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From Patriarch to the "Youth": Angelic Veneration of Enoch and His Title "Youth" in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch

The Function of the Adamic Tradition in 2 Enoch

Adam's story occupies a prominent place in 2 Slavonic (*Apocalypse of Enoch*). The traditions pertaining to the first human can be found in all the sections of the book.¹ In these materials Adam is depicted as a glorious angelic being, predestined by God to be the ruler of the earth, but falling short of God's expectations. Although a major bulk of Adamic materials belongs to the longer recension, which includes, for example, the lengthy Adamic narrative in chapters 30-32, the Adamic tradition is not confined solely to this recension. A number of important Adamic passages are also attested in the shorter recension. The extensive presence of Adamic materials in both recensions and their significance for the theology of the Slavonic apocalypse indicates that they are not later interpolations but are part of the original layer of the text.

It should be noted that such an extensive presence of Adamic materials in the intertestamental Enochic text is quite unusual. In the early Enochic circle, included in the composition known as 1 (*Ethiopic Enoch*), Adam does not figure prominently. His presence in these materials is marginal and limited to a few insignificant remarks. Besides these few short references to the first humans,² the early Enochic booklets are silent about the traditions associated with the protoplast. Moreover, Adam's image in 1 Enoch is quite different from the one attested in the Slavonic Apocalypse. 1 Enoch's materials do not give any specific details about the elevated status of the protoplast. For example, the *Animal Apocalypse* 85:3 depicts Adam as a white bull. Although, white is a positive symbol in the imagery of *An. Ap.*,³ scholars note that, in general, this allegory does not indicate goodness or elevation, but rather lineage.⁴ Thus, in *An. Ap.* all the sheep are white, even the blinded ones. White color, therefore, does not serve as a sign of the elevated or angelic status of the protoplast. Sethites, for instance, are also depicted as white bulls. If the authors or editors of *An. Ap.* want to stress the angelic status of a character, they usually depict it in transformation from an animal into a human. Thus, in Ethiopic and Aramaic versions of *An. Ap.* 89:36, Moses is portrayed as the one who was transformed from a sheep into a man during his encounter with God on Mount Sinai. Moses' "humanization" points to his transition to the angelic status. The same process can be found in the Ethiopic version of *An. Ap.* 89:9 where Noah's angelic metamorphosis is

¹ 2 Enoch 30:8-32:2; 33:10; 41:1; 42:5; 44:1; 58:1-3; 71:28.

² See, 1 Enoch 32:6; 37:1; 60:8; 69:9-11; 85:3; 90:37-38.

³ P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 226.

⁴ Tiller, 226.

symbolically depicted as a transformation from a white bovid into a man.⁵ Such "humanization," however, has never been applied to Adam in *An. Ap.*

The modest role which Adam plays in the early Enochic circle can be explained by several factors. Scholars previously observed that Enochic and Adamic traditions often offer contending explanations of the origin of evil in the world.⁶ The Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the Watchers story where the fallen angels corrupt human beings by passing on to them various celestial secrets. In contrast, the Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's disobedience and the transgression of Adam and Eve in Eden.

From the point of view of this long-lasting contention between Adamic and Enochic traditions, it might appear that the sudden occurrence of the large bulk of Adamic materials in *2 Enoch* represents alien accretions skillfully interpolated into the original narrative during its long transmission in the Greek and Slavonic milieux.

A closer examination of the text, however, shows that the presence of the Adamic tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse is not secondary or coincidental but has a profound conceptual value for the whole theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse. It appears that the purpose of the extensive presence of Adamic materials in *2 Enoch* can be explained through the assessment of Enoch's image in the text.

Scholars have previously noted that Enoch's figure, portrayed in the various sections of *2 Enoch*, is more complex than in the early Enochic tractates of *1 Enoch*.⁷ For the first time, the Enochic tradition seeks to depict Enoch, not simply as a human taken to heaven and transformed into an angel, but as a celestial being exalted above the angelic world.⁸ In this attempt, one may find the origins of another image of Enoch, very different from the early Enochic literature, which was developed much later in Merkabah

⁵ The "humanization" of Noah is not attested in the Aramaic. See, Tiller, 267.

