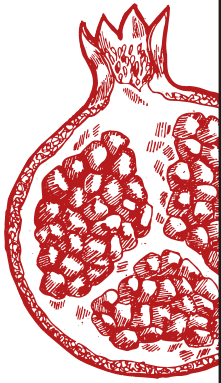
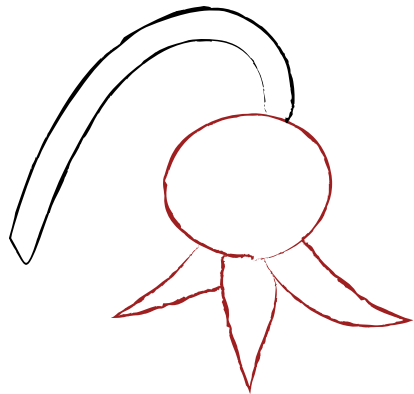


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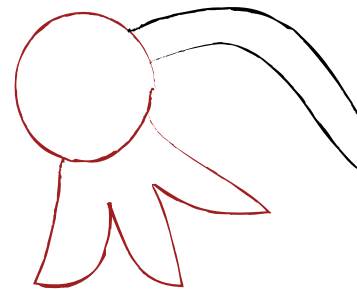


# AABNER

ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL  
AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH



*Categories  
and Boundaries  
in Second Temple  
Jewish Literature*



EBERHARD KARLS  
UNIVERSITÄT  
TÜBINGEN



UNIVERSITÄTS-  
BIBLIOTHEK





**AABNER**

ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL  
AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

**NAMED BY THE NAME?  
CHRISTIAN CATEGORIES CAUSING  
NON-PROBLEMS IN THE ACADEMIC STUDY  
OF RELIGION, THE PARABLES OF ENOCH  
AS A CASE STUDY**

*Theron Clay Mock III*

Source: *Advances in Ancient, Biblical, and Near Eastern Research*  
2, no. 2 (December, 2022), 137–159

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Keywords: New Testament Christology, 1 Enoch 37–71 (the Parables of Enoch), academic categorization, citation practices, Gə‘əz

## Abstract

In this article, the author argues that the Anointed One in 1 En 48:2–3 is not given the divine name. Scholars relying upon an ambiguous footnote and a Christian category (“divine identity Christology”) argue the opposite. Both the footnote and category are investigated. Whereas the footnote misrepresents the source language, the category serves Christian interests and not those of the academic study of religion. Two results follow from this analysis. First, 1 En 48:2–3 is likely not a naming scene but a summoning one. Second, attention is paid to academic categories with a personal rhetoric. Working with Jonathan Z. Smith’s claim that self-knowledge is the utmost concern of the scholar, the author tracks his own story and more to make explicit our shared, academic craft.



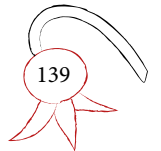
Mit diesem Artikel möchte der Autor argumentieren, dass dem Gesalbten in 1 Henoch 48:2-3 nicht der göttliche Name gegeben wird. Andere Wissenschaftler, die sich auf eine zweideutige Fußnote und eine christliche Kategorie („Christologie der göttlichen Identität“) berufen, argumentieren das Gegenteil. Ziel ist es, sowohl die Fußnote als auch die Kategorie zu untersuchen. Während die Fußnote die Ausgangssprache falsch interpretiert, dient die Kategorie christlichen Interessen und nicht denen der wissenschaftlichen Religionswissenschaft. Aus dieser Analyse folgen zwei Ergebnisse. Erstens ist 1 Henoch 48:2-3 wahrscheinlich keine Benennungsszene, sondern eine Beschwörungsszene. Zweitens wird auf akademische Kategorien mit persönlicher Rhetorik geachtet. In Anlehnung an Jonathan Z. Smiths Behauptung, dass Selbsterkenntnis das wichtigste Anliegen eines Wissenschaftlers sei, verfolgt der Autor seine eigene Geschichte und Punkte darüber hinaus, um das gemeinsame akademische Handwerk deutlich zu machen.



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I don't even trust my colleagues. Why the hell should I trust these [computers]? I look up every goddamn one of [my colleagues'] footnotes, so I don't trust "a black box."

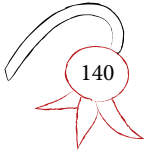
Jonathan Z. Smith

\* Many thanks to: Ted Erho, James Hamrick, and Loren Stuckenbruck for teaching and discussing Gə'əz as well as providing encouragement along the way; the participants and coordinators of the Enoch Graduate Seminar 2021 for critical feedback; Charles Comerford, Joseph Scales, and all who made possible Categories and Boundaries in Second Temple Jewish Literature 2021; Logan Williams for being a generative respondent to my conference paper; all who made this issue happen; and the earliest readers, Martha Himmelfarb and Dale Allison for suggesting I try to publish it after studying Gə'əz and checking the manuscripts.

