

INTERPRETER PREPRINT: ENOCH AND THE GATHERING OF ZION

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This Interpreter preprint reproduces the first three chapters of *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion*. The full citation and a link that will take readers to information about purchasing the book is given above. Versions in softcover (black and white or color) and digital (pdf or Kindle Replica) are available now. Check the websites listed at the link above for special offers, including substantial discounts when both *Enoch and the Gathering of Zion* and its companion volume *The First Days and the Last Days* are purchased together. The vivid colors in the digital versions of the books and within softcover versions that are available in premium color will enhance your enjoyment of the scores of beautiful images that occur throughout the volumes.

Before presenting the three chapters, we include an excerpt from the Preface below, followed by the title page and Table of Contents for the book as a whole.

Latter-day Saints have long been fascinated and inspired by the Book of Moses story of Enoch. It provides the closest thing to a full biography we have in the Book of Moses. And what a biography! Moses 6–7 detail his call, his teaching mission, his glorious vision of all things, his miraculous victories in battle, and the ultimate ascent of the city of Zion to the bosom of God. What some readers may not know is that Latter-day Saint scholars, beginning with Hugh Nibley, have begun to find pieces of new and plausibly authentic elements of Enoch’s story in fragments of ancient documents that have turned up in scattered places over the last several decades.

Among the most significant recent discoveries is an Enoch account called the *Book of Giants*. Although the combined fragments of the Aramaic version of the *Book of Giants* scarcely fill three pages in one popular translation, we find in them the most extensive series of resemblances between a single ancient text and Moses 6–7. The *Book of Giants* adds rich background and details to the Book of Moses story of Enoch’s prophetic mission. Based on a 2015 discovery of thirteenth–fourteenth century illustrations depicting incidents within the *Book of Giants*, we now have further confirmation of the Book of Moses account about the gathering of Zion and the eventual ascent of Enoch’s people to heaven.

With the help of the *Book of Giants* and other ancient texts, we are now in a better position than ever to assemble the most complete and detailed biography



Frederick James Shields (1833–1911): *Enoch*, 1900–1910, with permission of Wolverhampton Arts and Heritage.

The Lord firmly grasps the prophet's shoulders in a loving embrace as he lifts him through the multicolored layers of the celestial veil (Ezekiel 1:28) and upward to heaven. The rays of light emanating from God symbolize spiritual rebirth as a prelude to eternal life. At Enoch's feet on the darkened globe of the earth, the serpent threatens but is powerless to stop his ascent. The Latin text on the scroll in Enoch's hand reads, "Behold, he comes, Lord."

"This painting is rare survivor of the artworks by Fredrick James Shields. It is part of a series of paintings of the mighty figures of the prophets from the Old Testament. ... The [oil] paintings were designs for stained glass windows for the Chapel of the Ascension, Bayswater Road, London. The Chapel, completed in 1910, was destroyed by an enemy's bomb during the Second World War.

Shields belonged to the circle of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The Pre-Raphaelites were seeking to reform art. They declared that an artist has to have genuine ideas; to study nature attentively, so as to know how to express them; and to produce thoroughly good pictures and statues."¹

1. Stained Glass Designs — Enoch. In *Wolverhampton Arts and Culture*. https://www.wolverhamptonart.org.uk/collections/getrecord/WAGMU_OP498 (accessed December 13, 2021).

of Enoch to appear in modern times. In our day, when stories of scripture figures are often dismissed as fables or ignored altogether, Enoch's story and message are more vital and relevant than ever. After all, Latter-day Saints have been called, like Enoch's people, to more fully engage our hearts and accelerate our labors in a spirit of consecration until the Enoch's vision of a true and permanent Zion becomes a reality.

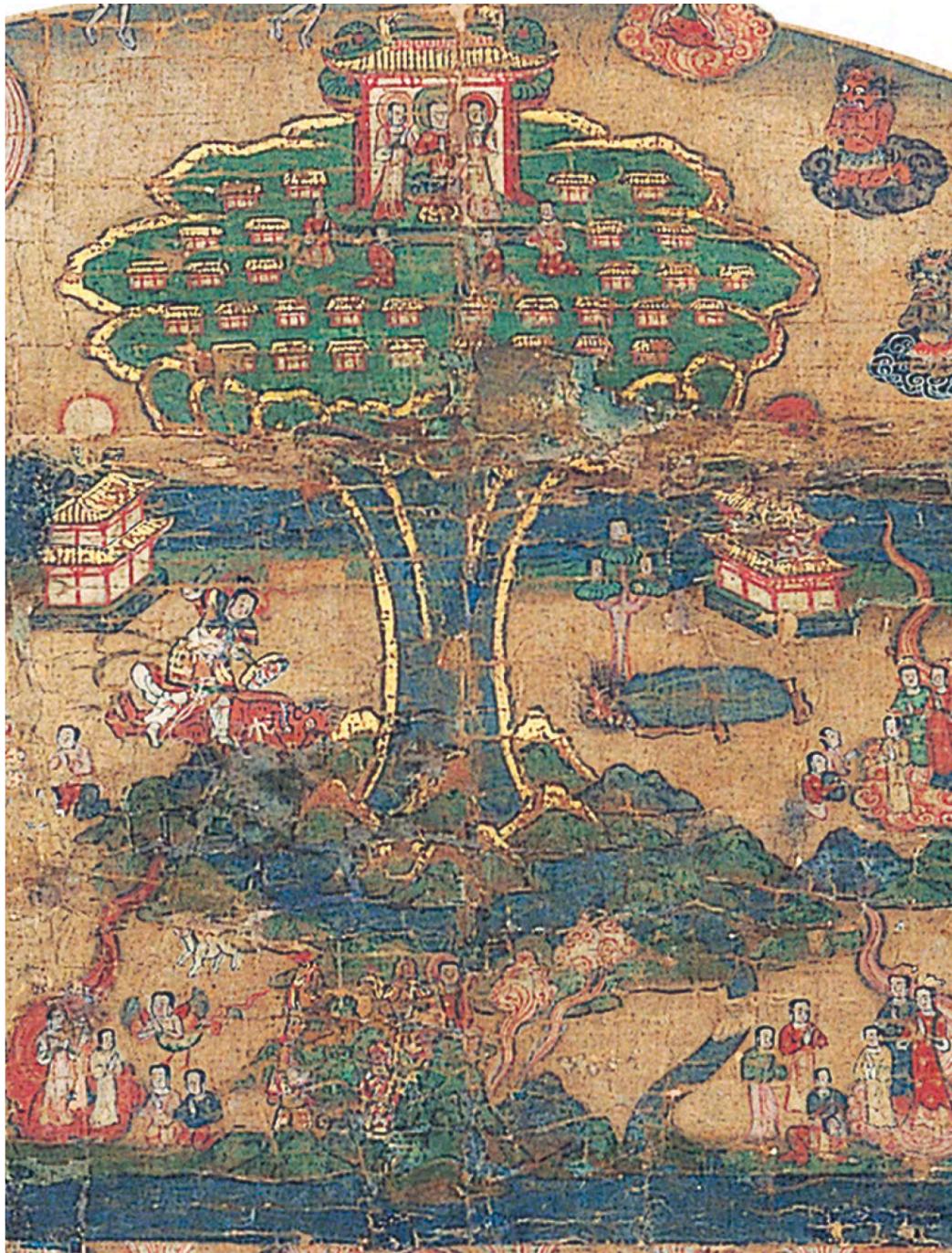
The present work is an expression of gratitude for the pioneering work of Hugh W. Nibley in bringing ancient sources to bear on modern scripture. That work began in earnest in his still-popular 1952 study of the Book of Mormon, *Lehi in the Desert*. Elder John A. Widtsoe praised the work for being written "in such a manner as to make real and understandable these early peoples, and to make them living persons to those of this day, thousands of years removed. ... The cultural life of Lehi's home is described in almost minute detail. ... Dr. Nibley answers questions which are only lightly touched upon in the Book of Mormon: Who was Lehi? What was his standing in Jerusalem? Where was his home? What caused him to move away and seek a home across the great ocean? The answers to these questions give life to these persons, who without this help would remain in the shadows. This work by Dr. Nibley also confirms the Book of Mormon story ... and explains on the basis of historical evidence why certain things mentioned in the Book of Mormon did occur."¹

In the mid-1970s, Nibley did something similar for the Book of Moses account of Enoch. His studies were later collected under the title of *Enoch the Prophet*. But after Nibley's initial look at ancient sources related to Moses 6–7 nearly fifty years ago, he moved on to other research topics. Though Nibley continued to refer to his earlier Enoch findings later in life, he did not engage to any significant extent with the burgeoning literature on Enoch that was published in the years that followed. Many of the most important discoveries relating to the Enoch story of the Book of Moses have appeared only in the last decade. ...

It is hoped that readers will find both their understanding of scripture and their testimony of the Prophet Joseph Smith strengthened by their study of the ancient and modern records of Enoch's ministry.

Note

1. Elder John A. Widtsoe, "Preface to the 1952 Edition." In Hugh W. Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert, The World of the Jaredites, There Were Jaredites. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* 5. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1988, pp. xi–xii.



Detail of the Manichaean Cosmology Painting (MCP). The painting contains scenes from the story of Enoch in Mani's version of the *Book of Giants* (*BG*). Thirty-two palaces at the top of the treelike Mount Sumēru, the sacred center place, surround a larger palace of Deity, are pictured with an attendant on either side (compare Moses 7:69). Smaller green mountains at the foot of Mount Sumēru are the probable location of the cities to which Enoch's people are said to have gathered in *BG* (compare Moses 7:17–19). The palaces above seem to correspond to the cities of gathering that were originally built below. Four archangels are clothed as warriors in front of a seated "deity" dressed in red—likely Enoch—directly below Sumēru, near the bottom of the painting (compare Moses 7:13). In the upper right, "demons," thought to be two of the *gibborim* to whom Enoch preached, kneel repentantly (compare Moses 6:47).

ENOCH AND THE GATHERING OF ZION

*The Witness of
Ancient Texts for
Modern Scripture*

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Cover art: Frederick James Shields (1833–1911): *Enoch*, 1910. Stained glass design for the Chapel of the Ascension, Bayswater Road, London. With permission of Wolverhampton Arts and Heritage.

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw (1956–)
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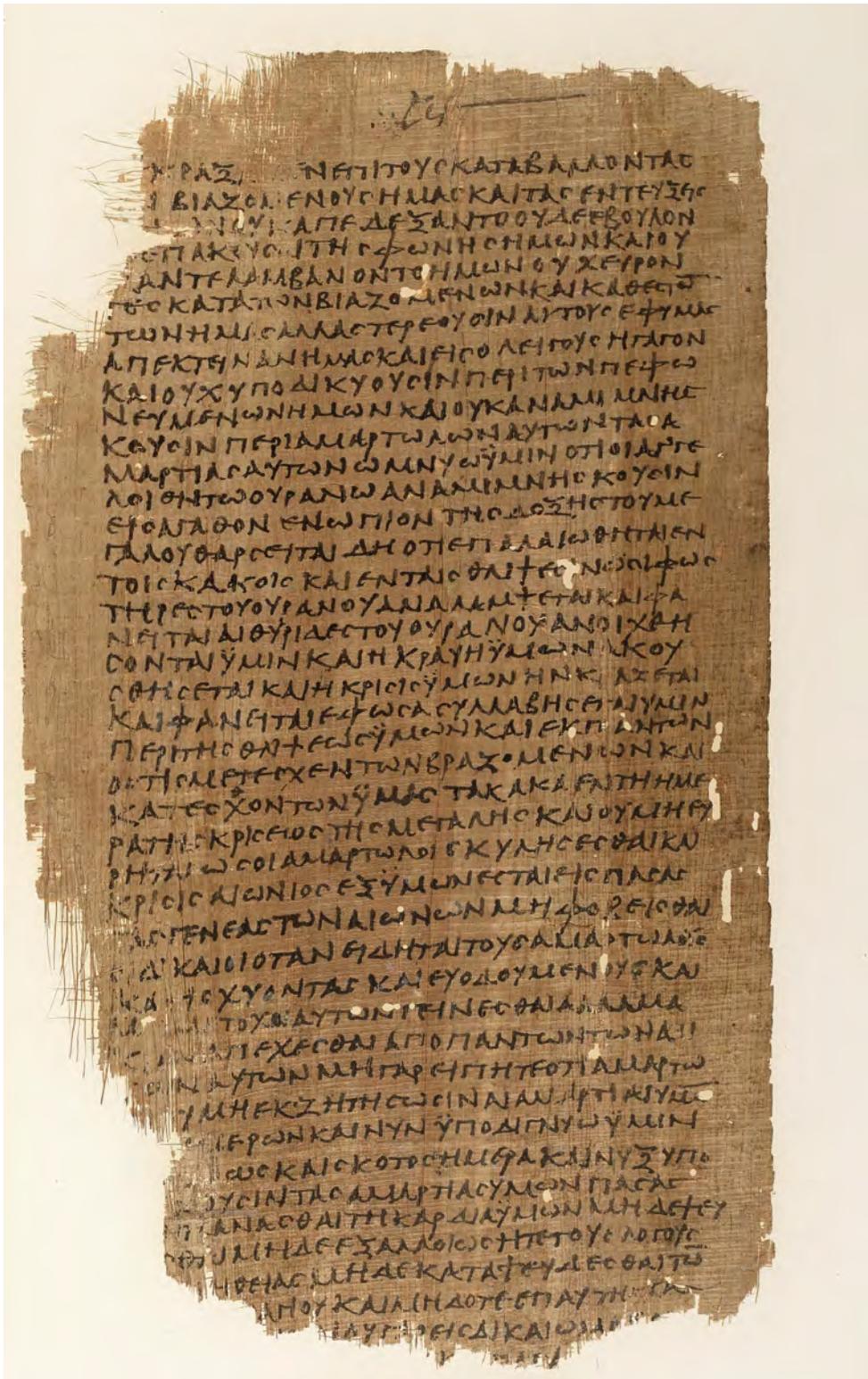
6: Resemblances Found Only in BG

DOCUMENTATION

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Prologue



Enoch Papyrus, Chester Beatty XII, leaf 3 (Verso), 4th century.¹
The leaf shown includes 1 Enoch 1:9 in Greek, cited in Jude 1:14–15.

The Rediscovery of Enoch

The pseudepigraphal book of *1 Enoch* (also known as *Ethiopian Enoch* or more simply as the *Book of Enoch*) was well known and respected in both Judaism and Christianity in the first century CE. But just a few centuries later, its teachings had fallen out of favor. In the process of time, the book disappeared altogether from the view of Christians in Europe and Asia.

In this chapter, we'll see how dedicated efforts by a series of scholars, adventurers, and churchmen eventually led to the unlikely rediscovery of *1 Enoch* and its English translation in 1821, just nine years before Joseph Smith translated the Enoch story in the Book of Moses.² Though it is unlikely that Joseph Smith studied *1 Enoch* itself in any detail, it now serves, along with an even more impressive library of other ancient Enoch manuscripts, as a witness of the presence of ancient threads within the Book of Moses.

The Intriguing Prophecy of Enoch within the Book of Jude

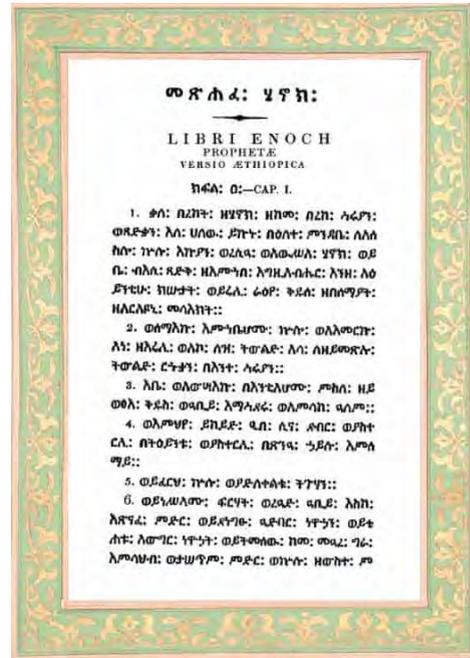
Although knowledge of *1 Enoch* had been lost to most of the Christian Church, the reference to the prophecy of Enoch within the New Testament book of Jude continued as a subject of intrigue for many:³

- 14 And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints
- 15 To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all who are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

In addition, of course, Bible readers still remembered the prophet Enoch from two brief biblical genealogies (Genesis 5:21–24; 1 Chronicles 1:3). Later Jewish and Christian traditions had also preserved other memories. But no record of Enoch's prophecies existed in the Bible itself. By the Middle Ages, Bible readers had reluctantly concluded that if a book of Enoch had ever existed it was probably lost forever.

Hints and Rumors About an Original of *1 Enoch*

Imagine the surprise and interest that ensued once rumors began to fly in the beginning of the fifteenth century about the possibility that a book of Enoch had survived after all. Italian Renaissance philosopher, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94) reported with excitement that he “had purchased a copy of the book of Enoch for a large sum of money.”⁴ Though it is not known whether he ever read the book and no one knows exactly what was contained in its pages, there seems little doubt that he had found something.⁵ Then, in 1553, Guillaume Postel announced, “An Ethiopian priest has told me that [a book of Enoch] is held to be canonical” in the Ethiopian Christian church. In 1606, eminent French scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) translated excerpts from *1 Enoch* that were contained in the *Chronography* of George Syncellus (d. ca. 810).⁶ It was said that Scaliger “spoke in very disparaging terms of the book ... although he maintains that the apostle Jude has quoted it.”⁷



Left: Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787): James Bruce of Kinnaird, 1730–1794. African Explorer, 17638; Right: Transcript of the first page of chapter one of Ethiopic book of Enoch, now known as *1 Enoch*.⁹

Thirty years later, Gilles de Loches, a Capucinian monk who had been living in Egypt told the French scholar, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) “about a monastery possessing eight thousand volumes in which he had seen a book of Enoch.”¹⁰ Though Peiresc spared no effort and expense to find the manuscript and eventually succeeded in procuring it, he died before it could be translated. Some forty years later, when the German orientalist, Hiob Ludolf (1624–1724) had a chance to inspect Peiresc’s “Enoch” manuscript,¹¹ he discovered to his great disappointment that it was not the long-sought book of Enoch, but rather a manuscript of the Ethiopic writings of Bakhayla Mika’el (Zosimas). Although the book contained some excerpts from *1 Enoch*, by and large the writings were a product of the fifteenth century.¹² It seems that the content of the book nauseated Ludolf, who wrote that “it contains such gross and vile stinking [*putidas*] fables that I could hardly stand to read it.”¹³ Not only did Ludolf disparage Peiresc’s manuscript, he also said that he “did not believe that there ever *was* [an Ethiopian] book of Enoch.”¹⁴

Enter the Adventurer James Bruce

The world might have been waiting indefinitely for the manuscript of the Ethiopian book of Enoch, had it not been for the intrepid Scottish traveler, James Bruce of Kinnaird (1730–94). Aptly summarizing Bruce’s colorful reputation, Terry Stewart writes:

James Bruce is an incredibly enigmatic historical figure, surrounded by conspiracy theories, rumors of Masonic influence and colonial interference, not to mention wild accusations and exceptional claims to fame. These incredible rumors have been whispered about the inscrutable and sometimes obstreperous Laird of Kinnaird for centuries. However, the truth is no less impressive than the fiction!

