

## The Literary Structure of the Flood Account in the *Animal Apocalypse*

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**ABSTRACT:** This article discusses the literary structure of the flood account (*1 En.* 89:1b–9) in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85–90). Since the Qumran Aramaic text of the story (4Q206 frags. 8 I and 9) has preserved a shorter text than that found in the ancient Ethiopic version, the study of the literary additions found therein is also undertaken. Although the Aramaic text of the flood account is not free from some redactional elaborations of the literary structure of the story, the literary additions in the Ethiopic version expand the shorter structure, especially in the first part of the account (strophes 2–4). The insertion of new cosmic elements into the story (heavenly roof and earthly enclosure) creates a well-circumscribed space where the punishment of humanity, sons of the Watchers and animals by the waters of the flood takes place (strophe 4). Thus, the Ethiopic longer recension of the flood account is far more distant from the shorter text of 4Q206. The last part of this study takes a closer look at the literary context of the flood story that closes the first part of the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85:3b–89:9) and preannounces its second section (*1 En.* 89:10–90:19) marred by the shedding of blood and violence between the nations and Israel.

**KEYWORDS:** pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, *1 Enoch*, *Animal Apocalypse*, flood, Noah, literary structure

Dated to the early period of the Maccabean wars,<sup>1</sup> the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85–90) is part of the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 83–90), the fourth largest literary section of *1 Enoch*.

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- 1 Józef T. Milik (*The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4* [with the collaboration of M. Black] [Oxford: Clarendon 1976] 44) identifies the military situation described in *1 En.* 90:16, the last reference to an identifiable historical period, with the year 164 BCE. Hence, he claims that the *Animal Apocalypse* was composed during that year, more precisely, after the Battle of Beth-Zur. Patrick A. Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* [EJL 4; Atlanta, GA: Scholars 1993] 61–82), who has extensively dealt with the date of the composition of the *Animal Apocalypse*, arrives at the conclusion that the events narrated in chapter 90 correspond well to 175–163 BCE, with *1 En.* 90:9–16 describing the career of Judas Maccabeus. Extensively discussing the relationship between *1 En.* 90:13–15 and 90:16–18 (19), he identifies the events of *1 En.* 90:13b–14 with the Battle of Beth-Zur (early 164 BCE) and *1 En.* 90:15 with the Battle of Carnaim, dated to the summer of 163 BCE. Thus, the original work was composed between 165 and 160, rather nearer 165, with *1 En.* 90:13–15 added after 163. George W.E. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001] 8) agrees with Tiller, suggesting that a prior form may date to the end of the third or beginning of the second century. He probably takes into consideration the tradition of the fallen Watchers (*1 En.* 6–11) used in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 86:1–89:1a) and commonly dated to the third c. BCE; yet it is not clear what he means by “a prior form” of the allegorical account.

It contains the history of humanity and of Israel, mostly based on biblical tradition, from the moment of creation to the eschatological times of the final restoration. The main human actors and nations of the unfolding drama of increasing violence and sinfulness are vested in an allegorical garb of diverse types of animals, with angels depicted as men and fallen Watchers as stars. Human history is divided into two periods, one ending with the coming of the flood (*1 En.* 85:3b–89:9) and the other stretching from the multiplication of humanity after the flood to the early years of the Maccabean revolt (*1 En.* 89:10–90:19). There follows the final period of the last judgment (*1 En.* 90:20–27) and the inauguration of the eschaton with renewed humanity in it (*1 En.* 90:37–38). Enclosed within the literary framework of a vision (*1 En.* 85:1–2; 90:39–42), the allegory, in various ways, reworks the biblical texts or historical events in order to create a comprehensive vision of the history of humanity and its relationship with the heavenly world.<sup>2</sup> It also adopts the myth of the fallen Watchers from *1 En.* 6–11 within the history of the origins (Gen 2; 4–5; 6–8 ≈ *1 En.* 85:3–89:9), inserting an abbreviated version of the angelic sexual prevarication (*1 En.* 6–7; 10:1–15 ≈ *1 En.* 86:1–89:1a) immediately before the flood account (*1 En.* 89:1b–9).<sup>3</sup>

The account of the flood (*1 En.* 89:1b–9) is set in the context of the angelic fall (86:1–87:1; 87:2–89:1a) and the history of post-diluvian humanity (*1 En.* 89:10–12). Since Józef T. Milik's publication of the Aramaic manuscripts of *1 Enoch* from Qumran, it has become evident that the Aramaic text of the flood account, partly preserved in 4Q206 frags. 8 I and 9, is shorter than the Ethiopic (*Gə'əz*) version.<sup>4</sup> Hence the reader is today in

2 John J. Collins ("Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Apocalypse. The Morphology of a Genre* [ed. J.J. Collins] [Semeia 14; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature 1979] 14) has classified the Enoch's second, allegorical vision in the *Book of Dreams* as a "historical" apocalypse with no otherworldly journey, together with Dan 7–12, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Jub.* 23, 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*; for a form-critical study of this literary genre in *1 Enoch* and Daniel, see S.B. Reid, *Enoch and Daniel. A Form Critical and Sociological Study of the Historical Apocalypses* (BIBAL.MS 2; Berkeley, CA: Bibal 1989). What distinguishes, however, the second Enoch's dream from the cited apocalyptic works is the use of animal allegory throughout the whole composition, the presence of symbols and myths to understand and the fictitious account engrained in the inherited biblical myth and history that reaches beyond the historical experiences of Israel into the eschaton; for the use of allegory in the *An. Apoc.*, see Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 21–60. Subjecting the *Animal Apocalypse* to the synchronic, narrative analysis, Daniel Assefa (*L'Apocalypse des animaux [1 Hen 85–90] une propagande militaire? Approches narrative, historico-critique, perspectives théologiques* [JSJSup 120; Leiden: Brill 2007] 55–117) studies the text as a narrative, subjecting the order, duration, and frequency of the events as well as the main heroes of the story to his analyses. In his diachronic section of the monograph, he explores the notion of allegory as a literary genre in the *An. Apoc.* (*ibidem*, 163–189) and reflects on the myth, metaphor, symbolism of the apocalypse as a literary genre, and brings the question of the literary genre closer to the notion of a fable. He concludes by saying that "L'AA est à la fois un songe, une vision, une apocalypse, une allegorie et une fable" (*ibidem*, 188).

3 The author of the allegorical history substitutes Gen 6:1–4 with an abbreviated and modified myth of the Watchers' fall (*1 En.* 6–11). This is only one example of redactional activity within the structure of Gen 1–11. The complex nature of the allegorical retelling of the antediluvian biblical and non-biblical material calls for a separate study dedicated to that topic.

4 In Milik's edition (*The Books of Enoch*, 238), the two fragments containing the flood account were published as 4QEn<sup>c</sup> 4 i 13–21, and 4 ii 1–5. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [Leiden: Brill 2000] 426) label the fragments differently: 4Q206 frag. 5 I–II. In the present study, references to the Aramaic text of the flood account follow the edition by Henryk Drawnel *Qumran Cave 4. The Aramaic Books of Enoch. 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212* (in consultation with É. Puech) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019) 370 (4Q206 8 I 13–21 [89:1–6]) and 380 (4Q206 9 1–5 [89:7–9]). The manuscript is paleographically dated to the middle of the first c. BCE.

a privileged position of having partial access to an earlier form of a tradition preserved in the later, expanded form found in the Ethiopic text. While the Aramaic version tells the story of a white ox that, together with three other oxen, survives the flood, the Ethiopic version additionally informs the reader about the transformation of the white ox (Noah) into a man (angelic status) and its departure after the flood. A lofty roof from which the spouts or water pipes verse the waters into an enclosure is an additional piece of information not found in Aramaic. The darkness and mist at the beginning of the flood, together with the departure of darkness and the advent of light at its end, may also have been introduced only in the Ethiopic version, but since the Aramaic text remains fragmentary, the evidence remains ambiguous.

