

**THE BOOKS OF ELIJAH**  
**PARTS 1&2**



**COLLECTED AND TRANSLATED BY**  
**MICHAEL STONE AND JOHN STRUGNELL**



THE BOOKS OF ELIJAH  
PARTS 1-2

Society of Biblical Literature



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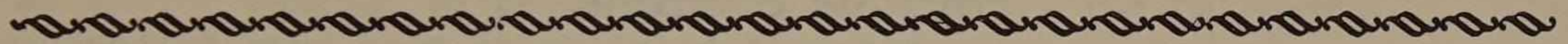
edited by  
Robert A. Kraft  
Harold W. Attridge

Texts and Translations Number 18  
Pseudepigrapha Number 8

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comprehensive index by  
W. Lowndes Lipscomb

Scholars Press

Distributed by  
Scholars Press  
PO Box 5207  
Missoula, Montana 59806

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

The Books of Elijah.

(Pseudepigrapha series ; 8 ISSN 0145-3238)  
(Texts and translations ; 18 ISSN 0145-3203)

Includes bibliographical references.

CONTENTS: Fragments of the Elijah literature, collected and translated by M. E. Stone and J. Strugnell.—The Vita Eliae, translated, together with notes on The short history of Elijah the Prophet, by M. E. Stone.—Comprehensive index, by W. L. Lipscomb.

1. Elijah, the prophet. 2. Apocalyptic literature. I. Stone, Michael E., 1938- II. Strugnell, John. III. Series. IV. Series: Society of Biblical Literature. Texts and translations ; 18.

BS580.E4B6 229'.913 79-15153

ISBN 0-89130-315-4

ISBN 0-89130-316-2 pbk.

Printed in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5

Printing Department  
University of Montana  
Missoula, Montana 59812

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation of this book has extended over a period of years and the editors are indebted to those who aided them in this task. W. Lowndes Lipscomb not only prepared the Index, but also spent much time in putting final touches on the camera-ready copy. Mary Walsh typed nearly all of the camera-ready copy with great patience and skill. Our gratitude is extended to both of them.

Robert A. Kraft and, later, Harold W. Attridge, gave us much counsel and assistance, both as colleagues and in their capacity as editors of Texts and Translations, Pseudepigrapha Series.

The cost of the typing of the camera-ready copy was borne by the University of Pennsylvania.

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Michael E. Stone

John Strugnell



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BOOKS OF ELIJAH



## GENERAL PREFACE

This collection of Elianic texts and fragments represents a substantial portion of the writings attributed to this prophet that have survived. There are others, and the editors hope that, in the future, they will also be published in subsequent fascicles of Texts and Translations. Such works as the Sefer Eliyyahu, the Tanna deBe Eliyyahu and the Huppat Eliyyahu in Hebrew, the Gadle Elias in Ethiopic, and the Elijah texts of the various Christian hagiographic traditions, as well as certain fragments from Qumran Cave IV might well be included in such a sequel to the present volume.

It might be asked why the editors have seen fit to publish the present texts, among which few -- if indeed any -- can claim an antiquity comparable to the Apocrypha? The editors believe that, in antiquity there was at least one Elijah apocryphon. Certain features recur both in the surviving quotations and in the associated Coptic or Hebrew works, such as the physiognomic description of the Antichrist (1.11) or the description of Gehenna (1.1) where "the punishment fits the crime." These may well be indications of elements which were very early at home in the Elijah tradition. They need at least preliminary collection -- the task of analysis, of separation of precious metal from dross, lies further ahead.

The remarkably wide attestation of a saying such as "eye has not seen, nor ear heard . . ." (1.111) reminds one of the spread and influence of this material in byzantine, medieval and later literature. This dimension of the study of the pseudepigraphical literature too is important and all too often neglected. To investigate it will prove fruitful for the understanding of the way that these traditions worked in the development of Judaism and Christianity.



PART I

FRAGMENTS OF THE ELIJAH LITERATURE



## INTRODUCTION

The first significant collection of Elianic legends is to be found, naturally, in C. Fabricius, Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti (2ed; Hamburg: Felgner, 1722) 1.1070-1086. He deals with our fragments nos. III and IV in Ch. CCVIII and with our Fg. VII in Ch. CCVII. Ch. CCIX discusses Hebrew exegetical tradition, as recorded in the Seder 'Olam Rabba (Ch. 17) and by Qimhi (on 2 Chron 21:12), about Elijah's disappearance, his expected return, and about the letter of Elijah brought (after his ascension) to King Joram (2 Chron 21:12). Ch. CCX records Carmelite, Persian Sufi, and other traditions on Elijah as founder of the hermit's way of life. Ch. CCXI discusses Christian beliefs about the return of Elijah (Malachi 4:5, cf. Matt 17:10, John 1:21, Rev 11:3, Justin Dial. 8:10, 49, Vitae Prophetarum sub nomine, Evang. Ps-Nicodemi 25), together with an analogous belief of the "Chymici" (e.g. Paracelsus) and his possible identity with Phineas (cf. also Bibl. Ant. 48 and H. Strack & P. Billerbeck, Kommentar z.N.T. 4.462P) and St. George (el-Haḍr). Ch. CCXII discusses a rabbinical tradition of the "House of Elijah" or be Eliyyahu (attested in b. Aboda Zara' 9a, cf. b. Sanh 92a) that the world would last 6,000 years, and the survival of this tradition in Jewish-Christian polemic. It is not clear what is the floruit of this "House of Elijah". Ch. CCXIII mentions three Jewish Books attributed to Elijah, parts of which contain stories and speeches of the Prophet, the Seder Eliyyahu Rabba, the Seder Eliyyahu Zuta,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Although a surviving Tanna debe Eliyyahu and a Seder Eliyyahu are mentioned in the Talmud (cf. b. Ket. 106a etc.), the present form of the surviving Tanna debe Eliyyahu (= Seder Eliyyahu Rabba + Seder Eliyyahu Zuta) is probably of late (i.e. ca. 9th century) date -- although it preserves the passages quoted by the Talmud. It may be consulted in the editions of Venice 1598 and of Vienna 1902, ed. M. Friedmann, as well as in H.M. Horowitz' Bibliotheca Haggadica 2.3-19; cf. Encyclopedia Judaica 15.803-804. Some would regard the work as being much older, while admitting later elements in it. A new English translation is currently under preparation.

the qnpt(?) 'lyhw (Cave of Elijah? non vidimus) -- Fabricius on historical and linguistic grounds ascribes these to a younger Elijah the Prophet, despite clear Hebrew tradition (b. Ket. 106a) to the contrary! One might add to Fabricius' list of Hebrew works, without being exhaustive, the Sa'arat Eliyyahu (ed. Wilna 1894) and the Sefer Eliyyahu uPirqê Mašiaḥ (ed. A. Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrasc̄h 3.65-82).

More recently some of the fragments were gathered together in English translation and discussed by M.R. James, Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament (London: S.P.C.K., 1920) 53-61; many of the Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts were assembled in Michael E. Stone's Apocryphal Fragments from Qumran and from the Church Fathers (Jerusalem: Akademon, 1969) 29-38 [Hebrew]; the texts of our fgg. II and III are also printed in Albert M. Denis, Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca (= Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece III; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 103-4.

Bibliography on individual fragments will be given ad locc. The existence of a recent discussion of the work, with abundant references to current literature (A.M. Denis, Introduction aux Pseudépigrap̄hes Grecs d'Ancien Testament [Studia in Veteris testamenti Pseudepigrapha 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970] 163-9, 284, 298) spares us from repeating here all the indications given there.

In this edition we only print fragments which may, as literary pieces, go back to, or reflect knowledge of, an early Greek apocryphal work on Elijah; of course many of the folkloristic and midrashic traditions about Elijah (which in general concentrate on his life, ascension, post-mortem appearances, and final return) may also have occurred in (or perhaps even been derived from) this work -- but there is no decisive evidence for this.

For the Elijah literature in general, cf. the bibliographical indications in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament 3.928ff., s.v. ΗΑΕΙΑΣ (J. Jeremias); Bibliotheca Sanctorum 4.1022-1039, s.v. Elia, profeta (T. Stramare, F. Spadafora, & F.M. Alfoldi); F. Stegmüller, Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi I (Madrid: CSIC, 1940) nos. 90 and 120; E. Schürer, Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes<sup>3</sup>.. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1909) 3.361-6

The Hebrew material is collected and/or discussed by J.D. Eisenstein, Ošar Midrashim I, pp. 24-26; M.W. Levinsohn, Der Prophet Elias nach den Talmudim- und Midraschim-Quellen (N.Y.: 1929); R. Zion, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Legende des Propheten Elia (Würzburg: 1931); L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909-1938) 4.195-235, 6.316-343, 7.133-135 (and consult also the sections there on Elisha), and by [H.L. Strack and] P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (München: Beck, 1926 ff.) 4.764-798.

For other possibly relevant traditions cf. A. Augustinovic, "El-Khader" and the Prophet Elijah (Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 12; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1972); Acta SS. Julii V. (Antwerp: Jacobus du Moulin, 1727) 4-22; Elie le prophète (2 vols.; Bruges: 1956, non vidi).

The present collection does not pretend to advance our knowledge of these enigmatic fragments, but merely to gather them together in the best form in which scholarly endeavor has so far presented them, and to make them readily available for the encouragement of further research.

Footnotes to each fragment occur following the text and translation of it, and before the next fragment. The apparatuses are adapted from the editions, in which indications of the character and location of the manuscripts referred to can be found.



TITLES OF ELIANIC WRITINGS



Title: the following forms are attested:

- a) "The Secret/apocrypha (ἀπόκρυφον/-α) of Elijah." So Origen (+ "the Prophet" cf. Fg III a T 1 ); Euthalius (Fg III a T 3); George the Syncellus (Fg IV a T 4 ), quoted also by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, Harmonia Evangelica c. 166 (Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, 19.937); cf. "The Hidden Things (Apocrypha) of Elijah" Mexit'ar of Ayrivank', Erevan MS. no. 1500, p. 370, in Stone, "Canon Lists III," HTR 69 (1976) 289-300.
- b) "The Apocrypha said to be of the Prophet Elijah." So Photius, ad Amphilochum Qn 151 (Fg III a T 3b.).
- c) "The Apocalypse of Elijah among the Apocrypha (in apocalypsi Heliae in apocryphis)." So Ambrosiaster (Fg III a T 2), (apocalypsis H.); Jerome (Fg III a T 6-7); Pseudo-Anastasius Sinaita, List of 60 Books; Slavonic Versions of the List of 60 Books (Denis, Introduction, xii).
- d) "The Prophecy (prophetia) of Elijah." So Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version of Nicephorus' Stichometry, Fabricius, Cod. Pseud. 1, 1074.
- e) "Of Elijah the Prophet." So Pseudo-Athanasius, Synopsis; Nicephorus, Stichometry (+ "of 3016 [or 316] verses"); Chronographia Compendiaria.
- f) "Apocryphal Books (βιβλία ἀπόκρυφα) of Elijah." So Apostolic Constitutions 6, 16, 3.
- g) "Elijah." So Epiphanius (Fg IV a T 1).
- h) "Of a Prophet." So Maximus (pseudo-Ambrose).
- i) "The Apocryphon of Jeremiah." So George the Syncellus (Fg IV a T 2).

We should certainly distinguish from this the title once given to Eupolemus' work, "a work about the prophecy of Elijah" [ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἠλίου προφητείας] cited via Alexander Polyhistor by Eusebius, Praep. Evangelica IX.30.; cf. the discussion in B.Z. Wacholder, Eupolemus: a Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College III; Cincinnati-New York: Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, 1974) 21-24.

Fragment I

THE TORMENTS OF THE DAMNED

Fragment I. The Torments of the Damned.<sup>1</sup>

1a. In the Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctorum, we find the following quotation:

Furthermore the Prophet Elijah bears witness that he had a vision. "The angel of the Lord", he says, "showed me a deep valley, which is called Gehenna, burning with sulphur and pitch, and in that place are many souls of sinners, and there they are tormented with various tortures. Some suffer in hanging by their genitals, others by their tongues, some by their eyes, others in hanging upside down. Women will be tortured in their breasts, and young men by hanging by their hands. Some virgins are burnt on a gridiron, and other souls are pierced by an unceasing torment. By these various tortures the acts of each are shown forth. Adulterers and pederasts are tortured in their genitals. Those who hang by their tongues are the blasphemers and false witnesses. Those who hang by their eyes (or "have their eyes burnt") are those who have stumbled through their glances and who have looked with craving on guilty acts. Those hanging upside down are those who hate God's righteousness, men of evil minds, none of whom is in harmony with his brother. Deservedly then are they burned (?) according to the punishment to which they are sentenced. As for the fact that women are sentenced to be punished by tortures in their breasts, these are women who lasciviously have **yielded** their bodies to men: and their men will be nearby in tortures, hanging by their hands for this reason."

[Ep. Titi, lines 400-417; cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher 2.158]

400 Denique testatur propheta Helias uidisse: Ostendit, inquit,  
 mihi angelus domini conuallem altam quae uocatur gehenna ar-  
 densque sculphore et bitumine. Et in illo loco sunt multae  
 animae peccatorum et taliter ibi cruciantur diuersis tormentis:  
 paciuntur aliqui pendentes natura[e], alii autem linguis,  
 405 quidam uero oculis, alii inuersi pendentes, et foemine mam-  
 millis suis cruciabuntur, et iuuenes manibus pendentes, quae-  
 dam in craticula uirgines uruntur et quaedam figuntur animae  
 perpetuae poenae. Per ipsa uero uaria supplicia ostenditur  
 uniuscuiusque actus: naturalium +dolor utique+adulteri sunt  
 410 et pederasti; qui/autem linguis suspenduntur blasphemi sunt,  
 falsi etiam testes; qui oculis uero cremantur hii sunt qui in  
 adtend<end> scandalizati sunt respicientes in concupiscencia  
 reatu gesta; qui uero inuersi pendebant hii sunt odientes  
 iusticiam dei, prauis consilii, nec quisquam fratri consentit,  
 415 merito ergo poenis sententiae uruntur;/nam quod foeminae mam-  
 millis torqueri iubentur istae sunt quae in ludibrio corpus  
 suum tradiderunt masculis, ideoque et ipsi iuxta erunt in  
 tormentis manibus pendentes p<ropt>er hanc rem.

