FROM PATRIARCH TO THE YOUTH: THE METATRON TRADITION IN *2 ENOCH*

by

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To my Mother and Father

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INTRODUCTION

Early Jewish Mysticism

Although this investigation will focus mainly on the roots of the Metatron lore, this Jewish tradition cannot be fully understood without addressing its broader theological and historical context, which includes a religious movement known as early Jewish mysticism. Research must therefore begin with clarifying some notions and positions pertaining to the investigation of this broader religious phenomenon.

The roots of the current scholarly discussion on the origin, aim, and content of early Jewish mysticism can be traced to the writings of Gershom Scholem. His studies marked in many ways a profound breach with the previous paradigm of 19th and early 20th century scholarship solidified in the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* movement which viewed Jewish mystical developments as based on ideas late and external to Judaism.[1] In his seminal research, *Major Trends of Jewish Mysticism*, as well as other publications,[2] Scholem saw his main task as clarifying the origins of the early Jewish mysticism on the basis of new methodological premises, which, in contrast to the scholars of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, approached early Jewish mysticism as a genuine Jewish movement with roots in biblical and pseudepigraphic traditions. Scholem's project was

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[1] One of the representatives of this movement Heinrich Graetz considered the Hekhalot writings as late compositions dated to the end of the Geonic period. He viewed the Hekhalot literature as "a compound of misunderstood Agadas, and of Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan fantastic notions, clothed itself in mystical obscurity, and pretended to be a revelation." H. Graetz, *History of the Jews* (6 vols.; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1894) 3.153.

[2] G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1941); idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, [1960] 1965); idem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969); idem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Dorset Press, 1987); idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1990). For the complete bibliography of Scholem's writings, see: F. Scholem and B. Yaron, "Bibliography of the Published Writings of Gershom G. Scholem," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom Scholem on his Seventieth Birthday* (Jerusalem: Magnes

not an easy one, and in many aspects it was a truly pioneering enterprise. In the speech delivered on the occasion of his acceptance of the Rothschild prize, Scholem shared the following lament about the predicament of his initial investigation: "All I found were scattered, shabby pages, and I transformed them into history."[3]

Scholem's writings exibit an impressive attempt to connect the early Jewish mystical traditions attested in some apocalyptic texts of Second Temple Judaism, such as *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, with the later mystical developments hinted at in mishnaic and talmudic sources about מעשה מרכבה and developed in the Hekhalot writings.[4] It is significant that Scholem viewed all three stages of this evolution as integral parts of one larger movement designated by him as the Merkabah tradition. In his view, the mystical testimonies attested in Jewish apocalyptic writings represented the initial stage in the development of this larger religious phenomenon. He thought that is

> entirely correct and by itself sufficient to prove the essential continuity of thought concerning the Merkabah in all its three stages: the anonymous conventicles of the old apocalyptics; the Merkabah speculation of the Mishnaic teachers who are known to us by name; and the Merkabah mysticism of late and post-Talmudic times, as reflected in the literature which has come down to us. We are dealing here with a religious movement of distinctive character whose existence conclusively disproves the old prejudice according to which all the productive religious energies of early apocalyptic were absorbed by and into Christianity after the latter's rise.[5]

Press, 1967) 199-235; M. Catane, *Bibliography of the Writings of Gershom G. Scholem presented to Gershom G. Scholem on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977).

[3] J. Dan, *Gershom Scholem and the Mystical Dimension of Jewish History* (N.Y.: New York University Press, 1987) 2-3.

[4] The term "Hekhalot" ("Palaces") writings in this context designates the corpus of literature which, in Scholem's opinion, gives for the first time a full-scale presentation of Merkabah mysticism. The Hekhalot corpus consists of a small number of brief treatises and fragments with specific common terminology and imagery. The imagery and concepts of Hekhalot mysticism demonstrate important theological changes within the Merkabah tradition. As Scholem shows, even the notion of "palaces" represents a conception foreign to Ezekiel and the earlier writers generally. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 46. For the texts and translations of the Hekhalot writings, see P. Schäfer, with M. Schlüter and H. G. von Mutius, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ, 2; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1981); P. Schäfer et al., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur* (4 vols.; TSAJ, 17, 22, 29, 46; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1987-95).

[5] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 43.

Thus, Scholem considered rabbinic and Hekhalot developments as the consequent stages of the long-lasting history of the Merkabah tradition, the roots of which can be traced to pre-rabbinic apocalyptic circles. In sharp contrast to the scholars of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, he argued for the early date of the Hekhalot literature which in his opinion could have originated in Palestinian circles during the Talmudic or even Tannaitic periods.

Scholem contended that the Hekhalot writings are intimately connected with the early apocalypses by their distinctive common symbolism, namely the throne imagery, which in his view constituted one of the central themes of the conceptual world of the Merkabah tradition. In *Major Trends*, he wrote that

> the earliest Jewish mysticism is throne-mysticism. Its essence is not absorbed contemplation of God's true nature, but perception of His appearance on the throne, as described by Ezekiel, and cognition of the mysteries of the celestial throne-world. The throne-world is to the Jewish mystic what the pleroma, the "fullness," the bright sphere of divinity with its potencies, aeons, archons and dominions is to the Hellenistic and early Christian mystics of the period who appear in the history of religion under the names of Gnostics and Hermetics.[6]

Scholem believed that another link between the Hekhalot writings and the early apocalyptic traditions was that both of them represented reports of the actual ecstatic experiences. He thought that the Hekhalot writings represented

> not Midrashim, i.e., expositions of Biblical passages, but a literature *sui generis* with a purpose of its own. They are essentially descriptions of a genuine religious experience for which no sanction is sought in the Bible. In short, they belonged in one class with the apocrypha and the apocalyptic writings rather than with traditional Midrash.[7]

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[6] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 43-44.
[7] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 46.

Scholem saw the Hekhalot mysticism as a part of the visionary tradition of the heavenly ascent, the beginning of which he traced to the heavenly journeys of the exalted patriarchs and prophets attested in the early Jewish apocalypses.

Despite the significant role which the early Jewish apocalypses and pseudepigrapha seem to have played in Scholem's grand scheme of the history of early Jewish mysticism, his publications do not offer a thorough textual analysis of these Second Temple materials.[8] The investigation of these important texts, which in Scholem's judgment played a formative role in emerging early Jewish mysticism, was confined in his publications to a few unsystematic remarks. Scholem's inability to demonstrate textually the persistent presence of the matrix of early Jewish mysticism in the pseudepigraphic literature would later lead his critics to concentrate their studies mainly either on the rabbinic מעשה מרכבה accounts or on the Hekhalot writings and to regard these literary evidences as the first systematic presentations of early Jewish mysticism.[9] Scholem's failure to give proper textual documentation for his argument for the roots of early Jewish mysticism in premishnaic literature is in my judgment one of the main reasons why his positions on the origin, aim, and content of the early Jewish mysticism have undergone so much criticism in later scholarship. Detailed criticisms of Scholem's positions were offered in the publications of Peter Schäfer,[10] David J. Halperin,[11] and

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[8] Scholem's avoidance of systematic textual exploration of Jewish pseudepigraphic writings, such as *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *4 Ezra*, which he often cites in his publications, is understandable since his main area of expertise lay not in the Second Temple Judaism but in later rabbinic developments.

[9] This shift was not solely the invention of Scholem's opponents but was rather the reaffirmation of Scholem's own methodological position in which the early pseudepigraphic mystical evidence was perceived and evaluated not on its own but from the perspective of the later rabbinic and Hekhalot mystical developments.

[10] P. Schäfer, "Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Edition und analyse der Merkava Rabba," *FJB* 5 (1977) 65-99; idem, "Die Beschwöerung des sar ha-panim, Kritische Edition und Übersetzung," *FJB* 6 (1978) 107-45; idem, "Aufbau und redaktionelle Identität der Hekhalot Zutarti," *JJS* 33 (1982) 569-82;

other scholars[12] whose critique stemmed from the earlier critical work of Johann Maier[13] and Ephraim E. Urbach.[14]

Scholem's critics found unpersuasive his contention that the pre-Christian apocalyptic writings and the later rabbinic Merkabah accounts represented the same type of mystical mold. They suggested that the rabbinic testimonies about מעשה מרכבה may not in fact refer to actual ecstatic experiences similar to the ascent stories of pre-Christian apocalypticists; rather they were exegetical expositions of Ezekiel's account of the Merkabah. One of the critics, David Halperin, stressed that "the merkabah expositions of Tannaitic times did not, as far as we can tell, accompany an ecstatic mystical practice, nor did they consist of a secret doctrine. They were the public exegeses of Ezekiel's vision, which I presume, accompanied the recitation of Ezekiel 1 in the synagogue on Shabu^{c}ot."[15] Halperin viewed the rabbinic מעשה מרכבה accounts as being connected with the Shabu^{c}ot exegetical traditions in which Ezekiel's account interconnected with the

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"Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature," *JSJ* 14 (1983) 172-81; idem, "Engel und Menschen in der Hekhalot-Literatur," in: P. Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien* (TSAJ 19; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1988) 250-76, esp. 258, 264-65; idem, "The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism. Gershom Scholem Reconsidered," in: *Hekhalot-Studien*, 277-95; idem, *The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1992) 150-55.

[11] D. J. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* (New Heaven, American Oriental Society, 1980); idem, "A New Edition of the Hekhalot Literature," *JAOS* 104.3 (1984) 543-552; idem, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1988) 359-63.

[12] P. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28 (1977) 173-80; M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 106-14; idem, "The Experience of the Visionary and the Genre in the Ascension of Isaiah 6-11 and the Apocalypse of Paul," *Semeia* 36 (1986) 97-111; idem, "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World," in: *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (ed. J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane; Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1995) 123-37, esp. 126-28; M. D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 29; 153-57; 170-72; 210-12.

[13] J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis: Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der "Judischen Gnosis." Bundeslade, Gottesthron und Märkabah* (Kairos, 1; Salzburg: Müller, 1964) 128-146.

[14] E. E. Urbach, "The Traditions about Merkavah Mysticism in the Tannaitic Period," in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem on His Seventieth Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends* (ed. E.E. Urbach et al; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967) 1-28 [in Hebrew].

[15] Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*, 182.

Sinai narratives and depicted Moses ascending to heaven in order to receive the Torah despite the objections of the heavenly hosts. Halperin argued that the traditions attested in the Shabu^{c}ot circle were formative for the Sar Torah imagery which plays a central role in Hekhalot literature.

Thus, critics of Scholem's position proposed that, similar to the talmudic discussions of מעשה מרכבה, the Hekhalot literature might also represent exegetical expositions rather than the accounts of actual experiences of the heavenly journey. Peter Schäfer argued that "the Hekhalot literature does not provide us any indication as to how the heavenly journey actually is carried out, or even if it is practiced at all as a 'truly' ecstatic experience."[16] Scholem's hypothesis that the throne and ascent imageries occupy a crucial place in the Merkabah and Hekhalot materials has also generated substantial critical response. Schäfer observed that anyone reading the Hekhalot texts in an unbiased way, "and without having the history of research inaugurated by Scholem in mind, will hardly conclude that it is precisely the ascent to the Merkavah which forms the center for the authors of this literature."[17] He further pointed out that in the majority of Hekhalot writings the tradition of the heavenly ascent clearly gave way to the accounts of adjurations. In Schäfer's opinion, "the entire literature is permeated by such adjurations, and the means by which these adjurations are carried out are the same as those needed for a successful completion of the heavenly journey … the objects of these adjurations are always angelic beings who assist visionaries in the comprehensive knowledge of the Torah."[18]

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[16] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 155.
[17] Schäfer, *Gershom Scholem Reconsidered*, 6.
[18] Schäfer, *Gershom Scholem Reconsidered*, 6.

Despite the significant advance that the investigations of Schäfer, Halperin, and other opponents of Scholem's position brought to a better understanding of the conceptual world of the rabbinic and Hekhalot mystical developments, their works, in my judgment, affected negatively the study of the pre-mishnaic Jewish mystical testimonies. Their writings shifted the whole notion of early Jewish mysticism towards the rabbinic and Hekhalot documents and separated it from the early mystical evidence of Second Temple Judaism. The criticisms of Scholem's hypothesis have led to the refocusing of priorities in the study of early Jewish mysticism. The main focus of research has been transferred from pseudepigraphic evidence to the rabbinic מעשה מרכבה and the Hekhalot writings in an attempt to show their conceptual independence from the early apocalyptic materials. The view that the Hekhalot tradition possesses its own set(s) of concepts and imagery, different from the conceptualities of the early apocalyptic mystical testimonies, should not however lead one to ignore the association of these texts with early Jewish mysticism. It is apparent that, despite its importance, the body of Hekhalot literature cannot serve as the ultimate yardstick for measuring all early Jewish mystical traditions. After all, the Hekhalot literature in itself, as was demonstrated by several scholars who studied this tradition, does not represent a homogeneous theological continuum, but should rather be viewed as having several theological centers. In his criticism of Scholem's and Halperin's positions, Schäfer observed that "both approaches suffer from the desire to find one explanation for the entire Hekhalot literature, which then assigns all other parts to their places, thus ignoring the extremely complex relations

of the texts and the various literary layers within the individual macroform. The Hekhalot literature is not a unity and, therefore, cannot be explained uniformly."[19]

One of the consequences that stemmed from the critique of Scholem's position was that a substantial gap emerged between the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials, on one hand, and the early apocalyptic traditions, on the other. Thus, the rabbinic testimonies to מעשה מרכבה and the Hekhalot writings were no longer considered as directly connected with the visionary practices of the pre-Christian apocalypticists, but were instead viewed as a different phenomenon with its own peculiar conceptual world.

Slavonic Pseudepigrapha

As has been already mentioned, Scholem argued that the Jewish pseudepigrapha was one of the important sources of the development of Merkabah and Hekhalot mysticism. He drew special attention to the pseudepigraphic texts associated with the Enochic tradition. Scholem considered the early Enochic materials, particularly such Enochic compositions as *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch* and *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*, as the texts which contained the earliest formulations of Jewish mystical developments.[20] Scholem wrote that "one fact remains certain: the main subjects of the later Merkabah mysticism already occupy a central position in this oldest esoteric literature, best represented by the Book of Enoch."[21] He also pointed to other pseudepigraphic materials, such as the *Fourth Book of*

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[19] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 152.

[20] George Nickelsburg, supporting Scholem's idea, observes that "*1 Enoch* 14 stands at an important transitional point between prophetic and mystical tradition." He, however, cautiously observes that "although *1 Enoch* 14 reflects the reinterpretation of prophetic traditions in the direction of later mysticism, there are some marked differences between *1 Enoch* 14 and the later texts.... A definite historical link between our text and the later mystical texts must await careful exegesis of the latter and comparison with *1 Enoch*." G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981) 575-600, esp. 581-2.

[21] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 43.

Ezra and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which along with the Enochic writings contained concepts and imagery crucial for later Jewish mystical developments.[22] He stressed that the influence of these pseudepigraphic writings "on the subsequent development of Jewish mysticism cannot be overlooked" since they "undoubtedly contain elements of Jewish mystical religion."[23]

The significant evidence that has never been systematically explored in the recent discussions about the origin of early Jewish mysticism is the testimony of several Jewish pseudepigraphic materials which have survived solely in their Slavonic translations. These texts include *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Ladder of Jacob* where the traces of early Jewish mystical developments can be detected.[24] This

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[22] Scholem argued that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* represents "a text that more closely resembles a Merkabah text than any other in Jewish apocalyptic literature." Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 23. He believed that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* contains several traditions which seem to pertain to the development of the Metatron tradition. He notes that "in this Jewish book he [the angel Yahoel] is said to be the guide of Abraham, in the same fashion in which Metatron is R. Ishmael's guide in the Hebrew Book of Enoch, and is defined by the same formula that is later used in connection with Metatron: 'a power in virtue of the ineffable Name that is dwelling in me.'" Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 42.

[23] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 40.

[24] On Jewish mystical traditions in these texts, see: P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.247-248; idem, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergen; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) esp. 102-111; C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch* (WUNT, R.2, 50; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 109-114; idem, "Beobachtungen zum Midrash vom 'Leben Henochs'," *Mitteilungen und Beiträge der Forschungsstelle Judentum an der Theologischen Fakultät Leipzig* 10 (1996) 44-83; A. De Conick, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* (SVC, 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996); M. Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses," *Mysteries and Revelations; Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (eds. J. J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth; JSPSS 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 79-90; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955) esp. 5.161-64; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGJU, 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980) 50-51; J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord., Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (WUNT, 36; Tübingen: Mohr, 1985); idem, "Colossians 1,15-18a in the Light of Jewish Mysticism and Gnosticism," *NTS* 35 (1989) 183-201; idem, *The Image of the Invisible God. Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, 30; Freiburg, Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990) 220-240; J. Kugel, "The Ladder of Jacob," *HTR* 88 (1995) 209-27; H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973) esp. 52-63; W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinic and Mediaeval Judaism* (New York: Macmillan, 1920) esp. 236; A. A. Orlov, "Titles of Enoch-Metatron in 2 Enoch," *JSP* 18 (1998) 71-86; idem, "Secrets of Creation in 2

group of Jewish pseudepigrapha with an enigmatic history of transmission, that does not leave any traces of these writings in Greek or other languages, except in Slavonic, seems to share a highly developed mystical imagery that make them stand out in the corpus of the early pseudepigraphic texts.[25] These writings have never been studied as a group for their possible connections with early Jewish mysticism. Although Hugo Odeberg, Gershom Scholem, and Ithamar Gruenwald referred occasionally to these texts in their research, pointing to certain provocative allusions that seem to connect these pseudepigrapha with the imagery and conceptual world of the later Merkabah and Hekhalot materials, critics of Scholem's approach often ignored this important evidence.[26] Even in the previous research of Odeberg, Scholem, and Gruenwald, despite their formal recognition of the importance of these pseudepigraphic texts for the history of early Jewish mysticism, the presence of Jewish mystical traditions in the Slavonic pseudepigrapha was never systematically explored. This situation has most likely arisen, in my judgment, because those scholars who have been seriously engaged in the study of early Jewish mysticism have historically lacked motivation to work with the Slavonic

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(Slavonic) Enoch," *Henoch* 22.1 (2000) 45-62; idem, "Ex 33 on God's Face: A Lesson from the Enochic Tradition," *SBLSP* 39 (2000) 130-47; idem, "Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *JSJ* 31 (2000) 23-38; idem, "The Origin of the Name 'Metatron' and the Text of 2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *JSP* 21 (2000) 19-26; idem, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic Ladder of Jacob," in: *Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* 9 (ed. C.A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003) (forthcoming); A. Orlov and A. Golitzin, "'Many Lamps Are Lightened from the One': Paradigms of the Transformational Vision in the Macarian Homilies," *VC* 55 (2001) 281-298; M. Philonenko, "La cosmogonie du 'Livre des secrets d'Hénoch,'" *Religions en Egypte: Hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) 109-16; Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*; idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah.*

[25] On the similarities between the theophanic language of *2 Enoch* and the *Ladder of Jacob*, see A. Orlov, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic Ladder of Jacob," in: *Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* 9 (ed. C. A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003) (forthcoming).

[26] For example, in Halperin's investigation of the pseudepigraphic materials in *The Faces of the Chariot*, references to *2 Enoch* are limited to half a page.

translations of the early Jewish texts. A primary obstacle was, of course, the Slavonic language, which itself was categorized by most scholars as "esoteric."

It appears that one of the important tasks in clarifying the origins of early Jewish mysticism lies in the systematic investigation such writings as *2 Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Ladder of Jacob* and in understanding their role in shaping the imagery and the concepts of the subsequent Jewish mystical developments.

It should be noted that *2 Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Ladder of Jacob* represent a unique group of texts that share the theophanic and mediatorial language which, in my view, is as different from the mainstream of the early apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic writings as from the later Hekhalot materials. One can see in this group of materials a witness to the lost *practical* and *literary* development which could well represent an important transitional stage in early Jewish mystical testimonies, serving as a kind of bridge from the matrix of early Jewish apocalypticism, as it was manifested in the early Enochic circle, to the matrix of early Jewish mysticism as it became manifest in rabbinic Merkabah and Hekhalot materials. In my thesis I will illustrate this transitional character of the Slavonic pseudepigraphic evidence by using the example of the Metatron tradition found in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*. The concepts and imagery of this tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse show that *2 Enoch* occupies an intermediary stage between Second Temple apocalypticism and Hekhalot mysticism, thus manifesting its own, one might say, "proto-Hekhalot" mystical mold. Similar to some of the Hekhalot writings, the Slavonic Enoch already operates with the concept of Metatron and his later titles, like the Youth, which are absent in early Enochic writings but prominent in such Hekhalot macroforms as *Sefer Hekhalot*, *Hekhalot Rabbati*, and other

materials.[27] In contrast to the Hekhalot writings, however, *2 Enoch* is not preoccupied with adjuration, has no magical content, and places the ascent imagery in the center of its narrative.

2 Enoch and Early Jewish Mysticism

The investigation has already noted that Scholem located the formative core of the earliest Jewish mystical developments in the body of literature associated with Enochic traditions.[28] He also repeatedly drew his readers' attention to one of the Enochic texts, an enigmatic writing preserved exclusively in its Slavonic translation and therefore known to us as *2 (Slavonic) Enoch.*

2 Enoch is a Jewish pseudepigraphon traditionally dated to the first century CE. The central theme of the text is the celestial ascent of the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch through the seven heavens and his luminous metamorphosis near the Throne of Glory.

The figure of Enoch portrayed in the various sections of *2 Enoch* appears to be more elaborate than in the early Second Temple Enochic tractates of *1 Enoch.* For the first time, the Enochic tradition seeks to depict Enoch, not simply as a human taken to heaven and transformed into an angel, but as a celestial being exalted above the angelic

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[27] The Metatron tradition can be seen as one of the several "conceptual centers" of Hekhalot literature.

[28] He did not, however, confine the roots of early Jewish mystical developments solely to the social setting associated with the Enochic tradition. He believed that "in the period of the Second Temple an esoteric doctrine was already taught in Pharisaic circles. The first chapter of Genesis, the story of Creation, and the first chapter of Ezekiel, the vision of God's throne-chariot, were the favorite subjects of discussion and interpretation which it was apparently considered inadvisable to make public." Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 42.

world.[29] In this attempt, one may find the origins of another image of Enoch (very different from the early Enochic literature) that was developed much later in rabbinic Merkabah and Hekhalot mysticism—the image of the supreme angel Metatron, "the Prince of the Presence." The image of the exalted Enoch found in *2 Enoch* makes it reasonable to suggest an earlier date for the development of the Metatron tradition and to place the beginning of this tradition, not in the rabbinical era, but in the Second Temple period. This study will focus on establishing such early roots for the Metatron tradition in *2 Enoch*.

Despite extensive important textual evidence pointing to possible connections between *2 Enoch* and the Metatron tradition, most scholars have avoided further study in this direction. They seem to have been doing so primarily because they are more interested in the traditional perspective on *2 Enoch* as the pseudepigraphic text of early premishnaic Enoch literature, similar to *1 Enoch* and the Enochic Qumran materials. They have been slow to discuss the apparent Merkabah features of *2 Enoch*, including the Metatron imagery. In the twentieth century, very few studies have sought to establish

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[29] One can argue that the beginning of this process can be seen already in the *Book of the Similitudes*, where Enoch seems to be identified with the Son of Man. It is possible that the *Similitudes,* written close to the time of *2 Enoch*, also reflect this process of transition to the new image of Enoch. The *Similitudes,* however, do not elaborate this process to the same degree as the Slavonic apocalypse does. Enoch's transformation into the Son of Man in *Similitudes* 71 is rather instantaneous and ambiguous. In contrast, in *2 Enoch* this process of Enoch's transition to a new super-angelic identity is described in detail through the expositions of Enoch's celestial titles which unfold the patriarch's new roles in numerous celestial offices. Another important detail is that the titles of Enoch attested in the *Similitudes* (like the Son of Man and others) do not play any significant role in the later Jewish mystical developments and in the Metatron tradition. On Enoch's transformation in the *Similitudes*, see J. R. Davila, "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron," *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (eds. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, G. S. Lewis; SJSJ, 63; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 9-15; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT, Reihe 2:94; Tubingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997) 151; M. Knibb, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995) 177-80; D. W. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS, 47; Missoula: Scholars, 1979) 14-23; J. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71," *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 182-3.

connections between *2 Enoch* and the Metatron tradition. Research has usually been conducted as part of broader investigations into possible parallels between *2 Enoch* and later Jewish mysticism. Although the traditional view held the Metatron tradition to be quite late and belonging to the Merkabah mysticism associated with the rabbinic era, certain features of Enoch's image found in *2 Enoch* have led several scholars to ponder connections between *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah tradition. A detailed review of these studies will follow later. At present, let us offer only a brief review of them.

In his study of the Jewish lore that was pioneering in many ways, Louis Ginzberg drew attention to some similarities between the traditions found in *2 Enoch* and other Jewish mystical testimonies. Ginzberg's *ad hoc* commentary engendered several important insights into the Merkabah features of *2 Enoch*.

Ginzberg observed that the words "God set him before His face," found in *2 Enoch* 67:2, might be related to "the usual designation found in Geonic mysticism of Metatron-Enoch as the "prince of the face."[30] However, being a circumspect scholar, Ginzberg later noted that this parallel may be arguable. Ginzberg's research also pointed to the important similarities between Enoch's transformation into an angel in *2 Enoch* and the similar description in the Hekhalot literature.[31] The salient feature of Ginzberg's study is his observation of the Merkabah features of Enoch's functions and his luminous transformation in the heavenly realm.

Unfortunately, after these penetrating findings, Ginzberg's research did not proceed to explore further parallels between *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah tradition. His remarks revealed that he, in fact, was quite pessimistic about the possible connection

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[30] Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 5.161.

between *2 Enoch* and later Jewish mystical developments. He stressed that "there can be no doubt that there exists no literary relationships between the so-called rabbinic books of Enoch and with pseudepigrapha bearing the same name. This is quite obvious to any one familiar with both literatures."[32]

Hugo Odeberg may well be the first scholar to have pointed out that the descriptions of the celestial titles for Enoch in *2 Enoch* represent the most important evidence for the connection between this apocalypse and the Merkabah tradition. While Odeberg's edition of *3 Enoch* has some glaring deficiencies, his scholarship offers important insights into the nature of the relationship between *2 Enoch* and Merkabah mysticism. Odeberg's analysis of Enoch's image in *2 Enoch* and in one of the Merkabah texts known as *Sefer Hekhalot*, or *3 Enoch*, reveals that *2 Enoch* occupies an intermediate position between earlier Enochic literature (*1 Enoch*), on the one hand, and the Merkabah literature (*3 Enoch*), on the other. Odeberg observes that *2 Enoch* stands, "speaking metaphorically, on the straight line connecting *1 Enoch* with *3 Enoch*."[33] He argues that the center of the Enoch conception in *1 Enoch* is the visions of Enoch. In contrast, in *2 Enoch*, the conceptual center is situated in "the idea of Enoch's transformation into a high Celestial Being."[34] Odeberg stresses that this idea is not yet as advanced in *2 Enoch* as it is in *3 Enoch*. In his opinion, in *2 Enoch*, Enoch, despite his archangelic status, is still ranked below Michael and placed at the left hand of the Lord.[35] In spite of the intriguing hypothesis about the connection between *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah tradition, Odeberg

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[31] Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 5.163.
[32] Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 5.163.
[33] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.61.
[34] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.61.
[35] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.61.

concludes that this apocalypse does not contain any traces of the identification of Enoch with Metatron.

Gershom Scholem also investigated the relationship between *2 Enoch* and later Jewish mystical developments, including the Hekhalot tradition. In *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, Scholem considered *2 Enoch* as one of the major witnesses to the development of Merkabah concepts and imagery in the pseudepigrapha in the same line as such writings as *1 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.[36] In *Jewish Gnosticism* he pointed out a number of parallels between *2 Enoch* and Merkabah writings, for example, several features of Enoch's heavenly ascent and angelic singing.[37] In his book *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead,* he highlighted interesting conceptual similarities between *2 Enoch* and the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition, which has been frequently associated with the Metatron imagery. In Vaillant's French edition of *2 Enoch*, Scholem discovered an expression "l'étendue de mon corps" (the extent of my body), which, in his opinion, shows remarkable similarities with the terminology of the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition.[38]

Ithamar Gruenwald's research on apocalyptic and Merkabah mysticism contains an important discussion of the Merkabah features of *2 Enoch*. For his conclusions, Gruenwald uses Vaillant's edition and the English translation of *2 Enoch* which appeared in the second volume of Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. Gruenwald stresses that the description of Enoch's ascent to the celestial realm, as well as the descriptions of the contents of the seven heavens have a number of parallels to such Hekhalot writings as the *Visions of Ezekiel*, *Sefer Hekhalot*, and *Sefer Ha-Razim*. He points to some similarities in the picturing of Paradise, which in *2 Enoch* is located in the third heaven.

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[36] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 67.
[37] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 17, 30.

Gruenwald draws particular attention to the description of the Tree of Life in Chapter 8 of *2 Enoch*, which the text designates as the place "whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into Paradise."[39] Gruenwald stresses, that this tradition could "refer to the original abode of *Shekhinah* before the *Shekhinah* ascended to heaven on account of the sins of mankind."[40] He notes that Chapter 5 of *Sefer Hekhalot* might express a similar idea. Gruenwald also underlines the Merkabah vision of Adam in Chapter 31, where the Lord created for Adam an open heaven, so that he might look upon the angels, singing the triumphal song. In Gruenwald's view, Enoch's final vision of the most fearful angel in Chapter 37 is another example of the close connection with the Merkabah lore.

It should be noted that Gruenwald's research can be seen as an extension of Scholem's approach. Gruenwald develops one of Scholem's insights, namely his hypothesis about the close correspondence in terminology between *2 Enoch* and the *Shiʿur Qomah* tradition.

Gruenwald also argues that the description of what happened to Enoch in the seventh heaven could be considered as a distinctive Merkabah contribution of the book. In this respect, he draws particular attention to the account of Enoch's extraction from "his earthly garments" and his transfiguration into the glorious one.[41]

In his introduction to the English translation of *Sefer Hekhalot* in the first volume of *OTP*, Philip Alexander offers several important insights about a possible connection between *2 Enoch* and Metatron mysticism. He supports the view, earlier expressed by Scholem and Odeberg, that "*2 Enoch* is in some ways even closer to *3 Enoch* than *1*

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[38] Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 29.
[39] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 50.
[40] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 50.
[41] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 51.

Enoch."[42] To prove this point, Alexander argues that the cosmology of the seven heavens found in *2 Enoch* is fundamental to the Merkabah writings and could be found in such texts as the *Vision of Ezekiel* and *Sefer Ha-Razim*. Alexander also highlights *2 Enoch*'s close parallels to *Sefer Hekhalot*. In his interpretation, Enoch's journey through the seven heavens to the Lord's throne has a number of striking parallels to Ishmael's ascent in *3 Enoch*. Alexander was particularly insightful in suggesting that "the transformation of Enoch in *2 Enoch* 22 provides the closest approximation, outside of Merkabah literature, to Enoch's transformation in *3 Enoch* 3-15."[43] These observations on the similarities between *2 Enoch* and the Merkabah tradition flow logically from Alexander's earlier important methodological conclusion expressed in an essay "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch." There he argues that Enoch's angelic transformation in *2 Enoch* was a necessary evolutionary step to the profile of Enoch-Metatron in Hekhalot literature. He further suggests that "if such a development had not taken place, Enoch could never have been identified with the archangel Metatron."[44] Alexander also points out some apparent differences between *2 Enoch* and later Metatron developments, stressing that the vagueness of the imagery of Enoch's angelic transformation in *2 Enoch* stands in sharp contrast to the detailed description in *3 Enoch*. He concludes, however, that "if the Hekhalot mystics received Enoch traditions like those in *2 Enoch* 22, they could easily have interpreted them to mean that Enoch was changed into an archangel."[45]

Michael Mach in his recent article published in the *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* observes that "in comparison with various units included in *1 Enoch*, *2*

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[42] Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 247.
[43] Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 248.
[44] P. Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28 (1977) 160.
[45] Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 161.

Enoch demonstrates a series of significant changes in regard to our understanding of early mysticism and its possible apocalyptic backgrounds."[46] Similarly to Philip Alexander, Mach draws attention to the sevenfold ouranology found in *2 Enoch*, which is fundamental to some Hekhalot writings as well. He argues that Enoch's journey is clearly structured according to the system of seven heavens noting that "what in *1 Enoch* was recorded as traveling in different direction during the same heavenly journey is now systematized into a model of seven heavens."[47] Mach also points to *2 Enoch's* descriptions of Enoch's elevation above the angelic realm and his installation at the side of God. He notes that "the exaltation to a rank higher than that of the angels as well as the seating at God's side have their parallels and considerable development in Enoch's/Metatron's transformation and enthronement as depicted in *3 Enoch.*"[48]

While these inquires have proven to be important for Merkabah studies, they have not yielded any definitive evidence for the existence of the Metatron tradition in *2 Enoch.* They appear to have not done so chiefly because the vast majority of these studies proceeded on the presupposition that the Metatron tradition is a relatively late phenomenon usually associated with post-mishnaic Jewish developments. Although some of these scholars acknowledged the possibility that the Merkabah tradition has very early biblical and pseudepigraphic roots, they were reluctant to recognize that the Metatron tradition might have its origins in the Second Temple period.

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[46] M. Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism?" in: *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (3 vols.; ed. J. J. Collins; New York: Continuum, 1998) 1.229-264, esp. 251.

[47] Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism," 251.

[48] Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism," 251.

What Threads to Consider?

The question, however, remains: what kind of features in pseudepigraphic texts like *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* might point unambiguously to possible similarities with the later Jewish mystical developments, including the traditions attested in the Hekhalot writings?

Scholars have tried for a long time to investigate the possible threads that connect these two bodies of literature. As has been previously noted, Gershom Scholem, for example, considered the throne symbolism as a crucial thread that links the early Enochic materials with the later Hekhalot materials. David Halperin points to another important thread that connects the early pseudepigraphic materials with the later mystical testimonies. This is the idea that the Sinai event and the Merkabah vision are two aspects of the same reality and must be interpreted together.[49]

One of the difficulties in connecting the early apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic texts with the later Hekhalot materials is the fluidity of the imagery in both bodies of literature. The research of David Halperin and Peter Schäfer[50] correctly points, in my judgment, to the difficulties in locating the center in the Hekhalot writings, since they often represent a strange mixture of hymns, incantations, and short narratives which seem to be assembled without a discernable pattern and purpose. In these narratives readers must often discover on their own "whatever unifying principle there may be."[51] The same can be detected in the early apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic materials, which also attest

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[49] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 114.

[50] See also Joseph Dan who observes that "Hekhalot and Merkavah mystical literature should not be viewed as a product of one school of mystics moved by a common theology and literary activity. The texts we have today are but remnants of the activity of several Jewish mystical schools in Late Antiquity, which differed from each other in both their basic theological views and their mystical sources. The literature that reached us includes works that are anthological in character, and used several layers of sources combined or loosely harmonized." J. Dan, *Jewish Mysticism: Late Antiquity* (2 vols; Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1998) 1.233.

[51] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 367.

to a fluidity of concepts and imagery seen in various stages of the development of early Jewish mystical traditions.

It was mentioned earlier that in recent decades the discussion about the aim and the nature of early Jewish mysticism has mainly revolved around such important dichotomies as ascent/adjuration and visionary/exegetical. However, it is apparent that the search for new comparative characteristics between the early pseudepigraphic texts containing mystical testimonies and the later Hekhalot materials must be continued.

In my 1998 article, "Titles of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch*,"[52] I attempted to investigate one such possible set of characteristics. The article focuses on examining the celestial roles and titles[53] of Enoch-Metatron, which play an equally important role in early Enochic accounts and the Hekhalot materials.[54] The peculiar characteristic of these roles and titles, that make them good indicators of the transition from the Enoch tradition to the Metatron tradition, is that each of these traditions operates with a different set of roles and titles. Thus, the early Enochic tradition put emphasis on such roles or titles of the seventh antediluvian patriarch as diviner, scribe, sage, visionary, witness of the Divine judgment in the generation of the Flood, and envoy to the Watchers/Giants. Later Jewish mysticism reveals Enoch-Metatron in a different set of roles and titles depicting him as the Prince of the Torah, the Prince of the Divine Presence, the Measurer of the Lord, the Prince of the World, and the Youth. Only a few titles are common for both

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[52] Orlov, "Titles of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch*," 71-86.

[53] I understand "roles" here as the extended textual descriptions of the functions which stand behind the particular titles. At the same time, "titles" can be understood loosely as labels of these celestial roles. I am saying "loosely" because in reality some composite titles can encompass several roles; so, for example, Metatron's composite title "Youth" includes several roles which this angel performs in the celestial realm near the Throne of Glory. At the same time, some composite roles might also be related to several "titles;" for example the scribal role of Enoch in the early Enochic traditions is expressed by several titles, such as the scribe of righteousness, the scribe of distinction, etc.

traditions. But even in the roles that seem to be shared by both traditions, such as Enoch-Metatron's priestly role or his role as an expert in the divine secrets, one can see a significant evolution of the offices and their different functions in the Enochic and in the Merkabah traditions.

It is intriguing that Enoch's titles found in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*, despite the early Second Temple date of this pseudepigraphon, appear to demonstrate a close proximity to the titles of Metatron found in the Hekhalot and other rabbinic materials. These titles help distinguish *2 Enoch* from other early Enochic pseupedigrapha since the majority of these titles were not in use in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Book of Giants*.

Unfortunately the question about the origin and development of the celestial roles and titles of the divine and angelic agents appearing in early Jewish mysticism have been consistently ignored in recent scholarship. All attention in this area has been concentrated on only one title, often assigned to Metatron in the Hekhalot writings, i.e., Sar Torah.[55] The focus on the concept of Sar Torah in recent scholarly debates on the aim and origin of early Jewish mysticism might implicitly point to the importance of the imagery of the celestial titles for the theological framework of Hekhalot literature. Yet, in spite of heated debates on the Sar Torah concept, investigation into other celestial titles of Metatron found in rabbinic and Hekhalot materials, like the Youth, the Prince of the World, the Prince of the Countenance, has not received equal scholarly attention. We still do not have a systematic investigation of the origin and possible roots of these titles, although it

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[54] Odeberg was first to draw close attention to the similarities between the celestial titles of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse and the titles of Metatron in *Sefer Hekhalot*.

[55] M. D. Swarts, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 53ff.

is apparent that the title *Sar Torah* does not stand alone in the Hekhalot tracts but is interwoven with other titles, such as the Youth and others.

The widespread existence of the symbolism of the heavenly roles and titles of angelic agents in various Hekhalot writings demonstrates the significance of this imagery in the theological frameworks of Hekhalot literature. One can say that the celestial titles of Metatron represent one of the major conceptual areas for this body of literature.[56] *Sefer Hekhalot* gives a systematic presentation of Enoch-Metatron's celestial roles and titles. This macroform contains testimonies to such important titles as the Youth, the Prince of the World, the Prince of the Torah, and the Prince of the Countenance among many others. These traditions are not confined solely to the materials associated with *3 Enoch*, but are widely disseminated in other macroforms, including *Hekhalot Rabbati* (where such titles as the Youth, Sar Torah are applied to Metatron), *Hekhalot Zutreti*, *Merkabah Rabbah*, and other Hekhalot writings. Some of these titles are also applied in these materials to other angelic figures.

As noted earlier, the titles of the patriarch found in the Slavonic apocalypse appear to be different from those attested in early Enochic writings and demonstrate a close resemblance to the titles of Metatron as they appear in some of the Hekhalot sources. The traditions found in the Slavonic pseudepigraphon, however, are not as highly developed as in the Hekhalot tracts and apparently represent an intermediate stage of the evolution from the Enochic to the Merkabah tradition. In my study of the celestial titles of the seventh antediluvian patriarch, I will investigate this evolution from Enoch to

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[56] It is possible that Metatron's imagery fulfills the same function for the Merkabah tradition that Enoch's imagery fulfills for the Second Temple pseudepigrapha, namely, being a sort of archetypal imagery shaping other mediatorial traditions.

Metatron in the hope of understanding to what specific stage of this transition the titles found in the Slavonic apocalypse might belong.

This dissertation must therefore analyze the celestial titles of Enoch and Metatron in the early Enochic tradition(s), *2 Enoch*, and the rabbinic and Hekhalot accounts. This analysis will show that the later rabbinic and Hekhalot imagery of the celestial titles of Metatron stemmed from the early conceptual definitions already attested in *2 Enoch*. Further, it will be argued that the evolution of the imagery of the celestial roles and titles demonstrates that *2 Enoch* represents a bridge between the early apocalyptic Enochic accounts and the later mystical rabbinic and Hekhalot traditions. On this journey, *2 Enoch* represents the formative stage during which the early apocalyptic imagery has acquired its new, distinctive proto-Hekhalot mold. The important transition from the early roles of Enoch to the later roles of Metatron already occurred therefore in the text of *2 Enoch*. The thesis will also demonstrate that the mediatorial polemics with traditions of the exalted patriarch and prophets played an important role in facilitating this transition from Enoch to Metatron in *2 Enoch*.[57]

The first part of the dissertation is devoted to the analysis of the Enochic roles and titles from its Mesopotamian prototypes to Metatron's offices and designations in the Hekhalot materials.

In Chapter 1 I offer an analysis of the roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian hero found in the Mesopotamian sources about the king Enmeduranki.

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[57] I initially approached the problem of the mediatorial polemics in *2 Enoch* in A. Orlov, "'Noah's Younger Brother': Anti-Noachic Polemics in 2 Enoch," *Henoch* 22.2 (2000) 259-73; idem, "Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *JSJ* 31 (2000) 23-38.

In Chapter 2 I discuss the evolution of the roles and titles of the seventh patriarch in early Enochic materials, including the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams*, the *Epistle of Enoch*, the *Book of the Similitudes*, the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Book of Giants*. *2 Enoch* is excluded from this analysis and is investigated separately in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 3 I analyze Enoch-Metatron's roles and titles in *Sefer Hekhalot* and other Hekhalot and rabbinic sources. I argue that the Merkabah materials operate with two sets of Metatron's celestial roles and titles: the "old" cluster which is similar to Enochic and Mesopotamian counterparts and the "new" cluster which is not attested in Mesopotamian and early Enochic materials. This section demonstrates that the understanding the celestial roles and titles is pivotal for construing the whole evolution of the Metatron tradition, since in the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials the information about the exalted angel is given mainly through the expositions of his titles, roles, and the situations corresponding to them.

In Chapter 4 I investigate roles and titles of Enoch-Metatron found in *2 Enoch*. Here I suggest that the analysis indicates that the majority of Metatron's titles and roles attested in the rabbinic and Hekhalot sources were developed from the descriptions of the celestial roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian patriarch found in *2 Enoch*.

The second part of the dissertation explores the significance of the polemical interactions between the pseudepigraphic traditions of the exalted patriarchs and prophets in shaping the celestial roles and titles of Enoch-Metatron in the Slavonic apocalypse.

To advance the claim about the importance of the mediatorial polemics for the exalted profile of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch*, I begin Chapter 5 by investigating the role

of Adamic polemics in the conceptual development of such titles of Enoch-Metatron as the "Youth," the "Prince of the World," the "Redeemer of the World," and the "Measurer of the Lord."

In Chapter 6 I discuss Mosaic polemics in *2 Enoch* and their formative role in molding Enoch-Metatron's role as a *sar happanim*, the Prince of the Divine Presence. Here I demonstrate that the imagery of the Divine Face plays a crucial role in shaping the protagonist's role as the servant of the Divine Presence.

In Chapter 7 I clarify the issues pertaining to the date of *2 Enoch*. The students of early Jewish mysticism have often ignored the pseudepigraphon on the grounds of its uncertain date. I demonstrate that, given the Noachic polemics which take place in the Slavonic apocalypse, this text can be safely placed in the chronological framework of Second Temple Judaism.

PART ONE

EVOLUTION OF THE ROLES AND TITLES OF THE SEVENTH ANTEDILUVIAN HERO IN MESOPOTAMIAN, ENOCHIC AND MERKABAH TRADITIONS

This work rests on the premise that the clarification of the connection between its two heroes, Enoch and Metatron, can be achieved through analysis of the roles and titles of both figures in their respective traditions. I will argue that the various appellations of Enoch and Metatron provide the most important clues to the identities of both characters. This approach is especially promising in respect to Metatron since the bulk of information about this angel in rabbinic and Hekhalot materials appears in the form of his titles and description of his roles, as well as activities related to them.

I also contend that understanding the heavenly roles and titles of Enoch and Metatron can help explicate the enigmatic evolution of a character from a patriarch and a seer instructed by angels in the celestial secrets to a second divinity who himself is responsible for instructing visionaries and delivering to them the ultimate mysteries of the universe, including dispensing the Torah to Moses.

It will also be shown that the analysis of the evolution of the roles and titles associated with Enoch-Metatron can assist scholars in better understanding how and when this elusive transition from a diviner to a second god occurred. Examination of the conceptual development of Enoch-Metatron roles might also help to clarify the difference between the influences which genuinely contributed to this gradual evolution from Enoch to Metatron and other currents in the Enochic tradition(s) which, despite their promising appearance, did not directly impact this transition. An illustration can be offered to

support this idea. Scholars previously noted that the sudden shift in the *Book of the Similitudes* toward depicting Enoch as a highly elevated celestial being appears to signal the possible transition from Enochic to Metatron imagery.[1] Indeed, in the *Similitudes* Enoch seems to become identified with several highly elevated figures, such as the Messiah, Deutero-Isaiah's "Servant of the Lord," and Daniel's "Son of Man."[2] Despite the early date of the *Similitudes*, students of this text also pointed to the similarities of some imagery of this narrative with the Merkabah tradition.[3]

This analysis of the evolution of the celestial titles of Enoch toward their later counterparts in the Metatron lore, however, will show that the Enochic titles found in the *Similitudes* do not occur in these later beliefs about Metatron; nor do they play any formative part in the transition from the early roles and titles of the patriarch to his elevated profile in the Hekhalot literature. This illustration demonstrates that close attention to the titles occurring in Enochic and Merkabah traditions helps identify more accurately the boundaries of the evolution from Enoch to Metatron and properly outlines major factors and traditions involved in this process.

Keeping in mind these presuppositions, I now proceed to the analysis of the evolution of Enoch-Metatron's celestial appellations from their early Mesopotamian prototypes to their later Merkabah form(s) in the rabbinic and Hekhalot writings. This investigation will proceed as follows: First, the roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian hero in the Mesopotamian environment will be explored. Then the study will examine the

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[1] David Suter observed that "the closest tie between Enoch/Metatron in *3 Enoch* and the role of Enoch in the earliest literature is the identification of Enoch as the 'Son of Man' in 1 En. 71:14 at the conclusion of the Parables of Enoch." D. W. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; Missoula: Scholars, 1979) 16.

[2] Although the titles assigned to the patriarch in the *Similitudes* were almost completely dropped by later "Enochic" traditions, the presence of such developments shows that long before the exaltation of Enoch as Metatron in *Sefer Hekhalot* there was an apparent need of such a type of conceptual development.

roles and titles of the seventh patriarch Enoch in the early Enochic lore. In the third step of the analysis Metatron's titles and roles in the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials will be explored. Finally, the roles and titles of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch* will be scrutinized in relation to the developments of the roles and titles attested in the Mesopotamian, pseudepigraphic and rabbinic environments.

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[3] Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, 14ff.

CHAPTER ONE

ROLES AND TITLES OF THE SEVENTH ANTEDILUVIAN HERO IN MESOPOTAMIAN TRADITIONS: THE CASE OF KING ENMEDURANKI

Even a brief look at early Enochic booklets such as the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book* demonstrates that already in these early Enochic writings the seventh antediluvian patriarch appears to have a set of highly developed roles: a sage, a visionary, a diviner, and a scribe. One can see these descriptions of the main character as a product of a substantial and long-lasting conceptual development. However, for anyone familiar with the early biblical traditions about the patriarch Enoch found in Genesis, the surprising wealth of information about the seventh antediluvian patriarch that is found in the earliest booklets of *1 Enoch* might be puzzling; for the biblical account associated with the priestly source of Genesis does not provide a great deal of material about the aforementioned Enochic roles. Gen 5:21-24 informs us that "when Enoch had lived sixty-five years he became the father of Methuselah. He walked with God after the birth of Methuselah three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. Thus all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty-five years. Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him." [4]

While the passage from Genesis shows Enoch in his important family role, almost nothing is said about his other prominent celestial roles, although the priestly author exhibits familiarity with Enoch's status as a translated figure by mentioning his removal from the earth. In view of the scarcity of information in the Genesis account about the heavenly roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian patriarch and the complexity of these roles and titles in the early Enochic writings, scholars have been searching for other

possible factors contributing to this evolution.[5] They draw attention to some Mesopotamian traditions which in their opinion might have helped to enhance or even shape the profile of the seventh antediluvian hero.[6]

In the twentieth century the influence of the Mesopotamian traditions on the Enochic materials has been the subject of several major publications, including the studies of Heinrich Zimmern, H. Ludin Jansen, Pierre Grelot, Otto Neugebauer, James VanderKam, and Helge S. Kvanvig.[7] The most important for this investigation are the books of VanderKam and Kvanvig since these are based on the recent publications of the cuneiform sources from Mesopotamia.

Before proceeding to the Mesopotamian evidence, one should note that it is impossible within the limited scope of this present work to investigate all the Mesopotamian influences which have contributed to the formation of the Enochic roles and titles. This work, therefore, will mainly concentrate on one of these formative

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[4] All biblical citations will be taken from New Revised Standard Version.

[5] Michael Stone highlights that "what is significant is the fact that outside the Bible this figure [Enoch] first comes into the light of history full-grown. Enoch appears in all his complexity in the two Enochic writings which are the oldest (the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of the Luminaries*). It is to this developed Enoch figure that the angel Uriel shows the secrets of heavenly bodies and their movements." M. E. Stone, "Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins," *JSJ* 19 (1988) 159-170, esp. 163.

[6] John Collins suggests that "the Enoch movement ... originated in the confrontation with Mesopotamian culture in the eastern Diaspora and its 'scientific' interests developed in that setting. The subsequent development of an eschatologically oriented apocalyptic movement seems to have been prompted by the culture crisis of the Hellenistic age, well in advance of the Antiochian persecution." J. J. Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (SJSJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 51-2.

[7] H. Zimmern, "Urkönige und Uroffenbarung," in Eberhard Schrader, ed., *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (2 vols., Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902-03) 2.530-43; H. L. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 1; Oslo: Dybwad, 1939); P. Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," *RSR* 46 (1958) 5-26, 181-210; O. Neugebauer, "The 'Astronomical' Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72-82)," in Black, *Enoch*, 387; J. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, 16; Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984); H. S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: the Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT, 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988).

influences, the tradition about the seventh antediluvian king Enmeduranki.[8] In my judgment, the Enmeduranki tradition provides a sharp illustration of the fact that the celestial roles of this Mesopotamian hero served as a decisive pattern for the future heavenly roles of his Jewish counterpart, the patriarch Enoch. Another reason that the choice is limited to investigating this Mesopotamian character is that in all recent studies on the Mesopotamian prototypes of Enoch, the Enmeduranki tradition has remained in the center of scholarly debate.[9]

Salient witnesses to the Enmeduranki tradition include the various versions of the so-called Sumerian antediluvian King List, in recensions dated from 1500 BCE to 165 BCE.[10] The List demonstrates a number of similarities with the genealogy of Genesis 5. One of the significant details found in the List is that Mesopotamian kings, similar to the patriarchs from the Genesis account, had extraordinarily long reigns, ranging from 3,600 to 72,000 years. Another important feature is that the two versions of the List account for ten kings, the last of whom is designated as the hero of the flood. This fact recalls the role of Noah who occupies the tenth place in the list of Genesis 5. James 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-

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[8] Zimmern's research was the first in-depth scholarly attempt to trace the connection between Enoch and Enmeduranki. See Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2.540.

[9] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 33ff; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 184ff; J. J. Collins, "Sage in the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," in: *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (eds. J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 343-354, esp. 344-347; idem, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, 44ff.

[10] On the Sumerian King List, see S. Langdon, "The Chaldean Kings before the Flood," *JRAS* 42 (1923) 251-9; idem, *Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts II* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923); T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Assyrological Studies, 11; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939); F. R. Kraus, "Zur Liste der älteren Könige von Babylonien," *ZANF* 16 (1952) 29-60; J. J. Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet," *JCS* 17 (1963) 39-51.

called Sumerian King List."[11] An intriguing character in the Sumerian King list is Enmeduranki (Enmeduranna), the king of Sippar, the city of the sun-god Shamash.[12] 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 which demonstrate remarkable similarities with Enoch's story. VanderKam's research shows that the priestly author responsible for the biblical portrayal of Enoch in Gen 5:21-24 was aware of these broader Mesopotamian traditions which 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.

Scholars have convincingly demonstrated that Enmeduranki's story was an important source for the biblical portrait of Enoch and for his portrayals in the earliest Enochic pseudepigrapha.[13] VanderKam's research demonstrated that the two texts, namely Genesis 5:21-24 and the *Astronomical Book*, possibly the most ancient extant sources related to Enoch, have a strong connection with the Mesopotamian lore. He also remarks that later Enochic booklets became increasingly influenced by biblical and Hellenistic settings, and, therefore, primeval features of the Mesopotamian lore took there a new form.[14]

The Enmeduranki tradition was preserved in a number of texts, the most important of which is a tablet from Nineveh published by Wilfred Lambert which could

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[11] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 26.

[12] Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 187.

[13] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*. John Collins observes that "to a great extent he [Enoch] is modeled on the mythological figure of Enmeduranki, founder of the *bārû* guild of diviners and omen interpreters. The correspondences are already in evidence in Genesis." Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 345.

[14] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 189.

be dated before 1100 BCE.[15] The material is crucial for the current study and therefore must be cited in full. The text, taken from Lambert's edition, reads as follows:

> 3. Šamaš in Ebabbara [appointed]
> 1. Enmeduranki [king of Sippar],
> 2. the beloved of Anu, Enlil [and Ea].
> 4. Šamaš and Adad [brought him in] to their assembly,
> 5. Šamaš and Adad [honored him],
> 6. Šamaš and Adad [set him] on a large throne of gold,
> 7. They showed him how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, [Enlil and Ea],
> 8. They gave him the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and [underworld],
> 9. They put in his hand the cedar[-rod], beloved of the great gods.
> 10. Then he, in accordance with their [word(?)] brought
> 11. the men of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon into his presence,
> 12. and he honored them. He set them on thrones before [him],
> 13. he showed them how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, Enlil and Ea,
> 14. He gave them the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and underworld,
> 15. He put in their hand the cedar[-rod], beloved of the great gods.
> 16. {The tablet of the gods, the liver, a mystery of heaven and underworld;
> 17. how to observe oil on water, a secret of Anu, Enlil and Ea;
> 18. "that with commentary," When Anu, Enlil; and how to make mathematical calculations.}
> 19. The learned savant, who guards the secrets of the great gods,
> 20. will bind his son whom he loves with an oath
> 21. before Šamaš and Adad by tablet and stylus and
> 22. will instruct him. When a diviner,
> 23. an expert in oil, of abiding descent, offspring of Enmeduranki, king of Sippar,
> 24. who set up the pure bowl and held the cedar[-rod],
> 25. a benediction priest of the king, a long-haired priest of Šamaš
> 26. as fashioned by Ninhursagga,
> 27. begotten by a *nišakku*-priest of pure descent:
> 28. if he is without blemish in body and limbs
> 29. he may approach the presence of Šamaš and Adad where liver inspection and oracle (take place).[16]

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[15] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic,* 190.

[16] W. G. Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," *JCS* 21 (1967) 126-38, esp. 132. Another bit of evidence related to the Enmeduranki tradition is the first-person statement of Nebuchadnezzar I. The text can be dated to his reign between 1125 BCE and 1104 BCE. The material demonstrates a number of parallels to the text from Nineveh. It reads as follows: "[....], king of Babylon who supervises all the cult-centers and confirms the regular offerings, am I, distant scion of kingship, seed preserved from before the flood, offspring of [Enmeduranki], king of Sippar, who set up the pure bowl and held the cedar-wood (rod), who sat in the presence of Shamash and Adad, the divine adjudicators, foremost son, [....], king of justice,

The text from Nineveh carries great weight in the investigation of the roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian hero for two reasons. First, it provides a valuable sketch of the roles of its main hero, the seventh antediluvian king Enmeduranki, roles this character has acquired during his interactions with human and divine beings in the terrestrial and celestial realms. Later analysis will show that Enmeduranki's roles appear to be very similar to Enoch's functions and duties as they are presented in the early Enochic traditions.

Second, the tablet from Nineveh also reveals the seventh antediluvian hero's earthly and celestial titles, attesting him as a "learned savant," a "diviner," a "priest," and a "guardian of secrets." Some of these appellations represent the earliest counterparts of the later titles of Enoch and Metatron in Jewish traditions.

The analysis now proceeds to a close investigation of Enmeduranki's roles and titles as they are attested in the tablet from Nineveh.

Enmeduranki as the Diviner

Leo Oppenheim argues that the importance of divination in Mesopotamian culture(s) can be shown by a large number of the preserved omen collections; these collections range in time from the late Babylonian period up to the time of the Seleucid kings.[17] Mesopotamian divination, in Oppenhem's opinion, can be understood as "a technique of communication with the supernatural forces that are supposed to shape the

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reliable shepherd, who keeps the land's foundations secure." Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 130.

[17] L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964) 206.

history of the individual as well as that of the group."[18] Divination presupposed the belief that these forces are able and sometimes willing to communicate their intentions since they are interested in the well-being of the individual or the group.[19]

The art of divination in the Mesopotamian religious environment was practiced by several groups of highly trained professionals. One of the most prominent and frequently mentioned groups is the *bārû* guild, a group of oracle-priests.[20] James VanderKam suggests that the title of this enigmatic group derives from the Akkadian verb *barû*, which means "to see, to observe."[21] Among the divination techniques used by the *bārû* practitioners are the observation of omens connected with the interpretations of configurations of oil in water, the patterns of rising smoke, the conditions of internal organs of sacrificial animals, and mantic dreams.

The text from Nineveh refers to some of these procedures often used in Mesopotamian divination such as lecanomancy, an observation of oil in water, and hepatoscopy, an inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal. It also mentions another, apparently even more enigmatic technique involving the use of a cedar[-rod].[22] References to these divinatory rites are repeated many times in the text, first as a special

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[18] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 207.

[19] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 207.

[20] On the *bārû* guild, see H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des babylonischen Religion. Die Beschwörungstafeln šurpu. Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer, und Sanger* (Assyriologische Bibliothek 12; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche, 1896-1901) 86-87; A. Haldar, *Association of Cult Prophets Among the Ancient Semitites* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Ab, 1945) 1ff; J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priesterum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA* 59 (1969) 203-04; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 212ff; VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 56; M. S. Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development* (SBLDS 113; Atlanta: Scholars, 1990) 41-46.

[21] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 56. See also A. Haldar, *Association of Cult Prophets Among the Ancient Semitites*, 1. Alfred Haldar observes that *bārû* is "usually interpreted 'seer,' 'visionary' in general, without reference to any special mode of divination."

[22] Wilfred Lambert observes that it represents "an oftmentioned ritual appurtenance, the function of which is no longer understood." Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 127. For the possible

knowledge (a divine secret, "a mystery of Anu, Enlil and Ea") which was passed to Enmeduranki (or, literally, "shown [*ušabrû*] to him") by the deities Shamash and Adad,[23] and then as the mysteries transmitted by Enmeduranki to some humans, including his son[24] and then practiced routinely by diviners.[25]

The full meanings of these divinatory procedures as means of communication with the upper realm are shrouded in mystery. Mesopotamian sources, however, give at least some hints about how the external side of these procedures was carried out. During the lecanomancy procedure, a diviner, a *bārû* practitioner, normally poured oil in a bowl of water held on his lap.[26] The movements of oil in water, in its relation to the surface of the bowl and its rim, and the formation and the color of oil were then interpreted[27] in relation to the appropriate political, military or personal situations.[28]

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meanings of this ritual, see E. J. Wilson, "A Note on the Use of *erinnu* in *bārû*-Rituals," *JANES* 23 (1995) 95-98. See also Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 533, n. 5.

[23] vv. 7-8 "...They [Šamaš and Adad] showed him how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, [Enlil and Ea], they gave him the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and [underworld]..." Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 132.

[24] vv. 13-17 "... he showed them how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, Enlil and Ea, he gave them the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and underworld, he put in their hand the cedar[-rod], beloved of the great gods. The tablet of the gods, the liver, a mystery of heaven and underworld; how to observe oil on water, a secret of Anu, Enlil and Ea..." Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 132.

[25] vv. 22-29 "...When a diviner, an expert in oil, of abiding descent, offspring of Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, who set up the pure bowl and held the cedar[-rod], a benediction priest of the king, a long-haired priest of Shamash as fashioned by Ninhursagga, begotten by a *nissaku*-priest of pure descent if he is without blemish in body and limbs he may approach the presence of Shamash and Adad where *liver inspection* and oracle (take place)." Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 132.

[26] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 212.

[27] One of the Mesopotamian texts cited by Michael Moore provides an example of such interpretation: "If the oil divides into two; for a campaign, the two camps will advance against each other; for treating a sick man, he will die. If the flour, in the east, takes the shape of a lion's face, the man is in the grip of a ghost of one who lies in the open country; the sun will consign it (the host) to the wind and he will get well." Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*, 43.

[28] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 212; idem, *The Interpretation of the Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 46.3; Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1956) 242.

Hepatoscopy was an attempt to communicate with the deity through the medium of the body of an animal slaughtered for this purpose.[29] Usually the hepatoscopy ritual was a part of a more complex rite of extispicy in which several animal organs, including the windpipe, the lungs, the liver (considered the seat of the soul),[30] and the gall bladder were explored. The *bārû* practitioner normally began the ritual by petitioning the oracle gods, Shamash and Adad, asking them to inscribe their message upon the entrails of the animal. Then, through the exploration of the inner parts of the animal, the diviner made predictions "based on atrophy, hypertrophy, displacement, special markings, and other abnormal features of the organs."[31] Leo Oppenheim observes that early Mesopotamian hepatoscopy apparently was a technique of a binary, yes-or-no level. Numerous models of the liver made of clay found on various Mesopotamian sites point to the popularity of this technique in the cultures of this region.[32] Michael Moore observes that generally the ritual of extispicy was so expensive that only royal persons and nobles could afford it. It was also regarded as the most "scientific" divinatory technique and was often employed as a check on all others.[33]

A significant feature of the tablet from Nineveh is that Enmeduranki acquired his expertise in the divinatory arts directly from Shamash and Adad. Both of these deities are traditionally associated with knowledge of divination and are sometimes called "lords of

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[29] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 212.

[30] Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, 6; G. Contenau, *La divination chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* (Paris, 1940) 235 ff.

[31] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 212.

[32] Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*, 42.

[33] Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*, 42. See also, J. Nougayrol, "La divination babylonienne," in: *La Divination* (eds. A. Caquot and M. Leibovici; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968) 25-81, esp. 38.

oracles." More commonly, Shamash is referred to as the "lord of decisions" and Adad as the "lord of the oracle/omen."[34]

Enmeduranki as the Expert in Secrets

In the previous section it was pointed out that the text from Nineveh refers to particular knowledge about the divinatory procedures transmitted to Enmeduranki in the course of his visitation of the divine assembly. It is intriguing that when the tablet from Nineveh refers to this divinatory knowledge, it uses vocabulary that specifically stresses the esoteric character of the information which the seventh antediluvian king received during his initiations in the celestial realm. Before proceeding to a close analysis of this distinct terminology, I must make general comments about Enmeduranki's initiation into celestial knowledge.

First, some attention must be paid to the level of initiation. The text stresses that Enmeduranki enjoys special relationships with three chief gods--Anu, Enlil and Ea. He is defined as their "beloved" (*narāmu*), an important title which signals the particular type of relationship between the initiate and the deities.[35] It is noteworthy that he was brought (*šūrubu*) to the inner circle of the celestial community (the divine assembly) by gods themselves, namely the deities responsible for natural phenomena--the solar deity Shamash and deity of weather Adad. The reference to the deities of luminaries and

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[34] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 58.

[35] Later rabbinic materials often apply this title to Enoch. Thus *Peshikta de Rav Kahana* defines Enoch as "beloved." In *Midrash Ha-Gadol* Enoch is defined as the "Beloved Seventh."

weather anticipates here the later Enochic legends in which the seventh antediluvian hero is initiated by the angel Uriel into astronomical and meteorological lore.[36]

The second significant detail of Enmeduranki's initiation is that the hero is described as the one who has a seat ("a large throne of gold") in heaven, which indicates his elevated status and possibly a newly acquired celestial rank of the initiate. Kvanvig observes in relation to this detail that the fact that Enmeduranki "is seated on a golden throne among the gods … must mean that he was included in their assembly."[37]

A third significant feature is that the knowledge Enmeduranki received in the assembly of the gods is explicitly labeled as *esoteric*: the text refers to the "secrets" and "mysteries" acquired by the seventh antediluvian king. This terminology is applied to the knowledge about the divinatory procedures, the rituals of lecanomancy and hepatoscopy.[38] In the text the phrase "how to observe oil on water" is followed by the expression "a mystery (*niṣirti*)[39] of Anu, Enlil and Ea" and the phrase "the tablet of the gods, the liver" (which possibly refers to a tablet of liver omens[40]) is followed by the expression "a secret (*pirišti*)[41] of heaven and earth." Both clauses are repeated later in lines 13-14 and 16-17. In verses 16-17 the words "mystery" and "secrets" have changed places: "a mystery of heaven and underworld" and "a secret of Anu, Enlil and Ea,"

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[36] James VanderKam traces another similarity with the Enochic tradition. He observes that Enoch's entry into God's throne room in chapter 14 of the *Book of the Watchers* "is reminiscent of Enmeduranki's admission to the presence of Shamash and Adad, but, while the ancient king there learned divinatory techniques, Enoch is told in a forthright way (though in a dream – a common mantic medium) what will befall the angels who had sinned." VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 131.

[37] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 187.

[38] Alfred Haldar observes that "the secret of divination is thus to be regarded as a secret knowledge confined to the priesthood and in which the uninitiated could have no share." Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, 4.

[39] Helge Kvanvig clarifies that this term means literally "that which is protected." Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

[40] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 187.

[41] Literally this term means "that which is separated." Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

indicating that both terms are used interchangeably by the authors (or editors) of the text.[42]

Several words should be said about the tablet (*tuppi*) first identified as "a secret of heaven and underworld" (vv. 8 and 14) and later as "a mystery of heaven and underworld" (v. 16). Helge Kvanvig observes that the language of tablet emphasizes the esoteric character of the divine wisdom revealed to Enmeduranki, reinforced by such terms as *niṣirtu* (mystery) and *purištu* (secret).[43] The esoteric character of the knowledge received by Enmeduranki and then transmitted to the *bārû* guild is also underscored in the text by a reference to the oath which precedes the king's instructions to his son.

Another important detail of the tradition about the tablet that might point to the content of this esoteric knowledge is the juxtaposition of the terms "secrets" and "mysteries" with the phrases "heaven and underworld" or "heaven and earth."[44] Kvanvig points out that both phrases possibly have cosmological meaning.[45] Intended to describe the totality of creation, this terminology can also be related to cosmogonic and creational concepts. The identification of the secrets with cosmological knowledge recalls *2 Enoch*, where the notion of secrets is applied solely to the mysteries of God's creation.

The reference to the tablet which crosses the boundaries between *heaven* and earth in the Nineveh text anticipates later traditions about the celestial tablets found in various Enochic materials. Pierre Grelot points to the terminological similarities between Enoch's heavenly tablets and Enmeduranki's tablets representing the mystery of "heaven and earth" and argues that "Enmeduranki knows 'the secret of Anu, of Bel and of Ea'

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[42] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

[43] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

[44] Kvanvig points that the phrase rendered in the Lambert's translation as a "secret of heaven and underworld" can also be translated as a "secret of heaven and *earth*." Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

only because Shamash and Adad have delivered unto him 'the tablet of the gods, the tablet of the mystery of heaven and earth'; and here one easily recognizes the prototype of the 'heavenly tablets' communicated to Enoch."[46]

Finally, a remark must be made about Enmeduranki's titles that the text brings up in conjunction with his expertise in esoteric knowledge. The text from Nineveh defines him as "the learned savant, who guards the secrets of the great gods." Kvanvig observes that this phrase reveals the seventh antediluvian king in at least two roles which appear to be closely interconnected. Enmeduranki is described first as a "learned scholar" (*ummânu mūdu*) and second as the "guardian (lit. guarding) of the secrets (*nāṣir pirišti*) of the great gods."[47] The latter title is especially important for this investigation since it establishes a definite background for the future patriarch's role as an expert in secrets in the Enochic tradition and his designation as יודע רזים (Knower of Secrets) in the Metatron lore.[48] The dissemination of esoteric information will remain one of the major functions of the seventh patriarch in various Enochic traditions which depict him sharing astronomical, meteorological, calendarical, and eschatological knowledge with his sons and other people during his short visit to earth. Knowledge of secrets will also play a significant part in Metatron's duties in the Merkabah tradition where he will be responsible for transmitting the highest secrets to the Princes under him, as well as to humankind.

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[45] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

[46] Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 15.

[47] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

[48] John Collins notes that "Enoch's role as revealer is … illuminated by the parallel with Enmeduranki. The Sumerian king was admitted into the divine assembly and shown mysteries that included

Enmeduranki as the Mediator

On closer examination of the structure of the text from Nineveh, a significant characteristic of this narrative stands out: the tablet emphasizes not only what happened to Enmeduranki in the celestial realm but also what he did upon his return to earth. The multiple references to his earthly instructions to the people and to his son stress this concern of the authors or editors of the account. The text therefore makes explicit that one of the most important functions of the initiated Enmeduranki is transmission of the knowledge that he received from the deities to inhabitants of the terrestrial realm. This account of the mediation of knowledge is similar to later Enochic traditions. Just like Enmeduranki, who transmitted knowledge to the people of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon and to his son, Enoch later would share the esoteric lore that he received from Uriel and God with humans and with his son Methuselah. Both traditions stress the pattern of mediation (Deity/angels – Enmeduranki/Enoch – people/son) in which Enmeduranki/Enoch occupies the pivotal role of a middleman. In the text from Nineveh, the instructions given to Enmeduranki by the deities have a literary content and form identical to the revelations dispatched by Enmeduranki later to the people of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon:

> vv. 7-9 …They [deities] showed him [Enmeduranki] how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, [Enlil and Ea], they gave him the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and [underworld], they put in his hand the cedar[-rod], beloved of the great gods….
>
> vv. 13-15…he [Enmeduranki] showed them [people of Nippur, Sippar and Babylon] how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, Enlil and Ea, he gave them the tablet of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and underworld, he put in their hand the cedar[-rod], beloved of the great gods….[49]

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the tablets of heaven and the techniques of divination." Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 45.

[49] Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 132.

Helge Kvanvig observes that these two sections are set in parallel deliberately in order to emphasize the authority of the divinatory knowledge that was received from the gods in the heavenly assembly.[50] The exact parallelism also stresses that the content of the knowledge transmitted to the *bārû* guild is precisely the same as the knowledge in which Enmeduranki was initiated by the gods.

The text shows that Enmeduranki's mediation is multifaceted, executed not only through a set of oral and written communication but also through the establishing of distinct social and religious structures. It is noteworthy that Enmeduranki's instructions in the divinatory rituals to the people were preceded by the establishment of social settings ("He set them on thrones before [him]") that mirror the social structure of the divine assembly. This detail was probably intended to stress the fact that the dispatching of esoteric information necessarily involves fixed hierarchical settings. The text also highlights the importance of the initiatory oath preceding the earthly initiation, since Enmeduranki "will bind his son whom he loves with an oath," and only after that he "will instruct him."

Concluding this section, I must comment on the references to the tablet(s) found in the Nineveh text and their mediating role in the process of the transmission of the knowledge. The text mentions the tablet several times, treating it as an object given to Enmeduranki by the deities in the celestial realm and then dispatched by the seventh antediluvian hero to the *bārû* guild and to his son. This tablet is a medium that has the capacity to cross the boundaries between the upper and lower realms, as well as the boundaries of the generations. This two-fold function of the tablet as the instrument able

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[50] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 186.

to bridge the vertical (heavenly and celestial) and horizontal (antediluvian and postdiluvian) gaps makes it possible for it to remain a pivotal symbol of mediation prominent in the Mesopotamian and Enochic traditions.

Kvanvig, after meticulously examining the similarities between the imagery of the heavenly tablet(s) in the Nineveh text and in early Enochic materials (*1 Enoch* 81 and the *Epistle of Enoch*), demonstrated that despite the different provenance of these traditions, their concepts of the tablet(s) exhibit striking parallels not only in general ideas but also in technical terminology.[51]

Enmeduranki as the Scribe

The references to the tablets in the text from Nineveh mentioned above helps us clarify another role of the seventh antediluvian hero that occupies a prominent place in the early Enochic traditions. This is the role of a scribe whose writings are predestined to cross the boundaries between the celestial and the earthly realms. Although the text from Nineveh does not explicitly label Enmeduranki as a scribe, several details of the king's description in this narrative seem to point to his connection to the scribal profession.

The first hint comes from the references to the celestial tablets that Enmeduranki receives in the assembly of gods. Pierre Grelot, in the section of his study dedicated to Enoch's scribal duties, observes that the "tablet of the gods, a secret of heaven and earth" recalls the celestial tablets given later to the patriarch Enoch.[52] The imagery of the celestial and terrestrial tablets looms large in early Enochic materials and in some of them is directly linked with Enoch's scribal duties. Thus, 4Q203 8 refers to a "copy of the

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[51] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 76-79, 240-241.

[52] Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 15.

seco[n]d tablet of [the] le[tter...] by the hand of Enoch, the distinguished scribe...."[53] The imagery of the tablet is combined here with the patriarch's title "distinguished scribe" (ספר פרשא). The passage, however, is very fragmentary and does not provide much information about the tablet. More extended evidence is preserved in *1 Enoch* 81:1-6, where the motif of the celestial tablets coincides with two other themes: the patriarch's instructions to his son and Enoch's scribal activities. In the passage the patriarch, after reading the tablets in the upper realm, is brought by angels to the earth to instruct his son Methuselah and copy for him the content of the celestial tablets:

> And he said to me: "O Enoch, look at the book of the tablets of heaven, and read what is written upon them, and note every individual fact." And I looked at everything in the tablets of heaven, and I read everything which was written, and I noted everything.... And these three holy ones brought me, and set me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: "Tell everything to your son Methuselah .... For one year we will leave you with your children, until you have regained your strength, that you may teach your children, and write (these things) down for them, and testify to all your children."[54]

The passage deals with three significant motifs: the celestial tablets, the instruction of Methuselah on earth, and Enoch's duties as the scribe who writes down the content of the tablets. An almost identical cluster of motifs is discernable in the pericope found in the text from Nineveh. Verses 19-22 describe Enmeduranki instructing his son in the divine secrets and then transferring to him a tablet and a stylus, the tools of the scribal profession: "the learned savant, who guards the secrets of the great gods, will bind his son whom he loves with an oath before Shamash and Adad by tablet and stylus and will instruct him."[55]

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[53] F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 1.411.

[54] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 186-7.

[55] Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 132.

In observing these two strikingly similar accounts that deal with the initiation of the visionary's son, one detail should be noted: in both accounts the visionaries appear to be associated with the scribal profession. In the Enochic text it is made obvious by the explicit reference to the patriarch's writing activities, and in the Mesopotamian text by the implicit reference to a stylus, a scribal tool. [56] This possibility gains further support from the fact that in the Babylonian text the stylus is also tied to the role of the main character as the transmitter of esoteric knowledge to humans and particularly to his son. As will be shown later, in the Enochic writings three prominent roles of the patriarch as the scribe, the expert in secrets, and the mediator between the human and the divine realms also often run together. The same cluster seems also observable in the tablet from Nineveh.

Enmeduranki as the Priest

As in the case with Enmeduranki's scribal role, only implicitly hinted at in the tablet from Nineveh, the discernment of his association with priestly duties also requires a certain exegetical effort. Before I engage in such an effort, however, I must briefly remark on the sacerdotal affiliations of the *bārû* practitioners. Alfred Haldar observes that "according to well-known King Enmeduranki tradition, the *bārû* priesthood originated in Sippar … where the primeval King Enmeduranki … received from Shamash and Adad the tablet of the Gods…. Afterwards he caused the priests to enter [into the divination chamber?] and gave them the tablet…."[57] The *bārû* guild was a priestly group that attached great importance to ritualistic purity. In connection with the *bārû*, Haldar notes that "in order to approach the deity the priest had to be pure, *ellu* (i.e. holy); and this

[56] The reference to the stylus in this context might not only point to the scribal duties of the seventh antediluvian king but also show him in the role of initiating his son in the scribal activities.

qualification was not acquired once and for all by initiation, but had to be renewed every time the priest was to officiate."[58] The priestly affiliation of the group is also hinted at in the fact that the *bārû* practitioner had to be free from certain blemishes. Mesopotamian texts warn that one "with defective eyes, or with a maimed finger shall not draw near to the place for deciding via *bārûtu*."[59] These disqualifications bear some similarities with the priestly regulations found in Leviticus. One can see, however, that the *bārû* priesthood was different from the later Israelite priestly models attested in the biblical texts. Since the primary function of the *bārû* priests was to foretell the future, i.e., discern by various means the will of the gods, they can be also viewed, using Oppenheim's terminology, as oracle-priests.[60]

The purpose of this excursus into the priestly features of the *bārû* group was to show that this guild was viewed as a sacerdotal organization bound by distinctive rules of purity. Their rituals involving sacrificial animals during the extispicy rites also might point to their priestly affiliation.[61]

Keeping in mind the priestly function of the *bārû*, this investigation must now return to the tablet from Nineveh. As mentioned earlier, this text starts with the statement that explicitly identifies the seventh antediluvian king of Sippar with the cult of the solar deity Shamash and his prominent ancient temple Ebabbara situated in Sippar. The tablet states that Enmeduranki was appointed by the solar deity Shamash in his temple

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[57] Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, 1.
[58] Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, 2.
[59] Moore, *The Balaam Traditions*, 42.
[60] Oppenheim, *Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, 221. The divinatory angle of *bārû* priesthood is also stressed by Pierre Grelot who remarks that "the hereditary priesthood founded at Sippar is envisaged, therefore, essentially from the divinatory viewpoint, that of knowing the secrets of the gods, transmitted to humans by way of the oracles." Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 8.

Ebabbarra (the house of the rising sun). It does not, however, directly refer to Enmeduranki's priestly duties in the temple or name him as a priest of Shamash.

The motif of Shamash's priesthood nevertheless appears in the last section of the text (vv. 22-29). Here the "offspring of Enmeduranki" is defined as a "long-haired priest" who "may approach the presence of Shamash and Adad:"

> When a diviner, an expert in oil, of abiding descent, offspring of Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, who set up the pure bowl and held the cedar[-rod], a benediction priest of the king, a long-haired priest of Šamaš as fashioned by Ninhursagga, begotten by a *nišakku*-priest of pure descent: if he is without blemish in body and limbs he may approach the presence of Šamaš and Adad where liver inspection and oracle (take place).[62]

Helge Kvanvig observes that in this section of the text the ancestry and the legitimacy of the priesthood is traced to the seventh antediluvian king since the tablet indicates that "the process of transmission will continue in the line of priestly descendants from Enmeduranki[63] until the priesthood at the time of the author."[64]

The idea that Enmeduranki's initiation into the assembly of the gods might mark the beginning of the priestly line is significant for a possible association of the king with the priestly office. In this context one important detail must be mentioned. Verse 29 of the tablet from Nineveh depicts a priest without "blemish in body and limbs" approaching the *presence* (*maḫar*) of Shamash and Adad. The reference to the "presence" (*maḫar*) is intriguing since it recalls the exact terminology used earlier in the text in describing Enmeduranki's approach to the presence of both deities in the celestial realm.

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[61] H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon: A Sketch of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1962) 347-8.

[62] Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 132.

[63] Pierre Grelot stresses the "liturgical" character of the teaching of the seventh antediluvian hero which he transmits to his sons: "...ainsi initié aux fonctions divinatoires du sacerdoce, il y consacre ses fils à leur tour et leur enseigne les formules liturgiques." Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 8.

[64] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

Similarly to the text cited above, Enmeduranki is depicted as the one "who sat in the *presence* (*maḫar*) of Shamash and Adad, the divine adjudicators."[65]

In view of these parallels it is possible that Enmeduranki might be considered by the authors of the tablet as a celestial model for the earthly priesthood who, in the distant past, entered for the first time the presence of Shamash and Adad in the celestial realm. In this context the terrestrial priesthood can be seen as the counterpart of this celestial prototype. This possibility is supported by several scholarly suggestions that the text from Nineveh claims that the present priests are physical descendants of the primeval king Enmeduranki.[66] This concept of the sacerdotal pedigree parallels the later Enochic traditions attested in *2 Enoch*,[67] which construe the earthly priestly line as physical descendants of the seventh antediluvian patriarch.

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[65] Lambert, "Enmeduranki and Related Matters," 128 and 130.

[66] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 186.

[67] It is intriguing that *2 Enoch* 59 depicts the patriarch as the one who instructs his sons in the sacrificial halakot pertaining to the priestly rituals.

CHAPTER TWO

ENOCH'S ROLES AND TITLES IN EARLY ENOCHIC BOOKLETS

Tracing the evolution of the traditions linked to the roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian hero leads us to investigate these notions in the Enochic traditions, where one can encounter a set of conceptual developments similar to the Mesopotamian one examined in the first chapter. In the early Enochic lore, reflected in the composition that has survived entirely only in its Ethiopic translation and is known to scholars as *1 Ethiopic Enoch*, the seventh antediluvian patriarch is depicted in several roles that reveal striking similarities to those of Enmeduranki. Just like his Mesopotamian counterpart, the patriarch is skilled in the art of divination, being able to receive and interpret mantic dreams. He is depicted as an elevated figure who is initiated into the heavenly secrets by celestial beings, including the angels and God himself. He then brings this celestial knowledge back to earth and, similar to the king Enmeduranki, shares it with the people and with his son.

This investigation of the patriarch's roles and titles as they appear in the early Enochic writings does not aim to give an exhaustive treatment of these concepts but rather is intended to serve as a sketch that will briefly outline major developments pertaining to the offices and the appellations of the main hero of the Enochic writings. It is impossible within the limited scope of the investigation to trace all the evidence pertaining to the patriarch's roles and titles in early Second Temple materials. A thorough treatment of this evidence would require at least a monograph for each Enochic role or

title. The task of this investigation is more modest as it concentrates only on some of the evidence pertaining to the major offices and appellations.

In this section of the investigation of early Enochic traditions, I will deliberately avoid any in-depth treatment of Enoch's roles and titles found in *2 Slavonic Enoch.* Although some details pertaining to this apocalypse will be occasionally mentioned, a systematic treatment of the roles and titles of the patriarch in the Slavonic apocalypse will be offered in a separate section of the dissertation.

Several words must be said about the exposition of the Enochic roles and titles. One of the difficulties of such a presentation is that some roles of the patriarch have a composite nature, often encompassing several functions that can be linked to his other roles. For example, Enoch's role as a mediator is closely tied to his other roles as a scribe, an expert in secrets, a witness of the divine judgment, etc. Because of the composite nature of some Enochic roles, it is sometimes very difficult to delineate strictly their boundaries, as some of their functions can be interchangeable. The situation is even more complicated with the titles. The exact title used often depends on the perspectives of various subjects and parties in the texts represented by divine, angelic, and human agents who have different perceptions of the patriarch's offices and activities and, as a consequence, name them differently. Some of Enoch's titles also have a composite nature since one appellation can often include references to the patriarch's several qualities or roles. The descriptions of such complexities pertaining to the roles and titles always involve repetitive explanations. Wherever possible I will try to avoid tautologies in the descriptions of the roles and titles. It should be recognized however that repetitions are

inevitable in view of the highly complicated nature of the phenomena under investigation.

Enoch as the Diviner

1 Enoch 1 introduces the seventh antediluvian patriarch in a role that appears to be quite different from his roles described in the Genesis story. *1 Enoch* 1:1-3a reads:

> The words of the blessing of Enoch according to which he blessed the chosen and righteous who must be present on the day of distress (which is appointed) for the removal of all the wicked and impious. And Enoch answered and said: (there was) a righteous man whose eyes were opened by the Lord, and he saw a holy vision in the heavens which the angels showed to me. And I heard everything from them, and I understood that I saw, but not for this generation, but for a distant generation which will come. Concerning the chosen I spoke, and uttered a parable concerning them....[1]

Evaluating this account, James VanderKam observes that Enoch's description here appears to reveal him in a new role as a mantic seer and a diviner, "a Jewish version[2] of the Mesopotamian diviner-king Enmeduranki."[3] In entertaining this possibility VanderKam draws attention to the feature, previously noted also by other commentators, that *1 Enoch* 1 uses some phrases borrowed from the Balaam stories in Num 22-24. In VanderKam's opinion, in Num 22-24 Balaam "is unmistakably depicted as a diviner who hails from the northern Euphrates region,"[4] and the narratives of these chapters of

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[1] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.57-58.

[2] John Collins observes that "despite the influence of Enmeduranki on the figure of Enoch, the Jewish sages who produced the Enochic literature were by no means diviners of the Babylonian type. Rather they represented a Jewish alternative to the diviners.... They were influenced by their Babylonian counterparts in some respects – their high regard for dreams, their interest in the stars and in the tablets of heaven." Collins, "The Sage in the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 347.

[3] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 116. For the criticism of VanderKam's position, see: A. Bedenbender, "Jewish Apocalypticism: A Child of Mantic Wisdom?" *Henoch* 24 (2002) 189-196, esp. 193. See also: M. A. Knibb, "Enoch Literature and Wisdom Literature," *Henoch* 24 (2002) 197-203.

[4] Balaam's connections with the world of divination, and specifically with the practices of the Babylonian diviner gild of the *barutim*, were explored in several studies. See S. Daiches, "Balaam—a Babylonian *Baru*: The Episode of Num 22, 2-4, 24 and Some Babylonian Parallels," in *Hilprecht*

Numbers employ standard mantic terms.[5] VanderKam further proposes that *1 Enoch* 1:3a introduces Enoch as a diviner-seer in the mold of Balaam,[6] since both of these figures (Balaam and Enoch) "belong in mantic contexts, both speak under divine inspiration in such circumstances, and both pronounce future blessings upon the people of God and curses on their enemies."[7]

The important feature of Enoch in his office as a diviner similar to the practitioners of the *bārû* guild is his connection with the practice of inducing and interpreting mantic dreams.[8] Although the members of the *bārû* guild were mainly involved in such divinatory techniques as extispicy, lecanomancy, ornithomancy (reading messages from the gods in the blemishes and unusual colorations of bird's skins)[9] and libanomancy (reading omens from configurations of rising smoke), some scholars suggest that it is possible that a *bārû* practitioner "was expected to know at least

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Anniversary Volume: Studies in Assirology and Archeology (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909) 60-70; R. Largement, "Les oracles de Bile^{c}am et la mantique suméro-akkadienne," *École des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut catholique de Paris: Mémorial du cinquantenaire 1914-64* (Travaux de l'Institut catholique de Paris 10; Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964) 37-50; M. S. Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development* (SBLDS, 113; Atlanta: Scholars, 1990).

[5] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 116-17.

[6] VanderKam observes that "it seems odd that a Jewish writer would present his hero in language dripping with reminders of the diviner who tried to curse Israel, but the author did just that, and he did so at the most visible place in his book. He may have recognized that Enoch's associations with divinatory subjects (such as astronomy/astrology) brought him into the same sphere as Balaam, however differently the two carried out their functions." VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 27.

[7] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 118.

[8] It is noteworthy that the culture of oneiromantic divination transcends the literary-historical boundaries of the Mesopotamian texts and the Hebrew Bible, representing an influential office of revelation in the pseudepigrapha and even in rabbinic writings. Indeed, in the Babylonian Talmud famous Tannaitic authorities sometimes appear as mantic oneirocritics: For example in *b.* Ber. 55b the following oneiromantic account can be found: "A certain woman came to Rabbi Eliezer and said to him: 'I saw in a dream that the granary of my house came open in a crack.' He answered; 'You will conceive a son.' She went away, and that is what happened. She dreamed again the same dream and told it to Rabbi Eliezer who gave the same interpretation, and that is what happened. She dreamed the same dream a third time and looked for Rabbi Eliezer. Not finding him, she said to his disciples: 'I saw in a dream that the granary of my house came open in a crack.' They answered her: 'You will bury your husband.' And that is what happened. Rabbi Eliezer, surprised by the lamentations, inquired what had gone wrong? His disciples told him what had happened. He cried out, 'Wretched fools! You have killed that man. Is it not written: 'As he interpreted to us, so it was?' And Rabbi Yohannan concludes: 'Every dream becomes valid only by its interpretation.'"

[9] Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*, 43.

some of the literature of oneiromancy, though this seems not to have been a field of divination with which he was very closely associated."[10] Haldar observes that in the *bārû* divinatory rituals mantic dreams were often interpreted through the omens associated with hepatoscopy and other divinatory techniques.[11] Moreover, in his opinion, "the *bārû* priests did not only interpret dreams; they also received revelation in them."[12]

VanderKam's research shows that the practice of oneiromancy, widespread in Mesopotamian traditions, constituted the basis for the subsequent Enochic developments. He points to a significant detail often found in the Mesopotamian materials when the standard omen series for dreams was called *Ziqīqu* after one of the gods of dreams, who normally was invoked in the first line of the text. This *Ziqīqu* was considered a son of Shamash, the solar deity. Another Mesopotamian mythological character, the dream goddess Mamu, also was closely associated with Shamash, regarded as his daughter.[13] If one keeps in mind that Enmeduranki, the prototype of Enoch, was a servant of the god Shamash, it appears to be significant, at least for understanding Enoch's background in oneiromancy, that in the Mesopotamian traditions the dream divinities belonged to the family of Shamash and this deity "himself retained direct control of dreams as a means of communication between gods and men."[14]

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[10] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 61; Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*, 44.

[11] Haldar mentions the archeological discovery of the tablet in the form of liver, found at Mari, where the following text was inscribed: "in his dream I have seen …." He also directs his attention to the fact that in Mesopotamian materials some dreams could be explained "in the cup of the seer." Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, 7.

[12] Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, 7.

[13] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 60.

[14] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 60.

One cannot fail to notice that *1 Enoch*'s materials constantly refer to the oneiromantic activities of the patriarch.[15] When Enoch describes one of his dream experiences in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 13:7-9a), this description vividly recalls the model often attested in similar cases of oneiromantic practices. The text reads: "And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan which is south-west of Hermon; and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep. And behold a dream (*helm*) came to me, and vision fell upon me, and I saw a vision of wrath...."[16]

David Suter observes that what one can say about Enoch in *1 Enoch* 13 (and this applies to Daniel and Ezekiel also) is that the narrative has a seer or a prophet engage in the ritual for an incubation oracle by sleeping at a sacred spring. So one has a pseudepigraphic character (at least for Enoch and Daniel) depicted as engaging in an actual ritual.[17]

Suter's reference to Daniel, another sage involved in oneiromantic rituals, is significant for understanding the nature and origins of Enoch's mantic practices. As with Enoch's situation which draws on the prototype(s) of Mesopotamian diviners, Daniel's *Sitz im Leben* also seems to entail these connections. John Collins stresses that the court legends in Daniel 1-6 also have Mesopotamian settings. In these legends Daniel is trained as a Babylonian sage and even appears to be depicted as a member of a guild.[18] Despite this affiliation, Daniel's way of handling mantic dreams is different from known

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[15] Collins stresses that "Enoch does not employ the techniques of the *bārû* - consulting entrails, observing oil on water, or manipulating the cedar rod. The only Babylonian medium of revelation that he endorses is the dream, which had some precedent in biblical tradition (cf. Jacob and Joseph), although it had also been subject to criticism. Interestingly, dream interpretation was not especially characteristic of the *bārû* guild." Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 45.

[16] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch,* 1.45; 2.94.

[17] On the practice of incubation in Greco-Roman world, see: J. S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt II* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980) 1395-1427.

Mesopotamian counterparts, in which these rituals coincide with other divinatory techniques, such as auspicy or lecanomancy.[19] In this relation Collins observes that Daniel, like Enoch,

> too outdoes the Chaldeans at their own task of interpreting dreams and mysterious writings, but he does so by the power of the God of Israel. Daniel, like Enoch, endorses the dream as a medium of revelation but does not resort to the divinatory techniques of the *bārû*. In each of these cases, the Jewish prophet or wise man is in competition with his Babylonian counterparts and accepts some of their presuppositions but also maintains a distinctive identity. The competitive aspect is not so explicit in the case of Enoch but is implied by the comparison with Enmeduranki.[20]

In conclusion to the analysis of the oneiromantic ritual from Chapter 13, it should be noted that in *1 Enoch* 13:7-9 the terms "dream" and "vision" seem to be used interchangeably.[21] VanderKam notes that "Enoch, whom tradition associated with mantic traits, here obtains knowledge about the future through one of the most popular of divinatory media."[22]

Other parts of *1 Enoch* also attest to the patriarch's visions as mantic dreams. Thus, when in *1 Enoch* 83 and 86, the seventh antediluvian patriarch describes his revelations, the text makes explicit that these visions are received in dreams.[23] These passages also point to the fact that Enoch's oneiromantic experiences occurred through his lifetime, possibly even from his early days, which the seer spent in the house of his grandfather Malalel.

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[18] Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 46.

[19] See A. Bedenbender, "Jewish Apocalypticism: A Child of Mantic Wisdom?" *Henoch* 24 (2002) 189-196, esp. 191-3.

[20] Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 46.

[21] Martin Hengel observes that Enoch "receives his wisdom through dreams (13.8; 14.1; 85.1) and visions (1.2; 37.1; 83.1f.; 93.1f.) – the two can hardly be separated...." M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 1.204.

[22] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition,* 134.

It is not surprising that other Enochic traditions associated with the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Book of Giants* highlight dreams as important media of the patriarch's revelations. Thus, Jub 4:19 alludes to a vision that Enoch received in sleep-dream in which he saw all the history of humankind until its eschatological consummation: "While he [Enoch] slept he saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur – how things will happen for mankind during their history until the day of judgment."[24]

Another feature of Enoch's oneiromantic activities is that the patriarch not only routinely received dreams himself, but as with the Mesopotamian practitioners, was involved in the ritual of interpreting the dreams for his clients. John Collins points to an important tradition attested in the *Book of Giants* which also seems to affirm the patriarch's role as a diviner interpreting the mantic dreams of others. In this text the rebellious group of the Watchers and Giants seeks the services of Enoch, "the scribe of distinction," asking him to interpret a troubling dream received by a giant, a son of their leader. Collins observes that this "role of dream interpreter provides an interesting association of Enoch with Daniel, and may also be taken to reflect the actual practice of a class of sages in the ancient Near East."[25]

Finally, the oneiromantic practices of Daniel resemble those routinely performed by Enoch in that both diviners record their dreams immediately upon receiving them. This custom appears to follow a typical Near Eastern oneiromantic rule according to which a diviner usually first records a dream and only then discerns its meaning. In

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[23] "I had laid down in the house of my grandfather Malalel, (when) I saw in a vision (how) heaven was thrown down and removed...." "And again I looked with my eyes as I was sleeping, and I saw heaven above...." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.192 and 196.

[24] J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510-11, Scriptores Aethiopici 87-88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 2.26-27.

[25] Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 345.

Mesopotamian oneiromantic circles, the dreams/visions were often written down before their interpretation. A classic example of this oneiromantic practice can be found in Dan 7:1, where a visionary, after having a dream vision, proceeds with its exposition only after writing it down. The same oneiromantic practice can be observed in the early Enochic traditions, where Enoch habitually writes down the revelations received from angelic and divine agents.[26] The references to the celestial and terrestrial tablets in Mesopotamian and Enochic lore might also implicitly connect these media of revelation(s) with the aforementioned mantic practices of recording the dream visions.

Enoch as the Primeval Sage

Scholars have observed that it is possible that "the oldest feature connected to Enoch is that of the primeval sage."[27] This role of the patriarch as a sage preoccupied with primeval knowledge and wisdom often has been considered by students of Enochic traditions to be principally responsible for shaping the patriarch's legendary profile.

Enochic materials often name wisdom as one of the features of the patriarch's teaching. Thus, for example, *1 Enoch* 82:2-3 refers to the knowledge that Enoch transmitted to his son Methuselah as "wisdom":

> I have given wisdom (*tebaba*) to you [Methuselah] and to your children, and to those who will be your children, that they may give (it) to their children for all the generations for ever – this wisdom (*tebab*) (which is) beyond their thoughts. And

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[26] John Collins observes that "the differences between the Daniel and Enoch traditions should also be noted. Daniel is a practitioner of courtly wisdom, concerned with the rise and fall of kingdoms. The earliest Enoch tradition is characterized by pseudoscientific speculation on cosmology and astronomy. These interests derive from the ascent of Enoch and his connection with the solar calendar. The distinctive interests suggest that each tradition originally had a different *Sitz im Leben*." Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 47.

