The Deuterocanonical Scriptures

Volume 2B
Baruch/Jeremiah, Daniel (Additions),
Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira, Enoch,
Esther (Additions), Ezra

Edited by
Frank Feder, Matthias Henze (Volume Editors)
Mika Pajunen (Associate Editor)

Area Editors of THB volume 2
Randall Chesnutt, Kelley Coblentz Bautch, Lutz Doering, Frank Feder,
Deborah Gera, Matthew Goff, Matthias Henze, Karina Hogan, Michael Lattke,
Robert Littman, Daniel R. Schwartz, Archibald Wright, Benjamin Wright
Contents of THB Volume 2

VOLUME 2A

Preface
Introduction to the Textual History of the Bible
Introduction to the Textual History of the Bible, Vol. 2: The Deuterocanonical Scriptures

1 The Canonical History and the Textual History of the Deutero-Canonical Texts (Area Editor: Frank Feder)

VOLUME 2B

2 Baruch/Jeremiah
3 Daniel, Additions to
4 Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira
5 Enoch
6 Esther, Additions to
7 Ezra

VOLUME 2C

8 Jubilees
9 Judith
10 Maccabees
11 Prayer of Manasseh
12 Psalms 151–155
13 Psalms and Odes of Solomon
14 Tobit
15 Wisdom of Solomon
16 Appendix: the Odes

The front matter of each volume contains a Table of Contents and a List of Authors for that volume, Notes to the Reader / Abbreviations, and the Collective Bibliography.
Contents of THB Volume 2A

Preface .......................................................................................................................... VIII
Introduction to the Textual History of the Bible ............................................................ IX
Introduction to the Textual History of the Bible, Vol. 2: The Deuterocanonical Scriptures . XIII
Area Editors .................................................................................................................... XVII
Authors .......................................................................................................................... XVIII
Notes to the Reader / Abbreviations ............................................................................... XIX
Collective Bibliography ................................................................................................. XXV

1 Overview Articles ........................................................................................................ 1

1.1 The Canonical Histories of the Deuterocanonical Texts ........................................... 3
   1.1.1 The Canonical Histories of the Jewish Bible and the Christian Old Testament with Special Attention to the Deuterocanonical Books – A Synthesis (Armin Lange) . . . . 5
   1.1.2 The Greek Canon (Edmon L. Gallagher) ................................................................. 113
   1.1.3 The Syriac Canon (Lucas Van Rompay) ................................................................. 136
   1.1.4 The Latin Canon (Edmon L. Gallagher) ................................................................. 166
   1.1.5 The Ethiopic Canon (Curt Niccum) ....................................................................... 191
   1.1.6 The Coptic Canon (Frank Feder) ........................................................................... 213
   1.1.7 The Armenian Canon (S. Peter Cowe) ................................................................. 240
   1.1.8 The Georgian Canon (Anna Kharanauli) ............................................................... 258
   1.1.9 The Slavonic Canon (Alessandro Maria Bruni) .................................................... 269
   1.1.10 The Arabic Canon (Miriam Lindgren Hjälm) ..................................................... 280
   1.1.11 The Protestant Canon (Stefan Michel) ............................................................... 299

1.2 The Textual Histories of the Deuterocanonical Texts ............................................. 311
   1.2.1 The Textual Histories of the Deuterocanonical Texts – A Synthesis (Edmon L. Gallagher) ........................................................................................................ 313
   1.2.2 Hebrew Texts (Armin Lange) ............................................................................... 324
   1.2.3 Aramaic Texts (Armin Lange) ............................................................................. 345
   1.2.4 Greek Texts (Felix Albrecht) ............................................................................... 352
   1.2.5 Syriac Texts (Lucas Van Rompay) ........................................................................ 376
   1.2.6 Latin Texts (Edmon L. Gallagher) ....................................................................... 398
   1.2.7 Ethiopic Texts (Curt Niccum) ............................................................................. 406
   1.2.8 Coptic Texts (Frank Feder) ................................................................................ 424
   1.2.9 Armenian Texts (S. Peter Cowe) ........................................................................ 436
   1.2.10 Georgian Texts (Anna Kharanauli) .................................................................... 456
   1.2.11 Slavonic Texts (Alessandro Maria Bruni) ............................................................. 473
   1.2.12 Arabic Texts (Miriam Lindgren Hjälm) .............................................................. 483
   1.2.13 Christian Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Laurent Capron) ..................................... 496
## Contents of THB Volume 2B

| Area Editors | xi |
| Authors | xii |
| Notes to the Reader / Abbreviations | XIII |
| Collective Bibliography | XIX |

### 2 Baruch/Jeremiah

#### 2.1 1Baruch

- 2.1.1 Textual History of 1 Baruch (Lutz Doering) ........................................... 3
- 2.1.2 Greek (Tony Michael) .......................................................... 11
- 2.1.3 Syriac (Liv Ingeborg Lied) .................................................... 15
- 2.1.4 Latin (Edmon L. Gallagher) .................................................... 18
- 2.1.5 Ethiopic (Martin Heide) ....................................................... 23
- 2.1.6 Coptic (Frank Feder) .......................................................... 24
- 2.1.7 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ..................................................... 26
- 2.1.8 Georgian (Anna Kharanauli) .................................................. 29
- 2.1.9 Slavonic (Anissava L. Miltenova) .......................................... 33
- 2.1.10 Arabic (Miriam Lindgren Hjalm) ........................................... 35
- 2.1.11 Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Laurent Capron) ......................... 37

