
TITLE "Enoch: The Development of a Biblical Patriarch in Apocalyptic, Mystical and Rabbinic Literature"

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Digest

In the genealogical list of antediluvian patriarchs, Genesis 5:24 cites Enoch as a righteous man who was taken by God. Despite this sole reference in the Bible, we find that Enoch plays a central role in the apocalyptic writings of the second century B.C.E. By tracing the literary development of Enoch's role and character, I attempt to demonstrate the existence of a Jewish apocalyptic tradition which extends from the Hellenistic period through the Middle Ages. Secondly, it is shown how the apocalyptic literature of each period presents a view of Enoch which differs from that of the contemporary literature.

Chapter 1 deals with the Enochite literature of the Hellenistic period. The apocalyptic works evolve Enoch's role as a righteous scribe. After drawing up a petition on behalf of the fallen angels, Enoch is taken up into heaven. Here he receives divine secrets concerning astrology, ethics and eschatology. Returning to earth for a short time, he records his secret knowledge in books and transmits them to his children. Enoch's knowledge of astrology and of the future enable him to assume a prophetic role in an age when prophecy had ceased.

Chapter 2 discusses the treatment of Enoch in the Hechalot texts. Several motifs of the earlier apocalyptic literature are found in the Hechalot works, thus indicating a literary dependence of the latter upon the former. In addition, two new motifs are introduced. First, in order to extend Enoch's prophetic ability to a later period, the Merkavah mystics transform him into the angel Metatron who becomes vice-regent of heaven. Secondly, there emerges a cult of yorde haMerkavah who possess the skill to induce a heavenly voyage. Metatron guides these mystics through the heavenly halls and reveals secrets to them.

Chapter 3 of this thesis presents the Rabbinic view of Enoch as it appears in the Talmud and midrashim. Here Enoch receives a less favourable treatment. In Rabbinic literature before the twelfth century, Enoch is not associated with Metatron; rather, Metatron evolves from an earlier tradition based upon the archangel Michael.

Finally, Chapter 4 attempts to reconstruct the development of the Enoch-Metatron motif. It is concluded that the apocalyptic Enochite literature reflects an extra-Talmudic tradition which presents a world-view different from that of the Rabbinic literature.

Preface

The past decade has witnessed a renewed interest in mystical lore. Most bookstores now display a shelf labelled "Occult", filled with the esoteric doctrines of the latest charismatic sage. Unfortunately, such a proliferation of any discipline often produces a sort of dilettantism--a hazard which even the Kabbalah has been unable to escape.

The aim of this thesis is to deepen the understanding of the Jewish mystical tradition by tracing it back to its roots. Before commencing my research, I had supposed that Jewish mysticism originated with the Merkavah mystics of the Talmudic period, and that these mystics were influenced primarily by external gnostic sources. However, as our inquiry will show, the roots of Jewish mysticism extend over two thousand years into the past, and each subsequent era has produced its own enticing flower.

I wish to acknowledge those individuals who guided me in the preparation of this thesis. Rabbi Michael Signer first suggested this line of inquiry to me, and Prof. Ellis Rivkin offered original and insightful comments along the way.

To Prof. Ben Zion Wacholder I could never express sufficient thanks. In his hand are the keys which open the gates

to the understanding--and appreciation--of this fascinating body of literature. He has been my teacher and master, both as a scholar and as a devoted Jew.

Finally, and most importantly, my wife Cheryl has expressed enthusiasm and patience throughout the preparation of this study. I am deeply grateful for her support.

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INTRODUCTION

Beginning with the second century B.C.E., we have written evidence of a large body of literary works whose authors deal at length with the personality and role of Enoch. The treatment of Enoch continues to expand during the Hellenistic period and throughout the Middle Ages, so that by the time of the Zohar Enoch ranks as one of the principle revealers of secrets to Israel.

The origin of the Enoch literature is a puzzling, and perhaps indeterminable, problem. The earliest mention of Enoch is found in the Pentateuch, Gen. 5:21-24, which records the following information:

וַיֵּלֶךְ עֵנוֹךְ אִתָּהּ אֱלֹהִים וְהָיָה אֵינוֹ כִּי אֶתְּקַח אֱלֹהִים
("Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, for God took him.")

Although this is all the written evidence available, there are a few conclusions which can be drawn from this passage. First, Enoch enjoyed the reputation of a righteous man--a sense denoted by the verb *הלך* used in conjunction with the name of God.¹ Secondly, instead of the verb *נָסַח* which concludes the treatment of the other nine antediluvian patriarchs, the narrative says of Enoch *לֹא נָסַח* ! Thirdly, Enoch's life-span is relatively short compared to the other descendants

of Seth; furthermore, the 365 years of his life correspond to the number of days in the solar year. Taking these factors into consideration, it appears likely that a tradition had developed concerning Enoch during the early stages of the redaction of the Book of Genesis. This tradition must have viewed Enoch as a superior individual in his generation who achieved immortality. We cannot tell, however, whether the link between Enoch and astrology originated at this time.

Any attempt to discover further elaborations on this Enoch tradition within the Bible itself would be unsuccessful.² It is thus important to note at the outset that the vast corpus of Enoch literature is mainly extra-Biblical in origin. In fact, J. Skinner suggests that the Biblical figure himself owes his origin to another tradition:

The extraordinary developments of the Enoch-legend in later Judaism could never have grown out of this passage alone; everything goes to show that the record has a mythological basis, which must have continued to be a living tradition in Jewish circles in the time of the Apocalyptic writers.³

Skinner, as well as other Biblical scholars,⁴ identifies this "mythological basis" as Enmeduranki, the seventh antediluvian king in Babylonian literature. Enmeduranki was initiated into the secrets of heaven and was instructed in the arts of divination; moreover, he enjoyed a special relationship with Shamash the sun-god.

There is no doubt that mythologies external to Israel exerted a significant influence upon the growth and development of Enoch literature. However, my objective in this inquiry is

to examine the material from within the Jewish tradition, and to trace it through the stages of its development. Thus my first aim will be to examine the role and personality of Enoch as it is developed in the apocalyptic writings of the Hellenistic period, and then to determine whether this same literary apocalyptic tradition served as a primary source for the Enochite material in the Hechalot texts. Secondly, we shall discover that the apocalyptic literature of both periods contains a treatment of Enoch quite different from that found in other writings of contemporary dating. We shall discuss whether this difference is merely a reflection of the unique literary style of the apocalyptic works, or whether the contemporary literature was in some way reacting to--or against--it.

Before we proceed further, we require some clear description as to what constitutes an apocalyptic work. Below, then, are some general characteristics of the Jewish apocalyptic writings; I trust that further distinctions will emerge when the literature itself is discussed in detail.

As stated by D.S. Russell, "the apocalyptic books claim to be revelations or disclosures of divine secrets made known to certain illustrious individuals of the past who subsequently recorded them in their secret or 'hidden' books for the instruction and encouragement of the righteous and elect among God's people."⁵ Apocalyptic literature is similar to prophecy in that an individual attempts to learn God's will during a time of crisis, and to communicate it to mankind. But since

prophecy had ceased as a mode of divine-human communication by the fifth century B.C.E., the apocalyptic writers of the Hellenistic period ascribed their doctrines to earlier Biblical figures such as Enoch, Abraham or Moses. (In the Hechalot texts, as we shall see, it is Metatron as the translated Biblical Enoch who conveys secrets to Tannaitic heroes.) This technique of pseudonymous authorship--often written in the first person--allowed the apocalyptic authors to write history in the form of prophecy. For example, although the Flood was a known phenomenon in the post-Pentateuchal period, Enoch speaks of it as a future event. Since he is able to successfully "predict" the Flood, Enoch attains a credibility which the author extends to a time beyond the reader's standpoint.

Through this use of the hero, the apocalyptic authors aim to communicate a sense of God's immediacy in history. The hero receives his secret knowledge directly from God, and he is informed that God is deeply concerned with the destiny of His people. Although Israel may be suffering at present under the yoke of foreign domination, their moral behaviour can directly affect the future course of events. Moreover, the hero assures the reader that a catastrophic end awaits his persecutors, at which time a final Judgment will herald the triumph of God's will and the redemption of Israel. However, due to the nationalistic and seditious nature of these doctrines, they were often couched in esoteric language.

In order to communicate these doctrines as divine secrets,

and yet to employ a mode of expression other than prophecy, the apocalyptic literature developed an array of symbolism. Following are some of the more common motifs. The disclosure of secrets often comes through a vision or a dream. An angel normally acts as a mediator in communicating these secrets to the hero. Frequently the angel escorts the hero to heaven. The vision of heaven is described through a tableau of various symbols, including angels, numbers, light and fire; also, God's place in heaven is indicated by the Throne of Glory.

Not all of the above elements are necessarily present in every apocalyptic work. But an account which contains several of these characteristics can be identified as belonging to the style of apocalyptic literature.

Now that we have established some criteria for distinguishing apocalyptic literature, our next task is to outline the specific apocalyptic works which will be consulted in our examination of Enoch literature. The apocalyptic writings of the Hellenistic period extend roughly from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E.; the Hechalot writings date from the third to the eleventh centuries C.E. Thus our inquiry is limited to pre-Kabbalistic literature and does not deal with Enoch legends in the Zohar. Dating within each period becomes more problematic--not to mention the dating of strata within each work. However, our discussion in the subsequent chapters will be thematic rather than chronological, and the dates attributed to works within each period are intended to

serve mainly as guidelines.

Beginning with the post-Maccabean (pre-70 C.E.) apocalypses, we shall examine the following works:

- 1) The Book of Enoch.⁶ This work, which has survived only in an Ethiopic translation, describes Enoch's life as a righteous scribe, and records his dream-visions in which he gains knowledge of the heavens and of the future. It is of composite authorship. Although there is very little agreement among scholars regarding the dating of the different segments of this work,⁷ I am inclined to follow Charles and Oesterley in concluding that it is entirely pre-Christian in authorship. The earlier strata include the so-called "Noah-fragments" (especially chapters 6-11 and 106-107), and, in order of their composition, chapters 1-36, 83-90 and 72-82. These date to the second century B.C.E. The later strata (91-104 and 37-71) were probably completed during the middle of the first century B.C.E.
- 2) The Book of Jubilees.⁸ Claiming to be a revelation from God to Moses through an intermediary angel, Jubilees contains elaborations on the Book of Genesis and a part of Exodus. I do not concur with Charles that this book was written by a Pharisee--on the contrary, it appears to be a polemic against the Pharisaic calendar (e.g. Jub. 6:32-38). Therefore, Jubilees was probably written during a time when Pharisaic practices, including calendation, were receiving official support--i.e. before John Hyrcanus' break with

them in 105 B.C.E. The earlier strata of the Book of Enoch are known to the Jubilees author (see Jub. 4:17f), and so Jubilees must post-date them. Therefore, we can assign this work to the latter half of the second century B.C.E.

- 3) The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.⁹ These Testaments contain the deathbed blessings and ethical injunctions of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children. They were written near the end of the second century B.C.E., although there is also evidence of later interpolations.
- 4) The Testament of Abraham.¹⁰ Written in the first century C.E., this book describes Abraham's visit to hell and paradise, accompanied by the angel Michael.