[27] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 149. Martin Hengel observes that in *1 Enoch* "Enoch appears as the prototype of the pious wise man of the primal period.... A whole series of features of the Babylonian wise men of the primal period were transferred to his figure, which probably derives from the Babylonian primal king Enmeduranki." Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1. 204

> those who understand it will not sleep, but will incline their ears that they may learn this wisdom (*tebab*), and it will be better for those who eat (from it) than good food.[28]

Although the attachment of the predicate "wisdom" to the teaching or personality of other elevated patriarchs and prophets is not an uncommon feature in Jewish pseudepigrapha and can be found even in the Enochic materials (for example, *2 Enoch* 30:12 describes the prelapsarian Adam as a possessor of the divine wisdom), the claim that this wisdom has an everlasting nature is rare.

It is therefore notable that the passage specifically stresses that the wisdom of the patriarch has perennial value and must be transmitted for the future generations, and even "for all the generations for ever." This eternal quality of the wisdom conveyed by the seventh antediluvian hero to humans is also stressed in the *Cairo Genizah* manuscript of Sir 44:16 which defines Enoch as the sign of knowledge for all generations (אות דעת לדור ודור).[29]

Among other early Enochic materials, *Jubilees* also refers to the wisdom of the patriarch. Thus, Jub 4:17 mentions that "he [Enoch] was the first of mankind who were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom (*waṭebaba*) ...."[30] This text seems to stress too the omniscience of the patriarch's wisdom and understanding, referring to Enoch as the one who saw and understood everything.[31]

Besides the references to the patriarch's role as a person endowed with eternal wisdom, some of the Enochic materials seem also to disclose his distinctive title as the wisest person among humans. One such bit of textual evidence can be found in *1 Enoch*

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[28] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.271; 2.187-88.
[29] *Cairo Genizah* MS Ben Sira 44:16.
[30] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1.24; 2.25-26.

92:1, where he is called the wisest person[32] (in the Aramaic)[33] or the writer of wisdom for future generations (Ethiopic):[34] "Enoch, skilled scribe and wisest of men, and the chosen of the sons of men and judge of all the earth…."[35]

Besides the patriarch's title of wise man, this passage also tells its readers about the composite nature of the designation. The appellation "wisest of men" accompanies here three other titles, pointing to the complex nature of the patriarch's role as the wisest person among humans; this role appears to be interconnected with his other roles or maybe even construed through these designations. In this regard it should be noted that while several early investigations on the Enochic traditions sought to single out Enoch's title as a sage as his most important designation and demarcate this function from his other roles and titles, they often paid little attention to the significance of other celestial and terrestrial titles and roles of the seventh antediluvian hero which helped shape his role as a sage in various Enochic materials.[36]

It must therefore be stressed that although Enoch's role as a sage appears to be important, this function represents a composite office which necessarily includes some of his other roles--for example, an expert in secrets, a mediator, or a diviner--which unfold the various facets of Enoch's acquisition, handling and transmission of wisdom. This research, therefore, will try to explicate the specific functions of Enoch as a sage through

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[31] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 2.27. The same motif of the omniscience of Enoch's expertise is repeated in *2 Enoch* 40.

[32] Josef Milik first proposed that this expression might designate one of Enoch's titles which he rendered as "wiser than all men." Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 262; Black, *1 Enoch*, 283.

[33] [וח]כים אנושא – [and the wis]est of men. (4Q212 ii.23). F. García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.442-43.

[34] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations,* 113.

[35] Black, *1 Enoch*, 84.

[36] Thus, for example, Ludin Junsen in his research differentiates the heavenly and terrestrial profiles of the seventh antediluvian patriarch and argues that in his terrestrial or earthly profile Enoch is portrayed in the roles of a sage and a prophet. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt*, 13.

the exposition of his activities in various other offices, such as a scribe, an expert in the secrets, a mediator, among others.

Enoch as the Expert in Secrets

Helge Kvanvig observes that the seventh patriarch's role as a sage can not be separated from his expertise in celestial mysteries since "in Jewish tradition Enoch is primarily portrayed as a primeval sage, the ultimate revealer of divine secrets."[37]

The patriarch's prowess in the heavenly secrets is deeply embedded in the fabric of the Enochic myth and is set against the expertise in the celestial knowledge that the fallen Watchers once possessed.[38] John Collins observes that "most significantly, Enoch is implicitly cast as a revealer of mysteries. The watchers are angels who descend to reveal a worthless mystery.[39] Enoch is a human being who ascends to get true revelation."[40]

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[37] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 27.

[38] Pierre Grelot observes that "Enoch is the originator of prophesy understood as revelation of divine secrets." Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 15.

[39] *1 Enoch* 16:3 "You were in heaven, but (its) secrets had not yet been revealed to you and a worthless mystery you knew." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.102-103. On the motif of the Watchers' illicit instruction see: A. Y. Reed, *What the Fallen Angels Taught: The Motif of Illicit Angelic Instruction and the Reception-History of 1 Enoch in Judaism and Christianity* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2002).

[40] Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 49. In the same vein Christopher Rowland observes that "there does appear to be a contrast between the Watchers and Enoch. One of the great sins of Azazel is that he has 'revealed the eternal secrets which were in heaven, which men were striving to learn' (1 Enoch 9.6). This charge seems a strange one in an apocalypse which sets out to do precisely that for which the angels were condemned. Indeed, in *Jub.* 4:18ff. Enoch's fame is based on the fact that he introduced many secrets, including astronomy (cf. *1 Enoch's* 8.3), which the angels are also said to have done. One can only assume that the major difference between Enoch and the angels is the fact that man receives the heavenly mysteries by means of revelation, whereas the angels are guilty of exposing the heavenly mysteries to man without God's permission. Enoch reveals exactly what he is told to reveal, and, as a result, God only allows man to know sufficient for man's well-being. The angels, however, usurp God's right to reveal his mysteries and indulge in a profligate disclosure of the secrets of God." C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982) 93-94.

The traditions about the patriarch's expertise in esoteric knowledge are widely presented in a variety of Enochic materials. In the *Astronomical Book* the possession and revelation of cosmological and astronomical secrets becomes a major function of the elevated Enoch. The origin of this role in Enochic traditions can be traced to *1 Enoch* 72:1, 74:2, and 80:1, which depict the patriarch as a recipient of angelic revelations, including the celestial knowledge of astronomical, meteorological, and calendarical lore. He remains in this capacity in the majority of the materials associated with the early Enochic circle. In *1 Enoch* 41:1 Enoch is portrayed as the one who "saw all secrets of heaven." [41]

Jub. 4:17 also attests to this peculiar role of the seventh patriarch. A large portion of *2 Enoch* is devoted to Enoch's initiation into the treasures of meteorological, calendarical, and astronomical lore during his celestial tour. The Slavonic apocalypse differs from the earlier materials in that it places special emphasis on the secrecy of cosmological revelations, thus demonstrating intriguing similarities with the later rabbinic developments with their stress on the secrecy of מעשה בראשית. Later Merkabah developments also underscore the role of Enoch as the "Knower of Secrets." Thus, according to *3 Enoch* 11:2, Enoch-Metatron is able to behold "deep secrets and wonderful mysteries."[42] Martin Cohen, in his analysis of the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials, observes that this tradition depicts Metatron as "the revealer of the most recondite secrets about Godhead."[43]

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[41] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.128.

[42] P. Alexander "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.264.

[43] Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 127.

Several remarks should be made about the sources of Enoch's knowledge. J. Collins's research points to the passage in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 Enoch* 93:2) that succinctly summarizes the possible means by which the patriarch acquires the esoteric information.[44] In this text Enoch informs us that he received it according to that which appeared to him *in the heavenly vision*, and which he knew from *the words of the holy angels* and understood from *the tablets of heaven*.[45] The mention of these three sources underscores the fact that the revelations to the patriarch were given on various levels and through various means of mystical perception: seeing (a vision), hearing (oral instructions of *angelus interpres*) and reading (the heavenly tablets).

It is curious that the terminology pertaining to secrets began to play an increasingly significant role in the later stages of the development of the Enochic tradition. While in the earliest Enochic booklets, such as the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*, the terminology pertaining to secrets and mysteries is barely discernable, it looms large in the later Enochic materials such as the *Book of the Similitudes*,[46] *2 Enoch* and finally the Merkabah developments. This growing importance

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[44] Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 345.

[45] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.223.

[46] See *1 Enoch* 71:1-4: "And it came to pass after this that my spirit was carried off, and it went up into the heavens.... And the angel Michael, one of the archangels, took hold of me by my right hand, and raised me, and led me out to all the *secrets* of mercy and the *secrets* of righteousness. And he showed me all the *secrets* of the ends of heaven and all the storehouses of all the stars and the lights, from where they come out before the holy ones." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.165-6. See also *1 Enoch* 40:2: "I looked, and on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four figures different from those who were standing; and I learnt their names, and showed me all the *secret* things." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.127. Cf. *1 Enoch* 41:1-3: "And after this I saw all the *secrets* of heaven, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the deeds of men are weighed in the balance.... And there my eyes saw the secrets of the flashes of lightning and of the thunder, and secrets of the winds, how they are distributed in order to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and of the dew." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.128-9. See also *1 Enoch* 46:2: "And I asked one of the holy angels who went with me, and showed me all the *secrets*, about that son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.131-2. Cf. *1 Enoch* 68:1: "And after this my great-grandfather Enoch gave me the explanation of all the secrets in a book." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.158.

of the terminology pertaining to secrets can be illustrated by *2 Enoch*. While various manuscripts of *2 Enoch* are known under different titles, most of them include the word "secrets."[47] In some of these titles the term is connected with Enoch's books - "The Secret Books of Enoch."[48] In other titles, "secrets" are linked either to God ("The Book[s] [called] the Secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch")[49] or to Enoch himself ("The Book of the Secrets of Enoch").[50] This consistency in the use of the term "secrets," in spite of its varied attribution to different subjects, indicates that the authors or the transmitters of the text viewed the motif of secrets as a central theme of the apocalypse. The Enochic notion of the secrets and its significance in *2 Enoch* and Hekhalot writings will be the subject of particular investigation in one of the following chapters of this dissertation.

Finally, one must note that Enoch's role as one who was initiated into the highest secrets of the universe might be implicitly reflected in his name. While several etymologies for the patriarch's name have been proposed, many scholars suggest that the patriarch's name might be related to the Hebrew root *ḥnk*, in the sense "to train up," "to dedicate," or "to initiate" (Deut 20:5; 1 Kings 8:63; 2 Chron 7:5).[51]

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[47] ТАИНЪІ.

[48] MSS *A*: "From the secret book(s) about the taking away of Enoch the just," *Tr.*: "Which are called the secret books of Enoch," *U*: "From the secret books about the taking away of Enoch the just," and *Rum.*: "From the secret books of Enoch." F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.103; 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," *COIDR* 4 (1910) 1.161; 1.111; and 1.153.

[49] MSS *V*, *N*: "And these are the books (called) the secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch." Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.83. See also B^2: "This is the book of the secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch." Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.133.

[50] *P*: "The book (about) the secrets of Enoch, the son of Ared," and *R*: "The books of the holy secrets of Enoch." A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1952) 1 and Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.1.

[51] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 11. On the etymology of Enoch's name, see also Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch," 186; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 41-43.

Enoch as the Scribe

This section on the unique scribal functions of the seventh antediluvian patriarch begins with the passage found in *2 Enoch* 22, which provides a graphic picture of the patriarch's initiation into scribal activities. This initiation takes place near the Throne of Glory when the Lord himself commands the archangel Vereveil to give a pen to Enoch so that he can write the mysteries explained to him by the angels. This tradition about the scribal functions of the patriarch reflected in the Slavonic apocalypse was already documented in the earliest Enochic literature.[52] The *Book of Giants* fragments label Enoch a distinguished scribe.[53] In *Jub.* 4:17, he is attested as the one who "learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky...."[54] In the Merkabah tradition, Enoch/Metatron is also depicted as a scribe who has a seat (later a throne) in the heavenly realm.[55] The theme of Enoch-Metatron's scribal functions became a prominent motif in the later rabbinic traditions where, according to *b.* Hag. 15a, the privilege of sitting beside God was accorded to Metatron alone by virtue of his character as a scribe, for he was granted permission as a scribe to sit and write down

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[52] In *1 Enoch* 74:2, Enoch writes the instructions of the angel Uriel regarding the secrets of the heavenly bodies and their movements. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch,* 2.173. William Adler draws the reader's attention to an interesting passage from M. Glycas which refers to Uriel's instruction to Seth in a manner similar to Uriel's revelation of the calendarical and astronomical secrets to Enoch in the *Astronomical Book* of *1 Enoch.* "It is said that the angel stationed among the stars, that is the divine Uriel, descended to Seth and then to Enoch and taught them the distinctions between hours, months, seasons, and years." W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 26; Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989) 105. For the Greek text, see *Michaelis Glycae Annales* (ed. I. Bekker; CSHB; Bonn; Weber, 1836) 228.

[53] 4Q203 8: "Copy of the seco[n]d tablet of [the] le[tter...] by the hand of Enoch, the distinguished scribe...." F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 1.411.

[54] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.25-6.

[55] This tradition can be seen already in *2 Enoch* 23:4-6, which depicts the angel Vereveil commanding Enoch to sit down: "'You sit down; write everything....' And Enoch said, 'And I sat down for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights, and I wrote accurately.'" F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.141.

the merits of Israel. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen 5:24 describes Metatron as the Great Scribe (סַפְרָא רַבָּא).[56]

The important aspect of the early portrayals of Enoch as a scribe is that they depict him in the capacity of both the celestial scribe and the terrestrial scribe, as the one who not only records messages from his heavenly guides, but also composes petitions at the request of the creatures from the lower realms, for example, the fallen Watchers/Giants who ask him for mediation. The celestial and terrestrial sides of Enoch's duties as a scribe reveal the composite nature of this important role. Indeed the patriarch's scribal office can be seen as a mixture of various activities which the Near Eastern scribe was expected to perform.[57] Besides writing, this occupation also presupposes the ability to understand various scripts and languages, since scribal duties required proficiency in copying, i.e., duplicating written materials.[58] One will see later the significance of this dimension of Enoch's scribal activities during his encounters with the celestial tablets from which he often reads and which he also occasionally copies. Another facet of the patriarch's scribal duties linked to his involvement in the

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[56] *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (tr. M. Maher, M.S.C.; The Aramaic Bible, 1B; Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992) 36.

[57] On the scribes and the scribal culture in Mesopotamian and Jewish environments, see M. Bar-Ilan, "Writing in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism: Scribes and Books in the Late Second Commonwealth and Rabbinic Period," in: *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism in Early Christianity* (eds. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling; CRINT 2.1; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989) 21-38; J. Blenkinsopp, "The Sage, the Scribe, and Scribalism in the Chronicler's Work," in: *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, 307-315; J. J. Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," in: *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, 343-354; L. R. Mack-Fisher, "The Scribe (and Sage) in the Royal Court at Ugarit," in: *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, 109-115; D. E. Orton, *The Understanding Scribe: Matthew and the Apocalyptic Ideal* (JSNTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); A. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees* (Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1989); C. Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period* (JSOTSS 291; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); E. E. Urbach, *The Halakha, Its Sources and Development* (Yad La-Talmud; Jerusalem: Massada, 1906).

[58] This aspect of the scribe as a translator looms large in *2 Enoch* 23:2, where Vereveil (Uriel) teaches the elevated patriarch "every kind of language" (the longer recension) and, specifically, "the Hebrew language" (the shorter recension). See Andersen, "2 Enoch," 140-41.

Watchers/Giants' situation highlights the fact that his scribal duties resemble the functions of the legal scribe whose activities necessarily include settling disputes and writing petitions.[59] J. Collins remarks that "Enoch is apparently modeled on the familiar figure of the scribe, whose skill in writing gives him importance not only in communication but also in legal proceedings."[60]

Another detail which shows the composite nature of the patriarch's scribal role is that this office cannot be separated from his initiation into the celestial lore.[61] In early Enochic traditions these two functions appear to be conjoined. The motif of initiation into the secrets as the beginning of scribal activities occupies a substantial role in the *Astronomical Book* of *1 Enoch*, the oldest Enochic material. [62] The same feature is discernable in the Enmeduranki material where the initiation of the practitioner is combined with the motif of the transference to him of a tablet and a stylus.

James VanderKam observes that the *Astronomical Book* not only expands several traits of the patriarch that are briefly mentioned in Genesis 5, but also assigns an entirely new role[63] to him, that of a writer[64] of angelic discourses.[65] VanderKam points out that

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[59] Kvanvig draws attention to the similar role of Ezra whose title "scribe of the law" indicates the conflation of scribal and legal duties. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 101.

[60] Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 344.

[61] John Collins further observes that Enoch "is no ordinary scribe since he carries communication between heaven and earth. As such he is also a visionary and even has some of the characteristics of a shaman." Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 345.

[62] Both C. H. Charles and M. Black argue that the possible biblical parallel to Enoch's role as the Scribe could be the passage from Ezekiel 9, which depicts a man clad in white linen with an ink-horn by his side. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 28; Black, *1 Enoch*, 143.

[63] In *1 Enoch* 89:62 the scribal function is assigned to Michael.

[64] A number of scholars traced the role of Enoch as a celestial scribe back to the Mesopotamian lore about the scribe Nabu. See: H. Gunkel, "Der Schreiberengel Nabû im A. T. und in Judentum," *ARW* 1 (1989) 294-300; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 400-6; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 28; Black, *1 Enoch*, 143. J. VanderKam criticizes this parallel pointing out that "nothing that is said in either of the compositions [the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*] about his [Enoch] writing corresponds in distinctive ways with the traditions about Nabu, the scribe of the gods." VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 133.

[65] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 104.

the beginning of this new activity can be traced to one of the important testimonies in the *Astronomical Book* that reveals Enoch in his new celestial office. In *1 Enoch* 74:2[66] the patriarch is depicted as the one who writes down the instructions of the angel Uriel regarding the secrets of the heavenly luminaries and their movements: "And Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed me everything, and I wrote down their positions as he showed (them) to me; and I wrote down their months, as they are, and the appearance of their light until fifteen days have been completed."[67]

It can hardly be a coincidence that the text here names the angel Uriel as the one who initiates Enoch into the scribal activities; this angel is often depicted in the Enochic lore as a scribe himself.[68]

Later in the *Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch* 81:6), Uriel advises the patriarch to write down the knowledge received in the celestial realm, so that Enoch can share it with his children during his upcoming visitation of the earth. The patriarch's records made in heaven thus seem to play an important role in the transmission of the celestial secrets to humans in general and in particular to the patriarch's son Methuselah, who, like Enmeduranki's son in the Mesopotamian materials, occupies a special place in the mediating activities of the seventh antediluvian hero. One encounters this motif again in *1 Enoch* 82:1, when Enoch assures his son Methuselah that he wrote a book for him.

It is puzzling that despite these numerous references to the patriarch's scribal activities, the *Astronomical Book* does not overtly label Enoch as a scribe. This title with

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[66] See also *1 Enoch* 82:1: "And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I recount to you and write down for you; I have revealed everything to you and have given you books from the hand of your father, that you may pass (them) on to the generations of eternity." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.187.

[67] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.173.

different variations, however, appears in other early Enochic books, including the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Epistle of Enoch*, and the *Book of Giants*. In these writings the patriarch's scribal duties are surrounded by several titles and honorifics, including "scribe," "scribe of righteousness," "scribe of distinction," and "the most skilled scribe."

Scribe of Righteousness

The origin of the scribal titles in Enochic traditions can be traced to the *Book of the Watchers*, in which Enoch possesses several such titles. Although in *1 Enoch* 12:3 the patriarch modestly refers to himself as a scribe, in *1 Enoch* 12:4 and 15:11 he is defined by others by the honorific "scribe of righteousness," which, according to Milik can be related to the Aramaic term ספר קושטא.[69] One must note that in extant Enochic materials the patriarch's scribal honorifics never appear as Enoch's self-designation, but always come from the mouth of various clients who benefit from the fruits of his scribal expertise. It is therefore natural that the occurrences of the title "scribe of righteousness" are located in the narrative devoted to Enoch's mission to the Watchers group.

In *1 Enoch* 12:3-4 Enoch is asked by the faithful Watchers of the heaven to go to their rebellious brethren in order to announce God's upcoming punishment for the iniquities they committed on earth. The faithful angels address[70] the patriarch as "scribe of righteousness": "And I Enoch was blessing the Great Lord and the King of Eternity,

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[68] For example, in *2 Enoch*, Vereveil=Uriel is depicted as a scribe. The exchange in the roles between Enoch and Uriel is intriguing and goes both ways. H. Kvanvig observes that in Pseudo-Eupolemus "Enoch was placed into the same position as Uriel in the *Astronomical Book*." Kvanvig, 239.

[69] Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 191. George Nickelsburg proposes that the title can be related to the Aramaic ספר די קושטא. G. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia, Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) 65.

[70] It is significant that Enoch's scribal titles are used by various parties in the Enochic materials. He is recognized with these titles by various subjects including the Watchers (12:4) and God himself

and behold the Watchers called to me, Enoch the scribe (*saḥafā*), and said to me: "Enoch, scribe of righteousness,[71] (*saḥafē ṣedeq*) go, inform the Watchers of heaven...."[72]

Chapter 13 of *1 Enoch* portrays the patriarch as one who delivers the message of the upcoming judgment for Azazel and other Watchers. The terrified Watchers solicit the patriarch's help in writing a petition to God, asking for forgiveness. With Enoch's help the petition is prepared, and during its reading the patriarch falls into a mantic dream in which he sees a vision of wrath. *1 Enoch* 14 subsequently emphasizes that the Watchers' petition will not be granted and that they will be "bound in the earth for all the days of eternity."[73] Enoch then travels to the throne of God where the Deity himself addresses him as "righteous man" and "scribe of righteousness," telling the patriarch the truth about the sins of the rebellious angelic group: "And he answered me and said to me with his voice: Hear! Do not be afraid, Enoch, (you) righteous man and scribe of righteousness...."(*1 Enoch* 15:11).[74]

It is significant that the title "scribe of righteousness" appears in the narrative dealing with the group of fallen angelic beings and a righteous human destined to play the role of their mediator before God. It is quite possible that the title reflects not only the role of the elevated Enoch as an expert in writing, but his other roles, such as a righteous person, an expert in the "secrets of righteousness," and a witness of the divine judgment.[75] Christine Schams observes that the title "scribe of righteousness" suggests

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(15:1), who like to address the patriarch by referring to his scribal office. In 12:3 the scribal office also becomes the patriarch's self-definition: "me, Enoch the scribe."

[71] In Codex Panopolitanus Enoch is designated as γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

[72] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.41; 2.92.

[73] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.96.

[74] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.100.

[75] Schams' idea that here we deal with one of the composite titles which include several roles of the main character appears to be plausible.

that "Enoch was not regarded as a mere professional writer."[76] In her opinion the title might be used "in conjunction with other attributes of the person. Most likely, Enoch's expertise in writing and reading and his reputation as a righteous man, that is his teaching and knowledge of righteousness and God's righteous judgment, were combined in his composite title of 'scribe of righteousness.'"[77]

The composite nature of the epithet "scribe of righteousness" can be further illuminated through the reference to the *Testament of Abraham* (recension B) in which Enoch's title as "scribe of righteousness" is combined with his role as a witness of the divine judgment. *Testament of Abraham* 11:2-4 reads:

> And Michael said to Abraham, "Do you see the judge? This is Abel, who first bore witness, and God brought him here to judge. And the one who produces (the evidence) is the teacher of heaven and earth and the scribe of righteousness, Enoch. For the Lord sent them here in order that they might record the sins and the righteous deeds of each person. (B 11:2-4).[78]

It is intriguing that the *Testament of Abraham* also brings the scribal title into connection with Enoch's role as the teacher of heaven and earth, which emphasizes the validity of the patriarch's teaching not only for the citizens of earth but also for the inhabitants of heaven, i.e. angels.

It should be noted that in previous studies scholars tried to illuminate the etymology of the title "scribe of righteousness" by the reference to Enoch's righteousness. Thus, Josef Milik connects the title with Enoch's designation as a righteous man. He observes that the epithet "the scribe of righteousness" might underline

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[76] C. Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period* (JSOTSS 291; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 94.

[77] Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period*, 94.

[78] E. P. Sanders, "Testament of Abraham," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.900.

Enoch's moral rectitude in a way consonant with the patriarch's designation as "the righteous man" in *1 Enoch* 1:2.[79] George Nickelsburg also points to the possible connection of the title "scribe of righteousness" with numerous analogies in Jewish writings from the Greco-Roman period which employ appellations for righteous individuals. He highlights possible links to the Teacher of Righteousness from the Qumran writings including 1 QpHab 1:13 and CD 6:11.[80]

Scribe of Distinction

Qumran Enochic fragments of the *Book of Giants* (4Q203 8:4 and 4Q530 ii. 14) attest to another of the patriarch's honorifics, "the scribe of distinction," or "the distinguished scribe," ספר פרשא.[81] Despite the extremely fragmentary character of the extant Qumran materials associated with the *Book of Giants*, the context of the original story can be partially restored with the help of portions of this book extant in the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants*[82] and in the later Jewish account known as the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*.[83]

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[79] Milik, *The Book of Enoch*, 262.

[80] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 65.

[81] Milik, *The Book of Enoch*, 260-62 and 305; F. García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.410-411; 2.1062-63. John Reeves translates the title as "the scribe set apart," a rendering which underlines Enoch's separation from human society. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 77. Loren Stuckenbruck highlights another aspect of the title, namely its possible connection with פשר. He argues that in view of this connection, the honorific can be translated as "the scribe of interpretation." Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 117-18.

[82] W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943-46) 52-74; P. O. Skjærvø, "Iranian Epic and the Manichean Book of Giants. Irano-Manichaica III," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XLVIII (1-2) (1995) 187-223; W. Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," *Hommages et opera minora 9: Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Acta Iranica, 23/Second Series 9; Leiden: Brill, 1984) 491-505.

[83] This study uses the Hebrew texts and the English translation of the *Midrash* published in Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 321-328.

One of the fragments (4Q203 8:4-3) in which the title "scribe of distinction" occurs possibly refers to a situation in which a written material (a tablet or a letter) must be delivered to one of the leaders of the rebellious group, Shemihazah, and his companions: "Copy of the seco[n]d tablet of [the] le[tter...] by the hand of Enoch, the distinguished scribe (ספר פרשא) [...] and holy (one), to Shemihazah and to all [his] com[panions...]."[84] Despite its fragmentary nature, the passage unambiguously connects Enoch with his scribal title, demonstrating that the context of the appellation is linked with his role as an envoy to the Watchers. Here again, as in the case of the previous title "scribe of righteousness," the scribal honorific is not presented as Enoch's self-definition, nor is it fashioned as an address. The title is rather given as a description, although the context of the narrative or the identity of its possible narrator is difficult to establish.

The second fragment in which the identical designation occurs is from another section of the *Book of Giants* in which the giant Ahya, son of Shemihazah, sees a symbolic dream, the meaning of which the Watchers cannot understand. They decide to approach Enoch and ask the patriarch to interpret the dream: "[…] The Giants could [not] find (someone) to explain to the[m] [the dream … to Enoch,] the scribe of distinction (לספר פרשא), and he will interpret the dream for us" (4Q530 ii. 13-14).[85]

The important feature found in the passage is that Enoch's designation as "distinguished scribe" is combined with the patriarch's expertise in the interpretation of mantic dreams. This detail points to the fact that the honorific "distinguished scribe" also, as the previously analyzed cognomen "scribe of righteousness," represents a composite

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[84] F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 1.410-411.

title. Besides Enoch's writing skills, this title most likely also expresses his mastery as a mantic diviner who is able to record and interpret mantic dreams. It might further allude to his expertise in legal matters. Milik suggests that this title might qualify Enoch as a professional, distinguished copyist who writes distinctly, clearly, and perhaps also as a redactor of laws which have the force of the judge's decisions.[86]

It is possible that the epithets of the patriarch as the righteous scribe and the scribe of distinction are related to his scribal designations by creatures of the upper and lower realms. It was demonstrated above that Enoch is often addressed as the scribe of righteousness by angels and the Deity in the celestial realm. In the *Testament of Abraham* the same designation comes again from the mouth of an angel in the heavenly realm. In contrast to these addresses, the title "scribe of distinction" appears to be connected with Enoch's designation(s) in the terrestrial realm. This title might be linked to Enoch's earthly scribal duties and his distinguished reputation among his earthly clients, including the Watchers/Giants group who are able to discern his "distinction" from other scribes. Such differentiation is less appropriate in the upper realm where the scribal function(s) are usually performed solely by Enoch, and only occasionally by other angels.

Most Skilled Scribe

Other evidence of a possible scribal honorific of the patriarch comes from *1 Enoch* 92:1. This poorly preserved evidence is reliably attested only in the Ethiopic language, since no Greek version of this passage is available, and the Qumran materials pertaining to this passage (4Q212 ii. 22-24) survived in an extremely fragmentary form

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[85] F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 2.1062-63.

which contain only the context surrounding this term. Although Milik argues that the missing title might represent the already known appellation of Enoch as ספר פרשא, which also occurs in two Qumran fragments of the *Book of Giants*, not all scholars agree with this position. Matthew Black draws[87] attention to the expressions found in an older recension[88] of the Ethiopic text[89] that possibly witnesses to a new title of the patriarch, "skilled scribe" or "scribe of all skill" (*saḥāfi zak^{w}ellu temherta*); this title can be related to the Hebrew expression ספר מהיר, attested in the Bible with reference to Ezra.[90] Christine Schams observes that "in much the same way as in Ezra 7:6, it remains unclear from *1 Enoch* 92:1 whether the attribute 'skilled scribe' refers to Enoch's dexterity as scribe, his wisdom, or both."[91]

One must not forget that the great bulk of information about Enoch's scribal roles and honorifics found in Enochic literature may implicitly point to the social profile of the authors of these writings. John Collins notes that the description of Enoch as "scribe of righteousness" suggests that the author and his circle may have been scribes too.[92] He observes that although we know little about the authors of the Enochic writings, the books of Enoch "often speak of a class of the 'righteous and chosen' and Enoch, the

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[86] Milik, *The Book of Enoch*, 262.

[87] See Black, *1 Enoch*, 283. Although some scholars do not support Black's position, discussion of his hypothesis is useful since it is related to the current ongoing discussion of the titles.

[88] On the Ethiopic manuscript traditions of *1 Enoch* see Black, *1 Enoch*, 2-3; E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End* (OTS 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 144-5.

[89] M. Black's translation of *1 Enoch* 92 renders the context of the usage of the title as follows: "[Epistle of Enoch which] he wrote and gave to his son Methuselah. Enoch, skilled scribe and wisest of men, and the chosen of the sons of men and judge of all the earth, to all my children and to later generations, to all dwellers on earth who observe uprightness and peace." Black, *1 Enoch*, 84. In Knibb's translation, which relies on Rylands Eth. MS 23, this passage has the following form: "Written by Enoch the scribe – this complete wisdom teaching, praised by all men and a judge of the whole earth – for all my sons who dwell upon the earth and for the last generations who will practice uprightness and peace." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.222.

[90] Ezra 7:6; Ps 45(44):2.

[91] Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period*, 95.

righteous scribe, must be considered their prototype."[93] He further suggests that it is possible that these people "were, or at least included in their number, scribes who were familiar with a wide range of ancient lore and who wrote books in the name of Enoch."[94]

Enoch as the Mediator

The patriarch's mediatorial functions loom large in Enochic lore and constitute another highly complex and multifaceted role of this character. Early Enochic sources indicate that this role appears to be more complicated than the similar mediatorial duties of Enmeduranki attested in the tablet from Nineveh.

In contrast to the king of Sippar, whose mediation involves the task of bringing celestial knowledge to humans, the seventh antediluvian patriarch is portrayed as the one who not only dispatches knowledge from the celestial to the terrestrial realm but also conveys messages received in the lower realms to God and other celestial beings.[95]

Of prime importance is that this two-way communication involves specific media of knowledge represented respectively by the heavenly tablets and Enoch's petitions and testimonies written on behalf of fallen creatures. The patriarch's mediating duties comprise a whole range of topographical and chronological dimensions. His functions as mediator are not confined to a particular realm or a particular petitioner, since his clients include a range of divine, angelic, human, and composite creatures. In the *Book of the Watchers* faithful angels of heaven ask him to assist their brethren in the lower realm. In

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[92] Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 49.

[93] Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 346.

[94] Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 346; idem, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism,* 49.

[95] Jansen notes that Enoch serves as a mediator between God and the world. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt,* 13. This present study will demonstrate that this Enochic role lays the foundation for the future role of Metatron as the Prince of the World.

this text he mediates on behalf of the rebellious group which includes the fallen Watchers and the Giants. In *2 Enoch* the elders of the earth ask him for intercession. In the *Genesis Apocryphon* his son Methuselah is successful in obtaining through him special knowledge about the puzzling situation of Lamech.

Enoch's mediating activities also are not limited by specific chronological boundaries. He mediates in the generation of the Flood, but he is also expected to be a mediator and the witness of the Divine judgment in the eschatological period. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 36:3 stresses the long-lasting scope of the patriarch's mediating activities when it mentions the Lord's invitation to Enoch to become his celestial scribe and witness of the divine judgment forever.

The range of the patriarch's mediating activities is also very broad. He mediates knowledge, sharing the esoteric information which he received from various angelic and divine agents with humans. He mediates as intercessor, helping various creatures to record and deliver their petitions to the Creator. He also mediates judgment by recording the sins of humans and writing testimonies.

It is apparent that Enoch's role as mediator interacts with a wide range of other roles and functions: he mediates through his scribal role when he writes petitions and testimonies and copies tablets. He mediates as a diviner who receives and interprets dreams and visions which serve as important mediums between the upper and lower realms. He mediates through the office of expert in the secrets, transmitting celestial wisdom to human beings. The aforementioned range of Enoch's mediating activities demonstrates the highly complex nature of this office. Although it is extremely difficult

to offer a comprehensive rationale that can effectively schematize all facets of this role, some general comments can be made.

One notices that Enoch's mediating activities can be divided into two major categories: his mediation of knowledge and his mediation of divine judgment. Both spheres seem to represent important centers of the patriarch's mediating activities.

Although mediation of divine judgment cannot be completely separated from Enoch's mediation of knowledge since the former necessarily includes knowledge of the upcoming judgment that the patriarch possesses and sometimes shares with others, it is useful to confine Enoch's mediation of divine judgment to a separate category. Indeed, this category appears to be more complex than his mediation of knowledge and can be viewed as encompassing two major activities taking place in two temporal *loci*.

First, a few words must be said about the temporal *loci* of Enoch's mediating activities in reference to divine judgment. It appears that the patriarch is predestined to mediate judgment in two significant temporal *loci*. One of them is the historical locale associated with the generation of the Flood; in this locale Enoch acts as an intercessor and a writer of testimonies to the Watchers, giants and humans. The second *locus* is eschatological and involves Enoch's future role as witness of the divine judgment at the end of time.[96] These two *loci* might be seen as the boundaries that demarcate the period covered by Enoch's prominent role as God's assistant in divine judgment. Indeed, in the time between the generation of the Flood and the upcoming final judgment, Enoch does not completely abandon his role as the witness of the divine judgment, since early Enochic traditions often depict him as the one who meticulously collects knowledge

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[96] *2 Enoch* 36:3 (the longer recension): "you will be for me a witness of the judgment of the great age." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 161.

about the sins and righteous deeds of God's creatures; this knowledge will be used at the time of the final arbitration.

The seventh antediluvian patriarch's mediation of the divine judgment includes two roles that exhibit his unique position as the middleman between humans and God: the role of the intercessor and the role of a herald of the judgment. In his role as the intercessor, the seventh antediluvian hero acts as a special envoy from creatures *to* their Creator, bringing petitions and pleas to God. In his role as the herald of judgment the patriarch behaves as a messenger *from* the Creator warning the creatures of lower realms about future punishment.

The role of envoy to both parties, divine and human, becomes possible not only through the patriarch's knowledge of the "secrets of the divine judgment" but also through his understanding of the secrets of the human heart. The later Hekhalot materials specifically stress Enoch-Metatron's expertise in the mysteries not only of the Creator but also of the creatures. In *3 Enoch* 11:3 Enoch-Metatron conveys to R. Ishmael that "before a man thinks in secrets, I see his thought; before he acts, I see his act. There is nothing in heaven above or deep within the earth concealed from me."[97]

In view of the multifaceted nature of the Enochic mediation, the further investigation of this role will be divided into three sections. The first section will deal with Enoch's mediation of knowledge; this mediation is mainly represented by his transmission of sacred knowledge to people of earth in general and to his son in particular. The second section will deal with the historical *locus* of his mediation of judgment, and in particular with his dealings with the Watchers/Giants. Finally, the third

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[97] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.

section will deal with the patriarch's role as the eschatological witness of the divine judgment and the writer of testimonies to the sinners of the earth.

Mediation of Knowledge

It has been previously noted that the patriarch's roles as the expert in secrets and the scribe are interconnected in the early Enochic booklets. One of the significant links that unifies these two roles is the special knowledge that Enoch receives from angels and then must write down. The function of mediating knowledge is also what connects these two roles with the patriarch's role as mediator. This tripartite cluster in which the seventh antediluvian patriarch acts simultaneously as a scribe, an expert in secrets, and a mediator is prominent in the Enochic materials and can be found already in the *Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch* 82:1) where Enoch is depicted as a transmitter of special knowledge to his son Methuselah: "And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I recount to you and write down for you; I have revealed everything to you and have given you books about all these things. Keep, my son Methuselah, the books from the hand of your father, that you may pass (them) on to the generations of eternity."[98]

In the passage from the *Astronomical Book*, as in the previously analyzed text about Enmeduranki,[99] three roles of the seventh antediluvian hero, namely, his expertise in the secrets, his scribal activities and his role as a mediator, are tied together through the reference to the tablet dispatched to the hero, which serves as an important unifying

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[98] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.187.

[99] John Collins' research highlights the importance of Enmeduranki's mediating functions for this new role of Enoch as a mediator. He points out that in the Mesopotamian tradition Enmeduranki, who receives the tablet and the instructions about the divinatory knowledge in the assembly of the gods, later transmits this knowledge to the *bārû* guild. Collins observes that "Enoch too is taken into the heavenly council and shown the tablets of heaven. While the Jewish text does not pick up the Babylonian methods of

symbol for this cluster of his roles.[100] There is little doubt that Enoch's writings in themselves represent the mediatorial tools, the media that are able to bridge the vertical and horizontal boundaries: the frontier lines between celestial and earthly realms, as well as the line of catastrophic demarcation between antediluvian and postdiluvian generations. The motif of Enoch's writings as a mediatorial device for bridging the flood catastrophe is recurrent in Enochic traditions. Enoch's writings serve the purpose of preserving knowledge in light of the impending flood. In *2 Enoch* 33 God reveals to Enoch that the main function of his writings is the dissemination of knowledge and its preservation from the impending catastrophe:

> And give them the books in your handwriting, and they will read them and they will acknowledge me as the Creator of everything.... And let them distribute the books in your handwritings, children to children and family to family and kinfolk to kinfolk.... So I have commanded my angels, Ariukh and Pariukh, whom I have appointed to the earth as their guardians, and I commanded the seasons, so they might preserve them [books] so they might not perish in the future flood which I shall create in your generation.[101]

Here again the three aforementioned roles of the patriarch are observable: Enoch's scribal activities, his mediatorial role, and his role as an expert in secrets. The last role is hinted at through the reference to the guardian angels of Enoch's writing.

Despite the apparent esoteric character of the knowledge conveyed by the angels and God to the seventh antediluvian patriarch, the dissemination of this information remains one of the major functions of Enoch-Metatron in various Enochic materials. They depict him as the one who shares astronomical, meteorological, calendarical, and

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divination, Enoch corresponds to Enmeduranki insofar as he is a primeval archetypal mediator of revelation." Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 346.

[100] Compare with the Enmeduranki tradition: "The learned savant, who guards the secrets of the great gods, will bind his son whom he loves with an oath before Shamash and Adad by tablet and stylus and will instruct him."

[101] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 156.

eschatological knowledge with his sons and others during his short visit to the earth. He also delivers knowledge about the future destruction to the Watchers/Giants. In the Merkabah tradition, Enoch-Metatron is also responsible for transmitting the highest secrets to the Princes under him, as well as to humankind.

A significant aspect of this Enochic role is that this transmission of knowledge from celestial to earthly agents is executed not only through the written medium of the celestial books or the tablets, but also orally. In *1 Enoch* 82:1 the patriarch says that for his son's sake, he will recount and write down the things that he learned himself. Commenting on this passage, James VanderKam observes that "there is no mistaking the fact that Enoch relayed Uriel's revelations to Methuselah both orally and in writings."[102]

The event of oral instruction leads us to another Enochic role, teacher or instructor, which becomes a prominent theme later in the Merkabah tradition.[103] Here Enoch-Metatron is portrayed as the Prince of Torah (*Sar Torah*) whose function is to instruct the visionaries in the secrets of the Torah and to educate the souls of the deceased infants in the wisdom of the Scriptures.[104] This aspect of oral instruction plays a significant role already in *2 Enoch*. Despite the explicit references to the Enochic books, a large body of the text is devoted to the extended oral instructions of Enoch to his sons, including Methuselah and the people of the earth.

Later Hekhalot materials refer to the adjuration of the Prince of Torah, who sometimes is identified in these texts with Metatron. One must not however forget that already in some early Enochic traditions as in the later Merkabah developments, the oral

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[102] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 104.

[103] On Metatron's role as a teacher in rabbinic literature, see Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 126ff.

[104] See also Enoch's designation as the "teacher of heaven and earth" in the *Testament of Abraham* 11.

transmission of celestial knowledge can be initiated not simply by the elevated Enoch or some other angelic agent but also upon the request of humans. Here one can possibly see the beginning of the adjuration pattern prominent in later Jewish mysticism in general and in Hekhalot literature in particular. Thus, in some early Enochic texts, Methuselah is often depicted not only as a passive recipient of the traditions passed on to him by his elevated father but also, in a manner similar to the later Merkabah visionaries who invoke the Sar Torah, as someone who can actively initiate the quest for special knowledge from his heavenly patron. This motif is evident in *1 Enoch* 106 and the *Genesis Apocryphon*, where Methuselah approaches Enoch in order to obtain knowledge about Lamech's puzzling situation. According to these narratives, when Methuselah learned about Lamech's suspicions, he decided to ask advice from Enoch. The *Genesis Apocryphon* reads: "he (Methuselah) left for the higher level, to Parvaim, and there he met Enoch, [his father...]."[105] The active role of Methuselah is highlighted by the motif of his travel to "the higher level," Parvaim, where he encounters Enoch. *Genesis Apocryphon* further tells us that "he (Methuselah) said to Enoch, his father: O my father and lord, to whom I have co[me...] [...] I say to you: Do not be annoyed with me because I came here to [...] you [...] fear (?) before you [...]."[106] This ability of Methuselah to initiate the request for urgently needed information might also be reflected in the testimony preserved by Pseudo-Eupolemus, which attests to a tradition according to which "Methuselah ...

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[105] F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 1.31. The similar tradition in *1 Enoch* 106:8 reads thus: "And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me [Enoch] at the ends of the earth, for he had heard that I was there." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.245.

[106] F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 1.31.

learned all things through the help of the angels of God, and thus we gained our knowledge."[107]

A related motif is found in *2 Enoch* 38, which depicts Enoch's transition to earth after his transformation near the throne of Glory. The passage specifically mentions Methuselah as the one who was anticipating Enoch's arrival, "mounting strict guard"[108] at his bed. Although *2 Enoch* 38 does not contain any explicit references to adjurational practices, this motif of awaiting the descent of the angel coupled with the reference to the ascetic practice of "mounting strict guard," is provocative and can be compared to the later Hekhalot Sar Torah accounts with their emphasis on ascetic preparations for the adjuration of the Sar Torah.

Mediation of the Divine Judgment: Enoch's Intercession for the Watchers

It has been previously mentioned that Enoch's mediation of the divine judgment is connected with two important chronological points: the generation of the Flood, when he was appointed by God as a special envoy to the rebellious group of the Watchers, and the eschatological locus, where he is predestined to become the witness of the divine judgment at the end of times.[109] This section of the investigation will deal with Enoch's functions as a mediating force between God and the fallen Watchers/Giants, both as an intercessor and as a witness of judgment.

In various Enochic materials, the patriarch is pictured as a special messenger of the Deity to the Watchers/Giants—a messenger with a unique, long-lasting mission to

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[107] C. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (Chico, Calif.: Scholar Press, 1983) I.175.

[108] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 162.

this rebellious group, both on earth and in other realms. The *Book of the Watchers* depicts him as the intercessor for the fallen angels. His mission entails not only compassion for the fallen creatures but also the message of condemnation of their sins. According to *Jub.* 4:22, Enoch "testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men.... Enoch testified against all of them."[110] In the *Book of Giants* Enoch delivers the written sermon, reprimanding the Watchers/Giants' sinful behavior and warning them about the upcoming punishment.[111] Enoch's mediating efforts are not limited solely to the fallen Watchers, but also include their faithful counterparts in heaven, who remained untouched by sin. *2 Enoch* 18 portrays Enoch's preaching to the Watchers of heaven during his celestial tour; he encourages them and suggests that they start the liturgy before the face of the Lord.[112]

Enoch's role as the envoy to angels tells us something new about his position. VanderKam observes that "in *1 Enoch* 12-16 the patriarch assumes a status far higher than he had enjoyed in earlier descriptions of him. In the *Astronomical Book* he relayed to his son and posterity the scientific information that Uriel had divulged to him, but here he becomes a mediating envoy between the Lord and the angels on whose behalf he intercedes."[113]

This observation points to a significant difference in two mediating events. In the *Astronomical Book* the patriarch serves as a liaison between his angelic guide who entrusted him with celestial knowledge and the creatures of flesh and blood whom he

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[109] Martin Hengel stresses the multifaceted nature of the patriarch's duties in the economy of the divine judgment. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1. 204.

[110] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.27-28.

[111] See 4Q203 8.

[112] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 130-33.

[113] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 131.

must enlighten about the angelic secrets. In the *Book of the Watchers* Enoch's status as mediator is much higher because he serves as an intermediary between the fallen angels and God. In this capacity as a middleman between the angelic group and the Deity, his status as intercessor is even higher than that of angels, since their sins (or the sins of their associates, as in the case of the faithful watchers of heaven) place them now below the elevated humanity of the patriarch. The patriarch's role as intercessor thus poses a paradox, resisting the traditional understanding of the intercession in which an angelic being must assume the role of intercessor on behalf of the creatures of flesh and blood. In *1 Enoch* 15:2 God himself points to the paradox of Enoch's role: "And go, say to the Watchers of heaven who sent you to petition on their behalf: 'You ought to petition on behalf of men, not men on behalf of you.'"[114]

VanderKam observes that "Enoch becomes an official mediator for the angels because their crimes had made them too ashamed to approach their former heavenly home again."[115] The important aspect here is that the Watchers are not only ashamed to approach the Deity, they also seem to have lost their ability to serve effectively as mediators even on their own behalf. It is interesting to note that the text implies that under current conditions even the faithful Watchers of heaven are not able to serve as mediators between God and their former colleagues in the lower realm. Thus, *1 Enoch* 12:3-13:1 implies the superiority of Enoch as a mediator even over the angels of heaven. The text depicts the faithful Watchers of heaven asking the patriarch to serve as an intermediary between God and their fallen brethren:

> And I Enoch was blessing the Great Lord and the King of Eternity, and behold the Watchers called to me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me: "Enoch, scribe of

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[114] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.100.
[115] VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 132.

> righteousness, go inform the Watchers of heaven who left the high heaven and the holy place, and have corrupted themselves with the women ...."[116]

VanderKam observes that in Chapters 12-16 of *1 Enoch*, "Enoch plays an intriguing and suggestive role: though he is a human being, he serves as an intermediary between angelic groups. He brings to the evil watchers, who sinned with women and thereby unleashed all manner of evil on the earth, the announcement that they will have no peace...."[117] In *1 Enoch* 13:3-4 one can hear a similar request for mediation by the patriarch from the fallen Watchers who, trembling before Enoch, ask him to write a petition from them to the Lord of heaven: "Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid; fear and trembling seized them. And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness, and to take the record of their petition up to the Lord in heaven."[118]

Chapters 12-16 of *1 Enoch* depict the patriarch repeatedly crossing the boundaries between celestial and terrestrial worlds on behalf of his clients in the lower and upper realms. Observing Enoch's voyages, VanderKam notes that "Enoch, like the sinful angels, was one who crossed boundaries, but he, unlike them, retained the ability to retrace his steps. The angels, once they had committed themselves to the life of flesh and blood, lost the ability to return."[119]

One must note that in the mediating encounters with the Watchers' group the patriarch uses the medium of the written word. The fragments of the *Book of Giants* testify to the multifaceted nature of these activities. Here again the scribal role of the patriarch is closely connected with his office as mediator. Collins recognizes the

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[116] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.92.
[117] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 28.
[118] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.93.

connection between both duties, noting that "Enoch … is introduced initially in the role of scribe, and his function is one of intermediary between the angels in heaven and their fallen brethren on earth."[120]

Mediation of the Divine Judgment: Enoch as Eschatological Witness

Chapter 36 of the short recension of *2 Enoch* depicts the Lord appointing the elevated patriarch to several newly-acquired celestial offices, including those of the expert in secrets, the heavenly scribe, and the servant of the Divine Face: "and you will be in front of my face from now and forever. And you will be seeing my secrets, and you will be scribe for my servants … and you will be for me a witness of the judgment of the great age."[121]

The significant feature of this description is that, besides the three roles previously explored in the investigation, it contains a reference to Enoch's office as a "witness of the divine judgment." This eschatological role of the patriarch will later occupy a prominent part in early Jewish mysticism, where Metatron is named as שרא רבה דאסהדותא, a great angel (prince) of testimony. In the Merkabah tradition he appears also as the heavenly advocate defending Israel in the celestial court.

It is possible that Enoch's role as a witness of the divine judgment has Mesopotamian roots. Alfred Haldar's research demonstrates that in some Mesopotamian texts a *bārû* practitioner was considered an assistant to the "lords of decision," Shamash and Adad, the deities responsible for judgment. According to one Mesopotamian text, "the *bārû* shall seat himself before Shamash and Adad on the tribunal and then judge a

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[119] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 44.

judgment of right and righteousness. Shamash and Adad, the great gods, the Lords of vision, the Lords of decision, appear before him in order to decide a decision (and) answer him with a faithful yea."[122]

In early Enochic materials the patriarch's roles as a witness and the author of a testimony occur often. Their significance is effectively summarized in the *Book of Jubilees*,[123] where a relatively short account of Enoch's activities is literally saturated with the motifs and themes pertaining to his position as a witness of the divine judgment. According to *Jub* 4:19,[124]

> He saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur – how things will happen for humankind during their history until the day of judgment. He saw everything and understood. He wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history.[125]

As with Enoch's mediation in knowledge, which was carried out through distinctive written materials (tablets/books and petitions), the mediation of divine judgment again is executed through the written medium: Enoch's testimony, depicted as a writing placed on the earth. This latter feature may indicate that this written evidence, just like some of Enoch's other records, also bridged the boundaries between the heavenly and celestial realms.[126] One must note that Enoch's role as the witness of the divine judgment is rooted in his extraordinary personal situation: he was able to become a

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[120] Collins, "The Sage in Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature," 344.

[121] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 161.

[122] Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, 3.

[123] See also 4Q227 2 (Pseudo-Jubilees): "[… E]noch after taught him [ ] six jubilees of years [the ea]rth among the sons of mankind. And he testified against all of them. [ ] and also against the watchers. And he wrote all the [ ] sky and the path of their host and the [mon]ths [s]o that the ri[ghteous] should not err." VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 128.

[124] For a through analysis of this role in the *Book of Jubilees*, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 75-76.

[125] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 2.26-27.

[126] In 4Q530 II the information about Enoch's roles as the scribe of distinction and a dream interpreter is found in the scene of the divine judgment in which "[book]s were opened and the sentence was proclaimed. And the sentence [… in a book] was [wri]tten, and recorded in an inscription […] for all

righteous person in the generation prominent for its iniquities. This is why according to the Greek text of Ben Sira 44:16, Enoch is predestined to serve as the "sign of repentance for the generations." This unique destiny also makes him the witness of the divine judgment at the time of the final condemnation. *Jub* 4:23-24 attests to this peculiar role of the patriarch:

> He was taken from human society, and we led him into the Garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honor. Now he is there writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of mankind. Because of him the flood water did not come on any of the land of Eden because he was placed there as a sign and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment.[127]

It has been already mentioned that Enoch's role as witness of the divine judgment appears to have two *loci*: historical and eschatological. He was able to testify in a temporal locus which was situated in the antediluvian generation: "he testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men because these had begun to mix with earthly women so that they became defiled. Enoch testified against all of them."[128] He also will testify against sinners of all generations in the final day of judgment at the end of the times. [129]

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the living and the flesh and upon...." F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 2.1065.

[127] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 2.28.

[128] *Jub* 4:22. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 2.27-28.

[129] In the *Similitudes* Enoch appears to be identified with the messianic figure enthroned in heaven to whom all judgment is deferred. It is suggestive that in one of the Ethiopic witneses of *1 Enoch* 92:1, the patriarch is labeled as "the praiseworthy judge of all the earth." Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 263. Black observes that "the epithet 'judge' as applied to Enoch would anticipate the role of the Son of Man at 69.27." Black, *1 Enoch*, 283.

A passage found in one of the recensions of the *Testament of Abraham* seems to allude to this eschatological role of the seventh patriarch; Enoch is depicted as witness of the divine judgment,[130] helping Abel, who is the eschatological judge:

> And Michael said to Abraham, "Do you see the judge? This is Abel, who first bore witness, and God brought him here to judge. And the one who produces (the evidence) is the teacher of heaven and earth and the scribe of righteousness, Enoch. For the Lord sent them here in order that they might record the sins and the righteous deeds of each person." And Abraham said, "And how can Enoch bear the weight of the souls, since he has not seen death? Or how can he give the sentence of all the souls?" And Michael said, "If he were to give sentence concerning them, it would not be accepted. But it is not Enoch's business to give sentence; rather the Lord is the one who gives sentence, and it is this one's (Enoch's) task only to write. For Enoch prayed to the Lord saying, 'Lord, I do not want to give the sentence of the souls, lest I become oppressive to someone.' And the Lord said to Enoch, 'I shall command you to write the sins of a soul that makes atonement, and it will enter into life. And if the soul has not made atonement and repented, you will find its sins (already) written, and it will be cast into punishment.'" (B 11:2-10).[131]

At the conclusion of this section, another detail connected with Enoch's role as witness of the divine judgment must be mentioned. It appears that this prominent role includes the duty of visiting places connected with the scenes of the current and the eschatological judgments. In a variety of Enochic traditions, the patriarch is depicted as a seer led by his angelic guides to the places of the execution of the divine judgment, as well as to the terrifying places where various sinful creatures await their final trial(s).[132] He must travel to the frontiers of the abyss, where in the fiery cosmic prisons, angelic hosts are punished for their iniquities. On these journeys Enoch often sees both preliminary and final places of the punishment of the fallen angels. One of the passages

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[130] J. VanderKam defines Enoch's role in the *Testament of Abraham* as "the prosecuting attorney." VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 157.

[131] Sanders, "Testament of Abraham,"1.900.

[132] On cosmological space as a place for punishment see P. M. Venter, "Die funksie van ruimte in die reisverhale in 1 Henog 12-36," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 56 (2000) 38-62.

found in *1 Enoch* 21:1-8 might give a hint of the emotions that Enoch is predestined to experience in his encounter with the places of the divine judgment:

> And I saw a terrible thing – neither the high heaven, nor the (firmly) founded earth, but a desert place, prepared and terrible. And there I saw seven stars of heaven bound on it together like great mountains, and burning like fire....And from there I went to another place, more terrible than this, and I saw a terrible thing: (there was) a great fire there which burned and blazed, and the place had a cleft (reaching) to the abyss, full of great pillars of fire which were made to fall; neither its extent nor its size could I see, nor could I see its source. Then I said: "How terrible this place (is), and (how) painful to look at!"[133]

Enoch as the Heavenly Priest

Enmeduranki's priestly office, which is only implicitly hinted at in the text from Nineveh, finds its possible Enochic counterpart in the priestly role of the seventh patriarch. In contrast to Enmeduranki's appointments in the earthly sanctuary Ebabbara, the Enochic tradition shifts emphasis from the earthly to the celestial locale in depicting the seventh antediluvian hero, not in his terrestrial priestly role, but in the role associated with the heavenly temple. This role is attested with varying degrees of clarity by early Enochic traditions found in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams* and the *Book of Jubilees*. Enoch's affiliations with the priestly office in the aforementioned texts can be seen as the gradual evolution from the implicit hints of his heavenly priesthood in the early materials to a more overt recognition and description of his celestial sacerdotal function in the later ones. While later Enochic traditions attested in the *Book of Jubilees* unambiguously point to Enoch's priestly role, referring to his incense sacrifice in the celestial sanctuary, the earlier associations of the patriarch with the heavenly Temple hinted at in the *Book of the Watchers* take the form of rather enigmatic depictions. A

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[133] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.107-8.

certain amount of exegetical work is therefore required to discern the proper meaning of these initial associations of the patriarch with the celestial sanctuary.

Martha Himmelfarb's research helps us better understand Enoch's possible connections with the celestial sanctuary in the *Book of the Watchers*, the account of which depicts the ascension of the seventh antediluvian patriarch to the Throne of Glory as a visitation of the heavenly Temple.[134] *1 Enoch* 14:9-18 reads:

> And I proceeded until I came near to a wall (*teqm*) which was built of hailstones, and a tongue of fire surrounded it, and it began to make me afraid. And I went into the tongue of fire and came near to a large house (*bēt ʿābiy*) which was built of hailstones, and the wall of that house (was) like a mosaic (made) of hailstones, and its floor (was) snow. Its roof (was) like the path of the stars and flashes of lightning, and among them (were) fiery Cherubim, and their heaven (was like) water. And (there was) a fire burning around its wall, and its door was ablaze with fire. And I went into that house, and (it was) hot as fire and cold as snow, and there was neither pleasure nor life in it. Fear covered me and trembling, I fell on my face. And I saw in the vision, and behold, another house (*kel'e bēt*), which was larger than the former, and all its doors (were) open before me, and (it was) built of a tongue of fire. And in everything it so excelled in glory and splendor and size that I am unable to describe to you its glory and its size. And its floor (was) fire, and above (were) lightning and the path of the stars, and its roof also (was) a burning fire. And I looked and I saw in it a high throne, and its appearance (was) like ice and its surrounds like the shining sun and the sound of Cherubim.[135]

Commenting on this passage, Himmelfarb draws the readers' attention to the description of the celestial edifices which Enoch encounters in his approach to the Throne. She notes that the Ethiopic text reports that, in order to reach God's Throne, the

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[134] M. Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira," in: *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (eds. J. Scott and P. Simpson-Housley; New York: Greenwood Press, 1991) 63-78; idem, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," in: *Society of Biblical Literature 1987 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 26; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987) 210-217. Martha Himmelfarb's research draws on the previous publications of Johann Maier and George Nickelsburg. See: J. Maier, "Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apocalyptik und 'Gnosis,'" *Kairos* 5(1) 1963 18-40, esp. 23; idem, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, 127-8; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981) 575-600, esp. 576-82. See also Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 101-102; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 81.

[135] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.50-52; 2.98-99.

patriarch passes through three celestial constructions: a wall, an outer house, and an inner house. The Greek version of this narrative mentions a house instead of a wall. Himmelfarb observes that "more clearly in the Greek, but also in the Ethiopic this arrangement echoes the structure of the earthly temple with its vestibule (*'ulam*), sanctuary (*hekhal*), and holy of holies (*dvir*).[136]

God's throne is located in the innermost chamber of this heavenly structure and is represented by a throne of cherubim (14:18). It can be seen as a heavenly counterpart to the cherubim found in the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem temple. In drawing parallels between the descriptions of the heavenly Temple in the *Book of the Watchers* and the features of the earthly sanctuary, Himmelfarb observes that the fiery cherubim which Enoch sees on the ceiling of the first house (Ethiopic) or middle house (Greek) of the heavenly structure represent not the cherubim of the divine throne, but images that recall the figures on the hangings on the wall of the tabernacle mentioned in Exod 26:1, 31; 36:8, 35 or possibly the figures which, according to 1 Kings 6:29, 2 Chr 3:7 and Ezek 41:15-26, were engraved on the walls of the earthly temple.[137]

Several comments must be made about the early traditions and sources that may lie behind the descriptions of the upper sanctuary in *1 Enoch* 14. Scholars observe that the idea of heaven as a temple was not invented by the author of the *Book of the Watchers*; the concept of the heavenly temple as a celestial counterpart of the earthly sanctuary was widespread in the ancient Near East[138] and appears in a number of biblical

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[136] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," 210.
[137] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple," 211.
[138] R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 177-80.

sources.[139] Students of Jewish priestly traditions have observed that the existence of such a conception of the heavenly sanctuary appears to become increasingly important in times of religious crises, when the earthly sanctuaries were either destroyed or defiled by improper rituals or priestly successions.[140]

Returning to the analysis of *1 Enoch* 14, one must examine the motif of the servants of the heavenly sanctuary depicted in that text. Himmelfarb argues that the priests of the heavenly temple in the *Book of the Watchers* appear to be represented by angels,[141] since the author of the text depicts them as the ones who are "standing before God's throne in the heavenly temple."[142] In her opinion, such identification can also be implicitly supported by the motif of intercession, which represents "a central priestly task." Himmelfarb also points to the possibility that in the *Book of the Watchers* the patriarch himself in the course of his ascent becomes a priest,[143] similarly to the angels.[144]

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[139] Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden," 68.

[140] For an extensive discussion of this subject, see *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Temples und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. B. Ego et al.; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1999); R. Elior, "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Temple Traditions," *JSQ* 4 (1997) 217-67; idem, "The Priestly Nature of the Mystical Heritage in Heykalot Literature," in: *Expérience et écriture mystiques dans les religions du livre: Actes d'un colloque international tenu par le Centre d'études juives Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne 1994* (eds. R. B. Fenton and R. Goetschel; EJM 22; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 41-54.

[141] David Suter's and George Nickelsburg's earlier research pointed to the possibility that the Fall of the Watchers in the *Book of the Watchers* can be interpreted as a typological reference to the exogamy of priests who, similar to the fallen angels, violated the boundaries of the cultic purity by marrying non-Israelites women. For the detailed discussion of the subject, see D. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 115-35. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee." See also C. N. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 22.

[142] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent," 211. D. Halperin also supports this position. In his view, "the angels, barred from the inner house, are the priests of Enoch's heavenly Temple. The high priest must be Enoch himself, who appears in the cesestial Holy of Holies to procure forgiveness for holy beings." Haplerin, *The Faces of the Chariot.*, 82.

[143] David Halperin's research also stresses the "apocalyptic" priestly function of Enoch in the *Book of the Watchers*. He observes that "Daniel and Enoch share an image, perhaps drawn from the hymnic tradition of merkabah exegesis (think of the Angelic liturgy), of God surrounded by multitudes of angels. But, in the Holy of Holies, God sits alone....The angels, barred from the inner house, are the priests of Enoch's heavenly Temple. The high priest must be Enoch himself, who appears in the celestial Holy of Holies to procure forgiveness for holy beings." Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 81-2.

In this perspective the angelic status of patriarch and his priestly role[145] are viewed as mutually interconnected. Himmelfarb stresses that "the author of the *Book of the Watchers* claims angelic status for Enoch through his service in the heavenly temple" since "the ascent shows him passing through the outer court of the temple and the sanctuary to the door of the holy of holies, where God addresses him with his own mouth."[146]

George Nickelsburg's earlier research on the temple symbolism in *1 Enoch* 14 provides some important additional details relevant to the discussion. Nickelsburg argues that Enoch's active involvement in the vision of the Lord's throne, when he passes through the chambers of the celestial sanctuary, might indicate that the author(s) of the *Book of the Watchers* perceived him as a servant associated with the activities in these chambers. Nickelsburg points to the fact that Enoch's vision of the Throne in the *Book of the Watchers* is "qualitatively different from that described in the biblical throne visions" because of the new active role of its visionary.[147] This new, active participation of Enoch in the vision puts *1 Enoch* 14 closer to later Merkabah accounts which are different from biblical visions. Nickelsburg stresses that in the biblical throne visions, the seer is passive or, at best, his participation is reactional. But in the Merkabah accounts, Enoch appears to be actively involved in his vision.[148] In Nickelsburg's view, the verbal forms of the narrative ("I drew near the wall," "I went into that house") serve as further indications of

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[144] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent," 213.

[145] Enoch's sacerdotal duties in the *Book of the Watchers* involve also his intercession and transmission of the judgment against Asael. Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that "Enoch's intercession and transmission of the judgment against Asael is throughly priestly and related closely to that of the high priest on the Day of Atonement whose ministry involves the sending of a scapegoat into the wilderness to Azazel (Lev 16)." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 40.

[146] Himmelfarb, "Apocalyptic Ascent," 212.

[147] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981) 575-600, esp. 579.

the active participation of the seer in the visionary reality of the heavenly Throne/Temple.[149]

Biblical visions are not completely forgotten by Enochic authors and provide an important exegetical framework for *1 Enoch* 14. Comparing the Enochic vision with the Ezekiel account of the temple, Nickelsburg suggests that the Enochic narrative also represents a vision of the temple but, in this case, the heavenly one. He argues that "the similarities to Ezek 40-48, together with other evidence, indicate that Enoch is describing his ascent to the heavenly temple and his progress through its *temenos* to the door of the holy of holies, where the chariot throne of God is set."[150] The possibility that the author of *1 Enoch* 14 was trying to describe Enoch's celestial trip as a tour through the heavenly temple can be supported, in Nickelsburg's judgment, by three significant details:

a. the "house" (14:10) of the Deity is by definition a temple;

b. both 12:4 and 15:3 speak about the eternal sanctuary;

c.the language about the fallen Watchers and the angels approaching God indicates that some of the angels are understood to be priests. [151]

The traditions about the seventh patriarch's heavenly priesthood are not confined solely to the materials found in the *Book of the Watchers*, since they are attested in other materials associated with the Ethiopic Enoch, including the *Animal Apocalypse*. If in the *Book of the Watchers*, Enoch's associations with the heavenly temple are clothed in ambiguous imagery, his portrait in the *Animal Apocalypse* does not leave any serious

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[148] Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," 580.

[149] Crispin Fletcher-Louis stresses that the language of Enoch's approach ("to draw near") is cultic. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 23.

[150] Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," 580.

[151] Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," 580-81.

doubts that some of the early Enochic traditions understood the patriarch to be intimately connected with the heavenly sanctuary.

Chapter 87, verses 3 and 4, of *1 Enoch* portrays the patriarch taken by three angels from the earth and raised to a high tower, where he is expected to remain until he will see the judgment prepared for the Watchers and their earthly families:

> And those three who came out last took hold of me by my hand, and raised me from the generations of the earth, and lifted me on to a high place, and showed me a tower (*māxefada*) high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said to me: "Remain here until you have seen everything which is coming upon these elephants and camels and asses, and upon the stars, and upon all the bulls."[152]

VanderKam notes a significant detail in this description, namely, Enoch's association with a tower. He observes that this term[153] is reserved in the *Animal Apocalypse* for a temple.[154] The association of the patriarch with the tower is long-lasting, and apparently he must have spent a considerable amount of time there, since the text does not say anything about Enoch's return to the earth again until the time of judgment, so the patriarch is depicted as present in the heavenly sanctuary for most of the *Animal Apocalypse*.[155]

Although the traditions about Enoch's associations with the heavenly Temple in the *Book of the Watchers* and in the *Animal Apocalypse* do not refer openly to his

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[152] Knibb. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.294; 2.198.

[153] *1 Enoch* 89:50: "And that house became large and broad, and for those sheep a high tower was built on that house for the Lord of the sheep; and that house was low, but the tower was raised up and high; and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower, and they spread a full table before him." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 208 ; *1 Enoch* 89:73: "And they began again to build, as before, and they raised up that tower, and it was called the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it (was) unclean and was not pure." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.211.

[154] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 117.

[155] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 117.

performance of priestly duties,[156] the account attested in the *Book of Jubilees* explicitly makes this reference. *Jubilees* 4:23 depicts Enoch as taken from human society and placed in Eden[157] "for (his) greatness and honor."[158] *Jubilees* then defines the Garden as a sanctuary[159] and Enoch as one who is offering an incense sacrifice on the mountain of incense: "He burned the evening incense of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain of incense."[160] James VanderKam suggests that here Enoch is depicted as one who "performs the rites of a priest in the temple."[161] He further observes that Enoch's priestly duties[162] represent a new element[163] in "Enoch's expanding portfolio."[164]

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[156] Yet, some implicit references are discernable. Fletcher-Louis suggests that "Enoch's intersession and transmission of the judgment against Asael is thoroughly priestly and related closely to that of the high priest on the Day of Atonement whose ministry involves the sending of a scapegoat into the wilderness to Azazel (Lev 16)." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 40.

[157] For Enoch's place in the heavenly Paradise, see: *Testament of Benjamin* 10:6; *Apocalypse of Paul* 20; *Clementine Recognitions* 1:52; *Acts of Pilate* 25; and the *Ascension of Isaiah* 9:6. C. Rowland, "Enoch," in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds. K. van der Toorn et al; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 302.

[158] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.28.

[159] VanderKam argues that there are other indications that in the *Book of Jubilees* Eden was understood as a sanctuary. As an example, he points to *Jub* 3:9-14, which "derives the law from Lev 11 regarding when women who have given birth may enter the sanctuary from the two times when Adam and Eve, respectively, went into the garden." VanderKam, Enoch: *A Man for All Generation*, 117.

[160] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.28.

[161] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 117.

[162] Fletcher-Louis notes that in *Jubilees* 4:7, "the patriarch's observation of the heavens and their order so that the sons of man might know the (appointed) times of the year according to their order, with respect to each of their months…is knowledge of a thoroughly priestly and cultic nature." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 24.

[163] Scholars point to the possible polemical nature of the patriarch's priestly role. Gabriele Boccaccini observes that "Enochians completely ignore the Mosaic torah and the Jerusalem Temple, that is, the two tenets of the order of the universe." In his opinion, "the attribution to Enoch of priestly characteristics suggests the existence of a pure predeluvian, and pre-fall, priesthood and disrupts the foundation of the Zadokite priesthood, which claimed its origin in Aaron at the time of the exodus, in an age that, for the Enochians, was already corrupted after the angelic sin and the flood." G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 74.

[164] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 117.

Alexander stresses the significance of Enoch's priestly role for the subsequent Jewish developments,[165] noting that "Enoch in the *Jubilees* in the second century BCE is a high priest. Almost a thousand years later he retains this role in the Heikhaloth texts, though in a rather different setting."[166] Indeed in the later rabbinic and Hekhalot sources, Metatron is often associated with the priestly office.[167] One such source is a fragment from the Cairo Genizah in which he is directly named as the high priest:

> I adjure you [Metatron], more beloved and dear than all heavenly beings, [Faithful servant] of the God of Israel, the High Priest, chief of [the priest]s, you who poss[ess seven]ty names; and whose name [is like your Master's] … Great Prince, who is appointed over the great princes, who is the head of all the camps.[168]

In concluding this section I must comment on particular details surrounding the depiction of Enoch's priestly duties in early Enochic lore. The *Book of the Watchers* does not refer to any liturgical or sacrificial rituals of the patriarch; on the other hand, *Jubilees* depicts the patriarch offering incense to God. The absence of reference to any animal sacrificial or liturgical practice in Enoch's sacerdotal duties might indicate that his office may have been understood by early Enochic traditions from the divinatory angle, that is as the office of oracle-priest, practiced also by the Mesopotamian diviners who, similarly to Enoch's preoccupation with incense, widely used the ritual of libanomancy, or "smoke

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[165] Enoch's role as a priest is also attested in several Christian sources, including *Apostolic Constitutions* 8:5; the *Cave of Treasures*, and the *Book of Rolls*. C. Rowland, "Enoch," in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds. K. van der Toorn et al; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 302.

[166] Alexander, *From Son of Adam*, 107

[167] Passage from *Sefer Hekhalot* reads: "Metatron is the Prince over all princes, and stands before him who is exalted above all gods. He goes beneath the throne of glory, where he has a great heavenly tabernacle of light, and brings out the deafening fire, and puts it in the ears of the holy creatures, so that they should not hear the sound of the utterance that issues from the mouth of the Almighty." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 303.

[168] L. H. Schiffman and M. D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) 145.

divination," a "practice of throwing cedar shavings onto a censer in order to observe the patterns and direction of the smoke."[169]

Enoch's Titles in the Similitudes

It has been mentioned that the *Book of the Similitudes* endows the seventh antediluvian patriarch with several roles and titles previously unknown in the early Enochic lore. The analysis of these roles and titles is important for this investigation of the evolution from Enoch to Metatron since in the *Similitudes*, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, the patriarch is depicted as a preexistent enthroned figure whose mission is to become an eschatological leader in the time when the wicked of this world will be punished. The reference to this highly elevated office recalls the future profile of the supreme angel Metatron known in some rabbinic and Hekhalot accounts. The relevance of the roles and titles found in the *Similitudes* as possible formative patterns for the future roles and titles of Metatron will be discussed in the later sections of this study. For now, the purpose of this investigation is to introduce and briefly describe these titles.

The enigmatic figure of the eschatological leader, possibly associated with Enoch, is designated in the *Similitudes* by four titles: righteous one (*sādeq*), anointed one (*masiḥ*), chosen one (*xeruy*), and son of man (*walda sab'*).[170] These designations occur

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[169] Moore, *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*, 43.

[170] J. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37-71," in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 169-70. My presentation of the titles from the *Book of the Similitudes* is based on the positions reflected in James VanderKam's article. See also M. Black, "The Srange Visions of Enoch," *Bible Review* 3 (1987) 20-23; idem, "The Messianism of the Parables of Enoch: Their Date and Contribution to Christological Origins," in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. Charlesworth et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 145-68; J. Davila, "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron," *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (eds. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, G. S. Lewis; SJSJ, 63; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 9-12.

with various degrees of frequency in the Ethiopic text; while the first two titles are used rather sparingly, the other two designations are quite widespread and appear many times in the *Similitudes*.

"Righteous One"

Although the expression "righteous one" occurs at least four times in the Ethiopic text of the *Similitudes*, not all of these references are equally valuable for the ongoing investigation of Enoch's titles. VanderKam suggests that one of these occurrences is "text-critically doubtful," and two of them do not constitute an individual title but rather represent collective designations. He is confident, however, that the single case in which "righteous one" is used as an individual title of the eschatological leader is *1 Enoch* 53:6.[171]

1 Enoch 53 describes the upcoming destruction of the wicked, including the kings and the powerful of this world, by the hands of the angels of punishment. In *1 Enoch* 53:6-7 an eschatological figure of great significance appears; the text applies two titles, "righteous one" and "chosen one" to this figure:

> And after this the Righteous (*sādeq*) and Chosen One (*xeruy*) will cause the house of his congregation to appear; from then on, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, they will not be hindered. And before him these mountains will not be (firm) like the earth, and the hills will be like a spring of water; and the righteous will have rest from the ill-treatment of the sinners.[172]

The title "chosen one" will be examined in a later section. First I direct my attention to "righteous one."

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[171] VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37-71," 170-171.

[172] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.146; 2.138.

It is significant for this investigation of the provenance of the Enochic titles that this title appears to be rooted in biblical traditions. Scholars have suggested that the possible provenance of the title "righteous one" might be Isa 53:11.[173] In this text the epithet "the righteous one" is applied to the servant of the Lord: "the righteous one, my servant, shall make many righteous, and he shall bear their iniquities." VanderKam points out that in the *Similitudes* the title "righteous one" is never used alone in application to an eschatological figure; it is found only in conjunction with another title, "chosen one."[174] This conjunction serves as a significant clue that in the *Similitudes* all four titles of the elevated messianic character are closely interconnected.

"Anointed One"

Another title associated with the elevated hero of the *Similitudes* is "anointed one." This title occurs two times in Chapters 48 and 52 of the book.[175] In *1 Enoch* 48:10 the title is introduced in the eschatological context in which the wicked of this world represented by rulers of the earth will fall down before the son of man but "there will be no one who will take them with his hands and raise them" because they "denied the Lord of Spirits and his Messiah ("anointed one")."[176] Scholars have observed that the author of this passage appears to be relying on biblical terminology, more precisely, on the expressions from Ps 2:2 that refer to rulers and kings of the earth taking "counsel

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[173] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 136.

[174] VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37-71," 170.

[175] Scholars previously questioned whether these designations belong to the original layer of the texts. See especially E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Skrifter Utgivna av kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet I Lund 41; Lund, 1946) 140-41; J. Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter* (SUNT 12; Göttingen, 1975) 55-56.

[176] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.134.

together, against the Lord and his anointed."[177] Here again, as in the case of "righteous one," the author(s) of the *Similitudes* prefers to seek the background of the hero's titles not in Mesopotamian but in biblical sources.

The second occurrence of the same title appears in *1 Enoch* 52. The patriarch, carried off by a whirlwind, beholds the secrets of heaven, which include several mountains associated with particular metals: "a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead."[178] Enoch is further instructed by his *angelus interpres* that these mountains are predestined to "serve the authority of his Messiah ('anointed one')."

"Chosen One"

This title is used many times in the *Similitudes*, designating again, as in the case of the previous two designations, an eschatological character.[179] The description of the "chosen one" in the *Similitudes* paints a picture of a highly elevated celestial being. This being apparently has his own throne in the celestial realm since one of the passages, found in *1 Enoch* 45:3-4, depicts the chosen one as the one who has been installed on the throne of glory:

> On that day the Chosen One (*xeruy*) will sit on the throne of glory, and will choose their works, and their resting-places will be without number; and their spirits within them will grow strong when they see my Chosen one (*laxeruya*) and those who appeal to my holy and glorious name. And on that day I will cause my

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[177] VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37-71," 170. James Davila observes that "the language of the passage echoes Psalm 2:2 and thus evokes the messianic traditions drawn in the Second Temple period out of the royal psalms, despite the anachronism of associating ideas with the antediluvian patriarch Enoch." Davila, "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron," 10.

[178] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.136.

[179] The title occurs in *1 Enoch* 40:5; 45:3, 4; 49:2, 4; 51:3, 5; 52:6, 9; 53:6; 55:4; 61:5, 8, 10; 62:1.

> Chosen One (*laxeruya*) to dwell among them, and I will transform heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light.[180]

The significant detail in this description is that the "chosen one" was set on his throne of glory by the Lord of Spirits (61:8).[181] From this elevated seat he will then judge Azazel and the angels associated with this rebellious leader (55:4).[182]

As in the case of the previous two, this title appears to rely on imagery drawn from biblical materials. Scholars point to the possible roots of the title "chosen one" in Isa 41:8, 9; 42:1; 43:10, where this designation is applied to the servant of the Lord.[183]

"Son of Man"

This title is formulated in the *Similitudes* with three different Ethiopic expressions.[184] It appears multiple times and can be found in *1 Enoch* 46:2, 3, 4; 48:2; 62:5, 7, 9, 14; 63:11; 69:26, 27, 29 [two times]; 70:1; 71:14; 71:17. The profile of the "son of man" as an elevated celestial being recalls the figure of the "chosen one" analyzed in the previous section.[185] As with the "chosen one," "son of man" is a

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[180] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.126-27; 2.131.

[181] Larry Hurtado notes that the "chosen one" seems "to act as judge on God's behalf ('in the name of the Lord of Spirits,' e.g., *1 Enoch* 55:4) and in this capacity sits upon a throne that is closely linked with God: 'On that day the Chosen One will sit on the throne of Glory' (45:3; see also 51:3; 55:4; 61:8; 62:2,3,5-6; 70:27). The meaning of this is not that the figure rivals God or becomes a second god but rather that he is seen as performing the eschatological functions associated with God and is therefore God's chief agent, linked with God's work to a specially intense degree." Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 53.

[182] The passage found in *1 Enoch* 51:3 again stresses the motif of the throne in connection with this title: "And in those days the Chosen One will sit on his throne, and all the secrets of wisdom will flow out from the counsel of his mouth, for the Lord of Spirits has appointed him and glorified him." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 135-6.

[183] Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 26-27; VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 138.

[184] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 135.

[185] David Suter notes the interplay of the traditions about the chosen one and the son of man in chapter 62 of the *Similitudes*. He observes that this "chapter begins with the Elect one being seated on the throne of his glory by the Lord of Spirits to judge the kings and mighty of the earth; however, in the midst of the passage, at 1 En. 62:5, the poet changes from 'the Elect One' to 'that Son of Man.'" Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 26.

character associated with the celestial secrets who also has a throne of glory (62:5; 69:27,29) from which he will judge sinners.

Scholars have observed that some features of the "son of man" traditions in the *Similitudes* recall details found in Daniel 7, where one can find a messianic figure designated as "one like a son of man."[186] The parallels with the Daniel "son of man" can be illustrated by reference to *1 Enoch* 46:1-4, where the title is introduced and then repeated several times:

> And there I saw one who had a head of days, and his head (was) white like wool; and with him (there was) another, whose face had the appearance of a man, and his face (was) full of grace, like one of the holy angels. And I asked one of the holy angels who went with me, and showed me all the secrets, about that Son of Man (*walda sab'*), who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days. And he answered me and said to me: "This is the Son of Man (*walda sab'*) who has righteousness, and with whom righteousness dwells; he will reveal all the treasures of that which is secret, for the Lord of Spirits has chosen him, and through uprightness his lot has surpassed all before the Lord of Spirits for ever. And this Son of Man (*walda sab'*) whom you have seen will rouse the kings and the powerful from their resting-places, and the strong from their thrones, and will loose the reins of the strong, and will break the teeth of the sinners.[187]

In this passage, an enigmatic character appears whose designation as "the head of days" recalls the Daniel figure of the "ancient of days."

The significant feature of the son of man's profile in the *Similitudes* is that the text understands this character as a preexistent, even possibly a divine being who received his name before the time of creation. One sees this in *1 Enoch* 48:2-7:

> And at that hour that Son of Man (*walda sab'*) was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and his name (was named) before the Head of Days. Even before the sun and the constellations were created, before the stars of heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits. He will be a staff to the righteous

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[186] Suter observes that "in the parables of Enoch, 'that Son of Man' appears largely in the context of an exegetical tradition based on Dan. 7:9-14 and derives his judicial function from 'the Elect one' as this tradition is used to amplify the latter title." Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 26

[187] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.128-9; 2.131-2.

> and the holy, that they may lean on him and not fall, and he (will be) the light of the nations, and he will be the hope of those who grieve in their hearts. All those who dwell upon the dry ground will fall down and worship before him, and they will bless, and praise, and celebrate with psalms the name of the Lord of Spirits. And because of this he was chosen and hidden before him before the world was created, and for ever.[188]

One can see that, as with the previous titles from the *Similitudes*, biblical traditions play a pivotal role in inspiring the author(s) of this book in their portrayal of the "son of man." For such inspiration, they go not only to the prominent account found in the Book of Daniel but also to other biblical materials. VanderKam observes that the reference to the fact that the "son of man" was in the mind of God before the creation recalls the passage from Isa 49:1. In this text the servant of the Lord defines himself in similar terms, saying that "the Lord called me before I was born, while I was in my mother's womb he named me."[189] VanderKam argues that "there is no mistaking the author's appeal to the servant of the Lord in 2 Isaiah, in which he is to be a light to the nations (42:6; 49:6)."[190]

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[188] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.134; 2.133-34.
[189] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 139.
[190] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 139.

Interdependence of the Four Titles and Their Identification with Enoch in the Similitudes

An important feature in the four titles is that they seem to be used interchangeably in the *Similitudes* and appear to be referring to one composite figure. George Nickelsburg notes that "the identification of these figures with one another is understandable; for all their differences, their characteristics and functions can be seen to be compatible and complementary."[191] Indeed, as was already shown in this present investigation, the combination of the titles "righteous one" and the "chosen one" in *1 Enoch* 53:6-7 indicates that they were used here for the same protagonist. The same interchangeability is observable in the titles "son of man" and "chosen one." Here, however, the equivalency is established not through the combination of the titles but through their separation. Scholars previously observed that the titles "son of man" and "chosen one," the two most widely used titles in the *Similitudes*, always occur in separate sections of the text, and never together.[192] Morna Hooker's research demonstrates that, while Chapters 38-45 use the title "chosen one," Chapters 46-48 operate with "son of man." This pattern continues further as the material from *1 Enoch* 49-62:1 applies the title "chosen one," and *1 Enoch* 62:1-71 chooses to use "son of man."[193] The separation of these two titles

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[191] G. Nickelsburg, "Son of Man," *ABD* 6.138.

[192] M. D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* (London: S.P.C.K., 1967) 34-37; Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter*, 47-49; VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37-71," 175.

[193] Morna Hooker observes that "two sources can be distinguished, one speaking of the 'Son of man' and the other of the "Elect One," and in spite of the fact that scholars have mostly followed them in regarding the material in its present form as a mosaic, discussion of the figure of the 'Son of man' has not generally drawn any distinction between these two titles, but has regarded passages referring to the 'Elect One' and those which speak of the 'Son of man' as descriptive of the same figure." Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark*, 34.

appears to indicate that the author(s) or editor(s) of the *Similitudes* perceived them to be interchangeable.

A large group of scholars believe that all four eschatological titles found in the *Similitudes* refer to one individual, namely the patriarch Enoch himself, who in *1 Enoch* 71 is identified[194] with the "son of man."[195] The crucial issue for the possible identification of the four titles with the seventh antediluvian patriarch is the status of Chapters 70-71.[196] Some scholars believe that these chapters might represent later interpolation(s) and do not belong to the original text of the *Book of the Similitudes*.[197] They note that these two chapters do not appropriately correspond with the tripartite structure of the *Similitudes*. The content of these chapters also raises some critical questions. First, *1 Enoch* 70-71 exhibits repetitiveness that might indicate the attempt to expand the original material. Second, for a long time students of the Enochic traditions were puzzled by the fact that the son of man, who in the previous chapters of the *Similitudes* has been distinguished from Enoch, suddenly becomes identified in *1 Enoch* 71 with the patriarch. This identification seems to contradict the rest of the text since it appears impossible for a seer to fail to recognize himself in the vision. John Collins points to the uniqueness of such a misidentification in the Jewish apocalyptic literature,

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[194] Scholars previously observed the significance of this identification for future Metatron developments. Alan Segal points out that "this is an extraordinarily important event, as it underlines the importance of mystic transformation between the adept and the angelic vice-regent of God." A. Segal, "The Risen Christ and the Angelic Mediator Figures in Light of Qumran," in: *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 305.

[195] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 140; G. Nickelsburg, "Son of Man," *ABD* 6.138.

[196] James VanderKam stresses that "the status of chs. 70-71 is … absolutely crucial to one's understanding of the phrase 'son of man' and eventually of all the other epithets." VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37-71," 177.

[197] George Nickelsburg observes that "the text is probably an addition to an earlier form of the *Book of Parables*, but an addition with important parallels." G. Nickelsburg, "Son of Man," *ABD* 6.140.

where a visionary would scarcely fail to recognize himself in such an auto-vision.[198] Moreover, in view of the preexistent nature of the son of man in *1 Enoch* 48:2-7, it is difficult to reconcile this character with the figure of the seventh patriarch who was born from human parents in the antediluvian era.

Several explanations have been proposed to resolve this puzzling situation. Scholars have observed[199] that the *Similitudes* seems to entertain the idea of the heavenly twin (counterpart) of a visionary when they identify Enoch with the son of man.[200] James VanderKam suggests that the puzzle of the *Similitudes* can be explained by the Jewish belief, attested in several ancient Jewish texts, that a creature of flesh and blood could have a heavenly double or counterpart. [201] As an example, VanderKam points to Jacob traditions in which the patriarch's "features are engraved on high."[202] He stresses that this theme of the visionary's ignorance of his higher angelic identity is observable in other Jewish pseudepigrapha, including the *Prayer of Joseph.*

In the light of the Jewish traditions about the heavenly counterpart of the visionary, VanderKam's hypothesis appears to be plausible, and it is possible that in the

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[198] J. Collins, "Heavenly Representative: The 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch,' in: *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (eds. G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.J. Collins; SCS 12; Chico, Calif.: Scholars, 1980) 122-24, esp. 122.

[199] See J. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37-71," in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 182-3; M. Knibb, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995) 177-80; Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 144-5; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT, Reihe 2:94; Tubingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997) 151.

[200] It is important to note that in the *Similitudes,* the son of man is depicted as seated on the throne of glory. See *1 Enoch* 62:5, *1 Enoch* 69:29. Jarl Fossum observes that "in the 'Similitudes' the 'Elect One' or 'Son of Man' who is identified as the patriarch Enoch, is enthroned upon the 'throne of glory.' If 'glory' does not qualify the throne but its occupant, Enoch is actually identified with the Glory of God." Fossum further concludes that "...the 'Similitudes of Enoch' present an early parallel to the targumic description of Jacob being seated upon the 'throne of glory.'" Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 145.

[201] VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71," 182-3.

[202] VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71," 182-3.

Similitudes the seventh antediluvian patriarch was indeed identified with the son of man and the other titles pertaining to this figure.

In the conclusion of this section, several observations can be offered in connections with Enochic titles attested in the *Similitudes*. First, one cannot fail to recognize that in contrast to other designations of Enoch found in the early Enochic materials, the titles from the *Book of Similitudes* exhibit strong roots and connections with the motifs and themes found in the Bible, particularly in the Book of Isaiah, Psalm 2, and the Book of Daniel. Scholars have therefore proposed that these titles might be shaped by familiar biblical characters, such as the Servant of the Lord found in Deutero-Isaiah and the Son of Man found in Daniel 7.[203] Such explicit reliance on known biblical characters demonstrates a striking contrast to the provenance of other titles of Enoch not found in the *Similitudes* (like the scribe, the expert in secrets, and a priest). It seems that these do not have explicit biblical roots but are rather based on independent Mesopotamian traditions.[204]

Second, the peculiar feature of the titles found in the *Similitudes* is that they can be found only in this part of the *Ethiopic Enoch*. Other booklets of this Enochic composition, such as the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams*, and the *Epistle of Enoch*, do not refer to these titles of the patriarch. It is also

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[203] George Nickelsburg observes that the portraits of the composite hero found in the *Similitudes* "draws much of its language and imagery from three biblical sources or traditional interpretations of these sources. The basic texts are: Daniel 7; Isaiah 11 and Psalm 2; Isaiah 42,49, and 52-53. Through the use and elaboration of this material, the author has created a composite figure whom he considers to be the referent in texts about the heavenly one like a son of man, the Davidic king, and Second Isaiah's servant of the Lord." G. Nickelsburg, "Son of Man," *ABD* 6.138.

[204] One must add that the later Hekhalot titles and offices of Enoch-Metatron also appear to maintain certain independence from the imagery of the exalted figures found in the Bible. Peter Schäfer observes that "the Hekhalot literature appears to be basically independent of the Bible. To formulate it even more sharply: it appears to be autonomous." Schäfer, "The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism. Gershom Scholem Reconsidered," 14.

curious that other early Enochic materials, including the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Jubilees*, *Book of Giants*, and *2 Enoch*, do not provide any references either to these titles or to the features associated with them. For example, early Enochic booklets are silent about Enoch's enthronement on the seat of glory. This absence of allusions and cross-references with other Enochic writings appears to be quite puzzling and unusual since the information about other titles not found in the *Similitudes*, such as the scribe, the expert in the secrets, the priest, are typically employed as sets of recurring motifs supported by various texts, including the various booklets of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the *Book of Giants* and *2 Enoch*. It is also baffling that the later rabbinic and Hekhalot materials are silent about the Enochic titles found in the *Book of the Similitudes*.[205] James Davila's research points to the fact that the titles found in the *Similitudes*, like messiah, son of man and righteous one, are dropped almost entirely[206] in the Merkabah tradition.[207] This issue will constitute a special topic of the discussion in the following sections.

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[205] Scholars suggest that the absence of such titles as the son of man in later rabbinic and Hekhalot developments can be partially explained by their christological appropriations. Martin Hengel proposes that titles like the Youth could function as the substitutes for the original titles found in the *Similitudes*. See M. Hengel, *The Son of God*, 46. See also A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 65.

[206] David Suter argues that Enoch-Metatron's identification with "an elect one" (בחור) in *3 Enoch* 6:3 might be related to his title in the *Similitudes*. He observes that "while it does not have the messianic sense that it does in the Parables of Enoch, there is a remote possibility of a connection between its use in the Parables as the major messianic title and in 3 En. 6:3. Greenfield does not specifically relate the identification of Enoch as the Son of Man in the Parables to Enoch/Metatron in *3 Enoch*, but he may have had it in mind." Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 16. H. Odeberg observes that "many of the features of the Elect One and the Son of Man in *1 Enoch* are transferred to Metatron in *3 Enoch*. The differences are, however, greater than the resemblances." Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.47. On the connections between the *Similitudes* and *3 Enoch*, see also M. Black, "Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch," *JTS* (1952) 1-10, esp. 6-7.

[207] J. R. Davila, "Melchizedek, The 'Youth,' and Jesus," in: *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J. R. Davila; STDJ, 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 264. James Davila observes that "in 3 Enoch – which has a close relationship of some sort with the Similitudes, whether literary, oral, or both – Enoch's role changes once again. His titles in the Similitudes – Son of Man, Messiah, Righteous One, Chosen – are dropped almost entirely (only the last is applied to him once)." Davila, "Melchizedek, The 'Youth,' and Jesus," 264.

Finally, another puzzling characteristic of the *Similitudes*' titles must be mentioned. In the ambiguous identification of Enoch with the "son of man" depicted in *1 Enoch* 71, one finds a unique way of introducing this Enochic title which never occurs in the case of Enoch's other titles. In early Enochic booklets each designation is usually introduced through the gradual unfolding of the patriarch's activities pertaining to the particular title. In contrast, the *Book of the Similitudes* refuses to depict in any way Enoch's participation in various offices which stand behind the Similitudian titles. Nothing is said about the patriarch's messianic mission or his role in judging the mighty ones of the world. Enoch is rather depicted as a mere beholder of these deeds, which the text unambiguously associates with one or another eschatological figure. He is only named as a "son of man," who in no way attempts to execute the offices pertaining to this and other titles.

CHAPTER THREE

ROLES AND TITLES OF ENOCH-METATRON IN *SEFER HEKHALOT* AND OTHER MATERIALS

In the beginning of this section dedicated to Metatron's imagery, one important position pertaining to the origin of the Metatron tradition must be mentioned. In their analysis of the possible prototypes behind this tradition, scholars observe that the Enochic tradition clearly does not represent the single living stream from which Metatron's symbolism possibly originated. Students of early Jewish mysticism pointed to other possible sources in shaping the imagery of this exalted angelic character; these other sources included, along with the patriarch Enoch, various figures of Jewish lore, for example, Michael,[1] Yahoel,[2] Melchisedek,[3] and others.[4] The current investigation

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[1] Philip Alexander observes that "... Metatron is, in a number of respects, similar to the archangel Michael: Both angels were known as 'the Great Prince'; both were said to serve in the heavenly sanctuary; both were guardian angels of Israel; what is said in one text about Michael is said in another about Metatron. A possible explanation of these similarities would be that originally Metatron and Michael were one and the same angel: Michael was the angel's common name. Metatron one of his esoteric, magical names. At some point, however, the connection between Metatron and Michael was obscured, and a new independent archangel with many of Michael's powers came into being. The connection may not have been entirely lost, for we find that in some late texts the identity of the two angels is asserted: see e.g. *Sefer Zerubbabel*..." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 243-244; idem, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 162. In *Sefer Zerubbabel* Michael is identified as Metatron. M. Himmelfarb, "Sefer Zerubbabel," in: *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature* (eds. D. Stern and M. J. Mirsky; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990) 71-81, esp. 73.

[2] Gershom Scholem, Philip Alexander, and other scholars previously noted that Metatron's story appears to absorb also the legends connected with another prominent celestial figure, the angel Yahoel. Alexander suggests that Yahoel's lore "probably originated in speculation about the angel in whom God's name resides, according to Exodus 23:20f." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 244. Gruenwald points to the fact that the name Yahoel occurs as one of Metatron's names not only in the list of the seventy names of Metatron but also in the Aramaic incantation bowls. See Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, 196. On Yahoel's figure see also: Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 142ff.

[3] See the pioneering research on the Melchisedek tradition(s) as a possible background of Metatron's imagery, in J. R. Davila, "Melchizedek, The 'Youth,' and Jesus," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J. R. Davila; STDJ, 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 248-274.

