ARMENIAN APOCRYPHA

RELATING TO THE PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS

Edited with Introductions, Translations and Commentary

by

MICHAEL E. STONE

Jerusalem 1982

The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities
Preparation and publication of this volume was made possible by a grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

ISBN 965-208-042-X

© The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982

Printed in Israel
at Ahva Press, Jerusalem
To my children

AURIT AND DAN

בורי אמא חכם לבר ישמות לברות לאני

משלי, כננש

[Translation]:

To my children

AURIT AND DAN

 Sons of wisdom are esteemed, and a son is a crown to his mother.

Solomon's Proverbs, 10:1
IN THIS VOLUME a number of Armenian apocryphal texts are presented which have not been published previously; new manuscript evidence is furnished for others, already published. The texts are diverse in their nature and worth. They are set forth according to biblical chronology as far as possible, beginning with Adam, and have been divided for convenience of reference into three parts: Texts Relating to Adam, Biblical Paraphrases, and Texts Relating to the Prophets. The mode of presentation has been determined by the nature and importance of the new evidence to be adduced from this material. This has led to a certain heterogeneity of treatment. Texts already published are not printed again unless the manuscript evidence makes this necessary; any digressions from this procedure are specified.

The introductory remarks to each Part or Section note the manuscripts on which the texts are based. The texts are generally accompanied by an English translation, variant readings, and a critical commentary. The translations reproduce the critical notations of the text. Words added for style or conjectured to fill lacunae are duly marked. Often, the English requires a personal pronoun as an object where it is not needed or expressed in Armenian. Such auxiliaries are supplied and marked, but should not be regarded as reflecting a lacuna or corruption. The commentaries following the texts and translations cite and translate all substantive readings wherever possible so as to give access in English to the material in the critical apparatuses. The orthography of the manuscripts has usually been preserved, and all changes or emendations introduced into the manuscript text have been clearly marked. The divisions into numbered paragraphs or verses is this editor's. Because of technical difficulties certain accents have been omitted in transcriptions. Throughout the volume the comments are to be regarded as mere indicators of possible lines of future investigation, the primary purpose of the present work being to publish the texts and their translations.

I wish to express my thanks to His Grace, Archbishop Norayr Bogharian, the Librarian of Manuscripts of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, who not only provided generous access to the manuscripts, but also helped in the elucidation of a number of knotty problems of readings and interpretations. His learned comments are acknowledged throughout. The authorities of the Matenadaran, the Mashtotz Library of Ancient Manuscripts in Erevan, were kind enough to make manuscripts of a number of texts available. The authorities of the Bibliothèque nationale in
Preface

Paris and the British Library in London assisted me during my study in those libraries and granted permission to publish information from their manuscripts. Throughout the years, my work on these texts was aided financially by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Professor Gershom Scholem, who was President of the Academy while this project took form, has helped me in numerous ways. The scientific readers on behalf of the Academy were Professor E. E. Urbach and the late Professor Chaim Wirszubski. Their learned guidance is acknowledged, as is that of Professor J. Prawer, who supported my work in various respects.

In the decade that has passed since the book was first sent to the Academy, many hands have worked at it. I forbear naming them all, but express my thanks to them. Acknowledgement must be made, however, to the contribution of Chana Safrai, who was my research assistant in 1970–1971, and of Alfred Paludis, who typed the camera-ready form of most of the Armenian.

The technical challenge that the production of this book set the Publications Department of the Academy was a great one, and the form it now bears, both as an edited work and from the aspects of design and production, are the fruit of the concern and devotion of that Department. In particular I wish to acknowledge the editorial skills of Yvonne Glikson, whose perceptive but gentle touch has improved my writing and presentation at innumerable points. Mr G. Stern of the Publications Department has, over most recent years, been of the greatest help in getting the manuscript, already largely typeset, into its final printed form. Miss Dalia Heftman did the complicated graphic work.

It has been impossible, for technical reasons, to incorporate bibliographical additions to the discussion of the text in the body of the book, and the reader should regard my comments as having been completed in June 1971, so far as the attention to the scholarly debate and discussion is concerned. Since that time, there have been a number of publications of general, bibliographical nature touching on the general field of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha and the Armenian pseudepigrapha. The reader will find benefit in them, but very little of relevance to the texts published here.

This first-fruit of my studies of the apocryphal literature and traditions in Armenian is late in seeing the light of day; it would have been stillborn had it not been for the support of many friends and colleagues. But my debt to Nira, my wife, is deepest.

Wassenaar, 1981

Michael E. Stone

CONTENTS

Preface vii
Manuscripts Published for the First Time xi
Bibliographical Abbreviations xiii
Abbreviations and Symbols Used in the Texts, Apparatuses and Commentaries xvi
Transcription of the Armenian Alphabet xvii
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam 1
I Two Fragments Relating to Adam and The Words of Adam to Seth 2
Texts and Translations:
  Fragment 1 6
  Fragment 2 10
  The Words of Adam to Seth 12
II Concerning the Death of Adam 15
Text and Translation 18
III The Life and History of Abel 33
Apparatus Criticus 34
IV The Hours of the Day and Night 39
Text and Translation 58
Appendix 78
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases 81
Texts and Translations:
  I The Descendants of Adam 84
  II The Story of Noah 88
  III The Story of Joseph 104
  IV The Story of Moses 109
  V The Story of Joshua Son of Nun 117
  VI The Story of Samuel 121
  VII The Story of David 123
  VIII The Story of Solomon 126
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets 127
I Lives of the Prophets 129
Texts and Greek Retroversions:
  Nathan 136
  Elijah 140
  Elisha 144
  Zechariah (1) 146
Contents

Part Three:  Texts Relating to the Prophets

I  Lives of the Prophets (Continued)

   Eli  150
   Joad  152

   Texts and Translations:

   Moses  154
   The Three Children  154
   Zechariah (2)  156

II  The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets  158

   Text and Translation  160

III  Lists of Prophets' Names  174

   Index  177

   Hebrew Summary  190
**MANUSCRIPTS PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Library and MS No.</th>
<th>Folio or Page No.</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Year of Completion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriarchate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 B</td>
<td>pp. 599, 601–602, 733, 760</td>
<td><strong>Lives of the Prophets</strong></td>
<td>1418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>fol. 639 r–v</td>
<td><strong>The Hours</strong></td>
<td>1728–1730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154 C</td>
<td>pp. 1320, 1323, 1524</td>
<td><strong>Lives of the Prophets</strong></td>
<td>1737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>pp. 66, 87, 580</td>
<td><strong>Lives of the Prophets</strong></td>
<td>1331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>pp. 312–315</td>
<td><strong>Concerning the Death of Adam</strong></td>
<td>1347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>642</td>
<td>pp. 185–187</td>
<td><strong>Concerning the Death of Adam</strong></td>
<td>1623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pp. 188–189</td>
<td>Texts Relating to Adam – Fragment 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1488</td>
<td>pp. 613–617</td>
<td><strong>Concerning the Death of Adam</strong></td>
<td>1620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1529</td>
<td>pp. 275–280</td>
<td><strong>Concerning the Death of Adam</strong></td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pp. 280–281</td>
<td>Texts Relating to Adam – Fragment 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erevan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matenadaran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>533</td>
<td>p. 234</td>
<td><strong>Lists of Prophets’ Names</strong></td>
<td>1660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets</td>
<td>Before 1711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>562</td>
<td>foll. 28v–30r</td>
<td><strong>Lives of the Prophets</strong></td>
<td>1271–1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>foll. 362r–363r</td>
<td><strong>Life and History of Abel</strong></td>
<td>1697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2126</td>
<td>foll. 81r–83r</td>
<td>Texts Relating to Adam – Fragment 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 83r</td>
<td><strong>Biblical Paraphrases</strong></td>
<td>1471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3854</td>
<td>foll. 104v–150r</td>
<td><strong>Biblical Paraphrases</strong></td>
<td>Fifteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4231</td>
<td>foll. 1r–30v</td>
<td><strong>Biblical Paraphrases</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Manuscripts Published for the First Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Library and MS No.</th>
<th>Folio or Page No.</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Year of Completion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris Bibliothèque nationale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm. 110</td>
<td>fol. 451v–452r, 459r, 462r, 469r–v</td>
<td><em>Lives of the Prophets</em></td>
<td>1194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm. 198</td>
<td>pp. 41–44</td>
<td><em>Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets</em></td>
<td>Eighteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London British Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M. Or. 6471</td>
<td>foll. 104v–105v</td>
<td><em>The Hours</em></td>
<td>1610</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Anasyan, *Bibliology* = H. Anasyan, վային երկրաշարժեր Երկրաշարժեր հարցազրույց (Armenian Bibliology), Erevan 1959
Arm. Patr. = Armenian Patriarchate Library, Jerusalem


Bezold, *Schatzhöhle* = C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, Leipzig 1883

B. M. = British Museum Library


Budge, *Cave of Treasures* = E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, London 1927

CBQ = Catholic Biblical Quarterly

CG = Coptic Gnostic Codex (i.e. Nag Hammadi Codex)


Erevan Mat. = Matenadaran, Erevan


Philadelphia 1925–1938


Götze, *Schatzöhle* = A. Götze, *Die Schatzhöhle*, Heidelberg 1922


HTR = Harvard Theological Review
Bibliographical Abbreviations

HUCA = Hebrew Union College Annual
Issaverdens = J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian Library of St Lazarus*, Venice 1934
JTS = Journal of Theological Studies
Klein, *Sefer Klausner* = S. Klein, 'Al ha-sefer Vitae Prophetae', *Sefer ha-yovel le-Klausner* (Klausner Festschrift), Jerusalem 1937 (in Hebrew)
Liddell and Scott = H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*
Meillet = A. Meillet, *Alarmenisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1913
MGWJ = Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
NTS = New Testament Studies
P. G. = *Patrologia Graeca*
P. L. = *Patrologia Latina*
Preuschen, *Adamschriften* = E. Preuschen, *Die Apokryphen Gnostischen Adamschriften*, Giessen 1900
Quinn, *Seth* = E. C. Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life*, Chicago 1962
Sarghissian = B. Sarghissian, *Urniwpmwqr rendered $Z\check{h}u$ $\nu\rho\omega\nu\rho\nu\rho\nu\rho\nu$ $\nu\sigma\nu\nu\nu\nu$ (Studies on the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament)*, Venice 1898
SBL = Society of Biblical Literature
Bibliographical Abbreviations

Steinschneider, ZDMG, XLV = M. Steinschneider, 'Apollonius von Thyana (Balinas) bei der Arabern', Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XLV (1891)


Stone, Testament of Levi = M. E. Stone, The Testament of Levi -- A First Study of the Armenian MSS of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs in the Convent of St James, Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1969

Theodor and Albeck = J. Theodor, Bereschit Rabba², with additional corrections by Ch. Albeck, Jerusalem 1965


Tischendorf, Apoc. Apocr. = C. von Tischendorf, Apocalypses Apocryphae, Leipzig 1866


Venice Mech. = Venice Mechitarist Library

Vita Adae = Vita Adae et Evae

Wright, Catalogue = W. Wright, Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum, London 1877


ZA W = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS
USED IN THE TEXTS, APPARATUSES AND COMMENTARIES

Manuscript sigla are listed in the introductions to the relevant texts

above written above
col. column
cor. corrected, corrector
dittog. dittography
eras. erasure
fol., foll. folio, folios
fin. end of folio, etc.
hmt. homoeoteleuton
hrct. homoeoarchton
init. beginning of folio, etc.
l., ll. line, lines

let., lett. letter, letters
LXX Septuagint version
marg. margin
n. note
om. omits
omn. all other testimonia
rel. all testimonia except those cited
s.m. by a second hand
v., vv. verse, verses
v. I., v. II. variant reading, readings

end of MS page
[ ] lacuna / reconstruction of lacuna
x --- x from word x to word x
x . . . x word x and word x
• over letter: partly illegible
  • on line: letter of which part remains but is illegible / letter space within a lacuna
( ) material introduced from another source (source noted, unless this editor’s addition)
' ' uncorrected corruption
[ ] addition by later hand in base MS
( ) in translation: this editor’s addition or explanation
~ reversed word order
+ adds, add (authority or authorities quoted)
λ in apparatus: reading judged superior by this editor
1°, 2°, etc. after letter or word: first, second, etc., occurrence of letter in word / word in verse / line
A* word as originally written (in cases of subsequent correction)
A' correction by original scribe
A1, A2, etc. later correctors, independently identified
Ac unidentifiable later corrector

Note: The periods in abbreviations are omitted in the apparatuses
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian Letter</th>
<th>English Transliteration</th>
<th>Armenian Letter</th>
<th>English Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ա</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Ս</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բ</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Յ</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Գ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Զ</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ը</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Է</td>
<td>ֵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ծ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Զ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Կ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>Է</td>
<td>ֵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Թ</td>
<td>Ժ</td>
<td>Զ</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բ</td>
<td>Թ</td>
<td>Ն</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Հ</td>
<td>Ի</td>
<td>Ո</td>
<td>Ի</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Լ</td>
<td>Լ</td>
<td>Թ</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ւ</td>
<td>Փ</td>
<td>Ն</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ծ</td>
<td>Ք</td>
<td>Յ</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Հ</td>
<td>Ղ</td>
<td>Ա</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Կ</td>
<td>Խ</td>
<td>Ս</td>
<td>ա</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ծ</td>
<td>Ծ</td>
<td>Ս</td>
<td>փ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Հ</td>
<td>Ծ</td>
<td>Բ</td>
<td>կ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Գ</td>
<td>Ր</td>
<td>Ի</td>
<td>ո</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բ</td>
<td>Բ</td>
<td>Ն</td>
<td>է</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ա</td>
<td>Ա</td>
<td>Ս</td>
<td>ֆ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xvii
Among the texts relating to Adam, two fragments of literature are published here for the first time (Section I). For the understanding of the first fragment the short work published by Sargis Yovsep'ianc', The Words of Adam to Seth, proved highly relevant. As the English rendering of J. Issaverdens is not entirely accurate, a new translation is provided here. The four new manuscripts found to contain the work Concerning the Death of Adam (Section II) have enabled substantial improvement of the previously published text and its translation. Both a new text and a new translation are therefore published in full, together with the variae lectiones. A different criterion applies to the new manuscript found of The Life and History of Abel (Section III), where the work is incomplete and does not lead to major changes of the portions of the text which it does preserve. There is no reason, therefore, to reproduce the text as printed by Yovsep'ianc'. However, variant readings of the new manuscript are of considerable interest, and are given as collations, with some discussion of the more important among them. The Armenian version of The Hours of the Day and Night (Section IV) belongs to the body of materials known as The Testament of Adam or the Apotelesmata of Apollonius of Tyana. It is a new text of considerable importance both because of its intrinsic interest and because of the complexity of its relationship to the other versions and text-forms known. An extensive treatment of this Armenian version in comparison with the other texts is therefore undertaken here, leading to general conclusions bearing on the whole corpus.
1. TWO FRAGMENTS RELATING TO ADAM; THE WORDS OF ADAM TO SETH

The two fragments of apocryphal writings relating to Adam, published here for the first time, both centre on the same theme and both are found in manuscripts containing other Armenian literature concerning Adam. The Words of Adam to Seth provides a third version of the incidents, but is particularly closely related to the first Adam fragment.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Fragment 1

The first Adam fragment (hereafter: Fragment 1) is included in two manuscripts (C and E) from Jerusalem:

C MS Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 642, dated 1623, completed in Venice
E MS Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 1529, dated 1648

The fragment was discovered in C during this writer’s examination of the text there entitled ‘The History of Adam’, which was reported by the Jerusalem Catalogue to occur on pp. 185-189 of the manuscript. This, as became clear at once, was another title for the apocryphon Concerning the Death of Adam, published below (Section II). The text of

1 For the chief texts of this literature in Armenian, see the edition of Yovsep’ianănc'; for their rendition into English, see the translation of Issaverdens. For a German translation, see E. Preuschen, in: Festgruss Bernhard Stade, Giessen 1900, published as a separate monograph in Preuschen, Adamschriften. The published apocrypha relating to Adam are discussed at some length, but inconclusively, in Sarghissian, pp. 8-65. See also, more recently, G.R. Cardona, ‘Sur le gnosticisme en Arménie: les livres d’Adam’, in: U. Bianchi (ed.), Le origini dello gnosticismo, Leiden 1963, pp. 645-648; Denis, Introduction, pp. 5, 7 ff. Some themes of these documents are also dealt with in Quinn, Seth. For a summary of all published Armenian Adam books as well as some manuscript copies, see Anasyan, Bibliology, I, cols. 236-245. For some discussion of previously unpublished books, see M.E. Stone, ‘Researches in the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, 1967-1970, and Their Significance for Jewish Studies’, Tarbiz, XLI (1972), pp. 157-169 (in Hebrew). For further examples of this literature, see below, Part One, Section II, Concerning the Death of Adam, and Section III, The Life and History of Abel.

2 On MS 642, see Jerusalem Catalogue, III, p. 58; on MS 1529, see ibid., V,
I. Two Fragments Relating to Adam; The Words of Adam to Seth

Fragment 1 appears directly following Concerning the Death of Adam. It has no separate title and, on first examination, seemed to be a supplement to it. However, it is obviously not an integral part of Concerning the Death of Adam, the conclusion of which precedes this fragment. Similar circumstances led to the discovery of the second text of Fragment 1 in E.

In C, Fragment 1 covers most of p. 188, and the conclusion extends to the first line of p. 189. The manuscript is written on thin paper and in an ink which has had a deleterious effect. As a result the page has become extremely brittle and a considerable section in the middle has fallen out. It proved impossible to photograph the page for fear of inflicting further damage on it, and the text has been copied by hand directly from the manuscript.

In E, Fragment 1 occurs on pp. 280 f. Fortunately, the manuscript was in a far better state of preservation and is readily legible. This fragment has also been copied by hand. The text presented here is basically that of E, but readings of C have been introduced freely where required. Such instances are noted in the apparatus and in the commentary on the text. The places where C and E are clearly divergent are also noted. The lacunae of C are generally indicated by square brackets in the text, to simplify the apparatus. The text included in these square brackets exists only in E.

Fragment 2

The second Adam fragment (hereafter: Fragment 2) was discovered in MS Erevan Mat. 2126, fol. 83r, as an appendix to the text Concerning the Death of Adam. Like Fragment 1 this passage too is not an integral part of the work to which it is appended.3

The Words of Adam to Seth

As a supplement to these two fragments, a new translation is given here of The Words of Adam to Seth, discovered by Yovsep'ianc' in MS Venice Mech. 57, without a title. According to a note in his edition of the text, it is followed by a body of moral exhortation which he unfortunately omitted from his publication. The present translation is based on his text, which is not reprinted here.4

p. 281. See also below, Part One, Section II, introductory remarks to Concerning the Death of Adam.
3 Erevan Catalogue, I, col. 726, and below, Part One, Section II, of this volume.
4 Yovsep'ianc', pp. 331-332; cf. the English translation of Issaverdens, pp. 73-74, which is inaccurate, and the German translation of Preuschen, Adamschriften, pp. 46-47. The material that follows the published text is discussed by Yovsep'ianc', p. 331, n. Issaverdens apparently incorrectly attributes it to
There appears to be no way based on external criteria in which these fragments can be dated. An internal philological examination shows that while Fragment 1 is written in standard classical-type Armenian, Fragment 2 exhibits a late post-classical form of the language and is full of grammatical anomalies. Fragment 2 thus has no particular claims to antiquity but is of interest since it exhibits a further development of the themes of Fragment 1. One point in the text may indicate that it was translated from Greek (see below, the commentary on the text).

Fragment 1

Fragment 1 and The Words of Adam to Seth share the same basic story pattern, telling of Seth’s resolution, his forty days’ fast and the angel who gave him a branch from the Garden. The chief difference between them is in Adam’s and Seth’s reactions to the identification of the branch. In The Words of Adam to Seth, the branch, although it is from the tree of which Adam ate, is clearly seen as bringing a message of redemption. In Fragment 1, however, it remains a negative symbol. The story of Fragment 1 and of The Words of Adam to Seth is to be found in other sources, and an interesting analysis of the theme was carried out by Quinn. In its developed form the legend of Seth’s bringing the branch from Paradise should be seen in the context of the christological tradition that the tree from which the Cross was made was brought from Paradise. The earliest known form of this idea is an expansion found in four manuscripts of the Vita Adae et Evae (Meyer’s Class III). It is not to be found, however, either in the unpublished Armenian ‘Repentance of Our Father Adam’ or in the Armenian version of the Apocalypsis Mosis. The rood-tree legend must imply that the branch brought from Paradise carries a message of redemption. The absence of this element from Fragment 1 is therefore noteworthy and might be explained in two ways: (1) Most likely is the view that this aspect of the theme has been lost in the form of the story found here. The brief, almost stenographic, nature of the narrative suggests that it may be a summary of a larger work. Moreover, the curious expression, ‘If this mortal tree is so shining and bright, then how bright is that tree of life’ (v. 11), might be a malformed development of something with the same import as the corre-

5 Quinn, Seth, pp. 88-101.
6 Meyer, Vita Adae, p. 53.
7 Discussed below, in the introductory remarks to Part One, Section IV, The Hours of the Day and Night.
1. Two Fragments Relating to Adam; The Words of Adam to Seth

sponding passage in The Words of Adam to Seth: '... just as it is mortal, so it has become life-giving and bright' (v. 13). Without the element of redemption the story loses a great deal of its internal cohesiveness. (2) An alternative explanation is that a pre-Christian form of the legend has been preserved. This does not seem likely, however. The conclusion of the fragment, transmitting the story of Seth's oath not to eat fruit, reflects a tradition also found in Concerning the Death of Adam (v. 13).

Fragment 2

Fragment 2 is much simpler to characterize. Quinn has tried to show that the form of the legend in which Seth brings a branch from the garden is of ancient Jewish origin. This may be so, but direct attestation for a Jewish form of the myth is lacking, unless it is to be inferred from Fragment 1. Of interest in Fragment 2 is the conclusion. Here the tradition is found according to which the Cross was made of the wood of the branch which Seth brought from the Garden. Moreover, the idea that Adam had to eat fruit from the Garden in order to gain release for his soul is an interesting one. The theme of the loss of the paradisical fruit or food is to be found in the Vita Adae et Evae, Chapters i-ix, in the above-mentioned unpublished 'Repentance of Our Father Adam' and elsewhere. The tradition in Fragment 2 is not identical, for in the analogous sources the issue will only be resolved at the time of the eschaton. The idea that Seth brought back fruit and that Adam ate it is not found elsewhere. As Fragment 2 is structured, the fruit and not the branch stands at the centre of the event. The branch is almost incidental.

8 See discussion in Stone, HTR, LIX, p. 285, and below, Part One, Section II, introductory remarks to Concerning the Death of Adam and the commentary on the text.
9 See Quinn, Seth, pp. 92 ff.
10 Meyer's ed.
Again Adam said: This whole phrase is missing from C. The prefix q to qllquid ‘Adam’ is presumably corrupt, as it makes no sense; cf. below, the first sentence of The Words of Adam to Seth.

2 ubq ‘us’: C reads qubd, which would yield a text ‘the great God created’, reading ubd for qubd.
Again Adam instructed his son Seth and said, 'My son Seth, you see us in this region in which there are thorns and thistles. 2 This was not our dwelling and we were not here, but God created us in a Garden in Eden and he adorned us with awesome glory and honour, more than the angels. 3 But we did not observe the commandment of the Lord.

E
4 We were stripped of the divine light and we fell outside of the eternal life,

C
We were stripp[ed ............ ] we fell from everlasting glory,

5 on account of the serpent through deceit and the eating of the fruit.' 6 And Seth, when he heard of all that had happened from his father Adam, set up a law before him to fast for forty days and for forty nights. 7 He ate no bread and drank no water until he was considered worthy by the angel (who) brought him a branch of wondrous appearance and brighter than the sun. 8 And having brought (it) he gave it to his father and said, 'Father Adam! Behold | a sign for you from your dwelling and from the tree of life.' 9 And (his) father Adam said, 'This is not our tree of life, but from this we ate death.' 10 When Seth heard this from his father Adam he was greatly distressed and wept bitterly and said, 'Then woe to us all the days of our times! If this mortal tree is so
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

Part One: Texts Relating to Adam


11 ἡμερησίῳ C ἡμερήσιῳ E /

[Ἀναφέρων δὲ C ἡμερήσιῳ C ἡμερήσιῳ C ἡμερήσιῳ C + ὁ E 12 ἐν

11 ἡμερήσιῳ ‘so shining’: E has ἡμερήσιῳ ‘unmeasurable’ instead of ἡμερήσιῳ ‘so’. This is a fairly common corruption and may be observed in other texts. The reading of C is also to be preferred since the correlative ἡμερήσιῳ ‘how’ is
shining and bright, then how bright is that tree of life.' 12 And Seth swore by God not to eat fruit of trees all the days of his life, 13 and all the children of Adam acted in this fashion (or: went in this way).

to be found. C also preserves the correct form of the next two words l:n:ub:q:v t 'is... shining', while E has apparently corrupted them by haplography to the meaningless l:n:ub:q:.
w:wb:dn 'bright': E adds a pleonastic t 'is' following this word.
12 b: b:nt:jw:nt:lw:q: 'And... swore by God': E has b:q: w:q:, to which no meaning can be assigned, except to say that w:q doubtless is connected with the abbreviation j:w:q: 'by God'.
w:ln:nh:u 'days': The omission of this word in C is obviously erroneous.
13 q:wb:jh:w 'fashion': This word, found only in C, is apparently original since a noun is required by the preceding w:jw:q:u:h.
1 οιοί δὲ Δωρίδης δεδομένοι γεγονός: 2 Qh qwrih, apophthegmatismos, ἐποίησε τούτοις: 3 ἐποίησε τούτοις. 3 ἐποίησε τούτοις. 4 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 5 οὖν ἔστω ὑπ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησε. 6 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 7 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 8 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 9 οὖν ἔστω ὑπ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησε. 10 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 11 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 12 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 13 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 14 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 15 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 16 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 17 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 18 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 19 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 20 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 21 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 22 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 23 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 24 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 25 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 26 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 27 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 28 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 29 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις. 30 ἤρθεν τοῦτοις.
1 Adam lived for eight hundred and thirty years. 2 For, during a hundred years he drew pains (i.e. suffered pains) on account of the longings and the desire for the Garden which came (to) his mind. 3 His soul did not depart. He remembered the sweetness and the delight of the Garden. 4 He was terrified and afraid of the bitter Hell to whom he had given his contract. 5 On account of that his soul did not depart until his son Seth by forty days' fast had abstained from food and entreated God with prayer that He would take his father's soul. 6 Then the merciful God sent the archangel Michael to Seth. On fiery wings he went to the Garden of Adam. 7 And (Seth) having brought fruit from the Garden gave (it to) his father. And when he had eaten of the fruit of the Garden then he gave up his soul. 8 And taking this branch of (whose) fruit Adam had eaten they brought it to Adam's grave and planted (it) above the head of Adam's tomb. It became a great tree. 9 The Doctors say that Christ was crucified on the wood of this tree, he who carried out salvation and mercy for Adam and for all his offspring 10 whom let God redeem and save from bitter Hell and from our sins.


5 iqwh wjb 'on account of that': This is a late form, and more classical would be iqwh wjbunjyh.
5 wjwhq qnwh swh 'take his father's soul': The expression wjwhq qnwh usually means 'to give up one's soul'. This is impossible in view of the genitive of 'father'. The usual meaning of this phrase is to be observed in v. 7.
6 h npwhu whw 'to the Garden of Adam': Seth is apparently praying in or close by the Garden of Eden, which is referred to here as the Garden of Adam. This is not stated explicitly here nor is it referred to in Fragment 1. It occurs, however, in the Greek and Latin Adam books.
7 bwh swj sh 'he gave (it to) his father': This must be the sense of this expression although swj 'father' is nominative where dative is clearly required. The subject of the sentence is incontrovertibly Seth.
8 np h qnwh q 'of (whose) fruit': The genitive of the relative pronoun and not the nominative is to be preferred here.
THE WORDS OF ADAM TO SETH

1 Adam said to Seth, ‘My son, this is not our dwelling, for this was the dwelling of beasts and animals, and our dwelling was in Eden, to the east, in the Garden. 2 For God created us and placed (us) in the Garden. And he commanded us of which fruit to eat and of which not to eat. 3 We did not observe the commandment, we were made naked of the divine glory, we were deprived of the Garden.’ 4 And Seth, the son of comfort, hearing this speech from his father, also considered (it) and, having gone, for forty days and forty nights he ate no bread and drank no water. 5 And he said to the Lord in his prayer, ‘Omnipotent, all powerful Lord! Fulfil my entreaty for good.’ 6 And immediately, he saw the angel who was coming and holding a branch of joy in his hand. 7 And he gave (it) to Seth and said, ‘This is comfort for your father.’ 8 And Seth praised the giver of life, Christ, who acted on and fulfilled his entreaty for good. 9 And Seth, taking that branch, brought (it) to his father Adam, and said, ‘Father, this is from your dwelling.’ 10 And Adam, taking that branch, placed (it) upon (his) eyes, and his eyes were opened. 11 And looking, he saw the branch, that it was (from) that tree, of which he had eaten death. 12 And he said to his son, ‘My son, Seth. This is from that tree from which God commanded us not to eat.’ 13 And Seth said to his father, ‘Father, know that just as it is mortal, so it has become life-giving and bright.’ 14 And Adam praised God and Seth his son, and he changed, by the Lord’s command, into dust, from which he had been created. 15 And after the passing of times, Seth spoke of the matter with Enos, and said, 16 ‘Thus said my father Adam, that this was not our dwelling, but this was the dwelling of beasts and other creatures, and our dwelling was in Eden, to the east. 17 And when God created our father (and) he placed him in the Garden, he also gave him a command of which fruit to eat and of which not to eat. 18 But he, not having observed the commandments, and having been stripped of the

3 ‘we did not’: Yovsep'ianc' adds in parentheses ḫuqt ‘but’, apparently his own addition. If the phrase is compared with Fragment 1, v. 3, we might wish to reconstruct ʿwaʾlg.

‘we were made naked’: Yovsep'ianc' reconstructs a preceding ʾb l ‘and’, but cf. Fragment 1, vv. 3 f. Other such minor additions of Yovsep'ianc' are not translated unless absolutely necessary for the sense of the passage. If so, they are included in parentheses.

17 ‘not to eat’: literally, ‘that we should not eat’.
The Words of Adam to Seth

divine light, and having been thrown outside of the Garden, became an equal of the dumb beasts.’ 19 And 'Enoch' considered these things, and for forty days and for forty nights he did not eat at all. 20 And after this he planted a luscious garden, and he planted in it all fruit bearers. 21 And he was in that garden for five hundred and forty two years, and after that, in body, he was taken up to heaven, and was found worthy of the divine glory and light.

19 'Enoch': Either Enoch here or Enos in v. 15 is corrupt. Perhaps Enos is original, for he was Seth's son. Moreover, 542 years is more than the Bible ascribes to Enoch. A special tradition concerning Enos' death appears in the Hebrew text of Ben Sira xlix: 16. Issaverdens in his translation corrects the first reading to Enoch. Some support for this may be found in the Biblical Paraphrases; see below, Part Two, I: The Descendants of Adam, 11. 13-15, and see commentary on the text, ad loc. That text attributes a life-span of 520 years to Enoch.

21 'he was': Literally, 'having been'.
II. CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ADAM

The small Armenian Adam apocryphon known as The Death of Adam has been the subject of a previous study by the writer.\(^1\) The present title Concerning the Death of Adam follows a manuscript found in Jerusalem. In the earlier study a new translation of the book was presented on the basis of the text printed by Yovsep’ianc’; previously an English translation by Issaverdens and a German translation by Preuschen had been published.\(^2\) Issaverdens had based his translation on the text published by Yovsep’ianc’. Preuschen, while mentioning three manuscripts for the Armenian Adam books in his introductory remarks, does not state what they were;\(^3\) nor is it clear whether these three manuscripts contained all the Adam books that he had studied. The endemic lack of clarity is to be observed in Yovsep’ianc’\(^4\)’s introductory comments. This question may only be elucidated finally by a renewed examination of the three manuscripts. Neither Preuschen nor Yovsep’ianc’ gives any variae lectiones. It appears most likely that the text of The Death of Adam is contained in Yovsep’ianc’\(^5\)’s MS A, i.e. Venice Mech.729.\(^5\) If this is so, it seems probable, despite the writer’s earlier reservations,\(^6\) that Preuschen simply translated Yovsep’ianc’\(^7\)’s text. To this evidence for the book, which amounts to one manuscript, four further copies from Jerusalem may be added. The manuscript witnesses are therefore as follows:

A  Yovsep’ianc’\(^8\)’s text  
B  MS Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 372, dated 1347, completed in Surxat (Lim). 

The text of Concerning the Death of Adam is found on pp. 312-315.\(^8\)

---

1 Stone, *HTR*, LIX.
2 Yovsep’ianc’, pp. 24-26; Issaverdens, pp. 85-89; Preuschen, pp. 46-47.
3 Preuschen, pp. 3-4.
4 Yovsep’ianc’, p. [vii].
5 See also Issaverdens, p. 21; there, too, a similar lack of clarity may be observed, as also in the brief essay on the work by Sarghissian, pp. 46-49.
6 *HTR*, LIX, p. 283. There it was assumed that Preuschen used all three manuscripts.
7 The few readings in Preuschen’s translation which apparently pointed to knowledge of a different text may be due to imprecision of rendering; see below, the commentary on the text.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

When an attempt is made to clarify the relationship between these five witnesses it becomes immediately apparent that conflation is to be found between almost every single manuscript. Certain major lines of relationship are immediately evident to the reader of the apparatus. They may be described thus: C and E are closely related, and the largest number of variant readings is from these manuscripts. E has the greatest number of unique variants. C and E have a common ancestor, since directional variants lead to and from each of them: C→E (v. 12, 20) and E→C (v. 30); see commentary ad loc. Furthermore, each of these manuscripts has readings which are conflate with the reading CE:ABD. Thus we observe AE:BCD (v. 5, 7, 24) and DE:ABC (v. 1, 11, 19, 23) as well as AC:DEB (v. 34, 48) and the compound variant A:BE:CD (v. 15). These readings cannot be dismissed. Two other major lines of relationship emerge, both involving B and conflate between themselves. These are the relationships BA and BD. One of them must be the result of a process of conflation. Moreover there is another series of readings involving these manuscripts, the most important of which is AE:BCD referred to above. Each of the five witnesses appears in a group of two variants with each of the other witnesses, except for BC:AED and AD:BCE. It follows from the amount of conflation involved that it is

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

When an attempt is made to clarify the relationship between these five witnesses it becomes immediately apparent that conflation is to be found between almost every single manuscript. Certain major lines of relationship are immediately evident to the reader of the apparatus. They may be described thus: C and E are closely related, and the largest number of variant readings is from these manuscripts. E has the greatest number of unique variants. C and E have a common ancestor, since directional variants lead to and from each of them: C→E (v. 12, 20) and E→C (v. 30); see commentary ad loc. Furthermore, each of these manuscripts has readings which are conflate with the reading CE:ABD. Thus we observe AE:BCD (v. 5, 7, 24) and DE:ABC (v. 1, 11, 19, 23) as well as AC:DEB (v. 34, 48) and the compound variant A:BE:CD (v. 15). These readings cannot be dismissed. Two other major lines of relationship emerge, both involving B and conflate between themselves. These are the relationships BA and BD. One of them must be the result of a process of conflation. Moreover there is another series of readings involving these manuscripts, the most important of which is AE:BCD referred to above. Each of the five witnesses appears in a group of two variants with each of the other witnesses, except for BC:AED and AD:BCE. It follows from the amount of conflation involved that it is

9 See ibid., III, pp. 57-59, and especially p. 58.
10 See above, Part One, Section I, on the Adam Fragment 1.
12 See ibid., pp. 280-282, and especially p. 281; see also above, Part One, Section I, the introductory remarks to the Adam Fragment 1. The writer had hoped to include the text of MS Erevan Mat. 711 in this study. Unfortunately the films of the manuscript kindly made available to him did not contain the relevant pages. Enough is present in the Jerusalem texts, however, to make this re-examination worthwhile.
difficult to choose the base text on purely stemmatic grounds. However, on intrinsic grounds, the text of B is usually preferable, and particularly the text of BD, or BD with other manuscripts. BDA lack a series of corruptions that were present in the ancestor of CE although on occasion these two latter manuscripts preserve a preferable reading. The following edition of the text is therefore based chiefly on B, but where B (or the group agreeing with B) is clearly inferior to CE, the text of CE is used. All such instances are marked by angular brackets. The correction of spelling errors in B has not been thus indicated.
Concerning the Death of Adam': The text of A has only 'The Death of Adam'; C reads 'The History of Adam' and D adds 'and of Eve'. The title of A is perhaps formulated on the pattern of the title of Vitae Prophetarum, known in its Armenian version as 'The Deaths of the Prophets'; see the introductory remarks to Part Three, 'Texts Relating to the Prophets'. The title is omitted by E.

Superscription. The translation of 'The Book of Genesis' may be preferred to 'The Books of Creation', given in HTR, LIX, although this is technically possible. Issaverdens translates 'The Book of Creation', while Preuschen's 'Die Schöpfung hat Moses schriftlich dargestellt' is a typically free rendering. 'The Book of Genesis' is an Armenian title for the Book of Genesis. The present translation clarifies the point which the original author wished to make, Genesis being the book of Moses concerned with Adam. D adds 'this'. CE omit everything from 'Moses established' as far as 'the death of Adam, that...'. No reason for this is apparent, and the fuller text of ABD seems preferable.

'nine hundred and thirty years': The life-span of nine hundred years found in A is puzzling. BD read 'nine hundred and thirty' in accord with the sources, both biblical and apocryphal; see HTR, LIX, n. ad. loc. The figure four hundred and thirty found in CE is doubtless a corruption of the abbreviation THl, 'nine hundred and thirty' to THl, 'four hundred and thirty'. Interestingly, for v. 10, where Adam's age is also mentioned, AB show the number 'nine hundred' where the remaining three manuscripts have 'nine hundred and thirty'. It would be singular if a corrupt reading 'nine hundred' had contaminated the figure 'nine hundred and thirty', supported by both the Bible and tradition, yet no ready explanation is apparent for the situation in B, which has nine hundred and thirty here and nine hundred in v. 10, but see below on v. 10.
CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ADAM

Moses established (or: wrote) the Book of Genesis. He mentions but little about the death of Adam, that Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years. But in the (history (or: narrative)) of the Paralipomena of the Greeks it is found to be written thus concerning the protoplasts.

I After the envy and the evil Adam, having come, dwelt opposite the Garden and because of his weeping, ate no food for (five) days, until the

\( \text{\textbf{1}} \text{ (5\textbf{\textit{ph\textit{v}}}}) \text{ \textit{ap} 'for (five) days': According to C, 'for seven days'. The figure of five days is found only in the Armenian History of the Sons of Adam; see Yovsep'ianc', p. 314. The Slavonic Life of Adam and Eve xxvi: 1, mentions a seven days' fast. A period of fasting for seven days after the protoplasts left the Garden of Eden and before they commenced their repentance in the Jordan and Tigris rivers is also mentioned in the unpublished Armenian 'Repentance of Our Father Adam'; see below, Part One, Section IV, introductory remarks to The Hours of the Day and Night; cf. Latin Vita Adae, Chaps. i ff. Similarly a seven-day period is mentioned in the Vatican Greek Codex of Apoc. Mosis, which contains the story of the penitence; see MS Vat. Gr. 1192, fol. 13v. The variation has probably arisen here, therefore, through a graphic confusion of the abbreviations for the numerals 'five' and 'seven'.} \)
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

This is also apparently the situation in The History of the Sons of Adam; see Issaverdens, p. 53, n.

2 bl [and having comforted]: By omitting 'and' at the beginning of the verse and by reading the infinitive 'to comfort', CE have a text for the end of v. 2 and the start of v. 3 which can be rendered, '...until the coming of the angel to comfort them'. The following verb is also in infinitive in E, i.e. '...to comfort them and to show him...'. A variation between a participle + a finite verb and a finite verb + and + a finite verb is quite often to be observed in Armenian texts of this type; see Stone, Testament of Levi, p. 52; see also below, on vv. 3 and 32.

20
II. Concerning the Death of Adam

coming of the angel. 2 And having comforted them, he showed him the tasks of work. 3 And the angel brought him the tools of smithery, the pincers and the hammer, and instructed (him) by working with him at the command of God, 4 After which (one) Tobel by name, one of Adam's grandchildren, became a skilful smith of iron and bronze and since then none lived as skilled as Tobel. 5 And after this he drew near to his wife Eve and Eve conceived and bore with a very great pain Cain and with him, a daughter Cainan, which is translated 'Envy', for she said, 'The envy of the Accuser brought this upon me.' 6 And after this she bore Abel which is translated 'Mourning' and a daughter, Ema by name. 7 And then, after this, she bore Seth, which is translated 'Comforter' on

q’unuw ‘them’: This plural form is correct (the singular, following Issaverdens, was suggested in HTR, LIX). There is some confusion in the number of the pronouns throughout the first part of this text (vv. 1-3). Possibly a not uncommon corruption of the singular and plural forms of the pronoun is here at play; cf. Stone, Testament of Levi, p. 79.