A short note is in order as to why I am not including the Slavonic Book of Enoch (Secrets of Enoch). There is very little agreement among scholars as to the authorship of even the shorter recension, which is less markedly Christian. Charles¹¹ ascribes it to a Hellenized Jew, whereas Vaillant¹² claims Judaeo-Christian authorship. Rubinstein,¹³ however, views Slavonic Enoch as totally Christian in composition. Although I am inclined to agree with Vaillant, it would still be improbable to assume that this book played a central role in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition. On the other hand, it does contain some intriguing Enochite images which at least deserve mention. Therefore, although Slavonic Enoch is excluded from our inquiry, reference will be made to it in the footnotes.¹⁴

Next, we turn to an outline of the Mechalot texts. In

these works we find detailed descriptions of the celestial realm and the means by which man can gain knowledge of it. The literature receives its name from the seven hechalot (heavenly halls) which the mystic must traverse in order to attain the consummate vision of God's throne, the name of which is the Merkavah (the "chariot" of the first chapter of Ezekiel). We shall refer to these works as "Hechalot texts", and to the practitioners of their doctrines as "Merkavah mystics".

We shall examine the Enochite material of the following Hechalot works:

- 1) Hechalot Rabati. This work, attributed to the Tanna Rabbi Ishmael, concentrates upon the journey to the Merkavah itself, elaborating upon the seven heavens and their angelic guardians. Once the mystic has gained entry into heaven, he encounters the Messiah and learns means by which redemption can be hastened to earth. Both Jellinek¹⁵ and Wertheimer¹⁶ have published manuscripts of Hechalot Rabati; however, the Wertheimer manuscript is to be preferred, and our chapter references will be based upon it.
- 2) Sefer Hanoach.¹⁷ In this short piece, the heavenly duties of Enoch-become-Metatron are enumerated.
- 3) Sefer Hechalot.¹⁸ Here we find a detailed angelological description of the seventh heaven, which culminates in a vision of the Merkavah. Metatron acts as Rabbi Ishmael's guide, and reveals cosmological and messianic secrets to him. Although Odeberg¹⁹ (who entitles this book 3 Enoch

or The Hebrew Book of Enoch) places this work as early as the third century, Scholem's²⁰ dating it to the sixth century appears more plausible. Also, Mussajoff's manuscript--of which Odeberg was not aware--is to be preferred. But Mussajoff does not divide the work into chapters. Thus, for the sake of convenient reference, in our discussion of Sefer Hechalot we shall cite passages according to Odeberg's chapter headings; any variants in the Mussajoff manuscript will be noted.

- 4) Gedulat Moshe.²¹ This work deals with the heavenly transformation of Moses and his visit to hell and paradise.

Above, then, are the main apocalyptic works which we shall consider in our examination of Enoch literature. In both periods of our inquiry, the Enochite material undoubtedly contains evidence of external literary influence. Although these external sources are not to be minimized, it must be remembered that this study will concentrate upon the internal development of the Enochite theme in Jewish literature.

I intend to follow a slightly different methodology for each of the two periods. In dealing with the literature of the Hellenistic period (chapter 1), the contemporary non-apocalyptic materials will be cited and discussed in context with the apocalyptic treatment of Enoch. But for the later period, the apocalyptic and non-apocalyptic works will each receive their own chapter. Chapter 2 will discuss the role and character of Enoch as portrayed in the Hechalot texts, and chapter 3 will compare this portrayal with that found in Rabbinic literature.

Chapter 1

ENOCH IN THE LITERATURE OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

A. The Pre-Apocalyptic Literature

Although the apocalyptic literature is the first to present a full written account of Enoch as a personality, we do find earlier references to him in non-apocalyptic sources. After the Bible, the earliest of these is the Book of Ben Sira, which states:

Enoch walked with Yhwh and was taken,
A sign of knowledge to all generations. (Sira 44:16)

Thus far, Ben Sira adds merely that Enoch enjoyed a reputation for his wisdom as well as for his righteousness. However, a more intriguing reference is found in 49:14 of this book:

Few like Enoch have been created on earth,
He also was taken to the Presence (Heb. לְפָנֵי הַיְיָ).¹

The Hebrew expression לְפָנֵי הַיְיָ is rather cryptic. Box and Oesterley render "was taken up from off the face thereof",² presumably referring to "earth" as the antecedent; but if this were the case, we would expect to find the prefix-letter mem before "panim". Rather, I believe that this expression refers to the divine presence, as I have rendered it above. In support of this view, we refer to En. 40:2f, where Enoch beholds "four presences" ($\text{אַרְבַּע מַּלְאָכִים}$), who turn out to be angels.

Similarly, in Jub. 1:27f and 2:1 Moses converses with an "angel of the presence" (מלאך הַפְּרֶזֶנְסָה). Granted, it can be objected that these two apocalyptic works postdate Ben Sira, and thus a linguistic parallel is at best tenuous. However, further supporting evidence lies in the Bible itself. In both Ex. 33:11 and Judg. 6:22, the expression מַלְאָכֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ denotes a favoured divine-human relationship. Therefore, if my above rendition is correct, Ben Sira relates that Enoch was taken up to the divine presence where he remained in God's company even after death.

The Genesis Apocryphon³ confirms this supposition and expands upon it. Lamech is concerned that his wife had conceived Noah by consorting with the watchers (or irin, normally translated "Watchers"; but we shall employ the transliteration "Irin"). Lamech's father Methuselah assures him that Enoch can provide an explanation, due to his privileged relationship with heavenly beings:

Then I, Lamech, hastened to Methuselah my father, and (I told) him all . . . his father and would learn all from him in truth, for he was beloved (. . . and with angels) his lot is apportioned and they impart everything to him (Col. II, 19-21).

Assuming that the Genesis Apocryphon adheres to the chronology of Gen. 5, Enoch had died sixty-nine years prior to the birth of Noah. Therefore, Methuselah is conversing with an individual now dead, but who enjoys continued existence in heaven.

B. The Book of Enoch

A parallel account occurs in the "Noah fragments" of the

Book of Enoch, and helps to clarify several details of the Genesis Apocryphon account. First of all, En. 6-11 elucidates the nature and origin of the Irin. Taking Gen. 6:1-4 as a basal text, the narrative records that the Irin descended to earth in the days of Yered, Enoch's father, due to their lust for the daughters of men. Mingling with the humans, Azazel and his cohorts teach them secret arts. As a result of the divine-human couplings, the women give birth to giants who begin to sin and to destroy the human race. Man cries to heaven for help; God responds by sending four archangels to imprison the Irin and to destroy their gigantic children. This Irin legend illustrates the authors' perception of the effect of moral behaviour upon history. Even when angels transgress the moral law, they are punished, and the worthy remnant of mankind is protected from the consequences of their actions.

Secondly, En. 106-107 (which Charles entitles the "Book of Noah") records Enoch's communication to Methuselah:

Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die (he and his sons shall be saved). And now make known to your son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days (En. 106:15-18).

Thus Lamech is to be assured that Noah is not a product of the Irin, and that he is therefore to be spared from the

Flood.

According to the "Irin legend" as it is recorded in these two sources, Enoch possesses knowledge of the future which he imparts to Methuselah for the benefit of mankind (cf. En. 65, where Enoch communicates this information to Noah). En. 106:19 adds that Enoch's foreknowledge is derived from his reading of the "heavenly tablets"; the nature and significance of these tablets will be discussed below.

Thus far in the literature, no direct relationship is established between Enoch himself and the Irin. However, as we proceed to a later stratum of the Book of Enoch (chapters 12-16), we find that he does play a direct role during his lifetime. Verses 12:4 and 15:1 depict him as a "scribe of righteousness".⁴ In this capacity, he is asked by the Irin to intervene in heaven on their behalf.⁵ Enoch draws up their petition and, through a vision in his sleep, learns that this petition will be denied. He is summoned to heaven to appear before God, where he is given a message to convey to the Irin. First, they are to be rebuked for asking a man to bring their petition; rather, it is they as angels who should intercede for man. Secondly, because they have corrupted themselves with women they are to be punished. Although Enoch's opinion is not consulted, it is important to note that he was allowed to present the petition at all. Furthermore, even though his mission for the Irin had failed, Enoch maintains his exalted status as the sole human advocate in heaven.

Thus Enoch's primary role as a "scribe of righteousness" is to intercede in heaven on behalf of petitioners. Whereas in the above account Enoch intervenes for the Irin, another stratum of the Book of Enoch describes him as the intercessor on behalf of his fellow man. In En. 83-84 he receives a dream-vision which presages the destruction of the universe. When he relates the content of his vision to his grandfather Mehalalel, the latter beseeches him to "make petition to the Lord of glory, since you are a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth" (En. 83:8). Arousing himself, Enoch places the following prayer before God:

And now O God and Lord and Great King,
I implore and beseech You to fulfil my prayer,
To leave me a posterity on earth,
And not destroy all the flesh of man,
And make the world without inhabitant,
So that there should be an eternal destruction (84:5).

A subsequent vision recounts, in the form of a parable, the Irin legend which has been discussed above. A star (Azazel) descends to the earth, followed by others. They become bulls (men) and copulate with cows to produce wild beasts (the giants) who gore and devour the oxen. Men (the archangels) intervene to bind and punish the fallen stars. Although Enoch plays no direct role in the punishment of the Irin, he does learn that his petition for mankind will be granted: Noah will be spared from the Flood and will ensure the continuity of the human "remnant". Through these visions Enoch gains insight into the future destiny of man; but unlike En. 106-107, this knowledge is conveyed to him while he remains on earth.

A second theme, however, also enters the literature. Instead of receiving these visions in a dream, Enoch experiences himself being borne aloft to heaven. Carried by the wind and ascending through clouds and mist, he encounters a wall of crystal (33:17) which is surrounded by fire. Fearfully advancing, he beholds a house of crystal and another made of fire. These images of fire and sparkling light reach their culmination in Enoch's vision of the divine Throne:

And I looked and saw there a lofty throne (33:18): its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory (33:19) sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him (En. 14:18-21).

The theme of Enoch's heavenly ascent receives further amplification in a later stratum of the Book of Enoch. In chapter 39, Enoch is carried up by a whirlwind and beholds the Elect One (39:1) resting under the divine wings. Bursting into a song of praise, Enoch declares: "Holy holy holy is the Lord of Spirits (39:2); He fills the whole earth with spirits" (En. 39:12). Forthwith "those who sleep not" (i.e. angels) respond: "Praised are You, and praised be the name of the Lord forever and ever" (v. 13). We have here an early form of the celestial Kedushah. Although the wording differs from Isa. 6:3 (which became the basis of the Kedushah in Talmudic times), the passage is responsive in form and is

performed before God's presence in heaven. Both these motifs are echoed in the later apocalyptic literature, as we shall determine in the next chapter.

In En. 71, an additional vision is recorded. Once again, the images of fire and crystal (here: *crystals*) predominate. At the culmination of his vision, Enoch encounters the "Head of Days", after which his body becomes relaxed and he cries out in praise.

Chapters 72-82 (entitled by Charles the "Book of Luminaries") resume the theme of Enoch's visit to heaven. But these chapters also ascribe a third aspect to Enoch's knowledge. The angel Uriel guides him through the heavens and describes to him the courses of the heavenly bodies. By observing the paths of the sun and moon, Enoch learns to calculate the solar year of three hundred and sixty-four days. Thus Enoch now possesses the secrets of astronomy and astrology.⁶ (This theme also appears in Pseudo-Eupolemus, a document of possibly earlier dating than the Book of Luminaries.⁷ This work reports that Enoch had discovered the secrets of astrology even before the Egyptians; furthermore, Enoch is identified with the Greek god Atlas.)