⁶ M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 133-49.

⁷ P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergen; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 102-104; H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973) 52-63.

⁸ One can argue that the beginning of this process can be seen already in the *Book of the Similitudes* where Enoch seems to be identified with the Son of Man. It is possible that the *Similitudes*, written close to the time of *2 Enoch*, also reflects this process of transition to the new image of Enoch. In contrast to *2 Enoch*, the *Similitudes*, however, does not elaborate this process to the same degree as the Slavonic apocalypse does. Enoch's transformation into the Son of Man in the *Similitudes* 71 is rather instantaneous and ambiguous. In contrast, in *2 Enoch* this process of Enoch's transition to new super-angelic identity is described in detail through the expositions of Enoch's celestial titles which unfold the patriarch's new roles in numerous celestial offices. On Enoch's transformation in the *Similitudes* see, J. R. Davila, "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron," in: *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (eds. C.C. Newman, J.R. Davila, G.S. Lewis; SJSJ, 63; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 9-15; C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT, Reihe 2:94; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997) 151; M. Knibb, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls", *DSD* 2 (1995) 177-80; D.W. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS, 47; Missoula: Scholars, 1979) 14-23; J. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71", in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J.H. Charlesworth, et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 182-3.

mysticism—the concept of the supreme angel Metatron, "the Prince of the Presence."⁹ It is, therefore, possible that this new profile of the elevated Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse can serve as an important clue to unriddling the mysteries of the extensive Adamic presence in *2 Enoch*.

In 1987 Moshe Idel published an article¹⁰ in which he explored the role of the Adamic traditions in shaping the image of Enoch as the supreme angel Metatron. Although Idel's research dealt mainly with later rabbinic materials, it demonstrated that already in some pseudepigraphic accounts Enoch appears to be portrayed as a luminous counterpart of Adam who regained Adam's glory lost during the protoplast's transgression.¹¹

Idel further suggested that Enoch's luminous metamorphosis attested in *2 Enoch* 22 might also belong to the same tradition which views Enoch as the one who regained Adam's lost status and luminosity. He observed that to the best of his knowledge, "Enoch is the only¹² living person for whom ... luminous garments, reminiscent of Adam's lost garments of light, were made."¹³

Phillip Alexander, in his recent research, provides new insight into Idel's argument about the formative value of the Adamic tradition for the image of the elevated Enoch. Alexander points to a number of rabbinic passages in which the "supernatural radiance" of Adam's heavenly soul, which departed from him when he sinned, later returned to be reincarnated in Enoch.¹⁴ He further observes that

behind these passages is a concept of Metatron as a divine entity first incarnate in Adam and then reincarnate in Enoch. Enoch, having perfected himself, in contrast to Adam, who sinned and fell, re-ascends to his heavenly home and takes his rightful place in the heights of the universe, above the highest angels... Enoch thus becomes a redeemer figure--a second Adam through whom humanity is restored.¹⁵

⁹ P. Alexander observes that "the transformation of Enoch in *2 Enoch* 22 provides the closest approximation, outside Merkabah literature, to Enoch's transformation in *3 Enoch* 3-13." P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.248.

¹⁰ M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron" *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990) 220-240. The original Hebrew version of this article appeared in, *Early Jewish Mysticism* (ed. J. Dan; Jerusalem, 1987).

¹¹ Idel points to one of such accounts, the Armenian text known as "The Words of Adam and Seth" where the following tradition can be found: "But he [Adam], not having observed the commandments, and having been stripped of the divine light, and having been thrown outside the Garden, became an equal of the dumb beast. And Enoch considered these things, and for forty days and for forty nights he did not eat at all. And after this he planned a luscious garden, and he planted in it fruit bearers. and he was in the garden for five hundred and forty-two years, and after that, in body, he was taken up to heaven, and was found worthy of the divine glory and light." Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets* (Jerusalem, 1982) 12-13.

¹² It should be noted that rabbinic and Samaritan literature often depict Moses as a luminous counterpart of Adam who acquired a luminous garment during his encounter with the Lord on Mount Sinai.

¹³ M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron" *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990) 224.

