

Book of Moses Essays #24: Enoch, the Prophet and Seer: The End of the Wicked and the Beginnings of Zion (Moses 7:12–18)

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Steam emerging from the crater of Mt. Etna after an eruption^[1] “The earth trembled, and the mountains fled (Moses 7:13)

This *Essay* relates the end of the end for the wicked, and the beginning of the beginning for the people of God who start to lay the foundation of Zion. Similar events are well-attested in the ancient Enoch literature.

“The Earth Trembled and the Mountains Fled”

The Book of Moses records that when Enoch had finished prophesying to the people, “the earth trembled, and the mountains fled, ... and the rivers of water turned out of their course.”^[2] The pattern whereby the voice of warning is immediately followed by the voice of the elements is also described in Doctrine and Covenants 88:89–90:

For after your testimony cometh the testimony of earthquakes, ... and also the testimony of the voice of thunderings, and the voice of lightnings, and the voice of the waves of the sea heaving themselves beyond their bounds.

In a previous *Essay*,^[3] we described ancient and modern witnesses to Enoch’s turning of rivers “out of their course.”^[4] In this section, we will describe similar ancient witnesses to the shattering seismic events that came “according to [the] command”^[5] of Enoch.

Whereas most of the prophecies of destruction in *1 Enoch* describe events of the “latter days,”^[6] its *Epistle of Enoch* is also addressed to the “double audience”^[7] of Enoch’s living posterity, called his “sons.”^[8] Echoing the themes of Moses 6:46–47, Enoch reminds the sinners that their actions are recorded in a heavenly book of remembrance,^[9] telling them that “from the angels inquiry will be made into your deeds in heaven.”^[10] Then, Enoch asks them:^[11]

When [the Most High] hurls against you the flood of the fire of your burning,
where will you flee and be saved?
And when he utters his voice against you with a mighty sound,
will you not be shaken and frightened?
The heavens and all the luminaries will be shaken with great fear;
and all the earth will be shaken and will tremble and be thrown into confusion.
All the angels will fulfill what was commanded them;
and all the sons of earth will seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory,
and they will be shaken and tremble.
And you, sinners, will be cursed forever;
You will have no peace.

Note that the passage from the *Epistle* cited above not only echoes the “trembling of the earth” in Moses 7:13 but also the shaking of the heavens in Moses 7:61. The shaking and trembling of the elements reverberates sympathetically to the shaking and trembling of the

wicked, an ancient motif found in the Book of Moses that we have discussed in a previous *Essay*.^[12] The “curse upon all people that fought against God” in Moses 7:15 is consistent with the declaration in the *Epistle* that the sinners “will be cursed forever.”

Pouring Out and Drawing Back of the Waters

Hugh Nibley has summarized Jewish traditions that tell of the perturbation of the waters of the earth before and after Enoch’s time:^[13]

The really spectacular show in the Enoch literature is the behavior of the seas. Like the alternating drought and flood from the skies, there is either too much sea or not enough. Before “the floods came and swallowed them up,”^[14] the sea first drew back in places, leaving its coastal beds high and dry in anticipation of the great *tsunami* (sea wave) which came with the earthquake.

Although the biblical flood of Noah has received greater attention, Jewish tradition also remembers an earlier flood^[15] covering a large portion of the ancient world in the days of Enosh, Enoch’s great-grandfather:^[16]

When people began to call their idols by the name of the Lord, the ocean rose from Akho to Jaffa and flooded a third of the world. Then said the Lord: You have prepared a new thing for yourselves and called it by my name; now I want to do something new and tell you my name. Is it not written? “He that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth: the Lord is his name.”^[17]



Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1797): *An eruption of Vesuvius seen from Portici*, ca. 1774-1776^[18]

The Decisive Battle

“The land which came up out of the depth of the sea.” An unexpected detail in Moses 7 is a mention of “the land which came up out of the depth of the sea”^[19] There are hints in Jewish tradition that volcanic activity could have been behind this event. According to one such text, among the “four things [that] changed in the world at the time of Enoch” was that “the mountains that had previously been plowed and sown were made rocky.”^[20]

“Wars and bloodshed.”^[21] Moses 7:16 gives us the brief notice that “from that time forth there were wars and bloodshed among them.” Unfortunately, the extant fragments of the Aramaic *Book of Giants* likewise preserve only a few words about what must have been a long series of bloody battles. In one fragment, the leader of Enoch’s adversaries is said to

have lamented: “I went up against a]ll flesh, and I made war against them; but I did not [prevail, and I am not] able to stand firm against them. ... And they were not [defeated, for they] are stronger than I.”^[22]

Attributing the brevity of the Aramaic witness of these battles to “the sparsity of the preserved remains,” John Reeves goes on to describe how “the Manichaean remnants of the *Book of Giants* preserve extensive testimony regarding this conflict.”^[23] For example, here is an extract from a Manichaean *Book of Giants* fragment that gives a more detailed account of the final combat:^[24]

[The angels] took and imprisoned all the [rebellious Watchers] that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. ... they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone.

As angels from heaven and the very elements of earth joined to defend the people of Enoch, the battles entered a new phase. Richard Draper, Kent Brown, and Michael Rhodes explained:^[25]

Heretofore we have found reference to “enemies” who “came to battle” *against the people of God*.”^[26] The account in Moses 7:15 [i.e., “the people that fought *against God*”] makes it clear that battling against God’s people [had become] the same as battling against God Himself.

The End of the Wicked and the Beginnings of Zion

Doctrine and Covenants 88:91 describes the human consequences that inevitably follow destruction of such devastating extent:

And all things shall be in commotion; and surely men’s hearts shall fail them; for fear shall come upon all people.

Similarly, we read in the Book of Moses that “the fear of the Lord was upon all nations”^[27] and that “the giants of the land ... stood afar off.”^[28] Elder Neal A. Maxwell commented:^[29]

The gospel glow shining about a righteous individual or a righteous people usually attracts persecution. But this is not the only accompanying sign. Enoch could tell us something about this phenomenon; those in his ancient Zion were resented by some who “stood afar off.” Latter-day Saints are not yet a fully worthy people, but even now there is building a visible ring of resentment around Zion today.

