

JEWISH PSEUDEPIGRAPHA IN MANICHAEAN LITERATURE: THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENOCHIC LIBRARY

John C. Reeves
Winthrop University

Manichaean writings are not logical candidates for the preservation and transmission of patently Jewish literary motifs. The critical attitude of Mani and his religion toward the Hebrew Bible and Judaism is well exemplified by the testimony of Titus of Bostra, who opens the fourth book of his refutation of Manichaeism by stating "he (i.e., Mani) attributes the Old Testament fully and completely to the archons of Hyle."¹ This denigrating stance is not of course a unique one in the appraisal of ancestral religions during late antiquity. It is shared by (some would say borrowed from) representatives of the classical Gnostic and Mandaean religious communities. Ironically though, in spite of their anti-Jewish bias, the aforementioned religious currents display clear indications that they were heavily dependent upon both Jewish literature and Jewish exegetical traditions, at least during their formative periods.²

Recent research is making it increasingly apparent that Manichaeism is ultimately indebted to Second Temple era Jewish thought and literature.³ While it is true that Manichaean texts rarely

cite the Hebrew Bible, it nevertheless seems certain that important characters and events featured in the Hebrew Bible, particularly those within the primeval history of Genesis 1-11, assume a major significance in the ideological development of Mani's thought. The accounts of creation, the experiences of the protoplasts and their progeny, the generational succession of the primal patriarchs, the angelic corruption and enslavement of humankind, the roles of Enoch and Noah, the cataclysmic Flood, the prominence of Shem, and possibly even Abraham, in the preservation of antediluvian wisdom – all of these biblically based actors and episodes receive varying amounts of attention in the Manichaean corpus of writings. Yet, as previously mentioned, the Manichaean texts do not recount these stories in their biblical guise. They instead rely upon, transmit, and further develop the expanded and embellished forms of these stories that we find earlier in Jewish pseudepigraphic works and rabbinic haggadic traditions.⁴

The reason for this peculiar (at least to us) reliance has been clarified by the great manuscript discoveries of the present century that have revolutionized Manichaean studies.⁵ Manichaean texts attest that Mani viewed himself as the final link of a chain of incarnations of the heavenly Apostle of Light, periodically dispatched to humankind to proclaim the Manichaean message of redemption. Manichaeism assigned certain biblical figures important roles in this conception of the historical progress of religious revelation. According to the literature, the prophetic succession envisioned by Manichaeism consisted initially of certain biblical patriarchs from the antediluvian and immediately postdiluvian periods: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Noah, Shem, and possibly Abraham.⁶ The series of authentic prophets continued with Zoroaster, Jesus, and the Buddha, and perhaps inserted the names of Elchasai, Marcion, and/or Bardaisan⁷ before culminating with the "seal of the prophets," Mani himself.⁸ While these earlier prophets experienced some personal success in the promulgation of the teachings among their generations, their message was inevitably corrupted and distorted by its subsequent faulty (and in some cases deliberately falsified) transmission.⁹ The disciples and followers of each

preceding apostle were overwhelmingly incompetent (and in some cases deceitful) custodians of the divine message. The results of their literary labors, whether well- or ill-intentioned, were the canonical scriptures of the ancestral religions; i.e., Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism. These were accordingly of limited value for the transmission of the pristine Gospel of Light. In order to recover the *original* message of these divine emissaries, it was necessary to consult literary testimonia that allegedly stem from the apostles themselves. Herein lies the significance of what modern scholars term "pseudepigrapha" attributed to the apostolic line, and the basic reason for the Manichaean disparagement of earlier canonical scriptures.

Affirmation of the fundamental importance of writings authored by these precursors of Mani has lately been supplied by the *Cologne Mani Codex*, a Greek manuscript purporting to provide a *Mani vita* that was apparently prepared by early leaders of the Manichaean community not long after the founder's demise.¹⁰ The role of these writings, not only as testimonies to the proto-Manichaean flavor of the instructions of the forebears, but also as apologia for the religious experience and teachings of Mani himself, is well expressed in this redactional seam of the *Codex*:

Furthermore, let him who is willing hearken and pay attention to how each one of the primeval patriarchs communicated his own revelation to a select (group) whom he chose and gathered together from that generation during which he appeared, and after writing (it down), he left it for future generations. Each (patriarch) revealed (information) about his heavenly journey, and they (i.e., the chosen group) promulgated beyond ... to record and display afterwards, and to laud and extol their teachers and the truth and the hope that was revealed to them. Thus each one spoke and wrote down a memoir recounting what he saw, including (an account) about his heavenly journey, during the period and cycle of his apostleship.¹¹

This explanation introduces quotations from the "recorded memoirs" of these "primeval patriarchs": five "apocalypses" attributed to Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem, and Enoch.¹² These testimonies are then followed by

two citations from the epistles of the Christian apostle Paul,¹³ and the whole series of textual references culminates with several quotations from two of Mani's own writings.¹⁴

The citations from works allegedly authored by Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem, and Enoch are of particular interest for our present purpose, since they clearly fall into the category of "Jewish pseudepigrapha."¹⁵ Interestingly, they do not textually correspond to any great extent with any previously known works attributed to these same authors. They all display a general similarity in formal structure. Each citation is introduced as an "apocalypse" (ἀποκάλυψις) of the named author, and each concludes with a notice about other "writings" (γράφαι) supposedly authored by these seers which supplement the excerpted vision. Each visionary experiences an angelophany, a vision of one or more angelic beings that in two of the instances are identified by name: Balsamos¹⁶ (Adam) and Michael (Enoch). Each seer is transported to heaven and views certain sights or is made privy to certain secrets. In one case, that of Shem, the very throne-room of God is seen (and heard). Each apocalypse contains some expression of the tension between the corporeal status of the visionary and the ecstatic privilege which each is granted. Enoch and Enosh quake and shudder involuntarily, Shem falls prostrate¹⁷ until a voice from the throne-room "raised me (and) blew a breath of life into my nostrils, increasing my power and glory," and Seth and Adam are explicitly transformed into divine beings. Finally, two of the fragments stress the careful preservation and transmission of the revealed mysteries by exhorting the seers (Adam and Enosh) to take special pains in the preparation of their testimonia.

Perhaps the most significant point to note about these fragments is their close affinity to that genre of Jewish literature termed *Hekhalot* texts. As some have observed, these citations are replete with the *termini technici* of the *Hekhalot* tradition.¹⁸ Yet they also display clear connections with ancient Jewish apocalyptic traditions, particularly those wherein the seer is shown various heavenly mysteries, or is conducted about the heavens to view the inhabitants or contents of each supernal level. These fragments would seem to

supply some important textual evidence for an unbroken chain of tradition connecting Second Temple Jewish apocalyptic texts to the earliest *Hekhalot* literature, a linkage which was forcefully argued by the late G. Scholem in spite of a dearth of textual witnesses.¹⁹ Scholem postulated a continuous transmission and development of what has been termed "Merkavah mysticism" from the esoterically inclined learned circles of scribes considered responsible for the production of apocalyptic literature during the Second Temple era to the Amoraic and Geonic sages of Palestine and Babylonia, laying particular stress upon the presumed role of certain Tannaitic *hakhamim* in this process.²⁰ Significantly, however, Scholem also recognized that certain "subterranean" currents of transmission might explain the transit of these motifs, currents whose flow was "independent of, and often in isolation from, the schools and academies of the Talmudic teachers."²¹

Are *these* heretofore unattested fragments representative of one (or more) of Scholem's "subterranean connections"? Their arresting blend of elements from both the "older" apocalyptic tradition and the "later" *Hekhalot* corpus would seem to point in this direction. The utilization of these fragments in a Manichaean apologetic text presumably directed toward individuals or groups who would respect such testimonia indicates that there were audiences who would be affected by this sort of argument. Moreover, there is also further evidence that bolsters the probability that amalgams of apocalyptic and mystical strands of thought were produced and cherished by Jewish groups who stood outside of the traditional Tannaitic circles.

A particularly appropriate example of this sort of speculation is Elchasai, the reputed founder of the baptist sect among whom Mani was reared. To judge from the limited evidence concerning his teachings, Elchasai was a Jewish visionary who apparently lived during the early part of the second century CE and who claimed to be in possession of a "heavenly book."²² Short excerpts from this book survive in the hostile surveys of Elchasaite doctrine provided by Hippolytus and Epiphanius.²³ Despite its fragmentary state, the eschatological flavor of the book's message is clearly manifest. One prophecy contained therein predicted a final battle "among the wicked

angels of the north," an event apparently dependent upon the Gog and Magog tradition of Ezekiel 38-39.²⁴ Another passage of the work featured an encoded Aramaic testimonium to be recited during daily prayer that reads (when deciphered) "I (who? Elchasai? some heavenly advocate?) will bear witness on your behalf on the day of the great judgment."²⁵ As J.M. Baumgarten has perceptively pointed out, the expression "day of the great judgment" is a *leit-motif* of the Enochic apocalyptic library.²⁶

Yet in addition to this apocalyptic slant, there seems to be evidence that Elchasai and/or those responsible for producing his book were conversant with certain strands of Merkavah mysticism. Both Hippolytus and Epiphanius refer to Elchasai's report of a vision in which he beheld two divine beings of gargantuan proportions, boasting heights of 24 *schoinoi* (96 miles) and breadths of 6 *schoinoi* (24 miles). Long ago G. Alon suggested that the immense dimensions of the divine beings revealed to Elchasai were reminiscent of *Shi'ur Qomah* speculation.²⁷ More recently Baumgarten has resolved several problematic *crucis* in the Elchasaite material by demonstrating that they are most plausibly explained within the context of the practice of "heavenly ascent." For example, a cryptic reference in Elchasai's book to the illusory appearance of fire contrasted with the dependable sound of water alludes not, as previously thought, to a sectarian rejection of sacrificial cultus, but rather to "perils of the kind associated with the heavenly ascent" that are familiar from the *Hekhalot* tradition.²⁸ If Alon and Baumgarten are correct, it would appear that Elchasai (and presumably his sect) could be classed among the early representatives of the *yordey merkavah*.

