

# Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Christianity and Judaism

*The Eastern Mediterranean, the Near East, and Beyond*

*Edited by*

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# Contents

Preface XI  
List of Figures and Tables XII  
Notes on Contributors XVII

Introduction 1

## PART 1

### *Esoteric Writing and Esoteric Cults in the Biblical Religions*

- 1 The Exoteric Appearances of Jewish Esotericism 29  
*Ithamar Gruenwald*
- 2 The *Gospel of Peter* between the Synoptics, Second Century, and Late  
Antique 'Apostolic Memoirs' 43  
*Tobias Nicklas*
- 3 All Mysteries Revealed? On the Interplay between Hiding and Revealing  
and the Dangers of Heavenly Journeys according to the *Ascension of*  
*Isaiah* 70  
*Joseph Verheyden*
- 4 Early Christianity and the Pagan Mysteries: Esoteric Knowledge? 88  
*Jan N. Bremmer*
- 5 The Medieval Dualist *Nachleben* of Early Jewish and Christian Esoteric  
Traditions: The Role of the Pseudepigrapha 105  
*Yuri Stoyanov*
- 6 The Esoteric Cardinal: Giorgios Gemistos, Bessarion and Theurgy 124  
*Ezio Albrile*

## PART 2

***Bridging the Account of the Origins and the Messiah's Advent***

- 7 La création d' Adam à Noravank: Théologie et narrativité 143  
*Jean-Pierre Mahé*
- 8 *Translatio corporis Adæ*: Trajectories of a Parabiblical Tradition 153  
*Sergey Minov*
- 9 Apostles, Long Dead 'Heretics', and Monks: Noncanonical Traditions on Angels and Protoplasts in Two Late Antique Coptic Apocalypses (7th–8th Century CE) 179  
*Daniele Tripaldi*
- 10 Face as the Image of God in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha 206  
*Andrei A. Orlov*
- 11 *On the Perdition of the Higher Intellect and on the Image of Light*: Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary 217  
*Maria V. Korogodina and Basil Lourié*
- 12 Bridging the Gaps in the Samaritan Tradition 262  
*Abraham Tal*
- 13 'On the Mountains of Ararat': Noah's Ark and the Sacred Topography of Armenia 276  
*Nazénie Garibian*
- 14 The Historian's Craft and Temporal Bridges in Apocrypha and in Early Christian Art: Para-Biblical Sources in the Light of the Work of Marc Bloch 296  
*Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev*

## PART 3

***Symbols and Figures of the Messianic Expectation***

- 15 Quellen der nichtbiblischen Mose-Überlieferung in der *Kratkaja Chronografičeskaja Paleja* 317  
*Dieter and Sabine Fahl*

- 16 Whether Lamb or Lion: Overlapping Metaphors in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism 340  
*Abraham Terian*
- 17 Rescuing John the Baptist 351  
*Albert I. Baumgarten*
- 18 The Esoteric Legacy of the Magi of Bethlehem in the Framework of the Iranian Speculations about Jesus, Zoroaster and His Three Posthumous Sons 368  
*Antonio Panaino*
- 19 Visual Apocrypha: The Case of Mary and the Magi in Early Christian Rome 383  
*Felicity Harley*
- 20 Gnostic and Mithraic Themes in *Sefer Zerubbabel* 411  
*Yishai Kiel*

#### PART 4

### *Angels, Heavenly Journeys and Visions of Paradise*

- 21 1 Enoch 17 in the Geneva Papyrus 187 439  
*David Hamidović*
- 22 Enochic Texts and Related Traditions in *Slavia Orthodoxa* 452  
*Florentina Badalanova Geller*
- 23 Visions of Paradise in the Life of St Andrew the Fool and the Legacy of the Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Byzantium 521  
*Emmanouela Grypeou*
- 24 Eternal Chains and the Mountain of Darkness: The Fallen Angels in the Incantation Bowls 533  
*Yakir Paz*
- 25 Iconography of Angels: Roots and Origins in the Earliest Christian Art 559  
*Cecilia Proverbio*

- 26 The Gardens of Eden: Compositional, Iconographic and Semantic Similarities between the 'Birds Mosaic' of the Armenian Chapel in Jerusalem and the Mosaic of the Synagogue at Ma'on (Nirim) 590