Since the water pipes or spouts (מַרְזִיבֵּין), a cosmographic element that brings the water from above, do exist in the Aramaic version,<sup>5</sup> there might arise a doubt as to which textual form is original. One possibility is that the Aramaic version found at Qumran may contain a truncated story with the remnants of the cosmographic elements (water pipes) preserved in the Ethiopic version.<sup>6</sup> Alternatively, the Aramaic text underlying the Ethiopic one expands the original, shorter story with new cosmographic information about the lofty roof, the enclosure, darkness, mist, light, and the transformation of the white bull.<sup>7</sup> While the lofty roof and darkness-light dichotomy are not attested elsewhere in the *Animal Apocalypse* (henceforth *An. Apoc.*), the transformation of a lamb into a man is (4Q204 15 10 [89:36]); hence the scribal redactor of the longer version may have drawn on the literary material found elsewhere in the *An. Apoc.* The literary motif of an enclosure (‘*aṣad*) as a cosmographic element of the earth (89:2, 3a, 3b, 4) where the animals die may have been modelled on the Aramaic דִּיר – “dwelling, sheepfold” found later in the allegory (4Q207 1 3 [86:2]; 4Q204 15 6 [89:34], 8 [89:35]).<sup>8</sup>

5 See 4Q206 8 I 16c (89:2); 4Q206 9 1b (89:7).

6 Matthew Black (*The Book of Enoch or I Enoch. A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* [SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill 1985] 263) adopts an unusual solution, considering both the shorter Aramaic text and the longer Aramaic recension behind the Ethiopic as original; his is a logical conundrum – he does not explain how it is possible to have the two of them “original.” Although he opts for the Aramaic text as the original (see the next note), Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 261) observes that the Aramaic term מַרְזִיבֵּין “waterspouts” is used in Targumic Aramaic and in Syriac for the spouts that carry water from roof gutters. Therefore, he suggests that the Aramaic redactor, who removed the references to the roof and enclosure, inadvertently left the waterspouts in place so that it no longer made any sense in the context. Taking into consideration the literary structure of the Aramaic fragments (cf. section 1 of this study), Tiller’s proposal can hardly be accepted – all the references to the roof and enclosure are additions that expand the literary structure of the shorter, Aramaic text.

7 Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, 239) affirms that the Ethiopic version contains a reworked form of the original text as found in 4Q206 8 I. He also suggests that the reworking followed the outline of a more systematic symbolism. Noting a more developed allegory in the Ethiopic text, Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 128–129) affirms that the shorter Aramaic version is closer to the original. In the notes on 89:1–9 (*ibidem*, 258–268), he adds that the *An. Apoc.* does not have symbols for the sky, the earth, or water, hence the longer recension may contain a set of later interpolations to set the allegory more thorough-going (*ibidem*, 258). In this respect, Tiller follows Milik, which points to a more systematic symbolism in the longer recension. On the other hand, Tiller does not exclude the priority of the longer Ethiopic text; see the preceding note. The reason for the expansions in the longer recension, however, should be sought for especially in strophe 4 of the flood account where a long addition (4D in the literary structure, cf. Table 1) stresses the death of the animals in the enclosure – the latter being a central element in the expanded narrative.

8 Daniel C. Olson (*A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch. “All Nations Shall be Blessed”. With a New Translation and Commentary* [SVTP 24; Leiden: Brill 2013] 161) notes the alleged ironic contrast

The scholarly discussion about the two recensions of the flood in the *An. Apoc.* pays hardly any attention to the literary structure of the story. The present study intends to fill that gap by taking a closer look not only at the literary motifs that distinguish the two textual traditions but also at the whole phrases or clauses wherein these motifs are found. Although only one side of the Aramaic column is preserved in the Qumran fragments containing the flood story, the reconstructed column width and line length of the manuscript are known.<sup>9</sup> The reconstruction of the Aramaic text proposed in the lacunae is of secondary nature and is included in this study for illustrative purposes only. The division of the Aramaic text into strophes considers the formal literary markers, paratactic clause succession and thematic changes in the flow of the narrative. Except for traces of one letter, the Aramaic text of strophe 7 is non-existent; hence its structure can hardly be reconstructed, and the information about that strophe primarily relies on the Ethiopic text.

The comparison of the Aramaic text with the extended Ethiopic version in section 2 of this study confirms the secondary nature of the extended recension. Moreover, traces of textual elaboration of the flood narrative are already tangible in the Aramaic text, which proves that the reworking of the Aramaic version must have started early in the history of the text transmission of the *An. Apoc.* Some notes in the comments attempt to clarify the function of the literary changes<sup>10</sup> in the Ethiopic text and their influence on the meaning of the longer recension.

## 1. The Literary Structure

Considering the literary markers and content of the Aramaic text, the narrative can be divided into seven strophes, with four (strophes 1, 3, 4), five (strophes 2, 5, 7) or six clauses in each strophe, with expansions present in the Ethiopic, redacted text. Strophe 1 contains information about the white ox (Noah) building the ship and dwelling in it with three other

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between the enclosure of the flood narrative where the animals die and the enclosure in 89:24–36, a place of peace and safety for the flock. The proposed interpretation, though, does not explain the transformation of the enclosure into a cosmic element, and the flood account hardly betrays any trace of irony in comparison with the generations yet to come. Moreover, Olson's subsequent attempt to link the enclosure in the flood story with the trapping of Judas' enemies in their own fortress towers (1 Macc 5:4–5; 2 Macc 10:32–36) is speculative, without any connection with the Aramaic/Ethiopic text.

<sup>9</sup> Letters per column: 42–47; width of the reconstructed column: ca. 9.5 cm. Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 227; Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 370.

<sup>10</sup> Compared with the Aramaic, the shorter text, additions, and, in some cases, word substitutions in the Ethiopic version are witness to a different stage in the transmission of the flood account in the *An. Apoc.* Since, in most cases, they considerably alter the form and content of the story found in the Qumran Aramaic manuscript, they should be considered literary variants rather than “interpolations,” a term that in textual criticism has a much more restricted meaning (exegetical or grammatical explanation, modification of the text), cf. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3 ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2012) 260. These literary additions are attested in the Ethiopic version only and presumably they were present in the Aramaic form of the text translated later on into Greek and then into ancient Ethiopic. From this perspective, in most cases, the Ethiopic version has preserved the final form of the flood account that goes back to its Aramaic *Vorlage*. However, the Greek version is not extant and the influence of the intermediate stage on the form of the Ethiopic text cannot be substantiated.

white oxen (Ham, Seth and Japhet). Strophe 7 depicts the denouement of the situation sketched in strophe 1: exit from the ship of the whole family, with the accent now being placed on the colour of the three oxen that symbolically refers to the first human generation (85:3b) and may denote the post-diluvian fate of humanity. The departure of the white ox is the concluding mark in the history of antediluvian humanity.<sup>11</sup>

The narration about the flood is enclosed in strophes 2–6. The narrative thread of the story leads the reader from the opening of the cosmic sluices and chambers/fissures (strophe 2) through the flooding of the whole earth (strophe 3). The death of the animals (strophe 4) is followed by the closing of the water sources (strophe 5) and the drying of the whole earth (strophe 6). The climax of the whole story is reached in strophe 4, the central one in the literary structure, where the death of the oxen, together with that of the camels, white asses and elephants, is contrasted with the ship that moves swiftly on the waters. Noting the central character of the strophe, the redactor of the text underlying the Ethiopic version expanded it with a universalizing reference to the death of all the animals/livestock (‘*ansəsā*, 4D; 89:6). That same tendency is tangible at the beginning of strophe 4, where the redactor inserted “all” (*kʷəllomu*) in the syntagm “all the cattle” (*kʷəllomu ʾalhəmt*), absent in Aramaic. The information about the ingathering of the cattle in the enclosure (4A, ‘*ella we ʾetu ʾašad tagābe ʾu ʾeskana re ʾikewwomu*), an evident expansion of the Aramaic, results from the insertion of the “enclosure” (‘*ašad*) in the preceding context (2B.D; 3A.C).

Table 1. Literary Structure of the Flood Account (1 En. 89:1b–9)

Strophe subdivision	Verses	4Q206 frags. 8 I + 9 <sup>12</sup>	Gəʾəz version <sup>13</sup>
frag. 8 I: The Fourth Angel: Teaching a Mystery <sup>14</sup>			
A	13b	And one of the fo]ur went to one of the [white] oxen	<sup>89:1a</sup> And one of the four went to <one of> those white bulls

11 For the preceding and following context of the flood narrative, see section 3 in this study.

12 For the reconstructed Aramaic text and translation, see Drawnel, *Qumman Cave 4*, 371–372 (4Q206 frag. 8 I) and 382–383 (4Q206 frag. 9).

13 The translation is cited according to Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 256–258; for the Ethiopic text, see *ibidem*, 161–165.

