THE LIVES OF THE PROPHETS
(First Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION
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"The names of the prophets, and where they are from, and where they died and how, and where they lie"—with these phrases the major manuscript, Codex Marchalianus, summarizes the content of the brief document now known as The Lives of the Prophets. In some sections all the information given fits this summary. In others the scheme is expanded to include legendary information not contained in the Scriptures (Jonah was the son of the widow of Zarephath visited by Elijah, 1Kgs 17!—10:4–6) and prophecies or "signs" attributed to the prophet that are not found in the canon. Non-canonical miracles are also reported. In a few instances canonical narratives are included. The collection treats the three major and twelve minor prophets and Daniel, and seven non-literary prophets whose activities are reported in the Bible.

Texts

The Lives of the Prophets is extant in a number of versions, including Syriac, Ethiopic, Latin, and Armenian, but all are dependent upon Greek originals. There are an abundance of Greek manuscripts, the most important of these are the following:

Codex Marchalianus, Cod. Vaticanus Gk. 2125, sixth century, in the Vatican library; it is referred to as Q. It is the most important member of the group of manuscripts constituting the "anonymous recension."1

Codex Paris. Gk. 1115, copied in 1276, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; because it is the chief witness for the longer of the two recensions attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis, it will be referred to as E1.

Codex Coisl. 120, tenth century, Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Coislin), Paris; since it is the leading representative of the short recension attributed to Epiphanius, it will be referred to as E2.

Codex Vindob. Theol. Gk. 40 (formerly 77), thirteenth century, Vienna; because it is the best example of the recension attributed to Dorotheus, it will be cited as D.

Codex Coisl. 224, tenth century, Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Coislin), Paris; a member of the "anonymous recension," it generally agrees with Q. No siglum is used for this manuscript, because it is used infrequently.

The text is well preserved in these manuscripts (Coisl. 224 is defective in the section on Daniel), but they differ widely regarding the order in which the prophets are treated and in respect to which non-literary prophets are included.

The translation here presented is based almost entirely upon Q, which is generally regarded as best representing the earliest Greek version of this work.2

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1 This term distinguishes Q and its dependents from the many MSS that attribute the work to Epiphanius or Dorotheus.

2 A critical text of Q is presented by T. Schermann, Prophetae vitae fabulosae indices apostolorum discipolorumque Domini Dorotheo, Epiphanio, Hippolyto aliisque vindicate, pp. 68–98. With this was compared the text of Q as printed by E. Nestle, Marginen und Materialien. Discussions of the major recensions and their chief witnesses
Original language

It is believed by many that The Lives of the Prophets was originally written in one of the Semitic languages. A few scholars have proposed that the original language was Syriac, but this position has won few supporters. More widespread is the view, vigorously defended by C. C. Torrey, that the book was composed in Hebrew. The Israeli scholar S. Klein suggests that either Aramaic or Hebrew may have been the original language. T. Schermann posits a Hebrew ancestor but opposes the view that the earliest Greek version was simply a translation from Hebrew.

Two arguments count against the hypothesis of a Semitic original. First, the evidence of mistranslation is not substantial. Secondly, there are several instances in which the text is closer to the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures than to the Hebrew. In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, it is best to assume that the Palestinian traditions included in this document first attained literary form in Greek.

Date

It is very difficult to date a document of this kind, not only because it contains very few allusions to contemporary events, but also because it was an open-ended collection that invited additions.

The document is extant in Christian manuscripts only. Not a scrap of it has been identified at Qumran, and there is no reference to it in other Jewish literature. Nevertheless, the basic material has been so little influenced by Christian beliefs that scholars are generally agreed that the original writing was created by a Jew. Because it was transmitted by Christians, however, it is not surprising that the manuscripts contain a good deal of Christian material. In D, for example, each section is prefaced with prophecies concerning the Messiah attributed to the prophet in question, to which are appended in some instances references to the use of these prophecies in the New Testament. E adds sections dealing with Zechariah the father of John the Baptist, Simeon of Luke 2:25–35, and John the Baptist. A few manuscripts dependent upon Q, including Coisl. 224, contain an account of the martyrdom of “Simon, son of Clopas, the cousin of the L ORD.” Q contains no Christian additions of either of these two types, but Christian interpolations of a more subtle kind are suspected at various points, some of which will be referred to in the notes.

On the assumption that the basic work was created by a non-Christian Jew, it is still difficult to establish limits for his activity, but the evidence suggests a date within the first century A.D. Some of the traditions are undoubtedly ancient, but it seems unlikely that the basic collection originated as early as the Maccabean period. Nor is there any certain evidence that the document dates from after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in

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3 The leading proponent was I. H. Hall, “The Lives of the Prophets,” JBL 7 (1887) 38f.

4 Lives, p. 7; Torrey also cites earlier advocates of this view.


6 Propheten- und Apostellegenden, pp. 131f.

7 Cf. n. c on 1:1. Torrey’s brilliant conjecture concerning the argolai of 2:7 (Lives, p. 49; see below, n. k on 2:7) does not provide evidence of translation from a Heb. original; if the passage is not a gloss, the author may simply be transmitting a tradition popular among Gk.-speaking Jews of Egypt. The evidence of mistranslation in 4:10 is impressive (see n. f) but is not in itself sufficient to justify the hypothesis.

8 Cf. n. j on 4:15, n. f on 12:12, and nn. k and l on 21:13–14. The use of “Sybatha” in 20:1 seems to reflect a tradition based on the Heb. text (see n. c), but awareness of such a tradition on the part of a Palestinian author would not justify the inference that he wrote in Heb. (or Aram.).


10 M. de Jonge, “Christelijke Elementen in de Vitae Prophetarum,” Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift 16 (1961–62) 164, raises the possibility that Melito or Hegesippus assembled the material while traveling in the Near East, and, in conjunction with Christian editing, first presented it to the world as a literary document.
A.D. 70. A date after the emergence of gentile Christianity may be required if the prophecy in 2:13 concerning gentiles worshiping a piece of wood is an expression of Jewish disgust at the idolatrous veneration of the cross by gentile Christians, but it seems more probable that this is a Christian interpolation.

Of greater relevance to the question of the date are two passages that seem to imply specific historical situations. If the passage concerning Isaiah's grave indicates that in the author's perspective the so-called spring of Siloam is outside the wall of Jerusalem, a date prior to the erection of the new south wall by Herod Agrippa (A.D. 41–44) is required. On the other hand, the author may simply be reflecting an awareness of the fact that the Herodian wall is of very recent date, and therefore this passage cannot be pressed as certain evidence for a date prior to A.D. 41.

More convincing evidence of a first-century date is provided by a phrase in 21:1, "Elijah, a Thesbite from the land of the Arabs." That is, from the author's perspective, Elijah's Transjordanian birthplace lay within the area under Nabatean political control. Since Nabatean hegemony was terminated in A.D. 106 by Trajan, it is probable that our author wrote at an earlier date.

Although demonstration is impossible, it would appear that the most probable date is the first quarter of the first century A.D., when interest in the erection of monuments for prophets and other national heroes, encouraged in part by Herod's construction of an expensive memorial of white marble at the entrance to David's tomb (Josephus, Ant 16.7.1 §182) began to gain momentum. One may hazard the guess that this little document preceded, and perhaps even contributed toward, the peaking of this movement. The saying of Jesus in Luke 11:47, "Alas for you who build the tombs of the prophets, the men your ancestors killed!" (cf. Mt 23:29), implies that memorials had been erected recently for certain martyred prophets. Jeremias argues that Jesus was alluding most probably to monuments in honor of Isaiah and Zechariah son of Jehoiada, the only prophets to whom tradition had attributed a Jerusalem martyrdom and burial. While The Lives of the Prophets 1:8 suggests that a monument had been erected for Isaiah (cf. n. 1 on 1:8), there is no suggestion that this was of recent date. Respecting the burial of Zechariah son of Jehoiada, on the other hand, our text betrays no awareness of a monument (cf. 23:1 and n. d). If Jesus' saying does in fact point to such a construction, it can be inferred that our author wrote prior to the time of Jesus' public ministry.

Provenance

It is most probable that the writing originated in Palestine. Not only does the author apparently have accurate geographical information, but also his perspective seems to be that of a resident in Judea. Torrey argues that the author is an inhabitant of Jerusalem, because of the naturalness with which he speaks of "the city" when referring to Jerusalem. Since it is possible, however, that Jews resident elsewhere in Palestine sometimes spoke in this way, it it necessary to be cautious. In any case, the author seems to be particularly well informed regarding Jerusalem. The details he gives concerning the site of Isaiah's grave in relation to other local landmarks suggest great familiarity with, if not actual residence in, the Holy City.

