

HEAVENLY WRITINGS: CELESTIAL COSMOGRAPHY IN *THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH*

(КНИГѢ СТѢ ТАИНЫ ЕНОХ^о)¹

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1. The apocryphal Enochic corpus

The apocryphal *Books of Enoch* were originally composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic probably no later than the 1st century BC. They survived in three versions: Ethiopic (*1 Enoch*)², Slavonic (*2 Enoch*, also known as *The Book(s) of the Secrets of Enoch the Just*, or *The Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*)³, and Hebrew (*3 Enoch*)⁴.

¹ A shorter version of this text was presented at a conference organised by A. Kulik at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on “Early Judaism and the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha” (4–6 June 2012). Preliminary results of my research on *Enochic chronotope* (and related patterns of celestial topography) within the intellectual milieu of the Byzantine Commonwealth appeared in some of my earlier publications: see Badalanova Geller 2010; 2012. I am now engaged in finishing a new edition of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (КНИГѢ СТѢ ТАИНЫ ЕНОХ^о) from the Manuscript 321 from the Belgrade National Library. Provided in the Appendix below are fragments from the same Ms. (in translation).

² Extant Aramaic fragments from Qumran parallel the Ethiopic version: see Milik 1976; Bayro 2005. For further information on *1 Enoch* see Charles 1913: 163–277; Knibb 1978; Greenfield, Stone 1977: 51–65; 1979: 89–103; Sparks 1984: 169–319; Charlesworth 1983: 5–89; Vanderkam 1984; Nickelsburg 2001; Reed 2005; Schäfer 2009: 53–76; Христова 2008: 11–13, 25–105. After the discoveries of Qumran it has been suggested that some sections of *1 Enoch* (i.e. the earliest manuscripts of the *Astronomical Book*) may be dated to the end of the third / beginning of the second century BCE; see the discussion in Collins 1998: 25–84. For a general survey of the literature on Jewish apocalyptic tradition, see Stone 1980; Himelfarb 1983; 2010.

³ It has been announced recently that fragments of *2 Enoch* (chapters 36–42) were discovered in 1972 in Coptic manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia. They are being currently studied by Joost Hagen (Leiden University, the Netherlands); see <http://smes weblog.leidenuniv.nl/2009/04/14/no-longer-slavonic-only-2-enoch-attested>.

⁴ See the discussion in Charlesworth 1983: 223–315; Schäfer 2009: 33, 315–330; 2012: 103–149.

The protograph of the *2 Enoch*⁵ presumably originated from a Greek *Vorlage* which was based on either Hebrew or Aramaic original; it is argued that the earliest translation of this (no longer extant) Greek prototext (which was fostered by Septuagint-related tradition⁶ and further influenced by Christian ideology of the Byzantine Commonwealth) appeared most probably in Bulgaria in the 10th century⁷; Jordan Ivanov suggests as *terminus ante quem* 11th–12th cent.⁸ *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* survived in two major recensions (shorter and longer)⁹; some

⁵ The first translation of “the Slavonic Enoch” into English was made by W. R. Morfill; it was edited by R. H. Charles and published as a monograph (with his introduction, notes and indices); see Morfill, Charles 1896. Recensions of *2 Enoch* were also published by J. H. Charlesworth (Charlesworth 1983: 91–221) and H. F. D. Sparks (Sparks 1984: 169–362). For more details, see A. Pennington’s Introduction to her translation of the shorter recension in H. F. D. Sparks’ edition (Pennington 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; 1905: 395–397, 399–402; 1910; Иванов 1925: 165–191; Мещерский 1963: 130–147; 1964: 91–108; Петканова 1981: 49–63, 350–352; Навтанович 2000: 204–241, 387–392; Христова 2008: 16–18, 107–132, 143–145; as well as Bonwetsch 1896; 1922; Schmidt 1921: 307–312; Vaillant 1952; Santos Otero 1981; 1984: 147–202; Böttrich 1991; 1996; 1997; Alexander 1998: 101–104, 116–117; Anderson 2000: 99–102; Stone 2000: 45–48; Orlov 2004; 2007; Badalanova Geller 2010; Schäfer 2009: 77–85.

⁶ One detail (among many others) suggesting a distinct awareness of the Septuagint pattern on *2 Enoch* can be seen in the age of Enoch when he fathers Methuselah. This detail is often omitted in shorter recensions, but when it is included, Enoch’s age is given as 165 years, as in Septuagint, rather than the 65 years, as in the Masoretic text and Vulgate. Of particular importance in this connection is the discussion in the recently published seminal article by Nicholas de Lange, who maintains that “Byzantine Jews used Greek Bible translations” (de Lange 2010: 39), and that “Akyla’s translation was still being read publicly in the sixth century and maybe much later” (de Lange 2010: 46). He further argues, “that Byzantine Jewish men, from an early age, learned to read the Hebrew Bible not only through the medium of the Greek language [. . .] but with the help of translations into Greek that were largely based on the second-century CE translations of Akylas, with its totally distinctive Greek vocabulary and approach to translation”, see de Lange 2010: 53.

On the shifting chronology of Enoch’s life in the Old Greek Translation of *The Book of Genesis* and the Hebrew text, with special emphasis on Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* also following the Septuagint and thus “having Enoch live 165 years before he begets children instead of 65 years as in the Masoretic text”, see Larson 2005: 86–87.

⁷ Петканова 1982: 351. However, some scholars have argued (unconvincingly from my point of view) that: 1) the first translation of *2 Enoch* into Old Church Slavonic was made in medieval Russia; 2) it was a direct translation from a (now lost) Hebrew/Aramaic protograph, but not from a (no longer extant) Greek *Vorlage*; 3) this earliest translation of *2 Enoch* represented the shorter recension of the apocryphon, on the basis of which the longer recension eventually emerged; see Мещерский 1963: 130–147; 1964: 93–102.

⁸ Иванов 1925: 167.

⁹ For surveys of Slavonic MSS containing *The Book(s) of the Secrets of Enoch*, see Соколов 1899; 1910; Яцимирский 1921: 81–88; Иванов 1925: 165–166;

scholars suggest, however, that there might be a need for a further terminological clarification and hence more precise taxonomy based on the length of the text thus dividing the recensions into three categories: shorter, intermediate and longer. I follow the classification according to which the text-witnesses are designated as either belonging to the shorter or to the longer recension.

The most exhaustive palaeographic assessment of MSS containing 2 *Enoch* remains that of A. I. Iatsimirskii. In his monumental *Bibliographical Survey of South-Slavonic and Russian Apocryphal Literature: Catalogue of Monuments (Old Testament Apocrypha)*¹⁰, he devotes a special chapter to the Enochic corpus. There he lists the following text-witnesses¹¹:

i. MS № 321 (fols. 269a–323a); until 1941 part of the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade¹². The text is a 16th century Bulgarian redaction¹³ (see the translation below); it represents the longer recension. According to Sokolov, the MS was copied by a certain “Monk Sava” (“іеромонахъ Савва”)¹⁴, the encrypted version of whose name (rendered as СДВЛЪ)¹⁵ appears on fol. 177 (in the third paragraph)¹⁶.

ii. MS № 13.3.25 (fols. 93a–125a) from the Academy of Sciences Collection (St Petersburg), Bulgarian redaction, copied in the 15th–16th century in Romania¹⁷; the text represents the longer recension.

Мещерский 1964: 93–94; Andersen 1983: 92; Pennington 1984: 326–327. For text-editions of some of the MSS and examination of related secondary literature, see Sokolov 1899; 1910; Пыпин 1862: 15–16; Тихомиров 1863: 19–23; Порфирьев 1877: 51–52; Иванов 1925: 167–180; Петканова 1982: 49–63, 350–352; see also Morrill, Charles 1896; Forbes, Charles 1913: 425–469; Bonwetsch 1896; 1922; Vaillant 1952; Andersen 1983: 91–221; Pennington 1984: 321–362; Santos Otero 1984: 147–202.

¹⁰ See Яцимирский 1921: 81–88, but also Sokolov 1910: 10–122.

¹¹ An earlier (and less detailed) list of the text-witnesses can be found in my Max Planck Preprint, see Badalanova Geller 2010.

¹² Published by Sokolov 1899: 1–80 and used as “the basic variant” (“положень въ основу”) of the longer recension; see also the discussion on the text in the posthumous publication of his research notes (Sokolov 1910: 8, 10–32). Vaillant, Andersen and Pennington designate it as “MS R”, whereas Bonwetsch refers to it as “MS S”.

¹³ Sokolov 1899: 1–80; 1910: 10–32, Мещерский 1964: 93.

¹⁴ Sokolov’s reading of the name of the scribe is based on his earlier research on medieval Slavonic cryptography; Sokolov 1910: 16–17.

¹⁵ The latter (i.e. the alias ‘Savl’) can also be allegorically interpreted as a version of the name ‘Pavel’ (i.e. Paul); see Acts (13:9).

¹⁶ In fact, it was scribe’s signature (“подпись писца”); Sokolov 1910: 16.

¹⁷ Excerpts published by Sokolov 1910: 47–53 (who designated it as “Ms Я”); this copy forms the basis of the English translation of the longer recension of 2 *Enoch* produced by F. Andersen (Andersen 1983: 102–212). Bonwetsch, Vaillant, Andersen and Pennington designate it as “MS J”. The original MS still remains unpublished.

iii. “The Poltava MS” (fols. 1–25) from the Khludov Collection of the State Historical Museum (ГИМ, Собрание Хлудова)¹⁸, Ruthenian redaction¹⁹. It was copied in 1679, in the Orthodox Monastery of the Exaltation of the Cross in Poltava (now Ukraine), at that time part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This initiative was accomplished due to the efforts of a certain hieromonk Gennadius, who was also the hegumen of the monastery (Кнѣга ѿ тѣннахъ єноховныхъ сѣна Арѣдова мѣжа мѣдра н бѣголюбѣва. Спнсаѣна въ градѣ Полтавѣ. При црцвѣ Храма Въскрѣніа Гда Бга н Спса нашего Іс Ха. В лѣто ѿ созданіа мнра:... Спніа же Га Бга Нашего Іс. Ха рдхоф. За стараніамъ въ іеромонасехъ Всечестнаго Гда ѿца Генадіа бывшаго ігуменѣ в Полтавѣ. При ѿбѣтѣли Воздвиженіа Гда). According to its opening clause (“прѣдмова”), the MS was dedicated to the young Ruthenian Prince Alexander Konstantinovich Ostrogski (“іасне ѿсвѣціономъ в вѣлѣжно Кнѣзати ѿ Пнѣ. Пнѣ Александрови Константїновичѣ. Бжїєю Млтію Кнѣ Устрѣзкомѣ. Воеводичови Кїевскомѣ”), whose premature death occurred in 1603²⁰. As for the text of 2 *Enoch* itself, it is considered to be a “poorly copied, full of scribal errors version of an earlier Moldavian-Bulgarian MS” which is “rather close in its content to MS № 13.3.25 (fols. 93–125) from the Academy of Sciences Collection (St Petersburg)”²¹. It represents the longer recension.

iv. MS № 3 /18 (fols. 626b–638b) from the Uvarov Collection, now in the State Historical Museum (ГИМ), Moscow. The MS is a 15th century Russian redaction copied from an earlier Bulgarian protograph²²; the text represents the shorter recension.

¹⁸ First published by A. Popov in 1880 in Vol. 3 of the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow* (П о п о в 1880: 67, 75–83, 89–139) and then by Ф р а н к о 1896: 39–64; see also the commentaries on the text in С о к о л о в 1910: 32–33 and М е щ е р с к и й 1964: 93. The edition of Popov was used as a primary witness to the text of the longer recension in the translation of 2 *Enoch* into English (by Morfill and Charles, and later by Forbes and Charles, who designated it “MS A”) and into German (by Bonwetsch, who refers to it as “MS P”). Vaillant and Andersen also mark it as “MS P”.

¹⁹ See V a i l l a n t 1952: viii.

²⁰ He was the much lamented son of the renowned Prince Konstantin Ostrogskii (Князь Константин Острожский), 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” (“Острожская Библия”); see П о п о в 1880: 73–74.

²¹ See М е щ е р с к и й 1964: 93: “Этот список был переписан в Полтаве в 1679 г., он представляет собою очень дурную и полную ошибок копию более древней молдавско-болгарской рукописи, текст которой очень близок к предшествующей” (i.e. “рукопись бывшей коллекции А. И. Яцимирского, ныне хранящаяся в Библиотеке Академии наук СССР, БАН № 13.3.25”); see also Vaillant 1952: viii.

²² In his edition of the 16th–17th century Bulgarian recension of the text of 2 *Enoch* (MS № 321 from the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade), Sokolov provides parallel readings from this text-witness (С о к о л о в 1899: 1–80). The

v. MS № 45.13.4 (*Хронографический сборникъ*) (fols. 357a–366b.) from the Academy of Sciences Collection in Sankt Peterburg (now Библиотека РАН); it was copied in Russia in the second half of the 16th century. It was discovered by V. Sreznevskii in June 1902 in Vologda during his palaeographic expedition. According to V. Sreznevskii, the text is a twin of Uvarov’s MS № 3 /18 (fols. 626b–638b) (“двойникъ Уваровской”)²³, and betrays an earlier Bulgarian protograph²⁴; the text represents the shorter recension.

vi. MS № 151/443 (fols. 1–25), Serbian redaction copied in the 16th century from an earlier Russian text²⁵; until 1941 part of the Collection of the National Library in Belgrade²⁶; the text represents the shorter recension.

vii. MS № 2722 (fols. 9a–34b) from the 17th century, part of the Barsov Collection²⁷ from the State Historical Museum (ГИМ), Moscow; the text represents the shorter recension.

viii. MS № 1828 (fols. 522–545) composed in the 17th century, Russian redaction; part of the Uvarov Collection²⁸. It represents the shorter recension.

ix. MS № 125 (fols. 308b–330a) from the (then) Court Library Collection, Vienna (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)²⁹; Serbian redaction

full edition appears in the posthumous publication of his research notes (С о к о л о в 1910: 111–130); see also his comments on the history of the discovery of the MS and its content (С о к о л о в 1910: 9, 33–44). Sokolov designates the text as “the intermediate recension” (“промежуточная редакция”), a definition disputed by both В о н в е т с х (1922) and V a i l l a n t (1952) who prefer to classify it as a primary witness to the text of “the shorter recension”. This edition forms the basis of the French translation of *The Book(s) of the Secrets of Enoch* by V a i l l a n t (1952) and the English translation of the text by P e n n i n g t o n (1984).

²³ See his “Report to the Department of Russian Language and Literature at the Imperial Academy of Sciences regarding the expedition to the Olonetsk, Vologda and Perm regions (carried out in June 1902): list of acquired manuscripts” (С р е з н е в с к и й 1903: 109–111, 122–123). This edition forms the basis of the English translation of the text of MS A produced by F. Andersen (1983: 102–212). The text was published and translated into modern Russian (with accompanying commentary apparatus) by L. Navtanovich (Н а в т а н о в и ч 2000: 204–241, 387–92).

²⁴ С р е з н е в с к и й 1903: 110.