By reason of this astrological knowledge Enoch acquires the ability to foretell the future. Instead of receiving foreknowledge in dream-visions (as was the case in En. 83-84 described above), Enoch now consults the "heavenly tablets" which Uriel reveals to him:

And he (Uriel) said unto me:
"Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon,
And mark every individual fact."

And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written thereon and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations (En. 81:1-2).

We recall that En. 106:19 had referred to these tablets; there Enoch had learned that Noah and his sons would survive the Flood, but that more unrighteousness would follow it. Also in En. 103:1-4 Enoch consults the tablets to discover that a reward is prepared for the righteous.

It is important to note that the knowledge gained from these heavenly tablets always contains an ethical theme; thus Enoch's secret astrological knowledge bears a direct relationship with his righteous character. En. 80 emphasizes this point by stating that the operation of natural phenomena depends upon the moral behaviour of mankind.

Once this wisdom is imparted to Enoch, he is placed back upon the earth for one year⁸ in order to instruct his children (En. 81:5-6). Enoch therefore acquires a fourth role as teacher of morality. In chapter 91, verses 1-10 and 18-19, and in chapter 92, he summons his children to his side and admonishes them to lead a righteous life. A Judgment is prepared for the future, he tells them, at which time the sinners will be punished and the righteous rewarded.

Fifthly, Enoch the scribe is instructed to record his

teachings in books which are to be passed down to later generations.⁹ The content of these secret books is directly related to one of the aforementioned roles of Enoch. For example, in En. 33:2-4 Enoch, with the angel Uriel, writes down the names of the heavenly bodies and their courses.¹⁰ Chapters 72-82--which begin with the superscription "the book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven . . ."--claim to be this very book in which Enoch recorded his astronomical knowledge. In 82:1 Enoch passes his writings on to Methuselah,¹¹ so that he may "deliver them to the generations of the world." These three references are all derived from Enoch's role as astrologer and astronomer.

Chapters 91-104 also bear the title "the book written by Enoch" (92:1). What follows is a series of exhortations to the righteous and a promise of their future reward, as well as an assurance of doom for the wicked. This book evidently stems from Enoch's role as teacher of righteousness. Indeed, the book closes (104:12-13) with an assurance that the righteous will possess these writings in order to learn from them.

Finally, the Book of Enoch expands upon the theme of Enoch's bodily translation. Although the early apocalyptic literature mentions Enoch's being "taken" from earth and even his subsistence in heaven, it is not until En. 60 that his resting place is identified. Verse 8 of this chapter contains a reference to "my grandfather . . . the seventh from Adam." Emending 60:1 to read "Noah" instead of "Enoch", Charles iden-

tifies the "grandfather" as Enoch, who is "taken up" and placed in a heavenly garden.

A further mention of Enoch's translation appears in En. 37-71, the latest stratum of the book. First, Enoch is granted eternal life (37:4). Secondly, he is taken "on chariots of the spirit" (70:2) to heaven, where angels measure out a place for him with cords (cf. En. 61). There he remains, no longer to return to earth, for "his name vanished among them."

C. The Book of Jubilees

Several of the above themes appear once again in the Book of Jubilees. In Jub. 4:17f we find that Enoch was the first human being to learn "writing and knowledge" (i.e. the scribal function noted in the Book of Enoch) and he apprehended the future of man in a vision (cf. En. 83-84). His journey to heaven is referred to here also, during which he gained knowledge of astronomy and astrology and testified to the Irin.

Concerning the Irin, Jubilees adds (4:15) that they were originally sent to earth with the good intention of instructing man and doing justice; instead, they took human wives and corrupted the earth. Secondly (Jub. 10), the imprisonment of the Irin is not complete, for God leaves a tenth of them on earth under the rule of Mastema (Satan) to help him exert his power over man.

The Jubilees author also embellishes upon Enoch's scribal role. After he is conducted to heaven,

behold there he writes down the condemnation and

judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men . . . for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation (Jub. 4:23-24).

In heaven, Enoch continues to witness and record the earthly deeds of men, so that they may receive their just recompense on the final day of Judgment (see also Jub. 10:17--Enoch is even more righteous than Noah, and he is a "testimony to the generations").

Furthermore, Enoch appears in Jubilees as a guardian of the sacrificial laws: he burned incense of the sanctuary before God (4:25), he commanded his descendants to observe the laws of Orlah fruit (7:38), and he recorded that sacrificial meat must be eaten by the second day (21:10). This last reference also adds a ritual content to Enoch's secret books.

D. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

Several passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs embellish further upon the content of Enoch's secret books. Test. Sim. 5:4 relates that, according to the "writing of Enoch", Simeon's descendants will become corrupt and harm the Levites. Test. Napht. 4:1 reports from these writings that future generations are destined to sin. Finally, Test. Lev. 10:5, quoting from the "book of Enoch", predicts that the Lord's house will be called Jerusalem. These apocalyptic works attribute a wider scope of knowledge to the writings of Enoch, and place Enoch himself as a central figure in the transmission of certain traditions.

E. Enoch's Role Reduced

Thus far, it appears that the character of Enoch progressively takes on more super-human proportions as we proceed through the literature. However, a reading of the Wisdom of Solomon, written at the turn of the Common Era, will show that this was not exclusively the case. Wisd. 4:7-16 refers to a righteous man who was taken to heaven before the wickedness of his generation could corrupt him. Holmes¹² infers that this individual is Enoch. Verse 16 of this passage adds further evidence to this hypothesis: "A righteous man that is dead shall condemn the ungodly that are living." Assuming that this passage does indeed refer to Enoch, it echoes his role as a righteous heavenly witness. But at the same time, it negates his legendary stature by hinting that Enoch was subject to temptation, as were all men of his generation, and that God removed him from earth before he succumbed. According to the Wisdom of Solomon, then, Enoch's primary role is that of witness. He may record man's deeds in heaven, but he does not interfere with them on earth.

A similar treatment of Enoch appears in the Testament of Abraham, written shortly afterward. In chapter 11 of Box's shorter recension, the angel Michael calls Enoch the "teacher of heaven and earth, and the scribe of righteousness." However, Michael hastens to add:

If he give sentence concerning the souls it is not accepted. But it is not Enoch's business to give sentence, but it is the Lord who gives sentence, and his (Enoch's) task is only to write. For Enoch

prayed the Lord saying: Lord I am fain not to give sentence to the souls, lest I become grievous to any.¹³

Enoch's role in heaven is only to record the righteous and wicked deeds of each person, not to pass judgment on them. It is also important to note that Enoch perceives his own sense of discretion to be fallible; he does not become an omniscient being.

F. Summary and Conclusion

At this point, we shall pause to summarize the character and role of Enoch as it is portrayed in the post-Maccabean apocalyptic literature. Enoch stands out as a righteous individual in a wicked generation. Due to his merit, he becomes the "scribe of righteousness" and makes intercession on behalf of petitioners. In one account, he presents the plea of the Irin who have fallen from heaven because of their sin. In another, he prays on behalf of the people of his generation that a remnant of humanity be spared from the Flood which God will send as a punishment.

Secondly, Enoch is taken up to heaven. Upon his ascent, he is treated to a vision of the celestial realm, and joins the angels in songs of praise. His heavenly vision culminates in an audience before the Throne of Glory, from which God addresses him personally.

Thirdly, while in heaven Enoch obtains secret knowledge. The patterns of the heavenly bodies are described to him, from which are derived the principles of calendation and astrology.

Moreover, he also has access to heavenly tablets, which reveal the future destiny of man; Enoch later imparts this foreknowledge to Methuselah and to Noah.

Fourthly, Enoch returns to earth for a short time in order to instruct his children in living a righteous life and to warn them of the coming day of Judgment, at which time all mankind will receive their fitting recompense.

Fifthly, Enoch records his knowledge in secret books, which are to be transmitted to the elite of each generation. These books contain instruction in matters of astrology, calendar and sacrificial law, as well as eschatological predictions based upon Enoch's foreknowledge.

Finally, once his terrestrial work is done, he is translated bodily to heaven where he enjoys eternal life as a recorder of man's deeds.

Turning to the non-apocalyptic treatment of Enoch, we find evidence of his righteous character, his scribal function, and his possession of heavenly secrets. The main difference with the apocalyptic literature lies in the fact that, although his bodily translation is acknowledged, there is no record of an intermediate visit back to earth. As a result, Enoch is unable to transmit his secret wisdom to man in the form of books. Nor is there any way for the non-apocalyptic authors to know what Enoch sees in heaven, and thus the celestial symbolism is absent from their works. Enoch's role as intercessor is also more indirect. Although he knows about the

fall of the Irin, he makes no petition on their behalf; but he does warn Methuselah about the Flood which their sins have provoked. And although he offers no prayer on behalf of man, he remains in heaven to testify to their deeds and to "condemn the ungodly" (Wisd. 4:16).

I believe that the different treatment of Enoch in the non-apocalyptic works is derived from the fact that these authors were addressing themselves to concerns different from those of the apocalyptic writers. Furthermore, the nomenclature "non-apocalyptic" is misleading, because we are not dealing with a unified body of literature. Ben Sira predates the other works of this chapter. Elaborating upon the Biblical text, his aim is merely to list Enoch in his tribute to past Israelite heroes. The Genesis Apocryphon strays further from the Biblical material, but once again the writer's aim is primarily elaborative; he wishes to show that Enoch played a role in the legendary birth of Noah.

As for the Wisdom of Solomon, its author's objective is to instruct his readers to pursue a life of ethical conduct. Enoch is perceived as the prototype of the righteous man. Just as he received divine favour, so too could the present generation receive its just reward by following the teaching of the tradition.

On the other hand, the apocalyptic writers addressed themselves to the problem of foreign domination and internal political strife. Feeling powerless to overcome these forces

through their own resources, they placed their hope in divine intervention. Thus they required a prophetic individual who would plead their cause before the celestial court. Enoch fulfilled such a role. Diverging from the Biblical text, the apocalyptic authors endowed Enoch with the capacity to return to earth after an audience in heaven. Thus not only was he able to influence the divine will regarding Israel's destiny, but he also communicated his secret knowledge to select individuals so that they could interpret--and perhaps manipulate--the future course of events.

In the early Middle Ages, the Jews continued to live under foreign domination: Rome controlled Palestine and the Persians ruled in Babylonia. Thus the apocalyptic consciousness remained an attractive one for confronting the problems of this later period, and Enoch himself continued to play a major role.

Chapter 2

THE ENOCH-METATRON MOTIF IN THE HECHALOT LITERATURE

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the post-Maccabean apocalypses place Enoch at the head of an esoteric tradition which transmits heavenly secrets to later generations. These secrets include ethical, astrological and eschatological material which Enoch, as scribe, records in books.

A. Sefer Noah

In Sefer Noah,¹ an apocalyptic work of the Talmudic period, the tradition of secret writings is traced back to Adam. A short note is in order regarding the structure of this work. It consists of three parts, the first of which is reminiscent of the Irin legend of Jub. 10. God heeds Noah's plea to imprison the "spirits of the bastards" (i.e. the giants sired by the Irin), but he leaves a tenth of them on earth under the rule of ~~angels~~ to tempt and trouble mankind. The angel Rafael reveals medical remedies to Noah, which the latter writes in a book and gives to his son Shem. The second part opens with the prayer uttered by Adam after he had been expelled from Eden; the angel Raziel gives him a book which enables Adam to foretell the future. The third part refers to a book, written upon sapphire-stone, given to Noah by Raziel.

