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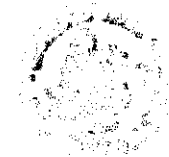
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THE TESTAMENT OF ADAM: AN EXAMINATION
OF THE SYRIAC AND GREEK TRADITIONS
by
Stephen Edward Robinson

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE
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AN EXAMINATION OF THE
SYRIAC AND GREEK TRADITIONS

Stephen Edward Robinson

For Mom and Dad

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Duke University

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S. E. R.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANF	Roberts, A., and Donaldson, J., eds. <i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> . 10 vols. Edinburgh: Clark, 1868-72; revised and reprinted, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1950-52.
APOT	Charles, R. H., ed. <i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
AR	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
AS	<i>American Scholar</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSL	<i>Journal of Sacred Literature</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
PG	Migne, J. P., ed. <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> . Paris: Garnier, 1894.
POT	Charlesworth, J. H., ed. <i>The Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . Garden City: Doubleday, in press.
PS	Graffin, R., ed. <i>Patrologia Syriaca</i> . Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907.
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SHR	<i>Studies in the History of Religion</i>
SVTP	<i>Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha</i>

TR	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
ZSVG	<i>Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

INTRODUCTION

The last decade has witnessed a remarkable revival in the study of the Pseudepigrapha. This new interest has brought about the re-discovery of documents from the intertestamental period such as the Ladder of Jacob, the Treatise of Shem, and the Prayer of Jacob. Another fruitful area of study may lie in the reevaluation of documents which were examined and cast aside by an earlier generation of critics. Such a reexamination is demanded by the new perspectives on hellenistic Judaism, earliest Christianity and Gnosticism. Many documents deemed unworthy of serious study by scholars were disregarded because of a now outmoded methodology and an archaic critical perspective.

Such a document is the Testament of Adam. First treated in 1853, the Testament of Adam was the subject of a flurry of interest between 1890 and 1928, but the most important version, the Syriac, was never translated into English, and the testament has been the subject since that time of only one major article (encyclopedic entries excluded). The reasons for this neglect can be attributed to the conclusions drawn by earlier critics that the testament was Gnostic or pagan in authorship, that it was merely a collection of unrelated fragments, and that it was of too late a date to warrant the interest of biblical scholarship.

As a result of this negative evaluation by earlier critics, the testament has been virtually ignored, if not completely forgotten. As recently as 1975, one meticulous and esteemed scholar could write a major book on early Syriac traditions without a reference to the Testament of Adam.¹

The irony of this situation is, as we hope to show below, that the early critics were mistaken. The testament is neither Gnostic nor pagan; it is not a collection of fragments, but a coherent Syriac tradition which extends back to circa the third century A.D. in its Christian form, and utilizes Jewish sources

which apparently date much earlier. Certainly it is time to take a fresh look at the Testament of Adam.

In the study presented below, the Syriac and Greek versions of the testament receive primary attention. The Testament of Adam appears as an independent composition only in Syriac and Arabic. The Arabic version is not treated here since there is general agreement that it is dependent upon the Syriac. Although our research indicates that the extant Greek version is also dependent upon the Syriac, the Greek is very important in discussing the original language and character of the Testament of Adam. It is therefore necessary to treat both the Syriac and the Greek versions. The translations offered below are as literal as possible while maintaining good English. This, of course, has caused the translation to be frequently wooden. Hopefully the present study will help correct the mistaken judgments of early critics and again place the Testament of Adam among the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.

CHAPTER I

THE ADAM CYCLE OF JEWISH-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

Prolegomena

The figure of Adam was long a favorite with the authors of both Jewish and Christian apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature. As the first created one, the protoplast, Adam served as a revelator of the mysteries of creation and of the natural order of the universe. As the first human being, he stood as the archtypical exemplar of the human condition and of man in his quest for and relationship with God. As the mythical common ancestor, all human experience was conveniently subsumed under the experience of Adam in the beginning.¹ For this reason, the author of a canonical document, 1 Timothy, can seek to justify his view of the proper relationship between man and woman in marriage by an appeal to the relationship between Adam and Eve in the beginning.² The lives of our first parents obviously had normative significance in the mind of this early Christian writer. Jesus himself, in justifying so grave an irregularity as departure from the Mosaic tradition on the issue of divorce, chides the Pharisees with the fact that "from the beginning it was not so,"³ thus appealing to man's original condition, the Adamic paradigm, in preference to the Mosaic.

It is precisely this paradigm inherent in the protoplast and the normative significance which was attributed to the traditions about Adam and Eve, together with a belief in the principle of τὰ ἐξαρτά ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, that prompted Jews, Christians and Gnostics to appeal to the figure of Adam in support of their theological views. Thus, on the one hand, we see the author of 4 Ezra use Adam as a vehicle for his deterministic theology at 7:119:

O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants!⁴

On the other hand, the author of 2 Baruch specifically contradicts this idea by using a similar device at 54:15 and 19:

For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again *each* one of them *has chosen* for himself glories to come . . . *Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.*⁵ (Italics mine)

G. H. Box felt that the contradiction between 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra was the result of two opposing apocalyptic schools, each trying to gain control of the Adam traditions by pseudepigraphical means in order to further their own theological ends.⁶ Such normative significance attached to the figure of Adam might be expected to produce a relatively large amount of traditional material about him, and to generate a correspondingly large number of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works attributed to him, and there is in fact a large body of Adam literature extending from the early intertestamental period well into the Christian era. The immediate value of these pseudepigraphical works lies in the light they shed on the religious orientations of their various authors. As J. B. Frey expressed it,

Si ces légendes n'ajoutent rien à notre science des origines, elles nous permettent du moins de connaître les idées de leurs auteurs et, à ce point de vue, elles ont leur importance.⁷

The Books of Adam

The expansion of the Adam tradition had already begun in early Hellenistic times with the Book of Jubilees, among others, and continued in Judaism with the writings of Philo and Josephus, with 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Moses and the *Vita Adae et Evae*. These Jewish works were followed by such Christian compositions as the Cave of Treasures and the Combat of Adam and Eve. We find in use among the Gnostics books such as the Apocalypse of Adam and the Gospel of Eve. Set against this background of Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Adam traditions is a little-known pseudepigraphon entitled the Testament of Adam, which is extant in numerous recensions and

languages.⁸ The Testament of Adam is often found incorporated into later works, such as the Arabic (but not the Syriac) Cave of Treasures or Book of the Rolls; but, as we will show below, it is both independent of and prior to them.

Since the Testament of Adam has often been confused with other books of the Adam cycle, it is pertinent here to review briefly the references to books of Adam in ancient sources and also the extant documents which are attributed to Adam.

The Book of Adam

Specific references to books attributed to Adam are frequent in antiquity. The Apostolic Constitutions warn Christian readers of several heretical books, among them a Book of Adam:

And among the ancients also some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elijah, and of the three patriarchs, pernicious and repugnant to the truth.⁹

Rabbinic evidence for a Book of Adam is vague, although there is a wealth of traditional material about Adam in rabbinic literature. L. Zunz believed that the existence of an actual Book of Adam was indicated by the following passages:¹⁰

Abodah Zara 5a. But did not Resh Lakish [himself] say, What is the meaning of the verse *This is the book of the generations of Adam*? Did Adam have a book? What it implies is that the Holy One, blessed be he, showed to Adam every [coming] generation with its expositors, every generation with its sages, every generation with its leaders; when he reached the generation of R. Akiba he rejoiced at his teaching, but was grieved about his death, and said, *How precious are Thy thoughts unto me, O God!*¹¹

Genesis Rabbah 24:2. While Adam lay a shapeless mass before Him at whose decree the world came into existence, He showed him every generation and its Sages, every generation and its judges, scribes, interpreters, and leaders. Said He to him: "Thine eyes did see unformed substance: the unformed substances [viz. thy potential descendants] which thine eyes did see have already been written in the book of Adam": viz. THIS IS THE BOOK OF THE GENERATIONS OF ADAM.¹²

There is a further reference to a book of Adam at Exodus Rabbah 40:2:

God did not, however, tell Moses whom he should appoint, hence Moses inquired: "To whom shall I speak?" God replied: "I will show thee." So what did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He brought him the book of Adam and showed him all the generations that would arise from Creation to Resurrection, each generation and its kings, its leaders, and its prophets, saying unto him: "I have appointed all these [for their destinies] from that time [Creation], and Bezalel, too, I have appointed from that time."¹³

and another at Baba Mezia 85b-86a:

Samuel Yarhina'ah was Rabbi's physician. Now, Rabbi having contracted an eye disease, Samuel offered to bathe it with a lotion, but he said, "I cannot bear it." "Then I will apply an ointment to it," he said. "This too I cannot bear," he objected. So he placed a phial of chemicals under his pillow, and he was healed. Rabbi was most anxious to ordain him, but the opportunity was lacking. Let it not grieve thee, he said; I have seen the Book of Adam, in which is written, "Samuel Yarhina'ah [86a] shall be called "Sage", but not "Rabbi", and Rabbi's healing shall come through him."¹⁴

L. Ginzberg insisted that Zunz was in error, and that while a Jewish book of Adam must have been in existence perhaps as early as the first century, it is never referred to in the Talmud.¹⁵ The references cited above are indeed ambiguous, for the books of Adam referred to may be the Book of Genesis, or perhaps a mystical book in God's possession out of which revelations were vouchsafed to certain sages. None of these passages necessarily refers to a Book of Adam extant in Jewish circles in intertestamental times. However, while Ginzberg denies that the Talmud ever refers to a Book of Adam, he does maintain that the cycle of Adam literature as a whole "can only be explained by the Midrash. The legends of Adam with which rabbinic literature abounds seems to point to the same source."¹⁶

In the so-called list of "Sixty Books" appended in some manuscripts to the Questions and Responses of Anastasius of Sinai, a Book of Adam stands at the head of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament:

Book of Adam
Book of Enoch
Book of Lamech
Book of the Patriarchs

Prayer of Joseph
Eldad and Modad
Testament of Moses
Assumption of Moses
Psalms of Solomon
Apocalypse of Elias
Vision of Esaias
Apocalypse of Sophonias
Apocalypse of Zacharias
Apocalypse of Esdras¹⁷

At the close of the thirteenth century, Mechithar of Airivank formulated a further list of apocryphal books, and as in the "Sixty Books", a Book of Adam stands at the head of the list:

These are the books which the Jews have in Secret
Of Adam,
Of Enoch,
Of the Sibyl,
The XII Patriarchs,
The Prayer of Joseph,
The Assumption of Moses,
Eldad and Modad,
The Psalms of Solomon,
The Apocrypha (or: Hidden Things) of Elijah,
The Seventh Vision of Daniel¹⁸

One of the Armenian books of Adam published in 1896 has often been referred to as the Book of Adam.¹⁹ This work is actually an Armenian version of the Life of Adam and Eve, or more specifically, the Apocalypse of Moses. The title "The Book of Adam" appears to have been added in the Armenian version, and the original title is now the first line of the text: "This is the life of Adam and Eve."²⁰ This work should not be referred to as the Book of Adam, but rather as the Armenian Life of Adam and Eve. However, this text does establish that the Life of Adam and Eve was known in some circles as the Book of Adam.

Finally, modern critics have sometimes used the title "The Book of Adam" to refer to any of several books of the Adam cycle, singly or in combination. This practice is a result of the now discredited hypothesis that there was in antiquity only one book of Adam which was known by several different titles. The resulting equation of very non-equivalent documents has given birth to many misconceptions about specific books and about the Adam literature generally.²¹ The specific title "The Book of Adam" should never be used in this generic sense.

Testament of the Protoplasts

Although the attribution of the "Sixty Books" to Anastasius of Sinai is disputed, there is no question that he wrote the following short notice in his commentary on the Hexaemeron:

The Jews on the authority of a book which is not in the canon and which is called the Testament of the Protoplasts affirm that Adam entered Paradise on the fourth day.²²

This is the only reference in antiquity to this work. It is the opinion of J. B. Frey that this is a reference to the Life of Adam and Eve.²³

The Apocalypse of Adam

In the writings of the Church Fathers there is very little indication that an Adam book was extant in the early Church. The only patristic reference to such a work is that of Epiphanius, who mentions that "apocalypses of Adam" were current among the Gnostics.²⁴

In 1945 an Apocalypse of Adam (CG V, 5) was discovered among the codices of the Nag Hammadi Library, and has been edited by A. Böhlig and P. Labib.²⁵ This document has close affinities with the Testament of Adam and with the Jewish traditions about Adam and Seth cited by Josephus.²⁶ There is general agreement that the work is non-Christian, and originally Jewish in character, although in its final form it is certainly Gnostic. The Apocalypse of Adam purports to contain a revelation given by Adam to Seth concerning the mysteries of salvation, the future of the world and the coming of an Illuminator.²⁷

But the Apocalypse of Adam was not confined to use among the Gnostics. Note, for example, the Epistle of Barnabas 2:10:

To us then he speaks thus: "Sacrifice for the Lord is a broken heart, a smell of sweet savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifieth him that made it."²⁸

The first clause comes from Psalm 51:17; the second clause is unknown, although the entire passage is quoted in the same form by both Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria.²⁹ The Constantinople manuscript of the Epistle of Barnabas identifies this unknown clause with the marginal note: "Psalm 50 (51) and in

the Apocalypse of Adam."³⁰ It was the judgment of M. R. James that the source of all three patristic quotations was an apocryphal Apocalypse of Adam.³¹ If so, there must have been at least two apocalypses as the notice in Epiphanius indicates, for the passage is not found in the Coptic Apocalypse of Adam.

The Penitence of Adam

In the Latin list of apocryphal books known as the Gelasian Decree there is mention of two books connected with Adam. The Gelasian Decree has generally been attributed to Pope Gelasius I (496), although some manuscripts attribute it to Damasus (384) and some to Hormisdas (523). E. von Dobschütz, however, maintains that the Decree is a French compilation of the sixth century.³² That part of the list which concerns us is as follows:

§ 4.7	Liber de filiabus Adae Leptogeneseos	apocryphus
6.2	Liber qui appellatur Paenitentia Adae	apocryphus
6.3	Liber de Ogia nomine gigante qui post diluvium cum dracone ab haereticis pugnasse perhibetur	apocryphus
6.4	Liber qui appellatur Testamentum Iob	apocryphus
6.7	Liber qui appellatur Paenitentia Iamne et Mambre	apocryphus
8.5	Scriptura quae appellatur Salmonis Interdictio	apocrypha
8.6	Phylacteria omnia quae non angelorum, ut illi confingunt, sed daemonum magis nominibus conscripta sunt ³³	apocrypha

A History of the Penitence of Adam and Eve, which borrows heavily from the Life of Adam and Eve, is found among the Armenian Adam books. This makes the identification of the Penitence of Adam with the Life of Adam and Eve, which has been suggested by some scholars, a tempting idea. However, the Armenian Penitence, though dependent upon the Life of Adam and Eve, differs with it at many points and should, therefore, be granted separate consideration. Since the Gelasian Decree offers no sample passage from its Penitence, it cannot be established for certain that the Armenian Penitence is the same document.