#### 2.2 2Baruch/Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch

- 2.2.1 Textual History of 2 Baruch (Lutz Doering) .................................... 39
- 2.2.2 Greek (Liv Ingeborg Lied) .................................................... 45
- 2.2.3 Syriac (Liv Ingeborg Lied) .................................................... 46
- 2.2.4 Arabic (Adriana Drint) ....................................................... 53

#### 2.3 4Baruch/Paralipomena Jeremiou

- 2.3.1 Textual History of 4 Baruch (Lutz Doering) .................................... 60
- 2.3.2 Greek (Jens Herzer) .......................................................... 66
- 2.3.3 Ethiopic (Martin Heide) ....................................................... 74
- 2.3.4 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ..................................................... 76
- 2.3.5 Slavonic (Anissava L. Miltenova) .......................................... 79

#### 2.4 Letter of Jeremiah

- 2.4.1 Textual History of the Letter of Jeremiah (Lutz Doering) .................. 83
- 2.4.2 Greek (Sean A. Adams) .......................................................... 88
- 2.4.3 Syriac (Liv Ingeborg Lied) .................................................... 92
- 2.4.4 Latin (Edmon L. Gallagher) .................................................... 94
- 2.4.5 Ethiopic (Martin Heide) ....................................................... 98
- 2.4.6 Coptic (Frank Feder) .......................................................... 99
- 2.4.7 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ..................................................... 101
- 2.4.8 Georgian (Anna Kharanauli) .................................................. 103
- 2.4.9 Slavonic (Anissava L. Miltenova) .......................................... 107
- 2.4.10 Arabic (Miriam Lindgren Hjalm) ........................................... 109
- 2.4.11 Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Laurent Capron) ......................... 110

#### 2.5 Jeremiah’s Prophecy to Pashur

- 2.5.1 Textual History of Jeremiah’s Prophecy to Pashur (Alin Suciu) .......... 112
## Contents of Volume 28

### Chapter 2

**2.5.2** Ethiopic (Ted Erho) .......................................................... 113
**2.5.3** Coptic (Alin Suciu) .......................................................... 117
**2.5.4** Arabic (Martin Heide) ....................................................... 119

### Chapter 2.6

**2.6** History of Captivity in Babylon ........................................ 122
**2.6.1** Textual History of the History of the Captivity in Babylon (Alin Suciu) ........... 122
**2.6.2** Coptic (Alin Suciu) .......................................................... 124
**2.6.3** Arabic (Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala) ..................................... 127

### Chapter 3

**3** Daniel, Additions to .......................................................... 131
**3.1** Textual History of the Additions to Daniel (Matthias Henze) .......... 133
**3.2** Greek (Martin Rösel) ............................................................ 143
**3.3** Syriac (Richard A. Taylor) ................................................. 149
**3.4** Latin (José Manuel Cañas Reillo) .......................................... 153
**3.5** Ethiopic (Curt Niccum) ....................................................... 158
**3.6** Coptic (Sofia Torallas Tovar) .............................................. 161
**3.7** Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) .................................................. 166
**3.8** Georgian (Alessandro Maria Bruni) ........................................ 169
**3.9** Slavonic (Alessandro Maria Bruni) ........................................ 172
**3.10** Arabic (Miriam Lindgren Hjälm) .......................................... 176
**3.11** Aramaic and Hebrew (Chronicles of Jerahmeel) (Peter Flint & Andrew B. Perrin) .... 181

### Chapter 4

**4** Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira .......................................................... 185
**4.1** Textual History of Ben Sira (Benjamin Wright) ......................... 187
**4.2** Hebrew (Eric D. Reymond) .................................................. 199
**4.3** Greek (Jeremy Corley) ........................................................ 214
**4.4** Syriac (Wido van Peursen) ............................................... 232
**4.5** Latin (Bradley Gregory) ..................................................... 243
**4.6** Ethiopic (Daniel Assefa) ..................................................... 256
**4.7** Coptic (Dylan M. Burns) .................................................... 262
**4.8** Armenian (Garegin Hambardzumyan) .................................... 264
**4.9** Georgian (Anna Kharanauli) ............................................... 269
**4.10** Slavonic (Anissava L. Miltenova) ....................................... 274
**4.11** Arabic (Peter Tarras) ....................................................... 277
**4.12** Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Laurent Capron) ...................... 282