²⁵ See М е щ е р с к и й 1964: 93–94.

²⁶ First published by N о в а к о в и ć (1884), and later referred to (as a witness to the shorter recension) by С о к о л о в 1899: 83–107; it is further used as the basic text for the translation (of the shorter recension of 2 *Enoch*) into English (first by Morfill and Charles, and later by Forbes and Charles), and into German (by Bonwetsch).

²⁷ Published by Sokolov (С о к о л о в 1899: 83–107) who used it as the basic variant of the “shorter recension” (“сокращенная редакция”); see also the commentaries on the content of the MS in the edition in С о к о л о в 1910: 54–69.

²⁸ The MS was published by М и л ь к о в, П о л я н с к и й 2009: 459–493, along with translation of the text into modern Russian and commentaries (М и л ь к о в, П о л я н с к и й 2009: 494–551).

²⁹ Used by Sokolov as a parallel variant in his edition of the shorter recension (С о к о л о в 1899: 83–107); see also his research notes (С о к о л о в 1910: 74–77).

copied in the 16th–17th century from an earlier Russian text³⁰. It represents the shorter recension.

x. MS (fols. 87–98b) composed in 1701; part of the Barsov Collection³¹. It represents the shorter recension.

xi. MS № 3092 (fols. 93–99b) dated to the 18th century; at the time when Iatsimirskii produced his *Bibliographical Survey*, the MS was part of the Collection of the Society of Lovers of Ancient Literature (“Общество любителей древней письменности”)³². It represents the shorter recension.

Iatsimirskii further lists another 26 fragmentary witnesses to *2 Enoch* (“извлечения из памятника”), with the most significant among them being the following MSS³³:

i. The 14th century *Merilo Pravednoe* (*Мерило Праведное*) from MS № 15 (fols. 36–38), from the Troitse-Sergievskaiia Lavra Collection³⁴;

ii. MS № 202 [489] (fols. 335–337r) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow), dated to the beginning of the 15th century³⁵;

iii. The 15th century *Kormchaia* (*Кормчая*) from MS № 556 (fols. 598b–602b) from the Uvarov Collection;

iv. *Merilo Pravednoe* (*Мерило Праведное*) and *Kormchaia* (*Кормчая*) from the 15th century from MS № 187 (fols. 34–37) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow);

v. *Kormchaia* (*Кормчая*) from the 15th–16th century from MS № 414 (fols. 109–460) from the Theological Academy of Kazan Library Collection;

vi. MS № 253 (fols. 543–545) from the Holy Synod Library Collection (Moscow), dated to the beginning of the 17th century³⁶;

vii. MS № 3058 (fols. 391–393) from the Rumiantsev Museum, dated to the 18th century³⁷;

³⁰ See Мещерский 1964: 94; Соколов 1910: 77; the MS was published by T. Jovanović (Јовановић 2003: 209–238).

³¹ Published by Sokolov (Соколов 1910: 131–142) as a variant of the “shorter recension” (“список сокращенной редакции”), and designated by him as MS *B'*; see also the commentaries in his research notes (Соколов 1910: 69–72). Unfortunately, the current signature of the MS is not available to me.

³² The Society ceased to exist in 1932; since it was re-established in 2008 as a result of the initiative of the Manuscript Department of the Russian National Library (Отдел рукописей РГБ), it can be assumed that now the MS in question is part of its archival collection.

³³ See Яцимирский 1921: 85–88, based on Соколов 1910: 77–105.

³⁴ Published by Tikhonravov (Тихонравов 1863: 20–23); see the analysis in Соколов 1910: 106–118. The English translation of the text of the MS is produced by Andersen 1983: 216–221; see also the discussion there (Andersen 1983: 215).

³⁵ See Соколов 1910: 92–93.

³⁶ Published by Соколов 1910: 155–157; see also his research notes (Соколов 1910: 89–92).

³⁷ Published by Соколов 1910: 145–147; see also his research notes (Соколов 1910: 77–79).

viii. MS № 578/147 (fols. 164–168) from the Rumiantsov Museum, dated to the 16th century³⁸;

ix. MS № 793 (fols. 401–402) from the Troitse-Sergievskaja Lavra Collection, dated to the 16th century³⁹.

In 1981, Klimentina Ivanova drew attention to one more fragment from the hitherto uncatalogued M. P. Pogodin's Collection of MSS (kept in the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in St. Petersburg). The 16th century MS No 1939 (fols 289a–292a) from this Collection contains СЛОВО ОТ КНИГЪ ЕНОХА ПРАВЕДНАГО. СЛЫШИТЕ ЧАДО МОЕ ПРЕЖЕ НЕ ВЫША Г[ОСПО]ДЬ ПОСТАВИ ВЪКА ТВАРЬНАГО И ПОТОМ СОТВОРИ ВСЮ ТВАРЬНАГО⁴⁰.

In his assessment of the recent studies on the Slavonic *Book of Enoch*, Ch. Böttrich further points out that since the time of the *Catalogue* of Iatsimirskii, some new fragments have been discovered; these were listed in his own survey⁴¹. Of special interest for him are the final fragments of 2 *Enoch* containing the Melchisedek account; some of them develop as an independent narratives⁴².

Last but not least, in 2007 Johannes Reinhart reports the results of his recent analysis of a Croatian Glagolitic excerpt of the *Slavonic Enoch* (also concerned with the Melchisedek narrative)⁴³.

There is one important detail that has so far escaped the attention of scholarly examination of 2 *Enoch*; to the best of my knowledge, it has never been pointed out that all (so far registered) text-witnesses of the longer recension of the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* are either *Bulgarian redactions* (i.e. MS № 321 from the Belgrade National Library and MS № 13.3.25 from the Academy of Sciences Collection in St Petersburg), or represent a version based on an earlier Bulgarian original (as is the case with the South-Russian/Ruthenian “Poltava MS” from the Khludov Collection of the State Historical Museum, copied in 1679). This detail, I believe, is of great importance for the assessment of the reception history of 2 *Enoch* within the realm of the Byzantine Commonwealth.

The question of whether the earliest Slavonic translation represented the shorter or the longer recension still remains open⁴⁴. However, on the basis of the cross-textual analysis of the MSS provided by Sokolov (and others) it can be argued that the longer recension preceded the shorter one⁴⁵. I share this opinion.

³⁸ Published by С о к о л о в 1910: 153–155; see also his research notes (С о к о л о в 1910: 84–89).

³⁹ Published by С о к о л о в 1910: 161–162 and Т и х о н р а в о в 1863: 19–20; 26–28.

⁴⁰ И в а н о в а 1981: 492.

⁴¹ Б ö t t r i c h 1991: 39.

⁴² See also the survey of the Melchisedek narrative in М и л ь к о в , П о л я н с к и й 2009: 453.

⁴³ R e i n h a r t 2007.

⁴⁴ For a brief survey of the two opposite scholarly opinions on this matter, see A n d e r s e n 1983: 93 and P e n n i n g t o n 1984: 322–323.

⁴⁵ С о к о л о в 1899; 1910. Following Vaillant, Pennington argues that the longer recension “in its pristine form” is found only in the Belgrade MS 321 (i.e. Sokolov's

As for the first reference to the Enochic apocryphal corpus within the context of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, it is found in *Symeon's Florilegium*⁴⁶ (i.e. the *Sviatoslav Miscellany*) Fol. 254; Enoch is mentioned in the section devoted to the *Index of Esoteric/Prohibited Books* (КАНКОЖЕ СЪКРОВЪНЫИХЪ), the authorship of which is attributed to Isidor of Pelusium (d. c. 450). In fact, *Enoch* is listed at its very top, coming in second position after the *Life of Adam and Eve*:

КАНКОЖЕ СЪКРОВЪНЫИХЪ • АДАМЪ • ВЪ • ЕНОХЪ • ГЪ • МАЛЕХЪ • Д • ПАТРЪАРСН • Е
 • МОЛНТВА НОСНФОВА • З • КАДАА • З • ЗАВЪТЪ МОУСННЪ • Н • ВЪСХОДЪ МОУСННН
 • Ф • УАЛМОСН СОЛОМОНН • Г • НАННО ОБАВЛЕННН • ІА • НСАННО ВНАДЪННН • ІВ • СОФОНННО
 ОБАВЛЕННН • П • ЗАХАРННО ІАВЛЕННН • ДІ • НАКОВАА ПОВЕСТЬ • ІЕ • ПЕТРОВО ОБАВЛЕННН
 • ІЗ • ОБЪХОДН Н ОУЧЕНННА АПАСКА • НІ • ВАРНАВЛЕ ПОСЫЛАННН • ІФ • ДЪАННН ПАУЛЕ •
 К • ПАУЛОВО ОБАВЛЕННН • ІА • ОУЧЕННН КАМЕНТОВО • ІВ • НГНАТОВО ОУЧЕННН • ІГ •
 ПОЛОУКАРПОВО ОУЧЕННН • ІД • ЕУАГГЕЛНН ОТЪ ВАРНАВЫ⁴⁷.

Still, the appearance of *Enoch* in the *Index of Prohibited Books* in *Symeon's Florilegium* cannot be considered as corroborative evidence proving “beyond doubt” that the actual apocryphon was in circulation in *Slavia Orthodoxa* at the time when the *Florilegium* was compiled/copied. It can just mean that the scribe simply followed the original Greek protograph of the *Florilegium* (of which the *Index of Prohibited Books* was already a part). However, on the basis of the appearance of *Enoch* in the Slavonic version of the *Index of Prohibited Books*, an argument can be put forward that by the time when its protograph was composed, a Greek recension of *Enoch* was also known to the compiler.

The same applies to the multiple, repetitive attestations of the stock phrase “the books of Enoch” (var. “the books of the righteous Enoch”) in Slavonic recensions of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*⁴⁸; they may simply reflect the content of the Greek *Vorlage*. However, the systematic references in *The Testaments of*

primary witness to the text); Andersen's translation of MS *J* of 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*) brings new data into the discussion, but with the original text still remaining unpublished (although fragments are found in Sokolov's posthumous papers).

⁴⁶ For an exhaustive survey of the enormous bibliographical corpus of scholarly contributions concerned with the intellectual and socio-political context of *Symeon's Florilegium*, see Д и н е к о в 1991: 9–17; Л е в о ч к и н 1984: 33–40; И в а н о в а 1979: 57–96; Т h o m p s o n 1993: 37–57.

⁴⁷ Симеонов сборник 1991: 701.

⁴⁸ Thus in Chapter 5: 5–6 of *The Testament of Simeon* (ЗАВЪТЪ СЕДНО), the following statement is made: “I have seen it in the account (var. report, relation) in the books of Enoch that your sons together with you will be corrupted by fornication” (ВНАДЪХЪ ОУБО ВЪ СКАЗАНЫИ КНИГЪ ЕНОХОВЪ ЯКО СНВЕ ВАШИ С ВАМИ ВЪ БЪЛОУЖЕНЫИ НСТАВЮТЬ); see Т и х о н р а в о в 1863: 100; П о р ф и р ъ е в 1877: 161. Similar references can be found in *The Testament of Levi* (ЗАВЪТЪ ЛЕВИНН): “as it stands written in the books of the righteous Enoch” (БО РЕЧЕ ВЪ КНИГАХЪ ЕНОХА ПРАВЕДНАГО); “I understand from the writings of Enoch”

the Twelve Patriarchs to the “books of Enoch”, along with parallel attestations of some similar concepts (e.g. the idea of “seven traits”, or “seven spirits” which were given to man at the Creation), indicate that these two apocrypha must have shared a common intellectual background. Indeed, both of them are listed in the *Index of Prohibited Books* in *Symeon’s Florilegium*. Still, the question of chronological boundaries for the translation of *2 Enoch* into Old Church Slavonic/Bulgarian remains open.

On the other hand, the linguistic analysis of the text of *2 Enoch* indicates that its Slavonic *Vorlage* was most probably written originally in Glagolitic script and only later converted to Cyrillic. Indicative in this respect is the shift between particular numbers in various recensions and especially the alteration of 6 to 5, due to the different numerical value of the letter Ё (ѣтъ) within the two scripts; while the numeral equivalent of the letter ‘ѣ’ in Cyrillic alphabet is ‘5’ (ѣ), in Glagolitic the same letter has the numeral value of ‘6’. Thus, when taken to the western side of this Heaven, Enoch sees (according to some of the versions of the apocryphon) five large gates through which the sun sets; according to other versions, however, the number of these gates is six⁴⁹. This kind of discrepancies between various redactions suggests that the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period when the transition from

(разоумѣхъ ѿ писменн Енохова); “I understand from the books of Enoch” (оувѣдахъ в кннгахъ еноховахъ); see Т и х о н р а в о в 1863: 110–111; П о р ф и р ъ е в 1877: 169. See also similar citations in *The Testament of Judah* (Завѣтъ Нюдннъ): “And I have also seen what was written in the books of the righteous Enoch about the evils you will commit in the last days” (оувндѣхъ оубо рѣ в кннгахъ еноховахъ еанко зла створите в послѣднѣа днн; var. оувндѣхъ бо рече в’ кннгахъ еноховахъ еанко зло сотворите в’ послѣднѣа днн); see Т и х о н р а в о в 1863: 115; П о р ф и р ъ е в 1877: 172. Further parallel quotations can be found in *The Testament of Dan* (Завѣтъ Данов’ о ѣростн н о гнѣвъѣ): “I have understood from the books of the righteous Enoch” (разоумѣхъ бо во кннгахъ еноха праведнаго; var. разоумѣхъ бо во кннгахъ еноха Праведнаго) (Т и х о н р а в о в 1863: 126, П о р ф и р ъ е в 1877: 181), as well as in *The Testament of Benjamin* (Завѣтъ Бенъ-ѣамн’): “I gather from the words of the righteous Enoch that you will give yourselves up to Sodomite practices” (разоумѣхомъ же о словесн еноха праведнаго съблюдетежеса чадд моа блочженѣа содомска; var. разоумѣхомъ же во словесн еноха праведнаго соблюдетежеса чадд моа блочженѣа содомска) (Т и х о н р а в о в 1863: 144, П о р ф и р ъ е в 1877: 193). However, in some cases, as in *The Testament of Asher* (Завѣтъ Ашеровъ), when some Slavonic texts give a reference to “the books of the righteous Enoch” (П о р ф и р ъ е в 1877: 187), this very reference may be missing from extant Greek versions; the latter case is most intriguing, as it suggests that either the Slavonic recensions used different Greek protographs, or that the text was changed in the process of translation and/or compilation. Further on the relationship between the Enochic corpus and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which was part of the text of the *Palaea*), see F o r b e s, C h a r l e s 1913: 428–429; H i g g i n s 1953: 321–336; N i c k e l s b u r g 2001: 96.

