

Some Texts on Enoch in the Armenian Tradition*

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The *Book of Enoch* has attracted considerable scholarly attention in recent decades, much of it sparked in the 1970's by an article and book by J. T. Milik in which he presented the Enoch manuscripts from Qumran.¹ The antiquity of parts of the *Book of Enoch* was quickly perceived to have great significance for the early history of Second Temple period Judaism and studies of the figure of Enoch have been prominent.² A new diplomatic edition of the Ethiopic text with a translation and comparisons with the Aramaic fragments from Qumran has been published,³ complete commentaries and first volumes of very extensive commentaries have been produced, soon to be followed by their sequels,⁴ new editions of Greek textual material have appeared,⁵ two English translations have been produced in paperback just in the last

*This offering of learning is dedicated to Tzvi Abusch, scholar and friend.

¹ J. T. Milik, "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumran," *HTR* 64 (1971): 333-78; idem, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

² M. E. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B. C. E.," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479-92; J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch, a Man for All Generations* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); G. Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007).

³ M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁴ M. Black in consultation with J. C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) and the second volume by Nickelsburg and J. C. VanderKam is to appear soon; L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

⁵ M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

few years.⁶ Various attempts have been made to clarify the role of Enoch in Second Temple Judaism (and some even earlier); the interest has spilled over into the sister work, the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* also known as *Slavonic Enoch* or *II Enoch*.⁷

Considering all this research, it is surely worthwhile to subject the Enoch material preserved by the various Christian churches to an examination. This examination will touch obviously on possible relations with earlier sources. At the same time, the history of transmission of such apocryphal materials and their reception and remoulding in the various Churches is of inherent importance, and properly belongs within the realm of studies of the apocryphal literature.⁸ It may be of

⁶ G. W. E. Nickelsburg and J. C. VanderKam, *I Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004) and D. C. Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation* (N. Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 2004).

⁷ See most recently the work by A. A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies on the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (JSJ Supplements; Leiden: Brill, 2007). This work also contains an exhaustive bibliography on *Slavonic Enoch*. The 2009 session of the “Enoch Seminar” will be devoted to *Slavonic Enoch*. Naturally, much bibliography may be found in L. DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999* (JSP Supplement Series 39; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) under the relevant entries.

⁸ We use the term “apocryphal” to refer to a much broader bible-associated literature than the technical “Apocrypha” in Protestant usage. A much larger canvas for this area of study is conceived by John Reeves in both his work on the Book of the Giants (J.C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* [Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992]) and his stimulating articles “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library” in J.C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (EJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 174-203; idem, “Exploring the Afterlife of Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Medieval Near Eastern Religious Traditions: Some Initial Soundings,” *JSJ* 30.2 (1999): 148-77. The fascinating issue of the study of the afterlife of the Second Temple Jewish

interest, therefore, to examine some influential Armenian traditions relating to Enoch, even though the present study cannot aspire to be exhaustive.⁹ By way of a preliminary, it may be remarked that none of the works constituting *Ethiopic Enoch* or *The Book of the Giants* or *Slavonic Enoch* is preserved in Armenian.

In his book, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature* (1990), W. Lowndes Lipscomb published the corpus of four Armenian apocryphal Adam stories that had been dubbed earlier *The Cycle of Four Works*.¹⁰ These texts were first published by Sargis Yovsēp‘ianc‘ at the end of the nineteenth century, and were subsequently translated into English by Jacques Issaverdens in 1907.¹¹ In the introduction to his

Pseudepigrapha has moved higher on the scholarly agenda but that is too complex to document here.

⁹ On the general topic of Armenian apocryphal traditions, see M. E. Stone, “Jewish Apocryphal Literature in the Armenian Church,” *Le Muséon* 95 (1982): 285-309; idem, “The Armenian Apocryphal Literature: Translation and Creation” in *Li Caucaso: Cerniera Fra Culture Dal Mediterraneo Alla Persia (Secoli IV-XI)* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1996), 611-46 and “The Armenian Apocryphal Literature of the Old Testament in the Twentieth Century,” in AIEA Geneva Workshop volume (forthcoming).

¹⁰ W. L. Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990); M. E. Stone, “Report on Seth Traditions in the Armenian Adam Books,” in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, ed. B. Layton (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 2.460-71. A sample of homiletic text from the *Cycle of Four Works* was published in N. Kazazian, & M. E. Stone, “The Commentary on the Cycle of Four Works,” *Journal of Armenian Studies* 8.1 (2004): 46-51.

