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Slavonic Apocrypha and their Significance for Biblical Scholarship

The article is dedicated to the role which Ukrainian apocryphal heritage played in the history of Biblical scholarship; special attention is paid to Ivan Franko's contribution to the formation of the epistemological foundation of the discipline. Examined in this connection is one of the key texts published by him in his Codex Apocryphus (following the earlier edition of the same manuscript by A. Popov) — the Ruthenian redaction of the Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch (also known as 2 Enoch); the actual MS was copied in 1679 in Poltava, and entitled The Book of the Secrets of Enoch. The discovery of this text heralded not only the shape of academic discourse concerning Biblical apocrypha in general and Slavonic tradition in particular, but also epitomized the importance of the Ukrainian/Ruthenian heritage in the development of the discipline. The Greek protograph, from which the Slavonic Enochic corpus derived, is no longer extant; its Vorlage must have been based on either a Hebrew or Aramaic composition. Regrettably, despite the efforts of generations of scholars, no surviving witnesses to this Semitic text were ever found, nor were any traces of its Greek descendants discovered in archival collections containing manuscripts produced in Byzantine scriptoria. Thus the Slavonic Enochic corpus appears to be the last representative of a long chain of now lost parabiblical compositions which were transmitted over centuries in multilingual and multicultural environments, with Byzantium being the filter through which Enochic traditions reached men of letters of the Slavonic world. As for the content of The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, it enfolds as the testimony of a visionary who is raised to the highest heaven, where he encounters God and learns about the mysteries of the creation of the universe. Thus the narrative encompasses two storylines. The first has a cosmographic character and provides a detailed description of each of the heavens through which the visionary passes before reaching the throne of God. The second is devoted to parabiblical cosmogony and anthropogony, through which man is described as an icon of the universe, with Seven being the ultimate numerical symbol of Creation.

Keywords:

Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch (2 Enoch; The Book of the Secrets of Enoch); parabiblical traditions; Slavonic apocryphal writings; heavenly ascents; cosmography; cosmogony; anthropogony; eschatology; esoteric knowledge; intertextuality; multilingualism; transmission of knowledge; history of ideas.

The organization of the conference "Sacred Scripture in Ukrainian Culture: The Canonical and Extra-Canonical Writings and Their Reception" at the Ukrainian

Catholic University in Lviv (27-28 October 2016) coincides with two important anniversaries which mark significant events in the history of the Biblical studies as a discipline.[1]

Exactly 120 years ago a remarkable scholarly contribution to the study of Slavonic apocrypha was made here, in Lviv. In 1896 the brilliant intellectual Ivan Franko[2] published the first part of his five-volume anthology of Апокріфы и легенды з українських рукописів (*Codex Apocryphus e manuscriptis ukraino-russicis collectus opera Dr. Joannis Franko*).[3] It is as difficult to describe the vast scope of Franko's academic, literary and political activities, as it is captivating.[4] He was not only a tremendously gifted and industrious scholar of highest academic standards, but also a talented poet and a writer, a vigorous literary critic and an ethnographer, public figure and a journalist and, above all, a man of impeachable integrity. Each path taken by Franko — be it that of literature, scholarship, or political activities, — was marked by the divine spark of charisma and total devotion to the cause chosen by him. Of course, the choices he made were never easy. But the impact of each of them is still vividly present in the intellectual and political live of modern Ukraine. He was a cosmopolitan, for whom translating the poems of William Shakespeare and George Byron, Dante Alighieri and Johann Wolfgang Goethe was as equally rewarding as "unearthing" and editing the vast corpus of medieval Ruthenian manuscripts scattered throughout his motherland and copied by diligent scribes for centuries. All these momentous tasks were accomplished by Franko with elegance and grace, as if instantaneous and effortless. Yet for those working with text-editions of manuscript sources it is clear that this type of work is demanding and strenuous, laborious and exhausting. But even today, 120 years later after the publication of Franko's *Codex Apocryphus,* his anthology remains one of the classical sources for the study of the Slavonic apocryphal Bible. Indeed, Franko did not only produce a comprehensive compendium of Ukrainian apocryphal heritage, in which he collected and edited a cluster of important Old and New Testament parabiblical writings; he

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[1] I would like to thank the organizers, and especially Halyna Tesliuk, for the invitation to participate; I am as pleased as I am honoured to be part of this initiative.

[2] On life and work of Ivan Franko see Mel'nik [2006; 2016].

[3] See Franko [1896–1910].

[4] For extensive bibliography of Franko's publications see Mel'nik [2006: 455–463].

also accompanied them with elaborate, sharp commentaries which show impressive erudition and detailed knowledge of contemporary scholarship in the field. And this is hardly a surprise, since the first volume of his *Codex Apocryphus* was published just three years after Franko had defended his doctorate at the University of Vienna under the supervision of one of the greatest scholars of Slavonic studies in Europe at the time, Vatroslav Jagić. But there is something more to be said about Franko's anthology of Ukrainian apocrypha. When these five volumes appeared, Ukraine did not yet exist as an independent, sovereign state; by publishing his *Codex Apocryphus*, Franko not only put his homeland onto the intellectual map of international Biblical scholarship, but he also contributed to the processes forming the basis of modern Ukrainian identity. In fact, this is not the only symbolic victory which Franko claimed in his personal and professional path. Thus, in 1894 he was meant to take up a lecturer lectureship in the history of Ukrainian literature at Lviv University,[5] the very institution from which he was expelled several years earlier because of his political affiliations; furthermore, this same University would be renamed *Ivan Franko National University of Lviv* 24 years after his death. Yet his ultimate victory is manifested by the very vitality of his scholarly and intellectual heritage, which has been influencing generations of scholars ever since, both in his native land and beyond it.

Then again, in the year when the first volume of Franko's *Codex Apocryphus* appeared, the first encounter of the Western scholarship with Slavonic apocryphal heritage took place: in 1896 William Richard Morfill, Professor of Russian at the University of Oxford, together with the Irish Biblical scholar and theologian Robert Henry Charles, produced the now classic edition of the Ruthenian redaction of one particular Judeo-Christian apocryphal composition, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*[6] (also known to the specialists as *The Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*, or *2 Enoch*). In the same year, 1896, the German translation of the same apocryphon (*Das slavische Henochbuch)* appeared, made by the Russian-born German Protestant theologian Gottlieb Nathanael Bonwetsch.[7] The original Ruthenian version, on which both the

[5] Unfortunately, due to opposition from the then governor of Galicia, Count Kazimierz Badeni, Franko was unable to take up this post.

