"This Thing Is a Similitude": A Typological Approach to Moses 5:4–15 and Ancient Apocryphal Literature

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Introduction

One of the most significant features of the Book of Moses is its account of the redemption of Adam and Eve following their expulsion from the Garden of Eden, an account that is completely absent from the parallel parts of the received text of Genesis.[1] This account begins immediately following the notice of Adam and Eve working and having children, the portion of the text corresponding to Genesis 4:1a: "And Adam knew Eve his wife."[2] In Moses 5:4–8, we read of Adam and Eve receiving divine communications and offering sacrifice:

> And Adam and Eve, his wife, called upon the name of the Lord,[3] and they heard the voice of the Lord from the way toward the Garden of Eden, speaking unto them, and they saw him not; for they were shut out from his presence.
>
> And he gave unto them commandments, that they should worship the Lord their God, and should offer the firstlings of their flocks, for an offering unto the Lord. And Adam was obedient unto the commandments of the Lord.
>
> And after many days an angel of the Lord appeared unto Adam, saying: Why dost thou offer sacrifices unto the Lord? And Adam said unto him: I know not, save the Lord commanded me.

> And then the angel spake, saying: This thing is a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father, which is full of grace and truth.
>
> Wherefore, thou shalt do all that thou doest in the name of the Son, and thou shalt repent and call upon God in the name of the Son forevermore.

The text goes on to say that the Holy Ghost fell upon Adam and instructed him about the promise of redemption through the Only Begotten, after which Adam began to prophesy concerning his posterity and he and Eve rejoiced (see Moses 5:9–11). As Adam and Eve began to teach their posterity about these things, Satan came among their posterity and presented his own contrary doctrine, "and they loved Satan more than God," thereby becoming "carnal, sensual, and devilish" (Moses 5:12–13). The Lord then called upon people everywhere through the Holy Ghost and commanded them to repent (see Moses 5:14–15).[4]

Ancient Jewish, Christian, and Islamic literature contains many variations on the theme of the repentance and redemption of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from the garden. Many of the narratives are similar to the one in Moses 5:4–15, including any number of the following elements found in the Moses passage:

- Adam and Eve offering prayer
- God speaking to Adam and Eve
- Adam and Eve offering sacrifices
- heavenly messengers instructing Adam and Eve

The order of these elements varies from one text to another according to the logic of the narrative. For instance, in some cases Adam and Eve offer sacrifice only after being instructed to do so by a heavenly messenger. However, in all cases, the elements function together within the narrative as the process by which Adam and Eve return from their fallen state to a state of favor with God. Other elements recurring in these narratives include Satan attempting to thwart Adam and Eve through temptation, combat, or deception (compare Moses 5:13); Adam and Eve receiving a divine assurance that they can obtain salvation (compare Moses 5:9); Adam and Eve rejoicing in their redemption (compare Moses 5:10–11); and Adam prophesying of his posterity (compare Moses 5:10). Many scholars

have explored the similarities between these texts and the Book of Moses in order to demonstrate that the latter incorporates ancient literary motifs.[5]

In a previous study, I argued that the Book of Moses is essentially a ritual text, designed to serve as a recitation for rituals to be performed at the temple of Solomon.[6] The narrative of Adam's sacrifice in Moses 5 supports this ritual role, instructing the audience about the purpose of the rites at the altar of sacrifice in the temple court. The rest of chapter 5 continues the theme of sacrifice by comparing Cain's corrupt offering with Abel's correct one. The chapter also shows how the two types of sacrifice relate to doctrines of the Son of God and of Satan, respectively.[7] Chapter 6, which includes a narrative of Adam's baptism, similarly relates to purification rites in connection with the great laver or "sea" in the temple court. Thus the Book of Moses serves a purpose beyond being an engaging narrative of sacred history: it is a revealed account of the origins of ritual practices, including an explanation of their symbolic meaning.

My intention in the present study is twofold: (1) to review some of the textual sources that show similarities to the Moses account, including some that have not been studied in this connection before; and (2) to take the comparative question to a deeper level and explore what the similarities and differences between the accounts can tell us about the cultural history of religious narrative. I will argue that some of the ancient narratives of Adam and Eve, along with the Book of Moses, represent a specific type of text crafted to present the origin of a ritual or group of rituals. In other words, the motifs that are present in the Book of Moses and in these other ancient texts are motifs that tend to support a ritual performance by giving it authority and efficacy. This typological approach leads to a deeper understanding of both the Book of Moses and its ancient comparanda.

Extrabiblical narratives about Adam and Eve are often found in stand-alone narrative texts. Among these we have the early apocryphal literature dating from about 200 BC to about AD 200,[8] Christian narratives such as the Syriac Cave of Treasures, and the large body of Islamic "stories of the prophets" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*).

The latter is notable for combining Jewish and Christian traditions about Adam and Eve with traditions based on the Qur'an.

Fragments of narratives about Adam and Eve are also found embedded in other texts that are not primarily narrative. Such fragments appear, for instance, in commentaries, magical texts, and homilies. They can even come full circle and appear as expansions in Bible translations, such as the Jewish targumim (Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible). The Qur'an also contains occasional references to Adam's life. (This parallels our Latter-day Saint tradition, since we find references to the life of Adam and Eve embedded in the revelations of the Doctrine and Covenants and in sermons of the Prophet Joseph Smith, while the Book of Moses is itself an expanded version of the first six chapters of Genesis drawn from Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible.) Widening the scope of inquiry to include embedded narrative fragments such as these not only drastically increases the number of texts to be compared but also permits meaningful inquiry into the cultural history of these narratives, since the context in which the text appears is often related to the way in which the text was used in real life.

Before proceeding, I should clarify the approach I am taking in comparing the Book of Moses with the ancient Adam literature. Given a group of texts with similar features, one might use at least two models to compare them. The more traditional one, and perhaps the one that comes most readily to mind, is the "intertextual stemma" model.[9] According to this model, there is a relatively small number of original texts based ultimately on the Bible, and the rest of the existing literature consists of redactions from these originals. The precise mode of transmission may be written, oral, or a combination of the two. This model lies behind Michael E. Stone's book *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*. Stone divides the existing texts into the two categories "primary Adam literature" and "secondary Adam literature," the latter being derived from the former, and he devotes considerable discussion to the "literary interrelationships" of the texts.[10]

Texts may also be related to each other typologically—that is, they may share certain features that place them in a common category of text. A typological model is appropriate for comparing texts that are not necessarily historically related but that nevertheless

show similar features, such as the Book of Moses and the Qur'an (both are revealed texts that include stories about ancient prophets). However, the intertextual and typological models are not mutually exclusive, for two texts can be related both by derivation and by typological similarity. Typological comparisons are useful because they shed light on aspects of a text that are not easily explained by means of derivation alone, such as the relationship between a text's content and its *Sitz im Leben,* or "setting in life."

In this paper, I take a typological approach in comparing the Book of Moses with ancient apocryphal literature. In addition to yielding new insights into the topic at hand, this approach is appealing because it allows the comparison of texts from diverse linguistic traditions and time periods without the need for speculative assumptions about historical relationships among the texts. This approach is also especially conducive to scholarly dialogue about the Book of Moses, since it foregrounds the objective insights to be gained from the book, insights that are equally informative for the ancient literature.

In the following survey of sources, I focus on literature in the areas of my specialty: Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Greek, and Coptic. Within these literatures, I have tried to be nonselective in gathering sources that cover the time period in the life of Adam and Eve represented by Moses 5, including sources that actually turn out not to contain much that is similar to the Book of Moses. All these sources, including those that show little similarity to the Book of Moses, are important in the typological approach. However, as the ancient literature on Adam and Eve is vast, I cannot lay claim to being comprehensive in the coverage of sources.

Early Parabiblical Literature

Perhaps the earliest surviving narrative describing what Adam and Eve did after they were driven out of the Garden of Eden is found in the book of Jubilees. This book was composed in Hebrew, likely in the second century BC. It is therefore contemporary with the Jewish Second Temple. Fragments of the book were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, the majority of the narrative is known primarily from the Ethiopic version.

