ertain visions once given to Moses were also "revealed to Joseph Smith the Prophet, in June, 1830." In December of the same year, "The Writings of Moses" were also revealed, comprising what are now chapters two to eight of the book of Moses. (See the chapter headings.) This purports to be the translation of a real book originally written by Moses:

"And now Moses my son I will speek unto

"And now, Moses, my son, I will speak unto thee concerning this earth upon which thou standest; and thou shalt write the things which I

shall speak.

"And in a day when the children of men shall esteem my words as naught and take many of them from the book which thou shalt write, behold, I will raise up another like unto thee; and they shall be had again among the children of men—among as many as shall believe." (Moses 1:40-41.)

In his writings Moses renewed the revelations and carried on the books of earlier prophets, according to our text, which also includes what the Prophet Joseph entitled "Extracts from the Prophecy of Enoch." Of this, B.H. Roberts explains: "It will be understood . . . that the 'Prophecy of Enoch' itself is found in the 'Writings of Moses,' and that in the text above [Moses, chapter 7] we have but a few extracts of the most prominent parts of 'Enoch's Prophecy.' "2

What was given to the Church in 1830 was, then, not the whole book of Enoch but only "a few extracts," a mere epitome, but one composed, as we shall see, with marvelous skill; five years later the Saints were still looking forward to a fuller text: "These things were all written in the book of Enoch, and are to be testified of in due time." (D&C 107:57.) The Enoch sections of the book of Moses were published in England in 1851 under the heading, "Extracts from the Prophecy of Enoch, containing also a Revelation of the Gospel unto our Father Adam, after He was driven out from the Garden of Eden." 3

The revelation of Adam also went back to a written source, for, speaking of his ancestors, Enoch is reported as saying that, though they are dead, "nevertheless we know them, and cannot deny, and even the first of all we know, even Adam. For a book of remembrance we have written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God." (Moses 6:45-46.) Enoch, we learn, had this book of Adam, and read it to the people, and handed it on with his own writing in that corpus which Moses later edited and Joseph Smith finally translated: "Soon after the words of Enoch were given, the Lord gave the following commandment [December 1830]: Behold, I say unto you that it is not expedient in me that ye should translate any more until ye shall go to the Ohio." (D&C 37:1.)4

The excerpts from the works and days of Enoch found in the Pearl of Great Price supply us with the most valuable control yet on the bona fides of the Prophet. What has confused the issue all along in

A STRANGE THING IN THE LAND

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part I

By Hugh Nibley

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dealing with the Book of Mormon and the book of Abraham as translations is the question of the original documents. Almost all of the time and energy of the critics has been expended in vain attempts to show that Joseph Smith did not translate correctly from certain ancient manuscripts, or that such manuscripts did not exist. This has been a red herring, since nobody has been able to prove yet that Joseph Smith claimed to be translating from any specific known text. Moreover, the experts have strangely and stubbornly overlooked hundreds of passages from the Old and New Testaments that Joseph Smith translated in a way that does not agree with the translations of the scholars. Why don't they nail him on that? Because such a demonstration ends in proving nothing against the Prophet: manuscripts and translations of the Bible differ so widely, and so many baffling issues are being raised today about the nature of the original text that there is no way of proving that any of his interpretations is completely out of the question. Always in these cases the discussion comes back to the original manuscripts.

But with the book of Enoch the question of an original manuscript never arises. Although chapters two through eight of the book of Moses are entitled "The Writings of Moses," the Prophet nowhere indicates that he ever had the manuscript in his hands. Eighteen months earlier he recorded a revelation concerning John the Apostle, "Translated from parchment, written and hid up by himself." (See D&C 7: heading.)⁵ Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we know that writing revelations on parchment and hiding them up in caves was standard practice among the ancient saints, thereby confirming this remarkable passage of modern revelation. But even more significant is

Enoch, by Gary Smith



the idea that though Joseph Smith saw and "translated" the document in question, he never had it in his hands, and for that matter it may have long since ceased to exist. The whole thing, document and translation, was "given to Joseph Smith the Prophet, and Oliver Cowdery" by revelation "when they inquired through the Urim and Thummim." (D&C 7: heading.)

So it was with the book of Enoch, transmitted to us by Joseph as it was given to him. Though his work was far more demanding and probably required far more concentration and sheer mental effort than we can even imagine, that task did not include searching for a lost manuscript or working out a translation.

So we are forced back on the one and only really valid test of the authenticity of an ancient record, which does not depend on the writing materials used, nor the language in which it was written, nor the method of translation, but simply asks the question, "How does it compare with other records known to be authentic?" This is what the critics of the Book of Mormon and the book of Abraham have never been willing to face up to; with the book of Enoch they have no other choice and so, through the years, they have simply ignored the book of Enoch. Yet there never was a more delightfully vulnerable and testable object. It offers the nearest thing to a perfectly foolproof test—neat, clear-cut, and decisive—of Joseph Smith's claim to inspiration.

The problem is perfectly simple and straightforward: There was once indeed an ancient book of Enoch, but it became lost and was not discovered until our own time, when it can be reliably reconstructed from some hundreds of manuscripts in a dozen different languages. How does this Enoch redivivus compare with Joseph Smith's highly condensed but astonishingly specific and detailed version? That is the question to which we must address ourselves. We do not have the golden plates nor the original text of the book of Abraham, but we do have at last, in newly discovered documents, a book which is the book of Enoch if there ever was one. And so we have only to place the Joseph Smith version of the book of Enoch—Moses 6:25 through 8:3 with associated texts—side by side with the Enoch texts, which have come forth since 1830, to see what they have in common and to judge of its significance.

For those who seek divine guidance in troubled times, the book of Enoch has a special significance, not merely by virtue of its pertinent and powerful message, but also because of the circumstances under which it was received. As the *History of the Church* records:

"It may be well to observe here, that the Lord greatly encouraged and strengthened the faith of His little flock, which had embraced the fulness of the everlasting Gospel, as revealed to them in the Book of Mormon, by giving some more extended information upon the Scriptures, a translation of which had already commenced. Much conjecture and conversation frequently occurred among the Saints, concerning the books mentioned, and referred to, in various places in the Old and New Testaments, which were now nowhere to be found. The common remark was, 'They are *lost books;*' but it seems that Apostolic Church had some of these writings, as Jude mentions or quotes the Prophecy of Enoch, the seventh from Adam. To the joy of the little flock, which in all . . . numbered about seventy members, did the Lord reveal the following doings of olden times, from the prophecy of Enoch." 6

The book of Enoch was given to the Saints as a bonus for their willingness to accept the Book of Mormon and as a reward for their sustained and lively interest in all scriptures, including the lost books; they were searchers, engaging in eager speculation and discretion, ever seeking like Adam and Abraham, for "greater [light and] knowledge." (Abr. 1:2.) And we have been told that if we stop seeking we shall not only find no more but lose the treasures we already have. That is why it is not only advisable but urgent that we begin at last to pay attention to that astonishing outpouring of ancient writings which is the peculiar blessing of our generation. Among these writings the first and most important is the book of Enoch.

The Lost Book of Enoch

Early Christian writers knew all about the book of Enoch; indeed, "nearly all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction," according to R.H. Charles, who notes that it "is quoted as a genuine production of Enoch by St. Jude, and as Scripture by St. Barnabas . . . With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book."7 Its influence is apparent in no less than 128 places in the New Testament,8 and Charles can declare that "The influence of I Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books taken together."9 He further lists some thirty passages in early orthodox Jewish and Christian writings in which the book of Enoch is mentioned specifically, 10 plus numerous citations from the book that are found in the important Jewish apocalvptic writings of Jubilees, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra, and quotations from Enoch found in more than thirty Christian Patristic writers.11

To these we might add the wealth of Enoch lore contained in the Zohar, a work whose prestige and respectability have greatly increased of recent years, and the interesting fact that the *Pistis Sophia*, that important link between the sectaries of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Palestinian Christianity and Judaism, claims to contain important material taken from "the Book of II Jeu, they being the

things that Enoch wrote." 12 "They must look these mysteries up in the Book of Jeu which I caused Enoch to write in Paradise . . . [which I spake out of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life], and I caused him to deposit them in the Rock of Ararad." 13

"Shortly before the Christian era, Enoch became the hero of a whole cycle of legends," which enjoyed immense popularity.¹⁴ The Christians got their enthusiasm for the book of Enoch as well as the book itself from the Jews, that being "the most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B.C."15 The Hasidic writings of the time as well as the later Cabalistic works show dependence on Enoch. 16 But it is important to note that Enoch is not popular with the gnostics and philosophers; he is quoted almost exclusively by the most respected and orthodox writers among both Jews and Christians. Thus "large parts of the lost Book of Enoch were included in the Pirke of Rabbi Eleaser and in the Hechalot," both highly respected works.¹⁷ Recently some of the oldest and most important fragments of Enoch have turned up among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and far more important ones are still being held back by their uneasy Christian editors. 18 More than a century ago, when A. Jellinek began his zealous search for surviving traces of a Hebrew book of Enoch, he declared that the Enoch literature was the work of the Essenes. 19 And thereon hangs the principal clue to their disappearance.

ow could a book of such long-standing influence, authority, and veneration possibly have become lost? Very simple: it ran afoul of ideas held by the doctors of the Jews and Christians alike after those worthies had fallen under the influence of the University of Alexandria, whose modern descendants resumed their censure of it after it was discovered and have continued to condemn it to this day.

"But our book contained much of a questionable character," writes R.H. Charles with a sigh, "and from the fourth century of our era onward it fell into discredit; and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, it gradually passed out of circulation, and became lost to the knowledge of Western Christendom."20 Enoch "fell early into disuse," according to C.C. Torrey, because it had no strong appeal for the Christians and "was too bulky" to copy and handle.²¹ This explanation is as feeble as that of St. Augustine who, while admitting that "we cannot deny that Enoch . . . wrote some inspired [divine] things, since the canonical Epistle of Jude says so," refuses to accept it solely on the grounds that the Jewish doctors reject it—an argument that bore no weight whatever with the earlier Christians.²²

"Of a questionable character" to whom? For what Christians did Enoch have "no strong appeal"? The answer is perfectly clear: it was the learned rabbis and doctors of the fourth century

who were offended by it.

In his recent study of Hellenistic Judaism, H.F. Weiss comes to the point: It was as inspired or revealed writings that such great apocalyptic works as Enoch, Fourth Esdras, and Baruch "were by the 'official' rabbinic-pharisaic Judaism . . . systematically suppressed and removed, ostensibly on the grounds of their apocalyptic content." They did not just fade out: they were deliberately and systematically destroyed.

Thus, until recently, the only surviving fragments of Enoch have come from Christian copyists, and not a single Jewish text of the Twelve Patriarchs, which draws heavily on Enoch, survives; moreover, not a single picture of Enoch has ever been identified in either Jewish or old Christian art.²⁴ The trouble was, says Charles, that in Enoch the "apocalyptic or prophetic side of Judaism" was confronted by the rabbinical or halachic, i.e., by the "Judaism that posed as the sole and orthodox Judaism . . . after 70 A.D." which damned it forever as a product of the Essenes.²⁵

It was the same story with the Christians; it was "such authorities as Hilary, Jerome and Augustine" who put the book of Enoch "under the ban." They were all learned schoolmen steeped in the rhetorical and sophistic education of the time, admitting quite freely that the Christians of an earlier time held ideas and beliefs quite different from theirs. He also knew that Enoch was treasured as a canonical book by the early Christians, but they would have none of it. The transition is represented by the great Origen, another product of Alexandria, who lived a century before them; he quotes Enoch, but with reservation, finding that he cannot agree with the teachings of the book, no matter how the first Christians may have venerated it. He

At the present time, sensational new manuscript discoveries are forcing both the Jewish and the Christian doctors to view Enoch with a new respect. Consider two items from Catholic encyclopedias—then and now. In 1910 The Catholic Encyclopedia brushed aside the idea that the epistle of Jude testifies of the existence in ancient times of the book of Enoch: "Some writers have supposed that St. Jude quoted these words from the so-called apocryphal Book of Henoch; but, since they do not fit into its context [Ethiopic], it is more reasonable to suppose that they were interpolated into the apocryphal book from the text of St. Jude. The Apostle must have borrowed the words from Jewish tradition."28 But the New Catholic Encyclopedia of 1967 tells a different story: not only does Jude actually quote from a book of Enoch, but the "entire passage found in Jude v. 4-15 reveals a dependence on Ethiopic Enoch."29 When a recent article in Scientific American, of all places, seeks to demonstrate how all our ideas of early Jewish and Christian religions have been drastically expanded and altered in the past few years, its star witness is the newly discovered book of Enoch.³⁰

The last lingering remnant of Enoch's words from the ancient world was a passage cited by the Byzantine writer George Syncellus, about A.D. 800. This, however, was a mere excerpt of less than a page in length; the writings themselves had by that time long since vanished.³¹ For, "from the 4th century on, the Latin Church ceased to concern itself" with Enoch, while "only a few traces are still found, persisting for a short time longer, in the Greek Church."³² All that the Middle Ages had to show as the sole remnant of the book of Enoch was a miserable Arabic proverb, "piety brings easy money," which is not from Enoch at all.³³

The Rumors Fly

Tith the first dawn of the Reformation, rumors of the existence of a real book of Enoch began to stir. About the time that Columbus set sail Johann Reuchlin was excited by the report that the famous Pico della Mirandola (d. 1494) "had purchased a copy of the book of Enoch for a large sum of money."34 The report may well have been authentic, according to Nathaniel Schmidt, who notes that it "is possible . . . that Pico's collection contained a copy of the Hebrew Enoch . . . [T]here may also have been a copy of the Ethiopic Enoch."35 Rumors gave rise to the usual impositions and frauds, and in 1494 Reuchlin wrote against those who produced books with exciting titles, claiming that they were the books of Enoch, proven by their age to be more holy than other books, falsely claiming some to have been Solomon's, and so easily beguiling the ears of the ignorant. He had heard, he states, of one such book for sale, which he assumes to be a late forgery based on Josephus.³⁶ This did not mean that Reuchlin ceased to look for the real book of Enoch. In 1517 he wrote that "the books of Enoch and Abraham, our father, were cited by men worthy of faith, and countless examples of ancient authors whose works are now lost to our age confirm the probability of their works having been lost in the same way, still we do not doubt that a great number have survived."37

With the widespread "rediscovery" of the Bible in the Reformation, "the Book of Enoch excited much attention and awakened great curiosity,"38 just as it did among those to whom the Book of Mormon came in a later age of enlightenment. But, as is well-known, the great reformers in their all-out zeal for the Bible condemned the "miserable Apocrypha" for presuming to be classed with it.³⁹ John Calvin considered Enoch to be no more than an ordinary mortal, whose translation to heaven was nothing more than "some extraordinary kind of death," and he held with the Jewish doctors that Enoch's "walking with God" meant no more than that he received inspiration. 40 In 1553 the humanist Guillaume Postel, acclaimed at the court of France for his first-hand knowledge of the Near East, announced, "I have heard that there is reason for believing that there are Books of Enoch at Rome, and an Ethiopian priest has told me that that book is held to be canonical and is attributed to Moses in the Church of the Queen of Sheba [the Abyssinian Church]."41 The famous Codex Alexandrinus, which was presented to Charles I of England in 1633, was accompanied from Egypt as far as Constantinople by a Capuchin monk, Gilles de Loches, who had been living in Egypt. That monk told Peiresc, the famous scholar and manuscript collector of Pisa, about a monastery possessing 8,000 volumes, in which he had seen a book of Enoch. 42 As the German Orientalist Ludolf recounted a generation later, "Gassendi, in his Life of Peiresc, writes among other things of a certain Capuchin, Aegidius Lochiensis, who had spent seven years in Egypt: He says he mentioned among other things a Mazhapha Einok, or Prophecy of Enoch, declaring what would happen up to the end of the world, a book hitherto not seen in Europe, but written in the character and language of the Ethiopians or Abyssinians among whom it was preserved. By this Peiresc was so excited and so on fire to buy it at any price, that he spared no means to make it his own."43 It is now known that this was the authentic Ethiopian Enoch, but Schmidt comments that the scholarly reaction at the time was to suppose that Peiresc had been duped.44

The last authentic excerpt to be written from the book of Enoch was the first to be discovered, 800 years later: it was that prince of scholars, Joseph Justus Scaliger, who around 1592 recognized the passage mentioned above when it was quoted by the Byzantine historian Syncellus as a genuine excerpt from the lost book of Enoch. Yet Scaliger "spoke in very disparaging terms of the book . . . although he maintains that the apostle Jude quoted it." So there the matter rested, with Enoch discredited and dismissed by the very man who had discovered him.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, scholarship lost its former imagination and drive, thanks to the competitive scepticism of experts determined to demonstrate their solid conservatism to each other. Peiresc's manuscript of Enoch ended up in the Mazarin Library in Paris, whither in 1683 the Prussian scholar Job Ludolf repaired with considerable publicity to put it to the test. Schmidt records that Ludolf promptly concluded that it was not the book of Enoch at all: "But that it is not Enoch is at once apparent from the title alone: 'Revelations of Enoch in Ethiopian' "46 As for the content of the book, it simply nauseated him: "To tell the truth it contains such gross and vile stinking [putidas] fables that I could hardly stand to read it ... Let the reader then judge how beautiful these 'revelations' of Enoch are, how worthy of their magnificent binding and sumptuous edition! We would rather keep silent regarding this most idiotic of books, were it not that so many illustrious men have made mention of it."⁴⁷ Ludolf examined it at the Mazarin Library, and declared it utterly bad; but then, Schmidt sums it up, "Ludolf, who did not believe there ever was a book of Enoch, may be pardoned . ."⁴⁸ May he? That was his trouble to begin with—he did not believe there ever was such a book, just as those Egyptologists who were asked to pass judgment on the book of Abraham approached their task with the settled conviction that there never was such a book. For him, as for them, only one conclusion was possible.

ut the Christian world gratefully received the final verdict of the learned (even as they did again in 1912!), and as a result the study of Enoch was dropped for 90 years, until the discovery of new manuscripts broke the intellectual logjam. Until Ludolf's pronouncement, the search for Enoch had been "a subject richly productive of criticism and theological discussion"; but once Berlin had spoken, "the idea that a book of Enoch existed in Ethiopia was completely abandoned, and no one gave it another thought."49 As one scholar observed with relief as late as 1870, "But when Job Ludolph went afterwards to Paris to the Royal Library, he found it [the Enoch manuscript] to be a fabulous and silly production. In consequence of this disappointment, the idea of recovering it in Ethiopic was abandoned."50 As a result of Ludolf's authoritative contribution "all hopes of obtaining the book seem to have died away throughout Europe . . . It was generally supposed, that it must be ranked among the books irrecoverably lost."51 Even down to the present time when they should know better, "modern editors and commentators," according to N. Schmidt, go on "repeating with approval the disdainful remarks of Ludolf."52

And so, following the well-worn path of self-certified scholarship, the experts would have gone on automatically repeating each other for generations with the book of Enoch safely laid to rest as a myth, were it not for three copies of that same Ethiopian version, which the famous explorer James Bruce brought home with him from his epoch-making journey to the sources of the White and the Blue Nile in 1773.

Footnotes

- 1. The Book of Moses, heading to chapter 1.
- The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 1:132-33.
 - 3. Liverpool: F.D. Richards, 1851, p. 1.
 - 4. History of the Church 1:139.
 - 5. Ibid., 1:35-36.
 - 6. Ibid., 1:131-33.
- 7. R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), p. ix, n. 1. Compare his Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford, 1912, reprint 1964), 2:163, where he maintains that "some of its authors... belonged to the true succession of the prophets, ... exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the O.T. prophets."

- 8. Charles, Book of Enoch, pp. xcv-xcix, indicates that many "passages of the New Testament . . . either in phraseology or idea directly depend on or are illustrative of passages in 1 Enoch." In the New Testament, according to a current Encyclopedia Britannica (1973), 8:604, "Enoch himself is mentioned in Luke 3:37; Heb. 11:5; Jude 14 . . ." while there is reference to him in Jude 4-15, Matt. 19:28, 26:24, Luke 16:9, John 5:22, 1 Thess. 5:3, 1 Pet. 3:19ff., and Revelation.
 - 9. Charles, Book of Enoch, p. xev.
 - 10. Ibid., pp. xii-xiii.
- 11. Ibid., pp. lxx, lxxix, for the Jewish sources, lxxxi-xci, for the Christian.
 - 12. Pistis Sophia, p. 246 (Askew manuscript).
 - 13. Ibid., p. 254.
- 14. Emmanuele da San Marco, "Libro di Henoch," Enciclopedia Cattolica (Vatican, 1951), 6:1405.
- 15. Charles, Book of Enoch, p. x; it was second only in influence to the canonical Daniel, Klaus Koch, Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1970), pp. 19-20
- 16: A. Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrasch (Jerusalem, 1967), 2:xxx.
 17. Jellinek, l.c. For a list of Enoch citations in Cabalistic writers, see Isaac Myer, Qabbalah (Philadelphia, 1888), p. 166.
- 18. "So far only two Aramaic fragments have been published... In view of this important discovery it might seem premature to publish a Greek text before the publication of these fragments... Unfortunately this has not proved to be possible; and the prolonged delay... of the Aramaic Enoch and latterly the confused situation with regard to the custody of the Aramaic mss, make any further postponement of this provisional Greek edition inadvisable." Martin Black, Apocylpsis Henochi Graece (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p. 7.
- 19. A. Jellinek, "Hebräische Quellen für das Buch Henoch, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 7 (1853): p. 249.
 - 20. Charles, Book of Enoch, p. ix.
- 21. C.C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 27.
 - 22. St. Augustine, City of God 15:23.
- 23. Hans-Friedrich Weiss, Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinischen Judentums (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966), p. 119.
- 24. H. Leclercq, "Hénoch," in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie (Paris: Librairie Letouzev et Ané, 1925), 6:2246.
 - 25. Charles, Book of Enoch, p. ciii.
- 26. This attitude is illustrated in the author's When the Lights Went Out: Three Studies on the Ancient Apostasy (Deseret Book, 1970), p. 57.
- 27. In his work On the First Principles, 1:iii:3 (Migne, Patrologiae Graecae 11:147f) and 4:35 (Patrologiae Graecae 11:409), Origen appeals to "The Book of Enoch" to support his theories of the creation, but when Celsus quotes Enoch he objects: "Even less should things be taken seriously which Celsus seems to have picked up and misunderstood from the Book of Enoch..." (Against Celsus 5:54; Patrologiae Graecae 11:1265). He says things are "very much mixed up" and "in the churches not taken very seriously as Scripture (divine)" since they contain "matter not preached (uttered) nor heard in the churches of God," which nobody would be foolish enough to take literally (Patrologiae Graecae 11:1268-69).
- 28. A.J. Maas, "Henoch," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), 7:218.
- 29. J. Plastaras, "Henoch," New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), 6:1019.
- 30. M.E. Stone, "Judaism at the Time of Christ," Scientific American 228 (January 1973); 80-82.
- 31. The Syncellus fragment, from his Chronographia (ed. Dindorf, 1829), 1:47, is reproduced in the appendix of R.H. Charles, Book of Enoch, p. 305. Reference was made to this by George Cedrenus, cir. 1100 A.D. (ed. Bekker, p. 17; Migne, Patrologiae Graecae 121:41, 44-45, 476).
- 32. Migne, Dictionnaire des Apocryphes (Paris, 1856) 1:396.

33. Ibid., p. 397. It is quoted by Peter Alphonsus, and is simply a Latinized rendering of the well-known Moslem merchant's creed: Al-kasib habib ul-lah!

34. Nathaniel Schmidt, "Traces of the Early Acquaintance in Europe with the Book of Enoch," Journal of the American Oriental Society 42 (1922): 45.

35. Ibid., p. 47.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., p. 45.

38. J. M'Clintock, Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1870), 3:225.

39. See author's discussion in Since Cumorah: The Book of Mormon in the Modern World (Deseret Book, 1970), pp. 32-35.

40. A.L. Davies, "Book of Enoch," Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, edited by James Hastings, 1:334.

41. Schmidt, p. 50, placing Postel's meeting with the priest around 1536.

42. Ibid., p. 50.

43. Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes 1:399.

44. Schmidt, p. 51.

45. Michael Stuart, "Christology of the Book of Enoch," The American Biblical Repository, ser. 2, 3 (January 1840):88. See above, note 31.

46. Schmidt, pp. 51-52.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes 1:397. However, in 1736, Johann Albert Fabricius in his Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti (Hamburg, 1722), 1:22, gathered and reproduced all available passages from the church fathers concerning Enoch (Migne, 1:399).

50. M'Clintock, 3:225.

51. Stuart, 3:89.

52. Schmidt, p. 52.



Review of *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri* by Hugh Nibley (Deseret Book, July 1975—\$14.95). Reviewer, C. Wilfred Griggs, associate member, Institute for Ancient Studies, Brigham Young University.

OF PAPYRUS"

"This book had to be written because a great fuss was being made about a scrap of papyrus." Thus begins Dr. Hugh Nibley in his long-awaited study on the Joseph Smith papyri, a work that really serves two purposes. One purpose is an energetic confrontation with the erstwhile critics of Joseph Smith who, it is shown, have ever been adept at answering all the wrong questions. For example, to all who have ridiculed the Prophet Joseph for mistakenly thinking that the book of Abraham is a literal translation of the papyri, Brother Nibley states:

"The Facsimiles were published along with explanations of what they depicted, but at no time was any Egyptian text put forward as the original Book of Abraham" (p. 2). Another aspect of this confrontation focuses on the translation and meaning of the papyri. In Chapter 3, Brother Nibley points out:

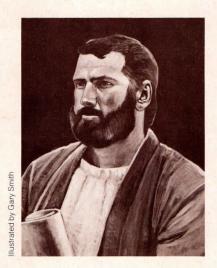
"The chief weapon against the Prophet Joseph has always been the word *translate*, a word which none of his critics have bothered to define, but if carefully considered might lead to fruitful investigation" (p. 49).

It is precisely this problem that epitomizes the weakness of the critics in this confrontation, for they have concentrated on dismissing Joseph Smith instead of trying to understand what he did. Because the Prophet did not utilize their methods, scholars have assumed that his work could not be worthy of serious consideration.

Brother Nibley marshals a considerable array of talents in fulfilling the second and major purpose of the book, which is to discuss the meaning of the Joseph Smith papyri. Identifying Joseph Smith Papyri X and XI with the Egyptian Book of Breathings becomes a point of departure for Brother Nibley, rather than, as with other scholars, a final pronouncement. Following a reproduction and translation of Joseph Smith Papyri X and XI (and a comparison with "control" texts), Brother Nibley presents an extensive commentary on the Book of Breathings text within the context of an Egyptian temple ritual. From an impressive display of primary and secondary evidence (which is carefully documented through the equally impressive and numerous notes that are a trademark of Nibley scholarship), the Latter-day Saint can find much to enhance his own understanding of temples and sacred ordinances. Few scholars have Hugh Nibley's ability to draw upon such a broad spectrum of literature in support of a common theme or series of themes. In his Introduction to Appendixes that follows the commentary, Brother Nibley notes:

"As in a hall of mirrors, the Book of Breathings seems to be reflected in an endless procession of documents that fade out of sight in either direction" (p. 255). The reader is then offered examples from the Dead Sea Scrolls, some New Testament apocryphal writings (including the Odes of Solomon, the Hymn of the Pearl, Pistis Sophia, and the Gospel of Philip), and from Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Ordinances.

For layman and scholar alike, this book will provide a fascinating insight into the world of the Joseph Smith papyri and without doubt will take its rightful place among the truly significant scholarly works to be written on the scriptures during this dispensation.



STRANGE THING IN THE LAND THE RETURN OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH, PART 2

By Hugh Nibley

Professor Emeritus of Ancient Scripture at Brigham Young University Editor's note: With the October 1975 issue, the ENSIGN began a series on the book of Enoch, authored by Hugh Nibley. As Part 1 recounts, early Christian writers knew and respected the book of Enoch, but biblical scholars neglected it in scorn after the excitement of the Reformation was over. However, James Bruce, exploring the sources of the Nile in 1773, brought back three copies. Part 2 describes the critical response—or lack of it—to these documents, and then turns to examining the four versions of the book of Enoch against which Joseph Smith's writing must be judged.

Bruce was six years in Abyssinia and had learned the language, "and brought home with him a large collection of curious and interesting objects," 53 including some of the most valuable Christian Coptic manuscripts ever discovered as well as the three priceless Ethiopian Enoch texts. 54 "Of these three copies, one he retained in Kinnaird House [the family seat in Scotland], another he presented to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the third he gave to the Royal Library in Paris." 55

Bruce himself wrote: "Amongst the articles I consigned to the library at Paris was a very beautiful and magnificent copy [Ludolf had commented caustically on such waste of effort in the Peiresc manuscript] of the prophecies of Enoch in large quarto. Another was amongst the books of Scripture which I brought home, standing immediately before the Book of Job, which is in its proper place in the Abyssinian Canon; and a third copy I have presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford..."56

But Dr. Ludolf had done his work well. There was a flurry of interest in Bruce's finds, but it quickly subsided, and "for more than a quarter of a century these manuscripts remained as unknown as if they had still been in Abyssinia."57 "Whatever may have been the curiosity of the public at the time of Bruce," a Catholic scholar reports, "it seems to have been long since pacified; and as for the exemplar deposited in the library at Oxford, it slept a profound sleep."58 The first public notice of the text was on the Continent, when in 1800 the famous Orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy translated into Latin the first three chapters of the Paris manuscript and the opening lines of some other chapters; in the following year a German named Rink published a few of the same chapters at Koenigsberg.⁵⁹ That was about it—and then silence for another twenty years.

It was a great and good man, Archbishop Richard Laurence of Cashel in Ireland, who restored the book of Enoch to the world. In "A Charge Delivered at Munster" in 1826 he plead, as the Protestant bishop of the most important Irish see, for Catholics and Protestants to learn to live together. For taking and holding this position through the years, Laurence was subjected to savage and relentless attacks from both the Protestant and the Catholic clergy. "His fears for

public peace," wrote the editor of *The British Critic*, Quarterly Theological Review, and Ecclesiastical Record, "appear to have strangely overpowered his anxiety for the cause of Scriptural truth. That endeavor to break down the strongholds of Popery in Ireland may occasion some disorder and provoke some retaliation, is, indeed, more than probable. But his Grace must know perfectly well that the gospel itself produced, at first, a formidable dislocation of society," etc., etc.60

From the other side, the Roman Catholic prelate attacked Laurence with equal vigor, deploring his appeals for Christian charity as "fulsome nonsense . . . the ways of God are not our ways; the Holy Ghost has told us that there is but one faith; and that without it it is impossible to please God."61 The groundwork was being laid, even consciously, for the present-day tragedy of Ulster when the Anglican ministers took Laurence to task, declaring that they must "reconcile even the Archbishop of Cashel to the great and pious enterprise of diffusing the blessings of the Reformation throughout Ireland, and relieve him of his terrors lest the cause of Christianity should suffer in the conflict. It is true that a *fiery furnace* of persecution may even now be heating for many of those who shall turn upon the Church of their ancestors [i.e., the Irish Catholics]; it is true that fanaticism may lay a rude and violent hand on the standard of this great cause . . . but, his Grace has got to learn that in this world good and evil must ever grow up together; and that it hardly becomes a Christian warrior to sit down and count the cost, till the season of action is gone by! . . . He must acknowledge that there is something marvellous and awful in the present agitation of the public mind; and he will not surely be rash enough to deny that it may possibly be the sign of some great work which the Lord is about to perform in behalf of his Own truth . . . "62

A century and a half later, the "great work" foreseen by a zealous clergy still goes on as a legacy of demoniacal hatred and bloodshed, and Richard Laurence stands vindicated not only as a champion of Christian charity but as one who has done more "for the cause of Scriptural truth" than all the rest of the clergy put together. For to him "belongs the honour of revealing to the world the treasure that had been hidden for so many ages, and which was almost universally supposed to be lost irrevocably": 63 the book of Enoch. Obliged to do all his work in the dark and damp Bodleian Library, which begrudged lending him manuscripts in which it had not the slightest interest,64 he produced in 1821 a translation under the title, "The Book of Enoch, an apocryphal Production, now first translated, from the Ethiopic Ms. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1821."

This work was reviewed by de Sacy in the Journal des Savants in 1822,65 and a decade later A.C. Hoffman issued a Latin translation;⁶⁶ in 1840 A.F. Gfroerer included a translation of Laurence's English version in a Latin book of oddities.⁶⁷ Not until 1851 was an Ethiopian text published, edited by A. Dillmann, who in 1853 issued a German translation containing passages not found in Laurence. 68 The first French translation did not appear until 1856.⁶⁹ Laurence himself issued a revised version of his Enoch in 1833, 1838, and 1842; of recent years more translations have been available in English.⁷⁰ But the only book of Enoch available to anyone before 1830 was Laurence's translation of 1821. It called forth three studies in English, which, being by unknown scholars, "hardly attracted the attention of the learned world at all"; and even so, the tendency of these works was not to enhance but to minimize the importance of Laurence's Enoch.⁷¹ After 1821 no translation was available to the public until 1833, when Joseph Smith's "Book of Enoch" was already three years old. Since we are to test that work by comparison with other versions since brought to light, it is important to ask at the outset just what other Enoch books Joseph Smith could have read. There is only one candidate: the Laurence translation of 1821. Could the Prophet have seen it before 1830? There would seem to be no possibility of that. Let us list the reasons for such a conclusion:

1) 1830 was a busy year for the Prophet Joseph; it saw the founding of the Church, the publication of the Book of Mormon, the sending of missionaries, much coming and going under persecution and pressure. It was also a banner year for revelation, including a sizable part of the Book of Commandments and the book of Moses. But for study? for research? for carefully digesting and critically exploiting a document like Laurence's Enoch, 214 pages long with a 48 page introduction and footnotes? Any dealing with such a text would have left its mark on any work derived from it. All that work by a 24-year-old farmer in upstate New York who had just produced a Book of Mormon without any notes at all? Hardly! Laurence's 1821 text only got into the hands of a few scholars in Europe and England, and they gave it scant notice: what would be the likelihood of a copy reaching Joseph Smith? By what grapevine? Who would transmit it and why? That is our next point.

2) Nobody in the learned world paid much attention to Laurence's Enoch. As we have seen, after its publication the "zeal for the cause of this long sought relic of antiquity appears to have expired for a long time in England . . . In France the Book of Enoch scarcely awakened a sensation."72 Even when the expedition of Napier to Magdala brought more Ethiopian manuscripts back to England, and the German missionaries whom he rescued brought yet more of them to Germany, those documents were promptly forgotten.⁷³

3) More to the point, the Christian ministry of all denominations neither liked Laurence's Enoch nor wanted it. It was not circulated by them but suppressed. Just as Peiresc's treasure, on the authority of Ludolf, was thrown out as "nothing more than a worthless tract, replete with fable and superstition,"74 so it was assumed from the first that the book of Enoch could only be full of "incantations and bestialities."75 In 1828 the very learned Algernon Herbert observed, "It has been supposed that the authour of that epistle [Jude] received and cited, as a holy scripture, that which is called the Book of Enoch, being an ignorant and ridiculous effusion. . . . The book in question is so monstrously absurd, that no person citing it, . . . could have obtained credit with Tertullian. . . . A man so profoundly ignorant of criticism, as to receive the said book for divine revelation, and so nearly allied to the errours of gnosticism, as to believe in its contents," could, he avers, never have written the Epistle of Jude.⁷⁶

One of the best studies ever made on the book of Enoch was written way back in 1840 by Michael Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover College, where in 1882 the first and only translation of the Ethiopian Enoch to appear in America was to be published.⁷⁷ He was excited by the discovery, but for the message of the book of Enoch he had only contempt: "To what purpose is an appeal to a book confessedly apocryphal, and therefore of no authority? . . . I have not the most distant intention to refer to the book of Enoch, as a book of authority. I can never be brought to believe that the Ethiopians had any good right to place it in their Canon . . . My full belief is, that 'our present Scriptures are the only and the sufficient rule of faith and practice." "78 He recognizes the gulf between the book of Enoch and the doctors of the Church who condemned it, noting that what is found in their writings is "less repugnant to sound reason and philosophy, than what is found in the book of Enoch."79 "No one now pretends that the book of Enoch is an inspired book," he insists, though admitting that "time was, when individuals probably thought so." Whereas the early Jewish writers and Christian fathers "quoted it as a holy book . . . almost all later fathers reject its claims to a place in the canon: as well they might.... No claim to any authority on the part of the book will now be made by any intelligent man."80

There it is again—and in America's most staid and respected school of divinity 135 years ago: the authentic, original early Christians just didn't have the intelligence and sophistication to understand things as they really were. The *later* fathers were all right: they were educated men who understood things the way we do—but those primitive Christians and Jews! Take just one example: "The very basis of the first part of the book, viz. the alleged carnal intercourse of angels with the daughters of men, is an impossibility, not to say absurdity..."⁸¹ What could the writer have had in mind? Instead of asking that question, the churchmen of every denomination simply threw the book out of the

window. To this day, in the official encyclopedias of the Lutherans and even in the literature of such fundamental literalists as the Seventh-day Adventists and the Mennonites, no articles appear under the name of Enoch. Nor do we find any mention of Enoch in the contemporary Vocabulary of Jewish Life or in the Book of Jewish Concepts. Though all the other great patriarchs have places of honor in these works, Enoch is out!

The Catholic clergy of Joseph Smith's day fully shared the scorn of Protestants and Jews for the new discovery. "To him [Enoch] in the first centuries of the Church," wrote the Abbe Glaire in 1846, "was attributed a work full of fables about the stars, the descent of the angels to earth, etc. But it appears that this production was fancied by the heretics, who, not content with falsifying the holy Scriptures, took advantage of the credulity of their stupid followers in spurious and fabulous works. Some critics pretend that this work, really by Enoch, has been disfigured by the hand of infidels; they base this claim on St. Jude . . . But St. Jude cites Enoch without any mention of his book . . . "82"

Later Catholic authorities deplore Enoch on the same grounds as they object to the Dead Sea Scrolls and other more recent discoveries, namely, that if taken seriously they would deprive Christianity of its sovereign claim to absolute originality: "To attribute great influence on the New Testament to the Book of Enoch as Charles does, is to ignore the powerful originality and divine inspiration of those to whom we owe the New Testament . . . Christ and the Apostles did not draw their doctrines from the Apocryphal works." Who says they did? There are other explanations for the resemblance—and no one today any longer denies that resemblance. But it annoys the clergy no end.

In a recent and important book, Klaus Koch has shown how Protestant and Catholic scholars alike through the years and right down until 1960 (when new discoveries force them to change their attitude) resolutely steered clear of the basic apocalyptic works, of which Enoch is by all odds the most important,84 and C.P. Van Andel in his survey of the Enoch literature notes that no one has been willing to touch the vital question of Enoch and the New Testament since 1900.85 As recently as 1973, a writer in Scientific American pointed out how new manuscript discoveries, especially Enoch, are now for the first time requiring drastic revision of the conventional Christian and Jewish views regarding the nature of the early Christian and Jewish communities and their teachings.86

4) Freethinkers might have exploited the socalled absurdities of Enoch against the Christians, but the latter had beaten them to the punch by promptly and vigorously disowning the book. Who, then, would have an interest in the book of Enoch? One might expect it to appeal to Masons or Rosicrucians, but it did not; Enoch is not found among the books favored by mystic or gnostic groups, and his name does not occur in their lists of inspired prophets.87 No library in America had a more representative collection of the works of the ancients than that of Thomas Jefferson, "for in his book-collecting no subject was overlooked by him."88 Book No. 1 in Jefferson's library was "Ancient History, Antwerp, including texts of Berosus, Manetho, etc.," and the books that follow show an equal concern for getting at the truth and the whole truth where the ancients were concerned. The collection was systematically and diligently continued, with careful concern for the latest and best information, up until 1826.89 If one expected to find a copy of Laurence's 1821 Enoch anywhere in America it would be in this library; but it is not. It was simply unknown in America.

5) This is thoroughly borne out in Michael Stuart's long and careful study of 1840. The text Stuart uses is the 1838 edition of Laurence, whose work comes to him, 19 years after the first version, as a novelty. Indeed, his aim in writing his long studies is to make American clergymen aware for the first time of the existence of the book: "The possession of this work, in our country, is rare; and our public, so far from being acquainted with the contents of the work are in general not at all aware, as I have reason to believe, that the book has even been recovered and published to the world."90 If this applies to the larger and far more widely publicized edition of 1838, who would have known anything of the 1821 edition, which Stuart does not even mention, and which went unremarked even in Europe by all but a few specialists?

Of the later edition, Stuart writes, "The reader, who is not in possession of it, and may not be able to procure it [he is writing for ministers rather than the general public], will naturally be desirous to know something more particular respecting so curious and interesting a relic of antiquity, and for his sake I shall proceed to give a more enlarged summary of its contents."

The thing was virtually unobtainable in this country. And why not? Its only appeal was as a religious book, but the religious were all against it. "Curious and interesting" it may have been for Stuart, but not to be recommended to the untrained in its original form: "It is in vain for anyone to derive much from it which is intelligible... For readers at large, the *Book of the Luminaries* is at present a sealed book." The historical part is written "in a very obscure and sometimes even repulsive manner..." with some of the principal chapters an "insipid and almost monstrous production." This was no book "for readers at large"!

