

James H. Charlesworth

EDITOR

THE  
Old Testament  
**PSEUDEPIGRAPHA**

VOLUME ONE

Apocalyptic Literature  
and Testaments

---

New Translations from Authoritative Texts  
with Introductions and Critical Notes  
by an International Team of Scholars

T H E  
Old Testament  
**PSEUDEPIGRAPHA**

VOLUME ONE

Apocalyptic Literature  
and Testaments

T H E  
Old Testament  
**PSEUDEPIGRAPHA**

VOLUME ONE

Apocalyptic Literature  
and Testaments

James H. Charlesworth

EDITOR

 **HENDRICKSON**  
PUBLISHERS

Dedicated to my family  
—Jerrie, Michelle, Eve, and James—  
to other families supporting our  
common labors,  
and to families who read these  
documents.

# CONTENTS

Foreword	<i>George W. MacRae, S.J.</i>	ix
Foreword for Christians	<i>James T. Cleland</i>	x
Foreword for Jews	<i>Samuel Sandmel</i>	xi
Editor's Preface	<i>James H. Charlesworth</i>	xv
Board of Advisors		xviii
Contributors		xviii
Introduction for the General Reader	<i>James H. Charlesworth</i>	xxi
Explanation of Typographical and Reference Systems		xxxv
List of Abbreviations		xxxvii

## DOCUMENTS

### APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE AND RELATED WORKS

Introduction	<i>J. H. Charlesworth</i>	3
1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Second Century B.C.– First Century A.D.)	<i>E. Isaac</i>	5
2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Late First Century A.D.) with Appendix: 2 Enoch in <i>Merilo Pravednoe</i>	<i>F. I. Andersen</i>	91
3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch (Fifth to Sixth Century A.D.)	<i>P. Alexander</i>	223
Sibylline Oracles (Second Century B.C.–Seventh Century A.D.)	<i>J. J. Collins</i>	317
Treatise of Shem (First Century B.C.)	<i>J. H. Charlesworth</i>	473
Apocryphon of Ezekiel (First Century B.C.–First Century A.D.)	<i>J. R. Mueller and S. E. Robinson</i>	487
Apocalypse of Zephaniah (First Century B.C.–First Century A.D.)	<i>O. S. Wintermute</i>	497
The Fourth Book of Ezra (Late First Century A.D.)	<i>B. M. Metzger</i>	517
Greek Apocalypse of Ezra (Second to Ninth Century A.D.)	<i>M. E. Stone</i>	561
Vision of Ezra (Fourth to Seventh Century A.D.)	<i>J. R. Mueller and G. A. Robbins</i>	581

Questions of Ezra (Date Unknown)	<i>M. E. Stone</i>	591
Revelation of Ezra (prior to Ninth Century A.D.)	<i>D. A. Fiensy</i>	601
Apocalypse of Sedrach (Second to Fifth Century A.D.)	<i>S. Agourides</i>	605
2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch (early Second Century A.D.)		
<i>A. F. J. Klijn</i>		615
3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch (First to Third Century A.D.)		
<i>H. E. Gaylor, Jr.</i>		653
Apocalypse of Abraham (First to Second Century A.D.)		
<i>R. Rubinkiewicz</i>		681
Apocalypse of Adam (First to Fourth Century A.D.)	<i>G. MacRae</i>	707
Apocalypse of Elijah (First to Fourth Century A.D.)		
<i>O. S. Wintermute</i>		721
Apocalypse of Daniel (Ninth Century A.D.)	<i>G. T. Zervos</i>	755

TESTAMENTS (OFTEN WITH APOCALYPTIC SECTIONS)

Introduction	<i>J. H. Charlesworth</i>	773
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Second Century B.C.)		
<i>H. C. Kee</i>		775
Testament of Job (First Century B.C.–First Century A.D.)		
<i>R. P. Spittler</i>		829
Testaments of the Three Patriarchs		
Introduction	<i>E. P. Sanders</i>	869
Testament of Abraham (First to Second Century A.D.)		
<i>E. P. Sanders</i>		871
Testament of Isaac (Second Century A.D.)	<i>W. F. Stinespring</i>	903
Testament of Jacob (Second to Third Century A.D.?)		
<i>W. F. Stinespring</i>		913
Testament of Moses (First Century A.D.)	<i>J. Priest</i>	919
Testament of Solomon (First to Third Century A.D.)	<i>D. C. Duling</i>	935
Testament of Adam (Second to Fifth Century A.D.)	<i>S. E. Robinson</i>	989

## FOREWORD

GEORGE W. MACRAE, S.J.

The ancient Jewish and Jewish-Christian documents that are here called Pseudepigrapha have in their long history been both problematic and promising in both Jewish and Christian communities. It is heartening to observe that the very publication of this new collection testifies more to their promise than to their problems. An ancient witness to both problem and promise can be found within two late books of the New Testament itself. The Epistle of Jude, in its strong antiheretical polemic, refers at least twice to the language of the book we call 1 Enoch and in a third instance quotes it in an authoritative manner as prophetic. It also refers to a legend about the body of Moses known to us in the book called the Assumption of Moses. The Second Epistle of Peter, generally regarded as the latest of the New Testament books, incorporates much of Jude into its second chapter, but it is very careful to excise all of the allusions to the Pseudepigrapha.

The problem to which this situation points is that of the canonical status of the Pseudepigrapha in early Christianity—and the consequent propriety or impropriety of citing them in public documents. Clearly the authors of Jude and 2 Peter reflect different views. This problem persisted for centuries in the Church and can further be seen in the reluctance of some churches to accept Jude into the New Testament because of its controversial sources. In the synagogue the problem did not persist so long, and the decision was clearly against the Pseudepigrapha.

The promise to which the episode of Jude and 2 Peter points is the value of studying the Pseudepigrapha for a better understanding of prerabbinic Judaism and of the religious matrix of Christianity. Whatever canonical decisions were taken by the official leadership, it is clear that in popular religious circles, especially Christian ones, this literature continued to be prominent and to influence thought and piety.

The most recent decades have seen an astonishing rebirth of scholarly interest in the Pseudepigrapha, and these volumes are an excellent guide to much of it. The renewed interest has been and continues to be stimulated in part by new manuscript discoveries. One thinks of the Dead Sea Scrolls among others. These have provided access to much more extensive knowledge of Judaism in the period immediately following the Old Testament. But perhaps even more important than such a largely accidental factor as manuscript discoveries has been the ever increasing acceptance of historical-critical method on the part of students of the Bible at all levels. To study the Bible by this method involves knowing as much as one can about the biblical world in all of its facets. And this of course includes knowing the Jewish and Christian religious literature that ultimately did not become

part of the Bible. What we find, as these volumes show, is a bewildering variety of ideas, styles, and literary genres that is as diversified as the Bible itself yet often quite different from it. One of the merits of this edition, especially when compared to the few earlier ones in modern languages, is that it is inclusive rather than exclusive. It includes much more of the surviving literature than others have. Thus it affords a rich insight into the creative religious imagination from a singularly important formative period in Western religious culture.

Readers of these volumes and those who consult them for reference should include scholars and teachers, students, and any others who have an interest in the biblical world. All will be grateful to the many scholars who have contributed to the work. But more especially, they will have an enormous debt of gratitude to Professor Charlesworth and his immediate associates who boldly undertook and so competently executed the formidable task of editing this major work.

## FOREWORD FOR CHRISTIANS

JAMES T. CLELAND

As one brought up in the home of a Church of Scotland minister, my father, and as one prepared for the Christian ministry in the Divinity Hall of Glasgow University, I have been trying to recall any unique impact made upon me by these related experiences, apart from family worship; the daily reading of the Word of God: Genesis to Revelation, one chapter per night, before falling asleep. The unexpected outcome is that I still find it somewhat difficult to decide if a Scots Presbyterian is an Old Testament Christian, with a stress on the Law and the Psalms, or a New Testament Jew, who attends his synagogue—as Jesus' custom was—on the sabbath day (Luke 4:16). There he hears a sermon which may be based on the Old Testament, or on the New Testament, or on both, as equally valid, equally authoritative. Why not? Is it not the same God in both testaments?

Many years later, in a Duke Divinity School morning chapel service, instead of a meditation, I just read the Prayer of Manasseh, now recognized, in its own right, as one of the Pseudepigrapha. After the service, a colleague asked me, "Where did you find that?" I told him. His surprised, almost awed, comment was: "That is the gospel outside of the Gospels." Why such a reaction? Manasseh was acknowledged to be the wickedest king of Judah, one who both majored and minored in iniquity, and yet maintained his throne in Jerusalem for fifty-five years, which was something of a record. Dr. James Moffatt sums up Manasseh, that royal rake, in a few simple words: "He did ample evil in the sight of the eternal to vex him" (2Chr 33:6). That is the emphasis of underemphasis. However, Manasseh repented; he prayed; God forgave (2Chr 33:13). The God who forgave is the same, yesterday, today, and forever, the God of Jew and Christian alike.

What I, a pulpiteer, hope from this volume, supervised by Professor Charlesworth,



aided and abetted by scholars throughout the world, is that, as never before, Judaism and Christianity will be recognized as heirs of the same God, with what Jew and Christian have in common uniting us, rather than continuing a separation which may be emotionally understandable but is spiritually devitalizing. The very text of parts of the Pseudepigrapha may have been edited by later Jews *or* Christians. It would be good if one of the scholars discovered in his research that a section was prepared by Jew *and* Christian working together, not always in agreement in minor matters, but one in scholarship and editing because each had faith, academic and spiritual, in the same Father, who is at the heart of both testaments, and to be found in the Pseudepigrapha.

So, may it come to pass that what unites us as brethren will far surpass what seems to separate us, too often, even too willingly. We need each other. We are both children of the Kingdom, and the Pseudepigrapha may become a bridge between the Old and New testaments, helping us cross to and fro, back and forth, until we are equally at home in both, to our mental satisfaction, and our spiritual growth in grace.

So read the Prayer of Manasseh in the Pseudepigrapha. It is a model for a prayer, public or private: the invocation of God: "O Lord, God of our fathers, . . . unending and immeasurable are your promised mercies" (vss. 1-6); the confession of sin, verses 9-10: "O Lord, I am justly afflicted . . . because I did evil things before you"; the entreaty for forgiveness, verses 11-15, including the wonderful metaphor of complete surrender to God: "And now behold I am bending the knees of my heart" (v. 11); "Forgive me, O Lord, forgive me" (v. 13); "I shall praise you continually all the days of my life" (v. 15). It is a bonny prayer; my gratitude to the Jew who wrote it. I shall use it.

This prayer is to more than a few people the most famous instance of "the infinite compassion of God." If a Manasseh can be absolved, there is hope for anyone—including me. No wonder that I bend "the knees of my heart." It is the gospel outside the Gospels.

## FOREWORD FOR JEWS

SAMUEL SANDMEL

By the strangest quirk of fate respecting literature that I know of, large numbers of writings by Jews were completely lost from the transmitted Jewish heritage. These documents stem roughly from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. Not only the so-called Pseudepigrapha, but even such important and extensive writings as those by Philo and Josephus have not been part of the Jewish inheritance from its past; these were preserved and transmitted by Christians. It was rather only in the backwash of the Renaissance that Jews began to encounter Philo and Josephus. A sixteenth-century Italian rabbi, Azariah de Rossi, in a book called *Me-or Enayim* ("Light for the

Eyes”), inaugurated this Jewish rediscovery of the “lost” literature. He wrote with great praise of Philo, but with only reserved admiration for Josephus, whose Jewish loyalty he doubted. After de Rossi, Jews began slowly to deepen their study of Josephus and Philo, and thereafter the other literature, as legitimate parts of the Jewish heritage.

The ancient literary legacy which Jews did preserve and transmit was primarily the rabbinic literature. This huge body of writings might be divided into three categories: one, the Midrashim; two, Mishna and Gemara; and three, the Targumim. The Midrashim are commentaries on Scripture arranged according to the sequence of the biblical verses. The Mishna is a laconic statement of the secondary laws (Halacha) derived from Scripture. The Targumim allude to the Aramaic translation of Scripture; these translations have come down to us in differing styles and in somewhat differing ages. While within the rabbinic literature, especially in passages called haggadic (“narrative”), there are allusions to some of the documents found in the Apocrypha and occasionally to those in the Pseudepigrapha, it is only Ecclesiasticus (Jesus, the son of Sirach) who figures in any prominence at all in the talmudic literature. The Pseudepigrapha as such might be said with very little exaggeration to be without reflection in rabbinic literature.

As is known, the Pseudepigrapha were first gathered by Johannes Fabricius in the early part of the eighteenth century. Subsequent collectors of this material were able to add certain books that were unknown to Fabricius and certain editors, such as R. H. Charles, included in editions of the Pseudepigrapha materials the presence of which might be questioned. Charles, for example, included the talmudic tractate the Ethics of the Fathers. The point is that there is no such thing as a “canon” of the Pseudepigrapha. Rather, there is an abundance of this scattered literature, some of it preserved in entirety and some preserved in part, usually in translation rather than in the original Hebrew or Aramaic. It is in reality only in the eighteenth century that the earnest and ever increasing study of the Pseudepigrapha began. Because most of the Pseudepigrapha were not preserved in Hebrew or Aramaic, it has been only the rare Jewish scholar who has made this study a major concern. By and large it has been Christians who have done the painstaking work of gathering this material, comparing the various manuscripts, producing critical editions, and providing translations into modern languages.

I do not think it is wrong to say that much of the Christian interest in the Pseudepigrapha in the early nineteenth century was based on the light this literature was deemed to throw on early Christianity. Since the documents in the Pseudepigrapha were not being studied for their own sake, often that roundedness which one should expect from the best of scientific scholarship was absent. Even more to be deplored was the circumstance that there were Christian scholars who seemed to feel the need to choose, as it were, between the Pseudepigrapha on the one hand and the rabbinic literature on the other hand, and who, on the basis of only part of the total Jewish literary productivity, came to some occasionally quixotic or reckless or even partisan conclusions about the nature of Judaism at the time of the birth of Christianity. Such an allegation would not be unjust respecting R. H. Charles.

A complete turnaround in the approach to the Pseudepigrapha in the last decades has been most gratifying. These writings have become the object of study for their own sake, part of the wish to illuminate the totality of the Jewish creativity of that

bygone age. The recent scholarship has not tried to make the literature fit into a procrustean bed for some parochial purpose. It should be said that the relevancy of the Pseudepigrapha to early Christianity is not in any way diminished by the recent admirable mode of the study of Pseudepigrapha.

The result of the work of fine scholars, such as are represented herein, has been a significant broadening and deepening of the appreciation of the Jewish literary creativity. The cooperative study enlisting the gifted minds of Christians of various denominations and Jews of varying backgrounds is surely as moving and exciting a development as any cooperative academic venture could be. Perhaps it was the abundance of this ancient literature which the author of Ecclesiastes had in mind when he spoke rather cynically in these words: "of making many books there is no end and most of them are a weariness of the flesh." Obviously the author of Ecclesiastes did not admire every bit of writing that was in his ken. I do not think that the modern student needs to admire every example of the Pseudepigrapha, any more than we today need to regard every novel as a masterpiece. But he can still be astonished, amazed, enlightened, and overwhelmed by the abundance and variety and recurrent high quality of the Jewish literary activity of that period.

Old as this literature is for most modern people, it is also in a sense something brand-new, for most American laypeople have never heard the word Pseudepigrapha, or, if they have heard it, are not sure what it means. Now through the work of Professor Charlesworth and his associates a door is being opened anew to treasures that are very old. How gratifying it is that scholars devote themselves to the recovery of that which was lost or strayed or hidden. How gratifying that cooperative study is reviving this literature. How much such study contributes to understanding the richness of the Jewish legacy, now the heritage of both Jews and Christians.

- Brown, R. E., Auburn Professor of Biblical Studies, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York
- Davies, W. D., Bradford Distinguished University Professor of Religion Studies, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas
- Harrelson, W., Distinguished Professor of Old Testament, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee
- Metzger, B. M., George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey
- Murphy, R. E., G. W. Ivey Professor of Old Testament, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
- Strugnell, J., Professor of Christian Origins, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

## CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME ONE

- Agourides, S., Professor of Biblical Studies, Athens University, Athens, Greece  
*Apocalypse of Sedrach*
- Alexander, P., Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester, England  
*3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch*
- Andersen, F. I., Professor of Studies in Religion, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia  
*2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch*
- Charlesworth, J. H., George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey  
Editor's Preface, Introduction for the General Reader, Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature and Related Works, *Treatise of Shem*, Introduction to Testaments
- Collins, J. J., Associate Professor of Religious Studies, De Paul University, Chicago, Illinois  
*Sibylline Oracles*
- Duling, D. C., Associate Professor, Department of Religious Studies, Canisius College, Buffalo, New York  
*Testament of Solomon*
- Fiensy, D. A., Assistant Professor of Religion, Kentucky Christian College, Grayson, Kentucky  
*Revelation of Ezra*
- Gaylord, H. E., Jr., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands  
*3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch*
- Isaac, E., Visiting Professor, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York  
*1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch*
- Kee, H. C., Professor of New Testament and Director of Biblical-Historical Graduate Studies, Boston University School of Theology, Boston, Massachusetts  
*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
- Klijn, A. F. J., Haren (Gr.), The Netherlands  
*2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch*
- MacRae, G., Stillman Professor of Roman Catholic Studies, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
*Apocalypse of Adam*
- Metzger, B. M., George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey  
*The Fourth Book of Ezra*
- Mueller, J. R., Visiting Instructor of Religion, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina  
*Apocryphon of Ezekiel, Vision of Ezra*

- Priest, J., Professor of Religion, Department of Religion, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida  
*Testament of Moses*
- Robbins, G. A., Assistant Professor of Religion, Wichita State University, Wichita, Kansas  
*Vision of Ezra*
- Robinson, S. E., Assistant Professor of Religion, Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania  
*Apocryphon of Ezekiel, Testament of Adam*
- Rubinkiewicz, R., Assistant Professor, Catholic University, Lublin, Poland  
*Apocalypse of Abraham*
- Sanders, E. P., Professor of Religious Studies, Department of Religion, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada  
Introduction to Testaments of the Three Patriarchs, *Testament of Abraham*
- Spittler, R. P., Associate Professor of New Testament, Assistant Dean for Academic Programs, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California  
*Testament of Job*
- Stinespring, W. F., Professor Emeritus of Old Testament and Semitics, Duke University Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina  
*Testament of Isaac, Testament of Jacob*
- Stone, M. E., Associate Professor of Armenian Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel  
Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra, Questions of Ezra*
- Wintermute, O. S., Professor of Religion, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina  
*Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Apocalypse of Elijah*
- Zervos, G. T., Research Assistant, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina  
*Apocalypse of Daniel*

# INTRODUCTION FOR THE GENERAL READER

BY J. H. CHARLESWORTH

Western culture has been largely shaped by a unique collection of ancient books: the Bible. Not only our culture's language, but also its theology, philosophy, art, and law have been affected profoundly by the ideas, symbols, morality, commitments, perceptions, and dreams preserved in the biblical books. In the attempt to understand these books, scholars, especially since the time of the European Enlightenment, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have coupled an intensive study of them with a search for other ancient writings related to them.

## **The Search for lost writings**

Mere perusal of the biblical books discloses that their authors depended upon sources that are no longer extant. We know so little about these sources that we cannot be certain of the extent to which they were actual documents. A list of these lost sources would be extensive; it would include at least the following: the Book of the Wars of Yahweh (Num 21:14), the Book of the Just (Josh 10:13, 2Sam 1:18), the Book of the Acts of Solomon (1Kgs 11:41), the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel (1Kgs 14:19, 2Chr 33:18; cf. 2Chr 20:34), the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Judah (1Kgs 14:29, 15:7), the Annals of Samuel the seer (1Chr 29:29), the History of Nathan the prophet (2Chr 9:29), the Annals of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer (2Chr 12:15), the Annals of Jehu son of Hanani (2Chr 20:34), an unknown and untitled writing of Isaiah (2Chr 26:22), the Annals of Hozai (2Chr 33:18), and an unknown lament for Josiah by Jeremiah (2Chr 35:25). In the Apocrypha (defined below) lost books also are mentioned; in particular, 1 Maccabees 16:24 refers to the Annals of John Hyrcanus. Within the Pseudepigrapha themselves there are references to "documents" now lost (cf. e.g. TJob 40:14, 41:6, 49:3, 50:3).

Christianity and rabbinic Judaism evolved within a milieu that was distinguished by considerable and significant literary activity. Some of the documents composed during the early centuries have been transmitted by copyists; many remain lost; and others have been recovered during the last two centuries. The search for lost writings is aided by ancient lists of "extracanonical" books. One of these lists is a catalogue, perhaps from the sixth century, falsely attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–373). The author includes among the disputed parts of the Old Testament (*ta antilegomena tēs palaias diathēkēs*), the four Books of the Maccabees (1–4 Mac), the Psalms and Ode (*sic*) of Solomon. He defines the Apocrypha of the Old Testament (*ta de apokrupha palin tēs palaias diathēkēs tauta*) as follows:

Enoch	Elijah the Prophet
Patriarchs	Zephaniah the Prophet
Prayer of Joseph	Zechariah the Father of John
Testament of Moses	Baruch
Assumption of Moses	Habakkuk
(And the) pseudepigrapha	Ezekiel
( <i>pseudepigrapha</i> ) of Abraham	Daniel
Eldad and Modad	

All of the documents judged to be disputed parts of the Old Testament or the Apocrypha (if we understand their titles correctly) are included, if only fragmentarily, in the present collection, except for 1 and 2 Maccabees (which belong in the Apocrypha), and except for the lost pseudepigrapha attributed to Habakkuk and Zechariah (which is to be placed among the New Testament Pseudepigrapha because it is related to Zechariah the father of John the Baptist).

Numerous writings not mentioned by Pseudo-Athanasius are included in this volume. Many of these are named in other canonical lists, notably the List of Sixty Books (c. sixth to seventh century?) and the list of Mechitar of Ayrivank' (c. 1290). Others do not appear in any early list. Some pseudepigrapha mentioned in medieval lists are not included; they are judged to be characteristically different from and too late for the present collection (see below). The search continues for documents not yet found but cited in the classical lists: an Apocryphon of Lamech (Sixty Books), the Interdiction of Solomon (Gelasian Decree), and the Book of the Daughters of Adam (Gelasian Decree; perhaps this document is another name for Jubilees). Likewise scholars are seeking to understand the origin of ancient quotations from or allusions to unnamed Jewish apocryphal documents. Many of these citations or traditions are preserved by the Church Fathers, especially Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Origen, and the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions, as well as by the Byzantine chroniclers (especially George Syncellus [c. 800] and George Cedrenus [c. 1057]).

