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The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angels Traditions in 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*

... they became servants of Satan and led astray those
who dwell upon the dry ground.

1 Enoch 54:6

... These are the Watchers (*Grigori*), who turned
aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their
prince Satanail.

2 Enoch 18:3

Introduction

The first part of *2 Enoch*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in the first century C.E., deals with the heavenly ascent of the seventh antediluvian hero to the abode of the Deity. During his ascent, while receiving instructions from angelic psychopomps about the contents of the heavens, the patriarch encounters a group of the fallen angels whom the apocalypse authors designate as the *Grigori* (Watchers).¹ The detailed report of the group's transgression given in chapter 18 of the text which mentions the angelic descent on Mount Hermon that led to the subsequent corruption of humanity and procreation of the race of the Giants recalls the peculiar features well-known from the classic descriptions of the fall of the infamous celestial rebels in the *Book of the Watchers*. This early Enochic booklet unveils the misdeeds of the two hundred Watchers led by their

¹ Slav. *Григори(ѣ)* (Gk. ἐγγήγοροι). M.I Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature. Vypusk tretij, VII. Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo. Teksty, latinskij perevod i izsledovanie. Posmertnyj trud avtora prigotovil k izdaniju M. Speranskij," *Chtenija v Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostej Rossijskih* 4 (1910) 16.

leaders Shemihazah and Asael. The description in the Slavonic apocalypse is striking in that, in contrast to the classic Enochic account, the leadership over the fallen Watchers is ascribed not to Shemihazah or Asael but to Satanail.² This reference to the negative protagonist of the Adamic story does not appear coincidental. A careful examination of other details of the fallen angels traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse shows that the transference of leadership over the Watchers from the Shemihazah and Asael to Satanail is not due to the authors' ignorance of the authentic tradition but represents a deliberate theological effort to introduce the Adamic development into the framework of the Enochic story

I have previously explored a strong influence of Adamic traditions and motifs in the Enochic account of the Slavonic apocalypse, especially in the materials of the longer recension, which is rather unusual for a Second Temple Enochic text.³ Adam's story occupies a strikingly prominent place in *2 Enoch*. The traditions pertaining to the first human can be found in all sections of the book.⁴ In these materials Adam is depicted as a glorious angelic being predestined by God to be the ruler of the earth but falling short of God's expectations. Although a major bulk of Adamic materials belongs to the longer recension, which includes, for example, the lengthy Adamic narrative in chapters 30-32, the Adamic tradition is not confined solely to this recension. A number of important Adamic passages are also attested in the shorter recension. The extensive presence of Adamic materials in both recensions and their significance for the theology of the

² Slav. *Сатанаил*. Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature," 16.

³ Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ, 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 211-252; idem, "'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*," in A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (JSJSup., 114; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 149-174; idem, "On the Polemical Nature of *2 (Slavonic) Enoch*: A Reply to C. Böttrich," in Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, 239-268.

⁴ *2 Enoch* 30:8-32:2; 33:10; 41:1; 42:5; 44:1; 58:1-3; 71:28.

Slavonic apocalypse indicates that they are not later interpolations but are part of the original layer of the text.

As noted above, such an extensive presence of Adamic materials in the intertestamental Enochic text is quite unusual. In the early Enochic circle reflected in *1 (Ethiopic) Enoch*, Adam does not figure prominently. His presence in these materials is marginal and limited to a few insignificant remarks. Moreover, when the authors of the early Enochic booklets invoke the memory of Adam and Eve, they try to either ignore or “soften” the story of their transgression and fall in the garden. Scholars have previously noticed this remarkable leniency of the Enochic writers toward the mishap of the protological couple in the texts “concerned with judgment and accountability.”⁵

This either modest or unusually positive profile which the Protoplasts enjoy in the early Enochic circle can be explained by several factors. Scholars have observed that early Enochic and Adamic traditions appear to operate with different mythologies of evil.⁶ The early Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the

⁵ Kelley Coblenz Bautch notes that “the portrayal of the [first] couple is softened in the Book of the Watchers; like ‘the holy ones’ mentioned in 1 En 32:3, they eat from the tree and are made wise (cf. Gen 3:6). No references are made to the serpent, deception, the reproach of God, and additional punishments that figure prominently in the Genesis account. In a text concerned with judgment and accountability, Adam and Eve do not appear as actors in the eschatological drama ... the Animal Apocalypse from the Book of Dream Visions seems even more favorable in its depiction of the first couple. The Animal Apocalypse opts to recast exclusively events familiar from Gen 2 and 4.... [it] does not offer a recitation of the fall in the garden. There is no tree, forbidden or otherwise, no illicit gain of knowledge, no expulsion from Eden, and no recapitulation of any part of Gen 3....” K. Coblenz Bautch, “Adamic traditions in the Parables? A Query on 1 Enoch 69:6,” in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) 352-360, at 353-4.

⁶ In this respect Bautch observes that “... discussion of the Enochic corpus frequently takes up the literature’s distinctive view of evil. As is commonly asserted, Enochic texts posit that evil originates with the rebellious watchers who descend to earth: their prohibited union with women and teaching of forbidden arts lead to the contamination of the human sphere (for example, 1 En 6-11). This observation has led contemporary scholars to delineate two contrasting trends within Second Temple Judaism: one rooted in early Enochic texts like the Book of the Watchers where evil develops as a result of the angels’ sin, and the other that understands sin to be the consequence of human failings (e.g., Gen 3).” K. Coblenz Bautch, “Adamic traditions in the Parables? A Query on 1 Enoch 69:6,” in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) 352-360, at 354-5. On the subject of two mythologies of evil see also J. Reeves, *Sefer ‘Uzza Wa-‘Aza(z)el: Exploring Early*

Watchers' story in which the fallen angels corrupt human beings by passing on to them various celestial secrets.⁷ In contrast, the Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's transgression and the fall of Adam and Eve in Eden -- a trend hinted at in Genesis 3 and fully developed in the Primary Adam Books that trace Satan's demotion to his rejection to obey God's command to venerate a newly created Protoplast.⁸

While in the early Enochic circle the presence of Adamic traditions is either marginal or absent altogether, it becomes prominent in *2 Enoch*. In my previous research I suggested that the extensive presence of Adamic motifs in the Slavonic apocalypse has a profound conceptual significance for the overall theological framework of the Slavonic apocalypse.⁹ It appears *2 Enoch* draws on Adamic themes to develop the figure of Enoch as the Second Adam who is predestined to recover the original condition of the Protoplast lost by the first humans in Eden.¹⁰ In this context many features of the exalted prelapsarian Adam are transferred to the seventh antediluvian hero in an attempt to affirm

Jewish Mythologies of Evil (forthcoming); M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 133-49 at 144-49.

⁷ John Reeves in his forthcoming research on the early Jewish mythologies of evil provides a helpful description of the main tenets of the Enochic paradigm of the origin of evil (or what he calls "Enochic Template"). According to this template: "evil first enters the created world through the voluntary descent and subsequent corruption of a group of angels known as the Watchers. Their sexual contact with human women renders them odious to God and their former angelic colleagues in heaven; moreover, they also betray certain divine secrets to their lovers and families. The offspring of the Watchers and mortal women, an illegitimately conceived race of bloodthirsty 'giants,' wreak havoc on earth and force God to intervene forcefully with the universal Flood. The corrupt angels are captured and imprisoned, their monstrous children are slain, and humanity is renewed through the family of Noah. Noticeably absent from this particular scheme are references to Adam and Eve, the garden of Eden, or the serpent...." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

⁸ Reeves describes the main features of what he called the "Adamic Template" noting the following central points: "(1) God resolves to create the first human being, Adam; (2) after Adam's creation, all the angels in heaven are bidden to worship him; (3) a small group of angels led by Satan refuse to do so; (4) as a result, this group is forcibly expelled from heaven to earth; and (5) in order to exact revenge, these angels plot to lead Adam and subsequent generations of humans astray...." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

⁹ Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211-214.