And now comes a surprise. The same edition of Laurence was reviewed in the same year by another critic, who thought it was simply wonderful! The name of the critic was Parley P. Pratt, at that time, 1840, in England editing the official Latter-day Saint publication, *The Millennial Star*, in which his review appeared. Thus the Latter-day Saints first

heard of Laurence's Enoch in England, and greeted it with joyful surprise.

Far from being insipid, repulsive, and monstrous, for Elder Pratt, "this book carries with it indisputable evidence of being an ancient production. It steers clear of modern sectarianism, and savors much of the doctrine of the ancients, especially in regard to things of the latter day . . . it seems plainly to predict the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, and the mission of our elders . . . together with the later persecutions befallen our people in America . . . and the final result, and the complete triumph of the Saints."94 Extravagant as such conclusions may seem at first glance, recent studies of Enoch by non-Mormon scholars show it, as we shall see, to be surprisingly near the mark, for the book of Enoch was handed down through the centuries with the avowed intention of bringing comfort to the persecuted saints in every dispensation of the gospel.

Note that the 1838 editon of Laurence's book of Enoch is brought to the attention of the Saints as an exciting novelty. It does not occur even to the alert and searching Brother Pratt to compare the writing to Joseph Smith's 1830 book of Enoch, buried as it was in the book of Moses, to be published eleven years later in England under the title Extracts from the Prophecy of Enoch. What catches the eye of Parley P. Pratt are the parallels to the Book of Mormon and to the condition of the Church and the world in the last days. "We give the following extract, commencing at p. 156 [chapter 93:2ff], without further comment, and leave our readers to form their own judgment in regard to this remarkable book." And he proceeds to quote passages peculiarly fitted to the condition of the Latter-day Saints at that time: "To the righteous and the wise shall be given the books of joy, of integrity, of great wisdom. To them shall books be given, in which they shall believe; in which they shall rejoice."95

Well might they be impressed, and should have remembered that Joseph Smith's book of Enoch was given to them as a reward for their receiving and believing in the Book of Mormon. But the parallels escaped them as they have been overlooked by Saints ever since. In 1951 when Elder John A. Widtsoe presented the writer with a copy of the same text of I Enoch (the R.H. Charles edition of 1912), it was with the regretful comment that he had never found time to read it, and wondered if it contained anything of interest. At that time this writer himself had never read it—who had? It is only since about 1950 (with the discovery of Enoch texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls), as Koch and Van Andel point out, that anybody has begun to take this Enoch seriously. Pratt read the 1838 edition in England and there is no indication that any Church member in America owned a copy. The 1846 Inventory of Church Records includes no such title in the books of the Church Library taken across the plains.

7) This laboring of the only too obvious point, that Joseph Smith could not have used or known about the 1821 edition of Laurence's book of Enoch, has been very necessary: (a) because that was the only translation of any ancient Enoch text available to anyone at the time he dictated Moses chapters 6 and 7, and (b) the two books are full of most significant parallels. If such parallels are to have any significance as evidence supporting the Prophet's claims, we must of course rule out his use of the Laurence text.

Aside from the astronomical remoteness of such a probability, we have some useful positive "controls" which definitely show that such parallels are not dependent on the Laurence text. For many other manuscripts of the book of Enoch have come forth in various ancient languages since 1830, adding a great deal to the standard text which is not found in the 1821 version but which are found in the Joseph Smith Enoch. One of the most remarkable parallels, for example, is between some verses of Moses 7 and chapter 11 of the Ethiopian book of Enoch; yet that particular chapter was not included in the Laurence translation, and so could have been known to no one at the time.

8) Finally, even if Joseph Smith had had the rich apocryphal literature of our own day at his disposal, with the thousands of pages of Enoch, or even the 1821 text of Laurence, how would he have known how to handle the stuff? The Prophet's book of Enoch is less than three chapters long; how was he to know from all that what to put in and what to leave out to produce a text that most nearly corresponds to what modern scholars view as the authentic original material of Enoch's book? He did just that; he put together in a few hours the kind of text most closely corresponding to what specialists, after years of meticulous comparison of texts, come up with as the hypothetically essential text of Enoch. Let us now turn to the Enoch texts they have been using for their diligent comparative studies, and see how the Enoch story has emerged through the years. (To be continued.)

56. M'Clintock, 3:225.

57. Thomson, l.c.

58. Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes 1:400.

59. Ibid., 1:394, 403. De Sacy's work appeared in the Magazine encyclopédique, ann. 6, 1:382, and included chapters 1-3, 11-16, 22, and 32, all from the Paris manuscript.

60. Editorial, in The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review, and Ecclesiastical Record 2 (1826): 162, 131ff., 160ff.,

pursuing Laurence with relentless fury.

61. Ibid., p. 163. 62. Ibid., pp. 165-66.

63. Stuart, p. 90.

64. Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes, 1:401.

65. S. de Sacy, in Journal des Savants, October 1822, pp. 545-51, 587-95.

66. A.G. Hoffmann, 2 vols. (962 pages!), Jena, 1833-38. R.H. Charles ignores this item in his list of translations, Apocrypha & Pseudepigr., 2:186.

67. Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes, 1:394-95; A.F. Gfroerer was director of the Stuttgart Library.

68. Ibid., pp. 194-95.

69. This translation is contained in Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes, 1:425-514; this volume is also designated as volume 23 of the Troisieme et Derniere Encyclopedie Theologique, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1856.

70. Fraser's Magazine, 48 (November, 1833), contains a review of the second edition of Laurence's Enoch. Recently there has been available in our Seventy's bookstores The Book of Enoch the Prophet, "Literally Translated from the Ethiopic by Richard Laurence, LL.D. A Reprint from an Edition edited, with variations, and published by John Thomson, Glasgow, 1882"; 1966 edition, Seattle, Washington. The text differs from the recent reprint, The Book of Enoch.

71. They were Edw. Murray, Enoch Restitutus, or "an Attempt to separate from the books of Enoch, the Book quoted by Saint Jude"; D.M. Butt, The Genuineness of the Book of Enoch Investigated; John Overton, An Inquiry into the Truth and Use of Enoch . . . (1822). The neglect of these writings is noted by

Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes 1:398.

72. Stuart, p. 90.

73. Thomson, 1:164.

74. Stuart, p. 88.

75. Schmidt, p. 47.

76. A. Herbert, Nimrod (London: printed for R. Priestley, 1828), 1:36.

77. George H. Schodde, The Book of Enoch translated from the Ethiopic with Introduction and Notes (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1882).

78. Michael Stuart, "Future Punishment, as exhibited in the Book of Enoch," The American Biblical Repository, series 2, 4 (July 1840):10.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., p. 11.

81. Stuart, "Christology," 3:130.

82. Encyclopédie Catholique, edited by Glaire & Walsh, 11 (Paris: Parent Desbarres, 1846): 213-14.

83. J.B. Frey, "Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament," in Pirot, Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément (Paris: Librarire Letouzey et Ané, 1928), 1:369.

84. K. Koch, Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik, pp. 7-9.

- 85. C.P. Van Andel, De Structuur van de Henoch-Traditie en het Nieuwe Testament (Utrecht: H. Kemink & Son, 1955),
 - 86. Stone, Scientific American, January 1973, pp. 80-82.

87. G. Widengren, The Gnostic Attitude (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Institute of Religious Studies, 1973), pp. 41-45.

88. E.M. Sowerby, Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson (Washington: Library of Congress, 1959), 5:vii.

89. Ibid.

90. Stuart, "Christology," 3:91; italics added.

91. Ibid., 3:90.

92. Ibid., 3:102.

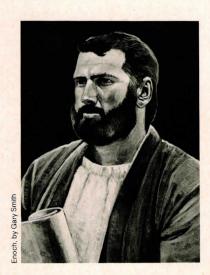
93. Ibid.

94. Parley P. Pratt, Millennial Star 1 (July 1840): 61.

95. Ibid., p. 63.

^{53.} Stuart, 3:89. Among Bruce's treasures was the Codex Brucianus 96, a long Coptic Christian work which is strongly influenced throughout by the Enoch tradition.

^{54.} Ibid. 55. J.E.H. Thomson, "Apocalyptic Literature," The International Standard Biblical Encyclopedia (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1939, reprint 1960), 1:164.



STRANGE THING IN THE LAND THE RETURN OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH, PART 3

By Hugh Nibley

Professor Emeritus of Ancient Scripture at Brigham Young University This section of our examination of Enoch will compare Joseph Smith's book of Enoch step-by-step with four main classes of documents, commonly designated as: I Enoch (the Ethiopic texts, beginning with the three brought to England by Bruce in 1773), II Enoch (also called the Secrets of Enoch, in Old Slavonic), III Enoch (Enoch texts in Greek), and scattered Hebrew and Aramaic Enoch fragments. Since these are to serve as checks on the reliability of the Prophet Joseph, the qualifications of each should be briefly considered.

I Enoch. As recently as 1937 Professor C. Bonner could write: "No part of the original writings, Hebrew or Aramaic, which entered into the composite work, has survived in the original language. The Greek version, in which the early Church read Enoch, also disappeared. . . . Modern knowledge of the work has been derived from the Ethiopian version," coming from a time "when all Christendom except Egypt had dropped Enoch from the list of sacred writings."96 I Enoch has long been recognized as "the largest and, after Daniel, the most important of the Jewish apocalyptic works which have so recently [this in 1916] come to be recognized as supplying most important data for the critical study of the N.T. ideas and phraseology."97 The work was translated into Ethiopian about A.D. 500,98 but the twenty-nine Ethiopian Enoch texts used by R.H. Charles in 1912 all date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.99 All agree that the Ethiopian Enoch is a composite work, and the dating of its various elements is still entirely a matter of conjecture. 100

While only guesses are possible regarding the process and steps by which the thing was brought together, Ploeger would assign what he considers the oldest parts to Essene origin of the second century before Christ. 101 Bonner finds that compared with the Greek version, the Ethiopian translation "while faithful in intent . . . has many faults, omitting here, expanding there, and in general committing numerous errors. Yet there are not a few places in which it preserves a reading better than that of the Greek papyrus";102 indeed, the text as a whole "may be . . . truer to the [Hebrew] original than the Greek."103 However, "the Ethiopian text is more general and therefore more imaginative and free as a literary work" than the others, 104 and such freedom has been bought at a price, for the work of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century natives "has been on the whole disastrous," according to Charles; "By far the best" of the manuscripts "exhibits much strange orthography and bad grammar, and many corruptions."105

Here it is proper to call attention to the lesson drilled into his students by A.E. Housman: There is no such thing as a "beste Handschrift"—the worst manuscript may contain priceless bits of an ancient

text in their purest original form, while a manuscript that is notable for its convincing and demonstrably correct readings may without warning come up with unbelievable howlers. So it happens that the Ethiopian Enoch, "though teeming with every form of error . . . additions, corruptions, and omissions," contains for all that a number of "unique and original readings," which can be exceedingly valuable. 106

II Enoch, the Secrets of Enoch. This work "was unknown to the Western World until Robert Henry Charles suspected in 1892 that a Slavonic ms published by A. Popov" in 1880 was no mere rehash of the Ethiopian Enoch, "but a different document. His suspicions proved correct when William Richard Morfill translated the Slavonic ms. into English in 1896."107 Ploeger concludes that the Slavonic Enoch originated in a Jewish sect in Egypt and was translated into Slavonic at the beginning of the early Middle Ages. 108 S. Terrien notes that it "includes many beliefs of popular Judaism of the lst century A.D."109 Others dispute this; H.F. Weiss maintains that the Slavic Enoch is from a Greek original and does not go back to Palestine. 110 Others have it a reworking of the Ethiopic Enoch based on a Greek text, originally written in Palestine before the fall of the temple (A.D. 70), noting that its Hellenistic odor suggests a Judaeo-Alexandrine author.111 Recently, D. Winston has called attention to strong Iranian influence in II Enoch. 112 The standard edition of the Slavonic Enoch is that of A. Vaillant, who brings together "a dozen different Slavonic mss" for his text. 113 According to Vaillant, the Slavonic Enoch was first noticed in 1859.114 R. H. Charles bases his version on the German translation of Bonwetsch and the English Morfill translation of 1896.115

The Slavonic Enoch comes to us in a long and short version, with the experts unable to agree on which has priority. 116 Vaillant finds the longer version "imputable to the fantasy of the 15th and 16th centuries,"117 while they and the five Slavonic manuscripts of the short version (translations from the Greek), 118 once stripped of the late fantasies which so embarrassed Charles, present "a perfectly coherent ensemble, which without the slightest disparity falls into place as a work of primitive Christianity."119 Vaillant calls the Slavic Enoch "this Christian imitation of a Jewish apocrypha" in which "Christian thought is expressed in terms of the Old Testament, into which borrowings from the Gospel seem to be transposed."120 Though the first major revision took place in the thirteenth century, the manuscript in which it reaches us is from the sixteenth century; the language is Bulgaro-Serbian. Its writer borrows from the Chronicle of Harmatole and belonged perhaps to the circle of Vladislav the Grammarian.121 A second major revision, which corrects the "mediocre Slavonic" of the first, was by an unknown Moldavian scholar. 122

III Enoch, the Greek Enoch. Greek excerpts

from the book of Enoch have always been available in Jude 14b-15 (quote I En. 4:14), the Epistle of Barnabas 4:3; 16:5-6; Clement of Alexandria, Eclog. Prophet. 53:4, Origen, C. Cels. 5:52; Comm. in John VI, 42 (25); and the long ninth fragment in George Syncellus' Chronicle. (Dindorff, p. 24:2-11.) R.H. Charles lists no fewer than 128 citations from Enoch in the New Testament! Yet these passages could not be identified until an actual Enoch text of some sort was available; as late as 1912, the Greek Enoch was known only through the tenth century Slavic tradition. 124

A Greek Enoch fragment matching a section of the Ethiopian (I En. 89:42-49) "was found in the Vatican Library by Angelo Mai in 1832, and deciphered by Johann Gildemeister in 1885. A considerable part of the same Greek translation was discovered in Akhmim in Upper Egypt in 1886-87

and published in 1892."125

Thus, an important, though limited, control of the late Ethiopian and Slavic texts was becoming possible, as the much older Greek stuff emerged. In 1893, Charles made an exhaustive comparison of the Ethiopic and newly discovered Greek texts, which are given in the original in the Appendix of his 1912 translation of I Enoch (pp. 318-70). Charles found that the Ethiopic was translated from the parent manuscript Gg, a very corrupt Greek text, though each contains original material not found in the other. 126 The important Akhmim text was discovered "during the winter of 1886-1887 by the French Archaeological Mission," and "was thought at the time of its publication [by Bouriant in 1892] to be of the eighth century, but is now assigned to the sixth."127

When in 1930 the University of Michigan got six leaves of papyrus Codex of Enoch in Greek, Professor Bonner discovered that they belonged in a batch of papyri residing in the famous Chester Beatty collection; and sure enough, in 1931 Frederick Kenyon found more leaves of the same text in the Beatty collection, making a total of fourteen pages128 written by a single scribe in a handwriting of the fourth century—by far the oldest Enoch text discovered up to that time. 129 "Written in a large coarse hand, which is certainly not that of a trained scribe," the Michigan codex is "full of mistakes in spelling . . . "; 130 "almost every page exhibits errors of a more serious sort which show that the scribe was often drowsy or inattentive, and suggest that he understood his text imperfectly . . . the ms. from which he copied was itself corrupt or else almost illegible in some places."131 In form it is not a roll or scroll, but a book, 132 bound with a text of Melito. The Beatty Enoch is to be viewed, Van Andel suggests, as typical of that "edifying literature in the Christian circles from the 3rd to the 6th (?) centuries,"133 showing in what high esteem Enoch was held by the early Christians, having been taken into the church with full honors from earlier times. 134

The Greek Enoch offers another example and warning to those who would rest arguments on silence. As late as 1910, no less eminent a scholar than C. Schmidt had "attempted to show . . . that the strange silence of all Patristic writers as to this remarkable book, whose Christian coloring, at least in its present form would be especially tempting to them, renders it doubtful whether it was ever translated into Greek." Indeed, Schmidt could write in 1922, "No MS of the Greek text has yet been found, and it seems to have left no important traces in Byzantine literature, though it must have been read in Constantinople as well as in Alexandria." 136

But once a book of Enoch came forth, Charles could supply, not only 128 citations from Enoch in the New Testament, but a list of over thirty important apocryphal (Jewish and Christian) and patristic works quoting Enoch. Quite recently M. Philonenko has called attention to a Manichaean Greek text with an important excerpt from Enoch. Mathew Black has brought together all available and reconstructed Greek Enoch texts into a single hypothetical "Apocalypsis Henochi Graeci," but still the big Greek text is missing.

The Hebrew-Aramaic Enoch. It has always been suspected that the oldest version of Enoch would turn out to be Aramaic or Hebrew. "The book of Zohar, in which are various allusions to Enoch, seems to speak of it as an important Hebrew production which had been handed down from generation to generation. The Cabbalists . . . thought that Enoch was really the author." 140

One can follow Jellinek's unfolding of Hebrew Enoch texts in the pages of the *Baith ha-Midrash*. In 1859, Jellinek suggested that "a Hebrew Book of Enoch resembling the Ethiopian" had once circulated among the Jews: "The Karaite Salmon b. Jerucham in the 10th century, Moses of Leon [12th century] and the Zohar toward the end of the 13th century all cite from a Book of Enoch"; ¹⁴¹ but as early as 1853, Jellinek had suggested some "Hebrew Sources for the Book of Enoch," and even posited that Enoch was an *Essene* creation. ¹⁴²

Large fragments of the lost book of Enoch are included, moreover, in the Pirke R. Elieser and the Hechalot, which in the Oppenheim Manuscript is actually labelled "Book of Enoch." 143 In volume 2 of the Baith ha-Midrash, Jellinek gives the text of a "Book of Enoch" as preserved in Moses of Leon's "Book of the Dwelling of the Secrets,"144 and in the next volume he noted that the Great Hechalot (meaning the Chambers, i.e., of initiation in the temple) was a type of writing which combined Essenism and Ssufism, and had great influence on poets and mystics. The Great Hechalot, he said, was actually a "secret book of the Essenes dealing with the origin of the universe and the divine throne of Ezekiel. Parts of it appear in the Book of Enoch, that provided the source of Christian-Essene and Jewish-Essene literature."145

In Baith ha-Midrash, volume 4, Jellinek

provides the text to a Life of Enoch from the Sefer ha-Jashar, using older sources, and announced that this provided "a new confirmation that the entire Enoch saga and the Enoch books were known to the Jews, and were only allowed to fall into neglect after the time when a growing Christianity displayed a dogmatic preference to this cycle (Sage)," i.e., it was adoption by the Christians that soured the Jews on Enoch. 146

In volume 5, in 1872, Jellinek joyfully announced the vindication of his long search: "In [Baith ha-Midrash] III, 1855, p. xxiii, I suggested that several versions of the Hechalot themes attributed to the Wisdom of Enoch must be in existence. And so also the primitive . . . Book of Enoch was put together from various smaller works, which had been traced back to Enoch!" The final proof is a text which Jellinek reproduced at this place, taken from Recamatic, Commentary on the Pentateuch, Venice, 1545.147 The study of Jewish apocalyptic literature in general was initiated in 1857 by M. Lilgenfeld, and it soon appeared, thanks to citations by the XII Patriarchs, Jubilees, etc., that Enoch was "the first and most important of all the Palestinian apocalypses."148 "Of all the Palestinian writings," wrote the Catholic scholar J. B. Frey, "the Book of Enoch seems to have surpassed all the others in antiquity and in importance."149

N. Schmidt concluded that "it is possible that Pico's collection (in the 15th century) contained a copy of the Hebrew Enoch . . . which the prejudice of the scholars allowed to pass by unnoticed." 150 Beside the *Helachoth* published by Jellinek in 1873, Schmidt mentions as a Hebrew Enoch source the *Sefer Helakoth* of R. Ishmael (Limberg, 1864), but insists that "the Hebrew Enoch contains material that appears to have been drawn from both Ethiopian and Slavonic Enoch as well as other sources," thus regarding it, as S. Zeitlin does the Dead Sea Scrolls, as a Medieval production. 151

What fixes the Hebrew Enoch as the original is the discovery among the Dead Sea Scrolls of sizeable fragments of the book of Enoch. It will be recalled that Jellinek suggested way back in 1853 that Enoch was an Essene production. In this he was vindicated almost exactly a hundred years after.

In 1956, Father J.T. Milik mentioned eight different fragments in the Dead Sea Scrolls of I Enoch in Aramaic, and an Aramaic book III, which was superior to the Ethiopian section on astronomy. There was also an epistle of Enoch to Shamazya and his friends, a manuscript dating before A.D. 70. 153 F.M. Cross reported in 1954 that the Pesher or commentary on Habakkuk, one of the first works to be discovered at Qumran, was "an unknown work related to the Enoch literature." 154 Between 1952 and 1973, however, only two of these Aramaic fragments had been published, and in 1970, M. Black had to send his book to press without the benefit of the larger fragments. 155

All the Enoch fragments found in Cave I, according to Milik, were deposited there in the first century A.D. 156 "Fragments of I En. from QCave 4 found in 1952, are all in Aramaic, and show affinities with the Ethiopian version." "They contain hitherto unknown Enoch material, such as a letter of Enoch to Shamazya." In three of these manuscripts Enoch's journey on the earth is given "in a longer recension." But for all their importance, the old Aramaic Enoch texts are still being withheld from the world after more than twenty years. The important Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran begins with five columns which "deal with the birth of Noah in a manner that has no direct relationship at all to the brief biblical account in Gen. V, 28f, but resembles Enoch cvi in most essential points."158

"'Of all the
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Appraisals of the Book of Enoch as a whole. It was Laurence himself in his first two editions who suggested that "different parts of this book may have been composed at different times and by different persons."159 Acting on such an assumption, E. Murray went overboard and saw in Enoch nothing but a jumble of separate treatises on disconnected subjects, clustered around an original book of only thirty verses!160 From the midnineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, dismantling ancient writings into many original components was a favorite game of the learned; so J.B. Frey, while hailing the book of Enoch as a work of supreme age and importance, still insists that it is really not a book of Enoch but rather an Enoch literature consisting of very disparate works which have only the name of Enoch in common, as if "Enoch" could not have written on more than one subject.161

Carl Clemen in 1898 found no less than twelve separate traditions in Enoch, and made much of the changes of person "as betraying the composite character of the work." Charles suggests that

Enoch is "built up on the debris" of an older Noah saga, and insists that "the Parables are distinct in origin," as are the cosmological sections. 163 Every possible theory has been suggested by the experts to account for the book. As R.H. Charles notes, "Every scholar divides up the Books of Enoch differently and assigns different dates to them." 164 As early as 1840, M. Stuart had the perspicacity to note that "the tone and tenor of the book has many resemblances to passages in the Zend Avesta"; 165 while Sieffert sees part of it by a Chasid of the age of Simon Maccabbee and part by an Essene before 64 B.C., Philippi finds it written entirely "in Greek by ONE author, a Christian, about A.D. 100." 166

The Hastings Dictionary of the Apostolic Church declared Enoch to be "a work of curious complexity and unevenness. In fact, it is quite a cycle of works in itself," though "in this medley we find certain recurring notes." The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (2:103) confesses that "the extent to which the compiler reworked his sources cannot be determined. He certainly made little effort to harmonize them, . . . To some extent he interwove his sources. . . . More typically, however, one source is followed by another, with little or no attention to the chronological or logical sequence or to consistency of thought." 168 In 1960, J.E.H. Thomson could still report that there is still as much disagreement as ever among the experts on the structure of Enoch and the nature and priority of its various parts. 169 C.P. Van Andel reported in 1955 that no overall study of any aspect of the book of Enoch had ever been undertaken.¹⁷⁰ He gives the Greek Enoch clear priority, since it is intelligible where I Enoch is often incomprehensible.¹⁷¹ We shall note below important instances in which the Joseph Smith Enoch "follows" the Greek and not the Ethiopian versions.

The Ethiopian Enoch, Van Andel holds, comes from Jewish sources of about the time of Christ; though its "Stitz in Leben" remains to be determined, all the Enoch literature is recognized as being the work of sectaries. R.H. Charles sees a Hasidic origin, i.e., Pharisee; while Leszynski thinks it is Sadducee, and Lagrange, Essene—all of which have been related in one way or another to the Qumran community.172 That part of I Enoch known as the Wisdom of Enoch (91-107) belonged to a separatist group, according to Van Andel, who were without friends in the world and stood in sharp opposition to the ruling classes in Israel.¹⁷³ Van Andel concludes that the ultimate source of the Ethiopian Enoch was a book circulated among related Jewish sects of the second and first centuries B.C., who took Enoch as their model in denouncing a degenerate world.¹⁷⁴ This "book" in turn came from the same source as Jubilees, but is older, 175 while the "Wisdom of Enoch" part has the same origin as the XII Patriarchs and the Zadokite Fragment of the Dead Sea Scrolls, with their emphasis on priesthood and the strict keeping of the Law. 176

All scholars agree that the ultimate beginnings of Enoch or its several parts remain completely unknown, while insisting that the book of Enoch *must* have been derived from earlier writings. Yet the oldest sources we have claim to go back to Enoch and know of none earlier but Adam. Instead of ever seeking for sources to Enoch, which never turn up, why not do the sensible thing and accept Enoch himself as the source, as the writers of Jubilees and the XII Patriarchs do?

Van Andel, who rightly accuses Albert Schweitzer of paying no attention to Jewish Apocalyptic writings in reconstructing his concept of Jesus and his followers, ¹⁷⁷ is guilty of the same sort of short-sightedness when he traces everything back to the Jewish writings of the third century B.C. and there comes to a dead halt, as if all were a vacuum before that. But Rudolf Otto asks why we cannot go much farther back than that, since the Seer with his view of the heavenly Zion and the Ancient of Days is a stock figure in very ancient writings indeed. ¹⁷⁸

(To be continued.)

FOOTNOTES

96. C. Bonner, The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek (London: Christophers, 1937), p. 3.

97. A.L. Davies, in J. Hastings Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, (New York, 1916), 1:334.

98. O. Ploeger, in Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart 3:222.

99. R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch or I Enoch (Oxford, 1912), p. xxiv; one important manuscript dates "possibly as early as the 15th century," p. xxiii, and another from the 18th century, p. xxii.

100. Ploeger, p. 222.

101. Ibid., pp. 223-24.

102. Bonner, p. 22.

103. Ibid., p. 24.

104. C.P. Van Andel, De Struktuur van de Henoch-

Traditie (Utrecht: Kemink & Son, 1955), p. 7.

105. Charles, p. xxv.

106. Ibid., p. xxvi.

107. S. Terrien, in Encyclopedia Americana (1970), 10:395.

108. Ploeger, p. 224.

109. Terrien, l.c.

110. H.F. Weiss, Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des Hellenistischen u. Palästinischen Judentums (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1966), p. 126. See also O. Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964), p. 843.

111. E. da San Marco, Enciclopedia Cattolica (Vatican City, 1951), 6:1467.

112. D. Winston, "The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran," History of Religions, 5:197.

113. Terrien, 10:395.

114. André Vaillant, Le Livre des Secrets d'Henoch, (University of Paris: Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1952), p. iii.

115. Ibid., p. iv.

116. Ibid, p. i.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid., p. v.

119. Ibid., p. viii.

120. Ibid., p. xi.

121. Ibid., p. xxi.

122. Ibid., p. xxiii. 123. Charles, p. xcvff.

124. Vaillant, p. viii.

125. Terrien, 10:394.

126. Charles, p. xvii.

127. Bonner, p. 3.

128. Ibid., p. 4.

129. Ibid., p. 10.

130. F.G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri (London, 1933-41), 8:12.

131. Bonner, p. 17.

132. Kenyon, p. 6.

133. Van Andel, p. 3.

134. Ibid., p. 4.

135. N. Schmidt, "Traces of the Book of Enoch in Europe," Journal of the American Oriental Society 42 (1922): 44f.

136. Ibid.

137. Charles, p. lxx.

138. M. Philonenko, in Rev. Hist. & Phil. Rel., 52 (1972):

139. M. Black, ed., Apocalypsis Henochi Graeca (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

140. Ibid.

141. J.M. McClintock, Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature (1876), 3:226.

142. A. Jellinek, Bait ha-Midrash (BHM) (Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1967), 2:16: xxx.

143. Jellinek, Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 7 (1853): 249.

144. BHM 2: xxx-xxxii.

145. BHM 3: viii, 83-108.

146. BHM 4: xi-xii, 129-32.

147. BHM 5: xli; Frg. XXIV, pp. 170-90.

148. F.G. Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible (Paris, 1895-1912), 1: 757.

149. J.B. Frey, in Pirot, Dictionnaire de la Bible (Paris, 1928), 1:357.

150. N. Schmidt, in JAOS 42:47.

151. Ibid., p. 45.

152. Ibid., n. 45.

153. J.T. Milik, in Revue Biblique 63 (January 1956).

154. F.M. Cross, Biblical Archaeologist, February 1954, p. 3.

155. M. Black, Apocalypsis Henochi Graeca, pp. 6-7.

156. D. Barthelemy and J.T. Milik, Qumran Cave 1, volume of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), p. 3.

157. Ibid.

158. Terrien, 10:394.

159. N. Avigad, A Genesis Apocryphon (1956), p. 19.

160. J.P. Migne, Encyclopedie Theologique (Paris, 1856), 3:425-26.

161. J.B. Frey, in Pirot, Dict. 1:357.

162. C. Clemen, Theologische Studien u. Kritiken, 1898, pp. 211ff, cit. Charles, p. xliii.

163. Charles, p. xlvii-xlviii.

164. Ibid., pp. xxxff

165. M. Stuart, Biblical Repository and Classical Review (Andover, 1840ff), 3:132. Later, in 1891, T.K. Cheyne pointed out "Essene and Zoroastrian elements" in the Enoch literature; cit. Charles, p. xlii.

166. Ibid., p. xxxv.

167. Hastings Encyclopedia of the Apostolic Church (1916), 1:334.

168. M. Rist, in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 2:103.

169. J.E.H. Thomson, in International Standard Bible Encyclopedia (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1960), 1:164.

170. Van Andel, Structuur, p. 1.

171. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

172. Summarized by Van Andel, p. 9.

173. Ibid., p. 11.

174. Ibid., p. 43.

175. Ibid., p. 47.

176. Ibid., p. 51. 177. Ibid., p. 68.

178. Ibid., p. 70.



A Strange Thing in the Land

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 4

By Hugh Nibley

Professor Emeritus of Ancient Scripture at Brigham Young University A much debated issue has always been, how Christian are the Enoch writings? "There is a possibility that the latest wording of I Enoch has been written by Christian hands, but nowhere do the various parts give cause to deem it of Christian origin or interpolation," is Van Andel's conclusion. In such Jewish works as the XII Patriarchs, James II, Peter, Jude, Didache, Barnabas, and Hermas, he finds it "almost impossible to distinguish between the Christian and the non-Christian elements." J.Z. Werblowsky holds that II Enoch "incorporates the messianic concepts of Alexandrian Jewry as well as many Christian additions... in circulation during the 2nd Temple Period." 181

Christian scholars exercised to preserve the "originality" of Jesus in the case of Enoch, as with the Dead Sea Scrolls, have leaned over backwards in insisting that Enoch is a work totally alien to the New Testament. In 1840, M. Stuart finds that "the reader who has never pursued at much length the study of sacred criticism, cannot well imagine how much light is east by it [I Enoch] on various parts of the New Testament; particularly on the Apocalypse ... and yet,—how different are the two compositions, although partial and even general resemblances are so frequent!"182 He assures us that Enoch and the book of Revelation were written by "two Jews writing at the same period, having the same general theme and object . . . both authors . . . deal together in visions and symbols."183 To rescue the originality of the New Testament, he explains that the two books are independent inventions, as "both authors range the world of imagination" and freely fabricate. 184

Still, Stuart is amazed to find what looks like "true Christology before the time of Christ!" 185 How could he account for it? It must be a Christian work: "The whole contour of the Messianic part of the book indicates more knowledge of Christology than any uninspired Jew could reasonably be supposed to possess . . . at any time before Christianity was published." 186

How about an inspired Jew then? That, of course, is out of the question: "My full belief is, that our present Scriptures are the only and the sufficient rule of faith and practice,"187 a position which obliges him, no matter what, to announce: "I have not the most distant intention to refer to the Book of Enoch as a book of authority. I can never be brought to believe that the Ethiopians had any good right to place it in their Canon."188 Yet he frankly admits that the early Christians, including the first of the Fathers, placed it in their canon! 189 His conclusion: "The author was a Christian Jew."190 Christian, because "no merely Jewish usage, which is known to us, would, at so early a period, have led the writers in the path that he has trodden."191 Jewish, because he was "unusually familiar with the Old Testament scriptures, and probably having some acquaintance with those of

the New. It was composed in all probability in the latter half of the 1st century of the Christian era."192

In 1860, G. Volkmar, moved by the same arguments, insisted that Enoch was a purely Christian work, the idea that it was pre-Christian resulting from faulty translation; it had nothing to do with the sectaries of the first century B.C. 193 Then in 1864, the purely Jewish Hebrew Enoch texts began to appear, 194 but A. Vaillant, as a good Catholic, meets the challenge: While the Hebrew Enoch is "badly constructed, confused, and murky, the Christian Enoch is reasonable, orderly, and clear." So it was the Christians who really organized the old Jewish materials and in the process "invented another history," which lets the Jews out. 195 In the same spirit, Weisse, Hofmann, and Philippi all insisted that Enoch was a Christian work, on the "dogmatic principle," according to Charles, that Christianity had to be vindicated "in its pure originality."196

This is a question that has exercised all the students of early apocalyptic writings of recent years—what can we do when an undeniably Jewish work is full of undeniably Christian elements? That, of course, was one of the major stumbling blocks of the Book of Mormon—how could Jews before the time of Christ speak and act so much like Christians and vice versa? The apparent anomaly has led both Jews and Christians to restrain their enthusiasm for the Dead Sea Scrolls and even to discourage their

publication.197

After listing a dozen references to Enoch in the New Testament, the Encyclopedia Britannica minimizes the tie-in on the theory that the "recurrence of similar ideas and phraseology need indicate no more than indebtedness to a common tradition."198 Van Andel insists that the New Testament community that invented Enoch followed Christ, who was not an invention: "The real Enoch is lost in the mists of myth, while the real Christ is a historic figure. . . . "199 And how did they invent Enoch? How much of the story came down to them beside the name? Nobody knows, and theories are cheap. Even R.H. Charles, to avoid giving too much credit to Enoch, has introduced things into his translation, according to Black, without "the slightest support from Ms. tradition. . . . He has in fact practically rewritten the end of the Similitudes in accordance with his view of what Enoch ought to have said."200

But P. Batiffol, with his usual insight, observed long ago that such works as Enoch are both a prolongation of the canonical prophets, and "at the same time a prologue to the Gospel. So and so alone can one explain the favor with which they met in the Primitive Church, and how, neglected by the Jews of the Talmudic tradition, they have been preserved for us by Christian hands."201

The purpose of this dull and sketchy summary is to make clear at the outset that when Joseph Smith produces pages of a book of Enoch for our perusal he cannot be borrowing from any known

ancient source, whether Ethiopian, Greek, Slavonic, Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arabic, etc., for none of them were available to him in 1830.

Of all the momentous concepts brought to the attention of mankind through the ministrations of the Prophet Joseph Smith, none has met with greater derision or merits greater respect than his account of how certain sacred records have been kept and transmitted to the saints of every dispensation down through the ages. He tells us how a depository of sacred writings has been preserved and expanded from the beginning of man to the present time; and if he is right, there exists somewhere on earth at this time, if only we knew where to find them, the equivalent of thousands of tapes and films recalling crucial events in human history. The equivalent? Better than that! The old science-fiction dream of some day recapturing the waves of sight and sound propagated by great historical events of the past turns out to be a mistake physicists assure us that waves of light and noise have a way of losing definition and damping out soon after they begin their ambitious voyage in all directions, and it can be shown that the most powerful instruments conceivable can never unscramble their fused and mazy impulses.

This means that the skill of writing, a technique as old as history, still remains and probably always will remain, the most effective means of binding time and space. "But of all other stupendous inventions," wrote the stupendous Galileo, "what sublimity of mind must have been his who conceived how to communicate his most secret thought to any other person, though very far distant either in time or place, speaking with those who are in the Indies, speaking with those who are not yet born, nor shall be this thousand or even ten thousand year? And with no greater difficulty than the various arrangement of two dozen little signs upon paper? Let this be the seal of all the admirable inventions of man."202 The sublimity of the thing brings its human invention into question-men never invented anything else like that before or since, and the idea that "primitive man" insensibly floundered into it inch by inch over tens of thousands of

stumbling years is simply hilarious.203 Well, Joseph the Seer doth a tale unfold which when you put it together is as splendid as it is audacious. And it is not hard to put together, for it runs through all of the inspired scriptures of which he is the purveyor; the Book of Mormon in particular

spells it all out for us. This is how it goes.

Enoch of old declared that in the days of Adam "it was given unto as many as called upon God to write by the spirit of inspiration," that "a book of remembrance" was kept "in the language of Adam," and handed down to his own time, "written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God." (Moses 6:5, 46.) At the end of his

life Adam "predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation," and that information was carefully preserved: "These things were all written in the book of Enoch, and are to be testified of in due time." (D&C 107:56-57.)

Thus there is a written record that bridges all of human experience from the beginning to the end. And in between comes a busy operation of bookkeeping to fill out the record, bring it up to date, condense and abridge where necessary, and transmit it into the proper hands for still further transmission. "For I command all men, both in the east and in the west, and in the north, and in the south, and in the islands of the sea, that they shall write the words which I speak unto them. . . . I shall also speak unto all nations of the earth and they shall write it." (2 Ne. 29:11-12.)

As writing bridges space, so it bridges time—as the bronze plates that Lehi took from Jerusalem "go forth unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people who were of his seed," we are assured that they "should never perish; neither should they be dimmed any more by time." (1 Ne. 5:18-19.) The world by this account is covered with a sort of mesh of communications, something like Tielhard de Chardin's mesh of organic life, by which the righteous regardless of time or place can share in a common universe of discourse: "He did surely show ... unto many concerning us; wherefore, it must needs be that we know concerning them . . . that they might know concerning the doings of the Lord in other lands, among people of old." (1 Ne. 19:21, 22.)

Even the angels enter into the game: a bit of cross-referencing will show that when Gabriel came to put Zacharias and Mary "into the picture," as it were, his whole discourse to them was simply a pastiche of ancient prophetic writings that were about to be fulfilled (Luke 1); and when Moroni inaugurated a subsequent dispensation he did so in the same way, "quoting the prophecies of the Old Testament . . . about to be fulfilled," and others both properly corrected and "precisely as they stand in our New Testament," with the necessary explanations. (Joseph Smith 2:36, 40.)

In the handing down of the sacred record, everything is under strict control from on high, "given by inspiration, and . . . confirmed . . . by the ministering of angels . . . proving to the world that the holy scriptures are true, and that God does inspire men and call them to his holy work in this age and generation, as well as in generations of old." (D&C 20:10-11.) Everything is timed to the hour, done in "the own due time of the Lord." (2 Ne. 27:10, 21; Eth. 4:16-17; esp. Joseph Smith 2:53-59.) The perfect matching of the records from widely scattered times and places attests their authenticity, for "these last records . . . shall establish the truth of the first." (1 Ne. 13:40.) And from first to last, all is done "by the spirit of inspiration." (Moses 6:5.)

The Prophet is good enough to tell us just how the thing operates. As the material is passed down from one hand to another, it snowballs as only libraries can, so that an abridged version must be made from time to time if the main message is to be kept to the fore, with the editor selecting for special attention what he deems primary and preserving the rest under various categories.

"And there had many things transpired which, in the eyes of some, would be great and marvelous; nevertheless, they cannot all be written in this book; yea, this book cannot contain even the hundredth

part of what was done. . . .

"But behold there are records which do contain all the proceedings of this people; and a shorter but true account was given by Nephi [an earlier editor].

"... I [Mormon] have made my record ... according to the record of Nephi . . . on plates which I have made with mine own hands." (3 Ne. 5:8-11, see 1 Ne. 1:16-17.)

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The last phrase is the standard colophon by which an ancient editor certifies the accuracy of the record both as he received it and as he is passing it on: "And we know our record to be true, for behold, it was a just man who did keep the record . . . if there was no mistake made by this man." (3 Ne. 8:1-2); the editor himself certifies, "I make a record of my proceedings in my days . . . and I know that the record which I make is true; and I make it with mine own hand; and I make it according to my knowledge." (1 Ne. 1:1-3, see 3 Ne. 5:17.) Jacob the brother of Nephi tells us that he took notes from the older records, of the things that might be of particular interest to his people, jotting down "the heads of them" (ancient kephalaia), to "touch upon them as much as it were possible . . . for the sake of our people." (Jac. 1:4.) For relevance is the keynote: "for I did liken all scriptures unto us, that it might be for our profit and learning." (1 Ne. 19:23.)

Methods of handling sacred writings are conditioned by the hostile world in which they find themselves. There are those who have sworn "in their wrath that, if it were possible, they would destroy our records and us, and also all the traditions of our fathers." (Enos 14.) Failing that, they can damage and corrupt them: "They have taken away . . . many parts which are plain and most precious; and also many covenants of the Lord have they taken away," with the disastrous effect that "an exceeding great many do stumble." (1 Ne. 13:26, 29.)