After the twin tragedies of the death of Bruce's father and his own wife, he was left both with the means and the freedom to travel. He had an insatiable itch to explore the world. His greatest ambition was to discover the source of the Blue Nile, a tributary to the Nile proper that joins the White Nile at Khartoum in Sudan. From 1765 onward, he pursued this project with enthusiasm. According to Stewart, Bruce's

journey was anything but straightforward. ... He was essentially held hostage by different ruling factions within Ethiopia; he nearly died of dysentery; he fought alongside Ras Mikael Sehul (essentially the most powerful Emperor within Ethiopia at the time) and even attended an Ethiopian wedding. During this time he wrote that he did, in fact, discover the source of the Nile at Lake Tana, arriving there on November 14, 1770. But it was later disputed whether he had actually made it that far.¹⁵ He also tried to discredit earlier European accounts of discovering the source, particularly from Portuguese missionaries in the early seventeenth century. Following his discovery and a grueling return journey home, Bruce finally arrived in France in March 1773.

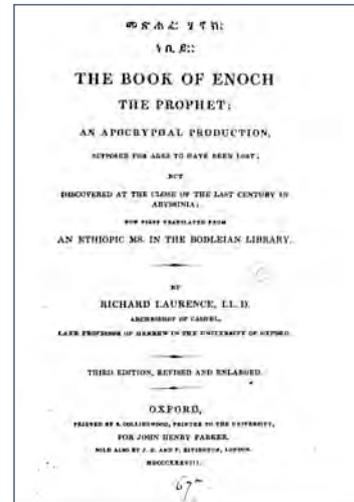
Although the memoirs of Bruce's journey were spectacular (and, in the main, accurate), they seemed to some almost too fantastic to be believed.¹⁶ But aside from the adventures themselves, Bruce's "most impressive and ironically perhaps his least known" achievement was his acquisition of three authentic copies of the Ethiopic book of Enoch. Since Bruce's discovery of the manuscript in Ge'ez (an ancestor of modern Ethiopic languages), other fragments have turned up in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic. Most scholars now assume the original language of the text was Hebrew.

Sadly, according to Hugh Nibley, Ludolf's negative assessment of the Peiresc manuscript nearly a century earlier had already done considerable damage to the reputation of the book of Enoch. "There was a flurry of interest in Bruce's finds, but it quickly subsided, and 'for more than a quarter of a century these manuscripts remained as if they had still been in Abyssinia.'" ¹⁷

An English Translation at Last, Thanks to Richard Laurence

Bruce's manuscripts might have remained asleep forever had it not been for Archbishop Richard Laurence of Cashel in Ireland (1760–1838), "a great and good man ... who restored the book of Enoch to the world."¹⁸ He had tried to be a peacemaker at a time of great tension between the Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, but "for taking and holding [the position that the two groups should learn to live together], Laurence was subjected to savage and relentless attacks from both the Protestant and the Catholic clergy."¹⁹ Happily, from the enlightened (?) perspective of our day, writes Nibley:²⁰

Richard Laurence stands vindicated not only as a champion of Christian charity but as one who has done more for the cause of Scriptural truth than all the rest of the clergy put together. For to him "belongs the honor of revealing to the world the treasure that had been hidden for so many ages, and which was almost universally supposed to be lost irrecoverably": the Book of Enoch. Obligated to do all his work in the Bodleian Library, which had begrudged lending him manuscripts in which it had not the slightest interest, he produced in 1821 a translation under the title "*The Book of Enoch, an apocryphal Production, now first translated, from the Ethiopic Ms. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1821.*"



Left: The Post-Reformation Church of Ireland Cathedral of St. John the Baptist and St. Patrick's Rock, Cashel, Tipperary, Republic of Ireland where Richard Laurence served as Archbishop from 1822–1838. Photo taken in 2009²¹; Right: Title page of the 1838 edition of Laurence's translation of *1 Enoch*.²²

Did Joseph Smith Plagiarize *1 Enoch* to Create the Book of Moses?

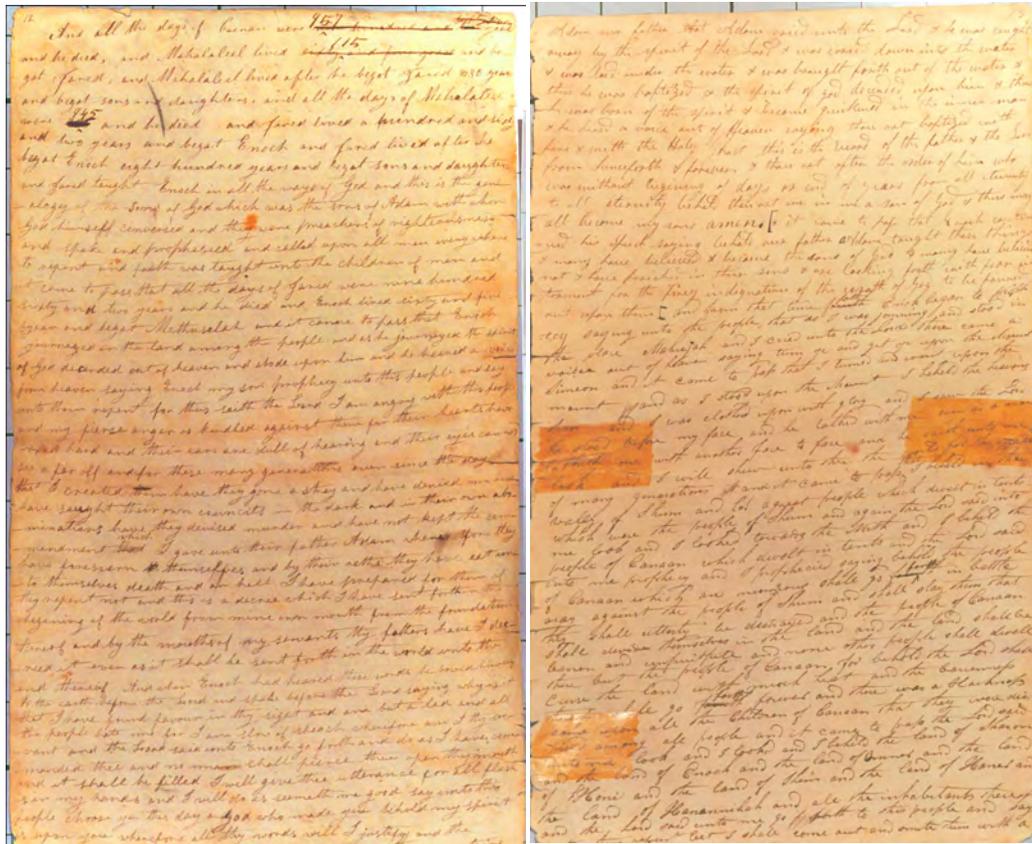
In 1830, just nine years after the publication of Laurence's translation, Joseph Smith produced the Book of Moses. Originally part of the Prophet's inspired translation of Genesis, the account of Enoch it contains is now canonized as chapters 6 and 7 of the Book of Moses. Could Joseph Smith have drawn on Laurence's translation to produce his own?

In brief, it seems very unlikely. The well-known Latter-day Saint historian Richard L. Bushman concluded, "It is scarcely conceivable that Joseph Smith knew of Laurence's Enoch translation."²³ Even if the Prophet had studied it himself or been aware of some of its general contents indirectly, it would have been a relatively unfruitful source of ideas for Moses 6–7 compared with other ancient Enoch texts. Aside from the shared prominence of the "Son of Man" and related themes in one of the five sections of *1 Enoch* called the *Parables of Enoch*, only a few unique and significant parallels with the Book of Moses have been identified so far in the sizable text of *1 Enoch*.²⁴

Could Joseph Smith Have Drawn from Other Ancient Enoch Books?

Although common language and thematic resemblances to Moses 6–7 in most of *1 Enoch* are rare, shared ideas in other ancient Enoch books are more abundant and significant:

- **2 Enoch.** This book, also known as *Slavonic Enoch* or the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, is a pseudepigraphal text of Jewish origin. Among other things, Latter-day Saint readers of the Book of Moses will find interest in the *2 Enoch* account about Enoch's initiation into the heavenly mysteries (compare Moses 7:3–4). For example, at one point, the Lord commanded Michael to anoint and clothe Enoch, saying: "Go and take Enoch and remove his earthly garments,



Joseph Smith Old Testament Manuscript 1 (OT1). Left: Moses 6:19b–34a in the handwriting of Emma Smith; Right: Moses 6:64a–7:10b in the handwriting of John Whitmer and Sidney Rigdon.²⁵

and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory.”²⁶ As a result of this investiture, Enoch declared: “I looked at myself, and I was transformed into one of [God’s] glorious ones.”²⁷

- **3 Enoch.** This book, also known as the *Hebrew Apocalypse of Enoch* or the *Book of Palaces*, is a Jewish pseudepigraphal text written much later than *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch*. However, *3 Enoch* can be seen to draw on the traditions found in the earlier Enoch literature, especially the *Parables of Enoch*. Among the unusual resemblances to the Book of Moses Enoch are his title of “lad” (Moses 6:31;²⁸ see also *2 Enoch*²⁹ and other Jewish works³⁰), Enoch’s transfiguration (Moses 7:3–4;³¹ see also *2 Enoch* as cited above), God’s bestowal of a divine throne (Moses 7:59),³² and visions of the spirits of the dead (Moses 7:38–39, 56–57) and of those yet to be born (Moses 6:36; 7:45).³³
- **Book of Giants.** The *Book of Giants* (BG) appears to contain some of the oldest surviving Enoch material. It is known from a collection of fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) at Qumran in 1948 and from remnants that were preserved as scripture among adherents of the Manichean religion for a thousand years in wide swaths of Asia.

Overall, BG resembles little else in the Enoch tradition, yet we find in it the most extensive series of significant parallels between a single ancient text and Joseph Smith’s account of Enoch’s preaching mission (Moses 6:37–46), his encounters with the BG equivalent of Mahijah (Moses 6:40; 7:2), subsequent



Left: Fragment of the Dead Sea Scrolls *Book of Giants* (BG) in Aramaic (4Q203, fragment 7b, column ii) that was understood by its translator Józef Milik to contain the first part of a personal name Mahawai (outlined by a rectangle in the upper left of the photograph). The consonants of the name are closely related to the Book of Moses names Mahijah and Mahujah;³⁴ Right: Photograph of a Manichaean BG text fragment written in Sogdian, showing detail of So20220/II/R/ and So20220/I/V/ [K20].³⁵ Fragments of the Manichaean version of BG have survived in six different languages.

battles with Enoch’s enemies (Moses 7:13), the complaining of the earth (Moses 7:48–49), the gathering of his people to a city of righteousness (Moses 7:17–19), and their heavenly ascent (Moses 7:69). A detailed discussion of BG’s many thematic resemblances to the Book of Moses has been published separately.³⁶

One potential point of confusion that should be cleared up here is that the main characters in the *Book of Giants* are not really giants. The word in the title that is translated as “giants” is *gibborim*, a term that is better understood as meaning “mighty heroes” or “warriors.”³⁷ As Enoch scholar Ida Frölich explains, “there is no sign that these beings had a mixed—human and animal—nature. The name *gibborim* [often mistakenly translated as “giants” in modern translations] refers to their state (armed, mighty men), not their stature which is described as gigantic in a single passage [in the ancient Enoch literature].³⁸ The term ... does not involve the idea of a superhuman or gigantic stature. It was the Greek translation that introduced a term (*gigantes*)³⁹ involving the notion of superhuman stature.”⁴⁰

Why is this important? Because it means that BG, like the Book of Moses, is mainly concerned with Enoch’s dealings with wicked *people*—the all-too-human *gibborim*. Both BG and the Book of Moses differ in this respect from *1 Enoch’s Book of Watchers*, which relates Enoch’s dealings with wicked *superhumans*—fallen angels with a fantastical physical form. More will be said about this in a later chapter.

- **Mandaean writings.** Mandaean writings, especially those within their primary work of scripture, the *Ginza*,⁴¹ provide a unique window into ancient Enoch traditions. The Mandaeans, who probably originated as a first-century Jewish baptismal group in Palestine or Syria,⁴² are best known for their high regard for the teachings of John the Baptist. Latter-day Saints will find particular interest in Mandaean teachings and practices pertaining to religious ordinances, including rituals related to baptism and heavenly ascent.⁴³

Mandaean scripture speaks frequently about divine messengers (*uthras*) who were sent to help and teach humankind. In the leading position is

Manda d-Hiia (Knowledge of Life), followed by Hibil [Abel, son of Adam], Sital [Seth, son of Adam], and Anosh [Enosh, son of Seth].⁴⁴ In Mandaean scripture, these three messengers are sent down from the “Lightworld” in the beginning to instruct Adam and Eve in the ordinances and in prayer.⁴⁵

For the purposes of this book, it’s important to know that Enosh is often confused with Enoch in both ancient⁴⁶ and modern⁴⁷ sources and that, as a result, the figure of Enosh has often been an accidental magnet for Enoch traditions in and out of Mandaeism. For this reason, most of the stories in Mandaean scripture about Enosh are usually recognized by scholars as actually applying to Enoch.⁴⁸ In later chapters, we will read references to the Mandaean Enosh as if they were referring to “Enoch.”

- **Later Enoch sources.** In 2018, John C. Reeves and Annette Yoshiko Reed published the first volume of their groundbreaking book series entitled *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*.⁴⁹ This volume makes available in English many little-known later texts about Enoch from Jewish, Christian and Islamic sources. There are several interesting thematic resemblances to the Book of Moses in these texts that have already been identified.⁵⁰

Could any of these other ancient Enoch books have been sources for Joseph Smith’s Enoch chapters? Note that a version of *2 Enoch* was not published in English until 1896.⁵¹ *3 Enoch* was not available in English until Hugo Odeberg’s edition in 1928.⁵² The Aramaic version of *BG* was not discovered until 1948 and the first English translation was by Milik and Black in 1976.⁵³ The first English translation of Manichaean *BG* fragments was published in 1943.⁵⁴ And none of the Mandaean sources were available during the lifetime of Joseph Smith.

In view of all this, it would have been impossible for Joseph Smith in 1830 to have been aware of the most important resemblances to ancient literature in his Enoch revelations. Other than the few unique and typically loose parallels found in *1 Enoch* (which Joseph Smith is unlikely to have studied), the texts that would have been required for a nineteenth-century author to derive significant parts of Moses 6–7 were not available to him. Even if other relevant traditions outside the Enoch literature (for example, Masonic or hermetic traditions⁵⁵) had been available to Joseph Smith by 1830, they would not have provided the many rare or peculiar details we find in *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch*, and especially *BG*. Moreover, looking beyond parallels in various isolated details, we are now seeing significant evidence for convergences in the overall structure of the storylines of *BG* and the Book of Moses. There will be more to say about this in the next chapter.

For a moment, let’s imagine that Joseph Smith did have access to ancient Enoch texts. What kind of a challenge would it have been to extract material from them and weave it into the coherent, purposeful account in Moses 6–7 over the course of a few days in December 1830? While one could have easily extracted parallels from these texts (had they been available), it would have been no easier to intelligently combine them to create the Book of Moses than it would have been for an author to write a new play in the style of Shakespeare by assembling stock phrases that have become embedded in the English language and then adding connecting phrases to complete the work.

In conclusion, precisely because it is certain that ancient Enoch texts are not *sources* for the Book of Moses, their surprising resonances with modern scripture make them powerful witnesses of the *authenticity* of the Book of Moses.

How Should Readers Approach the Study of Ancient Enoch Texts?

Unfortunately, meaningful study of the ancient Enoch literature is not just a matter of gathering up the texts and finding a comfortable chair in which to sit and read them through.⁵⁶ These are complex works, full of ancient allusions and symbolism that can be misleading to modern readers unfamiliar with the setting in which they were written. In truth, most of us already have a hard enough time getting a good handle on many parts of the canonical scriptures, revelations, and teachings given to us from Joseph Smith that Latter-day Saints read regularly from their childhood.⁵⁷

Sometimes I am asked which of the Enoch texts should be read first. My answer is that our first duty is to study the Book of Moses itself in depth. And by that I am thinking of the entire Book of Moses, which seems meant to be read as a single, sophisticated whole rather than a piecemeal and largely disconnected sequence of edifying stories.⁵⁸

It is true, of course, that we may “race along [on our own] with the seductively captivating narratives,” feeling that we are “largely grasping what is going on, even if some exotic or minor details are not immediately apparent.”⁵⁹ However, this mode of reading scripture—an approach that focuses on an interpretation of the stories only as factual *presentations* of exemplary historical characters and events—is what surely makes the angels weep. Why is that? In short, scriptures are not meant simply to tell us what happened in the modern sense of a news report, but rather to reveal the *meaning* of the events to us in the grand scheme of God’s plan, a scheme whose outlines and details reverberate throughout all the stories of sacred writ.⁶⁰ Unless we read scripture texts as the ancients read them—which means knowing a lot about the ancients and what was important to them when they carefully crafted these spiritually rich narratives—we will unfailingly miss the point of the story even when we think we have been doing a good job of following the basic storyline.

