

## **The Influence of Enochean Narrative on the Development of Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Literature: approximations**

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**Abstract:** Until the fourth century AD, it was common among Christians to read the pseudepigraphic book of I Enoch. The official position in Western Christianity, which decoded I Enoch's writing from the list of useful literature to Christian religiosity, was given at the Council of Laodicea (4th century) which stated that the only names of angels recognized as sacred would be that of Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, removing I Enoque (who quotes several names of angels) from the West Christian exegetical scenario for centuries. Among the Jews literature was quite influential until the end of the first century Council of Jamnia, which considered only as sacred writings for religion those produced on the borders of the Holy Land in the Hebrew language, marginalizing I Enoque originally written in Aramaic. However, the same did not happen in some regions of the East where Christianity continued to use the book of I Enoque. Starting from the prism that Islam is a monotheistic religion that in its birth exchanged intensely with Judeo-Christian literatures, the article points to a plausible influence of the book of I Enoque in the construction of the Islamic apocalyptic taking as comparative basis the book The Scale of Mohammed. The article is bibliographic in nature and is structured on the comparative method, aiming to present narratological confluences between the writings.

**Keywords:** I Enoque, Apocalyptic, The Ladder, Confluences, Medieval.

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### **1. Introduction**

I Enoch is one of the most fascinating literatures written at the time of the Second Jewish Temple. The fascination lies in the realization that this writing is a key capable of opening doors to the understanding of canonical Judeo-Christian writings, which also means understanding the beliefs present in the culture related to the Old Testament and others to the New Testament (N.T.). It is a kind of literary stone that Western Christian theologians after Augustine rejected, and which became the main cornerstone for understanding some relevant beliefs that marked Judaism and early Christianity.

Until the 4th century AD, reading of the book of I Enoch was common among Christians. The embryo of rejection began in the 2nd century, with Julius Africanus, and reached its peak in the 4th century with Augustine of Hippo. However, the official position, in institutionalized Christianity, which discredited the writing of I Enoch as a literature useful to the faith, took place at the Council of Laodicea (4th century) which stated that the only names of angels authorized by the Scriptures would be that of Miguel, Gabriel and Rafael, removing I Enoque (who names several names of angels) from the theological scene, until recent times in the West. Literature was very influential among the Jews until the Council of Jamnia, at the end of the first century, which considered the texts produced on the borders of the Holy Land in Hebrew to be sacred to religion, marginalizing I Enoch originally written in Aramaic.

Catholic groups, but mainly Protestants, were quite effective in avoiding works similar to the books of Enoch in developing slogans that demean literatures produced in the Interbiblical Period. Theologians spoke of it as "the period of 400 years of divine silence" or "400 years of prophetic silence". These phrases were intended to divert the exegetical gaze from non-canonical works so that the work of theologians would focus on the official sacred parameters.

However, since the 18th century, when the West came back into contact with the Book of I Enoch, an exegetical investigative process of literature produced during the Second Temple became part of the yearnings of the scientific community interested in knowing primitive Christianity, as well like Judaism developed in that period.

Names like J. B. Migne, R. Laurence, R. H. Charles, were fundamental to Enoch's investigation, mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries, revealing the importance of this writing for the investigation of Judeo-Christian religiosity. With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in the middle of the century. XX, the interest in literature increased, after the archaeological confirmation that this, really, was a writing before the Christian era, to the point that today great scholars consider I Enoch the most important literary work produced at the time of the Second Temple. We are convinced that anyone interested in knowing Christianity in its early days and better understanding its early beliefs or even Judaism at that time, should be interested in I Enoch.

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After contact with medieval Islamic literature, more specifically the book of the Ladder, we realized that Enochian literature had a long reach in history, jumping from the Judeo-Christian sphere and entering the Islamic apocalyptic literary scene, as indicated by The Book of Muhammad's Ladder.