Why should anyone want to do that? For whatever reason, the burning of the books is a stock motif of real history. Ray Bradbury's novel, Fahrenheit 451, tells of a time in the future when the government and people of the United States systematically destroy all books, which are the disturbing element in a world dedicated to TV and the avoidance of serious thinking. But the author misses the main point: the books that are burned are not

the sacred depository of which we have been speaking, but the books in the college "Survey of Western Civilization," a second-growth at best, a covering of beautiful fire-weed that sprang up on the ashes of the holy books that had been burned by the very schoolmen who now sponsor their successors. The question right now is not whether the sad and moving chorus of the "Great Books," all admittedly groping in the dark, can answer the great questions of life (by their own admission they cannot), but whether there ever were books that could do so, a lost library which they replaced. Joseph Smith was aware of the blank emptiness that exists between modern man and any such writings. "You may think this order of things to be very particular," he said to the brethren when he introduced them to the record keeping system of the Church (D&C 128:5); and Moroni, the editor-in-chief of the Book of Mormon, despairs of approaching or even describing the inconceivable power and grandeur conveyed by the written word in the hands of such inspired masters as the brother of Jared. (See Eth. 12:23-25.) The point is that such writing operates on a different wavelength from the ordinary; from it the receptive reader can get something that no other writing will give. The last dispensation was inaugurated by such a communication: "Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine." (Joseph Smith 2:12.) The passage was familiar, but until then the power had been shut off.

Because the world is touchy and resentful of what it does not understand—"Dogs bark at strangers," says the immortal Heracleitus—the keeping of the record is much concerned with hiding, withholding, dissembling, rationing, and disguising: "Having been commanded of the Lord that I should not suffer the records which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred, to fall into the hand of the Lamanites, (for the Lamanites would destroy them) therefore I... hid up in the hill Cumorah all the records which had been entrusted to me by the hand of the Lord." (Morm. 6:6); "Those who have dwindled in unbelief shall not have them, for they seek to destroy the things of God." (2 Ne. 26:17.) Such things are "sealed up" and "shall not be delivered in the day of the wickedness and abominations of the people. Wherefore the book shall be kept from them." (2 Ne. 27:8.)

The safest way to preserve a book from destruction, and the only way to protect it from the inevitable corruption of contents that comes with copying and handling, is simply to bury it: "sealed up to come forth in their purity" (1 Ne. 14:26); "then shalt thou seal up the book again, and hide it up unto me, that I may preserve the words which thou hast not read, until I shall see fit in mine own wisdom to reveal all things" (2 Ne. 27:22, see Eth. 4:4-6, D&C 6:26-27). The problem of finding the thing again raises no difficulty, of course, since they are hid up "unto God" by his instructions: "Touch not the things which are sealed, for I will bring them forth in mine own due time. . . .

"Wherefore, when thou hast read the words, ... then shalt thou seal up the book again, and hide it up unto me." (2 Ne. 27:21-22.) And when they are found again, they are to be shown "only to those to whom [the finder] should be commanded to show them," on pain of the finder's own destruction. (Joseph Smith 2:42.) When they are "had again among the children of men," it is only "among as many as shall believe. . . . Show them not unto any except them that believe." (Moses 1:41-42.) Some things are never to be circulated publicly, but are only "to be had in the Holy Temple of God" (Abraham, facsimile 2, Fig. 8); others may not be written down save by a special agent at a special time. (1 Ne. 14:25, 28.)

Sacred writings are often secured from unworthy eyes by the device of recording in code. In a sense, all writing is codified and can be read only by those who have received special instruction; to "read" means to "riddle" or decipher. King Benjamin had to learn a special language before he "could read these engravings," and had his sons learn the language so they could keep the record (Mosiah 1:4); and the brother of Jared was ordered to guard the teachings, to "write them and . . . seal them up, that no one can interpret them; for ye shall write them in a language that they cannot be read." (Eth. 3:22.)

To bridge the cultural and linguistic gap between the hider and the finder, thousands of years apart, special gifts and implements are provided, notably the seer-stones and Urim and Thummin. (Eth. 3:23.) These are no mere mechanical gadgets, but "work not among the children of men save it be according to their faith" (2 Ne. 27:23), requiring far greater moral and intellectual qualifications than the manipulation of grammars and dictionaries. They work by "the same power . . . and the same gift" as those by which men wrote the words in the beginning. (D&C 17:7, 9:2, 8:11, Moses 6:5.)

It all begins on earth with the "book of the generations of Adam," a complete record of names and events and of God's dealing with his children on earth. (Moses 6:8.) He requires the saints in every age to keep such a book, or rather to continue the original, adding their own names and histories to it, as they "arrange by lot the inheritances of the saints whose names are found, and the names of their fathers, and of their children, enrolled in the book of the law of God" (D&C 85:7), which is the same as the "book of remembrance" (D&C 85:9), which goes back to Adam (Moses 6:45-46) and is also "the genealogy of the sons of Adam" (Moses 6:22). Enoch reads from the books to remind his people of "the commandments, which I [God] gave unto their father, Adam" (Moses 6:28) when he "called upon our father Adam by his own voice"

(Moses 6:51), and orders them to pass it on: "teach these things freely unto your children" (Moses 6:58), and in time they are to reach us! (D&C 107:56.) The rule is that "many books... of every kind" are "handed down from one generation to another... even until they [the people] have fallen into transgression" (Hel. 3:15-16), at which time they disappear until another prophet brings them forth.

Next to Enoch himself, the greatest transmitter of records would seem to be Moses, by whose hand we receive the records that came through Enoch and his successors. And it is Moses who gives us the key to the whole thing:

"And now, Moses, my son . . . thou shalt write the things which I shall speak.

"And in a day when the children of men shall esteem my words as naught and take many of them from the book which thou shalt write, behold, I will raise up another like unto thee; and they shall be had again among the children of men—among as many as shall believe. (Moses 1:40-41.)

Each time the records come forth they are brought together in one with such scriptures as have survived among men, making possible the correction and the understanding of the latter. Being the source and author of all, Jesus Christ among the Nephites "expounded all the scriptures in one, which they had written," and "he commanded them that they should teach the things which he had expounded unto them." (3 Ne. 23:14.) This was after he had personally examined all the records, corrected defects, and brought them up to date. The same thing happened in the Old World, where, "beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself," that being what all the writings were about. (Luke 24:27.) The fact that the Lord himself reads to men out of the ancient books, "for . . . they are they which testify of me" (John 5:39), even though he is personally present among them as the risen Savior addressing them with his own lips, gives awesome testimony to the authority of the written word.

What the books testify of, after all, is the reality of the Lord and his mission: "We labor diligently to engraven these words upon plates, hoping that our beloved brethren and our children will receive them....

"For, for this intent have we written these things, that they may know that we knew of Christ, and we had a hope of his glory many hundred years before his coming." (Jac. 4:3-4.) "And a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.

"And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of Hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels" (3 Ne. 24:16-17), i.e., when I gather them all together and put them in proper order. So whoever are in this book are "numbered among the people of the first covenant," no matter when they live (Morm.

7:10), for the writings themselves are "proving to the world . . . that he is the same God yesterday, to-day, and forever." (D&C 20:11-12.)

To the saints, the sacred record is a source of joy and delight as well as of instruction and guidance; it is a joy to read, a treat to the mind and the spirit, "for my soul delighteth in the scriptures, and my heart pondereth them, and writeth them for the learning and profit of my children" (2 Ne. 4:15); "and if my people are pleased with the things of God they will be pleased with mine engravings" (2 Ne. 5:32). Their discovery is always exciting news to those who know how to value them, like the king who said, as he "rejoiced exceedingly, ... Doubtless a great mystery is contained within these plates. . . . O how marvelous are the works of the Lord!" (Mosiah 8:19-20), and was "filled with joy" when he learned that somebody could read them. (Mosiah 21:28.) Intellectual curiosity and esthetic feeling are nothing to be ashamed of. (To be continued.)

179. Ibid., p. 114.

180. Ibid., p. 48.

181. J.Z. Werblowsky, in Encyclopedia of Jewish Religion, p. 129.

182. M. Stuart, Biblical Repository 3:105. He finds "by far the most interesting and important parts of the book" are those which develop its Christology, p. 99.

183. Ibid., pp. 105f.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid., p. 113.

186. Ibid., p. 128.

187. Ibid.

188. Ibid., p. 105f.

189. Bibl. Repos. 4:10.

190. Ibid., 4:11; 3:133.

191. Ibid., 3:123.

192. Ibid., 4:5.

193. G. Volkmar, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches Henoch," in ZDMG 14 (1860): 87.

194. N. Schmidt, in JAOS 42:45.

195. Vaillant, Intro. J.P. Frey, another Catholic, avers that "the finest and most important part" of the Enoch literature is possibly a Christian interpolation, Pirot, Dict. Ik 358f.

196. Charles, I Enoch, p. xxxiii.

197. See M. Allegro.

198. G.W. Anderson, Encyclopedia Britannica (1973 edition), 10:604.

199. Van Andel, p. 113.

200. M. Black, in Journ. of Theol. Stud. 3 (1952): 1; quoting T.W. Manson.

201. P. Batiffol, in F. Vigouroux, Dictionnaire, 1:757. Enoch reflects the Judaism of Palestine during the transition to Christianity and to Rabbinism according to another Catholic writer, Enciclopedia Cattolica 6:1406.

202. Quoted by G. Santillana, Hamlet's Mill (Boston: Gambit, 1969), p. 10.

203. See discussion in the NEW ERA, Sept. 1973, pp. 38-50.



A Strange Thing in the Land

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 5

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We must understand that the Spirit of God tells men both what and when to write—"you cannot write that which is sacred save it be given you from me" (D&C 9:9, 76:115), what records to translate— "Touch them not in order that ye may translate; for that thing is forbidden you" (Eth. 5:1, 1 Ne. 14:28), and the imperative behind the operation: "Wherefore, the Lord hath commanded me to make these plates for a wise purpose in him, which purpose I know not." (1 Ne. 9:5.) "I do this for a wise purpose; for thus it whispereth me, according to the workings of the Spirit of the Lord which is in me." (W. of Morm. 7.) They are to serve "for the instruction of my people . . . and also for other wise purposes, which purposes are known unto the Lord." (1 Ne. 19:3.) The writings are placed completely outside of men's economy, and "no one shall have them to get gain . . . and whoso shall bring it to light, him will the Lord bless. For none can have power to bring it to light save it be given him of God." (Morm. 8:14-15.) As to the implements and instructions, "whosoever has these things is called seer" (Mosiah 28:16), and his power "is a gift from God . . . and no man can look in them except he be commanded, lest he should look for that he ought not and he should perish" (Mosiah 8:13). All of which does not exonerate the seer from using his own wits (see D&C 9:7-8, Mosiah 1:2-4) and learning all he can of "the language of his fathers" and "concerning the records . . . that thereby they might become men of understanding" (Mosiah 1:2-3).

The economy of the books is no mere toy for the weak minds of men to play with; it follows a pattern that extends to other worlds. The books that men keep on earth are matched by books kept in heaven: Adam's heavenly Book of Remembrance is duplicated on earth by a Book of Life, "the record which is kept in heaven . . . or, in other words . . . whatsoever you record on earth shall be recorded in heaven. . . . It may seem . . . a very bold doctrine that we talk of—a power which records or binds on earth and binds in heaven. Nevertheless, in all ages of the world, whenever the Lord has given a dispensation of the priesthood . . . this power has always been given." (D&C 128:7-9.) What is above is projected and recorded below: "Thou [the scribe] shalt write for him [the prophet]; and the scriptures shall be given, even as they are in mine own bosom." (D&C 35:20.) And what is below is projected above and recorded there: "The alms of your prayers have come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, and are recorded in the book of the names of the sanctified, even them of the celestial world." (D&C 88:2.)

The record is the source of all else, and from it come those writings that have ever been the cornerstone of civilization, a weak terrestrial reflection of the sublime. Aside from their holy offices, "they have enlarged the memory of this people," and preserved them from "incorrect tradition," thus

keeping civilization on the track. (Al. 37:8-9.) They check the corruption of the language and the loss of religion (Om. 17), and though a great leader like Zarahemla might be able to give "a genealogy of his fathers, according to his memory" (Om. 18), still "it were not possible that our father, Lehi, could have remembered all of these things, to have taught them to his children, except it were for the help of these plates" (Mosiah 1:4), without which, says Mosiah, "even our fathers would have dwindled in unbelief... like... the Lamanites" (Mosiah 1:5).

The kings and leaders of the people, as the trustees of the heritage of culture and dominion, are the regular keepers of the record, "which is had by the kings" (Om. 11), handed down from father to son, with special preparation and instructions (Om. 1, 4, 9), along with the national treasures of which they are a part—the Liahona, seer-stones, sword of Laban; the whole thing is summed up in Alma 37:2-3 and comes down to our own time when the Whitmers were promised a view of these things (D&C 17:1). Others beside the prophet were encouraged to ask for the gift to look into "all those ancient records which have been hid up, that are sacred" (D&C 8:11), and "to obtain a knowledge of history, and of countries, and of kingdoms" (D&C 93:53), as the Prophet was of "all good books . . . languages, tongues, and people" (D&C 90:15), that they might not approach the sacred depository with

If one lightly assumes that Joseph Smith got these ideas from the Bible, where they are indeed implicit but by no means obvious, let us bear in mind that his contemporaries shrieked in derision when they heard him; and what scandalized them most of all was the idea of a second or third witness to place beside the Bible, in spite of "the divine law of witnesses." But the young prophet, far from simply running on about ancient plates and parchments, angels and seer-stones ("the jibberings of a crazy boy," writes one Harvard don), actually went ahead and produced the wonderful volumes of which he spoke—full-length texts, broad fabrics of immense detail, enough rope to hang any imposter twenty times over. If the hypothetical house of books is a wonderful creation, with what astonishment must we view the real and solid structure erected single-handed by the youthful prophet in the midst of countless distractions and afflictions?

According to the Latest News

The foregoing brief survey of a theme long familiar to Latter-day Saints and odious to others is to prepare our patient reader for a visit to the strange and wonderful edifice that houses the emerging Enoch literature, for it is built on precisely the same plan as that set forth by the Prophet Joseph to explain the holy books that he gave us.

We begin with Enoch keeping the books of Adam, recalling that the words and prophecies of

Adam were "all written in the book of Enoch" (D&C 107:57), who reminded his people, "the first of all we know, even Adam. For a book of remembrance we have written among us . . . " (Moses 6:45-46). Now according to the Zohar, "Enoch also had a book which came from the same place as the book of the Generations of Adam."204 Rabbi Eleaser said that Adam hid the book that the angel Raziel, the purveyor of the heavenly secrets, gave to him, and that Enoch later found it, and that it was next delivered to Noah by Rafael and so passed on to Shem and hence from one generation to the next.²⁰⁵ It is implied in Genesis 5:1-2 that the human race was fully launched when the Book of the Generations of Adam was inaugurated, since Adam and Eve were set apart (barā), and given a name and a blessing. A very old tradition equates true humanity with Enoch the record-keeper, a more complete man than Adam himself.206 The early Christians were fond of the Book of Adam, according to Epiphanius,²⁰⁷ and A. Vaillant, the authority on the Slavonic Enoch, maintained that the Christian Enoch book was not taken from Jewish sources but from an old lost Book of Adam and Seth.208

But everywhere Enoch is credited with being the scribe and transmitter par excellence, "the Righteous Scribe, the Teacher of heaven and earth, the Scribe of Righteousness." The "Joseph Smith Enoch" brings forth the books, including Adam's, as a testimony and a witness to his generation (see Moses 6:46); even so, according to Jubilees "Enoch was the first to write a testimony, and he testified among the generations of the earth . . . he understood everything [cf. Moses 6:37, 7:67], and wrote his testimony" (Jub. 4:18f); and the Testament of Abraham reports that "God gave him [Enoch] the task to write down all the good and bad deeds that a man's soul would commit." 210

In the secretarial line, preeminence goes to Enoch, "to whom the angels showed and taught all things both in heaven and in earth . . . and he wrote everything down" (Jub. 4:21), "the man of intelligence, the great writer, whom the lord took to be a seer of the life above . . ." (2 En. Intd.),* who was commanded by God to "take these books which I have written back to earth to your children . . . that they shall read them and know me for the Creator of all, and distribute the books children to children, generation to generation, nation to nation . . ." (2 En. 88:6-9). Inevitably the saying went

*Hereafter 1 En. will stand for the R.H. Charles translation of the Ethiopian Enoch (1912-13); 2 En. for the Slavonic texts edited by A. Vaillant (1952, above, n. 208); 3 En. for the Greek Enoch texts contained in both C. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (1968) and M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (1970). The text of the Gizeh Fragment (Greek) is found in the appendix of R.H. Charles's *Book of Enoch*, (Oxford, 1912). *BHM* refers to Hebrew and Aramaic Enoch texts in A. Jellinek, *Bait ha-Midrasch* (Jerusalem, 1967).

abroad in the land that it was that man who "first learned and taught writing, and was deemed worthy to reveal the divine mysteries."²¹¹

What is behind these Jewish and Christian traditions? The idea that there was such a man as Enoch, the "Enoch figure" whom we shall get to know much better, is as old as the oldest human records. We go back to the proposition, clearly set forth in the book of Moses (6:5, 6:46; D&C 128:5), that, in the words of N. Tur Sinai, "the miracle of writing was one which the Ancients regarded as a gift from heaven."212 It is apparent from the earliest records of the Sumerians that they "were not ignorant of the concept of a 'sacred book,' that is, of a divinely inspired, even dictated text, which contains the only correct and valid account of the 'story' of deity," according to A.L. Oppenheim, who further observes that the transmitter of the record according to the ancient doctrine, was not its originator, but only "a kâsir kâmé, 'one who collects/arranges/prepares the tablets' without interfering with the wording"—he is merely the transmitter of divine words; yet to function as such he himself must be inspired. He is "the collector of the tablets, but his information comes to him in a vision of the night," which he faithfully writes down in the morning.²¹³

Such is the office of Enoch: "Bring out the books from my storehouse," says God to his angels in the Slavonic Enoch, "and a reed of quick-writing [shorthand], and give it to Enoch and deliver to him the choice books out of my hand" (2 En. 22:8). Thus instructed, the seer wrote down "the glories of the celestial throne on the one hand, and the endless combinations of the elements on the other." (2 En. Intd.)²¹⁴

This introduces the cosmological element that is so conspicuous in the Enoch literature, Enoch being "the first among men that are born on earth who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven." (Jub. 4:17.) God shows him "the Book of the Courses of the Luminaries of the Heavens." (1 En. 72:1.) The emphasis on cosmology, very prominent in the "Joseph Smith Enoch," was highly distasteful to the doctors of the Jews and Christians alike and was their strongest argument for rejecting it;215 but the close affinity between the earliest writing and the signs of the heavens is undeniable.²¹⁶ Both among the Egyptians and the Chaldaeans, Clement of Alexandria reports, "writing and the knowledge of the heavens" go hand in hand;217 the proper study of those apocalyptic writings so disdained by the doctors of the schools was, as H. Gunkel sums it up, eschatology, angelology, cosmology, and prehistory—all disturbingly tangible subjects.218 The handing down of such records is nowhere more clearly stated than in the book of Abraham, 1:31: "But the records of the fathers, even the patriarchs ... God preserved in mine own hands; therefore a knowledge of the beginning of the creation, and

also of the *planets*, and of the *stars*, as they were made known unto the *fathers*, have I kept unto this day . . . for the benefit of my posterity that shall come after me." (Italics added.)

This literal-minded concern with the stars in their courses is a mark of antiquity and authenticity in the Enoch literature, as is the repeated reference to the heavenly tablets. "Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets," says the angel, "and read what is written thereon. . . . And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything . . . and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind . . . to the remotest generations" (1 En. 81:1, see Moses 7:67). Here we meet the fusion of the heavenly and earthly books—are they one and the same?—as in the Joseph Smith writings. "I know a mystery; and have read the heavenly tablets, and have seen the holy books and have found written therein and inscribed regarding them. . . . " (1 En. 103:2; italics added.) "And after that Enoch began to recount [or read] from the books . . . 'what I have learned from the heavenly tablets'" (1 En. 93:1; italics added.) The impression is that the books were the earthly copies of the heavenly tablets: "the Lord has shown and made known, and I have read them in the tablets of heaven."219 In Moses 7:67, "the Lord showed Enoch all things," and after a vision of heaven and earth he placed before the people "a book of remembrance . . . written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God." (Moses 6:46.) In this they recall the Tablets of the Law (Exod. 31:18), whose form M. Lambert traces to the Babylonian Tablets of Judgment.220

Indeed, "few religious ideas in the Ancient Near East have played a more important role than the notion of the Heavenly Tablets or the Heavenly Book";221 "in the literature of early Judaism," in particular, they "play a considerable role." The idea is at home in classical literature and hence it is assumed was taken over by the early Christians with their Book of Life.²²³ In Rabbinic tradition, Abraham "being found faithful is declared a friend of God on the heavenly tablets, and every righteous keeper of the Covenant is registered in the same Book of Life";224 the antiquity of this is supported by the Battle Scroll of the Dead Sea Scrolls: "And the covenant of thy peace nast thou engraved for them with a stylus of life, to rule over them in all appointed times of eternity," 225 where the situation is closely parallel to one in the Book of Mormon, Mosiah chapter 5.²²⁶

Noah, after Enoch, reports, "The Lord has shown me and informed me, and I have read in the heavenly tablets, and I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress..." (En. 106:19, 107:1); and after him Jacob, when "an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands... read them and knew all that would befall him and his sons... and he showed them all that was written on the tablets" (Jub. 32:21f). Next

"Moses yielded up to an angel the Tablets of the Division of the years . . . from the day of the creation to the time when the heavens and earth shall be renewed." (Jub. 1:29.) Thus the same tablets are handed down.

The books of Enoch contain information from all holy sources: "I Enoch will declare unto you, my sons, according to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels, and have learned from the heavenly tablets. And Enoch began to read from the books. . . . " (1 En. 93:1.) In the Slavonic

> "Everywhere Enoch is credited with being the scribe and transmitter par excellence, 'the Righteous Scribe, the Teacher of heaven and earth, the Scribe of Righteousness."

version, Enoch, accompanied by two angelic guides, brings to earth "the books of hand-writing" to be handed down "from generation to generation." (2 En. 88:6-9.)

The heavenly tablets may be traced back as far as the Babylonian Tablets of Destiny: "These tablets express the law of the whole world . . . and they are truly the mystery of heaven and earth."227 At the coronation, rehearsing the great creation rite of the New Year, the king was thought to be caught up into heaven, there to receive his copy of the tablets with which he returned to earth as his badge of divine authority.²²⁸ On a like occasion in Egypt the monarch, according to the oldest of books, the Pyramid Texts, is hailed as "the King who is over the spirits, who unites the hearts—so says he who is in charge of wisdom . . . who bears the god's book, even Sia, who is at the right hand of Re."229

Back to the books of Adam for a moment, please. A very early Christian source reports that while God "was contemplating putting the breath of life into Adam, he took a book, and wrote therein

the names of those who should come forth from him and should enter into the kingdom which is in the heavens. . . . 'These are they whose names are written in the Book of Life from the foundation of the world.' "230" This is certainly close to the idea that the Saints, whose names are in the Book of Life, are "numbered among the people of the first covenant." (Morm. 7:10.) The members of the Qumran community are they whose covenant is "engraved with a stylus of Life."231 After he had come to earth, Adam was given a Book of Knowledge by an angel sent to instruct him, giving him a knowledge of the mysteries—the ordinances—surpassing that of the angels.²³² According to the Zohar, Adam lost such a book upon leaving Eden, and when "he supplicated God with tears for its return . . . it was given back to him in order that wisdom might not be forgotten among men."233 Another version has it that a holy book of seventytwo letters was given to Michael who gave it to Adam (those two are constantly being confused in the early writings), who based all his knowledge upon it.234 When God ordered him to register all the animals, he "inspired Adam invisibly so that he could read aloud, and on the first tablets he read out the names of the animals as they passed before him." After Adam and Eve had thus been drilled in reading, "God transported his school to the Garden of Eden." 235

Abraham, when he set up his model Garden of Eden at Hebron, also established a school in the midst of it;²³⁶ in the preexistence Abraham had already learned the art of writing and was given the Book of Creation, but on earth he was not able to read it without assistance, and so his teacher Shem helped him at it.237 Recalling that Abraham possessed "the records of the fathers" containing "a knowledge of the beginning of the creation" according to the book of Abraham 1:31, one is interested to learn that "the writings of Seth and Idrisi were handed down to the time of Noah and Abraham," Idrisi being usually identified with Enoch himself, but in this Mandaean source is called "the first after Enoch son of Seth son of Adam to write with a reed."238

The valuable Apocalypse of Adam claims to be taken from a book handed down from Adam himself, containing an exposition of the gospel of salvation but dwelling with particular emphasis on the baptism of Adam;²³⁹ this is particularly intriguing since the wonderfully condensed and powerful presentation of the gospel plan in the Joseph Smith book of Enoch devotes a whole page to the baptism of Adam. (See Moses 6:51-68.) Beginning with the reminder that God "called upon . . . Adam by his own voice" (Moses 6:51), all the words of Enoch's great sermon in the Joseph Smith Enoch are direct quotations from Adam and the Lord, Enoch's own calling being to hand on "the commandments, which I gave unto their father, Adam" (Moses 6:28).

The Pistis Sophia claims derivation from the two books of Jeu, "which Enoch wrote while I spoke with him out of the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life in the Paradise of Adam."240 As he was praying, "an angel appeared to Adam, saying, 'The Lord has heard thy prayer, and sent me to bring thee words of purity and much wisdom. I will make thee wise through the words of this holy book, from which you will learn whatever shall befall.... Whoever, even to the last generation makes use of this book, must be pure and faithfully observe what is written in it," etc. [See Moses 1:35!] Then Adam fell upon his face before the angel who bade him rise, stand up, and be strong, and receive the book from his hand, concealing its contents from the unworthy. Then the angel departed in a roar of flame.241 Adam's prostration reminds us of the Joseph Smith version, when Enoch presented the Book of Adam, "written . . . according to the pattern given by the finger of God" before the people, and they "trembled, and could not stand in his presence." (Moses 6:46-47.)

This book of Adam story is also told in the old book of Noah, which traces the record from Adam and Enoch to Noah; it begins with Adam's prayer after the fall, when the angel came to instruct him and gave him the book, which Adam hid in the ground and which was later dug up by Enoch.²⁴² Another account tells how Enoch was shown in a dream where Adam's book was buried and how he should obtain it; he went to the place early next morning and hung around until noon, lest he excite the suspicion of the people in the fields; then he dug up the book, whose characters were interpreted to him by divine revelation, learned from it the fulness of the gospel, and was so set apart by his knowledge that he withdrew from the society of men.243 C.J. Van Andel finds it significant that the Enoch writings of the Jews are not based on the Torah, but go back to unknown works of great antiquity dealing with heavenly tablets.244

(To be continued.)

FOOTNOTES

²⁰⁴Zohar, ed. H. Sperling, et. al. (N. Y.: R. Bennet), 1:139 (Pt. I. 37b).

²⁰⁵A. Jellinek, Bait ha-Midrasch (Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books, 1967), 3:xxxii.

²⁰⁶Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica, 7:viii and 11:vi, in Migne, Patrol. Graec. 21:520f, 856.

²⁰⁷Epiphanius, Adversus haereses, 1:ii, 26, 8, in Patrol. Graec. 41:341f.

²⁰⁸Andre Vaillant, Le Livre des secrets d'Henoch (Paris: Inst. d'Études Slaves, 1952), p. x.

²⁰⁹H. Gunkel, in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 1(1898):299.

²¹⁰W. Leslau, Falasha Anthology (New Haven: Yale Univ., 1051) p. 100

1951), p. 100.

²¹¹Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium, ed. I.
Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 17.

²¹²N.H. Tur Sinai, "Shitir Shame, die Himmelsschrift," in Archiv Orientalni 17 (1949): 433. ²¹³A.L. Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II," Orientalia 19 (1950): 155-56.

²¹⁴M.J. Bin Gorion, Die Sagen der Juden, I (Frankfurt,

1913): 100.

215 I. Henderson, Myth in the N.T., p. 16, congratulates contemporary theology in having risen through demythologizing above the quasi-physical ideas of Paul. According to Origen, the church rejects any involvement with a physical universe whatever, nothing in its teachings being kata physin; the trouble with the Greek myths is that they are tainted with the physical. Patrol. Graec. 6:1260. Arnobius says such questions as "What is man? What is the origin of the soul? Whence comes evil? How large is the earth?" etc., are completely irrelevant: "Leave these things to God and care for your soul!" (Arnob. adv. nat. 2:61.) According to an official Roman Catholic Handbook, whoever says or believes that the physical heavens have any relationship whatever to God and the divine orders of Cherubim and Seraphim is anathema. (H.J.K. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, Rome: Herder, 1957, no. 206.) Whoever studies the Creation, the Chariot or asks what is above, below, or beyond or what will be in the eternities, "it were better for him had he not come into the world!" (Mishnah, Hag. 2:1.)

²¹⁶See our discussion in the New Era, Sept. 1973, pp. 42-43. ²¹⁷Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata, 1: 23, 153, in Th. Hopfner, Fontes Hist. Relig. Aegyptiacae (Bonn: 1922,), p. 370. ²¹⁸H. Gunkel, Zum Verständnis des Neuen Testaments

(Goettingen: Van der hoeck, & Ruprecht, 1910), p. 29.

²¹⁹En. 106:19; C. Bonner, The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1968), pp. 84-85. Chapter 106 is not included in the translations of Laurence, being a fragment of the book of Noah. Since the Ethiopic Enoch was the first known, its chapters and verse numbers are standard for all Enoch texts; thus En. 106 designates the same section, no matter in what language it is found.

²²⁰M. Lambert, "Que portaient les tables de pierre?" Revue des Etudes Juives 82 (1926): 45-48.

²²¹G. Widengren, The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book (Upsala Univ. Aarskrift, 1950), p. 7.

²²²Ibid., p. 28.

²²³E.R. Bevan, Sibyls and Seers (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1920), p. 111. Initiates to Greek mysteries must record their inspired visions on tablets and deposit them in the temple archives, Pausanius 9:39.

²²⁴A. von Gall, Basileia tou Theou (*Heidelberg: Heidelberg Univ.*, 1926), p. 313.

²²⁵IQM (Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light, etc.) 12:3, in Y. Yadin, Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 314-15.

²²⁶Mosiah 5:5-15, where the acceptance of the Covenant goes with the general engraving and sealing of names.

²²⁷ Widengren, pp. 11-12.

²²⁸Ibid., pp. 7, 10-11.

²²⁹Pyramid Texts, No. 250 (267).

²³⁰Timothy Archbishop of Alexandria, "Discourse on the Abbaton," in E.A. W. Budge, Coptic Martyrdoms (British Mus., 1914), pp. 482-83.

²³¹ Yadin, 314-15.

²³²Bin Gorion, 1:264, 266.

²³³Zohar, 1:138.

²³⁴Bin Gorion, 1:263.

²³⁵Barhadbshabba, "On the Founding of the Schools," T315a, in Patrologia Orientalis 4:352.

²³⁶Improvement Era, Nov. 1969, p. 120.

²³⁷Bin Gorion, 2:143.

²³⁸D.A. Khvol'son, Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus (St. Petersburg, 1856), 2: 502-03.

²³⁹Apocalypse of Adam 85 (79, end).

²⁴⁰Pistis Sophia, 245f.

²⁴¹Bin Gorion, 1:261-62.

²⁴²Jellinek, BHM 3. 14. xxxii.

²⁴³Bin Gorion, 1:269.

²⁴⁴C.P. Van Andel, De Structuur van de Henoch-traditie en het Nieuwe Testament (*Utrecht: Kemink & Son, 1955*), p. 19.



Strange Thing Thing in the Land The Return of the Book

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of Enoch, Part 6

Recording sacred matters has been a prophetic function since Adam labored diligently to provide holy books for his descendants. Enoch carried on that tradition, busily arranging and editing the documents as his grandson Methuselah reports, "After Enoch had imparted to me all the secrets in the book and in the Parables which had been given to him, he took them and put them together for me in the words of the Book of Parables." (1 En. 68:1; italics added.) Here we must bear in mind that all the longlived patriarchs from Adam to Enoch were contemporaries and knew each other. The situation is vividly brought home in D&C 107: 53-57. "Three years previous to the

death of Adam, he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah . . . with the residue of his posterity who were righteous, into the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman," and there "predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation," and "These things were all written in the book of Enoch." Thus Rabbi Eleaser refers to the Book of Enoch as identical with the book of the Generations of Adam mentioned in Genesis 5:1.245 Adam's book already contained the story of his family "unto the latest generation." (D&C 107:56.) "The Lord had his servants come down to Adam, saying to them, 'Go ye and testify of me this day. Give to the Man Adam your hand in covenant, and covenant with him by law. . . . " Then the Lord put it down in writing, which the three witnesses all signed. "If you ask: 'Could not the Lord have done without the written document, witnesses, and handclasp?' the answer is that it is the Lord's will that this shall be the proper procedure among the children of Adam forever."246 So Joseph Smith is quite right in having Adam's book come down through Enoch to Abraham, Moses, and us.

It went first to Methuselah, who received from Enoch a charge exactly like that later given to Moses:

Moses 1:40—"Moses, my son, . . . thou shalt write the things which I shall speak."

1:41—"the children of men shall esteem my words as naught and take many of them from the book which thou shalt write."

1 En. 82:1—"preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand."

2 En. 13, p. 48—"Take these books written by the hand of your father [Enoch] the foolish ones who do not know the Lord will not receive them but will reject them"

3 En. 104:10—"Sinners will alter and write against [the words] of truth, and lead many away, and lie."

Then comes Noah, who has the same experiences with the books and passes on the same information as Enoch.²⁴⁷ "My grandfather Enoch," says Noah, "gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book . . . which had been given to him" (1 En. 68:1), and indeed the Joseph Smith Enoch makes both Methuselah and Noah

the heirs of his teachings and promises (Moses 8:2-3, 5-12). Next there is Abraham who, in the Testament of Abraham, has almost the same visions and makes the same heavenly journey as Enoch, and at the end of his celestial visit gives his source away: "I, Abraham, said to the archangel Michael, 'O Lord, who is this honorable old man who has this book in his hand, who comes near to the judge [Adam].' . . . He replied, 'It is *Enoch* . . . God gave him the task to write down all the good and bad deeds a man's soul would commit.' "248

Like Abraham, Isaiah is introduced to a venerable old man with a book at the end of his journey to heaven, and the man is Enoch.²⁴⁹ The Lord himself says to Isaiah, "No mortal has ever seen what you have! Saying this, he placed a book in my hands and said to me: 'Take this and know . . . that there is nothing hidden of all the works in that world, good or bad.' And I took the book from his hand and read it, and behold everything was written down about every man from the beginning to the end of the world."²⁵⁰

This gives substance to the Lord's words to the Nephites as he turned the books over to them: "Search these things diligently; for great are the words of Isaiah. For surely he spake as touching all things concerning my people." (3 Ne. 23:1-2; italics added.) After Abraham, Jacob became the holder of the heavenly tablets, which told about the premortal existence, the eternal nature of Jacob's own promise and calling, and the deeds of his posterity to the remotest times, according to a very old Jewish work called the Prayer of Joseph.²⁵¹ Next Moses receives "the complete story of the creation" (Jub. 2:1), which he transmitted to us. "The whole burthen of Moses' message," wrote C.L. Woolley, "is the restatement of Abraham's message, an appeal to the past."252 Ezra too was commanded "to write down everything that has ever been in the world since the beginning . . . that perchance men might find the path, that they who live in the Last Days may not perish."253 And how like Moroni's situation is that of Ezra's friend Baruch (both were associates of Jeremiah and Lehi) in a work "lost sight of for quite 1200 years" and discovered in 1866:254 "'Earth, earth, earth, hear the words of the

Mighty God and receive what I commit to thee, and guard them until the Last Days, so that, when thou art commanded, thou mayest restore them, so that strangers may not get possession of them!' So the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them."255 The personification of the earth is a motif that goes back to Enoch. (See Moses 7:48.)

According to many recently discovered documents, it was during the forty-day mission of the Lord after his resurrection that he handed on the books to his disciples exactly as he does in the Book of Mormon during the same period. The important Epistle of the Apostles, concerning which "whoever knows and observes what is written therein shall be like the angels," was by the Lord "entrusted to Peter, John, Matthew, and to others at Jerusalem, that copies might be sent to certain carefully chosen disciples, and by them to all the branches [mansiones]."256 The newly discovered Apocryphon of James tells in detail how the books were entrusted by the Lord to Peter, James, and John for careful rationing; and in other new finds both Peter and Paul ascend to heaven and there receive holy books and are introduced to Enoch, the venerable scribe. Of particular interest is the emphasis on John, whose writings are now shown by the Dead Sea Scrolls, according to F.M. Cross, to be significantly "related to the Enoch literature." 257 Nowhere do we find fuller instructions for the guarding and transmitting of the records than those given by the Lord to John in the three newly found Apocryphons of John. And it was Joseph Smith who first apprised the world that there was a "record made on parchment by John and hidden up by himself." (D&C 7, section heading.)

The ever-attentive reader may have noticed how no matter who the bookkeeper is, Enoch is somehow lurking in the background. After all is said, he is the supreme scribe, and nowhere is that marvelous economy of bookkeeping better described than in the Slavonic Enoch:

"Take thy books which thou hast written . . . and go down to earth and teach them to thy children. . . . And hand over the books which thou hast written with thy hand, and they shall read them and know the Creator of all . . . and they shall hand on these books written by thy hand to their children, and their children's children, from parent to parent and

from generation to generation. . . . The writing written by thy hand and by the hand of thy fathers Adam and Seth, shall not be destroyed unto the last days; for I have commanded special angels . . . to preserve the writing of the hand of thy fathers, that it perish not." (2 En. 12.)

The injunction proceeds in words much like those of the book of

2 En.—"I know the evil disposition of mankind,

but I will spare a righteous man of thy family;

and the books written by thy hand shall appear, and that of thy fathers, among the children of men;

the appointed angels will show them unto them that believe, and explain them."

Moses 1:41—"When the children of men shall esteem my words as naught . . .

I will raise up another like unto thee; and they shall be had again among the children of men-

among as many as shall believe."

Need we point out that the Slavonic Enoch was not known at the time of Joseph Smith?