The present edition of the Pseudepigrapha reflects the search for lost writings. We have included many apocryphal documents, fragmentary or complete, which may be related to those named in the canonical lists or cited by the Church Fathers; note, for example, the following: Apocalypse of Adam, Apocalypse of Abraham, Testament of Abraham, Prayer of Joseph, Eldad and Modad (still preserved in only one brief quotation), Apocalypse of Elijah, Apocryphon of Ezekiel, Apocalypse of Zephaniah, and Apocalypse of Ezra.

Many documents, recently discovered in the Near East or recognized in distinguished libraries, are translated here into English for the first time. Not including the documents placed in the Supplement, the writings now available for the first time in English are the Testament of Adam, the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob (from the Arabic), the Apocalypse of Daniel, the Revelation of Ezra, the Vision of Ezra, the History of Joseph, Syriac Menander, and the History of the Rechabites (from the Syriac). Additional writings translated for the first time in a full English translation are the Questions of Ezra, the Ladder of Jacob, Jannes and Jambres, and the Apocalypse of Sedrach.

In addition to these documents, four writings presented only in a truncated version in Charles's edition are presented here in their full extant form. From the

Martyrdom of Isaiah Charles himself included only chapters 1, 2, 3, and 5; the present edition presents all of that document along with the other traditions now preserved in the Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah. From 2 Enoch Forbes and Charles omitted the conclusion to the document; the present edition includes chapters 68 through 73, which contain the fascinating account of Melchisedek's miraculous birth. From the Sibylline Oracles Lanchester collected only the fragments and Books 3, 4, and 5; the present edition includes all of the Sibylline Oracles now extant. Finally, from 4 Ezra Box selected chapters 3–14; the present edition also includes the Christian additions (chapters 1 and 2, and 15 and 16).

## Canon

The preceding discussion brings forward the question of the origin of the closed canons of the Old and New testaments. Impressive research is presently focused upon these issues, and it is possible to summarize only briefly my own opinions regarding this complex issue. For a long time scholars postulated that two canons of the Old Testament developed, one in Palestine and another in Egypt, and that Alexandrian Jews added the Apocrypha (see below) to the Hebrew canon. It now seems clear that there never was a rival Alexandrian canon. Philo and other Jews in Alexandria did not cite the Apocrypha, and the Alexandrian Church Fathers witness to the fact that Alexandrian Jews did not have an expanded canon.

When R. H. Charles published his edition of the Pseudepigrapha there was widespread agreement that the Hebrew canon, the Old Testament, was fixed finally at Jamnia around A.D. 90. Today there is considerable debate regarding the importance of the rabbinic school at Jamnia in the history of the codification of the Hebrew canon. On the one hand, it is becoming obvious that the process of canonization began long before the first century A.D., and that perhaps the earliest part of the Bible, the Law, had been closed and defined as authoritative well before the second century B.C., and the Prophets surely by that time. On the other hand, it is clear that after A.D. 90 there were still debates regarding the canonicity of such writings as the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, but it is not clear what were the full ramifications of these debates. It seems to follow, therefore, both that the early pseudepigrapha were composed during a period in which the limits of the canon apparently remained fluid at least to some Jews, and that some Jews and Christians inherited and passed on these documents as inspired. They did not necessarily regard them as apocryphal, or outside a canon.

The writings collected into the New Testament were written during the end of this same period since they are dated from about A.D. 50 to 150. The New Testament canon was not closed in the Latin Church until much later; certainly not before the late fourth century and long after Constantine the Great established Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire. All the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, for example, are listed for the first time as the *only* canonical New Testament scriptures by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, in his Easter letter of A.D. 367. If the Latin Church finally accepted twenty-seven books as the canonical New Testament by the fifth century, the Greek Church apparently was not thoroughly convinced about the canonicity of one book, Revelation, until about the tenth century. The Syrian Church witnessed to an even more complicated debate over the canon of the New Testament; for many east Syrians today the



# EXPLANATION OF TYPOGRAPHICAL AND REFERENCE SYSTEMS

## **Chapter and verse numbers**

We have endeavored to present the documents below in a format similar to that of the Jerusalem Bible. Hence, chapters and verses are supplied. A new chapter is indicated by a large bold numeral. Verse numbers are placed in the margin in ordinary roman type; in the text itself, the beginning of each verse is marked by a • which precedes the first word of the verse except when the verse begins a new line or a new chapter. Because of their linguistic nature, some documents—such as the Sibylline Oracles, Letter of Aristeas, and Syriac Menander—are not divided into chapters and verses. These are presented so that the beginning of each line or section of text is noted in the margin with numbers in ordinary roman type as with verse numbers.

## **Italics in the text**

Italic type in the text denotes full or partial quotations of the Bible. The biblical passage from which the quotation is derived is noted in the margin.

## **Brackets and other sigla in the translation**

- [ ] Square brackets denote restorations.
- < > Pointed brackets signify corrections to a text.
- ( ) Parentheses circumscribe words added by the translator. Ancient languages are cryptic; verbs, nouns, and pronouns are often omitted. These are, of course, necessary for idiomatic English and are presented within parentheses.
- | | This siglum indicates a letter incorrectly omitted by an ancient scribe.
- { } Braces denote unnecessary words or letters in an ancient text.

## **Footnotes**

In each chapter, footnotes are lettered alphabetically. The footnotes are not intended to be a mini-commentary, but to supply significant information, such as important related thoughts contained in ancient writings not considered either canonical or extracanonical. Only significant variants in the manuscripts are cited. These notes assume that the reader has read the general introduction and the introduction to each document being footnoted.

**Punctuation of biblical references**

Chapter and verse are separated by a colon, e.g. Ex 20:7. A subsequent verse in the same chapter is separated from the preceding by a comma. Subsequent citations in other biblical or apocryphal writings are separated by semicolons: e.g. Ex 20:17, 20; Lev 9:15. Citations which are not preceded by an abbreviation refer to the respective passage in a document being footnoted.

**Marginal references**

Marginal references are kept to a minimum and except in rare occasions are limited to significant parallels in biblical and apocryphal writings. These marginal references should help the reader better understand the relevant passage by drawing attention to the source of a biblical quotation, and to other uses of special terms, phrases, or images. The references in the margin often occur in groups all relating to one text line; in such cases, the position of the first reference indicates the line to which the whole group applies. Marginal references not preceded by the abbreviation of a book indicate a passage elsewhere in the document before the reader.

Care has been taken to assure that each marginal reference begins on the line to which it refers. However, in some cases this is not possible because of the length of necessary marginal references. In these cases, the marginal reference is preceded by a verse reference (i.e. the letter *v* plus the number of the verse) so the reader can attach the marginal references to the correct verses.

**Secondary divisions within the document**

The manuscripts from which the translators have worked usually do not separate the text so that each new thought or development in the narrative is indicated. The translators have supplied the subdivisions to help the reader follow the flow of the document.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## I. MODERN PUBLICATIONS

AAR	American Academy of Religion
AcOr	<i>Acta orientalia</i>
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>Agrapha</i>	Resch, A., ed. <i>Agrapha: Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente</i> . TU 30.3–4; Leipzig, 1906.
ALBO	Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ALUOS	<i>Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society</i>
ANET	Pritchard, J. B., ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> . Princeton, 1969 <sup>3</sup> .
ANF	Roberts, A., and J. Donaldson, eds. <i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325</i> . 10 vols. Edinburgh, 1868–72; rev. and repr. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950–52.
ANRW	Haase, W., and H. Temporini, eds. <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> . Berlin, New York, 1979– .
ANT	James, M. R. <i>The Apocryphal New Testament</i> . Oxford, 1924; corrected ed., 1955.
APAT	Kautzsch, E., ed. <i>Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments</i> . 2 vols. Tübingen, 1900.
<i>Apoc. Lit.</i>	Torrey, C. C. <i>The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction</i> . New Haven, Conn., 1945; repr. Hamden, Conn., 1963.
<i>Apocrifi del NT</i>	Erbetta, M. <i>Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento</i> . 3 vols. Turin, 1966–69.
APOT	Charles, R. H., ed. <i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, 1913.
ArOr	<i>Archiv orientální</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
AusBR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
BA	<i>The Biblical Archeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDT	Harrison, E. F., et al., eds. <i>Baker's Dictionary of Theology</i> . Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960.
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BHH	Reicke, B., and L. Rost, eds. <i>Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch</i> . 3 vols. Göttingen, 1962–66.

<i>BHM</i>	Jellinek, A. <i>Bet ha-Midrasch</i> . 2 vols. Jerusalem, 1967 <sup>3</sup> .
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>Biblia Sacra</i>	Weber, R., et al., eds. <i>Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> . 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1969.
<i>Bibliographie</i>	Delling, G. <i>Bibliographie zur jüdisch-hellenistischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur 1900–1970</i> . TU 106 <sup>2</sup> ; Berlin, 1975 <sup>2</sup> .
<i>BibSt</i>	Biblische Studien
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>BiKi</i>	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
<i>BJRL, BJRULM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
<i>B-L<sup>2</sup></i>	Haag, H., ed. <i>Bibel-Lexikon</i> . Zurich, 1968 <sup>2</sup> .
<i>BLE</i>	<i>Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique</i>
<i>BO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>BZNW</i>	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
<i>CB</i>	<i>Cultura bíblica</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina.
<i>CETEDOC</i>	Centre de traitement électronique des documents
<i>CG</i>	Cairensis Gnosticus
<i>Crucible</i>	Toynbee, A., ed. <i>The Crucible of Christianity: Judaism, Hellenism and the Historical Background to the Christian Faith</i> . New York, 1969.
<i>CSCO</i>	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>DB</i>	Vigouroux, F., ed. <i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> . 5 vols. Paris, 1895–1912.
<i>DBSup</i>	Pirot, L., et al., eds. <i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppléments</i> . Paris, 1928– .
<i>DJD</i>	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>Dogmengeschichte<sup>4</sup></i>	Harnack, A. <i>Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte</i> . 3 vols. Tübingen, 1909–10 <sup>4</sup> .
<i>DTT</i>	<i>Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
<i>Enciclopedia de la Biblia</i>	Gutiérrez-Larraya, J. A., ed. <i>Enciclopedia de la Biblia</i> . 6 vols. Barcelona, 1963.
<i>Encyclopedia of Christianity</i>	Palmer, E. H., et al., eds. <i>The Encyclopedia of Christianity</i> . Wilmington, Del., 1964– .
<i>EncyJud</i>	Roth, C., et al., eds. <i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . 16 vols. New York, 1971–72.
<i>EOS</i>	<i>Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>Exégèse biblique et judaïsme</i>	Ménard, J.-E., ed. <i>Exégèse biblique et judaïsme</i> . Strasbourg, 1973.
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>

# THE OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

# DOCUMENTS

## APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE AND RELATED WORKS

# INTRODUCTION

J. H. CHARLESWORTH

Apocalyptic—from the Greek word *apokalupsis* meaning “revelation” or “disclosure”—is an adjective that has been used to describe both a certain type of literature and a special feature of religions in late antiquity. Unfortunately there is presently no consensus regarding the precise definition of this adjective; confusion sometimes arises because it is employed frequently in contradictory ways. Some scholars have argued that “apocalyptic” denotes a specific type of revelatory literature that has a narrative structure and unique characteristics, such as pseudonymity, bizarre images, and visions of the end of time or of the numerous heavens; according to them apocalyptic literature tends to represent a well-defined literary *genre*. Other scholars—more impressed by the different features of the documents that are “apocalypses”—have claimed that “apocalyptic” does not denote a specific genre but a religious bearing that is preoccupied by the approach of the end of all normal time and history.

Some specialists have written about apocalyptic religion as if it were a *movement*. The dissimilarities and contradictions among the apocalyptic writings—especially the different attitudes toward revolution and the contrasting descriptions of the various heavens and Paradise—should caution us against perceiving late biblical religion as if it were a coherent uniform movement.

The Old Testament contains only one apocalypse: the Book of Daniel. The New Testament adds only one more: the Book of Revelation. These writings were selected from numerous apocalypses that were popular during the time when the canons of the Old Testament and New Testament were still open. Both of the canons, moreover, contain important apocalyptic sections (viz. Ezek 40–48; Isa 24–27, 34f., 56–66; Zech 9–14; Mk 13 and par., 1Thes 4; 1Cor 15). The present edition of the Pseudepigrapha includes nineteen documents that are apocalypses or related documents. In the past, the definition of “apocalyptic” was derived from a study of only some of the extant apocalypses, especially “the Apocalypse,” the Book of Revelation. It will be easier now to perceive more adequately the richness of apocalyptic literature and the extent of early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic ideas and apocalyptic religion. The possible importance of apocalyptic Judaism to earliest Christianity is demonstrated by the claim by some New Testament specialists and Christian theologians that apocalyptic Judaism was the mother of all Christian theology.

In assessing the nature and importance of the apocalypses translated below, the reader should examine also other pseudepigrapha that contain apocalyptic sections, especially the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Testament of Abraham, the

Testament of Moses, Jubilees, the Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah, and 4 Baruch. It is important also to consult the Dead Sea Scrolls, many of which are apocalyptic writings, and the apocalypses and apocalyptically inspired writings in the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

A final caveat seems necessary. The presence of the term "apocalypse" in the title of a document does not qualify it immediately as an apocalypse; likewise the absence of such a term does not exclude it from being an apocalypse. Sometimes these titles were added by individuals far removed chronologically and geographically from the authors, and some pseudepigrapha bear discrepant titles; for example, the History of the Rechabites in some writings is titled the Testament of Zosimus, in others the Apocalypse of Zosimus; the Life of Adam and Eve is essentially the same as the Apocalypse of Moses (an inapt title for the story of Adam and Eve). The various pseudepigrapha must not be forced into categories developed by modern analysis; the following collection is arranged primarily for convenience and to denote general literary similarities and differences.

## CONTENTS

- 1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch
- 2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch
  - Appendix: 2 Enoch in *Merilo Pravednoe*
- 3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch
- Sibylline Oracles
- Treatise of Shem
- Apocryphon of Ezekiel
- Apocalypse of Zephaniah
- The Fourth Book of Ezra
- Greek Apocalypse of Ezra
- Vision of Ezra
- Questions of Ezra
- Revelation of Ezra
- Apocalypse of Sedrach
- 2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch
- 3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch
- Apocalypse of Abraham
- Apocalypse of Adam
- Apocalypse of Elijah
- Apocalypse of Daniel



# 1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) ENOCH

(Second Century B.C. – First Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY E. ISAAC

The Ethiopic Book of Enoch (Hēnok), also known as 1 Enoch, is the oldest of the three pseudepigrapha attributed to Enoch, the seventh descendant of Adam and Eve, the first man and woman. According to Genesis 5:24, “Enoch walked with God. Then he vanished because God took him.” This tradition of Enoch’s spiritual relocation gave rise to many haggadic stories, including one that Enoch, son of Jared, when he was taken away by God, saw the secrets of the mysteries of the universe, the future of the world, and the predetermined course of human history.<sup>1</sup>

The first part of the book contains an introduction (chs. 1–5), which portrays the eschatological era and the final judgment of the righteous and the wicked, and a narrative (chs. 6–36) which concerns the fallen angels, their intercourse with women (Gen 6:1–4), their corruption of all men, Enoch’s unsuccessful intercession on their behalf, a prediction of their doom, and various visions of Enoch during a tour of the earth, Sheol, and heaven. The second part—the Similitudes, or the so-called “parables” (chs. 37–71)—deals respectively with the coming judgment of the righteous and the wicked; the Messiah, the Son of Man, the Righteous One, and the Elect One; the exposition of additional heavenly secrets; the measuring of Paradise; the resurrection of the righteous; and the punishment of the fallen angels. The third part, an astrological treatise (chs. 72–82), concerns the reckoning of time by the sun, the nature of the solar year of 364 days, and the cosmic disorders of the last days. The fourth part, the Dream Visions (chs. 83–90), consists of two visions concerning the future history (from Enoch’s antediluvian perspective) of the world and Israel: the coming punishment of sinful society by the Deluge, and the history of Israel from Adam to the Maccabees presented with bold symbolic imagery. Oxen symbolize the patriarchs; sheep, the faithful Israelites; beasts and birds of prey, the heathen oppressors of Israel; a great horned sheep, a rising Jewish leader; a white bull with great horns, the Messiah. There is also additional material on the fallen angels, the throne of judgment, and the new Jerusalem, together with Enoch’s experience of his earlier visions. The fifth part (chs. 91–104), Enoch’s testament, recapitulates the theme of the spiritual blessedness of the righteous and the sorrowful end of the sinners. Woes are pronounced upon the sinners, who are repeatedly identified with the exploitative wealthy and oppressive powers. This section, known particularly for its inclusion of the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:12–17 and 93:1–10), summarizes the events that would unfold upon the earth during ten (actually seven and three respectively) consecutive world weeks. An appendix (chs. 105–8) contains fragments of independent works, especially from the Book of Noah (chs. 106f.), and an editor’s conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> For other synopses of the narrative, see M. Rist, “Enoch, Book of,” *IDB*, vol. 2, pp. 104f.; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 22f.; R. H. Charles, *Religious Development Between the Old and the New Testaments* (New York, 1914) pp. 223–26. [I am most thankful to Professor O. Neugebauer of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, who kindly read my translation of 1En 72–82 (the astronomical section) and made some very valuable suggestions which have helped me to improve my presentation of this difficult part of the book, which contains so many textual corruptions. I also thank Mr. E. G. Martin, who has labored so long and carefully over my translation, and Professor J. H. Charlesworth for his improvements to the Introduction.]

## Texts

1 Enoch is found complete only in the Ethiopic (Ge'ez) Version, for which more than forty manuscripts are known to exist as of this writing. However, fragments of the work are also found in Aramaic, Greek, and Latin.

1. *Aramaic*: Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch were found at Qumran and have been recently published, together with a major study of the text and history of 1 Enoch.<sup>2</sup>

2. *Ethiopic*: As has been indicated above, the complete version of 1 Enoch is preserved only in Ethiopic. Below are a list of five major and important manuscripts, one of which (A) has been utilized as the base text of the present English translation, and another of which (C) has been used very extensively in the same work:

A. Kebrān 9/II (Hammerschmidt—*Tānāsee* 9/II); fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

B. Princeton Ethiopic 3 (Garrett collection—Isaac 3); eighteenth or nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

C. EMMML 2080; fifteenth (possibly 14th) century.<sup>5</sup>

D. Abbadianus 55; possibly fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

E. British Museum Orient 485 (Wright 6); first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

3. *Greek*: The Greek fragments are found principally in the following:

a. Codex Panopolitanus (two 8th-cent. or later MSS, found in 1886–87 in a Christian grave in Akhmim, Egypt), containing 1 Enoch 1:1–32:6 (designated G<sup>a</sup> in this work).

b. Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus (c. 800), containing 1 Enoch 6:1–10:14; 15:8–16:1 (designated G<sup>b</sup> in this work).

c. Chester Beatty papyrus of 1 Enoch containing 97:6–104; 106f. (published by C. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*) (designated G<sup>c</sup> in this work).

d. Vatican Greek MS 1809, containing 1 Enoch 89:42–49.

4. *Latin*: a Latin fragment, containing 1 Enoch 106:1–18, found in an eighth-century manuscript.<sup>8</sup>

## Original language

Some scholars believe that the original language of 1 Enoch is Hebrew; others, however, think it is Aramaic; still others contend that the book, like Daniel, was composed partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic.<sup>9</sup> Recently there have been attempts either to counter<sup>10</sup> or to substantiate entirely<sup>11</sup> the Aramaic origin of the Ethiopic text. Neither theory provides wholly convincing arguments which may be accepted without reservations.

Our text of A shows an additional closeness between the Ethiopic and Greek versions, but not sufficient to rule out the possibility that a major portion of the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch was of Aramaic origin. Moreover, Halévy's argument that portions of the Ethiopic text derive ultimately from a Hebrew original has not been disproved. Consequently, the thesis that part of 1 Enoch, like the canonical Daniel, was composed partially in Aramaic and partially in Hebrew has to be considered probable.

## Date

1 Enoch is clearly composite, representing numerous periods and writers. Before the

<sup>2</sup> J. T. Milik and M. Black, *The Books of Enoch*.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief description of this MS see E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee* (Wiesbaden, 1973) pp. 107f.

<sup>4</sup> For a brief description of the MS see E. Isaac, *A Catalogue of Ethiopic (Ge'ez) Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library (Garrett Collection)* (Princeton Univ. Library, 1974) p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> A microfilm copy of this MS is preserved at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. There are two additional important MSS of the 17th cent. (EMML 4437 and EMML 4750) in the same collection, which the present author has investigated.

<sup>6</sup> See A. Antoine D'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) pp. 75f.

<sup>7</sup> See W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1877) pp. 7f.

<sup>8</sup> Discovered by M. R. James in 1893 in the British Museum and published in *Apocrypha Anecdota* (T&S 2.3; Cambridge, 1893; repr. 1967) pp. 146–50.

<sup>9</sup> See J. Halévy, "Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Hénoch," *JA* 6.9 (1867) 352–95; R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, p. xxvii; N. Schmidt, "The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch," in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* (Chicago, 1908) vol. 2, pp. 329–49.

<sup>10</sup> M. Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch from Qumran" in W. C. van Unnik, ed., *La littérature juive entre Tenach et Mischna* (Leiden, 1974) pp. 15–28.