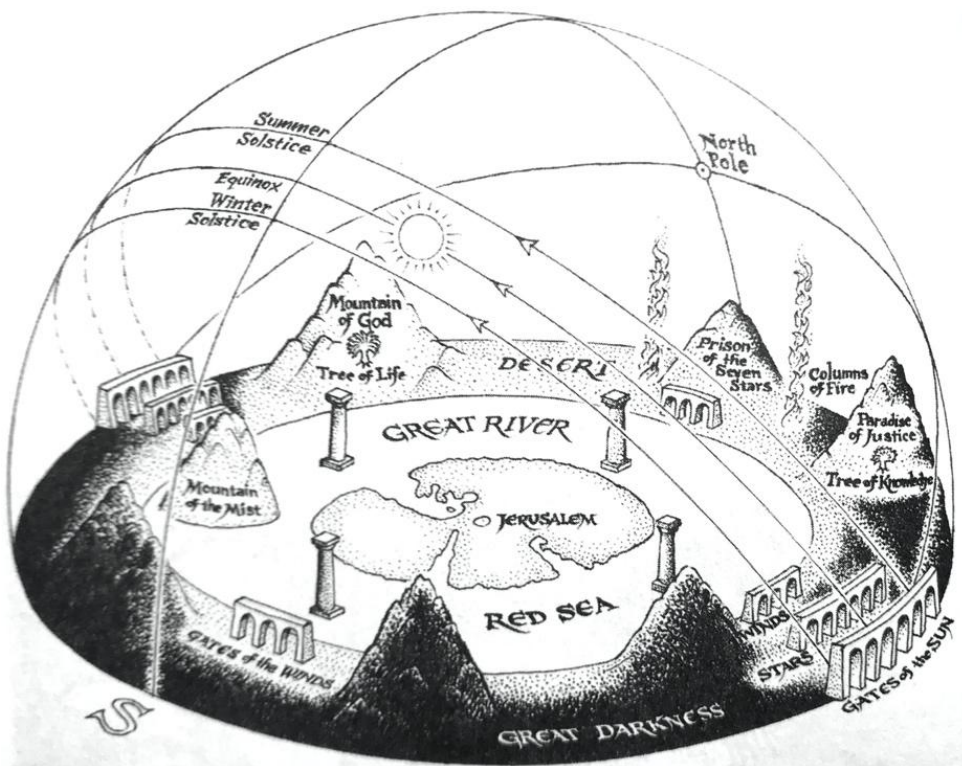


'Cheonhado' map of the square earth and the round cosmos, Seoul, Korea, ca. 1800.^[30] In the central area is an internal continent surrounded by an internal sea, which is in turn surrounded by an external continent and an external sea. The names of real places are shown exclusively within the internal continent, while the names that appear elsewhere describe mythological locations^[31] "where immortals live."^[32]

Elder Maxwell's idea of Zion (or perhaps more precisely the temple of Zion or, for that matter, any temple) as a "center place"^[33] radiating holiness to the world, with increasingly strident "rings of resentment" formed by the wicked corresponding in strength to degrees of distance from the divine nucleus, is a general concept that might resonate in many ancient cultures. Though symbolic representations of a "hierocentric"^[34] universe vary in significant details, many ancient maps and diagrams in various cultures around the world are constructed around a sacred center.

This sacred center not infrequently coincides with the location of a mountain.^[35] For example, with respect to the structure of the Korean map shown above, Mark E. Lewis notes “there is a progressive decline as one moves away from the center.”^[36] Typically, in the ancient world, such movement away from the center is represented as being in an eastward direction. Correspondingly, there is an increase in sacredness as one travels (or returns) toward the center, generally in a westward direction.^[37] Note the large medallion with the name of China that is shown near the middle of the map—just east of Mount K’un-lun,^[38] anciently revered as the sacred center of the universe where heaven and earth meet and from which four great rivers emanate.

Though we are not suggesting that Cheonhado maps such as the one above and the Sogdian fragments of the *Book of Giants* have any necessary relationship, there is some evidence of “weak and distant influence”^[39] in the resemblance of the symbolic geography of Mount K’un-lun to that of Mount Mēru. Of relevance for the present article is that Mount Mēru—the sacred mountain of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism—is mentioned in the Manichaean *Book of Giants* as the place of resort for the righteous. When seen in the light of hierocentric maps of the world, certain details relating to the layout of sacred, symbolic geography in both ancient Enoch accounts and the Book of Moses take on greater meaning. Though the symbolic geography tells us little— or, more likely, nothing—about the physical geography of the story, knowing something about it helps unravel the significance of events in this section of the narrative.



“In the conception of the universe in the book of [1 Enoch], the sun emerges from the six eastern gates, moves in the six months between the winter and summer solstices, and sets in the western gates. The seven great mountains

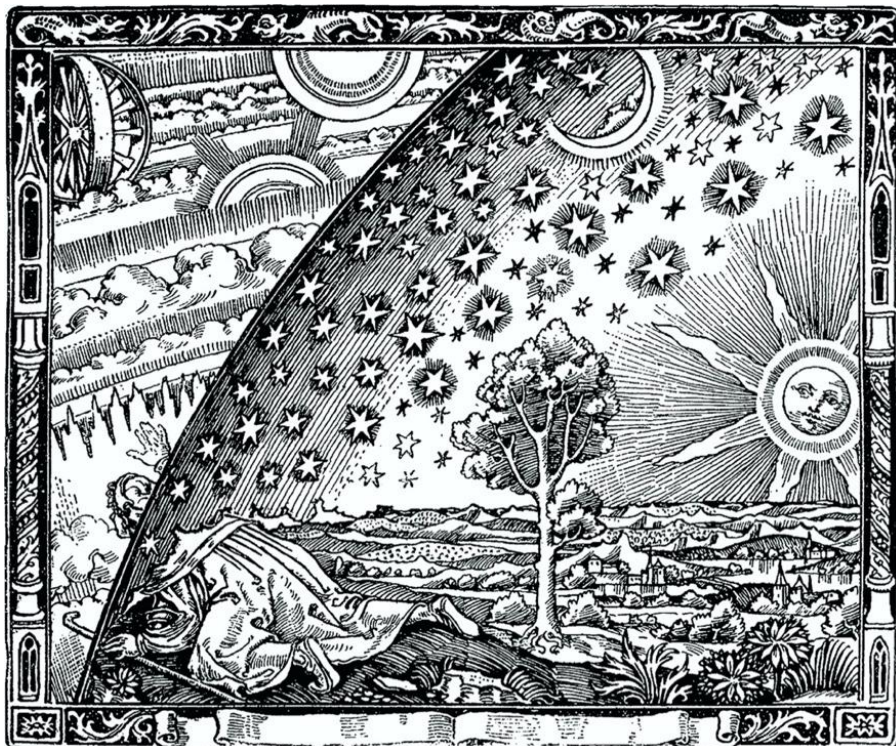
are based on the ancient Babylonian conception of the universe. Adapted from Milik's reconstruction."^[40] Among other differences from the Cheonhado map that make it more similar to the Book of Giants and the Book of Moses and different from 1 Enoch, this reconstruction lacks the significant feature of one or more sacred mountains in the center.

