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ON ADAM AND SATANA'EL
OR THE VIENNA PROTOLOGY*

While searching for Ethiopic texts on Adam and the Creation I came across a manuscript from the 17th or 18th centuries preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (*olim* K.u.k. Hofbibliothek) in Vienna (Aeth. 19) that contained a book of Adam. The text itself is untitled, and it was called *Adambuch*, supposedly by N. Rhodokanakis, the author of the collection's catalogue,¹ but only in the index. I expected it to be the known *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, but Rhodokanakis's account of the contents of the manuscript indicated that it was another composition, unknown to him. Rhodokanakis assumed that it was a type of commentary on the hexaemeron,² but his own summary of the text did not, in my opinion, confirm this assumption either.

On closer examination the text turned out to contain a story of God, Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel and the Devil, rather than being an *Adambuch* or *Hexaemeron*. *Faute de mieux*, I have entitled it *Vienna Protology* (henceforth, *VP*). My search for further manuscripts of the *Protology* was hindered by the lack of title for the Viennese text and has yielded no positive results. Consequently, the next step in "opening" the composition had to be, in addition to searching in the secondary literature, an internal analysis that might reveal the background to the text, its sources and its place in the Ethiopic literature on Adam. If my search for new manuscripts has not borne fruit, the search for scholarly literature on the topic showed that the text was not totally unknown. In fact, it was published in 1908 and translated into German by August Haffner.³ As the title of Haffner's publication ("An Ethiopian manuscript...") was not very informative, it is no surprise that the text remains little known, despite its being published. Consequently, presenting its contents is not totally out of place.

* Abbreviations used: *CEC* – *Cahiers des Études Cathares*; *CSCO* – *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*; *EAE* – *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*; *JA* – *Journal Asiatique*; *PO* – *Patrologia Orientalis*; *ROCh* – *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, *SAe* – *Scriptores Aethiopici* (within *CSCO*).

¹ The contents of the manuscript are interesting in themselves. We find here the *Legend of Alexander*, the *Story of Alexander* excerpted from the *History* of Abushaker, an eschatological speech of Jesus to his disciples held during the Last Supper, our text and the *Fäläsa Täbiban*. N. RHODOKANAKIS, 'Die äthiopischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien', *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 151 (1905), Abh. 4, pp. 75-80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

³ A. HAFFNER, "Eine äthiopische Handschrift der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien zu den pseudoepiphanischen Werken", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 26(1912), pp. 363-387.

The *Vienna Protology* starts with the story of Creation and is introduced, in fact, with the words “In the beginning God created...”, but what follows is not “the heavens and the earth”, but “water and earth, wind and fire, heavens, the angels and darkness” (በቀዳሚ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ማየ፡ ወመራተ፡ ነፋሰ፡ ወእሳተ፤ ሰማየ፡ ወመለእክተ፡ ወጽልመተ።). It is interesting that although darkness was created, light was not (yet). Then the anonymous author of the composition tells of the rebellion of the angels started by Saṭnaʿel, also called Sābōlyanos. Seized by *hubris* he presented himself to other angels as their creator and claimed praise and glory for himself. His deception is more understandable than in other stories of the fall of the angels, since at this point in the process of creation the angels had not seen their creator. In any case, Satan is thereupon deprived of his high rank and cast down along with the angels who decided to follow him. Some of them fell as low as “Anṭorṭos (= Tartaros), which is the lowest bottom”. The other angels, admonished by Gabriel, persevered “in faith, in the fear of God, and in purity”.

Only after that did God create light, or rather the sun, and the angels rejoiced at being able to see their creator. Next, God formed Adam of four elements, unnamed here,⁴ planted the Garden of Delight (ገነተ፡ ተድላ፡), and brought all the animals and birds to Adam that he might give them names, “and - we read - to each of them he gave a name by which they are called until this day”. Then the story of the creation of Eve follows, in accordance with *Genesis* 2, whereupon we learn that Satan, upon seeing Adam’s grace became jealous and decided to deceive him. Satan approached the snake, the wisest of all the animals, asking it to allow him to enter it, i.e., to be swallowed by him, and the snake “became a home (for him) and it led him into the Garden”. Using the snake’s voice Satan called Eve and convinced her that both she and Adam would upon eating the fruit “become like gods”. He added: “And as for you, o Eve!, God (told you not to eat from the tree) since he made you after Adam, in order to make him your superior and make him greater than you. Now, take advice from me and eat first from the tree about which God told you ‘Do not eat from it’, that your glory might be great, and you will become Adam’s God.”

Eve and Adam ate the fruit, and having thus violated God’s commandments were deprived of the luminous clothes they had been wearing. God asked Adam “Are you a god now, as Satan promised you? Behold, death has acquired power over you ...” The first parents were then expelled from the Garden and found a dwelling place upon the Mountain of Treasures, in the vicinity of the Garden.

Now Adam blamed Eve for their misfortune and expelled her, but was reproached by the angel Gabriel, whereupon he asked the angel to bring her back. Gabriel said, however: “A woman does not go to a man, but the man to the woman”, and Adam did so. Together again the protoplasts decided to enter the depths of the sea up to their necks, and stay there for 40 days. On the 35th day of their penance Diablos appeared in the shape of an angel and, pretending to be sent by God, told them to leave the water and led them to the Garden, but at the gate he finally revealed who he was.

⁴ These are known, for instance from Pseudo-Epiphanius’s *Aksimaros* (i.e. *Hexaëmeron*) to be water, earth, fire and air.

Gabriel appeared to the exhausted parents and conducted them to the Cave of Treasures saying that that was where they should stay, and relayed to them God's command to "be numerous, increase in number and fill the earth".