Through the astrological knowledge contained in this book, Noah learns to build an ark in order to survive the Flood. This third section is identical to the opening passage of Sefer Harazim.²

It is the second part which interests us here, for it elucidates Enoch's role in this chain of tradition. We learn that Enoch is a God-fearing man who conducts himself in ritual purity by bathing in mayim hayim. He places a prayer before God (the content of which is not described), and in a dream the hiding-place of the aforementioned secret book of Adam is revealed to him. He awakes and goes to a cave, where he waits until noon. At this point he "grasps the pure Name" (possibly a magical formula) and attains a level of understanding equivalent to that of a heavenly being. Consequently "he was separated from those who dwell on earth, 'and was no more, for God took him.'"³

From the book of Adam, Enoch learns astrological secrets:

From this book he attained wisdom and enlightenment regarding the solstices and constellations, all the luminaries which preside over each month, the names given to each solstice, and the angels who preside over the four solstices of the year. He gained understanding of the names of the heaven and the earth, and also the names of the sun and moon.³

Finally, Enoch is assured that Noah will preserve the world from complete destruction.

This short treatment of Enoch clearly echoes several characteristics attributed to him in the earlier apocalyptic literature. He remains a righteous man in a wicked age--

although here his righteousness can also take the form of ritual purity (This aspect of Enoch's character may be derived from his knowledge of sacrificial law recorded in Jubilees, but a direct parallel cannot be established with certainty). Secondly, he receives astrological and prophetic knowledge from a secret book, although in Sefer Noah this book had originally belonged to Adam; Enoch is thus viewed as the transmitter of this knowledge, but not as its first initiate. Thirdly, Sefer Noah reports that Enoch was translated to heaven, but no mention is made of what he does in heaven once he arrives there.

B. The Origins Of Metatron

As we enter into our discussion of the Hechalot literature, we find that the emphasis is placed precisely upon Enoch's heavenly role. However, it is a rather different Enoch whom we encounter in these texts. A passage from Hechalot Rabati introduces a motif which is to become the hallmark of later Enoch literature:

Rabbi Akiva said: I heard a voice issuing out from under the Throne of Glory, and what was it saying? "I have taken him, I have taken hold of him, I have appointed him--this is Enoch ben Yered whose name is Metatron " (Hech. R. 31:3).

Thus Enoch becomes Metatron the angel, who is taken by God to serve him in heaven.

Before we examine each of the Hechalot works in detail, we shall first diverge to outline briefly the origins of Metatron's role in the Jewish mystical tradition. The concept of Metatron has two separate sources, the first of which is de-

rived from the angelic role of Michael and possibly Gabriel (we shall refer to this source hereinafter as the Michael tradition). In Daniel 12:1, Michael is the guardian angel of Israel, for he is called מִיכָאֵל מְגִיד הַסֵּתֵר. Also in Dan. 8:16 and 9:21 Gabriel interprets Daniel's vision.

These two angels also appear in the Book of Enoch (9:1, 10:9-11, 54:6--and Michael alone in 67:12 and 68:2-4) as two of the four archangels involved in the punishment of the Irin (see also 41:9 and 71:8-13). In En. 20:5 Michael is identified as Israel's guardian angel, for he is "set over the best part of mankind"; and in 24:6 he speaks to Enoch in heaven. Michael also possesses secret knowledge (En. 69:14-15), and in 71:3 he reveals secrets to Enoch.

The Michael tradition recurs in chapter 8 of the Testament of Abraham,⁴ where the archangel Michael is sent to bring Abraham up to heaven. Earlier in this same work, we learn also that "at sunset all angels worship before God, and the same Michael is the first of the angels."⁵ Michael is therefore described as a leader of worship in heaven, as well as an emissary to earth.

According to Gershom Scholem⁶ this role performed by Michael in the earlier literature was later transferred to Metatron. For example, in Re'uyot Yehezkel⁷ Metatron is one of the names given to the angel who resides in the fourth heaven zevul, the abode normally reserved for Michael as High Priest of heaven (cf. Bab. Tal. Hagigah 12b). Also in a Shiur Komah

fragment Metatron prostrates himself and leads worship before God,⁸ and there is even a reference to the "Tabernacle of Metatron".⁹ Thirdly, in a fragment entitled Samhazai weAza'el,¹⁰ Metatron sends a messenger to warn the two Irin that their sins will be punished by the Flood, and to encourage them to repent. Unlike the Enochite material regarding the Irin, the Samhazai-Aza'el legend has Metatron already in heaven before their descent; thus his function here as emissary to earth is derived from the Michael tradition.

The second source associates Metatron with the translated Enoch, who enjoys special status in heaven due to his righteous conduct. This Metatron of the Enoch tradition no longer visits earth, but remains in heaven as a powerful angel and as a guide for other earthly visitors. As we shall discover, these two sources become blended as the character of Metatron develops throughout the Hechalot literature.

C. Hechalot Rabati

Returning to our passage from Hech. R. 31:3, we find that this is the earliest work which contains the Enoch-Metatron motif.¹¹ The same passage goes on to state that Metatron is given a throne like the Throne of Glory, a symbol which denotes vice-regency of heaven. In keeping with this role, Metatron receives the additional name שרת כבוד, and he is known among the angels as "the servant of Yhwh" (Hech. R. 28:2). These names affirm that Metatron's primary role as vice-regent is to serve God before the Throne of Glory.

Among the list of eight names ascribed to Metatron in Hech. R. 28:2 we find the name ש"קאטאט. This same angel¹² greets Rabbi Ishmael in heaven in Hech. R. 6:3. Translated, this name means "second-in-command to the great God."¹³ Thus a second function of Metatron the vice-regent is to act as a guide to other heavenly visitors. Thirdly, Metatron announces the presence of the Messiah in heaven: in Hech. R. 7:2 he and his entourage sing the Kedushah as David is seated upon his throne,¹⁴ and in 32:5 Metatron indicates the Messiah to Rabbi Ishmael.

Metatron's power, however, does not remain undisputed in Hechalot Rabati. Instead, his stature vies with those of other legendary figures. Metatron is only one of several angels who converse with Rabbi Ishmael--others include Hadaraniel (6:5) and Suriel (9:1). In Hech. R. 22:1 Gabriel usurps Enoch's scribal role of recording the merits of individuals. Nor is Metatron the only one to be given a throne in heaven; others are prepared for David (7:2) and Jacob (13:1).

Another figure who achieves prominence is the angel Anafiel. In 17:8 he is listed among the guardians of the fourth heavenly hall. But 23:2-5 places him as guardian of the seventh hall both of ascending and descending. He is called "the servant who is called by the name of his Master", so that Metatron is not the only angel to bear the divine name. As the "branch of God", Anafiel holds some claim to vice-regency--although it is true that he does not receive a throne. But Anafiel

does hold the ring of the seals of heaven and earth (these "seals" are passwords which one must utter before gaining entry to the heavenly halls), and it is he who opens the gate to the seventh heaven for the yorde haMerkavah. It is evident by this discrepancy in Anafiel's location that we are not dealing with a consistent angelology; but the fact remains clear that Anafiel rivals Metatron in authority.

Moreover, as we have already remarked, Enoch is not the only human being to be transported into heaven. By the time that Hechalot Rabati was written, there had developed a cult of yorde haMerkavah ("descenders to the Chariot") who learned the secrets of this journey, under the tutelage of Rabbis Neḥuniah, Akiva and Ishmael. Although this phenomenon of a humanly instigated voyage to heaven has no parallel in the Hellenistic apocalyptic literature, a detailed consideration will show that several of the earlier themes have been adapted.

First of all, as in the earlier apocalyptic works, the "descent" is provoked by human tragedy on earth and the feeling of helplessness to overcome it. When Rabbi Neḥuniah ben Haḳanah heard the news that Roman officials had arrested several Jewish leaders, he summoned Rabbi Ishmael to assemble the elect sages of Israel, to whom he would reveal the "universal secret" (15:1--Heb. סוד כלל):

I shall declare before them the hidden, preserved secrets and wonders, and the weaving of the fabric upon which the perfection of the world and its course depends; and the chain of heaven and earth along which all the wings of the terrestrial world and the wings of the lofty heavens are attached, sewn, fastened

and hung up; and the path of the lofty ladder whose bottom is on earth and whose top rests by the right leg of the Throne of Glory (Hech. R. 16:1).

Secondly, the symbol of the fabric appears to carry the same import as the heavenly tablets in the earlier literature, since it contains heavenly secrets which affect the course of history. Thirdly, the aspiring yored haMerkavah must be a righteous individual: Hech. R. 15:2 lists eight essential moral qualities; and 21:4 adds that the mystic must also be well-versed in Bible and Rabbinic law, both in study and in practice.

However, Hechalot Rabati diverges from the Hellenistic literature by prescribing a preparatory ritual through which one can induce this journey to heaven. The mystic must wash his garments, immerse himself in a ritual bath, and remain at home for twelve days on a diet of bread and water. He recites special prayers three times a day, during which he must refrain from sleep (Hech. R. 40).

After this preparatory stage, he calls upon Suriah (Suriel?) sar hapanim and utters one hundred and twelve oaths which contain magical names. This affects his "descent" through the seven hechalot (Hech. R. 16-21). At the entrance of each heavenly hall, he must reveal the aforementioned "seals" to the gatekeepers. For each of the first five heavens there are two seals: the first being a code-name for the Tetragrammaton, and the second for the sar hapanim. At the sixth heaven he must surrender three seals, and the seal for the seventh heaven is the fiery crown (אור החיים).

Upon entering the seventh heaven, the mystic is ready to behold the Merkavah. However, this vision is fraught with danger. This heaven is ablaze with fiery torches, and he who looks is in danger of becoming consumed (4:3). Five voices issue forth which may drive him insane and pulverize his body (5:1).

However, those who are worthy to enter hear these voices performing the celestial Kedushah, as did Rabbi Akiva (5:3). But Suriel tells Rabbi Ishmael, the most celebrated of the yorde haMerkavah, that God finds rest only when Israel recites the Kedushah below, for their verbal offering is like a "sweet savour" to Him (chapt. 9-11).

Finally, Rabbi Ishmael discovers the secrets which had been promised by Rabbi Nehuniah. He relates that Segansageel "took hold of me and brought me to the innermost chambers, to the most secret archives, and to the libraries of ledgers (ספרים). He opened (them) and showed me many sorrows written therein" (6:3). Like the heavenly tablets in En. 106, these "ledgers" presage future disaster. But the angel adds that when the Israelites enter the synagogues and recite the responsive lines of the Kaddish, these sorrows are not allowed to escape from the chambers which contain them. It thus appears that the Hechalot literature, unlike the Hellenistic apocalypses, offer theurgic devices to avert the divine decree.

Another difference, as we have already noted, is that Enoch is no longer the only human being to enter heaven during

life; this privilege is now extended also to Tannaitic heroes and their disciples. However, it does appear certain that Enoch remains the only figure who becomes transformed into an angel and who enjoys considerable power among the heavenly hosts.

