What Is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?

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And what mortal person is it who is able
To ascend on high,
To ride on wheels,
To descend below,
To search out the inhabited world,
To walk on the dry land,
To gaze at His splendor,
To dwell with His crown,
To be transformed by His glory,
To recite praise,
To combine letters,
To recite their names,
To have a vision of what is above,
To have a vision of what is below,
To know the explanation of the living,
And to see the vision of the dead,
To walk in rivers of fire,
And to know the lightening?
And who is able to explain it?
And who is able to see it?
—Hekhalot Zutairi §§349–350

As a word, “mysticism” has a notorious reputation. Its polymorphic associations make precise meaning difficult to isolate, especially across cultures and eras. It is often used as an antonym for so-called “rationalism,” associated with so-called “supernaturalism,” in contradistinction to our contemporary scientific view of the

1. All references in this chapter to hekhhalot texts (excluding 3 Enoch) are to Peter Schäfer, Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur (TSA) 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), and English translations of passages from the hekhhalot texts (excluding 3 Enoch) are those of idem, The Hidden and Manifest God: Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism (trans. A. Pomerance; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).
world. Broadly speaking, it has come to describe for us organized practices used to illicit direct contact with the divine.

As an "-ism," "mysticism" is not an emic word, a word actually used by ancient people to describe their experiences. It corresponds to no single term in the ancient literature. In fact, when the early Jews and Christians describe their mystical experiences in a single word, they do so most often by employing the term apokalypsis, an "apocalypse" or "revelation." In the Jewish and Christian period-literature, these religious experiences are described emically as waking visions, dreams, trances, and auditions that can involve spirit possession and ascent journeys. Usually these experiences are garnered after certain preparations are made or rituals performed, although they can also be the result of rapture. The culmination of the experience is transformative in the sense that the Jewish and Christian mystics thought they could be invested with heavenly knowledge, join the choir of angels in worship before the throne, or be glorified in body.

So "mysticism" is an etic term, a modern typology, contemporary analytic vocabulary that we are imposing on the ancients in order to investigate their religiosity. It serves the modern scholar heuristically as a taxonomy aiding our engagement in historical investigation and research. It is a comparative analytic tool created and employed by outsiders to the culture and imposed on insiders. In etic terms, it identifies a tradition within early Judaism and Christianity centered on the belief that a person directly, immediately, and before death can experience the divine, either as a rapture experience or as one solicited by a particular praxis. This definition, although framed in etic terms, remains sensitive to the fact that the early Jews and Christians themselves neither distinguished between unsolicited rapture and solicited invasion experiences—all were "apocalypses"—nor described their experiences in terms of the unio mystica so central to later Christian mysticism.

IV. A Dynamic Bilateral Tradition

"Early Jewish and Christian mysticism" serves to identify for us a bilateral mystical tradition flowing through Judaism and Christianity during their formative years. Since Judaism and Christianity are companion expressions of Second Temple Judaism, sibling religions that developed simultaneously within comparable historical contexts, the mystical tradition preserved in their literature is rightly characterized as manifestations of Jewish and Christian religiosity in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. I would go as far as to suggest that the Christian mysticism of this period should be understood as essentially "Jewish," beginning to take on its own individuality only by the mid- to late second cen-

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2. See particularly Pasquet Flannery-Daley, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Era (JSJSup 90; Leiden: Brill, 2004).
tury, as can be seen, for instance, in the Alexandrian school run by Clement and then Origen.

As such, the early Jewish and Christian mystical tradition emerges in what I call, for the sake of brevity, the "period-literture," that is, in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, in the writings of the Jewish theologian Philo of Alexandria, in the Qumran literature, and possibly in the teachings of the Palestinian Jewish school of Yohanan ben Zakcai. There are a growing number of scholars, myself included, who think that these early currents of mysticism form the basis for merkabah and hekhalot speculation. Subsequently, these mystical traditions


4. See the classic work by Erwin R. Goodenough, By Light, By Light (Amsterdam: Philo, 1969). Kaufmann Kohler first determined that elements of merkabah mysticism can be found in Philo ("Merkabah," JE 8:500). Henry Chadwick ("St. Paul and Philo of Alexandria," BJRL 48 [1966]: 286-307) has suggested that agreements between Paul and Philo may be the result of a common background in Jewish mysticism.


7. On this, see now James R. Davila, Descenders to the Chariot: The People behind the Hekhalot Literature (JSJSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 2001); Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, A Transparent
were absorbed into the Pharisaic and Tannaitic trajectory, some forms of Christianity, gnostic schools, and later kabbalistic materials.

It goes without saying, I hope, that this литература is vast and variable, representing the opinions, interpretations, and experiences of several different communities, most having no direct historical connection with or influence on the other, but all associated with Second Temple Jewish religiosity in one way or another. It is this familiarity with Second Temple Jewish religiosity, I think, that accounts for the emergence and development of a culturally and historically "unique" mystical tradition whose main features I wish to identify and describe. In this description, I do not write with any pretense or assumption that the tradition was monolithic or static. Rather, I wish to emphasize its dynamism as it erupted within different social and historical contexts. My discussion of "early Jewish and Christian mysticism" should never be taken to suggest the linear progression or "evolution" of the tradition from one historical circumstance to the next. Rather, this tradition surfaces, sometimes simultaneously, within various social contexts and historical circumstances, and the communities involved are


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responsible for continually reusing and reshaping this "shared" mystical tradition for their own ends.

2. THE INTERSECTON OF HERMENEUTICS AND EXPERIENCE

The persistent core of early Jewish and Christian mysticism is the belief that God or his manifestation can be experienced immediately, not just after death or eschatologically on the last day. This belief appears to me to be the consequence of at least two aspects of religiosity during the Second Temple period: hermeneutics and religious experience. It has been unfortunate that past academic discussions of the period-literature have been dogged by our need to treat these as antithetical. Although this attitude has encroached upon our analyses of the period-literature from the pseudepigraphical apocalypses to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi collection, it has emerged, most aggressively in scholarly discussion of the merkabah and hekhalot corpus, some scholars insisting that this literature represents mainly exegetical activity, others experiential.