The book of Jubilees is framed as a revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai at the time when he received the tablets of the law.[11] The book is oriented to ritual concerns. At many points, the narrative is explicitly connected with the law written on the heavenly tablets, the same ones that contain the law of Moses. For instance, after describing the sacrifice of Noah on the first day of the third month, the text states, "Therefore, it is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets that they should observe the feast of Shavuot [that is, the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost] in this month, once per year, in order to renew the covenant in all (respects), year by year" (Jubilees 6:1–3, 17).[12] The law is thus performed as eternal, and the history is presented as a mythological precedent for present observance.

The description of events shortly after the expulsion from Eden in Jubilees is limited to Adam offering sacrifice. In Jubilees 3:27–31, just after exiting the Garden of Eden while wearing his garment of animal skins, Adam makes an offering of incense and spices to God. The text mentions that the offering is made "as a sweet savor," clearly evoking biblical descriptions of animal sacrifice.[13] This offering is mentioned as a precedent to the law in the heavenly tablets, which decrees that God's covenant people should "cover their shame," unlike the Gentiles. This alludes to the Lord's commandment in Exodus that one offering sacrifice at the altar cover one's nakedness (see Exodus 20:26; 28:40–43).[14] Note that the Hebrew word for the garment covering Aaron and his sons in Exodus, *kuttonet*, is the same word used for Adam's coat of skins in the Garden of Eden narrative in Genesis.[15] Thus one who offers sacrifice in the temple follows the pattern established by Adam when he offered sacrifice after being driven out of the garden.

The Greek version of the Life of Adam and Eve (henceforth GLAE), also known as the Apocalypse of Moses, is currently disputed as to its date, original language, and religious provenance. Before recent studies by Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, the book was thought to date from the first century AD, to have been translated from a Hebrew original, and to be of Jewish provenance. I share this view. De Jonge and Tromp date the text to between the second and fourth centuries, argue that it was originally composed in Greek, and consider the provenance to be Christian. However, they are unable to account in a satisfactory way for the clear

Hebraisms in the text, and their argument is further weakened by the fact that there are no unequivocal indications of Christian influence in the text.[16]

Like Jubilees, GLAE is framed as a revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai. The book shares many structural features with the Book of Moses.[17] However, in terms of content, the similarities to the Book of Moses are suggestive but not very strong. Adam prays for forgiveness on two separate occasions, the first of which occurs before he is cast out of the garden (see GLAE 27:1–5). God promises to eventually redeem Adam and grant him eternal life based on Adam's guarding himself from all evil and preferring death; this promise is also given before the expulsion is complete, as the angels are proceeding to cast Adam out (see GLAE 28:1–4). There is also a hint of Adam offering incense after the expulsion (as in Jubilees), but the event is not described directly; instead, Adam, as he is just about to be driven out, gathers crocuses, nard, reed, and cinnamon for the purpose (see GLAE 29:1–6). Adam's second prayer, subsequent to the expulsion, is performed as he stands in the Jordan River for 40 days, with all the birds, animals, and reptiles standing in a circle around him and praying on his behalf.[18] Meanwhile, Adam tells Eve to stand in the Tigris for 34 days and pray silently, "O God, be gracious to me." She initially succeeds in her prayer, but the devil comes to her in the form of an angel and persuades her to come out of the water (GLAE 29:7–17).[19]

In the Apocalypse of Adam, a Gnostic work from Egypt dating to the first or second century, "three men" impart a revelation to Adam, and he imparts the knowledge to his son Seth.[20] There is no reference to prayer at all, only to Adam "sleeping in the thought of [his] heart" (Apocalypse of Adam 2:1). One could, perhaps, see an oblique reference to the Fall and then some form of ritual activity before the appearance of the three men: "After those days the eternal knowledge of the God of truth withdrew from me and your mother Eve. Since that time we have learned about dead things, like men. Then we recognized the God who created us, for we were not strangers to his powers, and we served him in fear and subjection" (Apocalypse of Adam 1:9–11). However, while the idea of three heavenly messengers visiting Adam and Eve has parallels elsewhere

in the Latter-day Saint tradition, the parallel to the Book of Moses is not very strong at all.[21]

Jewish Literature

Early rabbinic literature mentions Adam offering animal sacrifice after his expulsion from the garden. One source is Avot of Rabbi Nathan, composed between the first and third centuries AD and compiled between the seventh and ninth centuries. According to this source, Adam was afraid as the sun set and the world darkened on the night after his expulsion. But when the sun rose in the morning, Adam was filled with thanks, and he arose, built an altar, and offered as a sacrifice a bull whose horns came into being before its hooves (that is, a primordial bull, one that was created rather than born, based on an exegesis of Psalm 69:32 [verse 31 in English]).[22] The Talmud repeats this story, adding the detail that before the sacrifice, Adam fasted and cried throughout the night, with Eve doing the same opposite him (See TB *Avodah Zarah* 8a). This seems similar to the sacrifice described in Moses 5:4–5.

Much stronger parallels to the Book of Moses are found in Sefer Raziel, a magical text dating to the 13th century AD at the latest but first known from a version printed in Amsterdam in 1701.[23] The book itself contains various recipes and formulas for all sorts of purposes, including predicting the future. The prologue, however, explains how the book was revealed by the angel Raziel to Adam shortly after his expulsion from the garden, after Adam had offered prayer. The prologue begins with an account of the prayer:[24]

> This is the first prayer of Adam, which he prayed in the hour that he was driven from the Garden of Eden, before this holy book[25] was given him. And he supplicated before the Divine Majesty and said, "O Lord God of the universe, you created the whole universe for glory, honor, and strength, and you have done according to your will, and your kingdom is forever and ever, and your splendor from generation to generation, and there is nothing concealed from you, and there is nothing hidden from before your eyes…and for my wrongdoing I have been driven out this day, and I am tilling and digging into the earth, to work that from which I was taken.[26] And there is no dread or fear of me on the ranges of the earth as

> there was in the beginning, for from the time that I ate of the tree of knowledge and transgressed your word, my wisdom vanished from me, and I am empty and know not, foolish and understand not what will be. And now, O most compassionate and merciful God, return to your first-formed, to the spirit that you inbreathed, to the soul that you gave. Prefer me in your mercy, for you are merciful, longsuffering, and abundant in mercy. May my prayer come up before the throne of your glory, and may my cry reach the throne of your mercy, that you may grant me your favor. And may the words of my mouth be accepted before you.[27] Do not hide from my supplication. You have been and will be forever; you have ruled and will rule. Please have compassion on the work of your hands, and let me understand and know what will happen to the generations of my posterity, and what will come upon me each day and each month. Do not conceal the wisdom of your Help (another reading: your Watchers)[28] and your angels." (Sefer Raziel, 3a)

The text states that Adam offered this supplicatory prayer for three days, presumably meaning that he repeated the prayer three times. After this, the text continues as follows:

> The angel Raziel came to him while he was sitting by the river that went forth from the Garden of Eden. And he appeared to him during the time when the sun is hottest, and in his hand was a book. And he said to him: "Adam, why are you desolate? Why do you grieve and sorrow? From the day that you stood in prayer and supplications, your words were heard, and I have come to cause you to understand pure promises and great wisdom, and to make you wise through the words of this holy book. By them you will know what will happen to you until the day of your death. And as for every man of your children who will stand in your place,[29] and all later generations that will be guided by this holy book in purity, with an honest heart and a humble spirit, and shall do all that is written therein like you, he shall know what will come on each month and between day and night. And all things shall be revealed to him.…So you, Adam, draw near and pay attention, and I will instruct you in the ways of this book and its holiness." And the angel Raziel opened the book and read in Adam's ears. And it happened that when he heard the words of this holy book from the mouth of the angel Raziel, he fell on his face trembling. And he said:

> "Adam, arise. Be strong and do not fear or be afraid, but take this book from my hand and take care of it, for from it you will come to know and discern, and you will instruct everybody who takes possession of it, that it might be his portion." And at the time that Adam took this book, fire rose in a column on the bank of the river, and the angel went up in a flame of fire to heaven. Then Adam understood and knew that he was an angel of God and that this book was sent from before the Holy King, and he took hold of it in holiness and purity. (Sefer Raziel, 3a)

The angel's commandment to Adam concerning his posterity is particularly important, since this makes explicit the connection between this narrative of Adam's redemption and the ritual practices associated with the use of the book. Adam's actions are the precedent that shows how individual owners of the book can access its power.