Toward the end of the twelfth century Samuel of Ani recorded a list of books which had been brought into Armenia and translated into the language of that country about A.D. 590 by Nestorian Christians from Syria:

Kaurdosag
Guiragosag

Vision of St. Paul
 Repentance of Adam
 Testament [sic]
 Infancy of the Lord
 Sebios
 Cluster of Blessing
 The Book Which Ought Not to be Hid
 Exposition of the Gospel of Mani³⁴

The name of Adam would seem to belong to both the Repentance and Testament in Samuel's list. If this is so, his list is valuable evidence for the existence of both a Penitence and a Testament of Adam.

The Book of the Daughters of Adam,
 the Little Genesis

Besides the Penitence of Adam, the Gelasian Decree also mentions a Book of the Daughters of Adam, the Little Genesis. J. A. Hort and R. H. Charles interpret the citation as an indication that the Book of the Daughters of Adam consisted of excerpts from the Book of Jubilees which is often called the Little Genesis.³⁵ On the other hand, E. Schürer and J. B. Frey insist that the Book of the Daughters of Adam was mistakenly associated with the Little Genesis by the author of the Gelasian Decree.³⁶ They judge that the Book of the Daughters of Adam would be an inappropriate title for the Book of Jubilees. If the two were indeed separate works, the Book of the Daughters of Adam is now lost. The Book of Jubilees itself should not be considered part of the Adam cycle since Adam is only a peripheral character and his story is outside the main thrust of the work.

The Life of Adam

The Byzantine chronicler George Syncellus (c. A.D. 800) twice refers to a "so-called Life of Adam." These references are all that is known about the work.³⁷ Syncellus may be referring to the Life of Adam and Eve, a possibility suggested by the similarity of the two titles, but unless more evidence is forthcoming to support this hypothesis, the Life of Adam should be treated as a separate work, since Syncellus' short synopsis seems incompatible with the contents of the extant Life of Adam and Eve.

The Life of Adam and Eve (Apocalypse of Moses)

Perhaps the most important of the books of Adam in terms of influence upon other works are the two recensions of the Life of Adam and Eve, the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* and the Greek Apocalypse of Moses. The *Vita* has been edited by W. Meyer³⁸ and the Apocalypse of Moses by C. Tischendorf.³⁹ This work is an haggadic midrash on the life of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Eden. The *Vita*, but not the Apocalypse, contains an account of the penitence of Adam and Eve after the Fall. However, the impulse to equate this document with the Penitence of Adam should be resisted.

The Cave of Treasures

The Syriac text of the Cave of Treasures was first published by C. Bezold in 1888, following a German translation which appeared in 1883.⁴⁰ An English translation was published by E. A. W. Budge in 1927.⁴¹ Portions of the Cave of Treasures appear in Arabic, Karshuni, Ethiopic, Old Georgian, and Armenian as parts of a pseudo-Clementine work usually called the Book of the Rolls.⁴²

The Cave of Treasures relates the succession of families from Adam to Christ with emphasis on the burial of Adam and the eventual placement of his body on the hill at Golgotha. The Cave of Treasures has been dated anywhere from the second to the sixth centuries A.D., but a date in the fourth century seems most likely for its final redaction, although it doubtless uses sources that are much earlier.⁴³ The Cave of Treasures is of particular importance to the study of the Testament of Adam because of the often recurring but incorrect assertion that the latter is literarily dependent on the former.

The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan

The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan was first made known by A. Dillmann in 1853, when he translated the work into German from Ethiopic.⁴⁴ It was translated into English in 1882 by S. C. Malan.⁴⁵ There is general agreement that it is a late Christian composition and is dependent upon both the Life of Adam and Eve and the Cave of Treasures. The Conflict is divided into three parts, the actual struggle of Adam and Eve with Satan after leaving the Garden of Eden, the history of the

patriarchs down to Melchizedek, and the history of Israel down to the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem.

The Armenian Adam Books

In 1896 H. S. Josepheanz first published the Armenian books of Adam. This was followed in 1901 by the English translation of J. Issaverdens. These consist of eight short but separate works which appear to have been translated into Armenian from Greek. With the exception of the Armenian Life of Adam and Eve, and the History of the Penitence of Adam and Eve, which have been discussed above, each book is amply described by its title:

The Book of Adam [The Armenian Life of Adam and Eve]
History of the Creation and of the Transgression of Adam
History of the Expulsion of Adam from the Garden
History of Cain and Abel, the Sons of Adam
The Promise of Seth, to Which We Must Give Ear
History of the Penitence of Adam and Eve
Adam's Words to Seth
The Death of Adam⁴⁶

This important group of pseudepigrapha, like the Testament of Adam, has not received the attention it deserves, although research in this area has recently been undertaken by M. Stone.

The Testament of Adam

The testimony of Samuel of Ani concerning this document has already been cited above (p. 9). Samuel listed a Testament (of Adam) among the apocryphal books which were brought into Armenia by Nestorian Christians in A.D. 590. The earliest citation from the Testament of Adam is found in the Syriac (but not the Greek) *Transitus Mariae*, a document generally dated in the fourth or fifth century A.D. A. Smith Lewis has edited and translated a Syriac manuscript of the *Transitus Mariae* which dates from the fifth century and contains the following statement:

And the Magi came and brought the offerings, and they brought the testament of Adam with them. And from the testament of Adam all mankind have learned to make testaments; and from the Messiah, who was born of Mary, all mankind who were in darkness, have been enlightened. And thus from Adam to Seth writing was used; and from Seth letters were written, to the fathers and to all mankind; and the fathers gave

[them] to the sons' sons; and they said that "The Messiah shall come, and shall be born of Mary the Virgin in Bethlehem."⁴⁷

The next citation taken from the Testament of Adam is found in the writings of the Byzantine historian and collector, George Cedrenus.⁴⁸ He writes:

Adam, in the six hundredth year, having repented, learned by revelation the things concerning the Watchers and the Flood, and about repentance and the divine Incarnation, and about the prayers that are sent up to God by all creatures at each hour of the day and night, with the help of Uriel, the archangel over repentance. Thus, in the first hour of the day the first prayer is completed in heaven; in the second, the prayer of angels; in the third, the prayer of winged things; in the fourth, the prayer of domestic animals; in the fifth, the prayer of wild beasts; in the sixth, the review of the angels and the inspection of all creation; in the seventh, the entrance of the angels to God and the exit of the angels; in the eighth, the praise and sacrifices of the angels; in the ninth, the petition and worship of men; in the tenth, the visitations of the waters and the petition of the heavenly and earthly beings; in the eleventh, the thanksgiving and rejoicing of all things; in the twelfth, the entreaty of human beings for favor.⁴⁹

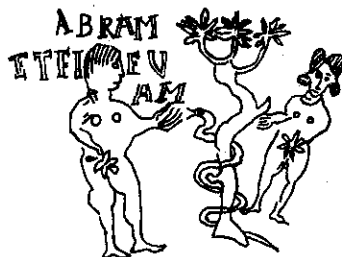
This list of the hours of the day and night, or Horarium, is clearly that found in our Testament of Adam.⁵⁰ M. R. James concluded on the basis of the penitence mentioned in this passage that the Testament of Adam originally contained an account of Adam's repentance as well as the Horarium found here. It must be noted, however, that while the passage contains elements which can be so interpreted, Cedrenus cites no reference and may be speaking generally of traditions known to him, conflating elements from both a Penitence and a Testament of Adam.

The possibility that the Latin Church knew the Testament of Adam is presented by a citation from *de Psalmodyae Bono* 3, by Nicetas of Remesiana. In manuscripts A and V of that work we find the following:

Neque enim illud volumen termerarie recipiendum est cuius inscriptio est INQUISITIO ABRAHAЕ ubi cantasse ipsa animalia et fontes et elementa finguntur. Cum nullius sit fidei liber ipse nulla auctoritate subnixus.⁵¹

M. R. James has suggested that since the title *Inquisitio Abrahae* occurs nowhere else, and since the description of the

contents of that work agrees so well with the contents of the Horarium from the Testament of Adam, that the title *Inquisitio Abrahæ* should be emended to *Dispositio Adæ*, i.e. the Testament of Adam.⁵² His suggestion was rejected by Frey and Schürer.⁵³ However, *dispositio* is a legitimate rendering of διαθήκη, and one of the earliest and perhaps the best manuscript of *de Psalmidiae Bono*, manuscript A, attributes the *Inquisitio* to Abrahæ, rather than Abrahæ.⁵⁴ The confusion of Abrahæ with Adæ was an easy mistake to make. In an inscription from Podgoritz, the artist has made this same error. Evidently he began to label the panel which contained the figures of Adam and Eve "Abram et fili", but half-way through realized his error and added Eve's name.⁵⁵ Considering the similarity between *inquisitio* and *dispositio*, and the ease with which Abram could be confused with Adam, James' suggestion should be allowed to stand, if only as a possibility.



Another work entitled *A Narrative Concerning the Expulsion of Adam* is contained in the Codex Athos Vatopedi 84 (formerly 79).⁵⁶ However, this work should not be included in our Adam-cycle since, as Denis points out, it is in reality an excerpt from the homily on Genesis 3 attributed to St. John Chrysostom.⁵⁷

The tradition of a testament given by Adam to his son Seth concerning the future of the world and the advent of a great prophet is found in Islamic literature in both the *Annals of Tabari*⁵⁸ and in a work entitled *de generatione Machumet et nutritia eius*.⁵⁹ In both passages the prophecy spoken by Adam is meant to refer to the advent of Mohammed rather than that of Christ.

As late as 1615 G. Gualmyn in his commentary on M. Psellus' *de Daemonum Operatione*, quoted a fragment of the Horarium from the Testament of Adam found in a Paris magical codex attributed falsely to Apollonius of Tyana.⁶⁰

By way of summary then, the books of Adam mentioned in the ancient sources are:

The Book of Adam (Apostolic Constitutions, Sixty Books, Mechithar of Airivank)
The Testament of the Protoplasts (Anastasius of Sinai)
The Apocalypse of Adam (Epiphanius, Epistle of Barnabas)
The Penitence of Adam (Gelasian Decree, Samuel of Ani)
The Book of the Daughters of Adam, The Little Genesis (Gelasian Decree)
The Life of Adam (George Syncellus)
The Testament of Adam (Samuel of Ani, George Cedrenus, *Transitus Mariae*, Nicetas of Remesiana, *de generatione Machumet*, Tabari, Gilbert Gualmyn)

The extant books of Adam are:

The Apocalypse of Adam
The Testament of Adam
The Life of Adam and Eve (Apocalypse of Moses and *Vita Adæ et Evæ*)
The Cave of Treasures
The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan
The Armenian Adam Books:
The Book of Adam (The Armenian Life of Adam and Eve)
History of the Creation and of the Transgression of Adam
History of the Expulsion of Adam from the garden
History of Cain and Abel, the Sons of Adam
The Promise of Seth, to Which We Must Give Ear
History of the Penitence of Adam and Eve
Adam's Words to Seth
The Death of Adam

Obviously, the two lists do not match. Nor should we expect them to, given the random nature of the historical accident which may preserve an entire text, or merely a reference to it, or may preserve of it nothing at all. It would be unreasonable to expect that the few documents which have survived are precisely those documents which are mentioned in the ancient sources. And yet the impulse to "tidy up" by making forced equations seems to be for many scholars an irresistible siren. It has been suggested, for example, that the Penitence of Adam mentioned in the Gelasian Decree should be identified with the Life of Adam and Eve merely because both works deal with the theme of Adam's repentance. Several scholars have suggested that the Penitence, Apocalypse and Testament of Adam

must be the same document under different names.⁶¹ The evaluation of M. R. James is typical: "The testament of Adam, otherwise called the Apocalypse, or Penitence of Adam, or Apocalypse of Moses."⁶² In his article on the Adam material for Cheyne's *Encyclopedia Biblica*, James makes the further equation:

Testament (or Apocalypse, or Penitence) of Adam:
Book of the Conflict of Adam and Eve.--Extant
partially in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic
[and Coptic].

These versions represent variously developed forms or fragments of a Jewish romance dealing with the life of Adam and Eve after the Fall, and with their death and burial. We no longer possess the romance in its original form.⁶³

Despite James' evaluation, there is no evidence that these books were ever part of the same document. Nor is there any justification for combining two or three titles known from ancient sources and applying them indiscriminately to a single extant document. This kind of Procrustean approach to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is surely ill-advised and motivated by the impulse to match every reference with an extant book. Some of the documents may have circulated under different titles, but that possibility can only be established by literary comparison and not by guesswork about the contents of lost books. To the present, all attempts to equate the Testament and Penitence of Adam have ignored the testimony of Samuel of Ani that the Penitence and Testament known to him were two separate documents. Furthermore, the discovery of an Apocalypse of Adam among the codices of the Nag Hammadi Library⁶⁴ which is markedly different from the extant testament offers a further caution against too facilely equating different titles. The casual use of inexact titles in reference to the books of Adam is no longer acceptable. It is far more likely that instead of a single Adam book, we are dealing with a whole cycle of Adam literature originating in the intertestamental period and continuing to expand well into the Christian era.⁶⁵ It is to this cycle of Adam literature that our Testament of Adam belongs, one of many independent and often contradictory documents.

A Description of the Testament of Adam

The Testament of Adam is witnessed primarily by several Syriac texts which E. Renan, the first scholar to work on them, divided into four sections. The first section is a list of the hours of the night together with that portion of God's creation which renders praises to God at each hour. The second section consists of a similar catalog of the hours of the day and the creatures which render praises at each hour. The third section is a collection of prophecies which Adam delivers to his posterity, primarily to Seth, concerning the future of the world and of the human race. Adam foretells the flood; the birth, passion and death of Christ; and the final end of the world. This section ends with the statement of Seth that he has recorded the testament of his father Adam, and buried it in the cave of treasures.