<sup>11</sup> E. Ullendorff, "An Aramaic 'Vorlage' of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch," *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici* (Rome, 1960) pp. 259–67.

discovery of fragments of 1 Enoch among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the following outline of sections and their dates was essentially the consensus of critical scholars:<sup>12</sup>

1. Apocalypse of Weeks	91:12–17; 93:1–10	early pre-Maccabean
2. Fragments of Enochic Visions	12–16	early pre-Maccabean
3. Fragments of the Book of Noah	6–11; 106f. cf. 54:7–55:2; 60; 65–69:25	late pre-Maccabean
4. Independent Fragment	105	? pre-Maccabean
5. Dream Visions	83–90	c. 165–161 B.C.
6. Book of Heavenly Luminaries	72–82	c. 110 B.C.
7. Similitudes	37–71	c. 105–64 B.C.
8. Later Additions to Dream Visions	91:1–11, 18, 19; 92; 94–104	c. 105–104 B.C.
9. Introductory Chapters	1–5	late pre-Christian

The discovery of these fragments of 1 Enoch has awakened new interest in the structure and dating of 1 Enoch. Following to some extent the former views that this work is a collection of independent writings, Milik has argued for the categorization of the Ethiopic version into five primary books with the last chapter being taken as a much later addition.<sup>13</sup> These are:

1. The Book of the Watchers (1–36)
2. The Book of the Similitudes (37–71)
3. The Book of Astronomical Writings (72–82)
4. The Book of Dream Visions (83–90)
5. The Book of the Epistle of Enoch (91–107)

Milik argues for a pre-Christian Qumran Enochic Pentateuch which contained a much longer version of the astrological writings, and, most importantly, instead of the Similitudes, another work entitled the Book of Giants.<sup>14</sup> He bases his argument on the fact that fragments of only four of the five constituent parts of the Ethiopic Enoch have been discovered at Qumran. No fragment from the Similitudes has been recovered.

Milik argues that by the year A.D. 400 the Book of Giants as in the Qumran Aramaic Enoch had been replaced by the late Christian work, the Similitudes, in a new Greek Enochic Pentateuch. This hypothesis is not supported by any solid evidence and has been subjected to serious criticism, in particular by the members of the *SNTS* Pseudepigrapha Seminar which met in 1977 in Tübingen and in 1978 in Paris.<sup>15</sup> The consensus of the members was that the Similitudes were Jewish and dated from the first century A.D. At these meetings, it was also agreed that Milik should have worked more directly with the Ethiopic evidence. Unfortunately, he took Charles's dated text and translation at face value and incorrectly assumed that all Ethiopic manuscripts of 1 Enoch are very recent, except possibly a fifteenth-century text (Charles's u—Abbadianus 55). We now have at least three definitely fifteenth-century Ethiopic manuscripts, and it seems probable that even earlier ones may be discovered. Indeed, one of the readings in the fifteenth-century manuscript used herein as a base text casts serious doubts on one of Milik's arguments for the late date of the Similitudes. Milik has argued that the reference to angels flying "with wings" (1En 61:1) points to a post-Christian period for the composition of the Similitudes. Our manuscript does not support him; it has no reference to angels flying "with wings" (see translation and n. below). Milik is correct that his text of 61:1 is late; he failed to see, however, that the late part is a late variant. In conclusion, I am convinced that 1 Enoch already contained the Similitudes by the end of the first century A.D.

### Provenance

We are not certain about the city or place in which 1 Enoch was, or its constituent parts

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. H. Charles, "The Book of Enoch," in *APOT*, vol. 2, pp. 170f.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. J. T. Milik, *HTR* 64 (1971) 333–78. Also see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 4–135.

<sup>14</sup> This work, believed to have been in circulation among the Manicheans, has been recovered from various fragments by W. B. Henning. See "The Book of Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943) 52–74.

<sup>15</sup> See J. H. Charlesworth, *NTS* 25 (1979) 315–23; M. A. Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review," *NTS* 25 (1979) 345–59; C. L. Meams, "Dating the Similitudes of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979) 360–69.

were, composed. However, it is clear that the work originated in Judea and was in use at Qumran before the beginning of the Christian period.

The evidence concerning the origin of the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch is also lacking. We can be relatively certain that the version was produced in Ethiopia during the earliest period of Ethiopic literature (c. A.D. 350–650). However, this was a time of extensive translating and copying by Christian scribes in Ethiopia, and exact dates and cities are unknown.

### Historical importance

Information regarding the usage and importance of the work in the Jewish and Christian communities, other than the Ethiopian Church, is sparse. It is difficult, therefore, to understand its exact origin. It seems clear, nonetheless, that 1 Enoch was well known to many Jews, particularly the Essenes, and early Christians, notably the author of Jude. The earliest portions of the work originated probably in a proto-Essene milieu; the latter sections perhaps in a setting quite different from Qumran Essenism.

1 Enoch reflects the historical events immediately preceding and following the Maccabean Revolt. More important, however, is the light it throws upon early Essene theology and upon earliest Christianity. It was used by the authors of Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra. Some New Testament authors seem to have been acquainted with the work, and were influenced by it, including Jude, who quotes it explicitly (1:14f.). At any rate, it is clear that Enochic concepts are found in various New Testament books, including the Gospels and Revelation.

1 Enoch played a significant role in the early Church; it was used by the authors of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apocalypse of Peter, and a number of apologetic works. Many Church Fathers, including Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, either knew 1 Enoch or were inspired by it. Among those who were familiar with 1 Enoch, Tertullian had an exceptionally high regard for it. But, beginning in the fourth century, the book came to be regarded with disfavor and received negative reviews from Augustine, Hilary, and Jerome. Thereafter, with the exception of a few extracts made by Georgius Syncellus, a learned monk of the eighth century, and the Greek fragments found in a Christian grave in Egypt (c. A.D. 800), 1 Enoch ceased to be appreciated except in Ethiopia. The relegation of 1 Enoch to virtual oblivion by medieval minds should not diminish its significance for Christian origins; few other apocryphal books so indelibly marked the religious history and thought of the time of Jesus.

The interest in 1 Enoch in Ethiopia began with its initial translation and has continued thereafter. During the earliest period of Ethiopic literature many biblical, apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and distinctly Christian works were translated into Ethiopic (Ge'ez) and copied extensively by scribes. Most of these early copies probably perished during the various periods of political upheavals that took place in Ethiopia (c. A.D. 950, c. A.D. 1270, or c. A.D. 1527–43). Thus, most scholars take for granted that no manuscripts of this early period actually exist; nevertheless, it is premature to dismiss the possibility at this time. Although research in Ethiopian studies in general is quite advanced, research into manuscripts and manuscript collections found in Ethiopian monasteries and churches is still at an elementary stage. As of now, our three oldest manuscripts of 1 Enoch date from the fifteenth century.

In the early seventeenth century, some European scholars thought that a version of 1 Enoch which was identical with the one quoted by Jude and early Church Fathers existed in Ethiopia. A learned Capuchin monk was believed to have brought to Europe a copy of the work, which passed into the possession of Nicolas Claude Fabri, the Seigneur of Peiresc (1580–1637). This manuscript, which aroused great excitement in Europe, drew the attention of the first great European Ethiopic scholar, Ludolfus Hiob, who traced it to the Bibliotheca Regia in Paris in 1683. He was disappointed to learn that the manuscript was not of 1 Enoch but that of an unknown Ethiopic work called the Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth. It took another century before copies of 1 Enoch finally arrived in Europe. They were brought in 1773 by J. Bruce, the adventurous Scottish traveler to Africa. Nothing occurred until 1800, when Silvestre de Sacy, in his "Notice sur le livre d'Hénoch" (in *Magazine encyclopédique* 6/1, p. 382), first published excerpts from the book together with Latin translations of chapters 1, 2, 5–16, and 22–32. In 1821 Lawrence issued the first English version of the work. In 1853 Dillmann published a translation which aroused much interest in the work.

### Theological importance

1 Enoch helps clarify the rich complexities of both intertestamental Jewish thought and early Christian theology. In this brief introduction it is only possible to sketch a few of 1 Enoch's many ideas, motifs, symbolisms, and important theological concepts.

The God of 1 Enoch is the righteous and just God of the Old Testament; he is the Creator of the world, the holy lawgiver, the dispenser of history, and the ultimate judge of all.

Genesis 6:1–4 alludes to the sons of God who had intercourse with the daughters of the people. 1 Enoch transforms this idea into a theology of fallen angels, who consorted with women and produced giants who sinned against the people. They corrupted the people through the instructions in forbidden sciences like making arms, cosmetics, precious metals. Enoch's intercession on behalf of the fallen angels fails; he is instructed, on the contrary, to predict their final doom (12–16). Allusions to the legend of the fallen angels occur elsewhere in Jewish writings (viz. Jub; Sir 16:7; CD 2.14–3.13; 4Q 180f.; and rabbinic Midrashim).<sup>16</sup>

One of the extensively discussed concepts in 1 Enoch, particularly by students of New Testament theology, is that of the heavenly Messiah (45–57). The Messiah in 1 Enoch, called the Righteous One, and the Son of Man, is depicted as a pre-existent heavenly being who is resplendent and majestic, possesses all dominion, and sits on his throne of glory passing judgment upon all mortal and spiritual beings.

This description of the Messiah is placed in the Similitudes in the context of reflections upon the last judgment, the coming destruction of the wicked, and the triumph of the righteous ones. This eschatological concept is the most prominent and recurring theme throughout the whole book. The very introduction (1–5) opens with an announcement of the final, coming punishment, the destruction of the wicked ones and the resurrection of the righteous ones to an endless and sinless eternal life. Likewise, in the Dream Visions (83–90) the same theme is recalled. In this case, the righteous dead, including converted gentiles, will be resurrected, the Messiah will appear, his kingdom will be founded, and the new Jerusalem established; on the other hand, the sinners, the fallen angels, including the apostate Jews, will be judged. The last major section of 1 Enoch (91–105) is an admonition to righteousness, for he predicts that the wicked shall be condemned to eternal punishment in Sheol, whereas the righteous shall have a blessed resurrection to enjoy the bliss of heaven.

One of the central emphases of 1 Enoch is that sinners are economic exploiters, the political oppressors, and the socially unjust people of this world. Thus, while 1 Enoch will deepen our insights into and broaden our perspectives of intertestamental Jewish and early Christian theology, it also will help us to appreciate the revolutionary mood of Jews and their staunch opposition not only to Greek and Roman imperialism, but also to Jewish aristocracy itself.

There is also a social concern behind 1 Enoch's computation of time and understanding of the calendar. Time should be reckoned only by the sun, not by the moon as in the Pharisaic lunar calendar. The author's solar year consists of 364 days, and not 365¼, a fact of which he is also aware. The calendrical discussion is tied to a spiritual concern; in the last days the sun, moon, stars, and earth will be disrupted in cosmic chaos.

### Relation to biblical and apocryphal books

It should be evident from what has been said above that 1 Enoch is as dependent upon the Old Testament as it is influential upon the New Testament and later extracanonical literature. During the exilic and post-exilic periods, apocalyptic became a major trend in Jewish thought. It was inherited by Christianity and remains an element in it to the present. Apocalyptic is both prophetic and revelatory; in apocalyptic literature we find, on the one hand, moral indignation about the present world, and, on the other, the foreboding predictions of eschatological events and the ultimate destiny of the world.

Old Testament ideas and stories such as the account of the fallen angels, the Flood, the history of Israel, the distinction between the righteous and the wicked, and the Messiah are interpreted, elaborated, and presented through the paradigm of apocalyptic dualism, wherein

<sup>16</sup> Cf. D. Dimant, "The Fallen Angels' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them" (Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew Univ., 1974).

sharp distinctions are drawn between the opposing cosmic powers of good and evil and between the present and coming ages. These concepts in 1 Enoch also permeate Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, the Testament and Apocalypse of Abraham, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra. Likewise, even though Charles may have exaggerated when he claimed that “nearly all” the writers of the New Testament were familiar with 1 Enoch, there is no doubt that the New Testament world was influenced by its language and thought. It influenced Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Hebrews, 1 John, Jude (which quotes it directly), and Revelation (with numerous points of contact). There is little doubt that 1 Enoch was influential in molding New Testament doctrines concerning the nature of the Messiah, the Son of Man, the messianic kingdom, demonology, the future, resurrection, final judgment, the whole eschatological theater, and symbolism. No wonder, therefore, that the book was highly regarded by many of the earliest apostolic and Church Fathers.

### Cultural importance

1 Enoch, as we have seen, made an impact on early Christian thought and left its indelible mark upon the New Testament. It also contributes *indirectly* to our understanding of Western culture; however, inasmuch as it was altogether a lost book to the Western world until the last century, 1 Enoch played no role in, and made no contributions to, the development of the intellectual history of modern Western culture. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to understand any aspect of the religious tradition and thought of Ethiopia, the country in which it survived, without an understanding of it. No wonder that the indigenous Ethiopic Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth created such a sensation in seventeenth-century Europe as being the very “Book of Enoch” itself. The style, the language, the symbolisms, and the concepts of the Book of Mysteries, though different in many ways from those of 1 Enoch, clearly manifest a conscious effort to emulate 1 Enoch. For instance, the fourth part of the Book of Mysteries, called “A Discourse Concerning the Birth of Enoch,” recapitulates the Apocalypse of Weeks, brings the last three weeks through to the Christian era, and ends with the Antichrist in the tenth.<sup>17</sup>

The Book of Mysteries is only one example of the influence of 1 Enoch on Ethiopic literature. The *Kebra Nagast*, the famous Ethiopian royal saga, is another example of a work that utilizes 1 Enoch generously. Other Ethiopic religious works contain references from, and show influences of, 1 Enoch. Ethiopic poetic literature, the *gadles* (the Ethiopic hagiographies), and some of the magical works manifest the influence of 1 Enoch in their language, imageries, angelology, and demonology.

Still more significant is the influence of Enochic ideas on Ethiopian Christian theology. What distinguishes Ethiopian Christian theology from that of either Western or Eastern Christendom may well be the Ethiopian emphases on Enochic thought. Sin does not originate from Adam’s transgression alone; Satan, the demons, and evil spirits (the fallen angels) are equally responsible for its origin; they continue to lead man astray, causing moral ruin on the earth. On the other hand, there are the protective angels, with their various orders and ranks, who play an important part in both the religious and social life of the Ethiopian people; these angels—particularly Michael, Gabriel, Rafael, Uriel, as well as the cherubim (Krubel) and the seraphim (Surâfêl)—serve as personal guardians of those specially dedicated to them and who celebrate with meticulous observance the dates of their special festivals.

### Introducing the following translation

My primary base text (A) for this translation of Ethiopic Enoch is a fifteenth-century Ethiopic manuscript found in a monastery in Kebran, in Lake Tana. I obtained a copy of this manuscript from a microfilm (A) now found in West Germany.<sup>18</sup> Though I have chosen to use as my base text a single manuscript, instead of an existing eclectic text or one created temporarily as the real basis of my translation, I have continually compared A with another

<sup>17</sup> Cf. J. Perruchon and I. Guidi, “Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre” in *Patrologia Orientalis* 1/1 (1907) 1–95; and S. Grébaud, “Les Trois Derniers Traités du Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre,” *Patrologia Orientalis* 6/3 (1911) 361–464.

<sup>18</sup> E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, p. 107.

Ethiopic manuscript of the late eighteenth century (B) found in the Garrett collection of Princeton University as well as with the text of R. H. Charles (C),<sup>19</sup> and, in a few cases, followed them instead of A where the latter is clearly wrong or unintelligible. I have been as faithful as possible to A, following it even when B and C and all other known witnesses, attested by the variations of other manuscripts given in the apparatus of Charles (EC), disagree with it, except in clear cases where A obviously transmits grammatical, syntactical, or scribal errors. Only the most significant or relevant variations of other witnesses are shown in my notations. If B or C are clearly erroneous (scribal, typographic, grammatical), I do not always give them as variations. Wherever possible or necessary I have also been able to compare A with the texts of the existing Greek fragments as given in the Charles edition of 1 Enoch: G<sup>a</sup> (the fragments from Akhmim—G<sup>a1</sup> and G<sup>a2</sup> the duplicate passages of the same if they exist), G<sup>s</sup> (the fragments preserved by Syncellus), and G<sup>p</sup> (the Greek papyrus as edited by Bonner). The Qumran Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch have been consulted but have not influenced the following translation.<sup>20</sup>

It appears to me that in general A is superior to B and C, often giving shorter and more difficult readings (see, for instance, 71:8f.). I have been able to examine briefly microfilms of three important Enoch manuscripts—EMML 2080 (15th cent.), 4437 (17th cent.), and 4750 (17th cent.)—copies of which are presently found in the Hill Monastic Microfilm Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, to ascertain the importance of A. Of the manuscripts that Charles studied, A appears to be closest to his g (early 16th cent.)<sup>21</sup> and his u (possibly 15th cent.).<sup>22</sup> But in many interesting or important cases, A may agree with other manuscripts used by Charles. For instance, A agrees with not only u but also Charles's m and t in omitting "Son" from the "Son of Man" (69:26). In at least one crucial place, A agrees with q against other witnesses. Scholars have thought that the reference to Enoch's travel in a "chariot of wind" as found in a *Mani Codex* (which relied on an Apocalypse of Enoch) is missing from the Ethiopic Enoch; if we follow A and q (cf. 52:1) this may not be wholly the case. In general A agrees with the Ethiopic textual tradition against the Greek; nevertheless, there are a few cases where it agrees with the Greek against other Ethiopic traditions (e.g. 18:9; 24:5). The importance of A is unfortunately reduced by the carelessness of the scribe (e.g. 45:1; 48:10). It is also possible that the scribe of A used two manuscripts as he worked or copied one manuscript freely; that may be the reason why fols. 103r–106v (1En 78:8b–82:20) are a duplicate of fols. 96r–99r (or vice versa), showing each time several variations—perhaps two scribes with very similar hands copied parts of A, using separate texts.

It should be noted here that my translation, though very faithful to the text, is in general not always literal. Therefore, I may render a single Ethiopic word into different English expressions depending on the context or idiom. For instance, *mangest* may be rendered "kingdom" or "empire," *hāyl*, "power," "force," "forces," "army," or "array," *samay*, "heaven" or "sky," and so on. In this respect, I have also translated the expression *re'esa mawā'el* as the "Antecedent of Time" or the "Before-Time," instead of the literal "Head of Days"; on the other hand, it has not been easy to find a more adequate expression for the more or less literal "Son of Man." I generally bear in mind not only the context of the language but also the context of the milieu of the languages of 1 Enoch; thus, I translate *kramt* "rainy season" rather than "winter," *hagay* "dry season" rather than "summer." It should also be noted that despite the freedom in Ethiopic regarding the use of the singular and the plural, both in the case of nouns and verbs, I have tried to render all Ethiopic expressions into acceptable English; moreover, except in certain cases (e.g. the sun is generally feminine, the moon, masculine), it has not always been possible to indicate the gender of Ethiopic words in the translation. A major dilemma always arises in rendering the simple but ubiquitous Ethiopic conjunction *wa-* into English; the reader should know that I have been very generous in using whatever connective English conjunction I felt to be appropriate in many cases (e.g. "and," "or," "but," "moreover," "furthermore," "then,"

<sup>19</sup> Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*.

<sup>20</sup> These are now edited by Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 139–407.

<sup>21</sup> W. Wright, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1896) no. 6.

<sup>22</sup> See D'Abbadie, *Catalogue*, no. 55.

“as well as,” “also,” and so on) and have dropped it altogether in several other cases where in English “and” would be superfluous.

In conclusion, even though I have not tried to annotate all my restorations of grammatical, scribal, and textual errors and variant readings, I have provided ample notes in order that the reader may appreciate the problems of translating this difficult work and understand better this translation. I am the last person to claim that this translation is flawless; by its nature, every translation involves a subjective dimension which may lead to errors.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> I am thankful to Professor James Charlesworth of Duke University, who invited me to do this work, and to Professor Michael Stone, who urged me to accept the invitation. Professor Ernst Hammerschmidt of the University of Hamburg kindly and promptly sent a copy of the 15th-cent. Enoch manuscript (A) to the Widener Library; I am grateful to him as well as to the Interlibrary Loan staff at Widener for their kind assistance.

### SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Charlesworth, *PMR*, pp. 98–103.  
 Delling, *Bibliographie*, pp. 157–59.  
 Denis, *Introduction*, pp. 15–28.
- Black, M. (ed.). *Apocalypsis Henochi Graeci in Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti*. PVTG 3; Leiden, 1970.  
 Bonner, C. *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek in Studies and Documents*. London, 1937.  
 Charles, R. H. *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch in Anecdota Oxoniensia*. Oxford, 1906.  
 ———. *The Book of Enoch*. Oxford, 1893.  
 ———. “The Book of Enoch,” *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1913; vol. 2, pp. 163–281.  
 Charlesworth, J. H. “The *SNTS* Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch,” *NTS* 25 (1979) 315–23.  
 Flemming, J., and L. Radermacher. *Das Buch Henoch*. Leipzig, 1901.  
 Greenfield, J. C., and M. Stone. “The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes,” *HTR* 70 (1977) 51–65.  
 Hindley, J. C. “Toward a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch, an Historical Approach,” *NTS* 14 (1968) 551–65.  
 Knibb, M. A. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*. Oxford, 1978; 2 vols. [Knibb’s book appeared long after Isaac had completed his contribution on 1 Enoch. J.H.C.]  
 Lewis, J. P. *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish Christian Literature*. Leiden, 1968.  
 Martin, F. *Le Livre d’Hénoch*. Paris, 1906.  
 Milik, J. T. “Problèmes de la littérature Hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân,” *HTR* 64 (1971) 333–78.  
 ———. “Turfan et Qumran, Livre des Géants juif et manichéen”; in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt*, eds. G. Jeremias et al. (K. G. Kuhn Festschrift). Göttingen, 1971; pp. 117–27.  
 ———. “Fragments grecs du livre d’Hénoch,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 40 (1971) 321–43.  
 ———, and M. Black. *The Books of Enoch*. Oxford, 1976.  
 Nickelsburg, G. W. E., Jr. “Enoch 97–104, a Study of the Greek and Ethiopic Texts,” *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. M. E. Stone. Supplementary vol. 1 to *Sion*. Jerusalem, 1976; pp. 90–156.  
 Sjöberg, E. *Der Menschensohn in äthiopischen Henochbuch*. Lund, 1946.  
 Ullendorff, E. “An Aramaic ‘Vorlage’ of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch,” *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici*. Rome, 1960; pp. 259–67.