14 For the discussion of the whole literary structure of the *An. Apoc.*, see Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 59–60. In his opinion, the flood account does not end in 89:9 but in 89:12, which can hardly be correct; see section 3 of this study. In his introductory notes on the *An. Apoc.*, Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*) does not pay much attention to the literary features of the Ethiopic text, and his subdivision into chapters is mostly based on the content of the narrative. Although overall, his proposal appears more detailed and nuanced than those of other scholars, much additional work must be done on the literary features of the overall literary structure and its shorter sections. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 354–356) follows the tripartite division of the text found in Tiller but with his own modifications, while Assefa (*L’Apocalypse des animaux [1 Hen 85–90]*) does not discuss the literary structure of the *An. Apoc.* at all. Olson (*New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse*, VI–VII, 145–231) divides the history into two larger sections: Genesis through Kings (85:2–89:58) and Exile to Eschaton (89:59–90:42). Just as in the case of Tiller, his division into smaller units is based on the content, not formal elements, of the *An. Apoc.*

Strophe subdivision	Verses	4Q206 frags. 8 I + 9 <sup>12</sup>	G <sub>o</sub> 'əz version <sup>13</sup>
B	14a	[and taught it a mystery.]	and taught it a mystery <b>without his trembling. That one was born a bull but became a man.</b>
The Flood: Salvation and Punishment			
1. Introduction: Building the ship and dwelling in it			
A	14b	<sup>89:1b</sup> [And it ma]de for itself a ship,	<sup>89:1b</sup> And he hewed for himself a large vessel
B	14c	and dwelt inside it. <i>vacat</i>	and dwelt upon it,
C	15a	[ <i>vac.</i> And the three oxen enter]ed with it into the ship,	and three bulls <b>dwelt</b> with him in that vessel,
D	15b–16a	and the ship was coated <sup>15</sup> and covered [over them. <i>vac.</i> ]	and this vessel was covered over them.
2. Opening the water sources			
A	16b	<sup>89:2</sup> [And I was] looking,	<sup>89:2</sup> And again <b>I raised my eyes toward heaven, and I saw a high roof</b>
B	16c–17a	and behold, seven sluices were pouring out [much water.]	with seven torrents <b>on it; and those torrents</b> were pouring out much water <b>into a certain enclosure.</b>
C	17b	<sup>89:3a</sup> [And I looked again],	<sup>89:3a</sup> And I saw again
D	17c	and behold, chambers were opened within the earth,	and behold, <b>fissures</b> were opened upon the earth <b>in that large enclosure,</b>
E	17d–18a	and [waters] began [to go up on the earth.]	and that water began <b>to boil up</b> and to rise upon the earth.
3. Waters cover the earth			
A	18b	<sup>89:3b</sup> [And] I was looking	<sup>89:3b</sup> And I kept seeing <b>that enclosure</b>
B	18c	until the earth was covered by the waters,	until the <b>whole</b> earth was covered with water.
C	19a	<sup>89:4</sup> [and the waters increased upon it, ]	<sup>89:4</sup> And the water <b>and darkness and mist</b> (?) became abundant upon it. <b>And I kept seeing the height of that water, and that water rose up over the enclosure</b>
D	19b	[and] were standing upon it,	and stood upon <b>the earth.</b>
4. Destruction of the animals			
A	19c	<sup>89:5</sup> and the oxen were sinking and drowning	<sup>89:5</sup> And all the cattle <b>of that enclosure assembled until I saw them</b> sinking and being swallowed
B	20a	[and perishing in these waters.]	and perishing in that water.

15 For this translation, see E.M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2015) 89.

Strophe subdivision	Verses	4Q206 frags. 8 I + 9 <sup>12</sup>	Gð'az version <sup>13</sup>
C	20b	<sup>89:6</sup> And the ship floated above the waters,	<sup>89:6</sup> And that vessel was floating on the waters;
D	20c–21	but all the oxen [and camels and wild asses] and elephants were decay[ing] <i>vacat</i>	but all the cattle and the elephants and the camels and the asses <b>sank to the earth as well as all the animals. And I could not see them and they were unable to come out, and they perished and sank in the depths.</b>
frag. 9: 5. Closing the water sources			
A	1a	<sup>89:7</sup> [And again I watched in] my [drea]m	<sup>89:7</sup> And again I saw in the vision
B	1b	until those s[luices were closed,	until those cataracts receded <b>from that high roof,</b>
C	1c–2a	and the clefts of the earth became level,]	and the fissure<s> of the earth became level,
D	2b	[and] the chambers were closed,	
E	2c	but[ other depths were opened. ]	and other abysses were opened.
6. Waters recess and landing of the ship			
A	2d–3a	<sup>89:8</sup> [And the waters began] going down into the midst of these	<sup>89:8</sup> And the water began to go down into them
B	3b	until they came to an end.	
C	3c	[..... and the earth appeared,]	until the earth was uncovered
D	3d–4a	[and the ship] settled o[n] the earth	and that vessel settled upon the earth;
E	4b	[and the darkness passed away]	and the darkness withdrew
F	4c	[and it became light.]	and it became light.
7. Conclusion: Exit from the ship			
A	4d–5	<sup>89:9a</sup> [And the white ox and the th]r[ee oxen with him came forth from the ship...]	<sup>89:9a</sup> And that white bull <b>that had become a man</b> came out from that vessel with the three bulls that were with it;
B		?	<sup>89:9b</sup> and one of those three bulls was white, resembling that bull,
C		?	and one of them was red like blood,
D		?	and one was black.
E		?	<sup>89:9c</sup> And that one, that white bull, departed from them.
The descendants of the three bulls			
A			<sup>89:10</sup> And they began to beget wild beasts and birds
B			and there came from them species of every sort:
C			Lions, tigers, hyenas, etc.

The structure of strophe 2 is marked off into two parts by the repetition of the verb for seeing (2A; 2C) and the particle “behold” (2B; 2D). The verb of seeing opens strophe 3 (A) and strophe 5 (A). Strophe 4 begins with a reference to the oxen (A) repeated at its end (D), additionally marked in the Aramaic text by the *vacat*. There is but a thematic divide between strophes 5 and 6: the latter notes the removal of the sluices and the levelling off of the fissures of the earth as well as the closing of the chambers (Aramaic) and opening of the abysses, that is the end of the flooding of the earth that began in strophe 2; the former describes the results of the cosmic actions related in the preceding strophe, namely the disappearance of the waters, the appearance of the earth and landing of the ship. Strophe 7 opens with the exit from the ship of the white bull and the three oxen (A), a reference to the content of strophe 1 (A–C).

The opening of the sluices and the chambers (Eth. fissures) in strophe 2 corresponds to their closing in strophe 5, which precludes the reader from finding a chiasmic disposition in the whole seven-part structure of the narrative (I–II–III–IV–III’–II’–I’). In a similar move, the author of the flood account contrasts the mounting of the waters on the surface of the earth in strophe 3 with their gradual descent and uncovering of the earth in strophe 6A–C. The additional information about the landing of the ship in 6D anaphorically refers to 4C, where the ship is said to float on the waters. Since the Aramaic lacuna in 3C (4Q206 8 I 19a) is very short, it is doubtful whether it contained a reference to darkness and mist, an addition made perhaps by the same redactor responsible for the insertion of the enclosure in 3A; note that the Ethiopic text in 3C expands the text further with the addition of two clauses about the height of the waters. On the other hand, the lacuna in 6E–F (4Q206 9 4b–c) is large enough to contain the Ethiopic content about the withdrawal of darkness and the advent of light. Perhaps in the case of 3C (Eth.), we are dealing with a redactional expansion of the darkness-light motif influenced by the text in 6E–F (Eth.).

Thus, the structure of the flood narrative (strophes 1–7) forms the following succession of thematic and literary elements: I–II–III–IV–II’–III’–I’. The redactional additions in the Ethiopic version, which expand the structure of strophes II–III–IV, do not derange the overall division into seven strophes. The central stage takes the destruction of humanity (oxen; 4A–B) as well as that of the descendants of the Watchers (camels, wild asses, elephants; 4D), while the salvation of Noah (white ox) and his three sons (oxen) is strongly accented in 4C in the image of the ship floating on the waters. The opening strophe 1 introduces Noah as the maker and dweller of the ship with his three sons who enter the ship. Strophe 7 accentuates again the same people (oxen) who survive the flood. Thus, the position of the four main positive characters in the literary structure at the beginning (strophe 1), in the middle (the ark, strophe 4) and at the end of the passage (strophe 7) focuses on the survival of humanity and prepares the ground for the post-diluvian history in the rest of the allegory.

By mentioning the death of the elephants, camels and wild asses (Eth.; in Aram. elephants are the last on the list) in strophe 4D, the narrative anaphorically refers to the same list in 86:4 and 88:2 of the antediluvian story where the author explains the mythic origin

of these animals and their fratricidal war. Yet, the rest of the story, that is, their violence against the cattle, has to be taken into account in order to understand the punishment that befell the descendants of the Watchers. The dependence on the myth of the fallen Watchers is additionally palpable in 89:1a, where one of the white men teaches the white bull the mystery that most probably concerns the announcement of the coming destruction of the earth as well as the way how to escape it (cf. 10:2–3).<sup>16</sup>

Thus, strophe 4 builds an antithesis between the salvation of the oxen that dwell in the ship and the tragic destiny of the perpetrators of violence (oxen, camels, wild asses, elephants, all the animals [Eth.]). It is worthy to note that the death of the camels, wild asses and elephants in the waters of the flood (4D) is not present in *1 En.* 10, where the sons of the Watchers are destined to die in a fratricidal war (10:9, 15). In contradistinction to Gen 6:5, reasons for the destruction of humanity (oxen; 4A) are not expressly stated but must be inferred from 85:4 (Cain-Abel enmity), perhaps from 86:2 (exchange of pastures and calves?), or more appropriately from 86:4 (sexual commingling with the Watchers, birth of elephants, camels and asses; cf. *1 En.* 7:2 (Sync.)).