## **2. I Enoch's book: Historical and literary context**

Records from the 19th and 20th centuries, prior to the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts, reveal the perception of experts, like Laurence, about the importance of the book by I Enoch:

We will not question here the fact that the author was uninspired; but, despite its production as apocryphal<sup>i</sup>[...], it contains much moral as well as religious truth; and it can rightly be considered as a correct standard of the doctrine of the time when it was composed<sup>ii</sup>.

In 1858, Migni stated that "I Enoch is one of the most famous apocryphal books"<sup>iii</sup>. For R. H. Charles, "the influence that I Enoch has in the writing of the New Testament is much greater than that of all the other apocryphal books and pseudoepigraphs taken together"<sup>iv</sup>. He also stated that "the book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important writing developed in the two centuries before Christ"<sup>v</sup>.

It was expected that, with the availability of parts of the Qumran Aramaic text in 1950, specialists in the study of the Second Temple and Christian origins of that period would become more stimulated in the study of I Enoch, but much of it did not pay due attention to the writing. Only recently did Enoch's study begin to gain notoriety and reach in the academy.

In recent decades, most scholars have been willing to claim that the books of Enoch are the most important documents written during the Second Temple period. Sachi is in favor of that "together with the Jubilee and Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs ... the Book of Enoch is a great trilogy for the knowledge of the Jewish world before Christianity"<sup>vi</sup>.

Interest in studying Enoch's books has grown not only among Christian theologians, but also among Jewish theologians. This reality has brought together scholars from both religions who, together, have deepened their knowledge of this collection of writings that is standing out in the academic scene as a relevant source of information for understanding the Second Temple period:

While only a few Jews were previously dedicated to the study of so-called Pseudepigraphs, now many Jewish scholars are active, mainly, in this area of research. This space will allow mentioning only a select number, such as: Alan Segal, Michael Stone, Devorah Dimant, Albert Baumgarten, etc.<sup>vii</sup>.

Black, comparing the book of I Enoch and Daniel says:

Certainly, if Daniel can be considered a classic of Jewish apocalyptic, I Enoch is not far behind, and may even have an equal right to classic status in intertestamental literature; especially if we assume that the so-called Parables of Enoch precede the Gospels as a remarkable background for the Gospels<sup>viii</sup>.

Charlesworth understands that the books of Enoch have a greater weight than the canonical book of Daniel:

In my opinion, Enoch's books, in a way, seem even more important than Daniel. This canonical text is certainly extremely important, but it is basically an anonymous text, composed and divided into two badly related sections (with sections containing mixtures of Hebrew and Aramaic) [...]. Most likely, in my opinion, they (the books of Enoch) are the most important collection of creative documents produced in the Second Temple Period of Judaism. There is a cohesion in this collection of complex thoughts, development of previous traditions, which distinguish it from all other compositions of the time. The corpus is important because it is full of brilliant ideas and reflections. It is one of the main apocalypses ever written<sup>ix</sup>.

According to Nickelsburg, “1 Enoch is without a doubt the most important text in the corpus of Jewish literature in the Hellenistic and Roman periods”<sup>x</sup>. Ocorre que a tradição enoquita tem se apresentado como uma fonte de inestimável valor para compreensão do cenário literário judaico-cristão do cristianismo primitivo<sup>xi</sup>.

The eclectic Enoch Seminar has demonstrated that the presence of the books of Enoch found near the Dead Sea, helps us to understand the origins and development of the Qumran community. However, it is not yet clear how significant and influential the Jewish groups who held the books of Enoch in esteem.

Unlike what happens in relation to the Qumran community, whose topographic location is known and information about the community's lifestyle and its theology is accessible to us, in relation to the existence of “enoquita Judaism”, if any, it still remains an icon. We know nothing about Enoch's groups. That is, we have no clear definition of the style of these Jews, their geographic location and their influence on ancient Judaism.

