

# Notes Regarding Gen 6:1-4

J. Paul Tanner - Jan 23, 2023

## Genesis 6:1-4

- 1 Now it came about, when men began to multiply on the face of the land, and daughters were born to them,  
2 that the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were beautiful; and they took wives for themselves, whomever they chose.  
3 Then the Lord said, “My Spirit shall not strive with man forever, <sup>b</sup>because he also is flesh; nevertheless his days shall be one hundred and twenty years.”  
4 The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore *children* to them. Those were the mighty men who *were* of old, men of renown.

### Notes:

“sons of God.” See Job 1:6; 2:1; and Job 38:7 (only other OT use), where it is used of angelic beings (although this 3rd reference is without the article: **בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים**). Cf. Hosea 1:10 regarding God’s people who were rejected in that generation: “where it was said to them, ‘You are not My people,’ there it will be said to them, ‘You are sons of the Living God.’” Also see Ps 82:6.

Codex Alexandrinus has “angels of God” in vs 2 rather than “sons of God.”

**Nephilim:** Translated “giants” by LXX.

“mighty men” (Heb **הַגִּבּוֹרִים**). Again, as with “the Nephilim,” the LXX translates as οἱ γίγαντες (giants). The adj. **גִּבּוֹר** occurs 159x in the OT. The next occurrence is Gen 10:8-9 where we read of Cush who became the father of Nimrod who “became a mighty one (**גִּבּוֹר**) on the earth.” In other words, a powerful and brutal tyrant. Later (Joshua and following), the term came to mean “valiant warrior.”

“men of renown”: **אֲנָשֵׁי הַשֵּׁם**. Lit., “men of the name.” The sense of this is “men of reputation” (but contextually, *evil identity*). They were famous, but not in a commendable way. These stand in contrast to Abram, whom the LORD promised to make his *name* great (Gen 12:2). Cf. Gen 11:4 and the audacious attempt at Babel of making a *name* for themselves, i.e., their own *identity* independent of God.

## 1 Peter 3:19-20

- 19 in which also He went and made proclamation to the spirits *now* in prison,  
20 who once were disobedient, when the patience of God kept waiting in the days of Noah, during the construction of the ark, in which a few, that is, eight persons, were brought safely through *the* water.

## 2 Peter 2:4-5

- 4 For if God did not spare angels when they sinned, but cast them into hell and committed them to pits of darkness, reserved for judgment;  
5 and did not spare the ancient world, but preserved Noah, a preacher of righteousness, with seven others, when He brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly;

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## Jude 6-7

6 And angels who did not keep their own domain, but abandoned their proper abode, He has kept in eternal bonds under darkness for the judgment of the great day,

7 just as Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities around them, since they in the same way as these indulged in gross immorality and went after strange flesh, are exhibited as an <sup>d</sup>example in undergoing the punishment of eternal fire.

## Septuagint for Genesis 6:1-2

6 Καὶ ἐγένετο ἡνίκα ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς. <sup>2</sup> ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι καλαὶ εἰσιν, ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὧν ἐξελέξαντο. <sup>1</sup>

In Codex Alexandrinus, instead of “υἱοὶ”, the text has *angels* (ἄγγελοι).

Note also that the Septuagint translates *Nephilim* (נְפִלִים) in Gen 6:4 as “giants” (γίγαντες).

## 1 Enoch 6-12 (Nickelsburg: middle of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.)

### The fall of angels

6 <sup>1\*</sup> In those days, when the children of man had multiplied, it happened that there were born unto them handsome and beautiful daughters. <sup>2</sup> And the angels, the children of heaven, saw them and desired them; and they said to one another, “Come, let us choose wives for ourselves from among the daughters of man and beget us children.” <sup>3</sup> And Semyaz, being their leader, said unto them, “I fear that perhaps you will not consent that this deed should be done, and I alone will become (responsible)<sup>d</sup> for this great sin.” <sup>4</sup> But they all responded to him, “Let us all swear an oath and bind everyone among us by a curse not to abandon this suggestion but to do the deed.” <sup>5</sup> Then they all swore together and bound one another by (the curse). <sup>6</sup> And they were altogether two hundred; and they descended into ‘Arδος, which is the summit of Hermon. And they called the mount Armon, for they swore and bound one another by a curse. <sup>7</sup> And their names are as follows: Semyaz, the leader of Arakeb, Rame’el, Tam’el, Ram’el, Dan’el, Ezeqel, Baraqyal, As’el, Armaros, Batar’el, Anan’el, Zaqe’el, Sasomaspe<sup>we</sup>’el, Kestar’el, Tur’el, Yamayol, and Arazyal. <sup>8</sup> These are their chiefs of tens and of all the others with them.

