

## A New Gəʿəz Text on Adam and the Judgement of the Angels (Gundä Gunde 177)<sup>1</sup>

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Among the more than 200 manuscripts of the Gundä Gunde monastery in northern Ethiopia has been discovered a brief, hitherto unknown, text on Adam, with the angels who slander Adam subsequently showing their wickedness on earth with humanity, and then they themselves elicit God's judgement on them. Satan is mentioned only briefly in the narrative. While the theme of this text is itself not new—it relates what happens to certain angels in ways partly similar to the New Testament (Jude 6, 2 Peter 2:4), various parabiblical texts, and the Qurʾān—this particular version is otherwise unknown, as far as I can tell. William Macomber (see below) noted the apparent uniqueness of the text when he first catalogued the manuscript in 1979, but it has yet to be published or studied. The present work has, therefore, a modest goal: to put the Gəʿəz text and an English translation into the hands of *éthiopisants* and, because of the textual content, scholars of biblical and pseudepigraphical literature, in whose more capable hands I leave the task of situating among the relevant texts this newly published work. I had the pleasure of reading this text together with Getatchew Haile, and I hope he finds this modest contribution to be a token of my gratitude for his friendship and tutelage.

### The Manuscript

Roger Schneider photographed some manuscripts from the Gundä Gunde monastery in 1961 and 1962, and these photographs later became part of the collection put together by Donald Davies.<sup>2</sup> The whole collection of the

1 I hereby express thanks to Getachew Haile, with whom I read and discussed this text, and who encouraged me to publish it. Aaron Michael Butts, Ted Erho, Ryan Korstange, and Annette Yoshiko Reed offered helpful comments on earlier drafts of the paper. I am also grateful to Wayne Torborg, who with his usual skill retouched the manuscript photos for clarity.

2 Davies 1987, 288 n. 2.

monastery was digitally photographed much more recently under the auspices of Michael Gervers and the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, where digital copies remain available for study. Gundä Gunde MS 177 was first catalogued by William Macomber in a catalogue of the Davies microfilms privately published in 1979.<sup>3</sup> He designated this particular manuscript with the number 96, which can be clearly seen on the back board, where also the Schneider number 92 is found; the shelfmarks 270 and C3-IV-182<sup>4</sup> are noted at the beginning of the book. Ted Erho of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich) has recently catalogued the biblical manuscripts from Gundä Gunde,<sup>5</sup> including MS 177. Both Macomber and Erho date the original part of the manuscript to the fourteenth century, and our text belongs to this original part. Other than the text published below, which is on ff. 117r–118v, the manuscript contains Daniel (ff. 1r–51r, 130r–v, 132r–v), 1 Ezra<sup>6</sup> (ff. 54r–116v), Sirach 4:31–5:14 (ff. 131r–v), and on ff. 119r–129v an incomplete copy of ‘The Book of the Origin of Abraham’ (መጽሐፈ ልደቱ ለአብ ርገም ።). The text is written in two columns of nineteen lines and in a good, clear hand. In the presentation of the text that follows, it has been divided into numbered paragraphs matching those of the translation below.

### Text and translation

(f. 117r) በእንተ ፡ ደይን ። በእንተ ፡ ዘተዓበዩ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ላዕለ ፡ አዳም ።=  
 1 ወወሐክዎ ፡ መላእክት ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ብሔር ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ወይቤልዎ ። ፍሁ ፡ አዳም ፡  
 ተዓደወ ፡ ትእዛዞ ፡ ለልዑል ። ወተዐበዩ ፡ ወአበዩ ። እስመ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ወሀበ ፡ ሎቱ ።  
 2 ወተወነዩ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በእንተ ፡ አዳም ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ለመላእክቲሁ ። ለም  
 ንት ፡ ትትዐበዩ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ አዳም ፡ ቀዳሜ ፡ ልሕኩትዩ ። ዲያብሎሲኒ ፡ ዕቡይ ፡ ሰሰለ ፡  
 እምነ ፡ ማእከለ ፡ ተዓይኒክሙ ። ወካዕበ ፡ ሐመይዎ ፡ መላእክት ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡  
 ለአዳም ። አንተሰ<sup>7</sup> ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወሀብኮ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘውሰተ ፡ ምድር ። አልቦ ፡ ዘአኅ  
 ግእኮ ፡ ውእቲኒ ፡ አበዩ ፡ ትእዛዘክ ። ወተዓበዩ ፡ እምሕግክ ።

3 Macomber 1979, 42.

4 This is the national inventory number: C-prefix denotes Tigray region, ‘3’ is the sub-regional area (in this case East Tigray), ‘IV’ indicates that the item is a manuscript, and ‘182’ represents the item number. (Thanks to Ted Erho for clarifying this scheme.)