Did the work originate among hellenistic Jews of Palestine? Sometimes the document reflects dependence upon the Hebrew text of the Bible, at other points it clearly evidences familiarity with a Greek translation. It is important in this connection to remember that in

11 The prediction of 12:11 that the Temple will be destroyed by a Western nation was probably understood as referring to the Romans, but nothing requires that it be taken as a prophecy after the fact; the accompanying statements have the ring of unfulfilled predictions. Similarly, the prophecy of 10:11 is best taken as reflecting an earlier situation, not the bitter experience of A.D. 70 (see n. on 10:11).
12 See 1:1–8 and n. i.
13 J. Jeremias, Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt, pp. 66, 68. Jeremias seems to infer that since there were no graves of martyr-prophets in Galilee, Transjordan, or Samaria, and because the graves of Micah and Amos were honored in southern Judea beyond the area of Jesus' travels, it can be assumed that Jesus' saying alludes to the Jerusalem martyrs.
14 Lives, p. 11.
15 Sybatha in 20:1 and Spharpáthim in 16:3 suggest acquaintance with the Scriptures in Heb. (see nn. on these passages). On the other hand, the use of Baltasar as a name both for Nebuchadnezzar's crown prince and for Daniel depends on LXX (see 4:4, 15 and n.).
the first century A.D. a large number of Palestinian Jews were bilingual or trilingual, and well able to use Greek as a literary medium. In the absence of clear proof to the contrary, it may be supposed that The Lives of the Prophets reflects bilingual Palestinian Judaism.

Theological importance

Perhaps the main reason why this early writing has so seldom been translated into English and has not heretofore been included in English collections of Jewish apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings is that it contains so little of interest to biblical theologians. Religious edification is not its prime purpose, and consequently theological themes are for the most part dealt with only indirectly.

The document is "orthodox" in the sense that it assumes the biblical view that there is but one God, who is LORD of history and Savior of his people, and that the rulership of God is manifested in natural disasters and in miracles (1:2-8; 2:3-4). Abnormal natural occurrences are taken as signs, provided by God and announced through his prophets, of forthcoming historical events (3:5; 4:19-20).

Angels, though seldom mentioned, are obviously taken for granted as an important means of communication between God and his people (12:12; 16:2-3; 23:2; the men "of shining white appearance" of 21:2 are presumably angels). Demons are never referred to, but Satan appears three times in the text under the name "Beliar" (4:6; 20; 17:2), a designation often used in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in the Qumran literature, and occurring once in the New Testament (2Cor 6:15). Another designation for the prince of evil is "the serpent" (12:13); the closest parallel to this is provided by Revelation 12:9, 17 (ApMos 16:5 prefers to render the snake of Gen 3 as Satan's "vessel"). Satan is also alluded to as "the enemy" (2:15), as in the Testament of Daniel 6:3f. and Luke 10:19 (cf. Mt 13:39). Thus it can be affirmed that dualism is present in the document, but it is by no means emphasized.

Ethics and the related theological topics of guilt, punishment, and expiation are not a major concern in this writing. It is assumed that it is proper to live in accordance with the law (2:18; 3:16; 17:1), but there is no attempt to preach this by reference to God's acts in history. Although the historical narratives of the canonical books of Kings and of Chronicles are the source of anecdotal material, the central theological theme of these books, namely that God punishes those who fail to keep his law and rewards those who observe it, has not greatly influenced this document. It is particularly striking that in a book that purports to relate the martyrdoms of six prophets there is no allusion to the popular theme that Israel has always persecuted God's prophets (cf. 2Chr 24:19; 36:14-16; Neh 9:26; Jub 1:12). Only in the case of Jeremiah is the martyrdom attributed in generalized terms to his "people," i.e. Israel (see 2:1 and n.), and even here there is no theological reflection on the corporate guilt thus incurred. Also significant is the fact that the "moral thunder" of the prophetic writings, so much appreciated by modern readers, has left almost no trace (cf. 6:2). It is very evident that the author's interest in the prophets relates not to their importance as ethical teachers but, rather, to their numinous quality as workers of miracles, intercessors, and foretellers of future events.

The doctrine of the resurrection is assumed without argument or polemic (2:15; 3:12). It is further assumed that important symbols of Israel's worship will reappear in the age to come. In connection with his concealment of the ark of the covenant and its contents prior to the destruction of the first Temple, Jeremiah is said to have declared:

This ark no one is going to bring out except Aaron, and none of the priests or prophets will any longer open the tablets in it except Moses, God's chosen one. And in the resurrection the ark will be the first to be resurrected and will come out of the rock and be placed on Mount Sinai, and all the saints will be gathered to it there . . . (2:14f.)

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17 L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, vol. 4, p. 295, cites a haggadah in which the young Jeremiah declares, "O LORD, I cannot go as a prophet to Israel, for when lived there a prophet whom Israel did not desire to kill?"
Similarly, Habakkuk prophesies that the capitals of the pillars of the second Temple will be restored at the commencement of the age to come as sources of illumination for those being pursued by the serpent (12:12f.).

Of special interest to students of Jewish eschatology is the designation of Moses as "God’s chosen one" (2:14), in view of the fact that the same words are employed as a designation of the Messiah by Jesus’ enemies in Luke’s passion narrative (Lk 23:35). Since the Messiah is nowhere mentioned in the oldest version of The Lives of the Prophets, it can be argued that its author adhered to that segment of Jewish eschatology which expected not a Davidic but a Mosaic deliverer. Also fascinating is the assertion that Elijah “will judge Israel” (21:3, to which most MSS apart from Q add “with sword and fire”). This provides valuable evidence of the belief that God will execute his judgment by means of one or more human deputies, and makes more understandable the parallel assertions of the New Testament (e.g. Mt 19:28; Acts 17:31; 1Cor 6:2f.). The idea that Elijah will function as eschatological judge may underlie the prediction attributed to John the Baptist concerning the one who will baptize with fire (Mt 3:11f.; Lk 3:16f.).

Despite a strong belief in a future resurrection it is perhaps even more strongly believed that the righteous dead are still alive in a very real sense. In 1:8 it is asserted that the martyred Isaiah is the patron saint of Siloam, through whose prayers the water continues to flow, and it is apparently the numinous presence of Jeremiah at his grave that makes the soil effective for the healing of asps’ bites (2:4). With this must be compared the early Christian belief that the righteous dead are transported to a place of blessedness before the final resurrection (Lk 16:22–24; 23:43; Phil 1:23; Rev 6:9f.; cf. Mk 12:26f.) and thus are to be conceived of as already alive and not merely “sleeping” in the earth. No consistency is attempted in our text relative to the location of this post-mortem existence. On the one hand it is assumed that the dead prophet’s lively existence is to be experienced at his grave; on the other, a heavenly residence is suggested by the statement that Jeremiah and Moses “are together to this day” (2:19), despite the fact that their supposed graves are widely separated.

Relation to canonical books

Although the author is thoroughly familiar with the biblical narratives concerning the prophets given in Kings and Chronicles and the prophetic books, it is evident that he wishes to provide supplementary information rather than simply to repeat canonical material. For this reason, the long summaries of the “signs” performed by Elijah and Elisha (21:4–14; 22:4–17) must be suspected of being later additions.18

There is no indication that the book was known to any of the New Testament writers, but the author of the Letter to the Hebrews seems to have been aware of some of the traditions here recorded. The statement of Hebrews 11:37, “They were stoned, or sawn in half, or beheaded,” appears to refer to the popular legends concerning the martyrdoms of the three major prophets Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel respectively.19 Our document explicitly states that Jeremiah was stoned (2:1) and that Isaiah “died under Manasseh by being sawn in two” (1:1) but is less explicit regarding Ezekiel. We are told only that “The ruler of the people Israel killed him . . .” (3:2).

The saying of Jesus regarding the erection of monuments in honor of martyred prophets (Mt 23:29; Lk 11:47) has no direct point of contact with The Lives of the Prophets, which mentions no recent monuments, but it supports our text by providing evidence of the contemporary interest in the graves of the prophets.

The belief that the holy martyrs are able to present petitions to God, evidenced in Revelation 6:9–11, is probably to be seen as related to the conception of the prophets as intercessors, as witnessed by 1:8.20

Relation to apocryphal books

A much fuller account of Isaiah’s murder is provided by the Martyrdom of Isaiah, but the latter makes no mention of the burial or its location. There is no evidence of dependency

19 See n. on 3:2.
in either direction. The functions of the two narratives are very different. Whereas the point of the much longer version is to edify, the intention of the brief account given here is simply to note that Isaiah is a martyr, because this fact is significant for the cult connected with his grave.