### Chapter 5

**5** Enoch .......................................................... 285
**5.1** 1Enoch .......................................................... 287
**5.1.1** Textual History of 1Enoch (Kelley Coblentz Bautch) ............... 287
**5.1.2** Ethiopic of 1Enoch (Loren Stuckenbruck & Ted Erho) ............ 302
**5.2** The Book of the Watchers .................................................. 308
**5.2.1** Greek (Kelley Coblentz Bautch) ....................................... 308
**5.2.2** Aramaic (Ryan Stokes) .................................................. 318
**5.2.3** Syriac (Angela Kim Harkins) .......................................... 327
**5.3** The Similitudes .......................................................... 330
**5.4** The Astronomical Book ...................................................... 331
**5.4.1** Greek (Jason von Ehrenkrook) ........................................ 331
<p>| 5.4.2 | Aramaic (Jonathan Ben-Dov) | 334 |
| 5.5 | The Book of Dreams | 343 |
| 5.5.1 | Greek (Daniel Assefa) | 343 |
| 5.5.2 | Aramaic (Henryk Drawnel) | 349 |
| 5.6 | The Letter of Enoch | 355 |
| 5.6.1 | Greek (Ron Herms) | 355 |
| 5.6.2 | Aramaic (Ron Herms) | 358 |
| 5.6.3 | Latin (Ron Herms) | 360 |
| 5.6.4 | Coptic (Dylan M. Burns) | 362 |
| 5.7 | Excursus: Other Enochic Literature | 364 |
| 5.7.1 | The Book of Giants (Matthew Goff) | 364 |
| 5.7.2 | Enoch | 370 |
| 5.7.2.1 | Coptic (Frank Feder) | 370 |
| 5.7.2.2 | Slavonic (Christfried Böttrich) | 371 |
| 5.7.3 | 3 Enoch (Ra’anan Boustan) | 379 |
| 5.7.4 | A Hebrew Text Related to 1 Enoch (1Q9) (Ariel Feldman) | 385 |
| 5.7.5 | An Otherworldly Journey of an Unknown Figure (P.Gen. inv. 187) (Marie Bagnoud &amp; Kelley Coblenz Bautch) | 387 |
| 6 | Esther, Additions to | 389 |
| 6.1 | Textual History of the Additions to Esther (Matthias Henze) | 391 |
| 6.2 | Greek (Kristin De Troyer) | 397 |
| 6.3 | Syriac (Michael G. Wechsler) | 404 |
| 6.4 | Latin (Jean-Claude Haelewycx) | 405 |
| 6.5 | Ethiopic (Curt Niccum) | 409 |
| 6.6 | Coptic (Sofia Torallas Tovar) | 412 |
| 6.7 | Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) | 414 |
| 6.8 | Georgian (Alessandro Maria Bruni) | 418 |
| 6.9 | Slavonic (Alessandro Maria Bruni) | 420 |
| 7 | Ezra | 423 |
| 7.0 | Books Attributed to Ezra (Matthias Henze) | 425 |
| 7.1 | 3 Ezra (= 1 Esdras) | 429 |
| 7.1.1 | Textual History of 3 Ezra (Bonifatia Gesche) | 429 |
| 7.1.2 | Greek (Dieter Böhler) | 433 |
| 7.1.3 | Syriac (Bradley J. Marsh) | 440 |
| 7.1.4 | Latin (Bonifatia Gesche) | 447 |
| 7.1.5 | Ethiopic (Curt Niccum) | 453 |
| 7.1.6 | Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) | 455 |
| 7.1.7 | Georgian (Anna Kharanauli) | 461 |
| 7.1.8 | Slavonic (Henry Cooper) | 466 |
| 7.1.9 | Arabic (Ronny Vollandt) | 469 |
| 7.2 | 4 Ezra (= 2 Esdras 3–14) | 471 |
| 7.2.1 | Textual History of 4 Ezra (Karina Martin Hogan) | 471 |
| 7.2.2 | Syriac (Liv Ingeborg Lied &amp; Matthew Monger) | 481 |
| 7.2.3 | Latin (Pierre-Maurice Bogaert) | 488 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.2.4</td>
<td>Ethiopic (Curt Niccum)</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.5</td>
<td>Coptic (Dylan M. Burns)</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.6</td>
<td>Armenian (Michael Stone)</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.7</td>
<td>Georgian (Bernard Outtier)</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.8</td>
<td>Slavonic (Henry Cooper)</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.9</td>
<td>Arabic 1 (Adriana Drint)</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.10</td>
<td>Arabic 2 (Adriana Drint)</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.11</td>
<td>Syro-Arabic (Adriana Drint)</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.12</td>
<td>Hebrew of 4 Ezra (Dina Blokland)</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>5 Ezra (= 2 Esdras 1–2)</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1</td>
<td>Textual History of 5 Ezra (Karina Martin Hogan)</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2</td>
<td>Latin (Pierre-Maurice Bogaert)</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.3</td>
<td>Slavonic</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.4</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6 Ezra (= 2 Esdras 15–16)</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.1</td>
<td>Textual History of 6 Ezra (Luigi Walt)</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.2</td>
<td>Greek (Oxyrhynchus) (Luigi Walt)</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.3</td>
<td>Latin (Pierre-Maurice Bogaert)</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.4</td>
<td>Slavonic</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.5</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents of THB Volume 2C

Area Editors................................................................................................................. X
Authors ....................................................................................................................... XI
Notes to the Reader / Abbreviations ........................................................................... XII
Collective Bibliography .............................................................................................. XVIII

8 Jubilees.................................................................................................................... 1
  8.1 Textual History of Jubilees (Lutz Doering) ......................................................... 3
  8.2 Hebrew (James VanderKam) ............................................................................. 15
  8.3 Greek (William Adler) ...................................................................................... 22
  8.4 Syriac (Andy Hilkens) ...................................................................................... 27
  8.5 Latin (Todd R. Hanneken) ................................................................................. 31
  8.6 Ethiopic (Ted Erho & James R. Hamrick) ......................................................... 35
  8.7 Coptic (Andrew T. Crislip) ................................................................................ 44