This dichotomy, of course, is a false one that has not served us well, as several studies have suggested. Elliot Wolfson, in fact, thinks that it is impossible to isolate phenomenologically an experience from its literal context, a position that


seems to be akin to that of Steven Katz, who has noted, I think correctly, that "all experience is processed through, organized by, and makes itself available to us in extremely complex epistemological ways." It appears to me that this false dichotomy has been set in place because modernists have little patience for the so-called "supernatural," feeling that the "supernatural" can and should be deconstructed in the wake of God's death. But in so doing, we have forced our own demarcation between the natural world and the "supernatural" onto the ancient people we are studying, imposing as well our disposition of everything "supernatural" onto people who profoundly were invested in their "experiences" of God. The ancient Jews and Christians believed that they experienced the sacred, and they wrote about it. These people were deeply religious people whose texts are filled with feelings about and hopes for religious experience as they understood and imagined it.

In this regard, Paul's own firsthand testimony cannot be emphasized enough, because it demonstrates that the first Christian Jews believed that they were recipients of ecstatic experiences both in the form of rapture events and invasions of heaven (Gal 1:12; 1 Cor 15:8; 2 Cor 12:2–4). In the context of this latter discourse, Paul also implied that he knew of other Christian Jews, perhaps associated with the mission of the Jerusalem church, who boasted of mystical experiences (see 2 Cor 11:21–12:11). This is implied by the author of Colossians as well (2:16–18). We have a quite strong tradition that the disciples and members of Jesus' family who formed the initial church in Jerusalem had visions of Jesus following his death (1 Cor 15:5–7). To Paul's firsthand witness we must also add the waking visions of John of Patmos and the dream visions of the Pastor Hermas. Of course, the evidence for mystical experience from secondhand accounts in the early Christian literature is staggering, ranging from the transfiguration of Jesus to the postresurrection appearances to the vision of Stephen.

As a historian, I am not concerned whether these ancient people "actually" experienced God. I can never know this. But this does not make its study pointless. As Bernard McGinn has aptly remarked, "Experience as such is not a part of the historical record. The only thing directly available to the historian... is the evidence, largely in the form of written records." What I wish to understand and map is their belief that God had been and still could—even should—be reached; that the boundaries between earth and heaven could be crossed by engaging in certain religious activities and behaviors reflected in the stories of their primordial ancestors and great heroes.


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It makes no difference to me whether or not we describe these narratives of the heroes as literary or experiential literature, because this distinction misses the point. The point we need to recognize is that the early Jews and Christians who were reading these texts believed that the stories were reports of actual encounters with God. The images and descriptions in these texts deeply affected the way that the early Jews and first Christians described and interpreted their own perceived experiences and the way that they framed their hopes for future experiences.

So this fundamental belief—that the sacred could be experienced—was supported by their reading and exegesis of their scriptures. In turn, it was this belief that the early Jews and Christians wrote about in new texts that they characterized as "revealed" scriptures containing heavenly gospels, the razim or "mysteries" of God. Many of these works—from the Jewish and Christian apocalypses to the Nag Hammadi texts—freely retell the biblical narratives under the auspices of an alternative revelation from an angelic being or primeval authority. In several ways, they were providing in these works counterreadings of the old scriptures, recomposing the stories through a new hermeneutic for a contemporary audience. In these new texts, the ancient Jews and Christians shared their revelation of the "things hidden" of the past, present, and future, reinterpreting and recasting the past to serve their present experiences and future hopes.

The authors of these new texts appear to me to be rebelling against the idea that the truth about the sacred can be reached through intellectual engagement, through normal epistemological routes such as traditional reading and interpre-

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tation of the scriptures. This is not to say that they shunned intellectual endeavors such as studying Torah, developing hermeneutics, or creating elaborate mythologies to explain questions of cosmogony and theodicy. In fact, in a passage from the Hekhalot Rabbati we are told that the mystic must prove his worthiness to enter the seventh heaven by having “read the Torah, prophets and writings, Mishnayot, Midrash, Halakhot and Haqqadot,” having learned “the interpretation of the Haqakhot; prohibition and permission,” having abided by “every prohibition that is written in the Torah,” and having observed faithfully “all the warnings of the laws, statutes and instructions that were said to Moses at Sinai” (§234).

What these Jews and Christians seem to me to be saying is that intellectual pursuit of God and “truth” can only advance a person so far spiritually. It can get the person to the gate of the highest hevenly shrine, só to speak, but no further. They insist that knowledge of the sacred itself comes only through the direct experience of God, that is, by actually meeting him face to face. It was this experiential encounter, they thought, that transformed them, that pulled them beyond the limits of their ordinary human senses and perceptions. This new godlike perspective, they believed, would lead to new understandings and revelations, allowing them to reinterpret the concealed truths and hidden histories locked within their sacred scriptures.20 So here lies the intersection between exegesis and experience. It is at this intersection, this crossroads, that I think we should tarry, rather than running down either of these roads alone.

3. COMMUNAL IDENTITIES

Early Jewish and Christian mysticism as a tradition does not represent the imagination and opinions of isolated authors as much as those of living religious communities of people. 21 The nature of the communities, of course, varied in terms of their literature, social conventions, and historical characteristics, and any attempt to identify them must be done systematically with reference to particular texts, resisting any temptation to locate a single community responsible for the tradition. While some of the literature is more forthright with communal information, referencing rules of behavior or handbook guidelines for communal life such as those found among the Dead Sea Scrolls or in Paul’s letters, most of the period-litterature is very perplexing in this regard.

