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ESSAYS ON EARLY JEWISH
AND CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM

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Many of these ideas are encountered in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, a liturgical text the performance of which may be interpreted as the ritual construction by the worshipping community, in association with the angelic hosts, of a seven-tiered temple, which is identified with that of Ezekiel. This temple not merely reflects but actually embodies the structure of the cosmos, for its seven sanctuaries are the seven heavens. The construction of this imaginary temple is completed on the eleventh Sabbath, which falls on the day before the annual ceremony of the renewal of the sect's covenant at Shavuot, partially preserved in 4QBerakhot. On the Sabbaths following this ceremony of rededication, the Divine Glory descends on the *merkabah* to indwell the temple that has been constructed and to receive the pure sacrifices that are offered in it (songs 12–13). If this analysis is correct, a unified liturgical framework links the *Sabbath Songs* to 4QBerakhot. It is perhaps legitimate to suspect that the *Songs of the Maskil* may also belong within this framework.

Despite repeated references to the recovery of Adam's lost glory, the theme of correspondence between the temple and the body is not developed in the Qumran sources. Instead, we find an emphasis on the embodiment of the temple archetype in the structure of the community as a whole. The rabbinic writings, in contrast, posit a three-way correspondence between cosmos, temple, and body but make no reference to the correspondence between temple and community. All of these themes, however, are taken up and developed in combination by the Christian writers, who regarded their Savior-Messiah as "a great high priest who has gone through the heavens" (Heb 4:14) and for whom the image of the holy community as both body and temple was of central importance in the formulation of their faith.

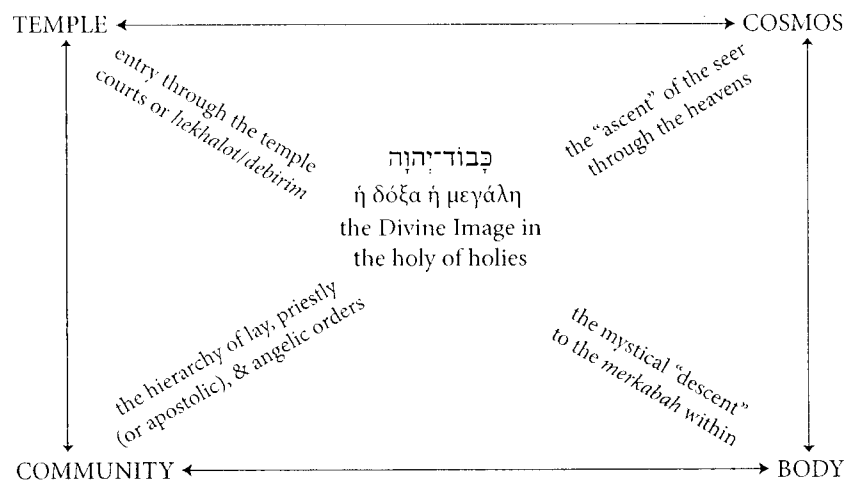


Figure 1. Approaches to the Glory

GOD'S FACE IN THE ENOCHIC TRADITION

Andrei A. Orlov

Moses said, "Show me your glory, I pray." And he said, "I will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim before you the name, YHWH , and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy. But," he said, "you cannot see my face; for no one shall see me and live." And the LORD continued, "See, there is a place by me where you shall stand on the rock. And while my glory passes by I will put you in a cleft of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand until I have passed by. Then I will take away my hand, and you shall see my back; but my face shall not be seen." (Exod 33:18–23)

Exodus 33:18–23 depicts Moses asking the Lord to show him his glory. Instead, the Lord agrees to proclaim his name before Moses, telling him that it is impossible for a human being to see God's face.

In recent scholarship this prominent motif of Moses' story has become a stumbling block for students of the Hebrew Bible. Currently most biblical scholars agree upon apparent difficulties in the literary-critical analysis of this section of Exodus. Martin Noth comments that "a literary-critical analysis of Exod 33 is probably impossible."¹ Bervard Childs confirms that there are several fundamental exegetical problems with Exod 33:18–23 and that "the most difficult one is to determine the role of this passage in its larger context."²

The internal logic of the passage about the divine face is also problematic. The whole narrative about God's פנים in Exod 33 is quite perplexing. Exodus 33:11 informs a reader that God would speak to Moses face to face (פנים אל פנים) as a person speaks with a friend. A few verses later, in 33:14–15, God promises Moses that his face will go (פני ילכו) with him. In the context of these promises and early

* The first draft of this paper was presented in 2000 to the Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism Group at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and appeared in the *Society of Biblical Literature 2000 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2000), 130–47.

1. Martin Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. B. A. Anderson; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 31 n. 114.

2. Bervard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 595.

testimonies about “face-to-face” relationships, it comes as a surprise that in 33:20 the Lord suddenly rejects Moses’ request to see his face (לֹא תוכל לראות את פני).