⁴⁹ See fn. 111 below.

the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script took place. Lexicographic examination of the Enochic thesaurus supports this argument; the analysis of the vocabulary of heavenly cosmography referring to the ‘Garden of Eden’ / ‘Paradise’ / ‘Heaven’, for instance, shows that there is terminological fluctuation in the narrative. Different renditions of certain celestial toponyms are attested throughout the Enochic corpus, with *порода* and *ран* being employed concurrently. However, while *ран* tends to stretch its temporal dimensions up to the modern dialects, the use of the form *порода* (= *παράδεισος*), with its earliest attestations in both Glagolitic (e.g. *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis* and *Codex Assemanianus*) and Cyrillic (e.g. *Codex Suprasliensis*) MSS from the 10th–11th centuries, passes its peak in the 13th century and gradually becomes obsolete⁵⁰.

Furthermore some lexical features – such as the stock phrase “хитрое слово” (that is, ‘word as instrument/agent of divine Creation’), which refers to the semantic cluster *хитрость* (craftsmanship, artisanship, creativity), *хитръ* (crafty, creative), *хитръць* (craftsman, artisan, creator), and ultimately to the concept of the Creator as craftsman and artisan – point towards the north-east, i.e. “Preslav Literary School” (Преславска книжовна школа)⁵¹ as a place of origin, rather than to the south-west region of medieval Bulgaria (as suggested by Vaillant and Pennington). These arguments will be presented elsewhere.

⁵⁰ See in this connection Старославянский словарь 1999: 481 and Ф а с м е р 3: 330. Furthermore the survey of Slavonic monuments in which the lexeme *порода* (= *παράδεισος*) is attested shows that most of them were copied before the 13th century (С р е з н е в с к и й 1895: 1208–1209). Of course, there are also later attestations of the form, but it gradually ceased to exist as a part of the active lexicon; see СРЯ 1991: 120–121. As for the *Enochic* corpus, it routinely conveyed the lexicon of earlier versions. One such case is presented by the 15th century account of *2 Enoch* (Russian redaction) from MS 3 (18) from the State Historical Museum (ГИМ) in Moscow. The anonymous Russian scribe renders the phrase “and placed me in the middle of Paradise” as *поставиша мя посреѣ, породе*, employing the same term for ‘Paradise’ as the one used in earlier Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts from the Balkans. This kind of linguistic data is rather useful in defining both the time and the place of origin of the earliest Old Church Slavonic copies of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. In this particular case, evidence gathered from lexicographic sources suggests that the *terminus ante quem* for the translation/compilation of the Slavonic protograph of *2 Enoch* was the period when the transition from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic script occurred; as for the place of origin, the evidence points towards Bulgarian scribal tradition of that period. See also the discussion below, p. 209–210.

⁵¹ For the lexeme “хитрость” (τέχνη, ἡ ‘craftsmanship’, ‘artisanry’), together with “гораздѣство” (ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ‘knowledge’) as unambiguous features of the explicit philosophical “vocabulary of Creation” used by John the Exarch in his *Hexaemeron* – and hence, as distinctive terms (i.e. “преславизми”) betraying the intellectual input of the “Preslav Literary School”, see Б ы ч к о в 1987: 52–65.

2. Models of celestial topography in *2 Enoch*

There are two models of celestial topography outlined in *2 Enoch*, and they are revealed in two quite independent, although interrelated, consecutive narratives, presented by *two speakers*. The perspective of the first storyteller is human, while the second is divine. The first model of celestial topography is contained in Enoch's monologue, in which the visionary describes his ascent to God's throne step-by-step, heaven by heaven. In his testimony Enoch reports diligently everything he witnesses during his celestial journey. I will return to the details of his account after briefly outlining the characteristic features of the second narrative. It starts when Enoch reaches the highest heaven (be it fifth, seventh or tenth)⁵² and encounters God. In fact, Enoch's report on his ascent to God's throne functions as an introduction to God's testimony about the secrets of Creation and organisation of the Universe, about the origins of matter, and about its spatial and temporal dimensions⁵³. From Enoch's monologue we gain knowledge of celestial *cosmography*, whereas God's statement discloses the secrets of *cosmology*. As a result, two different schemes of heavenly taxonomy emerge; these are discussed below.

Let us start with the taxonomy of the heavenly cosmography, as outlined in the narrative about Enoch's ascent.

2.1. *The first heaven*

On the first heaven Enoch sees "a sea which is bigger than the one on Earth", and then encounters "the elders and the rulers of the stellar orders"⁵⁴. It is also on

⁵² There is a widespread misconception regarding the distribution of the two different schemes of the numbers of heavens employed in celestial cosmography of *2 Enoch*; it is maintained that in the longer recension the number of heavens is *ten*, whereas in the shorter recension the heavens are *seven*. A survey of MSS containing both the longer and shorter recension of *2 Enoch* shows that in the longer recension the number of heavens is either *seven* or *ten*, whereas in the shorter recension the heavens are usually *seven* (although in some isolated cases they may be *five*); the latter observation was briefly underlined in Iatsimirskii's *Bibliographical Review of South-Slavonic and Russian Apocryphal Literature*. See also fn. 68 below. The model of 'seven heavens' is likewise represented in other apocryphal writings (such as *The Ascension of Isaiah*, *The Sea of Tiberias*), and in erotapocritic tradition. In some texts (e.g. *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*) each heaven is allocated to a different biblical figure; thus Seth is in the First Heaven, in the Second is Azariah, in the Third – Enoch, in the Fourth – Noah, in the Fifth – Abraham, in the Sixth – Isaac, and in the Seventh – Jacob; see Nachtigall 1902: 324, Questions 4 and 5. A similar model of the sevenfold heavens (which are paralleled by the seven earths and/or the seven compartments of hell) is attested in oral tradition (Badalanova Geller 2011: 60–64). On the other hand, the number of heavens followed in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*Baruch* 3) is *five*; as clearly outlined in Kulik's excellent analysis of the apocryphon, the description of these heavens and the depiction of their 'content' is different from the pattern employed in *2 Enoch* (Kulik 2010).

⁵³ M. Stone in particular pointed to the importance of cosmological discourse for the genre of apocalypse (Stone 1976: 439–443).

⁵⁴ Some scholars interpret this particular expression (i.e. "the elders and the rulers of the stellar orders") as an implicit reference to the first chapter of *The Astronomi-*

the first heaven where Enoch is shown 200 angels “who rule over the stars and constellations of the heavens and fly around all the floating (heavenly bodies)”. F. Andersen indicates that this detail is found only in the longer recension; he also emphasises that there is no other occurrence of a similar description of the luminaries as heavenly ‘swimmers’ (πλαναίωσις)⁵⁵. However, Greek πλανήτης (meaning both ‘wanderer’ and ‘planet’) may have provided the basis for the image of the planets in *2 Enoch* as floating luminaries.

On the first heaven Enoch further observes the treasures of snow and ice, and sees “the angels who keep these awesome storehouses in the clouds from which they enter and exit.” Then he is shown “the treasures of dew, the nature of which is like the balm of olive-tree”, and the angels guarding them.

The most important question in this context appears to be not *what*, but rather *whom* does Enoch see on the first heaven? The picture gets much more clear and straightforward, as heavenly topography appears to be bound with (and spelled out as) heavenly agency, since on the very first heaven Enoch encounters:

- i. “the elders and the rulers of the stellar orders”;
- ii. the 200 angels “who rule over the stars and constellations”;
- iii. the angels who are in charge of the treasures of snow and ice;
- iv. the angels who guard the treasures of dew.

2.2. The second heaven

When Enoch ascends to the second heaven, he is embraced by darkness much deeper than that on Earth; there he encounters a host of heavenly prisoners – “angels who are much darker in their appearance than earthly darkness”; they are “constantly crying and weeping”, while “hanging on chains” (βεβηκκηη βλαδομη βησαψε), “awaiting infinite judgement” (жадѡще сѡда безмѣрнаго). The visionary is informed by his heavenly escort that those are God’s apostates (сн сѡ ѡстѡпници ѿнн) who did not obey the commands of the Most High (не послоушаѡще повелѣнїе ѿнн), but kept counsel according to their own will. The longer recension further clarifies that those enchained in the Second Heaven “had stepped back from God with their Prince” (ѡстѡпиша съ князѡ сѡнмь); this Prince (i.e. Satan/Lucifer), together with his closest disciples, is sentenced to the Fifth Heaven. This particular detail is absent from the narrative about the Second Heaven in the shorter recension: there is no reference either to the Prince/Leader of the fallen angels, or to the place where he is sentenced with his closest followers. (Both the shorter and the longer recensions describe in more detail their “prison location” at a later point, in the account about the fifth heaven). In the longer recension, on the other hand, it is simply implied that the dark angels, enchained on the second heaven,

cal Book in *1 Enoch* (72: 9–18, 20); see the discussion in Forbes, Charles 1913: 432, fn. IV.1.

⁵⁵ See Andersen 1983: 112, fn. f.

are no more than wrongdoers overpowered by a charismatic evil master; they are regarded as weak, obedient collaborators in wicked deeds, rather than initiators of these deeds. They are considered to be subjugated followers of an evil ideology, rather than the active generators of that ideology. Of course, sinning in ignorance does not pardon the sinner itself, neither is the magnitude of this sin diminished by the ignorance of those committing it. Yet the Divine judgement and sentence are distributed accordingly – the malevolent leader of God’s apostates, along with his closest allies, are those to be most severely punished: they are sentenced to a different, higher heaven. In a similar way, in *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (i.e. *3 Baruch*) the first heaven accommodates those who built the tower of Babel (2:7), whereas the second heaven is for those who planned it (3:5). The higher the heaven, the heavier the sin, the harder the punishment. In this way the concept of sin acquires specific spatial dimensions, a reflection of “common sense” celestial cosmography / geography.

In any case, both the shorter and the longer recensions assert that the dark angels sentenced to the second heaven bowed before Enoch, saying, “Man of God (Мѣжюу ѿжїи), pray for us to God”. At that point Enoch leaves them, but without promising to plead on their behalf before God (although, as we learn later, he will do so; the motif of Enoch’s agency in angelic affairs is to be developed in the forthcoming description of the fifth heaven, when the appellation “Watchers” (Γρηγορε) will appear for the first time).

2.3. The third heaven

When Enoch ascends to the third heaven, he finds himself in middle of Paradise. Notably, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* employs here the same celestial scheme as the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* 25: 3 (following the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* 37:5), *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (Откровение Авраама 21:2–3), *The Vision of Paul* (*Apocalypse of Paul*), and last but not least, Paul’s *Second Letter to the Corinthians* (2 Cor 12:2). In all of them Paradise is found in the third heaven; this tradition has been fully analysed by P. Schäfer⁵⁶, so I will restrict my comments to very few points which are central to my argument.

First, the scope of technical vocabulary of heavenly cosmography (referring to ‘Paradise’ / ‘Garden of Eden’ / ‘Heaven’) in different manuscripts of *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* varies, resulting in diverse renditions of certain celestial toponyms throughout the texts. In some cases, the word used by the Slavonic scribes to denote ‘Paradise’ is *порода* (= παράδεισος). It is quite significant that this “domesticated” equivalent of the original Greek form was semantically bound, on the basis of its close phonetic similarity to the Slavonic verb *родахти* (‘to give birth’, ‘to beget’, ‘to create’), to the idea of ‘fertility’, ‘fecundity’, ‘birth’, ‘conception’, ‘creation’; thus *порода* – a *sui generis* tell-tale noun – came to describe the Paradise topos as the ultimate symbol of fruitfulness and abundance.

⁵⁶ S c h ä f e r 2004: 257–258.

On other occasions the scribes use the lexeme *PAH* to denote ‘Paradise’. The latter has its cognates in all Slavonic languages⁵⁷. There are also some related vernacular expressions, such as *Paй Божји*, *Paй Божен*, *Paюм Бога*, *Божорай*, *Paйска градина* (attested in oral sources), which may denote both Paradise and Hell (a point which deserves further investigation). Moreover in the same vernacular traditions the Sun is referred to as *Paйко*; the latter is a diminutive neuter noun (transformed into an anthroponym/theonym) deriving from the very same masculine noun used to denote ‘Paradise’ (*Paй*); this, in turn, indicates that in vernacular traditions the Sun and Paradise may be symbolically equated. The Old Church Slavonic noun *PAH*, on the other hand, is a product of the proto-Slavonic lexeme **rajь*, which derives from the ancient Indo-Iranian lexical corpus and has its close etymological relation to some Old Iranian/Old Persian words (thus the proto-Slavonic **rajь* corresponds to the Avestan form *ray*, meaning ‘wealth’, ‘happiness’). Then again, while the lexeme *PAH* is attested predominantly in *The Life of Adam and Eve*, *The Discussion Between the Three Saints*, *The Sea of Tiberias* and some other related apocrypha, in *2 Enoch* the nouns *порода* and *PAH* are employed concurrently as parallel celestial toponyms.

In “the midst of Paradise”, Enoch sees “the Tree of Life” (*ΔΡΕΒΟ ЖИЗНЬНО*); it marks the spot “where God rests when He goes into Paradise” (*НА НѢ ЖЕ ПОЧНВѢ ГЪ ЕГДА ВЪСХОДѢ ВЪ PAH*). Enoch reports that this tree, “in its goodness and fragrance is unspeakably beautiful beyond all other existing creations”; he also points out that its roots mark “the very exit from Paradise to Earth” (*КОРѢ ЕМОУ Е ВЪ ПОРОДѢ, НА НСХОДѢ ЗЕМНО*). Thus it is recognised not only as the *arbor mundi*, but also as the *axis mundi* constituting both the bridge and the boundary between celestial and terrestrial realms, their focal point. Two springs emanate from “the Tree of Life”; from the first milk and honey issue forth (*ЕДННЬ ТОЧН МѢ И МЛѢКО*), and from the other oil and wine (*ЕЛЕН И ВИНО*). Dividing into four parts, while streaming silently, they cross the Garden of Eden and further divide into 40 parts, pouring out gently onto Earth. In this magnificent place, we are told, there are also “300 exceedingly luminous angels” who not only guard Paradise (*ХРАНАѢ ПОРОДОУ*), but also serve God all day long with unceasing voices and melodic singing; the latter detail indicates that the heavens in *2 Enoch* are imagined as a temple in which a constant service is being held – with one exception, the fifth heaven, where the Watchers are sentenced⁵⁸.

Enoch further specifies that Paradise itself is positioned “between mortality and immortality”⁵⁹. Besides, as the narrative emphasises, this is the only place (apart from the seventh heaven) where God resides; from the height of His throne He reigns and by “the Tree of Life” He rests from His work. In other words, the

⁵⁷ Bulg. *Paй*, Russ. *Paй*, Belorus. *Paй*, Serbo-Croat *Pâj*, Slovene *Râj*, Slovak *Raj*, Czech *Ráj*, Polish *Raj*.

⁵⁸ An idea suggested by M. Himmelfarb (H i m m e l f a r b 2010: 76–78).

⁵⁹ Lit. “between corruptible and incorruptible”.

spot in Paradise, marked by “the Tree of Life”, appears to be recognised by the narrator as the *omphalos* of the Universe, connecting “ground zero” (i.e. the earth) and the highest heaven (= God’s throne). This is also the place “prepared for the righteous” human beings (ΠΡΑΒΕΔΗΝΙΚὸ ὈΓΟΤΟΒΑΝΗΟ), “who suffered all kinds of misfortunes in their lives”.

