

The Heavenly Counterpart Traditions in the Enochic Pseudepigrapha

As has been already mentioned, our study of the heavenly counterpart traditions found in the Jewish pseudepigrapha will be organized around the major mediatorial trends prominent in the Second Temple period and associated with protological characters found in the Hebrew Bible—patriarchal, prophetic, and priestly figures, like Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, whose stories become greatly expanded in Jewish extrabiblical accounts. We will begin our exploration of the doppelgänger symbolism with an analysis of some currents found in the early Enochic lore.

The choice of the Enochic legends as the first step in our analysis of heavenly counterpart imagery is dictated by the fact that nowhere in early Second Temple literature can one find such ardent attention to the realities of the heavenly world and opportunities for a human being to breach the boundaries between earthly and celestial realms.

Scholars have previously noted that the interest of the Enochic tradition in the heavenly realities and the possibilities for breaching the boundaries between realms manifests a striking contrast with conceptual currents reflected in the body of the early Jewish literature gathered in the Hebrew Bible, a collection, which according to some studies, was profoundly shaped by the Zadokite priestly ideology.¹ In contrast to the corpus of early Enochic writings, the student of the Hebrew Bible finds very limited information about the possibility for human beings to traverse the heavens. Few heroes of the biblical accounts are said to be translated into the heavenly abode. Among these unique figures, Enoch and Elijah are notably singled out; yet the biblical references about their translations are quite abbreviated, and they do not provide any details about the content of their heavenly journeys and celestial initiations. Such marked disinterest in the realities of the heavenly world, manifested in the Hebrew Bible, appears to represent a distinctive ideological tendency. Traversing the upper realms is clearly

discouraged in such a theological framework, and an attentive reader of the biblical accounts soon learns that all portentous formative encounters between human beings and otherworldly characters take place not in heaven or hell but instead in the terrestrial world—in the wilderness or on a mountain. Thus, Ezekiel receives his vision of the Merkavah not in the heavenly throne room, like Enoch, but instead on the river Chebar, and the son of Amram obtains his revelations from the deity on the mountain. Scholars previously reflected on the topological peculiarities of biblical accounts that attempt to discourage any depiction of humans ascending to upper realms in order to receive the divine revelation. Gabriele Boccaccini rightly observes that in “the primeval history, as edited in the Zadokite Torah (Gen 1–11) . . . any attempt to cross the boundary between humanity and the divine always results in disaster.”²

Yet, despite these topological proclivities, the possibility of the existence of heavenly counterparts was not entirely abandoned in the Hebrew Bible. In view of the pronounced sacerdotal tendencies of the Zadokite ideology, its application of the counterparts’ imagery became permeated by cultic concerns manifesting itself in the idea of a heavenly correlative to the earthly sanctuary.³ Such traditions of the heavenly counterparts first unfold in the paradigmatic revelation given to Moses on Mount Sinai. Several biblical passages from Exodus and Numbers⁴ insist that “the earlier pattern of the tabernacle and the pattern of all its furniture was made after the [heavenly] pattern . . . which was shown . . . on the mountain.”⁵ A passage from 1 Chronicles 28:19 further affirms the possibility that the plan of the earthly sanctuary came from above.⁶ All these passages postulate the idea that earthly cultic settings ought to be faithful imitations of heavenly ones.⁷ As one scholar rightly observes, “the goal of history . . . is that the *cultus* will be ‘on earth as in heaven.’”⁸ This notion that the earthly sanctuary is a replica of the heavenly one makes its first appearance not in the texts of the Hebrew Bible but in early Mesopotamian traditions.⁹ There, earthly temples are repeatedly portrayed as counterparts of heavenly realities.¹⁰

Yet, despite these specimens of sacerdotal counterparts’ traditions in biblical accounts, it appears that the conceptual developments pertaining to heavenly identities of human seers play a more prominent role in early Enochic lore, with its marked interest in the realities of the celestial world. We therefore must direct our attention to some of these developments.

The Book of the Watchers

Already in one of the earliest Enochic booklets, the *Book of the Watchers*,¹¹ the reader notices the fascination of the Enochic writers with the heavenly counterparts of the earthly realities, especially the cultic ones. Thus, in *1 Enoch* 14,

which portrays the patriarch's travel to the heavenly sanctuary located in the heavenly abode, the structure and the attributes of the celestial shrine are markedly reminiscent of the features of the Jerusalem temple. *1 Enoch* 14:9–18 details the following intriguing portrayal of the heavenly structures:

And I proceeded until I came near to a wall which was built of hailstones, and a tongue of fire surrounded it, and it began to make me afraid. And I went into the tongue of fire and came near to a large house which was built of hailstones, and the wall of that house (was) like a mosaic (made) of hailstones, and its floor (was) snow. Its roof (was) like the path of the stars and flashes of lightning, and among them (were) fiery Cherubim, and their heaven (was like) water. And (there was) a fire burning around its wall, and its door was ablaze with fire. And I went into that house, and (it was) hot as fire and cold as snow, and there was neither pleasure nor life in it. Fear covered me and trembling, I fell on my face. And I saw in the vision, and behold, another house, which was larger than the former, and all its doors (were) open before me, and (it was) built of a tongue of fire. And in everything it so excelled in glory and splendor and size that I am unable to describe to you its glory and its size. And its floor (was) fire, and above (were) lightning and the path of the stars, and its roof also (was) a burning fire. And I looked and I saw in it a high throne, and its appearance (was) like ice and its surrounds like the shining sun and the sound of Cherubim.¹²

Commenting on this passage, Martha Himmelfarb draws attention to the description of the celestial edifices that Enoch encounters in his progress to the divine Throne. She notes that in the Ethiopic text, in order to reach God's heavenly Seat, the patriarch passes through three celestial constructions: a wall, an outer house, and an inner house. The Greek version of this narrative mentions a house instead of a wall. Himmelfarb observes that more clearly in the Greek, but also in the Ethiopic, this arrangement echoes the structure of the earthly temple with its vestibule, sanctuary, and the Holy of Holies.¹³

