MARTHA HIMMELFARB

Between Temple and Torah

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
151

Mohr Siebeck

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Martha Himmelfarb

Between Temple and Torah

Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond

Mohr Siebeck

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJSR	*Association for Jewish Studies Review*
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOT	*The Apocryphal Old Testament.* Edited by H. F. D. Sparks. Oxford, 1984
APOT	*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.* Edited by R. H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford, 1913
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CP	*Classical Philology*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Ed. I. B. Chabot et al. Paris, 1903–
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica.* 16 vols. Jerusalem, 1972
FJB	*Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge*
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
Int	*Interpretation*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*

JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
LJPSTT	Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.* Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, 1983
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	*Revue biblique*
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SR	*Studies in Religion*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism/ Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*

Introduction

This volume contains most of my articles from 1984 through 2011 on topics in Second Temple Judaism and the development and reception of Second Temple traditions in late antiquity and the Middle Ages. It does not contain articles I have written on rabbinic texts or the post-rabbinic Hebrew apocalyptic works *Sefer Zerubbabel* and *Sefer Eliyyahu*. I have also omitted articles relevant to the volume's subject that no longer add significantly to the content of my books *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*[1] and *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*[2] as well as articles written for a more popular audience. Thus I trust that all of the articles here are of continuing scholarly interest.

The first three sections of the volume treat texts and traditions of the Second Temple period. The articles in "Priests, Temples, and Torah" address the themes of the section title in texts from the Bible to the Mishnah. "Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls" contains articles analyzing the intensification of the biblical purity laws, particularly the laws for genital discharge, in the major legal documents from the Scrolls. The articles in "Judaism and Hellenism" explore the relationship between these two ancient cultures by examining the ancient and modern historiography of the Maccabean Revolt and the role of the Torah in ancient Jewish adaptations of Greek culture. The last two sections of the volume follow texts and traditions of the Second Temple period into late antiquity and the Middle Ages. The articles in "Heavenly Ascent" consider the relationship between the ascent apocalypses of the Second Temple period and later works involving heavenly ascent, particularly the hekhalot texts. The final section, "The Pseudepigrapha and Medieval Jewish Literature," contains two investigations of knowledge of works of the Second Temple period by medieval Jews with consideration of the channels by which the works might have reached these later readers.

The process of putting this volume together has made me more conscious than ever of the ways in which the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls during the last decades of the twentieth century has contributed to and changed our understanding of ancient Judaism. With the exception of the pieces on "Judaism and

[1] M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[2] M. Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Hellenism," all of the articles here reflect the impact of the Scrolls. Several treat previously unknown texts discovered among the Scrolls, while many of them are indebted to the new perspectives on long-known works that fragments found among the Scrolls have provided. The previously unknown texts studied here include several of the legal texts discussed in the articles in "Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls": 4QD, the *Temple Scroll*, and 4QMMT. The long-known works illumined by the new manuscripts that are of most importance for the volume are *Aramaic Levi*, *Jubilees*, and especially the *Book of the Watchers*. These works play a central role in "Priests, Temples, and Torah," and they make appearances in other sections of the volume as well.

Of all of these discoveries, it seems to me that the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch*, or more precisely, of four of the five works that make up the Ethiopic text, have had the most transformative affect on the understanding of ancient Judaism. The fragments were first published in 1976, when I was in graduate school.[3] But my high estimation of their importance reflects more than the timing of their publication just as my scholarly interests were being formed. To begin with, the fragments changed our understanding of the emergence and development of apocalyptic literature quite dramatically. The paleographical evidence of the fragments demonstrated decisively that the biblical Book of Daniel from the middle of the second century BCE was not, as had previously been thought, the earliest apocalypse. That honor belongs to the Aramaic original of the *Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch* 72–82), followed by the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1–36), both from the third century.