¹⁴ P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergen; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 111.

¹⁵ P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergen; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 111.

It appears that the suggestions of scholars about the connection between Enoch and Adam are valid and deserve further investigation. It seems that the traces of the concept of Enoch as a second Adam can be detected already in *2 Enoch* where Enoch assumes the glorious status of the protoplast.

It is also significant that in the Slavonic apocalypse the luminosity is not the only quality that Enoch inherited from Adam. In this text, Enoch acquired a whole host of roles and qualities which the Adamic narrative of the Slavonic apocalypse associates with the protoplast. In the course of these polemical appropriations, the elevated angelic status of the prelapsarian Adam, his luminosity, his wisdom, and his special roles as the king of the earth and the steward of all earthly creatures are transferred to the new occupant of the celestial realm, the patriarch Enoch, who, near the Lord's throne, is transformed into one of the glorious ones initiated into the highest mysteries by the Lord, becomes the "manager of the arrangements on the earth," and writes down "everything that nourished" on it.

Our further analysis will demonstrate that the traditions about the prelapsarian conditions of Adam provide an initial background for the polemical appropriations. The features of Adam's story, his roles and offices, become used in *2 Enoch* as the building blocks¹⁶ for creating the new, celestial identity of the elevated Enoch.

This investigation must now turn to the text of the Slavonic Enoch in order to explore in detail these polemical developments.

Angelic Veneration

In 1993 Michael Stone published an article¹⁷ the value of which for understanding Adamic polemics in *2 Enoch* is very difficult to overestimate. This illuminating study reveals that the argument with the Adamic tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse includes, not only the internal debates based on *2 Enoch's* depictions of the protoplast, but also the intertextual polemics with the Adamic traditions attested in the primary Adam books.¹⁸ The fact that these Adamic traditions are already re-written in the Slavonic apocalypse, as the deeds and functions of the protoplast are transferred to Enoch without any reference to their original "proprietor," serves as strong evidence to the scope of the polemical intentions of *2 Enoch's* authors.

M. Stone's article investigates an important motif preserved in chapters 21-22 of the Slavonic apocalypse. The story depicts angels bringing Enoch to the edge of the seventh heaven. By the Lord's command, archangel Gabriel invites the patriarch to stand

¹⁶ It should be noted that the Adamic tradition is not the only "building material" used in *2 Enoch* in order to create the new, celestial image of Enoch. There is also strong presence of the traditions about the elevated Moses which help to enhance Enoch's new identity in various theophanic settings throughout the text. On the Mosaic traditions in *2 Enoch* see, A. Orlov, "Ex 33 on God's Face: A Lesson from the Enochic Tradition", *Seminar Papers 39, Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting 2000* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 130-147; idem, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic Ladder of Jacob" in: *Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 9* (ed. C.A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) (forthcoming).

¹⁷ M.E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*" *JTS* 44 (1993) 143-156.

¹⁸ This does not mean that *2 Enoch* is literally dependent on the primary Adam books in their final form, but rather indicates that the traditions which stand behind these books have ancient origins since, by the first century CE, these traditions were already appropriated inside the Enochic text.

in front of the Lord forever. Enoch agrees and archangel Gabriel carries him to the "Face" of the Lord where the patriarch does obeisance to God. God then personally repeats the invitation to Enoch to stand before him forever. After this invitation, archangel Michael brings the patriarch to *the front* of the face of the Lord. The Lord then tells his angels, sounding them out: "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" In response to this address, the Lord's glorious ones do obeisance to Enoch saying, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!"¹⁹ After that the patriarch, extracted by archangel Michael from his earthy garments and anointed with shining oil, becomes like one of the glorious ones.²⁰

M. Stone observes that the story found in *2 Enoch* 21-22 recalls the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.²¹ These versions depict God's creation of Adam in his image. Archangel Michael brought and had the first human bow down before God's face. God then commanded all the angels to bow down to Adam. All the angels agreed to venerate the protoplast except Satan (and his angels) who refused to bow down before Adam, because the first human was "younger" ("posterior") to Satan.