Next to Paradise, in the northern⁶⁰ compartment of the (very same!) third heaven, the narrator sees the sector “prepared for the unrighteous” human beings, for the sinners. This is the section where Hell is positioned. It is worth noting here that in Enoch’s narrative the spot prepared for human sinners is different from the place allocated for the fallen angels; the latter occupy *the second* and *the fifth heaven*, whereas the former reside in the northern part of the *third heaven*. Unlike some other traditions, in which Hell is imagined as a subterranean locus (thus functioning as the lowest strata of the three-layered universe, with the Earth in the middle and Paradise on the top), in *2 Enoch* it is positioned next to Paradise, thus constituting a binary model of the “afterlife” human habitat, divided between “righteousness” and “unrighteousness”. Accordingly, Hell is depicted as a counter-

⁶⁰ It should be noted, however, that in *2 Enoch* the conventional compass points do not apply to celestial strata; while in the narrative it is emphasized that Hell is positioned in the northern compartment of the third heaven, nowhere is it stated that Paradise is in its southern section. Neither is *2 Enoch* suggesting that the Garden of Eden marks the eastern or the western corner of the third heaven; the patriarch merely testifies that he was placed by his angelic escort in the middle of Paradise, without being informed about its location on celestial map. It is simply acknowledged that *Hell is to be found on the third heaven, next to Paradise, to the north*. Still, in Slavonic vernacular geography the concept of “north” is symbolically equated to the direction of ‘death’ (‘night’, ‘dark’, ‘cold’, ‘winter’, ‘bad’), while the concept of “south” is emblematic for the direction of ‘life’ (‘day’, ‘light’, ‘warm’, ‘summer’, ‘good’). In fact, in some Slavonic languages and/or dialects the lexemes denoting ‘midday’ are identical with those denoting ‘south’, while the lexemes denoting ‘midnight’ are identical with those denoting ‘north’. As for the “common sense” semantic affiliation of the other compass points, this can be clarified by the ethnolinguistic, folklore and ethnographic data from the region of the former Byzantine Commonwealth. Thus in some South-Slavonic (Bulgarian) dialects “the South Wind” (Юг, Южняк) is often called “the White Wind” (Бял вятър), with the appellation “white” being an obvious synonym of “good” / “benevolent”. Accordingly, “the North Wind” (Север, Северняк) is defined as “the Black Wind” (Чер вятър), with the epithet “black” unequivocally referring to its “malevolent” nature. At the same time “the North Wind” may also be designated as *Кривец* (meaning either “the Crooked one”, or “the Left one”), and this unambiguously negative label reflects its further axiological comprehension as “bad” / “sinister”. The western wind is given the name of “the Upper Wind” (Горняк), whilst the eastern wind is called “the Lower Wind” (Долняк); see Маринов 1981: 68–71. Thus, according to Slavonic and Balkan “common sense” ethno-geography, the vernacular “mental map” appears to be as follows: the west is imagined as the “upper” corner of the Universe, the east – as the “lower” one, the south – as the “white” (“good”) one, the north – as the “black” (“bad”) one. As for *2 Enoch*, the location of Hell in the northern compartment of the third heaven reflects, most probably, the universal symbolism of the ancient mythopoeic link between “death”, “dark”, “cold” on the one hand, and “north” on the other.

image of Paradise, as its reversion and antithesis; as such, it comprises all kind of sorrows and tortures, chilly darkness (ЛЮТА ТЪМА) and a fog without light (МЪГЛА НЕСВѢТЛА); dark fire (ОГНЬ МРАЧЕНЬ) is burning inside it, and a fiery river (РѢКА ОГНЕНА) is running through it. Likened to a “chilling dungeon”, Hell is guarded by “murky pitiless angels carrying cruel weapons and causing merciless torture”. Needless to say, the same afterlife imagery is employed in other apocryphal writings circulating in the Byzantine Commonwealth from the same period, such as *The Vision of Paul* (aka *Apocalypse of Paul*), *The Holy Mother of God’s Journey Through Torments* (aka *The Wanderings of the Virgin Mary through Hell*), etc.⁶¹

To sum up, according to the description of the third heaven presented in *2 Enoch*, Paradise and Hell are put next to each other, on the same celestial stratum; the latter is positioned in its northern compartment, whereas the former is in its middle. Its centre is marked by “the Tree of Life”, which stands between “corruptible and incorruptible”. One further point: the same celestial model – of Paradise and Hell being “in heavens above, next to each other” – is attested in Slavonic and Balkan oral tradition⁶²; it should be mentioned, however, that this kind of celestial topography coexists with another cosmographic scheme, according to which the land of Paradise is to be found on Earth, to the East. The latter corresponds to the creation scenario of the Book of Genesis (2: 8), according to which “the Lord God had planted a garden in the East, in Eden”. One final point; there exists another tradition in the Byzantine Commonwealth (and in Slavonic medieval thought in particular) according to which Paradise may be perceived only as an intellectual/numinous concept (ΡΑΗ ΜΥΣΑΛΗΝΝΥΝ = νοητὸς παράδεισος), but not as a tangible reality. This tradition was borne by theological contemplative reflections of the eminent hesychast Gregory of Sinai (Gregory Sinaites) and his renown contemporary Gregory Palamas⁶³; it was further attested in Russian Church polemics, and in particular in the 14th century discussion (“распря о [...] ономъ честномъ раю”) between the Archbishop of Novgorod Vasilii Kalika (Архиепископ Новгородский Василий Калика) and the Bishop of Tver’ Fiodor Dobryi (Епископ Тверской Федор Добрый)⁶⁴. The specific nature of this type of theological polemics on Paradise (and their influence on intellectual trends and traditions inherent in *Slavia Orthodoxa*) will be analysed elsewhere.

2.4. The fourth heaven

The fourth heaven in *2 Enoch* is yet another binary, twofold celestial spot; it is described as the habitat of both the Sun and Moon. As such, it is divided between them. In fact, at this point the narrative flexes its intellectual / scientific muscles.

⁶¹ See the discussion in H i m m e l f a r b 1983: 8–40, 68–173; B a d a l a n o v a G e l l e r 2010: 33–34.

⁶² К о в а ч е в 1914: 17–18.

⁶³ See the discussion in С е д е л ь н и к о в 1937–1938: 168–172; for the impact of Gregory Sinaites’ ideas on intellectual and religious life in medieval Bulgaria, see С ы р к у 1898: 61–140; 167–211; 239–240.

⁶⁴ See У с п е н с к и й 1996: 105–151.

Astronomy and mathematics are bound into its tantalising core, and calendrical knowledge overwhelms the reader. This fragment of *2 Enoch* continues to present a serious challenge to all those studying history of ideas in ancient science.

Thus, on the fourth heaven Enoch is shown “all the movements and paths and rays of light of the Sun and Moon (всѧ лучѧ свѣта слнчнаго и мѣсѧчнаго)”; he measures “the dimensions of their movements” (размѣрѣ шествїа єж) and “calculates their light”; thus he finds out that “the sunlight is seven times greater than the moonlight”. Exactly the same observation, that “the light of the Sun is seven times brighter than that of the Moon”, is also registered in *1 Enoch*, in *The Astronomical Book* (72: 23; 78: 4–5) (and indeed in *Isaiah* 30:26)⁶⁵. Enoch also measures the paths and gates of the Sun and Moon and acquires knowledge about their movements; he is shown their chariots and describes in length all celestial paraphernalia related to them. Enoch further notices the “spirits in the image of two birds” (дѣи летѧще образѣ двѣю птцѣ), Phoenix and Chalcedra, who are harnessed to the Sun’s chariot. Since this motif is fully analysed by A. Kulik, who compares the ways in which the image of the Phoenix is interpreted in both *2 Enoch* and *3 Baruch*⁶⁶, I will restrict my comments to only few points which I consider important to my argument.

In Enoch’s testimony about celestial phenomena, witnessed by him on the fourth heaven, the Sun and Moon are placed together, next to each other, on the same horizontal stratum. In God’s narrative about the construction of Creation, however, the Sun and Moon are housed on different heavenly rings. The Sun continues to be on the fourth ring, whereas the Moon is on the lowest seventh ring, closest to the Earth (as seen from God’s perspective). In actual fact, the visionary will only learn this when he reaches the seventh heaven and hears God’s testimony, a narrative in which, as mentioned previously, a cosmological mode prevails.

Earlier in this study I pointed out that in *2 Enoch* one can detect two different schemes of heavenly taxonomy; the first is concerned with cosmography, the second – with cosmology. The cosmographic scheme is followed in Enoch’s monologue (describing his journey up to the seventh heaven), while the cosmological one is revealed in God’s testimony, given on the seventh heaven. These two schemes contain conflicting information about the location of the Moon – in the cosmographic scheme the Sun and the Moon are placed on the same heavenly ring, whereas in the cosmological one they are on different strata. One further clarification: the narrative about the creation of the seven planets and their distribution on separate heavenly rings is absent from the short recension but appears only in the long recension. Both schemes of heavenly taxonomy, however, whether in longer or shorter recensions, present a geocentric model of the Universe, which is imagined as a divine construction comprising (usually) seven (or on rare occasions ten) concentric rings/circles/spheres.

⁶⁵ I am grateful to James Kugel for this reference.

⁶⁶ See K u l i k 2010.

Pravoil, etc.) “the swiftest in wisdom” among God’s archangels. As noted by Vaillant, the form *Vrevoil* is attested in the two Bulgarian versions of the longer recension of 2 *Enoch*⁷⁰. However, different text-witnesses give various versions of the name of this archangel. As pointed out by Pennington in her analysis of MS *U*,⁷¹ “not only do the MSS vary considerably from one another in the spelling of this name in each of the five instances in which it occurs in this chapter, but they also differ individually from instance to instance. Thus, in the first instance **B**⁷²,

15, and Я ц и м и р с к и й 1921: 81–82, the number of heavens is five (which parallels the number of heavens in *The Apocalypse of Baruch*). On the other hand, in two (Bulgarian) versions of the longer recension of the apocryphon (i.e. MSS *J* and *P*), the heavens are ten. The reason behind these conflicting readings is rather complicated; taken into consideration in this (certainly not only graphic) puzzle of fluctuating numbers of heavens should be various small but significant details reflecting the evolution of Slavonic writing systems. First, it should be noted that in the Glagolitic alphabet the number 7 was marked by the letter *ЖИВЪТЕ*; however, the connection between the letter *ЖИВЪТЕ* and the number 7 was disturbed in the process of transition from Glagolitic to Cyrillic, since in the Cyrillic alphabet the same letter (rendered as **Ж**) did not have any numeral value. In order to mark the number 7 (employing Cyrillic characters), the scribes used another letter, *ЗЕМЛИА* [3]. In the Glagolitic alphabet, however, the numeral value of this letter [i.e. *ЗЕМЛИА*] was 9. The number 9, on the other hand, was rendered in Cyrillic alphabet by the letter **Θ** (*ΘИТА*), which occurs at the end of the alphabet. As for the number 8, it was marked in Cyrillic by the letter **И** (*ИЖЕ*) which in Glagolitic had the numeral value 20; however, its phonetic twin *I* (Iota), the 10th letter in both the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabet, had the numeral value of 10; this is also true for the numeral value of this same letter (*ι*) in Greek alphabet. In the light of all these variations, it is hardly surprising to have different numbers of heavens in various manuscript traditions from different periods and, perhaps, from different scripts.

⁶⁹ The act of extracting Enoch 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 narrative. While the Original Sin caused the loss of the angelic status enjoyed by the first people and triggered their expulsion from Paradise, the new status of the protoplasts as mortals was signified by the replacement of the heavenly “garments of light” with “coats of skins” (Genesis 3:21); being mortal also meant that they were to wear on Earth “clothes tailored by human hands”. The removal of Enoch’s “earthly garments” in God’s presence indicates that at this point he is transformed into the type of being Adam used to be before the Fall, i.e. an angel clothed with “garments of God’s glory”. By being stripped of the “clothes tailored by human hands” and dressed in “clothes made by no human hands”, Enoch thus becomes “the New Adam” and regains the pristine glory of mankind before the Fall.

⁷⁰ Vaillant 1952: 26 (footnote 9).

⁷¹ Following Vaillant, Pennington designates MS № 3 /18 (fols. 626b–638b) from the Uvarov Collection (preserved in the State Historical Museum (ГИМ), Moscow) as “MS *U*”.

⁷² Here Pennington refers to the 17th century MS from Barsov’s collection (published by Соколов 1899: 83–107 and designated by him as “*B*”); following Bonwetsch and Vaillant, she signifies it as “MS *B*”.

*Ba*⁷³ read ‘Vreteil’, *N*⁷⁴ ‘Vretil’, and *P*⁷⁵ ‘Pravuil’; and *B*⁷⁶ reads ‘Vreteil’ in the first instance, but ‘Vreveil’ in the others⁷⁷. Andersen also calls attention to this puzzling detail, and considers the reading *Pravuil* as deviant, pointing out that “the other numerous variations in spelling are not material. The name is otherwise unknown, and remains unexplained”⁷⁸. The answer to this puzzle may be entrenched in indigenous Slavonic ethnohermeneutics; hints encoded in vernacular dialects and popular angelology (usually excluded from the scribal conventions of the “learned”) may provide the solution here. The role assigned to this archangel in the above narrative shows that his main function is *to speak* to Enoch, *to converse* with him and to instruct him *verbally* about the mysteries of the Universe. He is appointed by God *to tell* the scribe all about the celestial and terrestrial phenomena, and *to spell out* for him the enigma of the movements of elements; he also has to *articulate* for Enoch the unfathomable calculations of the trajectories of luminaries, and *to report* “about the Sun, the Moon, and stars, and the change of their movements, and about seasons, and years, the days and hours and rising up of clouds, the appearance of winds, the number of angels, songs of armed hosts, of every human thing, and songs in various languages, and human life, and orders and instructions and sweet-voiced singing, and everything which is edifying”, etc. The entire chapter is in fact an angelic discourse about God’s incomprehensible creation of Heaven and Earth, a discourse lasting for 30 days and 30 nights *without Vrevoil’s mouth ever stopping*. He is *the Talker, the Recounter, the Storyteller of Creation, the Speaker on behalf of God*, and thus, the verbal image of Divine agency. The name given to him, *Vrevoil* (Врѣвоилъ / Врѣвоилъ), is in fact a theonym which is derived from the Indo-European morpheme **werw-* (etymologically related to Proto-Indo-European stem **uer-*), with cognate forms in Hittite (*uer-iiē/a*), Greek (*εἶρω* < **uer-io*), Lat. (*verbum*), Gothic (*waúrd*), all of which denoting ‘to speak’ (and/or ‘speech’, but also ‘word’), ‘to talk’, ‘to call’, ‘to invoke’, ‘to summon’, ‘to name’⁷⁹. The

⁷³ In Pennington’s commentaries, the designation “*Ba*” stands for the other MS from Barsov’s collection containing *2 Enoch*, published by Sokolov (С о к о л о в 1910: 131–142), as a variant of the “shorter recension” (“список сокращенной редакции”) and designated by him as “*B*”.