3 pbpt ‘brought’: CE have the past participle instead of finite verb; cf. above, on v. 2.

Instructed: ABD here, as with p’wlb h‘dwelt’ in v. 1, read a present tense with a narrative sense. C has an imperfect in both cases. This is not the consistent practice of C, as is clear from the use of the verb gnlgwlb ‘he showed’ in v. 2. There ABCD have the present tense and E the infinitive. There is some inconsistency in tense use throughout the work which has not been reflected literally in the translation, see below, on v. 34.

4 ðnh l wnlb ‘Tobel by name’: ACE omit wnib ‘by name’ after the first occurrence of this word.

5 dbnbgbwl wn l’bh h’lp btlw ‘he drew near to his wife Eve’: The MSS show a good deal of variation in this phrase. BCDE read, with some minor variations, dbnbdbgwl l’nwfl wn l’bh l’hp btlw ‘Adam drew near to his wife, Eve’ where B alone omits l’nwfl ‘Adam’. A reads dbnbdbgwl wn btlw ‘he drew near to Eve’. 6 llœ j'ngwl btlw bl ‘and Eve conceived’: CDE omit the word btlw ‘Eve’ in this phrase, where it stands next to the word bl and, raising the possibility of haplography or dittography; see below, on v. 12.

7 ðh wb ‘with him’: The phrase is omitted by ACE.

lwflw ‘Cainan’: CE have the variant form lwj lbwj Kayenay, while D has lwj lbwj Kayinay.

q’h wbt ‘for she said’: This may well be an original reading, for it makes the author’s point more clearly than the impersonal phrase lwj lbwj t ‘that is to say’, found in the other manuscripts; for the implications of this statement, see HTR, LIX, notes ad loc.

lwng lb ‘brought... me’: The reading of CE is clearly a corruption of this text.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

10 հունսիք վարուց ‘nine hundred years old’: On this phrase, see in detail above, on the superscription. Here, conceivably the age of nine hundred years could represent a time at which the children of Seth were born, thirty years before Adam’s death.

11 կայի ‘and to Seth were born’: The verb is singular in CE, a reading which is anomalous. D reads բութ դիավա ‘and Seth begat’.

11 սփռվեց ‘and they grew up’: CE have the verb in the aorist, instead of the imperfect. On this variation, see Stone, Testament of Levi, p. 77, n. These two MSS also give the adverb դեռ ‘exceedingly’.

11 քավանք Ա ‘Eve was’: C has the reading քավաա որոնտ Քիրեհոր քթքու, which apparently means ‘Eve went’ (reading որոնտ Քիրեհոր as իրիչոր).

11 սփռվեց ‘began to ask’: BD read սփռվեց որոնտ Քիրեհոր ‘he began he asked’.

<q>քավանք</q> ‘his (mother)’: This reading of CE is to be preferred to the other variants on grammatical grounds. The քավանք of A is doubtless due to the common graphic confusion of the letters գ and ք; see Stone, Testament of Levi, pp. 31, 151; idem, ‘Manuscripts and Readings of Armenian IV Ezra’, Textus, VI (1968), p. 59.

11 քավանք ‘the reasons’: Singular in C.

<q>քեչք</q> ‘of the sins (on account of) which they came forth’: Preuschen’s translation, ‘der Sünde, die in dem Garten geschehen war’ was mentioned in HTR, LIX, ad loc. This varies from the text of A on two points. First, the verb
II. Concerning the Death of Adam

account of the death of Abel, and a daughter Est'era. 8 And Seth received the blessing of Abel and became a shepherd of sheep. 9 And Adam rejoiced on account of Seth and loved him. 10 And Adam was nine hundred years old and to Seth were born sons and daughters and they grew up. 11 And one day Eve was in the house of her son Seth and Seth began to ask his (mother) Eve the reasons (or: causes) of the sins (on account of) which they came forth from the Garden. 12 And Eve related (it) in order. 13 And Seth swore to God not to eat fruit all the days of his life. 14 And

is read as *bηb*b 'happened', and not as *b[l]b *'came forth'. Secondly, 'Garden' is apparently in the locative and not in the ablative. This text is not to be found in any of the MSS examined, and most probably Preuschen's source remains his own speculations. Instead of the whole phrase, CE read simply *b[γ]w*b*b*γj*b *bngw* of their going forth, thus producing a text 'the reason of their going forth from the Garden'.

12 *b[l] b*Lw* *qumul* *And Eve related (it)': AC read *b[l] *qumul* *b*Lw*, which text is to be translated in the same way as BD. The text of C is a development from this reading of E, with *b[l] wj* for *b*Lw*. Possibly the reason for the introduction of the name (or its omission) is graphic, a likely hypothesis being that the name *b*Lw* was lost from A by haplography with the preceding *b[l] *'and'; see above, v. 5, and below, vv. 24 and 30, for similar instances of haplography or dittography borne out by the MSS. For the missing object we have here added 'it' while '(to him)' was suggested in HTR, LIX.

Eve relates details of the Fall at Adam's bedside in Apoc. Mosis, Chaps. xiv and xxv-xxxiv, and in Vita Adae, Chap. xlv; on this, see further HTR, LIX, ad loc.

13 *b[l] b[ŋŋn] b*Lw* Utj *And Seth swore': Seth's oath to abstain from fruit is found in other Armenian sources. Thus it occurs in the Adam Fragment 1, vv. 12-13; see above, Section I. It should be contrasted with the tradition in The Words of Adam to Seth concerning Enoch (Enos?) who planted a garden full of all fruit-bearing trees, although in the latter text the eating of the fruit is not mentioned specifically. The beginning of the Latin Vita Adae contains a tradition telling of the search of Adam and Eve for paradisal fruit after their expulsion from the Garden, and of their finding only such food as the animals eat. In the unpublished Armenian 'Repentance of Our Father Adam' (see below, introductory remarks to The Hours of the Day and Night) a tradition similar to the Latin Vita Adae emphasizes that this food was grass. This appears to be a different tradition from that found here, in which Seth's oath to abstain from eating fruit derives naturally from the association of this action with Adam's Fall.

The singular nature of this tradition is perhaps best highlighted by a passage such as we find in the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve:

'Seth and his children dwelt on the mountain below the garden; they sowed not, neither did they reap; they wrought no food for the body, not even wheat; but only offerings. They ate of the fruit and of the trees well flavoured that grew on the mountain where they dwelt' (Malan, Adam and Eve, p. 119).

*gbwpg *b*Ln*ng* of his life': The word *b*Ln*ng* 'his' is omitted by D.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

'And when they finished speaking': The reason for the omission of this phrase from CE is not evident, but the context suggests that it is not an addition of the other MSS.

'But (Eve saw)': As it stands in A this phrase reads 'but saw' (imperfect), while BD have 'as if, while CD have 'like'. This is common; for further examples, see Stone, Testament of Levi, p. 69.
II. Concerning the Death of Adam

when they finished speaking they fell asleep and (Eve saw) in a dream Adam like light as previously when they were in the Garden, but as if sad. 15 And he was brought forth from the house as if by force. 16 And in her dream she followed to see where Adam was being taken. 17 And he was brought forth to a high, shining temple and there, with (or: on) a throne, on high, shining seats, sat three shining men, and around the throne (were) many servants, young men in bright garments. 18 And Adam was led close to the door of the temple and again, hastily they

$qwnw^h$ 'previously': Here the form $qwnw^h$ of BCD has been preferred. Either this or the form $qwnw^h$ of E suits the adverbial sense of the word better than $wnw^h$ of A.

$h \eta\nu\pi\pi\nu^h$ 'in the Garden': The locative is found in all witnesses except A and clearly fits the context better than the incomprehensible text of A 'to the Garden'.

$\iota\nu\pi\pi\nu^h$ 'he was brought forth': Literally 'they led him', but the meaning is passive and is translated accordingly. A has a different verb with the similar meaning 'take'. The form $\iota\nu\pi\pi\nu$ of BE is in the present and of CD $\iota\nu\pi\pi\nu$ in the aorist. For other examples of the same tense variant, see vv. 17, 18 and 22.

$bl b\pi\pi\pi\nu^f$ 'And... followed': The word $bl$ 'Eve', found in place of $bl$ 'and' in A and following $b\pi\pi\pi\nu^f$ 'dream' in E, makes no substantial difference to the meaning.

$bl \iota\nu\pi\pi\nu^h \iota\nu\pi\pi\nu$ 'And he was brought forth': The present tense $\iota\nu\pi\pi\nu^h$ is the reading of A. The other MSS read $\iota\nu\pi\pi\nu^h$, the aorist. See above, on v. 15, for another example of this variant. The two forms are differentiated by one letter.

$\nu\beta\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota^f$ 'with (or: on) a throne': The syntactical difficulty of the instrumental $\nu\beta\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota^f$ 'throne' was remarked upon in HTR, LIX. The new MS evidence does not resolve it. CE read a plural for the singular of the other witnesses. This is, however, apparently secondary, for in v. 19 once more the single throne on which all three figures sat is to be found, even in CE. If the interpretation offered in HTR, LIX, is correct, namely, that this is the Trinity, then the single throne surely symbolizes the unity of the three persons of the Trinity. Some scholars have related these figures to the three men who reveal secrets to Adam in the Coptic Apocalypse of Adam (CG, V, 5; 65 : 26 ff.); see G. Cardona, 'Sur le gnosticisme en Arménie: les livres d'Adam', Le Origini dello Gnosticismo, ed. U. Bianchi (Numen, Suppl. 12), Leiden 1967, p. 647; P. Perkins, 'The Genre and Function of the Apocalypse of Adam', CBQ, XXXIX (1977), p. 356. From the two different Armenian words used in v. 17 it appears that this throne had three separate seats. At the second occurrence of the word $\nu\beta\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota$ 'throne' in this verse, only E has the plural.

$\upsilon\nu\upsilon\nu\upsilon\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$ 'sword bearers': The reading is of ABD, while CE read $\upsilon\nu\upsilon\nu\upsilon\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$ 'sword bearers'. The heavenly army is a more usual feature of the lower heavens; cf. Test. Levi iii: 2. But the heavenly hosts may be spoken of as an army. The evidence for this is plentiful, e.g. the titles strategos or archistrategos are interchangeable with 'archangel' in texts such as II Enoch; Test. Abraham; etc.

$\iota\nu\nu\iota\nu\nu$ 'was led': Literally 'they led'. The verb is in the aorist in ACE and in the present in BD. For an identical situation, see above, on v. 15.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

19 by 1°] om A / h] om C /

19 they turned around': The MSS other than A have an intransitive

20 they turned around' while A has 20 round'.

19 'on the throne': The curious instrumental construction observed in

v. 17 is not found in ABD, but appears in CE. In addition to the instrumental case,

C has the preposition h (y-), removing whatever measure of comprehensibility

might have attached to the construction in v. 17; see Meillet, § 88, p. 73.

20 'took': Literally, 'having taken'. In Armenian this forms a syntactical

unity with the following words. They have been separated in the translation for

stylistic reasons.

20 'they turned around': The MSS other than A have an intransitive

20 'they turned around', while A has 20 'they turned him

round'.

19 'on the throne': The curious instrumental construction observed in

v. 17 is not found in ABD, but appears in CE. In addition to the instrumental case,

C has the preposition h (y-), removing whatever measure of comprehensibility

might have attached to the construction in v. 17; see Meillet, § 88, p. 73.

20 'took': Literally, 'having taken'. In Armenian this forms a syntactical

unity with the following words. They have been separated in the translation for

stylistic reasons.
Concerning the Death of Adam

turned around and led (him) outside as if by force. And Adam went sadly. 19 And suddenly one of the three men who were sitting on the throne arose and interceded with his companions. 20 And the three took as it were secret counsel in hiding from the other servants. 21 And the man who had risen from the throne descended and came quickly after Adam and found Adam close to Eve as if sad, and taking him by the hands he summoned him. 22 And he brought and led him to the temple and seated him on a throne and spoke with him sweetly, 23 And Adam rejoiced. And she went after Adam to see what they wanted to do to him. 24 But Seth, her son, awakening saw that his mother was trembling in her sleep and he touched her and woke (her). And waking up with trembling she related the vision to her son. 25 And arising in the morning, Eve and Seth came to Adam and found him sick in bed. 26 And they sat around him and all the family gathered together and they told all of
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

27 fat uquuili tantum C / bl 2° om E / qhi rpwug CE
27–28 [w----taw] de lacuna C 28 bpt] om ACE / bl wp h qwpw w[ac lacuna C / bl wp h qwpw wac lacuna C...
them that selfsame vision of Eve. 27 And Seth related their (vision) and they began to cry. 28 And Adam beseeched God, 'Do not leave me alone, but as together we went forth from the Garden, together let us die!' 29 And he commanded his son Seth. And Adam went to his rest. 30 And Eve and Seth and all (his) children bewailed him. And in the third watch of the day Eve fell into a deep sleep from affliction. 31 And she put her head upon Adam and gave up her soul. 32 And Seth, falling upon his mother, embraced her neck and said, 'What is the matter with you, my mother?' And having seen that she was dead he fell upon his face and he wept bitterly. 33 And (her) daughter Ema cut off her hair on account of (her) mother. And they cried all day, both by day and by night. 34 And in the middle of the night they saw Adam and Eve in a dark house in

II. Concerning the Death of Adam

has been supplied in the translation. C omits the whole verse except for ‘and they began’.

28  And Adam beseeched God: This speech is most curious in Adam’s mouth; it would suit Eve far better; cf. Apoc. Mosis, xxxi f. The new MSS cast no new light on this issue, discussed in HTR, LIX.

30  Seth and Eve: While C, interestingly, reads ‘Seth Eve’, without the word ‘and’, which has apparently been lost by haplography; in general, see above, on v. 12.

31  her head: CE omit ‘her’.

32  and said: The absence of these words in A causes awkwardness. The MSS show different forms of coordination and subordination of these verbs. BD read ‘having seen... he fell... and he wept’. CE read the first two verbs as finite. For ‘he wept’ they read the infinitive ‘he saw... falling... he wept’; see above, on v. 3.

33  her hair: CE omit ‘her’. D adds ‘her mother’ following ‘her’.

34  they saw: Present tense in ABD and imperfect in CE. On this variant, see above, on v. 3.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

The plural in CE has been accepted into the text and translation. There is no doubt that both Seth and Ema saw this vision and this is clearly the implication of v. 38. The singular of ABD was translated as a middle, i.e. 'appeared', in HTR, LIX, but the reading of CE seems preferable.

suggested in HTR, LIX. The form in CDE is difficult grammatically. BDE have the indefinite article էհ after 'house'.

35 թված էհ))[ '(they) saw': The plural in CE has been accepted into the text and translation. There is no doubt that both Seth and Ema saw this vision and this is clearly the implication of v. 38. The singular of ABD was translated as a middle, i.e. 'appeared', in HTR, LIX, but the reading of CE seems preferable.
II. Concerning the Death of Adam

mourning. 35 And behold, ((they) saw) a beautiful woman and she had a small child in her bosom. And she approached Eve, and she was close to her. 36 And suddenly light shone forth from the child and filled the whole house and the environs. 37 And Eve, having taken the child in her bosom, wept bitterly and rejoiced. 38 And Ema, having awoken, aroused Seth and they related the vision to one another and, rejoicing, they were comforted. 39 And in the first watch of the day an angel of God appeared visibly and commanded (them) to open the earth and to place Adam and Eve (in it). And they did thus. 40 And Adam was placed into the grave until Noah received an order from the angel who instructed (him) to open the place and to take the bones of Adam and Eve into the Ark.

\textit{she approached}: Present tense in ABD and imperfect in CE; see above, on v. 3, \textit{ni\u00f1\u00edngw\u00ed} ‘instructed’.

\textit{suddenly}: Omitted by CE.

\textit{the whole house and the environs}: A omits \textit{bl qu\u00e7\u00ednw\u00ed} ‘and the environs’. D has \textit{q\u00e7\u00edn \u00e7\u00ednw\u00ed} ‘the fear of the child’, which makes no sense in context and is graphically close to the reading of BCE. It is hard to know whether this reading is original to the text.

\textit{And Ema, having awoken}: For this and the following phrase A reads \textit{f\u00ed}. \textit{And Ema arose, Seth too arose’}.

\textit{appeared}: CE read \textit{\u00c7\u00e5} ‘descended’. They also make the ‘angel’ of ABD into an ‘archangel’ and E further omits \textit{\u00e7\u00f9\u00e7\u00ed\u00f6n\u00e7} ‘of God’.

\textit{to place}: CE have \textit{\u00e7\u00fa\u00f6} ‘to bury’. The words ‘(in it)’, added in the translation for the sake of clarity, are not required in Armenian.

\textit{Adam}: D adds \textit{\u00e7\u00f9\u00f6} ‘and Eve’ but fails to make the verb plural.

\textit{into the grave}: CE add the word \textit{b\u00e7\u00edn} ‘new’, thus reading ‘into the new grave’. No explanation is evident.
III. THE LIFE AND HISTORY OF ABEL

Among a number of compositions relating to biblical figures to be found in an Erevan manuscript is a work appearing under the title Եթերեռ %քարապետ ‘The Life and History of Abel.’ The text occurs in MS Erevan Mat. 2126 (hereafter: MS Erevan), a miscellany, dated 1697, written in the Church of St Karapet, location unknown.\(^1\) It commences on fol. 81r, col. 2, and continues to fol. 83r, col. 2. This work is an extract from the writing published by Yovsep’ianc’ from a Venice manuscript under the title This is the History of the Sons of Adam, Abel and Cain.\(^2\) An English translation was published by Issaverdens and a German rendering by Preuschen.\(^3\) It was pointed out by Lüdtke that this work shows strong connections with a Georgian Adam apocryphon, of which he notes the salient features.\(^4\)

As MS Erevan is incomplete and leads to few major changes, neither the text of Yovsep’ianc’ nor Issaverden’s translation is reproduced here in full. Instead a collation of MS Erevan is offered. The base is Yovsep’ianc’\’s text, which is quoted by page and line. Some comments on the variant readings of MS Erevan have been added, where appropriate. The lemma of the commentary is the text of Yovsep’ianc’, which is followed by the English translation of Issaverdens. Minor spelling variants have not been recorded. The text of MS Erevan commences with the material printed by Yovsep’ianc’ on his p. 315, 1. 30.

---

3. Issaverdens, pp. 53-58; Preuschen, pp. 33-36.
315, 30 սանում]
31 թփիռման
34 պրոֆ]
35 [ռ]
36, 1 հ նույն]
2 երաժշտ
3 երև] պրակ]

7 այլուց
8 պրակ]
10 երաժշտ
13 երև] գեր]
15 բ]

18 այլ]
19 գործ
20 կայ][
21 բ]
22 բ]
25 այլ]
26 գիտ]
1 գր]
27 կայ][
28 բ]
31 տ]
32 ա]
33 ա]
34 պրակ]

36, 1 հ նույն] 'should be acceptable': MS Erevan omits.
5 ա]

The word 'cloud' does not occur in Yovsepianc's text, but it is found in MS Erevan.
15 կայ][
26 գիտ]

28 բ]
32 ա]
33 ա]
34 պրակ]

7 կայ][
8 երև]
9 երև]
11 բ]

34
III. The Life and History of Abel

Yovsep'ianc's text. MS Erevan has simply 眚
Ye
, which could be translated 'looked'.

11-13 MS Erevan is more comprehensible for these lines. It reads, 'But the wicked Satan became like a black, vicious crow and a stone-sucker. There was a stone, sharp as a razor...' (the word puipuibnlbhl, which is translated 'stone-sucker' is unknown, perhaps a name for a sort of crow). This form of text supports the parallel adduced by Issaverdens in his note, which speaks of 'devils, in the shape of crows, slaying one another'. This same detail is to be found in the Georgian Adam book reported by Lüdtke, ZAW, XXXVIII, p. 156. Lüdtke observes that this work is close to the minor Armenian Adam apocrypha as published by Yovsep'ianc', to which category the present work belongs. His summary of the relevant part of the Georgian work is, 'Kain spielte mit Abel auf dem Felde, band ihn mit Wimranke und totete ihn mit einem spitzen Steine, wie die beiden Teufel im Rabengestalt es ihm vormachten'.

16 bљbwl wn 'come into': The finite verb of MS Erevan is preferable, but this MS omits the preposition. A similar omission by the manuscript is of the preposition թ following the same verb in 1.18.

22 qթ լջwթ lрп 'with her milk': MS Erevan adds բּ and 'and labour', omits թ'her', and adds ե'for me'.

23-24 眚---եիրԹԵրwՓ 'hardly---slay him': MS Erevan reads 'with difficulty he cut until, in a great while, ungracefully (reading մաԳս as ուիԳս) he slew (him) (reading դիրԵրwՓ for դիրԵրwՓ').

28 ջնուռն լջwԳեԲեղפ բּ 'fifty cubits above in the sky': 'In the sky' does not appear in the Armenian and is apparently a free rendering by Issaverdens. The text means 'fifty cubits high'.

30 լաեւրwՓ 'boldly': MS Erevan omits.

33-34 բּ բּwթ---եիրԹԵրwՓ 'and he inflicted on him seven punishments': MS Erevan 'and he punished him with seven punishments'.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

318, 4 ḫrennent փառիչք կարո՞ահ ‘the third punishment’: MS Erevan ‘the third great punishment’.

5 bê աստվածք ռունտք միսարու ‘and all his members’: The text of Yossefianc’ actually contains a doublet of ‘all’. In MS Erevan only one of the doublets is found, and the text there may be translated ‘and all his body’.

7 〈qê〉 րաբ նր ‘how much’: The translation of this phrase is problematic, while either րաբ կար of MS Erevan text, or որաք կար of MS Erevan by a second hand, gives the exact meaning required.

11 փղի ‘it fell to the ground’: MS Erevan փղի փղի փղեր ‘changed downwards’, perhaps meaning ‘he vomited’. The word փղեր may be corrupt for փղեր ‘vomited’.

15 ողջ ասահ ‘did not prescribe’: MS Erevan ողջ ասահ փղեր ‘changed downwards’, perhaps meaning ‘he vomited’. The word փղեր may be corrupt for փղեր ‘vomited’.

20 ասահ ասահ ‘was’: MS Erevan does not have the dittography apparent in Yossefianc’s text.

20 ողջ ասահ ‘did not die’: MS Erevan ‘it (i.e. death) did not arrive’ and the preceding phrase should be rendered ‘for he desired death’.

20-21 հաղ տերեր (ե) հեն գրեբբ տաե բե ասահաբի ասահ ‘and God brought a skin from above and covered him’: The translation of Issaverdens is rather forced. The word ‘God’ does not occur in the text. MS Erevan բե տերեր (ե) գրեբբ տաե ասահաբի ասահ ‘and a skin of a wild goat covered him’ makes better sense. On the sevenfold penalty of Cain, cf. Test. Benjamin vii: 3, while the Bible, Gen. iv: 15, 24, gives this penalty to Cain’s killer.

22 տերեր ‘hunting’: MS Erevan adds ‘game, wild animals’.

23-24 հաղ-երեղ ‘on seeing him—stag’: MS Erevan reads ասահ ասահ ողջ ‘he perceived that it was as if a goat’. The reading ‘goat’ here is more consistent. The text of Yossefianc’ reads երեղ երեղ ‘a horn’; he suggests the emendation երեղ երեղ, which is apparently accepted by Issaverdens.

36
III. The Life and History of Abel

24 բիր `letting fly': This verb, and the word ‘and’ preceding the next phrase, are lacking in MS Erevan. This text may then be translated ‘with an arrow from his bow he killed Cain’.

25 անարև ‘the punishment’: MS Erevan ‘the pain of his punishment’.

27-28 վառներ վրաչանց ‘shedding many tears’: MS Erevan ‘the tearful entreaties’.

29-30 ուժեղյություն ‘his pain was healed and...was removed’: MS Erevan ‘God healed the pain and punishment’. This reading, in either of its forms, may support the v.l. of MS Erevan for 1.25 of p. 318 of Yovsep’ianc’.

31 Աբելի ‘of Abel of Abel’. The phrase may have been lost in Yovsep’ianc’s original by homoeoteleuton Աբելի ‘of Abel’.

34-319,1 քամք ‘every time’: Preferable to MS Erevan ‘than’.

34-319,1 քամք ‘For God said to Adam...his generation’: MS Erevan reads ‘Because God said first that Adam was dust, and then his descendant, it was necessary for Adam to die first and return to dust, and then his descendant’, cf. Gen. iii: 18, of which this is an exegesis. The point is clearer is MS Erevan than in Yovsep’ianc’s text.

1-2 ձեռք ‘until Abel’s body fell’: ‘Fell’ does not occur in the text. MS Erevan reads երբեք արանց Աբելի ‘until the death of Adam, no one else died’. This appears to make better sense, and may be compared with Aproc. Mosis x1: 4; cf. Vita Adae xviii: 4-6.

4-6 վառներ ‘remained...its grave’: MS Erevan reads ‘thus it remained without decay (reading վառներ), like a living body (in) sleep. When Adam died, then the place of the grave permitted them to bury Abel’s body’.

37
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

12-13 ʼādām ʾâdām ʿâdām ʿâdām 'Adam...his wife': MS Erevan has 'They did not again approach one another'.

14 ʼādām 'be born': MS Erevan reads ʾâdām 'rejoice', corrupt for ʼādām 'be born'.

15 ʾēḇēḇ ʾēḇēḇ 'for the sake of Seth': MS Erevan has 'concerning Seth's birth, and Seth', a phrase perhaps lost in Yovsep'ianc's text by homoeoteleuton.
IV. THE HOURS OF THE DAY AND NIGHT

Versions of this short text exist in Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Greek and Ethiopian in addition to the newly identified Armenian translation. Its authorship is attributed to Adam in some writings and to Apollonius of Tyana in others. Its subject-matter was of considerable interest to a number of oriental nations. The text in Armenian bears the superscription: 'Another chapter which shows the name(s) of the watches of the day and night. Balinas said that it is necessary to know this — these things.' It is contained in MS Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 69 (hereafter: Jer.), a miscellany, copied in 1728-1730, in Cilician Caesarea. The text covers fol. 639r, col. 2, to 639v, col. 2.¹

In addition to this text (hereafter: The Hours), the manuscript contains a rich selection of writings including sermons of Gregory of Tat'ew, works of Step'anos Lehac'i and other compositions of unknown authorship. Preceding The Hours is an astronomical work dealing with the stars and their relationship to the days of the week. It is followed by a list of signs of the zodiac. The three thus form a group of astrological and associated texts. The Armenian version proves of particular importance in the history of the text, as becomes evident by an analytical comparison with the other versions. The information about these is therefore set forth briefly below, as a preliminary to the comparative study.

PUBLISHED TEXTS AND VERSIONS

a. Syriac

The most recent edition of the Syriac text is by Kmosko, entitled Testamentum Patris Nostri Adam.² It is based upon two manuscripts first published by Renan and four additional manuscripts.³ Renan regarded the work as a gnostic writing and identified it as the ‘Apocalypse’, ‘Repentance’, or ‘Testament’ of Adam. He also included comparative material from the Chronicle of George Cedrenus and from an Arabic version, discussed below.

The material preserved in Syriac comprises three fragments: (1) The Hours; (2) A Christian apocalyptic fragment revealed by Adam to Seth

¹ Jerusalem Catalogue, I, pp. 234-239. See also Addendum, below, p. 57.
² Kmosko, Pat. Syr., pp. 1307-1360.
³ Renan, Pénitence. For the history of this text, see Frey, Dict. Bib., p. 117.

39
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

(hereafter: *The Christian Apocalypse*); (3) A list of heavenly powers and angels (hereafter: *The Angelology*). The six Syriac manuscripts form three recensions, between which the three fragments are distributed as follows:

Syriac Recension I

A MS B.M. Add. 14624: *The Hours; The Christian Apocalypse*

B MS Vat. Syr. 58: *The Hours; The Christian Apocalypse*

Syriac Recension II

C MS Vat. Syr. 164: *The Hours; The Christian Apocalypse; The Angelology*

D MS B.M. Add. 25815: *The Christian Apocalypse*

Syriac Recension III

E MS Arund. Or. 53: *The Hours*

F MS Vat. Syr. 159: *The Hours; The Christian Apocalypse*

For *The Hours* Kmosko prints the first and third recensions consecutively and records C below the first recension.4

b. Arabic

Renan provided many details concerning the Arabic version, and printed the text and translation of a number of passages in the notes to his study.5 He based this information on four manuscripts:

MS Vat. Arab. 32.

MS Paris Bibl. nat. anc. f. Arab. 52

MS Paris Bibl. nat. anc. f. Arab. 54

MS Paris Bibl. nat. anc. f. Arab. 158

He observed that MS Paris 52 is quite different from all the others and that MS Paris 54 is part of an apocryphal work attributed to St Clement entitled كتب الصفاء المكرومة 'The Secret Books of Purity'. Paris MS 158 is, in his opinion, an extract from the same work, and MS Vat. 32 belongs to the same family, but exhibits important variants.6

Half a century later, Bezold published the full text of the Arabic version of *The Testament of Adam*.7 In this publication he depended upon his own copies of three manuscripts:

P MS Paris Bibl. nat. anc. f. Arab. 54, a fourteenth-century copy of a twelfth-century exemplar

O MS Oxford Huntingdon 514, later than P


6 Ibid., pp. 13 f.

IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

V MS Vat. Arab. 165, apparently fourteenth century

In addition he consulted:

S MS Sinai, ninth or tenth century
C MS Cambridge Univ. Libr. 306, c. thirteenth century

These two latter had been published in M.D. Gibson’s edition of The Book of the Rolls, the title of the Arabic version of The Cave of Treasures. Bezold’s comparison of the Arabic manuscripts led him to the conclusion that COPS all go back to one archetype. Of these four manuscripts, he considers P to be the best; V represents a different type of text. Bezold was not able to take full advantage of Renan’s manuscripts since the latter did not quote them by sigla. Bezold printed two texts, that of COPS and that of V. He did not exhaust the potential Arabic witnesses to The Hours, for he did not even utilize Renan’s MSS Vat. 32 and Paris 52 and 158.

The Armenian version of The Hours appears to depend on an Arabic intermediary of a type equally different from the manuscripts consulted by Renan and from the two text forms edited by Bezold. A thorough search of the texts in Arabic attributed to Apollonius of Tyana might be fruitful in providing further evidence. A number of such writings exist, as well as mediaeval Latin translations of Arabic texts cognate to the Greek version of the Apotelesmata of Apollonius of Tyana (hereafter: Apotelesmata), of which The Hours forms a part. Almost all of these Arabic texts remain unpublished. Investigation of all the Arabic materials is

8 Gibson, Stud. Sin., VIII, pp. 13 ff., and MS foll. 98r-101v. Cf. also pp. vii-xi, xx-xxxii. See Bezold, Arab.-Aeth. Test. Adam, p. 896. On the tradition of the Testament of Adam in Arabic, see also Frey, Dict. Bib., p. 121. Götze observes that the Arabic text of The Testament of Adam (Götze’s Fragments I and II) is found in the Arabic version of The Cave of Treasures (i.e., The Book of the Rolls). This work itself forms part of the Arabic text and Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Clementine Revelation of Peter to Clement. Götze also speculates that The Testament of Adam may once have formed part of the Syriac text of The Cave of Treasures and perhaps of an older work relating to Adam which was the latter’s source, see Götze, Schatzhöhle, pp. 22-23.


11 Some discussion of these texts is to be found in Hempel, Apollonius von Tyana, pp. 6 ff.
clearly a desideratum for the study both of the traditions associated with The Testament of Adam and of those associated with Apollonius of Tyana. From such an investigation, the Arabic original of the Armenian might be discovered. In the meanwhile the Armenian remains a chief witness to this text type.

c. Ethiopic

The Ethiopic text was first published by Bezold. He had three Ethiopic manuscripts of the British Museum at his disposal:

A MS B.M. Or. 751 (Wright, Catalogue, pp. 211 ff.)
B MS B.M. Or. 752 (Wright, Catalogue, pp. 213 ff.)
C MS B.M. Or. 753 (Wright, Catalogue, pp. 215 ff.)

All date from the eighteenth century and all go back to a translation of an Arabic text of the type of COPS. Ethiopic C is somewhat reworked. An English translation of the Ethiopic text of The Cave of Treasures was published by E.A. Wallis Budge.

d. Georgian

A Georgian version of The Hours has been published with a French translation. The Georgian version is introduced by a passage drawn from The Cave of Treasures, a passage which also appears, with a few variants, in the Syriac version of that work. The Syriac Cave of Treasures does not contain The Hours. The close relationship between the Georgian version and the Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic Testament of Adam texts is beyond any doubt. The Georgian text is followed by an apocalyptic passage related to, but not identical with, the Syrian Christian Apocalypse. Its text of The Hours often preserves readings of interest.

e. Greek

The Greek text has the most complex history. James first published the

12 Bezold, pp. 896-897.
13 Budge, Cave of Treasures, pp. 242-248.
15 Cf. Bezold, Schatzhöhle, I (Translation), p. 9; II (Text), p. [38]. See above, n. 8, for the relationship between The Testament of Adam materials and the Arabic version of The Cave of Treasures. On the Adam literature, see most recently, Denis, Introduction, pp. 3-14, and for the Georgian version, see p. 10 and n. 35.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

text of *The Hours* from a Paris magical codex, and indeed *The Hours* is the only one of the three Syriac fragments which exists in Greek. Nau discovered three Greek manuscripts in addition to the text which James published:

A MS Paris Bibl. nat. 2419, fol. 247v, fifteenth century, i.e. James' codex (the edition of A published by James is distinguished below by the siglum J in cases where it differs from A as published by Nau)

B MS Paris Bibl. nat. Cod. supp. Gr. 1148, fol. 36r, sixteenth century

C MS Paris Bibl. nat. Cod. Gr. 2316, fol. 324v, fifteenth century

D MS Paris Bibl. nat. Cod. supp. Gr. 20, fol. 170

In AB *The Hours* forms part of a body of magical and angelological texts attributed to Apollonius of Tyana under the title *Apotelesmata Apollonii Tyanensis*. In C *The Hours* occurs alone, and without mention of the name of an author, while D is a copy of A, but contains a number of variants. The contents of all of the above codices are astrological in character.

Independently of Nau's edition, the Greek text of the *Apotelesmata* of Apollonius of Tyana was published for a second time by F. Boll:

M MS Berlin Cod. 173 = Boll Cod. 26, a manuscript of the fifteenth century

The text occurs on fol. 72v-74v. Boll prefaced the publication with a brief but weighty introductory statement. The manuscript contains Chapters I-VII of Nau's text, omitting the last chapter. The text of M is important and free of many of the corruptions of its closest relative, B. The relationship of the Greek manuscripts is set forth in detail below, in the stemma appended at the end of the commentary on this text.

Chapters V-VII of the text which Nau prints are preserved in BM. Chapters III-VIII are found in A, and in D which was copied from it, while *The Hours* is further preserved independently in D.

f. Cedrenus (Greek)

The text of half of *The Hours* is also quoted in the *Chronicle* of George Cedrenus (eleventh to twelfth centuries). The relevant text was reprinted by James and by Renan.

18 Ibid., pp. 1363 f.
20 Ibid., pp. 174 f.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

ATTRIBUTION OF THE HOURS

a. The Attribution to Adam

The version found in Cedrenus states:

'AΔάμ τῷ ἔξακοσιοστῶ ἔτει μετανοήσας ἔγνω δι' ἀποκαλύψεως τά περί τῶν ἔγγραφων καὶ τῶν κατακλυσμῶν καὶ τά περί μετανοίας καὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως, καὶ περί τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ὦραν ἡμερινήν καὶ νυκτερινήν ἀναπεμπομένων εὐχῶν τῷ θεῷ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων δι' Οὐριήλ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας ἀγγέλου ὄρα πρώτῃ...

Adam, in the six hundredth year, having repented, learned through revelation of the matters concerning the Watchers and the Flood and the divine Incarnation and concerning those prayers sent up to God at each hour of the day and night by all created things, by means of Uriel, the angel in charge of repentance. In the first hour,...

From this text it is clear that the material found in Cedrenus is all attributed to Adam. Renan and James suggested that Cedrenus' direct or indirect source was entitled either 'The Repentance of Adam' or 'The Apocalypse of Adam', basing themselves on the words μετανοήσας ἔγνω δι' ἀποκαλύψεως. That books existed under both of these titles is clear. 'The Repentance of Adam' is mentioned in the Decretum Gelasianum as 'Liber qui appellatur Paenitentia Adae, Apocryphus'.

It is also mentioned in the Chronography of the thirteenth-century Armenian writer, Samuel of Ani, who, in discussion of the books introduced into Armenia by Nestorian missionaries in 590, mentions 'The Repentance (воль 2 ἱ ρ π ῃ τ η ι υ) of Adam'.

22 Cedrenus, I, 21, and see preceding note.
23 Renan, Pénitence, pp. 5-6; James, Apocr. Anecd., p. 139.
25 Samuel of Ani, ψωλωθωἰαθοσοφήνι βη ι υ (Chronography), Vařašapat 1893, pp. 76-77. This reading of the text of Samuel of Ani is not completely certain, however, as shown by the evidence assembled by H. Anasyan, Bibliology, I, p. xxxix. He compares three witnesses to the text of Samuel of Ani's Chronography: the Vařašapat edition, cited above; MS Erevan Mat. 1869, fol. 391v; and the text of the passage cited from another MS by G. Zarphanalian in ψωλωθωἰαθοσοφήνι βη ι υ (‘Library of Ancient Armenian Translations’), Venice 1889, p. 20. The last two of these witnesses read ψωλωθ ψωλωθ ‘Testament of Adam’, while only the 1893 edition reads ψωλωθωἰαθοσοφήνι βη ι υ ψωλωθ ‘Repentance of Adam’. Possibly this former reading is original, although no work in the Armenian language is known by this name. It obviously could
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

'Repentance of Adam and Eve' is the title of an extant Armenian apocryphon, printed by Yovsep'ianc' and translated into English by Issaverdens. This might be the work referred to by Samuel of Ani, but it is probably not the book referred to by the Decretum Gelasianum. In any case, neither this book nor the other extant works entitled 'The Repentance of Adam' contain anything similar to the traditions in any of the Syriac fragments discussed here, or cited by Cedrenus.

As for an 'Apocalypse of Adam', the only evidence for its existence is the scribal note in the margin of a codex of the Epistle of Barnabas in MS Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate 54, to the quotation found in Barnabas ii: 10, which quotation also recurs in various forms in a number of other sources. While there seems to be quite a lot of evidence for the existence of a book, or even two books, entitled 'The Repentance of Adam', one of which might conceivably be an extant Armenian work, the evidence for the existence of an 'Apocalypse of Adam' is notably slighter.

not refer to the Armenian fragments published below, for they are not attributed to Adam. There are manifold witnesses to the text of Samuel of Ani still to be examined before a decision can be reached between these two readings. Still, if the reading Diathèke, which also occurs in this list, refers to The Testament of Adam, as has been suggested below, then it follows that the reading 'Repentance of Adam' is to be preferred in the present case.

Yovsep'ianc', pp. 325-330; Issaverdens, pp. 65-71. To the considerations adduced in the text, two further comments should be added: (1) The titles 'Paenitentia Adam et Eva' and 'De Paenitentia Adae' are to be found in certain MSS of the Vita Adae as quoted in Meyer's apparatus; see Meyer, Vita Adae, p. 221. This form of the title raises the question whether the work referred to by the Decretum Gelasianum is not simply the Latin Vita Adae. (2) So far as Samuel of Ani and the Armenian tradition are concerned, in addition to the work published by Yovsep'ianc', there exists in MSS in the libraries of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and in the Matenadaran in Erevan an unpublished Armenian Adam book of major proportions cognate to the Apoc. Mosis and the Latin Vita Adae. This work, which is entitled 'The Repentance of Our Father Adam', is identical neither with the Armenian version of Apoc. Mosis nor with Yovsep'ianc' s Repentance of Adam and Eve. This compounds the problems of identification, and there is no way to be sure which of the two Armenian works, if either, is referred to by Samuel of Ani.