[6] See Morfill, Charles [1896].

[7] See Bonwetsch [1896; 1922].

English and the German editions were based, was edited and published by the Russian scholar Андрей Попов in 1880 in Vol. 3 of the famous *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow* (Чтения в Императорском Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете).[8] Sixteen years later, the same text was published once more by Franko in the first volume of his *Codex Apocryphus*.[9]

The original Ruthenian manuscript containing *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* was copied in 1679 in Poltava; this outstanding initiative was due to the efforts of a certain hieromonk Gennadius, the Hegumen of the Orthodox Monastery of the Exaltation of the Cross in the same city:

> Книга w҃ таинаˣ Еноховихъ Сна҃ Аредова моужа моудра и҃ бго҃любива. Списанн҃а въ градѣ Полтавѣ. При Црц҃вѣ Храмоу Въскрнс҃їѧ Гс҃да Бга҃ и҃ Спса҃ нашего Іс. Ха҃ В лѣто ѿ созданїѧ мира: Спнс҃їѧ же Га҃ Бга҃ Спса҃ Нше҃го Іи҃с Ха҃ ≠ ахо҃ѳ. За стараниѧмъ въ їеромонасехъ Всечестнаго Гс҃дна ѿца҃ Генадїѧ бывшаго ігуменоᴹ в Полтавѣ. При wбители Воздвиженїѧ Гс҃днѧ.[10]

Furthermore, according to its opening clause (“предмова”), the manuscript was dedicated to the young Ruthenian Prince Олександр Костянтинович Острозький, whose premature death occurred in 1603:

> сне wв҃ ецоном в велможно, Кнж҃ати а҃ Пн҃ . Пн҃ Але҄ѯандрови Константинович . Бж҃ією Млс҃тїю Кнж: GОстрозком воеводичовы Кіевском и прочаа и҃ далей у е҃ще. [11]

He was the much lamented son of the renowned Prince Костянтин Острозький, the intellectual and financial engine behind the first complete printed edition of the Bible in Church Slavonic, published by Ivan Fiodorov (Иван Фёдоров) in Ostrog in 1581 — the famed “Ostrog Bible” (“Острозька Біблія”).[12]

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[8] The original Ruthenian text was entitled *The Book of the Secrets of the Wise and God-loving Man Enoch, the son of Ared* (Книга w҃ таинаˣ Еноховихъ Сна҃ Аредова моужа моудра и҃ бго҃любива); see Popov [1880: 89–139].

[9] Franko [1896 (1): 39–63].

[10] Popov [1880: 89].

[11] Popov [1880: 83].

[12] See Popov [1880: 73–75].

The two anniversaries mentioned earlier — the publication of Franko's *Codex Apocryphus*, and the English translation of the Ruthenian redaction of "*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*" by Morfill and Charles — are but a reminder that Ukrainian cultural heritage played a significant role in the recovery and study of Slavonic apocrypha, now seen as fundamental for understanding the contexts and eventual transmission of both biblical and parabiblical texts from antiquity to the Middle ages.

Let us now turn to the reception history of "The Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch",[13] since the discovery of this text heralded not only the shape of the academic discourse concerning Biblical apocrypha in general and Slavonic tradition in particular, but also epitomized the importance of the Ukrainian/Ruthenian heritage in the development of the discipline.

But before we start analyzing the apocryphal text, it would be appropriate to examine the canonical narrative related to the Biblical patriarch Enoch, as presented in Genesis 5: 21-24. It is part of a much larger account concerned with the list of Adam's male offspring and their respective descendants up to the tenth generation of his lineage — that of the righteous Noah; excluded from this patrilineal record, however, is the pedigree of Cain. The omission of his name is a symbolic indication that the memory of his entire clan was to be erased from the sacred genealogy of mankind and indeed from world chronology altogether. Thus the progeny of the sinful Cain was allegorically portrayed as a branch of Adam's family tree which — at the dawn of human history — was antithetical to that of the righteous lineage of Seth. This latter son was conceived by Eve after the murder of Abel, who died a virgin, before procreating and therefore *de facto* remaining outside of the list of patriarchs. The "past" thus becomes twofold, the wholesomeness of the memory of the ancestors is severed, the clan falls apart, the kinship is no longer a unifying token, but a sign of

[13] For more details, see A. Pennington's *Introduction* to her translation of the shorter recension in H. F. D. Sparks' edition [1984: 321–326] and F. Andersen's introductory notes to his translation of the longer recension in Charlesworth [1983: 91–100]. Further on *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in Slavonic apocryphal tradition, see the discussion in Попов [1880: 66–139]; Соколов [1899; 1910]; Иванов [1925: 165–191]; Мещерский [1963: 130–147; 1964: 91–108]; Петканова [1982: 49–63, 350–352]; Навтанович [2000: 204–241, 387–392], Мильков, Полянский [2009 (2): 449-551]. See also Vaillant [1952]; de Santos Otero [1984: 147–202]; Böttrich [1991; 1995; 1996; 1997; 2012]; Alexander [1998: 101–104, 116–117]; Jovanović [2003: 209-238]; Reinhart [2007: 31-46]; Schäfer [2009: 77–85]; Badalanova Geller [2010: 2012: 197-244; 2014-2015: 381-409]; Orlov, Boccaccini [2012]; Macaskill [2013]; Syrtsova [2014: 49–61].