The legend concerning the concealment of the ark and its contents in a cliff by Jeremiah (2:11–19) has parallels in 2 Maccabees 2:4–8 and 4 Baruch 3:8 without any indication of borrowing. It must be assumed that the tradition circulated in variant forms in the folklore of Palestine.

Many of the legends here recorded have parallels in the haggadah of rabbinic Judaism, as will be indicated in the notes.

Cultural importance

The Lives of the Prophets has had little influence upon Western culture, but it throws indirect light on the Christian practice of the veneration of the saints, which is frequently reflected in the art and literature of the Western world. No attempt can be made here to pursue the question of the origin of the practice, but it is clear that we have in this document evidence that one of the roots lies in the Jewish veneration of the holy dead.

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Torrey, C. C. *The Lives of the Prophets. Greek Text and Translation*. Philadelphia, 1946. (The most important English study. The translation assumes that the Gk. text contains a number of difficulties which are due to mistranslation from an underlying Heb. text.)
THE LIVES OF THE PROPHETS

The names of the prophets, and where they are from, and where they died and how, and where they lie.

Isaiah

1 Isaiah, from Jerusalem, died under Manasseh by being sawn in two, and was buried underneath the Oak of Rogel, near the place where the path crosses the aqueduct whose water Hezekiah shut off by blocking its source. And God worked the miracle of Siloam for the prophet's sake, for, being faint before he died, he prayed for water to drink, and immediately it was sent to him from it; therefore it is called Siloam, which means 'sent.' And in the time of Hezekiah, before he made the cisterns and the pools, in response to the prayer of Isaiah a little water came out, for the nation was besieged by foreigners and (this happened) in order that the city might not perish for lack of water. For the enemies were asking, 'From where are they drinking?' And having the city under siege they were encamped at Siloam. If, then, the Jews were coming, water would come out, but if foreigners (approached), (it would) not. Wherefore to this day it comes

b. Lit. 'placed.'
c. Possibly 'Fuller's Oak.' A common practice associated holy graves with trees, with oaks given special preference (Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 120).

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Torrey, Lives, pp. 10f., supports the conjecture that an error occurred in translating the underlying Heb. into Gk. and that the original referred to 'en rōgel, i.e. the Fountain of Rogel. Since a major point of the following narrative is to present Isaiah as the patron spirit of the Spring of Siloam, it is hardly likely that he was buried at 'en rōgel, now known as Jacob's Well, which is situated about 400 meters south of Siloam. If the Fuller's Field (Isa 7:3) was situated in this area (cf. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 64), it is not at all unlikely that a tree along the path descending the hill above Siloam should be known as 'Fuller's Oak.'

d. Lit. 'near the crossing of the waters that Hezekiah destroyed by blocking them.' Torrey, Lives, p. 34, translates diabaseōs as 'conduit,' apparently taking it as an allusion to the ancient aqueduct that descended Ophel above the Kidron valley from Gihon to the Lower Pool. Since this water system was entirely outside the city wall, Hezekiah blocked the source so as to deprive invading enemies of a convenient source of water (2Chr 32:3, 4, 30; cf. Isa 8:6). F.-M. Abel (H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, Jerusalem [2 vols.; Paris, 1912-26] vol. 2, p. 857) insists that diabasis denotes not an aqueduct but the place where one crosses a watercourse, i.e. either a bridge or a ford. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 64, concurs but argues that Abel is mistaken in associating the diabasis with the old aqueduct; it must refer, rather, to the place where the path crosses Hezekiah's tunnel, just above its lower end at Siloam. Although Jeremias' interpretation fits well with Isaiah's function as patron spirit of Siloam, it makes nonsense of the Gk. text and ignores the fact that our author was ignorant of Hezekiah's tunnel; see n. h below.
e. Lit. 'sign' as in Jn 2:11; 20:30.
f. 'Being faint' seems to be required by the context, but there is no lexical evidence that oligōrēn ever carried this meaning.
g. Because of the parallel at Jn 9:7, de Jonge, Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift 16 (1961–62) 166, argues that we have here evidence of Christian influence upon LivPro. Since the etymology is very differently employed in the two writings, however, there is little basis for de Jonge's conjecture.
h. This statement provides clear evidence that the transmitters of this tradition, like Josephus (War 5.4.1 §140), regarded Siloam as a spring rather than as the effluence of Hezekiah's underground aqueduct which diverted the water from the Gihon spring. An excellent description of Hezekiah's engineering feat is provided by J. Simons, Jerusalem in the Old Testament (Leiden, 1952) pp. 173–92. Apparently all recollection of the connection with Gihon had disappeared by the Roman period.

i. It is generally held that Hezekiah's intention was to divert water from Gihon, which lay outside the fortifications, to a reservoir within the walls (cf. 2Kgs 20:20; Sir 48:17). On the basis of careful archaeological investigation, K. Kenyon, Digging Up Jerusalem (New York and Washington, 1974) pp. 158, 246f., maintains that Siloam was not enclosed within the walls of the city until Herod Agrippa built the new south wall, a.d. 41–44. Puzzling though such a conclusion is relative to Hezekiah's defense strategy, it is confirmed by our text, which assumes that the besieging army camped by the spring in order to use its water. Further confirmation is provided by Josephus, who reports that the most ancient wall traversed the hill "above the fountain of Siloam" (War 5.4.2 §145).
8 out intermittently,' in order that the mystery may be manifested.' And since this happened through Isaiah, as a memorial of it the nation also buried him nearby with care and in great honor,' so that through his prayers even after his death they might enjoy the benefit of the water, for an oracle was also given to them concerning him.

9 His tomb is near the tomb of the kings," west of the tomb of the priests" in the southern part of the city.9 *For Solomon made the tombs, in accordance with David’s design, east of Zion,9 which9 has an entrance from Qabaon, twenty stadia distant from the city. *And he made a secret construction with winding passages; and it is to this day unknown to most.'* There the king kept the gold from Ethiopia and the spices. *And because Hezekiah showed the gentiles the secrets of David and Solomon and defiled the bones of the place of his fathers, God swore that his offspring should be enslaved to his enemies, and God made him sterile from that day.

Jeremiah

2 Jeremiah was from Anathoth, and he died in Taphnai of Egypt,* having been stonedb by his people.c *He was buriedd in the environs of Pharaoh’s palace, because the Egyptians held him in high esteem, having been benefitted through him. *For he prayed, and the asps left them, and the monsters of the waters,

j. The intermittent character of the Gihon spring (known today as the Virgin’s Spring or the Spring of the Steps) is due to a subterranean siphon caused by the geological formation; cf. Simons, Jerusalem, pp. 163f.

k. Torrey’s translation “to keep the miracle in mind” (Lives, p. 34) is very attractive, but there is no lexical evidence that mysteryon ever carried this connotation. Cf. its use in 2:10, 19.

l. This language suggests the erection of a monument (Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 64). Since memorial constructions were not always contiguous with the actual graves (Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 122), Isaiah’s monument may not have been situated beside the Oak of Rogel. “Neighborhood” (impléson) suggests that the monument was “in the neighborhood,” rather than directly adjacent to Siloam, however, and therefore a site near the tree is entirely possible.

m. The site of the royal necropolis is still uncertain. The constructions on the Kidron side of the hill about 110 meters (c. 361 ft.) northeast of Siloam, identified by R. Weill as the royal tombs (La Cité de David [Paris, 1920] pp. 35–44, 157–73), are regarded by Kenyon, Digging, pp. 31f., as cisterns. Nevertheless the literary evidence, both biblical (Neh 3:16) and rabbinic (t.BB 1:11), points to a site within walls at the southern extremity of the southeast hill, i.e. not far distant from the site proposed in n. c above for Isaiah’s grave. Cf. Simons, Jerusalem, p. 210.

n. “The tomb of the priests” may refer to one or more of the impressive constructions still standing on the eastern slope of the Kidron about 800 meters (2,600 ft.) from Siloam. Photographs and descriptions are provided by B. Mazar, The Mountain of the Lord (Garden City, N.Y., 1975) pp. 71, 225. The Gk. opisfen probably reflects the Heb. tahar, which normally means “behind” but can connote “West” (cf. MT and LXX of Judg 18:12).

o. Lit. “at the southern part.”

p. Although Josephus did not employ the term “Zion,” it is clear that he erroneously regarded David’s city as situated on the western hill of Jerusalem (War 5.4.1 §137); cf. Simons, Jerusalem, pp. 35–59. The phrase “east of Zion” need not imply the same error. It may mean simply “on the eastern (Kidron) slope of David’s city.”

q. The Gk. text here becomes hopelessly confused. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 58, proposes that the original purpose of this clause was to bring the royal tomb into relation with the Siloam tunnel; since the tunnel’s point of origin at the Gihon spring was no longer known, it was possible to present the fanciful idea that it was almost 4 kilometers long and had its beginning north of the city in the direction of Gihon. This proposal ignores the fact that the author believed that Siloam was a spring (see n. h above). It is better to take the clause as a haggadic description of the famous tomb.

r. About 3.8 kilometers (2.3 miles).

s. Q and its dependents add the ungrammatical and awkward gloss “and of the whole people,” which is absent from E¹ and E². D attempts an improvement: “unknown to most of the priests and to the whole people.” Since E¹ concludes its treatment of Isaiah at this point, it is possible that the subsequent irrelevant statements concerning Solomon’s storehouse and Hezekiah’s indiscretion did not belong in the earliest version.

