards, *A discourse concerning the authority, stile, and perfection of the books of the Old and New-Testament* (1693), pp. 348, 466–7.

¹¹³ TheaurauJohn Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal* (1651), p. 54; cf. Jude 14.

¹¹⁴ Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, p. 32.

‘Testament of Reuben’, the Watchers were deceived by women who wore make-up and jewellery and braided their hair:

as soon as they saw them, they fell in love with one another, and conceived a working in their minds, and turned themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them in their companying with their husband: and the woman by conceiving the desire of them in the imagination of their minde, brought forth Giants. For the Watches appeared to them of height unto heaven.¹¹⁵

Tany’s interpretation of Genesis 6:2 appears to have combined this reworked Enochic tradition with a reading resembling Philo’s figurative explanation enunciated in ‘On the Giants’. For Tany believed that the fallen angels signified the soul, a substance derived from the ‘essence of God’, while the daughters of men denoted the ‘spiritual body in Man’ – an invisible, celestial flesh of a divine nature. His paraphrase thus represented the process whereby the soul became ‘essenced’ in the spiritual body.¹¹⁶

Like Tany, several Quakers showed an interest in pseudepigrapha. On 11 March 1658 Thomas Lawson wrote from Bordley Hall, Yorkshire to Margaret Fell at Swarthmore Hall, Lancashire:

Thomas Killam was telling mee, his wife, hath gott one of the books I mentioned to thee, called the testament of the patriarchs, hee saith, it speaks very much of Enocks prophecy, which hints much ag^t the lying priests, it rose in mee, to speak to thee, that if any freind were moved to go to Holland, and had any conference with the Jews, that they made enquiry of them, if Enocks writeings bee extant among them.¹¹⁷

While Quakers seldom cited from the Apocrypha – Jewish texts omitted from the Hebrew Bible but found in certain copies of the Septuagint and together with 2 Esdras included in the Vulgate, a few were concerned with the fate of ‘those Scriptures mentioned, but not inserted in the Bible’. About 1659 a catalogue of these writings appeared in *Something concerning Agbarus, Prince of the Edesseans* (no date). Reminiscent of extra-canonical compositions identified by Priscillian, Reuchlin and others, this list included ‘the Prophecy of *Enoch*, mentioned *Jude* 14’ and ‘the Books of *Henoch*, mentioned in the Epistle of *Thadeus Origen* and *Tertullian*’.¹¹⁸ Occurring verbatim in Edward Billing’s *A word of reproof and advice* (1659) and afterwards placed in some Bibles owned by Quakers, it may have been compiled by the controversialist Samuel Fisher (1604–65).¹¹⁹ In *Rusticus ad Academicos* (1660) Fisher defended the Quakers from the calumny that they censured the Scriptures. Examining the bounds of the canon he enumerated ‘*inspired*’ writings cited in

¹¹⁵ *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, trans. A[nthony] G[ilby?] (1647), no sig. [Reuben 5:5–7]; cf. 1 Corinthians 11:10; 1 Timothy 2:9; 1 Peter 3:3–5.

¹¹⁶ Tany, *Theous Ori Apokolipikal*, pp. 3, 32, 37, 62.

¹¹⁷ *FHL*, MS Swarthmore, I, 243.

¹¹⁸ [Anon.] *Something concerning Agbarus* (no date = 1659), pp. 1, 8.

¹¹⁹ Edward Billing, *A Word of Reproof* (1659), p. 44; Thomas Comber, *Christianity No Enthusiasm* (1678), p. 58.

Scripture but missing from the Bible, observing that in addition ‘the Testament of the *Twelve Patriarchs*’ was extant. Furthermore, he demanded:

Where’s the *Prophecy of Enoch*, spoken of *Jude* 14. out of whose Prophesie the *Jewes* can tell you more then ye wot of from that of *Jude*?¹²⁰