It is clear that the anthropomorphic tradition about the divine face in Exod 33 has a fragmentary character.³ It may well contain polemics between the anthropomorphic position of the J source and the Deuteronomic theology of the divine name: instead of seeing of God’s face, the Lord offers Moses to hear his name.⁴ Noth observes that Exod 33 can be seen as “a conglomeration of secondary accretions.”⁵

The apparent difficulties one encounters in clarifying the concept of the divine face within the context of the known sources of the Pentateuch call for an investigation of the broader biblical and extrabiblical traditions where this motif could be possibly preserved in its extended form. Implicitly linked to the “original” Exodus motif, these later “interpretations” might provide some additional insights that may help us better understand the fragmentary tradition preserved in Exod 33. This essay will focus on one of the possible echoes of Exod 33: the theophanic tradition of the divine countenance preserved in the corpus of the Enochic writings.

3. Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O’Brien (*Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 263) placed Exod 33 within the nonsource texts.

4. The Old Testament materials reveal complicated polemics for and against an anthropomorphic understanding of God. Scholars agree that the anthropomorphic imagery of the Hebrew Bible was “crystallized” in the tradition known to us as the Priestly source (Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1972], 191). Theological developments of the Priestly tradition demonstrate that the anthropomorphism of the Priestly source is intimately connected with the place of divine habitation. In this tradition, “in which the Divinity is personalized and depicted in the most tangible corporeal similitudes,” God, who possesses a human form, has a need for a house or tabernacle (ibid.). Weinfeld rightly observes that this anthropomorphic position was not entirely an invention of the Priestly source but derived from early sacred conceptions found in the early sources. In these traditions the Deity was sitting in his house ensconced between the two cherubim, and at his feet rested the ark, his footstool. In spite of the active promulgation of anthropomorphic concepts in some Old Testament materials, such as J, P, and Ezekelian sources, the Hebrew Bible also contains polemics against God’s corporeality. Scholars note the sharp opposition of the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic school to the anthropomorphism of the Priestly source and early anthropomorphic traditions. In their opinion, the Deuteronomistic school “first initiated the polemic against the anthropomorphic and corporeal conceptions of the Deity and ... it was afterwards taken up by the prophets Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah” (ibid., 198). In contrast to the anthropomorphic imagery of J and P, the Deuteronomistic school promulgated an anticorporeal theology of “divine name” with its conception of sanctuary (tabernacle) as the place where only God’s name dwells. On Deuteronomistic antianthropomorphism, see T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (ConBOT 18; Lund: Wallin & Dalholm, 1982); Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 191–209.

5. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, 31 n. 114.

1. THE FACE OF THE LORD

The *Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch*, a Jewish text apparently written in the first century C.E.,⁶ contains two striking theophanic descriptions involving the motif of

6. On 2 *Enoch*, see Iosif D. Amusin, *Kumranskaja Obshchina* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983); Francis Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1:91–221; G. Nathanael Bonwetsch, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (AGWG, 1; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1896); idem, *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs: Das sogenannte slavische Henochbuch* (TU 44; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922); Christfried Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch* (WUNT 2.50; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992); idem, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1995); idem, *Adam als Mikrokosmos: Eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1995); R. H. Charles and William Richard Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896); James H. Charlesworth, “The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch (Seminar Report),” *NTS* 25 (1979): 315–23; idem, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins* (SNTSMS 54; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); John J. Collins, “The Genre of Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983); Léon Gry, “Quelques noms d’anges ou d’êtres mystérieux en II Hénoch,” *RB* 49 (1940): 195–203; Ulrich Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum* (BZNW 44; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978); Annie S. D. Maunder, “The Date and Place of Writing of the *Slavonic Book of Enoch*,” *The Observatory* 41 (1918): 309–16; Nikita Meshcherskij, “Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v staroslavjanskoj i drevnerusskoj literature (K izucheniju slavjanskih versij knigi Enoha),” *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 19 (1963): 130–47; idem, “K voprosu ob istochnikh slavjanskoj knigi Enoha,” *Kratkie soobshchenija Instituta narodov Azii* 86 (1965): 72–78; Jozef T. Milik, ed., *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (with the collaboration of Matthew Black; Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: Ktav, 1973); Andrei Orlov, “Titles of Enoch-Metatron in 2 *Enoch*,” *JSP* 18 (1998): 71–86; idem, “Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch,” *JSP* 32 (2000) 23–38; Shlomo Pines, “Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the *Slavonic Book of Enoch*,” in *Types of Redemption* (ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky; SHR 18; Leiden: Brill, 1970): 72–87; Arie Rubinstein, “Observations on the *Slavonic Book of Enoch*,” *JJS* 15 (1962): 1–21; Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Aurelio de Santos Otero, “Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo),” in *Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (ed. A. Díez Macho; Madrid: Cristiandad, 1984), 4:147–202; Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965); M. I. Sokolov, “Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature: Vypusk tretij, VII. Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo. Teksty, latinskij perevod i izsledovanie. Posmertnyj trud avtora prigotovil k izdaniju M. Speranskij,” *Chlutenija v Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostej Rossijskikh* 4 (1910); Michael E. Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*. (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 406–8; André Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d’Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d’Études Slaves, 1952); James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).