Although sacrifice is not mentioned in the introductory narrative, the ritual instructions that follow, which are designed to imitate what Adam did to receive his angelic visitation, include elaborate rites of purification and sacrifice. This implies that Adam, too, purified himself and performed sacrifices at the time he offered his prayer. The instructions are presented as the opening words of the book Adam received, which is the same book held in the reader's hands—that is, Sefer Raziel itself:

> And these are the words of the book: If a man seeks to have success and to do anything from it, he shall count three days before the coming of the first day of a new month. He should not eat anything that is doubtful as to uncleanness, or anything that releases blood, and he should not drink wine, and he should not go as usual to the bed of a woman. And on those days he should wash with water before the rising of the sun, and he should bring two white turtledoves and slaughter them with a two-edged bronze knife. He should slaughter the first with the first edge and the second with the second. Then he should scoop out their innards and wash them with water. Then he should bring three shekels of aged wine, pure frankincense, and some pure and clear honey, and mix them together with the innards of the turtledoves. Then he should fill them [that is, the turtledoves]. Then he should cut them up into pieces and put them on the coals before the rising of the sun. And he

> should be wrapped in a white garment. And he should stand and walk barefoot while reciting the names of the ministering angels of that month in which he is inquiring. And he should burn everything of the pieces day by day, three times per day, every piece. And on the third day he should bring all the ashes and sprinkle them on the ground in the midst of the house. And he should sleep upon it and recite upon it the names of the noble, strong, mighty, holy, ruling angels. And he should sleep and not speak with any person. And the angels will come to him in the night in vision, visibly and not in riddles. And they will instruct him and reveal to him everything concerning which he inquires without fear. (Sefer Raziel, 3ab)

Note that this ritual is said to be performed for three days, after which an angel will appear, just as Adam prayed for three days before the angel appeared.

In terms of its content, this prologue shows many elements that are similar to Moses 5:4–11: Adam prays, implicitly offers sacrifice, and an angel appears to him and gives him special knowledge pertaining to his salvation. Adam also receives knowledge about his posterity and is empowered to prophesy of the future. The motif of a sacred book is absent from Moses 5, but it is found later in the Book of Moses (see Moses 6:5–6, 46). However, just as striking as the similarities in content are the structural similarities to Moses 5. In both texts, Adam's ritual actions are presented as the precedent that his posterity is to follow. Both texts also confound the boundaries between the ancient and modern instances of the ritual. The Book of Moses does this by shifting the roles of speaker and addressee, from God addressing Moses to God addressing the modern audience and finally to a human speaker addressing the audience. In Sefer Raziel, the book mentioned in the narrative prologue turns out to be the present book, the very one containing the prologue. By offering prayer and sacrifice as Adam did, present readers of the book are promised that they, like Adam, will be able to use the book to access heavenly knowledge.

Eastern Christian Literature

The Syriac apocryphal narrative known as the Cave of Treasures, dating to around the sixth century AD,[30] contains very little that

might be compared with the Book of Moses. At the beginning of Cave of Treasures chapter 5, where Adam is driven out of the Garden of Eden, there is no prayer, no sacrifice, and no angelic visitation. Just before the expulsion, however, God reveals to Adam the coming of His Son, through whom Adam and his posterity will be saved. When Adam and Eve leave paradise, they come immediately to a cave, where Adam deposits gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The text continues by saying, "And he blessed and sanctified it [that is, the cave], that it might be a house of prayer for them and their posterity, and he called it the Cave of Treasures."[31] Altogether, although the Cave of Treasures contains much relevant to Latter-day Saints by way of temple symbolism,[32] it is not a very close comparandum to the Book of Moses itself.

The Coptic text known to modern scholars as the Investiture of Abbaton (or, in some sources, the Discourse on Abbatôn), dating from between the fifth and sixth centuries AD, is specifically described as a revelation by Christ to the Apostles after His resurrection, which was written in a book and discovered in Jerusalem in the house of an old man by Timothy, archbishop of Alexandria. This text shows some similarity to the narrative about Adam in Cave of Treasures, but it has one additional detail that is significant for comparison with the Book of Moses—namely, an angelic visitation to Adam. Here the visitation happens subsequent to a conflict between Adam and Satan. The text is also explicitly connected to a ritual observance, a feast to be held regularly on day 13 of the month of Hathor.

These elements occur in the narrative as follows: before Adam and Eve are expelled from the garden, God reveals to them all about the future ministry of Christ to atone for their transgression. After they are expelled from the garden, Satan comes to Adam and declares himself as Adam's adversary. To deliver Adam, God puts him under the charge of the angel Mouriel, whom He names Abbaton. God tells the angel that people should give gifts and repent on this specific day, day 13 of the month of Hathor. Then the angel goes down to purify Adam.[33] As in the Cave of Treasures, there is no mention of Adam offering prayer or sacrifice.

Perhaps the closest parallel to Moses 5:4–15 in ancient literature is the Christian Arabic text known as the Conflict of Adam and Eve

with Satan.[34] The text dates to between the 8th and 9th centuries AD. An Ethiopic version, translated from the Arabic, was produced around the 11th century.[35]

The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan[36] begins with a brief description of the geography of the area surrounding paradise. Then it launches into a narrative of the expulsion of Adam and Eve and the things that happened to them afterward. The text is intertextually related to the Cave of Treasures, since Adam and Eve take up residence in that cave after being driven out of paradise. The text is organized around Adam and Eve's excursions from the cave, during which Satan continually tries to thwart them from obtaining salvation.

The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan includes many references to prayers and other communications between the first parents and God. These begin immediately after Adam and Eve enter the Cave of Treasures for the first time, when Adam and Eve pray "in a language unknown to us but known to them."[37] But the most significant parallels to the Book of Moses are in the two sacrifices that they offer during their second and seventeenth excursions from the cave.

On their second excursion, Adam and Eve try to climb up the mountain to reenter paradise. As they draw near the western door of paradise and weep there, they feel the heat of paradise burn their faces. The heat is so intense that first Adam and then Eve throw themselves down from the height and lie there bleeding until God sends His voice to raise them up.[38] Then Adam and Eve offer their first sacrifice.[39] First, they take rocks and make an altar. Then they take leaves from outside paradise, anoint them with their own blood from the ground where they had fallen, and lift up these offerings upon the altar. Then they stand at the foot of the altar, weeping and beseeching God for mercy. God responds by sending a "brilliance" from His presence that burns the offering. He smells the sweet savor and has pity on Adam and Eve. He then teaches Adam about the significance of the offering:[40]

> And a voice came to Adam, saying to him, "O Adam, as you have thus shed your blood, I will shed my blood for you when I come in the flesh, and I shall surely die. And as you have built an altar, thus I will cause an altar to be built on the earth. And

> as you have lifted up your blood upon it, I will lift up my blood upon the altar on earth."