Among all 11 caves in Qumran the main one for our research is cave four. In it, about 15,000 fragments of manuscripts were found, which are actually the remains of 530 different manuscripts. Over 140 fragments of Enoch were found there, 138 of which were identified and studied by Milik<sup>xii</sup>, representing 11 Enoch manuscripts. In other words, of the 530 manuscripts that existed there, at least 11 were from I Enoch.

Milik believed that I Enoch was a grouping of five different books, namely: Book of the Watchers (Chap. 1-36), Book of Parables (Chap. 37-71), Astronomical Book (Chap. 72-82), Book of Dreams (Chap. 83-90) and Epistle of Enoch (Chap. 91-108)<sup>xiii</sup>. He identified fragments of each of them, except for the Book of Parables<sup>xiv</sup>.

Milik's publication of *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* in 1976 was invaluable. The writing contains not only an edition of the Aramaic fragments and a detailed textual comment, but also a long introduction in which he establishes his views on the genesis of the Book of Enoch. This book has been extremely influential, although it has also been the target of considerable criticism, because Milik has not found, or identified, any fragment of the Book of Parables in Qumran. For him, such writing is a Christian work dating from the end of the century III<sup>xv</sup>. Regardless of this position, which does not reflect what modern research says about the Book of Parables, this unique work sparked a growing academic interest in the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Parables is of great academic interest because it contains traditions about the Son of Man. Even though nothing related to it was found in Qumran, most scholars understand that the writing is Jewish, pre-Christian and probably originally written in Aramaic or Hebrew (this has been the trend in the Enoch Seminar) in the century. I B.C. However, as fragments were not found in Qumran, it is not possible to be precise regarding its origin<sup>xvi</sup>.

Based on the fragments discovered in the Khamramite cave, today, researchers are unanimous in arguing that the book was originally written in Aramaic, or at least most of it<sup>xvii</sup>. Before Qumran, the position was that the books were originally written in Greek. After the quramramic findings it was clear that Greek was a translation from Aramaic.

Aramaic fragments, equivalent to 2 or 3% of the work<sup>xviii</sup>, are the oldest evidence of I Enoch. According to Milik the oldest parts (or books) present in I Enoch are: the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book, both belonging to the pre-Maccabean period<sup>xix</sup>. Paleography dated the fragments of the Book of Vigilantes and the Book of Dreams as the oldest, written in the late 3rd century B.C. II BC Finally, the fragments of the Book of Dreams were dated in the Maccabean period, around 165 BC.<sup>xx</sup>

As we have explained, Milik identified fragments belonging to 11 manuscripts, which proves the authority that the book (or books) had in Jewish circles<sup>xxi</sup>. Manuscripts are identified by the following acronyms: En<sup>a</sup>; En<sup>b</sup>; En<sup>c</sup>; En<sup>d</sup>; En<sup>e</sup>; En<sup>f</sup>; En<sup>g</sup>; Enastr<sup>a</sup>; Enastr<sup>b</sup>; Enastr<sup>c</sup>; Enastr<sup>d</sup>. All of them were written in Aramaic and it is the oldest material we have about I Enoch.<sup>xxii</sup>

We pointed out that I Enoch was not a book belonging exclusively to the Qumran community, it was not a sectarian material. At various stages, during the Second Temple period, writing enjoyed a status of authority, of influence, among Jewish communities. The evidence to support this argument comes from the presence of the content of I Enoch in other writings, such as, for example, the Jubilees, whose author was familiar with much of the book, as well as the fact that I Enoch generated other writings, for example, from the book of Giants and the Slavic Book of Enoch also known as II Enoch (It was probably the enochite tradition recorded in this book that was primarily responsible for influencing the composition of the medieval Islamic apocalyptic tradition recorded in Mohammed's Ladder's book. This book, similar to Enoch II, divides the sky into seven compartments)<sup>xxiii</sup>.

The period from the beginning of the second century B.C. to the end of the second A.D is considered the heyday of the apocalyptic in Jewish circles. It is at this moment that several works and apocalyptic passages are written, the majority extra-biblical. Several of these passages were linked to separatist groups such as the Puritan community of Qumran<sup>xxiv</sup>.