Fortunately, Latter-day Saints now have available to them some detailed commentaries that adopt this point of view. One of my favorites, which also happens to be very approachable, is the 2005 commentary on the Pearl of Great Price by the highly respected BYU professors Richard D. Draper, S. Kent Brown, and Michael D. Rhodes.⁶¹ I have drawn at great length on their wisdom as I’ve written my own Book of Moses commentaries over the years.⁶² And I am very happy to see that in 2021 an encyclopedic commentary on the Book of Moses by scholars with impressive professional and gospel credentials, Aaron P Schade and Matthew L. Bowen, has been published after much anticipation.⁶³

But what about the ancient texts themselves? Let’s suppose that we eventually come to the point where we feel we have a good handle on the Book of Moses—the gold standard against which every other account of Enoch should be measured. With which book do we start our reading plan for the other ancient Enoch texts?

In my opinion, each of the ancient Enoch texts has its own treasures and each is likewise challenging in its own way:

- *1 Enoch* contains useful nuggets of Enoch's history relevant to the story of Enoch, but it is a long work with, in my view, more chaff than wheat. In addition, *1 Enoch's* views about God and His plan for humankind are often at odds with the Latter-day Saint perspectives.
- *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch* contain less of Enoch's actual story. However, they contain interesting details relating to Enoch's heavenly ascents that will resonate with endowed Latter-day Saint readers.
- *BG* contains, in my view, more of the basic *storyline* of the Book of Moses Enoch than any other ancient work, but it is frustratingly fragmentary and short in its surviving form and lacks accounts of some of the most important *sacred* events in Enoch's story. Because of *BG's* tattering and scattering over the centuries, it requires a lot of conjecture to put the existing puzzle pieces together and fill in the gaps appropriately.

All these works, including the Book of Moses, are rich with symbols and cultural elements that can be best understood in the contexts of the times and peoples in which they were written.

The purpose of this book is to explore some of the things ancient texts relating to the Moses 6–7 can teach us. With this background, Latter-day Saint readers will be in a better position to explore all these texts for themselves. My personal study of the ancient Enoch literature has convinced me that its value goes far beyond its witness of the ancient and authentic nature of the Book of Moses. Of greatest value in the process of careful comparison of Enoch manuscripts from antiquity to the Book of Moses is that it can increase our appreciation of otherwise obscure details in both ancient and modern texts.

It is hoped that readers will find both their understanding of scripture and their testimony of the Prophet Joseph Smith strengthened by their study of the records of Enoch's ministry, available now in convenience and abundance like never before.



In a detail from the Manichaean Cosmology Painting (MCP), a figure kneels repentantly atop a high mountain. This may be a depiction of a *Book of Giants* character corresponding to Mahijah in the Book of Moses. More will be said about the incident that may have inspired this picture in a later chapter.

Mahijah, the Unlikely Co-Star of the Enoch Story

While Enoch is, of course, the indisputable star of Moses 6–7, the choice of his co-star is equally obvious: Mahijah. Why is that? Well, for one thing Mahijah is the only other named character in the Enoch chapters of the Book of Moses besides Enoch himself. For another thing, as it turns out, a similarly named individual is also the pivotal actor in the *Book of Giants* (*BG*)—and, of all the named individuals in *BG*, he is the one most likely to be authentically ancient.⁶⁴

In this chapter, we'll tell the story of Hugh Nibley's discovery of Mahijah's counterpart in *BG*, a finding whose importance has been confirmed by two non-Latter-day Saint Enoch scholars. We'll also see how new research on the Book of Moses and *BG* has transformed Mahijah from a minor figure to a central character.

Hugh Nibley's Discovery of the *Book of Giants* Mahijah

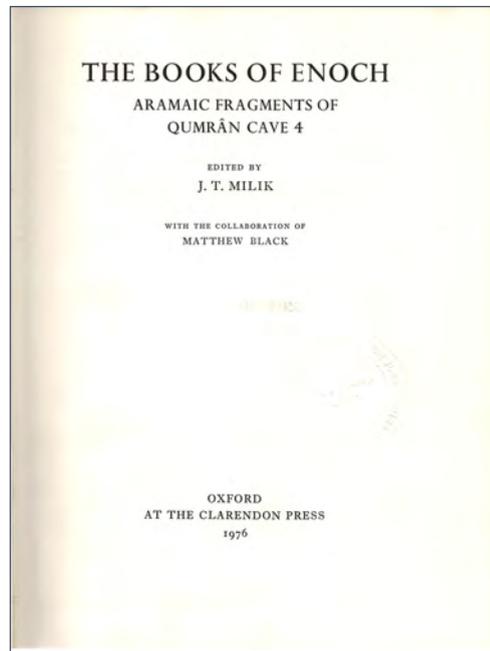
In 1976–77, Hugh Nibley dashed off one long, heavily-footnoted article each month for a series about ancient Enoch manuscripts and Moses 6–7 that was running in the Church's *Ensign* magazine. As he was finishing the last article he received—"just in time"⁶⁵—the anxiously awaited first complete English translation of *BG*.⁶⁶

Working quickly to meet his publication deadline, Nibley found several interesting connections between *BG* and the Book of Moses. His best-known discovery is that a character with the name of Mahijah in the Book of Moses is a remarkable match for a character with a similar name in *BG*. Nibley found that the characters not only match well in their unusual *names* but also in the *roles* they play. Below is told the interesting story of the aftermath of Nibley's discovery. There will be more to say about the details of the discovery itself in later chapters.

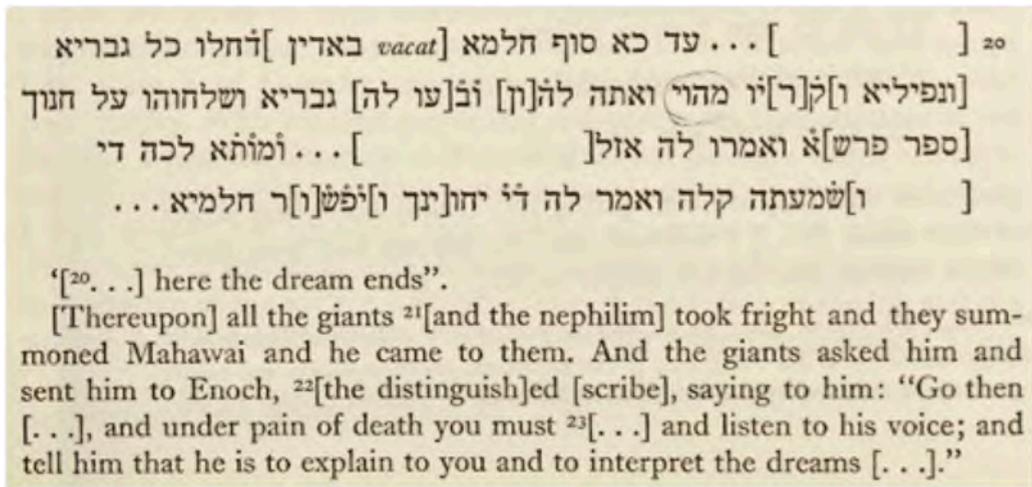
Matthew Black and Salvatore Cirillo Affirm the Importance of the Discovery

As it happened, a well-regarded Aramaic scholar, Matthew Black, who had collaborated with Milik on the publication of *BG*, came to the United States to take up residence at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study (1977–78) about the same time Nibley made his discovery. Black gave a lecture at Cornell University⁶⁷ where a Latter-day Saint doctoral candidate, Gordon C. Thomasson was present. Thomasson, who was well-versed in Nibley's research on Enoch, approached Black after the lecture. As Thomasson recounts:⁶⁸

Waiting until the last of the lecture crowd had disappeared, I asked Professor Black if he was familiar with Joseph Smith's Enoch text. He said he was not but was interested. He first asked if it was identical or similar to *1 Enoch*. I told him it was not and then proceeded to recite some of the correlations Dr. Nibley had shown with Milik and Black's own and others' Qumran and Ethiopic Enoch materials. He became quiet. When I got to Mahujah (Moses 7:2), he raised his hand in a "please pause" gesture and was silent.



Left: Title page of the last article in the *Ensign* "Strange Thing in the Land" series⁶⁹; Right: Title page of Milik and Black's 1976 book on the Aramaic fragments of Qumran Cave 4, which included fragments of BG.⁷⁰



This image is from Hugh Nibley's copy of J. T. Milik and Matthew Black's 1976 book, located in the BYU Harold B. Lee Library Hugh Nibley Ancient Studies Room.⁷¹ Note that Nibley circled the Aramaic name Mahawai in pencil. The passage shown here tells of an incident where the wicked Ohyah, Mahayah, and their fellows send Mahawai to ask Enoch about their frightful dreams of pending destruction. In its original form, which customarily lacked vowels, the name Mahawai (or Mahaway) (MHWY) resembles a name element in the Hebrew text of Genesis 4:18, Mehuja-/Mehija- (MḤWY-/MḤYY-) as well as the only other names besides Enoch found in Moses 6–7: Mahujah (the English H corresponds equally well to MHWY or MḤWY) and Mahijah (MHYY or MḤYY).⁷²



Left: *Matthew Black (1908–94)*, date unknown;⁷³ Center: *Gordon C. Thomasson (1942–), 1975;*⁷⁴ Right: *Hugh W. Nibley (1910–2005), 1966.*⁷⁵

Finally, he acknowledged that the place-name of Mahujah could not have come from *1 Enoch*. He then formulated a hypothesis, consistent with his lecture, that a member of one of the esoteric groups he had described previously must have survived into the nineteenth century, and hearing of Joseph Smith, must have brought the group's Enoch texts to New York from Italy for the Prophet to translate and publish. ...

At the end of our conversation, he expressed an interest in seeing more of Hugh's work. I proposed that Black should meet with Hugh, gave him the contact information, and he contacted Hugh the same day, as Hugh later confirmed to me. Soon he made a previously unplanned trip to Provo where he met with Hugh for some time.

Black certainly knew enough about ancient Hebrew and Aramaic to have recognized, like Nibley, that the unusual names Mahujah and Mahijah were reasonable English equivalents of the similar *BG* name. He would have also recognized how unlikely it would have been that these names appeared in a Book of Moses text about Enoch by mere coincidence.

While at BYU, Black gave a public lecture but, according to Hugh Nibley, would not answer any questions about the Book of Moses. Near the end of the visit, Nibley said that he asked Black whether he had an explanation for the appearance of the name Mahujah in the Book of Moses and reported his answer as follows: "Well, someday we will find out the source that Joseph Smith used."⁷⁶

Matthew Black was not the only non-Latter-day Saint scholar to see the importance of Nibley's find. In his 2010 thesis at the University of Durham,⁷⁷ Salvatore Cirillo, drawing on the similar conclusions of Loren T. Stuckenbruck, emphasized the uniqueness of the window of evidence that is opened by *BG*'s named characters. Specifically, he called the names of the *BG* characters "the most conspicuously independent content" in *BG* being "unparalleled in other Jewish literature."⁷⁸ But, even more significant, according to Cirillo, is that "the name Mahawai in the *Book of Giants* and the names Mahujah and Mahijah in the Book of Moses represent

the strongest similarity between the Latter-day Saint revelations on Enoch and the pseudepigraphal books of Enoch (specifically the *Book of Giants*).⁷⁹ However, surprisingly and in contrast to Matthew Black, Cirillo did not attempt to explain how a manuscript that was not discovered until 1948 could have influenced the account of Enoch in the Book of Moses, written in 1830.

Building on the Foundation of Nibley's Research⁸⁰

Since Nibley's passing, the growth of new scholarship on ancient Enoch texts has continued full swing. Significantly, discoveries made since 2015 has been the source of several ideas explored at length for the first time in this book and related publications.⁸¹ Here are four of the major findings:

- *Enoch and Mahijah are the most historically plausible of all the personal names in BG.* While Hugh Nibley's pioneering research compared the names and roles of *one* character in Moses 6–7 and BG, new research has examined the names and roles of nearly *all* of the prominent figures in BG. It appears that Enoch and Mahijah, the same two names that appear in the Book of Moses, are the most historically plausible of all the personal names in BG.⁸² Based on the combined strength of the linguistic and textual evidence in the Book of Moses and BG, we will refer to him, where appropriate, by his Book of Moses names (Mahijah and Mahujah) rather than the names he is usually given by BG scholars (Mahaway, Mahawai, Mahuj) throughout the rest of this book.
- *Among other things, BG confirms the Book of Moses witness of the gathering and heavenly ascent of Enoch's people.* Earlier work identified many instances of close thematic resemblances or, in some cases, almost identical occurrences of rare terms and phrases in BG. Now, each of those proposed resemblances has been not only *identified* but also *explored* in detail.⁸³ One of the most interesting examples has to do with the gathering of Enoch's people to Zion and their eventual ascent "up into [God's] own bosom" (Moses 7:69). Evidence for both the gathering and the heavenly ascent of Zion reported in the Book of Moses has now been found in BG.⁸⁴
- *The thematic resemblances of BG to Moses 6–7 are not only numerous and dense, but also strong and specific.* Using a study by Enoch scholar Loren T. Stuckenbruck as a methodological model,⁸⁵ an assessment was made of the *specificity* of the thematic resemblances as an indicator of the strength of association between the texts. In brief, selected motifs in Moses 6–7 that are found elsewhere in the Bible or other Second Temple texts were separated out from those that are included exclusively or nearly exclusively in the sampled ancient literature on Enoch. The results were impressive. Of the thirty thematic resemblances identified between the Book of Moses Enoch account and ancient Enoch texts, twenty (fully two-thirds) were ideas, terms, or phrases that are rare or absent outside of the Enoch literature. Thus, it seems that the resemblances of Enoch texts to the Book of Moses are not just hitting on themes that are also found in other biblical and Second Temple texts. Instead, Moses 6–7 seems to be well tuned to many specifically *Enoch-related* motifs. In addition, like Stuckenbruck, thematic resemblances that exhibit a more general, "conceptual level of commonly held motifs" were separated from those that stood out because they shared significant but relatively rare or specific "terms or closely

comparable phrases.” Importantly, five of the twenty resemblances that are uncommon or absent outside of the ancient Enoch literature share either significant, rare or specific terms or, alternatively, comparable phrases with Moses 6–7.⁸⁶

- *When properly understood, the storyline elements of the Book of Moses Enoch account are generally consistent with the order of the storyline elements of the extant BG fragments that are shared by the two texts, as reconstructed by BG scholarship.*⁸⁷ Now let’s take a closer look at the two storylines, an exercise that will show the pivotal role of Mahijah in both Enoch stories.

Simplified Outline	Major Stories	Book of Moses	Book of Giants	Other Enoch	Simplified Outline	Major Stories	Book of Moses	Book of Giants	Other Enoch
A. Beginnings					<i>Dreams of Twins</i>				
	1. Begettings	X	X	X	C. Second Visit to Enoch				
	2. Call of Enoch	X		X		7. Mahujah and Enoch Meet	X	X	
	3. Violence and Oaths	X	X	X		8. Enoch Clothed in Glory	X		X
	<i>Antics of Twins</i>		X		D. Parting of the Ways				
B. First Visit to Enoch						9. Wicked Defeated	X	X	
	4. Mahijah Meets Enoch	X	X			10. Repentant Gathered	X	X	
	5. Call to Repentance	X	X	X	E. Happy Endings				
	6. Messianic Teachings	X		X		11. Enoch's Grand Vision	X		X
						12. Zion Taken Up	X	X	X

Harmony of storylines in Moses 6–7, the *Book of Giants*, and other ancient Enoch literature. Narrative storyline elements are in normal typeface; sacred elements are in **bold**; BG-unique items are in *italics*.

Piecing Together a Common Storyline

The table above summarizes the major storyline elements in the Book of Moses that can be found in *BG* and other important ancient Enoch texts. Of course, both the story of Enoch in the Book of Moses and its counterparts in other ancient Enoch texts are “incomplete.” For example, in the case of the Book of Moses, we aren’t given any details about the identity and biography of Mahijah. And, likewise, in the case of other Enoch texts, we are only given the parts of Enoch’s story that were relevant to the editors’ objectives. In addition—and especially in the case of *BG*—only a small fraction of the original text has survived. For instance, based on *BG* references to a “second” visit of Mahijah to Enoch, most scholars have concluded that *BG* originally contained an account of the first visit (possibly correlating with the visit of Mahijah to Enoch in Moses 6:40), even though the *BG* account of Mahijah’s first visit is now lost.

In the table, three types of storyline elements are distinguished: (1) those that are part of what can be called the “narrative core,” shown in normal typeface; (2) those that contain material relating to sacred teachings, rituals, or heavenly encounters, shown in **bold**; and (3) those that are unique to *BG*, appearing neither in Moses 6–7 nor anywhere else in the ancient Enoch literature, shown in *italics*.

The table reveals three interesting patterns:

- *Despite many specific differences, the basic storylines of both texts can be seen as sharing a similar beginning, focus, and outcome. Saying it differently, at least one fragment relating to every major narrative storyline element of the Book of Moses is also present within BG (normal typeface).*

Concerning the *beginning* of the story, the *BG* account appears to start with a brief summary of the Watchers story that corresponds structurally to the genealogy of the “sons of God” in the Book of Moses.

With respect to the *focus*—and in sharp contrast to *1 Enoch*—*BG* makes early on in the story what Stuckenbruck calls a “most significant ... shift of the spotlight from the disobedient angels”⁸⁸ to Enoch’s mighty human adversaries (the *gibborim*). The Book of Moses has a similar focus on the *gibborim*.

As to the most significant *outcome* of the texts, the common concern of both *BG* and the Book of Moses Enoch account is ultimately the fate of the *gibborim*, who either, on the one hand, choose to reject Enoch’s message and are subsequently humbled by an ignominious defeat in battle or, on the other hand, choose to repent and eventually gather to a divinely prepared place from which they ultimately ascend to the divine presence.