Adam now asked what they would eat, whereupon Gabriel went to the Garden and told the birds to bring Adam fruits. Should they fail to do so, Adam's progeny would take revenge "in the last days", since then Adam with his numerous progeny would re-enter the Garden. The birds agreed and brought him fruits of the Garden, filling twelve caves, each 30 arrow-shots wide. They required, however, that Adam wrote for them a receipt for their pains, to avoid misunderstanding with his progeny when that time came. Adam complied and engraved for them the receipt on a stone slab.

Then Satan met him and Eve again, knocked them down and their blood was shed on the rock. An angel of God healed them and they dipped flowers and fruits in that blood, and offered them as a sacrifice to God. God recognized the sacrifice and stated that it paralleled His own redeeming sacrifice "of my blood to the Father" (apparently it is the second person of the Trinity speaking to them here), but commanded them not to bring further sacrifices of their own blood. Then Adam, having prepared a wedding feast, gave Eve gold, myrrh and incense "in dowry", but asked her to preserve it as a future gift for the Son of Man (ወልደ፡ እግለ፡ እመከያው፡).

The narrative accelerates now and we learn that Eve has conceived and given birth to Cain (Eth. Qayäl) and Lud, his twin sister, and then to Abel and Aqlima, the latter's twin sister. When the children had grown up the parents decided to give Lud in marriage to Abel, "according to the law", and Aqlima to Cain. However, the latter would not accept the offer, Lud being more beautiful than Aqlima. Adam suggested a solution based upon the two brothers' bringing offerings to God: the one whose offering God accepted would marry Lud. Abel won the competition and felt happy, but Cain turned to despair. He met Satan, who gave him the fatal advice that led to the death of Abel.

The *Vienna Protology* seems to be a composite text. The narrative develops sometimes in clear sequence, sometimes with gaps and leaps and the reader is no doubt expected to know at least the paradigm of the story of the *Book of Genesis*, if not other compositions about Adam. A clear narrative gap occurs, for instance, in the fragment dealing with the birth of the two pairs of Adam's and Eve's children: whereas the birth of Cain and Lud is related explicitly, that of Abel and Aqlima can only be deduced from the subsequent reference to the parents' decision to cross-marry the two pairs of the twins.

Another indication of the composite character of the *Protology* is the fact that the Devil is called by four different names, which may suggest that pieces of differing origin have been combined to make up a new composition.

The question of the sources thus seems crucial. This is also of importance for establishing the date of the *Protology*.

August Haffner has noticed that the *Protology* depends on the *Beginning of Faith*. Moreover in his notes he sees parallels to *Aksimaros*, a link that is suggested in the very title of his paper.⁵

Jacques Mercier also dealt with the text in question in his paper of 1985.⁶ This paper is devoted mainly to the *Beauty of the Creation*, another Ethiopic text dealing with protological topics, but seems to be the only one in the last two decades referring to the *VP*. He correctly identifies another major source for this text, namely the *Miracles of Jesus*.

Further identification of the sources, indirect rather than direct, requires a review of the entire Ethiopic literature on Creation and Adam, a task not yet attempted. Consequently I shall refer to such texts in a less systematic way.

Oddly enough the first source to be mentioned, the one noted by J. Mercier, does not even belong to the literature on Adam. The *Miracles of Jesus*⁷ is in fact a *New Testament* apocryphon, being an Ethiopic translation of the *Arabic Apocryphal Gospel of John*.⁸ The *Miracles* contain approximately 60 episodes from the life of Jesus, which cover the whole span of the canonical gospel narrative with additions of various sorts: narrative, paraenetical or apocalyptic.⁹ The bulk of the composition, being a pure *New Testament* apocryphon, is, however, preceded by a protological introduction that tells the story of the Creation, the rebellion of Satan, the fall of Adam and Eve and Cain's murder of Abel; in fact the narrative in this section stretches to Noah and the Flood and even mentions Isaac and Jacob.¹⁰ The introduction to the *Miracles* was not wholly drawn into our text, only the part that begins with Satanael's (Saṭna'el¹¹) rebellion and ends with the expulsion from the Garden.¹² The text of the *VP* and the corresponding part of the *Miracles* closely resemble each other, and in some places it is even possible to correct the Ethiopic text of the former with the help of the latter, which is much better attested, being preserved in numerous manuscripts. It seems that the author of the *VP* practically copied the relevant part of the *Miracles*.

⁵ HAFFNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 364 & 385.

⁶ J. MERCIER, "Le diable, démiurge malheureux", in: *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses élèves, et ses amis*, édité par Christian Robin, Paris 1985, pp. 253-266.

⁷ The whole text of the *Miracles of Jesus* still awaits publication; approximately half of it was published in three instalments by Sylvain GRÉBAUT (*Les Miracles de Jésus: texte éthiopien publié et traduit par S. GRÉBAUT*, I-III, *PO* 12:4 (1916), pp. 551-652; 14:5 (1920), pp. 771-844; 17:4 (1924), pp. 783-857), who, however, never finished the edition.

⁸ *Iohannis Evangelium apocryphum arabice, ... ed., latine convertit ... I. [= Giovanni] GALBIATI*, (*Antiquitatis Christianae ex Oriente monumenta*), Mediolani 1957.

⁹ Generally on this text see W. WITAKOWSKI, 'The Miracles of Jesus: an Ethiopian Apocryphal Gospel', *Apocrypha: Revue Internationale des Littératures Apocryphes*, 6 (1995), pp. 279-298.

¹⁰ In GRÉBAUT's edition this part covers *PO* 12:4,1916, pp. 557-579 [7-26].

¹¹ As a convention in the present paper the name form 'Satanael', known from Slavonic literature (see below), will be used, rather than the more exact Ethiopic 'Saṭna'el'.

¹² *PO* 12:4, pp. 564,6-574,3 of the Ethiopic text.