Some of the most challenging cases have been with reference to pseudo-pigraphical literature such as the Jewish and Christian apocalypses, the Nag Hammadi literature, and the Hekhalot texts. Most scholars have come to think that the Jewish and Christian apocalypses—with their interest in ascension and secret teachings about the last days—can be identified with apocalyptic circles or "conventicles" of pious ascetics anxiously awaiting the imminent eschaton whose social formation could have mirrored John the Baptist's movement or the Qumran community. 22 But this opinion has been challenged recently by other scholars who have pointed to a prophetic group 23 or a collective of priests 24 as equally creditable possibilities: The Enochic corpus within the apocalyptic literature has been singularly out recently by a number of scholars who think that it represents not only a socially distinct group in early Judaism but one connected to the community of Jews associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls. 25 Identification of the "authors" of the Hekhalot books has been hotly contested in scholarly circles, as has their historical and literary relationship to the apocalypses. According to the early opinion of G. Scholem and several scholars since him, a circle of rabbis may have been responsible for the Hekhalot literature, literature believed to have formal connections with the Jewish and Christian apocalypses. 26 Other scholars have thought the books should be identified with either a group of people in conflict with the rabbis—people who were protesting rabbinic Judaism through the composition of the Hekhalot literature—or a postrabbinic elite from the late Talmudic period. 27 Others, such as M. Swartz and J. Davila, identify the group outside the formal rabbinic circles, with synagogue


24. 28 Flannery-Dailey, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests.


functionaries, poets, scribes, and even shamans, practitioners of ritual power. Rachel Elier has set forth the most comprehensive thesis I am aware of: that the writers of these traditions identify themselves with a disaffected priestly class of the first century C.E., particularly as expressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls and some of the Jewish apocalypses. After the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., the priestly traditions are carried on by this disaffected class of Jews in the *hekhalot* literature in order to transport the ruined earthly cult into the heavenly spheres.

Communal attribution of the Nag Hammadi collection has come up against its own problems. For years after its discovery, this collection was thought to be a library of ancient gnostic writings. This led to an indiscriminate use of the materials by scholars and the development of theories about an umbrella religion called “Gnosticism,” a religion that in fact did not exist. Examination of the collection over the last decade has brought with it the recognition that the texts themselves represent the opinions of different groups of early Jews and Christians and Hermetics. In fact, there are at least six religious communities represented in this corpus: Sethian gnostic Christians, Valentinian gnostic Christians, Simonians, followers of Julius Cassianus, Thomasine Christians, and Hermetics. It is significant to note that the majority of Sethian gnostic and Valentinian gnostic texts from the Nag Hammadi literature were written by people who self-identified with the Christian tradition, although some of the materials they rewrote look to be originally Jewish. It appears that those who authored most of these treatises considered themselves gnostic Christians who wished to pursue advanced spiritual study in some type of literary or Christian study circle or lodge. Consequently, scholars have sometimes speak of them in terms of “schools” rather than religious communities separate from Judaism or Christianity.

This business of identifying social groups responsible for particular texts within the period-liturgical has been met with varying degrees of success. Here I wish to make it clear that the early Jewish and Christian mystical tradition, in my opinion, is not the purview of a single religious community or to be located in a single community’s literature. There is no claim or assumption on my part that the early Jewish and Christian mystical tradition was founded by a particular body of people or maintained by a particular body of people. What I wish to articulate fully is the opinion that we are dealing with a variety of esoteric Jews and Christians over the course of several centuries who self-identified with different religious communities. No single social group was responsible for the practice.

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and preservation of this tradition, although there is mounting evidence that one of the main origins of the tradition was within Jewish priestly circles.

At any rate, it should be recognized that various social groups familiar with the mystical tradition employed it, with different emphases and applications. This to me is one of the most fascinating aspects about the study this tradition: how it was shaped and used within various social contexts and time periods. Future study of this tradition will need to articulate more carefully and systematically; I think, the social boundaries of various groups of esoteric Jews and Christians as well as their use and reformulation of the tradition for their own communal purposes and benefit.

4. A “Priestly” Cosmology

The early Jewish and Christian mystical tradition was supported by a distinct hermeneutic, itself based on exegesis of foundational Jewish texts, particularly but not exclusively Gen. 1–3; Exod. 24:33, Ezek 1:8; 10; 40–48; Dan. 7; and Isa. 6. Although the emphases and elements of this hermeneutic vary across the period, literature, several themes emerge as prominent and tend to cluster in regard to cosmology. The prominence of these themes can be tracked across the canonical and extracanonical Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period, surging through many of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Nag Hammadi texts and flowing through the merkabah and hekhalot corpus as well as some rabbinic stories. I mention this not to suggest or capture some linear progression of ideas from old to new, as some scholars would like, but to underscore the insurgency of these themes in a variety of texts across many centuries and communities of believers. These themes collectively represent the “worldview” or cosmology that undergirds mystical discussions within early Judaism and Christianity, a cosmology that appears to have strong connections with older Jewish priestly traditions, as the work of Rachel Eior in particular has convinced me.

4.1. The Glory of Yhwh

The centerpiece of this cosmology is the belief that God has a “body,” called the “Glory,” or Kavod of Yhwh. This idea grew out of the study of certain Jewish scriptures, particularly sections of Ezekiel that describe his visions of an enthroned “likeness as the appearance of a Man (adam),” a Man who looked like “fire” with “brightness around him.” This is the appearance of the likeness of the Glory (kavod) of Yhwh” (Ezek. 1:28). This figure is the very manifestation of the hidden Yhwh, depicted in the scriptures as an anthropomorphic figure of fire.

30: Ibid.