The fourth section is an account of the different orders of heavenly beings: angels, archangels, powers, principalities, etc. This section has nothing in it to identify it with the Adam literature, and the majority of scholars believe that its inclusion in the Testament of Adam is due to a scribal error, since it appears in only one manuscript of the testament. However, a careful examination reveals that while this section was not a part of the original testament, its inclusion in Vatican Syriac manuscript 164 constitutes an intentional addition to the text rather than a scribal error.⁶⁶ This fourth section contains references to the prophet Zechariah, the defeat of Sennacherib, and to the victories of Judah the Maccabee.

Beginning with M. Kmosko,⁶⁷ the Testament of Adam has usually been divided into three parts rather than Renan's four. These sections are the Horarium or hours of the day and night, the Prophecy, and the Hierarchy. We shall follow the practice of Kmosko, Frey and others in using the terms Horarium, Prophecy, and Hierarchy to refer to the three sections of the Testament of Adam.

The Testament of Adam is extant in Syriac, Greek, Arabic, Karshuni, Ethiopic, Old Georgian and Armenian. However, it is found as an *independent* composition only in Syriac and Arabic. In Arabic, Ethiopic, Old Georgian and Armenian it is also found within a section of the later Christian work called the Cave of

Treasures. This section of the Cave of Treasures has itself been incorporated into a larger and still later work which is variously titled the Book of the Rolls, the Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth, or the Apocalypse of Peter.⁶⁸

The following relationships should be made clear at this point. First, the Syriac Testament of Adam is a self-contained and independent composition. Despite frequent assertions to the contrary, it does not appear as part of the Syriac Cave of Treasures, nor is there any evidence that it ever did.⁶⁹ The Testament of Adam and the Cave of Treasures are found on the same manuscript twice, but are separated by totally extraneous matter.⁷⁰ Second, references which state that the Testament of Adam appears in the Arabic version of the Cave of Treasures are misleading, since the Cave of Treasures does not occur in Arabic as a self-contained text.⁷¹ These Arabic manuscripts actually combine the Testament of Adam with a major portion of the Cave of Treasures to form the larger Book of the Rolls, which is attributed to Clement of Rome, and ultimately to the Apostle Peter. For this reason, it will be referred to below as a "pseudo-Clementine" work. Third, what is true of the Arabic is true also of the Karshuni and Ethiopic versions: the Testament of Adam does not appear either by itself or with the Cave of Treasures apart from the context of the pseudo-Clementine work. Fourth, whenever the Testament of Adam appears in the Arabic Book of the Rolls, it is clearly labelled "The Testament of Adam."⁷²

The Greek version of the testament consists solely of the Horarium, and is found in two forms. The first is the portion of the Horarium quoted by George Cedrenus (11th century); the second incorporates the Horarium into a Byzantine text which emphasizes the magical significance of the names provided in the Greek manuscripts for each of the hours. This is in contrast with the Syriac version where the emphasis is upon the unity of God's creation in rendering praises to him; but the practice is in keeping with the high esteem given Hebrew cosmological ideas in Byzantine magical texts.

CHAPTER II FROM ASSEMANI TO REININK: THE TESTAMENT AND ITS CRITICS

History of Critical Study

Modern critical study of the Testament of Adam began with J. S. Assemani's discovery of a manuscript in the Oriental Library of the Vatican which he called: "Otiosi cujusdam Syri putidum opus."¹ His unflattering announcement drew little attention until 1853, when E. Renan published an article on the testament with a Syriac text and a French translation.² Renan took his text from two Vatican Syriac manuscripts, 58 and 164, and from four Arabic manuscripts; one from the Vatican, Arabo 32, and three from the Bibliothèque impériale, arabe 52, 54, and 158. After his article was completed, he compared his text against the British Museum Additional manuscript 14,624, and, deciding that the latter was identical with Vatican manuscript 58, he did not use it.

Renan believed the Testament of Adam to be a fragment of a Gnostic work which was popular in the early centuries of the Christian era. He suggested that this single Gnostic work was responsible for all the various references to books of Adam found in the ancient sources known to him. In 1853, this suggestion was not as unreasonable as it might seem today, since the Testament of Adam was the only book of Adam extant at that time.³ However, to shore up his equation of all the different titles known to him from antiquity with a single extant document, Renan claimed that the terms *μετάνοια* (from the Penitence of Adam) and *ἀποκάλυψις* (from the Apocalypse of Adam) were interchangeable synonyms in apocalyptic literature. Noting that Samuel of Ani listed both a Penitence and a Testament in his list, Renan dismissed the fact with the following argument:

Mais, d'une part, nous avons établi que la *Pénitence* et l'*Apocalypse* d'Adam n'étaient qu'un même livre. [i.e., by the unsupported claim that *μετάνοια* and *ἀποκάλυψις* are synonymous terms.] De l'autre, les

fragments donnés par Cédrenus comme extraits de l'*Apocalypse*, se retrouvent presque mot pour mot dans les manuscrits syriaques et arabes, sous le titre de *Testament d'Adam*.⁴

But Cedrenus had not, in fact, identified his material as coming from an Apocalypse of Adam. A careful reading of the text clearly shows that Cedrenus gives no references whatsoever for the material he quotes.⁵ The aorist participle μετανοήσας used by Cedrenus reveals only that Adam's repentance occurred prior to the action represented in the quotation, while the anarthrous noun γνώσεως indicates that Adam received knowledge not "from the Apocalypse," but rather "through revelation."⁶ The close juxtaposition of a cognate of μετάνοια with a form of γνώσεως in Cedrenus' text hardly justifies the identification of such a dual-titled work as his source.⁷ The themes of repentance and revelation are an integral part of the traditions concerning Adam generally. Their occurrence together, even close together, would not be surprising or out of place in any apocryphal book attributed to Adam.

Renan suggested that the use of the canonical hours in the early Christian Church might be derived from the hours in the first part of the Testament of Adam. Unfortunately, he offered no evidence for this opinion other than the concern of both with the hours of the day and night. In addition, Renan was also the first critic to attribute the third section of the testament, the Hierarchy, to pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

Renan listed several reasons for attributing the Testament of Adam to Gnostic authorship. He alluded to, but did not cite examples of, parallels between the Testament of Adam and the Persian Avesta. Renan pictured Persian ideas entering into Christian Gnosticism through the medium of the Mandaeans, whom he equated with the Elkasaites.⁸ He believed that the significance of the role of Seth in the Testament of Adam was a clear indication that the work was closely related to Sethian Gnostics. The mention of ablutions, a preoccupation with astrology, the use of angels as revelators, the attribution of magical power to the elements, and even the attribution of the book to an antediluvian figure were all seen by Renan as evidence for a Gnostic origin of the Testament of Adam.⁹

In his evaluation of the Gnostic character of the work, Renan was clearly handicapped by an archaic conception of the nature of Gnosticism and of intertestamental Judaism. Although his initial judgments were formed in an almost complete vacuum of primary sources, they have been followed by some scholars up to the present time. The attribution of the Testament of Adam to the Gnostics has been most particularly and uncritically persistent, and has contributed greatly to the neglect shown the document by later scholars.¹⁰

In 1877, J. A. Hort treated the Testament of Adam briefly in his article for the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.¹¹ Hort shared with Renan the belief that the Testament of Adam was early and that it was the single document responsible for all the references to books of Adam in the ancient sources: "These fragments evidently represent a work current under different titles in the early ages."¹² Hort, like Renan, noted the testimony of Samuel of Ani that there were two separate works, a Penitence and a Testament, and like Renan, he also dismissed it: "Yet, if as appears likely, Adam's name belongs to both titles, the nature of the existing fragments is not such as to compel us to suppose that they designate two wholly distinct books."¹³ It is at once obvious that Hort's argument assumes the extant fragments of the Testament of Adam to be derived from the documents cited by Samuel of Ani, an assumption for which there is no proof. Second, Hort's argument is based not on the ancient citation in question but on the nature of the extant fragments--in short Samuel's testimony has been ignored. Hort agreed with Renan that the juxtaposition of the words repentance and revelation in the passage from Cedrenus indicated dual titles for the same work: "and it is to be observed that 'repentance' and 'revelation' are prominent words, while 'testament' holds a yet more significant place in the Syriac prophecy. Thus the three names are brought together."¹⁴

Although Hort concluded that all of the fragments known to him were from a single work and that the Horarium and the Prophecy of Adam to Seth were particularly closely related, he entertained the notion that the fourth fragment which he called the Heavenly Hierarchy was a later appendix to the work. His notice of the disparate character of one of the fragments would

be amplified by later scholars who would incorrectly conclude that the fragments of the Testament of Adam were not a unity.

One lasting influence of Hort's treatment was the suggestion that the Testament of Adam was related to the Cave of Treasures and to the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan. This identification of the Testament with the Cave of Treasures, while not strictly intended by Hort, may have encouraged later scholars to treat the Testament as part of the Cave of Treasures rather than as a self-contained work. The eventual result of this trend was that the Testament was subsequently dated with the Cave of Treasures and was classified as a late Christian work.

Hort did not share the rather antagonistic viewpoint of Assemani and Renan concerning the character of the Testament of Adam,¹⁵ but was in fact quite impressed with the document. He wrote: "The Testament, as it stands, is short and unpretending: yet a lofty spirit pervades a great part of it." Hort also rejected as groundless Renan's claim of Gnostic origins for the Testament of Adam. He attributed the Horarium and the other cosmological elements of the testament not to Gnostic speculation, but to the desire of the author to represent "the community of all created things." Hort maintained that although the testament was not a product of Latin or Greek Christianity, it should not therefore automatically be classified as a product of Gnosticism but rather as "an interesting monument of an almost unknown world of ancient creeds."¹⁶

The indefatigable M. R. James added a great deal of manuscript evidence to the study of the Testament of Adam, locating several previously unknown references to Adam literature in general and to the Testament of Adam in particular. In 1892, in an article on the Testament of Abraham, James was the first to note the existence of the Greek fragments of the Testament of Adam found in the Paris magical codex 2419, and also the quotations from that codex by Gilbert Gualmyn in his edition of Michael Psellus' *de Daemonum Operatione*.¹⁷ James was also the first to cite the marginal note from the Constantinople manuscript of the Epistle of Barnabas, which mentions the Apocalypse of Adam, also pointing out that the same passage was quoted by Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria.¹⁸ In addition to these

discoveries James suggested that the passage from Nicetas of Remesiana was a possible Latin version of the Testament of Adam,¹⁹ and also improved upon Hort's observation of a disparity between the extant fragments of the testament by recognizing (correctly) that the fourth fragment was not part of the Adam tradition at all, and concluding (incorrectly) that it had been mislabelled by a scribe.²⁰

James originally had believed with Renan and Hort that there was only one book of Adam in antiquity, and that it had been known by several different names. However, over a period of thirty years he changed his mind, deciding in the face of greater and greater variation in the ever more plentiful sources that there must have been at least two separate books. He revised and softened his original position that the Apocalypse, Penitence, and Testament of Adam must be the same document, saying instead that "There is thus a *prima facie* case for thinking that the *Apocalypse*, *Penitence*, and *Testament of Adam*, if not identical, at least contained a good deal of common matter."²¹

James' conclusion, finally, was that the Testament of Adam, although originally a Jewish document, had become hopelessly Christianized.

If the horary and the prophecy were parts of the same book, it was a Christian, or at least a fully Christianized text, and not a very early one. Yet I find it difficult not to suspect the existence of an early book behind it.²²

Thus, while James rightly had begun to see that the sources of the Adam tradition were not homogenous, he also gave added impetus to the misconception inadvertently created by Hort that the testament was a late Christian composition. James maintained that the mention of a "cave of treasures" in the Testament of Adam indicated a similarity between the latter document and a whole series of late Christian compositions. As a result, the classification of the Testament of Adam as a late Christian work was to become firmly entrenched through its supposed association with other late Christian works, particularly with the Syriac Cave of Treasures.

In 1906 C. Bezold published an eclectic edition of the Arabic and Ethiopic texts of the Testament of Adam in the

T. Nöldeke Festschrift.²³ It was these texts that E. A. W. Budge used for his English translation of the testament.²⁴ Bezold labelled the testament a "Gnostic tractate" which he believed had been inserted into the Arabic version of the Cave of Treasures and had from thence passed into the Ethiopic version. He offers no evidence in support of his attribution of Gnostic origins for the Testament of Adam, and seems to be relying on the earlier evaluation of Renan. Bezold was only vaguely aware of a Greek text of the Horarium which had been published by M. R. James.²⁵ Nevertheless, Bezold accepted the Greek, sight unseen, as the source of the original Testament of Adam.²⁶

Since all the Greek texts were not edited by F. Nau until the following year, Bezold, while waiting for the publication of the Greek, offered a tentative evaluation of the Arabic and Ethiopic versions which he edited. He maintained first, that the Ethiopic was totally dependent on the Arabic; second, that there were two recensions of the Arabic, the shorter Ar¹ and the longer Ar²; third, that the Syriac was not the immediate source of Ar¹; and fourth, that the Greek was not the immediate product of either the Arabic or Ethiopic versions.

In 1907 M. Kmosko published a major treatment of the Testament of Adam with an introduction, Syriac text and Latin translation.²⁷ Kmosko employed six Syriac manuscripts in establishing a critical text. This was a considerable improvement over Renan's text, which had employed only two Syriac manuscripts.²⁸ Kmosko's work has remained the standard text for the Testament of Adam. Kmosko identified three recensions of the Testament of Adam from his six manuscripts:

- Recension I: Codex BM Add. 14,624 folio 8^v and Vatican Syriac 58 folio 115^v. Representing the oldest recension, these manuscripts exhibit virtually the same text.
- Recension II: Vatican Syriac 164 folio 76^v and BM Add. 25,815 folio 57^v.
- Recension III: Vatican Syriac 159 folio 113^v, and Arund Or 53 folio 88. The most recent recension. To this recension should now be added BM Add. 14,577 folio 85 and John Rylands Syriac manuscript 44 folio 27.

Kmosko began with the assumption that the Testament of Adam was the work of Christian heretics, though he, like Hort, rejected Renan's claim that it was a product of Gnosticism. Kmosko further whittled down the limits of the actual testament by suggesting that the second section, the Prophecy, had originally been part of the "cycle called the Cave of Treasures." For Kmosko, the Testament of Adam proper was the first section alone--the Horarium. He further suggested that the hours of the day were an inferior addition to the original text which had contained only the hours of the night.

While Kmosko was willing to admit that the author of the Horarium may have possessed some talent, he shared the negative bias of Renan and others toward this document and felt that on the whole the Testament of Adam "smells mostly of superstition" and was far from orthodoxy.²⁹ Kmosko was the first scholar to reject completely the Jewish origin of the Testament of Adam and was the first to attribute it in its entirety to late Christian heterodoxy.