¹⁰ On the tradition of Enoch as the second Adam, see M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990) 220-240; P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergren; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 102-104.

his status as the new Protoplast who restores the humanity to its original state. This new protological profile of the elevated Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse can thus serve as an important clue for understanding the extensive presence of Adamic traditions in *2 Enoch*. Further, it appears that the appropriation of Adamic lore in *2 Enoch* is not limited to Enoch, the positive protagonist, but also includes his negative angelic counterparts, the Watchers, whose portrayals include novel features of the Adamic mythology of evil and, more specifically, the account of its infamous heavenly rebel Satan. This interplay and osmosis of the two early paradigmatic trends, which in John Reeves' terminology is designated as the mixed or transitional template, has long-lasting consequences for both "mythologies of evil" and their further development in rabbinic and patristic environments.¹¹ The purpose of this paper is to explore the Adamic reworking of the Watchers traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse and its significance for the subsequent Jewish mystical developments.

I. 2 *Enoch* 7: The Watchers in the Second Heaven

There are two textual units pertaining to the Watchers traditions in *2 Enoch*. One of them is situated in chapter seven that describes the patriarch arrival to the second heaven where he sees a group of guarded angelic prisoners kept in darkness. Although chapter seven does not identify this group directly as the Watchers, the description of their transgressions hints to this fact. The second unit is situated in chapter eighteen that describes Enoch's encounter with another angelic gathering in the fifth heaven which is directly identified as the Watchers (*Grigori*). Although our study of the traditions of the

¹¹ Reeves detects the presence of the so-called "mixed template" that combine features of Adamic and Enochic "mythologies of evil" already in the *Book of Jubilees*. Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa- 'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

fallen angels in the Slavonic apocalypse will focus on these two passages in chapters seven and eighteen, we will also examine the Satanail traditions situated in chapters twenty nine and thirty one.

Traces of the Enochic Template

In chapter 7 of the longer recension of *2 Enoch*, the following description is found:

... And those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment. And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness. And unceasingly they made weeping, all the day long. And I said to the men who were with me, "Why are these ones being tormented unceasingly?" Those men answered me, "These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven." And I felt very sorry for them; and those angels bowed down to me and said to me, "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!" And I answered them and said, "Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows where I am going and what will confront me? Or who indeed will pray for me?"¹²

Several scholars have previously noted that this passage about the incarcerated angels is linked with the Watchers traditions.¹³ John Reeves argued that

... this particular text obviously refers to the angelic insurrection that took place in the days of Jared, the father of Enoch. The prisoners in this "second heaven" are in fact those Watchers who violated the divinely decreed barriers separating heaven and earth by taking human wives and fathering bastard offspring, the infamous Giants....¹⁴

¹² F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.112-114. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 7 has the following form: "And those men took me up to the second heaven. And they set me down on the second heaven. And they showed me prisoners under guard, in measureless judgment. And there I saw the condemned angels, weeping. And I said to the men who were with me, 'Why are they tormented?' The men answered me, 'They are evil rebels against the Lord, who did not listen to the voice of the Lord, but they consulted their own will.' And I felt sorry for them. The angels bowed down to me. They said, 'Man of God, please pray for us to the Lord!' And I answered them and said, 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? And who knows where I am going or what will confront me? Or who will pray for me?'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.113-115.

¹³ A. Rubinstein observes that "... there is evidence that the Slavonic Enoch is dependent on some features which are known only from the Ethiopic Enoch only. There can be little doubt that the Slavonic Enoch has a good deal in common with the Ethiopic Enoch, though the differences between the two are no less striking." A. Rubinstein, "Observation on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 13 (1962) 6.

¹⁴ J. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in: *Tracing the Treads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.C. Reeves; EJL, 06; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994) 185.

James VanderKam expresses a similar conviction in noting that the angelic group depicted in chapter seven “remind us of the Watchers and their mutual oath to commit the deeds that led to their imprisonment in *1 Enoch* 6-11.”¹⁵ VanderKam’s suggestions that the theme of angels “plotting together” found in *2 Enoch* 7 might allude to the Watchers’ council on Mount Hermon and their mutual oath is important. The Watchers tradition reflected later in the text in chapter 18 further strengthens the possibility that the Slavonic apocalypse authors were familiar with the early Enochic tradition of the bounding oath taken by the Watchers on the infamous mountain.¹⁶

Another important detail hinting to the presence of the Watchers tradition in the passage is the angels’ request for the patriarch’s intercession before God. The request appears to allude to the unique role of the seventh antediluvian hero, already observed in the earliest Enochic booklets, as the envoy of intercessory petitions to God on behalf of this rebellious angelic group. John Reeves suggests¹⁷ that the petition the imprisoned angels press on the exalted patriarch in *2 Enoch* 7 is reminiscent of the language found in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 13:4)¹⁸ where the Watchers ask the patriarch to write for them a prayer of intercession.¹⁹ From *1 Enoch* 13:6-7 we learn that this prayer was

¹⁵ J. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: South Carolina, 1995) 159.

¹⁶ The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:4 reads: “And they *broke the promise* on the shoulder of Mount Ermon.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.132.

¹⁷ “... identity [of the imprisoned angels] as rebellious Watchers is further underscored by the petition they press upon Enoch” Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library,” 185.

¹⁸ This connection was also mentioned by Robert Henry Charles who noticed that “the angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in 1 En. xiii.4” *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; ed. R.H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 2.433, note 4.

¹⁹ “And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness and to take the record of their petition up to the Lord in heaven.” 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) 2.93.

prepared by the seventh antediluvian hero and later was delivered by him in the vision to the Creator.²⁰

All these features demonstrate that the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse seemed to be familiar with some distinctive details of the early versions of the Watchers story and adopted them in their depiction of the incarcerated angels in chapter seven, thus implicitly linking their identity to the Watchers.

One further piece of textual evidence corroborates this interpretation. Although the angels imprisoned in the second heaven are not explicitly identified in chapter seven as the Watchers, they are linked with another celestial gathering that the patriarch would encounter later in the fifth heaven. *2 Enoch 7* anticipates this encounter when it tells that the group in the second heaven “turned away with their prince and *with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven.*” Upon his arrival to the fifth heaven the patriarch sees there another angelic group which his celestial guides identify as *Grigori* (Slav. *Григори*)²¹ – the Watchers. During that identification a reference is also made to the group in the second heaven which also puts this group in the category of the Watchers: “These are the Grigori (Watchers), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And *similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness.*” Later in *2 Enoch 18:7*, Enoch tells the Watchers that he saw “their brothers” and “prayed

²⁰ “And then I wrote out the record of their petition and their supplication in regard to their spirits and the deeds of each one of them, and in regard to what they asked, (namely) that they should obtain absolution and forbearance. And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan which is south-west of Hermon and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2.93-94.

²¹ Sokolov, “Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature,” 16.

for them.” These details again appear to point to the group in the second heaven who had earlier asked for the patriarch’s prayer.²²

Traces of the Adamic Template

As noted earlier, the Watchers account in chapter 18 exhibits clear features of Adamic tradition in naming Satanail as the leader of the fallen Watchers. In light of this later reaffirmation, it is also possible that the subtle traces of the Adamic template may be already present even in chapter seven. A closer study of the chapter shows that, along with implicit traces of the Enochic traditions of the fallen Watchers, the passage also exhibits familiarity with the Adamic mythology of evil by recalling some features of the story of Satan’s fall.

