

The Deuterocanonical Scriptures

Volume 2B

*Baruch/Jeremiah, Daniel (Additions),
Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira, Enoch,
Esther (Additions), Ezra*

Edited by

Frank Feder, Matthias Henze (Volume Editors)
Mika Pajunen (Associate Editor)

Area Editors of THB volume 2

Randall Chesnutt, Kelley Coblenz Bautch, Lutz Doering, Frank Feder,
Deborah Gera, Matthew Goff, Matthias Henze, Karina Hogan, Michael Lattke,
Robert Littman, Daniel R. Schwartz, Archibald Wright, Benjamin Wright



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Slav^{Tr}; 20–23 = Slav^{MPr}; 28–31 = no. 41).

Vaillant, A., *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves 4; Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1952; 2nd ed. Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1976), 2–84 (= Slav^U, 86–118 with additions from Slav^R; with French translation of Slav^U).

Christfried Böttrich

5.7.3 3 Enoch

5.7.3.1 Introduction, Nature, and Significance¹

3 (Hebrew) *Enoch* is a Jewish composition from late antiquity or the early Middle Ages that sits at the confluence of multiple literary and religious traditions. The text exhibits many of the features characteristic of the apocalyptic genre, such as the heavenly journey of a privileged figure and the revelation of secret knowledge concerning history and the cosmos; in addition, it also reflects long-standing traditions concerning the biblical patriarch Enoch, which go back at least to the Second Temple period, but were transmitted and elaborated by Jews and Christians throughout late antiquity. At the same time, 3 *Enoch* differs from earlier Enochic writings in that it employs technical terminology, human and angelic figures, and the seven-tiered model of heaven familiar from *hekhalot* literature and is, therefore, often included in this eclectic corpus of Jewish mystical, magical, and liturgical writings from late antiquity.² Finally, 3 *Enoch* contains direct literary parallels with classical rabbinic literature, especially the Babylonian Talmud, and appears to have been shaped (at least in its present form) by rabbinic eschatology. This juxtaposition and hybridization of forms and features has made it difficult for scholars to arrive at a consensus concerning the dating and provenance of the text's earliest layers or of its subsequent redaction (→ 5.7.3.4).

¹ I would like to acknowledge the truly excellent help I received in preparing this piece from Henry Gruber, research assistant extraordinaire.

² For a recent overview of the nature, significance, and historical development of the *hekhalot* corpus, see Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 214–327.

The historical importance of 3 *Enoch* derives in large measure from its distinctive representation of Metatron as a divine or semi-divine figure. Metatron's exalted status in the text has the potential to illuminate a host of issues in the history of Jewish, Christian, and indeed even Islamic theology and angelology. At the same time, its protracted composition- and transmission-histories and its complex relationship to other textual traditions have led scholars to widely divergent assessments of its significance. Thus, for example, some scholars suggest that late antique Metatron materials continue a long-standing tradition of Jewish speculation regarding intermediary figures reaching back into the Second Temple period that had a formative influence on Christian conceptions of Christ.³ By contrast, others argue that Metatron represents a late antique Jewish response to Christian claims concerning Christ as a human-divine savior.⁴ Scholars hoping to compare 3 *Enoch* with other Enochic texts and traditions or to clarify issues in cultural, intellectual, or religious history must be attentive to the variegated and fluid nature of the manuscript evidence for this important, if enigmatic, composition.

5.7.3.2 The Manuscript Evidence

This section provides information regarding all of the extant manuscripts of the work known to modern scholars as 3 *Enoch* (in its various redactional forms). It also lists textual witnesses to sections of material that are found in (some versions of) 3 *Enoch* but may also have been incorporated into other works or compilations not properly considered to be forms of 3 *Enoch*. The fluid and heterogeneous nature of the textual tradition of 3 *Enoch* should be evident from the widely varying configurations and sequences of textual units in the manuscripts listed below (→ 5.7.3.5).

The manuscripts are divided into two separate lists. The first list consists of medieval manuscripts that were transmitted continuously and

³ See, e.g., Boyarin, "Beyond Judaisms"; Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*.

⁴ See especially Schäfer, *The Jewish Jesus*, 138–49.

found their way into modern libraries and other such collections. The second consists of manuscripts – often in partial or fragmentary form – that were deposited in the Cairo Genizah at some point prior to the modern period and have been retrieved from this textual repository over the past century. All manuscripts of *3 Enoch* are written in Hebrew.

