

# **The revolt of the Devil and the Fall of Adam and Eve.**

## **Legends of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.**

Master Programme: Religious Roots of Europe

Edel Erdal  
Date:31.05.2011

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## **Introduction.**

In the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, it is believed that there exists one almighty God, who is the creator of heaven and earth and of all living beings. This God is considered to be genuinely good and what he created did not have the ability to perform sin or evil actions initially. Therefore the first humans, who dwelled in Paradise, did not have the knowledge about wickedness and sin. In order to be able to perform sinful actions, they had to be introduced to this knowledge.

At some point they received this knowledge and the explanation to how this happened, according to some religious texts, is that they were introduced to this knowledge by being misled and tricked by a pre-existent angel, known by many names such as the Devil, Satan the Adversary, the Enemy or Iblis. Moreover, he is also accused of constantly trying to deceive man to carry out sinful and evil actions, and to led him astray from God. Considering these things the following question arises:

What caused the Fall of the Devil and what did the Fall of the Devil cause?

It is the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of Man and what consequences it had that is the theme of this study. The question posed above may seem ambitious, as different answers are possible to find, because there are more than one legend that portrays this event. The notion of an evil figure that was the source of and the introduction of sin and evil things on earth are portrayed differently in them. Therefore only some writings that portray the event have to be selected and the answer must be derived from what they portray. The writings have been selected from the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. They portray the events quite similar, but with some variations in the representation of the theme. The selected texts will be examined and compared in order to find out how the different traditions interpreted and described the events, how they happened and what they caused. Moreover, similarities will be pointed out and discussed in order to be able to determine what they consists of. Therefore it is of great importance that each writings initially are studied and analysed separately in order to reveal what they consists of before they are being compared and analysed together with the other writings which form the basis in this study. The first survey, the individual study of each text, are then what are to be used as the foundation in the next step which is to establish what caused the Fall of the Devil and the consequences it had. Also some similarities in the portrayal of the events described in the writings will be pointed out and discussed.

As previously mentioned this is a study in how the different religious traditions describe the same events which are the theme of this study. The exact same ideas or notions about how sin was introduced and what caused it have been a captivating source of inspiration to believers of the Jewish, Christian and Islamic faith. This indicates that religious thoughts originated in one specific religion may influence other religions and that they have been either inspired by each other or by the same source material.

The underlying purpose of some of these writings is that their content also was meant as guidelines to the readers. They discuss problems which people did not understand why happened, such as why evil things happened to them and who was responsible for them. These questions are posed and discussed even today.

The writings also discuss ethical problems such as repentance and how to behave in order to avoid falling to the temptation to commit sinful actions. In other words they warn people about how to avoid Satan's cunning ways when he preys on people in order to deceive them and thus become his prey and to be led away from God.

The writings used in this study have originated over a long period spanning over several centuries and have been copied from one manuscript to another. Some of them have also been translated into different languages. During this process they have been subjected to changes due to that the copyist knowingly or unknowingly has altered larger or smaller portions of them. Occasionally some writings have been joined together to form one unit, as is the case with one of the writings that will be examined in this study. Therefore these texts can be defined as "living material" because they may have been altered to adapt to issues and problems the authors and readers struggled with at different times and places in the milieus they have been used. These changes have occurred over a long time, as the different manuscript has been used and copied from one manuscript to another over a long period of time, spanning over several centuries. This makes the study of them both exciting and difficult. One difficulty is to find out when the story or legend itself originated. Another difficulty is to find out when the different manuscripts were made. Often this is only an assumption based on the language or terms used in the writing, which an estimated period in which they originated. However disregarding that, hopefully this study will provide answers to the question posed above. As it is the content of the text and what they tell that is of interest and gives answers to what caused the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of Man and furthermore what these two events caused.

## The sources used in this study.

The first text investigated in this study is the legend that portrays the life of Adam and Eve, known as *The Life of Adam and Eve*. The next text that has been selected is the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* and thereafter a text called the *Gospel of Bartholomew* will be examined. Finally some surahs from the Quran, the Holy book of Islam, will also be investigated. In addition some Hadith collected by Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Mughirah al-Bukhari(d. 870 A.D.) known as the *Hadith of Bukhari* will be cited, examined and discussed in order to find out how the Fall of the Devil may affect the Islamic believers in their everyday life.<sup>1</sup>

The first text mentioned above, can more correctly be referred to as two texts; the first of them is a Latin version also denominated as *Vita Adae et Evae*, hereafter referred to as the Latin version. The second text referred to as the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* or: *Greek Life of Adam and Eve*, hereafter referred to as the Greek version. The Greek version with the headline, *Apocalypsis of Mosis*, was published by Konstantin Tischendorf in 1866.<sup>2</sup> His Greek edition is based on four manuscripts (A1, B, C, D).<sup>3</sup> The designation the *Apocalypse of Moses* was given to it because some of the manuscripts that were used as source, asserts that the writing was revealed to Moses. Jonge and Stone argue that this assertion was made in order to claim authority to the texts.<sup>4</sup>

The manuscripts belong to a category denominated as the Adam literature. Stone divides these texts into primary and secondary literature.<sup>5</sup> Texts that belong to primary category are listed as follows:

- The Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*. In this study referred to as the Latin version.
- The Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* or: *Greek Life of Adam and Eve*. In this study referred to as the Greek version.
- The Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve*.
- The Armenian *Penitence of Adam*.
- The Gregorian *Book of Adam*.
- One or two Coptic versions, only consisting of fragments.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John L. Esposito. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 46-47

<sup>2</sup> Konstantine von Tischendorf . *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Leipzig:1866 repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 1-23.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>4</sup> Marinus de Jonge, Johannes Tromp. *The life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature*. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 12

<sup>5</sup> See Michael E. Stone. *History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*. Vol. 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992 ) np

<sup>6</sup> Jonge, Tromp. *The life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature*, 7  
See page 11-28, for a description of the other text listed.

The original source of the narrative has unfortunately not survived. However, in this study the examination of the text is based on Johnson's translation of the Latin version "Life of Adam and Eve" in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Volume two, edited by Charlesworth.<sup>7</sup> It basically follows the Group I text which Meyer printed in his critical edition "Vita Adae et Evae" *Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosph.-philologische Klasse*.<sup>8</sup> Meyer's edition is based on twelve manuscripts, mainly from Munich.<sup>9</sup> Another edition published by Mozley in 1929, used another twelve manuscript found in British libraries.<sup>10</sup> Johnson's translation of the Latin version, with the heading "Vita" is mainly based on Meyer's edition, however he has taken into account other variants such as some indicated by Mozley.

The basis for the examination of the Greek version is also a translation made by Johnson under heading "Apocalypse", as sources for his translation he has used two manuscripts of the Apocalypse of Moses: F and H.<sup>11</sup>

Charlesworth has listed the text denominated as "Life of Adam and Eve" under the heading; *Expansions of the " Old Testament " and legends*.<sup>12</sup> He has put The Old Testament in quotation marks, because these writings are not included among the Scriptures in the Old Testament.

The next text which is to be examined in this study is the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*. It has no direct reference to biblical persons and is possibly produced later than the Life of Adam and Eve. The text is only preserved in a fifteenth century Greek manuscript, located in the Bodleian Library: Cod. Misc. Gr. 56. fols. 92-100, it was edited and published by M. R. James in his book *Apocrypha Anecdota*.<sup>13</sup> As basis for the study and discussion of this text S. Argourides' translation in the book *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Volume one, edited by Charlesworth, is used as source<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> M.D. Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve" in James H. Charlesworth (Ed.) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday& Company, Inc., 1985), 249-295

<sup>8</sup>W. Meyer "Vita Adae et Evae" *Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosph.-philologische Klasse*. Vol. 14 (Munich: 1878) 185-250

<sup>9</sup> Meyer "Vita Adae et Evae", 198-207

<sup>10</sup> J.H. Mozley "The Vita Adae" in *The Journal of Theological studies* (1929) os-XXX (January) Available at URL: <<http://jts.oxfordjournals.org/content/os-XXX/January/121.full.pdf+html>> Accessed date: 13.5.2011.

<sup>11</sup> Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve", 249-295

<sup>12</sup> Charlesworth (ed.) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 2, VI

<sup>13</sup> Agourides refers to M.R. James. *Apocrypha anecdota*. T&S2,3 (Cambridge, 1893; repr. 1963), 130-137

<sup>14</sup> James H. Charlesworth (ed.) in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday& Company, Inc., 1985), 609-613

The third text in this study the *Gospel of Bartholomew* is classified as an apocrypha. The text is included among the New Testament Apocrypha. It is a dialogue gospel, in which mysteries or secrets are revealed to Bartholomew. The dialogue involves Bartholomew, Jesus, Virgin Mary and the Devil.

There exist several manuscripts in different libraries referred to as the Gospel of Bartholomew or Questions of Bartholomew. Texts and editions known to and used by the translators of texts are as follows:

**Greek manuscripts:**

1. Vindobonensis Gr. historicus 67 called (G).
2. Hierosl. Sabaiticus 13 (H), containing only about one third of the text. M.R. James dates the origin of the Greek text to the fifth century.<sup>15</sup>

**Latin manuscripts:**

1. Vaticanus Reginensis 1050 (Latin 1 or R), consisting of two leaves of extracts: from chapt. I verses 21-30, chapt. IV verses 7-29 and chapt. IV verses 51-53, which probably originated in the ninth century.<sup>16 17 18</sup>
2. Casanatensis 1880 (Latin 2 or C). The text is complete and is edited by Professor Moricca in 1921-22.<sup>19</sup> Scheidweiler and James argue that it is exceedingly incorrect and that it has several interpolations.<sup>20</sup>

**Slavonic manuscripts:**

1. Leningrad cod. Alex Nevski (P), its origin is dated to the fourteenth century.
2. Vindobonensis slav.125 (V). 21 22 23

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<sup>15</sup> Montague Rhode James (Translation and Notes). *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 166

<sup>16</sup> J.K. Elliot. *Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 653

<sup>17</sup> Andrè Wilmart, Eugène Tisserant. *Fragment grecs et latins de l'Évangile de Barthèlemey* *Revue Biblique* Rev. Bible 10 (1913), 176-182.

<sup>18</sup> For dating of the Latin texts see James "The Apocryphal New Testament" scanned by Williams. Available at URL: <http://www.gnosis.org/library/gosbart.htm> Accessed date: 21.11.10

<sup>19</sup> Elliot. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 653 and Felix Scheidweiler "The Question of Bartholomew" in Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.). *New Testament Apocrypha* Vol. I. Gospels and Related writings. R. McL. Wilson (Ed. and trans.) (Great Britain: James Clarke & Co. Ltd, Cambridge and in United States by: Westminster Knox Press Louisville, Kentucky, 1991), 539

<sup>20</sup> Scheidweiler "The Questions of Bartholomew", 539; M.R. James (trans.). *The Apocryphal New Testament*, (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1955 repr.) ,166

<sup>21</sup> I have not found any indication on to when this text was written.

<sup>22</sup> Elliot. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 653

In this paper M.R. James' translation is used as the source for the summaries in this paper. He has used the Greek and Slavonic manuscript in his translation where they exist, as the basis and some passages from the Latin manuscripts.<sup>24</sup>

The Fall of the Devil and the Fall of Man is mentioned in the Quran, the Holy Book of Islam. There are several surahs that portray these events and they are thematically close to the texts which have previously been examined in this study. Only some of the surahs dealing with the theme of interest will be examined in this study. The surahs to be investigated further are: 20:34-36; 7:12; 15:26-35; 20:122; 20:117; 20:120-121 and 20:123.<sup>25</sup>

In addition there are several references to Satan Hadith collected by Bukhari. The Hadith of Bukhari, in this study found in the *Hadith of Bukhari Volumes I, II, III & IV*, is considered to be one of the most authoritative sources of Hadith.<sup>26</sup> The ones that will be included and discussed in this study are Hadith 4:524 referring to an utterance made by Muhammad, Hadith 1:719 told by Muhammad's second wife Aisha and Hadith 2:245 told by Abdullah.<sup>27</sup>

The texts which are to be examined in this study have originated in different milieus. As previously mentioned is the dating of them is uncertain except from the Quran which originated in the seventh century A.D. The Hadith of Bukhari must have been collected in the ninth century, considering that the collector of them died in 870 A.D.

It is possible that the writings examined in this study have used inspirational sources found in the Hebrew bible such as Genesis and the Book of Job. A similar portrayal of the temptation and Fall of Man and the subsequent expulsion from the garden of Eden is described in *Genesis 3:1-24*. Genesis is a part of the Judaic *Torah*. According to Murphy the word *Torah* originally meant "instruction" by God on either cultic or legal matter.<sup>28</sup> Genesis 3 describes the Fall of Man and that Eve was tricked by the serpent caused her and Adam to eat fruit from the forbidden tree of knowledge good and evil. When the *Torah* was put into writing is difficult

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<sup>23</sup> N. Bonwetsch. Die apokryphen Fragen des Bartholomäus. *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1897*. (Göttingen: Commissionsverlag der Dieterich'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung Lüdorff Horstmann, 1896), 2-3

<sup>24</sup> James. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 166-181

<sup>25</sup> All excerpts from the Quran are the Salih International version. Available at URL: < <http://quran.com>> Accessed date: 22.05.2011.

<sup>26</sup> Esposito. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, 47

<sup>27</sup> Anonymous *Hadith of Bukhari Volumes I, II, III & IV*. (Forgotten Books, republ.2008)

<sup>28</sup> Frederick J. Murphy. *Early Judaism The Exile to the time of Jesus* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc, 2002), 24



to find out but, scholars suggest that it may have been put into writing in the post exilic time and suggests the fifth century B.C. as a possibility. The similarities between the Scriptures in the Hebrew Bible and the writings to be examined will also be pointed.

Another Scripture in the Hebrew Bible, which deals with the theme of interest in this study is *Job* also called the *Book of Job*. It tells about the blameless and upright man Job, who is described to have feared God and avoided evil (1:1). He is being tested by Satan by having to endure many trials and losses, in the end a terrible disease is inflicted upon him. The reason why he is tested is possible because Satan tries to provoke him to rebel against God. Themes like repentance and God's forgiveness of the righteous are also being dealt with in this Scripture.

An epic poem authored by John Milton, *Paradise Lost* published in 1667, used the narrative as it is depicted in this study about the Fall of Man and as one of the inspirational sources. This text however is not included in this study.

## **Method.**

The writings examined in this study are intricately linked to each other when it comes to the theme, the Fall of the angels, the Fall of Man and the consequences of these events. During the examination of them the content of the different writing will be interpreted and analysed. The different writings will be compared with each other in order to reveal the matter in question. Therefore comparison is essential in the attempt to find answers to the question which posed above.

The method to be applied in this study is a survey of the same theme portrayed in different traditions in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Di Vito refers to this method as *Tradition-Historical Criticism*.<sup>29</sup> The method described gives a possibility to compare writings that have originated in different religious traditions based on the same events. The procedure provides information of how these traditions are linked together through their interpretation of equivalent portrayals of events described above. De Vito argues that the degree a narrative has changed depends on if they are memorized and orally transmitted or if they have been transmitted through reading of a written text.<sup>30</sup> However, this must be considered as a general assessment, as one cannot say for certain that this is so. The possibility that narratives or

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<sup>29</sup> Robert A. Di Vito "Tradition-Historical Criticism" in Steven L. McKenzie, Stephen R. Haynes (eds.) *To Each Its own Meanings* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 90-105

<sup>30</sup>Di Vito "Tradition-Historical Criticism", 91

legends transmitted by means of hand-written copies has undergone changes to a lesser or greater extent is likely, especially regarding those writings which were regarded as not being authoritative. For these writings there were no demands towards the copyist about making an exact copy of its source. Authoritative writings on the other hand had such requirements and therefore the likelihood of an intended change cannot be expected to the same degree in the Scriptures. However the texts included in this study; the Latin and Greek versions of the Life of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypse of Sedrach and the Gospel of Bartholomew is not included among the authoritative Scriptures and did not have such a requirement. Therefore they have individually undergone changes. Therefore in most cases there exist several manuscripts. The sources and translations which have been used in the examination of each text are specified above.

### **The structure of this study is as follows**

In this study the different texts which are included as sources to be examined will initially be presented, examined and discussed individually. Each writing has a discussion of where and in which milieu the text or scripture originated. Then a short summary of the content of the text will be given before the text pieces which contain material of interest to the topic will be examined. Thereafter some Canonical Scriptures and non-Canonical texts which have similarities with the writings in this study will be pointed out. Some of them have textual parallels and others have similarities when it comes to theme or narrative.

Finally, before the conclusion of the study is presented, the texts- passages chosen from the Latin version and Greek version, the Apocalypse of Sedrach, the Questions of Bartholomew and Surahs from the Quran, will be compared and discussed with respect to how the different themes of interest are treated.

### **The Life of Adam and Eve.**

The first texts to be examined in this study are as previously mentioned the Latin version and the Greek version of the Life of Adam and Eve.

The first passage from the text only exists in the Latin version and it describes what Satan in retrospect believes caused his downfall and his reactions towards the ones he accuses of causing his unfortunate fate.

The next passage to be examined is where Adam's account of the event is given. His account is found in both the Latin version and the Greek version and they will be investigated, compared and discussed below.

The last passage from the text which will be dealt with is a passage from the Greek version. Here Eve tells her children about their parents Fall; how the Devil made a plot with the snake, and how it came about that Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise. Eve's story has no parallel in the Latin version.

