

**THEMATIC AND STRUCTURAL AFFINITIES
BETWEEN 1 ENOCH AND THE QUR'ĀN:
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.¹ 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,² or if,

¹ See VanderKam, J. C., and Adler, W., eds. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. CRINT, 3/4. Assen/Minneapolis, 1996.

² On the Christian influence upon emerging Islam see e.g. Andrae, T. *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*. Upsala, 1926; Bell, R. *The Origin of Islam on Its Christian Environment*. London, 1926; Ahrens, K. "Christliches im Quran." *ZDMG* 48 (1930): 15–68, 148–90. Griffith, S. H. "The Gospel, the Qur'ān, and the Presentation of Jesus in al-Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rikh*." In Reeves, J. C., ed. *Bible and Qur'ān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality*, 133–160. SBLSS, 24. Atlanta, 2003; Luxenberg, Ch. *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of*

to put it in more forceful terms, the Islamic religion arose *from within* a Judaeo-Christian milieu,³ 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 Qur'ān 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"⁴ up to the 4th century CE—and a series of interrelated sectarian phenomena as, for instance, the Christology of certain, by no means

the Koran: A Contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran. Berlin, 2007. On the Jewish influence upon early Islam see below the works by A. Geiger, I. Goldziher, M. Gaster, B. Heller, J. Finkel, H. Speyer, D. Sidersky, Ch. C. Torrey, S. D. Goiten, Ch. Rabin, A. I. Katsch, S. M. Wasserstrom, R. Firestone, M. Sfar, J. C. Reeves, H. Bar-Zeev, and A. Neuwirth, listed in nn. 15–33. See also Firestone, R. *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis.* Albany, NY, 1990; Adang, C. *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm.* Leiden, 1996; Busse, H. *Islam, Judaism, and Christianity: Theological and Historical Affiliations.* PSME. Princeton, 1998; Hary, B. H., Hayes, J. L., and Astren, F., eds. *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication, and Interaction: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner.* Leiden: Brill, 2000; Lowin, Sh. L. *The Making of a Forefather: Abraham in Islamic and Jewish Exegetical Narratives.* IHC, 65. Leiden, 2006; Saleh, W. A. Saleh. *In Defense of the Bible: A Critical Edition and Introduction to al-Biqā'ī's Bible Treatise.* IHC, 73. Leiden, 2008.

³ See Wansbrough, J. *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History.* Amherst, NY, 2006; Crone, P., and Cook, M. A. *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World.* Cambridge, 1977; Hawting, G. R. *The Idea of Idolatry and the Rise of Islam: From Polemic to History.* Cambridge, 1999; Nevo, Y. D., and Koren, J. *Crossroads to Islam: The Origins of the Arab Religion and the Arab State.* Amherst, NY, 2003; as well as the works of A. von Harkack, W. Schlatter, H.-J. Schoeps, and Sch. Pines referred to in nn. 79, 86. The recent study by Gallez, É.-M., *Le messie et son prophète.* 2 vols. Versailles, 2005, seems to me much less convincing.

⁴ See Boyarin, D. *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity.* DRLAR. Philadelphia, 2004.

all, Christian Jews⁵ who did not envisaged Christ as God,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.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.”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.”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

⁵ See Mimouni, S.-C. *Le judéo-christianisme ancien: essais historiques*, 73–90. Paris, 1988.

⁶ Such is also, of course, the Islamic view. Cf. e.g. the first part of the *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”).

⁷ See Jackson-McCabe, M. “What’s in a Name? The Problem of ‘Jewish Christianity.’” In Jackson-McCabe, M., ed. *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts*, 7–38. Minneapolis, 2007.

⁸ Adler, W. “Introduction.” In VanderKam, J. C., and Adler, W., eds. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, 1–31, quotation on p. 1. See also Davila, J. R. *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* JSJSup, 105. Leiden, 2005.

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 Qur’ān 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

¹⁰ Wansbrough, J. *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*. Amherst, NY, 2004.