A close relationship can be also detected between the *VP* and another text, still unpublished, which seems to be the second direct source for our text. It is the *Beginning of the Faith*, Eth. *Ṭāntä haymanot* (ጥንተ፡ ሃይማኖት፡), in which most of the traditions found in the *VP* are present. A quick check of the text in two manuscripts of the *Beginning of the Faith* in the British Library¹³ has revealed a resemblance to our text, although not so close as that between the first part of the *Protology* and the *Miracles of Jesus*.¹⁴ The *Beginning* continues the narrative beyond the death of Abel, until Eve gives birth to Seth, after six years of Adam's mourning have elapsed. It seems, then, more probable that the *VP* depends on the *Beginning*, rather than the other way round.

The *Beginning of the Faith* is also a text which retraces the Creation story, i.e. it belongs to what in pseudepigrapha studies is called the "rewritten Bible" narratives. The story in the *Beginning* commences with the Creation and reaches as far as the birth of Seth, whereupon the genealogy of the Old Testament patriarchs is provided up to Abraham and Isaac. The first part of the *Beginning*, not used by the compiler of the *VP*, tells of the Creation of the world and angels, pondering especially on the latter, and discussing the various groups of angels (Cherubs, Seraphim, etc.). In this part it seems to be heavily reliant on the *Aksimaros* (*Hexaemeron*) of Pseudo-Epiphanius. As a matter of fact the *Beginning* is attributed to the same author as the *Aksimaros*, i.e., to Epiphanius of Cyprus (ኤጲ፡ፋ፡ኒስ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘቆጵሮስ፡). Moreover it is sometimes transmitted in the same manuscripts as the *Aksimaros*. It is difficult to say anything more about its origin, but since it seems to be based on Ethiopic apocryphal literature (in addition to *Aksimaros*, *Qälemāntos* may also have influenced the author of the *Beginning of the Faith*) one feels inclined to admit that it is an original Ethiopic composition, not a translation from Arabic. It comes, according to Lanfranco Ricci, from the 15th century.¹⁵

In the *VP* there are a number of peculiar traditions, which have their origins or parallels in texts other than the two direct sources already named. One of them is *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*.¹⁶ It belongs to the secondary Adamic literature

¹³ Mss. BL Orient. 753 and Orient. 818; W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1847*, London 1877, pp. 215 & 297 respectively.

¹⁴ A. HAFFNER, who worked on the *Beginning of the Faith* but did not finish the edition he apparently had planned, asserted that there were two recensions of this text: 'Die Chöre der Engel im ጥንተ፡ ሃይማኖት', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 37 (1930), p. 106 (105-120). HAFFNER, *op. cit.* (in n. 3), p. 386, indicates the place from which the text of *VP* agrees with the *Beginning of Faith*, namely from line 136 of his edition (*ibid.* p. 370) on.

¹⁵ L. RICCI, 'Letterature dell'Etiopia', in: *Storia delle letterature d'Oriente*, diretta da Oscar BOTTO, vol. I, Milano 1969, p. 836 (801-911).

¹⁶ The text was published by E. TRUMPP: *Gädlä Addam: Der Kampf Adams (gegen die Versuchungen des Satans), oder: Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes*; aethiopischer Text hrsg. v. E. TRUMPP, (Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 15:3 = Denkschriften 52), München 1881; an English transl. was provided by S.C. MALAN: *The Book of Adam and Eve also called the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, London 1882; even earlier is the German translation by August DILLMANN: 'Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes', aus dem Äthiopischen übers. v. A. DILLMANN, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 5 (1852-53), pp. 1-144; and the French in: *Dictionnaire des apocryphes, ou collection de tous les livres apocryphes ...*, publié par M. l'Abbé MIGNE, t. 1^{er}, Paris 1856, coll. 298-388. The *Conflict* is one of the first Ethiopic

but is believed to be closest to the primary Adamic texts.¹⁷ In fact, the episode in the *VP* which is based on the *Conflict* comes indirectly from a primary Adamic text, for instance the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* or the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*.

The episode in question is Adam's and Eve's attempt at repentance for their transgression of God's commandment by immersion in water for a long period. There are, however, differences in detail between the two Ethiopic texts (*VP* and the *Conflict*) on the one hand and the Greek and Latin primary sources on the other. For instance instead of the Jordan and the Tigris in the latter, we have some unspecified "depth of water" in the Ethiopic texts. Another interesting difference occurs in the fragment on disguise adopted by Satan when he managed to persuade the parents to emerge from the "depth of water" before they had planned to.¹⁸ Although in our text Satan also begins his deception with Eve, because – as we learn – "she was meek", Eve is not treated as more guilty than Adam, which is the case in both the primary Adamic books and the Ethiopic *Conflict*. Furthermore there is another "pro-feminist" accent in our text, unparalleled in the sources named above: Adam is angry with Eve and blames her for the troubles he has to endure and separates from her, but God's angel urges him to associate with her again, and moreover to do so in a rather courteous way.

Another detail that connects *VP* with Adamic literature in general is Adam's interest in what he and Eve would eat, after being deprived of the food of Paradise. Interestingly, the literature named is not interested in God's sentence on Adam to gather his food by "the sweat of [his] brow", but the problem seems to be solved here with angelic help.¹⁹ In the *VP* it is resolved, as we have seen, with the help of birds, which upon Gabriel's command supply Adam and his family with masses of food, storing it in 12 enormous caves.

The dwelling place of the first parents after their expulsion from Paradise is the Cave of Treasures (በአተ፡ መዛግብት፡) in the Mountain of Treasures. This cave is mentioned in, in addition to our text, more than one Ethiopic apocryphon. It occurs both in the *Miracles of Jesus* (14th century) and in *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (14th century²⁰) as well as in *Qālemāntos*²¹ (13th–14th century).²² Although all of them

apocryphal texts to become known to Western scholarship. Notwithstanding its early publication, the *Conflict*, which is often mentioned in the general studies on Adamic literature (see next footnote), still awaits thorough analysis.

