

ARMENIAN APOCRYPHA  
FROM ADAM TO DANIEL

SBL Press

# EARLY JUDAISM AND ITS LITERATURE

Rodney A. Werline, Editor

*Editorial Board:*

Randall D. Chesnutt  
Kelley N. Coblentz Bautch  
Maxine L. Grossman  
Carol Newsom

Number 55

SBL Press



ARMENIAN APOCRYPHA  
FROM ADAM TO DANIEL

BY

MICHAEL E. STONE

SBL Press



Atlanta

Copyright © 2021 by Michael E. Stone

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to the Rights and Permissions Office, SBL Press, 825 Houston Mill Road, Atlanta, GA 30329 USA.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2021948769

SBL Press

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| Preface  | xi    |
| Texts Published in This Book                                 | xiii  |
| Manuscript Sources of Texts Published Within                 | xv    |
| Procedures   | xvii  |
| Critical Signs   | xviii |
| Abbreviations  | xix   |
| Published Armenian Apocryphal and Associated Works Mentioned | xxiii |

## PART 1. HEAVEN AND HELL, ANGELS AND DEMONS

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 1. CONCERNING HEAVEN: HOW MANY HEAVENS ARE THERE?   | 3  |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 3  |
| Text  | 4  |
| Translation   | 5  |
| 2. CONCERNING HELL AND ITS MOST BITTER PUNISHMENT   | 8  |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 8  |
| Text  | 9  |
| Translation   | 11 |
| 3. ANGELS AND THE DEMON                             | 15 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 15 |
| Text  | 16 |
| Translation   | 17 |
| 4. CLASSES OF ANGELS                                | 19 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 19 |
| 4.1. The Nine Archangels and Their Names            | 20 |
| 4.2. The Praises Sung by the Nine Classes of Angels | 22 |
| 4.3. Origen and the Classes of Angels               | 24 |
| 5. NUMBERS AND RANKS OF THE ANGELS                  | 26 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 26 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Text  | 27 |
| Translation   | 27 |
| 6. PRAYER TO THE ARCHANGELS                                 | 29 |
| Introductory Remarks  | 29 |
| Text  | 31 |
| Translation   | 33 |
| PART 2. ADAM TO ABRAHAM                                     |    |
| 7. CREATION OF EVE AND DISOBEDIENCE                         | 41 |
| Introductory Remarks  | 41 |
| Text  | 42 |
| Translation   | 43 |
| 8. THE FORM AND STRUCTURE OF NOAH'S ARK                     | 45 |
| Introductory Remarks  | 45 |
| Text  | 47 |
| Translation   | 48 |
| 9. TOWER OF BABEL AND THE CONFUSION OF THE LANGUAGES        | 52 |
| 9.1. Concerning the Tower 1                                 | 52 |
| Introductory Remarks  | 52 |
| Texts   | 54 |
| Translations  | 56 |
| 9.2. Concerning the Tower 2                                 | 59 |
| Introductory Remarks  | 59 |
| Text  | 59 |
| Translation   | 61 |
| 9.3. Second Question: Adam's Language                       | 64 |
| Introductory Remarks  | 64 |
| Text  | 64 |
| Translation   | 65 |
| 9.4. Tower Text 3: The Division of the Earth, and the Tower | 67 |
| Introductory Remarks  | 67 |
| Text  | 68 |
| Translation   | 68 |
| 9.5. Appendix: Other Related Textual Fragments              | 69 |
| 9.5.1. The Tower  | 69 |
| 9.5.2. On the Tower 129v                                    | 70 |

|                                    |    |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 9.5.3. The Story of Noah           | 70 |
| 9.5.4. The Teaching of St. Gregory | 71 |

PART 3. ABRAHAM TO JACOB

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 10. ABRAHAM, JOHN THE BAPTIST, AND SOLOMON | 75 |
| Introductory Remarks                       | 75 |
| 10.1. Abraham and the Idols                | 75 |
| Introductory Remarks                       | 75 |
| Text and Translation                       | 76 |
| 10.2. John the Baptist's Food              | 77 |
| Introductory Remarks                       | 77 |
| Text and Translation                       | 77 |
| 10.3. Solomon's Saying                     | 78 |
| Text and Translation                       | 78 |
| 11. FROM ABRAHAM TO JACOB                  | 79 |
| Introductory Remarks                       | 79 |
| Text                                       | 81 |
| Translation                                | 96 |