List A: Manuscripts of 3 Enoch and Related Materials

The following list of thirty-five manuscripts of *3 Enoch* (or of materials related to it) is drawn from the comprehensive introduction in Schäfer and Herrmann's German translation of the text.⁵ The list is presented in alphabetical order. The list has been supplemented by information regarding the date, provenance, and contents of each manuscript.⁶ The paragraph numbers used in the list (e.g., §§ 1–3) correspond to the paragraph numbers that mark textual divisions in Schäfer's *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, a synoptic edition of seven manuscripts of the *hekhalot* corpus.⁷ We use these paragraph designations only as approximate indications of the contents of a given manuscript, as the manuscripts often differ in both small and large ways from the reference manuscripts of *3 Enoch* printed in the *Synopse*.⁸ In those cases where a manuscript contains *3 Enoch* materials not found in the *Synopse*, but only in Odeberg's edition of the text, Odeberg's chapter numbers are used.⁹

- 1 Manuscript Budapest Kaufmann 238, folio 181; Italian, fifteenth century (included in the *Synopse*). Contains § 295 (= Odeberg 48C).

⁵ Schäfer and Herrmann, *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur*, xii–xv.

⁶ This information is largely drawn from the list of *hekhalot* manuscripts compiled in Schäfer, "Handschriften zur Hekhalot-Literatur," 154–233. When a given manuscript is not found in Schäfer's list, the information has been culled from Schäfer and Herrmann, *Übersetzung*.

⁷ Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*.

⁸ The manuscripts printed in the *Synopse* that contain material from *3 Enoch* are: Manuscripts Budapest 238, München 22, München 40, New York 8128, and Vatican 228.

⁹ Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.

- 2 Manuscript Florence Laurenziana Plut. 1 61, folios 111.a–b, 124^a–28^b; Italian, sixteenth/seventeenth century. Contains §§ 33–34, §§ 4–15, 19, 20, 72–77, 16–18.
- 3 Manuscript Florence Laurenziana Plut. 44/13, folios 141^a–52^b = 138^a–49^b = 89^b–78^a; Italian, fifteenth to seventeenth century. Contains §§ 1, 3–5, 7, 9–17, 19–21, 23, 30–33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46–53, 64, 66–68, 70.
- 4 Manuscript Jerusalem 381, folios 43^b–52^b; Sephardic, seventeenth century. Contains §§ 2–17, 19–23, 30–35.
- 5 Manuscript Jerusalem 8^o 5226, folios 16^b–17^b, 19^a–23^b; Ashkenazi, from 1300. Contains §§ 35–38, 54, 4–15, 19, 20, 16–18.
- 6 Manuscript Jerusalem Musajoff 130, folios 7^b–12^b; Bokhara, 1496. Contains §§ 71–80.
- 7 Manuscript London Add. 27199 (Margoliouth 737), folios 95^a–96^a and 111^b–16^b; Italian, 1515. Contains §§ 4–8, 10–15, 19, 20, 16–18.
- 8 Manuscript Mailand Ambrosiana B 54 Sup, folio 81^b; Italian, sixteenth century. Contains § 295 (Odeberg 48C).
- 9 Manuscript Moscow Günzburg 302, folios 305^a–11^a; Sephardic, end of fifteenth or beginning of sixteenth century. Contains §§ 1–71.
- 10 Manuscript Munich 22, folios 83^b–86^a; Ashkenazi, middle of fifteenth century. (included in the *Synopse*). Contains §§ 71–80.
- 11 Manuscript Munich 40, folios 117^a–20^a, 121^b–32^a; Ashkenazi, end of fifteenth century (included in the *Synopse*). Contains §§ 855–938 (= §§ 1–80, but with significant differences in many units and in their overall sequence).
- 12 Manuscript Munich 81, folios 69^{a–b}, 79a–81; Ashkenazi, 1555. Contains §§ 4–15, 19, 20, 16–19.
- 13 Manuscript New York Yivo Institute 404, folios 1–14a; Sephardic, 1563. Contains §§ 1–80.
- 14 Manuscript New York EMC 255 (JTS 1737), folios 64^a–77^a; Sephardic–Turkish, eighteenth century. Contains §§ 21, 23, 30–33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46–52, 54–62, 64, 66–68, 71, 72, 78.
- 15 Manuscript New York JTS 1746, folios 136^a–40^a; Oriental, seventeenth century. Contains §§ 2–5, 16, 17, 19–23, 30–33, 35.