*Zaruhi Hakobyan*

- Postscript: Border-Crossing Texts 610

*Hartmut Leppin*

- Index of Place Names 619

- Index of Modern and Early Modern Authors 621

- Index of Biblical and Mythological Names 623

- Index of Subjects 626

- Index of Ancient and Mediaeval Sources 629

# Face as the Image of God in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha

Andrei A. Orlov

## 1 Introduction

From a Jewish text, known to us as *2 Enoch*,<sup>1</sup> we learn interesting details about Adam's creation. Both recensions of *2 Enoch* 44 tell us 'the Lord with his own two hands created humankind; in a likeness of his own face (в подобии лица своего), both small and great, the Lord created [them].'<sup>2</sup> It is intriguing that *2 Enoch* departs here from the traditional reading attested in Genesis 1:26–27, where Adam was created, not in a likeness of God's face, but after His image (*šelem*).<sup>3</sup> In view of this departure, the author of one of the English translations of *2 Enoch*, Francis Andersen, observes that '*2 Enoch*'s idea is remarkable from any point of view ... This is not the original meaning of *šelem* ... The text uses *podobie lica* (in the likeness of the face), not *obrazu* or *videnije*, the usual terms for "image."<sup>4</sup>

To clarify a possible background of such a conceptual paradigm shift in *2 Enoch* we need to direct our attention to the Ladder of Jacob, another Jewish text preserved in Slavonic.

1 *2 Enoch* was probably written in the first century C.E. before the destruction of the Second Jerusalem Temple. On the date of *2 Enoch*, see R.H. Charles and W.R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Oxford, 1896, p. xxvi; R.H. Charles and N. Forbes, 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch', in R.H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* vol. 2, Oxford, 1913, p. 429; J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, Oxford, 1976, p. 114; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ 5), Gütersloh, 1995, p. 813; A. Orlov, 'The Sacerdotal Traditions of *2 Enoch* and the Date of the Text', in A.A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini and J. Zurawski (eds), *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (SJS 4), Leiden, 2012, pp. 103–116.

2 F. Andersen, '*2* (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch', in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* vol. 1, New York, 1983–1985, p. 170.

3 Gen 1:26–27 reads: 'Then God said, "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth." So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them.' (NRSV).

4 Andersen, '*2 Enoch*', p. 1171, note b.

## 2 The Ladder of Jacob

The bulk of the *Ladder* survives only in Slavonic as part of the so-called *Palea Interpretata*, in which editors of its various versions reworked and rearranged the text.<sup>5</sup> Despite its long life inside the compendium of different materials and a long history of transmission in both Greek and Slavonic milieus, the text preserves several early traditions that can be safely placed within the Jewish environment of the first century CE. The *Ladder* is most likely derived from its Greek variant, which in turn appears to have been translated from Hebrew or Aramaic. This was corroborated by Reimund Leicht who identified Jacob's prayer from the *Ladder* among a collection of prayers in an eleventh-century codex from the Cairo Genizah.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars usually identify three recensions of the text (A, B, and C); the first is the most 'conservative' type of the text, the second was rewritten in some of parts of the narrative and the third is represented by a brief excerpt.<sup>7</sup>

The content of the book is linked to Jacob's biblical dream about the ladder (Gen 28:10–17) and its interpretation. Recensions A and B offer the following portrayal of the ladder:

Recension A ( <i>Ladder</i> 1:3–8)	Recension B ( <i>Ladder</i> 1:3–8)
<p>And behold, a ladder was established on the earth, and its top reached to heaven. And the top of the ladder was the face (<i>лице</i>) as of a man, carved out of fire. The ladder had twelve steps to the top, and on each step to the top there were two human faces, on the right and on the left, twenty-four faces on the ladder, including their chests. And the face in the middle was higher than all that I saw, the one of fire, including the shoulders and arms, exceedingly terrifying (<i>излиха страшно</i>),</p>	<p>And behold, a ladder was established on the earth and its top reached to heaven. And at the top of it there was the face (<i>лице</i>) as of a man, carved out of fire. The ladder had twelve steps, and on each step there were two human faces, on the right and on the left; twenty-four faces on the ladder, including their chests. And the face in the middle was higher than all that I saw: the one of fire, including the shoulders and arms, exceedingly terrifying (<i>излиха страшно</i>), more than those</p>

5 A. Kulik and S. Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, Oxford, 2016, p. 277.

6 See R. Leicht, 'Qedushah and Prayer to Helios: A New Hebrew Version of an Apocryphal Prayer of Jacob', *JSQ* 6 (1999), pp. 140–176. For the Hebrew text of the prayer, see P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* (TSAJ, 64), Tübingen, 1997, pp. 2.27–78.

