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# The Veneration Motif in the Temptation Narrative of the Gospel of Matthew: Lessons from the Enochic Tradition

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## The Veneration Motif in the Temptation Narrative of the Gospel of Matthew: Lessons from the Enochic Tradition

### *Introduction*

The story of Jesus' temptation in the wilderness found in the synoptic gospels baffles the reader with a plethora of apocalyptic motifs.<sup>1</sup> Some features in Matthew's version of Jesus' encounter with Satan in the desert seem to contain more explicit references to apocalyptic traditions than do Mark and Luke.<sup>2</sup> Mark and Luke, who take the forty-day period to encompass the whole process of temptation,<sup>3</sup> seem to use the traditional allusion to the forty years of the Israelites' ordeal in the wilderness. Yet, Matthew's emphasis on the initiatory forty-day fasting

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<sup>1</sup> Scholars believe that the stories of Jesus' temptation by Satan found in the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke originated from Q. See T.J. Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology* (JSNTSS, 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) 242-243; W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, Jr., *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988) 1.351; C.M. Tuckett, "The Temptation Narrative in Q," in: *The Four Gospels. Festschrift Frans Neirynek* (eds. F. van Segbroeck et al.; 3 vols.; BETL, 100; Leuven: Peeters, 1992) 1.479-507. Both Matthew and Luke are also informed by the temptation narrative found in the Gospel of Mark. The fact that Matthew and Luke both start with the temptation in the wilderness might suggest that both of them were influenced by Mark's account. Cf. N.H. Taylor, "The Temptation of Jesus on the Mountain: A Palestinian Christian Polemic against Agrippa I," *JSNT* 83 (2001) 27-49 at 33. The Gospel of Matthew then follows this first temptation with the second one in the Temple, and the third on the mountain. In contrast to the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of Luke, places as second a temptation from a high place, then concludes with the temptation in the Temple. Matthew and Luke thus exhibit some differences in the order of the temptations. The majority of scholars think that the Gospel of Matthew attests the original order of the temptation narrative, while the Gospel of Luke represents the inversion of this original order. Cf., for example, J. Dupont, *Les tentations de Jésus au désert* (StudNeot, 4; Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1968) 290; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke* (2 vols; AB, 28; Garden City, 1981, 1985) 1.507-508; Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology*, 88; Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.364.

<sup>2</sup> This intense presence of apocalyptic motifs in the temptation narrative reflects the general tendency of the gospel. Some scholars have argued that in the Gospel of Matthew, "the apocalyptic perspective holds a much more prominent place than in any of the other Gospels." D. Hagner, "Apocalyptic Motifs in the Gospel of Matthew: Continuity and Discontinuity," *HBT* 7 (1985) 53-82 at 53.

<sup>3</sup> Luke, like Mark, states that Satan's temptation of Jesus in the wilderness lasted a forty-day period. In contrast, Matthew's account seems to emphasize the length of Jesus' fast by claiming that he *fasted* forty days and forty nights. Davies and Allison note that "in Matthew all temptation appears to come only after the fast; in Luke Jesus is tempted during the forty day period. Matthew's version, in which the forty days go with the fasting, is closer to Exod 32:28," Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.359.

that is followed by the appearance of Satan might suggest that the fast serves, here, as a tool for inducing a visionary experience.<sup>4</sup> The canonical stories of two famous visionaries of the Hebrew Bible, Moses and Elijah, contain passages referring specifically to the period of forty days. Exodus 24:18 tells of Moses abiding forty days and forty nights at the top of Mount Sinai.<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings 19:8 refers to the story of Elijah's being sustained by angels for forty days<sup>6</sup> during his journey to Mount Horeb.<sup>7</sup> In both accounts, as in Matthew, the motif of the forty-day fast appears along with the theme of the encounter on a mountain, signifying a visionary experience on high.

If we accept the transformational value of fasting in Matthew's account, the fast may have served to induce the vision, not of God, but, of Satan.<sup>8</sup> The depiction could have a polemical flavor in attempting to challenge or deconstruct traditional apocalyptic settings.

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<sup>4</sup> Luigi Schiavo suggests that the expression that opens the account of the temptation of Jesus in Q – “ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι” (“he was led/taken up by the spirit”) “characterizes the narrative as a transcendental experience of religious ecstasy. The verb, which always appears in the passive, indicates an action that comes from outside. The expression at Q 4.1, ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, albeit with literary variations, occurs in various texts of the New Testament and intertestamental literature (*1 Enoch* 71.1, 5; *Ascension of Isaiah* 6.9; Rev. 1.10; 4.2; 17.3; 21.10; Mt. 4.1; Lk 4:1; Ezek. 3.14), always in relation to accounts of visions.” L. Schiavo, “The Temptation of Jesus: The Eschatological Battle and the New Ethic of the First Followers of Jesus in Q,” *JSNT* 25 (2002) 141-164 at 144-145.

<sup>5</sup> “Moses entered the cloud, and went up on the mountain. Moses was on the mountain for forty days and forty nights.” (NRSV).

<sup>6</sup> “He got up, and ate and drank; then he went in the strength of that food forty days and forty nights to Horeb the mount of God.” (NRSV).

<sup>7</sup> For the discussion of the forty-day motif, see S.R. Garrett, *The Temptations of Jesus in Mark's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 57; B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son* (ConBNT, 2.1; Lund: Gleerup, 1966) 41-43; H.A. Kelly, “The Devil in the Desert,” *CBQ* 26 (1964) 190-220 at 196.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding Satan and Satan's traditions, see: G. Anderson, “The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan,” in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Anderson et al.; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 83-110; C. Breytenbach and P.L. Day, “Satan,” in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds. K. van der Toorn et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 726-732; J. Dan, “Samael and the Problem of Jewish Gnosticism,” in: *Perspectives on Jewish Thought and Mysticism* (eds. A.L. Ivry, E.R. Wolfson and A. Arkush; Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998) 257-276; P.L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Satan in the Hebrew Bible* (HSM, 43; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988); N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); H.E. Gaylord, “How Satanael Lost His ‘-el,’” *JJS* 33 (1982) 303-309; V.P. Hamilton, “Satan,” in: *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols.; ed. D. N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 5.985-998; H.A. Kelly, *Towards the Death of Satan: The Growth and Decline of Christian Demonology* (London: Chapman, 1968); idem, *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); R.S. Kluger, *Satan in the Old Testament* (SJT, 7; Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967); A. Lods, “Les origines de la figure de satan, ses fonctions à la cour céleste,” in: *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (2 vols.; eds. J.-A. Blanchet et al.; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1939) 2.649-660; E.H. Pagels, “The Social History of Satan, the ‘Intimate Enemy’: A Preliminary

The apocalyptic thrust in Matthew's version of the temptation story has been noted by scholars.<sup>9</sup> Some studies have even suggested that the narrative mimics or even offers a polemic against the apocalyptic ascent and vision trends.<sup>10</sup> Many details of the account also reveal a connection to the protological typologies prominent in Jewish apocalyptic accounts. The aim of this study is to explore more closely the connections in Matthew's version of the temptation narrative with extra-biblical apocalyptic traditions, especially those found in the Enochic materials.