God's throne is located in the innermost chamber of this heavenly construction and is represented by a throne of cherubim (*1 Enoch* 14:18). These are the heavenly counterparts to the cherubim found in the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem temple. In drawing parallels between the descriptions of the heavenly temple in the *Book of the Watchers* and the features of the earthly sanctuary, Himmelfarb observes that the fiery cherubim that Enoch sees on the ceiling of the first house (Ethiopic) or middle house (Greek) of the heavenly structure do not represent the cherubim of the divine throne but are images that recall the

figures on the hangings on the wall of the tabernacle mentioned in Exodus 26:1, 26:31, 36:8, and 36:35 or possibly the figures that, according to 1 Kings 6:29, 2 Chronicles 3:7, and Ezekiel 41:15–26, were engraved on the walls of the earthly temple.¹⁴ As one can see, the structure of the heavenly sanctuary and its features are reminiscent of the earthly temple and thus can be viewed as corresponding counterparts, one celestial and another terrestrial.

Moreover, in the course of this encounter, Enoch himself becomes a heavenly counterpart of the earthly sacerdotal servant, the high priest, who once a year on Yom Kippur was allowed to enter the divine Presence. Scholars previously noted these correspondences. For example, George Nickelsburg suggests that Enoch's progressions through the chambers of the celestial sanctuary might indicate that the author(s) of the *Book of the Watchers* perceived him as a servant associated with the activities in these chambers.¹⁵ Similarly, Nickelsburg argues that Enoch's vision of the Throne in the *Book of the Watchers* is "qualitatively different from that described in the biblical throne visions" because of the new active role of its visionary.¹⁶

Himmelfarb also points to the possibility that in the *Book of the Watchers* the patriarch himself becomes a priest in the course of his ascent,¹⁷ similar to the angels.¹⁸ In this conceptual development, the angelic status of the patriarch and his priestly role¹⁹ are viewed as mutually interconnected. Himmelfarb stresses that "the author of the *Book of the Watchers* claims angelic status for Enoch through his service in the heavenly temple" since "the ascent shows him passing through the outer court of the temple and the sanctuary to the door of the Holy of Holies, where God addresses him with his own mouth."²⁰

Helge Kvanvig highlights another aspect of Enoch's dream-vision in *1 Enoch* 14 that is very important for our study of the heavenly counterpart traditions. Kvanvig argues that the dream about the celestial temple "is told by Enoch from two perspectives. The first tells the whole series of events, emphasizing that Enoch stays on the earth during the entire dream. . . . The second perspective focuses on Enoch as the protagonist of the dream itself, and he is carried away to the heavenly temple."²¹ If Kvanvig is correct in his assessment of the peculiarities of Enoch's dream, the seer appears to be simultaneously in both realms: dreaming in his sleep on the earth and at the same time installed as the sacerdotal servant in the heavenly temple. As will be shown below, such depiction of the double identity of a human adept is widespread in various accounts of the heavenly counterparts. It especially evokes the later rabbinic accounts about Jacob's heavenly identity where angels behold this patriarch as sleeping on the earth and at the same time installed in heaven.

Kvanvig sees these early Enochic developments found in the *Book of the Watchers* as a crucial conceptual step in the shaping of the subsequent tradition

of Enoch's doppelganger in the *Book of the Similitudes* where the patriarch will be openly identified with his heavenly persona in the form of the Son of Man. He notes that "in *1 Enoch* 13–14 Enoch sees himself as a visionary counterpart in heaven. In [the *Similitudes*] 70–71 Enoch is actually taken to heaven to be identified as the Son of Man."²²

As will be shown below, the *Similitudes* also employs a double perspective in its dream report: Enoch first describes the Son of Man's mighty deeds and then later becomes identified with this celestial figure.²³ Kvanvig notices that "the two perspectives . . . constitute two ways of reporting a dream experience where the dreamer sees himself. In the first the dreamer reports what happened in retrospect, depicting how he sees himself acting in the dream; in the second he remains in the dream experience itself, where only one of the figures is involved, the figure seen in the dream."²⁴

Other early Enochic booklets also imply the existence of human beings' heavenly identities. Thus, for example, in the *Animal Apocalypse*,²⁵ Noah's and Moses' metamorphoses from animal forms to the form of the human being signify, in the zoomorphic code of this book, the transition from human to celestial condition.²⁶

The parallelism between heavenly and earthly identities of the various characters of the Enochic lore is further reaffirmed inversely in the destiny of the antagonists of the story. The fallen angels, called the Watchers, during their rebellious descent into the lower realm, encounter their lower "earthly" selves by assuming human roles of husbands and fathers.

All these features demonstrate that already in the earliest Enochic booklets the protagonists and the antagonists of the story are depicted as making transitions between their upper and lower personalities. Yet, in the *Book of the Similitudes*, such imagery comes to a new conceptual level when the seer becomes openly identified with his celestial Self. We should now draw our close attention to the portentous conceptual developments associated with this shift.