7 <sup>1\*</sup> And they took wives unto themselves, and everyone (respectively) chose one woman for himself, and they began to go unto them. And they taught them magical medicine, incantations, the cutting of roots, and taught them (about) plants. <sup>2</sup> And the women became pregnant and gave birth to great giants whose heights were three hundred cubits. <sup>3</sup> These (giants) consumed the produce of all the people until the people detested feeding them. <sup>4\*</sup> So the giants turned against (the people) in order to eat them. <sup>5</sup> And they began to sin against birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and

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<sup>1</sup> *Septuaginta: With Morphology* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), Ge 5:32–6:2.

fish. And their flesh was devoured the one by the other, and they drank blood. <sup>6</sup> And then the earth brought an accusation against the oppressors.

8 <sup>1</sup> And Azaz'el taught the people (the art of) making swords and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones bracelets, decorations, (shadowing of the eye) with antimony, ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids, all kinds of precious stones, and all coloring tinctures and alchemy. <sup>2</sup> And there were many wicked ones and they committed adultery and erred, and all their conduct became corrupt. <sup>3\*</sup> Amasras taught incantation and the cutting of roots; and Armaros the resolving of incantations; and Baraqiyal astrology, and Kokarer'el (the knowledge of) the signs, and Tam'el taught the seeing of the stars, and Asder'el taught the course of the moon as well as the deception of man. <sup>4</sup> And (the people) cried and their voice reached unto heaven.

9 <sup>1</sup> Then Michael, Surafel, and Gabriel observed carefully from the sky and they saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all the oppression being wrought upon the earth. <sup>2</sup> And they said to one another, "The earth, (from) her empty (foundation), has brought the cry of their voice unto the gates of heaven. <sup>3</sup> And now, [O] holy ones of heaven, the souls of people are putting their case before you pleading, 'Bring our judgment before the Most High.' " <sup>4</sup> And they said to the Lord of the potentates, "For he is the Lord of lords, and the God of gods, and the King of kings, and the seat of his glory (stands) throughout all the generations of the world. Your name is holy, and blessed, and glorious throughout the whole world. <sup>5</sup> You have made everything and with you is the authority for everything. Everything is naked and open before your sight, and you see everything; and there is nothing which can hide itself from you. <sup>6</sup> You see what Azaz'el has done; how he has taught all (forms of) oppression upon the earth. And they revealed eternal secrets which are performed in heaven (and which) man learned. <sup>7</sup> (Moreover) Semyaz, to whom you have given power to rule over his companions, co-operating, they went in unto the daughters of the people on earth; <sup>8</sup> and they lay together with them—with those women—and defiled themselves, and revealed to them every (kind of) sin. <sup>9</sup> As for the women, they gave birth to giants to the degree that the whole earth was filled with blood and oppression. <sup>10</sup> And now behold, the Holy One will cry, and those who have died will bring their suit up to the gate of heaven. Their groaning has ascended (into heaven), but they could not get out from before the face of the oppression that is being wrought on earth. <sup>11</sup> And you know everything (even) before it came to existence, and you see (this thing)<sup>v</sup> (but) you do not tell us what is proper for us that we may do regarding it."