### *Adamic Traditions and the Temptation Narrative*

It has been long recognized by scholars that the story of Jesus' temptation in the synoptic Gospels seems to be influenced by an Adamic typology.<sup>11</sup> Some studies suggested that the chain of pivotal Adamic themes known from biblical and extra-biblical accounts is already introduced in the terse narration of Jesus' temptation in the Gospel of Mark.<sup>12</sup> For example, Joachim

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Sketch," *HTR* 84:2 (1991) 105-128; idem, "The Social History of Satan, 2: Satan in the New Testament Gospels," *JAAR* 62:1 (1994) 17-58; idem, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); idem, "The Social History of Satan, 3: John of Patmos and Ignatius of Antioch: Contrasting Visions of 'God's People,'" *HTR* 99 (2006) 487-505; C.A. Patrides, "The Salvation of Satan," *JHI* 28 (1967) 467-478; J.B. Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981); M. Schneider, "The Myth of the Satan in the *Book of Bahir*," *Kabbalah* 20 (2009) 287-343 [Hebrew]; R. Stichel, "Die Verführung der Stammeltern durch Satanael nach der Kurzfassung der slavischen Baruch-Apocalypse," in: *Kulturelle Traditionen in Bulgarien* (eds. R. Lauer and P. Schreiner; AAWG, 177; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) 116-128; M.E. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan. The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); idem, "'Be You a Lyre for Me': Identity or Manipulation in Eden," *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity* (eds. E. Grypeou and H. Spurling; JCPS, 18; Leiden: Brill, 2009) 87-99.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.364; D. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> A. Orlov, "Satan and the Visionary: Apocalyptic Roles of the Adversary in the Temptation Narrative of the Gospel of Matthew," in A. Orlov, *Dark Mirrors: Azazel and Satanael in Early Jewish Demonology* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2011) 107-112.

<sup>11</sup> Some early Christian interpreters saw the temptation of Jesus as the reversal of Adam's sins. Cf., for example, Justin, *Dial.* 103; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.21.2. On this see D.C. Allison, Jr., "Behind the Temptations of Jesus: Q 4:1-13 and Mark 1:12-13," in: *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus* (eds. B.D. Chilton and C. Evans; NTTs, 28/2; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 196.

<sup>12</sup> W.A. Schultze, "Der Heilige und die wilden Tiere. Zur Exegese von Mc 1 13b," *ZNW* 46 (1955) 280-83; A. Feuillet, "L'épisode de la tentation d'après l'Évangile selon saint Marc (1,12-13)," *EB* 19 (1960) 49-73; J. Jeremias, "Adam," *TDNT*, 1.141-143; idem, "Nachwort zum Artikel von H.-G. Leder," *ZNW* 54 (1963) 278-79; A. Vargas-Machuca, "La tentación de Jesús según Mc. 1,12-13; Hecho real o relato de tipo haggádico?" *EE* 48 (1973)

Jeremias draws attention to the phrase in Mark 1:12 that Jesus “was with the wild beasts” (ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων). In Jeremias’s opinion, this phrase is reminiscent of the protoplast who lived among wild animals in paradise according to Gen 2:19. Jeremias suggests that Jesus might be envisioned, in the Gospel of Mark, as an eschatological Adam who restores peace between humans and animals.<sup>13</sup> He proposes that Mark’s account sets forth a belief that “paradise is restored, the time of salvation is dawning; that is what ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων means. Because the temptation has been overcome and Satan has been vanquished, the gate to paradise is again opened.”<sup>14</sup> Jeremias also discerns the Adamic typology in the saying that the angels did Jesus “table service” (δηκόνουν αὐτῷ). In his view, “this feature, too, is part of the idea of paradise and can only be understood in that light. Just as, according to the Midrash, Adam lived on angels’ food in paradise, so the angels give Jesus nourishment. The table-service of angels is a symbol of the restored communion between man and God.”<sup>15</sup> Richard Bauckham also sees a cluster of Adamic motifs in Mark’s version of the temptation story and argues that it envisions Jesus “as the eschatological Adam who, having resisted Satan, instead of succumbing to temptation as Adam did, then restores paradise: he is at peace with the animals and the angels serve him.”<sup>16</sup> From this perspective, Jesus’ temptation by Satan plays a pivotal role in the

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163-190; P. Pokorný, “The Temptation Stories and Their Intention,” *NTS* 20 (1973–74) 115–27; J. Gnllka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (2 vols; EKKNT, 2.1-2; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978-79) 1.58; R.A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26* (WBC, 34A; Dallas: Word, 1989) 38-39; R. Bauckham, “Jesus and the Wild Animals (Mark 1:13): A Christological Image for an Ecological Age,” in: *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology* (eds. J.B. Green and M. Turner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 3-21; J. Gibson, *Temptations of Jesus in Early Christianity* (JSNTSS, 112; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 65-66; Allison, “Behind the Temptations of Jesus: Q 4:1-13 and Mark 1:12-13,” 196-199.

<sup>13</sup> J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* (New York: Scribner, 1971) 69. The theme of alienation between humanity and animals looms large already in the *Book of Jubilees*. It receives further development in the *Primary Adam Books* in which Eve and Seth encounter a hostile beast.

<sup>14</sup> Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 69-70.

<sup>15</sup> Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 70.

<sup>16</sup> Bauckham, “Jesus and the Wild Animals (Mark 1:13): A Christological Image for an Ecological Age,” 6.

unfolding of the Adamic typological appropriations.<sup>17</sup> Dale Allison draws attention to another possible connection with the protoplast story by wondering whether Mark's "forty days" is also part of his Adamic typology. He notices that, according to *Jubilees* 3:9, Adam was placed in Eden forty days after he was created, and in the *Primary Adam Books*, Adam does penance for forty days.<sup>18</sup>

In Matthew and Luke, the Adamic typology hinted at in Mark receives further conceptual development. Moreover, not only the temptation narrative, but other parts of Matthew and Luke become affected by the panoply of Adamic motifs. It has been suggested, for example, that "perhaps Luke prefaced his temptation account with a genealogy that concludes with Adam (Luke 3:38) because the evangelist viewed Jesus' victory over temptation as a reversal of Adam's failure."<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Matthew's Gospel continues the appropriation and development of the Adamic typology in the unfolding story of Jesus' temptations. It appears that the most concentrated presence of Adamic motifs can be found in the third temptation in which Satan asks Jesus to prostrate himself before him. This cultic motif of worship appears to be reaffirmed at the end of the temptation narrative, which tells that angels approached Jesus and served him.

In the search for the conceptual roots of this veneration motif, scholars have often turned to the account of Adam's elevation and veneration by angels, found in various versions of the so-called *Primary Adam Books*. Although known macroforms of the *Primary Adam Books* survive only in their later medieval versions, these later Christian compilations undoubtedly contain

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<sup>17</sup> In this respect, Allison and Davies remark that "in Mk 1.12-13 Jesus is probably the last Adam (cf. Rom 5.12-21; 1 Cor 15.42-50; Justin, *Dial.* 103; *Gospel of Philip* 71.16-21; Irenaeus. *Adv. haer.* 5.21.2). He, like the first Adam, is tempted by Satan. But unlike his anti-type, he does not succumb, and the result is the recovery of paradise (cf. *Testament of Levi* 18.10): the wild beasts are tamed and once again a man dwells with angels and is served by them." Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.356.

<sup>18</sup> Allison, "Behind the Temptations of Jesus: Q 4:1-13 and Mark 1:12-13," 198.

<sup>19</sup> Allison, "Behind the Temptations of Jesus: Q 4:1-13 and Mark 1:12-13," 196.

early Jewish conceptual seeds that might also stand behind the veneration motif in the gospels' temptation story.