the divine face. The first one occurs in *2 En.* 22,⁷ which portrays Enoch's encounter with the Lord in the celestial realm. Enoch recounts:

I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent. Thus even I saw the face of the Lord. But the face of the Lord is not to be talked about, it is so very marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening. And who am I to give an account of the incomprehensible being of the Lord, and of his face, so extremely strange and indescribable? And how many are his commands, and his multiple voice, and the Lord's throne, supremely great and not made by hands, and the choir stalls all around him, the cherubim and the seraphim armies, and their never-silent singing. Who can give an account of his beautiful appearance, never changing and indescribable, and his great glory? And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord. (*2 En.* 22:1–4, the longer recension)⁸

In chapter 39 Enoch reports this theophanic experience to his sons during his short visit to the earth, adding some new details. Although both portrayals demonstrate a number of terminological affinities, the second account explicitly connects the divine face with the Lord's anthropomorphic "extent." The following account is drawn from the shorter recension of *2 Enoch*:

And now, my children it is not from my lips that I am reporting to you today, but from the lips of the Lord who has sent me to you. As for you, you hear my words, out of my lips, a human being created equal to yourselves; but I have heard the words from the fiery lips of the Lord. For the lips of the Lord are a furnace of fire, and his words are the fiery flames which come out. You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; I am one who has seen the face of the Lord,⁹ like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into my eyes, a human being created just like yourselves;

7. In this paper I have used Andersen's ("2 [Slavonic Apocalypse of] Enoch,") English translation of *2 Enoch* and follow his division in chapters.

8. *Ibid.*, 136. The shorter recension of the Slavonic text gives a less elaborate description of the Lord's appearance: "I saw the Lord. His face was strong and very glorious and terrible. Who (is) to give an account of the dimensions of the being of the face of the Lord, strong and very terrible? Or his many-eyed ones and many-voiced ones, and the supremely great throne of the Lord, not made by hands, or those who are in attendance all around him, the cherubim and the seraphim armies, or how unvarying and indescribable and never-silent and glorious is his service. And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the Lord" (see *ibid.*, 137). Andersen observes that the absence of the comparison with hot iron in manuscripts of the shorter recension shows the embarrassment of scribes over this attempt to describe the Lord's appearance.

9. Slavonic: lice Gospodne. See André Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut D'Études Slaves, 1952), 38. Unless noted otherwise, this and the subsequent Slavonic citations are drawn from Vaillant's edition.

but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun¹⁰ and terrifying the eyes of a human being. You, my children, you see my right hand beckoning you, a human being created identical to yourselves; but I have seen the right hand of the Lord, beckoning me, who fills heaven. You see the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord,¹¹ without measure and without analogy, who has no end.... To stand before the King, who will be able to endure the infinite terror of the great burning. (*2 En.* 39:3–8)¹²

In both theophanic descriptions the notion of the Lord's "face" plays a crucial role. It is not a coincidence that in both of them the "face" is associated with light and fire. In biblical theophanies smoke and fire often serve as a divine envelope that protects mortals from the sight of the divine form. Radiant luminosity emitted by the Deity fulfills the same function, signaling the danger of the direct vision of the divine form. Luminosity also represents the screen that protects the Deity from the necessity of revealing its true form. Scholars note that in some theophanic traditions God's form remains hidden behind his light.¹³ The hidden כבוד is revealed through this light, which serves as the luminous screen, "the face" of this anthropomorphic extent. The theophanies of *2 Enoch* that use the metaphors of light and fire may well be connected with such traditions where the divine "extent" is hidden behind the incandescent "face" that covers and protects the sovereignty of the Lord.

In *2 En.* 39:3–6 the "face" is closely associated with the divine "extent" and seems to be understood not simply as a part of the Lord's body (face) but as a radiant *façade* of his anthropomorphic "form."¹⁴ This identification between the

10. The important detail of this description is solar symbolism, which plays an important role in *2 Enoch*. The text often uses solar metaphors in various descriptions of angelic beings, e.g., in *2 En.* 1, where Enoch meets two angels with "faces like the shining sun." Later, during his heavenly journey, Enoch sees "a group of seven angels, brilliant and very glorious with faces more radiant than the radiance of the sun." The images of fire and light are often involved in these solar descriptions of angelic hosts. The text pictures "glorious and shining and many-eyed stations of the Lord's servants ... and of the ranks of powerful fireborn heavenly armies." Andersen rightly observes that "fire and light are fundamental elements in the physics of *2 Enoch*" (Andersen, "2 [Slavonic Apocalypse of] Enoch," 104).

11. Slavonic: objatie Gospodne. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 38.

12. Manuscripts of the longer recension do not demonstrate substantial differences with this description.

13. April DeConick's (*Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* [SVC 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 104–5) pioneering research shows that in Enochic traditions God's form remains hidden behind his light.