The attentive reader will also have noted the frequent reference to the last days whenever the writings of Enoch were mentioned. This is an important key. A.L. Davies makes the generalization that a "feature . . . common to this apocalyptic literature, is the reserving of the visions and books of Enoch for the Last Days, for the elect to read and understand";258 instantly bringing to mind the Lord's promises to Enoch in Moses 7:60, 62: "As I live, even so will I come in the last days, in the days of wickedness and vengeance. ... Truth will I send forth out of the earth, to bear testimony . . . to sweep the earth as with a flood, to gather out mine elect," etc. It is Enoch who presides when all things are gathered in one; the book which is "to be revealed to them of the last days" is that very same "perfect book which existed from the first in the mind of God."259 "I shall write all that is done in the world," says Ezra, "that they who desire life in the Last Days might live."260

"This book," declares the newly discovered Gospel of Truth, "is to be

revealed to the aeons [all the other dispensations?] in the End-time. It is secret . . . known only to the initiated. It is a perfect book which existed first in the mind of God, by which it is conveyed to men."261

Contrary to what one might expect, and what has been taught for generations in colleges and seminaries, the ancient sectaries were not simply illiterates confined to an "oral gospel." On the contrary, Pere Lagrange notes with stern disapproval, "These visionaries are the most book-bound (libresque) of men,"262 laying no claim to originality, but uniformly preoccupied, as J. Leipoldt has noted, with initiation rites, sacraments, baptism, common meals, secret books handed down from ancient times, and ordinances and doctrines alien to conventional Christianity. In all of this they resemble "late Judaism in general" and betray ancient connections with Babylonia and Iran.²⁶³

So the call goes forth in the Chester Beatty Enoch papyrus: "Prepare, ye righteous, and present records of your doings as a remembrance, give them as a testimony before the angels." (Gk. 91:3.) The chosen prophet "who raises up a generation of righteousness" is also chosen to "reveal to them the books of thy [Enoch's] hand-writing and of thy fathers" and to be the leader of God's word in that dispensation, "even of the faithful . . . and they shall tell it to the next generation," and so on.264 In short, Enoch is writing for the church, and the idea of the church is nowhere more clearly stated than in the Enoch literature. Like the Apocryphon of James, it "is for those blessed ones who will be saved by their faith in it."265 When Enoch places restrictions on his works with the command, "My sons, hand these books to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's . . . works,"266 he is giving the same orders as the Lord gives the disciples in the Apocryphon of John: "I tell you this that you may write it down and give it secretly to those who are of one heart and one mind [homopneuma] with you; it is reserved for the breed who do not vacillate."267 So Enoch again: "Distribute the books . . . among the nations of the earth who shall have the wisdom to fear the Lord; let them receive them and come to love them . . . read and study them."268

Part of the book's appeal is its necessary secrecy, "revealed to the aeons in the End-time. It is a secret, a special writing, only for the initiates."269 "'It is given to you to write it down," says the Lord to John, "'and it must be put in a safe place.' Then he said to me, 'Cursed shall be whoever gives it away as a gift or in return for food, drink, clothing, or anything of that nature." Then he handed the mysterion to John and immediately vanished.270 Such writings as are made known are carefully rationed: "Some things thou shalt publish, and some you must deliver in secret to the wise";271 or, in another Ezra text, "These words shalt thou publish openly, but those thou shalt hide,"272 twenty-four books being published and seventy withheld.273

The tradition of secrecy begins with Enoch: "When Enoch found the Book of Adam and read it, he knew that the human race would not be able to receive it. So he hid it again, and it remained hidden until Noah."274 But the practice began with Adam, who received a golden book from Michael and "hid it in the crevice of a rock."275

The Torah itself was buried when Israel sinned, to be dug up in later times.276 The Copper Scroll of the Dead Sea Scrolls shows us how in times of dire peril all those sacred things which had been dedicated, including the holy writings, were buried for safety,²⁷⁷ a practice clearly set forth in the Book of Mormon. (Hel. 13:18-20.) From early Babylonian sources comes the report of Berossus, that Kronus ordered Xisuthros (Noah) "to inscribe in writing the beginning, middle, and end of everything, and to bury the records in the city of Sippar, to be exhumed after the Flood."278

So when we are told that the writing of Moses "because of wickedness . . . is not had among the children of men" (Moses 1:23), the claim is confirmed by the tradition that the sons of Moses had a book which their father entrusted to them, but when their children lightly leaked its contents to the world, "the angel returned, took the book and carried it up with him to heaven."279

The oldest Sumerian epic "shows that Mesopotamian theologians knew about a 'sacred book' that is of divine inspiration . . . which contains the only correct and valid account of the 'story' of the deity."280 This was the book of all knowledge possessed by the king in both Egypt and Babylonia.281 Through a Chris-

tian channel comes the well-known and very early Babylonian tradition that the Fish- or Flood-god Oannes taught men all the arts and sciences and wrote all knowledge down in a book, and "nothing since that time has ever been added to human knowledge."282 This is the book that the Babylonian Noah was commanded to bury at the time of the flood, and it is not surprising that scholars have on philological and other grounds often identified Oannes with Enoch. 283

When Enoch and the others saw everything and wrote everything down such as pertains to this world, they were all writing the same book-and they knew it. In Revelation 5:1-2 there is such a book, "a 'revelation' from the Spirit of the Father into the 'Heart of Man.' "284 Yet in the recently discovered reality of the hologram we have something akin to the paradox of the book each of whose letters contains all of its parts: "each letter is a perfect truth, like a perfect book in itself, for they are letters written in the Oneness."285

In the Joseph Smith Enoch, all the writings from Adam on down have one central perennial themethe atoning mission of Jesus Christ, which emerges full-blown in a succession of dispensations. (Moses 7:39, 47, 54-67.) In the book of Enoch "the Lord, the Father, wrote with his own fingers ten words," which were "teachings regarding the Son," to whose earthly ministry Enoch looked forward.286 "The limited mysteries . . . which God caused Enoch to write" were later "revealed in their fullness by Jesus," says the Pistis Sophia.²⁸⁷ It is the Savior, according to the Mandaeans, who "brings to mankind the primordial revelation contained in the heavenly books."288 The tradition of the perennial gospel was known to the early church and is confirmed by Athanasias, who explains that the gospel is not new, but was preached and known to Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and Moses, before the time of Christ.²⁸⁹ Later Christianity, however, down to the present, lays great emphasis on the originality of Christ, and Pico della Mirandola, while translating a newly discovered manuscript of Ezra, reported with amazement, "I see in it, as God is my witness, the religion not so much of Moses as of. Christ!"290

The idea of doubled sets of books, one on earth and one in heaven, is also widespread and very ancient. Of Enoch's writings we are told, "some of them were written and inscribed above in heaven, in order that the angels may read them" (1 En. 108:7), while Enoch's own writings are transcripts from a book kept in heaven, and "made known in sundry portions to the Fathers,"291 all of whom, but most notably Enoch, report having got their information by "reading it in the heavenly tablets" (e.g., Jub. 4:1). Thus by the books above and below, brought together like the sticks of Joseph and Ephraim in perfect agreement as perfectly agreeing witnesses, the world will be judged.²⁹²

Enoch's writings are above all else a warning to the wicked, particularly "in the Last Days, in the days of wickedness and vengeance,"293 to the end "that perchance they who live in the last days may not perish."294 His book is "for those that keep the Law in the last days; this book is for them" and equally for those who break it: "In those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion."295 Enoch's book is both a threat and a comfort, "an exhortation not to be troubled on account of the times," but to be vigilant and

never overconfident.296

Whenever the sacred writings come forth, they are greeted by the righteous with glad surprise and eager enjoyment: "Then shall the books which are given to the righteous become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom . . . and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them." (1 En. 104:10-13.) They "will be shown to men of faith," and "will be glorified more in the latter end than before." (2 En. 12.) "They who have the wisdom to receive them . . . will be nourished by them and become attached to them." (2 En. 12, p. 48.) "This hope," comments R.H. Charles, "was to a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era," until the doctors of the church threw the treasure away.297 At a time when the church will be "oppressed and suffering and has no place to set its foot," the sacred writings, having "evaded the hands of the wicked," finally come into the hands of the Saints, properly witnessed and certified and "written in exceeding plainness"; the Saints will kiss them and say: O Wisdom of the Great One! O armor of the Apostles!298

The Curtain Rises

he Pearl of Great Price should be read as a single work, an epitome of world history, summarizing and correlating in the brief scope of less than sixty pages the major dispensations of the gospel, past, present, and future. The story is told largely by excerpts which announce themselves as fragments of original books written by Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Moses, and Joseph Smith, all centering about the figure of Christ and his mission in the meridian of time, with a preview of the millennium thrown in. Enoch's proper place in that story is best known by those who see the big picture. Thus, the following section deals with the type of story that Enoch's history belongs to, the visions from Creation to Judgment.

The recent flowering of comparative studies that look into longneglected or newly discovered apocryphal writings makes it clear that the concept of recurrent dispensations of light and darkness, restoration and apostasy is valid for every age of recorded history. Nowhere is the pattern set forth more clearly than in the epic sweep of the Pearl of Great Price. Surprisingly, the perennial pattern presented there is not limited to Jewish and Christian traditions, but extends to the oldest ritual literature-epic and dramatic-of the human race; chapter one of our book of Moses is as much an introduction to world literature in general as to our conventional scriptures. Daring as such a claim may seem, the more carefully the text is studied the more impressively it is confirmed. Consider the episodes in the order given by this remarkable prologue to the study of man.

A. The story opens (verse 1) with Moses speaking with God face to face on "an exceedingly high mountain," wrapped in the divine glory, sharing the light of divinity. This situation, including the mountain, is the well-known epic and dramatic "prologue in heaven," with the hero receiving a special calling and assignment to a work in this lower world; like the audience, he is being prepared for the blows that follow.

B. Next the lights go out, the glory departs, and we find Moses lying helpless upon the bare earth, cut

down to size (vv. 9-10); he slowly regains his strength until he is able to utter his first commentary on life: "Now, for this cause I know that man is nothing, which thing I never had supposed." Man begins his earthly career at the bottom of the ladder. Then the hero's next remark puts a different face on things: "But now mine own eyes have beheld God; ... his glory was upon me; and I beheld his face, for I was transfigured before him." (V. 11.)

And this is the human predicament, man's condition in its most stark and elementary terms, la misère et la gloire, that besetting contradiction which is the constant concern of early Christian and Jewish writers and subject of countless philosoph-

"Enoch's book is both a threat and a comfort, 'an exhortation not to be troubled on account of the times,' but to be vigilant and never overconfident."

ical and Gnostic texts, endlessly restated as a perennially new discovery in all the great literature of the world: "How weary, flat, stale and unprofitable" is the earthly life of man the "quintessence of dust," and yet "how noble in reason" is that same man, "how infinite in faculty! ... in action how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a god." (Hamlet 1, ii, 133; 2, ii, 303-8.) Yet Moses declares that man is nothing, even while in the same breath calling attention to the clouds of glory still remembered from his native condi-

C. In this state of weakness and suspense, of trials and contradictions, he is the ideal target for the Adversary, who with his usual evil methodology chooses precisely this moment to attack, taking full advantage of his enemy's imperiled condition. With the appearance of this sinister figure the drama begins in earnest. Satan wants to be acknowledged as the ruler of the world-that is the theme-and Moses promptly challenges his claim. Moses, remembering his own high calling, questions his adversary, asking again and again: "Who art thou? For behold, I am a son of God, in the similitude of his Only Begotten; and where is thy glory, that I should worship thee?

"For behold, I could not look upon God, except his glory should come upon me. . . . But I can look upon thee in the natural man. Is it not so, surely?" (Vv. 13-14.)

Note that the contest is not between God and the Devil-that was never a contest. It is Moses himself who here proclaims his own advantage over Satan, as he goes on: "Where is thy glory, for it is darkness unto me? And I can judge between thee and God." (V. 15.) In the next three verses he repeats that he shares the nature of the Only Begotten and finds Satan a fraud: "Satan, deceive me not," ending by summarily ordering him off the premises. (Vv. 16-18.) These are stinging blows, for Satan has always claimed the earth as his own special precinct and the role of the Only Begotten as his exclusive vehicle. Moses' repeated reminders of his own intimacy with the Only Begotten drives the pretender into a screaming rage.

D. Casting off all pretense to his celebrated subtlety and cunning, the Adversary resorts to an all-out frontal attack and the battle is onthe ritual combat that meets us so often in the earliest dramatic and epic literature of the race: "Satan cried with a loud voice, and rent upon the earth, and commanded, saying: I am the Only Begotten, worship me." (V. 19.) Moses was terrified by the ferocity and passion of the attack; in fact he was quite overcome. Paralyzed with fear, "he saw the bitterness of hell." (V. 20.) It is the well-known theme of the heroking reduced to the last extremity, calling with his last ounce of strength out of "the bitterness of hell": "Nevertheless, calling upon God, he receives strength" (v. 20), and at the last moment is delivered.299

And now the tables are turned: It is the dark opponent who is down; he trembles and the earth shakes as he retreats in uproar and anguish. Here it is in order to note that the Adversary who relentlessly assails the hero in the earliest epics is none other than the "Earth-shaker," Enosichthon.

E. Next in order, according to the established pattern, the hero, having met and survived the onslaughts of the Destroyer, should be hailed as victor and king, and this is exactly what happens in our story; God proclaims him blessed, endows him with divine strength, and declares him chosen to be the leader and deliverer of his people, his own representative on earth: "I, the Almighty, have chosen thee, and thou shalt be made stronger than many waters; ... as if thou wert God ... for thou shalt deliver my people." (Vv. 25-26; italics added.) As we have shown elsewhere, the king must emerge victorious at the moment of passing through the waters of life, death, rebirth, and purification, and the ancients always understood Moses' leading his people through the Red Sea as the type and similitude of a baptism, symbolizing at one and the same time death, birth, victory, and purification from sins.300

F. In the scene that follows, Moses is shown the extent of his "kingdom," i.e., his field of labor; viewing the vast display, he is filled with wonder and asks the Epic Question: "Tell me, I pray thee, why these things are so, and by what thou madest them?" (V. 30; italics added.) What is behind it all? Let us recall how the ancient epic poet, after stating his basic proposition in the opening lines, launches into his story by asking for revelation in the same terms: "Say first what cause moved our Grandparents in that happy state . . . to transgress. . . . Who first seduced them?" Thus Milton in Paradise Lost, borrowing from Vergil in his Aenead: Musa mihi Causas memoro, quo numine laeso, quidve dolens, etc.—why, who, how? Who borrows in turn from Homer: Ex hou de ta proté . . . tis t' ar' sphoe theon-for what cause, who was responsible?

G. The epic question really invites the poet himself to come onto the stage and tell his whole story. Having asked, we cannot begrudge him the long hours needed for a fullscale epic recital. In Moses' case, we are spared, for the Lord will give him "only an account of this earth" (v. 35), still with the reminder that he must never lose sight of the vast cosmic perspective which forms the background to the story and without which human history becomes a rather pointless and parochial tale.

²⁴⁵Discussed by I. Meyer, Qabbalah (Philadelphia, 1888), pp. 98f. The claim is repeated by the Zohar, Pt. I, 36a.

²⁴⁶Bin Gorion, 1:257. 247 Van Andel, pp. 41 ff.; Moses 8:2. ²⁴⁸ W. Leslau, p. 100; italics added. ²⁴⁹Ascension of Isaiah 9:21. 250 Ibid. 2:31.

²⁵¹Origen, in Genesim 10, 11, in Patrol. Graec. 12:73, 81, 84.

252 C.L. Woolley, Abraham (London: Faber, 1936), p. 182. 2534 Ezra 14:22.

254 R.H. Charles, Apocrypha & Pseudepigrapha of the O.T. (Oxford, 1964), 2:470.

2552 Baruch 6:8-10.

²⁵⁶In these passages the document is called a "testament," C. Schmidt, Epistola Apostolorum (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1919), pp. 164-65.

257 F.M. Cross, in the Biblical Archaeologist, Feb. 1954, p. 13. 258 A. L. Davies, in Jas. Hastings, Dictionary of the Apostolic Church

(N.Y.: Scribner's, 1916), 1:334. ²⁵⁹M. Malinine, ed., Evangelium Veritatis, f. 12r:23. fol. XIIr, p. 23.

2604 Ezra 14:20. ²⁶¹Evang. Veritatus, fol. 12r:23. ²⁶²M.J. Lagrange, Le Messianisme chez les Juifs (Paris, 1909), p. 46.

²⁶³J. Leipoldt, Religionsgeschichte des Orients (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), pp.

²⁶⁴Secrets of Enoch (the Slavonic Enoch in R.H. Charles Apocr. & Pseudepigr. of the O.T.), 35:1-2.

²⁶⁵Apocryphon of James, f. Ir, lines 8-35, Iv, lines 1-18. This text, discovered in 1945, is one of the most enlightening commentaries on the subject of secrecy and transmission. "Since you have asked me to send you a secret discourse delivered by the Lord to Peter and me . . . I am writing it in Hebrew letters and sending it to you alone. .. Make every effort to avoid/prevent the document's reaching a lot of people, the Savior not wishing to tell these things to all of us of the Twelve. . . . Ten months ago I sent you another discussion/talk which the Savior had with me in secret. . . . The Twelve used to have sessions in which they would recall things the Savior had said to them individually, alone or in public, and then write them down in books.'

266 Secrets of Enoch 54:1; italics added.

²⁶⁷Apocryphon of John, Cod. I, p. 75, lines 15-20; p. 76, line 1. Page 76, lines 10-15, contains a curse on whoever gives up this (writing) as a present or in return for food or drink or clothing or anything of that nature.

²⁶⁸Secrets of Enoch 48:6; italics

²⁶⁹Evang. Veritatis, f. 12r:23. It is so secret that when Jesus explains it to Mary, a cloud envelops them, forming seven veils of flame so that even the angels could see or hear nothing of what was going on. S. Euringer, Orientalia 9:245.

70 Apocryphon of John, Codex I, p.

²⁷¹4 Ezra 14:23.

2722 Ezra 14:6. 273 Ibid., 14:23.

²⁷⁴Bin Gorion, 1:270. 275 Ibid., 1:270.

²⁷⁶Tha'labi Qissas al-Anbiya (Ciaro 1354 A.H.), p. 242. A very good source. 277 M. Allegro, The Treasure of the Copper Scroll (Garden City: Doubleday,

1960), pp. 120ff.
²⁷⁸ Syncellus 53:19-56; in F.H.G.

2:501f.

279 Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth, 2:24, in Patrol. Orientalis

280 A.L. Oppenheim, in Orientalia

²⁸¹A. Moret, Histoire de l'Orient (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1929), Pt. I, pp. 85f, 96f, 141-44.

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²⁸²Eusebius, Chronographia, 1:13f.

²⁸³ Van Andel, p. 74.

²⁸⁴G. Fecht, "Der erste Teil des sog. Evangelium Veritatis," Orientalia 32 (1963): 327, 331.

²⁸⁵Ev. Verit. f. 12r:23; 11:22, 1, 38f. ²⁸⁶Mysteries of Heaven & Earth, 4:4, in Patrol. Or., 6:430.

287 Pistis Sophia Pt. IV, in Texte u. Unters., 8:342.

288 Widengren, pp. 74-76.

²⁸⁹Athenasius, De decretis nicaenae synodi, 5, in Patrol. Graec. 25:424, discussing 1 John 2:7.

290 N. Schmidt, in JAOS 42:46.

²⁹¹ Jubilees, 2:1.

²⁹² Koep, pp. 46ff. ²⁹³Davies, in Dict. of Apostol.

Church, 1:334; cf. Moses 7:60. 2944 Ezra 14:22.

²⁹⁵1 En. 108:1. ²⁹⁶F. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri (London: E. Walker, 1933-41) 8:8.

²⁹⁷R.H. Charles, Book of Enoch (Oxford, 1912), p. ix.

²⁹⁸The Kephalaia, in H.J. Polotsky, ed., Manichäische Handschriften as der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Bd. I (Stuttgart, 1940), p. 25.

²⁹⁹This motif is discussed in Hugh Nibley, Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri (Deseret Book Co., 1975), pp.

300 Ibid, pp. 94-103. It is significant that at this point in the Joseph Smith version the hero is declared to be a victor over the waters, since to the casual reader that seems quite irrelevant.

A Strange Thing in the Land



The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 7

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The preceding installment was all familiar literary ground in our story's great prologue, and that with a minimum of biblical prompting. Those who wish to credit Joseph Smith with a comprehension of comparative literature and ritual far beyond his time and training are free to do so. They may even insist, as they have with the Book of Mormon, that this is the way any uneducated rustic would tell the story. Today, however, we have several very ancient and significant parallels to Moses 1, which lie far beyond the reach of coincidence or daydreaming. The number of details and the order in which they occur make it perfectly clear that we are dealing with specific works of great antiquity which come from a common source. To show what we mean, let us compare Moses', Abraham's, and Adam's confrontations with Satan; these stories themselves contain pointed references to Enoch, with whom each hero is duly compared. Let it be remembered that these accounts are not scripture, but are simply ancient records that help us understand the Enoch story.

First the Apocalypse of Abraham, an Old Slavonic account discovered in 1895 and first published by Bonwetsch in 1897.³⁰¹ K. Koch has recently ranked it as one of the five definitely authentic early Hebrew Apocalypses.³⁰² Let us place it in parallel columns against our book of Moses, chapter 1.

Moses Chapter 1

The setting:

1:1. The words of God . . . unto Moses . . . when Moses was caught up into an exceedingly high mountain.

God will show him everything:

- 4. I will show thee the workmanship of mine hands; but not all, for my works are without end, . . .
- 5. Wherefore, no man can behold all my works . . . and no man can behold all my glory. [See Abr. 2:12: "Thy servant has sought thee earnestly; now I have found thee."]
- 6. And I have a work for thee, Moses, my son. . . .
- 8. And . . . Moses looked, and beheld the world upon which he was created . . . and all the children of men which are, and which were created . . .

The hero is helpless after the vision:

- 9. And the presence of God withdrew from Moses . . . and [he] was left unto himself. And . . . he fell unto the earth.
- 10. And . . . it was for the space of many hours before Moses did again receive his natural strength. . . .

Satan takes advantage of his weakness:

12. Behold, Satan came tempting him, saying: Moses, son of man, worship *me*. [Italics added.]

Apocalypse of Abraham

Chapter 9 (Ch. 1 of the Apocalypse proper)

9:8. [Abraham, in order to receive the vision, must] "Bring me the sacrifice . . . upon a high mountain."

6. In this sacrifice I will show forth to thee the ages of the world,

and show thee that which is hidden. Thou shalt behold great things, which thou hast never seen before,

because thou delightest to seek after me,

and I have called thee my friend.

9. And I will show unto thee, the ages of the world fixed and created by my word, and show thee what is going to happen to the children of men as they shall do good or evil.

Ch. 10.

1. [Hearing a voice] I looked here and there.

2. It was not a human breath, and so my spirit was afraid, and my soul departed from me. And I became as a stone, and fell to the earth, for I had no more strength to stand;

3. And as I lay with my face to the ground I heard the voice of the Holy One say,

4. Go, Jaoel, in the power of my name, and raise that man up! Let him recover from his trembling.

[Chaps. 11 & 12 are a detailed description of Abraham's sacrifice, during which, Chap. 13]:

1. I carried out everything according to the angel's instructions . . .

3. Then an unclean creature with wings alighted upon the sacrificial victims . . . 4. The unclean bird said to me: What are you doing, Abraham, in this holy place . . .

Moses

13. And . . . Moses . . . said: Who art thou? . . .

15. I can judge between thee and God....

16. Get thee hence, Satan, deceive me not. . . .

Satan put to shame by humiliating contrast with the hero:

13. I am a son of God . . . and where is thy glory, that I should worship thee?

14. For behold, I could not look upon God, except . . . I were strengthened before him. But I can look upon thee in the natural man. Is it not so, surely?

15. . . . Where is thy glory, for it darkness unto me? And I can judge between thee and God. . . .

16. Get thee hence, Satan: deceive me not;

for God said unto me: Thou art after the similitude of mine Only Begotten.

The hero is strengthened for the contest:

17. And he also gave me commandments . . . saying: Call upon God in the name of mine Only Begotten, and worship me.

18. . . . I have other things to inquire of him: for his glory has been upon me, wherefore I can judge between him and thee. Depart hence, Satan.

Abraham

where you yourself may perish in the fire! 5. Leave the man [angel] standing beside you and flee!

6. And I asked the angel, "Who is this, my Lord?"

7. He said: This is ungodliness: this is Azazel [Satan]!

8. [Michael:] Shame upon you, Satan!

9. For Abraham's part is in heaven, and thine is upon this earth. 10. God has placed thee upon this earth as the Adversary, to lead dishonest spirits and practice deception.

12. Listen, my friend, and I will

put you to shame,

13. Thou hast not the power to tempt all the righteous.

14. Depart from this man! Thou canst not lead him astray, for he is thine enemy and enemy to all those who follow thee and love after thy desire.

15. For behold, the garment [of glory] which once fitted you in heaven, is now laid up for him. And the decay to which he was fated now goes over to thee!

14:3. Take heart, exercise the power that I give thee over this one, who hateth truth . . .

4. ... who rebelled against the Almighty ...

5. Say to him: . . . Depart, Azazel . . . 6. Thy lot is to rule over those who are with thee . . . 7. Depart from me . . . 8. And I spoke as the angel instructed me.

The hero is overcome but calls out and is saved:

- 19. And . . . Satan cried with a loud voice, and rent upon the earth, and commanded, saying: I am the Only Begotten, worship me.
- 20. And . . . Moses began to fear exceedingly; and . . . saw the bitterness of hell. Nevertheless, calling upon God, he received strength, and he commanded, saying, Depart from me, Satan. . . .

- 21. And now Satan began to tremble, and the earth shook; and Moses received strength, and called upon God, saying: In the name of the Only Begotten, depart hence, Satan.
- 22. And . . . Satan cried with a loud voice, with weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth, and he departed hence, even from the presence of Moses, that he beheld him not. . . .

The hero is borne aloft:

- 24. And ... when Satan had departed ... Moses lifted up his eyes unto heaven, being filled with the Holy Ghost....
- 25. And calling upon . . . God, he beheld his glory again. . . .
- [See 2 Ne. 4:25—"Upon the wings of his Spirit hath my body been carried away upon exceeding high mountains. And mine eyes have beheld great things, yea, even too great for man."]
- 24. And . . . when Satan had departed from the presence of Moses . . . Moses lifted up his eyes unto

- 9. He [Satan] spoke: Abraham! And I said: Here is thy servant.
- 10. But the angel said to me: O, do not reply to him! For God has given him power over those who answer him . . . 11. . . . no matter how much he speaks to thee, answer him not, lest his will overpower thine.
- 12. For the Eternal One has given him a powerful will. Answer him not! [See Testament of Abraham (Falasha p. 100ff.) where he says to Isaac approaching the altar: "Come near, my son, so that thou mayest perceive the one . . . who frightened me and because of whom I was afraid . . ." referring to his own jeopardy on the altar.]

[This detail is found in *Enoch's* meeting with Satan in Giz. 13:1-3, "And Enoch said to Azazel, Depart! Thou shalt have no peace, a great sentence has gone forth against thee to bind thee. 2. And there will be no further discussion or questioning with thee, because of thy dishonest and deceitful works among men."]

Gizeh 13:3. Then he departed and spoke to all of them [his followers] and they all feared, and trembling and terror seized them.

- 15:2. The angel in charge of the sacrifice . . . took
- 3. me by the right hand, and set me on the right wing of the dove while he sat on the left side.
- 4. So it bore me to the limits of the flaming fire 5. and then on into heaven, as if on many winds, which was fixed above the firmament.

Bait ha-Midrash, 5:170. R. Ishmael (double for Enoch): When I went up to the mountain top . . . arriving at the seventh temple, I stood to pray before God; and I lifted up my eyes and said. . . deliver me from Satan. And the Metatron [also Enoch!] came who [served?] the angel, even the Prince of the Presence, and spread his wings and came to meet me with great joy . . .

heaven, being filled with the Holy Ghost....

- 25. . . . And he heard a voice, saying: Blessed art thou, Moses, for I, the Almighty, have chosen thee, and thou shalt be made stronger than many waters; for they shall obey thy command as if thou wert God. [Here Moses is hailed as the victorious sacral king.]
- 27. And ... Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth... 28. And he beheld also the inhabitants thereof, and there was not a soul which he beheld not ... and their numbers were great, even numberless.

He is shown the field of his mission:

In the "Testamentary" literature, each Patriarch takes a journey to heaven and is given a view of the entire earth, an account of which then becomes an integral part of his missionary message upon his return. (Compare 1 Ne. 1:4-15, Abr. 3:15, Moses 1:40.)

- 27. As the voice was still speaking, Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth, yea, even all of it; and there was not a particle of it which he did not behold....
- 28. And he beheld also the inhabitants thereof, and there was not a soul which he beheld not . . . and their numbers were great, even numberless as the sand upon the sea shore.
- 29. And he beheld many lands; and each land was called earth, and there were inhabitants on the face thereof.

Confrontation with God:

31. And . . . the glory of the Lord was upon Moses, so that Moses stood in the presence of God, and talked with him face to face.

and he took me with his hand and raised me up.]

- 17:1. And while he was speaking, fire surrounded us and a voice ... like the voice of many waters like the raging of the sea in the surf.
- 15:6. And I saw a mighty light ... and in the light a mighty fire in which was a host, even a great host of mighty beings [forms] constantly changing shape and appearance, moving, changing, praying, and uttering words I could not understand.

- 21:1. He said to me: Look beneath thy feet upon the Firmament. Recognize at that level the creation there presented, the creatures that are in it, and the world that has been prepared for them.
- 2. And I looked down, and behold . . . the earth and her fruits, and all that moves upon her . . . and the power of her people . . . 3. the lower regions . . . the pit and its torments
- 4. I saw there the sea and its islands, the beasts, its fishes, leviathan and his sphere . . . 5. the streams of water, their sources and their courses
- 9. I saw there a mighty host of men, women, and children half of them on the right side of the picture and half on the left.
- 16:1. I said to the angel: I can see nothing, I have become weak, my spirit leaves me!
- 2. He said to me: Stay with me; be not afraid. He whom thou now beholdest coming towards us . . . is

- 30. And it came to pass that Moses called upon God....
- 33. And worlds without number have I created; and I also created them for mine own purpose. . . .
- 38. And as one earth shall pass away . . . even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works, neither to my words.

The Epic Question and Answer:

- 30. And . . . Moses called upon God, saying: Tell me, I pray thee, why these things are so, and by what thou madest them? [Italics added. Cf. Abr. 1:2. "I sought for the blessings of the fathers, . . . desiring also ... to possess a greater knowledge."]
- 31. . . . And the Lord God said unto Moses: For mine own purpose have I made these things. Here is wisdom and it remaineth in me.
- 33. And worlds without number have I created; and I also created them for mine own purpose....
- 35. But only an account of this earth, and the inhabitants thereof, give I unto you. For behold, there are many worlds . . . that now stand, ... but all things are numbered unto me, for they are mine and I know them.

Left alone a second time:

9. And the presence of God withdrew from Moses, that his glory was not upon Moses; and Moses was left unto himself. And as he was left unto himself, he fell unto the earth.

the Eternal One, who loves thee.

- 3. But He himself you do not see . . . 4. But do not be overcome, I am with you to strengthen you.
- 17:5. So I continued to pray . . . 6. He said: Speak without ceasing!
- 7ff. [Abraham calls upon God naming his attributes.] 11. Eli, meaning My God . . . El! El! El! El Jaoel!
- 13. Thou who bringest order into the unorganized universe, even the chaos which in the perishable world goes forth from good and evil.

Thou who renewest the World of the righteous.

14. O light, that shone upon thy creatures before the morning light

16. Hear my prayers!

- 17. Look with favor upon me: Show me, teach me. Give thy servant all that which thou hast promised
- 26:1. Eternal, Mighty, Only One! Why hast thou so arranged things, that it should be so?
- 26:5. As thine own father's [Terah's] will is in him, and as thine own will is in thee, so the resolves of mine own will are set for all the future, before you knew there even was such a thing . . .
- 19:3. Look upon the places beneath the firmament, upon which thou standest [Cf. this formula in Abr. 3:3, 4, 5, 7 etc.!] Behold there is not a single place nor any spot at all but what is occupied by Him whom thou seekest. 4. And as he spoke the place opened up and beneath me there was heaven. 5. And upon the seventh Firmament on which I stood ... I saw the splendor of invisible glory investing living beings.
- 30:1. And as he was still speaking I found myself upon the earth.
- 2. I spoke: Eternal, Mighty,
- 3. Behold I am no longer in the glory in which I was above! And what my heart sought to know I did

[Abr. 2:12: "Now, after the Lord had withdrawn from speaking to me, and withdrawn his face from me, I said in my heart: Thy servant has sought thee earnestly; now I have found thee."]

These parallel accounts, separated by centuries, cannot be coincidence. Nor can all the others. The first man to have such a confrontation with Satan was Adam. A wealth of stories about it closely matches the accounts of Abraham, Moses, Enoch, and other heroes. Perhaps the oldest Adam traditions are those collected from all over the ancient East at a very early time, which have reached us in later Ethiopian and Arabic manuscripts under the title of "The Combat of Adam and Eve against Satan."303 It contains at least thirteen different showdowns between Adam and the Adversary, of which we present a few of the most striking. Since the motif was characteristically repeated with variations (the monkish mind could not resist the temptation to work a good thing to death) it will be necessary to repeat some passages from the book of Moses.

Moses, Chapter 1

- 9. And the presence of God withdrew from Moses, that his glory was not upon Moses; and Moses was left unto himself. . . . He fell unto the earth.
- 10. And it came to pass that it was for the space of many hours before Moses did again receive his natural strength like unto man; and he said unto himself: Now, for this cause I know that man is nothing, which thing I never had supposed.
- 11. But now mine own eyes have beheld God; but not my natural, but my spiritual eyes, for my natural eyes could not have beheld; for I should have withered and died in his presence; but his glory was upon me; and I beheld his face, for I was transfigured before him.
- 12. And it came to pass that when Moses had said these words, behold, Satan came tempting him, saying: Moses, son of man, worship me.

not understand.

4. And he said to me: What in thy heart thou didst so desire, that I will tell thee, because thou hast sought diligently to behold, etc.

Combat of Adam (direct quotations from the document are indicated with quotation marks)

Column 297-98. Leaving the glorious garden, they (Adam and Eve) were seized with fear and "they fell down upon the earth and remained as if dead."

- 299. While Adam was still in that condition, Eve, stretching high her hands, prayed: "O Lord . . . thy servant has fallen from the Garden" and is banished to a desert place. (Gen. 3:18f.)
- 299. They say: "Today our eyes having become terrestrial can no longer behold the things they once did."
- 306. Satan, seeing them at prayer, appears to them in a great light and sets up his throne on the site, thus claiming the earth as his kingdom while his followers sing

13. And it came to pass that Moses looked upon Satan and said: Who art thou? For behold, I am a son of God, in the similitude of his Only Begotten; and where is thy glory, that I should worship thee?

15-18. . . . Where is thy glory, for it is darkness unto me? . . . Get thee hence, Satan; deceive me not. . . . I can judge between [God] and thee. Depart hence, Satan.

13. I am a son of God. . . . 14. . . . I could not look upon God, except . . . I were strengthened before him. [See 20: "Calling upon God, he received strength."]

- 12. Satan came tempting him, saying: Moses, son of man, worship me.
- 19. ... I am the Only Begotten, worship me.
- 13. Moses looked upon Satan and said: Who art thou?

hymns in his praise.

307. Adam, puzzled, prays for light, asking: Can this be another God here hailed by his angels? An angel of the Lord arrives and says: "Fear not, Adam, what you see is Satan and his companions who wish to seduce you again. First he appeared to you as a serpent and now he wants you to worship him so he can draw you after him away from

Then the angel exposed and humiliated Satan in Adam's presence and cast him out saying to

"Fear not: God who created you will strengthen you!"

307-8. The next morning as Adam prayed with upraised hands, Satan appeared to him, saying, "Adam, I am an angel of the great God. The Lord has sent me to you." It was his plan to kill Adam and thus "remain sole master and possessor of the earth." But God sent three heavenly messengers to Adam bringing him the signs of the priesthood and kingship.

309. And Adam wept because they reminded him of his departed glory, but God said they were signs of the atonement to come, where-

upon Adam rejoiced.

323-24. After a forty-day fast Adam and Eve were very weak, stretched out upon the floor of the cave as if dead, but still praying. Satan then came, clothed in light, speaking sweet words to deceive them saying: "I am the first created of God . . . now God has commanded me to lead you to my habitation . . . to be restored to your former glory."

325. But God knew that he planned to lead them to far-away places and destroy them. Adam said, Who was this glorious old man who came to us? Answer: He is Satan in human form come to deceive you by giving you signs to prove his bonafides but I have cast him out.

326. Adam and Eve, still weak from fasting and still praying, are again confronted by Satan who, be-

21. Now Satan began to tremble. . . . 22. And it came to pass that Satan cried with a loud voice, with weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth; and he departed hence.

18. I have other things to inquire of [God]: for his glory has been upon me, wherefore I can judge between him and thee. Depart hence, Satan.

5:6. And after many days an angel of the Lord appeared unto Adam, saying: Why dost thou offer sacrifices unto the Lord? And Adam said unto him: I know not, save the Lord commanded me.

7. And then the angel spake, saying: This thing is a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father, which is full of grace and truth. 9. . . . As thou hast fallen thou mayest be redeemed, and all mankind, even as many as will.

10. ... Adam ... was filled, ... saying: . . . In this life I shall have joy, and again in the flesh I shall see

1:20. Moses began to fear exceedingly; and as he began to fear, he saw the bitterness of hell. Nevertheless, calling upon God, he received strength. [See Book of Abraham, Facsimile No. 1!]

5:7. This thing is a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father, which is full of grace and

301 For the sources, Paul Riessler, Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel, 3rd ed. (Heidelberg: F.H. Kerle, 1975), p. 1267. It has been traced to Ebionite and Essene circles closely related to the communities of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Unfortunately, we are here reduced to using Riessler's German translation of the Old Slavonic text.

ing rebuffed, "is sore afflicted" and weeping and wailing says, "'God has wrecked my scheme . . . he has rendered worthless the plan which I contrived against his servants.' And he retired in confusion."

327. Adam asked, Why is this? Answer: "God wanted to show you the weakness of Satan and his evil intentions for since the day you left the Garden he has not let a day pass without trying to harm you, but I have not let him have the victory over you." [Adam thus learned to distinguish between good and evil.]

329. Again Adam and Eve were sacrificing with upraised arms in prayer, asking God to accept their sacrifice and forgive their sins. "And the Lord said to Adam and Eve: As you have made this sacrifice to me, so I will make an offering of my flesh when I come to earth, and so save you. . . . And God ordered an angel to take tongs and receive the sacrifice of Adam."

At this Adam and Eve rejoiced. God said: When the terms of my covenant are fulfilled, I will again receive you into my Garden and my Grace. So Adam continued to make this sacrifice for the rest of his days. And God caused his word to be preached to Adam.

330. On the fiftieth day, Adam offering sacrifice as was his custom, Satan appeared in the form of a man and smote him in the side with a sharp stone even as Adam raised his arms in prayer. Eve tried to help him as blood and water flowed on the altar. "God . . . sent his word and revived Adam saying: 'Finish thy sacrifice, which is most pleasing to me. For even so will I be wounded and blood and water will come from my side; that will be the true Sacrifice, placed on the altar as a perfect offering.' . . . And so God healed Adam.'

302 K. Koch, Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1970), pp. 16, 19ff.

303 The sources are discussed and some of them are collected and translated in J.P. Migne, Encyclopedie Théologique (Paris: 1856), Cols. 289ff. It is to this work that our page numbers refer.



Enoch, by Gary Smith

A Strange Thing in the Land

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 8

By Hugh Nibley

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The purpose of these articles is (1) to call attention to some of the longignored aspects of the Joseph Smith account of Enoch in the book of Moses and in the Inspired Version of Genesis and (2) to provide at the same time some of the evidence that establishes the authenticity of that remarkable text. Contemporary learning offered few checks to the imagination of Joseph Smith; the enthusiasm of his followers presented none. Yet, though free to roam at will over a boundless plain, the Prophet never once in his account of Enoch strays from the narrow and exacting path that later Enoch texts have so clearly marked. In his version, every essential element of the Enoch story as we now know it turns up, yet he never strays out of bounds—what he

says and what he does not say about Enoch are equally remarkable considering his situation.

To present and discuss all the ancient parallels to the Joseph Smith Enoch would require a work of immense scope, but such is not necessary for our purpose. It is enough to show by one or two examples in each case that even the most extravagant passages in the Joseph Smith version may all be matched by ancient texts—the Prophet is never alone. Many important questions, such as the real age of the Enoch tradition, how the various texts are related, their relevance to modern life; etc., must be left till later. For the present the message and the bona fides of the Joseph Smith account of Enoch are our sole concern.

Surprisingly enough, the best documented story of a clash between Adam and Satan is the scene in heaven. One old writing with unusually good credentials that trace back to books deposited by the apostles in the first Church archives in Jerusalem is the Coptic "Discourse of the Abbaton, a sermon based on the text delivered by Timothy the Archbishop of Alexandria." 304

The book belongs to the fortyday literature; and as it opens, the Lord on his last day on earth with the apostles just before his ascension asks them if there is any final request they would like to make of him exactly as in Third Nephi 28:1. What they want most is to understand the role of Death and its horrors in God's plan for his children.305 To explain this the Lord tells them of the council in heaven in the preexistence where the plan of the creation is being discussed. There was great reluctance among the hosts to proceed with the creation of the earth, the earth itself complaining, exactly in the manner of Moses 7:48, of the filthiness and corruption that would surely go out of her and begging to be allowed to rest from such horrors. (Fol. 10a-b.) Because of the council's reluctance to proceed, God allows the lifeless body of Adam to lie upon the earth for forty days, unwilling, without the council's approval, to let his spirit enter. (11b.) The Son of God saves the day by offering to pay the price for whatever suffering will be entailed, thus permitting "God's children to return again to their former condition."

(12a.) Christ alone thus becomes the author of our earthly existence; amid joy and rejoicing God calls for a book, in which he registers the names of all the "Sons of God" who are to go to earth. (See Gen. 5:1ff, Fol. 12b.) This of course is the heavenly book of the generations of Adam open at the foundation of the earth, the book to which Enoch refers so explicitly in Moses 6:46, 8.

In the presence of all the hosts, Adam is next made ready to take over his great assignment. He is placed on a throne and given a crown of glory and a scepter, and all the sons of God bow the knee first to God the Father and then to Adam the Father in recognition of his being in God's exact likeness and image. (13a.) Satan, however, refuses to comply, declaring that he is willing to worship the Father but not Adam: "It is rather he that should worship me for I arrived before he did!" (13a-b.) (See Moses 1:19: "I am the Only Begotten, worship me.") God saw that Satan, because of his boundless ambition and total lack of humility, could no longer be trusted with celestial power and commanded the angels to remove him from his office. This ordinance they performed with great sorrow and reluctance: They "removed the writing of authority from his hand. They took from him his armor and all the insignia of priesthood and kingship." Then with a ceremonial knife, a sickle, they inflicted upon him certain ceremonial blows of death which deprived him of his full strength forever after. (14a.) Other accounts say that after these cuts he retained only one-third of his former power, even as he was followed by one-third of the hosts.

Next Adam was escorted to earth to enter his mortal body, and for a hundred years thereafter was often visited by angels. (14b.) Thereafter, for two hundred years he lived happily in innocence with Eve, taking good care of the animals in his charge. Eventually Satan succeeded in getting possession of a mortal creature, which enabled him to carry on an extensive campaign aimed at Eve. (16a-17a.) Adam was greatly upset; but when Eve, the victim of a trick, took all responsibility, he joined her. (17b.)