a binary reality. The pristine harmony turns to discord. Consequently, the record of deeds of the ultimate "pater-familias", as presented in the Book of Genesis, unfolds as two opposite, competing narratives. The one about Cain is deliberately silenced, branded as a record about the sinister and malevolent, while the other one — about the righteous and benevolent — is proclaimed with fervour. The genealogical list of Seth's descendants follows a simple scheme: it includes their names, then clarifies their age at the time when they begot their first male offspring, and ends with information about the length of their respective life-spans. The seventh generation after Adam in the lineage of Seth is that of the righteous Enoch, the son of Jared; his firstborn, Methusalah, was to become the grandfather of Noah from whom the world was to be procreated after the Flood. However, in comparison to the life-span of Adam, the length of which was 930 years, Enoch's life-span on earth was rather short; it ended when he reached the age of 365 — as many as the days of one solar year, and this symbolic number was most probably a hint at Enoch's reputation as the inventor of the calendar. The Bible remains silent on this point, but this detail features prominently in parabiblical writings. Actually, so righteous and "well-pleasing to God" was Enoch, that he never experienced death. The Septuagint states that when he reached the end of his path on earth, "he was not found, because God translated him". According to the Masoretic version and the Vulgate, he simply "walked with God: and he was no more; for God took him". It is rather symptomatic that the Septuagint and the Masoretic text differ in their renditions of this cryptic event, but in both cases it marks the completion of the "the first week" of the antediluvian generations (using the terminology of *The Book of Jubilees*), with Enoch symbolically indicating its last, seventh day. Enoch likewise features as a marker of the seventh generation after Adam in the list of the ancestors of Jesus, as presented by Luke (Luke 3:37). In a similar manner, *The Epistle to Hebrews* [11:5] continues the Old Testament tradition, as formulated in Genesis, maintaining that

> By faith Enoch was taken away so that he did not see death, *and he was not to be found, because God had taken him*; for it is the testimony of Scripture that before he was taken he had pleased God.

The Epistle of Jude [5-6, 14] goes even further; the prophet Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is recognised not only as the paragon of righteousness, but also as the ultimate memory-keeper of the antediluvian chronology:

> Remember the angels, how some of them were not content to keep the dominion given to them but abandoned their proper home; and God has reserved them for Judgment on the Great Day, bound beneath the darkness in everlasting chains. Remember Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbouring towns; like the angels, they committed fornication and followed unnatural lust… [….] It was for them that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, "Behold, the Lord comes with ten thousands of His angels, to execute judgment on all, to convict all who are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have committed in an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him."

However, the statement of the forthcoming Judgment of the Fallen Angels, as formulated in *The Epistle of Jude,* is not attested in the *Book of Genesis*, either in the short narrative about Enoch's *vita* [5: 21-24], or in the story about "the sons of God and the daughters of men" [6: 1-8]. As maintained by most modern scholars, this eschatological passage stems from apocalyptic tradition of the Second Temple period.

Significantly, the account about the punishment of the Fallen Angels who had descended from heaven and fathered offspring by the earthly women, to whom they disclosed the "eternal secrets" of the divine esoteric knowledge ("and taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants", and metalworking), is attested in a particular apocryphal composition, designated as the *Book of Watchers*; the latter is a part of a much larger corpus, known among specialists as "First Enoch",[14] parts of which were composed in the 3rd century BCE. It has a large number of surviving fragments, the earliest of which, in Aramaic, are found in the Dead Sea scrolls. Other recensions are found in Greek (the most famous of which in the *Chronography of George Synkellos*, composed no later than 810 CE) and in Latin, but the composition survived as a whole only in Ethiopic.[15] In fact, it is considered by the Ethiopic church to be part of canonical Scripture, which is not the case with other Christian traditions, where Enochic writings were listed among the Indices of Prohibited Books. *The Epistle of Jude* [5-6, 14], however, is among the oldest sources showing that in ancient Christian tradition, the writings of Enoch were still considered to be part of the canon. Tertullian (c. 160 – c. 225 AD), on the other hand, states that Enoch (along with Elijah), was "transported without suffering death, which was only postponed. The day will come

[14] See Reed [2004: 47–66; Reed 2005]; see also Crone [2013: 16–51].

[15] See Knibb [1984: 169–184], Nicklesburg [2001]; Kvanvig [2011].

when they will actually die when they may extinguish Antichrist with their blood".[16] This line of argument is further developed in later eschatological apocryphal writings, and especially in the "Revelation of the Methodius of Pathara", where Enoch (together with Elijah) is recognized as the Forerunner of the Apocalypse and indeed of the defeat of the Antichrist. Furthermore, a survey of parabiblical chronographic traditions (and especially the ecclesiastical / historiographical writings produced in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages) shows that the Book of Genesis and its apocryphal attestations functioned as the ultimate template for the symbolic perception and representation of mankind's history. Moreover the palpable code of inheritance and succession, as set out in the Book of Genesis, reproduced itself in the versatile chronological templates shaping the storyline in *The Judean Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, and the Chronicles of Julius Africanus, John Malalas, George Hamartolos and the aforementioned George Syncellus. As shown by William Adler and others, these works depended heavily upon both the Enochic apocryphal corpus and *The Book of Jubilees.*

The reception history of *The Book of Watchers* in Byzantium deserves special attention; as briefly mentioned above, extracts from this work were incorporated into the *Chronography of George Synkellos*.[17] In fact, Synkellos was one the last Byzantine writers to refer to the writings of Enoch;[18] included in his *Cronographia Universalis* are two long (albeit extensively reworked) citations "From the first book of Enoch, concerning the Watchers" [Ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνὼχ περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων][19] (i.e. *1 Enoch* 6.1-9.11).[20]

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[16] Quoted after Louth [2001: 121].

[17] See Franko [1896 (1):64].

[18] See Adler and Tuffin [2002: liv-lv]; Arcari [2012: 5-12]. It has been argued that Synkellos' excerpts represent re-writing of traditions transmitted by the early fifth century Alexandrian monks Panodorus and Annianus; see Adler [1989: 73-74], Nicklesburg [2001: 12-13]. For Panodorus' use of *1 Enoch*, see Adler [1989: 81, 86-96, 154, 177, 179].

[19] See Adler and Tuffin [2002: 16-23]. On textual emendation in Synkellos' Enoch excerpts, see Adler [1989: 175-182].