## 2. Literary Additions in the *Gəʾəz* Version

There are several differences between the fragmentary Aramaic text and the Ethiopic version of the flood account.<sup>17</sup> The latter preserves several additions that result from the expansion of the shorter text in a form close to the one we have now in 4Q206 frags. 8 I and 9. While the Ethiopic manuscript tradition firmly confirms the longer text, the literary structure of the Qumran fragments as well as the length of the lacunae, demonstrate that the

16 Given the reinterpretation of the fall of the Watchers in the *An. Apoc.* account of the primaeval, mythic story of humanity, it is noteworthy that 4Q205 and 4Q206 preserve the fragmentary text of the *Book of the Watchers* (4Q205 1–5; 4Q206 frag. 1–6) as well as that of the *An. Apoc.* (4Q205 frag. 6–8; 4Q206 frag. 7–12). The scribes responsible for the transcription of the Aramaic text saw literary and thematic links between the two parts of today's *1 Enoch*. Since no Qumran fragments of the first visionary dream (*1 En.* 83–84) have been preserved, it is not certain whether the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 83–90) had the same form attested today in ancient Ethiopic.

17 The Aramaic text of the *An. Apoc.* is extant in 4Q204 15 (89:31–37); 4Q205 6 (89:10–15), 7 (89:29–31), 8 (89:43–44); 4Q206 7 I (88:3), 7 II (89:10–15), 8 I (88:3–89:6), 8 II (89:12–15), 9 (89:7–9), 10 (89:15–16), 11 (89:26–29), 12 (89:28–30). For a general overview of text relationship with the classical Ethiopic version, see H. Drawnel, “5.5.2 The *Book of Dreams*: Aramaic,” *The Textual History of the Bible. II. The Deuterocanonical Scriptures. 2B. Baruch/Jeremiah, Daniel (Additions), Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira, Enoch, Esther (Additions), Ezra* (eds. A. Lange – F. Feder – M. Henze) (Leiden: Brill 2019) 349–354; for more detailed discussions, see Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4, passim*. In most cases, there are only minor differences between the Aramaic text and the *Gəʾəz* version, in stark contrast to the flood account discussed in more detail in this section of the article. In some cases, the Aramaic manuscripts containing the *An. Apoc.* overlap with each other, see *ibidem*, 5. The reconstructed text of 4Q205 6 2–3 seems to be shorter in relation to 4Q206 7 II 10–11 (89:11); the same can be said about the lacunae in 4Q205 6 5–6 and 4Q206 8 II 1; cf. *ibidem*, 331–332. These differences, however, established with the help of the reconstruction of the missing text, cannot be considered as witnesses to two recensions of the whole *An. Apoc.* among the Qumran manuscripts, as tentatively proposed by Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 128).

expansions are literary additions inserted into the shorter recension. Their insertion must have taken place in the text of the Aramaic *Vorlage* that underlies the Greek and then the Ethiopic version.<sup>18</sup>

The first six strophes of the flood account in Aramaic have four (strophes 1, 3, 4) or five (strophes 2, 5, 6) clauses each, with the text expanded in Ethiopic, especially in strophes 2–4 (the beginning of the flood and the destruction of the animals). A literary addition containing the transformation of the white bull is also found in the immediately preceding context (89:1a), while the reconstruction of the beginning of strophe 7 (4Q206 9 4c–5; 89:9a) shows a different text, where the information about the same transformation might have been missing. Nothing certain can be said about the date of the creation of the longer form underlying the Ethiopic text; yet, it may be assumed that the scribe responsible for the expanded recension must have been active before the demise of the Qumran community as well as that of the whole nation during the anti-Roman rebellion (66–73 BCE).<sup>19</sup> The notes that follow shortly discuss the additions to the Aramaic text found mostly in the middle or at the end of the sentences.

#### *Additions at the Beginning or within the Sentence*

##### **a. I raised my eyes toward heaven, and I saw a high roof with seven torrents on it; and those torrents**

The first literary addition within the flood narrative modifies the Aramaic text as attested in 4Q206 8 I 16b–17a (89:2; 2A–B). Since the Aramaic text opens up with one verbal clause without any complement (4Q206 8 I 16b; 2A), the redactor of the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic expands the line (“[I was] seeing, and behold”) with a more formal opening (“I raised my eyes toward heavens and I saw,” 87:2; cf. 86:1, 3) that prepares the introduction of the lofty roof (*nāḥs lā ‘ul*), a new cosmographic element in the account supplemented by the addition of a “large enclosure” (*‘asad ‘abiy*) at the end of the verse. The additional information about the roof causes the modification of the Aramaic clause about the seven sluices (4Q206 8 I 16c–17a; 2B) with two syntagms added within the clause: “on it; and those torrents” (*dibēhu wa ‘alleku ‘asrāb*).

- 18 The fragmentary papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2069 (85:10–86:2; 87:1–3) and a short extract in the *Codex Vaticanus Gr.* 1809 (89:42–49) demonstrate that the *An. Apoc.* was first translated from Aramaic into Greek and then from Greek into classical Ethiopic. For the text of the papyrus, see J.T. Milik, “Fragments grecs du Livre d’Hénoch (P. Oxy. XVII 2069),” *CdE* 46 (1971) 321–343; Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 32–40, pl. XVIII–XIX; the text of *Codex Vaticanus Gr.* 1809 can be consulted in *ibidem*, 40–46, pl. XX. For a brief study of the relationship between the Greek and Ethiopic versions, see D. Assefa, “5.5.1 The *Book of Dreams*: Greek,” *The Textual History of the Bible. II. The Deuterocanonical Scriptures. 2B. Baruch/Jeremiah, Daniel (Additions), Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira, Enoch, Esther (Additions), Ezra* (eds. A. Lange – F. Feder – M. Henze) (Leiden: Brill 2019) 343–347.
- 19 The Qumran manuscripts of *I Enoch* are the only witnesses of the text in Aramaic. Given a redactional work seen both in the Aramaic fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran and in the text underlying versional evidence, both Greek and Ethiopic, the interest in the study and edition of this Jewish apocalyptic tradition might have continued within Judaism well after 70 CE. Considering the lack of Aramaic manuscript evidence dated after the demise of the Qumran community, little can be said about that topic.

The introduction of the “high roof”<sup>20</sup> was probably meant to give architectural support to the Aramaic גרזובין – “spouts, water pipes”<sup>21</sup> that are located on it (89:2; 2A) and “recede” (*sassalu*) from it (89:7; 5B); hence they do not belong to the permanent structure of the “roof.” From this perspective, the seven Aramaic “spouts” can hardly correspond to the “windows” or “hatches” (ארבת) in the firmament, through which the rain falls from the sky in the biblical flood account (Gen 7:11; 8:2).<sup>22</sup> It also remains unclear why the spouts are seven<sup>23</sup> and to which extent their number should be interpreted symbolically.

The considerable intervention into the structure of the clause in strophe 2A–B at the very beginning of the flood description is witness to the conscious work of the redactor, who continues his work in strophes 3–4, leaving strophes 5–6 immune to his work. The exception is the note about the high roof (89:7; 5B), an evident synchronism with 89:2, added to the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic (Greek) version. A particular characteristic of the additions is the fourfold use of the verb “to see” (2A; 3C; 4A.D) in the central part of the flood narrative (strophes 2–6). The same verb in the section without any addition (2A.C; 3A; 5A) is also used four times and plays a literary function of structuring the account into smaller units (strophes, division of the strophes). Such a functional use of the verb is not extant in the added section, and its presence there seems to denote the willingness of the redactor to make the additions look rooted in the authority of the main narrator of the whole Apocalypse, namely Enoch (cf. *1 En.* 85:1–2, 3a; 87:3).

## b. and darkness and mist

The length of the lacuna in 4Q206 8 I 19a (89:4; 3C) can contain one short sentence; hence it is questionable whether there remains enough space for two additional syntagms “and darkness and mist” (*waṣəlmat wagimē*). The presence of these two nouns in 89:4,

20 The metaphor may denote the firmament (רקיע; cf. Gen 1:6, 7, 8, etc.), yet the location of the waterspouts on it disturbs the comparison.

21 For the meaning of the Aramaic term, see Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, 148; for its use in JBA, cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, 2, expanded ed. (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum 3; Ramat Gan – Baltimore, MD: Bar Ilan University Press – John Hopkins University Press 2020) 667a; in Syriac, cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN – Piscataway, NJ: Eisenbrauns – Gorgias Press 2009) 830b. Note that in the 1st millennium CE, the lexeme is found in Eastern Aramaic dialects.