10 <sup>1</sup> And then spoke the Most High, the Great and Holy One! And he sent Asuryal to the son of Lamech, (saying), <sup>2</sup> "Tell him in my name, 'Hide yourself!' and reveal to him the end of what is coming; for the earth and everything will be destroyed. And the Deluge is about to come upon all the earth; and all that is in it will be destroyed. <sup>3</sup> And now instruct him in order that he may flee, and his seed will be preserved for all generations." <sup>4</sup> And secondly the Lord said to Raphael, "Bind Azaz'el hand and foot (and) throw him into the darkness!" And he made a hole in the desert which was in Duda'el and cast him there; <sup>5\*</sup> he threw on top of him rugged and sharp rocks. And he covered his face in order that he may not see light; <sup>6</sup> and in order that he may be sent into the fire on the great day of judgment. <sup>7</sup> And give life to the earth which the angels have corrupted. And he will proclaim life for the earth: that he is giving life to her. And all the children of the people will not perish through all the secrets (of the angels), which they taught to their sons. <sup>8</sup> And the whole earth has been corrupted by Azaz'el's teaching of his (own) actions; and write upon him all sin. <sup>9</sup> And to Gabriel the Lord said, "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates and against the children of adultery; and destroy the children of adultery and expel the

children of the Watchers from among the people. And send them against one another (so that they may be destroyed in the fight, for length of days have they not. <sup>10</sup> They will beg you everything—for their fathers on behalf of themselves—because they hope to live an eternal life. (They hope) that each one of them will live a period of five hundred years.” <sup>11\*</sup> And to Michael God said, “Make known to Semyaza and the others who are with him, who fornicated with the women, that they will die together with them in all their defilement. <sup>12\*</sup> And when they and all their children have battled with each other, and when they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations underneath the rocks of the ground until the day of their judgment and of their consummation, until the eternal judgment is concluded. <sup>13\*</sup> In those days they will lead them into the bottom of the fire—and in torment—in the prison (where) they will be locked up forever. <sup>14</sup> And at the time when they will burn and die, those who collaborated with them will be bound together with them from henceforth unto the end of (all) generations. <sup>15</sup> And destroy all the souls of pleasure and the children of the Watchers, for they have done injustice to man. <sup>16</sup> Destroy injustice from the face of the earth. And every iniquitous deed will end, and the plant of righteousness and truth will appear forever and he will plant joy. <sup>17</sup> And then all the righteous ones will escape; and become the living ones until they multiply and become tens of hundreds; and all the days of their youth and the years of their retirement they will complete in peace. <sup>18</sup> And in those days the whole earth will be worked in righteousness, all of her planted with trees, and will find blessing. <sup>19\*</sup> And they shall plant pleasant trees upon her—vines. And he who plants a vine upon her will produce wine for plenitude. And every seed that is sown on her, one measure will yield a thousand (measures) and one measure of olives will yield ten measures of presses of oil. <sup>20</sup> And you cleanse the earth from all injustice, and from all defilement, and from all oppression, and from all sin, and from all iniquity which is being done on earth; remove them from the earth. <sup>21</sup> And all the children of the people will become righteous, and all nations shall worship and bless me; and they will all prostrate themselves to me. <sup>22</sup> And the earth shall be cleansed from all pollution, and from all sin, and from all plague, and from all suffering; and it shall not happen again that I shall send (these) upon the earth from generation to generation and forever.

11 <sup>1\*</sup> “And in those days I shall open the storerooms of blessing which are in the heavens, so that I shall send them down upon the earth, over the work and the toil of the children of man. <sup>2\*</sup> And peace and truth shall become partners together in all the days of the world, and in all the generations of the world.”

### **Dream vision of Enoch: his intercession for the fallen angels**

12 <sup>1</sup> Before these things (happened) Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of the people knew by what he was hidden and where he was. <sup>2</sup> And his dwelling place as well as his activities were with the Watchers and the holy ones; and (so were) his days. <sup>3</sup> And I, Enoch, began to bless the Lord of the mighty ones and the King of the universe. <sup>4</sup> At that moment the Watchers were calling me. And they said to me, “Enoch, scribe of righteousness, go and make known to the Watchers of heaven who have abandoned the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, as their deeds move the children of the world, and have taken unto themselves wives: They have defiled themselves with great defilement upon the earth; <sup>5</sup> neither will there be peace unto them nor the forgiveness of sin. <sup>6</sup> For their children delight in seeing the murder of their beloved ones. But they shall groan and beg forever over the destruction of their children, and there shall not be peace unto them even forever.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (New York; London: Yale University Press, 1983), 15–19.

