In this paper I intend to explain the conceptions about angels and demons reflected in the Greek text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, usually called the *Apocalypse of Moses* (*ApMos*). I shall also use the Latin text (*VLA E*), and other recensions of this work when necessary, in order to illustrate these conceptions. This must be justified. It is only well known that the *ApMos* is but one Greek free recension, probably composed directly in a rather bad Greek, or "biblicized" Greek, of a previous Book (perhaps a cycle) of Adam on the life (and penitence) of Adam and Eve, which circulated in Hebrew or Aramaic. Besides the Greek recension which we know today, there has been at least another one in the same language. These, or others, Greek versions were the basis, the main line or

1) Although I am not quite convinced by the selection of variant readings, I use the recent edition of the text by Daniel A. Bertrand, *La Vie grecque d'Adam et Eve*, Paris (Maisonneuve) 1987, with up to date Bibliography and an elaborate Introduction.

2) For a list of Hebraisms in *ApMos*, see: C. Fuchs, "Adambuch" in E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen 1900, II, 511; L.S. A Wells, "The Books of Adam and Eve", in R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT*. Oxford 1913, 130; M.D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. New York 1985, II, 251; S.T. Lachs, "Some Textual Observations on the Apocalyptic Mosis and the Vita Adae et Evae," *JSJ* 12 (1982), 172-176, explains several difficult passages of the Greek text by a retroversion into Hebrew. But in spite of this, it must be underscored that the author writes in most cases a type of Greek that does not seem the result of a translation from a Semitic language, and that he is very familiar with the Greek version (LXX) of Gen 1-5. Bertrand, *op. cit.*, 32f, has pointed to four motifs of the *Life* borrowed from the Greek world: the chariot of psychopompai eagles which transport Adam's spirit (33,2); the burial of Adam inspired in Sarpedon's funerals in the *Iliad* (40); the Acherousian Lake where Adam is purified (37,3) and the triangular seal over the tomb of the protoplasto. It is also probable that the unknown author of *ApMos* was trying to use a "septuagintal" Greek in order to enhance the biblical flavour of his narration.
the chief story of other major recensions: Latin\(^3\), Slavonic\(^4\), Armenian\(^5\) and Georgian\(^6\). These recensions are not directly dependent on a Semitic text, but originate—direct or indirectly—from one of the several branches of the Greek recension. The oldest is the Latin *Vita*, which according to several scholars must be dated before the year 70 A.D.\(^7\). The five major recensions are independent from each other because “each of them contains unique materials, distinctive structural elements and its own particular terminology”\(^8\). The relationship between the five different major recensions are very complicated and are not yet sufficiently clarified. Perhaps the only certainty is the chronological priority of the Greek version to the others. But although relatively independent the five major recensions of the lost “Book of Adam” have much text and many traditions in common. In many passages they share a common trend of conceptions about our present issue: the role and functions of angels and demons. Some of the motif innovations or deviations from the Greek recension may clearly be perceived as secondary, because they can rightly be interpreted as evolution or expansion of a more simple or indeterminate motif. Others can also be considered undoubtedly independent. In general therefore one must be cautious at the process of illustrating some specific conceptions by others from the four major recensions, but a comparison may help. The correlation between traditions found in these recensions has only the aim of shedding some light on the analogous conceptions in order to emphasize the points in common and the geographical expansion of some ideas. I do not pretend to establish


\(^8\) See M.E. Stone, *Penitence*, V.