5 Forthcoming: Witold Witakowski is in the process of cataloguing the remaining manuscripts from Gundä Gunde.

6 Known as 4 Ezra in other traditions.

7 Ms አንሰ.

3 ወይቤሎሙ፡ እግዚአብ(f. 117v)ሔር። አንትሙሰ፡ ኢትትዓበዩ፡ ኅድጉ። አነ፡ እመ፡ ወሀብኩክሙ፡ ከመ፡ አዳም፡ እም<sup>8</sup>፡ ታፈደፍዱ፡ አንትሙ፡ ገቢረ፡ እኩይ፡ ቅድሚያ። ወይቤልዎ፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት። እግዚአ፡ አመክረነ፡ ለእመ፡ ተዓደውነ፡ እምትእዛዘከ ።=።

4 ወይቤሎሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለእመ፡ ዐደውክሙ፡ እምትእዛዛዩ። ወይኩን፡ ላዕለ፡ ርእሰክሙ፡ እቶን፡ ወገሀንም፡ ወመዋቅሕተ፡ ኅጺን፡ ዘኢይሰበር። ወሰናሰለ፡ ኅጺን፡ ዘኢይትበተክ<sup>9</sup>። እስከ፡ ተፍጻሚተ፡ ዓመት። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ሐፍ፡ ረዱ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር። ወንበሩ፡ ምስለ፡ እንለ፡ እመ፡ ሕያው ። ወፍትሑ፡ ለእንለ፡ እመ፡ ሕያው። ወልበ፡ ሰብእ፡ ይትወሀብ፡ ለክሙ። ወፍትወተ፡ ሰብእ፡ ይትወሀብ። (f. 118r)ወሕሊና፡ ሰብእ፡ ይትወለጥ፡ ለክሙ።

5 ወወረዱ፡ መላእክት፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር። ወኮኑ፡ ፈታሕያነ፡ ለደቂቀ፡ እንለ፡ እመ፡ ሕያው ።=።

ወተወነዩ፡ አዋልደ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እንለ፡ እመ፡ ሕያው፡ ምስለ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኅፍረት። ወነሥኡ፡ አንስትያ፡ ዘዘ፡ ኅርዩ። ወዐ፡ እምውስቴቶሙ፡ እለ፡ ተፀንሳ<sup>10</sup>። ወዐ፡ እምውስቴቶሙ፡ እለ፡ ተበትኩ፡ እምውስተ፡ ሕንብርቶሙ። ወዐ፡ እምውስቴቶሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ሞቱ፡ ፅኑሳኒሆሙ። ወእሉ፡ እለ፡ ተበትኩ፡ እምውስተ፡ ሕንብርቶሙ። ኮኑ፡ ረዐይተ<sup>11</sup>፡ እለ፡ ይነዓው፡ ላዕለ፡ ደቂቀ፡ አዳም ።=።

6 ወይቤሎሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሊቃነ፡ መላእክት። አንትሙሰ፡ ዓደውክምዎ፡ ለትእዛዛዩ፡ እ(f. 118v)ሰመ፡ ሐመይክምዎ፡ ለአዳም፡ እስኩ፡ ኅረዩ፡ ለክሙ ። እምትትኳነኑ፡ እምዮም፡ እስከ፡ ተፍጻሚተ፡ ዓመት ። ወእማእኮ፡ እምትትኳነኑ፡ ምስለ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እንለ፡ እመ፡ ሕያው ። ወይቤልዎ፡ መላእክት፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ። እግዚአ፡ ኢትረሲዮነ፡ ከመ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወከመ፡ እንለ፡ እመ፡ ሕያው፡ እለ፡ አልቦሙ፡ ማኅለቅተ፡ ኩነኔ<sup>12</sup>፡ ደይን ። ዮም፡ በዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ እስከ፡ ተፍጻሚተ፡ ዓመት፡ ኩንነነ፡ ርእሰነ ። ወነሥኡሙ፡ ወአስተአኅዞሙ፡ በመዋቅሕተ፡ ኅጺን፡ ወበሰናሰላተ፡ ኅጺን ። ወሰቀሎሙ፡ ኅበ፡ ገሀንም ።

Concerning Judgment

Concerning the Angels' Arrogance over Adam

1 The angels of God reviled Adam and said to him (God), 'Look! Adam has transgressed the command of the Most High, and has become arrogant and disobeyed'. (They said this) because he (God) had given him everything.