[20] For the clarity of the current discussion, presented below is the famous fragment from Synkellos' *Cronographia Universalis,* in which the illicit transmission of knowledge from Watchers to human race is described:

> And it came to pass when the sons of men became numerous that beautiful daughters were born to them, and the Watchers desired them and went astray after them, and said to one another, "Let us choose for ourselves wives from among the daughters of men of the earth." And Semiazas, their chief, said to them, "I am afraid that you will not want to commit this deed, and I alone shall be liable for a great sin." And they all answered him and said, "Let us all swear an oath and bind one

It is most significant that the term which is used by Synkellos to signify the Watchers is *Gregoroi*, likewise attested in the *Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*, as a designation for "the Fallen Angels". The use of this special term, *Gregoroi*, in both cases, suggests that *Slavonic Enoch* must have originated from a Greek *Vorlage* which, in turn, was fostered by Septuagint-related traditions and further influenced by Christian ideology of the Byzantine Commonwealth. One detail (among many others) suggesting a definite awareness of the Septuagint pattern in *Slavonic Enoch* can be seen in the age of the visionary when he fathers Methuselah. This detail is occasionally omitted in shorter recensions of the apocryphon, but when it is included, Enoch's age is given as 165 years, as in the Septuagint, rather than 65 years, as in the Masoretic text and Vulgate.

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another by a curse not to abandon our resolve until we see it through to completion." Then all of them swore together and bound one another by a curse. These were the 200 who came down in the days of Jared to the top of Mount Ermonieim and they called the mountain Ermom, because they swore and bound one another by a curse on it. And these are the names of their leaders: (1) Semiazas, their captain; (2) Atarkouph; (3) Arakiel; (4) Chobabiel; (5) Horammame; (6) Rhamiel; (7) Sampsik; (8) Zakiel; (9) Balkiel; 10) Azazel; (11) Pharmaros; (12) Amariel; (13) Anagemas; (14) Thausael; (15) Samiel; (16) Sarinas; (17) Eumiel; (18) Tyriel; (19) Joumiel; (20) Sariel. These and all the rest took for themselves wives in AM. 1170, and they began to defile themselves with them up to the Flood. And they bore for them three races. First, the great giants. Then the giants begot the Napheleim, and to the Napheleim were born Elioud. And they were increasing in accordance with their greatness, and they taught themselves and their wives the uses of potions and spells. First, Azaël, the tenth of the leaders, taught them to make swords and armour and every instrument of war and how to work the metals of the earth and gold, and how to make them into adornments for their wives, and silver. He showed them also the use of cosmetics and beautifying the face and choice stones and colouring tinctures. And the sons of men did this for themselves and their daughters and they transgressed and led astray the righteous. And there was great impiety on the earth. And they made their ways corrupt. And their chief Semiazas taught them to be objects of wrath against reason, and the roots of plants of the earth. The eleventh, Pharmaros taught the uses of potions, spells, lore, and the remedies for spells. The ninth taught them the study of the stars. The fourth taught astrology. The eighth taught divination by observing the heavens. The third taught the signs of the earth. The seventh taught the signs of the sun. The twentieth taught the signs of the moon. All of them began to reveal mysteries to their wives and offspring [Adler, Tuffin 2002: 16-17].

The subsequent redraft of *1En*. 9-10, as presented in the next section of *Cronographia Universalis,* is further supplemented by some relevant "passages from the divine scriptures" (e.g. *Gn* 6: 1-2, 4 and *2 Pet.* 2: 4-7), followed by yet another fragment, this time from the writings of the 4th century famous philosopher and alchemist of Panopolis and Alexandria, Zosimos (from his address to a certain Theosebeia, a wealthy woman with a weighty interest in this type of esoteric knowledge). As specified by Synkellos, the excerpt comes from Zosimos' "ninth book of *Imouth*" [Adler, Tuffin 2002: 18-19]. Thus the Enochic template of the origins of *technai* (metallurgy, divination, spells, plant lore, etc.), as implemented in *The Book of Watchers*, is compared and contrasted to the familiar (for the Greek audience) hermeneutic discourse of *The Book of Chemeu,* concerning the nascent of alchemy which, as stated by Synkellos, surfaces in all kinds of treatises, be it exoteric or esoteric. The analysis of the *Codex Panopolitanus*, however, is beyond the scope of the current discussion.

Then again, the Greek protograph from which the Slavonic Enochic corpus derived, is no longer extant; it has been suggested that its respective *Vorlage* must have been based on either a Hebrew or Aramaic composition; regrettably, despite the efforts of generations of scholars, no surviving witnesses to this Semitic text were ever found; neither were any traces of its Greek descendants discovered in the archival collections containing manuscripts produced in Byzantine scriptoria. Thus the Slavonic Enochic corpus appears to be the last representative of a long chain of now lost parabiblical compositions which were transmitted over centuries in multilingual and multicultural environments, with Byzantium being the filter through which it reached the newly converted Christian Bulgaria. It is there where the earliest translation of this Greek prototext was made into Old Church Slavonic no later than the 12th century.

On the other hand, I would like to point out the following small, but important detail; the designation *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, as Charles (and Morfill) first labeled *The Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch* in 1899, is somewhat misleading. In some other redactions of the apocryphon, the title of this composition is rendered as "*The Books of the Holy Secrets of Enoch* [Книги сты̄х таинь Ен̑хов̏] (as it is the case, for instance, with MS No. 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269 – 323).[21] It can be argued therefore that the title of the composition should more accurately be rendered as, *The Book of the Holy Mysteries of Enoch*, and this one word makes rather a big difference. The examination of the linguistic data from the corpus of the translations from Greek into Old Church Slavonic, from the earliest period following the conversion to Christianity, can clarify the semantic coverage of the Slavonic word *тайна*. The relevant lexical evidence is attested not only in translations of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament (which were needed for liturgical purposes), but also in *Florilegia* and historiographical works, as well as the corpus of *The Celestial Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite. All these sources show the following pattern: the lexeme *тайна* (or its cognates) could be employed to designate either "secret" or "mystery", but when used together with the epithet "holy", it always only means "mystery" (and especially the mystery of the Eucharist).[22] Indeed, *The Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch* is a testimony about the visionary's

[21] Cf. M. Sokolov [1899: 1-80; 1910: 8-32]; see also Morfill and Charles [1896: xiii-xiv], Iatsimirskii [1921: 83 (списокъ No 4)], Ivanov [1925: 165-191], Vaillant [1952: iii-iv, vii, 86-119].

[22] Sreznevskii [1903 (3): 914].

mystical experience; it is a narrative about his ascent to the highest heaven, where he stands before the face of God and learns about the secrets of the Universe; this knowledge is to be conveyed by him to his offspring, after his descent to earth. It is indeed a "mystery".