14. Gershom Scholem's research on the presence of the שיעור קומה traditions in *2 En.* 39 helps to clarify the "anthropomorphic" character of the Lord's "extent" in *2 Enoch*. See his lecture "The Age of Shiur Qomah Speculation and a Passage in Origen" in *idem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism*.

Lord's face and the Lord's "form" is reinforced by an additional parallel pair in which Enoch's face is identified with Enoch's "form":

You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; but I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks.... And you see the form of my body, the same as your own: but I have seen the form (extent) of the Lord, without measure and without analogy, who has no end. (2 En. 39:3–6)

The association between the divine face and divine form in 2 En. 39:3–6 alludes to the biblical tradition from Exod 33:18–23 where the divine *panim* is mentioned in connection with his glorious divine form: God's *kavod*.¹⁵

Then Moses said, "Now show me your glory (כבוד)." And the Lord said, "I will cause all my goodness to pass in front of you, and I will proclaim my name, the Lord, in your presence ... but," he said, "you cannot see my face (פני), for no one may see me and live."

It is clear that in the biblical passage the impossibility of seeing the Lord's face is understood not simply as the impossibility of seeing the particular part of the Lord but rather as the impossibility of seeing the complete range of his glorious "body." The logic of the whole passage, which employs such terms as God's "face" and God's "back," suggests that the term *panim* refers to the "fore-front" of the divine extent. The imagery of the divine face found in Psalms¹⁶ also favors this motif of the identity between the Lord's face and his anthropomorphic "form." For example, in Ps 17:15 the Lord's face is closely associated with his form or likeness (תמונה): "As for me, I shall behold your face (פניך)¹⁷ in righteousness;

15. The term כבוד can be translated as "substance," "body," "mass," "power," "might," "honor," "glory," and "splendor." In its meaning as "glory" כבוד usually refers to God, his sanctuary, his city, or sacred paraphernalia. The Priestly tradition uses the term in connection with God's appearances in the tabernacle. P and Ezekiel describe כבוד as a blazing fire surrounded by radiance and a great cloud. See Moshe Weinfeld, "כבוד," *TDOT* 7:22–38.

16. On the face of God in the Psalms, see Samuel Balentine, *The Hidden God: The Hiding of the Face of God in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 49–65; Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (2 vols; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), 2:35–39; Michael Fishbane, "Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 115–21; Joseph Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments* (ETS 25; Leipzig: St. Benno, 1970), 236–37; Mark S. Smith, "Seeing God in the Psalms: The Background to the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible," *CBQ* 50 (1988): 171–83.

17. Note also that the poetic rhyme פניך/תמונתך further reinforces the correspondence between the face and the form of God in this passage.

when I awake, I shall be satisfied with beholding your form (תמונתך)."¹⁸ It is evident that all three accounts, Exod 33:18–23, Ps 17:15, and 2 En. 39:3–6, represent a single tradition in which the divine face serves as the *terminus technicus* for the designation of the Lord's anthropomorphic extent.

Apparently all these accounts deal with the specific anthropomorphic manifestation known as God's *kavod*.¹⁹ The possibility of such identification is already hinted in Exod 33, where Moses, who asks the Lord to show Moses the Lord's *kavod*, receives the answer that it is impossible for him to see the Lord's "face." The correlation of the divine face with "likeness" (תמונה) in Ps 17:15 can be also an allusion to *kavod*, which in Ezek 1:28 is described as "the likeness of the glory of the Lord (דמות כבוד יהוה)."

There is another early Mosaic account that correlates the Sinai encounter with *kavod*. This important tradition, found in the fragments of the drama *Exodus* written by Ezekiel the Dramatist, depicts Moses' experience at Sinai as the vision of God's anthropomorphic *kavod*.²⁰

I dreamt there was on the summit of mount Sinai
A certain great throne (θρόνον μέγαν) extending up to heaven's cleft,
On which there sat a certain noble man
Wearing a crown and holding a great scepter in his left hand.²¹

Wayne Meeks observes that this passage may be safely taken as a witness to traditions of the second century B.C.E., since it was quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, who lived around 80–40 B.C.E.²² It means that by the second century B.C.E. Moses' association with the divine *kavod*, hinted in Exod 33, was already surrounded by an elaborate imagery, in which the throne of glory played a crucial role.

This theophanic pattern in which the encounter with the divine face is understood as the vision of God's throne is further strengthened in 2 En. 22, which provides various pieces of evidences that prove that the anthropomorphic

18. Although the passage uses a different terminology, namely, the term תמונה, the identification still has a strong anthropomorphic flavor. The term תמונה can be translated as "form," "likeness," "semblance," or "representation."

19. Contra Walther Eichrodt, who insists that the *panim* had no connection with the *kavod*. He argues that the two concepts derive from different roots, and were never combined with one another (Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2:38).

