

ARMENIAN APOCRYPHA
FROM ADAM TO DANIEL

SBL Press

EARLY JUDAISM AND ITS LITERATURE

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Number 55

SBL Press



ARMENIAN APOCRYPHA
FROM ADAM TO DANIEL

BY

MICHAEL E. STONE

SBL Press



Atlanta

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2021948769

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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 It does not exhaust the unpublished apocryphal texts known to me today, *a fortiori* works still lying undiscovered in Armenian manuscripts, awaiting the eager student.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. Gēorg 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

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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 f11	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.”

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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.

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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'nyan, 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 (Մասննազիրք հայոց, Ժ. դար)</i> , vol. 5.1. Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005.
MOTP 1	Bauchham, R., James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov. <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures</i> . Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.
NBHL	G. Awetik'ean, X. Siwrmélean, and M. Awk'érean, <i>New Dictionary of the Armenian Language (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

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PUBLISHED ARMENIAN APOCRYPHAL AND ASSOCIATED WORKS MENTIONED

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

Abraham and the Idols¹

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Stories of²

Abraham, Story of Father.³

Abraham, Synaxarium entry for⁴

Abraham; The Ten Trials of⁵

Adam and his Grandsons, History of⁶

Adam, The Twelve Gifts Lost by⁷

Adam's Language, Questions concerning⁸

Ahiqar, History and Discourses of⁹

Angels Praise of the¹⁰

Angels, The Number and the Twelve Classes of¹¹

Archangels, Question concerning the¹²

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 Councils 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 Paraphrases¹³Cain and Abel, Adam's sons History of¹⁴Ezra, Questions of, and Answers of the Angel¹⁵Fifteen Signs of Doomsday¹⁶Flood, Sermon Concerning the¹⁷Forefathers, Adam His Sons and Grandsons, History of the¹⁸Forefathers, History of the¹⁹Gems, Names and Colors of²⁰Gems, Names of the Twelve²¹Hezekiah and Manasseh²²Holy Books, Questions and Answers from the²³Hours of the Day and Night, Concerning the Names of the Twenty-Four²⁴Hours of the Night, Concerning the Twelve²⁵Joseph, The Third Story of²⁶Joshua bin Nun, The Story of²⁷Joshua, Brief History of²⁸

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 Yovsēpēanc, *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-Two²⁹
 Matriarchs; Names of the Four³⁰
 Men of Sodom and Gomorra, Supplication concerning³¹
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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. Yovsēp'ēanc' 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 Yovsēp'ēanc' 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 Bird⁴⁵

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Solomon, Concerning the Writings of⁴⁷

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

46. Stone, *Biblical Heroes*, 149–61.

47. M10561 90r–91r (p. 3). Yovsēp'ēanc', 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.