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**Tracing Ancient Threads in the Book of Moses
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***“Enoch Walked with God, and He Was Not”*: Where Did Enoch Go After Genesis?
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This conference aims to explore the relationship between ancient texts and the Book of Moses. The persons in these texts are of particular interest because additional accounts about their ancient ministries have been revealed as part of the Restoration, and Latter-day Saints believe many of them continued to minister to mortals in various ways after they were translated from earth to heaven. This additional information sheds light on the important work of these figures as well as the unfolding of God’s plan of salvation for his children. Because of this, many Latter-day Saints feel a strong kinship with these ancient figures and Latter-day Saint scripture does not present them as fictional creations. This paper examines one of these figures, Enoch, and the things we learn about him from later texts, both canonical and non-canonical. He becomes the model *par excellence* for preaching repentance and reforming a community to the point that they were of one heart and one mind with no poor among them (see Moses 7:18), becoming worthy to enter God’s presence. None of this additional understanding of Enoch’s ministry would be possible without texts that supplement the brief account found in Genesis.

In an attempt to frame some thoughts related to Enoch, we will proceed by making some general points or assumptions that affect our understanding of Enoch and his ministry outside of what we are given in Genesis.

Point 1: The Genesis account of Enoch is not a story detailing his life filled with various events like one can see with the other patriarchal figures in Genesis, but rather a very brief, summary

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description. The only information given for him in Genesis is his genealogy and that “Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him” (Genesis 5:24).¹

Point 2: Despite the lack of material about Enoch in Genesis, there are many significant later literary traditions portraying Enoch’s life and teachings, including the Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses. One could argue that these later Enochic texts explain what it means that Enoch walked with God, or they reveal how God took him, but those are at best general connections with Genesis’ original description. The paucity of detail about Enoch in Genesis probably explains why in these later texts he is often linked with two other stories in Genesis: the story of the “Watchers” (sons of God and daughters of men) and Noah’s preparation for the Flood in Genesis 6.

Point 3: Since most of the material in the additional texts about Enoch is not directly dependent on Genesis, except perhaps some additional stories related to the Watchers and Noah, the many accounts about him raise two possibilities. First, there were additional oral or written accounts about Enoch not included in Genesis that were passed down through other transmission streams reappearing in later texts. Second, later writers created additional stories *ex nihilo* about Enoch to fill in information gaps about Enoch (a common tactic of pseudepigraphal writings). Without Urtexts or even extant intermediary texts before 300 BC at present, it is hard to prove the historical reality of additional Enoch stories, but the persistent importance of Enoch in later traditions can support the notion that there were oral or written stories related to Enoch besides those found in Genesis.² These other stories could

¹ Genesis twice states that Enoch walked with God (Genesis 5:22, 24; *yithallek et-ha’elohim*). The phrase to “walk with God” shows up in additional Genesis passages in relation to other prophetic figures: Noah (Genesis 6:9); Abraham (GenesisGen 17:1; 24:40; 48:15); and Isaac (GenesisGen 48:15). Walking with God seems to denote not only obedience, but also a close relationship with God that possibly included literally walking in God’s presence such as what Adam and Eve seemed to enjoy in the Garden of Eden before their expulsion.

² The figure of Enoch played a very significant role in early Judaism and Christianity. He is one of the dominant figures of the Second Temple Period, perhaps precisely because so little was written about him in the Old Testament and what was in the text begged for exploration and expansion. One prominent scholar went so far as to state that “the influence of Enoch in the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books taken together.” R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 2:180. For discussions of how Enochic writings impact New

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be related to each other, thus calling for the use of tradition criticism or reception history in ways other than tracing them all to Genesis. Do any of these later texts show dependence or intertextuality with each other?

Point 4: The Book of Moses in the Pearl of Great Price is an additional narrative about Enoch, but it follows a unique transmission history. We do not have ancient versions of manuscripts or translations that were passed down through the centuries with which to compare it. Through Joseph Smith's revelatory revision of the Bible, commonly called the Joseph Smith Translation, we skip thousands of years to connect directly back to original figures in Genesis. While this is a form of reception history, it is a unique one, and one that is dependent on revelation rather than historical manuscripts or a clear line of intertextual development from earlier accounts.

Point 5: In texts from the period between Enoch and Joseph Smith, we can look for parallels or connections can be drawn to what we find in the Book of Moses, the so-called "ancient threads" which are the focus of this conference. While this impulse is understandable and valuable, it is not without its challenges.

Point 6: As an example of one of those challenges, it is easy for those looking for "ancient threads" to fall victim to cherry-picking or proof-texting techniques that highlight selected aspects of a text while ignoring others. Patterns of parallels and understanding parallels in their own cultural and linguistic contexts helps strengthen the possible relationships between texts (which is not necessarily borrowing from one text to another). When the parallels are drawing upon a common milieu, comparative work can illuminate new insights. However, while it may be legitimate to accentuate the parallels, we must not ignore the differences. Similar to how type scenes have been fruitfully presented

Testament texts, see David A. deSilva, *The Jewish Teachers of Jesus, James and Jude. What Earliest Christianity Learned from the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 101–140, and Larry R. Helyer, *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period: A Guide for New Testament Students* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2002), 77–92, 136–39, 379–88.

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to see parallels between biblical stories, their differences can also signal important shifts in how the episode should be interpreted. What if another Enochic text has one aspect of Enoch's ministry similar to his account in the Book of Moses, but it has much more that is radically different? Are these additional elements "true" but omitted from the Book of Moses account, or were they simply the creative additions of ancient writers? If they are creative additions, then what does that say about the other material that is being claimed to be true because it has a supposed parallel in the Book of Moses? It is easy to fall into a circular argument to claim that those things that have parallels in the Book of Moses are true because they are found in both texts, but that doesn't answer the question of how they got into the ancient text in the first place (especially amidst a lot of other material that does not have parallels to the Book of Moses). In light of such challenges, critics of Joseph Smith have raised the question of how these aspects ended up in the Book of Moses and claim that Joseph Smith became familiar with ancient texts or traditions and simply borrowed from these other sources.

Point 7: Scholars have long argued for or against the possibility of Joseph Smith having access to additional Enoch material from other sources, specifically *1 Enoch*, that were then incorporated into, or at least influenced, the Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses.³ Since this paper is not specifically about this topic and others have already addressed various possibilities, we will only briefly review some of the claims. While it is true that stories, traditions, and texts about Enoch were floating around America in the early 1830s in various venues and publications, their influence on Joseph Smith would have been

³ For a useful summary of these arguments, see Jed Woodworth, "Extra-Biblical Enoch Texts in Early American Culture," in *Archive of Restoration Culture: Summer Fellows' Papers 1997-1999*, ed. Richard L. Bushman (Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2000), 185-93. For some other discussions of this issue, see Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith. Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 138, who concluded that "It is scarcely conceivable that Joseph Smith knew of Laurence's Enoch translation, but the coincidence of their appearance within a few years of each is a curiosity. Laurence's 105 translated chapters do not resemble Joseph Smith's Enoch in any obvious way." A recent thorough investigation of the issue can be found in Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Ryan Dahle, "Could Joseph Smith Have Drawn on Ancient Manuscripts When He Translated the Story of Enoch?: Recent Updates on a Persistent Question," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 33 (2019): 305-374.