## Introduction

I, too, in principle, do not trust my colleagues' footnotes, especially Jonathan Z. Smith's. Footnotes lie above punctuation marks, words, or scare-quotes. Whether ignored or investigated, they are an ever-present reminder of our academic craft, occasionally our craftiness. Using them is a skill that primarily involves checking the choices of our colleagues against our own. Often, they do not break our trust.

Below I tell and track a few stories about a particularly troubling and revealing footnote: footnote 48b from Epharim Isaac's translation of "1 Enoch." The language of "stories" and "tracks" I take from Sam Gill's method of storytracking which foregrounds the scholar's storytelling of other storytellers, be they fellow academics or ancient texts. The tracks of others are included in the following short stories: a personal story; a story of this footnote; an academic and Christian category track; a boundary-crossing track; a Gə'əz story; and finally the content of some footnotes. The thesis, or overall story, is that some scholars drawing on footnote 48b and relying upon a Christian category claim a messianic figure is named after Yahweh's name at 1 En 48:2–3. However, I argue that it is impossible for the Gə'əz to mean that the Anointed is called by Yahweh's own name and that such a question only operates within a certain Christian category, a certain storytrack. This analysis of footnote 48b operates at two levels of academic inquiry: I aim to understand the past on its own terms and try to understand ourselves and our practices as academic. Regarding the past, 1 En 48:2–3 is likely a summoning scene, not a naming one. Concerning our present, we should reject the Christian category of "divine identity christology." It carries Christian commitments inapplicable to the academic study of religion and hinders historically understanding and academically comparing ancient Anointed Ones.



## Storytracking Footnote 48b and 1 Enoch 48:2–3

### *A Personal Story*

The copy of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (hereafter *OTP*) that I use belonged to Alexander J. M. Wedderburn. Upon his recent death

in the early spring of 2018, a fair amount of his library was donated to the Collegium Oecumenicum München, my home since late 2018. Absent its dustjacket, it is a red hardback, tagged with his name as well as stamped with the dorm's. The opening of both volumes' endpaper list in black the contents of volume 1 (apocalyptic literature and testaments) and in red volume 2 (expansions of the "Old Testament" and other legends, wisdom and philosophical literature, prayers, psalms, and odes, fragments of lost Judeo-Hellenistic works). Wedderburn penned the page numbers of each text here, e.g., "1 Enoch p 5." Ostensibly he found it easier to consult than the table of contents.

These organizational technologies—the publisher's, Wedderburn's, and our own like dogearing pages or the hand-ready highlighter—are obvious to the point where we are usually, and often rightly, oblivious to them. We read a new monograph and encounter a super-linear mark aiming to provoke a glance down for the same number, letter, or symbol on the bottom of the page;<sup>1</sup> we ignore and continue reading or see what is there and return to reading the main body. We become momentarily aware of them when we notice the publication organizes citations with endnotes or in-text, and sometimes we linger in the footnote's space because something feels off. Or it inspires us to look up an artifact or article.

Not too long ago, some scholars drew my attention to a footnote. I blithely ignored it the first time I read "1 Enoch," in a now-lost copy of the *OTP* as a graduate student in the spring of 2016. Then I did not "have" Gə'əz, also categorized as "Classical Ethiopic," and crammed through ancient sources for an independent study. During my dissertation research, though, I was pulled back. Around 2019, I became a different reader—slowly reading "1 Enoch" and studying Gə'əz—and strangely the "same" footnote became different. Two-thirds of the way down the page, aligned in the second column, footnote 48b reads: b. Lit. "named...by the name." A handful of scholars appeal to footnote



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<sup>1</sup> Like this, epigraph: Braun and McCutcheon 2018, 45; on storytracking, see Gill 1998, 20–42.

48b, on page 35 of Ephraim Isaac’s translation of “1 Enoch” in the *OTP*, to claim Enoch’s Anointed is named by Yahweh’s name.<sup>2</sup>

In 2016, 48b meant nothing to me. My eyes, I imagine, darted down and back up, deferring to his judgment, and on to the next verses. In 2019, upon rereading it, the footnote intrigued me. After learning some academic techniques, I could open it up in new ways. With 48b I can tell stories and follow tracks, like one of boundary crossing: scholars transplant his footnote into their “main bodies.” There is also the boundary’s content: who is in their footnotes and not. There is also the question of why. Why did this footnote stand out to them as meaningful, what category enabled it?

### *Footnote 48b*



Below is a table of Isaac’s translation of “1 Enoch” 48:2–3 and footnote 48b. I briefly analyze its language of “lit.” and compare it with 48d. As it stands, 48b is ambiguous and 48d provides a better model of citation writing. Starting with this story will help make sense of the following ones and highlights the practice of citation writing.