- *The sacred storyline elements in the Book of Moses are left out of BG, even though they appear elsewhere in the ancient Enoch literature (shown in **boldface**). For example, the surviving fragments of BG omit details of Enoch’s call; messianic prophecies in the preaching of Enoch; Enoch’s being clothed in glory; and the sweeping contents of his grand apocalyptic vision. The fact that these missing themes are found in one form or another in other ancient Enoch texts makes their absence from surviving fragments in BG a surprise. But there are precedents for the preparation and selective distribution of two versions of some Jewish and early Christian texts—one version containing sacred doctrinal “meat” for those who have been initiated and the other containing only doctrinal “milk” for novices.⁸⁹ In some ways we might compare this to the small and large plates of Nephi. The former include “the things of [his] soul” (2 Nephi 4:15)—precious spiritual truths—while the latter were confined to the secular history of the people—“their wars, and their contentions, and the reigns of their kings” (Jacob 3:13).*
- *The BG-unique elements are largely focused on the dreams, antics, and quarreling of Ohyah and Hahyah (shown in italics). What is significant about these elements is that they appear nowhere else in the ancient Enoch literature. While absolute certainty is elusive because new texts may still turn up, it currently seems that the most plausible explanation for these elements is that they were included at some point in the history of the BG text for literary reasons.*

Describing these three patterns differently, we might say that if you look at the vertical column for *BG* across all the storyline elements, you will notice that every entry is either in regular typeface or italics—none are in bold.

Because of the strength of this (and other) evidence for a correspondence between the narrative core storyline elements in Moses 6–7 and *BG*, it seems reasonable to take this conjectural outline (minus the *BG* tales of the twins) as a guide for structuring the

remaining chapters of the book. However, in noting the *structural* correspondences between *BG* and the Book of Moses Enoch chapters, we shouldn't minimize the differences between the *contents* of the two accounts. For instance, the overall tone of the *BG* account is different from that of Moses 6–7. Moses 6–7, though at times exploiting elements of humor and irony, is generally sober in tone, is firmly rooted in the material world of humankind, and is illuminated by the apocalyptic visions of the prophet Enoch. *BG*, on the other hand, hints at being a deliberate polemical parody on Mesopotamian *gibborim* culture, is occasionally tainted with the mythical elements of the Watchers, and, while omitting the detail of the sacred accounts of Enoch's call, teachings, and visions, adds the harrowing dreams of the inept, anxiety-ridden, and ultimately tragicomical characters Ohyah and Hahyah.⁹⁰

Some final thoughts about the storyline. We note Stuckenbruck's astute conclusion that various themes appear in pairs within *BG*.⁹¹ Does this apply to the overall structure of the Book of Moses as well as to some of its specific details? For example, we might conceive of the primary division of the story of Enoch in the Book of Moses into a first, earth-focused mission followed by a second, heaven-focused commission. In other words, while Moses 6 is primarily concerned with Enoch's initial divine call to preach repentance and salvation to the wicked on *earth*, the major preoccupation of Moses 7 is Enoch's subsequent *heavenly* commission as a new member of the divine council that equips him with the Christlike love and knowledge he will need to prepare his people to meet God face-to-face (see Moses 7:69).

Likewise, Mahijah, our co-star, seems to be positioned in the story as a dual to Enoch. Our interpretation of the storyline of the Book of Moses leads us to believe that he was initially responsive to Enoch's preaching as he heard it during a first, earthly visit to the prophet where he outlined the teachings, principles, and ordinances of the Gospel. Later, Mahijah seeks out Enoch a second time. From our reading of the Book of Moses, we learn that he met Enoch in a "heavenly" setting, ascending with the prophet just far enough up the sacred mountain to cry with him in prayer to the Lord. It seems that in this experience he also received a new name, Mahujah. However, in *BG*, which also confirms the heavenly setting of this second encounter, we also learn that Mahijah, unlike Enoch, does not continue his discipleship as he began. When the repentant people of Enoch's Zion ascend to heaven, Mahijah is left behind.

The trajectory of the personal story of Mahijah can be seen as mirroring the larger story of the unrepentant faction of his people. Moreover, in Mahijah's biography, modern Saints can see themselves. Each of us has come up the sacred mountain partway. Will we continue our ascent or be left behind?

From this summary, I hope readers will understand why the story of Enoch and Mahijah is *our* story. And why this story of the first days is also the story of the last days. My hope is that in this tentative effort in this book to weave the storylines of modern scripture and ancient Enoch texts together as one, readers will not only gain a greater appreciation for the ancient threads in the Book of Moses but will also be blessed with the increased desire, understanding, and faith they will need if they are to be ready to meet the people of Enoch's city when they return.



*Harold Bloom (1930–2019)*⁹²

The Book of Moses Story: Surprising, Neglected, and Revelatory

Although most non-Latter-day Saint scholars are understandably skeptical of Joseph Smith’s claims to have translated the Book of Moses by non-scholarly means, Matthew Black and Salvatore Cirillo are not alone in recognizing beauty and antiquity in the Pearl of Great Price. Speaking broadly about both the Book of Moses and the Book of Abraham, the eminent Yale professor and Jewish literary scholar Harold Bloom called these books two of the “more surprising” and “neglected” works of Latter-day Saint scripture.⁹³

What did Professor Bloom find so “surprising”? He said he was intrigued by the fact that many of the themes in these books are “strikingly akin to ancient suggestions.” While expressing “no judgment, one way or the other, upon the authenticity” of Latter-day Saint scripture, he found “enormous validity” in the way these writings “recapture ... crucial elements in the archaic Jewish religion ... that had ceased to be available either to normative Judaism or to Christianity, and that survived only in esoteric traditions unlikely to have touched [Joseph] Smith directly.”⁹⁴ In other words, Professor Bloom found it a great wonder that Joseph Smith could have come up with, on his own, modern books that resemble so closely ancient Jewish and Christian teachings.

With a generous openness to Joseph Smith’s claim of the exercise of seeric gifts, Samuel Zinner, a non-Latter-day Saint who is a lifelong scholar of ancient scripture and pseudepigraphy, suggests that⁹⁵

it might prove fruitful to apply to Joseph Smith's modern-era Enoch writings Michael Stone's⁹⁶ model whereby he posits that at least some ancient post-canonical literature ... may have been created under the impact of visionary experiences rather than having been authored exclusively by imitating previous literary works.

A. Beginnings



The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men, 1350.⁹⁷

A. Beginnings

	Book of Moses	<i>Book of Giants</i>	Other Enoch
1. Begettings	X	X	X
2. Call of Enoch	X		X
3. Violence and Oaths	X	X	X

1. Begettings of the Sons of God (6:1–25; 8:13–21)

Brigham Young University professor David Rolph Seely has pointed out that “examining the beginning and the ending of a text”⁹⁸ is one of the keys to understanding it. He quotes Bible scholar Morna Hooker as saying:⁹⁹

Beginnings are important—and they were especially so in the ancient world, where the vast proportion of the population relied on the spoken rather than the written word. Books were written to be read aloud, and it was therefore important to give essential information at the beginning of a book.

As we begin our reading of the Enoch story, we might ask ourselves what “essential information” would be helpful to us before we get into the meat of the texts. No doubt it would be helpful to know something about the story’s timeframe and setting, as well as the backstories for the characters we will meet.

Fortunately, the Bible, Moses 6–7, and *BG* seem to be in agreement on the general timeframe and setting of their stories—the period of general wickedness that preceded the era of Enoch. However, the backstories of the characters in the two texts are quite different. On the one hand, in the Bible and the Book of Moses we find a group of individuals standing behind Enoch and the patriarchs who are called the “sons of God.” On the other hand, in the Enoch literature we read about a corresponding group called the “Watchers.” Before getting into the story of Enoch proper, we need to know what each text—Genesis, *BG*, and the Book of Moses—has to say about these groups.

Then, we’ll take a look at the first episode of the Enoch story as given us in the Book of Moses. While the Bible and the ancient Enoch literature paint a mythic “once-upon-a-time” sort of backdrop to Enoch’s biography with a broad brush, the Book of Moses provides tangible details, suggesting that the inspired author or later redactor of that account had better sources on hand (whether those sources were textual or visionary in nature). We’ll encounter Enoch’s father Jared and the other “preachers of righteousness” who preceded him. We’ll also make conjectures about the “symbolic geography” of Enoch’s home and missionary journeys that will be useful to us as we read the rest of Enoch’s story.

Now let’s look at what each text has to say about the “sons of God” and the “Watchers.”



Pietro Cavallini (ca. 1250–ca. 1340): *The Judgement* (detail).¹⁰⁰

The Sons of God in Genesis 6:1–4

In Genesis 6:1–4, we read about the “sons of God”:

1. And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,
2. That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.
3. And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.
4. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

Many modern scholars see the “sons of God” in verse 2 as divine beings, members of the heavenly council of the “Most High God.” Though strange to us, the idea of male gods choosing “wives” from mortal women would not have been surprising to many people in the ancient world. As Genesis scholar John J. Collins writes:¹⁰¹

Sexual relations between gods and goddesses on the one hand and human men and women on the other are widely alleged in ancient (especially Greek) mythology. In the surviving literature of Israel and Judah, however, they are exceptional. Apart from metaphorical references to the marriage of YHWH and Israel, and the like, the only instance of liaisons of this sort is found ... in Genesis 6:1–4.

The meaning of verse 3 is unclear. A better translation might be: “My breath shall not abide in man forever, since he too is flesh; let the days allowed him be one hundred and twenty years.”¹⁰² In this reading of the verse, it seems that because of the mismatched marriages in verse 2, God is going to take action by withdrawing His “spirit” or “breath.” In the context of this verse, the “breath” or “spirit” that God is talking about is the “breath of life” (Moses 3:7), not the “Holy Spirit.”¹⁰³ In brief, God is saying that He will restrict the length of human life to “an hundred and twenty years” by withdrawing the “breath of life” after that time. Till now, people in Genesis could apparently plan to live for hundreds of years.

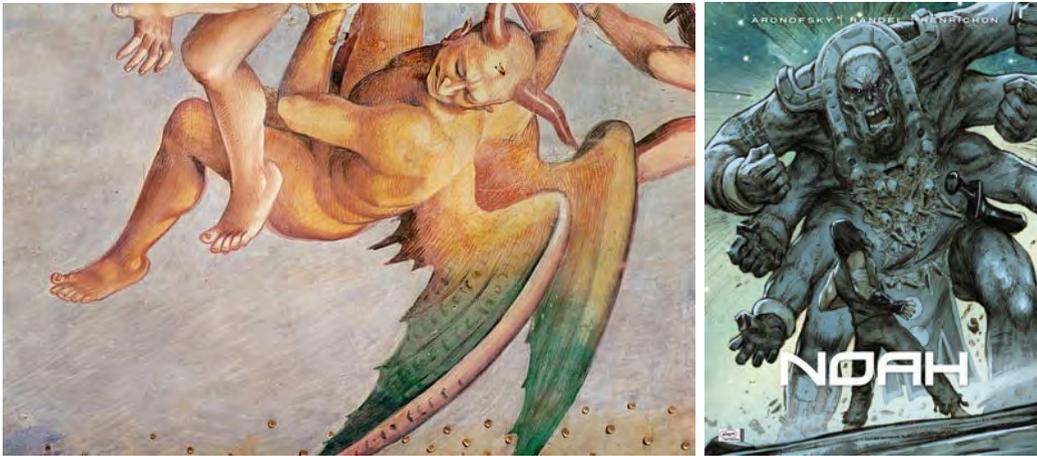
Verse 4 can also be difficult to understand. Essentially, it’s telling us that the *nephilim* (literally “fallen ones,” but typically translated “giants”) were then on the earth. In addition, the “sons of God” (who, according to the Book of Moses and some Jewish traditions were not actually divine—see more below) and the “daughters of men” bore exceptional sons. In days of yore, we are told that these sons became *gibborim* (literally “mighty ones”). These are said to be men who (literally in the Hebrew) made a “name” for themselves (“men of renown”). Nimrod, who is described in Genesis 10:1 as both a “mighty one” (*gibbor*, the singular for *gibborim*) and a “mighty hunter” (Hebrew *gibbor tsayid*), is probably the best biblical example of such a man.

Note that while the *gibborim* (“mighty men”) are explicitly said to be the children of the sons of God and the daughters of men, we are not explicitly told where the *nephilim* (“giants”) came from. However, many later traditions often assume—mistakenly in my opinion—that the *nephilim* were the children of the sons of God, and the *gibborim* were the children of the *nephilim*. These difficulties and assumptions have created endless controversy about these verses for ancient and modern scripture readers, while also—along with the Watchers traditions described below—providing entertaining but questionable grist for graphic novels, movies, and video games.

The Watchers in *1 Enoch* and *BG*

The term “Watchers” in *1 Enoch* and *BG* is often considered another name for the “sons of God” mentioned in Genesis 6,¹⁰⁴ though some scholars think the two stories are largely unrelated overall.¹⁰⁵

Note that the word “Watchers” never refers to “fallen angels” in the Bible. For example, “the term ‘Watcher’ is used in Daniel 4:10, 14, 20, where it is parallel to ‘holy one’ and refers to an angelic messenger.”¹⁰⁶ The idea behind the name is that these beings are constant observers, “keeping watch,” as it were on the deeds of mortals. Though, according to the book of *Jubilees*, the Watchers were commissioned by God to “teach the sons of man, and perform judgment and uprightness upon the earth,”¹⁰⁷ but they fell away, seduced by the beauty of the “daughters of men.”¹⁰⁸ Traditions tell how they “corrupted their way and their ordinances. . . . And injustice grew upon the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all mankind was thus continually evil.”¹⁰⁹ From unions between these fallen ones and the women are said (in *BG* and *1 Enoch*) to have come a progeny of wicked giants.¹¹⁰ Like Prometheus,¹¹¹ the Watchers in these Enoch texts were condemned to eternal punishment for having spread forbidden knowledge among humans.¹¹² The resulting depravity brought on the Flood.¹¹³



Left: Luca Signorelli (1441/1445–1523): *Scene of Hell, The Last Judgement*, 1499–1504 (detail, reversed). San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral, Orvieto Italy;¹¹⁴ Right: A “Watcher” on the Attack. The Watcher here is depicted in exact correspondence to the graphic novel that inspired Darren Aronofsky’s *Noah* film—but with little relationship to descriptions in ancient texts.¹¹⁵ In the film, Watchers are fantastically depicted as “eleven-foot-tall fallen angels with six arms and no wings.”¹¹⁶

A passage from *BG*, its themes roughly corresponding to the “sons of God” topic in Genesis 6:1–4, details the sins of the Watchers. Annotations adapted from Loren T. Stuckenbruck¹¹⁷ explaining the fragment are presented below the text of some of the lines:¹¹⁸

1. the Watch]ers are defiled [
 - [that is, the Watchers defiled themselves]
2. they begot] giants [*gibborim*] and monsters [*nephilim*] [
3. of the Watchers] they begot, and behold, as g[iants ?
 - [that is, they begat giants]
4.]with its blood and by the hand of [disturbance
 - [meaning, the earth’s blood]
5. giants] which did not suffice for them and [their ch]ildren[
 - [that is, the giants had insatiable appetites]
6.] and they were seeking to devour many [
 - [that is, the giants were eating much]
7.]vacat[
 - [that is, missing text]
8.] the monsters [o]pened it. [
 - [that is, the giants smote the earth]

The lines from *BG* above are closely related to passages in the *1 Enoch Book of Watchers*, chapters 6–11. Further describing the sins of the Watchers, Collins writes:¹¹⁹

Unlike the “sons of God” in Genesis, the Watchers are conscious from the beginning that they are committing a great sin. Consequently, their leader, Shemihazah, asks them to swear an oath and bind each other with a curse. ... [Supporting the idea that Genesis is older than the Watchers story,] Nickelsburg has shown that [*1 Enoch*] borrows language from Genesis at several points.

Some scholars see stories about the rebel Watchers as being written to explain the tragic origin of all evil in the world and suggest that they may have been used within rituals performed in Solomon's temple.¹²⁰ They suggest that the story of the Fall of Adam and Eve may be a later invention. However, the story of Adam and Eve told within the modern temple endowment throws doubt on this conclusion.¹²¹ Latter-day Saints see the story of evil in Enoch's generation not as an explanation for the ultimate origin of evil in the world but rather as an example of the way that evil operates time after time in every generation.¹²² Enoch scholar Ida Frölich agrees that the Enochian view of the origin of evil probably has little to do with the biblical view. She sees the Genesis and Watchers accounts as independent stories from very dissimilar traditions.¹²³

Despite the failure of the Book of Moses to embrace the *BG* and *1 Enoch* story of the Watchers, the *BG* and Moses 6–7 accounts are similar in some ways. For example, both *BG* and the Book of Moses describe the *nephilim* and the *gibborim* as distinct groups, whereas other texts and commentaries often confuse them. Also, as mentioned in the previous chapter, *BG* and Moses 6–7 are like each other but different from the *Book of Watchers* in *1 Enoch* in that the overall focus of their stories is more on the human *gibborim* than on a group of rebellious divine beings.

The Sons of God in the Book of Moses

There are important differences between Genesis 6:1–4 and Moses 8:13–21.

Genesis 6:1–4	Moses 8:13–21
	13 And Noah and his sons hearkened unto the Lord, and gave heed, and they were called the sons of God.
1 And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, 2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they <i>were</i> fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.	14 And when these men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the sons of men saw that those daughters were fair, and they took them wives, even as they chose.
	15 And the Lord said unto Noah: The daughters of thy sons have sold themselves; for behold mine anger is kindled against the sons of men, for they will not hearken to my voice.
	16 And it came to pass that Noah prophesied, and taught the things of God, even as it was in the beginning.
3 And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also <i>is</i> flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.	17 And the Lord said unto Noah: My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for he shall know that all flesh shall die; yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years; and if men do not repent, I will send in the floods upon them.

Genesis 6:1–4	Moses 8:13–21
4 There were giants in the earth in those days;	18 And in those days there were giants on the earth, and they sought Noah to take away his life; but the Lord was with Noah, and the power of the Lord was upon him.
	19 And the Lord ordained Noah after his own order, and commanded him that he should go forth and declare his Gospel unto the children of men, even as it was given unto Enoch.
	20 And it came to pass that Noah called upon the children of men that they should repent; but they hearkened not unto his words;
and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare <i>children</i> to them, the same <i>became</i> mighty men which <i>were</i> of old, men of renown.	21 And also, after that they had heard him, they came up before him, saying: Behold, we are the sons of God; have we not taken unto ourselves the daughters of men? And are we not eating and drinking, and marrying and giving in marriage? And our wives bear unto us children, and the same are mighty men, which are like unto men of old, men of great renown. And they hearkened not unto the words of Noah.