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general or unlikely since he was not an academic spending copious time in archives and libraries weaving together a new narrative from indirect references and quotations, many of which were in foreign languages.⁴ In summary, here are some key aspects to this point:

1) The Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses has a significant Christ-centered focus, similar to the JST in general and the Book of Mormon, which is not what one finds in these other sources.⁵

2) Most of the additional material about Enoch that was around in the early 1800s connected Enoch with the story of the Watchers and the origin of evil that eventually led to the Flood. The Book of Moses does not highlight the story of the Watchers like these other Enoch traditions. Its etiology of evil is Satan's pre-mortal rebellion leading to the Fall, Cain's murder of Abel, secret combinations, and later

⁴ Another perspective related to whether Joseph Smith was familiar with Laurence's *1 Enoch* agrees that it is less likely he was influenced by *1 Enoch* in his presentation of Enoch stories, but it posits that Joseph Smith could have become acquainted with Enoch traditions via Freemasonry where Enoch is a significant figure. Cheryl Bruno argues for a trajectory of mystical themes (such as theophany, grand assembly, and heavenly ascent) originating in non-canonical Enoch traditions that were adopted in Freemasonry then adapted by Joseph Smith. She stated, "Though access to the Enoch pseudepigrapha was possible from several places, it seems more plausible that Smith utilized Masonic tradition rather than other sources for inspiration in his Enoch writings." From "Congruence and Concatenation in Jewish Mystical Literature, American Freemasonry, and Mormon Enoch Writings," *Journal of Religion and Society* 16 (2014): 5 [1-19]. Joseph's older brother was a mason, but there is little direct discussion about masonry from Joseph Smith until he became a freemason in 1842, long after the creation of the Enoch material in the Book of Moses in the early 1830s. Bruno asserts that Joseph Smith still could have been influenced by Enoch traditions within masonry due to cultural familiarity of Masonic ritual and legend and the prevalence of anti-Masonic literature in the region which would have included the Enoch material.

In a more recent work, Colby Townsend argues that portions of *1 Enoch* were available in the English literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries even before Laurence's translation. See Colby Townsend, "Revisiting Joseph Smith and the Availability of the *Book of Enoch*," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* [forthcoming, Fall 2020]. He is correct that these references witness to the existence of translations of sections of Enochic texts, but they are scattered throughout English sources in various newspapers, books, and academic collections and never include the complete text. While his literary examples are many and accurate, it still begs the question how much these snippets of various parts of *1 Enoch* were known by Joseph Smith and whether they influenced his account of Enoch especially since they primarily discuss the Watchers, a feature absent from the Book of Moses.

⁵ Some see Jewish conceptions of the Messiah in the centuries BC as having some parallels to messianic conceptions in the Book of Moses, although there is considerable variance among the Jewish conceptions between human figures and heavenly while the Book of Moses is clearly focused on a divine Messiah figure. See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Matthew L. Bowen, "Truth and Beauty in the Book of Moses," in *Proceedings of the Fourth Interpreter Foundation Matthew B. Brown Memorial Conference, 10 November 2018*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks and Jeffrey M. Bradshaw. *Temple on Mount Zion* 5 (Orem and Salt Lake City, UT: The Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books), in preparation.

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covenant keepers abandoning their covenants, not lustful angels leaving the angelic realm to mingle with mortals.

3) The early saints were ecstatic when they came across an English translation by Richard Laurence of *1 Enoch* in England in the 1840s because they thought it had relevance to their account of Enoch specifically and to the restoration generally (Laurence's English translation was first published in 1821 with a later re-printing in 1838). Their excitement at having found a "lost" Enoch text and their likening material from such a text to the unfolding restoration, lends support to the idea that it was new to them. For this and other reasons, it is highly unlikely that Joseph Smith was aware of Laurence's translation of *1 Enoch* when he translated *Moses 6-7* in late 1830-early 1831.

Point 8: In comparing ancient texts with the Book of Moses, it is important to focus on the historical contexts of the ancient texts and their relation to other ancient Enochic texts. When carried out as carefully and completely as possible, then one can make plausible arguments for the existence of additional oral or written traditions about Enoch that were not recorded in Genesis but passed down in other ways (and that could have made their way into the Book of Moses through prophetic revelation). If facets of a tradition are found in multiple texts that demonstrably could be dependent on each other, it increases the likelihood that they go back to an earlier original source.⁶ Then one can claim either that they were simply the creative creation of a writer/storyteller at some point, or they go back to prior accounts of earlier figures. Unfortunately, there is no way to prove definitively such claims. Thus while it is interesting to compare parallel stories and traditions between the Book of Moses and earlier Enochic texts, we need to be cautious about our claims in light of the fact that evidence of historical transmission between the ancient texts and the Book of Moses is lacking.

⁶ It can be very difficult to demonstrate conclusive dependence among ancient texts because the relationship among them is very complicated. Margaret Barker likens them to "pieces of an ancient jigsaw of ideas, which, when put together, give a picture of what underlies much of the Old Testament." From *The Lost Prophet. The Book of Enoch and its influence on Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1988), 20.

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While this last point may seem too tentative, honesty compels us to take all possibilities into account since so much from the ancient past is unknown.⁷ That said, the same careful methodology that should be used in comparing the book of Moses to ancient documents must also be employed when considering the possibility of influences of relevant texts and traditions from Joseph Smith's own time.

In the remainder of this paper, I will summarize some of Enoch's influence on Jews and Christians of the Second Temple period and on Latter-day Saints. I will also explore what might be learned from these additional accounts of Enoch. Based on brief discussions of Enoch accounts outside the Bible, I will propose possible parallels among them that provide support for the idea of ancient threads in the book of Moses.

Enoch's Influence in the Second Temple Period

After the cursory description of Enoch in Genesis 5, he is not mentioned again in the Old Testament. Considering the significant role he plays in later Second Temple Jewish literature, this absence is surprising. Why does he make his appearance only then, and why in these particular texts? Could oral and/or written traditions have been preserved by Second Temple Jewish groups outside of the Bible, keeping his memory and importance alive during the intervening centuries?⁸ I will address some of these questions below, but we can conclude that the figure of Enoch still remained significant among early Jews despite the brief mention in Genesis and lack of mention in other parts of the Old Testament.

⁷ "At least for the early centuries of the second temple it may be wiser to admit that we have very little to guide our attempts at mapping developments in Jewish thought. There may have been texts that have perished but in their time were influential; if we had them, the picture might look rather different. ... We are, to state the obvious, at the mercy of our meager sources. We are able to read what they say and attempt, however poorly, to interpret them; we cannot read what they fail to say and thus are unable to ascertain what their writers thought about the subjects they did not address." From James C. VanderKam, "Mapping Second Temple Judaism," in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 19.

⁸ While the idea of a "cult" of Enoch seems to be an overstatement, we agree generally with the claim of Margaret Barker: "It is clear that there was more to the figure [of Enoch] than appeared in Genesis, and a considerable cult of Enoch did undoubtedly exist, even though the biblical writers gave no place to it." From *The Lost Prophet*, 5.

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Enoch's earliest appearance among ancient manuscripts is in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Among the Scrolls, the most important and well-known Enoch text is what came to be known as *1 Enoch*.⁹ While *1 Enoch* has only been found in its most complete form in the canon of Ethiopic Christians,¹⁰ it has roots in Second Temple Judaism. *1 Enoch* seems to be a composite text of at least five originally independent texts¹¹ that are usually broken down as follows: *Book of the Watchers* (chaps. 1-36), the *Book of Parables or Similitudes* (chaps. 37-71), the *Astronomical Book* or *Book of the Luminaries* (chaps. 72-82), the *Book of Dreams* (chaps. 83-90), and the *Epistle of Enoch* (chaps. 91-108).¹² The earliest sections were written in the third century BC and the last ones before or during the first century AD. The order of the sections does not follow a chronological scheme. Fragments from four of the five sections of *1 Enoch* have been found among the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls in Cave 4 and in some Greek texts found at places like Oxyrhynchus and Cairo (and possibly Qumran Cave 7). The dating of these sections of *1 Enoch* is a notoriously difficult proposition because of their varied theologies and languages, but their discovery at Qumran among the Dead Sea Scrolls gives the latest possible date before 70 AD. But when is their earliest possible date? Too often scholars date non-biblical Qumran texts to their earliest date of composition yet do not treat biblical texts the same way. While we have found brief biblical passages

⁹ For an excellent translation of this text, see George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Although even this point is debatable since some versions of sections of this text have additional material not found in Ethiopic.

¹¹ "Thanks largely to the pioneering research of R. H. Charles (1855–1931), it was established that *1 Enoch* is a collection of at least five separate writings. ...Speculations about the date, provenance, and original language of these books varied until the discovery of Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* among the Dead Sea Scrolls and their publication by J. T. Milik from 1951 to 1976. The distribution of material in the eleven fragments confirmed theory that *1 Enoch* is a collection of originally distinct documents. In addition, the paleographical evidence of the earliest fragments suggested that two of these documents, the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 72–82) and the *book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 1–36), date from the third century BCE, making them our oldest known apocalypses and among our most ancient nonbiblical examples of Jewish literature." Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.