### **The texts and their origins.**

According to Johnson, the first Greek and Latin texts originated sometimes around the fourth or fifth century or possibly earlier.<sup>31</sup> However he argues for an existence of one or several earlier Hebrew texts and that these may have originated between the first and second century A.D. In view of this he suggests that the first Greek and Latin texts were translated between that time and the fourth century.<sup>32</sup> Johnson argues that the text has some Christian allusions, but that it has a Jewish origin. Moreover, he refers to Sharpe in his argumentation about the origin of the Greek text: "*the original document was written in Hebrew, the form is that of the Midrash and the theology is that of Pharisaic Judaism*"<sup>33</sup>

Johnson suggests three reasons to why Eve's account is not included in the Latin version. The first suggestion is that the writer of the Latin text did not know the Greek text, the second suggestion is that that he chose not include this story in the text, the third suggestion is that he used an older version of the Greek text, in which this section was not included. Johnson concludes with that it is the latter mentioned suggestion which is the most adequate.<sup>34</sup>

Levinson on the other hand argues that there are compelling reasons to consider that the *Apocalypse of Moses*, originally was an independent tradition in which Eve excuses herself for her transgression and the following expulsion from Paradise.<sup>35</sup>

The source(s) the writer of the Latin text has used is difficult to determine but Johnson suggests that the writer might have used a Hebrew text as source, as there are many parallels

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<sup>31</sup> Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve", 252

<sup>32</sup> Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve", 252

<sup>33</sup> Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve", 252 referring to J. L. Sharpe. *Prolegomena to the Establishment of the Critical text of Greek Apocalypse of Moses*. Unpublished dissertation. Duke University, 1969

<sup>34</sup> Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve", 251-252

<sup>35</sup> John R. Levison "The exoneration and denigration of Eve in the Greek life of Adam and Eve" Gary Anderson (Ed.) *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill Academic Publishers, 2000), 253.

with early rabbinic traditions, some of them are 2 Enoch and Josephus (cf Ant 1.2.3. with the Lat. ver. 50).<sup>36</sup>

According to Tromp, the different Greek texts are authored with a certain audience in mind. They all deal with ethical and existential questions, as the Latin version also does. However due to the fact that the conditions people lived under changed at different times and places and therefore their questions changed according to different circumstances. These changes may have influenced some of the content in the texts, possibly to deal with new questions arising. These changes may have been due to historical events and/or from changing philosophical matters of questions. Thus resulting in a constant development of the text and resulting in what is detectable even today, differences between manuscripts.

### **Narrative in the Latin and Greek versions.**<sup>37 38</sup>

Adam and Eve are no longer in Paradise. In their despair Adam decides that they have to do time of repentance, hoping that God will show mercy upon them and allow them to enter Paradise again. It is decided that Adam must stand in the river of Jordan, for forty days, and Eve in the river called Tigris, for thirty-seven days. However before Eve has completed her time of repentance she was addressed by Satan in the appearance of an angel of light (The Lat. ver. 9:1). Thus it is described that the Devil has the ability to appear in different shapes. In the appearance of a divine creature, Satan manages to deceive Eve a second time, by interrupting her time of repentance. He manages to do this by promising her that the Lord has accepted their repentance (The Lat. ver. 9:1). Together they approach Adam, and Eve realises that she has been deceived a second time.

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<sup>36</sup> Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve", 251 note 15 refers to Meyer regarding arguments that presuppose a translation from Hebrew. See Meyer "Vita Adae et Evae" *Abhandlungen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 198-207

<sup>37</sup> My summary is based on translation in Johnson "Life of Adam and Eve", 258-294 and R.H. Charles translation of "Vita Adae et Evae" in R. H. Charles (Ed.) in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) and the Latin excerpts are taken from Joshua Williams (Scan and ed.) *The Life of Adam and Eve* Available at URL: <http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/anderson/vita/english/vita.lat.html#per5> Accessed date: 25.04.2011  
The Latin text basically follows the Group I text from which Meyer printed in his critical edition ["Vita Adae et Evae" *Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-philologische Klasse*. Munich: 14.3: 185-250]

<sup>38</sup> The summary of the story in the Apocalypse, referred to in this study as the Greek version, is based on Johnson's translation in "Adam and Eve". Johnson has used as sources for his translation two manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Moses*: F and H, 259-295

It is also told that Adam and Eve became parents. Eve first gave birth to Cain, then Abel and then Seth. It is said that Adam at the time Seth was born was 130 years old and that he lived for 800 years more after the birth of Seth. Altogether Adam fathered thirty sons and thirty daughters. Including Cain, Abel and Seth this makes a total of sixty three children (The Lat. ver. 23-24, Greek ver. 1-5).

Furthermore an account of when Adam is taken up to the heavenly Paradise is given. In heaven God informs Adam that because he disregarded his command and listened to Eve instead, his days are numbered. God comforts Adam and states that the abolition will not be forever for those who worship God (Lat. ver. 25:1-31:5).

An incident that happened when Eve and her son Seth on their way to Paradise in order to ask for a special oil that had the ability to relieve Adam's pain, is also portrayed: Seth was attacked and bit by a serpent, described as a beast (Lat. ver. 37:1-2). Moreover, the beast explains that it is due to Eve that the nature of beasts have changed, thus the behaviour of the attacking animal is caused by Eve's transgression (Greek ver.10-12).

Eve and Seth arrived at the gates of Paradise and begged an angel for oil of the tree of mercy, but Michael told Seth that he is not able to use it before the last days and predicts that his father's pain will be relieved in six days, as Adam's soul then will leave his body. What Michael had predicted happened (Lat. ver. 40-44).

Six days later Eve realised that her days were coming to an end, and she gathered her children and told them to write down their parents' history on clay and stone tablets (Lat. ver. 49-50).

Furthermore the death and burial of Adam is described and that he was taken up to the third heaven in Paradise. The description of the death of Eve is also included in the text, and towards the end Adam is promised resurrection on the last day, which gives hope of salvation for his descendants and again to enter God's heavenly domain (Greek ver. 41:3).

### **Description and analysis of the Latin version: Satan's account of his expulsion from heaven.**

In this passage the author of the text allows the Devil to give his version of what caused his downfall, which was the first Fall (Lat. ver. 12-16). It is described to have taken place in heaven, as the Devil addresses Adam telling that:

*“all my enmity and envy and sorrow concern you, since because of you I am expelled and deprived of my glory which I had in the heavens in the midst of the angels, and because of you I was cast out onto earth.”* (12:1)

Satan does not hesitate, he starts his account by blaming Adam for his expulsion from heaven.

Adam guilt is explained to have caused the resentment that Satan feels towards Adam.

Satan continues by telling how it all began. *“When God blew into you the breath of life and your countenance and likeness were made in the image of God”* (13:3).

Then Satan reveals what Michael demanded when he called the angels and said to them

*“Worship the image of the Lord God, as the Lord God has instructed”* (14:1). According to Satan Michael

was the first to worship Adam and he also tells that he again addressed Satan and commanded

him to worship Adam: *“Worship the image of God, Yahweh”* (14:2) Satan heard this and refused to

conform to this bidding and arrogantly replied: *Why do you compel me? I will not worship one inferior and subsequent to me, I am prior to him in creation; before he was made, I was already made. He ought to worship me.”* (14:3) (Lat. *Non habeo ego adorare*, “I do not have to worship”<sup>39</sup>). Satan’s denial is thus

based on that he was created prior to Adam. Michael does not give up easily, and a third time

he urges Satan to worship Adam, adding a threat that if he do not obey *“the Lord God will be*

*wrathful with you”* (15: 2). Again the angel haughtily declines and stated that if God becomes

angry he has a plan: *I will set my throne above the stars of heaven and will be like the Most High* (15:3) (Lat. *ponam sedem meam super sidera caeli et ero similis altissimo*).

The fact that Satan is urged three times to worship Adam, stresses the importance of that it is

being done. Moreover, the repetitive in Michaels urging and in Satan declining answers

clarifies to the reader that this is an important point in the text.

As a consequence of the disobedience the inevitable happened, according to Satan. God was

angered with Satan and sent him and the other angels who followed Satan’s example not to

worship Adam, out of Paradise. Again in order to make it clear who is to blame, Satan

repeats his accusation against Adam similar to the accusation he initially uttered *“ because of you, we were expelled into this world from our dwellings and have been cast onto the earth”* (16: 1).

Towards the end of his account Satan admits that he and the other angels, who were expelled,

grieved because they had been deprived of their great glory. He also tells that they were

pained to see Adam in *“such bliss of delights* (16:3) (Lat. *Laetitia deliciarum*) Moreover, he confess that

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<sup>39</sup> The Latin excerpts in this chapter is taken from Meyer’s critical edition scanned under the heading “The Life of Adam and Eve” Available at URL: <<http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/anderson/vita/english/vita.lat.html#per5>> Accessed date: 25.04.2011

This text basically follows the Group I text from which Meyer printed his critical edition [“Vita Adae et Evae” *Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philsoph.-philologische Klasse*. Munich: 14.3: 185-250]

he deceived Eve, “*So with deceit I assailed your wife and made you to be expelled through her from the joys of your bliss as I have been expelled from my glory*“(16:3). Satan depicts himself and his angels to be in great sorrow and distress, and that the one who caused their tragedy this still lived in joy and happiness evoked jealousy. This dichotomy underlines Satan unfortunate fate. Moreover, it amplifies the evilness in Satan’s action when he deceived Eve in order to deprive Adam and Eve their life in joy and glory.

When hearing what Satan tells, Adam becomes heartbroken and prays to God to “*Remove far from me this my opponent, who seeks to destroy my soul,*” (17: 1). Here Adam calls Satan his opponent which is possibly meant to give the reader of the text the notion about a rivalry or a struggle going on between Adam and Satan; Satan on the one side as the depriver of a good life and Adam on the other side trying to withstand Satan. Adam’s pray is heard and immediately the Devil disappear. The account ends with that Adam continues his effort to do repentance in water of the Jordan for forty days (Lat. ver. 17:3). This shows that in his repentance Adam is patient and consistent. To be able to endure forty days immersed in water is a statement of Adam’s true and sincere will to do repentance and describes a strong willed man.

### **Discussion: Satan’s account of his Fall.**

The important point of this text is where Satan declines to worship Adam, it can be regarded as the one event which set in motion his Fall. Moreover, it did not only set in motion his Fall it was the event that led to a second Fall: the Fall of Man.

The reason why Satan turned his anger towards Adam was Satan’s envy towards him. Satan himself stated that this envy and resentment towards Adam was rooted in his notion that it should be Adam that worshipped him not the other way around. He justifies his claim by arguing that Adam was created after him. In essence this is a claim of Satan’s primogeniture. According to Anderson this is a contradiction to the biblical law, as he explains that according to the bible usually a primogeniture status is ascribed, not inherited.<sup>40</sup> An example of this is given in Genesis 25:24, where Esau, born before Jacob, is destined to a life as a servant, “*the older shall serve the younger*” (Gen. 25:24).

It seems like the author(s) of the text tries to make it clear to the reader that Satan’s accusation towards Adam is unjust, as it is clear from the text that Adam actually has no prominent role in what caused the Fall of the Devil. He did not put forward any form of claim, nor did he

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<sup>40</sup> Gary A. Anderson.” The exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan.” Gary A. Anderson. *Literature on Adam and Eve*,( Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2000) 86

take part in any of the decisions made about the fate of Satan. It is clear from the text that Satan himself does not see his own arrogance or refusal to obey God's command as reason to his Fall. What caused God's strict reaction towards Satan must be understood as to be caused by Satan himself. However it is actually God, who uses Michael as his spokesman to put forward the command to worship Adam, and thus God must be seen as a partaker in the events and its outcome. In addition it was God who ordered the expulsion of Satan and the other angels.

Satan does not give any account of God's reaction to his plan to put up a throne and become like the Most High (15:3). He only repeats that it was because of Adam that he was cast out of heaven. Eventually he describes his and the other downfallen angels' jealousy and envy, and that he made a plan to deceive Eve so that Adam would be expelled as well.

In conclusion it is Satan's negative qualities which causes his downfall: His stubbornness, although being urged three times by Michael he did not obey his request. He regarded himself to be superior to Adam; thus he was arrogant. He envied Adam; thus he was jealous. Perhaps the most serious offence was that he did not obey God's command: Satan's insubordination towards the almighty God.

### **Description and analysis of the Latin- and Greek version: Adam's account of the Fall of man.**

At the age of 930 Adam becomes ill and has pains. He gathers his sons and make known to them what caused his Fall and why illness and pain have been inflicted on him (Lat. ver. 30-36, Greek ver. 5-9). He tells that prior to the Fall, they lived in Paradise and that God gave them threes bearing fruit to eat from, but there was one three he warned them not to eat from:

*“Regarding the three of knowledge of good and evil, which is in midst of Paradise, do not eat from it.”*(Lat.ver.32:1) *“he gave us every plant in Paradise, but concerning one he commanded us not to eat of it,*

*(for) we would die by it”* (Greek ver. 7:1) By this statement referred to by Adam, God explicitly forbade them to eat from the tree. In the Latin Version, by the name of the tree it is revealed what knowledge it could provide to the ones that tasted its fruit: knowledge of good and evil.

In the Greek version the consequences of transgressing is stated: that they would die.

In the Greek version, Adam's account of the Fall like in the Latin version, is given to his sons as he his on his deathbed and illness has been inflicted on him. Adam in the beginning of his account, when he describe God's prohibition about which three not to eat from, he utters a



direct accusation towards Eve: *When God made us, me and your mother, through whom I am dying,*<sup>41</sup> Through the phrase: *through whom I am dying*, he put the blame on Eve for his fate: that he must endure illness and experience death.

In the Latin version Adam continues by telling that God had placed two angels to guard them. *“The Lord God appointed two angels to guard us”* (Lat. ver. 33:1). The angels however, were not on guard all the time, and as they ascended to heaven to worship in the presence of God, Adam describe what happened *“Immediately the adversary, the Devil, found opportunity while the angels were away and deceived your mother so that she ate of the illicit and forbidden tree. And she ate and gave to me”* (Lat. ver. 33:3). Here Adam portrays that they both were guarded but it was Eve who was the first to be deceived to transgress. He also implicitly blames Eve for his transgression by telling that Eve ate first and then she offered the illicit fruit to him.

When looking at the Greek version the same event is portrayed a little different. It is described that Adam tells that the angels guarded only Eve. *“And the hour drew near for the angels who were guarding<sup>42</sup> your mother to ascend and worship the Lord”* (Greek ver. 7:2). Adam claims that because neither the angels nor he were nearby to guard Eve she became the enemy’s victim. *“And the enemy gave to her and she ate from the tree”* (Greek ver.7:2) Then Adam portrays what happened next as follows: *“Then she<sup>43</sup> gave also to me to eat”* (Greek ver. 7:3). To sum up the similarities in these two versions both tell that Eve transgressed first and afterwards she gave the fruit to Adam.

After their transgression the inevitable happens; God discovers what Adam and Eve have done and as a result of their actions, he became angry with them. In the Latin version Adam tells that God uttered the following words: *“Because you has forsaken my commandment and have not kept my word which I set for you”* (34:1). As a consequence of Adam’s weakness and disobedience God made known that he would bring upon his body seventy plagues. *“you shall be racked with various pains, from the top of the head and the eyes and ears down to the nails of the feet, and in each separate limb”* (Lat. ver. 34:1-3). In other words as a punishment his whole body would be suffering from pain. Moreover it is not only Adam who are to be punished with bodily pains, because Adam declared the following *“the Lord sent all these to me and to all our generations”* (Lat. ver. 34:3). Thus the following generation inherits Adam’s punishment due to that his disobedience toward God.

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<sup>41</sup> This phrase is not found in the manuscripts E1 and E2, See appendix 1

<sup>42</sup> Several MSS has emphasised by stressing that she was guarded closely. See note 7c in Johnson “Life of Adam and Eve”, 273

<sup>43</sup> Johnson states that some MSS read “he “ or “the one” See note 7d “Life of Adam and Eve”, 273

In the Greek version the same punishment toward Adam is affirmed. However before God declared the punishment, He becomes suspicious of that something had happened. Initially by using a frightful voice He asked several questions, one off them sounded as follows “*why do you hide from my face?*” (Greek ver. 8:2). Adam does not tell what he answered God. He only tells about the punishment that God gave him: *Since you have forsaken my covenant, I have submitted your body to seventy plagues,*” (Greek ver. 8:2). According to Adam God continued with listing in a similar manner the bodily plagues that Adam could expect would be inflicted on him in the future.<sup>44</sup> In the latter mentioned version there is not mentioned any punishment awarded to the following generations. However Adam in the Latin version is overcome with pain and thus it seems like his account is being interrupted and therefore he is not able to tell what happened next (35:1).

In the Greek version he does not continue his account any further either. He seems to be in great distress due to his unfortunate fate, and this may explain why he does not continue his description of the following events in the latter mentioned version (9:1).

### **Discussion: Adam’s account of the Fall of Man.**

In this account of the Fall man, the author(s) allows Adam to tell what happened. By the time he tells this story he is fairly old<sup>45</sup>, ill and suffering from pain. His ailments and pains are explained to be a consequence of the Fall of man. As Satan, Adam does not describe that it is he who is to blame for his transgression, the following expulsion and his unfortunate fate. Adam puts the blame on Eve, and in the Greek version it is emphasised that Eve is regarded as being an easier prey than Adam to their common enemy, the Devil.

Adam did not put forward any accusation towards Satan, although he described him as the adversary in the Latin version and as an enemy in the Greek version. In Adam’s account the Devil is simply given the role as the deceiver who led Eve into temptation to eat from the forbidden tree. However Adam admits that he was aware of the prohibition to eat from the tree, but he declares that it was Eve who first ate and then gave to him. He does not say anything about that he too ate forbidden fruit. However it is implicitly stated through the narrative that he did break God’s command, since God acted with anger towards him and that both he and Eve were punished. Additionally Adam admits that God put the blame on him, as

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<sup>44</sup> Johnson states that three MSS reads seventy two and adds that this confusion is similar to the rabbinic question whether there are seventy or seventy-two nations in the world. See note 8c. “Life of Adam and Eve”, 273

<sup>45</sup>Only described in the Latin version.

he explained that God told him that he was punished because he had forsaken his covenant, which is stated in both the Latin and Greek versions.