The *Book of the Similitudes*

Scholars have previously suggested²⁷ that the *Book of the Similitudes* entertains the idea of a visionary's heavenly counterpart when it identifies Enoch with the Son of Man in chapter 71. Although this Enochic text is not found among the Qumran fragments of the Enochic books, the current scholarly consensus holds that the book is likely to have been composed before the second century CE.²⁸ An account of Enoch's celestial metamorphosis found in *Similitudes* 71 offers the following perplexing depiction:

And it came to pass after this that my spirit was carried off, and it went up into the heavens. I saw the sons of the holy angels treading upon flames of fire, and their garments (were) white, and their clothing, and the light of their face (was) like snow. And I saw two rivers of fire, and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, and I fell upon my face before the Lord of Spirits. And the angel Michael, one of the archangels, took hold of me by my right hand, and raised me, and led me out to all the secrets of mercy and the secrets of righteousness. And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of heaven and all the Storehouses of all the stars and the lights, from where they come out before the holy ones. And the spirit carried Enoch off to the highest heaven, and I saw there in the middle of that light something built of crystal stones, and in the middle of those stones tongues of living fire. And my spirit saw a circle of fire which surrounded that house; from its four sides (came) rivers full of living fire, and they surrounded that house. And round about (were) the Seraphim, and the Cherubim, and the Ophanim; these are they who do not sleep, but keep watch over the throne of his glory. And I saw angels who could not be counted, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, surrounding that house; and Michael and Raphael and Gabriel and Phanuel, and the holy angels who (are) in the heavens above, went in and out of that house. And Michael and Raphael and Gabriel and Phanuel, and many holy angels without number, came out from that house; and with them the Head of Days, his head white and pure like wool, and his garments indescribable. And I fell upon my face, and my whole body melted, and my spirit was transformed; and I cried out in a loud voice in the spirit of power, and I blessed and praised and exalted. And these blessings which came out from my mouth were pleasing before that Head of Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, and thousands and tens of thousands of angels without number. And that angel came to me, and greeted me with his voice, and said to me: "You are the Son of Man who was born to righteousness, and righteousness remains over you, and the righteousness of the Head of Days will not leave you." And he said to me: "He proclaims peace to you in the name of the world which is to come, for from there peace has come out from the creation of the world; and so you will have it forever and for ever and ever. And all . . . will walk according to your way, inasmuch as righteousness will never leave you; with you will be their dwelling, and with you their lot, and they will not

be separated from you, forever and for ever and ever. And so there will be length of days with that Son of Man, and the righteous will have peace, and the righteous will have an upright way, in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.”²⁹

For a long time, students of the Enochic traditions were puzzled by the fact that the Son of Man, who in the previous chapters of the *Similitudes* has been distinguished from Enoch, becomes suddenly identified in this chapter with the seventh antediluvian patriarch. James VanderKam, among others,³⁰ suggests that this puzzle can be explained by the Jewish notion, attested in several ancient Jewish texts, that a creature of flesh and blood could have a heavenly double or counterpart.³¹ To provide an example, VanderKam points to Jacob’s pseudepigraphical and targumic accounts in which the patriarch’s “features are engraved on high.”³² He stresses that this theme of the visionary’s ignorance of his higher angelic identity is observable, for example, in the early Jewish pseudepigraphon known to us as the *Prayer of Joseph*.³³ In view of these traditions, VanderKam suggests that “Enoch would be viewing his supernatural double³⁴ who had existed before being embodied in the person of Enoch.”³⁵

If indeed in the *Book of the Parables* the Son of Man is understood as the heavenly identity of the seer, in the *Similitudes*, like in some Jacob currents,³⁶ the adept’s heavenly archetype seems to be related to imagery of God’s *Kavod*. *1 Enoch* 71:5 reports that Enoch was brought by the archangel Michael to the fiery structure, surrounded by rivers of living fire, which he describes as “something built of crystal stones, and in the middle of those stones tongues of living fire.”³⁷

There is no doubt that the fiery “structure” in the *Similitudes* represents the Throne of Glory, which in the *Book of the Watchers* is also described as the crystal structure issuing streams of fire.³⁸ An explicit reference to the deity’s Seat in *1 Enoch* 71:8,³⁹ immediately after the description of the fiery “crystal” structure, makes this clear. The appearance of the four angels of the Presence is also noteworthy, since they will constitute a constant feature in other accounts of the heavenly counterparts overshadowed by the *Kavod* imagery. We will see later in our study that the *Kavod* imagery featured in the *Book of the Similitudes* will continue to exercise its crucial role in other accounts of the heavenly counterparts found in various mediatorial trends.

Several words should be said about the Son of Man figure as the heavenly alter ego of the seventh antediluvian hero in the *Book of the Similitudes*. How novel is this association? It is intriguing that already in its first appearance in Daniel 7, the Son of Man’s figure might be envisioned as a doppelgänger.⁴⁰ Thus, John Collins previously suggested that already in Daniel 7 the Son of Man is understood as a heavenly counterpart. Yet, in Collins’ opinion, in Daniel, the

Son of Man is not a celestial alter ego of a single human being but instead an entire human community.⁴¹ Reflecting on the imagery found in chapter 7, Collins offers the following explanation:

[Son of Man] . . . is not a man, at least in the usual sense of the word, but is rather a heavenly being. A closer analogy is found with the patron deities of nations in Near Eastern mythology. These deities have a representative unity with their peoples, although they are definitely distinguished from them. While “the gods of Hamath and Arpad” (Isa 36:19) cannot be conceived apart from the nations they represent, there is no doubt that any divinity was assumed to have greater power than his people and to be able to act independently over against them. The heavenly counterparts of nations played an important part in apocalyptic literature, most notably in Daniel 10 where the angelic “princes” of Persia and Greece do battle with Michael, “the prince of your people.” I have argued elsewhere that the “one like a son of man” in Daniel 7 should be understood in this sense, as the heavenly counterpart of the faithful Jews.⁴²

It is also noteworthy that this tendency to depict otherworldly figures as the representatives of human social bodies also appears to be reaffirmed⁴³ in the functions and attributes of the antagonistic figures found in the Book of Daniel—namely, the four infamous beasts who are understood as the otherworldly representatives of the hostile nations.⁴⁴