⁷⁴ Following Vaillant, Pennington labels MS № 151/443 of the National Library in Belgrade (published by Н о в а к о в и ć 1884 and С о к о л о в 1899: 83–107) as “MS *N*”.

⁷⁵ The Ruthenian (i.e. “Poltava MS”, fols. 1–25) from the Khludov Collection of the State Historical Museum (ГИМ, Собрание Хлудова) is designated by Pennington as “MS *P*”, as do Bonwetsch, Vaillant and Andersen.

⁷⁶ See above, footnote 73.

⁷⁷ P e n n i n g t o n 1984: 338 (footnote 1); see also F o r b e s, C h a r l e s 1913: 443 (footnote XXII.11) and V a i l l a n t 1952: 26 (footnotes 9, 14, 20, 35, 39).

⁷⁸ A n d e r s e n 1983: 140 (footnote 22 r).

⁷⁹ See Г а м к р е л и д з е, И в а н о в 1984: 216, 231 and К л о е к h o r s t 2008: 1002–1003.

picture gets even more interesting when we take into consideration Slavonic ethnolinguistic data. The Indo-European morpheme **werw-* has cognates not only in Old Church Slavonic/Bulgarian, but also in some dialects, e.g. the verb *время* (ВРЪВНТИ / ВРЪВНѢ / ВРЪВНА) (meaning ‘to talk’, ‘to speak’, ‘to converse’, ‘to answer’, ‘to respond’), the noun *врява* / *время* (ВРЪВА / ВРЪВЕЖЪ) (‘talk’, ‘conversation’, ‘discourse’), etc.⁸⁰ The linguistic evidence suggests that the name of the archangel who conversed with Enoch on the highest (seventh/tenth) heaven, i.e. ВРЪВОНАЪ (var. ВРЪВОНАЪ, ВЕРЕВЕНАЪ, ВРЪВНАЪ) was a derivative form of the verb ВРЪВНТИ / ВРЪВНѢ (*время*). The fact that this form is attested in Bulgarian dialects suggests that the territory where these dialects were (and still are) spoken is most probably the homeland of the earliest Slavonic translation of 2 *Enoch*. This solves the enigma of the name *Vrevoil* (ВРЪВОНАЪ / ВРЪВОНАЪ) and its variation *Vreveil* / *Vereveil* / *Vreteil* / *Vretil*. As for the name ‘*Pravuil*’ (which was attested in the Poltava MS), it was most probably a corrupt version of the “original” theonym ВРЪВОНАЪ / ВРЪВОНАЪ caused by scribal error (rendering В as П, etc.). Subsequently this form underwent a process of secondary (that is folk) etymologisation, thus acquiring new undertones. In this way the angel ‘who spoke rightly’ (i.e. *право*) became an epitome of ‘rightful’ / ‘truthful’ / ‘faithful’ / ‘devoted word’; hence his name – i.e. “*Pravuil*”.

It is also the Archangel *Vrevoil* who, under God’s command, gives Enoch a reed(-stylus) (ТРЪСТЬ)⁸¹, takes from the divine treasury the secret “exquisite books anointed with myrrh” (КНИГЫ НЪЦЕННЫ НЪМЪРНАМЪ),⁸² and relate their content to

⁸⁰ See Г е р о в 1895:166 and БЕР 1971: 183–184.

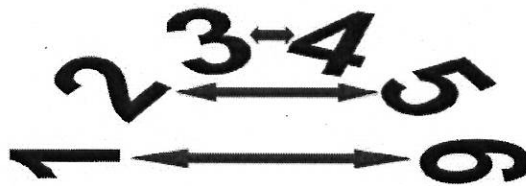
⁸¹ Translated by Pennington and Andersen as ‘pen’ (= κάλαμος); although this interpretation is, in general, correct, it oversimplifies the semantic coverage of the lexeme *трѣсть*, and especially its metaphorical use in scribal traditions of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The survey of sources (Старославянский словарь 1999: 705) suggests that its earliest attestations are found in a number of Glagolitic monuments (*Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Assemanianus*), and in some Cyrillic texts (*Liber Sabbae*, *Codex Suprasliensis*) compiled in Bulgaria in the 10th–11th centuries in all these texts it denotes an ‘instrument for writing’ (= *instrumenti scriptorii genus*). However, in some other sources (mostly indigenous apocryphal apocalypses of messianic content) it was employed to denote ‘prophet’s staff’, or ‘prophet’s sceptre’. One such example comes from the anonymous Bulgarian apocryphal chronicle entitled *Сказаніе Исакіе пророка како възнесенъ бысть архелом до 7-го неbesы* (composed most probably in second half of the 11th century). According to this text, when the Prophet Isaiah was taken by an angel to the seventh heaven, he was given there specific regalia of priesthood = prophethood (denoted as *трѣсть*) so that he could lead the exodus of “the chosen people” from “the Old Rome” to the promised land of “New Jerusalem”/ “New Constantinople”: Тогда же азъ, братіе, божіемъ повеленіемъ, пріндеохъ на лѣвон странѣ Рима и одѣлахъ третію чѣ отъ коумани, и поведохъ нхъ поутемъ, трѣстію показоуе [...] (И в а н о в 1925: 280–287).

⁸² See also the discussion in V a i l l a n t 1952: 26, footnote 22.

the visionary. Enoch then writes under angelic dictation 366 books. The mystery of transmission of the esoteric knowledge to him via the agency of the angel can be typologically compared to the Mesopotamian account of Enmeduranki. This comparison between the two narratives is the subject of the final chapter of this study.

3. The inventories of the heavenly topography below God's throne

If we now compare the inventories of all the six heavens below God's throne, we discover a conspicuous symmetry between the first and sixth, second and fifth, third and fourth heavens.



On the first and the sixth heaven the visionary Enoch encounters the elders and the rulers/masters of the stellar orders; angels who rule over the stars and constellations, as well as those monitoring the movements of the stars, Sun and Moon and bringing harmony in heaven; the angels who are in charge of the treasures of snow and ice, along with those who guard the treasures of chrim-like dew, as well as those who are over the terrestrial landscape monitoring rivers and seas, and all that grows on Earth. Evidently, the angels responsible for the harmony in the Universe, along with their masters, the archangels, are situated on either first or the sixth heaven.

The second and the fifth heavens are occupied by the fallen angels, the Watchers and their followers.

The third heaven houses Paradise and Hell, while Sun and Moon are on the Fourth. Religious iconography provides further evidence in this connection: as a rule, Paradise is depicted below the Sun, whereas Hell is positioned below the Moon.

There is one particular detail in God's narrative about the secrets of Creation which I wish to point out. The description of planetary order in *2 Enoch* offers one of the most enigmatic schemes of celestial topography. While revealing to the visionary the secrets of the creation of heavenly bodies on the fourth day, God states:

On the first and highest ring I placed the star Kronos (i.e. Saturn) (на прѣвѣмъ и вѣнцѣмъ постави звѣздѣмъ Кроносъ). On the second ring, below it, I placed Aphrodite (i.e. Venus) (на вѣ-емъ ниже поставихъ Афродитѣ). On the third, Aries (i.e. Mars) (на г-емъ Арриемъ). On the fourth, the Sun (на д-емъ Слънце). On the fifth, Zeus (i.e. Jupiter) (на е-емъ Зевсѣ). On the sixth, Hermes (i.e. Mercury) (на з-емъ Ермиемъ). On the seventh, the Moon (на ж-емъ Луна).

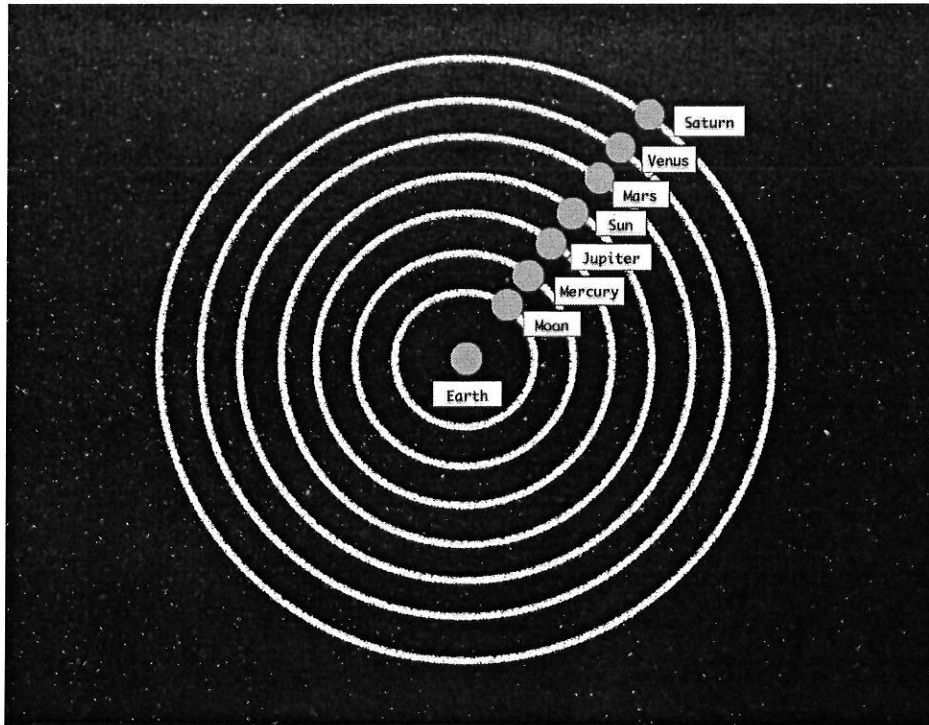


Fig. 1. Enochic planetary system

The account about the seven luminaries in *2 Enoch* is similar but not identical to the contemporary astronomical fragment found in *Symeon's Florilegium*; in the latter the description of “the Seven Planets” is part of the section entitled $\text{IWA}(\text{HA})$ $\text{DAMACKHNA O MAKEDONSKYHX MCHX OTB CPKVBNADGO PPEADAHHA}$ (Fol. 250 r),⁸³ which, in turn, has its obvious roots in the famous *Fountain of Knowledge* (or *Fountain of Wisdom*) by John the Damascene. In fact, it is in Book 2, Chapter 7 (*Concerning light, fire, the luminaries, sun, moon and stars*) of his *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, where John the Damascene actually outlines the following model of celestial topography:

There are, we are told, seven planets amongst these luminaries, and these move in a direction opposite to that of the heaven: hence the name planets. For, while they say that the heaven moves from east to west, the planets move from west to east; but the heaven bears the seven planets along with it by its swifter motion. Now these are the names of the seven planets: Luna, Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and in each zone of heaven is, we are told, one of these seven planets; in the first and highest – Saturn, in the second – Jupiter, in the third – Mars, in the fourth – Sol, in the fifth – Venus, in the sixth – Mercury, in the seventh and lowest – Luna.

The text of this particular chapter was translated in Bulgaria in the late 9th – early 10th century by John the Exarch, and included in his work *Theology*

⁸³ See Симеонов сборник 1991: 694.

(Heavens).⁸⁴ As for the version in *Symeon's Florilegium*, it represents a rather abridged redaction of Damascene's text. The *Florilegium* also has some specific textual features which indicate that it was translated from a source which was not identical with that used by John the Exarch. Still, in both sources (*Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens*) the pattern given is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, which is the standard Ptolemaic sequence of planets, but in reverse order⁸⁵.

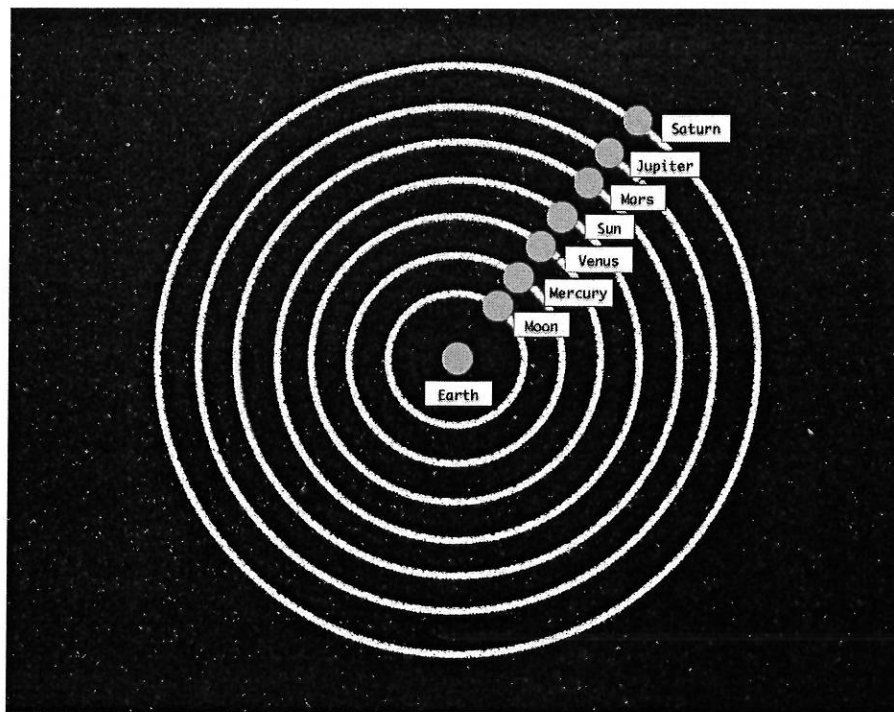


Fig. 2. Ptolemaic planetary system

The author of *2 Enoch*, on the other hand, puts Venus between Saturn and Mars. Still, in all three sources (*2 Enoch*, *Symeon's Florilegium* and Exarch's *Heavens*), Kronos (Saturn) is placed on the first and highest heavenly ring. Thus,

⁸⁴ See in this connection Thompson 1991: 35–58; Мильков, Полянски 2008: 19–20, 43–109.

⁸⁵ Compare to the order of stars in the Slavonic version of the *Chronicle of John Malalas*: Крон (i.e. Saturn); Дзин (i.e. Jupiter); Арсн (i.e. Mars); Афродитъ (i.e. Venus); Ермин (i.e. Mercury); see Истрин 1897: 6; 1902: 466. The same celestial model is observed in the *Chronicle of George Hamartolus* (or George Monachus); see Истрин 1920: 33. There also existed a parallel cluster of Slavonic mythological compilations related to the following celestial order: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mithra (Sun), Venus, Mercury, Moon; see Славова 1993: 63–76. One such compilation is presented in some Slavonic (Russian) versions of the fourth chapter of the famous “Christian Topography” by Cosmas Indicopleustes (dated to the 17th century). As pointed out by Slavova (Славова 1993: 64), this detail is not attested in the Greek *Vorlage* of the *Topography* (“без съответствие в гръцкия оригинал”); surprisingly, it is also incorporated (though fragmentarily) into the *Interpretative Palaeia*.

according to *Symeon's Florilegium*, “the first planet on the first and highest level is called Kronos” (ПЛАННТЪ ·А· НА ПРЪВЪЕМЪ И НА ВЪШЪШННМЪ · КРОНЪ).⁸⁶ Then again, in *2 Enoch*, Kronos and other luminaries were considered to be “stars” (as in Babylonian astronomy), while in *Symeon's Florilegium* and John the Exarch's *Heavens* they are called “planets” (as in Greek astronomy). Another difference is that in *2 Enoch* the expression used to denote “heavenly ring” is КРЖГЪ НБСННН, while in *Symeon's Florilegium* (and John the Exarch's *Heavens*) the same concept is described as a “girdle” / “waist-band” / “belt” (ПОЯСЪ).