¹² See *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010) for this breakdown of the text and information in some of the subsequent summaries of *1 Enoch*.

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that pre-date Qumran, and the Septuagint emerged from manuscripts of this same period, Margaret Barker makes an interesting argument when she says,

Our earliest physical proofs for the existence of the Old Testament, pieces of ancient scroll we can see and handle, are also among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Does this mean that the Old Testament books were all composed in the second century BC in the Qumran monastery? It is unlikely! We must not have one set of rules for the biblical texts and another for the non-biblical. The Enoch writings could be as old as anything in the Old Testament. We must keep an open mind....When the fragments of *1 Enoch* were found at Qumran, they had already had one lifetime; the texts had been used and copied by the community, but we do not know where they came from, or why that community considered them so important that they had several copies. We have to start with open minds, and ask when *1 Enoch* might have been written, where the ideas originated, and who cherished them sufficiently to preserve and transmit them. We have to ask how these texts relate to the Old Testament, and not assume that they are a later, inferior work, dependent on the Old Testament.¹³

One prominent Enoch scholar, Loren Stuckenbruck, has argued, “There is no reason to assume that any of the extant materials to *1 Enoch*, including the fragments recovered from the Qumran caves, preserve for us anything approaching an ‘original.’”¹⁴ This conclusion implies the presence of various independent texts not suddenly *created* at this later time, but rather *compiled* together from earlier material. This situation increases the possibility that there were additional traditions about Enoch outside the canonical transmission stream that could have had more ancient roots.

The first section of *1 Enoch* (chaps. 1-36), commonly called the *Book of the Watchers*, gets its title from the story at the beginning of Genesis 6 about the “sons of God” *watching* the “daughters of men” and taking them to wife, conspiring together in their illicit actions rather than overseeing creation and the needs of those on earth as they should have been doing. Their actions initiated a period of great wickedness and eventually led to the Flood and its attendant destruction. Some later Second Temple texts view this story as being about angelic or heavenly beings (the sons of God) leaving their heavenly

¹³ From *The Lost Prophet*, 22, 105.

¹⁴ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Book of Enoch: its reception in Second Temple Jewish and in Christian tradition,” *Early Christianity* 4/1 (2013): 9, n.6 [7-40].

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abode and cohabitating with human women.¹⁵ In the midst of this peculiar society, Enoch came and preached repentance.¹⁶ Amidst the wicked exist some of the elect that Enoch also speaks to and encourages. In the end, Enoch serves as a mediator figure (scribe of righteousness) between heaven and the Watchers and upholds the warning of punishment that they received.¹⁷ The last section (chaps. 17-36) gives a great description of Enoch's journeys to the ends of the earth and the cosmos including the mountain of God and the tree of life, the Garden of Eden and the tree of wisdom, and through Sheol (world of the spirits) where the dead were held. The *Book of Watchers* ends with Enoch's praise of God's creations and his great deeds.

The second section of *1 Enoch* (chaps. 37-71) can be termed the *Book of Parables* or *Book of Similitudes* from the text's description of the instructions and parables which were given to Enoch (see 68:1). Chronologically, it is probably the latest of all the sections of *1 Enoch*, dating to roughly the late first century AD. Importantly, most current scholars think it is thoroughly Jewish and does not contain Christian interpolations. It consists of three individual "parables" or figurative discourses bound together

¹⁵ "The *Book of the Watchers* provides our earliest extant evidence for the exegesis and expansion of [Genesis 6:1–4]...[T]he apocalypse describes the descent of angelic Watchers from heaven, their impure relations with human women, and the bloodthirsty violence of their progeny. Throughout these chapters, the biblically based theme of sexual mingling is interwoven with an extrabiblical tradition that levels a far more dire accusation against Asael and other Watchers: according to the *Book of the Watchers*, their revelation of secret knowledge caused 'all manner of wickedness' to be adopted by humankind, thereby accounting for the antediluvian proliferation of sin." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 6.

¹⁶ In a surprising twist, Philo uses Enoch as an example of someone who repented and changed his wicked life rather than the usual picture of Enochic texts where Enoch is preaching repentance to others. Loren Stuckenbruck argues that this may have been due to Philo's symbolic etymology of Enoch's name, a common exegetical approach Philo used, and to contrast Enoch with Noah who is described as "perfect" in Genesis. See "To What Extent did Philo's Treatment of Enoch and the Giants Presuppose a Knowledge of the Enochic and Other Sources Preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *The Studia Philonica Annual* 19 (2007): 131-132 [131-142]. See also Robert A. Kraft, "Philo (Josephus, Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon) on Enoch," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 13 (1978): 253-257.

¹⁷ "The attribution to Enoch of priestly characteristics as the intercessor in heaven between God and the fallen angels as well as the warnings of Aramaic Levi about his apostate descendants assume the existence of a purer pre-Aaronite priesthood and disrupt the Sinaitic foundations of the Zadokite structure of power as a later degeneration." From Gabriele Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 92.

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by an account of an otherworldly journey by Enoch. Central to this journey is Enoch's view of the divine throne room replete with the Son of Man enthroned. Upon seeing the judgment scene in 1 Enoch 46:1–3, Enoch relates the following:

And there I saw one who had a head of days,
and his head [was] white like wool;
And with him [there was] another, whose face had the appearance of a man,
and his face [was] full of grace, like one of the holy angels.
And I asked one of the holy angels who went with me, and showed me all the secrets, about
that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, [and] why he went with the Head of Days.
And he answered me and said to me:
'This is the Son of Man who has righteousness,
and with whom righteousness dwells;
he will reveal all the treasures of that which is secret,
for the Lord of Spirits has chosen him,
and through uprightness his lot has surpassed all before the Lord of Spirits forever.'¹⁸

This text's greatest importance may be in how it interprets the Son of Man traditions of Daniel 7 and how it depicts final judgment.¹⁹ The judgment (Flood) at the time of Noah functions as a prototype of the final judgment. The righteous who currently suffer at the hands of the wicked (rulers) will enjoy life on a restored earth with the Son of Man as the sinners are destroyed by fire. Thus throughout the section Enoch is the figure who asks questions and receives answers from his angelic escorts to describe the heavenly scenes and future events.

The next section of *1 Enoch* (chaps. 72-82) discusses astronomical knowledge so it is called the *Book of the Luminaries* or the *Astronomical Book*. One of the heavenly archangels, Uriel, has leadership over the celestial objects and in this section he transmits that knowledge to Enoch who then shares it

¹⁸ Quotations of *1 Enoch* taken from Miryam T. Brand, "1 Enoch," in *Outside the Bible. Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, ed. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 1339-1452.

¹⁹ "The major and unique component in these chapters, however, is a series of heavenly tableaux that portray the judgment and the events leading up to it. Presiding over the judgment is a heavenly figure known variously as Righteous One, Elect One, Anointed One, and Son of Man. This vice-regent of God, whose description is a composite of features drawn from Daniel 7 and from biblical texts about the Davidic king and the Servant of the Lord, was a prototype for NT speculation about the Son of Man, although the precise relationship between the Gospel texts and the Parables is uncertain." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 7.

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with his son Methuselah.²⁰ In 1 Enoch 82:1-2 he tells Methuselah, “And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I recount to you and write down for you; I have revealed everything to you and have given you books about all these things. Keep, my son Methuselah, the books from the hand of your father, that you may pass [them] on to the generations of eternity. I have given wisdom to you and to your children, and to those who will be your children, that they may give [it] to their children for all the generations forever—this wisdom [which is] beyond their thoughts.” Enoch’s knowledge of astronomy is found in other Second Temple texts including the Book of Jubilees found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Dead Sea Scrolls contain at least four Aramaic fragmentary copies of this section of *1 Enoch* found in Qumran Cave 4.