But how does his otherworldly trip begin?

It starts on a very special festival day, on the first day of the first month of the year, that is to say, on New Year's day. Enoch was asleep in his bed, when suddenly two huge men with faces shining like the sun and eyes like burning candles approached him and urged him to join them in a celestial journey, up to the Throne of God. Fire came out of their mouths, while their hands were whiter than snow; they took the anxious Enoch on their wings, which were brighter than gold, and put him on moving clouds; thus they take him up to the First Heaven, where he was shown an ocean bigger than any on Earth [и показаша ми Море превеликое, паче морѧ земного].[23] His heavenly escort brings before him the elders and rulers of the ranks of stars; he encounters two hundred angels, who rule over the astral powers and constellations of the heavens — circling around all the floating luminaries (i.e. the planets):

> Приведоша пре^{д} лице мое старѣйшины и вл^{д}̑кы sвѣздны^{x} чиновъ, и показаша ми с̄а̄г̄лъ, и^{ж} владѣютъ sвѣздами, и слоуженїѧ Нб̄с̄емъ, и лѣтаютъ крылами своими, и wбходѧ^{т} всѣ^{x} плавающьіхъ.[24]

There he sees the deposits of snow and ice, along with the angels who keep these awesome storehouses in the clouds from which they enter and exit:

> И тоу соглѧда^{x} и видѣхъ сокровища снѣжнаѧ, и Агг̄лы иже держатъ грозньіѧ хранилница и^{x}. и wблакы w̄коудоуже исходѧтъ и в'ходѧтъ.[25]

Then the visionary ascents to the Second Heaven, described as an immense prison. There he witnesses the ordeals of the followers of Watchers, the Falling Angels who obeyed God's ultimate adversary Satanail; they were condemned to darkness much deeper than that on Earth, hanging on chains and awaiting the infinite Judgment:

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[23] See Popov [1880: 91].

[24] See Popov [1880: 91–92].

[25] See Popov [1880: 91–92].

Поѧша же мѧ моужи wньі, и возведоста мѧ на в-е Нбо. и показаша ми тмоу, паче т’мьі земнїѧ. и та[м] видѣхъ верьіжники блюдоми висѧща, ждоуще соуду великаго и безмѣрнаго, и тьіи аггельі бѧхоу темнозрачньі, паче тмьі земнїѧ, и непрестанно плачъ творѧще по всѧ часьі, и рѣхъ моуже[м] соущимъ со мною. чесо ради сїи моучими соуть непрестанно. wвѣщаша мьі, сїи соутъ wстоупници Бжїи, иже не послоушаше повелѣнїѧ Бжїѧ. но своею волею съвѣщаша, и wстоупиша со кнѧземъ свои[м], и иже оутвержени на пѧтомъ Нбси, и пожалихсѧ sѣло w ни[х], wни же поклонишасѧ мнѣ, и рѣша къ мнѣ. Члче Бжїй, помолисѧ w насъ ко Г[с]доу. и wвѣщахъ к’ нимъ, кто есмъ азъ члкъ мертвъ, да помолюсѧ w Агглѣхъ, кто вѣстъ камо азъ идоу, или что срѣти[т] мѧ. албо кто помолитсѧ w мнѣ. [26]

Enoch is then taken to the upper layer of the Universe, to the Third Heaven. There he finds himself in the middle of Paradise, defined by him as a splendid garden in which all kinds of trees abundantly grow with sweet blossoms and aromatic fruits. In the midst of it is the Tree of Life, the appearance of which is of gold and fire-like red; its branches cover all of Paradise, while its roots are at the exit to Earth, between mortality and immortality. Three hundred exceedingly luminous angels guard it, serving God all day long with melodic singing. The angels escorting Enoch explain to him that this Garden is prepared for the righteous, who suffered all kinds of misfortunes in their lives on Earth, but who walked without vices before the face of God and served only Him:

И поѧша wтоудоу мѧ моужїе wньі, и возведе мѧ на третее Нбо, и поставиша мѧ тамъ. азъ же соглѧда[х] низоу, и видѣ[х] породи мѣста[м], несвѣдоми добротою. и видѣхъ всѧ древеса блгоцвѣтнаѧ, и плоди ихъ зрѣхъ, и блгооуханньі, и всѧ брашна принесена кьіпѧщїѧ дьіханїемъ блговонньімъ. и посредѣ древъ животное. на мѣстѣ то[м] на не[м]же почиваетъ Г[с]дь, егда восходитъ в рай: и тое древо несказанно естъ добротою и блговонствомъ і wкрашенно паче всеѧ твари соущей. и wвсюдоу wбразомъ златовидно и червлен’но, и wгнезрачно, и покрьіваетъ всѧ. породьі же иматъ w всѣхъ плодовъ. Корень емоу есть въ породѣ на исходѣ земно[м]. Рай же есть междоу тлѣнїемъ и нетлѣнїемъ. І исходѧтъ два источника еже точатъ медъ и млеко, и источници ею точатъ елей, и вино, и раздѣлѧютсѧ на чотьіри части, и wбходѧтъ тихимъ шествїемъ, и нисходѧтъ въ рай едемскїй, междоу тлѣнїемъ и нетлѣнїемъ. И wтоудоу происходѧ[т] потонку земли, и имоутъ wбращенїе кроугоу своемоу якоже і иньі стихїѧ; и нѣсть тоу древа неплодна, и всѧко мѣсто блгословественно. И триста Агглъ свѣтлыіхъ sѣло, иже хранѧтъ пород, и непрестанньімъ пѣнїемъ блгимъ, и немолчньіми гласьі, слоужатъ Гви по всѧ дни и часьі. І рѣхъ коль блго мѣсто се естъ sѣло, и рекоша ко мнѣ моужїе wньі. Мѣсто се естъ w Еноше праве[д]нико[м] оуготованно, иже претерпѧтъ всѧкоѧ напасти, w wзлобляющи[х] дша и[х], иже wвратѧтъ wчи свои w неправдьі, и сътворѧ[т] соудъ прв[д]ньій, и да подадоутъ хлѣбъ

[26] See Popov [1880: 92–93].