Adam, when he tells about the results of the Fall, he only focuses on the bodily pains and illness never experienced before, as the punishment for his transgression (the Lat. vers. 34: 1-3, Greek ver. 8:2). Anderson describes this as a non-biblical punishment: to be understood as a punishment not described in the bible. He argues that according to the author of the Latin version, corruption of the body was the defining moment of the Fall of Adam.<sup>46</sup> However in the Latin version it seems like Adam is not able to continue his account because he is seized by his pains (35:1). In the Greek version his focus is suddenly on his suffering and thus does not continue with his account (9:1). Therefore the authors of both texts focus on the pain inflicted on him and not on Eve's troubles due to her transgression. Thus by putting an emphasis on Adam's suffering, it may be used to portray Eve's guilt in the Fall of Man; Adam is suffering because of her. That she is feeling guilt is also revealed by what she said when Adam suddenly was seized with pain "*My Lord Adam, rise, give me half of your illness and let me bear it, because this happened to you through me; because of me you suffer troubles and pains.*" (Greek ver. 9:2) She also makes a similar utterance in the Latin version 35: 2-3.

### **Eve's account the Fall.**

As earlier stated it is Eve's account in the Greek version, which will be investigated. Her account has no parallel in the Latin version. Comparing with Adam's account in both the Latin and Greek versions, Eve's account of the Fall is more elaborate. The interesting question here is if Adam and Eve have different explanations to what caused the unfortunate event that led to their expulsion. As Adam, Eve gave the account of the unfortunate events to her children: how the Devil made a plot with the snake, and how it came about that Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise (Greek ver. 15-30).

### **Description and analysis of the Greek version: Eve's story of the Fall and its Consequences, 15-30.**

What happened initially according to her is that the Devil first deceived the Serpent by flattery and praise, in an effort to make him help Satan to deceive Eve, while they were dwelling in the earthly Paradise. The serpent was initially unwilling and answered that he feared God's anger, but the Devil said "*Do not fear; only become my vessel, and I will speak a word through your mouth*

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<sup>46</sup> Gary Anderson "The original form of the life of Adam and Eve: a Proposal" Gary A. Anderson. *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 218

by which you will be able to deceive him.<sup>47</sup>” (16:5) Eve as Adam tells that when the angels went up to God in order to worship Him, Satan, in form of an angel, went along with the other angels and sang hymns to the Lord, then he bended over the wall and spoke to Eve. She explained to the serpent that they were allowed to eat from every plant except one, which is placed in the middle of Paradise. If they did eat from it God had warned that with the following words: “you shall most surely die “(17:5).

Then the serpent starts his persuasion in order to deceive Eve: “*May God live! For I am grieved over you, that you are like animals<sup>48</sup>, For I do not want you to be ignorant; but rise, come and eat, and observe the glory of the tree*” (18:1) The trickery of Eve starts with that she is being made aware of her ignorance and are being offered to see the remedy that can cure her weakness. Eve tells that she first was reluctant towards this suggestion and explained to the serpent that she was afraid that God will become angry with her. But the serpent tried to persuade her by comforting her and said: “*Fear not; for at the very time you eat, your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil.*”(18:3). He also tries to ridicule God’s prohibition by telling her that “*God knew this, that you would be like him*” (18: 4)<sup>49</sup> Therefore, according to the serpent, he did not want them to eat of it. The serpent continues his argumentation by enticing her to come and see the plant in its “*great glory*” (18:5).

What happened next is that Eve opened the gate and the serpent entered Paradise. Now apparently the serpent changed his mind “*I have changed my mind and will not allow you to eat.* (19: 1) This Eve in retrospect understands that he told this with only one thing in mind:” *to entice and ruin me*”( 19: 1) This sentence according to Johnson is not found in several of the manuscript<sup>50</sup>. However the sudden change in the serpent argumentation towards Eve must serve to support the overarching theme in her account, and what the serpent mission was: to deceive Eve. Again there is a change in the argumentation and the serpent “*Swear to me that you are giving (it) also to your husband*” (19:1) Eve did as he wanted and thereafter he climbed into the tree and sprinkled evil poison over the fruit and gave to her to eat. Eve explain that it was due to covetousness that he deceived her and that covetousness is the origin of every sin, according to her. However, Eve also states that she took the fruit herself “*And I<sup>51</sup> bent the branch toward the*

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<sup>47</sup> See note 16 h where it is stated that some MSS correct this to read “her” or “them “The life of Adam and Eve”, 277.

<sup>48</sup> See note 18b, where it is stated that most MSS do not have this phrase, Johnson “The life of Adam and Eve”, 279

<sup>49</sup> See note 18c where it is stated that this phrase is not in MSS C and E2, Johnson “ The Life of Adam and Eve”, 279

<sup>50</sup> See note 19b, Johnson “The life of Adam and Eve”, 279

<sup>51</sup> Several MSS and the Arm. Read “ he bent” See note 19f in Johnson”Life of Adam and Eve”, 279

*earth, took of the fruit, and ate*”(19:3). Immediately after she had eaten she became aware that she was naked, and asked the serpent “*Why have you done this to me, that I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed?*”(20:2) The Serpent did not answer this question. He vanished and left Eve alone with her grief.

Eve as a first reaction to that she had been tricked was anger towards the serpent. The next reaction was to cover her naked body: “*And I took its leaves and made for myself skirts; they were from the same plants of which I ate*” (20:5)

After she had done what she promised the serpent, to persuade Adam to eat forbidden fruit, she accused the Devil, that it was him who talked through her mouth (21:3) As the serpent did to her, she tricked Adam to eat by deceiving him. When Adam declined, she persuaded him and proclaimed that if he ate he would know good and evil (21:4) Adam ate and as Eve, he realised his nakedness and immediately he accused Eve” *O evil Woman! Why have you wrought destruction among us? You have estranged me from my glory of God.*” (21:6). As the serpent Eve did not answer this question.

Eve, when it comes to admitting her guilt in deceiving Adam to eat forbidden food, is reluctant and puts the blame on the Devil who she claims, was speaking to Adam through her mouth. “*For when he came I opened my mouth and the Devil was speaking,*” (21:3). She is implying that as the serpent, she was only used as a vessel and that it was the Devil, not her, who persuaded Adam. Eventually when confronting God she blames the serpent (Greek ver. 23:5).

As a consequence of their transgression Adam and Eve are punished. Eve tells that Adam was addressed by God “*Because you transgressed my commandment and listened to your wife, cursed is the ground in your labours*” (24:1) Eve gives an elaborate description of Adam’s punishment. God told him that he will suffer many a hardship during his work, that animals will raise up against him in disorder (24:1-4). Eve’s punishment is that she has to endure pain when she bears children and gives birth. Moreover it is said that her husband shall rule over her (25:1-4) In addition the serpent also was punished (26: 1-4) Adam as they are being expelled from Paradise, asked God for forgiveness and compassion and says the following magnanimous words: *for I alone have sinned* (27:3).

### **Discussion: Eve’s account.**

Several of the events which Eve tell about coincides with Adam’s account. They both tell about the guardian angels and that Eve was deceived when they were not on guard. They also

both tell that they were forbidden by God to eat from one explicit tree. Both admit that they had been warned about the consequences of transgressing in advance of the unfortunate event, if they ate fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Eve first argues that the serpent gave her the fruit then she admits that it was she who took the fruit and ate herself. The author(s) seems to be bit confused about if the fruit was given to Eve or if it was she who took it. Only a study of the different manuscripts may reveal how the confusion about the description of what happened has occurred, because if Eve took the fruit herself it may be regarded as recognition of her sin. If it was the serpent who gave the fruit to her she was deceived in the same manner as Adam was.

Eve realises in retrospect what kind of trickery she has been victim of, as the serpent seems to have known how to argue and promote the illicit fruit. The snake is cunning and at first he pities her by her ignorance and tell her how she can overcome it. Suddenly he tells her that maybe it is not so wise to eat forbidden fruit, and this seems to be what persuaded her: she desired what she was not supposed to have.

Eve introduces a quality which is not mentioned previously that covetousness led the Devil to deceive her.(19:3). This quality, to desire what others have is therefore one possible reason who contributed to the Fall of man.

In both Adams account and Eve's account both of them immediately, as they had eaten forbidden fruit, understood that they had transgressed. Due to their actions they have now lost their former glory and are being punished for their transgression.

### **The Greek and Latin versions relations to Canonical and non- canonical books.**

There are many textual parallels and similarities in the story that is portrayed with Canonical and non-Canonical texts. A Canonical text with textual relations to the Latin version is Isaiah, 14:12-14, where the fall of Lucifer is described. It is told that the son of dawn was cast down to earth. What he wished or planed for is also described: He wanted to raise his thrown above the stars of God and become like the Most High. The wishes described, are similar to what Satan described in the Latin version 15:3 (See quotation below).

A Coptic text *The Enthronement of Michael*, has also a similar story that contains a description of the Fall of the Devil and that Satan, denominated as the firstborn refuses to

worship the first created man, and that the firstborn seduced many angels to not follow God's command.<sup>52</sup>

Johnson quotes Wells, who argued that “*Paul and the author of 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of ApocMos and moved in the same circle of ideas*”.<sup>53 54</sup>

The Latin version's account of the Fall of the Devil 12-16, has close relationship with 2 Enoch 29:4-5 (Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch), in 2 Enoch the Lord tells Enoch about an angel that had an impossible idea: to place his throne above the earth and become equal to the Lord's power and because of this he and his angels were hurled from the height (J 29:4-5).<sup>55</sup>  
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It is described that it was not the nature of the Devil that changed, but that it was his thoughts that became altered. In addition it is described that his consciousness of righteous and sinful things also changed (J 31:5-6). The event where Satan entered Paradise and tricked Eve to disobey God's command is also accounted for (J 31:6). The subsequent expulsion from Paradise is also briefly touched in this text (J 32).

In the Latin version 9:1 Satan is portrayed to appear in the brightness of an angel. That Satan has the ability to disguise himself as an angel, is also established in the Greek version 17:2 and 2 Cor 11:14.

The description of Eve as the one who led Adam astray so that he disobeyed God's commandment about not to eat from the tree of knowledge, can be found in the Latin version 33:3 and in the Greek version 7:3. This is an explanation to Adam's Fall is also portrayed in the Hebrew Bible, in Genesis 3:12. According to Johnson it is possibly Paul who can be seen as the origin of the idea that Eve was the source of sin and death (See 2Cor 11:3; 1Tim 2:4; in Rom 5:12-21 it is stated that death follows the sins of Adam).<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Anderson “The exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan”, 85.

For the text Andersons recommends to see C.D.G. Miiller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* (CSCO 225/226; Louvain, 1962) 14-15

<sup>53</sup> ApocMos is a abbreviation for the Apocalypse of Moses.

<sup>54</sup> Johnson “Life of Adam and Eve”, 255 quoting L. S. A. Wells “The Book of Adam and Eve” in R. H.(ed.) *Charles The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. (Oxford,1913), 130

<sup>55</sup> J: Manuscript at Library of the Academy of Science of U.S.S.R., Leningrad. Abbreviated BAN 13.3.25.

See 2 F.I. Anderson. (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch. In James H. Charlesworth (Ed.) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday& Company, Inc., 1985), 92

<sup>56</sup> See F.I. Anderson's translation in (Slavonic Apocalypse of) ENOCH, 101-213

<sup>57</sup> Johnson ”The life of Adam and Eve”, 255

Many of the things Eve described in Greek version 17:5; 18:3; 18:6, regarding a discussion between Eve and the serpent persuading Eve to eat from the forbidden tree is depicted in Genesis 3:1-5. The immediate consequences described by Eve in the Greek version 20:1; 20:4-5: that she became aware of her nakedness and that she tried to cover her naked body is also a theme in Genesis 3:7. Another parallel to Eve's effort to excuse her disobedience towards God, and that she blames the serpent in the Greek version 23:5 is also included in Genesis 3:13.

It is an interesting fact that the Greek version has textual and thematic relations with Genesis, which the Latin version does not have. This indicates that the author(s) of the Greek version has been more influenced by Genesis than the author(s) of the Latin version.

The consequences of their acts, their banishment from Paradise are described in Genesis 3:24 and in the Greek version in Eve's account 27:1. Moreover, several similarities with the Greek version 15-30 can be found from the Septuagint.

### **Conclusion: the Latin and Greek Versions.**

The first sin ever committed took place in heaven. It happened as a result of insubordination towards God's command to worship Adam. What spurred the insubordination were haughtiness, jealousy and pride. Eve also states that covetousness is the origin of every sin. What caused the Devil's fall may be explained by the authority Adam was given over the angels, and that it might have been perceived by the Devil to mimic God's authority.<sup>58</sup> The Devil's resentment towards submission to Adam led him to revolt against God's command. The Devil's attitude towards God's commandment might be described as arrogant, that he is insubordinate and rebellious. The rebellious behaviour consisted of the Devil's denial to obey God's command, made known to him through the angel Michael. The Devil's plan to build a throne above the stars of heaven and become like the Most High, challenges the divine balance of power, and if he had succeeded it would be a disturbance of the divine order. It is a threat against the foundations of both Jewish and Christian monotheistic belief, a belief in that only one almighty God exists. Thus the Devil's plan must be stopped and God reacted with expulsion of Satan from the divine spheres.

The fact that Satan's and the other fallen angels' saw Adam's life in Paradise as enviable, are given as the reason why Adam became pursued by the Devil. There is no description given about the appearance of the Devil after his Fall. However when he approached Eve he did this

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<sup>58</sup> Gary A. Anderson "The exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan.", 85



in different shapes. During Eve's first encounter with Satan, when he tricked her to eat fruit from tree of knowledge of good and evil, she had a conversation with him through the mouth of the serpent. Furthermore when Adam and Eve were doing repentance after their expulsion from the earthly Paradise, Satan became angry and transformed himself to appear like angel, and thus succeeded in tricking Eve a second time, to halt her time of repentance. The Devil's ability to appear in the shape of an angel is also described in the Greek version 17:2, as mentioned above.

The reasons why Adam and Eve failed to keep their covenant with God, were their disobedience and their desire to possess knowledge about good and evil. When following their desire both Adam and Eve knew that they transgressed, as they had been told by God in advance that they were not allowed to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

Eve is described as being responsible for the Fall of Man and she is regarded as the first human who sinned. After she had transgressed Adam was deceived by her to eat illicit fruit. Towards the end of her account Eve admits that "*all sin in creation has come about through me.*" (Greek version 32:2-3).

### **Apocalypse of Sedrach.**

As the title implies: the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, it is Sedrach who has the main role in the narrative of this text. Before his soul is taken into Paradise, heavenly mysteries were revealed to him. Sedrach in both life and in death is a spokesman for the love of man and for the love of God. The text contains a negotiation between Sedrach and God, where the duration of the time of repentance for sinners is the theme. They also have a discussion about the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of Man.

The text can be divided in two parts: the first describes a sermon held by Sedrach, the second describes that Sedrach's ascends to heaven, where the negotiation mentioned above takes place.

The sermon may be regarded as an introduction to the second part. The content of the sermon is a basis of understanding Sedrach's point of view, which he exposes during the discussion he had with God after he ascended to heaven. Therefore the first part, the sermon, may be seen as an explanation to his stance, revealed through the arguments and question that he poses to God.

After the origin of the text initially has been examined, a short summary follows to gain a broader understanding of the whole content of the text. Then the matter of interest for this study follows: the discussion about the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of Man will be analyzed and discussed.

As a source for the overview of the narrative in the text Agourides' translation in Charlesworth book *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* will be used.<sup>59</sup> It is this translation that will be used as a basis for the subsequent overview of the text and the following analysis and discussion. Later some of the textual relations with other writings will be pointed out and discussed.

### **The origins of the Text.**

The author of the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* is unknown. However, in the *Book of Daniel*, we find a person with a similar name as the protagonist, Sedrach: A Jew with the name Hananiah, renamed *Shadrach* by king Nebuchadnezzar. Shadrach had the honor of being appointed as one of the administrators in the province of Babylon (1:17; 2:49; 3: 12, 16, 29-30). Based on the similarity of the names, Agourides draws a parallel between Shadrach in the Book of Daniel and Sedrach in the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*. Moreover, Agourides concludes that the writers of the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* may have intended Daniel as the author of their text.<sup>60</sup> Considering this he suggests that the text originated as late as between the second and the fifth century A.D. He also suggests that the Sedrach's sermon about love and his ascension to heaven originally was two texts and that they were joined together. The text has after this changed gradually and received its final form shortly sometimes after 1000 A.D.<sup>61</sup>

The text is only preserved in a fifteenth century Greek manuscript, located in the Bodleian Library: Cod. Misc. Gr. 56. fols. 92-100 and it was edited and published by M.R. James in his book *Apocrypha Anecdota*.<sup>62</sup>

According to Agourides the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* most certainly first was put into writing in the Greek language. What supports this assertion according to him is that the Greek text has a vocabulary similar to what the Early Christian church fathers used, in addition to having similarities with a Byzantine vocabulary and syntax.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> S.Agourides (intr. and trans. ) "Apocalypse of Sedrach" James H Charlesworth (ed.). *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1983), 605-613

<sup>60</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach" 605

<sup>61</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach" 606

<sup>62</sup> Agourides refers to M.R. James *Apocrypha anecdota*. T&S2,3: Cambridge; repr. 1963, 130-137

<sup>63</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach", 605

Agourides also argues that the narrative in the Apocalypse of Sedrach seems to be of Jewish origin, and he mentions five reasons that support his claim.<sup>64</sup> The first argument is the role Sedrach is given in this text usually is ascribed to Mary according to the Christian tradition.<sup>65</sup> His second argument is the short time of repentance eventually agreed upon in the text, differed from the opinion the Christian church had in this matter. According to the church the duration of the period should last considerable longer, as the length of the repentance-time could be up to several years especially for serious sins.<sup>66</sup>

The third of Agourides argument is that Christ does not play a major role. Christ however is mentioned a couple of times, among other as the one who takes the soul of Sedrach to Paradise. Agourides argues that originally it was the name of the Jewish archangel that was mentioned in the text. Thus Christ's name, where it occurs in the source available today, has been inserted and the Archangel Michael's name removed. The fourth argument, according to Agourides, is the sudden transition between the two textual parts and the changing style between the bombastic rhetoric in the sermon and the more subtle tones in the ascension part indicates different authors of the two fractions.<sup>67</sup> Therefore it is likely that the two texts have been put together to constitute one text, in which the first writing, the Christian homily, is used as an introduction to the text which tells about the ascension of Sedrach.