One notable feature in the text is the peculiar title “prince” used to describe the incarcerated angels’ leader. Robert Henry Charles observed that, although the passage in chapter 7 does not directly name Satanail as the leader of the rebellious angels, the reference to the fact that they “turned away *with their prince*” (Slav. *с князом своим*)²³ invokes a similar terminology as in chapter 18:3 which tells that the Watchers (*Grigori*) turned aside from the Lord together *with their prince* (Slav. *с князем своим*)²⁴ Satanail.²⁵ Charles’ suggestion appears plausible and, in the light of the identical formulae attested in chapter 18, it is possible that the Satanail tradition is already present

²² George Nickelsburg notes that the division of the fallen angels into two groups is also reminiscent of some early Enochic developments attested already in *1 Enoch*. He observes that “in his description of the rebel angels the seer distinguishes between two groups, as does *1 Enoch*: the *egregoroi* (‘watchers’), who sinned with the women (*2 Enoch* 18); and their ‘brethren’ (18:7), called ‘apostates’ (chap. 7), who may correspond to the angels as revealers.” G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005) 222.

²³ Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature," 6.

²⁴ Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature," 16.

²⁵ “their prince = Satanail, xviii, 3” R. H. Charles, *APOT*, 2.433, note 3.

in *2 Enoch* 7. If so, here for the first time in the Slavonic apocalypse the chief negative protagonist of the Adamic lore becomes identified as the leader of the fallen Watchers.

Another possible evidence for the presence of the Adamic mythology of evil in the *2 Enoch* 7 is connected with the motif of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch. Both recensions of *2 Enoch* 7:4 portray the incarcerated angels in the second heaven as bowing down before the translated patriarch asking him to pray for them before the Lord. I have previously argued²⁶ that this tradition appears to stem from the Adamic mythology of evil²⁷ since it invokes the peculiar details of the Satan story attested in the Primary Adam Books²⁸ and some other Jewish, Christian and Muslim materials.²⁹ To clarify the Adamic background of the Watchers tradition in *2 Enoch* 7, we will examine its later Enochic developments in the Hekhalot materials.

In the later Enochic composition known to us as the *Sefer Hekhalot* or *3 Enoch*, the Adamic motif of angelic veneration similar to *2 Enoch* also appears to be placed in the context of the Watchers tradition(s). Thus, *3 Enoch* 4 depicts the angelic leaders

²⁶ Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 221-222.

²⁷ The motif of prostration of angelic beings, including the Watchers, before the seventh antediluvian hero is unknown in the early Enochic circle reflected in *1 Enoch*. A possible reference to another tradition of prostration - the theme of the *giants* bowing down before the patriarch -- might to be reflected in the *Book of Giants* [4Q203 *Frag.* 4:6]: "they bowed down and wept in front [of Enoch ...]." F. García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997) 1.409. Although the passage is extant in a very fragmentary form and the name of Enoch is not mentioned, Józef Tadeusz Milik, Siegbert Uhlig, and Florentino García Martínez have suggested that the figure before whom the giants prostrate themselves is none other than Enoch himself. For the discussion of this tradition, see L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ, 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) 75-76.

²⁸ The account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels is found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13-15. These versions depict God's creation of Adam in his image. The first man was then brought before God's face by the archangel Michael to bow down to God. God commanded all the angels to bow down to Adam. All the angels agreed to venerate the protoplast, except Satan (and his angels) who refused to bow down before Adam, because the first human was "younger" ("posterior") to Satan.

²⁹ The Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* 4; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4, *Coptic Enthronement of Michael*, *Cave of Treasures* 2:10-24, and *Qur'an* 2:31-39; 7:11-18; 15:31-48; 17:61-65; 18:50; 20:116-123; 38:71-85. The traces of the motif of veneration seem also present in the Temptation narrative of the Gospel of Matthew, where Satan asks Jesus to prostrate himself before Satan.

Uzza, Azza, and Azael. These names are reminiscent of the names of the leaders of the fallen Watchers³⁰ bowing down before Enoch-Metatron.

Some scholars view the motif of angelic prostration in *Sefer Hekhalot* as a relatively late development originated under the influence of the rabbinic accounts of the veneration of humanity.³¹ Others argue for the early “pseudepigraphical” roots of this Hekhalot tradition. Gary Anderson noted the early pseudepigraphical matrix of this peculiar development in *Sefer Hekhalot* and its connections with the primordial veneration of the Protoplast in the paradigmatic Adamic story where Satan and his angels refuse to bow down before the first human.³² Further, some conceptual developments in *2 Enoch* also point to the early pseudepigraphical roots of the tradition of veneration of Enoch by angels. Scholars have previously suggested that the Adamic motif of angelic veneration was transferred in the Enochic context not in the later Hekhalot or rabbinic materials but already in *2 Enoch* where the angels are depicted as bowing down several times before

³⁰ Annette Reed suggested that the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael is "reflecting direct knowledge of the account of the fall of the angels in *1 Enoch* 6-11." A.Y. Reed, "From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7-8) and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 8 (2001) 110.

³¹ On the tradition of veneration of humanity in rabbinic literature, see A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1945) 371–391; B. Barc, "La taille cosmique d'Adam dans la littérature juive rabbinique des trois premiers siècles après J.-C.," *RSR* 49 (1975) 173–85; J. Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (2 vols; eds. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) 1.529–39; G. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 195–234; idem, "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 (1980) 1–13; A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 108–115.

³² Commenting on *3 Enoch* 4, 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..." G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Anderson, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 107. He further notes that the acclamation of Enoch as the "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* is pertinent since 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 have Adamic origins 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.

the seventh antediluvian hero. Besides the already mentioned tradition of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch in chapter seven, there is another, even more explicit appropriation of the motif of angelic veneration in *2 Enoch* 21- 22 where God tests angels by asking them to venerate Enoch. These chapters depict Enoch's arrival to the edge of the seventh heaven. There, God invites Enoch to stand before him forever. The Deity then addresses his angels, sounding them out: "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" In response to this address, the angels do obeisance to Enoch saying, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!"³³ Michael Stone has previously observed that the story found in *2 Enoch* 21–22 is reminiscent of the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.³⁴ Stone further notes that 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" in *2 Enoch* 22:6, which another translator of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them."³⁵ Stone remarks that the expression "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" implies that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested. In further comparison of the similarities between Adamic and Enochic accounts, Stone observes that the order of events in *2 Enoch* duplicates exactly the order in the primary Adam books. Stone concludes that the author of *2 Enoch* 21–22 was cognizant of the traditions resembling those found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. He also emphasizes that these traditions did not enter *2 Enoch* from the

³³ Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.136, 138.

³⁴ M.E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*" in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays* (eds. G. Anderson, M. Stone, J. Tromp; SVTP, 15; Brill: Leiden, 2000) 47-48.

³⁵ W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896) 28.

Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*, because this form of the tradition did not occur in the Slavonic *Vita*.³⁶

Keeping in mind these remarkable parallels, we return to the tradition of Enoch's veneration by the incarcerated angels in chapter seven of *2 Enoch* in order to further explore its connection with the Adamic story of angelic veneration.