7 Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, p. 281.

(cont.)

**Recension A (*Ladder* 1:3–8)**

more than those twenty-four faces. And while I was still looking (at it), and behold, angels of God were going, ascending and descending on it. And God was established on it and God was standing above the highest face, and he called to me from there, saying, 'Jacob, Jacob!'

**Recension B (*Ladder* 1:3–8)**

twenty-four faces. And while he was still looking (at it), behold, angels of God were going, ascending and descending on it. And God himself was established on it and God was standing above its highest face, and he called to me from there, saying, 'Jacob, Jacob!'<sup>8</sup>

Notably, the text is virtually identical in both recensions. On the ladder Jacob sees twenty-four human faces with their chests, two on each step of the ladder. At the top, he beholds another human visage 'carved out of fire' with its shoulders and arms. Compared to the previous faces, this one looks 'exceedingly terrifying.' God stands above this highest countenance and calls Jacob by name. This leaves the impression that God's voice is hidden behind the frightening face as a distinct divine manifestation, behind which the deity conveys to Jacob his audible revelation.

Scholars have suggested that the higher Face not only embodies God's Glory but also represents Jacob's heavenly identity.<sup>9</sup> But since Jewish traditions about Jacob's heavenly persona in the *Ladder* are garbled by the text's long transmission in multiple ideological and linguistic milieus, scholars seeking to reconstruct these motifs must rely heavily on Jewish testimonies about Jacob contained in Targumic, Talmudic, and Midrashic accounts.

In rabbinic renderings of Jacob's vision of the ladder, the patriarch's heavenly persona is often depicted as his image engraved on the throne of glory. These traditions are present in several Palestinian Targumic accounts, including *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, *Targum Neofiti*, and the so-called *Fragmentary Targum*, all of which render the image of Jacob as *iqonin*—the Palestinian Aramaic transliteration of the Greek εἰκών. Dictionaries often translate this term as 'image,' 'picture,' or 'features,' noting its common usage in midrashim to denote royal statues. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen 28:12 offers the following description of the patriarch's celestial identity:

8 Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 289–290.

9 J. Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (ΝΤΟΑ 30), Fribourg–Göttingen, 1995, pp. 135–151, esp. 143.



He [Jacob] had a dream, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth with its top reaching toward the heavens ... and on that day angels ascended to the heavens on high, and said, 'Come and see Jacob the pious, whose image (*iqonin*) is fixed in the Throne of Glory, and whom you have desired to see.'<sup>10</sup>

Important to note is that Jacob's heavenly counterpart (i.e. his *iqonin*) is engraved on a very special celestial entity: the *Merkavah*. Besides the tradition of engraving on the Throne, some rabbinic materials point to an even more radical identification of Jacob's image with the *Kavod*. It has been previously noted that in some rabbinic accounts about Jacob's heavenly persona, his image is depicted not simply as engraved on the heavenly throne, but as seated upon the throne of glory. According to Jarl Fossum, this tradition is already observable in some versions of the *Fragmentary Targum* which omit the verb 'engraved' or 'fixed'.<sup>11</sup> He also points to *Bavli Hulin* 91b as evidence of the same tradition, arguing that this second tradition is original and is possibly connected to Second Temple mediatorial currents.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Christopher Rowland claims that Jacob's image is 'identical with the form of God on the Throne of Glory in the first chapter of Ezekiel'.<sup>13</sup>

An understanding of Jacob's image as an anthropomorphic Glory is already present in some targumic accounts. David Halperin, for example, draws attention to a targumic reading of Ezekiel 1:26 which interprets 'the appearance of a human being' as Jacob's image.<sup>14</sup> Fossum offers additional support for the originality of Jacob's enthronement, pointing out that the Hebrew forms of the Greek loan word εἰκών used in the Targums are synonymous with *selem*. He further suggests that *iqonin* can be seen to denote a bodily form of God, that is, the divine Glory.<sup>15</sup>

The symbolism of Jacob's heavenly image associated with the deity's Throne is widely diffused in rabbinic literature. Comparable to the aforementioned Targumic accounts, these materials emphasize a distance between two identities of the patriarch: one heavenly and the other earthly. In relation to this Rachel Neis states that 'rabbinic texts set up a visual symmetry, between an

10 *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, trans. M. Maher, M.S.C.; ArBib, 1B; Collegeville, 1992, pp. 99–100.