- 16 Manuscript New York Enelow 704, folios 20^a–23^a, 27^a–28^a, Ashkenazi, sixteenth century. Contains §§ 6–9, 11–18, 10, 33–34, Odeberg 22B, 22C.
- 17 Manuscript New York Acc. 76362 (JTS 1990), folios 31^a–32^a; Italian, sixteenth century. Contains §§ 1, 3–5, 7–8.
- 18 Manuscript New York H1–51 (JTS 2018), folios 9^b–10^b; North Africa, end of eighteenth or beginning of nineteenth century. Contains §§ 33–34, 11, 5–6, 14, 9, 19, 4, 15, 7–8.
- 19 Manuscript New York JTS 8128, folios 20^a–20^b; Ashkenazi, end of fifteenth or beginning of sixteenth century. (included in the *Synopse*). Contains §§ 387–88 (= Odeberg 48D) and § 405 (= Odeberg 48C).
- 20 Manuscript Oxford Oppenheimer 495 (Neubauer 1568), folios 40^a–43^a, 45a; Ashkenazi, beginning of seventeenth century. Contains §§ 4–9, 11–18, 19, Odeberg 15B, §§ 20, 33–34, Odeberg 22B, 22C.
- 21 Manuscript Oxford Michael 183 (Neubauer 1572), folios 82^b–83^a, 94^a–97^a; Ashkenazi, ca. 1700. Contains §§ 4–15, 19, 20, 16–18.
- 22 Manuscript Oxford Oppenheimer 494 (Neubauer 1573), folios 78^{a–d}, 89d–93c; Ashkenazi, ca. 1700. Contains §§ 4–15, 19, 20, 16–18.
- 23 Manuscript Oxford Oppenheimer 556 (Neubauer 1656), folios 314^a–33^a; Ashkenazi (Prague?), beginning of eighteenth century. Contains §§ 1, 3–5, 7, 9–17, 19–23, 30–33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46–52, 54–62, 64, 66–68, 71–72, 76, 78–80.
- 24 Manuscript Oxford Michael 256 (Neubauer 1748), folios 25^a–28^b; Ashkenazi, beginning of eighteenth century. Contains §§ 4–15, 19.
- 25 Manuscript Oxford Michael Add. 61 (Neubauer 1915), folios 13^a–13^b; Sephardic (North Africa or Provence), beginning of fifteenth century. Contains §§ 71, 72–75.
- 26 Manuscript Oxford Michael 175 (Neubauer 2257), folios 20^a–23^b, 26^a–26^b; Ashkenazi, beginning of seventeenth century. Contains §§ 4–9, 11–18, 10, 19, Odeberg 15B, §§ 20, 33–34, Odeberg 22B, 22C.
- 27 Manuscript Oxford Christ Church 198 (Neubauer 2456), folios 57^b; Sephardic (Amsterdam), 1635/1636. Contains §§ 72–75.
- 28 Manuscript Oxford Heb. F.62 (Neubauer-Cowley 2872), folios 221^b–25^a; Ashkenazi, after 1627. Contains §§ 71–80.
- 29 Manuscript Paris Alliance Israelite H.55.A, folio 194^a; Italian, seventeenth century. Contains § 295 (Odeberg 48C).
- 30 Manuscript Paris Bibliotheque Nationale Heb. 849, folios 110^a–15^a; Italian, sixteenth century. Contents unavailable.
- 31 Manuscript Paris Bibliotheque Nationale Heb. 850, folios 80^a–84^a; Italian, probably fifteenth century. Contains §§ 2, 3–5, 11, 13–14, 17, 18, 23–31.
- 32 Manuscript Rome Casanatense 180, folios 43^a–46^a; Italian, fifteenth or sixteenth century. Contains §§ 1, 3–5, 7, 9–17, 19, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46–52, 54–62, 64, 66–68, 71, 72.
- 33 Manuscript Vatican 228, folios 41^b–44^b; 45^b–66^a; Byzantine, between ca. 1400–1470 (included in the *Synopse*). Contains §§ 1–80.
- 34 Manuscript Zurich Heidenheim 92, folios 34^b, 41^a–42^b; Ashkenazi, seventeenth century. Contains §§ 4–15, 19, 20, 72–77, 16–18.
- 35 Manuscript Zurich Heidenheim 107, folios 48^a–51^a; Italian, fourteenth or fifteenth century. Contains §§ 1, 3–5, 7, 9–17, 19, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46–52, 54–62, 64, 66–68, 71, 72.

