WANDERING MYTHICAL STORIES

ONCE AGAIN ON ENOCH 6:1-6 AND MICHAEL THE GREAT[*]

JUAN PEDRO MONFERRER-SALA
UNIVERSITY OF CÓRDOBA

Abstract

Our aim in the present paper is to study a brief fragment preserved in Michael the Great's *Cronography.* The fragment, far from being a simple heading reference to the contents of the chapter, fulfils a proleptic narrative function, anticipating a synthetic summary of the whole text of the 'Descent of the Watchers' that the author includes on the next page.

Key Words

Enoch 6:1-6, Michael the Great, Watchers, Fallen Angels, Syriac, Arabic.

❧

A preliminary note

Texts travel across the lands and languages throughout the centuries to enrich people and cultures. This is the case of a number of texts of Jewish origin,[1] like an Enochic fragment on the 'Descent of Watchers' (6:1-7), belonging to the cycle of the 'Fall of the Angels', which was included by Michael the Great in his *opus magnum*, the *Chronography.*[2] This Syriac fragment was later translated into

---

[*]   This study is part of the Research Project FFI2014-53556-R: 'Study and Edition of the Greek, Arabic and Latin Biblical and Patristic Mss', granted by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

[1]   See Ronny Vollandt, 'Ancient Jewish Historiography in Arabic Garb: *Sefer Josippon* between Southern Italy and Coptic Cairo', *Zutot* 11 (2014), pp. 70-80 (Arabic translation: ''Ilm al-ta'rīkh al-yahūdī fī mā ba'du al-zaman al-kitābī "Kitāb Yūsuf b. Kuryūn" bi-ṣīghatihi al-'arabiyyah wa-ṣadāhu fī l-awsāt al-yahūdiyyah wa-l-masīḥīyyah', *Al-Mashreq* 89 (2015), pp. 249-267.

[2]   On Michael the Great and his work, see Dorothea Weltecke, 'Les trois grandes chroniques syro-orthodoxes du XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles', in *L'historiographie syriaque*, ed. Muriel Debié (Études

---

Arabic,[3] in Arabic handwriting and in the *Gharshūnī* writing system.[4] The motif, which was very productive in ancient literatures, knew interesting developments in several fields of knowledge, such as philosophical works,[5] and echoing even in the text of the Qur'ān.[6]

The original text, perhaps written in Aramaic, was later translated into Greek, whose text was further transmitted in two other versions: an Ethiopic translation (*Gə'ez*) and a Greek recension. Michael the Great, also known as Michael the Syrian, wrote a *Chronography*, one of the largest universal history that begins with the creation of the world and ends in 1195 CE. Michael's version probably came from the aforementioned Greek recension through a Syriac text possibly by Jacob of Edesssa († 78 CE)[7] or John the Stylite of Lītārbā († 737).[8]

---

syriaques 6), Paris: Geuthner, 2009, pp. 111-118 and Jan van Ginkel, 'A man is not an island. Reflections of the historiography of the early Syriac Renaissance in Michael the Great', in *The Syriac Renaissance*, Herman Teule et al. (Eastern Christian Studies 9), Louvain: Peeters, 2010, pp. 113-121.

[3] Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols, Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947-53, II, pp. 265-267. Cf. Sebastian Brock, 'Syriac historical writing: a survey of the main sources', *Journal of the Iraqi Academy* (Syriac Section) V (1979-80), pp. 309-310.

[4] On the *Gharshūnī* system, see Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'L'arabe *karšūnī*', in Francisco del Río Sánchez, *Manuscrits en arabe karšūnī conserves dans la bibliothèque des maronites d'Alep (Syrie)*, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011, pp. v-xii. See also Joseph Moukarzel, 'Maronite Garshuni Texts: On Their Evolution, Characteristics, and Function', *Hugoye. Journal of Syriac Studies* 17:2 (2014), pp. 237-262, and Samir Khalil, 'La tradition árabe chrétienne. Etat de la question, probléme et besoins', in *Actes du Ier Congrès international d'Études arabes chrétiennes (Goslar, septembre 1980)*, ed. Samir Khalil (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 218), Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1982, pp. 43-45.

