

Chapter IV Appendix: The Supernatural Reading of Genesis 6:1-4 Among Jews and Church Fathers

Papias (Second Century AD)

“PAPIAS SAYS THUS, WORD for word, ‘But to some of them—clearly the holy angels of old—he gave authority to give order to the world, and he commanded them to exercise their authority well.’ And he says immediately after that, ‘But it happened that their order came to nothing.’”

(Papias, *Frag.* 4)

Justin Martyr (100-165 AD)

FOR THE TRUTH SHALL be spoken; since of old these evil demons, effecting apparitions of themselves, both defiled women and corrupted boys, and showed such fearful sights to men, that those who did not use their reason in judging of the actions that were done, were struck with terror; and being carried away by fear, and not knowing that these were demons, they called them gods, and gave to each the name which each of the demons chose for himself.

(Justin Martyr, *1 Apology* 5)

BUT THE ANGELS TRANSGRESSED this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begat children who are those that are called demons; and besides, they afterwards subdued the human race to themselves, partly by magical writings, and partly by fears and the punishments they occasioned, and partly by teaching them to offer sacrifices, and incense, and libations, of which things they stood in need after they were enslaved by lustful passions; and among men they sowed murders, wars, adulteries, intemperate deeds, and all wickedness. Whence also the poets and mythologists, not knowing that it was the angels and those demons who had been begotten by them that did these things to men, and women, and cities, and nations, which they related, ascribed them to god himself, and to those who were accounted to be his very offspring, and to the offspring of those who were called his brother), Neptune and Pluto, and to the children again of these their offspring. For whatever name each of the angels had given to himself and his children, by that name they called them.

(Justin, *2 Apology* 5)

Athenagoras (c. 133-190 AD)

SOME, FREE AGENTS, YOU will observe, such as they were created by God, continued in those things for which God had made and over which He had ordained them; but some outraged both the constitution of their nature and the government entrusted to them: namely, this ruler of matter and its various forms, and others of those who were placed about this first firmament (you know that we say nothing without witnesses, but state the things which have been declared by the prophets); these fell into impure love of virgins, and were subjugated by the flesh, and he became negligent and wicked in the management of the things entrusted to him. Of these lovers of virgins, therefore, were begotten those who are called giants. And if something has been said by the poets, too, about the giants, be not surprised at this: worldly Wisdom and divine differ as much from each other as truth and plausibility: the one is of heaven and the other of earth; and indeed, according to the prince of matter,

“We know we oft speak lies that look like truths.” These angels, then, who fell from heaven busy themselves about the air and the earth and are no longer able to rise to the realms above the heavens. The souls of the giants are the demons who wander about the world. Both angels and demons produce movements—demons movements which are akin to the natures they received, and angels movements which are akin to the lusts with which they were possessed. The prince of matter, as may be seen from what happens, directs and administers things in a manner opposed to God’s goodness ... But since the demonic impulses and activities of the hostile spirit bring these wild attacks—indeed we see them move men from within and from without, one man one way and another man another, some individually and some as nations, one at a time and all together, because of our kinship with matter and our affinity with the divine ... But to the extent that it depends on the reason peculiar to each individual and the activity of the ruling prince and his attendant demons, one man is swept along one way, another man another way, even though all have the same rationality within.

(Athenagoras, *A Plea to Christians* 24-25)

Irenaeus (135-202 AD)

ENOCH, TOO, PLEASING GOD, without circumcision, discharged the office of God’s legate to the angels although he was a man, and was translated, and is preserved until now as a witness of the just judgment of God, because the angels when they had transgressed fell to the earth for judgment, but the man who pleased [God] was translated for salvation.

(Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 4.16.2)

IN THE DAYS OF NOAH He justly brought on the deluge for the purpose of extinguishing that most infamous race of men then existent, who could not bring forth fruit to God, since the angels that sinned had commingled with them, and [acted as He did] in order that He might put a check upon the sins of these men.

(Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 4.36.4)

AND FOR A VERY LONG while wickedness extended and spread, and reached and laid hold upon the whole race of mankind, until a very small seed of righteousness remained among them and illicit unions took place upon the earth, since angels were united with the daughters of the race of mankind; and they bore to them sons who for their exceeding greatness were called giants. And the angels brought as presents to their wives teachings of wickedness, in that they brought them the virtues of roots and herbs, dyeing in colors and cosmetics, the discovery of rare substances, love-potions, aversions, amours, concupiscence, constraints of love, spells of bewitchment, and all sorcery and idolatry hateful to God; by the entry of which things into the world evil extended and spread, while righteousness was diminished and enfeebled.

(Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* 18)

Clement of Alexandria (150-215 AD)

[CERTAIN ANGELS OF HIGH RANK] having sunk into pleasures, uttered unspeakable things to the women, which had come to their knowledge.

(Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 5.1.10.)¹

¹ This is a quote from 1 Enoch 16:2.

Bardaisan of Edessa (154-222 AD)

WE UNDERSTAND THEREFORE, that if angels would not have had their own freedom, they could not have married the daughters of men and could neither have sinned, nor have fallen from their place.

(Bardaisan of Edessa, *Book of the Laws of the Countries* 9)

Tertullian (c. 155-225 AD)

IF (IT IS) ON ACCOUNT OF the angels—those, to wit, whom we read of as having fallen from God and heaven on account of concupiscence after females—who can presume that it was bodies already defiled, and relics of human lust, which such angels yearned after, so as not rather to have been inflamed for virgins, whose bloom pleads an excuse for human lust likewise? For thus does Scripture withal suggest: “And it came to pass,” it says, “when men had begun to grow more numerous upon the earth, there were withal daughters born them; but the sons of God, having descried the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives of all whom they elected.”

(Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins* 7)

FOR INDEED IT IS “on account of the angels” that he saith women must be veiled, because on account of “the daughters of men” angels revolted from God.

(Tertullian, *On Prayer* 22)

The apostle was quite aware that “spiritual wickedness” had been at work in heavenly places, when angels were entrapped into sin by the daughters of men.

(Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 5.18)

Julias Africanus (160-240 AD)

WHEN MEN MULTIPLIED ON EARTH, the angels of heaven came together with the daughters of men. In some copies I found ‘sons of God.’ What is meant by the Spirit in my opinion, is that the descendants of Seth are called the sons of God on account of the righteous men and patriarchs who have sprung from him, even down to the Saviour Himself; but that the descendants of Cain are named the seed of man, as having nothing divine in them, “But if it is thought that these refer to angels, we must take them to be those who deal with magic and jugglery, who taught the women the motions of the stars and the knowledge of things celestial, by whose power they conceived the giants as their children, by whom wickedness came to its height on the earth, until God decreed that the whole race of the living should perish in their impiety by the deluge.”

(Julias Africanus, *History of the World* [Fragment])

Origen (b. 185 AD)

(From 1 Enoch 6:5): BECAUSE HE (JARED) WAS born to Mahalel—as it is written in Enoch (if it pleases one to accept the book as holy)—in the days of the descent of the sons of God to the daughters of men”

(Origen, *Commentary on John* 6:42)

IN MY OPINION, HOWEVER, it is certain wicked demons, and, so to speak, of the race of Titans or Giants, who have been guilty of impiety towards the true God, and towards the angels in heaven, and who have fallen from it, and who haunt the denser parts of bodies, and frequent unclean places upon

earth, and who, possessing some power of distinguishing future events, because they are without bodies of earthly material, engage in an employment of this kind, and desiring to lead the human race away from the true God.