One particular theme found in the *Primary Adam Books* deserves special attention, namely, the account of the protoplast's creation and his introduction into the angelic community. During this initiation, Adam is ordered to venerate the Deity, and then God commands the angelic hosts to venerate the protoplast. Further, although some angels agree to venerate Adam, Satan refuses to bow down before the first human. This cluster of motifs is intriguing as it recalls that which is found in Matthew. In the gospel, the tempter asks Jesus to prostrate himself, suggesting literally that he will "fall down" (πεσῶν) before Satan. Matthew seems to hew, here, more closely to the Adamic blueprint than Luke, since in Luke πεσῶν is missing. Here, one, again, encounters an example of Matthean Adamic Christology that depicts Jesus as the last Adam. The presence of such conceptualization in Matthew is not unusual since implicit and explicit comparisons between Adam and Jesus are already made in the earliest Christian materials, including the Pauline epistles and the Gospel of Mark. Thus, scholars have suggested that the understanding of Jesus as the last Adam can be found as early as Romans 5, which predates Matthew. Moreover, some studies propose that the Pauline material might constitute the conceptual basis for the Adamic typology found in the synoptic gospels. Thus, for example, Dale Allison argues,

[I]f the Jesus of Mark 1:12-13 undoes the work of Adam, then one is inevitably reminded of Paul's Christology, in which Adam's disobedience and its attendant effects are contrasted with Jesus' obedience and its attendant effects (Rom 5:12-21; 1Cor 15:21-23, 45-49). Indeed, one wonders, given the other intriguing connections between Mark and Paul, whether Mark 1:12-13 was composed under Paul's influence.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Allison, "Behind the Temptations of Jesus: Q 4:1-13 and Mark 1:12-13," 199.

Satan's request for veneration also can be a part of the evangelists' Adam Christology: Satan, who lost his celestial status by refusing to venerate the first Adam, is now attempting to reverse the situation by asking the last Adam to bow down.

Although the tradition of Satan's request for worship is also found in Luke, Matthew appears to reinforce this veneration theme further by adding the peculiar terminology of prostration and by concluding his temptation story with the appearance of servicing angels. It is possible that these embellishments are intended to affirm the traditions of devotion to and exaltation of the last Adam that are constructed both negatively and positively by invoking the memory of the first Adam's veneration.<sup>21</sup> Scholars have noted wide usage of the formulae of worship and veneration in the Gospel of Matthew that appears to be more consistent than in the other synoptic gospels.<sup>22</sup> In view of this tendency, the Adamic tradition of veneration of humanity might also be perceived in other parts of Matthew, including the magi story narrated earlier in the gospel. It is noteworthy that both the temptation and the magi narratives contain identical terminology of worship. First, in the magi story one can see repeated usage of the verb προσκυνέω (cf. Matt 2:2; 2:8; 2:11), which is also prominent in the temptation story (Matt 4:9;

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<sup>21</sup> The suggestion that the veneration motif found in the temptation story might be connected to the theme of worship of Jesus in Matthew is hinted by the usage of the verb προσκυνέω. Larry Hurtado suggests that the "pattern of preference for προσκυνέω, with its strong associations with cultic worship, suggests that Matthew has chosen to make these scenes all function as foreshadowings of the exalted reverence of Jesus familiar to his Christian readers in their collective worship.... The net effect of Matthew's numerous omissions and insertions of προσκυνέω in cases where Jesus is the recipient of homage is a consistent pattern. It is not simply a matter of preference of one somewhat synonymous word for others. Matthew reserves the word προσκυνέω for the reverence of Jesus given by disciples and those who are presented as sincerely intending to give him homage. As Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and Heinz Joachim Held concluded from their analysis of scenes where Jesus is the recipient of the gesture in Matthew, προσκυνέω is used 'only in the sense of genuine worship of Jesus.'" L. Hurtado, *How On Earth Did Jesus Become A God?: Historical Questions About Earliest Devotion To Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 143.

<sup>22</sup> Hurtado, in his analysis of usage of the verb προσκυνέω in the New Testament, which both Matthew and Luke use in their temptation narratives (Matt 4:9; Luke 4:7), suggests that "the term προσκυνέω is a recurrent feature of Matthew's narrative vocabulary, with thirteen occurrences, a frequency exceeded only by the twenty-four uses in Revelation among the New Testament writings." Hurtado, *How On Earth Did Jesus Become A God?: Historical Questions About Earliest Devotion To Jesus*, 142-43. In the Gospels προσκυνέω "appears twice in Mark, three times in Luke (in two passages), eight times in John (in three passages), and thirteen times in Matthew (in nine distinguishable passages)." Hurtado, *How On Earth Did Jesus Become A God?: Historical Questions About Earliest Devotion To Jesus*, 142.



4:10). In both accounts this terminology appears to have a cultic significance.<sup>23</sup> Also, both in the magi story and in the third Matthean temptation of Jesus one can find a distinctive juxtaposition of the expression “falling down” (πεσόντες/πεσών) with the formulae of worship (προσεκύνησαν/προσκυνήσης).<sup>24</sup>

The story of the magi speaks of mysterious visitors from the East who came to pay homage to the newborn king of the Jews. Some details of the account suggest that one might have, here, not simply the story of veneration by foreign guests, but possibly, the theme of angelic reverence. Some scholars have pointed to the angelological details of the narrative. For example, it has been observed that the mysterious star, which assists the magi in their journey to the messiah, appears to be an angel, more specifically a guiding angel whose function is to lead the foreign visitors to Jesus.<sup>25</sup> Other features of the story are also intriguing, as they, like the details of the temptation narrative, seem to betray some traces of apocalyptic traditions. It is also possible that, here, as in the temptation story, one can see a cluster of Adamic motifs. The baby Jesus, for instance, might be depicted as an eschatological counterpart of the first human, and, just as in the creation of the protoplast, which in the *Primary Adam Books* is marked by angelic veneration, the entrance of the last Adam into the world is also celebrated by a similar ritual of obeisance.

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. Matt 2:2: “ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ”; Matt 2:8 “ὅπως κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ.” With respect to these formulae, scholars note that in some LXX passages “έρχομαι followed by προσκυνέω denotes a cultic action.” Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.236. Similarly, in the temptation narrative, προσκυνέω is also placed in the cultic context. Cf., for example, Matt 4:10: “Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.”

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Matt 2:11: “καὶ πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν αὐτόν”; Matt 4:9: “πεσὼν προσκυνήσης μοι.” Scholars note that similar terminological constellations occur also in Ps 72. 11; Dan 3.5-7; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.95; 9.11; Acts 10.25; 1 Cor 14.25; Rev 4.10; 7.11; 22.8. Concerning this, see Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.248.

<sup>25</sup> D.C. Allison, “The Magi’s Angel (Matt. 2:2, 9-10),” in: D.C. Allison, Jr., *Studies in Matthew: Interpretation Past and Present* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005) 17-41. Cf. also D.C. Allison, Jr., “What Was the Star That Guided the Magi?” *BR* 9 (1993) 24; B.G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses* (SVC, 95; Leiden: Brill, 2009) 93.

Let us now explore more closely other possible Adamic allusions in the story of the magi. First, the origin of the magi from the East (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν) might show a possible connection with Eden, a garden which according to biblical testimonies was planted in the East.<sup>26</sup> Gifts of the magi, including frankincense and myrrh, which were traditionally used in antiquity as ingredients of incense,<sup>27</sup> bring to mind Adam's sacrifices, which according to Jewish extrabiblical lore, the protoplast was offering in the Garden of Eden in fulfillment of his sacerdotal duties. Such sacrifices are mentioned in *Jubilees* 3:27, a passage which depicts Adam as a protological high priest<sup>28</sup> who burns incense in Paradise.<sup>29</sup> In view of the possible cultic

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Gen 2:8: "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed." (NRSV).

<sup>27</sup> With respect to the cultic functions of frankincense and myrrh, as ingredients in incense, Dale Allison notes that "frankincense was an odoriferous gum resin from various trees and bushes which had a cultic usage in the ancient world. According to Exod 30:34-8, it was a prescribed ingredient of sacred incense. According to Lev 24.7, it was to be offered with the bread of the Presence. According to Lev 2.1-2, 14-6; 6.14-8, it was added to cereal offerings.... Myrrh was a fragrant gum resin from trees ... a component of holy anointing oil, and an ingredient in incense." D.C. Allison, Jr., *Matthew: A Shorter Commentary* (London and New York: T & T Clark, 2004) 27. The magi's gifts also include gold, a material which is mentioned in the description of Eden in Gen 2:11. In relation to this, Gordon Wenham observes that "if Eden is seen as a super sanctuary, this reference to gold can hardly be accidental for the most sacred items of tabernacle furniture were made of or covered with 'pure gold.'" Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," 22. With respect to the connections between gold of Eden and the materials used for decoration of the tabernacle and priestly vestments in the Book of Exodus, see also D. Chilton, *Paradise Restored: A Biblical Theology of Dominion* (Ft. Worth: Dominion Press, 1985).