According to Dockery<sup>xxv</sup>, broadly speaking, it can be said that the apocalyptic flourished in times of foreign domination. He argues, for example, that the Age of Maccabees and the persecution of Christians by the Roman Empire served as a historical context for its development. Shortly after the second Jewish revolt against Rome in AD 135, the apocalyptic goes into decline and ends up disappearing after the fourth century.

Although they have significant differences, there are several literary characteristics common to apocalyptic texts. Also, there is a certain pattern, relatively uniform, with regard to theological thinking. One of the main characteristics is that all Judeo-Christian apocalyptic works claim to be written by important biblical characters. Another feature is that these texts are full of visions and symbolisms. It is common to find revelations, dreams, visions, predictions of the future, narrative or interpretations of angels. Apocalyptic writers, writing about the future, did not refer to it in a vague way, but described it within a theological context, pointing to the coming of the Messiah, who would burst into history and free his people from the oppression experienced in this world, granting them justice and eternal happiness.

In this type of writing, the presence of descriptions of dualistic scenes is natural: God against Satan, heaven and hell, the just and the wicked, angels and demons. Other strong marks present in the apocalyptic are: descriptions of spiritual wars, emphasis on the sovereign, just and loving character of God over history, encouragement to a consecrated life, exhortation to perseverance in fidelity to God in the face of great challenges and the presentation of the time of the end as a time of great suffering. It is also perceived that history is presented, deterministically, moving towards the final triumph of God<sup>xxvi</sup>.

It is precisely because it also has these characteristics that most scholars prefer to place I Enoch in the category of apocalyptic literature, although parts of the book were written at a time before the apocalyptic period itself, containing traditions older than this phase.

I Enoch contains visions, messianic expectation, judgment and divine rewards. A brief reading of some of its chapters shows us this emphasis. In it we find prophetic scenes referring to the end, the inauguration of a new heavenly order in which everything will become new and the promise of peace after God exercises his judgment. However, it does not have exclusively elements of the apocalyptic literary genre.

In the last decade a new literary genre option has emerged to categorize I Enoch. According to the writing itself, the character Enoch is presented as a scribe and sage. In I En 12: 4, Enoch is called the "scribe of justice" and in I En 15: 1 the "scribe of truth". In the Aramaic text of I En 92: 1, he is called "the wisest of men"<sup>xxvii</sup>, as well as passages describe Enoch's teachings as a "source of wisdom"(I En 37:1-4; 82: 3).

Not neglecting the apocalyptic elements of writing, there are scholars who advocate a connection with the genre of wisdom. For Von Rad, for example, the apocalyptic genre has its roots in mantic wisdom. Although we don't have Rad's perception, it is important to argue that classifying I Enoch as purely apocalyptic literature is out of the question for many scholars. According to Knibb:

From a completely different perspective, a number of scholars in recent years have tried to answer the question about Enoch's relationship and the genre of wisdom, using comparative methods with Ecclesiastical's book, Wisdom by Ben Sirā<sup>xxviii</sup>.

The publication in the last decade of the wisdom texts found in cave IV of Qumran (the same cave where the Aramaic manuscripts of I Enoch were found) has shed new light on the question of the relationship between Enoch and the tradition of wisdom. Two of these texts, 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction<sup>xxix</sup>, which survive only in a fragmented way, are of particular importance because of their emphasis on themes of an eschatological nature. In these texts, wisdom appears as a divine revelation, and not the result of observation or experience as occurs in traditional wisdom, like the book of Proverbs.

4QMysteries<sup>xxx</sup> it is a textbook and contains lots of practical advice for young people on topics such as: financial management, respect for parents and marriage. However, the entire text is preceded by a statement that describes God ordering the cosmos, as well as addressing the theme of judging evil and rewarding the faithful<sup>xxxi</sup>.