Satan stopped Adam outside of the Garden and gloatingly told him that this was his sweet revenge for Adam's victory in heaven: Adam had got him expelled from heaven and now he had paid him in kind; what was more, he intended to continue his project—"I will never cease to contend against thee and against all those who shall come after thee from out of thee, until I have taken them all down to perdition!" (21a-b.) With the threat of death before him, Adam saw the bitterness of hell (19a, 21b), but calling upon God he received not only the assurance of salvation for the dead through the atonement of Christ (20b), but is told that death shall be sweet to those whose names are inscribed in the Book of Life (24a-b). Fear of death (the angel Mouriel) is wholesome and necessary to remind the human race of its fragility and constant need of repentance. This has the salutary effect of countering Satan's plan by providing a constant check on the tendencies of men to misbehave, a sobering and, if necessary, a frightening lesson.

What comes after the showdown between our first parents and the Adversary? Our sources obligingly go right on with the story, and follow Satan from his attempts to win Adam's obedience to his highly successful interviews with Cain, tracing the steady spread of wickedness among mankind down to its culmination in the days of Enoch. There is no better summary of the story than that given in the book of Moses, which is surprisingly close to the "Combat of Adam" version on every point. Let us briefly survey events leading up to the call of Enoch, as given in the Joseph Smith

Having been instructed by an angel of the Lord, Adam and Eve enjoyed a fulness of the gospel, "and they made all things known unto their sons and their daughters." (See Moses 5:1-12.) Enter Satan, the negative one, with his nongospel: "Believe it not!" and his countergospel: "I am also a son of God." (5:13.) He gains a following by pushing downhill, in the direction of what is "carnal, sensual, and devilish." (5:13.) This called for much preaching of repentance (5:14-15), as Adam and Eve remained true and faithful, and "ceased not to call upon God" (5:16). Into this world Cain was born, who rejected his parents' teachings as irrational-"Who is the Lord that I should know him?" (5:16.) The Lord gave Cain every chance to be wise and save himself, showing him in all reasonableness the dangerous course he was taking,

and warning him that he would be in Satan's power to the degree that he refused obedience: "And thou shalt rule over him." (Moses 5:23; see also Gen. 4:7.) Cain rule over Satan? Yes, that is the arrangement—the devil serves his client, gratifies his slightest whim, pampers his appetites, and is at his beck and call throughout his earthly life, putting unlimited power and influence at his disposal through his command of the treasures of the earth, gold and silver. But in exchange the victim must keep his part of the agreement, following Satan's instructions on earth and remaining in his power hereafter. That is the classic bargain, the pact with the Devil, by which a Faust, Don Juan, Macbeth, or Jabez Stone achieve the pinnacle of earthly success and the depths of eternal damnation.

The Lord held forth the fatherly invitation to Cain: "If thou doest well, thou shalt be accepted," along with the solemn warning, "Satan desireth to have thee." (Moses 5:23; see also Gen. 4:7.) He is admonished against the folly of "reject[ing] the greater counsel" (Moses 5:25), and the door of repentance is held open right to the last moment, when it is Cain himself who breaks off the conversation and angrily stamps out, refusing to listen "any more to the voice of the Lord" or to his brother's remonstrances (5:26). Cain married "one of his brothers' daughters" (not necessarily Abel's), and together "they loved Satan more than God" (5:28), quite satisfied with their religion and quite defiant about it.

What could one do in such a situation? Nothing: "Adam and his wife mourned before the Lord, because of Cain and his brethren." (5:27.) Having deliberately severed all connection with his Heavenly Father, Cain was free to enter a formal agreement with Satan, by which he would receive instruction in the techniques of achieving power and gain: "Truly I am Mahan, the master of this great secret [The language is that of ancient colleges or guilds where the secret is the mystery of the trade or profession; in this case, his secret is how to convert life into property], that I may murder and get gain." (5:31; see also 5:49.) Cain "gloried" in the power of his new-found skill and dialectic, declaring that it made him "free." (5:33.) He put his knowledge to work in a brilliantly successful operation in which "Abel . . . was slain by the conspiracy of his brother" (D&C

84:16), and gleefully congratulated himself and "gloried in that which he had done, saying: I am free; surely the flocks of my brother falleth into my hands." (5:33; italics added.) This new light on Cain's behavior is confirmed in the Combat of Adam, where we learn that, after killing Abel, Cain "felt no inclination to repent of what he had done," a detail pointed out also by some of the early church fathers. 306

Plainly this is not the conventional novel of Cain and Abel, in which an impetuous adolescent loses his head and brains his spoiled brother in a fit of jealousy; it is a carefully planned and executed operation in which Cain slew "his brother Abel, for the sake of getting gain" (5:50), dismissing his conscience with the thought that all was fair and square since Abel was quite capable of taking care of himself: "Am I my brother's keeper?" (5:34). This was the philosophy by which Satan seduced the human race, teaching them that "every man fared in this life according to the management of the creature; therefore every man prospered according to his genius, and that every man conquered according to his strength; and whatsoever a man did was no crime." (Al. 30:17.) When God took a different view and called him to account, he still pleaded the profit motive as an excuse: "Satan tempted me because of my brother's flocks." (Moses 5:38.) Being "shut out from the presence of the Lord" (5:41), Cain started his own establishment, the main line of his descendants being Enoch (who built a city of Enoch), Irad, Mahujael, Methusael, Lamech the father of Jubal and Tubal Cain. (5:42-46.) Lamech like Cain entered into a covenant with Satan," and like him "became Master Mahan." (5:49; italics added.) When Lamech heard that Irad the son of Enoch was violating the secrecy of these terrible things he "slew him for the oath's sake" (5:50), since "Irad began to reveal . . . unto the [other] sons of Adam" these topsecret signs of recognition (5:49). All those who covenanted with Satan were excluded from the holy covenants of God, though they pretended that everything was the same as before. The dirty business spread as such things do once started; Lamech became an outcast like Cain, not because of the murder but because his wives started spreading his confidential secrets—the very ones he had murdered Irad for divulging. "And thus the works of darkness began to prevail among all the sons of men.

"And God cursed the earth with a sore curse." (5:55-56.)

Is there no relief in the terrible picture? There is: all this time the gospel was "being declared by holy angels . . . and by the gift of the Holy Ghost" (5:58), while "all things were confirmed unto Adam, by an holy ordinance," in the assurance that "the Gospel . . . should be in the world, until the end thereof" (5:59). Adam, having lost Abel, got another son, Seth, to carry on his work. (6:2.) From him comes that line of successors in the priesthood, duly registered in the Book of Life, from which the wicked were excluded. (2:5-8.) After Seth came Enos, who decided to make an important move. Since "in those days Satan had great dominion among men, and raged in their hearts," causing "wars and bloodshed . . . in administering death, because of secret works, seeking for power" (2:15)—exactly as in the modern world-Enos gathered together "the residue of the people of God" and with them migrated out of the country "and dwelt in a land of promise," named Cainan after his son (2:17). The line is Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah, (6:16-21, 8:2, 5-11.)

In The Combat of Adam with Satan, as Migne observes, "the author depicts the descendants of Adam as divided into two separate and distinct branches: the Cainites dedicated to following Satan, who lived in a fertile country but very far distant from Eden, and who devoted themselves to all the pleasures of the flesh and all manner of immorality," and the Sethites who "dwelt in the mountains near the Garden, were faithful to the divine law and bore the name of the Sons of God.'

The occurrence of like names in the two genealogies should not surprise anyone who does much genealogy, where the same family names keep turning up in an endless round. The thing to notice is that there are two lines and that Enoch is seen as a stranger and a wild man only when he leaves his native colony in Cainan, "a land of righteousness unto this day" (6:41), to sojourn as a missionary among the wayward tribes. And so the stage is set for Enoch.

The Wicked World of Enoch

The wickedness of Enoch's day had a special stamp and flavor; only the most determined and entrenched depravity merited the extermination of the race. In apocryphal Enoch stories we are told how humanity was led to the extremes of misconduct under the tutelege of uniquely competent masters. According to these traditions, these were none other than special heavenly messengers who were sent down to earth to restore respect for the name of God among the degenerate human race but instead yielded to temptation, misbehaved with the daughters of men, and ended up instructing and abetting their human charges in all manner of iniquity. They are variously designated as the Watchers, Fallen Angels, Sons of God, Nephilim, or Rephaim, and are sometimes confused with their offspring, the Giants.307 Other candidates for this dubious honor have been suggested by various scholars, the trouble being that more than one category of beings qualify as Fallen Angels and spectacular sinners before the time of the Flood.308 The Bible uses the title sons of Godwere they different from the Watchers of tradition?

"The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.

"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 ... to them ... mighty men, ... men of renown.

"And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth." (Gen. 6:2, 4-5.)

The idea of intercourse between heavenly and earthly beings was widespread in ancient times. Thus, in the newly discovered Genesis Apocryphon, when Lamech's wife bears him a superchild (Noah), he assumes almost as a matter of course that the father is "one of the angels" and accuses her of faithlessness until his grandfather, Enoch, whose "lot is with the Holy Ones" and who lives far away, clears up the misunderstanding. Significantly, the name of the child's mother is Bit-enosh, i.e., she is one of the "daughters of men."309 The Cedrenus fragment avoids the problem of heavenly origin by identifying the sons of God and the daughters of men with the descendants of Seth and Cain respectively, and he specifically designates the sons of God as the Watchers.310 Recently M. Emanueli has suggested that the various terms are merely "a figure of speech in order to express the depth of the deterioration of that generation."311

While the sons of God have been identified with both angels and the Watchers, the Greek Enoch does not identify the Watchers with Satan's hosts who fell from heaven from the beginning-they are another crowd.312 It is the Joseph Smith Enoch which gives the most convincing solution: the beings who fell were not angels but men who had become sons of God. From the beginning, it tells us, mortal men could qualify as "sons of God," beginning with Adam. "Behold, thou [Adam] art one in me, a son of God; and thus may all become my sons." (Moses 6:68; italics added.) How? By believing and entering the covenant. "Our father Adam taught these things, and many have believed, and become the sons of God." (7:1.) Thus when "Noah and his sons hearkened unto the Lord, and gave heed . . . they were called the sons of God." (8:13.) In short, the sons of God are those who accept and live by the law of God. When "the sons of men" (as Enoch calls them) broke their covenant, they still insisted on that exalted title: "Behold, we are the sons of God; have we not taken unto ourselves the daughters of men?" (8:21), even as "the sons of men," reversing the order, married the daughters of those "called the sons of God," thereby forfeiting their title, "for," said God to Noah, "they will not hearken to my voice." (8:15.) The situation was, then, that the sons of God, or their daughters who had been initiated into a spiritual order, departed from it and broke their vows, mingling with those who observed only a carnal

"Why have you left heaven [and] the Exalted One," says Enoch in a Gizeh fragment "and . . . with the daughters of men defiled yourselves? . . . Ye have behaved as sons of Earth and begotten to yourselves giant sons. And you were once holy, spiritual, eternal beings . . . and have lusted after the flesh . . . as do mortal and perishable creatures."313

What made the world of Enoch so singularly depraved as to invite total obliteration was the deliberate and systematic perversion of heavenly things to justify wickedness. An

(Moses 8:21.) "The children of men said to Noah: Behold, we are the sons of God; have we not taken unto ourselves the daughters of men?"

The apocrypha agree:

(Black, p. 44, 106:7, 13-14.) "For in the days of Jared my father, they departed from the teaching of the Lord, from the covenant of heaven. And behold they commit sin and reject [parabainousin] the proper way [ethos] . . . and beget children not like spiritual but like carnal offspring."

Sophisticated deception is the name of the game. "Woe unto you who deliberately go astray [poiountes planemata]," cries Enoch, "who promote yourselves to honor and glory by deceitful practices. . . . Who misapply and misinterpret straightforward statements, who have given a new twist to the everlasting Covenant, and then produce arguments to prove that you are without guilt!"315 Cold-blooded calculation is the keynote. The "Watchers" (using the Greek word) led away "myriads of myriads . . . with our Prince Satan-el," says the Slavonic Enoch, "and defiled the earth by their acts. And the wives [instead of daughters!] of men did a great evil, violating the law . . . a great iniquity."316 "For in the secret places of the earth," we read in a very early Judeo-Christian source, "they were doing evil . . . and all of them committed adultery with their neighbor's wives; and they made solemn covenants among themselves concerning these things."317 Such practices went back to the days of Cain:

Mose

Moses 5:52. The Lord cursed . . . all them that had covenanted with Satan; for they kept not the commandments of God.

5:29. And Satan said unto Cain: Swear unto me . . . and swear thy brethren . . . that they tell it not; for if they tell it, they shall surely die.

5:51. For, from the days of Cain, there was a secret combination, and their works were in the dark, and they knew every man his brother.

5:29-30. Satan said unto Cain: Swear unto me by thy throat, and if thou tell it thou shalt die; and swear thy brethren by their heads, and by the living God, that they tell it not; for if they tell it, they shall surely die; and this that thy father may not know it. . . And all these things were done in secret.

5:16. And Adam and Eve... ceased not to call upon God.... But behold, Cain hearkened not, saying: Who is the Lord that I should know him?

5:51. For, from the days of Cain, there was a secret combination, and their works were in the dark.

Apochrypha

Gizeh 6:2. The Sons of Heaven wished to break their covenants and join with the daughters of men, but Seimizas [Satan] said 'I am afraid you will not be willing to go through with this thing.' 4. And they answered him all, saying, We will all swear with an oath, and bind each other by a mortal curse [lit., anathemize each other], that we will not go back on this agreement [gnome] until we have carried it out; 5. Then they all swore together and pronounced the doom of death on each other.

I En. 29:13. Kasbeel, the chief of the oath . . . when he dwelt above in glory 14. . . . requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was secret to the children of men.

I En. 69:1. It was Gadreel who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve.

Ethiop. Bk. Mysts. PO 4:431. "In the days of Cain evil and deceitful practices increased. The wicked angels set themselves up in open and insolent opposition to Adam, and glorying in their earthly bodies learned a great sin, and openly exposed all the work which they had seen in heaven.

"With all that knowledge could they not foresee destruction? They knew, all right, but they thought they were just smart enough to prevent it.

What they did not know was that God rules the world."

And so we find in a Greek Enoch text the Great Angels returning from earth to report to God that they had found "Azael teaching all manner of unrighteousness upon the earth, and he has laid bare those mysteries of the age which belong to heaven, which are [now] known and practiced among men; and also Semiazas is with him, he to whom thou gavest authority [over] those who go along with him."318

As bad as breaking their oaths was divulging them to those not worthy to receive them, thereby debasing and invalidating them. One of the most widespread themes of myth and legend is the tragedy of the hero who yields to the charms of a fair maiden or femme fatale and ends up revealing to her hidden mysteries. The story meets us in the oldest Egyptian epic (where the lady Isis wheedles out of Re the fatal knowledge of his true name) and in like tales of Samson and Delilah, the daughter of Jared, Lohengrin, etc., in which the woman is the Pandora who must know what is in the box. On this theme the Gizeh fragments offer a significant parallel to the Joseph Smith version, in which the common background of the text and the confusion of the later scribes are equally apparent:

(Moses 5:53.) "Lamech had spoken the secret unto his wives, and they ... declared these things abroad, and had not compassion. . . . 55. And thus . . . darkness began to prevail among all the sons of men."

Compare this to:

(Gizeh 16:2-4.)319 "And now concerning the Watchers, say to them. You were in heaven and there you knew every mysterion which had not been made known to you as well as that mystery which God allowed; and that you disclosed to your wives in the hardness of your heart, and it was through this mystery that women and men caused iniquities to abound upon the earth."

Clement of Alexandria attributed to Musaeus, the founder of the Greek Mysteries, an account of "how the angels lost their heavenly heritage through the telling of the secret things [mysteria] to women," things, Clement observes, "which the other angels keep secret or quietly perform until the coming of the

Lord."320

Rather surprisingly, the age of Enoch is consistently described as the time of great intellectual as well as material sophistication. "Azael . . . taught [men] to make knives and breastplates and all kinds of military hardware; and to work the ores of the earth, and how gold was to be worked and made into ornaments for women; and he showed them silver and taught them polishing [eye-paint] and cosmetics and precious stones and dyes. And the sons and daughters of men adopted all these things and led the saints astray. And there was great wickedness on the earth, and they became perverted and lost in all their ways. Along with that their leader Semiazas taught them scientific formulas (epaodas kata tou nous), and the properties of roots and plants of the earth. The eleventh, Pharmakos, taught all manner of drugs, incantations, prescriptions, formulas. [Others] taught them stargazing, astrology, meteorology, geology, the signs of the sun and moon. All of these began to reveal the mysteries to their wives and children."321

The leaders of the people devoted most of their wealth to "all kinds of engineering projects for controlling and taming nature. But the Lord altered the order of creation, making the sun rise in the west and set in the East," so that all their plans came to naught.322 The idea of controlling the environment independently of God "was not as foolish as it sounds," says the Zohar, "for they knew all the arts . . . and all the ruling principles [archons] governing the world, and on this knowledge they relied, until at length God disabused them by restoring the earth to its primal state and covering it with water."323 Rabbi Isaac reports: In the days of Enoch even children were acquainted with these mysterious arts (the advanced sciences). R. Yesa asks: With all that knowledge could they not foresee destruction? To which R. Isaac replies: They knew, all right, but they thought they were just smart enough to prevent it. What they did not know was that God rules the world. ... He gave them respite as long as the righteous men Jared, Methusaleh and Enoch were alive: but when they departed from the world, God let the punishment descend . . . and they were blotted out from the earth.324

A Book of Mormon text betrays the Enoch tradition (possibly contained in the brass plates) in a transparent parallel:

(2 Ne. 26:29.) "Priestcrafts are that men . . . set themselves up for a light unto the world, that they may get gain and praise of the world; but they seek not the welfare of Zion."

Compare this to:

(Zohar. Beresh. 25b.) "These men [of Enoch's time] erected synagogues and colleges, and placed in them scrolls and rich ornaments . . . but they did it to set themselves up for a light, and for the honors of men; and in such a way the powers of evil prevail over Israel."

Power and gain are two faces of one coin: "We are able to do whatever we please," said the people in Enoch's day, "because we are very rich!" To which Enoch replied: "You are wrong! Your riches will soon depart from you . . . "; but they went on seeking the power of gain more grimly than ever. 325

An interesting connection emerges in the account of how "in the time of Enoch they committed murder, shedding of blood of the children of men; they enslaved them, they sold what did not belong to them, they entered homes without right, and took whatever they wanted . . . they rigged the laws in their favor, and imitated the abominable deeds of the rebellious angels of a former time in which, when Abel tried to check them they encompassed his death by a conspiracy."326 For this confirms a bold statement found in the Doctrine and Covenants 84:16: "Abel . . . was slain by [a] conspiracy." Ambition was the motivating force in all this evil. "The giants," says Ben Sira 16:7, "were aspiring spirits who desired to be great in the manner of God on earth"; E. Kraeling has pointed out that the biblical term "men of name," means "men who aspired to be great, 'to make a name' for themselves."327 The Slavonic Enoch version matches the book of Moses in taking us back to the beginning of the matter:

Moses 4:1. That Satan . . . came before me, saying-Behold, here am I, send me, I will be thy son, and I will redeem all mankind . . . wherefore give me thine honor. 4:4. And he became Satan . . . to lead them captive at his will, even as many as would not hearken unto my voice.

Almost all our sources, and especially the Joseph Smith book of Enoch, emphasize the point that the people did not drift imperceptibly into ways of folly. They were so constantly warned that only a high and determined willfulness brought destruction upon them:

Moses 6:28. For these many generations . . . have they gone astray, . . . and have sought their own counsels in the dark; ... 6:29. Wherefore, they have . . .

brought upon themselves death.

5:57. For they would not hearken unto his voice, nor believe on his Only Begotten Son.

6:29. They have foresworn themselves, and, by their oaths, they have brought upon themselves death; and a hell I have prepared for them, if they repent not.

6:43. Why counsel ye yourselves, and deny the God of heaven?

Ms. R, Ch. 11: The Devil knew that I wanted to make the world . . . with Adam ruling as Lord of it. . . . he became Satan when he fled from heaven, before which time he was Satan-el. He changed his nature and was no longer an angel; he preserved his identity, but his state of mind was altered, as when any righteous person becomes wicked . . . and he conceived the impossible idea of setting up his throne . . . to be equal to my power.

[God has given him great power over such as listen to him.] (Apoc. Abr. 14:1-2; cf. DS Thanks. VI [f] p. X.)

Beatty 99:8f. And they shall go astray in the foolishness [aphrosyne] of their hearts, and the visions of their dreams [the dark] shall lead them astray. And the lying words you have made shall perish. 98:9. Woe to you foolish ones, for you shall perish through your own folly!

Secrets 4 (Vaillant, p. 18). These are they who denied the Lord, and would not hear the voice of the Lord, but followed their own counsel.

Gk. Enoch 63:9. We pass away . . . on account of our own works . . . descending into hell [Sheol]. Gk. 3(99:2). Wo unto you who pervert the eternal covenant

and reckon yourselves sinless!

Bait ha-Midrasch (BHM) 5:171. I am Enoch! When the generation of the Flood sinned and said of God: Turn away from him, and in the knowing of his ways do not rejoice. Then God delivered men.

To be continued.

Footnotes

304 Text in E.A.W. Budge, Coptic Martyrdoms, etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt (London: British Museum, 1914). pp. 225-49, trsl. pp. 474-96. A full account of the finding of the book by Timothy, giving strong indication of its authenticity, is included in the text, Fols. 1b, 4a-5b.

305 Here is powerful confirmation of the Book of Mormon version. Other "Forty-day accounts," especially the

Coptic Gospel of the XII Apostles, first published in 1913 (in Patrologia Orientalis, 2:132-37), and believed by no less an authority than Origen to be older than the Gospel of Luke, tell a story very close to Third Nephi: The Lord asks the Twelve one by one if there is any last request; and when some of them are too embarrassed to ask him more, he tells them not to hold back since he knows their minds already—exactly as in 3 Ne. 28:4-7.

Most significant is that the final questions they ask him always have to do with the problem of death and the possibility of coming to terms with it or even avoiding

it—the problem of the Three Nephites.

306 Migne, 23:338, n. 184, citing St.

Ephraim and St. Jerome.

307 The subject has been thoroughly studied by Leo Jung, "Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan Literature," Jewish Quarterly Review 16 (1925-26, new series): 45-88, 171-205, 287-336, and by Bo Reicke, The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard.

308 Thus there are many stories of two fallen angels, going by various names—A. Jellinek, Bait ha-Midrasch, 4: ix-x: 127-28: hereafter BHM (Shamkhasi and Asael); 5 (no. 21): xxxix (Harut and Marut); M.J. bin Gorion, Die Sagen der Juden, 1 (Frankfort, 1913): 319-21 (Aza and Azael)-whose behavior matches that of the Watchers.

309 Genesis Apocryphon, col. II, lines

310 Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium, 1st ed. (Bekker: 1838), p.

311 Moshe Emanueli, "The Sons of God Took Wives Whomever They Chose, in Beth Mikra 60 (October-December 1974): 150-52.

312 Noted by Van Andel, De Struktuur van de Henoch-Traditie en het Nieuwe Testament, (Utrecht: H. Kemink & Son, 1955), p. 15.

313Gizeh Fragment, 15:3-4, in R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch, p. 292.

314 Hippolytus, "De Christo et Antichristo," in Patrologia Graeca 10:733, 737, 925-29, 933.

315 M. Black, p. 39, Enoch 99:1ff. 3162 Enoch, chapter 7, Ms. R, in A. Vaillant, Le Livre des Secrets d'Henoch (Paris: Instituts d'Etudes Slavs, 1952), p. 92. The Watchers "came down and broke their promise . . . defiling themselves with the wives (zhenami) of men, and so debased themselves. . . . "(Ibid., p. 18).

317 Psalms of Solomon 8:11, in

Charles, Apochrypha and Pseudepigrapha, 2:640.

318 Black, Apocalypse Henochi Graece, 9:6:23f.

319 Gizeh Frg. 15:2-4. The passage puzzles R.H. Charles, Book of Enoch, p. 294, as it obviously did the Greek scribes.

320 Clement of Alexandria, Stromata 5,i,47, in Migne, Patrologia Graeca 9:24. 321 Gizeh Frg. 8:1ff, in Charles, p. 280, giving Mss. Gg and Gs

322 Life of Enoch, in BHM 4:130;

Zohar, Bereshith 65a. 323 Ibid.

324 Zohar, Ber. 56b.

325 I En. 97:8-10 (Charles, Book of Enoch, pp. 240f.)

326 Livre du Combat d'Adam 2, in

Dict. Apocr., 1:56.

327 E. Kraeling, in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 6 (1947): 197.



Enoch, by Gary Smith

A Strange Thing in the Land

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 9

By Hugh Nibley

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In the previous installment, Brother Nibley painted a graphic portrait of Enoch's world, a culture of immense sophistication and material prosperity whose people had a profound knowledge of the truth, yet deliberately perverted that knowledge, broke their covenants, married unbelievers, and mocked the Lord. This portrait is constructed from the book of Moses' accounts of Enoch's experiences and also of Moses' experiences where they paralleled that early patriarch's. The powerful comparisons with the experiences of Enoch and others that are reported in apocryphal literature show again the Prophet Joseph Smith's inspiration in

relating an account that so closely parallels undeniably ancient—though not necessarily scriptural—accounts of Enoch. Brother Nibley, in concluding his discussion of Enoch's world and beginning a description of the cataclysms of nature that parallel the moral confusion of the people, stresses that they had deliberately chosen wickedness.

Nothing could be more deliberate. All the wickedness and folly of the time is summed up in one simple phrase: "Behold, they are without affection!" On this theme there are striking parallels between the Joseph Smith and the Slavonic texts:

Moses 7:32. The Lord said unto Enoch:

Behold these thy brethren; they are the workmanship of mine own hands,...

Moses 7:32. . . . and I gave unto them their knowledge, in the day I created them; and in the Garden of Eden, gave I unto man his agency;

7:33. And . . . also [have] given commandment, that they should love one another, and . . . choose

me, their Father; but behold, they are without affection, and they hate their own blood.

7:34. . . . and in my hot displeasure will I send in the floods upon them. . . .

7:37.... and the whole heavens shall weep over them....
7:41.... and all eternity shook.

Equally impressive is a parallel with I Enoch:

Moses 7:33. They are without affection, and they hate their own blood;

34. And the fire of mine indignation is kindled against them; ...
[I will] send in the floods against them ...

37. and the whole heavens shall weep over them....

5:15. A man's hand was against his own brother, in administering death ... seeking for power.

These moving passages are to explain the Great Weeping. First, Enoch weeps:

Moses 7:41. . . . wherefore Enoch knew, and looked upon their wickedness, and their misery, and wept.

7:44. And as Enoch saw this, he had bitterness of soul, and wept over his brethren, and said unto the heavens: I will refuse to be comforted.

Secrets 11 (Vaillant, pp. 100ff). The Lord said unto Enoch:

... Upon the earth I placed him as the second angel, in honor and greatness and glory

And I established him as King [lit., Caesar, Czar] over the earth, ruling by my authority [wisdom] . . . and I called his name Adam, and I gave him his agency [volya yevo]

and I told him: This is good for thee and that is bad [gave him a choice],

in order to determine whether he would have love or hatred for me, by showing his love for me among those of his own race [v rodye yevo] . . [but] all the earth is filled with blood. They will abandon their creator.

Therefore I will command the abyss, and the deposits of the waters of heaven will descend

... and the earth will be shaken and lose its stability.

I En. 4 (99:15). Wo unto you who work iniquity slaying their neighbor

He will kindle [epegerei] his anger against you; He will slay you all with the sword

and all the righteous shall remember your unrighteousness.

For a man does not withhold his hand from his son, nor from his beloved to slay him . . . nor from his brother.

Secrets of Enoch 41 (Morfill). And I saw... and I sighed and wept, and spake of the ruin [caused by] their wickedness. 2. And I meditated in my heart and said: Blessed is the man who is not yet born [etc.].

Then, as we shall presently see, all nature weeps, and Enoch is dumbfounded to learn that God himself weeps! This bold concept (quite inadmissible to the Fathers of the fourth century)³²⁹ is attested in other Enoch texts:

Moses 7:28-29. And ... the God of heaven looked upon the residue of the people, and he wept; and Enoch bore record of it, saying, How is it ... that thou canst weep, seeing thou art holy, and from all eternity to all eternity? ... 31.... How is it thou canst weep?

The angels in heaven and all the other worlds join in the weeping:

Moses 7:37. The whole heavens shall weep over them, even all the workmanship of mine hands; wherefore should not the heavens weep? ... 7:40. Wherefore, for this shall the heavens weep, yea, and all the workmanship of mine hands.

With the Great Weeping the universe itself is shaken:

Moses 7:41. Enoch . . . wept and stretched forth his arms, and his heart swelled wide as eternity; and his bowels yearned; and all eternity shook.

Equally shattering is the announcement that while God sorrows the Devil is laughing:

Moses 7:26. Satan . . . looked up and laughed, and his angels rejoiced. 7:28. And . . . the God of heaven looked . . . and . . . wept. 7:33

7:33. . . . they should choose me, their Father; but behold, they are without affection, and they hate their own blood.

34. I will send in the floods . . .

41. And . . . Enoch . . . wept . . . and all eternity shook.

Manichaean Frg. 328 Enoch the Just said: I have seen great sorrow, and an outpouring of tears from my eyes, having heard which vile things issue from the mouths of the wicked . . . My eyes are filled with tears and my tongue is tied . . .

Jew. Encl. 8:519. "When God wept over the destruction of the Temple, Metatron [Enoch] fell on his face and said: I will weep, but weep not thou! God answered and said: If thou wilt not suffer me to weep, I will go whither thou canst not come and there I will lament."

2 Baruch 67:2. Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One. . . . Doest thou think that in these things the Most High rejoices, or that his name is glorified?

Zohar, Shemoth 8a. Then the Messiah lifts up his voice and weeps, and the whole Garden of Eden quakes, and all the righteous and the Saints who are there break out crying. . . . When the crying and weeping resound for the second time, the whole firmament above the garden begins to shake . . . and God sets about to destroy the wicked.

Secrets 22.³³⁰ . . . a man hates his neighbor . . . all the earth will be full of blood . . . and they shall abandon their Creator . . . The Adversary will be in his glory [lit., will make himself great] and rejoice in their [his angels'] works, to my [the Lord's] great affliction

Then I will command the abyss, and the water reserves of heaven will descend upon the earth...

and all the earth will be shaken and no longer have foundation.

It is in view of the infinite exaltation and glory of the Deity that Enoch is overwhelmed by his weeping. This is expressed both in a doxology and an aretology (i.e., a speech in which God describes his own glory).

Moses 7:29-30. How is it thou canst weep, seeing thou art holy, and from all eternity to all eternity? . . . millions of earths like this . . . would not be a beginning . . . of thy creations. . . .

31.... and naught but peace, justice, and ... mercy shall go before thy face and have no end....

7:35 (Aretology). Behold. *I am God; Man of Holiness is my name;* Man of *Counsel* is my name. . . . 36. Wherefore, I can stretch forth mine hands and hold *all the creations* which I have made; and mine *eye can pierce* them also.

I En. 71:14. And righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not. 15. . . . from thence hath proceeded peace since the creation of the world. 16. And righteousness never forsaketh Him. With Him will be their dwelling-place . . . forever and ever!

Gizeh Frg. 9:4. [The Angels:] *Thou art the God* of Gods, and Lord of Lords, and God of men [G^{S1} of the worlds, ages], and the throne of thy glory is for all generations [cycles] of the ages [eternities or worlds]; and thy name is Holy One and is praised unto all the ages. 5. For thou didst make all things and hast all authority, and all things are plain before thee and revealed, and thou seest all things.

What was the world like in Enoch's day? Joseph Smith places the action amidst pastoral nomads ranging the mountains and valleys—and so do the other sources.

7:24. And behold, the power of Satan was upon all the face of the earth. 26. And [Enoch] beheld Satan; and he had a great chain in his hand, and it veiled the whole...earth with darkness; and he looked up and laughed, and his angels rejoiced.

With the binding, of course, goes imprisonment, a temporary prison for such fallen mortals as repent, a permanent one for the others.

I En. 53:3. For I [Enoch] saw all the angels of punishment abiding and preparing all the instruments of Satan . . . 54:3. and here mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight . . . 53:5. . . . for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they thereby might be destroyed.

Moses 7:38. Behold, these which thine eyes are upon shall perish in the floods; and . . . I will shut them up; a prison have I prepared for them.

6:29-30. They have brought upon themselves death; and a hell I have prepared for them, if they repent not. And this is a decree . . . from my own mouth.

Those in prison, chains, and darkness are only being kept there until the Judgment, which will liberate many, not only because of their repentance, but through the power of the Atonement. It is when Enoch reaches the lowest depth of despair that the revelation of God's plan of merciful redemption turns all to joy: "And as Enoch saw this, he had bitterness of soul, and wept over his brethren, and said unto the heavens: I will refuse to be comforted; but the Lord said unto Enoch: Lift up your heart, and be glad; and look." (Moses 7:44.) It was specifically the spirits who were disobedient in Enoch's day who were to enjoy the preaching of the Lord and promise of deliverance in the meridian of times. (See 1 Pet. 3:19-

Moses 7:67. The Lord showed Enoch all things . . . and he saw the day of the righteous, the hour of their redemption; and received a fulness of joy.

1 Pet. 3:18. For Christ also hath once suffered for sins . . . 19. By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; 20. Which sometime were disobedient . . . in the days of Noah.

Moses 7:47. And behold, Enoch saw the day of the coming of the Son of Man, even in the flesh; and his soul rejoiced.

7:38. These . . . shall perish in the floods; and behold, I will shut them up; a prison have I prepared for them. 39. And that which I have chosen hath plead before my face. Wherefore, he suffereth for their sins; inasmuch as they will repent in the day that my Chosen shall return

2. En. 5.³³¹ This place, Enoch, is prepared for those who practiced abominations on earth . . . who would not know their Creator. . . . It is for all those that this place has been prepared as an eternal heritage.

Jubilees 10:5. Noah: And thou knowest how the Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day; and as for these spirits which are living in prison I will hold them fast. [See I Pet. 3:19-10. Jubilees does not borrow from the New Testament!]

I En. 60:5. Why art thou [Enoch] disquieted . . . 6. that day is prepared . . . for sinners and inquisition . . . that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not be vain . . . Afterwards the judgment shall take place according to his mercy and patience.

Apoc. En. Gr. 10:6. Azazel is bound in prison unto the Great Day of Judgment, when he is led to the *enpyrismon*, while 7. the earth will be healed . . . of the blow, that all the sons of man may not be destroyed by the mystery in which the Watchers stumbled and which they taught to their sons.

I En. 45:2. Such shall be the lot of sinners . . . who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation. 3. On that day mine Elect shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try their works.

unto me, and until that day they shall be in torment.

Another parallel on the same theme:

Moses 7:57. And as many of the spirits as were in prison came forth . . . and the remainder were reserved in chains of darkness until the judgment of the great day.

World in Upheaval

An unfailing aspect of Apocalyptic literature in general and of the Enoch writings in particular is the reverberation through their pages of vast upheavals in the natural world. This aspect of apocalyptic has begun to be taken seriously only within very recent years, and it is the scientists rather than the theologians who are impressed by the ancient records.332 Enoch, in fact, is one of their favorite references. They are impressed by the authentic ring of the catastrophic motif in the old apocalyptic writings while the ministry deplores and denounces them as unfortunate examples of the infantile scare-tactics of a bogeyman mentality.333

What was the world like in Enoch's day? Joseph Smith places the action amidst pastoral nomads ranging the mountains and valleys—and so do the other sources. They show us the righteous and the wicked, sometimes designated as Sethians and Cainites, living respectively in the mountains and the low-lands.³³⁴

Moses 7:17.... the Lord blessed the land, and they were blessed upon the mountains, and upon the high places, and did flourish.

It was the archetype of Zions to follow:

D&C 49:24-25. But before the great day of the Lord . . . Zion shall flourish upon the hills and rejoice upon the mountains, and shall be assembled together unto the place which I have appointed.

The other side of the picture shows us the wicked gathered together in great valleys. The image not only suits this world, but is projected into the next.

Moses 7:5. . . . I beheld in the valley of Shum, and lo, a great people

Beatty, 103:7.... in Hades shall they be in great torment 8. and in darkness and in chains and in burning flame, and your spirit will come unto a great judgment.

4 Ez. 6:51. And I gave to Enoch a dry part of the earth, that he might dwell therein, where there were a thousand mountains.

Apocr. of Adam 85 (79). 9. At the end of time the Saints 10. will come to a high mountain, 11. upon a stone of truth.

I En. 13:9. Enoch came to them [the Watchers], and they were all sitting

which dwelt in tents, which were the people of Shum....

7. And the Lord said unto me... the people of Shum... shall utterly be destroyed; and the people of Canaan shall divide themselves in the land, and the land shall be barren and unfruitful.... 8. For behold, the Lord shall curse the land with much heat, and the barrenness thereof shall go forth forever.

The first warning to hit the sinners in the plain is, following the ancient pattern, a terrible drought, of which Enoch literature gives us vivid descriptions.

Moses 7:7. And the Lord said unto me: Prophesy . . . the land shall be barren and unfruitful . . . and none other people shall dwell there but the people of Canaan. 8. For behold, the Lord shall curse the land with much heat, and the barrenness thereof shall go forth forever; and there was a blackness came upon all the children of Canaan, that they were despised among all people.

Bad times render men desperate. Obsessed by dread and guilt, they turn hysterically against each other, and soon find themselves locked in deadly combat to the point of extermination.

Moses 7:7. Behold the people of Canaan, which are numerous, shall go forth in battle array against the

gathered together weeping in Abedsdail, which is between [the mountains] Lebanon and Seneser, with their faces covered.

Secrets 13, p. 42. I saw a certain plain, like a prison . . . and I sighed and wept . . . 8. Why is this hollow place separated from the other? 9. . . . that the spirits of the dead might be separated . . . 11. set apart in this great plain until the day of judgment . . . 12. And this division has been made for the spirits . . . of those who were slain in the days of sinners.

Giz. 10:11. Go, Michael, and bind ... all who have defiled themselves ... 12. bind them for 70 generations in the valleys [napas] of the earth.

Giz. 26:2. And I saw the holy mountain and water descending from the mountain . . .

4. I saw a deep dry valley, and another valley [see Shum and Canaan, Moses 7:5].

5. Both valleys were utterly desolate and without a tree. 27:2. This is a cursed land, reserved for the cursed forever...

Gk (Black 11:6) (11). Every cloud and mist and dew and rain shall be withheld because of your sins. 12. Therefore offer gifts to the rain that it be not hindered from descending for you, and to dew, and cloud and mist. 101 (2). For if He closes the window of heaven and hinders the dew and rain from descending because of you, what will you do?

I En. 18:12. I saw a place that had no firmament. There was no water upon it, and no birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. 22:2. These hollow places have been created for this very purpose . . . that all the souls of the children of men should assemble there.

Gizeh 10:9. Go, Gabriel, to the illbegotten ones, the crooked ones, and the sons of adultery; and destroy the people of Shum, and shall slay them that they shall utterly be destroyed.

The picture fits later dispensations as well:

D&C 87:6. And thus, with the sword and by bloodshed the inhabitants of the earth shall mourn . . . until the consumption decreed hath made a full end of all nations. 7. That . . . the blood of the saints, shall cease to come up into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, from the earth, to be avenged of their enemies.

D&C 1:35. The hour is not yet, but is nigh at hand, when peace shall be taken from the earth, and the devil shall have power over his own dominion.

Besides the people of Canaan who extirpate those of Shum, seven other exotic tribes are named in the Joseph Smith Enoch, suggesting the familiar seven-pattern of tribal organizations. They are the people of the lands of Sharon, Enoch, Omner, Heni, Shem, Haner, and Hanannihah. (Moses 7:9.) What would ancient copyists thousands of years later on the other side of the world have made of such a list? They would handle it exactly as scribes have always done, by transferring it to a more familiar setting. The scribe of the Ethiopian Enoch puts in the place of those familiar tribes the names of what were to him the most distant and exotic of peoples on earth, and naturally treats the reference to lions as a familiar and highly conventional figure of speech:

Moses 7:5. I beheld . . . a great people which dwelt in tents, . . . the people of Shum . . . 6. . . and I looked towards the *north*, and I beheld the people of Canaan, which dwelt in tents. (Italics added.)

9. [Enoch beholds the seven other nations]

13.... and the roar of the lions was heard out of the wilderness; and all nations feared greatly.

16. And from that time forth there were wars and bloodshed among them....

One of nature's ironies is that not enough water usually leads to too much. Enoch's world was sons of the Watchers from among men. Set them to fighting each other in war and in wanton destruction.

Gr. En. 7:4.... the earth fell under the rule of the lawless, and [8:1] Azael [Satan] taught them the manufacture of weapons and how to work the treasures of the earth. 4. The cry of those slain of the people . . . ascended to heaven. 9:1. The angels saw blood flowing upon the earth, and heard the voices of the slain crying out to God for vengeance.

Slav. Enoch MS.R, 22. Nation rises against nation for the devil has begun to reign . . . and there arose warfare and great trouble.

I En. 56:5. To the east [I saw] Parthians and Medes [the two great

tent-dwelling nations of antiquity].

they shall stir up the [other] kings, that they may break forth as lions and from their lairs... and begin to fight among themselves. plagued by flood as well as drought; we are regaled by the picture of lowering heavens ceaselessly dumping dismal avalanches of rain and snow upon the earth. The constant weeping of Enoch and all the saints is matched in the powerful imagery of the weeping heavens and the earth veiled in darkness under the blackest of skies: In the book of Enoch the same imagery is applied to the meridian and the fulness of times as well as the Adamic age.