406 quidem in Raticlam MS      409 pederasti MS<sup>m1</sup>? : perditi<sup>m2</sup>  
 411 adtend<end>o: adtendo MS: videndo de Bruyne      414 ergo de  
 Bruyne: et in MS      415 torquere MS      415 qui MS      417 p<ropt>er  
 de Bruyne : per? MS

Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii, ed. D.  
 de Bruyne, Rev. Ben. 37 (1925) 58

1b i. An analogous Hebrew text, also related to Elijah, is found in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel XIV.4. We cite the text of the unique MS of Jerahmeel (Bodleian MS. Hebr. d 11, p. 17), as it is transcribed by M.E. Stone, op. cit. (Introduction, supra) 36-7. Our translation is modified from that of M. Gaster, The Chronicles of Jerahmeel (Oriental Translation Fund NS 4; London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1898) 34-5; cf. now pp. 30-31 of the Introduction to the Ktav reprint, NY: 1972. Gaster's additional material is apparently drawn from diverse sources not indicated in detail by him. One such is Reshith Hokhmah of Elia de Vida, the text of the relevant portion of which has been given below (I b ii). This section of Reshith Hokhmah was also reprinted by Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrash I,

- 1 R. Joshua<sup>3-4</sup> said. "Once upon a time I was walking on my way, and I found Elijah --<sup>5</sup> may his memory be for blessing<sup>5</sup>. He said to me 'Do you want me to make you stand near the gate of Gehenna?' and I said to him 'Yes'. Then he showed me men<sup>6</sup> hanging by their hands and men hanging by their tongues and men hanging by their eyes and men hanging by their ears<sup>6</sup>.
- 2 And he showed me men who were made to eat fiery coals<sup>7</sup> and men who were sitting and alive, while worms were eating them<sup>7</sup>.
- 3 And he showed me men who were made to eat fine sand: they were made to eat it against their will, and their teeth were broken by the sand. And the Holy One blessed be He says to them<sup>8</sup> 'You ate things that you stole<sup>9</sup> in this world<sup>9</sup>, and they were sweet in your mouth; but now you do not have the strength to

147-149. Further expansions of the Jerahmeel translation are given below in the form of footnotes to the English translation of I b i. The Hebrew for them was not available.

A further extensive reworking of this material, formulated as a revelation to Moses by the Prince of Gehenna, is to be found in the late Moses apocryphon, Gedulat Moshe (ed. Amsterdam: 1753) fols. 5r-7r. This may also have served Gaster as one of the sources for his expansions.

1 אמר ר' יהושע פעם אחת הייתי מהלך בדרך ומצאתי אליהו ז"ל ואמר לי: רצונך שאעמידך על שער גהינום, ואמרת לי: הן. והראני בני אדם שתלויין בידיהם ובני אדם שתלויין בלשונם ובני אדם שתלויין בעניהם ובני אדם שתלויין באזניהם.

2 והראני בני אדם שמאכילין אותם גחלי רתמים ובני אדם שיושבים וחיים ותולעים אוכלים אותם.

3 והראני בני אדם שמאכילים אותם חול דק והיו מאכילין אותם בעל כרחם ושיניהם משתברין מן החול. והקב"ה אומר להם: אתם אכלתם את הגזל בעולם הזה והיה מתוק בפיכם. עתה אין בכם כוח לאכול לקיים מה שנאמר: ושיני רשעים שיברתי.

eat' -- to confirm what is said 'I have broken the teeth of the wicked.'" (Ps 3:8)<sup>11</sup>

1b ii. Another version of this text is that to be found in Reshith Hokhmah (see 1 b i above). This contains extensive additional material to that in the Jerahmeel text. This additional material is underlined in the following translation.

- 1 Rabbi Joshua ben Levi said, "Once upon a time I was walking on my way and Elijah the prophet -- may his memory be for a blessing -- found me. He said to me, 'Do you want me to make you stand near the gate of Gehenna?' I said to him, 'Yes.' He showed me men hanging by their noses and men hanging by their hands and men hanging by their tongues and men hanging by their feet; and he showed me women hanging by their breasts, and he showed me men hanging by their eyes.
- 2 And he showed me men who were made to eat their own flesh, and men who were made to eat fiery coals, and men who were sitting alive while worms were eating them. He said to me, 'These are those of whom it is written (Isa 66:24): Their worm shall not die.'"
- 3 (Identical, except for minor variations, with the text of Jerahmeel.)
- 4 And he showed me men who were being cast from the fire to snow and from the snow to fire, like this shepherd who pastures his sheep from mountain to mountain, concerning whom scripture says (Ps 49:14): Like sheep they are appointed for Sheol: Death shall be their shepherd; And the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning; And their form shall

1 אמר ר' יהושע בן לוי פעם אחת הייתי מהלך בדרך ומצאני אליהו הנביא זכור לטוב, אמר לי: רצונך שאעמידך על שער גהינם. אמרתי לו: הן. הראני בני אדם שתלויים בחוטמיהם, ובני אדם שתלויים בידיהם, ובני אדם שתלויים בלשונותם, ובני אדם שתלויים ברגליהם, והראני נשים תלויות בדדיהן, והראני בני אדם שתלויים בעיניהם.

2 והראני בני אדם שמאכילים אותם בשרם, ובני אדם שמאכילים אותם גחלי רתמים, ובני אדם יושבים חיים ותולעים אוכלים אותם. אמר לי: אלו שכתוב עליהם כי תולעתם לא תמות.

3 (זהו עם נוסח ירחמיאל, להוציא כמה שנויים קלים).

4 והראני בני אדם שמשליכין אותם מן האש לשלג ומן השלג לאש כרועה זה שרועה את צאנו מהר להר, ועליהם הכתוב אומר: כצאן לשאול שתו מות ירעם וירדו במ ישרים לבקר וצורם (ק') לבלות שאול מזבל לו.

be for Sheol to wear away, that there be no habitation for it.

lc. Another analogous passage occurs in Jerahmeel XVI:1-5 (Bodleian MS Heb. d 11, p. 17), this time associated with the prophet Isaiah. Again we cite the text of the MS as given by Stone, op. cit. ('Introduction' supra) 37-8; additional material in Gaster's translation, op. cit. (supra, lb i) 36-7, is given in footnotes to the translation; its Hebrew text is found in Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrasch 5.50-51.

- 1 There are five law courts (?) established in Gehenna, and Isaiah the son of Amoz saw them all. He entered the first court, and saw, and behold<sup>12</sup> men carrying buckets of water on their shoulders, and they kept filling them and emptying them into a well, but the well never fills<sup>13</sup> and the men never die<sup>13</sup>. He (Isaiah) said to Him (God), "<sup>14</sup>Reveal the mystery<sup>14</sup>, O Revealer of Mysteries, explain to me the vision." And the<sup>15</sup> Holy Spirit answered and said to him "These are the men who coveted what was not theirs while they were in the world, and transgressed against what is written in the Torah 'You shall not covet.' (Exod 20:17) Now they are brought here and judged here."<sup>15</sup>
- 2 He entered the second court and he saw there<sup>16</sup> men hanging by their tongues; and he said to him "O Revealer of Mysteries, explain the vision to me." <sup>17</sup>The Holy Spirit<sup>17</sup> answered him "These are the men who<sup>18</sup> slandered their companions while they were in the world, and transgressed what is written in the Torah 'You shalt not go up and down as a slanderer among your people' (Lev 19:16). And now they are brought here and judged here."<sup>18</sup>

[ספר ראשית חכמה, קושטאנדינה, דף מי עמ. א]

1 חמישה בתי דינין קבועים בגהינום וכולם ראה אותם ישעיהו בן אמוץ.  
 נכנס לבית הראשון וראה הנה בני אדם שאוחזים כדי מים על שכמיהם  
 וממלאין ומשליכין לתוך הבאר והבאר אינו מתמלא, ובני אדם אינן  
 מתין. אמר לפניו: גלא רז, גלא רזים פרוש לי החזון. השיבה אותו  
 רוח הקודש ואמרה לו: אלו בני אדם שחומדים דבר שאינו שלהם בהיותם  
 בעולם ועוברין על מה שכתוב בתורה: לא תחמוד, עכשיו מביאין אותן  
 כאן ודנין אותם כאן.

2 נכנס לבית השני וראה שם בני אדם תלויין בלשונן: ואמר לפניו  
 גלא רזיא פרוש לי החזון. השיבה אותו רוח הקודש: אלו בני האדם  
 שאכלו קורציהם דחבריהון בהיותם בעולם ועברו על מה שכתוב בתורה:  
 לא תלך רכיל בעמך. ועכשיו מביאין אותם כאן ודנין אותן בכך.

- 3 He entered the third court, and saw<sup>19</sup> men hanging by their testicles. He said to Him "O Revealer of Mysteries, explain to me the vision."<sup>20</sup> The Holy Spirit answered him and said to him "These are the men who were in the world and afflicted the daughters of Israel (?), who are compared to a calf -- as it is said 'Ephraim was a trained heifer' (Hos 10:11) -- and walked after the daughters of the uncircumcised, who are compared to asses -- as it is said 'whose flesh is that of asses' (Ezek 23:20) -- and now they are brought here and judged thus."<sup>20</sup>
- 4 He entered the fourth court, and saw there<sup>21</sup> daughters of iniquity<sup>21</sup> hanging by the nipples of their breasts; and he said to Him "O Revealer of Mysteries, explain to me the vision."<sup>22</sup> The Holy Spirit answered him and said to him<sup>22</sup> "These<sup>23</sup> are the women who uncovered their hair and rent their veil and sat in the open market place to suckle their children, in order to attract the gaze of men and to make them sin; therefore they are punished thus."
- 5 He entered the fifth court, and found it full of smoke. There were all the governors, the chiefs, and Pharaoh the wicked presiding over them and watching over the gate of hell, and he says to them, "Why did you not learn from me when I was in Egypt?" Thus he sits there and watches at the gatehouse of hell.<sup>24</sup>

3 נכנס לבית השלישי וראה בני אדם תלויין בעגבותיהם. אמר לפניו:  
 גלא רזיא פרוש לי החזון. השיבה אותו רוח הקודש ואמרה לו:  
 אלו בני אדם שהיו בעולם שהיו מציקין בנות ישר(אל?) שמשילות  
 לעגלה שנאמר: אפרים עגלה מלומדה והולכין אחר בנות ערלים  
 שמשילות לחמורים שנאמר: אשר בשר חמורים בשרם, ומביאין אותם  
 לכאן ודנין אותם בכך.

4 נכנס לבית הרביעי וראה שם בנות הרשעה שתלויות בחוטי דדיהן ואמר  
 לפניו: גלא רזיא פרוש לי החזון. השיבה אותו רוח הקודש ואמרה לו:  
 אלו הנשים אשר גילו את שערן וקרעו את צעיפן וישבו בשוק להיניק  
 את ילדיהן כדי למשוך את מבטי האנשים ולהביא אותם לידי חטא.  
 לכן. הן נענשות כך.

5 נכנס לבית החמישי ומצא אותו מלא עשן, שם היו כל השרים והנשיאים  
 ופרעה הרשע יושב בראשם ושומר את שער גהינום, והוא אומר אליהם:  
 למה לא למדתם ממני כשהייתי במצרים? כך הוא יושב ושומר בית שער  
 גהינום.

Older analogous Hebrew and Aramaic texts are discussed by S. Liebermann, "On Sins and their Punishment," Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume (New York: Amer. Acad. Jew. Res., 1945) 2:249-267 [Hebrew]. There he prints our Fg.1a, with a Hebrew translation. The oldest of these Hebrew and Aramaic texts is that of a Geniza fragment published by L. Ginzberg, Geniza Studies (New York: J.T.S., 1928) 1.196f. [Hebrew]. That is ascribed to Tanna deBe Eliyyahu, but it does not occur in the manuscript or the printings of that work.

## NOTES

1. Note the connection of these fragments with the Hebrew Sefer Eliyyahu (ed. Bittenwieser) 15, especially "again (the) Spirit lifted me up and carried me to the west (end) of the world: and I saw there souls suffering judgement in agony, each one according to his deeds." That work also contains a description of the Antichrist, cf. fg II infra.
2. For more recent discussions, cf. A. de Santos Otero, in E. Hennecke - W. Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha (Philadelphia: Lutterworth Press and Westminster Press, 1965) 2.141-3 and 158 n.1. Our translation is modified from that of de Santos Otero, ibid. The sole MS of the Epistle (MS Th f28 of Würzburg University) is of the eighth century; the date and place of composition are uncertain; it is not even certain whether the Letter was translated from Greek or composed in Latin, although the former seems likely.
- 3-4. + Son of Levi: Rešith Hokhma (RH).
5. + the prophet: RH.
- 6-6. hanging by their hair (noses: RH); and he said to me, 'These were the men that let their hair grow to adorn themselves for sin.' Others were hanging by their eyes; these were they that followed their eyes to sin, and did not set God before them. Others were hanging by their noses; these were they that perfumed themselves to sin. Others were hanging by their tongues; these were they that had slandered. Others were hanging by their hands; these were they that had stolen and robbed. Others were hanging by their sexual organs (or ignominiously); these were they that had committed adultery. Others were hanging by their feet; these were they that had run to sin. He showed me women hanging by their breasts; these were they that uncovered their breasts before men, to make them sin: Gaster.
7. + these were they who had blasphemed. Others were forced to eat bitter gall; these were they that ate on fast-days: Gaster.
8. + O ye sinners: Gaster.
- 9-9. + and robbed: Gaster.
- 10-10. Thou hast: Gaster.
11. Thus far the text parallel with the quotation in the Epistle to Titus. Jeraḥmeel continues his apparently Elianic material as follows (but Stone op. cit. does not give the Hebrew text, and we translate according to the text of 'Orḥot Ḥayyim): 4 He showed me further men who are thrown from fire to fire, and from snow to fire; these were they that abused the poor who came to them for assistance; therefore are they thus punished, as it is said, "Thou didst

let men ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water" (Ps 66:12). He showed me others who were driven from mountain to mountain, as a shepherd leads the flock from one mountain to another. Of these speaks the verse: "Like sheep they are appointed for Sheol; Death shall be their shepherd; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning, and their form shall be for Sheol to wear away, that there be no habitation for it" (Ps 49:14). This may be a preferable form of the text printed under 11.4.