In 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries there are no reports of visions or celestial journeys, as in I Enoch, however, like I Enoch, he addresses the theme of judgment, a central theme in the enoquita literature. This aspect makes 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries fundamental for understanding the relationship between the Enochian traditions and wisdom, since they reveal that wisdom writings may contain themes related to eschatology, that is, apocalyptic themes. This relationship has led several scholars, nowadays, to place I Enoch in the category of "revealed wisdom"<sup>xxxii</sup>.

We understand that both genres, "apocalyptic" and "revealed wisdom," are important, although I Enoch has more apocalyptic elements. However, to position I Enoch in only one of the two is to incur the error of an unnecessary reductionism, since the two genres exclude elements of I Enoch. Thus, seeking a broader

perception for I Enoch, we understand that he could be the exponent of a new category that we suggest being called the *apocalyptic of wisdom*, especially when we understand that the writing does not result, in its entirety, from the apocalyptic era.

Although we verified the distancing of the influence of the Enochian narrative from the Western Christian theological scenario from the IV, the same did not happen in the East, especially in Ethiopia, which in the same centuries had its literary collection expanded by copying Judeo-Christian writings, including the book of I Enoch, which is considered an authoritative book, of a canonical nature, for the *Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC)*<sup>xxxiii</sup>.

The Book of Enoch, unlike what occurred among other Christian segments after Laodicea, remained relevant to the teaching of Ethiopian Christians. This was because in opposition to the Catholic Church of the West and the East, which discussed the importance of enoquita writing and its place in the canon, culminating in its rejection, a similar debate did not happen in the Ethiopian Church, which continued to have esteem for I Enoch<sup>xxxiv</sup>, a fact that caused the book to cross the Middle Ages, influencing mainly Ethiopian Christians.

The first news of the existence of the Ethiopian version arrived in Europe in the 17th century through a report sent by the scholar Nicholas Peiresc<sup>xxxv</sup>. However, Enoch's Ethiopian writing was only known in Europe in 1773, when traveler James Bruce returned from Ethiopia with three manuscripts. One was donated to the Bodleian Library<sup>xxxvi</sup>, and based on it Richard Laurence<sup>xxxvii</sup>, Regius (Professor of Hebrew at Oxford) and the Archbishop of Cashel, published a translation of the book in 1822. In 1838, Laurence published a new edition based on the same manuscript called *Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica*<sup>xxxviii</sup>.

Research on I Enoch reached its peak in England at the beginning of the 20th century, with the publication of an edition of the Ethiopian text by Enoque, carried out by R. H. Charles. The work has comparisons with the Greek text, as well as translation and commentary on the Ethiopian text. The material was reissued by Charles in 1913, and the result was two large volumes entitled *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*<sup>xxxix</sup>. In the 1970s, a new edition of the Ethiopian text, entitled *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, was published by M. A. Knibb.<sup>xl</sup>

The content of I Enoque narrates visions, presents the character Enoque knowing various places from beyond, communicating with angelic beings, talking to God, angelic crisis awakened by his lust, his meeting with the purpose of giving up his original state to relate with women, the birth of a new race as a result of the sexual relationship between angels and women, a race of giants arising from this relationship called Nephilins, as well as the wrath of God that culminates in the punishment of the human race through a flood and other forms of judgment for celestial creatures.

### 3. Mohammed's Ladder: General Information

The book "The Scale of Muhammad" is a writing that can be categorized as apocalyptic, responsible for developing central beliefs in the Islamic eschatological theological universe, namely: paradise and hell. The plot of the writing is centered on the assumption of Muhammad for an extraplanetary dimension where he knows different forms of the beyond.