D. Sefer Hanoach

The Enoch-Metatron motif remains a dominant theme in the Hechalot literature, and in Sefer Hanoach it appears that Metatron's authority is undisputed. As in Hechalot Rabati, Metatron is introduced by a triadic formula:

I have created him, I have taken him, I have appointed him: namely, Metatron My servant who is unique among all the children of heaven. "I have created him" in the generation of the First Man. When I noticed that the people of the generation of the Flood were becoming corrupt, I removed My Shechinah from among them and rose up to the heights with the sound of a shofar and with a teruah . . . "I have taken him": namely, Enoch ben Yered from among them and I lifted him up to the heights with the sound of a shofar and with a teruah, so that he would be My witness along with the four Hayot of the Merkavah in the world to come. "I appointed him" over all the archives and storehouses that I have in every heaven. And I entrusted to him the keys of each one. I made him a prince over all the princes, and a minister to the Throne of Glory and My heavenly hall aravot.¹⁵

Several themes of the Enoch tradition are stated here. First, Enoch-Metatron is taken by God to be a witness, although the nature of his witnessing is not defined. Secondly, his body is transformed into fire and light, and he receives a garment of glory.¹⁶ Thirdly, Metatron assumes the heavenly role of vice-regent. All the treasures of heaven are entrusted to him, and he holds all their keys (not Anafiel as before). He

receives the name Metatron sar hapanim and also שרה. Sefer Hanoach also states that seventy officers are placed under his direct command, and through them he rules the world as God's deputy. On his ring are the twenty-two seals which contain the lot (קצ"ב) of the nations; this last image calls to mind the role of Enoch as the celestial recorder of human deeds.

We also find in Sefer Hanoach allusions to the Michael tradition. First, Metatron is sometimes sent to the world to do God's bidding, as in the Alphabet of Rabbi Akiva¹⁷ (of which Sefer Hanoach is a part) where he summons the congregation of Israel before God. Also, acting on God's authority Metatron imparts secret knowledge (סוד) to Moses, despite the protests of the angels. Secondly, Metatron assumes one additional role: for three hours every day, he gathers the souls of those who died at an early age and teaches Torah to them. These two allusions attribute to Metatron Michael's traditional role as guardian angel of Israel. Thus in Sefer Hanoach we find that Metatron assumes characteristics from both the Michael and Enoch traditions.

E. Sefer Hechalot

The description of Metatron in Sefer Hechalot relies most heavily upon the Enoch tradition. The text contains two references to Michael himself (S. Hech. 17 and 44); in the latter passage, Michael helplessly bemoans the delay of Israel's redemption. Metatron, in contrast, appears as the transcendent

vice-regent of the celestial realm. Thus in our discussion of Sefer Hechalot, we shall concentrate upon Metatron as the translated Enoch who becomes transformed into an angel.

Sefer Hechalot contains two accounts of Enoch's ascent. In the first (chapt. 4), Enoch ben Yered is spared from the generation of the Flood to become a witness in heaven. Here, unlike Sefer Hanoah, his role as witness is defined: Enoch's ascension prevents the inhabitants of the world from accusing God of acting cruelly--in other words, since Enoch was an eye-witness to the evil generation, he can testify to mankind's future descendants that God's decree to destroy them was a just one. As Enoch enters heaven, the angels question his merit. God rebukes them and states that he delights in Enoch more than in them.

Whereas the first account concentrates on Enoch's role as witness, the second (chapters. 5-6) deals with God's motivation in bringing Enoch to heaven. Here, the Irin legend plays an instrumental role in Enoch's ascent. The narrative relates that, from the time that Adam was expelled from Eden, the Shechinah dwelt under the Tree of Life in the garden. Man would gaze upon its splendour, and no evil could overpower him. But when the generation of Enosh began to practice idolatry, the angels ¹⁸ descended to earth and taught man the magical arts of bringing down the celestial bodies for purposes of idolatrous worship. Upon seeing this debauchery, the ministering angels in heaven accuse man before

God, and convince him to remove his Shechinah from earth back into heaven. He also sends the angel Anafiel to bring Enoch up in a fiery chariot. This time, when the angels question Enoch's right to enter heaven, God replies that Enoch has been elected because of his righteousness to be God's tribute from the world. Before God destroys the world, he wishes to take some compensation for having created it.

After these two accounts there follows a description of Enoch's heavenly transformation. He is taken into the highest heaven, aravot, where he is to serve before the Throne of Glory. Hundreds of gates of understanding and wisdom are opened to him (chapt. 8) and God reveals to him the secrets of the Torah and a foreknowledge of man's actions (chapt. 11). Several physical transformations accompany Enoch's new status. He receives a throne like the Throne of Glory (which, as we have seen, symbolizes his vice-regency) and a curtain is spread over him. He is clothed in a garment of glory, and a brilliant crown is placed upon his head. As God writes the letters of creation upon this crown (symbolizing Enoch's secret knowledge), every letter sends forth fire which causes the heavenly hosts to tremble. Finally, Enoch himself is transformed into fire and becomes a heavenly being.

This physical transformation is accompanied by changes in name. As we have already encountered in Hechalot Rabati and Sefer Hanoah, Enoch receives the name Metatron, the servant of Yhwh and sar hapanim (chapt. 10). In chapter 12 he is called שמעוני, "for My name is in him" (Ex. 23:21--see also p. 9 of Mussajoff MS: Metatron's names are שמעוני מטטרון שר הפנים).

In addition, chapter 3 relates that Metatron possesses seventy names in all; however, since he is the only human being to have become an angel, he is therefore the youngest of the heavenly host and his King calls him my son.

A herald is sent to announce Metatron's powerful position in heaven:

This is Metatron, My servant. I have set him as a prince and a ruler over all the princes of My kingdom and over all the celestial dwellers--except for the eight honoured, great and awesome princes who are called Yhwh by the name of their King. Any angel or prince who wishes to speak in My presence must go before him and speak to him. And every word which he speaks to you in My name, you shall observe (Heb.

וְכָל דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמַע מִפִּי מֵתַטְרוֹן בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה --a possible meaning of the name Metatron?) and act upon. . . . Moreover, I have appointed him over all the archives of the halls of aravot, and over all the storehouses of life which I have in the heavenly heights (S. Hech. 10).

As we can see from the above passage, Metatron's authority is not supreme, since there are eight angelic beings who do not fall under Metatron's jurisdiction (cf. Hech. R. 28, where eight names are attributed to Metatron himself). Secondly, each of the angels in chapter 29 also possess seventy names. Thirdly, it is Sofriel ("scribe of God", chapt. 18) who performs Enoch's traditional duty of recording names in the books of life and death.

But the main challenge to Metatron's rule appears in chapter 16. As Metatron presides over the yeshivah shel ma'alah, the heretic Elisha ben Abuya ascends to heaven. Seeing Metatron seated upon a throne and attended by a host of angels, he concludes that there must be two powers in the world. In-

stantly a bat kol issues forth denying the possibility of repentance to Ben Abuys. Then Anafiel--the same angel who brought Enoch-Metatron into heaven--beats Metatron with sixty fiery strokes and makes him stand upon his feet. Clearly, this passage was written to confront the problem of dualism. So much power had been attributed to Metatron that it seemed as though he were a deity, since only God is conceived as seated upon a throne. By forcing Metatron to stand, Anafiel reduces his status to its proper proportions, as one of God's servants. This passage also presents Anafiel once again as a rival to Metatron's power.

However, unlike Hechalot Rabati, Anafiel is mentioned nowhere in Sefer Hechalot as a guide for the earthly visitors to the Merkavah. True, Anafiel is the angel who brought Enoch up to heaven; but now Metatron alone is the intermediary for Rabbi Ishmael. Greeting Ishmael at the doorway of the seventh heavenly hall, Metatron protects him from the fury of the angels and conducts him through his heavenly journey.

Sefer Hechalot elaborates on this vision of the heavenly realm. Immediately upon entering, Rabbi Ishmael is stunned by the radiance of the angels (cf. En. 14). After recovering from this initial shock, he sings aloud in praise (cf. En. 39), and the Hayot respond by chanting the celestial Kedushah. As Metatron conducts him through heaven he enumerates a long list of angels who each have their own domain over a natural or heavenly phenomenon. Included in this list are angels who

"move" the sun, moon and constellations (chapt. 17); as Metatron indicates these angels, he imparts to Rabbi Ishmael astronomical information.

A most striking parallel to the early Enoch literature appears in chapter 34, as Rabbi Ishmael approaches the vision of the Merkavah. Surrounding the hoofs of the Hayot he sees seven clouds; and around these are several layers of walls made of sundry materials which include fire (*אש* , *אש*) and hailstones (*אבנים*). These are the same images which we encountered in En. 14 and 71.

Finally, as Rabbi Ishmael beholds the Merkavah itself, Metatron shows to him the secret letters of creation which are carved upon the Throne with a stylus of fire (chapt. 41). As in chapter 13 of this work, we find a significant emphasis placed upon the magical importance of letters--a motif which finds no parallel in the earlier apocalyptic literature.

However, we also find in Sefer Hechalot the more familiar references to books and tablets. In chapter 26 we learn that Satan and his associates record daily the sins of Israel upon writing tablets (*אבנים* --cf. Hech. R. 6:3), hoping that God will read them and destroy Israel; but the Serafim burn these tablets and thus ensure Israel's preservation. However, another set of books, mentioned in chapter 44, do manage to receive divine attention. When Rabbi Ishmael encounters Abraham, Isaac and Jacob praying for the redemption of Israel, Metatron orders him to "take the books (presumably those of

Sofriel, chapt. 18) and read their evil doings." As the patriarchs weep together with Michael, God explains that he cannot yet deliver Israel from the nations.

Then Rabbi Ishmael is shown the "curtain of God" (ספר חמדים 21, 27), "upon which are engraved all the generations of the world and all their deeds; both what they have done and what they will do until the end of all generations" (chapt. 45). True to his word, Metatron indicates upon the curtain the history of mankind from Adam until the Messianic Era; the latter event is to be preceded by the catastrophic death of the Messiah ben Joseph and the war of Gog and Magog. The symbol of the curtain is reminiscent of both the heavenly tablets of the Book of Enoch and the "weaving of the fabric" of Hechalot Rabati; through it, Rabbi Ishmael obtains secret knowledge of future events.

Therefore, as in Hechalot Rabati, Enoch is no longer the only human to be transported into heaven, nor is he the only bearer of divine secrets. Instead, he becomes the angel Metatron who assists Rabbi Ishmael during his ascent. However, in Sefer Hechalot Rabbi Ishmael possesses credentials which are not stipulated in Hechalot Rabati for entry to heaven. Praying at the entrance of the seventh heavenly hall, Rabbi Ishmael invokes the merit of Aaron to protect him from expulsion by Katsafiel (chapt. 1); and later, Metatron justifies Ishmael's entry into heaven by citing his priestly pedigree (chapt. 2). Furthermore, Sefer Hechalot does not reveal the

means by which other hopeful mystics might emulate the journey of Rabbi Ishmael and experience a similar vision. Rather, the author of Sefer Hechalot considers it sufficient to describe the heavenly realm through the eyes of Rabbi Ishmael, and to inform his readers of the assured messianic culmination of his story. Thus the entire setting of this book takes place in the celestial realm, and it does not describe the procedure by which Rabbi Ishmael ascended.

But here, as in Hechalot Rabati, mention is made of present political misfortunes, although not as explicitly as in the former work. Chapter 44 refers to Israel's deliverance "from the nations of the world"; and chapter 48 adds that, with the advent of the Messiah, God's right hand will redeem Israel and restore them in Jerusalem. A second similarity with Hechalot Rabati is that Rabbi Ishmael is not transformed into a heavenly being; this privilege is reserved for Enoch-Metatron alone. However, there are other angelic beings who rival his vice-regal status.