¹¹ See n. 3 above.

¹² Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu*, 128.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 24. See also Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, 1, 40–43, 47–48, 51–52, 57–58.

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

**THE QUR'ĀN AS A PALIMPSEST; OR, THE QURANIC CORPUS
FROM AN INTERTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE**

After Abraham Geiger's well-known essay on Muḥammad and the Jews, published in 1833,¹⁵ the presence of Jewish religious motifs in the Quranic text and in the Ḥadīth corpus has been extensively examined by several scholars (e.g. Ignaz Goldziher,¹⁶ Moses Gaster,¹⁷ Josef Horowitz,¹⁸ Bernhard Heller,¹⁹ Joshua Finkel,²⁰

Qur'ān—are hinted at in the Quranic text itself. See in this respect the dichotomy between Revelation/Book and Recitation (i.e. between *tan-zīl/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 (/adapt?/redistribute?) (*tafṣīl*) in 10:37; 41:3; the references to the matrix of the book (*umm al-kitāb/lawḥ mahfūz*) in 3:7; 10:39; 43:4; 85:21–22; to its signs/exempla (*āyāt*) 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.

¹⁶ Goldziher, I. “Isrāʿīliyyāt” *REJ* 46 (1902): 63–65.

¹⁷ Gaster, M. “Samaritans.” *EI* (1924) 4:124–29.

¹⁸ Horowitz, J. *Koranische Untersuchungen*. Berlin, 1926.

¹⁹ Heller, B. “Recits et personnages bibliques dans la légende mahométane.” *REJ* 85 (1928): 113–36.

²⁰ Finkel, J. “Old Israelitish Tradition in the Koran.” *PAJR* 2 (1930–1931): 7–21.

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 Saïd Amir Arjomand³⁴ and Geneviève

²¹ Speyer, H. *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*. Hildesheim, 1961.

²² Sidersky, D. *Les Origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes*. Paris, 1933.

²³ Torrey, Ch. C. *The Jewish Foundations of Islam*. New York, 1933.

²⁴ Goiten, S. D. *Jews and Arabs: Their Contact through the Ages*. New York, 1964.

²⁵ Rabin, Ch. *Qumran Studies*. New York, 1957.

²⁶ Katsch, A. I. *Judaism and the Koran: Biblical and Talmudic Backgrounds of the Koran and Its Commentaries*. New York, 1962.

²⁷ Wasserstrom, S. M. *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis in Early Islam*. Princeton, 1995.

²⁸ Firestone, R. "Comparative Studies in Bible and Qur'an: A Fresh Look at Genesis 22 in Light of Sura 37." In Hary, B. H., Hayes, J. L., and Astren, F., eds. *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication, and Interaction: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner*, 169–78.

²⁹ Sfar, M. *Le Coran, la Bible et l'Orient ancien*. Paris, 1998.

³⁰ Prémare, A.-L. de. "Les textes musulmans dans leur environnement." *Arabica* 47 (2000): 391–408.

³¹ Reeves, J. C., ed. *Bible and Qur'an: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality*, with studies by R. Firestone, V. K. Robbins and G. Newby, B. M. Wheeler, B. M. Hauglid, J. Dammen McAuliffe, K. Kueny, and F. Astren.

³² Bar-Zeev, H. *Une lecture juive du Coran: Essai*. Paris, 2005.

³³ Neuwirth, N. "Qur'anic Readings of the Psalms." In Neuwirth, A., Sinai, N., and Marx, M., eds. *The Qur'an in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'anic Milieu*, 733–78. Leiden, 2010.

³⁴ Arjomand, A. A. "Messianism, Millennialism and Revolution in Early Islamic History." In Amanat, A., and Bernhardsson, M. T., eds. *Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America*, 106–25. London, 2002; idem. "Islamic Apocalypticism in the Classical Period." In McGinn, B., Collins, J. J., and Stein, S. J., eds. *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, 380–413. New York, 2003.

