in exilic period Judah. Imported pottery disappeared, and only a few epigraphic finds were discovered. Some typical Iron II forms continued in use during the "exilic" period, and we may assign the material culture of the sixth century to the Iron Age rather than the Persian period. But there is a clear reduction in forms and a decline in the quality of the pottery in this final phase of the Iron Age, comparable to the decline of urban life in the land of Judah. The results of the destructive Babylonian campaigns against Judah in the years 598 and 588-586 BCE, the deportation of the elite, and the transfer of Judah from a vassal kingdom to Babylonian province, are perceived everywhere in Judah in the "exilic" period.

In sum, the Babylonian policy in its buffer zone with Egypt was totally destructive for all the kingdoms in this area, including the Kingdom of Judah. "Exilic" Judah differs in all components from Judah of the monarchial period, and that includes the abolition of the monarchy, the annexation to Babylonian territory, the replacement of the centre of government, and the nomination of governors in place of the former kings of the dynasty of David. The first governor, Gedaliah, was not of Davidic descendant, and the identity of his successors in the "exilic" period is unknown. With the rise of the Persian empire, two governors of the former royal house of Judah, Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, both born in Babylonia, were appointed governors in the province of Yehud. They must have enjoyed popularity among the inhabitants of the province and aroused expectations in certain circles for the renewal of the monarchy under the House of David, but their position as governors was no different from all other governors in the Persian empire. For reasons that still escape us, Darius put an end to the nomination of Davidic descendants as governors. The new policy was fatal for the dynasty of David, which lost its power base, and left the Zadokite priest alone in centre stage in Jerusalem, but it did not affect the administrative status of the province, which basically remained the same during the time of the later Achaemenid rulers.

Riassunto

L'articolo esamina l'ipotesi secondo la quale durante il VI sec. a.C. la provincia di Giuda potrebbe aver goduto dello status semi-independente di regno vassallo, o che comunque avrebbe avuto un ruolo molto simile a quello di regno vassallo. L'ha cercato di dimostrare che Giuda durante l'exillico era invece una provincia piccola e marginale, governata dagli ufficiali dell'impero sotto i governatori Babyloni e Achemenidi.

1. The Secrecy

The notion of "secrets" occupies a distinct place in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch. The importance of this terminology is highlighted by its prominent position in the title of the book. While various manuscripts of 2 Enoch are known under different titles, most of them1 include the word "secrets." 2 In some of these titles the term is connected with Enoch's books — "The Secret Books of Enoch." 3 In other titles


\[3\] Cf. MSS 6 ("From the secret book(s) about the taking away of Enoch the just", Tr.: "Which are called the secret books of Enoch.", "From the secret book(s) about the taking away of Enoch the just", "From the secret books of Enoch"). Cf. F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch) Enoch: The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983])" 1.103; Sokolow, 1.161; 1.111; and 1.153.
"secrets" are linked either to God ("The Book[s] [called] the Secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch") or to Enoch himself ("The Book of the Secrets of Enoch"). This consistency in the use of the term "secrets", in spite of its varied attribution to different subjects, may indicate that the authors and/or the transmitters of the text viewed the motif of "secrets" as a central theme of the apocalypse. The purpose of this article is to call attention to some details of this theme in 2 Enoch.

The Story

Despite the prominent role the word "secrets" seems to play in the titles of the book, it occurs, quite unexpectedly, only three times in the main body of 2 Enoch, twice in chapter 24 and once in chapter 36. It is not, however, coincidental that the term is found in this section of the book. Chapters 24-36 of 2 Enoch can be viewed as the climax of angelic and divine revelations to Enoch during his celestial tour. From these chapters we learn that Enoch, previously described to have been "placed" into the clothes of glory and instructed by the archangel Vereveil, was called by the Lord. The book tells that the Lord decided to reveal to Enoch the secrets of His creation, which he never explained even to his angels. Further the term "secrets" is applied only to this account of God's creation, conveyed to Enoch by the Lord himself, "face to face". The content of these revelations includes the following details:

1. Prior to the Creation the Lord decided to establish the foundation of all created things;
2. He commanded one of the invisible "things" to come out of the very lowest darkness and become visible;
3. By Lord's command a primordial "great aeon", bearing the name Adoi, descended and, disintegrating himself, revealed all creation which the Lord "had thought up to create";
4. The Lord created a throne for himself. He then ordered to the light to become the foundation for the highest things;
5. The Lord called out the second aeon, bearing the name Arukhas, who became the foundation of the lowest things;
6. From the waters the Lord "hardened big stones", establishing the solid structure above the waters;
7. The Lord fashioned the heavens and the sun;

8. From fire the Lord created the armies of "the bodiless ones";
9. The Lord created vegetation, fish, reptiles, birds and animals;
10. The Lord created man.