[5] Richard Vauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria', *Vigiliae Christianae* 39:4 (1985), pp. 313-330.

[6] Patricia Crone, 'The Book of the Watchers in the Qur'ān', in *Exchange and Transmission Across Cultural Boundaries: Philosophy, Mysticism and Science in the Mediterranean World. Proceedings of an International Workshop Held in Memory of Professor Shlomo Pines at The Institute of Advanced Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 28 February – 2 March 2005*, ed. Haggai Ben-Shammai, Shaul Shaked and Sarah Stroumsa, Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2013, pp. 16-51.

[7] On Jacob of Edessa's *Maktbānut zabnē*, see Witold Witakowski, 'The Chronicle of Jacob of Edessa', in *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day*, ed. Bas ter Haar Romeny (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18), Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008, pp. 25-46. See also Dorothea Weltecke, *Die «Beschreibung der Zeiten» von Mōr Michael dem Großen (1126-1199). Eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 594; Subsidia 110), Leuven: Peters, 2003, pp. 183-194.

[8] For John of Lītārbā's chronographical work, cf. Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Wevers Verlag (rep. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), pp. 258-259 § 41d, 273 § 43h.

Be that as it may, Enoch 6:1-6, both in its Syriac and Arabic *Karshūnī* versions, is of great significance for literary critics and the reception history of texts in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, since the text and its translation constitute another link in the textual tradition.[9]

The fragment contained in Michael the Great's *Chronography* was the focus of a luminous study by Sebastian Brock more than fifty years ago.[10] Forty years later, Siam Bhayro did the same with the Arabic *Karshūnī* version of the text,[11] by paying attention to the textual relation between the *Karshūnī* version and other adaptations of the *Book of Enoch* that have survived, as well as to some redactional features of interest present in the Arabic translation.

The summary and its analysis

Michael the Great's summary gathers a series of interesting narrative, lexical and traductological features, as shown in the textual analysis we offer below from its Syriac *Vorlage* in comparison with Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic texts of Enoch 6:1-6. Our aim is to show the relationships, direct and indirect, with the surviving version exhibited by the summary to better understand both the rich textual and literary tradition of this mythical legend.

As the Syriac text can be consulted in both Chabot and Kiraz's editions, in the former with its French translation,[12] we offer below the Arabic-*Karshūnī* summary,[13] together with its English version.

---

[9]   Cf. Siam Bhayro, 'A Karshuni (Christian Arabic) Account of the Descent of the Watchers', in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts. Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman*, ed. Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, pp. 366-367.

[10] Sebastian P. Brock, 'A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1968), pp. 626-631.

[11] Bhayro, 'A Karshuni Account', pp. 365-374, with a plate of the manuscript text in p. 373.

[12] *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. and trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, 4 vols, Paris: E. Leroux, 1899, 1901, 1905, 1910 (vols. I-III French translation, vol. IV Syriac text), IV, p. 2b, lines 3-8 (Syriac), I, p. 5 (French*); The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. Gregorios Youhanna Ibrahim. Text summary by Sebastian P. Brock, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009, p. 3, col. b, lines 3-10.

[13] Ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 4402, fol. 2vᵃ, lines 23-29; *The Sadad Arabic Garshuni Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. Silwanos Boutros Issa al-Nemeh, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008, fol. 6bm cols. a (lines 29-31) b (lines 1-3); *The Jerusalem Arabic Garshuni Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009, fol. 2ʳ, col. b, lines 28-33; *The Mardin Arabic Garshuni Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. Philoxenos Saliba Özmen, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009, p. 2, col. a, lines 16-23.