The fourth section of *1 Enoch* (chaps. 83-90) is the *Book of Dreams*. The first two chapters are a dream vision and then the next six chapters form the so-called *Animal Apocalypse*.²¹ In both visions, Enoch attempts to intercede, first for the earth/humankind, and secondly for the people Israel. (Compare with the instances of Enoch intervening with God on behalf of others in Moses 7.) Enoch beholds the world’s events unfold from a celestial temple. The final verses of this section record Enoch’s reaction to the vision. “But after this I wept bitterly, and my tears did not stop until I could not endure it; when I looked, they ran down on account of that which I saw; for everything will come to pass and be

²⁰ “It is also worth noting that the [Astrological Book], from its inception, may have had both a theological and eschatological element. First, it presents itself as the holy angel Uriel’s disclosure to Enoch of information not accessible to any others. In other words, what Enoch sees, hears, and relates to his children has the stamp of divine authenticity. It should also be recalled that the opening verse, 72:1, claims that Uriel showed Enoch all their regulations exactly as they are, for each year of the world and for ever, until the new creation shall be made which shall last for ever.’ The revealed laws will be operative until the new creation. The writer therefore knows of a theory by which time is divided into eras. Moreover, all of the laws are revealed by an angel, and indeed, nature is governed and run by angels on behalf of God (cf. 80:1).” James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations. Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 25.

²¹ “With respect to form and content, the generic and peculiar features of this text are evident from a comparison with the visions in Daniel 2, 7, 8, and 10–12. In common with the Danielic texts, 1 Enoch 85–90 is a pseudonymous dream vision (cf. Dan 2:1; 7:1-2, 7, 13; 8:1-2, 17-18), which recounts a sequence of historical events up to the eschaton (cf. Dan 2:31-45; 7:1-27; 8:3-26; 11:2–12:4), using animals to symbolize human beings or nations (cf. Daniel 7, 8) and viewing these events in the context of related events in heaven (Dan 7:9-10, 13-14; 8:10-12; 10:20-21).” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 357.

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fulfilled; and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. That night I remembered my first dream, and because of it I wept and was disturbed, because I had seen that vision" (*1 Enoch* 90:41-42).²²

The final section of *1 Enoch* (chaps. 91-108) is often called the *Epistle of Enoch* or *The Two Ways of the Righteous and the Sinner*. Its discourses on ethical behavior are similar to other Near Eastern wisdom literature with their emphasis on the two ways or two choices in life (good and evil). This section compiles various accounts including a description of Noah's miraculous birth and various exhortations tied into the time period of the Flood or the Last Days. The exhortations throughout this section from Enoch to the people are often set up in testamentary fashion. That is, Enoch gathers his children and others around him to give last counsel before his departure (usually testaments are given before one's death, but Enoch's departure will not be through death). The admonitions are straightforward: to love righteousness (with promises of blessings) and reject evil (with warnings of punishment and stern woes). Enoch sorrows over the people's wickedness and laments that his eyes may become like a cloud of waters to weep over the people. Throughout this section Enoch plays a central role in instructing others and as the writer of all the signs of wisdom; wisdom which he gained by reading the "tablets of heaven."

The Dead Sea Scrolls include not only fragments of texts like *1 Enoch*, but include additional Old Testament retellings that expand on Enoch and other Old Testament figures. The *Book of Jubilees*, for example, discusses Enoch's visions of the future including the final judgment day, his knowledge of the heavens gained from an extended period with the angels of God, and his exalted role as heavenly scribe and priest writing many books and mediating for the people. Jubilees 4:17–19 enumerates several of the traditions surrounding Enoch.

This one was the first who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom, from (among) the sons of men, from (among) those who were born upon earth. And who wrote in a book the signs of the heaven according to the order of their months, so that the sons of men might know the

²² Compare the times in the Book of Moses where Enoch wept in response to visions (Moses 7:41, 44, 49, 58), as well as the comment in Moses 7:67 that "the Lord showed Enoch all things, even unto the end of the world."

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(appointed) times of the years according to their order, with respect to each of their months. This one was the first (who) wrote a testimony and testified to the children of men throughout the generations of the earth. And their weeks according to jubilees he recounted; and the days of years he made known. And the months he set in order, and the sabbaths of the years he recounted, just as we made it known to him. And he saw what was and what will be in a vision of his sleep as it will happen among the children of men in their generations until the day of judgment. He saw and knew everything and wrote his testimony and deposited the testimony upon the earth against all the children of men and their generations.²³

On the topic of writing, Enoch is said to have been the first patriarch who learned writing and knowledge among the sons of men (Moses 6:5-6 attributes this to Adam and his family, though Enoch, like Adam, is also associated with a Book of Remembrance in both ancient texts and the book of Moses).²⁴ He wrote about astronomy and related issues so that mortals would know the appointed times of the years, an important concern in the *Book of Jubilees*. Enoch also wrote his testimony, testified to the children of men, and had stern warnings against the Watchers. A difference with this text from others is that rather than Enoch being translated from the earth, he was taken to the Garden of Eden to function as a scribe of the sins of humanity and to protect Eden from the Flood waters. “And we led him to the garden of Eden for greatness and honor. And behold, he is there writing condemnation and judgment of the world, and all of the evils of the children of men. And because of him none of the water of the Flood came upon the whole land of Eden, for he was put there for a sign and so that he

²³ English translation of *Jubilees* from O.S. Wintermute, “Jubilees,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol 2*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 35-142.

²⁴ “In his expansion of the biblical text the writer of *Jubilees* is impressed with Enoch’s being first in various categories, just as Pseudo-Eupolemus found him to be the first astrologer/astronomer. He was the first human to learn how to write. The source of this motif is not supplied, but the older Enochic booklets mention his ability to write, and they would not have existed if he had been unable to use a pen...1 *Enoch* 82:1 has Enoch address Methuselah and tell him, among other things, that he has written a book for him. The next verse may identify that book with wisdom, a subject that *Jubilees* adduces in the same phrase as Enoch’s skill at writing. The [Book of the Watchers] presents Enoch as a scribe of righteousness (12:4, 15:1) who records the petition of the watchers and the divine reply to it (see 14:4, 7). The journey sections of the BW (chaps. 17–19, 20–36) also note his writing (33:3)...and the [Book of Dreams], in which Enoch dates his first dream vision to the time when he was beginning to learn how to write (83:2; see 83:3). In his notice about Enoch as the pioneer author, then, the writer of *Jubilees* was not drawing on Genesis, which never mentions this about him, but probably on the information contained in the Enochic booklets.” VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man*, 113.

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might bear witness against all of the children of men so that he might relate all of the deeds of the generations until the day of judgment” (4:23-24).

Book of Giants was another Dead Sea Scroll text that shared significant stories about Enoch, including some passages that resonate with the book of Moses. Several fragmentary manuscripts of this anthology of Enoch stories were uncovered among the scrolls.²⁵ As the title suggests, this text revolves around the story of the Watchers at the beginning of Genesis 6 and the subsequent offspring who were “giants.” Enoch serves in his familiar mediatorial role as he interprets the giants’ ominous dreams and tries to intercede with God on the giants’ behalf. As the great scribe, Enoch returns with a tablet that foretells harsh judgment, but still holding out an invitation for repentance.

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* includes the last counsel and teachings of Jacob’s sons to their descendants. Seven of these twelve testaments refer to a book (or books) of Enoch. Most of the references are warnings about the sins of the people that are leading people astray, but had been foretold in the writings of Enoch (e.g., *Testament of Simeon* 5.4).²⁶ The *Testament of Dan* 5.6 goes so far as to say that Satan has become their leader: “For I read in the Book of Enoch the Righteous that your prince is Satan and that all the spirits of sexual promiscuity and of arrogance devote attention to the sons of Levi in the attempt to observe them closely and cause them to commit sin before the Lord.”²⁷ The *Testament of Levi* says the people’s sins will become so bad and disgraceful that Jerusalem will not bear their presence, the curtain of the Temple will be torn, and they will be scattered. “For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as the book of Enoch the Righteous maintains”

²⁵ For possible parallels to the Book of Moses and the significance of being discovered over a century after the Book of Moses, see Bradshaw and Dahle, “Could Joseph Smith Have Drawn on Ancient Manuscripts,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 33 (2019): 317-320.

²⁶ See also Testament of LeviTLevi 14.1, 16.1; Testament of JudahTJudah 18.1; Testament of NaphthaliTNaphthali 4.1; Testament of BenjaminTBenjamin 9.1

²⁷ English translation from H.C. Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol 1*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1983), 776-828.