These new datings changed the way scholars thought about the apocalypses since Daniel could no longer be understood as the fountainhead of the genre. The displacement of Daniel is particularly significant because the two early Enochic works stand at a considerable distance from it in both form and content. Neither contains the symbolic visions characteristic of Daniel, and neither is primarily concerned with collective eschatology. In contrast to Daniel's visions, which require an interpreting angel to decode them, the mode of revelation in these Enochic apocalypses is more direct. The *Astronomical Book* contains little narrative, but it presents itself as an account of what the angel Uriel showed Enoch. The central mode of revelation in the *Book of the Watchers* is the journey, of which there are two, an ascent to heaven and a journey to the ends of the earth, with the sights Enoch sees in the course of the journeys. The concentration of the *Astronomical Book* on calendar is an indication of the importance of this topic in Second Temple Judaism, which can be seen also in *Jubilees*, but calendar is not a central concern of later apocalypses. The interests of the *Book of the Watchers* – the problem of evil, the heavenly temple, personal eschatology, and mythic

[3] J. T. Milik, with the collaboration of M. Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

geography – had a greater impact on later apocalypses, including apocalypses in which collective eschatology plays a central role. Perhaps scholars shouldn't have needed the new datings to notice the importance of these interests for the apocalypses, but in practice it was the discovery of the Aramaic Enoch fragments that placed them on the scholarly agenda.

But the lessons the *Book of the Watchers* has to teach go well beyond apocalyptic literature. Probably the most important, in my view, is about the relationship between priest and scribe. There can be no doubt of the potential for tension between these different types of functionaries once a written text detailing the management of the Jerusalem Temple had received authoritative status, and the Book of Nehemiah (ch. 13) makes it amply clear that the potential was sometimes realized. But the *Book of the Watchers*' depiction of Enoch as both scribe and priest points to the ways in which these roles complement rather than oppose each other. This too is a lesson that we could have learned without the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch*. After all, the biblical Book of Ezra takes the trouble to trace the lineage of its hero, the first great scribe of the Second Temple period, back to Aaron, the founder of the priesthood (Ezra 7:1–6). Indeed, many of the scribes known to us by name in the Second Temple period were priests by ancestry, while the nature of the codification of priestly law in the Torah suggests that at least some priests and scribes came to share not only concern for the cult and questions of purity but also a worldview that valued regularity and precision.

In a happy intersection of scholarly advances, Peter Schäfer and his collaborators published their *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*[4] only a few years after the Aramaic fragments brought new attention to the *Book of the Watchers*. The publication of the *Synopse* marked the beginning of a new era in the study of hekhalot literature and thus of heavenly ascent in ancient Judaism, and it directed scholarly attention to the ascent in the *Book of the Watchers*, the first narrative of ascent in Jewish literature, and to the ascents in other apocalypses. The articles in "Heavenly Ascent" are deeply indebted to both publications and to the reinvigorated discussion of the ancient Jewish literature of ascent they made possible.

In contrast to the articles in the other sections, the articles in "Judaism and Hellenism" have not benefitted from the availability of new texts or new manuscript evidence for previously known works. The juxtaposition of Judaism and Hellenism is itself ancient, going back to one of the works that plays a central role in these articles, 2 Maccabees. In the articles I argue that despite 2 Maccabees' claim that Judaism and Hellenism are opposing cultures, a close examination of 2 Maccabees itself and of the other great history of the Maccabean Revolt, the unrelated work known as 1 Maccabees, finds Judaism and Hellenism inextricably intertwined, though the intertwining takes a different and distinctive

[4] P. Schäfer, in collaboration with M. Schlüter and H. G. von Mutius, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1981).

form in each of the texts. While I hope I have illumined the works I discuss in new ways, I cannot claim credit for the central insight that ancient Jews successfully adapted Hellenism for their own purposes. At least since the middle of the twentieth century scholars have recognized that there were more options for Jews of the Hellenistic era than rejecting Greek culture or being overcome by it, but my understanding is particularly indebted to the work of Elias Bickerman, the subject of one of the articles here, in my view the greatest twentieth-century historian of Judaism in the Greco-Roman world, despite his lack of formal training in Jewish history and his limited knowledge of Hebrew.[5]