For example, in answer to Mahijah's question in Moses 6:41, Enoch replied:

I came out from the land of Cainan, the land of my fathers, a land of righteousness unto this day.

Amplifying the Book of Moses description of Enoch's home as a "land of righteousness," the leader of the *gibborim* in the *Book of the Giants* stated that his "opponents"^[41] "reside in the heavens and live with the holy ones."^[42]

In line with the presumed hierocentric, symbolic geography of Enoch's world, we are not surprised to read the significant detail that his missionary journey in the Book of Moses took him away from the "sacred center"—in other words, he went out "from the land of Cainan,"^[43] "a land of righteousness"^[44] in the west, to the land of the wicked presumably near the western edge of "the sea east."^[45] Remarkably, the Book of Moses description of Enoch's journey and vision "by the sea east" recalls the direction of his voyage in 1 Enoch 20–36, where the text seems to imply that he continued his travels even further east—to the "ends of the earth" ("from the west edge of the earth to its east edge"^[46]). Significantly, 1 Enoch also records a vision that Enoch received "by the waters of Dan,"^[47] arguably a "sea east."^[48]



Camille Flammarion (1842–1925): *Flammarion Engraving*, 1888.

“The image depicts a man crawling under the edge of the sky, depicted as if it were a solid hemisphere, to look at the mysterious Empyrean beyond. The caption ... translates to ‘A medieval missionary tells that he has found the point where heaven and earth meet’^[49] In line with the idea that the Garden of Eden is at the eastern end of the earth, note the prominent tree just behind the man.^[50]

Though the mountain at the center of the symbolic geography of the world represents the most sacred place *on earth*, its “east edge,”^[51] the dawn horizon,^[52] the location of the boundary where the round dome of heaven *meets* the square plane of earth,^[53] is not only where visions of God are situated in the relevant literature, but also the place from which actual heavenly ascents were thought to occur in many ancient cultures.^[54] Enoch describes his journey as being to “the ends of the earth, on which the heaven rests, and the gates of heaven open,”^[55] and gives a brief account of its great beasts^[56] and birds with beautiful voices.^[57] Likewise, descriptions of Methuselah’s journey to the end of the earth,^[58] where Enoch’s “dwelling is with the angels,”^[59] “can be plausibly understood as [allusions] to the [Garden of] Eden.”^[60]

In a fragment of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*, one of Mahaway’s journey to visit Enoch^[61] “is clearly from the west to the east and back again.”^[62] Among his other qualifications to make this voyage to the eastern end of the earth,^[63] he seems to be “the only giant with wings.”^[64] Just as Enoch, who flew east with the angels, used “this mode of transportation ...to visit areas that normally humans cannot reach,”^[65] so also:^[66]

the flight of Mahaway should be understood in a similar way. [He] is able to reach Eden because he can fly over a desolate desert that would be, following this logic, impossible to cross on foot. This underscores the extraordinary and difficult nature of [his] voyage. Asking Mahaway to undertake such an arduous journey highlights how seriously [the *gibborim*] wanted an interpretation to the two visions of ‘Ohyah and Hahyah.

Once Enoch’s presence has been “veiled” after his heavenly ascent,^[67] Jens Wilkens observes that “only Enoch’s voice is mentioned.”^[68] In explanation of this state of affairs, Wilkens mentions a Uyghur fragment of the *Book of Giants* where a speaker (likely Mahaway referring to Enoch) says, “But I did not see him in person.”^[69] From the combined evidence, it seems that we are meant to understand that the scene of Mahaway’s voice-to-voice (not face-to-face) visit with Enoch “takes place in the sky”^[70] rather than on earth on this occasion. Presumably, Mahaway can speak with Enoch through the “veil,” but is not permitted to see Enoch in his transfigured state in the divine realm.

There is evidence of both supporters and detractors of Enoch among the *gibborim*. For example, a Sogdian fragment of the *Book of Giants* tells us that a righteous faction “are glad at seeing the apostle,” who is obviously Enoch, and “assembled before him.”^[71] But

those who are called “tyrants and criminals” are “afraid.”^[72]

According to the Manichaean *Book of Giants*, angels ultimately led the wicked to their eventual destruction in the east—away from the “sacred center”—while the righteous went westward to inhabit cities near the foot of the holy mountain that had been prepared for them “in the beginning”:^[73]

And they led one half of them eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumēru [= “good Mēru] mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.

In the highly symbolic account of the geographical history of the two opposing groups, the *Book of Giants* describes the righteous dwelling “westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains.” Significantly, this imagery recalls Moses 7:17, which relates that the righteous “were blessed upon the mountains, and upon the high places, and did flourish.” Where in all the ancient Enoch tradition do we find the remarkably similar story of the gathering of Enoch’s converts to a community of refuge in the mountains? Only in the *Book of Giants* and the Book of Moses.

In a later *Essay*,^[74] we will describe the rise of this holy place of refuge, whose residents the Lord called “Zion.”^[75]

Conclusions

Though the glory of God’s presence no longer fills the whole earth as it did at the creation of Adam and Eve, it has not been completely withdrawn. In a movement similar to the divine concealment that the Lurianic *kabbalah* terms “contraction,”^[76] the fulness of God’s glory is, as it were, concentrated in a series of “center places”—temples—which continue to represent in microcosm the image of what will someday again become the model for a fully renewed Creation, happy in the divine rest of a perpetual Sabbath.^[77] Until that day, according to Jon Levenson, the temple remains “to space what the Sabbath is to time, a recollection of the protological dimension bounded by mundane reality. It is the higher world in which the worshiper wishes he could dwell forever. ... The temple is the moral center of the universe, the source from which holiness and a terrifying justice radiate”^[78] to the dark and fallen world that surrounds it.

