Thematic and Structural Affinities between 1 Enoch and the Qur’ân: A Contribution to the Study of the Judaeo-Christian Apocalyptic Setting of the Early Islamic Faith

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Apocalyptic Trends in Late Antiquity: A Necessary Bridge between Modern Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Studies

The Jewish apocalyptic legacy within early Christianity is pretty well documented, as also is the prominent role played in the latter by 1 Enoch, at least up to the 5th century CE. In addition, a careful reading of certain rabbinic texts (e.g. Gen R. 25:1) suggests that Christian Jews made extensive use of the Enochic tradition to support their Christological claims. Now, if as it is widely agreed, both Jewish and Christian theologies influenced formative Islam, or if,

1 See VanderKam, J. C., and Adler, W., eds. The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity. CRINT, 3/4. Assen/Minneapolis, 1996.
to put it in more forceful terms, the Islamic religion arose from within a Judaeo-Christian milieu, should one not investigate to what measure did apocalyptic literature influence the composition of the Muslim scriptures and, thereby, to what extent may 1 Enoch have influenced the composition of the Qurʾān itself?

No other is the topic explored in this paper, in which the composite expression “Judaeo-Christian” is used in a twofold sense to denote both a non-sectarian phenomenon—or, better, several non-sectarian phenomena, e.g. the common religious tradition of Judaism and Christianity and the unity of these two “religions” up to the 4th century CE—and a series of interrelated sectarian phenomena as, for instance, the Christology of certain, by no means

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all, Christian Jews\textsuperscript{5} who did not envisaged Christ as God,\textsuperscript{6} and their specific sectarian milieu(s). Hence its meaning varies within each particular context. The many problems surrounding both the Judaeo-Christian phenomenon as such and the terms used to describe it in past and present scholarship make it difficult to avoid a minimum of ambiguity.\textsuperscript{7} Yet the adjective “sectarian” will be supplemented in a few cases to help avoid any confusion.

Another point should be also made at the outset. As William Adler writes, “[t]heorizing about the social setting and function of the Jewish apocalypses must at some point acknowledge the fact that the context in which these apocalypses survive is a Christian one.”\textsuperscript{8} One must therefore ask: “How did Christians perceive and classify this literary legacy? What function and status did these documents have in the Christian communities that preserved them? How were they expanded upon and adapted for Christian use.”\textsuperscript{9} In sum one should regard them partly as Christian works and thus speak of “Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic”—not simply of Jewish apocalyptic—when facing the literary genre of such hybrid documents.

This said let us now go back to the programmatic questions addressed above. How can one contribute to the study of the Judaeo-Christian milieu out of which Islam developed when asking


\textsuperscript{6} Such is also, of course, the Islamic view. Cf. e.g. the first part of the \textit{shahāda}, i.e. the first well-known sentence of the Muslim profession of faith (“There is no God but God”), and the likewise polemical, anti-Trinitarian statement made in PseudClemHom 16:7, 9 (“God is One. There is no other God but him”).


\textsuperscript{9} Adler, “Introduction,” 8.
to what degree did apocalyptic literature, and more precisely 1 Enoch, influence, both in its contents and form, the composition of the Quranic text? One may contribute to such study, first, by encapsulating some of the ideological and literary elements inherent to that religious milieu; and, second, by examining how they were transferred to and adapted within a new scriptural corpus. As I will try to show, certain religious ideas which are also well documented in various other, non-apocalyptic types of Jewish and Christian literature, and—what is doubtless most remarkable—their specific narrative frame within a particular apocalyptic writing such as 1 Enoch, must be counted amongst these transferred and reinterpreted elements, or, to use John Wansbrough’s own wording, amongst these adopted topoi.

Two methodological devices put forth by Wansbrough in his *Quranic Studies*¹⁰ and *The Sectarian Milieu*¹¹ shall also be assumed in the following pages. The first is that “[i]dentification of the earliest Islamic community,” and likewise identification of the earliest Islamic faith, “may be … regarded as the investigation of process rather than of structure. The process in question may be envisaged as twofold: (1) linguistic transfer/adaptation of topos/theologoumenon/symbol to produce an instrument of communication and dispute (lingua franca); (2) distribution of these elements as confessional insignia (sectarian syndrome).”¹² The second is that the style of the Qurʾān is basically “referential” due to “its allusive and its elliptical character: allusion to an oral/literary tradition already familiar, and ellipsis in the intermittent and occasionally distorted treatment of that tradition.”¹³ They constitute, respectively, the diachronic (dynamic) and synchronic (stratigraphic) premises of this paper.¹⁴

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¹¹ See n. 3 above.
¹⁴ These two premises—the fact that the earliest Islamic faith derived from something else and the idea that this can be observed within the
After Abraham Geiger’s well-known essay on Muhammad and the Jews, published in 1833, the presence of Jewish religious motifs in the Quranic text and in the Hadith corpus has been extensively examined by several scholars (e.g. Ignaz Goldziher, Moses Gaster, Josef Horovitz, Bernhard Heller, Joshua Finkel).