The approach of these articles is resolutely old-fashioned, textual and contextual. It is an approach that I hope lives up to a memorable formulation of my teacher Robert A. Kraft: "Historians shouldn't shave with Ockham's razor."[6] That is, elegant models and simple explanations are deeply appealing and perhaps in the natural sciences they are to be preferred. But as our own experience testifies, human affairs are inevitably multifaceted and complicated, causation is rarely straightforward, and elegant models too often oversimplify and obscure. Resistance to Ockham's razor in many of the articles published here takes the form of suspicion of oppositions based on essentialist understandings of the phenomena they study. I have already suggested that the elements of the pairs priest/scribe and Judaism/Hellenism are not best understood as opposing categories. The elements of each pair may stand in some tension with each other, but the relationship is also complementary and certainly complicated. The articles in "Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls" express doubts about an opposing pair of more recent scholarly construction, "priestly halakhah" and the "halakhah of the sages," that has become the dominant framework for discussion of the legal texts from the Scrolls and their relation to rabbinic legal texts. Its proponents would claim that this pair is of a different order from priest/scribe and Judaism/Hellenism since it refers not to ideal types or cultures but to actual legal traditions that can be identified in specific texts. I certainly agree that contrasting textual traditions is a legitimate undertaking for a historian, but I question whether these scholars have not been too quick to group together a quite diverse body of legal texts as priestly halakhah.

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[5] See A. I. Baumgarten, *Elias Bickerman As a Historian of the Jews* (TSAJ 131; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), esp. 211–15.

[6] I remember the saying well from my days as Kraft's student at the University of Pennsylvania in the mid-1970s. I thank Bob Kraft for confirming my recollection and directing me to his published discussion of Ockham's razor and its unsuitability for historical work, though without the formulation cited here (e-mail message, January 10, 2012). See especially his 2006 presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature, "Para-mania: Beside, Before, and Beyond Biblical Studies," *JBL*126 (2007): 5–27, for a section entitled "The Seduction of 'Simplicity': The Parahistorical Worlds (Or the Problem of Applying Ockham's Razor)" (22–26). In typical Kraft style, he apologizes for being unfair to Ockham by oversimplifying his principle (24).

The articles in this volume are published here almost exactly as they first appeared. I have introduced some standardization of footnote form and I have made an effort to cite ancient works consistently. I have also corrected typographical and other minor errors. I have not added references to scholarship that appeared after the articles were completed; I have even resisted the temptation to supply references to work of my own that appeared after the publication of the article in question. But when one article included here cites another one, I have added references to the location within this volume. While the overall arrangement of the volume is thematic, within each section of the volume the articles are arranged in chronological order, from earliest to latest.

Collecting these articles has reminded me of how my thinking has developed – or to put it less gently, how my mind has changed – over the years. Some of these changes will be apparent only when a paricular article is compared to the discussion in one of my books. Thus, for example, in "Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt," I suggest an understanding of the critique of priests' marriages in the *Book of the Watchers* that I believe is an improvement on the one I held in *Ascent to Heaven*.[7] On the other hand, I think that I offer a better explanation for *Jubilees*' emphasis on the evils of intermarriage in *A Kingdom of Priests* than I do in "Levi, Phinehas."[8] In other cases the volume contains within itself the evidence for changed views. The most important change is probably one in the understanding of the hekhalot texts. In "Heavenly Ascent and the Relationship of the Apocalypses and the Hekahlot Literature," I contrast the apocalypses' narratives of ascent with the hekhalot texts' instructions, which I take as intended for the practice of ascent.[9] But in "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World," I have arrived at the view I now hold, that the ascent material in the hekhalot texts is intended for reading and recitation rather than for practice, which means it is not so distant in function from the narratives of the apocalypses.[10]

I also want to take this opportunity to note one instance in which the publication of a previously unknown ancient text demonstrated conclusively that I was wrong. In "R. Moses the Preacher and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*," I discuss the genealogy and birth of Bilhah according to the midrash *Bereshit Rabbati*, compiled by R. Moses the Preacher in Narbonne in the eleventh century, and its presumed source, the Greek *Testament of Naphtali*.[11] I interpret the differences between the two passages as reflecting R. Moses the Preacher's revision of the *Testament of Naphtali* in keeping with his concerns as a medieval Jew who read Genesis in the Masoretic Text. In addition, I argued that two other

[7] "Levi, Phinehas …," below, 31–37; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 21.
[8] "Levi, Phinehas …," below, 37–41: Himmelfarb, *Kingdom of Priests*, 72–74, 202 n. 51.
[9] 257–82 below.
[10] 295–305 below.
[11] 329–49 below.

passages from *Bereshit Rabbati* were dependent on the *Testament of Judah*. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a whole reached the Latin world only in the thirteenth century, but I suggested that R. Moses knew individual passages from the *Testaments* that had been transmitted in Hebrew translation.