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(10.5). Throughout these texts it is righteous Enoch who has written the warnings and prophecies about their descendants.

The Septuagint translation of Genesis 5 about Enoch varies somewhat from the Hebrew Bible. First, Enoch becomes the father of Methuselah at age 165, not 65. Second, rather than subsequently walking with God for 300 years, Enoch “was well pleasing to God” for 200 years. (In both cases, his total time on earth was 365 years). Third, in the Hebrew tradition, it repeats that Enoch walked with God “then he was no more, for God took him” (Genesis 5:24; JPS). In the Greek, it repeats that he “was well pleasing to God” and then that “he was not found, because God transferred him” (Genesis 5:24; NETS). Is the difference in years indicative of different traditions about Enoch? Is the phrase “well pleasing to God” likewise such a signal or is it simply an explanation for Enoch walking with God?²⁸ While these are not drastic differences, they do show that the account about Enoch was not static at the time of the Septuagint.

Enoch does appear in a few passages of the New Testament. He is included in the genealogy of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke, listed as the seventh patriarch after Adam and the son of Jared and father of Methuselah just as Genesis states (Luke 3:37). Hebrews 11:5 is the key passage for understanding more about Enoch’s departure from the earth. This great chapter on faith presents Enoch as a role model of faith along with two other antediluvian figures: Abel and Noah. The verse specifically says that because of Enoch’s faith he was “translated that he should not see death” (Hebrews 11:5). The Greek term, μετατίθημι, is the same term used in the Septuagint to describe what God did to Enoch in Genesis 5:24. The phrase “that he should not see death” is not present in the Septuagint; its presence here makes explicit the fact that God’s “taking” of Enoch meant that he left earth without death.²⁹ The verse continues to explain that Enoch was no longer found on the earth because God had translated him and

²⁸ Philo also uses this phrase repeatedly when talking about Enoch.

²⁹ Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia Series (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 317.

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God had translated him to show him “that he pleased God” (Hebrews 11:6).³⁰ The author of Hebrews, therefore, is drawing upon the Septuagint description.

One other passage of New Testament scripture, Jude 1:14-15 not only references Enoch, but quotes from him.³¹ It again acknowledges that Enoch is the seventh descendant from Adam and then it quotes from his prophecy: “Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that 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.” Jude’s quotation of the prophecy of Enoch, found in *1 Enoch* 1:9, is significant because the author of Jude seems to treat this passage as scripture even though it is not included in the later canon. This quotation became a source of consternation for some early Christian writers who debated whether its presence here supports or repudiates Jude’s canonical status.³² By way of contrast, Joseph Smith quoted this passage from Jude, approving Jude’s reliance on the writings of Enoch.³³

³⁰ “The order of statements in Genesis Gn 5:24 is doubtless assumed to reflect the order of events: first Enoch pleased God (cf. Gn. 5:22), then he was ‘removed.’ The implication of v.6c is that his ‘removal’ was a reward for his faithful life, and evidence that it had pleased God.” Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 576.

³² “Jude’s use of *1 Enoch* became problematic for the later use of Jude’s letter in churches and for its acceptance as a canonical authority. Writing in the early to mid-third century, Origen attests to debates about Jude’s authority (*Commentary on John* 19.6). Jude was not included in the Syriac version of the New Testament (the *Peshitta*) until the sixth century. Jude was, however, listed as Scripture in the Muratorian canon (second or fourth century CE) and in Athanasius’s Festival Letter of 367 CE. Jerome specifically mentions Jude’s use of *1 Enoch* as a mark against it, though he himself affirmed its authority as Scripture (*Lives of Illustrious Men* 4). *Enoch*, a book whose authorship could not be verified and which contained ‘incredible things about giants, who had angels instead of men as fathers, and which are clearly lies’ (*On Jude*, PL 93:129). Bede argued, however, that since the verse that Jude actually recites is consonant with Christian teaching, Jude ought not itself to be dismissed (*On Jude*, PL 93:129). Of course, the opposite argument could also be made, as in fact Tertullian did: since Jude regarded *1 Enoch* so highly as to quote it, the church should accord *1 Enoch* canonical authority (*On the Dress of Women* 3.3)!” David A. deSilva, *The Jewish Teachers of Jesus, James and Jude. What Earliest Christianity Learned from the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 109–110.

³³ Joseph Smith acknowledged the quotation of Enoch in the book of Jude, but he did not connect it to any contemporary text but rather said it came from one of the “lost books.” Instead, he focused on a literal visit by Enoch to Jude to minister to him and teach him this prophecy. He claimed that God reserved Enoch unto Himself so that Enoch “should not die at that time and appointed unto him a ministry unto terrestrial bodies of whom there has been but little revealed. He is reserved also unto the Presidency of a dispensation, ... He is a ministering

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2 Enoch is another Enochic text compiled in the Pseudepigrapha, although it is not directly related to *1 Enoch*. A major difference with this text and its transmission with *1 Enoch* is that rather than becoming a major part of the Ethiopic tradition, it became part of the Slavonic (eastern European) tradition where many Pseudepigrapha texts became popular and were preserved and transmitted in liturgical codices and compendia.³⁴ Although the twenty or so Slavonic manuscripts date from the Middle Ages (fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries AD), *2 Enoch* was most likely written in the first century AD as a Jewish text, probably in Alexandria, and then picked up and transmitted by Christians.³⁵ Its major theme is the ascent of Enoch through the heavens as he is initiated into the heavenly mysteries. “[There was] a wise man and a great artisan whom the Lord took away. And he loved him so that he might see the highest realms; and of the most wise and great and inconceivable and unchanging kingdom of God almighty, and of the most marvelous and glorious and shining and many-eyed station of the Lord’s servants, and of the Lord’s immovable throne” (1:1-4).³⁶ As such, its form is both an

Angel, to minister to those who shall be heirs of salvation, and appeared unto Jude as Abel did unto Paul, therefore Jude spoke of him 14 & 15 v.” From “History, 1838–1856, volume C-1 [2 November 1838–31 July 1842] [addenda],” p. 17 [addenda], The Joseph Smith Papers, <https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/history-1838-1856-volume-c-1-2-november-1838-31-july-1842/552>

³⁴ The only full text of *2 Enoch* has been found in Slavonic, although recently some transcriptions and photographs of Coptic fragments of *2 Enoch* were found among the stored finds of British excavations in Nubia that had focused on Nubia’s Christian phase (fifth to fifteenth centuries AD). The dating of the Coptic fragments is uncertain.

³⁵ While some scholars in the past have regarded *2 Enoch* as a text composed by Christians, most now believe that it was originally a Jewish text. “In spite of its biblical style, there is no point at which it can be shown to depend on the text of the New Testament, barring obvious Christian glosses, whose extraneous character is betrayed by their presence in only one manuscript or at most in manuscripts of one family. There is not a distinctively Christian idea in the book. Alleged use of it in the New Testament (evidence that it is a pre-Christian Jewish work) is in passing phrases of a very general kind; either *2 Enoch* and the New Testament are drawing on a common background, or else a later author is vaguely influenced by such expressions.” F.I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 95. “Michael Stone and George Nickelsburg, while acknowledging the complexities and enigmas of *2 Enoch*, nonetheless hold that there are no compelling arguments for rejecting a date as early as the first century A.D. Anderson and Stone prefer a Palestinian provenance, whereas Nickelsburg and Collins opt for a Diaspora setting, most likely Egypt. There is no consensus, but a majority holds that the original was in Greek and was later translated into Slavonic. One cannot, however, rule out completely the possibility that there was a Semitic original.” Helyer, *Exploring Jewish Literature*, 380.

³⁶ Quotations of *2 Enoch* taken from Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” 102-221 [longer recension-J].