Qur’ānic motifs—are hinted at in the Quranic text itself. See in this respect the dichotomy between Revelation/Book and Recitation (i.e. between tanzīl/kitāb, on the one hand, and qur’ān, on the other) in Q 10:37; 41:2–3; 43:2–4; as well as the difference made between collect (jama’a) and recite in 75:17–18; between reveal, recite, and (divide/ detail (divide) tafsīr in 10:37; 41:3; the references to the matrix of the book (umm al-kitāb/la’ab mahfuz) in 3:7; 10:39; 43:4; 85:21–22; to its signs/exempla (ayāt) in 3:7; 41:3; and to the earlier scriptures in 25:5–6. In short: (a) it is the “book” that has been “revealed” (41:2–3), but the “book” itself seems to be different from the Arabic “recitation” that contains its “exempla” (41:3), of which only those susceptible of being described as clear in their meaning are, however, apparently contained in turn in the “matrix” of the book (3:7); (b) such “recitation” confirms all prior “revelations” (10:37), but should also be regarded as an “adaptation” of the “book”, though not necessarily of its “matrix” (cf. 10:37; 41:2–3), and thus seemingly differs once more from the “book” itself; (c) only some of the contents of the latter seem to be contained in that “matrix” (3:7); (d) yet the “recitation” is said to be fully contained within such “matrix” (43:4; 85:22; (e) and all this is somehow linked to certain previous revelations, warnings, legends, and maybe also writings (10:37; 25:5–6; 53:56).

15 Geiger, A. Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? Bonn, 1833.
Heinrich Speyer,21 David Sidersky,22 Charles Torrey,23 Salomon Goiten,24 Chaim Rabin,25 Abraham Katsch,26 Steven Wasserstrom,27 Reuven Firestone,28 Mondher Sfar,29 Alfred-Louis de Prémare,30 John C. Reeves,31 Hai Bar-Zeev,32 and Angelika Neuwirth33). In addition, both Sæd Amir Arjomand34 and Geneviève

21 Speyer, H. *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*. Hildesheim, 21961.
Gobillot's38 have recently drawn our attention on the influence exerted by the Old Testament pseudepigrapha upon the composition of the Qur'an, an influence that was nonetheless already pointed out, amidst others, by Denise Masson in the 1950s36 and later on by de Prémare.37

"Le Coran ... tire explicitement argument ... de certaines d'entre elles [= the pseudepigrapha] pour étayer son propre enseignement," writes Gobillot.38 Doubtless, Islam was not the first religious milieu in which some of their contents were largely adopted after the 1st/2nd century CE. Gobillot rightly remind us of the decisive role they also played, for example, in the development of Manicheism.39 The Qur'an does not go so far as Manichean literature goes when the latter dismisses the canonical Scriptures; it simply tries to place the pseudepigrapha at the very same level from a canonical viewpoint. Nevertheless several Quranic verses criticised the way in which both Jews and Christians have read and used the canonical Scriptures (e.g. Q 2:79, 85, 174), and by doing so the Quranic text appeals in different occasions to the authority of the pseudepigrapha, which somehow prevails, therefore, upon the authority of the canonical books. “Dans cette perspective,” states Gobillot, “il propose une ‘refonte’ de la Révélation.”40

As this French scholar notes, the Quranic borrowing from the pseudepigrapha is twofold. At times the Qur'an quotes more or less explicitly the pseudepigrapha, whereas it merely refers to them tacitly in other cases. An example of the former method is given in Q 20:133; 53:33–41; 87:16–19, where successive allusions are made to the “first pages” (sunub) presumably revealed to Abraham and Moses. The eschatological contents of such verses draw upon the Testaments of Moses (TMos 10:3–10) and Abraham (TAb 1:6–7 A;

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37 Prémare, “Les textes musulmans dans leur environnement.”
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid., 58.
Likewise, a most striking example of the second method is found by Gobillot in Q 17:1, a verse that deals with the “nocturnal voyage” (ṣīrat) of the servant of God and, according to the prophetic Sunna, with the “celestial ascension” (miʿraj) of Muhammad alluded to in 53:1–18. Basing their arguments on the latter, Muslim authors have generally identified the servant of God with the Prophet of Islam. Gobbillot rightly suggests in the light of Q 6:35 and 17:93, however, that this view cannot lay claim to any measure of finality. Most likely, this passage was modelled after Abraham’s ascension as outlined in the Apocalypse of Abraham (cf. ApAb 15–18).[^43]

The Quranic text may be thus depicted as a palimpsest with regard to the Old Testament seudepigrapha.[^44] Now, beyond the


[^43]: On the date on which ApAb was presumably written see also Nickelsburg, Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah, 288.

[^44]: Needless to say, the pseudepigrapha of the New Testament and various other early Christian writings can be also traced behind many of the verses of the Qurʾān. Christoph Luxenberg has recently devoted a highly controversial work to this latter subject, suggesting that the Arabic term qurʾān corresponds originally to the Syriac term qryānā (lectionary), i.e. “the liturgical book containing excerpts from scripture to be read during the [religious] service” (Luxenberg, The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran, 70), and that a good number of the obscure passages found in the Qurʾān should be read and interpreted according to their Syro-Aramaic equivalents. On the import and limits of Luxenberg’s ground-breaking essay—which nevertheless redevelops (see ibid., 13–19) those of Geiger (Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? Th. Nöldeke (Geschichte des Qorâns. Göttingen, 1860; idem, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. Strassburg, 1910), S. Fraenkel (De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis. Leiden, 1880), K. Vollers (Volksprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien. Strassburg, 1906; repr. Amsterdam, 1981), J. Barth (“Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Qorâns.” Der Islam 6 (1916):
many parallels that one could enumerate a propos this issue, 1 Enoch provides us some of the most significant yet to my knowledge hitherto underrated ones.45