PART 4. MOSES TO DANIEL

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 12. OF MOSES AND AARON                              | 121 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 121 |
| Excursus: Moses in Ethiopia, <i>by Oren Ableman</i> | 122 |
| Text  | 134 |
| Translation   | 142 |
| 13. QUESTION CONCERNING MOSES'S COUNTENANCE         | 154 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 154 |
| Text  | 155 |
| Translation   | 157 |
| 14. JOSHUA B. NUN: TEXT 9                           | 159 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 159 |
| Text  | 159 |
| Translation   | 160 |
| 15. ELI THE PRIEST                                  | 164 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 164 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Text  | 164 |
| Translation   | 165 |
| 16. ELISHA  | 166 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 166 |
| Text  | 167 |
| Translation   | 168 |
| 17. JONAH   | 170 |
| 17.1. Jonah 1                                       | 170 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 170 |
| Text  | 171 |
| Translation   | 177 |
| 17.2. Jonah 2                                       | 187 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 187 |
| Text  | 189 |
| Translation   | 190 |
| 17.3. The Preaching of the Prophet Jonah in Nineveh | 193 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 193 |
| Translation   | 193 |
| 18. JOB THE RIGHTEOUS                               | 199 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 199 |
| Text  | 199 |
| Translation   | 204 |
| 19. DANIEL EPITOME, PART 2                          | 211 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 211 |
| 19.1. Coda to Daniel Epitome, Part 1                | 211 |
| Text  | 211 |
| Translation   | 211 |
| 19.2. Coda to Daniel Epitome, Part 2                | 212 |
| Text  | 212 |
| Translation   | 214 |
| 20. DANIEL THE PROPHET AND THE THREE YOUNG MEN      | 220 |
| Introductory Remarks                                | 220 |
| Text  | 223 |
| Translation   | 229 |



|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 21. THE HISTORY OF THE THREE YOUNG MEN                   | 238 |
| Introductory Remarks                                     | 238 |
| Text   | 239 |
| Translation  | 242 |
| PART 5. THE SIBYL AND KING SOLOMON                       |     |
| 22. CONCERNING THE SIBYL, A WOMAN PHILOSOPHER            | 251 |
| Introductory Remarks                                     | 251 |
| Regarding the Armenian Text, <i>by Lorenzo DiTommaso</i> | 252 |
| Text   | 254 |
| Translation  | 254 |
| 23. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FROM HOLY BOOKS                | 255 |
| Introductory Remarks                                     | 255 |
| 23.1. The Long Recension                                 | 259 |
| Text   | 259 |
| Translation  | 272 |
| 23.2. Manuscript M1405, the Short Recension              | 286 |
| Text   | 286 |
| Translation  | 289 |
| 24. THREE TALES: SOLOMON, NOAH, AND SATAN                | 293 |
| Introductory Remarks                                     | 293 |
| 24.1. Solomon Text 8                                     | 294 |
| 24.2. Noah   | 295 |
| 24.3. Satan  | 296 |
| Bibliography   | 299 |
| Index of Subjects  | 309 |
| Index of Ancient Sources                                 | 327 |
| Index of Manuscripts                                     | 339 |

SBL Press

## PREFACE

This is the sixth volume of the series *Armenian Apocrypha* that I have published since the appearance of *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Patriarchs and Prophets* in 1982. It does not exhaust the unpublished apocryphal texts known to me today, *a fortiori* works still lying undiscovered in Armenian manuscripts, awaiting the eager student.