[4] Hugo Odeberg's early hypothesis that the identification of Metatron with Enoch represented a decisive formative pattern in the Metatron tradition was criticized by a number of distinguished students of Jewish mystical traditions, including M. Gaster, G. Scholem, S. Lieberman, J. Greenfield and others, who noted that the concept of Metatron cannot be explained solely by the reference to the early Enochic lore

supports this view and will demonstrate that even in the Enochic tradition Metatron's imagery was gradually developed as a result of its interaction with various external characters prominent in the pseudepigraphic mediatorial traditions. The fact that Enochic tradition is not solely responsible for the shaping of the image of Metatron can be seen in rabbinic and Hekhalot materials, the majority of which do not directly identify this angel with the seventh antediluvian patriarch. This situation sets parameters and priorities for this present chapter on the Metatron lore, which will rely first on the materials that unambiguously identify this principal angel with Enoch and, then, on other rabbinic and Hekhalot evidence where this explicit identification was not made.

This analysis will mainly focus on *3 Enoch*, a Merkabah text also known as *Sefer Hekhalot* (the Book of the Heavenly Palaces), where the connection between Enoch and Metatron[5] is made explicit.[6] *3 Enoch* occupies a special place in the corpus of the Hekhalot writings in light of its unique form, content, and the identity of the main character. It should be noted that the role of *Sefer Hekhalot* in the history of Jewish

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since Metatron has taken many of the titles and the functions that are absent in early Enochic writings but are instead reminiscent of those that the archangel Michael, Yahoel and other elevated personalities possess in early Jewish traditions. Despite the critique of Odeberg's position, the possible influence of the Enochic tradition on the Metatron imagery has never been abandoned by the new approaches, mainly in the view of the evidence preserved in *Sefer Hekhalot*. For example, Scholem repeatedly referred to several streams of the Metatron tradition, one of which, in his opinion, was clearly connected with previous early Enochic developments. Scholars however often construe this "Enochic" stream as a later development that "joined" the Metatron tradition after its initial formative stage.

[5] Philip Alexander observes that "*3 Enoch's* Metatron embodies Palestinian apocalyptic traditions about Enoch." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 232.

[6] The question of the literary integrity of *Sefer Hekhalot* is a complicated issue. The form of the work in major manuscripts demonstrates "clear signs of editing" and, it contains additional materials including chapters 23-24 and 48BCD. Scholars observe that "*3 Enoch* has arisen through the combination of many separate traditions: it tends to break down into smaller 'self-contained' units which probably existed prior to their incorporation into the present work.... It is not the total product of a single author at a particular point in time, but the deposits of a 'school tradition' which incorporates elements from widely different periods." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 223. Alexander also observes that "an inspection of the textual tradition shows that chapters 3-15/16, which describe the elevation of Enoch, circulated as an independent tract...and it is intrinsically probable that these chapters formed the core round which the longer recensions grew." Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 156-7. The detailed discussion

mysticism, as well as its position in relation to the rest of the corpus of Hekhalot writings, still awaits a complete assessment. Although scholars have routinely noted that the various traditions found in *3 Enoch* represent a later stage of development than those attested in other Hekhalot writings.[7] The unique structure of this work,[8] the lack of Merkabah hymns[9] and adjuration patterns[10] prominent in other Hekhalot works, its peculiar angelology,[11] and most importantly the persistent identification of Metatron with the patriarch Enoch might indicate that this work belongs to the peculiar mold of Merkabah mysticism which stemmed from the early Enochic lore.[12] Unfortunately, the aforementioned features of *Sefer Hekhalot* have not yet received comprehensive

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of the literary character of *3 Enoch* and its possible transmission history extends beyond the boundaries of the current investigation.

[7] See, for example, Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 178ff.

[8] Joseph Dan observes that *Sefer Hekhalot* "is the only one among the treatises of the Hekhalot literature whose beginning is like that of the Midrash, i.e., with a verse being quoted and the work going on to interpret the verse. Generally we do not find many expository principles in this literature." Dan, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, 110.

[9] Philip Alexander notes that "there is a marked absence in *3 Enoch* of Merkabah hymns, which are such a striking feature of some Merkabah texts (e.g. *Hekalot Rabbati* and *Maʿase Merkabah*). The only heavenly hymns in *3 Enoch* are, like the *Qedusha*, traditional and biblical." He further observes that the Merkabah hymns have a theurgical use and that their total absence from *3 Enoch* "may point to an anti-theurgical tendency in the final redaction of this work." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 245.

[10] Peter Schäfer observes that "the formal language of the adjuration formulas is very specific and manifold and witnessed in almost all [Hekhalot] macroforms (seldom in *Hekhalot Zutarti* and not at all in *3 Enoch*)." Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 144.

[11] Scholars stress the uniqueness and "intensity" of *Sefer Hekhalot*'s angelology. Peter Schäfer notes the emphasis on angelology as a peculiar feature of the work. He observes that "in no other [Hekhalot] microform are the angels the central theme as in *3 Enoch*. Only here is a systematized angelology (whereby an attempt is made to combine various systems) and a comprehensive hierarchy to be found." Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 144. Ithamar Gruenwald's research emphasizes the uniqueness of the angelological imagery of *3 Enoch*. He states that "very few of the angels mentioned in the other Hekhalot writings are also found in *Sefer Hekhalot*. In fact, *Sefer Hekhalot* has a different kind of angelology than do the other Hekhalot tractates. Most of the angels mentioned in our text perform cosmological duties, and their names derive from the Hebrew names of the objects and phenomena in Nature over the function of which they are appointed." In Gruenwald's opinion this cosmological orientation of *3 Enoch's* angelology points to the connection with the early Enochic lore, since "this type of angelology is known from the apocalyptic Enoch literature and it should be distinguished from yet another type of angelology – magical angelology – which can be found in *Sefer Ha-Razim* and in the Magical Papyri." Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 204.

[12] Ithamar Gruenwald observes that "from a literary point of view, the book [*3 Enoch*] is affiliated to the ancient Enoch tradition, and it appears that in spite of its late date of composition it contains a great deal that derives from the early Enoch tradition and literature." He further comments that "many of the original

treatment from the students of early Jewish mysticism, although several useful studies have been already undertaken.[13] It is hoped that this investigation of *2 Enoch*, its connection with the Merkabah tradition in general and with *Sefer Hekhalot* in particular, will provide some further contribution in this area.

Now this study should return to its main subject, namely, the question of the roles and titles of Enoch-Metatron. The *prima facie* assessment of the text indicates that *Sefer Hekhalot* contains two clusters of roles and titles of its main character. The first cluster of the roles/titles of Metatron appears to be connected with those already known from the previous analysis of early Enochic traditions. These offices, in fact, represent the continuation and, in many ways, consummation of the roles of the seventh antediluvian hero. In reference to these conceptual developments, Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that "*3 Enoch's* account of the transformation of Enoch into the principal angel Metatron represents something of the climax of earlier Enoch traditions."[14] My further analysis will refer to this already investigated cluster of offices and appellations as the "old" roles and titles. This cluster embraces the activities of Metatron in such offices as the heavenly scribe, the expert in the divine secrets, the heavenly high priest, and the mediator. All these roles can be seen as the development of the familiar conceptual counterparts found in early Enochic and Mesopotamian traditions about the seventh antediluvian hero. This inquiry will demonstrate that, despite the recognizable similarities with these early

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traits of the apocalyptic Enoch tradition are preserved, though they are recast in a story that was to become part of the Merkavah tradition." Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 192.

[13] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, Alexander, "3 Enoch," Mopsik, *Le livre hébrew d'Hénoch.*

[14] Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 156. See also M. Himmelfarb, "The Experience of the Visionary and Genre in the Ascension of Isaiah 6-11 and the Apocalypse of Paul," in: *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting* (ed. A. Y. Collins; Semeia 36; Decatur, GA: Scholars, 1986) 97-111, esp. 102.

prototypes, the roles and titles found in the Metatron tradition represent in some cases a substantial reshaping and development of the earlier Enochic sources.

The second cluster of roles and titles of Metatron under investigation will embrace those that do not occur in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and Qumran Enochic materials. This research will demonstrate that in the Merkabah tradition Enoch-Metatron appears in several new roles previously unknown in these early Enochic materials. This cluster of Metatron's appellations and offices, in contrast to the old roles and titles, will be designated as the "new" roles and titles. It should be emphasized that the distinction between new and old roles and titles is made solely from the perspective of the Enochic tradition, since other pseudepigraphic mediatorial traditions do not always attest to this division.

The offices appearing in this new cluster are related to such appellations of Metatron as the "Youth," the "Prince of the World," the "Measurer/Measure of the Lord," the "Prince of the Divine Presence," the "Prince of the Torah," and the "Lesser YHWH." It is possible that some of these designations might have already originated in pre-mishnaic Judaism under the influence of the various mediatorial traditions in which Michael, Yahoel, Adam, Moses, Noah, Melchisedek and other characters were depicted as elevated figures.[15] This investigation of *2 Enoch*'s theological deliberations will help us to trace the roots of some these new conceptual developments. At this preliminary

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[15] Alexander writes that "it appears that Metatron in *3 Enoch* embodies three major and originally independent figures—Enoch, Yahoel/Lesser YHWH and Michael/Metatron. We can only speculate how and why these figures were combined, but it is a fair guess that Enoch, Yahoel and Metatron grew independently to be so similar in the heavenly hierarchy that some circle or circles that were recipients of all three traditions could not resist the urge to simplify matters by fusing all three figures into one." Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 163.

stage of the research, four hypotheses can be offered to explain possible factors responsible for the origin and development of the new roles and titles of Metatron.

First, the marked absence of new roles and titles from *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Book of Giants* does not exclude that the Enochic tradition could represent a potential formative source for the evolution of these conceptual developments. These roles and titles could have originated inside the Enochic tradition(s) after the early Second Temple Enochic booklets had already been written. The conceptual currents found in the latest material connected with *1 Ethiopic Enoch*, the *Book of the Similitudes*, where Enoch was identified with several exalted titles such as the son of man, messiah, and others, support this view. Although none of the new roles and titles under investigation can be found in the *Similitudes*, the tendencies towards the development of the new exalted profile of the seventh patriarch is possibly observable in this text. Second, the new roles and titles of Metatron might have originated from other early Jewish mediatorial traditions and texts in which Michael, Yahoel, Adam, Moses, Melchisedek, and Uriel were portrayed as elevated figures. Third, one also cannot exclude that some new roles and titles of Metatron might have originated much later within the rabbinic and Hekhalot developments on their own, independent of any earlier traditions. Fourth, the new roles and titles could have developed as a combination of any of the aforementioned factors.

These four possibilities will now be closely examined in the analysis of the new titles. The hypothesis that multiple streams of tradition are responsible for the origin of the various roles and titles of Metatron is not new and has been discussed in previous scholarship. For example, the classical study by Gershom Scholem differentiates between two basic aspects of Metatron's lore which, in Scholem's opinion, were combined and

fused together in the rabbinic and Hekhalot literature. These aspects include the Enochic lore and the lore connected with the exalted figures of Yahoel and Michael. Scholem writes that

> one aspect identifies Metatron with Jahoel or Michael and knows nothing of his transfiguration from a human being into an angel. The talmudic passages concerned with Metatron are of this type. The other aspect identifies Metatron with the figure of Enoch as he is depicted in apocalyptic literature, and permeated that aggadic and targumic literature which, although not necessarily of a later date than Talmud, was outside of it. When the *Book of Hekhaloth*, or *3 Enoch*, was composed, the two aspects had already become intertwined.[16]

This present discussion, it is hoped, will help further identify and clarify the various streams responsible for the shaping of the Metatron imagery.

Several cautionary remarks about the limits of this investigation must be offered. It is impossible within the limited scope of this dissertation to give an exhaustive treatment of all the textual evidence for the titles of Metatron in rabbinic literature.[17]

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[16] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 51.

[17] On Metatron's figure, especially his roles and titles, see D. Abrams, "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Metatron in the Godhead," *HTR* 87 (1994) 291-321; P. S. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28-29 (1977-1978) 156-180; idem, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse) of Enoch," *OTP*, 1.223-315; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1951) 143-160; M. Black, "The Origin of the Name Metatron," *VT* 1 (1951) 217-219; M.S. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theorgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*; J. Dan, "The Seventy Names of Metatron," in: J. Dan, *Jewish Mysticism. Late Antiquity* (2 vols.; Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1998) 1.229-34; idem, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism* (Tel-Aviv: MOD Books, 1993) 108-124; J. R. Davila, "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron," *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (eds. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, G. S. Lewis; SJSJ, 63; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 3-18; idem, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," in: *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J. R. Davila; STDJ, 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 248-74; W. Fauth, "Tatrosjah-totrosjah und Metatron in der jüdischen Merkabah-Mystik," *JSJ* 22 (1991) 40-87; Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 156; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 420ff; M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995) 191-194; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1980) 195-206; M. Himmelfarb, "A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature," *SBLSP* (1978) 259-69; C. Kaplan, "The Angel of Peace, Uriel – Metatron," *Anglican Theological Review* 13 (1931) 306-313; M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990) 220-240; idem, *The Mystical Experience of Abraham Abulafia* (tr. J. Chipman; Albany: SUNY, 1988) 117-19; S. Lieberman, *Sheki'in* (Jerusalem, 1939) 11-16; idem, "Metatron, the Meaning of his Name and his Functions," Appendix to Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 235-241; R. Margaliot, *Mal'akei 'Elyon* (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1964) 73-108; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 125-35; G. F. Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology: Memra, Shekinah, Metatron," *HTR* 15 (1922) 41-85; C. Mopsik, *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais*

David Halperin observed that "the problems associated with Metatron are among the most complicated in early Jewish angelology."[18] This presentation of the titles must therefore be viewed only as a preliminary introduction to some of the major titles of this important angelic character, dovetailed to the objectives of this investigation. In view of the Enochic perspective of this project, the research will center on the evidence for the titles of Enoch-Metatron attested in *Sefer Hekhalot*, since this Merkabah text explicitly identifies Metatron with Enoch and furnishes a great variety of traditions pertaining to this connection.

The investigation of *3 Enoch* will also be supplemented by various testimonies pertaining to the roles and titles of Metatron found in targumic, mishnaic, talmudic, midrashic, and Hekhalot materials. All this scattered and sometimes puzzling evidence will be treated with equal consideration, since even the later medieval rabbinic compositions and collections might have preserved early evidence pertaining to the investigation. All scholars acknowledge that dating rabbinic macroforms is "notoriously

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(Paris: Verdier, 1989) 28ff; C. R. A. Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," *JJS* 43 (1992) 1-31, esp.7-11; A. Murtonen, "The Figure of Metatron," *VT* 3 (1953) 409-411; H. Odeberg, "Föreställningarna om Metatron i äldre judisk mystic," *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 27 (1927) 1-20; idem, *3 Enoch, or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, 79-146; idem, "Enoch," *TDNT* 2.556-560; A. Orlov, "The Origin of the Name 'Metatron' and the Text of 2 (Slavonic Apocalypse) of Enoch," *JSP* 21 (2000) 19-26; Schäfer, *Hidden and Manifest God*, 29-32; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 43-55; idem, *Kabbalah*, 377-381; idem, *Major Trends*, 43-55; idem, "Metatron," *EJ* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971) 11.1443-1446; idem, Origins of the Kabbalah, 214-15; A. Segal, *Two Powers*, 60-73; G.G. Stroumsa, "Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," *HTR* 76 (1983) 269-288; L.T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology* (WUNT, 2. Reihe, 70; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1995) 71ff; I. Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar* (3 vols.; London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1989) 2.626-632; G. Vajda, "Pour le dossier de Metatron," in: *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to A. Altmann* (eds. S. Stein and R. Loewe; University of Alabama Press, 1979) 345-354; E.E. Urbach, *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs* (2 vols.; tr. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem, 1975) 1.138-139; 2.743-744; E. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 113, 334; idem, "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of Haside Ashkenaz," in: *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism* (eds. K. E. Groezinger and J. Dan, Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995) 60-92.

[18] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 420.

slippery work."[19] It is even more difficult to make judgments about the antiquity of the individual motifs and themes contained in these sources.

In my presentation of the data pertaining to a particular role or title, I normally will start, where it is possible, with testimonies in *3 Enoch*, a text which explicitly identifies Metatron with Enoch - the identification pivotal for this research - and then proceed to other evidence as it relates to the conceptual development of a certain office or appellation.

Finally, it should be stressed that this presentation does not pretend to offer an exhaustive treatment of any particular role or title. The provided descriptions must therefore be viewed as preliminary and tentative sketches intended to help the reader become familiar with the possible offices and appellations of Enoch-Metatron in the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials so that the reader can then be prepared for the later textual analysis of the Slavonic apocalypse.

The Name "Metatron"

In the beginning of an investigation of Metatron symbolism, several observations about the possible etymological origins of the name "Metatron" must be presented. Despite the substantial scholarly efforts to uncover the etymology of this puzzling word, the name of this principal angel still poses an enigma for students of Jewish mystical literature. No scholarly consensus exists about the origin of the name Metatron, which occurs in two forms in rabbinic literature one written with six letters, מטטרון, and the other with seven letters, מיטטרון. Scholars offer numerous hypotheses about the

[19] Himmelfarb, "A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature," 259.

possible etymology of these Hebrew lexemes.[20] At least nine scholarly positions deserve mention.

1. Some scholars propose that the name Metatron may be derived from מטרא, which can be rendered as "keeper of the watch," a noun possibly derived from the root נטר, "to guard, to protect."[21] Hugo Odeberg points to the earliest instance of this derivation in *Šimmuša Rabbah* where Enoch was clothed with the splendor of light and made into a guardian of all the souls that ascend from earth.[22] This hypothesis is shared by Adolf Jellinek, who considers נטר as a possible etymological basis for Metatron,[23] and Marcus Jastrow, who in his dictionary points to מטרא as a possible etymological progenitor of Metatron.[24]

2. Another hypothesis suggests that the name may be derived from the merging of the two Greek words μετά and θρόνος, which in combination, μετάθρονος, can be translated as "one who serves behind the throne," or "one who occupies the throne next to the Throne of Glory." This hypothesis has been supported by a number of scholars, but has been rejected by Scholem, who observes that "there is no such word as *Metathronios* in Greek and it is extremely unlikely that Jews should have produced or invented such a Greek phrase."[25] Scholem also notes that in Talmudic literature the word θρόνος is never

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[20] The following statement of Gershom Scholem can serve as an "optimistic" motto to any collection of the possible etymologies of the word "Metatron." He observes that "the origin of the name Metatron is obscure, and it is doubtful whether an etymological explanation can be given. It is possible that the name was intended to be a secret and has no real meaning, perhaps stemming from subconscious meditation, or as a result of glossolalia." Scholem, "Metatron," *EJ*, 11.1445-1446.

[21] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.125.

[22] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.126.

[23] A. Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala* (Leipzig: C.L. Fritzsche, 1852) 4.

[24] Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 767.

[25] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 69.

used in place of its Hebrew equivalent.[26] He concludes that despite the attempts of some scholars to find additional proof of the etymology of the name Metatron as a combination of the Greek μέτα and θρόνος, "this widely repeated etymology … has no merit."[27]

3. A third etymological option is that the name may be derived from the Greek word σύνθρονος in the sense of "co-occupant of the Divine Throne."[28] Odeberg criticizes this etymology because "there is not a single instance in any known Jewish source of Metatron being represented as the co-occupant of the Divine Throne."[29] Saul Lieberman, however, in his examination of the etymologies of the name,[30] provides new reasons for accepting this option.[31]

4. Another hypothesis proposes that the name may be associated with the Persian god Mitra. Odeberg lists a number of parallels between Metatron and Mitra, highlighting their similar celestial functions. He suggests that the depiction of Mitra as the Guardian of the World, the Mediator for the Earth, the Prince of the World, and the Witness of all thoughts, words and deeds recall similar titles and activities of Metatron. [32]

5. The name may also be derived from the Latin *metator* (a leader, a guide, a measurer, or a messenger), which transliterated into Hebrew characters produces מטימור or מימטור. This etymology was supported by several famous Jewish medieval

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[26] Scholem, *Major Trends,* 69.

[27] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 91.

[28] Philip Alexander points to a possible equivalent to *sunthronos*, the Greek term *metaturannos*, which can be translated as "the one next to the ruler." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 243.

[29] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.137.

[30] S. Lieberman, "Metatron, the Meaning of His Name and His Functions," in: I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980) 235-241.

[31] Peter Schäfer supports this hypothesis. He observes that "most probable is the etymology of Lieberman: Metatron = Greek metatronos = metathronos = synthronos; i.e. the small "minor god," whose throne is beside that of the great "main God." Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 29, n. 70.

[32] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.132.

authorities, including Eleazar of Worms and Nachmanides.[33] Scholem criticizes this hypothesis, arguing that "there is nothing in the authentic sayings about Metatron that justified the derivation of the name from *metator*."[34]

Despite Scholem's skepticism, Philip Alexander has recently drawn attention to this etymology. Clarifying the origins of the term, he points to the Latin word *metator*, which occurs also in Greek as a loanword under the form *mitator*, and sometimes designates the officer in the Roman army whose mission was to be a forerunner, i.e., to go ahead of the column on the march in order to prepare a campsite.[35] In view of this designation, Alexander suggests that the appellation "may first have been given to the angel of the Lord who led the Israelites through the wilderness: that angel acted like a Roman army *metator*, guiding the Israelites on their way."[36] He also proposes that it is quite possible that Enoch himself could be viewed by adepts as *metator* or forerunner since he was the one who shows them "how they could escape from the wilderness of this world into the promised land of heaven."[37]Alexander stresses that the fact that *metator* is clearly attested as a loanword in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic gives additional strength to this etymology.[38]

6. Still another possible etymological source for the name "Metatron" is the Greek μέτρον, "a measure." Adolf Jellinek may well be the first scholar to suggest μέτρον as an alternative explanation of Metatron, on the assumption that Metatron was identical

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[33] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.127-128.
[34] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 43.
[35]Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 107; Alexander, "3 Enoch," 243.
[36] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 107. See also, Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs,* 1.139.
[37] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 107.
[38] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 243.

with Horos.[39] Gedaliahu Stroumsa in his recent article provides some new convincing reasons for the acceptance of this etymology. These reasons focus on the fact that Metatron not only carried God's name but also measured the Deity and was thus viewed as God's *Shi'ur Qomah* (the measurement of the Divine Body).[40] Stroumsa argues that "renewed attention should be given to μέτρον and/or *metator* (a conflation of the two terms should not be excluded) as a possible etymology of Metatron."[41] Matthew Black, in a short article devoted to the origin of the name Metatron, expounds upon an additional facet of this etymology. Black traces the origin of the word "metatron" to a previously unnoticed piece of evidence found in Philo's *QG*, extant in Armenian, where, among other titles of the Logos, the term *praemetitor* can be found. Black suggests that *praemetitor* could be connected with the term μετρητής, the Greek equivalent of the Latin *metator*, "measurer," applied to the Logos.[42]

7. Joseph Dan has recently proposed that the name "Metatron" may be connected with the function of this angel as the bearer of God's name. In Metatron's lore this principal angel is often named as the "lesser YHWH," that is, the lesser manifestation of the Divine Name. Dan takes the "him" in Exodus 23:21, "because my name is within him," as referring to Metatron,[43] suggesting that "he has within himself God's ineffable name, which gives him his power."[44] Dan further proposes that, in view of the phrase

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[39] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.134.

[40] Stroumsa, "Forms of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," 287.

[41] Ibid, 287.

[42] M. Black, "The Origin of the Name Metatron," *VT* 1 (1951) 218.

[43] *b.* Sanh. 38b: "Once a *Min* said to R. Idith: It is written, *And unto Moses He said, Come up to the Lord.* But surely it should have stated, *Come up unto me*!--It was Metatron [who said that], he replied, whose name is similar to that of his Master, for it is written, For my name is in him." The phrase is also used in *3 Enoch* 12:5 in the context of the explanation of Metatron's title the "lesser YHWH": "He [God] sets it [crown] upon my head and he called me, 'The lesser YHWH' in the presence of his whole household in the height, as it is written, 'My name is in him.'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 265.

[44] Dan, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, 109.

"my name is within him," the name Metatron might be construed as related to the four letters of the Divine Name.[45] He observes that "it appears that the reference here is to the letters *tetra*, i.e., the number four in Greek, a four letter word in the middle of the name Metatron."[46] Dan, however, causiously points out that this etymology cannot be explored sufficiently for verification.

8. In the introduction to his recent French translation of *3 Enoch*, Charles Mopsik suggests that the etymology of the name "Metatron" can be linked to Enoch's story and might derive from the Greek terminology found in the Septuagint rendering of Gen 5:24, "Enoch walked with God; than he was no more, because God took him." Mopsik observes that in the Septuagint version of Gen 5:24 and Sirach 44:16 the Hebrew verb לקח ("to take") is rendered by the Greek verbs μετέθηκεν or μετετέθη.[47] He argues that the most significant part of the term "Metatron" (מטטרון) is the first three consonants of this word, namely, *MTT* (מטט), since the suffix *RON* (רון) is a technical addition which represents a common feature of the various angelic names in Jewish angelological writings. Mopsik concludes that it is possible that the three consonants for the most meaningful part of the name Metatron, מטט, are transliterating in one form or another the Greek μετετέθη. Keeping in mind these linguistic parallels, Mopsik suggests that the

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[45] In respect to this etymology, it is noteworthy that one Aramaic incantation bowl identifies Metatron with God. Alexander observes that "the possibility should even be considered that Metatron is used on this bowl as a divine name." Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 167. For the detailed discussion of this inscription see Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 159; Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power*, 358-9.

[46] Dan, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, 109-110.

[47] C. Mopsik, *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989) 48.

name "Metatron" could designate "the one who has been translated" and thus would be in direct relation to Enoch's story and his translation to heaven.[48]

9. One also cannot dismiss the possibility that the name "Metatron" may have no etymological parallels. Several scholars observe that this name does not necessarily have an etymology since, for example, it "could be gibberish, like the magical names *ʿAdiriron* and *Dapdapiron*, with which the Hekhalot-Merkabah texts abound." [49]

In conclusion of this section, it should be briefly noted that the text of the Slavonic apocalypse also appears to contain a testimony pertaining to the name Metatron. This evidence, however, will be examined in detail later in the section of this study dealing with the analysis of *2 Enoch* materials.

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[48] Mopsik, *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais*, 48.

[49] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.243; idem, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 162.

1. "Old" Roles and Titles

Metatron as the Scribe

The prominent scribal office of the seventh antediluvian hero was not forgotten in the later rabbinic and Hekhalot developments and re-appeared in its new Merkabah form as an important duty of the new hero, the supreme angel Metatron. One of the possible[50] early attestations to the scribal career of Enoch-Metatron can be found in the Targums, where the patriarch's name is mentioned in connection with the scribal duties of the principal angel. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Genesis 5:24 reads, "Enoch worshiped in truth before the Lord, and behold he was not with the inhabitants of the earth because he was taken away and he ascended to the firmament at the command of the Lord, and he was called Metatron, the Great Scribe (סַפְרָא רַבָּא)."[51]

It is intriguing that the passage from the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* uses the new scribal title of the exalted patriarch, which was unknown in early Enochic literature. Although the Targumic text does not unfold the details of the scribal duties of Metatron, another narrative attested in the talmudic materials provides additional details elaborating this office. The narrative is found in the Babylonian Talmud, where the second-century rabbi Elisha ben Abuya, also known as Aher, was granted permission to see Metatron sitting and writing down the merits of Israel.

The passage found in *b.* Hag. 15a reads:

> Aher mutilated the shoots. Of him Scripture says: Suffer not thy mouth to bring thy flesh into guilt. What does it refer to? - He saw that permission was granted to Metatron to sit and write down the merits of Israel. Said he: It is taught as a

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[50] Scholars observe that the identification of Enoch with Metatron in this passage could be a late addition since it does not appear in other Palestinian Targums. See Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, 197.

[51] *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (tr. M. Maher, M.S.C.; The Aramaic Bible, 1B; Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992) 36.

> tradition that on high there is no sitting and no emulation, and no back, and no weariness. Perhaps, - God forfend! - there are two divinities! [Thereupon] they led Metatron forth, and punished him with sixty fiery lashes, saying to him: Why didst thou not rise before him when thou didst see him? Permission was [then] given to him to strike out the merits of Aher. A Bath Kol went forth and said: Return, ye backsliding children – except Aher. [Thereupon] he said: Since I have been driven forth from yonder world, let me go forth and enjoy this world. So Aher went forth into evil courses.[52]

The intriguing feature of this talmudic tale is that the scribal functions of Metatron are connected there with his duty to write down the merits of Israel. This conflation of Metatron's scribal role with the duty of a recorder (or eraser in the case of Aher) of human merits recalls the composite nature of Enoch's scribal office which, as one may remember, necessarily encompasses the function of the witness of the divine judgment. What is of special interest to this study is whether the talmudic passage is really connected with the previous Enochic lore about the scribal functions of the seventh patriarch.

Scholem, who normally holds the position that talmudic passages usually attest to the tradition of the preexistent Metatron and do not associate Metatron with the seventh antediluvian patriarch, in this case cautiously leaves room for the possibility of such connection. He suggests that

> the passage in *Hagiga*15a ... may refer to the tradition about the ascension of Enoch, to whom a similar function is indeed ascribed in the *Book of Jubilees* 4:23: "We conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honor, and behold

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[52] I. Epstein, *Soncino Hebrew-English Talmud. Hagiga* 12 b. The tale in almost identical form is also attested in *Merkavah Rabbah* (Synopse §672): "... Elisha ben Abuyah cut off the shoots. Concerning him Scripture says: Do not allow your mouth etc. They said: When Elisha descended to the Chariot he saw Metatron, to whom permission had been given to sit (לישב) and write down (לכתוב) the merits of Israel one hour a day. He said: the sages taught: above there is no standing, and no sitting, no jealousy and no rivalry, and no duplicity (עורף) and no affliction. He meditated: perhaps there are two powers in heaven? Immediately He took Metatron outside of the celestial curtain, and you struck him with sixty fiery blows, and He gave permission to Metatron to burn the merits of Elisha." Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 246.

there he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of man." The two functions supplement each other.[53]

Despite his cautious affirmation of the possible connection between the scribal offices of Enoch and Metatron in *b.* Hag. 15a, Scholem's position in this respect remains ambiguous. He adds that "the parallel proves less than it seems to prove"[54] since both the Jewish pseudepigrapha and the Hekhalot writings know several angelic scribes.[55] It appears that Scholem's hesitation[56] to unambiguously identify Metatron with Enoch in the talmudic passage is based in part on his choice of the pseudepigraphic sources about the patriarch's scribal duties, which he limits to the evidence found in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. He does not refer to an other significant Second Temple testimony, the one in the Slavonic apocalypse. If the tradition about Enoch's scribal activities found in *2 Enoch* were to be brought into discussion, one would notice some additional details in the description of Enoch's scribal activities that further link the early Enochic accounts with the Metatron tradition from *b.* Hag. 15a.[57] The pertinent passage from the Babylonian Talmud states that "... permission was granted to Metatron to sit and write down the merits of Israel. Said he: It is taught as a tradition that on high there is no sitting

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[53] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 51.

[54] Alexander's attitude to the evidence from *b.* Hag. 15a appears to be less cautious than Scholem's position. He observes that "it is not clear when Metatron absorbed the Enoch tradition. In an attributed stratum of the Babli (*b.* Hag. 15a) it is stated that 'permission was granted to Metatron to sit and to write down the merits of Israel.' This scribing role of Metatron may have been taken over from the Enoch traditions which portray Enoch as the heavenly scribe (*Jub* 4:23; *Ps-J Gen.* 5:24)...." Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 164.

[55] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 51.

[56] It is noteworthy that, in contrast to Scholem, who argued that the passage of the *Babli* refers to the primordial Metatron tradition, Christopher Rowland draws the reader's attention to a number of provoking similarities with the early Enochic texts by drawing attention to *2 Enoch*. He stresses that "there is early evidence to suggest that the heavenly scribe who wrote down the merits of individuals was well established in Judaism and was closely linked with the legends which developed about Enoch." Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 338.

[57] C. Rowland notes that, similarly to *b.* Hag. 15a, *2 Enoch* 22-24 also attests to the tradition in which Enoch sits at God's left hand. See Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 496, n. 59.

(לא ישיבה) and no emulation, and no back, and no weariness...."[58] The important detail of this account is that the scribal duties of Metatron are combined with the motif of his having a seat in heaven. Metatron's situation represents an exception to the rule that no one but God can sit in heaven. The Talmudic passage grants this extraordinary permission to sit in heaven to Metatron because of his scribal duties, so he can sit and write the merits of Israel. The whole story of Aher's apostasy revolves around this motif of the enthroned angelic scribe who serves for Elisha b. Abuyah as the ultimate stumbling block, leading him to the heretical conclusion about two "powers" (ב׳ רשויות) in heaven.[59] In view of the materials found in *2 Enoch* this unique motif of the angelic scribe who has a seat in heaven can provide additional proof that the Metatron tradition from *b.* Hag. 15a is linked to early Enochic lore and that this angelic scribe is in fact the translated patriarch.

While the accounts of Enoch's scribal activities attested in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees* and the *Book of Giants* do not refer to Enoch's possession of any seat in heaven, the tradition attested in the Slavonic apocalypse does so explicitly.[60] *2 Enoch* 23:4 depicts the angel Vereveil who commands Enoch to sit down. "You sit down;[61] write everything...." The patriarch is then depicted as obeying this angelic command and taking his seat on high. It is noteworthy that the possession of a seat here, similarly to *b.* Hag. 15a, is directly linked to the hero's scribal duties performed over an extended period of time, since in *2 Enoch*

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[58] *b.* Hag. 15a.

[59] *b.* Hag. 15a.

[60] The tablet from Nineveh, however, refers to Enmeduranki's enthronement in the assembly of gods.

[61] Slav. сѣди. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.24.

23:6 Enoch conveys to his listeners: "And I sat down (ѣсѣдѣхъ)[62] for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights, and I wrote accurately."[63]

One can notice that the evidence from *2 Enoch* provides a new interpretive framework for understanding the tradition found in *b.* Hag. 15a and helps remove the doubts expressed by Scholem that the *Hagiga*'s depiction might not be connected with the tradition about the scribal duties of Enoch.

I must now attend to another relevant testimony found in *3 Enoch* 16.[64] It is intriguing that in *3 Enoch* 16 Enoch-Metatron, similarly to the *Hagiga*'s passage, is also depicted as having a seat/throne in heaven. Although in *Sefer Hekhalot*'s passage Enoch-Metatron is not directly identified as a celestial scribe[65] but rather as a celestial judge, the enthronement scene of the *Hagiga's* passage transferred to the Enochic context of this Merkabah text might implicitly allude to his scribal office, since in early Enochic materials the patriarch's scribal duties are often linked with his prominent place in the economy of the divine judgment. It does not seem coincidental that in *3 Enoch* 16:1-5 (*Synopse* §20) Enoch-Metatron's role as a heavenly scribe is now replaced by his role as an assistant of the Deity in divine judgment, the two functions that are closely connected in the previous Enochic lore. The passage gives the following depiction:

> At first I sat upon a great throne at the door of the seventh palace, and I judged (ודנתי) all the denizens of the heights on the authority of the Holy One, blessed be he ... when I sat in the heavenly court (יושב בישיבה של מעלה). The princes of kingdoms stood beside me, to my right and to my left, by authority of the Holy One, blessed be he. But when Aher came to behold the vision of the chariot and set eyes upon me, he was afraid and trembled before me. His soul was alarmed to

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[62] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.24.

[63] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 141.

[64] Scholars consider *3 Enoch* 16 as a latter addition to the chapters 3-15. See: Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.85-87; Alexander, "3 Enoch," 268, n. 16.

[65] Himmelfarb, "A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature," 261.

> the point of leaving him, because of his fear, dread, and terror of me, when he saw me seated upon a throne like a king, with ministering angels standing beside me as servants and all the princes of kingdoms crowned with crowns surrounding me.[66]

Philip Alexander notes that the talmudic version of the story found in *b.* Hag. 15a probably has priority over the one attested in *3 Enoch* 16.[67] This means that the latter evidence about the angel's role as a judge has its background in the tradition about the scribal office of Enoch-Metatron. In this context Christopher Rowland observes that the role of Enoch-Metatron as a heavenly witness represented in *3 Enoch* 16 is connected with his office as a scribe in *b.* Hag. 15a and early Enoch lore. He stresses that

> in Hebrew Enoch[68] Metatron is a judge in the heavenly court, whereas in B[69] he is merely the heavenly scribe who records the merits of Israel. The different pictures of Metatron reflect the different versions of the Enoch-tradition.[70] Enoch's position as a scribe and a heavenly witness belong to the oldest part of the tradition (*Jubilees* 4:23; the *Testament of Abraham* Recension B 11; *1 Enoch* 12; *Targum Pseudo- Jonathan* on Gen. 5.24). On the other hand, we have evidence of Enoch as a supremely more exalted figure.... In B, however, it seems that Metatron sits close to God recording the merits of Israel.[71]

At the conclusion of this section one notes that the hero's transition to the new role as a judge presiding in the heavenly court in *3 Enoch* 16 appears to be predetermined by a distinct character of the Metatron tradition reflected in *Sefer Hekhalot*. In view of the highly elevated image of Metatron in this macroform, it is understandable why the tradition preserved in *Sefer Hekhalot* 16 attempts to depict Enoch-Metatron as a celestial Judge overseeing the heavenly tribunal rather than simply as a legal scribe writing the merits of Israel. Such a description would not fit into the whole picture of the new

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[66] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.268; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 10-11.
[67] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 268.
[68] *3 Enoch* 16.
[69] *b.* Hag. 15a.
[70] Or more precisely different, but closely connected roles of Enoch-Metatron.
[71] Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 336-7.

celestial profile of Metatron, who now assumes such spectacular roles as the second deity and the lesser manifestation of the divine name.

Metatron as the Expert in Secrets

3 Enoch 11:1 attests to the omniscience of Metatron's knowledge and his immeasurable prowess in esoteric lore. In this Hekhalot tract the supreme angel unveils to R. Ishmael that he, Metatron, is the one to whom God revealed "all the mysteries of wisdom, all the depths of the perfect Torah and all the thoughts of men's hearts."[72] The text leaves the impression that the fullness of the disclosure of the ultimate secrets to this angel can be comparable only to the knowledge of the Deity himself since, according to Metatron, all the mysteries of the world and all the orders (secrets)[73] of creation are revealed before him "as they stand revealed before the Creator"[74] himself.

One learns from *Sefer Hekhalot* that the angel's initiation into the ultimate secrets and mysteries of the universe allows him to discern the outer and inner nature of things: the mysteries of creation as well as the secrets of the human hearts. Metatron informs R. Ishmael that he has a unique capacity for foreknowledge which enables him to behold "deep secrets and wonderful mysteries. Before a man thinks in secret, I [Metatron] see his thought; before he acts, I see his act. There is nothing in heaven above or deep within the earth concealed from me."[75]

Several details in these descriptions of Enoch-Metatron's expertise in the secrets recall similar conceptual developments known already in early Enochic and Enmeduranki

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[72] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.

[73] Some manuscripts of *3 Enoch* use "mysteries" instead of "orders." See, Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264, note c.

[74] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.

traditions. First, the peculiar emphasis on the secrets associated with "the orders of creation" found in *3 Enoch* recalls the tablet from Nineveh in which the motifs of mysteries and secrets were specifically tied to cosmological and creational concepts. The preoccupation with the secrets about the orders of creation also recalls the early Enochic booklets--more specifically, the *Astronomical Book*, in which Uriel's instructions in astronomical, cosmological, and meteorological lore also can be seen as pertaining to such orders. Finally, one must not forget *2 Enoch*, in which the secrets of creation stand at the center of the Lord's revelations to the elevated Enoch. This parallel, however, will be explored in detail in other sections of this dissertation.

3 Enoch's emphasis on understanding the mysteries of the human heart is also discernable in the early Enochic lore, namely, in *2 Enoch* 50:1, when the seventh antediluvian patriarch reveals to his children that he is the one who is able to see the hidden deeds of each person as in a mirror: "I have set down the achievements of each person in the writings and no one can (hide himself) who is born on the earth, nor (can) his achievement be kept secret. I see everything, as if in a mirror."[76]

It is noteworthy that it is not just the content of the secrets but also the way of initiation in them that demonstrates remarkable similarities between *2* and *3 Enoch*. H. Odeberg was first to notice that the Enoch–Metatron initiation into the secrets in *3 Enoch* recalls the procedure described in *2 Enoch*--the patriarch was first initiated by angel(s) and after this by the Lord.[77] *Sefer Hekhalot* attests to the same two-step initiatory

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[75] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.
[76] *2 Enoch* 50:1.
[77] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.55.

procedure when Enoch-Metatron is first initiated by the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding and then by the Holy One himself.[78]

It is intriguing that, in contrast to early Enochic materials which testify to Enoch's expertise in secrets but do not employ any titles pertaining to this activity,[79] *3 Enoch* 48C:7 (*Synopse* §73) openly refers to the new title of Enoch-Metatron as the "knower of secrets," ויודע רזים:

> and I called him by my name, the Lesser YHWH (יוי הקטן), Prince of the Divine Presence (שר הפנים), and knower of secrets (ויודע רזים). Every secret I have revealed to him in love, every mystery I have made known to him in uprightness.[80]

Another important feature of Metatron's associations with secrets which differentiates Hekhalot materials from early Enochic testimonies is that Metatron, unlike the earlier Enoch, not simply knows or writes down secrets, but embodies them, since some of the most profound mysteries are now literally written on him, or more specifically on his vestments, including his garments which recalls the Deity's own attire, the *Haluq* (חלוק), and Metatron's glorious crown decorated by the secret letters inscribed by the hand of God. *3 Enoch* 13 (§16) informs us that the Deity wrote on Metatron's crown with his finger, as with a pen of flame:

> the letters by which heaven and earth were created
> (אותיות שנבראו בהן שמים וארץ);
> the letters by which seas and rivers were created;
> the letters by which mountains and hills were created;
> the letters by which stars and constellations, lightning
> and wind, thunder and thunderclaps, snow and hail,
> hurricane and tempest were created;
> the letters by which all the necessities of the world and

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[78] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.

[79] In contrast to Enochic materials, Enmeduranki's tradition defines the seventh antediluvian hero as the one guarding the secrets (*nāṣir pirišti*) of the great gods. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 188.

[80] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 312; Schäfer et al, *Synopse*, 36-7.

all the orders (סדרי) [secrets][81] of creation were created.[82]

There is little doubt that the inscriptions on Metatron's crown pertains to the ultimate secrets of the universe, i.e., to the mysteries of creation, an esoteric lore also possessed by the seventh antediluvian hero in the earlier Enochic and Enmeduranki traditions.[83] The tradition found in the later Zoharic materials informs us that the inscriptions on Metatron's crown are indeed related to the ultimate secrets of heaven and earth.[84] Thus the passage found in *Zohar Hadash*, 40a elaborates the motif of the sacred engravings:

> Twelve celestial keys are entrusted to Metatron through the mystery of the holy name, four of which are the four separated secrets of the lights.... And this light, which rejoices the heart, provides the illumination of wisdom and discernment so that one may know and ponder. These are the four celestial keys, in which are contained all the other keys, and they have all been entrusted to this supreme head, Metatron, the great prince, all of them being within his Master's secrets, in the engravings of the mysteries of the holy, ineffable name.[85]

Finally, several words must be said about the recipients of Metatron's secrets in *3 Enoch*. Among other merited visionaries, these beneficiaries now include Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha and Moses, both of whom received their revelations from Metatron during

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[81] Some manuscripts of *3 Enoch* use the term "secrets" (סתרים) instead of "orders" (סדרים). See Alexander, "3 Enoch," 266; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 8.

[82] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 265-266; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 8-9.

[83] Joseph Dan, in his comments on the imagery of Metatron's crown in *3 Enoch*, observes that "Metatron's crown, as that of God, is not only a source of light for the worlds, but represents the principal power of the one who carries it: creation. The highest stage pictured here states that God Himself engraved on Metatron's crown the letters with which the heaven and the earth and all their hosts were created. It thus follows that one who actually sees Metatron cannot but believe that he is standing before the one who carried out the actions with these letters, i.e., that the power inherent in them was utilized in the actual act of creation." Dan, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, 118.

[84] Some scholars suggest that the link between Metatron and the secrets of creation might allude to his role as a demiurge or at least a participant in creation. Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, 44-45. Jarl Fossum suggested that the depiction of Metatron in *Sefer Hekhalot*, while not demiurgic, still alludes to the matrix of ideas out which the Gnostic concept of the demiurge has possible risen. Fossum, *The Name of God*, 301. The beginning of Enoch-Metatron's possible demiurgical profile can be detected already in *2 Enoch*, a text which put great emphasis on the secrets of creation.

their journeys into the celestial realm where the angel assists them as their *angelus interpres*.

In these new developments one detects a bridge with the hereditary pattern of esoteric transmission well known in Mesopotamian and Enochic materials, the latter of which emphasized the prominent role of the patriarch's children, including Methuselah, as the chosen vessels of the seer's disclosures. Although some talmudic and Hekhalot passages depict Metatron as a celestial teacher of the deceased children, these instructions do not have a hereditary emphasis and are not connected in any way with the hero's instructions to his children attested in Enmeduranki and Enochic traditions.

Metatron as the Mediator

The previous analysis of Enochic and Mesopotamian traditions referred on several occasions to the multifaceted nature of the mediatorial functions of the seventh antediluvian hero. It has been demonstrated that Enoch can be seen as a figure able to successfully mediate knowledge and judgment, acting not only as an intercessor and petitioner for the creatures of the lower realm but also as a special envoy of the Deity responsible for bringing the woes and condemnations to the sinful creatures of the earth. In Metatron's mediatorial activities one can detect the recognizable features of this complex conceptual pattern.

Mediation of Knowledge

Odeberg's study stresses one of the significant facets of Metatron's mediating duties when it observes that in *3 Enoch* this angel can be seen "as the intermediary

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[85] Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2.644-5.

through whom the secret doctrine was brought down to man."[86] This role vividly recalls one of the offices of the seventh antediluvian hero attested in early Enochic and Enmeduranki traditions. As with the Enochic texts in which one of the mediatorial functions of the seventh antediluvian patriarch was his mediation of knowledge through conveying the celestial knowledge drawn from the heavenly tablets to his children and the people of the earth, Metatron also assumes the role of the messenger who brings the upper knowledge to the creatures of the lower realm. His role as the Sar Torah, the one who conveys the perfect knowledge of the Torah to chosen visionaries and helps them retain this knowledge, will be investigated in detail later in this study. This office of Metatron apparently remains at the center of his mediating activities pertaining to knowledge. In this role Metatron functions not only as the one who assists in the acquisition of the celestial lore by helping Moses bring the knowledge of the Torah to the people or assisting visionaries in their mastering of the secrets of the law, but also as a teacher, that is, the one who is obliged to instruct in scriptural matters the deceased children in the heavenly academy.

It is noteworthy that, in comparison with the early Enochic traditions where the seventh antediluvian patriarch is often depicted as the terrestrial teacher, that is, the one who was instructing his own children on the earth in various matters including halakhic questions, Metatron's teaching expertise is now extended to the celestial classroom.[87]

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[86] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.84.

[87] Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 13ff.

b. Avod. Zar. 3b depicts Metatron as a teacher of the souls of those who died in their childhood:[88]

> What then does God do in the fourth quarter? - He sits and instructs the school children, as it is said, Whom shall one teach knowledge, and whom shall one make to understand the message? Them that are weaned from the milk. Who instructed them theretofore? - If you like, you may say Metatron, or it may be said that God did this as well as other things. And what does He do by night? - If you like you may say, the kind of thing He does by day; or it may be said that He rides a light cherub, and floats in eighteen thousand worlds; for it is said, The chariots of God are myriads, even thousands shinan.[89]

3 Enoch 48C:12 (*Synopse* §75) attests to a similar tradition:

> Metatron sits (יושב מטטרון) for three hours every day in the heaven above, and assembles all the souls of the dead that have died in their mother's wombs, and of the babes that have died at their mothers' breasts, and of the schoolchildren beneath the throne of glory, and sits them down around him in classes, in companies, and in groups, and teaches them Torah, and wisdom, and haggadah, and tradition, and he completes for them their study of the scroll of the Law, as it is written, "To whom shall one teach knowledge, whom shall one instruct in the tradition? Them that are weaned from the milk, them that are taken from the breasts."[90]

As in the previously analyzed passages from *b.* Hag. 15a and *3 Enoch* 16, the narratives from *b.* Avod. Zar. and the additional chapter of *Sefer Hekhalot* are obviously interconnected. H. Odeberg notes that in both passages Isa 28:9 is used for scriptural support.[91] It is also significant that both passages again refer to Metatron as the one who has a seat in heaven, the feature which played a crucial role in both the explicit and implicit portrayals of his scribal duties in *b.* Hag. 15a, *Merkavah Rabbah* (*Synopse* §672), and *3 Enoch* 16. The feature may indicate that some talmudic evidence about Metatron might stem from the common tradition in which this angel was depicted as having a seat

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[88] A similar tradition also can be found in the *Alphabet of R. Akiba.* See Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, 2.333-477.

[89] Epstein, *Soncino Hebrew-English Talmud. Abodah Zarah*, 3b.

[90] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 313; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 36-37.

in heaven. This tradition could have roots in the early Enochic lore reflected in *2 Enoch*; there the patriarch was depicted as the one who has a seat in heaven.[92]

It must be recognized that Metatron's teaching of humans does not proceed as simple communication of information. Metatron, like the seventh antediluvian hero, teaches not just through his spoken or written word but also through the example of his extraordinary personal story. Crispin Fletcher-Louis notes that "the transformation of Enoch provides a paradigm[93] for the *Yorde Merkabah*: his angelization was the aspiration of all Hekhalot mystics."[94] Philip Alexander observes that for the Merkabah mystic Metatron was a powerful "friend at court, … the living proof that man could overcome angelic opposition and approach God."[95]

Mediation of the Divine Judgment

In the previous investigation of the mediatorial duties of the seventh antediluvian hero, the study noticed that Enoch appears to be simultaneously fulfilling two roles pertaining to the judgment: first, the role of the intercessor or pleader, and second, the role of the announcer and witness of judgment. It was established that in his function as the intercessor Enoch was responsible for bringing petitions to the Deity from creatures of the lower realms. In contrast, in his office as the announcer and witness of the divine

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[91] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.83.

[92] *2 Enoch* 24:1(the longer recension): "And the Lord called me; and he said to me, 'Enoch, sit to the left of me with Gabriel.' And I did obeisance to the Lord." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 142.

[93] Peter Schäfer observes that "the only angel in *3 Enoch* and several layers of the other macroforms who constitutes an exception and is so close to God as to be dressed in similar clothes and sit on a similar throne is Metatron, the 'lesser YHWH.' This Metatron, however, is precisely not an angel like the others but the man Enoch transformed into an angel. Enoch-Metatron, as the prototype of the *yored merkavah*, shows that man can come very close to God, so close as to be almost similar to him, so that Aher-Elisha ben Avuyah can mistake him for God." Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 149.

[94] Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 156.

[95] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 244.

judgment the patriarch functions differently by assisting God in the announcement and execution of the judgment. These two dimensions of the same mission of the hero can also be detected in the Metatron tradition in which the patriarch's duties pertaining to judgment appear to be further developed and expanded into Metatron's roles of Redeemer and Judge.

a. *Intercession*

During my investigation of the Enochic roles found in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of Giants*, I noticed that in these early texts the patriarch was often depicted as an intercessor before the Deity for various creatures of the lower realms. It is intriguing that in the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials, the universal character of Enoch-Metatron's intercessory function received a new "national" re-interpretation. Along with the customary emphasis on the omniscient character of Metatron, this new understanding also underlines his special role as the intercessor for Israel. Gershom Scholem observes that Metatron often "appears as the heavenly advocate defending Israel in the celestial court."[96]

Thus, as may be recalled, in *b.* Hag 15a and *Merkavah Rabbah*, Metatron is granted special permission to sit and write down the merits of Israel. In *Lamentations Rabbah*, intr. 24, Metatron pleads before the Holy One when the Deity decides to remove his *Shekinah* from the temple on account of Israel's sins:

> At that time the Holy One, blessed be He, wept and said, "Woe is Me! What have I done? I caused My Shechinah to dwell below on earth for the sake of Israel; but now that they have sinned, I have returned to My former habitation. Heaven forfend that I become a laughter to the nations and a byword to human beings!" At that time Metatron came, fell upon his face, and spake before the Holy One,

[96] Scholem, "Metatron," *EJ*, 11.1445.

> blessed be He: "Sovereign of the Universe, let me weep, but do Thou not weep." He replied to him, "If thou lettest Me not weep now, I will repair to a place which thou hast not permission to enter, and will weep there," as it is said, But if ye will not hear it, My soul shall weep in secret for pride (Jer. 13:17).[97]

The depiction of Metatron's prostration before God in this passage recalls the patriarch's obeisance during his transition into the celestial rank in *1* and *2 Enoch*. Here, however, the purpose of veneration is different since it is removed from its initiatory context and combined with the office of the intercessor or, more specifically, the pleader on behalf of Israel. Besides Metatron's intercessory duties *Lamentations Rabbah* also seems to point to his other, more exalted office, his role as the redeemer who is able to take the sinners' transgressions upon himself.

Joshua Abelson observes that Metatron appears[98] in this passage not only as the pleader for the interests of Israel, but also as the one taking upon himself the sorrow for Israel's sins.[99] Metatron's role of the redeemer will be examined a bit later. Here one must note that in some Hekhalot materials Metatron appears to be responsible for intercession not only for Israel as a nation, but also for individual Israelites as well. Thus in *3 Enoch* 2 when the angelic hosts oppose the elevation of R. Ishmael, Metatron intercedes on behalf of this visionary introducing him as one from the nation of Israel:

> Metatron replied: "He is of the nation of Israel, whom the Holy One, blessed be he, chose from the seventy nations to be his people...." At once they [angelic hosts] began to say, "This one is certainly worthy to behold the chariot, as it is written, Happy is the nation of whom this is true...."[100]

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[97] *Midrash Rabbah*, 7.41.

[98] It is intriguing that the address which Metatron uses in this text recalls *2 Enoch's* materials, where in chapter 33 the Lord introduces Himself to the patriarch as the Sovereign of all creations who himself created everything "from the highest foundation to the lowest, and to the end." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 156.

[99] J. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism* (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1913) 69

[100] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257.

It has been already mentioned that in *3 Enoch* Metatron is depicted not only as the intercessor but also as the redeemer who is able to take upon himself the sins of others.[101] It is not coincidental that Metatron's lore construes the redeeming functions of the angel in connection with Adam's transgression, depicting him as the eschatological counterpart of the protoplast who is able to atone for the fall of the first human. In *Sefer Hekhalot* Metatron appears to be viewed as a divine being first incarnated in Adam and then in Enoch; the latter re-ascended to the protoplast's heavenly home and took his rightful place in the heights of the universe.[102] *3 Enoch* 48C:1 (*Synopse* §72) reads: "The Holy One, blessed be he, said: I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron my servant (עבדי), who is unique among all the denizens of the heights...."I made him strong" in the generation of the first man (בדורו של אדם הראשון)...."[103] Philip Alexander observes that "Enoch thus becomes a redeemer figure--a second Adam through whom humanity is restored."[104] This understanding of Metatron as the second Adam does not appear to be a late invention of the rabbinic and Hekhalot authors but can already be found in early Enochic materials, including *2 Slavonic Enoch.* A detailed exploration of this conceptual development will be offered later in this dissertation.

b. Bearing Testimony

It has been mentioned that early Jewish and Mesopotamian testimonies pertaining to the legal and scribal duties of the seventh antediluvian hero appear to find their logical

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[101] Metatron's role as the Redeemer and the possible origin of this concept in early Enochic literature will be investigated in detail later in this study.

[102] It appears that this theological motif of Enoch-Metatron's redeeming role is already developed in *2 Enoch* 64. This tradition will be discussed later.

[103] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 311. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 36-37.

[104] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," 111.

counterpart in Metatron's role as a seated scribe and judge. Here, as with the early Enochic materials, the Merkabah tradition again attests to the composite nature of Enoch-Metatron offices. One recalls that in early Enochic traditions the patriarch is often depicted as a legal scribe who writes petitions on behalf of his clients, the fallen angels and their progeny. In the Hekhalot tradition his status appears to be much higher, since there he is depicted not just as a legal scribe or a petitioner to the judge but as the one who is elevated to the position of the judge who now has a seat in heaven. The shadows of the previous scribal role are still discernable in this new elevation throughout the references to his enthronement. Although Metatron presides over a celestial law court in *3 Enoch* 16,[105] the key to the connection of this new office to his older scribal duties can be found in the earlier tradition attested in *b.* Hag. 15a, in which Metatron "was given permission to write down the merits of Israel."

It is also significant that in early Enochic materials the patriarch not only intercedes for the creatures, but also brings to them testimonies and warnings about the upcoming judgment from God. Moreover, his remarkable removal from earth can be viewed as a powerful testimony against the sins of the generation of the Flood.[106] The patriarch's mission as the witness of the divine judgment thus represents another significant dimension of Enoch's mediating role in the economy of the divine judgment. This dimension does not appear to be forgotten in the later rabbinic and Hekhalot materials about Enoch-Metatron.

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[105] *3 Enoch* 16:7-11: "At the beginning I was sitting on the throne at the door of the seventh hall and I was judging the sons of heaven, the heavenly household, by the authority of the Holy one, blessed be He." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 268.

[106] *Jub* 4:23-24.

Alexander observes that "*3 Enoch* makes considerable play of the idea that Enoch was taken up as a witness."[107] In *3 Enoch* 4 Metatron explains his removal from earth by saying to R. Ishmael that God took him in the midst of the generation of the Flood to be "a witness (עד) against them in the heavenly heights." [108] A similar tradition is discernable also in *3 Enoch* 48C:2 (*Synopse* §72), where Enoch-Metatron's removal in the midst of the antediluvian turmoil is explained through his role as the witness: "I 'took him' – Enoch the son of Jared, from their midst, and brought him up with the sound of the trumpet and with shouting to the height, to be my witness (להיות לי לעד), together with the four creatures of the chariot, to the world to come."[109]

One must not forget, however, that Metatron's role as the witness is not peculiar to *Sefer Hekhalot*. Scholars previously noted[110] that in the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials Metatron is portrayed as שרא רבה דאסהדותא, the great prince of testimony.[111] Although the passage from *Sefer Haqqomah* does not provide any specific details about Metatron's role in the economy of the divine judgment, Ithamar Gruenwald links this title with the important role that Enoch-Metatron played in bearing testimony against the generation of the Flood.[112]

It has been already noted that in his intercessory functions Enoch-Metatron undergoes a definite evolution that results in his new role as the redeemer, a role which

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[107] Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 106, footnote 28.

[108] Christopher Rowland observes that this role of Metatron reflects the earlier Enochic traditions attested in *Jub* 4:23; *Testament of Abraham* B 11, *1 Enoch* 12; *Targum Ps. Jonathan* on Gen 5:24. Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 337.

[109] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 311. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 36-37.

[110] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 199; Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 125.

[111] *Sefer Haqqomah* 12-13 (Oxford MS. 1791) reads: "R. Aqiba said: I give testimony based on my testimony that Metatron said to me, [Metatron, who is] the great prince of testimony (שרא רבה דאסהדותא) ...." Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 189; idem, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 127.

still is closely connected with the previous Enochic lore. A similar transition appears to be discernable in Enoch-Metatron's office as the witness of the divine judgment.[113] In this latter office the evolution is apparent from the role of the judicial scribe responsible for recording human merits (and sins?) to the office of the heavenly judge enthroned at the doors of the seventh *hekhal*. *3 Enoch* 16:1-5 attests to this transition to the office of the celestial judicator:[114]

> At first I sat upon a great throne at the door of the seventh palace, and I judged all the denizens of the heights on the authority of the Holy One, blessed be he.... I sat in the heavenly court. The princes of kingdoms stood beside me, to my right and to my left, by authority of the Holy One, blessed be he. [115]

As has been previously noted, this passage represents a later revision of the tradition found in *b.* Hag 15a in which Metatron is depicted as the scribe and the recorder of the merits of Israel. In the view of the tradition preserved in the Babylonian Talmud, Metatron's transition from the position of the witness to the office of the judge does not appear to be coincidental. It can be seen as the smooth transition from the position of the legal scribe, a helper of the judge, the role in which Enoch appears in the *Testament of Abraham*, to the higher judicial position of the one who now presides in the court. Seen in this context, *b.* Hag 15a and *3 Enoch* 16 represent one of the rare cases when the evolution of the hero's office(s) can be traced clearly and unambiguously in the

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[112] Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 200.

[113] Hugo Odeberg points to the transitional character of Metatron's role as the witness. He observes that "...the reason or object of Enoch's translation was the function prescribed for him of being a witness—in the world to come—to the sinfulness of his generation and the justice of the Holy One in eventually destroying the men of that generation through the Deluge ... but the characterization of the translated Enoch is not restricted to describing him as a celestial scribe-witness. The various honors and offices conferred upon him in chs. 7 seqq. set forth in successive stages, progressing towards a climax (in chs. 12 and 48C:7,8)." Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.80-81.

[114] In *3 Enoch* 48C:8 the story is repeated by God: "I have fixed his [Metatron] throne at the door of my palace, on the outside, so that he might sit and execute judgment over all my household in the height." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 312.

[115] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 268.

succession of the texts. One can see that the transition to the new role affects first of all Metatron's profile. The career advancement from the legal scribe to the judge leads in *3 Enoch* 16 to the elimination of any references to the scribal function of Enoch-Metatron; these references are not appropriate for the new elevated profile of the appointed judge whose function is not to write down the merits and sins of the creatures but to deliver judgment upon them.[116]

The passage from *3 Enoch* 16 also shows that the transition to the new role affects not only the description of the main hero but also the social context of his new position. Since Metatron was promoted from the position of a servant to one who now himself needs servants, *Sefer Hekhalot* depicts this new social environment represented by the princes of the kingdoms who are standing behind the newly appointed judge ready to execute his decisions. In light of these new conceptual changes it is logical that such servants are absent in the earlier description of Metatron found in the *Hagiga Babli.*

Mediation of God's Presence and Authority

Sefer Hekhalot often emphasizes the exclusivity of Metatron's position; his close proximity to God's Face appears to create a new mediatorial dimension for the exalted hero unknown in early Enochic materials. In the Hekhalot literature Metatron not only assumes the usual functions pertaining to mediation in knowledge and judgment, similar to those performed by the seventh antediluvian patriarch, but also takes a much higher

[116] In the light of this transition it is understandable why *Sefer Hekhalot* does not contain any direct references to the scribal function of Enoch-Metatron. Instead, in *3 Enoch* 18:24, the scribal duties are assigned to two angels-princes.

role as the mediator of the divine presence.[117] This office of Metatron as God's secretary is reflected in *3 Enoch* and in some other Hekhalot materials which depict him as a special attendant of the Divine Face who mediates God's presence to the rest of the angelic community.[118] In *3 Enoch* 10 (*Synopse* §13) God himself introduces Metatron as his secretary, saying that "any angel and any prince who has anything to say in *my [God's] presence* (לפני) should go before him [Metatron] and speak to him. Whatever he says to you in my name you must observe and do...."[119]

One remarks that Metatron's leading role in heaven as God's secretary and vice-regent is not confined to his activities in the celestial realm but also includes the governance of earthly matters. This function is executed through another prominent office briefly mentioned earlier, the role of the Prince of the World, the one responsible for conveying the divine decisions to the seventy (sometimes seventy two)[120] princes controlling the seventy nations of the earth.[121] In this context it seems no coincidence that

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[117] It should be noted that although Metatron is now depicted as the middle man between the Deity and the whole angelic community, his early mediating dealings with the fallen angels are not forgotten in the Metatron tradition. One such allusion can be found in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, where Metatron warns the leader of the fallen Watchers about the upcoming destruction of the earth by the waters of Deluge: "Forthwith Metatron sent a messenger to Semhazai, and said to him; 'The Holy One is about to destroy His world, and bring upon it a flood.' Shemhazai stood up and raised his voice and wept aloud, for he was sorely troubled about his sons and (his own) iniquity. And he said: 'How shall my children live and what shall become of my children, for each one of them eats daily a thousand camels, a thousand horses, a thousand oxen, and all kinds (of animals)?'" Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 328.

[118] In this his role Metatron is often directly named as the Face of God.

[119] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 8-9.

[120] Jarl Fossum observes that "the notion that Enoch-Metatron has 'Seventy Names' is connected with the idea of 'seventy tongues of the world.' The meaning undoubtedly is that Enoch-Metatron in virtue of possesing the 'Seventy Names' is the ruler of the entire world. Elsewhere, 3 Enoch speaks of the 'seventy-two princes of kingdoms on high 'who are angelic representatives of the kingdoms on earth (xvii. 8; ch. xxx). The numbers 'seventy' and 'seventy-two' are, of course, not to be taken literally; they signify the multitude of the nations of the world." Fossum, *The Angel of the Lord*, 298.

[121] *3 Enoch* 48C:8-9 reads: "I made every prince stand before him to receive authority from him and to do his will...." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 312.

Metatron is also known to creation through his seventy names: these again stress his role in the governing of the earthly realm divided by seventy tongues.[122]

Priestly and Liturgical Roles of Metatron

In one of his recent publications, Philip Alexander traces the development of Enoch's image through Jewish literature from the Second Temple period to the early Middle Ages. He notes that these developments point to a genuine, ongoing tradition that demonstrates the astonishing persistence of certain motifs. As an example of the consistency of some themes and concepts, Alexander points to the evolution of Enoch's priestly role, already prominent in the early Second Temple materials, which later receives its second embodiment in Metatron's sacerdotal duties. He observes that "Enoch in *Jubilees* in the second century BCE is a high priest. Almost a thousand years later he retains this role in the Heikhalot texts, though in rather different setting."[123] Pointing to one possible example of the long-lasting association of Enoch-Metatron with the sacerdotal office, Alexander directs attention to the priestly role of this exalted angel attested in *3 Enoch* 15B where Metatron is put in charge of the heavenly tabernacle.[124] The passage from *Sefer Hekhalot* reads:

> Metatron is the Prince over all princes, and stands before him who is exalted above all gods. He goes beneath the throne of glory, where he has a great heavenly tabernacle of light, and brings out the deafening fire, and puts it in the

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[122] *3 Enoch* 3:2.

[123] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 107.

[124] Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that in comparison with the early Enochic materials, "in *3 Enoch* the priestly tradition is somewhat more muted ... which is unsurprising given that its 'rabbinic' life setting is far removed from the strongly priestly world which nurtured the Enoch tradition towards the close of the Second Temple period. However, Enoch's priestly credentials are not forgotten. In *3 Enoch* 7 Enoch is stationed before Shekinah 'to serve (as would the high priest) the throne of glory day by day.' He is given a crown which perhaps bears God's name as did that of the high priest (12:4-5) and a מעיל like that of the high priest (Exod 38:4, 31, 34 etc)." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 24.

> ears of the holy creatures, so that they should not hear the sound of the utterance that issues from the mouth of the Almighty.[125]

The first significant detail of this description is that the tabernacle is placed in the immediate proximity of the Throne, below the Seat of Glory. This tradition does not appear to be peculiar to *3 Enoch's* description since Hekhalot writings depict the Youth, who often is identified there with Metatron, as the one who emerges from beneath the Throne.[126] The proximity of the tabernacle to *Kavod* also recalls early Enochic materials, specifically *1 Enoch* 14 in which the patriarch's visitation of the celestial sanctuary is described as his approach to *Kavod*. Both traditions (Enochic and Merkabah) appear to stress Enoch-Metatron's role as the celestial high priest, since he approaches the realm where ordinary creatures, angelic or human, are not allowed to enter. This realm of the immediate presence of the Deity, the Holy of Holies, is situated behind the veil represented by heavenly (פרגוד) or terrestrial (פרכת) curtains.[127]

Another important sacerdotal function mentioned in *3 Enoch* 15B and other materials includes the duties of preparation and arrangement of the angelic hosts who participate in the liturgical praise of the Deity. In this respect Metatron is also responsible for the protection of the celestial singers: he guards their ears so the mighty voice of God will not harm them.[128]

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[125] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 303.

[126] See, for example, *Synopse* §385: "when the youth enters beneath the throne of glory (נכנס הנער לתחת כסא הכבוד)." Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 162.

[127] On the imagery of the Curtain, see also: *b.* Yoma 77a; *b.* Ber. 18b; *3 Enoch* 45:1.

[128] The depiction of the angelic hosts as unable to sustain the terrifying sound of God's voice or the terrifying vision of God's glorious Face is not a rare motif in the Hekhalot writings. In such descriptions Metatron usually poses as the mediator *par excellance* who protects the angelic hosts participating in the heavenly liturgy against the dangers of the direct encounter with the divine presence. This combination of the liturgical duties with the role of the Prince of the Presence appears to be a long-lasting tradition with its possible roots in Second Temple Judaism. James VanderKam notes that in 1 QSb 4:25 the priest is compared with an angel of presence: כמלאך פנים. J. C. VanderKam, "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 7 (2000) 383.

The traditions about Metatron's liturgical duties inside and near the heavenly tabernacle are not limited to the aforementioned description from *Sefer Hekhalot*. Thus one Mandean bowl speaks about Metatron as the one "who serves before the Curtain (ברגודא)."[129] Alexander proposes that this description "may be linked to the Hekhalot tradition about Metatron as the heavenly High Priest (*3 Enoch* 15B:1), and certainly alludes to his status as 'Prince of the Divine Presence.'"[130]

Gershom Scholem draws attention to the passage found in *Merkabah Shelemah* in which the heavenly tabernacle is called the tabernacle of Metatron (משכן מטטרון). In the tradition preserved in *Numbers Rabbah* 12:12, the heavenly sanctuary again is associated with one of Metatron's titles and is called the tabernacle of the Youth (משכן הנער):[131]

> R. Simon expounded: When the Holy One, blessed be He, told Israel to set up the Tabernacle He intimated to the ministering angels that they also should make a Tabernacle, and when the one below was erected the other was erected on high. The latter was the tabernacle of the youth (משכן הנער) whose name was Metatron, and therein he offers up the souls of the righteous to atone for Israel in the days of their exile.[132]

The intriguing detail in this description of the tabernacle is that it refers to the souls of the righteous offered by Metatron. This reference might allude to the imagery often found in early Enochic materials which refer to the daily sacrifice of the angelic hosts bathing themselves in the river of fire streaming beneath the Throne of Glory, the exact location of the tabernacle of the Youth.

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[129] W. S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandean Incantation Texts in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967) D 5-6.

[130] Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 166.

[131] It should be noted that the expression "the tabernacle of the Youth" occurs also in the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials. For a detailed analysis of the Metatron imagery in this tradition, see Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*, 124ff.

The priestly functions of Metatron were not forgotten in the later Jewish mysticism. The materials associated with the Zoharic tradition also attest to Metatron's duties in the heavenly tabernacle. *Zohar* II, 159a reads:

> We have learned that the Holy One, blessed be He, told Moses all the regulations and the patterns of the Tabernacle, each one with its own prescription, and [Moses] saw Metatron ministering as High Priest within. … he saw Metatron ministering…. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses: Look at the tabernacle, and look at the boy….[133]

The significant detail of this passage from the *Zohar* is that it refers to Metatron as the High Priest. It should be noted that not only this relatively late composition but also the earlier materials associated with the Hekhalot tradition directly identify the exalted angels with the office and the title of the celestial High Priest. Rachel Elior observes that Metatron appears in the Genizah documents as a High Priest who offers sacrifices on the heavenly altar.[134] She calls attention to the important witness of one Cairo Genizah text which explicitly labels Metatron as the High Priest and the chief of the priests:

> I adjure you [Metatron], more beloved and dear than all heavenly beings, [Faithful servant] of the God of Israel, the High Priest (כהן גדול), chief of [the priest]s (ראש [הכהני]ם), you who poss[ess seven]ty names; and whose name[is like your Master's] … Great Prince, who is appointed over the great princes, who is the head of all the camps.[135]

As has been already mentioned, Metatron's service behind the heavenly Curtain, *Pargod*, recalls the unique function of the earthly high priest, who alone was allowed to

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[132] *Midrash Rabbah*, 5.482-3.

[133] Tishby, *The Wisdom of Zohar*, 2.645.

[134] Elior, "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines," 228.

[135] L. H. Schiffman and M. D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) 145-7, 151. On Metatron as the High Priest see Schiffman et al., *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* 25-28; 145-47; 156-157; esp. 145; Elior, "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines," 299, n. 30. Yaʿqub al-Qirqisani alludes to the evidence from the Talmud about the priestly function of Metatron. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 6.74; L. Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisani's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA* 7 (1930) 317-97.

enter behind the veil of the terrestrial sanctuary.[136] It was previously explained that the possible background for this unique role of Metatron can be traced to *1 Enoch* 14; in this text the patriarch alone appears in the celestial Holy of Holies while the other angels are barred from the inner house.[137] This depiction also agrees with the Hekhalot evidence according to which only the Youth, *videlicet* Metatron, is allowed to serve behind the heavenly veil.

It is intriguing that Metatron's role as the heavenly High Priest appears to be supported in the Hekhalot materials by the motif of the particular sacerdotal duties of the terrestrial protagonist of the Hekhalot literature, Rabbi Ishmael b. Elisha, to whom Metatron serves as an *angelus interpres*. In view of Enoch-Metatron's sacerdotal affiliations it is not coincidental that Rabbi Ishmael himself is the tanna who is attested in *b.* Ber. 7a as a high priest.[138] Rachel Elior observes that in *Hekhalot Rabbati* this rabbinic authority is portrayed in terms similar to those used in the Talmud, as a priest burning an offering on the altar.[139] Other Hekhalot materials, including *3 Enoch*, also often refer to R. Ishmael's priestly origins.[140] The priestly features of this visionary might not only reflect the heavenly priesthood of Metatron[141] but also allude to the former priestly duties

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[136] On the celestial curtain, *Pargod*, as the heavenly counterpart of the *paroket*, the veil of the Jerusalem Temple, see: Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*, 169, note 99; Morray-Jones, *A Transparent Illusion*, 164ff.

[137] David Halperin argues that in *1 Enoch* "the angels, barred from the inner house, are the priests of Enoch's heavenly Temple. The high priest must be Enoch himself, who appears in the celestial Holy of Holies to procure forgiveness for holy beings…We cannot miss the implication that the human Enoch is superior even to those angels who are still in good standing." Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 82.

[138] See also *b.* Ketub. 105b; *b.* Hul. 49a.

[139] Elior, "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines," 225.

[140] See, for example, *3 Enoch* 2:3: "Metatron replied, 'He [R. Ishmael] is of the tribe of Levi, which presents the offering to his name. He is of the family of Aaron, whom the Holy One, blessed be he, chose to minister in his presence and on whose head he himself placed the priestly crown on Sinai.'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257.

[141] Nathaniel Deutsch observes that in *3 Enoch* "likewise, as the heavenly high priest, Metatron serves as the mythological prototype of Merkabah mystics such as Rabbi Ishmael. Metatron's role as a high priest highlights the functional parallel between the angelic vice regent and the human mystic (both are

of the patriarch Enoch known from *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, since some scholars observe that "*3 Enoch* presents a significant parallelism between the ascension of Ishmael and the ascension of Enoch."[142]

The possible parallel between R. Ishmael and Enoch leads again to the question of the hypothetical roots of Metatron's role as the priest and the servant in the heavenly tabernacle. Previous parts of this study have demonstrated that already in the *Book of the Watchers* and *Jubilees* the seventh antediluvian hero was portrayed as a priest in the heavenly sanctuary. In another Enochic text, *2 Enoch*, the descendants of the seventh antediluvian patriarch, including his son Methuselah, are depicted as builders of an altar on the place where Enoch was taken up to heaven. The choice of the place might underscore the peculiar role of the patriarch in relation to the heavenly prototype of this earthly sanctuary. The same pseudepigraphon portrays Enoch in the sacerdotal office as the one who delivers the sacrificial instructions to his children. These connections will be closely examined later in this dissertation.

Although the prototypes of Metatron's sacerdotal duties can be traced with relative ease to the early Enochic traditions, some scholars argue that other early traditions might have also contributed to this development. Scholem suggests that Metatron's priestly duties in the heavenly tabernacle might be influenced by Michael's role as the heavenly priest.[143] He observes that "according to the traditions of certain

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priests), thereas his transformation from a human being into an angel reflects an ontological process which may be repeated by mystics via their own enthronement and angelification." Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, 34.

[142] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 106-7.

[143] Gershom Scholem notes that "Michael as High Priest was known to the Jewish source used in the Gnostic *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, § 38; only 'an archangel [i.e. Michael]' enters within the curtain (καταπέτασμα), an act analogous to that of the High Priest who enters once a year into the Holy of Holies. Michael as High Priest in heaven is also mentioned in *Menahoth* 110a (parallel to *Hagigah* 12b) and

Merkabah mystics, Metatron takes the place of Michael as the high priest who serves in the heavenly Temple...."[144] Scholem's insights are important since some talmudic materials, including *b.* Hag. 12b, *b.* Menah. 110a, and *b.* Zebah. 62a, suggest that the view of Michael's role as the heavenly priest was widespread in the rabbinic literature and might constitute one of the significant contributing factors to Metatron's sacerdotal image.

Finally, one more element of Metatron's priestly role must be highlighted. The passage from *3 Enoch* 15B introduced in the beginning of this section shows that one of the aspects of Metatron's service in the heavenly tabernacle involves his leadership over the angelic hosts singing their heavenly praise to the Deity.[145] Metatron can thus be seen, not only as the servant in the celestial tabernacle or the heavenly High Priest, but also as the leader of the divine worship. Martin Cohen notes that in the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials Metatron's service in the heavenly tabernacle appears to be "entirely liturgical;" he "is more the heavenly choir-master and beadle than the celestial high priest."[146]

The descriptions of Metatron's functions in directing angelic hosts in the presence of the Deity occur several times in the Hekhalot materials. One such description can be found in *Hekhalot Zutarti* (Synopse §390) where one can find the following tradition:

> One hayyah rises above the seraphim and descends upon the tabernacle of the youth (משכן הנער) whose name is Metatron, and speaks with a loud voice. A voice of sheer silence.... Suddenly the angels fall silent. The watchers and holy ones become quiet. They are silent, and are pushed into the river of fire. The hayyot put their faces on the ground, and this youth whose name is Metatron

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Zebahim 62a. The Baraitha in *Hagigah* is the oldest source." Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 49, n. 19.

[144] G. Scholem, "Metatron," *EJ*, 11.1445.

[145] Daniel Abrams draws attention to another important passage from *Sefer ha-Hashek*, where Metatron commands the angels to deliver praise to the King of the Glory. Abrams, *"The Boundaries of Divine Ontology,"* 304.

[146] Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*, 134.

> brings the fire of deafness and puts it into their ears so that they could not hear the sound of God's speech or the ineffable name. The youth whose name is Metatron then invokes, in seven voices
> (שהנער ששמו מטטרון מזכיר באות שעה בשבעה קול ות), his living, pure, honored, awesome… name….[147]

Metatron is portrayed in this account not only as a servant in the celestial tabernacle or the heavenly high priest but also as the leader of the heavenly liturgy. The evidence unfolding Metatron's liturgical role is not confined solely to the Hekhalot corpus, but can also be detected in another prominent literary stream associated with early Jewish mysticism, represented by the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* materials. The passages found in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* texts attest to a familiar tradition in which Metatron is posited as a liturgical servant. *Sefer Haqqomah* 155-164 reads:

> And (the) angels who are with him come and encircle the Throne of Glory. They are on one side and the (celestial) creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is on the Throne of Glory in the center. And one creature goes up over the seraphim and descends on the tabernacle of the lad whose name is Metatron and says in a great voice, a thin voice of silence, "The Throne of Glory is glistening!" Immediately, the angels fall silent and the *^{c}irin* and the *qadushin* are still. They hurry and hasten into the river of fire. And the celestial creatures turn their faces towards the earth, and this lad, whose name is Metatron, brings the fire of deafness … and puts (it) in the ears of the celestial creatures so that they do not hear the sound of the speech of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit name that the lad, whose name is Metatron, utters at that time in seven voices, in seventy voices, in his living, pure, honored, holy, awesome, worthy, brave, strong and holy name.[148]

A similar tradition can be found in *Siddur Rabbah* 37-46, another text associated with *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* tradition, where the angelic Youth, however, is not identified with the angel Metatron:

> The angels who are with him come and encircle the (Throne of) Glory; they are on one side and the celestial creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is in the center. And one creature ascends above the Throne of Glory and touches the seraphim and descends on the Tabernacle of the lad and declares in a great

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[147] Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 164.
[148] M. Cohen, *The Shi^{c}ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions* (TSAJ, 9; Tübingen: Mohr, 1985)162-4.

> voice, (which is also) a voice of silence, "The throne alone shall I exalt over him." The *ofanim* become silent (and) the seraphim are still. The platoons of *ᶜirin* and *qadushin* are shoved into the River of Fire and the celestial creatures turn their faces downward, and the lad brings the fire silently and puts it in their ears so that they do not hear the spoken voice; he remains (thereupon) alone. And the lad calls Him, "the great, mighty and awesome, noble, strong, powerful, pure and holy, and the strong and precious and worthy, shining and innocent, beloved and wondrous and exalted and supernal and resplendent God.[149]

These passages indicate that Metatron is understood not just as a being who protects and prepares the heavenly hosts for praise of the Deity, but also as the one who leads and participates in the liturgical ceremony by invoking the divine name. The passage underlines the extraordinary scope of Metatron's vocal abilities allowing him to sing the Deity's name in seven voices.

It is evident that the tradition preserved in *Sefer Haqqomah* cannot be separated from the microforms found in *Synopse* §390 and *3 Enoch* 15B since all these narratives are unified by a similar structure and terminology. All of them also emphasize the Youth's leading role in the course of the celestial service. It is also significant that Metatron's role as the one responsible for protecting and leading the servants in praise of the Deity is not restricted only to the aforementioned passages but finds expression in the broader context of the Hekhalot and *Shᶜiur Qomah* materials.[150] Another similar depiction, which appears earlier in the same text (Synopse §385) again refers to Metatron's leading role in the celestial praise, noting that it occurs three times a day:

> When the youth enters below the throne of glory, God embraces him with a shining face. All the angels gather and address God as "the great, mighty, awesome God," and they praise God three times a day by means of the youth

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[149] Cohen, *The Shiᶜur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 162-4. On the relation of this passage to the Youth tradition see: Davila, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," 248-74.

[150] This tradition is not forgotten in later Jewish mystical developments. Daniel Abrams notes that in *Sefer ha-Hashek* "Metatron commands the angels to praise the King of the Glory, and he is among them." Abrams, "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology," 304.

(ומשבחים הק׳ב׳ה שלשה פעמים יומעל יד הנער)....[151]

It appears also that Metatron's duties as the choir-master or the celestial liturgical director are applied to his leadership not only over the angelic hosts but also over humans, specifically the visionaries admitted to the heavenly realm. In *3 Enoch* 1:9-10 Enoch-Metatron appears to be preparing Rabbi Ishmael for singing praise to the Holy One: "At once Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, came and revive me and raise me to my feet, but still I had not strength enough to sing a hymn before the glorious throne of the glorious King...."[152]

It has been already noted that the priestly duties of Metatron might plausibly find their early counterparts in the seventh antediluvian hero's affiliations with the sacerdotal office. This background suggests that Metatron's liturgical role as the celestial choir-master might also have its origins in early Enochic materials. Entertaining this possibility of Enochic origins of Metatron's role as the leader of the divine worship, one must turn to the passage from *2 Enoch* 18 in which the patriarch is depicted as the one who encourages the celestial Watchers to start liturgy before the face of God. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:8 relates:

> And I [Enoch] said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up your liturgy, and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord to the limit."[153]

It is significant that, although Enoch gives advice to the angels situated in the fifth heaven, he encourages them to start liturgy "before the Face of the Lord," that is, in front of the divine *Kavod*, the exact location where Metatron conducts the heavenly worship of

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[151] Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 162-3.
[152] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 256.
[153] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 132.

the angelic hosts in the later rabbinic and Hekhalot materials. In view of the aforementioned conceptual developments, the tradition found in *2 Enoch* 18 might represent an important step towards the defining and shaping of Enoch-Metatron's sacerdotal office as the servant of the heavenly tabernacle and the celestial choir-master.[154]

[154] It is intriguing that a similar, perhaps even competing, development can be detected in the early lore about Yahoel. Thus, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 10:9 depicts Yahoel as the one who is responsible for teaching "those who carry the song through the medium of man's night of the seventh hour." R. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," *OTP*, 1.694. In chapter 12 of the same text, Abraham addresses Yahoel as "Singer of the Eternal One."

2. "New" Roles and Titles

Metatron as the Prince of the Presence

The discussion in the previous sections made clear that tradition about Metatron offers a plethora of titles for this exalted angel. The titles seem to derive from many sources: the early legends about Adam, Enoch, Yahoel, Michael, and Melchisedek, as well as the later rabbinic and Hekhalot angelic lore. In respect to these conceptual developments, *Sefer Hekhalot* can be seen as a compendium or an encyclopedia of Metatron's titles; as such it offers a great variety of early and late designations, including such well-known titles as the Prince of the Word, the Youth, and the lesser YHWH. Yet, if attention is drawn to the frequency of the occurrence of these titles in *3 Enoch*, one of them stands out through repeated use in the text. This title is connected with the unique place that Metatron occupies in relation to the Divine Face; he is considered a special servant of the Divine Presence, שר הפנים. Scholars have previously observed that in *3 Enoch* Metatron becomes "the angel[155] who has access to the Divine Presence, the 'Face' of the Godhead...."[156] *3 Enoch* 8:1 stresses that Metatron's duties in this office include the service connected with the Throne of Glory.[157]

It is noteworthy that the appellation "Prince of the Divine Presence" repeatedly follows the name Metatron in *3 Enoch*.[158] For example, with this title he is introduced in

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[155] It is noteworthy that in Merkabah tradition these functions are not confined solely to Metatron. Scholem observes that "Sar ha-Panim ... is a term that denotes a whole class of the highest angels, including Metatron." Scholem, *Jewish Mysticism*, 63.

[156] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.79.

[157] *3 Enoch* 8:1 "R. Ishmael said: Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, said to me: Before the Holy One, blessed be he, set me to serve the throne of glory...." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 262. Metatron's prominent role might also be reflected in the fragment found on one magic bowl where he is called אישרא רבא דכורסיה, "the great prince of the throne." C. Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," *Archiv Orientálni* 6 (1934) 328.

[158] This tendency is not peculiar to *3 Enoch*. See, for example, MS. Leningrad Antonin 186 (=G19) (Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente*, 163: "I adjure you Metatron, Prince of the Presence, I pronounce

chapter one of *Sefer Hekhalot*; in this chapter his duty is to invite the visionary, Rabbi Ishmael, into the Divine Presence and to protect him against the hostility of the angels:

> At once the Holy One, blessed be he, summoned to my aid his servant, the angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence. He flew out to meet me with great alacrity, to save me from their power. He grasped me with his hand before their eyes and said to me, "Come in peace into the presence of the high and exalted King to behold the likeness of the chariot."[159]

A few verses later, in *3 Enoch* 1:9, Metatron is mentioned as the one giving R. Ishmael the strength to sing a song of praise to God. Here again the angel is introduced as the Prince of the Divine Presence. The recurring designations of Metatron as the Prince of the Divine Presence are puzzling since this title does not belong exclusively to this angel. The Merkabah tradition follows here the pseudepigrapha which attest to a whole class of the highest angels/princes (שרי הפנים) allowed to see the Divine Face.[160]

It is significant that, although the designation is not restricted to Metatron, in *3 Enoch* it becomes an essential part of the common introductory formula, "The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence," through which R. Ishmael relates the various revelations received from his exalted *angelus interpres*. It also becomes a dividing grid of the microforms that partitions the narrative of *Sefer Hekhalot*. Sometimes this text seeks to enhance the repetitive formula by adding to it the additional definition, "the glory of the highest heaven." The combination of the expressions, the "Prince of the Divine Presence" and "the glory of the heaven," does not appear to be coincidental since the Divine Presence/Face is the Divine Glory which leads to the transformation of any servant of the Face into a glorious angelic being resembling the luminosity of the Divine

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upon you Metatron, Prince of the Presence, I claim upon you Metatron, Angel of the Presence, and I seal upon you Metatron, Prince of the Presence... and the Youth, he calls him [ ] the strong, magnificent and awesome, [names]...." Schwartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 119-120.

[159] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.256.

Face. This paradoxical transformation is described in detail in *3 Enoch* 15 (*Synopse* §19), where Metatron conveys to R. Ishmael his dramatic transition to the role of the servant of the Divine Face:

> R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: 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 Shekinah, 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 (וגוף קומתי) to blazing fire.[161]

It was already observed that the idea of the Prince of the Presence is both mediatory and liturgical and therefore is closely linked with the motif of the celestial curtain, *Pargod* (פרגוד),[162] the entity which separates the Divine Presence from the rest of the heavenly world.[163] The function of this curtain which can be viewed as a celestial counterpart of the veil found in the earthly sanctuary is twofold. First, it protects the angelic hosts from the harmful luminosity of the Divine Face. At the same time it shields the Deity by concealing the ultimate mysteries of the Godhead now accessible solely to the prince(s) of the Divine Presence whose duty is to serve the Deity behind[164] the curtain.[165] Several passages found in the Hekhalot literature depict Metatron and other

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[160] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 105.

[161] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 10-11.

[162] *3 Enoch* 45 gives the description of the heavenly curtain *Pargod*: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you the curtain of the Omnipresent One, which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be he, and on which are printed all the generations of the world and all their deeds, whether done or to be done, till the last generation...." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 296. On the symbolism of the *Pargod*, see: Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature*, 169, n. 99; Morray-Jones, *A Transparent Illusion*, 164ff.

[163] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 240 and 242.

[164] The reference to the veil indicates that the function of the Prince of the Presence has a composite nature and sometimes is linked with the function of the priest who must enter the Divine Presence behind the curtain.

[165] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 296, note a.

princes of the Face as attendants who serve the Divine Presence in the closest proximity to the Throne and have the right to enter the immediate presence of the Lord.

The passage found in *Hekhalot Zutarti* says that "when the youth enters below the throne of glory, God embraces him with a shining face...."[166] This description conveys the fact that the deadly effect of the vision of the luminous Face which terrifies the angelic hosts cannot harm the Youth who executes here the office of the *sar happanim*.[167] This tradition stresses the difference between the princes of the Divine Presence and the rest of the angels, who must shield their own faces because they cannot endure the direct sight of the Deity.[168] Another significant feature of the passage from *Hekhalot Zutarti* is that the Youth's entrance into God's presence is understood here liturgically, i.e., as the entrance into the heavenly tabernacle which, according to other traditions, is located beneath the Throne of Glory.

Another text preserved in the Cairo Genizah also depicts the Youth as emerging from his sacerdotal place in the immediate Presence of the Deity:

> Now, see the youth, who is going forth to meet you from behind the throne of glory. Do not bow down to him, because his crown is like the crown of his King .... And the robe (וחלוק) on him is like the robe (בחלוק) of his king....[169]

It is intriguing that these two texts which describe the office of the *sar happanim* link the servant(s) of the Face with the title "Youth"[170] (Heb. נער), which some scholars suggest can be rendered in some contexts as a "servant."[171]

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[166] *Synopse*, §385.

[167] On this motif of the dangerous encounters with the divine in the Hekhalot literature, see Davila, *Descenders to the Chariot*, 136-139.

[168] *Synopse*, §§101, 159, 183, 184, 189.

[169] Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 2b:13-14.

[170] Several other Metatron passages attest to the same tradition. See, for example, MS. Leningrad Antonin 186 (=G19) which combines the title "Youth" with Metatron's office of the Prince of Presence: "I adjure you Metatron, Prince of the Presence, I pronounce upon you Metatron, Prince of the Presence, I

Besides apparent liturgical affiliations, the intimate proximity to the King and access to his Presence behind the closed curtain presuppose the duty of the keeper of secrets since the servant would necessarily have direct access to the ultimate mysteries of the Deity. In this light scholars point to proficiency in the divine secrets as one of the important features of the *sar happanim* office. Odeberg observes that "the framework of the book (*3 Enoch*) thus represents Metatron as the angel who has access to the Divine Presence, the 'Face' of the Godhead (and in this sense the appellation *Sar happanim*), hence possesses knowledge of the Divine secrets and degrees."[172] This association with esoteric knowledge points to the composite nature of this role of Metatron and its close affinity with his previously investigated office as the expert in the divine secrets.

A word must be said about the imagery of the Divine Face[173] which represents an essential element of the title.[174] Although the authors of the early booklets of *1 Enoch* know the theophanic language of the Face, they nevertheless do not show interest in the extensive appropriation of this concept to Enoch's visions.[175] Yet, in *2 Enoch* and in the later Hekhalot materials, the imagery of the Divine Face looms large. It sometimes is

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claim upon you Metatron, Angel of the Presence, and I seal upon you Metatron, Prince of the Presence... and the Youth, he calls him [ ] the strong, magnificent and awesome, [names]...." Schwartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 119-120; Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente*, 163.

[171] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 259, note t.

[172] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.79.

[173] On the origins of the imagery of the Divine Face, see S. M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ, 36; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1993) 105ff.

[174] Scholars argue that some Merkabah materials understand Metatron as a hypostatic face of God. Nathaniel Deutsch observes that "some sources understood Metatron to be the hypostatic embodiment of a particular part of the divine form, most notably the face of God ... it is likely that this tradition underlies the title *sar ha-panim*, which is associated with Metatron. Rather than 'prince of the face [of God],' this title is better understood as 'prince who is the face [of God].'" Deutch further suggests that at least one passage found in *Synopse* §§396-397 explicitly identifies Metatron as the hypostatic face of God. Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, 43.

[175] *1 Enoch* 89:29-31.

understood as the teleological point of visionaries' aspirations.[176] It is also observable that in some of these materials Metatron and other servants of the Face are directly identified with the Face of the Deity and are even labeled as the hypostatic face of God.[177]

Finally, several words must be said about the possible background of the concept of the servant(s) of the Divine Presence found in biblical and pseudepigraphic materials. Philip Alexander has suggested that the title might have its background in Isa 63:9, where one can find the following passage: "in all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them." The imagery of angels of the Presence was also widespread in pseudepigraphic writings, specifically in the early Enochic pseudepigrapha, where the imagery, however, was never[178] directly identified with the seventh antediluvian patriarch.[179] Although the tablet of Nineveh describes Enmeduranki as the one who sat in the presence (*ma-ḫar*) of the deities, and the presence or the "Face" of God is mentioned in the *Book of the Watchers*[180] and the Hebrew text of *Sirach* 49:14,[181] both

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[176] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 17-20.

[177] Nathaniel Deutsch argues that the title *sar happanim* is better understood as the "prince who is the face [of God]." In his opinion at least one Merkabah passage [§§396-397] explicitly identifies Metatron as the hypostatic face of God: "Moses said to the Lord of all the worlds: 'If your face does not go [with us], do not bring me up from here.' [Exod 33:15] The Lord of all the worlds warned Moses that he should beware of that face of his. So it is written, 'Beware of his face.' [Exod 23:21] This is he who is written with the one letter by which heaven and earth were created, and was sealed with the seal of 'I am that I am' [Exod 3:14] ... This is the prince who is called Yofiel Yah-dariel ... he is called Metatron" [§§396-397]. Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, 43.

[178] Except *2 Enoch*.

[179] Scholars suggest that the appellation was originally connected not with Enoch but with Michael's figure. Jonas Greenfield suggests that "the title *sar ha-panim* 'prince of the countenance' was originally shared by Michael with three other archangels (Ethiopic Enoch 40.9-10), but it would seem that it soon became his [Michael] alone; in time, however, the title became exclusively Metatron's (or that of the other angels, such as Surya, who replaced Metatron in certain texts)." Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," xxxi.

[180] *1 Enoch* 14:21: "And no angel could enter, and at the appearance of the face (*gaṣṣ*) of him who is honored and praised no (creature of) flesh could look." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.99.

[181] In Hebrew *Sirach* 49:14, Enoch's ascent is described as נלקח פנים, the expression which Christopher Rowland renders as "taken into the divine presence." C. Rowland, "Enoch," in: *Dictionary of*

Enmeduranki's lore and early Enochic traditions do not refer to the seventh antediluvian hero as the servant of the Face.[182] *1 Enoch* 40:9, however, mentions the four "Faces" or "Presences" of Ezek 1:6, identifying them with the four principal angels: Michael, Phanuel,[183] Raphael, and Gabriel.[184]

The imagery of the angel of the Presence also looms large in the *Book of Jubilees* where this angel does not have a specific name.[185] He is depicted there as a special agent of God who dictates the contents of the heavenly tablets to Moses.[186] Several expressions found in the Qumran materials also deal with the imagery of the servants of the Divine Presence. Among these materials the fragments of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* merit special attention as these texts contain concepts and imagery closely related to the later Hekhalot developments. James VanderKam notices that, although the term

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Deities and Demons in the Bible (eds. K. van der Toorn et al; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 302. For the Hebrew text of Sirach 49:14, see Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50*, 232.