> алчоущиᴹ. и покрыюᵀ рызою нагїѧ, и воздвыгноуᵀ падшїѧ, и помогоуᵀ wбыдимыимъ сиротамъ; и еже ходѧᵀ безъ порока предᵈ лицемъ Г͡сднимъ. и томоу единомоу слоужатъ, и тѣмъ оуготованное естъ мѣсто сїе в' наслѣдїе вѣчное.[27]

Having visited Paradise, Enoch is taken to the northern compartment of the same — Third — Heaven. There the visionary is shown a "frightening place of all kinds of sorrows and tortures"; it is described as an "inverted Paradise", with the absence of light being its dominant attribute. It is depicted as a murky inferno engulfed by chilly darkness; it is swamped by horrifying "fog without light", and even the flames burning there are dark. An awesome fiery river is running through it; on one side there is terrifying fire, on the other — bitingly cold ice. It is a domain of a "dreadful dungeon", guarded by "murky pitiless angels" carrying terrifying weapons and torturing those confined inside it:

> И возведоста мѧ моужїе wныі, на сѣверноую страноу. и показаша мыі тоу мѣсто страшно sѣло. и всѧка моученїѧ на мѣстѣ томъ, и лютаѧ т'ма, и м'гла несвѣтимаѧ, и нѣсть тоу свѣта, но wгнь мрачныій возгаретсѧ присно. и рѣка wгненаѧ исходѧще, и все мѣсто то w̄всюдоу wгнь, и w̄всюдоу стоудень и ледъ, жажᵈа, и зѧблость, а оужници люти sѣло, и аггели гроужныі и немилостивныі. носѧще wроужїѧ напрасна, моученїе немилостивно, и рѣхъ. Горе, Горе, колми страшно мѣсто се вел'ми.[28]

But who are the prisoners of this cosmic jail, constructed on the Third Heaven? Enoch is informed by his heavenly escort that all kinds of sinners are sentenced there: those among mankind who did not obey God and who did evil on Earth. The first to be listed among them are all those practicing sodomy, magic, sorcery and divination, and those performing spells and incantations, thus boasting evil deeds. They are followed by the forlorn ones, "who steal human souls". Among the wrongdoers sentenced to eternal imprisonment are included those who harass the poor, depriving them of their possessions, thus becoming richer from the property of others; among them are the wicked ones, who — instead of feeding the hungry, starve them to death, and instead of providing clothes for the poor, leave them naked. Last but not least, idolaters are likewise destined for eternal suffering and torments in the celestial prison on the Third heaven: those who "do not recognise their Creator but

[27] See Popov [1880: 93–94].

[28] See Popov [1880: 94–95].

venerate soulless and vain gods, fashion images, and bow before the impure creation of the hand":

> и рѣша ко мнѣ моужїе wныі. мѣсто се естъ еноше оуготованно нечествоующимъ Бга̄, иже дѣлаютъ на земли презъ естество блу[д], еже естъ дѣторастлѣнїе, в' заднїй проходъ содом'ски: чародѣѧнїѧ, обаѧнїѧ, волхвованїѧ бѣсовъскаѧ, і иже хвалѧ[т]сѧ дѣли своими злими, краденїемъ, лжами, клеветами, завистїю, злопомнѣнїемъ, блоудомъ, оубїйствомъ, и иже крадоу[т] дша̄ чл҃ѧ wкаѧннїи, видѧще нищаѧ и вземлюще имѣнїѧ и[х], а сами богатѣютъ, и за имѣнїѧ тоуждаго wбыідѧще и[х]: иже могоуще наситьіти гладнїѧ, оумориша алчоущїѧ, могоуще одѣѧти, совлекоша нагїѧ; і иже не знаша творца своего, и оуклонишасѧ Богомъ бездоушнимъ, еже не могоутъ видѣти, ни слишати, боги соуетньі, sиждоуще wбразьі истоуканньі, и покланѧютсѧ роукотворенїю мерзостномоу, симъ всѣмъ оуготованно естъ мѣсто въ сихъ сїе, во достоѧнїе вѣчное.[29]

In the actual narrative of the Slavonic *Apocalypse of Enoch,* the lexeme "Hell" is never employed, but the description of the cosmic jail for sinners, situated next to Paradise, but separated from it, does not leave any room for doubt that the author was referring to the realm of the Inferno.

Having witnessed the torments of sinners, Enoch is taken by his heavenly escort to the upper, Fourth Heaven; there, above Paradise and Hell, are situated the orbits of Sun and Moon. He measures the dimensions of the movements of "the two great luminaries," and calculates the quantity of their light, after which he concludes that the intensity of "the sunlight is seven times greater than that of the moonlight". The visionary even observes their chariots, each surrounded by subordinate stars. Enoch's journey starts from the eastern side of this Heaven, where he is shown the six vast gates through which the Sun inaugurates its journey in accordance to its daily and monthly rounds during the entire year; then he is taken to the west compartments of the same Heaven, where he sees the gates through which the Sun sets. Situated there are also twelve big gates eternally facing to the East, through which the Moon's journey begins at regular intervals of time; having passed through all western gates, the Moon enters through the eastern gates and this is how its year ends. It is also on this heaven where Enoch is granted open access to astronomical and calendrical lore; in his testimony he does not just produce a practical table of calendar reckoning, but describes in detail a systematic mathematical scheme of the heavenly bodies and their

[29] See Popov [1880: 94–95].

regular movements. The visionary is portrayed as someone able to mastermind numbers, seen as a mystical projection of the harmony of the universe. At the end of his tour through this heaven Enoch also encountered armed hosts serving God with songs, playing drums and organs — an image rather familiar from Classical Greek processions.