The last and fifth argument is that the notion of man having a dialogue with God is typically Jewish. The debate, Sedrach's badgering and God's reluctance towards a reduction of the time of repentance, can be seen as the leitmotif in this text. Moreover, the belief that the soul filled the entire body is rooted in the Jewish tradition, as described in 10: 2-3.

In the second part of the text, the angelology and the characteristic of Adam and Eve who are being compared with the sun and moon also support a Jewish origin. Agourides concludes that the first part, the sermon, is a product of Byzantine Christianity and that second part, the ascension, has originated in Jewish circles.<sup>68</sup>

### **Overview of the narrative of the text.**

As previously mentioned The Apocalypse of Sedrach can be divided into two parts:<sup>69</sup> Part I consist of a sermon held by Sedrach. In this sermon he speaks about love and that the power

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<sup>64</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach," 606-607

<sup>65</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach," 606

<sup>66</sup> Agourides refers to J. Nicolaidis (Ed.) *The Rudder*. D. Cummings trans. (Chicago.1957) , 931-952

<sup>67</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach," 606

<sup>68</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach," 607

<sup>69</sup> The summary of the narrative of the text is based upon a translation by S. Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach" in James H. Charlesworth (ed.) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1,(New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1983) 609-613.

of love is beyond measure and furthermore that nothing is more honorable than love (1:14-18). He also emphasizes the kind of love which he explains to be the fulfillment of all the law. He describes this in verse 14. Moreover, the divine love is explained to be a capital virtue. It is also described that death has been defeated, a theme described in many Christian writings. Sedrach also speaks about another love, the love that the son of God, Christ, brought from heaven (1:20). Through this love Adam recalled from death, Paradise opened and Hades made captive (1:21). At the end of his sermon, Sedrach hears a voice, belonging to an angel, who invites him to come up to heaven, where he is allowed to ask God about the things that he wants to know. What happens next is that Sedrach is taken up in the presence of God by an angel (2:1-5).

In Part II, as explained above, Sedrach is taken up to heaven where he have a conversation with God. It is this part that will be analyzed and discussed in the next chapter.

### **Description and analysis of Sedrach's ascension.**

In heaven Sedrach enquired about things that he wanted to know. Among others he asks why God created the world. The answer to this question is that the world and everything in it is created for man. Then Sedrach confronts God about how sinners are treated.

*“You discipline is punishment and fire; and they are very bitter my Lord. It would be better for man if he were not born. Indeed what have you done, my Lord: for what reason did you labor with your spotless hands and create man, since you did not desire to have mercy upon him? ”* (4: 1-3)

Through these statements and question Sedrach present his concern, the punishment of man. Furthermore the fact that he dares to make this kind of statements and questions reveals the courage of a man who dares to oppose God regarding God's treatment of man after his Fall. God answers him by explaining:

*“ I created the first man, Adam, and placed him in Paradise in the midst of (which is ) the tree of life, and I said to him 'Eat of all the fruit, only beware of the tree of life, for if you eat from it you will surely die'. However he disobeyed my commandment and having been deceived by the Devil he ate from the tree. ”*(4:4-5)

Here the answer points towards Adam and what he did. He transgressed God's command. His transgression happened because he was deceived by the Devil. Because he disobeyed God's commandment he was punished. He ate from the tree of life, which he had been forbidden and warned not to eat from (4:4).

The bold man, Sedrach, is not afraid to say what he has on his mind and continues his argumentation by accusing God to have caused the Fall of Man.

Sedrach's next question focuses on the punishment of the fallen angel. The question is as follows: *If you loved man, why did you not kill the Devil, the artificer of all iniquity?* (5:3-4) Here Sedrach brings into question why God allows the Devil to pursue man in order to deceive him. From man's point of view this is legitimate question. If the Devil had been destroyed in the first place, man would have been spared from being pursued by the Devil and thus had not been deprived his life in Paradise. Sedrach also puts into question the matter of love and God's love of man. If he loved man he should not have spared the Devil but done away with him, Sedrach argues.

The reply God gives Sedrach puts an emphasis on Adam and that he chose to disobey God's prohibition. *"Be it known to you, that everything which I commanded man to do was within his reach"*. (6:1) In spite of the wisdom he was given, the status as being heir to heaven and that everything was subordinated to him Adam failed by his own will (6:1-6). God's answer to Sedrach also includes a question to him: *How is it that I, the wondrous and jealous God, have given everything to him, but he, having received them, became an adulterer and sinner?* (6:6) The question is difficult to answer, but Sedrach is not put out by this. He argues that, the Master, who created man, should have been familiar with his weaknesses and his low state of will. *"You, Master created man; you know the low state of his will and knowledge and you send man into punishment on a false pretext; so remove him."* (7:1). The accusation about punishment on false pretext is supported by the claim that the creator should have the ability to know the nature of what he had created, and therefore God is not just in his treatment of man.

Sedrach continues his defense of man, by stating that it is impossible for man to fight the Devil, the invisible spirit who enters the heart of man and in this way man is swayed to sin. He also points to the fact that the Devil not only fights man, but the Lord as well.

The hero of this narrative, Sedrach, was relentless in his defense for man and he continued to accuse God of not being without responsibility for Adam's transgression: *Pitiful man has transgressed by your will, O Lord.* (7:4)<sup>70</sup> Argourides states that the translation of the latter sentence may be discussed according to how it is understood grammatically. In Greek it is written as follows: *Sou thelematos hemarten, .....* and that *Sou thelematos* can be understood as your will, if it is considered as the object of the transitive verb *hemarten*, to sin. Then the sentence would be: *Pitiful man has transgressed your will, O Lord.* However if *hemarten* is

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<sup>70</sup> Argourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach", 611 See note 7b

rendered a passive verb, which Argourides argues is better fitting when the sentence is put into the context. He also argues that it provides a better climax for Sedrach's argumentation.<sup>71</sup> To support Agourides argumentation for his understanding and translation of this, another text, based on M.R. James translation, has a similar wording: "He Failed by thy will, wretched man" (VII)<sup>72</sup> This clarification is crucial when it comes to understand correctly Sedrach's argument, whether he blames God for Adam's transgression or simply states that Adam transgressed the will of God. The conclusion to this must be that Agourides' interpretation is to prefer: that it is God's blamelessness which is questioned here, also because this is a theme that has been addressed earlier in the text.

Moreover, Sedrach argues, in order to emphasize how God himself wants human to behave towards each other, by using God's own words "Do not repay evil for evil" (7:10) This puts the following question in the mind of the reader of the text: does God apply rules to man which is not applied to God himself?

God makes clear that He is superior to man, implying that Sedrach should not oppose him (:1-10). The fearless Sedrach is not stopped by this either, because after all his concern is man and the punishment of sinners (8:6- 10).

In the middle of their discussion the Lord orders his "only begotten son" to take Sedrach's soul and place it in Paradise (9:1). Sedrach argues against this and poses new questions about the fate of the sinners and the length of the time repentance to be served before forgiveness of sins and salvation is achieved. He forwards the following problem: *If a man lives eighty or ninety or a hundred years, and lives them in sin but in the end is converted and the man lives in repentance, for how many days of repentance do you forgive (him) his sins?* (12:5)<sup>73</sup> The answer God gives to this question is that he demanded three years of repentance before he is willing to forget about the sins committed. Forgiveness for sins is then only possible to achieve if the sinner does not relapse to former wickedness or dies during his long period of repentance. Sedrach, possibly aware of the risk of dying before this period has passed, claims that this is too long time.

Eventually Sedrach must have realized that the negotiation about reduction of the time of repentance is soon coming to a halt and ask for assistance by the Archangel Michael. Finally they achieve consensus about the time of repentance, as it is negotiated down from three years to a period of twenty days. Moreover, God states that the sin of those that copy the admirable

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<sup>71</sup> The Greek text can be found in M.R. James Apocrypha Anecdota Vol. II No.3 . J. Armitage Robinson (ed.) *Texts and Studies. Contribution to Biblical and Patristic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893), 132

<sup>72</sup> M.R. James (trans.) "The Apocalypse of Sedrach" in Allan Menzies (ed.) *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Vol.9 (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publisher, 1995), 177

<sup>73</sup> Agourides "Apocalypse of Sedrach", 612

sermon will not be reckoned forever. Sedrach got the last word in the discussion between the two parties and adds a plea, that also the ones who perform a liturgy in honor of his servant must be rescued. Finally Sedrach allows his soul to be taken to Paradise.

### **Discussion: Serdrach:**

The two textual parts: the sermon and the apocalypse are tied together by the main theme of the text which is Sedrach's love of God and his concern and love of man. The overarching theme of the text is portrayed through Sedrach's dialogue with God. Sedrach, in a fearless manner, challenges God's attitudes and demands toward sinners. He boldly questions God's innocence regarding the Fall of Man. Furthermore, what is emphasized in this text is love and compassion as a remedy to forgive the weak sinners.

The text highlights two point of view, Sedrach's and God's, which gives the author(s) of the text a possibility to put the perspective of the Fall of man from two angles, that of man, forwarded by Sedrach and that of God the creator of the heaven and earth.

Sedrach in the text states the following *It was by your will that Adam was deceived, my Master* “ (5:1) By this statement he touches the question of God's omniscience. That God should have known the consequences of His demand. If He had wanted to avoid any calamity and rebellion in heaven, why did he put forward the demand to worship Adam in the first place? It is a problematic issue that Sedrach addresses. His accusation towards the Lord may also be regarded as disrespectful. Nevertheless the answer to his question about who is responsible for the Fall of man is difficult to find. Is it the Devil who transgressed first? Is it Adam and Eve who transgressed by eating forbidden fruit? Or is it as Sedrach claims, the Almighty God who demanded the angels to worship Adam and who banished the rebellious angel?

Sedrach also argues that God could have reacted differently prior to the Fall of the Devil, when the angel declined to follow God's commandment. His reaction was expulsion of the rebellious angel from heaven, which gave the Devil the opportunity to pursue man and deceive him. Sedrach claim that the Devil instead should have been killed, thus he would not have caused any further problems. It is God's reaction towards the disobedient angel and God's guilt in the event is being questioned by the bold man, Sedrach. God on the other hand point toward man and that he had the ability to choose otherwise, as he could have chosen not to eat the forbidden fruit.

The underlying theme revealed in God's answers to Sedrach is that man, when created, was given the possibility to choose his own acts. Therefore the question about having free will is implicit a part of the theme here. Sedrach on the one side argues that man is weak. He also makes clear that it is difficult for man to defend himself against the invisible Devil. God on the other hand argues that Adam had the ability to defy the Devil and to choose not to transgress.

Furthermore Sedrach makes God aware that to fight the Devil is difficult for man and reminds God that this is difficult for him as well.

Through the dialogue Sedrach manages to question God's own rules and demands towards man. God has stated that evil shall not be repaid with evil. The problem which is embedded in Sedrach's argumentation is that God, by punishing man for his transgression, acts against his own demands; he repays man with evil for his evil actions.

God and Sedrach do not reach any conclusion regarding who or what caused the Fall of the angels or the Fall of Man, as these problems are only mentioned and used in the dialogue between them in order to negotiate the matter which is Sedrach's main concern, the punishment of sinners.

The Apocalypse of Sedrach seems to have been given little attention by scientists in the past, as very little material on critical analysis of the text can be found; therefore more research on this text is necessary, in order to obtain more knowledge about it. As previously mentioned there is a difference when it comes to a crucial factor which contributed to the Fall of Man.

The name of the tree mentioned in this text, the tree of life, differ from the name of the tree mentioned in the Life of Adam and Eve and in Genesis 3, the tree of knowledge of good and evil. It must be a very interesting question to pursue in order to try to find out where and possibly why this difference has occurred.

Moreover, the translation of God's argument in the Apocalypse of Sedrach is somewhat confusing: *I made Adam the first creature and placed him in Paradise in the midst of the tree of life* ..... (4:4) Agourides has put in brackets explanatory words: *.. in the midst of (which is) the tree of life* ... This makes the sentence more understandable and closer to what is written in Gen. 3.3.: that the forbidden tree was placed in the midst of Paradise.



## Textual relation to other Canonical and non-canonical texts.

In both the Apocalypse of Sedrach (5:2) and in the Latin version (13:1 -14-3), the event where Satan and his angels declined to worship Adam is mentioned. In both texts this is regarded as the event that caused the Fall of Man.

There is also a textual parallel between Genesis 3: 3 and the apocalypse of Sedrach 4: 4, provided that the translation of the apocalypse is correct. It is stated that the tree which man were forbidden to eat from was placed in the midst of Paradise (Gen. Garden). In Genesis the text is as follows: *but God did say, 'You must not eat fruit from the tree that is in the middle of the garden, and you must not touch it, or you will die.'*<sup>74</sup>(Gen: 3-3)

The next example is a thematically based similarity concerning God's command to worship Adam. This theme can be found in the Apocalypse of Sedrach and the Life of Adam and Eve, the Latin version 14:1. Here it is Michaels who addresses the Devil: "*Worship the image of the Lord God, as the Lord God has instructed*"

Furthermore a parallel to the main theme of the Apocalypse of Sedrach is his compassion and love for the lost sinners can also be found in 4 Ezra. As both Sedrach and Ezra ascends to heaven and shows forth a great compassion for the sinners, by trying to invoke God's mercy for them.<sup>75</sup>(4 Ezra 4:12; 4:7 and 5:36 f.; 5:23-27; 7:46; 8:52).

There are several similarities in the utterances made by Sedrach, with the *Romans* in The New Testament. The authorship of the latter mentioned Scripture is attributed to Paul, the Apostle. It is a letter which is intended to the Romans, and the main theme of this letter is that salvation is achieved through the faith in Jesus Christ, his death and resurrection. Here only one textual similarity will be highlighted. The resemblance between these two writings that will be discussed here is the statement made by Sedrach where he questions God's utterance: *Do not repay evil for evil.* (7:10), a similar request is found in the Romans 12: 17 and is as follows: *Repay no one evil for evil.*<sup>76</sup> Although there are no immediate visible textual relations between the Apocalypse of Sedrach and the Romans, the theme love, is treated similarly.

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<sup>74</sup> Blue letter Bible. "Book of the Beginnings- Genesis 3- (NIV)" Blue Letter Bible 1996.2011, Available at URL:< <http://blueletterbible.org/Bible.cfm?&t=NIV>> Accessed date:21.05.2011

<sup>75</sup> B. M. Metzger" The fourth Book of Ezra" In James H. Charlesworth (Ed.) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol.1(New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.1983), 517-559

<sup>76</sup>Blue letter Bible. "Paul's Epistle - Romans 12 - - (NIV)" Blue Letter Bible 1996-2011, available at URL:<<http://blueletterbible.org/Bible.cfm?&t=NIV>> Accessed date:21.05.2

In another text or more correctly a Scripture found in the Hebrew Bible (or the Christian Old Testament) it is also possible to detect similarities with our text. This is the *Book of Job*, where Job, is described as a blameless and upright man (1:1). But because of these traits the Devil tries to make him denounce God by putting Job through many trials, depriving him of his property, children and inflicting illness upon. This Scripture also contains a discussion between Job and his friends, where his friend ends up ridiculing him. In the end Job has a discussion with God, where He reveals his omnipotence (38: 4-42; 39:1-30). Toward the end Job is forgiven his sin and restored again (42:1-17). The overarching theme in the Book of Job is the problem of evil and how to deal with it. Another similarity between the Book of Job and the Apocalypse of Sedrach is that both writings contain a dialogue between a worldly creature and a divine creature. Moreover, the omnipotence of the divine being is a theme in both texts.

A similar approach as in the Apocalypse of Sedrach is followed when it comes to how the theme is presented in a text called the *Testament of Abraham*. The common procedure is that the text contains a dialogue in which intercession for sinners is expressed (c. xiv) and a reluctance towards giving up the soul (cc. ix-xi).<sup>77</sup> In the Testament of Abraham, when the time has come for Abraham's soul to be surrendered to the archangel Michael, Abraham is hesitant to allow this to happen. Furthermore, in this text it is not Abraham who pities the sinners of the world, but the angel through the word of God.

In conclusion of this chapter it is possible to suggest that ancient authors read each others writings, and to some degree used each others themes as models or sources to ideas to incorporate in their own text. Another possibility is that the ancient authors may have had other common sources not mentioned here and therefore the legend or part of the narrative may be rooted further back in time than the manuscripts that exist today.

### **Conclusion: Sedrach.**

The Apocalypse of Sedrach is an intriguing text. It gives its reader a glimpse of God's thoughts about the Fall of Man, his stance towards man and how sin entered the world. Furthermore it reveals how God reacts towards sinners. The hero, Sedrach, negotiated on behalf of man and has a different point of view than God. The brave man tries to change God's mind regarding who has the responsibility for the Fall of man and how he treat the sinners. He talks about love and tries to persuade God to show mercy towards the sinners.

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<sup>77</sup> James "Apocrypha Anecdota", 128

The first part, the sermon is a prelude to the ascension. It is held by Sedrach and the theme is that death has been trampled on, that Adam has been saved, Paradise has been opened and that Hades has been made captive.

In the second part, through the dialogue, different opinions about what caused the Fall of man, are being put forward. Man's own responsibility regarding what happened on the one hand and God's ability to intervene which might have prevented the second fall to take place on the other hand. Sedrach is relentless in his plea on behalf of man and argues that man is judged on false pretext. Sedrach's attitude and criticism of God's treatment of the Devil prior to the Fall of Man, stands as a contrast to God's answers, which reveals that he holds Adam responsible for his own actions. Both Sedrach and God focus on how and why the fall of man came about, although without providing any conclusion to what caused it. God states that man transgressed and that it was the Devil that deceived him. However according to Sedrach it was by God's will that man was deceived, and therefore also he is to blame for the downfall of Man. The event that Sedrach points out to be a crucial in what led to the Fall, was when God ordered the angels to worship Adam.

Initially the reader of the text may regard Sedrach as the weakest participant in the dialogue, as his opponent is the Almighty God. What is revealed through this text is that God is patient with and tolerant towards Sedrach. Moreover, the relentless man's demands and pleas are heard and he manages to negotiate the demanded time of repentance from three years down to twenty days. This shows to the reader of the text that by being persistent and by using the right arguments it is possible to change the mind of everybody even the Almighty God.