¹¹ S. Yovsēp‘ianc‘, *Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament* (Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1896) (in Armenian); J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian Manuscripts of the Library of St. Lazarus* (Venice: St. Lazarus, 1907). See also M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*

book, Lipscomb deals with one specific Enochic tradition, that Enoch planted a garden, after the type of Eden, but did not sin in it as Adam and Eve had sinned in Eden.¹² We shall re-examine this material below in connection with some further apocryphal traditions. Moreover, we shall describe a published Armenian Enoch apocryphon, entitled *The Vision of Enoch the Righteous*.¹³

1. *Agathangelos*

One of the oldest works in Armenian literature is the *History of the Armenians* attributed to Agathangelos. Within this history is embedded a large theological treatise entitled *The Teaching of St. Gregory* and it is here that we shall commence our pursuit of Armenian Enoch.¹⁴ The theological treatise was purportedly pronounced by St. Gregory the Illuminator, who was responsible for the conversion of Armenia. Agathangelos says the following:

§76 Thereafter, as after the sacrament of marriage and Enoch's begetting a son, you raised him to the ranks of the angels, to the lot of immortal joy.¹⁵ Now, if we had observed the injunction of your commandment, you would have shown (us) forth like Enoch. For after the pleasures of Paradise and after this earthly course (of life) you would have transferred us like Enoch to the ranks

(EJL 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 101-04. These four works were also translated into Georgian.

¹² Lipscomb, *Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, 62-67.

¹³ Yovsēp'ianc', *Uncanonical Books*, 377-86; Issaverdens, *Uncanonical Writings*, 235-47.

¹⁴ Robert Thomson recently issued a revised edition of his English translation of *The Teaching*, see: *The Teaching of St. Gregory: Revised Edition* (Avant: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1; New Rochelle: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001). Citation of this work is by permission.

¹⁵This is an exegesis of Gen. 5:22 and 24.

of the angels and your kingdom would have been brought in all at once, which you prepared aforetime for our glory before the world existed.

What is clear from this very early Armenian Enochic material, is that the idea of Enoch's assumption ("and he was not, for God took him", Gen. 5:24) is understood to mean his being raised to angelic status (§76).¹⁶ Moreover, as one worthy of that status he was transferred to heaven ("Enoch walked with God"). Had Adam not sinned, humans too would have been worthy of this angelic transformation and of the immediate coming of the kingdom of God, which was created before the world, destined for them.

In a longer passage in *Teaching of St. Gregory*, 293-294 we read the following:

§293 The patriarchs¹⁷ in order are: the first Adam created by God, that is Adam; and Seth, and from him Enos, and from him Cainan, and from him Malaliel, and from him Yared, and from him Enoch; and Enoch lived a hundred and sixty-five years and begat Mathousala, and Enoch was pleasing to the Lord.

He (i.e., Mathousala) was the longest lived of all the patriarchs. As they were begotten and increased by benevolent God, so also after their births they were made for long life, in order that those¹⁸ who were created by God might relate as fathers to their sons, that they might be warning commands to make them aware of God. As indeed it was said: "Ask your fathers, and they will relate to

¹⁶ It is taken for granted that Gen. 5:24 speaks of Enoch's assumption. That is not a universal view, of course, and is denied, particularly in certain Rabbinic sources.

¹⁷ Gen. 5:1-24.

¹⁸ I.e., those fathers.

you; and your old men, and they will tell you".¹⁹ Whereby it is clear that for this reason they were long-lived and not for the sake of a multitude of offspring.

§294 Although God said to Adam, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth",²⁰ as He said in his knowledge of the future concerning the carnal behaviour to be, God wished not only for the increase, but also for this, that²¹ they would pass into eternal immortality. Thus we see Enoch after a long life, after marrying and begetting sons in a life of rectitude, raised up while still alive²² ...

The exegesis underlying §§293-94 is that Enoch succeeds in fulfilling the proper goal of all humans, which was lost because of Adam and Eve's sin. That goal is to be transferred to the ranks of angels. Again, Enoch is seen as living the life and receiving the immortality that Adam and all humans were destined to live and receive had Adam's sin not happened. Enoch, then, transcends the results of Adam and Eve's sin.