**Thematic and Structural Affinities between 1 Enoch 2:1–5:4 and Qurʾān 7:36; 10:6; 16:81; 24:41, 44, 46**

As is well known, Gabriel’s words in the Qurʾān—which defines itself as “a warner of the warners of old” (53:56)—proclaim the coming judgment of God:

42:7 And so We have revealed to thee an Arabic Koran, that thou mayest warn the Mother of Cities and those who dwell about it, and that thou mayest warn of the Day of Gathering, wherein is no doubt—a party in Paradise, and a party in the Blaze46

36:6 … that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were never warned, so they are heedless.


Hence the Qurʾān, and more precisely its so-called Meccan chapters, which are almost entirely devoted to such an announcement, develop in a peculiar way and in a much more discontinuous style the basic apocalyptic message of 1 Enoch, which, on the other hand, partakes of both Heilsankündigung and Gerichtsan-kündigung. The announcement of the forthcoming divine judgment functions indeed as the leitmotif of the whole Quranic message. Men must firmly believe in it (see e.g. Q. 2:2–10; 3:9–10; 4:136), and the contents of all former revelations, to which the Qurʾān refers constantly and from which it derives its religious legitimacy (see e.g. Q. 3:3–4; 5:48; 10:37; 35:31) are strictly identified with this belief (see e.g. Q. 53:56–58; 87:16–19).


50 To which, in consequence, the widely adopted definition of the apocalyptic genre offered by Collins, J. J., “Introduction: Toward the Morphology of a Genre.” In Collins, J. J., ed. Apocalyptic: The Morphology of a Genre, 1–20. Sememia 14; Missoula, MT, 1979, could be legitimately applied: “Apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an other-worldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world”. Besides, it should be noted here that the Arabic term ʿādīn denotes in the Qurʾān God’s “judgement” as well as human “religion.”

51 Moreover, the frequent Quranic diatribes against those who in their days of riches fail to remember God are reminiscent of 1 Enoch 94–97. Cf. e.g. Q 18:32–43; 68:17–33; 1 En 94:6–95:2; 96:4–8; 97:7–10.
Certainly, there is no trace in the Qurʾān of a primordial fault committed on earth by God's angels in order to explain the cause of evil (cf. however 1 En. 8; Q. 2:102). In contrast with the Enochic tradition, man—and man solely—seems by means of his arrogance to be responsible for his wicked acts (see e.g. Q. 10:12; 27:73; 96:6–7). Yet his soul reveals a twofold and contradictory attitude upon which Iblīs’—i.e., Satan’s, and thus a fallen angel’s— influence is not denied (see e.g. Q 38:71–75). And the divine promise of renewing creation in the end time is also admitted by the Qurʾān (cf. Q 10:4; 30:27).

Furthermore, some narrative patterns, sentences, phrases, terms, and ideas in 1 Enoch have a more or less strict parallel in the text of the Qurʾān, which, as I shall try to show, refers to the former in a découpage-like manner. This seems quite clear, for instance, if we compare several verses found in Qurʾān 7, 10, 16, 24, and others contained in 1 Enoch 2–5.

I will first mention a few verses of the hypothetical Aramaic Urtext of 1 Enoch as reconstructed by George Nickelsburg in 2001; and then, their respective equivalents in the Ethiopic text edited by Michael Knibb in 1978. The contrast between the two versions is worthy of note, though limited to very few elements. Besides, the phrase in 5:1 which the Ethiopic version omits is preserved in one of the Greek manuscripts known to us. One should bear in mind, however, that all the extant Ethiopic witnesses to 1 Enoch postdate the 13th century CE; hence earlier Gaʿaz manuscripts could have preserved a different text, closer to the Aramaic Urtext as reconstructed by Nickelsburg. As is widely agreed, 1 Enoch was translated into classical Ethiopic, in all probability, between the 4th and 6th centuries CE together with the other Scrip-

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52 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 150–51.
54 See furthermore, concerning the reconstruction of the Aramaic Grundschrift of 1 En 5:1, Nickelsburg’s commentary on 4Q201 i 2:9–11; 4Q204 i 1:28–30; and Codex Panopolitanus 5:1, in 1 Enoch 1, 151, nn. 5: 1b–d.
tural and parascriptural writings included in the canon of the Abyssinian church.\textsuperscript{55} Therefore, if one accepts that its translation was partly made after an Aramaic Vorlage,\textsuperscript{56} and if, moreover, one were to regard the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch 2–5 as the source of the aforementioned Quranic verses, it would be legitimate to conclude that the knowledge of the Enochic corpus that is to be attributed, ex hypothesis, to the editors of the Qur‘ān, could have depended on a text similar to the one restored by Nickelsburg. Now, the same would hold true if their source was Greek. The Akhmim fragments of 1 Enoch, which date from the 6th century CE and do contain the text of 1 Enoch 1–32 (hence also chs. 2–5), prove substantial for the reconstruction of its Aramaic Grundschrift.\textsuperscript{57} Besides, their date and contents make them a source plausibly known, either as such\textsuperscript{58} or through a Syriac (i.e. late Aramaic) translation—as is often the case with the Greek literature translated into Arabic\textsuperscript{59}—, to the editors of the Qur‘ān.\textsuperscript{60} Whether they based their knowledge


\textsuperscript{57} See n. 54 above.