Fittingly, just as the first book of the Bible, Genesis, recounts the story of Adam and Eve being cast out from the Garden, its last book, Revelation, prophesies a permanent return to Eden for the sanctified.^[79] In that day, the veil that separates man and the rest of fallen creation from God will be swept away, and all shall be “done in earth, as it is in heaven.”^[80] In the original Garden of Eden, “there was no need for a temple—because Adam and Eve

enjoyed the continual presence of God”—likewise, in John’s vision “there was no temple in the Holy City, ‘for its temple is the Lord God.’”^[81] To reenter the renewed^[82] “Garden” at that happy day will be to return to the original spiritual state of immortality and innocence through forgiveness of sin, and to know the oneness that existed at the dawn of Creation, before the creative processes of division and separation began.^[83] The premortal glory of the righteous shall then be “added upon”^[84] as they receive a fulness of the blessings of sanctification, “coupled with eternal glory, which glory we do not now enjoy.”^[85]

This is the glory that the people of Enoch began to enjoy as they laid the foundations of Zion.

This article is adapted and expanded from Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., and David J. Larsen. *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower of Babel. In God’s Image and Likeness 2*. Salt Lake City, UT: The Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books, 2014, pp. 46, 70, 97, 105, 133–136.

Further Reading

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Appendix 1: The Battle of the Angels and the “Giants” in the Manichaean *Book of Giants*

Below, we give an annotated version of Henning’s translation of text G (Sogdian): ^[86]

... they [i.e., the angels] took and imprisoned all the helpers [i.e., the rebellious Watchers^[87]] that were in the heavens. And the angels^[88] themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men and hid themselves [i.e., in disguise^[89]]. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them . . . the giants . . . were sons . . . with each other in bodily union . . . with each other self- . . . and the . . . that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumeru mountain [i.e., the mountain in the Himalayas^[90]], into thirty- two [or thirty-six in other texts^[91]] towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning. And one calls (that place) *Aryānwaīžan* [i.e., “Homeland of the Aryans^[92]]. And those men are (or: were) . . . in the first arts and crafts. (30) . . . they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . . they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone.^[93]

Appendix 2: The Journey of Mahaway to Enoch in the Manichaean *Book of Giants*

Below we give an annotated version of Jens Wilken’s English translation of the Mainz 317 fragment (Old Uyghur):^[94]

[Mahaway said:] (01) “Fire was rising.^[95] (01–02) And furth[ermore I saw] that the sun was rising. (02–03) [Its] palace wa[s] revolving without being carried over.^[96] (04–05) Then, from heaven above came a voice [of an archangel?^[97]]. (05–06) It called me and said: (06–07) “You, son of Virōgdād [i.e., Mahaway^[98]], the order for you is exactly this: (07–08) You [h]ave seen more than enough! (08–09) Do not die prematurely now! Return quickly [from] here!” (09–11) And then, besides this, I heard the voice of the apostle Enoch from the south. (11–12) But I did no[t] see him in person. (12–13) Then, very affectionately, he called out my name. (13–14) And down from [heaven] (the voice) s[aid]: (14–16) “[O son] of [Virōgdād], now . . . (17) Ow[n] [...] [small lacuna] (18) [W]hy? (18–19) The door of the enclosed [s]un will open up. (19–20) The [sp]lendor and heat of the sun will descend. (20–22) It will burn your wings; you will catch fire and die.” (22–24) Then, at that time, upon hearing the voice I shook (or: beat) my wings and quickly descended fr[o]m heaven. Again I looked back. (24–25) Dawn had [br]oken.^[99] (25–26) The sun with its splendor was rising on the bluish mountain.^[100] (26–27) And again from above came a voice. (27–29) It conferred the words of the apostle Enoch. It said: (29–31) “I call you, o son of Virōgdā[d], I know [th]is: you are [l]ike some of them.^[101] You are . . . (31–33) [An]d quickly . . . with that people . . . sickness . . .”

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Endnotes

[1] Photograph copyright Stephen T. Whitlock, with permission. Photo ID: EtnaJul1977.jpg (July 1977). Stephen tells the following story (S. T. Whitlock, May 3 2020):

While I was in the USAF in Italy we sent out teams to remote sites for about 10 days. And on one of those trips I was in Reggio de Calabria to calibrate equipment for the radar site there. I was with a Sgt. Rafael Leal and we looked across the strait (the Scylla and Charibdis of Greek mythology) and could see Etna erupting with lava running down the side. So since we had to stay somewhere over the weekend anyway Rafael and I stayed at a B&B on the edge of the slopes of Etna and then on Saturday climbed up the mountain. We drove part way and then had to walk past the twisted remains of a ski lift that had been wiped out a couple of years earlier. The last third we were walking on pumice and it was three feet up and then two feet sliding back on each step. But coming down we surfed on our shoes. At around 10,000 feet it was cold as we got near the top but the ground was too hot to touch in most places. And at the top there were places where you would breath in and nothing would happen—clear gases that weren't air. My intent was to get pictures looking down the crater—but it was steamy and irregular. ... Overall this was not the smartest thing I did

[2] Moses 7:13.

[3] *Essay #4*.

[4] Moses 7:13.

[5] Moses 7:13.

[6] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, commentary on 92:1, p. 431.

[7] Ibid., commentary on 92:1, p. 431. Nickelsburg observes that a similar double audience is addressed in 1 Enoch 81:6; 82:1–2; and 94:1, 3.

[8] Ibid., 1:1, p. 430.

[9] See *Essay #10*.

[10] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 100:10, p. 503.

[11] Ibid., 102:1-3, pp. 503–504.

[12] See Moses 6:47 and 1 *Enoch* 13:3 (ibid., 13:3, p. 235), as mentioned in *Essay #11*.

[13] H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, p. 202.

[14] Moses 7:43.

[15] H. Freedman *et al.*, *Midrash, Genesis (Bereshith) 5:6 (Genesis 1:9), 1:37*. Cf. J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah 1, Parashah Five*, 6:6:1, p. 50.