22 For the Hebrew term, see also Mal 3:10; 2 Kgs 7:2, 19; Isa 24:18; cf. Isa 60:8; Eccl 12:3. Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 261) explains the discrepancy between the meaning of the Aramaic term and the Ethiopic *ʿasāb* “torrents” by the influence of the LXX οἱ καταρρέοντες that translates the Hebrew ארבת (Gen 7:11; 8:2). The Ethiopic term is in fact found in the Ethiopic version of Gen 7:11 and 8:2.

23 The number seven, being quite popular in Enoch astronomy (4Q208–4Q209; 7 in fraction denominator), appears here together with a cosmic element; cf. also seven mountains (77:4), seven rivers (77:5), seven large islands (77:8). According to *Jub.* 5:24, there are seven flood gates (*manbahāḥāta*) of heaven and seven openings of the great deep; see J.C. VanderKam, *Jubilees. I. A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees. Chapters 1–21* (ed. S.W. Crawford) (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2018) 293–294. The redactor in the *An. Apoc.* uses a different terminology concerning the water sources above and below, but the seven spouts in the flood context are quite close to the tradition found in *Jubilees*.

which speaks about the waters that already cover the earth, increases the dramatic description of the earth where all life begins to perish (strophe 4). While darkness is interpreted as a mythic phenomenon stemming either from Gen 1:2 (a return to primordial chaos?)<sup>24</sup> or from the Mesopotamian flood account,<sup>25</sup> mist as an associated meteorological phenomenon recalls the *Astronomical Book* (1 En. 76:11, North-West gate) and suggests the meteorological provenience of darkness.

The motif of darkness returns in the concluding section of strophe 6, which describes the departure of darkness and the return of light<sup>26</sup> (89:8; 6E.F) at the end of the flood. The lacuna in 4Q206 9 4b–c is large enough to accommodate the two clauses; hence one can cautiously assume that the darkness motif belongs to the shorter recension here. As no text is preserved in the Aramaic fragment, little can be said about the content of the verse in the Qumran recension.

**c. And I kept seeing the height of that water, and that water rose up over the enclosure and stood upon the earth.**

The length of the lacuna in 4Q206 8 I 19a (89:4; 3C) accommodates no more than one short clause, which precludes the reader from accepting the long Ethiopic sentence as making part of the shorter recension of the text. The intrusion here results from the earlier insertion of the “enclosure” (‘*ašad*; 2.B.C.; 3.A.) into the structure of the flood narrative. Its purpose is to demonstrate the height (*mal’alt*) of the rising waters reaching the height (*mal’alt*) of the enclosure and pouring over it in order to stand on the earth. The last clause attested in Aramaic (4Q206 8 I 19b; 89:4; 3D) reads the pronominal suffix “it” changed by the redactor to “the earth” – a necessary adjustment resulting from the insertion of the two clauses. The standing of the waters upon the earth is the point of arrival in the flow of the narrative up to this point: the culminating moment when the waters cover the whole earth, a necessary precondition for strophe 4. The separation between the dry land and the sea, an element of the creation process in Gen 1:9, ceases to exist.

The waters of the flood not only fill the enclosure in this literary addition but also rise above it, dividing the earth into two parts. The enclosure is the place of death for the animals (all the cattle, 89:5 and 4D), but nothing is said about the regions outside it. The redactor concentrated on the destiny of those found within the enclosure and was manifestly not interested in the fate of the mythic regions without any human population. In the Book of Watchers, the mythical reaches of the earth inaccessible to the mortals are penetrated by Enoch in his travels (chs. 17–19; 21–36).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig: Vogel 1853) 256.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 263.

<sup>26</sup> François Martin (*Le livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien* [Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1906] 205) observes that the return of light in 89:8 (“and it became light”) is reminiscent of Gen 1:3.

<sup>27</sup> See 1 En. 19:3: “No one among humans has seen as I saw”; cf. also 1 En. 34–36, where Enoch travels around the horizon, acquiring arcane knowledge of basic tenets of horizon-based astronomy; H. Drawnel, “Enoch at the Ends of the Earth: Horizon-Based Astronomy and the Stars in 1 Enoch 33–36,” *Science in Qumran*

#### d. all the cattle of that enclosure assembled until I saw them

The noun “all” can be considered an explanatory interpolation added under the influence of the following addition to the Aramaic clause in the form found in 4Q206 8 I 19c (89:5; 4A). The information about the ingathering of the cattle of the enclosure before their sinking and perishing hardly corresponds to anything either in Gen 6–8 or in the myth of the fallen Watchers (*1 En.* 6–11).<sup>28</sup> It is also difficult to interpret the coming together of all the bulls (humanity) as an attempt to escape the waters of the flood by climbing together to higher grounds, for the earth is already covered by the waters (89:3b; 3A) that stand upon it (89:4; 3D). The motif of the congregation of all sinful humanity before their death should be read in the context of the final ingathering before the execution of the punishment takes place. This interpretation imposes itself in the context of the whole strophe 4, in which the righteous few are saved in the ship that moves swiftly on the waters of the flood while the rest of humanity and the sons of the Watchers perish.<sup>29</sup>

Instead of the Aramaic טבע “to drown” (4Q206 8 I 19c), the Ethiopic text translates a different verb, “(the cattle) were swallowed” (*yətwahḥaṭu*, 89:5; 4A), a metaphor meaning the waters of the flood are engulfing them. The use of the verb in the context of the flood reminds the reader of *1 En.* 86:5, where the bulls begin to swallow (*wəḥṭa*; no direct object)<sup>30</sup> and of 87:1, where the sons of the Watchers swallow (*wəḥṭa*) one another.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the verb in the text translated by the Ethiopic alludes to the prevarication of the sons of the Watchers and to that of human beings. It seems that in the eyes of the redactor responsible for this literary addition, the crime in the last resort falls upon the culprits.

#### e. from that high roof

The reconstruction of the lacuna in Q206 9 1b (89:7; 5B) suggests that the syntagm already absent in the Aramaic clause in 89:2 (2A) was also missing in the Qumran manuscript. The redactor introduced this new cosmic element only in these two places as material support for the “water channels, spouts” he found in the Aramaic text. This is also his last

*Aramaic Texts* (ed. I. Fröhlich) (Ancient Cultures of Sciences and Knowledge; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2022) 143–172.

28 Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 264) suggests that the cattle assembled in order to enter the ark and be saved, just as the sinners attempted to do, according to rabbinic sources. The distance of the gathering in the narrative from the entrance of the white bull into the ship (strophe 1) and the beginning of the flood (strophe 2) precludes one from accepting such an explanation.

29 For the gathering of all the nations in the valley of Josaphat for judgment, see Joel 4:2; Isa 66:18, both of which use the aorist infinitive of συνάγω “to gather together.” The Ethiopic text in *1 En.* 13:9 renders the Greek perfect passive participle of the same verb with the G passive participle of *gab’ a*, and the Lt (or Glt according to T. Lambdin) form of *gab’ a* is found in addition here: *tagābā’ u*. About the gathering of the nations, see also Zeph 3:8; Isa 43:9; Matt 25:32.

30 The subject of the verb is contested: either the bulls (= stars = Watchers, cf. 86:3) or the sons of the Watchers; since the elephants, camels and asses do not have horns to gore, Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 241) opts for the bulls, although the *Book of Watchers* does not speak about the violence of the Watchers.

31 Cf. *1 En.* 7:5: κατεσθίεν (G<sup>C-1</sup>), Eth. *yəḥāllā’ u*; see also 85:6 where the giants consume (*yəḥāllā’ əwwomu*) the cattle, cf. *1 En.* 7:4: κατησθίισαν (G<sup>C-1</sup>), Eth. *yəḥāllā’ əwwomu*.

intervention in the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic flood account. The enclosure mentioned in the first part of the flood narrative (2A.D; 3C; 4A) does not appear in the second (strophes 5–6), which again suggests that its introduction served the purpose of having the extermination of the bulls, elephants, camels and asses happen within a well-defined spacial perimeter. The last allusion to it is found in 4D (89:6), where the animals are not able to come out (sc. from the enclosure) and therefore perish.

#### **f. that had become a man**

Although the reconstruction of 4Q206 9 4c–5 (7A) is based on the reading of one letter only, it demonstrates a different word order at the beginning of 89:9a. The short clause added in the middle of a sentence may be an addition for the first reference to the white bull becoming man found in 89:1a is not present in Aramaic. Since the first reference to the transformation occurs before the flood, its repetition stresses the identity of the white bull – he enters the ark as a man (an angelic being?) and exits/leaves it as a man.