11 Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, p. 141.

12 Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, pp. 139–140.

13 C. Rowland, 'John 1.51, Jewish Apocalyptic and Targumic Tradition', *NTS* 30 (1984), p. 504.

14 D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Response to Ezekiel's Vision* (TSAJ 16), Tübingen, 1988, p. 121.

15 Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, p. 142.

earthly Jacob and a divine iconic Jacob.<sup>16</sup> A possibility that Jacob's celestial identity might be envisioned in these materials as an 'icon' warrants closer attention. Thus, from *Lamentations Rabbah* 2:2 we learn the following:

Similarly spoke the Holy One, blessed be He, to Israel: Do you not provoke me because you take advantage of the likeness of Jacob which is engraved upon My throne? Here, have it, it is thrown in your face! Therefore, He has cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel.<sup>17</sup>

It appears that in this rabbinic passage Jacob's image has a sacerdotal significance, which might be understood as an 'icon' of the deity in a manner similar to how the prelapsarian Adam, installed in heaven, is portrayed in the *Primary Adam Books*. In relation to this concept Neis suggests that in *Lamentations Rabbah* 2:2 'God accuses Israel of taking advantage of the presence of this icon and provoking him with their behaviour. He threatens to cast down the icon of Jacob from his throne.'<sup>18</sup>

It appears that Jacob's exalted profile in the form of his image and its association with the *Kavod* posed a great challenge to rabbinic monotheistic sensibilities since some midrashic passages about the heavenly image of the patriarch are overlaid with distinctive polemical overtones. For example, *Genesis Rabbah* 68:12 presents the following debate between two rabbis:

They disagreed. One maintained: They were ascending and descending the ladder; while the other said: They were ascending and descending on Jacob. The statement that they were ascending and descending the ladder presents no difficulty. The statement that they were ascending and descending on Jacob we must take to mean that some were exalting him and others degrading him, dancing, leaping, and maligning him.<sup>19</sup>

The contestation of the rabbinic authorities involves an interesting point, namely, a suggestion that Jacob himself might represent an anthropomorphic 'ladder' which connects earthly and celestial realms. The polemical thrust of this passage is not confined merely to a contestation between the rabbis, but also involves a rivalry between otherworldly creatures. In this respect, the inter-

16 R. Neis, 'Embracing Icons: The Face of Jacob on the Throne of God', *Images: A Journal of Jewish Art and Visual Culture* 1 (2007), pp. 36–54 at 46.

17 H. Freedman and M. Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 7, London, 1961, p. 151.

18 Neis, 'Embracing Icons: The Face of Jacob on the Throne of God', p. 45.

19 Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, p. 2.626.

esting feature of the text is a postulation that some angelic servants oppose Jacob's heavenly image by 'degrading ... and maligning him,' thus revealing a familiar motif of angelic rivalry found also in the Adamic lore, including the *Primary Adam Books*, where Adam's role as the divine image coincides with the theme of angelic veneration and rejection.<sup>20</sup>

Various versions of the *Primary Adam Books*, the narrative elaborations of the protoplast's story, which are deeply rooted in Second Temple Jewish conceptual currents, describe the primordial act of Adam's endowment with the divine image. After this portentous event the prelapsarian Adam becomes envisioned as the deity's 'icon'—a role very similar to the one which Jacob's image will play in later rabbinic accounts.

A story found in the Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Primary Adam Books* depicts the archangel Michael bringing the newly created Adam into the divine presence and forcing him to bow down before God.<sup>21</sup> The deity then commands all the angels to bow down to the protoplast.<sup>22</sup> The results of this order are mixed. Some angels agreed to venerate Adam, while others, including Satan, refuse to do obeisance, on the basis that Adam is 'younger' or 'posterior' to them.<sup>23</sup>