Siglae

S^g   *Sadad Arabic Garshuni Codex*
J^g   *Jerusalem Arabic Garshuni Codex*
M^g   *Mardin Arabic Garshuni Codex*

[fol. 2vᵃ] ܘܦܩ ܐܠܝ ܐܠܗܝܗ ܒܐܠܐ ܚܣ¹⁴ ܐܠܗܘܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܓܝܚܠ¹⁵ ܘܕܠ ܚܪܘܘܗܡ¹⁶ ܐܠܝܠܝ¹⁷ . ܠܐܢܗܡ ܣܝ ܠܗܢܘܐ¹⁸ ܚܠ¹⁹ ܡܢ ܚܒܡ ܙܝܘܚܘܗܡ ܐܠܩܙܘܘܗ . ܦܝܐܘܐܘܐܐ²⁰ ܐܠܘܙܚܠ ܐܠܗܘܪܚܪ ܐܠܩܥܠܢܚܣ ܘܙܘܚܠ²¹ ܚܡܗܘܗܠܐ ܐܠܝܗܒܙܐܝܣܗ²² ܘܐܡܐܚܕܠ ܚܘܡ ܡܠܚܐ²³ ܐܗܡܗ²⁴ ܗܗܡܥܐܪܘܗܣ

"In that year the *Benē 'Elōhīm*, whose number was two hundred, descended from the mount, because when they saw that they would not be allowed to return to Paradise, which they had neglected, they abandoned the angelical rule and lighted with fleshly lusts. And they appointed a king whose name is Semyaza".

<p align="center">ܘܦܩ ܐܠܝ ܐܠܗܝܗ</p>

Most significant in the beginning of the passage is the chronological formula وفي تلك السنة ("in that year"), equivalent to Syriac ܚܕ ܘܒ ܚܡܠܐ ("in this year"), although with a change in the deixis (that > this). In the Arabic *Karshūnī* version of the Enochic cite we read لَّا وكان (> ܘܕܠ ܚܡܠ),²⁵ corresponding to Syriac ܘܗܘܐ ܘܒ ("and it came to pass when"),²⁶ which coincides with the Greek (καὶ ἐγένετο)²⁷ and Ethiopic (ወኮነ፡ አመ) texts of Enoch 6:1 from a probable Aramaic הוא כד.²⁸

---

14   S^g J^g M^g ܚܣ

15   S^g J^g M^g ܝܚܠ ܣܙܘܗ)

16   ܘܘܗ has been written over the writing line for lack of space.

17   S^g ܛ J^g ܛ ; ٢٠٠

18   S^g J^g ܠܘܠܛ

19   S^g J^g ܠ ܠ

20   S^g J^g ܠܐܘܠܐܐ

21   S^g J^g ܠܢܚܠ

22   S^g omits ܐܠܝܗܒܙܐܝܣܗ ܚܡܗܘܗܠܐ J^g ܘܠܗܘܙ ܐܠܗܡܘܗ

23   S^g J^g ܡܠܚ̈

24   J^g ܐܗܗܡܥܐܪܘܗܣ

25   Ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 4402, fol. 3rᵇ, line 9.

26   Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 3a, line 38 (Syriac), I, p. 7 (French).

ܚܢ ܠܐ‌ܘܗܡ

The syntagm بني الوهم is a calque of Syriac ܚܢ ܠܐ‌ܘܗܡ > (בני אלהים).[29] The expression used by Michael the Great in the Enochic cite is the semi-Arabisation بنو الوهم > ܚܘ (ܠܐ‌ܘܗܡ),[30] which is an adaptation of Syriac ܚܝܪܐ ("the Watchers" > עירין).[31] However, it should be noted that the readings offered by the versions of Enoch 6:1 are different, e.g. "the angels, the sons of heavens": Greek οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ,[32] and Ethiopic መላእክት፡ ውሉደ፡ ሰማያት.[33]

Both denominations, "angels" and its explanatory apposition "sons of heaven" represent a double version of the syntagm בני האלהים ("the sons of God" = LXX οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ) within the mythical story narrated in Gn 6:1-4 as an explanation for the flood.[34] In this context, the author of Jubilees used the formula መላእክት፡

---

[27] R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*. Edited from twenty-three Mss. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions (Anecdota Oxoniensia), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. 13 (henceforth *Book of Enoch*; id., *The Book of Enoch or 1 Henoch*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912, p. 278 (henceforth *1 Henoch*).