See James, Apocr. Anecd., p. 145; idem, Lost Apocr., pp. 1-8, concerning the Adam apocrypha. See also Denis, Introduction, loc. cit. The marginal note on fol. 39v of the Barnabas codex was checked for me by Dr R. Kraft. It reads: ψάλμος. Ν' και ἐν ἄποκαλύψει Αδάμ. Dr Kraft informs me, in addition, that there are a number of such marginalia in the codex, not all of which are reported in the older editions of Barnabas.
There seems to be no real basis for the statement of James and Renan that the first phrase of the passage in Cedrenus necessarily hints at the title of the work from which it was excerpted. The first phrase uses the verbal μετανοησας and records a specific tradition concerning Adam's repentance in the six hundredth year and a revelation to him at that time through the mediation of Uriel. 28 That no identical tradition can be found in other extant sources does not make the antiquity of such a view implausible, and the words δι' ἀποκαλύψεως appear to be demanded by the contents of the passage. However, while these words might hint at the origin of the passage, so little is known of the putative 'Apocalypse of Adam', even if the marginal note in the Jerusalem codex of Barnabas were to be taken as conclusive evidence of its existence, that it seems difficult to attribute unequivocally the present passage to the missing work. Indeed, the nature of the Barnabas material when compared with the Syriac fragments might weigh against this conclusion. 29

28 The unpublished 'Repentance of Our Father Adam' in Armenian, referred to above, n. 26, contains a tradition of the revelation of knowledge to Adam after his repentance, including knowledge of agriculture and of the future of his seed. For the revelation of knowledge to Adam after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, see Stone, HTR, LX, pp. 284, 286. The gnostic Coptic Adam apocalypse from Nag Hammadi refers to Adam's instruction of Seth in the seven hundredth year, as follows (text with German translation published in: A. Böhlig and P. Labib, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi, Halle-Wittenberg 1963, p. 96, col. Ixiv, 11.2-4): 'Die Offenbarung, die Adam seinen Sohn Seth gelehrt hat im siebenhundertsten Jahre, indem er sprach:...'. On the relationship of this gnostic writing to the extant Adam apocrypha, as well as to works referred to by ancient authorities, see ibid., pp. 86 ff. The contents of the revelation referred to in the gnostic work, needless to remark, bear no similarity to the contents of The Words of Adam to Seth, reproduced above, Part One, Section I.

29 The quotation in Barnabas ii:10 is composed of two elements: θυσία τῷ θεῷ κυρίῳ συντετερμένη, an adaptation of the LXX of Ps. I (ii):19, and δομή εὐανάκτου τῷ κυρίῳ δοξάσουσα τῶν πεπλάκων αὐτήν. These two elements appear together also in Irenaeus, Adv. Haeres., IV, 17, 3 (29,3) (P.G., VII, col. 104); in Clement, Paedag., III, 12 (P.G., VIII, col. 669), and in a somewhat different form, in Clement, Strom., II, 18 (P.G., VIII, col.1017). In each instance they are associated with verses from the first chapter of Isaiah, in passages dealing with the question of sacrifice. Notable in the quotation is the spiritualization of sacrifice, a motif already to be found in Jewish, especially Qumran, sources, e.g. 1QS ix: 3 ff.; cf. J. Licht, The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, Jerusalem 1965, pp. 172 ff. (in Hebrew). See also Syriac apocryphal Psalm ii=HQPs 154. In general, see D. Flusser, 'The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity', Scripta Hierosolymitana, IV (1958), pp. 227-236. The ideas of 'The Apocalypse of Adam', so far as can be discerned from this short single quotation, seem to be of a different cast.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

Nonetheless Cedrenus attributes to a revelation made to Adam information about the Watchers and the Flood, and Repentance and the Incarnation, as well as The Hours. That The Hours known to Cedrenus is substantially the same as the extant Syriac text is clear. Moreover, virtually all of the other elements recorded in the passage of Cedrenus occur in the second Syriac fragment, The Christian Apocalypse. There, indeed, instead of a reference to the Watchers, we find: *šm’t bry šyt dn’t’t’twpn’ wnstg lklh ’r’ mtl bnt q’yn ‘hwk ‘audisti fili mi Seth, fore ut veniat diluvium et abluat universam terram propter filias Cain fratis tui.*\(^{30}\)

This clearly implies the seduction of the daughters of Cain by (or: of) the Watchers, which eventually brought about the deluge. Repentance, however, evidently played a far greater role in Cedrenus’ source than it does in The Christian Apocalypse. Moreover, in Cedrenus, the revelation to Adam is mediated by Uriel. A hint of this may be found in Syriac Recension II: *dšm’t bry šyt dmн bršyt... ‘nam audivi fili mi Seth, ab initio...’,* clearly referring to some prior revelation, perhaps once included in the work from which The Christian Apocalypse was taken.

Thus, while it might be overly rash to claim simply that Cedrenus knew the text of The Christian Apocalypse as well as that of The Hours, the conjunction of a great many similar elements in these two sources is rather striking. Furthermore, The Hours and The Christian Apocalypse occur together in the Syriac manuscripts. This conjunction of material in the manuscripts provides the constellation of information which is to be observed in Cedrenus, who possibly reflects an earlier form of tradition than that preserved in Syriac. The supposition receives some further support from the close relationship between the Syriac text of The Hours and Cedrenus’ version.

The attribution to Adam is found in all the Syriac manuscripts. They are unanimous in entitling the work “The Diathēkē [Testament] of Adam.”\(^{31}\) This title occurs in the sixth-century work of Anastasius of Sinai, ‘On the to the material being dealt with here, which is of a strongly mythological type with speculative, cosmological overtones. This may, perhaps, be an indication of the different source of this material and a consideration weighing against the derivation of Cedrenus’ passage from the same work, ‘The Apocalypse of Adam’, as the Barnabas quotation.

30 *The Christian Apocalypse*, III; see Kmosko, *Pat. Syr.*, p. 1344. The translation given here, like all Latin renderings of Syriac given below, is that of Kmosko.

31 The only apparent exception is Syriac C the title of which refers to the work as *mkb žbn’, ‘Chronicle’ or ‘Book of Times’. This title might refer to The Hours, which is the subject of the first fragment. Even this MS, however, in its titles to the second and third fragments, designates them ‘The Testament of Adam’. 

47
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

Hexaëmeron, VII, 895. The information which he there attributes to The Testament of Adam is similar to that attributed by the Chronicle of the Syncellus (late eighth century) to The Life of Adam, and is also similar to that in the Book of Jubilees iii: 1-11. In the Chronography of Samuel of Ani the word Diathêkē is found in the same passage referred to above in transcription in Armenian letters following the reference to 'The Repentance of Adam'. It has plausibly been supposed from the time of Renan that this is an abbreviation for Diathêkē Adam. Of interest, perhaps, for illustration of the point in the Adam tradition at which the type of speculation represented by The Hours and The Angelology could have entered is the expanded superscription at the beginning of The Hours in Syriac E. After relating that Adam fell ill and that he summoned his son Seth to him, it continues: 'Fili, plasmator meus ex pulvere indicavit mihi tribuitque, ut imponerem nomina bestiis terrae et volucribus caeli atque horas diei et noctis indicavit mihi, qua ratione se haberent.' It is precisely Adam's naming of the animals, therefore, which provided the occasion for attributing cosmological and angelological speculations to him. This, at least, is the implication of Syriac E. While the superscription is quite explicit on the naming of the birds and animals, the names of the hours are not mentioned specifically. Thus there seems no reason to doubt the attribution of this material to Adam, the earliest direct witness to which is Cedrenus' source. Moreover, it seems most likely that this material indeed derived from the lost Testament of Adam.

b. The Attribution to Apollonius of Tyana

As opposed to the evidence considered above, there is equally little doubt that the Greek and Armenian versions of The Hours are attributed to Apollonius of Tyana. In Greek A he is called 'Apollonius the Mathematician', but in Greek BM we find the full title: βιβλος σοφίας και συνέσεως ἀποτελεσμάτων Ἄπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως. The main source for the life of the famed sage and Pythagorean philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (first century C.E.) is the Vita Apollonii of Philostratus with which is associated a group of letters of Apollonius,

32 P.G., LXXXIX, p. 967.
33 G. Dindorf (ed.), Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus CP., Bonn 1829, pp. 7 ff.
34 Renan, Pénitence, p. 7. See also above, n. 27. On the problems discussed in this Section, see also Frey, Dict. Bibl, pp. 121-124.
35 'Mathematician' was a technical term applied to astrologers; see, for example, Didache iii: 9. It was also used for advanced students of the Pythagorean schools; see Liddell and Scott, s.v. In some Arabic traditions, Apollonius of Tyana is confused with the mathematician Apollonius of Pella; see Plessner, Ency. d'Islam, pp. 1024-1025.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

some of which at least seem to be genuine.36 There are, moreover, Apollonius materials preserved in Arabic and Syriac.37 Hempel, perhaps justly, dismisses the attribution of The Hours to Apollonius as secondary and clearly false.38 Yet the tradition associating talismans and similar magical activities with Apollonius is a very ancient one. Not only does the, regrettably undated, Syriac text published by Gottheil mention this tradition, but it is also evidenced by an impressive series of other ancient authorities.39

The earliest absolutely indubitable sources referring to Apollonius as the author of στοιχεία or τελεσμάτα appear no earlier than the sixth century, from the authors Anastasius of Sinai and John Malalas, although Boll suggests that the phrase αυτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν οἱ περιέργους μυχανάς τῇ τοῦ ἄνδρός ἀνακειμένας προσηγορία καταληψάναι λέγουσιν in Eusebius implies this activity.40 This would push the date back by another two centuries.41

36 For a brief summary of editions, see Mead, Apollonius, pp. 42-52. Mead also provides a summary of bibliography up to his time. A recent critical study is that of Hempel, Apollonius, devoted in large part to an analysis of these materials. The latest study of Apollonius is that of Petzke, which is mainly concerned with analysis of the Apollonius traditions in comparison with the New Testament. Texts such as those discussed here are barely mentioned; cf. Petzke, pp. 33 f. This work is provided with an extensive bibliography, and is based, for the most part, on a study of the Vita Apollonii of Philostratus and associated materials. The most convenient edition of this is: Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, ed. F.C. Conybeare (Loeb Classical Library), London 1913. In this edition, the Greek text is that of C.L. Kayser, published by Teubner in 1870, and the English translation is by Conybeare; the edition also comprises the Epistles of Apollonius and Eusebius' Contra Hieroclem.

37 Steinschneider, ZDMG, XLV; Gottheil, ZDMG, XLVI, pp. 466-470. See also Petzke, Apollonius, pp. 28 ff.

38 Hempel, Apollonius, pp. 8-9. In this opinion he is by no means a pioneer; it is already held by Boll, Catalogus, pp. 174 f., and others.

39 Gottheil, ZDMG, XLVI, pp. 466-470; cf. Nau, Pat. Syr., pp. 1364-1370. Some new material is added to that known to Nau in Petzke, Apollonius, pp. 19-36. Philostratus attributes to Apollonius, among other works, περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων βιβλίων τέταρτας. He is, furthermore, already known to Origen, on the authority of the lost work of Moeragenes, as μάγος καὶ φιλόσοφος (P.G., XI, col. 1357). Other early testimony to this tradition of Apollonius’ magical activity is Lucianus Samosatensis, ed. A.M. Harmon (Loeb Classical Library), IV, London 1924, pp. 180-182. On the antiquity of the tradition of Apollonius as a magician, see Petzke, Apollonius, pp. 23 f.

40 Boll, Catalogus, p. 174, but see Hempel’s observations on this in Hempel, Apollonius, p. 9 and n. 2.

41 Mead maintains that Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos, par. 64, falsely attri-
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

In any case, as the highly developed traditions quoted by Malalas clearly imply, the association of *telesmata* with Apollonius was a long-established fact by the early sixth century. Moreover, Malalas gives some examples of Apollonius' spells which are similar to those preserved in the extant *Apotelesmata*. In the Syriac tradition, too, Apollonius was known to Michael the Great (flor. 1166-1199) and to Bar Hebraeus (c. 1264) as a philosopher and magician, the author of books of astrology and *telesmata*. Nau considers the *Apotelesmata* to be genuine works of Apollonius, even though the various textual forms extant may have been reworked.

The dated references to the attribution of this type of material to Apollonius are considerably older than those for the Adamic authorship of *The Hours*. This does not prove the greater antiquity of the Apollonian attribution of *The Hours*, since this work is probably pseudonymous. The question of the relationship between the extant forms of this text attributed to Justin Martyr, is a second-century witness to the association of talismans with Apollonius; see Mead, *Apollonius*, pp. 109-110. The work is undoubtedly later. For additional references, see Nau, *Pat. Syr.*, pp. 1366 f.; Petzke, *Apollonius*, pp. 24 ff. Pseudo-Justin might be dated by its concern with the same issues of the claims of Apollonius' powers of miracle-working and magic which Eusebius attacks in his *Contra Hieroclem*. Boll suggests, not implausibly, a late fourth- or early fifth-century date; see Boll, *Catalogus*, p. 174.

The bibliography dealing with the life and works of Apollonius is extensive and a great deal of it is tendentious in presentation. In addition to those works already cited, a number of which contain bibliographical lists, at the very least must be mentioned the classic study of F.C. Baur, *Apollonius von Tyana und Christus*, Tübingen 1832. For a lengthy biographical synthesis, often rather diffuse in character and written from a rationalist viewpoint, see D.M. Tredwell, *A Sketch of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, New York 1866. Note might further be taken of T. Whittaker, *Apollonius of Tyana and other Essays*, London 1909, and, more recently, Harry C. Schnur, *Mystic Rebels*, New York 1949, pp. 9-84, although neither of these works adds greatly to the previous discussion. There are a number of other writings of more or less recent date to which reference may be found in the books here cited. Studies of special points have appeared, such as Vincent A. Smith, 'The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana', *ZDMG*, LXVIII (1914), pp. 329-344; O. de B. Priaulx, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, London 1873. This last work was not available to the writer.

42 The bibliography dealing with the life and works of Apollonius is extensive and a great deal of it is tendentious in presentation. In addition to those works already cited, a number of which contain bibliographical lists, at the very least must be mentioned the classic study of F.C. Baur, *Apollonius von Tyana und Christus*, Tübingen 1832. For a lengthy biographical synthesis, often rather diffuse in character and written from a rationalist viewpoint, see D.M. Tredwell, *A Sketch of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, New York 1866. Note might further be taken of T. Whittaker, *Apollonius of Tyana and other Essays*, London 1909, and, more recently, Harry C. Schnur, *Mystic Rebels*, New York 1949, pp. 9-84, although neither of these works adds greatly to the previous discussion. There are a number of other writings of more or less recent date to which reference may be found in the books here cited. Studies of special points have appeared, such as Vincent A. Smith, 'The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana', *ZDMG*, LXVIII (1914), pp. 329-344; O. de B. Priaulx, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, London 1873. This last work was not available to the writer.


44 *Ibid.* Unfortunately the writer did not have at his disposal Nau's article, 'Le Testament d'Adam et les Talismans d'Apollonius de Tyane', *Revue de l'Institut Catholique de Paris* (1907), pp. 158-173. These views are presented in detail, however, in the Introduction to the Greek text published in the same year in Nau, *Pat. Syr.*
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

can be approached, however, even without deciding whether The Hours is a composition of Apollonius or not. Moreover, since external criteria are lacking, this determination must be made on internal, philological grounds.

CHARACTER AND AFFINITIES OF THE ARMENIAN VERSION

a. Armenian a Translation from Arabic

The Armenian version of The Hours is attributed to ‘Balinas’, the common form of the name Apollonius in Arabic. Moreover, the text is described as a dufn, ‘gate’. The use of ‘gate’ with the meaning of ‘chapter’ is likewise typical of Arabic (and Persian). Moreover, the Armenian letter p is not found in the transcription of the names, and Greek π and β both generally correspond to Armenian ւ. This again seems to indicate that the text was translated from Arabic and that the Armenian transliterations employ an Armenian pronunciation in which the letter ւ = b.

The Greek and Armenian texts are both characterized by the inclusion of mystical names for the hours. The use of such names is not itself surprising, although the exact relationship between the Greek and Armenian names is by no means clear. The Armenian transliterations of these names also tend to support the theory of an Arabic original for this version. All the affricative stops are absent — except for چ which occurs once, in the name of the twelfth hour of the Night (N xii) — as well as the affricative sibilant ڞ, the labial ڻ, the vowels ے and ڦ, ڦ and ڦ, the diphthongs oy, iw, ew. The vowel pattern thus implied is particularly indicative of an Arabic original. Moreover, in the names of the sixth and seventh hours of the night (N vi, N vii) where Greek has the zeta, Armenian reads, in both cases, ڦ, perhaps to be most simply explained by the loss of the diacritical point in Arabic, the reading of ج as ڦ.

Moreover, the word in the Armenian text for talisman, տիլսան, with the plural տիլսատ, appears to be an Arabic form. Again, in the name of the tenth hour of the night (N x) we observe the transliterated word ڳڦڦ. The appearance of this Arabic word is not necessarily conclusive, as it also entered Turkish, as well as some spoken Armenian dialects. However, in view of the other evidence here adduced, its occurrence in this text can be clearly regarded as support for the theory of an Arabic original of the Armenian. See also Addendum, below, p. 57.

45 Two of the Greek texts, A and J, have transliterated the names and certain other words into Hebrew letters. It may be of some possible interest in the attempt to establish the origins of these names to observe that in the Greek names the letters ξ and θ do not occur at all and υ occurs only once. This might, if it is not mere chance, indicate that these names originated in a language whose phonological system does not recognize these sounds.
b. Nature of the Armenian Text

The Armenian text is written in a vulgar and rather corrupt form of late classical Armenian, with many post-classical forms and words. These have been indicated in detail below in the palaeographical and grammatical commentary, printed above the regular commentary. Moreover, the text is not free from scribal error and corruption. A number of the most obvious corruptions have been corrected in the text, and the corrections indicated by the introduction of angular brackets. The date of the translation is not demonstrated by any external features, but is unlikely to be early.

c. Affinities of the Armenian Version

It is quite evident, even on the most preliminary examination, that the Armenian text is not dependent on the published Arabic forms of *The Hours*. In general character it is closest, as would be expected, to the Greek version, and with it alone is attributed to Apollonius. Yet it is not dependent on the extant form of the Greek but contains additions and variants of major proportions. The central problem is the evaluation of these variants and additions.

Since in general the Armenian text is closer to the Greek than to the Syriac, it may be assumed that, in the places where its special readings are supported by Syriac, the Armenian text preserves material stemming from an early stage of the textual traditions. Other unique readings of the Armenian which do not have Syriac support must therefore be weighed seriously as being possible, or often even probable, ancient readings of the textual tradition attributed to Apollonius. Illustrations of these observations follow.

(i) Examples where the Armenian text is most closely related to the Greek:

1. Third hour of the day (D iii): Armenian and Greek alone include the talisman, not found in Syriac, Arabic.
2. Fourth hour of the day (D iv): Armenian and Greek alone include talisman. Armenian is shorter than Greek, including only the first two elements of the Greek.
3. Fifth hour of the day (D v): Armenian and Greek alone include the talisman. Armenian is shorter than Greek, including only the first two elements of the Greek.
4. Eighth hour of the day (D viii): Greek and Armenian both lack the function for this hour.
5. Ninth hour of the day (D ix): Greek and Armenian both lack the function for this hour.
6. Third hour of the night (N iii): Armenian and Greek preserve the talisman for this hour.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

7. Fourth hour of the night (N iv): Here Armenian and Greek are related, against Syriac and Arabic which have replaced the descent of the demons/angels into the graves with the Trishagion of the seraphim. Both omit the Adam materials found in Syriac. A particularly conclusive example.

8. Fifth hour of the night (N v): Once more Armenian and Greek show the absence of the Adam supplement found in Syriac.

9. Eleventh hour of the night (N xi): Armenian and Greek include the petition for the pure of heart which is found in Syriac in the tenth hour of the night.

10. Twelfth hour of the night (N xii): Armenian is again closest to Greek, although somewhat shortened. 46

In addition to these specific points, and they could doubtless be increased in number, the Armenian and Greek versions throughout include talismans where they are not found in the Syriac versions. Moreover, the fact that the specific references to Adam are found in the Syriac and Arabic versions, but not in the Armenian and Greek, is a further indication of the conclusion here put forward.

(ii) Examples where the Armenian text differs from the Greek, and the reading of Armenian is supported by traditions preserved in Syriac:

1. Seventh hour of the day (D vii): Armenian is substantially equivalent to the Syriac ninth hour of the day, which text recurs, by some secondary process, in Syriac C for the ninth hour of the night. Greek and Armenian in their present forms lack a function (on this, see below, Literary Structure of The Hours) for the ninth hour of the day altogether. Possibly the Greek text for the seventh hour of the day is a quite variant form of the Armenian seventh and Syriac ninth hour of the day. Be this as it may, the connection between Armenian and Syriac is closer than between Armenian and Greek at this point.

2. Sixth hour of the night (N vi): Armenian mentions the sleep of the waters. This is not found in the Greek text, but occurs in the Syriac forms of the text for the seventh hour of the night.

3. Ninth hour of the night (N ix): Armenian preserves as the function of this hour praise of the angels and the stars of heaven. Syriac Recension III also mentions the ‘praise of all the angels of heaven’ in this hour.

4. Tenth hour of the night (N x): Armenian presents the praise of the roosters as the function of this hour. The crowing of the roosters is also put in this hour in Syriac Recension I and Syriac C. In Syriac

These examples do not pretend to exhaust the readings of the text. They are, however, it is to be hoped, sufficiently persuasive to establish the thesis here outlined.

46 These examples do not pretend to exhaust the readings of the text. They are, however, it is to be hoped, sufficiently persuasive to establish the thesis here outlined.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

E it has shifted to the previous hour. It does not occur in Greek. The above examples indicate that materials occur in Armenian which are not found in Greek but have a place in the ancient traditions of the text, as transmitted through the Syriac. A more detailed study of them will be found in our commentary on the text.

d. Textual Relationship between the Adam Materials (Syriac and Arabic) and the Apollonius Materials (Greek and Armenian)

The most recent treatment of the relationship between the Adam and Apollonius materials is by M. Beit-Arié, who directed his discussion to the relationship between the two Syriac fragments, *The Hours* and *The Angelology*, and the Jewish Hebrew work *Pereq shira*, which he was concerned to investigate. He argues for the antiquity of the Syriac *Hours* and *The Angelology* and their common origin with *Pereq shira* in a Jewish Hellenistic (perhaps gnostic) type of writing. He regards the Greek forms as a secondary reworking of the Syriac. Without addressing ourselves for the moment to the question of the origins of the material, it seems to be clear from the above discussion of the Armenian version of *The Hours* that the present form of the Syriac cannot be primary, and that neither the Greek nor the Armenian is simply a reworking of any given recension of the Syriac *Hours* or of its immediate *Vorlage*. Some further examples to support this conclusion are:

1. Fourth hour of the day (D i\textsuperscript{v}): Syriac EF both preserve the reptiles which are the subject of the *telesma* for this hour in Armenian and Greek. In Syriac F they have been moved to the following hour. This tradition is preserved, therefore, only in Syriac Recension III.
2. Third hour of the night (N i\textsuperscript{ii}): It may be suspected that at two points in the section the Syriac text is dependent on something like the Greek (see below, commentary on this verse).

The implication of these readings is, therefore, that both the Syriac and the Armenian-Greek forms of the text, as they are preserved in the manuscripts extant, are reworkings of common primary materials. Their relationship to this common primary material, and among themselves, is not to be defined simply as one of dependence. Each major textual type represents a particular crystallization and specific use of this material. It seems most likely that readings common to Syriac and Greek and/or Armenian are original to the tradition. The evaluation of readings showing the pattern Syriac : Greek + Armenian, and Syriac : Greek : Armenian will be the crux of further investigation of these texts.

These textual-critical comments also have implications for the general

---

47 In virtually none of these examples is there direct textual affinity; rather a common tradition is reflected.

48 Beit-Arié, *Perek shira*, I, pp. 75-82; see in particular pp. 79-82.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

questions of the larger literary complexes in which the different forms of The Hours are found. Beit-Arié wishes to regard the Syriac Hours and Angelology as related basically to one another, at least in general atmosphere and origins. But, as observed above, this is contrary to the predominating situation in the manuscripts and as witnessed by Cedrenus. On the other hand, the Armenian version presents The Hours alone, while in most of the Greek manuscripts they are connected with more or less of the other materials printed by Nau in his edition of the Apotelesmata. Thus, an investigation of the Armenian text, in spite of the late date of its extant form, serves to emphasize the complexity of the history of the text and tradition of The Hours. The Armenian preserves sufficient material superior to the present forms of Greek or Syriac (despite many inferior and secondary readings) to serve as a caveat against a hasty pronouncement that either the Greek or the Syriac, either Apollonius or Adam, is primary in its present form. Perhaps a text-critical and tradition-critical study will be able to clarify the complex relationships discerned between these text forms. This study might be greatly aided by a thorough search of the manuscript resources in those traditions which allude to Apollonius and his work.

The determination of primacy between the extant text forms, or of their hypothetical ancestors, is no more dependent on the genuineness of the ascription to Apollonius than on the likelihood of the reliability of the presumed Adamic authorship. Further, the special contacts noted above between Syriac Recension III and the Armenian text seem to indicate that the evaluation of Syriac Recension I as the best form of the Syriac tradition should be re-examined.49

e. Literary Structure of the Armenian

The description for each hour in the Armenian text is composed of three elements:

1. The statement of the number and the hour (hereafter: 'the name').
2. The earthly, heavenly, or demonic activity which takes place in that hour (hereafter: 'the function').
3. The magical activity for which the hour is propitious (hereafter: 'the talisman').

The Syriac version predominantly lists only the function. It has neither the name nor the talisman. The Greek generally has the name and the function and, in certain cases, also the talisman.50 In general, except for the tenth hour of the day and the eleventh hour of the night, Armenian

49 See Frey, Dict. Bib., p. 118; Beit-Arié, Perek shíra, pp. 75 f.
50 The names found in an Arabic MS cited by Renan are nearly all to be understood in Arabic and bear no apparent relationship to those occurring in the Armenian and Greek; cf. Renan, Pénitence, p. 37.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

refers to the hours as *qwb*, that is 'watches'. The other versions appear to be unanimous in their use of 'hours'.

Certain common formulae occur in Armenian for the phrase by which the name of the hour is stated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 'they call [or: say] by the name'</td>
<td>first hour of day, first of night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. simply the name itself</td>
<td>second and fifth hours of day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 'is called'</td>
<td>third, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and eleventh hours of day, second, third, fourth, sixth hours of night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 'which is called'</td>
<td>tenth hour of day, fifth, seventh to twelfth hours of night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 'they call [or: say]'</td>
<td>twelfth hour of day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Greek manuscripts show *καλεῖται*, except for J which omits this verb in the description of the fourth hour of the day and from the tenth hour of the day to the twelfth hour of the night. These two readings of J correspond, therefore, to the second and third of the formulae found in the Armenian text. The fourth Armenian type is doubtless a variation on the third. In the description of the first hours of the day and the night Armenian shows a unique formulation of this phrase, perhaps conditioned by the altogether different introductions to these two hours. A similar situation may obtain in the Armenian description of the last hour of the day. These formulae differ somewhat in the B.M. manuscript, see Addendum, below, p. 57.

f. Two Parallels to the Fixed Hours of Angelic Prayer

The parallels adduced here do not provide an exhaustive, or even a preliminary, treatment of the origins or conceptual basis of the text. The issues of textual and recensional history raised above should be first resolved. The text from *The Testament of Abraham*, when combined with III *Baruch* Chaps xiii-xv, is an impressive witness to the antiquity of the idea of an appointed hour for angelic prayer. To these one may add *The Apocalypse of Paul*, which often draws on rather ancient sources and here, apparently, shares its source with *The Testament of Abraham*. 52

51 The whole question of such liturgies of angels and of other creatures is dealt with in detail by Beit-Arie, *Perek shira*, I.

**IV. The Hours of the Day and Night**

*Testament of Abraham, B, iv:*

τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου δύνοντος πάντες προσκυνοῦσιν ἀγγέλου τὸν θεον ἐρχόμενος δὲ ἐστιν ὁ αὐτὸς Μιχαήλ τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ προσεκύνησαν πάντες καὶ ἀπήλθον, ἐκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ.

*Apocalypse of Paul, vii:*

διὰ ταύτα εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν ἀκαταπαύσωσος. ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐρχονται πρὸς τὸν θεόν προσκυνήσαι αὐτῷ... πάντες, οἱ ἄγγελοι τῇ τεταγμένῃ ὥρᾳ ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς προσκύνησιν τῷ θεῷ προσενεγκεῖς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Compare for entry and exit Syriac Recension I for the tenth hour of the night.

**ADDENDUM**

After the completion of these introductory remarks, a second copy of the Armenian text came to our attention. It is included in MS B.M. Or. 6471 (hereafter: B.M.), foll. 104v-105v, a collection of magical, astrological and calendrical texts, written by Ter Yovasap', son of Astacatur, in Van, in 1610. The second division of the book is called the *Manazil* 'Mansions', and is chiefly concerned with astrological and astronomical matters. It commences on fol. 96r, with chapter 'gate' XV. The *Apotelesmata* constitutes 'gate' XVIII. Numerous sections of the book open with the expression *ωτῇ ηνὶν* 'another chapter' as in the Jerusalem manuscript. This occurs, e.g., on foll. 104v and 105v; in the latter the section so introduced deals with talismans. The Arabic origin of much of the material contained in this manuscript is confirmed by such superscriptions as 'In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate'.

The text contained in this manuscript varies at numerous points from that in the Jerusalem manuscript. All of its variants are recorded in the critical apparatus given below the text. They are, however, mainly of minor importance, most of them small grammatical variants and certain changes in the formulaic terminology. Independent corruptions to be observed in both manuscripts indicate that neither is the original from which the other w-s copied.

---

THE HOURS OF THE DAY AND NIGHT

D i ᾿unceh u ρᾶσ τὰ τόπιαν ἐν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἡμῶν Ὁ ἡμέρᾳ
μὴ ρᾳδίζω τῇ ἡμέρᾳ:

D ii ρᾶσ τὰ τόπιαν ἐν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ, μὴ ρᾳδίζω τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

Superscription. ὥρας 'name(s)': Singular in Arm.

ὥρας 'these things': Either ὥρα 'this' or ὥρας 'these things' is superfluous in Jer. In B.M. the second ὥρα is not found. The superscription is written in red ink and in uncial letters.

D i ᾿unceh u 'The first': In the margin beside this are found the words ὥραι ὥραι (sic!) 'hour(s) of the day' and opposite each hour respectively the letters ω, π, ι, etc., with the numerical significance '1, 2, 3', etc.

Fax: The letter ρ α has a small circle over it in the MS. This sign generally

Superscription. The form of the superscription observed in Arm. has no exact counterpart in any other version of this text. It is closest, however, to Gr. C., περὶ τῶν ὄνομάτων τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς ἡμέρας. The superscription for the Hours of the Night in Arm., however, does not resemble that in Gr. C.

Fax: In B.M. the form ὁρᾶς 'Pafx' is found. This name appears unrelated to the Gr. equivalents.

炷μαύς Λητ. μητρέωτες ὅσιοι τῆς ἡμέρας 'At that time men pray to the Creator': The readings of the versions vary. That of Gr. has ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσεύχεσθαι and Gr. ADJ omit τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; Syr. I b'wr 'dānym'; Syr. III b'wr 'dānym'; Ced. πρὸτεστ研究院 ἐπιτελέστα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ; Ar. I and II, Geor., Eth. 'my children'. The texts of Arm., Gr. and Syr. III read, therefore, 'men'. The reading 'heavenly ones' of Syr. I is perhaps to be con-

For differentiation of the commentaries, see above, p. 52.
THE HOURS OF THE DAY AND NIGHT

Another chapter which shows the name(s) of the watches of the day and the night.

Balinas said that it is necessary to know this — these things

**D i** The first watch of the day they call (or: say) by the name Fax. At that time men pray to the Creator. It is propitious for tongue binding.

**D ii** Concerning the second watch, Iyaul. In it the angels pray to their

* indicates that the letter is not an integral part of the spelling of the word. Here, however, its meaning is not clear.

\( \text{Fax} \) 'pray': The form is post-classical. Forms of this type are more frequent in B.M.; such are found in D ii, D vii, D x bis, D xi, N iv, N vi, N ix, N xi and N xii.

**D ii** \( \text{Iyaul} \) 'In it': This word is read as \( \text{Iyaul} \). The use of prepositional \( \text{j} \) — \( \text{y} \) — is

** connected with the text of Ced. The texts of Ar., Geor. and Eth. read 'my children', implying a text like Arm., Gr. and Syr. III. That of Ar. II is, as usual, greatly expanded. Possibly Ar., Geor. and Eth. translated from a Syriac which read \( \text{bny} \) but had lost \( \text{x}\). This reading, apparently a reflex of the text from which these versions were translated, is evidence of the common origin of Ar. I and II, Geor. and Eth. The text of Arm. alone reads 'to the Creator', while Ar., Geor. and Eth. read 'to God'; cf. D ii, below. That of Geor. adds 'en attendant la faveur de Dieu, créateur du ciel et de la terre', in this additional phrase showing a connection with Arm.

\( \text{Fax} \) 'It is propitious for tongue binding': Arm. alone has this phase. The words \( \text{Fax} \) apparently correspond to Gr. \( \text{ὄψείσαι} \), see D ii, below. If \( \text{Fax} \) is understood as a preposition, then the question arises whether \( \text{Fax} \) means 'a tongue spell' or 'tongue binding', i.e. dumbness induced by magic. The same words occur in N iii in the phrase 'and they bind the tongue of evil-speaking men'. Even closer to the expression here, however, is N ix 'for those who bind tongues'. \( \text{Fax} \) meaning 'spell' is found in N iv in the phrase 'all kinds of spells'. Whichever way translated, Jer. is apparently grammatically anomalous, unless \( \text{Fax} \) is either a genitive or part of a compound expression \( \text{Fax} \). According to normative morphology it is not a genitive as it stands. In the text of B.M. \( \text{Fax} \) 'to perform a tongue-binding' both difficulties are resolved. \( \text{Fax} \) 'tongue-binding' is a compound word, while instead of \( \text{Fax} \) 'for', it has \( \text{Fax} \) 'to do, perform, make'. N is said to be propitious for the talisman of him who is dumb. This, with the above, inclines us in the direction of a translation 'for tongue binding'.

**D ii** \( \text{Fax} \) 'Concerning the second watch, Iyaul': Jer. adds 'Concerning' before D ii-xii and N ii-xii. No parallel is known, and this is omitted by B.M. In that MS the name of the hour is \( \text{Fax} \). The name of this hour might be compared with the Greek name for D i 'Fax'.

\( \text{Fax} \) 'In it the angels pray': The usual expression encoun-
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

quite chaotic in this text. For the construction, cf. N v, and B.M. in which it occurs in nearly every case where Jer. has ‘at that time’.

\textit{jwqtiq} (\textit{ti}) ‘it (is) propitious’: Jer. has lost the final letter of \textit{jwqtiq} and the following \textit{t} ‘is’ by haplography, brought about, perhaps, by the fact that \textit{wnt} ends a line. The corruption does not occur in B.M.

\textit{qnlqbl} ‘to conjoin’: The word means ‘to put, join together’ and the idea apparently envisages the preparation of the talisman.

\textit{wltf}. ‘talisman’: The singular is found only abbreviated in Jer.; in B.M. it is \textit{wltf} \textit{tism} in all cases. The plural in Jer. is vocalized in D vi as \textit{wltf} \textit{tismatl}’ while in B.M. the form \textit{wltf} \textit{tismat}’ is found in D xi, N vii, and N xii. The form is Arabic.

\textit{jwqti} \textit{ti} ‘at that time’ and this word generally precedes the verb of the phrase, unlike the present instance where it follows. \textit{hqr}, however, apparently means ‘in it’, i.e. ‘in that hour’. Cf. N v ‘in this the water moves’. The verb ‘pray’ is finite in Jer. This is the same construction to be observed in Gr., while Syr. and Ced. predominantly use nouns. Both Ar. recensions and Eth. have two nouns; Geor. ‘glorefient, prient et louent’.

\textit{jwqti} \textit{ti} ‘it (is) propitious’: B.M. adds \textit{bqnL} \textit{qnpbl} \textit{bi} ‘to bind a tongue and’. This is probably due to contamination from the text of the preceding day.

\textit{hlpwbl} \textit{qnlqbl} ‘to their Creator’: As above, this is an expansion found only in Arm. Unlike D i, Geor. reads merely ‘Dieu’.

\textit{wltf}. \textit{qnlqbl} ‘to conjoin a talisman’: The abbreviation \textit{wltf}. is doubtless the word \textit{telsima} and the phrase here corresponds to Gr. \textit{upotelleista} and \textit{upotello}, while \textit{telsima} and \textit{telo} are also probably witnessed by N iii which reads \textit{upotello}. This is probably composed of two doublet forms \textit{upotello} and \textit{telsima} and \textit{telo}. The middle sense of \textit{telsima} is presumably to the fore. The idea conveyed by this phrase is that of the preparation of the talismans. As in D i, Arm. alone preserves the talisman.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

Creator. It (is) propitious to conjoin a talisman of love and of the forming of relationships between men.

D iii Concerning the third watch. It is called Lasuay. At that time the nestlings praise God. It is propitious to make talismans of fish and birds.

D iv Concerning the fourth watch. It is called Sakli. At that time men praise God. It is propitious (to make) the talisman of (or: against) snake and scorpion.

* 

D iii ówpabu 'the nestlings': The plural form is post-classical. So also the form ωριμνπε ('of the watches' (title); βελεριμπε (B.M. in D iii); ωριμπε (B.M., title to 'Night').

διωβ 'fish': This and the following noun 'birds' are in the simple genitive form. The intention is apparently 'on behalf of, for'. 'Fish' is singular.

D iv Ωυκία 'Sakli': The third letter is unclear. The scribe may have simply desired to erase it or to change some other sign to a q k.

ωλ ηδ 'of (or: against) snake': The meaning seems here to be 'against'; see note on D iv, below, loc. cit.

**

appropriate to this hour. For ωηβπε 'relationships', B.M. has the corrupt reading ωηζα 'propitious'.

D iii Λωμηνε 'Lasuay': B.M. reads Λυβ ιωνε 'Jay Nuay'. The variant is possible on graphic grounds. This name bears no obvious relation to Gr.

δωαβπε ωλπε 'the nestlings praise God': Arm. means exactly 'young bird' or 'nestling'. The phrase agrees with Gr., in particular with Gr. ACDJ which omit πάνα. The readings of Arm. 'bless' and Gr. εὐχαριστοῦσιν raise the question whether Syr. twdyt is best rendered confessio with Kmosko, Pat. Syr., ad loc. Perhaps 'praise', 'thanksgiving', might be more in keeping with the sense of the other versions. Those of Arm., Syr. and Gr. show a contrast between the activity of this function and that of the preceding two hours; cf. the situation in Ced. The birds praising God should be compared with III Baruch x:7, where the heavenly birds which continually praise God are seen by Baruch in heaven.

ήηζη η, ωηζω ωβ ωζω δηωη βελεζυν 'It is propitious to make talismans of fish and birds': Arm. does not correspond to Gr. here which reads ἄποτελεσμα ποιεῖν is found, however, in Gr. BMC for N ii. It is also found in Malalas' description of Apollo-nius' activity: ποιον τέλεσμα...; see John Malalas, Chronicle, Chap. X (P.G., XCVII, cols. 400-404). In this case Gr. also records the τέλεσμα but Arm. reads 'of fish' which is not to be found in Gr. Note here the plural ωηζω ωβ; thus also D vi, N vii, and N xii. Before διωβ 'of fish', B.M. reads οτηρ βελεριμ 'of serpent, of scorpion and'; this is a dittographic corruption from D iv.

D iv Ωυκία 'Sakli': The third letter in Jer. is not clear, but appears most to resemble q = k. This form is comparable to Gr. Σλάχιε, Σελάχιε. B.M. reads Ωυία 'Salh'.

ώηασω ωλπε 'At that time men praise God': It is
Dv ἓπνιq

and similarly cardinal numbers to D xii and from Nv to Nxii / ὑὲν ἡ ἡμερών ὲ[...] ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

Dv τίςνδρα

best to compare the functions of this hour with those of D v. They are here presented in the form of a table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D v</th>
<th>D v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syr. I</td>
<td>twdvt' dhywt'</td>
<td>twdvt' dl'm mn ἱμμύ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syr. E</td>
<td>twdvt' ῥαή</td>
<td>twdvt' ῥαή ἡμυτ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syr. F</td>
<td>twdvt' ἰρωθ'</td>
<td>ῥαή ἰρωθ' ῥαή ἰρωθ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ced.</td>
<td>ἐφύη κτήνων</td>
<td>ἐφύη κτήνων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr.</td>
<td>ἐσχαραποστὸι κάποια τὰ ποιήματα</td>
<td>αἰκεῖ πάν ζῶον τὸν θεόν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar. I</td>
<td>‘worship of the spiritual beings’</td>
<td>‘other animals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ar. II</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>idem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eth.</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>‘other animals, domestic animals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geor.</td>
<td>‘prayer of all the souls’</td>
<td>‘wild beasts and animals’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Syr. I we read ‘animals’ for D iv and ‘(those) who are above the heavens’ for D v. The latter reading is a corrupt form of the reading of N v; see Kmosko, Pat. Syr., note ad loc. This phenomenon might suggest that the text was at some time arranged in two columns. All other forms of the text read, at least, ‘animals’, or the like for D v. Therefore it appears that an original ἡμυτ’ of Syr. I in D v was displaced and entered D iv. If this is true, then the original text of D iv of Syr. I is missing. The text of Syr. E reads ῥαή ‘reptiles’ in D iv, and ῥαή ἡμυτ’ ‘all animals’ in D v. In this latter, therefore, it is in basic agreement with Syr. F (but see below), and with Arm. However, Arm. may have read in its original πάν ζῶον. The reading of Gr. also has πάν ζῶον and Ar. has basically the same (see below). The reading of Syr. E for D iv ‘reptiles’ is clearly at home in the tradition of Syr. III, for it is read by Syr. F for D v in addition to ‘all animals’. Moreover, the reptiles evidently were associated with D iv in the material lying behind Syr., for both Arm. and Gr. state that D iv is the appropriate hour for the preparation of telesmata against various reptiles. Of interest is that the reptiles perform the function in Syr. E but are involved in the talisman of Gr. and Arm. The readings of the other versions for the function of D iv witness to great uncertainty about it. That of Gr. reads ποιήματα ‘creations’, ‘creatures’, which might somehow be connected with the κτήνων ‘cattle’ of Ced., perhaps by a corruption of ποιήματα to ποιμνών. Yet no other version shows Ced.’s contrast between ‘cattle’ (D iv) and ‘wild beasts’ (D v). The readings of Syr. F, Ar. and Eth. have ‘spiritual beings’ for this hour. Perhaps the word ῥωθ’ was understood by the Arabic translator to mean ‘those endowed with the
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

D v Concerning the fifth watch, Saflak'. At that time all that there is of animals praise God. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman for beasts and animals.