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- 20 On the angelic veneration, see C. Fletcher-Louis, 'The Worship of Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus', in C. Newman et al. (eds), *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St Andrew's Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (JSJSS 63), Leiden, 1999, pp. 112–128 at 125–128.
- 21 The Latin version of the *Primary Adam Books* 13:2 reads: 'When God blew into you the breath of life and your countenance and likeness were made in the image of God, Michael led you and made you worship in the sight of God.' The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 13:2 reads: 'When God breathed his spirit into you, you received the likeness of his image. Thereupon, Michael came and made you bow down before God.' G. Anderson and M. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition* (EJL 17), Atlanta, 1999, p. 16E.
- 22 The Latin version of the *Primary Adam Books* 13:2–14:1 reads: 'The Lord God then said: "Behold, Adam, I have made you in our image and likeness." Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying: "Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded."' The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 13:2–14:1 reads: 'God said to Michael, "Behold I have made Adam in the likeness of my image." Then Michael summoned all the angels, and God said to them, "Come, bow down to god whom I made."' Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 16E.
- 23 The Latin version of the *Primary Adam Books* 14:2–15:1 reads: 'Michael himself worshipped first then he called me and said: "Worship the image of God Jehovah." I answered: "I do not have it within me to worship Adam." When Michael compelled me to worship, I said to him: "Why do you compel me? I will not worship him who is lower and later than me. I am prior to that creature. Before he was made, I had already been made. He ought to worship me." Hearing this, other angels who were under me were unwilling to worship him.' The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 14:2–15:1 reads: 'Michael bowed

As we see in the stories of Adam and Jacob, the anthropomorphic 'icons' of both patriarchs provoke very similar reactions from the angelic host. On the one hand—the actions of veneration and loyalty, and on the other—feelings of resentment and rejection. Such complex and multi-dimensional dialogue between the embodied celestial image and the heavenly servants constitutes the conceptual centre of the later Talmudic and Midrashic accounts of Jacob, in which the angels are depicted as constantly interacting with the patriarch's upper self in the form of his *iqonin* and his lower 'sleeping' identity, connecting them with their ladder-like processions. The motif of peculiar angelic interactions, however, does not originate in the Jacob lore, but stems instead from the formative Adamic account similar to those reflected in the *Primary Adam Books*.

This theme of angelic opposition to Jacob is reflected already in some Talmudic materials that constitute the background of these Midrashic passages. Thus, *Bavli Hulin* 91b contains the following tradition:

A tanna taught: They ascended to look at the image above and descended to look at the image below. They wished to hurt him, when behold, the Lord stood beside him.<sup>24</sup>

Elliot Wolfson notes that in this rabbinic source the motif of the patriarch's heavenly persona 'is placed in the context of another well-known motif regarding the enmity or envy of the angels toward human beings. That is, according to the statements in *Genesis Rabbah* and *Bavli Hullin* the angels, who beheld Jacob's image above, were jealous and sought to harm Jacob below.'<sup>25</sup> He points out that 'the influence of the Talmudic reworking of this motif is apparent in several later Midrashic sources as well.'<sup>26</sup>

The theme of Jacob's transcendental Self engraved on the divine Throne has also been transmitted in later Jewish mysticism. These mystical currents often add some novel symbolic dimensions to already familiar imagery. Thus, in

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first He called me and said "You too, bow down to Adam." I said, "Go away, Michael! I shall not bow [down] to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper [for me] to bow down to him? The other angels, too, who were with me, heard this, and my words seemed pleasing to them and they did not prostrate themselves to you, Adam." Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 16E–17E.

24 I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud. Hullin*, London, 1935–1952, p. 91b.

25 E. Wolfson, 'The Image of Jacob Engraved upon the Throne', in id., *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics*, Albany, 1995, pp. 1–62 at 4.

26 Wolfson, 'The Image of Jacob Engraved upon the Throne', p. 4.

*Hekhalot Rabbati* (*Synopse* § 164) the tradition of Jacob's *alter ego* on the throne is overlaid with striking erotic symbolism:

You see Me what I do to the visage (*qlaster*) of the face of Jacob your father which is engraved for Me upon the throne of My glory. For in the hour that you say before Men 'Holy,' I kneel on it and embrace it and kiss it and hug it and My hands are on its arms three times, corresponding to the three times that you say before Me, 'Holy,' according to the word that is said, Holy, holy, holy (Isa 6:3).<sup>27</sup>

Here the deity embraces and kisses Jacob's heavenly identity engraved on His Throne. When compared to the previously explored accounts, the striking difference here is that now it is not the image or the *iqonin*, but rather Jacob's face (or more precisely a cast [*qlaster*] of the patriarch's face), that is engraved on the Throne. Reflecting on this obscure term, Rachel Neis says that 'the word *qlaster* in rabbinic texts describes the identity's facial features.'<sup>28</sup> It appears that this terminological change is not merely a slip of a *Hekhalot* writer's pen but a deliberate conceptual shift, given its attestation in some other rabbinic sources. Thus, in some *piyyutim*, which are conceptually very close to the developments found in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, Jacob's heavenly identity again appears to be understood as the 'face' on the Throne.<sup>29</sup>