8 Ms እመ፡ እመ፡  
9 Ms ዘይትበተክ፡  
10 Ms sic, with fem. pl. verb, whereas the other verbs in this series are masc. pl.  
11 Ms ራዕይተ፡  
12 Ms ኩነኔ፡

- 2 God mocked (them) concerning Adam and said to his angels, ‘Why are you arrogant over Adam, the first of my handiwork? As for the arrogant devil, he has withdrawn from among your camps’. Again the angels of God slandered Adam (with the words), ‘You, our Lord, have given him everything in the earth: there is nothing that you have withheld from him, but he has disobeyed your command and became too arrogant for your law!’
- 3 God said to them, (f. 117v) ‘Do not be arrogant! Enough! Had I given to you as (I gave to) Adam, you would have increased evildoing before me’. The archangels said to him, ‘O Lord, test us (to see) whether we transgress your command’.
- 4 God said, ‘If you transgress my command, let there be on your head a furnace, hell, iron fetters that cannot be broken, and iron chains that cannot<sup>13</sup> be torn apart, until the completion of a year’. Then he said to them, ‘Go, descend to earth and stay among humankind and judge them. A human heart<sup>14</sup> will be given to you, human lust will be given, (f. 118r) and a human intellect will be exchanged for you(rs)’.
- 5 The angels went down to earth and became judges<sup>15</sup> for the children of humanity, and the offspring of the children of humanity played<sup>16</sup> shamelessly with the angels, and they (the angels) took wives, each as they chose. There were some (offspring) who were conceived, others that were torn from their bellies, and still others conceived while dead. Those who had been torn from their bellies became giants, who lie in wait for the children of Adam.
- 6 God said to the archangels, ‘You have transgressed my command, because (f. 118v) you have slandered Adam, so then choose for yourselves whether you will be judged beginning today until the completion of a year, or rather if you will be judged with the children of humanity’. The angels said to God, ‘O Lord, do not make us like people and like humankind, who have no end to the judgement of (their) condemnation. Today, this day until the completion of a year, judge us!’<sup>17</sup> So he took them, had them seized with fetters of iron and chains of iron, and hung them in hell.

13 The manuscript, presumably in error, lacks a negative adverb here.

14 Or ‘mind’.

15 In Targum Neofiti to Gen 6:4, the ‘fallen giants’ that get together with human females are called בני דיניא ‘sons of judges’.

16 The verb is the same as the one above (§ 2) translated ‘mocked’, with God as subject. For more on this verb, see the note below.

17 Lit., ‘our heads’.

### The Narrative

It is not clear whether this short narrative has been extracted from some larger work, but the themes of this text's narrative will be familiar to those acquainted with the literature of Late Antiquity that mentions angels, even if the details as given here may not precisely match another text. In what follows, the content of the text is summarized, with a few comparanda.<sup>18</sup> The main lines of the present text's narrative run as follows:

- The angels charge Adam with arrogance, but God in turn charges them with arrogance.
- The angels request a trial of their obedience, and God concedes: if they fail, they will be bound with fetters and chains in hell for one year.
- This trial involves the angels' going down to earth, where they prove their disobedience by having sex with human females, some of the offspring of their union are born dead, but others 'torn from their bellies', become giants.
- After the trial, God calls them guilty, but now he offers a choice between the aforementioned judgement (punishment) of one year and judgement with humanity. Still holding onto their essential distinction from Adam and humanity, even in their punishment they prefer not to be treated like humanity.

Mentioned only once, Satan/the Devil (ዲያብሎስ) plays a very small role in the story; it is a group of angels as a whole, not differentiated from any other angels, that God addresses and reprimands. Here the problem between the angels and God is their envy against Adam, because God had given him everything, and in their view, Adam was arrogant. Elsewhere, Satan's envy toward Adam,<sup>19</sup> and his refusal to bow down to him, is the cause of Satan's being cast out or his fall. In the *The Life of Adam* 12–16,<sup>20</sup> the devil

18 These comparanda are a few among many more. As starting points, see Reed 2005; Harkins, Coblenz Bautch and Endres 2014; and Stuckenbruck 2014. For angels of the non-rebellious sort in Christianity in Late Antiquity, see Muehlberger 2013; for a recent detailed discussion of this theme in Syriac, rich with textual resources, see Minov 2015.

19 For a recent survey of Satan's envy in Armenian literature, with some further references, see Stone 2013, 203–208.

20 The text exists in several languages, with a notable variety of text-type among the versions. For Armenian (with English translation), see Stone 1981, and for a French translation of the Georgian—the Georgian text itself is not commonly found, but here is the reference: K'urc'ikiže 1964, 98–136—see Mahé 1981, 227–260. For Gəʿəz, cf. 'Addam: Gädlä Addam', *EAE*, I (2003), 74a–b (S. Weninger).

reprimands the serpent for bowing down to Adam, since the serpent was large and Adam small, and since the serpent was created before Adam. The devil recounts to Adam that the reason for his own fall and that of the angels he persuaded was that he refused to bow down to Adam when the archangel Michael commanded everyone to worship Adam; the devil claimed his prior existence and insisted that Adam bow down to him, after which other angels that heard the devil's speech followed him, and God had the lot of them cast down to earth.