Comparison of Genesis 6:1–4 with Moses 8:13–21.

Rather than explore all the changes above—which include several helpful clarifications provided by the Book of Moses—let’s focus on how the “sons of God” in Moses 8:13–21 differ from the “sons of God” in most modern interpretations of Genesis 6:1–4. The important thing to notice is that in the Book of Moses “sons of God” does not refer to fallen angels¹²⁴ but rather to glorified men, holders of the “Holy Priesthood, after the Order of the Son of God” (Doctrine and Covenants 107:3; also Alma 13:1, 16; Helaman 8:18).¹²⁵ Addressing another common confusion, note that the husbands mentioned in v. 21 are not actually “sons of God” (see v. 20, where they are called “children of men”) but are only in jest proclaiming themselves so to be.¹²⁶

By way of contrast to these “children of men,” Noah, who was—like Enoch¹²⁷—“ordained after [the Lord’s] own order (Moses 8:19), is said in *1 Enoch* to have resembled a “full-grown’ heavenly being” at his birth.¹²⁸ Depictions of Noah in the catacombs, like the one at right, show him rising out of the Ark in a pose of resurrection, prefiguring the emergence of the Savior from His tomb. Indeed, transcending his status as a king and priest, Noah is sometimes portrayed in the Bible as a type of God Himself.¹²⁹ Consider, for example, the microcosmic Ark that Noah forms and fills with living creatures and food in likeness of God the Creator¹³⁰ and his role as captain of the Ark as it moves “upon the face of the waters” (Genesis 7:18; compare Genesis 1:2)—assuming the role of God in the original creation of the earth.¹³¹ Recall also Noah’s planting of an Eden-like garden after the emergence of dry land (Genesis 9:20; compare Genesis 2:8),¹³² his later location “in the midst of” (Genesis 9:21;¹³³ compare Genesis 2:9) a most sacred place in that garden, and his pronouncement of a curse on Canaan, the

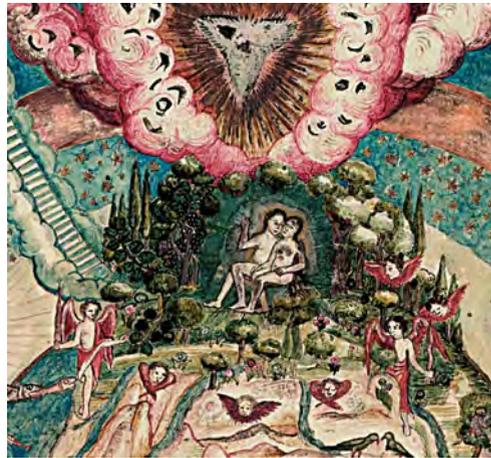
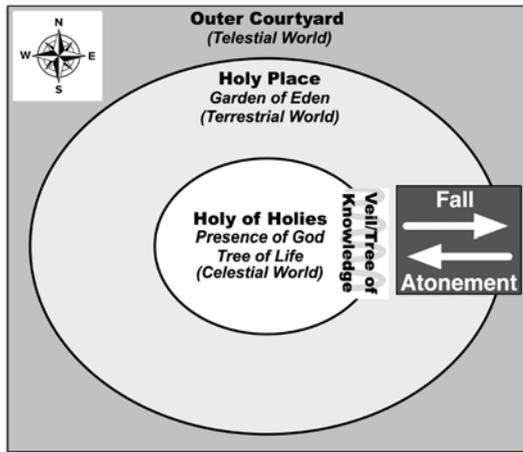


Left: *Noah Emerging from the Ark in a Pose of Resurrection*, catacombs of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, early fourth century;¹³⁴ Right: George Campfield (fl. 1861): *Enoch*. Creation Window, All Saints Church, Selsley, England, 1861.¹³⁵

“serpent” who was responsible for the transgression of its sacred boundary (Genesis 9:25; compare Genesis 3:14–15).¹³⁶ Finally, and perhaps most important of all, note that Noah’s three children are explicitly called the “sons of God” (Moses 8:13).

In short, Noah’s and his sons—like Adam (Moses 6:68) and many others (Moses 7:1)—were not “sons of God” because they were divine *beings*, but rather because they were divinely *commissioned*. This was the lineage into which Enoch was born (Moses 6:1–25), ordained to the holy priesthood,¹³⁷ and later given a commission, like his father Jared, as a “preacher of righteousness” (Moses 6:23). Some Jewish traditions agree that the “sons of God” were mighty human “judges or nobles”; in other words, they were “the dignitaries of the generation, whose fathers had been the dignitaries of the generation—but [the fathers] did not restrain them” from committing sin.¹³⁸

Having now distinguished the fantastic backstories of the characters portrayed in the Enoch literature from those of the “sons of God” portrayed in the Book of Moses, let’s revisit some relevant points. At some point, the terms *gibborim* and *nephilim* (the latter term originally used to refer to what seems to have been a remnant of a race of “giants”) were equated in some contexts, leading to confusion.¹³⁹ Consistent with this distinction between two different groups, the Book of Moses Enoch account specifically differentiates “giants” (*nephilim*?) from Enoch’s principal adversaries (*gibborim*?).¹⁴⁰ However, unlike *BG* (which sees the *gibborim* as the offspring of fallen angels called the Watchers¹⁴¹), the Book of Moses (like the writings of some prominent early Christian readers¹⁴²) depicts Enoch’s adversaries as mere mortals. And rather than interpreting the “sons of God” mentioned in Genesis 6:4 as inhabitants of the divine realm, as is commonly done in the pseudepigrapha, the Book of Moses portrays them as the covenant posterity of Adam who have had that title bestowed on them by virtue of having received the fulness of the priesthood.¹⁴³



Left: Hierocentric top-down view of three zones of sacredness in the Garden of Eden and the temple; Right: Adam and Eve at the top of the newly created Paradise. From the frontispiece of an Armenian adaptation of the *Treatise on the Work of the Six Days of Creation* by Bartholomew of Bologna (d. 1333).¹⁴⁴

Symbolic Geography in the Story of Enoch

We'll wrap up this chapter with some conjectures about the sacred geography of Enoch's world. Note that the opening verse of Enoch's call tells us very little about its location and circumstances, stating only that it came to him while he "journeyed in the land, among the people" (Moses 6:26). Fortunately, a little later in the story Enoch reveals a little about his homeland:

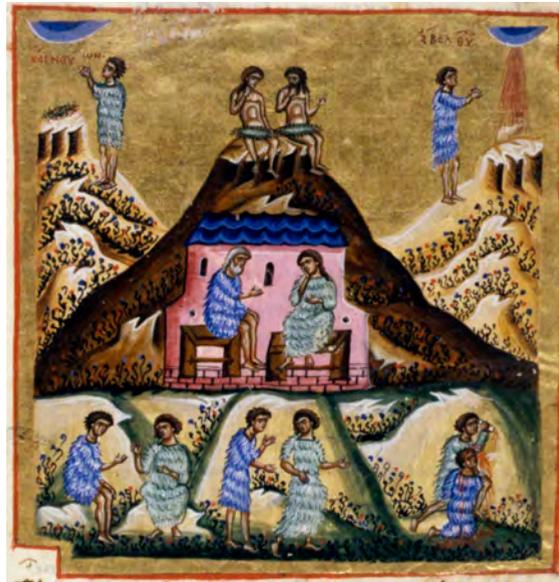
I came out from the land of Cainan, the land of my fathers, a land of righteousness unto this day (Moses 6:41).

That still isn't much information. However, when these clues are seen in the light of depictions of sacred geography in the ancient world and the illustrated version of Enoch's story described a little later, it is enough to begin some guesswork.

First, a little background on the ancient idea of "hierocentric" geography (from Greek *hiero-* = "sacred"). Hugh Nibley, following Eric Burrows, defined "the term 'hierocentric' as that which best describes those cults, states, and philosophies that were oriented about a point believed to be the exact center and pivot of the universe."¹⁴⁵ In other words, maps of symbolic geography based on this idea are constructed around a "sacred center" (hence, the term "hierocentric").

Sacred centers in these kinds of maps often coincide with the location of a "mountain or artificial mound and a lake or spring from which four streams flowed out to bring the life-giving waters to the four regions of the earth. The place was a green paradise, a carefully kept garden, a refuge from drought and heat."¹⁴⁶ Readers will recognize that this idea is reflected biblically in the layout of the Garden of Eden and the temple (see figure above at left).¹⁴⁷

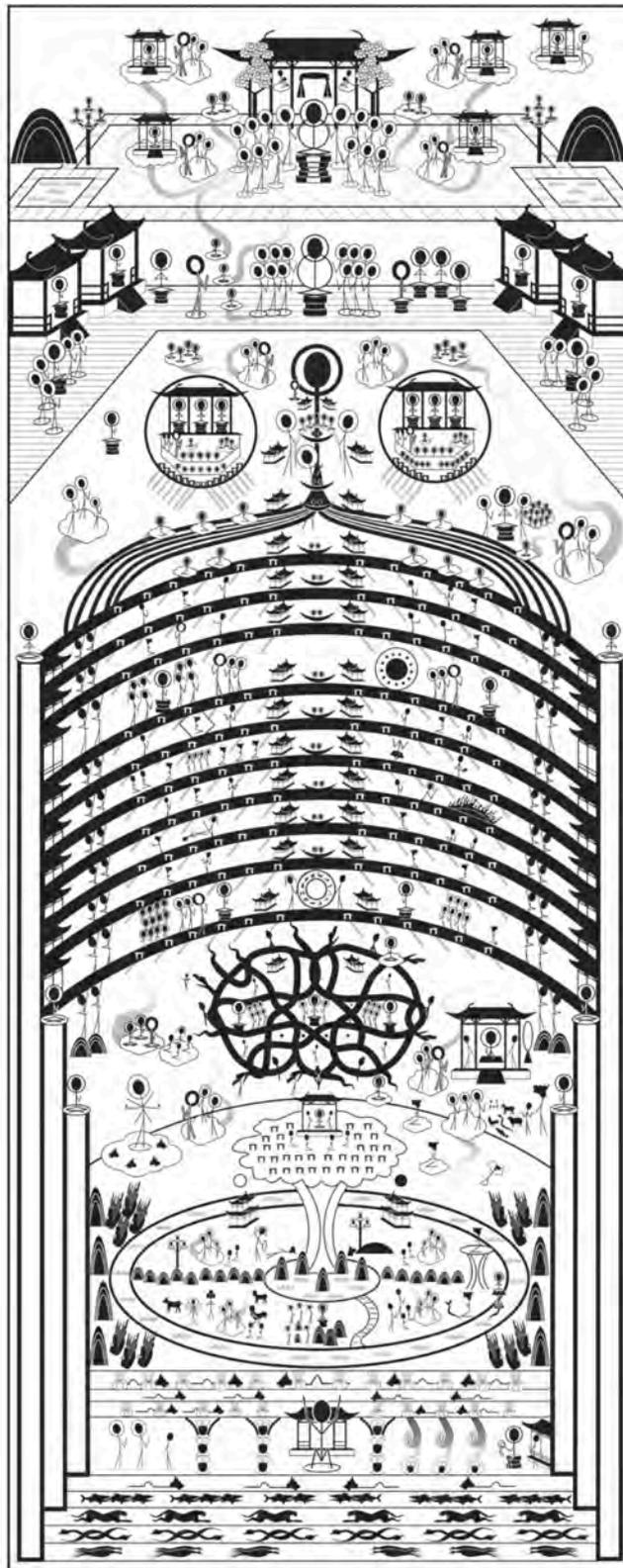
This conception is consistent with the picture of Eden above at left. It shows Adam and Eve, seemingly within a cave-like structure, at the top and in the center of the paradisiacal creation. In that unique setting, they have direct access to the divine Presence above, while also being surrounded by a perimeter of angels beneath.



*Adam and Eve Outside Paradise, Cain and Abel, 12th century.*¹⁴⁸

The twelfth-century Christian illustration above also shows Adam and Eve at the top of a mountain. However, the fig-leaf aprons they wear witness that the scene coincides with their fallen state *after* their transgression but *before* they were clothed in coats of skins by God. In contrast to the earlier figure at left showing their happy state in Eden, they are now “lamenting their Fall on a brown, bare hill.”¹⁴⁹ The symbology of three zones of sacredness on the mountain corresponds to the top-down view of Eden we have just seen. At the top of the mountain, Adam and Eve sit at the sacred center of the three zones pictured. In the heart of the mountain, the middle zone of sacredness, an aged Adam and Eve, having been cast out of the Garden and now clad in robes of animal skins made by God for their protection, confer within a “Cave of Treasures.”¹⁵⁰ In some sources, the cave is symbolically equated to the Holy Place of the temple, where heaven and earth meet.¹⁵¹

Cain and Abel offer their respective grain and animal sacrifices on the other hills portrayed on either side of the principal peak at the center. At right, God is shown consuming the sacrifice of Abel while, at left, He rejects that of Cain. At the bottom of the mountain, the mortal world that corresponds symbolically to the least-sacred “outer courtyard” of the temple, Cain has words with Abel, leads him out to the field, and, finally, murders him. Because of Cain’s grievous killing, we are told in scripture that he and his posterity were “shut out from the presence of the Lord” and cast further downward and outward to dwell “in the land of Nod [that is, “wandering”], on the east of Eden” (Moses 5:41). Following what became the standard tradition in the Syriac Church that saw the “sons of God” as Sethites and the “daughters of men” as Cainites,¹⁵² Ephrem the Syrian wrote that, tragically, some of “those who lived on higher ground [compare Moses 7:17], who were called ‘the children of God,’ left their own region and came down to take wives from the daughters of Cain down below.”¹⁵³



REALM OF LIGHT

NEW AEON

LIBERATION OF LIGHT

TEN FIRMAMENTS OF THE SKY

ATMOSPHERE
Judgment, Transmigration, and Rebirth

EIGHT LAYERS OF THE EARTH
Two vistas (surface of 8th earth and surface of 5th earth)
and eight cross-sections of the earth

Visual Syntax of the Manichaean Cosmology Painting as Conceived by Gulácsi.

Significantly, the early Christian description of the geography of the story of the Sethites is a good fit to what we read in the Book of Moses. Moses 6:23 speaks of how “preachers of righteousness” also (figuratively) descended from higher ground. They did so voluntarily, not to join in the revels of the wicked, but rather to initiate a missionary program aimed at wanderers who had deliberately forsaken God and dwelt below. Among these preachers was Jared,¹⁵⁴ the father of Enoch, the root of whose name probably means “to descend.”¹⁵⁵ And among those to whom they preached were the “giants” or *nephilim*,¹⁵⁶ a name that fittingly means “fallen ones.”

Taking these conjectures about the symbolic geography of the story of Enoch one step further, we find further confirmation of the Book of Moses Enoch story in a remarkable illustration. This illustration is called the Manichaean Cosmology Painting (MCP, sometimes called the Manichaean Diagram of the Universe¹⁵⁷). It scenes are depicted on a silk hanging scroll that originally measured about 158 by 60 centimeters.¹⁵⁸ It was probably created by a painter from southern China at the time of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368).¹⁵⁹ Later it was somehow brought to Japan. The painting was introduced to modern scholarship by Yutaka Yoshida in 2009,¹⁶⁰ and was comprehensively analyzed by Zsuzsanna Gulácsi in 2015.¹⁶¹

In the Manichaean tradition, paintings such as MCP were often created for teaching purposes. In the brief summary of Gulácsi and Jason BeDuhn, they give readers some idea of the monumental conceptual scale of this complex painting. They write that it is “a visual catechism ... conveyed within a complex iconography of over 900 motifs distributed in a layered symmetry that merges anthropomorphic, geomorphic, and architectonic features into a monumental cosmic map of salvation.”¹⁶² Going further, the overall design of the wall hanging is in line with Mani’s symbolic conception of the universe as a form resembling a giant human body. According to Gulácsi:¹⁶³

Its design subordinates multitudes of originally individual canonical images to the vision of the cosmos as in the shape of a giant human (Greek *macranthropos*), explained as the underlying structure of the universe in one the earliest Manichaean texts. This Manichaean teaching governs the overall structure of the Chinese Manichaean *Diagram of the Universe*. An abstract anthropomorphic design is shown across much of the picture plane that measures over 150 cm in height—the head and neck in the New Aeon, the ten ribs of the chest in the sky, the phallos as Mount Sumēru, and the hips as the surface of the earth.

Recently, it was discovered that, along with many other images relating to Manichaean teachings, significant snapshots of the *BG* account of Enoch are illustrated in the painting. These visual details fill gaps in our understanding of the story and help define some of the events and characters more concretely.¹⁶⁴ We will refer to various details of MCP throughout the rest of the book.

Now, let’s look at some of the *BG*-related features of MCP in more detail. In the general fashion of Indian mapmaking, produced under the direction of Manichaean disciples familiar with *BG*, the universe is depicted as “countless spherical separate worlds,” with “our earth [as] one of the concentric rings in a disc detached from a globe.”¹⁶⁵ The depiction of the “eighth and fifth layers of the earth,” shown on the next page, is located within the bottom one-third of the painting. It features a symbolic



Hierocentric map of earth showing the earth with Mount Sumeru in the sacred center. Detail of the Manichaean Cosmology Painting (MCP). Several motifs from the Manichaean version of *BG* are featured in the illustration, along with themes from elsewhere in the Manichaean scriptural canon.

representation of the four continents of the earth and the great ocean¹⁶⁶ below a large treelike mountain. In Indian culture, this feature is identified as Mount Sumēru, the sacred center place, “from which flow all rivers,”¹⁶⁷ recalling the mountain of Eden as the source of all the rivers of the earth. The name “Sumēru,” which literally means “good Mēru,” refers not only to a place in the symbolic geography of the story but also to an actual mountain located in the Himalayas.¹⁶⁸

Thirty-two palaces at the top of Sumēru surround a larger palace of Deity, pictured with an attendant on either side. The four pleading figures who kneel around the throne may represent either the bringing of a judicial complaint from the earth itself or a request for mercy for the repentant wicked before the heavenly judge.¹⁶⁹

The four archangels mentioned in *BG*, who (in the Manichaean conception) led the battles against the wicked¹⁷⁰ and gathered the repentant to divinely prepared cities, are clothed in armor in front of a seated deity—likely Enoch¹⁷¹—below the smaller green mountains at the foot of Mount Sumēru.¹⁷² In other parts of the painting that depict the “ten firmaments of the sky,” wicked “demons” (identified elsewhere in the ancient Enoch literature as “Watchers”) are imprisoned.¹⁷³

In the upper right of the painting, two repentant figures kneel, probably representing the prominent twin *gibborim*, Ohyah and Hahyah.¹⁷⁴ In addition, a solitary figure kneels while perched on a high mountaintop. In a later chapter, we will see that the imagery of this figure is consistent with the story of Mahijah’s second journey to meet Enoch as related both in *BG* and the Book of Moses.