Having witnessed this solemn, yet joyful march of angelic musicians, Enoch ascends to the Fifth Heaven, where he encounters the Watchers, the Fallen Angels, or *Григори*, who are sentenced there as punishment for their having disobeyed God's commands:

> Взѧша мѧ моужїе на е҃нб҃о҃, и поставиша мѧ, и видѣхъ тоу вои многи и неисчетньі, рекомїѧ Григори, и видѣнїе чл҃ее, и величество и^{х}, вещъ оудовъ велики^{х}, и лицѧ и^{х} дрѧхли. молчанїе оустъ и^{х} всегда. и не бѣ слоуженїѧ на пѧтомъ нб҃си. и гла҃хъ ко моужемъ соущимъ со мною. Чесо ради сїи соутъ дрѧхли sѣло, и оунила лица ихъ, и оуста и^{х} молчаща. и нѣсть слоуженїѧ на семъ нб҃си. И рекоша ко мнѣ. сїи соутъ Григорьі, иже w҃вергошасѧ Г҃а ста҃ со кнѧзе^{м} своимъ Сатанаиломъ, и по ни^{х} иже соу^{т} на второ^{м} нб҃си wбдержими т'мою великою, и w҃ нихъ сонїйдошасѧ три на землю w҃ пр^{с}тла Г^{с}днѧ, на мѣсто ермоне проторгошасѧ, wбѣщанїѧ на рамѣ горьі Іермонскїѧ, и видѣша дщерѧ чловеческїѧ яко добрьі соутъ, и поѧша себѣ женьі, и wсквернiша землю дѣлми и^{х}. иже въ всѧ времена вѣка сего беконоуѧ и творѧще смѣшенїе, и раждаютсѧ сполини, и чоудовелици, и велика непрїѧзнь. и того ради wсоуди ихъ Бг҃ъ велики^{м} соудомъ, и рьідаю^{т} братїи своей, и оукорени боудоутъ въ дн҃ь великїй Г^{с}днь. И рѣхъ азъ Григориw^{м}, азъ видѣхъ братїю вашоу и творенїѧ и^{х}, и моученїѧ и^{х} великаѧ. и азъ молихсѧ w нихъ, но wсоудилъ и^{х} естъ Г^{с}дь по^{д} землею. дондеже скончаетсѧ нб҃о и землѧ в вк҃ьі. и рѣхъ въскоую ждете братїе, а не слоужите пре^{д} лице^{м} Г^{с}дньімъ, и постависте слоужбьі ваша пре^{д} лице^{м} Г^{с}дньімъ, да не прогнѣваете Г^{с}да вашего до конца. И послоушаше наказанїѧ моего. и рѣша на д҃чиньі на нб҃си. и се мнѣ стоѧщоу со моужема wньі, и востроубьіша д҃троубьі в'коупѣ гласомъ великьімъ. и воспѣша Грьігорьі единогласно, и возьійде гласъ и^{х} пре^{д} Г^{с}демъ жалостно и оумиленно.[30]

On the Sixth Heaven Enoch sees the angelic host in charge of all creatures, whether celestial or terrestrial, and their activities; the only clarification regarding their habitat is that it is situated below God' footstool.

Then Enoch reaches the highest Heaven, where the Throne of the Creator stands.[31] The visionary is exposed to "a rather great light", while encountering "the

[30] See Popov [1880: 100–101].

[31] In some redactions of the apocryphon, the Throne of God is situated on the Seventh Heaven, in others — on the Tenth. See the discussion in Badalanova Geller [2012a: 207-218].

entire fiery force of great archangels", along with other "incorporeal host", among them Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Thrones, and "ten regiments of many-eyed angels", together with "the luminous station of Ophanim". At last, Enoch sees God, who is sitting on his majestic Throne, while the heavenly host bows before him "in exceedingly bright light", singing with low and gentle voices. The Lord's habitat, on the other hand, is described as an icon of celestial music — polyphonic and supreme:

> И кто есмъ азъ исповѣдати неизреченное соущество Г^{с}дне, и лице его предивно, и не исповѣдати ми елико много оученїй егw, и различнїѧ гласи, превеликїй и нероукотворенныйй пр^{с}тлъ Г^{с}днь, и елико стоѧнїѧ wкроугъ его. хероувими, и серафїмскїи вои, и еже немолчна пѣнїѧ ихъ, и красоты его непремѣнны, и неисповѣдимо величество славы егw кто исповѣсть.[32]

Enoch bows in fear before the glory of God, but is urged to rise up before him; the archangel Michael lifts the visionary and takes him before the face of the Lord. The culmination of this mystical encounter is the celebrated scene of angelic veneration of Enoch:

> И воздвиже мѧ Михаилъ архистратигъ, и приведе мѧ пре^{д} лице Гн$\bar{е}$; и рече Г^{с}дь слоугамъ своимъ искоушаѧй и, да востоупитъ Енохъ стоѧти пре^{д} лицемъ мои^{м} въ вѣки, и поклониша^{с} славны Г^{с}ви. И рекоша, да w̄стоупи^{т} енохъ по глаголоу твоемоу, и гла$\bar{а}$ Г^{с}дь Михаилоу. Пристоупи и совлеци еноха с' земни^{х} рызъ его, и помажи его мастїю бл$\bar{г}$ою моею, и wблеци его въ рызи славы моеѧ. И тако сътвори Михаилъ, яко же рече емоу Г^{с}дь.[33]

The act of extracting the visionary from his terrestrial clothes and dressing him in celestial garments signifies in effect his metamorphosis from a mortal man into an angelic being. Encoded in this fragment is a discrete reference to the primordial "garments of light" in which Adam and Eve were clothed in Eden, and of which they were stripped afterwards; in fact, it is an encrypted reversal of the Fall from Paradise narrative. While Original Sin caused the loss of the angelic status enjoyed by the first people and triggered their expulsion from Paradise, their new status as mortals was signified by the replacement of the heavenly garments

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[32] See Popov [1880: 104–105].

[33] See Popov [1880: 105].

of light with "coats of skins"; becoming mortal also meant that they were to wear clothes tailored by human hands. The removal of Enoch's earthly garments indicates that at this point he becomes "the New Adam" and regains the pristine heavenly status of mankind before the Fall.

Enoch is then anointed with oil which is "like blessed dew", and its fragrance was like myrrh, shining like the Sun's rays. Thus Enoch becomes "one of His glorious ones", and there was no obvious difference between him and God's angels:

> Помаза мѧ, и wблече мѧ, и видѣнїе масла wнаго паче свѣта велика, и маст' его яко роса блг҃аѧ: и вонѧ его смирна, яко лоуча слн҃чнаѧ л'щоущесѧ, и соглѧда[x]сѧ самъ, и быхъ яко единъ w҃ славны[x] его.[34]

At this point, God summons the archangel Pravoil (var. *Vrevoil*, that is, Uriel) famous for being swifter in wisdom than the other archangels, and orders him to bring out from the divine treasury exquisite books, which were likewise anointed with myrrh. In fact, the scribe Enoch — who has just been anointed with the heavenly oil — *becomes* their anthropomorphic icon. Both the scribe and the heavenly books are numinously transformed into "vessels" of divine mysteries. Along with the celebrated scriptures brought out from God's treasury, Enoch is given a reed(-stylus), so that he may record their contents under Uriel's dictation. The archangel tells Enoch about all celestial and terrestrial activities; he further instructs him about the movements of all elements, and about the trajectories of their calendrical fluctuations and movements. Significantly, Enoch is also taught about thunder-divination according to the *Zodiac-signs*, i.e. brontoscopy.