According to Molins<sup>xli</sup>, specialist responsible for prefacing the modern Spanish translation that Domingo made from Latin in 1996, the autograph writing (nonexistent today) dates from the 19th century. IX. The work, which was originally a collection of separate texts later grouped, was written in Arabic and influenced Islamic culture in the medieval period for generations. However, it is in the 13th century that writing will gain greater notoriety. By order of King Afonso X, "The Scale of Muhammad" was translated into Spanish, a text that does not currently exist, in 86 chapters, by the sage Abraham (a Jewish scholar of physics) and sequentially the same Afonso X commissioned the scribe Buenaventura de Siena to translate from Spanish to French and Latin.<sup>xlii</sup>

The plot of the book is an extension of the first verse of the Night Travel Sura (Alisrá'), number XVII of the Quran, which says:

سبحان الذي أسرى بعبده ليلاً من المسجد الحرام إلى المسجد الأقصى الذي باركنا حوله لنريه مناً  
هو السميع البصير

*Glorified Who raised the night His servant from the Holy Mosque to the Most Distant Mosque whose surroundings we bless to make him see something of Our Signs Him! He is the Ever-Seer Ever-Listener.*<sup>xliii</sup>

Starting from this account of the Qur'an, the text "The Scale of Muhammad" presents the prophet taking a trip, mounted with the angel Gabriel in a hybrid type of horse, to the Temple of Jerusalem. Leaving the

temple, a ladder would lead you to the divine throne after passing through seven heavens. In this way he communicates with angels and when he reaches heaven (or heavens), he describes each of the seven heavens and the beings that inhabit them (Enoch appears presiding over the fourth heaven). In the last stage, Muhammad has an encounter with God and receives from him an ordinance that still makes up one of the pillars of the Islamic faith: praying five times a day. Then he returns to Earth and begins to teach the need to practice salat (the five public prayers that Muslims say daily).

The narrative goes on to describe what the place of God's presence is, the angels that surround it, the seven paradises, the role of women in paradise, the delivery of the Quran to Muhammad, hell and its punishments, the book of life's actions, the Devil in chains, final judgment, ending with the descent of Muhammad to land and narration for the faithful in a mosque of his trip. Among other topics, the narrative expands the understanding of what Heaven is for the Muslim - colloquially perceived only as a place reserved for sexual delights - describing the beauty of the heavenly aesthetic and divine splendor.

For Muslims this narrative is considered a hadith - perfect stories, considered true, transcendent, concrete, about the life of the prophet Muhammad that serve as an example for the faithful - therefore a source of great didactic relevance that helps the Koranic interpretation.

It is understood that the origin of this hadith, as an oral tradition, is in the 7th century (time of the birth of Islam) and that it reached the Iberian Peninsula (also known as Al-Andalus in the 8th century) in the 8th century. This oral tradition generated several Muslim writings such as the *Libro de la descripción del Paraíso* (9th century), *Mahoma's Life* (9th century) and *Collectio Toletana* (11th century).<sup>xliv</sup>

A relevant finding that points to the importance of paying attention to the book "The Scale of Muhammad" is that scholars, like Asín Palacios (19th century), considered the work as one of the pillars responsible for generating Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Palacios wrote about this subject in the book *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*.<sup>xlv</sup>

### Final considerations

After reading the two writings, we noticed similarities in the structure of the narratives. The scenario that the books describe and the narratives, have strong connections that led us to conclude that the writing of I Enoch and the Book of the Ladder can be worked through the comparative methodology given the high degree of similarities. Some aspects that we highlight are:

- 1st - In both books, the central characters visit various skies;
- 2nd - The two writings present visits by the central characters to hell;
- 3rd - Both narratives are detailed about the description of heaven and hell;
- 4th - Enoch and Muhammad speak with angels and with God;
- 5th - Both Muhammad and Enoch go to heaven and return to earth;
- 6th - The writings speak of eschatological judgments;
- 7th - In both books we find the presence of several angels composing the narrative;
- 9th - The characters Enoch and Muhammad are presented as different people;
- 10th - The characters are given the responsibility of God to return to earth to share a message.
- 11th - The character Enoch is mentioned in the book of the Ladder.