Isaac’s translation “1 Enoch” 48:2–3	Footnote 48b
<p>2 At that hour, that Son of Man was given a name,<sup>b</sup> in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before-Time;<sup>c</sup> 3 even before the creation of the sun and the moon,<sup>d</sup> before the creation of the stars, he was given a name in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits.</p>	<p>b. Lit. “named...by the name.”</p>

What does “lit.” literally mean? Readers see on p. xliv of the *OTP* that “lit.” is categorized as an “additional abbreviation” and means “literally.” Isaac often uses this shorthand to make clear the difference between

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<sup>2</sup> Gieschen 2007, 2020; Scott 2008; Waddell 2010, 72–75; Fletcher-Louis 2015, 143, 185. Fletcher-Louis endorses Gieschen’s claims without mentioning Isaac’s note explicitly; Isaac 1983, 35.

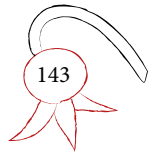
the source language and his English translation, but its use here is questionable. To show the ambiguity concerning “lit.” I compare a footnote near 48b that does not use it.

Footnote 48d reads: “Eth. *ta’amer*, ‘the wondrous thing’—but to be understood in Ge’ez (Eth.) as ‘the moon’ (cf. 2 Chr 33:3; Jer 10:2; Jub 4:17).” This is a better text-critical intervention than 48b. Unlike 48b, 48d includes a transliteration of the Gə‘əz, references to other instances, and avoids an ambiguous use of “lit.” Yet problems persist. Isaac gives the reader an English transliteration of ተአምረ (*ta’amer*), though *ta’ammər* is more accurate. Additionally, Tana 9, an early fifteenth-century manuscript, and Isaac’s base text for his translation of “1 Enoch,” has ተአምረ (*ta’amməra*) not ተአምረ. Whether it is ረ-ra or ረ-r it does not change the sense and multiple manuscripts have minute differences with this term. ተአምረ suggests something like: signs, marks, miracles, wonders, omens, and in this instance “constellations” works better than “moon” as the Gə‘əz is in the plural, not singular (Leslau 1997, 25).

48d is better than 48b because it attends to the “(Eth.)” avoids ambiguous ellipses and “lit.,” and gives more definition as to what Isaac intended to convey. This extra information enables us to better track and correct his claims, one purpose of the footnote’s invention as Anthony Grafton argues (1997). Such information is missing in 48b. I will check 48b again after relaying what academics did with it and why it mattered to them in the first place. Isaac’s claim was worthwhile for two reasons. First, these scholars aimed to reorganize academic debates about “New Testament Christology.” Second, they tried to do this with the Christian category of “divine identity Christology.” With their aims and this category Isaac’s footnote stood out as significant.

## Academic Tradition and Christian Category Track

The scholars appealing to 48b aspired to reorganize the discussion around the origins and characteristics of so-called “New Testament Christology.” In different ways, they all believe the “Jewish” Parables





provide a precedent and parallel for the “Christian” phenomenon of Jesus being given the divine name. Briefly stated: according to Gieschen, since Parables’ Anointed possesses the divine name this indicates a clear-and-complex “monotheism” that protects against charges of idolatry. Until Paul’s letters, there is no extant evidence, so argues Waddell, where an Anointed One possesses the divine name. On Scott’s account, Parables’ “binitarianism” calls for reconsidering “Second Temple Jewish monotheism.” Lastly, Fletcher-Louis promises to deliver a paradigm shift in “New Testament Christology.” These are bold claims in response to the academic tradition.

Traditionally in academic biblical studies the discourse of “New Testament Christology” begins with Wilhelm Bousset. He claimed the depiction of and cult towards Jesus as a god was a byproduct of “Hellenism” producing a “high” christology, christ-deity, later in the first century CE or early second century CE, whereas an alleged “primitive Palestinian community,” also referred to as “Jewish Christianity,” believed in a “low” one, human-christ (Bousset 1970).<sup>3</sup> The next major figures are Martin Hengel, Richard Bauckham, and Larry Hurtado. They inverted Bousset’s setup. They emphasized “New Testament Christology” originated “early” and “high” from within “Judaism” while at the same time “mutating” out of it.<sup>4</sup> Rightly, these scholars recognized that what Bousset claimed was “Hellenistic” was predominantly drawn from “Jewish” traditions. Yet Gieschen, Waddell, Scott, and Fletcher-Louis argue that they go too far in claiming that “New Testament Christology” lacks any significant precedents from “Judaism.” In response to this academic position, they aimed to narrow the gap between the two “religions.” While still operating with the categorical