**

spirit of life, animals'. Then the Ar. 'other' in D v would be an expansion and Ar. might in fact witness a non-extant Syriac text which read ḫwmx' in D iv, and klh ḥyw' in D v without ṭh' which has entered Syr. F erroneously in D v. In any case, once again, the reading 'other' found in both Ar. I and II is evidence for their common origin. It is also possible that Ar. 'other' expresses the contrast with 'birds' of D iii. The reading of Ar. I and II should be contrasted with the Arabic text from which Eth. was made, which does not reflect 'all'. Moreover, as may be observed elsewhere, the Vorlage of Ar. resembled Syr. III. The reading of Geor. 'all the souls' for D iv appears to be a development of a text like Syr. F ḫwmx'. Its reading for D v might derive either as an expansion of a text like klh ḥyw' of Syr. F, or conceivably from something like Gr. ἀνένων. This is unlikely, however, in view of the general affinities of Geor. The text of Arm. reads 'men' in D iv. This is without parallel, nor is any ready explanation evident on the basis of the other versions, but cf. Geor. Of considerable interest is that Syr. III shows a reflex of the existence of a tradition connecting reptiles with D iv, and this tradition also appears in the Arm. and Gr. talismans for that hour of the day.

mlḥ ṭl ṭl ḫwmx bū ṭhph 'It is propitious (to make) the talisman of (against) snake and scorpion': B.M. reads ṣdh ṭhph bū ḫwmxw yh ū̄ng 'of (against) snake, of (against) scorpion and of (against) all reptiles'. This talisman is reported only in Gr. and Arm. The phrase 'It is propitious (to make) the talisman of' is not found in Gr. Moreover Gr. has a longer list than Arm. reading ὀφειν κορμίων καὶ δρακόντων καὶ τῶν λύτων παντών ῥίβδων. The text of Arm. has only the first two elements of this list. Further, it is closer to Gr. BMC, which show a genitive for these words, than to the nominative of the other Gr. MSS. Scorpions were one of Apollonius' specialities as Malalas reports in the passage referred to above, on D iii.

D v Ulũũlũlũ 'Saflak': B.M. reads ῦlũũlũlũlũ 'Sayfalak'. This name appears to be related to Gr. Σαγγάλατ, Gr. Σαλάχας.

Ulũ 'praise': This corresponds to εὐχαριστέω of Gr. D iv and to αἰνέω here. Other cases may be observed below and this may be part of a general tendency of Arm. or its Vorlage to standardize the formula for each element of each hour. Alternatively, the present Gr. text may have lost an original consistency of diction in the course of transmission. The function of this hour has been discussed in connection with D iv.

jwn̄ ṭl ṭl ḫwmx ḫwmxw bū ḫwmxw ūng 'It is propitious to conjoin a talisman for beasts and animals': B.M. reads ῦlũũlũ ῦlũũlũlũ ṣdh ḫwmxw ḫwmxw 'to make a talisman for (against) snake, beasts...'. The word ṣdh 'snake' is probably a dittographic corruption from the text of the previous day. Gr. BC show a longer list, 'lions, panthers, bears, wolves and other wild beasts'. This list is similar to that found in the Syriac fragment relating to Apollonius published by Gottheil where Apollonius is said to have subdued, by means of talismans, 'lions and panthers and wolves and ṭahde and bears and wild asses and antelopes and foxes and

63
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

D vii τρεις κυνάρια τις ἐποίησεν θεός καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὄπως δέχονται ἡμέραια ἡμέραν ἢμέραν καὶ προσέδωσεν τῷ θεῷ θεός διότι τότε τοιούτῳ κατάθηκεν ὁ θεός.

D vii τοὺς θεοοποιούς τοὺς χερουβίδες θεός ἐποίησεν τῆς θεοποιίας τῶν μεταξύ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ανθρώπου γινομένων ἡμέραν ἡμέραν ἡμέραν καὶ προσέδωσεν τῷ θεῷ θεός διότι τότε τοιούτῳ κατάθηκεν ὁ θεός.

---

D vii qnìpbi 'to conjoin': This is spelt qnìpbi zuk'el in Jer, while the correct spelling is zugel, thus implying a dialect in which q g was pronounced k. Cf. also qnìplu 'Palinas' in the title which was doubtless pronounced as and in fact transcribed 'Balinas'. Moreover, in the transcriptions of the names of the hours, the letter p b is never found but only the letter q p. Since the text was translated from Arabic, which does not recognize p, this clearly implies that the letter q was actually being pronounced b. It has been so rendered in the translation. Similarly q is transliterated k above, D iv; see also above, introductory remarks on the Arabic affinities of the text of The Hours. B.M. has qnìq 'he conjoins'. This may be corrupt, for it is syntactically difficult and diverges from the formula found elsewhere.

**

hares and all animals and wild beasts and birds and fish of the seas and rivers'; see Gottheil, ZDMG, XLVI, pp. 466-476, from MS No. 9 in the East India Office, London. Pahde is apparently a species of wolf; see ibid., p. 469, n. 5. The similarity between the first part of this Syriac list, in particular, and that for this hour in Gr. is striking. It is of no little interest that, once more, these Syriac materials relate to the Apollonius tradition. The reading of Arm. represents a summary form of this list but one not identical with the short text of Gr. D τῶν τετραπόδων. The form ἥρατιος of Gr. A is perhaps a result of a haplography of ἥρατιος, which would then be a variant of τετραπόδων.

D vi ὕποστη 'Mamur': B.M. reads ὤποστη ὦποστη 'Sahr Mamur'. No relationship is immediately evident between this form of name and those forms presented by the Greek tradition.

*jw]udw] ωποθηβ προνερηδ] φω θη]μπο]λω πν θωμιλω 'At that time the cherubs pray to God': Gr. reads δυσωποσιν, τα χερουβια των θεων. The variant άνοδισιν deriving from ανοδισιν Gr. C = Arm. των θεων is omitted from Gr. MBC and present in Gr. AD] = Arm. The reading of Arm. further does not show the end of this phrase which is found in Gr. 'on account of the race of men'. Yet it presents a talisman for this hour which is not found in Gr. At this point, Syr. agrees fundamentally with Gr., and Syr. III is closer to the wording of Gr. than Syr. I
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

D vi Concerning the sixth watch. It is called Mamur. At that time the cherubs pray to God. It is propitious to conjoin talismans of prisoners that they (might) go forth.

D vii Concerning the seventh watch. It is called Babur. At that time those pray who are around the throne of God. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman in the midst of kings.

* qp̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣...
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

D viii The name is \textit{VllldZntt} 'Bayhuf in B.M., and for \textit{ppd2 qb} 'healing' this manuscript reads \textit{pwduibb [ nj} 'separation'. This hour is defective in Gr. which preserves only the name Boupav. The texts of Gr. BM omit it altogether. Arm., like Gr., lacks the function. It does, however, include a talisman.

D ix The name is \textit{PllZll} 'Bayhul' in B.M., and for \textit{ppd2b[nn]j} 'healing' this manuscript reads \textit{pwdwbnj} 'separation'. This hour is defective in Gr. which preserves only the name Boupav. The texts of Gr. BM omit it altogether. Arm., like Gr., lacks the function. It does, however, include a talisman.

D viii \textit{qurub} 'on behalf of a traveller': This and the following verbal construction are post-classical. Note the spelling \textit{dwdp tnpq} 'traveller' in Jer. In B.M. it is \textit{tiwdpnpq}.

D x \textit{wawu} (\textit{\textit{\&n}}} 'ten<th>': The word 'ten' is abbreviated to \textit{d} and \textit{-bpnpq} '-th' is omitted. A similar omission is to be found in D xii, N xi, and N xii for all of

**

D viii The name is \textit{PllZll} 'Bayhuf' in B.M., and for \textit{ppd2b[nn]j} 'healing' this manuscript reads \textit{pwdwbnj} 'separation'. This hour is defective in Gr. which preserves only the name Boupav. The texts of Gr. BM omit it altogether. Arm., like Gr., lacks the function. It does, however, include a talisman.

D x \textit{wawu} (\textit{\textit{\&n}}) 'ten<th>': The word 'ten' is abbreviated to \textit{d} and \textit{-bpnpq} '-th' is omitted. A similar omission is to be found in D xii, N xi, and N xii for all of

**

\textit{\&n/dwup} on behalf of a traveller': This and the following verbal construction are post-classical. Note the spelling \textit{dwdp tnpq} 'traveller' in Jer. In B.M. it is \textit{tiwdpnpq}.

D x \textit{wawu} (\textit{\textit{\&n}}) 'ten<th>': The word 'ten' is abbreviated to \textit{d} and \textit{-bpnpq} '-th' is omitted. A similar omission is to be found in D xii, N xi, and N xii for all of

**

D viii \textit{qurub} 'on behalf of a traveller': This and the following verbal construction are post-classical. Note the spelling \textit{dwdp tnpq} 'traveller' in Jer. In B.M. it is \textit{tiwdpnpq}.

D x \textit{wawu} (\textit{\textit{\&n}}} 'ten<th>': The word 'ten' is abbreviated to \textit{d} and \textit{-bpnpq} '-th' is omitted. A similar omission is to be found in D xii, N xi, and N xii for all of

**

D viii The name is \textit{PllZll} 'Bayhuf in B.M., and for \textit{ppd2b[nn]j} 'healing' this manuscript reads \textit{pwdwbnj} 'separation'. This hour is defective in Gr. which preserves only the name Boupav. The texts of Gr. BM omit it altogether. Arm., like Gr., lacks the function. It does, however, include a talisman.

D ix The name of the month is \textit{PMOflP} 'Abrur'.

\textit{\&n/dwun} at that time --- propitious': For these words B.M. reads \textit{wphw \textit{\&h\&h\&h} make a talisman': For this hour Gr., excepting Gr. J, and Arm. both lack a function. The text of Gr. J reads [\textit{\&n}] \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} and Gr. ADJ add \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} which reading is perhaps comparable, at least in its general import, with Ced. \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} and Gr. J, N ix. The readings of Syr., Eth. and Geor. are quite different and comparable with Arm. D vii, q.v. The reading of Ar. follows Syr., in the main, but includes some expansions. Once more, Arm. presents a talisman not found elsewhere.

\textit{\&n/dwun} on behalf of --- him': B.M. reads 'of a traveller; it the robber is unable to do' (presumably, to make this talisman).

D x \textit{PllZll} 'Bayhul': In B.M. the name is \textit{PllZll} 'Bayhul'.

\textit{\&n/dwun} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} \textit{\&h\&h\&h} 'At that time the water blesses God':

66
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

D viii Concerning the eighth watch. It is called Bahuł. At that time... It is propitious to conjoin a talisman of malignity and healing.

D ix Concerning the ninth watch. It is called Brur. At that time... It is propitious to conjoin a talisman on behalf of a traveller that the robber may not harm him.

D x Concerning the tenth hour which is called Bahul. At that time the water blesses God. In it the spirit of God descends. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman of him who enters before kings. And if they take of the water at this watch and mix (it with) sanctified oil and anoint (him who is afflicted) by evil humours (or: wind, i.e., in the body) he is healed by God.

D xi Concerning the eleventh watch. It is called Hir. At that time men... which the missing ending has been supplied in the text. For B.M. in cases like these, see apparatus to D v. The use of dudw 'hour' rather than wuw 'watch' is notable; so also N xi. No reason for this variation is apparent.

**

Gr. reads ἐν αὐτῇ αἰνοῦσιν τὰ δόξα τῶν θεῶν. The phrase in Arm. is equivalent (with some minor variants) to this reading of Gr., and to Ced. The reading of Syr. varies from this, as in its footsteps, also of Ar.

In it the spirit of God descends': Arm. omits the continuation of this phrase as found in Gr. and Syr. Instead it introduces a talisman. This is followed, as in the other versions, excepting Geor., by the instructions for the mixing of sanctified water with oil for medico-magical purposes. Of some incidental interest perhaps is that Syr. refers to the person who does the mixing as khn'd'lh' 'the priest of God' or just as khn' the 'priest' (and thus also Ar. and Eth.), while Gr. talks of ἄνθρωπος καθαρός and Gr. ADJ even omit the word καθαρός. Arm. further omits ἄνθρωπος. It may not be by chance that the texts attributed to Apollonius do not include the reading 'the priest of God', even though this would presumably be unexceptional in a Greek writing of the period. Still, this situation should be contrasted with N vii, q.v. Moreover, Arm. omits the last two phrases of Gr. δαίμονόντως καθαρίσει καὶ ἀπελάσει δαίμονας.

By God': At the end of the verse Jer. has the addition, perhaps of secondary nature, of 'by God' after 'he is healed', omitted by B.M.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

Superscription. Night. (It is propitious): The text of Jer. is not, which is incomprehensible. Tentatively, *\(\text{\textit{wqt}}\) may be reconstructed, itself a corruption by haplography from \(\text{\textit{wqt}}\) 'It is propitious'; cf. D ii and D vi above, without the corruption of \(\text{\textit{wqt}}\) to \(\text{\textit{nt}}\). Here the text of B.M. is followed.

D xii \(\text{\textit{wi}}\) 'from this': The exact meaning is not clear. It might mean 'from making talismans'. Alternatively render 'from the Devil'.

clear basis in these other versions for the reading 'men and holy ones' of Arm. although the verb of the phrase is exactly equivalent to Gr. while Syr., etc., have a noun. Perhaps the 'and' is secondary and Arm. originally read 'holy men'; cf. Syr. and Gr. Alternatively it may represent a doublet, indirectly attesting both Gr. readings. Once more Arm. contains a talisman which is not paralleled elsewhere.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

and holy ones rejoice. (It is propitious) for a talisman upon love.

D xii Concerning the twelfth watch. They call (or: say) Yərub. At that
time men bless God and it is necessary to decease from this.

Again these are of the night. And at night it is propitious
to conjoin talismans, for by day the sun prevents (this)

N i The first watch of the night they call (or: say) by the name Hram. At
that time the demons praise God. That watch (they do no) harm to man.
It is propitious to conjoin a talisman of him who is dumb.

* 

Superscription. Night. The superscription is written in red uncial. After its final
punctuation mark the red bolorgir letter q follows, the import of which is
unclear. Beside the first hour, in the margin, are the words ḏw d ph 'hour(s) of
the night', and the hours are numbered in the same fashion as those of the day. The
word 'sun' is represented by the ideogram.

N i ḏwbnlub 'by the name': For the construction, see D i.

ṇp 'of him who': It is not clear whether this is a talisman to cure dumbness, rendering
'on behalf of', or to induce it, rendering 'that he might be dumb'. The former
seems more likely.

** 

D xii The text of Arm. for this hour appears to be connected only in the most
general way with the texts of the other versions. The phrasing is substantially
identical with Arm. D i and, but for a slight variation of word order, completely
identical with Arm. D iv. The name of the hour is Qlti't 'Hrubb' in B.M. For uj uf 'from this', that MS reads ḏl ʾnbl 'and be silent'.

Superscription. Night. B.M. reads bl qh2 un ni lu wswbph wpk l ḏl ḏ l ḏ l ḏ l ḏ l ḏ l
phuwpb qnlqbl ḏw qnrbntlu ḏl 'And the watches of the night. (It is)
more propitious and better to conjoin talismans (in them) than in those of the day'.
This elaborate superscription of Arm. has no parallel in Syr. or Gr.

N i qnrbph ḏwnt ub 'the demons praise God': This is also the
reading of Gr. The text of Syr. is briefer. The next phrase is corrupt in Jer. On the
basis of B.M. the word ḏwnub 'they do no' is restored. As in a number of instances
above, the talisman of Arm. is unparalleled.
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

N ii ψασών ηήρικην ψαρίν ποτήρ υλον γιάκας στεύω τα λείων
να θυσών ου όλων όλων λατρεύω όλων των οικών προσελθω
η ερρεανονασι ϛαιρετανε βωμαι

N iii ψασών ηήρικην ψαρίν ποτήρ υλον γιάκας στεύω τα λείων
να θυσών ου όλων όλων λατρεύω όλων των οικών προσελθω
η ερρεανονασι ϛαιρετανε βωμαι

N iv ψασών ηήρικην ψαρίν ποτήρ υλον γιάκας στεύω τα λείων
να θυσών ου όλων όλων λατρεύω όλων των οικών προσελθω
η ερρεανονασι ϛαιρετανε βωμαι

N ii ψασών] ομ / ΨΑΝΑΜ / στεύων] όμην / στιζον / σατείον / στιζον / σατείον
η ερρεανονασι ϛαιρετανε βωμαι

N iii ψασών] ομ / ΨΑΝΑΜ / στεύων] όμην / στιζον / σατείον / στιζον / σατείον
η ερανονασι ϛαιρετανε βωμαι

N iv ψασών] ομ / ΨΑΝΑΜ / στεύων] όμην / στιζον / σατείον / στιζον / σατείον
η ερανονασι ϛαιρετανε βωμαι

* *

N iii ηρωήν οδή 'of fire, of serpent': Perhaps 'against'. Alternatively render 'of, against serpent of fire'. B.M. reads ηρωήν ή οδή 'of fire and of serpent'.

**

N ii ΨΑΝΙΝ 'Bluz': In B.M. the name is ΨΑΝΙΝ, 'Bilz'.

η ερανονασι ϛαιρετανε 'aquatic animals': Here Gr. reads οί θάλασσαι και πάν ο

οικών εν τοίς δῶροις. This is also basically the text of Syr. In Syr. I a corruption of graphic nature has resulted in δυων 'of doves' for δων 'of fish'. The rendering of Arm. may well be periphrastic. It also, once more, adds a talisman for which no parallels are offered in the other textual traditions. The Vorlage of Arm. did not contain the corruption observed in Gr. ADJ.

N iii ηρωήν] υπνήσιν όλων όλων της κρήνης προσελθων 'the fires praise God': The versions reflect a complex textual situation at this point. The reading of Gr. has οί δράκοντες, και

το τοῦ πυρὸς βάθος 'the dragons and the fiery depth'. Syr. I contains a ditto-

graphic reading nwn 'fish', misplaced from N ii, and then reads 'of the fire and of all the lower deeps'. The text of Syr. C reads 'of deeps and of fires' reversing the elements found in Syr. I. In Syr. III is found τωδύτι ητούν 'nwr θυμ' (d)nwr 'nwr θυμάν του σερπεντ ή χωρίς του' 'Confessio celorum et omnium abyssorum et eius quod infra

ignem est terrae'. As observed above in other instances, Syr. III thus shows a reading particularly close to Gr. when compared with the other Syr. texts, for it alone has 'dragons' at this point. Furthermore, wdlth ηt mn ηw r'dr', may perhaps be
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

N ii Concerning the second watch. It is called Bluz. At that time the aquatic animals praise God. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman upon the aquatic creatures.

N iii Concerning the third watch. It is called Bahua. At that time the fires praise God. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman of fire, of serpent. And it does no harm to man, and they bind the tongue of evil-speaking men.

N iv Concerning the fourth watch. It is called Alhar. At that time the angels descend into the grave. If the undying ones (are) in the graves and if a man (passes by), he is terrified. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman of gold over gold and silver and (over him) who is in the midst of men

*  

N iv ἴ ί́ (are): The plural, not the singular of the text, is required.  

(κῶνος ἥον) (passes by): The rendering κῶνος ἥον of B.M. is to be preferred to the corrupt κωνος ἥον of J.e.  

κώνος 'is terrified': Understanding this as κωνος (N. Bogharian).  

κώνος 'over him who': Or 'over that which'.

**  

related to the corresponding Gr. καὶ πάντα δόσα εἰςι κατώτερα. The reading of Gr. B εἰςιν κατά τῆς ἀνθρώπος, may be a development of the reading of Gr. M εἰςιν κατώτερον ἢ ἢ ἀνθρώπος, by corruption and correction. Perhaps Syr. C preserves a variant of the next Gr. phrase, ἢ ἀνθρωπόνη φύσις ἐξεπετέιν ἢ νοὴσαι οὐ δῶναι in the words ἐν ἑτέρα ἐν ἑς ἐν ὅζω ὁκ. If this is correct, then at this point Syr. is clearly dependent on a text form like that preserved in Gr. Comparable also is Eth. 'no one can address him'. Apparently Geor. is in some respects more primitive than Syr. C at this point, 'En la troisième heure, c'est l'hommage et glorification par le feu inférieur, c'est-à-dire de toutes les étoiles, et aucun homme n'est capable de parler. A cette heure il est impossible de scruter quoi ce soit'.  

Observe that 'feu' is the editor's correction of an inner Geor. corruption. One suspects that 'toutes les étoiles' is an equally corrupt (or if not a most problematic) reading. The rest of this text corresponds (with some expansion) to the type of reading found in Gr., apparently reflecting both ἐξεπετέιν and νοῃσαι. Arm. preserves the same talisman as Gr., but omits the dragons, as it also did in the function of this hour. The last two phrases of Arm. are not found in Gr.

N iv The texts of this fourth hour as found in Arm. and Gr. are clearly related. In Syr., Ar., Eth. and Geor. a quite different text form is to be found – the text dealing with the Trishagion of the Seraphim; this text is radically shortened in Eth. Moreover, Syr. and Geor. at this point include an additional passage making explicit reference to Adam. Together with the equally unique Syr., Eth. and Geor. of the next hour, it constitutes the only reference to Adam in the text. It is surely no coincidence that precisely this clearly Jewish or Christian reference is found in the Adam material while it is not found in either of the text forms attributed to
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

 Abdullah b. Zayd ibn Thabit says: We relate to you certain books relating to Adam. In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful:

N v: Sūrah [H] is in the [Q] a ['w], and in the [J] an 'a ['a].

And they said: May our Lord not lead us astray.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

And they said: May our Lord not lead us astray.

They said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

N vi: Sūrah [H] is in the [Q] a ['w], in the [J] an 'a ['a].

And they said: May our Lord not lead us astray.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

* Bronze: Thus continuing the metals mentioned above. These may be copper and brass.

N v: Sūrah [H] is in the [Q] a ['w], in the [J] an 'a ['a].

And they said: May our Lord not lead us astray.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

* Moves: The tense is post-classical. The verb should be rendered as if it were fi 'm.

N v: Sūrah [H] is in the [Q] a ['w], in the [J] an 'a ['a].

And they said: May our Lord not lead us astray.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

It is said: [The Lord] said: Verily, I will make for you a helper from among myself.

** Apollonius. The reading of Arm. at this point presents a number of difficulties. For fi 'D... (passes by) B.M. reads fi 'D... (passes by) B.M. reads fi 'D... (passes by) B.M. reads fi 'D... (passes by) B.M. reads fi 'D... (passes by) B.M. reads fi 'D... (passes by) B.M. reads fi 'D... (passes by) B.M. reads fi 'D... (passes by). There is no doubt, however, that the function of this hour is similar to that preserved in Gr. The strongly demonological aspects of this function may have been repugnant to the Christian (or Jewish) editors of the Adam texts. If the Adam materials were primary, and the Apollonius a reworking, then perhaps the reference to Adam would have been excluded, but no reason is evident for a replacement of the Trishagion of the seraphs by the demonological descent to the graves. If the former were original to the tradition, it surely belongs with D vi, D vii or N ix, etc., where the praise of the heavenly beings is given. The night hours are mainly devoted to the nether creatures, especially the early hours of the night. These open, according to all texts, with the praise of the demons in N i. In spite of this, the term 'cherubs' in D vi
and also of ill-will. It is propitious for yellow and red bronze and of all kinds of spells which they (? men) make.

N v Concerning the fifth watch. It is called Xmir. In this the water moves and men praise God. It is fitting to conjoin a talisman of clouds and strong wind.

N vi Concerning the sixth watch. It is called 鹗 axuz. At that time the water sleeps. It is propitious for a dream. Man sees whatever dream he wishes about his affair(s), whether (it is) favourable and (i.e., or) evil.

N vii Concerning the seventh watch which is called Bahur. At that time there are talismans upon kings. Whatever requests you make are fulfilled for you.

* 

N vii 'blī (it is)': The plural of the text should be singular. The dream seems to be the subject of this sentence.

N vii 'lūbu 'you make': Post-classical form. In B.M. nū ḫu 'you have'.

**

perhaps indicates that the redaction cannot be simply a reworking of the Apollonius materials to produce the Adam text, or the reverse. There is no doubt of the relationship of Gr. to Arm. in the hour, even though they show different talismans.

N v In B.M. the name of the hour is ḫu ḫm 'Xmir'. Arm. is here, once more, closest to Gr. The texts of Syr., Eth. and Geor. show another Adam supplement. Yet Arm. contains some quite considerable variants from Gr. and here too adds a talisman not found in any other version. This talisman mentions the clouds which are to be found in the function of the next hour in Syr.

N vi ḫu ḫm '鹗 axuz': In B.M. the name of the hour is ḫu ḫm '鹗 axuz'. ḫnlpn ṯ mp lph 'the water sleeps': B.M. adds b l ḫnl ḫu ḫ 'and is seated'. Gr. reads simply ḫn ṯu ḫkξγτέν ḫ κ ḫ ḫ βανόντος. The sleep of the waters is mentioned in the Syr. of N vii. It is possible, therefore, that this text of Arm. reflects an old tradition. The talisman for dreams is clearly connected, although there is no hint of it in the other versions. The last phrase of Arm. is both enigmatic and corrupt.

b ḫwqnt 'for a dream': B.M. reads u ḥī ḫuf ṭ lqbl 'to conjoin a talisman'. The reading of Jer. may be supported by the discussion of dreams in what follows.

N vii 'lūbh ḫm 'Bahur': In B.M. the name is lūbh ḫm 'Bafur'. This may be a graphic variant.

lūbh ḫu ḫ ḫ ḫwqnt ḫ ḫ ḫwqnt ḫ 'talismans upon kings': The seventh hour is the rest of the beasts and of men (Gr.) or of nature (Syr.). In Arm. this hour has no true function, although the phrase here appears to play the role usually filled by the function. In Gr., Syr., Ar., Eth. and Geor. we find at this point a repetition of the spell encountered in D x. In contrast to D x, however, all the texts read 'priest'. Instead of this passage, Arm. continues directly on from 'talismans upon kings'. It is
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

N viii ված տիրուրն անքրու որ ինու կահառելատ տանատ ադամ;

N ix ուսանորուք անքրու որ ինու բարձրաբեր տանատ ու ամենու։

N x ուսանորուք անքրու որ ինու բարձրաբեր տանատ ու ամե

N viii պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տանատ / ադամ | ուսանորկ / բարձրաբեր | տանատ

N ix պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տանատ / ադամ | ուսանորկ / բարձրաբեր / տանատ

N x պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տանատ / ադամ | ուսանորկ / բարձրաբեր

N viii բույջ / տու / ամե / տանատ / ադամ | ուսանորկ / բարձրաբեր / տա

N ix պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տանատ / ադամ | ուսանորկ / բարձրաբեր

N x պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տանատ / ադամ | ուսանորկ / բարձրաբեր

* N viii պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տանատ / ադամ | ուսանորկ / բարձրաբեր / տա

N ix պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տա

N x պծիկթ ուր | տու / ամե / տա

not necessarily true that the spell found in Gr. and Syr. is more original at D x than here, but this seems likely. The spells or talismans generally have some relationship to the function of the hour in which they are performed. Since D x is the hour of the praise of the water and of the descent of the spirit of God over the waters (and Ar. is even more detailed on this subject) it seems reasonable that this hour would be propitious for a spell involving the mixing of some water with sanctified oil for purposes of healing. A similar basis for the introduction of this spell is not evident for N vii. This lends the lack of the doublet here in Arm. the appearance of genuine­ness. Or, to reverse the argument, even though no reason is evident for the transfer of this spell from D x to N vii, and it might be original at N vii being drawn to D x by precisely the sort of process mentioned above, its absence from N vii in Arm. supports the reverse interpretation. ‘The rest of the waters’ does appear in the Adam materials here, but the material at D x is far more suggestive. The originality of the latter part of the verse at this place in Arm. cannot be proved.

N viii զկճուրեր ‘3fat’bay’: In B.M. this name lacks the last three letters.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

N viii Concerning the eighth watch which is called Ḥrat‘bay. At that time the plants praise God. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman of seed and tree.

N ix Concerning the ninth watch which is called Nayik‘al. At that time the angels praise God and the stars of the heavens praise God. It is propitious to enter upon kings (and for) those who bind tongues.

N x Concerning the tenth watch which is called Salu. At that time the roosters (or: birds) praise God. It is propitious to conjoin a talisman that the evil of women should not reach a man.

*‘it is propitious’, however, and is not readily translated. The spell is to cast dumbness.

N x ẓa,st‘evil’: Arabic saff in Armenian transcription.

**ḳlu,‘women’: Post-classical form.

w diplomat (a) pḥ Ḫlunuwlα‘the plants praise God’: Here Arm. has a function not preserved in Gr. It is, however, not more different from the corresponding function of the Syr., etc., text than other examples where both Gr. and Syr. are extant. It could be an extrapolation of a copyist or translator from the talisman of this hour. Yet, for D viii and D ix where Arm. lacks a function (as does Gr.), no reconstructions were attempted in the course of transmission, although admittedly the talismans there are not as transparently suggestive of a function as in the present example. In spite of this, here Arm. may well preserve an original phrase not found in Gr.

N ix ẓubh‘Nayik‘al’: In B.M. the name is ẓubh‘Nayishal’, perhaps a graphic variant. Gr. preserves only the name of this hour and has lost both the function and the talisman. Indeed, Gr. I adds ḫv ẓ tелετατ oδoδv, but the same source also adds this phrase for N x; cf. also D ix and comment ad loc. The text of Arm. here attributes to this hour the function of the praise of the angels and the stars of heaven. On the stars, cf. Geor. for N iii, noted above. The readings of Syr. present the following situation: That of Syr. I reads twdyt‘dkrbv‘praise of the cherubs’. That of Syr. C has for this hour the text of D ix. Closest to Arm. is Syr. III ‘praise of the angels of heaven’ (cf. Geor., Eth.). Again it seems probable that Arm. has here preserved a form of the original text for this hour. In addition, the talisman of Arm. might stand in some relationship to the next phrase of Syr. E ẓwln ₙwt‘qdμ ḥh‘and the prayers enter before God’. (Nau, Pat. Syr., ad loc., translates ‘omnes orationes’, but the basis in the text for ‘omnes’ is not evident.) The relationship is, however, by no means certain and this part of the talisman should be compared with D x; cf. D vii, N vii. Further the text of Syr. E here may have been influenced by the text of N x, q.v.

N x ẓa,lth‘Salu’: In B.M. the name of this hour is ẓa,lth‘Sahu’.

w diplomat ₙdh Ḫlunuwlα‘the roosters (or: birds) praise God’: This phrase is
Part One: Texts Relating to Adam

corruptly omitted by B.M. Here again Gr., except for Gr. J, preserves no function (for Gr. J, cf. N ix, commentary). The version of Arm., it appears, is related to the text of Syr. I and even more particularly to Syr. F. This reads, at the end of this verse, \( \text{wqryn trngl' wmsbhyn Plh'} \) 'and roosters crow and praise God'. This is also the text of Geor. and Eth. A different form of the same phrase may be found, moved to the previous hour, in Syr. E. It evidently belongs in N x, however, for it is found at this hour in Syr. I and Syr. F as well as in Arm. The special significance of the cock's crowing may also be seen in III Baruch vi: 14-16, cf. II Enoch xv: 1. On the special role of the rooster's song, both in Jewish tradition in general and in the catalogue of hymns of created beings embodied in Pereq shira, see Beit-Arié, Pereq shira, II, pp. 57-66. Much interesting material is adduced there.

\( \text{qnLq} \) 'the evil of women': The origin of or basis for the talisman of Arm. remains shrouded in darkness.

N xi ʿUlu ʿUSNnh 'Alfadu': In B.M. the name of the hour is ʿ弘扬USNnh 'Yufadu'.
IV. The Hours of the Day and Night

N xi Concerning the eleventh hour which is called Alfadu. At that time the gate of heaven is opened for prayers. He who makes an upright prayer to God and beseeches him, whatever forgiveness of sins you ask of God, at that time God has mercy upon you.

N xii Concerning the twelfth hour which is called Šačšami. At that time the angels of heaven rest. At that time whatever talismans you conjoin, man cannot be released from it.

The powers of the hours of the night and day are completed, which are 12, 12 that is 24

**

Under this hour Gr. includes material which is found in the preceding hours in Syr. First, the noise of the wings of the angels, cherubs and seraphs corresponds to material in Syr., N ix and N x, in various forms. Moreover, the petition of the pure of heart in Gr. at this hour also occurs in Arm. here but is found in Syr., Geor. and Eth. for N x. Further, the opening of the heavenly gate with which the ready acceptance of the petition is connected is found in Syr., Geor. and Eth. N x, and in Gr. and Arm. N xi. However, Arm. omits the materials on cherubs, seraphs and so forth, and assigns to N x the crowing of the rooster, which most of the Syriac texts connect with that hour. Arm. omits all the material about Eden which occurs in Gr., and about Paradise which occurs in Syr. and Eth. Geor. also omits the reference to Paradise.

\( \text{for prayers: B.M. adds } \eta p \ \eta p h \ \varepsilon w d w p \ ' \text{which (are) for himself, perhaps lost in Jer. by homoeoteleuton. A few other variations of phraseology may be observed.} \)

\( \text{sins-God 3°}: \text{B.M. reads } \nu q \ t q \ \nu t p h w t \ \nu w \ \nu t h q \ \nu q n q t l \ ' \text{propitious talisman there is of love, he conjoins (it)}. \)

N xii Arm. basically agrees with Gr. here, although somewhat shortened. The text of Syr. differs in a number of respects.

\( \text{Šačšami}: \text{In B.M. this name appears as } \text{Šaššam}. \)

\( \text{rest}: \text{In B.M. the reading is } \nu w t \eta \nu t \ ' \text{play} \text{or} ' \text{run}. \text{This manuscript also omits the subscription of the work.} \)
The variants of the Greek manuscripts for The Hours have been examined, and the relationship which emerged as existing between the six Greek witnesses may be expressed by the following diagram. This diagram must be regarded as preliminary, since it must be checked against all the other texts of the Apotelesmata for final confirmation. It may, however, serve as a starting point for further discussion.

1. J, i.e. James' edition of A, is presumably based on the same text which is reflected by Nau's collations of A.
2. D also, according to Nau, is a copy of A. This relationship is expressed in the diagram. There are, however, some apparent anomalies.
3. DJ show a series of variants in common against A. These are all, however, omissions of the names of the hours or of other words which were written in Hebrew letters in A or else are of no substance. Such may be observed in Day 35, 41, 60, 73, 85, Night 9, 32, 36, 48, etc. (The numbers refer to the notes in Nau's apparatus.)
4. In Night 77 there is an apparently anomalous reading CJ. Nau's apparatus is, however, self-explanatory: '77 Sic B. CJ om. hanc horam. ὄρα τ' AD (supra lin. in A).'</n
5. D appears successfully to have restored the Greek for a number of Hebrew transliterations, thus Day 23, Night 21. This produces some seemingly anomalous variations, CDM : B : A : J and BMCD : A : J.
6. The apparatus is incomplete in a number of cases, such as Day 25 (A's reading not recorded), and some others. 

The above diagram does not answer the question whether the ancestor of the extant Gr. MSS is any one of the MSS, or the hypothetical intermediary of BM, or that of CA, or yet a third hypothetical intermediary between these two. These possibilities are limited, however, since B is excluded from being an ancestor by its date and DJ are excluded since they are copies of A. Moreover, BM omit the eighth hour of the day and the eighth hour of the night (Day 54, Night 67), so their hypothetical intermediary cannot have been the ancestor of AC. This also excludes M. Again, C omits the fifth hour of the night. It is, therefore, impossible as the ancestor of BMA which have this hour. The corruptions of A (and also naturally DJ) in the second and third hours of the night, and their omissions there, exclude the possibility of A being the ancestor of all the other MSS. The situation in Night 77 referred to above, together with the general character of CA, make it unlikely that their intermediary was the ancestor of BM, although this is possible. This argument leaves two possibilities open, but the weight of evidence is in favour of the second of them. The two alternatives are as follows: 

1. The hypothetical intermediary of CA is the ancestor. In this case, C + A or either C or A + B or M will give y.
2. The hypothetical intermediary of $xy$ is the ancestor. In this case, either $B$ or $M + either C$ or $A$ will give $z$.

It is felt that the detailed analysis necessary to make the final determination between these two options should be left to a later stage of research into these texts, when the witnesses external to the Greek tradition have been further investigated. This investigation, together with a study of all the texts of the Greek *Apotelesmata*, is a prerequisite for making the substantial value judgements between the readings of the manuscripts which are needed to enable such a determination. It may, moreover, enable the extension of the stemma to include these witnesses.
BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

QUITE NUMEROUS COPIES exist in Armenian of a body of biblical paraphrases, covering more or less of the pentateuchal stories and other narrative portions of the Bible. They are for the most part composed of a mosaic of biblical verses and phrases, interwoven, in some cases, with Christian exegesis of a typological nature. In addition, they include some interesting apocryphal material. A comparison of the text of the paraphrases with that of the Armenian version of the Bible shows that the paraphrases were composed on the basis of that translation. The earlier part of the text is richer in this apocryphal material, while the later sections are more consistently close to the biblical text. To examine the apocryphal portions, it is not necessary to reproduce the paraphrases in full, and in selecting the passages for publication the following procedure has been adopted:

The text of the paraphrases has been compared with that of the Armenian Bible in Zohrabian's edition of 1805.¹

Where the text of the paraphrases is parallel to the latter, then only the number of the biblical verse is indicated.

Where the biblical verse has been shortened or paraphrased, with no noteworthy departure from the sense of the Bible, the verse number is italicized.

Where the paraphrases add to the biblical text, their text is given in full, with a translation, following on or in conjunction with the Armenian biblical enumeration.

The passages of Christian typological exegesis are summarized in English within the text.

¹ J. Zohrabian (ed.), ՄԱՐԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՏԵՍՏԱՄԵՆՏ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՏԵՍՏԱՄԵՆՏ, ԹԵՍՏԱՄԵՆՏ ԱՅՆ, Երևան 1805.
The present text is based on two unpublished manuscripts in Erevan:

A  MS Erevan Mat. 3854, foll. 104v–150r, a miscellany, dated 1471
B  MS Erevan Mat. 4231, foll. 1r–30v, a miscellany, of the fifteenth century

A presents a fuller text and is closer to the Bible than B. The latter is rather abbreviated, although on occasion it agrees with the biblical readings against A. MS A has therefore been used as the basis of the present study. For the biblical verses and phrases, the major variants of B have been indicated. For passages published in full, all variants of B have been recorded. The texts are here numbered by paragraphs. Agreement with the Bible has been noted in the apparatus of variants, approximation to the biblical text being indicated by the notation: 'cf. Bible'. Comments on the text have been kept to a minimum, but particularly interesting passages have been noted.

The only exception to this procedure is the fragmentary passage which has survived at the beginning of B, here entitled The Descendants of Adam, composed of a single folio which, in B, precedes the beginning of The Story of Noah. It is numbered fol. 1 in the modern numbering of the manuscript, although it is clearly the end of a text, and not the beginning. At the foot of the page the number 430 in Armenian letters is to be found. This seems to indicate that the manuscript has lost an initial 214 folios. The surviving page is damaged, but its text is of interest, and the portions that can be recovered are given in full. They are numbered by lines of the manuscript.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

In Armenian sources four different calculations of the Era of Creation are generally used:

1. The Imperial or Byzantine Era of Creation, starting from 5508 B.C.E.
2. The Alexandrian Era of Creation (so-called), starting from 5423 B.C.E., but from 5425 by the Armenian reckoning.
3. The Septuagint Era of Creation (so-called), starting from 5200 B.C.E., but from 5198 by the Armenian reckoning.
4. The Armenian Era of Creation, starting from 5281 B.C.E.