¹⁷ M. STONE, *A history of the literature of Adam and Eve*, Atlanta, GA, 1992, pp. 98-100; Marinus DE JONGE & Johannes TROMP, *The Life of Adam and Eve and related literature*, (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha), Sheffield 1997, pp. 88-91.

¹⁸ In the two apocrypha it should be 40 days; the *Conflict* has 30, which is a clear scribal error, as it is on the 35th day that Eve is deceived into leaving the water.

¹⁹ *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, ed. by Gary A. ANDERSON and Michael E. STONE, (Society of Biblical Literature: Early Judaism and Its Literature, 05), Atlanta, GA, 1992, pp. 1-3; M. DE JONGE & J. TROMP, *op. cit.* (in n. 17), p. 26 (the table).

²⁰ I. GUIDI, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Roma 1932, p. 32. The dates which can be found in M. STONE, p. 98, and DE JONGE & TROMP, p. 88, (*op. cit.* n. 17), the 6th or the 11th century, are impossible for a work translated from Arabic.

were translated from Arabic, the origin of the Cave of Treasures is not to be found in Egypt (which might be expected, due to the long ecclesiastical allegiance of Ethiopia to the See of Alexandria), but in the area of Syriac civilization. The motif comes ultimately from the Syriac apocryphon entitled *The Cave of Treasures* (*Mā'arrath gazzē*),²³ a composition from the 3rd, or the first half of the 4th centuries.²⁴ The title of this composition refers to the cave, that Adam intended to turn into a prayer house, and in which he deposited the “treasures”, i.e. gold, myrrh and incense.²⁵ In the *VP*, these three “treasures” are said to be Eve’s dowry, which, however, was not be removed, but stored in order to be offered to the Son of Man, once he has arrived.

It is also in *The Cave of Treasures* that the idea of Cain’s killing Abel because of his jealousy over his twin sister has its origin. The names of the sisters are somewhat different in the Syriac apocryphon: Cain’s twin sister is called Ləbhōdhā (Eth. Lud) and Abel’s Qəlīmthā or Qəlīmā (Eth. ᵀAqlima).²⁶

On the other hand the names of the sisters are present in the second direct source for the *VP*, the *Beginning of the Creation*. The question then is, what was the source of the latter composition? In the protological section of the *Miracles of Jesus* the idea of Cain’s jealousy over a woman is present, but the sisters are unnamed.²⁷ In the *Conflict* the sisters are named Lāluwa and ᵀAqlōmya.²⁸ Although the latter name is very close to that in our apocryphon, Cain is said to hate his twin sister even in their mother’s womb. To be sure the idea of jealousy over a woman is introduced in the *Conflict* too, but in a somewhat artificial way – it is Satan who evokes this feeling in Cain – and on the whole it does not play the same role as in the *VP*. On the other hand, it is in *Qälemāntos* that we find almost exactly the same forms of the names of

²¹ The Ethiopic text of the *Qälemāntos* remains unpublished; the composition is known, however, from the partial French translation by Sylvain GRÉBAUT (‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine, III: Traduction du Qalēmentos’ [par] Sylvain GRÉBAUT, *ROCh*, 11 (1906), pp. 72-84, 167-175) whereas the rest was translated into Italian (and edited in facsimile) by Alessandro BAUSI (ᵀAᵀᵀᵀᵀ: *Il Qalēmentos etiopico: La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente: i libri 3-7*, (Studi Africanistici: Serie Etiopica 2), Napoli 1992).

²² A. BAUSI, introd. to *op. cit.*, pp. 35 & 41.

²³ *La Caverne des Trésors: les deux recensions syriaques*, éd. (& trad.) par Su-Min RI, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 486-487; Scriptorum Syri 207-208); an English translation was published by E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, London 1927.

²⁴ Andreas SU-MIN RI, *Commentaire de la Caverne des Trésors: étude sur l’histoire du texte et de ses sources*, (CSCO 581; Subsidia 103), Lovanii 2000, p. 561.

²⁵ *La Caverne des Trésors*, ch. 5:17 (RI’s tr. pp. 18-19); these are of course the future gifts of the Magi to Jesus, *Mt.* 2:11.

²⁶ The two variants of the name are in Syriac due to two main versions of the apocryphon: East Syriac (Qəlīmthā) and West Syriac (Qəlīmā); *La Caverne des Trésors*, (*op. cit.* in n. 23), ch. 5:21, pp. 42-43; transl. 18-19. The difficulty in pronouncing two consonants at the beginning of the word (which in Syriac are divided by a *shwa*) would be resolved in Arabic and Ethiopic by the prefix ᵀa-, which gives ᵀAqlima, and the like.

²⁷ *Miracles*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), *PO* 12:4, p. 575.

²⁸ TRUMPP’s edition, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 81,5 from bottom; and 83,5, respectively; MALAN’s transl. pp. 92 and 93.

the sisters (Lud, ³Aqlamy²⁹) as in our text, as well as the jealousy motive. Satan's conversation with Cain during which he abets him to kill his brother, found in the *VP*, is, however, not present in *Qälemāntos*.

There are of course many other motifs in the *VP*, whose origin should be traced, but we shall limit our curiosity to only one more, Satan's four names, the relation of which to each other is not explained. However, only two of them are worth tracing, since the other two, 'Saytan' and 'Diyablos', are so common in Ethiopic literature, that tracing them would not point to any specific source. The other two, however, 'Saṭna'el' and 'Säblōyanos' are much less popular, and therefore may provide further data as to the sources of the *VP*.