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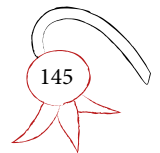
<sup>3</sup> For the shape of “New Testament Christology” as a discourse, see Hurtado 1979; Chester 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Hengel 1995; Bauckham 2008; Hurtado 2003. On racist biological language in “Christian Origins” research, especially Bousset, and Bauchkam and Hurtado’s use of “mutation,” see Segroves 2012. Unfortunately, Segroves’ dissertation has not yet been footnoted in this debate—as far as I can tell. I came across it via Google somehow.

distinction between “Judaism” and “Christianity,” they aim to show greater continuity between them than Hengel, Bauckham, and Hurtado’s discontinuity. They argue that Parables’ Anointed sharing in the divine name is a significant precedent and parallel for developments found in “New Testament Christology.” So, what led them to read Parables 48:2–3 as doing this?

All take for granted Bauckham’s Christian category of “divine identity Christology.”<sup>5</sup> Three relevant aspects pertain to it. First, the “religion” “early Judaism” is conceptualized as absolutely monotheistic. There is only one god, the god of Israel. Bauckham manufactures a binary ontology: god and not-god. Even if some divine being is called a “god” in the ancient sources, it would only be the “mere use of the word *god*.”<sup>6</sup> They are created gods and, according to Bauckham, that is not *really* a God at all. Second, this god is the sovereign overall and the creator of all. These two features are singled out as most prominent, or identifying, of god in “Second Temple Jewish” literature. And third, this god has a name: Yahweh. To really be a god, according to Bauckham, is to be included within this unique identity: creator of all, ruler of all, named by the name Yahweh.

Most relevant for this article is the last criterion. For Bauckham’s argument Paul’s Jesus is the premier example. In Phil 2:9–11 Paul mythmakes that



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<sup>5</sup> I agree with Fredriksen 2020 that it is a Christian category. It satisfies neither academic norms nor historical plausibility for the first century CE. It fails categorically for the same reasons Smith (1990) noted in comparing “Christianity” with other late antique “religions.” More critiques of the category can be found in Kok 2016 and Glover 2022, 62–64. See also Bauckham 2017 for a recent defense of it.

<sup>6</sup> Bauckham 2017, 515: “When early Christians said that Jesus was seated with God on his cosmic throne and participated with God in the creation of all things, they were saying, in the conceptuality of early Judaism, something more precise than mere use of the word *god* of Jesus could convey.”

therefore god also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name so that to Jesus every knee should bend in heaven and on earth and under the earth and every tongue should confess that Jesus Anointed is lord, to the glory of god the father.<sup>7</sup>

While included in creating elsewhere (1 Cor. 8:6), here Jesus rules overall and is identified by god's name. κύριος (lord) is taken to be the name that Jesus is given and identified as the "name that is above every name." In Paul's words, this is god the father's name: Yahweh. In these two Pauline passages, as Bauckham tells the story, Jesus is included in the unique divine identity.

Bauckham denies the parallels in "Jewish" literature for "divine identity Christology," for example, Apocalypse of Abraham 10:3, 8. Even though a figure is given god's name they are not included in the other aspects of god's identity. "Divine identity Christology" is unique to the "religion" "Christianity." Moreover, he did not consider the giving of the divine name as occurring in Enoch's Parables. In contrast to Bauckham's position, some scholars believe Parables' Anointed does possess the divine name due to Isaac's footnote and Bauckham's category. Indeed, it was their acceptance of his category that enabled



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<sup>7</sup> NRSV modified: "to Jesus" instead of "at the name of Jesus"; "Anointed" instead of "Christ." The Greek reads: <sup>9</sup> διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομα, <sup>10</sup> ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πάντων γόνυ κάμψη ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων <sup>11</sup> καὶ πάντα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς (NA 28).

Paul Holloway offers two translations of v. 10. In Holloway's 2017 Hermeneia commentary it is: "in order that in the name of Jesus." In the updated edition of the NRSV, NRSVUE has "so that at the name given to Jesus." The NRSVUE may say too much. I prefer, for the reasons listed in his commentary, the Hermeneia translation. "In the name of Jesus" means "to Jesus" as it is an idiom. Yahweh seems to lease his name and its inherent power to the lesser divine being Jesus so that even lesser divine beings can pay the latter obeisance. They honor Jesus it seems, not the name as the NRSVUE suggests. Receiving the name seems to ground why Jesus is honored, but it is not honored instead it is confessed in v. 11. The ἵνα, "so that," clause seems to extend from v. 10 to v. 11. They honor Jesus in v. 10 and then proclaim to him that he is lord in v. 11. Translating as "to Jesus" rather than "to the name given to Jesus" seems to better keep the continuity governing vv. 10–11

Isaac’s footnote to stand out as significant to them. Now that we know why 48b stood in relief, what did they do with the footnote?