"R. Moses the Preacher" was published in 1984. In 1996 4QTestament of Naphtali, which consists of three fragments of a genealogy of Bilhah, finally appeared in DJD;[12] its existence had first been announced in 1956.[13] The fragments turned out to contain many of the elements in *Bereshit Rabbati* I had attributed to revision by R. Moses.[14] I believe that my explanation for how the material from the *Testament of Judah* reached R. Moses still has a great deal to recommend it. But the fact that the passage about the birth of Bilhah in *Bereshit Rabbati* is closer to the fragmentary 4QNaphtali than to the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* suggests that R. Moses somehow had access to the content of an ancient Hebrew work that was a source of the Greek *Testament*. The so-called Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali* that circulated in the Middle Ages contains what appear to be earlier forms of the visions in the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* despite the fact that its language is clearly medieval. Its existence provides further evidence for the availability of an ancient Hebrew source of the Greek *Testament of Naphtali*, or at least the content of such a source, in the Middle Ages. The Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali* does not contain any information about Bilhah's genealogy or birth, but that does not mean it was absent from the ancient source on which it drew. It seems, then, that material associated with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* reached R. Moses by more than one route. This conclusion fits well with the findings of my work on medieval Jewish knowledge of the pseudepigrapha subsequent to "R. Moses the Preacher"[15] – and with Kraft's warning about the unsuitability of Ockham's razor for historical study. Let me add that a student of antiquity can only be grateful to be proved wrong by a new text.

It is a pleasure to thank the people who made this volume possible. Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Editorial Director of Theology and Jewish Studies at Mohr Siebeck, invited me to publish this collection and offered support throughout the process of preparing it. I am grateful to him and to my colleague Peter Schäfer, editor of the series Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, in which this volume

[12] For the text, M. E. Stone, "4QTestament of Naphtali," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[13] J. T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres récits d'un cycle de Daniel," *RB* 63 (1956): 407 n. 1. In my discussion of the relationship between *Bereshit Rabbati* and the *Testament of Naphtali*, I noted that the publication of the text might have implications for the understanding of that relationship ("R Moses the Preacher," below, 332 n. 12).

[14] See also M. E. Stone, "The Genealogy of Bilhah," *DSD* 3 (1996): 20–36.

[15] See "Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature," 351–70 below, and M. Himmelfarb, "*Midrash Vayissa'u*," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Non-Canonical Scriptures* (ed. J. R. Davila, R. Bauckham, and A. Panayotov; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, forthcoming), vol. 1.

appears. I would also like to thank the other editors of the series, Annette Reed, Seth Schwartz, and Azzan Yadin-Israel, for this opportunity. My daughter, Ruth Weiss, played an important part in the preparation of the volume. Her knowledge of ancient Judaism, her editorial skill, and her power of organization made the process far smoother than it would have been without her participation. Dr. Lance Jenott undertook the final stages of preparation with his customary care and precision. I am grateful to him for being willing to take time from his own work to help me. Sorat Tungkasiri, Coordinator of the New Media Center at Princeton University, oversaw the preparation of electronic files of the articles and solved many technical problems. I thank my husband, Steven L. Weiss, for his encouragement in this project, as always. Finally I thank the publishers who hold the copyrights to these articles for their permission to publish them here. They are listed together with information about the original publication of each of the articles.

I would like to dedicate this book to my mother, Judith Himmelfarb, who truly embodies the quality of *ḥesed*, loving kindness. It is impossible to express what I owe her.

Princeton, N. J., June 28, 2012 Martha Himmelfarb

Priests, Temples, and Torah

1. The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the *Book of the Watchers*, and the Wisdom of Ben Sira

Judaism is a religion deeply informed by geography. Its historical imagination is shaped by the contrast between other lands and the land of Israel; its stories move back and forth between those poles. I hope that this essay will demonstrate how fruitful attention to geography can be for another aspect of early Judaism, the visionary imagination. The visionaries to be considered here make no distinction between mythic geography and real, but this should not mislead us into dismissing the places they name as unimportant to their message. There is no doubt that we miss the full import of their visions unless we study their geography attentively.