[28] Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A new edition in the light of the Aramaic Dead Sea fragments.* In consultation with Edward Ullendorf, 2 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, I, p. 13 (Ethiopic), II, p. 67 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 12.

[29] Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 2b, line 5 (Syriac), I, p. 5 (French). On the expression בני אלים אלהים (בני עליון and בני אלים) see , pp. S. B. Parker, Sons of (the) God(s)', in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Hoorst, Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1999 (2nd extensively revised ed.), pp. 794-800. On the reception of the concept in the 'Book of Watchers', see Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 198), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013, pp. 97-140.

[30] Ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 4402, fol. 3r^b, line 11.

[31] Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 2b, line 43 (Syriac), I, p. 7 (French). On Syriac *'īrē*, see Robert Murray, 'The Origin of Aramaic *'îr*, Angel', *Orientalia* 53 (1984, pp. 303-317, and id. 'Some Themes and Problems of Early Syriac Angelology', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 236 (1990), pp. 143-153. See also J. J. Collins, 'Watcher', in *DDD*, pp. 893-895.

[32] Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 13.

[33] Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, I, p. 13 (Ethiopic), II, p. 67 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 12.

[34] For an explanation, see Charles, *1 Henoch*, pp. 14-15. See also J. P. Monferrer-Sala, 'One more time on the Arabized nominal form *Iblīs*', *Studia Orientalia* 112 (2012), p. 59, and the references cited. See also Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity. The Reception of Enochic Literature*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 116-118, Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2000, pp. 9-10, and Ryan E. Stokes, 'Flood Stories in 1 Enoch 1-36: Diversity, Unity, and Ideology', in *Opening Heaven's Floodgates. The Genesis Flood Narrative, its Context, and Reception*, ed. by Jason M. Silverman, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013, p. 236. On the Rabbinical and Christian tradition, see Emmanuela Grypeou and Helen Spurling, *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity. Encounters between Jewish and Christian Exegesis* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives 24), Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 150-151, 166-175, 185-188.

እግዚአብሔር ("the angels of the Lord").[35] As for the Christian authors, like Eusebius of Emesa[36] or the Nestorian Ibn al-Ṭayyib († CE 1031),[37] it is well recognized that they interpreted the syntagm οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ of Gn 6:2 as the Sethites instead of angels or mythical beings.[38]

ܢܚܬܘ

The perfective نَزَلُوا ("[they] descended") renders Syriac ܢܚܬܘ.[39] This verb refers to Enoch 6:6, for which both the Arabic *Karshūnī* version and its Syriac *Vorlage* use the same verbal form (ܢܚܬܘ/نزلوا).[40] In the case of Enoch 6:6[41] we have the following correspondences with the same verbal meaning: καταβάντες (Greek),[42] ወረዱ (Ethiopic),[43] and the reconstructed *lectio* in Aramaic נחתו,[44] which is the cognate of Syriac ܢܚܬܘ.[45] Greek καταβαίνω is used in the Septuagint to translate Aramaic *qal* and *peal* נחת.[46]

[35]   Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees*, I, p. 29 (Ethiopic), II, p. 31 (English).

[36]   Sebastian Brock, 'Jewish traditions in Syriac sources', *Journal of Jewish Studies* XXX (1979), p. 226. See also R. B. Ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac. Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (Traditio Exegetica graeca 6), Leuven: Peeters, 1997, pp. 242-244.