Another rabbinic testimony found in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* also attempts to replace the *šelem* imagery with the symbolism of Jacob's *panim*, by arguing that the angels went to see the face of the patriarch and that his heavenly countenance is reminiscent of a visage of one of the Living Creatures of the divine Throne.<sup>30</sup>

27 J.R. Davila, *Hekhalot Literature in Translation: Major Texts of Merkavah Mysticism* (SJJTP 20), Leiden, 2013, p. 86; P. Schäfer, with M. Schlüter and H.G. von Mutius, *Synopse zur Hekhaloth-Literatur* (TSAJ 2), Tübingen, 1981, p. 72.

28 Neis, 'Embracing Icons: The Face of Jacob on the Throne of God', p. 46.

29 Neis, 'Embracing Icons: The Face of Jacob on the Throne of God', p. 46.

30 *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 35 reads: 'Rabbi Levi said: In that night the Holy One, blessed be He, showed him all the signs. He showed him a ladder standing from the earth to the heaven, as it is said, "And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven" (Gen 28:12). And the ministering angels were ascending and descending thereon, and they beheld the face of Jacob, and they said: This is the face—like the face of the Chayyah, which is on the Throne of Glory. Such (angels) who were (on earth) below were ascending to see the face of Jacob among the faces of the Chayyah, (for it was) like the face of the Chayyah, which is on the Throne of Glory.' *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, trans. G. Friedlander, New York, 1965, p. 265.

Such peculiar terminological exchanges between *selem* and *panim* are significant for our study, since they evoke imagery of previously mentioned Jewish pseudepigraphical accounts in which the symbolism of the seer's celestial *alter ego* is closely tied to the *panim* imagery.

After our short excursus into the later Jewish traditions it is time to return to the *Ladder of Jacob*. One of the scholars whose studies probably contributed most to a recovery of the Jewish traditions in the *Ladder* is James Kugel. While reflecting on the terminological peculiarities found in the first chapter of the text, he argued that its authors were familiar with the tradition of Jacob's *iqonin* installed in heaven. Kugel drew attention to a comment made by a translator of the text, Horace Lunt, who, while speculating about the original language of the text, noted that the word used in the *Ladder* to designate the great 'bust' on the ladder is somewhat unusual. Lunt commented that 'no other Slavonic text has *лице*, "face", used to mean "statue" or "bust", and there is no Semitic parallel.'<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, Kugel proposed that such a Semitic parallel might indeed exist. In his opinion the term represents the Greek loan word incorporated into Mishnaic Hebrew—*iqonin*, which in some rabbinic texts does mean 'face.'<sup>32</sup> In view of these connections, Kugel concludes that 'there is little doubt that the *Ladder of Jacob*, in seeking to "translate" the biblical phrase "his/its head reached to Heaven", reworded it in Mishnaic Hebrew as "his [Jacob's] *iqonin* reached Heaven", and this in turn gave rise to the presence of a heavenly bust or portrait of Jacob on the divine throne.'<sup>33</sup>

Another important feature of the text supporting the possibility that the terrifying face might represent Jacob's heavenly image is the presence of the motif of angelic hostility—the theme, which as shown above, often accompanied the *selem* traditions in rabbinic accounts about Jacob. This motif unfolds in chapter 5, in which the *angelus interpres* explains the seer's vision as follows:

31 H. Lunt, 'The Ladder of Jacob', in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* vol. 2, New York, 1983–1985, p. 2.403.

32 J. Kugel, *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts*, San Francisco, 1990, p. 119.

33 Kugel, *In Potiphar's House*, p. 119. Jarl Fossum also affirms the presence of the *iqonin* tradition in the *Ladder* by arguing that 'in the fiery bust of the terrifying man we are probably correct to see the heavenly "image" of Jacob.' Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, p. 143, n. 30. Christfried Böttrich also recently cautiously supported the existence of the *Doppelgänger* traditions in the *Ladder* by arguing that 'such an approach to the *Ladder of Jacob* via the idea of a heavenly counterpart opens a further door into Rabbinic Judaism.' C. Böttrich, 'Apocalyptic Tradition and Mystical Prayer in the Ladder of Jacob', *JSP* 23 (2014), pp. 290–306 at 297.