(Origen, *Against Celsus* 4.92)

IT IS FROM THIS SOURCE that he [Celsus] might be supposed to have obtained the statement, that “sixty or seventy angels descended at the same time, who fell into a state of wickedness.” But, that we may grant to him in a spirit of candour what he has not discovered in the contents of the book of Genesis, that “the sons of God, seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to them wives of all whom they chose,” we shall nevertheless even on this point persuade those who are capable of understanding the meaning of the prophet, that even before us there was one who referred this narrative to the doctrine regarding souls, which became possessed with a desire for the corporeal life of men, and this in metaphorical language, he said, was termed “daughters of men.” But whatever may be the meaning of the “sons of God desiring to possess the daughters of men,” it will not at all contribute to prove that Jesus was not the only one who visited mankind as an angel, and who manifestly became the Saviour and benefactor of all those who depart from the flood of wickedness.

(Origen, *Against Celsus* 5.51-55)

Cyprian (200-258)

SINNING AND APOSTATE ANGELS made all these things known through their arts when they fell down to succumb to earthly and bad influence and gave up their heavenly vitality.

(Cyprian, *On the Dress of Virgins* 14)

Commodian (f. 250 AD)

WHEN GOD, THE ALMIGHTY, beautified the nature of the world
He wanted this earth to be visited by angels
Whose laws they despised as soon as they were sent:
So much was the beauty of women, who turned them aside
That they, being stained, could not return to heaven.
Rebels against God, they uttered words against him.
The Most High therefore uttered his sentence upon them;
From their seed the giants are said to have been born.
Through them on earth arts have been spread;
They taught the dying of wool, and whatever is accomplished.
The mortals erected images for them when they died.
The Almighty, however, because they were of a depraved seed,
did not approve that they, having died, were brought back from death.
In that way wandering now, they ruined many persons:
Especially you who today worship them and pray to them as gods.

(Commodian, *Instructions Against the Gods of the Heathen* 1.3)

Methodius (d. 311)

THAT THIS IS THE NATURE OF ANGELS, that they were created by God with the purpose of caring for the structures created by him” ... The devil, as one of these angels, forfeited this position “similar to the ones who afterwards lusted after bodies and had intercourse with the daughters of men.

(Methodius, *On the Resurrection* 3.7)

Minucius Felix (b. 210 AD)

WHEN ALMIGHTY GOD, to beautify the nature of the world, willed that that earth should be visited by angels, when they were sent down they despised His laws. Such was the beauty of women, that it turned them aside; so that, being contaminated, they could not return to heaven. Rebels from God, they uttered words against Him. Then the Highest uttered His judgment against them; and from their seed giants are said to have been born. By them arts were made known in the earth, and they taught the dyeing of wool, and everything which is done; and to them, when they died, men erected images. But the Almighty, because they were of an evil seed, did not approve that, when dead, they should be brought back from death. Whence wandering they now subvert many bodies, and it is such as these especially that ye this day worship and pray to as gods.

(Minucius Felix, *Instructions of Commodianus* 3)

Lactantius (260-330 AD)

WHEN, THEREFORE, THE NUMBER of men had begun to increase, God in His forethought, lest the devil, to whom from the beginning He had given power over the earth, should by his subtilty either corrupt or destroy men, as he had done at first, sent angels for the protection and improvement of the human race; and inasmuch as He had given these a free will, He enjoined them above all things not to defile themselves with contamination from the earth, and thus lose the dignity of their heavenly nature. He plainly prohibited them from doing that which He knew that they would do, that they might entertain no hope of pardon. Therefore, while they abode among men, that most deceitful ruler of the earth, by his very association, gradually enticed them to vices, and polluted them by intercourse with women. Then, not being admitted into heaven on account of the sins into which they had plunged themselves, they fell to the earth. Thus from angels the devil makes them to become his satellites and attendants. But they who were born from these, because they were neither angels nor men, but bearing a kind of mixed nature, were not admitted into hell, as their fathers were not into heaven. Thus there came to be two kinds of demons; one of heaven, the other of the earth. The latter are the wicked spirits, the authors of all the evils which are done, and the same devil is their prince. Whence Trismegistus calls him the ruler of the demons. But grammarians say that they are called demons, as though *doemones*, that is, skilled and acquainted with matters: for they think that these are gods.

(Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 2.15)

Alexander of Lycopolis (f. early 4th century AD)

WHEN JEWISH HISTORY SAYS that “the angels came together to have sexual intercourse with the daughters of men”: such an expression signifies the nourishing powers of the soul which came from above to the things on this earth.

(Alexander of Lycopolis, *On the Teachings of the Manicheans* 25)

Eusebius (260-340 AD)

OF THIS KIND [GIANTS AND TITANS] then perhaps were the statements in the Sacred Scripture concerning the giants before the Flood, and those concerning their progenitors, of whom it is said, 'And when the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took unto them wives of all that they chose,' and of these were born 'the giants the men of renown which were of old.'

For one might say that these daemons are those giants, and that their spirits have been deified by the subsequent generations of men, and that their battles, and their quarrels among themselves, and their wars are the subjects of these legends that are told as of gods.

(Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 5.4)

Acts of Thomas (Third Century)

I am the one who threw down the angels from above and enchanted them with the desires of women, in order that earthborn children would be born from them, so that I could accomplish my will in them.

(Acts of Thomas 32)

Pseudo Clement (3rd - 4th Cent. AD)

(The following is reported to be Peter's teaching to Clement on the early history of the world): "ALL THINGS THEREFORE BEING completed which are in heaven, and in earth, and in the waters, and the human race also having multiplied, in the eighth generation, righteous men, who had lived the life of angels, being allured by the beauty of women, fell into promiscuous and illicit connections with these; and thenceforth acting in all things without discretion, and disorderly, they changed the state of human affairs and the divinely prescribed order of life, so that either by persuasion or force they compelled all men to sin against God their Creator. In the ninth generation are born the giants, so called from of old, not dragon-footed, as the fables of the Greeks relate, but men of immense bodies, whose bones, of enormous size, are still shown in some places for confirmation. But against these the righteous providence of God brought a flood upon the world, that the earth might be purified from their pollution, and every place might be turned into a sea by the destruction of the wicked. Yet there was then found one righteous man, by name Noah, who, being delivered in an ark with his three sons and their wives, became the colonizer of the world after the subsiding of the waters, with those animals and seeds which he had shut up with him."

(Pseudo Clement, *Recognitions* 29)

FOR OF THE SPIRITS WHO inhabit the heaven, the angels who dwell in the lowest region, being grieved at the ingratitude of men to God, asked that they might come into the life of men, that, really becoming men, by more intercourse they might convict those who had acted ungratefully towards Him, and might subject every one to adequate punishment. When, therefore, their petition was granted, they metamorphosed themselves into every nature; for, being of a more godlike substance, they are able easily to assume any form. So they became precious stones, and goodly pearl, and the most beautiful purple, and choice gold, and all matter that is held in most esteem. And they fell into

the hands of some, and into the bosoms of others, and suffered themselves to be stolen by them. They also changed themselves into beasts and reptiles, and fishes and birds, and into whatsoever they pleased. These things also the poets among yourselves, by reason of fearlessness, sing, as they befell, attributing to one the many and diverse doings of all.

But when, having assumed these forms, they convicted as covetous those who stole them, and changed themselves into the nature of men, in order that, living holily, and showing the possibility of so living, they might subject the ungrateful to punishment, yet having become in all respects men, they also partook of human lust, and being brought under its subjection they fell into cohabitation with women; and being involved with them, and sunk in defilement and altogether emptied of their first power, were unable to turn back to the first purity of their proper nature, their members turned away from their fiery substance: for the fire itself, being extinguished by the weight of lust, and changed into flesh, they trode the impious path downward. For they themselves, being fettered with the bonds of flesh, were constrained and strongly bound; wherefore they have no more been able to ascend into the heavens.

(Pseudo Clement, *Homily 8.12-13*)

Cyril of Jerusalem (313-386 AD)

“The giants sinned, and then much lawlessness was poured over the earth, and because of that the deluge had to come.”

(Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures 8*)

Ambrosius (340-397)

THE NARRATOR OF THE DIVINE SCRIPTURE did not want to consider these giants as sons of the earth (*gigas*) in the sense of the poets but asserts that they issued from angels and women.