9 Judith......................................................................................................................... 49
  9.1 Textual History of Judith (Deborah Gera) ......................................................... 51
  9.2 Hebrew (Deborah Gera) .................................................................................... 60
  9.3 Greek (Barbara Schmitz & Helmut Engel) ........................................................ 66
  9.4 Syriac (Erin Galgay Walsh & Lucas Van Rompay) .......................................... 71
  9.5 Latin (Stephen Ryan) ....................................................................................... 77
  9.6 Ethiopic (Curt Niccum) .................................................................................... 83
  9.7 Coptic (Dylan M. Burns) .................................................................................. 87
  9.8 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ................................................................................ 89
  9.9 Georgian (Anna Kharanauli) ............................................................................. 94
  9.10 Slavonic (Lara Sels & Francis Thomson) ......................................................... 106
  9.11 Arabic (Ronny Vollandt) ................................................................................ 108

10 Maccabees ............................................................................................................. 111
  10.1 1 Maccabees ..................................................................................................... 113
    10.1.1 Textual History of 1 Maccabees (Daniel Schwartz, Frank Feder & Mika Pajunen) . 113
    10.1.2 Greek (Daniel Schwartz) .......................................................................... 117
    10.1.3 Syriac (Serge Ruzer) ................................................................................. 122
    10.1.4 Latin (Bonifatia Gesche) ......................................................................... 125
    10.1.5 Ethiopian (Ted Erho) .............................................................................. 131
    10.1.6 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ..................................................................... 134
    10.1.7 Georgian (Alessandro Maria Bruni) ......................................................... 137
    10.1.8 Slavonic (Alessandro Maria Bruni) ......................................................... 139
  10.2 2 Maccabees ..................................................................................................... 142
    10.2.1 Textual History of 2 Maccabees (Johannes Schnocks) ............................... 142
    10.2.2 Greek (Johannes Schnocks) ................................................................... 151
    10.2.3 Syriac (Serge Ruzer) .............................................................................. 153
    10.2.4 Latin (Johannes Schnocks) .................................................................... 156
    10.2.5 Ethiopian (Ted Erho) ............................................................................ 158
# Contents of the Volume 2C

10.2.6 Coptic (Ivan Miroshnikov) ................................................... 159
10.2.7 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) .................................................... 163
10.2.8 Georgian .................................................................... 167
10.2.9 Slavonic ..................................................................... 167
10.2.10 Arabic (Ronny Vollandt) ..................................................... 167

10.3 3 Maccabees ....................................................................... 172
10.3.1 Textual History of 3 Maccabees (Noah Hacham) .................. 172
10.3.2 Greek (Noah Hacham) ....................................................... 177
10.3.3 Syriac (Noah Hacham) ....................................................... 179
10.3.4 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) .................................................... 181
10.3.5 Georgian .................................................................... 186
10.3.6 Slavonic ..................................................................... 186

10.4 4 Maccabees ....................................................................... 187
10.4.1 Textual History of 4 Maccabees (Robert J.V. Hiebert) ........... 187
10.4.2 Greek (Robert J.V. Hiebert) ................................................... 194
10.4.3 Syriac (Robert J.V. Hiebert) ................................................... 201
10.4.4 Latin (Robert J.V. Hiebert & David J. Sigrist) ....................... 207
10.4.5 Coptic (Ivan Miroshnikov) ................................................... 213
10.4.6 Georgian .................................................................... 219
10.4.7 Slavonic ..................................................................... 219

10.5 Ethiopian Books of Maccabees (Māqabāyān) (Yonatan Binyam) ...... 220

11 Prayer of Manasseh ................................................................ 227
11.1 Textual History of the Prayer of Manasseh (Randall Chesnutt) .... 229
11.2 Hebrew (Randall Chesnutt) ..................................................... 236
11.3 Greek (David Fiensy) ............................................................. 239
11.4 Syriac (J. Edward Wright) ..................................................... 244
11.5 Latin (Vasile Babota) ............................................................ 250
11.6 Ethiopic (Archibald Wright) .................................................. 255
11.7 Coptic (Frank Feder) ............................................................. 259
11.8 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ....................................................... 260
11.9 Slavonic (Lara Sels & Francis Thomson) .................................. 264
11.10 Arabic (Miriam Lindgren Hjälm) .......................................... 268
11.11 Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Laurent Capron) ...................... 272

12 Psalms 151–155 ..................................................................... 275
12.1 Textual History of Psalms 151–155 (Matthias Henze) ................ 277
12.2 Hebrew (Eva Mroczek) ............................................................ 286
12.3 Greek (Felix Albrecht) ............................................................. 293
12.4 Syriac (Aaron M. Butts) .......................................................... 296
12.5 Latin (Felix Albrecht) ............................................................. 302
12.6 Ethiopic (Steve Delamarter & Cameron Marvin) ..................... 306
12.7 Coptic (Frank Feder) ............................................................. 312
12.8 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ....................................................... 315
12.9 Georgian (Alessandro Maria Bruni) ........................................ 317
12.10 Slavonic (Alessandro Maria Bruni) ........................................ 319
12.11 Arabic (Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala) ..................................... 321
13 **Psalms and Odes of Solomon** .......................................................... 325
13.1 **Psalms of Solomon** .......................................................... 327
   13.1.1 Textual History of the *Psalms of Solomon* (Michael Lattke) ........................................ 327
   13.1.2 Greek (Kenneth Atkinson) ........................................ 332
   13.1.3 Syriac (Kenneth Atkinson) ........................................ 341
13.2 **Odes of Solomon** .......................................................... 351
   13.2.1 Textual History of the *Odes of Solomon* (Michael Lattke) ........................................ 351
   13.2.2 Greek .................................................................. 356
      13.2.2.1 The Greek Text according to Papyrus Bodmer xi (Michael Lattke) ........................................ 357
      13.2.2.2 Latin Quotations of the Greek Text (Michael Lattke) ........................................ 361
      13.2.2.3 Coptic Quotations of the Greek Text (Michael Lattke) ........................................ 362
   13.2.3 Syriac (Michael Lattke) ........................................ 369