Gobillot³⁵ have recently drawn our attention on the influence exerted by the Old Testament pseudepigrapha upon the composition of the Qur'ān, 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'ān 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 criticise 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 pseudoepigrapha, 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'ān 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” (*subḥuf*) 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;

³⁵ Gobillot, G. “Apocryphes de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament.” In Amir-Moezzi, M. A., ed. *Dictionnaire du Coran*, 57–63. Paris, 2007.

³⁶ Masson, D. *Le Coran et la révélation judéo-chrétienne: Études comparées*. 2 vols. Paris, 1958.

³⁷ Prémare, “Les textes musulmans dans leur environnement.”

³⁸ Gobillot, “Apocryphes de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament,” 57.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 58.

20:13–14 A).⁴¹ 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” (*isrāʾ*) of the servant of God and, according to the prophetic Sunna, with the “celestial ascension” (*miʾrāj*) of Mu-Kammad alluded too in 53:1–18. Basing their arguments on the latter, Muslim authors have generally identified the servant of God with the Prophet of Islam. Gobillot rightly suggests in the light of Q 6:35 and 17:93, however, that this view cannot lay claim to any measure of finality.⁴² 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

⁴¹ Rather than to TMos 19:12 and TAb 1:7; 20:14, as supposed by Gobillot (“Apocryphes de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament,” 58)! On the plausible date of both Testaments see Nickelsburg, G. W. E. *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 73, 327. Minneapolis, 2005.

⁴² Gobillot, “Apocryphes de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament,” 58.

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 Qorāns*. 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 (*Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*. Strassburg, 1906; repr. Amsterdam, 1981), J. Barth (“Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Qorāns.” *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 QUR'ĀN 7:36; 10:6; 16:81; 24:41, 44, 46

As is well known, Gabriel's words in the Qur'ān—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.

113–48), I. Goldziher (*Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden, 1920), J. Horowitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*), Speyer (*Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*), A. Jeffery (*The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda, 1938), and especially those of A. Mingana (“Syriac Influence on the Style of the Kur'ān.” *BJRL* 11 (1927): 77–98) and G. Lüling (*Über den Urkoran: Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion vorislamischer christlicher Strophenlieder im Koran*, Erlangen, 1974); and whose first German edition was published in 2000—see Rippin, A. “Syriac in the Qur'ān: classical Muslim theories.” In Reynolds, G. S., ed. *The Qur'ān in Its Historical Context*, 249–61. London, 2008. A symptomatic reading of Q 10:37; 25:5–6; 41:2–3; 43:2–4; 75:17–18 (see n. 14 above) may well support Luxenberg's theory, which draws partly upon a similar, non-conventional interpretation of these very same passages (see Luxenberg, *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran*, 120–22).

⁴⁵ See however Prémare, A.-L. de. *Les fondations de l'Islam: Entre écriture et histoire*, 305, n. 9. Paris, 2002; idem, *Aux origines du Coran: Questions d'hier, approches d'aujourd'hui*, 113 n. 111. Paris, 2004.

⁴⁶ Hereinafter all Quranic citations follow A. J. Arberry's translation (*The Koran Interpreted: A Translation*. 2 vols. London/New York, 1955).

Hence the Qur'ān, and more precisely its so-called Meccan chapters, which are almost entirely devoted to such an announcement,⁴⁷ develop in a peculiar way and in a much more discontinuous style⁴⁸ the basic *apocalyptic* message of 1 Enoch, which, on the other hand, partakes of both *Heilsankündigung* and *Gerichtsan-kündigung*.⁴⁹ The announcement of the forthcoming divine judgment functions indeed as the leitmotif of the whole Quranic message.⁵⁰ 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 Qur'ān 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).⁵¹

⁴⁷ On the Meccan chapters of the Qur'ān, their structure, contents, style, and chronology, see Bell, R. *The Qur'ān, Translated, With a Critical Rearrangement of the Surahs*. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1939; Blachère, R. *Le Coran. Traduction selon un essai de reclassement des sourates*. 3 vols. Paris, 1949; Neuwirth, A. *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren: die literarische Form des Korans—ein Zeugnis seiner Historizität?* SSGKIO, 10. Berlin, 2007.

