

The Influence of Ezekiel 40-48 on *1 Enoch* 14:8-25¹⁾

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1. Introduction

An important section in the Book of the Watchers in *1 Enoch* (*1En* 14:8-25) presents something of a challenge to biblical scholars who have struggled to understand allusions of the throne vision in the Hebrew Bible. The throne vision in *1 Enoch* 14:8-25 evidently reflects numerous characteristics of the Hebrew Bible: 1 Kings 22:19-22; Isaiah 6:1-7; Ezekiel 1; 8-10; and Daniel 7. For this reason, scholars have long argued that *1 Enoch* 14 picked up the motifs of throne vision in biblical sources.²⁾ James C. Vanderkam argues that “*1 En*

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- 1) This article is a revision of the paper presented at Mysticism, Esotericism, and Gnosticism in Antiquity section of the 2014 SBL meeting in San Diego, CA.
- 2) For discussion of *1 Enoch* and its allusions to biblical sources, see Józef T. Milik and Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981); James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph 16 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984); Matthew Black, James C. VanderKam, and O. Neugebauer, *The Book of Enoch Or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition*, Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985); Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); George W. E. Nickelsburg and Jacob Neusner, *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning Vol. 2*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); George W. E. Nickelsburg and Klaus Baltzer, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on*

14:8-25 is a pastiche of biblical phrases and motifs that have been drawn primarily from 1 Kings 22:19-22, Isaiah 6, and Ezekiel 1 (also 8 and 10); later examples can be found in Dan 7.³⁾ John J. Collins highlights the throne vision's influence on the development of Jewish mysticism by maintaining that *1 Enoch* drew on mystical traditions in biblical sources.⁴⁾ Insofar as the throne vision in *1 Enoch* 14:8-25 so clearly recalls biblical descriptions about it, interpreters have simply focused on texts of the throne vision.

However, with the understanding of Enoch's role as a priest, more interpreters have come to recognize that the throne vision of *1 Enoch* 14:8-25 reflects Ezekiel 40-48. Martha Himmelfarb's study of the early Jewish and Christian apocalypses involving ascent to heaven is particularly insightful in that she examines Ezekiel's visions of the chariot that carries Glory in Ezekiel 1:28 (cf. Eze 1, 8-11, 43).⁵⁾ As she insists that Enoch is a priest as well as a scribe,⁶⁾ she argues that the understanding of heaven as temple in the Book of the Watchers corresponds to Ezekiel 40-48.⁷⁾ More recently, Paul M. Joyce examines the parallels between *1 Enoch* 14 and Ezekiel 40-42 by maintaining that Ezekiel 40-42 provide the earliest heavenly ascent narrative to *1 Enoch* 14.⁸⁾

Although they pointed the relationships between Ezekiel 40-48 and *1 Enoch* 14, they failed to explain why Enoch introduces the throne vision, namely, the heavenly temple vision in the wake of the narrative about the fallen Watchers' petition (*1En* 13:3b-7). Before Enoch was taken to heaven, the Great Holy One commanded His four archangels to destroy Shemihazah and his associates (*1En* 10-11). Yet Enoch suddenly shifts his concern to an intercessor for the Fallen

the Book of 1 Enoch : Chapters 1-36; 81-108 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001); Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Paul M. Joyce, "Ezekiel 40-42: The Earliest 'Heavenly Ascent' Narrative?", H. J. de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, eds., *The Book of Ezekiel and Its Influence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 17-41; Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, *The Early Enoch Literature*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

3) James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 134.

4) John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 53-55.

5) Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 23.

6) *Ibid.*, 23.

7) *Ibid.*, 14.

8) Paul M. Joyce, "Ezekiel 40-42", 17-41.

Watchers (*IEn* 12:1-13:7). Then, as Enoch recites the memorandum of their petition, he sees visions in his dreams, in other words, the throne vision (*IEn* 13:8-16:4). Since Enoch ascended to the heaven, readers never hear the Fallen Watchers' voices. This narrative sequence must have reflected Enoch's intent.

In this paper, as I follow the studies by Himmerlfarb and Joyce, I argue that the throne vision in *I Enoch* not only follows the structure of Ezekiel 40-48, but also reflects Ezekiel's theology for the new Temple. From Ezekiel's perspective, prerequisite conditions for the new Temple are the purification of abominations in it: "the house of Israel shall no more defile my holy name, neither they nor their kings, by their whoring, and by the corpses of their kings at their death." (Eze 43:7) Thus, after Ezekiel introduces the corpses of Gog's soldiers (Eze 38-39), he proceeds to the next narrative of his entrance to the new Temple. In a similar vein, with Ezekiel's theology in mind, Enoch constructs the sequence of events. The Fallen Watchers who were proud of their knowledge and power tremble before Enoch who received the Great One's command. After Enoch's journey to the house in the heaven, they cease to exist (*IEn* 21:10). This paper proceeds in five stages. First, on the basis of critical notes, it translates the throne vision (*IEn* 14:8-25). Second, it examines the literary form and setting of the throne vision within the larger literary framework of the Book of the Watchers (*IEn* 1-36). Third, it identifies and examines its genre and language in it. Fourth, it investigates the setting in which the text was written, to which it is addressed, and in which it functions. Finally, it draws conclusions concerning Ezekiel's temple theology in *I Enoch*.

2. Analysis of *I Enoch* 14 and its influence of Ezekiel 40-48

2.1. Translation and Critical Notes of *I Enoch* 14:8-25⁹⁾

4QEnoch^c Col. VI. Line 19 Verse 8 [and to me in the vision like this, it has appeared itself. Behold! Clouds in the vision were calling to me and thin clouds (or mists)] **Line 20** to me were crying out and shooting stars and lightning

9) Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own. I translated *IEn* 14:8-25 by considering Nickelsburg and VanderKam's translations.

flashes to me were [hastening and (~ing) to me and the winds in my vision made me fly and lifted me up] **Line 21** upward and carried me and [brought] me in [the heavens.