In the same volume which contains Kmosko's article, indeed directly following that article, F. Nau wrote³⁰ concerning the Paris magical transcript 2419 which had first been cited by M. R. James, and which contained the Horarium from the Testament of Adam. Nau had found three other Greek manuscripts similar to MS 2419 which also contained the Horarium. One of these was attributed to Apollonius of Tyana, thus settling the question of which Apollonius was meant in the attribution of Paris 2419. As Kmosko had denied the Jewish character of the Testament of Adam, Nau now denied its Christianity. He contended that the Horarium, at least, was actually a product of the pagan magician Apollonius of Tyana, and that it had only been much later incorporated into the Jewish and Christian traditions about Adam. His conclusions have been almost universally rejected for reasons which will be discussed below.³¹

In 1922, A. Götze published a lengthy treatment of the Cave of Treasures. He dismissed the argument for dating the document around the sixth century and argued that the sources of the Cave of Treasures reached back to the third and perhaps even to the second century A.D.³² Götze, like Renan and Hort, maintained originally that all of the Adam material could be traced back

to a single pre-Christian "Book of Adam." He did not directly address the problem of the relationship between the Cave of Treasures and the Testament of Adam, but did indicate that the Testament must be treated as a separate document which had been incorporated into the Cave of Treasures in an early period.³³

Götze postulated two stages in the formation of the extant Cave of Treasures. He suggested that there was first an *Urschatzhöhle*, formed from very old traditions, which circulated before the fourth century A.D. The Testament of Adam, he maintained, must already have stood in this early form of the Cave of Treasures. Later, a Nestorian redactor substantially reworked the Schatzhöhle into its present form in about the seventh century A.D. This redactor omitted the Testament of Adam, according to Götze, but left behind traces of the excised work by which we can know that it once formed a part of the original.³⁴ Götze felt that the Arabic, and therefore the Ethiopic which is dependent upon the Arabic, is a translation of the *Urschatzhöhle* before its revision by the Nestorian redactor and thus preserves the original order of the composition including the Testament of Adam. This would explain why the testament is not found in the extant Syriac manuscripts of the Cave of Treasures, although these same manuscripts contain material compatible with the testament, for example, the repetition of the scene where Adam calls his posterity together at his death bed.

Two years after the publication of his major article on the Cave of Treasures, Götze published another in which he modified his views on the relationship between the Testament of Adam and the Cave of Treasures.³⁵ First, Götze made explicit his previous implication that the testament was a Gnostic work. Second, he modified his previous insistence that the Testament of Adam must once have stood in the *Urschatzhöhle*. Götze was now attracted to the hypothesis that the testament was added to the Arabic version rather than omitted from the latter Syriac recension, and allowed that it might not have been the Testament of Adam which dropped out of the Syriac after all, but rather certain "revelations to Seth about the Messiah, the three precious offerings and the Magi." Therefore, Götze concluded, the Testament of Adam originally had nothing to do with the Cave of Treasures.³⁶

These conclusions of Götze's are of particular interest in connection with the findings of Z. Avalachvili who worked with the Old Georgian version of the Cave of Treasures six years later.³⁷ The Old Georgian version, like the Arabic, contains the Horarium and the Prophecy from the Testament of Adam, but does not contain the Hierarchy.

Avalachvili proposed, apparently independently of Götze, that the Old Georgian version might be a translation of an earlier stage of the Syriac Cave of Treasures than that found in the present manuscripts. He believed that the Old Georgian preserved the more primitive order of the Cave of Treasures which contained the Testament of Adam. He also made it clear that the Testament of Adam must originally have been an independent document.³⁸ In all of this Avalachvili's position concerning the Old Georgian was analogous to the earlier position of Götze in regard to the Arabic.

Avalachvili did not offer an explanation of why the Testament of Adam would have been omitted by a later Syriac redactor or why the testament could not have been added to the Cave of Treasures in the Arabic version. The Arabic might then have been the parent not only of the Ethiopic, but of the Old Georgian as well. Moreover, in defending his proposal Avalachvili is forced to employ the principle of *longior lectio potior* in relation to the proposed recension of the Cave of Treasures. Finally, both Götze and Avalachvili referred to traces of the Testament of Adam which remained in the latter Syriac recension of the Cave of Treasures, but neither offered examples of what these traces may be or why they must have come from the Testament of Adam.³⁹ These considerations had forced Götze to abandon in relation to the Arabic version the very position which Avalachvili espoused relative to the Old Georgian.

Avalachvili followed Renan in attributing the Hierarchy to pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and accepted Nau's evaluation of the Horarium as a work of pagan magical incantations.⁴⁰ He did not consider the possibility that any part of the Testament of Adam might be of Jewish origin.

As early as 1911, S. Grebaut had treated the Ethiopic version of the Testament of Adam.⁴¹ In Ethiopic, as in Arabic, the testament is found incorporated into the pseudo-Clementine

work which is titled in Ethiopic Qalementos (Clement). Qalementos is comprised of seven books which are supposed to be the mysteries taught by Christ to Peter, which Peter then passed on to Clement who wrote them down.

Grebaut followed Dillmann in the belief that the Ethiopic Qalementos was a translation from an Arabic original. It is identical with the Book of the Rolls edited and translated by M. D. Gibson. The Arabic original was written, according to Dillmann, in Egypt between A.D. 750 and 760.⁴²

Grebaut also believed that the Testament of Adam was originally a self-contained document separate from both Qalementos and the Cave of Treasures:

Le Qalêmentos apparaît comme une compilation de documents anciens, tels que les *Récognitions*, la *Caverne des Trésors*, le *Testament d'Adam* et peut-être l'*Apocalypse de Pierre*, qui auraient été fondus ensemble par un rédacteur anonyme.⁴³

Although Grebaut believed the Testament of Adam to be both independent of and older than Qalementos and the Cave of Treasures, he did not therefore believe it to be an early Jewish or Christian work, but followed Nau in the belief that the Greek fragment of the Testament of Adam in the Paris magical codices represented a pagan Greek original of which the Syriac was an early version.⁴⁴

One of the most careful and complete treatments of the Testament of Adam is that of J. B. Frey published in 1928.⁴⁵ Frey divided the Testament of Adam into three sections rather than into Renan's four. They are the Horarium, the Prophecy, and the Hierarchy. He insisted on the unity of the Horarium and Prophecy, but accepted Kmosko's position that the Hierarchy was attributed to the Testament of Adam only through scribal error. Frey rejected Renan's thesis of Gnostic origins for the Testament of Adam. He was not the first to do so, but he was the first to offer cogent reasons why the testament was absolutely inimical to the basic tenets of Gnosticism.⁴⁶ Frey gently dismissed Renan's impossible identification of the Mandaeans as the forerunners of Gnosticism and repudiated his unsubstantiated claim that the Horarium was the model for the canonical hours.

Frey treated the sources of the Adam literature very carefully and concluded finally against Renan, Hort, and James, that the Penitence and the Testament of Adam could not be the same document. He was the first to take seriously the report of Samuel of Ani that the Penitence and the Testament were separate works, and he noted that if it were necessary to identify the Penitence of Adam with a document extant under some other title, the *Vita Adae et Evae*, or the Apocalypse of Moses, would make much better candidates than the Testament of Adam. However, Frey continued, there was no necessity of this, since an Armenian version of a Penitence of Adam had come to light and had been published in 1896.⁴⁷ Frey's rejection of all previous attempts to trace the various books of Adam back to a single archetype was a major development in the study of Adam literature. The equation of the Testament, Apocalypse, Penitence, Life, and Book of Adam had been an *a priori* assumption of critics for three quarters of a century, and was rendered tolerable perhaps more than anything else by the lack of manuscript evidence available at the time. But by 1928, when Frey's article was published, enough manuscript copies of diverse books of Adam had come to light finally to invalidate the old equation. Frey was the first to realize that in the Adam literature we are dealing not with several reproductions of a single original, but rather with a multiplicity of texts and traditions.

Frey concluded his excellent treatment of the Testament of Adam with his reasons for placing the document in an early Jewish, rather than a late Christian, setting. These rest primarily on parallels to apocalyptic and rabbinic literature.

After the flurry of attention received in the 1920s, the Testament of Adam was ignored except for minor bibliographical entries for a period of almost fifty years. In the meantime, its very existence has been forgotten, even by specialists in the field of the Pseudepigrapha. It was not until 1972 that a treatment of the Testament of Adam, the only article devoted to it since 1928, was published by G. J. Reinink.⁴⁸ Reinink, better informed than earlier critics about the nature of Gnosticism by virtue of the discoveries of the last half century, rejects the specifically Gnostic origins postulated by most of those critics. But Reinink does credit Renan for having focused

upon what he sees as the main problem of the testament, namely the problem of its origin. Reinink accepts the judgment of Kmosko that the Hierarchy should not be considered part of the original document. However, contrary to Kmosko he believes that the Horarium and the Prophecy form a unity. The major strength of Reinink's treatment is found in his strict severance of the Testament of Adam from the Cave of Treasures, reversing a trend which had reached its fullest expression in Kmosko's treatment of the testament. Reinink is certainly correct in throwing out the widely accepted assumption that the Testament of Adam was somehow dependent upon the other work. He rejects this assumption for three basic reasons. First, Reinink shows that what he believes to be the major focus of the Cave of Treasures--the journey of the corpse of Adam to Golgotha, the place of its ultimate salvation--is completely absent in the testament. Second, in the testament Adam is not buried in a sacred cavern as in the Cave of Treasures, but in the City of Enoch which lies in the East. Third, the burial of Adam by angels and heavenly powers and the darkening of the sun and moon at his death are elements foreign to the Cave of Treasures, but which are found in the *Vita Adae et Evae*.

Reinink reviews the conclusions of Götze concerning the relationship of the testament to the Cave of Treasures, noting that since the testament is found in the Arabic version of the Cave of Treasures, but not in the Syriac, there are only two possibilities: either the Testament of Adam was added in the translation to Arabic or else it was dropped out of the Syriac in a later recension. Reinink offers three reasons why he feels the testament was added to the Arabic version.⁴⁹ First, the Arabic Testament of Adam follows the text type witnessed by British Museum manuscript Arundel Oriental 53 (E) and by Vatican Syriac 159 (F). This text type is secondary to that witnessed by British Museum Additional manuscript 14,624 (A) and by Vatican Syriac 58 (B), and contains many expansions over the readings in A and B. In addition, the Arabic version expands even the longer readings of E and F. Second, the Testament of Adam is foreign to its context in the Arabic version. It is appended to the words of Adam *after* the formulae which are used throughout the Cave of Treasures to terminate the final words

of the Patriarchs. Third, in the Cave of Treasures the tradition which was handed down from Adam by the Patriarchs is transmitted orally, while in the testament it is explicitly stated that the tradition was written down by Seth and kept in the cavern with the other holy objects. For these reasons Reinink maintains that the Cave of Treasures cannot be used as an immediate source for the reconstruction and delimitation of the Testament of Adam.⁵⁰

In addition, Reinink, like James, does not feel that the Greek texts found in the Paris, Berlin and Bonn manuscripts should be used as primary sources for the Testament of Adam. In support of this he points out that the Greek is dependent upon the text type represented by Syriac E and F and preserves many of its errors. Further, he asserts that the emphasis of the Horarium in the Syriac and Arabic is cosmological while the emphasis of the Greek from the Paris manuscripts is on the magical significance of the hours.

Reinink is the only scholar so far to discuss the Testament of Adam in connection with the Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam from Nag Hammadi. He concludes that there are several parallels between the two documents which are too close to be accidental. And although he had rejected a specific Gnostic origin for the Testament of Adam, he concludes that the parallels with the Apocalypse point to an origin within an "Adamo-Sethianischen" cycle of literature that reaches back to ancient Jewish traditions. However, Reinink maintains that in its present form the Testament of Adam is a Christian work. He does not feel that the exact origin of the Testament of Adam can be ascertained at present, although the role of the Cave of Treasures⁵¹ and of the Magi in the text indicates to him a Syrian-Persian provenance.

Another recent treatment of the Testament of Adam is found in the summary of Adam literature by A. M. Denis.⁵² Denis treats the Adam literature generally, and the Testament of Adam in particular, as a cycle of traditions and documents of which the Testament of Adam was only a part. These compositions, while related thematically, are not necessarily derived from one another. This approach to the Adam literature, in continuity with that of J. B. Frey, allows Denis to treat the spectrum

of Adam literature in all its diversity without forcing the individual books into artificial relationships to each other.

Denis uses the tripartite division of the Testament of Adam suggested by Frey and agrees with him that only the first two sections, the Horarium and the Prophecy, are from the original Testament of Adam, and that the third section or Hierarchy was attributed incorrectly to Adam by the Syriac scribe. Denis also carefully disassociates the Testament of Adam from the Cave of Treasures and postulates that the testament is a relic from a primitive Life of Adam. In relating the various documents of the Adam cycle to one another Denis offers several possible textual or literary genealogies to explain the evolution of the tradition but declines to attempt a solution. Although Denis begins by properly treating the Adam literature as a cycle of tradition, this last portion of his article represents a step backwards as it is an attempt once again to trace all the books of Adam back to a single document.

A brief note on the Testament of Adam is found in James H. Charlesworth's *Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, where it is discussed in connection with the Cave of Treasures. Charlesworth posits a Jewish origin for the testament and argues correctly for its inclusion within the *Pseudepigrapha*. He further suggests that the testament is independent of and prior to the Cave of Treasures, that the Prophecy may date from the late second century A.D., and that the Horarium, because it is conspicuously free of Christian elements, may be even earlier.⁵³

The Changing Critical Perspective

The major factors which now call for a fresh treatment of the Testament of Adam and which are also primarily responsible for the current renaissance in the study of the *Pseudepigrapha* are (1) the proliferation of manuscript evidence and (2) the changing critical view as to the nature of Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism and of their relationships to each other. The following brief treatment is intended only to document the shift in scholarly thinking generally and is not intended to be a thorough treatment of the positions involved.

Palestinian vs. Hellenistic Judaism: From Moore to Davies

The critical view of the nature of first century Judaism has changed markedly since the early decades of this century. At that time scholars tended to see Judaism as a monolithic edifice, very much like the rabbinic picture presented in Talmudic times, an edifice which G. F. Moore called "a normative type of Judaism."⁵⁴ Apocalyptic and sectarian Judaism, of which little enough was known before the later manuscript discoveries, were viewed by Moore and others as strictly peripheral movements on the fringes of Judaism. Moore insisted that in the intertestamental period Judaism was dominated by the Pharisaic element of Jewish piety and that any historical treatment of Judaism in this period should address itself to the Pharisaic-rabbinic "norm" to the exclusion of other elements as primary sources. When Moore did use the so-called *Pseudepigrapha*, he insisted on interpreting it through the rabbinic norm.