⁴⁸ See Arnaldez, R. *Three Messengers for One God*. Notre Dame, IN, 1994.

⁴⁹ Cf. Nickelsburg, G. W. E. *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, 37. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, 2001; Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, 6.

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. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, 1–20. Semeia 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 *dīn* denotes in the Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān (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 Qur'ān, 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 Qur'ān 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;⁵² and then, their respective equivalents in the Ethiopic text edited by Michael Knibb in 1978.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ One should bear in mind, however, that all the extant Ethiopic witnesses to 1 Enoch postdate the 13th century CE; hence earlier Gə'əz 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-

⁵² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 150–51.

⁵³ Knibb, M. A. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments in Consultation with Edward Ullendorff*, 2 vols. Oxford, 1978.

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.⁵⁵ Therefore, if one accepts that its translation was partly made after an Aramaic *Vorlage*,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 Qurʾān, 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*.⁵⁷ Besides, their date and contents make them a source plausibly known, either as such⁵⁸ or through a Syriac (i.e. late Aramaic) translation—as is often the case with the Greek literature translated into Arabic⁵⁹—, to the editors of the Qurʾān.⁶⁰ Whether they based their knowledge

⁵⁵ Ullendorff, E. *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 31–62. SL; Oxford, 1968.

⁵⁶ Ullendorff, E. “An Aramaic ‘Vorlage’ of the Ethiopic text of Enoch?” In *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, 259–67. PASC, 48. Rome, 1960.

⁵⁷ See n. 54 above.

⁵⁸ Possible direct translations from Greek into Arabic have been studied by Griffith, S. H. “Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century.” *Byzantion* 56 (1986): 117–38; idem, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*. VCSS, 380. Aldershot, 1992); and Lourié, B. “India ‘Far Beyond Egypt’: Barlaam and Ioasaph and Nubia in the 6th Century.” In Bumazhnov, D., Grypeou, E., Sailors, T. B., and Toepel, A., eds. *Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient: Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag*, 135–80. OLA, 187. Leuven, 2010, to whom I am indebted for calling my attention to this matter.

⁵⁹ See Steinschneider, M. *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1889–1893; repr. Graz, 1960; Gutas, D. *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation*. New Haven, CT, 1975; Rosenthal, R. *The Classical Heritage in Islam*. London, 1992.

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

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 Stone⁶² and George Nickelsburg⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ “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.”⁶⁵ In the Qur’ān 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 way⁶⁶ 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

⁶² Stone, M. E. “The Parabolic Use of Natural Order in Judaism of the Second Temple Age.” In Shaked, Sh., Shulman, D. D., and Stroumsa, G. G., eds. *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions Dedicated to R. J. Zwi Werblowsky*, 298–308. SHR, 50. Leiden, 1987.

⁶³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 152–55.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 152–53.

⁶⁶ Berque, J. *Relire le Coran*, 23. Paris, 1993.

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

	1 Enoch	Qur'ān
A/A'	2:1–2 + 5:1	24:41
B/B'	2:2 + 4:1	24:46
C/C'	2:4 + 5:1 + 5:2	24:44 + 10:6
D/D'	4:1	16:81
E/E'	5:4	7:36

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

A	Contemplate			the trees	
A+A'		the heav- ens	the earth		—they extol God.
A'	Hast thou not seen			the birds?	

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

B	... manifest to you	—(God's) signs
B'	God's signs	are manifest (to you).

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

C	...the signs	of win- ter	and sum- mer	come to pass from year to year.
C'	In the suc- cession	of the night	and the day	—there are signs for a godfearing people.
C'				for those who have eyes.

Table 5. Conceptual correspondences between 1 En 4:1 and Q 16:81

D	...you seek	shelter	shade		yourselves	from the sun...
D+D'				to protect		
D'	God has appointed for you	shade	shelter		you	from the heat...