20. Pieter W. van der Horst ("Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," *JJS* 34 [1983]: 24) observes that Ezekiel the Dramatist's vision of God in human shape seated on the throne is based on the first chapter of the biblical Ezekiel.

21. Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (4 vols.; SBLTT 20, 30, 39–40; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 2:363.

22. Wayne Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 149. See also Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 2:308–12.

“extent,” identified with the divine face, indeed represents the divine *kavod*. The theophany of the divine countenance in the Slavonic apocalypse is surrounded by a peculiar *kavod* imagery, which plays a prominent role in the Ezekelian account. There are several noteworthy parallels.

First, the theophany of the divine face took place in the highest of the heaven.²³ The highest of the heaven is a traditional place of God’s throne, the abode of his Glory. A later account found in *3 Enoch* states that “in ‘Arabot there are 660 thousands of myriads of glorious angels, hewn out of flaming fire, standing opposite the throne of glory. The glorious King covers his face, otherwise the heaven of ‘Arabot would burst open in the middle, because of the glorious brilliance.”²⁴ Second, the theophanic description in *2 En. 22* refers to “his many-eyed ones,”²⁵ alluding to האופנים, the wheels, the special class of the angels of the throne who in Ezek 1:18 are described as the angelic beings “full of eyes (מלאות עינים).” Third, a reference to the “many-voiced ones” probably alludes to choirs of angelic hosts surrounding the throne. Fourth, in *2 En. 22* there is a direct reference to the throne of the Lord, which occupies a central place in the theophanic description and is pictured as “supremely great and not made by hands.”²⁶ The throne of glory is surrounded by the armies of the angelic hosts, cherubim, and seraphim, with “their never-silent singing.”²⁷

2. MOSES’ FACE

Previous research shows that the correlation between God’s face and his luminous form (his glorious *kavod*) was already implicitly articulated in Exod 33. The Enochic theophany found in *2 Enoch* further strengthens this connection, giving a theophanic description of the Lord’s face as his terrifying “extent” that emits light and fire.

The important detail of these two accounts is the “danger motif”: the warnings about the peril of seeing the Deity. Both of them contain specific references to the harmful effect this theophanic experience has on the mortals who dare to behold the divine face. In Exod 33:20 the Lord warns Moses about the danger of seeing his face: “You cannot see my face, for no one may see me and live.” The motif of peril is further reinforced by the Lord’s instructions in 33:22, where he commands Moses to hide himself in a cleft in the rock and promises to protect the prophet with his hands.

The danger motif also looms large in *2 Enoch*. In *2 En. 39*, immediately after his description of the theophany of the face, Enoch gives a warning to his children about the danger of this theophanic experience:

Frightening and dangerous it is to stand before the face of an earthly king, terrifying and very dangerous it is, because the will of the king is death and the will of the king is life. How much more terrifying [and dangerous] it is to stand before the face of the King of earthly kings and of the heavenly armies, [the regulator of the living and of the dead]. Who can endure that endless misery? (*2 En. 39:8*)²⁸

The “danger motif” in Exod 33 and in *2 Enoch* implicitly suggests that both of these accounts support the idea that the human being actually can see the face of God. Moshe Weinfeld argues that the warning about the danger of seeing the Deity usually affirms the possibility of such an experience. In his observations about antianthropomorphic tendencies of Deuteronomy, Deutero-Isaiah, and Jeremiah, Weinfeld points to the fact that these texts demonstrate a lack of usual warnings about the danger of seeing the Deity found in pre-Deuteronomistic books. He concludes that it happened because the Deuteronomistic school could not conceive of the possibility of seeing the Deity.²⁹

The possibility of theophany hinted in *2 Enoch* and Exod 33 might suggest that the Exodus account implicitly asserts that Moses could see the divine form.³⁰ The distinctive details in the depiction of Moses’ face in Exod 34 may further support this conclusion. But before we explore this motif, let us again return to the narrative of *2 Enoch*.

From this Enochic account we learn that the vision of the divine face has dramatic consequences for Enoch’s appearance. His body endures radical changes as it becomes covered with the divine light. The important detail here is that the luminous transformation of Enoch takes place in front of the radiant “face” of the Lord. In 22:6 Enoch reports that he was lifted up and brought before the Lord’s face by the archangel Michael. The Lord decides to appoint Enoch as שר הפנים, the prince of the divine presence: “Let Enoch come up and stand in front of my face forever.”³¹ Further, the Lord commands the archangel Michael to remove Enoch from earthly clothing, anoint him with the delightful oil, and put him into the clothes of the Lord’s glory (22:8–9).³² The text describes the actions of

23. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” 136–37.

24. Philip Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1:305.

25. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” 137.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, 164.

29. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 207.

30. Another “Mosaic” account, attributed to J, openly articulates this possibility: “With him (Moses) I speak mouth to mouth (פה אל־פה), clearly and not in riddles; he sees the form (תמונת) of the Lord” (Num 12:8).

31. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” 139.