... inasmuch as these writings have never been recognized by Judaism, it is a fallacy of method for the historian to make them a primary source for the eschatology of Judaism, much more to contaminate its theology with them.⁵⁵ [*Italics mine*]

In short, Moore imposed upon intertestamental Judaism a model which could be proven only for Mishnaic or, at earliest, post-Jamnian Judaism.⁵⁶

Since the normative view could not accommodate apocalyptic Judaism, the apocalyptic tradition and apocalyptic literature were treated as aberrations and were not allowed to inform any discussions on the nature of Judaism. This antagonism towards apocalyptic spilled over into the study of the New Testament where there was a tendency among some scholars to try and exclude apocalyptic from its place in the tradition.⁵⁷ This antagonism toward apocalyptic is still a hidden agenda behind much of the present discussion of biblical and intertestamental literature.⁵⁸

A corollary to Moore's view was that "normative Judaism" was seen in contradistinction to a hellenistic Judaism. In the minds of scholars two distinct categories emerged, the Judaism of Palestine and the Judaism of the Diaspora. Palestinian Judaism was characterized as more insular, more thoroughly Semitic

and more conservatively traditional, while Diaspora Judaism was seen as more cosmopolitan, more hellenistic, and more syncretistic. The Judaism of Philo was contrasted with that of Hillel, and in the inevitable transference and application of the corollary to Christianity, Paul was contrasted with Peter. Although the principals could be rearranged (e.g. A. Schweitzer preferred to cast Paul as a Palestinian against John as a hellenist), it is evident that the categories of hellenistic vs. Palestinian Judaism were the same.⁵⁹

By 1950, however, the old paradigm had become suspect in many circles for several reasons. The works of G. Scholem demonstrated that apocalyptic and mystical expression were not aberrations within the mainstream, but were in fact elements native to the very heart of Judaism.⁶⁰ The work of E. R. Goodenough and others established that Palestine had in fact readily adopted hellenistic forms in art, architecture, and even in religious symbolism.⁶¹ The disqualification by Moore and others of a large segment of the intertestamental literature became particularly suspect:

Phenomenologically, "normative" Talmudic Judaism cannot be said to have existed at all, . . . There is considerable reason to suppose, however, that local variations and modulations of ideas, emphasis, and interpretation of law and doctrine were far more substantial than we have hitherto supposed. In attempting to understand the varied phenomena of Judaism in this period, therefore, we must regard all sources of information as equally relevant, and, in such a context, equally "normative."⁶²

Some of the earliest and most consistent forces towards the increasing abandonment of the old view were the works of D. Daube, M. Smith, and W. D. Davies. Davies consistently emphasized both aspects of the new perspective: the "Palestinian" Jewishness of the Diaspora, and the penetrating hellenism of Palestine. In his book, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, Davies chose to interpret Pauline theology primarily by means of Jewish paradigms, while not wholly ruling out hellenistic ones. Davies saw that Paul could legitimately be a hellenistic Jew without being outside the mainstream of Judaism, that intertestamental Judaism was not confined to a rabbinic norm, and that it was incorrect to divide it into sharply contrasting Palestinian and hellenistic categories.⁶³

E. P. Sanders has recently evaluated the significance of Davies' work in respect to its impact on the old monolithic view:

It is not that Davies was the first to observe Hellenistic influences in Palestinian Judaism or Jewish influences in Hellenism--in his comments on these points he always refers to the work of others--or that he himself spent his research time in investigating and exploring the interpenetration. Rather he helped call the interpenetration to the attention of New Testament scholars and showed that ignoring it had led to an oversimplified view of New Testament backgrounds. Professor Davies' voice has been one of the principal factors in making the current generation of New Testament scholars aware of the complexities of the question of the conceptual thought-worlds in which the New Testament literature was written.⁶⁴

However, all of this notwithstanding, the greatest single factor in the changing view of the nature of Judaism was undoubtedly the discovery and analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other literature of the intertestamental period. The impact of the Scrolls was great enough to move W. F. Albright in 1952 to call for a rewriting of all works dealing with the background of the New Testament.⁶⁵ The Dead Sea Scrolls made it readily apparent that many of the elements which had formerly been attributed to hellenistic Judaism were in fact indigenous among Palestinian Jews. Further, the scrolls revealed that intertestamental Judaism was not the homogenous structure that Moore had believed. In the words of Millar Burrows:

The doctrines and practices of the covenanters substantially enrich our knowledge of Judaism at the time just before and during the origin and early growth of Christianity. It is now abundantly clear that we cannot understand the Judaism of the Roman period simply in terms of the Pharisees and Sadducees [the "normative" Judaism of Moore]. The tree whose trunk was the Old Testament had then many branches which later were lopped off or withered away.

The enlarged understanding of Judaism contributes in turn to our understanding of the New Testament, in its relation to its background and derivation, and all the more so because the beliefs, ideals, organization, and rites of the covenanters, as compared with those of the early church, exhibit both impressive similarities and even more significant contrasts.⁶⁶

The weight of the literary evidence presented by the scrolls added to that of the archeological evidence and to previous arguments by careful scholars proved overwhelming to the monolithic view. To quote Davies: "It is not necessary to labor the obvious. The old dichotomy between Palestinian and Diaspora Hellenistic Judaism is no longer tenable."⁶⁷

Judaism and Christianity:
From Moore to Slingerland

A further tendency of the monolithic view had been the sharp contradistinction of Judaism and Christianity in the first century A.D. It was only reasonable that if "normative" Judaism was characterized as a non-apocalyptic, non-eschatological and non-mystical stream of Pharisaic Torah piety, that Christianity should be seen as a movement totally separate and distinct from it. Nevertheless, it was inevitable once the bars between hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism were pulled down and it had been generally accepted that Judaism was a more heterogeneous phenomenon than Moore allowed, that one of the first repercussions would be a reappraisal of the relationship between Christians and Jews in the first century. When the picture of Judaism had been corrected to include more heterodox elements, much of what had formerly been thought original to Christianity was seen to have obvious Jewish roots.⁶⁸

Recent scholarship has tended to reject the stark opposition of church and synagogue in the early first century. Rather, earliest Christianity is now seen to have been a sect within Judaism, and the early Christian a heterodox Jew. Typical of this view is the following by L. Martyn:

All the way from the arrest of Peter and John in chapter 3 to Paul's appearance (now as a Christian) before the Sanhedrin in chapter 23, Acts paints a picture in which Jewish authorities view the church as essentially subject to Jewish law. That is to say; the church is viewed by the Jewish authorities as a sect, a bothersome one to be sure, but still a sect which remained within the bosom of Judaism.⁶⁹

D. R. A. Hare has shown that the methods employed by Jews in the harassment of Christians before A.D. 70 reflect an attempt at internal discipline rather than an attack on a non-Jewish religion.⁷⁰

The final split between Judaism and Christianity is now generally dated toward the end of the first century, and is seen to have been a result of several factors. First, the refusal of Christians to participate in the Jewish revolt of A.D. 70 separated them from the nationalistic aspirations of Israel. Second, the consolidation of Judaism in the Pharisaic mold after A.D. 70 and the subsequent introduction, around A.D. 85, of the Birkath ha-Minim made it increasingly impossible for Christians to remain in the synagogues.⁷¹

No evidence of organized opposition to the Christian movement is found prior to the destruction of the Temple. The insertion of the Birkath ha-Minim indicates that rabbinic authorities found it necessary to oppose minority sects in an attempt to consolidate their position. There is no evidence, however, of any attempt on their part to initiate an organized campaign of violence against Christians.⁷²

Third, the influx of uncircumcised Gentiles into the Christian church, the fruit of the Gentile mission, made the close association of Christians and Torah-observing Jews impossible.

Contemporary scholars, having learned from the demise of Moore's thesis, are more aware of "the complexity of the Christian movement itself which included a significant number of loyal Pharisees."⁷³ As Wayne Meeks has recently put it, "Christianity was never a monolithic society, but a polymorphous movement, the vector constituted by tensions in many directions."⁷⁴

But once again, the greatest factor in the widening perspective upon earliest Christianity has been the discovery of additional manuscript evidence. The Dead Sea Scrolls in particular have revealed the presence of much in sectarian Judaism which may have influenced the beliefs and practices of the early church. The impact of the Scrolls in bringing the investigation of Christian origins back to Palestinian, or at least to Jewish, soil must not be held lightly.⁷⁵ Once again, the weight of the Scrolls has been an important factor in the shifting of the scales.

The current trend of minimizing the distinctions between Christianity and Judaism before A.D. 70 has recently led H. D. Slingerland to propose a bold hypothesis which carries the new approach to its logical extreme. Slingerland suggests that the

distinction between Jewish and Christian be thrown out entirely in regard to pre-70 literature whose authorship is in question and that the texts be allowed as sources for the study of *both* Judaism and Christianity.⁷⁶ It is Slingerland's contention that since Christianity before A.D. 70 was in its own self-consciousness a Jewish sect, those elements in pre-70 Christian literature which cannot be shown to be Christian in an exclusive sense should be allowed to inform our understanding of the Judaism of the period as well. Slingerland places the burden of proof on those who would disallow the use of such passages except where they can be shown by other criteria to be exclusively Christian. Slingerland concludes that relative to the period before A.D. 70 the debate over the Jewish or Christian authorship of intertestamental writings may be meaningless and that to a large extent the terms Jewish and Christian, in this period, represent a distinction without a difference.

It is not the purpose of the present study to evaluate the relative merit of Slingerland's position, but rather to illustrate by citing it how the critical pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other; from earlier critics who posited a "normative" Judaism clearly distinct from Christianity, to those who now would propose a radical elimination of distinctions between the two. Correctly or incorrectly, for good reasons and bad, the critical view of the nature of Judaism and Christianity has changed to a great extent since the major discussions of the Testament of Adam took place at the beginning of this century. This change calls for a reexamination and reevaluation, not only of the Testament of Adam, but of all the intertestamental literature in terms of the positive insights of the new views.

The Reappraisal of Gnosticism: From Reitzenstein to MacRae

There were generally two different but related views on the origins of Gnosticism in early critical scholarship. The first view was that Gnosticism was a phenomenon wholly foreign and external to Christianity and Judaism (again, as informed by the old monolithic categories), inimical to those religions, and against which they struggled mightily and, for the most part, successfully. The second view held that Gnosticism was a bastard child of Christianity and/or Judaism, morally and

intellectually impoverished, spawned in the minds of the foolish and ignorant by the contaminating influences of the external forces of hellenism.

The former view was proposed mainly by the followers of R. Reitzenstein and the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* who saw Gnosticism as the product of Iranian religion imposed upon the hellenistic and Judeo-Christian West.⁷⁷ This position conformed well to the monolithic view of Judaism, since it attributed the Gnostic phenomenon to entirely external sources. And although the exact point of origin may have been debated, few scholars doubted the canon that Gnosticism could *not* have originated within the Judeo-Christian tradition. As long as the old definition of a "normative Judaism" held sway, the possibility of discovering any Jewish roots for Gnosticism was unlikely to occur, since it was ruled out of court by definition.

The second of the earlier views mentioned above was due in part to the evaluation of Gnosticism by "orthodox" writers both ancient and modern. We have already noted the very caustic attitude of Assemani, Renan, and others toward Gnosticism. However, as scholars have been more and more able to dissociate themselves from the use of such categories as "orthodoxy" and "heresy" a much more objective picture of the nature of Gnosticism has become possible.⁷⁸ The discovery of a large group of Gnostic texts at Nag Hammadi has established both the aesthetic beauty and intellectual complexity of many Gnostic works.

The main thrust of Reitzenstein's theory, that Gnosticism was an external force working on Judaism and Christianity, has been seriously questioned for several reasons. First, Reitzenstein's original theory was based upon supposed parallels between Zoroastrian and Gnostic concepts and rituals. As it later turned out, many of these parallels were drawn from texts which were not Iranian but Manichaean and demonstrably later than their Gnostic parallels.⁷⁹ Second, scholars have come to realize the methodological fallacy of any theory of origins based primarily on the use of literary "parallels." Third, a reexamination of much of the Iranian material indicates that it is not as "parallel" as Reitzenstein, who was not an Iranologist, had thought.⁸⁰ Fourth, and most important, it has become increasingly evident that the vocabulary and imagery of Gnosticism

is to a large extent that of the biblical tradition. Granted, these are often employed in a novel manner, but the basic materials out of which Gnosticism is built are generally biblical. As G. MacRae correctly emphasizes, "the familiarity which Gnostic sources show toward details of Jewish thought is hardly one that we could expect non-Jews to have."⁸¹

For these reasons and others the majority of scholars, though by no means all of them, have begun to look *within* the biblical tradition for some of the roots of Gnosticism. MacRae is representative of a large group of scholars who place the origin of Gnosticism within Judaism, a move which would have been unlikely before the collapse of the old monolithic view. Herein lies the crux of the shift in scholarly perspective: while Reitzenstein and the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* saw Gnosticism as foreign and inimical to Judaism and Christianity, MacRae and others see it as a revolt within the circle of Judaism.

The answer to the question must lie in the realization that the essence of the Gnostic attitude, as has often been stated, is one of revolt, and it is a revolt against Judaism itself. Yet somehow it must be conceived as a revolt *within* Judaism. The poignancy of the expression of it indicates this: the Wisdom of Yahweh has been a deception.⁸²

Along the same lines, R. M. Grant has suggested that Gnosticism is a product of the frustrated Jewish apocalyptic hope,⁸³ and O. Wintermute has shown that in the case of the Nag Hammadi tractate *On the Origin of the World* (CG II, 5) the Gnostic method of exegesis, far from being hostile to the Old Testament, "led to a respect for the text and an assiduous attempt to interpret it skillfully in order to demonstrate wisdom which it contained."⁸⁴ Wintermute shows that the Gnostic "regard for the authority of the Old Testament appears to be as vigorous as that of their orthodox opponents,"⁸⁵ and that the exegesis, "took place within circles where a proof-text from the prophet would still represent reasonably persuasive argument."⁸⁶

It should also be noted that the manuscripts discovered at Nag Hammadi have largely failed to substantiate the Iranian element in Gnosticism and even those who, like H. Jonas, deny the Jewish origins of Gnosticism must admit with Jonas that Gnosticism did at least originate "in close vicinity" to Judaism.⁸⁷

Finally, as we have already intimated, the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library and other Gnostic texts have had an impact on the study of Gnosticism analogous to that of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the study of Judaism. Documents from Nag Hammadi such as the Apocalypse of Adam (CG V, 5) and the Apocalypse of Zostrianos (CG VIII, 1), which undeniably reflect the biblical tradition, have done much to strengthen the theory of the Jewish origins of Gnosticism.⁸⁸ The discovery of such a large body of Gnostic literature has done much to ameliorate the particularly persistent though uncritical attitude that Gnosticism was an "illegitimate" form of Christianity. In the days of the early view Gnosticism, being largely an unknown quantity, had been the trash heap for anything that would not fit into the other categories of the monolithic view. Now the Nag Hammadi find offers a warning against the fallacy of positing a "normative" Gnosticism; for the Gospel of Thomas or the Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles are certainly appreciably different from such documents as the Thunderer or the Allogenes.