14 **Tobit** .......................................................... 383
14.1 Textual History of Tobit (Robert J. Littman) ........................................ 385
14.2 Hebrew (Ancient) (Beate Ego) ........................................ 401
14.3 Hebrew (Medieval) (Beate Ego) ........................................ 403
14.4 Greek (Giancarlo Toloni) ........................................ 413
14.5 Aramaic (Ancient) (Beate Ego) ........................................ 425
14.6 Aramaic (Medieval) (Beate Ego) ........................................ 432
14.7 Syriac (Giancarlo Toloni) ........................................ 436
14.8 Latin (Michaela Hallermayer) ........................................ 440
14.9 Ethiopic (Curt Niccum) ........................................ 444
14.10 Coptic (Dylan M. Burns) ........................................ 447
14.11 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ........................................ 450
14.12 Georgian (Anna Kharaanauli & Natela Dundua) ........................................ 455
14.13 Slavonic (Lara Sels & Francis Thomson) ........................................ 461
14.14 Arabic (Peter Tarras) ........................................ 463

15 **Wisdom of Solomon** .......................................................... 467
15.1 Textual History of the Wisdom of Solomon (Matthew Goff) ........................................ 469
15.2 Greek (Andrew T. Glicksman) ........................................ 482
15.3 Syriac (David Skelton & Jacob Lollar) ........................................ 494
15.4 Latin (Andrew T. Glicksman) ........................................ 498
15.5 Ethiopic (Tedros Abrahà) ........................................ 507
15.6 Coptic (Dylan M. Burns) ........................................ 512
15.7 Armenian (S. Peter Cowe) ........................................ 515
15.8 Georgian (Anna Kharaanauli) ........................................ 520
15.9 Slavonic (Lara Sels & Francis Thomson) ........................................ 527
15.10 Arabic (Miriam Lindgren Hjälm) ........................................ 530
15.11 Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Laurent Capron) ........................................ 535

16 **Appendix: The Odes (Jeremiah Coogan)** ........................................ 537
5.7.3 3 Enoch

5.7.3.1 Introduction, Nature, and Significance

3 (Hebrew) Enoch is a Jewish composition from late antiquity or the early Middle Ages that sits at the confluence of multiple literary and religious traditions. The text exhibits many of the features characteristic of the apocalyptic genre, such as the heavenly journey of a privileged figure and the revelation of secret knowledge concerning history and the cosmos; in addition, it also reflects longstanding traditions concerning the biblical patriarch Enoch, which go back at least to the Second Temple period, but were transmitted and elaborated by Jews and Christians throughout late antiquity. At the same time, 3 Enoch differs from earlier Enochic writings in that it employs technical terminology, human and angelic figures, and the seven-tiered model of heaven familiar from hekhalot literature and is, therefore, often included in this eclecti- c literature of Jewish mystical, magical, and litur- gical writings from late antiquity. Finally, 3 Enoch contains direct literary parallels with classical rabbinic literature, especially the Babylonian Talmud, and appears to have been shaped (at least in its present form) by rabbinic eschatology. This juxtaposition and hybridization of forms and features has made it difficult for scholars to arrive at a consensus concerning the dating and provenance of the text’s earliest layers or of its subsequent redaction (→ 5.7.3.4).

The historical importance of 3 Enoch derives in large measure from its distinctive representation of Metatron as a divine or semi-divine figure. Metatron’s exalted status in the text has the potential to illuminate a host of issues in the history of Jewish, Christian, and indeed even Islamic theology and angelology. At the same time, its pror- tacted composition- and transmission-histories and its complex relationship to other textual traditions have led scholars to widely divergent assessments of its significance. Thus, for example, some scholars suggest that late antique Metatron materials continue a long-standing tradition of Jewish speculation regarding intermediary figures reaching back into the Second Temple period that had a formative influence on Christian conceptions of Christ. By contrast, others argue that Metatron represents a late antique Jewish response to Christian claims concerning Christ as a human-divine savior. Scholars hoping to compare 3 Enoch with other Enochic texts and traditions or to clarify issues in cultural, intellectual, or religious history must be attentive to the variegated and fluid nature of the manuscript evidence for this important, if enigmatic, composition.

5.7.3.2 The Manuscript Evidence

This section provides information regarding all of the extant manuscripts of the work known to modern scholars as 3 Enoch (in its various redactional forms). It also lists textual witnesses to sections of material that are found in (some versions of) 3 Enoch but may also have been incorporated into other works or compilations not properly considered to be forms of 3 Enoch. The fluid and heterogeneous nature of the textual tradition of 3 Enoch should be evident from the widely varying configurations and sequences of textual units in the manuscripts listed below (→ 5.7.3.5).

The manuscripts are divided into two separate lists. The first list consists of medieval manuscripts that were transmitted continuously and

1 I would like to acknowledge the truly excellent help I received in preparing this piece from Henry Gruber, research assistant extraordinaire.