He then sends His voice and tells Adam about His own coming in the flesh and His own sacrifice that will happen, in which His blood will be shed "on the altar" for the forgiveness of sins. The narrator then says that Adam continues to perform this sacrifice as a regular observance.[41]

It is not until their seventeenth excursion that Adam and Eve offer their second sacrifice. They return to the altar on which they offered their blood in the first sacrifice, bearing wheat from a nearby field. Having offered the wheat on the altar, Adam and Eve stand and pray for God to accept their sacrifice. God responds, again relating the present sacrifice to the future sacrifice of Christ, but this time He addresses both Adam and Eve:[42]

> Then God the Sublime said to Eve and Adam: "As you have made these sacrifices and have lifted them up to me, I will do thus with my body in the time when I descend to the earth, and I will save you. I will make it an everlasting offering lifted up upon the altar for forgiveness and mercy to those who worthily partake of it." Then God sent a spiritual fire upon Adam's offering and filled it with radiance and glory, and the light which fell upon the sacrifice is the Holy Spirit. And God commanded his angel to…give Adam and Eve Communion.

Finally, God commands Adam and Eve to observe this sacrifice as a regular custom. The next section explains how Adam and Eve organize the sacrifice to perform it three days a week, including Sunday, and make the offering while praying with stretched-forth hands.

The sacrifices of blood and wheat in the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan correspond to the wine and bread of the Eucharist. The fire that descends on the second offering, which is explicitly said to be "the Holy Spirit," corresponds to the epiclesis, or calling down, of the Holy Spirit, one of the main parts of the Eucharist liturgy. A few points help to illustrate how the text develops the sacrifices as a precedent for the Eucharist in the same way that the Book of Moses develops Adam's animal offering as a precedent for temple sacrifice.

First, the text makes use of several Arabic words that have double meanings. The word for "sacrifice," *qurbān*, is also used in Arabic for the Christian Eucharist. The word for a temple and its altar, *haykal*, is also known to apply to the offering table for the Eucharist.[43] And the word for what the angel does to Adam and Eve, *qarraba*, in a generic sense means "bring near" or "cause to approach"; but as a technical term, it can mean either to present a sacrificial offering or, in Christian contexts, to give Communion to a worshipper.

Second, after each instance, God specifically likens the sacrifice to His own atoning sacrifice in the flesh, much like the angel's explanation to Adam in the Book of Moses that his sacrifice is "a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten" (Moses 5:7).

Third, there are explicit descriptions of the sacrifice of Adam and Eve becoming a permanent custom. This sets up the narrative as an origin story for the current practice of the Eucharist. Similarly, in the Book of Moses, the angel who teaches Adam the meaning of sacrifice commands him immediately afterward to "repent and call upon God in the name of the Son forevermore," implying a regular observance (Moses 5:8). The Holy Ghost then promises Adam that just as he may be redeemed through the Only Begotten, "all mankind, even as many as will" may be redeemed in the same way (Moses 5:9). Adam and Eve teach all these things to their posterity (see Moses 5:12), presumably including the ordinance of sacrifice, since Cain and Abel are subsequently compared in terms of their observance of the ordinance (see Moses 5:18–21).

In the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan, the couple is cast out of the garden westward. This is similar to other Eastern Christian apocryphal narratives, such as the *Hexaemeron* of Pseudo-Epiphanius. These sources reverse the Hebrew Bible's statement that the cherubim are placed at the east (implying that Adam and Eve are cast out eastward). In both cases, the spatial organization of the narrative corresponds to the ritual space in which worshippers would approach God. Christian churches have their doors facing west, while the door of the Jewish Temple faced east. Just as a priest entering the temple in Jerusalem would symbolically reverse the Fall to return into God's presence, passing the cherubim that decorated the doors, Christian worshippers

would traditionally pray toward the east and approach toward the east for Communion, thus also symbolically reversing the Fall.[44] Thus, the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan effectively sets up Adam's sacrifice west of the garden as a precedent for the Christian Eucharist, just as Jubilees and the Book of Moses set up Adam's sacrifice as a precedent for temple sacrifice.

In addition to the main elements of Adam and Eve offering prayer, God speaking to them, and Adam and Eve offering sacrifices, the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan contains other elements that parallel the Book of Moses. The foremost of these, as is obvious from the title of the work, is the conflict against Satan. For instance, during the 11th excursion of Adam and Eve from the cave, Satan appears and gloats over them, telling them that they are under his power and that there is none who can rescue them until the day of promise, when God will come to save them—but since the hour has not yet come, Satan declares that he will intensify his combat against Adam and his posterity. Adam and Eve pray with extended hands for God to drive Satan away from them and not to let him have power over them, that he might not overcome them and make them deny God. As soon as they finish praying, God sends an angel and drives Satan away from them.[45] Later in the narrative, Adam makes a covenant with Satan (who is able to trick Adam because he comes in the form of an angel and Adam does not recognize him), but God overcomes that covenant through His foreknowledge and power. The narrative ends with Adam and Eve being formally married by God through the joining of hands, when, finally, "the combat of Satan ceased from them."[46]

The *Book of the Bee*, composed by Solomon of Basra around AD 1220, contains an eclectic narrative about Adam and Eve. However, there is nothing about Adam's repentance and redemption. The narrative skips from the expulsion, with very little delay, to Adam and Eve having children and the subsequent rivalry between Cain and Abel.[47]

The Book of Protection is a book of Syriac apotropaic charms. The earliest manuscripts of the book date from the early 18th century, but some of the charms are attested on scroll amulets dating to medieval times. Although the contents of the book and the order of the charms vary drastically from one manuscript to

another, most of the manuscripts begin with a set of introductory prayers: first the Lord's Prayer from Matthew 6:9–13, then a prayer called the Prayer of Adam, and finally another prayer called the Prayer of the Angels. This is followed by the first charm of the book, the "Anathema of the Gospel," which is basically a quote from the beginning of John chapter 1, often arranged on a grid with each word written diagonally inside a cell. This set of introductory prayers and the Anathema of the Gospel is the most stable feature of the book (although a few manuscripts diverge even in this).

The Prayer of Adam is of particular interest here. It is very short, but its context within the Book of Protection is informative, projecting a whole implicit narrative. The prayer reads as follows:

> You, O Lord of All, we thank. And you, Jesus Christ, we praise; for you are the Reviver of our bodies, and you are the Savior of our souls.[48]

The text is strongly Christian; it assumes that Adam and Eve knew of Christ and of the Resurrection. The first-person plural pronouns of the prayer imply that Adam and Eve offer this prayer together. In the wider apotropaic context of the Book of Protection, there may be an implicit association between this prayer and Adam's expulsion from the garden, when he became vulnerable to the evils of the world, near the time of his combat with Satan. This would also, then, be part of the narrative of Adam's repentance and redemption.

Islamic Literature

Stories about Adam, regarded as the first prophet of Islam, are prominent in Islamic literature.[49] The Qur'an, revealed to the Prophet Muhammad between AD 609 and AD 632, contains three passages that touch on Adam's redemption after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Qur'an 2:30–39 gives a brief account of the story of Adam in premortality and in the Garden of Eden. This passage enigmatically mentions that as Adam was about to be cast out, he received from God certain words and was thereby able to return to God's favor.[50] God then sent Adam and Eve down to earth, promising to send them "guidance," in Qur'an 7:11–27, once again, the story of Adam in premortality and in the Garden of

Eden is related. After their transgression, according to this passage, God told Adam and Eve to go down to the earth. "Therein you shall live," He said, "and therein you shall die, and thence you shall be brought forth. Children of Adam! We have sent down on you a garment to cover your nakedness, and rich attire; and the garment of god-fearing is good, and it is one of God's signs, that they may remember."[51] Finally, in Qur'an 20:120–21, Adam and Eve are cast out, and God promises to guide them back.

Between the 8th and the 14th centuries AD, the Islamic world saw the development of a genre of literature known as *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, or "stories of the prophets," recounting extracanonical stories about biblical and Qur'anic prophets, including Adam.