31. For complete coverage, see Jarl Fossum, “Glory,” DDD, 548–52.
or light (see Ezek 1:27-28; 8:2; Isa 6:1-4). He presides over the created order, oftentimes seated upon his merkabah, a special throne consisting of two cherubim with wings spread over the kapporet, the lid of the ark of the covenant in the temple (see 1 Chr 28:18; 1 Kgs 6:23-28; 8:6-7; 2 Chr 3:10-11; 5:7-8).

In the period-literture of the Jews and Christians, the God who is seated on the throne in heaven is presented as YHWH’s manifestation or Kavod. Luminous anthropomorphic descriptions of the “Hidden” Gôd are the culmination of many of the stories of the heroes who journey to glimpse YHWH enthroned. A cluster of images are found in these descriptions. His body is enrobed in a splendid white garment with a face emitting sparks (1 En. 14:18-21; 2 En. 22:1-4; 39:3-8). The haluq, or robe, is described as most holy, frightful, and terrible, emitting tremors, terror, and vibration. Upon the inside and outside of the garment, from the top to the bottom, the Tetragrammaton is etched; none of the angels can look directly at the enthroned deity, and the devotee heroes are usually allowed only to peek at his luminous body (Hekh. Rab. §102). He is exceedingly beautiful, to the extent that in the hekhalot literature the expression that the devotee wishes “to behold the King in his beauty” has become formulaic.32

This luminosity of the Kavod acted as a mask or screen, functioning in such a way that protected the seer from direct gaze of God’s body and certain death, since it was believed that no one could directly see YHWH’s face and live. So, on the one hand, it kept YHWH hidden from the direct gaze of his creatures. On the other hand, this covering of light served to reveal God indirectly, so that the presence of God would be available to the adept, usually as a quick glimpse.33 In the later hekhalot literature, the negative effect of the vision is still maintained: “He who looks at him will immediately be torn. He who views his beauty will immediately be poured out like a jug.”34 At the same time, the devotee is told to report “what you have heard” and “what you have seen upon the countenance,” a countenance that is revealed “three times daily in the heights” and that “no man perceives or knows” (Hekh. Rab. §169). Here we note the paradox of the Hidden God whose very countenance or face cannot be seen, but only the luminous mask of the Glory that simultaneously covers him and reveals him. As Rabbi Akiba relates, “He is, so to say, as we are, but he is greater than everything and his Glory consists in this, that he is concealed from us” (Hekh. Zut. §352).

These anthropomorphic descriptions of the Glory look to me to be very early, since such a description is present in Exod 33:18-34:8.35 In this passage

33. Cf. Philo, Mut. 7; Fug. 165; 1 En. 14; 2 En. 22.
35. In the Priestly source, the Glory is not anthropomorphic but a phenomenon of light. It is associated with a pillar of cloud or fire that surrounded YHWH as he led the Israelites through the desert or when his presence resided in the tabernacle and then the temple (Exod 16:10; 24:16-17, 43-44; 40:34-35, 38; Num 17:7; 1 Kgs 8:10-11; Lev 9:23-24; 1 Sam 3:3; 4:21). It
Moses wishes to see God's Glory. When he asks permission, God reveals himself to Moses, but only his backside, because "man shall not see me and live." So the Lord said to Moses, "While my Glory passes by I will put you in a cleft of the rock; and I will cover you with my hand until I have passed by; then I will take away my hand and you shall see my back. But my face shall not be seen" (Exod 33:22-23).

Exegetical speculations about the Kavod led to the identification of the angelic figure in Dan 7, the "one like a son of man" who is described as the special angel having the "appearance of a man" in Dan 8:15 and, 10:16, with the description of the Kavod found in Ezek 1:26, the "likeness as the appearance of a man." So in some period-literature, Kavod-like angels sit on heavenly thrones and act as the great Judge and God's vicegerent (1 En. 4:53; 55:4; 61:8; 62:2: 69:29). For example, Adam and Abel, in the Testament of Abraham, have thrones in heaven. Adam is described sitting on a golden throne and having "the appearance of the man" that "was fearsome, like that of the Lord." (Rec A, 11:4). Abel is the great Judge of souls, and he sits on a crystal throne that blazes. He is "a wondrous man shining like the sun; like unto a son of God." (12:5 rec. A). In the Apocalypse of Abraham the angel who has God's Name, Yahweh, is depicted as being "in the likeness of a man" and "possessing a "golden scepter". (11:3).

Such honor is also accorded to Moses in the Exagoge of Ezekiel the playwright. Moses has a vision of a noble "man," seated on an enormous throne on the top of Mount Sinai. This Kavod-like figure gives Moses his crown and scepter, then gets up from the throne so that Moses can take his place. This fabulous scene appears to be built from Exod 24:10: "And they saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a pavement of sapphire stone, like the very heaven for clearness." Interpretations of this passage in other literature take it to be a throne, vision of the Glory, or Kavod.

Perhaps the most well-known angelic, vice-regent is Metatron, the great "enthroned" angel described throughout the hekhalot literature. Many scholars have speculated about the origins and meaning of his name, with almost a dozen suggested possibilities, none of which has emerged as the favorite. He is called the "little YHWH," "youth," and "Prince of the World" and is accorded many of the characteristics of the Kavod, although one tradition suggests that he is whipped

appears that we are seeing in these texts an association of the Glory with cultic practices, since it is directly said to "fill" the tabernacle and temple (Exod. 40:34-35; E Kgs 8:10-11), be present at the altar of sacrifice (Lev 9:23-24), and function as some sort of lamp connected with the ark (see Exod 27:20-21).


37. For an outstanding presentation of the materials about Metatron, see Andrei Orlov, The Enoch-Metatron Tradition (TSJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

38. Ibid., 92-96:
for taking a seat on his θρόνος (h-Hag. 15a). The traditions of Enoch, of course, are bound up with this angel, traditions that relate Enoch's bodily transformation into this great angel. The destructive, almost infernal, transformation brings his body into conformity with the enormity of God's body, when he "was enlarged and increased in size until [he] matched the world in length and breadth. He made to grow on me 72 wings, 36 on one side and 36 on the other. He fixed in me 965,000 eyes... There was no sort of splendor, brilliance, brightness, or beauty in the luminariēs of the world that he failed to fix in me" (3 En. 9).