[37]   Ibn aṭ-Ṭaiyib, *Commentaire sur la Genèse*, ed. and trans. J. C. J. Sanders, 2 vols (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 274-275), Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1967, I, p. 47 (Arabic), II, p. 45 (French).

[38]   Cf. Grypeou and Spurling, *The Book of Genesis*, pp. 170-173. Cf. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2000, p. 131.

[39]   Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 2b, line 4 (Syriac), I, p. 5 (French).

[40]   Ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 4402, fol. 3r^b, line 21.

[41]   For an explanation of this passage, see Charles, *1 Henoch*, p. 15 *app. ad locum*.

[42]   Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 13.

[43]   Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, I, p. 15 (Ethiopic), II, p. 68 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 12 and *app.* on 43 in p. 13.

[44]   Josef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic fragments of Qumrân Cave 4.* With the collaboration of Matthew Black, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, pp. 150 and 341, lines 3-4 (Aramaic), 151 (English) (henceforth *Enoch Aramaic fragments*).

[45]   Cf. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus.* Collegerunt Stephanus M. Quatremere et al., 2 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1879, 1901, II, col. 2343a. The use of נחת was spread in Aramaic-speaking areas, cf. W.J. Jobling, *Nablex: Nabataean-Aramaic. A Provisional Lexicon*, Kensington, ML: dp Dunwoody Press, 1995, p. 53; Stanley A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898 (rep. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004), p. 81; Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols, Jerusalem: Ḥôreb, s.d. = New York: Pardes House, 1959, II, 897b; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1992 (2nd rep.), pp. 346b-347a-b; id., *A Dictionary of Judaean Aramaic*, Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press,

ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ

The prepositional phrase من الجبل translates the Syriac ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ("on the mount") with *contaminatio* of the preposition *men* (> *min*), which would have required in Arabic *fī*. While the Arabic *Karshūnī* version omits the name of the mount,[47] the name appears in the Syriac text (ܚܪܡܘܢ),[48] as occurs in Enoch 6:6:[49] Ἑρμών (Greek)[50] and חרמון (Aramaic).[51] In turn, the Ethiopic text, which also includes the name (ኣርሞን),[52] exhibits the *lectio mendosa* ኣርዲስ (*'Ardis*),[53] probably a misreading of Ἰάρεδ εἰς, which offers a significant variant.[54]

ܘܕܐ ܚܒܘܪܗܘܢ ܡܐܬ̈ܝܢ

The sentence وكان عددهم مائتين ("whose number was two hundred") translates the Syriac ܘܢܩܦܝ ܗܘܘ ܡܐܬܝܢ ("who were in number of two hundred").[55] This reading refers to Enoch 6:6, which says "and they were in all two hundred": ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι

2003, p. 65b; id., *A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 234), Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014, p. 261a-b.

[46] Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint*, Leuven –Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010, pp. 62b (Greek), 276b (Aramaic). Cf. Massimo Pazzini, *Lessico concordanziale del Nuovo Testamento siriaco* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Analecta 64), Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2004, p. 256, and Edward M. Cook, *A Glossay of Targum Onkelos.* According to Alexander Sperber's Edition, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008, p. 176.

[47] Cf. Ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 4402, fol. 3rᵇ, line 21; cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 3a, line 60 (Syriac), I, p. 7 (French).

[48] *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 2b, line 4 (Syriac), I, p. 7 (French).

[49] The name appears in 2 Enoch 18:4 (J and A), cf. F. I. Andersen, '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch', in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 1. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983, pp. 132-133.

[50] Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 13; Id., *1 Enoch*, p. 15 *app. ad locum*.

[51] Milik, *Enoch Aramaic fragments*, pp. 150, 341, line 4, and the commentary in p. 152. See also James H. Charlesworth, 'The Parables of Enoch and the Apocalypse of John', in *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins. Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, ed. Gerbern S. Oegema and J. H. Charlesworth (Jewish and Christian Texts 4), New York – London: T & T Clark, 2008, p. 224. Cf. [51] Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography.* Facsimile edition and Englsih translation by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, London: Oxford University Press, 1932 (rep. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003), II, p. 2r, col. b (Syriac), I, 3 (English).