Verse 9 and I entered into it until I drew near to walls of a building, which was built of stones of hails (or hailstones)] **Line 22** [and tongues] of fire were surrounding, going around to them and began to alarm me and to ... me.

Verse 10 and I, I entered through these tongues of the fire **Line 23** [until that] I drew near to a huge house, built with stones of hail and the walls of this house were like planks of stones and all of them, they were **Line 24** [of snow and the floor was built] of snow

Verse 11 and the ceiling was like shooting stars and like lightnings and between them Cherubims of fire and their heaven was of water.

Verse 12 Line 25 [and a burning fire was surrounded] all of their walls [going around them and the gates which were of burning fire.

Verse 13 and I entered into this house which it was hot] **Line 26** [as fire and cold as] the snow and to all of pleasure of life, there is none in it! And behold! Fear, to me, covered me and shaking, to me, seized.

Verse 14 Line 27 [and I was trembling myself and shaking] and I fell [upon my face and I saw in my vision.

Verse 15 and behold! I saw another gate which was opened] **Line 28** [before me and another house which was] than this larger and all of it [was built with tongues of fire.

Verse 16 and all of it was wonderful deed very much with glory and with honor] **Line 29** [and with greatness because that I will not be able to] have an opinion to you regarding its glory and regarding its greatness.

Verse 17 and its floor was of fire. **Line 30** [and its upper chamber was of lightning flashes and shooting stars and its ceiling was of burning fire.

Verse 18 and it was revealed to me and I saw in it a high throne and its appearance.] **4QEnoch^c Col. VII. Line 1** [like glass and its wheels of shining sun and its sides like] were Cherubims.

Verse 19 and from beneath the throne (streams of fire were) going out streams of **Line 2** fire and I was not able to see.

Verse 20 Great Majesty sat on this throne. And His garment was brighter than the sun

Verse 21 and whiter than] much snow. **Line 28** [and spirit]s. **Line 29-30** [the giants]

George W. E. Nickelsburg's Translation of *1 Enoch* 14:21-25¹⁰⁾

Verse 21 No angel could enter into this house and look at his face because of the splendor and glory, and no human could look at him.

Verse 22 Flaming fire encircled him, and a great fire stood by him, and none of those about him approached him. Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, but he needed no counselor; his every word was deed.

Verse 23 And the holy ones of the watchers who approached him did not depart by night, nor <by day> did they leave him.

Verse 24 Until now I had been on my face, prostrate and trembling. And the LORD called me with his mouth and said to me, “Come here, Enoch, and hear my word (s).”

Verse 25 And one of the holy ones came to me and raised me up and stood me (on my feet) and brought me up to the door. But I had my face bowed down.

I translated Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* 14:8-21 from Qumran 4 because Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* 14:21-25 have not survived except Ethiopic and Greek versions of *1 Enoch*¹¹⁾ and introduced George W. E. Nickelsburg's translation of *1 Enoch* 14:21-25.

Verse 8 I translated this verse more literally. The Aramaic word קהש means “mist, dust, and clouds” (Jastrow's Aramaic-Hebrew Dictionary, p. 1551). The Greek reading of verse 8 renders קהש as ομίχλαι “mists.” Józef T. Milik translates it as “cloud-mists.”¹²⁾

Verse 9 Milik translates τείχους as a collective, “walls”.¹³⁾ In the Ethiopic it is simply a wall. In the Greek, however, Enoch passes through a *building* of hailstones and fire. The Greek text then provides a heavenly structure that matches a three-chambered temple quite nicely.¹⁴⁾ Since *1 Enoch*'s journey is

10) See George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 35-36.

11) James C. VanderKam, “Enoch's Science”, Jonathan Ben-Dov and Seth Sanders, eds., *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 51-52.

12) Józef T. Milik and Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch*, 198.

13) Ibid.

14) Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 14.

influenced by Ezekiel's Temple journey in Ezekiel 40-48, the Greek reading is more validated.

Verse 10 To highlight the first singular pronoun, I translate it literally. The Aramaic word כותל "walls" connotes "something solid" (Jastrow, p. 627). Milik translates the Aramaic words כליות אבנין as "slabs of stone"¹⁵) but I translate these as "planks of stones" to recall the structure of the First Temple (cf. 1Ki 6:9; Eze 27:5).

Verse 11 Matthew Black translates the Aramaic word טללין as "upper stories or roof".¹⁶) However, when considering Enoch's expression of shooting stars and lightning as ornaments on the ceiling, I prefer to translate it as "ceiling".

Verse 12 Nickelsburg translates the Aramaic words נור דלק as "a flaming fire,"¹⁷) but I translate it as "a burning fire" following NRSV's translation of Daniel 7:9b: "Its wheels were a burning fire."

Verse 13 Rather than leaving out the pronoun "it", I translate the Aramaic third masculine singular pronoun הוּא "it". Enoch must have used the pronoun to emphasize "the house".

Verse 14 The form of two Aramaic verbs indicates the participle. The first verb's conjugation is hitpeel participle. Thus, I translate it as "I was trembling myself and shaking."

Verse 15 The Greek reading of *1 Enoch* reads v. 15a as "And I saw in the vision, and behold, another house that was larger than the former one its whole door was open before me, and it was built of flames of fire."¹⁸)

Verse 16 I translate the Aramaic infinitive verb דמה as "have an opinion" by following Jastrow's suggestion (Jastrow, p. 313).