2 a. Taphnai is an unusual Gk. transliteration of the Heb. name taphanés (Jer 43:7). This was probably the town known in hellenistic times as Daphnai, modern Tell Defenneh, in northeastern Egypt, less than 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) west of the point where the Suez Canal enters Lake Menzaleh.

b. Lit. “having been thrown (down) by stones.”


d. Lit. “he lies.”
which the Egyptians call Nephoth and the Greeks crocodiles. And those who are God's faithful pray at the place to this very day, and taking the dust of the place they heal asps' bites. And we have heard from the children of Antigonus and Ptolemy, old men, that Alexander the Macedonian, after standing at the prophet's grave and witnessing his mysteries, transferred his remains to Alexandria and placed them in a circle around (the city) with due honor; and the whole race of asps was kept from the land, and from the river likewise the crocodiles. And to the same end he introduced the snakes which are called Argolai, which means "snake-fighters," which he brought from Argos of the Peloponnesus, whence they are also called Argolai, that is, "fortunate ones from Argos"; for everything fortunate they call laia.

This Jeremiah gave a sign to the priests of Egypt, that it was decreed that their idols would be shaken and collapse [through a savior, a child born of a virgin, in a manger]. Wherefore even to this day they revere a virgin giving birth and, placing an infant in a manger, they worship. And when Ptolemy the king inquired concerning the miraculous birth of Moses, the lack is supplied by an awkward gloss in its dependents. Included here in brackets is the reading of Coisil, 224, which appears to be related to the Hebrew phrase "viper," the term by which Egyptian Jews referred to the asps. At this point the textual tradition becomes very confused, with various glosses, inversions, and conflations. The following tradition, although given verisimilitude by association with specific names, is missing from E and for that reason may be suspected of being a gloss. Lit. "place." See 1:7 and n.

Jeremias, *Heiligengräber*, pp. 108–10, proposes that this strange statement alludes to the founding of Alexandria and asserts that Alexander deposited the bones of the prophet at specific locations on the perimeter, both to establish the bounds of the city and to protect it. M. Simon, *RHP* 34 (1954) 124, argues that this tradition regarding the transfer of Jeremiah's remains to Alexandria represents a Christian attempt to woo Egyptians away from the ancient site where they were too easily attracted to Jewish popular religion. D omits "the crocodiles." Lit. "place." M. Lit. "it is necessary," but divine necessity is implied; cf. Dan 2:28LXX and Mt 24:6. Something has dropped out of Q at this point.

e. Torrey, *Lives*, pp. 49–52, accepting the reading *ephōth* found in E and D, conjectures that the original text contained no reference to crocodiles since *porak* is textual variants. In D: "through a savior, a child born of a virgin, and lying in a manger." This is virtually impossible to reconstruct the earliest form of this paragraph, which is differently represented in each of the four major recensions. The second and third sentences, which are absent from E, are probably secondary, whatever the origin of the first. The opening statement predicts divine punishment of Egyptian idolatry; it is not likely that a Jewish author who included this "sign" would have been so foolish as to suggest that the pagan Egyptians regularly celebrated the anticipated overthrow of their popular religion in a cultic ceremony that was itself a manifestation of pagan polytheism! For this reason the suggestion of Torrey, *Lives*, pp. 9f., that the Palestinian author derived this tradition from a Christian Jew from Egypt, is hardly acceptable. M. de Jonge, *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 16 (1961–62) 168, is probably correct in insisting that the entire paragraph must be regarded as a Christian product. It can be argued, however, that more than one Christian hand is evident here. The first glossator asserted that Jeremiah had foreseen the success of Christianity in Egypt, which was to be initiated by the visit of the Virgin Mother and Holy Child (Mt 2:13–15, with which is conflated the narrative concerning the manger of Lk 2:7–16). A later scribe noted how this visit had been prefigured in a pagan festival honoring a virgin and divine child, and added the legendary anecdote concerning Ptolemy's question in order to bring his addition into connection with Jeremiah. It is remotely possible, however, that the first sentence (without the awkward reference to the manger) comes from a Jewish author who produced the "sign" by combining three prophetic texts as translated in LXX: Isa 19:1, Jer 46:15 (LXX 26:15), and Isa 7:14. In this case the statement would express a Jewish hope that the pagan culture of Egypt would be overturned by the Messiah, whose miraculous birth would signal that God had invested him with the supernatural power necessary for the task. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956) pp. 6f., finds evidence of an early rabbinic tradition concerning the miraculous birth of Moses.
a holy prophet, and we are to await, he says, the consummation of his mystery. 

This prophet, before the capture of the Temple, seized the ark of the Law and the things in it, and made them to be swallowed up in a rock. 

And to those standing by he said, "The Lord has gone away from Zion into heaven and will come again in power. And this will be for you a sign of his coming, when all the gentiles worship a piece of wood." 

And he said, "This ark no one is going to bring out except Aaron, and none of the priests or prophets will any longer open the tablets in it except Moses, God's chosen one. And in the resurrection the ark will be the first to be resurrected and will come out of the rock and be placed on Mount Sinai, and all the saints will be gathered to it there as they await the Lord and flee from the enemy who wishes to destroy them." 

In the rock with his finger he set as a seal the name of God, and the impression was like a carving made with iron, and a cloud covered the name, and no one knows the place nor is able to read the name to this day and to the consummation. 

And the rock is in the wilderness, where the ark was at first, between the two mountains on which Moses and Aaron lie. 

And at night there is a cloud like fire, just like the ancient one, for the glory of God will never cease from his Law. 

And God bestowed this favor upon Jeremiah, that he might himself perform the completion of his mystery, so that he might become a partner of Moses, and they are together to this day.

Ezekiel

3 Ezekiel. This man was from the land of Arira, of the priests, and he died in the land of the Chaldeans during the captivity, after having prophesied many things to those in Judea. The ruler of the people Israel killed him there as he was being reproved by him concerning the worship of idols. 

And they buried him in the field of Maour in the grave of Sham and Arpachshad, ancestors of a mysterious land of Sir in the Far East; cf. Josephus, Ant 1.2.3 §71, and G. J. Reinink, "Das Land 'Seiris' (Sir) und das Volk der Sirer in jüdischen und christlichen Traditionen," JSJ 6 (1975) 72-85, who concludes that the land of Sir is China.

b. E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period (13 vols.; New York, 1953-68) vol. 10, pp. 188-90, argues that the pictures in the Ezekiel cycle on the north wall of the Dura synagogue portray the arresting of Ezekiel by a person of great dignity and his subsequent beheading. Since the Jewish leader in Babylonia claimed royal status, and in A.D. 200 received the title Exilarch (Resh Galuta) from the Parthians, Goodenough proposes that the Jewish tradition underlying both the Dura painting and the statement here regarding the manner of Ezekiel's death to the political leader of Babylonian Jewry. He suggests that Heb 11:37, "They were stoned, or sawn in half, or beheaded," alludes to traditions concerning the manner of execution of the three major prophets Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel respectively. ApPaul 49, however, witnesses to a different tradition regarding the manner of Ezekiel's death: "I am Ezekiel whom the children of Israel dragged by the feet over the rocks on the mountain until they dashed out my brains" (HSW, vol. 2, p. 792). The same report is given in the Syriac Acts of Philip, cf. W. Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (London and Edinburgh, 1871) vol. 2, p. 83.

c. Torrey, Lives, p. 23, n. 18, conjectures that Maour is a corruption of Naour, i.e. Nahor (Gen 11:22, 26). Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 112.
Abraham, and the tomb is a double cave, for Abraham also made Sarah’s tomb in Hebron like it. It is called “double” because there is a twisting passage and an upper room which is hidden from the ground floor, and it is hung over the ground level in the cliff.