On the other hand, Enoch's description of the position of Venus on the second ring parallels the planetary pattern given in Book 2, Chapter 6 (*Concerning the Heaven*) of the aforementioned *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*; in this chapter, however, John the Damascene lists the seven planets in an order which differs from that offered in Chapter 7 (*Concerning light, fire, the luminaries, sun, moon and stars*); in Chapter 6, he puts Venus between Saturn and Mars⁸⁷, as in *2 Enoch*:

They say also that there are seven zones of the heaven, one higher than the other. And its nature, they say, is of extreme fineness, like that of smoke, and each zone contains one of the planets. For there are said to be seven planets: Sol, Luna, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Venus and Saturn. But sometimes Venus is called Lucifer and sometimes Vesper. These are called planets because their movements are the reverse of those of the heaven. For while the heaven and all other stars move from east to west, these alone move from west to east. And this can easily be seen in the case of the moon, which moves each evening a little backwards.

As in Damascene's *Fountain of Knowledge*, in Slavonic sources Venus systematically appeared under two different names: either “Lucifer” (ДЪВНЪННЦА/ ДЕННЦА), or “Vesper” (ВЪЧЕРННЦА)⁸⁸. The fact that one and the same luminary was designated by two different astrononyms in various sources may have confused matters further in regard to the transmission of astronomical knowledge conveyed in the Slavonic realm of the Byzantine Commonwealth.

On the other hand, it is most intriguing that in the earliest extant copy of *Symeon's Florilegium* (i.e. the *Sviatoslav's Miscellany* from 1073) the planet Venus (Aphrodite) appears on the fifth ring (precisely where *2 Enoch* has Zeus, i.e. Jupiter!), while the second ring houses Jupiter, denoted by the theonym/astronym ДНН (fol. 250 r)⁸⁹. A similar detail appears in the 13th century version of *Symeon's*

⁸⁶ See Симеонов сборник 1991: 694.

⁸⁷ This planetary order corresponds to the ancient philosophical concept of “musica universalis” (or “harmony of the Spheres”) regarding proportions in the movements of the seven celestial bodies (the Sun, the Moon and the five planets) as ‘seven musical tones’ (octave, with 1st = 8th constituent); this theory rests on the Pythagorean idea that the Sun, Moon and five planets all produce their own unique tone (= “orbital resonance”) based on their “orbital revolution”. See also the analysis of this concept in С л а в о в а 1994: 71–72.

⁸⁸ The author of *The Dialogues of Pseudo-Cesarius* refers to the same issue, e.g. Venus being identified as both “morning star” and “the evening star”; see Д у й ч е в , К р и с т а н о в 1954: 308–309. See also the discussion in М л а д е н о в а 2006: 30–70.

⁸⁹ С р е з н е в с к и й 1893: 665.

Florilegium copied in the Hilandar Monastery (i.e. *Hilandar Miscellany*, MS № 382), according to which the name of the planet on the second ring is ДНН⁹⁰. The latter form could have been a corruption of the theonym / astronym ДНН, erroneously understood as a shortened version of the theonym / astronym ДЬНЬННЦА (“Lucifer” = “Vesper”).

There may be one further clue to explain the different order of heavenly bodies in *2 Enoch*, which appears to have had Venus and Jupiter exchange places: Babylonian astronomy of the Seleucid period had Venus in the second position in the order of planets (as suggested by Koch-Westenholz)⁹¹, and *2 Enoch* may have attempted to follow this order, which required Venus changing places with Jupiter. In this way, *2 Enoch* appears to be a compromise between the Seleucid Babylonian and Ptolemaic Greek order of planets, and therefore reflects neither system precisely. Moreover, the interchange between Venus and Jupiter in the *2 Enoch* list may show their mutual links within Babylonian astrology, as both being benevolent and portending favourable omens (in contrast to malevolent Saturn and Mars, and ambivalent Mercury)⁹².

On the other hand, the form ДЬНЬННЦА was likewise used to render the name of Lucifer in the Slavonic translation of Isaiah 14: 12–15; in the latter case, it functioned as a synonym of “the fallen angel” Satan. This detail may explain why in *2 Enoch* the Watchers and their followers are also sentenced in the second and the fifth heavens, in association with the second and fifth planetary rings which were implicitly linked with Satan, through the name of Lucifer (i.e. Venus, also positioned on either second or the fifth ring). It should be noted, however, that the Hell of the third heaven is not intended for fallen angels but for (human) sinners.

Finally, there is no evidence of any association in *2 Enoch* between the names of the planets and days of the week in Slavonic tradition, although later related texts show awareness of this connection.

4. Between Byzantium and Babylon

The analysis of celestial cosmography revealed in some apocryphal writings composed/copied in the Byzantine Commonwealth suggests the existence of a multi-layered epistemological model. Some of its most important features were contained in *2 Enoch* and can be outlined in the following way:

- i. The celestial chronotope in *2 Enoch* does not follow any of the known schemes.
- ii. The order of planets in *2 Enoch* pre-dates Ptolemy’s fixed order of planets known from the 2nd century A.D.
- iii. This suggests that *2 Enoch* may date from the 2nd Temple Period.
- iv. If *2 Enoch* were later, the order of planets would probably have reflected a standard order of planets.

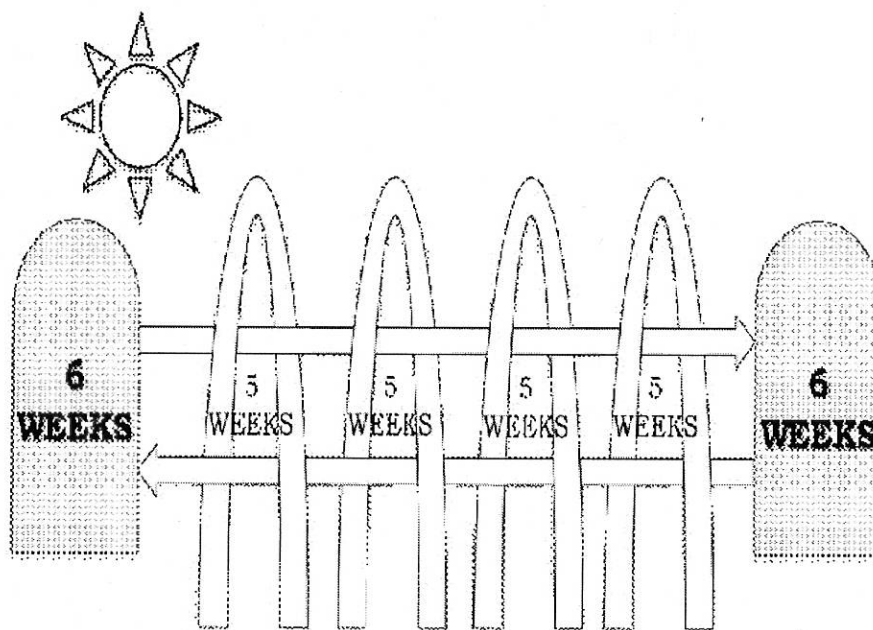
⁹⁰ Лавров 1899: xii.

⁹¹ Koch-Westenholz 1995: 120, footnote 2.

⁹² See the discussion in Rochberg-Halton 1984: 115–140; 1988: 323–328.

v. The structural pattern of the celestial map – in which the heavens pair up between levels 1 and 6, 2 and 5, 3 and 4 – reflects a type of specific cosmic geography and describes a realm known to exist but for which no maps or charts were available, apart from testimonies of visions / apocalypses.

vi. Some intriguing details related to the description of solar movements found in *2 Enoch* betray astronomic theory and calendrical knowledge kindred to that found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, *2 Enoch* describes the length of the time spent by the Sun passing through the six solar gates “according to the appointment of the seasons and according to the phases of the moon, for the entire year, and according to the number of the horologe, day and night”. The compiler/author of the text narrates that the Sun goes through the first gate for 6 weeks, through the second – for 5 weeks, through the third – for 5 weeks, through the fourth – for 5 weeks, through the fifth – for 5 weeks, and through the sixth – for 6 weeks; after that the Sun returns to the fifth gate for 5 weeks, then spends once more 5 weeks at the fourth gate, to be followed by another 5 weeks at the third gate, and again 5 weeks at the second gate, after which it returns to the first gate, in order to re-start the new round of its never-ending celestial journey.



Therefore the number of weeks spent by the Sun during one full cycle of its journey through all the solar gates for the entire year (i.e. its path from gate one to gate two, three, four, five and six and then back to five, four, three, two and one) is 52. This detail, in turn, unequivocally implies that, along with the rather late (Julian) “365¼ day” calendar tradition, in *2 Enoch* there survive “fossilized” vestiges of an alternative, much earlier (Babylonian) calendar tradition, according to which the length of the “ideal” year equals 364 days; the same pattern of the 364-day calendar is later attested in the Qumran scrolls, the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Astronomical Book* in *1 Enoch*⁹³.

⁹³ Ben-Dov 2008: 21–67.

5. Post Scriptum

The origins of Enoch traditions have been a matter of scholarly debate, usually between advocates of Enoch narratives coming from Jewish Alexandria⁹⁴, or alternatively coming from Babylonia and ultimately going back to the Exile and Jewish Diaspora in Babylonia⁹⁵. The argument in favour of a Babylonian background to Enoch is based (usually, but not always) on astronomical details, mostly taken from *1 Enoch*, compared with standard Babylonian astronomical texts describing the movements of the sun through the heavens, and correspondences between lunar and solar calendars. The arguments are not conclusive, however, since Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* from Qumran show that technical astronomical data was also preserved in local traditions from Palestine⁹⁶. Moreover, since Babylonian astronomy also influenced later Greek astronomy, the basic astronomical information could have been well known in both Jerusalem and Alexandria by the time Enoch was composed⁹⁷.

On the other hand, there is an intriguing cuneiform (Akkadian) account about Enmeduranki – “the beloved of Anu, Enlil [and Ea]” – who was brought before the divine assembly to receive esoteric knowledge about the secret of heaven⁹⁸ (very much like Enoch who, at the age of 365⁹⁹, stood in front of “the incorporeal angelic host” and “the entire fiery force of great archangels” so that the mysteries of the Universe may be disclosed to him before the face of God and he “might be an eyewitness of the life above”). The analysis of this text may cast perhaps, further light on the background to both *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch*:

Šamaš in Ebabbarra [appointed] Enmeduranki [king of Sippar], the beloved of Anu, Enlil [and Ea]. Šamaš and Adad [brought him in] to their assembly, Šamaš and Adad [honored him], Šamaš and Adad [set him] on a large throne of gold. They showed him how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, [Enlil and Ea], they gave him the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and [underworld]. They put in his hand the cedar-(rod), beloved of the great gods. Then he, in accordance with their [word(?)] brought the men of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon into his presence, and he honored them. He set them on thrones

⁹⁴ See S p a r k s 1984: 323.

⁹⁵ See most recently S e l z 2011: 779–800, as well as A n n u s 2010: 277–320.

⁹⁶ For an edition of these fragments see B h a y r o 2005.

⁹⁷ Other myths from Babylonia about sages or wise men who went up to heaven (Adapa and Etana) have been compared with traditions about the Watchers in Enoch as well. See also fn. 99 and 102 below.

⁹⁸ The text was published by W.G. Lambert (L a m b e r t 1967: 132; L a m b e r t 2007).

⁹⁹ R. Borger interprets this detail as an allusion to the solar calendar and associates Enoch’s ascension and heavenly visions with the Mesopotamian tradition of the Sumerian sage Enmeduranki, who was the seventh antediluvian king (like Enoch being the seventh generation after Adam); both Enmeduranki and Enoch were given instructions in heaven about how to perform ritual sacrifices correctly, the knowledge of which they then conveyed to their contemporaries, before the Flood. Borger argues in this way for a Babylonian precursor to the Enoch narrative. See B o r g e r 1974: 185; 1994: 224–233.

before [him], he showed them how to observe oil of water, a mystery of Anu, Enlil and Ea, he gave them the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and underworld, he put in their hands the cedar-(rod), beloved of the great gods¹⁰⁰.

This unique account is difficult to appreciate from Lambert's translation only and requires some further explanation¹⁰¹. The text states that the Babylonian Sun-god Shamash appointed Enmeduranki to kingship in the ancient city of Sippar, for which Shamash was the patron god. As for Enmeduranki, he was known as a ruler from Sumer who – like Enoch – comes from the seventh generation before the Flood¹⁰². (Sippar is also important because of a tradition that here is where all tablets from before the Flood were buried and preserved so that mankind could later recover antediluvian wisdom¹⁰³.) Enmeduranki is referred to as “beloved” of the three highest Babylonian heavenly deities, Anu, Enlil, and Ea, and in fact these three gods also represent the constellations of stars which characterise Babylonian astronomy; this reference to Anu, Enlil, and Ea relates to knowledge of astronomy rather than to piety exclusively. The next step is that the Sun-god Shamash and Storm-god Adad bring Enmeduranki into their “assembly”. Why would they do this? This pair of gods function as the patron deities of divination, and oracles are directed to these gods specifically¹⁰⁴. Being invited into their “assembly” implies that Enmeduranki meets the gods in heaven, especially once he is seated on a “golden throne” (which is a common celestial trope)¹⁰⁵. The gods of divination offered Enmeduranki several things:

- i. They taught him secrets of divination (based upon observing oil on water);
- ii. They revealed to him the “secrets” of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, referring to esoteric knowledge of academic astronomy;
- iii. They gave him the “tablet of the gods”, containing the secret of heaven and earth, and the bag (for carrying the stylus?)¹⁰⁶;

¹⁰⁰ L a m b e r t 1967: 132.

¹⁰¹ I am grateful to Mark Geller for technical advice and information regarding this Babylonian text.

¹⁰² See S e l z 2011: 794. Another text referring to Enmeduranki also suggests comparisons with Enoch. A Mesopotamian incantation mentions a mythical “sage” (*apkallu*) of Enmeduranki who was said to have ascended to heaven (B o r g e r 1994), and it is Enoch's own character as a sage or visionary which makes the comparison with Enmeduranki's *apkallu* attractive.

¹⁰³ L a m b e r t 1967: 127.

¹⁰⁴ See the discussion in L a m b e r t 2007.

¹⁰⁵ Then again, in *2 Enoch*, the visionary stands before the face of God, “on the brink of Heavens”, in front of “the polyphonic and supreme Throne of God made by no human hand” (МНОГЪЛАНН Н ПРЪВЕЛАНКЪ Н НЕРЖКОТВОРАНИ ПРЪСТОЛЪ ГНЪ).