# THE BOOK OF ENOCH

## Book I (1–36)

### The Parable of Enoch

#### INTRODUCTORY VISIONS AND PARABLES OF ENOCH

##### The righteous and the wicked

- 1 **1** The blessing<sup>a</sup> of Enoch: with which he blessed the elect and the righteous who would be present on the day of tribulation at (the time of) the removal of all the Pss Sol 4:9  
2 ungodly ones.<sup>b</sup> •And Enoch, the blessed and righteous<sup>c</sup> man of the Lord,<sup>d</sup> took up Num 24:3f.  
(his parable)<sup>e</sup> while his eyes<sup>f</sup> were open and he saw, and said, “(This is) a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me: and I heard from them everything and I understood. I look not for this generation but for the distant one that is coming.<sup>g</sup> I speak about the elect ones and concerning them.” •And I took up Num 24:3f.  
3 with a parable<sup>h</sup> (saying), “The God of the universe, the Holy Great One, will come forth from his dwelling.<sup>i</sup> •And from there he will march upon Mount Sinai and appear Micah 1:3;  
4 in his camp emerging from heaven<sup>j</sup> with a mighty power.<sup>k</sup> And everyone shall be Isa 26:21;  
5 afraid, and Watchers<sup>l</sup> shall quiver. •And great fear and trembling shall seize them AsMos 10:3  
6 unto the ends of the earth. •Mountains and high places<sup>m</sup> will fall down<sup>n</sup> and be Dan 4:13,17,23  
7 frightened. And high hills shall be made low; and they shall melt like a honeycomb<sup>o</sup> before<sup>p</sup> the flame. •And earth shall be rent asunder;<sup>q</sup> and all that is upon the earth  
8 shall perish. And there shall be a judgment upon all, (including) the righteous.<sup>r</sup> •And WisSol 4:15  
9 to all the righteous<sup>s</sup> he will grant peace. He will preserve the elect, and kindness shall be upon them. They shall all belong to God<sup>t</sup> and they shall prosper and be Sir 43:26  
10 blessed; and the light of God shall shine unto them. •Behold, he will arrive with ten Jude 14.15

1 a. The Eth. *qāla barakat* should be translated simply as “the blessing” and not lit. as “the word(s) of blessing” as Charles does.

b. B and C, following several possibly later and inflated MSS, read *'ekuyān(a) wa-rasī'ān(a)*, “the evil and ungodly ones.” Note to the reader: The letters A, B, C respectively represent our basic text (*Kebrān* MS 9/II); the text of Princeton Ethiopic 3; and the printed text of Charles. EC represents the notes in Charles’s edition of the Eth. Enoch. (For others see “Texts.”)

c. B and C, following supposedly all Charles’s MSS, read *be'si sādīq*, “the righteous man.”

d. [The various Eth. words for God or Lord have been translated consistently through 1En as follows: 1. *'Egzī'abhēr* represents LORD (the Eth. translation of Yahweh in the OT). 2. *'Egzī'a* represents Lord (the Eth. translation of Adonai in the OT). 3. *'Amlak* represents God (the Eth. translation of Elohīm in the OT). Note that “Lord [*'Egzī'a*] of the Spirits” occurs only in chs. 37–71. —J. H. Charlesworth and E. G. Martin]

e. The extant Gk. text reads *anabolōn tēn parabolēn*, “he took up his parable.” So also 4QEn<sup>a</sup> 1:1 (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 182).

f. So A B C against the Gk. *orasis*, “his mouth.” g. B reads, as do some other MSS of Charles, *lazaymas'u tewled rehuqān*, “distant generations that will be coming.”

h. B and C, following supposedly all of Charles’s MSS, read *mesla*, which is unintelligible. *Mesla mesālē*, “with a proverb [or “parable”],” which is attested in A, is accurate, and the other MSS must have lost *mesālē*, probably because of homocoteleu-

ton.

i. So A, B reads *yewase' qeddus . . . wa-'amlāka 'alam wa-'emheyya*, creating an impossible phraseology. Charles kept the *wa-* before *'amlāka* as some of his MSS did and, contrary to all his MSS, which he claimed were wrong, dropped the *wa-* before *'emheyya*, creating an artificial text in C.

j. Lit. “and appear from heaven.”

k. B reads “his mighty power.”

l. Lit. “Diligent guards.” [Watchers are the fallen angels.]

m. So A, B and C read “high mountains.”

n. Eth. *waywadqu*, “will fall down,” is not attested in B and C.

o. A B C read *ma'ara gerā*, “honeycomb,” not *gerā ma'ar*, “wax.” However, the two expressions are sometimes confused in usage.

p. Lit. “from.”

q. B had “shall sink.”

r. B: “and all the righteous.” It seems to me that Charles wrongly assumed *lā'la sādīqān k'elomu*, “upon all the righteous,” to be a dittography of words before and after.

s. B and C read respectively “as to the righteous” and “to the righteous.”

t. Or “they will become God’s property.” So Ethiopian commentators.

u. All of Charles’s MSS, except e, read *mas'a*, “he came.” Ethiopian commentators who follow this reading argue that the perfect tense is used to emphasize that “he will certainly come.” Cf. Jude 14 also. The Eth. *te'ft* designates ten thousand times a thousand. Cf. *Wa-'atah Mērb'bot Qōdesh* in Deut 33:2. LXX reads *syn myriasyon Kadēs*.

million<sup>a</sup> of the holy ones in order to execute judgment upon all.<sup>v</sup> He will destroy the wicked ones<sup>w</sup> and censure<sup>x</sup> all flesh on account of everything that they have done, that which the sinners and the wicked ones committed against him.<sup>y</sup>

1 **2** Examine all the activit(ies which take place) in the sky<sup>a</sup> and how<sup>b</sup> they do not alter their ways, (and examine) the luminaries of heaven, how each one of them rises and sets; each one is systematic according to its respective season; and they do not divert 2 from their appointed order.<sup>c</sup> •And look at the earth and turn in your mind<sup>d</sup> concerning the action which is taking place<sup>e</sup> in her<sup>f</sup> from the beginning to the end: how all the 3 work<sup>g</sup> of God as being manifested<sup>h</sup> does not change. •And behold<sup>i</sup> the summer and the winter,<sup>j</sup> how the whole earth is filled with water and clouds and dew;<sup>k</sup> and he causes rain<sup>l</sup> to rest upon her.

1 **3** Examine<sup>a</sup> and observe<sup>b</sup> everything—and the trees,<sup>c</sup> how all their leaves appear as if they wither and had fallen,<sup>d</sup> except fourteen<sup>e</sup> trees<sup>f</sup> whose (leaves) do not fall but<sup>g</sup> the old (foliage) remains for about two to three years<sup>h</sup> until the new (leaves) come.<sup>i</sup>

1 **4** And again, examine the days of the summer,<sup>a</sup> how (the heat of) the sun<sup>b</sup> is upon (the earth)<sup>c</sup> and dominates her.<sup>d</sup> And as for you, you will crave<sup>e</sup> shade and shelter on account of the heat of the sun; and the earth shall burn with scorching heat, and you are not able to walk on the earth or on the rock on account of the heat.<sup>f</sup>

1 **5** Observe how the verdant trees are covered with leaves and they bear fruit.<sup>a</sup> Pay attention<sup>b</sup> concerning all things and know in what manner he fashioned<sup>c</sup> them.<sup>d</sup> All 2 of them belong to him who lives forever. •His work proceeds and progresses<sup>e</sup> from

v. B and C read “upon them.” It appears that A is in this respect the least corrupt text, since it seems to agree with the Gk., Pseudo-Cyprian, and Jude 15.

w. The Gk., Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Vigilius, and Jude 15 read “all the evil ones.”

x. Or “rebuke.”

y. Following Jude 15, Pseudo-Cyprian, and the Gk., Charles has suggested emending the text to read “And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.”

2 a. The syntax of A, *ṭayyequ kʷulo gebra za-westa samāy*, is superior to that of B and C. B and all the other MSS which Charles studied also give the wrong grammatical form: *ṭayyaqu* for *ṭayyequ*, which is found in A. Some Ethiopian commentators also read *ṭayyaqu*, “I inquired [or “examined”].”

b. B and C read “how,” not “and how.”

c. B reads *ʿemte zāzomu*, “their appointed commandments.”

d. Lit. “understand,” “take notice,” “think,” “be mindful of.”

e. Lit. “which is being acted.”

f. So A, *westētā*. B and C have “upon her,” *lā lēhā*.

g. A B: *gebru*. C: *meḡbāru*.

h. Eth. *ʿenza yāstarʿi* is a somewhat dangling phrase. Cf. EC, p. 6, nn. 13, 15, regarding the clause in Gk., which is lost in Eth.

i. A: *warʿikewo*. B and C: *rʿeyywā*.

j. Lit. “the dry and rainy season.”

k. A (*māya, wa-dammanā wa-ṭala wa-zenāma*) has the right text over against B and C (*māya wa-dammanā wa-ṭal wazenām*). Cf. EC, p. 6, n. 22.

l. Cf. 4QEN<sup>a</sup>. It is distantly possible to render A “and the cloud causes dew and rain to rest upon her [the earth].”

3 a. A C: *ṭayyequ*. B: *ṭayyaqu*, as in all of the other Charles MSS.

b. B has *reʿiku*.

c. B: “Examine and observe the trees.” C: “Examine and observe all the trees.” Cf. 4QEN<sup>a</sup>: “Observe that all the trees wither” (Miilik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 146f.).

d. B C: “how they seem as though they had withered and all their leaves shed.”

e. B: “twelve.”

f. Cf. Geoponica 11:1.

g. A and B and all known Eth. MSS read *ʿlla*, “which.”

h. Or “rainy season.”

i. Lit. “they will remain from the old to the new.”

4 a. Lit. “dry season.”

b. Lit. “the sun.”

c. Lit. “upon her.”

d. Lit. “her first,” “her greater one,” “ahead of her.” B: *ba-qedmēhā*, “in her face,” “in front of her.” C: *ba-qadamehā*, “against her.”

e. Lit. “seek.”

f. B C: “her heat.”

5 a. Eth. *ʿeṣ ba-hamalmala yetkaddanu ba-qʷašel wa-yefarreyu*. The reading of B and C, *ʿeṣaw ba-hamalmala ʿaqʷašel yetkaddanu wa-yefarreyu*, “trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit,” is an easier and grammatically smoother one.

b. B C: “and pay attention.”

c. Erroneously *gebromu* for *gabromu*.

d. Overall, the reading of A is closer to the Gk. *epoiēsen auta hutōs*. The reading of B, *ba-kama gabra la-kemu laʿelontu kʷolomu zaheyyāw laʿalam*, and that of C, *ba-kama gabarkemu laʿeluntu kʷulomu*, are both corrupt and not very intelligible.

e. Eth. *qadama*. B C: *qedmēhu*, “before him.”

year to year. And all his work prospers and obeys<sup>f</sup> him,<sup>g</sup> and it does not change; but  
 3 everything functions<sup>h</sup> in the way in which God has ordered<sup>i</sup> it. •And look at the seas:<sup>j</sup>  
 4 They do not part;<sup>k</sup> they fulfill<sup>l</sup> all their duties. •But as for you, you have not been long-  
 suffering and you have not done the commandments of the Lord, but you have  
 transgressed and spoken slanderously<sup>m</sup> grave and harsh words with your impure mouths  
 5 against his greatness. Oh, you hard-hearted, may you not find peace! •Therefore, you  
 shall curse your days, and the years of your life shall perish and multiply in eternal  
 6 execration; and there will not be any mercy unto you. •In those days, you shall make  
 your names<sup>n</sup> an eternal execration unto all the righteous; and the sinners shall curse  
 7 you continually—you together with the sinners.<sup>o</sup> •But to the elect there shall be light,  
 joy, and peace, and they shall inherit the earth. To you, wicked ones, on the contrary,  
 8 there will be a curse. •And then<sup>p</sup> wisdom shall be given<sup>q</sup> to the elect. And they shall  
 all live and not return again to sin,<sup>r</sup> either by being wicked or through pride; but  
 9 those who have wisdom shall be humble and not return again to sin. •And they shall  
 not be judged all the days of their lives;<sup>s</sup> nor die through plague<sup>t</sup> or wrath,<sup>u</sup> but<sup>v</sup> they  
 10 shall complete the (designated) number of the days of their life. •And peace shall  
 increase their lives<sup>v</sup> and the years of their happiness shall be multiplied forever in  
 gladness and peace all the days of their life.

### The fall of angels

1 **6** In those days, when the children of man had multiplied, it happened that there Gen. 6:1-4  
 2 were born unto them handsome and beautiful daughters. •And the angels, the children  
 of heaven, saw them and desired them; and they said to one another, “Come, let us  
 choose wives for ourselves from among the daughters<sup>a</sup> of man and beget us children.”  
 3 And Semyaz,<sup>b</sup> being their leader,<sup>c</sup> said unto them, “I fear that perhaps you will not  
 consent that this deed should be done, and I alone will become (responsible)<sup>d</sup> for this  
 4 great sin.” •But they all responded to him,<sup>e</sup> “Let us all swear an oath and bind  
 everyone among us by a curse not to abandon this suggestion but to do the deed.”<sup>f</sup>  
 5 Then they all swore together and bound one another by (the curse).<sup>g</sup> •And they were  
 6 altogether<sup>h</sup> two hundred; and they descended into <sup>7</sup>Ardos,<sup>i</sup> which is the summit of  
 Hermon.<sup>j</sup> And they called the mount Armon, for they swore and bound one another  
 7 by a curse.<sup>k</sup> •And their names are as follows:<sup>l</sup> Semyaz,<sup>m</sup> the leader of Arakeb,  
 Rame’el, Tam’el, Ram’el, Dan’el, Ezeqel, Baraqyal, As’el, Armaros, Batar’el,

f. Lit. “they obey.”

g. B and C have the awkward reading *wa-mege-bāru qedmēhu . . . zayekawun wa-k’ulu megbāru yetqannay* [B: *yetqanayū*] *lotu*.

h. Lit. “it is done.”

i. I.e. organized.

j. Eth. *bāhrata*, in the accusative form. B and C give the common plural form *’abher*, in the nominative form.

k. So A: *wa-ifalag*, lit. “it does not part.” This reading of A appears to be corrupt. B and C, in agreement with the Gk., *hē thalassa kai hoi potamoi*, read *’abher* *wa-’afag heburā*, “the seas and the rivers together.”

l. I.e. in a backbiting manner.

m. B: “your peace.”

n. The Eth. is corrupt. As for the variations in the different Gk. texts, particularly in the Akhmim additions, see EC, p. 9.

o. B: *wa-’emmahi*.

p. Eth. *yetwahab*. B C: *yetwahabomu*.

q. Lit. “they shall not repeat sin.” C: “they will not again sin.”

r. For the variation in the Gk. fragments, cf. EC, pp. 10f.

s. I.e. divine punishment.

t. I.e. divine wrath.

u. Eth. *’ella*, wrong for *’allā*.

v. B C Gk. fragments: “and their lives shall be increased in peace.”

6 a. Lit. “the children.”

b. B C: Semyaza.

c. B: “who is their leader.”

d. Cf. B: “I alone will become the payer.” Text of A, *fadjāda*, “exceedingly,” is corrupt for *fadāyi*. C, *’ekawwen . . . fadāya*, is somewhat awkward.

e. B C: “they responded to him and said.”

f. Eth. *zāti gebr*, “this deed.” B and C, *zāti mekr gebra* and *zāti (mekr) gebr* respectively, are redundant.

g. Lit. “by it.”

h. Lit. “And all of them were . . .”

i. B C: *’Ardis*.

j. B C: “Mount Hermon.” Following the Gk. fragment, the correct reading may be “and they descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon.” Cf. EC, p. 13f.

k. Regarding the paronomasia between Hermon (of Mount Hermon) and *herem*, “curse,” cf. EC, p. 14.

l. Lit. “And here are [this is (the list) of] their names, it is like this . . .” C and B read “And these are the names of their leaders.”

m. B: Semyaza. C: Sami’azaz.

8 Anan<sup>a</sup>el, Zaqe<sup>a</sup>el, Sasomas<sup>w</sup>e<sup>a</sup>el, Kestar<sup>a</sup>el, Tur<sup>a</sup>el, Yamayol, and Arazyal.<sup>b</sup> • These are their chiefs<sup>o</sup> of tens<sup>p</sup> and of all the others with them.

1 **7** And they<sup>a</sup> took wives unto themselves, and everyone (respectively) chose one woman for himself, and they began to go unto them.<sup>b</sup> And they taught them magical medicine, incantations, the cutting of roots, and taught them<sup>c</sup> (about) plants. • And the women became pregnant and gave birth to great giants whose heights<sup>d</sup> were three hundred cubits. • These<sup>e</sup> (giants) consumed the produce<sup>f</sup> of all the people<sup>g</sup> until the people detested feeding them.<sup>h</sup> • So<sup>i</sup> the giants turned against (the people) in order to eat them. • And they began to sin against birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and fish. And their flesh was devoured the one by the other, and they drank blood.<sup>j</sup> • And then the earth brought an accusation against the oppressors.

WisSol  
14:6; Tob  
6:14; Sir  
16:7; 1Bar  
3:26; 3Mac  
2:4; Jub  
7:22f.

Gen 9:4;  
1Sam  
14:32–34;  
Acts 15:20;  
Jub 7:28;  
21:6

1 **8** And Azaz<sup>a</sup>el taught the people (the art of) making swords and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones<sup>a</sup> bracelets, decorations, (shading of the eye) with antimony,<sup>b</sup> ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids, all kinds of precious stones,<sup>c</sup> and all coloring tinctures and alchemy.<sup>d</sup> • And there were many wicked ones<sup>e</sup> and they committed adultery and erred, and all their conduct became corrupt. • Amasras<sup>f</sup> taught incantation and the cutting of roots; and Armaros the resolving of incantations; and Baraqiyal<sup>g</sup> astrology,<sup>h</sup> and Kokarer<sup>i</sup>el<sup>j</sup> (the knowledge of) the signs,<sup>j</sup> and Tam<sup>k</sup>el<sup>l</sup> taught the seeing of the stars, and Asder<sup>l</sup>el<sup>m</sup> taught the course of the moon as well as the deception<sup>m</sup> of man.<sup>n</sup> • And (the people) cried and their voice reached unto heaven.

Dan 5:12

1 **9** Then Michael, Surafel,<sup>a</sup> and Gabriel observed carefully from the sky and they saw much blood being shed upon the earth,<sup>b</sup> and all the oppression being wrought upon the earth. • And they said to one another, “The earth, (from) her empty (foundation), has brought the cry of their voice unto the gates of heaven. • And now, [O] holy ones of heaven, the souls of people are putting their case before you pleading, ‘Bring our

n. B C: “Sami<sup>a</sup>azaz [B: Semyaza], who is their leader, Arakibaramel [B: Urakibaramel], Kokabi<sup>a</sup>el [B: Akibe<sup>a</sup>el], Tami<sup>a</sup>el [B: Tame<sup>a</sup>el], Rami<sup>a</sup>el [B: Raw<sup>a</sup>el], Dan<sup>a</sup>el, Ezeqe<sup>a</sup>el, Baraqiyal [B: Laraquyal], Asa<sup>a</sup>el, Armaros [B: Armeses], Ba<sup>a</sup>tar<sup>a</sup>el [B: Batra<sup>a</sup>al], Anan<sup>a</sup>el, Zaqi<sup>a</sup>el [B: Zaqebe], Samsape<sup>a</sup>el, Satar<sup>a</sup>el [B: Sart<sup>a</sup>el], Tur<sup>a</sup>el, Yomya<sup>a</sup>el, Arazyal.” Cf. EC, p. 14.

o. Eth. *‘abayta*. B C wrongly: *‘habayta* and *‘habaytomu* respectively.

p. B adds “of the two hundred angels.”

7 a. C: “they and all the others with them.”

b. B and C add “and became added unto them.”

For variations in the Gk. fragments in this and ch. 8, see EC, pp. 17f.

c. Eth. *‘maharewon*. B C: *‘amarewon*.

d. Lit. “and their heights.”

e. C: “who.” Cf. 4QEn<sup>a</sup>, which is closer to A.

f. Lit. “toil,” “labor.” So 4QEn<sup>a</sup>.

g. A should be rendered either “All of these consumed the toil of the people” or “These consumed the toil of all the people” by transposing the correctly nominative Eth. *‘k<sup>a</sup>ellu* in the phrase *‘ellu bal<sup>a</sup>u k<sup>a</sup>ellu šāmā sabe*. Cf. 4QEn<sup>a</sup>. All of Charles’s MSS give the accusative *‘kwellu*. Cf. EC, p. 16, nn. 9, 10.

h. Eth. *‘sēsyota sab<sup>a</sup>e*. C: *‘sab<sup>a</sup>e sēsyota*.

i. Lit. “And.”

j. Possibly “And they devoured one another’s flesh, and drank the blood.” B adds *‘emnehā*, which is a doublet of the following word.

8 a. Eth. *‘za-‘emhrēhomu*. C and B have *‘za-‘emdhrehomu*, “those after them,” which Charles thinks is a corruption of the G<sup>a</sup> *ta metalla* (cf. *ta me<sup>a</sup>’auta*). G<sup>a</sup> has *‘megala*. Cf. EC, p. 16, n. 30. C and B also add “the making of them.” Eth. *‘za-‘emdhrehomu* is rendered as “their successors” or “their children” by Ethiopian commentators.

b. Lit. “antimony.”

c. Lit. “and of stones all kinds of precious and chosen stones.”

d. A adds *‘tawaleto ‘alam*, “transmutation of the world.” I render it as “alchemy.” Cf. EC, p. 18, n. 5. Ethiopian commentators explain this phrase as “changing a man into a horse or mule or vice versa, or transferring an embryo from one womb to another.”

e. B C: “and there was [great and] much wickedness.”

f. B: *‘Amezaras*. C: *‘Amizaras*.

g. B: *‘Baraqal*.

h. Lit. “the seeing of stars.”

i. B C: *‘Kokab<sup>a</sup>el*.

j. I.e. miraculous signs.

k. B: *‘Tem<sup>a</sup>el*. C: *‘Tami<sup>a</sup>el*.

l. B: *‘Asrad<sup>a</sup>el*.

m. B and C read “destruction.”

n. Concerning variations in the Gk. fragments see EC, p. 18f.

9 a. B: *‘Uryan* and *‘Suryan*. C: *‘Ur<sup>a</sup>el* and *‘Rufa<sup>a</sup>el*.

b. A also adds *‘ba-tāhetu*, “under it.”