The two main points established from the foregoing are these: first, that the consensus of scholarly opinion is shifting. Gnosticism is more and more being seen as an internal rather than external phenomenon relative to the biblical tradition. M. Mansoor correctly reports that "one of the most striking features of recent gnostic studies is the tendency to see in Judaism the source, or at least, the main channel, through which *Gnosis* entered the Graeco-Roman world."⁸⁹ Second, that in its Christian manifestations Gnosticism is being thought of less and less as an illegitimate aberration of Christianity, smelling of superstition and quackery, and is being accepted more and more as one of many varied forms of early Christianity. These observations are pertinent to our study of the Testament of Adam in view of the persistent claim that the testament was a product of late gnostic superstition and therefore relatively unworthy of critical attention. The attribution of the testament to the Gnostics runs like a thread throughout the history of its critical treatment. The recent developments in the study of Gnosticism demand a reevaluation if not a complete unraveling of that thread.

The Proliferation of Manuscript Evidence

The greatest single factor in the expanded understanding of Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism has been the proliferation of manuscript evidence. From the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Nag Hammadi Library, and other documentary evidence from the intertestamental period, it has become clear that the old monolithic view and its corollaries prevalent in the first half of this century rested to a great extent on the paucity of information available at that time. The proliferation of manuscripts and of archaeological evidence for the period now indicates that intertestamental Judaism was a very much more variegated phenomenon than had previously been believed. When R. H. Charles, a major proponent of the monolithic view, edited the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in a work which was to influence scholars for at least three-quarters of a century,⁹⁰ his volume contained only 17 entries, and two of these are now categorized with the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic literature. In his forthcoming edition of the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, J. H. Charlesworth has collected over fifty documents. Thus our manuscript evidence for the Pseudepigrapha alone has increased three-fold since the days of Charles. With the increase of manuscript evidence has come a widening of our understanding of the groups which produced the manuscripts. The process of breaking down categories and widening the possible extension of the term "Judaism" continues today, as witnessed by the recent willingness on the part of scholars to accept astrological and even magical material under the term "Judaism."⁹¹

The pertinence of this discussion for the study of the Testament of Adam is witnessed by the fact that, with one exception, the critical treatment of the testament took place before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, of the Nag Hammadi Library, and of the majority of documents to be contained in Charlesworth's edition of the Pseudepigrapha. It is in terms of the proliferation of manuscript evidence and of the consequently expanded understanding of what may legitimately be labelled Jewish that, taking Albright's challenge seriously, the Testament of Adam must be reexamined.⁹² The present study will attempt to take into account the expanded number of manuscripts, both of the Testament of Adam in particular and of the

intertestamental literature in general, and will in Chapter V attempt to place the Testament of Adam in its setting *vis-a-vis* Gnosticism, Judaism, and Christianity.

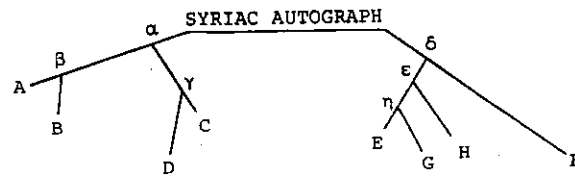
CHAPTER III
THE SYRIAC TESTAMENT OF ADAM

The Syriac Testament of Adam is found in three recensions. Recension 1 consists of two manuscripts, and contains the Horarium, with the hours of the night appearing first, and the Prophecy of Adam to Seth. Recension 2, also consists of two manuscripts and contains the Horarium and Prophecy, but adds a long section on the orders of angels which has been called the Hierarchy. The Horarium in recension 2 contains only the hours of the night. Recension 3 consists of four manuscripts and contains only the hours of the day and night, the hours of the day appearing first. One manuscript of recension 3, Vatican Syriac 159, also contains the Prophecy of Adam to Seth, but this may be due to the later influence of recensions 1 and 2.¹

The Syriac text was first published in 1853 by E. Renan in an edition based primarily on Vatican Syriac manuscript 164 with support from Vatican Syriac 58 (manuscripts C and B, respectively), and was accompanied by a French translation with notes.² Renan's translation, slightly altered, was reproduced in 1856 by J. P. Migne in the *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*.³ In 1865, W. Wright published a portion of the Syriac text from British Museum Additional manuscript 14,624 (manuscript A) without an English translation.⁴ An eclectic Syriac text employing six manuscripts was finally produced by M. Kmosko in 1907, accompanied by a Latin translation.⁵ This was the only edition of the Testament of Adam to use more than two Syriac manuscripts and has since served as the standard work on the Testament of Adam. A German translation of Vatican Syriac manuscript 164 (manuscript C) was published in 1927 by P. Riessler.⁶

The eight Syriac manuscripts of the Testament of Adam date from the ninth to the eighteenth century. Two of these, British Museum Additional manuscript 14,577 (manuscript H) and John Rylands Syriac manuscript 44 (manuscript G), were not used by Kmosko in his 1907 edition of the text.⁷ In every Syriac

relationship of the eight Syriac manuscripts to each other and to the Syriac autograph may be expressed thus:



A stylistic feature common to all eight manuscripts is the regular employment of the present participle, without an auxiliary verb or enclitic pronoun, for the present tense. Otherwise the texts offer few stylistic peculiarities.

The biblical orientation of the Syriac text is undeniable. The story of Genesis 1-6 is worked into the very fiber of the document. The angelology and demonology, the Old and New Testament allusions, and the creation motif heavily influenced by Genesis 1 disclose that the Horarium from the Testament of Adam was composed squarely within the biblical tradition.³⁵

CHAPTER IV THE GREEK TESTAMENT OF ADAM

The hours of the day and night, which constitute chapters one and two of the Syriac Testament of Adam, are extant in Greek in two forms. The first form is witnessed by four manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ABCD), one from the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (E) and one from the Collection of the University of Bonn (F). In four of these six manuscripts the hours of the day and night form one chapter in a larger work of astrological and magical speculations attributed to Apollonius of Tyana and entitled *Apotelesmata*.¹ The account of the hours in this recension is shorter than in the Syriac text and all references to the figure of Adam are missing. The text of manuscript A was first published in 1893 by M. R. James.² Portions of Paris manuscript 2316 (C) were published by R. Reitzenstein in 1904.³ All four Paris manuscripts were edited by F. Nau, who published an eclectic text in 1907.⁴ The Berlin manuscript (E) was published by F. Boll in 1908.⁵ Portions of the Bonn manuscript including the Horarium were published by A. Delatte in 1927.⁶ In order to facilitate the use of earlier literature, the numeration and sigla of F. Nau have been preserved where possible. The six manuscripts are:

- A - Paris Greek manuscript 2419, a paper codex of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. This manuscript measures 410 x 310 mm and is written in an inelegant hand. It is crowded, averaging thirty-eight lines per page in a single column. The hours of the day and night appear on folio 247^b. This is the only one of the six Greek manuscripts that assigns Hebrew names to the hours. A key for deciphering the Hebrew letters and other symbols is provided by Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 446.

- B - Paris supplemental Greek manuscript 1148, a paper codex copied between A.D. 1539 and A.D. 1542. It contains 231 folios and measures 240 x 175 mm with approximately 22 lines per page. The hours of the day and night appear on folios 37^b-40^b. This manuscript served as the base text for Nau's edition of 1907. It seems, however, to be dependent on manuscript E, which was unknown to Nau.⁷
- C - Paris Greek manuscript 2316 is a paper codex of the fifteenth century. This manuscript has 459 folios, measuring 215 x 145 mm, with 26 lines per page and is written in an inelegant hand. The hours of the day and night appear on folios 324^b-325^b. In this manuscript the hours are found independent of any connection with Apollonius of Tyana or his *Apotelesmata*.
- D - Paris supplemental Greek manuscript 20 is a paper codex of the seventeenth century and is the latest of the six manuscripts. It is written in a very beautiful hand averaging 30 lines per page with marginalia in Latin and is a copy of MS 2419 (A) made by Ishmael Bullialdo. The hours of the day and night are found on folios 170^a-171^a. This manuscript leaves blank spaces at most of those points in the hours of the day and night where the parent manuscript, Paris 2419 (A), had Hebrew letters, although Hebrew letters have been copied in other chapters.⁸
- E - Berlin Greek manuscript 173 is a paper codex of the late fifteenth century containing 204 folios and measuring 203 x 144 mm. The hours of the day and night are found in folios 73^a-74^a. This manuscript is certainly a genealogical predecessor if not indeed the actual parent of the Paris MS 1148 (B).
- F - Codex Bononiensis Universitatis 3632 is a paper codex copied in the fifteenth century by John of Aron. It contains 475 folios and measures 296 x 219 mm. The Horarium is found on folio 359^b.

This manuscript was unknown to F. Nau and was not used in his 1907 edition of the Greek text.

In the following edition of the Greek text one manuscript is employed as a base text; variant readings from the other five are recorded in footnotes. This method is preferable since it focuses study on an actual text rather than on one that is hypothetical and eclectic. Manuscript A is used as the base text for several reasons. It was the first discovered and has been the most discussed of the six manuscripts. Also, it is the sole witness to the so-called Hebrew names attributed to each hour. Since much has been made of these Hebrew names in relation to the problems of original language,⁹ it is well to have manuscript A before us. Finally, manuscript A, though not the oldest, is generally the least expanded of the six manuscripts.

The second form in which the hours of the day are found in Greek is in a citation from the Byzantine chronicler George Cedrenus (11th century) which is much abbreviated and gives the distinct impression of being a summary or paraphrase. Although Cedrenus attributes the Horarium to Adam, he lists only the hours of the day.¹⁰

In the Greek text below, underscoring indicates rubrication; in the English translation underscoring indicates those words written in the Greek text in Hebrew characters. The Hebrew words in the Greek text do not employ final forms (i.e. ך, ם, ן, etc.) consequently these are not used below. Hebrew letters found in the text have been transliterated in the English translation, followed by the English meaning in brackets where the meaning is ascertainable. The horizontal stroke beneath some Hebrew letters is equivalent to the Greek alpha (α, or ᾱ).¹¹

Although the Greek manuscripts are full of abbreviated endings these have been spelled out in full below since the abbreviations cannot be reproduced in printed form. Variants involving v-movable have not been noted. Parentheses in the English translation indicate words demanded by good English; brackets indicate editorial insertions beyond those required for English sense. The text of Cedrenus' *Compendium* is taken from I. Bekker's edition in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae*

Byzantinae.¹² The texts of manuscripts A, B, C and D are taken from photographs graciously provided by the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale; the text of manuscript E is taken from the published edition of F. Boll;¹³ and the text of manuscript F is from the published edition of A. Delatte.¹⁴

Greek Manuscripts of the Testament of Adam

MS	Catalogue No.	Folios	Date
A	Paris 2419	247 ^b	late 15th cent.
B	Paris Suppl 1148	37 ^b -40 ^b	16th cent.
C	Paris 2316	324 ^b -325 ^b	15th cent.
D	Paris Suppl 20	170 ^a -171 ^a	17th cent.
E	Berlin 173	73 ^a -74 ^a	15th cent.
F	Bonn 3632	359 ^b	15th cent.

MS Paris 2419 f. 247^bὌνομασται ὥρων ἡμερινῶν¹

- 1 Ὥρα α.² καλεῖται³ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲁ⁴ ἢ⁵ ἀγαθόν⁶ ἐστὶ⁷ προσεύχεσθαι.⁸
 2 Ὥρα β.⁹ καλεῖται¹⁰ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲁ¹¹ ἐν¹² ἢ¹³ εὐχαί¹⁴ τῶν ἀγγέλων
 καὶ ὕμνοι.¹⁴
 3 Ὥρα γ.¹⁵ καλεῖται¹⁶ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲁ¹⁷ ἐν¹⁸ ἢ¹⁹ εὐχαριστοῦσιν²⁰ τὰ
 πετεινὰ τῷ θεῷ.¹⁹ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ²⁰ ἀποτελεῖται²¹ πᾶν
 στοιχεῖον²² ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲁ.²³

¹B: περὶ τῶν ὥρων τῆς γ(ῆς?)
 ὁλοῦντ' ὃ τί ἔργον ποιεῖ
 ἐκάστη ὥρα.

C: περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ὥρων
 τῆς ἡμέρας.

E: περὶ τῶν ὥρων τῆς ἡμέρας
 πῶς καλοῦνται καὶ τί ἔργον
 ποιεῖ ἐκάστη ὥρα.

F: ἡμέρον.

James mistook ὥρων for ιβ'.

²BE: Ἡ πρώτη ὥρα τῆς ἡμέρας.

³C: καλεῖτε.

⁴BCEF: Ιαέκ.

C: adds καλεῖται.

D: omits.

⁵BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ (B: τῷ for
 ὥρᾳ).

C: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ.

F: omits.

⁶C: καλόν.

⁷BCE: add τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

⁸F: προσευχῆς.

⁹BE: ἡ β' ὥρα τῆς ἡμέρας.

¹⁰B: καλλῆται.

¹¹BE: ναουρᾶν.

C: ναουρίς.

D: omits.

F: γανουκῆς.

¹²BCE: ἐν αὐτῇ (C: ταύτῃ) τῇ ὥρᾳ.
 F: omits ἐν ἢ.

¹³B: εὐλαί.

¹⁴BCE: καὶ (B adds μί) ὕμνοι τῶν
 ἀγγέλων.

F: εὐχῆς ἀμπέλων καὶ οἴκων.

¹⁵BE: ἡ τρίτη ὥρα.

¹⁶BE: χαροῖάρω.

C: οὐχοσιούρ.