The Qur'ān also relates the story of the devil's (Iblīs's)<sup>21</sup> refusal to bow down before Adam when God commanded the angels to do so (see 7:11–18, 15:30–15:44, 17:61–65, 18:50, 38:71–85), and it may be summarized as follows, with a few (non-exhaustive) references included. At the command to bow down before Adam, the angels all comply except Iblīs (7:11–12, 15:30–31, 18:50).<sup>22</sup> He refuses because he thinks himself better than Adam: Iblīs was created from fire, Adam from clay (7:12, 15:33). Iblīs, about to be cast out, asks for a respite or reprieve, in which to lead astray those he can, and God allows it to him until the day of resurrection (7:14–15, 15:36–38).<sup>23</sup> Iblīs says he will lie in wait for people (7:16–17, 15:39–40).<sup>24</sup> God declares that he will fill hell, with its seven gates (15:44), with Iblīs and his followers (7:18, 15:43–44).<sup>25</sup>

In the stories circulating in Late Antiquity about the fallen angels, a key part is that they have sex with human women, and this new text tells the same thing, but here the agents are the humans, not the angels. Here the text has the verb **ተወነዩ** 'to play', as in the comparable biblical passage, Ex. 32:6.<sup>26</sup> Note the distinct vocabulary for the same event in two other places:

21 Jeffery 1938, 47–48.

22 In 18:50, Iblīs is said to be one of the *ǧinn*s: *kāna min al-ǧinni*.

23 *fa-anzirni ilā yawmi yubʿatūna* (15:36).

24 *la-aqʿudanna la-hum širāṭaka 'l-mustaqīma* (7:16).

25 *la-amlā'anna ḡabannama min-kum aǧma'ina* (7:18).

26 As noted above in the translation, the same verb is used of God, apparently for his taking an almost teasing tone with the angels at the beginning of the conversation. For the sense 'play = have sex' in the second occurrence of the word in our text (§ 5), note incidentally that for the same verb in Ex 32:6 (**ⲉⲧⲏⲩⲉ**), the Greek has *παίζειν*, a word used commonly in Greek for 'to dally amorously'; see Henderson 1991, 157, no. 240. In the Greek Bible, *παίζειν* stands for Hebrew *pi'el* forms of the related verbs **קנצ** and **קנצ**, and thus covers a broad range of meanings, from generic playing (Zech 8:5), to playing musical instruments or dancing (2Sam 6:5, 1Chr 15:29), to having sex (Gen 26:8), to making fun of, teasing, or mocking someone (Gen 21:9). (See further

- En 10:11 እለ ፡ ኃብሩ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አንስት ፡ ከመ ፡ ይማስኑ ፡ ምስሌሆን ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ርኩሰ ፡ ዚአሆን, ‘... who have associated with the women to corrupt themselves with them in all their uncleanness’.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, En 12:4.
- Jub 4:22 ወአስምዐ ፡ ለትጉሃን ፡ ለእለ ፡ አበሱ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዋልደ ፡ ሰብእ ። እስመ ፡ አንዙ ፡ እሉ ፡ ይደመሩ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይርከሱ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዋልደ ፡ ምድር, ‘He testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men because these had begun to mix with earthly women so that they became defiled ...’.<sup>28</sup>

Unlike the well-known verses that refer to the fallen angels, Jude 6 and 2 Peter 2:4, there is no darkness (ζόφος) in this new text, but in common with those verses, there are chains.<sup>29</sup> In those New Testament references, however, the angels are kept until the Day of Judgement (Jude with εις κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, 2 Peter simply εις κρίσιν), whereas in this text, the angels are manacled for one year. While in Enoch the punishment of angels also involves chains and being cast into hell, the vocabulary does not always match that of this text closely. In 56:1, for example, we have መሃገረ ፡ ሐዲን ፡ ወብርት ፡ , ‘chains of iron and bronze’,<sup>30</sup> that is, there is an altogether different word for ‘chain’ (sg. መሥገርት ፡ ‘snare, trap’, etc.), and the material is said to be not only iron, but also bronze. Earlier in the book (54:3–6),<sup>31</sup> as Enoch looks on, he reports, ‘And there my eyes saw how they made instruments for them—iron chains of immeasurable weight’, ወበህየ ፡ ርእያ ፡ አዕይንትየ ፡ ዘመባዕላቲሆሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይገብርዎሙ ፡ መአሰርተ ፡ ሐዲን ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ መድሎት. Here there is yet another word for the bonds (sg. ማእሰር ‘bond, snare’), which are also called ‘tools’ or ‘instruments’ (sg. መብዕል). In verse 5 of this chapter, these angels, it says, will be put at ‘the lowest place of judgement’ (ከመ ፡ ይትመጠውዎሙ ፡ ወይደይዎሙ ፡ መትሕተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ደይን).<sup>32</sup> Finally, in the next verse we see the word ‘furnace’, as in our text, but the author of Enoch has penned extra descriptors to the word: ወውስተ ፡ ዕቶነ ፡

Jdg 16:25; 1Sam 18:7; 2Sam 2:14, 6:21; 1Chr 13:8; Job 41:5; Pr 26:19; Is 3:16; Jer 15:17, 30:19, 31:4.) Both occurrences of the verb ተወነየ in our text fit within this range.