The fact that Mani spent approximately twenty-one years among an Elchasaite group in southern Babylonia²⁹ suggests that apocalyptic and Merkavah traditions, presumably revered and transmitted within the sect,³⁰ could have been studied, expounded, and even practiced by this third-century religious founder. Is there any evidence that Mani engaged in such activities either during his Elchasaite sojourn or after his break with this baptist sect?

Mani's devotion to and promulgation of apocalyptic traditions has never been seriously doubted.³¹ Most of the prominent heresiological sources for the principles of Manichaeism devote some space to the description and refutation of its eschatological teachings. Authentic Manichaean writings prove that there was a considerable eschatological component to the religion's doctrines. The *Shābuhragān*, a work purportedly authored by Mani for the instruction of Shapur I, contained a lengthy recountal of apocalyptic prophecies presumably derived from Matthew 24-25.³² Mani apparently had some interest in the so-called *Oracles of Hystaspes*, a Parthian apocalypse which enjoyed wide popularity during the early centuries of the Common Era.³³ Even the skeletal structure of Mani's religion, often encapsulated as the teaching concerning "the Two Principles" (i.e., Light and Darkness) and "the Three Times" (i.e., past, present, and future),³⁴ underscores this eschatological orientation. In the words of A. Henrichs,

... he (Mani) had been sent to bring final salvation to every country and every person on earth. Once his mission was completed, the world would soon come to an end, the Last Judgment would divide the righteous from the sinners, and the original separation of Light and Darkness would be restored for all eternity.³⁵

Moreover, there is also evidence that Mani was an adept in the techniques of "heavenly ascent." While the angelophanies experienced by the young Mani are ambiguous with regard to their stimulation and setting,³⁶ it does seem possible that some of these visions and auditions involved transport to the Realm of Light. The sights and sounds need not necessarily be confined to an earthly locale. However, there are two clear instances in Manichaean tradition where Mani's practice of "heavenly ascent" is attested.³⁷

One excellent demonstration of Mani's mystical prowess occurs in a prose text that recounts a missionary journey to the region of Mesene.³⁸ This province was governed by Mihrshah, a brother of the Sasanian monarch Shapur I, and the text informs us that Mihrshah was exceedingly hostile to the new doctrine promulgated by Mani. This

same Mihrshah possessed a garden of extraordinary beauty in which he took especial delight, and Mani, perceiving an opportunity, resolved to seek an audience with the ruler. In the course of their conversation, Mihrshah scornfully asked Mani whether the "paradise" which the apostle preached contained any garden that could rival his own treasured park, and in response Mani conducted the astonished governor on a tour of the

miraculous wonders of the Paradise of Light with all (its) deities, divinities, and the immortal breath of life, and gardens of every type, and also the other magnificent sights which were there. He lay unconscious for three hours ... until the Apostle laid his hand on his head.³⁹

The text unfortunately breaks off shortly after this point. Since Manichaean historiography attributes Mani's subsequent friendly reception at the court of Shapur I to the sponsorship of a brother of the king,⁴⁰ we should probably conclude that Mihrshah was converted to the new faith.

Another piece of testimony concerning Mani's typical behavior among his disciples appears in the valuable description of Manichaeism that is provided by the eleventh-century polymath al-Bīrūnī. This passage reads as follows:

... that the king Shapur came to believe in him when he had ascended with him towards heaven, and they had been standing in the air between heaven and earth. Mani, thereby, made him witness a miracle. Besides, they relate that he sometimes used to rise to heaven from among his companions, to stay there for some days, and then to redescend to them.⁴¹

This passage attests not only another guided tour of the heavens, this time for the *shahanshah* himself, but also that "heavenly ascent" was habitually practiced by Mani, presumably for the purpose of instructing his disciples. "Ascension" thus seems to be an important motif shared by certain pre-Mosaic biblical forefathers, Elchasai, and Mani himself. The apocalyptic fragments quoted in the *CMC* are valued for precisely

that component of their contents.⁴² The ascension of each "author" provides the guarantee for the verity of their experiences, and of course concomitantly the writings that recount such experiences, and demonstrates furthermore that Mani should be numbered among these illustrious worthies.

But from whence do these apocalyptic fragments stem? Biblical tradition does feature occasional prophetic excursions to heaven — one thinks of Isaiah 6, Zechariah 3, and 1 Kings 22:19-22 — and speaks of two "permanent" ascensions, those of Enoch and Elijah.⁴³ Medieval rabbinic sources expand the list of those privileged "not to taste death,"⁴⁴ but earlier literature exhibits a general suspicion of such traditions, probably in reaction to the prominent role these play in apocryphal and pseudepigraphic texts.⁴⁵ Indeed, R. Abbaḥi disapprovingly chides certain "sectarians" (*minim*) who occupy themselves with the ascensions of Enoch and Elijah.⁴⁶ It is perhaps such groups of *minim* (among whom we might plausibly number the Elchasaites) who should be held responsible for the preservation and promulgation of works like those quoted in the *CMC*, as well as many of the other pseudepigraphic texts which have come down to us from the Second Temple period.

The "Apocalypse of Enoch" in the Cologne Mani Codex

As previously mentioned, the apocalyptic fragments cited in the *CMC* exhibit no great degree of textual correspondence with previously known works ascribed to Adam, Seth, Enosh, Enoch, or Shem.⁴⁷ This does not mean however that they are totally divorced from the extant literary traditions associated with each forefather.⁴⁸ While space does not permit a thorough analysis of each citation, some specific observations can be made about one of these fragments, the so-called "Apocalypse of Enoch."⁴⁹ The fragment reads as follows:

Moreover Enoch also speaks in a similar manner in his "Apocalypse": 'I am Enoch the righteous. My sorrow was great, and a torrent of tears (streamed) from my eyes because I heard the insult which the wicked uttered.' He says: 'While the tears were still in my eyes and the prayer

was yet on my lips, I beheld approaching me [seven] angels descending from heaven. [Upon seeing] them I was so moved by fear that my knees began knocking.' He says moreover: 'One of the angels, whose name was Michael, said to me: I was sent to you for this purpose -- in order that I might show you all the deeds and reveal to you the place (appointed) for the pious, and to show you the place (appointed) for the impious and what sort of place of punishment the lawless are experiencing.' He says also: 'They seated me upon a chariot of wind and brought me to the ends of the heavens. We traversed worlds -- the world of [dea]th, the world of [dar]kness, and the world of fire. And after these (worlds) they brought me into a world of extraordinary richness which was resplendently luminous, even more beautiful than the heavenly luminaries which I (also) beheld.' All these things he saw, and he questioned the angels, and that which they told him he recorded in his writings.⁵⁰

While it is true that this fragment finds no verbatim correspondence within the previously known Enochic works, the passage is nevertheless rife with allusions to motifs and events that figure in the extant narratives of *1* and *2 Enoch*. The actual text of the fragment begins with the statement "I am Enoch the righteous (δικαιος)." This epithet accorded Enoch is a stock feature of the extant Enochic literature, and in itself legitimates this fragment's status within the Enochic corpus.⁵¹ The singling out of Michael for special recognition recalls the similarly specified role that this archangel plays in the heavenly ascension of Enoch that is described in *1 Enoch* 71.⁵² The specific reference to a "chariot of wind" (ἄρματος ἀνέμου) as Enoch's mode of conveyance in the *CMC* fragment in fact possesses a direct parallel in *1 Enoch* 70:2, where Enoch is also raised to heaven through the agency of "chariots of wind."⁵³ The topography of the supernal regions traversed by Enoch -- a world of death, a world of darkness, a world of fire, and a world of bright richness -- would seem to reflect the divisions of Sheol viewed by Enoch in *1 Enoch* 22, which constructs a schema of three dark and tortuous places for sinners alongside another for the righteous which contains a "bright spring."⁵⁴ Credulity would be stretched to its extreme limit were one to ascribe

all of these correspondences, as well as the others identified above, mere chance.

It had of course been long suspected that Mani was an avid student of Enochic lore. Ever since the ground-breaking study of I. Beausobre, scholars have speculated that Mani may have relied upon one or more "books of Enoch" as a source for some of his distinctive ideas.⁵⁵ The important recovery and publication of Coptic and Middle Iranian Manichaean texts during the first half of the present century has dramatically confirmed the earlier suspicions. In a series of significant studies, W.B. Henning conclusively established that Mani had utilized Aramaic Enochic texts in the composition of several of his "scriptural" works.⁵⁶ Mani's prowess in Aramaic was hardly surprising given his nativity and the explicit traditions regarding the production of his books.⁵⁷ Further proof for Mani's dependence upon Jewish Enochic literature was supplied in 1971 by J.T. Milik. Milik successfully demonstrated that an Aramaic Enochic text discovered at Qumran was actually the *Vorlage* for one of Mani's canonical scriptures entitled the "Book of Giants."⁵⁸ In fact, it seems extremely likely that in addition to this "Book of Giants" other portions of what comprise the contemporary versions of what is now called *1 Enoch* were also studied and adapted by Mani. These include those sections conventionally designated "Astronomical Enoch" (*1 Enoch* 72-82),⁵⁹ the "Book of Watchers" (*1 Enoch* 1-36),⁶⁰ and the "Similitudes" (*1 Enoch* 37-71).⁶¹ In light of the above investigation, it would appear now that additional Enochic texts also exerted influence upon nascent Manichaeism.