So, what might we guess from all this about Enoch’s homeland and the direction of his missionary journey? In line with the symbolic and presumed hierocentric geography of Enoch’s world, we would not be surprised if Enoch’s missionary journey in the Book of Moses were thought to have begun in his homeland near the “sacred center” of the world and ending somewhere in the eastward periphery where estranged members of his extended family had settled. (In Genesis, eastward movement usually coincides with the themes of exile or apostasy.¹⁷⁵)

More specifically, the description of Enoch’s home “the land of Cainan” (Moses 6:42) as “a land of righteousness” (Moses 6:41) might have led ancient readers to expect that, in light of the symbolic geography of the account, he would have lived in the vicinity of a central, sacred mountain. Then, after leaving the center, Enoch would have continued in an easterly direction until he reached the land of the wicked *gibborim*, which, we might infer, was somewhere along the route he had already taken to reach “the sea east” (Moses 6:42). It was, of course, somewhere near the “sea east” that Enoch received the vision that inaugurated his mission. Remarkably, the Book of Moses description of Enoch’s journey and vision “by the sea east” echoes the *1 Enoch* account of a vision that Enoch received “by the waters of Dan.”¹⁷⁶ By accepting the conclusions of George Nickelsburg’s research, we can easily see the “waters of Dan” as a “sea east.”¹⁷⁷

Having outlined the backstories for the shared characters in Moses 6–7 and *BG* and having sketched out some conjectures for the symbolic geography of Enoch’s homeland and journeys, we are now ready to learn more about his divine call.



Elijah and Enoch, 17th century.¹⁷⁸ The two Old Testament prophets who did not suffer death—Enoch at left and Elijah at right—are accompanied by the symbols of the cave and the raven. The Cyrillic characters on the page of the book read “I have been very jealous for the Lord God” (1 Kings 19:10, 14), followed by what is evidently an excerpt from Psalm 3:5: “I lay down.”

Endnotes

1. Public Domain. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:P_Chester_Beatty_XII_leaf_3_verso.jpg (accessed September 18, 2013).
2. For Hugh Nibley's inimitable telling of the rediscovery of the books of Enoch, see H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, pp. 91–121. For other, more detailed accounts of the reception history of *1 Enoch*, see J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch*; M. Barker, *Lost*. For another account of European interest in *1 Enoch* and the rediscovery of manuscripts, with new details about interest in the late 18th century and early 19th century suggesting that the interest in *1 Enoch* during this period among was greater than has heretofore been appreciated, see C. Townsend, *Revisiting Joseph Smith*, pp. 51–70. For similarities and differences between Latter-day Saint views on the origins of evil in the world and *1 Enoch* teachings, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Book of Moses as a Temple Text*, pp. 421–25; J. L. Woodworth, *Enoch*.
3. All scripture quotations are given from the Latter-day Saint 2013 edition of the King James translation unless noted otherwise. Echoes of this prophecy, without attribution to Enoch, can be found in Daniel 7:9–10, 26 and Revelation 5:11, 6:15; 20:15.
4. N. Schmidt, *Traces*, p. 45.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 52.
6. J. J. Scaliger, *Animadversiones*, pp. 244–245. P. 34. The extracts covered 6:1–9:4; 8:4–10:14; 15:8–16:7 (G. Boccaccini *et al.*, *Early Enoch*, p. 34). A fourth extract attributed by Syncellus to *1 Enoch* probably came from the *Book of Giants* (see J. T. Milik *et al.*, *Enoch*, pp. 317–320).
7. Michael Stuart, quoted in H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, p. 101.
8. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:James_Bruce.jpg (accessed November 25, 2021).
9. T. Stewart, *James Bruce*.
10. H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, p. 100. See N. Schmidt, *Traces*, p. 50.
11. See the account of Ludolf's encounter with the manuscript in the note by F. Nau, published in J. Perruchon, *Livre des mystères*, *ix-x*.
12. An English translation of the Peiresc manuscript, with corrections, was made by E. A. Wallis Budge, curator at the British Museum, in 1934 (*B. Mika'el, Book*). In fact, it was the last completed translation of the prolific Budge before his passing. Disappointingly, I was unsuccessful in finding what Budge termed the “dirty and dog-eared,” “neglected, perhaps even ill-treated” original manuscript in the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Budge in *ibid.*, p. *xviii*). However, it is possible that the transcript of the Peirec manuscript made by Johann Michael Wansleben (1635–79; also Wansleb, Wanslebio, Vanslebio, Vanslebius) and used by Budge in the preparation of his translation may be this one: J. M. Wansleben, *Conspectus Operum*. An earlier 1661 copy by Wansleben of Bakhayla's work has been located in Florence, Italy (A. Bausi, *I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wasnleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, pp. 23–24). For more on Wansleben and his manuscripts, see W. G. C. Smidt *et al.*, *Wansleben*; A. Bausi, *I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wasnleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*. A French translation of Bakhayla's work, based largely on Wansleben's transcription, was published by Jules Perruchon (1853–1907) in 1903 (J. Perruchon, *Livre des mystères*).
13. H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, p. 101, citing N. Schmidt, *Traces*, p. 51.
14. N. Schmidt, *Traces*, p. 52, emphasis added.
15. Terry writes, “The consensus is now that he did, in fact, make it as far as Lake Tana. But he was at least the third European to do so.”
16. According to Stewart, Bruce's account “was not necessarily widely respected among scholars and earned him as much derision as it did accolades. His tales within it were, to some, too fantastic to be true, for example he describes an Ethiopian wedding where steaks were served raw cut from the cow in front of guests! This has since been proven to be accurate, but

it is no surprise that many Brits balked at the thought at the time. He was however regarded as an accomplished explorer; even David Livingstone, the quintessential Scottish explorer, was said to have remarked of Bruce, ‘he was a greater traveler than any of us.’” “In 1774 he was made a Fellow of The Royal Society of Edinburgh, joining the ranks of those such as James Young and David Hume.”

17. H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, p. 103, citing J. E. H. Thomson.
18. H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, p. 104.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
21. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CashelCICathedral.JPG> (accessed November 26, 2021).
22. R. Laurence, *Book of Enoch*
23. R. L. Bushman, *Rough Stone*, p. 138. Citing D. M. Quinn, *Magic* 1998, pp. 190–192, Bushman notes (R. L. Bushman, *Rough Stone*, p. 591n52):

Michael Quinn claims there is a link to Laurence’s 1821 translation of *Enoch* and cites a reference to *Enoch* in a book advertised in a Palmyra newspaper. He does not find the actual *Book of Enoch* in Palmyra or vicinity, only this reference in a scholarly commentary.

In addition to Bushman’s critique of Quinn’s arguments, it has been shown through the remarkable sleuthing of Colby Townsend that Quinn’s supposed discovery of an 1828 version of Laurence’s translation that could have presumably been more available to Joseph Smith than the 1821 edition was mistaken and “only leads to a dead end” (C. Townsend, *Revisiting Joseph Smith*, p. 49. For Townsend’s arguments, see pp. 46–49).

Moreover, Townsend has carried forward the discussion on the availability of *1 Enoch* to Joseph Smith admirably (*ibid.*), rightfully arguing against the idea “that for *1 Enoch* to have any influence on an English-speaking author in the modern era the entire book needed to be available to them, specifically Richard Laurence’s 1821 English translation” (p. 42). With respect to the possibility of such influences, he specifically cites the material in *1 Enoch* that relates to themes in the *Book of Watchers*, such as “the story of the fallen angels and their marriage to human women” and its relationship to concerns about miscegenation between the lineages of Cain and Seth (p. 43).

Townsend’s points are well taken: As a general principle, he is correct that there is always the possibility that evidence of influence could be shown based on the availability of information from a partial work or from indirect exposure (as in the case of William Blake). However, in the particular instance under discussion, because accounts and discussions of fallen angels, mismatched marriages, and miscegenation are already present in Genesis 6:1–4 and in nineteenth-century Bible commentaries, it becomes difficult to establish with confidence that—if there were significant influences on Joseph Smith’s translations from written materials he may have known—that they came directly from *1 Enoch* itself or indirectly from literary sources about *1 Enoch* seen by Joseph Smith and his contemporaries rather than directly or indirectly from the Bible or Bible commentaries. Offering some support for the idea that knowledge of *1 Enoch* was not widespread among the Latter-day Saints in 1830, note, for example, the great surprise and elation by Elder Parley P. Pratt (a reasonably well-read lector among early Saints) when, in 1840, he came across *1 Enoch* for the first time (P. P. Pratt, *Apocryphal Book of Enoch*). It should also be further observed that what impressed him in the translation had nothing to do with the themes of mismatched marriages or other material found in the *Book of Watchers*, but rather from chapter 103 in the *Epistle of Enoch* predicting (in his view) “the coming forth of the Book of Mormon ... together with the late persecution which has befallen our people in America ... [and] the complete triumph of the saints.” It also seems significant that Joseph Smith did not include

any text from Enoch's prophecy in Jude within his account of Enoch, a move that might have been a natural impulse for any conscious imposter.

Perhaps most importantly, it should be remembered that the material found in *1 Enoch* represent only a small fraction of the wide panorama of events and teachings depicted in Enoch accounts of the Book of Moses. As is argued in the present book, many of the events and scriptural passages in the Book of Moses Enoch account are more frequently and strongly paralleled in ancient Enoch texts that Joseph Smith could not have known.

24. As Colby Townsend wisely expressed it, "the literary connections between Moses 6–8 and 1 Enoch are in my opinion very loose, and more time and attention should be placed elsewhere" (C. Townsend [under the pseudonym of Yakov Ben Tov], *Book of Enoch*). Giving weight to his opinion, it should be noted that Townend has long been a student of *1 Enoch*. Already by 2014 he was the primary contributor to an annotated bibliography on *1 Enoch* as part of a work that included commentary on the last three chapters of the Book of Moses (J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, pp. 468–471).

Though my search has not been exhaustive and other interesting connections are likely to be found in the future, the only unique and significant resemblances between 1 Enoch and Moses 6–7 that I have been able to locate so far are the mention that a vision took place near a body of water Enoch passed on his journey (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 13:7–8, p. 237; compare Moses 6:42); a prophecy in 1 Enoch that "the earth will be shaken and will tremble" (*ibid.*, 102:1–3, pp. 503–4) that loosely corresponds to a mention that "the earth trembled, and the mountains fled" during the battle of the wicked against Enoch (Moses 7:13); and the motif of Enoch's visions of the great flood that occurs in multiple places in 1 Enoch (see, for example, *ibid.*, chap. 83, p. 345; compare Moses 7:43). In addition, perhaps the most striking unique parallel with *1 Enoch* is when God says, "I will put my hand upon [the ark] and protect it" (*ibid.*, 67:2, p. 273), which can be compared to Moses 7:43: "Enoch saw that Noah built an ark; and that the Lord smiled upon it, and held it in his own hand."

Apart from these few unique resemblances with the Book of Moses (and, in addition, the ones in the *Parables of Enoch* relating to the "Son of Man" theme—for a detailed discussion of these, see S. K. Brown *et al.*, *Man and Son of Man*), every other *1 Enoch* resemblance is paralleled in BG, which seem to draw on independent traditions that are arguably at least as old as *1 Enoch* (see, for example, G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 11; A. M. D. Bledsoe, *Throne Theophanies*, p. 90). And, remarkably, BG contains additional close and unique likenesses in storyline, vocabulary, names, and themes that are found neither in 1 Enoch, nor anywhere else in the Enoch tradition (J. M. Bradshaw, *Moses 6–7 and the Book of Giants*).

25. S. H. Faulring *et al.*, JST Electronic Library, pp. OT 1–12, OT 1–15.
26. See F. I. Andersen, *2 Enoch*, 22:8 [J], p. 138.
27. See *ibid.*, 22:20 [J], p. 138.
28. P. Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 2:2, p. 357, 3:2, p. 257, 4:1, p. 258, and 4:10, p. 259, and C. Mopsik, *Hénoch*, 48D 1, p. 156 (97).
29. F. I. Andersen, *2 Enoch*, 10:4 (shorter recension), p. 119.
30. Nibley cites, among others, M. J. bin Gorion (Berdichevsky), *Von der Urzeit*, pp. 196–197; J. P. Migne, *Livre d'Adam*, pp. 165–166; A. Jellinek, *BHM*, 5:172; D. C. Matt, *Zohar* 4, *Be-shallah* 2:66a, 2:66b, p. 366 and n. 587. Cf. p. 359 and n. 563.
31. P. Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 12:1–5, p. 165.
32. *Ibid.*, 10:1, p. 263.
33. *Ibid.*, 45, pp. 296–299.
34. Photograph of *Book of Giants*, 4QEn Giantsa[4Q203], Fragment 7b, column ii from Plate 31, in J. T. Milik *et al.*, *Enoch*. Compare 4QEn Giantsa[4Q203], Fragment 7b, column ii, Plate 906, B-295417, Full spectrum color image of recto taken by Shai Halevi. The photograph by Halevi is mislabeled as being of Fragment 6, though it is actually of Fragment 7b, column ii.

In the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295417>.

35. Published in E. Morano, *Some New Sogdian Fragments*, p. 197.
36. For these and other thematic resemblances, see the detailed references to the *Book of Giants* included in J. M. Bradshaw, *Moses 6–7* and the *Book of Giants*.
37. See, for example, this sense of *gibborim* in *Moses 8:21* (the children of the self-proclaimed “sons of God”), *Genesis 10:8–9* (Nimrod), *Genesis 10:25* (Peleg), and *Genesis 11:4* (the builders of the Tower of Babel who wanted to make themselves a name).
38. Namely, G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1, 7:3*, p. 182. See Nickelsburg’s views on the implications of this verse on p. 186.
39. The current convention of using terms that correspond to “giants” to refer to the *gibborim* is due largely to the later influences of the Greek Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible (see, for example, A. T. Wright, *Evil Spirits*, 83–84) and of widespread transmission of various translations of the *Book of Giants* within the works of Mani. Though the title of Mani’s *Book of Giants* appears “in several Manichaean and anti-Manichaean documents scattered throughout Europe and through Africa as far as Asia Minor and Chinese Turkistan, almost nothing was known of the contents of this document before the appearance of the remarkable article by W. B. Henning” in 1943 (J. T. Milik *et al.*, *Enoch*, p. 298; W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants*”).

Wright gives two possibilities for the somewhat unexpected use of *gigantes*, the Greek word for “giants,” in the Septuagint:

It may be suggested that the Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible had difficulty in understanding some of the Hebrew terminology (e.g., *nephilim* and *gibborim*) in the text and therefore translated the terms imprecisely, thus enhancing the ambiguity of the passage. Another possibility is that modern scholars have misunderstood what the Greek translators meant by their use of the term [*gigantes*]. It appears that more work needs to be done in order to discover the use of this term in the Greek literature prior to the translation of the [Septuagint]. (A. T. Wright, *Evil Spirits*, p. 92)

For more on the impact of the Septuagint on later traditions and on interactions among related Jewish and Greek conceptions of the “giants,” see M. Tuval, *Giants in the Jewish Literature*; S. Newington, *Greek Titans*.” For Mesopotamian influences in descriptions of the “giants” in *1 Enoch*, see H. Drawnel, *Mesopotamian Background*.”

40. I. Frölich, *Giants and Demons*,” pp. 106–7.
41. See, for example, M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*; J. P. Migne, *Livre d’Adam*; Q. Al-Saadi, *Ginza Rabba*.
42. J. O. Ryen, *Mandaean Vine*, p. 41; cf. pp. 21–41. See also S. Gündüz, *Knowledge of Life*; E. Lupieri, *Mandaeans*, pp. 122–172; R. Thomas, *Israelite Origins*; E. M. Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics*.
43. Despite their probable post-Christian origins as a separate people, Hugh Nibley sees the “whole Mandaean ritual complex with its endless washings, garments, ritual meals, embraces, grips and crownings [as being] reminiscent of the Egyptian endowment, and Drower, the principal authority on the subject, long ago called attention to the common prehistoric origin of both” (E. S. Drower, *Mandaeans*, pp. *xviii–xix*; H. W. Nibley, *Message* (2005), p. 445). Richard Thomas argues for a connection to Palestinian baptist sects and the pre-exilic Israelite temple cult (R. Thomas, *Israelite Origins*, pp. 11–26). Edwin Yamauchi, who argued persuasively that, in contrast to mainstream scholarship, the Mandaean movement originated in the East and no earlier than the first centuries of the Christian era, nevertheless agreed with other researchers who saw the roots of their mythology and ritual in ancient Mesopotamian religion (E. M. Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics*, pp. 80–86). See also G. Widengren, *Enthronement*, who discusses Mandaean baptism in light of Syrian-Mesopotamian ritual traditions.
44. J. J. Buckley, *Mandaeans*, p. 35.