Moses 7:28. [Enoch:] How is it that the heavens weep, and shed forth their tears as the rain upon the mountains?

I En. 100:11-13... because of their sins all heavens weep and darkness prevails, 13. with ice, hail, cold and winds together.

I En. 17:1. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter, and the place from which all the waters of the deep flow.

7:37. . . . the whole heavens shall weep over them, even all the workmanship of mine hands; wherefore should not the heavens weep, seeing these shall suffer?

38. But behold, these . . . shall perish in the floods.

Miracles of Jesus.³³⁵ [He tells Peter that because the world will reject the gospel it] will cause the Sun and the Moon to weep... and at the corruption of the teachings the hills and mountains will weep.

Apocalyptic writing—
particularly the Enoch literature—
stresses great upheavals and
catastrophes in nature.
Though religionists scoff,
scientists are becoming impressed
with the ancient records.

40. Wherefore, for this shall the heavens weep.

56. [At the Crucifixion] the heavens were veiled; and all the creations of God mourned; and the earth groaned.

61. Before that day the heavens shall be darkened, and a veil of darkness shall cover the earth. . . . 62. And righteousness will I send down out of heaven; and truth . . . out of the earth . . . and . . . cause [them] to sweep the earth as with a flood.

7:26. [In the days of Cain] it veiled the whole face of the earth with darkness....

Berayta, 205-20.³³⁶ The waters under the earth are like a small spring beside the waters of creation, which in turn are like a small spring compared with the ocean; but the sea is like a small spring compared with the waters which weep.

Mysteries of Jesus.³³⁷ God punished Cain with seventy-seven days of unmitigated rain.

7:28. And it came to pass that the God of heaven looked upon the residue of the people, and he wept; and Enoch bore record of it, saying: How is it that the heavens weep, and shed forth their tears as the rain upon the mountains?

We find in a striking passage of the Joseph Smith account of Enoch a curious mixture of fire and water; the same oddity in the other Enoch text suggests scenes of volcanic activity with fumeroles, sulphurous vapors, rivers of fire, etc.: ". . . in darkness and in chains, and in burning flame. . . ." (Beatty 103:8.)

Moses 7:34. And the fire of mine indignation is kindled against them; and in my hot displeasure will I send in the floods upon them, for my fierce anger is kindled against them.

We are told that when the wicked tried to flee back to the safety of the holy mountain as the waters of the flood began to rise they could not approach the ark because the rocks were burning hot.³³⁸ It is pictures like this that convince the scientists that there may be something to these old apocalyptic tales.

The most conspicuously and consistently reported of all the evils in Enoch's day are the earthquakes, consistent with the picture of platetectonics that the whole thing presents.

I En. 95:1. O that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters that I might weep over you, and pour down my tears as a cloud of waters. [Passage very corrupt; reconstructed by Charles. This is also the most corrupted part of Gizeh, c. 28—the scribes don't understand it].

Secrets 13. I could not support the fear of the burning fire—that is how the words of the Lord were.

bin Gorion, 1:195. The rains of the Flood were intermingled with showers of fire from heaven.

II Baruch 53:7. It rained black waters... and fire was mingled with them... they wrought devastation and destruction....9. The lightning healed those regions where the waters had descended.

I En. 17:4. And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, [the waters of creation and baptism].

5. And I came to a river of fire in which fire flows like water.

I En. 67:57. And I saw the valley in which there was great convulsion, and a convulsion of waters . . . 6. . . . from the fiery metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters 7. And through its valley proceed streams of fire.

Moses 6:34. And the mountains shall flee before you, and the rivers shall [accordingly] turn from their course. 7:13... the earth trembled, and the mountains fled ... and the rivers of water were turned out of their course ... and all nations feared greatly.

These events are correlated with the activities of Enoch, who does not, however, cause them; they are programmed to his purposes, and God stands behind him and speaks through his voice the words of power.

Moses 7:13. Enoch...led the people of God, and their enemies came to battle against them; and he spake the word of the Lord, and the earth trembled, and the mountains fled, even according to his command; and the rivers of waters were turned out of their course; and the roar of the lions was heard out of the wilderness.

6:34. Behold my Spirit is upon you, wherefore all thy words will I justify; and the mountains shall flee before you, and the rivers shall turn from their course; and thou shalt abide in me, and I in you; therefore walk with me.

7:13.... all nations feared greatly, so powerful was the word of Enoch, and so great was the power of the language which God had given him.

6:34. [God:] All thy words will I justify; and the mountains shall flee before you.

7:13. He spake the word of the Lord, and the earth trembled, and the mountains fled, even according to his command.

The really spectacular show in the Enoch literature is the behavior of the seas. Like the alternating drought and flood from the skies, there is either too much sea or not enough. Before "the floods came and swallowed them up" (Moses 7:43), the sea first drew back in places, Gizeh 1:5. And all the people shall fear . . . and trembling and great fear shall seize them to the extremities of the earth.

6. And high mountains shall be shaken and shall fall and be dissolved . . . and the mountains shall flow down [diarrhynai, "to slip through, to leak, to fall away like water"] and be turned into sidechannels, and shall melt like wax before a flame.

7. And the earth will be rent with a splitting and a cracking [rhagas], and everything on the earth will be destroyed.

Ps. Sol. 54 (53) #11. At the gathering of Zion . . . 5. Lofty mountains has he humbled, and made plain before them [the people of God] and the hills fled away before their en-

Gk. Enoch p. 7 (102:1). And when he gives forth his voice . . . 2. the whole earth shall be shaken and trembling and thrown into confu-

I En. 52:6. And all the mountains . . . shall be in the presence of the elect one as wax before the fire, and like waters which stream down from above....

Secrets 13. I have heard the words of the Lord like a great thunder amidst ceaseless agitation of the clouds. The Lord of the Earth is terrible and most perilous. [Bonner, pp. 58f, Gk. Enoch, p. 7: 102L1.] And when he gives forth his voice against you, will not you be shaken and affrighted by the mighty sound? And the whole earth shall be shaken and trembling and thrown into confusion."

leaving its coastal beds high and dry in anticipation of the great tsunami (seawave) which came with the earthquake.

Moses 7:13-14. The earth trembled, and the mountains fled. . . . There also came up a land out of the depth of the sea, and so great was the fear of the enemies of the people of God, that they fled and stood afar off and went upon the land which came up out of the depth of the sea.

The sea misbehaved on other occasions in Enoch's day:

Moses 7:66. Before that . . . he saw great tribulations among the wicked; and he also saw the sea, that it was Slavon. 6 (106:6). Enoch: Are not all the sea and its waters the work of the Most High, and did he not set their limits? 7. And by his wrath they are affrighted and dried up.

I En. 60:16. Enoch: The spirit of the sea . . . draws back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and dispersed amongst all the mountains of the earth.

Mid. Rab. 1:37. [Twice the sea invaded the earth.] Once was in the generation of Enosh, and a second time in the generation of the separation [The Tower]."

bin Gorion 1:153. In the days of Enoch, the sea rose and flooded onethird of the land!

Combat of Adam, DA 1:361f. The animals were urged on to the ark by the trembling of the earth; the sea rose in violent agitation, the winds were terrible, the sun disappeared and all the sky. . . . The sea cast mountain waves upon the land.

4 Esdras 6:49. And how thou hast saved two spirits: the one thou hast named Enoch, and the other Leviathan, 50. And thou hast separated them from each other, since the seventh part, where the water was gathered together, could not receive them. 51. And thou has given Enoch one part [of the earth], that part that became dry land on the third day that he might dwell therein, where are a thousand mountains; and the seventh part, where the water was gathered together, could not receive

The terrors of the book of Enoch reach their culmination when the upheavals of nature extend to the entire cosmos. Many apocalyptic accounts of the disturbed heavens suggest to some scientists today an actual shifting of the earth on its axis (a phenomenon now well attested from the study of ancient magnetized ceramics) or a massive showering of meteoric particles.

Moses 7:61. The heavens shall shake, and also the earth; and great tribulations shall be among the children of men.

7:41. Enoch . . . wept and stretched forth his arms, . . . and all eternity shook.

But there is one concept which goes beyond the scope of astronomy in its exciting implications. It is the doctrine that when a world is destroyed, all the other worlds which have contributed to its existence join in a general mourning. 339

Moses 7:36. And among all the workmanship of mine hands there has not been so great wickedness as among thy brethren....

37.... the whole heavens shall weep over them, even *all* the workmanship of mine hands; wherefore should not the heavens weep, seeing these shall suffer? (Italics added.)

40. Wherefore, for this shall the heavens weep, yea, and all the workmanship of mine hands.

41. Enoch , . . wept and stretched forth his arms, and his heart swelled wide as eternity; and his bowels yearned; and all eternity shook.

7:56. And the heavens were veiled; and all the creations of God mourned; and the earth groaned and the rocks were rent.

The peculiar nature imagery found in the Joseph Smith account of Enoch gets down to basics with the personification of the earth as Gk. Enoch p. 7 (103:1). And when he gives forth his voice against you, will ye not be shaken and affrighted by the mighty sound?

2. And the whole earth shall be shaken, and trembling, and thrown into confusion . . .

3. And the heaven and its lights be shaken and trembling, and all the sons of the earth.

Bonner, p. 59. "And all the earth was shaking and trembling, and thrown into confusion; and also angels having completed their assignments, and the heaven and the Lights [phosteres] were shaken and trembling, and all the sons of earth."

I En. 60:1. I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with a great disquiet.

I En. 60:3. And a great trembling seized me, and fear took hold of me, and my loins gave way and dissolved were my reins, and I fell upon my face, 4. For I could not endure to look on this host, and the commotion and the quaking of heaven.

Cf. Apocr. of John 1:20. As I was thinking the heavens opened. . . . 21. . . . And the whole cosmos shook; and I was afraid and fell upon my face. [And God appeared to him and spoke with him comforting him as he did Enoch.]

Terra Mater, speaking as a living entity in a passage strikingly paralleled in the Greek fragments.

Moses 7:48. Enoch looked upon the earth; and he heard a voice from the bowels thereof, saying: Wo, wo is me, the mother of men. . . . When shall I rest, and be cleansed from the filthiness which is gone forth out of me? When will my Creator sanctify me, that I may rest, and righteousness for a season abide upon my face?

7:49. And when Enoch heard the earth mourn, he wept, and cried unto the Lord, saying: O Lord, wilt thou not have compassion upon the earth?

The rest and comfort that come after the flood will bring a new order of things.

Moses 7:48. When shall I rest, and be cleansed . . . that I may rest, and righteousness for a season abide upon my face? 49. Wilt thou not bless the children of Noah? [The name Noah means "rest."] 50. Have mercy upon Noah and his seed. 51. And the Lord . . . sware . . . that he would call upon the children of Noah.

A lengthy passage from the book of the "Combat of Adam" in which that patriarch foresees the flood presents such an arresting correspondence to the Joseph Smith account as to provide a most instructive summary to this depressing part of our history. The Adam quotations are given in the order in which they occur; the matching quotes from the Joseph Smith Enoch are all from the same chapter and describe the same series of events.

Gizeh, 10:20. And cleanse thou the earth from all uncleanliness [akatharsias] and from all unrighteousness and from all sin and corruption [asebeias] and purge away [exaleipson, "flush, scour"] all impurities, which have come upon the earth. . . . 22. And all the earth shall be cleansed from all pollution [miasmatos] and from all impurities. . . . 11:1. And then truth and peace will dwell together (Koinonesousin homou, "embrace, have all things in common") for all the generations of

I En. 7:5-6. "And they began to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

Zohar, Bereshith 57a. A man is called wicked [rasha'] if he merely lifts his hand against his neighbor. ... But only he is called evil [ra'] who corrupts his way and defiles himself and the earth.

Beatty 106:17b. [Enoch:] And he [Noah] shall cleanse [praunei] the earth from all the defilement [phthoras] which is in her. 18. And now tell Lamech that he is his son in truth . . . and call his name [Noah] for he shall be a remnant of you whereon ye shall rest for a season [katapausete]. And his sons also from the defilement [phthoras] of the earth and from all the wickedness [hamartolon, "pollution"] and from all the vileness [synteleion] upon the earth.

Moses 7:66. And he also saw the sea, that it was troubled.

7:13. The rivers of water were turned out of their course.... and the mountains fled, . . . and the

rivers of water were turned out of their course.

7:17. They were blessed upon the mountains, and upon the high places, and did flourish.

7:41. All eternity shook. 56. And the earth groaned; and the rocks were rent.

7:14. There also came up a land out of the depth of the sea.

7:34. I [will] send in the floods upon

7:43. The floods came and swallowed them up.

7:13. Enoch . . . led the people of God, and their enemies came . . . against them; and . . . [at] the word of the Lord, ... the earth trembled.

and the roar of the lions was heard out of the wilderness;

7:37. The whole heavens shall weep over them, even all the workmanship of mine hands.

38. These which thine eyes are upon shall perish in the floods.

Le Combat d'Adam 10.340 At the sight of him the sea was troubled.

The Jordan reversed its course [lit., returned to its source] the mountains bounded like the stags and does of the valley.

The hills resounded with hymns of adoration, the high peaks joined in a hymn of praise

Yea, the earth opened up and shook to its foundations,

The king of the sea saw me and fled. O sea, why hast thou fled? . . .

O depths of the abyss, why are you troubled? Currents [whirlpools] of the Ocean, why have you overflowed [swollen yourselves]?

The chariot of God rumbled in space

and a great roaring arose from the midst of the terrified beasts. And everything on earth was overthrown.

To be continued.

328 Text in M. Philonenko, "Une citation manichéene du livre d'Henoch," in Revue de l'Histoire et de Philologie Religieuses, 51 (1972): 337-40.

329 Text in R. Ricciotti, in Orientalia 2 (1933): 22-24.

330 Vaillant, pp. 70ff. 331 Ibid. pp. 10f.

332 Commented on by K. Koch, Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik (Gütersloh: G. Mohn,

1970), pp. 25-27.

333For the changing point of view three books by Nigel Clader are instructive, namely, The Restless Earth: A report on the New Geology (New York: Viking, 1972), Violent Universe: an Eye-witness Account of the Commotion in Astronomy (New York: Viking, 1969), and The Weather Machine (New York: Viking,

334 The righteous dwell in the mountains and the wicked in the valleys. H. Freedman, Midrash Rabba (London: Soncino, 1961), 1:257; Combat of Adam, in Migne, Dict. Apocr., 1:296; Hippolytus, frg. in Migne, Patrologia Graeca 10:709; B. Beer, Leben Abraham's (Leipzig, 1859), quoting Rabbi Eleaser.

335 In Patrologia Orientalis 17:826ff. 336 Text in N. Sed, "Une Cosmologie Juive . . . La Berayta de Ma'aseh Bereshit," Revue des Etudes Juives 123 (1964): 58-61, explaining how the waters weep for the evil world here below.

337 In Patrologia Orientalis 4:431. 338 Combat of Adam, in Dict. Apoer.

339 For references, H. Nibley, "Treasures in the Heavens," in Dialogue 8 (Autumn, 1974): 77, 81ff., 83ff. 340 In Migne, Dict. Apocr., 1:118.



Enoch, by Gary Smith

A Strange Thing in the Land

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 10

By Hugh Nibley

Professor Emeritus of Ancient Scripture at Brigham Young University

This exciting and penetrating comparison of the Joseph Smith book of Enoch with four known variant manuscripts of that ancient work provides yet another evidence of the Prophet's inspiration and the scope of his vision in the great work of the Restoration.

Being called, Enoch shrank back in fear and pleaded his unfitness, protesting among other things that he was "but a lad," although sixty-five years old at the time! (6:31.) How is that strange anomaly to be explained? Joseph Smith could have known of none of the writings below which also deal with it. Where did he get the idea? Certainly not from apocryphal sources, although it appears not uncommonly in them. Just a few examples:

Gorion, Sagen die Juden, 1:294f: The Metatron has 70 names, but the King calls me "the Lad." Why? 296. Because I act in the capacity of one who was before me,

even Enoch, who was called "the Lad" 297. because he was the youngest of the hosts.

Migne, Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, 1:165. Enoch: "I heard my brothers say when I was small how wicked the world is; how then can I all alone achieve anything? If only my brothers were here I could ask them! Yet youthful though I am, I am still older than my brothers, though the last to come into this world..."

Beit ha-Midrasch, 5:172: "... I am small [qatan, young] in the midst of them [The Watchers, of vast age, to whom he was sent], and am but a lad among them in days and months and years; in view of which they call me 'Lad.'"

Jewish Encyclopedia, 8:519: "In the Hebrew writings and the Apocrypha" Enoch is represented as a young man, "since both sources represent him as a youth"—nobody knows why.

Zohar, Behalah 66b: "They saw the light of the Shekhinah, namely him who is called 'the Youth' [or Lad] Metatron-Enoch, who ministers to the Shekhinah in the heavenly sanctuary and the paved world of sapphir rock [Stone of Truth]." (See also Exod. 24:10.)

Migne, Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, 1:237: Enoch's grandfather, being called on a mission in the same way, made the same objection. When Adam sent the heavenly messengers to him with a mission call, "Seth said: 'O good teacher, for barely eight years [!] have I been in this world . . . I have not yet worn the male tiara [the round cloth cap of Exod. 28:40] nor borne the sword. Go back to Adam who is over 1,000 years old and tell him these things.' But they said: 'Seth, we have already told these same truths to your father Adam. He has been through all this." Then the winds bore Seth on high [as they later do Enoch], and he sat on the Throne of Light.

The patronizing title of "lad" reflected the general contempt in which Enoch was held—"All the people hate me," he said, "for I am slow of speech." (Moses 6:31.) The Ethiopian passage as rendered by Charles presents a peculiarly instructive parallel to the Joseph Smith version; both contain exactly the same ideas and expressions, but the African scribe has mixed them all up in an interesting way:

Moses 6:31. And when Enoch had heard these words, he bowed himself to the earth before the Lord

... and spake before the Lord saying: Why is it that I have found favor in thy sight, and am but a lad, and all the people hate me; for I am slow of speech....

32. And the Lord said unto Enoch: Go forth, ... open thy mouth, and it shall be filled. ...

33. Say unto this people: Choose ye this day, to serve the Lord God who made you.

32. And the Lord said unto Enoch: Go forth and do as I have commanded thee, and no man shall pierce thee.

34. Behold my Spirit is upon you, wherefore all thy words will I justify . . . and thou shalt abide in me, and I in you; therefore walk with me.

34. All thy words will I justify; and the mountains shall flee before you, and the rivers shall turn from their course.

As to being slow of speech, God will put his very words into Enoch's mouth, so that in a special way it will be the Lord speaking through him:

Moses 6:32. Go forth and do as I have commanded thee, and no man shall pierce thee. Open thy mouth, and it shall be filled, and I will give thee utterance . . . and I will do as seemeth me good.

30. And this is a decree which I have sent forth in the beginning . . . from my own mouth . . . and by the mouths of my servants, thy fathers, have I decreed it.

Enoch was received by the public first with curiosity and surprise, then with resentment, then with fear, and finally with a measure of acceptance that was to produce a church and the city of Enoch. First we see Enoch, the mystery man, the alien, a great curiosity:

Moses 6:38. And they came forth to hear him, upon the high places, saying unto the tent-keepers: Tarry ye here . . . while we go yonder to behold the seer, for he prophesieth, and

there is a strange thing in the land;

a wild man hath come among us.

Book of Adam, xxi. And now, little Enoch, ["the Lad"] I have told you the mysteries of the wicked people of this world whose appearance has filled you with fear and distress... and that the wicked have conspired to do away with you—but in vain. [See also xlvii: All the wicked plotted against Enoch, but in vain.] But fear not. I will return to deliver you from evil and sin... and I shall lead thee from this dark world to the dwelling of light.

The angel of life said to little Enoch, Arise, take thy way to the source of the waters, turn it aside from its course . . . at this command Tavril indeed turned the running water from its course. . . .

Slavon. 13. I have been sent by the mouth of the Lord to you to tell you what will be. . . . And now my children, it is not out of my own mouth that I speak to you today, but by the mouth of the Lord who has sent me to you. For you hear the words of my mouth, and I have heard the words of the Lord.

Secrets 29 (Charles, APOT, p. 454). I am sent forth to you today from the Lord's mouth to speak to you. . . . not from my own mouth am I today informing you, but from the Lord's mouth, for you have heard my words from my mouth, but I have heard the Lord's words. . . .

Sefer ha-Yashar, *BHM*, 6:129. And all the people gathered together and went up to Enoch to hear this thing...

Slav. 16 (Vaillant, p. 60). And they all came together, saying: Come, let us greet Enoch, and they came to the place Azouchan.

Eisler, *Iesous Basileus*, 2:19ff, 107. John the Baptist was received as

1 En. 15:24. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with his own mouth, and said to me: Come hither Enoch and hear my words....

1 En. 103:9. Let the righteous not say: "... we have experienced every trouble, and met with much evil . . . and have become few and small [mikropsychos, insignificant]. . . . 10. and have not found any to help us even with a word [or, i.e., in speech]. . . . 11. Sinners have laid their yoke heavily upon us; 12. They have had dominion over us; they hated us and smote us, and to those who hated us we have bowed our necks. 104:2. God answered: Be hopeful . . . ye shall shine as the lights of heaven . . . 3. and in your cry, cry for judgment. ... 9. Be not godless in your hearts.

Enoch returned to earth, preaching in the desert as a wild man.

Bk. of Adam, 17. There are false prophets who wander through the mountains and hills, wild men with wild hair and wild voices. They are called vagabond shepherds, live on herbs, and claim that God speaks mysteries by their mouths. 147. One of them, by the name of Marmon [!], led his followers to a place of filthy water.

BHM, 4:131. And Enoch went out [after his long hiding] and there came a voice saying: Who is the man who rejoices in the ways of the Lord? [See Mahujah and Mahijah!] And all the people gathered together unto Enoch . . . and he taught them all again to keep the ways of the Lord, and gave them all his peace.

Giz. 12:1. Enoch was taken, and no man knew where he went, where he is or what became of him. 2. But his works [i.e., missionary labors] are with the Watchers, while his days are with the Saints.

1 En. 12:1. And before this Enoch was hidden, and no man knew where he was hidden, and where he abode and what had become of him. 2. And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the Holy Ones.

BHM, 4:129. Enoch served God and shunned the ways of the wicked sons of men. And he cleaved unto the Order of God in knowledge and intelligence. And he separated himself from men and hid from them for many days. 130. [After preaching] he withdrew again, as in the beginning, and hid himself, to serve the Lord.

This is the familiar theme of the holy man—Adam, Seth, Noah, Elijah, Abinadi, Ether, Mormon, etc.—who goes forth to admonish the wicked world from time to time, and then withdraws to the society of the righteous, usually in a vale or on a mountain. Such prophets are a disturbing presence among the people. Nowhere is the idea more movingly expressed than in this speech in the book of Moses:

40. And there came a man unto him,

whose name was Mahijah, and said

unto him: Tell us plainly who thou art, and from whence thou comest?

Moses 6:41. And he said unto them:

I came out from the land of Cainan,

the land of my fathers, a land of

righteousness unto this day. And my

father taught me in all the ways of

His answer:

Moses 6:37. And all men were offended because of him.

Migne, *Dict. Apoc.* 1:170. And Enoch arose in joy and went forth to preach. But all conspired against him . . . and all the elements were thrown into confusion.

6:39. When they heard him, no man laid hands on him; for fear came on all them that heard him; for he walked with God.

6:47. And as Enoch spake forth the words of God, the people trembled, and could not stand in his presence.

What caused them to tremble most of all was that Enoch produced a special book as a witness against them. He climaxes the story of his vision "by the sea east" by reminding them of a certain book which

Moses 6:46. we have written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God; and it is given in our own language" [a book meant for them to *read*].

The purpose of the book, to witness their fallen state and betrayal of their ancient covenants, as given in the Joseph Smith version, finds striking confirmation in the ancient records:

Moses 6:45. We know them [our ancestors], and cannot deny, and even the first of all we know, even Adam.

6:46. For a book of remembrance we have written among us, according to the pattern given by the finger of God; and it is given in our own language.

BHM, 4:130. When he visited them, "the children of men feared Enoch greatly."

Giz. 13:3. Then going forth I spoke to all of them, and they were all afraid, and trembling and terror seized them.

5. Because they could not speak, neither raise their eyes to heaven for shame...

1. En. 13:3. Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them.

1 En. 93:2. I, Enoch, will declare . . . according to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision . . . and have learnt from the heavenly tablets. 3. And Enoch began to recount from the books.

Test. Abraham. Adam says: Tell me all its [the soul's] deeds that are written down. And immediately an old man [Enoch] came forth from behind the veil with a book in his hand. . . . Then the soul denied, thinking that its deeds would not be remembered. . . . But Adam said: No, there is no lie in this place!"

Bk. En. (Black) 2:7. Think not in your souls that . . . your wrongdoings are not observed nor written down before the highest. 8. From now on all your transgressions are written down day and night until your judg-

Gk. En. 97:6. And all . . . your unrighteousness shall be read out in the presence of the Great Holy One and in your own presence; because (104:10ff) . . . you have got by through juggling the books and falsifying reports: that is how you got your power, influence, and wealth!

Ch. Beatty 98:15. Woe to you who write false words . . . and falsify the record. . . . 91:2. Prepare, ye righteous ones, and present the records of your doings as a remembrance, give them as a testimony before the angels, that they may bring the sense of righteousness before the Most High, for a remembrance.

Test. of Dan 5:6 (and other Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs). For I have read in the book of Enoch the Just that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of iniquity will . . . lead the sons of Levi astray.

While Charles finds passages in this part of the Ethiopian Enoch "very confused" and "clearly cor-rupt," all the versions agree on a consistent story: Enoch, while journeying in the highlands passing by a certain sea, has a vision in which the Lord talks with him and sends him to rebuke the people; he finds them assembled in a high place and discusses with them a certain book—a Hypomnemata, or memorial. As a result of what he tells them about the book, they are completely overcome and cannot raise their eyes to Enoch or to heaven for shame. The Joseph Smith account is substantially like that of the Greek and Slavonic texts.

Moses 6:47. And as Enoch spake forth the words of God [confirmed by the book], the people trembled, and could not stand in his presence.

Giz. 13:3. They asked me to read for them the Hypomnemata (memorial, remembrance) before the face of the Lord, 5. because they were in no condition to speak, neither could they raise their eyes to the heavens for shame.

1 En. 13:3ff. [In this version "the passage is very confused," says Charles, "clearly corrupt." (P. 30.)] 7. And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan to the south and west of Hermon. I read their petition [or memorial, remembrance] till I fell asleep, 8. and behold . . . visions of chastisement, and a voice bidding me tell the Sons of Heaven and reprimand them. 9. When I awakened I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together weeping in "Abelsjail" . . . with their faces covered.

10. [Then he begins to read to them] from the Book of the Words of Righteousness, and of the reprimand ... in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision.

Enoch's Visions

Before dealing with the success of Enoch's mission, we must consider more closely the marvelous visions which prepared him for it and which are the most significant part of the Enoch literature and the principal reason for its rejection by the conventional Christian and Jewish scholars of the fourth and following centuries. We refer to the cosmological or astronomical teachings most widely associated with the name of Enoch, who, not content with describing a purely spiritual heaven or beatific vision, insists on bringing real stars and planets into the picture—a thing which medieval and modern theologians find unspeakably crass—the very antithesis of everything worthy of the ethereal name of religion. While the Jewish doctors rejected the old cosmological absorption because it turned out to be altogether too popular with the early Christians,³⁴¹ the Christian doctors in turn attacked them as too popular with the gnostic sectaries and even the heathen.342 Both agreed in tracing back their origin to Enoch.

Thus, quoting Eumolpus (140 B.C.), Eusebius reports that Abraham taught astronomy to the Egyptians at Heliopolis (the great prehistoric Egyptian observatory), giving himself and the Babylonians credit for establishing the science while actually recognizing Enoch as its true discoverer.343 Syncellus and Cedrenus hand down the tradition, on the authority of Enoch himself, that it was the angel Uriel who taught astronomy to Enoch.344 To clinch their disapproval, the doctors of Alexandria-the great "spiritualizers"-follow Clement of Alexandria, who maintains that according to Enoch it was the fallen angels who taught "astronomy and divination [mantike] and related sciences [technas]" to the human race. 345 Mystics and theologians thereafter rejected Enoch's cosmologies precisely because they were not mystic but scientific, sharing the Christian attitude that "cosmogenic accounts are in fact exceedingly rare both in Israel and in Islam. . . . Mohammed warned that they would lead to atheism—an old Rabbinical idea."346

Modern theologians see in Enoch "a curious attempt to reduce the scattered images of the Old Testament to a physical system. . . . It

seems to repeat in every form the great principle that the world, natural, moral, and spiritual, is under the immediate government of God."347 And what, we may ask, is wrong with that? The Reverend Michael Stuart, foremost American theologian when the book of Enoch first came to America in the 1838-49 editions, protested that the scriptures "nowhere introduce such idle and fantastic speculations about the natural phenomenons of the heavens and earth, as we find in the Book of Enoch,"348 and he speaks for conventional Christianity-even today-when he says, "Every science . . . is entirely foreign to the Scriptures, inasmuch as they were written purely for moral and religious purposes, and not to give lessons in science," for which reason Enoch's cosmology "is at present a sealed

The churches are changing their tune so fast today that we must make an effort to remind ourselves that only yesterday Joseph Smith's "cosmism" and literalism were viewed with universal horror and alarm. A leading Catholic theologian of our time assures us that the longing of the Christian is "to be rapt away from matter" and receive "the cup of the spirit which from heaven is held out to earth,"350 while his eminent Protestant counterpart is pleased to note that, thanks to present-day demythologizing of old teachings, "redemption and the spirit are no longer thought of in the Gnostic manner as quasi-physical entities, in spite of Paul."351

It was among the early sectaries that the astronomical parts of Enoch (72-82) enjoyed their greatest favor, according to Van Andel's study. (Pp. 53, 40.) He notes that the inclusion of the physical world in the story of redemption was indeed inevitable in a history which is "a prologue to the Flood"—a very physical event indeed (p. 41)—and that "the exponents of such literature" very sensibly hold "that the Cosmos itself cannot very well be left out of the picture of God's dealings with men, beginning with the Creation," another physical event. Is it not a main purpose of the Bible "to make the cosmos understandable"? (P. 93.) "In Apocalyptic literature the greatest emphasis is laid on the historic personality of Enoch as the conveyor of cosmic knowledge." (P. 118.) Long ago J.P. Migne protested that it was the very literal and "scientific" tone of it that rendered such religious literature dangerous, and that the proper apocryphal writings for Catholics to read are those which are frankly popular fables, poetic fantasies, and moral and symbolic tales claiming in the end no historical or physical reality. 352

To be continued

³⁴¹*H.F. Weiss*, Hellenistisches Judentum, *p. 121*.

³⁴²Carl Schmidt, in Texte und Untersuchungen, 8:345.

³⁴³Eusebius, Praep. ad Evang. 9:17, in Patrol Graece. 21:708.

344 Syncellus, ed. Dindorff, p. 60; Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, 1, 21:12-13. 345 Clement of Alexandria, Eclog. prophet., 53:4; Comm. in Ps. 19:2. 346 E. Hahn, in Revue des Etudes

Juives, NS 1:68, 66.

347 J. McClintock, in Cyclopaedia of

Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (*New York: 1870*), 3:227.

³⁴⁸M. Stuart, in Biblical Repository, 3:129.

³⁴⁹Ibid., 3:102.

350 Hugo Rahner, in Spirit and Nature, Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks (Bollingen Series 30:1), 1:145f.

³⁵¹Ian Henderson, Myth in the New Testament (Chicago: Regnery Company, 1952), p. 16.

³⁵² Migne, Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, 1:397.



Enoch, by Gary Smith

A Strange Thing in the Land

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 11

By Hugh Nibley

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The idea that Enoch had great cosmological visions, showing the earth from the beginning to the end, was viewed with mistrust by theologians of Joseph Smith's day. Yet the kind of vision Enoch saw before beginning his mission is exactly that kind of comprehensive view of creation, man, and his relationship to God that is one of the most authentic hallmarks of all Enoch texts, as we see by a comparison of the account found in the book of Moses with other texts of the Enoch story. These ancient documents, though not scripture, are important windows into the world of the past and our understanding of Enoch's mission.

It is not our purpose here to discuss Enoch's cosmological discourses, which would take us pleasantly afield but require too much paper. It will be enough to confine our attention to the cosmological passages that can be paralleled in the book of Moses. These parallels are surprisingly plentiful.

We begin with the declaration that Enoch was shown a vision of everything: indeed, receiving a total revelation of all things seems to have been a privilege of each of the great founding fathers of the dispensations, from Adam on.

Moses 1:27. As the voice was still speaking, Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth, yea, even all of it; and there was not a particle of it which he did not behold, discerning it by the spirit of God.

7:67. And the Lord showed Enoch all things, even unto the end of the world.

7:4. And he [the Lord] said unto me: Look, and I will show unto thee the world for the space of many generations.

1:28. And he [Moses] beheld also the inhabitants thereof, and there was not a soul which he beheld not; and he discerned them by the Spirit of God; and their numbers were great, even numberless.

1:29. And he beheld many lands; and each land was called earth, and there were inhabitants on the face thereof.

Giz. Frg. 9:4 (3 versions). 5. For thou hast made all, and hast all authority, and all things appear before thee and are revealed, and thou seest all things.

Secrets 17: end (Vaillant, pp. 62f). If you lift your eyes to the heavens the Lord is there, because he made the heavens; and if you look upon the earth or the sea, or if you think of things under the earth, the Lord is there also, for he made all things.

1 En. 19:3. And I Enoch alone saw the vision, the ends of all things; and no man shall see as I have seen.

Giz. 2:2. See the earth, and consider the works done in it from the beginning to the end . . . and all the works of God will appear.

bin Gorion, Sagen die Juden, 1:251. The Lord showed Adam everything, including Abraham's story. . . . 253. And "Adam took a leaf and wrote down his Testament, and sealed it up unto the Lord, the Metatron [Enoch], and Adam.

Apocal. of Abraham, 21:1. And He said to me [Abraham] look! ... 2. I look down and behold the six heavens and all that is in them, and also the earth and her fruits and all that moves upon her, and her spirits, and the power of her inhabitants [men] . . . 3. and the lower regions . . . 4. and the sea and its islands, the animals and its fishes . . . 9. and I saw a mighty host of men, women, and children....

Secrets, Ms. R. Ch. 9. The Angel Braboil [umpire or scorekeeper] said to me [Enoch]: Sit down and write all the spirits of men, all those who have not yet been born . . . everything to the end of this world, even from the foundation thereof! . . . And I wrote down all the affairs of men.

1 En. 33:1. I went to the ends of the earth and saw the great beasts, each different from the other; the birds in all their varieties . . . 2. and to the East were other beasts. I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heavens rest.

Jubilees 4:18f. (See Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, p. 17.) And what was and what will be he saw . . . as it will happen to the children of men throughout the generations until the day of Judgment; he saw and 6:42. I [Enoch] beheld a vision; and lo, the heavens I saw, and the Lord spake with me....

6:36. And he beheld the spirits that God had created; ... and he beheld also things which were not visible to the natural eye.

The ancients recognize that others, from Adam to Daniel, also had the great Universal Vision, but give Enoch a special rating. Enoch alone, says the Ethiopian Book of Mysteries, "saw it all from the beginning to end, before it happened."353 "The Lord hath chosen thee more than any other man on the earth, and has appointed thee the Scribe of His Creations, both visible and invisible. ... " (Secrets, Ms. R, Vaillant, p. 61, see n. 17.)

Joseph Smith's preoccupation with mountains in his Enoch account would appear suspicious were it not that the other Enoch texts have the same obsession:

Moses 7:2. There came a voice out of heaven, saying—Turn ye, and get ye upon the mount Simeon. 3. And it came to pass that I turned and went up on the mount; and as I stood upon the mount, I beheld the heavens open, and I was clothed upon with glory; 4. And I saw the Lord; and he stood before my face, and he talked with me.

understood everything, and wrote his testimony.

Secrets 13 (Vaillant, pp. 40ff). And now my children, I know all things, some from the mouth of the Lord, others that I have seen myself. ... I have written of the extremities of the heavens and what is in them: I have measured the movements of their hosts . . . I have explored the places of the clouds . . . I have written about the deposits of the snow and reservoirs of ice, . . . how all these things are controlled by the power of

Origen, First Princs., in Patrol. Graece. 11:409. In the same book attributed to Enoch is written: "Universas materias perspexi," which would imply that he had seen every category of matter, divided not separate and distinct species from a single universal substance, to wit, of men or animals, or heavens, or Sun. or of everything that is in this world.

BHM, 5:176. Enoch knows the names of the Sarim [lords, administrators] who administer every department of existence . . . 5:25, no 12. Enoch knew not only all the secrets of the Makrokosmos, but of the Mikrokosmos as well.

Gizeh 32:2. And thence I took my way along the tops of the mountains, keeping far from towards the East of the earth, and I passed above the Erythrean Sea, and went up to the peaks [akron] and from there passed on higher to Zoti-el. 3. And I went to the paradise of righteousness, and beheld from afar among its tree, two trees in particular, great and laden, and the Tree of Knowledge [phroneseos], of whose fruit the holy one ate

6:37. And ... Enoch went forth ... standing upon the hills and the high places.

42. As I journeyed . . . by the sea east, I beheld a vision; and lo, the heavens I saw, and the Lord spake with me, and gave me commandment.

The ancients were quite aware of how Enoch's mysterious departure to heaven and Moses' ascent of Mt. Nebo and his disappearance (Deut. 32:49) resembled each other. Others have also found mountains to be places of special closeness to the Lord—for example, Elijah, Nephi, and the famous Rabbi Ishmael.

2 Ne. 4:24. My voice have I sent up on high; and angels came down and ministered unto me. 25. And upon the wings of his Spirit hath my body been carried away upon exceeding high mountains. And mine eyes have beheld great things, yea, even too great for man; therefore I was bidden that I should not write them.

In these passages, as throughout the book of Enoch, imagery and reality seem to meet and fuse in a peculiar way. Reference to the Holy of Holies is unmistakable in the last passage cited, recalling the well-known Ziggurat concept of the ancients in which the temple itself was to represent a mountain by which one mounted to heaven and the presence of God. Let us return for a moment to Nephi's story of his father's vision, which in some ways parallels Enoch's:

1 Ne. 1:4. In the commencement of the first year . . . 5. my father Lehi . . . prayed unto the Lord, even with all his heart, in behalf of his people. . . 7. . . . he returned to his own house at Jerusalem; and he cast himself upon his bed, being over-

and received great understanding.

1 En. 17:2. And they brought me to a place of darkness, and to a mountain whose summit reached to heaven. 3. And I saw the place of the luminaries.

BHM, 5:172. God raised me up... eyes in the heaven above, to be a witness against them for all time to come... and I made me one with the high places, to observe and be present among the angels of the ministry.

BHM, 5:170. R. Ishmael: When I went up to the mountaintop to contemplate the Markebah, I entered into the six temples, room by room. Arriving at the entrance to the seventh [the Holy of Holies], I stood to pray before God; and I lifted up my eyes and said: Lord of Eternity, grant me in this hour the merit of Aaron . . . who received the crown of the priesthood. . . . And deliver me from Satan. And the Metatron [Enoch] came who [served?] the angel, the Prince of the Presence, and spread his wings and came to meet me with great joy . . . and he took me with his hand and raised me up.

Secrets 1:2. On the first day of the month I was alone in my house, and I rested on my bed and slept [BHM, 4:127: "he was praying before God in (his) house and chamber"], 3. and as I slept great grief came upon my heart, and I wept with mine eyes in

come with the Spirit. . . . 8. And being thus overcome with the Spirit, he was carried away in a vision, even that he saw the heavens open, and he thought he saw God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels.

The manner in which the prophet is caught up is of particular concern and interest to the ancients. What are "the wings of the Spirit"? Lehi was "carried away in a vision, even that . . . he thought he saw God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with . . . angels," to match which Enoch says, "my spirit was translated, and it ascended to heaven; and I saw the holy sons of God . . 10. and with them the Head of Days . . 11. and my spirit was transfigured." (1 En. 71:1.) The old writers also treat the idea:

2 Ne. 4:25. Upon the wings of his Spirit hath my body been carried away upon exceeding high mountains. And mine eyes have beheld great things, yea, even too great for man.

Moses 1:1. Moses was caught up into an exceedingly high mountain.

Abr. 2:7. I cause the wind and the fire to be my chariot; I say to the mountains—Depart hence—and behold, they are taken away by a whirlwind.

As everyone knows, the Hebrew ruakh means both "wind" and "spirit," giving rise to much speculation. A typical example would be Enoch's declaration that Adam "was caught away by the Spirit of the Lord, and was carried down into the water . . " (Moses 6:64), or that Enoch's people "were caught up by

my dream. . . . 4. There appeared to me two men . . . 8. and these men said to me: Be of good cheer Enoch, be not afraid . . . lo! the everlasting God hath sent us to thee, and today thou shalt ascend with us into heaven.

BHM, 5:170. R. Ishmael [a stand-in for Enoch] was on a high mountain when the Metatron [often equated with Enoch] came, who served the angels, the Prince of Presence, and he spread his wings and came to meet me with great joy to deliver me from the hands of Satan. And he took me by the hand and raised me up.