[182] *2 Enoch*, where the patriarch is explicitly identified with the Face and is also labeled as the one who will stand before the Face forever, represents a unique case in the early Enochic materials and will be discussed later.

[183] Although the early Enochic materials associated with *1 Enoch* do mention an angel named Phanuel (see, for example, *1 Enoch* 40:9), the name which most likely can be rendered as the Face of God, this celestial being is never identified in this composition with Enoch. On the connection between Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel and the angel Suriya, who is designated in *Hekhalot Rabbati* as the Prince of the Countenance, see: Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," xxxiv-xxxv.

[184] Scholem traces the *sar happanim* imagery to the Enochic angelological prototypes. He observes that "the angelology of apocalyptic literature mentions a group of angels who behold the face of their king and are called 'princes of countenance' (Ethiopic Book of Enoch, ch. 40). Once Metatron's personality takes a more definite form in the literature, he is referred to simply as 'the Prince of the Countenance,'" Scholem, "Metatron," *EJ*, 11.1443.

[185] VanderKam, "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees," 378-393.

[186] This angel is introduced in *Jub* 1:27, where the Ethiopic expression *mal'aka gaṣṣ* means literally "the angel of the face." J. C. VanderKam, "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 7 (2000) 382. It is intriguing that in some Merkabah materials Metatron is named as both the Prince of the Face and the Angel of the Face. See, for example, Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente*, G-12, fol. 1a, lines 15-18.

מלאכי הפנים itself does not occurred in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, similar expressions, such as משרתי פנים and משרתי פני מלך קודש, can be found in 4Q400.[187]

In the conclusion of this analysis of the *sar happanim* imagery, one important methodological issue pertaining to Metatron's appellations must be addressed. It has been noticed that the Merkabah tradition applies the title the Prince of the Presence not only to Metatron but also to other angelic beings including Suryah and others. It is not uncommon that in the Hekhalot writings other important titles of Metatron, such as the Prince of the World, the Youth and others, are used regularly in the descriptions of other angels. One can argue that this situation can be partially explained by the tradition according to which this exalted angel is known under other names,[188] whose number ranges from eight in *Hekhalot Rabbati* to ninety-two in the *Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba*.[189] Although this evidence is helpful in recognizing some angelic names, some attributions of Metatron's titles to angelic beings with different names cannot be explained by reference to his multiple names, since the angelic agents who bear these titles are sometimes clearly differentiated from Metatron or act along with him in these offices. This situation might point to the polemical context of the Metatron tradition and indicates that this lore not only originated from the polemical pool of the early mediatorial traditions but, even in the later stages of its development, did not abandon this polemical

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[187] VanderKam, "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees," 384.

[188] *3 Enoch* 3: "I [Metatron] have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy nations of the world ... however, my King calls me 'Youth.'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257.

[189] On the names of Metatron, see Dan, "Seventy Names of Metatron," 1.229-34; Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 128.

essence being continuously reshaped by the new challenges other traditions about exalted angelic agents presented to Metatron's myth.

Some scholars observe that assigning Metatron's title to other angelic beings might point to the existence of other parallel developments in which these titles do not belong to Metatron but to other exalted figures.[190] An important distinction therefore must be made between the internal polemical character of the Metatron tradition and the polemical nature of the broader context surrounding this tradition in the Merkabah texts. In contrast to the inner circle of the competition between Yahoel, Michael and Enoch for their primacy in the shaping of the various titles and offices of Metatron inside the Metatron tradition, these developments manifest the outer circle of this polemic when the constructed titles are not retained completely in the possession of Metatron's imagery but continue to be used by the previous owners of these sobriquets. As an illustration, one can point to the prominent *sar happanim* of the Hekhalot literature, the angel Suryah, in whom one can easily recognize the familiar image of Sariel/Uriel/Phanuel, the angel of the Presence from *1 Ethiopic Enoch*. Such developments indicate that some of the helpers involved in the shaping of Metatron's identity later become the competitors of this exalted angel.

Metatron as the Prince of the World

Philip Alexander notes that in *3 Enoch* 48C:9-10 the duties of the Prince of the World appear to be attached to Enoch-Metatron's figure.[191] This text informs the reader that God placed under Metatron's hand every authority that rules over the world:

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[190] See James Davila's research on the Youth imagery in the Hekhalot literature.
[191] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 105, n. 24.

> I gave seventy princes into his hand, to issue to them my commandments in every language; to abase the arrogant to the earth at his word; to elevate the humble to the height at the utterance of his lips; to smite kings at his command; to subdue rulers and presumptuous men at his bidding; to remove kings from their kingdoms, and to exalt rulers over their dominions....[192]

In examining the imagery of the Prince of the World in *3 Enoch*, one must maintain a careful distinction between the depictions of the various activities pertaining to this office and the references to the appellation itself. Thus, although Enoch-Metatron seems to possess some definite qualities of the Prince of the World in *3 Enoch*, it appears that the sobriquet the Prince of the World is not directly associated[193] with Enoch-Metatron in this text.[194] Metatron's duties in *3 Enoch* 3:2, 10:3, and 48C:9-10 however, are very similar to those found in the passages which deal with the title the Prince of the World in *Sefer Hekhalot* 30 and 38.[195]

Thus, *3 Enoch* 30 (*Synopse* §47) refers to the seventy-two princes of the kingdoms in the world when it mentions the Prince of the World:

> Whenever the Great Law Court sits in the height of the heaven *ᶜArabot*, only the great princes who are called YHWH by the name of the Holy One, blessed be he, are permitted to speak. How many princes are there? There are 72 princes of kingdoms in the world, not counting the Prince of the World (שר העולם), who speaks in favor of the world before the Holy One, blessed be he, every day at the hour when the book is opened in which every deed in the world is recorded, as it is written, "A court was held, and the books were opened."[196]

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[192] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 312.

[193] Alexander points to the fact that the later texts (Tosepoth to Yeb. 16b and to Hull. 60a) equate Metatron explicitly with this title. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 243. See also: *b.* Sanh. 94a.

[194] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 243.

[195] Igor Tantlevskij observes that in *3 Enoch* 8 Enoch-Metatron has qualities by which, according to *b.* Hag. 12a and *Avot de Rabbi Nathan* A 27:43, the world has been created and is sustained. I. R. Tantlevskij, *Knigi Enoha* (Moscow/Jerusalem: Gesharim, 2000) 185 [in Russian].

[196] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 285. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 24-25.

Alexander argues that if one takes this passage in conjunction with *3 Enoch* 10:3, which depicts Metatron's authority below the eight great princes of YHWH but above all other princes, it would appear that Metatron is the Prince of the World.

Another usage of the title found in *3 Enoch* 38 also does not bring this appellation in direct connection with the name Metatron. The passage informs us that, when the ministering angels utter the heavenly *Qedushah*, their mighty sound produces a sort of earthquake in the celestial realm; this earthquake alarms the constellations and stars. The Prince of the World then comes forward and calms down the celestial bodies, explaining to them the source of the commotion:

> "Stay at rest in your places; be not afraid because the ministering angels recite the song before the Holy One, blessed be he," as it is written, "When all the stars of the morning were singing with joy, and all the Sons of God in chorus were chanting praise."[197]

While this narrative does not mention Metatron, it alludes to the activities of this angel who is often depicted in the Hekhalot materials as the pacifier and the protector of the celestial beings during the performance of the heavenly liturgy.

Although *3 Enoch* for some reason hesitates to connect the name Metatron with the appellation of the Prince of the World, several other rabbinic and Hekhalot passages bring this title in direct connection with this name and with Metatron's other sobriquets. Thus, the earliest Jewish reference to the Youth in the rabbinic literature (*b.* Yebam. 16b) links this title with the appellation the Prince of the World. While Metatron is not mentioned in this text, the conjunction of the two familiar designations makes it plausible. Metatron, the Youth and the Prince of the World are also identified with each

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[197] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 290.

other in the *Synopse* §959.[198] The most important early evidence of Metatron's role as the Prince of the World includes the testimony found in the Aramaic incantation bowls.[199] One bowl appears to represent the oldest source which clearly identifies Metatron as the Prince of the World. On this bowl Metatron is designated as אישרא רבה דכל יה עלמא -"the great prince of the entire world."[200]

In the conclusion of this section, some suggestions pertaining to the possible prototypes of the title must be mentioned. While the discussion will demonstrate that this imagery in the Enochic materials was developed under the influence of the Adamic tradition, several scholars point to the possible formative value of the lore about the archangel Michael. Both Scholem and Alexander note that in some rabbinic writings Michael was often identified as the Prince of the World (*Rirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* 27; *Yalkut Shimoni* Gen 132).[201] It is possible that the traditions about Michael and Metatron coexisted in the rabbinical literature, mutually enriching each other. Scholem remarks that in *Pirqe de Rabbi Elizer* 27, Michael is given the title of שרו של עולם; yet in a source from the same period, Metatron was called the "Great Prince of the Whole World."[202]

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[198] „....והנער הזה מטטרון שר הפנים שנכתב שר עולם הגדול...." Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 296.

[199] Scholars observe that although "many of these bowls cannot be dated with certainty ... those from Nippur (among which are some of our most informative texts on Metatron) were found in stratified deposits and have been dated archeologically to the seventh century A.D. at the very latest." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 228.

[200] The text on the bowl is published by C. Gordon, "Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls," *Archiv Orientalni* 9 (1937) 84-95, esp. 94.

[201] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 44; Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 243.

[202] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 48.

Metatron as Sar Torah

It has been already observed that *Sefer Hekhalot* describes Enoch-Metatron as the expert in divine wisdom. In *3 Enoch* 8:2 Metatron conveys to R. Ishmael that God bestowed upon him "wisdom heaped upon wisdom, understanding upon understanding, prudence upon prudence, knowledge upon knowledge, mercy upon mercy, Torah upon Torah...."[203] The angel underscores the exclusivity of his initiation, stressing the fact that he was honored and adorned with all these qualities "more than all the denizens of the heights."[204] In *3 Enoch* 10:5 God himself steps forward to confirm Metatron's superiority in wisdom when he commands the angelic hosts to obey Metatron's commands on the grounds that this exalted angel was instructed in "the wisdom of those above and of those below, the wisdom of this world and of the world to come."[205]

These lofty qualifications, which include references to human and divine wisdom, recall Enoch's role as the sage and one of his titles, "wisest of all men," explored earlier in this study.[206] As in these early Enochic designations, the Merkabah text appears to depict Enoch-Metatron not simply as an ordinary wise man, that is, one among others, but as the sage *par excellence*. Such a role is intimated in the account found in *3 Enoch* 48D:10, where Metatron stands out as the first character in the noble line of transmission of special knowledge, the one on whom the future generations of the sages are ultimately dependent:

> Metatron brought it [Torah] out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the

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[203] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 263.
[204] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 263.
[205] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.
[206] Alexander observes that "the pseudepigraphic Enoch has many similarities to the Enoch-Metatron of *3 Enoch*: he is a wise man and a revealer of heavenly wisdom." Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 159.

> Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra the Scribe, Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the Elder, Hillel the Elder to R. Abbahu, R. Abbahu to R. Zira, R. Zira to the Men of Faith, and the Men of Faith to the Faithful....[207]

Scholars have previously noted[208] that this succession of the mystical tradition recalls the chain of transmission of the oral law preserved in the *Sayings of the Fathers*.[209] Although the early traditions about Enoch's wisdom as the sign for all generations are discernable in Metatron's primal position, the Merkabah tradition obviously cannot be satisfied with the depiction of its hero simply as the universal sage.

Despite the temptation to see in Metatron's activities solely the reference to his role of sage[210] *par excellence* known from the previous Enochic or Mesopotamian traditions,[211] the allusion to the chain of transmission of the oral Torah hints that one may be dealing here with another particular function of this primary angel, his role in disseminating a very special wisdom, the wisdom of the Torah.[212] Scholars have previously noted that the passages from *3 Enoch* 48C:12 and 48D:6-10 appear to depict Enoch-Metatron in his role as the Prince of Torah, שר התורה.[213] These passages specifically assign to the hero the title and the duties associated with this role. The narratives also indicate that the author of *Sefer Hekhalot* is cognizant of two main

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[207] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315; *Synopse* §80. The reference to the chain of tradition is repeated several times in the Hekhalot literature. For the detailed analysis of these evidences see Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 178ff.

[208] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315, note v.

[209] *m.* Abot 1:1: "Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue." H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 446.

[210] Steven Fraade's research provides a useful introduction to the imagery of the rabbinic sage using examples from *m.* Avot 1:1. S. D. Fraade, "The Early Rabbinic Sage," in: *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (eds. J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 417-436.

[211] In the Enmeduranki and Enochic traditions, the seventh antediluvian hero is depicted as a primeval sage who starts the line of esoteric transmission supported by the generations of the earthly sages.

[212] On the Prince of Torah traditions in the Hekhalot literature, see Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 53-135.

[213] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 105, footnote 24.

functions of the Prince of Torah, attested also in other rabbinic and Hekhalot materials: the function of the revealer of Torah to visionaries, including Moses, and the function of the celestial teacher of the Law to deceased children.[214] In various Hekhalot writings the Prince of Torah, who is often not identified with Metatron, acts as the helper to visionaries by assisting them in understanding the Torah and prevents the chosen ones from forgetting this crucial knowledge.[215] One of these Sar Torah traditions deals with the story of Rabbi Ishmael who experienced many problems in mastering the Torah in his youth. The knowledge of the Torah did not stay in him, and a passage that he read and memorized one day was completely forgotten the next day. According to the story this pitiful situation was finally resolved when his teacher Rabbi Neḥuniah revealed to R. Ishmael the Prince of the Torah. This archetypal Sar Torah narrative is repeated in varying forms in several Hekhalot writings, including *Merkavah Rabbah* and *Maʿaseh Merkavah*.[216]

3 Enoch 48C:12 refers to another duty of the Sar Torah's office when it depicts Enoch-Metatron as the one who instructs deceased children in the wisdom of the written and oral Torah. This duty of Metatron is also not forgotten in the rabbinic lore including passages from *b.* Avod. Zar. 3b, *Num. R.* 12:15, and other rabbinic writings.

It should be noted that, as with Metatron's other titles, such as the Youth and the Prince of the Divine Face, the office of the Prince of Torah does not belong exclusively to Metatron, but is often shared with other angelic beings. The *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Deuteronomy 34:6 gives a list of the Princes of Wisdom (a.k.a. Princes of Torah)

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[214] In the Hekhalot tradition the role of Metatron as Sar Torah looms large. In these materials he sometimes addressed with specific adjurations as Sar Torah. On Metatron's adjurations in the Merkabah writings, see: R. M. Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power*, 63ff.

[215] Thus, for example, in *3 Enoch* 48D:4 Yepipyah is named the Prince of Torah.

which includes, besides Metatron, also Yofiel, Uri'el and Yepipyah. The Hekhalot materials too do not hesitate to designate Yofiel, Suriel, and other angels as the Princes of Torah.[217] Some scholars suggest that "Yofiel" might represent here one of Metatron's names; it has already been mentioned, however, that the tradition of Metatron's various names is not always useful in explaining the attributions of Metatron's titles to other angelic characters.[218] As with other titles of Metatron, there is a possibility that some Sar Torah traditions originated and existed independently of the Metatron tradition.[219]

Metatron as the Youth

The information about Metatron's title "Youth" is widely disseminated in the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials.[220] Despite the extensive information about the title provided by other Hekhalot evidence, *3 Enoch* appears to contain a substantial bulk of the unique knowledge pertaining to this sobriquet of Metatron. The appellation occurs

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[216] Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 62ff.

[217] *Synopse* §313; "I said to him: The Prince of the Torah (שרה של תורה), what is his name/ And he said to me: Yofiel is his name." See also *Synopse* §560: "The name of the Prince of the Torah (D436: שר התורה) (M22: שר של תורה) is Yofiel." Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 139, 213.

[218] Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 182.

[219] Michael Swartz's research underscores the importance of Metatron's figure in the search for the early date and provenance of the Sar Torah traditions. He observes that "the earliest explicit indications of the Sar-Torah phenomenon, then, date from the tenth century. However, there are other elements of the phenomenon that have earlier origins. The archangel figure of Metatron appears in the Talmud and in the seventh-century Babylonian incantation bowls, although not as the Sar-Torah." Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 213.

[220] According to the current consensus, the earliest rabbinic reference to the title "Youth" is *b.* Yebam. 16b which also attests him as the Prince of the World. Metatron is not mentioned, but the conjunction makes it plausible. Metatron, the Youth and the Prince of the World are identified with each other in *Synopse*, §959. Among premishnaic Jewish texts two documents must be mentioned. First, Charles Mopsik draws attention to the passage in Zech 2 in which an angel, described as a measurer responsible for the measuring of Jerusalem, is also designated in 2:4 as Youth (נער). Mopsik points to the fact that the Merkabah tradition, similar to Zech 2, also often describes Metatron both as the Youth and the Measurer. C. Mopsik, *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989) 48-49. Second, the *Wisdom of Solomon* 4:10-16 might refer to Enoch as the Youth. The text reads: "There were some who pleased God and were loved by him, and while living among sinners were taken up....and youth that is quickly perfected will condemn the prolonged old age of the unrighteous." On the title "Youth" in Hekhalot literature, see Davila, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," 254ff, Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 491-4.

several times in the text and becomes a locus of extensive theological deliberation. It is significant for this research that the authors of *Sefer Hekhalot* construe the context and even the origin of the title on the basis of the motifs associated with the Enochic traditions.

The title is first introduced in *3 Enoch* 2:2 (*Synopse* §3) in the context of the angelic opposition to the ascension of R. Ishmael. There the designation "Youth" in relation to Enoch-Metatron first comes from the mouth of the angelic hosts who challenge the exalted angel on the subject of the legitimacy of his protégé, Rabbi Ishmael, "the one born of woman," to enter God's presence and behold the Chariot:

> Then the eagles of the chariot, the flaming ophanim and the cherubim of devouring fire, asked Metatron, "Youth (נער), why have you allowed one born of woman to come in and behold the chariot? From what nation is he? From what tribe? What is his character?" Metatron replied, "He is of the nation of Israel, whom the Holy One, blessed be he, chose from the seventy nations to be his people. He is of the tribe of Levi, which presents the offering to his name. He is of the family of Aaron, whom the Holy One, blessed be he, chose to minister in his presence and on whose head he himself placed the priestly crown on Sinai." At once they began to say, "This one is certainly worthy to behold the chariot, as it is written, Happy is the nation of whom this is true, happy is the nation whose God is the Lord."[221]

The story from *3 Enoch* 2:2, which revolves around the theme of the humanity of the visionary, alludes to Enoch's situation, underscored in *Sefer Hekhalot* by the parallel story of the angelic opposition to the seventh antediluvian patriarch.[222] According to *3 Enoch* 4:5-10 (*Synopse* §6), he encountered a similar challenge from the three ministering angels ʿUzzah, ʿAzzah, and ʿAzaʾel at the time of his ascension in the generation of the Flood:

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[221] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 4-5.

[222] On the Adamic motif of the angelic opposition and its appropriation in early Enochic materials, including *2 Enoch*, see M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," *JTS* 44 (1993) 143-156.

> And the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me (Enoch) in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of ministering angels, ʿUzzah, ʿAzzah, and ʿAzaʾel, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be he, "Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, do not create man!" The Holy One, blessed be he, replied, "I have made and I will sustain him; I will carry and I deliver him." When they saw me they said before him, "Lord of the Universe, what right has this one to ascend to the height of heights? Is he not descended from those who perished in the waters of the Flood? What right has he to be in heaven?" Again the Holy One, blessed be he, replied and said to them, "What right have you to interrupt me? I have chosen this one in preference to all of you, to be a prince and a ruler over you in the heavenly heights." At once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying, "Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you." Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years--therefore they call me "Youth" (נער).[223]

In this passage, as in the account found in *3 Enoch* 2, the angelic opposition is provoked by the human origin of the visionary who attempts to enter into the celestial realm, violating the boundaries separating human and angelic regions. Both stories also have an identical structure, since in both of them the angels who initially opposed the visionary eventually became persuaded and pacified by the argumentation of the seer's patrons (God and Metatron) and are finally obliged to deliver a similar address praising the social or physical (nation/parents) pedigree of the invader.

It is significant that *3 Enoch* 4 contains a reference to the Adamic tradition by recalling the protoplast's situation. This motif might reflect the Adamic provenance of the stories from *3 Enoch* 2 and 4 and their possible connection with the tradition about the veneration of Adam by some angels and the rejection of such obeisance by others, a tradition which was widespread in early Adamic literature. This connection will be explored in detail later in this investigation.

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[223] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 258-9; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 6-7.

The most important aspect of the presentation for this investigation of the title "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* is that this text explicates the provenance of the title on the basis of Metatron's human origins and his connection with the figure of the seventh antediluvian patriarch. David Halperin observes that in *Sefer Hekhalot* Enoch-Metatron is portrayed among the inhabitants of heaven as a sort of a Johnny-come-lately who despite his late arrival manages to become the greatest in their midst.[224] Metatron's answer to R. Ishmael's question about the designation "Youth" bears the form of an etymological explanation[225] of the puzzling title: "Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years--therefore they call me 'Youth' (נער)."[226]

This Enochic explanation might not be a later rabbinic invention but a tradition stemming from the earlier, possibly premishnaic, context, since *3 Enoch* 2 and 4 appear to be connected through the early Adamic-Enochic theme of the angelic opposition. In this regard *3 Enoch* 4 seems to stay closer to the original Adamic-Enochic prototype and reflects the underlying story more fully because, in addition to the theme of the angelic opposition, it also refers to the motif of the angelic veneration of humanity.

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[224] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 421.

[225] Gershom Scholem and other scholars reject this etymology of the "Youth" as a secondary development, arguing that *naʿar* must be properly translated as "servant" in view of Metatron's function as a servant in the celestial tabernacle and his designation as *shammasha rehima*, the "beloved servant," in the Aramaic text. David Halperin, however, suggests that the rejection of the interpretation of *naʿar* as the "Youth" is not "wholly satisfying." He draws attention to the fact that if "the people who coined this term [*naʿar*] wanted to convey that Metatron was a servant, why did they not pick one of the familiar Hebrew words (like *ʿebed* or *mesharet*) that would say this unambiguously? Why did they use *naʿar*; which, though it can indeed mean 'servant,' is so much more commonly used for 'youth' that it could hardly avoid conveying this meaning to anyone who heard it?" Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 422. In connection with Halperin's plausible comment it should be noted that the Merkabah lore also operates with the title עבד, unambiguously identifying Metatron as God's "servant." This title, among other places, can be found in *3 Enoch* 10:3 and *3 Enoch* 48D:1.

[226] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 258-9.

Besides the aforementioned motifs *Sefer Hekhalot* brings to light another, unique tradition pertaining to the appellation "Youth." According to *3 Enoch* 3 this title becomes the Lord's preferred choice himself when he desires to invoke his servant Metatron. In *3 Enoch* 3:2 (*Synopse* §4), in response to R. Ishmael' query about his name, the angel answers: "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy nations of the world, and all of them are based on the name of the King of kings of kings, however, my king calls me 'Youth' (נער)."[227] This passage stresses the intermediary position of Metatron; he is recognized by the majority of the creatures through his seventy names, but is known to the Deity through his appellation "Youth." This narrative also implicitly points to Metatron's title the Prince of the World through the reference to his seventy names, corresponding to the seventy nations of the world.[228] This combination recalls the previously mentioned passages from *b.* Yebam. 16b and the *Synopse* §959, where one can find similar constellations.

In the conclusion of this section, I must discuss the possible provenance of the title "Youth." Recent publications of James Davila have demonstrated that the imagery of the "Youth" was widespread in the Hekhalot traditions, where it often was not associated with Metatron but instead with other angelic figures.[229] Davila suggests that some Hekhalot imagery of the Youth might have its background in the Melchisedek tradition(s). A possible explanation for the attachment of the title "Youth" to the varied

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[227] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 4-5.

[228] This connection might also signify that the Youth and the Prince of the World appear to be interconnected by the rhetoric of power: Metatron is called the Youth by God because he is subordinate to God and he is called the Prince of the World by others, including the seventy Princes of the World, because they are subordinate to him.

[229] James Davila points to two important pieces of evidence, firstly to a fragment from the Cairo Genizah, T.-S. K 21.95.C, where the title "Youth" is attached to the *nomen barbarum* ZHWBDYH and secondly to the tradition preserved in *Siddur Rabbah*, a text associate with the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials,

subjects in the Merkabah lore can be found in the ubiquity of the Youth imagery; this imagery appears to have been widespread in Second Temple Judaism(s) and was applied in various texts and traditions to Melchisedek, Adam, Enoch, and other exalted figures. It is also possible that the Youth imagery made its way into the later Merkabah accounts through several independent early trajectories connected with the aforementioned mediatorial traditions. Later in the investigation I will further explore the Adamic and Enochic background of the Youth imagery in *Sefer Hekhalot*. The emphasis on these two formative traditions, of course, does not exclude that other attestations of the title "Youth" in the Hekhalot writings have a different provenance based on their connection with Melchisedek, Yahoel, and other exalted figures.

Metatron as the Deity: Lesser YHWH

The previous investigation has demonstrated that in the Mesopotamian and Enochic traditions, the seventh antediluvian hero often appears in the role of the diviner whose functions are to discern the will of the Deity and make it known to humans. In *Sefer Hekhalot*, however, when Enoch is elevated above the angelic world and brought into the immediate presence of the Deity, the traditional divinatory techniques have become unnecessary since the hero himself is now situated not outside but inside the divine realm and becomes a kind of a second, junior deity, considered as the lesser manifestation of God's name.

As noted in the previous discussion, the significance of Metatron's figure among the angelic hosts can be briefly and accurately summed up in his title יהוה הקטן, the

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where the Youth is also not associated with Metatron, since Metatron in this text is the one who tells a

Lesser YHWH, which occurs with abbreviations several times in *3 Enoch*, including passages found in *3 Enoch* 12:2, 48C:7, and 48D:1[90].[230] In *3 Enoch* 12 (*Synopse* §15) Metatron reports to R. Ishmael that the Deity proclaimed him the junior manifestation of his name in front of all the angelic hosts: "the Holy One, blessed be he, fashioned for me a majestic robe…and he called me, 'The Lesser YHWH'(יוי הקטן) in the presence of his whole household in the height, as it is written, 'My name is in him.'"[231]

As with Metatron's other offices, this designation as the lesser Tetragrammaton is closely connected with the angel's duties and roles in the immediate presence of the Lord. Scholars have thus previously noted that the name the Lesser YHWH, attested in *3 Enoch* 12 and 48C,[232] is in fact used "as indicative of Metatron's character of representative, *vicarius*, of the Godhead; it expresses a sublimation of his vice-regency[233] into a second manifestation[234] of the Deity in the name[235] YHWH."[236]

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visionary about the angel named "Youth." Davila, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," 254-259.

[230] The title can be found in several sources. Yaʿqub al-Qirqisani mentions it in connection with Talmud: "This is Metatron, who is the lesser YHWH."

[231] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 265. The tradition found in *3 Enoch* 12 recalls the one found in *b.* Sanh. 38b.

[232] See also *3 Enoch* 48D:1(90) where the name "lesser YHWH" is mentioned among the seventy names of Metatron: "…lesser YHWH, after the name of his Master, as it is written: 'My name is in him.'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 314.

[233] Alan Segal remarks that "in the Hebrew Book of Enoch, Metatron is set on a throne alongside God and appointed above angels and powers to function as God's *vizir* and plenipotentiary." Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 63. In a similar vein, Philip Alexander observes that "the Merkabah texts represent God and his angels under the image of an emperor and his court. God has his heavenly palace, his throne, and, in Metatron, his grand vizier." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 241.

[234] Nathaniel Deutsch has noted that "along with his roles as heavenly high priest and angelified human being, Metatron was sometimes portrayed as a kind of second – albeit junior – deity." Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, 35.

[235] Jarl Fossum suggests that the references to the seventy names of Metatron might indirectly point to this exalted angel as the bearer of the "ultimate" Name of God, since these seventy names might just reflect God's main Name. In this respect Fossum points to *3 Enoch* 3:2, where Metatron tells R. Ishmael that his seventy names "are based on the name of the King of kings of kings," and to *3 Enoch* 48D:5 which informs that "these seventy names are a reflection of the Explicit Name upon the Merkabah which is engraved upon the Throne of Glory." Fossum argues that these seventy names originally belonged to God himself and only later were transferred to Metatron. Fossum, *The Angel of the Lord*, 298.

[236] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.82.

In his remarks on Metatron's activities as God's vice-regent, Christopher Morray-Jones points to the composite nature of this office, which is ultimately interconnected with his other roles and functions:

> As the Angel of the LORD, Metatron functions as the celestial vice-regent who ministers before the Throne, supervises the celestial liturgy and officiates over the heavenly hosts. He sits on the throne which is a replica of the Throne of Glory and wears a glorious robe like that of God. He functions as the agent of God in the creation, acts as intermediary between heavenly and lower worlds, is the guide of the ascending visionary, and reveals the celestial secrets to mankind. He is, by delegating divine authority, the ruler and the judge of the world. He is thus a *Logos* figure and an embodiment of the divine Glory. In his *shi^{c}ur qomah*, we are told that Metatron's body, like the kabod, fills the entire world, though the writer is careful to maintain a distinction between Metatron and the Glory of God Himself.[237]

Hugo Odeberg points to the specific attributes that accompany Metatron's elevation into a lesser manifestation of the Divine Name. Among them Odeberg lists the enthronement of Metatron, the conferment upon him of (a part of) the Divine Glory, "honor, majesty and splendor," represented by "a garment of glory, robe of honor," and especially "a crown of kingship on which the mystical letters, representing cosmic and celestial agencies are engraved."[238] The sharing of the attributes with the Godhead is significant and might convey the omniscience of its bearer. Peter Schäfer observes that in *Sefer Hekhalot*, Enoch-Metatron who stands at the head of all the angels as "lesser YHWH" is the representation of God. Endowed with the same attributes as God, Metatron, just like the Deity, is omniscient.[239]

Another important attribute that the Deity and the lesser manifestation of His name share is the attribute of the celestial seat, an important symbol of authority. The Aramaic incantation bowl labels Metatron as אִיסרָא רבָא דכורסיָה - the Great Prince

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[237] Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," 8.

of God's Throne.[240] He is the one who is allowed to sit in heaven, a privilege denied to angels.

Several comments must be maid about the background of the throne imagery in the Enochic lore. The enthronement of Metatron might recall the Mesopotamian traditions which attest to the enthronement of the seventh antediluvian hero in the assembly of the gods. Enmeduranki's enthronement, however, is not permanent; he must return to his earthly duties. The early Enochic traditions reflected in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Book of Giants* do not *directly* attest to the fact that the patriarch has a seat in heaven. The imagery found in the *Book of the Similitudes*, where Enoch appears to be identified with the preexistent son of man enthroned in heaven, is ambiguous and puzzling. An early possible testimony to Enoch's enthronement near the Deity might be found, however, in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 24:1-2. There Enoch is depicted as the one who has a seat left of the Lord, "closer than Gabriel," that is, in the location next to God.[241] This honorable placement of the hero coincides in the Slavonic text with his initiation into the divine secrets which the Lord did not explain even to angels, a motif that stresses the intimate proximity between the Deity and Enoch:

> And the Lord called me; and he said to me, "Enoch, sit to the left of me with Gabriel." And I did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord spoke to me: "Enoch [Beloved], whatever you see and whatever things are standing still or moving about were brought to perfection by me. And I myself will explain it to you." [242]

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[238] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.82.

[239] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 141.

[240] Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," 328.

[241] The assigning of the left side to the vice-regent instead of the right one might be seen as puzzling. Martin Hengel, however, observes that this situation can be explained as the "correction" of the Christian scribe(s) who reserved the right side for Christ. M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburg: T&T Clark, 1995) 193. Hengel points to a similar situation in the *Ascension of Isaiah* where the angel of the holy spirit is placed at the left hand of God.

[242] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 142.

This Enochic testimony might constitute part of the background for Metatron's future profile as the vice-regent of the Deity. Early Enochic traditions, however, never refer to the seventh antediluvian hero as the bearer of the Divine name. The possible antecedents of this imagery apparently can be traced to different source(s), among which the lore about the angel Yahoel is often mentioned.[243]

Scholem argued that "Jewish speculation about Metatron as the highest angel who bears, in a way, the name of God, and who is called יהוה הקטן or אדני הקטן (the Lesser Tetragrammaton), was preceded by an earlier stage in which this Angel on High was not called Metatron, but Yahoel; a fact which explains the talmudic references to Metatron much more convincingly than any of the older attempts."[244] He further observed that the statement found in *b.* Sanh. 38b,[245] according to which Metatron has a name "like the name of his Master" (מטטרון ששמו כשם רבו) is incomprehensible except when it is understood to refer to the name Yahoel.[246]

In considering the possible date of the appropriation of the Yahoel imagery into the Metatron tradition, Scholem observes that

> there can be no doubt, for instance, that the concept of Jahoel as we find it in Chapter 10 of the Apocalypse of Abraham was an esoteric one and belonged to

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[243] Another possible source can be the Mosaic tradition. On the early sources about Moses as a bearer of the divine name see: Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord,* 90-94; W. A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," in: *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1968) 354-371; idem, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (SNT, 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967).

[244] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 41.

[245] "R. Naḥman said: He who is as skilled in refuting the *Minim* as is R. Idith, let him do so; but not otherwise. Once a *Min* said to R. Idith: It is written, and unto Moses He said, Come up to the Lord. But surely it should have stated, Come up unto me! - It was Metatron [who said that], he replied, whose name is similar to that of his Master, for it is written, For my name is in him. But if so we should worship him! The same passage, however, - replied R. Idith - says: Be not rebellious against him, i.e. exchange Me not for him. But if so, why is it stated: He will not pardon your transgression? He answered: By our troth we would not accept him even as a messenger, for it is written, And he said unto Him, If Thy [personal] presence go not etc." Epstein, *Soncino Hebrew-English Talmud. Sanhedrin,* 38b.

[246] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticim*, 41.

> the mystical teachings on angelology and the Merkabah. The borrowings from esoteric Judaism about Jahoel must have been made, therefore, before the metamorphosis into Metatron took place. This bring us back again into the late first or early second century and makes a case for connecting the Hekhaloth strata of the late second or early third century with this even earlier stage of Jewish Gnosticism, one which was striving equally hard to maintain a strictly monotheistic character.[247]

Scholem's suggestion that the concept of Metatron as the Lesser YHWH originated not in Enoch literature but in the Yahoel lore[248] or some other traditions[249] seems plausible.[250] As we will see later, this hypothesis can be supported by turning to the *2 Enoch* materials, where one can find references to such Enoch-Metatron's titles as the Youth, the Prince of the Presence, and the Prince of the World, but not to his role as the Lesser YHWH. The Slavonic apocalypse in this respect is consistent with the early Enochic lore, which does not identify the patriarch with the divine name.[251]

Scholem's insistence on the formative value of Yahoel's tradition for Metatron mysticism is methodologically significant, since it again demonstrates that the search for

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[247] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 41-42.

[248] In his book the *Guardians of the Gate*, Nathaniel Deutsch summarizes the parallels between Yahoel and Metatron. He notes that "Yahoel's relationships with Abraham in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is analogous to Metatron's relationships with R. Ishmael in the Hekhalot tract *3 Enoch*. Both figures serve as heavenly guides, protectors, and agents of revelation. Like Metatron, Yahoel is linked with the high priesthood, in this case, via the turban (cf. Exod 28:4) which Yahoel wears. Finally, as emphasized by Scholem, both Metatron and Yahoel were known by the epithet 'The Lesser YHWH,' a name which also found its way into Gnostic and Mandean literature.... In *3 Enoch* 48D:1 Metatron is actually called by the names Yahoel Yah and Yahoel...." Deutsch concludes that "from the available evidence, it appears that Yahoel and Metatron developed separately but, at some point, Metatron absorbed the originally independent angel Yahoel." Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, 36-7.

[249] Gershom Scholem and other scholars point to the imagery of "the Great Jao" and "The Little Jao" found in the third century Christian Gnostic text *Pistis Sophia*, and in the Gnostic *Book of Jêu*. See Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 162.

[250] Philip Alexander and Christopher Rowland agree with Scholem's position. Rowland observes that "in Jewish apocalyptic literature there was the development of beliefs about an exalted angelic figure who shared the attributes and characteristics of God himself, e.g. the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 10 and 17f. In this apocalypse the angel Jaoel, like the angel Metatron is said to have the name of God dwelling in him (*b.* Sanh. 37b and Heb. Enoch 12) and is described with terminology more usually reserved for God himself." Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 338. See also Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 161.

[251] Jarl Fossum observes that "Enoch is not said to have received the Name of God when having been installed in heaven as the son of Man, but this notion appears in *3 Enoch*, where it is related that

the origins of all Metatron's titles should not be limited to the Enochic tradition or any other single source. There are undoubtedly multiple streams of traditions which have contributed to the development of the Metatron imagery. Later on I will demonstrate that the majority of the new Metatron titles might have developed as a result of interaction with developments which were external to the Enochic tradition, being borrowed from Adamic, Mosaic, and other mediatorial traditions.

The case of the Yahoel lore appears to be important also for understanding the various streams in the Metatron tradition which do not postulate the human origin of this exalted angel but instead view him as a preexistent being. Scholem proposed that in the Metatron lore one can find two possible perspectives on the origins of this angel. The first one considers him a celestial counterpart of the seventh antediluvian patriarch translated to heaven before the Flood and transfigured into an immortal angelic being. Scholem argued that there was also another prominent trend in which Metatron was not connected with Enoch or any other human prototype but was understood as an angel brought into existence in the beginning of, or even before, the creation of the world. This primordial Metatron was referred to as Metatron Rabbah.[252] He believed that Yahoel or Michael[253] traditions played a formative role in this second "primordial Metatron" development.[254]

Enoch was enthroned as Metatron, another name of God's principal angel, 'whose name is like the Name of his Master." Fossum, *The Angel of the Lord*, 297.

[252] Scholem, "Metatron," *EJ*, 11.1444.

[253] In *Sefer Zerubabel*, Michael is identified with Metatron. On this source, see Himmelfarb, "Sefer Zerubbabel," 73; I. Lévi, "L'apocalypse de Zorobabel et le roi de Perse Siroès," *REJ* 68 (1914) 133. In *Ma'ase Merkavah*, MS NY 8128 (*Synopse* §576), Michael is mentioned in the Sar Torah passage where his function, similar to that in *2 Enoch* 33:10, is the protection of a visionary during the transmission of esoteric knowledge. "I shall collect and arrange to these orders of Michael, great prince of Israel, that you safeguard me for the study of Torah in my heart." Schwartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 111-12.

[254] Scholem observed that "...we have necessarily, then, to differentiate between two basic aspects of Metatron lore, which in our Hekhaloth literature, as far as it deals specifically with Metatron, have already been combined and to certain extend confused. One aspect identifies Metatron with Jahoel or Michael and knows nothing of his transfiguration from a human being into an angel. The talmudic passages concerned with Metatron are of this type. The other aspect identifies Metatron with the figure of Enoch as

Scholem argued that the two streams of the Metatron lore in the beginning existed independently and were apparently associated with the different bodies of the rabbinic literature: the preexistent Metatron's trend with the Talmud[255] and Enoch-Metatron's trend with the Targumic and the aggadic literature. In his opinion only later did these two initially independent trajectories become intertwined. Scholem remarked that the absence of the Enoch-Metatron trend "in the Talmud or the most important Midrashim is evidently connected with the reluctance of the talmudists to regard Enoch in a favorable light in general, and in particular the story of his ascent to heaven, a reluctance still given prominence in the Midrash *Genesis Rabbah*."[256] He proposed that this situation does not indicate that the Metatron-Enoch trend was later than the primeval Metatron trend since the Palestinian Targum (Gen 5:24) and other midrashim have retained allusions to the concept of the human Metatron in the rabbinic tradition.

Scholem notes that the variation in the Hebrew form of the name Metatron might point to the existence of the two aforementioned streams. He observes that in the *Shi*^{c}*ur Qomah* materials the name Metatron has two forms, "written with six letters and with seven letters," that is מטטרון and מיטטרון.[257] He points out that, although the original reason for this distinction is unknown, the kabbalists regarded the different forms of the same name as signifying two prototypes for Metatron. These kabbalistic circles usually identified the seven-lettered name with the primordial Metatron and the six-lettered name

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he is depicted in apocalyptic literature, and permeated that aggadic and targumic literature which, although not necessarily of a later date than Talmud, was outside of it. When the *Book of Hekhaloth*, or *3 Enoch*, was composed, the two aspects had already become intertwined...." Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 51.

[255] The *Babylonian Talmud* refers to Metatron in three places: *b.* Hag. 15a; *b.* Sanh. 38b and *b.* Avod. Zar. 3b. Metatron is also mentioned several times in Tosepoth.

[256] Scholem, "Metatron," *EJ*, 11.1445.

[257] Scholem points out that in the early manuscripts the name is almost always written with the letter *yod*.

with Enoch, who later ascended to heaven and possessed only some of the splendor and power of the primordial Metatron.[258]

In the light of Scholem's hypothesis, it is possible that the conceptual and literary distance between the two aforementioned understandings of Metatron, which apparently had very early, possibly even premishnaic, roots, might have prevented Yahoel's imagery from being adapted into the framework of the Enochic tradition, as happened with some other roles and titles of Metatron in *2 Enoch*. Although some details of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* indicate that the authors of that pseudepigraphon were familiar with Enochic traditions, Yahoel's imagery is not linked in that text to the seventh antediluvian patriarch, but instead to Abraham.

Metatron as the Measurer/Measure: God's Shi^cur Qomah

This study has already noted that in his transition to the position of God's vice-regent and the lesser manifestation of the divine name Enoch-Metatron came to resemble or imitate the Deity when various divine attributes and features were transferred to this exalted angel. One of the important features of this divine *dedoublement* was Enoch-Metatron's acquisition of a new celestial body which closely resembles the gigantic extent of the divine form. Although the crucial bulk of the traditions about Metatron's stature and its correspondence with God's anthropomorphic extent can be found in the texts associated with the *Shi^cur Qomah* literature,[259] these materials do not make any

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[258] Scholem, "Metatron" *EJ*, 11.1445.

[259] For the texts and translations of the *Shi^cur Qomah* materials, see Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*; M. Cohen, *The Shi^cur Qomah: Texts and Recensions* (TSAJ, 9; Tübingen, 1985); P. Schäfer et al., *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ, 17, 22, 29, 46; Tübingen, 1987-95).

explicit connections between Metatron and Enoch.[260] The investigation of the imagery of the divine body therefore must be started with texts in which this association between Metatron and the seventh antediluvian patriarch is unambiguous. One such passage is *3 Enoch* 9 (*Synopse* §12), which portrays the metamorphosis of Enoch's body into a gigantic extent matching the world in length and breath: "I was enlarged and increased in size till I matched the world in length and breath. He made to grow on me 72 wings, 36 on one side and 36 on the other, and each single wing covered the entire world...."[261]

Christopher Morray-Jones suggests that the sudden transformation of the human body of the patriarch into a gigantic extent encompassing the whole world cannot be properly understood without reference to another anthropomorphic corporeality known from the Priestly and Ezekelian traditions of the divine *Kavod*. Morray-Jones observes that "in his *shiʿur qomah*, we are told that Metatron's body, like the *Kabod*, fills the entire world, though the writer is careful to maintain a distinction between Metatron and the Glory of God Himself."[262]

It is true that some Enochic materials, including *2 Enoch*, underline the difference between the Lord's anthropomorphic extent and Enoch-Metatron's transformed body, pointing to the fact that the second corporeality represents a mere "likeness" of the first.[263] This interdependence between the two bodies, already linked together in the *Similitudes* and *2 Enoch*, indicates that the passage in *3 Enoch* 9 might represent a long-lasting tradition which cannot be divorced from another significant testimony found in *3*

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[260] Martin Cohen observes that the tradition that Metatron is the translated Enoch does not seem to appear in the *Shiʿur Qomah* texts. Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 126.

[261] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 263.

[262] Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," 8.

[263] *3 Enoch* 48C:6: "I increased his honor from the glory of my honor."

Enoch 15:1-2. This testimony describes the dramatic metamorphosis of Enoch's body re-created into the likeness of God's own terrifying extent known as his luminous Face.

Although the two bodies (of Metatron and of the Lord) are linked through an elaborate common imagery, Morray-Jones is correct in emphasizing that the Merkabah writers are cautious about maintaining a careful distinction between the two entities. Martin Cohen observes that in the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials the comparisons between the two corporealities, the Deity and Metatron, are not particularly favorable for the latter: "whereas the sole of the foot or the pinky-finger of the Deity is said to be one universe-length long, Metatron himself is altogether only that height."[264] These distinctions, however, should not be overestimated since they do not prevent the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials from unifying both corporealities through an identical terminology. In the Merkabah materials the divine corporeality is labeled the Stature/Measure of the Body (שיעור קומה).[265] The same terminology is often applied to Enoch-Metatron's body. According to one of the Merkabah texts, "the stature (קומתו) of this youth fills the world."[266] As we will see a little bit later, the same terminological parallels are observable in *3 Enoch* 48C:5-6, which refers to Metatron's stature as קומה while the patriarch's human body is designated as גוף. The similarity in terminology, which stresses the proximity of the statures of the Deity and Metatron, also points to the angel's role as the measurer/measure of the Divine Body.

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[264] Cohen, *Liturgy and Theurgy*, 133.

[265] Gershom Scholem observes that the term *qomah* was often translated as "height" ("Measurement of the Height"), being used in the biblical sense. He stresses that such translation does not apply to the Merkabah materials where *qomah*, as in the Aramaic incantation texts, signifies "body." See, Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 364.

[266] Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 162.

The aforementioned association of Enoch-Metatron's body with the Divine Face also indicates that his duties as the Measure of the Lord and the possessor of the body, which serves as the lesser manifestation of the divine corporeality. They are closely connected with Metatron's other roles since Metatron's function as God's *Shi'ur Qomah* cannot be separated from his mediation in the Divine Presence and his activities as the servant of the Divine Face, or one of the *sar happanim*.[267] This shows that Metatron's connection with the tradition about the colossal divine extent is not an isolated construct foreign to the rest of the Enoch-Metatron story but represents the logical continuation of his other prominent offices and duties in close proximity to the Divine Presence. In materials attached to the main body of *Sefer Hekhalot* (*3 Enoch* 48C:5-6),[268] the *Shi'ur Qomah* motif and the motif of Metatron's face are brought together:

> I increased his stature (קומתו) by seventy thousand parasangs, above every height, among those who are tall of stature (בכל רומי הקומות). I magnified his throne from the majesty of my throne. I increased his honor from the glory of my honor. I turned his flesh to fiery torches and all the bones of his body (גופו) to coals of light. I made the appearance of his eyes like the appearance of lightning, and the light of his eyes like "light unfailing." I caused his face to shine like the brilliant light of the sun.[269]

Several words must be said about the fashion in which the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition appears in *3 Enoch*. It is noteworthy that *Sefer Hekhalot* preserves only one side of the story when it applies the traces of the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition solely to Enoch-Metatron. The evidence found in *3 Enoch* represents relatively short accounts that differ from the

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[267] Joseph Dan's research points to a striking resemblance between the Deity and Metatron since the latter, similar to God, "... sits on the throne of glory, he has spread over himself a canopy of radiance, such as the one over the Throne of Glory itself, and his throne is placed at the entrance to the seventh *hekhal*, in which stands the Throne of Glory of God Himself. Metatron sits on it as God sits on His Throne." Dan further observes that the author of *3 Enoch* wants to portray Metatron "as almost a miniature version of God Himself." Dan, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, 115-17.

[268] Synopse, §73.

[269] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 312; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 36-37.

extended descriptions found in the materials associated with the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition; there the reader is normally provided with elaborate depictions of God's limbs and their mystical names. In contrast, *Sefer Hekhalot* does not say much about the divine body since the depiction of the body of the translated Enoch serves here as the focal point of the presentation. Although the narration refers to God's hand, by which Enoch's body appears to be transformed, and to his glorious Presence, according to which the patriarch was changed, *Sefer Hekhalot* does not supply any information about the dimensions of the limbs of the Deity as the materials associated with the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition often do. Only through the depiction of the new Enoch-Metatron body does the reader get an impression of the possible dimensions of God's *Shi'ur Qomah*.[270]

It is interesting that the tradition of Metatron's body found in *Sefer Hekhalot* closely resembles the evidence from *2 Enoch* 22 and 39, where the passages with a precise *Shi'ur Qomah* terminology are also introduced and unfolded through reference to the patriarch's body.[271] Similarly to *3 Enoch* the Slavonic apocalypse refers only to the Divine Face/Presence, and to the hand of God.[272] Later I will demonstrate that already in *2 Enoch* one can uncover the beginning of Enoch-Metatron's role as God's *Shi'ur Qomah*. It occurs in the account found in *2 Enoch* 37, in which the patriarch describes his encounters with the divine extent, the fiery and terrifying Face of God.

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[270] Philip Alexander observes that "in *Shi'ur Qomah* a form is given to the divine glory: it is envisaged as a colossal human figure and the dimensions of its limbs are computed. Of this speculation there is hardly a trace in *3 Enoch*." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 241.

[271] Gershom Scholem was first to propose that the expression "the extent of the Lord" found in *2 Enoch* 39 might reflect the exact terminology found in the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials. See Scholem's lecture "The Age of *Shi'ur Qomah* Speculation and a Passage in Origen" in: Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965); idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*, 29.

[272] According to *3 Enoch* 9:1 during the transformation of Enoch into Metatron God "laid his hand" on Enoch-Metatron. The same situation is observable in *2 Enoch* 39:5, which describes the Lord with "the right hand" beckoning the patriarch during his metamorphosis near the Throne of Glory.

Conclusion

1. The analysis of the old titles and roles of Enoch-Metatron indicates that the initial Mesopotamian and Enochic concepts and imagery have undergone substantial development within the Metatron tradition, resulting in the changes which in some instances have led to the creation of completely new offices and appellations (for example, Enoch-Metatron's roles as the redeemer and the judge). These later developments of the old roles and titles nevertheless have their roots in the previous texts and traditions about the seventh antediluvian hero.

2. The investigation of the new roles and titles of Enoch-Metatron reveal the polemical context of the origin and the existence of these appellations and offices within the Merkabah tradition; they are not assigned exclusively to one hero, but are often shared by many angelic characters, including Suriel, Yofiel, Michael, Yahoel, and others.[273] These varied attributions point to two significant things:

First, they indicate the possible polemical nature of the early background responsible for providing the antecedents or prototypes of the roles and titles attested in the Merkabah lore. Second Temple Judaism with its wealth of mediatorial trends and exalted figures represented a highly competitive ideological environment in which the roles and offices of one character were easily transferred to the hero of another tradition. This study will demonstrate that in this melting pot one can find the origins of almost all roles and titles of Metatron which later became prominent in the Hekhalot and rabbinic texts.

Second, the attributions of the same celestial roles and titles to the various angelic characters in Hekhalot and rabbinic materials point not only to the polemical context of their Second Temple origin, but also to the polemical nature of their later existence within the Hekhalot and rabbinic lore.[274] It is possible that such polemical developments were facilitated by the formal peculiarities of the Hekhalot literature and its transmission history.[275]

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[273] Alexander observes that "the Metatron side of the composite Enoch-Metatron figure is itself compounded of diverse elements." Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 161.

[274] Many social, ideological, and literary factors might be responsible for these polemical developments. Scholem noted that Metatron's passages in *b.* Hag. 15a and *b.* Sanh. 38b are connected with polemics against heretics. These arguments often take a form of polemics with the figure of Metatron. On polemics in *3 Enoch*, see Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 178ff.

[275] Alexander proposes that *3 Enoch*, as the majority of the Hekhalot macroforms, was built up from a number of small discrete units of tradition(s). Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 157.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROLES AND TITLES OF ENOCH-METATRON IN *2 ENOCH*

The arrangement of this study, which approaches the Second Temple Enochic text after I have already examined the medieval Jewish materials and traditions, might appear strange. Yet this organizational choice provides a unique opportunity to highlight some Merkabah features of the Slavonic apocalypse that link the symbolic world of this early Enochic text with the later Metatron imagery.[1] It seems reasonable that after the study has examined the roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian hero in the Mesopotamian and Enochic materials, on one hand, and Metatron's offices and appellations in Merkabah tradition, on the other hand, it can proceed to a close analysis of the nature of the significant transition from one conceptual stream to another.

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[1] In the beginning of the analysis of the Slavonic text several words must be said about the structure, the manuscripts, and the recensions of *2 Enoch*. The book can be divided into three parts. The first part (chapters 1-38) describes Enoch's heavenly journey and his transformation and initiation near the Throne of Glory. This part ends with Enoch's descent to earth where he must instruct his children in the celestial knowledge received from the Lord and the angels. The second part (chapters 39-67) deals with Enoch's instructions to his sons during his short visit to earth. This part concludes with his second, final ascension to heaven. The third part of the book (chapters 68-73) describes the priestly functions of Enoch's family and culminates in the miraculous birth of Melchisedek and the Flood. Only a small number of the manuscripts, namely A (0:1-72:10), U (0:1-72:10), B (0:1-72:10), and R (0:1-73:9) give a full account of the story leading up to the Flood. Manuscript J (0:1-71:4) goes to chapter 71. Manuscripts P (0:1-68:7), N (0:1-67:3), V (1:1-67:3), and B^2 (1:1-67:3) contain only the first two parts of the book and therefore end with Enoch's second ascension. Manuscript L (0:1-33:8) goes to chapter 33. The rest of the manuscripts give only fragments of the different parts of the book: P^2 (28:1-32:2), Tr (67:1; 70-72), Syn (71;72), Rum (71:1-73:1), G (65:1-4; 65:6-8), Chr (fragments from 11-58), Chr^2 (11:1-15:3), K (71:1-72:10), I (70:22-72:9). A large group of the manuscripts are copies of the compilation of rearranged materials from chs. 40-65 of *2 Enoch* from a judicial codex "Merilo Pravednoe" (The Just Balance). This group includes the following manuscripts: MPr, TSS 253, TSS 489, TSS 682. A scholarly consensus holds that *2 Enoch* exists in longer and shorter recensions. The recensions of *2 Enoch* differ not only in length but also "in the character of the text." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 93. MSS R, J, and P represent the manuscripts of the longer recension. MSS U, A, B, V, N, B^2, and L represent the manuscripts of the shorter recension. P^2, Tr, Syn, Rum, MPr, TSS 253, TSS 489, TSS 682, G, Chr, Chr^2, I, and K represent fragments of the longer or shorter recensions. On the manuscripts of *2 Enoch*, see Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1-167; A. I. Jacimirskij, *Bibliograficheskij obzor apokrifov v juzhnoslavjanskoj i russkoj pis'mennosti (spiski*

The previous examination showed that, in relation to the roles and titles of the principal protagonists of both traditions, the theological evolution from Enoch's figure to the figure of Metatron is represented by two distinctive conceptual developments. The first conceptual stream is connected with the emergence of new roles and titles of the hero previously unknown in the Mesopotamian and early Enochic lore, such as the Youth, the Prince of the World, the Prince of the Presence, the Prince of Torah, the Lesser YHWH, and the Measure of the Lord.[2] The second stream includes the development of old roles and titles of the early Second Temple Enochic writings towards the new elevated profile of Enoch-Metatron and enhancement these roles and titles with new features. Among these new features of the old roles one can find, for example, the portrayal of Enoch-Metatron as a scribe enthroned in heaven. This portrayal advances the early scribal profile of the seer attested in the pseudepigrapha.

Establishing these significant factors in the evolution from the profile of the visionary to the profile of the supreme angel necessarily raises an important methodological question about the designation of a precise text or group of texts in which this evolution might have actually originated. The question is this: did the aforementioned development of the patriarch's profile begin already within the Second Temple Enochic materials, or is this transition due mainly to the later Merkabah developments? The question of the formative value of the early Enochic traditions for Metatron's development is not an easy one since the previous analysis of the early

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pamjatnikov): Vol. 1: Apokrifi vethozavetnye (Petrograd, 1921) 81-88; Andersen, "2 Enoch," 92-93; idem, "Enoch, Second Book of," *ABD* 2.517-519; Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 788ff.

[2] In this section I will continue to operate with the categories of old and new roles and titles. As in the previous section, the notion of old roles includes the well-established offices and appellations of the seventh antediluvian hero in the early Enochic and Mesopotamian materials. The category of new roles and titles embraces the late designations of Enoch-Metatron drawn from the rabbinic and Merkabah materials.

Enochic materials has demonstrated that *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Book of Giants* neither provide references to the new titles of Enoch-Metatron attested in the Merkabah and rabbinic lore nor attempt to push the early roles and titles of the patriarch towards the forms known in the later Hekhalot materials. The only exception, found in the *Book of the Similitudes*, while appearing to enhance the elevated profile of the patriarch by identifying him with the son of man, is not completely unambiguous and hardly comparable with the new roles and titles appearing in the Metatron accounts. While some scholars point to the early Enochic materials as a possible source of the later Metatron developments, they have often hesitated to provide definite temporal and textual markers within the Enochic lore which may identify the initial point of such advancements. It is therefore understandable that, while students of the Metatron legends have not shrunk back from supplying "a reasonably firm" *terminus post quem* for the full-fledged theological transition from Enoch to Metatron, they have been quite reluctant to offer "a reasonably firm" chronological point for the beginning of this prominent evolution.

Philip Alexander's position in this respect is typical. In his comment on the development of Enoch-Metatron's profile in *Sefer Hekhalot*, he states that "... we can posit, therefore, c. A. D. 450 as a reasonably firm *terminus post quem* for the emergence of the full-blown Enoch-Metatron of *3 Enoch*, though we must bear in mind that he marks the culmination of a process of evolution which began in Maccabean times, if not earlier."[3] Here the *terminus post quem* of the Metatron tradition is firmly established because of the evidence provided by *Sefer Hekhalot* while the origin of this conceptual stream is located in the indefinite past of the early Enochic legends. In this blurring of the

origins of the principal character of the Merkabah lore, one can find one of the reasons for the endless debates about the nature and the beginnings of early Jewish mysticism.

Such difficulties in discerning the origins of the important transition and its broader conceptual context are inevitable if a study relies solely on one aspect or feature of the evolution from Enoch to Metatron, whether this aspect is represented by the details of the patriarch's angelic metamorphosis, his enthronement, or by another feature which reflects only one angle of the hero's elevated profile. I have noted the difficulties and limits of such an approach in the earlier assessment of the previous scholarship on Enoch's elevated profile in the *Similitudes*, where the sudden transition of the patriarch to the figure of the son of man is unfolded solely through the final ambiguous metamorphosis. This metamorphosis, however, lacks a whole range of other significant connections and transitions.

In this respect the methodological perspective of the current investigation is not limited to a single aspect or feature of the important transition. The study of the evolution of the titles and roles of the principal protagonist provides a wide range of indicators that may help one discern the origins and the nature of the advancement from the patriarch to the exalted angel, and perhaps even point to the precise chronological boundaries of this transition.

As has already been noted, in this methodological perspective the transition to the new offices of the hero and the development of his old titles can help to distinguish more clearly the boundaries between the Enoch and the Metatron traditions. The forthcoming analysis of the roles and titles of the patriarch in *2 Enoch* will demonstrate that, in the aforementioned delineations of early Enochic and Merkabah traditions, the Slavonic

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[3] Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 164-5.

apocalypse provides a textual evidence which stands on the very edges of the important transition belonging in many aspects to both conceptual worlds. This study will seek to demonstrate that this pseudepigraphon can help mark out more distinctly the textual and temporal line that separates and at the same time unifies both developments.

The next several chapters of this dissertation will be devoted to detailed explorations of the developments of the roles/titles of Enoch-Metatron in the Slavonic apocalypse through exposition of the main reasons for such evolution. The analysis will propose that these offices and appellations underwent substantial advancement from their early Enochic prototypes toward their later Merkabah form(s), under the influence of the mediatorial polemics with the pseudepigraphic traditions about the exalted patriarchs and prophets.

The present chapter can be viewed as an introductory exploration since it will be limited to the very modest task of pointing to the transitional character of the Slavonic text. This chapter will show that, as with *3 Enoch* and other accounts associated with the Enoch-Metatron tradition, *2 Enoch* contains two clusters of titles and roles of this character, previously designated in this dissertation as the "old" type and the "new" type respectively. It will be shown that the Slavonic apocalypse contains roles and titles similar to those found in the earlier Mesopotamian and Enochic traditions; these roles and titles include the scribe, the expert in the secrets, the sage, the mantic dreamer, and the priest. In comparison with the counterparts of these offices and designations known in the early Second Temple Enochic booklets, the roles and titles found in *2 Enoch* exhibit new features which demonstrate their close proximity not only to the early Enochic and Mesopotamian prototypes but also to the forms which these early titles acquired much

later in Merkabah mysticism. On the other hand, we will see that the Slavonic apocalypse contains a large number of prototypical descriptions, and even exact designations of the new roles and titles--the conceptual developments completely absent in the early Enochic traditions but found in rabbinic and Hekhalot materials, including such titles and offices of Metatron as the Youth, the Prince of the World, the Prince of the Divine Face, and some others.

As a Second Temple Enochic text which at the same time contains a large portion of seminal Merkabah imagery, the Slavonic apocalypse presents a very rare opportunity for students of early Jewish mysticism to trace and observe a two-fold development: first, the beginnings of the conceptual formation of the new roles and titles which will attain their full-fledged form in later Merkabah materials and, second, the ongoing process of the enhancement of the old Enochic offices and designations inside the early Enochic tradition. In this chapter I will outline these two conceptual developments in the Slavonic apocalypse. The majority of roles and titles pertaining to these two streams, however, will be treated only briefly in this chapter of the dissertation. The investigation will begin with the exposition of the category of new roles and titles emerging for the first time in *2 Enoch*; this will be followed by analysis of the enhanced character of the selected old offices and appellations.

I. "New" Roles and Titles

When students of Jewish mystical traditions approach the Slavonic apocalypse with some previous knowledge of the roles and titles of Metatron found in the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials, they may be taken aback by the number of suggestive allusions

and parallels pertaining to the offices and designations of this exalted figure in this early premishnaic Enochic account. The presence of these seemingly late concepts in the Second Temple Jewish text understandably raises many questions about the provenance of the pseudepigraphon and even leads some scholars to believe that these developments might represent later interpolations which the Slavonic text has acquired during its long transmission history in the Greek and Slavonic mileux. [4] A close textual analysis, however, reveals the early premishnaic mold of the hero's roles and titles and their connection with the early apocalyptic imagery found in the Slavonic apocalypse; this connection indicates that they belong to the original layer of the pseudepigraphic text, thus representing a very early stage of the conceptual development which reached its fully developed form only much later. This situation can be clearly demonstrated, for example, by examination of one of the most prominent descriptions of Metatron as the Prince of the Presence, an office which appears in *2 Enoch* in its rudimentary form.

Servant of the Face

It has already been noted that although the authors of early Enochic booklets show familiarity with the theophanic language of the Divine Face,[5] this imagery did not play any significant role in the earliest Enochic materials.[6] In the depiction of the

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[4] See, for example, C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch* (WUNT, R.2, 50; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 112-113. Christfried Böttrich's belief that the two pivotal descriptions of the Divine Face in *2 Enoch* 22 and 39 represent later interpolations is highly problematic. This theory no longer seems plausible in the light of this study since my analysis demonstrates that the imagery of the Face is connected in the text with several of Enoch's roles, including the office of the servant of the Face. Böttrich unfortunately does not investigate this role, which demonstrates that the theme of the divine *Panim* is imbedded in the fabric of the original layer of the Slavonic apocalypse. Böttrich's position will be analyzed in detail later in this study.

[5] *1 Enoch* 89:29-31.

[6] On the Face of God, see S. Balentine, *The Hidden God: The Hiding Face of God in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 49-65; A. De Conick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions

patriarch's encounter with the *Kavod* in the *Book of the Watchers*, the face is mentioned only once,[7] and without any theological elaboration.[8] In contrast, in the later mystical accounts found in the Merkabah materials, the imagery of the Divine Face plays a paramount role; it is considered the "center of the divine event" and the teleological objective for the ascension of the *yorde merkabah*. The importance of this motif can be illustrated by resorting to the Hekhalot accounts. Peter Schäfer points out that *Hekhalot Rabbati*, for example, considers the countenance of God as "the goal of *yored merkabah* and simultaneously revokes this statement in a paradoxical way by stressing at conclusion that one cannot 'perceive' this face."[9] He further observes that for the visionary in the Hekhalot tradition, the countenance of God is the example "not only of overwhelming

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and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the Second Century," in: *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism* (eds. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, G. S. Lewis; JSJ, 63; Brill: Leiden, 1999) 325-330; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (2 vols; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967) 2.35-9; M. Fishbane, "Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 115-21; S. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ, 36; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1993) 105-109; J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments* (ETS, 25; Leipzig: St. Benno, 1970) 236-7; M. Smith, "'Seeing God' in the Psalms: The Background to the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 171-83.

[7] See *1 Enoch* 14:21: "And no angel could enter, and at the appearance of the face (*gaṣṣ*) of him who is honored and praised no (creature of) flesh could look." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.99. See also *1 Enoch* 38:4 "And from then on those who possess the earth will not be mighty and exalted, nor will they be able to look at the face of the holy ones for the light of the Lord of Spirits will have appeared on the face of the holy, the righteous, and the chosen." *1 Enoch* 89:22 "And the Lord of the sheep went with them as he led them, and all his sheep followed him; and his face (was) glorious, and his appearance terrible and magnificent." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.125-6; 2.203.

[8] The reference to the Divine Face/Presence is also mentioned in Hebrew *Sirach* 49:14b, where Enoch's ascent is described as נלקח פנים, the expression which Christopher Rowland renders as "taken into the divine presence." C. Rowland, "Enoch," in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds. K. van der Toorn et al; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 302. For the Hebrew text of Sirach 49:14b, see T. R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50* (SBLDS, 75; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986) 232; O. Mulder, *Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50* (SJSJ, 78; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 90. In his recent study Otto Mulder notes that "Enoch is well known in the pseudepigraphal tradition on account of his 'walking' with God whom he beheld face to face. This experience may be referred to in 49:14b with the term פנים 'in person.'" Mulder, *Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50*, 93.

[9] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 18. This situation recalls *2 Enoch*, in which the description of the Face and the statement about the impossibility of enduring its vision are combined in a paradoxical way.

beauty, and therefore of a destructive nature,[10] but at the same time the center of the divine event."[11] God's Face thus becomes the consummation of the heavenly journey since, according to Schäfer, "everything God wishes to transmit to the *yored merkabah* … is concentrated in God's countenance."[12] In this context it is to be expected that the first thing the visionary should want to report to his companions upon his successful return to earth is his vision of the Divine Face. Schäfer confirms such a tendency by observing that "the *yored merkabah* is called upon to report to his fellows what he saw on God's countenance."[13]

It must be underlined that *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Book of Giants* do not specifically emphasize the importance of the disclosure of the seer's vision of the Face to his companions upon arrival on earth. Unlike the Hekhalot tradition, in the early Enochic circle, the patriarch is eager to reveal to his sons and clients other, more important things, which include testimonies, messages and judgments unrelated to the vision of the Divine Countenance. However, when one approaches the contents of the patriarch's visions in the Slavonic apocalypse, one sees a rather different picture.

It is striking that the very first thing which the hero deems urgent to deliver to his companions upon his short visit to earth does not concern the upcoming divine judgment or parts of astronomical or calendarical lore recounted in the early Enochic booklets, but a quite different revelation. The hero hastens to convey to his children what the later

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[10] This theme looms large in the Hekhalot tradition where one can often find the "danger motif" applied to the Face imagery. See Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 17; *Synopse* §§ 102, 159, 183, 189, 356.

[11] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 18.

[12] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 18.

[13] Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God*, 20.

Hekhalot accounts often attribute to their seers, namely the vision of the Divine Countenance. Chapter 38 of *2 Enoch* ends with the depiction of Methuselah patiently awaiting the descent of his father from the upper realm, mounting a strict guard at his bed. In the beginning of Chapter 39, immediately upon his arrival on earth, the patriarch starts his first conversation with humans, conveying to his children his extraordinary encounter with the Divine Face. *2 Enoch* 39 reads:

> 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, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks.[14]

This depiction demonstrates that, similarly to the Hekhalot tradition, the vision of the Divine Countenance was considered by the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse as a central event in the visionary's experience which he must report before all else upon his arrival from the celestial journey.

One should note, however, that in contrast to the *yorde merkabah* who are able to have only temporary access to the countenance of the Deity, the patriarch holds the permanent office of the servant of the Divine Face, *sar happanim*, the position which Enoch is predestined to keep from the time of his installation for eternity. Hugo Odeberg may well be the first scholar to have discovered the characteristics of the Prince of the Presence in the longer recension of *2 Enoch*.[15] He demonstrated in his synopsis of the

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[14] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 163.

[15] Before Odeberg, another scholar, Louis Ginzberg observed that the words "God set him before His face" in *2 Enoch* 67:2 might be related to "the usual designation found in Geonic mysticism of Metatron-Enoch as the 'prince of the face.'" However, Ginzberg, a cautious scholar, later noted that this parallel may be arguable. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 5.161.

parallel passages from *2* and *3 Enoch* that the phrase "stand before my face forever"[16] found in the Slavonic apocalypse does not serve there merely as a typical Hebraism "to be in the presence,"[17] but establishes the angelic status of Enoch as Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, שר הפנים.[18] Recent research of Charles Gieschen also reinforces this position; Gieschen argues that Enoch's "standing" in front of the face of the Lord forever conclusively indicates the status of a principal angel. He further observes that "those who stand immediately before the throne are usually the principal angels, i.e., the Angels of the Presence...."[19] In *2 Enoch* the patriarch is depicted not as one of the visionaries who has only temporary access to the Divine Presence but as an angelic servant permanently installed in the office of the *sar happanim*. Enoch's new designation is developed primarily in Chapters 21-22, devoted to the description of the *Kavod*. In these chapters, one can find several promises from the mouth of archangel Gabriel and the Deity himself that the translated patriarch will now stand in front of God's face forever.[20]

In terms of its theological background, the title seems to be connected with the image of Metatron in the Merkabah tradition,[21] crystallized in classical Hekhalot literature. According to the Hekhalot lore, Enoch "was raised to the rank of first of the

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[16] Slav. стоати прѣд лицем моимь въ вѣкы. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.22.

[17] M. D. Fowler, "The Meaning of *lipnê* YHWH in the Old Testament," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 384-90.

[18] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.55.

[19] Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 158, n. 17.

[20] *2 Enoch* 21:3: "And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel. And he said to me, 'Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and come with me and stand in front of the face of the Lord forever.'"

2 Enoch 22:6: "And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out, 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!'"

2 Enoch 36:3: "Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136, 138, 161.

[21] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 67.

angels and שר הפנים (literally, "Prince of the Divine Face," or "Divine Presence")."[22] As has been previously demonstrated, *3 Enoch*, as well as other texts of the Hekhalot tradition, has a well-developed theology connected with this title.

The patriarch's role as the angelic servant of the Face in *2 Enoch* manifests a radical departure from his role in relation to God's *Kavod* attested in the earlier Enochic traditions. Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that in the *Book of the Watchers*, "Enoch has peculiar rights of access to the divine presence (chs. 14-15), however he is not explicitly said to be divine or angelic."[23] Yet, in *2 Enoch* the patriarch is depicted not simply as a visitor who has only temporary access to the Divine Presence but as an angel permanently installed in the office of the *sar happanim*. *2 Enoch* 67:2 underlines the permanent nature of the hero's installation in front of God's Face: "And the angels hurried and grasped Enoch and carried him up to the highest heaven, where the Lord received him and made him stand in front of his face for eternity."[24]

In conclusion one must note that it is rather clear that the depictions of Enoch's installation as the servant of the Divine Face in the Slavonic apocalypse do not represent interpolations from later mystical Jewish texts since the form of the tradition about the Divine Face appears to have in *2 Enoch* an early, rudimentary form. Thus the Slavonic apocalypse does not explicitly label the patriarch as the "prince" of the Face, the title by which Enoch-Metatron is often designated in the later Merkabah lore.

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[22] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 67.
[23] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 21.
[24] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 194

The Youth

The previous analysis has shown that the descriptions of the celestial titles in *2 Enoch* occupy an intermediate position between the early Enochic traditions and the Metatron tradition. Therefore, some later titles of Metatron, absent in *1 Enoch, Jubilees* and Qumran materials, are present in the narrative of *2 Enoch.* A good illustration of this situation is evident in another celestial title of Enoch-Metatron found in *2 Enoch*, his title "Youth," a sobriquet rendered in the Merkabah lore with the Hebrew term נער.[25] In Jewish mystical teaching, this title is viewed as proof of the theological conviction that Metatron is the translated Enoch ben Yared. The tradition derives this title from the exegesis of Prov. 22.6 (חנוך לנער), which is interpreted as "Enoch was made into the נער, i.e. Metatron."[26]

The title "Youth" has several possible theological meanings in the Jewish esoteric lore. According to one of them, the name may be explained by the fact that Metatron is constantly rejuvenated upon reaching old age.[27] Another possible explanation found in *Sefer Hekhalot* is that he is young in comparison with other angelic princes who existed from the beginning.

The title plays an important role in the overall theological framework of *2 Enoch.* Some Slavonic manuscripts of the shorter recension, including *A, B,* and *V*, apply this title several times solely to the patriarch Enoch. This evidence will be discussed in detail

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[25] According to Isaiah Tishby it is the most popular title of Metatron. "Metatron is known by many names and titles, but his regular designation, found even in the earlier literature, is, נער –'boy', or 'lad.'" I. Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar* (3 vols.; London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994) 2.628.

[26] Odebert, *3 Enoch*, 1.119.

[27] "...it is the mystery of the boy who reaches old age and then reverts to his youth as at the beginning." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2.628.

later in this study. Now I must offer several preliminary observations pertaining to this designation.

The reader encounters the title already in the first few chapters of the Slavonic apocalypse, which describe the patriarch's celestial voyage through the heavens. In fact manuscripts *B* and *V* use the title "Youth" at the outset in the first chapter of the text. The very first address Enoch's celestial guides utter in these manuscripts is: "Be brave, Youth!' (дерзаи юноше).[28] This designation is then occasionally repeated by the celestial guides as they lead the seer through the heavens, providing him with detailed explanations of the heavenly surroundings. Thus in Chapter 9 of the shorter recension an angelic being accompanying the seer on his way through the heavenly realm addresses Enoch as "Youth": "This place has been prepared, Youth (юноше),[29] for the righteous....[30] Shortly after this in Chapter 10, the angel captures the visionary's attention with the same title: "This place, Youth (юноше), has been prepared for those who practice godless uncleanness on the earth...."[31]

It should be noted that, in contrast to *3 Enoch*, where the information about the origin and usage of the title is unfolded through the narrative framework of the conversation between R. Ishmael and Metatron, in *2 Enoch* the title appears in the direct speech of the angels and the Deity. Thus, in the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 24, the Lord directly addresses the patriarch with the title "Youth":

> And the Lord called me [Enoch] and he placed me to himself closer than Gabriel. And I did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord spoke to me: "Whatever you see,

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[28] Ms. V, Folio 308; Ms. B. in: Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.83.

[29] Sreznevskij's dictionary equates this Slavonic word with Greek νεανίσκος. I. Sreznevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka* (Moscow: Kniga, 1989) 2.1627-1628.

[30] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.85.

[31] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 119.

> Youth (ѭноше, [*junoše*]), things standing still and moving about were brought to perfection by me and not even to angels have I explained my secrets...as I am making them known to you today..."[32]

Some manuscripts of *2 Enoch* 22 also attest to the same direct address of the Deity:

> And the Lord with his own mouth called me [Enoch] and said: Be brave, Youth! (ѭноше, [*junoše*]). Do not be frightened! Stand up in front of my face forever. And Michael, the Lord's archistratig, brought me in the front of the Lord's face. And the Lord tempted his servants and said to them: "Let Enoch come up and stand in the front of my face forever." And the glorious ones bowed down and said: "Let him come up!"[33]

The differences between the uses of the title in *2 Enoch* and in *Sefer Hekhalot* might indicate that, in its handling of the sobriquets of the hero, the Slavonic apocalypse stays very close to the early Enochic booklets in which the titles are often introduced in the same fashion, that is, as direct addresses of main characters. Thus it has been noted previously that in the early Enochic materials, the patriarch's scribal honorifics very often come from the mouth of other characters, including God[34] and angels.[35] This feature indicates that the tradition about the title "Youth" in the Slavonic apocalypse does not represent an interpolation from the later Merkabah accounts since this new title is used similarly to other early Enochic titles as an address of other characters.

In conclusion to this section, one must note that, in spite of the abundance of the information about the Youth in Merkabah literature, the title itself remains in many respects somewhat of a theological mystery. Perhaps the most puzzling thing about the title is the fact that prominent scholars of Jewish mystical literature such as Gershom

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[32] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.90-91.

[33] Ms. V, fol. 317.

[34] *1 Enoch* 15:11: "And he answered me and said to me with his voice: Hear! Do not be afraid, Enoch, (you) righteous man and scribe of righteousness ...." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.100.

[35] *1 Enoch* 12:3-4: "And I Enoch was blessing the Great Lord and the King of Eternity, and behold the Watchers called to me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me: "Enoch, scribe of righteousness, go, inform the Watchers of heaven...." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.41; 2.92.

Scholem and Hugo Odeberg have failed to locate it in the narrative of *2 Enoch*. One possible explanation may be that André Vaillant did not pay enough attention to the variants for reading the term "Youth" in his edition, considering this reading as a corruption, and consequently devoted just a few sentences to it.[36] According to Vaillant this corruption occurred because the Slavonic word Ѥноше (*Enoše*), the vocative form of "Enoch," is very similar to "Youth" юноше (*junoše*).[37] This probably explains why those scholars who based their research on Vaillant's text also missed this vital point. Only the new collation of manuscripts in Francis Andersen's translation again drew attention to this terminology. Francis Andersen gives a short concluding note on the term "Youth" that "it cannot be a coincidence that this title is identical with that of Enoch (=Metatron) in 3En."[38]

Governor of the World

The Merkabah tradition underlines the role of Metatron as the governing authority over the nations, kingdoms and rulers on earth. The evidence preserved on the incantation bowls, in rabbinic materials, and in the Hekhalot accounts, including *Sefer Hekhalot,* refers to Metatron's position as the Prince of the World (שר העולם), the leader of the seventy-two princes of the kingdom of world, who pleads in favor of the world before the Holy One. It appears that this prominent theological development which elevates Metatron to the role of the leader of the whole world might not have originated in the

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[36] Francis Andersen criticizes Valliant's position. He stresses that "the similarity to the vocative *enoše* might explain the variant as purely scribal slip. But it is surprising that it is only in address, never in description, that the term is used. The variant *jenokhu* is rare. There is no phonetic reason why the first vowel should change to ju; *junokhu* is never found." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 118-19.

[37] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch*, 8.

[38] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 119.

rabbinic period but has its roots in the premishnaic Enochic lore. Although Enoch's role as the governing power on earth is unknown in the majority of the early Enochic materials associated with *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Book of Giants*, the traditions found in *2 Enoch* seem to point to the possibility of the early existence of such imagery. A thorough analysis of the early developments connected with this title in *2 Enoch* will be given in another chapter of this dissertation. At present one must draw attention only to one important testimony pertaining to the title.

Chapter 43 of the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* and a similar passage of the text preserved in the Slavonic collection "The Just Balance"[39] depict the patriarch in the previously unknown celestial role. The texts outline Enoch's instructions to his children during his brief return to earth; in these instructions the protagonist mentions his new role as the Governor of the earth:

> And behold my children, I am the Governor[40] of the earth, *p(r)ometaya*, I wrote (them) down. And the whole year I combined, and the hours of the day. And the hours I measured; and I wrote down every seed on earth. And I compared every measure and the just balance I measured. And I wrote (them) down, just as the Lord commanded....I the doings of each person will put down, and no one will hide; because the Lord is the one who pays, and he will be the avenger on the great judgment day.[41]

The intriguing parallel here to the later rabbinic and Hekhalot imagery is the fact that the role of Enoch as the governing power on earth is closely connected in the

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[39] "The Just Balance" (*Merilo Pravednoe*) is the Slavonic collection of ethical writings in which the existence of *2 Enoch* first was made public. M. N. Tihomirov, *Merilo Pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka* (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1961).

[40] The majority of the manuscripts use the Slavonic words кръмствоуемаıа (*krumstvuemaya*) or кормствоуемаıа (*kormstvuemaya*). I. Sreznevsky in his dictionary relates these Slavonic terms to the Greek word κυβέρνησις or the Latin *gubernatio*. I.I. Sreznevsky, *Stovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka*, I (II), 1410. Kurz's dictionary relates the verb кръмити to κυβερνᾶν, *gubernare*. J. Kurz, ed., *Slovnik Jazyka Staroslovenskeho (Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae)* (4 vols.; Prague: Akademia, 1966) 2.74. The manuscript of "*Merilo Pravednoe*" [MPr] uses the word правлемаıа (*pravlemaya*). Tihomirov, *Merilo Pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka*, 71. Francis Andersen translates the term as "manager": "I am the manager of the arrangements on earth." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217.

Slavonic apocalypse with the theme of divine judgment and with Enoch's role as the mediator of the judgment. As may be recalled, in the rabbinic imagery of the Prince of the World these two themes – governing of the world and pleading for the world – were often linked since the exalted angel was portrayed as the Prince of the World who also pleads in the favor of the world before the Deity. As an example, *3 Enoch* specifically emphasizes this duty of the Prince of the World:

> How many princes are there? There are 72 princes of kingdoms in the world, not counting the Prince of the World (שר העולם), who speaks in favor of the world before the Holy One, blessed be he, every day at the hour when the book is opened in which every deed in the world is recorded, as it is written, "A court was held, and the books were opened."[42]

2 Enoch has a similar constellation of the traditions. The designation of the patriarch as the "Governor of the earth" is introduced in the passage which deals with Enoch's duty as the mediator of divine judgment who prepares the records of "the doings of each person" in order to present them on the great day of judgment: "And I wrote (them) down, just as the Lord commanded .... I the doings of each person will put down, and no one will hide, because the Lord is the one who pays, and He will be the avenger on the great judgment day."[43]

Both passages operate with the almost identical terminology, including a reference to the deeds/doings of every person recorded in the books.

The second important aspect of the passage about Enoch's leading role on earth found in *2 Enoch* 43 is the Slavonic word *prometaya*, which follows Enoch's title, "the Governor of the earth."[44] This Slavonic term is found solely in the text of *2 Enoch*. There

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[41] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217-19.
[42] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 285. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 24-25.
[43] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217-19.
[44] "And behold my children, I am the Governor of the earth, [*prometaya*], I wrote them down ..."

is no other Slavonic text where the word *prometaya* is documented. Phonetically close to the term "Metatron," *prometaya* could represent a very early, rudimentary form of the name which later was transformed into a designation of the prominent angel.[45]

Finally it should be noted that the broader context of the passage also seems to promote the imagery of the new exalted role of the patriarch. Thus, in *2 Enoch* 40 (shorter recension) one has the following words of Enoch: "Now therefore, my children, I know everything; some from the lips of the Lord, other my eyes have seen from the beginning to the end, and from the end to the recommencement."[46] Such emphasis on the omniscience of the translated patriarch contributes to the picture of the patriarch's exalted profile, making him a legitimate candidate for the elevated position of the Governor of the earth. The aforementioned details surrounding the designation of the patriarch as the leading power on earth suggest that this title might represent an early Enochic witness to the prominent office of Metatron as the Prince of the World, which has received its fully developed form in the later rabbinic and Hekhalot materials.

God's Vice-Regent?

This section of the study, which examines the possible prototype for the office of the vice-regent in the Slavonic apocalypse, is highly speculative. Yet such examination should be undertaken in light of several important features of the text that might provide some background for Metatron's future role as the viceroy of the Deity.

To begin the investigation, one must recall that in *2 Enoch* the hero was offered a seat in heaven as part of his duty as a celestial scribe. I underlined the importance of this

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[45] This development will be investigated in detail later in this study.
[46] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 165.

testimony as a significant link between the scribal office of the hero in early Enochic and Mesopotamian traditions and the scribal profile of Metatron found in the Talmud and Hekhalot writings. Moreover, I noted that the testimony from the *Hagiga Babli*, where Metatron also has a seat in heaven, attests not only to the scribal office of the exalted angel but also to his position as God's vice-regent who has his own throne in heaven. The controversial flavor of the two powers' debate, discernable in the talmudic account, underlines the authoritative position of the protagonist as the exalted second "head," replicating the Deity. Here the motif of the seat unifies both offices, scribal and authoritative, and serves as a reminder of the important transition from the legal scribe to the celestial judge. In view of this evolution, it is possible that in *2 Enoch* the emphasis on possession of the seat in heaven might be related not only to Enoch's role as the heavenly recorder but also to Enoch's position as a vice-regent and a secretary of the Deity who possesses a special seat in heaven close to the throne of the Lord.

It is noteworthy that the Slavonic apocalypse seems to emphasize the difference between the two offices, scribal and authoritative, when in Chapters 23 and 24, it mentions twice the offering of a seat to Enoch, first by Vereveil (Vrevoil) in relation to the patriarch's scribal role and second by God himself; God invites the seer to the place next to him, closer than that of Gabriel, in order to share with him the information that remains hidden even from the angels. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 22:10-24:4 reads:

> And I looked at myself, and I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference. And the Lord summoned one of the archangels, Vrevoil by name, who was swifter in wisdom than the other archangels, and who records all the Lord's deeds. And the Lord said to Vrevoil, "Bring out the books from my storehouses, and fetch a pen for speed-writing, and give it to Enoch and read him the books." .... And he [Vrevoil] was telling me the things of heaven and earth....And Vrevoil instructed me for 30 days and 30 nights, and his mouth never stopped speaking.... And [then] ... Vrevoil said to me, "These things,

> whatever I have taught you … you sit down and write…. And I sat down for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights, and I wrote everything accurately. And I wrote 366 books…. And the Lord called me; and he said to me, "Enoch, sit to the left of me with Gabriel." And I did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord spoke to me: "Enoch [Beloved],[47] whatever you see and whatever things are standing still or moving about were brought to perfection by me. And I myself will explain it to you. Before anything existed at all, from the very beginning, whatever exists I created from the non-existent, and from the invisible the visible. [Listen, Enoch, and pay attention to these words of mine!] For not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their origin, nor my endlessness [and inconceivableness], as I devise the creatures, as I am making them known to you today.[48]

Attention should be paid to the invitation of the Deity, who calls upon the visionary to sit left of him with Gabriel. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 24 puts even greater emphasis on the unique nature of this offer; in this recension God places the patriarch "to the left of himself, closer than Gabriel (ближе Гавриила)."[49] Crispin Fletcher-Louis writes that the fact that in *2 Enoch* the seer is seated next to God "suggests some contact with the rabbinic Enoch/Metatron tradition."[50] Michael Mach also suggests that this motif is closely connected with the Metatron imagery. He notes that "the exaltation to a rank higher than that of the angels as well as the seating at God's side have their parallels and considerable development in Enoch's/Metatron's transformation and enthronement as depicted in *3 Enoch*."[51]

There are several important details in the aforementioned description from Chapter 24 that might suggest that in the Slavonic apocalypse one can detect initial features that signal an incipient hint towards the development of Metatron's future role as the vice-regent of the Deity.

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[47] The designation of Enoch as a "beloved" demonstrates a remarkable parallel to Enmeduranki's title found in the tablet from Nineveh.

[48] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138-42.

[49] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 143. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.117 (Ms. U).

[50] Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 154.

It appears that Enoch could indeed be placed on the seat "closer than Gabriel," as the shorter recension suggests, thus pointing to the supra-angelic character of his installation.[52] This possibility gains further credence when one considers that the Lord himself makes clear that the status of the translated patriarch and his initiation exceed the angelic realm,[53] reminding Enoch that even his angels remain unaware of the secrets conveyed to the hero.[54] This emphasis on the supra-angelic status of the interaction between the Deity and the exalted hero recalls the Hekhalot tradition and especially *3 Enoch* 10:2-6, in which Enoch-Metatron is depicted as the vice-regent[55] exalted above the rest of the angelic world apart from the eight great princes of YHWH:[56]

> He [God] placed it [the throne] at the door of the seventh palace and *sat me down* upon it. And the herald went out into every heaven and announced concerning me: "I have appointed Metatron my servant as the prince and a ruler over all the denizens of the heights, apart from the eight great, honored, and terrible princes who are called YHWH by the name of their King. Any angel and any prince who has anything to say in my presence should go before him and speak to him. Whatever he says to you in my name you must observe and do, because I have

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[51] Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism," 251.

[52] Crispin Fletcher-Louis also points to another feature of the possible supra-angelic identity of the patriarch in *2 Enoch*. This additional detail is Enoch's omniscience. Fletcher-Louis observes that the patriarch in the Slavonic apocalypse is "omniscient, being able to count and record the stars and all the contents of the heavens." *2 Enoch* 40:1-2; 4-13. He stresses the parallel with *3 Enoch*, pointing out that "this is a prerogative shared by Enoch/Metatron in *3 Enoch* 46:1-2, which cites Ps 146:4." Fletcher-Louis further comments that this might point to the supra-angelic identity of the patriarch, since "this is a motif which clearly sets Enoch apart from the angels (40:3)." Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 154.

[53] The text also appears to give other indications that Enoch's place is above that of angels. In *2 Enoch* 22 Enoch's superiority over the angels is expressed through the angelic obeisance to the translated patriarch, performed under the close supervision of the Deity. This important motif will be investigated later.

[54] Larry Hurtado notes two significant motifs: Enoch's placement near the Deity and his initiations into the ultimate secrets of the universe might have constituted the link with the later Metatron developments. He observes that "in *2 Enoch* 24:1-3, God invites Enoch to sit on his left and says that secrets left unexplained even to angels are to be made known to him. It is therefore possible that those whose speculations are reflected in *3 Enoch* took such references as the basis for the idea that Enoch was transformed into a principal angelic being and, for reasons we cannot trace with confidence, identified this being as Metatron." Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 55.

[55] Alan Segal observed that "a principal angel was seen as God's primary or sole helper and allowed to share in God's divinity. That a human being, as the hero or exemplar of a particular group, could ascend to become one with this figure – as Enoch, Moses or Elijah had – seems also to have been part of the tradition." Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 180.

[56] These princes representing the Divine Name might well belong to the Divine realm.

> committed to him the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding, to teach him the wisdom of those above and of those below, the wisdom of this world and of the world to come. Moreover I have put him in charge of all the stores of the palaces of Arabot, and all the treasures that are in the heavenly heights.[57]

Upon closer examination of this passage one cannot fail to notice several familiar features that were already anticipated in *2 Enoch* 23-24, that is, the offering of the celestial seat, the installation superior to angels, the initiatory instructions by angels that precedes this installation, and finally commitment to the seer of the treasures of the heights. All these details are already evident in the Slavonic account, where the exalted hero is initiated by the archangel Vereveil (*2 Enoch* 22:10-23:4) into the wisdom of above and below, "the things of heaven and earth" (*2 Enoch* 23:1-2) and then acquires the supra-angelic status through the offering of a seat by the Deity himself (*2 Enoch* 24:1).

The other significant detail of the Slavonic narrative which further anticipates Enoch's role as the vice-regent is that in *2 Enoch* 22:10 the patriarch is described as one of the glorious ones. This designation is important since it is combined with the imagery of Enoch being clothed with the radiant garment and his veneration by the angels. Pointing to the significant parallel between the luminous attire and the status of the vice-regent, Jarl Fossum observes that in *3 Enoch* "as part of his installation as God's vice-regent in heaven, Enoch is given new clothes … a robe of honor on which were fixed all kinds of beauty, splendor, brilliance, and majesty."[58]

It is also significant that in the aforementioned passage from *2 Enoch* 24, the motif of Enoch's installation on the seat next to the Deity coincides with his initiation into

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[57] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 264.

[58] J. Fossum, "Ascensio, Metamorphosis: The 'Transfiguration' of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels," in: Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 83.

the secrets of creation; this might suggest that the offering of the seat in this context delegates to the hero a certain role in the works of creation. Some scholars point to the possible conjunction of these two traditions in the later Hekhalot writings. Thus, Christopher Morray-Jones observes that Metatron "sits on the throne which is a replica of the Throne of Glory and wears a glorious robe like that of God. He functions as the agent of God in the creation, acts as intermediary between heavenly and lower worlds...."[59] The hero's initiation into the secrets of creation also recalls the fact that Enoch-Metatron's role as the vice-regent of God necessarily entails his position as the close confidant of the Deity, one who alone has access to the most intimate and profound mysteries of the Godhead.

Concluding this analysis of the early evidence of the patriarch's profile as the vice-regent of the Deity in *2 Enoch*, we should note that, despite the suggestive imagery found in the Slavonic apocalypse, these depictions represent only the initial, not fully elaborated, sketch of the later Metatron developments.

Heavenly Counterpart

It has been already mentioned that the *Shi'ur Qomah* accounts often portray Metatron as the measurer of the divine corporeality who conveys to the visionaries the esoteric lore about the dimensions of the limbs of the cosmic body of the Deity. This choice of the revealer is not coincidental since some Merkabah materials suggest that the cosmic body of this exalted angel itself exemplifies the measure or the "likeness" of the divine body, thus functioning as a representation of the human form of the Deity. In *3 Enoch* the appearance of the transformed Enoch-Metatron can be seen as the replica of

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[59] Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," 8.

the features and attributes of the divine *Kavod*, including the throne, the garment, the curtain and the social surroundings. The similarities are so dangerously close that they even lead Aher to the mistaken belief that there are two divinities, or "two heads" (ב׳ רשוות) in heaven.[60] This context demonstrates that in the visionary accounts Metatron's extent could be perceived as the representation or the counterpart of God's corporeality. In addition to the similarities in imagery, the two bodies are also often connected in the Merkabah tradition through a similar terminology. Thus, in the Hekhalot accounts the divine corporeality is often labeled as the Measure of the Body (שיעור קומה). A similar expression is also often used for Enoch-Metatron's stature (קומתו) which, according to *3 Enoch* and other Hekhalot texts, fills the whole world.[61]

It appears that already in the *Similitudes* and in *2 Enoch*, one can see the beginning of the identification of the exalted patriarch with the enthroned exalted figure that serves as the *dedoublement* of the divine extent or the Face of God. In order to proceed to the investigation of this striking imagery in early Enochic literature, this study must turn to the description of the Divine Face found in Chapter 39 of the Slavonic apocalypse[62] already mentioned in the study. In this text Enoch relates his vision of the Lord's countenance, a terrifying extent analogous to the human form. Commenting on

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[60] *b.* Hag. 15a.

[61] Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 162.

[62] "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, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into (my) eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun 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

this Slavonic account, Gershom Scholem notes[63] that this narrative depicting the portrayal of the radiant Divine Body contains the expression "the stature[64] of the Lord"; in his opinion this can attest to the precise *Shiᶜur Qomah* terminology. This terminology will be examined in detail later in this study. At present, one must only note that in *2 Enoch* 39 this terminology is applied not only to the body of the Lord (the stature of the Lord), but also to the body of the patriarch (stature of my [Enoch's] body). The identical terminology in the description of both bodies, of the patriarch as well as of the Deity, might indicate that already in the Slavonic apocalypse, one can see initial hints of the future role of Enoch-Metatron as the exalted model or the "measure" of the divine corporeality (also known as His Face). It also appears that in the Slavonic apocalypse and in the *Similitudes*, the identification of the human patriarch with the angelic replica of the Divine Face, when the visionary literally comes to represent the Face, is related through the imagery of the heavenly counterpart of the seer. It should be noted that this imagery is a highly complex conceptual development which manifests the process of the transmutation of the earthly form of the visionary in front of the *Kavod* and its remolding into the radiant angelic replica or representation of this Divine Form.

In order to explore this complex imagery, a short introduction to the Jewish texts and traditions about the heavenly counterpart is required. The idea of the heavenly counterpart of the translated hero appears in the Enochic tradition for the first time in the *Book of the Similitudes*. Scholars have previously observed[65] that Chapter 71 of the

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the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord,[62] without measure and without analogy, who has no end...." (*2 Enoch* 39:3-6). Andersen, "2 Enoch,"163.

[63] Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*, 29.

[64] In Slavonic: ѡбѣтıѧ, ѡбъıатнє. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.38, 1.94.

[65] See J. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71," in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity: The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 182-3; M.

Similitudes seems to entertain the idea of the heavenly twin of a visionary when it identifies Enoch with the son of man, an enthroned messianic figure.[66] For a long time scholars have found it puzzling that the son of man in the previous chapters of the *Similitudes* distinguished from Enoch, is suddenly identified in *1 Enoch* 71 with the patriarch. James VanderKam suggests that this paradox can be explained by the Jewish notion, attested in several ancient Jewish texts, that a creature of flesh and blood could have a heavenly double or counterpart. [67] As an example of such a concept, VanderKam points to Jacob's traditions in which the patriarch's "features are engraved on high."[68] He writes that this theme of the visionary's ignorance of his higher celestial identity is detectable, for example, in the pseudepigraphic text the *Prayer of Joseph.* In this text Jacob is identified with his heavenly counterpart the angel Israel. VanderKam's reference to Jacob's lore is not coincidental. The traditions about the heavenly image or counterpart of Jacob are the most consistent presentations of this idea in early Jewish traditions.