Verse 17 The Aramaic noun עלי means "upper chamber" (BDB, p. 1106; Jastrow, p. 1082). The Greek reading of verse 17 renders it as τὸἀνώτερον "at the top of the house".¹⁹)

Verse 18 To translate verse 18, I connected the last part of line 30 in 4QEnoch^c Col. VI. and first part of line 1 in 4QEnoch^c Col. VII. Again, the

15) Ibid., 198.

16) Matthew Black, James C. VanderKam, and O. Neugebauer, *The Book of Enoch Or I Enoch: A New English Edition*, 147.

17) George W. E. Nickelsburg and Klaus Baltzer, *1 Enoch*, 34.

18) Ibid., 258.

19) Matthew Black, James C. VanderKam, and O. Neugebauer, *The Book of Enoch Or I Enoch*, 148.

Aramaic noun גלגל “wheel” in verse 18 also occurs in Daniel 7:9b: “its wheels were a burning fire.” The last part of Aramaic fragments in verse 18 is corrupted. Milik suggests “Cherubim”.²⁰⁾ The combination of Aramaic noun גרנה “side” and Aramaic corrupted noun “Cherubim” is uncertain. Thus, Matthew Black prefers the Ethiopic translation, “and (I heard) the sound of Cherubim” (cf. Eze 1:24).²¹⁾

Verse 19 The conjugation of Aramaic verb נפק “go out” is peal participle masculine plural. Thus, I translate it as “going out”. “Streams of fire” is identical with Daniel 7:10a: “A stream of fire is flowing.”

Verse 20 The Greek reading of verse 20 is ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη “the glory of the Great One”. However, in v. 20, the Aramaic fragment does not include “glory”. Again, v. 20b is almost identical with Daniel 7:9: “His garment was white as snow and the hair of His head like pure wool.” In line 28, the Aramaic plural noun רוחת means “spirits”. In line 29, the Aramaic noun גברייתא means “the giant”. However, in vv. 20-25, other translations do not contain such words.

2.2. Demarcation and Structure

1 Enoch 14 appears within the third major segment of the book (*1En* 12:1-16:4). *1 Enoch* 12:1-16:4 takes up *1 Enoch*’s oracles concerning his vision of the Great Holy One’s judgment against the Fallen Watchers. The text includes three major elements. The first element (*1En* 12:1-2) begins with the account, “Enoch was taken; and no human being knew where he had been taken, or where he was, or what had happened to him” referring to Genesis 5:24. The second element (*1En* 12:3-13:10) then portrays the Great Holy One’s first judgment oracle against the Fallen Watchers. *1 Enoch* 12:3 employs the Great Holy One’s word transmission formula, “and behold! The watchers of the Great Holy One called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me.” *1 Enoch* 13:1-10 presents Enoch’s journey to the Fallen Watchers to transmit the Great Holy One’s judgment Oracle. Finally, *1 Enoch* 14:1-16:4 takes up the vision of the throne vision in the house of the Great Majesty. *1 Enoch* 14:1-7 presents the Great One’s second judgment oracle. Verses 1-2 begin with the Great Holy One’s prophetic oracle, “according to the command of the Great Holy One in

20) Józef T. Milik and Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch*, 199.

21) Matthew Black, James C. VanderKam, and O. Neugebauer, *The Book of Enoch Or 1 Enoch*, 149.

the dream that I dreamed. In this vision I saw in my dream.” 14:3-7 portrays His rejection of Enoch’s petition for the Fallen Watchers. 14:8-25 focuses on Enoch’s own experience in the throne vision. 15:1-16:4 then takes up the Great One’s second judgment oracle in detail. In the Great One’s judgment oracle (12:1-16:4), Enoch continuously emphasizes his own vision by positioning the pronoun before the verb or by adding the pronoun “I.” In this entire segment, Enoch, righteous scribe, began to speak his own voice and plays an important role as an intercessor for the Fallen Watchers. It is noteworthy that the Fallen Watchers as addressees show a passive attitude in contrast to their active characters in previous chapters (13:3-10). The literary form of *1 Enoch* 12:1-16:4 may be represented as follows:

Enoch’s Prophetic Commissioning for the Fallen Watchers	12:1-16:4
I. Editorial Comment about Enoch (cf. Gen 5:24)	12:1-2
II. Enoch’s first journey to the Fallen Watchers	12:3-13:10
A. Introduction : First Statement and Prophetic Oracle by the Great Holy One	12:3
B. The Great Holy One’s command: Enoch, righteous scribe	12:4a
C. The reason of the Great Holy One’s Judgment against the Fallen Watchers	12:4b
D. The Great Holy One’s Judgment	12:5-6
E. Enoch’s judgment message against Asael, one of the Fallen Watchers	13:1-3a
F. The Response of the Fallen Watchers: Trembling and Fear (13:3b); Request concerning the memorandum of petition (13:4-7)	13:3b-7
G. Enoch’s judgment message	13:8-10
III. Enoch’s second journey to Heaven	14:1-16:4
A. Enoch’s vision in his Dreams and Enoch’s Ascent	14:1-16:4
1. Introduction (Prophetic Oracle): Enoch’s vision about the Second command of the Great Holy One (v. 1)	14:1-4a
2. The Useless of Enoch’s petition for the Fallen Watchers	14:4b-7
3. Enoch’s Ascent to the Heaven	14:8-16:4
a. Enoch’s Personal Experience of the Throne of the Great Glory	14:8-25
4. The LORD’s Commissioning	15:1-16:3