Several details in the story from *2 Enoch 7* seem to allude to the Adamic template:

- a. In *2 Enoch 7*, as in the Adamic accounts, the sin of the imprisoned angels is disobedience to the Lord's commandments.
- b. The agents of the rebellion are a group of angels with "their prince." This recalls the Adamic accounts where not only Satan but also other angels under him refuse to venerate Adam. As we remember, the longer recension of *2 Enoch 18:3* directly identifies the prisoners of the second heaven as the angels of Satanail.
- c. Finally, in the text the imprisoned angels bow down before a human being (Enoch). It's also noteworthy that the fallen angels address the patriarch as a "man" – "a man of God." The combination of angelic veneration with the reference to the humanity of Enoch is intriguing and again might point to the protological Adamic account where some angels bow down before humans and others refuse to do so.

II. 2 *Enoch 18*: The Watchers in the Fifth Heaven

Traces of the Enochic Template

³⁶ Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," 47-48.

We will now examine the second textual unit dealing the Watchers traditions situated in chapter 18 of the Slavonic apocalypse. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18, the following description can be found:

... And those men took me up on their wings and placed me on the fifth heaven. And I saw there many innumerable armies called Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, "What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is there no liturgy in this heaven?" And those men answered me, "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended (*сойдошася три*) to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds. Who and the wives of men created great evil in the entire time of this age acted lawlessly and practiced miscegenation and gave birth to giants and great monsters and great enmity. And that is why God has judged them with a great judgment; and they mourn their brothers, and they will be outrages on the great day of the Lord." And I said to the Grigori, "I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended forever." And I said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up your liturgy, and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord God to the limit." And they responded to my recommendations, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Grigori burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.³⁷

³⁷ F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.130-132. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 18 has the following form: "And the men picked me up from there and carried me away to the fifth heaven. And I saw there many armies and Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths And there was no liturgy taking place in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, 'For what reason are they so dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And why is there no liturgy in this heaven?' And the men answered me, 'These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train, and they descended to the earth, and they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Hermon, to defile themselves with human wives. And, when they defile themselves, the Lord condemned them. And these ones mourn for their brothers and for the outrage which has happened.' But I, I said to the Grigori, 'I, I have seen your brothers and I have understood their accomplishments and I knew their prayers; and I have prayed for them. And now the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended. But why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up the former liturgy. Perform the liturgy in the name of fire, lest you annoy the Lord your God (so that) he throws you down from this place.' And they heeded the earnestness of my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in heaven. And behold, while I was standing, they sounded with 4 trumpets in unison, and the Grigori began to perform the liturgy as with one voice. And their voices rose up into the Lord's presence." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.131-133.

Already in the very beginning of this passage the angelic hosts situated in the fifth heaven are designated as *Grigori* (Slav. *Григори*)³⁸, which is “a transcription of the Greek word for the *Watchers*.”³⁹ Unlike in chapter 7 where the identity of the celestial gathering remains rather uncertain, here the authors of the text explicitly name the angelic group. The text then provides some details of the angels’ appearance. An intriguing comparison is made about the size of the angelic hosts depicted as beings “larger as the large giants” – a reference which might invoke the Giants traditions and represents a conceptual trend which in the early Enochic booklets is often intertwined with the Watchers story.

The text then describes the Watchers’ faces as being dejected, emphasizing also their perpetual silence. Puzzled, Enoch asks his angelic guides to explain this dismay and silence. The response provides an array of crucial motifs invoking the memory of the Watchers’ descent described in the early Enochic circle. The two significant details are the reference to the number of the descended Watchers as two hundred (myriads)⁴⁰ and the designation of the place of their descent on earth as Mount Hermon (Slav. *Ермон/гора Ермонская*). It is well known that the numeral two hundred in relation to the descended Watchers is attested already in the *Book of the Watchers* – one of the earliest

³⁸ Robert Henry Charles was the first scholar who clarified the terminological background of the Slavonic word “*Grigori*.” He observed that “these are the Watchers, the ἐγρήγοροι, or גִּרְיָע, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi.” Charles, *APOT*, 2.439.

³⁹ J. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: South Carolina, 1995) 159. It is intriguing that the authors of the Slavonic translation of *2 Enoch* choose to keep this word in its Greek phonetical form, possibly envisioning it as a technical term.

⁴⁰ Some mss of *2 Enoch* speak about 200 descended Watchers, others about 200 myriads descended Watchers. Cf. the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3 “These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train...” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.131.

Enochic booklets which also locates the place of the Watchers' descent at Mount Hermon.⁴¹

2 Enoch 18:4 then mentions another portentous detail: the Watchers *broke the promise* on the shoulder of Mount Hermon. The reference to the “promise” (Slav. *обещание*)⁴² that the Watchers “broke” on the shoulder of the infamous mountain is intriguing, hinting to the early Enochic tradition of the bounding oath taken by the Watchers. The passage in chapter 6 of the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 6:3-6) recounts mysterious promises and curses with which the rebellious angels decided to bind themselves and thus secure their ominous mission and fellowship.⁴³

The descriptions of the Watchers' transgressions provided in *2 Enoch* 18 are also noteworthy. The Watchers' marriage to the human women, the procreation of the race of the monstrous Giants, the enmity and evil that this offspring created on earth – all these features again betray the authors' familiarity with the early Watchers and Giants traditions attested already in *1 Enoch* 7.⁴⁴ It is also curious that *2 Enoch* specifically

⁴¹ *1 Enoch* 6:6 “And they were in all two hundred, and they came down on Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2.67-69.

⁴² Sokolov, “Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature,” 16.

⁴³ *1 Enoch* 6:3-5 “And Semyaza, who was their leader, said to them: ‘I fear that you may not wish this deed to be done, and (that) I alone will pay for this great sin.’ And they all answered him and said: ‘Let us all swear an oath, and bind one another with curses not to alter this plan, but to carry out this plan effectively.’ Then they all swore together and all bound one another with curses to it.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2.67-69.

⁴⁴ *1 Enoch* 7:1-6 “And they took wives for themselves, and everyone chose for himself one each. And they began to go in to them and were promiscuous with them. . . . And they became pregnant and bore large giants, and their height (was) three thousand cubits. These devoured all the toil of men, until men were unable to sustain them. And the giants turned against them in order to devour men. And they began to sin against birds, against animals, and against reptiles and against fish, and they devoured one another's flesh and drank the blood from it. Then the earth complained about the lawless ones.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2.76-79.

emphasizes the sin of interbreeding (miscegenation) (Slav. *смешение*),⁴⁵ an important sacerdotal concern that looms large in the early Enochic circle.

Another typical “Enochic” detail in chapter 18 is the reference to God’s sentencing the Watchers under the earth “until heaven and earth are ended forever.” This motif also appears to stem from the early Enochic lore where the fallen Watchers are also imprisoned under the earth until the day of the final judgment.

All of the aforementioned details point to the Slavonic apocalypse authors’ familiarity with the original Enochic template. Still, despite the authors’ efforts to harmonize the early Enochic motifs into a coherent symbolic universe, the Watchers’ account reflected in chapter 18 seems to contain contradictions. One of the discrepancies concerns the location of the angelic group the patriarch encountered earlier, the incarcerated rebels whose memory is invoked over and over again in chapter 18.

Thus in 18:3 Enoch’s angelic guides connect the Watchers in the fifth heaven with the angelic group in the second heaven depicted earlier in chapter 7:

And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are *in the second heaven*, imprisoned in great darkness. (2 *Enoch* 18:3)

Later, in verse seven, Enoch himself reaffirms this connection between the two angelic groups when he unveils to the Watchers in the fifth heaven the sad destiny of their rebellious brothers in the lower realm:

And I said to the Grigori, “I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them *under the earth* until heaven and earth are ended forever.” (2 *Enoch* 18:7)

⁴⁵ Sokolov, “Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature,” 16.