2 Erivan Catalogue, I, cols. 1097-1098.
3 Ibid., col. 1175.
In the biblical paraphrases at the end of *The Story of Joshua* the following periods are found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam to Flood</td>
<td>2242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flood to Tower</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower to Abraham</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham to Moses and to Exodus</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus to building of Temple</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Temple to Second Temple</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Temple to Birth of Christ</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Real total: 5200
Total given in text: 5198

It will be observed that there is a discrepancy between the total given by the text and that actually obtained by adding the given years together. The total given by the text exactly conforms to the Armenian reckoning of the Septuagint Era. There is evidently a corruption somewhere in the list as it is presented, and a figure of two years has been lost. This perhaps arises from a confusion of the Armenian symbols for figures 5 and 7 in one of the two totals 527 or 417 given for the period from the Flood to the Tower and from the Tower to Abraham in the list. This supposition may be confirmed by the figure of 942 years given for the period from the Flood up to Abraham in paragraph 11 of *The Story of Noah*. The data should be compared with the chronological information given in *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets* (see below, Part Three, and introductory remarks to that text).

5 In *The Acts of Pilate*, Latin A, Chap. xii (xxviii), a chronological reckoning is found analogous to the present one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam to Flood</td>
<td>2212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flood to Tower</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower to Abraham</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham to Exodus</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus to building of Temple</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building of Temple to its destruction</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of Temple to Coming of Christ</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Real total: 5430
Total given in text: 5500


Note that this reckoning is connected with chiliastic speculations. Certain of the figures in it are close to those in the Biblical Paraphrases, with differences as to the eras they represent.
I. THE DESCENDANTS OF ADAM

2-3 וַיַּגְדוּ בְּתוֹךְ אֹיְנֵי הָאָדָמָה. בְּתוֹךְ אֹיְנֵי הָאָדָמָה מִבְּתוֹכֵי הָאָדָמָה 'with the daughters of men': The teaching of the Watchers is referred to. The most ancient comparative materials are I Enoch Chaps vii-viii, and lxix. In particular, note also Test. Reuben v: 5-6. The later sources are very numerous. In the text, the contents of the first part of Gen. Chap. vi precede Gen. Chap. v and this is followed by the latter part of Gen. Chap. vi.

10 כִּי דֹֽרֵנִי דֹֽרֵנִי: This is evidently Seth, cf. Gen. v: 8. The generations mentioned in the text appear to be selective: Seth is mentioned, then Enoch. The gap at the start of 1. 11 is certainly not long enough for the names of Cainan, Mahalaleel and Jared to be introduced.
I. THE DESCENDANTS OF ADAM

... were beloved, for they were full of demons and sons of God did not [ ] with the daughters of men; they invented and he learned from Satan potions of love and potions of hate.

... and the mirror, And by this they were deceived and were mixed. And they made for themselves

... All the days of the life of Adam were [ ] years until he died.

... begat a son, Enos. And [ Enos ] lived 9 [ 12 years and died. And Enos Enoch begat Methuselah.] And Enoch was pleasing to God and he lived 520 years. And of the tree meat he did not eat. And he drew linen over his face, and did not look at the heavens, on account of the sin of Adam. And he said, 'When of the servant, there is trouble, the servant does not to look at the crown. And he quickly becomes sweet. And I, on account of [ the ] sin of Adam,

... I dare not look at the heavens, that G[ od ] may have mercy upon Adam.' And God had mercy upon Enoch and transferred him to immortality. [ who does good to others, for him it is helpful and he encounters his own well-being.

... From Enoch Methuselah was born. From Methuselah, Lamech was born, and from Lamech, Noah was born. And it says, 'He gave...

12 бундп 'Enoch': The passage dealing with Enoch is rather unusual. The period of 520 years is in opposition to the biblical tradition, according to which he lived 365 years (Gen. v: 23). It may be compared to The Words of Adam to Seth, vv. 19-21; see above, Part One, Section I, and comment ad loc. The ascetic tradition implied by 1.14 and by Enoch's refraining from looking at the heavens (ll. 14-21) does not have any particularly close parallels; cf., however, above, Part One, Section I, The Words of Adam to Seth, loc. cit.

27 бт. ут. 'And it says': Cf. Gen. v: 29. The phrase is drawn from the text of the Armenian Bible.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

According to the Armenian Bible, following LXX, Lamech lived 753 years.

There is no biblical parallel to the specific mention of Noah's virginity, but it may be prompted by the immediate succession of Gen. vi
I. The Descendants of Adam

us rest from our works.' And the years of
Lamech's life were 753 years (and) he died.

30 And Noah was 500 years old and he was a virgin and he took
a wife and begat three sons, Shem, Ham and
Japheth. And when the Lord God saw that
wrongs increased upon the earth and each
man thought evil things in his heart.

35 And God said, 'My spirit shall not remain upon men
and their years shall be 120.' And the Lord
God said, I shall destroy man from the earth, from man
unto beast, from reptiles unto
the birds of Heaven.' And to Christ eternal glory. Amen.

To the story of Noah's birth. Cf. also V. Aptowizer, Kain und Abel in der Agada,
35 ḫ-em-il 'God said': Gen. vi: 3.
II. THE STORY OF NOAH

This biblical paraphrase, although entitled 'The Story of Noah', contains additional episodes. The following are included: The Flood (1-6), the Generations of Noah (7-8), the Tower of Babel (9), the Story of Abraham (10-13), Sodom and Gomorrah (14), Abraham's Descendants (15-16), the Binding of Isaac (17-18), Isaac's Marriage and Death (19), Isaac's Blessing of Jacob (20), Jacob in Laban's House (21-24), Jacob's Return to Canaan (25-27).

1 | Gen. vi: 9, 11, 13a, 14, 15 |

2 Gen. vi: 16,

And a hundred years I then were completed. And the sound of axes, and of adzes, of chisels and of saws, said that the flood was coming. And they did not believe.

3 Gen. vii: 1a, Gen. vi: 18b,

And of all the cattle, and of all the (wild) animals and the reptiles, and of all the birds which are upon the earth, you shall introduce into your ark, two by two, male and female. And of all the clean cattle and birds, seven,

1 According to A, the measurements of the ark are 300 cubits in length, 50 cubits in breadth, and 30 cubits in height, thus agreeing with the Bible. According to B, they are 60 cubits in length, 30 cubits in breadth, and 15 cubits in height.

88
II. The Story of Noah

seven, that there may be food for you and them. And Noah did thus.

And of all the cattle, and of all the reptiles, and of all the (wild) animals, take with you to the ark. And he did as God commanded.

And nine months they were in the ark, for it was a mother's belly and womb. He who issues forth from the ark and from the mother's womb, sees no other; and he who is baptized in a baptistry is baptized no more. And Noah, taking the board, smote the gong and summoned all the (wild) beasts and cattle to him. They came to him from all directions. And there reached him those who had received a command to live, and entered inside.

And they entered into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed

vi: 18b ηρηθη A = Bible  ηρηθη B / ρηθη ρηθη] A = Bible om B
4 Gen. vii: 10b, 11b-12 totum] om B

3 The supplement here is a combination of Gen. vii: 2-3 and vi: 19, 22. It differs radically in the two recensions and both are presented here.
4 B is half a manuscript page shorter than A, which contains a short supplement.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

The whole world, for forty days and for forty nights.

Gen. vii: 10b, 11b–12.

5 Gen. vii: 17, 20 |, 21–22. Gen. viii: 1d (final two words), 2a, 1a, c, 4a, 6, 7, 10, 1, 11,

Remember my covenant (Gen. ix: 15a), who saved you from the flood. And instead of Adam I have made you also king of all the earth.

A 106r
B 3r

A 106v

Typological exegesis: The following passage sees in the ark the type of the Church. In A this continues to fol. 107v, 1.2, and in B to fol. 3v, 1.10. It concludes h δην ἐθνω μ᾽ ἱερόν.

He divided the lands of his sons into three. And from Shem, Abraham was born and the Israelites;

A 107r-v
B 3v

6 Gen. ix: 28,

5 Gen. vii: 17–viii: 2a see


5 B preserves only a few phrases of Gen. vii: 17–viii: 2a.

Gen. viii: 10: According to this text Noah waits eight days instead of seven before sending the dove a second time.

Gen. ix: 15a: Here both MSS read 'you shall remember' in contrast with the biblical 'I shall remember'.

A 90
The St. of Noah

And from Adam to the Flood was 2242 years.

And the sons of Noah increased, and they went to the east, and they found a plain, and they said to one another, the seventy-two princes, 'Come, let us bring bricks and burn (them) in fire. That will be instead of stone, and pitch instead of mortar (lime). Let us build this city and this tower, whose top reaches to the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves.' And they did thus, and

and from Ham, the Canaanites were born; and from Japheth, the Armenians and the gentiles.

The supplement is parallel in content to Gen. x, the generations of Noah. The accepted Armenian tradition traces the origins of the Armenian nation back to Japheth. See also C. Toumanoff, Studies in Christian Caucasian History, Georgetown University 1963, pp. 54 f.

The non-biblical dates given throughout are discussed above in the introductory remarks to this Part.


b16aηwλwλv b1 hηp b16aηwλwλv 'the seventy-two princes': This phrase reflects Gen. xi: 3a with a supplement. For the tradition of the princes who led the building, see Ps.-Philo, LAB, vii: 1; III Baruch iii: 5; Targ. to Eccles. vii: 28. Concerning the number, see below.

b1 hηp ηpη 'instead of mortar (lime)': Cf. Gen. xi: 3b. The following sentence is drawn from v. 4 of the same chapter and the subsequent sentence is a supplement.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

they built. And the Lord came to see the tower. And the Lord God said, 'Behold, all the earth is one people and one tongue, and they began to do this. And I will come and confuse their tongue, and I will scatter them over the earth, that they should not understand one another's speech.' And there the Lord confused the tongues of all the earth. And he separated seventy-two tongues. And they destroyed the tower, and the earth split open and swallowed up the city and the tower, and he scattered them over the earth.

And when ١ they multiplied — for Shem begat Arphaxad, and from them Nahor was begotten — in his

by quwh---bqlph 'And the Lord came---all the earth ٢': Here the text of Gen. xi: 5-9b, excepting vv. 6a, 8 and 9a, is represented.

bišwawul bi bqlni ٣ biqnil 'seventy-two tongues': This sentence, and the following, form a supplement. The idea that there are seventy-two languages is unusual; see Malan, Adam and Eve, pp. 173 and 245, n. 37. It is found, however, in other Armenian sources; see Thomson, Teaching of St Gregory, pp. 140, 150. Cf. also the text of B. The figure seventy is more usual, thus it appears, inter alia, in Jubilees x: 18-27; Targ. Ps.-Jonathan to Gen. xi: 8; Epiphanius, Adv. Haeres., I, 1:5; Chronicle of Jerahmeel, XXX, 8.

bqlni 'swallowed up': This feature may also be observed in Gen. R. xxxviii: 8, ed. Theodor and Albeck, I, pp. 357 f. The final sentence of the passage of the Paraphrase draws upon Gen. xi: 9b.

9 B This text has a number of features of interest. The generations of Shem occur in A, as in the Bible itself, following the story of the Tower of Babel. Nahor.
The Story of Noah

Day men fell into sin and said, 'The Lord will destroy the earth a second time.' And the seventy-two princes began to build the tower, and God made one tongue into seventy-two. And he made the tower a dispersion.

And at that time men did not know God, for they were worshippers of idols—some of the air and others of the water. And moreover, is clearly not the third generation of Shem: the list has been shortened, as was to be observed above in the text of The Descendants of Adam. In B the view is presented that the incident of the Tower of Babel took place in the generation of Nahor. This idea, perhaps, has led to the separation of this part of the generation of Shem from those of Terah and Abraham, and its introduction into the narrative at this point. In Jubilees x: 8, the Tower of Babel incident is attributed to the generation of Peleg, as in Gen. x: 25; I Chron. i: 19. In Ps.-Philo, LAB, it appears to be, as in our text, at the time of Abraham. The motive given here for the building of the Tower is of interest. It is found also in the Teaching of St Gregory, § 621, ed. Thomson, where the interpretation of the incident is close to the story here in a number of respects.

In the text of A corresponding to Gen. xi: 27, the words 'brother of Abraham' are added following 'Haran'. Instead of Nahor, Ἰπων 'Ara' is found. This does not appear to be a reference to the Armenian hero Ara the Beautiful. According to Armenian tradition, he was a descendant of Japheth: see Moses of Choren, I, 5, ed. Venice 1955, p. 30. The reading is best explained as a dittographic rendering of the following name. In B, as noted above, the material corresponding to Gen. xi: 12, 20, on the generations of Shem, occurs before the material dealing with the Tower of Babel. Just as there, following the reference to Nahor, the words 'in his day men fall into sin' are to be found, so in A, after the birth of Terah, we read ἤ τὴν ἅπαν ἐξεσσάρισαν ἐπὶ ἀρχήν ἑαυτῶν ἔπεσαν υπὸ τῆς ἀλήθειας ἡμῶν 'and in his day all the earth was worshipping idols'. Moreover, of Gen. xi: 29, only the birth of Abraham remains, the other names being omitted.

II. The Story of Noah

10 Gen. xi: 10, 22, 24, 26 1, 29, 30.

A 11 bι Ἰωνιδ ὄντωσαμεν ἀριστοτελέστερον ἐστι διαφωμένως ὡς ἔλεγχος ἐτήσιος ἧς ἄρα ἐνομίζετο ἡ πλῆθος τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλ' ἐνωμένος ὑπὸ τῶν καθηκόντων τοῦ θρόνου, ὡς ἐνόμισεν τῆς περιπλάνησις τῆς πλῆθους. And at that time men did not know God, for they were worshippers of idols—some of the air and others of the water. And

93
Abraham looked at the stars and thought that they are God. When the moon came, he said, ‘This it is which is great.’ When the sun came, he said, ‘This is God, which is greater than the other and more light-giving.’ When he saw that all these came and went, they seemed to him like servants, and he said this, ‘They are not God but servants.’ Then he held his hands on high and said, ‘O God! who are hidden and not seen, and all these are your servants, show me yourself.’ And God appeared immediately unto him and said, ‘I have given this land to your seed.’ And Abraham built an altar where the Lord had appeared to him. Behold! He was an idol worshipper and unlearned, but he recognized God. He found God and he became like God and the father of all believers, in whose bosom all the worthy rest. From the Flood up to Abraham is 942 years. And Abraham dwelt where the first tent was, and he was hospitable and did not eat food (or: bread) without a guest. And Satan obstructed the way and for forty days no guest came to him, and he

bl զհուսագ որոշվեի ‘And Abraham built’: So Gen. xii: 7-8.
ոչխի առաջահրավիրվում ‘the father of all believers’: This expression recalls Rom. iv: 16.

ŋոնք եփմ ‘in whose bosom’: The expression ‘bosom of Abraham’ is apparently of Jewish origin, cf. Test. Abraham A, end; IV Macc. xiii: 16. See also Luke xvi: 22 and the detailed discussion in H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck,
II. The Story of Noah

And at that time, men did not know God, for they were idol-worshippers. And Abraham said, 'The sun is God, and the moon.' And he saw that they came and went, and he said, 'They are servants of God.' And then he held his hands on high and said, 'God, who are hidden and not seen, | and all these are your servants, show yourself to me.' And immediately God appeared

And at that time, men did not know God, for they were idol-worshippers. And Abraham said, ‘The sun is God, and the moon.’ And he saw that they came and went, and he said, ‘They are servants of God.’ And then he held his hands on high and said, ‘God, who are hidden and not seen, | and all these are your servants, show yourself to me.’ And immediately God appeared


\( \text{무사는} \) ‘the... tent’: Cf. Gen. xiii: 3.

\( \text{은} \) \( \text{으} \) \( \text{며} \) \( \text{고} \) ‘and he was hospitable’: The tradition of Abraham’s hospitality is widespread, thus, e.g., \( \text{TB Shabbat} \) 127a; \( \text{Gen. R. liv} \) : 6, ed. Theodor and Albeck, II, pp. 583 f.; \( \text{Abot de-R. Natan} \) Version A, Chap. vii; Version B, Chap. xiv, ed. Schechter, pp. 33-34. In connection with the story of the three angels, it may be found also in \( \text{Gen. R. xlvi} \) : 8, 9, ed. Theodor and Albeck, II, pp. 484 f.; \( \text{TB Baba Mezi' a} \) 86b.

\( \text{무사는} \) ‘of the tent’: Cf. Gen. xviii: 1.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

to him and said, ‘I will give this land to your seed.’ And Abraham built an altar where the Lord appeared to him. And when he recognized God by means of wisdom, he became a father of faith for all the Christians. Those who are worthy rest in his bosom. From the flood to Abraham is 942 years. And Abraham dwelt...

(like A)

B 5r 12 Gen. xviii: 2 1, 3, 4, 7a, 8, 9, 10 + 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26.
A 109v 12 Gen. xviii: 2 1, 4, 7b, 10 + 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26.
A 110r

12 Gen. xviii: 2 1, 4, 7a, 8, 9, 10 + 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26.

A 4 B 5
A 109v 12 Gen. xviii: 2 1, 4, 7a, 8, 9, 10 + 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26.
A 110r

A 109v 12 Gen. xviii: 2 1, 4, 7a, 8, 9, 10 + 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26.
II. The Story of Noah

13 It is the duty of every man to love and accept the holy and righteous.

For you it is good and advantageous to hate the sinner and the evil-doer and not to accept or befriend him, but to oppose the evil. For the evil does not lack where abomination is.

14 In Sodom and in Gomorrah, Lot was righteous. God brought him forth from the city and then he sent fire from heaven upon them, and it is still unextinguished in (its) burning.

In Sodom and Gomorrah Lot was righteous. Him alone God brought forth from the city. And he brought fire from heaven and destroyed all, for it is still burning.

15 who are the Ishmaelites, the Kurdish people are there,

13 The variants of B are mostly inconsequential to the meaning of this passage. Most noteworthy is that reading 'to hate and not to befriend the sinner and the evil-doer but to hate and to oppose the evil'. The injunction to love the righteous and to hate the wicked is seen as the moral to be drawn from the divine judgement about to be wreaked upon Sodom and Gomorrah.

15 This material is found only in A. It has been moved from its position in the biblical narrative preceding the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, and here follows that narrative, thus immediately heralding Isaac's birth.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

16 Gen. xvii: 16, xviii: 11, 

A110v خلاصه این واژه که در مورد دایم می‌باشد، بلکه بحثی در مورد عربی یکی از معنی‌ها می‌باشد. 

B6r چنان‌که وضوح باشد، به این ترتیب تایید کنیم که آتش‌زدایی بوده‌باشد. 

Gen. xxi: 2, 3, 5, 4, Gen. xvii: 27, 

B6r چنان‌که منه‌سنجی باشد، به این ترتیب تایید کنیم که آتش‌زدایی بوده‌باشد. 

A111r 17 Gen. xxii: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17. 

A112r 16 Suppl 1 خلاصه این واژه که در مورد دایم می‌باشد. 

'Whence shall this be for me?' And he said, 'It is easy for God to raise up a son for Abraham from these stones.' And they believed (cf. Gen. xviii: 14).

For God commanded him to circumcise, which was a sign and a seal of God, that they might bear me in mind, as in the case of the flood the rainbow in the clouds (was) for Noah.

16 The juxtaposition of Gen. xxii: 5, 4, and Gen. xvii: 27, gives the impression that Abraham and all his house were circumcised on the same day as Isaac. In rabbinic sources circumcision is referred to as 'the seal of Abraham'; see Exod. R. xix: 6; cf. Tanhuma, Zav, § 14; Yalqut Cant. § 993; see M. Smith, Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark, Cambridge (Mass.) 1973, p. 183, on the term.
II. The Story of Noah

18 Typological exegesis: Abraham is the type of God the Father, Isaac is Christ, the wood is the wood of the Cross, Abraham's sacrifice is God's sending of his Son.

19 Gen. xxiv: 2, 3, 4, 7,


And the servant went and brought Rebekah, a wife for Isaac.

A 113r Gen. xxv: 7, 21, 24, 25, 28,

for he was helpful to his mother

B 8r Gen. xxv: 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 33.

20 Gen. xxvii: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10,

he brought and skinned the kids and placed the skins upon his hands on account of the hair.

A 114r Gen. xxvii: 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, the garment... which was Esau's;

A 114v Gen. xxvii: 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35,

For it was the law that each father blessed the first-born, and made

19 In B, at the beginning of this section, in place of Gen. xxv: 7, and corresponding to it, is found the words which are the years of Abraham, 175 years, and he died'. B continues with the words and he commanded his servants' and then picks up with the end of Gen. xxiv: 3. The text that follows is changed and is even more radically abbreviated than in A. It contains part of the summary succeeding Gen. xxiv: 7, as follows: and the servants went and they brought Rebekah, a wife for Isaac'. The plural of 'servants' is to be noted in contrast with the singular in A and in the corresponding biblical text. Further, Gen. xxv: 7 is omitted. The continuation is more or less identical with A up to the end, except that it omits all of v. 34 and the last two words of v. 33.

20 In B the text is much abbreviated, giving the story very shortly. No material additional to that in A is to be observed, and, although generally B is further from the biblical text, occasionally it is closer to the Bible in phraseology than A.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

(him) master of all. But it was the will of God that Jacob, was [ ] him the father should bless and make (him) the master of all. On this account he rendered Isaac blind, who blessed Jacob and did not know. Afterwards his eyes improved while he blessed.

Gen. xxvii: 36, 37, 41.

And Jacob fled and went to Haran. And Jacob said, 'May the God of my father be with me.'

Typological exegesis: An addition, following v. 18, contains a long passage dealing with Jacob's vision of the ladder. According to this, the standing stone which he erected is the type of the Cross, the oil poured upon it is the Chrism, the descent of Jacob to Mesopotamia is Christ's descent to the World. The place where Jacob slept is identified with Jerusalem, the stone upon which he slept is that upon which Abraham mounted to take the ram, Isaac's surrogate, and also that placed upon the grave of Christ, Jacob's sleep is Christ's death, the ladder is the mystery of the Cross, 'And the descent and ascent of the angels — this is that men ascend to heaven and angels descend to earth and they are mixed with

22 Typological exegesis: An addition, following v. 18, contains a long passage dealing with Jacob's vision of the ladder. According to this, the standing stone which he erected is the type of the Cross, the oil poured upon it is the Chrism, the descent of Jacob to Mesopotamia is Christ's descent to the World. The place where Jacob slept is identified with Jerusalem, the stone upon which he slept is that upon which Abraham mounted to take the ram, Isaac's surrogate, and also that placed upon the grave of Christ, Jacob's sleep is Christ's death, the ladder is the mystery of the Cross, 'And the descent and ascent of the angels — this is that men ascend to heaven and angels descend to earth and they are mixed with

22 Typological exegesis: An addition, following v. 18, contains a long passage dealing with Jacob's vision of the ladder. According to this, the standing stone which he erected is the type of the Cross, the oil poured upon it is the Chrism, the descent of Jacob to Mesopotamia is Christ's descent to the World. The place where Jacob slept is identified with Jerusalem, the stone upon which he slept is that upon which Abraham mounted to take the ram, Isaac's surrogate, and also that placed upon the grave of Christ, Jacob's sleep is Christ's death, the ladder is the mystery of the Cross, 'And the descent and ascent of the angels — this is that men ascend to heaven and angels descend to earth and they are mixed with

22 Typological exegesis: An addition, following v. 18, contains a long passage dealing with Jacob's vision of the ladder. According to this, the standing stone which he erected is the type of the Cross, the oil poured upon it is the Chrism, the descent of Jacob to Mesopotamia is Christ's descent to the World. The place where Jacob slept is identified with Jerusalem, the stone upon which he slept is that upon which Abraham mounted to take the ram, Isaac's surrogate, and also that placed upon the grave of Christ, Jacob's sleep is Christ's death, the ladder is the mystery of the Cross, 'And the descent and ascent of the angels — this is that men ascend to heaven and angels descend to earth and they are mixed with

21 The text of B draws on Gen. xxviii: 20. At v. 2, A reads 'Laban' for 'Bethuel' of the Bible. At v. 4, to 'the blessing of Abraham your father' A adds 'and of Isaac your father'.

22 In Jewish sources the place is identified with Mount Moriah: Pirque de-R. Eliezer, Chap. xxxv; Ginzberg, Legends, I, pp. 349 f., V, p. 289, n. 130. The stone, according to some sources, is the stone of the binding of Isaac (ibid., V, p. 289, n. 130). This interpretation of the ascent and descent of the angels is not to be
II. The Story of Noah

one another. And the steps of the ladder are the seven spheres of the heavens which contain the seven planets. And again, the seventy years which his children were in Babylon.'

And he served him for seven years. And he took Leah his daughter for himself as wife. And Leah bore Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun. And he served him seven more years and he took Rachel, his daughter, and she bore Joseph, Benjamin, Dan, Naphthali, Gad and Asher. They bore Jacob twelve sons. And Jacob said to Laban, his father-in-law, 'I shall serve you for another seven years. Give me, this year, the lambs of the flock, whichever are born with various colours.' And he gave (them) to him. And they all bore various coloured (young), and he did not give (them). And Laban said, 'Next year I shall give you all the dark-spotted ones which are born.'

observed elsewhere, but Elijah's ascent to heaven is mentioned as one of the things revealed on this occasion (ibid., p. 107). The symbolism of the steps of the ladder may be compared with the sources and materials about the seven-fold ladder of ascent and descent of the souls and of the heavenly spheres, assembled by H. Lewy, The Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy, Cairo 1956, pp. 413 ff.

23 The supplement of A and partly of B is a summary of Gen. xxix and xxx: 1-36. The supplement of B is a connecting sentence, cf. Gen. xxx: 25. It is required by the shorter text of this MS.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

And Jacob said to Laban, 'Let me go to my father's house.'

Typological exegesis: Jacob is the type of Christ, his two wives are the mystery of the Church or of the Jews and the Gentiles, his twelve sons are the twelve Prophets or the twelve Disciples.

Jacob lived seventy years in servitude to his father-in-law on account of Esau his brother. He who went forth from his father's house empty and without provision, sought not and strove not, and God was with him who [ ].

Both with flocks and with children, with a herd and with a great multitude. He set forth and went to Isaac his father. And he feared Esau. In secret he went forth from his father-in-law. And Jacob said, 'What do I fear from Esau? He was gluttonous, with the soup I deceived him' [incomprehensible sentence]. Esau came and he bowed down to him. And Jacob went to the land of the Canaanites.

24 The typological exegesis is much abbreviated in B.
25 In B the words \(\text{\textit{\ldots}}}\ldots\text{\textit{\ldots}}\) \(\text{\textit{\ldots}}}\ldots\text{\textit{\ldots}}\) conclude fol. 8v. Although the modern page numbering gives the following folio as 9r, in fact a leaf has been lost as is indicated.
II. The Story of Noah

...and sanctify yourselves. For his father-in-law and wives and servants were idol-worshippers. They sanctified themselves and came to Bethel.

And there he established the standing stone, and there the city of Jerusalem would be built. And there Jacob dwelt.

by the old numbering referred to above, in the introductory remarks to this Part. This lost leaf is the concluding leaf of the first extant quire, which evidently bore the page numbers \( \text{2P}, n \). Page \( \text{nw} = \text{present}\) 9r bears the fascicle number 9 in the bottom margin.

27 The tradition identifying Bethel with Jerusalem is also to be found above, A fol. 116r (see above, commentary on § 22).
III. THE STORY OF JOSEPH

The story is carried from Joseph’s descent into Egypt up to Moses’ flight to Midian. The following episodes are included: Joseph Sold into Egypt (1-3), Joseph in his Master’s House (4), Joseph in Prison (5), Pharaoh’s Dream and Joseph’s Promotion (6), Joseph and his Brothers (7), Joseph (8), the Deaths of Jacob and his Sons (9), the Birth and Childhood of Moses, his Flight to Midian (10).

1 Gen. xxxvii: 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13-14,

Joseph took the bread to bring it to his brothers. He reached the field.

2 Gen. xxxvii: 18a, 19,

Reuben, the eldest brother, said, ‘Come, let us kill (him), we shall see what his dream will do!’

3 Gen. xxxvii: 25 + 28 1, 27a,

And they will bring (him) to their land. They gave (him) and sold (him) and took silver. And he

3 Suppl bl w---fjRhwnA bl uBrphwfwblhj phrwnh

2 For Gen. xxxvii: 21 and 22 the speakers have been reversed.

3 For the second and third sentences of the supplement, B reads: ‘And Pharoah’s
III. The Story of Joseph

was Pharaoh's chief eunuch. They took (him) and sailed to Egypt.


4 Gen. xxxix: 2a, 4b, 3b, 6b, 7, 8a, 9, 11 l, 9, 12, 16a, 17, 18, 19, 20 l.

And thus it was, and they brought (him) forth from prison.

And after three days, and Joseph's word was carried out. (xl: 34) And the man forgot Joseph.

6 Gen. xli: 1 l, 8, 9 l, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 l.

6 According to this text for Gen. xii: 42 Joseph is clothed in Pharaoh's cloak. In

chief eunuch brought (him) to Egypt'. The text of A appears to be confused at this point. The tradition of Joseph's transport to Egypt by sea is unusual.

6 According to this text for Gen. xli: 42 Joseph is clothed in Pharaoh's cloak. In
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

7 Gen. xlii: 1, 2,

A ἐπλήθη ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἐν ὁμοσπονδίᾳ ἐποίησεν θησαυρὸν τῷ Ἰσαὰκ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἄνδρων τουτούν

They took beast and silver, value of bread.

A 123r Gen. xlii: 3, 6b, 7, 9 |, 10a, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19–20,

B 11v

A 123v Gen. xliii: 15, 16 |, 17, 26, 30 |, 31, 32,

B 12r

A 124r Gen. xliiv: 1, 2, 3 |, 4, 5, 7a, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 |,

B 12v

A 124v Gen. xlv: 3b, 4 |, 5, 6, 9, 11,

κυριωθεὶς ἐπηρωθη ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ μεταφέρει τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ πατρὶ

The brothers went to Jacob their father

Gen. xlv: 14,

Gen. R. xc: 3, ed. Theodor and Albeck, III, p. 1102, it is emphasized that Joseph received golden ornaments and garments in place of the garment he removed in order to avoid sin. For v. 45 this text makes Asenath into Pharaoh's daughter.

7 According to this text for Gen. xlv: 9 the person with whom Joseph's cup would be found would become a slave; contrast the biblical text ad loc.
III. The Story of Joseph

And Jacob came to the land of the Egyptians. And Joseph went forth before him and bowed down to his father, and glorified him.

A 125r Gen. xlvii: 5, 6 |

And after this the Egyptians came to Joseph and said, 'Everything of ours is yours, we and our lives. Give us bread.' And Joseph said, 'Take seed and oxen and sow the ground, and there will be bread, food for you and for your children. And give one-fifth of the grain to Pharaoh.' And they said, 'Behold you have saved us.'

8 This material is presented in the form of a summary of Gen. xlvii: 15-26.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

And Jacob lived there fifteen years and he died. And on their entry into there they were seventy-five souls. And at the time of (his) death he called his twelve sons.

9 The supplement contains material corresponding to Gen. xlvii: 29.

10 The contents of Exod. i: 9-22 are presented in the form of a brief summary. According to B, two sons are born to Moses.
IV. THE STORY OF MOSES

The story is carried from the Burning Bush to the Death of Moses. The following episodes are included: Moses' Call (1), Moses and Pharaoh and the Plagues (2), the Red Sea (3-4), the Manna (5-6), Sinai (7-8), the Golden Calf (9), the Names of the Children of Israel (10), the Death of Moses (11).

1 Exod. iii: 1, 2, 4, 6 |, 7 |, 8, 10, 11, 12,
2 Exod. v: 1, 2,
3 Exod. viii: 8, 9-14 |, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21-23 |,
4 Exod. ix: 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 23, 25, 27, 28,

Exod. iv: 1, 2, 3, 4 |, 9, 10, 11, 12 |, 14, 15, 16, 27, 29, 30 |, 31.

For fire issued forth in the midst of the hail, and not a single hail-


2 For Exod. vii: 10 A relates that Moses cast down the rod before Pharaoh. B, as well as the Bible, attributes the feat to Aaron. A similar change of attribution may be observed for Exod. vii: 19.
Exod. vii: 19 and viii: 9-14, 21-23, are presented as brief summaries.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

stone fell on Israel. And by prayers he stopped...

Exod. ix: 35

And it will be a payment for the tortures of Israel to which they were condemned.

Exod. x: 3, 4, 5, 6a, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15a, 16, 18-19, 20, 22, 23a, 24, 25, 27,

And I shall not enter to slay the first-born, of which it shall be the sign.

And it shall be a sign, and I shall not enter to slay them.

Exod. xi: 1, 2

Exod. xii: 1—5, 7

Exod. xii: 13,

Suppl 1 b1 2°] + Ἑνθετῶν B / ix: 35 ἐνθετῶν A

A = Bible ἐνθετῶν B / x: 7 qwpmgrh] A = Bible qwpmgrh B / qh ἐπιθετῶν
A = Bible qh bθghq B / qwpmgrh B / x: 7b—20a totum] om B / x: 22

... by prayers he stopped...

Exod. xii: 28, 29, 30, 31 ||, 37, 40, 41, 42.

3 Exod. xiii: 1, 12, 10, 8, 9, 22.
IV. The Story of Moses

And they saw the children of Israel, as if they were walking on dry land. Then from [behind] there came forth a wind and forced all the riders into the sea. And he made another wind from ahead so that they did not overtake the people, until the Israelites went forth onto dry land, and Pharaoh was in the midst of the sea.


Typological exegesis: Moses is the type of Christ, his rod is the Cross, the sea is the Sea of Sins of Mankind. Or again, the people’s crossing of the sea is the type of Baptism, Moses is the Priest, the light which went into the sea is the Spirit of Grace in the Baptismal Font, Pharaoh is Satan. Moses split the sea and led the people through, Christ split the Sea of Sins with his Cross, freed men and drowned Satan and his hosts in the deeps.

Exod. xiv: 2 om B / xiv: 6 cf Bible
A = Bible ḫoḇrēḇā i B / ḫōḇrēḇā i A = Bible om B / xiv: 10 ḫōḇrēḇā l ‘Israel was afraid’ A = Bible b i ḫuḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā ‘And seeing them, the people were afraid’ B / xiv: 13 totum] om B / xiv: 16 ṣrā ḫōḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā i A = Bible ḫōḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā B / xiv: 19 ḫōḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā ‘he divided’ A ḫōḇrēḇā ḫōḇrēḇā ‘it was divided’ B / xiv: 22b, 24, 23a totum] om B Suppl qōwghān

111
And they came to Elim where there were twelve springs, which were | the type of the twelve apostles (of Christ: B) and seventy-two palm trees, the type of the seventy-two disciples (of Christ: B). | And they dwelt there.

which is the bread of angels.

sweet as honey, fat as oil.

And God gave them manna from heaven, bread of angels, and quail from the sea, water from the rock. The rock is the type of Christ
IV. The Story of Moses

which went after them wherever they moved. And for forty years, without labour, he preserved the children of Israel in the wilderness, and they murmured against God, for they were faithless. On account of this God kept them in the wilderness, that they might learn the worship of God. As an infant is nourished with milk and with care and then they give it bread and other solid foods, for they had been in a state of idol-worship. And the manna became whatever was necessary to man.

And the Lord God gave the quail from the sea and water from the rock. The rock was the type of Christ who went after them, who, without labour, preserved the Israelites. And whatever man needed, the manna became it in flavour.

And the golden urn was the type of the holy Virgin, and the manna of Christ.
And God said to Moses, 'Take you a stone tablet, and I shall write the Law upon it.' And Moses went and the seventy-two elders with him to Mount Sinai. And he prayed for forty days and forty nights. He ate no bread and drank no water. And God appeared to him and wrote upon the tablet with his finger the Ten Commandments. And he said, 'I am your God. You shall have no other God except me. And you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your self and with all your might. And you shall observe the Sabbath day. Honour your father and your mother, that it may be well with you upon the earth. And you shall love your neighbour as yourself. Do not commit adultery. Do not bear false witness. Do not kill. Do not steal. Do not covet.'
IV. The Story of Moses

And those who in their hearts were bowing down to the heifer, their stomachs swelled up and split, and they moaned like a heifer.

And of them, David and Solomon.

from whom the Antichrist will be born.

which is the type of the (witness of the: B) Church.

At that time there was no book (or: writing) and no law.

The book (or: writing) and the law were those Ten Commandments which Moses brought.

On this text the following should be noted. For Num. i: 24 (M.T. i: 23), Simeon has 50,300 in AB, and 59,300 in the Bible; for v. 25 (M.T. i: 26) Judah has 74,000 in AB and 74,600 in the Bible; for v. 31 (M.T. i: 33) in AB the figures for biblical Ephraim are given as 'Joseph' and those for Manasseh are omitted altogether.

Num. i: 37: The tradition that the Antichrist will be born of the tribe of Dan is an ancient one; see already Test. Dan v: 6.

Num. i: 41: In the Bible the total for this verse is 41,500, in AB 40,500. In all these numerical variations, B does not differ substantially from A.
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

11 Deut. xxxi: 14,
137v Deut. xxxiv: 5, 6.

A: b̄ ḫwŋb̄gh̄n qjn And they buried him.
B: b̄ ḫwŋb̄wmg qjn ḫn2mwly And the angel buried him.

11 On Armenian traditions of the death of Moses, see Stone, *Death of Moses*, pp. 118-121.
V. THE STORY OF JOSHUA SON OF NUN

The story is carried from the death of Moses to the anointing of David. The following two main episodes, generally much abbreviated, are included: Joshua's Leadership and the Crossing of the Jordan (1-3), and the Fall of Jericho (4-5). There follows a chronological epitome (6).

1 Then he set Joshua over the Tabernacle and blessed him.

Deut. xxxiv: 9,

B 22r Josh. i: 1b, 2a, 6a, 2b, 6b |

A 138r Josh. ii: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 |, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 18,

B 22v Josh. iii: 1 |, 6a.

A 138v 2 Typological exegesis: The contents of the Ark are described and the significance of each expounded: The staff is the type of the Cross, the tablets upon which the Ten Commandments are inscribed are the Gospel, the flask of manna is the Virgin.

3 And it shall be, when the feet of the priests who bear the ark shall enter the water, all the waters of the Jordan shall cease. (iii: 16)

And the waters shall turn back upwards, and they will go and return and enter into the place from which they issued forth, and like
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

Josh. iii: 13 

stones they were gathered together upon one another.

And all the waters of the Jordan returned to their sources. And the priests went and entered the river. (iii: 16) And the water, like stone, were gathered upon one another.

Josh. iii: 17

And Joshua said, 'Take twelve stones from the midst of the Jordan and build an altar.'

Josh. iv: 5

And God made Joshua mighty for the people of Israel. And they feared him, like Moses.

Josh. vi: 1

And Jericho was enclosed and fortified with a wall built around (?)

And the Lord said, 'Go around the city on six days without speaking and without sound and let not each of you hear your neighbour's voice.'
V. The Story of Joshua

And Jericho was fortified with seven walls of adamantine stone.

And Joshua said, 'Go around the city on six days and say, "Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy."'

And it flowed like water

and they slaughtered all quadrupeds.

5 Typological exegesis: Joshua is the type of Christ, and the Jordan is Human Nature. Joshua turned back the Jordan and stopped the sun for three hours. Christ, by his becoming man, returned man to the first glory which Adam had possessed, for Christ by his becoming man turned the sons of man into the sons of God. Jericho is the type of Hell, the Ark is the Cross, the twelve priests are the Twelve Apostles, the seven priests who had the trumpets are the Patriarchs. The silent circumambulation and the people's prayer to God and their sounding of the trumpet are Christ's crying out on the Cross, the destruction of Jericho at the cry of the trumpets is the destruction of Hell at Christ's cry. Jericho, which was destroyed, is Hell and its inhabitants, and their kings are Satan and his demons, 'And the Lord destroyed Hell, he brought forth its captives and led them to the kingdom and gave them the imperishable crown.'
Part Two: Biblical Paraphrases

From Adam until the Flood was 2242 years. From the Flood until the Tower (of Babel) 527 and from then until Abraham 417 years. From Abraham until Moses, until the Exodus from Egypt, 505 years, from the Exodus from Egypt until Solomon's Temple 480 years. From the first building of the Temple until the second building 511 years, and from then until the birth of Christ 518 years. Now from the beginning, from Adam until the birth of Christ is altogether 5198 years, which enters into 6000. And Christ came and was born of the holy Virgin.

6 On this and other chronological passages, see the discussion in the introductory remarks to this Part.
VI. THE STORY OF SAMUEL

The following two episodes are included: The Story of Samuel (1), the Story of Saul (2-4).

1 I Sam. i: 1, 2, 3-11,
I Sam. iii: 4, 10, 11-14,
B 25v I Sam. iv: 1, 2, 4 | 6, 7, 8, 10-11 |,
A 142t 1 Sam. v-vi.

2 I Sam. viii: 4 | 5,
While there were no kings, there were priests and prophets and judges, and they were the kings. Whatever was necessary, they asked of God and related to the people.

And he was of the tribe of the youngest son of Jacob, and the kingdom was of the tribe of Judah.