The process of location of the documents to be included in these volumes has been a lengthy but pleasant task, as it is to express thanks to those who helped me on this way. To the unfailing graciousness and encouragement of the authorities of the Mashtots Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Erevan, Armenia I am in profound debt. The director, Dr. Vahan Ter-Ghevondyan, and the keeper of manuscripts, Dr. Gëorg Ter-Vardanyan, have supported me and my work there over the years in every way possible. The late former directors of Matenadaran, Dr. Sen Arevshatyan and Dr. Hrachea Tamrazian were equally supportive and helpful. The young scholars of the Matenadaran, a group of learned and energetic folk, have given me hope for the future of Armenian textual studies and philology as well as tactful and gracious support. My dear friends, Aram Topchyan and Gohar Muradyan have done all that one could imagine learned and affectionate friends doing to help me in my research. Many others, too, have turned my research visits to Erevan into the most delightful of experiences.

The staff at Oxford's great Bodleian Library were unfailingly gracious and helpful in multiple ways. I am glad to be able to publish some of their treasures here. The image on p. 30 is published by permission of that library. The publishers of this book, the SBL Press, have shown every courtesy and highly professional expertise in the course of production of this book.

To all of these I am indebted as I am to my assistants in Jerusalem: Dr. Oren Ableman, Dr. Dina Blokland, Yuval Pollak, Anita Shtrubel, Maria Ushakova, and Matthew Wilson for their unfailing care and diligence over the years. Theo van Lint and Abraham Terian have, as always, freely shared the sweet fruit of their learning with me. Ani Arakelyan of the Matenadaran most carefully checked my collations. Thanks to her, many errors have been avoided.

The book was supported by grant 1592/18 of the Israel Science Foundation. That Foundation has also supported others of my projects over decades. My deep thanks are expressed to ISF hereby.

Michael E. Stone  
Jerusalem  
Summer 2020

SBL Press

## TEXTS PUBLISHED IN THIS BOOK

| Text Number and Title                             | MS No.        | Fols      | Date       |
|---|---------------|-----------|------------|
| 1. Concerning Heaven: How Many Heavens Are There? | M10561        | 75v–76v   | 17th cent. |
| 2. Concerning Hell and Its Most Bitter Punishment | Bod Marsh 467 | 359r–360v | 17th cent. |
| 3. Angels and the Demon                           | M1386         | 180r–180v | 17th cent. |
| 4.1. Classes of Angels                            | M10561        | 146r–146v | 17th cent. |
| 4.2. Praises Sung by the Classes of Angels        | M10561        | 146v      | 17th cent. |
| 4.3. Origen and the Classes of Angels             | M10561        | 147r      | 17th cent. |
| 5. Numbers and Ranks of the Angels                | M2245         | 148r–148v | 1689       |
| 6. Prayer to the Archangels                       | Bod arm g4    |           | 1706–1707  |
| 7. Creation of Eve and Disobedience               | M1386         | 183v      | 17th cent. |
| 8. Form and Structure of Noah's Ark               | M4618         | 53r       | 1675–1706  |
| 9.1a. Concerning the Tower 1                      | M8531         | 82r–82v   | 15th cent. |
| 9.1b. Concerning the Tower 1                      | M2939         | 422v      | 18th cent. |
| 9.1c. Concerning the Tower 1                      | M1495         | 158r      | 1684       |
| 9.2a. Tower Text 2                                | M4618         | 43r       | 1675–1706  |
| 9.2b. Tower Text 2                                | M10561        | 148r–149r | 17th cent. |
| 9.4. Tower Text 3                                 | M5571         | 206v      | 1657–1659  |
| 10. Abraham, John the Baptist, and Solomon        | M4618         | 131v      | 1675–1706  |
| 11. From Abraham to Jacob                         | M1137         | 13r–19v   | 15th cent. |
| 12a. Of Moses and Aaron                           | Bod Marsh 438 | 55r–57r   | 1482       |
| 12b. Of Moses and Aaron                           | M1099         | 177v–182r | 17th cent. |