12. + two: Gaster.

13-13. om. : Gaster.

14-14. om. : Gaster.

15-15. Spirit of the Lord answered, "These are the men who coveted the property of their neighbors, and this is their punishment.": Gaster.

16. + two: Gaster.

17-17. He: Gaster.

18-18. slandered, therefore they are thus punished: Gaster.

19. + there: Gaster.

20-20. And he answered "These are the men who neglected their own wives, and committed adultery with the daughters of Israel.": Gaster.

21-21. women: Gaster.

22-22. And he answered: Gaster.

23. Henceforth we cite Gaster's translation, the MS being defective.

24. The text continues with a description of the seven compartments of hell -- which seems to have no relationship either to the pericope we have printed or to the text of Fg. 1a.

Fragment II

THE APPEARANCE OF THE ANTICHRIST

## Fragment II. The Appearance of the Antichrist.

A physiognomic description of the Antichrist, attributed to Elijah, is found in one Greek MS (cf. Fg. IIa below). This description recurs in various forms in another eleven works. For a better understanding of the text and its traditions we have appended a diagram indicating in parallel columns the variations between these witnesses. The diagram sets the features forth in the order in which they occur in the texts.

IIa (cf. Col. 1). This is the only form of the text containing an attribution to Elijah. We print the text of Parisinus Graecus 4, fol. 228r. The text was first printed by F. Nau, Journal Asiatique XI.9 (1917) 454; we have regularized the orthography.

IIb (cf. Col. 2). This Syriac text, part of the Testamentum Domini nostri J.C., derives from pp. 14-15 of Ign. Ephraim II Rahmani's edition (Moguntiae:1899). Rahmani gives the text of 3 MSS, Mossulanus of AD 1651/2 (=M), Borgianus 148 of AD 1576 (=B), and Sangermanensis 38 of sec. VIII [= Par. Syr. 62] (=S); he refers on his p. xii to another Borgianus, with an Arabic text derived from Coptic, but he seems never to have published this. A. Baumstark, Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922) 252 (notes 3 and 7) and 353, lists other MSS and recensions of this work (which formed part of the Clementine Octateuch of the Syrian Church, a work distinct from the Apostolic Constitutions) together with other partial editions and discussions.

Ἐμφέρεται ἐν ἀποκρύφους ὅτι Ἡλίας ὁ προφήτης εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου· οἶος μέλλη τότε φαίνεσθαι· ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ φλόξ πυρός· ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ δεξιὸς κέκραται αἵματος· ὁ δὲ εὐώνυμος χαροπὸς ἔχων δύο κόρας· τὰ δὲ βλέφ[αρα] αὐτοῦ λευκά, τὸ δὲ χεῖλος αὐτοῦ τὸ κάτω μέγα· ὁ δεξιὸς αὐτοῦ μηρὸς λεπτός, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ πλατεῖς, τέθλασαι δὲ ὁ μέγας δάκτυλος τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ.

λεπτός] MS      λευκός

2. Titulus    3.    4.    5.    6.    7.    8.    9.    10.    11.    12.    13.    14.    15.    16.    17.    18.    19.    20.    21.    22.    23.    24.    25.    26.    27.    28.    29.    30.    31.    32.    33.    34.    35.    36.    37.    38.    39.    40.    41.    42.    43.    44.    45.    46.    47.    48.    49.    50.    51.    52.    53.    54.    55.    56.    57.    58.    59.    60.    61.    62.    63.    64.    65.    66.    67.    68.    69.    70.    71.    72.    73.    74.    75.    76.    77.    78.    79.    80.    81.    82.    83.    84.    85.    86.    87.    88.    89.    90.    91.    92.    93.    94.    95.    96.    97.    98.    99.    100.

1. Titulus    2. MB    3. S    4. MB om this clause

11c (cf. Col. 3). This is part of a long quotation of the Testamentum Domini nostri JC described as being from the text of "Clement," i.e. the Clementine Octateuch, made by Moše b. Kēpha in a homily on the advent of the Antichrist [on this work cf. A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 282, notes 4-10]. Our text derives from C = Cambr. Add 2918 of AD 1218, [printed by J.P. Arendzen, JTS 2 (1900-1) 410], P 206 = Parisinus Syr. 206 fol. 126 r-v and P. 207 = Parisinus Syr. 207 fol. 240 [printed by F. Nau, Journal Asiatique IX.17 (1901) 233 ff.].

11d (cf. Col. 4). The text is that of Codex Trevirensis 36 fol.113 (AD 719) reprinted from M.R. James, Apocrypha Anecdota I, (Texts and Studies II.3; Cambridge; Camb. U.P., 1893) 152-7, cf. 187-8. The MS contained S. Prosper of Aquitaine's de promissionibus et praedictionibus, and then two concluding "fillers", this text (as part of a quotation giving ch. XI, VI-VIII of the Testamentum Domini) and some Versus Sibyllae beginning Veniet enim Rex omnipotens et aeternus.

11e (cf. Col. 5). This text is taken from the edition of the Testament in Galilee of our Lord J.C. by L. Guerrier and S. Grébaut (Patrologia Orientalis 9.3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912) 183, an edition based on 4 Ethiopic MSS, L = Brit. Mus. Or. 793 (sec. XVIII), A = Paris, Bib. Nat. Fonds d'Abbadie N° 51 ("écriture ancienne"), B = Paris Bib. Nat. Fonds d'Abbadie 90 ("écriture guilḥ ancienne"), C = Paris Bib. Nat. Fonds d'Abbadie



199, and 795 = Brit. Mus. Or. 795 (sec. XVIII). Useful material can also be found in I. Wajnberg apud C. Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern (Texte und Untersuchungen 43; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1919) 61\*-62\*, which adds a collation of S = Stuttgart Cod. Or. fol. N 49.

II f (cf. Col. 6). The text is that of the Ethiopic version of the Tiburtine Sibyl, taken from J. Schleifer, "Die Erzählung der Sibylle, ein Apokryph," K. Ak. Wiss. Wien. Phil-Hist. Kl. Denkschriften 53 (Wien: 1910) 44-45, 70 (cf. also R. Basset, Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens X [Paris: Bibliothèque de la Haute Science, 1900] 36). It should be noted that the Latin and Greek forms of the Tiburtine Sibyl (for the former cf. J. Schleifer, op. cit. and for the latter cf. P.J. Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbek [Dumbarton Oaks Studies 10; Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967]) do not have this text in their variant accounts of the eschaton.

II g (cf. Col. 7). An Arabic version of the Tiburtine Sibyl: the text is from J. Schleifer, op. cit. 45, 70.

II h (cf. Col. 8). The Garshuni text of the Wisdom of the Sibyl is from J. Schleifer, op. cit. 44, 70.

1 በውስተ: ] AC ውስተ: LB  
2 አጽግጋ om A

ወትሻምናቱ: 1 ከሁሉ: ገሰሰ: ፀገደ: ርእሱ: ወቀጧን:  
ካሰዱ: ወውቱ: ሥዕናቱ: ርእሱ: ወገዳ: ማዘራገጥ።<sup>2</sup>  
ወገዳገጥ: ስዳብዳሁ: 3 ወገዳገደ: ፀደኑ: 4 ቱሱሱ:  
በዳም: ወፀጋገዳ: ፀደኑ: ፍሠሱ።<sup>5</sup>

1 A<sub>1</sub> ወገዳገደ: ትሻምናቱ: (sic) 2 D W Z<sub>2</sub>  
ገዳገጥ: ማዘራገጥ: A<sub>2</sub> Z<sub>1</sub> ወገዳገጥ: ማዘራገጥ:  
3 A<sub>2</sub> W Z<sub>2</sub> ወገዳገጥ: ስዳብዳሁ: A<sub>1</sub> ወገዳገጥ:  
ስዳብዳሁ: Z<sub>1</sub> ወገዳገጥ: ስዳብዳሁ: 4 W Z<sub>2</sub> ወገዳገጥ:  
ፀደኑ: and om ቱሱሱ: በዳም: ወፀጋገዳ: ፀደኑ:  
5 A<sub>2</sub> ፍሠሱ: Z<sub>1</sub> ፍሠሱ: A<sub>1</sub> om

وصفة هذا الرجل يكون رقيق الرقبة طويل الذراعين<sup>1</sup>  
قصير الأصابع وعينه لها نور كنور الشمس وفي عينه<sup>2</sup>  
اليمن علامه

الذراعين<sup>1</sup> Ms

عينه<sup>2</sup> Ms

وقال<sup>2</sup> هو الاصف جالسا<sup>3</sup> الجانب<sup>4</sup> له فحن الزاه  
جلب الصف له ملا اليه<sup>2</sup> حلة<sup>3</sup> الا واحد<sup>3</sup> حبه الصلبة<sup>4</sup>  
او هو صف

2 om O

2 P ايا في

3 P واحد

4 P الصلبة

11i (cf. Col. 9). Cf. R. Basset, op. cit. 51-2. Bib. Nat. Fonds Arabe 70.

11j (cf. Col. 10). Cf. R. Basset, op. cit. 61. The text is that of Paris, B.N. Fonds Arabe 281.

11k (Col. 11). The text is that of the Ethiopic Baruch, as found in the Falasha MS edited by J. Halévy, "Te'ēzâza Sanbat" (Commandements du Sabat) accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes: Sciences historiques et philologiques 137; Paris: E. Bouillon, 1902) 95 (text), 208 (translation). For an English translation with notes, see Wolf Leslau, Falasha Anthology (Yale Judaica Series 4; New Haven: Yale U.P., 1951) 75-76.

11l (Col. 12) gives an Ethiopic text related to that of Col. 11. This is appended to the Ethiopic Sybil. In fact, the whole "Appendix" to that work gives the Christian form of the Apocalypse which concludes the Falasha Baruch (see 11k); from J. Schleifer, op. cit. (cf. supra, on Col. 6) 78-9.

وصفة هذا الرجل كبير الراس رقيق الرقبه جيد  
الشعر طويل الذراعين قصير الاصابع عيناه تسرع  
كنور الشمس وفي عينه<sup>1</sup> اليسرى نكتة

عينه<sup>1</sup> 151

وصفة هذا الرجل الذي هو المسيح الدجال كبير الراس رقيق  
الرقبه طويل الذراعين قصير الاصابع<sup>1</sup> وعيناه لهما نور كضوء  
الشمس وفي عينه اليمنى كفيه

<sup>1</sup> قصير الاصابع perhaps corrupt from  
طوله الواحد (11h) so also 11g, i

ወዖሀገፍፍ: ዓዲኡ: ተሱሱ: በዲገዎ:  
ኧግፍ: ዘየሀገፍ: ቀጢገ: ወዳፍፍ: ኧደዊሁ:  
ዳፍፍፍ: ዳፍፍ: ኧደዊሁ: ወኧገፍፍ:  
ገገገ: ሀገገገ: የሀገፍ: ከኧፍፍ: ወዳገገ:  
ከገፍፍ:

የሀገፍ: ዐዲኡ: በዲገዎ: ተሱሱ: ወኧግፍ:  
ዘየሀገፍ: ቀጢገ: ወዳፍፍ: ኧደዊሁ: ዳፍፍፍ:  
ወኧገፍፍ: ሀገገገ: ደሀገፍ: ከኧፍፍ ጠ:  
ወዳገገ: ገፍፍ:

	IIa	IIb	IIc	IId	IIf	IIg	IIh	III	IIj	IIk	III
	Paris Gr 4 fol 288r	Syriac Test. Dom. a	Syriac Test. Dom. b	Cod. Trev- erensis 36 fol 113	Ethiopic Test. Dom. in Gal.	Ethiopic Arabic Siby1	Garshuni Siby1	Arabic Tib. Siby1	Arabic Tib. Siby1	Falasha Baruch	Ethiopic Wisdom Siby1

Head:  
flame of

fire

large

Neck:  
narrow

Hairs:

Arms:  
long

Fingers:  
short

Eyes:  
strong

like

light

of sun

Right

Eye:

mixed

with

blood

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

thick

x

x

few

plentiful

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

twisted

x

x

cat-like  
(gall  
color)

in eyes  
light  
etc.

shining  
etc.