The name 'Satanael', is relatively rare in apocryphal (pseudopigraphic) literature.³⁰ In the form of 'Satanail' (a result of the Greek itacism) it is known from the apocryphal literature in Slavonic. It occurs both in *2 Enoch*³¹ as the name of the leader of the mutinous angels, and in *3 Baruch*.³² The name 'Satanael /-il' took root in Old Slavonic literature, as it also occurs in other apocryphal texts in that language, that were not translated from the Greek, such as *The Word of John Chrysostom on how Michael defeated Satanael*, or *The Beginning of the World*.³³

It also occurs in the so-called *Paleya tolkovaya* (*Palaia Interpretata*), a sort of commentary on *Paleya istoricheskaya* (*Historical Palaia*), which in its turn is a translation of the Byzantine *Παλαιά*, a 9th century semi-historiographical work following the narrative of the Bible, but also going beyond it.³⁴ The section on the mutiny of the angels in the *Paleya tolkovaya* is entitled *Concerning Satanael*.³⁵

²⁹ Since the Ethiopic text has not been published so far (A. BAUST's facsimile edition and translation, see above n. 21, does not cover the relevant part), the spelling of the names is known to me only from S. Grébaud's French translation, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine, III: Traduction du Qalementos' [par] S. Grébaud, *ROCh*, 16 (1911), p. 170.

³⁰ Marcel DANDO, 'Satanaël', *CEC*, 83 (année 30, 1979), pp. 3-21; 84 (an. 30, 1979), pp. 3-15; 85 (an. 31, 1980), pp. 14-32.

³¹ *2 Enoch*, 18; 29; see F.I. ANDERSEN's translation '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse) of Enoch', [in:] *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. by James H. Charlesworth, London 1983, pp. 130, 148, 154.

³² *3 Baruch*, 4,7; 9,7; H.E. GAYLORD Jr.'s, transl., '3 (Greek Apocalypse) of Baruch', *ibid.*, pp. 666, 672. The name 'Satanael' occurs only in the Slavonic version, whereas the Greek *Vorlage* has the name 'Samael' (see the opposite pages, *ibid.*), otherwise common in Jewish tradition. See too: H.E. GAYLORD, 'How Satanael lost his "-el"', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 33 (1982), pp. 303-309; R. STICHEL, 'Die Verführung der Stammeltern durch Satanael nach der Kurzfassung der slavischen Baruch-Apokalypse', in: *Kulturelle Traditionen in Bulgarien ...*, hrsg. v. R. Lauer & P. Schreiner, (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3:177), Göttingen 1989, pp. 116-128.

³³ Cp. *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe Słowian Południowych*, wybór i redakcja G. Minczew, M. Skowronek, Kraków 2006, pp. 12-25 and 26-29, respectively.

³⁴ S.C. FRANKLIN, 'Palaia', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York 1991, vol. 3, p. 1557.

³⁵ GAYLORD, 'How Satanael...', *op. cit.*, (n. 32), p. 308.

The most astonishing Slavonic occurrence of the name³⁶ is to be found in the doctrine of the mediaeval Bogomils, the dualist sect which first appeared in Bulgaria and then spread to the rest of the Balkans, as described at the beginning of the 12th century by the Byzantine monk Euthymios Zigabenos, in his *Πανοπλία δογματική* (*Dogmatic Armour*).³⁷ According to the latter, the Bogomils regarded Satanael as one of God's two sons,³⁸ who, however, wished to set his throne in the clouds at the same height as God's throne. Consequently, God cast him down together with the angels who followed him. He arranged Jesus' death on the cross, but after the resurrection Jesus eventually shut him in hell. Then Satanael dropped –el from his name, thus becoming simply Satan.³⁹ The Bogomils did not invent the figure of Satanael; they found it in the apocryphal literature and used it in their imagery.

But in what way did Satanael reach Ethiopic tradition? Since any direct contacts between Old Church Slavonic literature and Ethiopic are unknown and, in fact, not easily imaginable, we have to accept that both traditions have a common, admittedly Greek, source.

A document that could serve as a common link is the *Questions of St. Bartholomew*, also referred to as the *Gospel of Bartholomew*.⁴⁰ Originally written in Greek, it was translated into Latin and Slavonic. In the answer to one of Bartholomew's questions asked of Beliar, the latter reveals that 'Satanael' was his original name.⁴¹ Although the exact date of this apocryphon is difficult to establish, it is believed to have come into being in the 3rd century A.D. It thus seems that the name 'Satanael' originated in the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, and spread via translations of the *Gospel* into the Slavonic area, where it was used in several apocryphal writings, including those of the Bogomils. In the Christian Orient the *Gospel* must have spread too, but apparently through oral tradition, since no translation of this apocryphon is known in any of the Christian Oriental languages.

There is one more motif that connects the *Gospel of Bartholomew* with the *VT*: Satan's entry into (or his being swallowed by) the snake, and his entry into the Paradise

³⁶ For other Slavonic material, see: M. DANDO, 'Satanaël dans la littérature slave', *CEC*, 86 (année 31, 1980), pp. 3-16; 89 (an. 32, 1981), pp. 3-24.

³⁷ Ed. by J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca posterior*, tomus 130, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1865, coll. 1289-1332.

³⁸ M. LOOS, 'Satan als erstgeborener Gottes: ein Beitrag zur Analyse des bogomilischen Mythos', *Byzantinobulgarica*, 3 (1969), pp. 23-35.