|   |                |             |            |
|---|----------------|-------------|------------|
| 13. Question concerning Moses's Countenance     | M1134          | 152r–152v   | 1695       |
| 14. Joshua b. Nun 9 (olim 2)                    | Bod Marsh 438  | 32v         | 1482       |
| 15. Eli the Priest                              | Bod Marsh 438  | 450r        | 1482       |
| 16. Elisha                                      | Bod Marsh 438  | 510v–513r   | 1482       |
| 17.1. Jonah 1                                   | M1099          | 202r–207v   | 15th cent. |
| 17.2. Jonah 2                                   | Bod Marsh 438  | 61r–61v     | 1482       |
| 17.3. Preaching of the Prophet Jonah in Nineveh | V1541          | pp. 195–200 | 1627       |
| 18. Job the Righteous                           | Bod Marsh 438  | 454v–456r   | 1482       |
| 19. Daniel Epitome, Part 2                      | M1134          | 84r–86v     | 1695       |
| 20. Daniel and the Three Young Men              | M1099          | 183v–188r   | 17th cent. |
| 21. The History of the Three Young Men          | Bod ms arm f11 | 179v–182v   | 1651–1655  |
| 22. Concerning the Sibyl: A Woman Philosopher   | M101           | 104v        | 1740       |
| 23.1. Questions and Answers from the Holy Books | M1654          | 189v–197v   | 1336       |
| 23.1. Questions and Answers from the Holy Books | M1254          | 156v–159v   | 17th cent. |
| 23.2. Questions and Answers from the Holy Books | M1405          | 146r–148v   | 18th cent. |
| 24. Three Tales: Solomon, Noah, and Satan       | M2188          | 265r–266v   | 15th cent. |

## MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF TEXTS PUBLISHED WITHIN

| MS No.         | Text Number and Title                             | Fols      | Date       |
|----------------|---|-----------|------------|
| Bod arm g4     | 6. Prayer to the Archangels                       |           | 1706–1707  |
| Bod Marsh 438  | 12a. Of Moses and Aaron                           | 55r–57r   | 1482       |
| Bod Marsh 438  | 14. Joshua b. Nun 9 (olim 2)                      | 32v       | 1482       |
| Bod Marsh 438  | 15. Eli the Priest                                | 450r      | 1482       |
| Bod Marsh 438  | 16. Elisha  | 510v–513r | 1482       |
| Bod Marsh 438  | 17.2. Jonah 2                                     | 61r–61v   | 1482       |
| Bod Marsh 438  | 18. Job the Righteous                             | 454v–456r | 1482       |
| Bod Marsh 467  | 2. Concerning Hell and Its Most Bitter Punishment | 359r–360v | 17th cent. |
| Bod ms arm fl1 | 21. The History of the Three Young Men            | 179v–182v | 1651–1655  |
| M101           | 22. Concerning the Sibyl: A Woman Philosopher     | 104v      | 1740       |
| M10561         | 1. Concerning Heaven: How Many Heavens Are There? | 75v–76v   | 17th cent. |
| M10561         | 4.1. Classes of Angels                            | 146r–146v | 17th cent. |
| M10561         | 4.2. Praises Sung by the Classes of Angels        | 146v      | 17th cent. |
| M10561         | 4.3. Origen and the Classes of Angels             | 147r      | 17th cent. |
| M10561         | 9.2b. Tower Text 2                                | 148r–149r | 17th cent. |
| M1099          | 12b. Of Moses and Aaron                           | 177v–182r | 17th cent. |
| M1099          | 17.1. Jonah 1                                     | 202r–207v | 15th cent. |
| M1099          | 20. Daniel and the Three Young Men                | 183v–188r | 17th cent. |
| M1134          | 13. Question concerning Moses's Countenance       | 152r–152v | 1695       |
| M1134          | 19. Daniel Epitome, Part 2                        | 84r–86v   | 1695       |
| M1137          | 11. From Abraham to Jacob                         | 13r–19v   | 15th cent. |