This prophet gave a portent to the people, so that they should pay attention to the river Chebar: When it failed they should set their hope in the scythe which desolates to the end of the earth, and when it flooded, in the return to Jerusalem. For the saint also lived there, and many used to congregate to him. And once when there was a multitude with him the Chaldeans were afraid that they would rebel, and came up against them to destroy them. And he made the water stop so that they might escape by getting to the other side. And those of the enemies who dared to pursue were drowned.

Through prayer he furnished them of his own accord with an abundant supply of fish, and for many who were at the point of dying he entreated that life should come from God.

When the people was being destroyed by its enemies, he went to the (enemy) leaders and, terrified by the prodigies, they ceased. He used to say this to them: ‘Are we lost? Has our hope perished?’ and in the wonder of the dead bones he persuaded them that there is hope for Israel both here and in the coming (age).

While he was there he used to show the people Israel what was happening in Jerusalem and in the Temple. He was snatched up from there and he went to Jerusalem to rebuke those who were faithless. Like Moses, this man saw the pattern of the Temple, with its wall and broad outer wall, just as Daniel also said that it would be built. He pronounced judgment in Babylon on the tribe of Dan and that of Gad, because they were committing sacrilege against the LORD by persecuting those who were keeping the Law. And respecting them he worked this great wonder, that snakes would devour their infants and all their flocks, and he foretold that on their account the people would not return to its land but would be in Media until the consummation of their error. And the one who killed him was one of them. For they opposed him all the days of his life.

Daniel

4 Daniel. This man was of the tribe of Judah, of the family of those prominent in the royal service, but while yet a child he was taken from Judea to the land

argues that it is very unlikely that the burial place of such famous figures would be designated with the name of a descendant; moreover, Nahor is regularly represented in LXX and the NT as Nachor. Jeremias therefore prefers the possibility that Maoeur is a corruption of Our. i.e. Ur of the Chaldees. He reports that veneration is still paid to the grave of Ezekiel in Kifil, south of ancient Babylon; this site, however, is over 200 kilometers (125 miles) northeast of Ur. Rabinic legend places Ezekiel’s tomb in Babylonia near that of Baruch; cf. Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, pp. 324f., 333.

d. Gen 23 gives no hint of any special construction by Abraham, but the Heb. name makpelah (Machpelah) means “double.” In LXX the name is not transliterated but translated “the double cave,” to spéλatia to diploun (Gen 23:9), as in our text. The duality of the tomb is dealt with by Philo, Quaes Gen 4.80, and by the Talmud (b. ‘Erub 59a: While Rab held that the cave consisted of two chambers, one within the other, R. Samuel held that it had a lower and an upper chamber).

e. A common practice was to expand a cave tomb by carving out a lower chamber below the entry level. As our text suggests, it was very uncommon to construct a second chamber above the main room.

f. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 112, prefers E1, to which the miracle was effected posthumously for the benefit of pilgrims who had gathered at Ezekiel’s grave “for prayer and supplication.”

g. The reference seems to be to a restoration to earthly life, not to the preaching of life after death, as suggested by Torrey, Lives, p. 37. For haggadah concerning Ezekiel’s success in restoring various dead persons to life, see Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, pp. 332f.

h. Following Torrey, Lives, p. 37, who takes the statements as questions. Since it is the people who say this in Ezek 37:11, however, it is possible that D correctly represents the original: ‘. . . when Israel was saying, ‘We are lost, our hope has perished.'”

i. “Of the temple” is missing from Q but found in E1, E2, D, Coisl. 224, and most other MSS.

4 a. By combining Dan 1:3, 6 with Isa 39:7, Jewish tradition maintained that Daniel was a member of the royal family; cf. Josephus, Ant 10.10.1 §186 and Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 6, p. 414.
of the Chaldeans. • He was born in Upper Beth-Horon, and he was a chaste man, so that the Judeans thought that he was a eunuch.

He mourned greatly over the city, and in fasts he abstained from all desirable food, and he was a man gaunt in appearance but beautiful in the favor of the Most High.

He prayed much for Nebuchadnezzar, at the entreaty of his son Baltasar, \(^b\), when he became a wild animal and beast of the field, so that he might not perish. • His fore parts with the head were like an ox, and the feet with the hind parts like a lion. • Concerning this mystery it was revealed to the holy man that (Nebuchadnezzar) had become a beast of the field because he was fond of pleasure and stiff-necked, and because those who belong to Beliar\(^c\) become like an ox under yoke. Tyrants have these (vices) in their youth, and in the end they become monsters, seizing, destroying, killing, and smiting. • Through divine revelation the saint knew that he was eating grass like an ox and that it became human food. • It was also for this reason that Nebuchadnezzar, recovering a human heart after digestion,\(^d\) used to weep and honor the Lord, praying forty times each day and night. • Behemoth\(^i\) used to come upon him, and he would forget that he had been a man; his tongue was taken from him so that he might not speak, and perceiving (this) he immediately wept; his eyes were like raw flesh from crying. • For many were going out of the city and gazing at him. • Daniel alone did not wish to see him, because he was in prayer for him the whole time of his changed condition; and he kept saying, "He will become a man again," and they did not believe him.

Daniel made the seven years, which he called seven seasons, become seven months;\(^e\) the mystery of the seven seasons was accomplished in his case, for he was restored in seven months; during the six years and six\(^h\) months (remaining) he prostrated himself to the Lord and confessed his impiety, and after the forgiveness of his wickedness he restored to him the kingdom. • He neither ate bread or meat nor drank wine as he made his confession, for Daniel had ordered him to appease the Lord with (a diet of) soaked pulse and greens. • Nebuchadnezzar\(^i\) called him Baltasar\(^b\) because he wanted to make him joint heir with his children. • But the holy man said, "Far be it from me to leave the heritage of my fathers and cleave to the inheritances of the uncircumcised." • And for other kings of the Persians he wrought many prodigies, which they did not write down. • There\(^i\) he died, and was buried by himself and with great honor in the royal grotto.

b. "Belshazzar," according to the MT; see n. j below.

c. In many texts "Beliar" (or "Belial") designates the chief of evil spirits, Satan; it is used below in 4:20 and 17:2. Cf. Mardis 2:2–4, where it appears as the synonym of "Satan." In the NT it occurs only at 2Cor 6:15.

d. Since Hebrew thought conceived the heart as the seat of mental activity, Torrey, Lives, p. 39, paraphrases: "recovering human reason when digestion was completed."

e. Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, p. 334, reports that in Yerahmeel 46.205f. the king's reason is restored after forty days; he spends the next forty days weeping over his sins, and for the remainder of the seven months he again lives the life of a beast. Our text may represent a confused recollection of these two sets of forty days.

f. The text is clearly in error, since in Jewish tradition Behemoth is a primeval monster, not a demon (cf. 2Bar 29:4). Torrey, Lives, pp. 24f., conjectures that the underlying Heb. read lēb behemōt, i.e. "heart of dumb beasts," and that lēb was accidentally omitted in the Heb. text used by the Gk. translator. He translates (Lives, p. 39): "Then the mind of a dumb animal would (again) take possession of him ...."

g. LXX, followed by Josephus (Ant 10.10.6 §216), translates the "seven times" of Dan 4:32 as "seven years" while Theodotion renders more literally as "seven seasons," hepta kairoi. The tradition that Daniel's prayer reduced the sentence from seven years to seven months is also found in Yerahmeel 46 (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, p. 334; vol. 6, p. 423).

h. D. Coisl. 224, and some dependents read "five," correcting the arithmetical error.

i. Lit. "he."

j. Cf. 4:4. Although the Heb. and Aram. portions of Daniel carefully distinguish between "Belteshazzar," the Babylonian name given to Daniel (1:7), and "Belshazzar," the name of Nebuchadnezzar's crown prince (5:1), for some inexplicable reason the LXX translators rendered both names as Baltasar. E\(^i\) notes the coincidence with an explanatory gloss added at this point: "For this reason also Nebuchadnezzar called Daniel 'Baltasar' after the name of his only-begotten son." Not only the gloss but the underlying statements in Q seem to reflect an environment in which LXX, not MT, is dominant.

k. The same statement is attributed to Daniel in Yerahmeel 66.206 (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, p. 339; vol. 6, p. 427).

l. "There" is ambiguous. According to most Jewish sources Daniel's mausoleum was to be seen
And he gave a portent with respect to the mountains which are above Babylon:

“When the mountain on the north smokes, the end of Babylon is coming; and when it lies as in fire,” the end of all the earth. •And if the mountain in the south pours forth water the people will return to its land, and if it pours forth blood, Beliar’s slaughter will take place in all the earth.” •And the holy man fell asleep in peace.

**Hosea**

1.5 Hosea. This man was from Belemoth of the tribe of Issachar, and he was buried in his own district in peace. •And he gave a portent, that the LORD would arrive upon the earth if ever the oak which is in Shiloh were divided from itself, and twelve oaks came to be.