The earliest extant example of a book in this genre is that of Isḥāq ibn Bishr (d. AD 821). His work survives in one unpublished manuscript at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University (MS Huntingdon 388, dating to AD 1203) and in fragments found in the al-Ẓāhirīyah Library in Damascus. There are two main passages of interest for the comparison with Moses 5:4–11. In one passage, Adam is weeping, and the angel Gabriel comes to him and asks why he is weeping. Adam replies that it is because he has been cast out from the house of grace to the house of evil. Gabriel then returns and reports to God. God then sends Gabriel down a second time with a message of salvation for Adam. Adam offers a fervent prayer in which he confesses that there is no God but Allah and pleads for mercy and pardon. God then teaches Adam "the words" so that Adam is able to be reconciled with God.[52] In another passage, Adam and Eve pray for forgiveness, and God sends down mercy. God tells Adam, "If you repent, I will return you to the garden." Adam says, as if in disbelief, "If I repent, you will return me to the garden?" God says, "Yes." Then Adam immediately repents.[53]

The world history of al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), entitled *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, contains many passages derived from the genre of stories of the prophets. This work mentions Adam being commanded to offer prayer at a special holy place: "Adam, I have cast down a house for you to circumambulate, as one circumambulates my throne, and to pray at it as one prays at my throne."[54] There is also the slaughter of a ram, although it is used for making clothing rather than for a sacrificial offering:

Then, when God saw the nakedness of Adam and Eve, He commanded Adam to slaughter a ram from the eight couples of small cattle He had sent down from Paradise. Adam took the ram and slaughtered it. Then he took its wool, and Eve spun it. He and Eve wove it. Adam made a coat for himself, and a shift and veil for Eve. They put on that clothing. Then God revealed to Adam: I have a sacred territory around my throne. Go and build a house for me there! Then crowd around it, as you have seen my angels crowd around my throne. There I shall respond to you and all your children who are obedient to me.[55]

> Again, this connects Adam's redemption with rites performed on sacred space, not only by Adam himself but also by his posterity. This notion continues later in the text: "When he finished with its construction, the angel went out with him to ʿArafat. He showed him all the rites (connected with the pilgrimage) that people perform today. Then he went with him to Mecca, and (Adam) circumambulated the house for a week."[56] Stories of the prophets by al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1036) and al-Ṭarafī (d. 1062) contain much of the same material as al-Ṭabarī.[57]

The work of the semilegendary storyteller Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī, who lived around the 12th century, is especially rich with material about Adam's redemption, more than other transmitters of stories of the prophets, although it also contains many of the same elements as the others.[58] The story of Adam's repentance unfolds in four stages:

1. God explains the conditions of repentance.
2. Angels descend and teach Adam and Eve specific ritual performances to lead them along the path of repentance. These performances are said to be precedents for the actions that Adam's posterity are to perform.
3. God makes a covenant with Adam's posterity.
4. The establishment of the sanctuary at Mecca and its rituals are described, providing a historical bridge between Adam's story and the rites of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In the characteristically Islamic cosmology that al-Kisāʾī's narrative assumes, the Garden of Eden is in a heavenly location.

The scene in which God explains the conditions of repentance takes place after Adam and Eve are expelled from the gate of paradise, when they can no longer see God (compare Moses 5:4), but before their descent to the earth. In this scene, God commands Adam to worship Him, not to associate anything with Him, and to offer prayer (compare Moses 5:5). "Stretch forth your hands and call upon me," God instructs Adam, "for I am near and responsive."[59]

After God instructs Adam, he and Eve are cast down to the earth through separate gates, thus ending up in separate locations. This introduces a major difference compared to other traditions, as the story of Adam's repentance is combined with a story of his reunion with Eve. It is in this stage of the narrative, while Adam and Eve are living separately on the earth, that they repent and heavenly messengers interact with them. This stage of the narrative consists of three episodes:

1. God commands the angel Gabriel to go down to Adam and teach him the "words," which are the words of a prayer. Adam then prays using these words. God tells Adam, "I have forgiven you your transgression" (compare Moses 6:53). The breeze carries the words of the prayer to Eve. The veil is raised, and the gate of heaven is opened to Adam. During this episode, God, the narrator (quoting another authority), Adam, and Eve all affirm the effectiveness of Adam's prayer for Adam's descendants who pray using the same words.[60]
2. Adam and Eve are immersed in fresh water and clothed by separate angels (Gabriel and Michael) in their separate locations.[61]
3. Commandment is given to Adam concerning prayer and circumambulation at the House in Mecca in the pattern of the angels in the heavenly sanctuary. It is also stated that Adam's children are to perform the circumambulation in the same way.[62]

In the third and fourth stages of the narrative, God makes a covenant with Adam's posterity by touching Adam's loins with His right hand, and Adam and Eve go to Mecca, where they remain separate until the appropriate month to perform the pilgrimage rites. The sanctuary is enclosed by a ruby dome that expresses architecturally the continuity between the revelations given to

Adam and later prophets; its four doors are said to represent Adam, Abraham, Ishmael, and Muhammad. Gabriel again descends and teaches Adam the rites, clothing him in the pilgrimage garb and taking him by the right hand to circumambulate the House seven times. In the course of performing the rites, Adam and Eve are reunited.[63]

Al-Kisā'ī's narrative includes at least three of the major elements of Moses 5:4–15: the offering of prayer, the direct instruction by God, and the instruction by heavenly messengers. In addition, this narrative clearly connects Adam's prayer and performance of the pilgrimage rites with the religious observances of the believers who are the text's audience. Adam is the builder of the "House"—that is, the Kaaba—and the first one to perform the rites there, which include purifications, ritual clothing, circumambulation, and prayer. This is very much like the connection between Adam's redemption and later ritual performances in Sefer Raziel and the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan, although each of these has its own distinctive religious orientation.

Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373) is the last major transmitter of stories of the prophets. While earlier transmitters had incorporated extensive lore from Jewish and Christian sources, by Ibn Kathīr's time these non-Muslim traditions, or *Isrā'īlīyāt*, were systematically purged out of the tradition. At times, this purging extended to doubtful traditions that were essentially Islamic but were associated with unreliable transmitters or similar to non-Islamic lore. Not surprisingly, therefore, there is nothing in Ibn Kathīr's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* about Adam's repentance and redemption.

Texts in the Service of Ritual

As we see from this survey, there are texts with significant similarities to Moses 5:4–15 in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic literature. The closest comparanda seem to be Sefer Raziel, the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan, and al-Kisā'ī's collection of stories of the prophets. This presents us with a very interesting problem—namely, that the closest comparanda to the Book of Moses are the later texts.

Of course, it is possible that these later texts preserve older threads of narrative that do not survive in older manuscripts or

that have not been discovered yet. But it is difficult to build an argument on this assumption. Not only are the textual histories of apocryphal narratives notoriously difficult to untangle, but the Book of Moses itself, as both ancient and modern scripture, is very difficult to fit into a specific textual history. Joseph Smith never indicated exactly what time period the book belongs to. Given that the restored readings in Moses 5 are not found on copies of Genesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is possible to date the Book of Moses to a period before the Babylonian exile, which would give enough time for the readings to be lost before the time period of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[64] Several aspects of the narrative, particularly the Christological passages, would also fit well with an early Christian context. It is also possible that different parts of the revealed portions of the Book of Moses belong to different time periods, reflecting a complex textual history like that of the Bible itself. Ultimately, the search for intertextual relationships leaves us in the realm of the suggestive, with no concrete conclusions. Meanwhile, those who follow this intertextual approach but do not accept the historicity of the Book of Moses would tend to argue for the opposite direction of borrowing: that Joseph Smith got ideas for the Book of Moses by reading apocryphal literature. This, too, is very problematic due to the lack of evidence. Overall, the intertextual approach gives us very little basis for scholarly dialogue.