|       |   |             |            |
|-------|---|-------------|------------|
| M1254 | 23.1. Questions and Answers from the Holy Books     | 156v–159v   | 17th cent. |
| M1386 | 3. Angels and the Demon                             | 180r–180v   | 17th cent. |
| M1386 | 7. Creation of Eve and Disobedience                 | 183v        | 17th cent. |
| M1495 | 9.1c. Concerning the Tower 1                        | 158r        | 1684       |
| M1405 | 23.2. Questions and Answers from the Holy Books     | 146r–148v   | 18th cent. |
| M1654 | 23.1. Questions and Answers from the Holy Books     | 189v–197v   | 1336       |
| M2188 | 24. Three Tales: Solomon, Noah and Satan            | 265r–266v   | 15th cent. |
| M2245 | 5. Numbers and Ranks of the Angels                  | 148r–148v   | 1689       |
| M2939 | 9.1b. Concerning the Tower 1                        | 422v        | 18th cent. |
| M4618 | 8. Form and Structure of Noah's Ark                 | 53r         | 1675–1706  |
| M4618 | 9.2a. Tower Text 2                                  | 43r         | 1675–1706  |
| M4618 | 10. Abraham, John the Baptist and Solomon           | 131v        | 1675–1706  |
| M5571 | 9.3. Tower Text 3                                   | 206v        | 1657–1659  |
| M8531 | 9.1a. Concerning the Tower 1                        | 82r–82v     | 15th cent. |
| V1541 | 17.3. The Preaching of the Prophet Jonah in Nineveh | pp. 343–348 | 1627       |



## PROCEDURES

1. The quotations of the English Bible are taken from NRSV unless otherwise noted.
2. The titles or chapter and verse numbering of certain biblical books differ in the Hebrew and Armenian versions. In these cases, Hebrew references are given first and then the Armenian references in parentheses.
3. Armenian is transliterated according the system used by the *Revue des études arméniennes*. Sigla of manuscripts to which reference is made follow the system of the Association internationale des études arméniennes.
4. Many little-known Armenian pseudepigrapha are cited. An alphabetical list of these, with relevant primary references is given following the abbreviations. Moreover, the names of these Armenian Pseudepigrapha are capitalized in the text. In the Index of Subjects, Persons, and Places, they are all characterized as “works.”

SBL Press

## CRITICAL SIGNS

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| §   | section number  |
| ( ) | word/s added by the editor to the translation for stylistic reasons                                   |
| < > | word/s added from another source than the text, including word/s emended                              |
| { } | corruption  |
| [ ] | physical lacuna in the manuscript; letters and words within these brackets are supplied by the editor |
| ∞   | transposition   |
| ... | illegible or incomprehensible letters or words  |

In the apparatuses, all text following a colon (:) is introduced by the editor.

SBL Press

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Arm              | preceding “Bible” or the name of a biblical book means the Armenian version of said work             |
| bis              | following a variant indicates that it occurs twice in the same section or word                       |
| cent.            | century  |
| fol, fols        | folio, folios  |
| inc.             | indicates the beginning of a section, usually in an apparatus, when a word is added at the beginning |
| l. ll.           | line, lines  |
| LXX              | Septuagint   |
| marg.            | margin   |
| MT               | Masoretic text   |
| p., pp.          | page, pages  |
| p.m., s.m., etc. | prima manu, secunda manu, etc.   |
| pers.            | person (grammatical)   |
| plur.            | plural   |
| r, v             | following a numeral, designates the two sides of a folio, recto and verso                            |
| sing.            | singular   |
| s.v.             | sub vocem  |
| transl.          | translated   |
| v., vv.          | verse, verses  |

### CITED CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPTS

#### Bodleian Catalogue

Sukias Baronian and Frederick C. Conybeare, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1918.

#### General Catalogue 4

A. K'ēōškerean, K. Suk'iasean, and Y. K'ēosēean, *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran*

(Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի), vol. 4. Erevan: Nairi, 2008.

*General Catalogue 7*

Gēorg Tēr Vardanyan, *Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի* [General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran], vol. 7. Erevan: Nairi, 2012.

*General Catalogue 9*

Gēorg Tēr Vardanyan, *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran* (Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի), vol. 9. Erevan: Nairi, 2017.

*Short Catalogue 1, 2*

O. Eganyan, A. Zeyt'unyan, and P. Ant'abyan. *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran* (Ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի), vols. 1, 2. Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1965–1966.

*Short Catalogue 3*

Armen Malxasyan, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran* (Ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի), vol. 3. Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 2007.