\textsuperscript{60} I am once more grateful to Basile Lourié for pointing out this very important fact to me in a private communication of 10 October 2009.
of the Enochic corpus on the extant Aramaic, Ethiopic, Greek, Syriac, or Coptic versions is yet something we ignore.

The verses in question read as follows:

**1 Enoch 2:1–5:4, in Nickelsburg’s translation:**

2:1 Contemplate all (his) works, and observe the works of heaven, how they do not alter their paths; and the luminaries of heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order. 2:2 Observe the earth, and contemplate the works that come to pass on it from the beginning until the consummation, that nothing on earth changes, but all the works of God are manifest to you. 2:3 Observe the signs of summer and winter. Contemplate the signs of winter, that all the earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it. 3:1 Contemplate and observe how all the trees appear withered and (how) all their leaves are stripped, except fourteen trees that are not stripped, which remain with the old until the new comes after two or three years. 4:1 Observe the signs of summer, whereby the sun burns and scorches, and you seek shelter and shade from its presence, and the earth burns with scorching heat, and you are unable to tread on the dust or the rock because of the burning. 5:1 Contemplate all the trees; their leaves blossom green on them, and they cover the trees. And all their fruit is for glorious honor. Contemplate all these works, and understand that he who lives for all the ages made all these works. 5:2 And his works come to pass from year to year, and they all carry out their works for him, and their works do not alter, but they all carry out his word. 5:3 Observe how, in like manner, the sea and the rivers carry out and do not alter their works from his words. 5:4 But you have not stood firm nor acted according to his commandments; but you have turned aside, you have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty. Hard of heart! There will be no peace for you!61

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61 Cf. also 1 En 101:1–9.
1 Enoch 2:1–5:4, in Knibb's translation:

2. 1 Contemplate all the events in heaven, how the lights in heaven do not change their courses, how each rises and sets in order, each at its proper time, and they do not transgress their law. 2. 2 Consider the earth, and understand from the work which is done upon it, from the beginning to the end, that no work of God changes as it becomes manifest. 2. 3 Consider the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is full of water, and cloud and dew and rain rest upon it. 3. 1 Contemplate and see how all the trees appear withered, and (how) all their leaves are stripped, with the exception of fourteen trees which are not stripped, which remain with the old (foliage) until the new comes after two or three years. 4. 1 And again, contemplate the days of summer, how at its beginning the sun is above (the earth). You seek shelter and shade because of the heat of the sun, and you cannot tread upon the earth, or upon a rock, because of its heat. 5. 1 Contemplate how the trees are covered with green leaves, and bear fruit. And understand in respect of everything and perceive how He who lives for ever made all these things for you; 5. 2 and (how) his works are before him in each succeeding year, and all his works serve him and do not change, but as God has decreed, so everything is done. 5. 3 And consider how the seas and rivers together complete their tasks. 5. 4 But you have not persevered, not observed the law of the Lord. But you have transgressed, and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty. You hard of heart! You will not have peace!

Some brief considerations about the style of these verses and the Quranic use of natural order as a rhetorical frame will be perhaps suitable before confronting 1 Enoch 2:1–5:4 with the Quranic text.
Michael Stone and George Nickelsburg have analysed with some detail the parabolic use of natural order—as opposed to human disobedience—in prophetic, apocalyptic, and wisdom literature from the Second Temple period (cf. e.g. 1 En 2:1–5:4; 1QS iii, 15–iv, 26; 1Q34bis 3 ii 1–4; TNaph 3:2–4:1). “A number of Israelite texts contrast nature’s steadfast obedience to God’s commands with humanity’s divergence from the divine statutes,” writes Nickelsburg. “The language personifies nature’s activity in a way that remythologizes the material creation; the natural elements are given personalities reminiscent of the polytheistic worldview that placed gods and demi-gods in charge of the various parts of the cosmos. As a result, the human and nonhuman worlds are spoken of in the same terms.” In the Qur’an nature plays a no less relevant role either within the context of different metaphors which are set forth to increase the rhetorical effect of a certain description (see e.g. Q 24:39–40) or as a means to indicate in a lyrical way the undeniable presence of God’s signs in the world, his favour towards mankind, and his sovereignty over creation (see e.g. Q 56: 68–74). Here again several verses belonging to this latter category depict the natural order as implicitly opposed to human disobedience. I will now cite those which seem to me most significant in the light of the previously referred Enochic passage (1 En 2:1–5:4):

24:41 Hast thou not seen how that whatsoever is in the heavens and in the earth extols God, and the birds spreading their wings? Each—He knows its prayer and its extolling; and God knows the things they do. 24:42 To God belongs the Kingdom

63 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 152–55.
64 Ibid., 152.
65 Ibid., 152–53.
of the heavens and the earth, and to Him is the homecoming. 24:43 Hast thou not seen how God drives the clouds, then composes them, then converts them into a mass, then thou seest the rain issuing out of the midst of them? And He sends down out of heaven mountains, wherein is hail, so that He smites whom He will with it, and turns it aside from whom He will; wellnigh the gleam of His lightning snatches away the sight. 24:44 God turns about the day and the night; surely in that is a lesson for those who have eyes. 24:45 God has created every beast of water, and some of them go upon their bellies, and some of them go upon two feet, and some of them go upon four; God creates whatever He will; God is powerful over everything. (24:46) Now We have sent down signs making all clear; God guides whomsoever He will to a straight path.