**Micah**

1.2 6 Micah the Morathite was of the tribe of Ephraim. •Having done many things to Ahab, he was killed by Joram his son at a cliff, because he rebuked him for the impieties of his fathers. •And he was buried in his own district by himself, near the burial ground of the Anakim.

**Amos**

1.2 7 Amos was from Tekoa. •And when Amaziah had tortured him sorely, at last his son also killed him with a club by striking him on the forehead, because he rebuked him for his son’s impieties. •And while he was still breathing he went to his own district, and after some days he died and was buried there.

in Shushan (Susa), but others convey the impression that he died in Palestine (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, p. 350; vol. 6, p. 437). E explicitly states that Daniel died in Babylon, “...and his grave is known to all in Babylon to this very day.”

m. Coisl. 224 emends to “burns with fire.”

5 a. Torrey, Lives, pp. 26, 40, considers the otherwise unknown Belemoth a variant of Balamon of Jdt 8:3, which he identifies with Ibleam in northern Samaria. According to Josh 17:11 Ibleam belonged to the tribe of Manasseh but was situated within the territory of Issachar. Cf. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 29.

b. Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah 19a reports that Hosea died in Babylon and was buried in the Jewish cemetery at Safed (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, p. 261; vol. 6, p. 356).

c. Selôm, the form of the name given here, corresponds neither to the transliteration used by LXX nor to any of the various renderings of Shiloh found in Josephus, but the identity is not in question, since the same form occurs in 18:1, 5 in connection with Ahijah of Shiloh (1Kgs 11:29). That the oak of Shiloh was a well-known landmark is indicated by its appearance here and at 18:5.

6 a. In reading Môrâthi instead of Môrasthi (so D, and most MSS of LXX, at Mic 1:1), Q is consistent with its own reading at Mic 1:1; cf. also LXX of Jer 33:18. Eusebius, Onomastikon (ed. E. Klostermann [Hildesheim, 1966] p. 134) has Môrâthî; and asserts that the place was just east of Eleutheropolis (modern Beit Jibrin, northeast of Hebron).

b. The erroneous identification with Ephraim may have resulted from confusion with Micah of Ephraim of Judg 17, as proposed by Klein, Sefer Klosner. p. 197 (cf. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 82). c. Despite the unambiguous chronological note of Mic 1:1, Micah is here placed in the time of Ahab, apparently by confusion with Micaiah son of Imlah (1Kgs 22:8). This could be explained as due to the fact that LXX employs the same transliteration for both Heb. names, if it were not for the fact that the same confusion is found in rabbinic sources; in one haggadah Micah is named one of the four disciples of Elijah (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 6, p. 343; cf. p. 355).

d. For the difficult krêmôtas substitutes krêmôthes, i.e. “hanged” or possibly “crucified” (LSJM, p. 994, cites a 2nd-cent. instance of the verb with this meaning).

e. E adds: “And his grave is well known to this day.” Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 85, infers that the narrator (or interpolator) knew of a monument marking Micah’s supposed grave, and finds this confirmed by the report of the 5th-cent. church historian Sozomenos that the bishop of Eleutheropolis had discovered Micah’s remains near this town in 385 (Ecclesiastica Historia 7.29.2).

f. “Anakim” designates the three giants of Hebron in Num 13:22, but Josh 11:21f. refers to an entire people by this name, and reports that the remnants of the Anakim were located at Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, pp. 82-86, points out that Jewish legend associated the giants with Eleutheropolis. He claims to have discovered the “cemetery of the giants” in an impressive Seleucid necropolis that he and A. Alt visited in 1932, situated about 2 kilometers (1.25 miles) north of Beit Jibrin.

7 a. According to Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah 97, King Uzziah killed Amos by striking him on the forehead with a red-hot iron (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, p. 262; vol. 6, p. 357).
Joel

1 Joel was from the territory of Reuben, in the countryside of Bethomoron.\(^a\)
2 He died in peace\(^c\) and was buried there.

Obadiah

1 Obadiah was from the district of Shechem, of the countryside of Bethacharam.\(^a\)
2 This man was a disciple of Elijah,\(^b\) and endured much because of him, and
3 escaped with his life. This was the third captain of fifty whom Elijah spared and
4 (with whom) he went down to Ahaziah.\(^c\) After these events he left the service of
5 the king and prophesied. And he died and was buried with his fathers.

Jonah

1 Jonah was from the district of Kariathmos\(^a\) near the Greek city of Azotus by
2 the sea. And when he had been cast forth by the sea monster and had gone away
to Nineveh and had returned, he did not remain in his district, but taking his
mother along he sojourned in Sour, a territory (inhabited by) foreign nations;
for he said, “So shall I remove my reproach, for I spoke falsely in prophesying
against the great city of Nineveh.” At that time Elijah was rebuking the house
of Ahab, and when he had invoked famine upon the land he fled. And he went
and found the widow with her son, for he could not stay with uncircumcised
people; and he blessed her. And when her son\(^d\) died, God raised him again from
the dead through Elijah, for he wanted to show him that it is not possible to run
away from God. And after the famine he arose and went into the land of Judah.
And when his mother died along the way, he buried her near Deborah’s Oak.\(^e\)
9 And after sojourning in the land of Saraar\(^f\) he died and was buried in the cave of

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8 a. The tribal connection of the prophet is not given in the book that bears his name. In 1Chr 5:4,
8, however, there is mention of a Reubenite of the same name.

b. Klein, Sefer Klozner, p. 198, and Torrey, Lives, pp. 26, 41, propose that this should be
denominated to Bethmaon, i.e. Beth-meon of Jer 48:23, a modified form of Beth-baal-moan (Josh 13:17),
a town in Transjordan south of Nebo. 1Chr 5:8
locates the Reubenite Joel in this vicinity. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 104, can report no other evidence
of the veneration of Joel’s grave during the early centuries of the Christian era, and proposes
that the tradition reported by LivPro may be a purely literary product that had no local precipitate
in the form of a cult.

c. H. J. Schoeps, Aus frühchristlicher Zeit (Tübingen, 1950) p. 132, notes that, according to The
Book of the Bee of Solomon of Basra, Joel was clubbed to death like Amos.

9 a. Torrey, Lives, p. 41, derives the name from the Heb. bêt ha-kerem, “House of the Vineyard,” which
was probably a common name for small, rural settlements. If Obadiah’s grave was indeed the
object of veneration near Shechem when LivPro was written, the tradition must have disappeared
by the 4th cent., when Christians looked for the grave elsewhere in Samaria (Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 31).


c. Jewish tradition also associated the prophet with the pious Obadiah of 1Kgs 18:3–16, who was
a high official in Ahab’s court (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 4, pp. 240f.).

10 a. Identity unknown.

b. Cf. Jdt 2:28, where Sour seems to refer to a costalnd city. Torrey, Lives, p. 41, conjectures
that this is simply an unusual transliteration of sôr, and therefore translates it as “Tyre.”


d. The narrative assumes familiarity with the widespread tradition that Jonah was the son of the
make the connection explicit by adding “Jonah.”

e. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 119, prefers D’s reading, “the oak of Lebanon.”

the perspective of the writer, Seir, which in his time was better known as Idumea, included much
of southern Judea (cf. Josephus, Apion 2.116). Jeremias, Heiligengräber, pp. 88f., suggests that the
Mohammedan mosque of Jonah at Halhal, 6 kilometers (3.75 miles) north of Hebron, marks
the site to which reference is here made.
Kenaz, who became judge of one tribe in the days of the anarchy. And he gave a portent concerning Jerusalem and the whole land, that whenever they should see a stone crying out piteously the end was at hand. And whenever they should see all the gentiles in Jerusalem, the entire city would be razed to the ground.

Nahum

11 Nahum was from Elkesi on the other side of Isbegabar in the tribe of Simeon. After Jonah this man gave to Nineveh a portent, that it would be destroyed by fresh water and an underground fire, which also happened. For the lake which surrounds it inundated it during an earthquake, and fire coming from the wilderness burned its higher section. He died in peace and was buried in his own district.

Habakkuk

12 Habakkuk was of the tribe of Simeon, from the countryside of Bethzouchar.

Before the captivity he had a vision concerning the conquest of Jerusalem, and he mourned greatly. And when Nebuchadnezzar entered Jerusalem he fled to Ostrakine, and (later) sojourned in the land of Ishmael.

When the Chaldeans turned back, and the remnant that was in Jerusalem (went) to Egypt, he was living in his own district and ministering to those who were harvesting his field. When he took the food, he prophesied to his own family, saying, "I am going to a far country, and I will come quickly. But if I delay, take (food) to the harvesters."