## **Jubilees** (thought to be 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.)

4.15 And he [Mahalalel] called him Jared because in his days the angels of the Lord, who were called Watchers, came down to the earth in order to teach the sons of man, and perform judgment and uprightness upon the earth<sup>3</sup>

4.21\* And he [Enoch] was therefore with the angels of God six jubilees of years. And they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the dominion of the sun. And he wrote everything,<sup>22</sup> and bore witness to the Watchers, the ones who sinned with the daughters of men because they began to mingle themselves with the daughters of men so that they might be polluted.<sup>4</sup>

5<sup>1</sup>\* And when the children of men began to multiply on the surface of the earth and daughters were born to them, that the angels of the Lord saw in a certain year of that jubilee that they were good to look at. And they took wives for themselves from all of those whom they chose. And they bore children for them; and they were the giants.<sup>2</sup>\* And injustice increased upon the earth, and all flesh corrupted its way; man and cattle and beasts and birds and everything which walks on the earth. And they all corrupted their way and their ordinances, and they began to eat one another. And injustice grew upon the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all mankind was thus continually evil.<sup>5</sup>

6\* And against his angels whom he had sent to the earth he was very angry. He commanded that they be uprooted from all their dominion. And he told us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold, they are bound in the midst of them, and they are isolated.<sup>7</sup> And against their children a word went forth from before his presence so that he might smite them with the sword and remove them from under heaven.<sup>86</sup>

## **Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 3.1 (72)**

Context: Discussion of the apostasy of mankind following Seth

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<sup>3</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, vol. 2 (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), 62.

<sup>4</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, vol. 2 (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), 62.

<sup>5</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, vol. 2 (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), 64.

<sup>6</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, vol. 2 (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1985), 64.

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, (73) 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.<sup>7</sup>

## Wikipedia Notes:

### Second Temple Judaism (c. 500 BCE – 70 CE)

The [Book of Enoch](#), the Enochic [Book of Giants](#), and the [Book of Jubilees](#) refer to the [Watchers](#) who are paralleled to the "sons of God" in Genesis 6.

### Christian antiquity

Christian writers such as [Justin Martyr](#), [Eusebius](#), [Clement of Alexandria](#), [Origen](#), and [Commodianus](#) believed that the "sons of God" in Genesis 6:1–4 were [fallen angels](#) who engaged in unnatural union with human women, resulting in the begetting of the [Nephilim](#). Some scholars view [Jesus'](#) comment in [Matthew 22:30](#) that [angels](#) in heaven do not marry, as a refutation to this view.

Other early Christians believed that the "sons of God" in Genesis 6:1–4 were the descendants of [Seth](#).<sup>[1]</sup> [Augustine of Hippo](#) subscribed to this view, based on the *Chronographiai* of [Julius Africanus](#) in his book *City of God*, which refer to the "sons of God" as being descendants of Seth (or Sethites), the pure line of [Adam](#). The "daughters of men" are viewed as the descendants of [Cain](#) (or [Cainites](#)). Variations of this view were also received by Jewish philosophers.

### Three Views Outlined in Wikipedia:

1. Offspring of [Seth](#): The first references to the offspring of Seth rebelling from God and mingling with the daughters of Cain are found in Christian and [rabbinic literature](#) from the second century CE onwards e.g. Rabbi [Shimon bar Yochai](#), [Origen](#), [Augustine of Hippo](#), [Julius Africanus](#), and the [Letters attributed to St. Clement](#). It is also the view expressed in the modern canonical [Amharic Ethiopian Orthodox Bible](#). In Judaism "Sons of God" usually refers to the righteous, i.e. the children of Seth.
2. Angels: All of the earliest sources interpret the "sons of God" as angels. From the third century BCE onwards, references are found in the [Enochic literature](#), the [Dead Sea Scrolls](#) (the [Genesis Apocryphon](#), the [Damascus Document](#), 4Q180), [Jubilees](#), the Testament of Reuben, [2 Baruch](#), [Josephus](#), and the book of Jude (compare with 2 Peter 2). This is also the meaning of the only two identical occurrences of *bene ha elohim* in the Hebrew Bible (Job 1:6 and 2:1), and of the most closely related expressions (refer to the list above). In the [Septuagint](#), the interpretive reading "angels" is found in [Codex Alexandrinus](#), one of four main witnesses to the Greek text.
3. Deified kings/Tyrant judges: There is also a large consensus within the scholarly community, that the "sons of God" were simply the deified kings of the various Canaanite city states. These would be the same Canaanite city states that the later proto-

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<sup>7</sup> Flavius Josephus and William Whiston, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 32.