2 For a recent overview of the nature, significance, and historical development of the hekhalot corpus, see Schäfer, The Origins of Jewish Mysticism, 214–327.


4 See especially Schäfer, The Jewish Jesus, 138–49.
found their way into modern libraries and other such collections. The second consists of manuscripts—often in partial or fragmentary form—that were deposited in the Cairo Genizah at some point prior to the modern period and have been retrieved from this textual repository over the past century. All manuscripts of 3 Enoch are written in Hebrew.

List A: Manuscripts of 3 Enoch and Related Materials

The following list of thirty-five manuscripts of 3 Enoch (or of materials related to it) is drawn from the comprehensive introduction in Schäfer and Hermann’s German translation of the text. The list is presented in alphabetical order. The list has been supplemented by information regarding the date, provenance, and contents of each manuscript. The paragraph numbers used in the list (e.g., §§1–3) correspond to the paragraph numbers that mark textual divisions in Schäfer’s Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur, a synoptic edition of seven manuscripts of the hekhalot corpus. We use these paragraph designations only as approximate indications of the contents of a given manuscript, as the manuscripts often differ in both small and large ways from the reference manuscripts of 3 Enoch printed in the Synopse. In those cases where a manuscript contains 3 Enoch materials not found in the Synopse, but only in Odeberg’s edition of the text, Odeberg’s chapter numbers are used.


8. Manuscript Mailand Ambrosiana B 54 Sup, folio 8 b; Italian, sixteenth century. Contains § 295 (Odeberg 48 C).


11. Manuscript Munich 40, folios 117 a–20 a, 121 b–32 a; Ashkenazi, end of fifteenth century (included in the Synopse). Contains §§ 855–938 (= §§1–80, but with significant differences in many units and in their overall sequence).


---

5 Schäfer and Herrmann, Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur, xii–xv.
6 This information is largely drawn from the list of hekhalot manuscripts compiled in Schäfer, “Handschriften zur Hekhalot-Literatur,” 154–233. When a given manuscript is not found in Schäfer’s list, the information has been culled from Schäfer and Herrmann, Übersetzung.
7 Schäfer, Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur.
8 The manuscripts printed in the Synopse that contain material from 3 Enoch are: Manuscripts Budapest 238, Münich 22, Münich 40, New York 8128, and Vatican 228.
9 Odeberg, 3 Enoch.
16 Manuscript New York Enelow 704, folios 20a–23b, 27a–28a; Ashkenazi, sixteenth century. Contains §§6–9, 11–18, 10, 33–34, Odeberg 22B, 22C.


19 Manuscript New York JTS 8128, folios 20a–20b; Ashkenazi, end of fifteenth or beginning of sixteenth century. Contains §§387–88 (= Odeberg 48D) and §405 (= Odeberg 48C).

20 Manuscript Oxford Oppenheimer 495 (Neubauer 1568), folios 40a–43a, 45a; Ashkenazi, beginning of seventeenth century. Contains §§4–9, 11–18, 10, Odeberg 15B, §§20, 33–34, Odeberg 22B, 22C.


22 Manuscript Oxford Oppenheimer 494 (Neubauer 1573), folios 78a–78d, 89d–93c; Ashkenazi, ca. 1700. Contains §§4–15, 19, 20, 16–18.


26 Manuscript Oxford Michael 175 (Neubauer 2257), folios 20a–23b, 26a–26b; Ashkenazi, beginning of seventeenth century. Contains §§4–9, 11–18, 10, Odeberg 15B, §§20, 33–34, Odeberg 22B, 22C.

27 Manuscript Oxford Christ Church 198 (Neubauer 2456), folios 57b; Sephardic (Amsterdam), 1635/1636. Contains §§72–75.


33 Manuscript Vatican 228, folios 41b–44b; 45b–66a; Byzantine, between ca. 1400–1470 (included in the Synopse). Contains §§1–80.

34 Manuscript Zurich Heidenheim 92, folios 34b, 41a–42b; Ashkenazi, seventeenth century. Contains §§4–15, 19, 20, 72–77, 16–18.


List B: Genizah Fragments

To date, scholars have identified 3 fragments of materials from 3 Enoch in the vast treasure-trove of the Cairo Genizah. It should be noted, however, that two of these fragments contain only §71, which is appended to 3 Enoch in only some of the text’s redactional forms and is most often found as part of an independent compositional unit that also appears as part of the magical text known as Alfa Beta de Rabbi Akiva (§§71–80).10

---

10 For discussion of the varying contexts in which this textual unit appears, see Schäfer and Herrmann, Übersetzung, 155–56 n. 1.
5.7.3.3 Modern Critical Editions, Translations, and Auxiliary Tools

Modern Editions
- Peter Schäfer (ed.), *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*.
- Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.14
- Peter Schäfer (ed.), *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*.

Modern Translations

**English**
- Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.

**German**
- Schäfer and Herrmann (eds.), *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur*.

**French**

Reference Works

---

12 Published in Rohrbacher-Sticker, “Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Meṭaṭrons.”
13 Published in Rohrbacher-Sticker, “Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Meṭaṭrons.”
14 For discussion of Odeberg’s often problematic edition, see Schäfer, *Synopse*, vii, and especially Greenfield’s prolegomenon included in the reprint.
15 Odeberg, *3 Enoch*.
16 Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*. 