3 I Sam. x: 1,
And for forty years previously he

1 Title | B om A | I Sam. i: 2 Ἰησοῦς ὑνερ | A Ἰησοῦς B / iii: 10-11 Ἰησοῦς ὑνερ | A Ἰησοῦς B / iv: 8 fin B | ὑγιασμός B / ὑγιασμός B ‘and the name of God dried up the Jordan’
A ὑγιασμός ὑγιασμός ‘the name of God’ om B | 2 I Sam. viii: 4 ὑγιασμός | A = Bible om B | Suppl 1 Ἰησοῦς B | ὑγιασμός B / ὑγιασμός B / ὑγιασμός B Suppl 2 B | ὑγιασμός | ‘And he was’ --- Ἰησοῦς ὑνερ ‘of Jacob’ om B | 3 Suppl 1 ὑγιασμός

1 In this section, I Sam. i: 3-11, iii: 11-14, and v-vi, are all presented in brief epitomes. For I Sam. iii: 4, ‘and the Lord called’, in the Bible, contrast AB ‘and the angel called’.
2 I Sam. viii: 8 is briefly summarized.
was king over the house of Israel. And he conducted the kingdom according to God. And all affairs of the land increased and God was with him. And when he transgressed, the holy spirit was taken away from Saul, and demons tormented him (I Sam. xvi : 14).

And he used to prophesy and say psalms and he would sing with the trumpet and with the zither and with the ten-stringed psaltery.

Behold the day of your death has arrived.

And Samuel took the horn of oil and went to the house of Jesse and said, "Bring me your sons, for the Lord has chosen (a king: B) from them.'
The following two main episodes are included: The Election and Crowning of David (10), the Story of Absalom (2-3).

And when David came, Samuel said, 'This one the Lord has chosen and upon him the holy spirit has rested and from him the virgin mother of Christ will be born.'

I Sam. xvi: 13,

I Sam. xvii: 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 26, 32 ll, 33, 34, 35a, 36, 37, 38 l, 39b, 40 l, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47b, 48 l, 49 l, 50, 51, 52.

And David asked of God, 'Give me a beautiful son who might be like Adam.' And the Lord said to David, 'Adam was beautiful, and the work of my hands, and he did not observe my commandments. What will your beautiful son do to you? I will give you a son.'
And the Lord God gave him a son and he named his name Absalom. He grew great and became mighty, and he was, in form, like Adam, and the hair of his head was like gold. And David had no rest from him. And all (the time) he was at war. He went and rebelled against his father and came, riding on a horse, and led (or: took) prisoners and goods. And the forces of the king went forth after him. And David commanded his forces, 'Harm not my son Absalom.' And he himself did not go forth. The servants went after him.

And he mourned in his house and closed the door. The army and the princes came and said to David, 'If you sit at home, they will rise up against us!' And they brought (him) forth from mourning.
VII. The Story of David

I Kings i: 32, 33, 39.

I Kings ii: 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11.
VIII. THE STORY OF SOLOMON

The text of this story is particularly close to the Septuagint.

And give me wisdom.

This part of the Paraphrases also mainly follows the biblical text. It is faithful to the LXX order of the passages dealing with Solomon’s wealth and glory (I Kings iv: 17 ff.), cf. H.B. Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge 1914, pp. 237 ff. It also reflects part of the addition to be found in LXX after I Kings ii: 35, as also does the Armenian Bible, but not that occurring after I Kings ii: 46, again resembling the Armenian Bible, and see Swete, ibid., p. 247. In B a quire is missing, as is evident from the quire numbers at the bottom of fol. 30v and 31r. The lost quire evidently contained the end of The Story of Solomon and the commencement of The Story of John the Baptist. The text extant ends on fol. 30v., with v. 27.
The first two texts published below in this Part, *The Lives of the Prophets* (Section I) and *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets* (Section II), contain tales and traditions relating to the biblical prophets. They are followed by a collection of *Lists of Prophets' Names* (Section III). The texts belong to the hagiographic literature which builds upon and expands the meagre biographical information about the prophets to be found in the Bible itself. The first text or group of texts, *The Lives of the Prophets*, contains recitals concerning nine biblical seers. Six of the recitals are part of the Armenian version of the work extant in Greek, often attributed (mistakenly) to Epiphanius, the *Vitae Prophetarum*. This writing is found in numerous Greek recensions, edited in full by Th. Schermann, whose edition serves as the basis for all references here to the Greek version. Schermann distinguished four main recensions: two were attributed to Epiphanius, and one to Dorotheus, while one is anonymous. This last, which is generally admitted to be the best of the Greek recensions, divides into two groups in certain sections of the text.

In this Part, the Greek version is referred to by the abbreviation Gr. Where individual recensions of the Greek are mentioned separately, the sigla listed below, in the introductory remarks to *The Lives of the Prophets*, are employed. Occasionally a variant reading of the Greek manuscripts of a single recension is quoted.

The sigla referring to the Greek manuscripts follow those used by Schermann, only here the recension siglum always precedes that of the Greek manuscript.
I. LIVES OF THE PROPHETS

The Armenian version of the *Lives* of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, as well as of the twelve minor prophets, was published by Yovsep’ianc and translated into English by Issaverdens. This range of *Lives* is often found in manuscript copies of the Armenian Bible. The first four *Lives* published below, those of Nathan, Elijah, Elisha and Zechariah ben Jehoiada, are found in hagiographic collections, as was noted in the preliminary announcement of the identification of these texts in 1969. Five further *Lives* occur in a single copy, the notable MS Erevan Mat. 1500. Two of these are also found in Greek, those of Eli (also called Selum by the text) and of Joad. This is the name given to the anonymous prophet of I Kings xiii: 20-25 and II Kings xxiii : 17; other forms of this name are found in Greek, for example, Joam, Joath, Joab. The three *Lives* not found in Greek are those of Moses, and of The Three Children (the three companions of Daniel), and a second *Life* of Zechariah ben Jehoiada, quite different from that referred to above. The Armenian text of *The Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada*, drawn from MS Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 1B, was published by Bogharian in 1966. This was identified and translated into English, and published in 1969. *The Life of Moses* was published in a preliminary translation in 1973, and a detailed study of *The Lives of the Three Children* has also been made, referred to below in the discussion of this text.

*The Lives of the Prophets* are known in Armenian by the title ‘The Deaths of the Prophets’. This may be comparable with the title for the work

---

1 Yovsep’ianc’, pp. 207-227; Issaverdens, pp. 143-156.
4 Presumably a corruption of the name of his birthplace, Greek Σηλώμ, which has somehow become an alternative personal name of the prophet.
5 See also ‘Joed’ quoted by Torrey, *Lives*; Stone, *Proceedings*, p. 74. This form is not cited by Schermann.
6 *Jerusalem Catalogue*, I, p. 18.
7 Stone, *Proceedings*, p. 75. The following corrections should be made to that translation: 1.4, transpose brackets to read ‘him and buried [him] with his fathers’; 1.8, for ‘(or: knowledge)’ read ‘(or: revelation)’.
8 Stone, *Death of Moses*, pp. 118-121.
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

Concerning the Death of Adam, published above, Part One, Section II.

Since the Armenian version of the Lives is very close to the Greek text, a retroversion into Greek has been prepared of those Lives for which a Greek text exists. This is a task that can rarely be undertaken with any measure of certainty. Here, however, the two versions so resemble one another that the retroversion proved possible. Those Lives extant only in Armenian are translated into English.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The texts published here are based on five manuscripts, three of which are copies of the dumanbyan (Collection of Homilies) in the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, and the fourth is the great Miscellany, MS Erevan Mat. 1500. A further manuscript is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. They are listed below and contain the following Lives:

X Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 1B, dated 1418, written in Jerusalem.\(^9\) Contains the Lives of: Nathan, p. 599, col. 2; Elijah, pp. 601-602; Elisha, p. 760; Zechariah ben Jehoiada, p. 733.\(^10\)

Y Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 154 C, dated 1737, written in Jerusalem.\(^11\) Contains the Lives of: Nathan [p. 1320]; Elijah [p. 1323]; Elisha [p. 1524]. The Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada is missing from this manuscript.

Z Jerusalem Arm. Patr. 282, dated 1331, written in Jerusalem.\(^12\) Contains the Lives of: Nathan, p. 66; Elisha, p. 87; Elijah, p. 87; Zechariah ben Jehoiada, p. 580.

H Erevan Mat. 1500, written between 1271 and 1288, in Ayrivank’, Armenia, a miscellany. Contains the complete text of the Bible and various apocryphal works following the Book of Daniel, including the Paralipomena of Jeremiah.\(^13\) In it, the Lives of the Prophets\(^14\) contains the Lives published by Yosvep’ianc’ and also those of the following: Elijah, fol. 362r; Elisha, fol. 362r; The Three Children, fol. 363r; Moses, fol. 363r; Eli (also called Selum), fol. 363r; Joad, fol. 363r; Zechariah (ben Jehoiada), fol. 363r; Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, fol. 363r.

9 Jerusalem Catalogue, I, pp. 1-42.
10 In the Jerusalem Catalogue (p.18) it is stated in error that the Life occurs on p. 773 of the MS; see also, Stone, Proceedings, p. 75.
12 Ibid., II, pp. 93-103.
13 See above, Part One, Section II, Concerning the Death of Adam, commentary on superscript and references there.
14 Erevan Catalogue, I, col. 568.
I. Lives of the Prophets

W Paris, Bibl. nat. Arm. 110, completed in 1194 in the village of Nelgug, near Nikopolis, Tönakan.\textsuperscript{15} Contains the \textit{Lives} of Nathan, foll. 451v-452r; Elijah, fol. 469r-v; Elisha, fol. 462r; Zechariah ben Jehoiada, fol. 459r.

It is notable that the first three manuscripts were written in Jerusalem. The texts of X and Y are very close. Z is of a different character and is close to H. The text of the second column of fol. 363r of H is badly blurred in the photograph which was at our disposal. As a result one or two readings remain doubtful. The manuscript has a rather peculiar orthography which has been standardized throughout. W sometimes falls with XY and sometimes with Z. It has a number of variants from the other witnesses, none of which seems markedly superior.

B The Armenian Synaxarion. Certain of the texts published below are related to the \textit{Lives} of Elijah, Elisha and Nathan as they are to be found in the recension of the Armenian Synaxarion published by G. Bayan.\textsuperscript{16}

The conclusion of this text of the \textit{Life} of Elijah varies radically from the 1834 Constantinople edition of the Synaxarion, included in Bayan’s apparatus. His own text is based on MS Paris Bibl. nat. Arm. 180, of the year 1316.\textsuperscript{17} For the \textit{Life} of Elijah this text is very close to that of HZ, in particular to Z. For the \textit{Lives} of Elisha and Nathan, however, this textual relationship is more remote. Since the Synaxarion texts of these two \textit{Lives} do not appear to preserve any Greek readings not reflected by the other texts which are published here, their variants are not included in the apparatus.

THE GREEK TEXTS

Greek \textit{Lives} of the prophets concerned are extant in the recensions enumerated in the following list, according to Schermann’s edition:

\begin{itemize}
\item[16] In: R. Graffin and F. Nau (eds), \textit{Patrologia Orientalis}, Paris 1930 (Elijah, XXI, pp. 750 f.; Elisha, XXI, pp. 584 f.; Nathan, XIX, pp. 147 f.).
\end{itemize}
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

Nathan

EI Epiphanius Recensio Prior (Schermann, p. 4)
D Dorothei Recensio (Schermann, p. 54)
An Recensio Anonyma (Schermann, pp. 89-90)

Two recensions of An exist for the Life of Nathan as for the Life of Eli. These are printed separately by Schermann,\(^{18}\) using the following texts:

For An I: A MS Vat. Gr. 2155, Codex Marchalianus.
For An II: B Codex Coislinianus 205.

The witnesses to An I are:
D MS Coisl. 224.

The printed editions of these are indicated by lower-case letters.

The witnesses to An II are:
B1 MS Philadelph. 1141.
E MS Paris Bibl. nat. 1712.
F MS Fragmenta Leyd. Voss. 46.

Editions are similarly indicated.

Elijah

EI Epiphanius Recensio Prior (Schermann, pp. 6-7)
D Dorothei Recensio (Schermann, p. 52)
EII Epiphanius Recensio Altera (Schermann, pp. 66-67)
An Recensio Anonyma (Schermann, pp. 93-94)

Manuscripts of AD\(^1\) of An contain much additional material at the end of the passage given in the text below. Otherwise EI, EII and An are rather close for this Life.

Elisha

EI Epiphanius Recensio Prior (Schermann, p. 7)
D Dorothei Recensio (Schermann, p. 53)
EII Epiphanius Recensio Altera (Schermann, p. 67)
An Recensio Anonyma (Schermann, pp. 95-96)

Zechariah ben Jehoiada (Version 1)

EI Epiphanius Recensio Prior (Schermann, p. 23)
D Dorothei Recensio (Schermann, pp. 53-54)
EII Epiphanius Recensio Altera (Schermann, p. 59)
An Recensio Anonyma (Schermann, pp. 96-99)

In EII it is combined with the Life of Zechariah ben Berechiah, and commences on Schermann, p. 59, l. 8.

\(^{18}\) Details of the various MSS of the Greek text are provided by Schermann, pp. XXIV-XXIX.
I. Lives of the Prophets

Eli (Selum)

EI Epiphanii Recensio Prior (Schermann, pp. 4-5)
D Dorothei Recensio (Schermann, p. 54)

An I Recensio Anonyma, first type (Schermann, pp. 91-92)
An II Recensio Anonyma, second type (Schermann, pp. 91-92)

EI and D are attributed to Achias (Ahijah). D is greatly abbreviated, containing the opening and the conclusion only. EI contains much additional material.

Joad

EI Epiphanii Recensio Prior (Schermann, pp 5-6)
D Dorothei Recensio (Schermann, p. 54)
An Recensio Anonyma (Schermann, pp. 93)

D is much abbreviated.

THE ARMENIAN TEXT AND THE GREEK RECONSTRUCTION

In preparing the Greek retroversions of these Lives, the following considerations had to be taken into account. The affinities of the Armenian text of The Lives of the Prophets within the Greek textual tradition vary somewhat from one Life to another. An examination of the readings of The Life of Nathan shows that the Armenian version consistently reflects a Greek text close to An II. In particular, a series of readings may be observed which are close to E of that recension, a manuscript that shows a rather variant text form. Our Greek reconstruction of The Life of Nathan is based on the text of An II as printed by Schermann. Any reading of the Armenian text which seems to imply a Greek Vorlage varying from the text of An II is recorded below in the commentary.

The Armenian text is generally based on X, but on occasion readings of Y, Z or H are preferred. All such instances are clearly noted in the critical apparatus.

For The Life of Elijah the superiority of X is not as marked as for The Life of Nathan. It has been used as the text, however, for the sake of consistency, especially since Y and Z are not notably superior. As with The Life of Nathan, preferable readings of Y, Z or H have been introduced into the text within angular brackets in a few instances. The Armenian is clearly unlike D, which differs considerably from the other three Greek recensions. In view of the similarity of EI, E II and An, the Greek reconstruction of The Life of Elijah is eclectic in character, choosing the reading closest to Armenian. As with The Life of Nathan, the Armenian is, in a number of instances, especially close to An E.

The affinities of the Armenian text of The Life of Elisha generally
resemble those observed already for the two preceding Lives. The same procedure has been followed as for The Life of Elijah.

An Armenian text of The Life of Eli occurs only in H. This text is close, consistently, to An II and is particularly close to E and to a lesser extent to B1 of that recension. These texts have been followed in preparing the Greek retroversions. A similar situation applies to The Life of Joad.

LIVES EXTANT IN ARMENIAN ONLY

The three Lives extant in Armenian only are found in H. For these, English translations are given below. They are as follows:

Life of Moses

This text is not found in any other version. The name of Moses is to be found in the Greek catalogues of prophets published by Schermann as well as in certain of the Armenian lists which are printed at the end of this Part. In its present form the text is clearly Christian, as indicated by the expressions 'my ears heard the word of the Redeemer and the voice of the Holy Spirit'. However, the Christian elements are not more prominent here than in other parts of the Armenian Lives of the Prophets. The discussion with the angel may be a reflex of the traditions surrounding the death of Moses.

Lives of The Three Children

This text is not found in any other version. It appears to be a summary of an alternative form of the material presented in the fourth recension of the Armenian Synaxarion for the feast of these martyrs, drawing on a tradition of Syriac origin. The reference in the text to the region of Koft'n seems to prove the Armenian origin of this body of material as it stands. The prince Mazlut'a, ruler of Babylon, cannot be clearly identified, nor can any of the far more extensive circumstantial details found in the Synaxarion form of the tradition be placed in a clear historical context. The full range of traditions concerning The Three Children, extensive in both Armenian and Georgian, has been examined elsewhere.

21 M.E. Stone, 'An Armenian Tradition Relating to the Death of the Three Companions of Daniel', Le Muséon, LXXXVI (1973), pp. 111-123. Here the Armenian evidence is presented in full and its origins in Greek and Syriac sources discussed. For the Georgian inventio of the relics of The Three Children, see G. Garitte, 'L’invention géorgienne des Trois Enfants de Babylone',

134
Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada (Version 2)

The Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada found in H is not in agreement with any known form of apocryphal writing on this prophet. It is clearly the result of learned commentary by a writer who knew that there should be a Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada but did not have, or did not use, the text published here from the Jerusalem manuscripts. Certain connections are to be observed between this second form of The Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada and the text relating to Zechariah in The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets, published below in this Part, Section II. The text of this Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada was clearly composed by a Christian, as the expression 'in the books of the Jews' indicates.

Title թթավորող բն ռազ Z 1 ավ Z ազատ Z զարգաց Z զարգաց' է է Z /
զարգաց[ի] W corrupt / է է Z բռնաբեր Z բռնաբեր է Z է /
om W / (ք) Z Z /
om XY / (ք) զարգաց Z զարգաց[ի] է W / զարգաց[ի] է W /
3 ջրա W / ջրա W /
աճե W /
4 ջրա W /
աճե W /
5 ջրա W /
աճե W /
6 ջրա W /
աճե W /
7 ջրա W /
աճե W /
Ան II E. The other MSS and recensions vary; An I omits the phrase.

1 ավ է Z զարգաց Z մոտոց Հայ թորիկ E Ե. Նադայ քաղաք թորիկ Z Հայ
of Z has no parallel to the Greek texts. That of An II E prefaces NaOv to the
phrase. Perhaps XY and Z each preserve half of an original reading. The text of An I
has a variant word order. That of E I has եգետո.

2 զարգաց[ի] Գաբապ: An I D. The spellings vary. Little weight can be attached to
such readings.

An II E. Missing from An I and all the other MSS of An II.

Occurs in E I.

Ան II E. The other MSS and recensions vary; An I omits the phrase.

1 ավ Z զարգաց[ի] առավ Հայ թորիկ: XY = An II E. NaOv քաղաք թորիկ Z Հայ
of Z has no parallel to the Greek texts. That of An II E prefaces NaOv to the
phrase. Perhaps XY and Z each preserve half of an original reading. The text of An I
has a variant word order. That of E I has եգետո.

2 զարգաց[ի] Գաբապ: An I D. The spellings vary. Little weight can be attached to
such readings.

An II E. Missing from An I and all the other MSS of An II.

Occurs in E I.

Ան II E. The other MSS and recensions vary; An I omits the phrase.

1 ավ Z զարգաց[ի] առավ Հայ թորիկ: XY = An II E. NaOv քաղաք թորիկ Z Հայ
of Z has no parallel to the Greek texts. That of An II E prefaces NaOv to the
phrase. Perhaps XY and Z each preserve half of an original reading. The text of An I
has a variant word order. That of E I has եգետո.

2 զարգաց[ի] Գաբապ: An I D. The spellings vary. Little weight can be attached to
such readings.

An II E. Missing from An I and all the other MSS of An II.

Occurs in E I.

Ան II E. The other MSS and recensions vary; An I omits the phrase.

1 ավ Z զարգաց[ի] առավ Հայ թորիկ: XY = An II E. NaOv քաղաք թորիկ Z Հայ
of Z has no parallel to the Greek texts. That of An II E prefaces NaOv to the
phrase. Perhaps XY and Z each preserves half of an original reading. The text of An I
has a variant word order. That of E I has եգետո.

2 զարգաց[ի] Գաբապ: An I D. The spellings vary. Little weight can be attached to
such readings.

An II E. Missing from An I and all the other MSS of An II.

Occurs in E I.

Ան II E. The other MSS and recensions vary; An I omits the phrase.

1 ավ Z զարգաց[ի] առավ Հայ թորիկ: XY = An II E. NaOv քաղաք թորիկ Z Հայ
of Z has no parallel to the Greek texts. That of An II E prefaces NaOv to the
phrase. Perhaps XY and Z each preserve half of an original reading. The text of An I
has a variant word order. That of E I has եգետո.

2 զարգաց[ի] Գաբապ: An I D. The spellings vary. Little weight can be attached to
such readings.

An II E. Missing from An I and all the other MSS of An II.

Occurs in E I.

Ան II E. The other MSS and recensions vary; An I omits the phrase.
NAΘΑΝ

1 Οὔτος ἡν προφήτης ἐν ἡμέρας Δαυιδ ἐκ φυλῆς Λευ. 2 Ἐγένεται δὲ ἐν Γαβραδίν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξε τὸν Δαυιδ νόμον Κυρίου. καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι ἐν Βησσαβεί παραβῆσαι ὁ Δαυιδ, ἔσπευσε τοῦ ἔλθειν καὶ ἀναγείλαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ φυλάξασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας. 3 καὶ ἐνεπόδισεν αὐτὸν Βελιάρ. Ἐρχόμενος γὰρ εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ εὗρε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν νεκρόν τινα γυμνὸν ἐσφραγισμένον ὑπὸ τινὸς. 4 καὶ ἀποδοῦσάμενος τὴν στολὴν καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτῷ ἐπέμεινεν ἐκεῖ τὸ θάψα τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Δαυιδ. 5 καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἐποίησε Δαυιδ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. 6 καὶ γνοὺς ὁ προφήτης τῷ πνεύματι, ὑπέστρεψε πενθῶν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας. 7 καὶ

ἡ δωλωψωμπρήν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν: In An II, the phrase occurs only in E. It is also to be found in An I, in EI and in D, but in all of these the total sentence is very different. In all Gr. it precedes εὑρέ. In W word order varies.

ἐβνθωνι νεκρόν: XY; Z adds ἀνθρωπον preceding νεκρόν and ἑρμήβος ἀν 'as if' following it. There is no Gr. parallel to this.

ἐν εἰς τίνα: No parallel is to be found in Gr., which reads παρασκευασμένον (An I) or κείμενον (An II, EI, D) at this point. The word order is closest to An I, νεκρόν κείμενον γυμνὸν ἐσφραγισμένον.

ἐν ἐντ χυμνόν: XY; omitted by Z. Present in all Gr.

Καὶ εἰς ὅποι τίνος: No parallel in Gr.

ξυποθῆλδῦ τὴν στολήν: This idea, of Nathan's covering of the dead, is found only in An II. After this word, ZW add 'from himself'. To this, and also to the omission by these MSS of the next word καὶ, and the reading περιβάλλει for περιβαλῶν, there is no Gr. parallel. The reconstruction here is based on the text of XY which is identical with An II at this point.

βουη βαί: An II θέλων βαία. The text of Arm. does not read θέλων. That of E I has τοῦ βαία, but the sentence differs.

ὁ νεκρόν: W has qψων 'him', against all Gr. witnesses.

τῶν νεκρῶν: Arm. has a finite verb. The only parallel in Gr. is An II, καὶ εν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ =An I, E I.

5 ὑποπρέπει: XYW=E I, An. The reading ἡσυχάσατως of Z has no Gr. parallel. ὡς ὁ νομός Δαυιδ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν =E I. Cf. also An II Ε τὴν ἀμαρτίαν Δαυιδ; An I A omits Δαυιδ; An II has ἐποίησε τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.

6 ὑποπρεπες ἁ προφήτης: This appears only in A II E. The word order in Arm. is slightly different. The nominative of XY or genitive of Z are both possible.

βλ. υψωμ σε: Arm. has καὶ ἐπενή. For such translations of similar Greek constructions, cf. Gen. iv: 17, etc.

qυηβασάς: XYW; Z reads ποιλάς. There is no Gr. support for this.

7 βλ. ἄνάφας καὶ ητε. This exact text is to be found only in An II E. All other MSS exhibit greater or lesser textual variants. Z omits τὸν ἀνδρα αὐτῆς, against all Gr. witnesses.
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

8 ζωή του Κύριου. The text of An II reads ὁ θεός.
8 ζωή του Κύριου. This is a literal retroversion. The text of An II reads πενθούντα τὸν Ναου. ἔλεγεν. The participial construction, at least, may have lain behind Arm. See on πενθούν, above, v. 6.
8 ζωή του Κύριου. The reading ἀφτοῦ has no parallel in the Gr. tradition which reads αὐτὴ. From here to the end, only An II preserves the text.

9 ζωή του Κύριου προσέγχειν: XYW=Gr. ζωή του Κύριου. ‘was pleased’ of Z is perhaps an inner-Armenian development of the text of XYW.
9 ζωή του Κύριου. W reads ὁ θεός like An II E while the text of the other MSS = An II.
9 ζωή του Κύριου. ἐπὶ τὸν στεναγμὸν: XY read ἀποκλίθηκεν and Z the substantially synonymous ἀποκλίθηκεν. W has δημιουργεῖται ‘age’ which is corrupt.
9 ζωή του Κύριου. Τό τραύμα: =ZW: Gr. adds γεγενήθηκαί. Plural in XY.
ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν τὸν Οδρίαν τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν Κύριος ἔλεγξαι τὸν Δαυίδ, ὅτε ἔπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ναβάν ὅτι ἔπενθε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι δὴ ἐμοὶ γέγονεν ἡ ἀσέβεια αὐτοῦ. 9 καὶ προσέσχεν ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τὸν στεναχώδη αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπειδὴ διὰ σοῦ (τὸ τραύμα), καὶ διὰ σοῦ (ἡ) θεραπεία γενήσεται. 10 ἀπελθὼν (οὗτος ἄναστάς) οὖν ἔλεγξεις αὐτὸν ἀποκρύψῃ καὶ ἐποίησεν καθὼς ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος. 11 καὶ αὐτὸς γηράσας ἐν ἀγαθῷ γῆρα, ἐκοιμήθη καὶ ἐτάφη εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ.
Title Կանք ենթած ու ուտուց ձևուց է

1 ծիծ ենթած թեքրվեր (Ծաբերեկ) հ (նբեր) միաբան.
բեր բաներ ե (նպերք): քու (նքր) (աղբ) քու քառակհբեր : 2 քու երւինք ձմռ. ծիծ ենթած, երբ ուտուց երան քուառակի քու, 3 քու հ (ծիծեր) հարուրերայր պատդրիբ քու, քու դեր երուք այսին
իս կուլ. 4 քու երանք ձմռ. երան փախուստ։ պատերազմ
գավ խութանում։ 5 քու առ գավ խութանում էական։ քու

Title Կանք ենթած երթակի այլքառուն է ու ուտուց է քու երուք գբեր Z
ամ Հ ծիծ ենթած թեքրվեր 1 ծիծ---այլքառուն քու հ (նբեր)
երի մայր թեքրվեր քուրավերում W / ծիծ է / թեքրվեր
քա ՀZB / զարեկչեար H ամ Հ ամ ՀXYZB /
բաներ քառակհբեր ք W / երանառ HWB քառակհբ ք W
քառակհբ հե։ ը W / թեքրվեր ZWB թեքրվեր H / (աղբ)
ZHB ամ կեր XY թեքրվեր W / քառակհբեր W / քառակհբեր B / H
ռազաքը հեգան Հ 2 ծիծ W / ամ / ք W / երանառ W / երան
ZB թեքրվեր W թեքրվեր անդ W / ամ 3 քառակհբ
H / ք W / թ W / թ W / թ W / թ W / թ W / թ W / թ W / թ W
4 ամ ZB ամ W / երանառ H / ք W / ամ ZB /
երանառ H / ամ W / կեր H / ք W / ամ ZB /
երանառ H / ամ W / կեր H / ք W / ամ ZB /
երանառ H / ք W / ամ ZB / կեր H / ք W / ամ ZB /

Title: XY add 'of which tribe he was'; Z adds 'the prophet, whence he was and of
which tribe'; W reads simply 'Elijah the prophet'.

1 ծիծ ենթած թեքրվեր Հնազ ին Թեոբիտը: XY=An B1. Հնազ (ու E Il)
Թեոբիտը ին ZH=E II. For the first sentence W reads, with no Greek support, 'he
was of the tribe of Levi from the land of Thesba of the Hebrews'.

Ծաբերեկ եկ 'Արուակն': Այս Հ. Գր. գիտեց առավելի քանակում երեխա
ենթած, քու 'Արուակ։

(նբեր) եկ փուլեր: Այս Հ W և E II. The other Gr. texts omit եկ. The other
Արմ. MSS եկ եկ թեք փուլեր։ For similar variants with the definite article, see
The Life of Elisha, v. 1.

բաներ էկ: XY. The texts of ZH have the periphrastic բաներ W քն։ The Gr.
resections all present ուկasions which may, in fact, lie behind Arm. here. See also
above, The Life of Nathan, commentary on v. 6, փուլեր։

(աղբ) Գալադան: ZHWB. The text of X is corrupt, reading Գալադան which
is a correction from Գալադան.

(աղբ) ձմռ. Հ. Thus in An. The texts of An E and the other Gr. resections
read ձմռ. Those of Arm. XY read աղբ = ձմռ., graphically close to աղբ
= ձմռ։ The plural of XY doubtless depends on the reading of ZH, for աղբ
= ձմռ is plural tantum. փուլեր էկ 'gifts' of W is also derived from the ZH reading
and is plural. It seems unlikely, therefore, that two Greek readings are reflected
ΠΕΡΙ 'ΗΛΙΟΥ

1 'Ηλιάς ἦν Θεσβίτης ἐκ Αράβων, καὶ ὅκει ἐν Γαλαάδι ὅτι ἦν Θεσβίτης ἰδόμα ἦν τοῖς ἱερεύσιν. 2 καὶ ὅτε ἐτέχθη ὁ 'Ηλιάς εἰδέν ἢ μῆτρα αὐτοῦ Σοβχάξα ὅτι ἄνδρες λευκοφάνεις προσηγόρευον αὐτόν. 3 καὶ ἐν πορί ἐσπαργάνουν αὐτὸν καὶ φλόγα πυρὸς ἔδιδον αὐτῷ φάγειν. 4 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Ἀσώμ, ἀνήγγειλεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. 5 καὶ εἰπεν αὐτῷ ὁ χρησμός τοῦ Κυρίου:

here. If, nevertheless, this is so, then the precise Greek original of XY is unattested in the Gr. MSS.

rhoiωυμαν βας τοῖς ἱερεύσιν: H adds 'from the people'. No Gr. support for this is evident.

2 bi ἐπροδεϊ καὶ ὅτε: E I; ὅτε δὲ of D, E II and An B1 might equally be the original of Arm.

δ' υπρ. ἐτέχθη: Gr. offers ἐμελλε τεχθῆαι in D and An CDE; ἐμελλε τίκτεσθαι E II; εἶχε τεχθῆαι An.

ὅημω ὁ 'Ηλιάς =An E. The other Gr. MSS omit this word.

ὑπηρετε εἰδέν: W adds 'in a vision'. This is comparable only to E I which has ὅπτασιάν, but in a different position.

ἀπροπτη ὑπρωρῳ ἢ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Σοβχάξα: In Gr. only E II, An E read μητρὶ, and all the remaining texts read πατήρ. As to the form of the name, considerable variation may be observed. The texts of Arm. offer Σοβχάξα XY, and Σοβχάξα Z=EII, An A1; H reads Surak’a and the r probably arises by graphic corruption from the b, indeed W has Subak’a; in Gr. observe further Σοβχάξα E II; Σοβχάξα E II; Σοβχάξα An and variants.

ἡξωμηρημένῳ ὑπὲρ ἐσπαρσάνων αὐτόν: This is the unanimous reading of Gr. excepting E I. The text of Arm. ἡξωμηρημένῳ is perhaps somewhat stronger in meaning. The pronoun precedes the verb in the Gr.

3 ἡ ἱρήνης ἡ ἡμερινὴ γυναὶκεὶς ὑπέρ ἑτερὸν ἐσπαργάνουν αὐτὸν: Arm. has translated ἐσπαργάνουν by the expression ἡμερινὴ γυναἰκεῖς, which means literally 'wrapped in swaddling cloths'. As a result it has changed πορί into the adjectival ἱρήνης =πύρινος. In this reading, however, there is no evidence for a text differing from the extant Gr. In this position αὐτόν is to be observed only in An D d.

ἀπὸ αἰτη καὶ φλόγα: Y omits καὶ, with no further support.

ὑπερὶ τοῦ ἁγίου φάγειν: The order of the two words is reversed in H. The text of W has 'to drink to him' with no Gr. support.

4 ἁλᾶμε ... ὑπερὶ ἐλθόνων ἀσιμῶν: =EII An E. The other Gr. witnesses have simply καὶ ἐλθόνων. W has ἀσιμῶν. The other MSS ἀσιμῶν.

ὁ ἕλαμε ... ὑπερὶ ἁγίεστε ἀνήγγειλεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ: Z=EII, An. XY add αὐτῷ after ἀνήγγειλεν. There is no parallel to this in Gr. H reads ἐν (or: εἶς) Ἱερουσαλήμ after ἀσιμῶν; cf. E I and D.

5 ἅρων χρησμός: XY, E I reads χρησματιστός. Z adds ὁ ἱερεύς after εἰπεν and then reads ἅρων χρησμός (χρησμός) in the instrumental. This produces a text
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

602 6 ὅτι πωπ ἔφη ὃ ὁ ἤρων ἐγγὺς ἦν ἄν τινι. ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω ἂν ἔφη ὃ ὁ ἤρων ἐγγὺς ἦν ἄν τινι. ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω ἂν ἔφη ὃ ὁ ἤρων ἐγγὺς ἦν ἄν τινι. ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔστω μετα
I. Lives of the Prophets: Elijah

μὴ δειλιάσης, ἔσται ἡ γὰρ ὡκήσις αὐτοῦ φῶς. 6 καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἀπόφασις, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ ἀγγέλων, καὶ ὁ ζῆλος αὐτοῦ ἀρεστός Κυρίῳ. 7 καὶ κρίνει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἡ ῥομφαία καὶ πυρὶ [καὶ ἀναληθήσεται ἐν συσσεισμῷ καὶ πυρίῳ ἀρματί εἰς οὐρανοὺς].

fore, within the possible range of meaning of ἀπόφασις, but the reading of ZHWB is perhaps closer; cf. Dict., s.v. The two readings are also quite similar graphically.

ὅλως ὁ ζωὴ ἀγγέλων: This phrase is to be found precisely as in Arm. only in An E. Together with the following phrase, it occurs exclusively among the variants of An. It is omitted by W.

Σουντ Κυρίο: XYHW; Θεό: ZB. This is a common variant. This word is to be found only in An BB1, but those sources read ἐνώπιον Κυρίου.

κρίνει: XYW add αὐτός, preceding this word, but there is no support for this in the Gr. tradition.

ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ πυρί: XYZW reverse the positions of these two nouns.

καὶ ἀναληθήσεται ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν.
Title: 'The Death of Elisha the Prophet' XY; 'Concerning the Death of Elisha the Prophet' ZW; 'Elisha' H.

1 ὑπὲρ Ἰσραήλ ἐπὶ ἐν τῷ ἑτερῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 2 ὅταν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τῷ ἑτερῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῇ ἱδρύμῳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ, ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 3 ὡς ὦ οὖν ἦν ἐν τῷ ἑτερῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῇ ἱδρύμῳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 4 καὶ ἐπεζήλη ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 5 καὶ ἐπεζήλη ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 

Title: 'The Death of Elisha the Prophet' XY; 'Concerning the Death of Elisha the Prophet' ZW; 'Elisha' H.

1 ὑπὲρ Ἰσραήλ ἐπὶ ἐν τῷ ἑτερῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 2 ὅταν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τῷ ἑτερῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ, ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 3 ὡς ὦ οὖν ἦν ἐν τῷ ἑτερῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῇ ἱδρύμῳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 4 καὶ ἐπεζήλη ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ. 5 καὶ ἐπεζήλη ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἐν πόλει Ἰσραήλ ἦν ἡ ἱδρύμῳ ἑτερικῷ ἡμέρᾳ.
ΠΕΡΙ ἘΛΙΣΣΑΙΟΥ

1 Οὕτως ἦν ἐς Ἀβελμαυδ οἰκείως Ρουβίμ. 2 ἐπὶ τοῦτον γέγονε τέρας, τη, ἡνίκα ἐτέχθη ἐν Γαλγάλας ἡ δάμαλις [η ἡ χρυσῆ] ἦν ἐν Βεθηλ ἀνέστησε Ἰεροβοῦμ 3 οὕτως ἡνίκα ἐβόησεν ὡστε ἀκουσθήναι τῇ φωνῇ αὐτῆς εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ. 4 καὶ ἀκουσας ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς ἤ διὰ τῶν δήλων ἐπεν ὅτι προφήτης ἐτέχθη σήμερον μέγας ἐν Ἰσραήλ, δὲς καθελεῖ τὰ γλυπτά καὶ πάντα τὰ χανευτὰ.

XYZW 5 and having prophesied much ἢ and having shown many wonders he fell asleep.

reads Ἰεροβοῦμ ἀνέστησε; ὝΗῊῊ read Ἄρκοβαμ. No Gr. text reads thus and the basic readings are E I ἢ ἐν Σπάλῳ; E II, D, An text omit; An BB1 E read εἰς Βεθηλ. Whether Arm. is an expansion of a text like An BB1 E on the basis of 1 Kings xii: 28, etc., or a fuller form of the text of which a remnant is to be found in An BB1 E, cannot be determined. It should be observed, however, that these Gr. MSS read εἰς Βεθηλ.

3 ὡμολογεῖ οὕτως; Not to be found in any Gr. text.

4 ἐν Χαρία ἐκουσά: ἩῊῊ῾ follows Ζ. The infinitive of ἩῊῊ῾ is preferable on internal grounds.

5 διὰ τῶν δήλων εἶπεν: Gr. transposes; Ἡ/ion alone preserves the phrase διὰ τῶν δήλων; Ἡ/ion adds: ὁ ἴερεὺς ἀπὸ εἰπέν.

5 καθελεῖ: XYW and Z read two different verbs which are, however, substantially synonymous.

4 ἐπεθανε: E I. The other Gr. texts omit this word.

5 διὰ τῶν δήλων εἶπεν: Not found in any Gr. recension. It occurs after προφήτης ἐν Ἰσραήλ. This is the text of ΒCDd. The text of Α reads simply Ἰσραήλ; E II, An E read ἐκ Ἰερουσαλῆμ; D reads εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ; E I omits. ρωθεῖ Καθελεί: XYW and Z separate here. A following αὐτῶν is found in all Gr. texts except ΕΙ. ὁς ἐπεθανε: ΧΖΗΘ. The preceding πάντα is unique to Arm. ὁς ἐπεθανε of Y is corrupt.

4 ὁς ἐπεθανε --- ὁς ἐπεθανε (v. 4) --- Ἐλισσαίος (v. 5): XYZW and Η separate here. X is not paralleled in detail by any Gr. tradition, but is apparently dependent on the additional materials found in E I, E II, and most MSS of An, where the working of prophecies and wonders is mentioned. Since no Gr. text is extant no retroversion has been attempted, and an English translation is supplied. The verb ἐξαιρήσει of XYZW is not found in Gr. It is graphically close in Arm. to the 'fell asleep' of Ἠ/ion which is equally unparalleled in Gr. The amount of text to be observed in XYZW occurs in D, An BB1 CDdEF.
Title: ‘The Death of Zechariah’ XY; Z adds ‘the father of John the Baptist’; ‘again another Zechariah’ W. Confusions of the identification of this Zechariah are found in Gr. As noted above, in the introductory remarks, in E II his Life is combined with that of Zechariah ben Berechiah ben Iddo. The tradition of Z, identifying Zechariah ben Jehoiada with Zacharias the father of John the Baptist is also to be found in Gr. Thus E II reads: οὗτος ἦν υἱὸς Ἰωακήμ εἰρέων πατήρ δὲ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ; this is also the text in An BB1 EF. A ‘Life of Zacharias, Father of John the Baptist’ is extant in Armenian, e.g. in MS Jerusalem Arm. Pat. 154B, n229 (1783):

**Incip.** οὐκ εὐφρατήθη Εὐφρασίθη
εὐφρατήθη γυναικὶ
εὐφρατήθη ἐν ἁγνῷ ὁρθῷ, ἡρώης Ἁναρήῳ
ζητοῦσας ἰωάννην ρωσιῶσῳ ἕως ἕως ἐκεῖνος ἑλθεὶς ὁ ἰπποῦσῳ,

**Expl.** τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὸν ήρωης ἰπποῦσῳ θεωρήσασῳ ἐπὶ ρωσιῶσῳ ἐπὶ ἰπποῦσῳ ὑπὲργόν.

This incipit should be compared with the material in Schermann, p. 130: ἔγνετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰηρώδου, τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἱερέως τῆς ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας διὰ εὐημερίας Ἀβια.