The body of God tradition is perhaps most developed in the Shi'ur Qomah ("Measure of the Divine Body") material, where the dimensions and the corporeal appearance of God are enumerated in great detail. These materials describe the revelation by Metatron of the "measurement of the body" to the seers; Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Ishmael. The materials depict anthropomorphic details of the body of God along with the mystical names of God's gigantic limbs. The enormity of the body is a theme that can be traced to earlier texts, even to some located in the New Testament.39

This Aramaic kavod doctrine had a profound impact on the development of early Christian Christologies. For instance, Paul describes Jesus as the "image" or "form" of God (2 Cor 4:4, Col 1:15; Phil 2:6). In John's Gospel Jesus is depicted as God's glory or kavod descended to earth. (1:14; 2:11; 11:40; 12:23, 28, 41; 13:32; 17:1-5, 22-23). Descriptions of Jesus as the High Priest of the heavenly temple and depictions of Jesus as the Lamb all are heir to this tradition (Heb 3:1; 4:14-16; 5:1-10; Rev 5:6-14; 7:13-8:1; 14:1-5).

4.2. The Heavenly Temple

The celestial realm is understood to be a heavenly version of the Jerusalem temple. The various heavens are the hekhalot, shrine rooms or sanctuaries within the temple. In the approach of the highest heaven, each successive room is more holy than the last, the holy of holies where God's manifestation resides. These firmaments generally number seven. The association with the number seven appears to be a reference to the seven planetary spheres in combination with aspects of the temple that number seven: seven gates, seven steps, the seven-branched lampstand (Josephus, Ant. 3.6.7; War 5.5.5; 7.5.5), and even seven levels as enumerated by Rabbi Jose: the area within the balustrade, the court of women, the court of Israel, the court of the priests, the area between the altar and the entrance to the temple, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies.40 As Christopher


Möray-Jones correctly notes, "The temple is not ‘in’ heaven; its seven ‘sanctuaries’ are the heavens."41

The angels associated with this heavenly temple are the temple’s functionaries, its priests performing cultic activities there.42 They are the guardians of the covenant and the heavenly temple and its gates, as well as "servants of the throne," petitioners and worshipers offering “sacrifices” and recitations to God. Prayers, praises, thanksgivings, blessings, and glorifications are sung as liturgies, filtering up through the heavens. The angelology assumed by these texts is very complex, with several grades of angels, most having names that are permutations of the divine Name or an attribute of God.

In fact, speculations about the divine Name and associations of it with various angels are quite dominant in the period-literature. Usually, there is one highly exalted angel, such as the "Angel of the Lord," the "Angel of the Countenance," "Metatron," or "Christ."43 Sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between this exalted angel and God’s glorious manifestation; the Kavod or Doxa, who is enthroned on the merkabah seat in the holy of holies; the devir, the highest of the heavens. As we will see, the celestial merkabah is the special wheeled chariot made of four sacred creatures whose outspread wings formed the seat itself, much like the ark of the covenant in the earthly temple. The throne in some cases is exalted, personified as an object of worship and a representation of God (see Hekh. Rab. §§236, 257).

As the work of Rachel Elior has especially pointed out, all aspects of the celestial temple in fact correlate to an ideal aspect of the earthly temple, including associations with the liturgical calendar, the seasons, creation, the garden of Eden, life and fertility; betrothal, and sanctification. Priestly concerns such as holiness and purity are consistent, even excessive, themes. Even angels must bathe in fiery rivers flowing near the throne. Humans crossing the heavenly threshold must be

41. See pages 148–59 in this volume.
42. Elior, The Three Temples.
exceedingly righteous and able to endure a bodily transfiguration into a flaming being. One of the reasons that this particular cosmology appears to have developed was as a guarantee that the temple cult would not be disrupted even when the priesthood and the earthly temple in Jerusalem was threatened, contaminated, or destroyed. The continuation of a holy cultus in the heavenly temple meant that continuity of creation and life would be maintained, a standard concern of the Jewish priests since the time of ancient Israel.54

4.5. THE MERKABAH

The chariot-throne from Ezek 1 in the period-literature is located in the heavenly temple, in the highest and most holy heaven. A fabulous passage from Massekhet Hekhalot highlights its prominence:

And the throne of Glory is high up in the air, and the appearance, of his Glory is like the appearance of the hashmal. And a diadem of brightness is upon his head, and the crown of the explicit Name is upon his brow. One half of him is fire, and the other half is hail. On his right is life, and on his left is death. And a scepter of fire is in his hand. And the curtain is parted in two before him, and seven angels who were created in the beginning minister before him inside the curtain. ($28)

This merkabah is described as a chariot with wheels like the sun (1 En. 14:18–21). It is a crystal throne, blazing like fire, called the “Throne of Great Glory” (T. Abr. 8:5 rec. B; 12:5 rec. A). In the hekhalot tradition, the throne is not only wheeled, but hovers like a bird underneath God’s splendor (Hekh. Rab. §98, MS Vatican). God, in fact has remained seated on his throne since its creation, and will not leave it for all eternity (Hekh. Rab. §119).