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apocalypse (heavenly journey) and a testament (last instruction) as Enoch shares with his children on earth his newfound heavenly knowledge from God and angels, including the secrets of creation: “before anything existed at all, from the very beginning, whatever exists I created from the non-existent, and from the invisible the visible. Listen, Enoch, and pay attention to these words of mine! For not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their origin, nor my endlessness [and inconceivableness], as I devise the creatures, as I am making them known to you today” (24:2-3). This text is important in Enochic tradition because it represents a development in the depiction of Enoch as not simply “a human taken to heaven and transformed into an angel, but as a celestial being exalted above the angelic world.”³⁷ This depiction is an intermediate stage leading to later mystical rabbinic sources that describe a supreme angel Metatron or “the Prince of the Presence” that is sometimes identified with Enoch.³⁸

The Testament of Abraham is another Second Temple Jewish text that mentions Enoch and his heavenly role. Specifically its shorter recension (version), Recension B, identifies Enoch by name as one of the figures at the heavenly judgment setting.³⁹ Within this judgment setting Enoch is described as a

³⁷ Andrei Orlov in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, 589.

³⁸ “According to the initial story in the early Enochic tradition, Enoch had a vision in his sleep. He rose up to the skies where he saw a crystal wall, then a crystal palace surrounded by flames and ultimately a fiery palace bathed in an unbearable brilliance, in which he saw God’s Throne. It is generally considered that this vision of the celestial temple actually corresponds to the image of the Temple in Jerusalem. There Enoch contemplated God’s majesty and received instructions on the secret doctrines concerning the past and future. For his righteousness God turned him into an angel under the name of Metatron and appointed him a mediator between himself and man.” Felicia Waldman, “Some Considerations on Enoch/Metatron in the Jewish Mystical Tradition,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature*, ed. Philip S. Alexander, Armin Lange, and Renate J. Pillinger (Boston: Brill, 2010), 207-08.

³⁹ The longer version, Recension A, has many figures associated with the heavenly judgment setting that are similar to Recension B, but it does not mention Enoch by name, and actually has two angelic beings fulfilling the same roles assigned to Enoch in Recension B. This is a common difference between the two recensions where Recension B usually makes direct ties to biblical figures while Recension A does so much less, which may be an indication that Recension B came later and tried to strengthen the connections with the Bible and the traditional stories about these figures. See Jared W. Ludlow, *Abraham Meets Death. Narrative Humor in the Testament of Abraham* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 137-138, 182-183.

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man of great stature with three crowns on his head—called the crowns of witness—and holding a golden pen.⁴⁰ As the “scribe of righteousness” and “teacher of heaven and earth,” Enoch not only records the sins and righteousness of each soul, but also reads from the book of heavenly records when requested by the judge (Abel).

When the archangel Michael, Abraham’s escort in this text, described Enoch’s role in the judgment setting in chapter 11, Abraham asked how Enoch could bear the weight of the souls and give sentence to all the souls, seeing that he had never tasted of death. Michael quickly corrected Abraham’s thought and stated that it was not permitted for Enoch to *give sentence* to the souls, it is the Lord who does so. Enoch only has to worry about writing. According to Michael this role was directly requested by Enoch: “Lord, I do not want to give the sentence of the souls, lest I become oppressive to someone.” The Lord replied: “I shall command you to write the sins of a soul that makes atonement, and it will enter into life. And if the soul has not made atonement and repented, you will find its sins (already) written, and it will be cast into punishment” (11:8-10).⁴¹ Through this interaction, we see Enoch becoming the heavenly scribe and participant at the judgment scene, roles found in other texts related to Enoch.

When reviewing these Second Temple texts, we can learn how later Jews and Christians viewed Enoch and his roles. Enoch becomes primarily known as a scribe, often in judgment settings, a teacher of wisdom, a mediator between mortals and heaven, and later an elevated celestial figure. Enoch received

⁴⁰ “[Enoch’s] exalted status in Judaism is well-attested, and his features in [Testament of Abraham] are paralleled in Jewish writings—his giant size (3 *En.* 9:2; 48C:5 [Schafer, *Synopse* 12 = 893, 73]), his being crowned (3 *En.* 12:3-5; 13:1; 48C:7 [Schafer, *Synopse* 15–16 = 896–97, 73]), and his scribal office (*Jubilees* 4:17–24; 1 *En.* 12:3–4; 15:1; 4Q203; 4Q227; Tg. Ps.-Jn. on Genesis 5:25; *Jubilees* 4:23 says that he is now in Eden, ‘writing condemnation and judgment of the world’; cf. 10:17: he will ‘report every deed of each generation in the day of judgment’). Perhaps Enoch the scribe was replaced by two recording angels. The demotion could carry forward an impulse that VanderKam detects in [Testament of Abraham], in which Enoch is only an assistant. VanderKam views this as an implicit criticism of ‘devotees of Enoch who saw him as the son of man, the judge of the last days’ (cf. 1 *Enoch* 70-71).” Dale C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham* (CEJL; ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck et al.; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 259–60.

⁴¹ English translation of *Testament of Abraham* from E.P. Sanders, “Testament of Abraham,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol 1*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1983), 871-902.

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many sweeping visions of God's creations and the unfolding of his salvation history among his children. Thus his importance and status was greatly expanded from the Genesis account, although the origins for these expansions are usually unknown. These depictions are primarily *later* Jewish and Christian interpretations of Enoch so they highlight the significant roles Enoch played in *their* religious thought.

When turning to restoration scripture, on the other hand, we are told the source of the expanded stories of Enoch: revelatory experiences through the prophet Joseph Smith, most notably during the process of the new translation of the Bible (JST). When compared to the material discussed above, some significant similarities and differences are apparent.

Enoch in the Book of Moses

The Book of Moses' narrative about Enoch is vastly more expansive than in Genesis. Four verses grows to around 110 verses; 4,500 words long. While generally this expanded account helps explain how Enoch walked with God and was taken from earth, there are many additional details about Enoch's ministry among his people and the knowledge he gained through revelation and encounters with God. Since Joseph Smith never specifically addressed *how* or exactly *why* he made these expansions to the Genesis account, it is an open question whether he felt he was restoring ancient material, making inspired commentary, a combination of these things, or something else. What seems clear is that it was a revelatory experience for Joseph Smith, and the Book of Moses is presented as if he were experiencing the similar vision or experience that Moses or Enoch had. In the case of the Enoch material, there is mention in Doctrine and Covenants 107:57 of an original book of Enoch that contained information related to some of Enoch's experience, particularly at Adam-ondi-Ahman, but this book is not specifically mentioned in the Book of Moses, unless we identify it with Enoch's book of remembrance (Moses 6:46).⁴²

⁴² "The book of Enoch is one of the ancient writings that Latter-day Saints anticipate receiving sometime in the future. This is not to be confused with the pseudepigraphic books of Enoch, which nevertheless have garnered the

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Rather than give a lengthy summary of the Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses, I will first highlight some similar aspects to the texts we have been discussing, then discuss some of the more unique aspects. Other Latter-day Saint scholars have written about specific parallels they see between parabiblical Enochic literature and the Book of Moses so I will simply point to their work and primarily stick with generalities.⁴³

Themes common to the Book of Moses and in ancient Enoch literature

- The wicked condition of the people to whom Enoch will try to preach repentance. While Enoch's mediatorial role is more pronounced in general Enochic literature, there is a sense in the Book of Moses that Enoch prays for and mediates for the people. The major difference may be that other Enochic literature focuses on Enoch's *heavenly* ministry as mediator, while the Book of Moses emphasizes Enoch's active *earthly* ministry preparing them for translation alongside himself.
- Enoch receives a prophetic call from God. While in Enochic literature this is usually part of a heavenly journey, the Book of Moses grounds it more on the earthly sphere with the spirit of God and a voice from heaven commanding him to prophesy and call them to repentance (see Moses 6:26-27). Enoch reluctantly accepts this call, which actually follows a typical Hebrew

interest of some Latter-day Saints since at least 1840. In Doctrine and Covenants 107:53–57, reference is made to a meeting of Adam's righteous posterity held at Adam-ondi-Ahman three years before Adam's death. ...While these verses give a précis of what happened, many more things were 'written in the book of Enoch, and are to be testified of in due time' (D&C 107:57). Speaking of this book in December 1877, Elder Orson Pratt said, 'When we get that, I think we shall know a great deal about the ante-diluvians of whom at present we know so little' (*Journal of Discourses* 19:218)." Lewis R. Church, "Enoch: Book of Enoch," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 460.