While the general structure of the account of creation appears to be similar in the shorter and the longer recension, the latter offers a lengthy account dedicated to Adam's creation and his transgression.

Let it be also noted that the notion of "secrets" sets symbolic boundaries for the story of creation; it begins and closes the account of creation. In chapter 24 the Lord tells Enoch that he wants to instruct him in His secrets. In some manuscripts of the longer recension, chapter 24 even has a specific heading, "About the great secrets of God, which God revealed and related to Enoch; and he spoke with him face to face." In chapter 36, which serves as a conclusion of the Lord's instruction, the Lord promises Enoch the role of the expert in His secrets - "Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever. And you will be seeing my secrets...".

Knower of Secrets

The tradition about Enoch as an expert in God's secrets does not begin in 2 Enoch. Already in the earliest Enochic booklets of 1 (Ethiopic) Enoch, the knowledge and the revelation of secrets become major functions of the elevated Enoch. Later Enochic traditions also emphasize the role of Enoch as the "Knower of Secrets" (אֲנִי בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ). According to 3 Enoch, Enoch-Metatron is able to behold "deep secrets and wonderful mysteries". In this Merkabah text Metatron is also responsible for transmitting the highest secrets to the Princes under him, as well as to humankind. H. Kvanvig observes that in Jewish tradition Enoch is primarily portrayed as a primeval sage, the ultimate revealer of divine secrets.

Two recent important studies in Enochic traditions trace the origin of the secrets of 2 Enoch to 1 Enoch 72:1-74:2 and 80:1-80:4, respectively. The books of the dead are seen as the source of these traditions. H. Kvanvig, "The Knower of Secrets: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figures and of the Sons of Man (WMANT, 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988) 27.

13 H.S. Kvanvig, Roots of Apocalypse: the Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figures and of the Sons of Man (WMANT, 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988) 27.
image of Enoch as a primeval sage preoccupied with divine secrets some heroes of the Mesopotamian lore. According to these studies, one of these possible prototypes can be an intriguing character of the "Sumerian" kings list - Enmeduranki, king of Sippar. In three copies of the List he occupies the seventh place, which in Genesis' genealogy belongs to Enoch. In other Mesopotamian sources Enmeduranki appears in many roles and situations remarkably similar to Enoch's story. One of these roles is that of the knower and the guardian of the secrets of gods.  

The tablet from Nineveh, possibly dated before 1100 B.C.E., is a primary witness to the parallels between the stories of Enoch and Enmeduranki. 16 The text, reconstructed by W.C. Lambert, 17 describes Enmeduranki's initiation into the divine secrets and attests him as "the learned savant, who guards the secrets of the great gods". In this text 17 Enmeduranki also functions as a mediator between the deities and the people of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon. He instructs them in the secrets, which he received from the deities.

Kvanvig observes that the tablet emphasizes the esoteric character of the divine wisdom revealed to Enmeduranki, reinforced by such terms as nisirru (mystery) and pirilum (secret). 19

Another important detail in the passage is the juxtaposition of the terms "secrets" and "mysteries" with the phrases "heaven and underworld" and "heaven and earth". Kvanvig points out that both phrases have a "cosmological" meaning. 20

Intended to describe the totality of creation - the "whole world", this terminology can also be related to cosmogonic and creationist concepts.

Secrets in Enochic traditions

Just as the role of Enoch as the Knower of secrets does not begin in 2 Enoch, so the information about the heavenly secrets is also not peculiar only to this apocalypse. We encounter this theme in other Biblical and the Pseudepigraphical texts, 21 including the early Enochic booklets of 1 Ethiopic Enoch.