## **The Gospel of Bartholomew.**

The *Gospel of Bartholomew*, also known as the *Questions of Bartholomew* is a text which introduces its readers to secrets and mysteries revealed through questions posed by Bartholomew and answers given by Jesus, Virgin Mary and Beliar (the Devil). Bartholomew is the hero in this text and believed to be one of the apostles of Jesus. The narrative in the event takes place after Jesus has been crucified, resurrected from death, and has summoned the Apostles to give them his last instructions before he ascends to heaven.

The author(s) of this text allows among other the Devil to give his account of what led to his Fall, what led him to pursue man and how sinners are treated by him in the Underworld. The

Devil is mentioned by many different names in the subsequent chapters such as: Beliar, the Adversary, Satanael, Satan, Lucifer and Son of Morning.

It is Bartholomew's questions and the Devil's answers in chapter IV and V which will be investigated. In these chapters they discuss what caused Beliar's downfall and what consequences it had. The Devil also reveals how sinners are punished.

The fact that the Devil is allowed to come forth and present his version, gives the text an interesting angle, as the author(s) of the text allows the first one who fell to give his version of the events that took place.

As has been done in the previous texts examined in this paper, there will be given a brief overview of the full text. However, first it may be useful to explore what type of text this is.

### **The text and its origin.**

As mentioned previously the main person in this gospel is Bartholomew who is believed to be one of the apostles of Jesus. An apostle with such a name is mentioned in Matthew 10:3; Mark 2:18; Luke 6:14; Acts 1:13. It is also possible as some scholars suggest that Bartholomew may be identified with Nathaniel who is described to have had a dialogue with Jesus. In this dialogue he was promised to see heaven and angels "*ascending and descending upon the Son of Man*" (John 1:45-51) In the New Testament, in the Gospel of John, Nathaniel is mentioned among the disciples who had an encounter with the resurrected Jesus, when Nathaniel, Simon Peter, Thomas, the sons of Zebedee and two other disciples was in a boat on the Sea of Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee) (21:1-19). This text, due to that the main person in the narrative possibly is an apostle and that it describes the crucifixion of Jesus, must have originated in a Christian milieu.

According to James it is the Greek manuscript which is the original one.<sup>78</sup> When the text originated is uncertain, but Schneemelcher suggest that this might have been sometimes between the second and sixth centuries.<sup>79</sup> However James gives a more accurate time to when the text was produced, as he suggests the fifth century as a time of origin, he does not specify which of the manuscripts he is referring to though.<sup>80</sup> Therefore James' dating must be regarded as the earliest origin of either one the two Greek manuscripts, mentioned above, or that both of them were produced during the fifth century. Scheidweiler and Elliot also argue

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<sup>78</sup> James . *Apocryphal New Testament* , 166

<sup>79</sup> Scheidweiler "The Question of Bartholomew" 539-540.

<sup>80</sup> James. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 166

that the Greek text (H) is the most valuable and that an original form of the gospel existed prior to H, which is assigned to the third century.<sup>81</sup> However if Origen knew this text, as suggested below, then the text must have originated before the death of Origen in 254 A.D.<sup>82</sup>

Several ancient theologians and historians have mentioned the text: Jerome in his *Commentary on Matthew* refers to a apocryphal text called *Evangelium iuxta Bartholomaeum* (PL XXVI 17f.). Scheidweiler and James argues that it is uncertain if Jerome actually had knowledge of the text himself or if he had knowledge of this text through another source and points to Origen (185-254 A.D.) as a possible source.<sup>83 84</sup> In the pseudo-Dionysian writings a few sentences are quoted from what is referred to as *the divine Bartholomew*. A short quotation can also be found in Ephiphanus the monk (PG CXX 213 B-D) and in the *Book of Hierotheos*, authored possibly in late fifth century or early sixth century, probably by a Syrian monk with the name Stephen Bar Sudhaili.<sup>85 86</sup> However James argues that one cannot be sure if the authors actually quote real books.<sup>87</sup>

The title of the text: *the Gospel of Bartholomew* is also referred to as the *Questions of Bartholomew*, which is the title of it in the Slavonic manuscripts and one of the Latin manuscripts (Casanatensis).<sup>88</sup> The latter mentioned title is fitting considering that the text is a dialogue gospel, and the dialogue is in form of question and answers, as mentioned above.

The *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (the Gelasian Decree) The list is issued possibly sometime in the 6th century, and it contains an overview of recognised synods and ecclesiastical writings and apocrypha to be rejected. Here “*Gospels under the name of Bartholomaeus*” are listed together with other texts which are to be rejected.<sup>89</sup> The ones listed as rejected, were pointed out as writings that should be avoided by Catholics.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Scheidweiler, “The Question of Bartholomew”, 539-540.

<sup>82</sup> David Ivan Rankin. *From Clement to Origen The social and Historical Context of the Church Fathers* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 131

<sup>83</sup> Schneemelcher. *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol 1, 537

<sup>84</sup> David Ivan Rankin. *From Clement to Origen*, 131

<sup>85</sup> Schneemelcher. *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 1, 537

Schneemelcher refers to Fred Shipley Marsh. *Journal of Theol. Studies* 23, 1922, 400f.

<sup>86</sup> István Perczel. *The earliest Syriac Reception of Dionysius*. Sarah Coakley, Charles M. Stang (eds.) *Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite*. (West Sussex: Wiley -Blackwell, 2009), 33

<sup>87</sup> James. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 166

<sup>88</sup> Elliot *Apocryphal New Testament*, 652

<sup>89</sup> Schneemelcher. *New Testament Apocrypha*, 28

<sup>90</sup> Schneemelcher. *New Testament Apocrypha*, 38

One possible reason to the rejection might be that it was written later than the Canonical Christian Scriptures. Another plausible reason might be that the Gospel of Bartholomew was relatively unknown. What might have caused this may be found in the text itself, as Jesus instructs Bartholomew only to reveal the content of the gospel to the ones that were faithful and able to keep the knowledge to themselves (IV: 66-67). However, considering the different manuscripts that exists it must have been known to a certain extent, otherwise it is difficult to explain how and why it has been copied into different languages at different places over a relative long period of time.

In conclusion the Gospel of Bartholomew was not accepted among the canonical Scriptures either because it was not in common use and thus not accepted as orthodox or that it was composed too late to be accepted among the Scriptures included in the bible. The main person in the gospel is regarded to be one of Jesus' apostles, and therefore probably known among the early Christians. However the uncertainty regarding when the writing originated, who knew of this gospel and why it was not accepted among the scriptures of the New Testament make it difficult to reach conclusive answers to the use and importance of it in during the time of early Christianity.

### **The narrative of the Gospel I-III.**

First a summary of the content of the first three chapters will be given. Chapter IV and V will be more closely examined and analysed in the next chapter of this study. The text can be divided into five chapters according to M.R. James.<sup>91</sup> His division of it will be followed in this study.

I. The Descent into Hell and the number of souls saved and lost. The first chapter refers to a dialogue between Bartholomew and Jesus and it tells about Jesus' descent to Hades or the Underworld. The discussion takes place after Jesus has been crucified and has risen from death. The apostles are frightened by his appearance because "*the fullness of his Godhead was seen*" (as described in the Slav. manuscript in verse 3). Bartholomew however goes closer to Jesus in order to pose a question. He tells that he saw angels coming down from heaven and that they worshipped Jesus. He also tells that he saw him disappear from the cross and asks where Jesus went. Jesus invites Bartholomew to ask him whatever he wants to know and promises that he will answer all his questions. First Jesus tells his disciples that he descended to Hades

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<sup>91</sup> James. *The apocryphal New Testament*, 166

and that he did this after a request from the Archangel Michael. His descent was done in order to bring up Adam and all them that were with him in the Underworld under the supervision of Beliar and Hades.

What took place in the Underworld is that Jesus takes power over Beliar. When he entered the Underworld he seized hold of Beliar, gave him one hundred lashes and put him in unbreakable chains. Thereafter Jesus ascended from Hades, as he did this he brought with him all the patriarchs, as requested by the archangel and returned to the cross again. When he is on the cross again, Bartholomew told him that he saw all the dead worshipping him.

However it is not all the souls that Jesus is able to save, and at the end of the chapter Jesus gives an account of the numbers of souls that are being saved and lost. It is fifty three every day; three righteous souls ascend directly to Paradise and 50 go to the place of resurrection (32-33).

II. Virgin Mary's account of the Annunciation. In this chapter another theme is focused on. Bartholomew asks Mary to explain what is impossible to understand, how she could conceive, carry and give birth to the Lord (Jesus). Mary is reluctant to reveal this, but urged by the apostles she reveals that this was prophesied to her during her stay in the temple. She also tells that she got a second message, an explanation to why she is going to give birth to the child announced to her; he is going to save the whole creation.

III. The apostles see the bottomless pit. In this chapter Jesus reveals, after a request from Bartholomew, the bottomless pit. It was shown to them after Jesus beckoned to the angles and immediately the deep was revealed. Prior to this Jesus had warned them about danger of seeing this, and by the sight of the deep the apostles fell on their faces. Jesus raised them up, and again and affirmed that it was not good for them to see this.

**The Devil is summoned and Bartholomew is given power over him.**

**An overview of the content in chapter IV.**

Initially in this chapter as a reference to what Mary revealed in chapter III to the apostles, Peter told Mary that she has made up for Eve's transgression (IV:6). This is no doubt a reference to the Fall of Man, portrayed in Genesis 3: 1-24. Where it is told that Eve was deceived by the serpent and that she transgressed God's command about not to eat fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

Jesus and the disciples are now on top of the Mount of Olives and Bartholomew again takes the main role. He poses a new question to Jesus and asks if they may see the adversary of men (Beliar). The reason for this request is that he wants to see the power Beliar possesses, how he looks like, what he does and what made him able to cause the crucifixion of Jesus (VI:7). But immediately Bartholomew regrets this question and he fell down before Jesus and worshiped him. He praised Jesus by telling about his good deeds and what he did resulted in that humankind received eternal light and that he has completed his father's work. Again Eve's name is mentioned and that the virgin (Mary) has done away with her sorrow (IV: 9).

However Bartholomew's wish is granted, but before they get to see what Bartholomew asked for, they are again warned that this is dangerous for them and as they did when they saw the bottomless pit, they will fall down and become like dead corpses.

They now leave the Mount of Olives and Jesus signs to Michael in heaven, who sounds his trumpet. The sound of Michael's horn sets in motion strong forces: the earth starts to shake and Beliar appears. He is held in fiery chains by many angels. In the different manuscripts the numbers of angels that guard Beliar differs from 560 in the Greek manuscript to 6060 in the Latin 2 manuscript. A vivid description of Beliar is given. He is very tall, 1600 (Slav. 17, Lat. 1300, Lat. 2 1900) cubits high and his breadth is 40 (In Lat. 2 700) cubits. (Lat. 2 also describes that one wing measured 80 cubits)<sup>92</sup> (IV:13). Furthermore it is described that he has a face as lightning fire and that his eyes are full of darkness. It is also told that stinking smoke comes out of his nostrils and his mouth looks like "*the gulf of a precipice*" (IV:13). What Jesus warned the apostles about now happens; by the sight of this frightening creature they fall down and become like dead corpses and a second time Jesus again comes to their rescue and helps them to recover.

What follows next is that Jesus invites Bartholomew to come closer and put one foot on Beliar's neck and Jesus says: *Come near, Bartholomew, and trample with thy feet on his neck, and he will tell thee his work, what it is, and how he deceiveth men* (IV:15) After some hesitation a scared Bartholomew puts his foot on Beliar's neck. It is also described that Beliar trembles. Now Bartholomew questions Beliar. "*Tell me who thou art and what is thy name. And he said to him: Lighten me a little, and I will tell thee who I am and how I came hither, and what my work is and what my power is.*" (IV: 23) Beliar answers as follows: "*Lighten me a little, and I will tell thee who I am and how I came hither, and what my work is and what my power is*" (IV: 23). Furthermore, Beliar reveals how he ended up in

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<sup>92</sup> See verses 11-12



Hell and what led that he ended up there:” *If thou wilt know my name, at the first I was called Satanael, which is interpreted a messenger of God, but when I rejected the image of God my name was called Satanus, that is, an angel that keepeth hell (Tartarus).*” (IV: 25). Beliar also tells that he was created from a handful of fire and that he was the first angel created. Beliar also states that he and the other angels: *were created by the will of the Son and the consent of the Father* (VI: 27). The information Beliar gives here indicates that the Son (Jesus) was created before the angels and that he had approved the creation of the angles prior their creation. In addition Beliar gives an account of the names of some of the other angels, when they were created, where they dwell and what kind of tasks some of them are given (IV: 27-36)

Now they turn to another theme, and speak about sin, what sin is and how sinners are punished. Bartholomew poses the following question: *“How chastisest thou the souls of men?”* (IV:37) Then Beliar poses a question to Bartholomew: *“Wilt thou that I declare unto thee the punishment of the hypocrites, of the back-biters, of the jesters, of the idolaters, and the covetous, and the adulterers, and the wizards, and the diviners, and of them that believe in us, and of all whom I look upon (deceive?)?”* (IV: 38) Here Beliar lists up various actions which he reckons to be sinful.

Bartholomew now continues by asking that he wants to know how Beliar deceives men in order to led them away from God (IV: 39) Beliar by clattering and gnashing his teeth bring up a wheel that has a fiery sword with several pipes. Beliar explained the function of this sword and he said: *“This sword is the sword of the gluttonous: for into this pipe are sent they that through their gluttony devise all manner of sin; into the second pipe are sent the backbiters which backbite their neighbour secretly; into the third pipe are sent the hypocrites and the rest whom I overthrow by my contrivance.”* (IV: 42) Thus men are put into the pipes according to their sins committed during their lifetime. In addition to what Beliar has mentioned previously as sins, gluttony is added to the list. The unfortunate men who are destroyed in this terrible device are the ones that Beliar have succeeded in deceiving to turn away from God. According to this it is due to Beliar’s work that these men has committed unwanted and sinful actions, and as a result becomes victim of his torment and destruction. The Latin manuscript has a slightly different description of the devise and it also lists other sins that qualify men to be inserted into the frightening device; It is described as a wheel with seven fiery knives and that the first of them has twelve pipes of canals. The sins are listed as follows (2: 40-43):

*“The pipe of fire in the first knife, in it are put the casters of lots and diviners and enchanter, and they that believe in them or have sought them, because in the iniquity of their heart they have invented false divinations. In the second pipe of fire are first the blasphemers ... suicides ... idolaters.... In the rest are first perjurers . . . (long enumeration)”*.

Here other actions are listed to be avoided if one does not want to end up in Beliar's destructive device in the Underworld. Moreover, it is clear that if one want to avoid this fate after death it is wise to take care and by all means live a pious life and to follow God.

The next question Bartholomew poses to the downtrodden Beliar is if he does this work alone. Satan (Not mentioned by this name earlier in this gospel) answered that he is not able to do this, and also that if he could he would destroy the whole world in three days. The ones that perform his work are described as "swift ministers" "commanded by him and his six hundred angels. They "swift ministers" hunt with hooks using baits, and prey on men feasible to the bait that they use. Beliar describe this in the following manner: "*we furnish them with an hook of many points and send them forth to hunt, and they catch for us souls of men, enticing them with sweetness of divers baits, that is by drunkenness and laughter, by backbiting, hypocrisy, pleasures, fornication, and the rest of the trifles that come out of their treasures*" (IV: 44).<sup>93</sup> From this it is clear that a believer has many traps to avoid and that it is a difficult task to be a pious and upright believer. The terrible device must have been considered highly scary by the ancient reader of the text, and something that must have been perceived as something that by all means should be avoided.

Now another theme is addressed and they discuss what started man's misery: what led to his downfall and why he is pursued by the Devil. Beliar reveals that God made known that while he (Satanael) was at the ends of the earth, man was created from a lump of clod (lump of clay) taken from the four corners of the earth and mixed with water taken from the four rivers in Paradise. After Satanael had returned, Michael said the following: "*Worship thou the image of God, which he hath made according to his likeness.*" (IV: 54) This Beliar did not agree on and he consequently declined to perform the obeisance Michael orders him to do:

*"I am fire of fire, I was the first angel formed, and shall worship clay and matter? And Michael saith to me: Worship, lest God be wroth with thee. But I said to him: God will not be wroth with me; but I will set my throne over against his throne, and I will be as he is."* (IV: 54-55)

Satanael was mistaken, due to his rebellion, God became angry with him and opened the windows of heaven and cast him down. Furthermore he was followed by the six hundred angels that had been under him, who followed Satanael's example and would like Satan not worship man. Because they as well regarded man to be below them in rank (IV: 56). After

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<sup>93</sup> The Lat. 2 manuscript amplifies enormously according to James. *New Apocryphal New Testament*, 177

forty years of being senseless Satanael woke up and together with his son, Salpsan, made a plan on how he could deceive man, who they regarded to be the reason why Satan was cast out of heaven. Beliar describes their plan: that he took a vial in his and put sweat from his breast and armpits into it. With the sweat he polluted water which Eve later came to drink from (IV: 59). This led to that desire came upon her, and as consequence Satan was able to deceive her. At this point Bartholomew has no more questions to pose and command Beliar to go back into Hell.

Toward the end of the chapter Jesus explain his tasks on earth. First he prays to his God and father, to save the sinners (VI: 64). He also explains to Bartholomew that he is given the name Christ by his father in order to come down to the earth to: *....anoint every man that cometh unto me with the oil of life: and he did call me Jesus that I might heal every sin of them that know not . . . and give unto men (several corrupt words: the Latin has) the truth of God*"(IV:65) His task is to heal the sins and to bring the truth about God to men. A suggestion to what the missing words in the middle of the quotation might be that Jesus must bring the message about God to the ignorant, the ones who have never heard about God. So that also their sins may be forgiven. The last words of verse 65 might be interpreted as that his task is also to tell the truth about God, which implies that his word has been corrupted.