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

Left Eye:  
glad or:  
light blue

green

two pupils

Eyes:  
other

Eyebrows:  
white

Lower Lip:

Right Thigh:  
thin

Right Foot:  
thin

Feet:  
broad

x

x

?

x

?

x

x

x

x

\* left: in right:  
it a spot in it a  
sign

eyelids

eye-  
lashes

eye-  
lashes

x

x

larger

larger

x

x

x

x

x

and  
shins  
thin

x

x

x

x

x

x

x

\* right: very blue and in its pupil written: This is the false messiah

These texts bear only slight resemblances of substance to the formally analogous passages of the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah: "aux jambes grêles; sur le devant de sa tête, il y a une touffe de cheveux blancs; il est chauve; ses sourcils vont jusqu'aux oreilles; sur le devant de ses mains il y a une tache de lèpre" (so most recently J.-M. Rosenstiehl, L'Apocalypse d'Elie (Textes et Etudes pour ... le judaïsme intertestamentaire 1; Paris: Geuthner, 1972) 98) and of the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah (M. Bittenweiser, p. 16): "These will be his signs on which Daniel gazed: his face will be long; a bald spot will be between his eyes; his stature will be very tall; the soles of his feet will be high (? broad) and his legs will be thin."

The same literary topos, physiognomic portraits of the Antichrist, is found in numerous other examples, which have, however, no points of literary dependency on the above 12 texts. Most of this material, with references to the discussion thereon, is conveniently assembled in J. M. Rosenstiehl's "Le Portrait de l'Antichrist," found in M. Philonenko, Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament et manuscrits de la Mer Morte (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967) 45-60. The Coptic Apocalypse of Zephaniah quoted by M.R. James, Apocrypha Anecdota I p. 155 is in fact the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah to be printed in the second volume of the present work; James refers also to Ps. Athanasius, Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem 108 (Migne, PG. 28.664) cf. ibid. 109. These formal parallels come from non-Eliaenic apocrypha, e.g. the Apocryphal Apocalypse of Esdras (cf. C. Tischendorf, Apocalypses Apocryphae [Leipzig: 1866; rep. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966] 28-29), the two forms of the apocryphal Apocalypse of John (cf. C. Tischendorf, ibid. 74-75), the Falasha Book of Baruch (cf. J. Halévy, op. cit., 58, 179), the Armenian Seventh Vision of Daniel (cf. G. Kalemkiar, "Die siebente Vision Daniels," WZKM 6 [1892] 133, 239 and J. Issaverdens, Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament<sup>2</sup> [Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1934] 263), the Persian Daniel-Nâmeh (cf. A. Wunsch, Aus Israels Lehrhallen, II 71), some Latin miscellanea (Corpus Christi 404 fol. 7, Montpellier H. 405 fol. III, both texts translated by Rosenstiehl, op. cit. 47-8), the Hebrew Book of Zerubbabel

(= Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrasch 2.27), the Hebrew Prayer of Shimeon ben Yoḥai (Jellinek, ibid. 4.124), The Signs of the Messiah (Jellinek, ibid. 2.60), two portraits in the Hebrew Mysteries of Shimeon ben Yoḥai (Jellinek, ibid. 3.79, 80), and Midrash Wayosha' (Jellinek, ibid. 1.55). Cf. also Rosenstiehl, op. cit. 47 on el-Bokhari, and Ibn el-Wardi's Haridat el Ajâ'ib, translated by R. Basset, Les Apocryphes Ethiopiens 10.79, 82. Rosenstiehl (op. cit. 53-4) discusses the possibility of relating to the tradition of portraits of the Antichrist the description of Caligula in Seneca, de Constantia 18 and Suetonius, Caligula 50.

We may also compare other physiognomic texts where, however, no portrait of the Antichrist survives, both from Qumrân (cf. 4Q 186 [DJD V, 88-91], J. Starcky, "Un Texte messianique de Qumrân," Ecole de Langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris; Mémorial du Cinquantenaire 1914-1964 [Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10; Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1964] 51-66, and A. Dupont Sommer [CRAIBL, 1965, 239-253]) and in Greek (cf. R. Foerster, Scriptores physiognomici Graeci et Latini [Leipzig: Teubner, 1893]). Jewish physiognomic texts of ancient date were published by G. Scholem, "Ein Fragment zur Physiognomik und Chiromantik aus der spätantiken jüdischen Esoterik," Liber Amicorum - Studies in Honour of Prof. Dr. C.J. Bleeker (Leiden: Brill, 1969) 174-194. Further Hebrew fragments were published by I. Gruenwald, "Further Jewish Physiognomic and Chiromantic Fragments," Tarbiz 40 (1971) 301-319 [in Hebrew].



...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

Fragment III

...the eye hath not seen...

"EYE HATH NOT SEEN"

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

...the eye hath not seen...

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Fragment III "Eye hath not seen".

The citation found in 1 Cor 2:9-10, attributed to the Apocryphon or Apocalypse of Elijah by ancient authorities, occurs in many other possibly independent forms. Another sentence perhaps quoted from the same writing occurs in connection with it in Clem. Alex., Protrepticus 10.94.4 (IIIg below).

IIIa. But, as it is written, "the things which eye did not see and ear did not hear, and which did not come up into a man's heart, which God prepared for those that love Him" God has revealed to us through the Spirit.

[1 Cor 2:9-10]

IIIb. 7. Therefore, we too must gather together with concord in our conscience and cry earnestly to him, as it were with one mouth, that we may share in his great and glorious promises.  
8. For he says, "Eye did not see, and ear did not hear, nor did it come up into a man's heart, how much He prepared for those that wait upon Him."

[Clem. Rom. 1,34,8; tr. Kirsopp Lake, Apostolic Fathers (LCL; London & Cambridge: 1912) 1.67.]

IIIc. If then we perform righteousness before God, we will enter into His kingdom, and receive the promises which ear did not hear and eye did not see, nor did it come up into a man's heart.

[Clem. Rom. 2,11,7; cf. 2,14,5: declare "what the Lord has prepared for His elect".]

9 ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται· "ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν." 10 ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

9 εἶδεν] οἶδεν | ἃ] ὅσα 10 ὁ θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν |  
δὲ] γὰρ

H. von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, II (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1913) 695.

7 καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες τῇ συνειδήσει, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος βοήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενῶς εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ. 8 λέγει γὰρ· Ὁφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη ὅσα ἠτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν.

ὀφθαλμὸς A] ἃ ὀφθ. HLS Clem A1 (1 Cor. 2:9) | ὅσα AH] ἃ  
L Clem A1, >S | ἠτοίμασεν A] + κύριος HLS | ὑπομένουσιν  
AL] ἀγαπῶσιν HS

Funk-Bihlmeyer-Schneemelcher, Die Apostolische Väter, I (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1956) 53-54.

7 ἔαν οὖν ποιήσωμεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσήξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ληψόμεθα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη.

Ibid, I, 76, 78.

111d. And the fire of the inhuman torturers was cold to them; for they held before their eyes the thought of flight from that fire which is everlasting and never quenched, and with the eyes of the heart they looked into those good things which are kept for those that wait, which ear did not hear, and eye did not see, and which did not come up into a man's heart, but which were shown unto them by the Lord, because they were no longer men, but already angels.

[Mart. Polyc. 2.3]

111e. Who said to me, "This is enough for you, Isaiah; for you have seen what no other son of flesh has seen, what neither eye has seen nor ear heard, nor has it come up into a man's heart, how much God has prepared for all that love Him."

[Latin Ascensio Jesaiae 11.34. Insignificant variant in Slavonic. Ethiopic lacks the quotation.]

111f. Then the evil "shall depart into eternal punishment, but the righteous shall go into eternal life (Matt 25:46)", inheriting those things which eye did not see and ear did not hear, nor went up into a man's heart, which God prepared for those that love Him: and they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God which is in Christ Jesus.

καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπανθρώπων βασανιστῶν·  
 πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε  
 σβεννύμενον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐνέβλεπον τὰ  
 τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν οὔτε  
 ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ἐκεῖνοις  
 δὲ ὑπεδέκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, οὔπερ μηκέτι ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ'  
 ἦδη ἄγγελοι ἦσαν.

ἀπανθρώπων (ἀπάνων) m Zahn Lightf.] ἀπηνῶν (ἀπεινῶν hp) g  
 Funk Hilgenf. | σβεννύμενον bhp] + πῦρ cmv Zahn  
 Hilgenf. | ἐνέβλεπον m Schw.] ἀνέβλεπον g Funk and ear-  
 lier eds. | εἶδεν cm] ἔδεν bhpv | δὲ + καὶ cv |  
 2 οὔπερ b] εὔπερ chrv, οὔτινες m | μηκέτι bchv] μὴ p,  
 λοιπὸν οὐκέτι m

Ibid, I, 121-122.

34 Qui dixit mihi: Sufficit tibi Ysaia; vidisti [enim,] quod  
 nemo [alius] vidit carnis filius, quod nec oculus vidit,  
 nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quanta prae-  
 paravit deus omnibus diligentibus se<sup>1</sup>.

1 S eum

R.H. Charles, The Ascension of Isaiah (London: A. and C. Black,  
 1900) 137

5 Τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν, οἱ  
 δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κληρονομοῦντες  
 ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ  
 καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν  
 αὐτόν· καὶ χαρήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ  
 Ἰησοῦ.

[Apostolic Constitutions 7.32.5]

IIIg. Whence Scripture properly proclaims to those who have believed "But the Saints of the Lord will inherit the glory of God and His power." Tell me, o blessed one, what sort of glory? "Which eye did not see and ear did not hear, nor did it come up into a man's heart. And they will rejoice in the kingdom of their Lord for ever, Amen"

[Clem. Alex, Protrepticus 10.94.4: Stählin also attributes the first quotation in this passage to the Apocalypse of Elijah]

IIIh. As for the righteous, who will have walked in the way of righteousness, they will inherit the Lord's glory and His power. And to them will be given his strength, which no eye has seen nor ear heard. And they shall rejoice in My Kingdom.

[Testament of Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ in Galilee (ed. Guerrier & Grebaut) 187]

IIIi. And then will I take them (i.e. the stones that are to be put by Cenez into the Ark of the Covenant) and many others far better than them, from that (place? ) which eye has not seen nor ear heard and which has not come up into man's heart, until something like this come to pass in the world. And the righteous shall have no need of the light of the sun or of the brightness of the moon, for the light of these pre-



cious stones will be their light.

[Pseudo-Philo, Biblical Antiquities XXVI.13]

IIIj. The Epistula Titi, which knew the Elijah apocalypse (cf. fg 1a supra) also quotes this passage, perhaps directly from Elijah, attributing to the Lord the saying

Great and noble is the divine promise which the Lord by His own mouth promised to His saints and pure ones, that He would give them what eyes had not seen nor ears heard, nor had it come up into man's heart, and that they would be for ever and ever an incomparable and invisible race.

IIIk. And he said to me, "Just as you cannot do or say any one of them, thus you will not be able to investigate the wisdom of the Most High nor to know the power (MS H: variety) of his paths, or to find His judgement, or the end of his love or the good things from him which He has promised (MS H: + to give) to his loved ones, which eye has not seen and ear has not heard, nor has it fallen into the heart of (or: occurred to) man, and which man has never thought of, which God prepared for His beloved ones."

[IV Ezra Armen. 5:40. Marginal note, secunda manu, in Erevan MS 1500 (H) attributes Paul's quotation to Ezra (i.e. this recension of IV Ezra).]

117-118 fieret tale aliquid ~ π | 118 seculo π recte? |  
 indigebunt P | opera luminis] lumine π | solis — lune om.  
 BCO | 119 lumen preciosissimorum lapidum ~ π

Pseudo-Philon, Les Antiquités Bibliques (Sources Chrétiennes no. 229; introduction and text D.J. Harrington, tr. J. Cazeaux; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1976) 1.210, 212. Cf. G. Kisch, Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (Publications in Mediaeval Studies 10; Notre Dame: U. of Notre Dame, 1949) 188.

Magna est atque honesta pollicitatio diuina quam ore suo dominus promisit sanctis ac immaculatis daturum se eis quod non uiderunt oculi[s], nec aures audierunt, nec in cor hominis ascendit, et erit in aeternis aeternorum gens incomparabilis et inconspicibilis.

de Bruyne, op. cit. (Fg. 1a) 48

Եւ ասէ ցիս՝ որպէս ոչ կարես ի նոցանէն մի ինչ առնել կամ  
 ասել, նոյնպէս ոչ կարացես զիմաստութիւն Բարձրելոյն  
 քննել եւ զիտել զգորութիւն<sup>1</sup> ճանապարհաց նորա եւ կամ  
 գտանել զդատաստանս նորա կամ զվախճան սիրոյ նորա՝ զոր  
 իոստացաւ<sup>2</sup> սիրելեաց իւրոց եւ կամ առ ի նմանէ զբարիսն,  
 զոր ակն ոչ ետես եւ ունկն ոչ լուաւ եւ սիրտ մարդոյ ոչ  
 անկաւ եւ ոչ զմտաւ երբէք ած մարդ՝ զոր պատրաստեաց  
 Աստուած սիրելեաց իւրոց:

1 զընդրութիւն H

2 + տալ H

M.E. Stone, Concordance and Texts of Armenian IV Ezra (Oriental Notes and Studies II; Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1971) 16-18.

IIII. Partial quotations, i.e. of only the first part of this text, may be derived from 1 Cor 2:9 or even from its source in Isa 64:43 (combined with Isa 65:16, Jer 3:16, Sir 1:10); in any case it has had wide distribution in Judaism, Christianity and even Islam. Furthermore, as a natural literary topos, similar expressions occur passim in classical and modern literature.

IIIm. A dominical saying:

a) "Jesus said. I will give you what eye has not seen and what ear has not heard and what hand has not touched and (what) has not come up into the heart of man."

[Gospel of Thomas, Logion 17]

b) "You also then, brethren, having taken refuge in Him and learnt that in Him alone you exist, will attain those things of which He says to us 'what neither eye saw nor ear heard nor did they come up into the heart of man.' We pray to Thee then for those things Thou has promised to give, immaculate Jesus. We praise Thee,..."