1 Enoch 14:8-25 then shifts attention to Enoch's ascent to the heaven in detail. It comprises the five subunits (v. 8, vv. 9-14, 15-23, and 24-25). It begins with Ezekiel's tradition of prophetic call, "and to me in the vision like this, it was appeared itself" (8a).²²⁾ V. 3b presents Enoch's ascent to the heaven by the winds. Verses 9-14 then present Enoch's vision of the outer house in the heaven. This subunit reveals the *Inclusio* as follows:

A. Enoch's Vision of the Outer House in the Heaven	14:9a
B. Enoch's Fear	14:9b
C. Enoch's specific Description of the walls of a House	14:10
D. Enoch's specific Description of the ceiling and Tongues of fire of a House	14:11-12
C'. Enoch's entrance into the House	14:13a
B'. Enoch's Fear	14:13b-14a
A'. Enoch's Vision of the Outer House in the Heaven	14:14b

The *Inclusio* structure of vv. 9-14 emphasizes Enoch's own experience of the outer house in the heaven. Only vv. 11-12 employs the narrative description without the first-person singular subject. Verses 15-23 then present the inner house of the heaven. Just as verse 1 begins with the Aramaic interjection ܗܝܘܐ "behold", verse 15 begins with the Aramaic interjection, ܐܝܘܪܐ "behold". Vv. 15-17 explains the structure of the inner house. Vv. 18-20 then portrays a Great throne and the Great Majesty's garment in the inner house. Vv. 21-23 presents flaming fire encircling the Great Majesty and His authority in His heavenly council. Vv. 24-25 again begins with the Great Majesty's prophetic oracle, "And the LORD called me with his mouth and said to me." Finally, just as the winds lifted Enoch up to the heaven, v. 25 employs it: "the holy ones raised him up and brought him up to the door."

Enoch's Personal Experience of the Throne of the Great Glory in the Heaven	14:8-25
I. Introduction: Prophetic Oracle	14:8
A. Enoch's vision regarding meteorological observations: clouds, mists, shooting stars, and lightning flashes	14:8a

22) George W. E. Nickelsburg and Klaus Baltzer, *1 Enoch*, 259.

B. Enoch's Ascent by Winds in his vision: the winds in my vision made me fly and lifted me up	14:8b
II. The Outer House in the Heaven	14:9-14
A. Enoch's Vision of the Outer House in the Heaven: A Wall built of Hailstones and Tongues of fire encircling them	14:9a
B. Enoch's Fear: Tongues of fire began to alarm me and to ... me.	14:9b
C. Enoch's specific Description of the walls of a House: the walls like planks of stones, the floor built of snow	14:10
D. Enoch's specific Description of the ceiling and Tongues of fire of a House: fiery Cherubim, Heaven was of water, a burning fire around the walls	14:11-12
E. Enoch's entrance into the House: Hot as fire and cold as snow, no pleasure of life in it	14:13a
F. Enoch's Fear: Fear covered me and was shaking me, I was trembling myself	14:13b-14a
G. Enoch's Vision of the Outer House in the Heaven	14:14b
III. The Inside of a House in the Heaven	14:15-23
A. Enoch's Entrance into the inner house: the Inner House bigger than the Outer House, the Inner House built of tongues of fire	14:15
B. Enoch's indescribable Expression about the Inner House (Mouth): Glory, Honor, and Greatness	14:16
C. Enoch's specific Description of the Inner House: Floor built of fire, the upper chamber built of lightning flashes and shooting stars, and the ceiling built of fire	14:17
D. Enoch's specific Description of a Great Throne: Its appearance like ice, its wheels like shining sun, its sides like were Cherubims, and from beneath the throne Streams	14:18-19a
E. Enoch's indescribable Expression about the Throne (Eye): I was not able to see	14:19b
F. Enoch's specific Description of the Great Majesty on the Throne: His garment was brighter than the sun and whiter than much snow	14:20
G. The Authority of Enoch's vision: the Prohibition of Angel and Human because of the splendor and glory (v. 21) and the Protection of Flaming fire encircled Him (v. 22a)	14:21-22a

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| H. The Heavenly Council: Ten Thousand times ten thousand,
the holy ones of the watchers | 14:22b-23 |
| IV. Enoch's direct meeting with the LORD | 14:24-25 |
| A. Enoch's Fear: Until now I had been on my face, prostrate
and trembling | 14:24a |
| B. The LORD's Prophetic Oracle: "Come here, Enoch, and hear
my words," one of the holy ones brought me up to the door | 14:24b-25a |
| C. Enoch's Fear: But I had my face bowed down | 14:25b |

2.3. Genre and Language

When one considers the form critical question of genre, *1 Enoch* reveals an "Apocalypse" fused with various other traditions. As Collins points out, traditional and mythological materials are embedded in the apocalypse of *1 Enoch*.²³⁾ Although *1 Enoch* does not refer to biblical passages, its form is very similar to narratives, mythological traditions, prophetic oracles, and wisdom traditions in the Hebrew Bible. For example, *1 Enoch* 1:1-5:9 echoes Balaam's oracles (Num 24) and Moses' final blessing (Deu 33).

1 Enoch 14:8-25 also portrays a throne vision which often occurs in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 6; Eze 1-2; Dan 7). Collins argues that mythological traditions of *1 Enoch* reflect the Canaanite Ugaritic myths (the seventh antediluvian ancestor, Enoch and the seventh Sumerian king, Enmeduranki and the Canaanite figure of Baal).²⁴⁾ Furthermore, in his book, *Enoch and the Growth of An Apocalyptic Tradition*, VanderKam argues that the throne vision reflects a model-vision of Merkavah mysticism.²⁵⁾ To understand the origin of the throne vision, he investigates Mesopotamian traditions in *1 Enoch*. Thus, as VanderKam notes that "Mesopotamian diviners began keeping records of their observations and predictions from a very early time," he discerns eschatological characteristics in *1 Enoch*.²⁶⁾ Nickelsburg argues that *1 Enoch* 14:8-25 reveals an important transition from the older Ezekiel tradition of the prophetic.²⁷⁾ As Nickelsburg primarily focuses on the prophetic calling in Ezekiel 1-2, he defines

23) John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 16.