F. Summary: Relationship to Post-Maccabean Apocalypses

We are now in a position to summarize the role and character of Enoch as described in the Hechalot literature, and to compare this description with our previous discussion of the early apocalyptic literature. The first innovation which we encounter in the Hechalot writings is the introduction of the angel Metatron. We also noted that this figure represents the blending of two traditions. The Michael tradition describes

Metatron as the heavenly High Priest and as the guardian angel of Israel who is sympathetic to their suffering. On the other hand, the Metatron of the Enoch tradition is the transcendent vice-regent of heaven who establishes no direct contact with earth.

We find in the Enoch-Metatron motif several themes of the earlier Enoch literature. For the Hechalot writers, Enoch's righteous character remains a dominant feature: saved from the generation of the Flood, he is transported to heaven as a compensation to God for having created the world, and as a witness to future generations of God's just decree. In heaven, he receives astronomical and prophetic secrets. Just as he revealed these secrets to Methuselah and to Noah in the earlier literature, he now reveals them to Moses and to Rabbi Ishmael.

But in addition to his secret knowledge, several powers are given to Enoch-Metatron. He is appointed as ruler of the heavenly host, and he executes God's judgments upon the world. Paradoxically, however, the Hechalot authors place other literary figures--especially Anafiel--in opposition to Enoch's power. However, here it appears that the aim is not to limit Enoch's heroic stature, but rather the objective is to avoid the charge of dualism by demonstrating that Enoch is a lesser power than God.

The second innovation of the Hechalot authors consists in extending the privilege of a heavenly ascent to heroes of the Tannaitic age; Metatron as the translated Enoch now acts

as the guide and mentor for those who seek a vision of the Merkavah.

It therefore appears that a shift of emphasis has taken place from the early apocalyptic literature to the Hechalot texts. The desire to know divine secrets is present in both writings, as is the necessity for a human being to ascend to heaven to receive them. But in the Hechalot texts, the possibility for this ascent is not relegated to a bygone age. Metatron as the translated Enoch is not only a scribe; he also acts as intermediary between God and the righteous of every generation. Rabbis Akiva and Ishmael were two of the legendary martyrs of the Roman regime; although they perished from earth, they attained the merit of "descending" to the Merkavah with Metatron's guidance. The possibility for a similar voyage remains open to a select group who follow these Rabbis' example and remain loyal to the tradition despite oppression from a tyrannical state. And through these select individuals, Metatron can still communicate prophetic secrets to the world.

G. Gedulat Moshe

One additional text merits our consideration. Since it contains several characteristics which differ from our above summary of Hechalot literature--including the status of Enoch--I have decided to deal with it in detail at this point. Its title is Gedulat Moshe, and the hero is Moses. Due to his modesty in refusing the commission to redeem the Israelites from Egypt, God decides to reward Moses by granting him a celestial

vision. Metatron, who identifies himself to Moses as Enoch ben Yered, is sent to bring him into heaven. However, Moses expresses the fear that, since he is a mortal, he will perish when he looks upon the angels:

Whereupon (Metatron) changed his flesh into torches of fire, his eyes into Merkavah-wheels, his strength into that of an angel, and his tongue into flame. He took Moses up into heaven along with fifteen thousand angels on his right and fifteen thousand on his left, with Metatron and Moses in the middle (par. 2).

After the initial ascent, Metatron guides Moses on a journey through the seven heavens. Here Moses sees several phenomena which we have noted in the other Hechalot tracts, which include: angels appointed over various domains of nature, astronomical data, and a heavenly Tabernacle in the fourth heaven.

In the seventh heaven, Moses encounters two sights which frighten him. First, he recoils from the appearance of the angels מַלְאָכִים ¹⁹; but Metatron embraces him, and Moses regains his composure. Secondly, Metatron indicates Samael, who is about to descend to take the life of Job.²⁰ However, he also listens to the Serafim perform the celestial Kedushah, and beholds the four Hayot bearing the Throne of Glory. Also in the seventh heaven, Moses sees the angel מִשְׁכָּלֵי teaching Torah to souls in seventy languages--a function reserved for Enoch-Metatron in Sefer Hanoach. This Torah is to be God's gift to Moses, and it will bear his name.

Presently a bat kol calls to Moses telling him that, since he has seen the Throne of Glory, he is deemed worthy to traverse the two pardesim of Gehinom and the Garden of Eden. For this voyage Gabriel is to be Moses' guide, and no further

mention is made of Metatron. As Gabriel opens the entrance to Gehinom, Moses is greeted by the presiding angel מִכָּאֵל; this latter figure displays to Moses the souls undergoing punishment for the transgression of an array of moral and ritual commandments, many of which are Rabbinic (e.g. eating on Yom Kippur).

After offering a prayer that God spare Israel from this place, Moses accompanies Gabriel to the Garden of Eden. Here he is greeted by מִכָּאֵל who presides over the Garden. As he traverses this pardes Moses sees seventy thrones of the righteous, including those of the three Patriarchs. A most interesting detail, however, is a dialogue which takes place before this encounter:

As he entered the Garden of Eden two angels came before him and asked him, "Has your time arrived, that you have come here?" He replied, "My time has not arrived; rather, I have come to see the reward of the righteous in the Garden of Eden" (par. 20).

It is clear from this passage that Moses is not destined to remain in heaven; this is to be expected, since this narrative takes place before the Exodus. Although he must return to earth for the present, a bat kol assures Moses that he will not only merit the reward of Eden, but that he will also witness the rebuilding of the Temple at the advent of the Messiah.

Several characteristics distinguish this work from the other Hechalot texts of our inquiry. First of all, the author is evidently familiar with the doctrines of the Babylonian Talmud (as I have indicated in the footnotes). At one point

he even quotes directly a Baraita from Eruvin 19a, employing the preface, "as our Rabbis of blessed memory have said" (par. 18). In fact, the entire vignette in Gehinom can be construed as an incentive for the reader to observe the written and oral law.

Secondly, due to its halachic content, the ideal hero for this legend is Moses, since he is the guardian of the Torah. Here Moses attains a mythical stature which supercedes even that of Enoch. He undergoes a fiery transformation upon his entry to heaven as did Enoch-Metatron; but unlike the latter, Moses pays an intermediate visit to the terrestrial world as a human being before being taken to his permanent abode in Eden. In fact, Enoch-Metatron himself plays a rather minor role throughout this narrative. Each angel performs his own specialized function, and Metatron is but one member of a well-developed system of angelology. Due to this factor, as well as the author's use of the Babylonian Talmud as a source-text, I would attribute to this work a later date than the other Hechalot texts.

It remains to be determined whether this Hechalot literature is representative of the Rabbinic view of Enoch. We therefore turn now to a discussion of the Enochite material in the Babylonian Talmud and the midrashim.

Chapter 3

ENOCH AND METATRON IN RABBINIC LITERATURE

In the Hechalot literature, the major development in the role and personality of Enoch consists in his transformation into the angel Metatron. In this capacity he becomes a ruler in heaven and an intermediary with earth. It is odd, however, that a direct statement of the Enoch-Metatron motif occurs nowhere in the Talmud and only later in the Palestinian midrashim. Thus we are compelled to adopt a different methodology in this chapter. First, we shall examine the references to Metatron in the Babylonian Talmud and the midrashim. Secondly, we shall discuss the Rabbis' conception of Enoch himself. On the basis of these two inquiries we shall be able to determine the Rabbinic attitude toward Merkavah mysticism generally, and particularly toward the treatment of Enoch in the Hechalot texts.

A. Metatron

The earliest mention of Metatron appears in section 338 of Sifre on Deuteronomy, which states that "the finger of God became a Metatron for Moses and showed him the whole land of Israel" before his death. Similarly, in discussing the second

day of Creation, Genesis Rabah 5:4 records that "God's voice became a Metatron over the waters." In both of the above passages, Metatron could be rendered "guide" or "indicator", a sense derived from the Greek "metator". But there is no reference here to an angelic being; rather Metatron represents an attribute of God himself. It is therefore unlikely that these two references play a role in the development of Metatron's personality as a heavenly being.

However, in all three allusions to Metatron in the Babylonian Talmud the name does denote an angel. The passage most closely related to the Hechalot literature is found in Hagigah 15a. As the heretic Elisha ben Abuya ascended to heaven:

he saw Metatron who had been given permission to sit and record the merits of Israel. Rabbi Elisha said, "It is taught that up above there is no sitting or strife, no back (i.e. all is in view) or weariness--perhaps, heaven forbid, there are two powers?" Thereupon they brought Metatron forth and beat him with sixty fiery lashes, saying to him, "When you saw him, why did you not stand before him?"

We recall that in S. Hech. 16 Metatron was presiding over the heavenly court during Rabbi Elisha's entry, whereas in Hagigah he performs a scribal function. But this role alone does not link Metatron automatically with Enoch, for we have already seen that other angels (e.g. Gabriel, Sofriel) share this privilege. Despite this difference between the two passages, they share a common intent: both the Rabbis and the Hechalot authors wished to avoid any concession to dualism.

The second Talmudic reference to Metatron appears in Avodah Zarah 3b:

Rav said: a day consists of twelve hours. During the first three, the Holy One, Blessed be He sits and occupies himself with Torah. During the second three, he sits and judges the entire world . . . For the third set of three hours, he sits and feeds the entire world . . . And for the fourth three, he sits and sports with Leviathan . . . But R. Aha said to R. Nahman bar Yitshak: Since the day that the Temple was destroyed, the Holy One, Blessed be He no longer sports . . . Then what does he do during the fourth set of three hours? He sits and teaches Torah to school-children . . . But who taught them originally? If you wish I will say (that this function was heretofore performed by) Metatron.

We have already encountered in Sefer Hanoach this role for Metatron as teacher of the souls of prematurely dead children. Moreover, Metatron is mentioned here in connection with the destruction of the Temple. In the above passage Metatron thus appears as the guardian angel of Israel--a characteristic which is derived from the Michael tradition.¹

This is also true of the third Talmudic reference to Metatron, Sanhedrin 38b:

R. Nahman said: If one knows how to answer the minim as R. Idit does, let him answer; and if not, let him not answer. A certain min said to R. Idit, "It is written: 'To Moses he said, come up to Yhwh.' It should have stated: 'Come up to Me.'"
He (R. Idit) replied, "That verse refers to Metatron, whose name resembles the name of his Master, as it is written, 'for My name is in him' (Ex. 23:21)."
"If this is so, then we should worship him."
"It is written, 'Do not rebel against him (אל תתקומם בו)'; this means, 'Do not replace me with him (אל תחליניו בו).'"

"If this is so, why does Scripture state, 'He will not pardon your transgression'?"
(R. Idit) replied: "By our faith, even as a messenger we would not accept him, as it is written, '(Moses) said to Him, if Your presence does not accompany us . . .' (Ex. 33:15)."

Two conclusions can be drawn from this passage. First,

we find that Metatron is an issue of debate between the Rabbis and the minim. Although there is no scholarly consensus as to the identity of these minim, it can at least be posited that they were sectarians who diverged from the mainstream of Pharisaic thought. The minim in the above passage may have been Jewish gnostics influenced by Zoroastrian dualism, since they attempt to press Rav Idit--a fifth-century Babylonian Amora--into admitting the existence of two co-equal powers. But R. Idit points out that, although Metatron called Moses up the mountain, he was acting merely as a divine-human intermediary. Thus here, as in Hag. 15a, the suggestion of dualism is rejected.