There is much speculation about the “faces” of the “chariot of cherubim”—the faces of the lion, the eagle, the ox, and the man.45 One tradition even identifies the man’s face with the patriarch Jacob, whose “image” was engraved on the throne.46 Jarl Fossum has noted that the Fragmentary Targum on Gen 1:28 (ms Vatican) and the edition princeps reprinted in the London Polyglot (Venice) explicitly states that the image of Jacob was “upon” the throne, not engraved on the throne, as the other Targumim. This is highly significant when it is realized that Tg. Ezek. 1:26 says that some people think the Glory on the throne is the form of Jacob (ms Montefiore no. 7). So some appealed to the likeness of Jacob as the Kaˈ vôd. The

44. Eliezer, The Three Temples.
45. 1 Chr 28:18 LXX; Sir 49:8; cf. Hekh. Zut. Sections 368–74; Hyp. Arch. 29; Orig. World 32.
46. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan; Targum Neofiti I; Fragmēntary Targum; Gen. Rab. 68:12
angels, who long to see the Glory but cannot, descend to earth to look upon his image in the flesh.\(^\text{47}\)

In fact, in some texts the merkabah is anthropomorphized like God himself. The throne holds converse with God, the King, even singing glorious hymns of praise to him (Hekh. Rab.: §§94, 99, 154, 161–162, 634, 687, 686). So glorious is the throne-chariot in these traditions that there may have been some who thought it an object worthy of veneration, if not worship. So in the Hekhalot Rabbati we find the statement that the throne, like God, will "reign in all generations" but that God is to be "honored beyond the throne of your Glory" and to be "appreciated more than your precious vessel" (§257).

Perhaps the most intriguing tradition about the merkabah is the journey that devotees thought they could make to stand before it and hymn in the presence of the Glory. In the hekhalot materials there is a unique development of this tradition, that the ascending devotee is a "descender to the chariot," the yoked merkabah. What this means and how it developed has really not been adequately resolved, in my opinion, although two explanations stand out from the rest. Elliott Wolfson has made a convincing case that the phrase refers to the enthronement of the devotee during the final stage of ascent,\(^\text{48}\) and Christopher Murray-Jones has offered in this volume an essay that suggests that the term is linked to the "downward" posture assumed by the devotee so that the "ascent" through the heavens could also be viewed as a "descent" within the "temple" of the body. The descender to the chariot is very special, very holy, because he has transcended the natural boundaries of his humanity and entered the realms of the sacred. The journey of ascent and descent is fraught with grave danger and oral examinations administered by the guardian angels (see Hekh. Rab. §§224–258). He must be very knowledgeable of the Torah, the Prophets, the Writings, the Mishnah, the midrashim, the halakah, the haggadah, and their interpretations and their practical observation (§234). He must show the guardians of the gates seals and know passwords (§236). If he fails, destruction or insanity result. But if he succeeds, his descent to the merkabah can be made.

4.4. The Heavenly Curtain

Spread in front of the merkabah is the secret heavenly curtain, the parakot. This is the heavenly counterpart of the veil, the paroket, which divided the holy of holies from the hekhal in the temple in Jerusalem (Exod 26:31; 2 Chr 3:14). Upon


the heavenly curtain; the thoughts and deeds of all the human generations are recorded, including future ones. Rabbi Ishmael stresses that he saw “with his own eyes” all the deeds of Israel and the Gentiles “until the end of time” printed on the curtain (3 En. 45.1-6). The printed record of humanity’s deeds on the curtain was for Yhwh’s benefit on the Day of Judgment, when one glārice examines everyone’s deeds and determines everyone’s judgment.49

Ultimately, the heavenly curtain screened off the Kavod from the angels because of the destructive nature of its view (Tg. Job 26:9; 3 En. 22.6 rec. B). But, as Christopher Morray-Jones has noticed, the curtain also functions as a celestial firmament, dividing the seventh heaven from the lower heavens and sanctuaries.50

5. An Internalized Apocalypse

Modern scholars have been slow to recognize that early Jewish and Christian mysticism is a major dimension of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic thought, even though the ancients themSELVEs call these experiences apokalypses. There has been a tendency in academia to equate apocalypticism with eschatology, as if an apokalypsis were the last day.51 So visions of destruction, retribution, and salvation have become associated exclusively with the study of the apocalyptic, ignoring its atemporal aspects.

This faulty understanding of apocalypticism, which concentrates almost exclusively on the revelation of end-time phenomena, is reflected in the standard definition of the term found in the well-respected Semeia volume on the subject: “Apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial as it involves another, supernatural world.”52 To be fair, this understanding of apocalypticism does not appear to have been only the misconception of the SBL Genres Project but has been around in the scholarly prose for a very long time.

In fact, a careful reading of the Second Temple apocalypses tells us that eschatology, the secret revelation of the imminence of the end, is only part of the discussion. The other part is the mystical, the belief in the immediate and

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direct experience of God. This belief has to do with religious experience, the act of revelation itself; the encounter with God that results in the devotee's immediate personal transformation and the uncovering of God's mysteries.

This mystical dimension of apocalyptic thought appears to me to have been developed by esoteric Jews and Christians in response to unfulfilled redemptive promises during times when hopes for their fulfillment were being historically challenged. The redemptive myth itself was founded on what seems to have been a standard Jewish myth in the Second Temple period, that there existed a heavenly Anthropos who was thought to have come forth from God prior to creation.53

This tale was inspired by...rereading. Gen 1:3 in Greek. Since the word phos can mean both "light" (τὸ φῶς) and "man" (ὁ ἄνθρωπος), exeges determined that a heavenly Man of Light came forth when God said, "Let there be phos!". This luminous heavenly Man was portrayed as God's partner in creation.55 The Anthropos was identified further with both the Kavod and the cosmic Adam and thus was perceived to be the Image of God. This Image, they thought, came into existence on the first day of creation and acted as a cosmogonic agent.56 Later Jewish mystical traditions, in fact, explicitly call the primordial luminous Man the Yotser Bereshith, the "creator in the beginning."57 In 3 Enoch the heavenly Man and Kavod-like Metatron is given a crown etched with the letters of light by which "all the necessities of the world and all the orders of creation were created" (13:1-2). Christian texts, Hermetic texts, and gnostic texts, all influenced by this old Jewish mythology, also preserve reference to the demiurgic aspect of the Anthropos.58