M. Stone notes that, besides the motifs of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels, the author of *2 Enoch* appears to be also aware of the motif of angelic disobedience and refusal to venerate the first human. M. Stone draws the reader's attention to the phrase "sounding them out," found in *2 Enoch* 22:6, which another translator of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them."²² M. Stone rightly notes that the expressions "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" imply here that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested.²³

Comparing the similarities between Adamic and Enochic accounts, M. Stone observes that the order of events in *2 Enoch* exactly duplicates the order found in the primary Adam books since both sources know three chief events:²⁴

I. *LAE*: Adam is created and situated in heaven.

2 Enoch: Enoch is brought to heaven.

II. *LAE*: Archangel Michael brings Adam before God's face. Adam does obeisance to God.

2 Enoch: Archangel Michael brings Enoch before the Lord's Face. Enoch does obeisance to the Lord.

III. *LAE*: God commands the angels to bow down. All the angels do obeisance. Satan and his angels disobey.

¹⁹ Andersen, 1.138.

²⁰ Andersen, 1.138.

²¹ The Adamic story of the angelic veneration of Adam and Satan's disobedience is attested in many Jewish, Christian and Muslim materials. Cf. Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* 4; *Gos. Bart.* 4, Coptic *Enthronement of Michael*, *Cave of Treasures* 2:10-24; *Koran* 2:31-39; 7:11-18; 15:31-48; 17:61-65; 18:50; 20:116-123; 38:71-85.

²² W.R. Morfill and R.H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896) 28.

²³ M.E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Andersen, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 47.

²⁴ M.E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Andersen, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 48.

2 Enoch: "The rebellion in the Adam events is assumed. God tests whether this time the angels will obey. The angels are said to bow down and accept God's command."²⁵

M. Stone concludes that the author of *2 Enoch* 21-22 was cognizant of the traditions resembling²⁶ those found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.²⁷ He also stresses that these traditions did not enter *2 Enoch* from the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*, because this form of tradition does not occur in the Slavonic recension of the primary Adam book.²⁸

It appears that the Adamic tradition from chapter 22 is not an interpolation, but belongs to the original core of the Slavonic apocalypse. Two significant features found in *2 Enoch* seem to indicate that the tradition of angelic veneration is interwoven into the original fabric of the text. The first is evidenced in *2 Enoch* 7. *2 Enoch* 7:3 depicts Enoch carried by angels to the second heaven. There the patriarch sees the condemned angels kept as prisoners awaiting the "measureless judgment." Enoch's angelic guides explain to him that the prisoners are "those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven."²⁹ The story further continues with angelic veneration: the condemned angels bow down to Enoch asking for his intercession: "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!"³⁰

It is possible that this passage about the group of the condemned angels is an allusion to the motif of angelic veneration found in *2 Enoch* 22 and in the primary Adam books.

Three details of the story from *2 Enoch* 7 seem to support this interpretation:

- a. In *2 Enoch* 7, similarly to the Adamic accounts, the sin of the imprisoned angels is *disobedience* to the Lord's commandments.
- b. The subject of the rebellion is a *group of angels* with "*their prince*." It recalls the information found in the Adamic accounts where not only Satan, but also other angels under him, refuse to venerate Adam. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3 directly identifies the prisoners of the second heaven as the angels of Satanail.³¹

²⁵ Stone, *The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve*, 48.

²⁶ Stone's argument was later supported and developed by G. Anderson. G. Anderson observes that "one cannot imagine that the tradition in the Enoch materials was created independently from the tradition found in the *Vita*." G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Andersen, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 101.

²⁷ Stone, *The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve*, 48.

²⁸ Stone, *The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve*, 48.

²⁹ Andersen, 1.114.

³⁰ Andersen, 1.114.

³¹ *2 Enoch* 18: 3 "And those men answered me, 'These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness.'" Andersen, 1.130. It is noteworthy that in *2 Enoch* the Enochic story of the Watchers' rebellion and the Adamic story of Satan's refusal to venerate humanity appear to be closely connected. They demonstrate an intriguing parallel to the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, 3 *Enoch* 5:9-1 and *Zohar* III.207b-208a where the leaders of the Watchers are depicted as the forces opposing the creation and elevation of humanity.

c. The imprisoned angels *bow down* before man (Enoch). An additional important detail here is that the patriarch is addressed by the fallen angels as a "man" - "a man of God."