[Martyrium Petri, 10]

c) "You also then, having taken refuge in Him and hoping all things in Him, may this happen to you that the things you have learnt may be able to abide in you, so that you may be able to attain unto those things which He has promised to give, "things which neither eye has seen nor ear heard nor has it come up into the heart of sinful man" praying Him for those things which He promised to give. We pray Thee, Lord Jesus, and..."

ΠΕΧΕ ΙC ΔΕ †ΝΑ† ΝΗΤῆ ΜΠΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΒΑΛ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΜΑ ΔΧΕ ΣΟΤΜΕΥ· ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΣΙΧ ΣΜ-  
 ΣΩΜΥ· ΔΥΩ ΜΠΕΥΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΞΙ ΦΗΤ' ΡΡΩΜΕ

A. Guillaumont et alii (edd.), The Gospel according to Thomas  
 (Leiden: Brill, 1959) 12

6 ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὅ / οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, καταφυγόντες καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μόνῳ  
 τῷ / ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς μαθόντες, ἐκεῖνων τεύξεσθε, ὧν λέγει ὑμῖν· ἄ /  
 οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν /  
 10 ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη. αἰτοῦμεν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν ὑπέσχου / δοῦναι,  
 ἀμύαντε Ἰησοῦ· αἰνοῦμέν σε,...

6 ημῆσ (ἡμεῖς) P | καταφυγ. προσεύξασθε S 7 ημασ P | τεύξασθε  
 P | ἐκεῖνου τεύξεσθε ἀγαπητοῦ ὃν λέγει δοῦναι ὑμῖν ὑπῆσχόμενος A  
 8 ὕδεν AP | οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν om P sed extat in ACS 9 ἀνθρ.  
 ἀμαρτωλοῦ S consentiente V | οὐκ om A | αἰτοῦμεν] δεόμενοι A  
 10 ἀμύαντε Ἰησ. αἰν. σε om. A.

R. Lipsius (ed.), Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha I (repr.; Darmstadt:  
 Wissensch. Buchgesellschaft, 1959) 98.

in hunc autem | et uos refugientes et in eum omnia |  
 sperantes, hoc constet in uos | ut quae didicistis possint  
 per/ma|nere in uobis, ut possitis ad ea per||uenire quae  
 promisit se datu<rum>, | quae neque oculus uidit, nequ<e  
 10 auris> | audiuit, neque in cor hominis pecca<toris> |  
 ascendit, praecantes eum de qui<bus> | promisit se  
 datu<rum>. oramus te d<omine> | Iesu et

[Actus Petri cum Simone, 39]

III n. Rabbinic usages show similar conflates of Isa 64:3; cf. H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar z. N.T., 3.327-9.

a) Rabbi Levi said: Come and see how great is the good that the Holy One Blessed be He has laid up for the righteous for the future which is to come, as it says, (Ps 31:20 (19))  
 "O how abundant is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for those who fear Thee, and wrought for those who take refuge in Thee in the sight of the sons of men!" The text here does not say "among themselves" rather it says "in the sight of the sons of men", that is, in the sight of all the sons of the world. R. Yoḥanan says: It should not be interpreted thus, but rather that there is shown to the eye what it is capable of seeing and there is made heard to the ear what it is capable of hearing, but that which He has ordained for the righteous for the future which is to come the eye cannot see nor can the ear hear, as it says (Isa 64:3) "no eye has seen a God beside Thee, who works for him who waits for Him."

[Midrash Mishlé 13:25, 37a]

b) 'Let it suffice you' (lit: it is much for you) (Deut 3:26). He said to him, "Much is kept for you, and much is laid up for you, as it says (Ps 31:20 (19))"O how abundant is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for those who fear Thee." And it says (Isa 64:3) "For of old no one has heard or perceived by the ear, no eye has seen a God besides Thee, who works for him who waits for Him."

[Sifré Num 27:12]

Lipsius (ed.), ibid., 99.

אמר ר' לוי בא וראה כמה גדול הטוב שצפן הקב"ה לצדיקים לעתיד לבא, שנמאר מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליראיך פעלת לחוסים בך נגד בני אדם (תהילים לא.כ), בינם לבינם אינו אומר כאן, אלא נגד בני אדם, נגד כל בני העולם. ר' יוחנן אומר לא כן אלא מראין לעין מה שיכולה לראות, ומשמיעין לאוזן מה שיכולה לשמוע, אבל מה שהתקין לצדיקים לעתיד לבוא, לא עין יכולה לראות, ולא אוזן יכולה לשמוע, שנאמר עין לא ראתה אלהים זולתך יעשה למחכה לו (ישעי' סד.ג).

S. Buber (ed.), Midrash Mishle (Wilna: Rom, 1892) 37a.

רב לך אמר לו הרבה שמור לך הרבה צפון לך שנאמר מה רב טובך אשר צפנת ליראיך (תילים לא) ואומר ומעולם לא שמעו ולא האזינו עין לא ראתה אלהים זולתך יעשה למחכה לו (ישעיה סד).

H.S. Horovitz (ed.), Siphre d'be Rab (Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1966) 181.

c) A somewhat different attestation is to be found in an early mystical work, the Re'uyoth Yehezkel. Following a lacuna, the text reads:

For thus the Holy One Blessed be He said to Ezekiel: 'On condition I show you My Chariot, so that you may explain (it) to Israel. As it says (Ezek 40:3), "Declare all that you see to the house of Israel." And it says: (Ezek 3:10-11), "Moreover He said to me, 'Son of man, all My words that I shall speak to you receive in your heart and hear with your ears. And go, get you to the exiles, to your people, etc.", but rather to teach man those things which the eye can see and which the ear can hear.'"

[Re'uyoth Yehezkel, ed. Gruenwald, pp. 100-101, and note there]

IIIo. Gnostic uses (cf. T8a infra.)

a) Not only will I (the Soter) reveal to you all things after which you ask, but from now on I will also reveal to you other (things) which you have not thought to ask after, which have not come up into the heart of man, and which also all the Gods who are beneath men do not know.

[Pistis Sophia ch. 114 (Schwartz-Petermann 297)]

b) Manichean. "in order that I may redeem you from death and destruction, I will give you what you have not seen with the eye nor heard with the ear nor grasped with the hand."

[Turfan Frags. M 554, M 789]

שכך אמר לו הקב"ה ליחזקאל, על תניי אני מראה אותך את המרכבה שלי כדי שתפריש להם לישראל, שני: "הגד את כל אשר רואה לבית ישי" (יחז' מ. 4) ואוי: "ויאמר אלי בן אדם את כל אשר אדבר אליך קח בלבבך ובאזניך שמע ולך בא אל הגולה אל בני עמך וגו'". (יחז' ג' 10-11), אלא לדורשן לאדם מה שהעין יכולה לראות ומה שהאוזן יכולה לשמוע.

1. Gruenwald, "Re'uyoth Yehezkel," Temirin 1 (1972) 100-101.

ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΔΕ ΟΥΜΟΝΟΝ †ΝΑΣΩΛ̄Π ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΩΒ ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΤΕΤΝΑΩΙΝΕ Ν̄ΩΟΥ. ΑΛΛΑ ΔΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΝ †ΝΑΣΩΛ̄Π  
 ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΝΟΪ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΩΙΝΕ  
 Ν̄ΩΟΥ. ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΔΛΕ ΕΔ̄Μ ΠΖΗΤ Ν̄ΡΡΩΜΕ. ΝΑΪ  
 ΕΤΕ Ν̄ΣΕΣΟΟΥΝ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΔΝ ΝΣΙ Ν̄ΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤ̄Ζ̄Ν  
 Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ.

C. Schmidt, Pistis Sophia (Coptica 2; Hauniae: Gylderdalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1925) 296.

//////

bôžâ////

'abnâ////[s]

'asmâh kê čašm

padên nê dîd gôšân nê

'ašnûd 'ût nê grîft

c) Manichean. In this way everything which has happened and which will happen was revealed to me through the Paraclete: "What the eye sees and the ear hears and thought thinks and [ ] through him (i.e. the Paraclete) I have **seen** everything and I became 'one body and one spirit'."

[Kephalaia 15, 19ff.]

d) Nag Hammadi. The Lord said, "[You (sing.) have] asked me for a word [about that] which eye has not seen, nor have I heard about it,..."

[Dialogue of the Saviour, CG III, 5 (140.1-4)]

pad dast////h////îy 'abar

//////

////m nêdfûrd////

////qûtân bôžân

'aĵ maran 'ûd 'abnâs dahân

'ô 'îšmâh kê časm padên

nê dîd gôšân nê 'išnûd ûd nê

grîft pad dast hô kê abar bazakarâ[n]

F.W.K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, 2," Pr. Ak. Wiss. Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Kl. Abh. (1904) Abhang II, 67-68

ΤΖΕ ΤΕ ΤΕΪ ΕΤΑ ΖΩΥ ΝΙΜ Ε[Τ]ΑΥΩ[Ω]  
 ΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΣΩΛΠ ΝΗΙ ΑΒΑΛ ΖΜ  
 ΠΠΡΚΛΣ ΜΠ .. Ν ..  
 ΖΩΥ ΝΙΜ ΕΨΑΡΕ ΠΒΕΛ ΙΑΡΖΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΕΨΤΕ  
 ΣΑΤΜΕΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΑ  
 ΚΜΕΚ ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΥ Ν[Τ]Ε ΠΕ. ΑΥ ΑΤ. . . Υ  
 ΑΪΜΜΕ ΝΖΗΤΥ Δ  
 ΖΩΥ ΝΙΜ ΑΪΝΕΥ ΑΠΤΗΡΥ ΝΤΟΟΤΥ ΑΪΡ ΟΥΣΩΜΑ  
 ΝΟΥΩΤ  
 ΜΝ ΟΠΝΔ ΝΟΥΩΤ

"Kephalaia," mit einem Beitrag von H. Ibscher: Manichäische Hss. der staatlichen Museen Berlin, ed. C. Schmidt (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940) 15.19-24.

ΠΕΔΕ ΠΧΟΕ[ΙC ΔΕ ΔΚ]ΨΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ  
 ΕΥΨΕΔΕ [ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑ]Ι ΕΤΕ ΜΠΕΒΑΛ  
 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ [Ο]ΥΔΕ ΜΠΙCΟΤΜΕΥ

Translation by H. Attridge apud J.M. Robinson (ed.), The Nag Hammadi Library in English (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977) 236.

e) Nag Hammadi. Grant what no angel-eye has [seen] and no archon-ear <has> heard and what [has not] entered into the human heart...

[Prayer of the Apostle Paul, CG I.1 (A.23-27)]

### IIIp. Islamic

Abu Hureira reports that the Messenger of God said "God has said these words 'I have prepared for my servants, the righteous, things which no eye has seen, which no ear has heard, which have never come into the mind of any human being'."

[Al Buḥari, on Sura 32]

IIIq. And let these words of Empedocles be constantly in mind "Nor are these things to be seen of man, nor to be heard, nor with the mind to be comprehended."

[Empedocles apud Plutarchum, De Poetis Audiendis. 17E]

IIIr. From a dialogue on the soul, perhaps originally Greek but surviving only in Syriac; attributed to Socrates conversing with one Herostrophus.

But I say to you, O Herostrophus, that these three things will bring them to a pleasant place of rest which eyes do not see, nor ears hear of it, not does the mouth speak of it; but by these three things incorporeally purely one comes to that place which is the primeval origin. Because it is impossible, O Herostrophus, for these things to exist in space except where there is for them a place where they may be preserved in uprightness purely and chastely. But if there are men in whom these three things exist, . . .



[Anonymous; Dialogue of Socrates with Herostrophus, On the Soul; cf. A. Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur (Bonn; Marcus and Weber, 1922) 169]

III s. From the Ethiopic version of Ps. Callisthenes' Life of Alexander the Great:

Hitherto eye hath not seen, and hitherto ear hath not heard, neither can be described or conceived by the mind the things which God hath prepared for those who have endured patiently from the creation of the world; but for the fiends and devils and for the sinners He hath prepared punishment and the flame of fire from which there is no escape for ever and for ever.  
[Budge (tr.), Alexander, 2539]

III t. From the Falasha Ethiopic Ezra Apocalypse:

Ceux qui auront observé ce jour du sabbat ... jouiront du repos ... qui sera pour eux la récompense et le partage que Dieu leur a préparés avant le monde, ce que l'oeil ne peut voir, ce que l'oreille ne peut entendre et ce que la pensée de l'homme ne peut imaginer: voilà ce que Dieu a destiné à ses élus qui l'auront aimé.

[Halévy (tr.) Tě'ezâza Sanbat, 180-181]

III u. Other variant forms found in patristic literature are probably to be considered free variations on 1 Cor 2:9 or on Isa 64:3:

a) For unto those who, with perseverance, through good works seek incorruptibility, He will give everlasting life, joy,



peace, rest, and abundance of those good things which 'eye ... heart of man' (1 Cor 2:9); but to the unfaithful ...

[Theophilus, Ad Autolyicum, I 14,13]

b) Just as in Isaiah 'Ye shall eat all good things of the earth' will be understood of the good things of the flesh, which await the flesh when it has been reshaped in the kingdom of God, made angelic, and when it will attain those things which neither eye ... heart of man (1 Cor 2:9)

[Tertullian, De resurrectione mortuorum 26.7]

c) But we speak concerning the upper world, concerning God and angels, concerning Watchers and Holy ones, concerning the food of immortality and the drink of the true vine, concerning garments that endure and grow not old, concerning which 'eye...of sinful man which God has prepared for those that love him' (1 Cor 2:9; cf. IIIj). Concerning these things do we converse and . . . "

[Acts of Thomas 36]

καὶ πλήθη ἀγαθῶν, 13 ὧν οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὔτε οὖς  
ἤκουσεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη· τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις

J.C.T. Otto (ed.), Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum, VIII (1861, repr. Wiesbaden: 1969) 44.