Besides the biblical account and the *Prayer of Joseph*, the traditions about Jacob's heavenly image or his celestial double are also presented in the Slavonic *Ladder of*

Knibb, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995) 177-80; Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 144-5; Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts,* 151. On a heavenly double see also W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3d ed.; HNT, 21; Tübingen: Mohr-Sebeck, 1966) 324.

[66] It is important to note that in the *Similitudes,* the son of man is depicted as the one seated on the throne of glory. See *1 Enoch* 62:5, *1 Enoch* 69:29. Jarl Fossum observes that "in the 'Similitudes' the 'Elect One' or 'Son of Man' who is identified as the patriarch Enoch, is enthroned upon the 'throne of glory.' If 'glory' does not qualify the throne but its occupant, Enoch is actually identified with the Glory of God". Fossum further suggests that "...the 'Similitudes of Enoch' present an early parallel to the targumic description of Jacob being seated upon the 'throne of glory.'" Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 145.

[67] VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71," 182-3.

[68] VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71," 182-3.

Jacob[69] and in several targumic[70] texts,[71] including *Targ. Ps.-J.*, *Targ. Neof.*,[72] and *Frag. Targ.*[73] In *Targ. Ps.-J.* to Gen 28:12 the following description can be found:

> He [Jacob] had a dream, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth with its top reaching toward the heavens ... and on that day they (angels) ascended to the heavens on high, and said, "Come and see Jacob the pious, whose image is fixed (engraved) in the Throne of Glory (דאיקונין דיליה קביעא בכורסי יקרא), and whom you have desired to see."[74]

A distinctive feature of this description is that the heavenly counterpart of Jacob, his "image," is engraved on a very special celestial entity, the Throne of Glory.[75] Engraving

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[69] On the concept of the heavenly counterpart of Jacob in *LadJac*, see A. Orlov, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic Ladder of Jacob," (forthcoming).

[70] The same tradition can be found in rabbinic texts. *Gen. R.* 68:12 reads: "...thus it says, Israel in whom I will be glorified (Isa. xlix, 3); it is thou, [said the angels,] whose features are engraved on high; they ascended on high and saw his features and they descended below and found him sleeping." *Midrash Rabbah* (10 vols.; London: Soncino Press, 1961) 2.626. On Jacob's image on the Throne of Glory, see also: *Gen. R.* 78:3; 82:2; *Num. R.* 4:1; *b. Hul.* 91b; *Pirqe R. El.* 35.

[71] On the traditions about Jacob's image engraved on the Throne, see: E. R. Wolfson, *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995) 1-62; 111-186.

[72] "And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth and its head reached to the height of the heavens; and behold, the angels that had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended to bear good tidings to the angels on high, saying: 'Come and see the pious man whose image is engraved in the throne of Glory, whom you desired to see.' And behold, the angels from before the Lord ascended and descended and observed him." *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (tr. M. McNamara, M.S.C.; The Aramaic Bible: 1A; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992) 140.

[73] "... And he dreamt that there was a ladder set on the ground, whose top reached towards the heavens; and behold the angels that had accompanied him from his father's house ascended to announce to the angels of the heights: 'Come and see the pious man, whose image is fixed to the throne of glory....'" M. L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources* (2 vols.; AB, 76; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980) 1.57 and 2.20.

[74] *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (tr. M. Maher, M.S.C.; The Aramaic Bible, 1B; Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992) 99-100; *Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum* (ed. A. Díez Macho; Matriti: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1977) 195.

[75] The later Christian accounts of the heavenly counterpart echo this understanding of the heavenly double as an eternal *eikon*. April De Conick observes that Logion 84 of the *Gospel of Thomas* postulates that "each person has a heavenly eternal *eikon,* an Image which came into existence before the human body, the *eine* or 'resemblance' of the person. This heavenly image is concealed from the person because the person is living in a fallen condition, separated from his or her transcendent self. (Jesus said, 'When you see your resemblance, you rejoice. But when you see your images which came into being before you, and which neither die nor become manifest, how much you will have to suffer!' Logion 84). Likewise, according to Logion 83a, within each human being there exists an image that has become manifest on earth, the fallen *eikon* or soul that has become separated from its original radiance. The original light of this image, however, remains concealed in the light enveloping God's *Kavod*. (Jesus said, 'The images are manifest to humans, but the light in them [the images] remains concealed in the image of the light of the Father.' Logion 83a). Thus, according to this saying, the primal radiance of the fallen soul awaits the soul's return to heaven." A. De Conick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas: A History of the Gospel of Thomas and*

on the Throne might indicate here an association with the *Kavod* since the Throne is the central part of the *Kavod* imagery – the seat of the anthropomorphic Glory of the Lord. The image engraved on the Throne might be an allusion to the face, the fiery face, since it is engraved on the fiery glorious Throne of Glory.[76]

Besides the tradition of engraving on the Throne, some Jewish materials point to an even more radical identification of Jacob's image with *Kavod*. Jarl Fossum's research[77] demonstrates that in some traditions about Jacob's image, his image or likeness is depicted, not simply as engraved on the heavenly throne, but as seated upon the throne of glory.[78] Fossum argues that this second tradition is original.[79] Christopher Rowland offers a similar view in proposing that Jacob's image is "identical with the form of God on the throne of glory (Ezek. 1.26f.)."[80]

The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, a Jewish work written between the third and the first centuries BCE, also seems to attest to the idea of the heavenly counterpart of the seer when it identifies Moses with the glorious anthropomorphic extent. This text depicts Moses' vision of "a noble man" with a crown and a large scepter in the left hand installed on the great throne.[81] In the course of the seer's initiation, the attributes of this

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Its Community, (forthcoming).

[76] *Hekhalot Rabbati* (*Synopse* §164) attests to the tradition of Jacob's *face* engraved on the throne of glory: פניו יעקב אבינו חקוקה לי על בסא כבודי. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 72.

[77] Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 140-41.

[78] Jarl Fossum notes that this tradition is already observable in some versions of the Fragmentary Targum which do not contain the verb "engraved" or "fixed." Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 141. He also points to a certain baraita (*b.* Hul. 91b) that seems to attest to the same tradition. Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 139-42.

[79] Fossum offers additional support for this idea by pointing out that the Hebrew forms of the loan word from the Greek εἰκών, used in the Targums and *Gen. R.* 68:12, are synonymous with צלם and דמות. He further suggests that "דיוקנא or איקונין can thus be seen to denote a bodily form, even that of God, that is the Divine Glory." Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, 142.

[80] C. Rowland, "John 1.51, Jewish Apocalyptic and Targumic Tradition," *NTS* 30 (1984) 504.

[81] See *Exagoge* 67-82: "I had a vision of a great throne (θρόνον μέγαν) on the top of mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man was sitting on it (ἐν τῶ καθῆσθαι φῶτα γενναῖόν τινα), with a crown and a large sceptre (μέγα σκῆπτρον) in his left hand. He beckoned to me

"noble man," including the royal crown and the scepter, are transferred to Moses who is instructed to sit on the throne formerly occupied by the noble man. The narrative thus clearly identifies the visionary with his heavenly counterpart, in the course of which the seer literally takes the place and the attributes of his upper identity. The account also underlines that Moses acquired his vision in a dream, by reporting that he awoke from his sleep in fear. Here, just as in Jacob's tradition, while the seer is sleeping on earth his counterpart in the upper realm is identified with the *Kavod.*

The identification with the *Kavod* in these visionary accounts is not entirely unambiguous since the heavenly counterpart can be perceived either as the Divine Glory itself or as its angelic replica or image which mediates the earthly identity of the seer and the *Kavod.*[82] Alan Segal observes that in such traditions their heroes "are not just angels, but become dangerously close to being anthropomorphic hypostases of God himself." He stresses that often these figures "began as humans and later achieved a kind of divine status in some communities."[83]

The hypothesis about the identification of Jacob and Moses' heavenly counterparts with the glorious heavenly figure brings us back to the imagery of God's *Kavod* with which, as has been shown earlier, the Face in *2 Enoch* is closely associated. As may be recalled in *2 Enoch* 39, Enoch's description provides a series of analogies in

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with his right hand, so I approached and stood before the throne. He gave me the sceptre and instructed me to sit on the great throne. Then he gave me a royal crown and got up from the throne. I beheld the whole earth all around and saw beneath the earth and above the heavens. A multitude of stars fell before my knees and I counted them all. They paraded past me like a battalion of men. Then I awoke from my sleep in fear." H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 54-55.

[82] It is most clearly reflected in the tradition of Jacob's heavenly counterpart as the image engraved on the Face. Here the celestial counterpart is neither the Face itself nor the earthly Jacob but the celestial medium which mediates them.

[83] A. F. Segal, "Ruler of the World: Attitudes about Mediator Figures and the Importance of Sociology for Self-Definition," in: *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* (ed. E. P. Sanders; London, 1981) n. 28; 248, 255-6.

which the earthly Enoch compares his face and parts of his body with the attributes of the Lord's Face and body, which manifest the connection between the divine corporeality and its prominent replica, the body of Enoch-Metatron. For this investigation, however, another juxtaposition is also important. It is a contrast between the two identities of the visionary: the earthly Enoch ("a human being created just like yourselves") and his heavenly counterpart ("the one who has seen the Face of God"). It appears that Enoch tries to describe himself in two different modes of existence: as a human being who now stands before his children with a human face and body and as the one who is installed before God's Face in the upper realm. These descriptions of two modes of existence (earthly and celestial) occur repeatedly in tandem. It is possible that the purpose of Enoch's instruction to his children is not to stress the difference between his human body and the Lord's body, but to emphasize the distinction between *this* Enoch, a human being "created just like yourselves," and the other, angelic Enoch who has been standing before the Lord's Face. Enoch's previous transformation into the glorious one and his initiation into a *sar happanim* in *2 Enoch* 22:7 support this suggestion. It is unlikely that Enoch has somehow completely abandoned his supra-angelic status and his unique place before the Face of the Lord granted to him in the previous chapters. An account of Enoch's permanent installation can be found in Chapter 36: the Lord tells Enoch, before his short visit to the earth, that a place has been prepared for him and that he will be in the front of the Lord's face "from now and forever."[84] Finally, as mentioned earlier, in Chapter 43,[85] Enoch introduces himself to his children as the Governor of the earth. This title gives

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[84] *2 Enoch* 36:3. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 161.

[85] A similar testimony can also be found in the passage of *2 Enoch* preserved in the Slavonic collection of ethical writings, "The Just Balance" (*Merilo Pravednoe*). M. N. Tihomirov, *Merilo Pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka* (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1961).

additional support to the fact that the permanent installation of Enoch-Metatron in the heavenly offices, including the office of the Prince of the World (שר העולם), has already taken place. The importance of this account for the idea of the heavenly counterpart in *2 Enoch* cannot be overestimated--it points to the simultaneous existence of Enoch's angelic double installed in heaven and its human counterpart, whom God sends periodically on missionary errands.[86] The targumic and rabbinic Jacob accounts also attest to this view of the heavenly counterpart when they depict angels beholding Jacob as one who at the same time is installed in heaven and is sleeping on earth.[87]

It is noteworthy that in *2 Enoch*, as in the *Similitudes*, the theme of the heavenly counterpart is combined with the imagery of God's *Kavod.*

This feature of both Enochic accounts, entertaining the idea of the heavenly twin, point sto the importance of the vision of the *Kavod* in the process of acquiring knowledge about the heavenly counterparts of the seers. In Jacob's tradition, which also attests to the idea of the heavenly counterpart, the vision of God's glory also becomes an important theophanic motif. It is clearly recognizable in Jacob's targumic accounts and the *Ladder of Jacob*, where reports about Jacob's angelic counterpart are creatively conflated with the theophanic traditions about the vision of God's *Kavod.*

It is also important that in the accounts found in the *Prayer of Joseph* Jacob's identification with his heavenly counterpart, the angel Israel, involves the initiatory

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[86] It is noteworthy that the Slavonic apocalypse repeatedly refers to the creation of humanity as "small and great" which might also point to the concept of the heavenly counterparts of humans. Thus, for example, *2 Enoch* 44:1 says that "the Lord with his own two hands created mankind, in the facsimile of his own face both small and great, the Lord created them." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 170.

[87] *Targ. Neof.* to Gen 28:12: "...and behold, the angels from before the Lord ascended and descended and observed him [Jacob]." *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (tr. M. McNamara, M.S.C.; The Aramaic Bible: 1A; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992) 140; *Gen. R.* 68:12: "...they ascended on high and saw his features and they descended below and found him sleeping." *Midrash Rabbah* (10 vols.; London: Soncino Press, 1961) 2.626.

encounter with the angel Sariel/Uriel, in other texts also known as Phanuel, the angel of the Divine Presence or the Face. The same state of events is observable in Enochic materials; Uriel/Vereveil serves as a principal heavenly guide and an "initiator" to another prominent visionary who has also acquired knowledge about his own heavenly counterpart, Enoch/Metatron. In both traditions, Uriel appears as the guide who assists the visionaries in acquiring or identifying with their new, celestial identities.

The process of establishing twinship with the heavenly counterpart might be reflected in the initiatory procedure of becoming a *sar happanim*, one of the angelic servants of the Divine Face or Presence, a prominent celestial office which is often described in detail in various apocalyptic and Merkabah accounts.[88] The installation of a visionary as a *sar happanim* seems to correlate with the procedure of identifying a visionary with his heavenly counterpart. In *1 Enoch* 71, Enoch is transformed and identified with the son of man in front of God's Throne. In *2 Enoch* 22:6-10, Enoch's initiation as one of the Princes of Presence also takes place in front of the radiant Face of

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[88] The reference to the angels of the Presence as heavenly counterparts of humans is not confined solely to the Jewish pseudepigrapha. April De Conick's research refers to several important Christian passages in which angels of the Presence/the Face serve as heavenly counterparts of humans. See A. De Conick, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* (SVC, 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 153-54; D. R. Catchpole, "The Angelic Son of Man in Luke 12:8," *NovT* 24 (1982) 255-65, esp. 260-65. One such tradition is reflected in the Gospel of Matthew 18:10: "See that you do not despise one of these little ones; for I tell you that in heaven their angels always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven." In her forthcoming study De Conick argues that the Christian notion that each person had his or her own heavenly image or *eikon,* a perfected double of the person grew out of Second Temple Jewish Adamic traditions. She notes that this celestial double was understood as pre-existent and pictured as the exact visual counterpart to the person to whom it belonged. De Conick's research demonstrates that "early references to the divine double ... are found embedded, for instance, in the legend of Peter's angel in Acts 12:15, Jesus' saying in Matthew 18:10, the *Hymn of the Pearl,* and the Valentinian doctrine of the *mysterium conjunctionis* (*Gos. Phil.* 58.10-14; 65:1-26; *Exc. Theo.* 15; 21-22; 79-80; *Adv. haer.* 1.7.1)." She further observes that "Paul's idea that people have heavenly bodies which are images of the heavenly Man, bodies that will be donned at the resurrection, appears to be a development of this Jewish mythology too." A. De Conick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas: A History of the Gospel of Thomas and Its Community*, (forthcoming).

the Lord.[89] This encounter transforms Enoch into a glorious being. It is important to note that after this procedure Enoch observes that he had become like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference.[90] The last phrase describes Enoch's transition to his new identity as one of the glorious ones. This identity may directly refer to his angelic counterpart. It also indicates that Enoch's earthly countenance has been radically altered[91] and that the visionary has now acquired a new "face" which mirrors or doubles the Face of the Lord.[92] The motif of engraving the image of the visionary on the Throne in Jacob's tradition mentioned earlier might also serve as a metaphor for this identification between the face of the visionary and the Face of God.[93]

There is no doubt that one of the features which unifies both faces is their luminosity. *2 Enoch's* narrative gives evidence that Enoch's face acquired the same qualities of luminosity as the Face of the Lord. In *2 Enoch* 37, the Lord calls one of his angels to chill the face of Enoch before his return to earth. The angel, who "appeared frigid," then chilled Enoch's face with his icy hands. Immediately after this procedure, the Lord tells Enoch that if his face had not been chilled, no human being would have

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[89] The idea of the heavenly counterpart of humans associated with the Divine Face might be also reflected in the statement from *2 Enoch* 44:2, where one learns that whoever offends "the face of man" offends "the face of God."

[90] Andersen, "2 Enoch,"139.

[91] Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that anointing with oil, which gives Enoch "'the greatest light' and the likeness of 'the rays of the glittering sun,' may possibly imply the head and face have been transfigured." C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man: The Genre, History of Religions Context and the Meaning of the Transfiguration," in: *Auferstehung—Resurrection* (eds. F. Avemarie and H. Lichtenberger, Tübingen: Mohr, 2001) 249.

[92] A visionary, therefore, becomes a reflection or even a representation of the Face/*Kavod.* Christopher Morray-Jones observes that "there is evidence, then, of the early existence of a tradition concerning the ascent to heaven of an exceptionally righteous man who beholds the vision of the divine *Kavod* upon Merkabah, is transformed into an angelic being and enthroned as celestial vice-regent, thereby becoming identified with the Name-bearing angel who either is or is closely associated with the *Kavod* itself and functions as a second, intermediary power in heaven." Morray-Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," 10-11.

[93] In *Apoc. Paul* 19, Paul's *angelus interpres* informs the apostle that not only the names of the righteous persons are written in heaven, but also *their faces* which are known to the angels before they leave the world.

been able to look it.[94] The chilling procedure indicates that Enoch's metamorphosis near the Face into a *sar happanim* involves the transformation of the visionary's face into a fiery, dangerous entity which now resembles the *Kavod*. One can find a detailed description of this process in another "Enochic" text, *Sefer Hekhalot*, which describes the transformation of Enoch-Metatron, the Prince of the Divine Presence, into a fiery creature:

> R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot and all needs of the Shekinah, 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.[95]

It is possible that the reference to the heavenly counterpart of Jacob in the form of his image (engraved) on the Throne of Glory also implies that Jacob is one of the servants of the Divine Face. This possibility is already hinted at in the biblical account where Jacob is attested as one who saw God face to face.[96] Moreover, in some Jacob traditions he is directly described, in a manner similar to Enoch-Metatron, as the Prince of the Divine Face. One learns about this title from the *Prayer of Joseph* 8,[97] where Jacob-Israel

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[94] The motif of Enoch's face as a perilous entity resembling God's *Kavod* can be found also in the late rabbinic text *Hayye Hanokh* from *Sefer haYashar*, where humans shunned approaching Enoch because God's awe was upon his face: "...all kings and all rulers and all people were seeking his face and all desired to see the face of Enoch and hear his words. But they could not because all people had great fear of Enoch and they feared to approach him because the terror of God was upon his face (מאימת אלהים אשר על פניו). Therefore no human could see his face any longer...." Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash*, 4.130.

[95] *3 Enoch* 15:1. Alexander, "3 Enoch,"267.

[96] Gen 32:30 "...it is because I saw God face to face (פנים אל־ פנים)."

[97] The tradition about Jacob as the Prince of Presence seems to be also reflected in *Targ. Onq.* to Gen 32:29: "Whereupon, he said, 'No longer shall your name be called Jacob, but rather Israel; for you are a prince before the Lord and among men; therefore have you prevailed.'" *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis* (tr. B. Grossfeld; The Aramaic Bible, 6; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988) 116.

himself unveils his status as the *sar*[98] *happanim*, proclaiming that he is "the first minister before the Face of God."[99]

It is natural that the initiation of Jacob into an angelic being involves another servant of the Face, the angel Sariel, whose other name, Phanuel, reflects his close proximity to the Face of God.[100] As has been previously mentioned, this initiatory pattern is already observable in the Enochic tradition, where Sariel/Uriel/Phanuel, along with another angel of the Presence, Michael, actively participates in the initiation of another prominent servant of the Divine Face, Enoch-Metatron.[101]

However, Jacob's identification with the *sar happanim* seems to be missing one detail that constitutes a distinct feature of the descriptions of visionaries initiated in this office: the luminous metamorphosis of an adept's face and body. The *Ladder of Jacob* and the *Prayer of Joseph*, as well as the biblical account of Jacob's vision, are silent about any transformation of Jacob's body and his face. This tradition, however, can be found in another prominent account connected with the Jacob story. [102] In this important

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[98] Geza Vermes notices that *Targ. Neof.* explains the etymology of Israel from שרר (to rule, to act as a prince). G. Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Jewish Studies" *JJS* 26 (1975) 13.

[99] C. A. Gieschen, *Angelomorpic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (AGAJU, 42; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1998) 141-2.

[100] The fact that Sariel/Uriel/Phanuel is known under several names might indicate that this angel also serves as a heavenly counterpart in a manner similar to other servants of the Face, such as Jacob/Israel, Enoch/Metatron, and possibly Melchisedek/Michael. On the identification of Michael with Melchisedek, see: J. R. Davila, "Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven," *SBLSP* 35 (1996) 259-72; D. D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (WUNT, Reihe 2:109; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1999) 70-74.

[101] Saul Olyan refers to Rashi's passage which identifies "the 'angel of his presence' of Isa. 63:9 with Michael, the Prince of Presence." S. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ, 36; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1993) 108.

[102] The beginning of the second half of *Joseph and Aseneth* gives a description of Joseph and Aseneth visiting Jacob. *Joseph and Aseneth* 22:7-8 says that when Aseneth saw Jacob, she "was amazed at his beauty... his eyes (were) flashing and darting (flashes of) lighting, and his sinews and his shoulders and his arms were like (those) of an angel, and his thighs and his calves and his feet like (those) of a giant. And Jacob was like a man who had wrestled with God. And Aseneth saw him and was amazed, and prostrated herself before him face down to the ground." C. Burchard, "Joseph and Aseneth," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 2.238. On the

material, the eyes of Jacob, similar to the eyes of the transformed Metatron, are emitting flashes of lightning.

This study may now return to *2 Enoch's* account. It is not surprising that the identification of the patriarch with his upper heavenly counterpart occurs in front of the Divine Face, since the upper counterpart sometimes redoubles the Face, being symbolically referred to in some traditions as the image engraved on the Face. Jacob traditions here are again able to illuminate the imagery of the *dedoublement*. According to the Jacob accounts the image of this exalted patriarch is engraved on the throne of Glory, i.e. the Divine Face. It is therefore reasonable that the visionary can acquire his heavenly counterpart only during his direct encounter with the Divine Presence, which reflects his upper image.[103]

In the conclusion of this section of the study, it should be noted that the imagery of the heavenly counterpart found in the two transitional texts of the Enochic tradition (i.e., the *Book of the Similitudes* and *2 Enoch*) does not appear to be coincidental. It might show that the later imagery of Metatron, in which this exalted angel is depicted as the exact replica of the Face (also labeled sometimes as the "measure" of the Divine Body) has its roots in the Second Temple Enochic lore which describes the transition of the creature of flesh and blood into his glorious celestial twin.

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concept of the transformation in *Joseph and Aseneth*, see R. D. Chesnutt, *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth* (JSPSup., 16; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

[103] *3 Enoch* 43:2-3: "He…showed me those souls [of the righteous] which have already been created and have returned, flying above the throne of glory in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be he. Then I went and expounded this verse, and found with regard to the text 'The spirit shall clothe itself in my presence, and the souls which I have made.'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 294.

Prometaya[104]

In one of his articles Philip Alexander observes that Metatron in *3 Enoch* embodies three major and originally independent figures – Enoch, Yahoel/Lesser YHWH, and Michael/Metatron. He further proposes that the latest element of the Enoch-Metatron conglomerate to emerge was undoubtedly Metatron since "this name is unknown to the pseudepigrapha or to Tannaitic literature."[105] A consensus exists[106] that the first instance of the term "metatron" can be found in *Sifre Deut.* 338:3, an early third century work from Palestine, which says in the name of R. Eliezer that "the finger of the Holy One, blessed be He, is what served Moses as the guide [Metatron]. He showed him all the cities of the land of Israel."[107]

Keeping in mind this *opinio communis* that the prominent angelic name was unknown in pseudepigraphic literature, this study now draws attention to some terminology found in Chapter 43 of the short recension of *2 Enoch* and a similar passage in the Slavonic collection *Merilo Pravednoe* ("The Just Balance"),which I mentioned earlier.[108] As noted earlier both texts outline Enoch's instructions to his children during his brief return to earth, in which he mentions his new role as the governor or the manager of the earth:

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[104] I include this investigation of the provenance of the term "Metatron" in my analysis of roles and titles since some scholars argue that "Metatron" in fact can be considered as one of the titles of the exalted angel. See: Liebermann, "Metatron, the Meaning of his Name and his Functions," 237-9.

[105] Alexander, "The Historical Settings of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," 163.

[106] G. F. Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology: Memra, Shekinah, Metatron," *HTR* 15 (1922) 62.

[107] Pisqa 338. *Sifre to Deuteronomy. An Analytical Translation* (tr. J. Neusner; BJS, 101; 2 vols., Atlanta: Scholars, 1987) 2.392.

[108] See M. N. Tichomirov, *Merilo Pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka* (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1961); R. Schneider, *Merilo Pravednoe* (Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Vereris, 23; Freiburg: U.W. Weiher, 1986).

> And behold my children, I am the Governor of the earth, *p(r)ometaya*,[109] I wrote (them) down. And the whole year I combined, and the hours of the day. And the hours I measured; and I wrote down every seed on earth. And I compared every measure and the just balance I measured. And I wrote (them) down, just as the Lord commanded.... the doings of each person will put down, and no one will hide; because the Lord is the one who pays, and he will be the avenger on the great judgment day.[110]

An important aspect of both passages is the Slavonic term *prometaya*, which follows Enoch's title, the "Governor of the earth."[111] This term was preserved in its original Slavonic version deliberately in order to retain its authentic phonetic form. It should be noted that the term *prometaya* represents an etymological enigma for experts in Slavonic, since it is found solely in the text of *2 Enoch*: in other words, there is no other Slavonic text where the word *prometaya* is documented.

A prominent Russian linguist I. Sreznevskij, in his Slavonic dictionary, still considered by experts one of the most reliable tools in Slavonic etymology, was unable to provide a definition for *prometaya.* He simply put a question mark in the space allotted for meaning of the word.[112] The recent multi-volume edition of the Slavonic dictionary compiled by a distinguished team of Russian slavists and published by the Russian Academy of Sciences also has a question mark next to the word.[113] The variety of readings of this term in the manuscripts of *2 Enoch* shows similar linguistic embarrassment among Slavic scribes who probably, like their modern counterparts, faced

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[109] п(р)ометаıа. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch*, 44.

[110] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217-19.

[111] Francis Andersen translates the title as "the manager of the arrangements on earth." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217.

[112] "промитати, промитаıа (*promitati, promitaya*) -?" I. Sreznevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka* (3 vols.; Moscow: Kniga, 1989) 2.1544.

[113] S. Barhudarov et al., *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.* (25 vols.; Moscow: Nauka, 1995) 20.168.

difficulties in rendering the meaning of this ambiguous term.[114] The readings of other manuscripts include: V and N – *promětaemaa*, (промѣтаемаа),[115] U - *pometaya* (пометаıа),[116] B – *prometamaya* (прометамаıа),[117] A – *pamětaa* (памѣтаа), MPr. - *promitaya* (промитаıа).[118] One possible explanation for the singular occurrence of *prometaya* is that the word may actually be a Greek term that was left untranslated in the original text for some unknown reason. In fact, *2 Enoch* contains a number of transliterated Hebrew and Greek words preserved in their original phonetic form (e.g., *Grigori, Archistratig, Ophanim, Raqia Araboth).* When I first began investigating the term *prometaya* more closely, what drew my attention was the root *meta,* which further led me to examine the relationship between the words *prometaya* and *metatron.*

It has been already noted that contemporary scholarship does not furnish a consensus concerning the etymology of the name Metatron. Scholarly literature offers a number of different hypotheses about the provenance of the term. I want to focus here on one particular interpretation which could be connected with some materials in *2 Enoch.* According to this theory the name Metatron may be derived from the Greek μέτρου (measure, rule). Adolf Jellinek was the first scholar to suggest μέτρον as an alternative explanation of Metatron.[119] Gedaliahu Stroumsa, in his article "Forms of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," further supports this interpretation by noting that Metatron not only carried God's name but also measured the Deity; he was considered as God's *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* (the measurement of the Divine Body). In the light of this

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[114] Francis Andersen stresses that the variations show "theological embarrassment" among Slavic scribes. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217.

[115] Ms. V (125), Folio 324.

[116] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.121.

[117] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.96.

[118] Tichomirov, *Merilo Pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka*, 71; Schneider, *Merilo Pravednoe*, 94.

connection, Stroumsa considers that "renewed attention should be given to μέτρον and/or *metator* (a conflation of the two terms should not be excluded) as a possible etymology of Metatron."[120] Matthew Black also advocates this etymological option; he traces the origin of the appellation Metatron to the previously unnoticed piece of evidence found in Philo's *QG* 4. Here, among other titles of the Logos,[121] Black finds the term *praemetitor*.[122] He suggests that *praemetitor* can be traced to the Greek term μετρητής, the Greek equivalent of the Latin *metator*, "measurer," applied to the Logos.[123]

It is significant that in *2 Enoch* the term *prometaya* is incorporated into the passage which describes Enoch as the measurer *par excellence*, responsible for measuring everything. In Chapter 43 of the shorter recension, immediately after the use of this term, Enoch makes the following statement:

> I have arranged the whole year. And from the year I calculated the months, and from the months I have ticked off the days, and from the day I have ticked off the hours. I, I have measured (измѣрих [*izmĕrih*]) and noted the hours. And I have distinguished every seed on the earth, and every measure and every righteous scale. I have measured (измѣрих [*izmĕrih*]) and recorded them.[124]

A similar passage in the previously mentioned collection *Merilo Pravednoe* also emphasizes the functions of Enoch as the measurer:

> And the whole year I combined, and the hours of the day. And the hours I measured: and I wrote down every seed on earth. And I compared every measure and the just balance I measured. And I wrote (them) down, just as the Lord commanded. And in everything I discovered differences.[125]

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[119] Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, 1.134.

[120] Stroumsa, "Forms of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," 287.

[121] The idea that the Metatron figure originally came into Judaism from Philo's Logos speculations was popular in the German scholarship of the 19th century.

[122] Black, "The Origin of the Name Metatron," 218.

[123] Black, "The Origin of the Name Metatron," 218.

[124] *2 Enoch* 43:1. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 171.

[125] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217.

The role of Enoch as the measurer is not a novelty here, since the patriarch's connection with this activity is already well known in the early Enochic circle.

These two aforementioned passages echo the passage from Philo's *QG* 4:23 which discusses the Divine Logos as the "just measure":

> And "Gomorra" [means] "measure" true and just is the Divine Logos, by which have been measured and are measured all things that are on earth - principles, numbers and proportions in harmony and consonance being included, through which the form and measures of existing things are seen.[126]

The text of *2 Enoch* also uses the identical term "just measure," (Slav. мѣра праведна), immediately after the passage that deals with Enoch's function as the measurer.

The combination of the term *prometaya* with Enoch's role as the measurer in the Slavonic apocalypse is important in light of the overall theology of the pseudepigraphon; the patriarch assumes for the first time in the Enochic tradition the role of the measurer and the measure of the Divine Extent. Stroumsa's suggestion about the possible close connection between the appellation Metatron and the role of the exalted patriarch in the measurement of the Deity seems plausible. Further, it is noteworthy that there is another hypothetical link between the functions of Enoch-Metatron as the measurer and his measurement of human sin for the final judgement in *2 Enoch*. A few lines later, following Enoch's introduction as *prometaya*, the text refers to the final measurement of each person for the final judgment:

> because on the day of the of the great judgment every weight and every measure and every set of scales will be just as they are in the market. That is to say, each will be weighed in the balance, and each will stand in the market, and each will find out his own measure and [in accordance with that measurement] each shall receive his own record. *2 Enoch* 44:5 (longer recension).[127]

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[126] Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* (tr. R. Marcus, Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press/Heinemann, 1949) 296-7.

[127] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 170-72.

In view of these testimonies, it appears that *2 Enoch* might represent an important witness to the early conceptual development which connects the appellation "Metatron" with the patriarch's role as the measurer of various things, including natural phenomena, the deeds of angelic and human beings for the final judgment, and, of course, the proportions of the divine Body. The evidence found in *2 Enoch* 43 seems to strengthen this etymological option.[128]

In conclusion, I suggest that *prometaya* may represent a very early, rudimentary form of the title that was later transformed into the designation Metatron.

In this respect, Gershom Scholem, in his analysis of the term Metatron, shows that the reduplication of the letter *tet* (ט) and the ending *ron* represent a typical pattern that runs through all Merkabah texts. In his opinion, "both the ending and the repetition of the consonant are observable, for instance, in names like Zohariel and Adiriron."[129] Further, he stresses that it must be borne in mind that *on* and *ron* may have been fixed and typical constituents of secret names rather than meaningful syllables.[130]

Thus, keeping in mind the possible date of *2 Enoch* in the first century CE before the destruction of the Second Temple, *prometaya* could be one of the earliest traces connecting the names Enoch and Metatron.

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[128] A second possible interpretation of the term *prometaya* in *2 Enoch* 43 might be traced to Enoch's title, "Governor of the World," after which the Slavonic term *prometaya* occurs. It can be assumed that *prometaya* in this situation is a Greek word, which is somehow connected with this title. Possible Greek prototypes of *prometaya* could be προμήθεια, in the sense of protection, care, or providence, which could be directly related to the preceding title of Enoch as the governor or the guide of the earth - "I am the Governor of the earth, *prometaya*, I have written them down."

[129] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 69.

[130] Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 69-70.

II. "Old" Roles and Titles

2 Enoch is a text which maintains close connections with the early Enochic lore and can be considered as the conceptual trunk that was rooted in these early Enochic developments. The scholarly debates about the date of the text in the first century CE before the destruction of the Second Temple will be discussed later. Now one must note that, although the apocalypse does not provide any unambiguous evidence to its date, students of Second Temple Judaism agree about its early premishnaic provenance, recognizing the early "pseudepigraphic" features of this text and its close affinities with other early Enochic materials. This scholarly consensus might explain why, despite the uncertainty of the pseudepigraphon's transmission history and the lack of any trace of the text in the medieval Jewish and Christian materials, *2 Enoch* has always been included in the collections of the Second Temple Jewish pseudepigrapha. One of the features that strengthens the hypothesis about the early provenance of the Slavonic text is the fact that this pseudepigraphon contains a wide range of roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian patriarch, roles and titles already well-known to us from the early Enochic and Mesopotamian materials. Although some of these early conceptions seem to have undergone a marked evolution towards their new "proto-Hekhalot" forms, the apocalyptic features of these conceptual developments allow us to place them more closely to the Second Temple pseudepigrapha than to medieval Hekhalot materials.

Before proceeding to the analysis of these developments, I must caution that the exposition of the old offices and appellations of the seventh patriarch will not embrace all existing offices and appellations found in *2 Enoch*. Instead the study will concentrate on the selected counterparts of the phenomena which have been already investigated earlier

in the dissertation; the main objective of this section of the study is to illustrate the transitional character of these conceptual developments which can be viewed as an intermediate stage between the early Enochic and the Merkabah tradition.

The transitional character of the Slavonic apocalypse will be demonstrated through references to such old Enochic offices as the Scribe, the Diviner, the Priest, the Knower of Secrets, and the Witness of the Divine Judgment, since their earlier forms have been already presented in the previous chapters of this dissertation.

Diviner

If one approaches the Slavonic text with the knowledge of the divinatory role of the seventh antediluvian hero obtained from the Mesopotamian and early Enochic traditions, one notices the signs of the subtle evolution from this early image of the mantic diviner and the oneirocritic transmitting to his clients the knowledge received in mantic dreams to the seer who can obtain the visionary experience not in a dream but in an awakened state. In contrast to the early treatises of the *Ethiopic Enoch*, the Slavonic apocalypse seems to clearly depart from the concept of Enoch as a mantic dreamer, i.e. the one who receives his revelations while asleep. It is remarkable that *2 Enoch* does not proceed implicitly with this paradigm shift, but prefers to depict graphically this conceptual shift from the old oneiromantic model to the new visionary template.

Thus, in *2 Enoch* 1:3 the reader finds the patriarch sleeping on his bed. The beginning of the account might appear to be in accordance with the early oneiromantic blueprint. The Slavonic text narrates that Enoch sees a strange dream in which two gigantic angelic beings, with faces like the shining sun, approach the patriarch's bed and

call him by his name. Instead of proceeding with the traditional oneiromantic model in which a visionary is carried on a celestial journey in his dream, the text suddenly breaks with the familiar course of events by noting that the patriarch was awakened by the angels, and then in the awakened state,[131] "in actuality," he went out from his house closing the door behind him as angels had ordered.[132]

> Commenting on this significant conceptual shift Philip Alexander observes:
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> > *2 Enoch* asserts with a boldness and clarity nowhere matched in *1 Enoch* that Enoch ascended bodily to heaven and was transformed into an angel. It is true that the story of his ascent begins when he is asleep, but it is expressly stated that his guardian angels woke him up, and that he rose and went out from his house, closing the door behind him. Such an ascent cannot be achieved without a physical transformation, so when he reaches God's presence, God tells Michael, "Go, and extract Enoch from his earthly clothing...."[133]

This emphasis on revelation in the awakened state might point to the evolution from the concept of the mantic visionary who receives revelation in a dream to the one who can bodily ascend to heaven. This feature vividly recalls the later Merkabah accounts in which Enoch-Metatron's bodily ascent is implicitly underlined through the fiery transformation of his flesh. Alexander observes that "like *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch* clearly envisages bodily ascent and so postulates the physical metamorphosis of Enoch [saying that his] flesh turned into fire...." [134] As in *Sefer Hekhalot*, *2 Enoch* 22 insists on the physical metamorphosis of the seer by reporting that his earthly bodily form was transformed into a radiant extent resembling the archangelic and divine bodies at one and the same time.

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[131] "Then I awoke from my sleep and saw those men, standing in front of me, in actuality." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 106.

[132] Francis Andersen observes that the term "actuality" here "implies objectivity, not a dream. It means that what he saw on waking was exactly the same as what he had seen in his dream, as just described." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 107, footnote s.

[133] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," 104.

[134] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch.," 106.

The evolution detected in the Slavonic apocalypse is unique for the early Enochic literature,[135] which otherwise insists on the oneiromantic model.[136] Still, it does not represent a later interpolation since the transition from oneiromantic to bodily ascent is already evident in other first century Jewish[137] and Christian sources,[138] including the Pauline account attested in 2 Cor 12:2. There the apostle's statement "whether in the body or out of the body" also seems to refer to a similar paradigm shift by alluding to the seer's knowledge of both types of ascent, in body as well as out of it.[139]

One must note that in view of the general tendency towards the Merkabah conceptual developments detected in the Slavonic apocalypse, the evolution of the divinatory role of the hero in *2 Enoch* is not accidental. It is noteworthy that, in contrast to the earliest Enochic materials with their emphasis on the patriarch's oneiromantic practices, *Sefer Hekhalot* neither demonstrates any interest in mantic dreams nor refers to

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[135] It is significant that the account of Enoch's metamorphosis in the *Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 71:11) emphasizes not the transformation of Enoch's body but rather the transformation of his spirit: "And I fell upon my face, and my whole body melted, and my spirit was transformed; and I cried out in a loud voice in the spirit of power, and I blessed and praised and exalted." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.166. Earlier in *1 Enoch* 71:1 one can learn that the patriarch underwent his celestial journey "in spirit": "And it came to pass after this that my spirit was carried off, and it went up into the heavens." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.165. Analyzing these traditions, Martin Hengel notes that "a spiritualized form in which it is no longer the whole man but the spirit which shares in the journey to heaven is to be found in the *Similitudes*: 'And it came to pass after this that my spirit was transformed and it ascended into the heavens (71.1).'" Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1. 204.

[136] The oneiromantic model is also discernable in another paradigmatic mediatorial account, i.e., the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, where the seer too acquires his vision in a dream. See *Exagoge* 67-82 "I had a vision of a great throne on the top of mount Sinai … then I awoke from my sleep in fear." H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezeliel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 55.

[137] In the passage found in the *Jewish Antiquities* 1.3.4. §85 Josephus refers to the removal of Enoch: "Enoch lived 365 years and then returned to the divinity (ἀναχώρησε πρὸς τὸ Θεῖον), thus it happens that there is no record in the chronicles of his death." James Tabor suggests that the "return to the divinity" in Josephus' technical terminology might refer to the one who does not die but is removed in a bodily manner or taken from the human realm. J. D. Tabor, "'Returning to the Divinity': Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah, and Moses," *JBL* 108 (1989) 225-238, esp. 227.

[138] On the interior ascent in the Christian apocalyptic literature, see A. Golitzin, "'Earthly Angels and Heavenly Men': The Old Textament Pseudepigrapha, Nicetas Stethatos, and the Tradition of 'Interiorized Apocalyptic' in Eastern Christian Ascetical and Mystical Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001) 125-153.

[139] I am indebted to Alan Segal for drawing my attention to this feature which unifies *2 Enoch* and Paul's account.

any experience of Metatron associated with such dreams. In the light of this transition, it is apparent that on the line that connects the early Enochic titles of *1 Enoch* with the later Metatron titles in *Sefer Hekhalot*, the evidence of the Slavonic apocalypse occupies an intermediate stage. *2 Enoch* can therefore be viewed as a text that links both symbolic worlds, to the early apocalyptic and to the Merkabah tradition. In this perspective it is not happenstance that the patriarch's ascent begins and ends on the bed (with Methuselah waiting near his father's bed) thus alluding to the oneiromantic practices of the hero in the early Enochic booklets. In *2 Enoch* one can see an important progression towards the Merkabah concept of the bodily ascent, demonstrated partially in Enoch's first ascension in *2 Enoch* 1 and even more significantly in his second final departure in Chapter 67, where the features of the oneiromantic template are completely abandoned and the patriarch is depicted as being taken by angels from among the people. [140]

Mediator

Mediation of the Divine Judgment

Early Enochic writings put great emphasis on the intercessory activities of the seventh antediluvian patriarch. In *1 Enoch* 13:3-4 the hero is approached by the fallen Watchers who, trembling before Enoch, ask him to write a petition from them to the Lord of heaven. He agrees to intercede on their behalf by means of his scribal and oneiromantic skills. In the *Book of Giants* again the intercessory role of the exalted hero looms large. In contrast to the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of Giants*, the Slavonic

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[140] *2 Enoch* 67:1-2: "...And when Enoch had spoken to his people, [the Lord] sent the gloom onto earth, and it became dark and covered the men who were standing [and talking] with Enoch. And the angels hurried and grasped Enoch and carried him up to the highest heaven, where the Lord received him and made him stand in front of his face for eternity." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 194

apocalypse appears to disapprove of the idea of intercession by denying Enoch's role as an intercessor.

Two illustrations of this conceptual trend must be offered. In *2 Enoch* 7:2-5, during his celestial journey, the patriarch encounters a group of angelic prisoners held in a lower heaven awaiting the final divine judgment. Some details of the account suggest that these prisoners were somehow connected with the group of the rebellious Watchers for whom, as just noted, the patriarch often served as an intercessor in the *Book of the Watchers*. It is therefore not chance that, upon spotting the hero, the condemned angels decide to approach him, asking the seer to pray for them to the Lord. In his reply to the angels, the patriarch however refuses to be their intercessor: "And I answered them and said, 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels?'"[141] In this text the patriarch is clearly reluctant to assume the role that he previously enjoyed in the early Enochic writings. *2 Enoch* 53:1-2 again rejects the familiar intercessory model by declaring that no one can intercede for sinners. This time the words about the impossibility of intercession come again from the mouth of the patriarch, who delivers the following address to his children: "So now, my children, do not say, 'Our father is with God, and he will stand in front of [God] for us, and he will pray for us concerning our sins.' [For] there is no helper there—not even for any one person who has sinned."[142]

In the view of the prominent intercessory role of the seer in the previous Enochic legends, the testimonies found in *2 Enoch* appear to be puzzling. The question therefore remains why the Slavonic Enoch departs in this dimension from the position of the previous Enochic lore by rejecting the important role of the patriarch in the economy of

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[141] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 114.
[142] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 180.

the divine judgment. A possible answer can be found in close analysis of the evolution of the intercessory office within the Merkabah tradition and its similarity with the developments taking place inside the Slavonic text. It has been previously noted that the intercessory role of the seventh antediluvian patriarch underwent a significant evolution in the later Merkabah materials, where Enoch-Metatron functions not just as an intercessor for Israel and the Israelites, but also as a redeemer for the chosen people.

It appears that the early roots of this important development can be detected already in Chapter 64 of the Slavonic apocalypse; here the seventh antediluvian patriarch assumes an office very unexpected of a human being. *2 Enoch* 64:4-5 reads:

> O our father, Enoch! May you be blessed by the Lord, the eternal king! And now, bless your [sons], and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today. For you will be glorified in front of the face [of the Lord for eternity], because you are the one whom the Lord chose in preference to all the people upon the earth; and he appointed you to be the one who makes a written record of all his creation, visible and invisible, and the one who carried away the sin of mankind.[143]

This passage will be investigated more closely later in this study. Now we must examine the new designation of the patriarch as "the one who carried away the sin of humankind." This newly acquired title of Enoch recalls the passage from *Lamentations Rabbah*, intr. 24, where Metatron appears as the one who takes upon himself the sorrow for Israel's sins, thus posing as a redeemer:

> At that time the Holy One, blessed be He, wept and said, "Woe is Me! What have I done? I caused My Shechinah to dwell below on earth for the sake of Israel; but now that they have sinned, I have returned to My former habitation. Heaven forfend that I become a laughter to the nations and a byword to human beings!" At that time Metatron came, fell upon his face, and spoke before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Sovereign of the Universe, let me weep, but do Thou not weep." He replied to him, "If thou lettest Me not weep now, I will repair to a place which

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[143] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

> thou hast not permission to enter, and will weep there," as it is said, But if ye will not hear it, My soul shall weep in secret for pride (Jer. 13:17).[144]

Another testimony to the hero's redeeming role can be found in *3 Enoch*; here Enoch-Metatron is depicted as the expiator of the sin of the protoplast who was predestined[145] for this role even before the creation of the protoplast. *3 Enoch* 48C:1 (*Synopse* §72) reads: "The Holy One, blessed be he, said: I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron my servant, who is unique among all the denizens of the heights.... 'I made him strong' in the generation of the first man...."[146] In examining this tradition Alexander suggests that "Enoch thus becomes a redeemer figure--a second Adam[147] through whom humanity is restored."[148]

The reference to the redeeming role of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse might anticipate these later rabbinic and Hekhalot conceptual developments. In comparison with the later sources, in the Slavonic apocalypse Enoch's role as the redeemer appears to have an early "pseudepigraphic" form. In the Slavonic apocalypse Enoch does not claim to be the redeemer specifically for the sins of Israel and the Israelites, but rather assumes the role of the redeemer of the whole world. This emphasis shows that the pseudepigraphon seems to underline the universal perspective, which is not uncommon for a Jewish text written in the Alexandrian Diaspora of the first century CE.

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[144] *Midrash Rabbah*, 7.41.

[145] Enoch's pre-existence might already be hinted at in Second Temple sources. Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that "in Sirach 49:14-15 Enoch's pre-existence and avoidance of ordinary birth seems to be in view when the Hebrew says: 'Few have been formed on earth like Enoch. And also he was bodily taken away. If, like Joseph, he had been born a man, then his corpse also would have been cared for.' The Hebrew Sirach, writing of the second century B.C. seems to take for granted the belief that Enoch, unlike a man such as Joseph, was not born but simply created." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 21.

[146] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 311; Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 36-37.

[147] The same concept of Enoch as the second Adam is discernable in the *Zohar*. I. Tishby observed that according to the *Zohar*, "the supernal radiance of Adam's soul, which was taken away from him before its time as a direct consequence of his sin, found a new abode in Enoch, where it could perfect itself in this world.... This means that Enoch in his own life embodied that supernal perfection for which man was destined from the very beginning of his creation." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2.627.

Mediation of the Divine Presence

The transition from the role of intercessor to the role of redeemer in the Slavonic text indicates that the conceptual developments taking place in the pseudepigraphon tend to shape the exalted profile of the translated hero after the prototypes of the later roles and titles of Metatron. It is therefore not surprising that in *2 Enoch* one can detect another significant mediatorial duty of the elevated seer, already analyzed in the earlier investigation of Metatron's offices: the role of the mediator of the Divine Presence. In *2 Enoch*, as in the later Merkabah texts, this composite role is closely connected with other newly emerging offices of the elevated patriarch, such as the servant of the Divine Face and the measurer of the Deity, roles discussed previously in the investigation. It is important that by virtue of his installation into the office of the servant of the Face, Enoch also appears to be obliged to act as the mediator of the Divine Presence who conveys to the mortals the dangerous vision of the Lord's Face. The pivotal passage that brings together all these roles[149] is *2 Enoch* 39, a text which has been brought up already several times in this investigation. There Enoch narrates to his children the vision of the Divine Face. This narrative indicates that Enoch becomes the one who not only deserves to behold the Divine Countenance, but is also obliged to communicate the features and dimensions of the Divine Presence through the medium of his own body, thus using his own corporeality as the mediatorial tool for conveying the Divine Form. As discussed earlier the patriarch repeatedly uses his own corporeality in his analogical descriptions of the *Kavod,* in the fashion reminiscent of the Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* accounts where

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[148] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," 111.

the Divine Form is illustrated through the medium of Enoch-Metatron's transformed body, which represents the replica of the Divine extent. It should be noted that the idea of the employment of the patriarch's body as the mediatorial tool for relating the vision of the Divine *Kavod* is unknown in the early Enochic lore. There the patriarch neither attempts to describe the divine physique nor tries to use his own corporeality as an illustration of the body of the Deity.

The aforementioned unfolding of the new mediating function of the seventh antediluvian hero in the Slavonic text is impressive. Still, in comparison with the later Metatron tradition, *2 Enoch's* developments represent only initial steps towards the hero's role as the mediator of the Divine Presence. The Slavonic apocalypse does not detail the mediating function of the translated patriarch in relation to the angelic realm, which looms large in the Metatron tradition, but rather concentrates on the hero's mediation to human subjects. This situation demonstrates that one encounters here only an incipient development of the prominent office which will acquire its full-fledged form much later.

Expert in the Secrets of Creation

It has been suggested above that already in the Mesopotamian tradition, the seventh antediluvian hero has acquired the role of an expert in the celestial secrets. This trend was later continued in the Enochic tradition, which emphasizes the expertise of the elevated patriarch in esoteric lore. The Slavonic apocalypse does not constitute a break in

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[149] That is the servant of the Face, the measurer of the Deity, and the mediator of the Divine Presence.

this prominent development and further elaborates this profile of the translated hero as a person concerned with heavenly secrets.

First, one must underline that in comparison to other Enochic writings, the notion of "secrets" occupies an important place in the Slavonic apocalypse. The importance of this terminology is highlighted by its prominent position in the title of the book. While various manuscripts of *2 Enoch* are known under different titles, most of them[150] include the word "secrets."[151] In some of these titles the term is connected with Enoch's books - "The Secret Books of Enoch."[152] In other titles "secrets" are linked either to God ("The Book[s] [called] the Secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch")[153] or to Enoch himself ("The Book of the Secrets of Enoch").[154] This consistency in the use of the term "secrets," in spite of its varied attribution to different subjects, may indicate that the authors and the transmitters of the text viewed the motif of "secrets" as a central theme of the apocalypse.

Enoch's initiation into the secrets is recounted in several narrative steps in the Slavonic text. First, the archangel Vereveil prepares the newly transformed Enoch for the reception and the transmission of the divine secrets by teaching him scribal and language skills and by giving him preliminary instruction in various other subjects. According to

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150 Several MSS do not include the word "secrets" in their titles. Among them are *J* ("The word of Enoch..."), *B* ("The life of righteous Enoch..."), *MPr* ("From the book of righteous Enoch"), P^2 ("The book of Enoch the son of Ared"). Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 2.47; 2.83; 2.106 and 1.145.

151 тайны. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch: Texte slave et traduction française*, 2.

152 MSS *A* "From the secret book(s) about the taking away of Enoch the just," *Tr.* "Which are called the secret books of Enoch," *U* "From the secret books about the taking away of Enoch the just," and *Rum.* "From the secret books of Enoch." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 103; Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.161; 1.111; and 1.153.

153 MSS *V, N* "And these are the books (called) the secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch." Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.83. See also B^2 "This is the book of the secrets of God, a revelation to Enoch." Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.133.

154 *P* "The book (about) the secrets of Enoch, the son of Ared," and *R* "The books of the holy secrets of Enoch..." A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch*, 1 and Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.1.

the Slavonic text, he specifically instructed Enoch in "all the deeds of the Lord, the earth and the sea, and all the elements and the courses… and the Hebrew language, every kind of language of the new song of the armed troops and everything that it is appropriate to learn" (23:1-2, shorter recension).

After the preliminary angelic instructions, the Lord himself decides to initiate the seer into secrets unexplained even to the angels:

> [Listen, Enoch, and pay attention to these words of mine!] For not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, not related to them their origin, nor my endlessness [and inconceivableness], as I devise the creatures, as I am making them known to you today….(24:3).[155]

Finally, the Lord promises Enoch the role of the "Seer of Secrets." The important feature here is that the promise of this position is closely connected with other offices of Enoch, such as the servant of the divine presence, the celestial scribe, and the witness of the divine judgment; this connection might point to the composite nature of this appointment. This juxtaposition demonstrates a close affinity with *1 Enoch's* materials, in which the patriarch's role as the expert in secrets combines with his scribal duties and his office as the witness of the divine judgment. In the shorter recension of the Slavonic text the Lord promises:

> and you will be in front of my face from now and forever.[156] And you will be seeing my secrets[157] and you will be scribe for my servants[158] since you will be writing down everything that has happened on earth and that exists on earth and in the heavens, and you will be for me a witness of the judgment[159] of the great age (*2 Enoch* 36:3).

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[155] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 142.
[156] = "the servant of the Presence."
[157] = "the knower of secrets."
[158] = "the heavenly scribe."
[159] = "the witness of divine judgment."

Several details of the theme of secrets found in *2 Enoch* show some intriguing parallels with the Merkabah lore. First, the text says that the Lord decided to confer to Enoch not just any secrets, but specific mysteries pertaining to the process of creation.[160] The emphasis on the specific content of the secrets revealed to Enoch by God in the Slavonic apocalypse appears to allude to the later rabbinic and Hekhalot developments, with their marked emphasis on the secrecy of the Account of Creation and very special place of this account among other theological topics. Scholars underline that in classic Rabbinic literature the Account of Creation (מעשה בראשית) was understood as one of the two main esoteric subjects.[161] *m.* Hag 2:1 prohibits the exposition of מעשה בראשית in public by dictating that this lore may not be expounded before two or more people.[162] Similar restrictions were also applied to another important esoteric subject, the Account of the Chariot

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[160] The book says that the Lord decided to reveal to Enoch the secrets of his creation, which he never explained even to his angels. Further the term "secrets" is applied only to this account of God's creation, conveyed to Enoch by the Lord himself, "face to face." The content of these revelations includes the following details.

1. Prior to the creation the Lord decided to establish the foundation of all created things.
2. He commanded one of the invisible things to come out of the very lowest darkness and become visible.
3. By the Lord's command a primordial great aeon, bearing the name Adoil, descended and, disintegrating himself, revealed all the creation which the Lord "had thought up to create."
4. The Lord created a throne for himself. He then ordered the light to become the foundation for the highest things.
5. The Lord called out the second aeon, bearing the name Arukhas, who became the foundation of the lowest things.
6. From the waters the Lord "hardened big stones," establishing the solid structure above the waters.
7. The Lord fashioned the heavens and the sun.
8. From fire the Lord created the armies of the bodiless ones.
9. The Lord created vegetation, fish, reptiles birds and animals.
10. The Lord created humans.

[161] See, for example, Alexander, "3 Enoch," 229-230.

[162] "The forbidden degrees may not be expounded before three persons, nor the Story of Creation before two, nor [the chapter of] the Chariot before one alone, unless he is a Sage that understand of his own knowledge. Whosoever gives his mind to four things it were better for him if he had not come into the world—what is above? What is beneath? What was beforetime? And what will be hereafter? And

(מעשה מרכבה).

The next important detail of the creation imagery found in the Slavonic apocalypse is the insistence on the role of the Deity as the sovereign Creator of the universe. In *2 Enoch* 33 the Lord tells the visionary that He himself is responsible for creating everything "from the highest foundation to the lowest, and to the end."[163] *2 Enoch's* emphasis on the Deity's role as the Creator shows a significant parallel to the Jewish mystical imagery[164] in which God is sometimes referred as *Yoser Bereshit*, "the Creator."[165] However, this emphasis on the sovereignty of the Deity in creation does not appear to be entirely monolithic in the Slavonic text if one considers the Deity's decision to share the secrets of creation that He did not explain even to the angels.

Here therefore one might have a delegation of the demiurgic function to God's vice-regent, a motif which can be detected in the already mentioned passages from *Sefer Hekhalot* and the *Zohar*. In these texts the letters on the crown given to Metatron attest to his partaking in the works of creation. Some scholars have noted that the link between Metatron and the "secrets of creation" manifested in the Hekhalot tradition might witness to his role as a demiurge, or at least, to his participation in the work of creation.[166] Jarl Fossum draws attention to the tradition attested in *Genesis Rabbah* 5:4 on Gen. 1:9,

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whosoever takes no thought for the honor of his Maker, it were better for him if he had not come into the world." H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1992) 213.

[163] *2 Enoch* 33:3 (the longer recension). Andersen, "2 Enoch," 156. The shorter recension also stresses the totality of the creative work of the Deity: "...I have contrived it all—I created from the lowest foundation and up to the highest and out to the end." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 157.

[164] Jarl Fossum observes that "in later mystical texts, the glory is described as יוצר בראשית, the 'creator in the beginning,' and the peculiar idea that the primordial light and the heavens issued from his body is anticipated in the pre-Christian *II Enoch*." Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 291.

[165] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 236. Alexander refers to *3 Enoch* 11:1.

[166] Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate*, 44-45. See also W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (FRLANT, 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907) 200; Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 310ff.

according to which, "the voice of the Lord became a guide (מטטרון)[167] to the waters, as it is written: 'The voice of the Lord is over the waters.'"[168] Fossum proposes that this passage might refer to the demiurgic role of Metatron.[169] He also suggests that while the depiction of Metatron in *Sefer Hekhalot* is not demiurgic, it points to the matrix of ideas out which the Gnostic concept of the demiurge possibly arose.[170] The beginning of the tendency towards Enoch-Metatron's demiurgic profile might already be detected in *2 Enoch*, a text which puts great emphasis on Enoch's knowledge of the secrets of creation and in which Enoch is sometimes described as if he were a divine being.[171]

3 Enoch's emphasis on understanding the mysteries of the human heart is also discernable in *2 Enoch* 50:1; here the seventh antediluvian patriarch boasts before his children that he is able to see the achievements of each person as in a mirror: "I have set down the achievements of each person in the writings and no one can (hide himself) who is born on the earth, nor (can) his achievement be kept secret. I see everything, as if in a mirror."[172]

It is striking that it is not only the content of the secrets but also the manner of initiation in them that demonstrates remarkable similarities between *2* and *3 Enoch*. The resemblance includes three points.

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[167] Variants include the words מימטור and מטטור.

[168] *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.36.

[169] Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 310.

[170] Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 301.

[171] *2 Enoch* 40:2 (the shorter recension): "I have fully counted the stars, a great multitude innumerable." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 165. In Psalm 147:4 God counts the number of all the stars. See also Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Exagoge* 79-80: "A multitude of stars fell before my knees and I counted them all."

[172] *2 Enoch* 50:1.

First, an important detail in both texts is that some preparatory instructions before the account of creation were given through angels. In the case of *3 Enoch*, the instructions were given through the angels known as the "Prince of Wisdom" (שר החכמה) and the "Prince of Understanding" (שר הבינה). In the case of *2 Enoch* they are conveyed through the angel Vereveil (Веревеил). In both books these angelic mediators do not reveal secrets but instead offer some preparatory knowledge. In *2 Enoch* Vereveil instructs Enoch in different things--"all things of heaven and earth and sea and all the elements and the movements and their courses... and the Hebrew language, every kind of language of the new song of the armed troops and everything that it is appropriate to learn" (23:1-2).[173] In *3 Enoch* the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding teach Enoch-Metatron wisdom--"the wisdom of those above and those below, the wisdom of this world and the world to come."[174]

Second, both texts also mention that, immediately after these preparatory angelic instructions, the Lord (the Holy One) reveals the secrets of creation to Enoch (Metatron). From *3 Enoch* 11:1 one learns that all the secrets of creation (בראשית סתרי) now stand revealed before Enoch-Metatron as they stand revealed before the Creator.[175] In *2 Enoch* 24:2-4 (shorter recension) the Lord instructs Enoch in the secrets of his "endless and inconceivable creation," the mysteries which he never explained even to his angels:

> Whatever you see, Enoch, things standing still and moving about and which were brought to perfection by me, I myself will explain it to you.... And not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their composition, nor my

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[173] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 140.

[174] Alexander, "2 Enoch," 264.

[175] MS M40. See Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 8. MS V228 instead of "the secrets of creation" uses - "the orders of creation" (סדרי בראשית). Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 9.

> endless and inconceivable creation which I conceived, as I am making them known to you today. [176]

Third, as was mentioned earlier, the notion of secrets in *3 Enoch* includes various types of revelations. Even though the book applies the term "secrets" to several things, including the Torah, it also seems to use the notion of the special secret in reference to certain details of the account of creation. According to the book, this special secret plays an important role in "God's creation of everything." One learns about the secret from *3 Enoch* 48D, where Metatron tells R. Ishmael that he revealed a special secret to Moses, in spite of the protests of the heavenly hosts:

> YHWH the God of Israel is my witness that when I revealed this secret to Moses, all the armies of the height, in every heaven, were angry with me. They said to me, "Why are you revealing this secret to humankind, born of woman, blemished, unclean, defiled by blood and impure flux, men who excrete putrid drops--that secret by which heaven and earth were created, the sea and the dry land, mountains and hills, rivers and springs, Gehinnom, fire and hail, the garden of Eden and the tree of life? By it Adam was formed, the cattle and the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven and the fish of the sea, Behemoth and Leviathan, the unclean creatures and reptiles, the creeping things of the sea and the reptiles of the deserts, Torah, wisdom, knowledge, thought, the understanding of things above, and the fear of heaven. Why are you revealing it to flesh and blood?"[177]

Philip Alexander observes that in this passage the secret could be either (a) the Torah or (b) the secret names of God. He further suggests that "the identification of the secret with the Torah appears to be excluded by the fact that Torah is one of the things created by the secret."[178] This situation in which the notion of "secret" transcends the realm of the Torah and refers instead to God's creation appears to have close affinities to the position of *2 Enoch*, in which the Torah is not listed among God's mysteries.

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[176] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 143.
[177] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315.
[178] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315.

The cosmogonic account in *2 Enoch* demonstrates close similarities not only with the Merkabah tradition but also with much later developments of Jewish mysticism, including the materials found in the *Zohar*. These parallels show that the conceptual developments taking place in the Slavonic apocalypse might constitute a formative core essential for the various trends of Jewish mystical traditions.

Stones

In one of his books Gershom Scholem points to an interesting detail of the creation narrative in *2 Enoch*.[179] The story involves the enigmatic stones the Lord placed in the waters during the process of creation. In Chapters 28-29, when the Lord instructs Enoch about the secrets of the Account of Creation, He says:

> Then from the waters I hardened[180] big stones,[181] and the clouds of the depths[182] I commanded to dry themselves. And I did not name what fell to the lowest places.[183] Gathering the ocean into one place, I bound it with a yoke. I gave to the sea an eternal boundary, which will not be broken through by the waters. The solid structure[184] I fixed and established it above the waters (28:2-4).[185]

The theme of the big stones plays an important role in the creation narrative of *2 Enoch*. Scholem draws attention to the relationship between these enigmatic stones and the cosmogonic tradition of "an esoteric baraitha[186] in which the word בהו in תהו ובהו of

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[179] Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 73.

[180] The verb оутвѣрдити could also be rendered "to place." Sreznevskij's dictionary lists this translation among several possible meanings of the Slavonic word. See I. Sreznevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo yazyka* (3 vols.; Moscow: Kniga, 1989) III(II), 1306.

[181] каменне велико.

[182] бездънымъ. Another choice for translation can be "abyss." Kurz and Sreznevskij equate the Slavonic term with the Greek ἄβυσσος. See J. Kurz, ed., *Slovník Jazyka Staroslovenského [Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae]* (4 vols.; Prague: Akademia, 1966-) 1.76; Sreznevskij, *Slovar'*, I(I), 55.

[183] бездны. Again this term can be translated "abyss."

[184] Твердь. This Slavonic word can also be translated "a foundation." The previous verb основахъ ("established") favors this translation.

[185] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 147.

[186] Hag. 12a.

Genesis 1:2 was interpreted as 'muddy stones, sunk in the abyss'."[187] Scholem's remark invites a further exploration of the role of the enigmatic stones in the Aggadic traditions. Although *m.* Hag. 2:1 prohibits the exposition of מעשה בראשית in public, cosmogonic doctrines were important during all stages of Jewish mysticism, and occupied a prominent role in such books as *Sefer Yetsirah* and *Sefer Bahir*.[188] Isaiah Tishby observes that understanding the causes and processes of the formation of the world became one of the central themes in late Jewish mysticism.[189]

In late Jewish mysticism, especially in the *Zohar*, the theme of the big stones placed by the Creator in the waters (in the abyss) occupied an important place. In spite of the late date of the *Zohar*, these materials have preserved important early traditions relevant to the subject of this study. Moreover, this medieval compendium of Jewish mystical knowledge mentions a book under the title "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch"[190] which is identical with the titles given to *2 Enoch* in some manuscripts.[191]

Similarities between *2 Enoch* and the *Zohar* are not confined to the title of the *Slavonic Enoch*. Several scholars, including George H. Box and Hugo Odeberg, have remarked on striking parallels between both texts, especially in the materials of the longer recension of *2 Enoch*. Box points to the connection between *2 Enoch* and the *Zohar* and observes that "the Slavonic Enoch … is remarkably illuminating in its realistic

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[187] Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah,* 74. He points also to "the muddy stones from which darkness flows" in the Targum on Job 28:8. Another interesting early parallel could be "stones of bohu" in Isa 34:11.

[188] For the discussion of the parallels between the cosmogonies of these two texts and *2 Enoch*, see Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 73-5; idem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead*, 98-100.

[189] Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts*, 2.549.

[190] ובספרא דרזין דחנוך. 2.180b. R. Margaliot, ed., ספר הזהר (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 2.360.

presentment of some of the Kabbalistic ideas--*e.g.* as to the process of creation, the constitution of the heavens, and so on."[192] The investigation of the possible parallels between the story of creation in *2 Enoch* and the Account of Creation in the *Zohar* demonstrates that the Slavonic apocalypse belongs to the group of texts representing the conceptual world of early Jewish mysticism and therefore provides the formative basis for subsequent rabbinic developments. This is one of the reasons for including some materials from the *Book of Zohar* in this part of our study.

Zohar I, 231a reads:

> The world did not come into being until God took a certain stone, which is called the "foundation stone,"[193] and cast it into the abyss[194] so that it held fast there, and from it the world was planted. This is the central point of the universe, and on this point stands the holy of holies. This is the stone referred to in the verses, "Who laid the corner-stone thereof" (Job XXXVIII, 6), "the stone of testing, the precious corner-stone" (Is. XXVIII, 16), and "the stone that the builders despise became the head of the corner" (Ps. CXVIII, 22). This stone is compounded of fire, water, and air, and rests on the abyss. Sometimes water flows from it and fills the deep. This stone is set as a sign in the centre of the world.[195]

Zohar II, 222a continues the theme of the foundation stone:

> When the Holy One, blessed be He, was about to create the world, He detached one precious stone[196] from underneath His Throne of Glory and plunged it into the Abyss, one end of it remaining fastened therein whilst the other end stood out above; and this other and superior head constituted the nucleus of the world, the point out of which the world started, spreading itself to right and left and into all directions, and by which it is sustained. That nucleus, that stone, is called *shethyiah* (foundation), as it was the starting-point of the world. The name *shethyiah*, furthermore, is a compound of *shath* (founded) and *Yah* (God),

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[191] *P* книга ѡ таинахъ Єноховихъ ("The book about the secrets of Enoch") and *R* книги сватих таинь Єноховь ("The books of the holy secrets of Enoch"). Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch: Texte slave et traduction francaise*, 1; Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.1.

[192] W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism* (New York: Macmillan, 1920) 236.

[193] אבן שתיה. R. Margaliot, ed., ספר הזוהר (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 1.461.

[194] תהומא. R. Margaliot, ed., ספר הזוהר (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 1.461.

[195] H. Sperling and M. Simon (trs.), *The Zohar* (5 vols.; London and New York: Soncino, 1933) 2.399.

[196] אבנא יקירא. R. Margaliot, ed., ספר הזוהר (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 2.443.

signifying that the Holy One, blessed be He, made it the foundation and starting-point of the world and all that is therein.[197]

I will now compare some important details in these two narratives with elements of *2 Enoch*. The text of *2 Enoch* uses the term бездна[198] ("abyss") which also occupies a prominent place in the narrative of the *Zohar*. In the *Zohar*, the Holy One cast a stone into the abyss. *2 Enoch* does not mention that the stone fell into the abyss but does use the phrase, "I did not name what fell to the abyss" (28:3), with the implication that this act of the Lord has already taken place. Another important motif in relation to the stones in both texts has to do with the theme of establishing the foundation. *2 Enoch* narrates that the stones (stone) are related to the foundation which the Lord has established above the waters.[199] This labeling of stones as "foundation" is very typical for the Zoharic narrative, where the stone is referred to many times as שתיה ("foundation") or שתיה אבן ("foundation stone").[200] The concept of the "Foundation Stone" occupies a prominent place in several cosmological stories.[201] E. Burrows' research points to the Mesopotamian provenance of the concept of the "Foundation Stone," which symbolizes

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[197] H. Sperling and M. Simon (trs.), *The Zohar* (5 vols.; London and New York: Soncino, 1933) 4.258-9.

[198] мглам же безднымъ - the clouds of the abyss, or the darkness of the abyss; оупадъкъ безднъı - what fell to the abyss.

[199] Твердь водроужих и ѡсновах връхоу вод (literally - "I erected a firm foundation and established it above the waters").

[200] Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Exod 28:30 speaks about the rock of foundation with which God sealed the mouth of the great abyss in the beginning.

[201] On the concept of the Foundation Stone, see: Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 5.15; E. Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion", in: *The Labyrinth* (ed. S. H. Hooke; London, 1935) 45-52; R. Patai, *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1947) 54-58; P. Schäfer, "Tempel und Schöpfung. zur Interpretation einiger Heiligtumstraditionen in der rabbinischen Literatur," *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (AGJU, 15; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 122-133; Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 250ff.; J. D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985) 133ff; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man: The Genre, History of Religions Context and the Meaning of the Transfiguration," in: *Auferstehung—Resurrection* (eds. F. Avemarie and H. Lichtenberger; Tübingen: Mohr, 2001) 272ff.

in these traditions the bond between heaven and earth.[202] Burrows traces the geographical origins of this cosmogonic pattern to "the sanctuaries at Nippur, at Larsa, and probably at Sippar."[203] The possible connection with Sippar is especially important for the Enochic text if one keeps in mind the possible Mesopotamian origin of Enoch's figure, based on the antediluvian king Enmeduranki of Sippar.

Finally, the difference in the number of stones in both texts must also be explained. The *Zohar* mentions one foundation stone, but *2 Enoch* speaks about stones. But later in the narrative of *2 Enoch*, the term switches from the plural to the singular, and refers only to one stone: "From the stone[204] I cut off a great fire...(29:3)."[205]

Adoil and Arukhaz: Etymology of the Names

During his instructions in the secrets of creation, the Lord told Enoch that in the beginning of creation he had thought to create a visible creation from the invisible. This process occupies an important place in the narrative of *2 Enoch* and manifests the complicated imagery of this stage of creation. To assist our inquiry, the following passage must be quoted:

> And I thought up the idea of establishing a foundation, to create a visible creation. And I commanded the lowest things: "Let one of the invisible things come out visibly!" And Adail descended, extremely large. And I looked at him, and, behold, in his belly he had a great age.[206] And I said to him, "Disintegrate yourself, Adail, and let what is disintegrated from you become visible." And he disintegrated himself, and there came out from him the great age. And thus it carried all the creation which I had wished to create. And I saw how good it was. And I placed for myself a throne, and I sat down on it. To the light I spoke: "You go up higher and be solidified and become the foundation for the highest things."

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[202] Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," 45-52.
[203] Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," 46-7.
[204] КАМЄНИЄ.
[205] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 149.
[206] ВѢКА ВЄЛИКАГО. It can be also translated as "a great aeon."

> And there is nothing higher than the light, except nothing itself. And I spoke, I straightened myself upward from my throne. And I called out a second time into the lowest things, and I said, "Let one of the invisible things come out solid and visible." There came out Arukhas,[207] solid and heavy and very black. And I saw how suitable he was. And I said to him, "Come down low and become solid! And become the foundation of the lowest things!" And he came down and became solid. And he became the foundation of the lowest things. And there is nothing lower than the darkness, except nothing itself (*2 Enoch* 24:5-26:3, shorter recension).[208]

This passage deals with two enigmatic names, Adail (Adoil) and Arukhas. Much attention has been devoted to the etymology of these words; this attention might indicate that many scholars consider these names as important clues for clarifying the origins of the text.

Robert Henry Charles suggests that Adoil might be derived from the Hebrew יד אל, translated as the "hand of God."[209] Marc Philonenko supports this etymology, pointing to some Egyptian parallels in which "les premières créatures naissent du liquide séminal que le démiurge solitaire avait fait jaillir au moyen de sa main."[210] L. Cry suggests understanding Adoil as stemming from אור אל, "the light of God." In his opinion, some letters in the Hebrew word אור, "light," were altered. *Resh* was read as *daleth*; *waw* was transposed. These alterations produced Adoil.[211] André Vaillant suggests that the name might be derived from the Hebrew word עד with a suffix, "his eternity, his aeon."[212] Gershom Scholem criticizes this rendering, arguing that the

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[207] ⲁⲣⲱⲭⲁⲍⲏ.
[208] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 143-45.
[209] *APOT*, 2.445.
[210] Philonenko, "La cosmogonie du 'livre des secrets d'Hénoch,'" 114.
[211] L. Cry, "Quelques noms d'anges ou d'êtres mysterieux en II Henoch," *RB* 49 (1940) 201.
[212] Vaillant, *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch,* xi.

Hebrew word עד cannot carry a pronominal suffix.[213] According to Scholem's own interpretation, Adoil derives from Sadoqil.[214] Josef Milik considers the name Adoil "a Greek and Semitic hybrid: Hades + El."[215] Gilles Quispel derives it from *Adonai-el*, where the first element is the circumlocution for the Tetragrammaton.[216]

Another proper name in the narrative, Arukhaz, also poses several problems for interpretation. R. H. Charles believes that Arukhaz may have originated from the Hebrew word רקיע ("firmament").[217] AndréVaillant supports the view that the term Arukhaz is connected with the image of foundation (Hebrew, רקיע; Greek, στερέωμα). In his opinion it was composed from the Hebrew words ערוך "arranged" and עז "hard."[218] Josef Milik traced Arukhaz to the Hebrew feminine term ארובה ("geographical basin"), transcribed with the masculine flexional ending as Aruchaz.[219] Francis Andersen, while thinking that the name could probably be derived from the Greek word ἀρχή, points out that the ending -as, which is not Slavonic, is doubtful.[220] He opts for another etymology that connects the name with the Hebrew word ערוך ("extended").[221]

However, some materials found in the *Zohar* might lead us to quite different interpretations of the names Adoil and Arukhas. In the *Zohar* I, 17b one finds some

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[213] Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 73.
[214] G. Scholem, "Die Lehre vom 'Gerechten' in der jüdischen Mystik," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 27 (1958) 252.
[215] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 113.
[216] Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 288.
[217] *APOT*, 2.445.
[218] Vaillant, *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, xi-xii.
[219] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 113.
[220] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 144-145.
[221] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 145.

provocative material from the Account of Creation that describes the stage in the story of creation which began, just as in the passage of *2 Enoch*, with the idea of establishing a "foundation:"

> Let there be a firmament: i.e., let there be a gradual extension. Thereupon *El* (God), the "right cluster," *El Gadol* (Great God),[222] spread forth from the midst of the waters to complete this name *El* and to combine with this extension, and so *El* was extended into *Elohim* (=*El*+*H, Y, M*). These *H, Y, M* extended and became reversed so as to form lower waters, *Y, M, H*. This extension which took place on the second day is the upper waters. The *hé, yod, mim*, form *hayat* (the sea), which is the upper waters. The reversal of these letters, *yamah* (seaward), is the lower waters. When they were firmly established, all became one whole, and this name was extended to a number of places. The upper waters are male and the lower waters female. At first they were commingled,[223] but afterwards they were differentiated into upper and lower waters. This is the meaning of "*Elohim* upper waters," and this is the meaning of "*Adonai* lower waters;" and this is the meaning of upper *Hé* and lower *Hé*.[224]

First, the applicable correlation between this narrative and the passage of *2 Enoch* lies in the similarities between the name Adail, spelled in the majority of Slavonic manuscripts as Adoil,[225] and אל גדול - *El gadol* ("the great god"). It must be noted that the Slavonic text, after it introduces the name Adoil, defines it as "the great one," ѧдоилъ превеликъı ѕѣло,"Adoil, the great one,"[226] which, in Hebrew, is identical with

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[222] אל גדול. R. Margaliot, ed., ספר הזוהר (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 1.34.

[223] Literally: "there were waters within waters" (הוו מים במים). R. Margaliot, ed., ספר הזוהר (3 vols.; Jerusalem, 1940) 1.34.

[224] H. Sperling and M. Simon (trs.), *The Zohar* (5 vols.; London and New York: Soncino, 1933) 1.75.

[225] In the majority of MSS this name has a form Adoil (ѧдоилъ) with an "o" in the middle of the word:
J - Adoil. Andersen, 144.
R - Adoil. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.25;
P- Adoil. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.25;
U - Adoil'. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.117;
N - Idoil. Vaillant, 28.
B - Adoil'; Idoil'. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.91;
B^2 - Adoil. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.137;
Chr - Adoil'. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.150.

[226] Francis Andersen translated it as "extremely large."

his name.[227] Second, the title *El Gadol* in the *Zohar* is identified with the upper waters. A similar correspondence can be found in *2 Enoch* where Adoil is matched with the upper foundation.

The same symmetrical pattern also appears in the case of Arukhaz: Arukhaz is the lower foundation in *2 Enoch*, and the "other extension," the lower waters in the *Zohar*. Both texts use the term "lower" in reference to Arukhaz. This term serves as a clue to resolving the etymological mystery of this enigmatic name. The word "Arukhaz" in *2 Enoch* might be related to the Aramaic ארעי, translated as "lower."[228] It is worth noting that *Frg.Tg.* on Gen 1:6 uses this term in the expression "the lower waters" (מיא ארעאי).[229]

The analysis of the parallels between *2 Enoch's* notion of the secrets of creation and its counterpart in the later Merkabah and Zoharic developments shows that *2 Enoch's* emphasis on the secrecy of the creation story reveals an intriguing parallel to the later rabbinic approach to מעשה בראשית as an esoteric knowledge. *2 Enoch*, therefore, can be seen as an important step in the shaping of the later rabbinic understanding of "secret things," which eventually led to the esotericism of the Account of Creation.

On the other hand the patriarch's involvement with the Lord's mysteries and their peculiar content in *2 Enoch* is strikingly different from the concept of secrets in the early Enochic booklets and the way of the patriarch's initiation into esoteric lore in these early Enochic works.

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[227] The title *El gadol*, "the great God," can be connected with the term "Great Aeon," which came out from the belly of "Great One,"- *Adoil*. Compare also *Zohar*'s narrative: "At first there were waters within waters."

[228] M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990) 77.

Priestly and Liturgical Roles

This study has demonstrated that the roots of the sacerdotal duties of the seventh antediluvian hero can be detected already in the Mesopotamian traditions about the king Enmeduranki, the legendary founder of the *bārû* priestly guild. This sacerdotal role of the hero was then further developed in the early Enochic materials which seek to portray the patriarch as a celestial priest. The sacerdotal duties of Metatron also appear to have a direct connection with these early developments. One should note that the Merkabah materials reveal Enoch-Metatron in two sacerdotal dimensions, priestly and liturgical, portraying him as the high priest and the director of the celestial liturgy. In contrast, *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* emphasize only one side of the patriarch's heavenly service, his priestly activities.

In comparison with the early Enochic writings which do not mention the liturgical dimension of the patriarch's deeds and depict him solely as a priest, the Slavonic apocalypse, like the later Merkabah lore, seeks to encompass both sacerdotal dimensions, priestly and liturgical. Further, the early sacerdotal imagery of Enoch also undergoes a substantial development in this pseudepigraphon. References to the priestly office of the seventh antediluvian patriarch in the Slavonic text show a marked difference in comparison with the testimonies found in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams*, and *Jubilees*. Unlike these Enochic writings, *2 Enoch* does not associate the translated patriarch with any celestial structure that might remotely resemble the descriptions found

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[229] Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 77.

in *1 Enoch* 14 and 87.[230] It is also puzzling that the Slavonic text is reluctant to directly portray Enoch as the celestial high priest. Despite the absence of such explicit imagery, the Slavonic text contains a number of other indirect testimonies that demonstrate that the authors of this apocalypse appear to be cognizant of the patriarch's priestly functions. Scholars have previously observed that in *2 Enoch* 22 the seer's anointing with shining oil and the transformation of his clothing into the luminous garments during his angelic metamorphosis[231] appear to resemble the priestly investiture.[232] Another possible sacerdotal association comes from *2 Enoch* 67-69. Here the descendents of the seventh antediluvian patriarch, including his son Methuselah, are depicted as the builders of the altar erected on the place where Enoch was taken up to heaven: "And Methusalam and his brothers and all the sons of Enoch hurried, they constructed an altar at the place called Akhuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven."[233] The place of Enoch's ascension is designated here as *Akhuzan* (ⷯⷯⷭⷭⷬⷭⷯⷭⷯ). Scholars suggest that the

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[230] Michael Mach observes that "the concept of heaven as temple is not important here as it is used to be for those who longed for an alternative to the existing cult." Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism?" 251.

[231] Crispin Fletcher-Louis notes that "Enoch's transformation in *2 Enoch* is greatly indebted to priestly practice and its understanding of investiture. The myrrh fragrance of the oil of Enoch's anointing recalls the sacred oil of anointing prescribed by Moses for the tabernacle in Exodus 30:22-23. The comparison of the oil with sweet dew is perhaps a reflection of Psalm 133:2-3 where there is a parallelism between the oil running down the head of Aaron and the dew of Mount Hermon. The reference to the glittering rays of the sun is yet one more witness to the theme of priestly luminescence. The specific comparison of the oil of anointing with the sun's rays is ultimately dependent on the priestly tradition within the Pentateuch since there the oil of anointing is placed in God's fourth speech to Moses in Exodus 25-31 as a parallel within the Tabernacle instructions to the creation of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth day of creation (Genesis 1:14-19). In general terms Enoch's investiture is indebted to the scene in Zechariah 3 where the high priest's old clothes are removed and replaced with new ones. In that scene too the priest is attended by angels, just as Michael acts as Enoch's attendant in *2 Enoch* (see *T. Levi* 8). In *2 Enoch* 22:6 Enoch is granted permanent access to God's throne room, just as Joshua is given rights of access to the heavenly realm in Zechariah 3:7. The concluding chapters of *2 Enoch* (chs. 69-73) are devoted to the priestly succession after Enoch's ascension." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 23-24.

[232] Martha Himmelfarb observes that "the combination of clothing and anointing suggests that the process by which Enoch becomes an angel is a heavenly version of priestly investiture." M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 40.

[233] *2 Enoch* 68:5. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 196.

Slavonic *Akhuzan* might be a transliteration of the Hebrew אחוזה found in Ezek 48:20-21, where the word אחוזה, "special property of God," applies to Jerusalem and the Temple.[234] The link between the location of the terrestrial sanctuary and the place of Enoch's final departure might attest to the peculiar role of the ascended hero in relation to the heavenly counterpart of this earthly structure. It is also significant that a large portion of the apocalypse (Chapters 68-73) is dedicated to the descriptions of the priestly duties of the patriarch's descendants, including his son Methuselah and his grandgrandson Nir, both of whom are depicted as priests offering animal sacrifices on the altar. Moreover, in *2 Enoch* 59 the patriarch is portrayed as the one who delivers sacrificial instruction to his children. This transmission of the sacerdotal knowledge does not appear to be accidental since in *2 Enoch* 71:32 the seventh antediluvian hero appears in the line of the great priests preceding Methuselah and Nir.[235]

All these testimonies show that *2 Enoch*'s authors were familiar with the traditions about the priestly affiliations of the seventh antediluvian person attested also in the early Enochic booklets. In contrast to these early materials that refer solely to Enoch's priestly role, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse also appear to have knowledge about another prominent office of the translated patriarch--his liturgical appointments and his role as the one who encourages and directs celestial hosts in their daily praise of the Creator.

While entertaining the possibility of the Enochic origins of Metatron's role as the leader of the divine worship, one must direct attention to the passage found in *2 Enoch* 18

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[234] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114.

in which the patriarch is depicted as the one who encourages the celestial Watchers to conduct the liturgy before the Face of God. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:8-9 relates:

> And I [Enoch] said, "Why are you [the Celestial Watchers] waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy[236] before the face of the Lord? Start up your liturgy,[237] and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord [God] to the limit." And they responded to my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Grigori burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.[238]

The imagery of this account represents a rough sketch that only vaguely witnesses to the future prominent liturgical role of Enoch-Metatron analyzed earlier in this study. Yet here, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, the seventh antediluvian patriarch dares to assemble and direct the angelic creatures toward their routine job of delivering praise to the Deity.[239] The choice of the angelic group, of course, is of significance since in various Enochic materials the patriarch is often described as a special envoy to the Watchers, the fallen angels, as well as to their faithful celestial brothers. It is noteworthy that although in *2 Enoch* 18 the patriarch gives advice to the angels situated in the fifth heaven, he repeatedly encourages them to start liturgy "before the Face of the Lord," that is, in front of the divine *Kavod*, the exact location where the Youth-Metatron will later conduct the heavenly worship of the angelic hosts in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts.

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[235] "Therefore honor him together with your servants and great priests, with Sit, and Enos, and Rusi, and Amilam, and Prasidam, and Maleleil, and Serokh, and Arusan, and Aleem, and Enoch, and Methusalam, and me, your servant Nir." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 208.

[236] Slav. слоужите. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.17.

[237] Slav. слоужби ваше. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.17.

[238] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 132.

[239] It is intriguing that *2 Enoch* 23:1-2 (shorter recension) mentions that the patriarch was taught by Vereveil in "every kind of language of the new song," which might allude to his preparation for the role of the liturgical director.

The shorter recension of the Slavonic text[240] adds several significant details among which can be found Enoch's advice to the Watchers to "perform the liturgy in the name of fire."[241] This peculiar terminology involving the symbolism of fire appears to refer to the concepts found in the Hekhalot liturgical accounts where the imagery of fire, in the form of the references to the deafening fire and angels "bathing" in the fire, plays an important role. The shorter recension also highlights the importance of Enoch's leading role, specifically underscoring that the angels were in need of "the earnestness" of his recommendation.[242]

Scribe

The previous analysis has shown that Enoch's scribal role occupies a prominent role in the early Enochic materials; in these texts the patriarch recieved several titles pertaining to this composite office, including such cognomens as the scribe of distinction and the scribe of righteousness. It has been noted that one of the earliest accounts of Enoch's initiation into his scribal office can be found in the *Astronomical Book*, the oldest Enochic material, where the angel Uriel advises the patriarch to write down the celestial knowledge.

It is curious that, among the several possible literary options for developing the patriarch's scribal activities, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse choose a narrative device very similar to the one discernable in the *Astronomical Book*, in which the

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[240] The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 18:8-9 reads: "'And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up the former liturgy. Perform the liturgy in the name of fire (*vo imja ogne*), lest you annoy the Lord your God (so that) he throws you down from this place.' [And they heeded the earnestness of my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in heaven. And behold,] while I was standing, they sounded with 4 trumpets in unison, and the Grigori began to perform the liturgy as with one voice. And their voices rose up into the Lord's presence." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 133.

[241] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 133.

descriptions of the hero's scribal duties are closely interconnected with the instructions given by Uriel. In comparison with the *Astronomical Book*, however, the account found in *2 Enoch* is shorter and more dynamic. It can be viewed as an abbreviated summary presented by someone already familiar with the previous account(s) of the seer's scribal activities. The presentation of the patriarch's scribal office in *2 Enoch* is mainly confined to two narrative blocks. One of them is situated in Chapters 22-23, which presents the patriarch's initiation into the scribal office by Verevoil. The second block encompasses Chapters 33-36; here the important role of Enoch's writings is specifically underscored and the perennial scope of his scribal activities is confirmed. The overall narrative devoted to the scribal office unfolds in the following stages:

1. Enoch is initiated into the scribal activities by the Lord's command. The Lord orders Verevoil to bring out the books from the storehouses, to give the seer a pen for speed-writing, and to read to Enoch the celestial books.[243] The command is immediately executed by Verevoil; he brings to the patriarch the books, a knife, and ink, while also providing the visionary with a pen for speed-writing from his hand (22:11).[244] The last action might indicate the transference of the scribal duties from this angel to Enoch.[245]

2. The patriarch is then offered a seat in order that he can write down the knowledge which was explained to him by the angel. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 23:4, angel Verevoil commands him: "These things, whatever I have taught you,

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[242] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 133.

[243] It is significant that the descriptions of the patriarch's scribal activities are closely connected with the theme of the celestial books from which the patriarch copies under the guidance of Vereveil.

[244] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 140.

[245] It should be noted that some pseudepigraphic accounts attest to Uriel's role as a celestial scribe.

whatever you have learned, and whatever we have written down, you sit down [and] write...."[246]

3. The hero's scribal activity resulted in a specific number of books. "I wrote everything accurately. And I wrote 366 books" (23:6).[247]

4. The Lord instructs Enoch to deliver these books in his handwriting to his descendants[248] so they can read them "from generation to generation" (33:8-10, shorter recension).

5. The Lord appoints the guardian angels for Enoch's writings:

> For I will give you, Enoch, my mediator, my archistratig, Michael, on account of your handwritings and the handwritings of your fathers--Adam and Sith and Enos and Kainan and Maleleil and Ared your father. And they will not be destroyed until the final age. So I have commanded my angels, Ariukh and Pariukh, whom I have appointed on the earth as their guardians,[249] and I have commanded the seasons, so that they might preserve them so that they might not perish in the future flood which I shall create in your generation. (33:10-12.)[250]

6. Finally the Lord gave the promise to Enoch about his future role as the heavenly scribe: "...and you will be scribe[251] for my servants, since you will be writing down everything that has happened on earth and that exists on earth and in the heavens, and you will be for me a witness of the judgment of the great age" (36:3, shorter recension).

One can see that in *2 Enoch* the motif of Enoch's initiation into the scribal office is closely intertwined with the imagery of the celestial books from which Enoch learns

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[246] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 140.

[247] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 140.

[248] In *1 Enoch* 81.6 the angel Uriel commands Enoch to "teach your children, and write (these things) down for them, and testify to all your children." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.187.

[249] It should be noted that the motif of the guardian angels of the books is very specific to the esoterism of the Merkabah tradition. This motif can be found in *3 Enoch*, as well as in other texts of the tradition.

[250] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 156.

[251] Slav. книжник.

and copies the celestial knowledge. These editions of the celestial books are predestined to survive the impending flood in order to play a significant role in the transmission of the special knowledge to future generations. This motif recalls the early Enochic traditions with their emphasis on the patriarch's writings as the media able to bridge the boundaries of various realms and generations. Along with the apparent similarities with the early Enochic lore, some marked differences can also be detected. In contrast to the account of Uriel's instructions in the *Astronomical Book*, *2 Enoch* places noticeable emphasis on the presence of the Deity, who closely supervises the initiation and the instruction of the new servant and then personally assures the seer about the prominent destiny of his books and the perennial nature of his scribal office.

Another striking difference is that in contrast to the early Enochic accounts, the Slavonic apocalypse portrays the patriarch as a scribe who has a seat in heaven.[252] While the accounts of Enoch's scribal activities attested in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Book of Giants* do not refer to Enoch's possession of a seat in heaven,[253] the tradition attested in the Slavonic apocalypse explicitly entertains this possibility. This pivotal detail, which unfortunately remains unnoticed by many scholars, in my judgment convincingly demonstrates the intermediary nature of the Slavonic apocalypse as a writing which stands between the early Enochic and Merkabah traditions.

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[252] In view of the possible Alexandrian provenance of *2 Enoch*, it is important to mention the evidence set forth by Birger Pearson in his recent article about Enochic writings in Egypt. Pearson draws attention to a painting found in 1899 at Tebtunis, in the Fayum. The painting portrays a judgment scene involving the punishment of sinners where Enoch is depicted as a scribe on a seat with a reed pen in his right hand and an open scroll in his left hand in which is inscribed in Coptic, "Enoch the scribe writing down the sins of humankind." See B. A. Pearson, "Enoch in Egypt," in: *For A Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (eds. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, and R. A. Werline; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000) 229, footnote 86. On the Enoch-Metatron traditions in the eastern Christian environment, see A. Golitzin, "The Place of the Presence of God: Aphrahat of Persia's Portrait of the Christian Holy Man," in: *Essays in Honor of Archimandrite Aimilianos of the Monastery of Simonos Petras* (Athens: Indiktos, 2003) 391-447.

2 Enoch 23:4 depicts the angel Vereveil commanding Enoch to sit down. "You sit down;[254] write everything...." In response to this suggestion the patriarch takes a seat in heaven. In *2 Enoch* 23:6 Enoch conveys to his listeners: "And I sat down[255] for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights, and I wrote accurately."[256]

It has been already noted in this study that the tradition found in *2 Enoch* 23 recalls the passage from *b.* Hag. 15a according to which "... permission was granted to Metatron to sit and write down the merits of Israel...."[257] The important detail of the *Babli*'s passage is that, similarly to *2 Enoch's* account, the theme of Metatron's scribal duties is combined with the motif of his having a seat in heaven. Although, according to rabbinic lore, the angelic hosts are not allowed to sit in the celestial realm (probably because such posture can violate the sovereignty of the Deity), Metatron is exempted from the restriction.[258] According to this passage of the *Babli* the permission to have a seat was granted to him because of his scribal duties, in order that he might sit and write the merits of Israel.

I must now conclude by noting that in view of the materials found in *2 Enoch*, this unique motif of the angelic scribe who has a seat in heaven can provide additional support to the theory that the Metatron tradition found in *b.* Hag. 15a and similar developments attested in *3 Enoch* 16:1-5 and *Merkavah Rabbah* (*Synopse* §672) might have their origins in the early Enochic lore of the Second Temple period.

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[253] Although the tablet from Nineveh refers to Enmeduranki's enthronement in the assembly of gods, it does not connect this offering of the seat with the scribal office.

[254] Slav. сѣдѧи. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.24.

[255] Slav. сѣдѣхъ. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.24.

[256] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 141.

[257] *b.* Hag. 15a.

[258] *b.* Hag. 15a: "It is taught as a tradition that on high there is no sitting (לא ישיבה) and no emulation, and no back, and no weariness."

Conclusion

The inquiry into the narrative of *2 Enoch* suggests that the conceptual developments pertaining to the roles and titles of its principal character occupy an intermediary stage between early Enochic and Merkabah traditions. The evolution of the titles and roles within the pseudepigraphon includes two distinct processes.

One of these processes is connected with the emerging of new imagery which demonstrates a marked resemblance to the roles and titles prominent in the Metatron lore, including the offices of the Youth, the Prince of the Presence, the Prince of the World, God's Vice-Regent, and the Measurer of God. Although some designations attested in the Slavonic apocalypse, such as the Governor of the World, the Servant of the Face, and the Heavenly Counterpart, often do not correspond precisely to the later titles of Metatron, the peculiar features of these roles and activities show amazing similarities with their later counterparts found in the Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* materials.