I believe that a more solid comparison between the Book of Moses and ancient apocryphal texts is possible by taking a typological approach. This approach begins with the observation that the Book of Moses and its closest comparanda share one salient feature other than the similarity in contents: they are all oriented in a specific way to ritual performances. The Book of Moses, in chapters 5–6, provides a doctrinal basis for the law of sacrifice and the ordinance of baptism; the book also lays out in textual form the pattern of expulsion from paradise, repentance, and being brought back into God's presence, a pattern that the temple endowment embodies.[65]

We have seen that Jubilees similarly establishes precedents for ritual observances, particularly those connected with the calendar of feasts. I have argued elsewhere that GLAE is likewise linked to ritual, but it is the ritual of burial, which is not very close to the concerns of the Book of Moses.[66] Sefer Raziel and the Syriac Book

of Protection are both magical texts that cite events in Adam's life as a basis for the use of the books themselves to exert power over the supernatural world. The Investiture of Abbaton is designed as a festal homily and may relate in some way to the ritual performances observed on that feast day, although the specifics of this are unclear. The closest parallel to the Book of Moses, the Arabic Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan, establishes a precedent for the Christian Eucharist, which is precisely analogous to the sacrificial ritual with Christ-centered meaning described in Moses 5:4–15. And finally, the Islamic tradition of stories of the prophets connects Adam's redemption with the building of the sanctuary in Mecca and the performance of rites there by later believers, including the circumambulation of the Kaaba and the offering of prayer.

When a narrative about a past event is used to explain why a ritual is performed in the present, and often to lend the present performance authority and efficacy, that narrative is known as a "mythological precedent" (note that the word *mythological* here does not have the connotation of lacking historicity).[67] The words of institution in the Eucharist, quoting the words of Jesus at the Last Supper, are an example of a mythological precedent. Another example is the story of the Passover in Exodus 12, which provides a precedent for the observance of the seder during the feast of Passover. It is likely that the narratives that are most similar to Moses 5:4–15 are similar because they were crafted to serve as mythological precedents for rituals analogous to the one described in the Moses text.[68] The likeness in function gives rise to a likeness in form.

The interpretation of these texts as mythological precedents does not exclude explanations based on common ancestry or derivation. What it does, however, is permit a description of the content of these narratives in terms of how they relate to implied contexts, skirting the potential pitfalls of speculative textual histories. The Book of Moses is especially informative because the historical circumstances of the modern revelation are actually evident in contemporary sources, including original manuscripts and accounts of the translation process. Thus the study of the Book of Moses paves the way for studies of the other narratives, whose contexts are less directly evident.

This investigation of the typology of religious narratives suggests the need for a deeper engagement both with the revealed ancient scripture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and with ancient narrative literature in general. I believe that this brief study outlines a way in which scholars of diverse persuasions can successfully meet in dialogue about these texts.

Discussion

Kent P. Jackson:

If I understand it correctly, the intertextual stemma model has to do with the origin of a text—that is, its genealogy—while the typological model has to do with how the text is used in a given society. So, first of all, clarify whether what I've said is right, and then the question is, does the typological model ever give clues to help in understanding an intertextual connection?

David Calabro:

Yes. Your summary is essentially correct. The intertextual stemma model also is all about finer relationships between the texts, the history of the text overall between its origins and its current exemplars that we have access to now. And so, in fact, the title of this conference about tracing ancient threads is strongly evocative of that intertextual stemma model. That's what it's about—tracing the intertextual threads through the sources. And yes, in fact, the typological model does contribute to an understanding of the intertextuality simply because it helps to situate the various stages of the text historically and in a concrete context in the society. So it helps to clarify how texts would have been accessible to different copyists and readers. And it also helps to clarify the mode in which it could have been passed down or copied from one example to another.

Kent:

You stated that you want to skirt the potential pitfalls of speculative textual histories. Does that apply strictly to connecting things with the Book of Moses? Or does it include all of these possible connections among your texts?

David:

Well, I fully acknowledge that these texts could be related genetically. And in fact, from a belief standpoint, I believe that the Book of Moses is an ancient text that probably predates a lot of the examples that I'm talking about in this presentation. But yes, the problem is

that we just lack a lot of information about how all these apocryphal texts and the Book of Moses are related to each other. And part of the problem is that a lot of these apocryphal texts themselves are imperfectly understood in terms of their textual history. There are a lot of gaps. There would have been texts that would have served as intermediaries for the intertextuality that we don't have. In some cases, we're not really sure how old certain motifs are that appear in the apocryphal texts. And the Book of Moses itself is difficult to place historically, because although some of the papers in this conference so far have made great strides in that direction already of understanding where the Book of Moses belongs historically, we just don't know, and Joseph Smith never really specified, when the Book of Moses was written—when it was first written. Was it written by Moses himself? It speaks of Moses in the third person, which suggests that perhaps it was written a little after Moses's time, and it's just difficult to say where it belongs historically. The intertextuality of Moses itself is a little complicated because, as we know from Joseph Smith's process of creating the Joseph Smith Translation, in some cases he was adding commentary to the text, in some cases he was clarifying things doctrinally, and in some cases he was revealing totally new textual narrative. And so there's just a complication to it that makes the Book of Moses difficult to evaluate in an intertextual stemma model.

Kent:

Of the texts that you analyzed, is there any real way with any of them to explain why they were written? Do we have that kind of information, or do we just try to draw conclusions based on the content of the texts?

David:

That's right. The best thing that we have to go on in most cases is a close reading of the texts themselves and trying to determine, based on the topics that are focused on and the structure of the narratives, how they would have been used in society. So, yeah, and then just creating plausible explanations for those features based on historical context that could have existed.

Kent:

I think we have reason to believe that it is more of an art than a science to try to determine that.

David:

It is, but at least we have a text there. And part of my point in this presentation is that the Book of Moses provides a very exciting contribution to this whole discussion about typological relationships because we know a lot more about how the Book of Moses was created and the historical context in which it was created (and I mean the 19th century context in which Joseph Smith revealed the text)—we know a lot more about that than we do about the Apocrypha and how they were created. And so, in a sense, the Book of Moses can provide a model for understanding at least our range of possibilities, or at least a possibility for a context in which many of the Apocrypha could have been created. And I think—especially these examples I'm talking about here, such as Sefer Raziel, the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan, and to a lesser extent al-Kisāʾī, but certainly those first two and the book of Jubilees—I think they fit rather well in a context very similar to Joseph Smith's revelation of the Book of Moses.

Kent:

You mentioned that you selected the passages to examine based on your areas of expertise—Judaism, Eastern Christianity, and Islam. Are there similar texts that come from other cultures that could have been included, including Latin European texts and so forth?

David:

Yes, there are. I'm sure there are. And it's just that I don't consider myself qualified enough to speak in detail about those other possibilities, but yes, I know there are other parallel situations in Hindu literature, in Chinese literature, in Latin, as you mentioned, in Ethiopic literature, and in other cases too.

Kent:

You mentioned that *mythological precedent* means that texts were written to explain a ritual practice that already exists. Did I understand that correctly?

David:

Well, yes, that's a chicken-and-egg question: whether the ritual comes first or the narrative. Both could actually be true. I mean, you can even write (speaking in purely hypothetical terms) a mythological-precedent narrative without even having a ritual that goes with it. You can write such a narrative in order to propound that such a ritual should exist or to argue that an existing ritual should be modified so that it's more like this narrative. In other words, Adam, or whatever ancient figure, such as Moses or Abraham, did it this way, and we should be doing it that way too, even though that's not what we're doing. So all of those are hypothetical possibilities, so there's no necessary relationship there of ritual preceding the narrative.

Kent:

Does the narrative ever change the ritual that preceded it? For example, Adam builds the Kaaba in your text, but in other Islamic understanding it's Abraham and Ishmael who built the Kaaba. Are there previous Islamic traditions that have Adam as the one who builds the Kaaba in Mecca?

David:

Yes. This theme actually runs throughout the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature and is found in *tafsir* as well. And so, for example, Isḥāq ibn Bishr, who writes in about AD 800, he also has the same motif in his stories of the prophets. So yeah, it does appear, and there's the tradition about Abraham building the Kaaba, but both could be true, so Adam could have built it and then Abraham rebuilt it. In terms of the relationship to the ritual, both of these narrative accounts could coincide with the rituals performed in the *ḥajj*. So there's a harmony there between the narratives and the ritual.