⁴³ E.g., Hugh Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: FARMS, 1986); Andrew C. Skinner, "Joseph Smith Vindicated Again: Enoch, Moses 7:48, and Apocryphal Sources," in *Revelation, Reason, and Faith. Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, ed. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002): 365-381; Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and David J. Larsen, *In God's Image and Likeness 2. Enoch, Noah, and the Tower of Babel* (Salt Lake City: The Interpreter Foundation. Eborn Books, 2014): 33-198).

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prophetic call pattern. The pattern includes divine confrontation; introductory word; commission; objection; reassurance; and sign.⁴⁴

- Enoch is considered a lad (see Moses 6:31).⁴⁵
- Enoch is a man of visions. The Book of Moses highlights this characteristic with the title “seer.” Within the Book of Moses, Enoch shares a vision he had upon a mountain seeing the heavens open and beholding the Lord standing before his face talking with him as a man talks with another, similar to other Enoch—God encounters except for again its location is more earth-bound on the mountain. The Lord then invited Enoch to look and see the world for the space of many generations (see Moses 7:3-4).
- Both narrative traditions mention “giants.” Enochic sources usually connect these giants with the offspring of the illicit relations between the Watchers and mortals, while the Book of Moses equates them with the enemies of God who are separated from the people of God.
- Enoch weeps for God’s wayward children, but the Book of Moses uniquely calls additional attention to God’s weeping as a manifestation of his deep love.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Articulated in a formative article by Norman Habel, “The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 77 (October 1965): 298-301. Enoch’s objection is similar to Jeremiah’s in Jeremiah 1:6-8.

⁴⁵ Several non-Latter-day Saint Enochic texts give Enoch the title of ‘lad’ or ‘youth’. This younger description is explained “as due to the fact that Enoch was taken up to heaven during the era of the flood and elevated to a status over that of the angels. This elevation bothered the angels and they made accusations against the person of Enoch, though the specific nature of these accusations have fallen out of the present form of the text. This leads God to asseverate that Enoch is to be prince and ruler over all the angels. At this point the angels relent, prostrate before Enoch, and acclaim him ‘Lad’...In any event, the reason our text supplies for this title is deceptively simple and straightforward: ‘And because I was the *youngest* among them and a “lad” amongst them with respect to days, months, and years, therefore they called me “lad.”’” Gary A. Anderson, “The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan,” in *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays* (ed. Gary Anderson, Michael Stone, and Johannes Tromp; Boston: Brill, 2000), 107. See also Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and David J. Larsen, *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower of Babel. In God’s Image and Likeness 2* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books, 2014), 37–39.

⁴⁶ For more on the issue of weeping, see Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, Jacob A. Rennaker and David J. Larsen, “Revisiting the Forgotten Voices of Weeping in Moses 7: A Comparison with Ancient Texts,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 2 (2012): 41-71.

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- Enoch sees the deliverance of some of God's children through Noah and the ark.
- Some Enochic texts present the figure of Mother Earth who plays a significant part in Enoch's vision in the second half of Moses 7. She is usually crying out for the wickedness upon her (see *1 Enoch* 7:4-6; 8:4; 9:2, 10; 4QEnGiants 8, lines 3-4, 6-12).⁴⁷ The Book of Moses is more explicit about when she shall finally rest after the redemption is completed by the Son of Man.

Themes found in the Book of Moses that do not appear in the ancient literature

- The Book of Moses focuses on Enoch's reluctance to accept his prophetic calling because he is slow of speech (see Moses 6:31). The later narrative will show how God turns this around to make Enoch powerful in speech (see Moses 7:31).
- Besides teaching about God and the creation, found in other sources as well, in the Book of Moses Enoch teaches more about the Fall and its effects and how to overcome those effects through coming unto Jesus Christ. This Christ-centered doctrine includes discussions on the plan of salvation and being cleansed through the blood of the Only Begotten. Within this doctrinal section, the Book of Moses uses two important titles for deity: "Man of Holiness" for God the Father, and "Son of Man" for Jesus Christ (see 6:57). The title "Son of Man" is not only ubiquitous in the Gospels, but in many Enochic texts as well. Here and in the Gospels, it is clearly identified with Jesus Christ, but often in the Enochic texts, it refers to Enoch himself.
- The Book of Moses uses the title "sons of God" for those who believed Adam's teachings and followed them (see Moses 7:1). This allusion to the sons of God may be significant for the Book of Moses' interpretation of the "Watchers" (a term not used in the Book of Moses), as the sons of God were *not* angels or other types of supernatural figures, but rather those who had believed God's teachings through Adam. The sons/daughters of men, then, were those who

⁴⁷ For a discussion of the similarities and differences of these texts mentioning the earth crying out with Moses 7:48, see Skinner, "Joseph Smith Vindicated Again," 374-380.

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rejected these teachings and who eventually lured away the sons/daughters of God from their covenant relationship with God.

- In the Book of Moses, the people of God experience great things as the Lord dwells with them and the glory of the Lord falls upon them. They are called “Zion, because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them” (Moses 7:18). Meanwhile, Enoch continues preaching among the people and builds a city called “the City of Holiness, even Zion” (Moses 7:19). Enoch is told in discussion with the Lord and later in vision that his city of Zion would be taken up into heaven (see Moses 7:23-24).⁴⁸ Zion’s relocation creates a great separation between Enoch’s community in heaven and the wicked on earth under Satan’s power. This notion of an entire community being taken to heaven along with Enoch is absent from other Enochic traditions where the emphasis is on Enoch as an individual. Enoch’s preaching is responsible for this glorious outcome, but he is not granted a special heavenly status like *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch*, and rabbinic material display where it increasingly grants Enoch heavenly powers and status, even to the point of being the archangel Metatron and “lesser YHWH.”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ All the days of Zion, in the days of Enoch, were three hundred and sixty-five years (rather than Enoch’s lifespan alone) (7:68). Enoch *and all his people* walked with God as he dwelt in the midst of Zion until Zion was received into his own bosom (7:69). Enoch lived upon the earth four hundred and thirty years (8:1). “One reaches this figure by adding Enoch’s age at the time of Methuselah’s birth, sixty-five—evidently Enoch’s age when he was called (see Moses 6:25-26)—to the number of years that Zion existed under Enoch’s leadership, 365 (see Moses 7:68). In contrast, the Bible reckons Enoch’s earthly age to have been 365 years, counting 300 years from the birth of Methuselah (see Genesis 5:21–23).” Draper, Brown, and Rhodes, *The Pearl of Great Price*, 155.

⁴⁹ Some of these texts are not discussed in this paper due to their later dates (after the Second Temple period) and their exalted development of Enoch that seems to be a different trajectory from the bookBook of Moses. “After having been installed as ruler over the angels, Metatron was given a new distinctive name: ‘the lesser YHWH’...[The name] is in chh. 12 and 48:7 used as indicative of Metatron’s character of representative, *vicarius*, of the Godhead; it expresses a sublimation of his vice-regency into a second manifestation of the Deity in the name YHWH. The special features that accompany and symbolize Metatron’s elevation into a lesser manifestation of the ‘Divine Name’ are, besides his being enthroned, the *conferment upon him of (part of) the Divine Glory*, ‘honour, majesty and splendor’ (ch. 48:7), ‘a garment of glory, robe of honour’, but especially a ‘crown of kingship’ (10:1-4) on which the mystical ‘letters’, representing cosmic and celestial agencies, are engraved—after the pattern of the Crown of the Holy One—and lastly *knowledge of all the secrets of Creation, and of ‘Torah’, otherwise in possession*

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- Enoch sees the coming of the Son of Man to fulfill the planned redemption from sin and death through his atoning sacrifice (see Moses 7:45-47).
- A covenant made with Enoch that affects and protects Noah's family and descendants. This covenant not only applies to the Flood, but to the last days as well (see Moses 7:51-52, 60).⁵⁰
- The future existence of a New Jerusalem that will unite with the city of Enoch (see Moses 7:62-63).
- Enoch saw in vision the Jesus' Second Coming and the Millennium (see Moses 7:64-65).