Table 6. Conceptual correspondences between 1 En 5:4 and Q 7:36

E	But you have transgressed		spoken		words		God's majesty.		you!
E+E'		and		proud		against		There shall be no peace for	
E'	But those that deny God's signs		wax				them.—		them.

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'/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'αβδε; c'/de; d/d'γδεη; e/fβ; f/fδεζ, g'ζ; and especially c/c'α; d/d'γeη; f/fδ):⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Table 8 below is partly inspired in the work done by Meynet, R., Pouzet, L., Farouki, N., and Sinno, A. *Rhétorique sémitique. Textes de la Bible et de la Tradition musulmane*. Paris, 1998; and Cuypers, M. "L'analyse rhétorique: une nouvelle méthode d'interprétation du Coran." *MScRel* 59 (2002): 31–57.

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

I.i	But you have not per-severed	I.ii	nor observed the law of the Lord.
I.i'	But you have trans-gressed	I.ii'	and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty.
I.i.a	You hard of heart!	II.ii.a	There will be no peace for you!
I.i''	But those that cry lies to our signs	I.ii''	and wax proud against them
II.i.b	—those shall be inhabitants of the Fire,	II.ii.b	therein dwelling for ever.

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H
a	But	you		have not per-severed			
a'	—	—		—			
b			nor	observed	the law	<i>of the Lord</i>	
b'	<i>BUT</i>		—	—	—	—	
c	<i>BUT</i>	<i>you</i>		<i>have trans-gressed</i>	—	—	
c'	<i>BUT</i>	<i>those that</i>		<i>cry</i>	<i>lies</i>	<i>to our signs</i>	
d			<i>AND</i>	<i>have spoken</i>	<i>PROUD and hard words</i>	with your unclean mouth	<i>AGAINST his majesty</i>
d'			<i>AND</i>	<i>wax</i>	<i>PROUD</i>	<i>AGAINST them</i>	

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H
e		<i>you hard of heart</i>					
e'		—					
f	there	—		<i>WILL BE</i>	<i>no peace</i>	<i>for you</i>	
f'	—	<i>Those</i>		<i>SHALL BE</i>	<i>inhabi- tants</i>	<i>of the fire</i>	
g	—			—		—	
g'	therein			dwelling		<i>for ever</i>	

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).⁶⁸ Finally, a possible indirect

⁶⁸ On the origins and meaning of the Quranic legend about Idrīs cf. Erder, Y. “The Origin of the Name Idrīs in the Qur'ān: A Study of the Influence of Qumran Literature on Early Islam.” *JNES* 49.4 (1990): 339–50; Arjomand, “Messianism, Millennialism and Revolution in Early Is-

influence of 1 Enoch upon certain Quranic passages, and motifs, ought not be disregarded. As said above, Muḥammad's ascent to the heavens in Qur'ān 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” (*umm 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'ān 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'ān, whose editorial process is, moreover, far from being clear.⁷⁰ Leaving aside the problem of its various col-

lamic History”; Reeves, “Some Explorations of the Intertwining of Bible and Qur'ān.” In Reeves, J. C., ed. *Bible and Qur'ān: Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality*, 43–60, here 44–52.

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'ān. 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.

⁷⁰ See Motzki, H. “The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments.” *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 1–34; Prémare, *Aux origines du Coran*; Kropp, M., ed. *Results of Contemporary Research on the Qur'ān: The Question of a Historio-Critical*

lections (i.e., those of Salīm b. Māqīl, al-‘Abbās, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, ‘Ubayy b. Ka‘b, and Ibn Mas‘ūd),⁷¹ several alternative dates have been suggested for the final composition of the so-called Uthmanic codex: ca. 653, i.e. during ‘Uthmān’s caliphate;⁷² between 685–705, i.e. under ‘Abd al-Malik’s rule;⁷³ and the late 8th or the early 9th century.⁷⁴ Considering the extant textual evidence, and on the basis of palaeographic analysis, the more we can say is that no complete Qur’ān 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 papyri⁷⁵ are not fully convincing with regard to the alleged antiquity of the entire Uthmanic text.⁷⁶ Therefore, it is not possible to give a reliable date for the inclusion of the aforementioned Enochic materials in the Qur’ān; nor is there inner evidence in the Qur’ān itself or in the Hadīth corpus as to when this happened.