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Notes

1. I wish to thank Jeffrey Bradshaw for his helpful comments and bibliographic suggestions on earlier versions of this paper.
2. The latter part of Genesis 4:1 identifies Cain as the first child born to Adam and Eve. Thus the agriculturalist Cain and the shepherd Abel are the first people who explicitly have those professions (see Genesis 4:2), and we never read of Adam fulfilling the commandment or curse to eat his bread "in the sweat of [his] face" (Genesis 3:19). The Moses account presents a more fleshed-out picture: Adam and Eve labor in both agriculture and animal husbandry, whereby Adam fulfills the commandment (here explicitly stated as such) to eat his bread "by the sweat of his brow" (Moses 5:1). Further, before having Cain and Abel, they have other children who work in these same professions (see Moses 5:2–3). This is important for the narrative of Adam and Eve's redemption, as it sets the stage for the commandment to offer the firstlings of their flocks as a sacrifice. In Moses, therefore, animal husbandry and animal sacrifice are already established practices by the time Cain and Abel are born, which helps to clarify why Abel's sacrifice is accepted while Cain's deviant vegetable offering is rejected.
3. Genesis 4:26 states that when Seth's son Enos was born, "then began men to call upon the name of the Lord," implying that prayer was not practiced until about 235 years after the expulsion from the garden (see Genesis 5:3, 6). In contrast, Moses 5:4–16 more prominently introduces the theme of calling upon the name of the Lord. In addition to the mention of Adam and Eve doing this in Moses 5:4, the angel told Adam to "call upon God in the name of the Son forevermore" (Moses 5:8), Adam and Eve "blessed the name of God" (Moses 5:12), and they "ceased not to call upon God" (Moses 5:16). Moses 6:4 (the text corresponding to Genesis 4:26) clarifies that after Enos was born to Seth, it was only "these men," not people in general, who "began…to call upon the name of the Lord."
4. Later in the Book of Moses, in the account of Enoch, we learn of another aspect of Adam's redemption that is not mentioned in Moses 5—namely, Adam's baptism (see Moses 6:51–68).
5. See, for example, Bruce T. Taylor, "Book of Moses," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:216–17. Taylor compares Adam's offering of sacrifice with the Greek Life of Adam and Eve (a work that will be discussed later in this study). See also Hugh W. Nibley, "The Early Christian Prayer Circle," in *Mormonism and Early Christianity*, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 4, ed. Todd M. Compton and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 57–58, 60. Nibley's discussion revolves around three ancient sources: Sefer Raziel, the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan,

and a Coptic Gnostic work. The first two of these are relevant to Moses 5:4–15 and are discussed further in this article. Jeffrey M. Bradshaw is also notable for his contributions in the area of ancient literary motifs and temple-related themes in the Book of Moses; see his book *In God's Image and Likeness: Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Book of Moses* (Salt Lake City: Eborn Publishing, 2010).

6. See David Calabro, "Joseph Smith and the Architecture of Genesis," in *The Temple: Ancient and Restored*, *Temple on Mount Zion Series* 3, ed. Stephen D. Ricks and Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2016), 165–81.
7. The angel's explanation of the significance of the ordinance in Moses 5:7–8 plays out in the themes of repentance, redemption, and calling upon God in verses 9–12 and 15–16. Juxtaposed with these themes are the wicked covenants made among the descendants of Cain, which include an imprecation by one's own throat and by one's own head (see Moses 5:29). In the biblical world, covenant making was associated with sacrificial offerings, possibly symbolizing for at least some participants the fate that would befall those who break the covenant; compare the Hebrew idiom for making a covenant, *karat brit*, meaning literally "cut a covenant." For further information, see Paul Y. Hoskisson, "The Nīšum 'Oath' in Mari," in *Mari in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies*, ed. Gordon D. Young (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 203–10.
8. The term pseudepigrapha is often used for this literature, but the term is misleading because it puts the emphasis on false authorship, which is not a key distinguishing feature of the literature in question.
9. This term is in use mainly in classical studies, although it serves well to describe a cross-disciplinary trend in philological research, including many studies of the Adam literature.
10. Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), especially pp. 61–70. See also the chart showing an intertextual stemma of the Adam literature in Roger W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 140. Nibley, "Early Christian Prayer Circle," 58, reveals that his approach also assumes a form of this model: "Yet, though none of these writings may be taken as binding or authentic, taken all together they contain common elements which go back as far as the church of the apostles."
11. The framing of this Genesis-like account as a revelation to Moses on a mountain, which recalls Moses 1, is a common apocryphal motif. Other examples of this include the Greek Life of Adam and Eve and the Cave of Treasures (which are also discussed in this study). For discussion of this parallel between the Book of Moses and Jubilees, see E. Douglas

Clark, "A Prologue to Genesis: Moses 1 in Light of Jewish Traditions," BYU Studies 45, no. 1 (2006): 129–42.

12. Translation by O. S. Wintermute, in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, *Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 67.
13. See, for example, Genesis 8:20–21; Exodus 29:18, 25, 41. There are 39 other examples of this phraseology in sacrificial contexts in the Pentateuch and Ezekiel. The account of Noah's sacrifice in Jubilees also seems to conflate the offering of incense with animal sacrifice, as Noah offers frankincense, oil, and wine with an animal sacrifice, producing "a sweet savor" (Jubilees 6:1–3).
14. See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 27n27. In Exodus 20:26, God seems to be prescribing a ritual performance for all the children of Israel, to whom he is speaking. Later, in Exodus 28:42–43, it is specifically Aaron and his sons who are to wear linen breeches when they minister at the altar.
15. Compare Genesis 3:21 with Exodus 28:40.
16. De Jonge and Tromp accept the attempt by Michael Stone and Gideon Bohak to explain as typical Greek features the Hebraisms noted by John L. Sharpe and accepted by M. D. Johnson. Stone admits to not having seen Sharpe's work (see Stone, *History of the Literature*, 44n8), and they seem to miss the point of Sharpe's work in some cases. For instance, in Stone, *History of the Literature*, 49, the clearly Hebraistic phrase "a tree that oil goes out of it" is abbreviated and then described as a normal Greek construction. The fact that the version of the Bible being quoted is the Septuagint is also immaterial to the original language of the text, because the Septuagint was certainly familiar to the Greek translator, and its language could have been used in the translation, much as the language of the King James Bible was used in the translation of the Book of Mormon. See M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in Charlesworth, ed., Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, vol. 2, 251–52; Stone, *History of the Literature*, 42–61; and Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 65–78.
17. See David Calabro, "Of Moses, Mountains, and Models: Joseph Smith's Book of Moses in Dialogue with the Greek Life of Adam and Eve" (forthcoming). Like the Book of Moses, GLAE is a revealed ritual narrative, hence the structural similarities between these texts; however, GLAE is oriented to funerary rather than sacrificial rites.
18. The act of standing in the Jordan River recalls the sevenfold cleansing of Naaman in the Jordan (see 2 Kings 5:9–14). The Jordan River was

associated with the passage of Israel into the promised land (see Joshua 3) and served as a natural border of the land of Israel. Thus, in addition to its association with cleansing, the river easily symbolizes a liminal state of passage from profane to holy space, a symbolism evident in the river's use as a place of baptism (see Matthew 3:13–17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–22; John 1:28, 32–34). Nevertheless, a clear association with Christian baptism is absent in GLAE 29.