One must conclude that the early Manichaean community, like its sectarian predecessors, had access to a larger corpus of Jewish pseudepigraphic, and particularly Enochic, literature than do modern scholars today. The broad dimensions of what, for instance, might be termed the "Enochic library" are already remarked in ancient literature; the Muslim scholar al-Ṭabarī speaks of "thirty scrolls" published by Enoch,⁶² whereas the text of Slavonic Enoch itself reports the production of an assuredly fantastic 360 works by the antediluvian sage.⁶³ A cursory survey of the many citations and allusions to

"books," "apocalypses," and "prophecies" of Enoch in Jewish, Christian, and even Muslim texts suggests that the relatively sober enumeration of al-Ṭabarī is by no means exaggerated.⁶⁴ Of course not all of these Enochic works need necessarily be traced back to Second Temple scribal circles. Christians and Muslims were perfectly capable of fabricating "new" Enochic books, as the aforementioned instance preserved in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian demonstrates.⁶⁵ However, the "Apocalypse of Enoch" quoted in the *CMC* does not seem to fall into this latter category of forgeries. Neither does it, nor for that matter, the remaining *CMC* citations from Jewish "apocalypses" betray any sign of Christian origin. Their affinities lie rather with the earlier Jewish pseudepigraphic and presumably contemporaneous mystical traditions.

2 *Enoch* and Manichaean Traditions

The Jewish pseudepigraphon popularly designated "Slavonic" or 2 *Enoch* is notable for its intense interest in cosmogonical and cosmological subjects, and foreshadows and/or parallels in several important respects the contents and concerns of *Hekhalot* and classical Gnostic cosmogonies. G. Scholem has called attention to several intriguing correspondences that link certain features of 2 *Enoch* with material found in later midrashic and early kabbalistic literature.⁶⁶ Recently M. Scopello has presented a compelling case for the textual dependence of the *Apocalypse of Zostrianos* upon 2 *Enoch*, the former work figuring among the non-Christian Gnostic documents found at Nag Hammadi.⁶⁷ It seems to the present writer that a plausible argument can also be made for Mani's possible reliance upon portions of this same Enochic composition.

The first of these possible connections involves the existence of a group of "heavenly prisoners." A very curious passage in 2 *Enoch* 4 reads as follows:

And those two men took me up into the second heaven ... and showed me the prisoners, under guard, of the immeasurable judgement; and there I saw angels that had

been condemned, weeping. And I said to the men who were with me, Why are these in torment? The men answered me, These are apostates from the Lord, who were not obedient to the Lord's commands, but took counsel with their own will ... And the angels bowed low to me and said, Man of God, we ask you that you would pray to the Lord for us.⁶⁸

This particular text obviously refers to the angelic insurrection that took place in the days of Jared, the father of Enoch.⁶⁹ The prisoners in this "second heaven" are in fact those Watchers who violated the divinely decreed barriers separating heaven and earth by taking human wives and fathering bastard offspring, the infamous Giants. Their identity as rebellious Watchers is further underscored by the petition they press upon Enoch: "Man of God, we ask you that you would pray to the Lord for us." This request is reminiscent of the language of 1 *Enoch* 13:4: "And they [i.e., the Watchers] asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness, and to take the record of their petition up to the Lord in heaven."⁷⁰ It seems clear that the narrative focus of both Enochic texts is identical.

However, the 2 *Enoch* passage is peculiar in that it places the prison for the incarcerated Watchers in heaven itself. This transcendent location contradicts the explicit testimonies of other works about where these rebellious Watchers are held; viz., beneath the earth.⁷¹ Moreover, a later passage in 2 *Enoch* is simultaneously cognizant of this latter tradition: "And I said to the Watchers, I have seen your brothers, and I have heard what they did; ... and I prayed for them. And behold, the Lord has condemned them below the earth until the heavens and the earth pass away ..."⁷² The reference in this text is surely to the imprisoned Watchers that Enoch had previously encountered in the second heaven. But here, while touring the "fifth heaven," the imprisoned Watchers are spoken of as being "beneath the earth"! As many have observed, there would seem to be some confusion in the recountal of this particular tradition.⁷³

The puzzling reference to angels incarcerated as "heavenly prisoners" in 2 *Enoch* 4 is quite intriguing. Interestingly, a similar

group of heavenly captives also figures in the cosmogonical and exegetical literature of Manichaeism.⁷⁴ According to Manichaean tradition, the divine evocation termed the "Great King of Honor" guards an unspecified number of captive archons from the Realm of Darkness.⁷⁵ These archons escaped the fate suffered by many of their brethren during the initial response of the Realm of Light to the assault of Darkness; that is to say, they were not slain or skinned during the creation of the physical cosmos.⁷⁶ Instead, they are held as prisoners in the heavens. Various terms are employed to describe the type of incarceration they endure, but most witnesses agree that they are somehow "fastened upon" or "suspended from" the firmament.⁷⁷ In addition to the prominent role these archons play in the creation of organic life upon earth, there exist some intriguing traditions about the role they play in human history.

Our most reliable accounts of Manichaean cosmogony relate that ten heavens⁷⁸ and eight earths were fabricated by those entities responsible for demiurgic activity. The five "sons" of the Living Spirit were assigned "watchposts" at various strategic points within this created cosmos.⁷⁹ Enthroned in the seventh heaven is the Great King of Honor,⁸⁰ wherein he keeps guard over the entire celestial structure, including the aforementioned bound archons, who are apparently affixed to the zodiacal firmament. At some point in history two hundred of these archons escaped their supernal prison and fled to earth.⁸¹ These fugitive archons proceeded to engender progeny termed "giants," to engage in assorted forms of lawless behavior, and to instruct humans in various types of esoteric knowledge. As a result of their activities, "rebellion and ruin came about on the earth"⁸² In order to repair the damage produced by this revolt, four archangels were dispatched to sequester the rebellious archons "beneath the mountains" and to destroy their monstrous children.⁸³

It seems abundantly clear that the archonic rebellion described in Manichaean tradition is identical with the fall of the Watchers recounted in Enochic sources, particularly that version provided by *1 Enoch* 6-16. Yet Mani did not simply incorporate this tale verbatim. Certain adjustments were required in order to bring the story in line

with emergent Manichaean doctrine. The earlier form of the tale presumes that evil spontaneously erupts in heaven -- divine being, originally good metamorphose into lust-crazed demons -- and the spreads to earth.⁸⁴ Such a metaphysic was foreign to Mani's understanding of the fundamental ontological distinction between Good and Evil. Good cannot possibly produce evil, nor can evil possess a rightful locale in heaven.⁸⁵ If, as the Enochic tale alleges, evil came to earth from heaven (and bearing in mind Enoch's status as an Apostle of Light in Manichaean teaching), then a neat solution for the apparent enigma is to identify the wicked Watchers of Enoch with captive archons from the Realm of Darkness who were imprisoned in heaven by agents of the Realm of Light.⁸⁶ Such an interpretive strategy receives textual warrant only through *2 Enoch* 4. It thus seems highly likely that Mani was cognizant of at least this peculiar tradition, and moreover utilized its testimony in adapting the Enochic tale of the "descent of the Watchers" to its new Manichaean setting. Furthermore, Mani could simultaneously incorporate the traditional motif of the Watchers' incarceration "beneath the earth" by referring it to a later point in the "historical" narrative; viz., the archangelic cleansing of the despoiled earth immediately prior to the Flood. Enochic integrity is thereby cleverly preserved.

Another intriguing correlation between material found in Slavonic Enoch and Manichaean traditions involves the motif of "heavenly paradise" that features a supernal Tree of Life. In *2 Enoch* we read the following account:

And the men took me from there and led me up to the third heaven, and set me in the midst of Paradise. And that place is more beautiful than anything there is to see -- all trees in full bloom, all fruit ripe, every kind of food always in abundance, every breeze fragrant ... the whole garden is good, producing what is good to eat. And the tree of life is in that place, where the Lord rests, when he goes to Paradise; and that tree is indescribable for the quality of its fragrance ... And every tree is laden with good fruit: there is no tree there without fruit; and the whole place is blessed.⁸⁷

Furthermore, note well the additional qualifiers supplied in *2 Enoch* 13:27: "And from there I went up into the Paradise of the righteous; and I saw there a blessed place, and every creature is blessed, and all live in joy and gladness, and in measureless light, and in eternal life."

These remarkable passages merit comparison with some valuable fragments of Manichaean cosmology preserved within a sixth-century homily of the Monophysite patriarch Severus of Antioch.⁸⁸ Severus informs us that he is quoting from Manichaean scripture — unfortunately we do not know which specific work he has used, despite some ingenious attempts to deduce its identity. In these citations, the expression "Tree of Life" functions as an alternate designation for the *summum bonum* of Manichaean cosmology: the Realm of Light. A symmetrical parallel to this usage is the expression "Tree of Death," which Mani or one of his disciples employed to designate the evil Realm of Darkness.⁸⁹ Therein we read:

They say: That which is Good, also named Light and the Tree of Life, possesses those regions which lie to the east, west, and north; for those (regions) which lie to the south and to the meridian belong to the Tree of Death ...⁹⁰

Likewise does the Tree of Life exist, which is there adorned with every sort of pleasing and lovely, beautiful thing. It is filled and covered with all sorts of good things ... its fruits cover it, and majesty belongs to it.⁹¹

In the Realm of Light there is no burning fire which could be discharged against that which is evil. There is neither an iron (weapon) for cutting, nor overwhelming waters, nor any other evil substance like those. Instead, all is Light and (every) place is noble.⁹²

The Tree of Death is divided into many (parts); war and bitterness characterize them ... good fruits are never upon them ... all of them form rottenness for the corruption of their place.⁹³

[The members of the Realm of Darkness] provoked and stirred each other up until they came unto the boundaries of the glorious land of Light. When they beheld that marvelous and surpassingly beautiful sight, they gathered together ... and plotted against the Light regarding how they could mix themselves with it. Due to (their) frenzy, they were unaware that the powerful and mighty God dwelt in it (the region of Light).⁹⁴

One cannot fail to note a host of interesting overlaps between these two distinct textual traditions. Of fundamental significance is the fact that *2 Enoch* and Manichaean tradition share the concept of heavenly Tree of Life. R.H. Charles states that the fourth-century Christian heresiologist Epiphanius denounced the idea of a heavenly Tree of Life as a specifically Manichaean heresy,⁹⁵ although it is unclear (at least to this writer) which specific passage of Epiphanius is being referenced. Perhaps Charles is thinking of those several sections wherein the gospel parable of the "good" and "worthless" trees and their respective fruit-producing capacities are given a Manichaean interpretation. To judge from our extant textual evidence, it is this parabolic imagery (i.e., good/worthless) that eventually generates the Tree of Life/Tree of Death symmetry.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, notwithstanding Charles, allusions to or even elaborate descriptions of a celestial garden/eden appear in a variety of sources,⁹⁷ and some of them incorporate the motif of a heavenly Tree of Life.