[52] Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, I, p. 15 (Ethiopic), II, p. 68 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 14.

[53] Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, I, p. 15 (Ethiopic), II, p. 68 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 12.

[54] Charles, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 13-14 *app.* on 43; id., *1 Enoch*, p. 15 *app. ad locum*; Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, II, pp. 68-69 *app. ad locum*. See also R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. II. Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 191 *app. ad locum*.

[55] Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 2b, line 6 (Syriac), I, p. 5 (French).

διακόσιοι (Greek),[56] ወኩኍ፡ ከሰሙ፡ ፪፻፡ (var. ከልሉ፡ ፱ኍት፡) (Ethiopic),[57] and the reconstructed text in Aramaic: והוו כלהן מאתין.[58] In the Slavonic Enoch (2 Enoch) we are told that the *Grigori* (Slav. Григори, i.e. ἐγρήγοροι, 'Watchers') were 200 myriads (2 Enoch 18:3 J) or 200 princes (2 Enoch 18:3 A):[59]

'J' (longer recension)	'A' (shorter recension)
"These are the Grigori, who turned aside to the Lord, 200 myriads together with their prince Satanail"	"These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside (*vacat*)"

ܠܐܢܗܡ ܣܒ ܢܗ̈ܙܗܐ ܚܠ܆ ܡ܇ ܚܒ̈ܡ ܙ̈ܝܗܚܗܡ ܠܠܟܙܘܗܡ

The Arabic sentence لأنّهم حين نظروا بأن قد عدم رجوعهم الفردوس, which does not come from the Enochic text, is almost a literal translation of Syriac ܡܛܠ ܕܚ܆ ܒ̈ܗܗ ܘܠܐ ܗܗܝܗ ܠܚܗ̈ܙܝܗܐ ("because when they saw that they would not return to Paradise").[60]

ܦܠܐܗ̈ܐܗܢܘܐ ܘܐܘ̈ܙܗܐ ܠܠܠܐܗܘܚܙ܇ ܠܠܬܥܠܐܢܬ

As in the previous case, Arabic فتهاونوا وتركوا التدبير الملائكي renders Syriac ܝܐܒܝ ܠܗܗ̇ ܘܗܚܝܗܗ ("they were seized with discouragement and abandoned the angelic rule"). It should be noted the use of *maṣdar tadbīr*, a cognate o Syriac *dūbarō*.[61] This coordinate clause is not included in the Enochic text.

ܘܙ̇ܗܚܗܐ ܚܗܗ̈ܗܐ ܒ̈ܠܘܗܐ ܠܠ̈ܝܗܪܐܒܝܗ

Arabic sentence وضربوا بشهوات الجسدانيّة ("they were struck with bodily pleasures") corresponds to Syriac ܗܚܚܒܗ ("they were struck [...]"). The Syriac Ms exhibits a *lacuna* that can be restored with the Arabic text.[62] The sentence is an *amplificatio*

---

56 Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 13; Id., *1 Enoch*, p. 15 *app. ad locum*.

57 Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, I, p. 15 (Ethiopic), II, p. 68 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 12.

58 Milik, *Enoch Aramaic fragments*, pp. 150, 341, line 3.

59 Andersen, '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch', in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. I*, pp. 130-131. Cf. Andrei A. Orlov, 'The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angels Traditions in 2 Enoch', in *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch, No Longer Slavonic Only*, ed. A. A. Orlov and Gabriele Boccaccini, with Jason Zurawski (Studia Judaeoslavica 4), Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 163-164.

60 Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 2b, lines 6-7 (Syriac), I, p. 5 (French).