List B: Genizah Fragments

To date, scholars have identified 3 fragments of materials from *3 Enoch* in the vast treasure-trove of the Cairo Genizah. It should be noted, however, that two of these fragments contain only § 71, which is appended to *3 Enoch* in only some of the text's redactional forms and is most often found as part of an independent compositional unit that also appears as part of the magical text known as *Alfa Beta de Rabbi Akiva* (§§ 71–80).¹⁰

¹⁰ For discussion of the varying contexts in which this textual unit appears, see Schäfer and Herrmann, *Übersetzung*, 155–56 n. 1.

- T.-S. K 21.95.L, folio 2^{a-b}; Oriental, eleventh/twelfth century. Contains §§ 1–2, §§ 61–62.¹¹
- T.-S. K1.122, folio 1^{a-b}; Oriental, first half of twelfth century. Contains § 71.¹²
- AS 199.346, folio 1^{a-b}; Sefhardic, fifteenth century. Contains § 71.¹³

5.7.3.3 Modern Critical Editions, Translations, and Auxiliary Tools

Modern Editions

- Peter Schäfer (ed.), *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*.
- Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.¹⁴
- Peter Schäfer (ed.), *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*.

Modern Translations

English

- Philip S. Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *OTP, 1.223–315.
- Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.

German

- Schäfer and Herrmann (eds.), *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur*.

French

- Charles Mopsik, *Le livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989).

Reference Works

- Peter Schäfer, *Konkordanz zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (in collaboration with G. Reeg; 2 vols.; TSAJ 12–13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986–1988).

¹¹ Published as fragment G12 in Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 135–39; also in Schäfer, “Ein neues Fragment zur Metoposkopie und Chiromantik.”

¹² Published in Rohrbacher-Sticker, “Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Meṭatron.”

¹³ Published in Rohrbacher-Sticker, “Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Meṭatron.”

¹⁴ For discussion of Odeberg's often problematic edition, see Schäfer, *Synopse*, vii, and especially Greenfield's prolegomenon included in the reprint.

5.7.3.4 Original Form, Date, and Milieu

The generic heterogeneity of *3 Enoch* and the fluid nature of the manuscript tradition have together made it difficult for scholars to reconstruct the original form of this composition. The range of textual forms attested in the medieval manuscripts suggests that there never existed a stable text of *3 Enoch*, either in late antiquity or during its subsequent transmission. Moreover, its eclectic source-material and multiple redactional layers raise important questions about what it would even mean to locate the “original” milieu in which the text formed.

Nevertheless, the temporal and geographical origins of (parts or layers of) the text have profound implications for our understanding of such issues as the relationship between *hekhalot* and rabbinic literatures, the nature of Jewish “heresy” and “orthodoxy,” and the relationship between Jewish and other ancient Mediterranean religious traditions. To date, scholars have staked out two main positions: either *3 Enoch* was originally composed at an early date, during or immediately after the Second Temple period, or it represents a late antique tradition developed within the context of an already Christianizing world.

The “early” school, exemplified by the New Testament scholar Odeberg, argues for a close relationship between *3 Enoch* and 1 (Ethiopic) and 2 (Slavonic) *Enoch*.¹⁵ Although he does not go as far as to posit a direct linear dependence among these texts, he suggests that all three developed together out of the same Jewish tradition. These works emerged during the Second Temple period and thus share a contextual sphere with the origin of other human-divine savior figures, most notably the Christian Jesus. Orlov, following Odeberg in his identification of similarities between the Enochic texts, argues for a long durée “Enoch-Metatron Tradition” that grew out of an ancient Near Eastern literary genre tracing its roots back to Babylonia and the Babylonian King List.¹⁶ According to Orlov, *2 Enoch* (→ 5.7.2) represents an intermediate stage

¹⁵ Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.