And when he had gone to Babylon and given the meal to Daniel, he approached the harvesters as they were eating and told no one what had happened; he understood that the people would soon return from Babylon. And he died two years before the return. And he was buried alone in his own field.

He gave a portent to those in Judea, that they would see a light in the Temple and so perceive the glory of the Temple. And concerning the end of the Temple he predicted, "By a western nation it will happen." "At that time," he said, "the curtain of the Dabeir will be torn into small pieces, and the capitals of the two pillars will be taken away, and no one will know where they are; and they will be carried away by angels into the wilderness, where the tent of witness was

g. Ps-Philo 25:3 and Josephus Ant 5.3.3 §182, as well as later rabbinic sources (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 6, p. 181), identify the first judge as Kenaz, not Othniel the son of Kenaz, despite the unequivocal testimony of Judg 3:9 that the son held this honor. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 90, conjectures that this reflects local Edomite tradition, which glorified Kenaz as the ancestor of an important Edomite tribe. The cave of Kenaz thus constituted the Edumean response to the cave of Machpelah, the grave of the patriarchs near Hebron.

h. Torrey, Lives, pp. 27f., conjectures that the underlying Heb. text was corrupt. His emendation yields the translation: "the first who became judge." This is unnecessary if the reference is to Edumean tradition (see preceding n.).

i. This prediction makes little sense if the presence of "all the gentiles in Jerusalem" is taken as referring to the successful penetration of the city's defenses by the Roman armies in A.D. 70. It seems, rather, to reflect uneasiness regarding the increasing number of gentile visitors and/or residents, which threatened to change the character of Israel's holy city.

11 a. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, pp. 83f., 100, identifies Isbegabar as Beit Jibrin, i.e. Eleuthropolis. If Elkesi was an existing village, and not merely a postulate based upon the Heb. text of Nah 1:1, it must have been situated in southwestern Judah, where tradition located the tribe of Simeon. E2 takes the name in Nah 1:1 as personal, and substitutes "Nahum, son of Elkesaios, was from Isbe . . ."

12 a. Jeremias, Heiligengräber, p. 81, identifies Bethzouchar as Khirbet Beit Skaria (Beth-Zachariais), situated 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) southeast of Bethlehem.

b. Lit. "saw."

c. On the Mediterranean coast in eastern Egypt.

d. I.e. Arabia or Nabatea.

e. The same story is found in Bel 33–39 (JB Dan 14:33–39).

f. Ḥapōlōmā seldom designates a curtain, but this curious usage is attested by TBenj 9:4, where it also denotes the Temple veil. Dabeir (or Dabir) is a transliteration of the Heb. dābir, which denotes the inner sanctuary of the Temple (the holy of holies). The LXX translators elected to use this transliteration rather than a translation at 1Kgs 6:5 and elsewhere where the Heb. word occurs, treating it as if it were a place-name.
Zephaniah

13 Zephaniah was of the tribe of Simeon, of the countryside of Sabaratha. He prophesied concerning the city and about the end of the gentiles and the shaming of the impious. And he died and was buried in his field.

Haggai

14 Haggai, who is also “the Messenger,” came from Babylon to Jerusalem, probably as a youth, and he openly prophesied concerning the return of the people, and witnessed in part the building of the Temple. And when he died he was buried near the tomb of the priests, in great honor as were they.

Zechariah

15 Zechariah came from Chaldea when he was already well advanced in years, and there he prophesied many things to the people, and gave portents as proof. This man told Jozadak that he would beget a son and that he would serve as priest in Jerusalem. He also pronounced a blessing upon Shealtiel at the birth of his son, and named him Zerubbabel. And concerning Cyrus he gave a portent of his victory, and prophesied regarding the service which he was to perform for Jerusalem, and he blessed him greatly. His prophesying in Jerusalem was based on his visions about the end of the gentiles, Israel, the Temple, the laziness of prophets and priests, and he set forth the twofold judgment. And he died when he had attained a great age, and when he expired he was buried near Haggai.

Malachi

16 Malachi. This man was born in Sopha after the return, and while still a very young man he led a virtuous life. And since the whole people honored him as holy and gentle, it called him Malachi, which means “angel”; for he was indeed beautiful to behold. Moreover, whatever he himself said in prophecy, on the same day an angel of God appeared and repeated (it), as happened also in the
days of the anarchy as written in Spharophim, that is, in the Book of Judges. And while he was still a young man he was added to his fathers in his own field.

Nathan

17 Nathan, David’s prophet, was from Gaba, and it was he who taught him the law of the LORD. *And he saw that David would transgress in the Bathsheba affair; and while he was hastening to go to tell him, Beliar hindered him, for by the road he found a dead man who had been murdered lying naked; and he remained there, and that night he knew that (David) had committed the sin. *And he returned weeping, and when (David) killed her husband, the LORD sent (him) to rebuke him. *And when he had grown very old he died and was buried in his own district.

Ahijah

18 Ahijah was from Shiloh, where the tabernacle was in ancient times, of Eli’s city. *This man said concerning Solomon that he would give offense to the LORD. And he rebuked Jeroboam, because he was going to walk deceitfully with the LORD: He saw a yoke of oxen trampling the people and running against the priests. He also foretold to Solomon that his wives would change him and all his posterity. *And he died and was buried near the Oak of Shiloh.

Joad

19 Joad was from Samareim. This is the one whom the lion attacked and he died, when he rebuked Jeroboam over the calves. *And he was buried in Bethel.
Azariah

20 Azariah was from the district of Sybatha; (it was he) who turned from Israel the captivity of Judah. And he died and was buried in his own field.

2Chr 15:1-15

Elijah

21 Elijah, a Thesbite from the land of the Arabs, of Aaron’s tribe, was living in Gilead, for Thesbe was given to the priests. When he was to be born, his father Sobacha saw that men of shining white appearance were greeting him and wrapping him in fire, and they gave him flames of fire to eat. And he went and reported (this) in Jerusalem, and the oracle told him, Do not be afraid, for his dwelling will be light and his word judgment, and he will judge Israel.

1Kgs 17:1

The signs which he did are these. Elijah prayed, and it did not rain for three years, and after three years he prayed again and abundant rain came. In Zarephath of Sidon through the word of the LORD he made the jar of the widow not to fail and the flask of oil not to diminish. Her son who had died God raised from the dead after (Elijah) prayed.

2Kgs 4:1-7

1Kgs 17:8-15

When the question was posed by him and the prophets dead after (Elijah) prayed.*

James, Heiligengräber, p. 106, who accepts the identification with Listib, proposes that Egeria did not actually see Thesbe, but that the direction in which the town lay was pointed out to her by her guides. This is hardly an adequate interpretation of the text: ad subito vidimus civitatem sanctam prophetae Heliae, id est Thesbe (‘suddenly we saw the city of the holy prophet Elijah, that is, Thesbe’). It remains possible, of course, that Egeria was misinformed by her guides.

1Kgs 17:11-16

b. It appears that tradition has confused Azariah son of Oded of 2Chr 15:1 with the later prophet Oded of 2Chr 28:9; it is the latter, not the former, who reverses Israel’s enslavement of Judah in the war between Pekah and Ahaz. The reconstruction of the text proposed by Torrey, Lives, p. 46, ‘who turned away from Judah the captivity that befell Israel,’ is unnecessary if allusion is here made to the prophecy of Oded in 2Chr 28:9–15.

1Kgs 17:17-24

10:6

20 a. Sybatha, like Josephus’ Saphatha (variants Sabatha and Saphtha, Ant 8.12.1 §293), seems to derive from the textually difficult allusion in 2Chr 14:10. J. Jeremias, ‘Sarabatha und Sybatha,’” Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins 56 (1933) 253–55, argues that here LXX reflects a better text; the corrupt reading of MT has given rise to the spurious place-name Zephasath.