If we return again to the Son of Man imagery, one should note that this prominent mediatorial trend was closely intertwined with the imagery of the heavenly counterparts not only in Jewish materials but also in early Christian accounts. According to some scholarly hypotheses, we can find such a conceptual link already in the canonical Gospels where the Son of Man title becomes Jesus’ self-definition. Dale Allison raises an intriguing question, asking if it is possible that “some of Jesus’ words about the Son of Man were about his heavenly twin or counterpart, with whom he was one or would come one?”⁴⁵ He further notes that “already David Catchpole⁴⁶ had suggested, with reference to Matt 18:10, that in Luke 12:8–9, the Son of Man is Jesus’ guardian angel.”⁴⁷ Allison concludes that “if Jesus and the heavenly Son of Man were two yet one, this would neatly explain why in some sayings the Son of Man is Jesus on earth, while in others he is a heavenly figure who for now remains in heaven.”⁴⁸

Indeed, Luke 12:8–9 represents a distinguished conceptual nexus where the Son of Man seems to be envisioned as the heavenly counterpart of the earthly Jesus. As one may recall, Luke 12:8–9 presents the following words of Jesus: “And I tell you, everyone who acknowledges me before others, the Son of Man

also will acknowledge before the angels of God; but whoever denies me before others will be denied before the angels of God.”⁴⁹

In his attempt to clarify a possible concept of earthly Jesus’ heavenly double in the form of the Son of Man found in this Lukan fragment, David Catchpole brings attention to Matthew 18:10, a portentous passage for future Christian elaborations of the heavenly counterpart imagery, where the μικροί on earth are depicted as *Sarim ha-Panim* who are situated in God’s immediate presence.⁵⁰ Comparing Lukan and Matthean traditions, Catchpole suggests that

the point here is that the angel in God’s presence is presumed to act either favorably or unfavorably in relation to the person addressed by the saying, depending on whether that person treats the μικρός favorably or unfavorably. For the angel is the guarantor of the μικρός. In the light of such a scheme Lk. 12:8 makes perfect sense. It suggests that the Son of man will act either favorably or unfavorably in respect of the person addressed who either confesses or denies Jesus, precisely because the Son of Man is the heavenly guarantor of the earthly Jesus.⁵¹

Catchpole further notes that this idea of the heavenly angelic sponsor or guarantor is not unique to Luke’s passage and can be found in other Jewish writings, such as Tobit 12:15 and *1 Enoch* 104:1, and therefore “represents an individualizing of the old idea of an angelic ruler for each nation (cf. Dan. 10:12; 12:1; Sir. 17:17).”⁵²

Fletcher-Louis then offers some additional illustrations from the Enochic lore that, in his opinion, reinforce⁵³ the plausibility of Catchpole’s hypothesis. He notes that

the *Similitudes* offer a very close comparison to this human being/heavenly counterpart structure, particularly as they have been read by J.C. VanderKam. Enoch is the human being who was in pre-existence, who is, and then fully realizes his identity as the heavenly Son of Man. VanderKam’s own analysis can now be supported by comparison with this gospel tradition. In the gospel Jesus, not Enoch, is the earthly manifestation of the heavenly Son of Man. This pattern is itself parallel to that in the *Prayer of Joseph*, where Jacob and Israel are names for the earthly and heavenly identities of the same individual.⁵⁴

We should note here that the concept of the Son of Man as Jesus’ heavenly identity is not limited only to the Gospel of Luke. Thus, in a number of passages

from the Gospel of John—namely, John 1:18, 1:51 and 3:13⁵⁵—the speculation about Jesus’ heavenly identity appears to be again conflated with the Son of Man tradition.⁵⁶ We will explore these important Christian developments later in our study.

2 *Enoch*

Further development of Enoch’s heavenly counterpart imagery continues in another early Jewish pseudepigraphon—*2 Enoch*, where the correspondences between earthly and otherworldly realities reach a new conceptual threshold. This text, which was probably written in the first century CE, before the destruction of the Second Jerusalem Temple,⁵⁷ depicts Enoch’s heavenly journey to the throne of God where the hero of faith undergoes a luminous transformation into a celestial creature. Akin to the developments found in the *Book of the Similitudes*, the scene of the seer’s metamorphosis takes place near the deity’s *Kavod*, described in *2 Enoch*’s account as the divine Face.⁵⁸ According to the story, after his dramatic transformation in the upper heaven, the patriarch must then return back to the human realm in order to convey the revelations received in the upper realm. Here the heavenly counterpart traditions enter their new conceptual dimension by depicting their protagonist as temporarily abandoning his celestial identity and a luminous heavenly garment associated with it, in order to return to his earthly community.

2 Enoch 39:3–6 depicts the patriarch arriving on earth and describing to his children his earlier dramatic encounter with the divine Face. In the shorter recension of the Slavonic text, the following account can be found:

You, my children, you see my face, a human being created just like yourselves; I am one who has seen the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, emitting sparks. For you gaze into my eyes, a human being created just like yourselves; but I have gazed into the eyes of the Lord, like the rays of the shining sun and terrifying the eyes of a human being. You, my children, you see my right hand beckoning you, a human being created identical to yourselves; but I have seen the right hand of the Lord, beckoning me, who fills heaven. You see the extent of my body, the same as your own; but I have seen the extent of the Lord, without measure and without analogy, who has no end.⁵⁹