1 Enoch applies the term "secrets" to various things Enoch acquires during his celestial tour. In 41:1-3 Enoch tells about his experience:

... I saw all the secrets of heaven, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the deeds of men are weighed in the balance. There I saw the dwelling of the chosen and the resting-places of the holy; and my eyes saw there all the sinners who deny the name of the Lord of Spirits being driven from there, and they dragged them off, and they were not able to remain because of the punishment which went out from the Lord of Spirits. And there my eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning and the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are distributed in order to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and of the dew..." 22

25. a benediction priest of the king, a long-haired priest of Samal
26. as fashioned by Ninursagge
27. begetted by a nisikkhu-priest of pure descent
28. if he is without blemish in body and limbs
29. he may approach the presence of Samal and Adad where liver inspection and oracle (take place)
31. 188.
32. 188.
The passage shows that in *1 Enoch* the secrets include not only astronomical, cosmological, and calendar information, but also eschatological details which Enoch acquired either himself or through angelic mediators. The unity between the cosmological and the eschatological, between the secrets of "heaven" and the secrets of "earth," is prominent in *1 Enoch* 52:2, where Enoch attests that he "saw the secrets of heaven, everything that will occur on earth: a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead... all these things which serve the authority of the Messiah." M. Bockmuehl notes that cosmological and eschatological secrets occur repeatedly in tandem and show the intimate link between the cosmological mysteries of heaven and the eschatological questions pursued by the visionaries.

The tendency to include the knowledge about future eschatological events in the notion of "secrets" can be found both in the Pseudepigrapha and in the Bible. M. Bockmuehl observes that the term "in Daniel always relates in some way to a disclosure of the future." The labeling of disclosures of the future as "secrets" becomes a prominent motif in the later "Enochic" text, *Sefer Hekhaloth*. In *3 Enoch* 11:2-3 Enoch-Metatron tells R. Ishmael that from the time of his elevation he has acquired an ability to see deep secrets and wonderful mysteries. According to the text, before a man thinks in secret, Metatron is able to see his thoughts; before a man acts, he can see his act. Metatron concludes that "there is nothing in heaven above or deep within the earth concealed from me." It is clear that the passage understands "secrets" to be foreseights of human deeds and thoughts.

*3 Enoch* also demonstrates some other affinities with *1 Enoch* in its usage of the notion "secrets." First, it applies the word "secrets" to various revealed "things" - all mysteries of wisdom, all the depths of the perfect Torah, and the thoughts of human hearts. Second, in similarity with *1 Enoch*, it includes eschatological and historical details into the category of the "secrets." Third, the angels in *3 Enoch* are aware of God’s secrets: "YHWH the God of Israel is my witness that when I revealed this secret to Moses, all the armies of the height, in every heaven, were angry with me..." Fourth, Gruenwald’s research emphasizes the close proximity between apocalyptic and Merkabah mysticism in the concept of "secret oath/ name" which plays a significant role in the cosmology of *1 Enoch* and *3 Enoch.*

In contrast to these apocalyptic and Merkabah Enochic texts, *2 Enoch* offers a different understanding of "secrets". At least four points of difference need to be noted. First, *2 Enoch* does not apply the notion of "secrets" to many types of revelation. This term occurs very rarely in the book and is reserved only for the particular cosmogonic revelation of the Lord. Second, the term is never applied to an earthly affair, nor even in reference to historical and eschatological information. Third, the "secret name" does not play any significant role in *2 Enoch*’s cosmogony. Fourth, the angels in *2 Enoch* do not know about God’s cosmogonic "secrets".

Moreover, it seems that in *2 Enoch* the realm of the secrets, even "topologically", transcends the angelic world. The shorter recension tells that before the cosmogonic revelation took place, the Lord had "placed" Enoch to the left of Himself, closer than Gabriel. Further, the Lord confirms the transcendence of the knowledge about creation over the angelic world when He informs Enoch that even to his angels He has explained neither his secrets nor his "endless and inconceivable creation which He conceived".

The "secrecy" of the Lord’s revelation is underscored further by several additional factors. First, immediately following the cosmogonic instructions, the Lord informed Enoch that he appointed an intercessor, the archangel Michael, and guardian angels, Arioch and Marioch, for Enoch’s writings which should not perish in the impending flood:

For I will give you an intercessor, Enoch, my archistrateg, Michael, on account of your handwriting and the handwriting of your fathers – Adam and Seth. They will not be destroyed until the final age. For I have commanded my angels Arioch and Marioch, whom I have appointed on the earth to guard them and to command the things of time... 