5.7.3.4 Original Form, Date, and Milieu
The generic heterogeneity of *3 Enoch* and the fluid nature of the manuscript tradition have together made it difficult for scholars to reconstruct the original form of this composition. The range of textual forms attested in the medieval manuscripts suggests that there never existed a stable text of *3 Enoch*, either in late antiquity or during its subsequent transmission. Moreover, its eclectic source-material and multiple redactional layers raise important questions about what it would even mean to locate the “original” milieu in which the text formed.

Nevertheless, the temporal and geographical origins of (parts or layers of) the text have profound implications for our understanding of such issues as the relationship between *hekhalot* and rabbinic literatures, the nature of Jewish “heresy” and “orthodoxy,” and the relationship between Jewish and other ancient Mediterranean religious traditions. To date, scholars have staked out two main positions: either *3 Enoch* was originally composed at an early date, during or immediately after the Second Temple period, or it represents a late antique tradition developed within the context of an already Christianizing world.

The “early” school, exemplified by the New Testament scholar Odeberg, argues for a close relationship between *3 Enoch* and 1 (Ethiopic) and 2 (Slavonic) *Enoch*.15 Although he does not go as far as to posit a direct linear dependence among these texts, he suggests that all three developed together out of the same Jewish tradition. These works emerged during the Second Temple period and thus share a contextual sphere with the origin of other human-divine savior figures, most notably the Christian Jesus. Orlov, following Odeberg in his identification of similarities between the Enochic texts, argues for a long durée “Enoch-Metatron Tradition” that grew out of an ancient Near Eastern literary genre tracing its roots back to Babylonia and the Babylonian King List.16 According to Orlov, *2 Enoch* (→ 5.7.2) represents an intermediate stage
in the development the tradition, which reached its apogee with 3 Enoch.

The "late" school argues that the text of 3 Enoch emerged in the second half of the first millennium, either in Byzantine Palestine or Sasanian Iraq ("Babylonia"). This second tradition, currently favored by most scholars working on the text, emphasizes the integral relationship of 3 Enoch to the hekhalot corpus, which developed only in the course of late antiquity. The most recent scholars to have contributed to this line of research are Schäfer and Herrmann, who together prepared a German translation of the text and an extensive literary and historical introduction.17 But the two scholars have parted ways concerning the issue of provenance. Schäfer has argued that 3 Enoch, at least as it has been transmitted in the European manuscript tradition, was produced within a later or post-Talmudic Babylonian Jewish context, noting its direct literary relationship to the episode of Elisha b. Abuya in the Bavli (b. Hag. 15a), as well as the prevalence of Metatron on inscribed ritual bowls from Babylonia.18 By contrast, Hermann sees the positive portrayal of the figure of Metatron in 3 Enoch, as well as the text's affinities to early Byzantine piety, liturgy, and court ceremonial as evidence that it emerged in Palestine in the pre-Iconoclastic period (sixth or seventh centuries).19 Herrmann further supports this claim by pointing to the Byzantine cultural context that produced manuscript Vatican 228, one of the earliest full manuscripts of 3 Enoch.

Due to the complicated compositional history of the text and the clear indication that the current manuscripts are the result of several layers of redaction, there is no reason to think that both Schäfer and Herrmann might not be right. Schäfer's proposed provenance relates only to the heavily redacted version of 3 Enoch, as found in the medieval manuscript tradition, and not to its earliest sources or strata or to variant forms of this textual tradition. For his part, Hermann agrees with Schäfer that the final redaction of the text was "undoubtedly a Babylonian redaction, i.e., a revision of the text under the influence of the Bavli."20 This disagreement between close collaborators concerning the precise cultural context that produced 3 Enoch suggests just how much more research is required before scholars have convincingly nailed down the textual history of this multi-layered work.

5.7.3.5 The Text-Critical Character of the Manuscript Tradition

Over the past thirty years, scholars have distilled the complex manuscript evidence for hekhalot literature into three primary regional traditions: European, Oriental, and Byzantine.21 Much effort has been expended on determining the character of each of these "branches" of the textual tradition and their relationships to each other. These text-critical findings have important implications for a methodologically rigorous study of 3 Enoch and of its relationship to other texts and textual corpora.

The vast majority of the manuscript evidence for the hekhalot texts in general and for 3 Enoch in particular was produced in trans-Alpine Europe, especially among the German Pietists (the Haside Ashkenaz) who were active in eleventh- to thirteenth-century Germany. It is difficult to reconstruct precisely what the textual tradition of 3 Enoch looked like when it reached the scribes of medieval Ashkenaz. While the textual units of 3 Enoch appear in the manuscripts in a wide range of configurations, the underlying text is remarkably stable. It may be that only a small number of copies of the macroform of 3 Enoch crossed the Alps and served as the source for the entire European tradition.22 But this relative textual homogeneity is also certainly the result of the aggressive editorial and redactional interventions of the medieval scribes,

---

17 Schäfer and Herrmann, Übersetzung.
18 Schäfer, Jewish Jesus, 138–49; also Schäfer, "Metatron in Babylonia."
19 Herrmann, "Jewish Mysticism in Byzantium."
21 But see now also Rebiger, “Non-European Traditions of Hekhalot Literature.”
22 It has even been suggested that all of the European manuscripts ultimately derive from a single manuscript of the hekhalot corpus; see Dan, "Heikhalot genuzim."
who are known for actively reworking the materials they received for their own practical and ideological interests. Because these European manuscripts provide only a relatively late and highly particular snapshot of *Enoch*, they must be used with great care and caution.