24) *Ibid.*, 19.

25) James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 134.

26) *Ibid.*, 53.

27) George W. E. Nickelsburg and Klaus Baltzer, *1 Enoch*, 259.

the genre of *1 Enoch* 14:8-25 as a prophetic commissioning.²⁸⁾

Scholarly consensus suggests that the throne vision in *1 Enoch* 14 reflects very similar language in biblical sources. First example of the throne vision is 1 Kings 22:19:

19 and therefore, he said, Listen the word of YHWH! **I saw** (הִרְאֵנִי) YHWH **sitting on His throne** and **all the host of the heaven standing** beside Him to the right and the left of Him.

1 Enoch 14:8-25 reveals its parallel: “I saw (הִרְאֵנִי)” (*1 Enoch* 14:15), “the throne” (v. 18), and “Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him” (v. 22). 1 Kings 22:19 as the shortest of throne visions in biblical sources enables us to understand how the oldest version influenced other traditions in the Hebrew Bible. Second example is the vision of the heavenly throne room in Isaiah 6:1-3:

1 In the year of the death of King Uzziah and **I saw** (הִרְאֵנִי) **the LORD sitting upon the throne, high** (רָם) and exalted. The skirts of His robe are filling the Temple. 2 **Seraphs** standing above him, six wings, six wings to another. With two he covered his face and with two he covered his feet and with two he would fly. 3 and this one would call to this and he said, “Holy, holy, holy is **YHWH of hosts**. The whole earth is full of His glory.”

Parallels of throne vision in *1 Enoch* are: “Cherubim” (v. 11), “I saw (הִרְאֵנִי)” (v. 15), “the throne, high (רָם)” (v. 18), and “His garment” (v. 20), and “Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him” (v. 22). By adding the introductory chronological statement, Isaiah attempted to endow his prophecy with authority. Then, he elucidates the host of the heaven as Seraphs. Third example of throne vision is Ezekiel 1:1-28:

1 and it happened in the thirtieth year in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month and I among the exiles by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened, and **I saw visions** of God. 2 On the fifth day of the month, it was the fifth year of the exile of the King Jehoiachin. 3 The word of YHWH surely came to Ezekiel, son of Buzi, the priest in the land of Chaldeans by the river of Chebar and the hand of YHWH came upon him

28) Ibid., 254.

there 4 and **I saw** and **behold!** (הִנֵּה) **A stormy wind** is coming out of the north. **A huge cloud** and fire, which is flashing intermittently and gleaming, surrounded by it and in the center of it like gleaming of the amber among the fire. 5 and in the center of it, likeness of four creatures and this was their appearance of likeness, likeness of a man to them ... 13 and likeness of the creatures, their appearance like **burning coals of fire** like appearance of the torches. It is going up and down among the creatures and gleam to the fire and from the fire lightning is coming out. 14 and the creatures run and turn like appearance of the flash of lightning. 15 and I looked at the creatures. And Behold! One wheel on the ground beside the creatures of the four of its faces. 16 Appearance of the wheels and their construction, like gleaming of Topaz and one likeness of their four and their appearance and their constructions like that the wheel shall be within the wheel. ... 27 and I saw like gleaming of amber like appearance of fire, enclosed in a frame. Surrounding appearance of His waist and upwards and from the appearance of His waist and downwards I saw like appearance of a fire and gleam belonging to him and surrounding him. 28 like the appearance of the bow, which in the cloud on a day of rain, as appearance of the surrounding gleam, that was the appearance of the likeness of glory of YHWH and I saw and I fell on my face and I heard the voice of someone speaking.

The language of the throne vision in Ezekiel 1 is very similar to *1 Enoch* 14:8-25: “Behold” (v. 8), “winds” (v. 8), “cloud” (v. 8), “lightning” (v. 8), “a burning fire” (v. 12), “I saw (הִנֵּה)” (v. 15), “Glory Majesty” (v. 20), and “One of the holy ones” (v. 25). Ezekiel also follows Isaiah’s introductory chronological statement but utilizes meteorological elements to express his vision (stormy wind, a huge cloud, and burning coals of fire) that differs from previous throne visions. Furthermore, by reading the Hebrew interjection הִנֵּה “behold”, audiences will pay attention to Ezekiel’s prophecy. Finally, Daniel’s throne vision in Daniel 7:1-13 is close to *1 Enoch* 14:

1 In the first year of King Belshazzar of Babylon, Daniel **saw** (הִזָּה) a **dream** and **visions** of his head on his bed. Then he wrote the dream, head of matters. He said. 2 Daniel is answering and saying, I was **seeing** (הִנֵּה) in my **vision** by the night and **behold!** Four winds of the heaven stirring up the great sea, and four great beasts from one another ... 9 I was **seeing**

(הוה). **Thrones** were set in place and **an Ancient One** dwelt. **His garment was white as snow and the hair of His head like pure wool.** His throne was flames of fire. Its wheels were **a burning fire.** **10 A stream of fire is flowing and coming forth from his presence.** **A thousand thousands** shall serve Him and then **thousand times ten thousand shall stand before Him.** The court sat in judgment and the books were opened. **11** Then, I was **seeing** (הנה) because of the voice of the arrogant that the horn was speaking. I was seeing until the beast was killed and its body was destroyed ... **13** I was seeing in the night **visions** and **behold!** With **clouds** of the heaven one like a human being was coming and until he came to **the Ancient One** and before him, he was presented.