Israelites would eventually flee, and who would eventually resettle in the Judean highlands.

## Early Church Fathers

**Justin Martyr**, *Second Apology*, chapter 5

God, when He had made the whole world, and subjected things earthly to man, and arranged the heavenly elements for the increase of fruits and rotation of the seasons, and appointed this divine law—for these things also He evidently made for man—committed the care of men and of all things under heaven to angels whom He appointed over them. 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<sup>8</sup>

**Irenaeus**, *Against Heresies* 4.16.2

Context: Salvation and Justification Apart from Circumcision

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.<sup>8 9</sup>

Editor’s Footnote 8:

Massuet remarks here that Irenæus makes a reference to the apocryphal book of Enoch, in which this history is contained. It was the belief of the later Jews, followed by the Christian fathers, that “the sons of God” (Gen. 6:2) who took wives of the daughters of men, were the apostate angels. The LXX. translation of that passage accords with this view. See the articles “Enoch,” “Enoch, Book of,” in Smith’s *Dictionary of the Bible*. [See Paradise Lost, b. i. 323–431.]<sup>10</sup>

Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 4.36.4

4. Since the Son of God is always one and the same, He gives to those who believe on Him a well of water [springing up] to eternal life, but He causes the unfruitful fig-tree immediately to dry up; and in the days of Noah He justly brought on the deluge for the purpose of extinguishing

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<sup>8</sup> Justin Martyr, “The Second Apology of Justin,” in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 190.

<sup>9</sup> Irenaeus of Lyons, “Irenæus against Heresies,” in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 481.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, eds., *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, vol. 1, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885).

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, but [that at the same time] He might preserve the archetype,<sup>4</sup> the formation of Adam.<sup>11</sup>

Editor's Footnote 4:

Irenæus, in common with the other ancient Fathers, believed that the fallen angels were the "sons of God" who commingled with "the daughters of men," and thus produced a race of spurious men. [Gen. 6:1, 2, 3, and Josephus.]<sup>12</sup>

### **Athenagoras, *A Plea for Christians* 24**

Context: Discussion of Holy and Fallen Angels

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.<sup>13</sup>

### **Clement of Alexandria, *The Instructor* (Paedagogus), Book III. Chap 2.**

For the mind is carried away by pleasure; and the unsullied principle of reason, when not instructed by the Word, slides down into licentiousness, and gets a fall as the due reward of its transgression. An example of this are the angels, who renounced the beauty of God for a beauty which fades, and so fell from heaven to earth.<sup>14</sup>

### **Origen, *Against Celsus*, 5.55**

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<sup>11</sup> Irenæus of Lyons, "Irenæus against Heresies," in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenæus*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 516.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, eds., *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenæus*, vol. 1, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885).

<sup>13</sup> Athenagoras, "A Plea for the Christians," in *Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. B. P. Pratten, vol. 2, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 142.

<sup>14</sup> Clement of Alexandria, "The Instructor," in *Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 2, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 274.



He quotes the passage from Gen 6:2, but it is not clear of the point he is trying to make from this, for he goes on to mention a metaphorical understanding of the verse.

**Tertullian, *On Idolatry* 9.**

Context: Denouncing those who participate in astrology

One proposition I lay down: that those angels, the deserters from God, **the lovers of women**, were likewise the discoverers of this curious art, on that account also condemned by God. Oh divine sentence, reaching even unto the earth in its vigour, whereto the unwitting render testimony! The astrologers are expelled just like their angels.<sup>15</sup>

Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, 5:18

But “the spiritual wickedness” did not signify the Creator, because of the apostle’s additional description, “in heavenly places;”<sup>2</sup> for 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**.<sup>16</sup>

Tertullian, *On Prayer* 22

Context: A discussion differentiating virgins from women in general

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**. Who then, would contend that “*women*” *alone*—that is, such as were already wedded and had lost their virginity—**were the objects of angelic concupiscence**, unless “virgins” are incapable of excelling in beauty and finding lovers? Nay, let us see whether it were not *virgins alone* whom they lusted after; since Scriptures saith “*the daughters* of men;” inasmuch as it might have named “*wives* of men,” or “*females*,” indifferently. Likewise, in that it saith, “And they took them to themselves for wives,”<sup>13</sup> it does so on this ground, that, of course, such are “received *for wives*” as are devoid of that title.<sup>17</sup>

Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins* 7

For 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

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<sup>15</sup> Tertullian, “On Idolatry,” in *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. S. Thelwall, vol. 3, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 65.