[16] M. J. bin Gorion (Berdichevsky), *Von der Urzeit, Zweites Buch: Von Adam und seinem Geschlecht, Die Adamsöhne, 3 Der erste Götze*, p. 153. Cf. M. J. bin Gorion (Berdichevsky), *Die Sagen* (1997), pp. 122–123. English translation by Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

[17] Amos 5:8, 9:6. “Thus He reversed His previous decree that the waters should be confined to one place” (H. Freedman *et al.*, *Midrash, 1:37 n. 1 commentary*). Jacob Neusner comments (J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah 1*, p. 46 commentary):

The main point contrasts the gathering together of the water, done so obediently, to the rebellion of man, punished by the flood. ... The water was originally spread over the whole earth. The water praised God. ... God ... ordered the water to draw back into one place—hence Psalm 104:7—so that there would be dwelling space for humanity. But in light of the record of humanity, God called the water back and restored it to its place over the whole earth.

[18] Art collection of the Huntington Library in Pasadena, CA.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph_Wright_of_Derby_-_Vesuvius_from_Portici.jpg (accessed April 4, 2020). Public domain.

[19] Moses 7:14.

[20] M. J. bin Gorion (Berdichevsky), *Von der Urzeit, Zweites Buch: Von Adam und seinem Geschlecht, Die Adamsöhne, 3 Der erste Götze*, p. 153. Cf. M. J. bin Gorion (Berdichevsky), *Die Sagen* (1997), pp. 122–123. English translation by Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

[21] For more on the wars in which the *gibborim* were defeated, see *Essay #12*.

[22] Edward Cook, 4Q531 (4QEnGiants(c) ar), 22:5–6 in D. W. Parry *et al.*, *Reader*, 3:495.

[23] J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 122.

[24] W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants, Text G (Sogdian)*, p. 69.

[25] R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Commentary*, p. 120.

[26] Moses 7:13, emphasis added.

[27] Moses 7:17.

[28] Moses 7:15.

[29] N. A. Maxwell, *Prove*, pp. 17–18.

[30] <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/cheonhado-world-map> (accessed April 14, 2020). British Library, Shelfmark: Maps C.27.f.14. Public Domain. The description on the website reads:

This world map is from an atlas produced in Korea in around 1800. It is one of a group of maps known as ‘Cheonhado’, meaning ‘Map of all under heaven’. The map shows a large inner continent surrounded by sea. This represents China and its surrounding lands. Beijing, the Yellow River and Great Wall of China are visible, with the sacred Mount Mēru at its center. The rest of the world appears as outer islands, with the Trees of Sun and Moon beyond.

The concentric circle structure of the map and many of the mythological names come from the Chinese *Shan Hai Jing* (The Classic of Mountain and Seas), a text that was probably compiled from older texts in the first or second century BCE. For detailed background on these and similar maps, see S.-H. Oh, *Circular World Maps*. Among other things, Oh establishes the fact that even though such maps are round, they do not depart from the “square earth-round heaven” principle. The circular form of the map represents the round shape of heaven.

For a general introduction to cartography and the cosmic ocean in the ancient Near East, see N. Wyatt, *Space*, pp. 80–88, 113.

[31] Among these mythical locations are the mountains and trees typically shown as sacred trees and mountains at the location of the rising and setting of the sun and moon (east and west) and at the north (S.-H. Oh, *Circular World Maps*, pp. 31, 32):

To the east, where the sun and moon rise, Mt. Yupa and Busang tree are depicted. Mt. Bang and the Bangyeoksong pine tree are also depicted to the west, where the sun and moon met. ... It is presumed that Mt. Yupa was chosen [from among the many mountains where the sun and moon were supposed to rise] because it is located in the East Sea, a great distance away or farthest from the center. ...

It would be ... appropriate to believe that the maps tried to show where the sky and the earth meet. Circular world maps are still based on the traditional view that the heaven is round and the earth is square. As this differs from the theory of the round Earth, circular world maps have east and west poles, and the locations of sunrise and sunset, and moonrise and moonset visibly represent the poles.

No tree in the south is shown on the map in this figure, and we do not currently have access to an interpretation of what is shown there. However, from another time and culture we have the report of Severus of Antioch (fl. 512–518) that avers, similar to other anti-Manichaean sources that “those (regions) which lie to the south and to the meridian belong to the Tree of Death, which they call Hyle [i.e., Matter], being very wicked and uncreated” (as cited in B. Bennett, *Iuxta Unum*, p. 69). In Mandaean and Zoroastrian cosmogonies the north and south are associated with “above” and “below” (i.e., the underworld).

[32] S.-H. Oh, *Circular World Maps*, pp. 32–33.

[33] Doctrine and Covenants 57:3.

[34] See, e.g., H. W. Nibley, Hierocentric.

[35] For a survey of beliefs in the ancient Near East regarding the cosmic mountain at the center of the world, see N. Wyatt, *Space*, pp. 147–157.

[36] M. E. Lewis, *Construction*, p. 285.

[37] For more on the symbolism of the sacred center, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Tree of Knowledge*, pp. 50–52. On the symbol on eastward movement as distancing oneself from God and westward movement as approaching God, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, *Commentary 3:8-b*, pp. 160–161. The symbolism of east-west orientation and the symbolism of the sacred center are conjoined in the symbolic layout of the Israelite temple and the Garden of Eden (J. M. Bradshaw, *Moses Temple Themes* (2014), pp. 57–58, 77, 88–89). The east-west, right-left layout also recall the vertical bisecting of almost all Egyptian hypocephali and corresponding visions of the cosmos given to Jewish seers. Hugh Nibley (H. W. Nibley, *Abraham 2000*, p. 45) describes this bisecting view of the cosmos in terms of as “a graphic representation of ‘the whole world [and] its circle,’ (G. H. Box, *Apocalypse*, 12:8, p. 51) in which the human race, God's people and the others (See A. Kulik, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 22:5, p. 1471) confront each other beneath or within the circle of the starry heavens, on opposite halves of the picture.” In terms that echo the vertical and horizontal divisions of the hypocephalus in Facsimile 2 of the Book of Abraham, Rubinkiewicz explains this feature in the cosmic vision of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon that has close affinities with *Moses 1* (R. Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*, p. 171 — also cited and explained in more detail within *Essay #40*. See also a discussion of possible allusions to some of the general features of hypocephalus-like images in *Essay #34*):

If we pay attention to our account, we will see an astonishing thing. Abraham sees the earth peopled by the wicked (v. 3), but he also sees Eden inhabited by the righteous (v. 6); God shows him the sea ruled by Leviathan (v. 4), but Abraham also contemplates the “upper waters” that are above the firmament (v. 5). At the conclusion, he sees people at the left and right of the picture. What should Abraham understand by this vision? The answer is simple: the division between the righteous and the wicked is based on the structure of the world, where both the forces of evil (the earth and the wicked; the sea and Leviathan) and the forces of good (the “upper waters,” Eden) each have their place. The entire universe has thus been projected by God and “it is pleasing to Him” (22:2).