It is apparent that both passages about angelic rebellious groups in chapters 7 and 18 are interconnected by a series of allusions and familiar motifs intended to persuade the reader that both groups are interrelated and now are separated because of their previous deeds. Yet, *2 Enoch* 18:7 exhibits a clear contradiction when Enoch reports to the Watchers in the fifth heaven that God has sentenced their brothers “*under the earth*.”⁴⁶ Several scholars have previously noted this topological discrepancy.⁴⁷ In his commentary on the textual contradictions about the location of the imprisoned Watchers, John Reeves observes that

2 Enoch is peculiar that it places the prison for the incarcerated Watchers in heaven itself. This transcendent location contradicts the explicit testimonies of other works where these rebellious Watchers are held; viz. beneath the earth (*1 Enoch* 10:4-7; 12-14; 88:3; *Jub.* 5:6, 10; 2 Pet 2:4). Moreover, a later passage in *2 Enoch* is simultaneously cognizant of this latter tradition” “And I said to the Watchers, I have seen your brother, and I have heard what they did; ... and I prayed for them. And behold, the Lord has condemned them below the earth until the heavens and the earth pass away ...” The reference in this text is surely to the imprisoned Watchers that Enoch had previously encountered in the second heaven. But here, while touring the “fifth heaven,” the imprisoned Watchers are spoken as being “beneath the earth”!⁴⁸

It is possible that the discrepancy about the location of the imprisoned angels can be explained by the topological peculiarities of the Slavonic apocalypse whose main theological emphasis centers on the ascension of the translated hero into the heavenly realm. It is also possible that, aware of the various early traditions of Enoch’s tours into other (subterranean) realms where he observes the places of the rebellious Watchers’ punishment, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse try to reconcile (not always

⁴⁶ Francis Andersen points to the fact that despite that the phrase “under the earth” is not found in some manuscripts of the shorter recension (V and N) its “genuineness cannot be doubted.” He further acknowledges that the phrase “simply does not fit the cosmography of the rest of the book, and even contradicts this very ch. [18], which locates the other fallen angels in the second heaven....” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.132.

⁴⁷ A. Rubinstein, “Observation on the Slavonic Book of Enoch,” *JJS* 15 (1962) 7-10; Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.114; Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature,” 185; VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 159.

⁴⁸ Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library,” 185.

seamlessly) these earlier traditions with their ouranological scheme.⁴⁹ In this context the phrase “I saw a darkness greater than *earthly darkness*,”⁵⁰ used in the description of the incarcerated angels in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 7:1, deserves some additional attention. It appears that the phrase is intended to underline the otherworldly, possibly even subterranean, nature of the darkness the patriarch encountered in the second heaven. Clearly the text wants to stress that it is a darkness of *another realm* by comparing it with “earthly darkness.” Later, in verse 2, this comparison with the *earthly* darkness is repeated again, this time in the portrayal of the angels’ appearance: “And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, *more than earthly darkness*.”⁵¹

Traces of the Adamic Template

Besides references to the Enochic template, the passage from chapter 18 also shows the authors’ familiarity with the Adamic mythology of evil and the peculiar details of its demonological settings. Moreover, the interaction between the two paradigmatic templates in *2 Enoch* can be seen as a systematic effort to “fuse” two mythological streams into a new, qualitatively different ideology – an enormously difficult creative task carried masterfully by the Slavonic apocalypse authors. One of the crucial signs of this systematic transition can be seen in the literary destiny of the main protological and

⁴⁹ Martha Himmelfarb suggests that “... in *2 Enoch* the ascent is clearly a reworking of the ascent in the *Book of the Watchers* in combination with the tour to the ends of the earth...” M. Himmelfarb, “Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses,” in: *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (eds. J.J. Collins and J.H. Charlesworth; JSPSS, 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 82. Cf. also G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005) 221-223.

⁵⁰ Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

⁵¹ Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

eschatological opponent of the Adamic tradition Satan(ail),⁵² who is now incorporated into a new, unfamiliar entourage of the rival mythological trend where he is fashioned as the leader of the rebellious Watchers.

“These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together *with their prince* (с князем своим) Satanail...” (2 Enoch 18).

That this identification is no accidental interpolation but part of a consistent, deliberate theological strategy of the text becomes evident when the description in chapter 18 is compared with the Watchers tradition in chapter 7. There again the incarcerated Watchers are described as rebels who turn away *with their prince*:

These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord’s commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away *with their prince* (с князем своим)... (2 Enoch 7).

Both passages are interconnected through identical Slavonic terminology, with the rebellious angels’ leader designated in both places as *a prince* (Slav. князь).⁵³ Chapter 7 plays an important theological role in the Slavonic Apocalypse introducing a new

⁵² The rendering of the name of the chief negative protagonist of Adamic tradition here not as Satan but Satan-ail (el), with a theophoric angelic ending, appears to underline his original angelic status. In this context the change of the name to Satan (Slav. Сотона) and removing the theophoric ending signifies expulsion from the angelic rank, a tradition hinted at in the longer recension of 2 Enoch 31: “Adam – Mother; earthly and life. And I created a garden in Edem, in the east, so that he might keep the agreement and preserve the commandment. And I created for him an open heaven, so that he might look upon the angels, singing the triumphal song. And the light which is never darkened was perpetually in paradise. And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it. The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, but his thought did, since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve. But Adam he did not contact. But on account of her nescience I cursed him. But those whom I had blessed previously, them I did not curse; and those whom I had not blessed previously, even them I did not curse – neither mankind I cursed, nor the earth, nor any other creature, but only mankind’s evil fruit-bearing. This is why the fruit of doing good is sweat and exertion.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.154.

⁵³ Sokolov, “Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature,” 16.

mythology of evil where both the identities of the Watchers and their new leader Satanail, are still concealed and thus anticipate their full conceptual disclosure in the later chapters.

How really novel and original was this conceptual development for the Enochic trend? While the leadership of Satan over the fallen Watchers is unknown in the earliest Enochic booklets, in the late Second Temple Enochic text, the *Book of the Similitudes*, one can see an extensive appropriation of the Satan terminology both in the generic and in the titular sense.⁵⁴ One of the instances of the “generic” use can be found in *1 Enoch* 40:7 where the term “satans” appears to designate one of the classes of angelic beings⁵⁵ whose function is to punish⁵⁶ or to put forward accusations against those who dwell on earth: “And the fourth voice I heard driving away the satans, and not allowing them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse those who dwell on the dry ground.”⁵⁷

The first possible steps toward the transitional template in which Satan becomes the leader of the fallen Watchers might be discernable in the *Similitudes* 54:4-6 where the “hosts of Azazel” are named as the “servants of Satan”.⁵⁸

And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: “These chain-instruments – for whom are they being prepared? And he said to me: “These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel,

⁵⁴ Robert Henry Charles underlines the peculiarity of Satan terminology to this section of *1 Enoch*. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) 66.

⁵⁵ Daniel Olson observes that “the author [of the *Similitudes*] could have deduced the existence of ‘satans’ as the class of malevolent angel from passages like Numbers 22, where the Angel of the Lord is twice described as coming, literally, ‘as a satan’ to block Balaam’s progress (vv 22, 32).” D. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation* (North Richland Hills: Bibal, 2004) 80.

⁵⁶ Matthew Black argues that in this passage “the satans are a special class of angels” that “have been identified with the ‘angels of punishment’” M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (SVTP, 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 200.