<sup>28</sup> Jacques van Ruiten argues that, in *Jubilees*, "the Garden of Eden is seen as a Temple, or, more precisely as a part of the Temple: the room which is in the rear of the Temple, where the ark of the covenant of the Lord is placed, and which is often called 'Holy of Holies.'" Such an understanding of Eden as the temple presupposes the protoplast's role as a sacerdotal servant. In relation to this, van Ruiten suggests that, according to the author of *Jubilees*, Adam is acting as a prototypical priest as he burns incense at the gate of the Garden of Eden. Van Ruiten puts this description in parallel with a tradition found in Exodus, which tells that the incense was burned in front of the Holy of Holies. J. van Ruiten, "Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees," in: *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. B. Ego et al.; WUNT, 118; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1999) 215-228; idem, "Eden and the Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4-3:24 in the Book of Jubilees," in: *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G.P. Luttikhuisen; TBN, 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 76.

<sup>29</sup> *Jub.* 3:27 reads: "On that day, as he was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance — frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices — in the early morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame." J. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO, 510-11; Scriptorum Aethiopicum, 87-88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 2.20. Regarding the Edenic incense, see, also, *1 Enoch* 29:32: "And there I saw ... vessels of the fragrance of incense and myrrh ...." M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) 2.117-123; Sirach 24:15 "...like cassia and camel's thorn I gave forth perfume, and like choice myrrh I spread my fragrance, like galbanum, onycha, and stacte, and like the odor of incense in the tent." (NRSV); Armenian *LAE* 29:3 reads: "Adam replied and said to the angels, 'I beseech you, let (me) be a little, so that I may take sweet incenses with me from the Garden, so

flavor of the magi story, Jesus might be understood there not simply as the last Adam but as a priestly eschatological Adam in a fashion reminiscent of the *Book of Jubilees*. In the context of these traditions, the magi could be understood as visitors, possibly even angelic visitors, from the Garden of Eden, once planted in the East, who are bringing to a new priest the sacerdotal tools used in the distant past by Adam.<sup>30</sup> This exegetical connection is not implausible given that some later Christian materials, including *Cave of Treasures*, often associate the gifts of the magi with Adam's sacrifices.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, it appears that other details of the magi narrative, including the peculiar juxtaposition of its antagonistic figure with the theme of worship, again, bring to mind the protoplast story reflected in various versions of the *Primary Adam Books*, with its motifs of angelic veneration and Satan's refusal to worship the first human. Recall that Matthew connects the main antagonist of the magi story, Herod, with the theme of veneration by telling that the evil king promised to worship the messianic child.<sup>32</sup>

The magi narrative demonstrates that the veneration motifs play an important role in the overarching theological framework of Matthew's gospel. The cultic significance of the

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that when I go out of here, I may offer sweet incenses to God, and offerings, so that, perhaps, God will hearken to us." *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition* (eds. G.A. Anderson, M.E. Stone; EJM, 17; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999) 72E.

<sup>30</sup> Previous studies have identified the connection between the magi story and the birth of a priestly child (Noah, Melchizedek, Moses) in some Jewish accounts. In the gifts that the magi brought to the child, these studies see the sacerdotal items. Thus, for example, Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that, "[I]t is noteworthy that at the birth of Jesus, of course, there is signaled the child's priestly identity in the gift of gold, frankincense and myrrh (cf. Exod 30:23; 28:5, 6, 8 etc.) from the magi (Matt 2:11)." C. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam. Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 53.

<sup>31</sup> Concerning this tradition, Allison and Davies note that "of the many legends that later came to surround the magi and their gifts, one of the most pleasing is found in the so-called *Cave of Treasures* (6th cent. A.D.). Adam, we are told, had many treasures in paradise, and when he was expelled therefrom he took what he could with him—gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Upon his death, Adam's sons hid their father's treasures in a cave, where they lay undisturbed until the magi, on their way to Bethlehem, entered the cave to get gifts for the Son of God. In this legend, Matthew's story has become the vehicle for a very Pauline idea, namely, that Jesus is the second Adam." Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* 1.251.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Matt 2:8: "Πορευθέντες ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβῶς περὶ τοῦ παιδίου: ἐπὰν δὲ εὑρήτε ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι, ὅπως κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ."

veneration motif can be further illustrated in Matthew's transfiguration story in chapter seventeen.<sup>33</sup> There, at the end of Jesus' transfiguration on the mountain, the already familiar veneration motif is evoked, again, when the disciples, overwhelmed with the vision, throw themselves down with their faces to the ground.<sup>34</sup> It is noteworthy that this depiction of the disciples' prostration at Jesus' transfiguration is strikingly absent in both Mark and Luke. In Matthew this motif seems to fit nicely in the chain of previous veneration occurrences, thus evoking the memory of both the falling down of the magi and Satan's quest for prostration – traditions, likewise, absent from other synoptic accounts.<sup>35</sup>

### *Enochic Traditions and the Temptation Narrative*

Although previous studies have investigated the cluster of Adamic allusions in the synoptic versions of the temptation narrative, they have been often reluctant to explore the formative influences of the Enochic tradition. It is possible that the motif of angelic veneration of humanity reflected in the Gospel of Matthew has its true origins not in the Adamic tradition but in early Enochic lore, a portentous mediatorial trend in which the early Jewish angelology received its most profound symbolic expression. So, in *2 Enoch*, which is often viewed by

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<sup>33</sup> Matt 17:6: “καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ μαθηταὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα.”

<sup>34</sup> The motif of the disciples' veneration is reminiscent of the one performed by the magi. Thus, Allison and Davies note that “the magi do not simply bend their knees (cf. 17.14; 18.29). They fall down on their faces. This is noteworthy because there was a tendency in Judaism to think prostration proper only in the worship of God (cf. Philo, *Leg. Gai.* 116; *Decal.* 64; Mt 4.9-10; Acts 10.25-6; Rev 19.10; 22.8-9).” Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.248. Robert Gundry notes that “they (the magi) knelt down before him with heads to the ground.” R.H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 31.

<sup>35</sup> Another unique Matthean occurrence of this motif is found in Matt 18:26 in which one can find a familiar constellation of “πεσῶν” and “προσεκύνει.” Gundry observes that, besides the magi story, “Matthew inserts the same combination of falling down and worshipping in 4:9 and uses it in unique material at 18:26.” He further notes that, “[I]n particular, πεσόντες sharpens Matthew's point, for in 4:9 falling down will accompany worship in the alternatives of worshipping God and worshipping Satan, and without parallel it describes the response of the disciples who witnessed the transfiguration (17:6).” 31-32. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*, 31-32.