## Boundary-Crossing Track

Isaac’s translation of 1 En 48:2–3	Footnote 48b	Gieschen, Waddell, Fletcher-Louis (their emphasis)	Scott (capitalization his)
<p>2 At that hour, that Son of Man was given a name,<sup>b</sup> in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before-Time;<sup>c</sup> 3 even before the creation of the sun and the moon,<sup>d</sup> before the creation of the stars, he was given a name in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits.</p>	<p>b. Lit. “named... by the name.”</p>	<p>2 At that hour, that Son of Man <i>was named by the name</i>, in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before-Time. 3 Even before the creation of the sun and the moon, before the creation of the stars, he <i>was named by the name</i> in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits.</p>	<p>2 At that hour, that Son of Man was named, in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, the Before Time, by the Name.</p>



I have reproduced again Isaac’s translation and 48b as well as included two ways the scholars appropriated it. There are some similarities. They transfer Isaac’s “lit.” note 48b from below and up into the body, with little argument. They transform it, because they do not include the ellipses and do not explain their absence. Furthermore, there are some differences. Gieschen, Waddell, and Fletcher-Louis expand Isaac’s “named by the name” into the next verse, 48:3, which Isaac never explicitly encouraged. Scott limits it to 48:2.

Once they have transplanted and transformed it, they input their results into the academic debate. According to them, to include the Anointed within the divine identity by possessing the divine name

is a strategy to protect so-called “Jewish monotheism.” With this category they assume that God alone is to be “worshiped.” And so, they argue that the Anointed can be “worshiped” in various passages (48:5; 62:9) because he bears the divine name. Paul’s “monotheism” and the “worship” accorded to his Anointed in Phil 2 is strikingly similar to Parables’ Anointed. Hence, they can claim “Second Temple” messianism is closer to “New Testament Christology” than Hengel, Bauckham, and Hurtado argued. Both myths avoid charges of idolatry by including the Anointed Ones into the “divine identity” through bearing the divine name. They believe they had found a precedent for Jesus’ divine identity in Parables’ Anointed and thus narrowed the gap between “Judaism” and “Christianity.” Their intervention in the academic debate has not gone unnoticed.



Larry Hurtado, Paolo Sacchi, and Chris Tilling were not persuaded.<sup>8</sup> Sacchi left the issue in abeyance, whereas Hurtado and Tilling repeated interpretive issues without interrogating the citational blocks stacked on Isaac’s 48b. These responses are neither persuasive nor conclusive, because all evade the extant evidence. What has not been noted, or footnoted, at all is the Gə‘əz manuscript tradition. What has not been questioned is Isaac’s footnote nor Bauckham’s category. The categorical distinction, of special interest to this journal issue, between “Judaism” and “Christianity” as “religions,” additionally, escapes scrutiny.<sup>9</sup> Why?

There is little reflection in these pieces of scholarship on the constructed nature of questionable categories. Three terms are worthy to note: “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” “Judaism,” and “Christianity.” Isaac’s version of “1 Enoch” was published in the *OTP*. This anthology, for English readers, brought together many ancient sources in two volumes. It led to an increase in academics researching this literature, yet under problematic assumptions. The history and category of “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha” has been scrutinized in scholarship, but

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<sup>8</sup> Hurtado 2015, 169 responded to Scott; Sacchi 2007, 508, to Gieschen; and Tilling 2012, 228, to Gieschen.

<sup>9</sup> In my dissertation, I question the concepts of “religion” at play in the “New Testament Christology” debate from Bousset to Michael Bird. I can only hint at my results here.

the impact has yet to be fully developed.<sup>10</sup> Annette Yoshiko Reed storytracks how “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha” was an invention of modern Christian European interests. One dominant track was to mark bodies of literature, like “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha” or “New Testament apocrypha,” as distinct from the canonical “New Testament.” Even though some of the “New Testament” was produced during the same time as the “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” the categorical separation implies a difference and scholars, then and now, treat them differently. For example, “Enoch” is taken as a false authorial attribution for “1 Enoch,” whereas this is not the case for the likely false authorial attribution of the Gospel of Matthew. The canonical “New Testament,” due to European anxieties about authorship, needs Matthew to be the author of the Gospel of Matthew. This separation is also marked with the language of “religions”: “Judaism” and “Christianity.” The differences in collections of literature and this gap in “religions” are what Gieschen, Waddell, Fletcher-Louis, and Scott aimed to narrow. While it would go beyond this article to make a thorough case for avoiding categorizing these texts to certain “religions,” even only “Judaism,” I think it will suffice to show how using these problematic categories produced erroneous historical readings of Parables 48:2–3, how they have created non-problems.<sup>11</sup>

The use of “religion” is similar to what Eva Mroczek calls the “hegemony of the biblical.”<sup>12</sup> There was no bound and set bible, yet scholars persist in using the category of “biblical literature” to organize their research and suppose it is an accurate description of the ancient sources’ points of view. In doing so, concepts like “the Psalter” or “the book of Psalms” are retrojected onto the past. Using these concepts covers over how the ancients could conceptualize psalms, for example to illustrate David’s exemplarity. Scholarship has overlooked the literary culture responsible for producing psalm collections in an unrecoverable



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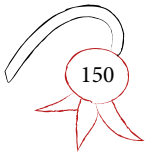
<sup>10</sup> Reed 2009; Stuckenbruck 2010.