In *The Answer to William Penn Quaker* (1673), the heresiarch Lodowick Muggleton (1609–98) declared that God revealed his secrets to Enoch, showing him that ‘God was in a glorious form like man from Eternity’. God gave Enoch the ‘spirit of prophecy’. Indeed, the ‘wonderful things’ recorded in the ‘books of *Enoch*’ were read by Noah, Abraham and ‘the twelve sons of *Jacob*’. This was evident from ‘the testimony of the twelve sons of *Jacob*’ and the Scriptures. Apparently taking a hint from ‘the Testimony of the twelve Patriarchs at their deaths’, Muggleton also asserted something analogous to the ancient heresy that Melchizedek (Genesis 14:18) was God the Father:

This *Melchizedek* King of *Salem*, that brought forth Bread and Wine to *Abraham*, it was God himself, that did appear unto *Abraham* in the form of a man and blessed him.¹²¹

Though Muggleton nowhere states that the Books of Enoch or the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are canonical, he regarded the former as inspired. In a letter to Elizabeth Flaggerter of Cork dated London, 22 June 1682 he claimed:

The first man God chose, after the fall of Adam, was Enoch; and God did furnish him with the revelation to write books ... He left this revelation to Noah, and Noah left it to Shem, and Shem left it to his sons, until it came to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So that Enoch’s revelation and declaration to the fathers of old, and all that did believe the books of Enoch, they were as a parliament, to enact it as a statute-law to their children, from generation to generation, for ever.¹²²

Similarly, Thomas Tomkinson wrote from London to Muggletonians in Ireland, referring to ‘the 12 Patriarchs mention’d in Genesis & in there Testament to their Children’. In his commentary on the Epistle of Jude Tomkinson maintained that though ‘wee have not Enocks prophesies on Recorde yet it is certaine there where such prophesies’. Whether they were written in ‘bokes of parchment’ or transmitted by oral tradition ‘from father to son’ was uncertain, but it was evident that ‘Enocks prophesies where spoken of by the 12 patriarkes and sons of Jacob in there blesing to there children’ – ‘most espeshely in their gods becoming flesh’.¹²³ Long after Muggleton’s death his followers issued their own edition of *The Testament of the*

¹²⁰ Samuel Fisher, *Rusticus ad Academicos* (1660), part ii, 81–2.

¹²¹ Lodowick Muggleton, *Answer to William Penn* (1673), pp. 29, 32.

¹²² John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, *Volume of Spiritual Epistles* (ed. Tobiah Terry, 1820), p. 516.

¹²³ *BL*, Add. MS 60,180 fol.15r; *BL*, Add. MS 60,198, p. 32.

Twelve Patriarchs (1837) from a copy printed at London in 1693 for the Stationers' Company.

XIX

In 1659 Isaac Casaubon's son Florence Étienne Méric Casaubon (1599–1671) published a transcript of Dee's 'Liber sexti mysteriorum, & sancti parallelus, novalisque' (1583) as *A True & Faithful Relation of What passed for many Yeers Between Dr. John Dee ... and Some Spirits* (1659). In his preface Casaubon dwelled on the 'BOOK OF ENOCH' because 'so much of it' was 'in this Relation'. Confessing he did not know how much was extant besides 'what we have in *Scaliger*', Casaubon deemed it 'a very superstitious, foolish, fabulous writing' – in one word, 'Cabalistical'. Even so, Casaubon's edition publicized the purported heading of Enoch's books, rendered into English as:

But behold, the people waxed wicked, and became unrighteous, and the spirit of the Lord was far off, and gone away from them. So that those that were unworthy began to read.¹²⁴

In 1663 there appeared a condensed account of the 'Sons of God', narrating the Sethites holy life, their descent from Mount Hermon, desire for women, marriage with the daughters of Cain – who first played musical instruments and sang to them, and birth of the giants. This was Bar Hebraeus's Arabic version of his chronography entitled *Ta'rikh al-Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (late thirteenth century), translated into Latin by Edward Pococke as *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarm* (Oxford, 1663).¹²⁵

XX

In John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) Adam beholds a vision of the future. On a 'spacious' plain he sees 'Tents of various hue' and nearby some cattle grazing. The sound of harp and organ are heard. From the 'high neighbouring Hills' descend men that by their 'guise' seem just:

they on the Plain
Long had not walkt, when from the Tents behold
A Beavie of fair Women, richly gay
In Gems and wanton dress; to the Harp they sung
Soft amorous Ditties, and in dance came on.