³⁹ É. TURDEANU, 'Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles', [in:] *idem, Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*, (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, 5), Leiden 1981, pp. 17-31 (1-74);

⁴⁰ English transl. in M.R. JAMES, *The apocryphal New Testament, being the apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles and apocalypses*, 1953 (= 1924), pp. 166-187; a recent French translation by J.-D. KAESTLI, *L'évangile de Barthélemy d'après deux écrits apocryphes*, (Apocryphes: Collection de poche de l'AELAC), Paris 1993, pp. 29-134; and Polish by K. BARTNICKI and M. STAROWIEYSKI, in: *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu: Ewangelie apokryficzne, część 2*, pod redakcją M. Starowieyskiego, Kraków 2003, pp. 755-775.

⁴¹ *Questions* 4:23; JAMES, *op. cit.* p. 175; KAESTLI, *op. cit.*, p. 121; BARTNICKI & STAROWIEYSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 768.

by this means of locomotion. This motif is present in some other apocryphal compositions, for instance in the already named *Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch* (3 *Baruch*),⁴² but it also occurs in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (third or fourth century).⁴³

Satanael occurs in Coptic, as for instance in a manuscript fragment in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which describes the name ‘Mastîma’ as meaning ‘Satanail’.⁴⁴ Moreover it can be found in the *Encomium of Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria, on St. Michael the Archangel*,⁴⁵ and in the *Homily (Encomium) on the Archangel Raphael*, attributed to John Chrysostom, composed before 642.⁴⁶ Notwithstanding its title, the *Homily* also tells of the Archangel Michael, who is said to have defeated “the Old Serpent” Satanael, and bound him in fetters for 1,000 years.⁴⁷

Nor is he totally unknown in Syriac literature, as he appears, for instance, in the anonymous *Book of the Truth*, also known as the *Causa Causarum*, of the 10th century or later.⁴⁸ He does not seem, however, to be popular in this tradition.

Also in Christian Arabic literature can one find ‘Satanael’, as for instance in Severus ibn al-Muqaffa’s work,⁴⁹ and in the *Apocryphal Gospel of John*, already referred to above.⁵⁰

It could be through the translation of the latter, entitled in Ethiopic the *Miracles of Jesus*, that ‘Satanael’ entered Ethiopic tradition (14th century).⁵¹ Another possible means could be *Qälemāntos* (13th-14th century).⁵² The figure of Satanael was later

⁴² See above, n. 32.

⁴³ M. DE JONGE & J. TROMP, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 47.

⁴⁴ M.E. AMÉLINEAU, ‘Fragments coptes pour servir à l’histoire de la conquête de l’Égypte par les Arabes’, *JA*, 8:12 (1888), p. 367, n. 1 (without specifying the manuscript, or its age); ‘Mastema’ is the name of Satan in the *Book of Jubilees*.

⁴⁵ *Miscellaneous Coptic texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, ed. & transl. by E.A.W. BUDGE, London 1915, pp. 335,6; 336,7.5 from bott. (Coptic text), and 904, 905 (Engl. transl.).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 328,9 (Coptic), 1036 (Engl.); C.D.G. MÜLLER, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1959, p. 240; DANDO, *op.cit.*, (n. 30), *CEC*, 84 (an. 30), 1979, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁷ Notwithstanding the similarity of titles and attribution to John Chrysostom, this text is different from the one in Slavonic named above (in n. 33).

⁴⁸ *Das Buch von der Erkenntnis der Wahrheit, oder der Ursache aller Ursachen*, aus dem Syrischen übers. v. Karl KAYSER, Strassburg 1893, p. 152.

⁴⁹ Sévère IBN-AL-MOQAFFA’, évêque d’Aschmounain, *Réfutation de Sa’id Ibn-Batriq (Eutychius)*, (*Le livre des Conciles*), texte arabe publié et traduit par P. Chébli, (PO 3:2 [= 12]), Paris 1905, p. 132,8: *Sāṭānā’īl*, variant: *Ṣāṭānābīl* (sic) (121-242).

⁵⁰ J.-M. ROSENSTIEHL notes the presence of the name ‘Sadael’, ‘taxiarque des ordres de Satan’, in an Armenian text, which name, he suggests, is derived from that of ‘Satanael’: ‘La chute de l’ange: origines et développement d’une légende, ses attestations dans la littérature copte’, in: *Écritures et traditions dans la littérature copte: Journée d’études coptes, Strasbourg 28 mai 1982*, (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte, 1), Louvain, 1983, p. 41 (37-60).

⁵¹ W. WITAKOWSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 287.

⁵² *Qälemāntos*, BL Or. 751, f. 2vc – twice; his *zämäd* was created first; Grébaut’s transl., *ROCh*, 16 (1911), p. 81.

spread through many other compositions, such as the *Beginning of the Faith*, the *Beauty of Creation* (ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት፡),⁵³ the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (ትርጓሜ፡ ቀለምሲስ፡),⁵⁴ and Bā-Ḥaylā Mika'el's *Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth* (መጽሐፈ፡ ምስጢር፡ ዘሰማይ፡ ወምድር፡) of the 15th century.⁵⁵

Apparently, in Ethiopic the name became increasingly popular, and the figure behind it was dealt with in late compositions, for instance in a *mälkä*^፩, from the 20th century, devoted to Satanael.⁵⁶

The source of the name 'Säbōlyanos' is difficult to identify. This name occurs in VP in the part taken from the *Miracles of Jesus*, but, interestingly, it does not occur in the Arabic original, i.e., in the *Apocryphal Gospel of John*.⁵⁷ Consequently, it must be an Ethiopic addition. In one place where in the Arabic text 'Satanael' is meant, the Ethiopic editor, rather than the translator,⁵⁸ calls him 'Säbōlyanos',⁵⁹ the name being otherwise unknown.⁶⁰ It is not easy to explain why he did this. One may, however, connect the name's usage with some heresies in mediaeval Ethiopia, against which the emperor Zär'a Ya'āqob (1434-1468) fought. These heretics were accused of promoting the views of *inter alia* the Sabellians, a monarchian heresy of the 3rd and 4th centu-

⁵³ *Beauty of the Creation* ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት፡ (Šänä Fəṭrüt), [ed & tr.] by Getatchew Haile and Misrak Amare, (Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph, 16), Manchester 1991, p. 69, line 11 (Ge'ez text) & 82 (Engl. transl.).