27 Text and translation in Knibb 1978, I, 35; II, 89.

28 Text and translation in VanderKam 1989, I, 26; II, 27–28.

29 Note that in Jude for ἁπλοῖς (in δεσμοῖς ἁπλοῖς), there is one witness (33) for the reading ἁλύτοις καί, which aligns perfectly with the description of the chains in the text published here.

30 Knibb 1978, I, 153; II, 139.

31 *Ibid.* I, 147–149; II, 138.

32 Knibb translates this part ‘that they may take them and throw them into the lowest part of Hell’, notably with ‘Hell’ instead of ‘judgement’.

እሳት ፣ ዘይነድድ ፣ ይወድይዎሙ ፣ ወእተ ፣ ዕለተ, ‘... and throw them on that day into the furnace of burning fire ...’.

Beyond these rather general parallels, there is at least one text in Gəʿəz literature that lines up more closely with this new one. *Kəbrä Nəgäšt*, § 100, which is titled ‘Concerning the Angels who Rebelled’ (በእንተ ፣ እለ ፣ ተዐደ ዉ ፣ መላእክት #),<sup>33</sup> clearly presents the same narrative as this new text, but there it is much longer, includes some homiletic reflections, and contains a few differences from the Gundä Gunde text (G). Since Bezold’s edition is not subdivided more minutely than into chapters, I will cite the appropriate places by page, column, and line number. Roughly corresponding to the numbered paragraphs of the text edited and translated here are the following sections from this chapter of the *Kəbrä Nəgäšt* (KN):

- 1 ≈ 142<sup>a6</sup>–142<sup>b6</sup>,
- 2 ≈ 142<sup>b6</sup>–143<sup>a14</sup>,
- 3 ≈ 143<sup>a14</sup>–143<sup>b18</sup>,
- 4 ≈ 143<sup>b18</sup>–144<sup>b3</sup>,
- 5 ≈ 144<sup>b3</sup>–145<sup>a1</sup>,
- 6 ≈ 145<sup>a1</sup>–145<sup>a16</sup>.<sup>34</sup>

In the KN parallel to G § 1, there is a much longer enumeration of God’s favors toward Adam in the mouth of the angels. In G § 2, God calls Adam ‘the first of my handiwork’, but there is nothing more said about his creation. In KN, however, God says of Adam, ‘I created him from dust, and I will not reject my handiwork.’<sup>35</sup> I have brought him forth from that which was not, and I will not have the work of my hands something to be mocked by his enemy’ (ፈጠርክዎ ፣ እመሬት ፣ ወኢይገድፎ ፣ ለልሕዮትዮ ፣ አምጸእክዎ ፣ እምነበ ፣ ኢሀሎ ፣ ወኢይሬስዮ ፣ ስላተ ፣ ጸላኢሂ ፣ ለግብረ ፣ እደዊዮ # 142<sup>b17–20</sup>). In KN, God describes the devil (ዲዮብሎስ ፣ 143<sup>b1</sup>) to the angels as ‘that arrogant one, who caused evil to sprout, became evil, and was demoted from your association’ (ውእቱ ፣ ዕቡይ ፣ ዘአሥረጸ ፣ ለእከይ ፣ ወኮነ ፣ እኩዮ ፣ ወተሰዕረ ፣ እማኅበርክሙ ፤ 143<sup>b4–6</sup>), and later, in one of the more homiletic parts of this chapter in KN, there called Satan (ሰይጣን), his limited power is described (144<sup>a7–16</sup>). Another example of this kind of homiletic remark is at 144<sup>b15</sup>–145<sup>a1</sup>. The theme of the angels’ judgement, conspicuous in G, is absent from the KN chapter. On the other hand, there is in G no mention of ‘the folly of dancing’ (እበደ ፣ ዘፍኖ

33 Gəʿəz text in Bezold 1905, 142–146.

34 The remainder of the chapter in the *Kəbrä Nəgäšt*, which deals with Noah and the Flood, has no counterparts in the Gundä Gunde text.