According to this standard Jewish myth, the human being was created after the likeness of the Anthropos.59 Since the first human being was created in God's image according to the Genesis story, this meant for some thinkers that

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53. Fossum, Name of God, 266-91.
55. Later some rabbis reacted against this concept. See ibid; Sabbath 38b; t. Sabbath 8:7.
57. On this, see Schlemihl, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, 65.
58. See John 1:1-5, 9-10; Corp. herm. 16-13; 13:19; Gws. Egy. 3.49.10-12; 4.61.8-11.
59. See Philo, QG 1:32; 262; Opif. 25; 69; 139; Leg. 3.96; Her. 230-231; Fug. 68-71; Apoc. Abr. 23:4-6; T. Abr. 11:4 rec. See also Hans-Martin Schenke; Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion über die paulinische Anschauung von der Kirche als Leib Christi (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962); Fossum, Name of God, 266-91; Phillip B. Munro III; Four Powers in Heaven: The Interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Testament of Abraham (ISP Sup 28; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); 85-90. The most recent article by Andrei Orlov brings together descriptions of the luminous Adam and the creation of the first human being after the Image: "Without Measure and Without Analogy: The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," JJS 56 (2005): 224-44.
Adam must have been a reflection of the Ḥāvōd. This aspect of the myth may explain some of the Adamic traditions that depict the veneration of the created Adam.60 Be that as it may, the image of the first human being was said to have been so bright that it even surpassed the brightness of the sun.61 His body, like the cosmic Anthropos, was so immense that it filled the universe from one end to the other.62

But this radiant image or immense body either was taken away from Adam or altered as a consequence of his fall, according to this myth.63 Aspects of this speculation were rooted in discussion about Gen 3:21, where God made Adam and Eve “garments of skin and clothed them.” It was concluded that Adam and Eve originally must have worn garments of light that were lost as a consequence of their sin.64

This type of exegesis brought with it the consequence that the human being was in something of a predicament. Was it possible to restore this radiant image, to return the human being to his prelapsarian glory? Most early Jews and Christians thought that piety was the key to such transformation of the soul. If the person lived his or her life in obedience to the commandments (God’s and/or Jesus’), the glory that Adam had lost would be restored at death of the eschaton. This they taught by way of their doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, the restoration of the whole person as a glorious angelic-like body reflecting God’s Image.65


62. See Gen. Rab. 8.1: 21.3; 24.2; Lev. Rab. 14:1; 18:2; Pirke R-EL 11; Chronicles of Jerahmeel 6–12; Orlov, “Without Measure and Without Analogy.”


64. See April D. DeConick and Jarl E. Fossum, “Stripped befoře God: A New Interpretation of Logion 37 in the Gospel of Thomas,” VC 45 (1991): 124 n. 8. For later rabbinic reports, see Moshe Idel, “Enoch Is Metatron,” Imm 24/25 (1990): 220–40. There is also a tradition that understands the verbs in Gen 3:21 to be phipērētēs, referring to the status of Adam and Eve before the fall. Thus Gen. Rab. 20.12 states that the scroll of Rabbi Meir read ἡμί “light” instead of ἔτι, “skin.” The Targums presuppose this wording, since they read “garments of glory (נירפה).”

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But it appears that some Jews and Christians felt that, the lost Image could be restored, at least provisionally, *before death*, that paradise and its fruits could be had now. That this mythological paradigm was religiously operable outside the literary context is clear to me when we examine; for instance, the literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls or Philo’s account of the Therapeutae or Paul’s epistles: In this literature we have firsthand accounts of communities of believers involved in religious activities to achieve mystical transformation of the body, in the here and now and the elevation of the adept to the community of angels.66 Many of the first Christians contemplated, their own ascensions into heaven and bodily transformations, believing that Jesus’ exaltation and transformation had opened heaven’s gate for them. Paul believed that the faithful who were possessed by Christ’s spirit could start experiencing the transformation into the image of God while still on earth but that full glorification would only occur after death.67 Others Christians promoted premortem flights into heaven and full transformation in the present, as the result (Gos. Thom. 15:19, 37, 50, 59, 83, 84, 108).

This shift in thought to concentrate on the fulfillment of God’s promises in the present appears to me to have been largely a consequence of failed eschatological expectations. Since the mystical tradition was a “vertical” dimension of Jewish apocalyptic thought running perpendicular to the eschatological,68 this shift would have been easy to make. It moved the eschatological encounter with God and promises of bodies glorified from the future sphere to the present, from an external cosmic apocalyptic event to an internal apocalyptic experience. This meant that the traditional rewards reserved for the last day became available to believers now through personal mystical encounters. With the divine, encounters that were frequently described by these esoteric Jews and Christians in terms of a heavenly journey that culminated in a vision of God or his *Kavod*. This visionary experience initiated the process of the person’s transfiguration whereby his or her body became “angelic” and was “glorified.”69 Since some early Christians identi-


67. Rom 7:24; 8:10, 13, 29; 2 Cor 3:18; Phil 3:21; 1 Cor 15:49; Col 3:9; 2 Cor 5:15–6:1.

68. Rowland, *Open Heaven*.

69. Regarding the rabbinic ambiguity about whether or not one can see God, refer to Greenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 93–97, who proposes that the negative opinion on seeing God in this literature rules out “the possibility of a direct visual encounter with God.” Ira Chernus, “Visions of God in Merkabah Mysticism,” *JSJ* 13 (1982): 123–46, outlines all of
fied Jesus with the *Kavod* or *Doxa*, they talked about visionary journeys to see Jesus as well as the Father.