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24 Knihu, 2.136.


to preserve the handwritings of your fathers so that they might not perish in the impending flood which I will create in your generation (33:10-12).  

The motif of the guardian angels of the books is peculiar to the esoteric tradition conveyed to Enoch. It might indicate that we deal here with the famous "secret" books by which antediluvian wisdom reached post-Enochian generations. This motif of antediluvian "secret" writings has a number of parallels in Mesopotamian lore.  

Second, the esoteric details of the Lord's cosmogonic revelations do not appear in chapters 39-66, dedicated to Enoch's instructions to his children. In these chapters Enoch shares the information about his heavenly tour and his extraordinary experiences near the Throne of Glory. He conveys to his children an esoteric knowledge which includes meteorological, cosmological and eschatological information. In this section of the book Enoch even offers a lengthy description of the Lord's limbs "without measure and analogy" which, some scholars believe, belongs to another highly esoteric trend of Jewish mysticism. The full account of God's cosmogonic revelations, however, does not appear in these instructions of Enoch. Even though the text makes several allusions to the creation story, telling that "the Lord was the one who laid the foundations upon the unknown things and... spread out the heavens above the visible and the invisible things", Enoch never discloses to his children the full story about Adoil and Arakhus.

II. Secrets of Creation in Merkabah Tradition

Despite the differences in the treatment of "secrets" in 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch that have been mentioned earlier, the approach to the mysteries of creation found in 3 Enoch demonstrates close affinities with the Slavonic Enoch.

The theme of the secrets of creation plays an important role in 3 Enoch; it is surrounded by several details found in 2 Enoch. The similarities include the following points:

1. One of these parallels is Enoch's initiation into the secrets of Creation. The important detail in both texts is that some preparatory instructions before the account of creation were given through angels. In the case of 3 Enoch, the instructions were given through the angels known as the "Prince of Wisdom" (כְּפַלְקָה הָאָדָם) and the "Prince of Understanding" (חַיָּב הָאָדָם); in the case of 2 Enoch they came through the angel Veravel (בֶּרֶבֶל). In both books these angelic mediators do not reveal "secrets" but offer instead some preparatory knowledge. In 2 Enoch Veravel instructs Enoch in different "things" - "all things of heaven and earth and sea and all the elements and the movements and their courses... and the Hebrew language, every kind of language of the new song of the armed troops and everything that is proper to learn" (23:1-2).  

In 3 Enoch the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding teach Enoch-Metatron "wisdom" - "the wisdom of those above and those below, the wisdom of this world and the world to come".

2. Both texts also mention that immediately after these preparatory angelic instructions, the Lord (the Holy One) reveals the "secrets of creation" to Enoch (Metatron). From 3 Enoch 11:2 we learn that all the secrets of creation (מלאך הָאָדָם) now stand revealed before Enoch-Metatron as they stand revealed before the Creator. In 2 Enoch 24:2-4 the Lord instructs Enoch in the secrets of his "endless and inconceivable creation"; the mysteries which he never explained even to his angels:

Whatever you see, Enoch, things standing still and moving about and which were brought to perfection by me, I myself will explain it to you. And not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their composition, nor my endless and inconceivable creation which I conceived, as I am making them known to you today.  

3. As was mentioned earlier, the notion of "secrets" in 3 Enoch includes various types of revelations. Even though the book applies the term "secrets" to several things, including the Torah, it also seems to use the notion of "the special secret" in reference to certain details of the Account of Creation. According to the book, this special secret plays an important role in "God's creation of everything". We learn about the secret from 3 Enoch 48D, where Metatron tells to R. Ishmael that he was the person who revealed the special secret to Moses, in spite of the protests of the heavenly hosts:

YHWH the God of Israel is my witness that when I revealed this secret to Moses, all the armies of the height, in every heaven, were angry with me. They said to me: "Why are you revealing this secret to humankind, born of woman, blotted out, unclean, defiled by blood and impure flux, men who excrete putrid drops - that secret by which heaven and earth were created, the sea and the dry land, mountains and hills, rivers and springs, Gehinnom, fire and hail, the garden of Eden and the tree of life? By it Adam was formed, the cattle and the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven and the fish of the sea, Behemoth and Leviathan, the unclean creatures and reptiles, the creeping things of
the sea and the reptiles of the deserts. Torah, wisdom, knowledge, thought, the understanding of things above, and the fear of heaven. Why are you revealing it to flesh and blood?45

P. Alexander observes that in this passage "the secret" could be either (1) the Torah, or (2) the secret names of God. He further suggests that "the identification of the secret with the Torah appears to be excluded by the fact that Torah is one of the things created by the secret".46 This situation in which the notion of "secret" transcends the realm of the Torah and refers instead to God's creation appears to have close affinities to the position of 2 Enoch, where the Torah is not listed among God's mysteries.