10:5 It is He who made the sun a radiance, and the moon a light, and determined it by stations, that you might know the number of the years and the reckoning. God created that not save with the truth, distinguishing the signs to a people who know. 10:6 In the alternation of night and day, and what God has created in the heavens and the earth—surely there are signs for a godfearing people.

16:81 And it is God who has appointed for you coverings of the things He created, and He has appointed for you of the mountains refuges, and He has appointed for you shirts to protect you from the heat, and shirts to protect you from your own violence. Even so He perfects His blessing upon you, that haply you will surrender.

7:36 And those that cry lies to Our signs, and wax proud against them—those shall be inhabitants of the Fire, therein dwelling forever.

In my opinion, the following correspondences—which include both interfragmentary conceptual correspondences and structural concordances between the two corpora—should be highlighted:
Table 1. Intertextual correspondences between 1 Enoch 2–5 and the Qur’ān concerning the parabolic use of natural order as opposed to human disobedience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 Enoch</th>
<th>Qur’ān</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A/A’</td>
<td>2:1–2 + 5:1</td>
<td>24:41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B/B’</td>
<td>2:2 + 4:1</td>
<td>24:46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C/C’</td>
<td>2:4 + 5:1 + 5:2</td>
<td>24:44 + 10:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/D’</td>
<td>4:1</td>
<td>16:81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E/E’</td>
<td>5:4</td>
<td>7:36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we put side by side these passages we may obtain the following conceptual, i.e. non-literal, schemes:

Table 2. Conceptual correspondences between 1 En 2:1–2 + 5:1 and Q 24:41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Contemplate</th>
<th>the trees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>the heavens</td>
<td>—they extol God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A’</td>
<td>the earth</td>
<td>—they extol God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A’</td>
<td>Hast thou not seen</td>
<td>the birds?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Conceptual correspondences between 1 En 2:2 + 4:1 and Q 24:46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>… manifest to you</th>
<th>—(God’s) signs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>God’s signs</td>
<td>are manifest (to you).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Conceptual correspondences between 1 En 2:4 + 5:1 + 5:2 and Q 24:44 + 10:6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>…the signs of winter and summer come to pass from year to year.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>—there are signs for a godfearing people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C’</td>
<td>for those who have eyes.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Conceptual correspondences between 1 En 4:1 and Q 16:81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D</th>
<th>to protect from the sun…</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D+D’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D’</td>
<td>God has appointed for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from the heat…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 6. Conceptual correspondences between 1 En 5:4 and Q 7:36

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E</th>
<th>But you have transgressed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spoken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>God’s majesty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E+E’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>proud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>against</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There shall be no peace for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’</td>
<td>But those that deny God’s signs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>them.—</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>them.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In at least one of the two cases in which two entire verses reflect each other (1 En 5:4; Q 7:36) one finds their structure (i.e., the formal distribution of the parts of the discourse) to be quasi-coincident (cf. I/i’/i”; II.i.a/b; II.ii.a/b; c/c’; d/d’; f/f’); in addition, a rigorous conceptual agreement between several segments should also be noted (cf. b/c’ζ; c/c’aβδε; c’/dαζ; d/d’γδεη; e/fβ; f/fδαζς; g’ζ; and especially c’/c’α; d/d’γδεη; f/fδ).67

Tables 7–8. General and detailed structural concordances between 1 En 5:4 and Q 7:36

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.i</th>
<th>But you have not persevered</th>
<th>I.ii</th>
<th>nor observed the law of the Lord.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.i’</td>
<td>But you have transgressed</td>
<td>I.ii’</td>
<td>and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.i.a</td>
<td>You hard of heart!</td>
<td>I.ii.a</td>
<td>There will be no peace for you!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.i”</td>
<td>But those that cry lies to our signs</td>
<td>I.ii”</td>
<td>and wax proud against them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.i.b</td>
<td>—those shall be inhabitants of the Fire,</td>
<td>II.i.b</td>
<td>therein dwelling for ever.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>But you have not persevered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>nor observed the law of the Lord</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b’</td>
<td>BUT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>BUT you have transgressed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c’</td>
<td>BUT those that cry lies to our signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>AND have spoken PROUD and hard words with your unclean mouth AGAINST his majesty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’</td>
<td>AND wax PROUD AGAINST them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As I have already suggested in Chapter 2, the fact that these lexical, syntactical, and rhetorical coincidences bear upon a single text, namely 1 Enoch 1–5, proves them to be non-accidental. Besides, there is nowadays general agreement amongst Second Temple scholars that the style and contents of the Enochic corpus influenced, amongst others, the authors of such Jewish and Christian apocalypses as Daniel 7–12, Jubilees, the Testament of Moses, the writings about the New Jerusalem from Qumran, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Abraham, Didache 16, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the book of Revelation. Hence, it would have been quite strange if the Qur’ān—which is to be considered in my opinion, despite its many concerns and its inner stylistic variety—as a late classical apocalypse, did not allude to 1 Enoch in one way or another.