This event of angelic bowing before Enoch in the second heaven might represent an allusion that anticipates later angelic obeisance the patriarch received in chapter 22 of the Slavonic apocalypse.

The second evidence demonstrating that the theme of angelic bowing from chapter 22 is deeply imbedded in the original theological framework of the Enochic writing is its connection with the Enochic title "Youth" or "Lad" found in some Slavonic MSS of *2 Enoch*.

Youth

We have already seen that the authors of *2 Enoch* are responsible for creating the new roles and titles of Enoch which are absent in the early Enochic treatises of *1 Ethiopic Enoch* but can be found in the later Merkabah mysticism. One of such titles is "Youth" which becomes one of the favorite designations of Metatron in the Merkabah literature.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the title "Youth" in the Slavonic text and its connection with the Adamic tradition, a short excursus into the later Rabbinic materials is necessary.

Recently G. Anderson successfully demonstrated that the Adamic story of angelic veneration and opposition to humanity played a prominent role in rabbinic literature.³² In his article Anderson draws attention to the account found in *3 Enoch* 4 where the Adamic motif of angelic veneration, in a manner similar to *2 Enoch* 22, was applied to Enoch-Metatron.

3 Enoch 4:1-10 depicts Rabbi Ishmael questioning his celestial guide Metatron about his name "Youth." The passage reads:

R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: "... you are greater than all the princes, more exalted than all the angels, more beloved than all the ministers ... why, then, do they call you 'Youth' in the heavenly heights?" He answered: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared ... the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of ministering angels, Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be He, " Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man!³³ ... And once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying "Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you. Because I am young in their company and mere youth among them in days and months and years--therefore they call me 'Youth'."³⁴

Commenting on this passage, G. Anderson suggests that if "we remove those layers of the tradition that are clearly secondary ... we are left with a story that is almost

³² G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Andersen, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 83-110.

³³ For the similar tradition see: the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, and *Zohar* III.207b-208a.

³⁴ P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.258-59.

identical to the analog we have traced in the Adam and Eve literature and II Enoch.³⁵ He further notes that the acclamation of Enoch as "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* is intriguing since the reason *3 Enoch* supplies for this title is deceptively simple and straitforward: "Because I am young in their company and mere youth among them in days and months and years--therefore they call me 'Youth.'" G. Anderson proposes that the title might have Adamic origins since the explanation for the epithet "youth" recalls the reason for the angelic refusal to worship Adam in the *Vita* on the basis of his inferiority to them by way of his age.³⁶

G. Anderson's hypothesis that the origin of the title "Youth" is connected with the appropriation of the Adamic tradition is crucial to the current investigation.

It is interesting that in some manuscripts of the Slavonic Enoch the seventh antediluvian patriarch is also often addressed as "youth."³⁷ Despite that this designation occurs only in several Slavonic manuscripts, the author of the recent English translation F. Andersen considered this reading as the original.³⁸ He was also the first scholar to propose that Enoch's designation as "Youth" in *2 Enoch* recalls the identical title of Metatron attested in *3 Enoch* and other Hekhaloth writings. In his commentary to the English translation of *2 Enoch* in OTP, Andersen wrote:

The remarkable reading *yunose* [youth], clearly legible in A, supports the evidence of V, which has this variant four times (not here), and of other MSS, that there was a tradition in which Enoch was addressed in this way. The similarity to the vocative *enose* [Enoch] might explain the variant as purely scribal slip. But it is surprising that it is only in address, never in description, that the term is used. The variant *jenokhu* is rare. There is no phonetic reason why the first vowel should change to *ju*; *junokhu* is never found. But it cannot be a coincidence that this title is identical with that of Enoch (=Metatron) in *3 Enoch*.³⁹

It is notable that several important occurrences of the title "Youth" in *2 Enoch* come from the mouth of angels. Thus in chapter 9 of the shorter recension, an angelic being accompanying Enoch on his way through the heavenly realm addresses him as "youth:" "This place has been prepared, Youth, for the righteous..."⁴⁰ Later in chapter 10, one can hear the same address again: "this place, Youth, has been prepared for those who practice godless uncleanness on the earth..."⁴¹ These angelic addresses are consistent with the Adamic and Merkabah accounts in which angelic beings point to Enoch's young age.