The second process detected in *2 Enoch* embraces the advancement of the traditional designations and offices of the seventh antediluvian hero toward their later Merkabah forms. The Slavonic apocalypse demonstrates several remarkable transitions in roles and titles among which the following conceptual advancements have been noted:

a. The transition from the office of the mantic diviner who receives his revelations in mantic dreams to the role of the seer who has his visions in the awakened state.

b. The transition from the priestly imagery of the hero detected in the early Enochic literature towards the more complex sacerdotal office which includes

Enoch's liturgical role as the leader of the heavenly worship prominent in Hekhalot and *Shi'ur Qomah* literature.

c. The transition from the early scribal imagery found in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees* and the *Book of Giants* to the imagery of the scribe who has a seat in heaven, which demonstrates remarkable similarities with Metatron's scribal profile in the *Hagiga Babli*.

d. The transition from Enoch's role as the measurer of the celestial bodies and calendar in the *Astronomical Book* to Enoch-Metatron's office as the Measurer of the Lord.

e. The transition from the position of the intercessor for the Watchers and Giants prominent in the early Enochic circle towards the new role of the redeemer and the expiator of the sin of the Protoplast, similar to Metatron's functions in *Sefer Hekhalot* 48C and the *Zohar*.

f. The transition from the office of the mediator of knowledge and judgment prominent in early Enochic lore to the new role as the mediator of the Divine Presence.

This chapter has also emphasized the possibility that the Slavonic apocalypse might contain incipient terminological evidence pertaining to the name Metatron. The context of this testimony suggests that this designation might be etymologically connected with Enoch's designation as the measurer responsible for the measuring various earthly and celestial phenomena.

It has been also noted that the new and old roles and titles found in the Slavonic apocalypse do not represent interpolations from the later Hekhalot macroforms, since

these conceptions exist in the Slavonic text in their very early rudimentary forms which sometimes only distantly allude to their later Hekhalot counterparts. These constructs are thus markedly different from the later Merkabah variants by their early pseudepigraphic form, which shows their close connection with the imagery and the conceptual world of Second Temple Judaism.

After concluding this part of the study, I must now proceed to examining and explicating why *2 Enoch* becomes the transitional Enochic text with a set of distinctive advancements from the early Enochic forms of the roles and titles to the Merkabah variants of these phenomena. One must begin this inquiry by directing attention to the polemical developments taking place in the Slavonic apocalypse. This study will attempt to demonstrate that these arguments point to the fact that the developments of Enoch's roles and titles might represent the polemical response to the various Second Temple traditions about exalted patriarchs and prophets. This question must now be explored in detail.

PART TWO

POLEMICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION OF ENOCH'S ROLES AND TITLES IN THE SLAVONIC APOCALYPSE

CHAPTER FIVE

ADAMIC POLEMICS IN *2 ENOCH* AND THE ENOCH-METATRON TITLES "YOUTH," "PRINCE OF THE WORLD," "REDEEMER OF THE WORLD," AND "MEASURER OF THE LORD"

The Function of the Adamic Tradition in 2 Enoch

Adam's story occupies a prominent place in *2 Enoch*. Traditions pertaining to the first human can be found in all the sections of the book.[1] In these materials Adam is depicted as a glorious angelic being, predestined by God to be the ruler of the earth, but falling short of God's expectations. Although a major bulk of Adamic materials belongs to the longer recension, which includes, for example, the lengthy Adamic narrative in Chapters 30-32, Adamic tradition is not confined solely to this recension. A number of important Adamic passages are also attested in the shorter recension. The extensive presence of Adamic materials in both recensions and their significance for the theology of the Slavonic apocalypse indicate that they are not later interpolations but are part of the original layer of the text.

Such an extensive presence of Adamic materials in a Second Temple Enochic text is quite unusual. In the early Enochic circle, included in the composition known as *1 Enoch,* Adam does not figure prominently. His presence in these materials is marginal

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[1] *2 Enoch* 30:8-32:2; 33:10; 41:1; 42:5; 44:1; 58:1-3; 71:28.

and limited to a few insignificant remarks. Besides these few short references to the first humans, the early Enochic booklets are silent about the traditions associated with the protoplast.[2] Moreover, Adam's image in *1 Enoch* is quite different from the one attested in the Slavonic apocalypse. *1 Enoch's* materials do not give any specific details about the elevated status of the protoplast. For example, the *Animal Apocalypse* 85:3 depicts Adam as a white bull. Although white is a positive symbol in the imagery of *An. Ap.*,[3] scholars note that, in general, this allegory does not indicate goodness or elevation, but rather lineage.[4] Thus, in *An. Ap.* all the sheep are white, even the blinded ones. The white color, therefore, does not serve as a sign of the elevated or angelic status of the protoplast. Sethites, for instance, are also depicted as white bulls. If the authors or editors of *An. Ap.* want to stress the angelic status of a character, they usually depict its transformation from an animal into a human. Thus, in the Ethiopic and Aramaic versions of *An. Ap.* 89:36, Moses is portrayed as the one who was transformed from a sheep into a man during his encounter with God on Mount Sinai. Moses' "humanization" points to his transition to angelic status. The same process can be found in the Ethiopic version of *An. Ap.* 89:9 where Noah's angelic metamorphosis is symbolically depicted as a transformation from a white bovid into a man.[5] Such humanization, however, is never applied to Adam in *An. Ap.*

The modest role which Adam plays in the early Enochic circle can be explained by several factors. Scholars previously observed that Enochic and Adamic traditions

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[2] See *1 Enoch* 32:6; 37:1; 60:8; 69:9-11; 85:3; 90:37-38.

[3] P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Early Judaism and Its Literature, 4; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 226.

[4] Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch,* 226.

[5] The "humanization" of Noah is not attested in the Aramaic. See Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch,* 267.

often offer contending explanations of the origin of evil in the world.[6] The Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the Watchers story, where the fallen angels corrupt human beings by passing on to them various celestial secrets. In contrast, the Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's disobedience and the transgression of Adam and Eve in Eden.

From the point of view of this long-lasting competition between Adamic and Enochic traditions, it might appear that the sudden occurrence of a large bulk of Adamic materials in *2 Enoch* represents alien accretions skillfully interpolated into the original narrative during its long transmission in the Greek and Slavonic milieux. A closer examination of the text, however, shows that the presence of Adamic tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse is not secondary or fortuitous but has a profound conceptual value for the whole theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse. It appears that the purpose of the extensive presence of Adamic materials in *2 Enoch* can be explained through the assessment of Enoch's image in the text.

It has been previously noted that Enoch's figure, portrayed in the various sections of *2 Enoch*, is more complex than in the early Enochic tractates of *1 Enoch*. For the first time, the Enochic tradition seeks to depict Enoch not simply as a human taken to heaven and transformed into an angel but as a celestial being exalted above the angelic world. In this attempt, one may find the origins of another image of Enoch, very different from the early Enochic literature, which was developed much later in Merkabah mysticism—the

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[6] M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 133-49. Michael Stone suggests that "Enochic explanation of the origin of evil contrasts with that which relates it to Adam's sin. Adam apocrypha and legendary developments of the Adam stories are strikingly absent from Qumran, while there are many works associated with the axis from Enoch to Noah." Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 133.

concept of the supreme angel Metatron, "the Prince of the Presence." It is, therefore, possible that this new profile of the elevated Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse can serve as an important clue to unriddling the mysteries of the extensive Adamic presence in *2 Enoch*.

In 1987 Moshe Idel published an article in which he explored the role of the Adamic traditions in shaping the image of Enoch as the supreme angel Metatron.[7] Although Idel's research dealt mainly with later rabbinic materials, it demonstrated that already in some pseudepigraphic accounts, Enoch appears to be portrayed as a luminous counterpart of Adam who regained Adam's glory[8] lost during the protoplast's transgression.[9]

Idel further suggested that Enoch's luminous metamorphosis attested in *2 Enoch* 22 might also belong to the same tradition which views Enoch as the one who regained Adam's lost status and luminosity. He observed that to the best of his knowledge, "Enoch is the only[10] living person for whom ... luminous garments, reminiscent of Adam's lost garments of light, were made."[11]

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[7] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 220-240. The original Hebrew version of this article appeared in: *Early Jewish Mysticism* (ed. J. Dan; Jerusalem, 1987).

[8] On the motif of recovering the lost glory of Adam in Jewish and Christian literature, see A. Golitzin, "Recovering the 'Glory of Adam': 'Divine Light' Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Ascetical Literature of Fourth-Century Syro-Mesopotamia," in: *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. J. R. Davila; STDJ, 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 275-308.

[9] Idel points to one such account, the Armenian text known as "The Words of Adam and Seth" where the following tradition can be found: "But he [Adam], not having observed the commandments, and having been stripped of the divine light, and having been thrown outside the Garden, became an equal of the dumb beast. And Enoch considered these things, and for forty days and for forty nights he did not eat at all. And after this he planted a luscious garden, and he planted in it fruit bearers and he was in the garden for five hundred and forty-two years, and after that, in body, he was taken up to heaven, and was found worthy of the divine glory and light." Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets* (Jerusalem, 1982) 12-13.

[10] It should be noted that rabbinic and Samaritan literature often depict Moses as a luminous counterpart of Adam who acquired a luminous garment during his encounter with the Lord on Mount Sinai.

[11] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 224.

Philip Alexander, in his recent research, provides new insight into Idel's argument about the formative value of the Adamic tradition for the image of the elevated Enoch. Alexander points to a number of rabbinic passages in which the supernatural radiance of Adam's heavenly soul, which departed from him when he sinned, later returned to be reincarnated in Enoch.[12] He further observes that

> behind these passages is a concept of Metatron as a divine entity first incarnate in Adam and then reincarnate in Enoch. Enoch, having perfected himself, in contrast to Adam, who sinned and fell, re-ascends to his heavenly home and takes his rightful place in the heights of the universe, above the highest angels.... Enoch thus becomes a redeemer figure--a second Adam through whom humanity is restored.[13]

It appears that the suggestions of scholars about the connection between Enoch and Adam are valid and deserve further investigation. It seems that the traces of the concept of Enoch as a second Adam can be detected already in *2 Enoch*, where Enoch assumes the glorious status of the protoplast. It is also significant that in the Slavonic apocalypse the luminosity is not the only quality that Enoch inherited from Adam. In this text, Enoch acquired a whole host of roles and qualities which the Adamic narrative of the Slavonic apocalypse associates with the protoplast. In the course of these polemical appropriations, the elevated angelic status of the prelapsarian Adam, his luminosity, his wisdom, and his special roles as the king of the earth and the steward of all earthly creatures are transferred to the new occupant of the celestial realm. This new occupant is the patriarch Enoch, who, near the Lord's throne, is transformed into one of the glorious ones initiated into the highest mysteries by the Lord, becomes the "manager of the arrangements on the earth," and writes down "everything that nourished" on it.

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[12] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," 111.
[13] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," 111.

Further analysis will demonstrate that the traditions about the prelapsarian conditions of Adam provide an initial background for these appropriations. The features of Adam's story, his roles and offices, are used in *2 Enoch* as the building blocks for creating the new, celestial identity of the elevated Enoch.[14]

This investigation must now turn to the text of the Slavonic Enoch in order to explore in detail these polemical developments.

King of the Earth

2 Enoch 30:12 describes Adam as the king of the earth.[15] This honorable role in *2 Enoch*, as in the Genesis account, represents not merely an impressive metaphor but presupposes specific duties which demonstrate Adam's royal status. Most of these activities have biblical roots.[16] From *2 Enoch* 58:3, one learns that the Lord appointed Adam over

> everything [as king], and he subjected everything to him in subservience under his hand, both the dumb and the deaf, to be commanded and for submission and for every servitude. So also to every human being. The Lord created mankind to be the lord of all his possessions.[17]

This description of Adam's duties corresponds to the account found in Gen 1:26-30, where God gives Adam dominion over "everything that has the breath of life."

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[14] It should be noted that the Adamic tradition is not the only "building material" used in *2 Enoch* in order to create the new, celestial image of Enoch. There is also a strong presence of the traditions about the elevated Moses, which help to enhance Enoch's new identity in various theophanic settings throughout the text. These developments will be investigated later.

[15] Slav. царь земли. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.30.

[16] On the connections between the Genesis account and the Adamic story of *2 Enoch*, see: J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "The Creation of Man and Woman in Early Jewish Literature," in: *The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. G. P. Luttikhuizen; TBN, 3; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 34-62.

[17] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 184.

As in Gen 2:19-20, one of the important functions of the new appointed king is the registration of all the possessions, i.e., all the living creatures of the earth given to his stewardship, through the act of their naming. *2 Enoch* 58 states that

> the Lord came down onto the earth [on account of Adam]. And he inspected all his creatures which he himself had created in the beginning of the thousand ages and when after all those he had created Adam. And the Lord summoned all the animals of the earth and all reptiles of the earth and all the birds that fly in the air, and he brought them all before the face of our father Adam, so that he might pronounce names for all the quadrupeds; and [Adam] named everything that lives on the earth.[18]

Assigning names here, just as in the Genesis account, also designates Adam's dominion over "everything that lives on the earth." This dominion, however, as in the biblical account, is supervised by the Lord. The whole picture indicates that the author of *2 Enoch* understands Adam's kingship as the management of God's property.[19] It is significant that the Slavonic apocalypse defines Adams' role as "the lord of all God's possessions."[20]

In the Slavonic apocalypse, however, the governing role of Adam as the lord of all God's possessions is challenged by the account of Enoch's kingship and his role as "the manager of the arrangements on the earth." This new role of Enoch vividly recalls the former royal status of the protoplast. The first hint about Enoch's role as the

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[18] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 185.

[19] See Philo, *Opif.* 88: "So the Creator made man after all things, as a sort of driver and pilot, to drive and steer the things on earth, and charged him with the care of animals and plants, like a governor subordinate to the chief and great King." *Philo* (trs. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929-64) 1.73. For an extended analysis of the Adamic traditions in Philo, see J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSS, 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988).

[20] Adam's designation as the second angel in *2 Enoch* 30:11 also seems to point to the protoplast's role as the viceroy of God. See Philo, *Opif.* 148: "... and the first man was wise with a wisdom learned from and taught by Wisdom's own lips, for he was made by divine hands; he was, moreover, a king, and it befits a ruler to bestow titles on his several subordinates. And we may guess that the sovereignty with which that first man was invested was a most lofty one, seeing that God had fashioned him with the utmost care and deemed him worthy of the second place, making him His own viceroy and the lord of all others." *Philo*, 1.117. It is also important that in *2 Enoch* the realm of Adam's dominion is designated as another

governing power on earth comes from Chapter 39 where Enoch relates to his children the details of his encounter with the divine anthropomorphic extent, identified in the text as the Lord's Face. Enoch's description provides a series of analogies in which the earthly Enoch compares his face and parts of his body with the attributes of the Lord's face and body. At the end of his description, Enoch delivers the following conclusion:

> 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 stand before the face of the King of earthly kings and of the heavenly armies.... Who can endure that endless misery?[21]

In the light of the overall logic of the patriarch's speech, in which the attributes of the Lord have been compared with Enoch's attributes, it becomes clear that the earthly king of the story is Enoch himself. This interpretation is confirmed by the manuscripts of the shorter recension which directly identify Enoch as the earthly king: "And now my children, listen to the discourses of an earthly king. It is dangerous and perilous to stand before the face of an earthly king,[22] terrifying [and very perilous] it is...."[23]

The designation of Enoch as a royal/governing power on earth is not confined solely to the passage found in Chapter 39. *2 Enoch* 46:1-2 (longer recension) also recounts the tradition about Enoch as the earthly king. There again Enoch refers to his royal status indirectly in the third person.[24]

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world: "And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it." *2 Enoch* 31:3. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 154.

[21] *2 Enoch* 39:8 (the longer recension). Andersen, "2 Enoch," 164.

[22] Slav. царѣ земнаго. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.38; 1.94.

[23] *2 Enoch* 39:8. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 165.

[24] "Listen, my people, and give heed to the utterance of my lips! If to an earthly king someone should bring some kinds of gifts, if he is thinking treachery in his heart, and the king perceives it, will he not be angry with him?" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 172.

The significant feature of Enoch's designation as the earthly king in the Slavonic apocalypse is that this text understands Enoch not as one of the earthly kings, but as the king of the earth who, in a manner similar to the protoplast, supervises all arrangements on the earth. This exclusive role is hinted at *2 Enoch* 64, which depicts the patriarch's address to the princes of the people as they prostrate themselves before him. This role is also intimated in Chapter 43 of the shorter recension and in a similar passage from *2 Enoch* found in the Slavonic collection "The Just Balance" (Slav. "*Merilo Pravednoe*"), where Enoch is described as the manager of the earth:

> And behold my children, I am the manager of the arrangements on earth,[25] I wrote (them) down. and the whole year I combined and the hours of the day. And the hours I measured; and I wrote down every seed on earth. And I compared every measure and the just balance I measured. And I wrote (them) down, just as the Lord commanded.[26]

It should be noted that the definition of Enoch as the king is a unique motif[27] in early Enochic materials. In *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees,* and the *Book of Giants,* the patriarch is often described as an intercessor, a visionary, a scribe, an expert in secrets, but never directly as a king.[28] It therefore becomes apparent that the royal/governing functions of

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[25] The title can also be translated as the Governor of the earth. Some manuscripts use Slavonic words кормствоуемаѧ or кръмствоуемаꙗ. These Slavonic terms are related to the Greek word κυβέρνησις or the Latin *gubernatio.* I. I. Sreznevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka* (3 vols.; Moscow: Kniga, 1989) I (II) 1410. The manuscript of "Merilo Pravednoe" uses the word правлемаꙗ. Tihomirov, *Merilo Pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka*, 71. Francis Andersen translates the term as "manager" - "I am the manager of the arrangements on earth...." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217.

[26] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 217.

[27] I am indebted to professor James VanderKam for this clarification.

[28] Although Enoch's role as the governing power on earth is unknown in the early Enochic materials, this does not mean that such a designation of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse is a foreign interpolation invented by the Greek or Slavic scribes. It appears that the depiction of Enoch as the governing power on earth represents an important step in shaping the new image of Enoch as the supreme angel elevated above the angelic world. The role of Enoch as the king/manager of earth in *2 Enoch* is, therefore, directly connected with the later Metatron title, the "Prince of the World," found in the Hekhalot literature and on the incantation bowls from Babylonia. The depiction of Metatron as the "Prince of the World" in *3 Enoch* reveals several similarities to the royal status of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse. One of them is that in *2 Enoch* 64:1 the patriarch delivers his address "to his sons and to the princes of the people." The reference to the princes of the people is intriguing since in *3 Enoch* 30 Metatron is described

Enoch are construed in the Slavonic apocalypse in the context of its polemical response to the Adamic tradition; these functions serve as a counterpart to the royal status of the protoplast.[29] It is not coincidental that in this situation some duties of Adam in his office of the king of the earth are also transferred to the new occupant of this office, the seventh antediluvian patriarch. In Chapters 39 and 43, Enoch's introductions as the king and the manager of the earth are followed with lengthy accounts of Enoch's activities involving measuring everything on earth. Right after Enoch is defined as the earthly king in *2 Enoch* 39, the patriarch tells his children:

> And everything that is nourished on the earth I have investigated and written down, and every seed, sown and not sown, which grows from the earth, and all the garden plants, and all the grasses, and all the flowers, and their delightful fragrances and their names.... I measured all the earth, and its mountains and hills and fields and woods and stones and rivers, and everything that exists....[30]

It appears that the functions of Enoch in his role as the king/manager of the earth include, as with the role of Adam, the duty of registering the created order. Like Adam who named everything that lives on the earth Enoch in his turn writes down "every seed on the earth."

It is important that Enoch's stewardship over the created order, akin to Adam's duties, also includes the obligation to protect and care for the animals. In *2 Enoch* 58-59,

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as the leader of seventy-two *princes* of the kingdoms of the world. The second important similarity is that in both texts the role of Enoch/Metatron as the governing power on earth is tied to his duties as the witness of the divine judgment. Both accounts, therefore, contain references to Enoch's writings representing the record of all the deeds of every person.

[29] In *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult,* Christfried Böttrich drew attention to the patriarch's designation as the earthly king. (See: Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, 113; idem, "Beobachtungen zum Midrash vom 'Leben Henochs,'" *Mitteilungen und Beiträge der Forschungsstelle Judentum an der Theologischen Fakultät Leipzig* 10 (1996) 44-83). Unfortunately, Böttrich failed to recognize the polemical meaning of this royal title in the original argument of the Slavonic apocalypse and dismissed it as a later interpolation. Böttrich's attempt to illuminate the origins of Enoch's royal imagery through the reference to the late rabbinic text *Hayye Hanokh* from *Sefer haYashar* is problematic. In light of the hypothesis about the Adamic provenance of Enoch's royal title in the Slavonic apocalypse, such dubious associations are not necessary.

the protoplast's responsibilities pertaining to the animals are transferred to the seventh antediluvian patriarch and his descendants. It is noteworthy that both accounts, the story of Adam's naming of animals and Enoch's instructions to his children about the protection of animals, are located in the same chapter of the Slavonic apocalypse. *2 Enoch* 58 depicts the Lord summoning all creatures of the earth and bringing them before Adam so that the first human might name them. This story then continues with Enoch's instructions to his children about the special care for animals, whose souls will testify against human beings at the great judgment if they treat them unjustly. This account, which substitutes one steward of God's earthly creatures for another, fits perfectly into the pattern of the Adamic polemics found in the Slavonic apocalypse.

Angelic Veneration

It is difficult to overestimate the value for this discussion of an article published by Michael Stone in 1993.[31] Stone's study reveals that the argument with the Adamic tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse includes not only the internal debates based on *2 Enoch's* depictions of the protoplast but also the intertextual polemics with the Adamic traditions attested in the primary Adam books.[32] The fact that these Adamic traditions are already re-written in the Slavonic apocalypse, as the deeds and functions of the protoplast are transferred to Enoch without any reference to their original proprietor, serves as strong evidence of the scope of the polemical intentions of *2 Enoch's* authors.

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[30] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 164-166. In chapter 43, the same picture can be observed. Enoch's measuring activities follow his definition as the governor/manager of the earth.

[31] M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," *JTS* 44 (1993) 143-156.

[32] This does not mean that *2 Enoch* is literally dependent on the primary Adam books in their final form, but rather indicates that the traditions which stand behind these books have ancient origins since, by the first century CE, these traditions were already appropriated into the Enochic text.

Stone's article investigates an important motif preserved in Chapters 21-22 of the Slavonic apocalypse. The story depicts angels bringing Enoch to the edge of the seventh heaven. By the Lord's command, archangel Gabriel invites the patriarch to stand in front of the Lord forever. Enoch agrees and archangel Gabriel carries him to the Face of the Lord where the patriarch does obeisance to God. God then personally repeats the invitation to Enoch to stand before him forever. After this invitation, archangel Michael brings the patriarch to the front of the face of the Lord. The Lord then tells his angels, sounding them out: "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" In response to this address, the Lord's glorious ones do obeisance to Enoch saying, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!"[33] After that the patriarch's earthly garments were removed by archangel Michael, he was anointed with shining oil, and became like one of the glorious ones.[34]

Stone observes that the story found in *2 Enoch* 21-22 recalls the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve.*[35] These versions depict God's creation of Adam in his image. Archangel Michael brought the first human and had him bow down before God's face. God then commanded all the angels to bow down to Adam. All the angels agreed to venerate the protoplast except Satan (and his angels); the latter refused to bow down before Adam because the first human was younger ("posterior") than Satan.

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[33] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138.

[34] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136, 138.

[35] The Adamic story of the angelic veneration of Adam and Satan's disobedience is attested in many Jewish, Christian, and Muslim materials. See Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* 4; *Gos. Bart.* 4, Coptic *Enthronement of Michael*, *Cave of Treasures* 2:10-24; *Qur'an* 2:31-39; 7:11-18; 15:31-48; 17:61-65; 18:50; 20:116-123; 38:71-85.

Stone notes that, along with the motifs of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels, the author of *2 Enoch* appears also to be aware of the motif of angelic disobedience and refusal to venerate the first human. Stone draws the reader's attention to the phrase "sounding them out," found in *2 Enoch* 22:6, which another translator of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them."[36] Stone notes that the expression "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" imply here that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested.[37]

Comparing the similarities between Adamic and Enochic accounts, Stone observes that the order of events in *2 Enoch* exactly duplicates the order found in the primary Adam books since both sources know three chief events:[38]

I. *LAE:* Adam is created and situated in heaven.

2 Enoch: Enoch is brought to heaven.

II. *LAE*: Archangel Michael brings Adam before God's face. Adam does obeisance to God.

2 Enoch: Archangel Michael brings Enoch before the Lord's Face. Enoch does obeisance to the Lord.

III. *LAE*: God commands the angels to bow down. Some of the angels do obeisance. Satan and his angels disobey.

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[36] W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896) 28.

[37] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," 47.

[38] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," 48.

> *2 Enoch*: "The rebellion in the Adam events is assumed. God tests whether this time the angels will obey. The angels are said to bow down and accept God's command."[39]

Stone concludes that the author of *2 Enoch* 21-22 was cognizant of the traditions resembling[40] those found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve.*[41] He emphasizes that these traditions did not enter *2 Enoch* from the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*, because this form of tradition does not occur in the Slavonic recension of the primary Adam book.[42]

It appears that the Adamic tradition from Chapter 22 is not an interpolation, but belongs to the original core of the Slavonic apocalypse. Two significant features found in *2 Enoch* seem to indicate that the tradition of angelic veneration is interwoven into the original fabric of the text. The first is evidenced in Chapter 7 of the Slavonic apocalypse. *2 Enoch* 7:3 depicts Enoch carried by angels to the second heaven. There the patriarch sees the condemned angels kept as prisoners awaiting the measureless judgment. Enoch's angelic guides explain to him that the prisoners are "those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth

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[39] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve,*" 48.

[40] M. Stone's argument was later supported and developed by Gary Anderson. G. Anderson observes that "one cannot imagine that the tradition in the Enoch materials was created independently from the tradition found in the *Vita.*" G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Anderson, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 101.

[41] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve,*" 48.

[42] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve,*" 48.

heaven."[43] The story further continues with angelic veneration: the condemned angels bow down to Enoch asking for his intercession: "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!"[44]

It is possible that this passage about the group of the condemned angels is an allusion to the motif of angelic veneration found in *2 Enoch* 22 and in the primary Adam books.

Three details of the story from *2 Enoch* 7 seem to support this interpretation:

a. In *2 Enoch* 7, similarly to the Adamic accounts, the sin of the imprisoned angels is disobedience to the Lord's commandments.

b. The agents of the rebellion are a group of angels with "their prince." This recalls the information found in the Adamic accounts where not only Satan, but also other angels under him, refuse to venerate Adam. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3 directly identifies the prisoners of the second heaven as the angels of Satanail.[45]

c. The imprisoned angels bow down before man (Enoch). An additional important detail here is that the patriarch is addressed by the fallen angels as a "man" - "a man of God."

This act of angelic bowing before Enoch in the second heaven might anticipate the later angelic obeisance the patriarch received in Chapter 22 of the Slavonic apocalypse.[46]

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[43] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 114.

[44] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 114.

[45] *2 Enoch* 18:3 "And those men answered me, 'These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness.'" Andersen, 1.130. It is noteworthy that in *2 Enoch* the Enochic story of the Watchers' rebellion and the Adamic story of Satan's refusal to venerate humanity appear to be closely connected. They demonstrate an intriguing parallel to the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, *3 Enoch* 5:9-10 and *Zohar* III.207b-208a, where the leaders of the Watchers are depicted as the forces opposing the creation and elevation of humanity.

[46] *2 Enoch* 66:5 might also allude to the angelic veneration of Adam. In *2 Enoch* 66 after the reference to God's creation, the following warning can be found addressed to Enoch's sons: "Do not bow

The second bit of evidence demonstrating that the theme of angelic bowing from Chapter 22 is deeply imbedded in the original theological framework of the Enochic writing is its connection with the Enochic title "Youth" or "Lad" found in some Slavonic MSS of *2 Enoch*.

The Youth

We have already seen that the authors of *2 Enoch* are responsible for creating the new roles and titles of Enoch which are absent in the early Enochic treatises of *1 Ethiopic Enoch* but can be found in the later Merkabah mysticism. One such title is "Youth," which becomes one of the favorite designations of Metatron in the Merkabah literature. Before proceeding to the analysis of the title "Youth" in the Slavonic text and its connection with the Adamic tradition, a short excursus into the later rabbinic materials is necessary.

Recently Gary Anderson has demonstrated that the Adamic story of angelic veneration and opposition to humanity played a prominent role in rabbinic literature.[47] In his article Anderson draws attention to the account found in *3 Enoch* 4, where the Adamic motif of angelic veneration, in a manner similar to *2 Enoch* 22, was applied to

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down to anything created by man, nor to anything created by God, so committing apostasy against the Lord of all creation." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 192.

[47] Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 83-110. On the Adamic traditions in rabbinic literature see, also A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1945) 371-391; B. Barc, "La taille cosmique d'Adam dans la littérature juive rabbinique des trois premiers siècles apres J.-C.," *RSR* 49 (1975) 173-85; J. Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (2 vols; eds. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996) 1.529-39; G. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 195-234; idem, "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 (1980) 1-13; P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin; New York : de Gruyter, 1975); Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven,* 108-115.

Enoch-Metatron. *3 Enoch* 4:1-10 depicts Rabbi Ishmael questioning his celestial guide Metatron about his name "Youth." The passage reads:

> R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: "... You are greater than all the princes, more exalted than all the angels, more beloved than all the ministers ... why, then, do they call you 'Youth' in the heavenly heights?" He answered, "Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared ... the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of the ministering angels, Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man!'[48] ... And once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying 'Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you.' Because I am young in their company and mere youth among them in days and months and years--therefore they call me 'Youth'."[49]

Commenting on this passage, Anderson suggests that if "we remove those layers of the tradition that are clearly secondary ... we are left with a story that is almost identical to the analog[50] we have traced in the Adam and Eve literature and II Enoch."[51] He further notes that the acclamation of Enoch as the "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* is pertinent since the reason *3 Enoch* supplies for this title is deceptively simple and straightforward: "Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years--therefore they call me 'Youth.'" Anderson proposes that the title might have Adamic origins since the explanation for the epithet "Youth" recalls the

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[48] For a similar tradition see the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, and *Zohar* 3.207b-208a.

[49] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.258-59.

[50] It is noteworthy that the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:4 refers to three watchers who descended "from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon," which indicates that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse operated with the tradition of the three Watchers similar to one found in *3 Enoch* 4. *2 Enoch* therefore might represent an intermediate stage between the tradition about two leaders of the rebellious Watchers found in the earliest Enochic booklets and the tradition about Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael found in *3 Enoch*.

[51] Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 107.

reason for the angelic refusal to worship Adam in the *Vita* on the basis of his inferiority to them by way of his age.[52]

Anderson's hypothesis that the origin of the title "Youth" is connected with the appropriation of the Adamic tradition is crucial to the current investigation. It has been noted that in some manuscripts of the Slavonic Enoch, the seventh antediluvian patriarch is also often addressed as the "Youth."[53] Although this designation occurs only in some Slavonic manuscripts, the author of the recent English translation, Francis Andersen, considered this reading as the original.[54] He was also the first scholar to propose that Enoch's designation as the "Youth" in *2 Enoch* recalls the identical title of Metatron attested in *3 Enoch* and other Hekhaloth writings.[55] In his commentary to the English translation of *2 Enoch* in OTP, Andersen wrote:

> The remarkable reading *yunoše* [youth], clearly legible in A, supports the evidence of V, which has this variant four times (not here), and of other MSS, that there was a tradition in which Enoch was addressed in this way. The similarity to the vocative *enoše* [Enoch] might explain the variant as purely scribal slip. But it is surprising that it is only in address, never in description, that the term is used. The variant *jenokhu* is rare. There is no phonetic reason why the first vowel should change to *ju*; *junokhu* is never found. But it cannot be a coincidence that this title is identical with that of Enoch (=Metatron) in *3 Enoch*.[56]

It is notable that several important occurrences of the title "Youth" in *2 Enoch* come from the mouth of angels. Thus in Chapter 9 of the shorter recension, an angelic being accompanying Enoch on his way through the heavenly realm addresses him as "Youth:" "This place has been prepared, Youth, for the righteous...."[57] Later in Chapter 10, one can hear the same address again: "This place, Youth, has been prepared for those

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[52] Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 108.

[53] Slav. юноше.

[54] Professor Francis Andersen reassured me in a private communication about the originality of this reading, referring to it as "powerful evidence."

[55] See, for example, *Synopse*, §§ 384; 385; 390; 396. Schäfer et al., *Synopse*, 162-3, 164-5, 166-7.

who practice godless uncleanness on the earth...."[58] These angelic addresses are consistent with the Adamic and Merkabah accounts in which angelic beings point to Adam/Enoch's young age.

According to the Merkabah tradition, God also prefers to address Enoch-Metatron as "Youth." In *3 Enoch* 3, when R. Ishmael asks Metatron "What is your name?" Metatron answers, "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy nations of the world ... however, my King calls me 'Youth'."[59] The designation of Enoch as "Youth" seems to signify here the special relationship between the Holy One and Metatron. One can see the beginning of this tradition already in *2 Enoch* where in Chapter 24 of the shorter recension the following tradition can be found:

> And the Lord called me (Enoch) and he placed me to himself closer than Gabriel. And I did obeisance to the Lord. And the Lord spoke to me "Whatever you see, Youth, things standing still and moving about were brought to perfection by me and not even to angels have I explained my secrets...as I am making them known to you today...."[60]

It is significant that the title "Youth" here is tied to the motif of human superiority over angels, which plays a prominent role in the primary Adam books where God orders his angels to bow down before humanity.

Finally, one must note that several important readings attesting the use of "Youth" in the materials associated with the Slavonic Enoch can be found in the Vienna Codex. In this manuscript Enoch is addressed by the Lord as the "Youth"[61] in the context of angelic veneration:

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[56] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 118-9.
[57] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.85.
[58] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 119.
[59] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 257.
[60] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.90-91.
[61] Unfortunately, Friedrich Repp's research on the Vienna Codex failed to discern the proper meaning of the "Youth" in this important manuscript. See: F. Repp, "Textkritische Untersuchungen zum

> And the Lord with his own mouth called me [Enoch] and said: Be brave, Youth![62] Do not be frightened! Stand up in front of my face forever. And Michael, the Lord's archistratig, brought me in the front of the Lord's face. And the Lord tempted his servants and said to them: "Let Enoch come up and stand in the front of my face forever." And the glorious ones bowed down and said: "Let him come up!"[63]

In conclusion, it should be noticed that my analysis has revealed that several important readings pertaining to Adamic polemics can be found in the manuscripts of the shorter recension. It does not follow, however, that these readings are secondary and not original. The rehabilitation of the longer recension, as well as the reaffirmation of its value in recent scholarship, should not lead to the automatic rejection of everything in the shorter recension as unauthentic and secondary. The mere subscription to one of the recensions deceptively oversimplifies the problem of delineating the original text.[64] The task is more complicated and necessarily involves a careful investigation of the theological intentions of the authors and editors of the text. Almost three decades ago Francis Andersen warned students of *2 Enoch* against jumping to simplistic and hasty conclusions. He noted that "all of the materials calls for reassessment.... In the present state of our knowledge, the genuineness of any disputed passage is difficult to judge."[65] His prudent advice remains valuable today.

The Hunger Motif

The previous analysis demonstrated that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse were cognizant of the motifs and themes similar to those found in the primary Adam

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Henoch-Apokryph des co. slav. 125 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Wiener slavistische Jahrbuch* 10 (1963) 65.

[62] Slav. ѭноше.

[63] Ms. V (VL 125) [Nr. 3], fol. 317.

[64] Francis Andersen observes that the textual history of *2 Enoch* "is very complicated, and in all likelihood there have been deletions and interpolations in both recensions." Andersen, "Enoch, Second Book of," *ABD* 2.519

[65] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 93-94.

books. One of the prominent Adamic motifs absent in the biblical account but presented in the later extrabiblical traditions is the theme of Adam and Eve's hunger after their eviction from Eden to earth.[66] The primary Adam books begin their stories by depicting the expulsion of the first humans from the Garden. The narrative continues with the description of the hunger the first humans experienced as they found themselves on earth. It seems that the cause of their hunger was not the absence of food on earth, but the dining habits of the first humans, who were accustomed to the celestial nourishment during their stay in Paradise. It is, therefore, significant that the Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the primary Adam books emphasize the difference between the two foods: the angelic food which Adam and Eve ate in paradise and the food that lies before them on the earth.[67]

In *2 Enoch* the story of the first humans' hunger takes a new polemical form. The second part of *2 Enoch* depicts the patriarch who, just like Adam and Eve, was transported from heaven to earth. This time, however, the transition is pleasant: Enoch is not punitively expelled from heaven, like Adam, but sent by God on a short trip to instruct his children. From *2 Enoch* 56:2 one can learn that during Enoch's instructions, Methuselah asks his father for a blessing, so that he may prepare some food for him to eat. The patriarch answers his son in the following manner:

> Listen, child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, food has not come into me, and earthly pleasure my soul does not remember; nor do I desire anything earthly (*2 Enoch* 56:2 the longer recension).

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[66] On the hunger motif in the primary Adam books, see G. Anderson, "The Penitence Narrative in the Life of Adam and Eve," in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Anderson, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 6ff.

[67] "They arose and went about upon the earth, and they did not find food like the food by which they had been nourished in [the Garden]." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition* (eds. G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone; Early Judaism and Its Literature, 17; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999) 3E.

In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch*, the patriarch's rejection of food is even more decisive: "Listen my child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with ointment of my glory, it has been horrible for me, and food is not agreeable to me, and I have no desire for earthly food."[68] The important detail that connects this Enochic account to the account found in the Armenian, Georgian, and Latin primary Adam books is their common emphasis on the fact that it is the earthly food that is unsuitable for those who just came from the celestial realm. The account found in these versions of the primary Adam books also stresses this fact. They inform us that Adam and Eve "did not find food like the food by which they had been nourished in the Garden." Eve's discourse found in 4:2 again emphasizes this difference between earthly and celestial food, referring to earthly food as nourishment for the beasts.[69]

These similarities suggest that the tradition found in *2 Enoch* 56:2 might represent a part of the polemics with the Adamic traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse. Here Enoch is depicted as superior to Adam and Eve, who must accept earthly food as the sign of the Fall and their permanent transition to the lower realm. It should also be noted that it is unlikely that this tradition entered *2 Enoch* from the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*, since the Slavonic *Vita* does not attest to the traditions about earthly and celestial food.

The Motif of the Divine Face

The previous investigation of the motif of angelic veneration showed that one of the concentrated elaborations of Adamic polemics in *2 Enoch* is found in Chapter 22, which depicts the climax of Enoch's celestial trip and his luminous metamorphosis near

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[68] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 182, 183.
[69] *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 5E.

the Throne of Glory. The partiarch's transition to the new, celestial identity found in this part of the text is therefore convenient for appropriating the Adamic tradition about the luminous condition of the protoplast.

The motif of the Divine Face is important in linking Enoch's glorious condition with the former luminosity of Adam. Enoch's luminous metamorphosis takes place in front of the Lord's glorious extent, labeled in *2 Enoch* 22 and 39 as the Lord's "Face."[70] From *2 Enoch* 22 one learns that the vision of the divine Face had dramatic consequences for Enoch's appearance. His body endured radical changes as it became covered with the divine light. This encounter transformed Enoch into a glorious angelic being. The text says that after this procedure Enoch became like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference.[71] This phrase describes Enoch's transition to his new celestial identity as "one of the glorious ones." During this transition in front of the Lord's face, Enoch's own face became radically altered, and the patriarch acquired a new glorious visage which reflected the luminosity[72] of the Lord's *Panim*.[73] The important link that

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[70] "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 Enoch* 22:1-4, longer recension). Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136.

[71] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138.

[72] *2 Enoch's* narrative gives evidence that Enoch's face acquired the same qualities of luminosity as the Face of the Lord. In *2 Enoch* 37, the Lord calls one of his angels to chill the face of Enoch before his return to earth. The angel, who "appeared frozen," then chilled Enoch's face with his icy hands. Immediately after this procedure, the Lord tells Enoch that if his face had not been chilled in such a way, no human being would be able to look at his face. This chilling procedure indicates that Enoch's metamorphosis near the Face involves the transformation of the visionary's face into the fiery, perilous entity which now resembles the Lord's Face. One can find a detailed description of this process in another Enochic text, *Sefer Hekhalot*, which describes the transformation of Enoch-Metatron, the Prince of the Divine Presence, into a fiery creature. See *3 Enoch* 15:1: "R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot and all needs of the Shekinah, at once my flesh turned to

connects this new condition of Enoch with the condition of the glorious Adam is the theme of the new creation after the Lord's Face. It has been shown that the Face in *2 Enoch* 22 represented the cause and the prototype after which the new celestial identity of Enoch was formed. The new creation after the Face signifies here the return to the prelapsarian condition of Adam, who also was modeled after the Face of God. Support for this view can be found in *2 Enoch* 44:1, where one learns that the protoplast was also created after the Face of God. The text says that "the Lord with his own two hands created mankind; in a facsimile of his own face, both small and great, the Lord created [them]."[74] It is intriguing that *2 Enoch* departs here from the canonical reading attested in Gen 1:26-27 where Adam was created, not after the face of God, but after His image (*tselem*). Francis Andersen observes that *2 Enoch's* "idea is remarkable from any point of view.... This is not the original meaning of *tselem*.... The text uses *podobie lica* [in the likeness of the face], not *obrazu* or *videnije*, the usual terms for 'image.'"[75]

It is clear, however, that this reading did not arise in the Slavonic environment, but belonged to the original argument of *2 Enoch*, where the creation of the luminous protoplast after the Face of the Lord corresponds to a similar angelic creation of the seventh antediluvian patriarch.[76] There is almost no doubt that, in view of the information

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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." *3 Enoch* 15:1. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267.

[73] It is noteworthy that after this event Enoch's face, just as the Lord's face, acquired the ability to glorify other subjects. Thus in *2 Enoch* 64:3-5 the following tradition can be found: "...and the elders of the people and all the community came and prostrated themselves and kissed Enoch.... O our father Enoch, bless your sons and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[74] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 170.

[75] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 171, note b.

[76] Christfried Böttrich, in his recent research on *2 Enoch*, did not acknowledge the pivotal role of the imagery of the divine Face in the original argument of the Slavonic apocalypse and rejected the descriptions of the Lord's Face in *2 Enoch* 22 and 39 as later interpolations. (See: Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, 112-113). This rejection had, in my

about Adam's glorious angelic nature attested in *2 Enoch* 30:11, the author of the Slavonic apocalypse tries to connect the theme of Adam's creation with the motif of the glorious Face of the Lord.

Oil from the Tree of Life

Another Adamic motif in the story of Enoch's transformation is the luminous oil, which causes the patriarch's glorious metamorphosis. *2 Enoch* 22:9 portrays archangel Michael extracting Enoch from his clothes and anointing him with delightful oil. The text says that the oil's appearance is "greater than the greatest light and its ointment is like sweet dew, and the fragrance [like] myrrh; and it is like rays of the glittering sun."[77] The anointing with the oil causes the patriarch's transformation from the garments of skin to the luminous garment of an immortal angelic being, one of the glorious ones. It appears that that the oil used in Enoch's anointing comes from the Tree of Life, which in *2 Enoch* 8:3-4 is depicted with a similar symbolism. *2 Enoch* 8:3-4 reports that "... the tree [of life] is indescribable for pleasantness and fine fragrance, and more beautiful than any (other) created thing that exists. And from every direction it has an appearance which is gold-looking and crimson, and with the form of fire."[78] The shorter recension also refers to a second, olive tree near the first one "flowing with oil continually."[79]

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judgment, dramatic consequences for Böttrich's research and his ability to discern the theology of the text in general and the meaning of the Adamic traditions in *2 Enoch* in particular. The tradition of the Divine Face represents a nexus by which several significant polemical trajectories of the text are interwoven. One of these trajectories is the connection between the traditions of Adam's cosmic body in *2 Enoch* 30:8-11 and the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition presented in *2 Enoch* 39, which depicts Enoch as the measurer of the divine body. This important connection completely escaped Böttrich's attention and undermined the credibility of his later research on the cosmic body of Adam. See C. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1995).

[77] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138.

[78] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 114.

[79] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 117.

It should be noted that Enoch's oil anointing is a unique motif in the Enochic tradition. Enoch's approach to the throne in the *Book of the Watchers* and his transformation into the son of man in the *Book of the Similitudes* do not involve anointing with or any usage of oil. Later Enochic traditions are also silent about oil. For example, the account of Metatron's transformation in *3 Enoch* does not mention any anointing with oil.

Yet while unknown in the Enochic literature, the motif of anointing with the oil from the Tree of Life looms large in the Adamic tradition. Chapter 35(9) of the primary Adam books contains the story of Adam's sickness. The patriarch finds himself in great distress and pain. Trying to find a cure, Adam sends Eve and Seth to paradise so they can fetch the oil of the Tree of Life that will relieve his illness. Their mission, however, is unsuccessful. Archangel Michael refuses to give the oil to Eve and Seth, telling them that the oil will be used "when the years of the end are filled completely" for those who will "be worthy of entering the Garden."[80]

There are several corresponding characteristics that can be detected in the Adamic and Enochic accounts:

1. The purpose of the anointing is similar in both traditions. Its function is the "resurrection of Adam's body" e.g., the reversal of the earthly fallen condition into the incorruptible luminous state of the protoplast.[81] It is not coincidental that in *2 Enoch* 22 oil anointing transforms Enoch into a luminous angelic being. As has been already noted, it recalls the description of the protoplast in *2 Enoch* 30:11 as a glorious angelic being.

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[80] *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 45E (Armenian version).
[81] *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 45E (Armenian version).

2. The subject of the anointing is also identical. In *2 Enoch* and in the primary Adam books, the oil is used (or will be used) for transforming the righteous ones in their transition to the angelic state in the celestial realm. In the primary Adam books, the oil is prepared for those who will "be worthy of entering the Garden."[82] Michael Stone observes that *2 Enoch* also "knows an anointing with the heavenly perfumed oil that brings about a transformation of the righteous."[83]

The same situation is attested in *3 Baruch*, where the reward of the righteous is oil. Harry Gaylord notes that this theme in *3 Baruch* has a connection with the Adamic tradition. He observes that "by his disobedience Adam lost 'the glory of God' (4:16[G]), which may have been comparable to that of angels (cf. 13:4[S]). The reward of the righteous is oil, possibly the sign of the glory of God, which the angel-guide promises to show Baruch several times in this text (6:12; 7:2; 11:2; 16:3[S]). It is hardly accidental that there are traditions that Adam sought to receive the 'oil of mercy' at the point of death, and that Enoch was transformed by the 'oil of his glory'...."[84]

3. It is important that in *2 Enoch* and in the primary Adam books, the person in charge of oil is the archangel Michael.[85] In *2 Enoch* 22 he anoints Enoch with shining oil, causing his luminous metamorphosis. In *3 Baruch* 15:1 Michael brings oil to the righteous.[86] In the primary Adam books, he also seems to be in charge of oil since it is he who refuses to give Seth the oil for healing Adam.

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[82] 43(13): "The Lord said, 'I will admit them into the Garden and I will anoint them with that unction.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 45E (Georgian version).

[83] M. Stone, "The Angelic Prediction in the Primary Adam Books," in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, 127.

[84] H.E. Gaylord, "3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.658.

[85] Stone, "The Angelic Prediction in the Primary Adam Books," 126.

[86] E. C. Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962) 59.

4. It is noteworthy that *2 Enoch* and the primary Adam accounts refer to the flowing of the oil. Thus, the Georgian *LAE* 36(9):4 relates that "(God) will send his angel to the Garden where the Tree of Life is, from which the oil flows out, so that he may give you a little of that oil."[87] *2 Enoch* 8:5 seems to attest to the same tradition: "and another tree is near it, an olive, flowing with oil continually." Michael Stone notes that "it is striking that *2 Enoch* highlights the flowing of the oil, just like the Adam books."[88]

These similarities show that the motif of the oil from the Tree of Life in *2 Enoch* might have Adamic provenance. It is unlikely that this tradition is a later interpolation. Attested in both recensions, it plays a pivotal role in the scene of Enoch's luminous metamorphosis.

"The One Who Carried Away the Sin of Humankind"

It has been mentioned earlier that in later Jewish mysticism Metatron was viewed as a divine being first incarnated in Adam and then in Enoch, who re-ascended to the protoplast's heavenly home and took his rightful place in the heights of the universe. Philip Alexander observes that "Enoch thus becomes a redeemer figure--a second Adam through whom humanity is restored."[89] It appears that this theological motif of Enoch's redeeming role is already developed in *2 Enoch.*

In Chapter 64 of the longer recension of the Slavonic apocalypse, an "astounding encomium" can be found which, in the view of one of *2 Enoch's* translators, "could hardly please a Christian or a Jew."[90] The chapter depicts a prostration of the elders of

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[87] *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 40E.
[88] Stone, "The Angelic Prediction in the Primary Adam Books," 126.
[89] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," 111.
[90] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

the people and all the community before Enoch at the place of his second departure to heaven. The people who came to bow down before the patriarch delivered to Enoch the following address:

> O our father,[91] Enoch! May you be blessed by the Lord, the eternal king! And now, bless your [sons], and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today. For you will be glorified in front of the face [of the Lord for eternity], because you are the one whom the Lord chose in preference to all the people upon the earth; and he appointed you to be the one who makes a written record of all his creation, visible and invisible, and the one who carried away the sin of mankind (*2 Enoch* 64:4-5).[92]

An important detail in this address is Enoch's designation as "the one who carried away the sin of humankind." This depiction of the patriarch as a redeemer is startling. But what kind of sin was Enoch able to carry away?

Christfried Böttrich in his recent study argues that the description of Enoch as the one who carried away the sin of humankind reflects not the reality but only the expectation of the elders of the people. He stresses that *2 Enoch* absolutely rejects the idea of intercession before God,[93] pointing to the passage in Chapter 53 where the patriarch warns his children that he will not be able to help them on the day of judgment, since no one can help relieve another person's sin.[94]

Unfortunately, Böttrich's observations, based on a faulty methodology, miss the gist of the argument in Chapter 64. Oblivious to the Adamic polemics in the text, he fails to notice a detail crucial to interpretation: in *2 Enoch* 64 the elders of the earth define

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[91] The designation of Enoch as "our father" here and in *2 Enoch* 69:2, 69:5, 70:3 might have a polemical flavor. In *2 Enoch* 58:1 Adam is also designated as "our father." In *WisSol* 10:1 the title "the Father of the World" is applied to the protoplast. See, P. B. Munoa III, *Four Powers in Heaven: The Interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Testament of Abraham* (JSPSS, 28; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 104-5.

[92] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[93] Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, 194-95; C. Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reaction to A. Orlov" *JJS* 32.4 (2001) 457.

[94] *2 Enoch* 53:1-4. See also *2 Enoch* 7:4-5, 62:2.

Enoch not as the one who will carry away the sin of humankind, but as the one who has already carried away this sin.[95] The emphasis on the already accomplished redemptive act provides an important clue to understanding the kind of sin Enoch was able to erase. The focus here is not on the individual sins of Enoch's descendents, but on the primeval sin of humankind.[96] Therefore, it becomes apparent that the redeeming functions of the patriarch are not related to his possible intercession for the sins of his children, the fallen angels or the elders of the earth, as Böttrich suggested. Rather they pertain to the sin of the protoplast which the patriarch was able to carry away by his righteousness, ascension, and transformation. Accordingly, Enoch has already accomplished his role as the redeemer of humanity through his luminous metamorphosis near the throne of glory.[97] Humanity has been redeemed in him, and this redemption gives hope to other righteous ones, who will later attain the paradisal condition. The significant detail that confirms Enoch's unique redeeming role is that, unlike in Chapter 53 where he opposes the idea of intercession, in *2 Enoch* 64-65 he does not object to the idea that he is able to carry away the sin of humanity.

Enoch's response to the people's address, which occupies the following Chapter 65, provides additional support for interpreting the sin Enoch was able to carry away as related to the transgression of the protoplast. The patriarch starts his response with paraphrasing the account of Adam's creation, telling that the Lord "constituted man in his

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[95] Slav. ѿимитель- literally "the one who has taken away." Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.59; 1.101. The noun ѿимитель derives from the verb отъимати, отимати (to remove, to release) which among other meanings can be used in the expression "to release from sin." Barchudarov's dictionary relates отимати to the Greek ἀφαιρεῖν. S. G. Barhudarov, ed., *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vekov* (25 vols.; Moscow: Nauka, 1975ff) 14.74-75.

[96] Another important hint that Enoch was able to take away the sin of the protoplast is that the MSS of the longer recension speak, not about many sins, but about only one sin, "the sin of humankind." In contrast, the reading of the shorter recension, which uses a plural form - "our sins," is clearly secondary.

own form, in accordance with a similarity."[98] He further relates that the Lord gave the protoplast "eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to think, and reason to argue."[99] Some elements of this part of the paraphrase allude to the details of the protoplast's marvelous creation found in *2 Enoch* 30:9, namely to some of the properties (seeing, hearing, reasoning) given to Adam at his creation.

Enoch concludes his reply to the people with the theme of the restoration of humanity to its prelapsarian paradisal condition, further indicating that the whole account revolves around the patriarch's role in the removal of Adam's sin. It is logical, therefore, that this message of hope comes from the patriarch's mouth whose humanity has already been restored to the paradisal condition. In *2 Enoch* 65:8-10 Enoch tells the people that at the end all the righteous who escaped from the Lord's great judgment "will be collected together into the great age .... And they will have a great light, a great indestructible light, and paradise, great and incorruptible. For everything corruptible will pass away, and the incorruptible will come into being, and will be the shelter of the eternal residences."[100]

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[97] An important hint to this unique role is Enoch's definition in *2 Enoch* 64 as "the one whom the Lord chose in preference to all the people of the earth."

[98] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[99] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[100] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 192.

Enoch-Metatron's Role as the "Measurer of the Lord" and the Shi^{c}ur Qomah Tradition in 2 Enoch

In one of his books Gershom Scholem remarks on the origins of the terminology associated with the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* materials.[101] These materials depict visionaries, Rabbi Ishmael and Rabbi Akiba, receiving from the supreme angel Metatron revelations of the "measurement of the body" (in Hebrew, *Shi^{c}ur Qomah*), an anthropomorphic description of the Deity together with the mystical names of its gigantic limbs.[102] Although the majority of evidence of the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* tradition is found in late Jewish writings, Scholem argues[103] that the beginning of *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* speculations can be dated not later than the second century CE.[104] Scholem appeals to a passage in *2 Enoch* which in his opinion represents the earliest witness to the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* terminology. The passage is situated in *2 Enoch* 39, in which Enoch tells his children about the vision of the Lord, whom he encountered during his celestial tour. Enoch describes the appearance of the Lord as a terrifying extent analogous to the human form:

> 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, 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, I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into (my) eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun and terrifying the eyes of a human being. You, (my) children, you see my right hand beckoning you, a human

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[101] Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*, 29.
[102] Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah*, 20.
[103] Ibid., 20.
[104] On the early invariant of this tradition see also: M. Gaster, "Das Shiur Komah," in: *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaveal Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* 2 (New York, 1971) 1343-1348.

> being created identical to yourselves; but I, I have seen the right hand of the Lord, beckoning me, who fills heaven. You, you see the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord,[105] without measure and without analogy, who has no end." (*2 Enoch* 39:3-6, shorter recension).[106]

In his commentary on the text, Scholem draws the reader's attention to the expression "the extent of my stature." He notes that earlier Abraham Kahana, in his Hebrew translation of *2 Enoch*,[107] rendered this expression as *shi^{c}ur qomati*.[108] Scholem further suggests that despite the late date of the known rabbinic *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* materials, the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* terminology might be already evident in the account drawn from *2 Enoch* 39, where Enoch describes God's gigantic limbs.

Scholem's suggestions are valuable and deserve serious attention, since several additional features in the aforementioned account of *2 Enoch* also seem to suggest the imagery found in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* tradition.[109] In the Slavonic apocalypse, Enoch describes to his children the gigantic hand of the Lord which fills the heaven. This description recalls the imagery of the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* accounts in which Enoch-Metatron transmits to Rabbi Ishmael and Rabbi Akiba knowledge about the gigantic limbs of the Deity, which fill the heaven. A series of analogies between Enoch's body and Lord's body in *2 Enoch* 39:3-6 appear also pertinent because the later Merkabah accounts often portray Enoch-Metatron as possessing the gigantic body himself. Moreover, some of these accounts seem to depict Metatron as the *measure* of the Divine Body.

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[105] Slav. ѡвѣтїа господна. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.94; 1.38.
[106] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 163.
[107] A. Kahana, "Sefer Hanok B," in: *Ha-Sefarim ha-Hitsonim le-Torah* (Jerusalem, 1936) 102-41.
[108] Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*, 29.
[109] Ithamar Gruenwald supports Scholem's position, suggesting that the expression found in *2 Enoch* 39 may represent the first reference to the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* of God. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, 213. For criticism of Scholem's position, see Cohen, *The Shi^{c}ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*, 80.

Scholem's comments about the significance of *2 Enoch* 39 for the history of early Jewish mysticism are important. His analysis, however, is incomplete since it focuses only on the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* passage found in Chapter 39. It does not explore the broader context of the passage, especially its relation to other descriptions of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse that seem to recall the depictions of Metatron in the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* materials. Moreover, it appears that the traditions about the divine body are not limited in this text to the figure of Enoch and include another important character of the text, namely, the patriarch Adam. The portrayal of the prelapsarian Adam found in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* reveals facinating similarities to the later *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* descriptions. Keeping in mind these important features of the Slavonic apocalypse, this section will investigate the roles of Adam and Enoch in the broader context of the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* account found in *2 Enoch*.

The Corporeality of the Protoplast

The later Jewish materials associated with the Merkabah tradition often depict Enoch-Metatron as the one who possesses a corporeal structure of cosmic dimensions. One such testimony can be found, for example, in *3 Enoch* 9 which describes the transformation of the patriarch Enoch into the supreme angel Metatron. According to this text, during this celestial metamorphosis Enoch-Metatron "was enlarged and increased in size till [he] matched the world in length and breadth."[110] The materials associated with

[110] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 263.

the *Shi'ur Qomah* tradition[111] also describe Enoch-Metatron in similar terms, saying that "the stature of this youth fills the world[112] (והנער הזה קומתו מלא העולם)."[113]

Despite the prominent role that the traditions about the cosmic body of Enoch-Metatron occupy in the later Merkabah accounts, the early Enochic materials of the Second Temple period are silent about the great dimensions of the body of the elevated patriarch. Enochic traditions attested in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Book of Giants* do not provide any hints about Enoch's gigantic body.

In contrast to this silence about Enoch's corporeality, several early Jewish sources attest to the lore about the enormous body of another biblical character, the patriarch Adam, which the protoplast possessed before his transgression in Eden. Thus, Philo in *QG* 1.32 mentions a tradition according to which the first humans received at their creation bodies of vast size reaching a gigantic height: "... [the first humans] ... were provided with a very great body and the magnitude of a giant...."[114] A similar testimony can be found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish text written around the first century CE. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:4-6 relates the description of the terrifying bodies of the first humans: "And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under the tree of Eden...."[115]

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[111] Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 159. See also Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*, 162.

[112] "His body is 30,000,000 parasangs, and they call him, 'Lad'." Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 40-41.

[113] Schäfer et al, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 162.

[114] Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* (tr. R. Marcus; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1949) 19.

[115] R. Rubinkewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.700.

Moreover, in some pseudepigraphic accounts the body of the protoplast is portrayed, not simply as gigantic, but even as comparable with the dimensions of the divine corporeality. Thus, in several pseudepigraphic materials the depictions of Adam's stature are often linked to the imagery of the enthroned divine anthropomorphic extent known from the priestly and Ezekelian sources as God's *Kavod.* [116] One such association might be hinted in *2 Enoch* 30; here the *Kavod* imagery seems to have been applied to Adam's prelapsarian condition. In this text the protoplast is labeled as "the second angel" to whom the Lord assigned four special stars. Jarl Fossum suggests that, in view of the imagery attested in other Enochic texts where stars often designate angels, the allotment to Adam of the four special stars might allude to the fact that Adam, like God, also has his own "Princes of the Presence" - the four angels whose function is to serve near the Throne of Glory.[117] This angelic imagery signals that *2 Enoch*'s authors might understand Adam as an enthroned entity resembling the Lord's glorious anthropomorphic extent, His *Kavod.*[118]

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[116] Scholars have previously observed that the beginning of such association can be traced to some biblical accounts, namely to the traditions found in Ezekiel which seem to contain allusions to Adam's enthronement. Philip Munoa, in his research, points to the tradition found in Ezek 28 which depicts the king of Tyre as an elevated glorious being placed in the garden of Eden: "You were the signet of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. You were in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was your covering, carnelian, chrysolite, and moonstone, beryl, onyx, and jasper, sapphire, turquoise, and emerald; and worked in gold were your settings and your engravings. On the day that you were created they were prepared. With an anointed cherub as guardian I placed you; you were on the holy mountain of God; you walked among the stones of fire; You were blameless in your ways from the day that you were created, until iniquity was found in you. In the abundance of your trade you were filled with violence, and you sinned; so I cast you as a profane thing from the mountain of God, and the guardian cherub drove you out from among the stones of fire." Since the passage contains references to the garden of Eden and to the creation account, scholars noted that in the later rabbinic materials Ezekiel 28 is often interpreted to refer to the Adamic tradition in which the patriarch is depicted as enthroned in heaven. For a detailed discussion of this tradition, see: Munoa, *Four Powers in Heaven: The Interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Testament of Abraham*, 85-86.

[117] J. Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," in: *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (eds. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996) 1.535, n. 39.

[118] Further support for the suggestion that in *2 Enoch* Adam is enthroned is offered in that the text says that the Lord created open heaven in order that Adam might look upon the angels singing the

The *Testament of Abraham* 11:4 (Recension A) also attests to a similar tradition when it offers a depiction of the first-formed Adam seated on the throne at the entrance to paradise at the end of time: "And outside the two gates of that place, they saw a man seated on the golden throne. And the appearance of that man was terrifying, like the Master's."[119] Here again Adam is depicted as a resemblance of the Lord's *Kavod*, the divine form manifested on the Seat of Glory.[120]

It has been already noted that in Georgian, Armenian and Latin versions of the primary Adam books,[121] the protoplast is depicted as a being venerated by angelic hosts.[122] The tradition about the angelic veneration of the protoplast might also point to associations with the *Kavod* tradition in which one of the essential functions of angelic hosts in the celestial realm is veneration of the enthroned divine Glory.

Heterodox movements in early Christianity that are closely associated with Sethian and Adamic traditions also contain several important testimonies about Adam's body pertaining to the subject of this investigation.[123] Some of these accounts recall the imagery found in the later Merkabah accounts. Thus, the *Apocryphon of John* relates a tradition according to which the seven powers were responsible for the creation of the

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triumphal song. This detail again recalls the traditional *Kavod* imagery where the angelic hosts sing the triumphal song before the enthroned King.

[119] E. P. Sanders, "Testament of Abraham," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.888.

[120] On the traditions of Adam's enthronement, see: Munoa, *Four Powers in Heaven: The Interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Testament of Abraham*, 87-90.

[121] Cf. Georgian, Armenian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13:2-14:2.

[122] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," 47.

[123] See, for example, Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1.30.6 "... Ialdabaoth exclaimed, 'Come, let us make man after [our] image.' The six powers, on hearing this, ... jointly formed a man of immense size, both in regard to breadth and length (*formauerunt hominem immensum latitudine et longitudine*)." Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies. Livre I* (2 vols.; ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, S.J.; SC, 264; Paris:Les Éditions du Cerf, 1979) 2.370.

seven souls of Adam.[124] The text relates that the seven powers provided for the angels the seven substances of the soul in order to create the proportions of the limbs of Adam.[125] In the *Apocryphon* each of the limbs of the first man corresponds to the name of the angel responsible for its creation.[126] The detailed attention to the limbs of the first man and their naming according to angelic connotations seem to recall the later *Shi'ur Qomah* materials with their tendency to name the various parts of the cosmic body and for providing detailed depictions of its limbs.[127]

All these early testimonies demonstrate that long before the traditions about the gigantic physique of Enoch-Metatron took their distinctive mold in the Merkabah tradition, a similar imagery was already applied in the Jewish pseudepigrapha and the Christian apocrypha to Adam's prelapsarian corporeality. As already mentioned, earlier scholars proposed that the Adamic imagery played a formative role in the shaping of the Metatron tradition. It is also possible that the concept of the cosmic body of the protoplast played a formative role in constructing the later Metatron's office as the measurer of the divine body. The beginning of this significant development might be detected already in *2 Enoch*.

In order to support this hypothesis, this investigation will proceed in the following manner. First, I will explore in detail the tradition of Adam's body in the Slavonic apocalypse. Then, I will focus on the theme of Enoch's corporeality in the text. Finally, I

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[124] *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II, 1; III, 1; and VI, 1 with BG 8502, 2* (eds. M. Waldstein and F. Wisse; NMS, 33; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 88-91.

[125] Ibid., 93.

[126] Ibid., 95-111.

[127] G. G. Stroumsa, "Polymorphie divine et transformations d'un mythologème: l'Apocryphon de Jean et ses sources," *VC* 35 (1988) 412-434.

will try to establish the relationship between both traditions in their connections with the motif of the Lord's *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* found in Chapter 39.

From the Four Corners of the World

According to *2 Enoch* 30:12, the prelapsarian Adam was a very special celestial being. The Slavonic apocalypse defines him as a second angel who was great (Slav. великъ) and glorious. The Slavonic terminology used for the term "great" (великъ) appears to be related to the physical dimensions of the protoplast.[128] *2 Enoch* 30:10 provides additional proof that the greatness might designate Adam's proportions. In this passage the Lord says that "even at his [Adam's] greatest (велиц҃ъ) he is small, and again at his smallest he is great."[129] The conjunction of the term "great" with the term "small" further supports the hypothesis that the epithet "greatness" in the text is applied to the dimensions of the first human.

Besides these general references to the greatness of Adam, the text also provides other hints about the dimensions of the patriarch's body. It appears that the most important evidence about the unusual frame of the protoplast in the Slavonic apocalypse is conveyed via the traditions about the creation and the naming of the protoplast.

In *2 Enoch* 30:13 the Lord tells Enoch that he created Adam out of the seven components and assigned to Adam a name from the four components: from East - (A),

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[128] See I. Sreznevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo yazyka* (3 vols.; Moscow: Kniga, 1989) 1.235; S. G. Barhudarov, *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.* (25 vols.; Moscow: Nauka, 1975) 2.61-62. Kurz's dictionary relates великъ to the Greek μέγας, μακρός, and the Latin *magnus*, *nimius*, *grandis*. J. Kurz, ed., *Slovnik Jazyka Staroslovenskeho (Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae)*(4 vols.; Prague: Akademia, 1966) 1.172.

[129] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 152.

from West - (D), from North - (A), and from South - (M).[130] The correspondence of the anagram of Adam's name with the four corners of the earth might indicate that the dimensions of his body are considered identical to those of the earth. The Slavonic text, however, does not make this connection explicitly. Moreover, the question remains whether this passage about the anagram is really linked to the traditions about Adam's body. The analysis of the early evidence of the anagram's motif shows that this theme was often connected with the theme of Adam's bodily form. In order to illustrate this point, a short excursus in the history of this tradition is needed.

One of the early Jewish texts where a similar tradition[131] about the anagram can be found is the third book of *Sibylline Oracles*, a composition apparently written in Egypt around 160-50 BCE.[132] It is intriguing that already in the *Sibylline Oracles* 3:24-27[133] the anagram is linked to the motif of Adam's bodily form:

> Indeed it is God himself who fashioned Adam, of four letters, the first-formed man, fulfilling by his name east (ἀνατολη) and west (δύσις) and south (μεσημβρία) and north (ἄρκτος). He himself fixed the shape of the form of men (αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐστήριξε τύπον μορφῆς μερόπων).[134]

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[130] The letters of this anagram correspond to Gk. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, and μεσημβρία.

[131] The *Sibylline Oracles* have a slightly different sequence of the corners: east-west-south-north. Andersen observes that MSS P and P^2 of *2 Enoch* attest to the same version. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 152, note m.

[132] J. J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.355-6.

[133] John Collins observes that *Sibylline Oracles* 3:1-45 "finds its closest parallels in the Jewish Orphic fragments, which probably date to the second century B.C., and also in Philo." Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," 1.360.

[134] Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," 1.362; *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (ed. A. Kurfess; Münhen: Heimeren, 1951, 1951) 72.

The term the "shape of the form" (τύπον μορφῆς) here seems to be related to the body of the protoplast. The conflation of the anagram of Adam's name with the shape of his form is significant for the investigation.[135]

Another Egyptian source,[136] a passage found in the writings of the Hermetic author, the alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis, who lived in Alexandria in the late third or early fourth century CE,[137] also connects the tradition about the anagram of Adam's name with his body: "they have also spoken of him [Adam] symbolically, according to his body, through the four elements ... for his 'alpha' element indicates the east, the air, while his 'delta' element indicates the west, and the 'mu' element [indicates] midday ...."[138]

It should be noted that the *Sibylline Oracles* 3 and the Zosimos passage, the two early attestations which link the anagram of Adam's name with his body, are both associated with the Egyptian milieu. A passage from Philo mentioned previously indicates that by the first century CE the lore about the gigantic physique of the first

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[135] *Vita Adae et Evae* 27:1 also connects Adam's name with "the memory of the divine majesty." This expression might serve to designate Adam's glorious form, which represents "memory" or likeness of the divine form: "...My Lord, Almighty and merciful God, holy and faithful, do not let the name of the memory of your majesty be destroyed (*ne deleatur nomen memoriae tuae maiestatis*)." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition* (eds. G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone; Early Judaism and Its Literature, 17; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999) 32-32E. In *VAE* 39[57] the name of Adam is also derived from the designations of the four corners of the world: "When Adam was made, and there was no name assigned to him yet, the Lord said to the four angels to seek a name for him. Michael went out to the east and saw the eastern star, named Ancolim, and took its first letter from it. Gabriel went out to the south and saw the southern star, named Disis, and took its first letter from it. Raphael went out to the north, and saw the northern star, named Arthos, and took its first letter from it. Uriel went out to the west, and saw the western star, named Mencembrion, and took its first letter from it. When the letters were brought together, the Lord said to Uriel: 'read these letters.' He read them and said, 'Adam.' The Lord said: 'Thus shall his name be called.'" *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition*, 96E.

[136] It is significant that the *Sibylline Oracles* and the Zosimos passage are both connected with the Egyptian environment, a place of possible provenance of *2 Enoch*. One should also note that the abovementioned research of Christfried Böttrich also refers to the passages from *Sibylline Oracles* and Zosimos. Böttrich, however, did not recognize them as a chain of references to the body of the protoplast. See: Böttrich, *Adam als Microkosmos*, 23-27.

[137] R. P. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermes Trismégiste, Vol. I. L'Astrologie et les sciences occultes* (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1983) 239.

[138] For the Greek text, see M. P. E. Berthelot/Ch.-Ém. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (2 vols.; Paris: Georges Steinheil, 1888) 2.231.

humans appeared to be widespread in the Alexandrian environment. *2 Enoch*, which also contains a host of traditions pertaining to the protoplast's body, was also composed at the same time and place, namely, in the Alexandrian Diaspora of the first century CE.

The tradition in which the anagram of Adam's name was associated with his body was not lost in the melting pot of the Alexandrian environment but was carefully transmitted by later Jewish traditions. The same tendency to link the name of Adam derived from the Greek designations of the four corners of the world with his body is observable in the rabbinic materials. The difference between the early accounts found in the *Sibylline Oracles* and Zosimos of Panopolis and these rabbinic materials is that the latter explicitly identify the anagram, not simply with Adam's body, but with his cosmic body, which according to the rabbinic accounts was created "from one end of the universe to the other." This tradition is attested in a great variety of the rabbinic sources.

For example, the passage from *Gen. R.* 8:1 reads:

> R. Tanhuma in the name of R. Banayah and R. Berekiah in the name of R. Leazar said: He created him [Adam] as a lifeless mass extending from one end of the world to the other; thus it is written, Thine eyes did not see mine unformed substance (Ps. CXXXIX, 16). R. Joshua b. R. Nehemiah and R. Judah b. R. Simon in R. Leasar's name said: He created him filling the whole world. How do we know [that he stretched] from east to west? Because it is said, 'Thou hast formed me behind … and before….' From north to south? Because it says, Since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from the one end of heaven unto the other (Deut. IV, 32). And how do we know that he filled the empty spaces of the world? From the verse, 'And laid Thy hand upon me' (as you read, Withdraw Thy hand from me (Job XIII, 21)).[139]

This passage indicates that the speculations about the cosmic body of the protoplast in the rabbinic literature were juxtaposed with the tradition about the correspondence of Adam's name with the four corners of the earth. It is remarkable that the passage from *Gen. R.* 8:1 has exactly the same sequence of the corners as *2 Enoch*, namely "from east (A) to west

(D)" and from "north (A) to south (M)," which precisely corresponds to the sequence of the letters of Adam's name. The presence of the anagram in the midrashic text points to its ancient Hellenistic origin since the anagram does not carry any meaning in Hebrew, but only in Greek.

This tradition about the correspondence of Adam's cosmic body with the four corners of the world and the four letters of his name was widespread in rabbinic literature and was repeated multiple times in *Gen. R.* 21:3,[140] *Gen. R.* 24:2,[141] *Lev. R.* 14:1,[142] and *Lev. R.* 18:2.[143] It is significant that all these passages have the same order of the corners of the world: from east to west and from north to south.

A similar tradition can be also found in the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* where the motif of Adam's gigantic body created from the four

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[139] *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.54-55.

[140] *Gen. R.* 21:3. "Though his stature ... mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the cloud (Job XX, 6), i.e. until [his stature] reaches the clouds. R. Joshua b. Hanina and R. Judah b. Simon in R. Eleazar's name said: He created him extending over the whole world. How do we know [that he extended] from east to west? Because it is said, Thou has formed me behind ... and before ... (Ps. CXXXIX, 5). How do we know, from north to south? Because it says, Since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from one end of heaven unto the other (Deut. IV, 32). How do we know that he filled the hollow spaces of the world also? From the verse, And Thou didst lay Thy hand upon me...." *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.173-174.

[141] *Gen. R.* 24:2. "R. Joshua b. R. Nehemiah and R. Judah b. R. Simon in R. Eleazar's name said: When the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, He created him extending over the whole world. How do we know that he extended from east to west? Because it is said, Thou hast formed me behind and before.... From north to south? Because it is said, And from the one end of heaven unto the other (Deut. iv, 32). And how do we know that he filled the hollow spaces of the world? From the verse, And hast laid Thy hand upon me." *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.199.

[142] *Lev. R.* 14:1. "R. Berekiah and R. Helbo and R. Samuel b. Nahman said: When the Holy One, blessed be He, created the first man, he created him from one end of the universe to the other [in size]. Whence [do we know that Adam was in size] from east to west?--Since it is said, 'Thou hast formed me west and east. Whence [do we know that he was in size] from north to south?--Since it is said, God created man upon earth, even from one end of the heaven unto the other (Deut. vi, 32). And whence [do we derive that he was in heght] as the whole space of the universe?" *Midrash Rabbah*, 4.177-78.

[143] *Lev. R.* 18:2. "R. Judah b. R. Simon said in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi: When the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, the first man, he created him of a size to fill all the world: from east to west, as it is said, Thou hast formed me west and east (Ps. cxxxix, 5); from the north to the south, as it is said, God created man upon the earth, from the one end of heaven unto the other (Deut. iv, 32)." *Midrash Rabbah*, 4.227-8.

corners of the world is conflated with the story of the veneration of the protoplast by the creatures who mistakenly perceived him as a deity.[144] *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 11 reads:

> He [God] began to collect the dust of the first man from the four corners of the world.... He [Adam] stood on his feet and was adorned with the Divine Image. His height was from east to west, as it is said, "Thou hast beset me behind and before." "Behind" refers to the west, "before" refers to the east. All the creatures saw him and became afraid of him, thinking that he was their Creator, and they came to prostrate themselves before him.[145]

In the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* 6-12, the same tradition is repeated in a virtually identical form:

> God then called Gabriel, and said unto him: "Go and bring Me dust from the four corners of the earth, and I will create man out of it".... He [Adam] stood upon his feet, and was in the likeness of God; his height extended from the east to the west, as it is said, "Behind and in front Thou hast formed me." Behind, that is the west, and in front, that is the east. All creatures saw him and were afraid of him; they thought he was their creator, and prostrated themselves before him.[146]

The testimonies from *Midrash Rabbah, Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* demonstrate that in the Jewish materials the anagram tradition was consistently interpreted as a reference to the cosmic body of the protoplast, created from one end of the universe to the other. In light of this tendency, it is possible that the tradition about the anagram found in *2 Enoch* 30 also represents a reference to the cosmic body of the protoplast. This suggestion is made more plausible when one considers that the anagram tradition in *2 Enoch* 30:13 follows immediately after the definition of the protoplast as a great celestial creature.[147]

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[144] The importance of this motif for *2 Enoch's* traditions will be discussed later.

[145] *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (tr. G. Friedlander; NY: Hermon Press, 1965) 76-79.

[146] *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (tr. M. Gaster; Oriental Translation Fund, 4; London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1899) 14-17.

[147] Another tradition found in chapter 30 about the creation of Adam from the seven components might also serve as an allusion to the cosmic body of the protoplast. The description found in *2 Enoch* 30:8 relates that Adam's flesh was created from earth; his blood from dew and from sun; his eyes from the bottomless sea; his bones from stone; his reason from the mobility of angels and from clouds; his veins and

The Measure of the Divine Body

As has been already mentioned in the introduction to this section, *2 Enoch* 39 depicts the Lord's body as a huge extent "without measure and without analogy." While the text unambiguously states that the Lord's extent transcends any analogy, the account of Enoch's vision of the Lord seems in itself to represent a set of analogies in which the descriptions of the patriarch's face and the parts of his body are compared with the descriptions of the divine face and the parts of the Lord's body. Several details in this narrative are important for establishing the connection between *2 Enoch's* account and the later Jewish traditions about the divine body.

1. It is significant that, through the analogical descriptions introduced in Chapter 39 for the first time in the Enochic tradition, a significant bond was established between the immense body of the Lord and Enoch's body; this bond will later play a prominent role in Merkabah mysticism. In *2 Enoch*, as with later Merkabah developments, the proximity between the two bodies appears to be also reinforced by additional metaphors, demonstrating the closest proximity between the corporeality of the Deity and the Enoch-Metatron corporeality.[148] From the Merkabah materials one can learn that "the hand of

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hair from grass of the earth; his spirit from the Lord's spirit and from wind. It is possible that by such postulations the text intends to stress that the primordial Adam was the creature of macrocosmic dimensions since Adam's creation from the seven elements refers to Adam as a microcosm, e.g. the anthropomorphic representation of the world. The motif of creation from the seven elements might also be linked to the traditions associated with *Shi'ur Qomah* mysticism. The previously mentioned passage from the *Apocryphon of John*, where the *seven* powers create the seven souls of Adam might shed additional light on *2 Enoch's* account of Adam's creation from the seven elements.

[148] Ithamar Gruenwald observes that "it is hard to say whether any method lies behind these measures, but we assume that originally the measures aimed at conveying the notion of ideal proportions. These proportions were shared by God and man alike." Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism*, 214.

God rests on the head of the youth, named Metatron."[149] In *2 Enoch* 39:5 the patriarch uses a similar metaphor when he tells his children that he has seen the right hand of the Lord helping (beckoning) him.[150] This tradition appears also in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tradegian where, in the course of Moses' transformation into the celestial anthropomorphic extent, the visionary is beckoned by the right hand of the "noble man."[151] Here the embrace by the Deity's hand signifies the creation of the new celestial identity of the righteous, now similar with the luminous condition of the protoplast. The Slavonic apocalypse insists that the protoplast was created by hands of the Deity. *2 Enoch* 44:1 says that "the Lord with his own two hands created mankind, in the facsimile of his own face both small and great, the Lord created them."[152] Here, as in the account of the creation of Enoch's new celestial body, the hand(s) of the Deity and his luminous countenance are mentioned.

2. In the Merkabah materials the divine corporeality is labeled as the Stature/Measure of the Body[153] (שיעור קומה). The same terminology is often applied to Enoch-Metatron's body. According to one of the Merkabah texts, "the stature (קומתו) of this youth fills the world."[154] The link between the body of the patriarch and the divine body in the Slavonic apocalypse is also emphasized by identical terminology. It, therefore, comes as no surprise that in *2 Enoch* the *Shi'ur Qomah* terminology is applied

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[149] *Synopse* §384.

[150] See also *2 Enoch* 24:2 (the shorter recension). "And the Lord called me; and he placed me to the left of himself closer than Gabriel." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 143.

[151] This Mosaic tradition will be investigated later.

[152] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 170.

[153] Gershom Scholem observes that the term *qomah* was often translated as "height," used in the biblical sense. He stresses that such translation does not apply to the Merkabah materials where *qomah*, as in the Aramaic incantation texts, signifies "body." Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 364.

[154] Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 162.

not only to the body of the Lord (the stature[155] of the Lord), but also to the body of the patriarch (stature of my [Enoch's] body).

3. In *2 Enoch* 39, Enoch's body seems to serve as the measure and the analogy through which the patriarch conveys to his children the immesurability of the Lord's stature. In *2 Enoch* 39:6 the term "without measure"[156] (Slavonic *bezmernoe*) is used immediately after the expression "the stature[157] of the Lord."[158] This combination of the concepts of "stature" and "measure" further strengthens Scholem's hypothesis that *2 Enoch* 39 might attest to the precise *Shiʿur Qomah* terminology, since the term שיעור can be translated as a measure.[159]

4. It is also important that the message about the impossibility of measuring[160] the Lord's body comes from the mouth of Enoch, depicted in various sections of *2 Enoch* as a

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[155] Slav. ѡбѣтїѧ, ѡбъıатиє. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.38; 1.94.

[156] Some *Shiʿur Qomah* descriptions also stress the idea of the immesurability of the Divine Face: "The image of His face and the image of His cheeks is as the dimensions of the spirit and as the creation of the soul, such that no one can recognize it, as it is stated (in Scripture): 'His body is *tarshish*.' His splendor is luminous and glows from within the darkness, and (from within) the cloud and fog that surround Him and although they surround Him, all the princes of the Presence (supplicate) before Him as (obediently as water flows when it is poured from) a water-pitcher, because of the vision of His comeliness and beauty. There is no measurement (מדה) in our hands; the names (alone) are revealed." Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, 47.

[157] Slav. ѡбѣтїѧ, ѡбъıатиє literally can be translated as "embrace." S. G. Barhudarov, *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.* (25 vols.; Moscow: Nauka, 1975) 12.209. This noun is related to the Slavonic verb объѧти - to embrace somebody, to fold somebody in one's hands. Francis Andersen translates the term as "scope" (the longer recension) and "extent" (the shorter recension).

[158] *2 Enoch* 39:6 "I have seen the stature of the Lord, without measure and without analogy...."

[159] Markus Jastrow translates the term as "proportion," "standard," "definite quantity," "size," or "limit." M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (2 vols.; New York: Shalom, 1967) 2.1565.

[160] The stress on the immesurability of God in *2 Enoch* does not contradict the theology of the *Shiʿur Qomah* tradition. Peter Schäfer observes that "the *Shiʿur Qomah* tradition does not intend to state that God can be 'calculated,' that he is, so to speak, a superman of enormous yet exactly measurable and conceivable dimensions. The point of the completely absurd calculations is to demonstrate that God cannot be conceived of in human categories: he, 'as it were,' is like a human being and yet hidden." P. Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God. Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism* (tr. A. Pomerance; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992) 149-50.

measurer responsible for measuring various earthly and celestial phenomena.[161] It demonstrates a remarkable parallel to the later role of Metatron as the one who conveys to visionaries the measure/the stature of the Body. In the *Shi'ur Qomah* section of the *Merkabah Rabbah*, the following tradition is attested: "I said to him, to the Prince of Torah,[162] teach me the measure of our Creator, and he said to me the measure of our Creator, and he said to me the measure of the body." (*Synopsis* §688).[163] In later Jewish mysticism Enoch-Metatron himself is described as the measure of the divine body.[164]

The analysis of the description of the Lord's corporeality in Chapter 39 indicates that several features of this account manifest remarkable similarities to the concepts and imagery of the divine body found in the later Hekhalot and Merkabah writings. The development detectable in the Slavonic apocalypse, however, seems to represent a very early form of this tradition, which contains a vague sketch of what will take its definitive form in Jewish mysticism much later.

Bodily Ascent

It has been previously mentioned that Enoch's image in *2 Enoch* appears to be quite different from his portrait in the early Enochic circle. Among the new features that constitute this new, enhanced profile of the seventh antedeluvian patriarch, a significant concept can be found that seems related to the present discussion about the cosmic body

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[161] See, for example, *2 Enoch* 40:2-12: "I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents. And all the armies and their movements I have measured. And I have recorded the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable.... The solar circle I have measured, and its rays I have measured... The lunar circle I have measured, and its movements.... I measured all the earth, and its mountains and hills and fields and woods and stones and rivers, and everything that exists...." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 164-166.

[162] = Metatron.

[163] Schäfer et al, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 252.

[164] Stroumsa, "Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," 269-88.

traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse. This important concept appears in the first chapter of *2 Enoch*, which portrays the beginning of Enoch's celestial ascent.

In *2 Enoch* 1:3 the patriarch is sleeping on his bed. According to the text Enoch sees a strange dream in which two huge angelic beings, with faces like the shining sun, approach the patriarch's bed and call him by his name. The text says that after the patriarch was awakened by the angels, he went out from his house, closing the door behind him as the angels had ordered. Philip Alexander draws the reader's attention to an important detail in this description; he observes that *2 Enoch* "attests with a boldness and clarity nowhere matched in *1 Enoch* that Enoch ascended bodily to heaven...."[165] He also notes that this emphasis on the bodily ascent in the awakened condition represents a departure from the early Enochic materials attested in *1 Enoch*, where the patriarch's ascension to heaven seems to be depicted as in a dream during sleep.[166] Alexander further observes that this unequivocal claim that a human could bodily enter the upper realm was profoundly problematic within the worldview of early Judaism.[167]

Later Merkabah Enochic accounts, as does *2 Enoch*'s account, insist on the bodily ascension of the patriarch. As Alexander observes, *3 Enoch* "clearly envisages bodily ascent and so postulates the physical metamorphosis of Enoch" during which Enoch "becomes, like other angels, physically composed of fire."[168] Alexander also points to another consequence of this metamorphosis, namely, the enlargement of Metatron's body until it equals the dimensions of the world.[169]

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[165] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 104.
[166] Ibid., 103.
[167] Ibid., 102.
[168] Ibid., 106.
[169] Ibid., 106.

This connection between the bodily ascent of the visionary and the transformation of his body in *2 Enoch* and the *Sefer Hekhalot* is not coincidental, since in the Slavonic apocalypse, for the first time in the Enochic tradition as shown earlier, the body of the patriarch becomes a locus of intense theological deliberation. As has been already demonstrated in the *Shi'ur Qomah* passage from *2 Enoch* 39, the patriarch's body was explicitly compared with the divine body and linked with it by identical technical terminology. The insistence on the bodily ascent of the patriarch in *2 Enoch* seems also to constitute an important step in the forming of this new perspective on Enoch's physique, the development that reached its formative stage in the later Merkabah speculations about Metatron's body matching the size of the world.

Adam and Enoch: "Two Powers" in Heaven

Previous studies proposed that the traditions about the cosmic body of Metatron in later Jewish mysticism might have originated as a result of polemics with the traditions about the cosmic body of the protoplast. Thus, Philip Alexander, in his comment on the motif of Enoch-Metatron enlargement in *3 Enoch* 9, refers to certain rabbinic traditions[170] about "the primordial Adam's body, like that of the Gnostic protoanthropos, [which] corresponded to the world in size, but was diminished to the present limited dimensions of the human body as a result of the fall."[171] He further suggests that *3 Enoch's* account about the gigantic body of Enoch-Metatron "may be expressing in mythological language the idea that Enoch reversed the fall of Adam."[172]

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[170] In *Gen. Rab.* 8.1, *b.* Hag. 12a, and possibly, in *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 1.1.
[171] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 111-12.
[172] Ibid., 112.

Moshe Idel's research also reveals that "Jewish mystical literature indicates ... a certain similarity between the enlarged states of Adam and Enoch."[173] He notes that "the end of the gigantic Adam is well-known: he was severely reduced in his human dimensions. Enoch, on the other hand, merited undergoing the reverse process" described in *3 Enoch* as the patriarch's elevation and elongation to the point of becoming the measure of the length and breath of the world.[174] Idel notes that in some rabbinic materials the conception of the elevated Enoch, depicted as the supreme angel Metatron, contains remnants of the Adamic traditions.[175] In these materials Enoch is conceived as the one who regained the cosmic status and the extraordinary qualities that the primordial Adam had lost after his transgression in the Garden of Eden, namely, his luminosity and size.[176]

Moreover, in some rabbinic accounts Metatron is often directly described as a counterpart of Adam predestined to substitute for the fallen patriarch even before his actual transgression.[177] Idel points to the development of this theme in *3 Enoch*.[178] The *Sefer Hekhalot* 48C reads:

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[173] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 225.

[174] Ibid., 225.

[175] Ibid., 220.

[176] *b.* Sanh. 38b: "Rab Judah said in Rab's name: The first man reached from one end of the world to the other.... R. Elezar said: The first man reached from earth to heaven... but when he sinned, the Holy One, blessed be He, laid His hand upon him and diminished him...."

[177] Isaiah Tishby observes that in both the *Raya Mehemna* and the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar*, Metatron is portrayed as the lord of the lower chariot, a human figure seated upon the throne; and in this role he is called "the lesser Adam." Tishby notes that according to the *Tikkunei ha-Zohar* "...Metatron was created first and foremost among all the hosts of heaven below, and he is the lesser Adam, which the Holy One, blessed be He, made in the celestial image." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2.628-629. In some Zoharic materials Metatron's name(s), similar to Adam's name, are also juxtaposed with the tradition about the four corners of the world: "This is Metatron, which is higher [than the creatures] by a distance of five hundred years. Metatron, Mitatron, Zevul, Eved, Zevoel - here are five [names], and his names multiply in four directions to the four corners of the world according to the missions of his Master." Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, 2.643.

[178] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 226.

> The Holy One, blessed be he, said: I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron my servant, who is unique among all denizens of the heights. "I made him strong" in the generation of the first man...."I took him" -- Enoch the son of Jared, from their midst, and brought him up.... "I appointed him" --over all the storehouses and treasures which I have in every heaven....[179]

According to this passage God elected Metatron already in the generation of the first man. Metatron was thus viewed as a preexistent divine being, first incarnated in Adam and then in Enoch, who re-ascended to the protoplast's heavenly home and took his rightful place in the heights of the universe.

Idel also observes that in Jewish mystical literature another significant parallelism in the depictions of the corporalities of Adam and Enoch can be detected. He points out that in both cases "their immense size caused an error of faith, namely other creatures were induced to believe that two powers governed the universe, not God alone."[180] It has already been noted that several rabbinic and Hekhalot sources, including *b*. Hag. 15a, *Sefer Hekhalot* 16, and *Merkavah Rabbah* (*Synopse* §672) attest to a tradition according to which the terrifying vision of Metatron, seated on a great throne at the door of the seventh palace, caused Aher to believe that Metatron represents the second power in heaven.

Despite the prominent role that Enoch-Metatron plays in the "two powers" controversy, the initial background of this tradition about the erroneous veneration of the exalted humanity appears to originate, not in the Enochic, but in the Adamic tradition.[181] Jarl Fossum's research demonstrates that the motif of the misplaced adoration of Adam

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[179] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 311.

[180] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 225.

[181] For Adam's connection with the two powers' traditions, see Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports About Christianity and Gnosticism*, 108-115.

by the angels appears in several forms in the rabbinic literature.[182] Thus, from *Gen. R.* 8:10 one can learn that when God created man in his own image "the ministering angels mistook him [for a divine being] and wished to exclaim 'Holy' before Him.... What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He caused sleep to fail upon him, and so all knew that he was [only a mortal] man."[183] In the *Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba* the angels' erroneous behavior is explained through reference to Adam's gigantic body:[184]

> This teaches that initially Adam was created from the earth to the firmament. When the ministering angels saw him, they were shocked and excited by him. At that time they all stood before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said to Him; "Master of the Universe! There are two powers in the world, one in heaven and one on earth." What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do then? He placed His hand on him, and decreased him,[185] setting him at one thousand cubits.[186]

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[182] Fossum differentiates three major forms of this tradition: "(1) The angels mistake Adam for God and want to exclaim 'Holy' before him, whereupon God lets sleep fall upon Adam so it becomes clear that the latter is human; (2) all creatures mistake Adam for their creator and wish to bow before him, but Adam teaches them to render all honor to God as their true creator; (3) the angels mistake Adam for God and wish to exclaim 'Holy' before him, whereupon God reduces Adam's size." Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," 1.529-30. An important similarity can be detected between these Adamic traditions and the Metatron accounts. In *b.* Hag. 15a God punished Metatron with sixty fiery lashes. Alan Segal observes that "just as Metatron needed correction for the false impression he gave Aher, so Adam needs correction for the false impression given the angels." Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 112. Indeed, in the Adamic "two powers" accounts, the protoplast is disciplined in various ways, including the reduction of his stature.

[183] *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.61.

[184] It should be noted that the traditions about the gigantic body of Adam were widespread in the rabbinic literature. See A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1945) 371-391; B. Barc, "La taille cosmique d'Adam dans la littérature juive rabbinique des trois premiers siècles après J.-C." *RSR* 49 (1975) 173-85; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (London: SPCK, 1948) 45-46; Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," 1.529-39; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1:26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulischen Briefen* (FRLANT, 76; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960) 99-100; 105-107; S. Niditch, "The Cosmic Adam: Man as Mediator in Rabbinic Literature," *JJS* 34 (1983) 137-146; P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (Berlin; New York : de Gruyter, 1975); Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven. Early Rabinnic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*, 108-115.

[185] *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* 1:1 reflects the same tradition: "Said R. Aibu, "At that moment the first man's stature was cut down and diminished to one hundred cubits." *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* (tr. J. Neusner; 2 vols.; Atlanta; Scholars, 1987) 1.1.

[186] Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 226. For the Hebrew text see Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, 2.333-477.

It is clear that these Adamic accounts do not originate in rabbinic literature under the influence of Metatron's story but in early pseudepigraphic writings. Scholars observe[187] that these accounts have their roots in the prominent story already found in the primary Adam books and other early materials, according to which God himself ordered the angels to venerate Adam, and all the angels except Satan bowed before the first human.[188]

The prototype of the story of the misplaced veneration of Enoch-Metatron also can be traced to this early Adamic lore. It is possible that the transition from the Adamic "two powers" template to its Enoch-Metatron version occurred not in the rabbinic period but much earlier, that is already within Second Temple Judaism. Michael Stone has demonstrated that in *2 Enoch* 22 the Adamic tradition of the protoplast's veneration by the angels was skillfully transferred to the seventh antediluvian patriarch.[189] It is not coincidental that the transference of the "two powers" tradition from Adam to Enoch was made for the first time in the Slavonic apocalypse, where the protoplast and the seventh antediluvian patriarch were interconnected via the conception of the cosmic body.

Two Bodies Created According to the Likeness of a Third One

The previous analysis has shown that in the various Jewish texts the traditions about Adam's and Enoch's corporalities often appear to be linked and share similar imagery. The investigation has also demonstrated that this connection can be detected already in *2 Enoch*. A critical question, however, still remains: how can these traditions

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[187] Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," 382; Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," 530-31.

[188] See *3 Baruch* 4; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4, *Enthronement of Michael*, and *Cave of Treasures* 2:10-24.

[189] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," 143-156.

about the bodies of the two patriarchs be related to the *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* account of the Divine Face found in Chapter 39.

It appears that the depiction of the divine anthropomorphic extent, labeled in *2 Enoch* as the Lord's Face, serves as an important locus that unifies the Adamic tradition of the cosmic body of the protoplast and the Enochic tradition about the glorious angelic body of the translated patriarch. The patriarch's creation in the likeness of the Lord's Face represents an important link that connects the new angelic body of Enoch with the body of the glorious Adam. It has been demonstrated that the Face in *2 Enoch* 22 represented the cause and the prototype after which the new celestial body of Enoch was created. It also has been shown that according to *2 Enoch* 44:1 the prelapsarian Adam was also created in a facsimile of the Lord's own Face.[190]

This parallel reveals that the bodies of the two characters of the Slavonic apocalypse, the prelapsarian corporeality of the protoplast and the body of his luminous counterpart, the patriarch Enoch, are both fashioned in the likeness of a third body, namely, the extent of the Lord, also known as the luminous Face. Thus, in *2 Enoch* the interconnection of all three corporealities, the glorious body of the protoplast, the glorious body of the elevated Enoch, and the luminous divine body, is made via the account of the Divine Face where, according to Gershom Scholem, the precise *Shi^{c}ur Qomah* terminology might have already been made evident.

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[190] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 170.