Adam, Eve and the Incarnation

In a much later form, this tradition is to be found in *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* in three short parallel texts drawn from three different manuscripts.²³

§44 M5913 He transferred Enoch on high, <to> deathlessness.

M5571 He elevated Enoch in the body to heaven. He called Enosh elect servant.

P306 He elevated Enoch to the kingdom. Enosh was named righteous

¹⁹Deut. 32:7.

²⁰Gen. 1:28.

²¹ Or: that immediately.

²² Or: the Living One raised him up.

²³ See Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 61-2.

The confusion of Enoch and Enosh may be observed in two of the manuscripts. There are many traditions about Enoch's and Enosh's names, based on their graphic similarity in Armenian.

Yovhannēs Corcorec'i (14th century)

In contrast to the above, the *Brief Review of Grammar* by Yovhannēs Corcorec'i (14th century) contains a tradition with much more “familiar” Enochic material.

Relating to the origins of writing, Yovhannēs says:

112 Now let us go to the first chapter and say: whence was writing found, and by whom grammar?

As I said, it was first started by Enosh and Enoch,²⁴ and found by Arphaxad,²⁵

²⁴ As we observed above and will see further below, in the Armenian tradition Enoch and Enosh are often confused.

²⁵ This tradition relates to the transmission of antediluvian knowledge. It resembles *Jubilees*, but there the transmission is to Apachshad's son Kainan. *Jubilees* was quite unknown in Armenian. In *Jubilees* 8:1-4 we read:

8:1 In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, [1373 A.M.] in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to himself a wife and her name was Rasu'eja, the daughter of Susan, the daughter of Elam, and she 8:2 bare him a son in the third year in this week, [1375 A.M.] and he called his name Kainam. And the son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for 8:3 himself a city. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and 8:4 stars in all the signs of heaven. And he wrote it down.

The tradition about Arphaxad discovering a stone slab with the names Seth and his children had given the stars is to be found in John Malalas, *Chronicle* 1.4, combined with the tradition of the two stelae. See E. Jeffreys et al., eds. *The Chronicle of John*

it remained in Eber as Adam's language, by which the Chaldeans learned,²⁶ whom some people call Assyrians (Syrians), destiny of immortality.²⁷ Which was not for that man only, but that his path might make a road for others; and he was not taken forcibly into life, but he was recompensed for the debt of a pleasing life. In the same way God wished to change all to immortality, after all had been pleasing here.²⁸

Here we find the tradition that Enoch invented writing and grammar. This idea that Enoch invented various parts of human learning is known from the pre-Christian period and, since Corcorec'i was a grammarian, he adds grammar as well as writing to Enoch's inventions.

Vanakan Vardapet (1181-1251)

Vanakan Vardapet was the author of *Book of Questions*, which contains many apocryphal traditions.²⁹ The second question relating to Adam deals with Adam's repentance: "How do they say that Adam confessed and repented?" Vanakan's answer is that,

Malalas (Byzantina Australiensia 4; Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 4-5.

²⁶ Compare *Abel* §4 (M. E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve* [SVTP 14; Leiden: Brill, 1996]).

²⁷ Gen. 5:24.

²⁸ Yovhannēs Corcorec'i (14th century), *A Brief Review of Grammar*, ed. L. Xaç'erean (Los Angeles: Alco Printing Co., 1984), 112 (in Armenian). Translations are the author's unless otherwise remarked.

²⁹ R. R. Ervine, "Antecedents and Parallels to Some Questions and Answers on Genesis in Vanakan Vardapet's *Book of Questions*," *Le Muséon* 113 (2000): 417-28.

They say he remained 633 years. His grandson Enosh saw that he was crying bitterly with sobs, and was lamenting; he asked him the reason, and he confessed what had happened in paradise — that ‘My wife gave me of yon tree, in order to become god, and I ate.’ Enoch saw Enosh and heard this and learned it from him in the 165th year of his life.³⁰ He resolved to stay away from women and not to eat fruit and not to look at the sky for 203 years, as an attempt to show God that as He wished to care for Adam, He could do so now also. And He did not lie; He translated him into immortality.