OTHER BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| AB     | Anchor Bible  |
| ABR    | <i>Australian Biblical Review</i>   |
| CSCO   | Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium   |
| EJL    | Early Judaism and Its Literature  |
| HATS   | Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies  |
| HTR    | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>   |
| HUAS   | Hebrew University Armenian Series   |
| IDB    | <i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by George A. Buttrick. 4 vols. New York: Abingdon, 1962 |
| JSJ    | <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>                        |
| JSJSup | Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods, Supplements                  |
| JSP    | <i>Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha</i>  |
| JTS    | <i>Journal of Theological Studies (New Series)</i>  |

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| MH 5   | [n.a.]. <i>Armenian Classical Authors</i> ( <i>Մատենագիրք հայոց, Ժ. դար</i> ), vol. 5.1. Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005.                                   |
| MOTP 1 | Bauckham, R., James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov. <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures</i> . Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.                     |
| NBHL   | G. Awetik'ean, X. Siwrmëlean, and M. Awk'erean, <i>New Dictionary of the Armenian Language</i> ( <i>ն Նոր բառգիրք հայկազեան լեզունի</i> ). 2 vols. Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1837. |
| OED    | Oxford English Dictionary   |
| OLA    | Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta   |
| PhA    | Philosophia Antiqua   |
| PVTG   | Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece  |
| REArm  | <i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>   |
| SBLDS  | Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series  |
| SBLTT  | Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations Pseudepigrapha Series   |
| SVTP   | Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha   |
| TU     | Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur   |
| UPATS  | University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies   |
| WUNT   | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament  |

## ABBREVIATIONS FOR ANCIENT SOURCES

|             |                                     |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| A.J.        | Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> |
| ALD         | Aramaic Levi Document               |
| Apoc. Ab.   | Apocalypse of Abraham               |
| Apoc. Sedr. | Apocalypse of Sedrach               |
| 3 Bar.      | 3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)         |
| b. B. Bat.  | Baba Batra                          |
| Deut. Rab.  | Deuteronomy Rabbah                  |
| 1 En.       | 1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)       |
| 2 En.       | 2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)       |
| b. 'Erub.   | Erubin                              |
| 2 Esd       | 2 Esdras                            |
| Death Adam  | Death of Adam                       |
| Exod. Rab.  | Exodus Rabbah                       |
| Gen. Rab.   | Genesis Rabbah                      |
| Hist. Rech. | History of the Rechabites           |

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Jos. Asen.        | Joseph and Aseneth                           |
| Jub.              | Jubilees                                     |
| LAB               | Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo) |
| LAE               | Life of Adam and Eve                         |
| 1 Macc            | 1 Maccabees                                  |
| Num. Rab.         | Numbers Rabbah                               |
| Odes Sol.         | Odes of Solomon                              |
| Pr Azar           | Prayer of Azariah                            |
| Pr. Man.          | Prayer of Manasseh                           |
| 1QapGen ar        | Genesis Apocryphon                           |
| 1QH               | Thanksgiving Hymns                           |
| 4Q464             | Exposition on the Patriarchs                 |
| Ques. Ezra        | Questions of Ezra                            |
| Ques. Greg.       | Questions of Gregory                         |
| b. Sanh.          | Sanhedrin                                    |
| Sib. Or.          | Sibylline Oracles                            |
| Sipre Deut.       | Sipre Deuteronomy                            |
| Sipre Num.        | Sipre Numbers                                |
| Sir               | Sirach                                       |
| Syr. Men.         | Syriac Menander                              |
| Tanḥ. Beshalah    | Tanḥuma Beshalah                             |
| Tanḥ. Exod.       | Tanḥuma Exodus                               |
| m. Tanḥ. Vayakhel | Tanḥuma Vayakhel                             |
| Tg. Ps.-J.        | Targum Pseudo-Jonathan                       |
| T. Job            | Testament of Job                             |
| T. Jos.           | Testament of Joseph                          |
| T. Levi           | Testament of Levi                            |

## PUBLISHED ARMENIAN APOCRYPHAL AND ASSOCIATED WORKS MENTIONED

The notes refer only to a source where the work may be found.