Finally Bartholomew asks: *"Lord, is it lawful for me to reveal these mysteries unto every man?"* (IV:66)

Jesus answers as follow: *as many as are faithful and are able to keep them unto themselves, to them mayest thou entrust these things. For some there are that be worthy of them, but there are also other some unto whom it is not fit to entrust them: for they are vain (swaggerers), drunkards, proud, unmerciful, partakers in idolatry, authors of fornication, slanderers, teachers of foolishness, and doing all works that are of the Devil, and therefore are they not worthy that these should be entrusted to them.* (IV:67)

Jesus also adds that the secrets should only be revealed to the ones that are able to keep the mysteries to themselves. Again Jesus as Beliar list up sins, and stresses that the ones that performs these sins are not to become familiar with the gospel.

## **Discussion: chapter IV.**

Before the Devil is summoned an interesting discussion takes place. Again as in chapter III Eve's transgression is mentioned and Peter states that, by giving birth to Jesus, Virgin Mary has made up for what Eve did (IV:6). This is no doubt a reference to Genesis 3: 1-24, where the Fall of Man is described and according to this narrative it was Eve who initiated the Fall.

One can assume that the author of the text did not see it necessary to comment this any further and that it was not necessary to comment to the reader of the text why only Eve is mentioned, as the ancient readers possibly must have known why, and that Adam transgressed as well. Thus what is not explained in the text one can assume was common knowledge at the time when the text was authored.

However the main theme of this chapter is Bartholomew's questions and Beliar's answers. The reason why Bartholomew wants to see the Adversary besides possibly curiosity, is that he wanted to see how he works and who he is. What is the most intriguing part of chapter IV of the gospel is where Beliar appears, and the description of him is given. The size of the Devil puts an emphasis on the danger of what Bartholomew is doing, and that he is performing a heroic task, which is rewarded by that he allowed seizing power over Beliar. Moreover, a frightening description is given of the Devil. It is quite interesting to notice that the two Latin manuscript describes the Devil as a larger creature than the Greek and oldest manuscript. Why these differences have occurred is difficult to find out, but it may possibly be that the copyists of the Latin manuscript wanted to give the Devil a more frightening appearance and therefore described him as a larger creature than in the manuscript he copied. However regarding the alterations this must only speculations. In order to be able to trace where these changes has occurred, one has to know which manuscripts that were used as source(s) by the copyist(s).

What Beliar reveals to Bartholomew is that he was created prior to Adam and that it was his rebellious disobedience, when he declined to worshipping Adam that led to his downfall. It was due to his pride that he declined to follow God's command to worship Adam created from clay and water. Therefore Beliar regarded himself as being superior to Adam, as he was made of fire and also because Beliar was created before man. The fact that he also had an ambitious plan; to become like God, seems to be another reason that caused his downfall.

Furthermore in chapter IV numerous sins are listed which led to condemnation and terrible punishment. Thus there should be no doubt in the minds of the reader of the text, what kind of actions qualifies man to a meeting with Beliar's fiery wheel with knives and pipes. Beliar tells that he has helpers or "swift ministers" that he and his six hundred angels commands to do their work among humans. These helpers hunt for men and entice them with various kinds of pleasure and other actions which man is feasible to do. The ministers are using hooks and their bait is drunkenness and laughter, backbiting, hypocrisy, pleasures and fornication among others (IV: 44). What comes into mind when reading this is that these are qualities that man

very likely might be suspected to have and to perform. Moreover, what are described here might plainly be unwanted qualities of a true Christian believer. Thus this text provide guidelines to its reader about what not to do, thus this texts is also normative as it is setting standards for the rules of behaviour of the believers.

Finally what Jesus states about to whom these secrets can be revealed to. Is limiting people's possibility to gain access to the text. What Jesus really does is tell, is that the mysteries could not be revealed to most people. If the text initially was meant to line up normative rules to the believers, then sinners should be allowed to become familiar with the content of the text. After all it is the sinners that have snatched Beliar's bait, who are the partakers in the activities listed up Jesus. However, due to fact that the knowledge in the text is a secret to them, they will not be warned about the risk they are running by boasting, being drunkards, being unmerciful, being partakers of idolatry, being vain, being engaged in fornication, being slanderers, being teachers of foolishness and by doing the Devil's work (IV: 67).

Another fact which supports that this text should be kept as a secret is that throughout the whole text the danger of the knowledge revealed to Bartholomew and the Apostles is a recurrent theme. This underlines also that the content of the text should not be known to most people.

### **An overview of the content in chapter V.**

The themes of this chapter are sin, baptism and marriage. However it is only the first theme described which is of interest of this study, and thus it is only the first mentioned matter which will be referred to and discussed here.

Bartholomew asked Jesus what is the heaviest of all sins. Jesus gives an elaborate answer:

*“Verily I say unto thee that hypocrisy and backbiting is heavier than all sins for because of them, the prophet said in the psalm, that 'the ungodly shall not rise in the judgement, neither sinners in the council of the righteous', neither the ungodly in the judgement of my Father. Verily, verily, I say unto you, that every sin shall be forgiven unto every man, but the sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven.”* (V: 2)

According to this the hypocrites and the backbiters are the most serious sinners. Moreover, it is told that a sin against the Holy Ghost is unforgivable. However how to perceive what the latter mentioned sin consist of is difficult, and therefore the next question Bartholomew poses is: *what is the sin against the Holy Ghost?* (V: 4)

The reply to this is: *Whosoever shall decree against any man that hath served my holy Father hath blasphemed against the Holy Ghost: For every man that serveth God worshipfully is worthy of the Holy Ghost, and he that speaketh anything evil against him shall not be forgiven*

(V: 4). This answer aims at those who are not among the Christians believers, and that they will not be forgiven their sins.

### **Discussion: chapter V.**

Again in this chapter sin and evil actions not be performed by a righteous believer is listed up.

Jesus also touches the theme about a judgement, quoting a psalm. In the psalm it is referred to the ungodly, possibly to be understood as the sinners, and that they shall *not rise in the judgement* (V: 2). In other words they will not survive the Day of Judgement.

Finally the unbelievers or the ones that do not confess to the Christian religion, who speak against the Christians or the Holy Ghost shall not able to receive forgiveness. This answer might be regarded as a comfort to the believers, that the ones who criticize or even work against the Christians will never be forgiven.

### **Textual relations to Canonical and non- canonical books.**

In this chapter similarities with other ancient texts will be pointed out. When examining and discussing these similarities it is important to bear mind that due to the difficulties of giving the Gospel an exact time of origin and the fact that many of the religious writings has been inspired by oral transmission of old legends or stories it is difficult to establish who is the oldest text and which of them are the inspirational source. Moreover, in the examples shown below it is difficult to find out more than just the fact that the texts have inspired each other or that they had common sources from which they extracted common material. It is also important to bear in mind that in ancient times it was not uncommon to borrow ideas, themes and wordings from other authors. Therefore it is not unusual to find the same themes or part of themes in several writings.

When it comes to inspirational sources regarding the theme, a Scripture in the Old Testament, *Isaiah 14*, which describes the Fall of Lucifer and his pride leding to his downfall, may be regarded as one of the sources that may have inspired the authors of the Gospel of Bartholomew. There are two verses which are of special interest regarding the theme in Isaiah. Below is an excerpt which tells about pride and plans prior a downfall is described:

*I will ascend to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God; I will sit enthroned on the mount of assembly, on the utmost heights of the sacred mountain (14:13) I will ascend above the top of the clouds; I will make myself like the Most High. (Isa. 14:14).<sup>94</sup>*

In the Gospel of Bartholomew the same pride and plans are revealed by the Devil himself: *but I will set my throne over against his throne, and I will be as he is. (IV: 55)* This utterance shows that pride was regarded as negative quality by the authors of the two latter mentioned writings, and moreover the plans to become like God in Isaiah, referred to as the Most High, must be regarded as a threat against the power of God. What the texts portrays here: pride and hubris must be seen as contributors to the Fall of Lucifer or Beliar. A similar textual relation between the Latin version 15:3 and the Gospel of Bartholomew will be discussed below.

Moreover there are textual parallels between the Latin version of the Life of Adam and Eve and the Gospel of Bartholomew. They can be found in the passages where The Archangel Michael urges The Devil to worship Adam.

The first textual similarity:

Latin version: Then Michael called the angels and said to them “*Worship the image of the Lord God, as the Lord God has instructed*” (14:1) His demand is repeated again: “*Worship the image of God, Yahweh*” (14:2)

In the Gospel of Bartholomew the Archangel’s demand is very similar to that in the Latin version: “*Worship thou the image of God, which he hath made according to his likeness.*” (IV: 54)

The second textual parallel:

In the Latin version Michael say the following to the Devil, when he declines to worship Adam “*the Lord God will be wrathful with you*” (15: 2). A part of Satan’s answer him sounds like this: “*I will set my throne above the stars of heaven and will be like the Most High* (15:3)

In the Gospel of Bartholomew the following similar words is uttered by Beliar: “*Worship, lest God be wroth with thee. But I said to him: God will not be wroth with me; but I will set my throne over against his throne, and I will be as he is.*” (IV: 54-55)

The above mentioned similarities are striking and shows that either one of them has used the other text as a source in the passage where Satan is urged to worship Adam by Michael or they have had a common source possibly Isaiah (see above).

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<sup>94</sup> Excerpt taken from Blue Letter Bible. “ The Major Prophet Isaiah 14-(NIV). Blue Letter Bible, 1996-2011. Available at URL:< <http://blueletterbible.org/Bible.cfm?b=Isa&t=NIV> > Accessed date:18.5.2011

### **Discussion: the Gospel of Bartholomew.**

Eve's transgression mentioned in the beginning of chapter IV and that Peter states Virgin Mary has made up for her transgression, seems like a theme taken out of the context of the rest of the chapter, as it was the theme in chapter III. Nevertheless, Peter's statement is interesting and may refer to Genesis 3, where it is stated that Eve was the first to transgress and therefore might be seen as the one who is to blame for the Fall of Man. Wagner argues that due to the fact that the five first church leaders of the Christian church were men, in what can be seen as a part of the formative period of the Christian church, this influenced the Christian view on Eve: how she was perceived and her responsibility regarding the Fall of Man.<sup>95</sup>

In the Gospel it is not only the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of man that is described. The purpose of Jesus' descent to the Underworld and the defeat of Beliar are also depicted. The battle described to have been fought between Jesus and Beliar in chapter I, is also a battle about the souls of man. According to the Christian belief, the souls of the dead humans resided in Hell or Hades, prior to the crucifixion of Jesus. His actions when he descended to the Underworld and overthrew Satan, also symbolises a restoration of the divine power disrupted by the fall of the Devil and Adam and Eve's transgression when sin entered into the world (Genesis 3 1:24). What is depicted through Beliar's account of his pursue of man, might possibly be seen as a struggle for power going on between God and his divine entourage on the one side and the Devil and his cohort on the other side. In this battle Jesus is depicted as a warrior sent by God to save the believers who are entrapped in Hades, in order to bring them to Paradise.

The rebel angel aroused God's anger and therefore he was thrown out through the windows of heaven. The next event the Fall of Man is explained as a consequence of the first Fall. Because the expulsion of Satanael caused the Devil to pursue man and to revenge himself on him, in order to deceive the one he reckoned was to blame for his unfortunate fate. To be able to deceive Eve, Beliar polluted Eve's drinking water with his sweat. Here the first step towards the Fall of Man is taken. Eve became a tool in the hands of the Devil, because she drank water polluted by him. This water intoxicated her and she became unable to defend herself against Beliar's cunning plan. Here in the text Bartholomew unfortunately interrupts

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<sup>95</sup> Walter H. Wagner. *Christianity in the second century after the apostles* ( Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), x



Beliar and denies him to describe any further the following event. This leaves the reader to think for himself what happened next, or more likely that this theme was well known to the ancient reader and therefore the author(s) rendered it unnecessary to include it in the text.

According to Jesus the knowledge of the text should be kept as a secret to sinners and others who were not able to keep the mysteries to themselves. The importance of secrecy is also emphasised by the danger of the knowledge of the content of this text and is stressed several times that the content is not meant for weak persons.

The deeds of Jesus in the first chapter, which led to forgiveness and salvation of man, Virgin Mary's who gave birth to the Son of God described in the second chapter, and Bartholomew's acts when he seized power over Beliar, is the good and heroic deeds which stands in contrast to the sins and evil deeds performed by Beliar, his angles, helpers and the sins mentioned in chapter IV and V. In this way the text illuminates the consequences of the first and second Fall and the consequences the sinners have to face if they allows themselves to be deceived by the Devil, who deceives humans to sin.

### **Conclusion: the Gospel of Bartholomew.**

This text describes the last meeting between Jesus and his Apostles. Jesus has resurrected from death and completed his mission to defeat the Devil and save the righteous believers. He has now summoned the apostles in order to give them the last instructions before he ascends to heaven. According to this text one of the apostles, Bartholomew, is allowed to ask whatever he wants to ask about. Bartholomew uses the opportunity to ask what Jesus did when he disappeared from the cross and also about the Adversary, how he is and what his work is. The inquisitive Bartholomew gains knowledge about the Devil. He was told that Beliar once was a divine creature, but due to his pride and rebellious behaviour, he was cast out of heaven. Trough his dialogue with the adversary he get to know that due to his hatred towards Adam, the Devil pursue man and tries to deceive him to commit sin.

It is Bartholomew's curiosity and desire to pursue knowledge, which is the instrument to gain the knowledge from the interviewees: Jesus, Virgin Mary and Beliar. What is pointed out through the discussions is that Satanael before his expulsion regarded himself to be superior to Adam and that this is what provoked him to rebel against their common creator. What is described by the Beliar to have caused his Fall, besides that he blames Adam, is his haughtiness misled him to rebel against God's commandment to worship what he had created in his own image, and furthermore his plan to become like God. This provoked God and he

became angry with the rebellious angel and disposed him out through the windows of heaven. This incident is the reason why the Devil pursues man. The Devil, after his downfall has undertaken the task of pursuing man which has left man vulnerable to his attacks and a target for evil influences.

### **The portrayal of the Fall of Iblis and the Fall of man in the Quran.**

Islam is a religion that emerged in the Arabic peninsula during the seventh century AD. According to the Islamic religious doctrine it was Muhammad ibn Abdullah (570-632 A.D.) of the Hashemite clan of Quraysh in Mecca, who started to receive messages from God through the Archangel Gabriel around 610 A.D.<sup>96 97</sup> Muhammad stated that he received revelations in order to rectify errors that had occurred in the Jewish and Christian interpretation of word of God.

Muhammad continued to receive messages or revelation until he died in 632 A.D. His revelations were collected partially by his wives, companions and scribes and collected in a book, the Quran, twenty years after the death of Muhammad under the direction of the Caliph Uthman.<sup>98</sup> The Quran thus originated in the Arabian Peninsula and Islam is the youngest religion among the monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Moreover, the Quran is according to Muslims the ultimate revelation of the word of God. Accordingly the Quran is regarded as a holy book.

The Fall of the Devil and the Fall of man is mentioned in a similar manner in the Quran as the other texts examined in this study. There are several Surahs in the Quran that deal with the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of man. They are thematically close to how the events are portrayed in the texts previously examined in this study.

The Fall of Iblis resulted not only in deception of Adam and Eve; he also became engaged in misleading man astray until the Day of Judgment. He is therefore perceived to be present in the every day life of humans. This is reflected in several Hadith. Therefore some Hadith that deal with this matter will also be examined after the examination of the Surahs.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Esposito. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, 211-212

<sup>97</sup> Norman A. Stillman. *The Jews of Arab Lands A History Source Book* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 5

<sup>98</sup> Esposito. *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, 256-257

<sup>99</sup> Esposito in "The Oxford Dictionary of Islam", 101.

The description and analysis of the Surahs will be done in the same chapter, as will also be done when the Hadith are examined. Then some textual and thematically similar writings will be mentioned, before the discussion and conclusion about the surahs in the Quran and the Hadith.

### **The Fall of Iblis in the Quran.**

There is some uncertainty if Iblis, who is equivalent with Satan in the Jewish and Christian religion, is to be reckoned as a jinn or a pre-existent angel. In *the Encyclopaedia of Islam* it is stated that the Quran counts him among the angels.<sup>100</sup> According to the latter mentioned book prior to Iblis' refusal to bow down to Adam he retains his proper name Iblis, but when he is portrayed as a tempter he is named al-Shaytan (the Demon).<sup>101</sup> The name Iblis might be derived from the Greek word *diabolos* (διάβολος), the use of this term may indicate Christian influence. The name Satan or more correct in Arabic al-Shayṭān is a cognate to the Hebrew term Satan.<sup>102</sup>

In the Quranic account of the creation of man it is recorded that some angels resented the idea about a successor on earth, when God presented his idea about such a creation, the angels disliked his proposal. They argued that such a figure may create havoc and cause bloodshed on earth (Q 2:30). Despite the angels' warnings, God created Adam. After he had done this, God commanded the angels to worship Adam. Iblis resented what God had created and did not obey God's command, to bow down to Adam:

*15:26 And We did certainly create man out of clay from an altered black mud*

*15:27 And the jinn We created before from scorching fire*

*15:28 And [mention, O Muhammad], when your Lord said to the angels, "I will create a human being out of clay from an altered black mud.*

*15:29 And when I have proportioned him and breathed into him of My [created] soul, then fall down to him in prostration."*

*15:31 Except Iblees, he refused to be with those who prostrated*

*15:32 [Allah] said, O Iblees, what is [the matter] with you that you are not with those who prostrate?*

*15:33 He said, "Never would I prostrate to a human whom You created out of clay from an altered black mud."*

*15:34 [Allah] said, "Then get out of it, for indeed, you are expelled.*

*15:35 And indeed, upon you is the curse until the Day of Recompense."*

In these Surahs the fall of Iblis is described, as in the text which has been examined previously in this study: Iblis did refuse to bow down to Adam. He justifies his refusal with

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<sup>100</sup> B.Lewis, V.L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat. and J. Schacht (Editors), assisted by C. Dumont, E. van Donzel and G.R. Hawting. *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume III* (H-Iram) (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 669

<sup>101</sup> Lewis et. Al. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 668

<sup>102</sup> Bamberger Bernard J. *Fallen Angels Soldiers of Satan's Realm* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2006), 114

that he would not bow down to a human created of clay. This statement indicates that he does not regard it appropriate for him to subdue to a creation originated from clay, as this description of Adam can be perceived as derogatory. Iblis is presented to the reader of the Quran as arrogant and that he sees himself as superior to Adam. However what is stated in Surah 15:27, that the **jinn** was created before (Adam) from fire is confusing. It indicates that it was a jinni who was involved in the rebellion against God's command. However Surah 15:31 refers to Iblis and that he refused to do as God commanded him.