4 judgment before the Most High.'<sup>c</sup> • And they said to the Lord of the potentates,<sup>d</sup>  
 "For he is the Lord of lords, and the God of gods,<sup>e</sup> and the King<sup>f</sup> of kings, and the  
 seat of his glory<sup>h</sup> (stands) throughout all the generations of the world. Your name is  
 5 holy, and blessed, and glorious throughout the whole world.<sup>i</sup> • You have made  
 everything<sup>g</sup> and with you is the authority for everything. Everything<sup>k</sup> is naked and  
 open before your sight, and you see everything; and there is nothing which can hide  
 6 itself from you. • You see what Azaz'el has done; how he<sup>l</sup> has taught all (forms of)  
 oppression upon the earth. And they revealed<sup>m</sup> eternal secrets which are performed  
 7 in heaven (and which) man learned.<sup>n</sup> • (Moreover) Semyaz,<sup>o</sup> to whom you have given  
 power to rule over his companions, co-operating,<sup>p</sup> they went in unto the daughters  
 8 of the people on earth;<sup>q</sup> and they lay together with them—with those women—and  
 9 defiled themselves, and revealed to them every (kind of) sin. • As for the women,  
 they gave birth to giants to the degree that the whole earth was filled with blood and  
 10 oppression. • And now behold, the Holy One will cry,<sup>r</sup> and those who have died will  
 bring their suit up to the gate of heaven. Their<sup>s</sup> groaning has ascended (into heaven),  
 but<sup>t</sup> they could not get out from before the face of the oppression that is being  
 11 wrought on earth. • And you know everything (even) before it came to existence,<sup>u</sup>  
 and you see (this thing)<sup>v</sup> (but) you do not tell us what is proper for us that we may  
 do regarding it."

1 **10** And then spoke the Most High, the Great and Holy One!<sup>a</sup> And he sent Asuryal<sup>b</sup>  
 2 to the son of Lamech, (saying), • "Tell him<sup>c</sup> in my name, 'Hide yourself!' and reveal  
 to him the end of what is coming; for the earth and everything<sup>d</sup> will be destroyed.  
 And the Deluge is about to come upon all the earth; and all that is in it will be  
 3 destroyed.<sup>e</sup> • And now instruct him in order that he may flee, and his seed will be  
 4 preserved for all generations."<sup>f</sup> • And secondly the Lord said to Raphael,<sup>g</sup> "Bind  
 Azaz'el hand<sup>h</sup> and foot<sup>i</sup> (and) throw him into the darkness!" And he made a hole in  
 5 the desert which was in Duda'el and cast him there; • he threw on top of him rugged  
 6 and sharp rocks. And he covered his face<sup>j</sup> in order that he may not see light;<sup>k</sup> • and  
 7 in order that he may be sent into the fire on the great day of judgment. • And give  
 life to the earth which the angels have corrupted. And he will proclaim<sup>l</sup> life for the  
 earth: that he is giving life to her.<sup>m</sup> And all the children of the people will not perish

Jude 6

c. B C: "the souls of people are making their suit, saying, 'Bring our case [lit. "judgment"] before the Most High.'"

d. Lit. "kings." One of the duplicate versions of the Syncellus Gk. fragment reads "The Lord of the ages," or "of the world," *tôn aionôn*.

e. Eth. *'esma*, "for," "because." In the Syncellus fragment we have *Su*, "you," instead.

f. Lit. "your God." B C: "their God."

g. Lit. "your king." B C: "their king."

h. C: "your glory."

i. B and C repeat "glorious."

j. A omits "everything," found in the other MSS.

k. A omits "Everything," found in the other MSS.

l. B and C read "who."

m. B C: "and he revealed."

n. B: *wa-'amara sablâtât*. C: *wa-'amara sabe'a*. Cf. EC, p. 22, n. 15, and p. 23.

o. B: Semyaza. C: "and of Semyaza."

p. Lit. "together with."

q. B omits "on earth" and wrongly repeats "together with."

r. This phrase is attested neither in other Eth. MSS nor in the Gk. fragments. Instead, we have "the souls of the dead." Cf. EC, pp. 22f.

s. Lit. "and their."

t. Lit. "and."

u. B omits "everything before it came to existence."

v. The Eth. text is corrupt. Cf. EC, p. 24, n. 12, and p. 25.

10 a. C: "Then spoke the Most High, the Great and Holy One said." Cf. EC, p. 24, n. 20.

b. B: *Arsayalaldor*. C: *'Asarya Leyur*. Cf. also EC, p. 24, n. 23.

c. C, supported by G<sup>s</sup>, adds "Go to Noah and tell him . . ." See EC, p. 24, n. 25.

d. So A. B C: "the whole earth."

e. B omits "all." C, following the Gk. fragments, reads "it will destroy all that is in it."

f. So B and C. The text of A, which reads "and his seed will kneel down [worship] for all generations," is obviously corrupt.

g. The name designates "God is a healer."

h. Lit. "by hand." Cf. TarJon Gen 6:3, in which the names Semyaza and Azaz'el appear.

i. Lit. "by foot."

j. B and C add "cover him with darkness and let him abide there forever."

k. The preceding two sentences are given in the imperative form in B and C: "And make a hole in the desert . . ."

l. Lit. "he will make you know."

m. Lit. "to the earth." The Gk. fragments read "that he may heal the plague." Cf. also EC, p. 26, n. 4.

# The Old Testament PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

**F**ROM THE FINDING of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the latest on the gnostic writings, the Nag Hammadi codices, new information is unearthed practically every day to help us understand the lifestyles and beliefs of our religious ancestors. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* is the foremost example of this work.

All the important documents (sixty-five in all, published in two separate volumes) from the period between the Old and the New Testaments have been collected in this landmark work. The foremost international authority on each book has been selected to contribute a new translation (sometimes for the first time), an introduction, and critical notes for each of the texts, with all work taking advantage of the very latest in scriptural scholarship.

These texts are of great value to all people whose religious heritage focuses on the Bible for insight into the development of doctrine. By studying the pseudepigrapha, we can increase our knowledge of the beginnings of the Christian religion, as well as the development of Judaism after the close of the Hebrew Bible.

Scholars, Bible students, professionals of all religious groups and denominations, and lay people—indeed, all those who can be signified as “People of the Book:” Christians, Jews, Mormons, Muslims—will be interested in these translations.

*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* is truly a work of international importance, and Hendrickson Publishers is pleased to offer it in this economical paperback edition.

**James H. Charlesworth** is the George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature and director of the Dead Sea Scrolls Project at Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey. He also directs the Syrus Sinaiticus Project at St. Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai. Charlesworth is a world-renowned translator, particularly of pseudepigraphical material, and the author of *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *The Serpent: A Symbol of Life or Death?* and *The Historical Jesus*.



James H. Charlesworth

EDITOR

T H E  
Old Testament  
**PSEUDEPIGRAPHA**

VOLUME TWO

Expansions of the “Old Testament”  
and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical  
Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes,  
Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works

---

New Translations from Authoritative Texts  
with Introductions and Critical Notes  
by an International Team of Scholars

T H E  
Old Testament  
**PSEUDEPIGRAPHA**

VOLUME TWO

Expansions of the “Old Testament”  
and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical  
Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes,  
Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works



# INTRODUCTION

BY J. H. CHARLESWORTH

Early Judaism was a religion bound to and defined by the Book, the Torah. Because God had chosen to reveal himself in history, a sacred aura surrounded the events in Israel's past. These stories preserved in the books in the Old Testament were told and retold not only in the synagogues but also around the evening fires or wherever Jews would congregate. The biblical narratives were clarified, enriched, expanded, and sometimes retold from a different perspective. Often circulating first as oral legends, some stories eventually evolved into the documents collected here. Distinguishable from the others is the Letter of Aristeas; it does not center upon a biblical narrative, but glorifies the translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek.

Frequently the expansions explain the superiority of Judaism over other religions and may have an apologetic or missionary purpose; almost always they celebrate God's covenant with and guidance of the faithful. The primary focus is upon God's story in history, an ongoing drama in which the author claims to be a participant.

The early Jewish strata of the Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah belong to the present category; in its final and present form, however, it is clearly an apocalyptic work (especially chs. 6–11). Also related to the apocalyptic writings are Jubilees and 4 Baruch.

The expansions to sacred stories in the Old Testament should be studied in light of similar writings, such as some of the documents in the Apocrypha, the rabbinic Targumim and Midrashim, the Qumran Pesharim, and other exegetical documents (especially 1QapGen), a few of Philo of Alexandria's writings, Josephus' histories, and the Christian historians and chronographers. The Testament of Job, translated above, is an expansion of the biblical narrative in a testament form.

## CONTENTS

Letter of Aristeas

Jubilees

Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah

Joseph and Aseneth

Life of Adam and Eve

Pseudo-Philo

The Lives of the Prophets

Ladder of Jacob

4 Baruch

Jannes and Jambres

History of the Rechabites

Eldad and Modad

History of Joseph

# LETTER OF ARISTEAS

(Third Century B.C.—First Century A.D.)

## A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY R. J. H. SHUTT

The so-called Letter of Aristeas is a primary source for understanding the Septuagint, the version of the Jewish Scriptures in Greek. It purports to describe how the Jewish Law was translated from Hebrew into Greek by seventy-two Jews sent to Alexandria for this purpose. The author, Aristeas, writes to his brother Philocrates about this mission. Presumably, Aristeas, who was a Jew from Alexandria, participated in the mission.

The contents are briefly as follows: The Egyptian king Ptolemy II (285–247 B.C.) wants Demetrius of Phalerum, his librarian, to collect all the books in the world for the library at Alexandria. Demetrius thinks that such a collection should include a copy of the Jewish Law in a Greek translation, and so he orders a letter to be written to the high priest at Jerusalem.

In a digression (vss. 12–27), Aristeas successfully petitions the king for the release of those Jews forcibly deported to Egypt by his father, King Ptolemy, son of Lagos. The relevant royal decree is quoted.

Returning to the main theme, Aristeas quotes the letter which Demetrius, the librarian, is instructed to send to the high priest (vss. 28–34). It suggests that the translation be made by six suitable members from each of the twelve tribes (vss. 35–40). The suggestion is accepted, and the names of the translators are given (vss. 47–50). Gifts are sent from the king to the high priest (vss. 51–82). Aristeas himself is mentioned as one of the ambassadors (vs. 43).

A description of Palestine follows, including the Temple and the high priest's vestments (vss. 83–120), but the account of the journey, though promised, is not given. The qualifications and virtues of the translators are given and extolled (vss. 121–27).

Then there is a further digression on the Law in Judaism (vss. 128–72). The arrival of the translators in Alexandria and their welcome are described; a royal banquet is prepared (vss. 173–86).

Even the author apologizes for the length of the next section, which is about a third of Aristeas (vss. 187–294). He describes the questions put by the king during the seven days of the banquet to each of the translators in turn, and their replies.

Finally the translators are conducted to their well-furnished quarters by Demetrius, and the work begins. Drafts of the translation are made, and the final version is completed in exactly seventy-two days (vss. 301–7).

The version is read to the Jewish community; Demetrius is asked to complete the project by arranging for the translation of the rest of the Law, and steps are taken, by pronouncing a curse on any who should change it in any way, to ensure that this is established as the authorized and official Greek translation (vss. 308–11).

The king shares in the rejoicing at the completion of the initial task, the sacred character of the Law is emphasized, and Demetrius receives instructions to guard the books with special care (vss. 312–17).

Further compliments and gifts are given, and the translators depart for home with a guard of honor, a letter, and further gifts to Eleazar (vss. 318–21).

A brief epilogue addressed to Philocrates, recalling his interest in such projects, brings Aristeas to a close.

### Texts<sup>1</sup>

“There are more than twenty mss. containing the text or significant extracts from the Letter of Aristeas.”<sup>2</sup> They range from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

Thackeray describes these manuscripts in detail; Pelletier gives them in chronological groups according to the century to which they belong, adding six to Thackeray’s list, and paying special attention to two of them: U, Seragliensis 8 of Istanbul, belonging to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and O, Monacensis 9 Munich of the eleventh century.

Thackeray and Pelletier agree that what Thackeray calls group A manuscripts are of special importance and antiquity. The group is subdivided as follows:

H Vaticanus 747. Rome (11th cent.)

K Vaticanus 383. Rome (12th–13th cent.)

A Regius 128. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (12th–13th cent.)

and (very similar to the above-mentioned):

G Venetus 534. Venice Marcianus (11th cent.)

I Palatinus 203. Rome, Bibl. Vatic. Pal. (11th cent.)

M Ottobonianus 32. Bibl. Vatic. Ottobon (15th cent.)

The earliest printed edition was a Latin translation by M. Palmerius of Pisa in 1471. A Greek text, the work of S. Schard, was published by Oporinus in 1561 at Basel, based mainly on O, Codex Monacensis 9 Munich.

The genuineness of Aristeas as a contemporary account of the proceedings by an eyewitness was seriously doubted by Hody (1659–1707). His position was rejected in 1870 by Schmidt, who was followed by Mendelssohn in 1897 and Wendland in 1900. The first edition of Thackeray’s work also appeared in 1902 as an appendix to Swete’s *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Thackeray’s text has been adopted in the works of Meecham (1935) and Hadas (1951). It is used as the basis of this translation; divergences from his text are indicated in the notes.

English translations have been published by H. St. J. Thackeray (1903), H. T. Andrews (in R. H. Charles, *APOT*, vol. 1, 1913), H. G. Meecham (1935), and M. Hadas (1951).

### Original language

The original language of Aristeas is Greek, but not a particularly distinguished or elegant type of Greek. Some of its sentences are cumbersome, some of its words unusual, and some of its phrases striking because of their awkwardness. It hardly reaches the heights needed for a work to be classed as literature.

### Date

It is impossible to be certain about the date of this work. The king referred to is Ptolemy II (Philadelphus, 285–247 B.C.). There is a reference in Aristeas to this king’s father, Ptolemy I (Lagos), who abdicated in 285 and died in 283. Josephus (A.D. 37–?110) paraphrases the work in his *Jewish Antiquities* 12.12–118. From this we must conclude that it was written between approximately 250 B.C. and A.D. 100. To venture further with the dating demands some conjecture.

Jellicoe<sup>3</sup> summarizes the main categories of conjectured dates as follows:

1. early (i.e. 250–200 B.C.)
2. about 150–100 B.C.
3. first century A.D.

The majority of the views is in favor of c. 150–100 B.C. In deciding which conjecture is

<sup>1</sup> For further reference to the MSS see H. St. J. Thackeray, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1902) pp. 501–18, and A. Pelletier, *Lettre d’Aristée à Philocrate*, pp. 8–41.

<sup>2</sup> Pelletier, *Lettre d’Aristée*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, p. 48, n. 1.

preferable, we first have to decide on the occasion (and purpose) of the work. It has a decidedly Jewish background and provides an exposition and defense of the Law, seeking to indicate its relation in thought and political philosophy to Hellenism. This would be consistent with the view that the work emanated from Alexandria, a hellenistic center where there was a significant Jewish element in the population. There was consequently a need to promote integration and to avoid friction between Jew and non-Jew. There was presumably an immediate occasion for the composition of the work: Such an occasion would probably have been one during which an anti-Jewish policy was being carried out. A serious occasion of this sort occurred when Antiochus Epiphanes sought to carry out his pro-hellenistic or anti-Jewish policy, which caused such a strong reaction in Judea among, for example, the Maccabees. There would have been repercussions and unease in Alexandria about that time, i.e. about 170 B.C. Any attempt to consolidate the links between the two communities and to prevent a deterioration of the situation would have been worthwhile. Such an attempt, we may conjecture, underlies Aristeas. On these grounds we may with Jellicoe<sup>4</sup> and Orlinsky date the work about 170 B.C., thus putting it approximately in the second of the categories mentioned above.

Assuming some such occasion and date, what is the purpose of the work? It can hardly be regarded as a document written at the same time as the translation of the Law into Greek, known as the Septuagint. From this point of view, therefore, if that is the expectation, the work may be a disappointment. What is more important, it concerns Judaism and is a defense of Judaism in the light of its Law as available in a Greek version. The story of the making of that version underlines the toleration and respect which the Jews of Alexandria enjoyed and the integration of Jew and non-Jew in that city. Events in Jerusalem about 170 B.C. threatened such a community. Aristeas is an attempt by the author, himself presumably a Jew,<sup>5</sup> to show the links between Jew and Greek and to underline them by narrating the particular story of the translation of the Jewish Scriptures. Such we may conjecture is the occasion, date, and purpose of this work.

### Provenance

A gentile, even a proselyte to Judaism, would hardly have attained such a knowledge of Jewish practices, and of the Temple worship, as the Letter of Aristeas exhibits (e.g. vss. 83–120). It is highly probable therefore that the author was a Jew. His knowledge of Alexandria needs also to be taken into account (e.g. vs. 301). The most attractive conjecture is that he lived in Alexandria.<sup>6</sup>

### Historical and theological importance

It is difficult, as shown above, to date this document, and therefore difficult also to assess its importance for the time when it was composed.

However, its importance goes further and deeper than its historical setting because it raises a question implicit in Judaism that emerges in times of special crisis: If the Jews are God's special people, a chosen race, how are they to regard non-Jews? Can they live with them, or must they simply remove themselves and live exclusive lives? Is there any temporary arrangement of mutual recognition and respect that can be evolved? The case for the Jewish Law and attitude to life is set out in this work, and in confirmation of this, an appeal is made to the history of the Jews in Egypt and Alexandria, with special reference to the Law and its translation into Greek. It is also meant to show that there is some affinity between Jew and Greek, but not necessarily an identity, so that it is possible for them to live together. The difficulties are recognized, however: It is the merit of Aristeas that the author is alive to this recurring problem in the history of Judaism. For example, he describes how special arrangements were made for the banquet when the king and the Jews ate together (vs. 181). The implied warning is twofold: The danger with some of the Jews was that they might become excessively exclusive in their attitude to others, and the danger with

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> In spite of LetAris, vs. 16.

<sup>6</sup> For details on the exact status of the Jews in Alexandria, see Josephus, *Ant* 19.279 (LCL ed., vol. 9, n. *ad loc.*, and App. Q. 583–85).

the Greeks, or the Hellenists, was that their attitude might be too syncretistic.<sup>7</sup> The moral was the need for mutual recognition of different customs and cultures.

### Relation to canonical books

There is no evidence in Aristeas either to indicate which books in the Old Testament have exercised most influence upon it or to indicate which books in the New Testament it has influenced. Aristeas holds the Law in the highest esteem and is concerned with narrating the story of the translation of the Jewish Scriptures into Greek.

### Relation to apocryphal books

Similarly, there is no evidence that any of the apocryphal books directly influenced Aristeas. There are no apocryphal books with which Aristeas is especially close; with some there is only the general link shown by hellenistic influence.

### Cultural importance

Aristeas provides no specific detail either on the methods and aims of the translators or on the text used. Indeed, a look at the contents shows that the space devoted to the translators and their work is only a small proportion of the total length of Aristeas. The project and the names of the translators appear in verses 1–50; their actual work is described in verses 301–21. A digression on the questions put to the translators during the seven-day banquet occupies about a third of the whole work; other digressions include details of gifts from the king (vss. 51–82) and a description of Palestine, the Temple, and the high priest's vestments (vss. 83–120).

Nevertheless, the work is important, for it is the only ancient document on the subject that has survived. How is it then to be regarded? Opinions differ.<sup>8</sup> It has been regarded as a work of Jewish apologetics, aimed at the Greeks. Tcherikover suggested that it was "not written with the aim of self-defence or propaganda, and was addressed not to Greek, but to Jewish readers."<sup>9</sup> In either case, perhaps such a precise dichotomy obscures rather than illuminates: It may well be that we are nearer to the truth if we say that its underlying motive and purpose are mixed.

The background of the work is Alexandria, where a Jewish community lived among a predominantly gentile population. There were obvious differences in culture and religion, but Judaism and Hellenism largely succeeded in living side by side there in comparative harmony. Was any mutual assimilation possible? If so, would it take place? These questions were bound to arise, and indeed had arisen ever since some of the Jews had been forced to live in captivity in Babylon. To some extent, the result was the Judaism of the Dispersion, which was liberal as compared with the Judaism of Palestine, with the Temple at Jerusalem as the focus of its religion. This was inevitable and is associated with the rise and development of the synagogues, but even so, the Judaism of the Diaspora maintained its identity. On the other hand, the gentile population among whom the Dispersion lived was not always satisfied with such a situation, although there was little general hostile expression of such dissatisfaction. The ideals of Hellenism, however, aspired to a universalism in culture and religion, which could be intolerant of what might be regarded as Jewish separatism and exclusiveness.

The clash under Antiochus Epiphanes, which resulted in the persecution of the Jews in Palestine and an attempt to eradicate them, may have taken place shortly before Aristeas was written.<sup>10</sup> There may well have been repercussions and anxiety among the Jews in Alexandria and in the Dispersion. In any case, the situation existed either actually or potentially and was unavoidable as long as Jews lived among gentiles and, characteristically, exercised a noticeable presence and influence to a greater or lesser extent at different times.

<sup>7</sup> (Exclusiveness is found in Jub, syncretism in 4 Mac.—J.H.C.)

<sup>8</sup> See article by V. Tcherikover in *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations*, ed. S. Jellicoe.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>10</sup> 175–64 B.C. See also "Date."