Other intriguing correspondences between the Enochic and Manichaean texts can also be observed. One notes, for example, that both the Enochic Paradise and its Manichaean counterpart feature the quality of luminosity. This is not an attribute that emerges naturally from a cursory study of the Eden narrative of Genesis 2-3, but it is certainly intelligible given the supernal locale of this Paradise in both traditions.⁹⁸ Both realms are explicitly described as "beautiful" and filled with "delectable fruits." The Enochic Tree possesses an indescribably pleasant fragrance that permeates the garden.⁹⁹ While an allusion to the aroma of the Tree of Life is lacking in the Severan Manichaean fragments, we might infer its pleasing odor from the negative evidence pertaining to the Tree of Death, where "rottenness" and "corruption" rule. *2 Enoch* also explicitly states that "the whole garden is good," a theme which positively invites textual comparison with that Manichaean fragment that reads "that which is good, also named Light and the Tree of Life ..."

But perhaps the most interesting overlap of all concerns the close connection between God himself and the Tree of Life. Note again the language of our sources. *2 Enoch* 5:4 says: "And the tree of

life is in that place, where the Lord rests, when he goes to Paradise" Manichaean tradition *apud* Severus states: "they (the denizens of the Realm of Darkness) were unaware that the powerful and mighty God dwelt in it (the realm of the Tree of Life)." In other words, there is a conception common to both traditions that the Tree of Life serves as either a temporary or permanent domicile for God. Parallels for this idea are not difficult to find in Jewish tradition.

The point of origin is apparently *1 Enoch* 25:2-5:

Then I, Enoch, answered him (i.e., Michael), saying, I wish to learn about everything, but especially about this tree. And he answered me, saying, This high mountain which you saw, whose summit is like the throne of the Lord, is the throne where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit when he comes down to visit the earth for good. And this beautiful fragrant tree ... will be given to the righteous and humble. Its fruit will be to the chosen as food that grants life¹⁰⁰

A linkage is thus established between the location of the Tree of Life and eschatological judgment. The motif is developed further in the so-called *Apocalypse of Moses*:

And in that same hour, we [Adam and Eve] heard the archangel Michael blowing with his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying: Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise and hear the judgement with which I shall judge Adam. And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praise, all the plants of paradise ... broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.¹⁰¹

The intriguing nexus of the Tree of Life and divine judgment may even serve to illuminate a curious aggadic tradition found in *Sefer ha-Bahir* which places the Tree of Life by the waters of Marah during the Israelites' wilderness journey (Ex 15:23-25).¹⁰² At this location, according to this tradition, Satan sought to demoralize the Israelites by providing a graphic description of the hardships awaiting them in the desert – the bitter waters of Marah were but a foretaste of

worse to come. Moses however successfully intervenes: he renders the bitter waters potable by tossing a branch from the Tree of Life into them, and God proceeds to pronounce "a decree and judgment" upon Satan.¹⁰³ Here again we discover a textual juxtaposition of the Tree of Life and divine judgment, suggested perhaps by traditions analogous to those just outlined.¹⁰⁴

Therefore it seems possible that Slavonic Enoch, or at least an earlier version thereof, may have been available to Mani and/or his early disciples and exploited as source material for the development of certain Manichaean teachings. The overlaps identified above point in this direction, and this hypothesis gains strength from the aforementioned studies of Scholern and Scopello which demonstrate the influence of *2 Enoch* upon later Jewish and Gnostic literary texts. That Mani was an avid student of Enochic lore is hardly surprising given Enoch's status as an authentic representative of the heavenly Apostle of Light and the frequent quotations from and allusions to Enochic traditions in extant Manichaean literature. It thus seems plausible to conclude that *2 Enoch* has indeed influenced certain traditions found in Manichaeism.

¹ Titus Bostrensis, *Titi Bostreni contra manichaeos libri quatuor syriace* (ed. P.A. de Lagarde; Berlin: C. Schultze, 1859) 129: $\text{ܡܠܟܐܘܬܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ}$; Syriac text also cited by K. Kessler, *Mani: Forschungen über die manichäische Religion* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1889) 302. Note also the testimony of Ephrem: $\text{ܐܢܝܢ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ}$ "for just as the Jews revile the New Testament, they (the Manichaeans) revile our Old Testament." Text cited from *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan* (2 vols.; ed. C.W. Mitchell; London: Williams and Norgate, 1912) 21) 1.43 lines 40-44. See also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.31.2 (GCS 37; ed. K. Holl Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1933) 69.

² The Jewish background of classical Gnostic thought (as represented for example in the Nag Hammadi corpus) hardly requires detailed demonstration. A comprehensive overview of this issue is provided by B.A. Pearson, "Jewish Sources in Gnostic Literature," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M.E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984) 443-81. For Mandaeism, see especially I. Scheftelowitz, "Die mandäische Religion und das Judentum," *MGWJ* 73 (1929) 211-32; K. Rudolph, "A History of the Development of the Mandaean Religion," *HR* 8 (1969) 210-35.

- ³ G.A.G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (Leiden: Brill, 1984) 145-67; J. Tubach, "Spuren des astronomischen Henochbuches bei den Manichäern Mittelasiens," *Nubia et Oriens Christianus: Festschrift für C. Detlef G. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. P.O. Scholz and R. Stempel; Köln: J. Dinter, 1988) 73-95; J.C. Reeves, "An Enochic Motif in Manichaean Tradition," *Manichaica Selecta: Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen; Louvain: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991) 295-98; idem, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992). Note the unintentional support given this perception by I.P. Couliano: "... 'mitigated' gnostics saw in the biblical Genesis a Manichaean text (*avant la lettre*, of course), and they would have condemned Manichaeism, as strange as this might sound, as a Judaic heresy." Quote cited from Couliano, *The Tree of Gnosis: Gnostic Mythology from Early Christianity to Modern Nihilism* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992) 94.
- ⁴ For example, see the Manichaean rendition of Adam and Eve's sojourn and adventures in the Garden related by ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist*. The Arabic text is provided by G. Flügel, *Mani: seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (reprinted, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1969) 58-61; translations in *ibid.*, 90-93; B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm* (2 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1970) 2.783-86. B.A. Pearson discusses this pericope in his "The Figure of Seth in Manichaean Literature," *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism* (ed. P. Bryder; Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988) 148-50; see also Stroumsa, *Another Seed* 149-52.
- ⁵ C. Schmidt and H.J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," *SPAW* (1933) 4-90; M. Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960) ix-xxi; W. Sundermann, "Recent Work on Iranian Turfan Texts," *Iran: From Monarchy to Republic* (ed. G. Barthel; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983) 136-44; idem, "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer I," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13 (1986) 42-45; A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (= *ZPE*) 5 (1970) 97-217.
- ⁶ An exhaustive accounting of the evidence can be found in H.-C. Puech, *Le manichéisme: son fondateur - sa doctrine* (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1949) 61-62 and esp. p. 144 n.241. See also M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1981) 20-24. Since the name of Abraham appears only once in these rosters (that provided by al-Shahrastānī), his status as an authentic link in the succession of prophets has been questioned. See W.B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch," *SPAW* (1934) 27 n.4; Tardieu, *Le manichéisme* 24.
- ⁷ Cf. *Kephalaia* 13.30-32: "Zu dieser selben Zeit wiederum in der letzten Kirche ein Gerechter (und) Wahrhaftiger, der zum 'Reich' gehörte, erschien; er traf zusammen mit ... sie operierten (?) die Kirche unseres Herrn gemäss ...". Candidates for these apostles are Marcion, Bardaisan, and Elchasai. See A. Henrichs, "Mani and the Babylonian Baptists: A Historical Confrontation," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77 (1973) 53 n.111; A. Henrichs and L.

Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 189.

⁸ See Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 4 n.4.

⁹ M 5794: *dwdyg kw dyn 'y pyšyn 'ndwm d's s'r'r'n p'q'n 'ndr bwd hynd ... 'w c'wn s'r'r'n 'hr'ft hynd 'ygyš'n dyn whwryd 'wd pd 'ndrz 'wd qyrđg'n swst bw hynd* "Second, as long as there were pure leaders in the earlier religion(s) (the adhered to the teachings), but when such leaders had ascended (i.e., to the Realm of Light), then their religion(s) became confused, and they (i.e., the founded communities) became lax (with regard to) commandments and actions." Te: cited from M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 29-30; see also F.C. Andreas and W.B. Henning; "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II," *SPAW* (1933) 29. Compare also *Kephalaia* 6.18-9.10; Eriphanus, *Panarion* 66.30.1 (quoting from *Acta Archelai*): *περὶ δὲ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν προφητῶν οὕτως λέγει πνεύματα εἶνε ἀσεβείας ἧτι ἀνομίας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεληθόντος, καὶ δι τούτων πλανηθέντες <ἐν ἀληθείᾳ> οὐκ ἐλάλησαν. ἐτύφλωσεν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄρχον <ἐκεῖνος> τὴν δianoian.*

¹⁰ Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 97-217; idem, "... Edition der Seiten 1-72 *ZPE* 19 (1975) 1-85; idem, "... Edition der Seiten 72,8-99,9," *ZPE* 32 (1978) 8; 199; idem, "... Edition der Seiten 99,10-120," *ZPE* 44 (1981) 201-318; idem, "... Edition der Seiten 121-192," *ZPE* 48 (1982) 1-59; L. Koenen and C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Abbildungen und diplomatischer Text* (Bonn: Habel 1985); idem, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Kritische Edition* (Opladen Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988).