<sup>11</sup> Two exemplary cases against using the category “religion” to describe “biblical” times: Barton and Boyarin 2016; Goldenberg 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Mroczek 2015. I thank the anonymous reviewer(s) for recommending Reed and Mroczek’s scholarship. It helped me not lose the forest for the footnote.

search for a non-existent book of Psalms. To return to the present case, scholars continually demarcate “a Christianity” from “a Judaism,” when a distinction like this was unthinkable in the first century CE.

The trust scholars have put in Isaac’s 48b and in Isaac’s *OTP* “1 Enoch,” is an uncritical reliance on past academic constructions. It is extremely difficult to question them as we are initiated into them during graduate education, if not undergraduate. It is learning a new language to supplant them. However, following Reed and Mroczek, scholars in the field of biblical studies need to reassess our terms if we are to imagine the ancients on their own terms. If our academic goal is to better understand the past on its own terms, unveiling the histories and problematic assumptions in our categories like “Old Testament Pseudepigraph,” “biblical,” “religions,” and more is our best chance to avoid alternative goals, such as Christian exceptionalism. In doing so, we can create, or work with, academic categories that better serve our interests—for example, Mroczek’s focus on literary cultures. So, after drawing out a lot from a little footnote, what is the Gə‘əz? And what literary scene is depicted in Parables 48:2–3?



## Gə‘əz Track

The Gə‘əz term in Michael Knibb’s edition, based on Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23, is ተጸውዓ (taṣawwə‘ā). ተጸውዓ is the passive form of ጸውዐ (ṣawwə‘ā). He lists no changes from Tana 9 and claimed to list any differences from Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23 and the manuscripts he collated. ጸውዐ can mean: to call, call upon, call out, invite, invoke, summon, convoke, convene, proclaim, shout, cry out (Leslau 1997, 566). The prefix ተ- makes it passive: to be called, etc. In some contexts, it can also mean: to be named (Leslau 1997, 566).

ተጸውዓ is used once in each verse of Knibb’s “1 Enoch” 48:2–3 and is not the most common verb for naming, which is ሰጠዖ (samaya; Leslau 1997, 504). It is not a middle form verb, which would be formed in a similar way with the prefix ተ-. It is a simple perfect passive, as Isaac translated: he was given a name. However, here another error emerges for no name follows ተጸውዓ at 48:2a in the Gə‘əz texts. So “a name” at



48:2a is unlikely, because a unit of parallelism governs v. 42. To illustrate the parallelism:

- 48:2a And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
- 48:2b and his name [was named] before the Head of Days.
- 48:3a Even before the sun and the constellations were created
- 48:3b before the stars of heaven were made
- 48:3c his name was named before the Lord of Spirits.<sup>13</sup>

To match the parallelism Knibb carried over “was named” from v. 2a into v. 2b, whereas Isaac supplies “a name” from v. 2b back to v. 2a. Knibb’s “was named” is a preferable translation to Isaac’s “he was given a name” at v. 2a. Yet little consideration is given to the possibility that this may not be a naming scene at all. For a naming scene it is odd not to have the name given, though “1 Enoch” 69:26 also contains a scene where the name is revealed to the characters but not the reader of the text.<sup>14</sup> Also, 48:2 imagines its own scene with respect to a scene from Daniel, where the Son of Man is also unnamed. The absence of a name as well as using the verb  $\text{†}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{Q}$ , which is uncommon for naming, may suggest that another translation is preferable. Perhaps it is a summoning scene, like Dan 7:13. If so, it would still work well with the parallelism:

- 48:2a And at that hour that Son of Man was summoned to the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
- 48:2b and his name [ $\text{†}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{Q}$  (*wäsəmu*); meaning the individual] before the Head of Days.
- 48:3a Even before the sun and the constellations were created
- 48:3b before the stars of heaven were made
- 48:3c his name [ $\text{†}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{-}\mathfrak{Q}$  (*wäsəmu*)] was summoned before the Lord of Spirits.

“Name” does not always mean a name. “Name” can also indicate the person, as it does at Parables 70:1–2 and as already discussed Phil 2:10. “His name” parallels “Son of Man” as “Head of Days” does “Lord of Spirits.” It is a dual summoning scene. The Son of Man is summoned to

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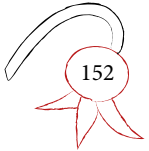
<sup>13</sup> Knibb 1978b, 133–34.