61 Cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, I, col. 815.

62 Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 2b, line 8 (Syriac), I, p. 5 (French), and n. 2.

of ܘܛܥܘ ("and they went astray")[63] that appears in Enoch 6:2 "and they desired them": ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτάς (Greek),[64] ወፈተዉ·ዎን (Ethiopic).[65]

ܘܐܩܝܡܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܫܡܗ ܣܡܚܐܙܐܘܗܝ

ܘܐܩܝܡܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܡܗ ܣܡܚܐ is a literal translation of Syriac وأقاموا لهم ملكًا اسمه سميازوس Arabic ܣܡܚܐܙܐܘܗܝ ("and they appointed a king named Semyaza"). The sentence is obviously an interpretation of Enoch 6:3 "Semyaza, who was their archon/leader": Σεμειαζᾶς ὃς ἦν ἄρχων αὐτῶν (Greek),[66] ስምያዛ፡ ዘ ውእቱ፡ መልአኮሙ (Ethiopic).[67] Michael the Great reads ܣܡܚܐܙܐܘܗܝ ܪܝܫܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ("Semyaza, their chief"),[68] of which the Arabic *Karshūnī* version is a literal rendition ܪܝܫܗܘܢ ܣܡܚܐܙܐܘܗܝ.[69] On the other hand, Arabic سميازوس is a calque of Syriac ܣܡܚܐܙܐܘܗܝ, which is, in turn, an adaptation of Greek Σεμειαζᾶς, from an Aramaic original שמיחזה (*Shemîḥazah*).[70]

By way of conclusion

The attractiveness of the fragment represented by Enoch 6:1-6 lies not just in itself, but in the small summary contained on fol. 2v[a] (lines 23-29) that Michael the Great included in his *Chronography*. This summary fulfils a proleptic narrative function that anticipates the text of the 'Descent of the Watchers',[71] the complete text provided by the author on the next page (fol. 3r[b], lines 8-26).

---

[63] Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 3a, line 44 (Syriac), I, p. 5 (French).

[64] Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 13.

[65] Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, I, p. 13 (Ethiopic), II, p. 67 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 12. On Ethiopic *fatawa*, see Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991, p. 171a-b.

[66] Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 13.

[67] Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, I, pp. 13-14 (Ethiopic), II, p. 67 (English); cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 12.

[68] Cf. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV, p. 3a, lines 48-49 (Syriac), I, p. 7 (French).

[69] Cf. Ms. Brit. Mus. Or. 4402, fol. 3r[b], line 14.

[70] Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, II, p. 67-68 *app. ad locum*, and Milik, *Enoch Aramaic fragments*, p. 152. Cf. Charles, *1 Enoch*, p. 16 *app. ad locum*, who claimed for either two possible nominal forms: שמעזי or שמחזאי. Cf. also Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, p. 191 *app. ad locum*, and Moïse Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897, p. 256, who explains the name like a synonym of עוזא. On the origin of the name, see Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits*, pp. 122-125.

[71] A version of the 'Descent of the Watchers' appears in Jubilees 5:1-2, see James C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees. A Critical Text* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 510), 2 vols, Leuven: Peeters, 1989, I, p. 28-29 (Ethiopic), II, p. 31-32 (English). On this account, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels*, pp. 90-91.

Despite its briefness, the interest of the summary lies in the use of identical terms that constitute the story. This compositional technique tells us, first, Michael the Great's capability to summarize the content of his work, and second his skill in using sources. Thus, right after concluding the brief summary, as a colophon Michael the Great refers to one of his main sources, Annianus, who also gave a small piece of information on the Enochic text of the 'Descent of the Watchers'.

We are, therefore, seeing a new case of medieval transmission of texts from Antiquity, although on this occasion involving interferences from several languages. The reference to the 'Descent of Watchers' in Gn 6:1-7 gave rise to a number of receptions from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages which enabled a particular narrative enrichment and development of this legendary motif up to the summary written by Michael the Great.