Text of the Qur’ān. BTS, 100. Beirut, 2007; Böwering, B. “Recent research on the construction of the Qur’ān.” In Reynolds, G. S., ed. *The Qur’ān in Its Historical Context*, 70–87; Gilliot, C. “Reconsidering the authorship of the Qur’ān: is the Qur’ān 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, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 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 Qur’ān*. Cambridge, 1977; Donner, F. M. *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*. SLAEI, 14. Princeton, 1998.

⁷³ Mingana, A. “The Transmission of the Kur’ān.” *JMEOS* 5 (1915–1916): 25–47; Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*.

⁷⁴ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*; Nevo and Koren, *Crossroads to Islam*.

⁷⁵ E.g. Puin, G.-R. “Observations on Early Qur’ān Manuscripts in Ṣan‘ā’.” In Wild, S., ed. *The Qur’ān as Text*, 107–11. Leiden, 1996.

⁷⁶ See for discussion Amir-Moezzi, M. A., and Kohlberg, E. “Révélation et falsification: Introduction à l’édition du *Kitāb al-qirā’at* d’al-Sayyārī.” *JA* 293.2 (2005): 663–722, here 672–73, n. 36.

A different issue is how formative Islam gained knowledge of the Enochic corpus. As Gerhard Böwering states, “[i]t is generally believed that Muḥammad gathered his biblical knowledge principally, if not exclusively, from oral sources. This oral lore was communicated to Muḥammad 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’ān.”⁷⁷ 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 Ethiopic, Greek, Syriac, or Coptic translations.

Possible interactions between Muḥammad 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,⁷⁸ where he further developed Adolf von Harnack’s and Wilhelm Schlatter’s theories on the Christian-Jewish roots of Islam.⁷⁹ 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’ān,” 70.

⁷⁸ Schoeps, H.-J. *Das Judentum: Untersuchungen über Gruppenbildungen und Parteikämpfe in der frühen Christenheit*. Bern, 1964; idem, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums*, 342. Tübingen, 1949.

⁷⁹ See Harnack, A. von. *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 2:537. 3 vols Tübingen, 41909; Schlatter, W. “Die Entwicklung des jüdischen Christentums zum Islam.” *EM* 64 (1918): 251–64. See also Pines, Sch. “Notes on Islam and on Arabic Christianity and Judaeo-Christianity.” *JSAI* 4 (1984): 135–52.

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.⁸⁰ 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 Muḥammad. 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.⁸¹ 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 Qur’ān, 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:

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.

⁸¹ See Nevo and Koren, *Crossroads to Islam*, 169–354.

Table 9. Pre-formative and formative Islamic periods

	EVENTS ⁸²			
	<i>Historical</i>		<i>Scriptural</i>	
PERIODS	According to the Muslim tradition	Alternative chronology	According to the Muslim tradition	Alternative chronology
Early pre-formative period (early to mid-7th century)	Hegira Muḥammad's death Beginning of the Arab take over	Uncertain events =	'Uthmān's codex	
Late pre-formative period (mid- to late 7th century)	Mu'āwiyā	= Development of a somewhat indeterminate monotheism with strong Judaeo-Christian components by the Arabs		
Early formative period (late 7th to mid-8th century)	'Abd al-Malik's coins with Muḥammad's name	= The parting of the ways between the new Arab religion and its sectarian milieu begins	'Abd al-Malik scriptural reform	The collection of the Qur'ān begins Development of the Quranic corpus
Late formative period (mid-8th to 10th century)	The Abbasids	= The aforementioned parting of the ways is achieved	Ibn Mujāhid's reform	= The development of the Quranic corpus is likewise achieved