Secondly, Metatron is the heavenly being who beckons Moses, and he is associated with the angel of Ex. 23:21. Once again, Metatron has assumed Michael's traditional role as guardian angel of Israel.

It is this latter function to which the midrashim before the eleventh century give almost exclusive consideration. Metatron is described as bearing the burden of Israel's suffering; for example, a passage in Tanpuma ("We'ethanan" 6) describes Metatron consoling God upon the death of Moses.

The Metatron of the midrashim also receives divine rebuke, as in Lamentations Rabah:

At that time (the destruction of the Temple) Metatron came and fell upon his face. He said before God, "Master of the universe, I shall weep--and you, do not weep." God replied to him, "If you do not give me leave to weep now, I shall enter a place where you are not permitted to enter, and shall weep there" (proem 24; cf. S. Hech. 44, where Michael weeps for Israel).

Seder Eliyahu Zuta (chapt. 20) also records that, on the day of Judgment, God summons Metatron and the heavenly host and says to Metatron: "I made your name as Mine (quoting Ex. 23:21); why have you watched My Shechinah being removed, My house being destroyed and My children being exiled--and you did not plead for mercy on their behalf?" In both the above cases, Metatron appears helpless in the face of Israel's suffering. Furthermore, the divine rebuke is related in both cases to the destruction of the Temple.

This connection between Metatron and the Temple is stated explicitly in Numbers Rabbah 12:12. The passage mentions the existence of a heavenly Tabernacle, corresponding to the one on earth: "This is the Tabernacle of the Youth (נוער) whose name is Metatron, and in it he offers up the souls of the righteous to atone for Israel during their exile." We recall that the name na'ar was used in connection with the translated Enoch, who became the youngest angel in heaven. However, na'ar can also denote "servant", and it is clear that the above passage wishes to convey this meaning. The image of Metatron offering sacrifices in heaven, and atoning for the sins of Israel, is derived from the Michael tradition.

The Rabbinic description of Metatron differs significantly from that of the Hechalot texts. Whereas the latter had assigned to Metatron seventy angelic princes through which he ruled the entire world, the Talmud and midrashim limit Metatron's jurisdiction to Israel alone. Instead of the powerful, transcendent vice-regent of the Enochite tradition, the Rabbis

draw from the Michael source to depict Metatron as a guardian angel sympathetic to the suffering of Israel. The Rabbinic Metatron evokes a mood of pathos: although he is concerned about the destiny of Israel, he is as helpless as they to put an end to their sufferings.

B. Enoch

We turn now to the Rabbinic references to Enoch. Genesis Rabah 25:1 records a controversy regarding Enoch's righteous character:

R. Hama b. R. Hoshaya said: He (Enoch) is not written in the register of the righteous, but rather in the register of the wicked. R. Aybo said: Enoch was a hypocrite--sometimes he was righteous and sometimes wicked. The Holy One, Blessed be He thought, "I shall remove him while he is still righteous."

The above passage is reminiscent of Wisd. 4:11--but whereas the latter work intimates that Enoch was subject to temptation, Genesis Rabah implies that he actually succumbed.

A reason for this rather harsh treatment of Enoch is supplied further along in the same passage. Several minim approach R. Abahu, claiming that there is no mention of Enoch's death in the Bible; through an exegesis of the word נפץ, R. Abahu demonstrates that Enoch did indeed die. As we have observed before, the Rabbis were troubled by these minim and sought to refute their doctrines. A passage from the Palestinian Talmud may help to elucidate the identity of the minim in the above citation from Genesis Rabah. Quoting from the same R. Abahu, the passage states:

If a person says to you "I am a god", he is a liar.
If he says "I am the Son of Man", he will come to

regret it. If he says "I have risen to heaven", his words will not be fulfilled (Pal. Tal. Ta'anit 65b).

R. Abahu, a fourth-century Palestinian Amora, lived during a time when Christianity was gaining supremacy over the Byzantine Empire. The statements quoted above were those attributed to Jesus by Christians and Judaeo-Christians. It is therefore plausible that the minim in Gen. R. 25:1 were Judaeo-Christians who conceived Enoch as a prototype of Jesus' resurrection and heavenly ascent. Thus R. Abahu sought to confute their claims by denegrating the mythical status which Enoch had attained within Jewish apocalyptic circles.

However, several Rabbinic sources place Enoch in a favourable light. Derech Erets Zuta (chapt. 1) lists Enoch as one of the nine individuals who entered the Garden of Eden during their lifetimes--this may be an allusion to Enoch's heavenly visit as described in the post-Maccabean apocalypses. Secondly, Leviticus Rabah 29:11 states:

Every seventh item in a series is always beloved. . . . Of the generations, the seventh was beloved: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mehalalel, Yered and Enoch--as Scripture states, "Enoch walked with God" (This passage also appears in Pesiḳta de Rav Kahana, ed. Buber, p. 155a).

Thirdly, Midrash Tanhuma ("Bamidbar" 26; also in Numbers Rabah 5:24) cites Enoch as an illustration of a general principle:

When the generation of a certain era turns wicked before God, he spares the righteous and destroys the wicked. When the generation of Enosh sinned, he destroyed them and rescued Enoch, as Scripture states, "Enoch walked with God."

However, in all the above cases Enoch is listed as one example

among many, and none of the three midrashim devote more than a single sentence to him. Moreover, we find no reference to Enoch the scribe who discovers, records and transmits secret knowledge--which, as we have observed, is a hallmark of the early apocalyptic literature. Nor is there any mention of Enoch's bodily translation.

However, by the ninth century Pirke Rabi Eliezer re-introduces the theme of Enoch's secret knowledge, specifically with regard to calendation and astrology:

On the twenty-eighth day of Elul were created the sun, the moon, and reckoning--that is, the years, months, days and nights, hours, terms, solstices, cycles and intercalations. These were in the possession of the Holy One, Blessed be He, from which he intercalated the year. Afterward he transmitted them to the First Man in the Garden of Eden. . . . Adam transmitted them to Enoch, who became initiated into the secret skill of intercalation and intercalated the year, as Scripture states, "Enoch walked with God, etc." Enoch walked in the ways of annual reckoning which God had transmitted to Adam. And Enoch transmitted the secret skill of intercalation to Noah. . . (chapt. 8).

Here, as in Sefer Noah, Enoch provides one link in an esoteric tradition that extends from Adam to Moses. Also in chapter 40, Moses' rod finds its origin in Eden with Adam, and is passed down through Enoch.

A later midrash elaborates further upon the character of Enoch, including his bodily translation. This midrash is entitled Haye Hanoch,² an extract from the eleventh-twelfth century work Sefer Hayashar. After the birth of Methuselah, the narrative relates, Enoch "walked with God", leading a solitary life of prayer and spurning evil men. Eventually, an angel

calls upon Enoch to prepare to leave his home and to teach good deeds to men. During his reign of two hundred and forty-three years, Enoch establishes a just and peaceful society on earth. After this period, he gradually begins to withdraw once more into solitude, until he appears before his subjects only once a year. The angel then reappears to take Enoch to heaven, "to make him ruler over divine beings in heaven just as he ruled over human beings on earth." Enoch gathers his people to impart to them his final teachings of wisdom and morality, whereupon a horse descends from heaven to take him. Enoch rides to heaven in a storm, borne by horses and chariots of fire, leaving blocks of ice on the place of his departure. Methuselah, appointed by the people to rule in Enoch's stead, continues the reign of justice.

Clearly, Haye Hanoch contains several parallels with the early apocalyptic literature. Enoch's righteous character is stressed, as is his role as teacher. His ascent to heaven is depicted with the familiar symbols. Unlike the *Hechalot* literature, this midrash deals almost entirely with Enoch's earthly life. No mention is made of his transformation into an angel, nor does he perform an intermediary role for other humans. Although the narrative does allude to Enoch's position as ruler in heaven, it does not go so far as to ascribe vice-regency to him, and it does not refer to him as Metatron. However, this midrash does assign to Enoch an unquestioned legendary status.

The earliest midrashic source³ which contains the Enoch-Metatron motif appears in Midrash Agadah, a twelfth-century work:

"Enoch walked with God": Enoch walked with the angels. He remained with them three hundred years in the Garden of Eden, and learned from them intercalation, solstices, constellations and much wisdom. "And was no more, for God took him": Since he was righteous, the Holy One, Blessed be He took him from among humanity and made him into an angel--that is, Metatron (comm. on Gen. 5:24).

The remainder of the passage reiterates the controversy of Gen. R. 25:1 concerning Enoch's righteous character. But the importance of the above passage lies in its identification of Enoch and Metatron as the same figure.

C. Rabbinic Attitude Toward Merkavah Mysticism

But this identification does not come until quite late in the Rabbinic literature. Instead, as we have noted, the Rabbinic references to Metatron are drawn primarily from the Michael tradition, which describes Metatron as the guardian angel of Israel who suffers with them. As for Enoch, he is regarded as the righteous man of his generation--but even so, the extent of his moral stature is called into question. Are we to assume that the Rabbis' treatment of these two figures reflects their attitude toward Merkavah mysticism generally? A passage in Bab. Tal. Shabat 80b seems to indicate this. As a lecturer expounds upon the secrets of the Merkavah, he is smitten on the forehead and he dies; the general consensus is that he deserved his fate. However, Sukah 28a lists ma'aseh

haMerkavah as one of the "great matters" studied by R. Yoḥanan ben Zakai.

The Talmudic locus classicus for Merkavah speculation--the second chapter of Ḥagigah--may shed some light on the Rabbinic attitude toward this subject. It is ironic that the opening Mishnah forbids Merkavah study even before a single person, and yet the Gemara records several discussions of this very theme. Both the Babylonian (Ḥag. 14b) and Palestinian (Ḥag. 77a) Talmuds record a Baraita concerning R. Yoḥanan ben Zakai and his student R. Eleazar ben Arach. When the latter expounded upon the Merkavah, fire surrounded the field and the trees burst forth in song. Thereupon R. Yoḥanan kissed his disciple and praised him.

We noted in the previous chapter that fire and heavenly song are central motifs in the Hechalot literature. Nor is the above Baraita the only parallel found in the second chapter of Ḥagigah. In the description of the seven heavens (Bab. Tal. Ḥag. 12b), we read that the fifth heaven contains groups of angels who sing each night (Later, in Ḥag. 14a, Shmuel states that ministering angels are created each day from the fiery stream--cf. S. Hech. 36, which states that the angels bathe in this stream before singing the celestial Kedushah). The sixth heaven contains the storehouses of snow, hail and dew (cf. S. Hanoḥ, also En. 18). Finally, the Throne of Glory resides in the seventh heaven aravot, and is attended by the Ofanim, Serafim and Ḥayot.

Two other Talmudic parallels with the Hechalot literature

also deserve mention. Hag. 13a records five qualities which one must possess to merit the study of the Merkavah (cf. Hech. R. 15:2). Secondly, the four famous voyagers to the pardes (Hag. 14b) encounter slabs of pure marble; in Hech. R. 16:2 R. Ishmael presides over the Sanhedrin from such a seat.