⁵⁷ Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2.128. See also *1 Enoch* 41:9; 53:3; 65:6. The Satan tradition might also be indirectly present in *1 Enoch* 69:6, the passage which describes an angelic leader Gadre’el who is credited there with leading Eve astray. On this tradition see D. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation* (North Richland Hills: Bibal, 2004), 126; K. Coblentz Bautch, “Adamic traditions in the Parables? A Query on *1 Enoch* 69:6,” in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) 352-360.

⁵⁸ Matthew Black observes that “The idea that the watchers were the subjects of Satan is peculiar to the Parables, reflecting a later demonology....” M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (SVTP, 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 219.

that they may take them and throw them into the lowest part of Hell; and they will cover their jaws with rough stones, as the Lord of Spirits commanded. And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel – these will take hold of them on that great day, and throw them on that day into the furnace of burning fire, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their iniquity, in that they became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.⁵⁹

Scholars argue that the term “Satan” was used here not in the generic but in the “titular” sense.⁶⁰ That means that this portentous conceptual development is relevant for our study of the Satanail tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse, since it might further evidence that the extensive adoption of the Adamic mythology of evil in *2 Enoch* was not a later Christian interpolation but a genuine Enochic development possibly stemming from other late Second Temple Enochic booklets.

Despite its promising nature, the origin of the Satan tradition in the *Parables* has remained clouded in mystery. It is really difficult to discern from this terse and enigmatic passage in the *Similitudes* 54 if the authors had knowledge of the full-fledged Adamic template, including the story of the angelic veneration, or simply borrowed Satan’s titular usage from the biblical materials. Scholars have previously commented on the *Similitudes*’ peculiar tendency to adapt extensively and openly some biblical titles in relation to Enoch - a novel development in comparison with the earliest Enochic booklets whose authors deliberately tried to maintain distance from the “biblical” books.⁶¹ In light

⁵⁹ Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2.138.

⁶⁰ Daniel Olson notes that “... Satan the individual is mentioned once in the ‘parables’ (54:6), so it would appear that both the generic and the titular use are employed in this book, but caution is in order because ‘satans’ in Ethiopic can simply mean ‘the hosts of Satan’ and need not imply a wholly distinct category of evil spirits.” D. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation* (North Richland Hills: Bibal, 2004) 80.

⁶¹ The *Book of the Similitudes* endows the seventh antediluvian patriarch with several roles and titles previously unknown in the early Enochic lore, such as “righteous one,” “anointed one,” “chosen one,” and “son of man.” One cannot fail to recognize that, in contrast to other designations of Enoch found in the early Enochic materials, the titles from the *Book of the Similitudes* exhibit strong roots and connections with the motifs and themes in the Bible, particularly in the Book of Isaiah, Psalm 2, and the Book of Daniel. Scholars have proposed that these titles might be shaped by familiar biblical characters, such as the Servant of the Lord found in Deutero-Isaiah and the Son of Man found in Daniel 7. On the titles of Enoch in the *Book of the Similitudes* and their biblical roots, see J.J. Collins, “Heavenly Representative: The ‘Son

of these developments, it is possible that titular usage of the name “Satan,” similar to many Enoch’s titles in the *Similitudes*, might have biblical roots. Still it remains intriguing that the extensive appropriation of the Satan terminology is found in such a transitional Enochic booklet as the *Parables*, which is very similar to the Slavonic apocalypse and tries to dramatically enhance the exalted profile of the seventh antediluvian patriarch with a entirely new, one might say, “divine” stage of his remarkable theological journey by identifying him with the preexistent son of man.

We will now to return to the Slavonic apocalypse where the mutual interaction between the two mythologies of evil appears to exercise lasting influence not only on the story of the Watchers but also on the account of the negative protagonist of the Adamic stream, Satan(ail), who is now acquiring some novel features from the Enochic tradition.

The longer recension of *2 Enoch 29* elaborates the story of Satanail’s fall by enhancing it with some new intriguing details. It tells that after his transgression described as a violation of angelic hierarchy with the aim of self-exaltation, Satanail was cast out from heaven with his angels.⁶² The text further specifies that after his demotion

of Man’ in the Similitudes of Enoch,” in: *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (eds. G. W. E. Nickelsburg and J. J. Collins; SCS 12; Chico, Calif.: Scholars, 1980) 122–24; J. VanderKam, “Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71,” in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 169–70.

⁶² *2 Enoch 29:1-6*: “And for all my own heavens I shaped a shape from the fiery substance. My eye looked at the solid and very hard rock. And from the flash of my eye I took the marvelous substance of lightning, both fire in water and water in fire; neither does this one extinguish that one, nor does that one dry out this one. That is why lightning is sharper and brighter than the shining of the sun, and softer than water, more solid than the hardest rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the ranks of the bodiless armies – the myriad angels – and their weapons are fiery and their clothes are burning flames. And I gave orders that each should stand in his own rank. Here Satanail was hurled from the height, together with his angels. But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea, that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, and that he might become equal to my power. And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels. And he was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the Bottomless. And thus I created the entire heavens. And the third day came.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.148.

“he [Satanail] was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the Bottomless (Slav. *бездна*).”⁶³ This reference to the Slavonic word *бездна*,-- which more precisely can be translated as “pit” or “abyss” -- as the place of punishment of the fallen angel invokes the memory of the Asael/Azazel story from *1 Enoch* 10 where the leader of the fallen angels is thrown by angel Raphael into the subterranean pit.⁶⁴ Here again one can see an extensive dialogue between two formative traditions of the fallen angels that alters or enhances the features of the original templates reshaping the stories of their infamous heroes.

III. The Transitional Template and its Afterlife in the *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts

Our investigation of the mixed demonological template found in *2 Enoch* is important not only because it witnesses to the profound dialogue between Enochic and Adamic mythologies of evil but also because it helps to illuminate another important theological transition taking place for the first time in the Slavonic apocalypse, namely a paradigm shift from Jewish apocalypticism to early Jewish mysticism, thus in many ways anticipating future developments inside the Enochic lore and serving as a blueprint for the later Watchers traditions reflected in the *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.⁶⁵

⁶³ Sokolov, “Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature,” 28.

⁶⁴ *1 Enoch* 10:4-6: “And further the Lord said to Raphael: ‘Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him in the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire.’” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2.87-88.

⁶⁵ The similar development might be detected also in the *Book of the Similitudes*, an Enochic text already mentioned in this study which too exhibits some connections with the Merkabah tradition.

It is therefore useful to discuss some early signs and facets of this ideological transition at the end of the Second Temple period through exploring several pioneering aspects of the Watchers traditions in *2 Enoch* and the afterlife of these novel developments in later Jewish mysticism.

I have previously argued about the formative value of Enochic traditions reflected in the Slavonic apocalypse for late Jewish mysticism and particularly for the Enochic developments attested in *Sefer Hekhalot*.⁶⁶ My previous research mainly focuses on Enoch's figure. In light of the current investigation, it becomes clear that the lessons *2 Enoch* provides for the later Hekhalot developments have relevance not only for Enoch, the chief positive protagonist of the Enochic tradition but also for the text's anti-heroes, the fallen Watchers. This section of the study will examine the two motifs in *2 Enoch* that appear to anticipate the future Jewish mystical developments: the motif of the three watchers and the theme of the liturgical duties of Enoch-Metatron.

Three Watchers

This study already drew attention to the intriguing fact that the Slavonic apocalypse operates with the tradition of the three Watchers' descent. Several manuscripts of *2 Enoch* 18 tell that “*three of them* [the Watchers] descended to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon.” This passage recalls a peculiar tradition in the later Enochic lore reflected in *Sefer Hekhalot* that mentions three ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azael -- enigmatic characters whose names are reminiscent of the infamous

⁶⁶ Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 148-208.

leaders the Watchers, Shemihazah and Asael.⁶⁷ *Sefer Hekhalot* contains two textual units which deal with Uzza, Azza, and Azael. One of them is situated in chapter four and another in chapter five.