Even if the influence of 1 Enoch upon the Qur‘ān deserves a larger study, it follows from the above said that such an influence goes far beyond the non-conclusive, yet symptomatic assimilation of the Biblical Enoch and Idrīs, the Quranic prophet “raised” by God “high in heaven” (Q 19:56–57). Finally, a possible indirect

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influence of 1 Enoch upon certain Quranic passages, and motifs, ought not be disregarded. As said above, Muhammad’s ascent to the heavens in Qur’an 17:1 and 53:1–18 seems to be dependent, via ApAb 15–18, on 1 Enoch 13:8–16:4. Likewise, the Quranic “well-preserved tablet” (lawḥ mahfūẓ) or “mother of Scripture” (umma al-kitāb) after which all revelations are modelled (cf. Q 3:7; 13:38–39; 43:2–4; 85:21–22) is reminiscent, via Jub 3:31; 6:17, 35; 16:18–29; 18:19; 23:32; 30:19; 31:32; 32:15—where heavenly books are said to contain the celestial halakah communicated by God’s angels to Moses—of 1 Enoch 14:1; 47:3; 81:2; 89:61–64, 68–71, 76–77; 90:14, 17, 20; 93:2; 97:6; 98:6–8; 99:3; 103:1–4; 104:7–8; 106:19–107:1; 108:3, 7, 15—where they are said to contain, instead, the records of all human sins and righteous deeds (cf. too Isa 4:3; Dan 7:10; 10:21; 12:1–3; Jub 36:10; ApZeph 3:6–9; 9:3; 4 Ezra 6:20; 2 Baruch 24:1; TAb 12–13 A; TJud 20:1–5; Luke 10:20; Phil 4:3; Rev 3:5; 13:8; 20:12–13; 21:11–12; Heb 12:23; Q 54:52–53). Cf. also Qur’an 3:46; 19:29–30—where Jesus is said to speak from the cradle—and 1 Enoch 106:3—where a similar story is narrated about Noah. 69

THE RECEPTION OF 1 ENOCH WITHIN FORMATIVE ISLAM:
A FEW CONTRASTING HYPOTHESES

It is difficult to ascertain when and how Enochic materials were incorporated into the Qur’an, whose editorial process is, moreover, far from being clear. 70 Leaving aside the problem of its various col-

69 Most probably, the Arabic (originally Syriac!) Gospel of the Infancy 1:2 provided the adaptation of the Noah story to the redactors of the Qur’an. See Segovia, C. A. “Noah as Eschatological Mediator Transposed: From 2 Enoch 71–72 to the Christological Echoes of 1 Enoch 106:3 in the Qur’an.” Henoch 33 (1/2011): 130–45.

lections (i.e., those of Šālīm b. Māqīl, al-ʿAbbās, ʿAlī b. Ṭālib, Abū Mūsā al-ʿAshʿārī, ʿUbayy b. Kaʿb, and Ibn Masʿūd), several alternative dates have been suggested for the final composition of the so-called Uthmanic codex: ca. 653, i.e. during ʿUthmān’s caliphate; between 685–705, i.e. under ʿAbd al-Malik’s rule, and the late 8th or the early 9th century. Considering the extant textual evidence, and on the basis of palaeographic analysis, the more we can say is that no complete Qurʾān prior to this latter date has been discovered, and that the results of the efforts made to prove the antiquity of certain fragmentary scrolls and papyri are not fully convincing with regard to the alleged antiquity of the entire Uthmanic text. Therefore, it is not possible to give a reliable date for the inclusion of the aforementioned Enochic materials in the Qurʾān; nor is there inner evidence in the Qurʾān itself or in the Hadith corpus as to when this happened.

Text of the Qurʾān. BTS, 100. Beirut, 2007; Böwering, B. “Recent research on the construction of the Qurʾān.” In Reynolds, G. S., ed. The Qurʾān in Its Historical Context, 70–87; Gilliot, C. “Reconsidering the authorship of the Qurʾān: is the Qurʾān partly the fruit of a progressive and collective work?,” in the same volume, 88–108.

71 On which see Deroche, F. “Recensions coraniques.” In Amir-Moezzi, M. A., ed. Dictionnaire du Coran, 733–35.

72 Bukhārī, Sahīh, 61.510. This widespread traditional view is still shared by most scholars, who in general accept the point that the Uthmanic recension drew on a previous oral-written tradition. See e.g. Burton, J. The Collection of the Qurʾān. Cambridge, 1977); Donner, F. M. Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing. SLAEI, 14. Princeton, 1998.