III. Secrets of Creation in Zoharic Tradition

The cosmogonic account in 2 Enoch demonstrates close similarities not only with the Merkabah tradition47 but also with much later developments of Jewish mysticism. The following analysis is an attempt to trace some affinities between the account of creation in 2 Enoch and in some medieval texts of Jewish mysticism.

Stones

In one of his books48 G. Scholem points to an interesting detail of the creation narrative in 2 Enoch. The story involves the enigmatic stones that the Lord placed in the waters during the process of creation. In chapters 28-29, when the Lord instructed Enoch about the secrets of the Account of Creation, He said:

Then from the waters I hardened49 big stones,50 and the clouds of the depths51 I commanded to dry themselves. And I did not name what fell to the lowest places.52 Gathering the ocean into one place, I bound it with a yoke. I gave to the sea an eternal boundary, which will not be broken through by the waters. The solid structure53 I fixed and established is above the waters (28:2-4).54

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45 Alexander, 1.315.
46 Alexander, 1.315.
49 The verb врэсврачэв can also be rendered as "in place". Srevenzskij's dictionary lists this translation among possible meanings of the Slavonic word. See I. Srevenzskij, Slavské drevneeských jazyků (3 vols.; Moscow: Kniga, 1989) III(III), 1306.
50 ДАРУМУ ГОРУ. Vaillant, 30.
52 ЩІДАМУ. Again the same term, which can be translated as "edsa".
53 ТРАПИ. Vaillant, 30. This Slavonic word can be also translated as "a foundation". The verb

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54 Andersen, 1.147.
55 Hag. 12a.
56 Scholem, Origins of the Kabbalah, 74. He points also to "the muddy stones from which darkness flows" in the Targum on Job 28:8. Another interesting early parallel could be "stones of bohu" in Isa 34:11.
57 Gershom Scholem was a unique exception in his field, as he persistently tried to investigate the relationships between 2 Enoch and the Jewish mystical traditions. Even though his observations on possible parallels between 2 Enoch and Jewish texts are not systematic, they are very perceptive and can provide many insights for students of 2 Enoch.
59 For the discussion of the parallels between the cosmogonies of these two texts and 2 Enoch cf. G. Scholem, Origins of the Kabbalah, 73-81; idem, On Mystical Shape of the Godhead (N.Y.: Schocken, 1991) 98-100.
observes that "the Slavonic Enoch... is remarkably illuminating in its realistic presentation of some of the Kabbalistic ideas — e.g. as to the process of creation, the constitution of the heavens, and so on." 63 H. Odeberg, who was Box's student at the University of London, holds a similar view.64 In spite of some apparent deficiencies in his edition65 of 3 Enoch his work contains important insights into possible relationships between the Slavonic Enoch and late Jewish mysticism. Odeberg, who used Forbes' separate translations of the shorter and longer recensions of 2 Enoch, makes a number of provocative comments on the nature of the Jewish mystical traditions incorporated in these texts. In his opinion, the longer recension sometimes contains concepts that belong to a later (post-Hechaloth) development of Jewish mysticism. In this respect, he found a number of striking similarities with Zoharic tradition. It should be noted that Odeberg's position was partially conditioned by his favoring of the shorter recension as more ancient and original.66 He viewed the longer recension as a later expansion of the shorter one. In the light of the recent studies of F. Andersen, J. Charlesworth, 67 A. de Santos Otero, 68 and C. Bötticher, 69 who argue for the originality of the longer recension, Odeberg's hypothesis is losing its persuasive power. In this context, an investigation of the possible parallels between the story of creation in 2 Enoch and the Account of Creation in the Zohar can contribute not only to our understanding of the hypothetical provenance of the longer recension but to the provenance of the text in general. It also can clarify the formative value of the account of creation in 2 Enoch for subsequent rabbinic developments. The importance of such inquiry constitutes one of the reasons for the inclusion of some materials from the Book of Zohar in our research.