#### *Additions at the End of a Clause*

#### **g. without his trembling. That one was born a bull but became a man**

The length of the lacuna in 4Q206 8 I 14a (89:1a) leaves enough space for no more than one short sentence (14 letter spaces) properly filled out by the retranslated clause “and taught it a mystery.” The omission of the Ethiopic phrase by the error of homeoteleuton or homeoarcton is implausible. The subject in the circumstantial clause “without his trembling” (‘anza iyarə ‘əd)<sup>32</sup> most probably denotes the teacher (Sari ‘el)<sup>33</sup> of the white bull who does not fear the coming flood, contrast the trembling of the falling Watchers before the coming judgment in *1 En.* 1:5 (G<sup>C-1</sup>).

The information about the white bull that becomes a man may denote the acquisition of the capacities to build the ship, just as in the case of the lamb (Moses) that becomes a man and builds a house for the Lord of the sheep and makes them stand in that house (4Q204 15 10 [89:36]).<sup>34</sup> Having found a similar context in the flood account (construction of the ark,

<sup>32</sup> The reading preferred by Robert Henry Charles (*The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch. Edited from Twenty-Three Mss. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions* [Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series 11; Oxford: Clarendon 1906] 167, n. 22) and Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 161, n. 7); cf. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, 203; Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 364, 368) reads the non-negated clause, “trembling as it was” equally well attested in the manuscripts (ms. *m*, *t*, *β*). Hence, he thinks Noah is the subject of the circumstantial clause as the one who trembles because of the theophany or of the slaughter of the giants in 86:6 (*ibidem*, 375). His proposal is not convincing – nowhere else is Noah represented as trembling, and it is easier to accept the same subject in the main sentence in 89:1a (“one of the four”) and in the subordinate clause. Additionally, he argues for the longer, Ethiopic text as original on the basis of the combination of “became man” in Ethiopic and “built” in Aramaic (*ibidem*, 368, n. to 89:1b). The mingling of the two independent text witnesses militates against such a solution, and the conclusion is hardly acceptable.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 172.

<sup>34</sup> See Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 257; Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, 203; Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 259, 295–296) objects and notes that since all humans in the *An. Apoc.* represent angels; the

dwelling in it), the redactor added the third motif probably borrowed from 89:36: the transformation of the white bull.<sup>35</sup> The interpretation is strengthened by the verb *šaraba* – “to hew” in “he hewed for himself a large vessel” (1A; 89:1b), where the Ethiopic verb denotes the work of a carpenter,<sup>36</sup> differently from the more general “[it ma]de” (4Q206 8 I 14b [89:1b]) in Aramaic.

The information about the bull becoming a man is incompatible with the rest of the allegory in the flood account, where the three sons of Noah function as three bulls until the end of the story (89:9a–b; 7A–B). Moreover, the allegory of the white bull returns unchanged at the end of the account (89:9a.c.; 7A.E), with a qualifying clause (89:9a; 7A) about the white bull becoming a man, an anaphoric reference to the expanded section that introduces the flood account (89:1a).

#### **h. into a certain enclosure ... in that large enclosure ... that enclosure**

A short lacuna at the end of 4Q206 8 I 16c–17a (89:2) cannot contain the Ethiopic adverbial expression “into a certain enclosure” (*bāhādu ‘ašad*) that restricts the flow of the flood waters to an enclosure, an addition repeated with the demonstrative pronoun in 89:3a (*bawə’ətu ‘ašad ‘abiy*) but absent in 4Q206 8 I 17c. The third case is 89:3b (3A), where the Ethiopic *wə’ətu ‘ašad* “that enclosure” is as well conspicuously absent at the end of the clause in 4Q206 8 I 18b (3A). In the last two cases, an omission by the error of homeoteleuton or homeoarcton in the Aramaic text is hardly possible.

These additions introduce a new cosmographic element which in 89:5 becomes the place of the ingathering of the cattle and that of its death. The Ethiopic *‘ašad* “circumscribed area, enclosure, pen, stall, sheepfold” translates the Aramaic 𐤍𐤏𐤍 “sheepfold”<sup>37</sup> in 4Q204

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transformation of the white bull into a man symbolizes its elevation to the angelic state. Moses’s transformation into a man (89:36) would be based on his privileged contact with God (see Exod 33:11, 18–21; 34:29–35), while the transformation of Noah imitates that of Moses. However, taking the context into account, August Dillmann’s interpretation retains its validity – the transformation precedes the building of a physical construction in both cases. The metamorphosis of all the wild animals in the eschatological times into white bulls (90:38) symbolizes the return of humanity to the primordial, Adamic status, without disobedience and violence.

35 Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 259) is convinced that Noah’s transformation is secondary, for it is missing in the Aramaic text, while the transformation of Moses is found both in Aramaic and Ethiopic.

36 W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge‘ez (Classical Ethiopic). Ge‘ez-English / English-Ge‘ez with an Index of the Semitic Roots* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2006) 563.

37 In the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, a law and an enclosure will be given to the holy ones (1 En. 93:6). Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch*, 295) proposes to read the statement in light of 89:2 so that in this case, the term *‘ašad* “enclosure” would mean the land of Canaan inherited later by Israel. This is the interpretation preferred by Robert Henry Charles (*The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. Translated from the Editor’s Ethiopic Text* [Oxford: Clarendon 1912] 230, n. to v. 5). On the other hand, considering 89:34, 35, Dillmann proposes to interpret the “enclosure” as the construction of a firm reference point for the community in the Mosaic holy place (tent of meeting). Then he adds that the enclosure may symbolize the hedging in of the life of the Israelites by the Law. The Coptic text of 93:6 published by Sergio Donadoni (“Un frammento della versione copta del «Libro di Enoch»,” *AcOr* 25 [1960] 198) reads CKHNNH “a tent,” a term that for Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 446) denotes the desert tabernacle, in consonance with the sanctuary cited in 93:7, 8; 91:13. Nevertheless, equating the meaning of the Coptic “tent” with that of the Ethiopic “enclosure” in 93:6 (*ibidem*, 446), Nickelsburg’s comment does not seem to

15 6 (89:34; l. 8 – omitted in Eth. [89:35]) while in 4Q207 1 3 (86:2) the same Aramaic term is rendered by the synonymous *mā ʿayām* “stall, pen, sheepfold.” If behind the Ethiopic term in the allegory stands the same Aramaic noun, then the transformation of the earthly pen for the sheep into a cosmic entity is perfectly understandable – the redactor circumscribed the bulls and other animals within the framework of their living space which in the flood account encloses the whole habitable earth where humanity exists and can exist. Although in this way, he created a cosmic entity<sup>38</sup> hardly compatible with the flood cosmography both in *1 Enoch* and in Gen 6–8, the metaphor of an earthly sheepfold for the bulls, elephants, camels, asses and animals (4D; 89:6) can easily be decoded, especially when read in light of the later apostasy and punishment of Israel in *1 En.* 89:34–5.<sup>39</sup> The rhetorical function of the enclosure motif within the flood narrative culminates in 4A.D (89:5, 6), which stresses the congregation of all the animals within the enclosure and their death therein. Thus, the focus in the narrative on the contrast between the swift movement of the ship and the death of the animals shifts in the Ethiopic text to the extermination of all the animals, with the ship floating on the waters of the flood moving to the second plan.

**i. sank to the earth as well as all the animals. And I could not see them and they were unable to come out, and they perished and sank in the depths.**

The Aramaic clause in 4Q206 8 I 21 (89:6; 4D) ends with a *vacat* that marks the end of the paragraph. The strophe depicts the animals already dead and decaying<sup>40</sup> in the waters of the flood, contrasted with the swift movement of the ship on the waters. The redactor changes the Aramaic verb (“they were decaying”) with “they sank” (*tasaṭmu*) and adds “to the earth.” The next additional syntagm, “all the animals” (*kʿʿallomu ʿənsəṣā*), supplements

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be precise enough – the Coptic version may have preserved a Greek lesson of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, yet the Ethiopic “enclosure” witnesses to a different underlying Greek term, probably ἀλή “courtyard”; the Ethiopic “enclosure” cannot render the Greek “tent.” Hence, the Ethiopic noun is a *lectio difficilior* that, without further qualifications, cannot be taken as a witness to the establishment of the cult under Mt. Sinai. Its application in 93:7 renders the Aramaic דיר “dwelling place, sheepfold” cf. 4Q207 1 3 (86:2); 4Q204 15 6 (89:34), 8 (89:35). In 93:6, the enclosure is a place prepared for all generations, and it does not entail a cultic meaning, differently from the Coptic. Loren T. Stuckenbruck (*1 Enoch 91–108* [CEJL 1; Berlin: De Gruyter 2007] 108) interprets the Coptic “tent” as a reference to the ark of the covenant that in Exod 27:9 is designated as the “enclosure of the tent” (חצר המשכן, LXX ἀλῆ γῆ σαρκῶν). Yet the Coptic CKHNNH “tent, tabernacle” cannot mean “ark,” just as the biblical text cited by Stuckenbruck can hardly be identified with the ark.