¹¹ *CMC* 47.1-48.15: ὁ γὰρ τοι βουλόμενος ἀκούετω καὶ προσεχέτω ὡς εἶ ἕκαστος τῶν προγενεστέρων πατέρων τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐδείξεν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκλογῆς, ἣν ἐξελέξατο καὶ συνήγαγεν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν γενεάν καὶ ἣν ἐφάνη, καὶ γράψας κατέλειπεν τοῖς μεταγενεστοτέροις. καὶ ὁ μὲν περ ἀρπαγῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδήλωσεν, οἱ δὲ ἔξω ὠμίλησαν ... γράψαι καὶ ἀποδείξαι μετέπειτα καὶ ἐγκωμιάσαι καὶ μεγαλῦναι τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς. οὕτω τοῖνυν εἰ ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν περίοδον καὶ περιφορὰν τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐθεώρησεν εἶπεν καὶ γέγραπεν πρὸς ὑπομνηματισμὸν ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αὐτοῦ. For the importance of this passage, see especially M. Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (ed. J.J. Collins and J.H. Charlesworth; Sheffield Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 79-80.

¹² Adam (48.16-50.7), Sethel (50.8-52.7), Enosh (52.8-55.9), Shem (55.10-58.5) and Enoch (58.6-60.7).

¹³ Gal 1:1 (60.18-23), 2 Cor 12:1-5 (61.2-14), Gal 1:11-12 (61.16-22).

¹⁴ Mani's "Epistle to Edessa" (64.8-65.22), Mani's "Gospel" (66.4-68.5; 68.6-69.8 69.9-70.10).

¹⁵ *Contra* J. Maier, "Zum Problem der jüdischen Gemeinden Mesopotamiens im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. im Blick auf den CMC," *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis Acti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3-7 settembre 1984)* (ed. L. Cirillo and A. Roselli; Cosenza: Marra Editore, 1986) 54.

¹⁶ "I am Balsamos (Βάλσαμος), the greatest angel of Light" (*CMC* 49.3-5). Or

the interpretation of this name, see especially B.A. Pearson, "The Problem of 'Jewish Gnostic' Literature," *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* (ed. C.W. Hedrick and R. Hodgson, Jr.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986) 28 n.77, wherein Balsamos is equated with the Phoenician deity Baal Shamem "lord of Heaven". Support for Pearson's identification appears in *PGM* IV.1020 (perhaps also XII.495): ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ πεφυκὼς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὄνομά μοι Βαλσαμῆς, and see Preisendanz's note *ad loc.* A. Christensen (*L'tran sous les Sassanides* [Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1936] 186) refers to a "Syrian angel" named Bar-Simus; compare the Manichaean angel-list M 20: *xwd'y br symws* "the lord Bar Simus" (text *apud* Boyce, *Reader* 192) and W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981) 148-49 s.v. 'bwr's'm. Henceforth this work will be cited as Sundermann, *KG*. The most intriguing explanation has been offered by B. Visotzky. He suggests that Balsamos may correspond to Hebrew בעל שם "possessor of the Name," making Balsamos thus equivalent to the so-called "lesser Yahweh" (Syriac ܒܥܠ ܫܡܝܢ; cf. J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* [Paris: Société d'éditions "Les belles lettres", 1938] 2.115) or Metatron. See Visotzky, "Rabbinic Randglossen to the Cologne Mani Codex," *ZPE* 52 (1983) 298.

¹⁷ Or dead? Shem collapses upon beholding the throne-room (καθιστήριον) and its occupants. Then "a voice (ὁ κὺρ ?) called to me from the throne-room. Coming to me, it grasped my right hand and raised me (μοι ... ἀνέστησεν!). It blew the breath of life into my nostrils, adding to my power and glory" (*CMC* 57.12-19). There is a clear echo here of Gen 2:7, wherein God animates the carcass of Adam via the "breath of life."

¹⁸ Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 57 n.97; I. Gruenwald, "Manichaeism and Judaism in Light of the Cologne Mani Codex," *ZPE* 50 (1983) 29-45; Visotzky, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 295-300.

¹⁹ G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (reprinted, New York: Schocken, 1961) 40-79; idem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974) 10-22; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 18-35.

²⁰ See I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 73-97; C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982) 269-348; P.S. Alexander, "Appendix: 3 Enoch," in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-87) 3/1.273-74; idem, "Comparing Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism: An Essay in Method," *JJS* 35 (1984) 10-11; M. Himmelfarb, "Heavenly Ascent and the Relationship of the Apocalypses and the Hekhalot Literature," *HUCA* 59 (1988) 73-77. Scholem's evolutionary scheme has been forcefully challenged by D.J. Halperin. See especially his *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1988) 5-9, 63-114, and *passim*.

²¹ Scholem, *Major Trends* 42; Himmelfarb, *HUCA* 59 (1988) 76 n.14.

²² W. Brandt, *Elchasai: ein Religionsstifter und sein Werk* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1912); G. Strecker, "Elkesai," *RAC* 4.1171-86; K. Rudolph, *Antike Baptisten: zu den Überlieferungen über frühjüdische und -christliche*

Taufsekten (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981) 13-17; G.P. Luttikhuisen, *7 Revelation of Elchasai* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1985).

²³ Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 9.13-17; 10.29; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 19 and 53. See A.F.J. Klijn and G.J. Reinink, *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 54-67, 114-23, 154-61, 194-97.

²⁴ Hippolytus, *Ref.* 9.16.4. Cf. Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 178 n.24.

²⁵ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 19.4.3. The solution to this puzzle was supplied by M. Levy, "Bemerkungen zu den arabischen Analekten des Herrn Prof. Hitzl" *ZDMG* 12 (1858) 712; cf. H. Gressmann, "Jüdisch-Aramäisches bei Epiphanius" *ZNW* 16 (1915) 191.

²⁶ J.M. Baumgarten, "The Book of Elkesai and Merkabah Mysticism," *JSJ* (1986) 219-20.

²⁷ G. Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age* (reprint Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989) 301. I am grateful to Profess Baumgarten for bringing Alon's remarks to my attention.

²⁸ Baumgarten, *JSJ* 17 (1986) 212-23. The quotation comes from page 216.

²⁹ Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 119, based on the testimony of *CMC* 11.5; 12.6-11; 73.5-11.

³⁰ Cf. nn.24-25 *supra*. Note also the eschatological oracle preserved in *CM* 86.17-87.6, regarding which see Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 152-61; J. Reeves, "The 'Elchasaite' Sanhedrin of the Cologne Mani Codex in Light of Second Temple Jewish Sectarian Sources," *JJS* 42 (1991) 88-91.

³¹ See especially L. Koenen, "Manichaean Apocalypticism at the Crossroads: Iranian, Egyptian, Jewish and Christian Thought," *CMC: Atti* (cf. n.15 *supra*) 285-332.

³² D.N. MacKenzie, "Mani's Šābuhragān," *BSOAS* 42 (1979) 500-34; 43 (1980) 288-310; Sundermann, *KG* 91-98. See now M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonisch Šābuhragān-Texte: Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtlich Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M 98199 I und I 7980-7984* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992).

³³ According to the *Fihrist* of ibn al-Nadīm, the second chapter of Mani "Book of Mysteries" featured an exegesis of this apocalypse. See Flügel, *Mani* 72 line 12 (text), 102 (translation), and my study "An Enochic Citation in Barnabas 4:3 and the Oracles of Hystaspes," *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. J. Kampen and J.C. Reeves; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, forthcoming).

³⁴ "Le déroulement du mythe se scindera donc selon trois phases: un moment antérieur ou passé, où il y avait disjonction. dualité parfaite des deux substance: un moment médian ou présent, où s'est produit et dure le mélange; un moment postérieur, futur ou final, où la division primordiale sera rétablie. Adhérer à Manichéisme n'est pas autre chose que professer cette double doctrine des Deux Principes et des Trois Temps ou des Trois Moments." (Puech, *Le manichéisme* 74). For references to those texts that describe "cette double doctrine", see *ibid* 157-59 n.284.

³⁵ A. Henrichs, "The Timing of Supernatural Events in the Cologne Mani Codex," *CMC: Atti* (cf. n.15 *supra*) 187-88.

³⁶ *CMC* 3.7-12; 4.7-12; 12.1-6; 13.2-14; 17.8-16; 18.10-17; 20.7-17; 23.1-24.15

26.7-15; 32.3-33.6; 34.1-9; 43.1-11; 64.8-65.22; 67.7-11; 104.10-105.21; 118.8-120.16; 124.1-15; 126.2-129.17; 133.4-134.10; 135.6-136.16; 153.1ff.; 156.5ff. See I. Gruenwald, "Prophecy, Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and the Problem of Uncanonical Books," in idem, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988) 19-20 n.10.

³⁷ One should also note the evidence of the premonitory dream of the mother of Mani as reported by ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* account of Manichaeism. According to this source, Mani's mother "while pregnant with Mani ... experienced a beautiful dream. She watched with rapt attention (as) a certain entity seized him and ascended with him into the air. There he arrived with him and ... remained one or two days, and then returned." The text of this *Fihrist* citation can be found in Flügel, *Mani* 50 lines 5-8.