Rubinkiewicz (*ibid.*, p. 171 n. adds): “This idea is not unique, for it is also found in the *Testament of Naphtali 2:7–8*” (see H. C. Kee, *Testaments*, p. 811). On affinities between the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and *Moses 1*, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Moses 1*.

[38] For cogent summaries of the mythology of the mountain paradise of K'un-lun, see A. Birrell, *Mythology*, pp. 183–185; M. Loewe, *Ways*, pp. 110–112. For traditions surrounding the primeval couple, Fu Xi and Nü Gua, whose stories are intertwined with K'un-lun, the

Creation, and other temple themes, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 654–657. With respect to the placement of Kunlun on the map, J. S. Major, *Heaven*, p. 155 explains how physical and mythological geography became inextricably intertwined in Chinese thought:

Kunlun has two closely related aspects: First, it is the world-mountain or *axis mundi*, pillar that at once separates and connects heaven and earth. As such it is the highest of mountains, the terrestrial plane's closest approach, and stepping-stone, to the celestial vault. ... Second, Kunlun is a paradise, a magical and beautiful land that is the home and kingdom of Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West.

One problem that immediately arises in dealing with these two aspects of Kunlun is that the Kunlun Mountains are, and from early times have been known to be, an entirely real and terrestrial mountain range on China's northwestern frontier ["on the borderland of Xinjiang province and Tibet" (S. Allan, *Turtle*, p. 99)]. ... In fact it is not unusual for real but distant places to take on paradisiacal qualities; think of Serendip, or Shambala.

Thus in early China the name Kunlun attached to a geographical mountain and a mythical one, and the two were soon hopelessly conflated.

[39] In support of the possibility of such influence, J. S. Major, *Heaven*, pp. 154–155 writes:

It is not clear how one was intended to visualize the nine-fold walls of Kunlun, but the most obvious image is as a peak of tremendous height, rising in nine steps like a ziggurat. Such a nine-tiered heaven ... makes little sense in terms of the overall *gaitian* cosmology of *Huainanzi* [an ancient Chinese work of cosmological geography]: might there be here a hint of weak and distant Indian influence to go along with the possible Indian origin of the Jupiter Cycle names in *Huainanzi* 3. XXXIII? Certainly tiered-roof pagodas in later Chinese Buddhism reflect the Indian nine-tiered cosmos; earlier influence of the same sort is unattested but hardly impossible. The Nine-fold Shade mountain ... associated with the Torch Dragon, is suggestive of a multitiered parasol of state of the sort found ubiquitously in Indic civilizations; it too may hint at an Indian-style nine-fold heaven weakly impinging on early Chinese cosmology.

Ibid., p. 337 n. 17 goes on to explicitly imply a common symbology in Mount Kunlun and Mount Mēru:

In the Indian tradition the link between architecture and cosmology is explicit. In Balinese Hinduism, for example, multitiered (often nine-tiered) temple towers are called *meru*, imitative in name as well as in structure of the classical Indian nine-tiered *axis mundi* or cosmic mountain.

[40] H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, p. 364, Figure 43 and caption.

[41] M. Wise *et al.*, DSS, 4Q531, 22:5, p. 293. Cf. L. T. Stuckenbruck, Book of Giants, 4Q531, 17:5, p. 164: “adversaries.” J. T. Milik *et al.*, Enoch, p. 308 and F. G. Martinez, Book of Giants (4Q531), 2:5, p. 262 translate the term as “accusers.”

[42] F. G. Martinez, Book of Giants (4Q531), 2:6, p. 262. Cf. J. T. Milik *et al.*, Enoch, p. 308: “they dwell in [heaven]s and they live in the holy abodes”; L. T. Stuckenbruck, Book of Giants, 4Q531, 17:6, p. 164: “and in the heavens are seated, and among the holy places they dwell.”

[43] Moses 6:42.

[44] Moses 6:41.

[45] Moses 6:42.

[46] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, p. 290. See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God’s Image 2, Endnote M6-20, p. 97.

[47] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 13:7–8, p. 237.

[48] 1 Enoch arguably identifies the “waters of Dan” as the sea of Galilee and the nearby sacred mountain of Hermon (see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God’s Image 2, Endnote M6-21, p. 97). See also G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, p. 250 n. 9–10 on “Abel-Main” and, more generally, on the sacred geography of this region on pp. 238–247. While Latter-day Saint scripture teaches that Enoch’s ministry took place in the New World (D&C 107:53–57), the general story line in ancient Enoch accounts is not inconsistent with the *symbolic* geography of the Book of Moses.

[49] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flammarion.jpg> (accessed May 25, 2020). Public domain. Published in Camille Flammarion, *L’Atmosphère: Météorologie Populaire* (Paris, France: Librairie Hachette, 1888), pp. 163, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k408619m/f168.image> (accessed May 25, 2020).

[50] M. Goff, Where’s Enoch?, pp. 486–488.

[51] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, p. 290. See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God’s Image 2, Endnote M6-20, p. 97.

[52] For an overview and examples of the Egyptian concept of the horizon, see N. Wyatt, Space, pp. 184–185, 187–192. See related discussion in *Essay #34*.

[53] 2 Enoch locates paradise “between the corruptible [earth] and the incorruptible [heaven]” (F. I. Andersen, 2 Enoch, 8:5, p. 116 and p. 116 n. 1).