In the concluding vision of his book, the prophet Ezekiel, prophesying in exile in Babylonia after the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C.E., is taken on a tour of a future temple in a restored Jerusalem. In one passage he describes a stream flowing from the temple in terms that recall the Garden of Eden. A similar transplantation of the garden with its tree of life and its rivers to the vicinity of the temple appears also in the *Book of the Watchers* in the late third century and the Wisdom of Ben Sira in the early second century B.C.E. For the author of the *Book of the Watchers* as for Ezekiel, the reemergence of Eden in the temple lies in the eschatological future, but Ben Sira claims that the presence of Eden in the temple has already been realized. Here I hope to show some of the implications of the association of the Garden of Eden with the temple in these three works.

Ezekiel's Temple Vision

The Book of Ezekiel concludes with the prophet's vision of the restoration of the temple, the city of Jerusalem, and indeed of the land and people as a whole.[1]

[1] The prophet's authorship of these chapters is the subject of some dispute. Perhaps the most detailed study of their composition is H. Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40–48) traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht* (BHT 25; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1957). Gese sees a complex development, with a considerable portion from hands other than the prophet's. Moshe Greenberg, "The Design and Themes of Ezekiel's Program of Restoration," *Int* 38 (1984): 181–208, is inclined to accept the essential unity of the section and to attribute it to the prophet himself. Any assessment of authorship is necessarily colored by assumptions about Ezekiel's

These chapters (40–48) answer the earlier vision of God's abandonment of the defiled temple and its subsequent destruction (chs. 8–11). In the future, Ezekiel tells his audience, God will return to a new temple, reestablished in the land to which all the people of Israel have been restored, even the ten tribes of the northern kingdom lost a century and a half before Ezekiel's time.

The vision opens as Ezekiel is taken from Babylonia to "a very high mountain" in the land of Israel.[2] An angelic guide leads the prophet about this city, which is revealed as the temple compound, measures the dimensions of the temple that will someday replace the one so recently destroyed, and gives instructions for the performance of the cult in the new temple and for the behavior of the priests who will serve in it (40:3–44:31). The description of the temple is followed by the allotment of space to the holy district in Jerusalem (45:1–9), and various laws, including a festival calendar and laws governing the conduct of the prince who is to rule the restored commonwealth (45:10–46:24).

Next the angel takes Ezekiel to see the stream that issues from the temple, bringing wonderful fertility with it as it flows into the Dead Sea (47:1–12). The vision concludes with the boundaries of the land, the allotment of portions of the land to the restored tribes (47:13–48:29), and the enumeration of the twelve gates of the new Jerusalem (48:30–35). The portions of the tribes are equal and symmetrical, as is the structure of Jerusalem. Geographical reality is not allowed to intrude into the symmetry, nor does historical reality play much of a role: the land east of the Jordan is eliminated from the Holy Land (47:18).

In the vision the prophet expresses his understanding of the centrality of the temple and the Holy Land to God's reconciliation with the people of Israel by drawing on a variety of earlier traditions.[3] The "very high mountain" of 40:2 on which Ezekiel sees the restored temple is clearly Mt. Zion, the temple mount. Ezekiel perceives Mt. Zion as "very high," not because of its physical stature, but because of the mythic qualities it has acquired. Biblical authors did not hesitate to adapt to Mt. Zion motifs associated with the Canaanite mountain of the gods. The inviolability of Mt. Zion and the stream rushing from it in so many biblical texts, for example, have their roots in Canaanite myth.[4]

The vision of the restored temple also draws on the complex of traditions associated with Sinai, the mountain on which the plan of the tabernacle was revealed to Moses (Exod 25:9). In the course of the vision Ezekiel functions as a second

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outlook. See, for instance, the remarks of Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (trans. C. Quin; OTL; London: SCM Press, and Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), 548–51. In what follows I am interested primarily in Ezekiel's influence on later writers. The author of the *Book of the Watchers* and Ben Sira surely took Ezekiel to be the author of all of chs. 40–48.

[2] All translations from the Hebrew Bible are taken from the Revised Standard Version.

[3] For a full treatment of these traditions, see J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48* (HSM 10; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 5–53.

[4] Levenson, *Program*, 7–24, and Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 131–60.