scholars as being contemporary with or possibly even earlier than the Gospel of Matthew,<sup>36</sup> one can find a cluster of intriguing conceptual developments connected with the theme of angelic veneration. The first part of this Jewish apocalypse depicts Enoch's ascent to heaven. *2 Enoch* 21-22 narrates the final stage of the patriarch's celestial journey during which the seventh antediluvian hero is brought by his angelic guides to the edge of the seventh heaven. At the Deity's command, the archangel Gabriel invites the patriarch to be a permanent servant of God. Enoch agrees and the archangel carries him to the glorious face of God where the patriarch does obeisance to the Deity. God then personally repeats the invitation to Enoch to stand before him forever. After this invitation, another archangel, Michael, brings the patriarch to the front of the face of the Lord. The Lord then tells his angels, sounding them out: "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" In response to the Deity's command the angels do obeisance to Enoch.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> The general scholarly consensus holds that the apocalypse was composed before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. Already in his first systematic exploration of the text published in 1896, R. H. Charles used references to the Temple practices found in the Slavonic apocalypse as main proofs for his hypothesis of the early date of the apocalypse which he placed in the first century C.E. before the destruction of the Second Temple. Charles and scholars after him noted that the text gives no indication that the catastrophe of the destruction of the Temple had already occurred at the time of the book's composition. Critical readers of the pseudepigraphon would have some difficulties finding any explicit expression of feelings of sadness or mourning about the loss of the sanctuary. Affirmations of the value of animal sacrifice and Enoch's halakhic instructions found in *2 Enoch* 59 also appear to be fashioned not in the "preservationist," mishnaic-like mode but rather as if they reflected sacrificial practices that still existed when the author was writing his book. There is also an intensive and consistent effort on the part of the author to legitimize the central place of worship, which through the reference to the place Achuzan—a cryptic name for the temple mountain in Jerusalem—is explicitly connected in *2 Enoch* with the Jerusalem Temple. Further, the Slavonic apocalypse also contains a direct command to visit the Temple three times a day, an advice that would be difficult to fulfill if the sanctuary had been already destroyed. On the date of *2 Enoch* see R. H. Charles, and W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) xxvi; R. H. Charles and N. Forbes, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 2. 429; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ, 5; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1995) 813; A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ, 107; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2005) 323-328; idem, "The Sacerdotal Traditions of 2 Enoch and the Date of the Text," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (eds. A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, J. Zurawski; Studia Judaeslavica, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 103-116.

<sup>37</sup> F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983-1985) 1.138. The tradition of the angelic veneration of Enoch is attested to in both recensions of *2 Enoch*. Cf. *2 Enoch* 22:6-7 in Ms. J (longer recension): "And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out, 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!' And the Lord's glorious ones did obeisance and said, 'Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.138. 2

Scholars have noted that *2 Enoch* 21-22 is reminiscent of the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Primary Adam Books*, in which the archangel Michael is depicted as bringing the first human being into the divine presence, forcing him to bow down before God.<sup>38</sup> In the *Primary Adam Books*, the Deity then commands all the angels to bow down to the protoplast.<sup>39</sup> The results of this order are mixed. Some angels agreed to venerate Adam, while others, including Satan, refuse to do obeisance.<sup>40</sup> Michael Stone notes that, along with the motifs of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels, the author of *2 Enoch* also appears to be aware of the motif of angelic disobedience and refusal to venerate the first human. Stone draws attention to the phrase "sounding them out," found in *2 Enoch* 22:6, which another translator of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them."<sup>41</sup> Stone suggests that the expressions "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" imply, here, that it is the

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*Enoch* 22:6-7 in Ms. A (shorter recension): "The Lord said, 'Let Enoch come up and stand in front of my face forever!' And the glorious ones did obeisance and said, 'Let him come up!'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.139.

<sup>38</sup> Latin *LAE* 13:2: "When God blew into you the breath of life and your countenance and likeness were made in the image of God, Michael led you and made you worship in the sight of God." Armenian *LAE* 13:2: "When God breathed his spirit into you, you received the likeness of his image. Thereupon, Michael came and made you bow down before God." Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

<sup>39</sup> Latin *LAE* 13:2-14:1: "The Lord God then said: 'Behold, Adam, I have made you in our image and likeness.' Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying: 'Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded.'" Armenian *LAE* 13:2-14:1: "God said to Michael, 'Behold I have made Adam in the likeness of my image.' Then Michael summoned all the angels, and God said to them, 'Come, bow down to god whom I made.'" Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

<sup>40</sup> Latin *LAE* 14:2-15:1: "Michael himself worshipped first then he called me and said: 'Worship the image of God Jehovah.' I answered: 'I do not have it within me to worship Adam.' When Michael compelled me to worship, I said to him: 'Why do you compel me? I will not worship him who is lower and later than me. I am prior to that creature. Before he was made, I had already been made. He ought to worship me.' Hearing this, other angels who were under me were unwilling to worship him." Armenian *LAE* 14:2-15:1: "Michael bowed first He called me and said, 'You too, bow down to Adam.' I said, Go away, Michael! I shall not bow [down] to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper [for me] to bow down to him? The other angels, too, who were with me, heard this, and my words seemed pleasing to them and they did not prostrate themselves to you, Adam." Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E-17E.

<sup>41</sup> W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896) 28.

angels' obedience that is being tested.<sup>42</sup> Stone concludes that *2 Enoch* 21-22 is reminiscent of the traditions found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Primary Adam Books*.<sup>43</sup>

Scholars have also observed striking structural similarities between the veneration accounts in *2 Enoch* and those in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Primary Adam Books*. The accounts include three chief events:

A. Installation on high (in the *Primary Adam Books* Adam is created and situated in heaven; in *2 Enoch* the seventh antediluvian patriarch is brought to heaven).

B. Veneration of the Deity (in the *Primary Adam Books*: Adam does obeisance to God; in *2 Enoch* the seventh antediluvian hero does obeisance to the Deity).

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<sup>42</sup> M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*," *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Anderson, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 47.

<sup>43</sup> The tradition of the angelic veneration of humanity was forgotten in later Enochic lore. Often these later developments help us to clarify the obscure details of the early tradition by providing additional insight into the distorted mosaic of their patterns. *3 Enoch* is also cognizant of the tradition of the angelic veneration portraying the celestial citizens bowing down, like in the Slavonic apocalypse, before the translated seventh antediluvian hero. *Sefer Hekhalot* 4:1-10 depicts Rabbi Ishmael questioning his celestial guide Metatron about his name "Youth": "R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: '... you are greater than all the princes, more exalted than all the angels, more beloved than all the ministers ... why, then, do they call you "Youth" in the heavenly heights?' He answered: 'Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared ... the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of ministering angels, Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be He, "Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man!" ... And once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you. Because I am young in their company and mere youth among them in days and months and years—therefore they call me 'Youth.'" P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983-1985) 1.258-59. Commenting on this passage, Gary Anderson suggests that if "we remove those layers of the tradition that are clearly secondary ... we are left with a story that is almost identical to the analog we have traced in the Adam and Eve literature and II Enoch." G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Anderson, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 107. Anderson further notes that the acclamation of Enoch as "Youth," in *Sefer Hekhalot*, is intriguing because the reason *3 Enoch* supplies for this title is deceptively simple and straightforward: "Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years—therefore they call me 'Youth.'" Anderson proposes that the title might point to its Adamic provenance since the explanation for the epithet "youth" recalls the reason for the angelic refusal to worship Adam in the *Vita* on the basis of his inferiority to them by way of his age. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 108.

C. Initiation into the celestial community: angelic veneration of the protagonist and Satan's refusal to bow down (in the *Primary Adam Books* God commands the angels to bow down. All the angels do obeisance. Satan and his angels disobey. In *2 Enoch* the angelic rebellion is assumed. God tests whether this time the angels will obey).<sup>44</sup>

It is noteworthy that both *2 Enoch* and the *Primary Adam Books* operate with the double veneration: first, the human protagonists, Enoch and Adam, are asked to bow down before the Deity, and second, they are themselves venerated by the angels, an event that signifies their acceptance into the community of celestial citizens.