<sup>14</sup> On the complex issues at 69:26, see Nickelsburg 2011, 313–14.





Yahweh's presence, in anticipation of judgment. This first summoning scene at 48:2 hearkens back to an even earlier one, cast in an indefinite past by the mythmaker at 48:3. The Son of Man was summoned to Yahweh's presence before certain celestial matter was created. He was summoned for a purpose, outlined in the following verses (48:4–10). And the mythmaker stresses this Anointed One's eternal existence (48:3, 6). There is much of academic interest to explore in these verses: as I noted, it builds its own myth with Dan 7 or one could explore its concepts of time—but that would be a different article. For my purposes, it is enough to suggest that this scene is likely not a naming one. Additionally, these verses do not identify an Anointed One with a god via name bearing. With all of these text-critical and translation issues around 48:2, attention to the Gə'əz and its manuscript tradition is required for responsible academic inquiry.



To return to check footnote 48b, how am I to charitably make sense of Isaac's "named...by the name"? Presumably, his ellipses meant to convey: v. 2a was named...v. 2b by the name. It seems like it was an attempt to illustrate the parallelism. This seems sensible, but the scholarly reception betrays its confusion. Fletcher-Louis seems to think "lit." refers to the Gə'əz text's source, saying "and it is possible that behind the extant Ethiopic text of 48:2 the original said that the name with which the Son of Man is named is God's own name" (2015, 185). As shown in the table above, Scott takes the ellipses to only refer to 48:2 and this seems to capture a bit of Isaac's desire. After taking another look, I noticed that Isaac might have conflated sources. Isaac's "1 Enoch" is primarily a translation of Tana 9. What Isaac calls source "E," the British Museum Orient 485, is the same as George Nickelsburg's "g."<sup>15</sup> Manuscript "g" does read "the name" (wäsəmə). If that is what happened, it could have been an accidental conflation, or, if purposeful, Isaac did not communicate the use of distinct manuscripts clearly. Whatever the case may be, Isaac's Tana-9-base-text-"1 Enoch" needs to be checked against it and other manuscripts.

Moreover, Isaac never suggests that "name" refers to the divine name. Such a strong interpretation is supplemented from outside the

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<sup>15</sup> Isaac 1983, 6; Nickelsburg 2011, on "g" see both 5 and 48:2c on 167.

text. Bauckham's category furnishes the possibility for these scholars to overread Isaac's ambiguous footnote. The use of "lit." and ellipses were not helpful here. With or without them, however, ተጸውባ cannot "lit." mean "named...by the name." The Gə'əz cannot mean that and Isaac's footnote created grounds for confusion. Parables' Anointed was not named by Yahweh's name but was likely summoned to him. My interpretation is not novel. Consulting past relevant scholarship on this verse is something missing from these scholars' footnotes.

## Footnotes Track

Everything academics do in their scholarship is game for investigation. And what is more academic than the footnote: scholarship is footnoted myths, no?<sup>16</sup> Academics could not proceed without citational markers. Footnotes are always open to discussion as they are constructed in different styles and used for different purposes. I now move into the scholars' footnotes to see who is not there. Citational politics is a pressing academic matter, thanks to Sarah Ahmed, because citations tell stories, build houses.<sup>17</sup> Following Ahmed, I would like to create a hesitation, a disturbance when reading Parables, or so-called "1 Enoch" or "Parables," in any translation—a wondering I did not have the first time rushing through "1 Enoch."



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<sup>16</sup> Lincoln 2000, 209: "But footnotes—and all they imply—are the part of the scholarly endeavor wherein these values are most firmly embedded. To my mind, they represent some of what is best in scholarship: hard work, integrity, and collegial accountability. At the same time, however, they provide opportunities for misrepresentation, mystification, sycophancy, character assassination, skillful bluff, and downright fraud. Even so, they have provided me with an answer to provocative questions from the back row, to which I now respond: 'If myth is ideology in narrative form, then scholarship is myth with footnotes.'"

<sup>17</sup> Ahmed 2017, 148: "In my introduction to this book I described citations as academic bricks through which we create houses. When citational practices become habits, bricks form walls. I think as feminists we can hope to create a crisis around citation, even just a hesitation, a wondering, that might help us not to follow the well-trodden citational paths."