Moses, the recipient of a revelation about the laws for the proper functioning of the new temple and the policy associated with it.[5]

Finally the prophet calls on traditions about the primal garden of God.[6] The association of Eden with the temple is not original to Ezekiel, but the prophet develops it in some detail.[7]

> 47:7. As I went back I saw upon the bank of the river very many trees on the one side and on the other. 8. And he [the angelic guide] said to me, "This water flows toward the eastern region and goes down into the Arabah; and when it enters the stagnant waters of the sea, the water will become fresh." 9. And wherever the river goes every living creature which swarms will live, and there will be very many fish; so everything will live where the river goes …12. And on both sides of the river, there will grow all kinds of trees for food. Their leaves will not wither nor their fruit fall, but they will bear fresh fruit every month, because the water for them flows from the sanctuary. Their fruit will be for food and their leaves for healing.

The stream is a prominent feature of the Canaanite mountain of the gods, and it would be a mistake to try to differentiate too sharply elements of the traditions of Mt. Zaphon from elements of the traditions of Eden.[8] But the details of the description of Ezekiel's stream point to Eden in significant ways.

The Garden of Eden as Genesis describes it contains four rivers and "every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food" (2:9). On either side of the stream that flows from the temple stand trees of wonderful fruitfulness. Levenson suggests that the *ʿeṣ rav meʾod* on either bank of the stream in Ezek 47:7 should be translated not as a collective, "very many trees," but rather as a singular, "a great tree." In that case the passage alludes to the tree of knowledge and the tree of life as well as to the fruit trees of the tradition of Genesis 2.[9]

But the powers of Ezekiel's temple stream go beyond the fertility associated with Eden in Genesis 2. The effect of the waters that flow from the temple is nothing short of miraculous: they cause the Dead Sea to teem with fish. And the trees watered by the stream provide not only fruit for food, but even leaves for healing. Ezekiel's eschatological Eden at Zion surpasses the Eden of the past. And it is the temple that is the source of the wonderful powers of the stream, as the angel tells the prophet quite clearly (v. 12)

While the prophet is clearly alluding to the Garden of Eden in the passage about the stream, he never refers to it explicitly. But elsewhere in his book Ezekiel does mention the garden by name, in his lament for the king of Tyre (28:11–18) and his oracle against Pharaoh (31:1–18). Both passages use the

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[5] Levenson, *Program*, 37–53.

[6] Levenson, *Program*, 25–36.

[7] Levenson, *Program*, 27–28, for a discussion of Psalm 36:8–10. The J source in the Torah gives one of the rivers of Eden in Genesis 2 the name of the spring that was the source of Jerusalem's water supply, Gihon (Levenson, *Program*, 29).

[8] Levenson, *Program*, 30–31.

[9] Levenson, *Program*, 30–31.

imagery of Eden to describe the blessed state of these enemies of Israel before their fall so as to make clear the full magnitude of the fall.

The lament in chapter 28 describes the king of Tyre's former glory as a jewel-bedecked resident of Eden and his expulsion by a cherub who guards the garden because of his arrogance and sinfulness. The echoes of the story in Genesis 2–3 are clear; in addition to the story of the fall and expulsion, the details of the precious stones, although not as ornaments, and of the guardian cherub, appear also in Genesis 2–3.

In this passage, too, Ezekiel associates the Garden of Eden with the temple. The king of Tyre's home is identified first as Eden (v. 13), then as the mountain of God (vv. 14, 16). The jewels of the king of Tyre's dress (v. 13) recall the breast plate of the high priest, as the cherub (vv. 14, 16) suggests the cherubim of the holy of holies. And one of the accusations against the king is that he has "profaned [his] sanctuary" (v. 18).[10]

The traditions behind chapter 31's allegory for the doom of Pharaoh and the land of Egypt show that Ezekiel knew a larger set of traditions about the primal garden than those preserved in Genesis 2–3. The traditions about the world-tree may have come to him from Babylonian sources. The world-tree is a tree of life, an *axis mundi* connecting the upper world with the lower.[11] Ezekiel describes Pharaoh as a mighty cedar in Lebanon, a nesting place for birds, a shelter beneath which animals give birth to their young. With its great beauty and stature, the tree is the envy of all the trees in the garden of God. But once again pride causes destruction. The tree pays for its pride in its stature with its destruction at the hand of foreigners.

Thus the Garden of Eden figures prominently in Ezekiel's prophecy. In the vision of the restored temple motifs drawn from Eden suggest a restoration better than anything history could possibly offer.[12] Their use also sheds light on certain peculiar aspects of Ezekiel's prophecy.