45. K. Rudolph, Coptic, *Ginza Right* 3, p. 197; M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, *Ginza Right* 3, p. 119. For a translation, commentary, and discussion of the Mandaean story of creation in the *Ginza Rba*, Book 3, see S. Aldihisi, *The Story of Creation in the Mandaean Holy Book the Ginza Rba* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Identifier: PQ ETD:591390).
46. See, for example, J. C. Reeves *et al.*, *Enoch from Antiquity* 1, p. 98:
 One wonders whether this curious association of Enoch with music and song reflects a later confusion between Enoch and Enosh, a figure who receives blame in the world for introducing idols and their cultic service (including music) into the world.
 J. C. Reeves, *Enosh*:
 Similarly, when the thirteenth-century Syriac *Book of the Bee* avers that Enosh “was the first to author books on the courses of the stars and zodiacal signs,” it is likely Enosh has been confused here with the more illustrious figures of Enoch or Seth, both of whom are famous in parabiblical sources for their astronomical discoveries.
 J. C. Reeves *et al.*, *Enoch from Antiquity* 1, p. 102. Cf. p. 293:
 According to Cornelia Schöck (*Adam im Islam*, 179n. 1049), the peculiar designation “Enoch the younger” (M. i. A. A. al-Kisa’i, *Tales*, p. 75) represents Kisa’i’s (our source’s) attempt to correct an erroneous confusion and conflation between the figures of Enoch and Enosh.
47. See, for an example, the confusion of the eminent Mandaean research pioneer Lady E. S. Drower about Enosh and Enoch (E. S. Drower, *Mandaeans*, p. xxiv, emphasis added):
 To refer again to *Enoch [sic]* (the word means “man” and he seems to be, like Adam, a personification of the human principle) the association is preserved today in a curious manner. The Arabs have given Enoch the name “Idris” ...
 And this confusion by Edmondo Lupieri, a Mandaean scholar who wrote in 2002 (E. Lupieri, *Mandaeans*, pp. 164–165, emphasis added):
 John becomes a Mandaean in the same way and for the same reason that Adam, Abel, Seth, *Enoch [sic]*, Noah, and Shem become Mandaeans.
48. For example, the prominent Enoch and Mandaean researcher John C. Reeves (J. C. Reeves, *Heralds*, p. 142) gives the following summary of important Enosh writings in the *Ginza*, the most important Mandaean book of scripture:
 The eleventh book of the *Right Ginza* is introduced as the mystery and book of the great Anosh, son of the great Sital, son of the great Adam, son of the mighty ‘*uthras* of glory.” ... Enosh escapes harm due to his fortuitous removal from earth by Manda de-Hayye, an emissary of the principal Mandaean deity, who installs him in the supernal realms, where he continues to reside. The initial portion of the twelfth book of the *Right Ginza* continues the first-person discursive style displayed in the preceding composition, identifying the speaker as “the great Anosh, the son of the great Sital, the son of the great Adam ...” Therein Enosh provides testimony regarding many of the sights which he beheld during his tour of the heavens and describes his own installation as an ‘*uthra* of light.
 Following this summary, Reeves comments (*ibid.*, p. 156 n. 13): “The similarity of this narrative sequence with the one recounting the career of Enoch in *1 Enoch* 6–16 is probably not accidental.”
 Notably the two examples of resemblances between the Book of Moses and the *Ginza* described in this article are both taken from *Right Ginza* passages in chapter 11 which Reeves mentions above and, as will be seen, are corroborated in part in the Enoch account in the *Book of Giants* from Qumran.
49. J. C. Reeves *et al.*, *Enoch from Antiquity* 1.
 50. J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Could Joseph Smith Have Drawn* (2019), pp. 320–326.
 51. W. R. Morfill *et al.*, *Book of the Secrets*.
 52. H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.

53. J. T. Milik *et al.*, Enoch.
54. W. B. Henning, Book of the Giants.
55. For example, John L. Brooke (J. L. Brooke, Refiner's Fire, p. 195) seeks to make the case that Sidney Rigdon, among others, was a "conduit of Masonic lore during Joseph's early years" (W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, Mormon in the Fiery Furnace, p. 52) and then goes on to make a set of weakly substantiated claims connecting Mormonism and Masonry. These claims, including connections with the story of Enoch's pillars in Royal Arch Masonry, are refuted in *ibid.*, pp. 52-58; cf. W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, Review of John L. Brooke, pp. 178-179. Non-Latter-day Saint scholar Stephen Webb (S. H. Webb, Jesus Christ, p. 260) agreed with Hamblin, *et al.*, concluding that "actual evidence for any direct link between [Joseph Smith's] theology and the hermetic tradition is tenuous at best, and given that scholars vigorously debate whether hermeticism even constitutes a coherent and organized tradition, Brooke's book should be read with a fair amount of skepticism." See also P. L. Barlow, Decoding; R. Bushman, Mysteries; J. Shipps, Sojourner, pp. 204-217. Noting the unconvincing nature of Brooke's arguments about hermeticism, Stephen J. Fleming has recently argued that similar ideas might be explained in terms of affinities to Christian Platonism (S. J. Fleming, Fulness of the Gospel).

Elsewhere, I have summarized the history and important role of Freemasonry in Nauvoo, while highlighting difficulties in the argument that modern temple ordinances are a simple derivation from Freemasonry (J. M. Bradshaw, Freemasonry (book)). In a separate study, Matthew B. Brown presents evidence for similar conclusions (M. B. Brown, Exploring). A manuscript by Brown that deals with this topic in more depth still awaits publication.

56. This is, in essence the approach taken in a recent publication with Enoch sources by a Latter-day Saint publisher (D. R. Hocking, The Book of Enoch). While no doubt a sincere effort to better acquaint Church members with these texts, both the translations and the sporadic commentary are woefully out of step with current scholarship.
57. For a look at some of these challenges, see, for example, J. M. Bradshaw, Now That We Have the Words.
58. See J. M. Bradshaw, Book of Moses as a Temple Text.
59. A. S. Kohav, Sôd Hypothesis, p. 48.
60. More formally, we might say that although the authors of scripture "must have actually experienced" (*ibid.*, p. 48) what they describe to us, their writings are "not exactly in a manner of a scientific-ethnographic description and report" (*ibid.*, p. 48). Rather, as Ronald S. Hendel argues, they are composed representationally, that is, "as foundations for collective practices and identity" (R. S. Hendel, Cultural Memory, p. 28). The characters and events of the story of Enoch, like the story of Adam and Eve, are "incorporated into the sacred world" (D. E. Callender, Adam, p. 211) of rites and ordinances and must be understood accordingly. On the other hand, insight into the meaning of these stories "is obscured by the recontextualization of the tradition in a [merely] 'historical' account" (*ibid.*, p. 212).
61. R. D. Draper *et al.*, Commentary.
62. J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1; J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God's Image 2; J. M. Bradshaw, Moses Temple Themes (2014). A compact version of the essential meat of these commentaries, enriched by recent research by dozens of well-respected Book of Moses scholars (J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, Tracing Ancient Threads) was published in 2021 (J. M. Bradshaw, First Days and Last Days).
63. A. P. Schade *et al.*, Book of Moses.
64. See J. M. Bradshaw, Moses 6-7 and the *Book of Giants*, pp. 1058-71. See also J. M. Bradshaw, Where Did the Names "Mahaway" and "Mahujah" Come From?
65. H. W. Nibley, Enoch, p. 276. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-268. Nibley complained that the *Ensign* editors only gave him two pages to wrap up the series, implying that they were weary of it (H. W. Nibley, Hugh Nibley on the Book of Enoch).

66. Published as J. T. Milik *et al.*, Enoch.
67. Professor Black had come to the United States to take up residence at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study (1977–1978) (W. McKane, Matthew Black).
68. For a full account of Matthew Black's encounter with the Book of Moses, see G. C. Thomasson, Matthew Black and Mircea Eliade, 423–427. For S. Kent Brown's account of Black's visit to Provo, see S. K. Brown, Enoch, the Book of Moses, and the Book of Giants. Nibley recounts the story himself in H. W. Nibley, Hugh Nibley on the Book of Enoch; H. W. Nibley, Teachings of the PGP, pp. 267–269. See for a short video telling of the story.
69. H. W. Nibley, Strange Thing, Part 13, p. 64.
70. J. T. Milik *et al.*, Enoch.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 305, showing a transcription and translation of 4Q530, Fragment 2, column ii, lines 20-23. Photo by Stephen T. Whitlock taken on February 1, 2021. Photo ID: HBLL-ASR_STW9072-EC.jpg.
72. For a detailed study of the resemblances among these names, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, Where Did the Names “Mahaway” and “Mahujah” Come From?.
73. W. McKane, Matthew Black, p. 282.
74. Courtesy of Elizabeth Thomasson. Email message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, April 9, 2021.
75. Boyd Jay Petersen Collection, Harold B. Lee Library Special Collections, Brigham Young University, box 1, folder 1. Photo ID: HBLL-BoydP-_STW8043-EC-Box1Folder1.jpeg. See B. J. Petersen, Nibley, p. 305.
76. H. W. Nibley, Teachings of the PGP, p. 269.
77. S. Cirillo, Joseph Smith., p. 97. Cirillo drew upon the similar conclusions of the well-known *Book of Giants'* scholar Loren Stuckenbruck (L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, p. 27).
78. S. Cirillo, Joseph Smith, p. 97. Compare L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, p. 27.
79. In this and later quotes from Cirillo, we spell out the names of works he cites rather than using abbreviated versions of the names as he did.
80. For more on this topic, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Moses 6–7 and the Book of Giants*.
81. One of the most significant collections of new research on *BG* can be found in M. Goff *et al.*, *Ancient Tales*. In particular, new studies on the Mesopotamian background of *BG* (A. M. D. Bledsoe, *Throne Theophanies*; M. Goff, *Sons of the Watchers*), the sequencing of *BG* fragments (L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants among the DSS*), the role of Mahaway (J. Wilkens, *Remarks*), the cultural background of *gibborim*, *nephilim*, the “wild man,” and the “wild beasts” (J. L. Angel, *Humbling*; B. R. Doak, *Giant in a Thousand Years*; I. Frölich, *Giants and Demons*; S. Newington, *Greek Titans*; M. Tuval, *Giants in the Jewish Literature*), and the discovery of the new Manichaean fragments of *BG* and the Manichaean Cosmology Painting (G. Kósa, *Book of Giants Tradition*; E. Morano, *Some New Sogdian Fragments*) have been of immense help.
82. J. M. Bradshaw, *Moses 6–7 and the Book of Giants*, pp. 1058–71.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 1077–1147.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 1144–47.
85. L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Apocalypse of John*.
86. J. M. Bradshaw, *Moses 6–7 and the Book of Giants*, pp. 1147–56.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 1072–77.
88. L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, p. 39.
89. Consistent with the idea that different levels of initiation in groups such as the Qumran covenanters corresponded to differential access to written (and most likely oral) teachings is Stone's conclusion that “not only were . . . writings [containing special knowledge (for example, G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Nature and Function*) revealed in stages, but also steps were taken to ensure that those not yet admitted into the appropriate rank could not read them” (M. E. Stone, *Secret Groups*, p. 71). Those at the highest levels of initiation were thought to have knowledge reserved for the angels (e.g., “1 Enoch says, in praise of its hero, that Enoch

heard and understood all the words of the Watchers, the highest class of angels (1:2)” [M. E. Stone, *Secret Groups*, p. 102]). Here and elsewhere in [the book of] *Watchers* and [*Parables of Enoch*], “it becomes clear that the subjects taught by the Watchers are negative aspects of subjects apprehended by Enoch is his angelified state. Thus, the status of the revealer determines what can be revealed” (M. E. Stone, *Enoch and the Fall of the Angels*, p. 342).

The need for graded secrecy seems to have led naturally to the need for different works or different versions of the same work for different settings. As Stone observed, “Some, but not all, of [the secret subjects listed or alluded to in the most sacred teachings of the apocalypses] were not actually revealed in narratives of the apocalypses [themselves,] but are repeated in different works” (M. E. Stone, *Secret Groups*, 100). In some cases, sacred things were not to be written. Compare analogous statements made with reference to Latter-day Saint temple rituals (for example, K. Flake, *Translating Time*).

90. For a more complete discussion of the literary history of these two characters, and the implausibility that they are involved in wordplay with the name Mahaway (as has sometimes been suggested), see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Where Did the Names “Mahaway” and “Mahujah” Come From?*, pp. 190–197.

91. For example, L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, p. 20. In L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants among the DSS*, p. 133, he writes:

Some clues in the fragments within single manuscripts and among the manuscripts as a whole allow for a relative placement of some materials. Most important for inferring the shape of the narrative are the related terms “two,” “second (tablet),” or “a second time,” since they imply a “first (tablet)” or “a first time” in the story. The clearer instances are the following:

4Q203 7b ii 2–3: “two tablets[” (l. 2); “the second (tablet?) until now has not been rea[d]” (l. 3)

4Q203 8 3: “a copy of the s[e]cond tablet, which is a le[tter]”

4Q530 2 ii 3: “then the two fo them dreamed dreams”

4Q530 7 ii 7: “I have been sent] here, and [com]e to you a second time[”

From the broken narrative, these texts allow us to infer that *BG* was structured around a series of double phenomena (dream visions, tablets, journeys) linked to the [*gibborim*], among whom are brothers called Hahya and Ohyah, who are given dreams in the storyline (4Q530 2 ii 7–11 and 16–20 respectively), and Mahaway, who travels to Enoch the second time in order to secure an interpretation for these dreams. The second journey of Mahaway, which implies a first, suggests that earlier in the narrative there has been an initial dream, perhaps (if the number “two” is determinative) a pair of dreams, to which Enoch had also previously given an interpretation. [See J. Wilkens, *Remarks*, pp. 219–220 for a the possibility of a Manichaean account of Mahaway’s first journey to Enoch.] How precisely the two tablets are related to Enoch’s dream interpretations remains unclear, though the second tablet in 4Q203 8 (l. 4) is attributed to the handwriting of “Enoch the scribe of note/interpretation” (l. 4), precisely the designation applied to Enoch by the [*gibborim*] before they send Mahaway for an interpretation (4Q530 2 ii 14 after Hahyah’s dream, and reconstructable after that of Ohyah in l. 22).

92. With permission of Harold Bloom, 8 July 2010.
93. H. Bloom, *Names Divine*, p. 25. Hugh Nibley concurs with this assessment, noting that the Pearl of Great Price “has received less attention than the other writings and has been studied only superficially” (H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, p. 18).
94. H. Bloom, *American Religion*, pp. 98, 99, 101.
95. S. Zinner, *Zion and Jerusalem*, 268–69.
96. M. E. Stone, *Apocalyptic — Vision or Hallucination?*.

97. Mural in the Serbian Orthodox Monastery Viktor Dečani, situated in Kosovo and Metohija, twelve kilometers south of the town of Pec. © Blago Fund, Inc. https://www.blagofund.org/Archives/Decani//Church/Pictures/Fresco_Collections/Genesis/CX4K2236.html (accessed July 8, 2021).
98. D. R. Seely, *Book of Moses: Exploring*, p. 609.
99. M. D. Hooker, *Endings*, p. 1.
100. <https://www.italianways.com/the-judgement-by-pietro-cavallini-rome-and-the-birth-of-modern-italian-painting/> (accessed November 29, 2021).
101. J. J. Collins, *Sons of God*, p. 259.
102. N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, pp. 45–46.
103. The phrase “My spirit shall not always strive with man” (Genesis 6:3) is often misunderstood to mean that God’s patience in working with sinners will eventually come to an end and that, when this point has been reached, God will withdraw the influence of His Spirit from them. However, any truth to this idea has nothing to do with the meaning of this phrase in the present verse. The word “spirit” mentioned here should not be capitalized (as it is, mistakenly, in Moses 8:17), since it refers to the animating spirit of each individual that gives life to the body, not to the Holy Spirit. Of course, in modern scripture, similar phrases apparently refer to the Holy Spirit (2 Nephi 26:11; Mormon 5:16; Ether 2:15).
104. The best-known accounts of the Watchers, outside of brief, seeming allusions in scripture, are found in *1 Enoch* chapters 6–16, 85–88, 106–107 and the book of *Jubilees* (for example, O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 4:15, p. 62; 5:2, p. 62). Many scholars see *1 Enoch* 6–16 (part of what is called the *Book of Watchers*) merely as “the author’s explanation of an oppressive political situation that Israel is facing,” however Archie T. Wright persuasively argues that the text is primarily the author’s account “of the origin of evil spirits based on his interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4” (A. T. Wright, *Evil Spirits*, p. 9. Cf. pp. 49, 138–165). For a broad survey of origins and developments of the Watchers traditions over the centuries, see A. K. Harkins *et al.*, *Watchers*.
105. I. Frölich, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 20.
106. J. J. Collins, *Sons of God*, p. 263.
107. O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 4:15, p. 62.
108. M.-A. Ouaknin *et al.*, *Rabbi Éliézer*, 22, pp. 134–137. Compare Moses 8:13–22.
109. O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 5:2, p. 64.
110. Compare Moses 7:15, 8:18.
111. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp. 191–193; A. T. Wright, *Evil Spirits*, pp. 115–117.
112. For example, D. C. Olson, *1 Enoch*, pp. 908–911. Compare Moses 5:51–56.
113. See 1 Peter 3:20, 2 Peter 2:5, Moses 8:30. Significantly, the ark itself “was designed as a temple” (C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, p. 41).
114. <https://www.meisterdrucke.at/kunstdrucke/Luca-Signorelli/80076/Detail-des-Jüngsten-Gerichts,-von-der-Kapelle-der-Madonna-di-San-Brizio,-1499-1504.html> (accessed November 29, 2021).
115. <http://www.zekefilm.org/2012/07/12/the-beginning-is-the-end-is-the-beginning/> (accessed September 21, 2013). Cover from Darren Aronofsky and Niko Henrichon, *Noah*, vol. 2. Copyright Lombard.
116. P. Hall, *Just How Much*.
117. L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, pp. 150–51.
118. D. W. Parry *et al.*, *DSSR* (2013), 4Q531, frg. 1, l. 1–8, p. 953.
119. J. J. Collins, *Sons of God*, p. 364.
120. For a discussion of the proposals from scholars who are sympathetic to the possibility that the Enochian story of the Watchers may have formed part of the ritual of Solomon’s Temple, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Book of Moses as a Temple Text*, pp. 453–54n7. More generally on the

differences in perspective between the views of some Enoch scholars and Latter-day Saint temple teachings, see *ibid.*, pp. 423–25.