⁵⁴ R. W. COWLEY, *The traditional interpretation of the Apocalypse of St John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, 33), Cambridge 1983, p. 99.

⁵⁵ *Le Livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre*, texte éthiopien publié et traduit par J. Perruchon avec le concours de I. Guidi, (PO 1:1 [= 1]), Paris 1903, p. 7, last line (ሰጥናኤል፡), 10,3 from the bottom, 11.5 (in other places his name is abbreviated to *Säṅna* (ሰጥና፡)); Engl. transl.: *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth, and other works of Bakhayla Mîkâ'el (Zôsîmâs): the Ethiopic texts ed. ... with English transl.* by E.A.W. Budge, Oxford 1935, pp. 12, 16-17.

⁵⁶ S. STRELCYN, 'Un poème satanique éthiopien', in: *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme*, éd. J. Tubiana, Paris 1983, pp. 83-115, with a French translation printed synoptically. Another manuscript of the *mälkä*^፩, also from the 20th century, is extant in the ms. EMMML 1502, ff. 14r-26v; cp. GETATCHEW HAILE & William F. MACOMBER, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, vol. V: Project Numbers 1501-2000*, Collegeville, MN, 1981, p. 1. See too B. BURTEA, 'Devil in religion and literature'. *EAE*, vol. 2, ed. by S. Uhlig, Wiesbaden 2005, p. 148.

⁵⁷ See above, *Iohannis Evangelium*, (*op. cit.*, n. 8).

⁵⁸ If our hypothesis is correct, then the name of 'Säbōlyanos' was inserted a century after the *Miracles* had been translated. The earliest known manuscripts come from the 17th century.

⁵⁹ *Miracles*, PO 12:4 (= 60), p. 564,10; *Iohannis Evangelium*, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 7,1-2, Arabic; Latin tr. p. 12,4 (and note 1): no name.

⁶⁰ It could not be found in the lists of any of the following authorities: M. SCHWAB, 'Vocabulaire de l'angéologie, d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque nationale', *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France*, sér. 1, 10:2 (1897), pp. 113-430; A.Z. AËSCOLY, 'Les noms magiques dans les apocryphes chrétiens des Éthiopiens', *JA*, 220 (1932), pp. 87-137; G.A. BARTON, 'The origin of the names of angels and demons in the extra-canonical apocalyptic literature to 100 A.D.', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 31 (1912), pp. 156-167; Ch. FONTINOY, 'Les noms du diable et leur étymologie', in: *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemain emerito oblata*, (Acta Iranica 23, 2. sér.: Hommages et opera minora, 9), Leiden 1984, pp. 157-170.

ries.⁶¹ Also, Giyorgis Säglawi in his *Book of the Mystery* (መጽሐፈ፡ ምስጢር፡), composed ca. 1424, takes issue with the views of Sabellius (ሱብልዮኖስ፡ or፡ ሰብልዮኖስ፡⁶²), according to which the Trinity is one person (Eth. *gäṣṣ*; ገጽ፡), and there is one *hypostasis* (Eth. *həllawe*; ህለዌ፡⁶³), not three. As a matter of fact, he refutes Sabellian views in his very first chapter, thereby giving the impression that it was the most dangerous heresy of the epoch.⁶⁴ One is therefore inclined to assume that the name of the hated heretic came to be used by a zealous editor or a copyist of the *Miracles* as a synonym for the Devil. Such usage did not seem to be particularly frequent or of long duration, as can be inferred from the wide variance in the spelling of the name in the manuscripts,⁶⁵ which indicates that the copyists were not familiar with it.

It is necessary to say something about the date of our text. Unfortunately, there is nothing in it that seems to provide a connection to any event in Ethiopian history. We are thus obliged to resort to the *termini post & ante quem* provided by the date of its sources, or rather the date of their translation into Ethiopic, and the date of the manuscript of the *VP* itself. There is no colophon providing the date of the manuscript, and it has been dated by the author of the catalogue description, apparently on palaeographical grounds, to the 17th or 18th centuries. This date seems acceptable: the writing is an almost perfect *g^wälh*. Three of the sources that have been identified (*Miracles of Jesus*, *Aksimarus*, *Qälemāṅtos*) were translated into Ethiopic most probably in the 14th or 15th centuries, a period characterized by intensive translation activity from Arabic. The fourth source, the *Beginning of the Faith*, is, as we have seen, an Ethiopic composition, based, at least to a degree, on *Aksimarus*. However, if L. Ricci's dating is to be believed, the *Beginning of Faith* comes from the same epoch, the 15th century.⁶⁶ I would think that it is more recent (16th century?), as composing a new text retelling

⁶¹ GETACHEW HAILE, 'A study of the issues raised in two homilies of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob of Ethiopia', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 131 (1981), pp. 85 and 100 (85-113); Pierluigi PIOVANELLI, 'Les controverses théologiques sous le roi Zar'a Yā'qob (1434-1468) et la mise en place du monophysisme éthiopien', in: *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, textes édités par Alain Le Boulluec, (Patrimoine: Religions du Livre), Paris 1995, pp. 196, 203 (189-228).