It appears that Enoch’s description reveals a contrast between the two identities of the visionary: the earthly Enoch (“a human being created just like

yourselves”) and his heavenly counterpart (“the one who has seen the Face of God”). Enoch describes himself in two different modes of existence: as a human being who now stands before his children with a human face and body *and* as a celestial creature who has seen God’s Face in the heavenly realm.⁶⁰ These descriptions of two conditions (earthly and celestial) occur repeatedly in tandem. It is possible that the purpose of Enoch’s instruction to his children is not to stress the difference between his human body and the deity’s body but to emphasize the distinction between *this* Enoch, a human being “created just like yourselves,” and the *other* angelic Enoch, who has been standing before the deity’s Face. Enoch’s previous transformation into a glorified form and his initiation into the service of the divine Presence in *2 Enoch* 22:7 supports this suggestion. It is unlikely that Enoch has somehow completely abandoned his supra-angelic status and his unique place before the Face of God granted to him in the previous chapters. An account of Enoch’s permanent installation can be found in chapter 36 where the deity tells Enoch, before his short visit to the earth, that a place has been prepared for him and that he will be in front of God’s face “from now and forever.”⁶¹ What is significant here for our research is that the identification of the visionary with his heavenly double involves the installation of the seer into the office of the angel (or the prince) of the Presence (*Sar ha-Panim*). The importance of this account for the idea of the heavenly counterpart in *2 Enoch* is apparent because it points to the simultaneous existence of Enoch’s angelic double, who is installed in heaven, and its human counterpart, whom God sends periodically on missionary errands.

A similar state of affairs is observable in the *Testament of Isaac* where the archangel Michael serves as angelic double of Abraham. Thus, *Testament of Isaac* 2:1–9 reads:

It came to pass, when the time drew near for our father Isaac, the father of fathers, to depart from this world and to go out from his body, that the Compassionate, the Merciful One sent to him the chief of the angels, Michael, the one whom he had sent to his father Abraham, on the morning of the twenty-eighth day of the month Misri. The angel said to him, “Peace be upon you, O chosen son, our father Isaac!” Now it was customary every day for the holy angels to speak to him. So he prostrated himself and saw that the angel resembled his father Abraham. Then he opened his mouth, cried with a loud voice, and said with joy and exultation, “Behold, I have seen your face as if I had seen the face of the merciful Creator.” Then the angel said to him, “O my beloved Isaac, I have been sent to you from the presence of the living God to take you up to heaven to be with your father Abraham and all the saints. For your father Abraham

is awaiting you; he himself is about to come for you, but now he is resting. There has been prepared for you the throne beside your father Abraham; likewise for your beloved son Jacob. And all of you shall be above everyone else in the kingdom of heaven in the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.”⁶²

In this pseudepigraphical account, one can see a striking distance between the angelic messenger in the form of Abraham sent here on a missionary journey to the lower realm to instruct Isaac and the “other” Abraham’s identity that is awaiting Isaac in heaven.

As will be demonstrated later in our study, some targumic and rabbinic accounts about Jacob also attest to a similar concept of the heavenly counterpart when they depict angels beholding Jacob as one who is simultaneously installed in heaven and sleeping on earth.⁶³ In relation to this paradoxical situation where the seer not only is unified with his heavenly correlative in the form of the angel of the Presence but also retains the ability to travel back to the earthly realm, Jonathan Smith observes that “the complete pattern is most apparent in the various texts that witness to the complex Enoch tradition, particularly *2 Enoch*. Here Enoch was originally a man (ch. 1) who ascended to heaven and became an angel (22:9, cf. *3 Enoch* 10:3f. and 48C), returned to earth as a man (33:11), and finally returned again to heaven to resume his angelic station (67:18).”⁶⁴

What is also important in *2 Enoch*’s account for our ongoing investigation of the heavenly counterpart traditions is that while the “heavenly version” of Enoch is installed permanently in heaven in the form of an angelic servant of the divine Presence, his “earthly version” is dispatched by God to a lower realm with the mission to deliver the handwritings made by the translated hero in heaven. Thus, in *2 Enoch* 33:3–10, God endows Enoch with the task of distributing those heavenly writings on earth:

And now, Enoch, whatever I have explained to you, and whatever you have seen in heavens, and whatever you have seen on earth, and whatever I have written in the books—by my supreme wisdom I have contrived it all. . . . Apply your mind, Enoch, and acknowledge the One who is speaking to you. And you take the books which I have written. . . . And you go down onto the earth and tell your sons all that I have told you. . . . And deliver to them the books in your handwritings, and they will read them and know their Creator. . . . And distribute the books in your handwritings to your children and (your) children to (their) children; and the parents will read (them) from generation to generation.⁶⁵

This account is striking in that while commanding the adept to travel to the lower realm with the heavenly books, God himself seems to assume the seer's upper scribal identity. The deity tells Enoch, who is previously depicted as the scribe of the books,⁶⁶ that it is He who wrote these books. As we will witness later in our study, this situation is reminiscent of some heavenly counterpart developments found in the Mosaic tradition—namely, in *Jubilees*, where the angel of the Presence also seems to take on the celestial scribal identity of Moses. It is also noteworthy that in *Jubilees*, like in *2 Enoch*, the boundaries between the upper scribal identity of the visionary who claims to be the writer of “the first law” and the deity appear blurred.⁶⁷ In *2 Enoch* 33, where the divine scribal figure commands the seventh antediluvian hero to deliver the book in his (Enoch's) handwritings, one possibly witnesses the unique paradoxal communication between the upper and the lower scribal identities.

The fact that in *2 Enoch* 33 the patriarch is dispatched to earth to deliver the books in “his handwritings”—the authorship of which the text assigns to the deity—is also worthy of attention given that in the traditions attested in *Jubilees*, one also encounters the idea of Moses' doppelganger in the form of the angel of the Presence. This angelic servant claims authorship of the materials that the Jewish tradition explicitly assigns to Moses. Here, just like in *2 Enoch*, the production of these authoritative writings can be seen as a process executed simultaneously by both earthly and heavenly authors, although it is the function of the earthly counterpart to deliver them to humans.