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b. In the 1st cent. the Nabateans (Araboi) controlled the area east of Perea and the Decapolis. Perhaps their influence at times extended to those villages in Transjordan that were not in close proximity to the major hellenistic and Jewish towns. In any event, our author or his source believed that Thesbe lay in Nabatean territory.

c. Elijah was often regarded as a priest in Jewish tradition (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 6, p. 316).

d. According to Josh 21:19, thirteen cities were assigned to the descendants of Aaron, but Tishbeh (Thesbe) is not mentioned in any of the lists of priestly cities.

e. Or "verdict.", f. Most MSS, including E1, E2, and D, add "with sword and fire." Elijah was frequently assigned a role in the judgment of the deceased (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 6, p. 324).

g. Following D, Torrey, Lives, pp. 8, 32, 47f., omits the "signs" included by Q in the sections on Elijah and Elisha (21:4–15; 22:4–17), which are taken from 1–2Kgs. It is instructive that E1 and E2 have short additions at this point, but contain none of the biblical material found in Q. Torrey is probably correct, therefore, in regarding this material as secondary. It is even possible that the entire section devoted to Elijah is a later addition, since it does not conform to the document’s general purpose of encouraging veneration of the prophets’ graves.

h. See above 10:6 and n. No attempt is made in this passage to identify the dead son as Jonah. i. "Proposed" fits the context but cannot be defended lexically. The first aorist active of haireó
Elisha

22 Elisha was from Abel Meholah in the land of Reuben. And a marvel occurred concerning this man, for when he was born in Gilgal, the golden calf bellowed shrilly, so that it was heard in Jerusalem, and the priest declared through the Urim that a prophet had been born to Israel who would destroy their carved images and molten idols. And when he died, he was buried in Samaria.

4.5 The signs which he did are these. He too struck the Jordan with Elijah's sheepskin, and the water was divided, and he too passed over with dry feet. The water in Jericho was foul and sterile; and hearing (this) from the city's residents, he invoked God, and he said, "I am healing this water, and no longer will death and sterility issue from it," and the water has remained healed to this day. When two captains of fifty were sent to him from Ahaziah, the king of Israel, he invoked the LORD and fire came down from heaven, and the fire consumed them at the LORD's command.

Ravens brought him bread in the morning and meat in the afternoon. With a sheepskin he struck the Jordan and it was divided, and they crossed over with dry feet, both he and Elisha. Finally he was taken up in a chariot of fire.

is not witnessed until the 4th cent., according to LSJM, p. 41, and nowhere does the active verb bear a meaning suitable to this context. Perhaps bòrho should be emended to êthē, "asked," but the latter would fit poorly with the fourth infinitival phrase.

j. Lit. "ceased." Possibly a scribal error substituted exeleipten for an original exelixen as found in the LXX version of the narrative, 1Kgs 18:38, "and it licked up the water."

k. Following LXX; MT has "bread and meat in the morning, and bread and meat in the afternoon."

l. Again following LXX; MT has "mantle."


b. The Gilgal here referred to is not the sanctuary near Jericho but a site near Bethel. Awareness of this second Gilgal persisted through the Roman period, as evidenced by the Onomastikon of Eusebius (Klostermann, ed.; p. 66). Although the phrase "in Gilgal" is awkwardly placed, it is apparently to be taken with the following clause. Torrey, Lives, p. 48, remarks, "This passage in the Lives is the oldest witness to the belief, found in the writings of certain Church fathers, that one of Jeroboam's two golden calves was set up in Gilgal instead of Dan."


d. Jeremias, Heiligengrüber, p. 30, notes that the narrative concerning Elisha's grave in 2Kgs 13:20f. presupposes a site much closer to the Jordan, where an incursion of Moabite raiders would be more likely, but adds that later tradition consistently points to Samaria. Jerome, Comm. in Abdiam 1 (PL, vol. 25, col. 1099B), mentions a mausoleum of Elisha in Sebaste (Samaria).

e. Lit. "among them."

f. Emending the text from enerrexiain, "broke into," to anerrexiain, as found in LXX of 2Kgs 2:24.

g. 2Kgs 4:1 mentions only one creditor.

h. Q, following LXX, has Souman. Eusebius, Onomastikon (Klostermann, ed.; p. 158) identifies Shunem (which he spells Soulem) with an existing village called Soulem, five Roman miles (c. 4.6 miles) south of Mount Tabor.
she was not able to bear a child, but earnestly desired to have one; he prayed and
made her able to conceive and give birth; then, when the child died, he prayed
again and raised it from the dead. *He went to Gilgal and was brought before the
sons of the prophets; and when the food was boiled, and a deadly herb was boiled
with the food, and they were all on the brink of danger, he made the food harmless
and sweet. *When the sons of the prophets were felling trees by the Jordan, the
axehed fell off and sank; and Elisha, praying, made the axehead float to the
surface. *Through him Naaman the Syrian was cleansed of leprosy. *When his
servant, named Gehazi, went to Naaman secretly, against his wishes, and asked
for silver, and later upon returning denied it, Elisha rebuked and cursed him, and
he became a leper. *When the king of Syria was making war against Israel, he
protected the king of Israel by announcing to him the plans of the enemy. *When
the king of Syria learned this he sent a force to bring the prophet, but he prayed
and made them to be struck with blindness, and he led them to Samaria, to their
enemies, but keeping them unharmed he preserved and fed them. *When the king
of Syria learned this he stopped making war. *After Elisha's death a man died,
and as he was being buried he was thrown onto his bones, and just as he touched
Elisha's bones the dead man revived immediately.

Zechariah son of Jehoiada

23 Zechariah was from Jerusalem, son of Jehoiada the priest, and Joash the king
of Judah killed him near the altar,* and the house of David* poured out his blood
in front of the Ailam;* and the priests took him and buried him with his father.d
From that time visible portents occurred in the Temple,* and the priests were not
able to see a vision of angels of God or to give oracles from the Dabeir,* or to inquire by the Ephod,* or to answer the people through Urim as formerly.

i. Reading patachhêhêni, following Nestle's transcription of Q, Marginalien, p. 34; the same verb is used by the LXX narrative, 2Kgs 6:18. Schermann, Prophetarum vitae fabulosae, p. 96, has kauchkhêna as Q's reading.

a. The Midrash on Lamentations, Midrash Rabbah, ed. H. Freedman and M. Simon (10 vols.; London, 1939) vol. 7, p. 226, stresses that the murder occurred in the Court of the Priests, not the Court of Israel or the Court of Women. According to Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 6, p. 396, the medieval Midrash Aggada declares that the blood of Zechariah bespattered the walls of the sanctuary. The assertion of Jesus that Zechariah died "between the sanctuary and the altar" (Mt 23:35; Lk 11:51) shows contact with a tradition transmitted by LivPro. An interesting variant provided by Codex Bezae at Lk 11:51 shows even closer contact: anameson, "in the midst of" or "between."

b. In Zech 12:8 the term "the House of David" seems to be a circumlocution for "the king." Poetic parallelism employs the same circumlocution here.

c. Ailam is the transliteration employed in LXX to render the Heb. 'âlêm and 'âlâm, which designate the porch of the Temple (1Kgs 6:3 et al.).

d. According to 2Chr 24:16, Jehoiada was buried "with the kings in the Citadel of David."* Jeremias, Heiligenräther, p. 68, correctly points out that, regardless of the accuracy of this statement, it is very unlikely that 1st-cent. Jews believed that Zechariah and his father were buried within Jerusalem, in view of the frequent testimony in the rabbinic literature that only the kings and Huldah (and Isaiah, according to the variant tradition reported by ARN 39 [B]) were buried within the city walls (e.g. t.BB 1:11). In the light of Mt 23:29f. and Lk 11:47, Jeremias continues, we must assume that the supposed grave of Zechariah had recently been marked with a new monument, for Zechariah and Isaiah are the only prophets whose martyrdoms and subsequent burials in Jerusalem could have prompted this saying of Jesus. Because of the widespread confusion that identified this Zechariah with the prophet of the same name (see n. c on 15:6), it is probable that the monument was erected in the Kidron valley near the tombs of the priests (see n. n on 1:9). Jeremias, Heiligenräther, pp. 68–72, rules out the possibility that Zechariah's monument can be identified with any of the existing structures in that area.

e. None of the punishments listed in this sentence are mentioned in the rabbinic haggadah, but a great deal of attention is given there to one portent that is not explicitly alluded to in LivPro: The blood of Zechariah seethed and bubbled on the stones in the Temple court for 252 years until it was finally atoned by the slaughter effected by Nebuzaradan (b.Gitt 57b; b.Sanh 89b; Midrash on Ecclesiastes 3.16 §1; 10.4 §1 [Midrash Rabbah, vol. 8, pp. 101f., 263f.]).

f. See n. f on 12:12. The practice here alluded to of giving oracles from the holy of holies is nowhere attested.

g. According to this passage, both the Ephod and the Urim were employed in oracular practice. Rabbinic haggadah contains a similar opinion (Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 3, p. 172). Cf. also LetAris 97.
Conclusion

24 And other prophets became hidden, whose names are contained in their genealogies in the books of the names of Israel; for the whole race of Israel are enrolled by name.

24 a. The difficulty of this phrase is probably responsible for the variant reading of E¹, "which we have not mentioned." E² and D do not have this concluding sentence. "Hidden" may mean simply that, while there are other prophets, the collection here assembled exhausts the list of prophets whose graves are known.