35 The word is the same in both texts.



ሙ),<sup>36</sup> handicraft (ኪኖሙ ፣ ዘትኪነዉ), music, nor specific naming of Cain (cf. KN 144b<sup>4-9</sup>). At the beginning of G § 5 we have an illustrative place of comparison for different language used in each text to refer to the same event. Where G reads simply, ‘The angels went down to earth’, KN has the longer recounting, ‘They lowered themselves from the height of heaven and went down to earth’ (ወተሠርሙ ፣ እመልዕልተ ፣ ሰማይ ፣ ወወረዱ ፣ ምድረ 144b<sup>3-4</sup>).

Based on a preliminary comparison of the two texts, at least, the G text seems more primitive, being more meager in its dialogue and details and lacking the homiletic comments of KN. Although the KN version of the narrative does not necessarily derive from a text exactly like that of G—there are, after all, some differences in the content, such as the focus on judging in G, and the absence in KN of the one year term of the judgement—it is safe to assume a close proximity between the texts, and that the version in KN is an expanded, commented upon, form of the same or a closely related text.

Finally, this new text in Gəʿəz (and its form in KN) finds parallels in another subtype of literature in Judaism and Early Christianity, with two main points: 1) stress on general angelic complaint, not Satan; 2) these complaining angels are tested by becoming human. Peter Schäfer has highlighted and discussed relevant passages in Rabbinic literature.<sup>37</sup> The early Christian form is well illustrated by some passages of the Pseudo-Clementine literature,<sup>38</sup> which I give a few examples of here. *Rec.* 4.26, extant only in the Latin version of Rufinus, offers a kind of summary of the episode as follows:

Angeli quidam relicto proprii ordinis cursu, hominum favere vitiis coepere ... ac velut ex fornace quadam et officina malitiae totum mundum, subtracto pietatis lumine, impietatis fumo repleverunt.

Certain angels, having left the course of their own order, began to favor human vices ... and as from a kind of furnace or workshop of wickedness, they filled the whole world with the smoke of impiety, the light of piety having been taken away.

In a longer passage, *Hom.* 8.12–15 recounts the same story, yet in more detail. The following excerpts are most relevant for a comparison with the Gəʿəz text above.

36 Incidentally, the noun-form **ዘኖጥ** does not appear in Leslau’s *Lexicon* (see below), but it is in Dillmann’s *Lexicon*, col. 1069.

37 Schäfer 1975.

38 Irmischer, Paschke and Rehm 1969; Paschke and Rehm 1965.

8.12.1 Τῶν γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐνοικούντων πνευμάτων οἱ τὴν κατωτάτῳ χώρῳ κατοικοῦντες ἄγγελοι, ἀχθεσθέντες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεὸν ἀχαριστία αἰτοῦνται εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν βίον, ἵνα ὄντως ἄνθρωποι γενόμενοι, ἐπὶ πολιτεία πλείονι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀχαριστήσαντας ἐλέγξαντες αὐτόθι τῇ κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκαστον ὑποβάλωσιν τιμωρία.

For of those inhabiting heaven, the angels dwelling in the lowest region, being burdened by the ingratitude of people toward God, they asked (to be granted) to enter human life, that, having really become human, having disgraced those who acted ungratefully toward him on the basis of (their) fuller (experience of) daily life, they might there cast each one under the appropriate punishment.

8.13.1 ... ἐπειδὴ ὄντως τὰ πάντα ἄνθρωποι ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχον τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, 2 ὑπὸ ταύτης κρατούμενοι εἰς γυναικῶν μίξιν ὄλισθον, αἷς συμπλακέντες καὶ μiasμῶ παγέντες καὶ τῆς πρώτης δυνάμεως παντελῶς κενωθέντες τὰ ἐκ πυρὸς τραπέντα μέλη εἰς τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῶν τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ἀμίαντον μετασυγκρῖναι οὐκ ἐξίσχυσαν. 3 τῷ γὰρ βάρει τῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας εἰς σάρκα τελευτήσαντος αὐτῶν τοῦ πυρὸς, τὴν ἀσεβοῦσαν ὥδυσαν ὁδὸν κάτω· σαρκὸς γὰρ αὐτοὶ δεσμοῖς πεπεδημένοι κατέσχηται καὶ ἰσχυρῶς δέδεται, οὗ ἔνεκεν εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀνελεῖν οὐκέτι ἐδυνήθησαν.

Since they really became human in every way and had human sexual desire, held thereby, they slipped into having sex with women, intertwined with them, sprinkled<sup>39</sup> with defilement, and wholly emptied of their first power, they were unable to re-combine their body parts (now having been turned from the fire) with the original undefilement of their own nature, for, that fire having died out due to the weight upon the flesh from sexual desire, they traveled down the sacreligious path, for they, shackled with the chains of the flesh, have been held fast and tightly bound, for which reason they could no longer ascend to the heavens.