3 *Enoch* or *Sefer Hekhalot*

Before we proceed to the in-depth investigation of some conceptual developments common to several texts of the Enochic lore, it is worth pausing for a moment to reflect on another crucial, this time rabbinic, document that also entertains the idea of the heavenly alter ego of the seventh antediluvian hero. This text, known to us as *3 Enoch*, or *Sefer Hekhalot* (the *Book of [the Heavenly] Palaces*), unambiguously identifies Enoch with his upper identity in the form of the supreme angel Metatron. Separated by many centuries from the early Second Temple Enochic booklets,⁶⁸ this enigmatic rabbinic text attempts to shepherd early apocalyptic imagery into a novel mystical dimension. Thus, an attentive reader of *3 Enoch* soon learns that the apocalyptic résumé of the seventh antediluvian hero has not been forgotten by the *Hekhalot* authors.

Indeed, some of Metatron's roles and titles elaborated in *Sefer Hekhalot* appear to be connected with those already known from the previous analysis of early Enochic traditions. These offices, in fact, represent the continuation and,

in many ways, consummation of the roles of the seventh antediluvian hero. As one remembers, the hero was endowed with these multiple duties upon his dramatic metamorphosis in heaven. In reference to these conceptual developments, Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that “3 *Enoch’s* account of the transformation of Enoch into the principal angel Metatron represents something of the climax of earlier Enoch traditions.”⁶⁹

It should be noted that the Metatron tradition found in *Sefer Hekhalot* does not stem solely from the Enochic conceptual currents, but without a doubt is informed by other mediatorial streams. In this respect, Hugo Odeberg’s early hypothesis that the identification of Metatron with Enoch represented a decisive formative pattern in the Metatron tradition was criticized by a number of distinguished students of Jewish mystical traditions, including Moses Gaster, Gershom Scholem, Saul Lieberman, and Jonas Greenfield. These experts noted that the concept of Metatron cannot be explained solely by reference to early Enochic lore because Metatron has taken many of the titles and functions that are reminiscent of those that the archangel Michael, Yahoel, and other elevated personalities possess in early Jewish traditions. But as we remember even in early Enochic booklets, including the *Book of the Similitudes*, the seventh antediluvian patriarch already was endowed with the titles and roles of other mediatorial trends’ heroes, including the Son of Man. Some scholars even suggested that the Son of Man traditions might play a crucial role in Enoch’s acquisition of his celestial alter ego in the form of Metatron. Thus, in relation to these conceptual currents, Alan Segal observes that

in the Third or Hebrew Book of Enoch, Metatron is set on a throne alongside God and appointed above angels and powers to function as God’s *vizier* and plenipotentiary. These traditions are related to the earlier Enoch cycle in apocalyptic literature because Enoch is described by the mystics as having been caught up to the highest heaven (based on Gen 5:24), where he is transformed into the fiery angel, Metatron. This is clearly dependent on the ancient “son of man” traditions which appear in Ethiopian Enoch 70 and 71, but they have been expanded in Jewish mysticism so that Enoch and Metatron are now *alter egos*, while neither the titles “son of man” nor “son of God” appear at all.⁷⁰

Besides the Son of Man traditions, the influence of other apocalyptic mediatorial figures like Yahoel or the archangel Michael should not be forgotten. Gershom Scholem’s classic study differentiates between two basic aspects of Metatron’s legends that, in Scholem’s opinion, were combined and fused together in the rabbinic and Hekhalot literature. These aspects include the Enochic tra-

dition and the lore connected with the exalted figures of Yahoel and Michael. Scholem writes that

one aspect identifies Metatron with Yahoel or Michael and knows nothing of his transfiguration from a human being into an angel. The talmudic passages concerned with Metatron are of this type. The other aspect identifies Metatron with the figure of Enoch as he is depicted in apocalyptic literature, and permeated that aggadic and targumic literature which, although not necessarily of a later date than Talmud, was outside of it. When the *Book of Hekhaloth*, or *3 Enoch*, was composed, the two aspects had already become intertwined.⁷¹

Despite the aforementioned critique of Hugo Odeberg's position, the possible influence of the Enochic tradition on the Metatron imagery has never been abandoned by the new approaches, mainly in view of the evidence preserved in *Sefer Hekhalot*. For example, Gershom Scholem repeatedly referred to several conceptual streams of the Metatron tradition, one of which, in his opinion, was clearly connected with early Enochic developments. Scholars, however, often construe this Enochic stream as a later development that joined the Metatron tradition after its initial formative stage.

Indeed, in *Sefer Hekhalot* Metatron appears in several new roles previously unknown in the early booklets included in *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch*, such as the "Youth," the "Prince of the World," the "Measurer/Measure of the Lord," the "Prince of the divine Presence," the "Prince of the Torah," and the "Lesser YHWH."⁷² It is possible that some of these designations might have already originated in pre-mishnaic Judaism under the influence of the various mediatorial traditions in which Michael, Yahoel, Adam, Moses, Noah, Melchizedek, and other characters were depicted as elevated figures.

Also in comparison to the early Enochic booklets, *Sefer Hekhalot* provides more elaborate descriptions of how Enoch's earthly identity was dramatically changed into his transcendental Self. One of the most striking portrayals in this respect is situated in *3 Enoch* 15 (*Synopse* §19), which describes the metamorphosis of the patriarch's earthly body into the fiery celestial form of the supreme angel. *3 Enoch* 15 reads:

R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: When the Holy One, blessed be he, took me to serve the throne of glory, the wheels of the chariot and all the needs of the Shekinah, at once my flesh turned to flame, my sinews to blazing fire, my bones to juniper coals, my eyelashes to lightning flashes, my eyeballs to fiery torches, the hairs of my

head to hot flames, all my limbs to wings of burning fire, and the substance of my body (וְגוֹרֵף קוֹמָתִי) to blazing fire.⁷³

Moreover, unlike in the early Enochic writings, the heavenly identity of the seer is presented in *Sefer Hekhalot* not simply as angelic but as divine, since he is designated there as the lesser representation of the divine Name.