38 The heavenly roof in the Ethiopic additions to the flood account is a separate entity that is not linked with the “enclosure”; hence it is inaccurate to claim with Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 376) that the two depict a cosmic building within which the flood takes place. Neither the Aramaic nor the Ethiopic versions of the flood story in the *An. Apoc.* use such imagery, and in the Ethiopic additions, neither the roof nor the enclosure is part of a building.

39 In *1 En.* 89:34–35 (Exod 32), the blind and straying sheep that want to return to their folds (דיריהון) are slaughtered by the lamb (Moses) and other lambs (Levites) and then, led by the lamb, the straying flock returns to their pens (דיריהון). The text of the *An. Apoc.* presents the fold as a concrete structure that functions as a symbol for the return of Israel to the cultic faith in Yahweh and can hardly be identified with the desert camp of Exod 32:17, 26.

40 See the explanation of the verb in Drawnel, *Qumman Cave 4*, 379.

the list of the cattle, elephants, camels and asses. The reader wonders whether the syntagm stresses the death of all humanity within the perimeter of the enclosure that has become a symbol for the *oikoumenē* inhabited by the human beings and the sons of the Watchers, or perhaps the animals are here to be understood literally.<sup>41</sup> The rest of the addition stresses the death of all the animals listed in 4D, with the verbs “to perish” and “to sink” repeated from the preceding context (89:5; 4A.B).

### 3. The Flood Account within the Literary Structure of the Primeval History

Set between the punishment meted out against the Watchers and their descendants (87:2–89:1a) on the one hand and the birth of the new post-diluvian generations (89:10–12) on the other, the flood narrative concludes the primordial history with a well-defined caesura – human violence as well as that of the angelic origin was brought to an end and a human remnant was saved. The new, post-diluvian allegorical history of humanity begins in 89:10–12 with the birth of the wild animals (descendants of Sem, Ham and Japhet) and that of the white bull (Abraham) and his descendants (Isaac, Jacob and his sons). The literary introduction to the flood narrative is found in 89:1a, which at the same time concludes the preceding section retelling the mission of the four archangels to the earth, found in *I En.* 10. References to the white bull and his three sons in the last strophe of the flood account (89:9) recall its beginning (89:1b) and mark off the flood account as one literary unit.

The literary transposition of the message directed to Noah (*I En.* 10:2–3) before the start of the flood narrative in the *An. Apoc.* (89:1a) provides a convenient link with the preceding context on the one hand, and a smooth passage to the new topic, on the other. First of all, the phrase “one of the four (Sariel/Ouriel)” that opens up the line in 89:1a is part of the fixed expression in 88:1,2,<sup>42</sup> 3 describing the actions of the four angels: “one of those four who had come forth” against the first star, offspring of the Watchers and the rest of the stars. Not only stylistically, however, does 89:1a belong to the preceding context, but the rest of the sentence that describes the execution of God’s commission to Noah from 10:2–3 is part of the intervention of the three white men (88:1–3) where they act just as

41 The Ethiopic *ʿansāsā* “animals, beasts” is listed in the classical Ethiopic version of the Genesis creation story, cf. Gen 1:24, 25, 28. In the flood account, it is found in Gen 6:7 (“from man to beast”), 19; 7:2, 2, 8, 14, 23; 8:1, 17, 20. It usually translates the LXX *κατῆνος* (MT *בהמה*) “beast” or *θηρίον* (MT *חיה*) “wild animal.” Here the Ethiopic noun does not denote humanity designated in 4A (89:5) with the term *ʾalhamt* “cattle” (Aram. *תוריא*, 4Q206 8 I 19), hence the literal interpretation of *ʿansāsā* must be assumed. Thus, the syntagm “all the animals” would mean that the redactor supplements the list of all the human beings and the sons of the Watchers with the third group that perishes during the flood, information drawn from the biblical account. Note in this respect the syntagm “the sons of the earth” in *I En.* 86:6 that breaks the allegory (bulls as human beings).

42 That verse preserves a truncated form of the expression “one of these,” with the omission of the numeral and the reference to the angelic coming forth from the heavenly realm.

ordered in chapter 10 of *1 Enoch*.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, the mystery taught by one of the white men<sup>44</sup> to Noah forms the thematic link with the next sentence in 89:1b where, acting upon the information disclosed by the Angel, the white bull builds for himself a ship and dwells in it together with the other three bulls (Shem, Ham and Japhet).

The mention of the three bulls that enter the ship with Noah (1B; 89:1c) is found only here and at the end of the flood story in 7A–D (89:9a–b). The same can be said about the (white) bull mentioned in the narrative at the beginning (1A [89:1b]) and end (7A [89:9a] and 7E [89:9c]) of the story.<sup>45</sup> The transformation of the white bull into a man (III.6; 89:1a – IV.7A; 89:9a) is a redactional expansion that intends to enhance the role of the white bull on the one hand and to add a new, supporting element in the literary structure on the other.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, the fate of Noah and his three sons dominates the first and last strophe of the narrative, while the central section (strophes 2–6) stresses the destructive action of the waters in the elimination of the doers of violence. The last strophe gives prominence to the sons of Noah, who are mentioned in its four parts (7A–D), so that the departure of the main hero of the flood (7E)<sup>47</sup> is nothing more than a formal mark of his removal from the rest of the narrative.<sup>48</sup>

While the information about the departure of the white bull in the last strophe of the flood account (7E; 89:9c) can be a later addition characteristic of the larger, expanded *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version, the colours ascribed to the three bulls (7B–D; 89:9b) build

43 Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch* 1, 374) notes that the four archangels from chapter 10 of *1 Enoch* correspond to the four white men in 88:1–89:1; yet he does not draw any conclusion as to the literary character of 89:1a that concludes 88:1–3 on the one hand and introduces the new topic on the other.

44 The Ethiopic text omits “one of” preserved in Aramaic, “one of the [white] oxen” (4Q206 8 I 13).

45 Since there are evident vocabulary contacts between strophes 1 and 7, strophe 7 is the last one in the whole literary structure of the flood narrative. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch* 1, 365) links 89:9 (strophe 7) with 89:10, that is, with the following period of human history but, strangely enough, notes vocabulary contacts between 89:9 and 85:3, 8. His opinion concerning the position of 89:9 within the literary structure of the section relies on the interpretation of its content: the coming out of Noah from the ark and the connection of 89:9 with the beginning of humanity (Noah and his sons parallel the first patriarchs) means for him that the verse depicts the beginning of a second creation where Noah and his sons become the patriarchs of that creation (*ibidem*, 376). There is little in the text itself to support his opinion.

46 See section 2, *sub loco*.

47 Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 268) notes that the white bull in that clause may also denote Seth, the son of Noah. Although such an interpretation cannot be excluded, Seth’s departure from his father and brothers would derange the development of the story in the next verse, which speaks about the descendants of the three bulls. The use of the two demonstrative pronouns before “bull” in that clause stresses the importance of that animal in the narrative.

48 The text does not clarify whether Noah’s departure from his three sons is a metaphor for his death (cf. Gen 9:29 and Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 191, n. to 89:9) or it denotes his abandoning of his sons and a passage to a different place where he continues to live. In the former case, the verb *halafā* (“to depart”) should be interpreted in its metaphorical application; on the other hand, the indirect object “from them” rather suggests his separation from his sons, which does not necessarily apply to his death. Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, 33) interprets the clause in light of the Mesopotamian flood accounts where the main hero, Ziusudra or Atrahasis or Uta-napištim, went to dwell with the gods. Noah’s departure, therefore, modelled after the Mesopotamian flood story, would denote his removal to paradise and the gift of eternal life.

a reference to the very beginning of the primordial story, to the first generation of the white bull and the red and black calves (85:3b–4).<sup>49</sup> Thus, the post-diluvian typology harkens back to the primordial situation of the bulls and calves (humanity), marred by persecution and bloodshed. Additionally, the colour distinction concerns the first human generations as well: the Sethites are represented by white cattle, while the Cainites by black cattle (85:5, 8–9), a distinction that implies a positive and negative moral evaluation. Such a correspondence shows the end of antediluvian human history, and at the same time, the colour symbols point to the next phase of human history, where white symbolizes the purity of the Sethite line, red – bloodshed, and black – prevarication and perhaps violence of the wild animals (nations).

Table 2. Bulls and Their Colours in *1 En.* 85:3b and 89:9b

Adam	<sup>85:3b</sup> And that bull was white . . .	<sup>89:9b</sup> and one of those three bulls was white, resembling that bull,	Shem
Cain	. . . two calves, and one of them was black	and one of them was red like blood,	Ham (Japhet?)
Abel	and one was red.	and one was black.	Japhet (Ham?)