**Recension A**

Thus he said to me: 'The ladder which you saw had twelve steps, each step having two human faces that change their appearance. The ladder is this age, and the twelve steps are the times of this age. And the twenty-four faces are the kings of the lawless nations of this age. In the times of these kings, the children of your children and the kin of your sons will be tormented. These (kings) will arise against the transgressions of your grandsons.'

**Recension B**

The ladder which you saw had twelve steps, each step having two human faces that change their appearance. The ladder is this age, and the twelve steps are the times of this age. And the twenty-four faces are the kings of the nations of the lawless age. Under these kings the children of your children and the kin of your sons will be tormented. And these (kings) will rise up against the lawlessness of your grandsons.<sup>34</sup>

Here the twelve steps of the ladder represent the twelve periods of 'this age,' while twenty-four 'minor' faces embody the twenty-four kings of the ungodly nations. Ascending and descending angels on the ladder are envisioned as the guardian angels belonging to the nations hostile to Jacob and his descendants. The angelic locomotion or 'ascents' appear to be interpreted in the passage as the arrogations against Israel.

### 3      2 Enoch

This brings us full circle to 2 *Enoch*. Here, as in the *Ladder*, the main hero of the story, the patriarch Enoch, has his own vision of the divine Face. This encounter is described in chapter 22 and recurs in chapter 39. In chapter 22, the archangel Michael brings Enoch to the front of God's Face, after which the deity tells his angels, sounding them out: 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!' In response to this address, the angels do obeisance to Enoch, saying: 'Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!'<sup>35</sup> Michael Stone has

34 Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 291–292.

35 Andersen, '2 Enoch', p. 1.138. The tradition of the angelic veneration of Enoch is attested in both recensions of 2 *Enoch*. 2 *Enoch* 22:6–7 in Ms. J (longer recension) reads: 'And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out, "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" And the Lord's glorious ones did obeisance and said, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!"' Andersen, '2 Enoch', p. 1.138. 2 *Enoch* 22:6–7 in Ms.

suggested that the story found in *2 Enoch 22* recalls the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in the Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Primary Adam Books*. Along with the motifs of Adam's elevation and veneration by angels, Stone notes that the author of *2 Enoch* also appears to be aware of the motif of angelic disobedience, i. e. Satan and his angels' refusal to venerate the first human. Stone draws the reader's attention to the phrase 'sounding them out,' (Slav. *и укыкуи Госнодь слуги Своя*) found in *2 Enoch 22:6*, which another translator rendered as 'making a trial of them.'<sup>36</sup> Stone suggests that the expression 'sounding them out' or 'making a trial of them' implies that it is the angels' obedience that is here being tested.<sup>37</sup>

Thus we see a peculiar constellation of the details that are not only reminiscent of the story of Adam in the *Primary Adam Books*, but which also recall the story of Jacob in the *Ladder* and the rabbinic sources where the traditions about the image of God are permeated by motifs of angelic veneration and rejection.

Also important are the details of Enoch's luminous metamorphosis and his anointing with shining oil from the Tree of Life (*2 Enoch 22*), which remind us of familiar Adamic motifs. In light of the aforementioned traditions, it is possible that in *2 Enoch*, like in the legends about Jacob, the divine *Panim* might take on the role of the divine *şelem*. The divine Face in *2 Enoch 22* represents the cause and the prototype after which Enoch's new celestial identity was formed. The new creation after God's *Panim* signifies the return to the prelapsarian condition of Adam, who was also modelled—according to a testimony found in *2 Enoch*—after the Face of God. Support for this view can be found in *2 Enoch 44*, whereas one remembers the protoplast was also created after the Visage of God. This creation in the likeness of God's Face represents an important link that connects the first Adam, who lost his luminous image in the Garden of Eden, to the second Adam, the patriarch Enoch, who regained the lost status and the luminosity of the protoplast during his metamorphosis before the Face of God in heaven.

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A (shorter recension) reads: 'The Lord said, "Let Enoch come up and stand in front of my face forever!" And the glorious ones did obeisance and said, "Let him come up!"' Andersen, '2 Enoch', p. 1.139.

36 Charles and Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. 28.

37 M.E. Stone, 'The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve', in G. Anderson, M. Stone and J. Tromp (eds), *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (SVTP 15), Leiden, 2000, pp. 43–56 at 47.