Abraham and the Idols<sup>1</sup>

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Stories of<sup>2</sup>

Abraham, Story of Father.<sup>3</sup>

Abraham, Synaxarium entry for<sup>4</sup>

Abraham; The Ten Trials of<sup>5</sup>

Adam and his Grandsons, History of<sup>6</sup>

Adam, The Twelve Gifts Lost by<sup>7</sup>

Adam's Language, Questions concerning<sup>8</sup>

Ahiqar, History and Discourses of<sup>9</sup>

Angels Praise of the<sup>10</sup>

Angels, The Number and the Twelve Classes of<sup>11</sup>

Archangels, Question concerning the<sup>12</sup>

---

1. M4618, 131v: Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Biblical Heroes*, EJL 49 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 20–23.

2. Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Abraham*, EJL 37 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 101–21; M8532.

3. Stone, *Abraham*, 37–50; M10561 133v–135r; M4618 53v–55r.

4. Stone, *Abraham*, 236–37.

5. Stone, *Abraham*, 204–5.

6. Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, SVTP 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 80–98; M4618 1r–6v.

7. Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 10–16.

8. See p. 53. M4618 43r.

9. M1495 13r–17r; M10561 60v–67r; A. A. Mardirosean, *The Story and Counsels of Xikar the Wise*, 2 vols. (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1969) [Armenian].

10. Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha: Relating to Angels and Biblical Heroes*, EJL 45 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 77–85.

11. Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 1–3.

12. M2245 114v–115v; Stone, *Angels and Heroes*, 72–75.

Biblical Paraphrases<sup>13</sup>

Cain and Abel, Adam's sons History of<sup>14</sup>

Ezra, Questions of, and Answers of the Angel<sup>15</sup>

Fifteen Signs of Doomsday<sup>16</sup>

Flood, Sermon Concerning the<sup>17</sup>

Forefathers, Adam His Sons and Grandsons, History of the<sup>18</sup>

Forefathers, History of the<sup>19</sup>

Gems, Names and Colors of<sup>20</sup>

Gems, Names of the Twelve<sup>21</sup>

Hezekiah and Manasseh<sup>22</sup>

Holy Books, Questions and Answers from the<sup>23</sup>

Hours of the Day and Night, Concerning the Names of the Twenty-Four<sup>24</sup>

Hours of the Night, Concerning the Twelve<sup>25</sup>

Joseph, The Third Story of<sup>26</sup>

Joshua bin Nun, The Story of<sup>27</sup>

Joshua, Brief History of<sup>28</sup>

---

13. Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Patriarchs and Prophets* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences, 1982), 81–126.

14. M4618, 138r–140r (p. 78); W. Lowndes Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, UPATS 8 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 108–27.

15. Michael E. Stone, “A New Edition and Translation of the Questions of Ezra,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin, and Michael Sokoloff (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 293–316; Sargis Yovsēp'ēanc, *Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament* (Անկանոն Գիրք Հին Կտակարանաց), (Venice: Mekhitarist, 1896), 300–306.

16. M2939 441v–442r; Michael E. Stone, *Signs of the Judgement, Onomastica Sacra, and the Generations from Adam*, UPATS 3 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

17. M2245 fols 4r–18r; Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 174–200.

18. Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 180–200.

19. M2245 279r–281r (p. 63).

20. Oxford Bod Marsh 467 372v–374r; Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 180–200.

21. M1495 162r; Stone, *Angels and Heroes*, 22–24; compare Felix Albrecht, and Arthur Manukyan, *Epiphanius von Salamis: Über die Zwölf Steine im hohepriesterlichen Brustchild* (De Duodecim Gemmis Rationalis), Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 37 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2014).