64 Cf. H. Odeberg, 3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch (New York: KTAV, 1973) 1.22.


66 Although, "original" might be an inappropriate word here, P. Sacchi rightly observes that "the original is an abstract concept; no one possesses the author's manuscript. Even the original of the Book of the Secret of Enoch is only the most ancient form of the text available, and therefore the closest to the Original (with a capital 'O')." Cf. P. Sacchi, Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History (ISPSS, 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 237.


69 C. Bötticher, Weltsichtung, Menschheitszusammen, Zukunft: Studien zum slavischen Hennebach (WUNT, 2.2. 50; Tubingen: Mohr, 1992); C. Bötticher, Das slavische Hennebach (Göttingen: Göttinger Verlagshaus, 1995); C. Bötticher, Adana al Mikroabosmos: eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Hennebach (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1995).

Zohar II, 22a continues the theme of the foundation stone:

When the Holy One, blessed be He, was about to create the world, He detached one precious stone70 from underneath His Throne of Glory and plunged it into the Abyss, one end of it remaining fastened therein whilst the other end stood out above; and this other and superior head constituted the nucleus of the world, the point out of which the world started, spreading itself to right and left and into all directions, and by which it is sustained. That nucleus, that stone, is called shebiyyah (foundation), as it was the starting-point of the world. The name shebiyyah, furthermore, is a compound of shath (founded) and Yah (God), signifying that the Holy One, blessed be He, made it the foundation and starting-point of the world and all that is therein.71

We will now examine some important similarities between 2 Enoch and these Zoharic passages. The text of 2 Enoch uses the term 72 to refer to the stone which fell into the abyss. 2 Enoch does not mention that the stone fell into the abyss but does utilize the phrase, "I did not name what fell to the abyss" (28:3), with the implication that this act of the Lord had already taken place.

Another important motif in relation to the stones in both texts has to do with the theme of "estabishing the foundation". 2 Enoch tells that the stones (stone) are related to the foundation which the Lord has established above the waters.73 This labeling of stones as "foundation" is very typical for the Zoharic narrative, where the stone is referred to many times as הָרָקָע ("foundation") or הָרָקָע הַבָּרִי ("foundation").


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and very black. And I saw how suitable he was. And I said to him, "Come down low and become solid! And become the foundation of the lowest things!" And there is nothing lower than the darkness, except nothing itself (24-26). 85

The passage deals with two enigmatic names, Adoil and Arukhas. Much attention has been devoted to the etymology of these words which might indicate that many scholars consider these names as important cues for clarifying the origin of the text.

R.H. Charles asserts that Adoil might be derived from Hebrew, ד"וע, translated as "The hand of God." 86 M. Philonenko supports this etymology pointing to some Egyptian parallels in which "les premières créatures naissent du liquide séminal que le démiurge solitaire avait fait jaillir au moyen de sa main." 87

L. Cry suggests reading Adoil as ד"וע, "the light of God." In his opinion, some letters in the Hebrew word ד"וע, "light", were transformed. Resh was changed into dalet. Waw was transposed. As a result of these transformations, it sounds like Adoil. 88

A. Vaillant suggests that the name might be derived from a Hebrew word ד"וע with a suffix, "his eternity, his aon." 89 G. Schollem criticizes this rendering and shows that in Hebrew the word ד"וע has the peculiar characteristic of being unable to carry a pronominal suffix. 90 According to Schollem's own interpretation Adoil derives from Sadoq. 91

J. Milik considers the name Adoil as "a Greek and Semitic hydrid: Hades + El." 92 G. Quispel derives it from Adonai-el, where the first element is the circumlocation for the Tetragrammaton. 93

Another proper name in the narrative, Arukhas, also poses several problems for interpretation. R.H. Charles believes that Arukhas may have originated from the Hebrew word ונ"ע" ("firmament"). 94

A. Vaillant supports the view that the term "Arukhas" is connected with the image of foundation (Greek, στερέωμα; Hebrew, ונ"ע"). In his opinion it was