Keeping in mind these conceptual developments, we now turn our attention to the temptation narrative in the Gospel of Matthew. Here, one can discern the already familiar patterns manifested in *2 Enoch* and the *Primary Adam Books*. Like Enoch and Adam, Jesus first is brought to the elevated place represented by the divine mountain. He is then asked to venerate Satan, an idolatrous pseudo-representation of the Deity. Finally, the Matthean version of the temptation narrative portrays Jesus' initiation into the community of angels who came to offer their services. In view of these similarities, it is possible that the tradition of veneration reflected in *2 Enoch*, which is believed by some scholars to be written before the destruction of the Second Jerusalem Temple, and therefore before the composition of the Gospel of Matthew, might exercise formative influence not only on the protoplasts stories in the *Primary Adam Books* but also on the story of Jesus' temptation in Matthew.<sup>45</sup>

### *Apocalyptic Features of the Temptation Narrative*

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<sup>44</sup> Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance," 48.

<sup>45</sup> In this respect, it should be noted that scholars have demonstrated that *2 Enoch* has more parallels with the Gospel of Matthew than with any other book in the New Testament. Regarding this, see C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch* (WUNT, 2/50; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1992) 219-221.



If the author of the Gospel of Matthew was indeed cognizant of the apocalyptic traditions similar to those found in *2 Enoch*, it is apparent that the Christian authors were not just blindly appropriating these currents; rather, they attempted to deconstruct these themes by assigning some familiar attributes and duties of the angels and the Deity to the ominous mediator Satan. We should now direct our attention to these paradoxical reformulations of the apocalyptic motifs.

### *Satan as Jesus' Psychopomp and Angelus Interpres*

Jewish apocalyptic accounts often depict the transportation of human visionaries into the upper realms with the help of angelic guides. In view of these apocalyptic currents, it is striking that, in the temptation narrative, Satan serves as a psychopomp of Jesus and transports him to high, possibly even the highest, places.<sup>46</sup> In apocalyptic literature angels or archangels often serve as visionaries' psychopomps. For example, in *2 Enoch*, the seventh antediluvian patriarch is taken to heaven by two angels. In the same apocalyptic account, Melchizedek is transported on the wings of Gabriel to the Garden of Eden.<sup>47</sup> In the temptation narrative, Satan seems to be fulfilling similar functions of a transporting angel.<sup>48</sup> It is important that in both cases Satan is transporting Jesus not to hell, but to "high places," first to the top of the Temple in the Holy City and then to the highest mountain. Some scholars believe that the mountain here represents the place of divine abode, as in some other apocalyptic texts. Satan's apocalyptic roles are puzzling, and might represent an attempt to deconstruct familiar apocalyptic motifs.

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<sup>46</sup> Allison and Davies discuss the visionary mold of these traditions of transportation, noting that "Whether we are to think of a visionary experience (so Theodore of Mopsuestia in PG 66.721a and other Antiochene theologians) or of a miraculous teleportation (cf. Acts 8.39-40; *2 Bar.* 6.3; *Apoc. Zeph.* frag, in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.11.77; *L. Proph. Hab.* 4-7; and the Catholic stories of bilocating saints, such as those about St. Martin de Porres) is unclear (cf. 2 Cor 12.2!), although 4.8 ('and he showed him all the kingdoms of the world') may argue for the former possibility." Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.364.

<sup>47</sup> Concerning the transportation of Jesus in the temptation narrative, also see also Schiavo, "The Temptation of Jesus: The Eschatological Battle and the New Ethic of the First Followers of Jesus in Q," 147-148.

<sup>48</sup> With respect to this, Schiavo notes that "on his journey, Jesus is also accompanied, but this time by the Devil, a fallen angel, whose function is to lead him and show him his dominion and power on earth." Schiavo, "The Temptation of Jesus: The Eschatological Battle and the New Ethic of the First Followers of Jesus in Q," 147.

It is also noteworthy that in both Matthew and Luke, Satan serves not merely as a psychopomp but also as an *angelus interpres* who literally “leads up” (ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν) the visionary and “shows him” (δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ/ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ) the visionary reality, thus fulfilling the traditional functions of the interpreting angels in Jewish apocalyptic and mystical accounts. The interaction between the seer and his demonic guide also reveals influences of the Mosaic typology. Scholars have noted terminological similarities between the temptation narrative and Deuteronomy 34:1-4,<sup>49</sup> in which God serves as an *angelus interpres* during Moses’ vision on Mount Nebo, showing (ἔδειξεν) the prophet the Promised Land and giving him an explanation of it.<sup>50</sup> Yet, the *angelus interpres* traditions found in Matthew attempt to transcend the “Mosaic” biblical makeup by enhancing the story with details of extra-biblical apocalyptic accounts.

### *The Progression to the Highest Place*

It has been observed that, in comparison with Luke, Matthew’s order of Jesus’ temptations attests to the seer’s upward gradual progression as he goes from the lower places to higher places, from the desert to a pinnacle in the Temple and finally to a sacred mountain.<sup>51</sup> This dynamic is reminiscent of heavenly journeys that depict visionaries’ progress from lower to

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<sup>49</sup> “Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab to Mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, which is opposite Jericho, and the Lord showed him the whole land: Gilead as far as Dan, all Naphtali, the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, all the land of Judah as far as the Western Sea, the Negeb, and the Plain—that is, the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees—as far as Zoar. The Lord said to him, ‘This is the land of which I swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, ‘I will give it to your descendants’; I have let you see it with your eyes, but you shall not cross over there.’” (NRSV).

<sup>50</sup> J. Dupont, “L’arrière-fond biblique du récit des tentations de Jésus,” *NTS* 3 (1957) 287–304 at 297.

<sup>51</sup> Thus, for example, Allison and Davies observe that “the three temptations exhibit a spatial progression, from a low place to a high place. The first takes place in the desert, the second on a pinnacle in the temple, the third on a mountain from which all the kingdoms of the world can be seen. This progression corresponds to the dramatic tension which comes to a climax with the third temptation.” Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1.352

higher heavens.<sup>52</sup> Often these visionary accounts portray the seer's initiation, occurring at the highest point of his journey. It is noteworthy, then, that it is in the third and final temptation in Matthew that the cluster of veneration motifs is introduced at the highest point. It again brings to mind the seventh antediluvian patriarch's journey in *2 Enoch*, in which the seer's arrival to the highest heaven is peaked by angelic veneration. The third Matthean temptation takes place on a mountain. Several scholars have remarked that the mountain might allude to the place of divine presence and dominion. Here, however, strangely enough, it becomes the exalted place from which Satan asks Jesus to venerate him. In the Enochic and Mosaic traditions the high mountain often serves as one of the technical designations of the *Kavod*. For example, *1 Enoch* 25:3 identifies the high mountain as a location of the throne of God.<sup>53</sup> In the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, Moses is identified with the *Kavod* on the mountain.<sup>54</sup> If indeed Matthew has in mind the mountain of the *Kavod*, Satan's ability to show Jesus all the kingdoms of the world and their splendor might be a reference to the celestial curtain *Pargod*, the sacred veil of the divine presence, which in *3 Enoch* 45 is described as an entity that literally "shows" all generations and all kingdoms at the same time.<sup>55</sup> As has been already demonstrated in our previous chapter on the

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<sup>52</sup> Schiavo argues that "there is no doubt that the account of the temptation can be read in the wider context of the heavenly journey. With regard to the way the experience is prepared and the nature of the experience, it appears truly to be a journey, even if its content is quite different." Schiavo "The Temptation of Jesus: The Eschatological Battle and the New Ethic of the First Followers of Jesus in Q," 147.

<sup>53</sup> *1 Enoch* 25:3 reads: "And he answered me, saying: 'This high mountain which you saw, whose summit is like the throne of the Lord, is the throne where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit when he comes down to visit the earth for good.'" Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.113.

<sup>54</sup> *Exagoge* 67–90 reads: "Moses: I had a vision of a great throne on the top of Mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man was sitting on it, with a crown and a large scepter in his left hand. He beckoned to me with his right hand, so I approached and stood before the throne. He gave me the scepter and instructed me to sit on the great throne. Then he gave me a royal crown and got up from the throne. I beheld the whole earth all around and saw beneath the earth and above the heavens. A multitude of stars fell before my knees and I counted them all. They paraded past me like a battalion of men. Then I awoke from my sleep in fear." H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 54–55.