The author of Aristeas was aware of this situation—and its danger, and he saw in the translation of the Jewish Scriptures a phenomenal event important in itself for Judaism and its understanding by Jews and non-Jews. He recognized that in process of time, through lack of use in ordinary communication with gentiles, the native language of the Jews might become less familiar. He also saw in the translation a sort of parable of the relationship between the Judaism of the Dispersion and the Hellenism of the gentiles among whom these Jews lived. Hence he acclaimed in this work the actual project and those responsible for its execution, showing the attitudes of both groups to each other. Perhaps it is to be regarded as an attempt at a compromise, which well may be criticized for its emphasis on and even bias toward Judaism, but which, nevertheless, deserves credit for its basic concept and vision. In this sense, Aristeas is not to be regarded as aimed only at Greeks or at Jews; it was probably aimed at both.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Charlesworth, *PMR*, pp. 78–80.  
 Delling, *Bibliographie*, pp. 97f.  
 Denis, *Introduction*, pp. 105–10.
- Hadas, M. *Aristeas to Philocrates*. New York and London, 1951. (This translation follows Thackeray's text.)
- Jellicoe, S. *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford, 1968. (A most important work, including chs. on Aristeas and its relation to LXX studies to date.)
- Jellicoe, S., ed. *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations*. New York, 1974. (This vol. contains articles on Aristeas by D. W. Gooding, V. Tcherikover, and G. Zuntz which appeared in learned journals between 1958 and 1963, assembled in convenient form for reference and prefaced with a masterly introduction by Jellicoe.)
- Marcus, R. *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities XII–XIV*. LCL edition, vol. VII; London and Cambridge, Mass., 1943. (Josephus used Aristeas as a source in *Ant* 12.11–118. See the appendix for a consideration of the method which Josephus adopted with this source.)
- Meecham, H. G. *The Letter of Aristeas*. Manchester, 1935. (The text of Thackeray is given here, without translation. There are appendices in which philological studies are paramount.)
- Nestle, E. "Septuagint" in J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*. Edinburgh, 1902. (This article contains much useful information, but now needs supplementing with the work of S. Jellicoe.)
- Pelletier, A. *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*. SC 89; Paris, 1962. (This vol. contains an introduction, text, and translation, with critical nn. and appendices. The introduction includes important sections on MSS, author and date, the Library of Alexandria, and the Jewish community there.)
- Shutt, R. J. H. "Notes on the Letter of Aristeas." *BIOSCS* 10 (1977) 22–30.
- Swete, H. B. *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Cambridge, 1902; text: 519–74, introduction: 501–18. (The introduction is valuable for detailed descriptions of the MSS of LetAris.)
- Thackeray, H. St. J., ed. "The Letter of Aristeas," in *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, by H. B. Swete. Cambridge, 1902. (This edition of LetAris is the basis for the present translation.)

## Index

Note: Volume numbers are in **boldface**. References to footnotes from the text of documents use footnote numbers; for example, "1:262 *n8a*" refers to note 8a on page 262 of volume 1.

This index is essentially an index to topics and names in the pseudepigrapha and related scriptural and ancient literature. Geographical areas and places are included only if of great importance.

- Aaron  
Artapanus on, 2:900, 901  
in 2 Baruch, 1:641  
on curtain of God, in 3 Enoch, 1:297  
in Damascus Document, 2:427  
Demetrius the Chronographer on, 2:852, 853  
eclipse of, 2:427 *n*  
in Ezekiel the Tragedian, 2:805, 813  
in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:684, 688, 694  
invoked by Ishmael, 1:255  
in Jannes and Jambres, 2:432, 438, 440  
in Lives of the Prophets, 1:382, 388  
in 4 Maccabees, 2:552  
as master of mystical lore, 1:252  
as priest, 1:96, 257  
in 3 Enoch, 1:301  
in 4 Ezra, 1:525  
in Pseudo-Philo, 2:324  
in Sirach, 1:791 *n8b*  
in Pseudo-Philo, 2:316, 320, 324, 329, 366, 368, 374  
tribe of, 2:396, 396 *n2d*  
Abaddon, 2:173 *n10f*  
Abaöth, 2:721  
Abaya, Rabbi, 2:857  
Abbahu, Rabbi, 1:315  
Abba of Akko, Rabbi, 2:281 *n20d*  
Abdias. *See* Apostolic History of Abdias  
Abednego, 1:500, 502, 513, 2:558 *n13b*  
Abel  
in Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:701  
in Apocalypse of Sedrach, 1:609  
in Bere'sit Rabbah (GenR), 2:264 *n21c*  
different sources on burial of, 2:293 *n40d*  
in 1 Enoch, 1:25  
in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:684, 688, 693  
in Jubilees, 2:61, 64  
as judge, in Testament of Abraham, 1:350 *n2g2*  
in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:249, 266–67, 290, 291–93  
in 4 Maccabees, 2:563  
in Pseudo-Philo, 2:304, 305  
in Testament of Adam, 1:994  
in Testament of Isaac, 1:907, 908  
in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:804, 827  
in Vision of Isaiah, 2:170, 171  
Abezethibou, 1:936–38, 952–54, 967 *n6d*, 985–86  
Abijah, 2:395 *n18c*  
Abimelek (Abimelech)  
in 4 Baruch, 2:413, 414, 416, 417, 419–25  
in Jubilees, 2:35, 103  
in Pseudo-Philo, 2:350–51, 376  
Abiuth, 2:307  
'Abodah Zarah (AZ), 1:229, 231 *n*, 245, 268 *n16h*, 281 *n26m*, 291 *n39b*, 309 *n24i*  
on "book of the generations of Adam," 2:251 *n*  
on God's offering of law to all nations, 2:318 *n11d*  
as heavenly throne, 1:866 *n1h*  
instruction of prematurely dead in, 1:313 *n48Cz*  
Messiah in, 2:298 *n45u*  
Nimrod in, 1:297 *n45l*  
poison of God in, 1:658  
stars in, 1:299 *n46b*  
on storehouse of beings, 1:294 *n43i*  
"swift cherub" in, 1:309 *n24h*  
Abortion  
in 1 Enoch, 1:48, 80  
list of books with condemnation of, 2:580 *n185i*  
in Pseudo-Phocylides, 2:580  
in Sibylline Oracles, 1:333, 352  
Abot (Ab), 1:74 *n93o*, 261 *n6e*, 262 *n8a*, 315 *n48Dv*, 819  
on creation, 1:887 *n9b*  
judgment books in, 1:889 *n12d*, 900 *n10b*  
yoke of Law in, 1:633 *n41a*  
Abot de-Rabbi Nathan (ARN), 1:239, 260 *n5k*, 262 *n8a*, 269 *n17f*, 285 *n31a*, 674 *n11d*  
on fall of Adam and Eve, 2:279 *n19a*, 279 *n19f*  
on Job, 1:843 *n9d*, 847 *n20f*  
souls in, 1:294 *n44a*, 295 *n44e*  
Above, as likeness of below, in Odes of Solomon, 2:764  
Abraham (Abram)  
Apocalypse of. *See* Apocalypse of Abraham  
in Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:249  
Artapanus on, 2:889, 891, 897

- Abraham (Abram) (*Cont.*)  
 Aseneth as parallel to, 2:189  
 as astrologer  
   in Jubilees, 1:475 *n*, 477, 2:40, 81  
   legend of Egyptian visit, 2:202 *n1e*  
   Pseudo-Eupolemus on, 2:873–74, 880–82  
 in 2 Baruch, 1:618, 641  
 in 4 Baruch, 2:419, 421  
 Books of the Mysteries held by, 1:949 *n*  
 changing of name of, in Jubilees, 2:86  
 children of, 1:204 *n71c*  
 Christ seen by, 1:407 *n6a*  
 Cleodemus Malchus on, 2:883, 887  
 as colony founder, 2:886  
 on curtain of God, in 3 Enoch, 1:297  
 Death of, 1:xxvi  
 Demetrius the Chronographer on, 2:851, 852  
 in Ethiopian commentary to 1 Enoch, 1:74 *n93j*  
 as exorcist, in Genesis Apocryphon, 1:945  
 in Ezekiel the Tragedian, 2:813  
 in 4 Ezra, 1:526, 528, 634  
 as friend of God, 1:882 *n1g*  
   in Testament of Abraham, 1:882–84, 886, 892, 901  
 as giants' descendant, in Pseudo-Eupolemus, 2:882  
 in heaven, in Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1:502, 514, 515  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:295–96  
 in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:677, 678, 684, 687, 688, 693, 696, 697  
 in Jubilees, 1:475 *n*, 477, 2:35, 36, 40, 45, 47, 79–100, 909  
 in Ladder of Jacob, 2:411  
 at Last Judgment in Sibylline Oracles, 1:351  
 in Lives of the Prophets, 2:389  
 in magical papyrus, 2:717  
 martyrs received by, in 4 Maccabees, 2:539, 558  
 messengers to  
   in Genesis, 1:136 *n21e*  
   in Jubilees, 2:81  
 nakedness of, in Jubilees, 2:69  
 in Orphica (possibly), 2:796, 799 *ni*  
 in Philo the Epic Poet, 2:781, 783  
 in Prayer of Jacob, 2:720  
 in Prayer of Manasseh, 2:628, 630, 634, 635  
 proselytism of, 1:878  
 in Psalms of Solomon, 2:645, 661, 669  
 Pseudo-Hecataeus on, 2:905, 909, 913  
 in Pseudo-Philo, 2:300, 301, 310–13, 315, 325, 332–33, 345, 374  
 soul of  
   in Origen, 1:565  
   in Testament of Abraham, 1:565, 867 *n52e*  
 Testament of. *See* Testament of Abraham  
 in Testament of Isaac, 1:903, 905, 907–11  
 in Testament of Jacob, 1:916, 918  
 in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:790, 792, 793, 795, 800, 801, 810, 811, 818, 828, 2:786  
 wife of. *See* Sarah  
*See also* Isaac, Abraham's planned sacrifice of  
 'Abram (father-in-law of Terah), 2:79  
 Abstinence. *See* Fasting; Wine  
 Abysses (depths; pits)  
 in 2 Baruch, 1:642  
 in 1 Enoch, 1:38, 61–62, 64, 70–72, 2:722 *nu*  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:147  
   in 4 Ezra, 1:543  
   in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:679  
   in Testament of Levi, 1:789  
   *See also* Fire, of Hell; Hell; Oceans, abysses of  
 Account of Creation. *See* Ma'aseh Bere'sit  
 Account of the Chariot. *See* Ma'aseh Merkabah  
 Accuser (in Hades), in Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1:502, 503, 511, 513  
 Achan, 2:330, 335  
 Acheron, Lake. *See* Lake Acheron  
 Acheron, stream of, Homer and, 2:823, 842  
 Achilles, 1:372  
 Achilles Tatius, Clitophon and Leucippe, 2:183, 185, 203 *n1k*, 203 *n1m*, 204 *n2b*, 206 *n4n*, 209 *n6o*, 214 *n9a*, 227 *n15g*  
 Acrostics  
   of Adam's name, 2:268 *n27a*  
   in 3 Baruch (possibly), 1:666 *n4i*  
   in Sibylline Oracles, 1:362, 417, 417 *n*, 423–24, 434  
 Acts. *See* Acts of the Apostles (book)  
 Acts of Andrew, 1:667 *n4r*  
 Acts of John (book), 1:110 *n3e*, 199 *n69u*, 662 *ne*  
   Odes of Solomon and, 2:747 *n13a*, 747 *n13b*  
 Acts of Matthew (book), 2:464  
 Acts of Nouna (book), 1:985 *n24a*  
 Acts of Peter (book)  
   Apocryphon of Ezekiel in, 1:488  
   child prodigy in, 1:206 *n71l*  
   Vision of Isaiah in, 2:150  
 Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles (book), 1:571 *n1f*  
 Acts of Philip (book), 1:194 *n66d*  
   Ezekiel's death in, 2:388 *n3b*  
 Acts of Pilate (book), 2:429  
 Acts of St. Catherine (book), 2:429, 430 *n*, 433 *n*  
 Acts of the Apostles (apocryphal book), 2:184  
 Acts of the Apostles (book)  
   angels' appearances in, 2:224 *n14a*, 225 *n14p*  
   Aratus in, 2:835  
   Artapanus and, 2:901 *n3j2*  
   ascension of Jesus in, 1:195 *n67c*, 859 *n39e*  
   David's death in, 1:514 *n9a*  
   1 Enoch in, 1:10  
   Joseph and Aseneth and, 2:186, 195, 225 *n14p*  
   Jubilees and, 2:49  
   magic in, 1:943  
   man-made temple in, 2:827 *n8b*  
   Odes of Solomon and, 2:728, 2:744 *n11c*  
   Paul's immunity in, 1:820 *n6a*  
   Pseudo-Philo and, 2:302  
   Testament of Moses and, 1:924  
   Vision of Ezra in, 1:585  
 Acts of Thomas (book), 1:409, 662 *ne*  
 ActsPhil. *See* Acts of Philip  
 Adail, 1:145  
   *See also* Adoil  
 Adam (first man)  
   animals named by  
     in 2 Enoch, 1:184–85, 218  
     in Jubilees, 2:58  
   Apocalypse of. *See* Apocalypse of Adam  
   to be brought out as last one, in 2 Enoch, 1:168  
   creation of  
     day of, in rabbinic interpretation, 2:293 *n42b*  
     in 2 Enoch, 1:143 *n25a*  
     in Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:578



- in Jubilees, 2:57  
 on curtain of God, in 3 Enoch, 1:297  
 death of  
   in Jubilees, 2:63–64  
   in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:249, 254, 270–71, 274–75, 286–93  
 Death of (book), 1:992, 994 *n3a*  
 Devil's refusal to worship  
   in Apocalypse of Sedrach, 1:610  
   in Gospel of Bartholomew, 1:149 *n29j*  
   in Life of Adam and Eve, xxx, 2:262  
 Enoch's supposed burying of, 1:311 *n48Cb*  
 evil heart of, in 4 Ezra, 1:521, 529  
 future divinity of, in Testament of Adam, 1:991, 994  
 future prophesied by, 1:994 *n3a*, in Testament of Adam, 1:994  
 future shown to, in Sanhedrin, 1:296 *n45c*  
 guarded by angel, in Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:566, 572  
 guilt of. *See also* Original sin  
   in 4 Ezra, 1:xxx, 529, 537, 541  
   in Jubilees, 2:47  
 handwriting of, in 2 Enoch, 1:156  
 in heaven  
   in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:266–68  
   in Testament of Adam, 1:888, 899  
   in Vision of Isaiah, 2:170, 171  
 as image of God. *See* Man, as image (facsimile) of God  
 "last," in 1 Corinthians, 1:168 *n42d*  
 length of life of, in 2 Baruch, 1:627  
 magic book of, 1:956  
 oil of mercy sought by. *See* Mercy, oil of as *protoplastus*, 2:322 *n13i*  
 as pseudonym, 1:602 *n*  
 in Pseudo-Philo, 2:304, 322 *n13i*  
 pun on name of, 1:438 *n11h2*  
 recalled from death, in Apocalypse of Sedrach, 1:609  
 removal of soul of, in Apocalypse of Moses, 1:514 *n9a*  
 revelations given to, 1:622 *n4c*  
 rib returned to, in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:293  
 salvation of, in Testament of Simeon, 1:787  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:335, 352, 424  
 Testament of. *See* Testament of Adam  
 in Testament of Isaac, 1:907, 908  
 whether angels could be seen by, 1:154 *n31c*  
*See also* Adam and Eve; Life of Adam and Eve  
 Adam (nephew of Ahigar), 2:488 *n*  
 Adam and Eve  
   as androgynous being, 1:712 *n1d*  
   blessed ones compared to, in History of the Rechabites, 2:452  
   Book of, 1:xxvi, 2:723 *ni2*  
   Combat of (book), 2:250  
   Conflict of. *See* Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan  
   fall of, xxx. *See also* Garden of Eden, Adam and Eve's expulsion from  
     in Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:700, 701  
     in Apocalypse of Adam, 1:707  
     in Apocalypse of Sedrach, 1:610  
     in 2 Baruch, 1:618, 627, 629, 637, 641  
     in 3 Baruch, 1:658, 659, 666–67, 672–73  
     in 2 Enoch, 1:154  
     in Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:561, 565, 572  
   in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:692  
   in Jubilees, 2:35, 48, 59–60  
   in Life of Adam and Eve, 1:572 *n2f*, 2:249, 251, 270–85  
   in Pseudo-Philo, 2:322  
   in Sibylline Oracles, 1:335–36, 424  
   in Testament of Adam, 1:991, 994  
   in Koran, 1:155 *n32b*  
   Life of. *See* Life of Adam and Eve  
   *See also* Adam; Eve  
 Adam's Daughter, Book of (other name of Jubilees), 2:41  
 Adarkes (King), 1:936, 983–84  
 Additions to Esther (book), 1:xxvii, 2:218 *n11a2*, 711  
 "Addition" to the feast, in Jubilees, 2:118  
 'Adernā'el, 1:60 *n82z*  
 Adoil, 1:142 *n24g*, 143 *n25a*, 144–45, 146 *n27e*, 216 *ni*  
 Adonael, 1:954, 979  
 Adonai, 1:351, 979, 981  
 Adonai (Adōnai), 1:351, 979, 981, 2:721  
 Adonaios, 2:717, 721 *nr*  
 Adonis, 1:343, 2:151  
 Adultery  
   in Ahigar (Syrian), 2:587  
   desired by Egyptian woman with Joseph  
     in Jubilees, 2:128–29  
     in Testament of Joseph, 1:819–21  
   determination of woman suspected of, in Numbers, 2:320 *n12f*  
   Greek poets (possibly) on, 2:830  
   in Martyrdom of Isaiah, 2:158  
   in Noachian law, 2:569  
   in Psalms of Solomon, 2:659  
   in Pseudo-Philo, 2:305, 319, 336, 358, 359  
   Pseudo-Phocylides, 2:569, 574, 580  
   punishment for, in Vision of Ezra, 1:581, 587, 589–90  
   in Sibylline Oracles, 1:333, 339, 346, 351, 379, 384, 391, 397  
   Syriac Menander on, 2:585, 593, 599, 601  
   in Testament of Jacob, 1:917  
   *See also* Sexual offenses  
 Adversary. *See* Devil  
 Aelian, 2:856 *n*, 915  
 Aeneas, 1:371, 393 *nb*, 431, 433, 438 *11g2–i2*, 438 *n1112*, 445 *n12c*  
 Aeons, God as ruler of, 1:236  
   in Apocalypse of Adam, 1:709, 712, 714–15  
 Aeschylus, 2:804–6, 808 *na*, 811 *nz*, 814 *np2*, 816 *nd3*  
   Derek Erez "forged quotations" from, 2:568  
   iambic fragment attributed to, 2:824–25  
 Aesop  
   fables of, 2:484 *n*, 499 *nVII*, 506 *nXIm*, 507 *nXIII d*  
   Koran and, 2:491  
   Life of, 2:184, 480, 491, 507 *nXIII f*  
 Aethiopica (Heliodoros), 2:183  
 Afera, 2:883, 887  
 Africa  
   Heracles' expedition to, Cleodemus Malchus on, 2:883–87  
 Africanus, Julius, 1:341–21, 2:254 *n*, 2:632  
 Afterlife. *See* Hell; Paradise; Resurrection; Righteous ones; Salvation  
 Agag, 2:371–72, 377

- Agamemnon, 1:437 *n11b2*, 437 *n11f2*  
 Age, end of. *See* History, end point of; Time, end of
- Aged people. *See* Old age
- Agenor, 2:877, 881 *n*
- 'Aggadat Mašiah  
 Messiah in, 1:298 *n45r*
- Agitation, Syriac Menander on, 2:591, 604
- Agriculture  
 Ahiqar's proverbs on, 2:503  
 end of hard labor in  
 in 2 Baruch, 1:646  
 as recommended work by Greeks and Jews,  
 2:580 *n161f*  
 taught to Adam, in Life of Adam and Eve,  
 2:253, 266  
 warning against damage to, in Pseudo-Phocylides, 2:575  
*See also* Egypt, famine in
- Agrippa. *See* Herod Agrippa I
- Ahab, 2:159, 391, 392
- Ahasuerus (king of Persia), 1:436 *n11q*, 2:515
- Ahaziah, 2:159, 392, 397
- 'Aher (Elisha b. Abuya), 1:230, 232, 268
- Ahijah, 1:525  
 in Lives of the Prophets, 2:395
- Ahikar. *See* Ahiqar
- Ahiqar (book), 2:184, 187, 477  
 adultery in, 2:587  
 introduction to, 2:479–93  
 Syriac Menander and, 2:587  
 text of, 2:494–507
- Akër, 1:566, 577
- Akhazukhan, 1:183
- Akhmimic dialect. *See* Coptic language, Akhmimic
- Akicharos (book attributed to Theophrastus), 2:491
- Akkadian language, Ahiqar and, 2:481, 483 *n*
- 'Aktari'el Yah, 1:255 *n1b*, 304
- Alchemy, in 1 Enoch, 1:16
- Alcmena, 2:827 *n7d*, 827 *n7f*
- Alcohol. *See* Vine; Wine
- Alexander Balas, 1:371 *n3u2*, 371 *n3v2*
- Alexander Polyhistor, 1:831, 2:781  
 Aristaeas the Exegete in, 2:855, 857  
 Artapanus in, 2:889, 890, 898 *n3g*, 901 *n3h2*, 902 *n3m2*  
 Cleodemus Malchus from, 2:883–85, 887  
 Demetrius the Chronographer in, 2:843, 844, 848, 849 *n8a*, 852 *19b*, 853 *n4a*, 854 *n4e*  
 Eupolemus in, 2:861, 862, 865–71  
 Ezekiel the Tragedian in, 2:803–5, 808 *na*, 810 *nw*, 811 *ny*, 814 *nm2*, 815 *nw2*, 816  
 general estimate of, 2:777–78  
 Pseudo-Eupolemus in, 2:873, 874, 878  
 Theodotus's poem and, 2:785–88, 790–93
- Alexander Severus (Roman emperor), 1:411 *n7k*, 435 *n11j*, 443, 452, 2:588
- Alexander the Great, 1:355, 956, 2:518 *n2a*, 917  
 ascension of, 1:107 *n1o*  
 Cananus admired by, 2:856 *n*, 914–15  
 divine honors to, 1:743 *n2p3*  
 Hecataeus of Abdera on, 2:913–14  
 Life of (book), 2:184  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:320, 327–28, 359, 370–71, 386, 393 *n5a*, 436 *n11u*, 439–40, 445 *n12b*  
 tax remission by, 1:744 *2r3*  
*See also* Macedonia
- Alexandra (Lycophron), 1:319, 358
- Alexandria (Egypt)  
 Apocalypse of Elijah from, 1:730, 740 *n2c2*  
 Aristobulus's work probably from, 2:833  
 Artapanus as resident in, 2:891  
 Demetrius the Chronographer probably in,  
 2:844, 845  
 Ezekiel the Tragedian probably from, 2:804  
 Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers possibly composed in, 2:673  
 Jeremiah's tomb in, in Lives of the Prophets,  
 2:387  
 Josephus on Jews of, 2:9 *n*  
 Letter of Aristaeas and, 2:7–10  
 library of, 2:7, 12  
 3 Maccabees from, 2:512  
 4 Maccabees possibly from, 2:534–35  
 mob of, Pseudo-Philo on, 2:577 *n961*  
 number of Jews in, 2:523 *n4d*  
 Philo the Epic Poet's work possibly from, 2:781  
 Prayer of Manasseh possibly from, 2:628  
 pre-existence of souls taught by Jews of, 1:922  
 Pseudo-Phocylides probably from, 2:567–68  
 Ptolemy IV's persecution of Jews of, in 3 Maccabees, 2:509, 513, 520, 522–27, 890  
 resentment against, 1:724  
 rise of, 1:440 *n11x2*  
 Sibylline Oracles from, 1:355, 432, 443, 453, 455 *n13m*, 459  
 Testament of Abraham and, 1:874  
 Testament of Job from, 1:852 *n28g*  
 Therapeutae near, 1:834  
 troubles in, under Caligula, 2:187, 567  
*See also* Egypt
- Alexandrinus (manuscript), 2:488 *n*, 510, 531
- Allah, primary title of, 2:484 *n*
- Allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, 2:834–35
- "Almighty God, The" (angel), 1:953, 968
- Almsgiving. *See* Poor, alms to
- Alphabet of Aqiba (book), 1:224, 229, 257 *n2a*, 264 *n11c*, 265 *n12a*, 285 *n31f*, 289 *n35j*, 296 *n45a*  
 divine justice in, 1:285 *n31a*  
 doffing of crowns in, 1:271 *n18d*  
 end of time in, 1:300 *n48Aa*  
 3 Enoch texts taken from, 1:310 *n48Ba*, 311 *n48Ca*  
 future shown in, 1:296 *45c*  
 gates in, 1:262 *n8a*  
 letters on "terrible crown" in, 1:284 *n29e*  
 men of faith in, 1:315 *n48Dv*  
 Metatron, as God's servant in, 1:295 *n44t*  
 Moses and Aaron in, 1:282 *n27g*  
 perfect Torah in, 1:264 *n11b*  
 sacred names in, 1:291 *n39a*, 310 *n48Bh*, 315 *n48Dt*  
 Šekinah in, 1:288 *n35c*  
 sword of God in, 1:286 *n32c*  
 treasuries of souls in, 1:294 *n43b*  
 voice of God in, 1:261 *n6g*
- 2 Alphabet of Ben Sira  
 Ahiqar and, 2:490  
 History of the Rechabites and, 2:447
- Alphabet of Metatron, 1:265 *n12a*
- Altars. *See* Sacrifices