74 Wansbrough, Qur’anic Studies; Nevo and Koren, Crossroads to Islam.


A different issue is how formative Islam gained knowledge of the Enochic corpus. As Gerhard Böwering states, “[i]t is generally believed that Muhammad gathered his biblical knowledge principally, if not exclusively, from oral sources. This oral lore was communicated to Muhammad in his mother tongue, but its original forms were in Syriac, Aramaic, Ethiopian and Hebrew materials, as evidenced by the vocabulary of foreign origin to be found in the Arabic Qur’ân.” Now, judging from what has been said so far, it seems natural to conclude that several parabiblical writings, most of which had been written in Aramaic and then translated into other Semitic and non-Semitic languages, were also known to early Muslims in written form. To begin with, then, one must consider whether certain contents of 1 Enoch were orally communicated, textually transmitted to, or, perhaps more likely, collected and re-worked by them. But here again no definitive conclusion can be reached due to the lack of any source information on the subject. Likewise, one cannot a priori decide whether they were thus transmitted after the original Aramaic version of 1 Enoch or after its Ethiopian, Greek, Syriac, or Coptic translations.

Possible interactions between Muhammad and sectarian Judaeo-Christian groups in Syria-Mesopotamia were suggested by Hans-Joachim Schoeps in the final pages of his 1964 essay on the factional disputes within the early church, where he further developed Adolf von Harnack’s and Wilhelm Schlatter’s theories on the Christian-Jewish roots of Islam. Whereas, moving a step further, different authors have recently endorsed the idea, as said above, that Judaeo-Christianity did not only influence Islam, but that it was undistinguishable from it until a very late date indeed. The interest of

77 Böwering, “Recent research on the construction of the Qur’ân,” 70.
sectarian Christ-believing Jews in the Enochic booklets is, in fact, sufficiently attested in their own writings, which do quite often reuse a significant though limited number of Enochic motifs. Yet we can only speculate as to whether this was the way through which early Muslims gained knowledge of the Enochic corpus. In any case, we need not go back to Muhammad. As earlier suggested, in the mid-7th century something that would later become the Islamic religion was beginning to emerge, though not yet as an independent entity. The parting of the ways between Islam and its original “sectarian milieu” took place, in all probability, between the late 7th and the mid-8th century. I propose to label this as the early formative period of the Islamic religion in contrast, on the one hand, to its twofold pre-formative period (if we take the events that took place from the mid-to the late 7th century, of which we do know something, to be different from those we can only presume to have taken place earlier in that very same century), and in contrast, on the other hand, to its late, i.e. final, formative period (mid-8th to 10th century); and thus to divide those two major periods of early Muslim history into two different sub-periods: pre-formative periods A and B and formative periods A and B (A meaning early and B meaning late). The following scheme summarizes my proposal and provides roughly both a terminus post quem and a terminus ante quem for the collection of the Qurʾān, whose text I take to have been progressively established between ‘Abd al-Malik’s rule (late 7th century) and Ibn Mujāhid’s scriptural reform in the 10th century:

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80 See VanderKam, J. C. “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature.” In VanderKam, J. C., and Adler, W., eds. The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity, 33–101; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 87, 97–103.
Table 9. Pre-formative and formative Islamic periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVENTS</th>
<th>Historical</th>
<th>Scriptural</th>
<th>Alternative chronology</th>
<th>Alternative chronology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERIODS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early pre-formative period (early to mid-7th century)</td>
<td>Hegira</td>
<td>Muhammad’s death</td>
<td>Uncertain events = ‘Uthmán’s codex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning of the Arab take over</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late pre-formative period (mid- to late 7th century)</td>
<td>Mu’áwiya</td>
<td>Development of a somewhat indeterminate monotheism with strong Judaeo-Christian components by the Arabs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early formative period (late 7th to mid-8th century)</td>
<td>‘Abd al-Malik’s coins with Muhammad’s name</td>
<td>The parting of the ways between the new Arab religion and its sectarian milieu begins</td>
<td>‘Abd al-Malik scriptural reform</td>
<td>The collection of the Qur’an begins Development of the Quranic corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late formative period (mid-8th to 10th century)</td>
<td>The Abbasids</td>
<td>The aforementioned parting of the ways is achieved</td>
<td>Ibn Mujáhid’s reform = The development of the Quranic corpus is likewise achieved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence four different possibilities arise regarding the time on which the aforementioned Enochic materials were presumably known and incorporated into the Quranic text, since it all depends on which period we opt for, both regarding this particular issue and

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82 Only a brief sketch of those meaningful to the present study is given below.
the collection of the Qurʾān itself. To be sure, contextual problems are similar in all the four cases. Who was responsible for the selection and the adaptation of such materials, and from where were they taken? Once more we cannot know. Regarding the former point there are however, if we opt for pre-formative periods A/B, two names worthy of mentioning, namely those of Zayd b. Tābit and Ubayy b. Kaʿb. whilst if we opt for the early formative period we likewise need to consider the names of Yazīd b. Hurmuz, Hammām and Wahb b. Munnabih, and Mālik b. Dīnār. This seems to me a safer option, for it relies on better grounds. Yet a later date is equally possible, although I consider the early formative period as the most plausible one we should look at, at least regarding the selection of the above referred materials, due to the many efforts made between ‘Abd al-Malik’s times and the beginnings of the Abbasid caliphate to update and enrich the religious knowledge of the early Muslim community on the basis of a careful reading of the Jewish and Christian scriptures—whereas the study of the late formative period may shed light upon the textual and formal development of the Qurʾān as such, and therefore upon the adaptation of those very same materials. As to our second problem, i.e. the textual source, Eastern Syriac (dyophysite) Christianity, on the one hand, and both Western Syriac and Egyptian (miaphysite) Christianity, on the other hand, could have also functioned as transmitters of different apocalyptic materials, given the role played by Jewish apocalyptic writings in them. The poverty