<sup>55</sup> Thus, for example, in *3 Enoch* 45:1-4 one can find the following tradition about the *Pargod*: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you the curtain of the Omnipresent One which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be he, and on which are printed all the generations of the world and their deeds, whether done or to be done, till the last generation.... the kings of Judah and their generations, their deeds and their acts; the kings of

cosmological temple these revelatory functions of the *Pargod* are also reflected in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* in which the horizontal heavenly curtain associated with the firmament unveils to Abraham the whole course of human history.<sup>56</sup> Scholars have noted striking similarities between the presentation of revelations in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the temptation narrative.<sup>57</sup> Although some attestations to the *Pargod* symbolism are found in later rabbinic and Hekhalot accounts, the early roots of these developments can be traced to the apocalyptic imagery of the heavenly tablets in Mesopotamian and early Enochic materials. Several Second Temple Jewish materials testify that these media of revelation, as in the later *Pargod* tradition, are able to communicate to the seer the totality of historical and physical reality.<sup>58</sup>

### *The Transformation of the Seer*

It has already been demonstrated that, in the temptation story, Satan fulfills several functions traditionally ascribed to angelic figures, such as offices of the psychopomp and the *angelus interpres*. Yet, the elusive adversary is able to mimic not only the duties of angelic

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Israel and their generations, their deeds and their acts; the kings of the gentiles and their generations, their deeds and their acts....” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.295-298.

<sup>56</sup> Regarding this, see also A. Orlov, *Heavenly Priesthood in the Apocalypse of Abraham* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2013) 159-178.

<sup>57</sup> Thus, for example, Schiavo notes that “in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* ... Abraham is led in the body by an angel to the throne of God .... From there, Abraham sees heaven with the throne of God, before his descent to the earth and the history of the world until the judgment. The similarity between this text and Q 4.1 -13 is striking: Jesus, like Abraham, is transported bodily, on a journey to the sky. From up there, he contemplates the temple and the earth (earthly kingdoms).” Schiavo, “The Temptation of Jesus: The Eschatological Battle and the New Ethic of the First Followers of Jesus in Q,” 147-148.

<sup>58</sup> Thus, for example, according to 4Q180 1.1-3, “all ages” are engraved on the heavenly tablets; it reads: “Interpretation concerning the ages which God has made: An age to conclude [all that there is] and all that will be. Before creating them he determined [their] operations [according to the precise sequence of the ages,] one age after another age. And this is engraved on the [heavenly] tablets [for the sons of men,] [for] / [a]ll/ the ages of their dominion.” *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (eds. F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 1.371. Furthermore, according to *1 Enoch* 81:1-2, by looking at the heavenly tablets, the seventh antediluvian hero was able to learn about every human action: “And he said to me: ‘O Enoch, look at the book of the tablets of heaven, and read what is written upon them, and learn every individual act.’ And I looked at everything in the tablets of heaven, and I read everything which was written, and I noted everything.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.186.

figures but also the Deity himself. It is therefore possible that, in the Matthean account, Satan is portrayed as an idolatrous negative replica of the divine *Kavod*.

Previous studies have often missed the transformational thrust of the veneration themes found in the temptation story. Nevertheless, already in 2 *Enoch* and in the story of Adam's veneration in the *Primary Adam Books* in which the human seers are ordered to bow down to the Deity, the hero's veneration of God appears to coincide with his transition into a new ontological state. Satan's request for veneration has affinities with this cluster of transformational motifs. What is important, here, is that Satan requests veneration while standing on the mountain, the location interpreted by scholars as a reference to the place of the divine presence. Satan's presence on the mountain appears to be envisioned in the temptation narrative as a counterpart of divine habitation. Is it possible, then, that Satan positions himself here as the negative counterpart of *Kavod*?

In Jewish apocalyptic accounts the ritual of prostration before the divine *Kavod* often plays a pivotal role in the transformation of a seer into a celestial being, or even his identification with the divine form.<sup>59</sup> In the course of this initiation, a visionary often acquires the nature of the object of his veneration, including the luminosity that signals his identification with the radiant manifestation of the Deity.

In the light of these traditions, it is possible to detect a similar transformational motif in the temptation narrative. One encounters, here, an example of negative transformational mysticism; by forcing Jesus to bow down, the tempter wants the seer to become identified with Satan's form, in opposition to the visionaries of Jewish apocalyptic writings who, through their prostration before the divine Face, become identified with the divine *Kavod*.

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<sup>59</sup> On this tradition see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 165-176.

## *The Standing One*

The transformation of human seers in the apocalyptic accounts often leads to their inclusion into the celestial retinue. This new office presumes unceasing service, uninterrupted with rest. In the rabbinic tradition, the citizens of heaven are predestined to stand forever, as there is no sitting in heaven.<sup>60</sup> Apocalyptic and mystical accounts, therefore, often identify an angelic state with a standing posture. Thus, in the aforementioned account of Enoch's transformation into an angelic being in *2 Enoch* 21-22, one can find repeated references to the seer's standing position. Moreover, both the angels and the Deity promise, to the seventh antediluvian hero, that he will be standing before God's presence forever. Scholars believe that these promises represent the first known attestations that hint at the future office of Enoch-Metatron as the *sar happanim* – the prince of divine presence, a special angelic servant whose role is to stand forever in front of the Deity.<sup>61</sup> It is noteworthy that not only Matthew but also Luke contains references to Jesus' standing and installation to this position by his angelic psychopomp, Satan.<sup>62</sup> This tradition is reminiscent of Enoch's installation in the Slavonic apocalypse, in which he was also placed in this standing position by his angelic guide.

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. *b. Hag.* 15a: "It is taught as a tradition that on high there is no sitting and no emulation, and no back, and no weariness." I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud. Hagiga* (London: Soncino, 1935–1952) 15a; *Merkavah Rabbah* (Synopsis §672): "He said: the sages taught: above there is no standing, and no sitting, no jealousy and no rivalry, and no duplicity and no affliction." *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (eds. P. Schäfer et al.; TSAJ, 2; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1981) 246.

<sup>61</sup> Hugo Odeberg may be the first scholar to have discovered the characteristics of the prince of the presence in the longer recension of *2 Enoch*. He demonstrated, in his synopsis of the parallel passages from 2 and 3 *Enoch*, that the phrase "stand before my face forever," found in the Slavonic apocalypse does not serve there merely as a typical Hebraism "to be in the presence," but establishes the angelic status of Enoch as Metatron, the Prince of the Presence. H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973) 1.55. Charles Gieschen's research also reinforces this position; Gieschen argues that Enoch's "standing" in front of the face of the Lord forever conclusively indicates the status of a principal angel. He further observes that "those who stand immediately before the throne are usually the principal angels, i.e., the Angels of the Presence." C.A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (AGAJU, 42; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 158, n. 17.

<sup>62</sup> Matt 4:5: "καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ." Luke 4:9: "καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ."

It appears that both in *2 Enoch* and in the temptation story the installation of the seer as a “standing one” might be connected with the Mosaic typology.<sup>63</sup> The tradition of Moses’ standing plays an important role already in the biblical materials. Thus, in Exodus 33, the Lord commands Moses to stand near him: “There is a place by me where you shall stand on the rock.” A similar command also is found in Deuteronomy 5:31, in which God, again, orders Moses to stand with him: “But you, stand here by me, and I will tell you all the commandments, the statutes and the ordinances, that you shall teach them.” The motif of standing also plays a significant part in extra-biblical Mosaic accounts, including the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, in which Moses is portrayed as standing before the divine throne.<sup>64</sup>

In view of the aforementioned developments in *2 Enoch* and the *Exagoge*, it is possible that Jesus’ standing position on high reflects cluster of apocalyptic motifs. Yet, in the synoptic accounts of Jesus’ temptation, this tradition receives a new polemical meaning since the seer’s installation is performed by the main antagonist of the story, Satan.