According to the Merkabah tradition, God also likes to address Enoch-Metatron as "Youth." In *3 Enoch* 3, when R. Ishmael asks Metatron "What is your name?", Metatron answers, "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy nations of the

³⁵ G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Andersen, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 107.

³⁶ G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Andersen, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 108.

³⁷ Slav. *junoshe*.

³⁸ F. Andersen reassured me in a private communication about the originality of this reading, referring to it as "the powerful evidence."

³⁹ Andersen, 1.118-9.

⁴⁰ M.I Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature. Vypusk tretij, VII. Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo. Teksty, latinskij perevod i izsledovanie. Posmertnyj trud avtora prigotovil k izdaniju M. Speranskij," *COIDR* 4 (1910) 85.

⁴¹ Andersen, 1.119.

world...however, my King calls me 'Youth'.⁴² The designation of Enoch as "Youth" seems to signify here the special relationship between the Holy One and Metatron. One can see the beginning of this tradition already in *2 Enoch* where in chapter 24 of the shorter recension the following tradition can be found:

And the Lord called me (Enoch) and he placed me to himself closer than Gabriel. And I did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord spoke to me "Whatever you see, Youth, things standing still and moving about were brought to perfection by me. and not even to angels have I explained my secrets...as I am making them known to you today..."⁴³

It is significant that the title "youth" here is tied to the motif of human superiority over angels, which plays a prominent role in the primary Adam books where God orders his angels to bow down before humanity.

Finally, we must note that several important readings of "youth" in the materials associated with the Slavonic Enoch can be found in the Vienna Codex.⁴⁴ In this manuscript Enoch is addressed by the Lord as "youth"⁴⁵ in context of angelic veneration:

And the Lord with his own mouth called me [Enoch] and said: Be brave, Youth!⁴⁶ Do not be frightened! Stand up in front of my face forever. And Michael, the Lord's archistratig, brought me in the front of the Lord's face. And the Lord tempted his servants and said to them: "Let's Enoch come up and stand in the front of my face forever." And the glorious ones bowed down and said: "Let's him come up!"⁴⁷

In conclusion, it should be noted that the current analysis revealed that several important readings pertaining to the Adamic polemics can be found in the manuscripts of the shorter recension. It does not mean, however, that these evidences are secondary and not original. The rehabilitation of the longer recension, as well as the reaffirmation of its value in recent scholarship, should not lead to the automatic rejection of everything in the shorter recension as unauthentic and secondary. The mere subscription to one of the recensions deceptively simplifies the problem of the original. The task is more complicated and necessarily involves a careful investigation of the theological intentions of the authors and editors of the text. Almost three decades ago F. Andersen warned the students of *2 Enoch* against making simplistic and hasty conclusions. He noted that "all of the materials calls for reassessment...In the present state of our knowledge, the genuineness of any disputed passage is difficult to judge."⁴⁸ His prudent advise still remains valuable in our time.

⁴² Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 1.257.

⁴³ M.I. Sokolov, "Slavjanskaja kniga Enoha pravednogo: Teksty, latinskij perevod and issledovanie," *Chtenija v obshestve istorii i drevnostej Rossijskih* 4 (1910) 90-91.

⁴⁴ Andersen, 1.119.

⁴⁵ I want to express my deep appreciation to Prof. Francis Andersen who generously shared with me the microfilms and photographs of MSS V, R, and J.

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, Friedrich Repp's research on the Vienna Codex failed to discern the proper meaning of "youth" in this important manuscript. See, F. Repp, "Textkritische Untersuchungen zum Henoch-Apokryph des co. slav. 125 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek" *Wiener slavistische Jahrbuch* 10 (1963) 65.

⁴⁷ Slav. *junoshe*.

⁴⁸ Ms. V (VL 125) [Nr. 3], fol. 317.

⁴⁹ Andersen, 1.93-94.