(Ambrosius, *On Noah and the Ark 1.3.8*)

FINALLY IT IS WRITTEN THAT ANGELS loved daughters of men.

(Ambrosius, *Exposition on Psalm 118*)

HOW SPLENDID IT IS THAT ANGELS have fallen from heaven into the world because of their intemperance but that virgins have passed from the world to heaven because of their chastity.

(Ambrosius, *Concerning Virgins 1.8.53*)

Sulpicius Severus (363-420 AD)

BY THIS TIME, WHEN THE HUMAN KIND had become abundant, certain angels, whose place was in heaven, were captivated by the beautiful appearance of virgins, and pursued illicit desires; and even degenerated from their own nature and origin, left the higher places they inhabited, and mingled themselves in marriages with mortal women. These angels gradually sowed noxious habits, by which they corrupted the human offspring: from these unions giants are said to have come forth, as the mixing of diverse kinds produces monsters.

(Sulpicius Severus, *Sacred History 1.2*)

Didimus the Blind (310-398 AD)

MANY WONDERED WHETHER ANGELS united themselves physically [... or] that something else is said in the passage.²

(Didimus the Blind, *On Genesis*)

Hilary of Poitiers (315-367 AD)

ANGELS, DESIRING THE DAUGHTERS of men, when they descended from heaven, gathered on this mountain Hermon, at its peak.

(Hilary of Poitiers, *Commentary on Ps 133:3*)

Epiphanius of Salamis (315-403 AD)

ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION that has come to us, at that time the practice of evil began to occur in the world. It was also there from the beginning through the transgression of Adam and then through the fratricide of Cain. But now in the times of Jared and thereafter, there was sorcery and magic, debauchery and adultery and iniquity”

(Epiphanius, *Against Heresies* [“Medicine Chest”] 1.1.3)

Ambrose (333-397 AD)

“THE GIANTS (NEPHILIM) WERE on the earth in those days.” The author of the divine Scripture does not mean that those giants must be considered, according to the tradition of poets, as sons of the earth but asserts that those whom he defines with such a name because of the extraordinary size of their body were generated by angels and women.

(Ambrose, *On Noah* 4.8)

Jerome (c. 347-420 AD)

THE HEBREW WORD ELOHIM is of common number; for both “God” and “gods” are designated in the same way. For this reason Aquila dared to say “sons of the gods,” in the plural, understanding “gods” as holy ones or angels. For God stood up in the assembly of the gods: moreover, in the midst of the gods He gives judgment [[Psalm 82:1](#)] ... In the Hebrew, it has the following: Falling ones (that is, *annaphilim*) were on the earth in those days ... The name falling ones is indeed fitting both for angels and for offspring of holy ones.

(Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis 6:2 and 6:4*)

Nemesius of Emesa (Fourth Century AD)

OF THE INCORPOREAL BEINGS, only angels fell away, and not all of them, but some only, that inclined to things below and set their desire on things of earth, withdrawing themselves from their relations with things above, even from God.

(Nemesius of Emesa, *On the Nature of Man* 58)

² Doedens says that Didymus “adheres to the angels-interpretation and discusses several solutions to the question of what actually happened.” Doedens, *Dissertation*, 147.

Jews

Septuagint (Third Century BC)

And Noe was five hundred years old, and he begot three sons, Sem, Cham, and Japheth. And it came to pass when men began to be numerous upon the earth, and daughters were born to them, that the angels of God having seen the daughters of men that they were beautiful, took to themselves wives of all whom they chose. And the Lord God said, My Spirit shall certainly not remain among these men for ever, because they are flesh, but their days shall be an hundred and twenty years. Now the giants were upon the earth in those days; and after that when the sons of God were wont to go in to the daughters of men, they bore *children* to them, those were the giants of old, the men of renown.