⁶² GIYORGIS DI SAGLĀ, *Il libro del mistero (Maṣḥafa meṣtir)*, parte prima, edita da Ya'qob Beyene, (CSCO 515, SAe 89), Lovanii 1990, p. 3, l. 6 and note 32: variants: ሰብልዮኖስ፡; parte seconda (CSCO 532, SAe 97), Lovanii 1993, p. 78,14, n. ሰብልዮኖስ፡; Zär'a Ya'eqob, in his *Book of Light (Il Libro della Luce del Negus Zar'a Ya'eqob (Maṣḥafa Berhān))*, II, edito a cura di C. Conti Rossini col concorso di L. Ricci, (CSCO 261, SAe 51), Louvain 1965, p. 133,4: ሰብልዮኖስ፡, var.: ሰብልዮኖስ፡, ሰብልዮኖስ፡, ሰብልዮኖስ፡.

⁶³ GIYORGIS DI SAGLĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 3. l. 7, the Italian transl. p. 2,22-23.

⁶⁴ The question of the sources of the work of Giyorgis Säglawi has not been investigated yet. It seems, however, probable that he used the Ethiopic translation of Epiphanius of Cyprus' *Ancoratus* (Ἀγκυροτόκος), Eth. አንክሮስ፡, in which 80 heresies are described (although more briefly than in his *Panarion*; see W. WITAKOWSKI, 'Epiphanius of Salamis', *EAE*, II, 2005, p. 335-338). The Ethiopic version has not been published. Several manuscripts are known to contain it, e.g. British Library, Orient. 740, foll. 201r-236v, Wright's catalogue (*op. cit.*, n. 13), no. 316, p. 208a-b; BL, Orient. 744, foll. 116r-163v, Wright, no. 325, p. 218a.

⁶⁵ PO 12:4 (= 60), p. 564 / 14, note to the line 10: ሰብልዮኖስ፡ and ሰብልዮኖስ፡ in addition to ሰብልዮኖስ፡.

⁶⁶ See above, n. 15.

the same story – the creation of the angels⁶⁷ – as in the *Aksimaros*, text introduced into Ethiopic literature just one or two decades earlier, does not seem very likely.⁶⁸ Consequently the *VP* could have been composed at some time between the mid-16th and mid-17th centuries, probably in the later part of this period.

Since there is no other known manuscript of the text, we may venture the view that the Vienna manuscript is the actual original. Had it been a subsequent copy, the next generation of scribes would probably have entitled it in some way, writing, for instance, “with God’s help, we begin to copy the ...”, and perhaps even attributing it to an author known for his interest in the story of Creation, perhaps to Epiphanius again.

The sources which have been identified are not, of course, exhaustive. Further research is needed, especially into non-direct sources. For instance, the episode of the birds bringing food from the Garden for Adam, taken from the *Beginning of the Faith*, may antedate that source. However, I have been unable to trace this history. Although the motif is not totally unique in Christian religious literature (one is reminded of the ravens bringing food for Elisha, *1 Kings* 17:6) it does not seem to feature in Adamic literature. This literature, on the other hand, with its interest in what Adam and Eve would eat after their expulsion from Paradise,⁶⁹ must have stimulated the anonymous author of the *Beginning*, or its source, to solve the problem in the way he did.

O ADAMIE I SATANA'ELU CZYLI *PROTOLOGIA WIEDEŃSKA*

Streszczenie

Artykuł przedstawia pewien apokryf w klasycznym języku etiopskim (gyyz) mówiący o stworzeniu świata i aniołów, o Adamie, Ewie i ich dzieciach. Ponieważ tekst, znany z jednego tylko rękopisu w Österreichische Nationalbibliothek w Wiedniu, jest i anonimowy i bez tytułu, został konwencjonalnie zatytułowany *Protologia Wiedeńska (PW)*.

Artykuł przedstawia treść *PW*, na którą poza podstawowymi wątkami znanymi z *Księgi Rodzaju*, składają się m.in. relacje o buncie aniołów pod wodzą Satanaela, nazywanego też Sabelianosem, i o zabójstwie Abła, przedstawionym jako spowodowane zawiścią Kaina o to, że Abel miał poślubić piękniejszą z ich sióstr.

Można wyróżnić dwa podstawowe źródła *PW*: 1. *Cuda Jezusa* (et. *Tä'ammärä 'Iyyäsus*), tj. etiopska wersja arabskiej *Apokryficznej Ewangelii Jana*, z której nieznanemu autor-kompilator zaczerpnął wstęp dotyczący stworzenia i buntu aniołów, oraz 2. *Początek Wiary* (et. *Täntä Haymanot*) Pseudo-Epifaniusza, jak się wydaje oryginalny

⁶⁷ Contrary to L. Ricci's opinion (*ibid.*) based on A. Haffner's, the *Beginning of the Faith* is not a “commento ... alla material di *Aksimarós*”.

⁶⁸ The oldest known manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Éth. 123, Zotenberg 146) comes from the 17th century; H. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877, pp. 246 and 249.

⁶⁹ The Greek, Latin and Armenian books of Adam show it. See literature referred to in n. 19.

etiopski apokryf, w dużej mierze oparty na *Heksameronie* (et. *ʾAksimaros*) przypisywanym również Epifaniuszowi z Cypru.

Pochodzenie kilku wątków *PW* udało się ustalić w źródłach dalszych, np. zazdrość Kaina o siostrę pochodzi z syryjskiego apokryfu *Jaskinia Skarbów* (3-4 w.). Z kolei dwa imiona, pod którymi występuje Szatan: Satanael i Sabelianos, pochodzą: pierwsze, które ma najliczniejsze paralele w literaturze starocerkiewnosłowiańskiej, najprawdopodobniej z *Ewangelii Bartłomieja*, drugie zaś zostało wprowadzone w Etiopii, w epoce ces. Zärʾa Yaʿaqobʾa, zwalczającego herezje, z których niektóre były oskarżane o sabelianizm.

Zgodnie z podjętą próbą datacji *PW* utwór ten pochodzi z okresu 1650-1750.