3 *Enoch* 4:1-10 reads:

R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: "... why, then, do they call you 'Youth' in the heavenly heights?" He answered: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared... "... And the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me (Enoch) in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, 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'"⁶⁸

As noted above, this specimen of the late "Enochic" lore in *Sefer Hekhalot* is significant for our investigation because it attests to the conceptual matrix of the mythology of evil very similar to the one found in the Slavonic apocalypse where the Enochic trend attempts to emulate the paradigmatic features of the Adamic story. It is possible that the influence of the Adamic template in the Hekhalot passage is even more decisive than might appear on first glance since, besides angelic veneration of the seer, it also invokes the protological situation of the creation of humanity and the angelic opposition to this divine act. Although the tradition of the veneration of Adam is not mentioned directly in this unit, it is indirectly reaffirmed by the veneration that angels offer to Enoch, as in the Slavonic apocalypse. As already mentioned, scholars have

⁶⁷ For the background of the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael, see A. Y. Reed, *What the Fallen Angels Taught: The Reception-History of the Book of the Watchers in Judaism and Christianity* (Ph. D. Dissertation; Princeton, 2002) 337ff; idem, *Fallen Angels and the history of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 252ff.

⁶⁸ P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 1.258-59.

previously noted the presence of the pseudepigraphical matrix of the Adamic tradition in this passage.⁶⁹

In *Sefer Hekhalot* 5 the tradition about the three “Watchers” takes another, this time clearly “Enochic” turn by connecting Uzza, Azza, and Azael with the familiar theme of the corruption of humankind through the reference to angels’ illicit pedagogy, a motif known already in the earliest Enochic mythology of evil:

What did the men of Enosh’s generation do? They roamed the world from end to end They brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because Uzza, Azza, and Azael taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down.⁷⁰

It is noteworthy that both passages about the three fallen angels from *Sefer Hekhalot* have distinctive features of the mixed template, which is very similar to the one found in the Slavonic apocalypse. Both texts seek to incorporate a whole array of the Adamic motifs, including the account of angelic veneration, into the framework of the Watchers story. Although the transmission history of the post-Second Temple Enochic traditions is clouded in mystery, it is possible that the developments detected in the Slavonic apocalypse exercised a formative influence on the later Enochic lore, including *Sefer Hekhalot*. It is noteworthy that, despite that the tradition of the fallen angels’ opposition to God’s creation of humans is found in several places in rabbinic literature,⁷¹ the motif of the *three watchers* appears in Jewish milieus only in *Sefer Hekhalot*.⁷²

⁶⁹ Anderson, “The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan,” 107.

⁷⁰ Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.260.

⁷¹ *b. Sanh.* 38B, the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, and *Zohar* III.207b–208a.

⁷² The motif of the three Watchers is also found in several Tafsirs on the Qur’an. For the original texts, translations and extensive discussion of these traditions see Ф.И. Абдуллаева, *Персидская Кораническая экзегетика: Тексты, переводы, комментарии* (С.-Петербург, 2000).

Enoch as the Celestial Choirmaster of the Watchers

Another significant aspect of the Watchers traditions in *2 Enoch* appearing to exercise long-lasting influence on the later Jewish mystical developments is its liturgical dimension. The repeated, pervasive invocation of angelic veneration hints in many ways (directly and indirectly) at this peculiar sacerdotal aspect, since this motif is often placed in the Second Temple and rabbinic materials in the context of celestial worship.

The liturgical concern is an important constant in the Watchers story in the Slavonic apocalypse. Indeed, the authors of the Watchers narratives in *2 Enoch* do not shy away from expressing interest in the theme of the heavenly liturgy. Thus, when Enoch sees the “dejected” Watchers in the fifth heaven, the passage immediately invokes the tradition of angelic worship by pointing to the Watchers’ non-participation in the celestial liturgical praxis:

And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. “What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is *there no liturgy in this heaven?*”

The liturgical dimension of the Watchers tradition in *2 Enoch* is intriguing and deserves further investigation. Yet in order to grasp the significance of this tradition for the later Enochic developments, a short excursus into the Hekhalot and *Sh^ciur Qomah* materials is necessary.

The later Merkabah materials emphasize the crucial role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in the celestial worship by serving as the leader of angelic hosts.

3 Enoch 15B provides the following description of his spectacular liturgical office:

Metatron is the Prince over all princes, and stands before him who is exalted above all gods. He goes beneath the throne of glory, where he has a great heavenly tabernacle of light, and brings out the deafening fire, and puts it in the ears of the holy creatures, so that they should not hear the sound of the utterance that issues from the mouth of the Almighty.⁷³

A similar description in another Hekhalot text (*Synopse* §390)⁷⁴ elaborates further

Metatron's unique liturgical role:

One *hayyah* rises above the seraphim and descends upon the tabernacle of the youth whose name is Metatron, and says in a great voice, a voice of sheer silence: "The Throne of Glory is shining." Suddenly the angels fall silent. The watchers and the holy ones become quiet. They are silent, and are pushed into the river of fire. The *hayyot* put their faces on the ground, and this youth whose name is Metatron brings the fire of deafness and puts it into their ears so that they could not hear the sound of God's speech or the ineffable name. The youth whose name is Metatron then invokes, in seven voices, his living, pure, honored, awesome, holy, noble, strong, beloved, mighty, powerful name.⁷⁵

These enigmatic passages unveil that one of Metatron's duties in the heavenly realm involves his leadership over the angelic hosts delivering heavenly praise to the Deity. The testimonies that unfold Metatron's liturgical role are not confined solely to the Hekhalot corpus but can also be detected in another prominent literary expression of early Jewish mysticism illustrated by the *Shi'ur Qomah* materials. The passages found in the *Shi'ur Qomah* texts attest to a similar tradition in which Metatron is portrayed as a liturgical leader. Thus, *Sefer Haggomah* 155-164 reads:

And (the) angels who are with him come and encircle the Throne of Glory. They are on one side and the (celestial) creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is on the Throne of Glory in the center. And one creature goes up over the seraphim and descends on the tabernacle of the lad whose name is Metatron and says in a great voice, a thin voice of silence, "The Throne of Glory is glistening!" Immediately, the angels fall silent and the *irin* and the *qadushin* are still. They hurry and hasten into the river of fire. And the celestial creatures turn their faces towards the earth, and this lad whose name is Metatron, brings the fire of deafness and puts (it) in the ears of the celestial creatures so that they do not hear the sound of the speech of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit name that the lad, whose name is Metatron, utters at that time in seven voices, in seventy voices, in living, pure, honored, holy, awesome, worthy, brave, strong, and holy name.⁷⁶

⁷³ Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.303.

⁷⁴ MS New York JTS 8128.

⁷⁵ Peter Schäfer, with M. Schlüter and H. G. von Mutius., *Synopse zur Hekhaloth-Literatur* (TSAJ, 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981) 164.

⁷⁶ M. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions* (TSAJ, 9; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985) 162-4.

Martin Cohen notes that in the *Sh^ciur Qomah* tradition Metatron's service in the heavenly tabernacle appears to be "entirely liturgical" and "is more the heavenly choirmaster and beadle than the celestial high priest."⁷⁷

It is evident that the tradition preserved in *Sefer Haqqomah* cannot be separated from the microforms found in *Synopse* §390 and *3 Enoch* 15B since all these narratives are unified by a similar structure and terminology. All of them also emphasize Metatron's leading role in the course of celestial service.