32. *Ibid.*

Michael, who anoints Enoch with the delightful oil and clothes him. The symbolism of light permeates the whole scene; the oil emanates the rays of the glittering sun "greater than the greatest light."³³ At the end of this procedure, Enoch "had become like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference."³⁴

In Enoch's radiant metamorphosis before the divine face an important detail can be found that links Enoch's transformation with the account in Exodus. In *2 En.* 37 we learn about the unusual procedure performed on Enoch's face during the final stage of his encounter with the Lord: the Lord called one of his senior angels to chill the face of Enoch. The text says that the angel appeared frigid; he was as white as snow, and his hands were as cold as ice. The text further depicts the angel chilling Enoch's face, who could not endure the terror of the Lord, "just as it is not possible to endure the fire of a stove and the heat of the sun." Right after this "chilling procedure," the Lord informs Enoch that, if his face had not been chilled, no human being would be able to look at his face.³⁵ This reference to the radiance of Enoch's face after his encounter with the Lord is an apparent parallel to the incandescent face of Moses after the Sinai experience in Exod 34.³⁶

References to the shining countenance of a visionary found in *2 Enoch* return us again to the Exodus story, where 34:29–35 portrays Moses after his encounter with the Lord.³⁷ The passage tells that "when Moses came down from Mount Sinai ... he was not aware that his face was radiant, because he had spoken with the Lord." The strange logic of the last sentence, which points to an ambiguous connection between the speech of the Lord as a cause of Moses' glowing face, can be explained by the Enochic theophanic account, where "the lips of the Lord are a furnace of fire, and his words are the fiery flames which come out."³⁸

33. Ibid., 138. Jarl Fossum (*The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* [NTOA 30; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995], 84) provides a number of allusions to the theme of "shining oil" in *2 Enoch*.

34. Andersen ("2 [Slavonic Apocalypse of] Enoch," 139) observes that "this motif [Enoch's transformation into the glorious angel] seems to have been influenced by the legend of Moses, whose shining face was a reflection of God's magnificent glory."

35. Ibid., 160.

36. About the possible Mesopotamian provenance of this motif, see Menahem Haran, "The Shining of Moses's Face: A Case Study in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography [Ex 34:29–35; Ps 69:32; Hab 3:4]," in *In the Shelter of Elyon* (JSOTSup 31; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 159–73; William Propp, "The Skin of Moses' Face—Transfigured or Disfigured?" *CBQ* 49 (1987): 375–86.

37. On Moses traditions, see R. Bloch, "Die Gestalt des Moses in der rabbinischen Tradition," in *Moses in Schrift und Überlieferung* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1963): 95–171; George W. Coats, *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God* (JSOTSup 57; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); Scott Hafemann, "Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Survey," *JSP* 7 (1990): 79–104; Meeks, *Prophet-King*; Robert Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History* (New York: Seabury, 1980).

38. Andersen, "2 [Slavonic Apocalypse of] Enoch," 163.

These parallels between the later Enochic text and the biblical Mosaic account are not inappropriate. As will be demonstrated later, the connection between the Enochic and Mosaic accounts has quite ancient roots. Evidences of the early link between Enoch and Moses includes the already mentioned drama of Ezekiel the Dramatist, which was apparently written during the second century B.C.E.³⁹

Wayne Meeks and Pieter van der Horst observe that the depiction of Moses in the drama of Ezekiel the Dramatist bears some similarities to Enoch's figure in the Enochic traditions.⁴⁰ They note a number of remarkable allusions in the drama to the Enochic motifs and themes. First, Moses' account is depicted as his dream vision in a fashion similar to Enoch's dreams in *1* and *2 Enoch*. Second, in the text Moses is "elevated" by God, who gives him the throne, the royal diadem,⁴¹ and the scepter. Third, God appoints Moses as an eschatological judge of humankind able to see "things present, past and future,"⁴² the traditional role of Enoch found already in early Enochic booklets. Fourth, Moses is an "expert" in "a variety of things," including cosmological and astronomical information:

I beheld the entire circled earth
Both beneath the earth and above the heaven,
And a host of stars fell on its knees before me;
I numbered them all,
They passed before me like a squadron of soldiers.⁴³

This preoccupation with various meteorological, astronomical, and eschatological "secrets" are typical duties of the elevated Enoch that are here transferred to Moses, apparently for the first time.⁴⁴

Finally, the motif of assigning the seat/throne is a peculiar feature of Enochic literature where Enoch-Metatron is depicted as a scribe⁴⁵ who has a seat (later

39. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 2:312.

40. Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 147; van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision," 21–29.

41. The crowning of Enoch-Metatron became a prominent *leitmotif* in later Enochic tradition, especially, in *3 Enoch*. Meeks observes that the enthronement of Enoch-Metatron in *3 Enoch* "betrays interesting similarities to Moses' traditions" (Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 207). See also van der Horst, who observes that "like Moses, Enoch is assigned a cosmic and divine function that involves the wearing of regalia" ("Moses' Throne Vision," 25).

42. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 2:367.

43. Ibid., 2:365.

44. R. H. Charles argued that this transition of Enoch's function to Moses first was made in *2 Apocalypse of Baruch*, where God shows Moses "the measures of the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of rain" (*APOT* 2:514).

45. In *1 En.* 74:2 Enoch writes the instructions of the angel Uriel regarding the secrets of heavenly bodies and their movements. See Michael Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:173. Qumran Enochic fragments (4QEnGiants 14; 4QEn 92:1) picture Enoch as "the scribe of

a throne) in the heavenly realm.⁴⁶ For example, in 2 *En.* 23:4 the angel Vereve-eil commands Enoch to sit down:⁴⁷ “You sit down; write everything...” Enoch reports, “And I sat down for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights, and I wrote accurately” (23:6).⁴⁸ The theme of Enoch-Metatron’s seat became a prominent motif in rabbinic tradition, where according to *b. Hag.* 15a the privilege of “sitting” beside God was accorded solely to Metatron by virtue of his character as a “scribe,” for he was granted permission as a scribe to sit and write down the merits of Israel.

The tacit links between Enoch and Moses found in the early Enochic theophanic tradition later becomes openly articulated in rabbinic literature. In this later enunciation, as in the initial encounters, the familiar theophanic motif from the Exodus story again plays a crucial role. From 3 *Enoch* we learn that it is Enoch-Metatron, whose face once was transformed into fire,⁴⁹ who is now the one who tells Moses about his shining visage: “At once Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, said to Moses, Son of Amram, fear not! for already God favors you. Ask what you will with confidence and boldness, for light shines from the skin of your face from one end of the world to the other.”⁵⁰

distinction” ספר פרשא (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 261–62 and 305). In *Jubilees* Enoch is attested as “the first of mankind ... who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky” (James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* [2 vols.; CSCO 510–511, *Scriptores Aethiopiici* 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989], 2:25–6).

46. Van der Horst (“Moses’ Throne Vision,” 25) also stresses unique features of Moses’ enthronement in Ezekiel the Dramatist, which depart from Enochic and *merkabah* imagery. He observes that “in Moses’ vision, there is only one throne, God’s. And Moses is requested to be seated on it, not at God’s side but all alone. God leaves his throne. This scene is unique in early Jewish literature and certainly implies a deification of Moses.”

47. Slavonic: Sjadi. See Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d’Hénoch*, 26.

48. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” 141.

49. 3 *En.* 15:1 depicts this radiant metamorphosis of Enoch-Metatron: “When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot and all the needs of the Schekinah, at once my flesh turned to flame, my sinews to blazing fire, my bones to juniper coals, my eyelashes to lightning flashes, my eyeballs to fiery torches, the hairs of my head to hot flames, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and the substance of my body to blazing fire” (Philip Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1:267).

50. 3 *En.* 15B:5. See *ibid.*, 304. Scholars observe that in *merkabah* tradition Metatron is explicitly identified with the face of God. See April DeConick, “Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the Second Century,” in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism* (ed. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, and G. S. Lewis; JSJSup 63; Brill: Leiden, 1999), 329; David J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot* (TSAJ 16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 424–25.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing research has examined some extrabiblical materials related to the motif of the divine face found in Exod 33. The investigation has shown that the evolution of this motif in later traditions is dependent on Enoch-Moses *gestalt*, which plays a prominent role in Enochic theophanies of the divine face. This research, however, would not be complete without mentioning another important source also related to the traditions about the patriarch Enoch and the prophet Moses. This source is the Priestly editor of the Pentateuch.

Much attention has been devoted to the peculiar interest of the Priestly editor in anthropomorphic descriptions of the Deity.⁵¹ Weinfeld and Mettinger show that the Priestly source played a crucial role in promoting biblical theophanic traditions. In these traditions Moses’ figure has occupied an important place.⁵²

The Priestly source also was the locus where the enigmatic figure of Enoch for the first time appeared in its esoteric complexity,⁵³ indicating that the priestly author was cognizant of the broader Enochic developments. Some scholars believe that perhaps it is “to some such developed Enoch tradition that the author of Genesis is making reference when he emits his cryptic statements about Enoch in Genesis 5:22–24.”⁵⁴ Students of the Enochic tradition are now aware that the Priestly editor was familiar with the peculiar Mesopotamian traditions that constituted a conceptual framework for Enoch’s figure.⁵⁵

51. On the issue of Old Testament’s anthropomorphism, see James Barr, “Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament,” in *Congress Volume: Oxford, 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), 31–38; Johannes Hempel, “Die Grenzen des Anthropomorphismus Jahwes im Alten Testament,” *ZAW* 57 (1939): 75–85; Frank Michaeli, *Dieu à l’image de l’homme: Étude de la notion anthropomorphe de Dieu dans l’Ancien Testament* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux, 1950); Edmond Jacob, *Théologie de l’Ancien Testament* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux, 1955), 30ff.; Marjo C. A. Korpel, *A Rift in the Clouds: Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1990), 87–590; Mettinger, *Dethronement of Sabaoth*.