19. See translation by Johnson, in "Life of Adam and Eve," 259, 261, 285.
20. The idea of three heavenly messengers being sent to teach Adam is also found in the Mandaean *Ginza Rba* (a book of scripture occasionally known as *Sidra Rba* or as the Book of Adam), which has Gnostic roots. For discussion of this theme in a comparative light, see Nibley, "Early Christian Prayer Circle," 60; Bradshaw, *In God's Image and Likeness*, 869.
21. Translation from G. MacRae, "Apocalypse of Adam," in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, 712.
22. See Avot of Rabbi Nathan 1:8; see also Judah Goldin, *The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1955), 14.
23. The dating to the 13th century is based on the existence of a Latin translation produced under King Alfonso X (r. 1252–84), entitled *Liber Razielis Archangeli*.
24. The translation from the Hebrew in the following excerpts is my own, based on the 1701 Amsterdam edition, 3ab, and the 1944 edition, 3ab.
25. Here and elsewhere in what follows, "this book" refers to the present book, Sefer Raziel itself.
26. 26 There is a double entendre here, given the double meanings of the verbs *plḥ* ("dig," "serve") and *ʿbd* ("work, tend" [as in Genesis 2:5, 15]; "serve"). The implication is one of ironic reversal: Adam is now serving the very ground that he was taken from.
27. The Hebrew words used here are *yihyu leraṣon ʾimre pi lepaneka*, quoting Psalm 19:15 (verse 14 in English). Compare also Psalm 54:4 (verse 2 in English). In all these cases, the reference to "the words of my mouth" occurs in the context of a supplicatory prayer. Here, unlike in the Psalms, these words are part of Adam's prayer as he prays for light and knowledge after being expelled from the Garden of Eden.
28. This note giving "another reading" is part of the printed text of Sefer Raziel. It seems to indicate that the manuscripts on which the printed edition was based included a variant reading here. The two words, *ʿizrateka* ("your Help") and *ʿireka* ("your Watchers"), are graphically similar.

29. The Hebrew word for "man" here is *ʾadam*, which can also be the proper name Adam. In a sense, initiates using the book act in his role, conflating the current ritual with its mythological precedent.
30. See Sergey Minov, "Date and Provenance of the Syriac Cave of Treasures: A Reappraisal," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 20, no. 1 (2016): 129–229, especially pp. 131–49.
31. The translation from the Syriac is my own.
32. See Bradshaw, *In God's Image and Likeness*, 669–75.
33. See E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms, etc., in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1914), 1:225–49 (Coptic), 474–96 (English).
34. The Arabic text was edited by Battista and Bagatti in 1982, based on the manuscript Vat. ar. 129, which dates to 1679 but is based on a much older copy according to the colophon. See Antonio Battista and Bellarmino Bagatti, *Il combattimento di Adamo* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982). Some manuscripts containing this text have been digitized by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), including HMML project numbers BALA 118, CFMM 250, GAMS 1250, and MGMT 153.
35. See Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 28; Stone, *History of the Literature*, 98n70. Note that Stone accepts Jean-Baptiste Frey's date of "later than the seventh century" for the Ethiopic version, but the seventh century is much too early for the Christian Arabic composition, let alone the rendering into Ethiopic.
36. The title of the work in Arabic is "Story of Adam and Eve and what happened to them after their departure from paradise, and their dwelling in the Cave of Treasures according to the commandment of the Creator to them, may He be praised and exalted."
37. This and the following quotes from the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan are my own translations from the Arabic, based on the edition by Battista and Bagatti. For this quote, see Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 37. On the motif of praying in an unknown language in apocryphal literature, see Nibley, "Early Christian Prayer Circle," 56–58; and Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, David J. Larsen, and Stephen T. Whitlock, "Moses 1 and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: Twin Sons of Different Mothers?," in this proceedings.
38. God sends His voice (Arabic *ṣawt*) many times in this text to strengthen Adam after he falls into a swoon. God's voice as an active agent may be based on an interpretation of Genesis 3:8: "They heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day." Here, at least from a grammatical standpoint, it is not clear whether it is God or His voice that is "walking in the garden." But this also recalls Moses 5:4: "And they heard the voice of the Lord from the way toward the Garden

of Eden, speaking unto them, and they saw him not; for they were shut out from his presence."

39. The manuscript Vat. ar. 129 has a rubric, rare in this manuscript, introducing this section: "The first sacrifice which Adam lifted up."
40. See Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 54.
41. It is doubtful that the text means to say that Adam continued to use his own blood in observing this rite; perhaps it is implied that wine was used as in the Eucharist. On the passage as a whole, see Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 51–56.
42. See Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 117.
43. On the word *haykal* (usually "temple") being used to mean "altar," see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden: Brill, 1881), 2:775.
44. See Donald W. Parry, "Garden of Eden: Prototype Sanctuary," in *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism*, ed. Donald W. Parry (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1994), 126–51. Ibn Siba connects Adam and Eve's westward expulsion with the Christian custom of praying toward the east; see Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 131, 169–70.
45. See Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 98–99. This passage is very similar to the narrative in the Investiture of Abbaton (compare also Moses 5:13).
46. Battista and Bagatti, *Combattimento*, 128–29.
47. See E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Bee* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 23–24.
48. Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection* (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), Codex A, §2; see also Codex B, §2.
49. For a survey of Islamic traditions concerning Adam and Eve, drawn primarily from Qur'anic commentaries and sayings of Muhammad, see M. J. Kister, "Ādam: A Study of Some Legends in *Tafsīr* and *Ḥadīth* Literature," *Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993): 113–74.
50. The Islamic tafsir (Qur'anic commentary) literature generally regards these "words" (*kalimāt*) as the words of a prayer or a form of the *shahādah* (the Muslim confession of faith). However, some commentators connect these words with the "names" (*asmā'*) that God teaches Adam in order to test him in front of the angels, as described earlier in the same passage. The enigmatic references to the "names" and "words" in this passage are, in any case, suggestive of esoteric knowledge. For further references and discussion, see Bradshaw, *In God's Image and Likeness*, 177–79.
51. The translation from the Arabic is my own. Interpretations of verse 26 vary widely as to the significance of the "garment of god-fearing." Although many consider it to be merely metaphorical, it may refer

back to the garment sent down on the children of Adam to cover their nakedness, in contrast to the "rich attire."

52. Fol. 50v:11 to fol. 51r:16.
53. Fol. 54r:8–14. The translation from the Arabic is my own.
54. Translation from Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Tabari, vol. 1, General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 293.
55. Rosenthal, *General Introduction*, 294.
56. Rosenthal, *General Introduction*, 294; see also pp. 301–2.
57. See William M. Brinner, *ʿAraʾis al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ or "Lives of the Prophets"* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1:60; and Roberto Tottoli, *Storie dei profeti* (Genova: Il Melangolo, 1997), 45.
58. On the semilegendary character of al-Kisāʾī, see T. Nagel, "al-Kisāʾī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 5:176; and Loren D. Lybarger, "The Demise of Adam in the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*: The Symbolic Politics of Death and Re-Burial in the Islamic 'Stories of the Prophets,'" *Numen* 55 (2008): 497–535.
59. W. M. Thackston Jr., *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisāʾī* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 52–53.
60. Thackston, Tales, 59–60.
61. See Thackston, *Tales*, 60–61.
62. See Thackston, *Tales*, 61–62.
63. See Thackston, *Tales*, 63–67.
64. It is worth noting that there are multiple close parallels between parts of the Book of Moses and the Enoch literature found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, although these parallels mostly lie outside the passages about Adam and Eve that are the focus of the present study. This could support either a preexilic or an early Christian context of the Book of Moses. For a review of some of the parallels, see Jeffrey M. Bradshaw and Ryan Dahle, "Could Joseph Smith Have Drawn on Ancient Manuscripts When He Translated the Story of Enoch? Recent Updates on a Persistent Question," *Interpreter: A Journal of Latter-day Saint Faith and Scholarship* 33 (2019): 305–73.
65. See Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, "The LDS Story of Enoch as the Culminating Episode of a Temple Text," *BYU Studies* 53, no. 1 (2014): 39–73; and Calabro, "Joseph Smith and the Architecture of Genesis."
66. See Calabro, "Of Moses, Mountains, and Models."
67. See Calabro, "Joseph Smith and the Architecture of Genesis," 161.
68. Guy Stroumsa, "*In Illo Loco*: Paradise Lost in Early Christian Mythology," in *Genesis and Regeneration: Essays on Conceptions of Origins*, ed. Shaul Shaked (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2005), 120, argues that Genesis 1–3 had for early Christians "a somewhat similar status to that of myths in the Greek world."