The explicit is similar to the explicit of the Vitae Prophetarum in An (Schermann, p. 98): καὶ ἦν εἰς μνημονεύνη τῶν ἱερέων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων καὶ δαίμων ἀνδρῶν.

This tends to show that a ‘Life of Zacharias Father of John the Baptist’ existed in Greek, perhaps at the end of some cycle of Vitae Prophetarum, which in its Armenian translation served as a source when the Jerusalem MSS of the ‘Collections of Homilies’ were compiled. Such is also to be observed at the end of the text of this Life in H. See further below, Part Three, Section II, The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophet, the commentary on Zachariah (ben Berechiah).

1 Ἰηρουσαλήμ: In Gr. only the reading Ἑξ Ἰηρουσαλήμ is to be found. The exact word order of Arm. is found in D and basically in An.
PERI ZAXAPI'OU [I]

1 Oútos ἢν εἰς Τερουσαλήμ δεύτερος [ὑίος 'Ἰωδαί τοῦ ἱερέως], ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν 'Ἰωαχίς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχομενα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ἐκχέας τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐν οἴκῳ Δαβείρο, ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἱερατείου. 2 καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔδαψαν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ. 3 ἐκτοτε οὐκ ἐγένοντο τέρατα φοβερά ἐν τῷ ναῷ καὶ οὐκ ἠσχον οἱ ἱερεῖς

'ὅρῃρη ἡμᾶς πρῶτον ἔσχον τοῦ δεύτερου (ὑίος 'Ἰωδαί τοῦ ἱερέως): Αρμ. here raises some problems. The word δεύτερος is not found in any Gr. recension. The text of X reads ὑμᾶς πρῶτον πρῶτον ἔσχον τοῦ δεύτερου; the word ὑμᾶς is δεύτερος and no word for 'son' is found. It is possible that ὑμᾶς 'son' was lost by haplography with the final letters of ὑμᾶς 'second' in Arm. but this does not explain the presence of that word. This support is provided by ὑμᾶς of W. Armenian Bible II Chron. xxiv: 20 reads Ἰαζαίρας αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱερείων (like LXX), instead of Zechariah ben Jehoiada, and perhaps in that tradition Zechariah was regarded as the second son. The words ἡμᾶς πρῶτον πρῶτον πρῶτον mean 'from Judah the priest' in the ablative. This is apparently also a corruption from the nominative form ἡμᾶς πρῶτον πρῶτον 'Ἰωδαία' which is, in the ablative, ἡμᾶς πρῶτον. Alternatively, a transcription of Gr. Ἰωδαία > ἡμᾶς πρῶτον > ἡμᾶς might be suggested. This ablative in turn has caused the shift of genitive πρῶτον ἔσχον to ablative πρῶτον ἔσχον, and perhaps drew the preposition ἐπὶ - to ὑμᾶς in Z, the word thus being understood as an attributive of ἡμᾶς. ὑμᾶς πρῶτον of W is thus secondary. The original Arm. might be reconstructed as ὑμᾶς ὑμᾶς πρῶτον πρῶτον ἔσχον with a Greek retroversion as above. See also, Stone, Proceedings, p. 75 and n. 50.

ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς Ἰωαχίς: Thus only Arm. The texts of Gr. offer Ἰωάς, D, E II, An; Ἰωδᾶ Ἰ, An, BB EF. See also below, Part Three, Section II, The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets, the commentary on v. 15, Zechariah ben Berechiah.

ὡρημὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς: D, E II, An add Ἰωδᾶ omitted, however, by An B E and E I. ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς Ἐκχέας: Arm. has a participle. The text of Gr. reads καὶ ἐκχέειν. It is by no means certain that Arm. reflects a Gr. differing from that found in the extant Gr. MSS.

ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς Δαβείρο: Gr. witness is: Κυρίου E I, An F; Δαβίδ D, omitted by E II; Δαυίδ An. Clearly Arm. is either the origin or a development of a reading like D. This development probably took place in Gr.

ῥῦμημεν τοῦ ἱερατείου: Arm. ῥῦμημεν is from ῥῦμημεν an Armenian loan from Greek βῆμα. It is found in the Armenian Bible only with the sense of 'judgement seat', John xix: 13. The text of Gr. here offers a transliteration Αἴλαμ (with variants) apparently reflecting Hebrew 'אילם. In LXX, Hebrew 'אילם is represented by the words αἰλάμ; Αἴλαμ (2); κρήπις (2); ναὸς (4); σολάμ (2). Our Greek retroversion, lacking an appropriate Greek equivalent in biblical use, renders according to the usage suggested in Dict., s.v.

2 ἡμᾶς τῶν πατέρων: Plural only in Arm. Singular in Gr. The text of D concludes at the end of this sentence.

3 ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς: ZW=Gr.; γένονται X.
Thus only Arm. in this order. Perhaps Arm. is related to Gr., which read: τέρατα ἐν τῷ νάῳ φαντασίας Ἀν.; τέρατα—πολλὰ φαντασιώδη Ε. ΙΙ.; τέρατα πολλὰ—καὶ φαντασία Ε. Ι. If so, then the relationship is not totally clear, and the word order apparently differs.
I. Lives of the Prophets: Zechariah [1]

ίδείν τήν ὀπτασίαν τῶν ἄγγέλων θεοῦ. 4 οὔτε δούναι χρησμόν ἐκ
tοῦ Δαβείρ, 5 οὔτε ἐρωτήσαι ἐν τῷ Ἕφοῳ, οὔτε ἀποκριθήναι τῇ
λαῷ διὰ δήλων ὡς τὸ πρίν.

ἐρρησῳωσῳ ὑπαιλον τῶν ἄγγέλων θεοῦ: τῶν omitted by ZW; θεοῦ = An,
E II.
4 ἐρρησῳω: Arm alone has the singular.
5 ἀποκριθήναι: Word order differs from Gr.
Title. The form of H is closest to An II. In E I and D as well as An I the Vita is that of Achias (Ahijah). An II reverses the elements of the title.

1 ὧν ἄγαν ὁ οὔτος ἐγέννηθή: This is exactly the text of An II E.
   ρηματηρίᾳ τῇ πόλει: Thus Arm. alone.
   Ῥηματήριον: =An II E. This Gr. MS alone, however, omits τὸ πάλαι.

2 ὥστε—ῥηματηρίᾳ κατὰ—πολέως: This reading, again, is only to be found in An II E. Σηλών is unique to Arm. The Gr. phrase Σηλῶν—ὁ Ἰησοῦς is unambiguous, while Arm. is not. It has been rendered, however, according to Gr. where it is clear which name is subject and which predicate.

3 ἦν ἴδῃ οὔτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς: =An E; E I varies; D is radically shortened and its witness resumes only in the final sentence.

4 Ῥηματηρία ἡ ἔρωστινς αὐτοῦ: The words τῆς ἔρωτις occur only in An II; αὐτός is only to be found in Arm.

5 ἔρωστινς προσκρούσετι: This is apparently what lies behind Arm.
'HLEI 'O KA'I SfLW'S

1 Oútos ἐγεννήθη ἐν τῇ πόλει Σηλώμ, ὅπου ἦν τὸ πάλαι ἡ σκηνή Κυρίου. 2 Σηλώμ ἔδε σκλήρυν ὅ ἦ HLEI κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως. 3 oútos ὅ ἦ HLEI ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ προεφήτευσε περὶ Σωλομόντος, ὅτι προσκρούσει τῷ Κυρίῳ διὰ τὰς γυναίκας, 4 διαστρέψειν τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ [ἀπὸ Κυρίου]. καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἱεροβοῶμ ὑιὸς Ναβάτ ἐπέν 5 ὅτι δόλῳ πορεύεται μετὰ Κυρίου καὶ μετὰ Ἰσραήλ. 6 καὶ εἶδε ἰδίος βοῶν θηλείων καταπατοῦν τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἐπιτρέχον κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅτι παραβῆσηται Σωλομόν τὸν νόμον τοῦ Κυρίου. 7 τοῦτο προείπεν ὅ ἦ HLEI καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐν γῆρα οὐκ ἀγαθός καὶ ἐτάφι συνέγγυς τῆς δρυὸς Σηλώμ.


Sbuiny τῷ Κυρίῳ: = An II B'. An I has Κυρίῳ E I has τῷ θεῷ. The other MSS of An II omit.

4 ὅπωρ ὑπασπισμῇ διαστρέψειν -- Κυρίου: Arm. here appears to be unique among the extant texts. It has been retroverted literally using the vocabulary of the corresponding Gr. phrases. The last two words are unclear and restored, for at this point the blurred column of the text commences. Arm., like An II E, omits the phrase which follows in the other Gr. texts.

ηρημὼν ὑψώσαν ὑιὸς Ναβά: Cf. An II E υἱὸς Ναβέτ.


ἡπετὴ ἡπετῇ καταπατοῦν: Arm. has literally 'and they were treading underfoot'. See commentary above on Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada (1), v. 1, for this rendering. See also ἐπίτρεχον in the following phrase.

6 ὅπως οὐκ ἑξερήσῃ: The whole phrase is found only in An II, which, apparently, preferably prefaces it with καί.

7 καὶ ἐπὶ προείπεν: Arm. ἐπὶ προείπεν 'first, before he said' reflects a fragmentation of the Gr. verb and an independent translation of each of its two elements. The two following lines of An II are not found in Arm.

The text of E I adds τῆς ὀφθαλμός before ἐν Ἰησοῦ.
1 Ησύχα αὐτῷ ὅτι ὄνειρον ἦν. 2 ὁ θανάτος ἔπληκτον αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ ἄγαν που ἔστά ἔδωκεν ἄμεσα ἅμα ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δόμῳ. 3 ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δόμῳ ἠλπίσας ἶπταμεν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δόμῳ. 4 ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δόμῳ ἠλπίσας ἶπταμεν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δόμῳ.

1 Ἡσύχα, ‘Ἰωάδ: The form of the name agrees with An II.
2 ἐπάταξεν: E I, D, An. The text of Arm. ἐπάταξεν means primarily 'he cut', hence perhaps 'he tore to pieces' or 'he wounded', which would supply the necessary semantic overlap with Gr.
3 ἔδωκεν: E. The other versions do not have these words.
4 ἶπταμεν: An E which reads ἶπταμεν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δόμῳ. Cf. An E which reads ἰπτάμεν τῶν εἰδώλων.
ἸΩΑΔ

1 Ἰωάδ ἦν ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρίν. 2 Οὕτως ἦστιν δὲν ἐπάταξεν ὁ λέων καὶ ἑθανάτωσεν αὐτόν, ὅτι παρῆκουσε Κυρίον. 3 οὕτως ἦν δὲ ἤλεγξε τὸν Ἰερεβοάμ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰδώλων ἐν ταῖς χρυσαίς δαμάλεσιν. 4 καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτόν ἐν Βεθῆλ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου τοῦ ἀπατήσαντος (οἱ: πλανήσαντος) αὐτόν.

\[1\] νηλῆ ὑπῆξῃ ταῖς χρυσαίς δαμάλεσιν=E I. The text of An omits χρυσαίς.

4 ἑπτησθῆνυ ὁ ἐθάψαν αὐτόν; Gr. reads ἐτάφη excepting E I which has a long addition but has ἐτάφη.

\[h\] ἑχθᾶτε ἐν τῷ τάφῳ: =An E. Gr. reads σύνεγγυς An, or ἐγγὺς D.

πρ ὄψεθη πλανήσαντος: Arm. has, once more, a relative with the finite verb. On this reading, see above, The Life of Eli, commentary on v. 6. The Arm. οπληθη Π means ‘deceived’. It is difficult to know which of the alternatives presented by Gr. is to be selected; ἀπατάω is perhaps closer and πλανάω is usually rendered by a different Armenian verb.
1 Հարվածի Ստեղծ ինչ և Հիշել են գրություն ու ուսուցը մեր թաղում քանի այս գրություն դարձնել գրականության ոճով: 2 Պատասխաններ են տարածում լուծում բյուջե շաբաթ։ 3 Այսուհատ համար տեղադրում ինչ է մոտ։ 4 Այս քանակություն հոծ բարոյի գիտելու։

2 Առաջին համար ստեղծ բարձր կապյան կողմից կարգավորում և տեղադրում ինչ է մոտ։ 2 Այս քանակություն հոծ բարոյի գիտելու։

3 Առաջին համար ստեղծ բարձր կապյան կողմից կարգավորում և տեղադրում ինչ է մոտ։ 2 Այս քանակություն հոծ բարոյի գիտելու։

4 Առաջին համար ստեղծ բարձր կապյան կողմից կարգավորում և տեղադրում ինչ է մոտ։ 2 Այս քանակություն հոծ բարոյի գիտելու։

5 Առաջին համար ստեղծ բարձր կապյան կողմից կարգավորում և տեղադրում ինչ է մոտ։ 2 Այս քանակություն հոծ բարոյի գիտելու։
MOSES

1 The angel of the Lord came to Moses and said, 'I know that you have earned many earthly things. Now (the time) has come upon you to return to the earth whence you were taken.' 2 The prophet answered, weeping, and said, 'Oh! Ask this body if it abandons this soul.' 3 The angel reprimanded him and said, 'You will not abandon the Lord's counsel.' 4 The prophet said, 'My mouth spoke with God and my eyes saw the light of the Godhead and my nostrils smelt the fragrance of sweetness and my ears heard the word of the redeemer and the voice of the Holy Spirit, and how do you take my soul?' 5 And the angel said to him, 'Come to Mount Nebo,' and he went with him. And he said, 'Open your mouth,' and with the opening (i.e. of his mouth) he gave up his ghost. 6 And he said, 'Oh, for the heavenly things are sweeter than honeycomb.'

THE THREE CHILDREN

1 The three children who were not burned in the furnace. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus, having called them, he was forcing (them) to abandon the paternal laws. 2 And, having heard a most firm reply from Mishael, he commanded to behead them, beginning from the youngest. 3 And their relatives, having taken (the bodies) placed them together. And the heads were united with the bodies. 4 And they buried (them) in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar. 5 And after a time they were revealed and a pious prince by the name of Mazluta brought them to the region of Kolton.
1 Zechariah son of Berachiah: A detailed treatment of the various Zechariahs, as well as a bibliography, is to be found below, Part Three, Section II, *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets*, commentary on Zechariah. There, as here, two traditions were known to the writer. 

3nq 'Joad': According to *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets*, (below, Part Three, Section II), 'Jehoiada king of Israel' was responsible. According
ZECHARIAH [2]

1 Zechariah son of Berachiah whom King Joad killed. 2 It mentions in Chronicles that at the command of Joad the people stoned Zechariah son of Jehoiada, 3 but in the books of the Jews we have found that the people stoned Jeremiah and Zechariah son of Berachiah.

to the Gr. *Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada,* it was Joash, and according to the Arm. *Life* it was Joahaz. The Greek version agrees with the biblical tradition.


*pwplqntuq qmbhuwe* ‘stoned Jeremiah’: For this tradition, see below, Part Three, Section II, *The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets,* commentary on Jeremiah.
II. THE NAMES, WORKS AND DEATHS OF THE HOLY PROPHETS

The material in the text here entitled The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets, following the manuscript, is not identical with that in The Lives of the Prophets (see this Part above, Section I), although at some points it is clearly dependent on it. As is shown in the commentary on the text, some of the traditions it contains are quite ancient, although the work is indubitably Christian in its present form. It provides an interesting addition to the literature on the prophets and their lives.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The text is to be found in the following manuscripts:

P MS Erevan Mat. 562, fol. 28v-30r, a miscellany, written in the eighteenth century (completed before 1711)
Q MS Paris Bibl. nat. 198, pp. 41-44, written in the eighteenth century

In both manuscripts the text is preceded by a short passage, attributed to St Cyprianus, dealing with twelve evils which are upon the earth, and is followed by a piece on the Sibyls.

The two manuscripts are closely related, with very little variation between them. P appears to be superior to Q in a number of respects. First, it preserves words and phrases where the scribe of Q has simply left a space, apparently due to unclearness in his exemplar. Such instances occur in §§ 1, 9 and 15 bis. Moreover Q has occurrences of dittography not to be found in P, in §§ 3, 8 (five words) and 16. In three instances the text of Q has been preferred to P, in §§ 3, 14 and 17. This serves to indicate that P is probably not the original from which Q was copied. The spelling θρανυθινυ for 'Jerome' in § 12, where P has ῥανυθινυ is also likely to be original. The text here published follows P and introduces readings of Q if such seem required.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

Two dates are given in this text on the prophets. According to these Isaiah lived in A.M. 3260, which, it states, is 700 B.C.E., and Zechariah lived in A.M. 3104. Basing a calculation on the date for Isaiah, the author is dating the Era of Creation from 3960 B.C.E. This is far too low a
II. The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets

A number of indications within the text evince that it is a translation, from a Greek, or more probably a Latin, original. These are:

1. The reference to St Hieronymus in the passage on Habakkuk.
2. The close parallel between the passage on Baruch and Jerome's preface to his translation of the Book of Jeremiah, including the mention there of the Book of Baruch (see commentary).
3. The form of the name of Isaiah (see commentary).
4. The use of the Latin form 'Ulysses' in the last paragraph (rather than Odysseus).
5. The inclusion of material from The Life of Jeremiah in the Vitae Prophetarum corpus that is not found in the recension of the Life extant in Armenian (see commentary).

An additional consideration is the poor style of the Armenian language in this work. The work on the Sibyls which follows this text in both the manuscripts is stated to have been translated from 'Frankish'. The weight of the evidence makes it clear beyond doubt that the work was translated into Armenian, not composed in that language. The first, second and fourth considerations make it likely that the translation was made from Latin.

---

1 On the chronological system, see above, Part Two, Biblical Paraphrases, introductory remarks, § 3.
I. Isaiah, ὑπαρχόντα Ἰοθάμ: Cf. Is. i: 1. The text of Arm. Kadam probably derives by way of corruption from ὅπως ἦν Ἰοθάμ). This would involve a graphic confusion of η and η, by no means an unlikely scribal error.

Ulus ‘Ahaz: Arm. Ak’am probably is also due to graphic causes, a confusion between uncial Α and Α. It would then reflect a spelling "Αχαζ", an extant variant in Gr. for Ἀχαζ, i.e. Ahaz. On this graphic variant, see A.G. Abrahamyan, Ζτούμπα (History of Armenian Palaeography), Erevan 1959, p. 365.


160
THE NAMES, WORKS AND DEATHS OF THE HOLY PROPHETS

1 (I)saiah, the son of Amoz, prophesied in the time of Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and of Manasseh, by whom he was sawn in the middle, although he was a relative. But (this was) on account of the insults which Isaiah offered the king. And he lived in the year 3260 of this world, 700 years before Christ.

2 Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, began to prophesy in the thirteenth year of Josiah, king of Judah, and he prophesied for 41 years, excluding the time when he was in Egypt. And afterwards, in (that) place, he prophesied, saying, that the temples of the idols of their time would fall to the ground, when a virgin gave birth. On account of which, secretly, in the temple building, the priests worshipped a picture of a virgin, who held a child in her bosom. Seeing this, Jeremiah... that by worshipping the picture of the virgin they were not performing idolatry. He rebuked

found in a certain genealogical scroll'. He states that the scroll was found by him in Jerusalem. It is more than possible that the event of Isaiah's death at Manasseh's hand would have been a proper subject for a genealogical scroll because of the familial relationship between them.

bwywbw 'Isaiah': The form of the name Isaiah found here, Esayiæas in P and Esayeas in Q, is unusual in Armenian. It is best compared with Greek Ἰσαίας and Latin Isaias. See also the observation above, in the introductory remarks to this text, on the original language of the text.

qlqy. wdiyb 'in the year 3260': On the dates, see the discussion above in the introductory remarks to this text.

2 Jeremiah. wyw. wyf '41 years': Cf. Jer. i: 2. By conventional dating the thirteenth year of Josiah is 626 B.C.E. and 41 years later would be 585 B.C.E.

puqhyb 'temples': Arm. specifically indicates a pagan temple.

bwywbw y. 'Jeremiah...': A word has apparently fallen out, perhaps 'said'.

nyl wmbh y bwnwqn ywh 'they were not performing idolatry': This story is apparently drawn from Gr. Life of Jeremiah. In Arm., at least in the form published by Yossep'ianc' (p. 223), the sentence describing the setting up of images in the Egyptian temples is missing. In this respect it resembles EI which also omits the sentence describing the Egyptian worship of the statue of the virgin and the child. The previous sentence in Arm., however, does not resemble that recension of Gr., but rather D (Schermann, p. 45, ll. 6 ff.). The text of D, however, preserves the matter of the statue. Unless this sentence happens to be preserved in another Armenian form of the Life, which is possible, its appearance here would be an indication that the present text was composed in a language other than Armenian. See also the following comment; in general, on the problems of Arm. Lives of the Prophets, see Stone, Proceedings, pp. 72-77. The form of the story found here is much embroidered and developed.
was stoned': That Jeremiah died by stoning is apparently implied by Heb. xi: 37, and Gr. Life of Jeremiah also records this tradition. Similarly, the Christian ending of the Paralipomena of Jeremiah shows the prophet giving forth a prophecy of the coming of Christ to which the people respond by stoning him; cf. Par. Jer. ix: 21-32; see Part One, Section II, Concerning the Death of Adam, the commentary on the Superscription. At the end of the second Arm. recension of the Paralipomena of Jeremiah (printed by Yovsep'ianc', pp. 358-364) is added some material drawn from an Armenian version of the Life of Jeremiah which contains a reference to the prophecy by Jeremiah that the idols of the Egyptians would fall as a result of a child born of a virgin. Incidentally, the sentence referring to the reverence paid by the Egyptians to an image of the virgin and child is not found in the Paralipomena; cf. Yovsep'ianc', p. 363; Issaverdens, p. 215; on this issue, see also Stone, CBQ, XXXV, pp. 47-59. This sentence, as observed in our preceding comment, is also missing from Arm. Life of Jeremiah. A prophecy of the coming of Christ is attributed to Jeremiah by The Acts of Pilate, Latin B, vi (xxii): 1. Jeremiah's death at the hands of the people may be implied by Sib. Or. II, 249 f. Similarly, Apoc. Paul, Chap. xlix, alludes to Jeremiah's stoning; see James, Apocr. N.T., p. 551; Tischendorf, Apoc. Apocr., p. 67. Denis observes that a story of the stoning of Jeremiah is to be found in MS Athos, Batoped. 79, fol. 12r-v, and that this is an extract from the Gr. Life; see Denis, Introduction, p. 75.

3 Baruch. 'was born...': A lacuna apparently follows 'born', presumably
them, the people of God. And the same Jeremiah, for this reason, was stoned by the people.

3 Baruch, the son of Neriah, was born. . . . He prophesied in the years of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and he was the disciple and scribe of the prophet Jeremiah. He wrote a book which the Jews do not accept and do not read. He wrote the book of Jeremiah, and he gave (it) to Jehoiakim the king, and the king imposed many tortures on this prophet (with) Jeremiah and burnt the book, for there was written in the book the destruction of Jerusalem at the hand of the king of the Babylonians.

4 Ezekiel, son of Buzi, a companion of Jeremiah, but younger in age, and a great prophet, and they led him into captivity with Jehoiakim to Babylon. He prophesied of the Chaldeans' destruction of Jerusalem. And by prayers ice bound the Chebar river so that the children of Israel might flee upon it. And the Chaldeans, being angered, entered in because the date or place of Baruch's birth has fallen out. This introductory formula should be compared with that of the passage below dealing with Micah. There is no life of Baruch in the Gr. Vitae Prophetarum corpus, and substantially all of the present material on Baruch is drawn from the biblical Book of Jeremiah. There is no reference either to a life of Baruch in the Armenian work entitled The Names of the Prophets and Their Order and in What Times They Were, published by Sarghissian; cf. Stone, Proceedings, p. 74. Baruch's name is to be found in the list of prophets published by Schermann, p. 2. Baruch was regarded as a prophet in Jewish tradition in the period of the Second Temple and later, as witnessed by the extensive Baruch apocrypha, and rabbinic sources such as T.B. Megilla 15a. Other views differ, e.g. that expressed in Mekhilta, Bo, parasha 1 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin, p. 5, ll, 17 ff.) shows Baruch complaining that he had not received the prophetic spirit.

\(\text{\textit{do not read}}\): This, most probably, refers to the Book of Baruch included in LXX. The same statement is also to be found in Jerome's preface to his translation of the Book of Jeremiah: 'librum autem Baruch, notarii eius, qui apud Hebraeos nec legitur, nec habetur...' (Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem, II, ed. R. Weber, Stuttgart 1969, p. 1166). A similar view is expressed by Ephraemi, De Mens. et Pond., v. Other ancient authorities refer to the Jews' reading the Book of Baruch; thus Constitutiones Apostolorum V, 20, 1, and Epiphanius, and see the detailed discussion and references in J. Kneucker, Das Buch Baruch, Leipzig 1879, pp. 22 f.

\(\text{\textit{burnt the book}}\): This is based on the incidents related in Jer. Chap. xxxvi. 4 Ezekiel, q\(\text{\textit{\textit{with}}}\) q\(\text{\textit{\textit{burned}}}\) q\(\text{\textit{\textit{the}}}\) q\(\text{\textit{\textit{river}}}\) 'ice bound the Chebar River': The incident is drawn from the Gr. Life of Ezekiel. There, however, it is merely related that he stopped the river's flow, while here the added detail of the ice appears. This
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.

is conceivably to be connected with the 'snows' in the succeeding incident. The expression 'by prayers' is probably dependent on the beginning of the succeeding story in Gr.
after (them) and were drowned in the river and perished. And (because) of envy of Ganim, the Jew, he was dragged from the tail of a horse over snows and hard rocks until he was broken in all his limbs. And of such tortures he died and was buried in the grave of Melchizedek the priest, who is Shem, son of Noah.

5 Daniel, called Belteshazzar, having been brought by king Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, with Jehoiakim, into captivity. And on account of his exceeding wisdom and prophetic spirit he was honoured by the king, being elevated to the highest office, (and) being adorned with all sorts of ornaments. And after the destruction of the kingdom of the Babylonians by Darius the son of Astyages, having been brought from (the Medes), "and" by this king he was honoured with many gifts. And on account of the excessive envy of his enemies, by this king he was placed in a lions' den. And being brought forth from there unharmed, he delivered there Susanna, the wife of Joacim, from the lying and unjust lustful elders. And afterwards, in the city of Dépédôna, of (the Medes) he died.

Q has ʿUwpwq Maʿaḏ as apparently the name of a place or nation, and may be a corruption of a form of Mar 'Media' or Marac'ī 'Mede'. Q has ʿUwpwq Maʿaḏ both here and below, perhaps by simple graphic error. Darius is known as 'the Mede', thus Dan. ix:1 refers to him as 'Darius, son of Aišawr [Ahasuerus] of the seed of the Medes', in Arm. reading Marac'. Cf. also the last phrase of this passage.

The name of the city remains unidentified. In Q the initial of 'D' is missing. If the conjectured interpretation of ʿUwpwq Maʿaḏ as 'the Medes' is correct the name might be a corruption of Tisbon or Ctesiphon in Media. More likely, on graphic grounds, is that it is a corruption of the name Ecbatana. This could result from a transposition of the first two letters and the common confusion of 'g' and 'd'. According to later traditions Daniel was buried in Susa,
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

2. S. "Hosea": Here the list of the twelve minor prophets commences. They occur in the masoretic order, and not that of LXX which is also followed by the Armenian Bible. Jonah is moved to the end of the list.


thus Benjamin of Tudela (twelfth century), §§ 73-75; see M.N. Adler, The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, New York 1907, pp. 51-52. No light is thrown on these details by The Seventh Vision of Daniel, the extant Armenian Daniel apocryphon, published in G. Kalemkiar (ed.), Die Siebente Vision Daniels (Die Apokryphen Pseudepigraphen bei den Armeniern, III), Vienna 1892.

6 Hosea. "Hosea": Here the list of the twelve minor prophets commences. They occur in the masoretic order, and not that of LXX which is also followed by the Armenian Bible. Jonah is moved to the end of the list.

6 Jonah. S. "He prophesied": Following this there appears to be a word missing in Arm., perhaps the preposition 'concerning'. A christological prophecy is also attributed to Hosea by Gr. Vitae Prophetarum, but it is apparently not identical with that referred to here; similar prophecies are also attributed in the present text to Joel, Amos, Obadiah and Habakkuk, see Commentary below. The general issue of the existence and nature of Christian Testimonia collections of biblical (Old Testament) quotations for apologetic purposes has again been much discussed in recent years. The existence of such materials appears to be beyond doubt. However, the Epistle of Barnabas, which has provided one focus of recent discussion, cites scarcely any passages from the minor prophets; see P. Prigent, Les Testimonia dans le christianisme primitif: L'Epître de Barnabé 1-XVI et ses sources (Etudes bibliques), Paris 1961; an important review of this work is by Robert A.
6 Hosea, son of Beeri, was in the time of Isaiah. And he started to prophesy in the time of Jeroboam, king of Israel. He prophesied (concerning) the resurrection of Christ on the third day.

7 Joel, son of Pethuel, prophesied concerning Christ, and concerning the Holy Spirit. And in which time he was is not known to the Jews, but by supposition they say that he prophesied concerning the great famine in the time of Joram son of Ahab king of Judah and of King Manasseh.

8 Amos was himself a shepherd, an ordinary man of the common people, and suddenly, through a miracle of God, he became a prophet. And he prophesied many things, and (was) a companion of Hosea, and with other prophets he put the wicked to shame, and preached repentance. He announced the resurrection of Christ, And he prophesied to the
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

And afterwards... the Temple': Here again the details are drawn from the Book of Amos itself, cf. Amos vii: 12-17. There, the place of Amos' origin is located in the South and the prophecies are directed mainly to the North. The present text, however, is rather dependent on the contents of Amos, the 'neighbouring people(s)' referring to those of Amos i: 1 - ii: 3.

Obadiah. Ὅπαθων 'Obadiah': This account of the life of Obadiah is drawn, in almost every detail, from Gr. Life of Obadiah in Vitae Prophetarum. Bethagar is apparently a corruption of Bet ha-Kerem, which name appears in Gr. Other forms of this name found there are: Be/ri9(9)ax<xuap, Beit-Acarim (Schermann, p. 18); Bs/n.9axapau (ibid., p. 30); BriOapxaau, psiOapaxapav (ibid., p. 82). In the Armenian Life (published by Yovsep'ianc') the forms Belkar, and, in two MSS, Bet'-K'arem are found. On the name, see Klein, Sefer Klausner, pp. 198-199.

'He became a prophet from the leadership of the fifty': This sentence is unclear as it stands. The meaning is clear in the Gr. Life of Obadiah which reads: 'He was that captain of fifty whom Elijah spared, and went down with him to Ahaziah. Afterwards, leaving the service of the king, he became a prophet': translation of Torrey, Lives, p. 41. This refers to the incidents related in 1 Kings, Chap. xviii, and the Obadiah mentioned there is identified with
neighbouring people(s) of Israel. And afterwards he prophesied to the ten tribes and in the end against the tribe of Judah and against the Temple.

9 Obadiah was of the tribe (or: people) of Shechem, born in the field of Bethagar, a disciple of Elijah. He became a prophet from the leadership of the fifty. And he prophesied concerning Christ, against the people, and after his death he was buried in Samaria in the grave of Elisha.

10 Micah, of the tribe of Ephraim, born in Merandn, was in the time of Hosea and Amos. He prophesied concerning kings and concerning priests and against false prophets. And by Jeroboam son of Ahab he was cast from a very high mountain to the ground.

11 Nahum was a colleague of Joel. He prophesied concerning the city of Nineveh and the destruction of the Assyrians.

12 Habakkuk, who spoke concerning the coming of Christ, prophesied against Nebuchadnezzar. And this is the prophet of whom St Hieronymus bears witness that he brought the food to the lions’ den.

the prophet. This is also understood thus in rabbinic sources: *Sifre* Num. 133, ed. Horovitz, p. 176; *T.B. Sanhedrin* 39b. Cf. also Jerome’s commentary on Obadiah i: 1 (P.L., XXV, p. 1099).

*θωρηγώτε* ‘he was buried’: Gr. *Life of Obadiah* simply relates that he was buried in the grave of his fathers, or, according to one recension (Schermann, p. 18), in Bet ha-Kerem.

10 *Micah*. *Βουρωνη βα ‘Merandn’: The place name is apparently connected with the Morathi, which appears in Gr. *Life of Micah*, and cf. Mic. i: 1, but it is unclear how Arm. took on its present form. The Arm. *Life* (published by Yovsep’ian) reads *Mosorofytay* (variant *Moso(v)ret’ay*). See also Klein, *Sefer Klausner*, pp. 197 f. *η ρωπδωρωνη βα 1 βνοι ‘from a very high mountain’: This mode of death is also recorded by Gr. *Life of Micah*. On the tradition that Hosea, Amos, Micah and Isaiah all prophesied in the same generation, see *Seder Olam Rabba*, Chap. xx. The content of Micah’s prophecy is drawn from the biblical book itself.

11 *Nahum*. *נְבָלְפְּר ‘colleague’: On the chronological traditions, see above, commentary on Joel.

12 *Habakkuk*. *קַוַּו לְפָנָּא קָוַו לְפָנָּא ‘concerning the coming of Christ’: On the christological prophecy attributed to Habakkuk, see above; commentary on Joel. The story of Habakkuk bringing food to the lions’ den is from Bel and the Dragon, in the additions to the Greek versions of the Book of Daniel, found in the LXX. It also occurs in an independent form in Gr. *Life of Habakkuk* and was widespread. Why it should be attributed by the present text to Jerome is unclear. The story occurs in the Vulgate, but is included similarly in the Armenian Bible, as in all the daughter versions of the LXX. The name Jerome is written *δβρνήθουν* by Q, betraying Latin influence.
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

Zephaniah. propheesied (with): Perhaps a preposition has fallen out at this point.

Jeremiah. Pesiqta Rabbati (ed. Friedmann, p. 129) relates that Zephaniah was Jeremiah’s contemporary; see also Seder Olam Rabba, Chap. xx.

Haggai. Jozadak: The of Jozadak was omitted by the scribe in the text and is added below the line in the MS.

Zechariah. the high priest: The traditions contained in this passage are confused. The prophet Zechariah ben Berachiah ben Iddo is confounded with Zechariah ben Jehoiada the priest. It was this latter who was murdered in the Temple, and this is the event recorded in II Chron. xxiv: 20-22. This is, likewise, the tradition reflected in Gr. Life of Zechariah (Schermann, p. 59), and see above, Part Three, Section I, The Lives of the Prophets, commentary on Arm. Life of Zechariah. On the various issues involved, see also Stone, Proceedings, pp. 75 f. This material is dealt with in some detail by Sheldon H. Blank, ‘The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature’, HUCA, XII-XIII (1937-1938), pp. 327-346. Many
II. The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets

13 Zephaniah, son of Cushi, prophesied (with) his companion, the prophet Jeremiah.

14 Haggai, after the return of the people of Israel from the Exile in Babylon, prophesied to Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, king of Judah, and Joshua, son of Jozadak, the great high priest, of the restoration of the Temple which took place in the second year of Darius king of the Medes.

15 Zechariah son of Berachiah, companion of Haggai, prophesied similarly to him. And they killed him before the Temple. And his murderer was Jehoiada, king of Israel. Some say that it was not this (Zechariah), but Zechariah the high priest. And this took place in the year 3104 of the world.

16 Malachi was born in Judaea in Sophim after the return of the people of Israel. And he prophesied in the time of Ardašers, king of the Persians and in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah the high priests. And he was so beautiful in form that he was called an angel by the people.

Additional texts and traditions are reported by him there. Of particular interest in relationship to our text is the reference to Zechariah as high priest. Blank points out the presence of this view in Targ. to Lam. ii: 20 and would explain Zechariah's (unhistorical) elevation to this office as the result of internal developments of the rabbinic tradition. In view of the text here, this conclusion may have to be reassessed. The present text reports two traditions. The first relates that Zechariah ben Berachiah ben Iddo was killed before the Temple, by Jehoiada king of Israel. This is a development and confusion of the Zechariah ben Jehoiada materials, and there was no such king. The text, however, also reports a second tradition that another Zechariah the high priest was murdered in this way.

REFERENCES: Ardašers' name is spelled Ardaraser in Q, i.e. Artaxerxes; the dating to his reign is not given explicitly by the Book of Malachi. Sophim, an unknown place, is also given as his birthplace by Gr. Life of Malachi; for the name Sophim and its possible origin, cf. I Sam. i: 1, and see, for another theory, Klein, Sefer Klausner, p. 203.

The high priests: This differs from the biblical tradition concerning Ezra and Nehemiah; they are perhaps designated 'high priests' because of their connection with the rebuilding of the Temple.

Malachi, beautiful: This etiological tradition, based on the name 'Malachi', is also to be found in Gr. Life of Malachi. There his moral qualities as well as his beauty are the supposed reason for the name.
Part Three: Texts Relating to the Prophets

Jonah, the name Zarephath appears in Arm. as Sar Ep't'a, cf. I Kings, Chap. xvii. The Gr. Life of Jonah relates a different form of the legend where the widow and her son are not Jonah and his mother, although immediately preceding this story it is stated that Jonah and his mother settled in Tyre. This is at least Torrey's interpretation (Torrey, Lives, p. 42). Such a view is not totally convincing, for it does not explain how or why the story of the widow was introduced into the Gr. Life of Jonah, unless the connection with Tyre provided the reason. It is just as probable that the story identifying Jonah with the child raised from the dead by Elijah lies behind the form of the legend in the Gr. Life as the reverse interpretation. The view that Jonah was this child is also known in rabbinic sources, so T.Yer. Sukka v: 1, 55a; Midrash Ps., ed. Buber, 26, p. 220. Certain of the traditions of the Gr. Life of Jonah also appear at the end of the Armenian Jonah apocryphon The Preaching of Jonah (Yovsep'ianc', pp. 343-348; Issaverdens, pp. 185-191).
II. The Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets

17 Jonah, son of Amittai, prophesied in the time of Jeroboam. He was that child that died (in the time) of the famine whom the prophet Elijah raised from the dead, the child of the widow from Sar Ep't'a of the Sidonians.

There are also many other prophets, such as Nathan and Agapa, Job, Elisha, David, Solomon, Elias, Samuel, Joshua, Sadok, Ak'ia, Salamut' and the great Moses. Concerning these, in their books you may learn of their quality.

T'ilemaw, the Cyclops, the pagan son of Neptune, prophesied to Baelifemōi that Ulysses was destined to put out his eye.

The end (of the things) related about the prophets.
III. LISTS OF PROPHETS’ NAMES

1 Lists in MS Erevan Mat. 533.
The following two lists of Prophets’ names are found in MS Erevan Mat. 533, p. 234, a grammar, of the year 1660.

a. Names of the Twenty-Four Prophets.

Names of the Twenty-Four Prophets.

b. Names of the Twelve Minor Prophets

The above list is followed by a second list of the twelve minor prophets. Slight spelling variants may be observed between the two lists:

Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

2 List in MS Venice Mech. 176.
It is interesting to compare with the preceding lists the order and range of names found in the text in MS Venice Mech. 176 entitled The Names of the Prophets and Their Order and in What Times They Were, published by Sarghissian. The Latinizing or Graecizing forms of many of the names should be noted. The names, excerpted from that text, are:

Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

1 Pp. 257-258. On this text, see Stone, Proceedings, p. 74. This is not formally a list, but the summary character of the document brings it to an intermediate position between the Lives of the Prophets genre and the lists proper.
III. Lists of Prophets' Names

1. Lists of Prophets' Names

1. Lists of Prophets' Names

Hosea, Amos, Michias, Joel, Obadias, Jonah, Nahum, Habbakuk, Zephaniahs, Haggaihs, Zechariahs, Malachi.

Isaiah, Jeremias, Ezekiel, Daniel, Nathan, Eli, Yovas (Joed²), Elisias, Elisha, Samuel, Zacharias father of John (the Baptist), Moses, David.

Achia, Miriam, Deborah, Hulda, Elisabeth, Anna.

3 List in MS Erevan Mat. 1500.

The order of the names in the extraordinarily rich Lives of the Prophets cycle in MS Erevan Mat. 1500, from which texts were published above, Part Three, Section I, is set out below. The marginal titles are here given. The list is divided into two sections, each numbered by the scribe from one to twelve. This division is normal for the first section, the dodeca-propheton. The organization and numbering of the second section has been patterned similarly. At the end of the text of The Lives of the Prophets in this manuscript occurs a paragraph dealing with some other prophets. It is, unfortunately, illegible in our photograph.