Assuming the order of the presentation of Noah's sons in the biblical story (Gen 5:32; 6:10; 7:13; 9:18) is the same in the *An. Apoc.*, the white bull symbolizes Shem, the red one – Ham, and the black – Japhet. Yet, the order of the colours on the list is different from that found in 85:3b (see Table 2); hence the identification of Noah's sons might differ: white – Shem; red – Japhet; black – Ham. In the latter case, the association of Ham with black might reflect the episode in Gen 9:22, where the second son of Noah sees the nakedness of his father. Such an interpretation is less plausible, though, for Noah's curse for Ham's deed falls on Canaan (Gen 9:25).<sup>50</sup> Red reminds the reader of the red calf struck and pursued by the black calf over the earth (85:4), and its association with Ham at the end of the flood account is difficult to explain.<sup>51</sup> The syntagm “red like blood”<sup>52</sup> recalls God's talk with Cain

<sup>49</sup> Since the last strophe of the story shows several vocabulary contacts with the first.

<sup>50</sup> In 4Q252 II 5b–7, the incident with Noah's drunkenness comes immediately after his exit from the ark (II, 2, 4). The author of the Hebrew composition recalls Noah's curse that falls on Canaan (II, 6) and seizes the opportunity to explain that the curse did not fall on the actual culprit: “and he did not curse Ham but his son because God blessed the sons of Noah” (II 6–7). The blessing undoubtedly refers to Gen 9:1, where God blesses Noah and his three sons.

<sup>51</sup> Ida Fröhlich (“The Symbolical Language of the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch,” *RevQ* 14 [1990] 630) affirms that the red in the *An. Apoc.* has a neutral significance, differently from the white (positive) and black (negative), Lydia Gore-Jones (“Animals, Humans, Angels and God: Animal Symbolism in the Historiography of the ‘Animal Apocalypse’ of 1 Enoch,” *JSP* 24 [2015] 278) links the colour red with bloodshed in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. 2 Kgs 3:22; Isa 63:2) and also adduces the example of Isa 1:18 where the red of Israel's sins is contrasted with the white of snow or wool. Yet she does not advance any convincing explanation of the red colour ascribed to the second bull.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the Hebrew expression אדם כדמים “red like blood,” in 2 Kgs 3:22 (water).

after the killing of Abel: “The voice of your brother’s blood...” (Gen 4:10; cf. Gen 4:11).<sup>53</sup> Hence, one possible interpretation is that the colour red associated with the second bull in *1 En.* 89:9b preannounces the shedding of blood expressed in the rest of the *An. Apoc.* by biting one another (*1 En.* 89:11<sup>54</sup>) or by a military conflict that extends in the *An. Apoc.* until the eschatological period when a sword is given to the sheep (*1 En.* 90:19).

If the biblical order of the sons of Noah is kept, then Japhet is associated with black – a negative association that cannot be explained easily. In the story of Noah’s drunkenness, Shem and Japhet play a positive role (Gen 9:23), which is later reflected in his blessing by God (Gen 9:27), according to which he will dwell in the tents of Shem and Canaan (son of Ham) will be his servant. It may be that the association of the black colour with Japhet in 89:9 symbolizes all the nations/wild beasts that fight against Israel in the rest of the *An. Apoc.*, including the Hellenistic military forces in the Ptolemaic (*1 En.* 90:1–5) and Seleucid (*1 En.* 90:6–12) periods and until the final judgment (*1 En.* 90:13–19). The proposal may appear speculative, though, for the births of the wild animals in 89:10 are ascribed to the bulls from the preceding verse without a distinction between white, red and black. Yet, the transformation of the wild beasts and birds of heaven into white cattle in 90:38 lends substantial support to the interpretation.

<sup>53</sup> Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 186, n. to *1 En.* 85:3, notes that red is emblematic of Abel’s martyrdom.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. 4Q205 62–3 (89:11) [למדרב און ללמדרב] [“to take on each [other]”]; the syntagm that denotes a reciprocal violent reaction is absent in ancient Ethiopic, cf. Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 328, 331. Using synonymous parallelism, the Aramaic redactor adds more information to the preceding clause where the wild animals bite each other (cf. *1 En.* 86:5). The scene reminds the reader of 85:4a–b: “that black bull struck (*gwad’o*) the red one and pursued (*talawo*) it upon (*diba*) the earth (*madr*).” The second clause causes interpretive problems: after having stricken the red bull, what is the reason for further pursuit of the red on the earth? Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 364) marks the Ethiopic text as corrupt and proposes Abel as the subject of the verb “to pursue,” which leads to an unlikely interpretation: after his death, Abel pursues his brother “across the earth like a Greek fury, seeking vengeance” (*ibidem*, 371); cf. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 227. The clause may indirectly interpret Gen 4:8, where the killing of Abel takes place in the field (MT בשדה). The text of the LXX stresses the place of aggression and killing by placing on the mouth of Cain the invitation to go out to the open field: Διελθωμεν εις το πεδον “Let us go out to the field (lit. ‘plain’)” (LXX; SP, *Pesh.*, Vulg., *Tg. Neof.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.*; absent in MT). Reconstructing the Aramaic substratum of the Ethiopic, one reads: “and (*wa* = ו) he pursued (רדף לה) it upon/on account of (*diba* = על) the land (*madr* = ארעא).” The Aramaic preposition that semantically corresponds to *diba* may be interpreted as indicating the place where Cain pursues Abel (“upon the land”) with evil intent and where the final blow must have been administered (coordinated clause expressing a chronologically later event); eventually, it may adduce the reason for the pursuit (על = because, on account of): the quest for the possession of the land/ground ארעא (cf. Gen 4:2, 10) (coordinated clause adducing reason for the action). In the latter case, the syntagm “on account of the land/ground” denotes the reason both for the striking of the red calf as well as for its pursuit. The clause alludes to an interpretive tradition, some elements of which might have been preserved in later sources. *Exodus Rabbah* 31.17 states that Cain owns grounds, terrains (הקרקעות) while Abel – movable propriety, which leads to a conflict that causes the killing: “When Abel was walking around on the earth (ערלם), Cain pursued him (רודף) and said ‘Get off my property’ (צא מתוך שלי)”; see A.Y. Kim, “Cain and Abel in the Light of Envy: A Study in the History of Interpretation of Envy in Genesis 4.1–16,” *JSP* 12 (2001) 77–78. About Cain’s greed, disreputable character, and criminal acquisitions of his property, see Josephus, *Ant.* 1.52–54, 60–61 and J. Byron, “The Way of Cain,” J. Byron, *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition. Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the First Sibling Rivalry* (TBN 14; Leiden: Brill 2011) 207–244, at 212–213.

It remains unclear to which extent the three colours at the conclusion of the history of the antediluvian generations preannounce the distinction between the white bull (89:10, 11) that symbolizes Abraham on the one hand and the wild beasts and birds that are not associated with any colour (89:10) on the other.<sup>55</sup> In the development of the story, the white colour characterizes the bull (89:11; Isaac; calf in 4Q206 8 II 12) born of the white bull (Abraham) and a white sheep (89:12; Jacob; ram in 4Q205 6 4). Black is ascribed to the black wild boar, Esau, the son of Isaac (89:12), who does not inherit the father's blessings and is excluded from the chosen lineage. Red does not appear in the rest of the *An. Apoc.*, while white returns at the beginning of the eschatological period with the white men (90:31; cf. 87:3, three archangels), white sheep (90:32; Israel), the white bull (90:37; a new Adam?) and white cattle (90:38; transformed nations).<sup>56</sup>

## Conclusion

In the literary structure of the flood account of the *Animal Apocalypse*, both in the Qumran fragments and in *1 Enoch*, the attention is centred on the extermination of humanity and the descendants of the Watchers contrasted by the salvation of the ship and, by extension, of Noah and his three sons (strophe 4, *1 En.* 89:5–6). The literary additions found in the Ethiopic version do not alter the main message of the shorter recension found in the Qumran fragments, but in the first part of the narrative (strophes 2–4, *1 En.* 89:2–6), they develop the cosmography of the universal catastrophe so as to circumscribe the death of the living beings within the bounds of a cosmic structure that in its main elements cannot be drawn from the biblical account and appear to be absent in the extant Qumran fragments as well. Within the literary structure of antediluvian history (*1 En.* 85:3b–89:9), the flood account solves the problem of violence introduced in the world by humanity, fallen Watchers and their descendants. It thus closes the whole literary section, while its last strophe prepares the continuation of human history marred by the violent conflict between the nations and Israel as well as the apostasy of the sheep.

<sup>55</sup> *1 En.* 89:10 states that “they (sc. the three bulls) gave birth to the animals, while the white bull (Abraham) is born “among them.” Hence the text of the *An. Apoc.* does not explicitly note which of the three bulls fathered which group of the animals and the white bull. This ambiguity is certainly purposive – the author of the *An. Apoc.* did not intend to be more accurate than that. Another factor might be the genealogical provenience of Abraham whose genealogical descent from Shem in Genesis 11 is not explicitly noted.

<sup>56</sup> For the discussion of the color symbolism and the eschatological passages in the *An. Apoc.*, see Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 225–226, 380, 383–385.

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