52. Mettinger, *Dethronement of Sabaoth*; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 191–209.

53. The traditions about Enoch are different in J and P. For the discussion of the differences, see James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 23–51; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988), 40–53.

54. Michael E. Stone, “Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins,” *JSJ* 19 (1988): 162.

55. On the Mesopotamian traditions behind the Enoch’s figure, see Heinrich Zimmern, “Urkönige und Uroffenbarung,” in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (ed. E. Schrader; 2 vols.; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 2:530–43; Herman L. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1; Oslo: Dybwad, 1939); Pierre Grelot, “La légende d’Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification,” *RSR* 46 (1958): 5–26, 181–210; VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*. Important witnesses to these traditions

In these Mesopotamian traditions a prototype of Enoch, Enmeduranki, is portrayed as a “translated” figure, the one “who sat in the presence (*maḥar*) of Shamash and Adad, the divine adjudicators.”⁵⁶ This reference to Enmeduranki’s access to the glorious presence/face of the solar deity⁵⁷ indicates that the later role of Enoch as *sar hapanim*, the prince of the divine presence or the prince of the face, was already present in its rudimentary form in the Mesopotamian traditions known to the Priestly editor.⁵⁸

include the various versions of the so-called Sumerian antediluvian king list, the materials that dated from 1500 to 165 B.C.E. The list demonstrates a number of similarities with the genealogy of Gen 5. One of its interesting details is that Mesopotamian kings, as well as patriarchs from the Genesis account, had extraordinary long reigns, ranging from 3,600 to 72,000 years. A second important parallel is that two versions of the list give ten kings, the last of whom is designated as the hero of the flood. It demonstrates a close resemblance to the role of Noah, who occupies the tenth place in the list of Gen 5. VanderKam notes that “in the literature on Genesis 5 there is a well established tradition which holds that P modeled his pre-flood genealogy on a Mesopotamian list of antediluvian kings, the so-called Sumerian King List” (VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*, 26). An important character in the Sumerian King list is Enmeduranki (Enmeduranna), the king of Sippar, the city of the sun-god Shamash. In three copies of the list he occupies the seventh place, which in the Genesis genealogy belongs to Enoch. Moreover, in other Mesopotamian sources Enmeduranki appears in many roles and situations that demonstrate remarkable similarities with Enoch’s story. VanderKam’s research shows that the priestly author was aware of these broader Mesopotamian traditions that served as a prototype for Enoch’s figure, whose symbolical age of 365 years reflects the link between the patriarch and the solar cult of Shamash. VanderKam concludes that “the biblical image of Enoch is based on the Mesopotamian picture of Enmeduranki” (*ibid.*, 50).

56. Willfred G. Lambert, “Enmeduranki and Related Matters,” *JCS* 21 (1967): 128 and 130. In another text about Enmeduranki the same motif of the divine presence can be found: “he may approach the presence (*maḥar*) of Shamash and Adad” (*ibid.*, 132).

57. On Mesopotamian solar symbolism and its influence on biblical concepts, including the concept of the divine *panim*, see André Caquot, “La Divinité Solaire Ougaritique,” *Syria* 36 (1959): 90–101; Bernd Janowski, *Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie des Heils* (WMANT 59; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener, 1989), 1:105ff.; Birgit Lang, *Gott als “Licht” in Israel und Mesopotamien: Eine Studie zu Jes. 60:1–3, 19f* (OBS 7; Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholische Bibelwerk, 1989); Willem Smelik, “On Mystical Transformation of the Righteous into Light in Judaism,” *JSJ* 26 (1995): 122–44; Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990); *idem*, “The Near Eastern Background of Solar Language for Yahweh,” *JBL* 109 (1990): 29–39; Hans-Peter Stähli, *Solare Elemente im Jahwsglauben des Alten Testaments* (OBO 66; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985).

58. Some scholars argue that the biblical concept of the divine face also has Mesopotamian roots. Michael Fishbane (“Form and Reformulation,” 115–21) and Mark S. Smith (“‘Seeing God’ in the Psalms,” 171–83) show that the language of the Lord’s shining face was part of Israel’s inheritance from ancient Near Eastern culture. Fishbane stresses that “the various and abundant use of such imagery in ancient Near Eastern literature, particularly from Mesopotamia where it recurs in a wide range of genres, suggests that ancient Israel absorbed such imagery as part and parcel of its rich patrimony” (“Form and Reformulation,” 116).

In the light of these observations, the idea that Exod 33 could actually contain the original Enochic motif is not inappropriate. The implicit link between the Enochic account of the divine presence and the Mosaic account of the divine *panim* may well reflect the conceptual world of the Priestly editor, who often “has expressed his acquaintance with a fairly broad range of Mesopotamian traditions in remarkably few words.”⁵⁹

59. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*, 50.