³⁸ M 47. See Boyce, *Reader* 37-38; Sundermann, *KG* 102-103.

³⁹ 'dy'n pd wrc nm'd whyšt rwsn 'd hrwyn bg'n yzd'n 'wd w'd 'nwsğ cy jywhr 'wd bwdyst'n wysp zng 'wd 'nyc gw'nyg dydn cy 'wwd hmpd 'by 'ws kft yd 'w hry jm'n ... 'dy'n fryštğ dst pd sr 'wyst'd. Text cited from Boyce, *Reader* 38.

⁴⁰ Identified as Peroz, brother of Shapur b. Ardashir. See al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (apud Flügel, *Mani* 52 line 2 [text]); S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (2d ed.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992) 76.

⁴¹ al-Bīrūnī, *al-Athār al-bāqiya 'anī'l-qurūn al-khāliya* (cf. *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albērūnī* [ed. C.E. Sachau; Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1878] 209 lines 5-7). Translation is that of C.E. Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London: William H. Allen & Co., 1879) 191.

⁴² See Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture" (n.11 *supra*) 81, although she underestimates the importance of the ascent-motif for Mani and nascent Manichaeism. Note especially *CMC* 71.6-72.4: τούτου δὲ χάριν ἔδευτερώσαμεν ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶ[ν] πατέρων τὴν τε ἀραγήν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ... διηγήσασθαι γὰρ ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν ἠρπάζετο, [ἀπερ] ἔθεώρει καὶ ἤκουε [ταῦτα πάντα] ἔγραφε καὶ ὑπεδείκνυεν καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ [τῆς] ἀποκαλύψεως μάρτυς ἐγένετο "For this reason we (the compilers of *CMC*) have transmitted the ascension and the revelation of our forefathers ... for when each of them had ascended, [all those things which he sa]w and heard he recorded and revealed, and he himself bore witness to his revelation." Compare *Jub.* 4:19: "And what was and what will be he (Enoch) saw in a vision in his sleep ... and he wrote his testimony and left it as a testimony on earth for all the sons of men for every generation." Translation is that of R.H. Charles and C. Rabin, "Jubilees," *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. H.F.D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) 23. J.R. Russell perceptively recognizes the significance of "heavenly ascent" in Manichaean tradition, although he apparently presumes that this motif is wholly derived from Zoroastrian tradition such as that found in the *Ardā Virāz Nāmag*. See his "Kartīr and Mānī: A Shamanistic Model of Their Conflict," *Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater* (Leiden: Brill, 1990) 180-93.

⁴³ *Gen.* 5:24; 2 *Kgs.* 2:11. "Permanent" in the sense that they did not return to earth again, although such a possibility in the future is not precluded. See *Mal.* 3:23-24; *m. 'Ed.* 8:7. The eventual return of such worthies to earth forms the conceptual background for doctrines like the *parousia* of Jesus, the "true

prophet" succession of the Ebionites, and the "apostle of Light" cycle of Manichaeism. Note too that according to Manichaean tradition, Mani did not "die." Rather, he was "removed" (*à la* Enoch) from earth to return to the Paradise of Light. The language used is identical to that employed in the traditions about Enoch. See Flügel, *Mani* 66 lines 9-10; Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 139 n.109.

⁴⁴ E.g., *Der. Er. Zut. pereq 1* end: וְנִכְסוּ בְחַיִּיהֶם כַּגֵּן עֵדֶן וְאֵלוֹ הֵן תְּנוּךְ בֶּן יִרְדּוּ וְאֵלֵיהוּ "Nine entered Paradise alive, and they are: Enoch b. Yared, Elijah, Messiah, Eliezer servant of Abraham Hiram king of Tyre, Ebedmelek the Cushite, Yabez b. R. Judah ha-Nasi, Bityal daughter of Pharaoh, and Serah daughter of Asher. Some say also R. Joshua b. Levi." For additional references to such lists and a comprehensive discussion of the issue, see especially L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909-38) 5.95-96.

⁴⁵ *Tg. Onq. Gen.* 5:24; *Gen. Rab.* 25 (cf. *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* [3 vols.; ed. J. Theodor and H. Albeck; reprinted, Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1965] 1.238-39; *b. Sukk.* 5a (referring to Moses and Elijah); *Sifre Deut.* §357 (ed. Finkelstein, 428 and *b. Soṭa* 13b (referring to Moses). Halperin (*Faces* 304-305) calls attention to the importance of *Ps.* 68:18-19 and its later interpretations for traditions about the ascension of Moses. *Wis.* 4:10-14 certainly refers to Enoch, but is hardly complimentary of his fortitude. On the negative attitude of the Sages to Enoch see Ginzberg, *Legends* 5.156-57. An intriguing exception to this tendency occurs in *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* within a passage that celebrates God's special favoritism for the number seven. We read therein: בְּרִוּוֹת הַשְּׁבִיעִי חֵבִיב אֵדָם שֵׁחַ אֲנֹשׁ קוֹנֵן מֵהַלָּל יִרְדּוּ חֲנוּךְ וְחַהֲלֵךְ חֲנוּךְ אַחַת הָאֱלֹהִים כְּאֲבוֹת הַשְּׁבִיעִי חֵבִיב אֲבֹרָה יִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב לֹי כִּהְיָה עֹמֵר מִשָּׁה וְמִשָּׁה עֵלָה אֶל הָאֱלֹהִים "Of the (antediluvian) forefathers the seventh was beloved: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Yared, Enoch 'and Enoch walked with God' (*Gen.* 5:24). Of the patriarchs the seventh was beloved: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Qahat, Amram, Moses 'and Moses ascended to God' (*Ex.* 19:3)". This juxtaposition of Enoch and Moses with its explicit reference to an "ascension" of Moses is quite suggestive. The passage is cited from S. Buber, *Pesiqta Ide Rav Kahana* (reprinted, n.p., n.d.) *pisqa* 23, 155a.

⁴⁶ *Gen. Rab.* 25.1: הַמִּינִים שָׂאָלוּ אֶחָד רַבִּי אֲבָהוּ אֲמַר לֹו אֵין אַנְו מְצִאִים מִיחָה לְחֲנוּךְ אֲמַר לֵהֶם: לֵמָּה אֲמַר לֹו אֲמַר כֵּן לִקְיָה וְנֹאמַר כֵּן לִקְיָה אֲמַר לֵהֶם אִם לִקְיָה אֲחַס דְּרוּשִׁים נֹאמַר כֵּן לֵמָּה אֲמַר לֹו אֲמַר כֵּן לִקְיָה וְנֹאמַר כֵּן לִקְיָה אֲמַר לֵהֶם לֹוּק אֲתָ מַחְמַר וְגו' " (Once) the *minim* challenged R. Abbahu, saying to him: We do not find death ascribed to Enoch. He said: Why (do you conclude this)? They responded: Here (*Gen.* 5:24) the expression "taken" is used, and the same expression "taken" is also used in (the story of) Elijah (2 *Kgs.* 2:11). He answered: If your interpretation hinges on the expression "taken," (what about this)? Here (*Gen.* 5:24) the expression "taken" is used, and in (the story of) Ezekiel it is used: 'I am taking away the delight of your eyes ... (*Ezek.* 24:16)." The Ezekiel verse refers to the death of the wife of the prophet. Passage is cited from Theodor-Albeck 238-39. For a similar "heretical" (probably Manichaean) juxtaposition of the ascensions of Enoch and Elijah, compare Ephrem, *Hymnus XIX* 4 1-2 in *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra Haereses* (2 vols.; ed. E. Beck; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1957) 1.68.

47 A "book of Adam" was known to the Sages; cf. *b. 'Abod. Zar. 5a*; *b. B. Mes. 85b-86a*. A "book of Adam" (presumably a magical treatise) is condemned by the ninth-century Karaite Daniel al-Qumisi; see J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1931-35) 2.76 line 2, 79 line 5, 81 lines 1-2; 82 line 1; and Seholem, *Origins* (cf. n.19 *supra*) 106-107. For a "book of Shem," see "Sefer Noah," *Bet ha-Midrash* (= *BHM*) (6 vols.; ed. A. Jellinek; reprinted, Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrman, 1938) 3.155 lines 1-3. The ninth-century Karaite Salmon b. Jeroham also cites a "book of Shem" (see *BHM* 2.xxx). Mani's disciples quote from a "Prayer of Sethel" (*Kephalaia* 42.25-32). The fragments attributed to Adam, Seth, and Shem in the *CMC* do not apparently belong to the similarly ascribed works found in the Nag Hammadi corpus. Cf. K. Rudolph, "Mani und die Gnosis," *Manichaean Studies* (cf. n.4 *supra*) 194. M. Philonenko has proposed *I Enoch* 90:41 as the locus for the Enochic fragment ("Une citation manichéenne du livre d'Enoch," *RHPR* 52 [1972] 337-40), but the correspondence is, as Henrichs and Koenen (*ZPE* 19 [1975] 58 n.105) have already recognized, remote.

48 B.A. Pearson has called attention to the similarity of *CMC* 50.1-4 ("and he [i.e., Adam] became greater than all the powers and angels of the created order") to *Apoc. Adam* (NHC V 5) 64.14-19: "and we resembled the great eternal angels, for we were higher than the God who had created us and the powers with him ..."; see his "Jewish Sources" (n.2 *supra*) 451. The quotation from *Apoc. Adam* is cited from *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (ed. J.M. Robinson; reprinted, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981) 257. For traditions about the ascension of Seth, see Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 19.3; Syncellus, *Chronographia* (*Georgii Syncelli Eclage Chronographica* [ed. A.A. Mosshammer; Leipzig: Teubner, 1984] 9): "in Adam's 270th year Seth, snatched up by angels, was taught ..."; translation cited from Stroumsa, *Another Seed* 109. Pearson ("Seth in Manichaean Literature" 153) notes also Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40.7.1-2, wherein the Archontic Gnostics speak of an ascent of Seth-Allogenes. With regard to Enosh, compare the tradition reported by Moses of Chorene in his *History of the Armenians* (which is therein ascribed to Josephus) that two inscriptions containing revealed knowledge were erected by either Seth or Enosh (cf. Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians* [ed. R.W. Thomson; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978] 71). While the Armenian text is ambiguous (note also Josephus, *Ant.* 1.69-71), Thomson's introduction to his English edition assumes that the reference is to Enosh (p. 26). The revelatory role of Shem is presumably dependent upon the agadic identification of Shem with Melchizedek.