This concept of Enoch's heavenly archetype as a preexistent divine being who transcends creation and history is very important for understanding the relationship between the patriarch and his doppelganger. It appears, however, that Enoch might not be the only earthly identity of the great angel.

Although Metatron's title "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* suggests that the great angel joined the angelic company quite late,⁷⁴ another salient passage in chapter 48 of the same work reveals that Metatron's upper identity precedes Enoch's earthly existence. Thus, *3 Enoch* 48C:1 (*Synopse* §72) details the following tradition: "The Holy One, blessed be he, said: I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron my servant (עַבְדִּי), who is unique among all denizens of the heights. 'I made him strong' in the generation of the first man. . . . 'I took him'—Enoch the son of Jared, from their midst, and brought him up. . . . 'I appointed him'—over all the storehouses and treasures which I have in every heaven."⁷⁵

Here, Metatron is envisioned as a divine being who was first incarnated during the generation of Adam and then a second time during the generation before the Flood in the form of the seventh antediluvian hero. Thus, analyzing an excerpt from *3 Enoch* 48, Moshe Idel observes that "two stages in the history of Metatron are described in this passage: the first in the generation of Adam, the second in the generation of the Flood, when he was 'taken' and later 'appointed.' Metatron's status in respect of the generation of Adam is not made clear; possibly he is regarded as an entity different from Adam, as we learn from another source as well. This understanding too, however, cannot blur the connection, from the historical aspect, between two conditions of Metatron: an earlier condition in the generation of Adam and a later condition during the Flood generation."⁷⁶

This development is similar to the tradition of Jacob's heavenly counterpart found in the *Prayer of Joseph*, where Jacob is also understood as an incarnation of the primordial angel who "tabernacled" on earth in the body of the patriarch.

Face of God

It is time to discern common conceptual tenets of the Enochic trajectory related to the idea of the heavenly counterpart. We will start our exploration with the theophanic imagery found in the Enochic accounts.

It has already been noticed in our study that the imagery of the divine Glory, *Kavod*, appears to be playing a crucial role in several scenes where human adepts become united with their heavenly identities. Often such *Kavod* imagery is rendered through the symbolism of the divine Face, a portentous terminological interchange, which was first manifested in the biblical Mosaic stories. The imagery of the divine *Kavod* also plays a significant role in early Enochic accounts. Both *2 Enoch* and the *Similitudes* demonstrate striking similarities in their rendering of the *Kavod* imagery and the angelic retinue that surrounds this glorious extent of the deity. Also the seer's approach to the divine Form and his striking metamorphosis are very similar in both narrations. Several details are particularly worth noting:

- a. In both accounts (*1 Enoch* 71:3–5 and *2 Enoch* 22:6), Enoch is brought to the Throne by the archangel Michael.
- b. The angelology of the Throne in *1 Enoch* 71, similarly to *2 Enoch*,⁷⁷ includes three classes of angelic beings: ophanim, cherubim, and seraphim.
- c. Both Enochic accounts speak about the transformation of the visionary. Enoch's metamorphosis in *1 Enoch* 71 recalls the description of the luminous transformation of Enoch into a glorious heavenly being in *2 Enoch* 22:8–9.
- d. The transformation takes place in front of a fiery "structure," a possible source of both transformations.
- e. Studies in the past have noted that in both accounts, the transformation of the visionary takes place in the context of the angelic liturgy (*1 Enoch* 71:11–12; *2 Enoch* 21:1–22:10).⁷⁸
- f. In both accounts, Enoch falls on his face before the Throne.⁷⁹
- g. The manner in which Enoch is greeted near the Throne of Glory in *1 Enoch* 71:14–17 resembles the scene from *2 Enoch* 22:5–6 where the deity personally greets Enoch. In both accounts, we have an address in which the visionary is informed about his "eternal" status.⁸⁰

These features of both accounts point to the importance of the encounter with the *Kavod* in the process of acquiring knowledge about, and attaining the condition of, the seer's heavenly identity. Similarly in Jacob's doppelganger lore, the vision of God's glory also becomes an important theophanic motif. As we will see later, these motifs are clearly recognizable in the targumic Jacob

accounts and in the *Ladder of Jacob*, where reports about Jacob's angelic counterpart are creatively conflated with theophanic traditions about the vision of God's *Kavod*.

Angels of the Presence as Custodians of Heavenly Identities

Notably, both the *Book of the Similitudes* and *2 Enoch* depict angelic guides who acquaint the seers with their upper celestial identities and their corresponding offices as angels of the Presence. It is well known that the earliest Enochic materials already portray numerous appearances of the angel of the Presence under the name Uriel, who is also known in various traditions under the names of Phanuel and Sariel. In one of the earliest Enochic booklets, the *Astronomical Book*, this angel is responsible for initiating the seventh antediluvian hero into the utmost mysteries of the universe, including astronomical, calendrical, and meteorological secrets.

In *2 Enoch* 22–23, the angel Uriel (whose name is rendered in that apocalypse as Vereveil) also plays a primary role during Enoch's initiations near the Throne of Glory.⁸¹ He instructs Enoch about various subjects of esoteric knowledge in order to prepare him for his celestial offices, including the office of the heavenly scribe. During these initiations, Vereveil transfers to the adept celestial writing instruments and heavenly books. Here the transference of books, scribal tools, and the office of the celestial scribe further reaffirms the process of the gradual unification of the seer with his heavenly alter ego.⁸² As will be shown later, such constellations will also play a prominent role in Mosaic traditions of the heavenly double.