Conclusion

1. Concluding this section of the study dedicated to the Adamic polemics in *2 Enoch*, I must note that these polemical developments witness, not only to the internal debates reflected in *2 Enoch's* depictions of the protoplast, but also to intertextual polemics with the external Adamic traditions attested in the primary Adam books.

2. The analysis also shows that Adamic polemics involve a rewriting of original Adamic motifs and themes when the details of Adam's story are transferred to a new hero, the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch.

3. The analysis indicates that, as with the early booklets of *1 Enoch*, the attitude of the author(s) of *2 Enoch* to Adam's figure and the traditions associated with his name remains highly polemical. Yet, in comparison with *1 Enoch*, the Slavonic Enoch demonstrates a paradigm shift in polemical strategy. Here the competitive tradition is not silenced but is rather exposed and openly appropriated in polemical development. This switch might be connected with the challenge which the intense development of the traditions about the exalted patriarchs and prophets posed to the classical profile of Enoch found in early Enochic booklets. Adamic polemics found in *2 Enoch* represent the reaction of the Enochic tradition to these new conceptual developments. It should be noted that the traditions about the elevated Adam appear to have been widespread in the Alexandrian environment of the first century CE, the possible place and time of the composition of *2 Enoch.*

4. The investigation of Adamic polemics proves that early Jewish mystical developments connected with roles and titles of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse (the

motif of the Divine Face in Chapters 22 and 39, the future prominent roles of Enoch-Metatron as the governing power on the earth, and his title "Youth") belong to the primary text, since they play a decisive role in the original argument of *2 Enoch.*[191]

[191] In light of the present study, Böttrich's hypothesis that these themes represent later interpolations must now be dismissed as erroneous. As the consequence of his inability to discern the polemical nature of the text, Böttrich came to the wrong conclusion about the theological intentions of the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse. In his opinion the purpose of the text is the reformulation of the Jewish faith in order to conveniently and inoffensively present it to non-Jewish sympathizers and opponents in the Diaspora situation. It appears to be very strange that someone would choose for this purpose the esoteric Enochic narrative filled with mystical imagery. The foregoing analysis of the polemical developments in the text reveals that the theological intentions of its authors were not to find a peaceful agreement with the non-Jewish environment in the Diaspora situation, as Böttrich proposed, but to resolve the internal problems of the Enochic tradition facing the challenges of its competitors.

CHAPTER SIX

MOSAIC POLEMICS IN *2 ENOCH* AND ENOCH-METATRON'S TITLE PRINCE OF THE FACE

Early Enochic Polemics against Moses and his Revelation

Before this investigation can proceed to the analysis of the Mosaic polemics in the Slavonic apocalypse, several comments must be made about the status and role of Moses' story in the early Enochic literature. It hardly needs saying that Moses' story, and especially the revelation given to the prophet on Mount Sinai, plays a paramount role in the biblical text posited there as the climatic, formative event responsible for shaping Israel's identity, worship, ethical code, and his social and religious institutions. In the conceptual framework of the Hebrew Bible, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to find a more significant theological disclosure than the reception of the covenantal law in the wilderness.

In contrast to the biblical text, where the consequences of the Sinai event permeate the theological fabric of the whole narrative, in the early booklets of the *Ethiopic Enoch*, one finds a marked indifference to the revelation given to the son of Amram. James VanderKam observes that "an attentive reader of *1 Enoch* soon becomes aware that the law of Moses plays almost no role in the book."[1] One could argue that the lack of emphasis on the Sinaitic law is not unusual for a composition dedicated to the stories of the antediluvian time and the catastrophic Flood, events occuring long before the Torah was given to Moses. VanderKam notes that in that case "the argument would

be that the authors of *1 Enoch* were consistent about their pseudepigraphic attribution of the material to Enoch and therefore did not commit the anachronism of having him teach and obey the law of Moses."[2] He also adds that such an argument would not be flawless since at least two accounts included in *1 Enoch*, namely, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and the *Animal Apocalypse*, deal closely with the period of Israel's journey in the wilderness and his reception of the covenantal law.[3]

The first of the aforementioned narratives, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, refers to the Sinai event in its description of the fourth week. To maintain the Enochic antediluvian perspective, the narrative takes the form of a prediction about the events that will happen in the future. The author of *1 Enoch* 93:6 foretells that "...in the fourth week, at its end, visions of the holy and righteous will be seen, and a law for all generations and an enclosure will be made for them."[4] VanderKam points out the strange obliviousness of the author of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* to the paramount event of Israelite history. He notes that although the law is mentioned, "nothing is added to suggest its importance or character."[5]

The picture is even more striking in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85-90), where the biblical history is unfolded through peculiar symbolic descriptions involving zoomorphic imagery. The encounter on Sinai is reflected in *1 Enoch* 89:29-32. The text describes the sheep ascending on the lofty rock, the depiction which symbolizes Moses' ascent on Mount Sinai:

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[1] J. VanderKam, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," in: *The Bible at Qumran* (eds. P. W. Flint and T. H. Kim; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 142.

[2] J. VanderKam, "The Enoch Literature." No pages. Cited 23 June 2003. Online: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/enoch.html.

[3] VanderKam, "The Enoch Literature."

[4] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.224.

[5] VanderKam, "The Enoch Literature."

> And that sheep went up to the summit of a high rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after this I saw the Lord of the sheep standing before them, and his appearance (was) terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw him and were afraid of him. And all of them were afraid and trembled before him; and they cried out after that sheep with them which was in their midst: "We cannot stand before our Lord, nor look at him." And that sheep which led them again went up to the summit of that rock; and the sheep began to be blinded and to go astray from the path which it had shown to them, but that sheep did not know.[6]

Although the text depicts Moses' ascension and his vision of the Divine Face, nothing is said about his reception of the Law. The reception of the crucial revelation does not play any significant part in this elaborate visionary account.[7] Scholars observe that the theophanic details of the visionary encounter seem more important here to the Enochic author than the law itself; this law is only hinted at later in *1 Enoch* 89:33, when the writer describes the straying of the sheep from the right path shown to them by Moses.[8]

One can see that although the authors of the early Enochic narratives are well aware of the biblical Mosaic accounts and provide many details of these theophanic encounters, the event of the Torah's reception is either silenced altogether or its significance is markedly ignored. This disregarding of the essential revelation suggests that the Enochic authors might have had another disclosure in mind which they considered as more important than the knowledge received at Sinai.

An observant student of *1 Enoch* soon learns that the early Enochic materials appear to offer an alternative to the Sinaitic law by putting emphasis on the importance of

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[6] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.204-5.

[7] James VanderKam comments that "in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85-90) the writer surveys biblical history. While he does mentions Adam and Eve, Enoch, Noah, and the patriarchs, when he comes to the time of Moses, he never mentions the revelation of the law on Mt. Sinai...." VanderKam, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," 142.

[8] VanderKam, "The Enoch Literature."

the Noachic law and other laws never identified with the law of Moses.[9] In this respect VanderKam notes that

> the law is mentioned elsewhere in *1 Enoch* e.g., 5:4; 63:12 seems to be referring to a different [than Mosaic] law; law is used several times for the course of luminaries in chaps. 72-82 [e.g. 79:1-2]; 99:2 speaks of sinners who "distort the eternal law" but it is not clear what this law is [cf. 104:10]; 108:1 mentions those who "keep the law in the last days." But the law is never identified as the law of Moses (or something of the sort); a more common usage of the term is for the laws of nature. This is astounding when one considers how important the judgment is in *1 Enoch* and how often the writers speak of the righteous, doing what is upright, etc. The Torah is also never mentioned[10] in *2 Enoch*.[11]

Noting such explicit neglect of the covenantal law formative for the Israelite literature, VanderKam finds it puzzling that the law of Moses, which some Jewish writers (such as the author of *Jubilees*) tried to read back into much earlier times, was here left out of the picture and replaced by material such as the story about the angels.[12] He comments that the Enoch literature seems to offer an alternative to the form of Judaism that centers upon the Mosaic covenantal law. This alternative, in his opinion, "finds its cornerstone not in the Sinaitic covenant and law but in events around the time of the flood."[13] In this view the primary revelation to which the Enochic tradition appealed was the disclosures given to Enoch before the flood.[14]

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[9] Philip Alexander draws attention to the fact that in *Jubilees* Enoch is cited twice as an authority on religious law, namely on some aspects of the sacrificial procedure (*Jub* 21:10) and the firstfruits (7:38-39). Noting that both the sacrifices and the firstfruits are covered in the Mosaic legislation, Alexander further suggests that the invocation of "a pre-Sinai figure [i.e. Enoch] as authoritative in such matters is potentially significant, since it could suggest a diminution of the importance of the Sinai revelation and of its mediator Moses." Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 100.

[10] Although VanderKam is right in claiming that the Mosaic Torah is not explicitly mentioned in the Slavonic apocalypse, scholars have noted that *2 Enoch* contains an implicit interpretation of the Mosaic law. See K. W. Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese: Katechismusartige Weisungsreihen in der frühjüdischen Literatur* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1987) 192-4.

[11] VanderKam, "The Enoch Literature."

[12] VanderKam, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," 142.

[13] VanderKam, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," 142-3.

[14] VanderKam, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," 143. In his recent article Alexander proposes that, in contrast to its Mosaic variant based on law, the Enochic paradigm was based on science. He suggests that "the circles which stand behind the Books of Enoch were...proposing an Enochic paradigm

The disregard for the covenantal law received by Moses in favor of the revelation(s) given to Enoch is pivotal for understanding the relationships between Mosaic and Enochic traditions. It affects many facets of their long-lasting interaction, making them in many ways contenders whose stories are based on two different disclosures. In this light, scholars observe that the Enochic and Mosaic stories could be seen as two competing paradigms in the Second Temple and the rabbinic periods. The rivalry between the two revelations unavoidably took the form of a contest between the two main recipients of these disclosures. Philip Alexander notes that "Moses and Enoch are being set up in some sense as rivals, as representing competing paradigms of Judaism...."[15] Such polemical positioning between the two characters is clearly detectable in the Enochic accounts, where the primacy of the Mosaic revelation is openly challenged.[16] Alexander points out that

> a powerful subtext can be detected in the Enochic tradition, implying a contrast between Enoch and Moses. Moses, the lawgiver of Israel, was the founder of the Jewish polity. The circles which looked to Enoch as their patron were, at least to some extent, challenging Moses' primacy. We noted earlier the polemical potential of the fact that Enoch lived long before Moses and the Sinai revelation. It has been plausibly argued that late in the Second Temple period the Enochic writings were canonized into five books – a Pentateuch to rival the Five Books of

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for Judaism in opposition to the emerging Mosaic paradigm – a paradigm based primarily on science as opposed to one based primarily on law. They were innovators: they had taken on board some of the scientific thought of their day and had used it aggressively to promote a new Jewish worldview." P. Alexander, "Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science," in: *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiental Thought* (eds. C. Hempel et al., BETL, CLIX; Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 234.

[15] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 110.

[16] Alexander notes that "there is something anti-Mosaic in the Enochic literature. It cannot be accidental that it ignores Moses, and attributes his teaching to someone else. The earliest layers of the Enochic tradition must virtually coincide with the so-called reforms of Ezra. Whatever we may think about the historicity of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, they do seem to point to a successful attempt in the Persian period, possibly with Persian royal support, to reconstitute Jewish society in Judah on the basis of the Torah of Moses. That the earliest Enochic writings ignore these developments can hardly be accidental. And there is merit in the suggestion that when the Enochic writings came to be canonized into a Pentateuch, the intent was not simply to imitate the Mosaic Pentateuch, but to challenge it." P. Alexander, "Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science," in: *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiental Thought* (eds. C. Hempel et al., BETL, CLIX; Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 233.

> Moses. We found Enoch cited occasionally as a legal authority who pronounced on halakhic matters explicitly covered in the Torah of Moses....[17]

Alexander's observations bring us to the importance of the mediator's status for the primacy and credibility of revelation. It is significant how, where and from whom the disclosure has been received. In this respect the son of Jared had a number of initial advantages over the son of Amram. One of the advantageous circumstances was that the revelation of the seventh antediluvian hero was more ancient than the Sinai disclosure, since Enoch lived long before Moses and the Sinai event.[18] Another advantage was that Enoch, unlike Moses, never died: he was taken alive to heaven. Gabriele Boccaccini points out that "... the superiority of Enochic Judaism is guaranteed not only by its claimed antiquity but also the superior status of their revealer, Enoch, who unlike his rival Moses, lived before the angelic sin and never died but 'was taken' by God (Gen 5:24), and being now in heaven has more direct access to God's revelation."[19]

Boccaccini's observation also reminds us that the circumstances surrounding the reception of the patriarch's revelation as it was described in the early Second Temple Enochic booklets were much loftier than the circumstances of the Mosaic encounter narrated in the Bible. While Moses received the Torah from the Lord on the earth, the Enochic hero acquired his revelation in the celestial realm, instructed there by angels and God. In the biblical account the Lord descends to Moses' realm in order to convey his revelation to the seer, while Enoch is able to ascend to the divine abode and behold the Throne of Glory. The advantage here is clearly in the hands of the Enochic hero.

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[17] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 107-8.

[18] Alexander observes that "...within the grand narrative of Biblical history Enoch suited well the purposes of the Enochic circles. He lay far back in time, before the Flood destroyed human life and disrupted human knowledge. And he was older and more venerable than Moses...." Alexander, "Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science," 223-43, esp. 233.

Within the context of ongoing polemic and fierce competition, such a challenge could not remain unanswered by the Mosaic authors. This is why the non-biblical Mosaic lore demonstrates clear intentions of enhancing the exalted profile of its hero.[20] This tendency detectable in the non-biblical Mosaic materials was not provoked solely by the rival Enochic developments, but rather was facilitated by the presence of a whole range of competitive exalted figures prominent in Second Temple Judaism.[21] Still, the challenge of the pseudepigraphic Enoch to the biblical Moses cannot be underestimated since the patriarch was the possessor of the alternative esoteric revelation reflected in the body of an extensive literature which claimed its supremacy over the Mosaic Torah.

The aforementioned set of initial disadvantages in the fierce rivalry might explain why the Mosaic tradition, in its dialogue with the Enochic lore and other Second Temple mediatorial developments, could not rest on its laurels but had to develop further and

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[19] G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 74.

[20] On non-biblical Mosaic traditions, see: R. Bloch, "Moïse dans la tradition rabbinique," in: *Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance* (ed. H. Cazelles; Tounai, New York: Desclée, 1955) 93-167; G. W. Coats, *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God* (JSOTSup., 57; Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*; idem, "4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christianity," *DSD* 3 (1996) 236-252; idem, *All the Glory of Adam*, 136-ff; Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism*, 90-94; S. J. Hafemann, "Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Survey," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 7 (1990) 79-104; C. R. Holladay, "The Portrait of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian," in: *SBLSP* (1976) 447-52; P. W. van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," *JJS* 34 (1983) 21-29; idem, "Some Notes on the Exagogue of Ezekiel," *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984) 364-5; L. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988) 58ff; H. Jacobsen, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983); K. Kuiper, "Le poète juif Ezéchiel," *Revue des études juives* 46 (1903) 174ff; W.A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," in: *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1968) 354-371; idem, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (SNT, 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967); Odeberg, "3 Enoch,"106ff; Orlov, "Ex 33 on God's Face: A Lesson from the Enochic Tradition," *SBLSP* 39 (2000) 130-147; idem, "Vested with Adam's Glory: Moses as the Luminous Counterpart of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Macarian Homilies," in: "Mémorial Annie Jaubert (1912—1980)," *Xristianskij Vostok* 4.10 (2002) 740-755; A. Schalit, *Untersuchungen zur Assumptio Mosis* (Leiden, 1989); J. P. Schultz, "Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of the Law," *JQR* 61 (1970-71) 282-307; J. Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); R. Van De Water, "Moses' Exaltation: Pre-Christian?" *JSP* 21 (2000) 59-69.

adjust the story of its character, investing him with an angelic and even divine status comparable with the elevated status of the rivals. It is difficult to discern how much knowledge the authors of the early Enochic booklets had about these new non-biblical Mosaic developments. It is however clear that, in their relentless pursuit of the priority of Enoch's revelation, the authors of the early Enochic booklets were competing not only with the biblical Mosaic traditions but with their extra-biblical counterparts in which the son of Amram was depicted as an angelic or even divine being.

The proof that the polemical response of *1 Enoch's* authors were directed not solely against the biblical Moses but also against the advanced Moses' traditions can be illustrated through reference to his portrayal in the *Animal Apocalypse* 89:30. Here it becomes apparent that the authors of the early Enochic booklets were familiar with the extra-biblical enhancement of Moses' elevated profile similar to those reflected in the *Exagoge*, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Philo. *1 Enoch* 89:36 depicts Moses as the one who was transformed from a sheep into a man at Sinai. In the metaphorical language of the *Animal Apocalypse*, where angels are portrayed as anthropomorphic and humans as zoomorphic creatures, the transition from the sheep to man unambiguously indicates that the character has acquired an angelic form and status. Although biblical materials do not attest to the angelic status of the son of Amram, some traditions found in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, Philo and Qumran materials hint at such a possibility. Enochic writers thus clearly demonstrate their familiarity with the traditions of the angelomophic Moses and his new status; this status is quite different from the traditional biblical portrait of this character. The tradition found in *1 Enoch* 89:36 illustrates that the polemical

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[21] Thus, for example, the bestowal of the divine name on Moses in Samaritan and rabbinic materials can be seen as a polemical response to Yahoel's figure or the Angel of the Lord traditions.

concern of the Enochic authors embraces not only Moses' revelation and his law, but also the exalted status of this revealer, who becomes too dangerously close to the Enochic hero, possibly even superseding him by acquiring an angelic status. This might explain why in *1 Enoch* 89:29-31 the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* pays such close attention to the theophanic imagery of the prophet's encounter with the Divine Face. The reference to the aforementioned Mosaic developments indicating a new exalted profile of the Israelite prophet prompts a thorough investigation of the Mosaic response to the challenges of the Enochic tradition.

Mosaic Counterattack

Scholars have previously noted that the Mosaic tradition responded to the challenges to the primacy of its hero and his revelation posed by the traditions associated with the seventh antediluvian hero by employing several polemical strategies.[22]

One strategy was to disconnect the Enochic story from its exegetical roots by arguing that Enoch was not in fact a righteous man and hence neither ascended nor was translated to heaven.[23] Philip Alexander sees an early example of this type of polemical response in Philo's *De Abrahamo* 47, where "Enoch is seen as an example of repentance, and a contrast is drawn between him as a 'penitent' (μετατεθειμένος) who devoted the earlier part of his life to vice but the latter to virtue, and the 'perfect man' (τέλειος) who was virtuous from the first."[24] Alexander further notes that the Philonic tendency[25] to

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[22] It should be noted that such polemical trends are not unusual and reflect a widespread tendency in the Second Temple pseudepigrapha. The polemic against the rival tradition often proceeded in two major modes: either through the silencing of the opposite tradition or, more often, through the transference of the features of the rival hero to the character of its own tradition.

[23] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 108.

[24] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 108.

exalt Moses and to diminish Enoch does not appear to be accidental, since in Philo one can see another important exegetical development in which certain qualities of the seventh antediluvian patriarch are attributed to the Israelite prophet.[26]

This characteristic of the Philonic point of view, the transfer of the features of the Enochic hero to the Mosaic character in order to reinforce the latter's superior status, leads us to the second significant dimension of the early polemical interaction between the Enochic and Mosaic traditions. Alexander observes that

> a second line of counterattack was to build up the figure of Moses and to attribute to him the same transcendent qualities as Enoch. Thus some claimed that Moses had ascended into heaven, had received heavenly wisdom, now played a cosmic role as a heavenly being, and had been, in some sense, "deified." Elements of this process of exalting Moses may be found as earlier as the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian (second century BCE). Philo, as we have already hinted, accords to Moses divine status, which clearly parallels that assigned elsewhere to Enoch, while at the same time he rather denigrates Enoch. 2 Apoc. Bar. 59:5-12 is an instructive case: there God shows to Moses "the measures of fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of the winds" and so forth, cosmological doctrines closely associated in earlier tradition with Enoch. A similar transference of Enochic roles to Ezra – as Moses *redivivus* – is implied in 4 Ezra 14.[27]

Pointing to these transferals, Alexander observes that "chronology suggests that the Enochic traditions have the primacy. It is the supporters of Moses who are trying to steal Enoch's clothes. That the transference went the other way, from Moses to Enoch, is much less likely."[28]

Alexander's remarks are important for this investigation; although the aforementioned Mosaic enhancements were not directed exclusively against the Enochic tradition but also targeted other traditions of the exalted patriarchs, prophets, and angels,

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[25] The tendency to challenge Enoch's righteousness and his translation to heaven later became a prominent trend in the rabbinic materials. See *Targ. Onq.* on Gen. 5:24; *Gen. R.* 25:1. See also M. Himmelfarb, "A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature," *SBLSP* (1978) 259-69.

[26] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 108.

[27] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 108-110.

the importance of the Enochic challenge as an archetypal alternative has often been overlooked by scholars. This study must now focus on several Second Temple extra-biblical Mosaic accounts which try to reinforce the features of the biblical Moses and attribute to him some qualities of Enoch and other exalted characters.

One of the significant early testimonies to the exalted profile of Moses has survived as a part of the drama *Exagoge*, a writing attributed to Ezekiel the Tragedian, which depicts the prophet's experience at Sinai as his celestial enthronement. *Exagoge* 67-90 reads:

> Moses: I had a vision of a great throne (θρόνον μέγαν) on the top of mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man (φῶτα γενναῖόν) was sitting on it, with a crown and a large scepter (μέγα σκῆπτρον) in his left hand. He beckoned to me with his right hand, so I approached and stood before the throne. He gave me the scepter and instructed me to sit on the great throne. Then he gave me a royal crown and got up from the throne. I beheld the whole earth all around and saw beneath the earth and above the heavens. A multitude of stars fell before my knees and I counted them all. They paraded past me like a battalion of men. Then I awoke from my sleep in fear.
>
> Raguel: My friend (ὦ ξένε), this is a good sign from God. May I live to see the day when these things are fulfilled. You will establish a great throne, become a judge and leader of men. As for your vision of the whole earth, the world below and that above the heavens – this signifies that you will see what is, what has been and what shall be.[29]

Wayne Meeks observes that, given its quotation by Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 80-40 BCE), this Mosaic account can be taken as a witness to traditions of the second century BCE.[30]

Several characteristics of the narrative suggest that its author was familiar with the Enochic traditions and tried to attribute some features of the story of the seventh antediluvian hero to Moses.[31] These attributions include the following points:

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[28] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 108-110.
[29] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54-55.

1. In the study of the Enochic features of the narrative, one must examine the literary form of this account. The first thing that catches the eye here is that the Sinai encounter is now fashioned not as a real life experience "in a body," i.e, how it was originally presented in the biblical accounts, but as a dream-vision.[32] This oneiromantic perspective of the narrative immediately brings to mind the Enochic dreams-visions, particularly *1 Enoch* 14,[33] in which the patriarch's vision of the *Kavod* is fashioned as an oneiromantic experience.[34]

Additional proof that Moses' dream is oneiromantic in form and nature is Raguel's interpretation that in the *Exagoge* follows immediately after Moses' dream-vision. The interpretation represents a standard feature of a mantic dream where the content of the received dream must then be interpreted by an oneirocritic. Raguel serves here as such an oneirocritic; he discerns the message of the dream telling the recipient (Moses) that his vision was positive: "My friend, this is a good sign from God." Such mantic procedures recall the earlier investigation of the Mesopotamian background of the Enochic oneiromantic practices.

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[30] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 149. See also Holladay, *Fragments From Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 2.308-12.

[31] Alexander, Holladay, Meeks, Richardson, and van der Horst point to various Enochic parallels in the *Exagoge*. For a preliminary analysis of the "Enochic" features of the *Exagoge*, see also Orlov, "Ex 33 on God's Face," 142-43.

[32] The text unambiguously points to the fact that Moses acquired his vision in a dream. See *Exagoge* 82: "Then I awoke from my sleep in fear."

[33] In view of the ongoing investigation of the early antecedents of the Metatron tradition, I must underline that the Mosaic tradition found in the *Exagoge* does not emphasize the bodily ascent of the visionary. The paradigmatic shift, pivotal for the later Metatron's imagery detectable in *2 Enoch's* account and *Sefer Hekhalot*, thus did not yet occur in the *Exagoge*. This account, therefore, belongs to the old paradigm of the celestial ascension and transformation.

[34] Although dreams are not uncommon in classic Greek drama, the content of the dream-vision suggests a Jewish rather than Greek background. On use of dreams in Greek drama in connection with the *Exagoge*, see: E. Starobinski-Safran, "Un poète judéo-hellénistique: Ezéchiel le Tragique," *MH* 3 (1974) 216-24; H. Jacobson, "Mysticism and Apocalyptic in Ezekiel's Exagoge," *JCS* 6 (1981) 273-93; Holladay, *Fragments*, 2.437.

It is also significant that *Exagoge*'s dream about the Sinai encounter is fashioned as a vision of the forthcoming event, the anticipation of the future glorious status and deeds of Moses. Such prophetic perspective is very common for the Enochic accounts, where the Sinai event is always depicted as a future event in order to maintain the antediluvian perspective of the narration.

2. Another Enochic detail of the narrative is that Moses' ascension in a dream allows him not simply to travel to the top of the earthly mountain but, like the seventh antediluvian hero, to transcend the *orbis terrarum*, accessing the various extraterrestrial realms which include the regions "beneath the earth and above the heavens." The ascension vividly recalls the early Enochic journeys during which the patriarch travels in his dreams-visions to the upper heavens, as well as to the lower regions, learning about the upcoming judgment of the sinners.[35] This profile of Moses as a traveler above and beneath the earth is unknown in the biblical accounts; it most likely comes from the early Enochic conceptual developments.

It should be noted that the imagery of the celestial travel to the great throne on the mountain recalls here Enoch's journey in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 14:18-25), in which the seer travels to the cosmic mountain, where the great throne of the Divine *Kavod* is located.[36] Carl Holladay draws attention to the terminological similarities in the throne language between this Enochic account and the *Exagoge*.[37]

3. The visionary account of the prophet, which is now fashioned as a celestial journey, also seems to necessitate the presence of another character appropriate in such

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[35] See, for example, *1 Enoch* 17-18.

[36] The imagery of the Divine Throne situated on the mountain is widespread in the *Book of the Watchers* and can be found in *1 Enoch* 18:8; 24:3; 25:3. Holladay, *Fragments*, 2.440.

[37] Holladay, *Fragments*, 2.440.

settings, the office of an *angelus interpres*, whose role is to assist the seer in understanding the upper reality. This new visionary dimension might be partially reflected in the figure of Raguel. His striking interpretive omniscience recalls the expertise of the angel Uriel of the Enochic accounts, who was able to help the patriarch overcome the initial fear and discern the proper meaning of the things revealed.[38] The important feature that suggests that Raguel might be understood here as a supernatural helper is that in the *Exagoge* Raguel looks like a direct participant in the vision who, quite surprisingly, knows about the disclosed things even more than the seer himself and therefore is able to initiate the visionary into the hidden meaning of the revealed reality. Another fact suggesting that Raguel might be an angelic interpreter is that it is very unusual in Jewish traditions that a non-Jew interprets a dream of a Jew. Howard Jacobson observes that "in the Bible nowhere does a non-Jew interpret a symbolic dream for a Jew.... Such dreams when dreamt by Jews are usually assumed to be understood by the dreamer (e.g. Joseph's dreams) or else are interpreted by some divine authority (e.g. Daniel 8)."[39] It is however not uncommon for a heavenly being to discern the proper meaning of visions of an Israelite. It is therefore possible that Raguel is envisioned here as a celestial, not a human, interpreter.

In the light of these considerations, it is possible that Raguel's address, which occupies the last part of the account, can be seen here, at least structurally, as a continuation of the previous vision. One detail that might support such an arrangement is

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[38] *Exagoge* 82: "Then I awoke from my sleep in fear." The awaking of a seer from a vision-dream in fear is a common motif in the Enochic literature. See *1 Enoch* 83:6-7; 90:41-42; *2 Enoch* 1:6-7 (shorter recension).

[39] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 92.

that in the beginning of his interpretation Raguel calls Moses ξένος,[40] a Greek term which can be rendered in English as "guest."[41] Such an address might well be interpreted here as an angel's address to a human visitor attending the upper celestial realm which is normally alien to him.

4. The *Exagoge* depicts Moses as a counter of the stars. The text also seems to put great emphasis on the prophet's interaction with these celestial bodies which "fell before Moses' knees" and even "paraded past him like battalion of men." Such astronomical encounters are unknown in the biblical Mosaic accounts. At the same time the preoccupation of the seventh antediluvian patriarch with astronomical and cosmological calculations and lore is well known and constitutes a major subject of his revelations in one of the earliest Enochic booklets, the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*, in which the patriarch is depicted as the counter of stars.[42] The later Enochic and Merkabah materials also demonstrate that the patriarch's expertise in the counting and measuring of the celestial and earthly phenomena becomes a significant conceptual avenue for his future exaltation as an omniscient vice-regent of the Deity[43] who knows and exercises authority over the "orders of creations."[44]

5. It has already been noted that the polemics between the Mosaic and Enochic tradition revolved around the issue of the primacy and supremacy of the revealed

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[40] Jakobson and Robertson render the Greek word ξένος as "friend."

[41] Robertson suggests this rendering as one of the possible options. He writes that "in addition to the more common meaning of the term, there are various levels of usage, among which is the meaning 'guest.'" Robertson, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," 812, note d2. See also Holladay, *Fragments*, 2.446.

[42] *1 Enoch* 33:2-4.

[43] See *3 Enoch* 46:1-2.

[44] See *2 Enoch* 40:2-4: "I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents. And all the armies and their movements I have measured. And I have recorded the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable. What human being can see their circles and their phases? For not even the angels know their number. But I have written down all their names...." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.164.

knowledge. The author of the *Exagoge* appears to challenge the prominent esoteric status of the Enochic lore and the patriarch's role as an expert in secrets by underlining the esoteric character of the Mosaic revelation and the prophet's superiority in the mysteries of heaven and earth. In *Exagoge* 85 Raguel tells the seer that his vision of the world below and above signifies that he will see what is, what has been, and what shall be.[45] Wayne Meeks notes the connection of this statement of Raguel with the famous expression "what is above and what is below; what is before and what is behind; what was and what will be," which was a standard designation for knowledge belonging to the esoteric lore.[46] He draws attention[47] to *m.* Hag. 2:1 in which the prohibition of the discussion of the esoteric lore,[48] including the Account of the Creation (מעשה בראשית) and the Account of Chariot (מעשה מרכבה), is expressed through the following formulary which closely resembles the description found in the *Exagoge*: "Whosoever gives his mind to four things it was better for him if he had not come into the world—what is above? what is beneath? what was beforetime? and what will be hereafter."[49]

In light of this passage, it is possible that the author of the *Exagoge*, who shows familiarity with the earlier form of the Mishnaic formula, attempts here to fashion the Mosaic revelation as an esoteric tradition, similar to the Enochic lore.[50] The study

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[45] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54-55.

[46] *Sifre Zutta* 84. See also *3 Enoch* 10:5; 11:3.

[47] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 208. See also van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," 28; Fletcher-Louis, "4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology," *DSD* 3 (1996) 236-252, esp. 246.

[48] Scholem, *Major Trends*, 74.

[49] Danby, *The Mishnah*, 213.

[50] The insistence of some extra-biblical Mosaic accounts on the fact that the prophet ascended to heaven might be directed towards fashioning the Mosaic disclosure as an esoteric tradition in order to secure the superiority of his revelation. Wayne Meeks observes that "the most common function of ascension stories in literature of the period and milieu we are considering is a guarantee of esoteric tradition. In the apocalyptic genre the ascension of the 'prophet' or of the ancient worthy in whose name the book is written is an almost invariable introduction to the description of the secrets which the ascendant one

already demonstrated that the roots of the later rabbinic understanding of the Account of Creation and the Account of Chariot were closely associated with the early Enochic materials.

6. The placement of Moses on the great throne[51] in the *Exagoge* account and his donning of the royal regalia has been often interpreted by scholars as the prophet's occupation of the seat of the Deity. The uniqueness of the motif of God's vacating the throne and transferring occupancy to someone else has puzzled the scholars for a long time.[52] An attempt to deal with this enigma by bringing in the imagery of the vice-regent does not, in my judgment, completely solve the problem; the vice-regents in Jewish traditions (for example, Metatron) do not normally occupy God's throne but instead have their own glorious chair, which sometimes serves as a replica of the Divine Seat. It seems that the enigmatic identification of the prophet with the Divine Form can best be explained not through the concept of a vice-regent, but through the notion of the heavenly counterpart.[53] In the light of the previous investigation of this conception in the Enochic and Jacobite traditions, one can suggest that Moses' identification with the enthroned

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'saw.' The secrets, therefore, whose content may vary from descriptions of the cosmic and political events anticipated at the end of days to cosmological details, are declared to be of heavenly origin, not mere earthly wisdom. This pattern is the clear sign of a community which regards its own esoteric lore as inaccessible to ordinary reason but belonging to a higher order of truth. It is clear beyond dispute that this is one function which the traditions of Moses' ascension serves." Meeks adds that in the later rabbinic accounts "the notion that Moses received cosmological secrets led to elaborate descriptions of his 'heavenly journeys,' very similar to those attributed elsewhere to Enoch." Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 367-8.

[51] Crispin Fletcher-Louis draws attention to a parallel in the Jewish *Orphica*: an exalted figure, apparently Moses, is also placed on the celestial throne. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 137; M. Lafargue, "Orphica," *OTP*, 2.796-7. *Orphica* 26-341 reads: "...a certain unique man, an offshoot from far back of the race of the Chaldeans...yes he after this is established in the great heaven on a golden throne. He stands with his feet on the earth. He stretches out his right hand to the ends of the ocean. The foundation of the mountains trembles within at [his] anger, and the depths of the gray sparkling sea. They cannot endure the mighty power. He is entirely heavenly, and he brings everything to completion on earth, being 'the beginning, the middle, and the end,' as the saying of the ancients, as the one water-born has described it, the one who received [revelations] from God in aphorisms, in the form of a double law...." Lafargue, "Orphica," 2. 799-800.

[52] van der Horst, "Throne Vision," 25; Holladay, *Fragments*, 444.

"noble man" in the *Exagoge* might represent a Mosaic adaptation of the heavenly counterpart imagery. Moses' occupation of the glorious throne thus reflects the process of the unification of the seer with his celestial counterpart which, as this study has already demonstrated, often involves identification with the *Kavod*, since the heavenly counterpart appears to be directly linked with this celestial entity portrayed in some traditions as Jacob's image on the Throne of Glory.[54]

7. The previous analysis has shown that the process of turning a seer into his heavenly counterpart often involves the change of his bodily appearance. It may happen even in a dream--for example, in the *Similitudes*' account of the heavenly counterpart, where, although Enoch's journey was "in spirit," his "body was melted" and, as a result, he acquired the identity of the son of man.[55] A similar change of the visionary's identity might be discernable in the *Exagoge*, where the already mentioned designation of Moses as ξένος occurs. Besides the meanings of "friend" and "guest," this Greek word also can be translated as "stranger."[56] If the authors of the *Exagoge* indeed had in mind this meaning of ξένος, it might well be related to the fact that Moses' face or his body underwent some sort of transformation which altered his previous physical appearance and made him appear as a stranger to Raguel.[57] The tradition of Moses' altered identity

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[53] The previous research in the fourth chapter of this dissertation has demonstrated that the imageries of the heavenly counterpart and the vice-regent are closely interconnected.

[54] It cannot be excluded though that the *Exagoge*'s authors might have known the traditions of the patriarch's enthronement in heaven, similar to those reflected in the *Similitudes* and *2 Enoch*. Also it cannot be excluded that the Mesopotamian proto-Enochic traditions, in which the prototype of Enoch, the king Enmeduranki, was installed on a throne in the assembly of gods, might have influenced the imagery found in the *Exagoge*. Pieter van der Horst in his analysis of the *Exagoge* entertains the possibility that "... in pre-Christian times there were (probably rival) traditions about Enoch and Moses as *synthronoi theou*; and ... these ideas were suppressed (for obvious reasons) by the rabbis." van der Horst, "Throne Vision," 27.

[55] *1 Enoch* 71:11.

[56] Robertson points to this possibility. Robertson, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," 812, note d2.

[57] It should not be forgotten that it is not unusual, not only for humans (as in Exod 34) but also for angelic beings, to take notice of Moses' luminous face. Thus, for example, in *3 Enoch* 15B the celestial guide of Moses, Enoch-Metatron remarks on his radiant visage.

after his encounter with the *Kavod* is reflected not only in Exod 34 but also in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 12:1, when the Israelites failed to recognize Moses after his glorious metamorphosis on Mount Sinai:

> Moses came down. (Having been bathed with light that could not be gazed upon, he had gone down to the place where the light of the sun and the moon are. The light of his face surpassed the splendor of the sun and the moon, but he was unaware of this). When he came down to the children of Israel, upon seeing him they did not recognize him. But when he had spoken, then they recognized him.[58]

Crispin Fletcher-Louis suggests that Moses might be understood in this passage as an angelomorphic being,[59] since "it is a recurrent feature of the angelophany form that the angel is not, at first, recognized by the mortal to whom they appear."[60]

The attempt of the authors of the *Exagoge* to identify Moses with a celestial form, perhaps even with the Form of the Deity, is not unique in the extra-biblical Mosaic materials. I have already mentioned that a similar tradition seems to be reflected in the passage from the Jewish *Orphica*. Some Dead Sea Scrolls materials also witness to a traditon of Moses' deification at Sinai. For example, one of the partially preserved texts from Qumran, 4Q374, also known as the *Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition,* seems to allude to Moses' deification: "... and he made him like a God[61] over the powerful ones, and a cause of reel[ing] (?) for Pharaoh ... and then he let his face shine for them for healing, they strengthened [their] hearts again...."[62]

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[58] H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation (*AGAJU, 31; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 1.110.

[59] The Greek text of Sirach 45:2 postulates that God made Moses equal in glory to the holy ones [angels].

[60] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 139.

[61] The Mosaic title "god" is attested already in Exod 7:1: "See, I have made you a god to Pharaoh." see also Philo's *Life of Moses* 1.155-58: "for he [Moses] was named god and king of the whole nation."

[62] 4Q374, ii, 6-8. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2.740-41.

Another feature of this Qumran account significant for the future analysis of the Mosaic polemics in *2 Enoch* is that the radiance of the glorified Moses' face, similar to the divine luminosity, is able to transform human nature. One can find a similar motif in *2 Enoch* 64:4: people ask the transformed Enoch for blessings so they can be glorified in front of his [Enoch's] face.[63] The Enochic passage seems to echo the tradition found in 4Q374, where the radiance of Moses' face is able to heal the hearts of the Israelites.

In the Mosaic accounts from Qumran, one can see another prominent tendency that has been already noted in this investigation, that is, the connection between the exalted profiles of Adam and Moses, in which Moses serves as a luminous counterpart of the protoplast. As in *2 Enoch's* theological deliberation, in which the features of the prelapsarian Adam were transferred to the seventh antediluvian patriarch, these early Mosaic accounts also attempt to make this connection with their hero. In the group of the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments known under the title *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504), the following passage about the glory of Adam in the Garden of Eden can be found:

> [... Adam,] our [fat]her, you fashioned in the image of [your] glory (יצרתה בדמות כבוד [כה]) [...] [... the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and intelligence and knowledge [...] [... in the gard]en of Eden, which you had planted. You made [him] govern [...] [...] and so that he would walk in a glorious land... [...] [...] he kept. And you imposed on him not to tu[rn away...] [...] he is flesh, and to dust [...] ....[64]

Later in 4Q504, this tradition about Adam's former glory gives way to a reference to the luminosity bestowed on another human body--the glorious face of Moses at his encounter with the Lord at Sinai:

> [...Re]member, please, that all of us are your people. You have lifted us wonderfully [upon the wings of] eagles and you have brought us to you. And like

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[63] *2 Enoch* 64:4 (the longer recension): "And now bless your [sons], and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[64] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2.1008-1009.

> the eagle which watches its nest, circles [over its chicks,] stretches its wings, takes one and carries it upon [its pinions] [...] we remain aloof and one does not count us among the nations. And [...] [...] You are in our midst, in the column of fire and in the cloud [...] [...] your [hol]y [...] walks in front of us, and your glory is in [our] midst ([נו] וכבודכה בתוכ) [...] [...] the face of Moses (פני משה), [your] serv[ant]....[65]

Two details stand out in these descriptions. First, the author of 4Q504 appears to be familiar with the lore about the glorious garments of Adam, the tradition according to which first humans had luminous attire in Eden before their transgression. Second, the author draws parallels between the glory of Adam and the glory of Moses' face. The luminous face of the prophet might represent in this text an alternative to the lost luminosity of Adam and thus serve as a new symbol of God's glory once again manifested in the human body. It appears, therefore, that in 4Q504, as in *2 Enoch*, where one can see the connection between the former glory of Adam and the newly-acquired glory of Enoch, the traditions about Adam's glory and Moses' glory are creatively juxtaposed with each other, with Moses being depicted as a luminous counterpart of the protoplast.

The motif of Moses' luminosity which is able to supersede the radiance of the first man became a popular motif in Samaritan and rabbinic literature.[66] Jarl Fossum and April De Conick have demonstrated the importance of the Samaritan materials for understanding the connection between the "glories" of Adam and Moses. The Samaritan texts insist that, when Moses ascended to Mount Sinai, he received the divine image

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[65] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2.1008-1009.

[66] Wayne Meeks notes that "like Enoch in some Jewish traditions" in *Memar Marqah* 4.6 Moses sat on a great throne and wrote what his Lord had taught him. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 358.

which Adam cast off in the Garden of Eden.[67] According to *Memar Marqah*, Moses was endowed with the identical glorious body as Adam.[68] *Memar Marqah* 5:4 reads: "He [Moses] was vested with the form which Adam cast off in the Garden of Eden; and his face shone up to the day of his death."[69]

The Adam/Moses connection also looms large in the rabbinic sources. Alon Goshen-Gottstein stresses that "the luminescent quality of the image (*tselem*) is the basis for comparison between Moses and Adam in several rabbinical materials."[70] *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 11:3 offers an important witness to the Adam/Moses connection. It includes the following passage, in which two luminaries argue about whose glory is the greatest:

> Adam said to Moses: "I am greater than you because I have been created in the image of God." Whence this? For it is said, "and God created man in his own image" (Gen. 1:27). Moses replied to him: "I am far superior to you, for the honor which was given to you has been taken away from you, as it is said: but man (Adam) abideth not in honor, (Ps. XLIX, 13) but as for me, the radiant countenance which God gave me still remains with me." Whence? For it is said: "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated" (Deut. 34:7).[71]

Goshen-Gottstein draws attention to another midrashic passage from *Midrash Tadshe* 4 in which Moses is posed as Adam's luminous counterpart. The tradition relates that

> in the likeness of the creation of the world the Holy One blessed be he performed miracles for Israel when they came out of Egypt.... In the beginning: "and God created man in his image," and in the desert: "and Moshe knew not that the skin of his face shone."[72]

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[67] Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 93; De Conick, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas*, 159.

[68] Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 94.

[69] J. Macdonald, *Memar Marqah. The Teaching of Marqah* (BZAW, 83; Berlin, 1963) 209.

[70] A. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Body as Image of God in Rabbinic Literature," *HTR* 87 (1994) 171-95, esp.182.

[71] H. Freedman and M. Simon (tr.), *Midrash Rabbah* (10 vols.; London: Soncino, 1939) 7.173.

[72] Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 3.168.

It is also remarkable that later rabbinic materials often speak of the luminosity of Adam's face,[73] the feature that again points to the Adam-Moses connection. In *Leviticus Rabbah* 20:2, the following passage can be found:

> Resh Lakish, in the name of R. Simeon the son of Menasya, said: The apple of Adam's heel outshone the globe of the sun; how much more so the brightness of his face! Nor need you wonder. In the ordinary way if a person makes salvers, one for himself and one for his household, whose will he make more beautiful? Not his own? Similarly, Adam was created for the service of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the globe of the sun for the service of mankind.[74]

Genesis Rabbah 11 also focuses, not on Adam's luminous garments, but on his glorious face:

> Adam's glory did not abide the night with him. What is the proof? But Adam passeth not the night in glory (Ps. XLIX, 13). The Rabbis maintain: His glory abode with him, but at the termination of the Sabbath He deprived him of his splendor and expelled him from the Garden of Eden, as it is written, Thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away (Job XIV, 20).[75]

The aforementioned testimonies demonstrate that Mosaic, Adamic, Enochic, and other mediatorial traditions often borrowed exegetical strategies from each other not only in the pseudepigraphic materials but also in their later rabbinic counterparts. It points to the long-lasting nature of the polemics between the exalted characters and their close interaction in rabbinic and Hekhalot literature.

The initial roots of these trajectories can be traced to Second Temple documents. For example, the theme of the superiority of Moses over Adam can already be found in Philo. Wayne Meeks draws attention to the tradition from the *Quaestiones et Solutiones*

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[73] According to Jewish sources, the image of God was manifested especially in the radiance of Adam's face. See: Fossum, *The Name of God*, 94; Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 45.

[74] H. Freedman and M. Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 4.252.

[75] H. Freedman and M. Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 1.81.

in Exodum 2.46, which identifies the ascendant Moses with the heavenly man[76] created in God's image on the seventh day:[77]

> But the calling above of the prophet is a second birth better than the first.... For he is called on the seventh day, in this (respect) differing from the earth-born first molded man, for the latter came into being from the earth and with body, while the former (came) from the ether and without body. Wherefore the most appropriate number, six, was assigned to the earth-born man, while to the one differently born (was assigned) the higher nature of the hebdomad.[78]

Such testimonies to the exalted profile of the prophet are widespread in the Philonic corpus. Alan Segal notes that "Philo often speaks of Moses as being made into divinity.... in exegeting Moses' receiving the Ten Commandments, Philo envisions an ascent, not merely up the mountain but to the heaven ... his grave is not known, which for Philo apparently means that Moses was transported to heaven."[79] Scholars point out that some of these new, elevated features were developed with help from the Enochic prototypes. Alexander observes that in Philo many exalted characteristics of the seventh antediluvian hero were transferred to Moses.[80]

The previous exposition demonstrates that these conceptual developments[81] did not stem solely from the creative mind of a great Hellenistic writer, but rather reflected

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[76] Meeks observes that in early Mosaic accounts "Moses' elevation at Sinai was treated not only as a heavenly enthronement, but also as a restoration of the glory lost by Adam. Moses, crowned with both God's name and his image, became in some sense a 'second Adam,' the prototype of a new humanity." Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 365.

[77] Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 364-65.

[78] Philo, *Questions and Answers on Exodus* (tr. R. Marcus, Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press/Heinemann, 1949) 91-92.

[79] Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 44.

[80] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God," 108. Josephus reflects a similar tendency. Rowland notes that "Josephus speaks of Enoch as returning to the divinity ... exactly the same words are used of the end of Moses in Ant. 1.85 and Ant. 4.326." Rowland, "Enoch," in: *DDD*, 302.

[81] On Philo's use of Jewish mystical traditions, see K. Kohler "Merkabah," *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (ed. I. Singer; New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1904) 8.500; H. Chadwick, "St. Paul and Philo of Alexandria," *BJRL* 48 (1966) 286-307; E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969).

the established tendency of the author's time discernable in the early Mosaic lore.[82] Meeks observes that the most casual reading of Philo's works demonstrates that Moses was his primary hero.[83] He also points to the curious Philonic tendency to diminish the significance and the revelatory prowess of the patriarchal figures at the expense of Moses. Meeks notes that in Philo, "Moses is far superior to the Patriarchs; they had to be initiated into the holy secrets as novices, while Moses officiates from the beginning as the mystagogue."[84] Here one encounters a familiar theme already noted in the *Exagoge*: Moses' expertise in the holy secrets is far superior to that of any other ancient mediator, including the paradigmatic expert in secrets, the patriarch Enoch. The Philonic objection to the esoteric expertise of the Patriarchs may aim not only at the biblical side of their stories but also their pseudepigraphic extensions in which Adam, Abel, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Jacob, Abraham, and other patriarchal figures were depicted as recipients of various angelic and divine revelations; they posed therefore a direct threat to the primacy of the Mosaic message. Philo's writings also represent a place where for the first time in Jewish literature one can see an extensive consistent development of the concept of the deified Moses.[85] Meeks notes that in Philo "the analogy between Moses and God ... approaches consubstantiality."[86]

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[82] Meeks observes that the use of Philo as a source is fraught with difficulties, since it is very difficult to discern when Philo is original and when he is representative. It is apparent that Philo's writings reflect the wealth of the Jewish traditions contemporary to this author. Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 101.

[83] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 102.

[84] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 102.

[85] Pieter van der Horst notes that "in *Quaestiones in Exodum* I 29, Philo writes that on Sinai Moses was changed into a truly divine person; and in *De Vita Mosis* I 155-158 he says that God placed the entire universe into Moses' hands and that all the elements obeyed him as their master. Philo calls Moses god and king, probably adding to God's words in Exodus 4:16 that Moses will be as a god to Aaron, or in Exodus 7:1, that he makes him a god over Pharaoh (cf. *Sacrif.* 9)." Pieter W. van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," 25.

[86] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 104f.

Although earlier scholarship viewed the deification of Moses in Philo as a Hellenistic Jewish adoption of Θεῖος ἀνήρ Greco-Roman conceptual developments, Crispin Fletcher-Louis recently made a convincing case that, in the attempt to deify Moses, Philo was "reusing and inculturating a fundamentally Jewish tradition which, since at least the second century BCE, conceived of Moses in angelomorphic/divine terms."[87] Already in the Bible the son of Amram is labeled as a god.[88] The biblical materials, however, do not unfold the implications of this designation.

In Philo this title is placed in a peculiar visionary context. Meeks notes Philo's tendency to connect the Mosaic title "god" with his ascent on Mount Sinai.[89] Such a connection can be traced for example in the passage from *De Vita Mosis* 1.158-9:

> For he [Moses] was named god and king (θεὸς καὶ βασιλεύς) of the whole nation, and entered, we are told, into the darkness where God was, that is into the unseen, invisible, incorporeal and archetypal essence of existing things. Thus he beheld what is hidden from the sight of mortal nature, and, in himself and his life displayed for all to see, he has set before us, like some well-wrought picture, a piece of work beautiful and godlike, a model for those who are willing to copy it. Happy are they who imprint, or strive to imprint, that image in their souls. For it were best that the mind should carry the form of virtue in perfection, but, failing this, let it at least have the unflinching desire to possess that form.[90]

Here the prophet's ascent is different from its biblical counterpart. In Philo, unlike in the Bible, the motif of Moses' deification is conflated with his mystical ascension at Sinai not in body but in mind.[91] Moses' ascent in Philo is described not through the typical biblical theophanic language but rather through introspective formulae according to which the seer assesses the "incorporeal archetypal essence of existing things." *Quaestiones et*

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[87] Fletcher-Louis, "4 Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition," 243. See also idem, *All the Glory of Adam*, 136ff.

[88] Exod 7:1: "See, I have made you a god to Pharaoh."

[89] Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 355.

[90] *Philo* (trs. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929-64) 6.357-59.

Solutiones in Exodum 2.40 repeats this tendency toward an inner journey by fashioning the Sinai encounter as an ascension of the soul into the region above the heavens:[92] "This [Exodus 24.12a] signifies that a holy soul is divinized by ascending not to the air or to the ether or to heaven (which is) higher than all but to (a region) above the heavens. And beyond the world there is no place but God."[93]

This reiterated emphasis on the inner nature of the ascent at Sinai brings to mind the form of inner vision found in the *Exagoge*, which closely resembles the journeys attested in *1 Enoch*. Still, the Philonic imagery of mystical ascension most likely follows here not only the Jewish visionary counterparts but also Greek philosophical formulations, since Mosaic contemplation of the "formless and incorporeal archetypal essence of existing things" is quite alien to the patriarch's vision of the multitude of the celestial phenomena. It is also notable that in Philo, unlike in the *Exagoge*, Moses' ascent is not oneiromantic.

Yet, possible traces of Enochic influences are still discernable in the Philonic narratives despite their heavy permeation with Greek philosophical vocabulary. One of these Enochic features is the theme of the rejection of the hero's death and his translation to heaven at the end of his life. Meeks observes that

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[91] It is noteworthy that the Enochic visionary account found in the *Similitudes* refers to the patriarch's ascension as a journey in spirit.

[92] The Philonic understanding of Moses' ascent not as a bodily journey but as an ascent in mind is also clear in *De Confusione Linguarum* 95-97: "But it is the special mark of those who serve the Existent, that their are not the tasks of cupbearers or bakers or cooks, or any other tasks of the earth, nor do they mould or fashion material forms like the brick-makers, but in their thoughts ascend to the heavenly heights, setting before them *Moses*, the nature beloved of God, to lead them on the way. For then they shall behold the place which in fact is the Word, where stands God the never changing, never swerving, and also what lies under his feet like 'the work of a brick of sapphire, like the form of the firmament of the heaven' (Ex. xxiv. 10), even the world of our senses, which he indicates in this mystery." *Philo* (trs. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929-64) 4.61.

[93] Philo, *Questions and Answers on Exodus* (tr. R. Marcus, LCL; Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press/Heinemann, 1949) 82-83.

> Philo takes for granted that Deuteronomy 34:6, 'no man knows his grave,' means that Moses was translated. Doubtless this view was traditional in Philo's circle, for he states matter-of-factly that Enoch, "the protoprophet (Moses)," and Elijah all obtained this reward.[94] The end of Moses' life was an "ascent,"[95] an "emigration to heaven," "abandoning the mortal life to be made immortal"[96] (ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι).[97]

De Vita Mosis 2.288-91 portrays Moses' departure in the following terms:

> Afterwards the time came when he had to make his pilgrimage from earth to heaven, and leave this mortal life for immortality, summoned thither by the Father who resolved his twofold nature of soul and body into a single unity, transforming his whole being into mind, pure as the sunlight... for when he was already being exalted and stood at the very barrier, ready at the signal to direct his upward flight to heaven, the divine spirit fell upon him and he prophesied with discernment while still alive the story of his own death.[98]

This passage recalls a tradition found in *2 Enoch* 67: the seventh antediluvian hero is taken alive to heaven while he was prophesying to his children and the people of the earth. Yet it remains unclear to what extent Philo knew the extra-biblical Enochic traditions about the patriarch's departure to heaven. His depiction of Moses' departure in this respect seems to draw more on established biblical counterparts.

In Josephus, as in Philo, Moses appears to be described again in the same biblical paradigm of otherworldly translation[99] which vividly recalls the departures of Enoch and Elijah. *Ant.* 4.8.48 §326[100] reads:

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[94] *QG* 1.86.

[95] *QG* 1.86.

[96] *Mos.* 2.288-292; *Virt.* 53, 72-79.

[97] Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 124.

[98] *Philo* (trs. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929-64) 6.593-5.

[99] J. D. Tabor, "'Returning to the Divinity': Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah, and Moses," *JBL* 108 (1989) 225-38; C. Begg, "'Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah, and Moses," *JBL* 109 (1990) 691-93.

[100] The motif of Moses' translation is also attested in *Ant.* 3.5.7 §96-7: "There was a conflict of opinions: some said that he [Moses] had fallen a victim to wild beasts—it was principally those who were ill disposed towards him who voted for that view—others that he had been taken back to the divinity. But the sober-minded, who found no private satisfaction in either statement—who held that to die under the fangs of beasts was a human accident, and that he should be translated by God to Himself by reason of his inherent virtue was likely enough—were moved by these reflections to retain their composure." Josephus,

> And, while he [Moses] bade farewell to Eleazar and Joshua and was yet communing with them, a cloud of a sudden descended upon him and he disappeared in a ravine. But he has written of himself in the sacred books that he died, for fear lest they should venture to say that by reason of his surpassing virtue he had gone back to the Deity.[101]

Finally this analysis of the Mosaic polemical response must be concluded with an example drawn from *2 Baruch* 59, in which the adaptation of the Enochic features into the framework of the Mosaic tradition is also traceable. In comparison with Philo and Josephus, who rely mainly on the biblical evidence, the author of *2 Baruch* clearly demonstrates familiarity with the exact technical vocabulary of the early Enochic lore. *2 Baruch* 59:5-12 reads:

> But he also showed him [Moses], at that time, the measures of fire, the depths of the abyss,[102] the weight of the winds,[103] the number of the raindrops,[104] the suppression of wrath, the abundance of long-suffering, the truth of judgment, the root of wisdom, the richness of understanding, the fountain of knowledge, the height of the air,[105] the greatness of Paradise, the end of the periods, the beginning of the day of judgment,[106] the number of offerings, the worlds which have not yet come, the mouth of hell,[107] the standing place of vengeance, the place of faith, the region of hope, the picture of the coming punishment, the multitude of the angels which cannot be counted, the powers of the flame, the splendor of lightnings,[108] the voice of the thunders, the orders of the archangels,[109] the treasures of the light, the changes of the times,[110] and the inquiries into the Law.[111]

Although R. H. Charles previously argued that the transition of Enoch's functions to Moses was made here for the first time, one can now safely postulate that the decisive

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Jewish Antiquities (tr. H. S. J. Thackeray; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press/London: Heinemann, 1967) 3.363.

[101] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (tr. H. S. J. Thackeray; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press/London: Heinemann, 1967) 4.633.

[102] *1 Enoch* 18:11; 21:7-10.

[103] *1 Enoch* 41:4; *2 Enoch* 40:11.

[104] *2 Enoch* 47:5.

[105] *1 Enoch* 40:12.

[106] *2 Enoch* 65:7-10.

[107] *1 Enoch* 27:2; 54:1-6; 90:26.

[108] *1 Enoch* 41:3; 43:1; 60:13-15; *2 Enoch* 40:9.

[109] *1 Enoch* 61:10; 71:7-9; *2 Enoch* 30:1-3.

[110] *1 Enoch* 82:11-20; *2 Enoch* 13:5; 40:6.

[111] A. F. J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," in: *OTP*, 1.642.

transference of the Enochic *Gestalt* to Moses' figure was made much earlier, in such early Second Temple documents as the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian.[112] In concluding this section of the study, I must reiterate that the main reason for the enhancement of Moses' profile in the Second Temple period was his role as the mediator or guarantor of the divine revelation. Meeks observes that the stories of Moses' elevation "indicate that one, and perhaps the major, function of the ascension legends was to emphasize Moses' role as guarantor of the traditions, cosmological, halakic, or eschatological, of the particular group cultivating the stories."[113]

Mosaic Polemics in 2 Enoch: New Strategy

In the previous sections of this chapter I had a chance to review the initial polemical response to the Enochic tradition reflected in such documents as the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, the Qumran materials, and Philo. These challenges unveil an important tendency in Second Temple mediatorial polemics, the fact that their authors often did not hesitate to borrow the imagery and exegetical strategies of their opponents in order to build up the exalted profile of their own hero. In this context it is natural to assume that the Enochic authors might also have tried to transfer the Mosaic features to the Enochic hero. Yet the preliminary analysis has demonstrated that the materials included in the composition known as *1 Ethiopic Enoch* do not appear to apply such a polemical strategy which attempted to transfer the exalted features of the Israelite prophet to the seventh antediluvian patriarch.

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[112] *APOT*, 2.514.
[113] Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 369.

In *2 Enoch*, however, the situation is changed and the Mosaic arguments found there seem to represent a more advanced polemical strategy in comparison with the developments found in the earlier Enochic books.[114] The indication that these polemics are different is that the Mosaic imagery is now explicitly assigned to the seventh antediluvian hero. The authors of the Slavonic apocalypse appear to adopt here, for the first time in the Enochic lore, the contra-polemical strategy previously tested by their Mosaic counterparts, who in the extra-biblical Mosaic narratives did not hesitate to attribute the features of Enoch to the Israelite prophet. Although Moses is not named directly in these new Enochic polemical appropriations, they nevertheless are fashioned in such a manner that the Enochic readers, who certainty were familiar with the biblical Mosaic accounts, could easily recognize the apparent Mosaic features of these new qualities of the patriarch. The function of these new polemical developments is thus identical to the one found in the later Hekhalot comparisons of Moses and Enoch-Metatron – to show that the former represents only an inferior replica or later imitation of the latter. Such polemical perspective is intended to underline the primacy of Enoch's story and his revelation, since the patriarch is now depicted as the one who underwent the Mosaic type of transformation in the antediluvian time, long before the Israelite prophet was born.

David Halperin's analysis of the rabbinic and Hekhalot imagery demonstrates the ubiquity of such comparative imagery, which reflects the polemical character of the Merkabah portrayals of Moses and Metatron. He notes that in these materials Metatron is always depicted as "a greater Moses ... more exactly, he is Moses gone a step farther.

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[114] I initially approached the subject of the possible influence of Mosaic tradition in the shaping of Enoch-Metatron's profile in *2 Enoch* in my article "Ex 33 on God's Face: A Lesson from the Enochic

Moses ascends to heaven; Metatron becomes ruler of heaven. Moses defeats the angels; Metatron dominates them. Moses grasps God's throne; Metatron sits on a throne identical to it. When Metatron grants revelation to Moses, he is giving a helping hand to his junior alter ego.... These authors, I presume, saw the exalted Metatron as the primary figure, the ascending Moses as his junior replica."[115]

In contrast to this investigation, Halperin's work sees the initial background of the Merkabah polemical comparisons between the son of Amram and Metatron in Moses' ascension stories reflected in the materials associated with the Shabu^{c}ot circle;[116] he ignores the earlier evidence of Mosaic polemics found in *1* and *2 Enoch*. He suggests that "as historians of the tradition, however, we must reverse the relationships [between Moses and Metatron]. First the Shabu^{c}ot preachers had Moses invade heaven and lay hold of the throne. Then the authors of the Hekhalot, breaking the restraints of the older stories, let Metatron enjoy the fruits of conquest."[117]

This study will demonstrate that in light of the long-lasting competition between the Enochic and Mosaic traditions and *2 Enoch's* testimony to the Enoch-Metatron development which predates the extant evidence to the Shabu^{c}ot circle, one no longer needs to follow Halperin's advice by clarifying the relationships between Moses and Metatron on the basis of the later rabbinic developments since one will see that already in the Second Temple Enochic materials, namely in *2 Enoch*, the Enochic authors strived to portray the Mosaic hero as a junior replica of Enoch-Metatron. This does not exclude the possibility that the Enochic polemical response was prompted by the traditions about the

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Tradition," *SBLSP* 39 (2000) 130-147.

[115] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 426.

[116] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 289ff.

[117] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 426.

exalted Moses. However, this stimulus for enhancing the theophanic qualities of the Enoch-Metatron story was received initially not from the Shabu^{c}ot sermons but from such early documents as the *Exagoge*, in which Moses was already depicted as the one who "invaded heaven and laid hold of the throne."

The appropriation of Mosaic imagery in *2 Enoch* shows that the early form of Mosaic polemics reflected in the Slavonic apocalypse manifests the very beginning of the theological deliberation which attempts to portray Moses as a creature inferior to Enoch-Metatron. In comparison with the later Hekhalot writings, however, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse prefer not to refer directly to Moses,[118] but rather recede to implicit references to this character through well-known Mosaic motifs (for example, the luminescent face of the seer or the embrace of the hero by the Deity's hand). Such tendencies might also serve as additional evidence that the Mosaic polemics found in *2 Enoch* represent a very early stage of its development since here the Enochic authors respond to their opponents by applying a similar silent strategy previously used by their Mosaic rivals, that is, the tendency well reflected in the *Exagoge* and other early materials according to which the features of Enoch are transferred to Moses without any reference to their original proprietor.

This study will demonstrate that in many instances the appropriations of Mosaic theophanic imagery in *2 Enoch*, such as the motifs of the hand of the Deity encompassing the visionary, the luminous face of the seer, or most importantly the imagery of the Divine Face, clearly serve as the initial conceptual background for the later Hekhalot and rabbinic testimonies to the Moses-Metatron connection. In these later accounts, however,

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[118] Possibly in view of the marked antediluvian perspective of the narrative.

unlike in *2 Enoch*, the identity of the polemical protagonist will not be hidden any longer, and Moses will be openly compared to Enoch-Metatron.

Imagery of the Face

As already mentioned, Mosaic theophanic imagery does not play a significant theological role in the patriarch's visions in *1 Ethiopic Enoch*. The silence of the early Enochic booklets does not prove that their authors lack knowledge about the biblical or extra-biblical Mosaic traditions. Yet, unlike the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse, *1 Enoch* authors are reluctant to refer to the luminosity of the face or the body of the hero because these references might remind their readers about the rival Mosaic or Adamic developments. The rival motif of Moses' countenance is probably also one of the reasons why the imagery of its theological counterpart, the Face of the Deity, does not play a pivotal role in the early Enochic visionary encounters. While the symbolism of the celestial temple and its chambers is quite important in *1 Enoch* 14, the Divine Face is mentioned only once in this account and without any theological significance. Another formative Enochic vision attested in *1 Enoch* 71 does not even refer to such imagery. The question why the authors of the early Enochic booklets, despite their knowledge of the Face symbolism, do not fully elaborate on this significant motif can be answered by pointing to the specifics of the polemical situation of the early Enochic circle, already discussed in this study in reference to the Adamic tradition, where the polemical strategy was also to keep silent about rival developments and their imagery.

In *2 Enoch*, where the Mosaic (and Adamic) polemics take their new active form, one can see a strikingly different picture; in this text Enoch's vision of the Divine Face is

surrounded by a set of peculiar details unambiguously appropriated not only from the biblical but also from the extra-biblical Mosaic theophanic accounts. It is time to explore more closely *2 Enoch's* descriptions of the Divine Face in order to illustrate these connections with the Mosaic story.

As may be recalled from the previous analysis, *2 Enoch* contains two theophanic descriptions involving the motif of the Divine Face. The first one occurs in *2 Enoch* 22, which portrays Enoch's encounter with the Lord in the celestial realm. In Chapter 39 Enoch recounts this theophanic experience to his sons, 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 Divine *Kavod.*

In previous research I have argued that the biblical Mosaic traditions played a formative role in the shaping of the theophanic imagery of the Divine *Panim* in *2 Enoch's* account.[119] It is not a coincidence that both in the Bible and in *2 Enoch* the divine extent is associated with light and fire. In biblical theophanies smoke and fire often serve as a divine envelope, protecting mortals from the sight of the Divine form. So in *2 Enoch's* portrayals one can easily recognize the familiar theophanic imagery appropriated from the Exodus accounts.[120]

In *2 Enoch* 39:3-6, as in the Mosaic account from Exod 33, the Face is closely associated with the Divine extent and seems to be understood not simply as a part of the Lord's body (his face) but as a radiant *façade* of his anthropomorphic form. This

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[119] See Orlov, "Ex. 33 on God's Face: A Lesson from the Enochic Tradition," 136ff.
[120] See Exod 19:9; Exod 19:16-18; Exod 34:5.

identification between the 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 Enoch* 39:3-6, shorter recension).

The association between the Divine Face and the divine form in *2 Enoch* 39:3-6 alludes to the biblical tradition from Exod 33:18-23;[121] here the divine *Panim* is mentioned in connection with the glorious divine form - God's *Kavod*:[122]

> Then Moses said, "Now show me your glory (כבדך)." 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."

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[121] It should be noted that this anthropomorphic imagery is closely associated with the Priestly source. The Old Testament materials reveal complicated polemics for and against anthropomorphic understandings of God. Scholars suggest that the anthropomorphic imagery of the Hebrew Bible was "crystallized" in the tradition known to us as the Priestly source. Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 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 (Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 191). Moshe Weinfeld observes that this anthropomorphic position was not entirely an invention of the Priestly source, but derives from sacral 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, like 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 Deuteronomic school to the anthropomorphism of the Priestly source and early anthropomorphic traditions. In their opinion, the Deuteronomic 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." (Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 198). In contrast to the anthropomorphic imagery of J and P, the Deuteronomic school promulgates an anticorporeal theology of "divine name" with its conception of sanctuary (tabernacle) as the place where only God's name dwells. On Deuteronomic antianthropomorphism, see: T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series, 18; Lund: Wallin & Dalholm, 1982); M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 191-209.

[122] The term כבוד can be translated as "substance," "body," "mass," "power," "might," "honor," "glory," "splendor." In its meaning "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. M. Weinfeld, "כבוד," *TDOT*, 7.22-38.

It is clear that in this biblical passage the impossibility of seeing the Lord's Face is understood not simply as the impossibility of seeing a particular part of the Lord but rather as the impossibility of seeing the full 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 here to the forefront of the divine extent. The imagery of the Divine Face found in the Psalms[123] also favors this motif of the identity between the face and the anthropomorphic form of the Lord. 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)[124] in righteousness;
> when I awake, I shall be satisfied with beholding your form
> (תמונתך).[125]

The early Enochic accounts appear to follow these biblical parallels. Thus, the identification between the Face and the divine form also seems to be hinted at in the *Book of the Watchers*, where the enthroned Glory is labeled as the Face (*gaṣṣ*). *1 Enoch* 14:20-21 reads: "And no angel could enter, and at the appearance of the face (*gaṣṣ*) of him who is honored and praised no (creature of) flesh could look."[126]

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[123] On the Face of God in the Psalms, see S. Balentine, *The Hidden God: The Hiding of the Face of God in the Old Testament* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1983) 49-65; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (2 vols; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967) 2.35-9; M. Fishbane, "Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 115-21; J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments* (ETS 25; Leipzig: St. Benno, 1970) 236-7; M. Smith, "'Seeing God' in the Psalms: The Background to the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 171-83.

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

[125] Although the passage uses a different terminology (the term תמונה), the identification still has a strong anthropomorphic flavor. The term תמונה can be translated as form, likeness, semblance, or representation.

[126] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.99.

It is evident that all four accounts, Exodus 33:18-23, Psalm 17:15, *1 Enoch* 14, and *2 Enoch* 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.

It is also clear that all these accounts deal with the specific anthropomorphic manifestation known as God's *Kavod.*[127] The possibility of such identification is already hinted in Exod 33; Moses, upon asking the Lord to show him his *Kavod,* hears 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 the *Kavod*, which in Ezekiel 1:28 is described as "the likeness of the glory of the Lord (דמות כבוד יהוה)."

It is possible that the biblical understanding of the Sinai vision as a vision of the divine form also played a major role in the later Mosaic adaptation of the throne imagery found in the *Exagoge*. There Moses' experience at Sinai is depicted as a vision of God's *Kavod*: "I had a vision of a great throne (θρόνον μέγαν) on the top of mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man (φῶτα γενναῖόν τινα) was sitting on it, with a crown and a large scepter in his left hand."[128] The vision found in the *Exagoge* is significant for this study since it provides further evidence that *2 Enoch's* appropriations of the Mosaic imagery involved not only biblical Mosaic accounts but the imagery of the post-biblical developments. This theme will be examined later.

In continuing the discussion about the ties between the divine *Panim* and *Kavod,* the study must focus on the account found in *2 Enoch* 22, which further strengthens this theophanic pattern in which the encounter with the Divine Face is understood as a vision

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[127] Contra Walther Eichrodt, who insists that the *Panim* had no connection with the *Kavod*. He argues that the two concepts derived from different roots, and were never linked with one another. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2.38.

of the enthroned Glory. The text gives a number of additional theophanic details which prove that the anthropomorphic extent, identified with the Divine Face, indeed represents his *Kavod*. The theophany of the divine countenance in the Slavonic apocalypse is surrounded by a distinctive *Kavod* imagery which plays a prominent role in the Merkabah account. The following parallels are noteworthy:

1. The theophany of the divine face took place in the highest of the heaven.[129] The highest of the heavens is a traditional place of God's Throne, the abode of his Glory. A later account found in *3 Enoch* relates that "in *ʿArabot* 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 *ʿArabot* would burst open in the middle, because of the glorious brilliance...."[130]

2. The theophanic description in *2 Enoch* 22 (shorter recension) mentions "his many-eyed ones."[131] In Ezekiel 1:18 האופנים, "the Wheels," the special class of the angels of the Throne, are described as angelic beings "full of eyes" (מלאת עינים).

3. A reference to the "many-voiced ones" is probably an allusion to the choirs of angelic hosts surrounding the throne.

4. Finally, *2 Enoch* 22 has a direct reference to the throne of the Lord, which occupies a central place in the theophanic description, pictured as "supremely great and not made by hands."[132] The Throne of Glory is surrounded by the armies of angelic hosts, cherubim, and the seraphim, with "their never-silent singing."[133]

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[128] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 55.
[129] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136.
[130] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 305.
[131] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 137.
[132] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 137.
[133] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 137.

"I am One Who Has Seen the Face of the Lord"

The previous analysis has demonstrated that the imagery of the Divine Face found in *2 Enoch* draws on the familiar Mosaic prototypes already detected in the biblical materials. One can argue that so far this investigation has not unveiled any marked difference in the polemical strategy between *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch*. Both of these accounts mention the Face and both also seem to closely associate it with the Divine *Kavod*. A closer look at the visionary's interaction with the Divine Face shows that the theology of the Divine *Panim* found in the Slavonic apocalypse is radically different from that in *1 Enoch*, as well as the Mosaic account in Exod 33.

One may remember that when the author of the *Book of the Watchers* refers to the Face, this designation is placed in the statement about the impossibility of seeing the Divine *Panim*. According to the Enochic author, "at the appearance of the face (*gaṣṣ*) of him who is honored and praised no (creature of) flesh could look."[134] This passage vividly recalls the tradition from 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."[135] The statement in *1 Enoch* 14 is therefore neither new nor polemical since it duplicates the well-known Mosaic formulae.

The polemical situation, however, radically changes when one moves to the Slavonic apocalypse. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 22:1-2 depicts the seer's encounter with the Divine Face in the following terms:

> 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

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[134] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.99.

[135] See also Exod 33:23: ""you will see my back; but my face must not be seen."

> 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?[136]

Here the seer unambiguously states that he saw the Face of the Lord. This theophanic paradigm shift explicitly challenges the aforementioned Mosaic account and its hero; in the Bible the vision of the Face was bluntly denied by the Deity himself.

Another description of the Face found in *2 Enoch* 39 further extends this explicit challenge to the Mosaic hero by emphasizing that the patriarch saw not only the Face of the Deity but also the specific features of this Face, namely, the Deity's eyes and lips:

> And now, my children it is not from my own 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, 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, I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into (my) eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun and terrifying the eyes of a human being.[137]

What do the two aforementioned accounts tell us about the polemical intentions of the *2 Enoch* writers? Here the hero is depicted not only as the one who beholds the Face, but also as the one who manages to survive this deadly encounter and then even convey this vision to his children. It is also significant that Enoch's full access to the Divine *Panim* occurred in the antediluvian time, that is, long before the Sinai encounter.

There is little doubt that Enoch's retelling, in which he compares his face and body with the Lord's features, contains a polemical twist. The patriarch's comparisons between his face and the Face of the Deity appear to echo the biblical Mosaic tradition

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[136] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 136.
[137] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 163.

which implicitly makes such a connection between the glorious Divine Face and the luminous face of the Israelite prophet reflecting the glory of the divine countenance.[138] The motif of Enoch's luminous face as a counterpart of Moses' face will later become the subject of a separate inquiry. For now I must underline that Enoch's comparisons in *2 Enoch* 39 may be intended to challenge the Mosaic parallelism of the glorious countenances of the Deity and the hero, since in the Slavonic apocalypse the comparisons between the seer and the object of the theophanic vision are now extended to other parts of the visionary's body, thus demonstrating his superiority before the Mosaic opponent.

The Danger Motif

Previous research has shown that the correlation between God's Face and his luminous form was already implicitly articulated in Exodus 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 which emits light and fire. The important detail which unifies both accounts is the danger motif--the warnings about the peril of seeing the Deity. Both accounts contain specific references to the harmful effect this theophanic experience has on the mortals who dare to behold the Divine Face. In Exodus 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; he commands Moses to hide himself in a cleft in the rock and promises to protect the prophet with his hands.

Although the situation is changed in the Slavonic apocalypse and the seer is now allowed to behold the Face, the danger motif is still preserved in this text. In *2 Enoch* 39,

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[138] For the "face to face" parallelism see also Exod 33:11; Num 12:8; Deut 34:10.

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 Enoch* 39:8)[139]

One can see that the unfolding of the danger motif and its theological meaning is different in *2 Enoch* since this theme is intended to demonstrate the exclusivity of Enoch's position as the *sar happanim*, the one who can stand before the Face without being harmed. It is also significant that the Enochic passage does not address the danger of beholding the Face, but instead focuses on the peril of standing before the Face. This clearly demonstrates that the danger motif is now placed in the framework of the *sar happanim* imagery. In the light of the patriarch's role as the one who will stand before the Face forever, the question at the end of the passage has only rhetorical value. It is implicitly answered by the whole situation in which Enoch is the only person able to endure the endless misery of the vision since he is the one who was invited by the Deity to stand in the front of His Face for eternity.

Mosaic Idiom of Standing and the Sar Happanim Imagery

The aforementioned language of standing is important for establishing the possible Mosaic background of the *sar happanim* imagery in *2 Enoch*, since there Enoch's role as the Servant of the Face is introduced through the formulae "stand before

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[139] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 164.

my face forever."[140] *2 Enoch's* definition of the *sar happanim's* office as standing before the Face of the Lord appears to be linked to the biblical Mosaic accounts in which Moses is described as the one who was standing before the Lord's Face on Mount Sinai. It is significant that, as in the Slavonic apocalypse where the Lord himself orders the patriarch to stand before his Presence,[141] the biblical Mosaic accounts contain a familiar command. In the theophanic account from Exodus 33, the Lord commands Moses to stand near him: "There is a place by me where you shall stand (ונצבת)[142] on the rock."

In Deuteronomy this language of standing continues to play a prominent role. In Deuteronomy 5:31 God again orders Moses to stand with him: "But you, stand (עמד)[143] here by me, and I will tell you all the commandments, the statutes and the ordinances, that you shall teach them...." In Deuteronomy 5:4-5 the motif of standing, as in Exodus 33, is juxtaposed with the imagery of the Divine *Panim*: "The Lord spoke with you face to face (פנים בפנים) at the mountain, out of the fire. At that time I was standing (עמד)[144] between the Lord and you to declare to you the words of the Lord; for you were afraid because of the fire and did not go up the mountain." Here Moses is depicted as standing before the Face of the Deity and mediating the Divine Presence to the people. It should be stressed that the Mosaic biblical accounts do not yet view their hero as the *sar happanim* since he, unlike Enoch, cannot survive the terrifying vision of the Face, and so is able to behold only God's back.

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[140] Slav. стоати прѣд лицем моимь въ вѣкъı. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.22.

[141] See *2 Enoch* 22:6: "And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out: 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!'" *2 Enoch* 36:3: "Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 138 and 161.

[142] LXX: στήση.

[143] LXX: στῆθι.

The idiom of standing also plays a significant part in the *Exagoge* account that has Moses approach and stand (ἐστάθην)[145] before the throne.[146] Here the definitive testimony to the *sar happanim* imagery might be already discernable in view of Moses' transformation into his heavenly counterpart. My previous analysis has demonstrated that such identification is often conflated with the installation into the office of the prince of the Face.

In the extra-biblical Mosaic accounts one can also see a growing tendency to depict Moses' standing position as the posture of a celestial being. Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that in various Mosaic traditions the motif of Moses' standing was often interpreted through the prism of God's own standing, indicating the prophet's participation in divine or angelic nature. He notes that in Samaritan and rabbinic literature a standing posture was generally indicative of the celestial being.[147] Jarl Fossum points to the tradition preserved in *Memar Marqah* 4:12: Moses is described as "the (immutable) Standing One."[148] Fletcher-Louis draws attention to a similar interpretive trend in Philo; there Mosaic biblical idiom of standing is juxtaposed with the Lord's standing on Horeb and is presented as the prophet's participation in divine nature.[149] *De Somniis* 2.221-229 reads:

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[144] LXX: εἱστήκειν.

[145] Moses' standing here does not contradict his enthronement. The same situation is discernable in *2 Enoch*, where the hero who was promised a place to stand in front of the Lord's Face for eternity is placed on the seat next to the Deity.

[146] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54.

[147] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 146-7; Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 121; J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (New York: KTAV, 1968) 215.

[148] Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*, 56-8.

[149] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 147. Fletcher-Louis also argues that the idiom of standing is applied to Moses in 4Q377 1, col. ii, where he is depicted as standing on the mountain: "And upon the earth he stood (ועל האר[ץ עמד), on the mountain..." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 141-3.

> "Here I stand there before thou wast, on the rock in Horeb" (Ex. xvii.6), which means, "This I, the manifest, Who am here, am there also, am everywhere, for I have filled all things. I stand ever the same immutable, before thou or aught that exists came into being, established on the topmost and most ancient source of power, whence showers forth the birth of all that is, whence streams the tide of wisdom....And Moses too gives his testimony to the unchangeableness of the deity when he says "they saw the place where the God of Israel stood" (Ex. xxiv. 10), for by the standing or establishment he indicates his immutability. But indeed so vast in its excess is the stability of the Deity that He imparts to chosen natures a share of His steadfastness to be their richest possession....To Moses, too, this divine command was given: "Stand thou here with me" (Deut. v. 31), and this brings out both the points suggested above, namely the unswerving quality of the man of worth, and the absolute stability of Him that is. For that which draws near to God enters into affinity with what is, and through that immutability becomes self-standing. And when the mind is at rest it recognizes clearly how great a blessing rest is, and, struck with wonder at its beauty, has the thought that it belongs either to God alone or to that form of being which is midway between mortal and immortal kind. Thus he says: "And I stood between the Lord and you." (Deut. v. 5).[150]

The conceptual development found in Philo represents a significant advancement of the Mosaic idiom of standing; in Philo this Mosaic motif is conflated with the standing of the Deity.

In light of the aforementioned Mosaic developments it is possible that the idiom of standing used in *2 Enoch* to describe the patriarch's office as the *sar happanim* has a Mosaic provenance. Already in Exodus and Deuteronomy the prophet is portrayed as the one who is temporarily able to stand before the Deity to mediate the Divine Presence to human beings.[151] The non-biblical Mosaic accounts try to secure further the prophet's place in the front of the Deity by depicting him as a celestial creature. The testimony found in the *Exagoge*, where Moses is described as standing before the Throne, seems to represent an important step towards the rudimentary definitions of the office of the *sar*

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[150] *Philo* (trs. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker; 11 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1949) 5.543-545.

[151] This emphasis on mediation is important since mediating of the Divine Presence is one of the pivotal functions of the Prince of the Face.

happanim. It is also possible that in their appropriation of the language of standing the Enochic authors had in mind not only the well-known biblical attestations but also the advanced developments similar to those found in the Samaritan materials where Moses is described as the archetypal "Standing One."

Yet, at least in the biblical accounts, in comparison with the Slavonic Enoch, the standing office of the Mosaic hero has only a temporal nature. In this respect the biblical profile of the seer could not withstand the competition with the seventh antediluvian patriarch, who in the Slavonic apocalypse had readily accepted the invitation of the Deity to stand before his Face forever.

Luminous Face of Enoch

From the Slavonic Enoch one learns 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. In Enoch's radiant metamorphosis before the Divine Countenance, an important detail can be found which further links Enoch's transformation with Moses' account in the Book of Exodus. In *2 Enoch* 37 one learns about the unusual procedure performed on Enoch's face at the final stage of his encounter with the Lord. The text informs that the Lord called one of his senior angels to chill the face of Enoch. The text says that the angel was "terrifying and frightful," and appeared frozen; he was as white as snow, and his hands were as cold as ice. With these cold hands he then chilled the patriarch's face. Right after this chilling procedure, the Lord informs Enoch that if his face had not been chilled here, no human being would have been able to

look at him.[152] This reference to the dangerous radiance of Enoch's face[153] after his encounter with the Lord is an apparent parallel to the incandescent face of Moses after the Sinai experience in Exodus 34.

References to the shining countenance of a visionary found in *2 Enoch* return us again to the biblical story. Exodus 34:29-35 portrays Moses after his encounter with the Lord. The passage relates that

> Moses came down from Mount Sinai .... Moses did not know that the skin of his face[154] shone because he had been talking with God. When Aaron and all the Israelites saw Moses, the skin of his face was shining, and they were afraid to come near him... and Moses would put the veil on his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

This passage unambiguously constitutes the Mosaic background of the tradition found in *2 Enoch* 37, where Enoch's face is depicted as similar to Moses' face who shields his luminous visage with a veil. The transference of the Mosaic motif into the framework of the Enochic tradition is made here for the first time. It is also obvious that this transferal has a polemical character. Passing on to the patriarch such a salient detail of the biblical story would immediately invoke in the Enochic readers the memory of Moses' example. Such transference also intends to demonstrate that Moses' encounter at Sinai and his luminous face represent later, inferior imitations of the primeval account of the patriarch's vision, a vision which occurred not on earth but in heaven in the antediluvian time.

The polemical appropriation of the Mosaic motif of the seer's radiant face is not confined in *2 Enoch* solely to the encounter with the "frozen" angel, but is reflected also

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[152] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 160.

[153] *Apoc. Paul* 20 describes Enoch as the scribe of righteousness whose face shines "as the sun."

[154] On the luminosity of Moses' face, see M. Haran, "The Shining of Moses's Face: A Case Study in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography [Exod 34:29-35; Ps 69:32; Hab 3:4]," in: *In the Shelter of Elyon* (JSOP, 31; Sheffield, 1984) 159-73; J. Morgenstern, "Moses with the Shining Face," *HUCA* 2 (1925) 1-27; W. Propp, "The Skin of Moses' Face - Transfigured or Disfigured?" *CBQ* 49 (1987) 375-386.

in other sections of the book. According to the Slavonic apocalypse, despite the chilling procedure performed in heaven, Enoch's face appears to have retained its transformative power and is even able to glorify other human subjects. In *2 Enoch* 64:2 people ask the transformed Enoch for blessings so they can be glorified in front of his [Enoch's] face.[155] This theme of the transforming power of the patriarch's visage may also have a polemical flavor. It recalls the already mentioned tradition from the Mosaic passage[156] preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls; in this passage Moses' face is able to transform the hearts of the Israelites.

The theme of the luminous countenance of the seer is also important for the ongoing discussion of the Enoch-Metatron connection. It should not be forgotten that *2 Enoch's* appropriation of the Mosaic imagery serves as the formative framework for the later Enoch-Metatron accounts, and especially for the one reflected in the so-called additional chapters of *Sefer Hekhalot*. In these chapters the theme of the luminosity of Moses' face and Metatron's visage are also put in a polemical juxtaposition. From *3 Enoch* 15B one learns that it is Enoch-Metatron, whose face was once transformed into fire, who tells Moses about his shining visage:[157] "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

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[155] See *2 Enoch* 64:4 (the longer recension): "And now bless your [sons], and all the people, so that we may be glorified in front of your face today." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 190.

[156] 4Q374, ii, 6-8: "... and he made him like a God over the powerful ones, and a cause of reel[ing] (?) for Pharaoh ... and then he let his face shine for them for healing, they strengthened [their] hearts again...." García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2.740-41.

[157] Scholars have observed that in the Merkabah tradition Metatron is explicitly identified as the hypostatic Face of God. See, for example, *Synopse* §§396-397: "...The Lord of all the worlds warned Moses that he should beware of his face. So it is written, 'Beware of his face' .... This is the prince who is called Yofiel Yah-dariel ... he is called Metatron." On Metatron as the hypostatic Face of God see A. De Conick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the

one end of the world to the other.'"[158] Here Moses is portrayed as a later version of his master Enoch-Metatron whose face and body were transformed into blazing fire long before the prophet's ascension at Sinai.[159]

Imagery of the Hand

It has already been suggested that the new theophanic imagery transferred to the Enochic hero in the Slavonic apocalypse might derive not only from the biblical accounts of the Sinai encounter but also from the extra-biblical Mosaic stories in which the profile of the exalted prophet has a more advanced form. *2 Enoch's* authors, like their Mosaic opponents, may have been carefully following here the theological unfolding of the story of their rival and the enhancement of his profile as an elevated figure. The familiarity of Enochic authors with the Second Temple extra-biblical Mosaic accounts can be illustrated through an examination of the motif of the Deity's hand; this hand embraces and protects the seer during his encounter with the Lord in the upper realm.

In *2 Enoch* 39 the patriarch relates to his children that during his vision of the Divine *Kavod*, the Lord helped him with his right hand. The hand here is described as having a gigantic size and filling heaven: "But you, my children, see the right hand of one who helps you, a human being created identical to yourself, but I have seen the right hand

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Second Century," *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism* (eds. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, G. S. Lewis; JSJ 63; Brill: Leiden, 1999) 329; Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 424-425.

[158] *3 Enoch* 15B:5. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 304. See also *Raza Rabbah,* where again a similar connection is made between Metatron's face and Moses' visage.

[159] *3 Enoch* 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 Shekinah, 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." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267.

of the Lord, helping me (помагающоу ми) and filling heaven (испльнѣающоу небо)."[160] The theme of the hand of God assisting the seer during his vision of the Face recalls the Mosaic account from Exodus 33:22-23. Here the Deity promises the prophet to protect him with his hand during the encounter with the Divine *Panim*: "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." There is also another early Mosaic account where the motif of the Divine hand assisting the visionary is mentioned. The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian relates that during the prophet's vision of the *Kavod*, a noble man sitting on the throne beckoned him with his right hand (δεξιᾷ δέ μοι ἔνευσε).[161]

It is conceivable that *2 Enoch's* description is closer to the form of the tradition preserved in Ezekiel the Tragedian than to the account found in Exodus since the *Exagoge* mentions the right hand of the Deity beckoning the seer. The passage from the Slavonic apocalypse also mentions the right hand of the Lord. Further there is another terminological parallel that unifies the two accounts. While the longer recension of *2 Enoch* uses the term "helping" (помагающоу) in reference to the Divine hand, some manuscripts of the shorter recension employ the word "beckoning" (помавающи),[162] the term used in the *Exagoge*.

The terminological affinities between the *Exagoge* and *2 Enoch* point to the possibility that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse, in their development of the theme

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[160] *2 Enoch* 39:5. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 162; Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.38.

[161] Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54.

[162] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.38.

of the divine hand, were relying not on only on the tradition preserved in Exodus but also on more advanced Mosaic speculations similar to those found in Ezekiel the Tragedian.

Although *2 Enoch's* description is very similar to the *Exagoge*'s passage, the Slavonic apocalypse has a more advanced version of the mystical imagery; this imagery demonstrates close parallels to the symbolism of the Merkabah lore. The important detail here is that the divine hand is described as "filling heaven" (исплънѣѧщоу небо).[163] This description recalls the language of the *Shiᶜur Qomah* accounts, in which Metatron reveals to Rabbi Ishmael and Rabbi Akiba the knowledge of the gigantic limbs of the Deity, limbs which fill heaven. It has already been noted that the allusion to this mystical imagery in the Slavonic apocalypse does not appear to be happenstance since it is incorporated there into a series of analogical comparisons between Enoch's body and the Lord's body. These portrayals recall the later Hekhalot and *Shiᶜur Qomah* accounts in which Enoch-Metatron is often portrayed as possessing the gigantic body himself.

The motif of the Lord's hand, prominent in the early Enochic account, is not forgotten in the Merkabah materials, where one can learn that "the hand of God rests on the head of the youth, named Metatron."[164] The motif of the divine hand assisting Enoch-Metatron during his celestial transformation is present in *Sefer Hekhalot*, where it appears in the form of tradition very similar to the evidence found in the *Exagoge* and *2 Enoch*. In *3 Enoch* 9:1 Metatron tells R. Ishmael that during the transformation of his body into the gigantic cosmic extent, matching the world in length and breath, God "laid his hand" on

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[163] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.38.
[164] *Synopse* § 384.

the translated hero.[165] Here, just as in the Slavonic account, the hand of the Deity signifies the bond between the seer's body and the divine corporeality.

In *Sefer Hekhalot* the imagery of God's hand is also conflated with the Mosaic tradition. In *3 Enoch* 48A Enoch-Metatron unveils to Rabbi Ishmael the hypostatic right hand of God with which "955 heavens were created." This introduction of the divine hand is interwoven in *Sefer Hekhalot* 48A into an elaborate set of references to Moses, to whom, according to the text, the mighty hand of God was once revealed. The author alludes to the passage from Isa 63:12, in which the glorious arm of the Deity goes at the right hand of Moses, as well as other Mosaic biblical themes. Although the name of the Israelite prophet is mentioned six times in this text, nothing is said about his exalted profile. It would seem appropriate there, since the main hero of this account is not Moses but the translated patriarch, who now unveils the mysteries of the Divine Hand to the visionary.

Moreover it seems that, in the additional chapters of *Sefer Hekhalot*, Enoch-Metatron is understood, at least implicitly, as the hypostatic hand of the Deity himself. These materials depict the translated patriarch as the helping hand of God; with this helping hand God passes the Torah to the Mosaic hero and protects him against the hostility of angelic hosts.

Enoch's Revelation

The Mosaic polemics in *2 Enoch* encompass the conceptual developments pertaining not only to the theophanic imagery or Moses' figure but also to the notion of

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[165] "...the Holy One, blessed be he, laid his hand on me and blessed me with 1,365,000 blessings. I was enlarged and increased in size until I matched the world in length and breadth." Alexander, "3

his revelation given at Sinai. James VanderKam points out that the position of *2 Enoch*'s authors with respect to the Mosaic Torah remains in agreement with the attitude of the early Enochic booklets: the writers prefer not to make explicit references to the Torah of Moses. The theme of the Torah is not completely forgotten there and a careful investigation reveals that the authors of *2 Enoch* not only knew about the theological notion of the Torah as the revealed knowledge received by Moses at Sinai and then transmitted through the chain of written and oral traditions, but also seem to have offered Enochic alternatives to these Mosaic notions of the revelation and its transmission.

New Genesis?

Chapters 24-32 of the Slavonic apocalypse deal with a lengthy narrative of God's revelation to the exalted patriarch about the seven days of creation. Here the Deity dictates to his celestial scribe, the patriarch Enoch, the account of creation organized in almost the same fashion as the first chapter of the biblical Genesis. The Lord starts his narration with the familiar phrase "in the beginning": "Before anything existed at all, from the very beginning (испръва),[166] whatever exists I created from the non-existent, and from the invisible." Although the very first line of the narration brings to memory the beginning of the Mosaic Torah, the creational account itself is quite different from the one reflected in Genesis. The story contains imagery pertaining to the primeval order and to the creation of humanity that is completely missing from the biblical text. Although the Enochic scribes try to preserve the structural grid of the Genesis story by organizing it around the seven days of creation, the plot is greatly expanded with new striking details

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Enoch," 263.

[166] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.24.

and unknown characters, among whom one can find, for example, the cosmogonic figures designated as Adoil and Arukhas. The structure of this narration, involving the seven days of creation looks odd and disproportional in comparison with its biblical counterpart. Still, the composers of this peculiar version of the alternative Genesis[167] try to hold on to the familiar organization that replaces the memory of its Mosaic version. It is clearly fashioned as an alternative intended to overwrite an essential part of the Mosaic revelation. It is significant that despite the Enochic authors' attempt to deconstruct the well-known ancient account, the purported antediluvian reception of their disclosure speaks for itself, silently postulating the primacy of this revelation over the one received several generations later by Moses on Mount Sinai. It is also important that unlike in *1 Enoch*, in the Slavonic apocalypse God reveals to the seer not simply astronomical information or a warning about the upcoming judgment, but a disclosure fashioned in form and structure similarly to the Mosaic Torah. The mode of reception is also different since the revelation is received not simply as a seer's dream, similar to the vision of the Biblical history in the *Animal Apocalypse*, but as directly dictated by God.

The Torah of Enoch

The chapters following the creation account in *2 Enoch* 24-32 are also important for this part of our discussion since they convey knowledge about the function and the future role of this alternative version of the first chapters of the Mosaic Torah. From *2 Enoch* 33:8-12 one learns that the revelation recorded by Enoch will be transmitted from generation to generation and it will not be destroyed until the final age.

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[167] The "alternative" thrust of *2 Enoch's* creational account is so transparent that the editors of the *Other Bible* include this Enochic narrative as the non-canonical counterpart of the first chapters of Genesis.

The two following chapters (*2 Enoch* 34 and 35) also pertain to the themes of God's revelation to Enoch and the destiny of his books. Although neither the books nor the revelation are mentioned directly in *2 Enoch* 34, it is clear that the subjects discussed in this chapter are related to Enoch's scriptures. The theme of the Enochic books is conflated here with the notions of the yoke and the commandments: after informing the seer that his handwritings and the handwritings of his ancestors will not perish in the upcoming flood, God reminds the seer about the wickedness of humans who have rejected the divine commandments and are not willing to carry the yoke (ꙗрмо)[168] which the Deity placed on them. It is curious that the terminology of "yoke" and "commandments" follows here the theme of Enochic writings. Scholars have previously proposed that the term "yoke" might be reserved here for the Torah. Celia Deutsch observes that "the yoke here refers to Torah, as is indicated by its use with 'commandments.'"[169] She also notes that this theme is further expanded in *2 Enoch* 48:9, where it includes "the teaching received by the seer and transmitted through the revealed books."[170] The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 48:6-9 reads:

> Thus I am making it known to you, my children; [and] you must hand over the books to your children, and throughout all your generations, and [among] all nations who are discerning so that they may fear God, and so that they may accept them. And they will be more enjoyable than any delightful food on earth. And they will read them and adhere to them. But those who are undiscerning and who do not understand [the Lord] neither fear God nor accept them, but renounce them, and regard themselves as burdened by them – [a terrible judgment is awaiting them]. Happy is [the person] who puts their yoke (иго ихъ)[171] on and carries it around; for he will plow on the day of the great judgment.[172]

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[168] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.34.