Sicut<sup>1</sup> et apud Esaiam: Bona terrae edetis bona carnis  
intellegentur,<sup>2</sup> quae illam manent in regno dei reformatam<sup>3</sup>  
et angeli|ficatam et consecuturam quae nec oculus<sup>4</sup> uidit  
nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt.<sup>5</sup>

1 Sicut T: sic M P X 2 intelleguntur T 3 deformatam T  
4 nec oculus] oculsn̄ T (sn̄ al. m. in ras.) 5 ascenderunt  
T X R: ascendit M P (corr. R)

Tertullian, Opera, Volumen II ed. J.G.P. Borleffs (Corpus  
Christianorum 2; Turnholti: Brepols, 1954) 954-5.

Ὁ ἀλλὰ λέγομεν περὶ τὸν ἄνω κόσμον, 1 περὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων,  
περὶ ἐγρηγόρων καὶ ἀγίων, περὶ τῆς 2 ἀμβροσιώδους τροφῆς καὶ  
τοῦ ποτοῦ τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς ἀληθι- 3 -νῆς, περὶ ἐνδυμάτων  
παραμόνων καὶ μὴ παλαιουμένων, περὶ 4 ὧν ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν  
οὔδὲ οὖς ἤκουσεν, οὔδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν 5 ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτωλῶν  
ἀνέβη, ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἠτοίμασεν τοῖς ἀγα- 6 -πῶσιν αὐτόν. περὶ  
τούτων διαλεγόμεθα καὶ

Ὁ των ἄνω κοσμων U, του ἄνω κοσμου probabilius Thilo & Tisch.  
1 π. ἐγ. κ. ἀγ. (f) om D. P | γρηγόρων U: ἐγρ. <πνευμάτων>?  
Syr | 2 κ. τ. π. -άλ. om D | ἀμπ. τ. ἀλ.] aquae uitalis Syr  
ueri uini albi (om τ. ποτ.) Eth | 3 παρ. κ.] τῶν P |  
παραμενόντων D: cf 152,1; 155,4; c 61e; 66e; 124 m | παλ]  
καὶ ἀφθάρτων bis add P | 4 οὔδε prius] καὶ P | οὖς P  
οὐκ add PY | οὔδε alt] καὶ P | 5 ἀμ.] οὐκ add PY |

IIIv. There are countless further parallels in world literature which could be cited; let one do duty for all. W. Shakespeare, Midsummer Night's Dream, Act IV, Sc 1 (end)

As to the derivation of any of these forms from an apocryphon of Elijah, the evidence is divided.

a) Attributions of 1 Cor 2:9 to Elijah

IIIa T1 This testimony (i.e. Matt 27:9) is found in the apocrypha of Jeremiah; just as the Apostle (Paul) quotes certain apocryphal writings, such as that passage "What the eye did not see, nor ear hear." For this is found in no canonical book, except in the apocrypha of Elijah the Prophet.

[Origen on Matt 27:9; 23, 37]

IIIa T2 But, as it is written "what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it come up into the heart of man, what God has prepared for those that love Him" (1 Cor 2:9). This is written in the Apocalypse of Elijah, among the apocrypha.

[Ambrosiaster on 1 Cor]

5-6 ἦτ. τ. ᾶ. ᾶ.] τ. ᾶ. ᾶ. παρεσκεύασεν P || 5 παρεσκεύασεν  
U ||

R.A. Lipsius et M. Bonnet (edd.), Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, II.2  
(Leipzig: H. Mendelsohn, 1903) 153-154.

Bottom: ... The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man  
hath not seen; man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue  
to conceive, nor his heart to report what my dream was ...

..... in secretis Hieremiae hoc prophetatur, sciens  
quoniam et apostolus scripturas quasdam secretorum profert,  
sicut dicit alicubi (9) : Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris  
audivit; in nullo enim regulari libro hoc positum invenitur,  
nisi in secretis Eliae prophetae.

E. Klostermann (ed.), Origenes, xi (GCS 38; Leipzig: Hinrichs,  
1933) 250; also found in Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, In Unum et  
Quatuor iv.166 (Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum 19; Lugduni: Anissonios,  
1677) 937.

2,9. Sed sicut scriptum est: quod oculus non vidit nec auris  
audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit deus  
diligentibus eum. 1. hoc scriptum est in apocalypsi  
20 Heliae in apocryphis.

19 his qui diligunt II E L | eum] se P 19sq. in Esaia  
profeta aliis verbis II E T L G<sup>2</sup> P D 20 apocalypsin W G<sup>1</sup>

IIIa T3 In the first Epistle to the Corinthians there are 17 quotations; two from Genesis, the eighth and the sixteenth in order in the epistle; one from Exodus, the tenth in order; two from Deuteronomy, the seventh and ninth in order; one from Kings, the same also from Jeremiah the prophet, the second in order; one from Ps 23, the eleventh in order; one from Ps 93, the sixth in order; one from Job, the fifth in order; one from Hosea the prophet, the seventeenth in order; three from Isaiah, the first, fourth, and thirteenth in order; one from the Gospel according to Matthew, the twelfth in order; one from an apocryphon of Elijah, the third in order; one sententia from Menander, the fifteenth in order (i.e. 15:33); and one Laconic proverb of Demades, the fourteenth in order (15:32) ...

[Euthalius Diaconus, Editio XIV S. Pauli Ap. Epistolarum.]

IIIa T3b Clearly related to the above (for it too is followed by reference to Menander and the Laconic Proverb) is the following passage of Photius, Ad Amphiloichium quaestiones, 151:

And the blessed Paul in the <...> letter to the Corinthians makes mention of this passage from the apocryphal works said to be by the prophet Elijah, "Those things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, nor did they come up into man's heart, what God prepared for those who love Him".

IIIa T4 From the Apocrypha of Elijah, cf. Georgius Syncellus at IV d 2 infra.

IIIa T5 Marginal notes in an XIth century MS (mentioned by Montfaucon Diarium Italicum, p. 212) and in MSS 607 and 1523 of the

Ambrosiastri, Comm. in Epp. Paulinas, II ed. H.I. Vogels (CSEL 81 .2; Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1968) 26 = P.L. 14.194-195

Ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτη ἐπιστολῇ ιζ'. Γενέσεως ΙΙ· η', ιζ'. Ἐξόδου Ι· ι'. Δευτερονομίου ΙΙ· ζ', θ'. Βασιλειῶν πρώτης καὶ Ἰερεμίου προφήτου ἡ αὐτῆ Ι· β'. Ψαλμοῦ κγ', Ι· ια'. Ψαλμοῦ λγ', Ι· σ'. Ἰὼβ Ι· ε'. Ὠσηὲ προφήτου ιζ'. Ι· Ἡσαίου προφήτου ΙΙΙ· α', δ', ιγ'. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγελίου Ι· ιβ'. Ἡλία ἀποκρύφου Ι· γ'. Μενάνδρου γνώμη Ι· ιε'. Δημάδου λακωνικὴ παροιμία Ι· ιδ'.

Euthalius Diac., Editio XIV S. Pauli Epp. = P.G. 85.721.

Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους Ἐπιστολῇ ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων τοῦ προφήτου Ἡλίου ἀποκρύφων ταύτης μνημονεύει τῆς φωνῆς· "Ἄ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν."

Migne, P.G. 101, 813 1 leg. τῇ <πρωτῇ>

Royal Library in France, mentioned by Cotelerius (Patres Apostolici I p. 347) -- cf. J.A. Fabricius, Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti<sup>2</sup> (Hamburg: T.C. Felgner, 1722) I.1072 n.

IIIa T6-T7 Jerome derives 1 Cor 2:9 directly from the Hebrew text of Is 64:3 (literally "Yea from of old they have not heard, they have not given ear. Eye has not seen, O God, (anyone) apart from Thee, who works for those that wait for him."); he concedes, however, that the passage occurs both in the Ascension of Isaiah (cf. III 5a supra.) and the Apocalypse of Elijah.

T6. "From everlasting they have not heard, nor with their eyes perceived. Eye has not seen, O God, without Thee, the things Thou hast prepared for those that wait for Thee ..."  
 LXX: "From everlasting we have not heard, nor have our eyes perceived, God, apart from Thee, and Thy works which Thou wilt do for those that wait for mercy ..." The Apostle Paul, in the epistle which he writes to the Corinthians, as "a Hebrew of the Hebrews" (Phil 3:5) uses a paraphrase of this testimony taken from the genuine canonical books, not rendering it word for word -- a thing he utterly despises doing -- but expressing the true meaning of the terms which he uses to strengthen his contention. And so they should fall silent, those ravings of the Apocryphal writings which under the pretended authority of this passage have been introduced into Christ's churches -- writings about which it can truly be said that "The Devil dwells in ambushes with the wealthy in hidden places (or "apocrypha", i.e. in apocryphis, which Jerome has substituted for the Roman Psalter's in occultis) in order to slay the innocent," (Ps 10:8), and again that "He lies in ambush in a hidden place (or "an apocryphon", i.e. in apocrypho, which again

4.5. A saeculo non audierunt, neque auribus perceperunt.  
Oculus non uidit, Deus, absque te quae praeparasti expectan-  
tibus te. Occurristi laetanti et facienti iustitiam in uiis  
5 tuis; recordabuntur tui. LXX: A saeculo non audiuius, neque  
oculi nostri uiderunt Deum absque te, et opera tua, quae  
facies expectantibus misericordiam. Occurrit enim facien-  
tibus iustitiam, et uiarum tuarum recordabuntur. Paraphrasim  
huius testimonii, quasi Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, assumit apos-  
10 tolus Paulus de authenticis libris in epistola quam scribit  
ad Corinthios, non uerbum ex uerbo reddens, quod facere om-  
nino contemnit, sed sensuum exprimens ueritatem, quibus  
utitur ad id quod uoluerit roborandum. Vnde apocryphorum  
deliramenta conticeant, quae ex occasione huius testimonii  
15 ingeruntur ecclesiis Christi. De quibus uere dici potest,  
quod sedeat diabolus in insidiis cum diuitibus in apocryphis,  
ut interficiat innocentem. Et iterum: Insidiatur in apocrypho  
quasi leo in spelunca sua; insidiatur, ut rapiat pauperem.  
Ascensio enim Esaiae et Apocalypsis Eliae hoc habent testi-  
monium.

Jerome has substituted for the Roman Psalter's in occulto) like a lion in his cave, he lies in ambush to seize the poor" (Ps 10:9). For the Ascension of Isaiah and the Apocalypse of Elijah contain this quotation.

[Jerome, Commentary on Isaiah, Bk 17, on 64:4]

T7. Let us go on to the Apostle Paul. He writes to the Corinthians "For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of Glory. But as it is written, 'What eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor have they gone up into the heart of man'... In this passage some people usually look for the ravings of Apocryphal works, and say that the quotation has been taken from the Apocalypse of Elijah, although in Isaiah, according to the Hebrew text, it may be read in this form "From everlasting they have not heard, nor with their ears perceived. Eye has not seen, O God, apart from Thee, the things Thou hast prepared for those who wait for Thee" (Isa 64:4). The Septuagint translated this very differently. "From everlasting we have not heard nor have our eyes seen, a God apart from Thee, nor Thy true works, and Thou shalt work mercy for those who wait for Thee." We understand from where he took the quotation, but the Apostle did not render it word for word, but in a paraphrastic manner he indicated the same sense with different words.

[Jerome, Epistle LVII (quondam 101) to Pammachius]

4.5, 1 perciperunt E, corr. 6 oculis nostris E, corr.  
 6 uidebunt deus E 10 epistolam E 12 contendit E  
 12 utitur] auditur praem. E, sed del.

S. Hieronymi Opera I 2A.ed. M. Adriaen (Corpus Christianorum 73A;  
 Turnholti: Brepols, 1963) 735 = P.L. 24.622

10 Pergamus ad apostolum Paulum. Scribit ad Corinthios: "Si  
 enim cognouissent, numquam Dominum maiestatis crucifixissent.  
 Sed, sicut scriptum est: quod oculus non uidit nec auris  
 audiuit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt, quae praeparauit Deus  
 15 diligentibus se". Solent in hoc loco apocryphorum quidam  
 deliramenta sectari, et dicere quod de Apocalypsi Heliae  
 testimonium sumptum sit, cum in Isaia iuxta Hebraicum ita  
 legatur: "a saeculo non audierunt neque auribus perceperunt.  
 20 Oculus non uidit, Deus, absque te, quae praeparasti expectan-  
 tibus te". Hoc Septuaginta multo aliter transtulerunt: "a  
 saeculo non audiuius, neque oculi nostri uiderunt Deum  
 absque te, et opera tua uera, et facies expectantibus te  
 25 misericordiam". Intellegimus unde sumpsit testimonium, et  
 tamen Apostolus non uerbum expressit e uerbo, sed παραφρασ-  
 τικῶς eundem sensum aliis sermonibus indicauit.

11 I Cor. 2:8-9 | 18 Isai. LXIV 4 (sec. Hebr.) | 21 Isai.  
 LXIV 4 (sec. LXX) |  
 13 quod] quae ΩΣDS | 15 hoc] isto ΩΣDS | 24 uera et sic  
codd. omnes.

S. Jérôme, Lettres, III, ed. J. Labourt (Collection Budé; Paris:  
 Les Belles Lettres, 1953) 68.

111a T8. Perhaps Hegesippus, who is credited with denying the canonical status of a statement virtually equivalent with 1 Cor 2:9, should be considered a supporter of its apocryphal nature:

(Gobarus said) that the good things prepared for the righteous neither eye saw nor ear heard nor did they come up into the heart of men. But Hegesippus, a man of long ago, and of the time of the Apostles, in the fifth book of his Memoirs says -- I don't know what led him to do so -- that these things were said vainly, and that those who said them lied both against the divine Scriptures and the Lord who said, "Blessed are your eyes for they see, and your ears for they hear, etc." (Matt 13:6).