In Surah 7:12 Iblis again has the word: *I am better than him. You created me from fire and created him from clay.* This statement supports the previous mentioned theory about Iblis' notion of himself: as he, who is created from fire, regards himself to be ranked above Adam, who is created from clay. This indicates that Iblis reckons himself to be superior to such a creature.

Furthermore it is stated that his refusal led to his expulsion from heaven.

Moreover, in Surah 15: 35 it is stated that he received an additional punishment, he was cursed and that this came into immediate effect. Saeed argues that it is told in the Quran that God did not react immediately with any punishment towards Iblis' disobedience, but let the matter in rest until the Day of Judgment.<sup>103</sup> However God's curse must be considered as a punishment. Furthermore until that day Satan is engaged in trying to led Adam and his descendants astray from the path of God.

Another Surah, presumably revealed to Muhammad during his stay in Medina where he came into close contact with Jews (see discussion below), describes the proud and disobedient angel prior to his fall is as follows:

*2:34 And when we said to the angels: make obeisance to Adam they did obeisance, but Satan (did not). He refused and he was proud, and he was one of the unbelievers or disobedient to Allah.*

*2:35 And We said, "O Adam, dwell, you and your wife, in Paradise and eat therefrom in [ease and] abundance from wherever you will. But do not approach this tree, lest you be among the wrongdoers."*

*20:117 So We said, "O Adam, indeed this is an enemy to you and to your wife. Then let him not remove you from Paradise so you would suffer.*

Here Satan is described as an unbeliever. This may be rooted in the notion that Islam is a religion which emphasizes that true believers do make obeisance to Allah. It is fundamental in the Islamic religion, as also indicated in the meaning of the name of the religion, Islam, which

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<sup>103</sup> Saeed. "Contextualizing" 43-45.

is submission or peace. Therefore the ones who surrender himself or herself to the will of God or his law are at peace with both themselves and with their God.<sup>104</sup>

However as explained in Surah 2:35, When Adam and his wife were living in Paradise, they were warned by God not to approach one special tree which he points out to them. If they approach it they run the risk of ending up as a wrongdoer or a sinner.

In another Surah, 20:117, they are also being warned about Iblis, described as the enemy. Moreover, they are also being made aware of what the enemy is able to do, or what he wants to do: remove them from Paradise.

In the Surah below, 20:120, the tree, which Adam and Eve are warned not to approach is mentioned by name:

*20:120 "Then Satan whispered to him; he said, "O Adam, shall I direct you to the tree of eternity and possession that will not deteriorate."*

The tree is called the tree of eternity, which can possibly be associated with the tree called the tree of immortality. The name mentioned in Surah 20:120, is peculiar considering that it is not described in the Quran that Adam and Eve achieved immortality after eating fruit from the forbidden tree. What is described by Allah in Surah 2:35, as also stated above, is that they will end up as wrongdoers. Satan in the above Surah is portrayed as the seducer of Adam, Eve is not mentioned as partaker in any plot against her husband.

In the next Surah the consequences of Satan seduction are described:

*2:36. " But Satan caused them to slip out of it and removed them from that [condition] in which they had been. And We said, "Go down, [all of you], as enemies to one another, and you will have upon the earth a place of settlement and provision for a time."*

What the slip consist of is not revealed, the ones who slipped is referred to as them. This reference most certainly point to Adam and his wife who were mentioned in the previous Surah in 2:35. What the slip caused, is informed to be that they were commanded to go down, possibly to be understood as that they were expelled from heaven and cast down to the earth. Furthermore their punishment seems to include some kind of damnation; to become enemies.

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<sup>104</sup> Esposito, Oxford Dictionary of Islam, 144

The matter of becoming enemies is in the following Surah extended to include Adam and Eve's descendants:

*20:123*"[ Allah ] said, "Descend from Paradise - all, [your descendants] being enemies to one another. And if there should come to you guidance from Me - then whoever follows My guidance will neither go astray [in the world] nor suffer [in the Hereafter]."

In addition to describe the expulsion from Paradise and hostility between humans, the descendants are left some hope. If they follow Allah's guidance they will not go astray or suffer.

*20:121*"And Adam and his wife ate of it, and their private parts became apparent to them, and they began to fasten over themselves from the leaves of Paradise. And Adam disobeyed his Lord and erred."

By eating the forbidden food, Adam and his wife, became aware of their nakedness. According to this they apparently had been blissfully unaware that they were naked, or this may indicate that through their transgression some kind of bodily transformation took place. However exactly what happened regarding the phenomenon of this sudden awareness is not explained further in the text. The knowledge of their nakedness which was achieved by eating forbidden fruit is also described in the Life of Adam and Eve, in the Greek version 20:1; 23:2 and in Genesis 3:7; 3:11.

### **Hadith.**

Hadith serve as a source to Muhammad's life, and reports some of his words and deeds. As showed below also words and sayings of Prophet Muhammad's close companions also have been collected and preserved.

There are several references to Satan in the book *Hadith of Bukhari*. Bukhari is the collector of these Hadith, which is recognized as authentic and Canonical. This collection is considered to be one of the most authoritative sources of the Hadith.

In Hadith 4:522 narrated by Abu Huraira quotes what Prophet Muhammad once said: "When you hear crowing of cocks, ask for Allah's blessing for (the crowing indicates that) they have seen an angel. And when you hear the braying of donkeys, seek Refuge with Allah from Satan for (their braying indicates) that they have seen a Satan".<sup>105</sup> In this verse it is referred to a Satan, which may indicate a notion that more than one Satan exists. Tayob argues that according to the Islamic belief, Iblis is the chief

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<sup>105</sup> Excerpt from a Anonymous *Hadith of Bukhari Volumes I,II,III &IV*. By anonymous (Forgotten Books, republ.2008),668- 669

Satan, and that his servants are collectively called Satanas.<sup>106</sup> Considering that donkeys possibly was not a rarity in the seventh century Arabian Peninsula, braying of donkeys must have been heard often. One can only imagine that this must have served as a constant reminder to the Muslim to watch their step and avoid evil forces.

Hadith 1:719 is narrated by Aisha, the daughter of the first caliph Abu Bakr and the second wife of Muhammad. She stated the following:” *I asked Allah’s Apostle about looking hither and thither in prayer. He replied. It is a way of stealing by which Satan takes away (a portion) from the prayer of the person*”<sup>107</sup> Thus according to this one could never feel safe from Satan. Even during prayer he is able to intermingle between a believer, his companions and Allah.

A Hadith 2:245 narrated by Abdullah:

A person was mentioned before the prophet (p.b.u.h.) and he was told that he had kept on sleeping till morning and had not got up for the prayer . The prophet said: “Satan has urinated in his ears”<sup>108</sup>

From what is stated here it is difficult to determine if Prophet Muhammad excuses the unfortunate man who overslept, or if he regards this as an adequate punishment of the man due to his mistake. On the other hand if the unfortunate man had urine in his ear, this might have prevented him from hearing the call for prayer and that this was just one of Satan’s methods to led a believer astray from his worship of Allah. In either way as in the Hadith told by Aisha, Satan causes human errors and mistakes and do not allow anybody to feel safe even in sleep or in prayer.

These three Hadiths may give a picture on how evil forces were perceived to exist and affect people’s everyday lives, and that malevolent forces constantly lurked in their surroundings in order to distract them in their faith and to led the believers astray.

### **The Quran and other canonical and non- canonical texts.**

The story about the creation of man in the Quran very much resembles the same event portrayed in the Hebrew bible, in Genesis 1:26-27; 2:17; 3:3; 3:10. The Jewish scriptures previously examined in this study, do not describe that the angels had any saying in the matter of the creation of man. Nor are there any reference in Genesis to that the creation of man, led

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<sup>106</sup> Abulkader Tayob. *Islam a short introduction*. Signs, symbols and values (Oxford: Oneworld, 1999), 51

<sup>107</sup> Excerpt from Anonymous. *Hadith of Bukhari*, 150

<sup>108</sup> Excerpt from Anonymous. *Hadith of Bukhari*, 225

Satan to oppose God. Thus the story about how sin came into the world according to the Quran, is in part based on the events portrayed in the Hebrew Bible in Genesis 3:1-24.

It is possible that Muhammad had knowledge about the Fallen angel and how it happened from other Jewish or Christian writings. Johnson argues that he may have been familiar with the story through the Latin version of the Life of Adam and Eve (12:1,n). There are also similarities between some surahs in the Quran and the Gospel of Bartholomew, but again it is not possible to confirm which source Muhammad used.

In the Quran the following sentence can be read: *“I am better than him. You created me from fire and created him from clay.”* (7:12) Another Surah tells what kind of material Adam is made from: *“And [mention, O Muhammad], when your Lord said to the angels, “I will create a human being out of clay from an altered black mud”* (15:28).

In the Gospel of Bartholomew the following is stated: *“I am fire of fire, I was the first angel formed, and shall worship clay and matter?”* (IV: 54) Thus the notion that Iblis or Satan is created from fire and Adam is created from clay is common in the Quran and in the Gospel of Bartholomew.

The fact that there are coinciding descriptions in both writings indicate that they have a common source or that Muhammad knew the Gospel of Bartholomew or another source that describe the same material of origin. However there is disagreement about the nature of Iblis in the Quran, it is discussed whether he was a pre-existent angel or if he was a Jinni, which is a creature that has its roots in the pre-Islamic belief. These creatures are also believed to have originated from fire. Therefore Iblis mentioned in these Surahs might be a pre-Islamic figure incorporated in the Islamic belief.

### **Discussion: the Quran and Hadith.**

Bamberger, as stated earlier, argues that Muhammad used both Jewish and Christian literature and combined it with superstitions of his own people.<sup>109</sup> Meyer argues that the story about the Fall of the Devil seems to have been known by Muhammad presumably through the Life of Adam and Eve: the Latin version. Many of the themes told in the Quran about the Fall of the Devil resembles how it is portrayed in the verses 12-16, where Satan gives his account of what led to his expulsion from heaven.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Bamberger. *Fallen Angels*, 113

<sup>110</sup> Meyer referred by Johnson “Life of Adam and Eve”, 252



The question about the nature of Satan is discussed in the Islamic belief, if he is a Jinni or an angel.<sup>111</sup> A Jinni is a creature known in the pre-Islamic Arabia, believed that it is made of fire. In addition it is assumed that a Jinni has the ability to choose between good and evil.<sup>112</sup> It is also questionable if an angel has the ability to choose to follow God's command or not. Moreover, a theory that has emerged questions whether the demand to bow down to Adam was intended to make confusion.<sup>113</sup> It may be argued that the obeisance was instructed in order to stir up the arrogant jinn and on the basis of his response to God's demand, drive him out from heaven. One evidence to that he may be regarded as a Jinn is that in Surah 7:12 Satan himself argues the God has created him from fire.

Bamberger argue regarding the confusion about the nature of Iblis, that one should not expect logical consistency from one who he describes as an unlearned prophet of Arabia, and that he possibly took for granted the existence of both the Devil and the Demons (Jinn). In Guillaume's translation of *Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah* there are many references to contacts between Muhammad and Jews and that he managed to persuade some Jews to convert to Islam.<sup>114</sup> It is not unlikely that Muhammad received knowledge about Judaism through these contacts. Moreover, Muhammad also came into contact with Jews in Medina, the city he migrated to in 622 AD. It was here Muhammad began to set the course for the new religion and it is likely that Surah 2, in which among other the creation and Fall of man is told, is authored in Medina.<sup>115</sup>

### **Conclusion: the Quran and Hadith.**

The different examples shown above regarding the Surahs in the Quran and the similarities with Jewish and Christian writings is striking and it supports what Meyer suggests that Muhammad may have had knowledge of the legend of the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of Man possibly through the texts that describe the Life of Adam and Eve. Moreover, there are some resemblances regarding part of the theme with Genesis. The Quran describes the Fall of Iblis as a rebellious act toward God, and his command to bow down to Adam. The matter or

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<sup>111</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Quran*. Edited by B. Lewis, V.L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht, Assisted by C. Dumont, E. van Donzel and G.R. Hawting (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 669

<sup>112</sup> Esposito "The Oxford Dictionary of Islam" 160

<sup>113</sup> B. Lewis, V.L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht, Assisted by C. Dumont, E. van Donzel and G.R. Hawting (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Quran*. (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 669

<sup>114</sup> A. Guillaume. *The life of Muhammad*, 260, 262

<sup>115</sup> The fact that Surah II is Medinan is based on that Scholars believe that Medinan Surahs tends to be longer than the surahs originated prior to the Hihjrah i.e. the migration to Medina. The earlier Meccan surahs are shorter and is placed in the back of the Quran, assumed to count 90 verses in all. For more information see Tamara Sonn "Introduction", 4

material from which Adam was created from seems to be a matter of concern to Iblis, and is one of his main arguments as to why he refused to bow down to him in the Quran.

To find answer to the question if Iblis originally was an angel or a Jinn is difficult. However he can be defined as a personification of the derivation of sin and evil. The Fall of man in the Quran is described to be initiated by Satan, as the tempter of Adam, and that Adam's disobedience led to his expulsion from Paradise.

Eve has no major part in the Surahs examined above. She is portrayed as the wife of Adam and is not depicted as the tempter, nor is she blamed by her husband of any wrongdoings prior to his downfall.

Iblis, after his expulsion, take upon himself the task to pursue man in order to led him astray. He is a constant threat to man, and therefore man has to take extra care in order to avoid being influenced by him or let him interfere during his daily tasks or even during the night when he sleeps.

## **Discussion, similarities and differences between the traditions.**

### **The Fall of the Devil**

The idea that man is superior to the angels and that God demanded the angels to worship Adam, seems to be a theme repeated in several of the texts. It was due to one angel, Satan or Sataniel as he is named in the Christian text, the Gospel of Bartholomew, who resisted God's command to bow down to Adam, that sin was introduced into the world. The reason why Satan refused to bow down to Adam is rendered in the Latin version, the Greek version, the Gospel of Bartholomew and in the Quran, which tells that the Devil rebelled against God due to his pride, jealousy and resentment towards Adam. Moreover primogenitor is an issue in these writings, as the Devil claim that he is born prior to Adam and therefore is not obliged to bow down to him. He also states that the material Adam is created from is a matter of concern for him, and this is portrayed to be one of the factors which contributed to the Devil's claim about his superiority over Adam together with his claim of primogeniture. That Adam was created from clay is also stated in the Latin version and in the Gospel of Bartholomew. The Fact that the Devil makes an issue out of what he and Adam are created from is also emphasised in the Quran. Several Surahs points to that Iblis declined to prostrate to a human created from clay, as Iblis himself is created from fire. Iblis' declined to bow down to Adam and consequently also refused to follow or bow down to Allah's. This is a matter that touches the very core of the Islamic belief, which renders the demand to submission of the believers to Allah of being of the utmost importance.

Moreover, the statement that Adam was created in the image of God might together with the claim toward Satan that he should worship him, may be the reason why the Devil is jealous. This he also argue in the Latin version. In this text the Devil is urged by Michael repeatedly to worship the image of God (13:3; 14:2:15:2.). It is also mentioned in the Gospel of Bartholomew that this was demand was forwarded several times.

Another utterance made by the Devil also characterises his arrogance, his pride and his inability to see his own limitations; he argue that he has plans to put up a throne in heaven and that he want to become like the Most High. This is stated in the Latin version and in a similar manner in the Gospel of Bartholomew, IV: 54-55. In the Quran, in the Surahs included in this study, there are no such similar utterances stated by Iblis.

In the Latin version, the Devil is not willing to admit that he is to blame for his unfortunate fate, the expulsion from Paradise. He blames Adam and to underline the value of this statement he mentions it twice (Lat. ver. 12:2; 16:1). That fact that he put the blame on Adam, is also found in the Gospel of Bartholomew. In this text Satan admits that he has plans to revenge himself on man, who is to blame for his expulsion from heaven. (Gos. Bart. IV:58 ). In the Surahs of the Quran, referred to in this study, Satan does not put forward any claim about Adam's guilt. However it is stated that he pursued Adam and that he succeeded in making him to eat from the tree of eternity.

### **The Fall of Man**

Adam is given the word in both the Latin and Greek version of the Life of Adam and Eve. Adam does not blame the Devil for his Fall, but he depicts him as his opponent. This is possibly to be understood as that these two fights against each other in some kind of battle, as Adam denominates him as the adversary in the Latin version (33:3). In Surah 20:117, The Devil is described as the enemy which can be perceived as being an opponent in a battle as well. The battle that is being fought between man and the Devil is mentioned in the text with Christian allusions, but the second part is stated to have it origin in the Judaic tradition; Apocalypse of Sedrach. As Sedrach asks God about: *Who can fight against an invisible spirit?* (5:5). This points towards a notion portrayed in these texts that man is fighting a battle against the Devil or evil spirits to avoid negative influence by them.

However in both the Latin and Greek version Adam states that his wife, Eve, gave the illicit fruit to him (Lat. ver. 33:3, Greek ver. 7:3). Furthermore in the Geek version Adam blames Eve that he is dying (7:1), and implicitly he also reveals that he regards Eve as an easier target

than Adam, and that she is more likely to be viable for the Devil's efforts to trick and deceive them. He states that Eve was the only one to be guarded by the angels prior to their downfall. He also tells that she became tricked by The Devil to eat the forbidden fruit and that it happened when neither he nor the angels were guarding her (7:2).