¹²⁴ Casaubon (ed.), *True & Faithful Relation* (1659), sig. E2^{r-3}, p. 174.

¹²⁵ Gregory Abū'l Faraj, *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarm* (ed. Edward Pococke, Oxford, 1663), pp. 5, 6.

Caught in an ‘amorous Net’ each man chooses a woman to his liking. They treat of love till the ‘Evening Star’, when the ‘Nuptial Torch’ is lit and the ‘marriage Rites’ invoked. But that ‘sober Race of Men, whose lives Religious titl’d them the Sons of God’ have been seduced by the race of Cain; a ‘fair femal Troop’ empty ‘of all good’:

Bred onely and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and troule the Tongue, and roule the Eye.

In another vision Adam sees the product of those ‘ill-mated Marriages’:

Giants of mightie Bone, and bould emprise;
Part wield thir Arms, part courb the foaming Steed,
Single or in Array of Battel rang’d.

But the ‘seventh’ from Adam:

The onely righteous in a World perverse,
And therefore hated, therefore so beset
With Foes for daring single to be just,
And utter odious Truth, that God would come
To judge them with his Saints: Him the most High
Rapt in a balmie Cloud with winged Steeds
Did ... walk with God
High in Salvation and the Climes of bliss,
Exempt from Death; to shew thee what reward
Awaits the good, the rest what punishment.¹²⁶

Milton’s poetic elaboration upon Genesis is intriguing, for it supplements the account in the Authorized Version with other possible sources. The reference to tents and cattle amplifies the depiction of Jabal (Genesis 4:20), while the sound of music accords with the description of his brother Jubal – ‘father of all such as handle the harp and organ’ (Genesis 4:21). Moreover, the upright sons of God descending from the high hills are clearly the descendants of Seth (Julius Africanus, *Chronography*; Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise* 1.10–11; Augustine, *City of God* 15:23), versed in God’s works that have not been lost (Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.2.3). Their temptresses are the daughters of Cain (Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise* 1.10–11; Chrysostom, *Homily XXII on Genesis*; Theodoret, *Questions on Genesis* 47; *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* 22). The fruit of this unholy union are the giants (Genesis 6:4), expert in war (Baruch 3:26). Enoch is the seventh from Adam, who prophesies that God will come with his saints to judge the wicked (Jude 14). He walked with God (Genesis 5:24) and did not taste death (Hebrews 11:5). There is no suggestion here that Milton

¹²⁶ John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1668), sigs. Qq2^{r-2}–Rr^v, reprinted in Alastair Fowler (ed.) *John Milton. Paradise Lost* (1987), XI, ll. 556–712, 592–600.

used Syncellus's excerpts from the Book of Enoch. His sons of God are men, not angels. Their leaders are not named, nor is their number given. No reference is made to Mount Hermon or to the secrets the Watchers taught their wives. His giants are not eaters of flesh and drinkers of blood. Yet the detail that the daughters of Cain enticed the sons of Seth with music, song and dance is suggestive. In his *Commentary on Genesis* Procopius of Gaza (c.465–c.529) noted with reference to the phrase 'sons of God' that the progeny of Cain invented music, notably the lyre. More elaborate is the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* which describes how the Sethites were attracted to the Cainite camp by 'the devilish playing of the reeds which emitted musical sounds, and by the harps which the men played through the operation of the power of the devils, and by the sounds of the tambourines and of the sistra which were beaten and rattled through the agency of evil spirits'. This theme of entrapment through music and song recurs in Bar Hebraeus's Arabic version of his chronography and is also a feature of the Ethiopic *Kebra Nagast*, which relates that the dancing Cainite women accompanied their singing with tambourine, flutes, pipes and loud cries of joy.¹²⁷ Moreover, according to a highly glossed Greek translation of *Hymns of Paradise* by Ephrem the Syrian (c.306–73), the sons of God were lured down from the higher land by the daughters of Cain, who came to them with 'wind and string instruments'. Ephrem's account is quoted in Syncellus's *Chronography* – a work that may have been partly read to the blind Milton.¹²⁸ Indeed, Milton knew the tradition identifying the fallen angels with the sons of God from Justin Martyr. Thus Satan addresses Belial in *Paradise Regain'd* (1671):