(Alexandrinus Codex of the LXX Gen 6:1-4)

1 Enoch (Second Century BC)

1 Enoch contains too much information to justify putting it all into this kind of an appendix. I highly suggest that if you have not read this document, take the time to do so, especially the Book of Watchers (ch. 1-36). Jude quotes from it and says it records the actual words of the patriarch who lived before the flood. Many of the NT books allude to it. It must be remembered that even though its date is the second century BC, it puts down oral traditions that are thousands of years older. Many of the early church fathers believed it to be Scripture, though it contains in some places obvious references that Enoch could not have said, and thus remains suspect as canonized Scripture. Nevertheless, it has obviously impacted the way that Genesis 6 was universally understood in the days of Christ and the Apostles, and you cannot have a truly informed view of this subject without reading this material.

AND IT CAME TO PASS when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven,³ saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children.' And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: 'I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then swore they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders: Samiazaz, their leader, Arakiba, Rameel, Kokabiel, Tamiel, Ramiel, Danel, Ezeqeel, Baraqijal, Asael, Armaros, Batarel, Ananel, Zaqiel, Samsapeel, Satarel, Turel, Jomjael, Sariel. These are their chiefs of tens.

And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them

³ The Dead Sea Scrolls (4QEnochb Col. ii:3) read, "the Watchers, sons of the sky."

and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

(1 Enoch 6:1-7:6)

AND TO GABRIEL SAID THE LORD: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication: and destroy the children of the Watchers from amongst men: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle: for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they (i.e. their fathers) make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years.' And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, bind Semjaza and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined forever. And whosoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because they have wronged mankind.

(1 Enoch 10:9-15)

I, ENOCH, ANSWERED AND SAID unto him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some, of the angels of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begot children by them. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die [[he and his sons shall be saved]]. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity.

(1 Enoch 106:13-17)

Jubilees (Second Century BC)

AND IN THE SECOND WEEK of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dinah, the daughter of Barakiel the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and he called his name Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth. . . And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch testified against (them) all.

And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and

they bare unto them sons and they were giants ... And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth- all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to eat one another, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) thus evil continually ... And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate.

(Jubilees 4:15, 22; 5:1-2, 5-6)

Testament of Reuben (Second Century BC)

FOR THUS [LEWD WOMEN] ALLURED the Watchers who were before the flood; As they continued looking at the women, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

(Testament of Reuben 5:6-7)

Testament of Naphtali (Second Century BC)

IN LIKE MANNER THE WATCHERS also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.

(Testament of Naphtali 3:5)

Sirach (Second Century BC)

HE [GOD] WAS NOT PROPITIATED for the ancient giants who revolted in their might.

(Sirach 16:7)

3 Maccabees (First Century BC)

IT WAS YOU WHO DESTROYED the former workers of unrighteousness, among whom were the giants, who trusted in their strength and hardihood, by covering them with a measureless flood.

(3 Maccabees 2:4)

Damascus Document (Dead Sea Scrolls) (c. First Century BC)

FOR MANY HAVE GONE ASTRAY due to these; brave heroes stumbled on account of them, from ancient times until now. For having walked in the stubbornness of their hearts the Watchers of the heavens fell; on account of it they were caught, for they did not heed the precepts of God. And their sons, whose height was like that of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains, fell.

(4Q266 2 ii:16-19)

Genesis Apocryphon (Dead Sea Scrolls) (First Century BC)

THEN I, LAMECH, WAS FRIGHTENED and turned to Bitenosh, my wife, and said: ... Swear to me by the Most High, by the Great Lord, by the King of the Universe, ... the sons of heaven, that you will in truth let me know everything, if ... you will in truth and without lies let me know whether this ... Swear to me by the King of all the Universe that you are speaking to me frankly and without lies ... Then Bitenosh, my bride, spoke to me very harshly. She wept . . . and said: Oh my brother and lord!

Remember my pleasure . . . the time of love, the gasping of my breath in my breast. I shall tell you everything accurately ... I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the King of the heavens ... that this seed comes from you, that this pregnancy comes from you, that the planting of this fruit comes from you, and not from any foreigner or watcher or son of heaven ... Then I, Lamech, ran to my father, Methuselah, and told him everything, so that he would go and ask Enoch, his father, and would know everything for certain from him, since he (Enoch) is liked and well liked ... (This having been done, Enoch responds:) "Go tell Lamech, your son ..."