[Hegesippus, quoted by Stephen Gobarus, quoted by Photius, Bibliotheca, Codex 232.]

Ὅτι τὰ ἠτοιμασμένα τοῖς δικαίοις ἀγαθὰ οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν  
10 οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη. Ἡγήσιππος  
μέντοι, ἀρχαῖός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποστολικός, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν  
ὑπομνημάτων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι καὶ παθῶν, μάτην μὲν εἰρῆσθαι  
ταῦτα λέγει, καὶ καταψεύδεσθαι τοὺς ταῦτα φαμένους τῶν τε  
15 θειῶν γραφῶν καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος· "Μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ  
ὑμῶν οἱ βλέποντες καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἀκούοντα" καὶ ἐξῆς.

Photius, Bibliothèque, V (Collection Byzance-Budé; Paris: Les  
Belles Lettres, 1967) 70 (ed. R. Henry)



Fragment IV

"AWAKE, O SLEEPER"

## Fragment IV "Awake, O sleeper"

IVa Quoted as scripture.

Therefore it says, "Awake, O Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and <sup>a</sup>Christ will shine upon you<sup>a</sup>."

[Ephesians 5:14]

Variant a-a: "Christ will lay hand upon you" or "you shall lay hold of Christ."

The quotation is discussed in A. Resch, Agrapha; aussercanonische Schriftfragmente<sup>2</sup> (Texte und Untersuchungen NF XV 3-4; Leipzig: 1906) 32-4, and Register ad loc., and by most commentaries on Eph ad loc.

IVa T1. The first ascription is to Elijah [or Isaiah (HAIAC < HCAIAC) cf. K. Holl's note in his edition of this text, and cf. IVc].

Scholion 2 (on Ephesians) = 37 (on the Pauline Corpus):

Therefore it says, Awake, O Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon you.

Refutation 2 (On Ephesians) = 37 (on the Pauline Corpus):

From where did the Apostle get the passage "Therefore it says, etc.", except obviously from the Old Testament: and this passage is found in Elijah(?). And from where did Elijah take his point of departure? He was one of those Prophets who lived according to the Law, and he took his point of departure from the Law and the Prophets. If he prophesied in Christ "Awake, O Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon you" then the Prototype had been fulfilled through Lazarus and the others: about him his followers had doubts, Mary and Martha saying, "He stinks already, for he is four days dead." (Jn 11: 9), those of the ruler of the Synagogue say, "Do not

14 διὸ λέγει· ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,  
καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

14 ἔγειραι H<sup>δ48</sup> | a<sup>3</sup> 216 205 b1 253 2δ309 209f ua | ἐπιφαύσεις  
τοῦ Χϋ | a<sup>1</sup> 1026\* Χρ θδτ Or Vict Ambrst

H. von Soden, op. cit. (IIIa, supra.) 769

25 B καὶ λζ σχόλιον. "Διὸ λέγει· ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ  
ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός".

B καὶ λζ ἔλεγχος. Πόθεν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ τό "διὸ λέγει"

1 ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς δῆλον διαθήκης; τοῦτο δὲ ἐμφέρεται παρὰ  
τῷ Ἡλίᾳ. πόθεν δὲ ὠρμάτο ὁ Ἡλίας; ἀλλὰ εἷς ἦν τῶν προφητῶν  
τῶν κατὰ νόμον πεπολιτευμένων, ἀπὸ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν  
ὀρμώμενος. εἰ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ ἐπροφήτευσεν τό "ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων  
5 καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός", ἄρα  
γε τὸ πρωτότυπον διὰ Λαζάρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπλήρωτο, περὶ  
οὔ οἱ αὐτοῖ ἀμφέβαλλον, Μάρθα καὶ Μαρία λέγουσαι "ἦδη ὄζει,  
τεταρταῖός ἐστι" καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου λεγόντων "μηκέτι  
σκύλλετε τὸν διδάσκαλον" καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος "μὴ φοβεῖσθε·  
οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ καθεύδει".

25f καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ νεκρῶν < S. 119, 11 26 καὶ < S. 119, 11  
27 after διὸ + καὶ M eras V corr 2 ὀρμάται V 3 before  
νόμου + τοῦ M 4 προεφήτευσεν from ἐπροφήτευσεν V corr  
προεφήτευε M 6 περὶ οὔ \*] περὶ ῶν VM

trouble the Teacher any more," (Luke 8:49) and He himself saying, "Don't be afraid, she is not dead, but asleep." (Luke 8:53).

[Epiphanius, Panarion Haer. 42.12.3, Refutation 37 against Marcion]

IVa T2a Ascribed to "the Apocryphon of Jeremiah."

In the letter to the Ephesians there are six divine testimonies: one from Genesis, the fifth in order; one from Deuteronomy, the sixth in order; one from Psalm 4, the third in order; one from Psalm 67 (68), the second in order; one from the Prophet Isaiah, the first in order; and one from the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, the fourth in order.

[Euthalius Diaconus, Prolog. in XIV S. Pauli Ap. epistolas]

IVa T2b Here too, Euthalius is followed by Photius, Quaestiones ad Amphiloichium, 151; cf. IIIa T3b.

But also in the epistle to the Ephesians, "Rise....give you light" is from the apocrypha said to be by Jeremiah.

IVa T3 Ascribed to the "so-called Apocrypha of Jeremiah" or "the apocrypha said to be by Jeremiah," by George the Syncellus

But even the blessed Paul made sparing use of certain passages from the Apocrypha: thus, when he says in the first Epistle to the Corinthians "What eye saw not, nor did ear hear, nor did they come into the heart of man, etc." this is from the Apocrypha of Elijah, and again "Neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation" in the Letter to the Galatians is from the Apocalypse of Moses, and "Awake, O Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon

K. Holl (ed.), Epiphanius, II (GCS 31; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922)  
179-180, cf. p. 119; Migne, PG 41.807

Ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστολῇ σ'. Γενέσεως Ι· ε'.  
Δευτερονομίου Ι· σ'. Ψαλμοῦ τετάρτου Ι· γ'. Ψαλμοῦ ξζ', Ι·  
β'. Ἡσαΐου προφήτου Ι· α'. Ἰερεμίου ἀποκρύφου Ι· δ'.

Migne, P.G. 85.721

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων Ἰερεμίου  
ἀποκρύφων· ἔγειραι ὁ καθεύδων . . . Χριστός.

Migne, P.G. 101.813.

πλὴν καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος σπανίως ἐχρήσατό τιςιν ἐξ  
ἀποκρύφων χρήσεσιν, ὡς ὅταν φησὶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους  
πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ "ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ  
5 ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη" καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς Ἠλία ἀποκρύφων.  
καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Μωϋσέως ἀποκαλύψεως  
"οὔτε περιτομή τι ἐστὶν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις."  
καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐκ τῶν Ἰερεμίου λεγομένων ἀποκρύφων  
"ἔγειραι ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφάσει  
σοι ὁ Χριστός."

4 εἶδεν A οἶδεν G 6 Διὰ τί ἔνια (ἔνια G εἶναι A) ἀπόβλητα

you" in Ephesians is from the so-called Apocrypha of Jeremiah.

IVa T4 The same attribution is made in marginal notes to some MSS of the Epistles (cf. Resch, Agrapha... p. 33).

IVb Ascribed to Isaiah (or Elijah, i.e. HAIAC > HCAIAC? cf. IVa T1)

And Isaiah says 'Awake, O Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon you.'

[Hippolytus, Commentary on Daniel, 4.56.4]

IVc Ascribed to "a prophet" (by the same writer who makes the attribution to Elijah [or Isaiah] in IVb).

And the prophet says Awake, o Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon you.

[Hippolytus, On Christ and Anti-christ, LXV]

On this fragment (IVa or IVa-c) cf. A. Oepke s.v. κρύπτω, TDNT, III, p. 990, E. Schürer Geschichte..., III, p. 362. If this belongs to the same Elianic work as the other fgg. can it have been other than Christian?

νόθια margo A 6 Γαλάτας] V, 6 τῆς] τοῦ m. 7 ἐστὶν A  
ἔσται G 8 Ἐφεσίους] V | τῶν A τοῦ G.

Georgius Syncellus in Chronographia. Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Cp. ed. Dindorf (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 1; Bonn: E. Weber, 1829) 48.

4 καὶ Ἡσαΐας λέγει. "Ἐγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἐξεγέρθητι ἐκ  
τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός".

καὶ] ὡς S: ὁ + B | Ἡσαΐας A | ἔγειρε -- Χριστός] Ant 65  
S. 35, 2. Refut. V, 7 S. 146, 76 | ἐγεύραι Ge | ἐξεγέρθητι  
A: ἀνάστα B cf. Eph. 5, 14 |

G.N. Bonwetsch (ed.), Hippolytus I.i (GCS 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1897) p. 328; M. Lefèvre, Hippolyte Commentaire sur Daniel (Sources Chrétiennes 14; Paris: Ed. du Cerf. 1947) 376.

ὁ δὲ προφήτης λέγει. "Ἐγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἐξεγέρθητι ἐκ  
τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός."

ἔγειρε HERS | καὶ < S |

PG, 10.785A; H. Achelis, Hippolytus I.ii (GCS 1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897) p. 45



Fragment V, in the first part

The following fragments are the same as the others

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

ON THE ANTICHRIST

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

Fragment V, in the first part

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Fragment V, in the first part

## Fragment V. On the Antichrist

The following adespoton was hesitantly ascribed to the Elijah Apocryphon by M.R. James on the grounds of the form of the quotation, and its contents op. cit. (Introduction, supra ) 92; see also Denis, op. cit. (Introduction, supra ) 165, 298.

Va. And another prophet (i.e. other than Jeremiah) also says, "He will gather together all his power from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun; those whom he has called and those whom he has not called will go with him; he will make the sea white with the sails of his ships, and the land black with shields and weapons; and everyone who will meet him in battle will fall by the sword."

[Hippolytus, On Christ and Antichrist 15]

Vb. For he will summon all the people to himself, from every region of the diaspora, adopting them as his own children, promising that he will restore their land and raise up their kingship and temple, in order that he may be worshipped by them as God: as the prophet says, "He will gather together all his power, from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun; those whom he has called and those whom he has not called will go with him."

[Hippolytus, On Christ and Antichrist 54]

λέγει δὲ καὶ ἕτερος προφήτης· "συνάξει<sup>1</sup> πᾶσαν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ  
 ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν μέχρις<sup>3</sup> ἡλίου<sup>2</sup> δυσμῶν· οὓς κεκλήκει  
 καὶ οὓς οὐ κεκλήκει πορεύ/σονται<sup>4</sup> μετ' αὐτοῦ· λευκανεῖ τὴν  
 θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰστίων τῶν πλοίων αὐτοῦ<sup>5</sup> καὶ<sup>6</sup> μελανεῖ τὸ  
 πεδῖον ἀπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν καὶ τῶν ὄπλων· καὶ πᾶς ὃς ἂν  
 συναντήσῃ<sup>7</sup> αὐτῷ ἐν πολέμῳ, ἐν<sup>8</sup> μαχαίρᾳ<sup>9</sup> πεσεῖται."

1 συνάξει HE, ξυνάξει R      2 < Slav      3 μέχρις H,  
 ἄχρις ER      4 πορεύσονται HE, πορευθήσονται R      5 αὐτοῦ  
 < ER      6 < ER      7 συναντήσῃ H, συναντήση ER.      8 < ER      9  
 μαχαίρᾳ ER, μαχαίρη H

Achelis (ed.), op. cit. (IVc, supra.) 12 = P.G. 10.740

οὗτος<sup>1</sup> γὰρ προσκαλέσεται πάντα τὸν λαὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ  
 πάσης χώρας τῆς διασπορᾶς, ἰδιο/ποιούμενος αὐτοῦς<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἕδια  
 τέκνα<sup>3</sup>, ἐπαγγελόμενος<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῖς<sup>5</sup> ἀποκατα/στήσειν τὴν χώραν  
 καὶ ἀναστήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸν ναόν,<sup>5'</sup> ἕνα  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς θεὸς προσκυνηθῆ, ὡς λέγει ὁ προφήτης·  
 "συνάξει πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν<sup>6</sup> ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν<sup>7</sup>  
 ἄχρι ἡλίου<sup>8</sup> δυσμῶν, οὓς κεκλήκει καὶ οὓς οὐ κεκλήκει  
 πορεύσονται μετ' αὐτοῦ."

1 οὗτος H, αὐτὸς ER      2 αὐτοῦς < ER      3 ἕδια τέκνα H,  
 τέκνα ἕδια ER      4 ἐπαγγελόμενος E      5 αὐτοῖς < ER      5'  
 ναόν HS, λαόν ER      6 αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν HS, τὴν βασιλείαν  
 αὐτοῦ ER      7 ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν H, ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου ER      8 < ERS

Ibid., 36; = P.G. 10.773.



Fragment VI

ELIJAH AND LILITH

## Fragment VI. Elijah and Lilith

And thus run their (i.e. the Gnostics') frivolous and fanciful stories, how they even make bold to blaspheme about the holy Elijah, and to claim that a story tells how, when he had been taken up, he was cast back into the world. For, it says, a female demon came and laid hold upon him, and said to him, "Where are you going? For I have children from you, and you can't go up into heaven and leave your children here." And he said -- so the story goes -- "How do you have children from me? For I was always chaste." The demon says (according to this book), "But I do! When you were dreaming dreams, you often were voided by an emission from the body; and I was the one who took up the seeds from you, and begot you children." Vast is the stupidity of those who say this sort of thing.