D: omits name.

F: οὐχανσιούρ.

¹⁷BCE: ἐν αὐτῇ (C: ταύτῃ) τῇ ὥρᾳ.

¹⁸B: εὐχαριστοῦσιν.

BE: add πάντα.

¹⁹BCE: τὸν θεόν (BE add καί).

²⁰C: ἐν ταύτῃ ὥρᾳ.

F: τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν.

BE: omit.

²¹F: ἀποτελή.

BE: add ἐν αὐτῇ.

²²B: στοιχοῦν.

C: στιχοῦν.

²³B: τῶν ὁρέων.

CE: τῶν ὄρνεων.

DF: ὄρνεων.

The Greek Testament of Adam

The Names of the Hours of the Day

- 1 The 1st^a hour is called 'y'hk [prayer]^b (in)
 which it is good to pray.
 2 The 2nd hour is called nwtwyš in which
 (there are) prayers and hymns of angels.
 3 The 3rd hour is called 'wrndšw [talk like a
 bird]^c in which the birds give thanks to God.
 In the same hour every spell (pertaining to)
 'wrn'w [birds]^d is conjured.^e

a. The ordinals here and below are rendered with numbers rather than letters to better reflect the character of the Greek text. This is also characteristic of Syriac recension 3, with which the Greek shares many common features.

b. It will become increasingly clear below that the Hebrew names in this text are not Hebrew at all, but where decipherable they turn out to be Greek words written in Hebrew characters. The form here is probably a corruption of εὐχή, "prayer." With the exception of 1:1, 1:3, and 1:11, the names of the hours have resisted satisfactory translation.

c. I.e., ὀρνιάζω, or less probably οὐρανίζω, "to reach to heaven."

d. I.e., ὁρέων, as in the other five MSS. Note that D offers a Greek word for the Hebrew of A.

e. In late Byzantine texts, ἀποτελεῖν and στοιχεῖον, with their cognates are technical terms in the practice of magic and astrology, especially in the creation of talismans. For an excellent exposition of the evidence see C. Blum, "The Meaning of στοιχεῖον and its Derivates in the Byzantine Age," *Eranos* 44 (1946) 315-25. For other references see also E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), pp. 1012f.

- 4 ὥρα δ' ¹ καλεῖται ² דגלש ³ ἐν ἣ ⁴ εὐχαριστοῦσιν ⁵ πάντα τὰ
ποιήματα ⁶ τῷ θεῷ ⁷ ἐν ἣ στοιχειοῦνται ⁸
שמיני עשר : שנים עשר : ימי שבעה καὶ πάντα τὰ ἰοβόλα. ⁹
- 5 ὥρα ε' ¹⁰ καλεῖται הגש ¹¹ ἐν ἣ ¹² αἰνεῖ πᾶν ζῶον τὸν θεόν.
ὅτε ¹³ ἀποτελεῖται ¹⁴ πᾶν דגלש. ¹⁵
- 6 ὥρα ς' ¹⁶ καλεῖται גרגר ¹⁷ ἣ ¹⁸ δυσωποῦσιν ¹⁹ τὰ χερουβὶμ
τὸν θεόν ὑπὲρ ²⁰ ἀνθρώπων. ²¹

¹BE: ἡ τετάρτη ὥρα.

²C: καλεῖται.

³BCE: σάλανε.
C: σπλάχνε.
D: omits.

⁴BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
C: ἐν ταύτῃ γῇ ὥρᾳ.
F: omits ἐν ἣ.

⁵B: εὐχαριστῶ.
C: εὐχαριστοῦσι.
F: εὐαρεστοῦσι.

⁶B: καὶ περὶ τούτου ποιήματα.

⁷BCEF: τὸν θεόν.

⁸BCE: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ (B omits τῇ)
ὥρᾳ ἀποτελεῖται πᾶν στοι-
χείον (C: στοιχείον.)
F: ἐν ἣ στοιχειοῦσι.

⁹B: ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίον καὶ δρά-
κοντος καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν παντῶν
ἰοβίλων.

C: ὄφρων σκορπίον καὶ δρακόντων
καὶ λοιπὸν ἰοβόλων.

D: δράκοντες σκορπίοι ὄφεις καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἰοβόλα.

E: ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ δρα-
κόντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν παντῶν
ἰοβόλων.

F: ὄφεις σκορπίοι δράκοντες καὶ
τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἰοβόλα.

¹⁰BE: ἡ ε' ὥρα.

¹¹BE: σαγλάτ.
C: σαλάκ.
D: omits.
F: σαγδάγ.

¹²BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.

¹³BE: καὶ for ὅτε.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.
F: omits αἰνεῖ and ὅτε.

¹⁴BE: add ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.

¹⁵BE: πᾶν στοιχείον τετραπόδων
λέοντος πάρδου ἀρκτου
λύκου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.

C: πᾶν στοιχείον τετράποδον
λέοντες πάρδου ἀρκτου λύκου
καὶ λοιπῶν θηρίων.
DF: πᾶν τετράποδον.

¹⁶BE: ἡ ἕκτη ὥρα.

¹⁷BE: τηχεμούλ.
C: χακούλ.
D: omits.
F: χμούλ πημάλ.

¹⁸BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.
F: omits.

¹⁹C: ἐνοῦσι.

²⁰BCE: τὰ χερουβὶμ τοῦ γένους
τῶν (B: τόν).
F: omits τὰ.

²¹F: ἀν[θρώπ]ω.

- 4 The 4th hour is called slkn in which all
things made give thanks to God; in which
drkwnłś, 'wpwys, śkwrrpy'wy [serpents, snakes,
scorpions]^a and all poisonous creatures are
charmed.^b
- 5 The 5th hour is called ś'lt in which every
living thing praises God; when every (spell
concerning)^c łłrpwn [four-footed beasts]^d is
conjured.
- 6 The 6th hour is called łkmwl (in) which the
cherubim^e importune God in behalf of human
beings.

a. I.e., δράκοντες, ὄφεις, and σκορπίοι. These are
obviously Greek words, and the other five MSS give the Greek
forms which are undoubtedly original. The Hebrew lettering
appears to be an affectation by the scribe of MS A.

b. The reading of BCEF is perhaps better: "in this hour
every spell concerning snakes and scorpions and serpents is
conjured."

c. Supplying στοιχεῖον, as found in BCE.

d. I.e., τετράποδων.

e. Note that the words cherubim and seraphim, of Hebrew
origin and written here with the Hebrew plural ending, are not
written in Hebrew characters, though many Greek words are. This
further weakens the view that the Hebrew words of MS A are trans-
literations from a Hebrew original.

- 7 ὥρα ζ' ¹ καλεῖται ζηρη ² ἐν ᾗ ³ αἰνοῦσιν ⁴ ἀγγέλων τάγματα ⁵
καὶ ⁶ παριστάμενα τῷ θεῷ.
- 8 ὥρα η' καλεῖται ζηρη. ⁸
- 9 ὥρα θ' ⁹ καλεῖται ζηρηζ ¹⁰ ἡ χαπαυροῦν ¹¹ ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν
τελεῖται. ¹²
- 10 ὥρα ι' ¹³ καλεῖται ζηρηζη ¹⁴ ἡ ζηρηζ ¹⁵ ἐν ᾗ ¹⁶ ἐνοῦσιν ¹⁷
τὰ ¹⁸ ὕδατα ¹⁹ καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ καταβαῖνον ²⁰ ἐπιπολάζει
αὐτοῖς ²¹ καὶ ἀγιάζει ²² αὐτά. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ²³ οὕτως ²⁴
ἦν ²⁵ ἐβλαπτον ἄν ²⁶ οἱ πονηροί ²⁷ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπων. ²⁸
- ¹BE: 'H ζ' ὥρα (B omits ὥρα).
²B: βερούκι.
C: βαρούκ.
D: omits name.
E: βερούκ.
³BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.
F: omits ἐν ᾗ.
⁴B: αἰνοῦνται.
⁵BE: τὰ τάγματα τῶν ἀγγέλων.
⁶BCEF: omit καί.
⁷BCE: ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ.
F: ἦπνα ἱστάμενα τῷ θεῷ.
⁸BE: omit this entire hour.
C: βουρδν.
D: omits name.
F: βηρδν.
⁹BE: ἡ ἐννάτη (E: θ') ὥρα.
¹⁰B: χαπβρούμ.
C: χαπβρούμ.
D: omits name.
E: χαπβρούη.
F: χατέρουν.
¹¹D: χαπαυρούβ.
F: χαιπαρούκ.
¹²BCE: omit ἡ...τελεῖται.
¹³BE: 'H δεκάτη (E: ι') ὥρα.
- ¹⁴BE: βουχοῦν.
C: βαχούμ.
D: omits name.
F: βουχοῦν.
¹⁵BCDE: omit.
F: ἡ βουχοῦμ.
¹⁶BE: ἐν αὐτῇ.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.
¹⁷BDEF: αἰνοῦσιν.
C: αἰνοῦνται.
¹⁸C: omits τὰ.
¹⁹BCE: add τὸν θεόν.
²⁰C: καταβένον.
F: omits καταβαῖνον.
²¹BCE: ἐπιπολάζει ἐπάνω τῶν
ὕδατων.
F: ἐπιπολάζω αὐτῆς.
²²F: ἡγιάζη.
²³BE: εἰ μὴ γὰρ.
²⁴BCE: τοῦτο.
F: οὕτος.
²⁵B: addς διὰ τὸν ὕδατον ὕδατος.
C: addς διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος.
²⁶BE: ἄν ἐβλαπτον (B: ἐβλυττον).
F: omits ἄν.
²⁷C: πονιροί.
E: omits πονηροί.
²⁸BCE: δαίμονες τὸ γένος τῶν
ἀνθρώπων.

- 7 The 7th hour is called wrwk, in which the ranks of angels which are standing by^a praise God.
- 8 The 8th hour is called wyrn.^b
- 9 The 9th hour is called kṭwrwn or chapuraoun, in which nothing is conjured.
- 10 The 10th hour is called wrwkwn or mwkwwn, in which the waters (give) praise^c and the spirit of God, descending, hovers over them and sanctifies them.^d If it were not so the wicked demons would harm human beings.

a. Omitting καί. παριστάμενα modifies τάγματα not ἀγγέλων. It is clear that the angelology presupposed here is Jewish or Christian, and could not have originated with Apollonius of Tyana, a pagan.

b. Note that the function of this hour and the part of creation that offers praise in it are not given; what is important in the Greek is the name of the hour, not its function. Also note that B follows the error of E in omitting this entire hour. Since B is the younger manuscript, it follows that it is closely related to, and perhaps descended from, E.

c. Following the reading of BDEF.

d. Although all mention of Adam is missing, the biblical flavor of the hours remains. It is unlikely that this passage, with its allusions to the first chapter of Genesis, could have been written by Apollonius of Tyana. See below pp. 138-39, 154.

έν η¹ εάν ανθρωπος² ηρη και μιξει³ μετα αγίου
ελαίου⁴ παν ηρη⁵ ιαται⁶ και δαιμονοντας⁷ καθαρει⁸
και δαίμονας απελαύνει.⁹

11 "Ωρα ια¹⁰ καλεϊται ηρη¹¹ η ηρη¹² εν η¹² εφωραϊνονται
οι εκλεκτοι¹³ του θεου.

12 "Ωρα ιβ¹⁴ καλεϊται¹⁵ ηρη¹⁶ αινει εφωραϊνονται αι
των ανθρωπων ευχαί.¹⁷

¹BE: εν ταυτη τη ωρα.
C: σημε ταυτη ωρα.
F: omits εν η.

²BE: ει ανθρωπος.
BCE: add καθαρος.

³BCE: ηρη υδωρ και μιξη (C: μιξη).
D: gives γερων for ηρη (D^{mar}g:
νερων).
F: λαβη υδωρ και μιξη.

⁴C: μετ' ελαίου.

⁵BE: νόσιμα.
DE: νόσημα.

⁶BE: ιαζεται.
F: omits ιαται.

⁷B: δέμονες.
C: δαιμονιοντας.
D: δαιμονουοντας.
E: δαιμονωντας.
F: δαιμονιωντας.

⁸BE: καθαρισει.
C: καθαριζει.
F: υγιαζει.

⁹BCE: και απελασει δαίμονας (B:
δέμονας).
F: omits.

¹⁰BE: η ενδεκατη (E: ια') ωρα.

¹¹BE: καλεϊται σημβροϋ.
C: καλεϊτε σημβροϋ.
D: καλεϊται (space) η (space).
F: καλεϊται σημβροϋ η σηοϋρ.

¹²BE: εν αυτη (E: adds τη) ωρα.
C: εν ταυτη τη ωρα.
F: εν ουν και.

¹³C: αγγελου.

¹⁴BE: η δωδεκατη (E: ιβ') ωρα.

¹⁵B: καλεϊται.

¹⁶BE: δακνειου.
C: δαχλιου.
D: omits name.
F: αχλιου.

¹⁷BE: εν αυτη εφωραϊνονται εισιν
αι ευχαί των ανθρωπων παρα
(E: προς) θεον.
C: τη αυτη ωρα εισιν εφωρα-
ϊνονται παρα τη θεω αι
προσευχαι των ανθρωπων.
F: εν ουν η εισιν εφωραϊνονται
ε τον ουρανόν ευχαί.

In which (hour) if a man should take nrwn
[water]^a and mix (it) with holy oil, every
nwsyma [disease]^b is cured and the demon-
possessed^c are cleansed, and it drives away
demons.

11 The 11th hour is called šymyrw [today]^d or
šy'wn [Zion]^e in which the elect of God^f rejoice.

12 The 12th hour is called 'kly'w; [in which]^g
the prayers of human beings are acceptable.

a. Note the use of the modern word νερόν for ὕδωρ, an
indication of the relatively late date of the Greek tradition.

b. I.e., νόσημα.

c. Following the reading of D.

d. I.e., σήμερα.

e. I.e., Σιών.

f. "The elect of God" is another phrase which would be
unlikely to come from Apollonius of Tyana. The Syriac reads
"the righteous."

g. Lit. "praises (verb)." αἰνεῖ should be emended to
ἐν η̄ as in F, for which BCE always give the same variants as
they do here and which always follows the name of the hour in
MS A.