49 A reference to an "apocalypse of Enoch" (ܡܘܨܗܘܬܐ ܕܥܢܘܚ) appears in the twelfth-century universal history of Michael the Syrian, wherein we read that Cyriacus of Segestan and Bar Salta of Resh'ayna "composed a book of lies and named it 'revelation of Enoch' ...", but the work seems to be political propaganda directed toward the last Umayyad caliph, Marwan II. See *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche, 1166-1199* (4 vols.; ed. J.-B. Chabot; reprinted, Bruxelles: Culture et civilisation, 1963) 4.465 (text). Note D. Bundy, "Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Literature," *SBL 1991 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 751; see also J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic*

Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 116.

50 *CMC* 58.6-60.7: πάλιν καὶ ὁ Ἐνώχ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔφη ἐν τῇ αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύψει· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἐνώχ ὁ δίκαιος, λύπη μοί ἐστιν μεγάλη καὶ χύσι δακρύων ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου διὰ τὸ ἀκηκοέναι με τὸν ὄνειδισμὸν τὸ προελθόντα ἐκ στόματος τῶν ἀσεβῶν. ἔλεγεν δὲ [ὅ]τι τῶν δακρύων ἐν [τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου ὄντων] καὶ δεήσεως ἐν τῷ [στόματι θεώρησα ἐπιστάτας μοι ἀγγέλους ἐπτά ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατερχομένους. ἰδὼν δὲ] αὐτὸ ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὥστε τὰ γόνата μου ἀλλήλοις προσεράσσειν. καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν οὕτως· ἔφη μοι εἰς τῶν ἀγγέλων Μιχαὴλ τὸννομα· τούτου χάριν πρὸς σὲ ἀποστάλην ἵνα ὑποδείξωμέν σοι τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον καὶ χώρον σο δείξω τὸν τῶ[ν] δυσσεβῶν καὶ ὁποῖος τυγχάνει ὁ τῆς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀνόμων τόπος. φησὶ δὲ πάλιν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι[ι] ἐπεκάθισάν με ἐπὶ ἀ[σ]τρατοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ [ἰς] τὰ πέρατα τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνήνεγκαν. καὶ τοὺς κόσμους διεπεράσαμεν, τὸν τε κόσμον [τοῦ θανάτου] [καὶ] κόσμον τοῦ σκότους καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσηξάν με εἰς κόσμον πλουσιώτατον ὁ εὐκλεέστατος μὲν τῷ φωτὶ ἐτύχχανεν, περικαλλέστερος δὲ ὢν εἶδος φωστῆρων. πάντα δὲ ἐθεώρησεν καὶ ἐξήτασεν τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἴ τι αὐτὸ εἶπον, ἐνεχάραξεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς γραφαῖς.

51 See *I Enoch* 1:2 (Greek); *I Enoch* prologue (short version); *T. Dan* 5:6; *I Levi* 10:5; *T. Judah* 18:1; and in general, Henrichs-Koenen, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 51 n.105. Compare also *I Enoch* 12:4. All references to or citations from the Greek versions of *I Enoch* rely upon *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (ed. M. Black; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

52 *I Enoch* 71:3-4: "And the angel Michael, one of the archangels, took hold of me by my right hand, and raised me, and led me out to all the secrets of mercy and the secrets of righteousness. And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of heavens" Translation cited from M.A. Knibb, "I Enoch," *Apocryphal Old Testament* 255.

53 *Contra* J.C. Greenfield and M.E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* 70 (1977) 62, the expression "chariot of wind" is not absent from the text of *I Enoch*. See especially *I Enoch* 70:2: *wa-tala'ala ba-saragalata mantas wa-wad'a sem ba-mā'kalomu*. Ethiopic text is cited from the edition of J. Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1902) 86-87; see also Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic* 119. Note that in *I Enoch* 71, Enoch receives a heavenly tour from Michael, thus displaying the same sequence of events found in the *CMC* fragment. Note also *I Enoch* 14:8 "winds"; 39:3 and 52:1 "whirlwind." Compare the chapter "Life of Enoch" in the medieval *Sefer Hayashar* (excerpted in Jellinek, *BHM* 4.129-32): *וַיָּבֹאוּ הַיְיָ וְהַיְיָ וְהַיְיָ* "and the horse came in a wind to earth." See also *Adam and Eve* 25:3; *I Enoch* 7 (= Schäfer §10). I owe the last reference to Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic* 202 n.35. *I Enoch* passages are keyed to *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (ed. P. Schäfer; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1981).

54 The Greek text of *I Enoch* 22 describes them as "four hollow places"; compare al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, *Mani* 73 line 4) with its reference to "three trenches" in a similar setting. Note also the "two chasms (فتن) and one cave (كاهن)" in the 6th praxis of the *Acts of Thomas* (cf. W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* [reprinted, Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1968] 1.225-26 [text]);

the Greek version of the same adds an extra "chasm" (χάσματα). Greenfield-Stone (*HTR* 70 [1977] 62) note the possible relevance of *1 Enoch* 22, but conclude there is "no parallel."

⁵⁵ I. de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme* (Amsterdam: J.F. Bernard, 1734-39) I 428-29; Kessler, *Mani* (cf. n.1 *supra*) 199-200. For the evidence provoking such suspicions, see Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 9-49.

⁵⁶ W.B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch" (n.6 *supra*) 27-35; idem, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," *ZDMG* 90 (1936) 1-18; idem, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943-46) 52-74.

⁵⁷ Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 33 n.1.

⁵⁸ J.T. Milik, "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméennes de Qumrân," *HTR* 64 (1971) 366-72; idem, "Turfân et Qumrân, Livre des Géants juif et manichéen," *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (ed. G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 117-27; idem, *Books of Enoch* (cf. n.48 *supra*) 298-339. See also Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 51-164.

⁵⁹ F.C. Andreas and W.B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I," *SPAW* (1932) 188-91; Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch" 32-35; Tubach, "Spuren" (cf. n.3 *supra*) 73-95.

⁶⁰ Stroumsa, *Another Seed* 145-67; Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 185-206.

⁶¹ Reeves, "An Enochic Motif" (cf. n.3 *supra*) 295-98.

⁶² al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh ar-rasul wa-l-mulūk* (cf. *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari* [15 vols.; ed. M.J. De Goeje; reprinted, Leiden: Brill, 1964-65] 1.173 line 3, 174 lines 6, 8-9). Ṭabarī actually says that these scrolls were revealed by God to Enoch, but we must presume that they circulated among subsequent generations under Enoch's name. See also the next note.

⁶³ *2 Enoch* 10:2, 5-7 (short version; cited according to the chapter divisions of A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: texte slave et traduction française* [Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1952]): "And the Lord said to Vreveil, Take the books from their storeplace, and give Enoch a pen and dictate the books to him ... And all that it was proper that I should learn Vreveil explained to me in thirty days and thirty nights: his lips were never silent, as he went on speaking; and I, for my part, had no rest for thirty days and thirty nights, as I made my notes. And when I had finished, Vreveil said to me, Sit down: write out everything I have explained to you. And I sat down a second time for thirty days and thirty nights; and I wrote out everything exactly. And I wrote three hundred and sixty books." Note the repeated occurrence of the phrase "thirty days and thirty nights," a numerical reckoning that may explain the form of the authorship tradition transmitted by al-Ṭabarī. This passage from *2 Enoch* is cited from the translation of A. Pennington, "2 Enoch," *Apocryphal Old Testament* 338; compare F.I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Book of) Enoch," *OTP* 1.141.

⁶⁴ The present author is currently compiling and analyzing these traditions with the intention of producing a comprehensive study for eventual publication.

⁶⁵ See n.48 *supra*.

⁶⁶ G. Scholem, *Origins* 73-74; idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead* (New York: Schocken, 1991) 29-30; 98-101. One can supplement his

correspondences with an additional parallel. *2 Enoch* 11:1 states: "And the Lord called me, and he set me on his left hand, nearer than Gabriel; and worshipped the Lord." (Pennington 339). Compare *Sefer ha-Bahir* §11 (e Margoloth): ... וּגְבוּרֵי אֱלֹהִים שֶׁל הַקְדוּשׁ כְּדוּךְ הוּא . Cf. Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir* (Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1923) 11 n.1; idem, *Origins* 147-51. Note also *Pirqe . El.* 4: יְבִיעָה כְּחוֹת שֶׁל מַלְאָכֵי הַשְּׁרָת מְקַלְסִין לְפָנֵי הַקְדוּשׁ כְּדוּךְ הוּא ... מְחוּנָה שְׁנֵי שָׁל גְבוּרֵי אֱלֹהִים ... שְׁמַאֲלוּ . Unless otherwise noted, this latter text is cited from the edition of I Luria (reprinted, Jerusalem: [s.n.], 1970).

⁶⁷ M. Scopello, "The Apocalypse of Zostrianos (Nag Hammadi VIII.1) and the Book of the Secrets of Enoch," *VC* 34 (1980) 376-85.

⁶⁸ Pennington 330-31.

⁶⁹ 4QEn^a I iii 4; *1 Enoch* 6:6 (Synceulus); *Jub.* 4:15, 5:1-6; 1QapGen 3:3.