22. M4618, fols 142r–143v; *Biblical Heroes*, 180–96

23. Edited below.

24. Stone, *Angels and Heroes*, 1–4.

25. Stone, *Angels and Heroes*, 1.

26. M2245 330r–349v; Stone, *Angels and Heroes*, 176–228.

27. Stone, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, 117–20.

28. M4618 fols 146v–148v; Stone, *Biblical Heroes* 57–108.



Languages, Seventy-Two<sup>29</sup>  
 Matriarchs; Names of the Four<sup>30</sup>  
 Men of Sodom and Gomorra, Supplication concerning<sup>31</sup>  
 Moses, Armenian Life of<sup>32</sup>  
 Nathan, a work on<sup>33</sup>  
 Noah, Generations of the Sons of<sup>34</sup>  
 Noah, Story of in Biblical Paraphrases<sup>35</sup>  
 Noah's Ark, Concerning<sup>36</sup>  
 Patriarchs, Names of the<sup>37</sup>  
 Prophets' Names, Lists of<sup>38</sup>  
 Questions and Answers from the Holy Books<sup>39</sup>  
 Questions of the Queen<sup>40</sup>  
 Seth, Concerning the Birth of<sup>41</sup>  
 Seth, Concerning the Good Tidings of<sup>42</sup>  
 Seventy-Two Translators<sup>43</sup>  
 Signs and Wonders of the Temple<sup>44</sup>

29. Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 158–63; Stone, *Angels and Heroes*, 161. The oldest form of this material is to be found in the Chronography of Philo of Tikor, MH, 5,897–970. The chief ideas embodied in it already occur in Elišē, *Commentary on Genesis*, on Gen 11:1–28. See the critical edition of this text in L. Xač'ikyan, Y. Kēosēyan and M. Papazian, eds., *Commentary of Genesis by Eghishe* [Armenian] (Erevan: Magharat, 2004), 106–9.

30. Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 167.

31. Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 24–56.

32. Stone, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, 154–55.

33. Stone, *Angels and Heroes*, 163–65.

34. Stone, *Signs of the Judgement*.

35. Stone, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, 88–101.

36. M8513; M4618 fols. 53r–v; published in this volume (p. 52).

37. W. Lowndes Lipscomb, "A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian," *JJS* 29 (1978): 149–63; Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 174–75.

38. Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 174–75, four lists.

39. Published in this volume, pp. 255–92.

40. Yovsēpeanc' 1896, 229–31, Sebastian P. Brock. "The Queen of Sheba's Questions to Solomon: A Syriac Version," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979): 331–45.

41. M4618, fols. 140r–142r; Lipscomb, *Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, 173–205.

42. See Yovsēpeanc' 1896, 213–324; Lipscomb, *Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*.

43. Michael E. Stone and Roberta R. Ervine, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis De mensuris et ponderibus*, CSCO 583; CSCO Subsidia 105 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 69 and 92.

44. M4618, 109v (p. 46); Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 137–42.

Solomon and the Bubu Bird<sup>45</sup>

Solomon Text 2<sup>46</sup>

Solomon, Concerning the Writings of<sup>47</sup>

Solomon's Ring<sup>48</sup>

Solomon's Temple, Concerning the Wonders of<sup>49</sup> also called Signs and Wonders of Solomon's Temple<sup>50</sup>

Sons of Noah, Peoples of the<sup>51</sup>

St. Gregory, Questions of<sup>52</sup>

The Tower<sup>53</sup>

Tower, Concerning the, 1 and 2<sup>54</sup>

Tower, Questions concerning the<sup>55</sup>

Twelve Literate Peoples<sup>56</sup>

Two Stone Tablets in the Ark<sup>57</sup>

Wives of the Forefathers and Patriarchs; Names of the<sup>58</sup>

---

45. M4618 fol. 133r; Stone, *Biblical Heroes* 167–70; Armenuhi Srabyan, *Medieval Armenian Tales* (Հայ միջնադարեան գրողներ) (Erevan: Academy, 1969), 318–19.

46. Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 149–61.

47. M10561 90r–91r (p. 3). Yovsēp'eanc', 232–34; Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 159–62.

48. M4618 (p. 46); *Biblical Heroes* 152–66.

49. Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 136–42.

50. Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 137–42.

51. Stone, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, 221–27.

52. Michael E. Stone, "The Armenian Questions of St. Gregory: A Text Descended from 4 Ezra: Edition of Recension I," *Le Muséon* 131 (2018): 141–72. M4618, fol. 9r–10v (p. 45); M2245 235r–238v (p. 26).

53. Published in this volume, pp. 69–70.

54. Edited pp. 52–64; M4618 fols. 43r–44r (pp. 59–63); 53v; M8531 82r–82v; p. 54.

55. Edited below, pp. 55–57.

56. Stone, *Adam and Eve*, 163.

57. M3929 340r.

58. See p. 255.