By heredity a priest, Ezekiel is deeply concerned with the details of the cult, the only prophet to offer a set of laws for the daily operation of the temple. For some scholars these are interests unbecoming a prophet, and Ezekiel is seen as untrue to his title.[13] But whatever complaints the modern reader may have about Ezekiel, the power of his imagination can hardly be denied. And this powerful

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[10] C. A. Newsom, "A Maker of Metaphors – Ezekiel's Oracles Against Tyre," *Int* 38 (1984): 161–64. The Hebrew of Ezek 28:18 reads "sanctuaries," plural, and the RSV follows the Hebrew. I follow Newsom and other commentators in amending to the singular, following some of the manuscript and versional evidence (see BHS).

[11] Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 425.

[12] Levenson *Program*, 21–33, offers an interesting discussion of suprahistorical implications of Eden as opposed to Zion.

[13] See, for instance, P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 228–34. See also Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 550–51, where Ezekiel is rescued from these charges by the claim that large parts of the vision are not his.

imagination conceives of the temple, the arena of the everyday cult, in mythic terms. Its cherubim are God's chariot throne, and its mountain is the cosmic mountain. In the midst of the dry legal material appears the stream that flows from the future temple, recreating the fertility and plenty of the primal paradise, no, surpassing them. The use of traditions about the Garden of Eden in relation to the restored temple, so surprising at first glance, appears on closer consideration quite characteristic of Ezekiel.

The *Book of the Watchers* and the Tour to the Ends of the Earth

The *Book of the Watchers*, written in Aramaic by a Palestinian Jew in the third century B.C.E., is one of the earliest apocalypses.[14] It has come down to us as chapters 1–36 of *1 Enoch*, a collection of five Enochic apocalypses preserved in Ethiopic. The *Book of the Watchers* (chs. 6–11) tells a more detailed version of the story of the sons of God and daughters of men alluded to so briefly in Genesis 6:1–4. According to the *Book of the Watchers*, the sons of God are angels known as watchers who abandon their heavenly duties because of lust for the daughters of men. The encounter between the heavenly beings and the earthly women creates havoc on earth. The offspring of their union are giants who inflict terrible damage on the earth and its inhabitants; in addition the angels reveal to the women secrets best kept from humanity, like metalworking, cosmetics, magic, and astrology. In Genesis the flood follows immediately on the story of the sons of God and daughters of men, but without any explicit indication of a causal relationship; here it is represented as the means of cleansing the earth from the corruption and violence caused, directly and indirectly, by the fallen angels.

Enoch appears in the Bible only in the context of genealogies, most notably in Gen 5:21–24, where the notice of his career breaks the pattern of the notices for the other antediluvian patriarchs. The others live a certain number of years, beget their first born, live more years, begetting more sons and daughters, and then die. At the age of sixty-five, after begetting his firstborn, Methuselah, Enoch "walked with God" for three hundred years and begat other sons and daughters. The concluding notice tells us that unlike his forebears and his descendants, Enoch did not die. Rather "Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him." As with the compressed notice of the interest of the sons of God in the daughters of men in Genesis 6, this notice about Enoch suggests the existence of a more extensive body of traditions about the patriarch. Here in the *Book of the Watchers* we find the development of such traditions, but a development undertaken with the biblical text in view.

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[14] For an introduction to the *Book of the Watchers*, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 48–55.

Enoch enters the narrative of the *Book of the Watchers* in his professional capacity as scribe, when the watchers who remain in heaven send him with a message of doom to their fallen brethren. Upon hearing this message, the fallen watchers ask Enoch to draw up a petition on their behalf, asking God's forgiveness (chs. 12–13). In order to carry out the mission entrusted to him by the watchers, Enoch ascends to heaven (chs. 14–16). There before God's throne Enoch presents their petition. Although God emphatically rejects the plea for mercy and insists that the watchers deserve eternal doom, Enoch himself is treated with great honor. He is able to pass through terrifying outer courts to stand before God's throne as the angels do. When he falls on his face in awe before the throne, God sends an angel to raise him and speaks to him "with his own mouth" (14:24).[15]

Enoch's ascent to heaven, the first in Jewish literature, is deeply indebted to the chariot vision of Ezekiel 1, where God's glory descends to earth to encounter the prophet by the River Chebar in Babylonia. One sign of the debt is the throne of cherubim with its wheels on which Enoch finds God seated. While in Ezekiel's vision the wheels and winged creatures of the throne[16] serve a function, to make the throne mobile, that function has been lost in the *Book of the Watchers*.[17] More broadly Enoch's ascent to heaven draws on the imagery of the theophany of Ezekiel 1 to describe God's heavenly abode.[18]