BHM, 6:175. God laid his hand upon me and raised me and exalted me . . . and seventy-two wings raised me up, so many on one side and so many on the other; it was as if the world was filled with wings. . . .

1 En. 39:3. And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, and set me down at the end of the heavens. 4. And I saw another vision, the dwelling place of the Holy One, the resting-place of the righteous.

Dict. Apocr., 1:238. So Seth arose and prayed, and put off his envelope of flesh. . . . Then the winds of heaven lifted him up in the midst of myriads of spirits . . . and placed him on a shining throne.

the powers of heaven into Zion." (7:27.) The last indicates that we are dealing with forms of power vet unknown to men, for which the words "wind" and "spirit" may be taken to represent unknown quantities. Competent scientists have now begun to explore the reality of heretofore unknown forms of power,354 with surprising results.355 One of the special characteristics of the Enoch literature is the constant interplay between the physical and the psychic, in which the Joseph Smith text leads the way.

Enoch and the Cosmos

Clement of Rome, in the opening lines of the Recognitions, says that what drew him to investigate the gospel and join the church was his burning desire to find answers to the great questions of life: "When was this world made? What was there before it? Was it always there? Is there a life after death?" He says that he wore himself out at school but could find no professor or philosopher who could give him a satisfactory answer.356 It was such "constant seeking for knowledge," as H.D. Betz points out, that necessarily carried the early Christians "beyond history into astronomy and astrology."357 The later church fathers fought against the tendency to ask such questions with "bitter polemic," 358 and the rabbis declared that "anyone who studies the subjects of the Creation or the Chariot, or who puts his mind to the questions: 1) What is above? 2) What is below? 3) What is beyond? 4) What is in the eternities? It were better for him had he not come into the world!"359

Enoch was one of the curious ones: "I raised my eyes and contemplated this universe, the sky with its glittering stars, the sun and the moon, . . . the angels [who] control the water, the wind, the fire, the earth and all that is in it, the mountains, the sea, the planets, and the trees. Who could tell me where all these powers take their rise? How do they operate? How do they keep going? Who can explain to me the alterations of dawn and dusk, day and night, moon and stars . . . ?" He summarizes: "Thus as I viewed the organizations of this world I was troubled." And prostrating himself he prayed for enlightenment. 360

The objection of the religious to the astronomical teachings of the book of Enoch is that they are not in the least bit spiritual: "Through all these chapters," writes Charles of First Enoch 72-79, "there is not a single ethical reference. The author has no other interest than a scientific one . . . we have to deal with a complete and purely scientific treatise. ... "361 Moreover, the interest is in the sun, moon, and stars solely as regulators of the special calendar which set the Enoch-sectaries apart from the rest of the world in their observances.362 And yet Van Andel recognizes that the Enoch cosmology was for those people something more than a calendar: it was nothing less than the knowledge of the eternities, "before all else the secret of the Creation . . . God's plan for the entire universe, which had been revealed to the community of the righteous," as a fundamental and organic part of the gospel.363

This broader aspect of the higher knowledge is, however, conspicuously missing from the Ethiopian 1 Enoch, engrossed as it is in the meticulous business of counting and measuring times and cycles, which was to titillate the vanity and challenge the invention of generations of cabbalists, cultists, astrologers, schoolmen, and pyramidologists for ages to come, and which indeed justified the doctors of the church and synagogue in their distaste for the whole business. But the cosmology of the Joseph Smith translation of Enoch in the book of Moses is something quite different a sober concern with a few basic principles which differs so radically from the Ethiopian Enoch that his critics might well discover here a clear case of outright refutation of the latter-day scripture by the ancient sources were it not that his Enoch text is impressively vindicated by the closely matching concepts of the Slavonic Enoch. The reason for this particular affinity must be examined at a later time; for the present it is sufficient to recognize how strongly Joseph Smith's cosmology is supported by ancient texts known only long after his death. The main subjects common to these documents are (a) the mystery of glory, (b) the universal ongoing creation, (c) the plurality of worlds, and (d) the relationship of the worlds to God and to each other.

1. It is standard procedure in apocalyptic writings to have the hero introduced to cosmology in the course of his visit to the heavenly realms; in these accounts the leitmotif is *glory* in varying degrees, and what applies to one heavenly visit applies to another, so that the same descriptions fit the experience of Enoch, Moses, Abraham, Elijah, etc.³⁶⁴

First, the principle is laid down that glory can be experienced only to the degree one is qualified to share it. The person who would behold God's glory must himself first be "clothed upon with glory," i.e., enveloped in that same glory: "... being clothed with robes of righteousness, ... in glory even as I am, ... to receive a crown of righteousness, and to be clothed upon, even as I am, to be with me, that we may be one." (D&C 29:12-13; italics added.) Even so with Enoch:

Moses 7:3. [Moses:] I beheld the heavens open, and I was clothed upon with glory; 4. And I saw the Lord; and he stood before my face, and he talked with me, even as a man talketh one with another, face to face.

Secrets 22:8 (Morfill, p. 28). And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go and take from Enoch his earthly robe, and anoint him with my holy oil and clothe him with the raiment of my glory. . . . 10. And I [Enoch] gazed upon myself, and I was like one of his glorious ones. And there was no difference." (See also Slavonic Enoch 9, Vaillant, pp. 25f.)

Text B, 22 (in R.H. Charles, Apoc. and Pseud., 2:443). After Enoch is "clothed in garments of glory... the Lord with his mouth summoned me and said: Have courage, Enoch, fear not, stand before my face to eternity. And ... Michael brought me before the face of God."

Ascension of Moses 3 ["...it shows many affinities with 2 Enoch," Charles, ibid., p. 409]. At his death while still "in the flesh" Moses is met by Enoch-Metatron, who clothes him with light so that he will be able to see the angels; and his body was transformed into "a flame of fire."

BHM 5: xlii. In this Hebrew Enoch, Book R., Ishmael tells how in the seventh heaven he "beholds Enoch who has been transformed in the Angel Metatron Sar ha-Panim [of the Face]," and who tells him how upon becoming an angel he was "clothed with all glories."

The reason for the transformation is clear:

Moses 1:14. I could not look upon God, except his glory should come upon me.

Gizeh 14:21. And no angel could look upon his face, because it is fearful and glorious, and no flesh can look upon him. 14. And I began to

1:5. And no man can behold all my glory, and afterwards remain in the flesh on the earth.

1:11. But now mine own eyes have beheld God; but not my natural, but my spiritual eyes, for my natural eyes could not have beheld; for I should have withered and died in his presence.

7:3-4. [Enoch:] I was clothed upon with glory; And I saw the Lord.

1:11. [Moses:] I beheld his face, for I was transfigured before him.

It is a general principle that applies to all levels of glory: if one is not prepared, the experience of glory can only cause anxiety and alarm:

Moses 1:11. I beheld his face, for I was transfigured before him. . . . 25. He [Moses] beheld his glory again, for it was upon him. [Zechariah, Mary, the shepherds in the field, the apostles on the Mount of Transfiguration, etc., all were "sore afraid" in the presence of heavenly glory. Italics added.]

tremble and to shake, and fell upon my face.

Ev. Verit. f.XV^r, p. 29. The shock of the sight of God would utterly destroy those unprepared for it.

Sophia Christi Xti. 79. No flesh can endure his presence, nor can his appearance be described. But he showed himself in pure and perfect flesh to us on the mountain, and we were sore afraid.

Gospel of Phil. 105:28-34, 106:1ff. You can see only what you are like, therefore on the Mountain of Transfiguration the Apostles had to be made great in order to see the greatness of Christ.

Ev. Verit. f.XV^r, p. 30. They can bear the knowledge of God to that degree to which they can bear the light.

1 En. 71:1. And my spirit was translated, and it ascended into the heavens; and I saw the holy Sons of God, 10. And with them the Head of Days, his head white and pure as wool, and his raiment indescribable . . . 11. And my spirit was transfigured. [Italics added.]

BHM 5:170. The Metatron [Enoch] said to me: Come in peace . . . and they guided me to see the Shekinah and presented me before the Throne of Glory to contemplate the Merkabah; and when the Princes of Glory saw me, and the Seraphim of flame, they placed their eyes upon me and I trembled and became ill and fell from my stand and swooned before the Zohar, the sight of their eyes, and the glory of the appearance of their faces.

172. And when the Seraphim turned their faces towards me I feared and trembled and fell from my standing-place and swooned.

Gizeh 14:24. And I was upon my face and trembling, and the Lord with his own mouth called me, and said: Come here, Enoch, and listen to my word. 25. One of the holy ones raised me up and stood me on my feet... and I held my face down and covered. [After this interview when Enoch went down to the people, they could not bear to look upon him. See Moses' similar experience after

descending Mount Sinai, Exod. 34:30.1

Accordingly, when the higher glory is withdrawn and the individual reverts to his own nature, he finds himself weak and helpless:

Moses 1:9. And the presence of God withdrew from Moses, that his glory was not upon Moses; and Moses was left unto himself. And as he was left unto himself, he fell unto the earth. 10. And it came to pass that it was for the space of many hours before Moses did again receive his natural strength like unto man.

1 En. 39:14. And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

The Combat of Adam and Eve (Migne, *Dict. Apoc.* 1:301). And the Lord said to Adam: While you obeyed me the light was with you and you could see the most distant things but now you cannot even see what is near to you by the power of the flesh. Then Adam and Eve fell down helpless.³⁶⁵

Apocal. of Abr. 30:1. And as he was still speaking, I found myself already upon the earth, and said . . . 3. I am no more now in the glory in which I was above, and what my heart sought to know I did not understand.

From Adam on,
each of the founding fathers of a
dispensation seems to have
received a vision of all things: "And the
Lord showed Enoch all things,
even unto the end of the world."
(Moses 7:67.)

The early Jewish and Christian traditions are full of accounts in which Satan tried to beguile men by counterfeit glory, even appearing as an angel of light. The righteous however are given the discernment of spirits, and are able to endure true glory—their "confidence wax[es] strong" even "in the presence of God." (D&C 121:45.) Accordingly Satan's fake glory never deceives the patriarchs:

Moses 1:12. Satan came tempting him, saying: Moses, son of man, worship me.

13. And . . . Moses looked upon Satan and said: Who art thou? For behold, I am a son of God. . . . and where is thy glory, that I should worship thee?

14. For behold, I could not look upon God, except his glory should

Book of Adam (Migne, Dict. Apoc. 1:170). After the Angel of Life departed . . . Enoch arose in joy, clothed in glory to preach to the world. But the seven planets conspired against their brethren and announced that the real glory was only a trick crying out: They have stolen our glory! They threw all the elements into confusion.

come upon me, and I were strengthened before him. But I can look upon thee in the natural man. Is it not so, surely?

15.... Where is thy glory, for it is darkness unto me? And I can judge between thee and God....

16. Get thee hence, Satan; deceive me not....

18. . . . His glory has been upon me, wherefore I can judge between him and thee. Depart hence, Satan.

19. And now, when Moses had said these words, Satan cried with a loud voice, and rent upon the earth, and commanded, saying: I am the Only Begotten, worship me!

20. And . . . Moses began to fear exceedingly; and as he began to fear, he saw the bitterness of hell. Nevertheless, . . . he commanded, saying: Depart from me, Satan, for this one God only will I worship, which is the God of glory.

22. And . . . with weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth, . . . he [Satan] departed hence.

25. And calling upon the name of God, he [Moses] beheld his glory again, for it was upon him.

Falasha Anthology, 100. [Abraham:] I do not know whether thou art a great angel . . . in this glory, because I cannot see thy praise. When angels come to me I feel strong, my soul is fortified . . . but when thou camest my soul was troubled . . . my tongue became heavy and weak.

Apocal. of Elijah (Aeg. 1960, p. 197). The Son of Destruction shall show himself and say: I am anointed! though he is not. Do not believe him! [Ephraim Syr., 9. He will surely make all the signs which our Lord performs in the world; the dead however, he will not raise up, because he has not power over the spirits.]

Gizeh 13. But Enoch (manuscript much confused) said to Azael, Depart! Get thee hence [parerou], there is no peace in thee! Great offence [krima] hath gone forth from thee... 2. And I will no longer detain you or discuss with you because of your trickery and your evil works. 3. Then going forth among them [the people] I [Enoch] told them all, and they all feared and a great fear and trembling seized them.

Zech. 3:2. And the Lord said unto Satan: The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; . . . 4. Take away the filthy garments from [Joshua] . . . Behold, . . . I will clothe thee with change of raiment. 5. . . . They set a fair mitre upon his head, and clothed him with garments. And the angel of the Lord stood by.

Apocal. Abr. 12. (The angels take Abraham to the top of Horeb) 13:7. [The angel:] This one you see is godlessness—it is the [fallen] Angel Azazel [Satan]. 8. Then he said to him: Shame on thee, Azazel! 9. For Abraham's part is in the heaven, but thy part is on earth, 10. which thou hast chosen for thy home . . . 13:14. Depart from this man . . . 15. for behold his garment [of glory] which once belonged to thee in heaven is now lain aside for him, and the corruption that is his shall pass over to thee!

1 En. 63:7. The kings of the earth say: We have not believed before him, nor glorified the name of the Lord of spirits... but our hope was in the sceptre of our kingship, and in our glory. 8. And in the day of suffering and tribulation he saves us not. [Italics added.]

The faithful cannot escape a cosmic view of things because it is the *creation* that declares the glory of God:

Moses 6:63. All things are created and made to bear record of me, ... all things bear record of me.

7:28. And Enoch bore record of it saying, . . . 30. Were it possible that man could number the particles of the earth, . . . it would not be a beginning to the number of thy creations.

Creation is presented as a universal ongoing process:

Moses 1:37. The heavens . . . cannot be numbered unto man. . . . 38. And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works.

The creation as process is emphasized by the frequent occurrence of the word *creation* in the *plural*, usually in proclaiming the greatness and majesty of God—"Millions of earths like this . . . would not be a beginning to the number of thy creations" (Moses 7:30): "And thou hast taken Zion to thine own bosom, from all thy creations" (7:31); "I can stretch forth mine hands and hold all the creations which I have made; and mine eye can pierce them also" (7:36); "And all the creations of God

1 En. 69:21. The stars . . . winds, lightnings, and all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of spirits, and glorify him with all their power.

Secrets, 9. And without resting I wrote down the signs of all the creation.

Secrets 10. And the Lord called Berebel [Brabeusel, Thoth] . . . who was skilled in writing down all the works of the Lord. And the Lord said to Berebel: Take a book from the deposit [khranilnitz], and give a pen to Enoch, and explain to him and dictate the books to him. [So the angel taught Enoch] all the works [doings, makings] of the heavens and the earth and the sea and all the elements and time-periods and commandments and instructions . . . while I wrote down all the signs [znamienia, semeia = notes]. So he wrote the 360 books of the creation.

Jubil. 2:1. And the Angel of the Presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the complete history of the Creation.

4:17. And Enoch was the first among men that are upon the earth who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven. [The Greek adds: "and arithmetic and geometry, and all the *Sophian*."]

Zohar iii: 61a, b (Brody).³⁶⁶ This we have learned: Before the Holy One created this world he had created worlds and destroyed them.

mourned" (7:56); "Zion . . . shall come forth out of all the creations which I have made" (7:64). Such passages clearly imply that creation is an ongoing drama:

Moses 1:38. And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof even so shall another come; and there is no end to my works.

The same idea is conveyed in the Secrets of Enoch 11 (Charles, Apoc. & Pseud. 2:436), where the heavenly bodies in their "successive going" are "ever going and returning, having rest neither by day nor by night." Thus (ibid. 16) "the sun is a great creation, whose circuit lasts twenty-eight years and begins again from the beginning." "Hear Enoch, ... not to my angels have I told ... their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating, which I tell thee today." (Ibid. 24.) "There is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation." (Ibid. 25.) "I want to create another world . . . [ibid. 31]. . . and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations." (Ibid. 33.) In manuscript R, chapter 10, of the Slavonic Enoch, he sees "the exchanges of all the elements and their progressions, and their manner of changing according to the signs of the Zodiac, and the progress of their changes," etc.

The idea of creation as an ongoing process involving many participants was, of course, offensive to the doctors with their monistic obsession. "It is a constant concern of the Midrash," writes E. Hahn, "why God took six days and ten words to create the world when a single gesture would have sufficed."³⁶⁷ And so they effectively silenced the old teaching of creation as a process.

Equally offensive was the idea of a plurality of worlds, countering, as it did, a basic teaching of Aristotle and the evidence of common sense that this world, being heaviest, must necessarily be in the center of everything and mankind the only rational animal, not only on earth, but in all the immensity of the universe. "Millions of earths like this" was

bin Gorion, 1:286. Seven imperfect worlds were all destroyed because of wickedness.

1:59. "There are 18,000 worlds known only to God."

Migne, Book of Adam, in *Dict. Apoc.*, 1:225. The life-span of each planet is different: Fire and water form circles around the 18,000 worlds.

quite unthinkable—even comical. "Since God didn't even need this world," as Jonathan Edwards vociferously proclaimed, "why should he want to create even more?" Since "the fullness of good is attained once for all in God," ran the official argument, ". . . God has no need of a world and is indifferent to it and all that goes on in it." Quite the opposite with Enoch:

Moses 7:30. And were it possible that man could number the particles of the earth, yea, millions of earths like this, it would not be a beginning to the number of thy creations.

1:37. The heavens [galaxies], they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man.

1:33. Worlds without number have I created.

With all its pluralism we are never allowed to forget that "from first to last one mind alone dominates the whole boundless complex," since all receive the instructions and their inspiration from a single source: 370

Moses 1:35. But only an account of this earth, and the inhabitants thereof, give I unto you. For behold, there are many worlds that have passed away by the word of my power. And there are many that now stand, and innumerable are they unto man; but all things are numbered unto me, for they are mine and I know them. 37. The heavens . . . cannot be numbered

Mishnah ha-Zohar 1:127ff.³⁶⁹ God's creations are *en sof*, "without end."

Apocr. James 1:27ff. The heavens, they cannot be numbered to man.

bin Gorion, Sagen die Juden, 1:59. The heavens are without number, and every one of the vaults is like an independent world which in turn contains 1,000 other worlds.

Beraikha. fol. 54a. The foolish Minaeans believe that this is the only world there is! Actually there are worlds without number.

Slav. 13. And now, my children, I know all things. . . . I have written of the extremities of the heavens and what is in them. I have measured the movements of their hosts. I have completed the counting of the stars, a vast multitude without number. No man can conceive of their revolutions [or orbits]; the angels themselves do not know their number.

Secrets 40:2. I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude of them. 3. Not even the angels see their number.

unto man; but they are numbered unto me, for they are mine.

7:30.... Millions of earths like this ... and yet thou art there, and thy bosom is there.

7:36. Wherefore, I can stretch forth mine hands and hold all the creations which I have made; and mine eye can pierce them also.

6:61. . . . the Comforter . . . which maketh alive all things; that which knoweth all things, and hath all power . . .

One of the most remarkable teachings of the Joseph Smith book of Enoch as found in the Pearl of Great Price book of Moses is the doctrine of a *spiritual creation* of all things that preceded the creation of this earth. Significantly, this doctrine finds its fullest support in the Slavonic Enoch text and is not found in the Ethiopian:

Moses 3:5. For I, the Lord God, created all things . . . spiritually, before they were naturally upon the . . . earth. . . .

3:7. And man became a living soul, . . . nevertheless, all things were before created; but spiritually were they created.

6:51. I am God; I made the world,

Gizeh 9: 4 (three versions). For thou hast made them all, and hast all authority [exousian], and all things appear before thee and are plainly revealed [akalypta], and thou seest all things.

1 En. 84:3. Thou hast made and rulest all things . . . wisdom does not depart from the place of thy throne, nor turns away from thy presence, and thou knowest and hearest everything.

1 En. 39:11. He knows before the world was created what is forever, and what will be from generation unto generation.

Orig., Patrol. Graec. 11:409. He made all things according to number and measure. For with God nothing is without limit and measure, since by his mind he comprehends all things.

Clem. Alex., Patrol. Graec. 9:721f. Psalm 18:2 refers to the plurality of the heavens, where even the demons all recognize that Christ is the Lord. The teaching is from Enoch.

Clement quotes Daniel, quoting Enoch: And I saw all substance. For the Abyss which is boundless, comes under the same hypostasis [definition] [as matter], being limited and controlled by the power of God.

Secrets 18. And Enoch answered the people saying: Hear my children! Before anything was [prezhdye dazhe vssya nye byila], and before the whole creation took place, the Lord established the Age of Creation [n. 2, Adoil], and after that he made all the Creation, both visible and invisible; and after all that he created man in his own image. He gave him eyes to see, ears to hear with, a heart to

and men before they were in the flesh.

6:44. The earth . . . the foundation thereof . . . he laid it, an host of men hath he brought in upon the face thereof.

6:45-46. We ... cannot deny ... for a book of remembrance we have written among us.

The council in heaven described in the fourth chapter of Moses is reflected again in the Enoch section, confirmed by other Enoch texts:

Moses 6:51. I am God; I made the world, and men before they were in

think with, and a mind to counsel; and then he prepared the set times and places. 13. I swear unto you my children . . . that before man was in the womb of his mother we were prepared, each individual, and a place for each spirit . . . and that each should sojourn [here] in his proper time, that man thereby might be tested in the balance. Yea, my children . . . there has been prepared in advance a place for every soul. And I have put in writing the work of every man, and no living person can hide himself or dissimulate his works.

Secrets, ms. R, ch. 11. I created man with a nature both visible and invisible; and reason recognized his image as another and lesser creation within the greater, and inversely the greater contained the lesser. [Referring to spirit and body as two separate creations.]

bin Gorion, 1:281. "The world was created in two stages, the first being a spiritual creation."

Secrets 24:4. Before all things were visible, I [God] used to go alone about among the invisible things.... 5. And I conceived the thought of placing foundations and of creating a visible creation.

Secrets 9. Then the angel Braboil said: Sit down and write all the spirits of men, all those who have not been born yet, and the places which have been prepared for them. All these things were prepared since before the foundation of the world.

Zohar iii: 61 s-b Brody: "And everything which is found in this world has been before, and has passed before him and has been arranged [organized] before Him . . . all the creations of the world which have existed in each generation, before they came into this world, have existed before Him in their true form [d'yaqnah], even all the souls of the children of man have been before they came down to the world, have all been formed before Him in heaven in the very likeness that they have in this world.

Slav. En. 11. Enoch went to the Lord who taught him all about the Cre-

the flesh. 52. . . . If thou wilt turn unto me, . . . in [his] name . . . whatsoever ye shall ask, it shall be given you. 57. . . . The name of his Only Begotten is the Son of Man. 62. . . . This is the plan of salvation unto all men, through the blood of mine Only Begotten, who shall come in the meridian of time.

A little-known part of the creation story is the great Creation Hymn sung in the great assembly. We hear it reverberating in Enoch's declaration, "All things are created and made to bear record of me." (Moses 6:63.) "At dawn," says the Slavonic Enoch, "the elements sing the Creation Hymn, and all the birds sing and he who gives the light arrives and gives light to his creation," for the morning hymn is the Creation Hymn. (Job 38:7; IQS Manual of Discipline, pl. 10.) Enoch joins in with "Holy, holy, holy! is the Lord of spirits: he filleth the earth with spirits." (1 En. 39:12.) A vision was opened up to Enoch by God (Secrets 31:1): "I made the heavens open to him, that he could see the heavens sing the song of victory and the gloomless night," or as the Gizeh text puts it, "A vision of the Holy One in heaven. He showed me and I heard the holy acclamations of him, and as I heard I also understood everything by seeing it." That the acclamation is repeated in the Joseph Smith Enoch is clearly shown in a fragment from the Dead Sea Scrolls:

Moses 7:31. . . . from all thy creations, from . . . all eternity; and naught but peace, justice, and truth is the habitation of thy throne; and mercy shall go before thy face and have no end. . . .

ation and his works... He saw matter unorganized before the Creation ... the Council in Heaven ... He saw Satan Arouchaz aspire and get cast out to become the foundation of lower things, beyond which there is great darkness and nothing.

1 En. 48:2. And at that hour the Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of spirits . . . 3. Yea, before the signs were created . . . his name was named before the Lord of spirits. 4. He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall. 5. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him.

BHM 5:174. (S. Ha-Yashar). [The angels:] God our Lord of the Universe! It is not good what the First Ones say before thee. Wilt thou never create Adam again? [God answered:] I have made and I remove, and I am long-suffering and I deliver! And forthwith they saw me [Enoch], and they said before his face: What is the merit of this one, that he should come up to the highest heights?

In the ongoing creation the establishment of new worlds is accompanied or represented by a stretching out of *curtains*. These would seem to keep each world in its proper relationship to the others. A commonplace of apocalyptic literature is that God himself is necessarily screened from sight by a veil, as by the cloud on the Mount of Transfiguration.

Moses 7:30. Millions of earths like this... would not be a beginning to the number of thy creations; and thy curtains are stretched out still.

The purpose of numerous curtains or veils is to apportion to each world the light it is ready to receive. When Moses asked about the other worlds, the Lord informed him that he was not to know about them at the present and Moses agreed to be satisfied with learning "concerning this earth, and the inhabitants thereof, and also the heavens, and then thy servant will be content." (Moses 1:36.) Numerous ancient documents attest to the curtains' existence:

11 Q Ps^a Creat. Grace and truth surround his presence; truth and justice are the foundation of his throne. . . . By the knowledge of his mind he brought the dawn, and all the angels who saw it happen sang aloud. For

he showed them what they had not known.

Apoc. Abr. 17:14. O Light, which shone before the morning light appeared to thy creatures . . . 15. In thy heavenly abode no other light is necessary.

Clem. Alex., Patrol. Graec. 9:677. That place itself is one of fire [eternal burnings]. Therefore it is said that it has a veil, lest things be consumed by the sight of Him. Only the Archangel can enter into his presence, as a type of which the High Priests once a year entered the Holy of Holies.

T.U. 8:368. The topos of Jew, where Jeu, "the Father of the Treasure of Light" rules as "King of the Treasure of Light," is separated from all other beings by a veil [katapetasma].

Gospel of Phil. 132:23. "The veil at first concealed how God controlled the Creation, but when the veil is rent [we will know]. 133:14. If some are of the tribe of the Priesthood, these will be able to go within the veil with the High Priests.

1 Jeu 39. At this topos the Watchers move the veils aside and you enter into the presence of the Father, who gives you His name and His seal.

"And all the powers of the universe [Pleroma] sang a great hymn of praise; and he received the [creation] hymn, and made a veil for their worlds, surrounding them like a wall." (2 Gnostic Work, 47a.)

"And that mystery knows . . . why the stars . . . and the disks of the light-givers have arisen, and why the firmament has come into existence with all its veils." (P. Sophia 214, 213.)

"The world is a system of concentric shells, veils, or vestments, each a Hekal or palace or room of the temple. Man is organized on the same principles." (Old Hebrew Book of Enoch was the Hekhaloth, a term explained in the Zohar, Ber. 20a.)

"There is a place from which all aeons and all worlds take their origin and prototype: a place of shadowless light and indescribable joy; ... and there is a veil between the worlds." (T.U. 60:116, 118.)

"The 24 invisible bodies of heaven are 10,000 times brighter than the Sun, whose light must pass through many veils to reach us, so that we do not see it as it really is." (P. Sophia 84:183-84.)

"[If] the Guardian of the Inhabited earth [did not spread out its wings to absorb the fire-like rays of the sun] the human race could not survive, nor any other form of life." (Apoc. Baruch [3] 6:3, 5.)

"Fire and water form a circle around the 18,000 worlds [making them a type of unity] . . . Above the veil are the heavens." (For "heavens" read "fire and water," the enveloping cloud; N. Sed. REJ 124:75, 39.)

To be continued

Footnotes

353 Book of Mysteries, in Patrol. Oriental., 6:433.

354 Many examples are given in S. Ostrander and L. Schroeder, Psychic Discoveries behind the Iron Curtain (Bantam Books, N.Y., 1970), in which the most skeptical scientists in the world find themselves perplexed.

355 Lyall Watson, Supernature, pp. 263, 274-76; C. Blacker, in C.J. Bleeker, Initiation, Studies in the History of Religion (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), pp. 96ff. Studies have shown that people who live in high mountains are more susceptible to psychic phenomena.

356 Clement of Rome, Recognitions 1:1-6, in Migne, Patrol. Graec. 1:1207-10. 357 H.D. Betz, "Das Verständnis der Apokalyptik in der Theologie der Pannenberggruppe," Ztschr. F. Theol. u. Kirche 65 (1968):265.

358C. Schmidt, in Texte u. Untersuchungen 8 (1890-1892):345. 359 H.F. Weiss, Helenist. Judentum, p. 83, citing Jerome, in Patrol. Lat. 22:546; the quotation is from Mishnah Hag., 2:1. 360 Book of Adam, in Migne, Dict. Apocr., 1:166.

361 Charles, Book of Enoch (1912), p.

³⁶²Ibid., pp. 149f; C.P. Van Andel, Structuur, p. 40.

363 Van Andel, p. 41.

364 The cases of Moses and Enoch are particularly interchangeable, either by ancient scribes or modern interpreters, as noted by M.R. James, Apocrypha Anecdota (1893), pp. 166-71.

365 In I. Myer, Qabbalah, p. 388. 366 Ibid.

367 E. Hahan, in Rev. d. Etudes Juives, NS 1 (1937):62.

368 A.O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being (Harper Torchbooks, 1960), p. 43. 369 F. Lachover and I. Tishby,

Mishnah ha-Zohar (Jerusalem: Byalik Foundation, 1971), 1:127ff.

370 H. Nibley, "Treasures in the Heavens," Dialogue 8 (Autumn 1974):83-



A Strange Thing in

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 12

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Editor's Note: The deliberate wickedness of the people at Enoch's time created a moral turbulence that was reflected in chaotic natureearthquakes, tidal waves, and cosmic cataclysms. Against this stormy background stands the commanding figure of Enoch, the prophet, who held the keys to a dispensation and probed the mysteries of God through his visions of the creation, the destiny of man, and the mission of the Savior. From the power of that faith and vision came the city of Enoch, a society that achieved the seemingly

As a place of probation (2 Ne. 2:21), this world must be isolated, both as a testing-ground and as quarantine to avoid infecting others:

Moses 7:36. Among all the workmanship of mine hands there has not been so great wickedness as among thy brethren.

impossible dream of being truly just, truly peaceful. In its achievement and its departure, it planted the seeds of hope for the righteous societies that followed it, including that of our own

In this installment, Brother Nibley first concludes his discussion of the veil, then uses scriptural sources from the book of Moses and nonscriptural accounts by apochryphal writers of texts not available to Joseph Smith to give us an intriguing image of Enoch's holy

Sophia Christi, 118-19. He has created the veil [curtain, katapetasma] between what is imperishable and those who later came into being, so that which is set apart [marked 1:35. But only an account of this earth . . . give I unto you.

When Moses and Enoch ventured to ask what lay beyond their veil they were properly reprimanded: to want to know everything in a single lesson is a human weakness which is not to be pampered—it is all too easy to ask the "why" of everything as small children do, but God knows that we are not ready for

Moses 1:30. Tell me, I pray thee, why these things are so, and by what thou madest them? 31. . . . And the Lord God said unto Moses: For mine own purpose have I made these things. [Italics added.] Here is wisdom, and it remaineth in me. 32. By the word of my power,

have I created them. . . .

33. And worlds without number

off, numbered] to come into existence might follow after all the other ages and the [primal] chaos, that this flesh might be tested [in struggle] for error. But these formed a veil of spirit.

120. [Light reaches] all the inhabitants of the world of chaos . . . that he might place the veils which were there in their proper order [hormazein].

T.U. 8:402. [Jeu:] The Firmament is equipped with veils and gates that are guarded, far removed from the world in which men dwell.

Hypost. of the Archons 142:9. There exists a curtain between the upper and the lower aeons and a shadow beneath the curtain from which shadow came matter at the creation.

4 Ezra 4:21. The dwellers upon the earth can understand only what is upon the earth, and they who are in the heavens that which is above the heavenly height.

Book of Adam, Migne, D.A. 1:185. There are curtains and veils, an impregnable barrier of living fire, between the creatures of a celestial order and those of the second estate.

Apocr. John. 1:58. Adam's deep sleep was really the putting of a veil between him and his former knowledge. 59. The veil shut Adam off from his memory, as if he were drugged. 60. His mind being separated by a veil from what is really going on in the universe.

Secrets 11. And now, Enoch, all that I have explained to thee, and all that thou hast seen on earth, and all that I organized and made... there was no counsellor nor assistant; it was I alone... who was my own adviser,

and it was by my word that it was carried out, and my eye beheld it all.

Secrets 24:3. Hear, Enoch, for not to

have I created; and I also created them for mine own purpose; and by the Son I created them, which is mine Only Begotten. my angels have I told my secret . . . nor have they understood my creating, which I tell thee today. 4. For . . . I used to go alone about among the invisible things . . . 5. And I conceived the thought of placing foundations and of creating a visible creation.

Slav. 11:h.15. He asked for no counsel, his work executed everything, just as his mind conceived everything [Vaillant, n. 14 refers to the Greek version, pas logos autou ergon.]

1 En. 14:22. Ten thousand times ten thousand [stood] before Him, yet He needed no counsellor.

Secrets 25:3. And I [God] was in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great *aeon*, and showed all creation which it was in my mind to create. And I saw that it was good. 4. And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it.

Slav. 11. And now, Enoch, all that I have explained to thee, and all that thou hast seen on earth, and all that thou hast written in thy books, it is by my wisdom that I organized and made all these things . . . there was no adviser [counsellor] nor executive [continuer], it was I alone . . . who was my only counsellor, and it was by my word that it was carried out [lit., "the thing was my word"], and my eyes beheld all. [See F. Lachover & I. Tishby, The Wisdom of the Zohar (Jerusalem: Byalik Foundation, 1971), 1:127ff, on how God alone conceives his "works without end."]

The Zion of Enoch

Enoch was not, of course, the only preacher of righteousness in his dispensation, and like the others met puzzlement, fear, resentment, and then a measure of success. People began not only to fear him but to believe him, "for he walked with God." Some of the accounts speak of "all the people" or "everybody" going after Enoch, just as we read that "all the land of Judea" followed John the Baptist into the wilderness to be baptized. (Mark 1:5.) It soon becomes apparent in both cases that

this is a manner of speaking; only a select number followed those leaders all the way.

Moses 6:23. And they were preachers of righteousness, . . . and called upon all men, everywhere, to repent; and faith was taught unto the children of men.

6:26. [As] Enoch journeyed . . . among the people . . . the Spirit of God . . . abode upon him.

6:38. And they came forth to hear him, saying ... we [will] go yonder to behold the seer.

39. And ... when they heard him ... fear came on all them that heard him; for he walked with God.

6:54. Hence came the saying abroad among the people, that the Son of God hath atoned for original guilt.

6:36.... and from thenceforth came the saying abroad in the land: A seer hath the Lord raised up unto his people.

The picture of two thousand men coming to recognize and acclaim Enoch at the place where he "and his sons and the leaders of the people were" suggests the modest nucleus of an organization. Their gathering together is the first step in a long process of withdrawing from a wicked world. Enoch himself had already withdrawn, then returned. He joins Adam, Abraham, Job, the Twelve Patriarchs, and Moses, all of whose apochryphal "Testaments" tell how the hero is first carried to heaven in a vision, then returns and describes the vision to his family and followers, then takes a final leave. The sequence of these heroic deaths later developed into a literary genre

BHM, 4:129 ("Life of Enoch"). And all the people gathered together to Enoch to hear this thing; and Enoch taught the children of men the way of God. . . . And the spirit of God was upon Enoch, and he taught all his people the wisdom of God and his ways. 130. . . . And all the people were astonished and awed by his wisdom and knowledge, and bowed down to the earth before him.

131.... And all the people gathered together unto Enoch . . . and he taught them again to keep the ways of the Lord and gave them all his peace [etc., etc.].

Secrets 16 (Vaillant). When Enoch spoke to his children and the princes, then all the other people in the neighborhood heard that the Lord had called Enoch, and they all assembled to the number of 2,000 men, and came to Azouchan [or Achuzan] where Enoch and his sons and the elders of the people were, and saluted him: Thou blessed of the Lord . . . bless now thy people and glorify us before the Lord, because the Lord has chosen to establish thee [as] one who takes away our sins.³⁷¹ Ms. R: For the Lord has chosen thee before all other men on earth . . . to establish thee [as] one who takes away the sins of men, and as a helper [savior] to the people of the house.

BHM, 4:129.... and the saying went forth to every region of the children of Adam: Who is the man who desires to know the ways of the Lord and good works? Let him come to Enoch!³⁷²

in which monkish scribes dwell with morbid fascination and dismay on the terrors of death. Enoch's departure is undeniably the most spectacular, setting the standard for fiery chariots and sky-borne hosts later. At the same time, it is the most sober and "scientific," with the exception of Joseph Smith's version, to which we shall refer shortly. The Jewish sources tell of Enoch's departure with his people from the world's point of view—those who remained behind:

"And at that time the children of men sat down before Enoch and he spoke to them. And they raised their eyes and saw something like a great horse coming down from heaven, and the horse moving in the air [wind] to the ground. And they told Enoch what they had seen. And Enoch said to them, 'That horse has come down to the earth to take me; the time and the day approach when I must go from you and no longer appear among you.' And at that time that horse came down and stood before Enoch, and all the people who were with Enoch saw it. And then Enoch went forth, and there came a voice to him saying, 'Who is the man who rejoices in the knowledge of the ways of the Lord God? Let him come this day to Enoch before he is taken from us.' And all the people gathered together and came to Enoch on that day. . . . And after that he mounted up and rode upon the horse and went forth on his way, and all the people went forth and followed him to the number of 800,000 men. And they went with him for a day's journey. And behold, on the second day he said to them, 'Return back from following me lest ye die.' But none of them turned back but went with him. And on the sixth day the number of people had increased, and they stuck with him. And they said to him, 'We will go with thee to the place where thou goest; as the Lord liveth, only death will separate us from thee! And it came to pass that they took courage and went with him, and he no longer addressed [remonstrated with] them. And they went after him and never turned back from him. And those kings who did turn back ordered a count to be made of all the remnant of men who went out after Enoch. And it was on the seventh day, and Enoch went up in a tempest [whirlwind] of the heavens with horses of fire and chariots of fire. And on the eighth day all

the kings who had been with Enoch sent to take the number of the men who had stayed behind with Enoch [when the kings left him] at the place from which he had mounted up into the sky. And all the kings went to that place and found all the ground covered with snow in that place, and on top of the snow huge blocks [stones] of snow. And they said to each other, 'Come, let us break into the snow here to see whether the people who were left with Enoch died under the lumps of snow.' And they hunted for Enoch and found him not because he had gone up into the sky." (Life of Enoch, BHM, 4:131.)

One thing that makes this story so noteworthy is the association with other ascensions. The parallels with Elijah are obvious down to the party of searchers Elisha sent. (See 2 Kings 2:11-18.) Adam, Moses, and other worthy men were mysteriously caught up or away at various points in their missions. (Moses 6:64, 1:1, 7:27.) The prophet Baruch, in an account first published in 1866, assembled his people, counseled them to remember Zion since "it must be renewed in glory . . . when the Mighty One will renew his creation," and named seven elders to guard the people who remain until "the new world comes which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness. . . . For in the heights of that world shall they dwell. And they shall be made like unto the angels [with] excellency surpassing that in the angels." (2 Baruch 31:1-51.)

The lamentation of his people, "Truly we shall be left in darkness, and there shall be no light to the people who are left" (v. 46), is a standard element in the departure of other prophets and apostles. (See the Assumption of Moses, chapter 11.) When the prophet Ezra assembles his people, they mourn: "[Why] hast thou deserted us and sittest in this place? For of all the prophets thou alone art left to us . . . as a lamp in a dark place." Ezra consoles them, mourns for the passing of Zion, sees an apocalyptic vision of great destructions to come, then is "caught away and taken up to the place of such as were like him, after having written these things. And he is called the Scribe of Knowledge of the Most High [a title applied to Enoch, too] for ever and ever." (4 Ezra 12:20-50.)

A prophet is thus someone experienced in the process of withdrawal. The Joseph Smith ver-

"We will go with thee," the people of Zion said to Enoch, "to the place where thou goest." And they went after him and never turned back from him.

sion of Enoch, found in the book of Moses, chronicles Enoch's withdrawal in three stages: (1) After Enoch's return, he gathered his followers and led them out of a dangerous world to a place of safety in the mountains. The Lord fought for them, mountains fled, rivers altered their course, and all nations feared them. (See Moses 7:13-17.) (2) Safe, the people prospered, finally building a city that lasted 365 years. (See Moses 7:17-20.) (3) At last the entire divine government was of necessity moved clear out of the world-either the blessed Zion or the cursed world would have to leave, and so "Zion, in process of time, was taken up into heaven." (Moses 7:21.) But what happened in the earthly city of Zion, between the lines of those three brief verses?

The interest of the Latter-day Saints in the city of Enoch is not simply a literary or even a scientific one. It is historic and prophetic. The city of Enoch is very much our concern. As we read of Enoch's community, a chorus of persistent questions hums in the background: Just how literally is all this to be taken? How are we to imagine the almost unimaginable events of that far-off

We cannot dodge such ques-

tions, since we are committed to forming as quickly as possible the closest possible partnership with that society.