2 See ibid., n. 47, and above, introductory remarks to Part Three, Section I, The Lives of the Prophets.

3 See preceding note.
INDEX

Page references to the subjects of main texts published in this volume are printed in italics
For Armenian linguistic usages, see Armenian language
For books of the Bible, see individual books
For manuscript sources, see Manuscripts
For Talmudic tractates, see Talmud

Aaron, 109
staff of, 117
Abel, 20-3, 33 [34-8], 35, 37. See also Life and History of Abel
Abelmaul, 144-5
Abot de-R. Natan
A, ii, 165
A, vii, 95
B, xiv, 95
Abraham, 83, 88, 90, 93-6, 98, 100, 120
descendants of, 88, 97-8
See also Apocalypse of Abraham; Testament of Abraham
Abrahamyan, A.G., 82, 160
Absalom, 123-4
Accuser, see Satan
Achia(s), see Ahijah
Acts of Philip, Syriac, 164
Acts of Pilate
vi (xxii) : 1 (Latin B), 162
xii (xxviii) (Latin A), 83
Adam, 1-5, 6-9, 10-11, 12-13, 15-17, 18-31, 36-8, 84-7, 90, 119-20, 123-4
author of Hours of the Day and Night, see Hours of the Day and Night, authorship of
chronology concerning, 83, 91, 120
See also Apocalypse of Adam; Apocalypse of Adam, Coptic; Armenian Adam Books; Book of Adam and Eve, Ethiopic; Concerning the Death of Adam; Descendants of Adam; (Adam) Fragment 1, Fragment 2; History of the Sons of Adam; Life of Adam and Eve,
Adam (cont.)
Slavonic; Penitence of Adam (Repentance of Adam, see Penitence of Adam); Testament of Adam; Vita Adae et Eva; Words of Adam to Seth
Adin, variant of Eden, 6-7
Adler, M. N., 166
Agapa, 172-3
Agapus, 173
Agathangelos, see Teaching of St Gregory
Ahab, king, 166-7, 168-9
Ahasuerus, 165
Ahaz, 160-1
Ahaziah, 168
Ahijah (Achia, Achias, Ak'ia), 133, 172-3, 175
Ak'ia, see Ahijah
Albeck, Ch., 92-3, 95, 106
Altar, 118
Amittai, 173
Amos, 166-9, 174-5
Amos, Book of
i : 1 - ii : 3, 168
vii : 12-17, 167-8
Amoz, 160-1
Anastasius of Sinai, 49
On the Hexaemeron, VII, 895, 47-8
Anasuyan, H., 2, 44
Angel(s), 20-1, 25, 56-9, 66-9, 74-7, 100-1, 112, 142-3, 146-9
functions of, 4, 6-7, 10-11, 12, 30-1, 64-5, 70-1
at Moses' death, 116, 154-5
Angelology, The, 40, 48, 55
Animals, 62-4, 86-7, 88-9
aquatic, 70-1
Anna, 175
Antichrist, born of Dan, 115
Apocalypse of Abraham, i-viii, 93
Apocalypse of Adam, 44-7
Apocalypse of Adam, Coptic
lxiv: 2-4, 46
lxv: 26 ff., 25
Apocalypse of Paul
vii, 56-7
xlvi, 162, 164
Apocalypse of Moses, 4, 19, 28
xiv, xxv-xxxiv, 23
xxxiii-xxxii, 23, 29
xl: 4, 37
Apocalyptic text, Georgian, 42
Apollonius of Pella, 48
Apollonius of Tyana, 39, 41-3, 48-51, 63-4, 67, 72
Apotlesmata, author of, 1, 41, 43
See also Hours of the Day and Night; Testament of Adam
Apostles, 112, 119. See also Acts of the Apostles
Aptowitzter, V., 87, 165
Ara, 93
Archangel, 10-11, 31
Ardašers, king, 171
Ark, Noah's, 30-1, 88-90. See also Noah
Ark of the Covenant, 90, 117, 119
Armenian Adam Books, 2
Armenian chronology, see Chronology
Armenian language, selected instances of
  case, variation of, 11, 19, 25-6; unusual uses of, 11, 24-7, 29
dialectal forms, 34, 51-2, 64, 67
grammar, anomalies in, 4, 10-11, 25-7, 30, 34, 59, 65; late forms in, 4, 11, 59, 61, 65-6, 72-3, 75
i- (yi-, y-), prefix, otiose, 26; omitted, 35
Ibrew/Oropès, 24
number, confusion of, 21-2, 24-5, 27-8, 30-1, 71, 73, 144; in pronouns, 21
spelling variation, 6, 22, 35
translation, see Translation into Armenian
verbs, variation of form, 20-1, 26, 29, 34; variation of tense, 21-2, 24-5, 27, 29, 31, 35, 74
za-, prefix, 6, 10, 25
Armenians, 91
Army, heavenly, 25
Arphaxad, 92
Artaxerxes, 171
Ascetic traditions, 85-7
Asemath, Pharaoh's daughter, 106
Asher, 101
Assyrians, 168-9
Astrological/Astronomical writings, 39, 57
Astuacatur, 57
Astyages, 164-5
Audet, J.-P., 167
Avalichvili, Z., 42
Ayrivank', 130
Babel, Tower of, see Tower of Babel
Babylon, Babylonian exile, 134, 162-5, 170-1
Balinas, 39, 58-9, 64. See also Apollonius of Tyana
Baptism, 111
Bar Hebraeus, 50
Barnabas, Epistle of, 47, 166-7
ii: 10, 45-7
Baruch, 65, 162-3
Baruch, Third Book of (III Baruch)
iii: 5, 91
vi: 14-16, 76
x: 7, 61
xliii-xiv, 56-7
Bathsheba, 136-7
Baur, F. C., 50
Bayan, G., 131
Beasts, see Animals
Beeri, 166-7
Beit-Arië, M., 54-6, 76
Bel and the Dragon, 169
Beliar, 136-7
Beltshazzar, see Daniel
Bém, 147
Benjamin, 101
Ben Sira, Wisdom of, see Wisdom of Ben Sira
Benjamin of Tudela, 166
Ben Sira, Wisdom of, see Wisdom of Ben Sira
Betharker, 168-9
Bet ha-Kerem, 168-9
Bethel, 100, 103, 144-5, 152-3
Bethuel, 100
Bezold, C., 40-2, 165
Bianchi, U., 2, 25
### Index

Bible, Armenian, 19, 81, 85. See also under individual books

**Biblical Antiquities,** see *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*

**Biblical Paraphrases,** 13, 81-3, 84-126

Billerbeck, P., 94-5

Birds, 60-1, 74-5, 86-9

roosters, 74-7

Blank, S. H., 170

Böhlig, A., 46

Bogharian, N., 7, 71, 129

Boll, F., 43, 49-50, 78

**Book of Adam and Eve,** Ethiopic

p. 119, 23

pp. 173, 245, 92

**Book of the Rolls,** see *Cave of Treasures*

Branch, paradisical, 4-5, 6-7, 10-11, 12-13

Bread, of angels, 112

Bronze, 20-1, 72-3

Buber, S., 172

Budge, E. A. W., 42

Burning Bush, 109

Buzi, 162-3

Caesarea of Cilicia, 39

Cain, 20-1, 35-6, 47

Cainan, descendant of Adam, 84

Cainan, sister of Cain, 20-1

Canaan, 88

Canaanites, 91, 102

Cardona, G. R., 2, 25

Cattle, 88-9

**Cave of Treasures,** 41-2, 165

Census, of tribes, 115

Chaldeans, 162-3

Chariot, Elijah's, 142-3

Chebar, river, 162-3

Cherubs, 64-5, 72-3, 75, 77

Chiliastic speculations, 83

Chrys., 100

Christ, 12, 87, 100, 102, 111-3, 119-20, 123, 134, 166-9

birth date of, 83

crucifixion of, 10-11

vision of, 30-1

**Christian Apocalypse,** 40, 42, 47

**Chronicle of Jerahmeel,** xxx, 8, 92

**Chronicles,** Books of, 19, 156-7

I, i: 19, 93

II, xxiv, 171

xxiv: 20, 147

xxxvi: 1-23, 93

Chronology, 91, 94, 96, 158-61, 170-1

Armenian, 82-3

epitome of, 83, 117, 120

rabbinc, 167

Church, 90, 102, 115

Circumcision, of Abraham, 98

Claudius, emperor, 173

Clement, St

*Paedag.* III, 12, 46

*Strom.* II, 18, 46

Clement, St, Pseudo-

*Revelation of Peter to Clement,* 41

Secret Books of Purity, 40

Cloud, talisman of, 72-3

**Concerning the Death of Adam,** 1, 2-3, 5, 15-17, 18-31, 130, 162

**Concerning King Solomon,** 19

**Constitutiones Apostolorum**

V, 20, 1, 163

Conybeare, F. C., 49, 57

Covenant, 90

Creation, chronological eras of, 82. See also Chronology

Cross, 100, 111, 117, 119

Tree of the, 4-5, 10-11

Crow, Satan as, 35

Ctesiphon, 165

Cushi, 170-1

Cyprianus, St 158

Cyrus, 154-5

Dan, 101

tribe, 115

See also Testament of Dan

Daniel, 164-5, 174-5. See also Life of Daniel; Seventh Vision of Daniel

Daniel, Book of, 19, 130

ix: 1, 165

Greek versions of, 169

Darius, 164-5, 170-1

David, 115, 117, 122, 123-5, 136-9, 172-3, 174-5. See also Story of David

**Death of Adam,** see Concerning the Death of Adam

**Deaths of the Prophets,** see Lives of the Prophets

Deborah, 175

**Decretum Gelasianum,** 44-5

Demons, 69, 72, 84-5, 119, 122

Denis, A.-M., 2, 42, 45, 162

Dépèdona, 164-5

**Descendants of Adam,** 13, 82, 84-7, 93
| Desert, wanderings in, 113               | Eusebius of Caesarea, *Contra Hiero-clem*, 49, 50 |
| Deuteronomy, Book of                  | Eve, 20-31                                          |
| xxxi: 14, 116                         | Exegesis, see Typological exegesis                  |
| xxxiv: 5-6, 116                       | Exodus, from Egypt, 83, 120                         |
| xxxiv: 9, 117                         | Exodus, Book of,                                    |
| Devil, 68. See also Satan             | i : 6-7, 8-22, 108                                   |
| *Didache*, iii : 9, 48                | ii : 1-16, 21-24, 108                                |
| Dindorf, G., 48                       | iii : 1-2, 4, 6-8, 10-12, 109                        |
| Disciples, 102, 112. See also Apostles| iv : 1-4, 9-12, 14-16, 27, 29-31, 109                |
| Doctors, scholars, 10-11              | v : 1-2, 109                                        |
| Döbschutz, E. von, 44                 | vii : 9-13, 19, 21-22, 109                           |
| Dorotheus, 127, 132-3                 | viii : 5-19, 21-23, 109                              |
| Dove, sent by Noah, 90                | ix : 6, 10-13, 23, 25, 27-28, 109                    |
| Dragons, 63, 70-1                     | xi : 3-20, 22-25, 27, 110                            |
| Dream, 72-3                           | xi : 1-5, 110                                       |
| Dumbness, 58-9, 68-71, 74-5           | xii : 1-5, 7, 13, 28-31, 37, 40-42, 110              |
| Ecbatana, 165                         | xiii : 1, 8-10, 12, 22, 110                          |
| Eden, 6-7, 12, 77. See also Garden    | xiv : 2, 6-7, 10-11, 13-16, 19-24, 27-28, 31, 111   |
| Egypt, 105, 160-1                     | xv : 1, 111                                         |
| Egyptian worship of Virgin, 160-3      | xv : 22, 27, 112                                     |
| Eli, 150-1, 175                       | xvi : 4, 14, 16-20, 31, 112                          |
| Elias, see Elijah                     | xvi : 33-34, 113                                     |
| Elijah, 101, 140-3, 168-9, 172-3, 174-5. See also *Life of Elijah* | xviii : 13-14, 18, 21-22, 114                       |
| Elim, 112                             | xix-xxiv, 114                                       |
| Elisabeth, 175                        | xx : 9-11, 114                                       |
| Elisha, 144-5, 167, 168-9, 172-3, 174-5. See also *Life of Elisha* | xxxii : 1-4, 15, 19-20, 26-28, 115                  |
| Enoch, First Book of (I Enoch)        | *Exodus Rabba*, xix : 6, 98                          |
| vii-viii, lxix, 84                    | Ezekiel, 162-5, 174-5. See also *Life of Ezekiel*   |
| Enoch, Second Book of (II Enoch), 25  | Ezra, 170-1                                         |
| 165                                   | Fire, 70-1, 97, 109, 140-3                           |
| xv : 1, 76                            | First-born, blessing of, 99-100                      |
| Enos, 12-13, 23, 84-5                 | Fish, talisman of, 60-1                              |
| Envy, meaning of 'Cain', 20-1          | Fitzmyer, J. A., 167                                 |
| of Satan, 20-1                        | Flask of manna, 113                                  |
| Ephod, consultations of, 148-9         | Flood, the, 44, 47, 86-9                             |
| Ephaem Syrus, 163                     | chronology of, 83, 91, 94, 120                       |
| Ephraim, tribe, 115, 168-9             | Flusser, D., 46, 164                                 |
| Epiphanius, 127                       | Font, baptismal, 111                                 |
| *Adv. Haer.*, I, 1 : 5, 92            | Food                                               |
| *De Mens. et Pond.*., V, 163          | of angels, 112                                       |
| Epiphanius, Pseudo-, *Vitae Propheta-rum*, see *Lives of the Prophets* | of protoplasts, 5, 6-7, 22-3. See also Fruit         |
| Esau, 99, 102                          | *Fragment 1*, Adam text, 1, 2-5, 6-9, 10-11, 16, 23, 28 |
| Est'era, sister of Seth, 22-3          | *Fragment 2*, Adam text, 1, 2-5, 10-11, 28           |
| Ethical injunctions, 97               | Frey, J.-B., 39, 41, 48, 55                          |
| Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve, see     |                                                   |
| *Book of Adam and Eve*, Ethiopic       |                                                   |
Index

Friedmann, M., 170
Fruit, eating of, 5, 6-12, 22-3, 75
Enoch’s garden of, 13, 23

Gad, 101
Gad, prophet, 174
Ganim the Jew, 164-5
Garden, the, 4-5, 10-11, 18-19, 24-5
dwelling of Adam and Eve, 6-7, 12-13
expulsion from, 22-3, 46
See also Eden
Garitte, G., 134
Genesis, Book of, 18-19
iii: 18, 37
iv: 15, 36
iv: 17, 137
iv: 24, 36
v: 8, 84
v: 23, 29, 85
vi, 84, 86
vi: 3, 7, 87
vi: 9, 11, 13-16, 18, 88-9
vi: 18-19, 22, 89
vii: 1, 88
vii: 2-3, 89
vii: 10-12, 89-90
vii: 17, 20-22, 90
viii: 1-2, 4, 6-7, 10-11, 15-17, 19-21, 90
ix: 8, 11-15, 28, 90
x, 91
x: 25, 93
xi: 2-4, 9, 91-2
xi: 5-9, 92
xi: 10, 12, 20, 22, 24, 26-27, 29-30, 93
xii: 7-8, 94
xiii: 3, 95
xiv: 34, 15, 97
xvii: 16, 27, 98
xviii: 1, 95
xviii: 2-4, 7-10, 14, 18, 20-21, 23-26, 96
xviii: 11, 14, 98
xxi: 2-5, 98
xxii: 1-17, 98
xxiv: 2-4, 7, 99
xxv: 7, 21, 24-25, 28-34, 99
xxvii: 36-37, 41, 100
xxviii: 1-4, 10-14, 16-20, 100-101

Genesis, Book of (cont.)
xxix: 1-xxx: 36, 101
xxx: 37-39, 102
xxxii: 3, 17, 102
xxxix: 1-2, 7, 10, 103
xxxvii: 5, 7-11, 13-14, 18-19, 21-22, 25-27-28, 104
xxxvii: 32-33, 35-36, 105
xxxix: 2-4, 6-9, 11-12, 16-20, 105
x: 1-5, 7-8, 10-14, 34, 105
xlii: 1-3, 6-7, 9-11, 13-15, 19-20, 106-7
xliii: 1-11, 18, 22, 23-26, 29-30, 108
xl: 23-24, 108

Genesis Rabba
xxxvii: 8, 92
xxxvii: 13, 93
xlvi: 8-9, 95
xlv: 6, 95
xlvi: 14, 165
xc: 3, 106

Gentiles, 102
George Cedrenus, Chronicle of, 39, 43-8
George the Synellenus, Chronicle of, 48
Georgian Adam Apocryphon, 33, 35
Georgian versions and translations of Apocrypha, 42, 134-5
Gibeon, 136-7, 173
Gibson, M.D., 41
Gilead, 140-1
Gilgal, 144-5
Ginzberg, L., 100
Götze, A., 41
Gold, talisman of, 70-1
Golden calf, 109
worship of, punished, 115
Golden heifer, 144-5, 152-3
Golden urn, 113, 117
Gomorrah, 88, 97
Gospel, the, 117
Gottheil, R., 49, 634

181
Index

Graphic confusion, selected instances of, 6-7, 18-19, 22-3, 31, 34, 36, 61, 73, 75, 83, 160. See also Sibral errors
Graves, spirits in, 70-1
Greeks, Paralipomena of, see Paralipomena of the Greeks
Gregory, St, Teaching of, see Teaching of St Gregory
Gregory of Tat'ew, 39
Habakkuk, 166-7, 168-9, 174-5
Haggai, 170-1, 174-5
Haggai, Book of, i:1, 170
Hair, cut off in mourning, 28-9
Halakhot Gedolot, 167
Ham, son of Noah, 86-7, 91
Haran, 93, 100
Harmon, A.M., 49
Healing, talisman of, 66-7
Heaven, gate of, 76-7
Hebrews, Epistle to the, xi:37, 160, 162
Hell, 10-11, 119
Hempel, J., 41, 49
Herod, 146
Hezekiah, 161-2
Hieronymus, St, see Jerome, St
Hilkiah, 161-2
History of the Sons of Adam, 19-20
Holy ones, see Angels
Holy spirit, 122-3, 134, 154-5, 166-7. See also Spirit of God
Honeycomb, 154-5
Hosea, 166-7, 174-5
Hosea, Book of, i:1, 166
Hosts, heavenly, 25
Hours of the Day and Night, 1, 4, 19, 39-57, 58-77, 78-80
Armenian version of, 39, 41, 51-6
authorship of, 39, 41, 44-51, 71-4
versions of, in Arabic, 39-42, 57-8, 60, 64, 75; in Ethiopic, 42; in Georgian, 42; in Greek, 42-3, 47, 55, 70-1, 78-80; in Syriac, 39-40, 47, 55; relationship between, 47, 54-5, 58-9, 62-3, 65, 70-1, 77
See also Testament of Adam
Hulda, 175
Ideogram, 69
Idolatry, 93

Incarnation, 44, 47, 119
Irenaeus, Adv. Haeres., IV, 17, 3, 46
Iron, smithery, 20-1
Isaac, 88, 97-8, 99-102
Isaiah, 158, 160-1, 166-7, 169-70, 171, 174-5. See also Life of Isaiah; Martyrdom of Isaiah
Isaiah, Book of, i, 46, 160
i:1, 160
Ishmaelites, 97
Israel, children of; Israelites, 90, 109-13, 162-3
Issachar, 101
Issaverdens, J., 1, 24, 13, 15, 18, 20-1, 34-6, 45, 129, 162, 172
Jacob, 88, 100-3, 104, 107-8, 121
James, M.R., 42-6, 78, 83, 134, 162, 164-5
Japheth, 86-7, 91, 93
Jared, 84
Jehovah, see Jehovah
Jehoiada, king of Israel, 170-1
Jehoolakim, 162-5
Jehoshaphat, 167
Jensen, H., 136
Jerahmeel, see Chronicle of Jerahmeel
Jeremiah, 156-7, 160-3, 174-5. See also Life of Jeremiah; Paralipomena of Jeremiah
Jeremiah, Book of, 162-3
i:2, 161
xxxvi, 163
Jericho, 117-9
Jeroboam I, 144-5, 150-1, 152-3
Jeroboam II, king, 166-7, 172-3
Jeroboam, son of Ahab, 168-9
Jerome, St, 163, 168-9
commentary on Obad, 1, 169
Jerusalem, 130, 136-7, 140-1, 146-7, 162-3
identified with Bethel, 100, 103
Jesse, 122
Jews, 102, 156-7, 162-3. See also Israel, children of; Israelites
Joachaz, 146-7
Joacim, 164-5
Joad, king, 156-7
Joad, prophet, 129, 152-3. See also Life of Joad
Joahaz, 157
Index

Joash, 157, 171
Job, 172-3
Joel, Yovas, 175
Joel, 166-7, 174-5
Joel, Book of, i: 1, 167
John, xix: 13, 147
John the Baptist, 174-5. See also Story of John the Baptist
John Malalas, 49-50
Chronicle, X, 61, 63
Johnson, B., 129
Jonah, 166, 172-3, 174-5. See also Preaching of Jonah
Joram, king, 166-7
Jordan, river, 19, 117-9
Joseph, 101, 104-8, 115. See also Story of Joseph
Joshua, son of Jozadak, 170-3
Joshua, son of Nun, 117-20. See also Story of Joshua
Joshua, Book of, i: 1-2, 6, 117
Joshua, Book of (cont.)
i: 1-7, 9, 12-15, 18, 117
ii: 1, 6, 8, 13, 16, 117-8
iii: 13, 16-17, 118-9
iv: 5-7, 118
v: 1, 118-9
vi: 1-3, 118-9
vi: 1-5, 15, 20-24, 119
Josiah, king, 160-1
Jotham, 160-1
Jozadak, 170-1
Jubilees, Book of
iii: 1-11, 48
x: 8, 93
x: 18-27, 92
Judah, 101
tribe, 115, 121
province, 170-1
Judgement, divine, 90
Judges, 121
Justin, Pseudo-, Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos, 64, 49-50
Kalemkiar, G., 166
Karapet, St, Church of, 33
Kayser, C. L., 49
Kings
of Israel, situation before, 121
talisman relating to, 64-7, 72-3, 74-5
Kings, Books of
i: 32-33, 39, 125
ii: 14, 10-11, 125
Kings, Books of (cont.)
i, ii: 35, 46 (LXX), 126
iii: 5-7, 9, 11-12, 15-28, 126
iv: 17 ff. (LXX), 126
iv: 32-34 (LXX), 126
v: 13-18 (LXX), 126
vi: 7, 15, 18, 38, 126
vii: 3-5, 10-11, 15-16, 62-63, 126
x: 14, 23, 126
xi: 1, 3-4, 9, 11-13, 42-43, 126
xiii: 20-25, 129
xvii: 172
xviii: 168
II, viii: 1, 167
xxiii: 17, 129
Klein, S., 168-9, 171, 173
Kmosko, M., 39-40, 47, 61-2
Kneucker, J., 163
Koût'n, province, 134, 154-5
Kraft, R. A., 45, 56, 166-7
Kurds, 97
Laban, 88, 100-2
Labib, P., 46
Ladder, Jacob's, 100-1
of souls, 101
Lamech, 84-7
Language, Armenian, see Armenian language
Languages, 92-3
Leah, 101
Levi, 101. See also Testament of Levi
Lewy, H., 101
Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (= LAB), 93
vii: 1, 91
Licht, J., 46
Life of Abel, see Life and History of Abel
Life of Adam and Eve, Slavonic
xxvii: 1, 19
xxxiv, 10-11
Life of Daniel, 129
Life of Eli (Selum), 129-30, 133-4, 150-1
Life of Elijah, 129-34, 140-3
Life of Elisha, 129-34, 144-5
Life of Ezekiel, 129, 163-5
Life of Habakkuk, Greek, 169
Life of Hosea, Greek, 166-7
Life of Isaiah, 129, 160
Life of Jeremiah, 129, 161-2
Life of Joah, 129-30, 133-4, 152-3

183
Life of Jonah, Greek, 172
Life of Malachi, Greek, 171
Life of Micah, 169
Life of Moses, 129-30, 134, 154-5
Life of Nathan, 129-33, 136-9, 140, 173
Life of Obadiah, 168-9
Life of Zacharias, Father of John the Baptist, 130, 146
Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada, 129-32
(1), 129, 146-9, 170
(2), 129, 135, 156-7
Life and History of Abel, 1-2, 33, 34-8
Lim, 15
Lists of Prophets’ Names, see Prophets, names of
Lives of the Prophets, cycle of, 18, 127, 146, 174
in Armenian, 18, 127, 129-31, 134-5, 161
Christological prophecies in, 166-7
in Greek, 18, 127, 131-3, 163
method of Greek reconstruction of
Armenian, 133-4
Lives of the Twelve Minor Prophets, 129
Lot, 97
Love, talisman of, 60-1, 68-9
Lucianus Samosatensis, 49
Lüdtke, W., 33, 35, 42
Luke
x : 1, 112
xvi: 22, 94
Maccabees, Fourth Book of
xiii: 16, 94
Macler, F., 131
Magic, see Potions; Spells; Talismans
Magical writing, 39, 57
Mahalaleel, 84
Malachi, 170-1, 174-5
Malan, S. C., 23, 92
Manasseh, king, 160-1, 166-7
Manasseh, tribe, 115
Manna, 109, 112-3, 117
Manual of Discipline, 1QS ix: 3 ff., 46
Manuscripts
Athos, Batoped. No. 79, 162
Berlin, Greek Codex No. 173, 43
Cambridge, University Library,
Arabic No. 306, 41
Erevan, Matenadaran
No. 533, 174
No. 562, 158
No. 711, 16
No. 1500, 19, 129-30, 175
No. 1869, 44
No. 2126, 3, 33, 34-8
No. 3854, 82
No. 4231, 82
lacunae in, 82, 102-3, 114, 126
Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate
No. 1B, 129-30
No. 69, 39
No. 154 B, 146
No. 154 C, 130
No. 282, 130
No. 372, 15
No. 642, 2-3, 16
No. 840, 11
No. 1488, 16
No. 1529, 2, 16
Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate
Greek No. 54, 45-6
London, British Museum
Armenian Or. No. 6471, 56-7
Ethiopic Or. No. 751, 42
Ethiopic Or. No. 752, 42
Ethiopic Or. No. 753, 42
Syriac Add. No. 14624, 39-40
Syriac Add. No. 25815, 39-40
Syriac Arund. Or. No. 53, 39-40
London, East India Office
No. 9, 64
Oxford, Huntingdon No. 514, 40
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
anc. f. Arab. No. 52, 40-1
anc. f. Arab. No. 54, 40
anc. f. Arab. No. 158, 40-1
Arm. No. 110, 131
Arm. No. 180, 131
Arm. No. 198, 158
Cod. Gr. No. 2316, 43
Cod. Gr. No. 2419, 43
Cod. Supp. Gr. No. 20, 43
Cod. Supp. Gr. No. 1148, 43
Heb. No. 326, 164
Sinai, Arabic, 41
Vatican
Arab. No. 32, 40-1
Arab. No. 165, 41
Index

Manuscripts, Vatican (cont.)
Gr. No. 1192, 19
Syr. No. 58, 40
Syr. No. 159, 40
Syr. No. 164, 40
Venice, Mechitarist Library
No. 57, 3
No. 176, 174-5
No. 729, 3-4, 15

Martyrdom of Isaiah, v: 11-14, 160
Mazlut'a, ruler of Babylon, 134, 154-5
Mead, G.R.S., 49-50
Medes, 164-5, 170-1
Media, 165
Meilet, A., 26-7, 136-7
Mekhilta, Bo, 1, 163
Melchizedek, 164-5
Men
figures of, in heavenly temple, 24-27
watches of, 58-61, 66-9, 72-3
of white appearance, 140-1
Merandn, place, 168-9
Mérécian, J., 131
Mesopotamia, 100
Methusaleh, 84-5
Metzer, B.M., 112
Meyer, W., 4-5, 45
Micah, 163, 168-9, 174-5
Micah, Book of, i: 1, 169
Michael, archangel, 10-11, 57
Michael the Syrian (the Great), 50
Midian, 104
Midrash Psalms, §26, 172
Miriam, 175
Mirror, 84-5
Mishael, 154-5
Moerogenes, 49
Morath, 169
Moriah, Mount, 100
Moses, 104, 109-16, 117-8, 134, 154-5,
172-3, 174-5
books of, 18-19
chronology concerning, 83, 120
See also Apocalypsis Mosis; Story of
Moses; Life of Moses
Moses of Choren, History, 1, 5, 93
 Mourning, 28-9
Nabath, 150-1
Nahor, 92-3
Nahum, 167, 168-9, 174-5
Nahum, Book of, i: 1, 169

Names of the Prophets and Their Order
and in What Times They Were,
163, 174-5
Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy
Prophets, 83, 127, 147, 158-9,
160-73
Naphthali, 101
Nathan, 136-9, 172-3, 174-5. See also
Life of Nathan
Nau, F., 41, 43, 49-50, 65, 78, 131
Nebo, Mount, 154-5
Nebuchadnezzar, 154-5, 168-9
Nehemiah, 170-1
Netgug, village, 131
Neptune, 172-3
Neriah, 162-3
Nestorians, 44
Nickelsburg, G.W.E., 56
Nikopolis, 131
Nineveh, 168-9
Noah, 30-1, 84-5, 88-103, 164-5. See
also Story of Noah
Nomina Barbara, 55, 58-77
Numbers of tribes, 115
Numbers, Book of
i: 20, 144-5
i: 20-21, 23-25, 27, 29, 31, 35, 37,
39, 41, 43, 44, 46-50, 115
Oath, of Seth, 5, 8-9, 22-3
Obadiah, 166, 168-9, 174-5
Oil, 66-7, 100
Oracles, priestly, 140-3, 148-9
Origen, 49
Orthography, see Armenian language
Oxen, 150-1

Palaea, 19
Palm trees, 112
Paradise, see Garden
Paralipomena, see Chronicles, Books of
Paralipomena of the Greeks, 18-19
Paralipomena of Jeremiah, 19, 130
ix: 21-32, 162
Patriarchs, 119
Paul, see Apocalypse of Paul
Peleg, 93
Penitence of Adam (= 'Repentance of
Adam'; 'Repentance of Our Father
Adam'), 4-5, 19, 44-6, 48
Perea Shira, 54, 76
Perkins, F., 25
Persians, 170-1

185
Index

Pesiqta Rabbati, 170
Petruel, 166-7
Petzke, G., 49, 50
Pharaoh, 104-7, 109, 111
Philip, see Acts of Philip
Philo, Quaest. in Gen., IV, 196, 100
Philo, Pseudo, Biblical Antiquities, see Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum
Philostratus, Vita Apollonii, 48-9
Pilate, see Acts of Pilate
Pirque de-R. Eliezer, xxxv, 100
Plagues, 109-10
Planets, seven, 101
Plants, 74-5
Plessner, M., 41, 48
Polyphemus (Bacliemöii), 172-3
Potions, 84-5
Prayers, hours of, 44, 56-7, 58-77. See also Hours of the Day and Night
Preaching of Jonah, 172
Preuschen, E., 2-3, 15, 18, 22-3, 24, 28, 33
Priaulx, O. de B., 50
Priests, 67, 73, 111, 117-9, 121, 142-3
Prigent, P., 166
Princes, sons of Noah, 93, 95
Prisoners, talismans of, 64-5
names of, 128, 174-5
See also Lives of the Prophets: Names, Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets
Psalms, Apocryphal, Syriac ii, 46
Psalms, Book of, 1: 19, 46
Quail, 112-3
Quinn, E. C., 2, 4, 5
Rachel, 101
Rainbow, 98
Rashi, commentary on Joel, i: 1, 167
Rebekah, 99
Red Sea, 109, 111
Rehoboam, 150-1
Renan, E., 39-44, 46, 48, 55, 78
‘Repentance of Adam’, ‘Repentance of Our Father Adam’, see Penitence of Adam
Reptiles, 63, 86-7, 88-9. See also Scorpion; Serpent; Snake
Reuben, 101, 104
tribe, 144-5
See also Testament of Reuben
Rock in desert, 112-3
Rod, of Aaron, 109, 117
of Moses, 109, 111
Romans, Epistle to, iv: 16, 94
Rood-Tree, see Cross, Tree of the Roosters, see Birds
Sabbath, 114
Sacrifice, 46
Sadok, Zadok, 172-3
Safrai, Ch., 173
Salamut', 172-3
Samaria, 144-5, 152-3, 168-9
Samuel, 121-2, 123, 172-3, 174-5. See also Story of Samuel
Samuel, Books of
I, i: 1, 121, 171
i: 1-11, 121
iii: 4, 10-14, 121
iv: 1-2, 4, 6-8, 10-11, 121
v-vi, 121
viii: 4-8, 19, 121
ix: 1-2, 121
x: 1, 121
xvi: 1-12, 14, 122
xvi: 13, 123
xvii: 1, 4-7, 11, 26, 32-41, 43-52, 123
xviii: 6-7, 123
II, xviii: 9-11, 32-33, 124
Samuel of Ani, Chronography of, 44-5, 48
Sanjian, A. K., 82
Sarghissian, B., 2, 4, 15, 19, 163, 174
Satan, 20-1, 35
and Abraham, 94
and Adam, 10-11, 84-5
typological exegesis of, 111, 119
Saul, 121-2
Schechter, S., 95, 165
Schermann, T., 127, 129, 131-4, 146, 161, 163, 168-70, 173
Schnur, H. C., 50
Scorpion, 60-3
Scribal errors, selected instances of
dittography, 21, 23-4, 61, 70, 93, 158, 170
doublets, 36, 60
haplography, 8-9, 21, 23-4, 29, 60, 64, 68, 136, 144, 147

186
Index

Scribal errors (cont.)
  homoeoarchton, 29, 34
  homoeoteleuton, 37-8
  numerals, 18-19
  See also Graphic confusion

Seder Olam Rabba, xx, 167, 169-70
Seder Olam Zuta, 167

Seed, talisman of, 74-5
Selom (Shiloh), 150-1
Selov, see Shiloh
Selum, see Eli; Life of Eli (Selum)
Seraphim, Seraphs, 71-2, 77

Servants, heavenly, 24-5
Seth, 4-5, 6-11, 12-13, 20-4, 26-31, 38, 46-7
  age of, 84
  See also Words of Adam to Seth

Sethites, 23

Seven
  planets, 101
  priests, 119
  punishments of Cain, 35-6
  spheres, 101
  walls of Jericho, 119
  years, 101

Seventh Vision of Daniel, 166

Seventy, 112
  tongues, 92
  years, 101, 102

Seventy-two, 112
  disciples, 112
  palm trees, 112
  princes, sons of Noah, 91, 93
  tongues, 92-3

Shealtiel, 170-1
Shchem, 168-9
Shem, 86-7, 90-3, 164-5
Shiloh (Selov), 150-1
Sibyl(s), text relating to, 158
Sibylline Oracles, II, 249-250, 162
Sidionians, 172-3
Sifre, Num. 133, 169
Silver, talisman of, 70-1
Simeon, 101
  tribe, 115
Simeon ben Azzai, 160
Sinai, Mount, 109, 114
Smith, M., 98
Smith, V. A., 50
Snake
  talisman against, 60-3, 70-1
  See also Reptiles

Sobok'a, mother of Elijah, 140-1
Sodom, 88, 97
Solomon, 115, 126, 150-1, 172-3. See also Concerning King Solomon; Story of Solomon

Sons of Adam, see Adam; History of the Sons of Adam

Sons of God, 84-5
Sophim, Sop' im, place, 170-1
Spells, 58-9, 72-4
Spheres, seven heavenly, 101
Spirit of God, 66-7, 74. See also Holy spirit

Spirits, in graves, 70-1
Springs, twelve, 112
Staff, see Rod
Stars, 71, 74-5
Steinschneider, M., 41, 49
Step'anos Lebaci'i, 39
Stone, 35, 100

Story of David, 123-5
Story of John the Baptist, 126
Story of Joseph, 104-8
Story of Joshua, Son of Nun, 83, 117-20
Story of Moses, 109-16
Story of Noah, 82-3, 88-103
Story of Samuel, 121-2
Story of Solomon, 126
Story of Susanna, 1-2, 165
Strack, H. L., 94-5
Surxat, 15
Susa, 165

Susanna, 164-5. See also Story of Susanna

Swete, H. B., 126
Synaxarion, Armenian, 131, 134

Tabernacle, 117, 150-1
Tablets, 117
Talismans, 58-77
Talmud, Armenian excerpt from, 157
Talmud, Babylonian
  Baba Batra, 10a, 93
  Baba Mezi'a, 86b, 95
  Berakhhot, 10a, 160
  Megilla, 15a, 163
  Nedairim, 32b, 165
  Sanhedrin, 39b, 169
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Talmud, Babylonian (cont.)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sanhedrin</em>, 103b, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Shabbat</em>, 127a, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yebamot</em>, 49b, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Talmud, Palestinian</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sanhedrin</em>, x: 2 (28c), 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sukka</em>, v : 1 (55a), 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T’anzara</strong>, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tanhuma, Zav</strong>, 14, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Targum</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eccles. vii : 28, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is. lxvi : 1, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam. ii : 20, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Targum, Pseudo-Jonathan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gen. xi</em>: 8, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gen. xiv</em>: 18, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tayec’i, E.</strong>, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teaching of St Gregory</strong>, 92, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§621, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temple</strong>, 83, 120, 168-9, 170-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavenly, 24-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ten Commandments</strong>, 114-5, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ter Yovasap’</strong>, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Terah</strong>, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testament of Abraham</strong>, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, end, 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B, iv, 56-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testament of Adam</strong>, 1, 39-42, 44-5, 47-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testament of Benjamin</strong>, vii : 3, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testament of Dan</strong>, v : 6, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testament of Levi</strong>, iii : 2, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testament of Reuben</strong>, v : 5-6, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testimonia, Christian</strong>, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodor, J., 92-3, 95, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomson, R. W., 92-3, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thorns, Thistles</strong>, 6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three Children, the</strong>, 134, 154-5, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also <strong>Lives of the Three Children</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Throne, heavenly</strong>, 24-7, 64-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tigris, river</strong>, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T’ilemaw, Cyclops</strong>, 172-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tischendorf, C. von</strong>, 162, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tisserant, E.</strong>, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T’obel, 20-1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tongues, 92-3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Torrey, C.C., 129, 168, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Toumanoff, C.</strong>, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Tower of Babel, 83, 88, 91-3, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Translation into Armenian</strong>, 10, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traveller, talisman for</strong>, 66-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tredwell, D.M.</strong>, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tree</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Knowledge, 4, 6-9, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Life, 4, 6-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talisman of, 74-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also <strong>Branch; Cross, Tree of the; Fruit</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trinity</strong>, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trishagion</strong>, 71-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Twelve</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apostles, 112, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disciples, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minor prophets, 166. See also <em>Lives of the Twelve Minor Prophets</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priests, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prophets, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sons of Jacob, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>springs, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Typological exegesis</strong>, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of features in <strong>Gen.</strong>, 90, 99, 100-1, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exod.</strong>, 111-3, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Num.</strong>, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Josh.</strong>, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tyre</strong>, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ulysses</strong>, 172-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uriah</strong>, 136, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uriel</strong>, 44, 46-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urni, golden</strong>, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vaillant, A.</strong>, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Van, city</strong>, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Venice</strong>, 2, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Virgin</strong>, 113, 117, 120, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian worship of, 160-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vita Adae et Evae</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title</strong>, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-ix, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i ff., 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xliv, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlviii : 4-6, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vitae Prophetarum, see Lives of the Prophets</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Watchers</strong>, 44, 47, 84-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Watches, see Hours of the Day and Night</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Water</strong>, 60, 66-7, 72-3, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from rock, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Whittaker, T.</strong>, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wilderness, wanderings in</strong>, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wind, talisman of</strong>, 72-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wisdom of Ben Sira</strong>, xl ix : 16, 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Women, talismans against, 74-5
Words of Adam to Seth, 1, 3-5, 6-7, 12-13, 23, 46, 85
Wright, W., 42
Writing, 115
Wutz, F. X., 7

Yalqut, Cant., § 993, 98
Yovsēp'ianc', S., 1-4, 15-17, 45, 129, 161-2, 168-9, 172
base texts of, compared, 12-13, 18-31, 34-8

Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, 130, 146, 175
Zadok, Sadok, 172-3
Zarephath, 172-3
Zarphanalian, G., 44
Zebulun, 101
Zechariah, confusion of identity of, 132, 146-7, 158-9, 170-1
Zechariah ben Berechiah, 132, 156-7, 158-9, 170-1, 174-5
Zechariah ben Jehoiada, 129-32, 135, 146-9, 156-7, 159, 170-1. See also Life of Zechariah ben Jehoiada (Versions 1 and 2)
Zephaniah, Jeremiah’s contemporary, 170-1, 174-5
Zerubbabel, 170-1
Zodiac, 39
Zohrabian, J., 81
ובתוך ותוכלしてきた כשאני מכיר בamanho קרוביםaptops وما שעשה הקשקש מטפסים דמלית. מקומן כולל תכלית החודש: קסם על כל מבית. והם משמיעים את קולותיהם עם הקשיש בסופר. כשאני מביא את מיני השפעות ידועות לברךoration. האפיים משמחים את מי שנושאים את זה. השפעות ידועות לברךoration. האפיים משמחים את מי שנושאים את זה.

החלקה של חדי המתים:beeld

ב. חזרתי נורה בשמש: ידועות לי, על תכלית Wiring: שבעה עורות לברךoration. האפיים משמחים את מי שנושאים את זה. השפעות ידועות לברךoration. האפיים משמחים את מי שנושאים את זה.

החלקה של חדי המתים:beeld

ספורות תיצוגית בתורגומ ארצנים
הڭוררה בסייגורו hacen

הדרר והנשף מבראשה, תרגומימ בויאור

מיכאל א' סטן

ירשים החפם"ב