121. J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord* (1971), pp. 83–84.
122. David W. Suter (D. W. Suter, *Theodicy*, p. 333) sees the paradigmatic approach as being inherent in the *Damascus Document* of the Dead Sea Scrolls, “where the story of the Watchers functions at the beginning of a list of great sinners, who go astray individually by walking ‘in the stubbornness of their hearts’ or through ‘thoughts of a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes’ (translation of García Martínez). The approach in the book of Jude in the New Testament is similar. The implication involved in the use of lists of sinners is that each generation goes astray in the same manner, pointing toward a paradigmatic use of the myth.”
123. Frölich summarizes her conclusion as follows (I. Frölich, *Mesopotamian Elements*, p. 20):

The story of the Watchers is an independent story that is parallel to the narrative of Genesis 6:1–4 about the angels and the daughters of men, and not an interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4. The story of the Watchers contains a message that cannot be found in Genesis 6:1–4. It is a determinist myth and an alternative tradition to the message of the primeval history of Genesis. In the Enochic tradition evil originates from the deeds of the Watchers, after creation. According to Genesis, the origin of evil is due to human disobedience (Genesis 2–3). The tradition of the Watchers is often referred to in Qumran texts, with the implication that this is the origin of evil. On the other hand, the biblical story of Genesis 2–3 is almost never mentioned at Qumran.
124. In light of the fantastic nature of the accounts in Genesis and the Enoch literature, the possibility that some or all of the wicked husbands mentioned were immortals might be definitely ruled out were it not for a retrospective journal entry summarizing a 13 April 1843 discourse by Joseph Smith (J. Smith, Jr., 13 April 1843, as reported in E. England, Laub, p. 25):

Now the history of Josephus [F. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1:3:1, pp. 27-28 and T. W. Franxman, *Genesis*, p. 81], in speaking of angels came down and took themselves wives of the daughters of men, See Genesis 6th chapter, 1-2 verses. These were resurrected bodies, violated the celestial laws.

At face value, the last phrase could be taken as asserting that the angels, possessing resurrected bodies, violated celestial laws in taking wives of the daughters of men (see J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image* 1, p. 727nE–103).

Perhaps the only way to reconcile the statement attributed to Joseph Smith regarding Josephus’ description of the Watchers as resurrected beings with the Book of Moses evidence of their being mortals is to interpret the Prophet’s comment “These were resurrected bodies, violated the celestial laws” as an argument for the falsity of Josephus’ description. In other words, the phrase might be conjecturally reconstructed to give a sense something like the following: “Since angels have resurrected bodies, Josephus’ account of them taking mortal wives cannot be true, for such a union would have violated celestial laws.” Unfortunately, apart from dismissing the statement altogether as unreliable, that is as far as such speculation on how to harmonize these different ideas can take us.
125. In the context of Moses 8:13, the term “sons of God” refers to individuals who have been ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood—perhaps having received the fulness of the priesthood and had their calling and election made sure (Moses 6:68). As defined in *Doctrine and Covenants* 76:56–60, “they are they who are priests and kings, who have received of his fulness, and of his glory; ... wherefore, as it is written, they are gods, even the sons of God.” Unlike other priesthood ordinations, the ordinance that conveys this power is administered directly by God Himself: “And [the high priesthood after the order of the covenant that God made with Enoch] was delivered unto men by the calling of his own voice” (S. H. Faulring *et al.*, *Original Manuscripts*, OT1 p. 34, *Genesis* 14:29, p. 127).

126. In sarcastically designating their wives as “daughters of men” in v. 21, the puffed-up sons of men are also deliberately deprecating the former status of these women as “daughters of thy sons” (v. 15)—in other words, daughters of the sons of Noah, who were said to be “sons of God” (see v. 13). In brief, the light-minded jesting of these men turn the real situation upside down: they, the sons of men, make themselves out to be the sons of God while dishonoring their wives—the daughters of the sons of *God*—by lightmindedly characterizing them as the daughters of *men*.

In further confirmation of the idea that these wicked men are *not* the sons of God but are only falsely claiming to be, note that v. 20 asserts that “Noah called upon the children of men,” not the “sons of God.” Tellingly, Satan made the same duplicitous self-assertion as these men in Moses 5:13, saying, “I am also a son of God.”

127. See S. H. Faulring *et al.*, Original Manuscripts, OT1 p. 34, Genesis 14:27–28, p. 127.

128. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, p. 543n1b-7. 1 Enoch 106:2–3 reads: “And when the child was born, his body was whiter than snow and redder than a rose, his hair was all white and like white wool and curly. Glorious [was his face]. When he opened his eyes, the house shone like the sun. And he stood up from the hands of the midwife, and he opened his mouth and praised the Lord of eternity” (ibid., p. 536).

129. See, for example, B. Embry, Naked Narrative, p. 426n22.

130. E. A. Harper, You Shall Make, pp. 53-54. Cf. J. Neusner, Genesis Rabbah 2, 34:6:2, pp. 3-4: “Noah was in charge of the only creatures that were destined to live and thus acted, as it were, as God’s regent[an] exalted position.”

131. See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God’s Image 2, p. 256.

132. See *ibid.*, p. 285.

133. Although the KJV translation of Genesis 9:21 translates the relevant phrase as “within” his tent, the Hebrew mirrors the description of the Tree of Life “in the midst of” the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:9).

134. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Noah_catacombe.jpg (November 28, 2021). Published in N. Cohn, Noah’s Flood, p. 27.

135. Bridgeman Art Library International, image reference: MOK 120180, with the assistance of Kajette Solomon.

136. See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God’s Image 2, p. 309.

137. See S. H. Faulring *et al.*, Original Manuscripts, OT1 p. 34, Genesis 14:27–28, p. 127.

138. N. Wolski, Zohar 10, Midrash Ha-Ne’lam [ZH 20b], p. 220. Wolski notes:

Although in its biblical context the Hebrew (*benei ha-elohim*), sons of God, implies some kind of celestial beings, there is a long tradition of reading the word *elohim* here as signifying “the mighty, judges, nobles,” as some interpreters perceive in Exodus 21:6; 22:7-8, 22:27; Judges 5:8; 1 Samuel 2:25; and Psalms 138:1. Both *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Yerushalmi*, ad loc., render *benei ha-elohim* as *benei ravnevaya*, *sons of the mighty*. ...

See Nachmanides on Genesis 6:2: “Scripture relates that the judges whose duty it was to administer justice – their children committed open violence, without anyone preventing them.”

Compare with Christian traditions that, similar to the Book of Moses, see the “sons of God” as descendants of Seth.

139. J. C. Reeves, Jewish Lore gives the following summary of the complex and somewhat controversial meanings that have been attributed to these terms, as well as to the semidivine “Watchers”:

The term *gbryn* is the Aramaic form of Hebrew *gibborim* (singular *gibbor*), a word whose customary connotation in the latter language is “mighty hero, warrior,” but which in some contexts later came to be interpreted in the sense of “giants.” [The term is translated seventeen times with the Greek word for “giants” in the Septuagint.] ...

Similarly *nplyn* is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew *np(y)lym* (i.e., *nephilim*), an obscure designation used only three times in the Hebrew Bible. Genesis 6:4 refers to the *nephilim* who were on the earth as a result of the conjugal union of the [“sons of God” and the “daughters of Adam”] and further qualifies their character by terming them *gibborim*. [More plausibly, Wright (*A. T. Wright, Evil Spirits*, 81–82) and J. Grossman, *Who Are the Sons of God?*, 5–8) argue for Genesis 6:1–4 as being a description that proceeds in strict chronological order, concluding that the *nephilim* were on the earth *before* this conjugal union between the “sons of God” and the “daughters of Adam.”] Both terms are translated in [Septuagint] Genesis 6:4 by [“giants”] and in *Targum Onkelos* by *gbry*. Numbers 13:33 reports that gigantic *nephilim* were encountered by the Israelite spies in the land of Canaan; here the *nephilim* are associated with a (different?) tradition concerning a race of giants surviving among the indigenous ethnic groups that inhabited Canaan. A further possible reference to both the *nephilim* and *gibborim* of Genesis 6:4 occurs in Ezekiel 32:27. The surrounding pericope presents a description of slain heroes who lie in Sheol, among whom are a group termed the *gibborim nophelim* [*sic*] *me’arelim*. The final word, *me’arelim*, “from the uncircumcised,” should probably be corrected on the basis of the *Septuagint* ... to *me’olam*, and the whole phrase translated “those mighty ones who lie there from of old.” ...

The conjunction of *gbryn wnpyllyn* in QG1 1:2 may be viewed as an appositional construction similar to the expression *’yr wqdy*s—“Watcher and Holy One.” ... However, the phrase might also be related to certain passages that suggest there were three distinct classes (or even generations) of Giants, names for who of which are represented in this line. ... Compare Jubilees 7:22: “And they bore children, the *Naphidim* [*sic*] ... and the Giants killed the *Naphil*, and the *Naphil* killed the *’Elyo*, and the *’Elyo* [killed] human beings, and humanity (killed) one another.” (*Jewish Lore*, 69–70; see also A. T. Wright, *Evil Spirits*, 79–95)

Reeves further proposes that “the sons of God are in fact [identical with] the giants mentioned in [Genesis 6:4], whereas the ‘heroes’ [i.e., *gibborim*] described at the end of the story are the results of these giants’ [i.e., the *nephilim*] coupling with the daughters of man” (*Jewish Lore*, 18). While it may well be that the *gibborim* were the descendants of these mixed marriages, and while the Book of Moses agrees with Grossman’s conclusion that the *nephilim* (also known as the “sons of God”) were not divine nor even “especially close to God” (“Who Are the Sons of God?”, 10), the rationale for the latter conclusion differs.

140. Moses 7:14–15.
141. See D. W. Parry *et al.*, *DSSR* (2013), 4Q531, fragment 1, lines 1–3, p. 953.
142. See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God’s Image* 2, 203.
143. See Bradshaw and Larsen, 203, 225–27.
144. Église Notre-Dame de K’rni (Nakhidjewan), vers 1670-1680. Papier occidental, 89 f., 26 × 18,5 cm. Acquis en 1847. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrits orientaux, arménien 149, f. 5 r^o-5. See A. Vernay-Nouri, *Livres*, p. 44, <https://books.openedition.org/editionsbnf/docannexe/image/1153/img-5.jpg> (accessed May 26, 2021).
145. H. W. Nibley, *Hierocentric*, p. 104. See E. Burrows, *Some Cosmological Patterns*, p. 46. Burrows further distinguishes “three cosmological patterns corresponding to three ways of imagining the relation between heaven and earth. The first pattern is formed when the interest is at the center, on earth; the second when it is at the periphery, in heaven; the third may be considered a synthesis. ... One might almost formulate a law that in the ancient East contemporary cosmological doctrine is registered in the structure and theory of the temples” (*ibid.*, p. 45).
146. H. W. Nibley, *Hierocentric*, p. 110. For a survey of beliefs in the ancient Near East regarding the cosmic mountain at the center of the world, see N. Wyatt, *Space*, pp. 147–57.

147. See, for example, J. M. Bradshaw, *Book of Moses as a Temple Text*, pp. 425–29; J. M. Bradshaw, *Tree of Knowledge*, pp. 50–52; D. W. Parry, *Garden*; J. M. Lundquist, *Reality*; J. A. Parry *et al.*, *Temple in Heaven*; T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 112–116, 308–309; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 20–23; G. K. Beale, *Temple*, pp. 66–80; G. J. Wenham, *Sanctuary Symbolism*; R. N. Holzapfel *et al.*, *Father’s House*, pp. 17–19; J. Morrow, *Creation*; D. R. Seely *et al.*, *Crown of Creation*.
148. Image copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. From a 12th-century illuminated version of the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos from Byzantium (Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 35v.). Published in A. Eastmond, *Narratives*, plate 14. http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1162 (accessed January 31, 2017). No known copyright restrictions. This work may be in the public domain in the United States.
149. A. Eastmond, *Narratives*, p. 22.
150. E. A. W. Budge, *Cave*.
151. A. S.-M. Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, p. 179. See also G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, 30(5):3, p. 34E; M. Barker, *Christmas*, 119; Nes, *Uncreated Light*, 90.
152. See, for example, Sebastian Brock in *Ephrem the Syrian, Paradise*, p. 189n1:11.
153. *Ephrem the Syrian, Paradise*, 1:11, pp. 81–82. See S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 3:4, p. 147; H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, pp. 178–93; J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image 1*, p. 388n5:41b; J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God’s Image 2*, p. 203A. S.-M. Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, p. 225–26. Ri observes: “The fall of humanity at the time of Jared is a very ancient tradition that is found in the books of Enoch and Jubilees” (*ibid.*, p. 255, my translation). See, for example, O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 4:15, p. 62; J. L. Kugel, *Jubilees*, 4:15, p. 302; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 6:6, p. 174; 106:13, p. 536; D. A. Machiela, *Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 3:3–4, pp. 37–38; D. W. Parry *et al.*, *DSSR* (2013), *1QapGen*, 3:3–4, p. 517.
154. For an account of Jared’s descent, see, for example, E. A. W. Budge, *Cave*, 84–86.
155. R. S. Hess, *Studies*, pp. 69–70. On the possible connection of Jared to the place names of Arad, Eridu, etc. and related etymological and interpretive issues, see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 4:18, p. 328; 5:15–17, p. 357; G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, pp. 111–112; U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, pp. 229–232.
156. *Genesis 6:4*; *Numbers 13:33*, possibly to be equated with the “giants” in *Moses 7:15*; *8:18*. In contrast to some others (for example, E. van Wolde, *Sons of God*, pp. 65–67), V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis 1-17*, pp. 269–270 sees this group “as being distinct from the mighty men” (that is, gibborim).
157. *Manichaeon Diagram of the Universe*.
158. Z. Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, p. 470.
159. Z. Gulácsi and J. BeDuhn, *Picturing Mani’s Cosmology*, p. 56.
160. Y. Yoshida, *Studies*. See also *Manichaeism*.
161. Z. Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*. See also Z. Gulácsi, *Matching the Three Fragments*; Z. Gulácsi, *Picturing Mani’s Cosmology*. Gábor Kósa has also produced a valuable study of the painting with an in-depth analysis of its *Book of Giants* elements (G. Kósa, *Book of Giants Tradition*).
162. Z. Gulácsi and J. BeDuhn, *Picturing Mani’s Cosmology*, abstract.
163. Z. Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, p. 430.
164. *Ibid.*; Z. Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, pp. 485–89.
165. <http://www.myoldmaps.com/maps-from-antiquity-6200-bc/004-book-i-ancient-intro.pdf>, pp. xlix–l (accessed May 27, 2021).
166. See *ibid.*, p. 470. Compare G. Kósa, *Book of Giants Tradition*, plate 2, p. 182. See the complete description of the eight layers of the universe in Manichaeism represented in this and another image in Z. Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, pp. 468–69, 472–77.
167. <http://www.myoldmaps.com/maps-from-antiquity-6200-bc/004-book-i-ancient-intro.pdf>, pp. xlix–l (accessed May 27, 2021).
168. See A. Welburn, *Mani*, p. 205.

169. See G. Kósa, *Book of Giants Tradition*, pp. 173–74.
170. See *ibid.*, pp. 162–63, 168–69.
171. See *ibid.*, p. 169. For visual details, see fig. 2a, p. 183.
172. See *ibid.*, fig. 2a, p. 183. See also pp. 155–57.
173. See *ibid.*, fig. 3, p. 186. See also pp. 164–67, 169–71, 178.
174. G. Kósa, *Book of Giants Tradition*, p. 174.
175. For example, the “eastward” location of the Garden of Eden may thus be explained by its position relative to the Creator, who is “in the midst,” meaning literally in Hebrew “in the center” (Moses 3:8–9). Note that the initial separation of Adam and Eve from God occurred when they were removed from His presence to be placed in the garden “eastward in Eden” (Moses 3:8)—that is, east of the peak of the “mountain” where, in some representations of the symbolic geography of Paradise, He is said to dwell. This interpretation also seems to be borne out in later events, as eastward movement is repeatedly associated with increasing distance from God. After God’s voice of judgment visited Adam and Eve from the west (Moses 4:14), they experienced an additional degree of separation when, after the Fall, they left the garden through its eastern gate (Moses 4:31). Cain was “shut out from the presence of the Lord” as he went eastward to dwell “in the land of Nod” (Moses 5:41). The journey of Cain’s posterity continued in the same direction—“from the east” to the “land of Shinar”—the place where the Tower of Babel was constructed (Genesis 11:2). Finally, Lot traveled east toward Sodom and Gomorrah when he separated himself from Abraham (Genesis 13:11).
- On the other hand, westward movement is often used to symbolize return and restoration of blessings—that is, atonement. For instance, according to *BG*, Enoch gathered his people to the west (W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants*, Text G (Sogdian), p. 69; M. Goff, *Sons of the Watchers*, p. 125; J. M. Bradshaw, *Moses 6–7 and the Book of Giants*, pp. 1132–33). Abraham’s “return from the east is [a] return to the Promised Land and ... the city of ‘Salem’” (Genesis 14:17–20), being “directed toward blessing.” The Magi of the Nativity likewise came “from the east,” westward to Bethlehem, their journey symbolically enacting a restoration of temple and priesthood blessings that had been lost from the earth (Matthew 2:1; J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image 1*, pp. 161, 673–74). Additionally, the glorious return of Jesus Christ when He “shall suddenly come to his temple” (Malachi 3:1) is likewise represented as an east-to-west movement: “For as the light of the morning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, and covereth the whole earth, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be” (Joseph Smith—Matthew 1:26).
176. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 13:7–8, p. 237.
177. Nickelsburg persuasively identifies the *1 Enoch* “waters of Dan” as the sea of Galilee and the nearby sacred mountain of Hermon (see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God’s Image 2*, p. 97nM6–21). See also G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 250 n. 9–10 on “Abel-Main” and, more generally, on the sacred geography of this region on pp. 238–247. While Latter-day Saint scripture seems to imply that Enoch’s ministry took place in North America (see *Doctrine and Covenants* 107:53–57), the general storyline in ancient Enoch accounts is not inconsistent with the symbolic geography of the *Book of Moses*, so long as that geography is taken to be figurative.
178. Museum of History, Sanok, Poland; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:MHS_Eliasz_i_Enoch_XVII_w_p.jpg (accessed December 3, 2021).
179. For more on this topic, see *MOSESS* 1–4.
180. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 97–100.
181. See, for example, G. Y. Glazov, *Bridling of the Tongue*, pp. 27–53.
182. See S. D. Ricks, *Narrative Call*.
183. Used with the kind permission of Jim Forest, 1941–; <http://www.flickr.com/photos/jimforest/6581237329/> (accessed December 3, 2021); photo taken December 27, 2011.
184. *Moses* 6:26–27.