There are two absences to focus on: other academic commentaries on Parables and more importantly the Gəʿəz manuscript tradition itself. Three translations and commentaries available online do not suggest Isaac’s “lit.” meaning at 48:2.<sup>18</sup> Since Tana 9 does not include an entirely different verb at 48:2, it is relevant that August Dillmann, George Schodde, Richard Laurence, and Sabino Chialà lack Isaac’s “lit.” claim and are absent from the footnotes of the scholarship under investigation. This lack of commentary consultation is not proportionate to the bold claims they make. There is no story, no argument, as to how other scholars missed this possible “lit.” translation. “Other scholars do not mention it” is a useful heuristic, not a hard-and-fast rule, when “1 Enoch” has been translated into research languages relevant to academic biblical studies since 1853. We, I, overlook much, but thankfully, in this instance, we can return to the sources to check.



To solve this problem one need only look at reproductions of the actual manuscript tradition. I have used Michael Knibb’s edition, and we all await Loren Stuckenbruck and Ted Erho’s forthcoming edition with many more manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> Tana 9 does nothing different from Knibb’s base text, Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23, to suggest the Gəʿəz literally is “he was named...by the name.” To put a final point on it: it is not there. The problem is not “solved,” with a solution found, but “dissolved,” with the problem going away. There is no genuine academic problem here. Or better: the academic problem is the Christian categorization that led to this footnote being marked as relevant to “divine identity Christology” and uncritical academic practices. My colleagues used a Christian

<sup>18</sup> Dillmann 1853, 24: “Und zu jener Stunde wurde jener Menschensohn genannt bei dem Herrn der Geister, und sein Name vor dem Haupte der Tage”; English trans. “And at that hour that Son of Man was named by the Lord of Spirits, and his name before the Head of Days”; Schodde 1882, 126: “And at that hour that Son of man was called near the Lord of the spirits, and his name before the Head of days”; Laurence 1883, 53: “In that hour was this Son of man invoked before the Lord of spirits, and his name in the presence of the Ancient of days”; Chialà 1997, 100: “In quel momento quel Figlio dell’uomo fu chiamato presso il Signore degli spiriti. Il suo nome era davanti al Principio dei giorni”; English trans. “At that moment that Son of man was called to the Lord of spirits. His name was before the Beginning of the days.” Chialà’s commentary is not easily available online.

<sup>19</sup> Knibb 1978a; for an update, see Erho and Stuckenbruck 2013.

rather than an academic category and their endorsements about what the Gə'əz “lit.” means were incorrect. With one academic problem solved (the Anointed is not named by god’s name but summoned to him) and another academic problem dissolved (Isaac’s misleading footnote and Bauckham’s Christian category creating non-problems) what can be learned?

## **Conclusion: Moral of the Stories?**

For this reason, the student of religion, and most particularly the historian of religion, must be relentlessly self-conscious. Indeed, this self-consciousness constitutes [their] primary expertise, [their] foremost object of study.<sup>20</sup>

So advises, again, Smith—a modern, academic maxim similar to the ancient, Delphic γνῶθι σεαυτόν, know yourself. In what does this academic self-consciousness consist? What lies above, and the remaining text below, constitutes a written, revised, and peer-reviewed instance of my attempt at relentless self-consciousness, tracking my own story as I tracked other stories around footnote 48b. Among many rhetorics, I chose to follow Sam Gill’s storytracking method for this article.<sup>21</sup> This personal, self-reflexive style is not typical, and probably should not be, for academic biblical studies. Yet for the theme of this issue and the problems I happened upon around footnote 48b, it seemed like a useful method. It had a way of bringing the scholar, myself and colleagues, to the forefront and out of the footnotes. Any academic problem lies within our practices, not in anything from the extant manuscript tradition. Pursuing this relentless self-consciousness has produced two useful results on academic practice.

First, if we are going to come to understand the past on its own terms, we ought to come to terms with ours. The genealogies of important categories in biblical studies are being discovered. Already mentioned examples like “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha” or “the biblical” are

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<sup>20</sup> Smith 1982, xi.

<sup>21</sup> Gill was a student and colleague of Smith. On that relationship, see Gill 2020, 1–22.



being reevaluated for their usefulness in imaginatively creating the difference of the past. Some will survive scrutiny, others not. I have taken issue with the Christian category “divine identity christology” as it was unquestioningly applied to Parables 48:2–3 via Isaac’s footnote and the problem-set of “New Testament Christology.” Academics could use many useful academic concepts to analyze these verses. For my argument, I took it as a literary response to Dan 7, placing it within Judean literary culture.

Second, while I have been critical of my colleagues’ practices, their use of footnotes enabled me to check their work. When imagining Parables, in its first-century context, based on manuscripts dating more than a millennium after this time, justifiable knowledge is difficult, not impossible. We know its Anointed is not named after the god of Israel, and we can come to awareness of how we know it, or understand how colleagues, past and present, know it. Footnotes enable us to track knowledge production over time. While not a new claim, making this explicit throughout the article seemed useful. And I have left a trail of my own and other storytracks, marked by what ought to keep us accountable: footnotes, a metonym for colleagues.



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