Influence of the Enoch Narrative on Latter-day Saints

The Enoch narrative from the Book of Moses has greatly influenced Latter-day Saints. While it was especially prominent in early church history, eventually being canonized in the Pearl of Great Price, its doctrinal teachings continue to inform Latter-day Saint understanding of Christ's redemption and spiritual rebirth. Speaking in general terms, we can categorize four different stages of influence of the Enoch narrative on Latter-day Saints.⁵¹

The first stage of Latter-day Saint Enoch traditions is in the early 1830s with the first published material in the church periodical, the *Evening and Morning Star*, which was an excerpt from the book of Genesis in the JST. As discussed above, it seems that the Enoch traditions in the first stage were not directly transmitted or influenced by earlier Enochic manuscripts. The doctrinal emphasis of the first stage drew upon Enoch's ministry that helped form a Zion community that was eventually translated. The early saints patterned their efforts after Enoch's to gather into one community to create their own

of the Most High alone." Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973), 82.

⁵⁰ The Book of Moses specifically points out that Enoch's son Methuselah was not taken up with the rest so that the Lord's covenant that Noah would come from the fruit of his loins could be fulfilled (8:2). This explains how his posterity would continue and the fate of the residue left behind as discussed in other Enochic texts.

⁵¹ These stages were first presented by the author at the 2019 Enoch Seminar on *Enoch and Enochic Traditions in the Early Modern Period: A Reception History, From the 15th to the End of the 19th Centuries* held in Florence, Italy. From "Enoch in the Tradition of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormonism)." Conference proceedings forthcoming.

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Zion of one heart and one mind with no poor among them with the belief that complete righteousness was achievable on earth. For these first-generation Latter-day Saints, the building of this Zion, patterned after Enoch, was probably the way the tradition of Enoch most impacted them.

The second stage of Latter-day Saint involvement with Enoch traditions was not until around a decade after the Book of Moses was first printed when the first definitive mention of *1 Enoch* is published in Latter-day Saint periodicals in an advertisement reprinted from the New York Star for a forthcoming publication of the book of Jasher.⁵² Early members had always shown excitement for lost books of the Bible, so it is no surprise to see their eagerness for the book of Enoch which had recently “been discovered, translated from the Ethiopic, and published in England.” The early saints saw parallels between the struggles against persecution recounted in *1 Enoch* and their own experiences, particularly in regards to the government not aiding the prevention of persecution and sometimes even participating in it. They also saw the fulfillment of passages that foretold the coming forth of books (or “scripture”) in their additional books of scripture like the Book of Mormon. The *Millennial Star*, therefore, included part of *1 Enoch* so that readers could judge for themselves whether this ancient text foresaw the events unfolding in the latter days after the Restoration. Thus during the second stage, direct contact with and interpretation of *1 Enoch* became the centerpiece of Enoch discussions. While the efforts to create Zion continued from the first stage, a new emphasis on reading *1 Enoch* to see ancient prophecies being fulfilled in their day defines the second stage. A previously unknown text was almost treated as scripture (though never canonized, and likely never read by most members of the church beyond some excerpts in church periodicals) as the prophecies of *1 Enoch* somehow bolstered their faith that the many new things being unfolded under the prophetic leadership of Joseph Smith were foreseen, and thus true.

⁵² “The Book of Jasher,” *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 1 No. 8 (June 1840): 127.

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The third stage of Latter-day Saint use of the Enoch narrative was in General Conference addresses in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Church leaders randomly mentioned Enoch in these talks reiterating earlier teachings from the Pearl of Great Price related to building up Zion, Christology and “gospel” teachings in the antediluvian period, and seeking righteousness to unite with Enoch’s city. In this stage, however, we begin to see a shift that became even stronger in the twentieth century from emphasizing the patterning of cities after the city of Enoch to the *theology* of Moses 6-7. Modern Latter-day Saints are much more likely to focus on the doctrines and teachings of the Enoch stories to increase understanding and righteousness. There still exists the notion of preparing for a gathering with the translated city of Enoch, including the future building of a New Jerusalem, but it is more through the righteousness of church members, creating a Zion-like community, rather than city development.

One can see a fourth stage of interest in Enoch material by Latter-day Saints in the twentieth-century after the proliferation and collection of Pseudepigrapha texts (primarily in English translation) and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some Latter-day Saint scholars, most notably Hugh Nibley, combed these texts for parallels to Joseph Smith’s earlier revelations about Enoch and other figures. This apologetic effort claimed that most of these Second Temple Jewish texts were unknown by Joseph Smith and yet aspects of them corroborated what was found in his works. Dealing specifically with *1 Enoch*, Jed Woodworth categorized two opposing views on Joseph Smith’s acquaintance with Laurence’s Enoch text.⁵³ The “parallelist” position argues that Joseph Smith did not know Laurence’s Enoch text, but included remarkable parallels with Enochic texts in his writings. Those taking this position felt that if they could find correspondences between ancient texts, most of which were not available to Joseph

⁵³ "Extra-Biblical Enoch Texts in Early American Culture," in *Archive of Restoration Culture: Summer Fellows' Papers 1997-1999*, ed. Richard L. Bushman (Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2000), 185-93.

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Smith during his lifetime, and the purported visions and writings of these figures through Joseph Smith's works, then it would vindicate Smith's prophetic role.⁵⁴ The "derivativist" position argues that Joseph Smith knew Laurence's *1 Enoch* English translation and was influenced by it in his writings.⁵⁵ Since this is highly unlikely as discussed above, some more recent works have taken a different angle and minimized the necessity of Joseph Smith knowing Laurence's *1 Enoch*, but instead they look to Masonic traditions or excerpts in English literature for possible influences on Joseph Smith's Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses. Thus, this stage, which one could argue is ongoing, is marked by the effort to identify parallels with ancient Enochic material to support or debunk Latter-day Saint truth claims. The focus, therefore, is less on the figure of Enoch, and more on Joseph Smith.

Conclusion

Despite Enoch's brief description in the book of Genesis, he has taken on many roles and greatly influenced aspects of later Jewish and Christian tradition. A plethora of manuscripts and traditions related to Enoch arose in the Second Temple period, some of which likely had earlier roots, that developed his increasing importance among some groups. There are both notable parallels and significant differences between these ancient texts and the Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses. Some of the crucial differences include the Book of Moses's emphasis on the entire community becoming righteous and being translated and not just the individual, Enoch. In other Enochic literature there is the elevation of Enoch's heavenly status to loftier and loftier titles until he becomes the archangel Metatron and the lesser YHWH. Enoch was used, particularly by the Qumran community, as a figure to support

⁵⁴ Some representative examples: Hugh Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: FARMS, 1986); Andrew C. Skinner, "Joseph Smith Vindicated Again: Enoch, Moses 7:48, and Apocryphal Sources," in *Revelation, Reason, and Faith. Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, ed. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and Stephen D. Ricks (Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002): 365-381; Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and David J. Larsen, *In God's Image and Likeness 2. Enoch, Noah, and the Tower of Babel* (Salt Lake City: The Interpreter Foundation. Eborn Books, 2014): 33-198.

⁵⁵ Represented by D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, rev. (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1998). An MA Thesis on this issue was done by Salvatore Cirillo at the University of Durham ("Joseph Smith, Mormonism, and Enochic Tradition," 2010).

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calendric concerns, not a concern in the Book of Moses. Christology is a central emphasis of the Book of Moses account, which at most is suggested by some type of Messianic figure in general Enochic literature.

Some of the similarities between the Enoch narrative in the Book of Moses and general Enochic literature may point to early ancient traditions or threads that were not included in the canonical record. These include Enoch's role as mediator between (usually very wicked) mortals and God. Enoch became known as a scribe with his records or books being mentioned in various sources. He is a visionary and seer who received many visions related to God's plan for his children, from the Creation to the end including the Final Judgment. As such, Enoch became a great teacher of wisdom from the spiritual encounters and visions he experienced. Finally, he is known as one who boldly preached repentance to the wicked, which resulted in an incredible community transformation in the Book of Moses. While we cannot definitively state that these parallel traditions somehow go back to the same original or early source, their presence in many different sources make it possible that they were drawing upon a wider body of oral or written Enochic traditions than what is found in Genesis or could have been known to Joseph Smith. These traditions beyond Genesis give us insight into why God would take Enoch from the earth as a prelude to great future events. Enoch's influence on how to create a Zion-like society of one heart, one mind, with no poor, should still be relevant for God's children today.