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

⁸² Only a brief sketch of those meaningful to the present study is given below.

the collection of the Qur'ān 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. Ka'b.⁸³ Whilst if we opt for the early formative period we likewise need to consider the names of Yazīd b. Hurmuz, Hammām and Wahb b. Munabbih, and Mālik b. Dīnār.⁸⁴ 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 Qur'ān as such, and therefore upon the adaptation of those very same materials.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ The poverty

⁸³ See Gilliot, C. "Les 'informateurs' juives et chrétiens de Muḥammad: Réprise d'un problème traité par Alois Sprenger et Theodor Nöldeke." *JSAI* 22 (1998): 84–126.

⁸⁴ See Prémare, *Les fondations de l'Islam*, 324–39.

⁸⁵ On which see Prémare, *Aux origines du Coran*.

⁸⁶ See Rubens Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, 79–86. Paris, ³1907; repr. Amsterdam, 1970; Bergren, Th. A. "Christian Influence on the Transmission History of 4, 5, and 6 Ezra." In VanderKam, J. C., and Adler, W., eds. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, 102–27, here 108; Frankfurter, D. "The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity: Regional Trajectories," in the same volume, 129–200. It should be noted, moreover, that in the late 5th century some sectarian Judaeo-Christians

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 Ṭālib, ‘Uthmān 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-Wāqidī, and al-Ṭabarī. 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 Ḥadīth litera-

might have taken shelter under Eastern dyophysite Christianity, on which see Pines, Sch. “The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity According to a New Source.” *PLASH* 2.13 (1966): 1–73, here 43.

⁸⁷ See Boyarin, *Border Lines*.

⁸⁸ It must be observed here that 1 Enoch was already included by that time in the Old Testament canon of the Ethiopian church.

⁸⁹ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 208–15; see also Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1181–84.

⁹⁰ Watt, W. M., and McDonald, M. V. “Translator’s Foreword.” In *The History of al-Ṭabarī: An Annotated Translation*, 6: *Muḥammad at Mecca*, xliii. Edited by W. M. Watt and M. V. McDonald. SSNES/BP. Albany, NY, 1988.

⁹¹ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, 223–24.

ture,⁹² and Ibn Ishāq declares that Muḥammad himself prayed over the Negus when he died.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.⁹⁴ Muslim sources present, of course, the inconvenient of being late composed and not always reliable.⁹⁵ Yet the presence of Ethiopic loanwords in the Qurʾān is most remarkable at this point.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 *Comparative Dictionary* of 1987.”⁹⁷

⁹² See Raven, W. “Some Early Islamic Texts on the Negus of Abyssinia.” *JSS* 33.2 (1988): 197–218.

⁹³ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, 224.

⁹⁴ Raven, “Some Early Islamic Texts on the Negus of Abyssinia,” 214–18.

⁹⁵ On the uncertain historical value of Ibn Ishāq’s aforementioned report see Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, 38–43.

⁹⁶ See Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*; Leslau, W. *Comparative Dictionary of Gəʿəz: Classical Ethiopic*. Wiesbaden, 1987; Kropp, M. “Beyond single words: *Māʾida*–*Shayṭān*–*jibt* and *ṭāghūt*. Mechanisms of transmission into the Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) Bible and the Qurʾān.” In Reynolds, G. S., ed. *The Qurʾān in Its Historical Context*, 204–16.

⁹⁷ Kropp, “Beyond single words,” 204.

SOME FINAL REMARKS

1 Enoch 2–5 provided the editors of the Qur'ān 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 *déconpage*-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 Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān. 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 Qur'ān. Should it be recalled here that

in the 8th century Ibn Ishāq still seemed to regard Muḥammad as the Paraclete announced in John 15:26⁹⁸ and that this not so intriguing a viewpoint made its way into Muslim historiography in the following century, for it is mainly through the latter that we know of Ibn Ishāq's work?

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⁹⁸ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, 149.

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