[54] N. Wyatt, Space, pp. 183–184 discusses the “two seemingly opposed ideas ... of the end of the world, often represented by the notion of a ‘cosmic ocean,’ and ... the center of the world” in the ancient Near East. See *ibid.*, pp. 77–78, 83–84, 184–207 for examples from the ancient Near East of traversals of cosmic boundaries in heavenly ascent and of symbolic boundaries as part of ritual ascent in the temple. Specifically with respect to Manichaean thought, Severus of Antioch (fl. 512–518), similar to other anti-Manichaean sources, reported (as cited in B. Bennett, *Iuxta Unum*, p. 69):

And they [i.e., the Manichaeans] say: That which is Good, also named Light and the Tree of Life, possess those regions which lie to the east, west, and north; for those (regions) which lie to the south and to the meridian belong to the Tree of Death, which they call Hyle [i.e., Matter], being very wicked and uncreated.

However, Bennett clarifies that the interpretation of the cardinal direction might best be understood in light of an eastern rather than western frame of reference (ibid., pp. 76–77):

There are ... some remarkable parallels for this teaching [about the primordial state] in both the Mandaean and Zoroastrian cosmogonies, suggesting that this teaching may have been formulated for an eastern audience who had the background beliefs necessary to comprehend and value it. The interpretation of the four cardinal directions as lines inscribed on a vertical plane (so that north and south are identified with above and below respectively) is found in the Mandaean cosmogony. Several other features can be paralleled in Middle Persian accounts of the Zoroastrian cosmogony.

[55] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 33:2, p. 329.

[56] Ibid., p. 329–330 n. 1 notes:

Whatever the origin of the author's knowledge of these animals, they are envisioned primarily in mythic terms. Evidence for such a mythic tradition appears at a number of points in the cartology of the ancient world. In the Babylonian *Mappa Mundi* of the fifth century BCE, the sixth island that lies east of the Bitter River is said to be the place where "a horned bull dwells and attacks the newcomer." Much later maps from the Common Era depict sea monsters and other beasts lurking in the farthest recesses of land and sea. Doubtless these reflect a tradition much older than the charts on which they are found.

[57] Ibid., 33:1, p. 329.

[58] D. A. Machiela, Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon, 2:23, p. 37: "And [Methusaleh] went through the length of the land of Parvain, and there he found the end of[the] ea[rth]."

[59] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 106:7, p. 536.

[60] M. Goff, Where's Enoch?, p. 488. Cf. S.-H. Oh, Circular World Maps, pp. 31, 32: "Mt. Yupa ... is located in the East Sea, a great distance away or farthest from the center. ... Given that pine trees are one of the ten traditional symbols of longevity, the trees in the [north, east, and west] of the [circular world maps] can be regarded as deeply related to [the] "Taoist idea of immortality."

In medieval times, European biblical drama sometimes contained portrayals of Elijah and Enoch that had them situated in the Garden of Eden (L. R. Muir, Biblical Drama, p. 139):

As Christ leads the redeemed souls out of Hell ... a few plays include the scene of their arrival in Earthly Paradise (usually escorted by Michael) where they meet Elijah and Enoch, who have not yet died and will return to earth to fight against Antichrist.

- [61] Scholars do not agree as to whether it is Mahaway's first or second journey (J. Wilkens, Remarks, pp. 219–222, 224–225).
- [62] Ibid., p. 222.
- [63] For a survey of the examples of the concept of the “ends of the earth” in the ancient Near East, see N. Wyatt, Space, pp. 113–120.
- [64] J. Wilkens, Remarks, p. 225.
- [65] M. Goff, Where's Enoch?, p. 488: “Or as it says in *1 Enoch* 17:6, ‘where no human walks,’” emphasis Goff's. Cf (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 17:7, p. 276: “where no flesh walks. See also *ibid.*, 19:3, p. 276: “I, Enoch, alone saw the visions, the extremities of all things. And no one among humans has seen as I saw.”
- [66] M. Goff, Where's Enoch?, p. 488.
- [67] Enoch's “similarity to, and perhaps derivation from, the [Mesopotamian] figure of Enmeduranki is widely accepted” (N. Wyatt, Space, p. 101. See also A. A. Orlov, Enoch-Metatron, pp. 23–29; J. C. VanderKam, Enoch, pp. 6–14; A. Annus, On the Origin of Watchers; H. Drawnel, Mesopotamian Background; J. Day, Enochs of Genesis 4 and 5). For an excerpt with commentary of a Mesopotamian account of the ascent of Enmeduranki, see N. Wyatt, Space, pp. 195–196.
- [68] J. Wilkens, Remarks, pp. 225, 224.
- [69] Cited in *ibid.*, p. 224.
- [70] Ibid., p. 222.
- [71] Ibid., p. 225.
- [72] Ibid., p. 225. See W. B. Henning, Book of the Giants, p. 66 for the full citation.
- [73] W. B. Henning, Book of the Giants, Text G (Sogdian), p. 69.
- [74] *Essay #33*.
- [75] Moses 7:18. For a discussion of Zion as God's holy mountain, see N. Wyatt, Space, pp. 156–157.
- [76] Hebrew *tzimtzum*. See also the gradual and seemingly reluctant departure of God from Jerusalem and its temple in Ezekiel (T. D. Alexander, From Eden, pp. 56-57). A number of other Jewish sources likewise describe the similar process of the removal of the *Shekhinah*—representing God's presence—in seven stages (H. Schwartz, Tree, p. 51, cf. pp. 55-56).
- [77] Articles of Faith 1:10. See J. D. Levenson, Temple and World, pp. 297-298; T. D. Alexander, From Eden, pp. 24-26, 42.
- [78] J. D. Levenson, Temple and World, p. 298.
- [79] Revelation 22:1–5. See M. Barker, Revelation, pp. 327-333; R. D. Draper *et al.*, Promises; T. D. Alexander, From Eden, pp. 13-15.
- [80] Matthew 6:10.
- [81] W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, Solomon's Temple, pp. 14-15. See Revelation 21:22. Levenson finds a similar concept in his retranslation of the proclamation of the seraphim in Isaiah's vision. Rather than chanting: “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: The whole earth is full of his glory” (Isaiah 6:3), Levenson (J. D. Levenson, Temple and World, pp. 289-290) gives

the more accurate rendering of: “The fulness of the whole earth (or, world) is his glory”:

In cultic contexts, the term for “glory” (*kabod*) has a technical meaning; it is the divine radiance... that manifests the presence of God [cf. Exodus 40:34, 1 Kings 8:11] ... If my translation of Isaiah 6:3 is correct, then the seraphim identify the world in its amplitude with this *terminus technicus* of the Temple cult. As Isaiah sees the smoke filling the Temple, the seraphim proclaim that the *kabod* fills the world (verses 3–4). The world is the manifestation of God as He sits enthroned in His Temple. The *trishagion* is a dim adumbration of the rabbinic notion that the world proceeds from Zion in the same manner that a fetus, in rabbinic etymology, proceeds from the navel.