The high number of similarities between the writings is a strong indication that it points to a possible influence of the Enochian narrative in the development of the Islamic apocalyptic. In other words, there is considerable evidence that the writing *A Escada* was also written anchored in traditions originating from I Enoch, a writing that remained active even while walking the leftovers in the Western medieval literary scene, but freely exercising its influence in the East during this period, especially in Ethiopia, a place responsible for preserving the Enochian tradition and most likely serving as an initial platform for the dissemination of the narrative among Islamists.<sup>xlvi</sup>

### Notes

<sup>i</sup>It is perceived that, at that time (1833), the distinction between apocryphal and pseudoepigraph was not yet clear in the academy, that is why I Enoch was called apocryphal.

<sup>ii</sup>LAURENCE, R. *The Book of Enoch the Prophet*. Oxford: JH Parker, 1821, p. xlvi.

<sup>iii</sup>MIGNE J. B. *Dictionnaire des apocryphes ou collection de tous les livres apocryphes*. Paris, 1858, p. xi. v. 2

<sup>iv</sup>CHARLES R. H. *The book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.

<sup>v</sup>Id., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 2.163. v. 2.

<sup>vi</sup>SACCHI, P. *Apocriști dell'Antico testament*. Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1981, p. 423.

<sup>vii</sup>CHARLESWORTH, J. H. *apud* BOCCACCINI, G. *Enoch and Qumran origins: new light on a forgotten connection*. Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2005, p. 441.

<sup>viii</sup>BLACK, M. *The Book of Enoch of I Enoch*. SVTP7. Leiden: Brill, 1985, p. 1.

<sup>ix</sup>CHARLESWORTH *apud* BOCCACCINI, 2005, p. 440-441

<sup>x</sup>NICKLSBURG, G. W. E.; VANDERKAM, J. C. *I Enoch: a new translation*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004, p. 1

<sup>xi</sup>UHLIG, S. *Das äthiopisch Henochbuch*. JSHRZ 5.6. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984, p. 547

<sup>xii</sup>In the year 2000 Stuckenbruck, Tigchelaar and Garcia published in DJD number 36, entitled Qumran Cave 4. XXVI. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, part 1, which contains comments on fragments found in Qumran, not published by Milik, mainly fragments that speak of a calendar of the phases of the moon and sun belonging to the Astronomical Book..

<sup>xiii</sup>This is considered the most traditional division of the book today, but not the only one.

<sup>xiv</sup>Aramaic fragments of a related work, the Enochian Book of Giants, were also found among the scrolls, however, it is not considered by most scholars to be a book belonging to the original book of I Enoch, but a distinct composition derived from I Enoch. More details see: STUCKENBRUCK, L. T. *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.

<sup>xv</sup>KNIBB, 2008, p. 10.

<sup>xvi</sup>NICKELSBURG, G. W. E. *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005, p. 254, 256. Ver también: KNIBB, M. A. The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review. *New Testament Studies*, v. 25, p. 345-59, 1979.

<sup>xvii</sup>KNIBB, M. A. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*. A New Edition in the light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments. v. 1: Text and Apparatus; v. 2: Introduction, Translation and Commentary. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, p. 6-15.

<sup>xviii</sup>The information was transmitted to us by Prof. Vanderkam in an interview at the University of Notre Dame, recorded on 05/27/2014.

<sup>xix</sup>REED, A. Y. *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity*. The Reception of Enochic Literature. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 3

<sup>xx</sup>VANDERKAM, J. C. *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1995, p. 17-18, 25-26, 63, 83-84, 89.

<sup>xxi</sup>MARTÍNEZ, F. G.; TIGCHELAAR, E. J. C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. v. 1. Leiden- New York: Brill, 1997, p. 398-445.

<sup>xxii</sup>In 2013, on a trip financed by FAPESP, we had the opportunity to examine these fragments that are found in a laboratory attached to the Israel Museum.