Fortunately, the Cairo Genizah has preserved manuscripts containing *hekhalot* materials that shed light on the shape of the corpus prior to its transmission to Europe and especially the process of redactional homogenization it underwent there. By and large, the Genizah fragments of *hekhalot* texts differ considerably from their medieval counterparts and attest to a highly dynamic stage in the history of this literature. The fragments of *Enoch* are consistent with this broader pattern: materials from or associated with this composition appear in the Genizah fragments in contexts that differ markedly from the heavily redacted textual forms that circulated in Europe. In particular, they reflect the degree to which *hekhalot* materials, even texts with an anti-magical bias like *Enoch*, could be put to use for highly personalized, magical purposes. It is also significant that the Genizah fragments of *Enoch* bear greater similarity, both in their organization of materials and in their spelling and phraseology, to the Byzantine manuscripts than to those from medieval Ashkenaz. This Byzantine tradition, exemplified by manuscript Vatican 228 (from which the version of the text in the *Synopse* derives its structure) may have served as an intermediate step between the heterogeneous uses of Enochic material as seen in the Genizah and the codification of that material in medieval Western Europe. Ultimately, far from finding in the Genizah fragments a way back to the *Urtext* of *Enoch*, we gain a glimpse of the variegated textual forms that the Hebrew Enochic tradition could assume and the heterogeneous functions it could serve.


Kuyt, A., *The Descent to the Chariot: Towards a Description of the Terminology, Place, Function, and Nature of the Yeridah in Hekhalot Literature* (TSAJ 45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).


5.7.4 A Hebrew Text Related to \textit{1 Enoch} (1Q19)


5.7.4.1 Significance

The meager remains of the Hebrew scroll 1Q19–1Q19bis display several verbal and thematic affinities with \textit{1 Enoch} 8–9 and 105–106. As will be detailed below, scholarly theories regarding the nature of these parallels range from the assumption that 1) 1Q19 is a Hebrew version of these Enochic texts in particular, 2) this scroll contains the lost \textit{Book of Noah}, or 3) there is a dependence on common exegetical traditions. Since some of these proposals have a bearing on the literary and textual histories of \textit{1 Enoch}, a brief discussion of this scroll is included here.

5.7.4.2 The Manuscript

The scroll 1Q19–1Q19bis consists of twenty-one fragments located in Israel (frags. 4–21), Jordan (frags. 1, 3), and the USA (frag. 2[= 1Q19bis], private collection). At the time of the initial publication in 1955, the color of the fragments was dark red. Since then, many of them have darkened and become virtually illegible (frags. 9–12, 17–21). The script of frags. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15–21 is smaller than that of frags. 1–6, 9–10, 12, 14. Some suggest that the \textit{editio princeps} of 1Q19 contains fragments originating from more than one scroll. According to another view, the difference in handwriting may reflect a change in time or circumstances of the scribe’s work. Paleographic analysis suggests that 1Q19–1Q19bis is inscribed in a Herodian hand.

5.7.4.3 Key Editions

Milik edited 1Q19 and 1Q19bis with a brief introduction and succinct notes in DJD 1. Batsch published a new French edition of the scroll accompanied by a brief commentary. Feldman re-edited the

---

1 Until his death, this fragment was in the possession of Mar Athanasius Yeshua Samuel.

2 The tentative measurements of the fragments (height and width in cm) are as following: 1 (6.2×4.5), 2 (6.5×5), 3 (6.5×9.5), 4 (2×1.4), 5 (2.1×2.2), 6 (3.7×1.6), 7 (1.5×2.1), 8 (2.4×3.1), 9 (0.8×1.1), 10 (0.9×0.6), 11 (2.5×1.7), 12 (1.3×1.5), 13 (2.9×6.3), 14 (1.1×0.7), 15 (2.3×2.9), 16 (3.9×1.3), 17 (1.1×1.1), 18 (1.1×0.9), 19 (3.6×0.7), 20 (3.6×0.6), 21 (1×0.9).

3 Dimant, “1 Enoch 6–11,” 236; Pfann, “A Note on 1Q19,” 71–76. C. Pfann suggests that frags. 13–21 were inscribed by another hand. She further quotes Stephen Pfann’s observation that frag. 12 may belong to yet another manuscript (p. 73 n. 6). While the difference in the height of the letters, rightly emphasized by C. Pfann, is obvious, the variations in the shapes of aleph, bet, vav, yod, dalet, and medial kaf may not be as pronounced as she indicates, especially in view of the variations in their shapes in frags. 1–11 (see table in Pfann, “A Note on 1Q19,” 74).

4 Thus Feldman in consultation with Ada Yardeni in Feldman, “1Q9–1Q19bis (Book of Noah),” 17. Yardeni (private communication) suggests that 1Q9 was written by a prolific scribe, whose works she discusses in “A Note on a Qumran Scribe,” in \textit{New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform} (ed. M. Lubetski; Hebrew Bible Monographs 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 287–98.

5 Milik, “The Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments of the Book of Enoch,” 393. Stephen Pfann dates frags. 1–11 to the same period, yet suggests that frags. 13–21 should be dated to the second quarter or mid-first century C.E. (see C. Pfann, “A Note on 1Q9,” 73).

6 Milik, “1Q9–1Q19bis. Livre de Noé,” 84–86, 152.

7 Batsch, “1Q9–1Q19bis,” 249–55.