It is possible that this tradition of Enoch-Metatron as the one who encourages and prepares angels for their liturgical praxis in heaven might have its early roots already in *2 Enoch*.

As may be recalled, the beginning of chapter 18 depicts the patriarch lamenting the absence of angelic liturgy in the fifth heaven and silence of the Watchers. In the light of the *Hekhalot* and *Sh^ciur Qomah* materials, his concern about the pause in the angels' liturgical routine does not appear to be just a matter of curiosity. Further, in the same unit Enoch encourages the celestial Watchers to start their liturgy before the face of God. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:8-9 reads:

And I [Enoch] said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you *perform the liturgy*⁷⁸ before the face of the Lord? Start up *your liturgy*,⁷⁹ and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord to the limit." And they responded to my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Watchers burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ M. Cohen, *The Sh^ciur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983) 134.

⁷⁸ Slav. *служите*. Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature," 17.

⁷⁹ Slav. *служби ваие*. Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature," 17.

⁸⁰ Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132.

One can notice that the imagery of this account offers a rather vague sketch that only distantly alludes to the future prominent liturgical role of Enoch-Metatron. Still here, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, the seventh antediluvian patriarch dares to assemble and direct angelic creatures for their routine job of delivering praise to the Deity.

It is also significant that, despite that in *2 Enoch* 18 the patriarch gives advise to the angels in the fifth heaven, he repeatedly advises them to start liturgy “before the Face of the Lord,” i.e., in front of the divine *Kavod*, the exact location where Youth-Metatron will later conduct the heavenly worship of angelic hosts in the *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts.

These later specimens of Jewish mystical lore provide an important interpretive framework that allows us to discern traces of these later fully developed liturgical traditions already in *2 Enoch*. In this respect the Slavonic apocalypse can be seen as a crucial conceptual nexus containing several consequential transitions that become instrumental in shaping the angelological template prominent in the later *Shi'ur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.

In light of the developments discernable in *2 Enoch*, it is possible that the unique liturgical role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in the Merkabah tradition in relation to the celestial creatures is linked to the tradition of his veneration by the angels. Already in the Slavonic apocalypse the celestial citizens recognize the authority and leadership of the seventh antediluvian hero by bowing down before him. This peculiar ritual of recognition of the celestial leader appears to be remembered in the later mystical lore. In this respect it is striking that in the aforementioned liturgical passages from the *Shi'ur Qomah* and

Hekhalot accounts various classes of angels, including the class named עִרְיָן (the Watchers), are depicted with “their faces towards the earth” while Enoch-Metatron puts fire in their ears. It can not be excluded that one can have here the liturgical afterlife of the familiar motif of angelic bowing before the translated hero. It is noteworthy that already in early Adamic lore that forms the background for the developments in *2 Enoch*, the theme of angelic veneration of Adam is placed in the larger framework of divine worship where the Protoplast appears to be understood not as the ultimate object of veneration but rather as a representation or an icon of the Deity through whom angels are able to worship God.⁸¹

Conclusion

In conclusion of our study of the intriguing relationships between the Enochic and Adamic templates of the fallen angels in the Slavonic apocalypse, we should again draw attention to the broader theological concerns and circumstances for such striking metamorphoses of the two previously relatively independent trends. As pointed out earlier in this study, one possible reason why many Adamic themes, including the motif of angelic veneration, were transferred for the first time in *2 Enoch*, was the changing status of the main hero of the Enochic tradition. It appears that in the Slavonic apocalypse the story of the exalted protagonist of the Enochic lore seems to be stepping into a new era of its theological and anthropological development in which the patriarch undergoes a

⁸¹ See Georgian *LAE* 14:1: “Then Michael came; he summoned all the troops of angels and told them, ‘Bow down before the likeness and the image of the divinity.’” Latin *LAE* 14:1: “Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying: ‘Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded.’”

remarkable transition from an exemplar of the transformed angelomorphic humanity, as he appears in the early Enochic literature, to a specimen of theomorphic humanity.

Scholars have previously noted that many future roles of Enoch-Metatron as the lesser representation of the divine Name and the replica of the divine Body -- the offices that clearly intend to exalt the translated hero above the angelic world -- are already hinted at in the Slavonic apocalypse. In this respect it does not seem coincidental that the Slavonic apocalypse authors repeatedly seek to emphasize the supra-angelic status of the translated patriarch and his unique position in relation to the Deity.⁸² The motif of angelic veneration, a development borrowed by the Enochic authors from the rival Adamic trend, seem to further reinforce this new status of the elevated patriarch securing his unique place above the angels.

In light of these significant anthropological transitions that led Jewish mediatorial lore into a new era of its evolution, a brief look at another momentous theological account of divine humanity, also written in the first century CE, might provide additional illuminating insights. Narrating Jesus' temptation in the wilderness, the Gospel of Matthew unveils the following tradition:

Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said to him, "All these I will give you, if you will fall down (προσκύνησον) and worship me." Then Jesus said to him, "Begone, Satan! for it is written, 'You shall worship the Lord

⁸² Thus, in *2 Enoch* 24 God invites the seer to the place next to him, closer than that of Gabriel, in order to share with him the information that remains hidden even from the angels. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 24 puts even greater emphasis on the unique nature of this offer; in this recension God places the patriarch "to the left of himself, closer than Gabriel (Slav. *Ближе Гавриила*)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.143; Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature," 90 (Ms. B), 117 (Ms. U). Crispin Fletcher-Louis writes that the fact that in *2 Enoch* the seer is seated next to God "suggests some contact with the rabbinic Enoch/Metatron tradition." C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT 2/94; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997) 154. Michael Mach also suggests that this motif is closely connected with the Metatron imagery. He notes that "the exaltation to a rank higher than that of the angels as well as the seating at God's side have their parallels and considerable development in Enoch's/Metatron's transformation and enthronement as depicted in *3 Enoch*." M. Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism?" in: *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* (3 vols.; ed. J.J. Collins; New York: Continuum, 1998) 1.229–264 at 251.

your God and him only shall you serve." Then the devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered (διηκόνου) to him. (Matt 4:8-11. RSV).

It has been previously observed that the Devil's challenge to Jesus to fall down (πεσῶν) and worship the demon appears to allude to the Adamic account of the fall of Satan who once refused to venerate the Protoplast.⁸³ Humankind's ancient enemy appears trying to take revenge for his protological mishap with the First Adam by asking for veneration and worship from the Last Adam, Christ. After Jesus's refusal to follow this demonic trap, the motif of angelic worship is invoked again, this time directly and unambiguously. Matt 4:11 tells that after the temptation was over angels came to worship Jesus.⁸⁴

Here, similar to the possibly contemporaneous tradition found in the Slavonic apocalypse, the motif of angelic worship hints to the new divine status of a human figure and helps to understand the anthropological paradigm shift which is leading the restored humankind back into the new, formerly lost, abode of its divine existence⁸⁵ – a state in which a long time ago humanity was exalted above the angels and humbly venerated by them.

⁸³ On the Adamic background of the Temptation narrative in Matthew and Luke, see J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (2 vols.; AB, 28, 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981) 1.512.

⁸⁴ A significant number of scholars believe that Matthew reflects the original order of the threefold temptation story, and that Luke represents the inversion of this original order.

⁸⁵ Cf. Armenian *LAE* 14:1: "Then Michael summoned all the angels and God said to them, 'Come, bow down to god whom I made.'"