¹⁰⁶ Based on the translation of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, but not following Lambert, who assumes that Enmeduranki was given a clay model of a sheep's liver, which was used in scribal schools to teach liver divination. The CAD translation presents a different idea, that the tablet and bag (for the stylus) provided Enmeduranki with the tools for understanding the “secrets of heaven and earth”; see Chicago Assyrian Dictionary 18 (T), 2006: 62.

iv. They gave him “cedar wood, beloved by the great gods”, with the latter being used as incense in diviners’ rituals¹⁰⁷.

Having been equipped with all necessary instruments for acquiring (the concealed for the uninitiated) knowledge about the future, Enmeduranki returns home to inform citizens of neighbouring cities about what he has learned; furthermore he passes on to them exactly what he has received in Heaven, including teaching them about oil divination, academic astronomy, and even giving them the tablet of the gods and cedar wood, etc., much in the same way that Enoch passed on his own heavenly writings. The comparisons between Enmeduranki and Enoch are by no means “clear-cut”, but there is an additional comment in Lambert’s text which attracts our attention, namely a gloss on exactly what kind of esoteric knowledge Enmeduranki received from Shamash and Adad. The text reads,

[to understand] the secret lore of [the ways of the stars, called those of] Anu, Enlil, and Ea, which are [to be studied] according to the commentary to the series *Enuma-Anu-Enlil* and to make the [pertinent] calculations¹⁰⁸.

In other words, the esoteric knowledge acquired by Enmeduranki consists of academic astronomy, including a hermeneutical commentary on the major Babylonian astronomical compendium known as *Enuma Anu Enlil*, along with the ability to make mathematical calculations for astronomical purposes. This is significant, since it shows that Enmeduranki – like Enoch – was not simply acquiring prophetic information about the future (such as the timing of the Flood), but he received technical knowledge of celestial topography, which is a typically Babylonian scholarly and literary genre.

The important thing to consider here is the literary environment of a type of texts like *The Books of Enoch* in contrast to other apocryphal writings. It seems likely that the Enmeduranki and Enoch compositions both arise from an academic milieu in which technical knowledge is taught and explained through hermeneutics, and this attribute of Enoch traditions points to Babylonian rather than Alexandrian origins.

APPENDIX

Extracts from the 16th – 17th century Bulgarian redaction of
THE BOOKS OF THE HOLY SECRETS OF ENOCH (КНИГИ СЪТЪ ТАНЪ ЕНОХЪ)
from MS № 321 from the National Library in Belgrade (fol. 269–323)
(Translated by the author)

TITLE: Books¹⁰⁹ of the holy secrets of Enoch [КНИГИ¹¹⁰ СЪТЪ ТАНЪ ЕНОХЪ], a wise man and great scribe [ВЕЛИКА ЧАДОЖНИКА], whom the Lord received and loved, allowing him to see life in heaven above [ВЫШНАЖ ЖИТИЕ], and the most wise, and

¹⁰⁷ See the statement in 2 Enoch below: “*Vrevoil* hastened and brought exquisite books fragrant/anointed with myrrh and gave me from his hand a quick-writing reed(-stylus)”.

¹⁰⁸ Translation Chicago Assyrian Dictionary 1 (A/1), 1964: 27.

¹⁰⁹ Here the noun КНИГИ can also be translated as ‘Scriptures’/‘Bible’.

¹¹⁰ In Old Church Slavonic the noun КЪНИГЪ is *pluralia tantum*.

great, and inconceivable, and unchangeable Kingdom of the All-mighty God, as well as the most-wondrous, glorious, luminous, many-eyed sentinels [ΜΝΟΓΟΨΧΗΤΑΓΟ ΣΤΟΛΗΙΑ] of God's servants, and the immovable Throne of God, and His minions/hierarchies and their manifestation, the incorporeal hosts and the indescribable composition of the great multitude of elements [ΣΤΥΧΙΗ] and various visions [ΒΗΔ, ΞΗΙΑ], and the indescribable singing of the host of Cherubim, so that he might witness all this infinite universe [ΣΒΨΤΑ ΒΕΖΥΜΨΡΝΑ ΣΑΜΟΒΗΔΕΨΨ ΒΥΤΗ].

[...]

The First Heaven (Chapter Three)

They showed me a sea which is bigger than the one on Earth. And they brought before me the elders and rulers of the ranks of stars, and they showed me 200 angels who rule over the stars and composition of the heavens and who fly with their wings and circle around all the floating (planets/luminaries). Here I saw treasures of snow and ice, as well as the angels who keep these awesome storehouses, and the treasures in the clouds from which they enter and exit. They also showed me the treasures of dew, the nature of which is like the balm of an olive-tree; and the appearance of their image was much greater than any earthly bloom; and they further showed me angels who were guarding these treasures, opening and closing them.

The Second Heaven (Chapter Four)

I saw darkness much deeper than that on Earth. Here I also spotted wrongdoers, hanging on chains, awaiting infinite judgement. These fallen angels were much darker in their appearance than earthly darkness and they produced incessant crying at all times. And I said to the men with me, "Why do they suffer unceasingly?" The men answered me, "These are God's apostates who did not obey God's commands but kept counsel according to their own will and stepped back from God with their Prince (i.e. Satan); these are sentenced to be in the Fifth Heaven." I became saddened on account of them and the fallen angels bowed before me, saying, "Man of God [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΒΑΙΩΝ], pray for us to God." I answered them, saying, "But who am I to pray for the fallen angels? I am a mortal man [ΧΑΛΚΟΣ ΜΟΡΤΑΛΟΣ]. Who knows where I am going and what will befall me and who will pray on my behalf?"

The Third Heaven (Chapter Five)

From there, the men took me up to the Third Heaven and placed me in the middle of Paradise [ΠΟΣΤΑΒΗΣΤΑ ΜΑ ΠΟ ΣΡΨ ΠΟΡΟΔΗ]. This place is of immense beauty. I saw all kinds of trees with sweet blossoms, and their fruits were ripe and aromatic; and all food brought along there gave off a beautiful fragrance. In the midst of it was the Tree of Life [ΔΡΥΨΟ ΖΗΖΥΝΩ], exactly on the spot where God rests when He goes into Paradise. This tree, in its goodness and fragrance, is unspeakably beautiful beyond all other existing creations. All around it looks like gold and fire-like red, covering entire Paradise. It combines properties of all trees ever planted and all fruits. Its roots are in Paradise [ΚΟΡΨ ΕΜΟΥ Ε ΒΨ ΠΟΡΟΔ, Ψ] at

the exit to Earth [НА НСХОДЪ ЗЕМНѢ]. Paradise [РАИ] lies between mortality and immortality [МЕЖДУ ТЛѢНИИ И НЕТЛѢНИИ]. From it two springs emanate, from one of which milk and honey issue forth, and from the other oil and wine. They divide into four parts; while streaming silently they approach Eden's Paradise [РАИ ЕДѢМСКЪ] between mortality/corruptible and immortality/uncorruptible. Going further to the other side, they divide into 40 parts and pour out gently onto Earth. They make a circuit and revolve, like all elements of the air. There is not a single tree in Paradise which does not bear fruit and each tree provides an abundant harvest. This entire place is blessed, and 300 exceedingly luminous angels who guard Paradise with unceasing voices and melodic singing serve God all day long. And I said, "How beautiful this place is!" The two men said to me, "Enoch, this place is prepared for the righteous who suffered all kinds of misfortunes in their lives. When their souls were becoming embittered, they turned their eyes from iniquity and they were judging justly. They gave bread to the hungry, they dressed the naked with garments, they raised the fallen, they helped the oppressed and orphans. They walked without vices before the face of God and served only Him. This place is prepared for them for an eternal inheritance." The two men then took me to the northern side of the third heaven and showed me a frightening place of all kind of sorrows and tortures, chilly darkness and a fog without light there. A dark fire was burning there inside it, and a fiery river ran through the entire place. On one side was fire and on the other side – cold ice, both burning and freezing. I also saw a rather chilling dungeon and murky pitiless angels, carrying cruel weapons which cause merciless torture. And I said, "Woe, woe, how very frightening is this place!" The two men told me, "Enoch, this place is prepared for those who do not obey God, who do evil on Earth, such as magic/sorcery, spells/incantations, and devilish divination; who boast their evil deeds; this place is prepared for the forlorn ones, who steal human souls, who harass the poor, take their wealth and become richer from the property of others; instead of feeding the hungry, they starve them to death. Instead of providing clothes for the poor, they leave them naked. They do not recognise their Creator but bow before soulless and vain gods, fashioning idols/images and bowing before the impure creation of the hand. For all these sinners, this place is destined for eternity."

The Fourth Heaven (Chapter Six)

And these men took me and raised me up to the Fourth Heaven. Here they showed me all the movements and paths and rays of light of the Sun and Moon altogether; and I measured the dimensions of their movements. I calculated their light and I saw the sunlight is seven times greater than the moonlight; I saw their orbit and their chariots, on which each rides with wondrous velocity like the wind, without resting, day and night going and returning. And on the right hand side of the Sun's chariot I saw four big stars, each of which having 1000 subordinate stars; on its left hand side I saw another four stars, each of which having 1000 subordinate stars; all together, there were 8000 stars, always going with the Sun. During the day, the Sun is guided by 15 myriads of angels, and during the night by 1000 six-winged angels, marching before the chariot; and 100 angels give fire to him

(i.e. the Sun). And spirits in the image of two birds, Phoenix and Chalcedra, are going before the Sun during the day; their faces are lion-like, and their feet, tails, and head are like those of crocodiles. Their image was many-coloured like the heavenly rainbow, and the size of their angelic wings is 900 measures; their wings are angelic and each of these birds has 12 wings; it is they who are harnessed to the Sun's chariot, carrying dew and oppressive heat; and as God orders, they turn, descending and ascending along the sky and Earth, with the light of their rays.

The two men then took me to the eastern side of this Heaven and showed me the gates through which the Sun passes routinely at the times appointed, in accordance to its monthly rounds during the entire year, and to the numbering of the horologium, day and night. I saw six vast open gates; each of these gates had $61\frac{1}{4}$ *stadia*; I measured them diligently and I realised that this was their size. From them the Sun exits and goes to the Earth, and enters into each month. From the first gate, the Sun is coming out for 42 days; the second gate – 35 days; from the third gate – 35 days; from the fourth gate – 35 days; from the fifth gate – 35 days, and from the sixth gate – 42 days; then again after that, the Sun starts in reverse from the sixth gate for a second circuit of seasons, and returns through the fifth gate for 35 days; through the fourth gate for 35 days, through the third gate for 35 days, and through the second gate for 35 days. This is how the days of each year end after the passing of the four earthly seasons.

And then these men took me to the western side of this Heaven, and they showed me five¹¹¹ large gates [ΒΡΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΟΡΑ ΒΕΛΗΚΑ] which are open on the other side of the eastern heavenly gates. Through them the Sun sets, and the number of these days is $365\frac{1}{4}$ [ΠΟ ΧΗΣΛΟΥ ΔΝΪΗ' ΤΞΕ' Η ΧΕΤΒΡΖ]¹¹². This is how the Sun sets through the western gates. When it goes out through the western gates, 400 angels take its wreath and bring it to God, while the Sun turns back with its chariot and spends 7 hours of the night without light. In the 8th hour of the night, 400 angels bring the wreath along and crown the Sun with it, while the elements, called Phoenix and Chalcedra, sing psalms to the Sun. Because of this, all birds clap their wings, rejoicing at the one who provides light and sing with their voices, “Here comes the Light-giver and gives light to its creation!”

¹¹¹ Should read ‘six’; as suggested by Andersen 1983: 124–125, fn. 14b, the numeral equivalent of the letter ‘E’ (ЕТЬ) in Cyrillic alphabet is ‘5’ whereas in Glagolitic the same letter has the numeral value of ‘6’. This detail indicates that the protograph of the *2 Enoch* may have been composed/copied initially into Old Church Slavonic/Bulgarian using Glagolitic script and only later converted into Cyrillic; this process caused varying readings in the text (reflecting differences between Glagolitic and Cyrillic numeral equivalents of one and the same letter). Similar mistakes took place when numeral values of other letters (such as ВЪДН, ГЛАГОЛЪ, ДОВРО, etc.) were converted from Glagolitic to Cyrillic. As usefully pointed out by Andersen, “similar confusion among numerals can be explained in term of Glagolitic originals” (Andersen 1983: 125, fn 14b). See also p. 205 above.

¹¹² As noted by Andersen, this detail is found only in MSS of the longer recension (Andersen 1983: 124–125, fn. d) and reflects later interpolations. It can be argued that it was inserted by scribe(s) in order to justify the span of the Julian year (i.e. $365\frac{1}{4}$ days) contradicting (in the same text) the earlier calendar tradition of the Jewish 364-day year.

And then they showed me the calculation of the Sun's itinerary [σε ραcчнтаниε ποκαζαcта ми χοждениε cлнчнaго] and the gates through which the Sun rises and sets. These gates are vast, because God created them for the horologium of the year. This is why the Sun was created so large.

Then the two men showed me another calculation of the entire path of the Moon, all its movements and phases, and 12 big gates eternally facing to the east. Through these gates the Moon enters and exits at a regular intervals of time. Through the first gate – 31 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO] according to the Sun's position; through the second gate – 35 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO]; through the third gate – 30 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO]; through the fourth – 30 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO]; through the fifth – 31 days exceptionally [HЗp'ADHO]; through the sixth – 31 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO]; through the seventh – 30 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO]; through the eighth gate – 31 days exceptionally [HЗp'ADHO], through the ninth – 31 days accurately [HCпHTHO], through the tenth – 30 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO], through the eleventh gate – 31 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO], through the twelfth – 22 days precisely [HЗB'ECTHO]. Thus having passed through all western gates, the Moon enters through the eastern gates and this is how the year ends. The days of the Sun are 365¼, while the lunar year is 354 days, consisting of 12 months calculated each to have 29 days. There is an 11-day discrepancy from the solar year, which is an annual lunar *epact*. This great cycle holds for 532 years¹¹³. By means of a quarter it passes by in 3 years¹¹⁴, and the fourth fulfils it precisely¹¹⁵. For this reason exclusions, that is ¼ days are being subtracted from calculations concerning heavenly bodies for 3 years, until what is less is filled in¹¹⁶. What is taken into account in figuring the epact is 3 years and is not added to the number of days i.e. ¼ days are excluded, which is why they alter the lengths of the years in 2 new moons for fulfilling, 2 others for diminishing the length of the year¹¹⁷. When this cycle is over, the west-

¹¹³ This “Great cycle” (i.e. “Dionysian cycle”, or “Great Paschal Period”) of 532 years reflects the total years of the solar cycle (28 years) times the years of the lunar / Metonic cycle (19) “after which all movable ecclesiastical festivals occur on the same day of the month and the same day of the week” (A n d e r s e n 1983: 125, fn. 14d).

¹¹⁴ That is, 365 days (omitting the quarter day).

¹¹⁵ This means that the fourth year is going to consist of 366 days (+ 4 times ¼ days).

¹¹⁶ That is, 366 days.