<sup>16</sup> Tertullian, “The Five Books against Marcion,” in *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. Peter Holmes, vol. 3, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 470.

<sup>17</sup> Tertullian, “On Prayer,” in *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. S. Thelwall, vol. 3, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 688.

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.” For here the Greek name of *women* does seem to have the sense “*wives*,” inasmuch as mention is made of marriage. When, then, it says “the *daughters* of men,” it manifestly purports *virgins*, who would be still reckoned as belonging to their *parents*—for *wedded women* are called their *husbands*’—whereas it *could* have said “the *wives* of men:” in like manner not naming the angels adulterers, but husbands, while they take *unwedded* “daughters of men,” who it has above said were “born,” thus also signifying their *virginity*: first, “born;” but here, wedded to angels.<sup>18</sup>

### Epistles to Alexander on the Arian Heresy

He mentions Gen 6:2, but no significant point is made regarding interpretation: “For when the sons of God saw the daughters of men, they took them wives,” etc<sup>19</sup>

### The Testament of Reuben 5

Therefore flee fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters that they adorn not their heads and their faces; because every woman who acteth deceitfully in these things hath been reserved to everlasting punishment. For **thus they allured the Watchers before the flood**; and as these continually beheld them, they fell into desire each of the other, and they conceived the act in their mind, and **changed themselves into the shape of men**, and appeared to them in their congress with their husbands; and the women, having in their minds desire toward their apparitions, **gave birth to giants**, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.<sup>20</sup>

**Pseudo-Clementine**, *Recognitions* 1, 29 (the work is apparently referenced by Eusebius)

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<sup>18</sup> Tertullian, “On the Veiling of Virgins,” in *Fathers of the Third Century: Tertullian, Part Fourth; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen, Parts First and Second*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. S. Thelwall, vol. 4, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 32.

<sup>19</sup> James B. H. Hawkins, “Alexander of Alexandria: Translator’s Introductory Notice,” in *Fathers of the Third Century: Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius the Great, Julius Africanus, Anatolius and Minor Writers, Methodius, Arnobius*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 6, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1886), 294.

<sup>20</sup> Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, eds., “The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries: The Twelve Patriarchs, Excerpts and Epistles, the Clementina, Apocrypha, Decretals, Memoirs of Edessa and Syriac Documents, Remains of the First Ages*, trans. R. Sinker, vol. 8, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1886), 10.

“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.<sup>21</sup>

Pseudo-Clementine, *Homilies* 20, 7

“But perhaps some one of you thinks that one may become something under the influence of one, and another under the influence of another, but no one can change himself into whatever he wishes, and that it is the characteristic of one who grows old, and who must die according to his nature, to change, but we ought not to entertain such thoughts of immortal beings. For were not angels, who are free from old age, and of a fiery substance, changed into flesh,—those, for instance, who received the hospitality of Abraham, whose feet men washed, as if they were the feet of men of like substance?<sup>22</sup>

Commodianus, *The Instructions of Commodianus in Favour of Christian Discipline*, III

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.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Pseudo-Clement of Rome, “Recognitions of Clement,” in *Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries: The Twelve Patriarchs, Excerpts and Epistles, the Clementina, Apocrypha, Decretals, Memoirs of Edessa and Syriac Documents, Remains of the First Ages*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. M. B. Riddle, vol. 8, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1886), 85.

<sup>22</sup> Pseudo-Clement of Rome, “The Clementine Homilies,” in *Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries: The Twelve Patriarchs, Excerpts and Epistles, the Clementina, Apocrypha, Decretals, Memoirs of Edessa and Syriac Documents, Remains of the First Ages*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. Thomas Smith, vol. 8, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1886), 341.

<sup>23</sup> Commodian, “The Instructions of Commodianus,” in *Fathers of the Third Century: Tertullian, Part Fourth; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen, Parts First and Second*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. Robert Ernest Wallis, vol. 4, The Ante-Nicene Fathers (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 203.