Before the Flood thou with thy lusty Crew,
False titl'd Sons of God, roaming the Earth
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupl'd with them, and begot a race.¹²⁹

XXI

In 1698 the German-born patristic scholar and advocate of Lutheran Syncretism Johann Ernest Grabe (1666–1711) issued the first volume of *Spicilegium SS. Patrum, ut et Hæreticorum* (2 vols, Oxford, 1698–99). Included was an edition of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, together with notes that gave the Greek text of Syncellus's excerpts from the Book of Enoch with a parallel Latin translation. The Enoch fragments printed by Grabe were rendered into English as *The History*

¹²⁷ Procopius, *Commentary on Genesis*, in Migne (ed.), PG, LXXXVII, cols 267–8; Ernest W. Budge (ed.), *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (1927), p. 87; Abū'l Faraj, *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarm* (ed. Pococke), p. 6; Budge (ed.), *Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek*, pp. 184–8.

¹²⁸ Adler and Tuffin (eds), *Chronography of George Synkellos* 15.13–31; cf. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise* 1:10–11.

¹²⁹ John Milton, *Of Reformation Touching Chvrch-Discipline* (1641), pp. 24–5; John Milton, *Paradise Regain'd* (1671), II, ll. 178–81, p. 37.

of the Angels, and their Gallantry with the Daughters of Men (1715).¹³⁰ Syncellus's extracts from Enoch were also published in Greek accompanied with a Latin version in the German Johann Albert Fabricius's *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (2 vols, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1713–23). Fabricius's compilation marked the culmination of research at that date on the Books of Enoch, containing selections from the writings of Postel, Dee, Scaliger, Drusius, Grotius, Bang, Mader, Pfeiffer, Vockerodt, Ludolf, Grabe and others.¹³¹ Fabricius was followed by the most extensive treatment yet of the subject in English, William Whiston's *A Collection of Authentick Records Belonging to the Old and New Testament* (2 parts, 1727–28). This included 'Extracts out of the First Book of Enoch, concerning The Egregori', as well as:

A Dissertation to prove that this Book of Enoch, whose Fragments we have here produc'd was really genuine, and was one of the Sacred Apocryphal or Concealed Books of the Old Testament.¹³²

Far from being neglected, Enoch and the books under his name had preoccupied monks, chroniclers, rabbis, Kabbalists, Academicians, magicians, Catholic theologians, Protestant divines, Orientalists, sectarians and poets alike. So much so, that by the mid-eighteenth century the available evidence in Greek and Latin had been exhausted. Fresh impetus was needed in the form of a complete text. In March 1773 the Scottish adventurer James Bruce (1730–94), having spent two eventful years in Abyssinia, arrived at Marseilles. Before returning to the British Isles Bruce presented a specially prepared copy of the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch to Louis XV in Paris, subsequently deposited in the Bibliothèque Royale. Another was given to the Bodleian Library, Oxford and a third retained by Bruce. The Paris manuscript was transcribed by Carl Gottfried Woide, librarian of the British Museum. The text in the Bodleian was translated into English by Richard Laurence (1760–1838), regius professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and published as *The Book of Enoch the Prophet* (Oxford, 1821), setting off a new chain of speculation.¹³³

¹³⁰ Johann Ernest Grabe (ed.), *Spicilegium SS. Patrum, ut et Hæreticorum*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1698–99), I, 347–54; 'The History of the Angels, and their Gallantry with the Daughters of Men', in Johann Ernest Grabe, *The History of the Seventy-two Interpreters*, trans. Mr Lewis (1715), pp. 177–96.

¹³¹ Johann Albert Fabricius (ed.), *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 2 vols (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1713–23), I, 160–223, II, 55–61.

¹³² William Whiston, *A Collection of Authentick Records Belonging to the Old and New Testament*, 2 parts (1727–28), I, 260–93.

¹³³ James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, eds Alexander Murray and Henry Salt, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1790), I, 488–9, 497–500.