1 Enoch 71 also refers to the same angel of the Presence who appears to initiate Enoch into the Son of Man, but names him Phanuel.⁸³ In the *Similitudes*, he occupies an important place among the four principal angels—namely, the place usually assigned to Uriel. In fact, the angelic name Phanuel might be a title, which stresses the celestial status of Uriel-Sariel⁸⁴ as one of the servants of the divine *Panim*.⁸⁵ As we will see later in our study, the importance of the angels of the divine Presence in the process of the seer's unification with his heavenly counterpart will be reaffirmed in the accounts of Moses' and Jacob's transformations. Thus, the aforementioned title "Phanuel" will play a prominent role in various Jacob accounts of the heavenly correlative. In view of these connections, it is possible that the title itself might have originated from Jacob's lore. In Genesis 32:31, Jacob names the place of his wrestling with God as Peniel—the Face of God. Scholars believe that the angelic name Phanuel and the place Peniel are etymologically connected.⁸⁶

This reference to Uriel-Sariel-Phanuel as the angel who instructs/wrestles with Jacob and announces to him his new angelic status and name is widely documented in Jacob lore dealing with the idea of the heavenly counterparts, including *Targum Neofiti* and the *Prayer of Joseph*. In the *Prayer of Joseph*, Jacob-Israel reveals that “Uriel, the angel of God, came forth and said that ‘I [Jacob-Israel] had descended to earth and I had tabernacled among men and that I had been called by the name of Jacob.’ He envied me and fought with me and wrestled with me.”⁸⁷

In the *Ladder of Jacob*, another portentous pseudepigraphical text dealing with the idea of the heavenly counterpart, Jacob’s identification with his doppelganger, the angel Israel, again involves the initiatory encounter with the angel Sariel: the angel of the divine Presence or the Face. The same state of events is observable in Enochic materials where Uriel serves as the principal heavenly guide to another prominent visionary who has also acquired knowledge about his own heavenly counterpart—namely, Enoch-Metatron.

Moreover in some Enochic accounts, including *2 Enoch*, the patriarch not only is initiated by the angel of the Presence but himself becomes the servant of the divine Presence. Enoch’s new designation is unfolded primarily in chapters 21–22 of *2 Enoch* in the midst of the *Kavod* imagery. In these chapters, one can find several promises from the mouth of the archangel Gabriel and the deity himself that the translated patriarch will now stand in front of God’s Face forever.⁸⁸ The adept’s role as the servant of the divine Presence and its connection with the traditions of the heavenly counterpart will be explored in detail later in this study.

Enoch as the “Youth”

As we have already learned in this study, the concept of the heavenly alter ego of Enoch was not forgotten in the later Enochic lore, wherein the heavenly persona of the seventh patriarch was often identified with the supreme angel Metatron, a character designated in Hekhalot and rabbinic texts as the celestial “Youth,” the title rendered in the Merkavah lore with the Hebrew term נַעַר.⁸⁹ This designation is intriguing since in many accounts of the heavenly counterparts in early Jewish and Christian texts, a celestial double of a human protagonist is often portrayed as a child or a youth. For example, in early heterodox Christian developments Jesus’ heavenly identity is often rendered through the imagery of a child.⁹⁰ Such imagery is widely dissipated in various apocryphal Acts, including, the *Acts of John* 87⁹¹ and 88–89,⁹² the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* 18⁹³ and 33,⁹⁴ the *Acts of Peter* 21,⁹⁵ and the *Acts of Thomas* 27.⁹⁶ Other early Christian

apocryphal materials are also cognizant about Jesus' heavenly identity in the form of the "youth." Thus, such imagery can be found in the *Gospel of Judas* 33:15–20,⁹⁷ the *Apocryphon of John*,⁹⁸ the *Concept of Our Great Power* 44:32–33,⁹⁹ the *Apocalypse of Paul* 18:6,¹⁰⁰ and other early Christian accounts.¹⁰¹

The identity of Jesus as a "youth" often has been understood by scholars as a reference to his "immaterial" heavenly Self. Thus, for example, reflecting on Jesus' identity as a child in the *Gospel of Judas*, Paul Foster argues that

it is against this broader theological outlook of the text that the ability of Jesus to change into the form of a child needs to be understood. Here polymorphic power is not used to illustrate transcendence over death, as in the post-resurrection examples of this phenomenon; rather it declares the possessor's transcendence over the material world. Physical form is not a constraint on such a being, for in essence he does not belong to the material world. Therefore, a fundamental difference needs to be emphasized. The property of polymorphy was particularly attractive in gnostic theology since it allowed for reflection on a divine being able to defy the limitations of the transitory and material world. Here, unlike previous examples, the author of the *Gospel of Judas* wishes to show that Jesus not only defeats the power of death through his ability to metamorphose, but in fact he is beyond the control of what is viewed as being the inherently corrupted mortal realm.¹⁰²

The symbolism of a child as Jesus' heavenly identity was received into the Manichaean lore, which often speaks of a divine figure under the name "Jesus-Child."¹⁰³ Moreover, in some *Kephalaia*'s passages, "Youth" appears to be representing only one of Jesus' multiple identities that is clearly distinguished from his other selves.¹⁰⁴

The idea of Jesus' heavenly identity as the "Youth" might have its roots already in the New Testament materials. Thus, it is possible that a mysterious "youth" (νεανίσκος) who appears in Mark 14:51–52¹⁰⁵ and 16:5¹⁰⁶ might represent Jesus' doppelgänger. In Mark 14:51–52, this "youth" is depicted as initially wearing linen clothes (περιβεβλημένος σινδόνα) from which he was then stripped naked in the course of struggle with his persecutors. In Mark 16:5, the "youth" appears before women in the empty tomb dressed in a white robe (στολήν λευκήν). The women's amazement and terror might hint to the fact that the youth's attire signifies an angelic garment. The "youth's" knowledge about Jesus' resurrection also points to the fact that he was not an ordinary earthly being. Since there are only two instances of this term in the *Gospel of Mark*, and in