¹⁶ Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*.

in the development the tradition, which reached its apogee with 3 *Enoch*.

The “late” school argues that the text of 3 *Enoch* emerged in the second half of the first millennium, either in Byzantine Palestine or Sasanian Iraq (“Babylonia”). This second tradition, currently favored by most scholars working on the text, emphasizes the integral relationship of 3 *Enoch* to the *hekhalot* corpus, which developed only in the course of late antiquity. The most recent scholars to have contributed to this line of research are Schäfer and Herrmann, who together prepared a German translation of the text and an extensive literary and historical introduction.¹⁷ But the two scholars have parted ways concerning the issue of provenance. Schäfer has argued that 3 *Enoch*, at least as it has been transmitted in the European manuscript tradition, was produced within a late- or post-Talmudic Babylonian Jewish context, noting its direct literary relationship to the episode of Elisha b. Abuya in the Bavli (*b. Hag.* 15a), as well as the prevalence of Metatron on inscribed ritual bowls from Babylonia.¹⁸ By contrast, Herrmann sees the positive portrayal of the figure of Metatron in 3 *Enoch*, as well as the text’s affinities to early Byzantine piety, liturgy, and court ceremonial as evidence that it emerged in Palestine in the pre-Iconoclastic period (sixth or seventh centuries).¹⁹ Herrmann further supports this claim by pointing to the Byzantine cultural context that produced manuscript Vatican 228, one of the earliest full manuscripts of 3 *Enoch*.

Due to the complicated compositional history of the text and the clear indication that the current manuscripts are the result of several layers of redaction, there is no reason to think that both Schäfer and Herrmann might not be right. Schäfer’s proposed provenance relates only to the heavily redacted version of 3 *Enoch*, as found in the medieval manuscript tradition, and not to its earliest sources or strata or to variant forms of this tex-

tual tradition. For his part, Herrmann agrees with Schäfer that the final redaction of the text was “undoubtedly a Babylonian redaction, i.e., a revision of the text under the influence of the Bavli.”²⁰ This disagreement between close collaborators concerning the precise cultural context that produced 3 *Enoch* suggests just how much more research is required before scholars have convincingly nailed down the textual history of this multi-layered work.

5.7.3.5 The Text-Critical Character of the Manuscript Tradition

Over the past thirty years, scholars have distilled the complex manuscript evidence for *hekhalot* literature into three primary regional traditions: European, Oriental, and Byzantine.²¹ Much effort has been expended on determining the character of each of these “branches” of the textual tradition and their relationships to each other. These text-critical findings have important implications for a methodologically rigorous study of 3 *Enoch* and of its relationship to other texts and textual corpora.

The vast majority of the manuscript evidence for the *hekhalot* texts in general and for 3 *Enoch* in particular was produced in trans-Alpine Europe, especially among the German Pietists (the *Haside Ashkenaz*) who were active in eleventh- to thirteenth-century Germany. It is difficult to reconstruct precisely what the textual tradition of 3 *Enoch* looked like when it reached the scribes of medieval Ashkenaz. While the textual units of 3 *Enoch* appear in the manuscripts in a wide range of configurations, the underlying text is remarkably stable. It may be that only a small number of copies of the macroform of 3 *Enoch* crossed the Alps and served as the source for the entire European tradition.²² But this relative textual homogeneity is also certainly the result of the aggressive editorial and redactional interventions of the medieval scribes,

¹⁷ Schäfer and Herrmann, *Übersetzung*.

¹⁸ Schäfer, *Jewish Jesus*, 138–49; also Schäfer, “Metatron in Babylonia.”

¹⁹ Herrmann, “Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium.”

²⁰ Herrmann, “Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium,” 107.

²¹ But see now also Rebiger, “Non-European Traditions of Hekhalot Literature.”

²² It has even been suggested that all of the European manuscripts ultimately derive from a single manuscript of the *hekhalot* corpus; see Dan, “*Heikhalot genuzim*.”

who are known for actively reworking the materials they received for their own practical and ideological interests.²³ Because these European manuscripts provide only a relatively late and highly particular snapshot of *3 Enoch*, they must be used with great care and caution.