(Genesis Apocryphon 2)

Philo (20 BC – 50 AD)

"AND WHEN THE ANGELS of God saw the daughters of men that they were beautiful, they took unto themselves wives of all of them whom they chose." Those beings, whom other philosophers call demons, Moses usually calls angels; and they are souls hovering in the air.

(Philo, *On Giants* 6)

Pseudo-Philo (1 Century AD)

And he went away and worked with his magic tricks and gave orders to the angels who were in charge of magicians, for he had been sacrificing to them for a long time. Because in that time before they were condemned, magic was revealed by angels and they would have destroyed the age without measure; and because they had transgressed, it happened that the angels did not have the power; and when they were judged, then the power was not given over to others. And they do these things by means of those men, the magicians who minister to men, until the age without measure comes.

(Pseudo-Philo 34:2-3)

2 *Enoch* (1 Century AD)

AND THOSE MEN TOOK ME and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgment, and these angels (spirits) were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours. And I said to the men who were with me: Wherefore are these incessantly tortured? They answered me: These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also is fastened on the fifth heaven.

(2 Enoch 7:1-2)

THE MEN TOOK ME on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size (was) greater than that of great giants and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and their was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me: Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and (wherefore) is there no service on this heaven? And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail (Satan) rejected the Lord of light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took to

themselves wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity. And therefore God judged them with great judgment, and they weep for their brethren and they will be punished on the Lord's great day.

(2 Enoch 18:1-4)

3 *Baruch* (1st Century AD)

AND THE ANGEL SAID, "Rightly you ask; when God caused the Deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and 409,000 giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest [mountains, then] the water entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot of the vine and cast it outside."

(3 Baruch 4:10)

Josephus (37-100 AD)

NOW THIS POSTERITY OF SETH continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honors to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men. But for what degree of zeal they had formerly shown for virtue, they now showed by their actions a double degree of wickedness; whereby they made God to be their enemy, for many angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, That these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call giants. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and, being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions and their acts for the better;—but, seeing that they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

(Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.3.1.)

Sibylline Oracle (Pre-150 AD)

DIFFERENT ONES DEvised THAT with which they were each concerned, enterprising Watchers, who received this appellation because they had a sleepless mind in their hearts and an insatiable personality. They were mighty, of great form, but nevertheless they went under the dread house of Tartarus guarded by unbreakable bonds, to make retribution, to Gehenna of terrible, raging, undying fire. . . [other men] were insolent, much more than those Giants, crooked ones, abominably pouring forth slander. Noah alone among all was most upright and true.

(Sibylline Oracle 1:97-103; 123-125)

2 *Baruch* (Early 2nd Century AD)

FOR HE BECAME A DANGER to his own soul: even to the angels became he a danger. For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty. And some of them descended, and mingled with the women. And then those who did so were tormented in chains. But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is no number, restrained themselves. And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters of the deluge.

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (4th cent. AD or later)

And it was when the sons of men began to multiply upon the face of the earth, and fair daughters were born to them; and the sons of the great saw that the daughters of men were beautiful, and painted, and curled, walking with revelation of the flesh, and with imaginations of wickedness; that they took them wives of all who pleased them. And the Lord said by His Word, All the generations of the wicked which are to arise shall not be purged after the order of the judgments of the generation of the deluge, which shall be destroyed and exterminated from the midst of the world. Have I not imparted My Holy Spirit to them, (or, placed My Holy Spirit in them,) that they may work good works? And, behold, their works are wicked. Behold, I will give them a prolongment of a hundred and twenty years, that they may work repentance, and not perish. Schamchazai and Uzziel, who fell from heaven, were on the earth in those days; and also, after the sons of the Great had gone in with the daughters of men, they bare to them: and these are they who are called men who are of the world, men of names.

(Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 6:1-4)