As noted above, a study of the variants of this tradition of Enoch’s garden and his refraining from fruit or, alternatively, from looking at the heavens, was studied by Lipscomb.³¹

Abel and Other Pieces

This text, drawn from Erevan, Matenadaran no. 10200 (1624, 1634, 1666 C.E.) was published by Stone in 1996.³²

§5 *Enoch's Virtue*

5.1 What was Enoch's virtue? He did not eat fruit and he did not look at the <heavens>. And since he was the first repenter God made him symbolic by transferring him, and He gave hope to penitents. And (God did this) so that we should know that another life exists.

The story of Enoch’s abstinence from fruit and from looking at the heavens is known from other sources, as we have noted. Moreover, the theme is also found related to Seth. In *Adam Fragment 1* §12 Seth swore by God not to eat fruit all the days of his life. The text in *Descendants of Adam* §§13–14 seems to say something similar of Enoch, but it is lacunose (see below). Note also *The Cycle of Four Works* as follows:

³⁰ Here the confusion of Enosh and Enoch is rationalized. See n. 24 above.

³¹ See n. 12, above. See Lipscomb, *Armenian Adam Literature*, 62–68, and cf. 99–100. These texts having been published in an accessible place, we shall not repeat them here.

³² *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, 152

Words of Adam to Seth §§20–21 gives the tradition of Enoch's planting a garden full of fruit trees; *Tidings* §10 Seth's son Enoch is called 'a good fruit'. In these texts, Enoch plants a garden but does not eat the fruit. Enoch as a repentant is discussed in note 45, below.

The Descendants of Adam

This text is preserved in a fragmentary form in a manuscript from Erevan, Matenadaran no. 3854 of the year 1471 C.E. It was published by Stone.³³ The first column of the text is damaged and is therefore given here in lines as in the manuscript. It contains an intriguing Enoch tradition, related to the above idea of Enoch's reversal of Adam and Eve's sin, which guaranteed his transfer to heaven.³⁴ Enoch achieves the fate that God intended for all humans. The idea of Enoch's penitence having an intercessory function on Adam's behalf is intriguing.

11 E]noch. And Enoch begat Methu-
 selah.] And Enoch was pleasing to God and
 he lived 520 years. And of the tree
 [m]eat he did not eat. And he drew linen
 15 over his face, and did not look at the heavens,
 on account of the sin of Adam. And he said, "When
 [] of the servant, there is trouble, the servant does not
 [] to look at the crown. And he quickly
 becomes sweet. And I, on account of [the] sin of Adam
 20 I dare not look at the heavens, that G[od] may have mercy
 upon Adam." And God had mercy upon Enoch
 and transferred him to immortality. []
 who does good to others, for him it is helpful
 and he encounters his own well-being. From

³³ See note 32.

³⁴ M. E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Patriarchs and Prophets* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), 84-85.

25 Enoch Methusaleh was born.

It is worth noting that the length of life given for Enoch is too long (in Gen. 5:23 it is 365), and probably is drawn from Enosh, with whom he is sometimes confused.³⁵

Adam Story 1.16-20

This document is contained in Erevan, Matenadaran no. 9100 (1686 C.E.).³⁶ It contains a more developed form of the Enoch ascetic tradition, which incorporates the descent of Enoch at the eschaton to “reprimand the Son of Perdition”. This is, of course, an eschatological function of Enoch in New Testament apocrypha.

16 And God lit in some people a ray of knowledge and they lived ascetically, but they were unable to help at all because { } the first millennium. Enoch, having been found (to be) elect, asked the reason of the terrible sufferings.

17 And when he heard (it), he built a sort of vessel of iron and set it on his head and sat on the top of the mountain. And for 60 years he did not see the heavens, but weeping, he prayed on account of the protoplast and the agreement.

18 And an angel of God having come, he said to him, ‘There is no egress from the impossible pains, unless you have liberated your soul from Satan.

19 And if you die here, (it will be) without your soul being given release on account of your righteousness. But by the command of God I shall bring you alive<to>the heavens.

20 And you shall remain in the place of the righteous, alive, until the last day.

Then all prophecy and books shall be completed. For you shall descend and shall reprimand the Son of Perdition. And you will preach the true God.’

There are a number of points of interest here. First, the text incorporates various traditions. Above we mentioned the eschatological appearance of Enoch and he is said to preach then the true God. In addition the text transmits another form of the Enoch

³⁵ See above n. 23. See also *Words of Adam to Seth*, 19 (Stone, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, 13) where a form of the ascetic Enoch tradition is also found. See also the discussion and references in Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 84.