85 On which see Prémare, Aux origines du Coran.
of the data at our disposal makes it again difficult to reach any conclusion on this subject, but the quantity and variety of Syriac materials reworked by early Muslim authors turns nonetheless Syriac Christianity into a quite plausible candidate. Rabbinic Judaism should be instead disregarded in reason of its anti-apocalyptic claims.87

An alternative approach would be to trace back Muslim knowledge of 1 Enoch to 615 CE, i.e. to the times of the so-called Muslim migration to Abyssinia.88 Inasmuch as Ibn Ishāq provides two separate lists with the names of those who departed from Mecca,89 the question of whether he had in mind two consecutive migrations has been many times disputed. It is, however, doubtful whether his two lists do not simply denote “a succession of small groups rather than two emigrations of large parties.”90 Interestingly enough, the names of Ja’far b. Abī Tālib, ‘Utbūn b. ‘Affān, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Mas‘ūd and Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī are mentioned amongst the Muslim migrants to Abyssinia by Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqīdī, and al-Ṭabarî. Besides, if it had place, the contact between the Arabs and the Ethiopian (miaphysite) Christians must have been quite intense and fruitful. Ibn Ishāq goes as far as to report that the Negus finally abandoned his Christian faith and embraced the Muslim creed.91 The episode gave birth to much Hadith liter-
ture,\textsuperscript{92} and Ibn Ishāq declares that Muḥammad himself prayed over the Negus when he died.\textsuperscript{93} An influence in the opposite direction should, however, not be dismissed in spite of these very emphatic and eulogistic assessments, for Ethiopian Christianity, which doubtless had to be attractive to the eyes of Judaeo-Christian sympathizers by reason of its Jewish beliefs and usages, was by then better established than the incipient Islamic religion. We are thus informed that the Negus bestowed gifts upon Muḥammad, though no books are mentioned amidst these.\textsuperscript{94} Muslim sources present, of course, the inconvenient of being late composed and not always reliable.\textsuperscript{95} Yet the presence of Ethiopic loanwords in the Qurʾān is most remarkable at this point.\textsuperscript{96} As Manfred Kropp puts it, “[c]ommentary on possible theological influence from the Ethiopic side on Muḥammad’s views and teachings [has] remained vague and casual, perhaps due to the rather marginal importance and relevance of Ethiopian Christianity in the framework of scientific research on Christian Oriental churches and theologies. Now it is evident that the loan words are the best and clearest indicators of influence. But even these have not been studied exhaustively; many questions have been left open, even in the magisterial study of Nöldeke and those of his followers, up to the recent compilation of those studies in Leslau’s \textit{Comparative Dictionary of 1987}.”\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{93} Ibn Ishāq, \textit{Sīra}, 224.
\textsuperscript{94} Raven, “Some Early Islamic Texts on the Negus of Abyssinia,” 214–18.
\textsuperscript{95} On the uncertain historical value of Ibn Ishāq’s aforementioned report see Wansbrough, \textit{Quranic Studies}, 38–43.
\textsuperscript{97} Kropp, “Beyond single words,” 204.
SOME FINAL REMARKS
1 Enoch 2–5 provided the editors of the Qurʾān a series of narrative patterns, themes, and motifs, that helped them reflect, or at least express in a well-known and thus effective literary form, their own reflections upon the contraposition between human rebellion and the order of nature—and thereby upon the moral difference that had to be observed, in their view, between mankind and the rest of God’s creatures—as a means to articulate a consequent admonitory, parenetic discourse addressed to its readers. The Enochic corpus provided formative Islam, hence, some relevant theological and anthropological notions as well as some literary advices common to Second Temple prophetic, apocalyptic, and wisdom literature which had been already reworked by Christian authors either in their own writings or through their adaptation, translation, and reuse, of several Jewish texts, 1 Enoch included. The early Islamic faith self-defined itself against this common religious and scriptural background by adopting some of its ideological premises and narrative strategies, some of which were incorporated in a découverte-like manner into the Quranic text, which functions therefore as a palimpsest with regard to those scriptural and para-scriptural writings of Jewish and Christian provenance previously known to, and used in, the “sectarian milieu” from within which the Islamic religion gradually emerged. We neither know who decided to include them in the Qurʾān nor when this happened. Likewise, we do not know from where—i.e. from which of the many existing versions of 1 Enoch and from which concrete religious context—they were extracted. Hopefully, further research will help to clarify this point and to shed new light upon other possible parallels between 1 Enoch and the Qurʾān. But it seems well within the evidence to conclude that the “sectarian milieu” out of which Islam arose was either an apocalyptic-oriented one or else closely familiarized with both apocalyptic writings and apocalyptic ideas, which pervade, as shown above, the entire Quranic corpus. Had early Muslims not been equally familiarized with them—i.e. had they not belonged to that “sectarian milieu” in one way or another—they would have failed to understand, a fortiori, the message of the Qurʾān. Should it be recalled here that
in the 8th century Ibn Isḥāq still seemed to regard Muḥammad as the Paraclete announced in John 15:26 and that this not so intriguing viewpoint made its way into Muslim historiography in the following century, for it is mainly through the latter that we know of Ibn Isḥāq’s work?

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