<sup>xxiii</sup>ANDERSEN, F. I. *apud* CHARLESWORTH, J. H. *The Old testament Pseudepigrapha*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983, p.91-221.v. 1.

<sup>xxiv</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 834.

<sup>xxv</sup>KVANVIG, loc. cit.

<sup>xxvi</sup>KVANVIG, 2004, p. 835.

<sup>xxvii</sup>KNIBB, 2008, p. 12.

<sup>xxviii</sup>KNIBB, 2008, p. 14.

<sup>xxix</sup>For further instructions on this topic read STRUGNELL, J.; HARRINGTON, D.; ELVIN, T. *Qumran Cave 4 XXIV*. Sapiential Texts, Part 2, DJD 34, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

<sup>xxx</sup>SCHIFFMAN, L. Mysteries. In: ELGVIN, T. *Qumran Cave 4. XV*. Sapiential Texts, Part I. DJD 20. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, p. 31-123.

<sup>xxxi</sup>COLLINS, J. J. *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*. Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1998, p.8.

<sup>xxxii</sup>KNIBB, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>xxxiii</sup>Igreja Etíope Ortodoxa Unificada.

<sup>xxxiv</sup>COWLEY, 1974, p. 318-323.

<sup>xxxv</sup>FLEMMING, J.; RADERMACHER, L. *Das Buch Henoch*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902, p. 2.

<sup>xxxvi</sup>KNIBB, loc. cit.

<sup>xxxvii</sup>Their translation is called *The book of Enoch the Prophet* and was published in Oxford (LAURENCE, 1821).

<sup>xxxviii</sup>LAURENCE, R. *Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica*. Oxford: JH Parker, 1838.

<sup>xxxix</sup>His main writings were: *The Book of Enoch*. Oxford, 1893; *The Ethiopic Version of the book of Enoch*. Oxford, 1906; *The book of Enoch*. Oxford, 1912. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. Oxford, 1913.

<sup>xI</sup>For more information about the book by I Enoque, search on google for my doctoral thesis entitled: *Enoque um livro profético para o Cristo*.

<sup>xII</sup>Book “La Escala de Mahoma”, p.15

<sup>xIII</sup>In Latin there are two manuscripts. One is in the National Library of Paris and the other in the Vatican Library. In French there is a manuscript that is in Oxford's Bodleian. Both the Latin and French text are the oldest and date from the 13th century.

<sup>xIIII</sup>Translator's note: At the beginning of this verse and this surah, as in other verses and surahs of the Qur'an, God speaks of Himself in the third person and then in the first person, indistinctly. It is a feature of the ancient Arabic language, which left its mark on the current language of Arabophans. “Overwhelmed at night” *toasarà bi*, form IV of *sarà*, with the connotation of “taking someone to transport themselves to the heights at night”. The Holy Mosque is attributed to the Mecca of Mecca, and the Most-Distant (*al-aqsá*) would refer, according to commentators, to the sacred space of the Temple Mount, in Jerusalem, where later the precisely named Alaqsa Mosque (the further). “To make you see”: since God is the “Ever-Seer”, it is He who gives to those who ask Him, the “Ever-Hearer”. “Him! is He “for the emphatic *innahu*” he is “, followed by the pronoun *huwa* “he”, that starts the nominal Arabic phrase, without a verb. Punctuation and other editing marks, in Quran translations, are always added by translators, since the Arabic text lacks punctuation throughout the Book. The spacing in our translation suggests a prosodic agenda for the reader. Similarly, the reciter proposes a time of recitation.

<sup>xIv</sup>Book “La Escala de Mahoma”, p.12.

<sup>xV</sup>PALACIOS, A.M. *La escatologia en la Divina Comedia*. Madrid, 3 ed. Editorial Maestre, 1961.

<sup>xVI</sup>It is interesting to know that as early as 615, in the early days of the Islamic religion, a group of Muslims was advised by Muhammad to escape persecution in Mecca and travel to Ethiopia.

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