Fortunately, the Cairo Genizah has preserved manuscripts containing *hekhalot* materials that shed light on the shape of the corpus prior to its transmission to Europe and especially the process of redactional homogenization it underwent there.²⁴ By and large, the Genizah fragments of *hekhalot* texts differ considerably from their medieval counterparts and attest to a highly dynamic stage in the history of this literature. The fragments of *3 Enoch* are consistent with this broader pattern: materials from or associated with this composition appear in the Genizah fragments in contexts that differ markedly from the heavily redacted textual forms that circulated in Europe. In particular, they reflect the degree to which *hekhalot* materials, even texts with an anti-magical bias like *3 Enoch*, could be put to use for highly personalized, magical purposes.²⁵ It is also significant that the Genizah fragments of *3 Enoch* bear greater similarity, both in their organization of materials and in their spelling and phraseology, to the Byzantine manuscripts than to those from medieval Ashkenaz.²⁶ This Byzantine tradition, exemplified by manuscript Vatican 228 (from which the version of the text in the *Synopse* derives its structure) may have served as an intermediate step between the heterogeneous uses of Enochic material as seen in the Genizah and the codification of that material in medieval Western Europe.²⁷ Ultimately, far from finding in the Genizah fragments a way back to the *Ur-*

text of *3 Enoch*, we gain a glimpse of the variegated textual forms that the Hebrew Enochic tradition could assume and the heterogeneous functions it could serve.

- Bohak, G., "Observations on the Transmission of Hekhalot Literature in the Cairo Genizah," in *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia* (eds. R. Boustán, M. Himmelfarb, and P. Schäfer; TSAJ 153; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 213–29.
- Dan, J., "Heikhalot genuzim," *Tarbiz* 56 (1987): 433–37 [Hebr.].
- Boyarín, D., "Beyond Judaism: Metatron and the Divine Polymorphism of Ancient Judaism," *JSJ* 41 (2010): 323–65.
- Herrmann, K., "Re-Written Mystical Texts: The Transmission of the Heikhalot Literature in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75 (1993): 97–116.
- Herrmann, K., "Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium: The Transformation of Merkavah Mysticism in *3 Enoch*," in *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia* (eds. R. Boustán, M. Himmelfarb, and P. Schäfer; TSAJ 153; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 85–116.
- Kuyt, A., *The 'Descent' to the Chariot: Towards a Description of the Terminology, Place, Function, and Nature of the Yeridah in Hekhalot Literature* (TSAJ 45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).
- Odeberg, H., *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch: Edited and Translated for the First Time with Introduction, Commentary and Critical Notes* (with a prolegomenon by J.C. Greenfield; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928; repr. New York: Ktav, 1973).
- Orlov, A.A., *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).
- Rebiger, B., "Non-European Traditions of Hekhalot Literature: The Yemenite Evidence," in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion His 70th Birthday* (2 vols.; eds. R. Boustán et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 1.685–713.
- Rohrbacher-Sticker, C., "Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Metatrons: Zwei Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur," *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 19 (1991–1992): 95–168.
- Schäfer, P., "Handschriften zur Hekhalot-Literatur," in *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 11 (1983): 113–93; repr. in P. Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien* (TSAJ 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 154–233.

²³ See especially Herrmann, "Re-Written Mystical Texts."

²⁴ See now especially Schäfer, "The Hekhalot Genizah"; Bohak, "Observations on the Transmission of Hekhalot Literature in the Cairo Genizah."

²⁵ Schäfer, "Hekhalot Genizah," 203–05. And more broadly on the phenomenon of personalizing *hekhalot* materials for magical purposes, see Bohak, "Transmission of Hekhalot Literature," 213–29.

²⁶ Schäfer, "Hekhalot Genizah," 204.

²⁷ Herrmann, "Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium," 85–116.

Schäfer, P., "The Hekhalot Genizah," in *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia* (eds. R. Boustán, M. Himmelfarb, and P. Schäfer; TSAJ 153; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 179–211.

Schäfer, P., *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Schäfer, P., "Metatron in Babylonia," in *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia* (eds. R. Boustán, M. Himmelfarb, and P. Schäfer; TSAJ 153; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 29–39.

Schäfer, P., "Ein neues Fragment zur Metoposkopie und Chiromantik," in *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 13 (1985): 61–82; repr. in P. Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien* (TSAJ 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 84–95.

Schäfer, P., *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

Schäfer, P. (ed.), *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984).