The mechanism for vision *apothéosis* appears to be Greek in origin. It was based on an ancient physiology that suggested that the “seen” image enters the seer through his eye and transforms his soul: “The pleasure which comes from vision enters by the eyes and makes its home in the breast; bearing with it ever the image.... it impresses it upon the mirror of the soul and leaves there its image” (Achilles Tatinus, *Leuc. Clit.* 5.13). This idea is as old as Plato, who suggested that the vision of the object touched the eye and was transmitted to the soul. In fact, he uses the image of the soul as a block of wax upon which a vision received is imprinted like a stamp of a signet ring (*Theaet.* 191a–196c).

For these mystical Jews and Christians, this must have meant that a vision of the *Kavod*, the Image of God, literally resulted in the “restamping” of God’s image on the soul, restoring it to its original Form and Glory. In the ancient language of their mythology, they said that they would become “glorified,” “exalted,” or “angelic.” They would be clothed in shining white garments, become “standing” angels worshiping God before his throne, be transformed into beings of fire or light, be “enthroned,” regain their cosmic-sized bodies, or be invested with God’s Name or Image.

Ultimately, even the mind would surpass normal human limits of comprehension as it too became godlike. Enoch relates regarding his own transformation into the angel Metatron:

> The Holy One, blessed be he, revealed to me from that time onward all the mysteries of wisdom, all the depths of the perfect Torah and all the thoughts of human hearts. All mysteries of the world and all the orders of nature stand revealed before me as they stand revealed before the Creator. From that time onward, I looked and beheld deep secrets and wonderful mysteries. Before anyone thinks in secret, I see his thought. Before he acts, I see his act. There is nothing in heaven above or deep within the earth concealed from me. (*3 En.* 11:1–3)

The passages in mystical literature where visions of God are mentioned and concludes that the majority of mystics “did think it possible for certain individuals, both human and celestial, to see God” (141). See also Nathaniel Deutsch, *The Gnostic Imagination: Gnosticism, Mandaeism, and Merkabah Mysticism* (Brill’s Series in Jewish Studies 13; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 75–79.


6. Communal Practices

Avenues for mystical transformation other than the visionary were also popular in Judaism and Christianity, including asceticism, imitation, washing, spirit possession, eating "divine" food or drink, anointing the body with a sacramental oil or dew, chanting permutations of God's Namē, and so forth. Thus the period-literature is filled with references to practical activities associated with a mystical praxis.

The literature does not simply contain indirect references to ritual washing, anointing, studying of sacred texts, vigils, sacrifice, fasting, withdrawal, and sexual asceticism in the narratives of the heroes. The period-literature also contains pieces of actual liturgy, prayers, hymns, repetitive chants, and "magical" formulas, as well as references to periods of silence. Many of these are suggestive of communal behavior, initiation rites, and contemplative practices, although individual activity such as incubation and dream visions are also known. Some of the references point to the development of "magical" practices, at least as evidenced in the hekhalot handbooks, and sacramental ritual behavior, particularly (but not exclusively) in the Christian tradition.

The activities appear to have varied widely, so the exploration of practices as they were developed in individual communities is essential. No single praxis can be sifted out of the period-literature, so praxis must be studied as variant practices in particular community settings whenever possible. What the community at Qumran was doing in order to participate in the angelic liturgy was different from what the Sethian gnostics were doing to ascend into the Godhead to practice the soul-journey home. What the Therapeutae were doing to become "citizens of heaven while on earth" was different from what the hekhalot practitioners were doing to "descend to the chariot."

What particularly has fascinated me as a scholar of Christian origins is the reformation of the mystical praxis into the sacramental rituals of the early Christian church and the "gnostic" schools. The sacraments seem to have been set in place to "democratize" the mystical, making the presence of God regularly available to believers—baptism, anointing, and the Eucharist all affecting the transformation of the soul and the integration of the Holy Spirit and the Christ into the soul. These rituals were understood to function in such a way that the person was reintegrated into the divine immediately and ontologically. Some texts even narrate this belief in terms of the ascent-journey motif: That is, the ritual is presented as the vehicle that elevates and transports the person into the sacred realm so that he or she can come into the very presence of God.

Lately I have come to understand many of narratives in the apocalyptic and mystical texts to be “verbal icons,” not simply “imaginative narratives” recounting the heavenly journeys and visions of the great heroes of the tradition but “verbal maps” that functioned to actually bring the devotee into the presence of God. Not unlike later, Byzantine pictorial icons, meditation upon the verbal images would have expressed and made present the sacred reality. The person who contemplated these texts would have been making himself ready to receive the mysteries that would be revealed directly and immediately to him. Through verbal recitation of the narrative or mental recall of the memorized text, the devotee too would have journeyed into the heavenly spheres and the presence of God; embracing this present experience through its likeness to that which was past.  

His ability to decipher the meaning of the words written would have provided his own journey into the heavenly world. What mattered to the devotee was not so much following the map in terms of sequential geography, but rather his ability mentally to picture the “places” where the hero had gone before, seeing again what the great heroes of the Jews and Christians had themselves seen. In so doing, he would have appropriated the text, and its mysteries, for himself.

This appropriation, in my opinion, results in part from the fact that during this period the apocalypse had been internalized. The cosmic had collapsed into the personal. The period-literature indicates that some Jews and Christians hoped to achieve in the present the eschatological dream; the restoration God’s Image within themselves—the resurrection and transformation of their bodies into the glorious bodies of angels and their minds into the mind of God. They developed various means to achieve this, including visionary flights to heaven, eating divine food and drinking divine drink, immersing themselves in water, anointing their bodies with sacred oil; intoning God’s Name, and so on. As Alan Segal insightfully comments, “The myth suggests the goal; the mysticism gives the practical way to achieve it.” Although the employment of particular practices varied from community to community, all appear to me to have been vying for the glories and power of paradise now.

75. See page 30 in this volume.