For thirty days and thirty nights Enoch writes down Vrevoils' revelations, and then for another thirty days and thirty nights he records in his heavenly archives "all the souls of the people" who are yet to be born, since — as pointed out by the angelic narrator — the path of every soul is predestined even before the creation of Earth. Thus Enoch composes 366 celestial books of "holy secrets", the contents of which he is commanded to recount to his sons and household on behalf of God. Having completed this task, "the wise man and great scribe" Enoch is asked by the Creator to sit on His left side. It is no coincidence that the visionary sits on God's left, since this is a subtle allusion to both Luke and Mark, who explicitly refer to Jesus as sitting on

[34] See Popov [1880: 105].

his Father's right after the Resurrection and Ascent. To the Christian redactors and readers of *The Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*, this reference is transparent.

Yet when the visionary takes his place next to God, the narrative switches; it is no longer Enoch who speaks; now begins the Creator's monologue in which a hexameral account — alternative to the canonical Genesis cosmogony — unfolds. The reader witnesses the creation of the Universe day by day and learns about the divine economy behind it. The anthropogonic narrative is now dominated by the theme of mutual reciprocity between the Macrocosm and Microcosm.[35] Adam is seen as a creature having a likeness to the Universe: his flesh is of earth,[36] his blood is from dew, his eyes from sun, his bones from stone,[37] his thoughts from "angelic alacrity and from clouds",[38] his sinews (and hair) "from the grasses of the earth",[39] his soul "from God's Spirit and from wind"[40]:

> В' шестїй днѣ повелѣхъ моудрости моей, сътворити чл҃ка ѿ седми съставъ. а҃ плоть его ѿ землѣ. в҃ кровъ его ѿ росьі. г҃ очи его ѿ слн҃ца. д҃ кости его ѿ каменѧ. е҃ помьіслъ его ѿ борзости аггл҃кой. и ѿ wблака. s҃ жильі его и власьі его ѿ травьі земной. з҃ дша҃ его ѿ дха҃ моего и вѣтра.[41]

The first man is also given seven traits: hearing, seeing, smell, tactility (the sense of touch), taste, "durability of his bones", and "pleasure of his thoughts":

> и дахъ емоу з҃ ест҃твъ. слоухъ ко плоти. возрѣнїе wчи. wбонѧнїе дше҃вное. осѧзанїе жьіли. вькоушенїе кровъ. кости терпѣнїю. помьіслоу сладость.[42]

In the Enochic anthropogonic scheme, the symbolism of numbers plays a significant role and *seven* becomes the emblematic number of Creation. Man and World are beings alike, as the scenario of the origin of the latter follows that of the former; i.e.

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[35] See Böttrich [1995], Syrtsova [2014: 56–57].

[36] On the homologies of earth and flesh in Indo-European cosmogonies (with special emphasis on *2 Enoch*), see Lincoln [1986: 4-16, 21-25].

[37] On the implementation of 'bone' as a corporeal alloform for 'stone' in Indo-European creation myths, see West [1971: 377] and Lincoln [1986: 7, 12-16, 21-25].

[38] On the mythological derivation of 'thoughts' from 'clouds', see Lincoln [1986: 19-25].

[39] On the Indo-European homology "plants=hair" as manifestation of the inner reciprocity between the microcosmic body and macrocosmic universe, see Lincoln [1986: 16-17, 21-25].

[40] On the Indo-European mythopoeic equation "soul=wind=God's breath", see Badalanova Geller [2011: 42-47; 74-79].

[41] See Popov [1880: 112].

[42] See Popov [1880: 112].

they both share the same pattern of Creation. Furthermore, Adam's body as a micro-model of the Creation of the Universe is similarly interpreted in some other Old Church Slavonic apocryphal sources, such as *The Sea of Tiberias*, as well as *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik*, *The Erotapokriseis Razumnik-Ukaz*, *The Discussion Between the Three Saints, etc*.[43] This kind of intertextuality indicates that Enochic tradition significantly influenced the apocryphal "landscape" of medieval Slavonic literature. Furthermore it appears to have functioned as the ultimate model for the para-Biblical Creation scenario also in folklore tradition (i.e. in spiritual rhymes [духовные стихи], etc.).[44]

I would like to conclude my talk by raising the following question. What does the Enochic narrative tell us about the Bible itself? — in fact, an enormous amount. The descriptions of heavens in Slavonic Enochic corpus provide crucial information about the Cosmology *behind* and *beyond* the biblical text, and it intends to re-create a view of the world — celestial and terrestrial — at the time of the first generations of mankind. It fills in the missing gaps in the scriptural narrative, and by attributing this vivid and descriptive knowledge of heavenly reality to Enoch, the early sage from the 7th generation after Creation, the text wants us to accept his authority as a witness to the divine realm. This reminds us of the fact that the Bible did not contain or even intend to reflect the sum total of all ancient Jewish cosmogonic narratives, but numerous accounts of the biblical world were remembered as oral accounts which only surfaced much later as written texts and records. As for the case of Enoch, this very ancient account came to us — almost miraculously — in Slavonic form, with no surviving predecessors in other languages, bringing along the cultural memory of the ancient Israel. Indeed, the real antiquity of the Enochic epic as a narrative composition is something we need to consider more seriously. It is no coincidence that the medieval Slavonic men of letters, who translated this apocryphal apocalyptic composition from Greek, named it *The Book of the Holy Mysteries of Enoch*; indeed, it is a tale about "the heavenly pedigree" of this Book and of the testimony of the scribe who composed it.

[43] Cf. Badalanova Geller [2011: 73–78].

[44] Cf. Lincoln [1986: 4-40].

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