Daniel's throne vision not only follows previous throne vision traditions, but also is almost identical with the throne vision of *1 Enoch* 14. Based upon the paleographical evidence of Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch*, scholars could assume that the Book of the Watchers of *1 Enoch* was written in the third century BCE.²⁹⁾ Thus, Collins argues that *1 Enoch* was written before the Book of Daniel.³⁰⁾ Regardless of whether the Book of Daniel is later than *1 Enoch*, it is noteworthy that two authors wrote their throne vision in Aramaic.

2.4. Setting

The discovery of Aramaic fragments in the Qumran caves enabled scholars to assume the socio-historical setting of *1 Enoch*. Based upon the paleographic evidence there, scholars place the historical setting of the material as follows:

The Book of the Watchers (1-36; third century BCE)

The Book of Parables (37-71; first century BCE/CE or 37-4 BCE)

The Book of Luminaries (72-82; an epitome of the third century BCE, Aramaic version)

The Book of Dreams (83-90; second century BCE)

The Epistle of Enoch (91-105/6/7; second century BCE)³¹⁾

29) Józef T. Milik and Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch*, 230.

30) John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 44.

31) Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity*, 17.

Among these materials, the oldest fragments of *1 Enoch* at Qumran (4QEnastr^a; 4QEn^{a,b}) are the Book of Luminaries and the Book of the Watchers.³²⁾ For this reason, when VanderKam reconstructs the history of Judaism, he puts forward the Book of Luminaries.³³⁾ By contrast, the latest version of *1 Enoch* is the second section, the Book of Parables. Scholars' main reason for this placement is that no materials of the Book of Parables were discovered at the Qumran caves. Furthermore, VanderKam argues that "the second section reflects circumstances in the time of King Herod (37-4 BCE): there may be allusions to the Parthian invasion of 40 BCE (56:5-8), and the hot springs used by Herod and other may be what is meant by 67:4-13."³⁴⁾

If this paleographical evidence of *1 Enoch* at Qumran Cave reflects its socio-historical setting as third century BCE through first century BCE, what does this reveal about the texts? Two salient elements are significant to understanding the socio-historical setting of *1 Enoch*. First, Collins, Nickelsburg, and Annette Yoshiko Reed agree that the fallen watchers symbolize the Hellenic influence on the culture of *1 Enoch*'s time. Collins and Nickelsburg argue that the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 6-11 reflect the Diadochi (Alexander's successors) and their invasion of the Jerusalem Temple.³⁵⁾ Furthermore, Reed suggests that the Asael tradition in *1 Enoch* 6-11 was influenced directly by Greek myths about Prometheus.³⁶⁾ When read in *1 Enoch* 6-11, the fallen angels teach various skills (lightning flashes, astronomical knowledge). These allusions are evidently related to the Hellenistic culture. Second, Enoch's second dream vision in the Book of Dreams reflects the Maccabean revolt (167-164 December BCE) before the death of Antiochus IV (163 BCE). In *1 Enoch* 90:6-19, no ravens could prevail against the great horn. Assuming that ravens function as predators or the Hellenic Empire, it is then evident that a great horn symbolizes Judas Maccabeus. Nickelsburg insists that "the Animal Vision portrays the wars between Judas Maccabeus and the Syrians; possibly an earlier version composed close to the year 200 BCE or the

32) Ibid., 18.

33) James C. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), 89-121.

34) Ibid., 110.

35) John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 511; George W. E. Nickelsburg and Klaus Baltzer, *1 Enoch*, 170.

36) Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity*, 39.

Ptolemaic rule of Israel.”³⁷⁾

The social setting of the period around the Maccabean revolt to the Hasmonean dynasty (103-76 BCE) is well reflected in *1 Enoch*. The main issue in the Epistle of Enoch is the conflict between the rich and the poor. Enoch repeats woe oracles to the rich (*1En* 94:6-95:2; 96:4-8). Social oppression and violation by the rich severely depressed the righteous (*1En* 95:3; 97:1-2). It is evident that the enemy of Enoch is the rich. But he does not elucidate the identity of the rich. Marty Stevens argues that the temples collected taxes for the crown.³⁸⁾ So it is possible that the enemy of Enoch is the high priest in the Jerusalem Temple. Gabriele Boccaccini claims that Enochic Judaism as a priestly reform began its developments in relation to the priestly house of Zadok from the Second Temple period (520 BCE) up to the Maccabean revolt (167 BCE).³⁹⁾ In a similar vein, Anatheia E. Portier-Young argues that the Enochic tradition may be “groups of highly educated Jews who wished to claim a different kind of religious authority.”⁴⁰⁾ Thus, she insists that instead of protesting the authority of Moses and Torah, Enoch emphasized the exalted figure of Enoch. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine who the enemy is because Enoch, as a scribe, shows his interests in the recovery of the Temple and the priesthood in heaven (*1En* 12:3; 93:7).

2.5. Intention

In the genre and language section, I examined *1 Enoch* 14’s parallels in biblical sources. Despite their allusions to throne vision in *1 Enoch* 14, it does not explain why *1 Enoch* appropriates previous throne vision traditions before Enoch announces the Great One’s judgment oracles against the Fallen Watchers. However, when examining the structure of *1 Enoch*, one can understand that *1 Enoch* follows the structure of Ezekiel 40-48. The comparative structure between *1 Enoch* and Ezekiel may be represented as follows:

37) George W. E. Nickelsburg and Klaus Baltzer, *1 Enoch*, 63.