As we conclude this section of our study, let us draw attention to the structure of the second Matthean temptation in which Satan asks Jesus to throw himself down, and in which the motif of the seer’s installation to the standing position occurs. It has been noted that the third temptation appears to reflect three events found also in *2 Enoch* and in the *Primary Adam Books*: first, the installation of the seer by his psychopomp; second, the seer’s veneration of the Deity; and third, angelic veneration of the seer. In *2 Enoch*, after the seventh antediluvian hero is brought by his psychopomp to the highest place, he first bows down before the Deity and then is exalted by the angels through their veneration. The same pattern is present in the *Primary Adam Books* in which the archangel Michael first “presents”

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<sup>63</sup> Concerning the Mosaic typology in the Gospel of Matthew, see D.C. Allison, Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994).

<sup>64</sup> Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, 54.

Adam before the Deity,<sup>65</sup> then Adam bows down before God,<sup>66</sup> followed by his exaltation through angelic obeisance.<sup>67</sup> In light of these developments, it is intriguing that the structure of the second Matthean (and the third Lukan) temptation might reflect a similar structure. The seer is first installed to the high place by his psychopomp.<sup>68</sup> Then he is asked to throw himself down.<sup>69</sup> Then his psychopomp cites Scriptures to assure the seer that he will be elevated by the angels.<sup>70</sup> As this story unfolds, one can see three narrative steps, which involve first installation, second denigration, and finally angelic exaltation. In view of these correspondences, it is possible that the second temptation anticipates the events of the third temptation by foreshadowing its threefold structure.

### *Conclusion*

The polemical nature of Matthew's appropriations of the apocalyptic traditions in the temptation story remains one of the enigmas of this biblical text. At the same time, this overwhelming deconstructive thrust helps illuminate the puzzling form of the veneration motifs in this portion of Matthew's gospel. Like other apocalyptic themes, the veneration themes are also deconstructed: the exalted human protagonist refuses to venerate a pseudo-representation of the Deity and the angelic hosts in their turn too do not explicitly bow down to the hero. This

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<sup>65</sup> Georgian *LAE* 13:2: "And Michael came; he presented you..." Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

<sup>66</sup> Georgian *LAE* 13:2: "... and made you bow down before God." Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

<sup>67</sup> Georgian *LAE* 14:1-2: "Then Michael came; he summoned all the troops of angels and told them, 'Bow down before the likeness and the image of the divinity.' And then, when Michael summoned them and all had bowed down to you, he summoned me also." Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

<sup>68</sup> Matt 4:5: "Then the devil took him to the holy city and placed him on the pinnacle of the temple..." (NRSV).

<sup>69</sup> Matt 4:6a: "... saying to him, 'If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down ...'" (NRSV).

<sup>70</sup> Matt 4:6b: "... for it is written, 'He will command his angels concerning you,' and 'On their hands they will bear you up, so that you will not dash your foot against a stone.'" (NRSV).



striking reworking brings us again to the function of the veneration motifs not only in the temptation story but the whole gospel. Although scholars have argued that the veneration motifs in the temptation story, and especially Jesus' refusal to venerate Satan, are closely connected with the theme of idolatry, it appears that some other, even more important conceptual ramifications, might also be at play. Thus, both in *2 Enoch* and the *Primary Adam Books*, the angelic veneration plays a portentous role in the construction of a unique upper identity of the apocalyptic heroes, often revealing the process of their deification.<sup>71</sup> In these texts, angelic veneration shepherds the human protagonists into their new supra-angelic ontology when they become depicted as "icons" or "faces" of the Deity, the conditions often established both via angelic obeisance and the seers' own veneration of the Deity. Yet, in the temptation story, the divinity of the human protagonist is affirmed in a new paradoxical way, not through the veneration motifs, but through their deconstruction. This new way of establishing the hero's upper identity appears to be novel and yet one is able to detect similar developments in the later Jewish "two powers in heaven" debates, with their emphasis on the deconstruction of the veneration motifs. Although in the *Primary Adam Books* it is Satan who opposes veneration of humanity, in the later "two powers in heaven" developments this function of opposition is often transferred to the Deity himself. In these later accounts, it is God who opposes veneration of the newly created protoplast and shows to angelic hosts that his beloved creature does not deserve the obeisance reserved now solely for the Creator.<sup>72</sup> Yet, in the midst of these debates, which

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<sup>71</sup> Thus, the deification of Adam is especially evident in the Armenian *LAE* 14:1: "Then Michael summoned all the angels, and God said to them, 'Come, bow down to god whom I made.'" Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E. *2 Enoch* also underlines the supra-angelic status of its hero when it tells him that he is above the angels by being placed closer to the Deity than Gabriel and, by revelation, closer to the mysteries of creation that God never revealed to the angels.

<sup>72</sup> Jarl Fossum's research demonstrates that the motif of the God's opposition to the veneration of Adam by the angels appears in several forms in the rabbinic literature. Fossum differentiates three major forms of this tradition: "(1) The angels mistake Adam for God and want to exclaim 'Holy' before him, whereupon God lets sleep fall upon Adam so it becomes clear that the latter is human; (2) all creatures mistake Adam for their creator and wish

might be interpreted as attempts to limit the possibility for *theosis*, one can find one of the most profound exaltations of humanity ever recorded in Jewish lore—a tradition that portrays the seventh antediluvian patriarch as יהוה הקטן, a lesser representation of the Deity.<sup>73</sup> Here, like in the temptation narrative of Matthew’s gospel, a deconstruction of the veneration motifs opens new paradoxical horizons for the deification of humankind.

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to bow before him, but Adam teaches them to render all honor to God as their true creator; (3) the angels mistake Adam for God and wish to exclaim ‘Holy’ before him, whereupon God reduces Adam’s size.” J. Fossum, “The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis,” in: *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (3 vols; eds. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1996) 1.529–39. An important similarity can be detected between these Adamic traditions and the Metatron accounts. In *b. Hag.* 15a, for instance, God punished Metatron with sixty fiery lashes. Alan Segal observes that “just as Metatron needed correction for the false impression he gave Aher, so Adam needs correction for the false impression given the angels.” A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA, 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 112. Indeed, in the Adamic “two powers” accounts, the protoplast is disciplined in various ways, including the reduction of his stature. Thus, from *Gen. R.* 8:10 one can learn that when God created man in his own image “the ministering angels mistook him [for a divine being] and wished to exclaim ‘Holy’ before Him.... What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He caused sleep to fall upon him, and so all knew that he was [only a mortal] man.” *Midrash Rabbah* (eds. H. Freedman and M. Simon; 10 vols.; London: Soncino, 1961) 1.61. In the *Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba* the angels’ erroneous behavior is explained through reference to Adam’s gigantic body; it reads: “This teaches that initially Adam was created from the earth to the firmament. When the ministering angels saw him, they were shocked and excited by him. At that time they all stood before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said to Him; ‘Master of the Universe! There are two powers in the world, one in heaven and one on earth.’ What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do then? He placed His hand on him, and decreased him, setting him at one thousand cubits.” M. Idel, “Enoch is Metatron,” *Imm* 24/25 (1990) 220–240 at 226. For the Hebrew text, see Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, 2.333–477. *Pesikta de Rab Kahana* 1:1 reflects the same tradition: “Said R. Aibu, ‘At that moment the first man’s stature was cut down and diminished to one hundred cubits.’” *Pesikta de Rab Kahana* (tr. J. Neusner; 2 vols.; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987) 1.1.

<sup>73</sup> Regarding Enoch-Metatron’s title יהוה הקטן, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 136-43.