³⁶ Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 107-108.

ascetic tradition -- this time he hides under an iron helmet instead of behind a linen veil. A motivation of Enoch's translation is offered in §19, behind which lies the idea of Christ's release of souls from Satan. Because Enoch is elect (a title not found in the Bible, but in present in apocryphal sources) he is destined to be taken to heaven alive, otherwise he will fall into the hands of Satan and remain there until Christ's Harrowing of Hell. All this is revealed to Enoch in an angelophany. Thus, *Adam Story I* combines a number of traditions about Enoch, none of which, intriguingly, deals with knowledge, writing, astronomy and other aspects of teaching attributed to him.

Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i (ca. 1450-1535), *On the Creation of the World*³⁷

Yovhannēs was a significant medieval Armenian poet. In addition to writing religious and lyric poetry, he wrote a number of longer pieces. We cite here the stanzas dealing with Enoch from his long poem, «On the Creation of the World». To a large extent Yovhannēs incorporates the medieval, Armenian development of the Enoch figure. We observe that Enoch received the fate, assumption to heaven, which Adam and Eve lost (109). In 137-139 we find Enoch and Enos together, associated with the writing of books about the things in the world. The ascetic tradition is included in 145-146 while 147-149 feature his eschatological function (drawn from Jude 14-15) and then his transfer to heaven alive.

109

If they had remained without sin, they would have multiplied in³⁸ the Edenic Garden,

³⁷ M. E. Stone, "John of T'lkuran *On the Creation of the World*," *St. Nersess Theological Review* 10 (2005): 51-75; see also with full commentary M. E. Stone, "Selections from *On the Creation of the World* by Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i," *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays* (SVTP 15; Leiden: Brill, 2000). 167-213 = *Selected Studies* 1.147-93.

³⁸ Literally: for.

The Garden and earth would have been filled, and their assumption (would have been) like Enoch's.³⁹

.....

137

Adam, moreover, begat Seth, who was a comfort to his parents,⁴⁰
And from Seth Enos was born, a good man, a root of goodness.⁴¹

138

He who hoped in God, that he is caring and merciful Father,⁴²
He who does not forget us visits us on the day of Resurrection.

139

The breath⁴³ that Adam stripped off, the same Enos and Enoch received,
They composed books, setting forth the existing things.⁴⁴

...

144

Kaynan begat Mahalalel, he (begat) Jared, Enoch's sire,
Verily, Jared begat Enoch, sincere and godly.⁴⁵

145

Enoch heard from Adam that sin is the cause of death,
He begat Methusaleh and made a beginning of repentance.⁴⁶

³⁹ Humans would not have died, but have been assumed alive, as was Enoch.

⁴⁰ Gen. 5:3. "Comforter" is a common etymology of Seth in Armenian sources.

⁴¹ Gen. 5:6.

⁴² Gen. 4:26. The reference is to Enosh in the Septuagint version of this verse.

⁴³ I.e., spirit or soul. This is a reference to Gen. 2:7.

⁴⁴ The writing of books is attributed equally to Enoch and Enosh.

⁴⁵ Gen. 5:18.

⁴⁶ Gen. 5:10. Enoch's relationship with repentance is widespread from Second Temple period on: see, Greek ben Sira 44:16, Philo, QGen 1:83, de Abrahamo 17, Gen R.

146

He ate neither meat nor fruit, but only the grass that grew,
And he set a measure on his head, saying, "I am not worthy to see the heavens."⁴⁷

147

He announced the day of resurrection, the Parousia's fearful tribunal,
The Lord will come with myriad hosts, with angelic armies.⁴⁸

148

The Lord God transferred him to the Garden that is immortal,
Lest Lamech kill him, an embodiment of malicious Satan.

149

God rested on the seventh day; it was rest and an abode,
Although sin overcame life, [Enoch] overcame death by good.

History of Adam and His Grandsons

This text is found in Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, manuscript no. 1529 of the year 1648. It adds the name of Enoch's wife and not much else to the Greek form of Gen. 5:22-24.⁴⁹ The name Yandnera derives from Enoch's wife's name 'Edni, already known to Jubilees.⁵⁰

§11 When Enoch was one hundred and sixty-seven years, he begat Methusalah from Yandnera his wife. And Enoch, having been pleasing to God, lived another two hundred years. He was translated to immortality in the thirty-third year of Lamech. And he begat other sons and daughters. And he was translated at three hundred and sixty-five years.