[82] Article of Faith 1:10: “the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.”

[83] See J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image 1*, pp. 85-87.

[84] Abraham 3:26.

[85] D&C 130:2.

[86] W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants*, p. 69.

[87] J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 160 n. 384:

This line perhaps refers to those “archons” of Darkness ... in Manichaean cosmogony. ... Apparently two hundred archons managed to escape this imprisonment and fled to earth.

In I. Gardner, *Kephalaia*, chapter 38 (codex 92), p. 97, these archons are equated with the Watchers of *1 Enoch* 6–16 and the *Book of Giants* (J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 160 n. 384).

[88] It is possible that in the Manichaean version Enoch is not to be counted among the angels, but rather as one protected by the angels (W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants*, p. 61 fragment i). However, the Mandaean accounts speak of Enoch and his two companions (for total of three rather than four as in the Manichaean version) having come “from on high” (J. P. Migne, *Livre d’Adam*, 21, p. 170; M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, *Ginza Right* 11, p. 268, lines 21–23). See *Essay #4*. Likewise, in the *Book of Giants* one of Enoch’s adversaries complains that his “opponents [are angels who] reside in [heav]en, and they dwell in the holy places” (Edward Cook, 4Q531 (4QEnGiants(c) ar), 22:5–6 in D. W. Parry *et al.*, *Reader*, 3:495).

[89] A. Welburn, *Mani*, p. 205. See also W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants*, p. 61 fragment i. In the Mandaean version, it appears that the “fleeing and hiding” referred to their going up into heaven rather than disguising themselves (J. P. Migne, *Livre d’Adam*, 21, p. 170; M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, *Ginza Right* 11, p. 268, lines 21–23). See *Essay #4*.

[90] A. Welburn, *Mani*, p. 205. Cf. J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 160 n. 385:

According to Indian tradition, Mount Mēru or Sumēru (“Good Mēru”) was the great mountain which stood at the center of the earth. See *Mahābhārata* 1(5) 15.5ff.: ... “The great mountain rises aloft to cover with its heights the vault of heaven.”

[91] See comments in W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants*, p. 59 comparing text S to text G. Cf. I. Gardner, *Kephalaia*, chapter 45 (codex 117, lines 5-8), p. 123 which also speaks of thirty-six towns. See also J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 160 n. 386; J. Wilkens, *Remarks*, pp. 220–221.

[92] A. Welburn, *Mani*, p. 205. See also J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 160 n. 387.

[93] See also W. B. Henning, *Book of the Giants*, p. 61 fragment i and the discussion of other, similar sources in J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, pp. 160–161 n. 389. Cf. J. P. Migne, *Livre d'Adam*, 21, p. 170; M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, *Ginza Right* 11, p. 268, lines 25–27, where it is not Enoch and his companions, but rather their enemies who use “fire against them.” See also *Essay #4*.

[94] J. Wilkens, *Remarks*, pp. 227–228.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 216: “The fire is rising *before* the door [that lets the sun pass through] has opened. That being so, then whence does the fire emerge as we are told in the very first sentence? If we assume that the cosmology underlying the Manichaean *Book of Giants* is essentially Enochic [see G. W. E. Nickelsburg *et al.*, 1 Enoch 2, 72:2–3, 7, p. 416], then we may assume that the flames come forth from one of the window openings located to the left and to the right of each gate.”

[96] J. Wilkens, *Remarks*, p. 215, 216: “The text probably wants to stress that the sun is revolving without any other cosmic force interfering. ... Contrarily, in the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* there is mention that the chariots of the sun and the moon are both driven by the wind. It is possible that in Mani's work the force of the wind was deliberately minimized with regard to the ‘palace of the sun’ because of the high status the luminary is accorded in Manichaean doctrine. It is the residence of several divinities” but also a divinity in itself.

[97] See *ibid.*, p. 219.

[98] See *ibid.*, pp. 217–220.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 222: “The journey as described in the Manichaean piece is clearly from the west to the east and back again. In one sentence [Mahaway] says: ‘Again I looked back. Dawn had [br]oken.’ This statement only makes sense if Mahaway is on his way back to the west again. In the Qumran fragment ... 4Q530 7 ii 5, [Mahaway] crossed ‘bare regions,’ ‘the Great Deserts.’ In the *Book of Watchers* (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 13:9, p. 248) Enoch travels east and—as remarked by Stuckenbruck—‘Mahaway's journey takes him from Abel-Mayya across this desert toward the paradisiacal garden in the east [where Enoch may be thought to live]” (L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, pp. 133–134). The reference to Enoch's voice issuing from the south in the Old Uyghur text [Mainz 317] is relevant only *after* Mahaway has arrived in the east. And, what is more, the scene takes place in the sky.”

[100] J. Wilkens, *Remarks*, p. 222:

There are further questions to be resolved: is the *kögmän* mountain mentioned in the text really the Sayan range in South Siberia? In the Old Turkic runiform sources *kögmän* is attested several times. If the Manichaean text should refer to the same mountain range, then the Old Uyghur version of the Book of Giants would be adapted to an Inner Asian environment. According to Henning, *kögmän* “may reflect the ‘Mount Hermon,’” the place where the watchers had started their descent from heaven. But, the morpheme +*mAn* can also be just a suffix indicating similarity to the base word. We would then have to transcribe the word as *kök+män* (“bluish”), derived from *kök* (“blue”) with a voiceless stop. This explanation is followed here.

[101] Ibid., p. 224: “Does the phrase ‘like some of them’ allude to a distinction between the [*gibborim*]? We have evidence from other fragments that this seemingly was the case. Stuckenbruck has detected evidence for factions among the [*gibborim*] in two fragments from Qumran (L. T. Stuckenbruck, Book of Giants, p. 107).”