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80 רַבַּשְׁנָה, Vaillant, 30.
81 Andersen, 1.149.
82 ד"וע, Vaillant, 30.
83 ר"ש שְׁנְאָרֶא, Vaillant, 30. It can be also translated as "a great aenon".
84 יָפְּרֵחַפְּרַא.
composed from the Hebrew words אֱדוֹל "arranged" and הָא "hard".95
J. Milik traced "Arukhz" to the Hebrew feminine term אֶרֶק ("geographical basin"), transcribed with the masculine flexional ending as Aruchaz.96
F. Andersen, while thinking that the name could probably be derived from the Greek word ἀρχικός, points out that the ending -as, which is not Slavonic, is doubtful.97 He opts for another translation that connects the name with a Hebrew word "ארע" ("extended").98
However, some materials found in the Zohar might lead us to quite different interpretations of the names "Adoil" and "Arukhz". In the Zohar 1, 17b one may find some provocative material from the Account of Creation that describes the same stage in the story of creation which began, just as the passage of 2 Enoch, with the idea of establishing a "foundation":
Let there be a firmament: i.e. let there be a gradual extension. Thereupon El (God), the right cluster. El Gadoel (Great God), spread forth from the midst of the waters to complete this name El and to combine with this extension, and so El was extended into Elchim (El-H, Y, M). These H, Y, M, extended and became reversed so as to form lower waters, Y, M, H. This extension which took place on the second day is the upper waters. The h, yod, mim, form havot (the sea), which the upper waters. The reversal of these letters, יומכ (seaward), is the lower waters. When they were firmly established, all became one whole, and this name was extended to a number of places. The upper waters are male and the lower waters female. At first they were conminged, but afterwards they were differentiated into upper and lower waters. This is the meaning of Elchim upper waters", and this is the meaning of "Adenai lower waters"; and this is the meaning of upper H and lower H.101
First, the applicable correlation between this narrative and the passage of 2 Enoch lies in the similarities between the name "Adoil" which is spelled in the majority of Slavonic manuscripts as "Adoil"102 and אֱדוֹל - El gadoel (or Gadoel-el,

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95 Vaillant, xi-xii.
96 Milik, 113.
97 Andersen, 1.144-145.
98 Andersen, 1.145.
99 ערבCED R. Margaliot, ed., אֱדוֹל כְּסַפֶּס (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 1.34.
100 Literally: "there were waters within waters" (ספֶס סֶפֶס עָרָב). R. Margaliot, ed., אֱדוֹל כְּסַפֶּס (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 1.34.
101 F. Sperling and M. Simon (eds.), The Zohar (5 vols.; London and New York: Soncino, 1933) 1.75.
102 In the majority of MSS this name has a form Adoil (אדוואל) with "c" in the middle of the word.
103 Adoil. Andersen, 1.144.
104 R - אֱדוֹל. Sokolov, 1.25;
105 P - אֱדוֹל. Sokolov, 1.25;
106 U - אֱדוֹל. Sokolov, 1.117;
107 N - אֱדוֹל. Vaillant, 28.;
108 B - אֱדוֹל. Sokolov, 1.91;

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"the great one"). Let it be noted that the Slavonic text, after it introduces the name "Adoil", defines it as "the great one": אֱדוֹל ABAH, "Adoil, the great one".104 which, in Hebrew, is identical with his name.105
Second, the title El Gadoel in the Zohar is identified with the upper waters. A similar correspondence can be found in 2 Enoch where Adoil is matched with the upper foundation. The same symmetrical pattern also shows in the case of Arukhz: Arukhz, the lower foundation in 2 Enoch, and the "other extension", the lower waters in the Zohar. Both texts use the term "lower" in reference to Arukhz. This term can serve as a clue to resolving the etymological mystery of this enigmatic name. The word "Arukhz" in 2 Enoch might be related to the Aramaic לֹא בֶּן, translated as "lower".106 Noteworthy, that Fig.7a on Gen 1:6 uses this term in the expression "the lower waters" (סֵפָּסָה נָשָׁמ).107

Conclusion
It would be helpful now to offer some concluding remarks about the Account of Creation in 2 Enoch. These inferences will be concerned mainly with the form and the content of the examined textual material.

1. 2 Enoch appears to contain a systematic tendency of treating the story of creation as the most esoteric knowledge. Even though 2 Enoch deals with variousmeteorological, astronomical, and cosmological revelations, it specifically emphasizes the "secrecy" of the account of creation. 2 Enoch, unlike other early apocalypptic materials (such as the Book of Daniel and J Enoch), does not include the variety of "revealed things" in the notion of "secrets".