- Amalekites, 1:787 *n6b*, 2:371  
intercourse with, in Pseudo-Philo, 2:301, 359–60
- Amaltheia, 1:328
- Amaltheia's Horn, 1:839, 864–68  
Prayers of, 1:860 *n40l*
- Ambrose, 1:967 *n6b*, 2:230 *n16f2*, 541–42
- Amidah (of Sabbath morning), 1:578 *n6f*
- Amilabes (name for Abel), 2:267
- Ammon (enemy of Israel), 2:351–53, 355
- Amorites  
in 2 Baruch, 1:642  
in Jubilees, 2:36, 44, 45, 48, 85, 11–12, 120–21  
in Pseudo-Philo, 2:324, 325, 329, 330, 334, 336, 339–40, 343, 352  
in Testament of Judah, 1:797  
in Testament of Moses, 1:933–34
- Amorites, 1:796 *n3a*, 916
- Amos, 1:526, 2:163  
in Lives of the Prophets, 2:391
- Amram, 1:255, 949 *n*, 2:138, 315–16, 852
- Anac (son of Ashkenaz), 2:307
- Anac (son of Jared), 2:304
- Anagram on Adam. *See* Adam, anagram (acrostic) on
- Anan'el, 1:16, 47 *n69c*
- Ananias, 2:16, 158, 165
- 'Anapi'el, 1:261, 264 *n10i*, 268, 273
- Anathema, woe to pronouncers of, in 1 Enoch, 1:76
- Anatolius, 2:831, 832, 836, 837 *n1a*, 837 *n1b*, 837 *n1d*
- Anatreth, 1:980 *n18a3*
- Ancestors. *See* Patriarchs
- Andreas (bodyguard), 2:13, 21, 24
- Androgyne, in Roman Sibylline Oracles, 1:320
- Androgynous beings, in On the Origin of the World, 2:717
- Androgyny of Death, in Nag Hammadi documents, 1:942
- Angelic Liturgy (4QŠirŠabb and MasŠirŠabb)  
angels in, 1:249, 269 *n17b*, 279 *n25g*, 303 *n15Bc*, 306 *n22Cm*, 791 *n8b*  
Life of Adam and Eve and, 2:253  
at Masada, 1:249 *n*  
Merkabah mysticism in, 1:236, 249, 856 *n33m*, 866 *n48h*  
Throne in, 2:268 *n26b*
- Angels  
Adam's view of, in 2 Enoch, 1:152–54  
anointing of body by, in Testament of Abraham, 1:895  
in Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:684  
appearance of, as historical personages, 2:225 *n14p*  
armed, 1:246  
in 3 Baruch, 1:657–58  
in 4 Baruch, 2:413, 418–21  
camps of, in 3 Enoch, 1:288–89  
circumcision of, in Jubilees, 2:47  
classes of, 1:242–43  
in Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1:503  
in 3 Enoch, 1:266, 270–75  
in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:674, 680, 690, 694  
in Jubilees, 2:47, 55  
command of, in Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:566, 577  
creation of  
in 2 Enoch, 1:144 *n25a*, 148–49  
in 3 Enoch, 1:282, 291–92  
in Jubilees, 2:55  
in Merkabah texts, 1:237  
crowns of. *See* Crowns, of angels  
of death, 1:658, 737 *n1i2*, 886 *n8e*, 892 *n16f*.  
*See also* Death  
in 3 Enoch, 1:315  
in Psalms of Solomon, 2:644, 658  
rabbinical term for, 1:970 *n8b*  
in Syriac Menander, 2:605  
in Testament of Job, 1:835, 865, 867–68  
in Vision of Isaiah, 2:170  
of destruction  
in 3 Enoch, 1:285, 286, 294–95  
stars as, 1:397 *n5m2*  
eating and drinking by, in Joseph and Aseneth, 2:228–29  
eating and drinking inability of, 1:884 *n5e*  
in Testament of Abraham, 1:884  
fallen (evil). *See also* Lucifer; Satan  
in Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:684  
in 2 Baruch, 1:641  
demons as, in Testament of Solomon, 1:952, 953  
in 1 Enoch, 1:xxx, 9, 15, 19, 24, 44, 47–49, 63–64, 70, 957  
in 2 Enoch, 1:96, 112–15, 130–33  
evil as caused by, 1:xxx, 106 *n1e*  
in Pseudo-Philo, 2:301, 348  
in Questions of Ezra, 1:594, 596–97  
in Testament of Reuben, 1:784, 842 *n6c*  
families of, 1:247, 265 *n12f*  
fellowship of just with, 1:855 *n33d*, 718 *n*, 723 *ni2*, 2:229 *n16o*  
fighting between  
in Apocalypse of Abraham, 2:702–3  
in Prayer of Joseph, 2:702  
in Vision of Isaiah, 2:174  
fireborn. *See* Fire, angels made from with flowers, in 3 Baruch, 1:674–75  
glorification of God by  
in Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:566, 574  
in Prayer of Manasseh, 2:635, 637  
in Testament of Levi, 1:794  
guardian, 2:319 *n12k*  
in Jubilees, 2:47, 138, 139  
national, in Bere'šit Rabbah, 2:707 *n*  
in Pseudo-Philo, 2:301, 319 *n11k*, 321 *n13e*, 323, 372  
in Testament of Jacob, 1:913, 914  
heavenly bodies governed by. *See* Moon; Stars; Sun  
as heavenly household  
in 3 Enoch, 1:282  
in Merkabah texts, 1:241–44  
hierarchy of. *See* Angels, classes of, *above*  
on horses  
in 3 Enoch, 1:270  
in 4 Maccabees, 2:548  
Michael on, in Testament of Abraham, 1:883  
in Testament of Adam, 1:995  
of hosts, 1:663 *n1k*, 675 *12b*  
in Odes of Solomon, 2:749

- Angels (*Cont.*)  
 human beings opposed by. *See* Man, angelic opposition to  
 human beings transmuted into, in 3 Enoch, 1:138–41  
 human virtues represented by, 2:227 *n15q*  
 of instruction of the righteous, in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:779  
 intercessory, 2:227 *n15r*  
   in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:779, 790, 810  
 invisibility of, in Origen, 1:154 *n31c*  
 in Jubilees, 247, 133 *n30c*  
 knowledge of God through, 1:xxxii  
 in Ladder of Jacob, 2:405  
 language of. *See* Glossolalia  
 life span of, 1:292 *n40j*  
 as light, in Testament of Job, 1:835, 840  
 in Lives of the Prophets, 2:382  
 of mankind, 2:287  
 as mediators between man and God. *See* Man, angelic mediation between God and as messengers. *See also* 4 Ezra; Michael  
   in History of the Rechabites, 2:445, 450, 451  
   in Jannes and Jambres, 2:430–31, 434, 437  
   in Joseph and Aseneth, 2:177, 224–31  
   in More Psalms of David, 2:614  
   in Pseudo-Philo, 2:348–49, 355–56  
 ministering, 2:704  
 at Moses' death, in Pseudo-Philo, 2:328  
 names and duties of  
   in 1 Enoch, 1:232–24, 31–32, 47–48, 247  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:97  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:240, 242, 266–67, 266 *n14d*, 276 *n19b*  
   in Ladder of Jacob, 2:405, 408  
   in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:253  
   in Pseudo-Philo, 2:340, 351  
   in Testament of Abraham, 1:878  
   in Testament of Adam, 1:991, 995  
 not told by God of creation, in 2 Enoch, 1:142–43  
 number of  
   in 1 Enoch, 1:40, 50  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:164–65  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:305  
 in Old Testament, contrasted to 3 Enoch, 1:246  
 pairs of, 1:106 *n1j*  
 in Paradise  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:116–17  
   in History of the Rechabites, 2:443, 445, 447 *n*, 455–60  
   in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:268, 272–73  
 of peace, 1:790 *n5d*  
   in 1 Enoch, 1:37–39, 41  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:286  
   in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:779, 810, 818, 826  
 of plague, in 1 Enoch, 1:37  
 of power and principalities, 1:675 *n12b*, 2:264 *n21a*  
 primeval, 1:259  
 protective. *See also* Israel, angels' help to  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:241  
   in Ethiopian Church, 1:10  
   in 3 Maccabees, 2:509, 514, 526–27  
   in 4 Maccabees, 2:548  
   in Testament of Joseph, 1:820  
 of punishment and hell  
   in Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1:498, 502, 503, 508, 511  
   in 1 Enoch, 1:39, 43–46  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:118–19  
   in Testament of Abraham, 1:889  
   in Testament of Levi, 1:779  
   in Vision of Ezra, 1:574 *n4b*  
   in Vision of Isaiah, 2:173  
 recording, 1:867 *n51f*  
   in Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1:498, 503, 511, 513  
   in 3 Baruch, 1:657, 659  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:132–33, 140–41  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:274–75  
   in Testament of Abraham, 1:889, 890, 900  
 of repentance (Repentance), 2:190, 227  
 righteous dead as having higher status than, in Vision of Isaiah, 2:154, 171–72  
 of righteousness, in 4 Baruch, 2:423, 424  
 in second coming of Christ, in Apocalypse of Elijah, 1:744  
 Šekinah's nourishment to, 1:259 *n5c*, 278 *n22j*  
 sense of smell of, in 3 Enoch, 1:261  
 separating God and man, in 3 Enoch, 1:236  
 sex of  
   in 1 Enoch, 1:15–16  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:288  
 sexual activity banned in presence of, in 1 Enoch, 1:21, 205 *n71d*  
 singing and liturgy by, 1:133 *n19c*. *See also* Sanctus  
   in Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1:500, 508  
   in Ascension of Isaiah, 1:248  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:132–37, 168, 867 *n51a*  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:223, 245  
   Jacob's opponent as leader of, 2:702, 708  
   in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:253, 273, 277  
   in Questions of Ezra, 1:593, 598  
   "still, small voice" as, 1:306 *n22Cm*  
   in Testament of Abraham, 1:897  
   in Testament of Levi, 1:248  
 sitting down by, 1:263 *n10b*, 274 *np2*  
 size of, 1:263 *n9c*, 312 *n48Ck*  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:273, 275, 277, 279, 288  
 thrones of. *See* Thrones, of angels  
 thwarting, in Testament of Solomon, 1:935, 953, 970, 979  
 traditional descriptions of, 2:225 *n14q*  
 transformations of, in Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 1:512  
 vessels of Temple preserved by, in 2 Baruch, 1:617, 623  
 in Vision of Isaiah, 2:172–73  
 in visions. *See* Visions  
 of war and battle  
   in Greek history, 2:527 *n6g*  
   in Pseudo-Philo, 2:340, 374  
   in Testament of Adam, 1:991, 995  
 who failed in performance of Sanctus, in 3 Enoch, 1:223, 288 *n35h*, 291, 299–300  
 winged  
   in Apocalypse of Elijah, 1:750  
   in Dead Sea Scrolls, 1:249  
   in 1 Enoch, 1:7  
   in 2 Enoch, 1:110–12, 130–31, 134–35  
   in 3 Enoch, 1:249, 263, 277–80  
   in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:694

- worship of, 1:504–5  
*See also* Archangels; Cherubim; Heaven; Watchers
- Anger**  
 Ahiqar on, 2:507  
 how to avoid, Letter of Aristeas on, 2:29  
 list of warnings against, 2:576 *n64a*  
 in 4 Maccabees, 2:545, 547  
 in Pseudo-Phocylides, 2:576  
 Sibylline Oracles on, 1:348  
 in Testament of Isaac, 1:907  
 in Testament of Jacob, 1:917  
 Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs on, 1:779, 808–9  
*See also* God, wrath of  
 'Ani'el, 1:268 *n16j*
- Animals**  
 Adam's naming of. *See* Adam, animals named by  
 cooperation of, 1:860 *n40i*  
 creation of  
 in 2 Enoch, 1:143 *n25a*, 150–51  
 in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:679, 691  
 in Jubilees, 2:56–57  
 deification of, in Sibylline Oracles, 1:471  
 destruction of, in Sibylline Oracles, 1:426  
 divided by sex in Paradise, in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:254, 277  
 dreams of, in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:812, 824  
 giants' sinning against  
 in 1 Enoch, 1:16  
 in Jubilees, 2:70  
 God's mercy to  
 in Questions of Ezra, 1:596, 599  
 in Vision of Ezra, 1:590  
 guilt of, 1:184 *n58e*  
 hunting of, Syriac Menander on, 2:599  
 lamentations by, in Testament of Job, 1:859 *n39c*, 860  
 man's accountability for treatment of, in 2 Enoch, 1:97  
 man's mercy to, in Testament of Zebulon, 1:806  
 memory in, in Letter of Aristeas, 2:23  
 in Noah's Ark. *See* Flood  
 parental love by, in 4 Maccabees, 2:559  
 proverbs about, in Ahiqar, 2:498–502  
 revolt and rule of, in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:249, 272–75, 283  
 sacred, in Artapanus, 2:889, 893, 900, 902  
 sacrifice of. *See also* Sacrifices  
 in Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:693–96  
 on Day of Atonement, 2:539  
 in 2 Enoch, 1:96, 184–85, 196–201  
 in Letter of Aristeas, 2:22, 24  
 in More Psalms of David, 2:619–21  
 in Pseudo-Philo, 2:321  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:376, 384, 426–27, 429  
 in Testament of Issachar, 1:803  
 souls of, in 2 Enoch, 1:184–85, 218  
 speech by, in Jubilees, 1:35, 40, 60  
 taming of  
 in 2 Baruch, 1:645  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:379  
 unclean. *See also* Dietary practices of Jews  
 in Letter of Aristeas, 1:23, 24
- wild  
 God's protection against, in Psalms of Solomon, 2:662  
 in Pseudo-Phocylides, 2:579  
 in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:813–14, 826  
*See also* Bestiality
- Anointed One.** *See* Messiah
- Anointing,** 2:272 *n36a*  
 of afflicted by priest, in Testament of Adam, 1:993  
 of body by angels, in Testament of Abraham, 1:895  
 of Enoch in heaven, in 2 Enoch, 1:138–39  
 of Levi, in Testament of Levi, 1:791 *n8c*  
 of priests, in Pseudo-Philo, 2:321
- Answers Given by Solomon (book),** xxvi
- Antaios,** 2:884, 885, 887
- Antichrist**  
 in Apocalypse of Daniel, 1:758, 760–61, 767–70, 2:162 *n4j*  
 in Apocalypse of Sedrach, 1:613  
 in Book of Mysteries, 1:10  
 Dan and, 1:809 *n5b*  
 flight of faithful from, in Apocalypse of Elijah, 1:748–50  
 in Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:564, 567–68, 575–76  
 in 1 John, 1:729  
 length of rule of, in Martyrdom of Isaiah, 2:162  
 miracles by  
 in Apocalypse of Daniel, 1:760–61, 769  
 in Apocalypse of Elijah, 1:745  
 in Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:564, 575  
 in Martyrdom of Isaiah, 2:161–62  
 in Seventh Vision of Daniel, 1:567  
 physiognomy of, 1:568, 724, 731  
 in Apocalypse of Daniel, 1:756, 767–68  
 in Apocalypse of Elijah, 1:745–46  
 as Satan incarnate, 1:732, 2:161 *n4a*  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:363 *n3k*, 364  
 as son of lawlessness, in Apocalypse of Elijah, 1:724, 731, 732, 737, 742 *n2b3*, 744–46, 748, 749, 752  
 in Syriac Apocalypse of Ezra, 1:563  
 in 2 Thessalonians, 1:567, 575 *n4f*, 575 *n4h*  
 three heads in legend of, 1:398 *n5a3*  
 virgin birth of, in Apocalypse of Daniel, 1:757, 767
- Antigonus,** 2:24
- Antioch**  
 4 Maccabees possibly from, 2:535–37  
 Odes of Solomon possibly from, 2:727
- Antiochus III the Great,** 1:440 *n11v2*, 744 *n2q3*, 2:509, 517
- Antiochus IV Epiphanes,** 2:640, 651 *n1f*  
 in 4 Maccabees, 2:531, 533, 538, 541, 549–50, 563, 856  
 persecutions by, 1:920–21, 2:9, 10, 46, 98 *n22d*, 149, 150, 914  
 Sibylline Oracles and, 1:355, 371 *n3v2*, 375 *n3u3*, 375 *n3v3*  
 Temple profaned by, 1:355*n*  
 terminal worms of, 1:853 *n31c*  
 in Testament of Adam, 1:995
- Anti-Semitism.** *See topics under* Jews

- Antoninus Pius (Roman emperor), 1:394 *n5t*,  
419 *n8i*, 449 *n12g2*, 449 *n12h2*, 462 *n14i*,  
2:585
- Ants, in Pseudo-Phocylides, 2:580
- Aod, 2:301, 348
- Aphrodite, 1:365, 974 *n13a*
- Aphroditianus, Tale of, 2:404–5, 410 *n7a*,  
410 *n7c*, 410 *n7g*, 411 *n7h*
- Aploan*. See Apocalypse of Ioannis
- Apis (sacred bull), 1:410 2:900
- Apocalypse of Abraham (book), xxii, 1:880  
angelic conflict in, 2:702–3  
1 Enoch and, 1:10  
3 Enoch and, 1:249  
Eve's sexual desire awakened by snake in,  
2:283 *n25d*  
hypostatic voice in, 2:406  
introduction to, 1:681–88  
Ladder of Jacob and, 2:403, 404  
meals in, 2:212 *n8i*  
Michael in, 1:136 *n21e*  
Odes of Solomon and, 2:745 *n11q*  
text of, 1:689–705  
theodicy of, xxx
- Apocalypse of Adam (book), xxii, xxvii, 1:942 *n*,  
946, 992, 994, 2:250  
introduction to, 1:707–11  
text of, 1:712–19
- Apocalypse of Asclepius (book), 1:332 *n*
- Apocalypse of Baruch (book), 1:659–60  
Apocalypse of Sedrach and, 1:607
- Apocalypse of Daniel (book), xxii, 1:573 *n2m*,  
576 *n4p*  
introduction to, 1:755–62  
text of, 1:763–70
- Apocalypse of Daniel (lost book), 1:761
- Apocalypse of Elijah (book), xxii, xxxiii, 1:499–  
500  
Antichrist in, 1:363 *n3k*, 724, 731, 732,  
742 *n2b3*, 744–53  
introduction to, 1:721–34  
Sibylline Oracles and, 1:453  
text of, 1:735–53  
See also Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah; under  
Hebrew language
- Apocalypse of Ezra (book), xxii  
3 Ezra and Exodus and, 1:569 *n*  
languages of, 1:563–64  
See also Greek Apocalypse of Ezra
- Apocalypse of Ioannis (*Aploan*; Apocalypse of  
John; book), 1:351, 573 *n2m*, 576 *n5b*,  
588  
Antichrist in, 1:568, 575 *n4g*  
Vision of Ezra and, 1:581 *n*  
"Apocalypse of John," 1:760 *n*
- Apocalypse of Mary. See Apocalypse of the Vir-  
gin
- Apocalypse of Moses (Greek text of Life of Adam  
and Eve). See Life of Adam and Eve
- Apocalypse of Moses (other name for Jubilees),  
2:41
- Apocalypse of Paul (book), 1:114 *n7i*, 118 *n10e*,  
334, 509 *n1a*  
angels in, 1:597 *nAh*, 597 *nAk*  
Apocalypse of Zephaniah and, 1:497, 501, 505,  
506, 508 *nBc*, 510 *n2c*, 510 *n3a*, 510 *n3b*,  
511 *n3e*, 512 *n5b*  
3 Baruch and, 1:657, 660
- 2 Corinthians and, 1:512 *n5b*  
Ezekiel's death in, 2:388 *n3b*  
Greek Apocalypse of Ezra and, 1:573 *n2k*,  
576 *n5c*  
Testament of Abraham and, 1:880  
Vision of Ezra and, 1:581 *n*, 585
- Apocalypse of Peter (book), 1:194 *n66d*, 334  
1 Enoch and, 1:8  
"hanging punishments" in, 1:113 *n7c*, 568  
pillar of fire in, 1:351 *n2s2*  
Vision of Ezra and, 1:581 *n*, 585
- Apocalypse of Sedrach (book), xxii, xxx, xxxiii  
Greek Apocalypse of Ezra and, 1:563–65, 569  
hypostatic voice in, 1:609–10, 2:406  
introduction to, 1:605–8  
Joseph and Aseneth and, 2:240 *n23s*  
Testament of Abraham and, 1:880  
text of, 1:609–13  
Vision of Ezra and, 1:581
- Apocalypse of Shem (book), 2:450 *n1h*
- Apocalypse of the Virgin (Apocalypse of Mary;  
book), 1:568, 606  
punishments in, 1:575 *n4e*, 576 *n5a*  
Vision of Ezra and, 1:581 *n*, 585
- Apocalypse of Thomas (book), 1:567 *n*
- Apocalypse of Weeks  
in Book of Mysteries, 1:10  
in 1 Enoch, 1:5, 7, 73–75, 323 *n*, 382
- Apocalypse of Zephaniah (book), xxii, 1:334,  
727, 2:607  
angelic choirs in, 1:673 *n10c*  
girdles in, 1:513, 2:225 *n14u*  
introduction to, 1:497–507  
text of, 1:508–15
- Apocalypse of Zerubbabel (book), 1:724
- Apocalypse of Zosimus. See History of the Rech-  
abites
- Apocalypses  
in Christianity to Middle Ages, 1:583–84  
definition and nature of, 1:3–4, 9–10, 497,  
721, 839 *n1j*, 2:27–28  
God's presence not stressed in, 2:729  
Merkabah texts contrasted to, 1:235  
See also Revelations
- 5 Apocalypse Syriac Psalms, 2:610 *n*, 614, 618
- Apocalyptic movements and literatures, nature of,  
2:646
- ApocEzek. See Apocryphon of Ezekiel
- Apocrypha  
definitions of, xxiv, xxvii, 2:629  
by Pseudo-Athanasius, xxi–xxii  
list of, 1:760 *n*  
list of abbreviations for, xlv, xlvi  
secret lore in, 1:512 *n5b*
- Apocrypha Anecdota*, 1:847 *n20f*
- Apocryphal Book of Moses, (Which) Contains the  
Great Name, 2:718
- Apocryphon of Elijah, 1:568
- Apocryphon of Ezekiel, xxii  
Clement books and, 2:464  
introduction to, 1:489–90  
text of, 1:492–95
- Apocryphon of Isaiah, 2:149
- Apocryphon of John (book), 1:143 *n24h*,  
2:55 *n2h*, 2:721 *n1*, 721 *nq*
- Apocryphon of Lamech, xxii
- Apokalypsis tou hagiou Iōannou*. See Apocalypse  
of Ioannis