¹¹⁷ This entire passage is complicated in both longer and shorter recensions, probably because scribes did not fully comprehend the *Vorlage*. The Moon's “fulfilling” and “diminishing” the year possibly refer to intercalations of the lunar calendar, which could potentially be made twice in the year, in months *Elul* and *Adar*, in Babylonian and early Jewish traditions. Yet this is unlikely to be a reference to the Roman calendar before Caesar, which had 12 months: Martius, Maius, and Quintilius, with October being 31 days, Ianuarius, Aprilis, Iunius, Sextilis, with September, November, and December being 29 days, and Februarius 28 days (which adds up to 355 days). Every second (straight) year they intercalated either 23 or 22 days after the Terminalia at 23. February. A period of four years is thus: 355 + 378 + 355 + 377 = 1465 days, e.g. an average of 366 1/4 days. Hence, one could say that the moon is fulfilling and diminishing (Information courtesy K. Geus).

ern gates are passed through, and the Moon returns to the eastern gates with its light. This is how it moves day and night in a heavenly orbit; moving below all other heavenly orbits it goes faster than the winds of heaven. When the spirits are flying, each angel has 6 wings. The lunar orbit has 7 divisions and each cycle has 19 years¹¹⁸. Amidst the heavens I saw armed hosts serving God with drums and organs with the unceasing sound of sweet singing. Having heard it, I rejoiced at it.

The Fifth Heaven (Chapter Seven)

Here I saw countless warriors called *Gregori* [ρεκομιη γρηγορε] (=Watchers), the appearance of which is like the appearance of humans. Their immensity was as enormous as the vastness of huge giants; their faces were morose, and their mouths are constantly silent.

There was no divine service in the Fifth Heaven, and I asked the men accompanying me, "Why are these *Gregori* so sad, and their faces are morose with their mouths silent and why no divine service is performed in this heaven?" The men answered me, "Those are the *Gregori*, and 200 myriads of them parted from God with their prince *Satanail*. Following in their footsteps are those who are now hanging on chains in the Second Heaven, engulfed by deep darkness. They descended to Earth from God's Throne on a place called Mount Hermon and broke their covenant with God on the shoulder of Mount Hermon. The Earth was polluted by their deeds. Human women sinned greatly during all times of that epoch, lawlessly committing the mixing of species, giving birth to giants and enormous colossi and thus bringing about great malevolence. Because of this, God condemned them in the Great Tribunal; and the *Gregori* are crying for their brethren, since they will be judged on the Great Day of God. And I said to the *Gregori*, "I saw your brethren. I saw their deeds, their suffering, and their great prayers, and I prayed for them; but God condemned them to be under the Earth¹¹⁹, until both heaven and earth are finished forever." And then I said, "Why are you waiting for your brethren instead of serving before God's face? Serve before God's face, so that you do not anger God to the end of His patience!" They listened to my advice and lined up in four ranks in that Heaven. While I was standing with the two men, four trumpets sounded together loudly and the *Gregori* began singing in one voice, and their voices ascended to God's face.

The Sixth Heaven (Chapter Eight)

Here I saw seven bands of the most bright and glorious angels, whose faces were shining more strongly than radiant rays of the Sun. Their faces were no different from the form and appearance of their garments. These bands of angels are in charge of the movements of stars, the Sun's orbit, the Moon's phases; they see earthly benevolence and malevolence. They give orders and instructions; and sing-

¹¹⁸ Reference to "the Metonic cycle of 19 years during which 7 lunar months must be intercalated" (A n d e r s e n 1983: 125, fn. 14d).

¹¹⁹ Here is a reference to the Second Heaven as a subterranean place, a discrepancy in the text.

ing with sweet voices they give every glorious praise. These are the archangels who are above the angels and above every other creature, whether celestial or terrestrial; and these archangels are above angels who are in charge of times and years, and above angels who are in charge of rivers and seas, and above angels who are in charge of every earthly fruit, and above angels who are in charge of every grass and every food given to each living being, and above the angels who are in charge of all human souls; these archangels write down the deeds of all people and their lives before God's face. Among them are seven phoenixes, seven cherubim, and seven six-winged angels. All of them sing in one voice, and nobody can describe with words their singing. And God rejoiced by His footstool¹²⁰.

The Seventh Heaven (Chapter Nine)

From there these men moved me up and raised me the Seventh Heaven. Here I saw a rather great light, and the entire fiery force of great archangels; and I saw an incorporeal host, and the origins of dominions and power of Cherubim¹²¹ and Seraphim¹²², and the Thrones and ten regiments of many-eyed angels, a luminous station of Othanim (i.e. Ophanim)¹²³. I got scared and started shaking from great fear. And the two men took me and conducted me among their midst, and told me, "Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid!" And they showed me God from a distance; He was sitting on His highest Throne.¹²⁴ All the heavenly hosts stepped forth and stood in a line of ten ranks, according to their status. And they bowed before God; and with joy and merriment they again returned to their places, in exceedingly bright light, singing with low and gentle voices. And the glorious ones were serving Him without departure through night and without leaving through day, while standing before God's face and fulfilling His will. The Cherubim and Seraphim surrounded the Throne, and the ones with six wings were covering His Throne, singing with a quiet voice before God's face. When I saw all this, the two men said to me, "Enoch, we were ordered to accompany you until here." The men went away and I never saw them again. I remained alone on the brink of Heavens.

[...] God sent one of his glorious archangels, the archangel Gabriel, who said to me, "Have courage, Enoch, do not be afraid! Rise and come with me and stand before the face of God forever!" [...] And Gabriel swept me up just like the wind takes away a leaf. He took me and placed me before God's face.

¹²⁰ An idiom based on a biblical metaphor "footstool of my feet" (Isaiah 66:1): «God said, "the heaven is My throne and earth My footstool"». The motif is classified by S. Thompson as A 133.2.2 (Heaven as God's throne, earth His footstool) (Thompson 1955–1958).

¹²¹ Cf. Ezekiel 1: 10.

¹²² Cf. Isaiah 6: 1–3.

¹²³ See *Enoch I* (61:10, 71:7) and Dan. (7:9), where wheels of the divine chariot or a class of angels are equated with Cherubim and Seraphim; see also Andersen 1983: 135, fn. 20b.

¹²⁴ Cf. S. Thompson's *Motif-Index*: A137.15 (God represented on high throne surrounded by angels) (Thompson 1955–1958).

The Seventh Heaven: encounter with the Archangel *Vrevoil* [Chapter Ten]

And God summoned one of His archangels, whose name was *Vrevoil*, and who was swifter in wisdom than the other archangels; he was the one writing down all God's acts; Lord said to *Vrevoil*, "Bring out the books from my treasury! Take a reed(-stylus) and give it to Enoch and recount for him the content of the books!" *Vrevoil* hastened and brought exquisite books fragrant/anointed with myrrh and gave me from his hand a quick-writing reed(-stylus). And he told me about all celestial and terrestrial and marine activities, and the movements of all elements, and about the trajectories of their fluctuations, and about the *Zodiac-signs*, and he also instructed me about the Sun, the Moon, and the stars, and the change of their movements, seasons, and years, the days and hours and rising up of clouds, the departure of winds, the number of angels, songs of armed hosts, and about every human thing, and songs in various languages, and he told me about human life, and orders and instructions and sweet-voiced singing, and everything which is edifying. *Vrevoil* was telling me all this for 30 days and 30 nights without his mouth stopping speaking, whereas I was writing down all the signs of creation without ceasing. When I completed the 30 days and 30 nights, *Vrevoil* said to me: "This is everything which I had to tell you, which you have written down. Now sit and write down all the souls of the people who are yet to be born and also the places which are predestined for them forever, since every soul is predestined even before the creation of the Earth." I sat for another 30 days and 30 nights, and I wrote 366 books.¹²⁵

The Seventh Heaven: before the Face of God [Chapter Eleven]

God called upon me and said: "Enoch, sit at my left side with Gabriel! [...] I will disclose to you all the secrets from the very beginning, how I created *ex nihilo* the visible from the invisible. Because I have not disclosed yet My secrets even to My angels, neither did I tell them how they came to be, nor about My infinity and ineffability and rational creation, about which I tell you today.

[...]

Once all visible things did not exist. I was the only one moving within the invisible like the Sun, from East to West and from West to East. Yet while the Sun has peace I did not find peace, since I created everything. And I thought of making a foundation; I created the visible creation. At first I ordered one of the invisible to descend and become visible; and the massive *Adoil*¹²⁶ descended; and I looked at him; in his abdomen¹²⁷ there was great luminosity yielded. I told him, "Deliver

¹²⁵ The number of the books given (= 366) is a specific feature of the longer recension; in the shorter recension the number of books varies (e.g. 360, 300 etc.) (A n d e r s e n 1983: 140–141, especially fn. 23 h). Most probably the fluctuating number of books in the shorter recension is due to scribal errors. The number of books in the longer recension (i.e. 366) is probably an allusion to the solar calendar.

¹²⁶ According to Charles (C h a r l e s 1913: 445, fn. XXV. 1), the form *Adoil* is interpreted as 'the hand of God'.

¹²⁷ Lit. 'womb'.

yourself, *Adoil*, and may the visible be born from you!"¹²⁸ He delivered himself [ϱαζ, Δϱ-ΰσιν σα]; and an overwhelmingly great Light came out, and I was in the midst of this Light. As the Light was looming, a great aeon came out from it, making manifest all creatures which I was thinking of creating. I saw that it was good; and I placed my Throne there, and sat on it; and told the Light, "Ascend above the Throne and stand fast! Be the foundation of the upper world!" Above the Light was nothing else. Then again I bent over, looked down from my Throne and for the second time raised my voice in the Abyss below and said, "May from the invisible firmament appear the invisible!" *Arkhas* came out [ηζυδε Αρχας], who was hard and heavy and very red [ϱυμμε]; and I said, "Unknot yourself [ϱαζβρβζη σα],¹²⁹ *Arkhas*, and may the visible be born from you!" He delivered himself [ϱαζ, ϱ-ΰσιν σα] and a very big dark aeon came out of him; it was carrying the creatures of all the lower worlds. I saw that it was good; and I said to him, "Go down and stand fast!" And thus he became the foundation of the lower world. And there was nothing below this darkness.

[...]

On the fourth day, I ordered large luminaries to appear on the heavenly rings. On the first and highest ring I placed the star Kronos (i.e. Saturn). On the second ring, below it, I placed Aphrodite (i.e. Venus). On the third, Aries (i.e. Mars). On the fourth, the Sun. On the fifth, Zeus (i.e. Jupiter). On the sixth, Hermes (i.e. Mercury). On the seventh, the Moon. I adorned the lower ether with smaller stars, and I put the Sun to shine during the day, while the Moon and stars were to shine during the night; and I ordered the Sun to advance through each Zodiac sign, being 12 Zodiac signs in the orbit of the Moon. I gave names to the Zodiac signs, and the time when they enter to be born, and in their chronology and how the hours go around."

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¹²⁸ Here and further below, the terms 'deliver' and 'release' allude to childbirth terminology.

¹²⁹ Another term for childbirth; lit. 'untie/unfasten unravel/disentangle yourself'.

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НЕБЕСНИ ПИСАНИЯ: КОСМОГРАФИЯ НА БОЖЕСТВЕННОТО МИРОЗДАНИЕ В *КНИГА НА СВЕТИТЕ ТАЙНИ ЕНОХОВИ*

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(Резюме)

Настоящата статия е посветена на една относително слабо проучена в старобългаристиката апокрифна творба, позната в науката като *Книга на светите тайни Енохови* и/или *Втори (славянски) апокалипсис на Енох (2 Енох)*. Произведението е част от един значително по-широк корпус от старозаветни апокрифни съчинения, свързани с името на родения седем поколения след Адам пророк Енох, когото Бог вдига жив на небесата, за да му разкрие съкровенията тайни на отвъдните селения.

Една от най-съществените особености на самия наратив на апокрифната *Книга на светите тайни Енохови* е описанието на отвъдните селения, разположени на седемте (а в някои от версиите – на десетте) небеса, които пророкът посещава едно след друго, преди да се срещне „лице в лице“ с Бога, който му разкрива тайните на миротворението; това описание на Еноховото пътешествие-“пренасяне“ разкрива една вътрешна логика и неочевидна, но строга архитектурна хармония. Отделните небесни нива са подредени в симетрична хармония, а вселената е уподобена на храм, разположен в подножието на Божия престол. Всичко това Енох описва в съкровенията си книги, превръщайки се по този начин в архетип на „твореца/писателя“, докоснал се до небесното знание на ангелите и до самата Божествена мъдрост. Когато му разкрива тайните на творението на видимото и невидимото, на материята и законите, които я управляват, Бог го посвещава и в крипто-знанието на астрономията, като го информира за подредбата на звездите. Тази подредба не следва нито един от познатите планетарни модели, регистрирани в съчиненията от същата епоха (Симеоновия сборник, творбите на Йоан Екзарх и др.). Тези, а и други особености на *2 Енох* насочват към една ранна композиция на текста; протографът му вероятно възхожда към епоха, предшестваща периода на установяването на Птолемеевата стандартната подредба на небесните тела (наложена през II в. сл.Хр.); от друга страна, писменото описание на мъдростта, придобита от Енох, наподобява предания за вавилонски предисторически мъдрци. Това на свой ред ни дава основание да интерпретираме апокрифната *Книга на светите тайни Енохови* като специфичен посредник между културното наследство на Вавилон и Византия.

НЕБЕСНЫЕ ПИСАНИЯ: КОСМОГРАФИЯ БОЖЕСТВЕННОГО МИРОЗДАНИЯ В *СЛАВЯНСКОЙ КНИГЕ ЕНОХА*

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Одной из самых значительных особенностей *Славянской книги Еноха* (т.е. *2 Еноха*) является описание визионерского путешествия-обмирания ветхозаветного пророка через семь (вар. десять) небес и его возвращения на землю. Апокриф имеет специфическую композицию с уникальной литературной структурой. В частности, в описании семи небес присутствуют некая внутренняя логика и архитектоника, в контексте которых топографические детали различных пространственных уровней дополняют друг друга. Расположение Ада, например, на третьем небе, рядом с Раем, можно объяснить также тем, что в этой альтернативной космологической модели Ад находится не под землей, а является частью структуры „вышних небес“. Далее, другие особенности *Славянской книги Еноха* указывают на раннее появление текста, так как порядок планет не соответствует стандартной последовательности, установленной Птолемеем во II в. н.э., а откровение, полученное визионером, сходно с традициями вавилонских сказаний, повествующих о событиях до Всемирного потопа.

В статье предлагается следующая гипотеза: прототекст того сочинения, который мы сейчас называем *Славянской книгой Еноха*, был создан на арамейском или древнееврейском/иврите не позже I в. нашей эры. Позже он был переведен на греческий; к сожалению, рукописи, содержащие списки греческого оригинала, до нас не дошли. Наконец, апокриф был переведен в средневековой Болгарии, с использованием глаголицы, скорее всего, около X в. Лингвистические и лексикографические аргументы свидетельствуют о том, что возможным местом возникновения протографа была Преславская книжная школа, в противоположность мнению, высказанному Вайяном и другими исследователями, что перевод апокрифа принадлежит к традициям юго-^{запад}восточной школы.