⁷⁰ Knibb 199.

⁷¹ *1 Enoch* 10:4-7, 12-14; 88:3; *Jub.* 5:6, 10; 2 Pet 2:4.

⁷² *2 Enoch* 7:7 (Pennington 335).

⁷³ See especially A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch" *JJS* 13 (1962) 7-10.

⁷⁴ This particular correspondence was also noticed by W. Bousse *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (reprinted, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1973) 53.

⁷⁵ The "Great King of Honor" (מַלְכָּא רַבָּא דְּהוֹנּוֹרָא; Latin rex honoris) is one of the five "sons" evoked by the "Living Spirit" (רוּחַ חַי) to assist in the construction and governance of the physical universe. Theodore bar Koni *Liber Scholiorum* (2 vols.; ed. A. Scher; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue, 1912) 2.31: lines 16-18: "After the heavens and earths were made, the Great King of Honor took a seat in the midst of the heavens and kept watch over the whole." See also Andreas-Henning, *SPAW* (1932) 178 lines 14-18; A.V.W. Jackson *Researches in Manichaeism* (reprinted, New York: AMS Press, 1965) 296-313.

⁷⁶ Theodore bar Koni 315 lines 7-12: "Then the Living Spirit commanded three of his sons, that each should kill and should skin the archons, the sons of Darkness, and bring (them) to the Mother of Life. The Mother of Life stretched out the heavens from their skins, and she made eleven (sic!) heavens. They threw down their bodies to the Land of Darkness, and they made eight earths." Note also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.32.3 (ed. Holl 72) and Ephrem's references to the "shed skins" (כְּבוֹדֵי) of the archons in his *Prose Refutations* (ed. Mitchell; cf. n.1 *supra*) 1.13 lines 23, 25; 1.15 line 25; 2.228 line 44; 2.229 line 2. For yet further references and discussion, see F. Cumont and M.-A. Kugener *Recherches sur le manichéisme* (Bruxelles: H. Lamertin, 1908-12) 26-28.

⁷⁷ *Acta Archelai* 8 = Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.25.8 (ed. Holl 56); the Greek text is also cited by Cumont-Kugener, *Recherches* 30 n.4. See also *Chronicon Maroniticum* (cf. *Chronica Minora* [ed. I. Guidi; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue 1903] 60 lines 18-19); al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (apud Flügel, *Mani* 56 lines 9-10). Andreas-Henning, *SPAW* (1932) 179 lines 6-8, 183 line 24, etc.; W. Sundermann *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973) 45 lines 835-38. This work is henceforth cited as Sundermann, *KT*. Further references and discussion in Cumont-Kugener, *Recherches* 54 n.4; Jackson, *Researches* 233-34 n.45.

⁷⁸ *Kephalaia* 88.6-7; 118.20; 170.4; Ephrem, *Prose Refutations* (ed. Mitchell) 2.204 lines 45-46; W.B. Henning, "A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony," *BSOAS* 12 (1947-48) 307 lines 78,81, etc.; W. Sundermann, *KT* 56 line 1054. Further references and discussion are provided by Puech, *Le manichéisme* 170-71 n.319. Interestingly the concept of "ten heavens" is also present in some manuscripts of the so-called "long recension" of *2 Enoch*: "And I saw the eighth Heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth ... And I saw the ninth Heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuehavim ... On the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face" Text cited (with some omissions) from N. Forbes and R.H. Charles, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," *APOT* 2.442. Apart from later kabbalistic texts (note Ginzberg, *Legends* 5.10), this seems to be the sole reference to "ten heavens" in Jewish cosmological discussion.

⁷⁹ *Kephalaia* 86.5-6; 170.20-171.11.

⁸⁰ *Kephalaia* 87.34; 91.23-24; Henning, *BSOAS* 12 (1947-48) 313 n.6.

⁸¹ The number "two hundred" indicates a clear linkage between Enochie and Manichaean literature. See *1 Enoch* 6:6; *2 Enoch* 7:4; Henning, *BSOAS* 11 (1943-46) 60, 69-71.

⁸² *Kephalaia* 92.31.

⁸³ *Kephalaia* 93.23-28; 117.1-4; Sogdian superscription *iv fryštyst dn CC* "the four angels with the two hundred [demons]" (Henning, *BSOAS* 11 [1943-46] 68). Note that these Manichaean texts are also cognizant of the rival tradition that binds the defeated Watchers "beneath the earth." See below.

⁸⁴ See Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 185-88.

⁸⁵ *Kephalaia* 17.5-9 (quoting Lk 6:43-44); *Acta Archelai* 5 = Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.6.7-8 (ed. Holl 27).

⁸⁶ Clearly signaled in the name these beings bear in both traditions; viz., ἐργαγόροι.

⁸⁷ *2 Enoch* 5:1-6, with some omissions (Pennington 331).

⁸⁸ These fragments are presented and analyzed in Reeves, *Jewish Lore* 165-83.

⁸⁹ There may be some connection between the Manichaean Tree of Death and the Qur'anic "accursed tree" *Zaqqūm* which grows in Hell and whose bitter fruits sinners shall eventually consume. See Qur'ān 17:60; 37:62-65; 44:43-46; 56:52. I am grateful to David J. Halperin for reminding me of these passages.

⁹⁰ M. Brière, "Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche, traduction syriaque de Jacques d'Édesse CXX à CXXV," *PO* 29 (1960) 152 lines 14-16.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 154 lines 9-18, with some omission. Compare *Kephalaia* 20.32-33; *Psalms-Book* 219.23-30.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 166 lines 10-13.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 162 lines 6-10, with some omission. For discussion of the Manichaean imagery of the Tree of Life and Tree of Death, see especially V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (Köln: Brill, 1978) 8-17.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 164 lines 17-22.

⁹⁵ Cited by Forbes-Charles, *APOT* 2.434. I discern no specific references to the terminology "Tree of Life/Tree of Death" as evidenced by Severus, although Epiphanius is familiar with the "good tree/worthless tree" parabolic language exploited by Mani.

⁹⁶ See especially Puech, *Le manichéisme* 159-61 n.285.

⁹⁷ Allusions to a heavenly "paradise," with or without reference to the Tree of Life, appear in *2 Cor* 12:4; *Rev* 2:7, 22:2; *4 Ezra* 4:7-8, 8:52; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 4:2-*Adam and Eve* 25:3; *Apoc. Mos.* 40:2; *b. Hag.* 14b and parallels; *Tri. Trac.* 96.2; 30; *Gos. Thom.* 19. Detailed descriptions of a celestial *gan 'eden* occur in *Midrash Kohen* (*BHM* 2.28-30); *Seder Gan 'Eden* (*ibid.*, 2.52-53, 3.131-40, 19:98); *Ma'aseh de R. Joshua b. Levi* (*ibid.*, 2.48-51); *Gan 'Eden we-Gehinno* (*ibid.*, 5.42-51).

⁹⁸ Note *Odes Sol.* 11:19, which associates "light" with Paradise, an Charlesworth's plausible reconstruction of the Syriac text of 11:16c (now extant only in Greek), which if accepted, posits "luminous fruits" in Paradise. See J.F. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon: The Syriac Texts* (reprinted, Chicago: Scholars Press, 1977) 57 n.33. Ephrem describes the Tree of Life as "the sun of Paradise"; cf. the citation from one of his "Hymns on Paradise" supplied by P. Séd, "Les Hymnes sur le Paradis de Saint Ephrem et les traditions juives," *L. Muséon* 81 (1968) 487; also 488 n.71. Note *Lev. Rab.* 11.7: "יהודה בר סימון אור זכר הקב"ה ביום ראשון ארם צופה ומכיס בו מסוף העולם ועד סופו כיון שראה הקב"ה מעשה דור נוש ומעשה דור המבול שון מקלקלין עמר וגנוז מתן הה"ד וימנע מרשעים אורם >איוב לח< והיבן גנוז בגן עדן שנא" אור זרוע לצדיק ולישרי לב שמחה <ההלים צד.> Compare also *Gen. Rab.* 3.6 (Theodor-Albeck 21-22); *b. Hag.* 12a.

⁹⁹ The association of perfume with Paradise is already found in *1 Enoch* 24:4; cf. also *Jub.* 4:25. See also Séd, *Muséon* 81 (1968) 495-500. Compare *Seder Gan 'Eden* (*BHM* 2.53 lines 4-5): "its (the Tree's) fragrance permeates the entire world." Ephrem's references to the Manichaean Realm of Light frequently remark its pleasant fragrance.

¹⁰⁰ Knibb 214.

¹⁰¹ *Apoc. Mos.* 22:1-4, cited from L.S.A. Wells, "The Books of Adam and Eve," *APOT* 2.147.

¹⁰² *Sefer ha-Bahir* §161 (ed. Margolioth = Scholem §107). See Scholem, *Bahir* 115-16; *idem*, *Origins* 148-49.

¹⁰³ שם שם לו חק ומשפט לשטן. Regarding the identification of the "wood" mentioned in Ex 15:23-25 with the Tree of Life, see already *Bib. Ant.* 11:15 and especially *Mek. de R. Y., Beshallah* 1 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin 155-56): "בי שמעון בן יהאי אומר דבר מן התורה הראהו שנאמר ויורו ה'עץ' ויראהו ה'עץ' אינו אומר אלא ויראו בענין שנאמר ויורו לי יחמך דברי לבן <משלי ד ד> ... רורשי רשמות אמרו הראהו דברי חורה שנמשלו לעץ שנאמר עץ חיים היא למחזיקים בה וגו' <שם ג יח>". Note also Ginzberg *Legends* 6.14-15.

¹⁰⁴ Note also the so-called *3 Enoch* for the juxtaposition of the Tree of Life, the presence of God, and the judgment of Adam in Schäfer §7.

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