Schäfer, P., (ed.), *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (in collaboration with M. Schlüter and H.G. von Mutius; TSAJ 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981).

Schäfer, P. and K. Herrmann (eds.), *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur*, Vol. 1: §§ 1–80 (TSAJ 17; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).

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5.7.4 A Hebrew Text Related to 1 Enoch (1Q19)

5.7.4.1 Significance

The meager remains of the Hebrew scroll 1Q19–1Q19^{bis} display several verbal and thematic affinities with 1 Enoch 8–9 and 105–106. As will be detailed below, scholarly theories regarding the nature of these parallels range from the assumption that 1) 1Q19 is a Hebrew version of these Enochic texts in particular, 2) this scroll contains the lost *Book of Noah*, or 3) there is a dependence on common exegetical traditions. Since some of these proposals have a bearing on the literary and textual histories of 1 Enoch, a brief discussion of this scroll is included here.

5.7.4.2 The Manuscript

The scroll 1Q19–1Q19^{bis} consists of twenty-one fragments located in Israel (frags. 4–21), Jordan (frags. 1, 3), and the USA (frag. 2 [= 1Q19^{bis}], private collec-

tion).¹ At the time of the initial publication in 1955, the color of the fragments was dark red. Since then, many of them have darkened and become virtually illegible (frags. 9–12, 17–21).² The script of frags. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15–21 is smaller than that of frags. 1–6, 9–10, 12, 14. Some suggest that the *editio princeps* of 1Q19 contains fragments originating from more than one scroll.³ According to another view, the difference in handwriting may reflect a change in time or circumstances of the scribe's work.⁴ Paleographic analysis suggests that 1Q19–1Q19^{bis} is inscribed in a Herodian hand.⁵

5.7.4.3 Key Editions

Milik edited 1Q19 and 1Q19^{bis} with a brief introduction and succinct notes in DJD 1.⁶ Batsch published a new French edition of the scroll accompanied by a brief commentary.⁷ Feldman re-edited the

¹ Until his death, this fragment was in the possession of Mar Athanasius Yeshua Samuel.

² The tentative measurements of the fragments (height and width in cm) are as following: 1 (6.2 × 4.5), 2 (6.5 × 5), 3 (6.5 × 9.5), 4 (2 × 1.4), 5 (2.1 × 2.2), 6 (3.7 × 1.6), 7 (1.5 × 2.1), 8 (2.3 × 2.1), 9 (0.8 × 1.1), 10 (0.9 × 0.6), 11 (2.5 × 1.7), 12 (1.3 × 1.5), 13 (2.9 × 6.3), 14 (1.1 × 0.7), 15 (2.3 × 2.9), 16 (0.9 × 1.3), 17 (1.1 × 1.1), 18 (1.1 × 0.9), 19 (0.6 × 0.7), 20 (0.6 × 0.6), 21 (1 × 0.9).

³ Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11," 236; Pfann, "A Note on 1Q19," 71–76. C. Pfann suggests that frags. 13–21 were inscribed by another hand. She further quotes Stephen Pfann's observation that frag. 12 may belong to yet another manuscript (p. 73 n. 6). While the difference in the height of the letters, rightly emphasized by C. Pfann, is obvious, the variations in the shapes of *aleph*, *bet*, *vav*, *yod*, *dalet*, and medial *kaf* may not be as pronounced as she indicates, especially in view of the variations in their shapes in frags. 1–11 (see table in Pfann, "A Note on 1Q19," 74).

⁴ Thus Feldman in consultation with Ada Yardeni in Feldman, "1Q19–1Q19^{bis} (Book of Noah)," 17. Yardeni (private communication) suggests that 1Q19 was written by a prolific scribe, whose works she discusses in "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," in *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform* (ed. M. Lubetski; Hebrew Bible Monographs 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 287–98.

⁵ Milik, "The Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments of the Book of Enoch," 393. Stephen Pfann dates frags. 1–11 to the same period, yet suggests that frags. 13–21 should be dated to the second quarter or mid-first century C.E. (see C. Pfann, "A Note on 1Q19," 73).

⁶ Milik, "1Q19–1Q19^{bis}. Livre de Noé," 84–86, 152.

⁷ Batsch, "1Q19–1Q19^{bis}," 249–55.