38) Marty E. Stevens, *Temples, Tithes, and Taxes: The Temple and the Economic Life of Ancient Israel* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006), 57.

39) Gabriele Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 204.

40) Anatheia Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 294.

<i>I Enoch</i> (the Book of Watchers)		Ezekiel 38-39; 40-48	
<i>IEn</i> 6-11	Reason: Rebellion of the Watchers	Eze 38-39	Reason: Rebellion of soldiers of God from Magog
	Result: Four Archangels' destruction		Result: the dead corpses of the fallen enemy
	The Most High's command: Cleanse the earth from all impurity and from all wrong and from all lawlessness and from all sin, and godlessness and all impurities that have come upon the earth, remove. (<i>IEn</i> 10:20)		YHWH's command: On that day I will give to Gog a place for burial in Israel, the Valley of the Travers east of the sea; it shall block the path of the travelers, for there Gog and all his horde will be buried; it shall be called the Valley of Hamon-gog. Seven months the house of Israel shall spend burying them, in order to cleanse the land. (Eze 39:11-13; cf. Eze 43:7)
<i>IEn</i> 12-16	And to me in the vision like this, it was appeared itself. Behold! Clouds in the vision were calling to me and thin clouds, to me, were crying out and shooting stars and lightning flashes to me were hastening and the winds in my vision made me fly and lifted me upward and carried me and brought me in the heaven. (<i>IEn</i> 14:8)	Eze 40-48	And like the vision, vision that I saw like the vision that I saw when I entered to destroy the city and the vision, like the vision that I saw by the river Chebar and I fell down on my face. And as the glory of YHWH entered the Temple through the gate that face through the east. And a wind lifted me up and brought me to the inner court and behold! The glory of YHWH filled the Temple. (Eze 43:3-5)
<i>IEn</i> 17-36	And there I saw a holy mountain. From beneath the mountain water from the east , and it flowed toward the south. (<i>IEn</i> 26:2)	Eze 40-48	Then he led me back along the bank of the river. As I came back and behold! I saw on the bank of the river a great many trees on the one side and on the other, He said to me, this water flows toward the eastern region and goes down into the Arabah and when it enters the sea, the sea of stagnant waters, the water will become fresh. (Eze 47:7b-8)

The chart reveals that *1 Enoch* follows the sequence of events and Ezekiel's theology in the Book of Ezekiel. From Ezekiel's perspective, prerequisite conditions for the new Temple are to eradicate all abominations out of the new Temple (Eze 39:11-13; 43:7). Likewise, the Most High commanded His archangels to cleanse all godlessness and impurities on the earth before Enoch entered the inner house in the heaven (*1En* 10:20). *1 Enoch* also maintains Ezekiel's narrative framework of visionary guidance formulas, "and he brought me or led me or brought me back or brought me back" (Eze 40:1b, 2, 3, 24, 28, 32, 35, 48; 41:1; 42:1; 43:1, 5; 44:1, 4; 46:19; 47:1, 2, and 6b). For example, since winds lifted Enoch up to the House in the heaven, the guidance formula occurs six times (14:8, 25a, 25b; 17:1, 2, 4). Above all, *1 Enoch* describes the river from the new Temple as the climax in the Book of Ezekiel (*1En* 26:2; Eze 47:7b-8). Finally, in the final section of the Book of the Watchers, *1 Enoch* continuously uses the idiom "from there" (21:7; 22:1; 23:1; 26:1; 28:1; 29:1; 30:1; 32:2; 33:1; 34:1; 35:1; 36:1, 2, and 4). It leads audiences to remind of Ezekiel's idiom "YHWH there (יהוה שמה)".

If this is so, why did *1 Enoch* appropriate Ezekiel's throne vision and his theology? To better understand, it is necessary to examine the identity of Enoch. The Book of the Watchers indicates that Enoch is a righteous scribe (*1En* 12:3, 4). To highlight Enoch's authority, he also describes the role of Enoch as an intercessor between God and the Fallen Watchers or between God and human beings. As Himmelfarb suggests that Enoch is priest as well as scribe, she argues that "Enoch's intercession on behalf of the Watchers is a traditional priestly task, and in order to intercede, Enoch enters the heavenly temple and gains access to the sanctuary, a place reserved for priests."⁴¹ Having examined that there is no the temple in Jerusalem except the heavenly Temple, she explains the function of Ezekiel's visions of the chariot throne as follows:

Ezekiel's visions of the chariot throne mark the beginning of a trend to dissociate God's heavenly abode from the temple in Jerusalem. A century and a half before Ezekiel, the prophet Isaiah saw his vision of God seated on his throne, surrounded by the heavenly host, in the Jerusalem temple. For Isaiah the temple was truly God's earthly home, the place where heaven and earth come together.⁴²

41) Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 25.

42) *Ibid.*, 11.

From Himmelfarb's perspective on the Second Temple, "*1 Enoch* was under the influence of Ezekiel, those who are unhappy with the behavior of the people and especially its priests come to see the temple not as God's proper dwelling, the place where heaven and earth meet, but rather as a mere copy of the true temple located in heaven."⁴³⁾ Thus, she argues that "it is this desacralization of the earthly temple in favor of the heavenly that opens the way for Enoch's ascent in the Book of the Watchers."⁴⁴⁾ In a similar vein, more recently, Patrick Tiller argues that "the Book of the Watchers, collected and composed during the rule of the Ptolemies reflects an anti-imperial stance that rejects not only the foreign rulers, but also their local, priestly representatives."⁴⁵⁾ Himmelfarb and Tiller's proposals provide us with information why *1 Enoch* follows Ezekiel's theology in that Enoch as a priest criticizes priests' lawlessness and impurities in the Temple during the reign of foreign nations. Hence, only Enoch communicates with the Great Majesty on the throne in the heaven. Perhaps, following Ezekiel's theology, Enoch wants to eradicate all foreign abominations and impurities on the Temple if people hope to meet God.