[Epiphanius, Panarion, Haer. 26 13.228 (against the Gnostics)]

Whether this gnostic tale was found in the same work as the preceding fragments is not certain; it might have derived from independent Gnostic tradition, or even a distinct Gnostic Apocalypse/Ascension/ of Elijah.

4 καὶ οὕτως<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ τὰ ληρώδη αὐτῶν καὶ μυθώδη,<sup>2</sup> ὡς καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Ἡλίου τολμῶσι βλασφημεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὅτι, φησὶν, ὅτε ἀνελήφθη, κατεβλήθη πάλιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον. 5 ἦλθεν γάρ, φησὶν, μία δαίμων καὶ ἐκράτησε καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι ποῦ πορεύῃ; ἔχω γὰρ τέκνα ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ οὐ δύνασαι ἀνελθεῖν καὶ ᾧδε ἀφεῖναι τὰ τέκνα σου. καί, φησὶν, λέγει· πόθεν ἔχεις τέκνα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν ἀγνεύῃ; λέγει, φησὶν· ναί, ὅτε ἐνυπνίοις<sup>3</sup> ἐνυπνιαζόμενος πολλάκις ἐν τῇ ἀπορροίᾳ τῶν σωμάτων ἐκενώθης, ἐγὼ ἤμην ἢ μεταλαβοῦσα ἀπὸ σοῦ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ γεννῶσά σου<sup>4</sup> υἱούς. 6 πολλῇ δὲ μωρία τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων.

1 οὕτως] ταῦτα, V. corr 1-2 perhaps read ἐστὶ <κτινώδη> τὰ ληρώδη αὐτῶν μυθολογήματα\* 3 ἐνύπνοις M 4 γεννῶσά σου] γεννώσας M; γεννήσασά σου? Júl.

K. Holl (ed.), Epiphanius, Ancoratus u. Panarion 1 (GCS 25; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1915) 293.



PART 2

THE VITA ELIAE and THE SHORT HISTORY

OF ELIJAH THE PROPHET



## 1. THE VITA ELIAE

The text of Vitae Prophetarum dealing with Elijah is quoted from Th. Schermann, Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae Indices Apostolorum Discipulorumque Domini Dorotheo Epiphanio Hippolyto aliisque vindicata (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907). The four recensions printed there appear on pp. 6-7 (Epiphanii Prior), 52-3 (Dorothei), 66-7 (Epiphanii Altera), and 93-4 (Anonyma). See for a diplomatic text of MS Q (Cod. Marchal.) of the last of these: Charles C. Torrey, The Lives of the Prophets (J.B.L. Monograph Series I; Philadelphia: S.B.L. 1946) 32 (text) and 47 (translation). The text of Rec. Anon., generally considered to be superior, is followed, but only the first part is here given = (A) (Schermann, p. 93 ll. 7-14), since what follows is merely a summary of the biblical narrative concerning Elijah. Significant variants of the other recensions are noted.

Following this, the first paragraph of Dorothei Recensio is given (B), since it contains interesting additional traditions (Schermann, p. 52, ll. 10-23). Then follows the conclusion of Epiphanii Recensio Altera (C), which again presents material of interest (Schermann, p. 67, ll. 5-13).

## A

7 Elijah was a Tishbite from the land of the Arabs, of the tribe of  
 8 Aaron, dwelling /in Gilead, for Tishbi was a gift for the pries-  
 9 ts. When he was /to be born, his father Sobacha saw that white  
 10,11 /shining men called him by name and that they swa/ddled him in  
 12 fire and gave him a flame of fire to eat. He went and/reported  
 13 this in Jerusalem and the oracle said to him, "Do not / fear,  
 for his dwelling will be light and his word / decision and he  
 will judge Israel."

8 gift]

dwelling Ep Pr Dor Ep Al An E 9 father] mother Ep Al An E  
 11 he went] his father Asom went Ep Al 12 reported] + to  
 the priests Ep Pr 14 decision]+and his life (+ with the  
 angels An E) with the winged creatures and his zeal pleasing  
 (+ before the Lord AnBB<sup>1</sup>) AnBB<sup>1</sup>E 14 Israel] + with sword  
 and with fire Ep Pr Dor Ep Al An BB<sup>1</sup>EF + and he will be taken  
 up in a shaking from the heavens An BB<sup>1</sup>F  
 [Vitae Prophetarum, Recensio Anonyma]

## B

## On Elijah

He is Elijah the first one of men who demonstrated running  
 through the sky to men, the<sup>†</sup>first of men who showed<sup>†</sup>who had  
 a share of the earth as a dwelling and ran through the whole  
 heavens; who was mortal and contended with the immortal ones;  
 who walked upon the earth and as a spirit traversed the  
 heavens with angels; who, through the sheepskin gave double  
 gifts to his disciple Elisha; the long-lived and unaging

7,8 Ἡλίας Θεσβύτης ἐκ γῆς Ἀράβων, φυλῆς Ἀαρῶν, οἰκῶν / ἐν Γαλαάδ  
 9 ὅτι ἡ Θεσβυς δόμα ἦν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. Ὅτε εἶχε / τεχθῆναι, εἶδε  
 10 Σοβαχὰ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἄνδρες λευκο-/φανεῖς αὐτὸν  
 11 προσηγόρευον, καὶ ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ αὐτὸν ἐσπαρ-/γάνουν, καὶ  
 12 φλόγα πυρὸς ἐδύδουν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν καὶ ἐλθὼν / ἀνήγγειλεν  
 13 ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ χρησμός· μὴ / δειλιάσης·  
 14 ἔσται γὰρ ἡ οἴκησις αὐτοῦ φῶς καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ / ἀπόφασις  
 καὶ κρινεῖ τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

8 δόμα] δῶμα

Ep Pr Dor Ep Al 9 πατὴρ] μήτηρ Ep Al An E 11 ἐλθὼν] +  
 ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀσωμ Ep Al 12 ἀνήγγειλεν] + τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν  
Ep Pr 14 ἀπόφασις] + καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ (+ μετ' ἀγγέλων E)  
 μετὰ τῶν πετηνῶν καὶ ὁ ζῆλος αὐτοῦ ἀρεστὸς (+ ἐνώπιον κυρίου  
 BB<sup>1</sup>) An BB<sup>1</sup>E 14 Ἰσραήλ] + ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν πυρὶ Ep Pr  
Dor etc. + καὶ ἀναληφθήσεται ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν An  
 BB<sup>1</sup>F.

Th. Schermann, Proph. Vit. Fab. etc. 93, 11. 7-14.

#### Εἰς τὸν Ἡλίαν

Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἡλίας ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
 ὑποδείξας οὐρανοδραμεῖν,† ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ὑποδείξας† ὁ τὴν  
 γῆν λαχὼν οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀθρόον διατρέχων, ὁ  
 θνητὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἀμιλλώμενος, ὁ χαμαὶ  
 βαδίζων καὶ ὡς πνεῦμα μετ' ἀγγέλων οὐρανοπολῶν· ὁ διὰ τῆς  
 μηλωτῆς τῷ μαθητῇ Ἐλισσαίῳ διπλᾶ τὰ χαρίσματα μεταδούς·  
 ὁ μακροχρόνιος καὶ ἀγήρως ἄνθρωπος, ὁ τῷ Ἀντίχριστῳ

man, preserved as general against the Anti-Christ, who is set up against and exposes his deceit and pride, who turns all men from his error to God in the end. He is the one who is reckoned worthy to be the forerunner of the second and manifest coming of the Lord Christ who by measure of his services contends with the angels.

[Vitae Prophetarum, Dorothei Recensio]

C

For having been a zealot and strict guardian of the commandments of God and having been reckoned worthy of the greatest mysteries and divine oracles, he was taken up in a fiery chariot. He will again come before the end as God said through Malachi, "Behold I will send you Elijah the Tishbite before the coming of the great and manifest day of the Lord, who shall turn the father's heart to the son and each man's heart to his neighbour, lest I come and smite the earth utterly." (Mal 4:5-6)

[Vitae Prophetarum, Epiphanii Recensio Altera]

διατηρούμενος στρατηγός, ὁ ἀντικαθιστάμενος καὶ διελέγχων τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν αὐτοῦ, ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ ἐπιστρέφων· οὗτος ὁ τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐπιφανοῦς παρουσίας τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ ἀξιούμενος εἶναι πρόδρομος ὁ μέτρῳ διακονιῶν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀμιλλώμενος.

Th. Schermann, Prophet. Vit. Fab. etc., 52, 11. 10-20.

Καὶ γὰρ ζηλωτῆς καὶ φύλαξ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντολῶν ἀκριβῆς γεγονῶς καὶ μεγίστων μυστηρίων καὶ χαρισμάτων θείων ἀξιωθεὶς ἀνελήφθη ἐν ἄρματι πυρίνῳ, ὅς πάλιν ἐλεύσεται πρὸ τῆς συντελείας, ὡς φησιν ὁ θεὸς διὰ Μαλαχίου· ἴδοὺ ἐξαποστελῶ ὑμῖν Ἡλίαν τὸν θεσβύτην πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, ὅς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱόν, καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ· μὴ ἐλθῶν πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην.

Th. Schermann, Prophet. Vit. Fab. 67, 11. 5-13.

## 2. The Short History of Elijah the Prophet

This work was published by S. Yovsēp'ianc', Ankanon Girk' Hin Ktakaranac' [Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament], (Venice: Mechitarist Press 1896) 333-342. His edition was based on one MS: Venice, Mechitarist Library No. 1541, written in 1627 C.E. The work was translated into English by J. Issaverdens, Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament (Venice: Mechitarist Press, 2 ed. 1934) 172-191. A study of it in Armenian is to be found in B. Sargissian, Usumnasirut'iwnk' Hin Ktakarani Anvawer Groc' Vray [Studies on the Apocryphal Writings of the Old Testament] (Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1889) 273-279. Notice was also taken of the book by M.R. James, Apocrypha Anecdota II (Texts and Studies V 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897) 164.

Numerous additional manuscripts exist. Among the catalogued manuscripts in the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem copies are found in: No. 393, notragir; No. 631 (XVII saec.) -- this copy contains 17 pages of text in addition to that published by Yovsēp'ianc'; No. 669 (1694 C.E.); No. 694 (1596 C.E.); No. 730 notragir; No. 876, notragir; No. 1012, bolorgir; No. 1047; No. 1434 (17th century); No. 1623, notragir; No. 1861 (1669 C.E.) containing 24 additional pages. On these see: N. Bogharian, Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts I-VI (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1966-1972) [in Armenian]. In the Institute for Ancient Manuscripts in Erevan, Armenia, two copies are found with the same title, No. 503 (1601 C.E.) and No. 4355 (XVIII saec.). The Catalogue of that Library gives no incipits, so it is more than likely that most, if not all the works recorded under the slightly differing title History of Elijah the Prophet are identical with the Short History of Elijah the Prophet. These occur in No. 701 (1730 C.E.); No. 706 (XVII saec.); No. 2131 (XVII saec.); 2168 (XVII saec.); 2196 (XVII saec.); 2242 (XVII saec.); 2245 (1689 C.E.); 2252 (XVII saec.); 3237 (XVII saec.); 3350 (XVIII saec.); 6092 (XVII saec.); 6995 (XVII, XVIII saec.); 8239 (1615 C.E.); 9289 (1592 C.E.).

The same may also be true of the work entitled Concerning Elijah the Prophet in No. 8093 (XVIII saec.). See: O. Eganyan, A. Zeyt'unyan and P. Ant'abyan, C'uc'ak Jeragrac' Maštoc'i Anvan Matenadarani [Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Mastoc' Library], I-II (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1965-1970). Doubtless further copies could be listed from other collections.

The book opens with an extract from the Vita Eliae in the Vitae Prophetarum in a form not identical with the Armenian version of that Vita.<sup>1</sup> There follow various narratives based on the biblical Elijah stories. Inter alia the following points are noteworthy. The child of the widow, whom Elijah raised from death (I Ki. 17) is identified with Jonah, as in other Armenian sources and also in Jewish traditions, such as j. Succah 5.1 (55a), Mid. Teh. (ed. Buber) 26, p. 220. The Obadiah of 1 Kings 18, who is referred to in The Short History of Elijah the Prophet is not identified in this work with the prophet of the same name, as was done in the Vita Obadiae, Rabbinic sources such as Sifré Bamidbar (ed. Horovitz) p. 133, p. 176, and b. Sanh. 39b. Cf. also Jerome on Obad 1 (Migne, P.L., 25.1099).

The incident with the priests of Baal is much developed. Most characteristic is the story of how the priests hid a man under the altar to set fire to their wood. This tradition was already remarked upon by James (op. cit.). The plot is foiled by Elijah whose prayer to God results in the man's death. The book, as published, opens with the imposition of the drought in response to Elijah's prayer. It concludes rather abruptly with the coming of the rain and "Ahab wept and went to his home."

The book is Christian in authorship. In particular it is comparable to the Armenian apocryphal works of the type called "Biblical Paraphrases" which contain a paraphrase of Biblical narrative texts, expanded with apocryphal traditions on the one hand and passages of typological Christian exegesis on the other.<sup>2</sup> One such passage is to be observed in the present work, that which

1. This latter is to appear in Michael E. Stone, Armenian Apocrypha relating to Patriarchs and Prophets (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences, in press).

2. Extensive texts of this type will be published in Stone, ibid.

draws the parallel between the unclean raven passing over the Jordan to bring Elijah food and the heathen passing through the waters of baptism by which they were cleansed. Other features of the story too are unmistakably Christian. Yet, as we have shown above, many of the traditions are very ancient with clear parallels in early Jewish sources.

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This index includes citations of ancient sources as well as references to ancient persons and places. It does not include modern authors.

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