- Apollo (god), 1:318, 320, 372 *n3e3*, 384 *n4a*, 400 *n5o3*, 442 *n11m3*, 979 *n18w*, 979 *n18z*
- Apollodorus (grammarian; writer), 1:342 *n1y*, 365 *n3i*, 713 *n3e*, 717 *n7j*, 717 *n7l*, 867 *n51b*, 2:885 *n*
- Apollodorus of Carystus, 2:830 *n12b*
- Apollodorus the Erythrean, 1:328
- Apollonius (governor of Syria), 2:531, 534, 540, 548–49
- Apollonius of Rhodes, 2:787
- Apology (book), 2:427 *n*
- Apostates  
in 2 Baruch, 1:633–34  
in 1 Enoch, 1:74  
*See also* Angels, fallen
- Apostolic Constitutions (ApCon), xxii, 1:683, 728  
Arian as possible compiler of, 2:674 *n*  
Doctrine of the Two Ways in, 1:817 *n1a*  
Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers in, 2:671–73, 703 *n*  
text of, 2:677–97  
Prayer of Manasseh and, 2:627, 631, 632
- Apostolic History of Abdias (book), 1:206 *n71l*, 2:429
- Apuleius, 1:985 *25a*, 2:427 *n*  
Joseph and Aseneth and, 2:183, 184, 192, 193, 202 *n1g*, 203 *n1k*, 203 *n1m*, 203 *n1o*, 204 *n2b*, 204 *n2m*, 207 *n4u*, 207 *n4x*, 207 *n4a2*, 208 *n4c*, 209 *n6o*, 212 *n8i*, 214 *n9a*, 215 *n10b*, 215 *n10p*, 216 *n10s*, 216 *n10c2*, 217 *n11a*, 217 *n11f*, 217 *n11j*, 217 *n11p2*, 220 *n12a*, 224 *n14a*, 226 *n15c*, 227 *n15q*, 233 *n19a*, 233 *n19i*, 235 *n21c*, 238 *n21c2*
- Aqiba, Rabbi  
Alphabet of. *See* Alphabet of Aqiba  
angels and, 1:256 *n1f*  
martyrdom of, 1:297 *n45h*  
in Pardes, 1:230, 232
- Aquinas, Thomas, on Prayer of Manasseh, 2:630, 632
- Arabian Hermetic traditions, 3 Enoch and, 1:228
- Arabic language  
Ahiqar in, 2:480, 486, 488, 492  
2 Baruch in, 1:616  
Book of the Rolls in, 1:992  
Cave of Treasures in, 2:250  
Combat of Adam and Eve in, 2:250  
4 Ezra in, 1:519  
History of the Rechabites in, 2:447  
Joseph and Aseneth in, 2:179  
Testament of Abraham in, 1:871  
Testament of Adam in, 1:989, 990  
Testament of Isaac in, 1:903  
Testament of Jacob in, 1:913
- Arabs  
in Artapanus, 2:897, 900  
Asia Minor invaded by, 1:763 *n1x*  
Egypt conquered by, 1:459, 467–68  
as Ishmaelites, in Jubilees, 2:94  
in Lives of the Prophets, 2:396
- Aram (father of Tamar), 1:797, 2:121, 130
- Aram (son of Shem), 2:69, 74, 308, 310  
*See also* Targums
- Aramaic language  
Ahiqar in, 2:480–84, 488, 587  
1 Enoch in, 1:6, 94  
in 3 Enoch, 1:225, 272 *n18j*  
incantation bowls inscribed in, 1:227–29, 943, 947–48, 963 *n1p*, 967 *n5p*, 974 *n13a*  
incantation text in, 1:315 *n48Dw*  
Janne and Jambres possibly in, 2:432  
in Jubilees. *See* Lubar, Mount  
Lives of the Prophets in, 2:380  
Odes of Solomon possibly composed in, 2:726  
Prayer of Joseph possibly in, 2:700  
Prayer of Manasseh possibly in, 2:625–27  
Pseudo-Philo probably not in, 2:299  
Syriac Menander's possible use of, 2:584  
Testament of Job in, 1:830–31  
Testament of Moses possibly in, 1:920  
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in, 1:776, 2:49
- Ararat, Mount  
in 2 Enoch, 1:212  
in Sibylline Oracles, 1:332, 341
- Aratus of Soli  
in Acts of the Apostles, 2:835  
Aristobulus' quoting of, 2:841
- Arazlay, 1:16
- Archangels  
in 2 Baruch, 1:642  
in 3 Baruch, 1:658  
in 1 Enoch, 1:23–24, 247, 963 *n2i*  
in 2 Enoch, 1:132, 134–35, 138 *n22i*  
in 3 Enoch, 1:261 *n6b*, 264, 269, 272–74, 284–85  
Enoch elevated to rank of, 1:228, 244  
four, 1:953 *n*, 963 *n2i*, 2:713 *nAi*. *See also* Discourse Concerning the Four Archangels  
in Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 2:680, 694  
in Odes of Solomon, 2:736  
in Testament of Adam, 1:991, 995  
in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:779  
Uriel as, in Prayer of Joseph, 2:704  
wisest, in 2 Enoch, 1:140–41  
*See also* Angels
- Archelaus, 1:920
- Archistrategos (commander-in-chief), 1:882 *n1c*  
Michael as, 1:138 *n22i*, 156–57, 566, 575, 675, 882–92, 894, 902, 2:225 *n14k*  
Raphael as, 1:566, 571
- Archons  
in Gnosticism, 1:236, 237  
Hypostases of, 1:236, 237  
Nature of, 1:716 *n7f*  
in Testament of Adam, 1:991, 995  
in Testament of Job, 1:835, 866
- Archontics, 1:708, 716 *n7a*
- Ared, 1:102 *n1aa*, 156  
*See also* Jared
- Ares, in Sibylline Oracles, 1:421, 436 *n11u*, 438, 439, 441, 451, 452, 454, 456, 457, 461–63
- Arianism  
Apostolic Constitutions and, 2:674 *n*  
Odes of Solomon and, 2:728
- Ariim, 1:183
- Ariokh (Ariukh; angel), 1:156, 157
- Aristeas, Letter of. *See* Letter of Aristeeas
- Aristeas the Exegete  
introduction to, 2:855–58  
text of, 2:859

- Aristobulus (high priest), 2:651 *n2*, 659 *n8n*, 659 *n8p*, 666 *n17e*
- Aristobulus (philosopher), 1:338 *n1k*, 355 *n*, 2:674, 775
- fragments of pseudo-Greek poets and, 2:821, 823
- introduction to fragments of, 2:831–36
- Orphica in, 2:795–96
- text of fragments of, 2:837–42
- Aristobus II Maccabeus, 2:152–53
- Aristophanes, 1:320, 849 *n23e*, 2:21 *n8h*, 2:790 *n1a*
- Aristotle, 1:317 *n*, 956, 2:805, 810 *nt*
- on 10-month spacings in births, 2:848
- as pseudonym, 1:602 *n*
- on souls, 1:118 *n10f*
- Ariukh (Ariokh), 1:156, 157
- Ark, the. *See* Flood, the
- Arkhas. *See* Arukhas
- Ark of the Covenant
- cows singing to, 1:231
- in 2 Enoch, 1:212
- Eupolemus on, 2:870, 871
- in Lives of the Prophets, 2:382, 388
- in Pseudo-Philo, 2:319, 330, 332, 338, 368–70, 373
- Armaros, 1:15, 16 *n6n*, 47
- Armenia, Ezra assimilated to Moses in, 1:566
- Armenian language, 1:xxvi
- Ahiqar in, 2:480, 486, 492
- Death of Adam in, 1:992
- 4 Ezra in, 1:518–19, 520, 592
- History of the Rechabites in, 2:445, 447
- Joseph and Aseneth in, 2:179–81, 197, 199, 200
- Life of Adam and Eve in, 2:250, 252, 255
- Life of Moses in, 1:566
- lists of books in, 2:464 *n*
- Lives of the Prophets in, 2:379
- 3 Maccabees in, 2:510
- Questions of Ezra in 1:563, 569, 591, 592
- Signs of the Judgment in, 1:576 *n4p*
- Testament of Adam in, 1:989
- Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in, 1:776
- Armeses, 1:16 *n6n*
- See also* Armaros
- Armodat, 2:310
- Armores, 1:47 *n69c*
- See also* Armaros
- Arms (armaments)
- angels with, 1:246 in Testament of Solomon, 1:970
- destruction of, in 1 Enoch, 1:37, 47
- teaching of making of, in 1 Enoch, 1:9, 16, 47
- Aroua, size of, 2:20 *nc2*
- Arpachshad, 2:69, 71, 74, 77, 2:308, 310
- Arrian, 2:915, 918 *ng*
- Arrogance
- denunciation of
- in Sibylline Oracles, 1:398–99
- in Syriac Menander, 2:599
- in Testament of Job, 1:836 *n*, 845
- of kings, 2:30
- Arsinoë (Queen of Egypt), 2:15, 24 *nt2*, 513, 517
- Artapanus, 2:717, 783 *n1–2a*, 783 *n3a*, 839 *n3a*, 840 *n4c*, 843–44, 850 *n12b*, 876
- historical fragments of, 1:435 *n11j*, 2:775, 814 *nm2*
- introduction to fragments of, 2:889–96
- Jannes and Jambres attributed to, 2:428, 433–34
- text of fragments of, 2:897–903
- Artaxerxes (king of Persia, exact identification unclear), 1:436 *n11q*, 436 *n11s*, 525, 2:914
- Artaxerxes (king of Persia in A.D. 231), 1:452 *n12m3*
- Artemis (goddess), 1:969 *n7d*, 970
- Artosael, 1:953, 978
- Arugat habbošem, 1:289 *n36d*
- Arukhas (Arkhas), 1:142 *n24g*, 143 *n25a*, 144–45, 146 *n27e*
- Asaph, 2:163, 165, 366
- Asceticism
- in Testament of Isaac, 1:907–8
- See also* Fasting; Wine
- Asclepius, Apocalypse of, 1:332 *n*
- Aseneth (Asenath), 2:897
- Demetrius the Chronographer on, 2:850
- in Jubilees, 2:122, 135
- in Testament of Joseph, 1:825
- See also* Joseph and Aseneth (book)
- Aseneth's Prayer (book), 2:197
- Ashbel, 2:135, 314
- Asher
- Demetrius the Chronographer on, 2:849, 851
- in Genesis, 1:811 *n1c*
- in Joseph and Aseneth, 2:241, 243
- in Jubilees, 2:110, 120, 122, 128, 135
- in Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1:782, 801
- tribe of, in Pseudo-Philo, 2:317, 335, 336, 338
- Ashes (dust; dung)
- in 4 Baruch, 2:418, 419, 422
- in History of the Rechabites, 2:454
- in Joseph and Aseneth, 2:215–25
- in Life of Adam and Eve, 2:254, 271, 272, 274
- in 3 Maccabees, 2:518
- in Pseudo-Philo, 2:369
- See also* Earth
- Ashkenaz, 2:307, 308, 309 *n5e*
- Ashmedai. *See* Asmodeus
- Ashtoreth, 1:970 *n81*, 971 *n8m*
- Ashur (Asshur), 2:69, 74, 75, 77
- Asia
- conflict between Rome and, in Sibylline Oracles, 1:358, 370
- woes to
- in 4 Ezra, 1:557
- in Sibylline Oracles, 1:400–1
- Asinus, Gnaeus, 2:862, 872
- Asmodeus (Ashmedai)
- in Giṭṭin, 1:948 *n*, 975 *n15e*
- in Testament of Solomon, 1:935, 943, 948–49, 952–53, 965–76
- in Tobit, 1:963 *n1p*, 965 *n5a*, 966 *n5k*
- Assaracus, 1:393 *n5b*, 431, 438
- Asshur, 2:308, 310
- See also* Ashur
- Assumption of Moses. *See* Testament of Moses
- Assyria
- Ahiqar and, 2:477, 479, 481, 484, 494
- in Apocalypse of Elijah, 1:722, 723, 739–40, 743
- in 2 Baruch, 1:642–43
- in 4 Ezra, 1:552, 556
- in 3 Maccabees, 2:526



- origin of name of, 2:885, 887  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:382, 385, 430, 436  
 in Testament of Adam, 1:995
- Asteroth**, 1:935, 970
- Astrology**  
 in Artapanus, 2:893, 897  
 Chaldean, 1:477 *n*, 2:78  
 condemnation of, 1:477 *n*  
 in Jubilees, 2:40, 71, 78, 81  
 in Ladder of Jacob, 1:406  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:357, 367, 453, 455, 477 *n*  
 Syriac Menander on, 2:600  
 in Dead Sea Scrolls, 1:250, 568
- Egyptian**, 1:346 *n2g*  
 legend of Abraham's teaching of, 2:202 *n1e*, 873, 881, 893, 897
- Enoch's invention of**, Pseudo-Eupolemus on, 2:873, 881
- in Hygromancia of Solomon, 1:942  
 in Jannes and Jambres, 2:434  
 Jewish, 1:476–80  
 in Joseph and Aseneth, 2:189  
 Kronos as planet in, 1:975 *n15b*  
 managing angels of 2 Enoch and, 1:133 *n19b*  
 in Orphica, 2:796, 799  
 Pseudo-Eupolemus on, 2:873–74, 880–82  
 in Pseudo-Philo, 2:328  
 Pseudo-Phocylides and, 2:576 *n71b*  
 "ruling spirit" in, in Prayer of Joseph, 2:703, 713 *n4c*  
 "seven" in, 1:970 *n8a*  
 of Terah, 1:689 *n1a*  
 in Wisdom of Solomon, 1:945  
*See also* Astronomy; Revelation; Zodiac
- Astronomy**  
 in 1 Enoch, 1:22, 32, 48, 51–54, 57–61  
 in 2 Enoch, 1:110, 120–31, 132–33, 164–67, 174  
 in 3 Enoch, 1:266–67, 276  
 Passover calculated by means of, in Aristobulus, 2:831, 834, 837  
*See also* Moon; Stars; Sun
- Astyges**, 2:871 *n4c*
- 'Atatyah**, 1:313, 860 *n40b*, 2:254 *n*
- Athanasius of Alexandria**, xxi, xxiii, 1:860 *n40b*, 2:254 *n*, 728
- Atheism**. *See* God, denial of existence of
- Athenagoras**, 2:221 *n12e2*, 912
- Atlas (god)**, 2:878, 881  
 seven daughters of, 1:970 *n8a*
- Atonement**  
 Day of. *See* Day of Atonement  
 vicarious, in 4 Maccabees, 2:539, 540, 552 *n6g*
- Atum**, 1:717 *n7l*, 980 *n18r2*
- Augustine of Hippo**, 1:423 *n8h2*, 967 *n6b*  
 apocalypticism opposed by, 1:584  
 on astrology, 1:478–79  
 on heavenly citizenship, 1:846 *n18d*  
 on Maccabees, 2:541–42  
 Satan's fall in, 2:262 *n12a*
- Augustus (Emperor; Octavian)**, 1:474–76  
 astrology and, 1:477 *n*  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:320, 360, 363 *n3i*, 393 *n3f*, 441 *n11h3*, 445–46, 451 *n12w2*
- Authentikos Logos (book)**, 2:238 *n21c2*
- Auz**, 2:313
- 'Awan**, 2:40, 61, 304 *n1b*, 305 *n2b*
- Azael**, 1:350 *n2p2*, 969
- 'Aza'el**, 1:258–60
- Azariah**, 1:525, 2:561, 563  
 in Lives of the Prophets, 2:396
- Azazel (Azaz'el)**, 1:255 *n1b*, 969 *n7e*  
 in Apocalypse of Abraham, 1:684, 685, 695–96, 699–701, 703, 705  
 in 1 Enoch, 1:16–19, 38, 47 *n69c*, 131 *n18d*
- 'Azbogah**, 1:227, 237, 242, 273 *n18z*, 274
- b. *Before a rabbinic text means it is from the Babylonian Talmud. See* Talmud or next element of reference.
- Baal**, 1:342 *n1z*, 964 *n3a*, 987 *n26e*, 2:159, 350, 351, 396–97, 871
- Baal Shamayn**, 2:486 *n*, 499 *nVIII*
- Baba Batra (BB)**, 1:624 *n10g*, 2:501 *nVIII*
- Aseneth** in, 2:204 *n2b*  
 Dinah in, 1:839 *n1m*  
 "first man" in, 1:311 *n48Cb*  
 fragrance of Garden of Eden in, 1:308 *n23l*  
 on God's creation of both righteous and wicked, 1:294 *n43c*  
 healing stone in, 1:852 *n28g*  
 on Job in patriarchal period, 2:856 *n*  
 on those who leave Israel, 1:855 *n33i*
- Babel. See** Tower of Babel
- Babylonia (Babylon)**  
 in Apocalypse of Daniel, 1:763, 766  
 Baruch's letter to, in 2 Baruch, 1:647  
 Berossus' history of. *See* Berossus of Babylon  
 calendar of, 1:105 *n1c*, 175 *n48e*  
 creation epic of, 1:145 *n26a*  
 Jewish Exilarch in, 2:388 *n3b*  
 Jews in, 1:860 *n40b*  
 final redaction of 3 Enoch, 1:229  
 mysticism, 1:232, 238  
 as symbolic name for Rome, 1:396 *n5i2*, 557 *n15f*, 2:653 *n2a2*  
 Testament of Solomon possibly from, 1:943  
 "vision" of, 2:162 *n4t*  
 wealth of, in 4 Ezra, 1:528  
 woes of  
 in 2 Baruch, 1:633 *n39a*, 644  
 in Sibylline Oracles, 1:368–69, 370, 392, 395, 397, 403, 439
- Zion compared to, in 4 Ezra, 1:529  
*See also* Chaldea; Flood; Babylonian version of; Mesopotamia
- Babylonian Captivity. See** Exile
- Babylonian Sibyl (Chaldean Sibyl; Persian Sibyl)**, 1:317–18, 320, 327–28, 359
- Babylonian Talmud. See** Talmud; Babylonian; *specific rabbinical writings*
- Balaam**, 1:479, 985, 2:405, 428, 430, 856  
 Oracle of, 1:392  
 in Pseudo-Philo, 2:300, 301, 324–26
- Balak**, 2:324–26, 859
- Baldad**, 1:829, 856–58, 861, 863 *n43p*, 2:859
- Balista**, 1:458 *n13l2*
- Balkira. See** Belkira
- Balthioul**, 1:935, 970
- Banquet, Messianic**  
 in 1 Enoch, 1:43  
 in 3 Enoch, 1:302
- Baptism**  
 Apocalypse of Adam and, 1:709, 710, 716 *n7b*, 719, 946 *n*

# The Old Testament PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

**F**ROM THE FINDING of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the latest on the gnostic writings, the Nag Hammadi codices, new information is unearthed practically every day to help us understand the lifestyles and beliefs of our religious ancestors. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* is the foremost example of this work.

All the important documents (sixty-five in all, published in two separate volumes) from the period between the Old and the New Testaments have been collected in this landmark work. The foremost international authority on each book has been selected to contribute a new translation (sometimes for the first time), an introduction, and critical notes for each of the texts, with all work taking advantage of the very latest in scriptural scholarship.

These texts are of great value to all people whose religious heritage focuses on the Bible for insight into the development of doctrine. By studying the pseudepigrapha, we can increase our knowledge of the beginnings of the Christian religion, as well as the development of Judaism after the close of the Hebrew Bible.

Scholars, Bible students, professionals of all religious groups and denominations, and lay people—indeed, all those who can be signified as “People of the Book:” Christians, Jews, Mormons, Muslims—will be interested in these translations.

*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* is truly a work of international importance, and Hendrickson Publishers is pleased to offer it in this economical paperback edition.

**James H. Charlesworth** is the George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature and director of the Dead Sea Scrolls Project at Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey. He also directs the Syrus Sinaiticus Project at St. Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai. Charlesworth is a world-renowned translator, particularly of pseudepigraphical material, and the author of *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *The Serpent: A Symbol of Life or Death?* and *The Historical Jesus*.