We are now prepared to answer the question concerning the Rabbinic attitude toward Merkavah speculation. It appears that the Rabbis suppressed proliferation of these doctrines, not because of any disdain for them, but due to an ambivalence with which they regarded them. On the one hand, the Rabbis expressed deep respect for Merkavah speculation as a means to achieve redemption through knowledge. However, since this subject posed great danger to anyone whose learning or temperament did not qualify him (as was the case with R. Elisha b. Abuya), both the Rabbis and the Merkavah mystics condoned its study only among those already well-steeped in Rabbinic law and lore. Of the four Sages who entered the pardes, only Rabbi Akiva--the famed halachist--emerged intact.

Thus we cannot conclude that the Rabbinic treatment of Enoch and Metatron reflects a rejection of Merkavah speculation. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that both these figures became issues of sectarian controversy, as we have observed in the Rabbinic disputations with the minim. In Palestine, Judaeo-Christians took Enoch to be a prototype of Jesus; consequently, the Amrain omit any reference to Enoch's bodily translation or to his role in heaven. In Babylonia, Jewish dualists equated Metatron with a second deity; in opposition

to this claim, the Rabbis deny the existence of מִיָּדָה.

Sectarian heresy undoubtedly influenced to some extent the Rabbinic descriptions of Enoch and Metatron. However, if we pause at this point to review the role and personality of Enoch as it has developed through our inquiry, I believe that an additional factor will also come to light.

Chapter 4
THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF ENOCH AND METATRON:
A RECONSTRUCTION

Our review of the Enochite literature begins in pre-Maccabean times. Since the days of Ben Sira (and possibly before), Enoch had represented the ideal righteous individual who received his divine reward. However, the post-Maccabean apocalyptic authors created Enoch's legendary role as the righteous scribe who entered the heavenly realm during his lifetime. During his celestial journey, Enoch learns and records divine secrets. First, by observing the paths of the heavenly bodies, Enoch acquires the skills of calendation. Secondly, through access to the heavenly tablets, he gains foreknowledge of future events.

In the Talmudic period, neither of the above motifs met with Rabbinic approval. Regarding calendation, it must be remembered that the calendar outlined in both the Book of Enoch and Jubilees operates according to the solar year. It is therefore not surprising that Enoch fell into disrepute in an age when the normative calendation was based on the lunar cycle.

Secondly, Enoch's foreknowledge also presented a problem. The Talmudic period produced its share of false messiahs; the

Rabbis wished to discourage the astrological calculations of the "end of days" which gave rise to this phenomenon (see, e.g., Bab. Tal. Sanh. 97b). Moreover, the Rabbis operated by consensus rather than by individual prophetic inspiration; even the bat kol was rejected as a means to determine halacha (see Baba Metsia 59b). Divine secrets were to be sought through the study of Scripture, not through the esoteric doctrines of the "outside books". Therefore, the Rabbis were sympathetic to Merkavah speculation insofar as it was based upon exegesis of Biblical passages--most notably the first chapter of Ezekiel.

For the above reasons, the Rabbis rejected the apocalyptic description of Enoch and concentrated instead upon his moral qualities. It is interesting to note, however, that by the ninth century Pirke Rabi Eliezer links Enoch once again to calendation. But the Hebrew term employed here and in Midrash Agadah is חודש--a term which denotes the insertion of an extra month into the lunar calendar.

Neither calendation nor foreknowledge is attributed to Metatron in the Amoraic literature. Moreover, he appears nowhere as an angelic being in the Palestinian documents of this period. Therefore, Metatron in the Babylonian Talmud and the early midrashim might be a syncretistic blend of the Israelite angel Michael and the Persian god Mithra. Through this figure, Israel gained an advocate in heaven; and as long as Metatron's subservience to God was emphasized, the problem of dualism could be avoided.

The association of Metatron with the translated Enoch is most likely a post-Talmudic development. The Merkavah mystics shared the desire of the early apocalyptic writers to assure the continuation of divine-human communication in an age when prophecy had ceased. Enoch provided an excellent prototype. Just as he had ascended to heaven during his lifetime, the same possibility remained open to contemporary mystics who had learned the procedure for this ascent. And by transforming Enoch into the Talmudic angel Metatron, the Hechalot writers provided an eternal guide and source of secret information for the yorde haMerkavah.

Through the merging of these two figures, the Hechalot authors were able to continue a line of speculation which at best received oblique reference in the Talmud itself. We normally consider mysticism and science to lie at opposite poles of human endeavour. However, if we recall that astronomy and astrology were two of the earliest forms of scientific inquiry, then the cosmological sections of the Book of Enoch and Sefer Hechalot can be understood as scientific treatises concerning the relationship between celestial phenomena and the destiny of man. The apocalyptic writers of both periods were driven by a desire to know the factors--both natural and supernatural--which affected human history. Through the "science" of astrology--discovered in heaven and brought down to earth by Enoch--they were able to forecast what the future held in store for Israel. And through the art of calendation, they brought ritual

observance into harmony with the order of the cosmos.

Our inquiry has thus shown that the post-Maccabean Enochite literature provided the foundation for an extra-Talmudic apocalyptic tradition which persisted through the Middle Ages in the writings of the Merkavah mystics. By the thirteenth century, this tradition was incorporated into the mystico-philosophical system of the Kabbalah, and in the Zohar the character of Enoch continues to enjoy a consummate legendary status.

Introduction

1. See also Gen. 6:9 (in reference to Noah), Gen. 17:1 and 24:20 (Abraham), and Gen. 48:15 (Abraham and Isaac).
2. If Halévy's emendation ("La généalogie Sethite dans Ézéchiél," Révue des Études Juives 14 (1887):17-25) is to be taken as creditable--an assumption which this writer questions--reference is made to Enoch also in Ezekiel 14:14. Since the Book of Daniel post-dates Ezekiel, Halévy emends עֲנוֹךְ to read יִחִיָּה. However, regardless of the veracity of this claim, the passage adds no new information to our knowledge of Enoch.
3. John Skinner, in International Critical Commentary, series edited by S.R. Driver, A. Plummer and C.A. Briggs (New York: Scribner's, 1925), vol. 1, Genesis, p. 132.
4. H.E. Ryle, in Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, ed. A.F. Kirkpatrick (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1914), vol. 1, Genesis, p. 86f.
E.A. Speiser, in Anchor Bible, series edited by W.F. Albright and D.N. Freedman (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), vol. 1, Genesis, p. 43.
5. D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (London: SCM Press, 1964), p. 107.
6. R.H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, 2 vols. (Oxford Univ. Press, 1913), 2:163-281.

7. See S.B. Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic (London: Epworth Press, 1952), p. 167, n. 9.
8. Charles, Apoc. and Pseudep., 2:1-82.
9. Ibid., pp. 282-367.
10. G.H. Box, ed., The Testament of Abraham (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1927).
11. Charles, Apoc. and Pseudep., 2:429.
12. A. Vaillant, ed., Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1952), p. ix.
13. Arie Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," Journal of Jewish Studies 13 (1962), p. 15.
14. The references will be made according to Vaillant's chapter headings and page numbers.
15. Adolph Jellinek, ed., Bet Hamidrash, 6 vols. (Leipzig: C.W. Vollrath, 1855), 3:83-108.
16. Shlomo A. Wertheimer, ed., Bate Midrashot, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Ktav Wasefer, 1968), 1:63-136.
17. Jellinek, Bet Hamidrash, 2:114-117.
18. Following are the three manuscripts of this work:
Jellinek, Bet Hamidrash, 5:170-190.
Shlomo Mussajoff, ed., Merkavah Shelemah (Jerusalem: Makor, 1971), pp. 9-22.
Hugo Odeberg, ed., 3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch (New York: Ktav, 1973).
19. Odeberg, 3 Enoch, p. 38.
20. Gershom Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and

Talmudic Tradition (New York: JTS, 1960), p. 7, n. 19.

21. Wertheimer, Bate Midrashot, 1:271-285, under the title
Midrash katapuah ba'atse haya'ar.

Chapter 1

1. All Hebrew renditions of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are cited from Abraham Kahana, ed., Hasefarim Hahitsonim, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Makor, 1969).
2. "Sirach," ed. G. Box and W. Oesterley, in Charles, Apoc. and Pseudep., 1:506.
3. Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, eds., A Genesis Apocryphon (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Heikhal ha-Sepher, 1956).
4. Cf. Slav. En., introductory paragraph: Enoch is called "homme sage et grand scribe" (Vaillant, Secrets d'Hénoch, p.3).
5. Cf. Slav. En. 4. Here Enoch refuses to intercede for the Irin, claiming that he is only a mortal (ibid., p. 9).
6. Cf. Slav. En. 6 (ibid., pp. 11-17).
7. Ben Zion Wacholder, "Pseudo-Eupolemus' Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham," HUCA 34 (1963), pp. 83-113. See especially p. 97.
8. Cf. Slav. En. 11, where the length of stay is thirty days (Vaillant, Secrets d'Hénoch, p. 37).
9. Cf. Slav. En. 11 (ibid., pp. 33-37).
10. Cf. Slav. En. 10 (ibid., p. 27).
11. Cf. Slav. En. 13 (ibid., p. 41).
12. S. Holmes, trans., "The Wisdom of Solomon," in Charles, Apoc. and Pseudep., 1:541, in his note to verse 10.

13. Box, Testament of Abraham, pp. 50-51.

Chapter 2

1. Jellinek, Bet Hamidrash, 3:155-160.
2. Mordecai Margolioth, ed., Sefer Harazim (Jerusalem: Yediot Achronot, 1966), p.65.
3. Jellinek, Bet Hamidrash, 3:158.
4. Box, Testament of Abraham, pp. 47-48.
5. Ibid., chapter 4, p. 42.
6. Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, pp. 43-52.
7. Wertheimer, Bate Midrashot, 2:132
8. Mussajoff, Merkavah Shelemah, p. 39b.
9. Ibid., p. 40a.
10. Jellinek, Bet Hamidrash, 4:127-128.
11. This passage does not appear in the Jellinek MS. We are therefore left in doubt as to whether the Enoch-Metatron motif might have been a later addition to Hech. R. This problem will be discussed further in chapter 4.
12. The spelling here is actually מִתְרַתֵּן, but it is not a radical emendation to replace the second gimel with a nun.
13. Odeberg (3 Enoch, p. 57) derives this name from מִתְרַתֵּן, since Metatron is appointed over the treasuries of heaven (see Sefer Hanoach, which also forms chapter 48 C-D in Odeberg's MS). Even this interpretation of the name denotes vice-regal status.
14. An identical passage appears in Razo shel Sandalfon, in Mussajoff, Merkavah Shelemah, p. 4a.

15. Jellinek, Bet Hamidrash, 3:33.
18. Thus reads the Musajoff MS, p. 10a. In Odeberg, the angels are מַלְאָכִים גְּדוֹלִים; whereas in Jellinek מַלְאָכִים קְטָנִים. But in all cases, the linguistic parallel with Azazel is clear.
19. Cf. Bab. Tal. Nedarim 32a.
20. Cf. Bab. Tal. Baba Batra 15a, which claims that Moses and Job were contemporaries.

Chapter 3

1. Cf. Hagigah 12b, Zevachim 62a and Menahot 110a, which reserve the role of heavenly High Priest for Michael. But there is no need to suppose a consistent angelology throughout the Babylonian Talmud.
2. Jellinek, Bet Hamidrash, 4:129-132.
3. A fragment of the Palestinian Targum to Gen. 5:24 states that Enoch ascended to heaven and was transformed into "Metatron the great scribe". It is impossible to date this fragment with precision, but my tendency would be to place it in a period contemporaneous with Midrash Agadah.

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