3. Conclusion

The throne vision in *1 Enoch* is especially related to Jewish Thought about God's absence in this world. Since Michaiah experiences God on the throne in 1 Kings 22:19-20, Isaiah 6 reveals God on the throne with Seraphim. From their perspective, the presence of God surrounded by the hosts of holy ones is steady insofar as the Temple exists. However, in the wake of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, Ezekiel expresses God's presence as Merkavah (chariot). Just as chariot moves, the glory of YHWH left the Temple in Jerusalem (Eze 8-11) and returned to the new Temple (Eze 40-48). To bring the glory of YHWH back, Ezekiel requires his audiences to eradicate all abominations and impurities. Such theology must have influenced *1 Enoch*, especially the Book of

43) Ibid., 13.

44) Ibid.

45) Patrick Tiller, "The Sociological Settings of the Components of 1 Enoch", Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, eds., *The Early Enoch Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 252.

the Watchers. During the reign of the Hellenistic Empire, he drew attention to the incompetency of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Again, just as Martin Luther shouted out “Sola Scriptura (Only the Scripture)” against the injustice of the Roman Catholic Church, Enoch announces, “Let’s return to Ezekiel’s Merkavah theology!” Afterward, Ezekiel’s Merkavah theology influenced early Christianity, rabbinic literature such as the *Heikhalot Rabbati*, a work of merkavah mysticism, and Kabbalistic tradition. Considering early Christianity, the book of Revelation refers to Ezekiel’s throne chariot theology in order to announce eschatological messages against the Roman Empire’s oppression. In his book, *Reading the Hebrew Bible after the Shoah*, Marvin A. Sweeney notes that “the rabbinic literature is written in the aftermath of the failure of the Zealot revolt and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 66-74 CE, the failure of the diaspora revolt against Rome in 114-117 CE, and the failure of the Bar Kochba revolt against Rome in 132-135 CE.⁴⁶⁾ The failure of the three revolts must have raised questions about God’s presence. In the *Heikhalot Rabbati* literature, R. Nehunyah posed this question before the throne of God, God responded to his question by upholding the value of Torah study.⁴⁷⁾ In later Kabbalistic tradition, the sixteenth-century Kabbalistic teacher, R. Issa Luria of Safed insists that “since God is vulnerable, human beings must take responsibility for ensuring the sanctity and integrity of the world of creation.”⁴⁸⁾ The question of the presence of God is still ongoing in our society. Recently, I’ve listened to the suffering of North Korean people caused by food shortages and government oppression. Against this background, I shout out God’s absence in their society and pray God’s mercy upon their society. We don’t exactly know how God responds to our prayer. But as many writers in the Bible cried out in their prayers, it is necessary for us to ask the reason for God’s absence and to express our thoughts to God.

46) Marvin A. Sweeney, *Reading the Hebrew Bible after the Shoah: Engaging Holocaust Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 236-239.

47) *Ibid.*, 238.

48) *Ibid.*

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Ezekiel, *1 Enoch*, Ezekiel 40-48, *1 Enoch* 14, temple vision, throne vision.

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<Abstract>

The Influence of Ezekiel 40-48 on *1 Enoch* 14:8-25

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Insofar as the throne vision in *1 Enoch* 14:8-25 so clearly recalls previous biblical descriptions, interpreters have simply focused on texts of the throne vision. However, more interpreters, with the understanding of Enoch's role as a priest, have come to recognize that the throne vision of *1 Enoch*. 14:8-25 reflects Ezekiel 40-48. Although they suggested the relationships between Ezekiel 40-48 and *1 Enoch* 14, they failed to explain why *1 Enoch* introduces the throne vision, namely, the heavenly temple vision in the wake of the narrative about the fallen Watchers' petition (*1En* 13:3b-7). Before Enoch was taken to heaven, the Great Holy One commanded His four archangels to destroy Shemihazah and his associates (*1En* 10-11). Yet Enoch suddenly shifts his concern as an intercessor for the Fallen Watchers (*1En* 12:1-13:7). Then as Enoch recites the memorandum of their petition, he sees visions in his dreams, in other words, the throne vision (*1En* 13:8-16:4). Since Enoch ascended to heaven, readers never heard the Fallen Watchers' voices. The author's intent must have been reflected on this narrative sequence. In this paper, I argue that the throne vision in *1 Enoch* not only follows the structure of Ezekiel 40-48, but also reflects Ezekiel's theology of the new Temple. From Ezekiel's perspective, the prerequisite conditions for the new Temple are the purification of the abominations in it: "the house of Israel shall no more defile my holy name, neither they nor their kings, by their whoring, and by the corpses of their kings at their death" (Eze 43:7). Thus he introduces the corpses of God's soldiers (Eze 38-39) and then proceeds to the next narrative about his entrance to the new Temple. With Ezekiel's theology in mind, Enoch, in a similar vein, constructs the sequence of events. The Fallen Watchers who were proud of their knowledge and power tremble before Enoch's command from the Great One. After Enoch's journey to the house in heaven, they disappeared (*1En* 21:10). This paper proceeds in five stages. First, it translates the throne vision (*1En* 14:8-25) on the basis of critical notes. Second, it examines the literary form and the setting of the throne vision

within the larger literary framework of the Book of the Watchers (*IEn* 1-36). Third, it identifies and examines genre and language. Fourth, it investigates the setting in which the text was written, to which it was addressed, and in which it functioned. Finally, it draws conclusions concerning Ezekiel's temple theology in *1 Enoch*.