⁴⁷ This is a reference to the widespread Armenian Enoch legend documented above.

⁴⁸ Jude cites *1 Enoch* 1:9: see Jude 14-15.

⁴⁹ Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 95-96.

⁵⁰ Compare *ibid*, 89-91 where a series of Armenian forms of the name are given. See for a fuller analysis W. L. Lipscomb, "A Tradition From the Book of Jubilees in Armenian," *JJS* 29 (1978): 149-63.

Enoch's transfer to immortality is also mentioned as a typical period marker in *Concerning the Six Millennia* 1-2 and *The Eleven Periods* 2.⁵¹ Many similar biblically-derived traditions exist.

Abel and Other Pieces §4.⁵²

It is intriguing that the tradition of revelation through Enoch and of Enoch's invention of astronomy, writing and other sciences is scarcely mentioned in the Armenian sources. In some texts, however, such material is attributed to Enosh (*Abel* 4:3 and 4.4), who we have seen, was confounded with Enoch in certain sources. Thus *Abel and other Pieces* §4 combines the tradition of the two stelae, already known to Josephus, with Enosh and with the transmission of ante-diluvian knowledge. The same is found in *History of the Forefathers* 35, 41-44, compare the Armenian version of Michael the Syrian 9. In *Abel* 4.6, however, that tradition is attributed to Enoch and it also mentions a vision of Enoch.

§4.3 Enos, son of Seth, made the letter(s) and called the planets by name. §4.4 And he prophesied that this world would pass away twice, by water and by fire. And he made two stelae, of bronze and of clay, and he wrote upon them the name of the parts of creation which Adam had called. He said, "If it passes away by water, then the bronze (will) remain, and if by fire, then the fired clay." §4.5 And they were called true sons of God because God loved them, before they fornicated. §4.6 By this writing the vision of Enoch was preserved, he who was transferred to immortality. And after the Flood, Arpachshad made Chaldean writing from it, and from that the others were made. (pp. 151-152).

These Armenian texts are clearly interrelated, but the direction of dependency between them remains unclear. Yet, the above selection, and it is only that, will provide scholars of the Enoch tradition with some insights into the development of the

⁵¹ Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 138-39.

⁵² *Ibid*, 151-52.

Enoch figure in Armenian sources. We must await the addition of further textual material to clarify the structure of the tradition. It is worth noting, however, that *Abel* is related to the *Book of Questions* of Vanakan vardapet and that there is Enoch material in the translation of the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, which was made by the distinguished scholar Vardan Arewelc'i (1200?-1271), thus setting these traditions into the High Middle Ages in Armenia. Since the oldest surviving information about such apocryphal material is not many centuries older, and no literary manuscripts survive from before the tenth century, considerable detective work is still required to discern Enochic traditions in the first period of Armenian literarcy. Here we have attended, for the most part, to Armenian apocryphal traditions, leaving aside those embedded in other types of literature.

Appendix

The Vision of Enoch the Just

In his edition of Armenian apocrypha, Sargis Yovsēp'ianc' published a work entitled *Vision of Enoch the Just*. It was translated into English by Jacques Issaverdens, though in general his translations may not be regarded as definitive.⁵³ The *Vision of Enoch the Just* is one of a general category of political apocalypses, foretelling future events under a symbolic system referring to kings and rulers of the Byzantine period. It resembles other works extant in Armenian, such as *Seventh Vision of Daniel*. The writing has no particular connection with Enoch. It opens with political predictions which continue unabated until its conclusion. The only point of interest is its very attribution to Enoch and the cognomen «the Just» which in themselves do point

⁵³ See Yovsēp'ianc', *Uncanonical Books*, 37-386; Issaverdens, *Uncanonical Writings*, 235-247; also Fr. Barseł Sarkisean, *Studies on the Apocryphal Books of the Old*

vaguely in the direction of older Enochic traditions. It should be studied by those who are devoting attention in recent years to the mediaeval Armenian political apocalypses.

Testament (Venice: St. Lazarus, 1898), 133-34. Further copies exist in M680 and M1500, 230v-231v. This latter manuscript is generally an excellent witness.