In the Apocalypse of Sedrach, Sedrach put the blame on God as he states Adam was deceived by God's will (5:1). According to him it was because of the banishment of the disobedient angel who declined to worship Adam (5:1-2). This statement has no parallel in any of the other writings included in this study. Moreover, the Quran regarding who is responsible for the Fall of Man, has a major difference from the Latin and Greek version, as Eve is not mentioned to be the one who tempted Adam to eat what they were told not to eat. The Devil is depicted as the tempter, and that it was he who persuaded Adam to transgress God's command (20:120) In another Surah it is described that The Devil caused them to slip (2:36), indicating that both Adam and Eve transgressed. In the latter mentioned Surah also the consequences of their disobedience is mentioned, that they were banished to the earth and that they should become each others enemies.

The expulsion of Adam and Eve is a theme that most of the writings examined has in common. In the Latin version on the other hand Adam does not mention the expulsion, but puts an emphasise on his bodily pains as the punishment for his transgression influenced by Eve (Lat. ver. 34:1-3) This is also pointed out by Adam in the Greek ver. (8:2). This form for punishment is only mentioned by Adam in these two texts.

Eve is allowed to give her portrayal of the events only in the Greek version, she describes that it was the serpent who the Devil used as a vessel to persuade her to eat fruit from the forbidden tree. According to her the serpent demanded her to swear that she would give the fruit to Adam as well (19:1). Consequently she implicitly blames the Devil. This becomes evident when she tells God how she deceived Adam. She informs that it was the Devil who spoke through her mouth when she opened her mouth (21:3). However she also takes the blame for her transgression later, as she stated that sin is introduced to the world due to her (Greek ver. 32:2-3). Eve also tells that as they were expelled from Paradise, Adam actually takes the blame and ask God for forgives for his mistake (27:3).

Eve in the Greek version introduces a new and what must be regarded as a negative quality to be the reason why the Devil caused her transgression (19:3). This quality she describe as covetousness and that this type of desire led the Devil to deceive her. Therefore to desire what others have is described by her to be what led to the Fall of Man.

In the Greek version Eve's reveals that both she and Adam realised that they were naked immediately after their transgression (20:1; 23:2). This then might be regarded as they gained more than the knowledge of good and evil, as they realised their nakedness. Especially since it seems like this have not been a matter of concern to them previously. Moreover, this is also a theme in the Quran, in Surah 20:121. It is described that they became aware of their private parts, and because of this they covered themselves with leaves. This points to that according to the Islamic belief the transgression might have caused a bodily transformation. Whereas in the Greek version one can only determine that a new awareness were gained by man.

Adam tells that they both were warned not to eat from one specific tree (the Lat. ver. 32:1-2, the Greek ver. 7:1) Eve also confirms this in her account in the Greek version (17:5). The same warnings are given in the Quran in Surah 2:35, as they also are warned about the consequences, that they will become wrongdoers or sinners. They are also warned by God about the consequences of eating the forbidden fruit. According to Adam they would die if that ate fruit from the forbidden tree (Greek ver. 7:1). The same consequences are revealed by God. and also referred to by Eve (Greek ver.17:5). In the Apocalypse of Sedrach the same warning was given to them prior to the transgression, God argues (4:5).

As previously mentioned there is a difference between some of the texts when it comes to name of the tree which they were not allowed to eat fruit from. In the Latin version it is called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and that it is standing in the middle of Paradise (32:1). Two other writings which is examined in this study refers to the same tree as the tree of life. This is the Apocalypse of Sedrach (4:4) and the Quran in a Surah 20:120, that refers to it as the tree of eternity. The two latter writings' name of the tree is peculiar, as Adam and Eve was not rewarded with eternal life when they ate fruit from the forbidden tree. Also considering that they were warned about that they would die if they transgressed in the Apocalypse of Sedrach (4:4). Moreover, if we look at Genesis in the Old testament, which is perhaps has been used as source to one or several of these writings, it is defined that Adam and Eve were expelled from the garden of Eden after they had gained the knowledge about good and evil, in order to prevent them from helping themselves with fruit for the tree of Life, resulting in that he would live forever (3:22).

The question dealt with in several of the writing examined in this study; Who are to blame for the Fall of The Devil, the Fall of Man, and its consequences? This discussion is mainly dealt with as accusations made by the one who has the word in the different writings. When God is allowed to give his view on the matter through his discussion with Sedrach, the responsibility is put on Adam (ApocSe 4:5). This accusation is also directed against him by God in the Latin version (26:2), God's statement about Adam's responsibility is also included in Eve's account in the Geek version (24:1). This discussion also brings another perspective into question, if The Devil prior to his downfall, and man prior to his downfall had the ability to choose ones own actions or in other words if they had free will? If they had the latter mentioned ability, this enabled them to choose their own actions and therefore not obliged to follow what God commanded them to do. If they, on the other hand not were not equipped with this ability, then it is questionable if they rightfully could be punished by God for their actions. Because if free will were not granted to them they would only have one option, to follow whatever God demanded them to do. In this case God's punishment would be unjust. Moreover, God would then be the one to blame for their rebellion and transgression, because they could not choose to do otherwise. This is what Sedrach argues in the Apocalypse of Sedrach.

### **Results of the rebellion in heaven and the Fall of man.**

It is clear from the text that the expulsion of The Devil from Paradise caused the Fall of Man and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. This is stated in the Greek versions, the Apocalypse of Sedrach, the Gospel of Bartholomew and The Quran. In other words this seems to be an agreement between the text that originated in the Judaic-, the Christian- and the Islamic traditions. There is one text however which do not mention directly that the expulsion of man from Paradise was a result of mans transgression. In the Latin version Adam emphasises the bodily pains inflicted on him to be the punishment of the transgression and that his punishment is transferred to the following generations (Lat. ver. 34:2-3). He reveals that his punishment also is inflicted on his children. The fact that children inherit their parents' punishment is not mentioned in the other writings.

In the Gospel of Bartholomew The Devil gives a vivid description of his helpers and how they prey on believers in order to tempt them to sin. They use hooks with bate that entices the humans and deceives them to do evil things (VI: 43) Moreover, The Devil has a terrible device in the Underworld, in which he feeds the sinners and destroys them (VI:40).

Iblis or Satan's hunt for man is also emphasised in the Hadith of Bukhari which refers to what Prophet Muhammad, his second wife Aisha and one of his close companions said about Satan and his work. They tell that Satan is an evil force present in the believer's everyday life. He tries to trick the pious men, when they pray and even when they sleeps. Moreover, the donkeys may be perceived as an alarm system, when it brays it is a sign that Satan is nearby, and possibly that one should take extra care and mind the step in order to prevent oneself from being led astray by the tireless deceiver of man, Satan.

## **Conclusion**

### **The Fall of the Devil**

Even though most of the texts examined in this study is not included in the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament it does not mean that they have not been read and used as sources to ancient readers and their communities. On the other hand the existence of manuscripts that has originated from ancient times and through the centuries of the Middle Age, witness that they have been popular and in use in the different traditions. One can presume that they have been read, interpreted and discussed by believers belonging to the different traditions; the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims. The similarities between the stories told in the different texts, in this study, point to that Muhammad was familiar with the content of at least one of these texts.

The account about what caused the fall of The Devil described in the texts has originated in different religious traditions. The writings that describe the Fall of The Devil all tell that The Devil brought his unfortunate fate upon himself. It was what he possessed and what can be described as bad or unwanted human qualities that misled him to rebel against his superior creator. Some of his bad qualities were haughtiness or pride and his rebellious thoughts. His plans to become like God, challenged God's authority and power, and therefore a factor that can be considered to have contributed to his downfall. Especially since God himself in the Apocalypse of Sedrach describes himself as a jealous God, a quality which possibly makes him react towards anybody who challenges his power (6:6).

The Devil can be perceived as being portrayed in these legends as a creature that the reader of the texts could identify themselves with, and at the same time the qualities he possessed the reader of the writings should by all means resent. Furthermore the reader through the presentation of the theme in the writings was made aware of that what Satan represented; his rebellious behaviour was unwanted and threatening towards God's power and thus God had no option but to condemn him.

Furthermore, through the description of him and his fate resulting from his bad qualities and behaviour, he could be used as an example on what kind of qualities and what kind of actions a believer had to avoid. God's reaction towards Satan; the expulsion from Paradise, exemplifies the seriousness of the offence Satan committed against God.

The Judaic legend Genesis which is included in the Torah and in the Old Testament, might have inspired the Christian and the Islamic tradition and their belief in how to explain the emergence of sin, and how it was introduced in heaven and on earth. The first events were Satan's reaction towards God's command to bow down to Adam, created in the image of God. Moreover, the demand to bow down to Adam indicated that God perceived Adam as being superior to the angels and everything else that he had created. This provoked jealousy towards Adam. It is described in the Gospel of Bartholomew that the angel named Satanas declined to bow down to Adam as he regarded himself to be inferior to him. The question of who is inferior to who among God's creation is a theme debated in both the Latin version and the Gospel of Bartholomew. In the Quran the question about inferiority is based on what kind of material Iblis and man is created from. According to the Latin version, the Gospel of Bartholomew and the Quran, Satan is created from fire and Adam is created from clay. This also states that fire is perceived as a superior material to clay and therefore a creature that has originated from fire, like Satan or Iblis, gives him a superior status than Adam, who God made from clay. Moreover in the latter mentioned writings Satan, due to that he was created prior to Adam, claims that he is not obliged to bow down to Adam. Therefore Satan argues that partly due to the material he and Adam were created from and partly because Satan was created prior to Adam, he declined to follow God's command. Satan's reaction can be described as being caused by his pride.

Satan had the possibility to choose between following God's command to worship Adam or follow his own will controlled by his deceiving qualities misguiding him to sin. In other words Satan allowed these bad qualities, described previously to control his behaviour. Such qualities and behaviour were intolerable in a heavenly hierarchy which demands subordination of all creatures to God. It became necessary, in order to prevent Satan to interrupt the divine balance of power, to react against him, as Satan became a threat towards God's superiority.

Therefore what caused the Fall of the Devil can be described as his own bad qualities: his pride and jealousy towards Adam. These qualities and due to that he was able to choose not follow God's command to bow down to Adam. Sedrach in the text called the Apocalypse of



Sedrach, argues that God is to blame for the Devil's Fall, because he forwarded the command towards the angels which led to the Devil's rebellion.

### **The Fall of Man.**

Who caused the Fall of man is a matter of discussion in the different writings in this study. In the Quran it is told that it was Adam, tempted by Satan, who transgressed. Eve on the other hand is not mentioned to have played a role in the Fall of Man.

Adam explains that it happened when the angels were not on guard and Satan discovered that Eve was unguarded and seized the opportunity to deceive her. This is his portrayal of the incident in the Latin version. In the Greek version Adam do not stress that it was only Eve who had to be guarded, but that God's angels were guarding both of them. However the result was the same; Eve was deceived by Satan in an unguarded moment. In the Greek version it is the serpent used by Satan as a vessel, approached Eve and Satan spoke to her through the mouth of the serpent. He deceived her, and according to the Greek and Latin version she was the first human to transgress. It was Eve who was the first to take fruit from the tree and ate it. Thereafter Adam was the target. In the Greek version Eve defends her actions by telling that prior to her transgression she had promised the serpent to persuade Adam to do as she had done, to eat the forbidden fruit. She explains that it was actually not she who persuaded Adam, it was Satan who spoke through her mouth. Adam professes a different view and points toward Eve as being the one that caused him to transgress and therefore is to blame for his punishment. However Adam and Eve is not the only one who expresses their point of view in this matter. God also have an opinion concerning this matter and points towards Adam and that he is responsible for his own actions. God's opinion regarding this is confirmed in both the Greek and Latin versions and in the Apocalypse of Sedrach.

Eve in her account in the Greek version advances a plausible theory that it was Satan's covetousness that led him to pursue and deceive her. In the Latin version in Satan's account of his Fall he tells that after his Fall he was pained to see Adam in his "*..bliss of Delight*" (16:3) . Therefore he pursued Eve in order to be able to revenge himself on Adam, hoping that this would led to his expulsion. The desire to revenge his Fall is explained by him to be due to that he regards Adam to be responsible for his expulsion and the deprivation of Satan's former glory (16:4). It was what must be described as an unwanted quality that led to the Fall of Man. Again it was Satan who possessed this bad quality and the readers of the text again are being told that covetousness and envy led to no good and implicit a quality to be avoided.

Sdrach the hero in the Apocalypse of Sdrach boldly questions God's innocence regarding the Fall of man. He claims that due to his omniscience he should have anticipated the Fall and if he loved man he should have prevented it. He indicates that if Satan had been killed the Fall of Man would have been avoided altogether.

It is possible that the authors of these texts allow the reader of the writings to decide for themselves or that they have regarded who to blame as obvious. On the other hand the different communities the writings have originated in or have been used as literature may possibly have had a joint agreement on how to interpret the texts and what they told.

It can be stated that the origin of sin is due to man's ability to choose his own actions. If he did not have this ability, it would not be possible to blame Adam for his wrongdoing let alone his transgressions against God's commandments. The ability to be able to choose ones own actions, termed as free will is also a factor that might have led to the Fall of the Devil and Man. This is a matter implicitly discussed between God and Sdrach in the Apocalypse of Sdrach. The gift of free will may be considered to have contributed to the Fall of Man, if he had not been granted this ability he would not have been able to choose to disobey God. What caused the Fall of Man? Adam points to Eve, who again points to the serpent and the Devil when arguing who to blame for their transgression and Fall. Eve also argue that the Devil's covetousness led him to pursue her.

#### **What did the Fall of Man cause?**

It was not only the Devil who had to endure punishment for his rebellion also Adam and Eve had to be subjected to punishment due to their disobedience towards their creator. In the different writings different types of punishment are being mentioned. Adam and Eve did not only gain access to the knowledge about good and evil, they became aware of their nakedness. Adam puts an emphasis on punishment which was pain inflicted on him and the future generations. Eve on the other hand mentions several punishments: her and Adam's immediate awareness of their nakedness, expulsion from Paradise, the hard work of Adam, that she has to endure birth pains during childbirths and moreover, that her husband shall rule over her (Greek. Ver).

In The Gospel of Bartholomew it is told that Satan after his own downfall continues to pursue man by the use of helpers who constantly pursue man. The method they use can be compared with fishermen who are fishing, as the swift ministers uses barbed hooks with bate to allure man to take the bite. The ones who take the bate will helplessly be hooked, and become

Satan's prey. As a consequence the tricked men are termed as sinners and have become subject to the power of Satan and his punishment.

Satan's constant hunt for sinners is also described in the Hadith. Man can never escape him and thus should take care at any time, even when man is sleeping, Satan is able to deceive man.

Satan constant pursue of man and his effort to make him sin, may result in that man falls victim to Satan and that man becomes entrapped by him. What Satan is preying for is the soul of man, and to snatch souls dwelling in the divine power of God. A struggle Satan started due to God's demand to bow down to an inferior creature, which he declined and became punished for, as he was expelled fro Paradise and lost his former glory. It is perceived as an ongoing revenge on man and a struggle for power between Satan and God. In the Apocalypse of Sedrach, the hero negotiates on the behalf of man and asks for mercy on behalf of the sinners. Sedrach argues that the demands towards the sinners regarding the time of repentance is too strict. Sedrach succeeded in negotiating down the demanded time from three years to twenty days.

To sum up what led to the Fall of the Devil was his pride which again led him to pursue man. The reason why Satan wished to deprive Adam his glory was due to covetousness and jealousy. Therefore the Fall of the Devil did not only cause the Fall of Man, it started a battle of power between God and Satan. This battle is fought over the souls of the mortal human beings.

According to the Gospel of Bartholomew the souls of the humans that resided in Hell or Hades, prior to the crucifixion of Jesus has been saved through his action, when he seized power over Beliar. Thus Jesus when he descended to the Underworld and seized the power over Beliar, also symbolises a restoration of the divine power disrupted by Adam and Eve's Fall.

In this study ethical issues have been discussed and highlighted as they have been described in the writings that have been examined. The writings have given a glimpse into what ancient believers questioned and tried to find answer to. The authors of them have possibly used texts and Scriptures that had originated in different milieus or traditions. However it also reveal that the monotheistic religions are closely linked to each other, as they have common view and explain moral and ethical problems similarly. The writings used in this study have revealed that the Judaic-, Christian- and Islamic writings have common elements that describe how the Fall of the Devil or Iblis happened. It was due to God's command to bow down to Adam and

that one angel declined to follow the command and rebelled due to his haughtiness. According to the Islamic tradition however there is an uncertainty if the one who rebelled against God was an angel or a Jinni. In the Jewish and the Christian scriptures Eve, is pointed out as the first human who sinned, because she was deceived by Satan to eat forbidden fruit, which God had told them not to eat. The reason why Satan deceived Eve was due to his jealousy towards Adam. What happened next is that Adam ate the forbidden fruit, tempted by his wife. When God discovered the transgression they became banned from Paradise. In the Quran it is told that it was only Adam who transgressed as a result of being deceived by Satan. Furthermore it is told that as a result of the Fall of the Devil and the Fall of Man, humans have become a target for the Devil, as he constantly and tirelessly hunt for human sinners in order to lead them away from God.

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## Appendix 1<sup>116</sup>

- A1. 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent.; Venice ; ends at 36:3
- A2. 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.; Athos ; complete except 13:2-16:4 is missing.
- B. 13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> cent.; Vienna; omits 21:3-25:2 and 33:2
- C. 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cent.; Vienna; this is the most complete manuscript.
- D1 11<sup>th</sup> cent.; Milan; 18:1 -36-1 is missing
- D2 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent. ; Strassburg; complete
- D3 1518 A.D, Athens; complete
- D4 13<sup>th</sup> cent.; Athens; complete
- D5 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.; Andros; 16:3—29:3 is missing
- E1 16 cent. Paris; essentially complete
- E2 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> cent.; Montpellier, essentially complete
- F. 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.; Vatican; incomplete in 43; has the “repentance” following 29:6
- G. 16<sup>th</sup> cent.; Brescia; complete
- H 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.; Patmos; complete; has the “repentance” following 29:6
- M1 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.; Ankara; complete
- M2 16<sup>th</sup> cent.; Patmos; complete

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<sup>116</sup> Appendix1 copied from Johnson ”Life of Adam and Eve”, 250