The first step in dealing with Enoch's reality is to ask just what, according to the written record, Enoch's city is supposed to have been. Ancient records do not, contrary to a once popular belief, simply spring into existence out of wild Oriental imaginations but, as ever-expanding research makes ever plainer, must always be assumed to have some kind of an historical kernel of reality. So we ask, under what circumstances did Enoch's city come into existence? How did it operate? What really became of it? What does the record say?

All the eschatological references in the scriptures to the Zion of Enoch are found in the Prophets and the Psalms of the Old Testamentthe New Testament simply quotes them.374 In the book of Moses, the word Zion appears only in chapter 7, where, however, it occurs no less than sixteen times, making this chapter the most significant single treatise on the subject. Scholars have long noted that the Prophets emphasize the moral aspect of Zion; while the Psalms, with their royal imagery and archaic ritual background, favor the political. Yet both

are speaking of a very real earthly community, nailed down by references in both to "bringing again" Zion—recognizing that Zion actually has been on the earth in the past and can be enjoyed by the Saints again as soon as they are willing to "return to the original relationship with Yahweh," a condition "in which alone Israel's filial relationship to God can be renewed and which God ... will reestablish in the future."375 The familiar picture of the Lord "taking possession again of the seat in Jerusalem" as he collects "his scattered people from all quarters of their heritage, at a time of gathering" is ordinarily couched in the classic terms of the book of Enoch.376

The best news-indeed the only wholly good news that can come to the inhabitants of this wicked earth—is the bringing again of Zion to bless the earth with the only order of society acceptable to God and unreservedly beneficial to man. Zion is any society in which the celestial law is operative, "and though we cannot claim these promises which were made to the ancients, for they are not our property," the Prophet Joseph reminded his people, "... yet if we are . . . called with the same calling . . . and embrace the same covenant . . . we can . . . obtain the same promises . . . because we, ourselves, have faith . . . even as they did." (Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, p. 66.) Zion is a glorious ideal, albeit a rare reality, in the world's history; it is "the Holy Order that God has established for his people in all ages of the world when he has had a kingdom on the earth. We may call it," said Brigham Young, "the Order of Enoch, the Order of Joseph, the Order of Peter, or Abraham, or Moses, and then go back to Noah . . ." who, of course, takes us to Enoch. (Journal of Discourses, 17:113.)

Indeed it has been said that a happy condition perhaps similar to Zion prevailed in Eden itself when Adam faithfully followed God's instruction:

"The Holy One of Zion . . . established the foundations of Adam-Ondi-Ahman." (D&C 78:15.)

"The Garden of Eden is the Holy of Holies, the dwelling of the Lord . . . and Mount Zion is the center or navel of the earth." (Jubilees 8:19.)

Though the people of Moses'

day were not qualified to receive it, nevertheless "God gave [him] the pattern of Zion and its measurements." (2 Baruch 59:4.) The early Christian church is said by R.H. Charles to have modeled itself after Enoch's community, designating its leader as Enoch. The sections about Zion and the New Jerusalem in the Enoch literature are, according to Charles, "the most complete and most consistent of all the sections"377 and were a great favorite of all those separatist groups, both Jewish and Christian, who took to the desert, fancying themselves to be the one and only true representatives on earth of the church and kingdom of Enoch.³⁷⁸ As persecuted minorities, they all looked forward with longing to a time when they would come to their own with the glorious return of both the Lord and the city of Enoch. Passages in the Psalms of Solomon establishing definite association between early Christians in the East and Dead Sea communities like Qumran seem to describe the migration of those eastern communities from Palestine more in terms of Enoch's migration than Moses':

"Jerusalem, behold thy children being gathered from the East and West, the North and South, and from the distant islands. Lofty mountains he has humbled and made plain before them. . . . (54:53:11,5.)

"They that love the assemblies of the Saints fled away from them: and they flew like sparrows from their nests . . And the everlasting fountains were restrained, both the abysses and they from the lofty mountains; because none among them did righteousness. . . At his rebuke the Gentiles shall flee from before His face . . . That He may gather together all the children of God . . . And He shall purify Jerusalem in holiness, as it was of old time . . . And their King is the Lord Messiah. (60:59:17, 21, 27-28, 33, 36.)

In the Psalms the royal coronation has a central place, with the king representing the Lord and the people his Zion. (See Mosiah 2-5 for a well-known year-rite in which the king, though a weak mortal, figures as God's representative.) Enoch's transcendent virtue qualifies him as a vital link in "the order" of the Lord himself. Compare these verses from Doctrine and Covenants 76:56-58 with the apocryphal Slavonic Enoch:

"They are they who are priests and kings, who have received of his fulness, and of his glory; And are priests . . . after the order of Melchizedek, which was after the order of Enoch, which was after the order of the Only Begotten Son. Wherefore, as it is written, they are gods, even the sons of God."

The Hebrew Life of Enoch has the kings of the earth hailing Enoch as their supreme head, 379 while the book of Jasher simply repeats the same story, concluding: "And the, assembled in all, one hundred and thirty kings and princes, and they made Enoch king over them and they were all under his power and command."380 All this is according to a principle that was quite unknown only a few decades ago. As stated by Egyptologist J. Zandee, "Not only in Israel, but in all the ancient Near East, every king is a Messiah. There is no difference between the eschatological Messiah and the ruling King as the bearer of salvation. . . . The King is a god, the King is the son of God. . . . The King is as the image of God on earth. . . . The King brings justice to earth. . . . The King is the Good Shepherd, the King is the man of Wisdom. . . . The King is the High Priest endowed with power. . . . The King is a cosmic deity."381 In short, the king is an Enoch, to whom God has promised his own throne.

Moses 7:59. Forasmuch as thou art God, and I know thee, . . . thou hast made me, and given unto me a right to thy throne, and not of myself, but through thine own grace.

7:68. And all the days of Zion, in the days of Enoch, were three hundred and sixty-five years.

Above all, Zion is the community of the Saints, the Elect, "the pure in heart," who are "of one heart and one mind" so that there are "no poor among them." (Moses 7:18.) This is the Zion envisioned by the

"And when all the people in the region about heard that the Lord had chosen Enoch, they took counsel together and said: Let us go and acclaim [tsyelyim] Enoch. . . . And they hailed Enoch, saying, Blessed art thou of the Lord the King of the eternities! Now bless thy people and glorify them before the face of the Lord, inasmuch as the Lord has established thee as one taking away our sins." (Slav. En., Vaillant, pp.

Hechalot, in BHM, 5:174. The Metatron [Enoch] said: God made for me a throne modeled after the Throne of Glory, I being clothed upon with glory [a wrapping of radiance] and Light [Zohar] . . . and beauty and mercy like that of the throne of thy glory. . . . And he caused me to sit upon it, and a herald proclaimed in all the firmament of firmaments saying, Enoch is proclaimed as a divine King!" [175. He puts a crown on his head.]

This is the pattern of the year-king of which Enoch is a prime representative.382

prophets; the book of Moses, the Doctrine and Covenants, and apocryphal works all expressly call it the Zion of Enoch:

Moses 7:62. . . . to gather out mine elect . . . unto . . . an Holy City, . . . looking forth for the time of my coming; for there shall be my tabernacle, and it shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem, ... 64. ... Zion, which shall come forth out of all the creations which I have made.

66. He [Enoch] saw great tribulations among the wicked; and he also saw the sea, that it was troubled, and men's hearts failing them.

67. And he saw the day of the righteous, the hour of their redemption; and received a fulness of joy.

The Mandean writings equate Zion to heavenly "firmaments, habitations, worlds, and Jordans," giving the most vivid and appealing descriptions of such holy places, which, they say, are to be enjoyed only by the "spirits of good people ... the wise and the prudent of the families of Abel, Seth, and Enoch.' There the Saints live without discord or dissension; they are angelic beings, wise and gentle, without malice or deceit, constantly visiting each other. There is perfect agreement Gizeh 1:3. This is about the Elect . . . receive my parable about them; and my Great Holy One will come out of his dwelling-place, 4. and the God of the Age [aeon] shall walk upon the earth, even upon Mount Zion . . . and he will appear in the power of his might from the heaven of heavens.

5. And all shall be afraid . . . great trembling and fear shall seize them; 6. and the mountains shall be shaken down and dissolve . . . 7. and the earth shall be rent ...

8. But with the righteous shall peace be made, and upon the Elect oneness of heart [synteresis] and peace . . . and He will bless them all, and a light will appear and bring peace unto them.

1 En. 45:4. Then will I cause mine Elect One to dwell among them . . . 5. and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing; and will cause mine Elect Ones to dwell on it . . . to dwell before me.

51:5. And the earth shall rejoice, and the righteous shall dwell upon it, and the Elect shall walk thereon.

Slav. En. 17. All the righteous who shall escape the great judgment will be united in the Great Age, . . . and they shall be eternal, And they shall no longer know weariness or suffering or affliction, nor be in any danger of violence, nor fears of the night nor any darkness, but they shall have a great light forever . . . a great paradise, a place of safety for them to dwell in forever . . . and their faces shall shine like the Sun!

among the worlds, each having its particular glory and rejoicing in the glory of the others as all share their treasures of knowledge with each other. They are vast distances removed from each other, but through their common Lord and God they all share a common glorious awareness of each other. All are incorruptible and hence without death; they do not grow old or wear out; their nature is unfading. Their number is fixed because it is infinite—beyond counting. Each of these worlds is a Zion, having no law courts, no hunger or thirst, no cold or heat, no hatred or fear, no war, no slavery, no harmful creatures or plants. Magnificent buildings stand beside tranquil seas; flowing springs give life-giving water. Everything vibrates with joy. The wants of the people are few. They move through the air by an effortless power of flight; they are at home in the firmaments and the worlds and among all the dominions and powers. Their beauty is within them and shines out, as if they were of pure crystal. Force also flows through them from the King as they open themselves to it by persevering in prayer and song. They study and meditate constantly; they exhale the fragrance of divine happiness. Each is more remarkable than the other, each more illustrious.383

It was natural for the church in every age to identify itself with the Order of Enoch if only because that order is the only one acceptable to God at any time:

"The Lord spake unto Enoch [Joseph Smith, Jun.] saying: Hearken . . . [ye] who are ordained unto the high priesthood . . . who have assembled yourselves together. . . The time has come; . . . it must needs be that there be an organization of my people . . . in the land of Zion—Or in other words, the city of Enoch [Joseph], for a permanent and everlasting establishment and order unto my church . . . to the salvation of man. . . . If ye are not equal in earthly things ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things." (D&C

78:1, 3, 6.)

For "Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom; otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself." (D&C 105:5.) "If my people observe not this law . . . it shall not be a land of Zion unto you." (D&C 119:6.)

A telling mark of authenticity

for the Joseph Smith version is that Enoch's Zion is defined as a society where "there was no poor among them." (Moses 7:18.) The Greek Enoch (91-107), which for the first time showed how the ancient sectaries related themselves to the city of Enoch, "shows a great partiality for the lowly and humble. Here we are confronted with the ethics of the poor man; . . . these needy and humble people have to seek solace in the fact that unto them the knowledge of these mysteries will be revealed." 384

The presence of such a society is a standing rebuke to the rest of the world. As Brigham Young puts it, "We are following the customs of Enoch and the holy fathers, and for this we are looked upon as not being fit for society. We are not adapted to the society of the wicked, and do not wish to mingle with them." (JD, 10:306.) Enoch was hopeful that his Zion, "a city of refuge, a place of safety for the saints of the Most High God" (D&C 45:66), was here to stay; the Lord indicated to him that this was not to be: "Enoch . . . said unto the Lord: Surely Zion shall dwell in safety forever. But the Lord said unto Enoch: Zion have I blessed, but the residue of the people have I cursed." The separation would have to continue until finally "Zion, in the process of time, was taken up into heaven." (Moses 7:20-21; italics added.) We see the division of the people at every stage of the history: when "their enemies came to battle against them" Enoch "led the people of God," while "all nations feared greatly" (Moses 7:13); the most dangerous of them "stood afar off" and even fled to the new land that had risen from the sea. (Moses 7:14-15.) The result was two worlds, Zion, inhabited by people "of one heart and one mind" (Moses 7:18), the other wracked by continual "wars and bloodshed." (Moses 7:16.)

The completeness of the division is strikingly expressed by one of the most ancient of literary devices, rhetorical antithesis:

Moses 7:20. Zion have I blessed,

5:15. . . . Believed in the Son, and repented of their sins

7:16. . . . But the Lord came and dwelt with his people, and they dwelt in righteousness

7:18. They were of one heart and one mind.

7:18. And the Lord called his people Zion, because they . . . dwelt in righteousness.

When the sectaries of the Dead Sea labeled their society the *Yahad* (lit. unity, oneness) it was a reminder that *unity* is the first law of Enoch's society by which the Saints are expected to live in every dispensation.

Moses 7:18. And the Lord called his people ZION, because they were of one heart and one mind, . . . and there was no poor among them.

Even after the removal of Enoch's city, the work of redemption continued among "the residue of the people . . . and after that Zion was taken up into heaven, Enoch beheld, and lo, all the nations of the earth were before him; And there came generation upon generation; and Enoch was high and lifted up, even in the bosom of the Father, ... and behold, the power of Satan was upon all the face of the earth." (Moses 7:22-24.) According to this perspective, Noah's sailing was only the last step in a process of evacuation that had lasted for generations. Even after the people had chosen sides-Enoch and the Lord, or Satan—the missionary work still went on.

Moses 7:27. And Enoch beheld angels descending out of heaven, bearing testimony . . . and the Holy Ghost fell on many, and they were caught up by the powers of heaven into Zion.

but the residue of the people have I cursed.

... believed not and repented not.

And from that time forth there were wars and bloodshed among them.

7:33. They are without affection, and they hate their own blood.

7:36. . . . Among all the workmanship of mine hands there has not been so great wickedness as among thy brethren.

Zohar, Noah 76b. R. Jose. From [the Tower story] we learn that as long as the people of the world lived in harmony, being of one mind and one will, although they rebelled against the Holy One, the supernal judgment could not touch them; but as soon as they were divided, "the Lord scattered them abroad."

2 Bar. 30:1. Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of him shall rise again ... and they shall come forth ... in one assembly of one thought.

Apocal. of Adam (Copt.) 96. Downpourings of rain will destroy all flesh, "but mighty angels will come down from heaven and lead away those men to a place where the Spirit of life is to be found."

7:28. And . . . the God of heaven looked upon the residue of the people, and he wept.

Gizeh 8. And there was a great wickedness in the earth, Satan [Azael and Semiazas] teaching men all manner of ungodliness. 9. Then the great angels . . . went and reported to God, saying, What shall we do? 10:1. So God sent Israel [Ms. Gs Uriel] to the Son of Lamech [Noah]. 2. "Tell him in My name to hide himself [Ms Gs 3. Teach the righteous what to do . . . to preserve his soul and escape.] because all the earth is going to be destroyed . . . 3. Teach him how he may escape. 4. God sent Raphael . . . 9. Gabriel, 11. Michael, to minister in this emergency. 10:15. When God sends down the angels to destroy all the bastard spirits . . . 17. . . . all the righteous shall flee and go on living safely . . . for a thousand generations.

1 En. 105:1. In those days the Lord bade them [angels] . . . to testify to the children of earth . . . show it unto them; for ye are their guides.

Beatty, 100:4. And angels shall come down, descending into secret places in that day . . . 5. and over all the righteous and holy he will set a guard of holy angels and they shall be preserved as the apple of his eye until tribulations and wickedness shall pass by....

Secrets 23:80. [God to Enoch:] I will send my archangel Michael, and he will take the boy [Methuselah] to a place of safety.

7:60. In the last days, in the days of wickedness and vengeance ... 62.... truth will I cause to sweep the earth as with a flood, to gather out mine elect . . . unto a place which I shall prepare, an Holy City, that my people may ... be looking ... for the time of my coming, . . . and it shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem.

Until the separation is completed the powers of destruction are held in check.

As the book of Moses describes: "Great tribulations shall be among the children of men, but my people will I preserve. . . . [I will] gather out mine elect . . . unto a place which I shall prepare." (Moses 7:61-62.)

Apoc. Abr. 29:15f. Great tribulations will come . . . 17. But of thy people righteous men will be spared . . . hastening in the glory of my name to a place which I have prepared for them ahead of time" [Jerusalem].

Apocryphal documents present that same idea: "And the earth shall be rent, and everything which is upon the earth shall be destroyed. But there shall be great peace for the righteous, and upon the elect shall be security [synteresis] and peace . . . and I will bless them all." (Gizeh 1:7-8.)

"In the days of Enoch . . . God gave them [the wicked] respite all the time that the righteous men Jared, Methuselah, and Enoch were alive; but when they departed from the world, God let punishment descend." (Zohar, Bereshith 56b; cf. Gen. 7:23.)

"Why art thou [Enoch] discomforted with such a vision? Until this day has lasted the day of his mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth." (1 En. 60:4-6.)

When the angels beg God to get on with the work and wipe out the unworthy human race, he replies, "I have made and I remove, and I am long-suffering and I rescue!" (BHM 5:172.)

"And after [that] Enoch showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters . . . to bring judgment and destruction on all who dwell on the earth. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandments to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause the waters to rise, but should hold them back." (1 En. 66:1.)

The angels, then, for many years were a kind of shuttle service, preaching repentance and offering escape to all who were willing to listen. Their diligence clears God of the charge of being capricious and cruel in sending the Flood, a favorite argument of skeptics and atheists in every age. According to Jellinek, the primary object of the old Hebrew book of Enoch was to expose that argument's emptiness: "The work of the angels testified that God was just. ... Enoch testified that he became an angel in heaven, instructed by the angels Shemashasi and Asael, in order to bear personal witness to man that God in sending the Flood was not cruel."385 This point is clearly brought home in the Joseph Smith version, in which Enoch and the Lord discuss the whole problem frankly and thoroughly, to Enoch's complete satisfaction. (See Moses 7:28-67.)

According to apocryphal writings, Abraham, Ezra, and Baruch, among others, questioned the wisdom and charity of sending total destruction on the human race. "Dost thou think," says the Lord to Baruch, "that in these things this Most High rejoices or that His name is glorified? . . . Go therefore . . . and instruct so far as thou art able, that they may learn so as *not* to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times." 386 To Ezra God gives a gentle reprimand, "Thou comest far short of be-

ing able to love my creatures more than I!"387 And, as we have seen, Enoch in the Joseph Smith account gives the strongest testimony of all—that he actually saw God weep! (Moses 7:28.)

All who were willing to repent were duly removed to a place of safety; it was only those who doggedly refused to listen over a period of years, the wicked "residue of the people," who had to be left behind to perish. Those who took refuge in the ark were by no means all who were saved; many had gone before. This is another interesting phase of the Noah-Enoch relationship.

Moses 7:25. [Enoch] saw angels descending out of heaven. . . 26. And he beheld Satan; and he had a great chain in his hand, and it veiled the whole face of the earth in darkness. . . . 27. And Enoch beheld angels descending out of heaven . . and the Holy Ghost fell upon many, and they were caught up by the powers of heaven into Zion.

The presence
of a society so loving
and unselfish that
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is torn and bleeding;
Zion is "of one heart and
one mind." (Moses 7:18.)

Though communities aspiring to the glory of Zion have been on earth a number of times, it is the final return of Zion in the last days toward which all the prophets have looked. And while the church in every dispensation had certain aspects that resembled the Zion of Enoch, the closest parallel will be the Zion of the End-time.

Beatty 102:3. And while all the earth was shaking... and in confusion, the angels were busy carrying out what had been assigned [syntachthen] to them.

Apocr. of John 3:38. Not only Noah but others also of the generation that were true and faithful entered into and wrapped themselves in a cloud of light, and the Lord was among them, For darkness was poured out upon all the earth.

Apocr. John 1:73:7. Noah was not alone [in being saved] but men of the generation of the true and faithful [the "unshaken ones"] came to a special place, 11. and there they were enveloped in a cloud of light. 13. and Noah was aware of his divine calling along with those with him when the light enlightened them. For darkness had been poured out over every place upon the entire earth. He took counsel with his angels, 74:1. and the angels were sent down to the children of men.

Apoc. of Adam 69 (63). After that shall come great angels in high clouds, and take away those people to the place where the spirit of life is . . . and they will come from heaven to earth and all the multitude of flesh will perish in the water.

Moses 7:62. I shall prepare . . . an Holy City, that my people may . . . be looking forth for the time of my coming; for there shall be my tabernacle, and it shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem. . . . 64. And there shall be mine abode, and it shall be Zion, which shall come forth out of all the creations which I have made; and for the space of a thousand years the earth shall rest.

Jub. 1:27. And He [God] said to the angel of the presence [Sar ha-Panim or Enoch]: Write for Moses from the beginning of creation till my sanctuary has been built for all eternity, and the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all shall know that I am the God of Israel . . . and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem shall be holy . . . until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day unto all the days of the earth.

That the city "shall be called Zion, a new Jerusalem" seems an obvious anachronism in a book written supposedly before the Flood; yet the idea is strikingly confirmed in the Testament of Levi, a very early Jewish writing totally ignored until the present century, 388 in which is a prophecy expressly attributed to Enoch: "For a tabernacle [oikos] which the Lord shall choose for himself shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the Righteous." (Test. Levi 10:5.)

R.H. Charles quotes parallel passages on this theme from the book of Enoch and the book of Jubilees to show that the latter is in the authentic Enoch tradition, since, as he states, "the resemblance in word and thought . . . can hardly be accidental." 389 He underlines key words to establish the relationship:

Zion is any society in which the celestial law is operative. Joseph Smith taught that if we are called with the same calling and embrace the same covenant, "we can . . . obtain the same promises."

Zion is not
limited just to Enoch's Zion—
it is the glorious ideal.
Brigham Young taught that
it is "the Holy Order that
God has established
for his people in all
ages of the world."

En. 5:9. They shall complete the number of the days of their life

And their lives shall be increased in peace

And the years of their joy shall be multiplied.

A recent article in Scientific American indicates that some of the conventional ideas of early Judaism and Christianity must be drastically altered in view of new documentary discoveries; M.E. Stone notes that "chief among these [discoveries] were the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees, both translated from the Ethiopic in the 19th century." Then he places the following passages from Enoch and Jude in parallel to show that "it is evident that the Book of Enoch served as a source for the Letter of Jude . . . and for other early Christian writings."390

Enoch: "And behold! He cometh with the myriads of His holy ones, to exercise judgment upon all, and to destroy all the ungodly; And to convict all flesh of all the works of their ungodly committed, and of all the hard things ungodly sinners have spoken against them.

Now are these parallels, given as proof positive of the authentic affinity of ancient writings, any more compelling than these between the same ancient sources and the book of Moses given to us through the Prophet Joseph Smith? Jub. 23:27, 29. And the days shall begin to grow many and increase amongst the children of men. . . . And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and joy.

Jude: It was of these also that Enoch in the seventh generation from Adam prophesied, saying, "Behold, the Lord came with his holy myriads, to execute judgment on all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their deeds of ungodliness which they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

Moses 7:62. And righteousness will I send down out of heaven . . . and righteousness and truth will I cause to sweep the earth as with a flood, to gather out mine elect from the four quarters of the earth, unto a place which . . . shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem. . . . 64. And there shall be mine abode, and it shall be Zion, which shall come forth out of all the creations which I have made; and for the space of a thousand years the earth shall rest.

7:66. But before that day he saw great tribulations among the wicked. . . . 67. . . . And he saw the day of the righteous, the hour of their redemption; and received a fulness of joy.

Of the many striking figures of speech which definitely link the peculiar language of the Joseph Smith Enoch with that of the ancient sources, none is more interesting than that dealing with the preservation of the Ark, a passage which obviously puzzles the Ethiopian scribes, but which stands out clearly in the Joseph Smith text:

Moses 7:43. Wherefore Enoch saw that Noah built an ark; and that the Lord smiled upon it, and held it in his own hand.

The Latter-day Saints have been taught to view their own dispensation as the ushering in of the final restoration of Zion. The Church itself, never again to be taken from the earth, must ever more closely approximate the Zion of Enoch as those "which have been scattered shall return to . . . build up the waste places of Zion . . . to be established, no more to be thrown down." (D&C 103:11, 13.) It is the same work under the same auspices: "I am the same which have taken the Zion of Enoch into mine own bosom; . . . even as many as have believed in my name." (D&C 38:4.) The Latter-day

1 En. 39:5. Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels, And their resting-places with the holy. . . . And righteousness flowed before them as water and mercy like dew upon the earth: Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever. And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith, And I saw his dwelling-place

Apoc. Abr. 29:14. "But before the Age of Righteousness and abundance begins, the lawless Gentiles must suffer my judgments, through the people of thy tribe, whom I have set apart for myself.

15. In those days I will bring over all the creatures on earth ten plagues. ... 17. But of thy tribe will righteous men be preserved . . . who will hasten in the name of my glory to a place prepared ahead of time [Jerusalem] . . . where they shall live in security in the age of the righteous.

1 En. 67:2. And now the angels are making a wooden [building? R.H. Charles notes: "This account differs from 89:1, where it is said that Noah himself makes the ark"], and when they have completed that task I will place my hand upon it and preserve

Above all, Zion is the community of the Saints, the Elect, "the pure in heart," who are "of one heart and one mind" so that there are "no poor among them." (Moses 7:18.)

Saints "are they who have come . . . to the general assembly and church of Enoch, and of the Firstborn..." (D&C 76:67; italics added.) "The Lord spake unto Enoch [Joseph Smith, Jr.], saying: . . . it must needs be that there be an organization of my people . . . in the land of Zion— Or in other words, the city of Enoch [Joseph], for a permanent and everlasting establishment and order unto my church." (D&C 78:1-4.)

Zion is the common designation of the Church established in the world: "the land of Zion" being "in other words, the city of Enoch." (D&C 78:3-4.) Even though the work is still in its preliminary stages, one is justified in saying, "this is the new chapel," when only the foundations are in. Thus the Church can be called Zion even though its work has barely begun: "My people must be tried in all things, that they may be prepared to receive the glory . . . of Zion" (D&C 136:31), and if they are faithful "they shall have power after many days to accomplish all things pertaining to Zion" (D&C 105:37). The Saints are told not to despair: "Concern not yourselves about Zion, for I will deal mercifully with her" (D&C 111:6), and "Zion shall be redeemed in mine own due time' (D&C 136:18), "although she is chastened for a little season" (D&C 100:13). Brigham Young constantly reminded the Saints of the preparatory nature of the work in which they were engaged:

"We have commenced to organize, I will say partially, in the Holy Order that God has established for his people in all ages of the world when he has had a kingdom on the earth. We may call it the Order of Enoch, the Order of Joseph, the

Order of Peter, or Abraham, or Moses, and then go back to Noah, and then step to our own position here, and say that we will organize as far as we have the privilege . . . under the laws of the land. Many branches of industry have been organized here to help to sustain each other, to labor for the good of all, and to establish cooperation in the midst of the Church in this place." (JD, 17:113.)

In the years following the entrance into the Salt Lake Valley he placed the greatest emphasis on the theme of preparation and the uses of adversity:

"I never attributed the driving of the Saints from Jackson county to anything but that it was necessary to chasten them and prepare them to build up Zion." (JD, 13:148.)

"We are not yet prepared to go and establish the Centre Stake of Zion. The Lord tried this in the first place. . . . He gave revelation after revelation; but the people could not abide them." (JD, 11:324.)

"Are we fit for Zion? . . . Could we stay in Independence? No, we could not. . . . Can the Saints see? No, or a few of them can." (JD, 15:3.)

"Then do not be too anxious for the Lord to hasten his work. Let our anxiety be centered upon this one thing, the sanctification of our own hearts, the purifying of our own affections, the preparing of ourselves for the approach of events that are hastening upon us. This should be our concern, this should be our study, this should be our daily prayer, and not be in a hurry to see the overthrow of the wicked." (JD.

"Suppose Joseph had not been

obliged to flee from Pennsylvania back to York State, would he have known as much as he afterwards knew? Suppose he could have stayed in old Ontario County in peace, without being persecuted, could he have learned as much as he did by being persecuted?...

"Joseph could not have been perfected, though he had lived a thousand years, if he had received no persecution. . . . You may calculate when this people are called to go through scenes of affliction and suffering, are driven from their homes, and cast down, and scattered, and smitten, and peeled, the Almighty is rolling on His work with greater rapidity." (JD, 2:5, 7-8.)

"It was even so with ancient Israel: They had to travel to and fro to every point of the compass, and were wasted away, because God was determined to save their spirits." (JD, 4:53.)

"While we were in Winter Quarters, the Lord gave to me a revelation . . . I talked it to my brethren . . . but with the exception of one or two of the Twelve, it would not touch a man. . . . I would have given [millions] if the people had been prepared to then receive the kingdom of God according to the pattern given to Enoch. But I could not touch them." (JD, 18:244.)

The excuse for the Saints' reluctance was clearly their total preoccupation with their own separation from the world, which was violent and forcible but a necessary prelude to Zion-"Gather ye together, O ye people of my church, . . . upon the land of Zion. ... Let them ... who are among the Gentiles flee unto Zion. And let them who be of Judah flee unto Jerusalem." (D&C 133:4, 12-13.) They were looking for a place of safety, "the land of Zion . . . for a defense, and for a refuge from the storm, and from the wrath when it shall be poured out without mixture upon the whole earth." (D&C 115:6.) Building the city had to come

The spectacular departure of Enoch's Zion will be matched by its no less astonishing return. There are things here beyond the scope of men's everyday experience: "The redemption of Zion must needs come by power." (D&C 103:15.) Once established in her place, Zion serves as a sort of bridgehead, preparing the way for the return of Enoch's Zion, when the two shall fuse.

Moses 7:63. Then shalt thou and all thy city meet them there, and we will receive them into our bosom, and they shall see us; and we will fall upon their necks, and they shall fall upon our necks, and we will kiss each other.

D&C 45:11. Wherefore . . . let me show unto you even my wisdom—the wisdom of him whom ye say is the God of Enoch, and his brethren, 12. Who were separated from the earth . . . a city reserved until a day of righteousness shall come. . . .

1 En. 39:1. And it shall come to pass in those days that the elect and holy children will descend from the high heavens, and their seed will become one with the children of men.

4 Ezra 13:36. When Zion appears it is completely parata et aedificata—a city wholly finished and perfect—coming like a mountain cut out without hands, whose builder and ruler is God.

Berl. Manich. Copt. Ms. p. 12. Kap. 1:1. When my Apostle [Enoch] shall raise himself up he shall be lifted up along with his church, and they shall be lifted up [elevated] from the earth. 5. It shall take the form of my assembly [ekklesia] and be free in the height.

To be concluded.

Footnotes

371 Vaillant, pp. 60-61. The word for establish, appoint (postaviti) means also to "ordain" (as a priest), to dedicate, appoint as a substitute; reflexively, to take a duty upon oneself, implying that Enoch is not the Savior but one "after the order of him." (Moses 6:67.)

372 An intriguing problem is raised by the occurrence in the Joseph Smith account of Enoch of the names Mahijah (Moses 6:40) and Mahujah (7:2) in connection with the ritual questions, "Tell us plainly who thou art and from whence thou comest?" For by an odd coincidence the first publication of proper names from the Tell-Mardikh archives, discovered in 1974 and proven to be by far the oldest library in the world, begins the list with the two names Mi-ka-yah and Mi-ka-il, both asking the question "Who is . . .?" G. Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," in The Biblical Archaeologist, 39:2'(May 1976): 50.

373 M. Buber, "Abraham the Seer," Judaism 5 (1956):295 gives some indication of why withdrawal is so important

passages are found in the Psalms and Isaiah; there are twenty-five references in Jeremiah, including Lamentations. The word occurs only seven times in the New Testament, six of them referring to the Messiah, the King or ruler of Zton. Of the forty-four occurrences of the name in the Book of Mormon, thirty-four are by Nephi, almost all of them being from Isaiah; the four in Mosiah are all from Isaiah; the five citations in 3 Nephi all deal with the

fulfillment of prophecy.

between the Psalms and the Prophets is discussed by U.W. Mauser, Christ in the Wilderness (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 39, SCM Press, 1963), pp. 36ff.

³⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 50f.

377 R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch
 (1912), p. 1.
 378 Van Andel, Structuur, pp. 23-26.

31-39.

³⁷⁹BHM, 4:130f.

380 Book of Jasher 3:5-10. Passages such as this which closely follow both the Hebrew and the Slavonic Enoch show that the book of Jasher used very ancient sources and was far more than a medieval romance.

³⁸¹Zandee, "Le Messie"; Revue de l'histoire des Religions 180 (1971):4 ff.

³⁸²From the book of Adam, in Migne, Dict. Apocr. 1:21, 27f., 232.

383 Van Andel, p. 115.

384 A. Jellinek, BHM 5:24:xlii.

385 *Ibid*.

3862 Baruch 67:3, 76:3.

3874 Ezra 8:47 (Charles).

388 R.H. Charles, Apocr. and

Pseudepigr., 2:283. Condemned by the Reformation, its authenticity "was summarily rejected," until "the twentieth century sees this book at last come to its own."

389 Charles, Book of Enoch (1912),

³⁹⁰M.E. Stone, "Judaism at the Time of Christ," Scientific American 228 (Jan. 1973):80.

Strange Thing in the Land

The Return of the Book of Enoch, Part 13

By Hugh Nibley

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The "Enoch" of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Just in time for the latest episode in this examination into the book of Enoch comes the longawaited translation of the Dead Sea Scroll book of Enoch. (J.T. Milik and M. Black, eds., The Books of Enoch, Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4, Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1976.) Father J.T. Milik, one of the first scholars on the scene when the scrolls were discovered, was assigned thirty-two fragments of the books of Enoch from Qumran Cave IV; and all scholars working on Enoch have eagerly waited during the last quarter century to see what new information would be added, what theories might be toppled, what hypotheses confirmed by these documents in Aramaic, the earliest of all known Enoch texts.

Here's what they show:

These documents, dating from the third to the first centuries B.C., corroborate the other Enoch literature that we have. There was a real book of Enoch, which was once written in five parts. This seriously challenges those critics who have claimed for years that ancient sectaries threw everything into Enoch that they wanted to pass off as

scripture.

It's an added delight for Latter-day Saints to read that Professor Milik finds the Greek texts to be much superior to the Ethiopian texts—the Joseph Smith account in the Pearl of Great Price is closer to the Greek than to the Ethiopian. Latter-day Saints will also note with interest Professor Milik's deduction that one text, the Gizeh text, was undoubtedly prepared to be buried with the deceased—a parallel with the usage intended for the Abraham text.

Furthermore, Professor Milik works with the fascinating hypothesis that Enoch had prepared an account of the creation and the law of God that naturally predates Moses' account in Genesis and sees Genesis 6:1-4, long a puzzling passage to the biblical scholar, as a quotation from that earlier Enoch source. This is *exactly* what happens in the Joseph Smith source: Moses quotes Enoch on events shortly after the creation.

As we have already seen, the Enoch story runs into the oldest literature of the human race; and Professor Milik finds links with the mythological heroes of Sumer and

Moses 6:39. When they heard him ... fear came on all them that heard him.

6:40. And there came a man unto him, whose name was Mahijah, and said to him: Tell us plainly who thou art and from whence thou comest?

6:41. And he said to them: I came out from . . . the land of my fathers, a land of righteousness unto this day

6:42. And ... as I journeyed ... by the sea east, I beheld a vision: and lo, the heavens I saw. ... 7:2-3. As I was journeying ... I ... went up on the mount ... I beheld the heavens open. ...

4QEnGiants^h1.20. [Thereupon] all the giants [and the nephilim] took fright

and they summoned MHWY and he came to them. And the giants asked him and sent him to Enoch ** saying to him: "Go then ** and under pain of death you must *** and listen to his voice; and tell him that he is to explain to you and to interpret the dreams**

6Q8 1.* * Ohya and he said to MHWY: "* * and (I?) do not tremble. Who showed you all (that), tell [us(?)]**" And MHWY said: "* *Baraq'el, my father, was with me."

4QEnGiants^c. [Ohyah, following MHWY's report]: "**...my accusers ** they dwell in [heaven]s, for they live in holy abodes... they are more powerful than I.

4QEnGiants^b. [MHWY...rose up into the air] like the whirlwind, and he flew... and crossed Solitude, the great desert* * And he caught sight of Enoch, and he called to him and said to him: "An oracle * * *"

6:45. Enoch: We ... cannot deny....
46. For a *book* of remembrance we have written among us, according to the pattern given by the *finger* of *God* ... in our own language.

6:47. And as Enoch spake forth the words of God, the people trembled, and could not stand in his presence.

6:48. And he said to them . . . We are made partakers of misery and woe

6:49.... carnal, sensual, and devilish, and are shut out from the presence of God.

6:52. If thou wilt turn unto me; ... and repent ... asking all things in his name, ... it shall be given you.

7:13. And . . . he [Enoch] led the people of God, and their enemies

Babylonia, with the astronomy of Egypt and Phoenicia, and the ideas about the earth of Mesopotamia. Even though Professor Milik does not seem to recognize the full importance of the "Enoch figure," he provides some evidence that undercuts yet another scholarly supposition: that Enoch was invented out of the hopes and yearnings of Messianic Jews in the second century B.C.; in fact, however, these very people were shunning the Enoch material at that very time. Milik reviews some important texts that show the writers of the Aramaic text gradually losing their interest in Enoch material during the first century, then the Essenes turning away from it, the writers at Masada actually expunging the name of Enoch and putting Noah in its stead, while the Christians, on the other hand, treasured it highly and embellished it with so many astrological flourishes that they unintentionally undermined Enoch's credibility for future generations.

In all of these ways, the Qumran IV Enoch fragments reinforce rather than reinterpret what we as Latterday Saints already knew about

Enoch. But these newly translated pieces add one genuinely new bit of information to our store—something that is probably the most objective test yet of Joseph Smith's prophetic powers.

What always impressed me as the oddest detail of the Joseph Smith account of Enoch was the appearance out of the blue of the name of the only nonbiblical individual named in the whole book—Mahijah. (Moses 6:40.) Mahijah is the one who asks Enoch searching questions, and in answer is told about the place Mahujah, where Enoch began this particular phase of his mission. (Moses 7:2.) It was therefore with a distinct shock of recognition that, after having looked through all but the last of the Aramaic Enoch fragments without finding anything particularly new, and coming to those very last little fragments, I found the name Mahujah leaping out of the pages again and again. (Pp. 300, 302-5, 311, 314.) Could this be our Mahujah or Mahijah? As a matter of fact it could be either, not only because the semivowels w and y are written very much alike in the Aramaic script and are sometimes confused by scribes,

but also because the name as written in 4QEn, MHWY, is the same as the MHWY-EL who appears in Gen. 4:18 as the grandfather of Enoch, transliterated in the King James Bible as *Mehuja-el*, which name also appears in the Greek Septuagint as *Mai-el* and in the Latin Vulgate as *Mavia-el*, showing that Mahujah and Mahijah were the same name.

So what? A coincidence—a giant or a Watcher called Mahujah or Mahijah. But far more than a coincidence when taken in its context. The only thing the Mahijah in the Book of Moses is remarkable for is his putting of bold direct questions to Enoch, thus giving the patriarch an opening for calling upon the people to repent, referring them to the book of remembrance, and telling them of the plan of salvation. And this is exactly the role, and the only role, that the Aramaic Mahujah plays in the story. The name is found in none of the other Enoch texts and neither is the story: it is peculiar to the version Joseph Smith gave us and the oldest known Enoch manuscripts. The following translation is from Milik and Black, lest the writer be charged with forcing the text.

4QEnGiants^a7.* *to you, MH[wy* *] the two tablets * * and the second has not been read up till now. 8. The boo[k of * * The copy of the second tablet of the Epistle * * written] by Enoch, the distinguished scribe's own hand * * and the Holy One, to Shemihazah and all [his] com[panions].

4QEnGiants^aFrg. 4. * * Ohyah said to Hahyah, his brother * * * they prostrated themselves and began to weep before [Enoch(?)* *].

4EnGiants^aFrg. 8. The longest fragment: The depravity and misery of the people described. Their petition is rejected: God has cast them out. All is "for the worst."

(Closing line) And yet, loosen your bonds (of sin) which tie [you] up * * and begin to pray.

4QEnGiants^c. (Ohyah the enemy of Enoch): "... by the strength of my

came to battle against them; and he spake the word of the Lord, and the earth trembled . . .

and the roar of the lions was heard out of the wilderness;

and all nations feared greatly.

7:37... these shall suffer. 38... these ... shall perish in the floods, and behold, I will shut them up; a prison have I prepared for them.

power, [I had attacked] all flesh and I have made war with them . . . they live in holy abodes, and . . . they are more powerful than I."

[Thereupon**] the roaring of the wild beasts came and the multitude of wild animals began to cry out ** And Ohyah spoke . . . "My dream has overwhelmed? [me] [*** and the s[leep of my eyes [has fled]. . .

4QEnGiants^aFrg.7. Then Ohyah [said] to Hahyah, his brother * *
Then he (sc. God) punished . . . the [sons] of the Watchers, the giants, and all [their] beloved ones will not be spared * * * he has imprisoned us and you he has subdued (lit. TQAF, seized, confined).

Bearing in mind that the Aramaic fragments are few and very small and arranged in whatever order the editors think best, it is still possible to see that the themes of the *Joseph Smith* account emerge clearly amidst all the very obvious changes and vicissitudes that have occurred to the ancient texts.

The End