2. 2 Enoch's emphasis on the "secrecy" of the creation story demonstrates an intriguing parallel to the later rabbinic approach to הָאֱדוֹל כְּסַפֶּס as an esoteric knowledge. 2 Enoch, therefore, can be seen as an important step in the shaping of the later Rabbinic understanding of "secret things", which eventually led to the esoterism of the Account of Creation.

3. The Account of Creation in 2 Enoch includes the cosmogonic motifs of God's creation of the primordial order. These descriptions show a number of par-

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B.2 - אֱדוֹל. Sokolov, 1.137;
Ch. - אֱדוֹל. Sokolov, 1.150.
103 Vaillant, 29-30.
104 Andersen translated it as "extremely large".
105 The title El gadoel, "the great God", can be connected with the term "Great Aeon", which came out from the belly of "Great One", Adoil. Compare also Zohar's narrative: "At first there were waters within waters".
allems with late Jewish mysticism, namely the Zoharic tradition. It supports the Box-Odeberg hypothesis, that the creation narrative of the longer recension shows a presentiment of some of the Zoharic ideas about the process of creation. At this stage of our research, it is difficult to determine whether these blocks of the Account of Creation are interpolations during the later stages of transmission or whether they belong to the original layer of the text.

4. The story of Creation appears to be more developed in the manuscripts of the longer recension. To illustrate this fact, we could point to the important description of the creation of Adam in chapters 30-32, which are absent in the manuscripts of the shorter recension. It supports Andersen’s position that “the claims of the longer recension need special attention in the sections dealing with creation, chapters 24-33”.

Riassunto

2Enoc (o Enoc Slavo), un’apocalisse giudaica scritta probabilmente nel I sec. a.C., tende sistematicamente a considerare la storia della creazione la conoscenza più esterna. Anche se 2Enoc tratta di varie rivelazioni, questa opera, diversamente da altro materiale apocalittico precedente (ad esempio i libri che compongono 1Enoc), dà specificamente una particolare importanza alla sottolineata del racconto della creazione. Questa enfasi sulla sottolineata della storia della creazione può essere considerata una tappa fondamentale per la formazione della successiva interpretazione rabbinica del concetto di יְהֹוָה לֹא פָּרָשָה come conoscenza esterna.

1 Cronologia e cronografia riguardano entrambe il tempo. L’uso moderno riserva il primo termine allo studio scientifico dei rapporti temporali tra i fatti (cioè, alla collocazione di essi in termini di diaconia e sincronia) e il secondo alle visualizzazioni grafiche di tali rapporti. Ma la terminologia antica conosce χρονογραφία / chronographía e non “χρονολογία, il che significa che la nozione di studio dei tempi e dei relativi nessi è un tutt’uno con quella dello “scrivere” (con “ordinarli mediante scrittura”). A livello di fenomenologia culturale, ne derivano le conseguenze seguenti:

a) nella misura in cui i tempi oggetto di “scrittura” possono essere più o meno larghi ed interessare passati prossimi e/o remoti, tale “scrittura” può diventare parte di quella storica. Onde – nel momento in cui lo storico assegna date (in forma di durate di regni e di intervalli fra... e da... a personaggi ed eventi che le sue fonti non datano o non collocano adeguatamente – egli “la cronologia” ed il γράφειν χρόνον diventa uno dei tratti con cui ne viene percepita e valutata l’attività di reum scripser(um) 

b) in quanto “scrittura”, il “fare cronologia” implica un livello del soggettivo destinato ad avere le sue radici sul piano dello “studio” del tempo coinvolto nel

109 Andersen, 1.94.

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CRONOGRafia GIUDAICA, CRONOGRafia CRISTIANA.
UN ITINERARIO DI LETTURA

Osvalda Andrei, Siena

1 - Cronologia e cronografia riguardano entrambe il tempo. L’uso moderno riserva il primo termine allo studio scientifico dei rapporti temporali tra i fatti (cioè, alla collocazione di essi in termini di diaconia e sincronia) e il secondo alle visualizzazioni grafiche di tali rapporti. Ma la terminologia antica conosce χρονογραφία / chronographía e non “χρονολογία, il che significa che la nozione di studio dei tempi e dei relativi nessi è un tutt’uno con quella dello “scrivere” (con “ordinarli mediante scrittura”). A livello di fenomenologia culturale, ne derivano le conseguenze seguenti:

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