[169] C. Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25-30* (JSNTSS, 18; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987) 116.

[170] Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke*, 116.

[171] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.48.

One can see that while in *2 Enoch* 34 the term "yoke" was only implicitly linked to Enoch's writings, here the author of the Slavonic apocalypse is openly connecting the patriarch's scriptures with the notion of the "yoke," which serves here as an alternative designation for the Torah.[173]

Transmission of Enoch's Scriptures and the Community of the Text

Chapter 35 of *2 Enoch* continues the theme of Enoch's writings. Here the text refers to the history of transmission of the Enochic scriptures which might anticipate some later Hekhalot parallels. Before approaching a detailed analysis of this chapter, a word must be said about the complex nature of the Slavonic text of this chapter. Francis Andersen observes that "very little is claimed for the translation of ch. 35 in either recension. The texts are parallel, but the numerous minor variations and uncertainty over the clause boundaries make all MSS rather unintelligible."[174] He further suggests that "in the present stage of research all individual readings should be kept in mind as options."[175]

A close analysis of the Slavonic text in both recensions demonstrates that the shorter recension appears to have preserved the material in a more coherent form. The following is my rendering of the passage according to the MSS of the shorter recension:

> And I will leave a righteous man from your tribe, together with all his house, who will act according to my will. And from his seed another generation will arise, the last of many, and very gluttonous. Then at the conclusion of that generation the

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[172] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 174-6.

[173] It should be noted that although *2 Enoch* 34 and *2 Enoch* 48 use two different terms for "yoke" (*2 Enoch 34* uses ѩрмо and *2 Enoch* 48 uses иго), both of these Slavonic words designate the same concept. Thus, Sreznevskij's dictionary relates both ѩрмо and иго to the Greek ζυγός and the Latin *iugum*. I. I. Sreznevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo yazyka* (3 vols.; Moscow: Kniga, 1989) 1.1019 and 3.1663. Barchudarov's dictionary also lists the two terms as synonyms. S. G. Barhudarov, *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.* (25 vols.; Moscow: Nauka, 1975) 6.78-79; J. Kurz, ed., *Slovnik Jazyka Staroslovenskeho (Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae)*(4 vols.; Prague: Akademia, 1966) 1.703.

[174] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 158.

[175] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 158.

> books in your handwriting will be revealed, and those of your fathers, and the earthly guardians (стражие земнии) [of these books] will show them to the Men of Faith (моужемь вѣрнъım). And they will be recounted to that generation, and they will be glorified in the end more than in the beginning.

The important detail of the account is that transmission of the Enochic scriptures on earth will result in the situation in which the earthly guardians of the books will handle the patriarch's writings to the Men of Faith (моужемь вѣрнъım).[176] The reference to the group of "Men of Faith" as the last link of the chain of transmission of the Enochic scriptures is important since it recalls the terminology attested in the material appended to some manuscripts of *Sefer Hekhalot* and published by Odeberg as Chapter 48D of *3 Enoch* (*Synopse* §80). In this account the Torah is initially given by Enoch-Metatron to Moses and then passed through the chain of transmission which eventually brings this revelation into the hands of the group designated as the Men of Faith. The passage reads:

> Metatron brought it [Torah] out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra the Scribe, Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the Elder, Hillel the Elder to R. Abbahu, R. Abbahu to R. Zira, R. Zira to the Men of Faith, and the Men of Faith to the Faithful (לאנשי אמונה ואנשי אמונה לבעלי אמונות).[177]

Scholars has previously noted[178] that this succession of the mystical tradition recalls the chain of transmissions of the oral law preserved in *Pirke Abot*, the *Sayings of the Fathers*. *m.* Abot 1:1 reads:

> Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment, raise up many disciples, and make a fence around the Law.[179]

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[176] This expression is attested in the MSS of both recensions. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.35 and 1.93.

[177] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315; *Synopse* §80.

[178] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315; Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 188.

[179] Danby, *The Mishnah*, 446.

The Hekhalot writer reworks the traditional Mishnaic arrangement of prophets, rabbis, and sages by placing at the beginning of the chain the figure of Enoch-Metatron, posed there as the initial revealer. As the final heirs of this revelation, he adds an enigmatic group whom he designates as the Men of Faith. These Men of Faith (אנשי אמונה), along with the Faithful (בעלי אמונה),[180] represent the last link in the chain of the transmission to whom the Torah will be eventually handled. This group is unknown in *Pirke Abot* (PA) and similar clusters of the early traditions attested in *Abot d' R. Nathan* (PRN).[181]

Philip Alexander suggests that the expression "Men of Faith" (אנשי אמונה) and the "Faithful" (בעלי אמונה) "appear to be quasi-technical terms for the mystics."[182] Michael Swartz offers a similar hypothesis proposing that the enigmatic Men of Faith and the Faithful, who occupy the last place in the line of transmission in *3 Enoch* 48D, may refer to either the mystics themselves or to their mythic ancestors.[183] Both Alexander[184] and Swartz note that the term *baʿalê ʾĕmûnah* appeared among the synonyms for the group of mystics in a hymn in *Hekhalot Rabbati*. The hymn connects the divine attribute with the designation of the group.[185]

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[180] Swartz renders this term as the "Possessors of the Faith." See Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 179.

[181] On the chain of tradition in *Pirke Abot* and *Abot d' R. Nathan* see: E. Bickerman, "La chaîne de la tradition pharisienne," *RB* 59 (1951) 44-54; L. Finkelstein, "Introductory Study to Pirke Abot," *JBL* 57 (1938) 13-50; A. J. Saldarini, "The End of the Rabbinic Chain of Tradition," *JBL* 93 (1974) 97-106; idem, *Scholastic Rabbinism: A Literary Study of the Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982).

[182] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315, note v.

[183] Swartz observes that "it is likely that these terms refer either to the mystics themselves, or, perhaps, mythic ancestors patterned after Elders and the Men of the Great Assembly and influenced by the appearance of terms such as *ʾanshe ʾamanah* in talmudic literature." Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 188.

[184] Alexander also observes that in the *Alphabet of Aqiba* (Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* 3.29) "'the men of faith' constitute a distinct category of the righteous in the world to come." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315, footnote v.

[185] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 315, note v; Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 188.

It is intriguing that in *2 Enoch*, as in the Hekhalot passage, Enoch-Metatron's revelation will also be handed eventually to the Men of Faith (моужемь вѣрнымъ).[186] In light of the Hekhalot evidence, this designation may hold the key to the enigma of the early designation of the mysterious group which stands behind the early Jewish mystical speculations reflected in *2 Enoch*. For our ongoing investigation of the connection between the Enochic lore and the Hekhalot lore, it is significant that the designation of the ultimate receptors of the esoteric lore is identical in both traditions. The Hekhalot reference may thus have an Enochic provenance. Despite the fact that the reference to the chain of transmission is repeated several times in the Hekhalot literature, the reference to the Men of Faith and the Faithful in the chain is made only in the Enochic passage from *3 Enoch* 48D (*Synopse* §80).[187] It is possible that the author of *3 Enoch* 48D combines the two traditions by adding to the mishnaic line of transmission reflected in PA and PRN a new Enochic group, similar to those found in *2 Enoch* 35. The chart below illustrates these combinations:

[186] It appears that the expression found in 2 Enoch 35:2 can be related to both designations since the Slavonic моужемь вѣрнымъ can be translated also as the Faithful (men).

[187] For the detailed analysis of this evidence see Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 178ff.

2 Enoch 35:2	*m.* Abot 1:1	*3 Enoch* 48D:10
Then at the conclusion of that generation *the books in your handwriting will be revealed*, and those of your fathers, and *the earthly guardians [of these books]* will show them to *the Men of Faith.*	Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue... *...make a fence around the Law.*	*Metatron brought it [Torah] out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses*, and Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra the Scribe, Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the Elder, Hillel the Elder to R. Abbahu, R. Abbahu to R. Zira, R. Zira to the *Men of Faith, and the Men of Faith to the Faithful.*

It is also noteworthy that the Enochic influences are now apparent not only in the end of this newly-constructed chain but also in its beginning, where the figure of the translated patriarch is hidden behind the name of the exalted angel who passes the initial revelation to Moses. In such a perspective the Mosaic transmittors and Moses himself represent only intermediate temporal guardians whose role is to pass the revealed knowledge into the hands of its true proprietors, the heirs of the Enochic tradition. In this respect *2 Enoch* 35 operates with the concept of the "earthly guardians" (стражие земнии) as the agents responsible for handling Enoch's writings until they finally are brought into the hands of the "Men of Faith." The expression "earthly guardians"might reflect a polemic with the Mosaic notion of the transmission and preservation of the revelation as "guarding." Among other places, such a concept is reflected in the famous rabbinic saying from *m.* Abot 1:1 where the preserving of the tradition is designated as "making the fence around the Torah."

Junior Replica of the Translated Patriarch: Rabbinic and Hekhalot Evidence

The previous investigation of the Mosaic polemical developments in *2 Enoch* must now be placed in the framework of the discussion about the Enoch-Metatron connection. The polemical appropriations found in the Slavonic apocalypse further strengthen the hypothesis that the transition from the patriarch to the exalted angel has been facilitated by the mediatorial polemics widespread in Second Temple Judaism. Yet the rivalry between Moses and Enoch did not disappear after the destruction of the Temple, since the later Jewish testimonies found in the rabbinic and Hekhalot materials further develop the polemical blueprint traceable in *2 Enoch*.[188]

This study has already mentioned David Halperin's observation that in the rabbinic period Metatron was often depicted as a greater Moses. He also suggested that the exalted angel was viewed there as the primary figure, while the ascending Moses was seen as his junior replica.[189] Although Halperin proposed that such polemical response to Moses' figure was based on the re-interpretation of the Shabu^{c}ot sermons in the rabbinic period, in the light of the previous investigation, it is now clear that the adaptation of the Mosaic themes in the framework of the Enoch-Metatron tradition occurred much earlier in the Second Temple period. From the Slavonic apocalypse one also learns that the idea of angelic opposition to the elevation of Enoch-Metatron in the Hekhalot materials

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[188] Alexander notes that "later tradition constantly senses a rivalry between Enoch and Moses. A number of the Enochic traditions were later transferred to Moses in a way that suggests that later writers were uneasy with the powers and authority being granted to Enoch and felt that they should be claimed for Moses. The well-known ambivalence of Rabbinic literature towards Enoch is, I would suggest, motivated by a sense that he is a rival to Moses. There is no way in which one religious system can accomodate two such figures of authority." P. Alexander, "Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science," in: *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiental Thought* (eds. C. Hempel et al., BETL, CLIX; Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 233-4.

[189] Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 426.

derived not from the rabbinic accounts of Moses' ascension at Sinai but from the Second Temple materials similar to *2 Enoch* 22, where this Adamic story became for the first time incorporated into the framework of the Enoch-Metatron tradition. Knowing these crucial developments provides a new perspective.

If one decides to examine through the spectacles of this new standpoint the rabbinic disputations between Moses and Metatron, especially those attested in the already mentioned additional chapters of *Sefer Hekhalot*, one can see an important angle of these polemical developments: they witness not simply to the competition between Moses and Metatron but to the ongoing rivalry between Moses and Enoch.[190] Thus, in *3 Enoch* 15B and 48D, as well as in many other rabbinic and Hekhalot texts where the names of Moses and Metatron are mentioned together, the prophet is not in fact portrayed as a junior replica of Metatron. There he is not a junior vice-regent, a lesser bearer of the Divine Name, a deputy of the Prince of the World, or even a *sar happanim*. He rather is a typical seer, a junior replica of the patriarch Enoch, whom he faithfully, along with other visionaries like Rabbi Ishmael, imitates in his ascension, reception of secrets, struggles with the angelic opposition, and mediation of the celestial revelation.[191]

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[190] It is noteworthy that in *Sefer Hekhalot* one can recognize a familiar set of Mosaic motifs that has been already addressed in the Slavonic apocalypse, such as the themes of the luminous face and the hand of the Deity. Here one can also find the motif of the angelic opposition discernable in *2 Enoch* 22, which is now transferred to the Hekhalot and rabbinic contexts. On the motif of the angelic opposition to Moses' ascension in rabbinic literature, see: J. P. Schultz, "Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of the Law," 283-307; Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 289-309. It is also notable that almost all references to Moses in *Sefer Hekhalot* are overshadowed by the overwhelming presence of Enoch-Metatron, who protects the seer in the upper region, disclosing to him secret knowledge. This unambiguously points to the ongoing polemical interaction between Enochic and Mosaic heroes, which now has stepped into the Hekhalot stage of its development.

[191] This set of comparisons can not of course be fully understood without understanding *2 Enoch's* developments since only there can one find for the first time in the Enochic tradition such motifs as the angelic opposition to the patriarch or references to his luminous face. Moses thus emulates Enoch's ascent as it was first described in the Slavonic apocalypse, the journey that the patriarch has undertaken long before Moses in the antediluvian time.

In this respect the perspective of the various rabbinic materials, such as, for example, *Midrash Petirat Moshen* or *Midrash Gedullat Moshen*, in which the names of Moses and Metatron are mentioned together, is not much different from the polemical standpoint discernable in *3 Enoch* 15B and 48D.[192] A brief excursus into several rabbinic and Hekhalot materials dealing with the Moses-Metatron connection can illustrate the Enochic character of such interaction.

1. It has been mentioned that in *3 Enoch* 15B:5 Enoch-Metatron points to Moses' luminous face,[193] while the reader has already learned earlier that the seventh antediluvian patriarch underwent an even more radical luminous metamorphosis during which not only his face but also his whole body was changed into a fiery extent. This polemical link between the radiance of Moses and the superseding radiance of Enoch's transformed body is made in several rabbinic texts. Thus, in *Midrash Gedullat Mosheh*[194] the superiority of Enoch-Metatron's radiance over the luminous transformation of the prophet becomes an important theme. In this text God commands Enoch-Metatron to bring Moses up to heaven. Metatron warns the Deity that the prophet would not be able to withstand the vision of angels, "since the angels are princes of fire, while Moses is made from flesh and blood." God then commands Metatron to change the prophet's flesh into torches of fire. The language here recalls Enoch-Metatron's transformation in *Sefer Hekhalot* 15. Just as in *3 Enoch* the context seems polemical, since in both texts Moses is

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[192] In comparison with *2 Enoch*, *Sefer Hekhalot* does not hesitate to use Moses' name any longer since the antediluvian chronological framework of the story is now changed and there is no need to hide the rival character behind the transparent allusions.

[193] *3 Enoch* 15B:5: "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.' But Moses said to him, 'Not so! lest I incur guilt.' Metatron said to him, 'Receive the letters of an oath which cannot be broken!'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 304.

[194] S. A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* (2 vols.; Jerusalem, Mosad Harav Kook, 1950) 1.27.

depicted as inferior to the translated patriarch. The fact that it is not simply Metatron's superiority, but the supremacy of the patriarch, that is at stake here, becomes clear from Metatron's self-designation. *Gedullat Mosheh* relates that when the exalted angel approached Moses, the latter became terrified and asked Metatron about his identity. Responding to the prophet's question, Metatron introduces himself as Enoch, son of Jared, telling Moses that he is his ancestor. He further informs the prophet about God's command to bring him to the Throne of Glory. Moses tries to object by claiming that he is a creature of flesh and blood and therefore would not be able to withstand the vision of angels. In response Metatron changes Moses' flesh to torches of fire, his eyes to Merkabah-wheels and his tongue to flame. After this transformation Metatron was finally able to bring Moses to heaven.

The tradition preserved in *Gedullat Mosheh* has ramifications for the present discussion. Here again Moses is depicted not as a creature inferior to Metatron but rather as a being lesser than Enoch. The significant indication of this polemical dimension is that Metatron is introduced to the prophet not by one of his lofty celestial titles, but by his human name: "I am Enoch b. Jared, your ancestor."

The account of Moses' transformation given in *Midrash Gedullat Mosheh* is very similar to *3 Enoch* 15, which depicts Enoch's metamorphosis into a fiery creature:

> 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 Shekinah, 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.[195]

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[195] *3 Enoch* 15:1. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 267.

Still, there are some clear signs that the prophet's metamorphosis is inferior in comparison with the change undergone by Enoch. In *3 Enoch* 15 it is the Deity himself who takes and transforms Enoch. In contrast, in *Gedullat Mosheh* Moses is taken and transformed by Metatron. This difference points to the polemical character of the rabbinic text which again reflects the long-lasting rivalry between Moses and Enoch.[196]

2. Another illustration of the Enochic character of the Moses-Metatron interaction in rabbinic materials can be provided through examining the motif of Moses' death. The targumic and rabbinic passages often portray Metatron helping to bury Moses. Thus, from *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Deuteronomy 34:6, one learns that Metatron was among the angels who buried Moses. A similar tradition is repeated in the *Palestinian Targum* to Deut 34: the four angels, including Metatron, took care of Moses' soul at his death. In *Midrash Petirat Mosheh* Metatron again is present at Moses' death and consoles God, assuring the Deity that even in his death the prophet still belongs to him.[197]

Some other rabbinic materials also connect the event of Moses' death with the presence of the exalted angel. Thus, in *Tanhuma, Va-Ethanan* 6, when Moses is informed that the time of his death has come, he pleads to the Lord to allow him to live longer and enter the land.[198] God rejects the prophet's plea. Moses then approaches heaven and earth, asking them to intercede on his behalf before the Holy One. There he is also rejected. Finally he advances to Metatron, asking him to pray so he may not die. Metatron,

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[196] Another hint to the polemical nature of the narrative is that Moses is terrified by the vision of Metatron, unable to recognize him. The text also stresses that the prophet is unable to withstand the vision of angels, which is first recognized by Metatron and then by the prophet himself.

[197] Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 1.115-129. For the English translation, see R. Kushelevsky, "Midrash Petirat Mosheh Rabbenu ʿAlav ha-Shalom," in: R. Kushelevsky, *Moses and the Angel of Death* (Studies on Themes and Motifs in Literature, 4; New York: Peter Lang, 1995) 195-249.

[198] *Midrash Tanhuma* (ed. S. Buber; 3 vols; Vilna: Romm, 1885). For the English translation of *Tanhuma Va-Ethanan* 6, see R. Kushelevsky, "Tanhuma, Va-Ethanan 6," in: R. Kushelevsky, *Moses and the Angel of Death* (Studies on Themes and Motifs in Literature, 4; New York: Peter Lang, 1995) 251-260.

designated in the account as the angel of the Face, informs him that he has already heard from behind the curtain that Moses' prayer will not be answered.

All these testimonies in which the name of the exalted angel is repeatedly connected with the motif of the death of the Israelite prophet might again pertain to the ongoing polemics between Moses and Enoch. Metatron's presence in these accounts seems to implicitly invoke the shadow of the translated patriarch who did not experience death but was instead translated to heaven, unlike Moses who is predestined to die despite his plea to God. The polemical thrust of the story is especially evident in the *Tanhuma*'s account, in which Moses pleads with Metatron to pray for his escape from death but instead receives the verdict about the inevitability of his death. Here, the translated hero reminds the rival about his mortality.

Conclusion

Although the later Metatron accounts often try to diminish the importance of the Mosaic hero, depicting him as a junior replica of the exalted patriarch, the significance of the Mosaic tradition in fashioning the exalted profile of the translated patriarch must not be underestimated. My analysis has demonstrated that already in the Second Temple period, the biblical and extra-biblical Moses traditions intensely facilitated the transition from the figure of Enoch to the figure of Metatron. The significance of the Moses tradition in this development lies, not only in the example offered by its hero, but also in the challenge that this example offered. This study has demonstrated that the elevated profile of the son of Amram contributed especially to the shaping and defining of Enoch-Metatron's role as the Servant of the Face. Mosaic influences also seem discernable in

such Metatron offices as the Prince of Torah and the vice-regent of the Deity. All these developments indicate that the Mosaic trend can be seen as a decisive factor in the shaping of the Metatron tradition, a factor comparable to such major contributors as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Yahoel, Michael, and Melchisedek.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NOACHIC POLEMICS AND THE DATE OF *2 ENOCH*

This investigation of Noachic polemics in *2 Enoch* has several objectives. First, it intends to further illustrate the polemical nature of *2 Enoch* by showing that the text represents a complicated web of arguments involving the traditions of the elevated patriarchs and prophets. Second, it will demonstrate that, as with the Adamic and Mosaic counterparts, the purpose of these polemics is to enhance the figure of the seventh antediluvian patriarch and diminish the threat of competing mediatorial characters. Third, it will show that the Noachic developments can serve as decisive proof for the early date of the Slavonic apocalypse. The investigation will try to establish that Noachic polemical developments, which deal with the issues of sacrificial practices and priestly successions, cannot be dated later than 70 CE since they reflect a distinctive sacerdotal situation existing at the time when the Temple was still standing. It will be demonstrated that the Noachic polemics in *2 Enoch* belong to the same stream of early Enochic testimonies to the priestly-Noah tradition as those reflected in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Epistle of Enoch*, written before the destruction of the Second Jerusalem Temple.

Before our study proceeds to a detailed analysis of the polemics in the Slavonic apocalypse, a brief introduction to the recent research into Noachic traditions is necessary. In recent years a growing number of publications have been devoted to the Noachic traditions.[1] Even though the book of Noah is not listed in the ancient catalogues

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[1] On Noachic traditions, see: M. Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," in: *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (eds. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 199-231; D. Dimant, "Noah in Early Jewish Literature," in: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (eds. M. E. Stone and T. A.

of the apocryphal books,[2] writings attributed to Noah are mentioned in such early materials as the *Book of Jubilees* (*Jub.* 10:13[3] and *Jub.* 21:10[4]), the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran,[5] and the Greek fragment of the Levi document from Mount Athos.[6] In addition to the titles of the lost book of Noah, several fragmentary materials associated with the early Noachic traditions have survived. Most researchers agree that some parts

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Bergren; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 123-50; F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 24-44; idem, "Interpretation of the Flood in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in: *Interpretations of the Flood* (eds. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen; TBN 1; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 86-108; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 33ff; R.V. Huggins, "Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves," *JBL* 114 (1995) 103-110; H. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988) 242-54; J. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in: *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 137-158; J. Reeves, "Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?" *JBL* 12 (1993) 110-15; J. M. Scott, "Geographic Aspects of Noachic Materials in the Scrolls of Qumran," in: *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. S. E. Porter and C. E. Evans; JSPS 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 368-81; R. C. Steiner, "The Heading of the Book of the Words of Noah on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost' Work," *DSD* 2 (1995) 66-71; M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," in: *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 133-49; M. Stone, "Noah, Books of," in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971) 12.1198; J. VanderKam, "The Righteousness of Noah," in: *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (eds. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980) 13-32; J. VanderKam, "The Birth of Noah," in: *Intertestamental Essays in Honor of Jósef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Krakow: The Enigma Press, 1992) 213-31; Cana Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah," in: *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 171-81.

[2] F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 24.

[3] "Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine..." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.60.

[4] "...because this is the way I found (it) written in the book of my ancestors, in the words of Enoch and the words of Noah." J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.123.

[5] "The Book of the Words of Noah" col. 5, line 29. R. C. Steiner, "The Heading of the Book of the Words of Noah on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost'Work," *DSD* 2 (1995) 66-71.

[6] "For thus my father Abraham commanded me for thus he found in the writing of the book of Noah concerning the blood" §57. J. C. Greenfield and M. Stone, "The Aramaic and Greek Fragments of a Levi Document," in *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (ed. H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge; SVTP 5; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 465. Among other important late allusions to Noah's writings, the *Chronography* of Syncellus and the *Book of Asaph the Physician* should be mentioned. See García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 25 and 38.

of the lost book of Noah "have been incorporated into *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* and that some manuscripts of Qumran[7] preserve some traces of it."[8]

A large bulk of the surviving Noachic fragments is associated with the Enochic materials. This association points to an apparent unity behind the Enoch-Noah's axis. In some pseudepigraphic texts, the words of Noah often follow closely the words of Enoch. Already in the earliest Enochic materials, one can see this link between Noachic and Enochic traditions. Helge Kvanvig points out that in the Noachic traditions Noah and Enoch often appear in the same roles.[9]

In some Enochic writings, however, this unity of Enoch and Noah appears for some reasons to be broken. These writings ignore the Enoch-Noah axis and reveal fierce theological polemics against Noah and the traditions associated with his name. One of the pseudepigraphic texts which attests to such an uncommon critical stand against Noah is the Slavonic apocalypse.[10] The study now proceeds to the analysis of these polemical developments.

Noah's Sacrifices

Gen 8:20 depicts Noah's animal sacrifice after his debarkation. It may be the first account of an animal sacrifice on an altar found in the Bible. Although Abel's animal offerings are mentioned in Genesis 4:4, these sacrifices did not establish any significant

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[7] Florentino García Martínez recently presented an in-depth reconstruction of the work. According to F. García Martínez, the following Qumran materials can be related to the *Book of Noah*: 1QapGen 1-17, 1Q19; 1Q20; 4Q534 (4QMess Ar), and 6Q8. See: García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 43-4.

[8] García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 26.

[9] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 117.

[10] Stone notes that "an extensive development of Noachic traditions is to be observed in *2 Enoch* 71-72 which rewrites the story of Noah's birth, transferring the special traditions to Melkisedek." Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 139.

sacrificial pattern for future generations.[11] Until Noah, the Bible does not attest to any ongoing tradition of animal sacrifices. When *Jubilees* mentions the offerings of Adam and Enoch, it refers to them as incense sacrifices.[12]

Noah can thus be regarded as the originator of the official ongoing tradition of animal sacrifices. He is also the first person to have received from the Lord the commandment about blood. As Michael Stone observes, Noah's connection to the sacrificial cult and to instructions concerning blood was not accidental.[13]

In *2 Enoch*, however, the role of Noah as a pioneer of animal sacrificial practice is challenged by a different story. In this text one learns that immediately after Enoch's instructions to his sons during his short visit to the earth and his ascension to the highest heaven, the firstborn son of Enoch, Methuselah, and his brothers, the sons of Enoch, constructed an altar at Akhuzan,[14] the place from which Enoch had been taken up. In *2 Enoch,* Chapter 69, the Lord appeared to Methuselah in a night vision and appointed him the priest before the people. Verses 11-18 of this chapter describe the first animal sacrifice of Methuselah on the altar. The text says that the people brought sheep, oxen, and birds (all of which have been inspected) for Methuselah to sacrifice before the face of the Lord.[15] Further, the text gives an elaborate description of the sacrificial ritual during which Methuselah slaughters with a knife, "in the required manner," sheep and oxen placed at the head of the altar.[16] It is apparent that Methuselah's role in animal sacrificial

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[11] Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 138.

[12] "On that day, as he was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance--frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices...." *Jub.* 3:27; "He burned the evening incense of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain of incense." *Jub.* 4:25. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.20 and 2.28.

[13] Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 138.

[14] Slav. ѣхоуѕань. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.64.

[15] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 199.

[16] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 198-201.

practice conflicts with the canonical role of Noah as the originator of the animal sacrificial tradition.

The text[17] poses an even more intensive challenge to Noah's unique place in the sacrificial tradition by indicating that before his death Methuselah passes his priestly/sacrificial duties to the younger brother of Noah--the previously unknown Nir. Chapter 70 of *2 Enoch* recounts the last days of Methuselah on earth before his death. The Lord appeared to Methuselah in a night vision and commanded him to pass his priesthood duties on to the second son of Lamech, Methuselah's grandson Nir. The text does not explain why the Lord wanted to pass the priesthood to Nir instead of Noah (Lamech's[18] firstborn son), [19] even though Noah is also mentioned in the dream. The text only relates the response of the people to that request: "Let it be so for us, and let the word of the Lord be just as he said to you." Further, the book mentions that Methuselah invested Nir with the vestments of priesthood before the face of all the people and "made him stand at the head of the altar."[20] He also taught him "everything that he would have to do among the people."[21]

The text offers a detailed description of Nir's sacrifice, during which he commanded people to bring sheep, bulls, turtledoves, and pigeons. People brought them and tied them up at the head of the altar. Then Nir took the sacrificial knife and

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[17] It should be stressed that both the longer and the shorter recensions of *2 Enoch* include all significant points of the anti-Noachic polemics. There is no substantial difference between the recensions in the representation of these materials.

[18] Lamech died before Methuselah. According to Gen 5:26-31, after Lamech was born, Methuselah lived 782 years. Lamech lived a total of 777 years.

[19] This priestly succession from Methuselah to Nir is an apparent violation of all the norms of traditional succession. See the traditional view in *Jub.* 7:38-39: "For this is how Enoch, your father's father, commanded his son Methuselah; then Methuselah his son Lamech; and Lamech commanded me everything that his fathers had commanded him. Now I am commanding you, my children, as Enoch commanded his son in the first jubilee." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.49-50.

[20] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 197-203.

slaughtered them in the front of the face of the Lord.[22] The important detail here is that immediately following the sacrifice the text offers a formula in which the Lord is proclaimed to be the God of Nir. This title apparently stresses the patriarchal authority of Nir: "and all people made merry in front of the face of the Lord, and on that day they glorified the Lord, the God of heaven and earth, (the God) of Nir"[23] *2 Enoch* 70:21-22.[24]

Noah as the Originator of Sacrificial Instruction

The teaching about sacrifices comes from ancient times and is connected with Noah both in *Jubilees* 21 and in the Levi document (Mount Athos) §57.[25] *Jubilees* 21:10 refers to the sacrificial traditions written "in the words of Enoch and in the words of Noah."[26] The first part of this statement about Enoch as the originator of sacrificial instruction fully agrees with *2 Enoch*'s story. The text offers a lengthy account of Enoch's sacrificial prescriptions to his sons during his short visit to the earth. These instructions have a form of sacrificial halakhot. The halakhic character of these commands is reinforced by the specific Slavonic vocabulary which employs the term законъ ("law") in reference to these sacrificial regulations. The text stresses that "he who puts to death any animal without binding it, it is an evil law, [27] he acts lawlessly[28] with his own soul." Clearly the passage speaks, not about secular legal prescriptions, but about halakhic precepts. The Slavonic word законъ, commonly used to denote a binding

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[21] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 202-03.

[22] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 202.

[23] Slav. Господа бога небеси и земля Нирева. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.70.

[24] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 202.

[25] Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 138.

[26] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.123.

[27] Slav. зло законъ. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.56.

custom or a rule of conduct in the community, connotes in some instances something much more restricted and technical: it sometimes refers to the Mosaic Law and serves as an alternate designation for halakha.[29]

Enoch's sacrificial precepts occupy an important place in the narrative of *2 Enoch.* Some of these sacrificial rules, however, have an apparent sectarian flavor. In Chapter 59, Enoch offers Methuselah, as well as his brothers--Regim, Ariim, Akhazukhan, Kharimion--and the elders of all the people, some instructions in animal sacrifices. These halakhot include the following guidelines:

1. Enoch commands his sons to use clean beasts in their sacrifices. According to his prescriptions, "he who brings a sacrifice of clean beasts, it is healing, he heals his soul. And he who brings a sacrifice of clean birds, it is healing, he heals his soul."[30]

2. Enoch teaches his sons that they should not touch an ox because of the "outflow."[31]

3. Enoch's prescriptions address the issue of atoning sacrifices. He suggests that "a person bring one of the clean animals to make a sacrifice on account of sin, so that he may have healing for his soul."[32] Although the blood is not mentioned in these sacrificial prescriptions of Enoch, the text uses extensively the term "an animal soul." Enoch

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[28] Slav. безаконит. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 56.

[29] P. I. Avanesov, ed., *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka* XI-XIV vv. (10 vols.; Moscow: Russkij jazyk, 1988-) 3.317-9; S. G. Barhudarov, ed., *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vekov* (25 vols.; Moscow: Nauka, 1975-) 5.217-8; R. M. Cejtlin, ed., *Staroslovjanskij slovar' po rukopisjam X-XI vekov* (Moscow: Russkij jazyk, 1994) 228; J. Kurz, ed., *Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae* (4 vols.; Prague: Akademia, 1966-) 1.643-4; I.I. Sresnevskij, *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka* (3 vols.; Moscow: Kniga, 1989) 1. 921-2.

[30] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 185.

[31] The terminology of this precept is unclear. For a detailed discussion of the passage, see Andersen, "2 Enoch," 184-5.

[32] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 184.

commands his sons to be cautious in dealing with animal souls, because those souls will accuse man in the day of judgment.[33]

4. Enoch also teaches his sons to bind sacrificial animals by four legs:

> And everything which you have for food, bind it by four legs[34]; there is healing, he heals his soul. He who puts to death any animal without binding it, it is an evil custom; he acts lawlessly with his own soul.[35]

Shlomo Pines draws attention to this unique practice of tying together four legs during animal sacrifices. On the basis of the passage in the Mishna (*Tamid*, 31b) which states that each of the forelegs of the sacrificial animal be tied to the corresponding hind leg, Pines notes that the tying together of all four legs was contrary to the tradition.[36] Pines gives one of the two explanations found in the Gemara of the Babli: this disapproval sought to prevent the imitation of the customs of the heretics, *minim*:[37] the authors of Mishnaic sacrificial prescriptions considered the practice of tying together all four legs to have strong sectarian overtones. In his conclusion, Pines suggests that "it may have been an accepted rite of a sect, which repudiated the sacrificial customs prevailing in Jerusalem. It might be conjectured that this sect might have been the Essenes, whose sacrificial usage differed according to the one reading of the passage of Josephus[38] from those practiced at the Temple."[39]

As one can see, *2 Enoch* depicts Enoch as the originator of sacrificial instruction. Although some of these instructions are not necessarily canonical, the role of Enoch in

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[33] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 185.

[34] Slav. свяжите и по четиры ноги. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.56.

[35] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 185

[36] S. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," in *Types of Redemption* (ed. R.J. Zwi Werblowsky; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970) 74-75.

[37] Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," 75.

[38] *Ant.* XVIII, 18.

the sacrificial tradition fully agrees with *Jubilees* 21:10a. On the other hand, *2 Enoch* is completely silent about Noah's role in these sacrificial instructions. He is referred to neither as the originator of these instructions nor as their practitioner. While the text speaks several times about the future role of Noah as a procreator of the postdiluvian race, it is silent about his place in the priestly/sacrificial tradition.[40] One might expect that Noah, then, will have an opportunity to do his part after the Flood, but the text leaves out any significant role for Noah in the postdiluvian priestly/sacrificial tradition. The duty of the priestly successor is given to Nir's son Melchisedek, who "will be the head of the priests" in the postdiluvian generation.[41] Noah's role is less prominent. According to the *Slavonic Enoch,* he "will be preserved in that generation for procreation."[42]

Noah and Divine Revelations

In the Bible and the pseudepigrapha, Noah is portrayed as a recipient of divine revelations, given to him both before and after the Flood. In Genesis 6:13-21 and Genesis 7:1-5, God speaks to Noah about the Deluge and the construction of the ark. The evidence for the direct communication between God and Noah is further supported by *1 Enoch* 67, *Jubilees* 5, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* 6-7. According to the pseudepigrapha, Noah also enjoys various angelic revelations. In *1 Enoch* 10:1-3, an angel Asuryal warns Noah about the upcoming destruction of the earth. *Jubilees* 10:1-14 records the angelic

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[39] Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," 75. For criticism of Pines' hypothesis, see M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 42.

[40] "Then I will preserve Noah, the firstborn son of your son Lamech. And I will make another world rise up from his seed, and his seed will exist throughout the ages" *2 Enoch* 70:10. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 203. "For I know indeed that this race will end in confusion, and everyone will perish, except that Noah, my brother, will be preserved in that generation for procreation" *2 Enoch* 71:37. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 209.

[41] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 211.

revelation to Noah about evil spirits and healing herbs which he wrote in a book and gave to Shem, his oldest son.[43] Scholars also believe that in *1 Enoch* 60 it is Noah who was described as a visionary.[44] These traditions depict Noah as the chosen vessel of divine revelation who alone found favor in the sight of the Lord in the antediluvian turmoil.[45]

These details and emphasis on the direct communication between the Lord and Noah are challenged by the information about Noah found in *2 Enoch*. As has been shown earlier, in the *Slavonic Enoch* Noah keeps a low profile. Although Noah is the firstborn of Lamech, he is portrayed as a family man, a helper to his prominent younger brother Nir, who assists him during the troubles with Sothonim and Melchisedek. While Nir is a priest surrounded by the crowds of people, Noah is a timid relative whose activities are confined to the circle of his family. After Melchisedek's situation was settled, Noah quietly "went away to his own place."[46]

In contrast to this modest role of Noah, Methuselah and Nir are portrayed as priests of the Lord who have dreams/visions in which the Lord gives them important instructions about priestly successions and future events. These portrayals sharply contrast with the absence of any indication of direct revelations of the Lord to Noah. [47]

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[42] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 209.

[43] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.60.

[44] Kvanvig argues that "in *1 Enoch* 60, 1-10.24c-25 Noah is described as a visionary (as in 4QMess Ar) and in a vision he is warned about the coming catastrophe. This description of the flood hero as a visionary had its parallel in both Atra-Hasis and Berossos' version of the Flood story when the flood hero is warned in a dream." Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 242.

[45] Gen 6:8 and *Jub.* 5:5 - "He was pleased with Noah alone." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.33.

[46] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 206-7.

[47] *2 Enoch* 73, which attests to such a revelation, is a later interpolation represented only by the manuscript *R* and partly (only one line) by *Rum*. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.80 and 1.155. The previous analysis of Noachic polemics strengthens the hypothesis that *2 Enoch* 73 is a later addition, foreign to the original core of the text. For the discussion about Chapter 73, see Vaillant, xxii; Andersen, "2 Enoch," 212.

One therefore learns about the Flood and Noah's role in it from Methuselah and Nir's dreams.[48]

In *2 Enoch,* Chapter 70, the Lord appears to Methuselah in a night vision. The Lord tells him that the earth will perish but Noah, the firstborn son of his son Lamech, will be preserved in order that "another world rise up from his seed."[49] The account of the Lord's revelation to Methuselah about the Flood and Noah in *2 Enoch* 70:4-10 might belong to the original Noachic tradition. It shows some similarities to the account of Enoch's revelation to Methuselah in *1 Enoch* 106:15-19.

A symmetrical parallel to Methuselah's dream in *2 Enoch* 70:4-10 is Nir's night vision in 71:27-30. In this short dream, which also describes in almost identical terms the future destruction of the earth, one important detail is missing.[50] Noah is absent from this revelation,[51] and his place is now occupied by Melchisedek, who according to the will of the Lord will not perish during the Flood but will be the head of the priests in the future.[52] This revision, which substitutes one survivor of the Flood for another, fits perfectly into the pattern of Noachic polemics reflected elsewhere in the text. The important role of Noah as the bridge between the antediluvian and postdiluvian worlds is thus openly challenged in the Slavonic apocalypse.

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[48] The motif of these divine/angelic revelations to Melthuselah parallels *1 Enoch* 106, 1QapGen 2:19 and the text of Pseudo-Eupolemus where "Methuselah ... learned all things through the help of the angels of God, and thus we gained our knowledge." Holladay, *Fragments*, 1.175.

[49] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 203.

[50] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.69 and 1.75.

[51] It is clear that Noah's name was purged from the original Noachic account which lies behind Nir's vision. The additional supporting detail here is that right after Nir's vision, when he arose from the sleep, he repeats the vision in his own words. In this repetition Nir mentions both Melchisedek and Noah as survivors of the Flood. It is apparent that we have here two different traditions which sometimes do not reconcile with each other. "And Melchisedek will be the head of the priests in another generation. For I

Noah as the Bridge over the Flood

Michael Stone stresses that "the sudden clustering of works around Noah indicates that he was seen as a pivotal figure in the history of humanity, as both an end and a beginning."[53] He also points out that the writings from Qumran, which ascribe the priestly teaching to Noah, underline Noah's role as the bridge between the ante- and postdiluvian worlds.[54] In the pseudepigrapha Noah carries the priestly tradition through the Flood. *Jubilees* portrays Noah and his sons as priests. Targumic and rabbinic traditions also attest to the priestly functions of Noah's family. The canonical emphasis on the role of Noah in sacrificial practice has been mentioned earlier.

In *2 Enoch,* however, the function of Noah as a vessel of the priestly tradition beyond the Flood[55] is seriously undermined by Melchisedek--the child predestined to survive the Flood in order to become the priest to all priests in the postdiluvian generation. This story is repeated in the text several times during the Lord's revelations to Nir and to the archangel Gabriel.[56]

In Chapter 71 the Lord appears to Nir in a night vision. He tells Nir that the child Melchisedek will be placed by the archangel in the paradise of Eden, where he can

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know indeed that this race will end in confusion and everyone will perish, except that Noah, my brother, will be preserved in that generation for procreation" *2 Enoch* 71:33-7. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 209.

[52] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 208.

[53] Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 141.

[54] Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 143.

[55] Another challenge to Noah's role as a carrier of antediluvian traditions over the Flood is the theme of Enoch's books. From *2 Enoch* 33:8-12 we learn that the Lord commanded his angels Ariokh and Mariokh to guard Enoch's books, so "they might not perish in the impeding flood." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 157. This motif of the secret books by which antediluvian wisdom reached postdiluvian generations plays a prominent role in the Mesopotamian flood stories. Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," 9-13.

[56] This story is supported by the lengthy priestly genealogy which also includes Enoch, Methuselah, and Nir. Noah, of course, is not presented in this list: "Therefore honor him (Melchisedek) together with your servants and great priests, with Sit, and Enos, and Rusi, and Amilam, and Prasidam, and Maleleil, and Serokh, and Arusan, and Aleem, and Enoch, and Methusalam, and me, your servant Nir." *2 Enoch* 71:32. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 208.

survive the destruction of the earth in order to become the priest to all priests after the Flood.[57] Further, in Chapter 72 the Lord commands his archangel Gabriel to take Melchisedek and place him in paradise for preservation, so that he becomes "the head of the priests" in the postdiluvian generation.[58]

In the midst of this Noachic polemic, Noah himself recognizes the future priesthood of Melchisedek and surrenders his own and his descendents' priestly right to this child. From 71:20-21 one learns that when Noah saw the child Melchisedek with the badge of priesthood on his chest, he said to Nir: "Behold, God is renewing the continuation of the blood of the priesthood after us."[59]

The Birth of Noah

It has been shown that in the course of anti-Noachic polemics, the elements of Noah's story are transformed and his traditional roles are given to other characters. It is therefore no surprise to see that some details of Noah's birth are transferred in *2 Enoch* to a new hero--the future postdiluvian priest, Melchisedek.

The birth of Noah occupies an important place in Noachic traditions. In *1 Enoch* 106-107 and in the *Genesis Apocryphon* 2-5 Noah is portrayed as a wonder child.[60] *1 Enoch* depicts him with a glorious face and eyes like the rays of the sun. He was born fully developed; as he was taken away from the hand of the midwife, he spoke to the

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[57] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 208-9.
[58] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 211.
[59] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 207.
[60] *1 Enoch* 106:1-4 "And after (some) days my son Methuselah took for his son Lamech a wife, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white like snow and red like the flower of a rose, and the hair of his head (was) white like wool ... and his eyes (were) beautiful; and when he opened his eyes, he made the whole house bright like the sun so that the whole house was exceptionally bright. And when he was taken from the hands of the midwife, he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord of Righteousness. And his father Lamech was afraid of him...." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.244.

Lord.[61] These extraordinary qualities of the wonder-child lead his father Lamech to suspect that Noah's birth was angelic in origin.

In the context of the Noachic polemics of *2 Enoch,* this prominent part of Noah's biography finds a new niche. Here again one has the polemical rewriting of the Noachic narrative--the peculiar details of Noah's story are transferred to another character, Melchisedek.

Scholars have previously noted that Melchisedek's birth in *2 Enoch* recalls some parallels with the birth of Noah in *1 Enoch* and in the *Genesis Apocryphon.*[62] The Melchisedek narrative occupies the last chapters of *2 Enoch*. It should be noted that initially this part of the apocalypse was considered to be an interpolation in the text of *2 Enoch*. The earlier publications of Charles, Morfill, and Bonwetsch[63] argued that *2 Enoch* 69-73 was a kind of appendix and did not belong to the main body of the text. Since then the situation has been corrected, and these chapters are now considered as an integral part of the text.[64]

The content of the Melchisedek account is connected with the family of Nir. Sothonim, the wife of Nir, gave birth to a miraculous child "in her old age," right "on the

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[61] Scholars have previously remarked that these features of Noah's story reflect priestly imagery. See Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 33ff. This connection will be investigated later.

[62] M. Delcor, "Melchisedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JSJ* 2 (1971) 129; idem, "La naissance merveilleuse de Melchisédeq d'après l'Hénoch slave," *Kecharitomene: Mélanges René Laurentin* (ed. C. Augustin et al.; Paris: Desclée, 1990) 217-229; M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ, 34; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) 236, footnote 340; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981) 185; A. de Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," in: *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (ed. A. Dies Macho; Madrid: Ediciones Christiandad, 1984) 4.199; R. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders und seiner Frau. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben jüdischer Überlieferungen in der außerkanonischen und gnostischen Literatur und in Denkmälern der Kunst* (AAWG.PH 3. Folge 112; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979) 42-54.

[63] R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill., *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896); G. N. Bonwetsch, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (AGWG, 1; Berlin, 1896).

[64] For a detailed discussion of the subject, see A. Orlov, "Melchisedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *JSJ* 31 (2000) 23-38.

day of her death." She conceived the child, "being sterile" and "without having slept with her husband." The text relates that Nir the priest had not slept with her from the day that the Lord had appointed him before the face of the people. Therefore, Sothonim hid herself during all the days of her pregnancy. On the day she was to give birth, Nir remembered his wife and called her to himself in the temple. She came to him, and he saw that she was pregnant. Nir, filled with shame, wanted to cast her away from him, but she died at his feet. Melchisedek was born from Sothonim's corpse. When Nir and Noah came in to bury Sothonim, they saw the child sitting beside the corpse with "his clothing on him." According to the story, they were terrified because the child, marked by the sign of priesthood, was fully developed physically. The child spoke and blessed the Lord. The story mentions that the badge of priesthood was on his chest, glorious in appearance. Nir and Noah dressed the child in the garments of priesthood and fed him holy bread. They decided to hide him, fearing that the people would have him put to death. Finally, the Lord commanded His archangel Gabriel to take the child and place him in the paradise of Eden, so that he might become the high priest after the Flood. The final passages of the short recension describe the ascent of Melchisedek on the wings of Gabriel to the paradise of Eden.

The details of Noah's birth correspond at several points with the Melchisedek story:

1. Both Noah and Melchisedek belong to the circle of Enoch's family.
2. Both characters are attested as survivors of the Flood.
3. Both characters have an important mission in the postdiluvian era.
4. Both characters are portrayed as glorious wonder children.

5. Both characters are depicted as ones born by autogenesis, i.e. fully developed physically at birth.[65]

6. Immediately after their birth, both characters speak to the Lord. According to *1 Enoch* 106:3, "when he (Noah) arose from the hands of the midwife, he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord with righteousness." In *2 Enoch* 71:19 we read that "he [Melchisedek] spoke with his lips, and he blessed the Lord."[66]

7. Both characters are suspected of being of the divine/angelic lineage.

M. Delcor notes that Lamech's affirmation in the beginning of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, "Behold, then I thought in my heart that the conception was the work of the Watchers and the pregnancy of the Holy Ones...." can be compared with the words of Noah in *2 Enoch* uttered at the time of the examination of Melchisedek: "This is of the Lord, my brother."[67]

8. Their fathers were suspicious of the conception of their sons and the faithfulness of their wives.[68] In *1 Enoch* 106 and the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Lamech is worried and frightened about the birth of Noah, his son. Lamech suspects that his wife Bathenosh was unfaithful to him and that "the conception was (the work) of the Watchers and the pregnancy of the Holy Ones, and it belonged to the Nephil[in]."[69] The motif of

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[65] Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that "the characterization of Melchizedek, as one born by autogenesis, who is 'fully developed physically' at birth (ch 71), recalls traditions associated with the angelomorphic Noah...." Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 155.

[66] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 207.

[67] Delcor, "Melchisedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," 129.

[68] George Nickelsburg observes that the miraculous circumstances surrounding Melchisedek's conception and birth are reminiscent of the Noah story in *1 Enoch*, although the suspicion of Nir is more closely paralleled in the version of the Noah story in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 188.

[69] García Martínez and Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.29

Lamech's suspicion about the unfaithfulness of Bathenosh[70] found in *1 Enoch* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* seems to correspond to Nir's worry about the unfaithfulness of Sothonim: "And Nir saw her, and he became very ashamed about her. And he said to her, 'What is this that you have done, O wife? And why have you disgraced me in front of the face of all people? And now, depart from me, go where you conceived the disgrace of your womb.'"[71]

9. Their mothers were ashamed and tried to defend themselves against the accusation of their husbands. In the *Genesis Apocryphon,* the wife of Lamech responds to the angry questions of her husband by reminding him of their intimacies: "Oh my brother and lord! remember my sexual pleasure... [...] in the heat of intercourse, and the gasping of my breath in my breast."[72] She swears that the seed was indeed of Lamech: "I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the King of the hea[vens...]...[...] that this seed comes from you, [...] and not from any foreigner nor from any of the watchers or sons of heav[en]."[73] In *2 Enoch* Sothonim does not explain the circumstances of the conception. She answers Nir: "O my lord! Behold, it is the time of my old age, and there was not in me any (ardor of) youth and I do not know how the indecency of my womb has been conceived."[74]

10. Their fathers were eventually comforted by the special revelation about the prominent future role of their sons in the postdiluvian era. It is noteworthy that this information is given in both cases in the context of the revelation about the destruction of

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[70] On this motif, see: Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," 137-158.

[71] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 205.

[72] García Martínez and Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.29

[73] García Martínez and Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.29-31.

[74] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 205.

the earth by the Flood. In *1 Enoch* 106:16-18 we read: "And this son who has been born unto you shall be left upon the earth, and his three sons shall be saved when they who are upon the earth are dead."[75] In *2 Enoch* 71:29-30 the father is told: "And this child will not perish along with those who are perishing in this generation, as I have revealed it, so that Melchisedek will be ...the head of the priests of the future."[76]

One cannot fail to note a host of interesting resemblances between the birth of Noah in the pseudepigrapha and the birth of Melchisedek in *2 Enoch*. The author of *2 Enoch* wants to diminish the extraordinary nature of Noah's person and transfer these qualities to Melchisedek. The text therefore can be seen as a set of polemical improvisations on the original Noachic themes.

Noah's Son

Shem b. Noah plays a prominent role in Noachic traditions. According to *Jubilees,* Shem is Noah's choice in the transmission of his teaching. From *Jubilees* 10:13-14 one learns that "Noah wrote down in a book everything ... and he gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons." [77] Because of his unique role in the Noachic tradition, Shem b. Noah is also one of the targets of the anti-Noachic polemics of *2 Enoch*. This debate takes place in the last chapters of the book, which are connected with the Melchisedek legend.

The previous exposition shows that the Melchisedek story is closely connected with Nir's family. Even though Nir is not the biological father of Melchisedek, he later adopts him as his son. In *2 Enoch*, Chapter 71, Nir says to the Lord: "For I have no

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[75] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.246.
[76] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 208.

descendants, so let this child take the place of my descendants and become as my own son, and you will count him in the number of your servants."[78] In this instance of Nir's adoption of Melchisedek, one has again an anti-Noachic motif.

In targumic and rabbinic literature Melchisedek is often identified with the oldest son of Noah, Shem. The identification of Melchisedek and Shem can be found in *Tg. Ps.-J.*, *Frg. Tg.*, *Tg. Neof.*, *Gen. Rab.* 43.1; 44.7, *Abot R. Nat.* 2, *Pirqe R. El.* 7; 27, and *b.* Ned. 32b. The basic message of the passages from the Targumim and rabbinic literature is the building up of the priestly antecedents of Melchisedek (Shem) in the context of the transmission of this priestly line to Abraham.[79] In these texts Melchisedek takes Shem's role, representing an important link in the passing of the Noachic priestly/sacrificial tradition to Abraham. This prominent motif of the succession of the Noachic priestly/sacrificial tradition by the tradition of Abraham and his descendants, including Isaac and Levi, can be found already in *Jubilees* 21 and in the Levi document from Athos. This targumic and rabbinic connection between Melchisedek and Shem helps to clarify the polemical intention of *2 Enoch's* authors, whose purpose is to strip Noah of his parenthood of the future scion of the priestly succession. Previously unknown Nir, the young brother of Noah, plays an important theological role in this polemical deliberation.

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[77] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.60.

[78] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 209.

[79] See, for example, *b. Ned.* 32b: "R. Zechariah said on R. Ishmael's authority: The Holy One, blessed be He, intended to bring forth the priesthood from Shem, as it is written, 'And he [Melchisedek] was the priest of the most high God' (Gen 14:18). But because he gave precedence in his blessing to Abraham over God, He brought it forth from Abraham; as it is written, 'And he blessed him and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth, and blessed be the most high God' (Gen 14:19). Said Abraham to him, 'Is the blessing of a servant to be given precedence over that of his master?' Straightway it [the priesthood] was given to Abraham, as it is written (Ps 110:1), 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool;' which is followed by, 'The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedek' (Ps 110:4), meaning, 'because of the word of Melchisedek.' Hence it is written, And he was a priest of the most High God, [implying that] he was a priest, but not his seed." *The Babylonian Talmud,* 98-9.

The replacement of Noah's fatherhood with Nir's fatherhood thus represents one more facet of the complicated anti-Noachic polemics in *2 Enoch*.

Purpose of the Polemics

2 Enoch evinces a systematic tendency to diminish or refocus the priestly significance of the figure of Noah. These revisions take place in the midst of the debates about sacrificial practice and priestly succession. But what is the role of this denigration of the hero of the Flood and the traditions associated with his name in the larger framework of the mediatorial polemical interactions found in the Slavonic apocalypse?

Previous sections of this study have been able to trace the devaluation of the figures of Adam and Moses, the two major rivals of the seventh antediluvian patriarch. These polemical moves are consistent with the ambiguous attitude towards these characters in the earliest Enochic materials. But why do the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse attempt to diminish the significance of Noah, who was traditionally considered as the main ally of the seventh antediluvian patriarch and, as a result, occupied a prominent place among the main heroes of the Enochic lore starting from the earliest Enochic booklets?

The important feature of the removal of Noah's priestly and sacrificial roles in *2 Enoch* is that, although the significance of the hero of the flood is almost completely sacerdotally denigrated, it does not affect or destroy the value or meaning of the alternative priestly tradition which he was faithfully representing for such a long time. The legacy of this priestly-sacrificial office is still strictly maintained within the Enochic family since Noah's priestly garments are not lost or destroyed but instead are skillfully

transferred to other kinsmen of the Enochic clan, including its traditional member Methuselah and two other, newly-acquired relatives, Nir and Melchisedek.

This shows that the impetus for the denigration of Noah, this important character of the Enochic-Noachic axis, does not come from opponents to the Enochic tradition, but rather originates within this lore. It represents a domestic conflict that attempts to downgrade and devalue the former paladin who has become so notable that his exalted status in the context of mediatorial interactions now poses an imminent threat to the main hero of the Enochic tradition. It is noteworthy that in the course of the aforementioned polemical transferences, the priestly profile of Enoch and the sacerdotal status of some members of his immediate family become much stronger. His son Methuselah, the first-born and heir of his father's teaching, has now acquired the roles of high priest and pioneer of animal sacrificial practice by constructing an altar on the high place associated with the Jerusalem Temple. Further, it should not be forgotten that the priest Nir is also a member of Enoch's family, so the future priest Melchisedek, who despite the fact of his bizarre fatherless birth, is nevertheless safely brought into the circle of Enoch's family through his adoption by Nir. The priestly succession from Enoch and Methuselah to Shem-Melchisedek, an important carrier of sacrificial precepts, thus occurs without the help of Noah. Moreover this enigmatic heir of Enoch's priestly tradition is then able to survive the Deluge not in the ark of the hero of the Flood, but through translation, like Enoch, to heaven.

Enoch also seems to have benefited from Noah's removal from priestly and sacrificial duties since this has made him the only remaining authority in sacrificial instruction, an office that he shared previously with Noah. This fact might have

encouraged him to openly deliver a series of sacrificial halakhot to his children that he never did previously in the Enochic materials.

It is also significant that, although the priestly profile of Noah is removed in the text and his elevated qualities are transferred to other characters, he still remains a faithful member of the Enochic clan. Although he ceases to be an extraordinary figure and peacefully surrenders his prominent offices to his relatives, he still manages to perfectly fit in the family surroundings by virtue of his newly-acquired role of an average person and a family helper in the new plot offered by 2 *Enoch*'s authors. This depiction of Noah as an ordinary person provides an important key for understanding the main objective of Noachic polemics in the Slavonic apocalypse as an argument against the exalted profile of the hero of the Flood posing as a mediatorial rival of Enoch.

The changing attitude toward Noah as a potential threat to Enoch's exalted role, might already be detected in the late Second Temple Enochic developments. A tradition preserved in the Ethiopic text of the *Animal Apocalypse* portrays Noah with imagery identical to that used in the portrayal of Moses in the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions of the text, that is, as an animal transformed into a human; in the zoomorphic code of the book this metamorphosis signifies the transformation into an angelomorphic creature. The Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* do not attest to the tradition of Noah's elevation, which suggests that this tradition was a later Second Temple development. It might indicate that in the later Second Temple Enochic lore, about the time when *2 Enoch* was written, Noah was understood as an angelomorphic creature similar to Moses, thus posing a potential threat to the elevated profile of the seventh antediluvian hero.

Debates about the Date

The foregoing analysis of Noachic polemics in the Slavonic apocalypse witnesses to the complex process of interaction between the various mediatorial streams competing for the primacy of their heroes. Yet these conceptual engagements allow us not only to clarify the question of the enhancement of Enoch's elevated profile but also to determine a possible date for the text.

The question of the date of the Slavonic apocalypse is an important issue for the present discussion about the origins of early Jewish mysticism in general and the Metatron tradition in particular, since the whole argument of this study is built on the presupposition that *2 Enoch* was written during the Second Temple period, that is, long before the subsequent rabbinic and Hekhalot developments of the Metatron lore took place.

Students of early Jewish mystical traditions have previously raised concerns about the date of the Slavonic apocalypse, pointing to the fact that the text does not seem to supply definitive evidence for placing it within precise chronological boundaries. James Davila voices this concern in relation to the dating of the Jewish mystical traditions found in the Slavonic apocalypse. He remarks that despite the fact that there is an apparently close relationship between *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch*

> the exact nature of that relationship, especially which complex of traditions is stratigraphically earlier, remains to be established. Although many commentators take for granted a date as early as the first century CE for *2 Enoch*, the fact remains that it survives only in Medieval manuscripts in Slavonic and that exegesis of it needs to commence at that point and proceed backwards to a putative (and to my mind, highly debatable) first-century Jewish original only on the basis of rigorous argument.[80]

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[80] Davila, "Melchisedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," 261, n. 20.

The previous analysis in this dissertation has shed some light on the problem of the mutual relationship between *2 Enoch* and *Sefer Hekhalot* and has helped to demonstrate that the mystical traditions attested in the Slavonic text are comparatively rudimentary in nature and therefore "stratigraphically earlier" than those found in *3 Enoch.* In many instances they represent incipient sketches of the roles and offices of the angelic hero that were later advanced in the Hekhalot lore about Enoch-Metatron. In this situation the important question still remains whether these early mystical developments are really found in the Second Temple text, or whether this text is merely the Greek and Slavonic translation of the later Hekhalot work.[81] In view of the previous analysis that

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[81] This hypothesis was formulated by the Russian scholar Nikita Meshcherskij, who proposed that the shorter recension of the text was translated into Slavonic directly from a medieval Hebrew work. See N. Meshcherskij, "Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v staroslavjanskoj i drevnerusskoj literature (K izucheniju slavjanskih versij knigi Enoha)," *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 19 (1963) 130-147, esp. 147; idem, "K istorii teksta slavjanskoj knigi Enoha (Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v vizantijskoj i staroslavjanskoj literature)," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 24 (1964) 91-108; idem, "K voprosu ob istochnikah slavjanskoj knigi Enoha," *Kratkie soobshchenija Instituta narodov Azii* 86 (1965) 72-8. Meshcherskij's hypothesis was supported by Anatolij Alekseev. See A. Alekseev, "Perevody s drevneevrejskih originalov v drevnej Rusi," *Russian Linguistics* 11 (1987) 1-20. For a detailed critique of Meshcherskij and Alekseev, see: H. G. Lunt, and M. Taube, "Early East Slavic Translations from Hebrew," *Russian Linguistics* 12 (1988) 147-87. Since Meshcherskij's research is available only in the Russian language, it would be useful to give a brief outline of his arguments. Nikita Aleksandrovich Meshcherskij (1906-1987) was a student of medieval Slavonic literature. His scholarly activity was connected with the Slavonic translations of the Second Temple materials, including Josephus' "Jewish War" (the *Iosippon*) and *2 Enoch*. He formulated a hypothesis about the existence of a Slavic school of Kievan translators responsible for the translations of some Jewish works, including the *Book of Esther*, the *Iosippon*, and the short recension of *2 Enoch* from Hebrew into Slavonic during the early period of Kievan Russia. Cf. Meshcherskij, "K voprosu ob istochnikah," 77. He argued that these texts share a similar unique vocabulary, which in his opinion can be found only in the Slavonic translations from Semitic originals. [Meshcherskij, "K voprosu ob istochnikah, 78]. Thus, Meshcherskij points to the peculiar tendency of the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* toward transliteration of proper names according to Hebrew spellings. In his opinion this represents a departure from the usual Greek-Slavonic patterns of the translations of Byzantine Greek originals connected to the Septuagint tradition. One of Meshcherskij's examples of such type of transliteration is the spelling of the name of Methuselah as "Mefusalom" instead of the normal Byzantine-Slavonic form "Mafusal." Meshcherskij, "K voprosu ob istochnikah ," 77. Meshcherskij argued that the most important evidence in support of his hypothesis of the Hebrew original is the grammatical form of some phrases with the nouns "hand," "face," "head," and "soul," which are used in *2 Enoch* not in their proper immediate meanings but as metaphors for describing conditions of presence, dominion, etc., a usage widespread in Hebrew and Aramaic. He noticed that in *2 Enoch* these nouns are accompanied by certain prepositions: в (in) and на (on). In his opinion these features are very unusual for Greek and Slavonic grammar, where the absence of prepositions is expected in these particular phrases. [Meshcherskij, "K voprosu ob istochnikah," 77-78]. Meshcherskij proposed that the possible Semitic original of the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* could be a medieval text which preserved some Enochic material from the early period. He suggested that this possible medieval Semitic original was

has firmly established that Jewish mystical traditions permeate the fabric of the text and belong to the original core of *2 Enoch*, the question of the chronological boundaries of these mystical developments appears now to be identical with the query about the date of the pseudepigraphon itself. [82]

It should be noted that the scholarly attitude towards the Slavonic apocalypse as evidence of Second Temple Jewish developments remains somewhat ambiguous in view of the uncertainty of the text's date. Although students of the apocalypse working closely with the text insist on the early date of the Jewish pseudepigraphon, a broader scholarly community has been somehow reluctant to embrace fully and unconditionally *2 Enoch* as a Second Temple Jewish text.[83] Such an attitude is especially noticeable in the field of

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probably *3 Enoch*, especially its central part, which in his opinion is most closely connected with the material of *2 Enoch*. It is noteworthy that Meshcherskij did not have access to the text of *3 Enoch* published by H. Odeberg probably because of the Soviet censorship of Jewish and Christian texts and authors. For his conclusions he used the description of the book in Rudolph Bultmann's review published in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 25 (1937) 449-453. Meshcherskij's hypothesis was critically assessed by Horace Lunt and Moshe Taube, who suggested that "the vision of a school of Kievan translators from the Hebrew is a myth created almost single-handedly by Meshcherskij." They also noted that "Meshcherskij's enthusiasm for his thesis cannot disguise the fact that his published work, riddled with inaccuracies and unfounded statements as it is, must be regarded as generally unsatisfactory." After analysis of the Slavonic materials, Lunt and Taube concluded that "in the light of all evidence so far available, we find it thoroughly unlikely that translations from Hebrew into any sort of written Slavic were made in any region of Slavdom before the middle of the fifteenth century." H. G. Lunt, and M. Taube, "Early East Slavic Translations from Hebrew," *Russian Linguistics* 12 (1988) 160.

[82] Böttrich's hypothesis that these mystical developments constitute later additions to the original core of the pseudepigraphon, which were acquired during its transmission history, is no longer valid and should be completely discarded. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Chapter Five of this dissertation.

[83] The early date of the pseudepigraphon was supported by, among others, the following investigations: R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) xxvi; Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 2.165; G. N. Bonwetsch, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (AGWG.PH Neue Folge Bd.1 Nr.3; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1896); N. Schmidt, "The Two Recensions of Slavonic Enoch," *JAOS* 41 (1921) 307-312; G. Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala* (Berlin, 1962) 62-64; M. Philonenko, "La cosmogonie du 'Livre des secrets d'Hénoch,'" in: *Religions en Egypte: Hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) 109-116; S. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," in: *Types of Redemption* (eds. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and C. Jouco Bleeker; SHR, 18; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 72-87; J. C. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon", in Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973) XVIII-XX; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum* (BZNW, 44; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978) 38-41; J. H. Charlesworth, "The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch (Seminar Report)," *NTS* 25 (1979) 315-23; J. J. Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," in: *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck,1983) 533; F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of)

early Jewish mysticism, where unambiguous acceptance would necessarily lead to the reevaluation of the origins and the development of the Jewish mystical lore. Scholars might find such ambiguity pertaining to the date of the Slavonic apocalypse convinient, since it allows them to bypass in their scholarship this major evidence for early Jewish esoteric traditions. In scholarly debates about the Second Temple pseudepigrapha, one can often find references to Francis Andersen's remark that "in every respect *2 Enoch* remains an enigma. So long as the date and location remain unknown, no use can be made of it for historical purposes."[84]

The uncritical use of this brief statement about *2 Enoch* as an enigma "in every respect" unfortunately tends to oversimplify the scholarly situation and diminish the value of the long and complex history of efforts to clarify the provenance and date the text.[85] The following brief excursus into the history of arguments against the early date of the text demonstrates the extreme rarity of critical attempts and their very limited power of persuasion.

1. In 1896, in his introduction to the English translation of *2 Enoch*, R.H. Charles assigned "with reasonable certainty" the composition of the text to the period between 1-50 CE,[86] before the destruction of the Temple; this view, however, did not remain

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Enoch," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.91-221; M. E. Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (CRINT, 2.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984) 406; A. de Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," in: *Apocrifos del AT* (ed. A. Diez Macho; Madrid: Ediciones Christiandad, 1984) 4.147-202; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1995) 812-13. P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History* (JSPSS, 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

[84] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 97.

[85] After all it should not be forgotten that in the same study Francis Andersen explicitly assigns the book to the late first century CE. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 91.

[86] In his introduction to the Forbes' translation of *2 Enoch* in *APOT*, Charles broadened the range of the dating of the apocalypse, postulating that "*2 Enoch* in its present form was written probably between 30 B.C. and AD 70. It was written after 30 B.C., for it makes use of *Sirach*, *1 Enoch*, and the *Book of Wisdom*..., and before A.D. 70; for the temple is still standing." R. H. Charles and N. Forbes, "The Book of

unchallenged.[87] In 1918 the British astronomer A.S.D. Maunder launched an attack against the early dating of the pseudepigraphon, arguing that the Slavonic Enoch does not represent an early Jewish text written in the first century CE, but instead is "a specimen of Bogomil propaganda," composed in the Slavonic language in "the 'Middle Bulgarian' period – i.e., between the 12th and 15th centuries."[88] In the attempt to justify her claim, Maunder appealed to the theological content of the book, specifically to its alleged Bogomil features, such as the dualism of good and evil powers. She found that such dualistic ideas were consistent with the sectarian teaching that "God had two sons, Satanail and Michael."[89] Maunder's study was not limited solely to the analysis of the theological features of the text but also included a summary of the astronomical and calendarical observations which attempted to prove a late date for the text. Her argument against the early dating of the pseudepigraphon was later supported by J. K. Fotheringham, who offered a less radical hypothesis that the date of *2 Enoch* must be no earlier than the middle of the seventh century CE.[90]

Scholars have noted that Maunder's argumentation tends to underestimate the theological and literary complexities of the Slavonic Enoch. The remark was made that, after reading Maunder's article, one can be "astonished at the weakness of this argument

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the Secret of Enoch," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 2. 429. This opinion about the early date of *2 Enoch* was also supported by Charles' contemporaries, the Russian philologist Matvej Sokolov and German theologian Nathaniel Bonwetsch. Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*; Bonwetsch, *Das slavische Henochbuch*; idem, *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs*.

[87] R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) xxvi.

[88] A. S. D. Maunder, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *The Observatory* 41 (1918) 309-16, esp. 316.

[89] Maunder, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch," 315.

[90] J. K. Fotheringham, "The Date and the Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 20 (1919) 252.

and at the irrelevant matters adduced in support of it."[91] Charles responded to the criticism of Maunder and Fortheringam in his article published in 1921 in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, in which he pointed out, among other things, that "the Slavonic Enoch, which ascribes the entire creation to God and quotes the Law as divine, could not have emanated from the Bogomils."[92]

2. Another attempt to question the scholarly consensus about the early date of *2 Enoch* was made by Josef Milik in his introduction to the edition of the Qumran fragments of the Enochic books published in 1976.[93] In the introductory section devoted to the Slavonic Enoch, Milik proposed that the apocalypse was composed between the ninth and tenth centuries CE by a Byzantine Christian monk who knew the Enochic Pentateuch "in the form with which we are familiar through the Ethiopic version."[94] In order to support his hypothesis of a late date Milik draws attention to several lexical features of the text. One of them is the Slavonic word змоуренїемь[95] found in *2 Enoch* 22:11 which Milik has traced to the Greek term συρμαιόγραφος,[96] a derivative of the verb συρμαιογραφεῖν, translated as "to write in minuscule, hence quickly."[97] He argues that this verb appears to be a neologism which is not attested in any Greek text before the beginning of the ninth century. In addition in his analysis of the lexical features of the

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[91] A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 15 (1962) 1-21, esp.3.

[92] R. H. Charles, "The Date and Place of Writings of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 22 (1921) 162-3. See also K. Lake, "The Date of the Slavonic Enoch," *HTR* 16 (1923) 397-398.

[93] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

[94] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 109.

[95] Sokolov, *Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo*, 1.23, footnote 13.

[96] Milik's hypothesis is implausible. Most scholars trace the word змоуренїемь to the Slavonic змоурьна which corresponds to σμύρνα, *myrrha*. J. Kurz, ed., *Slovnik Jazyka Staroslovenskeho (Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae)*(4 vols.; Prague: Akademia, 1966) 1.677-8. Andersen's translation renders the relevant part of *2 Enoch* 22:11 as follows: "And Vereveil hurried and brought me the books mottled with myrrh." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 141.

[97] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 111.

apocalypse, Milik directed attention to the angelic names of Arioch and Marioch found in *2 Enoch* 33, arguing that they represent the equivalents of the Harut and Marut of the Muslim legends attested in the second sura of the Qur'an.[98]

John Collins, among others, has offered criticism of Milik's lexical arguments, noting that even if the Slavonic text uses the Greek word συρμαιόγραφος, "a single word in the translation is not an adequate basis for dating the whole work."[99] He has also pointed out that "the alleged correspondence of the angels Arioch and Marioch to Harut and Marut of Muslim legend is indecisive since the origin of these figures has not been established."[100]

Milik's arguments were not confined only to the lexical features of the apocalypse. He also argued that the priestly succession from Methuselah to Noah's nephew Melchisedek described in the third part of *2 Enoch* reflects "the transmission of monastic vocations from uncle to nephew, the very widespread custom in the Greek Church during the Byzantine and medieval periods."[101] This feature in his opinion also points to the late Byzantine date of the pseudepigraphon. Unfortunately Milik was unaware of the polemical nature of the priestly successions detailed in the Slavonic Enoch and did not understand the actual role of Nir and Melchisedek in the polemical exposition of the story.

It should be noted that Milik's insistence on the Byzantine Christian provenance of the Slavonic apocalypse was partially inspired by the earlier research of the French

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[98] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 110.

[99] J. J. Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," in: *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck,1983) 533, n. 7.

[100] Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," 533, note 7.

[101] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114.

Slavist André Vaillant who argued for the Christian authorship of the text.[102] Vaillant's position too generated substantial critical response since the vast majority of readers of *2 Enoch* had been arguing for the Jewish provenance of the original core of the text.[103]

The foregoing analysis of the arguments against the early dating of the pseudepigraphon demonstrates how scanty and unsubstantiated they were in the sea of the overwhelming positive consensus. It also shows that none of these hypotheses has been able to stand up to criticism and to form a rationale that would constitute a viable counterpart to the scholarly opinion supporting the early date. Still, one should recognize that, while the adoption of an early date for the text itself does not face great challenges, placing the text within the precise boundaries of Second Temple Judaism is a much more difficult task.

In proceeding to this task one must first understand what features of the text point to the early date of the text in the chronological framework of Second Temple Judaism. It is noteworthy that the vast majority of scholarly efforts have been in this respect directed towards finding possible hints that might somehow indicate that the Temple was still standing when the original text was composed.[104] Thus, scholars have previously noted that the text does not seem to hint that the catastrophe of the destruction of the Temple has already occurred at the time of its composition. Critical readers of the

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[102] A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Textes publiés par l'Institut d'études slaves, 4; Paris: L'Institut d'études slaves, 1976 [1952]).

[103] Some of the supporters of the idea of the Jewish authorship of the text include the following scholars: Amusin, Andersen, Bonwetsch, Böttrich, Bousset, Charles, Charlesworth, Collins, De Conick, Delcor, Denis, Eissfeldt, Ginzberg, Gieschen, Greenfield, Gruenwald, Fletcher-Louis, Fossum, Harnak, Himmelfarb, Kahana, Kamlah, Mach, Meshcherskij, Odeberg, Pines, Philonenko, Riessler, Sacchi, Segal, Sokolov, de Santos Otero, Schmidt, Scholem, Schürer, Stichel, Stone, and Székeley.

[104] Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum*, 40-41; Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 812-13.

pseudepigraphon would have some difficulties finding any explicit expression of feelings of sadness or mourning about the loss of the sanctuary.

The affirmations of the value of the animal sacrificial practices and Enoch's halakhic instructions also appear to be fashioned not in the "preservationist," mishnaic-like mode of expression, but rather as if they reflected sacrificial practices that still existed when the author was writing his book.[105] There is also an intensive and consistent effort on the part of the author to legitimize the central place of worship, which through the reference to the place *Akhuzan* (a cryptic name for the temple mountain in Jerusalem), is transparently connected in *2 Enoch* with the Jerusalem Temple.[106] Scholars have also previously noted that there are some indications in the text of the ongoing practice of pilgrimage to the central place of worship; these indications could be expected in a text written in the Alexandrian Diaspora.[107] Thus, in his instructions to the children, Enoch repeatedly encourages them to bring the gifts before the face of God for the remission of sins, a practice which appears to recall well-known sacrificial customs widespread in the Second Temple period.[108] Moreover, the Slavonic apocalypse also contains a direct command to visit the Temple three times a day, advice that would be difficult to fulfill if the sanctuary has already been destroyed.[109]

One can see that the crucial arguments for the early dating of the text are all linked to the themes of the Sanctuary and its ongoing practices and customs. These discussions are not new; even Charles employed the references to the Temple practices

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[105] *2 Enoch* 59.

[106] In Ezek 48:20-21 the Hebrew word אחוזה "special property of God" is applied to Jerusalem and the Temple. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114.

[107] Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 813.

[108] *2 Enoch* 61:1-5; *2 Enoch* 62:1-2.

found in the Slavonic apocalypse as main proofs for his hypothesis of the early date of the apocalypse. Since Charles' pioneering research these arguments have been routinely reiterated by scholars.

Recently, however, Christfried Böttrich attempted to broaden the familiar range of argumentation by bringing to scholarly attention a description of the joyful celebration which in his opinion may fix the date of the apocalypse within the boundaries of the Second Temple period. In his introduction to his German translation of *2 Enoch* published in 1995, Böttrich draws attention to a tradition found in Chapter 69 of the Slavonic apocalypse which deals with the joyful festival marking Methuselah's priestly appointment and his animal sacrifices.[110] According to Böttrich's calculations, this cult-establishing event falls on the 17th of Tammuz, which in his opinion is identified in *2 Enoch* as the day of the summer solstice.[111] Böttrich links this solar event with the imagery found in *2 Enoch* 69, where Methuselah's face becomes radiant in front of the altar "like the sun at midday rising up." He then reminds us that, since the second century CE, the 17th of Tammuz was observed as a day of mourning and fasting because it was regarded as the day when Titus conquered Jerusalem.[112] Böttrich suggests that the description of the joyful festival in *2 Enoch* 69, which does not show any signs of sadness or mourning, indicates that the account and consequently the whole book were written before the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.[113]

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[109] *2 Enoch* 51:4: "In the morning of the day and in the middle of the day and in the evening of the day it is good to go to the Lord's temple on account of the glory of your creator." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 178.

[110] Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 813. See also: Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reaction to A. Orlov" *JJS* 32.4 (2001) 451.

[111] There are many discrepancies and contradictions in the calendarical data presented in the text.

[112] *y.* Ta^{c}an. 68c and *b.* Ta^{c}an. 26b.

[113] Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 813.

Böttrich's observations are of interest, but his understanding of Chapter 69 and especially of the motif of the radiant face of Methuselah, pivotal for his argument, is problematic in the light of the polemical developments detected in the Slavonic apocalypse. Böttrich is unaware of the Noachic polemics witnessed to by the Slavonic apocalypse and does not notice that the description of Methuselah as the originator of the animal sacrificial cult in *2 Enoch* 69 represents the polemical counterpart to Noah's role, who is portrayed in the Bible and the pseudepigrapha as the pioneer of animal sacrificial practice.[114] Methuselah, who has never been previously attested in Second Temple materials as the originator of sacrificial cult, thus openly supplants Noah, whose prominent role and elevated status the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse want to diminish. It has already been shown that in the course of the Noachic polemics, many exalted features of the hero of the Flood have been transferred to other characters of the book. One of these transferences includes the motif of the luminous face of Noah, the feature which the hero of the flood acquired at his birth.

As one might recall, the early Enochic materials portray Noah as a wonder child. *1 Enoch* 106,[115] the *Genesis Apocryphon*,[116] and possibly 1Q19[117] depict him with a glorious face and eyes "like the rays of the sun." *1 Enoch* 106:2 relates that when the new-born Noah opened his eyes, the whole house lit up. The child then opened his mouth

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[114] Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," 138.

[115] *1 Enoch* 106:5 "... his eyes (are) like the rays of the sun, and his face glorious...." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.244-5.

[116] 1QapGen 5:12-13 "...his face has been lifted to me and his eyes shine like [the] s[un...] (of) this boy is flame and he..." García Martínez and Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.31.

[117] A similar tradition is reflected in 1Q19. 1Q19 3: "...were aston[ished ...] [... (not like the children of men) the fir]st-born is born, but the glorious ones [...] [...] his father, and when Lameh saw [...] [...] the chambers of the house like the beams of the sun [...] to frighten the [...]." 1Q19 13:"[...] because the glory of your face [...] for the glory of God in [...] [... he will] be exalted in the splendor of the glory and the beauty [...] he will be honored in the midst of [...]."García Martínez and Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.27.

and blessed the Lord of heaven. Scholars have previously noted[118] that the scene of the glorious visage of the young hero of the Flood delivering blessings upon his rising up from the hands of the midwife has a sacerdotal significance and parallels the glorious appearance and actions of the high priest.[119] It manifests the portentous beginning of the priestly-Noah tradition.[120] The priestly features of Noah's natal account are important for discerning the proper meaning of the symbolism of Methuselah's luminous visage in *2 Enoch* 69.

In his analysis of the account, Böttrich recognizes that the description of Methuselah's radiant face alludes to the picture of the high priest Simon attested in Sirach 50:1-24. Still, Böttrich is unable to discern the Noachic meaning of this allusion. Meanwhile Fletcher-Louis clearly sees this Noachic link, demonstrating that Methuselah's radiant face in *2 Enoch* 69 is linked not only to Sirach 50:5-11 but also to *1 Enoch* 106:2[121] and 1Q19.[122] Sirach's description of the high priest Simon serves here as an intermediate link that elucidates the connection between Noah and Methuselah. All three characters are sharing the identical priestly imagery. Fletcher-Louis notes strong parallelism between Simon's description and the priestly features of the story of Noah. He observes that

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[118] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 33ff.

[119] Crispin Fletcher-Louis notes parallels between this scene and the description of the ideal high priest from Sirach 50. He argues that "in Sirach 50 the liturgical procession through Simon's various ministrations climaxes with Aaron's blessings of the people (50:20, cf. Numbers 6) and a call for all the readers of Sirach's work 'to bless the God of all who everywhere works greater wonders, who fosters our growth from birth and deals with us according to his mercy' (50:22). So, too, in 1 Enoch 106:3 the infant Noah rises from the hands of the midwife and, already able to speak as an adult, 'he opened his mouth and blessed the Lord.'" Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 47.

[120] Fletcher-Louis argues that "the staging for [Noah's] birth and the behavior of the child have strongly priestly resonances." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 46.

[121] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 50.

[122] He notes that the statement "I shall glorify you in front of the face of all the people, and you will be glorified all the days of your life" (*2 Enoch* 69:5) and the references to God "raising up" a priest for

> this description of Simon the high priest comes at the climax of a lengthy hymn in praise of Israel's heroes which had begun some six chapters earlier with (Enoch and) Noah (44:16-17), characters whose identity and purpose in salvation-history the high priest gathers up in his cultic office. Obviously, at the literal level Noah's birth in *1 Enoch* 106:2 takes place in the *private* house of his parents. However, I suggest the reader is meant to hear a deeper symbolic reference in that house to *the* house (cf. Sirach 50:1), the Temple, which Simon the high priest illuminates and glorifies. Just as Simon appears from behind the veil which marks the transition from heaven to earth and brings a numinous radiance to the realm of creation at worship, so Noah breaks forth from his mother's waters to illuminate the house of his birth.[123]

It has been mentioned that Böttrich points to the possible connection of the radiance of Methuselah's face to solar symbolism. Nevertheless, he fails to discern the proper meaning of such a connection, unable to recognize the Noachic background of the imagery. It is not coincidental that in the Noachic accounts the facial features of the hero of the Flood are linked to solar imagery. Fletcher-Louis notes the prominence of the solar symbolism in the description of Noah's countenance; his eyes are compared with "the rays of the sun." He suggests that "the solar imagery might ultimately derive from the Mesopotamian primeval history where the antediluvian hero is closely identified with the sun."[124] Yet, in the Second Temple period such solar imagery has taken on distinctively priestly associations.[125]

In the light of the aforementioned traditions, it is clear that Methuselah, who in *2 Enoch* 69 inherits Noah's priestly office is also assuming there the features of his appearance as a high priest, one of which is the radiant visage associated with solar symbolism. The radiant face of Methuselah in *2 Enoch* 69 thus represents a significant

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himself in 69:2,4 "is intriguingly reminiscent of 1Q19 13 lines 2-3" Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 50.

[123] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 47.

[124] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 46.

[125] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 46.

element of the polemics against the priestly Noachic tradition and its main character, whose facial features were often compared to the radiance of the sun.

Noachic Polemics and the Date of the Text

The analysis of the Noachic background of the priestly and sacrificial practices in *2 Enoch* leads us to the important question about the role of Noachic polemical developments in discerning the early date of the apocalypse. It is possible that the Noachic priestly polemics reflected in *2 Enoch* represent the most important and reliable testimony that the text was composed when the Second Temple was still standing.

The central evidence here is the priestly features of the miraculous birth of the hero. It has been already demonstrated that the main concern of the story of the wondrous birth was sacerdotal; the story is permeated with imagery portraying the newborn as the high priest *par exellence.* It also has been shown that the anti-Noachic priestly tradition reflected in *2 Enoch* is not separate from the Enochic-Noachic axis but belongs to the same set of conceptual developments reflected in such Second Temple Enochic and Noachic materials as *1 Enoch* 106, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and 1Q19.[126] The traditions prevalent in these accounts were reworked by the Enochic author(s) of the Slavonic apocalypse in response to the new challenging circumstances of the mediatorial polemics. The priestly features of *2 Enoch's* account of the wondrous birth might thus point to the fact that this narrative and, as a consequence, the whole macroform to which it belongs was written in the Second Temple period. It should be emphasized again that the distinct chronological marker here is not the story of the wonder child itself, which was often

[126] Fletcher-Louis suggests that the authors of *Jubilees* probably also knew the story of Noah's birth, since the text mentions his mother Bitenosh. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 35, n. 9.

imitated in later Jewish materials, but the priestly features of the story that are missing in these later improvisations.

The analysis of the later pseudepigraphic and rabbinic imitations of the account of Noah's birth shows that the priestly dimension of the story never transcended the boundaries of the Enochic-Noachic lore, nor did it cross the chronological boundary of 70 CE since it remained relevant only within the sacerdotal context of the Second Temple Enochic-Noachic materials. Although some later Jewish authors were familiar with the account of Noah's birth, this story never again became the subject of priestly polemics once the dust of the destroyed Temple settled.

Several examples can illustrate this situation. In search of the later variants of the story of the wonder child Fletcher-Louis draws attention to the account of Cain's birth in the primary Adam books.[127] Thus, the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* 21:3 relates that Eve "brought forth a son who shone brilliantly (*lucidus*). At once the infant stood up and ran out and brought some grass with his own hands and gave it to his mother. His name was called Cain."[128] Fletcher-Louis points out that this narrative of the wonder child recalls the story of Noah. Yet he notes that "all the features which in the birth of Noah signal the child's priestly identity—solar imagery, birth in a house and child's blessing of God are markedly absent in the Adamic story."[129] Such absence of the significant features can be an indication that the final form of the text was composed outside the chronological boundaries of Second Temple Judaism and therefore, unlike *2 Enoch*, displays no interest

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[127] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 51-52.

[128] *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 24-24E. See also Armenian and Georgian versions of LAE: "Then, when she bore the child, the color of his body was like the color of stars. At the hour when the child fell into the hands of the midwife, he leaped up and, with his hands, plucked up the grass of the earth..." (Armenian). "Eve arose as the angel had instructed her: she gave birth to an infant and his color was like that of the stars. He fell into the hands of the midwife and (at once) he began to pluck up the grass..." (Georgian). *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 24E.

in the sacerdotal dimension of the story. Although the authors of the Latin *LAE* might have been familiar with the narrative of Noah's birth, the priestly concerns associated with the story were no longer relevant for them.

The same situation of the absence of the sacerdotal concern is observable also in the rabbinic stories of Moses' birth reflected in *b.* Sotah 12a,[130] *Exod. R.* 1:20,[131] *Deut. R.* 11:10,[132] *PRE* 48,[133] and the *Zohar* II.11b,[134] whose authors were possibly cognizant of the Noachic natal account.

Reflecting on this evidence Fletcher-Louis notices that, although the authors of the rabbinic accounts of Moses' birth appear to be familiar with Noah's narrative, these materials do not show any interest in the sacerdotal dimension of the original story. Buried in the ashes of the destroyed Sanctuary, the alternative portrayal of the Noachic priestly tradition was neither offensive nor challenging for the heirs of the Pharisaic tradition. Fletcher-Louis observes that, although Moses, like Noah, is able to speak from his birth and the house of his birth becomes flooded with light, "the differences of the

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[129] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52.

[130] "He was born circumcised; and the Sages declare, At the time when Moses was born, the whole house was filled with light – as it is written here, 'And she saw him that he was good' (Ex 2:2), and elsewhere it is written, 'And God saw the light that it was good' (Gen 1:4)." Sotah 12a.

[131] "...she saw that the Shechinah was with him; that is, the 'it' refers to the Shechinah which was with the child." *Midrash Rabbah*, 3.29-30.

[132] "Moses replied: 'I am the son of Amram, and came out from my mother's womb without prepuce, and had no need to be circumcised; and on the very day on which I was born I found myself able to speak and was able to walk and to converse with my father and mother ... when I was three months old I prophesied and declared that I was destined to receive the law from the midst of flames of fire.'" *Midrash Rabbah*, 7.185.

[133] "Rabbi Nathaniel said: the parents of Moses saw the child, for his form was like that of an angel of God. They circumcised him on the eight day and they called his name Jekuthiel." *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (tr. G. Friedlander; 2nd ed.; New York: Hermon Press, 1965) 378.

[134] "She saw the light of the Shekinah playing around him: for when he was born this light filled the whole house, the word 'good' here having the same reference as in the verse 'and God saw the light that it was good' (Gen 1:4)." *The Zohar* (trs. H. Sperling and M. Simon; 5 vols.; London and New York: Soncino, 1933) 3.35. See also Samaritan *Molad Mosheh*: "She became pregnant with Moses and was great with child, and the light was present." *Samaritan Documents Relating to Their History, Religion and Life* (tr. J. Bowman; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977) 287.

specifically priestly form of that older tradition can be clearly seen."[135] He points out that while Moses is able to speak as soon as he is born, he does not bless God, as do Noah and Melchisedek.[136] The same paradigm shift is detected in the light symbolism. While in the rabbinic stories the whole house becomes flooded with light, the Mosaic birth texts do not specifically say that Moses is himself the source of light.[137] These differences indicate that, unlike in *2 Enoch*, where the priestly concerns of the editors come to the fore, in the rabbinic accounts they have completely evaporated.[138] Fletcher-Louis notices that "the fact that in the Mosaic stories the child is circumcised at birth indicates his role as an idealized representative of every Israelite: where Noah bears the marks of the priesthood, Moses carries the principal identity marker of every member of Israel, irrespective of any distinction between laity and priesthood."[139]

The marked absence of sacerdotal concerns in the later imitations of the story may explain why, although the rabbinic authors knew of the priestly affiliations of the hero of the Flood, the story of his priestly birth never appeared in the debates about the priestly successions. This fact convincingly demonstrates that the Noachic priestly tradition reflected in *2 Enoch* can be firmly placed inside the chronological boundaries of the

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[135] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52.

[136] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52.

[137] Fletcher-Louis reminds that "the illumination of the house through Noah's eyes and the comparison of the light to that of the sun are specifically priestly features of Noah's birth." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52-53.

[138] Although the priestly affiliation of the hero of the Flood was well known to the rabbinic authors, as the story of Shem-Melchisedek has already demonstrated.

Second Temple period, which allows us to safely assume a date of the Melchisedek story and the entire apocalypse before 70 CE.

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[139] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 53.

CONCLUSION

This exegetical and historical study of the Enochic and Metatron traditions was formally divided into two parts. The first part analyzed the evolution of the celestial roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian hero in the Mesopotamian, early Enochic, Hekhalot, and rabbinic materials. The study demonstrated that the imagery of the roles and titles of Enoch-Metatron found in *2 Enoch* occupies an intermediary stage between early Enochic and Merkabah traditions and stands in many respects on the very edges of the important transition from one conceptual world to the other. The study showed that the evolution of the roles and titles of the exalted hero in the Slavonic apocalypse involves two distinct processes: first, the emergence of the new roles and titles prominent in the later Hekhalot and rabbinic lore, including Metatron's offices of the Youth, the Prince of the Presence, the Prince of the World, God's Vice-Regent, and the Measurer of God; and second, the advancement of the traditional roles of the seventh antediluvian hero, such as scribe, priest, diviner, and mediator toward their later Merkabah forms. The evolution of the imagery of the celestial roles and titles demonstrates that *2 Enoch* represents a significant bridge between the early pseudepigraphic mystical evidence and the later rabbinic and Hekhalot testimonies.

The second part of the study explored polemical developments in the Slavonic apocalypse. The analysis demonstrated that the polemics with the traditions of the exalted patriarchs and prophets played an important role in facilitating the transition from Enoch to Metatron in *2 Enoch*. The study showed that the Metatron tradition began its conceptual development, not in the rabbinic era but in the Second Temple period, as a

polemical response to the traditions in which Adam, Noah, Jacob, Melchisedek, Yahoel, Moses, and some other biblical characters were depicted as exalted figures. The initial traces of this conceptual trend within the Enochic tradition can already be seen in the *Book of the Similitudes*. In *2 Enoch* the process reached its decisive formative stage, when the specific Metatron titles, and even the prototype of the name "Metatron," appeared.

The investigation of the evolution of the roles and titles of the exalted hero in the early Jewish mystical lore can be of help in forming a new methodological approach. This approach will allow scholars better to navigate the fluidity and fragmentary nature of the esoteric imagery of early Jewish mysticism and discern more clearly the connections between the different stages of this important religious movement.

Besides the broader methodological implications for the future investigation of the early Jewish mystical testimonies, this study could be also helpful in refining methodological approaches to the Slavonic apocalypse itself. Previous scholarship on the Slavonic apocalypse has been reluctant to emphasize the significance of mediatorial polemics in the understanding of the conceptual dynamics of the pseudepigraphon. In my judgment this reluctance constituted a grave methodological flaw since it did not allow the discernment of the original theological intentions of the authors of the text. In this previous "monological" perspective, many conceptual trends of the pseudepigraphon remained concealed.

The "dialogical" perspective, in its turn, enables scholars to see the textual and conceptual features of the pseudepigraphon in a new light. The analysis of the polemical developments reveals that both recensions of the Slavonic apocalypse contain original

material. It brings new evidence against those scholars who were arguing for the originality of only one recension, shorter or longer, and ignored the repeated warnings that all of the material calls for reassessment. This investigation of Enoch-Metatron's roles and titles demonstrates that the longer, as well as the shorter, recension contains the unique traditions which belong to the original theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse.

This new methodological approach also shows that the original message and purpose of the pseudepigraphon cannot be properly understood without determining *2 Enoch's* place in the history of early Jewish mysticism. The analysis demonstrated that, contrary to some scholarly opinions, the array of early Jewish mystical motifs and traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse represents, not later interpolations into the original text, but that these motifs and traditions are a crucial element of the primary core itself. The investigation of the roles and titles of the exalted hero demonstrates that Jewish mysticism permeates the original fabric of the text.

This investigation of *2 Enoch* can be seen as only an initial preliminary step in the larger task of appropriating of the Slavonic pseudepigraphic evidence for understanding the origins of early Jewish mysticism. Such important texts as the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the *Ladder of Jacob* are now awaiting their turn. Future research on these Slavonic materials will help to resolve the mystery of this enigmatic collection of pseudepigraphic materials, which might have preserved traces of one of the earliest molds of Jewish mysticism. Such investigation could assist in further clarifying the origin and nature of this important religious movement.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF *2 ENOCH* AND THEIR SIGLA

Manuscripts and location[1]	Charles 1896	Sokolov 1910	Bonwetsch 1922	Vaillant 1952	Andersen 1983	Böttrich 1992/1995	Our Symbol
NBL 321		A	S	R	R	R	R
BAN 13.3.25		Ja	J	J	J	J	J
GIM Hludov	A	P	P	P	P	P	P
RM 3058				P^2	P^2	P^2	P^2
BAN 45.13.4				A	A	A	A
GIM 3(18) Uvarov		U	U	U	U	U	U
TSS 793				Tr	Tr	Tr	Tr
MS 387(3)				Syn	Syn		Syn
GIM Barsov		B		B	B	B	B
RM 578				Rum	Rum	Rum	Rum
NLB 151/443	B	N	Vn	N	N	N	N
VL 125		V	Vv	V	V	V	V
GIM Barsov[2]		B^1	B^1	B^2	B^2	B^2	B^2
TSS 15			M	MPr	MPr	MPr	MPr
TSS 253			(M)		TSS253	TSS253	TSS253
TSS 489			(M)		TSS489	TSS489	TSS489
TSS 682 (330)			(M)		TSS682	TSS682	TSS682
Gennadius			Genn.		G	Nr.38	G
IHP 39			C	Chr	Chr	Chr	Chr
RM 590 (155)			C	Chr^2	Chr^2	Chr^2	Chr^2
MS 3092						Nr.11	L
KBM 27 (1104)						Nr.41	K
Vrbnika (Ivšic)						Nr.42	I

[1] The abbreviations of the institutions:

BAN Library of the Academy of Sciences, St. Peterburg
GIM State Historical Museum, Moscow
IHP Institute of History and Philology, Nezhin
KBM Kirill-Belozerskij Monastery
NLB National Library, Belgrade
RM Rumjancevskij Museum, Moscow
TSS Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery
VL The Austrian National Library, Vienna

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This is to certify that we have examined this copy
of the dissertation by

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and have found that it is complete
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