And then, on the angelic-human progeny resulting from their having sex:

8.15.1 ἐκ δὲ τῆς νόθου μίξεως αὐτῶν ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο νόθοι, πολλῶν γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ κορυφὴν μείζους, οὓς οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα γίγαντας ὠνόμασαν, οὐ δρακοντόποδες ὄντες καὶ πρὸς θεὸν πόλεμον ἀράμενοι, ὡς

<sup>39</sup> The word παγέντες is an aorist passive participle of either πάσσω 'to sprinkle' or πήγνυμι 'to stick in, on, to fix'. I have opted for the former here, but the latter is possible, too: 'with defilement stuck in them' or something similar.

οἱ βλάσφημοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄδουσιν μῦθοι, ἀλλὰ θηριώδεις τὸν τρόπον καὶ μείζους μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὰ μεγέθει, ἐπεὶ περ ἐξ ἀγγέλων ἐγένοντο, ἀγγέλων δὲ ἐλάττους, ἐπεὶ περ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεγέννηντο.

Bastards came from their bastard sexual act, greater by far than (regular) people in height; they later called them giants, not with serpents for feet and waging war with God, as the blasphemous tales of the Greeks recount in song, but brutal in their behavior, greater than (regular) people in size, since they came about from angels, but they were less than angels, since they were born of women.

Finally, in his recounting of primeval history in the *Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching*,<sup>40</sup> Irenaeus offers a different representative picture of these angels and their irruption onto the human scene. He first specifically points to Satan's jealousy, not that of the angels,<sup>41</sup> and when he comes to discuss the rebellious angels, it is only in the context of the wickedness spreading in humanity. Angels, here not specifically said to have been made human as any kind of test, have sex with human women, and while Irenaeus briefly mentions the resulting offspring as giants, he uses more lines to describe the hitherto unknown knowledge and practices that these angels offer to their human companions (cf. *Enoch* 7.1, 8.1–3).

Եւ քանզի տարարէն<sup>42</sup> խառնակութիւնք ի վերայ երկրի լինէին, քանզի խարնակեցան հրեշտակք ընդ ի զաւակէն դստերաց մարդկան, որք ծնան իւրեանց որդիս, որք վասն առաւելագանց մեծութեանն երկրածինք կոչեցան: Արդ, հրեշտակքն յիւրեանցն կանանց պարգեւս մատուցին չարութեան ուսմունս, քանզի ուսուցին զնոսա զարութիւնս արմատոց եւ բանջարոց, եւ երանգաներկութիւն եւ զշապարանս<sup>43</sup> եւ զգիւտս պատուական նիւթոց շնորհադեղութիւն, ասելութիւնս, սէրս, տոփանս,

40 The Greek has not survived, but an Armenian translation has: Ter Mekerttschian and Wilson 1919, 653–803; see CPG 1307 for further details, including English, French, and German translations. The passages I quote are in my own translation. I have followed some of the notes on the Armenian text in the English translation of Smith 1952, 154–156.

41 See § 16: ... ի հրեշտակէն, որ վասն բազում Սաստուացոյ պերգեւացն, զորս ետ մարդոյն, նախանձ տարեալ ընդ նմս եւ չարակնեալ, ‘... by the angel, who, on account of the many gifts of God that he had given the man, bore him jealousy and eyed him enviously’.

42 The edition has տարրարէն.

43 The edition has զշապրանս.

բռնաձգութիւնս սիրոյ, կապանս կախարդութեան, զամենայն զգէտութիւն եւ զաստուածատեաց կռապաշտութիւն, որոց յաշխարհս մտելոյ ծաւալեալ զեղաւ չարութեանն իբք, եւ սակաւացեալ նուազեցաւ արդարութեանն:

For unlawful sex-acts were taking place on the earth, since the angels mixed with the descendants of the human daughters, who gave birth to their sons, who were called terrestrial<sup>44</sup> on account of their excessive size. Now these angels offered teachings in wickedness as gifts to their wives, for they taught them the efficacies of roots and herbs, dyeing, cosmetics, how to discover rare elements, the art of beauty potions, enmities, loves, sexual desire, how to control love, restraints with spells, and all sorcery and god-hating idolatry, which things having spread to the point that they penetrated the world, the effects of wickedness overflowed, and justice, having lessened, was diminished.

To conclude, those interested in parabiblical literature, Gəʿəz and otherwise, considered broadly to include any text—Jewish, Christian, Muslim, etc.—that has some narrative parallel to stories related in biblical texts, will have more to say on how this brief Ethiopian text fits among related works and pericopes. I have only pointed out a few initial indications of possible research. The publication of the text itself, I hope, will be welcomed by students and scholars of Gəʿəz, and the translation, at least, adds for other readers a new witness to the way that Adam and the angels (and less so, the devil) were thought about.