The *Book of the Watchers*' interest in a heavenly temple reflects a certain discontent with the earthly temple and its personnel. The author uses the story of the fall of the watchers to criticize the corrupt priests of the Jerusalem temple. As the angels fail to perform their duties in heaven, these priests fail to fulfill their responsibilities in the earthly temple, and for some of the same reasons, like inappropriate marriages.[19]

The assumption that temples on earth have counterparts in heaven, or to put it more accurately from an ancient point of view, that temples on earth correspond

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[15] The translation of the *Book of the Watchers* used here is that of M. A. Knibb, "1 Enoch," in *AOT*, 169–319.

[16] The living creatures of the chariot throne in Ezekiel's vision are identified as cherubim in Ezek 10:20. While many modern scholars regard this identification as editorial, the author of the *Book of Watchers* would have assumed it.

[17] In Knibb's translation the throne has no wheels, and there is the sound rather than the sight of cherubim. But Knibb translates a single Ethiopic manuscript. The Greek is very difficult here, and the Aramaic is not extant at the crucial point. I follow here the reading of other recent translations: M. Black in consultation with J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Translation* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1985), and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981): 579. For a discussion see Black's note to 14:18 and J. T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumram Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 199–200.

[18] See, for example, Nickelsburg, "Enoch," 576–82.

[19] Nickelsburg, "Enoch," 584–87; D. S. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35.

to heavenly archetypes, is widespread in the ancient Near East and appears in a number of biblical texts.[20] But the heavenly archetype can serve either to lend glory to its earthly counterpart or to make its shortcomings more obvious. In the eighth century B.C.E., Isaiah of Jerusalem meets God enthroned in the Jerusalem temple (ch. 6); for Isaiah the earthly temple is a worthy dwelling place for God. The attribution of cosmic qualities to Mt. Zion is part of the same phenomenon. But in the period of the Second Temple the earthly temple appears in a less favorable light. It is at best an inferior version of the First Temple, at worst a place of corruption whose offerings are unacceptable to God.[21] For the author of the *Book of the Watchers* as for many of his contemporaries, God's presence must be sought in the heavenly temple.

After his ascent to heaven, Enoch undertakes a journey to the ends of the earth with angels as his guides. This journey concludes the *Book of the Watchers*, and it takes up almost half the work. The companionship of the angels reinforces the point made by the ascent that Enoch is fit company for angels. The tour includes many wonderful sights, and one major function of the tour, made explicit at the end, is to assert God's greatness as creator.

> And when I saw, I blessed, and I will always bless the Lord of Glory who has made great and glorious wonders that he might show the greatness of his work to angels and to the souls of men, that they might praise his work, and that all his creatures might see the work of his power and praise the great work of his hands and bless him for ever. (36:4)

If the *Book of the Watchers* no longer shares the optimism of the Book of Proverbs and some of the psalms that the wonders of nature loudly proclaim God's glory to all mankind, it is not so pessimistic as Job, with its claim that the wonders of creation are beyond human understanding. For the *Book of the Watchers*, these wonders are accessible to at least one particularly pious human being, and his concluding praise of God claims that all God's creatures can see his great work and draw the appropriate conclusions.[22]

Like the ascent to heaven, Enoch's tour to the ends of the earth is deeply indebted to Ezekiel. On strictly formal grounds, the best precedent to Enoch's tour is Ezekiel's tour of the restored temple and its environs. Not only is this passage the only full-blown tour in biblical literature; it also includes comments to Ezekiel from his angelic guide in the form of explanations that begin with demonstrative pronouns or adjectives. In the *Book of the Watchers* the spare explanations of Ezekiel's tour have developed into dialogue; Enoch's questions and exclamations elicit rather elaborate demonstrative explanations from his guide.

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[20] Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 177–80, and M. Himmelfarb, "From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The *Book of the Watchers* and Tours of Heaven," in *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible to the Middle Ages* (ed. A. Green; New York: Crossroad, 1986), 150–51.

[21] For example, *1 En*. 89:73.

[22] Himmelfarb, "From Prophecy," 158–60.