#### Appendix: Gəʿəz Vocabulary

For two reasons I give here a list of words in this short text, even though they are all relatively common words: first, to make the text more immediately accessible to students of the language; second, there still being, unlike the case with some other languages in the ambit of eastern Christianity, no electronic and easily searchable corpus of Gəʿəz, and the most recent broad lexicographical contribution (i.e. Leslau's) doing nothing to improve upon the textual references available in Dillmann's *Lexicon*, an alphabetical testimony of a text's words, even if they are not particularly rare, may facilitate future lexicographical and morphosyntactical study. The words are listed according to root in the order of the Gəʿəz syllabary. Listed are the mean-

<sup>44</sup> This word does not, of course, really have anything to do with size. The beings called giants in parallel texts are in view, and something has probably been omitted in the text here.

ings only for this text, not in the language as a whole. The more common words in the language and function words are generally not included.

<b>ልሕሰት</b>	handiwork
<b>ሐመዩ</b>	to slander, calumniate, disparage
<b>ሕንበርት</b>	middle, center (navel)
<b>አመከረ</b>	( <i>amäkkärä</i> ) to test, try
<b>ሞቅሕ</b>	(pl. <b>ሞቅቅሕት</b> ) chain, bond, fetter <sup>45</sup>
<b>ረዐይት</b> <sup>46</sup>	giants (no sing.) <sup>47</sup>
<b>ሰሰለ</b>	( <i>sässälä</i> ) to withdraw
<b>ሰቀለ</b>	to hang
<b>ሰንሰል</b>	(pl. <b>ሰናሰል</b> ) chain <sup>48</sup>
<b>ተበትከ</b>	to be broken, to be torn
<b>ማገለቅት</b>	end, cessation
<b>ገርዩ</b>	to choose, select
<b>ገደገ</b>	(intrans.) cease, stop
<b>አጎጥአ</b>	to deprive of, cause to be without something, withhold
<b>ገፍረት</b>	shame
<b>ነዐወ</b>	to lie in wait ( <b>ላዕሌ</b> for)
<b>እማእኮ</b>	( <i>ammaʾäkke</i> ) or otherwise, or rather
<b>አበዩ</b>	to disobey
<b>እቶን</b>	furnace <sup>49</sup>
<b>አንሰትያ</b>	women, wives (Gen 6:2)

45 Also in Cushitic, but etymology uncertain: see Leslau 1987, 354 for etymological references.

46 Ms. **ራዕይት!**

47 Dillmann 1865, 311–312.

48 Probably entered Gəʿəz (and maybe Arabic, too) through Aramaic (Nöldeke 1910, 42; cf. Leslau 1987, 508). Jeffery’s remark on the usage of the Arabic cognate word (سِلْسِلَةٌ) in the Qurʾān (40:73, 49:32, 76:4) is worth quoting here due to its obvious relation to the theme of the Gəʿəz text published above: ‘It is used only in connection with descriptions of the torments of hell, and may be a technical term in Muḥammad’s eschatological vocabulary, borrowed in all probability from one of the Book religions’ (p. 175).

49 The word, ultimately of Sumerian origin (udun, ‘kiln’, > Akkadian *utūnu*), reached Gəʿəz through Arabic or an Aramaic dialect (cf. Kaufman 1974, 110, 146).

<b>ተኩነነ</b>	to be judged
<b>ኩነኔ</b> <sup>50</sup>	judgement, condemnation, torture
<b>ተወለጠ</b>	to be exchanged
<b>ወሐስ</b>	to irritate; to revile
<b>ተወነየ</b>	to play around, joke, jest <sup>51</sup>
<b>ተዐበየ</b>	to become arrogant
<b>ተዓበዮ</b>	arrogance, pride
<b>ዕቡይ</b>	arrogant
<b>ትዕይንት</b>	(pl. <b>ተዓይን</b> ) camp
<b>ዐደወ</b>	to transgress <sup>52</sup>
<b>ተዐደወ</b>	to transgress <sup>53</sup>
<b>ዲያብሎስ</b>	the Devil
<b>ደይን</b>	judgement, condemnation
<b>ገሀነም</b>	hell <sup>54</sup>
<b>ተፀንሰ</b>	to be conceived
<b>ፈትሐ</b>	to judge
<b>ፈታሐ</b>	(pl. <b>ፈታሐዎን ፣</b> ) judge
<b>ፍትወት</b>	desire, lust, craving, pleasure

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50 Ms. ኩነነ!

51 Παίγειν; Dillmann 1865, 917.

52 The object is marked with እም or ሉ-.

53 The object is unmarked or marked with እም.

54 See Nöldeke 1910, 47; Jeffery 1938, 105.

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