Ὄνομασται ὥρων νυκτερινῶν¹

- 1 Ὥρα α.² καλεῖται³ δινδιν⁴ ἐν ᾗ οἱ δαίμονες αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεόν⁵ οὔτε ἀδικοῦσιν οὔτε κολάζουσιν.⁶
- 2 Ὥρα β.⁷ καλεῖται λιγυθωγ⁸ ἢ λιγυθω⁹ ἐν ᾗ⁹ ὑμνοῦσιν¹⁰ οἱ ἰχθύες¹¹ τὸν θεόν καὶ¹² τὸ τοῦ πυρός βάθος· ἐν ᾗ ὀφείλει στοιχειοῦσθαι ἀποτελέσματα¹³ εἰς δράκοντας καὶ ωγυθ¹⁴ καὶ πῦρ.¹⁵
- 3 Ὥρα γ.¹⁶ καλεῖται νιν¹⁷ ἐν ᾗ¹⁷ αἰνοῦσιν ὀφεις καὶ κύνες καὶ πῦρ.¹⁸

¹BE: περὶ τῶν ιβ' ὥρων τῆς νυκτός.
C: περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ὥρων τῆς νυκτός.
F: ὀνομασται ὥρων τῆς νυκτός.

²BE: Ἡ α' (B omits α') ὥρα τῆς νυκτός.

³B: καλεῖται.

⁴BE: σουχουλούμ.
C: δουχαλάμ.
D: omits name.

⁵BE: ἐν αὐτῇ αἰνοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες τὸν θεόν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ.
C: ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ αἰνοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες τὸν θεόν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
F: ἐν ᾗ οἱ δαίμονες τὸν θεόν.

⁶BCE: add μέχρις (E: μέχρι) ἂν ἡ δέησις αὐτῶν τελειωθῇ (C: πληρωθῇ).

⁷BE: ἡ δεύτερα (E: β') ὥρα τῆς νυκτός.

⁸BE: καλεῖται βεπτεροῦλ.
C: καλεῖται δεπελοῦρ.
D: καλεῖται (space) ἢ (space).
F: καλεῖται ὀσπετροῦλ ἢ βεπτελοῦν.

⁹BE: ἐν αὐτῇ.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.

¹⁰BCDEF: αἰνοῦσι.

¹¹C: ἰχθύαις.

¹²B: adds πᾶν ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι.

C: adds πᾶν εἴτε ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι.
E: adds πᾶν εἰ τί ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι.

¹³F: τοῦ πυρός βάθος· ἐν ᾗ ὁ θέλον στοιχειῶσαι ἀποτελέσματα.

¹⁴DF: ὀφεις.

¹⁵BCE: omit τὸ τοῦ πυρός...καὶ πῦρ.

¹⁶B: ἡ τρίτη ὥρα τῆς νύκτα.
E: ἡ γ' ὥρα τῆς νυκτός.

¹⁷BE: καλεῖται ταχράν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
C: καλεῖται ταχαράν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.
D: καλεῖται ταδράν ἐν ᾗ.
F: ταχράν (omits καλεῖται and ἐν ᾗ.)

¹⁸BE: αἰνοῦσιν οἱ δράκοντες τὸν θεόν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πυρός βάθος καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἰσὶν κατὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως (E: κατωτέρω ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει) νοῆσαι ἢ ἐξεῖπειν (B adds παντός) οὐ δύναται ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὀφείλει ποιεῖν στοιχειῶσαι ἀποτελεσμάτων εἰς δράκοντας τε καὶ ὀφεις (E adds καί) περὶ πυρός.

C: αἰνοῦσιν οἱ δράκοντες τὸν θεόν καὶ τὰ τοῦ πυρός βάθος καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἰσὶ κατώτερα ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει ἐξεῖπειν ἢ νοῆσαι ἀδύνατον τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ ὀφείλει ποιῆν ἀποτελεσμάτων εἰς δράκοντας καὶ ὀφεις καὶ πῦρ.

The Names of the Hours of the Night

- 1 The 1st hour is called éwkwlw, in which the demons, (while) praising God, neither injure nor punish.^a
- 2 The 2nd hour is called 'wsptrwl or tp̄tlwn, in which the fish and the fiery deep^b sing praise to God; in which (hour) one must charm talismans^c against serpents and 'wpwys [snakes]^d and fire.
- 3 The 3rd hour is called tkrn, in which snakes and dogs and fire give praise.^e

a. The meaning seems to be that the demons neither injure those on earth nor punish those in hell. The idea that the demons have a role in punishing is not found in the Syriac.

b. Lit. "the depth of fire." BCE add "and all that is in the waters," in agreement with the Syriac.

c. I.e., at this hour one must endow the talisman with its power by means of a spell. Apollonius of Tyana was especially noted for making talismans. This meaning for ἀποτελέσματα, though rare, has been conclusively demonstrated by Blum, *Eranos* 44 (1946) 317. See also J. Miller, "Zur Frage nach der Persönlichkeit des Apollonius von Tyana," *Philologus* 51 (1892) 581-84.

d. I.e., ὀφεις, as in DF.

e. E reads "in which the serpents and the fiery deep and whatever is below, which human nature is unable to know or to declare, praise God. In the same hour one ought to make magic talismans against serpents and snakes and fire." Note the parallel to the Syriac recension 2, 2:3.

- 4 ὥρα δ' ¹καλεῖται γ'ηκ'γ'ηκ'κ' ²ἐν ᾗ διερχονται ³δαίμονες ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν ⁴καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐκεῖσε ⁵βλαβήσεται καὶ φόβον καὶ φρίκην ἐκ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων λήψεται φαντασίας. ⁶ἐν ᾗ ὁφείλει ἐνεργεῖν ⁷ἐπὶ τε ψ'ρ'κ' : ψ'ρ'κ'κ' καὶ παντός γοητικοῦ πράγματος. ⁸
- 5 ὥρα ε' ⁹καλεῖται ¹⁰γ'ρ'ψ' ¹¹ἐν ᾗ αἰνοῦσιν τὰ ἄνω ὕδατα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ¹²
- 6 ὥρα ς' ¹³καλεῖται ψ'ρ'τ' ¹⁴ὅτε θεὸν ἡσυχάζειν ¹⁵καὶ ἀναπαύσαι διότι ἔχει φόβον. ¹⁶

¹BE: ἡ τετάρτη (E: δ') ὥρα τῆς νυκτός. ⁹BE: ἡ πέμπτη (E: ε') ὥρα τῆς νυκτός.

C: omits this entire hour.

²B: ὕγχιλ.
C: ἰαχήμ.
D: omits name.
E: ἀγγέλ.
F: ἀϊαήλ ἢ χίλιμ.

¹⁰B: καλλεῖταν.

¹¹BE: κοσγάρ.
D: omits name.
F: καντάρ.

³BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ διερχονται οἱ.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ διερχῶνται οἱ.
F: adds οἱ.

¹²BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ αἰνοῦσιν τὰ ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὕδατα τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ.

⁴F: μνημείοις.

F: αἰνοῦσιν τὰ ὕδατα τὰ ὑπεράνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν οὐρανόν.

⁵B: καὶ εἰ περὶ οὗτος ἀνθρώπος διέλθῃ ἐκεῖ.

C: καὶ εἰ ἀνθρώπος διέλθῃ ἐκεῖ.
E: καὶ οὗτος ἀνθρώπος διέλθῃ ἐκεῖ.

¹³BE: ἡ ς ὥρα τῆς νυκτός.
C: ὥρα ε'.

F: καὶ ὁ διερχόμενος ἐκεῖσε.

¹⁴BCEF: ζερούς.
D: omits name.

⁶BCE: λήψεται ἐκ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων φαντασίας.
F: τὸν δεμόν φοι τῶν δαιμόνων.

¹⁵BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ θεὸν ἡσυχάζειν.
C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ θεὸν ἡσυχάζειν.
F: θεὸν ἐστὶ ἡσυχάζειν.

⁷BE: ἡ δ' αὐτῇ (B adds τῇ) ὥρᾳ ἐπιτελεῖ.
C: εἰ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνεργῶν.
F: ἐνεργή.

¹⁶BCE: καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἔχει γὰρ (F. Boll emends by adding οὐ) μικρὸν φόβον.

⁸BE: ἐπὶ τε (23 cryptographs) καὶ εἰς πᾶν (13 cryptographs).

F: καὶ ἀναπαύσε ἔχει φόβον.

C: ἐπὶ τε ἀγάπην καὶ ἐχθρὰν καὶ δεσμοὺς καὶ πᾶν ἐναντίων πρᾶγμα.

D: omits Hebrew letters.

F: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ ἐχθρας.

- 4 The 4th hour is called 'wyl'wyl, in which the demons go through the tombs, and whoever comes to that place will be harmed, and he will suffer fear and trembling from the appearance of the demons. In (this hour) ^aone ought to be engaged in 'rpś, khktrś, [love and hate] ^band every magical act. ^c
- 5 The 5th hour is called kśmr, in which the waters above praise the God of heaven. ^d
- 6 The 6th hour is called zrwś, when it is necessary to be quiet and rest, because it holds fear. ^e

a. Lit. "in which."

b. The Hebrew ך here is equivalent to the Greek καί. See verse 2:8. The ך should probably be emended to ך, to agree with CF ἀγάπης καὶ ἐχθρας.

c. This very difficult passage is different in all six MSS. E offers no less than thirty-six cryptographs.

d. B and E probably preserve the better reading: "the waters above heaven praise God," which also parallels the Syriac.

e. It is unclear grammatically whether the hour holds fear for man, or whether the man has fear of the hour, which is midnight.

- 7 ὥρα ζ' καλεῖται γλζ ἐν ᾗ¹ ἀναπαύσαι² πάντα ζῶα ταῦτα.
ἐάν τις ἀνθρώπος καθαρὸς ἀρπάσῃ³ γλζ⁴ καὶ βάλλει⁵
αὐτὸ ὁ⁶ ἱερεὺς καὶ μίξει⁷ μετ' ἐλαίου⁸ καὶ ἀγιάσει⁹
αὐτὸ καὶ ἀλείψει¹⁰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ¹¹ ἀσθενεῖ¹² ἀγρυπνοῦν-
τα¹³ παρευθὺ¹⁴ τῆς νόσου¹⁵ ἀπαλλαγῇσεται.¹⁶
- 8 ὥρα η' ¹⁷καλεῖται γλζ¹⁸ ἐν ᾗ δέ¹⁹ ἀποτέλεσμα²⁰ στοιχει-
οῦν²⁰ περὶ γλζγζγ : γλζβδκζ : γλζβγζγζ²¹ καὶ παν-
τοίων φυτῶν.²²
- ¹BE: Ἡ ἐβδόμη (E: ζ') ὥρα τῆς
νυκτός καλεῖται μαχλοῦχ ἐν
αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
C: ὥρα ζ' καλεῖται μαχλὸμ τῇ
αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.
D: omits name.
F: ὥρα ζ' μαχλοῦ ἐν ᾗ.
- ²B: ἀναπαυθούνται.
CEF: ἀναπαύονται.
- ³BCE: πάντα τὰ ζῶα καὶ οἱ ἀν-
θρώποι ὑπνοῦσι ταύτῃ δέ
τῇ ὥρᾳ (C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ)
ἐάν ἀνθρώπος ἀρπάσῃ (B:
ἐάν ἀρπάσῃ ἀνθρώπος).
F: omits
- ⁴BCEF: ὄδωρ.
D: νέρον.
- ⁵BCE: λάβη.
F: βάλη.
- ⁶E: omits ὁ.
- ⁷CE: μίξη.
F: βάλη.
- ⁸BE: μετὰ ἁγίου ἐλαίου.
F: καὶ ἅγιον ἔλαιον.
- ⁹EF: ἀγιάση.
- ¹⁰BCD: ἀλείψει.
EF: ἀλείψη (F adds ἀσθενῇ).
- ¹¹D: ἀπὸν τό.
BCE: omits.
F: ἀπ' αὐτοῦ and adds ἀγγιδζι
αὐτόν.
- ¹²BE: ἀσθενοῦντα.
C: ἀσθενεῖν.
F: omits.
- ¹³B: ἀναγρυπνεῖ.
E: ἀναγρυπνῇ.
F: ἀγριπνοῦντι.
- ¹⁴BCF: παρευθός.
- ¹⁵B: ὁ νόσος.
- ¹⁶DEF: ἀπαλλαγῇσεται.
- ¹⁷BE: omit this entire hour.
- ¹⁸CF: ζάνβε.
D: omits name.
- ¹⁹C: ὀφείλει τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.
D: δεῖ.
F: δέχου.
- ²⁰C: ἀποτέλεσμα στοιχιῶται.
- ²¹C: δένδρον καὶ χοραφίων, ἀμ-
πελώνων τε καὶ ἐλαιώνων.
DF: δένδρων καὶ ἀμπέλων καὶ
δορατίων (F: χοραφίου).
- ²²C: πάντων τῶν φυτῶν.
F: παντίων φητόν.

- 7 The 7th hour is called mklw, in which all
these living things rest.^a If any pure man
should take nrwn [water]^b and the priest
should take^c it and mix (it) with oil and
consecrate it and he anoints with it one
(who is) wakeful with sickness, he will
immediately be cured^d of the disease.
- 8 The 8th hour is called dnw, in which one
must^e charm a talisman^f for ndrwn, k'mplwn
kdwrt'y'wn [trees and vineyards and staves]^g
and all kinds of plants.
- a. Reading with CEF, ἀναπαύονται.
- b. I.e., νέρον.
- c. Following the reading of BCE. A reads literally
"should cast."
- d. Cp. Jas 5:14-15.
- e. Following the reading of D. This is further indication
that D might not be influenced by A alone, since it preserves
the better reading not found in A.
- f. Reading with C, ἀποτέλεσμα.
- g. I.e., δένδρων, καὶ ἀμπέλων, καὶ δορατίων, as in DF.
Again, the Hebrew ך is the Greek καί. Note also that although
the Hebrew letters are read from right to left, the words them-
selves are read from left to right, a further indication that
these words have not been transcribed from a Hebrew original.

- 9 ὥρα θ' ¹ καλεῖται γλβγ. ²
 10 ὥρα ι' ³ καλεῖται γδγ ⁴ ἐν ᾗ τελεῖται ⁵ οὐδέν. ⁶
 11 ὥρα ια' ⁷ καλεῖται γδγ ⁸ ἐν ᾗ ⁹ ἀνοίγονται ¹⁰ αἱ πύλαι
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐν κατανύξει εὐχόμενος ¹¹
 εὐήκοος γενήσεται. ¹² ἐν ταῦτα ¹³ πέτονται ¹⁴ ταῖς
 πτέρυξιν σὺν ᾗχῳ οἱ ἄγγελοι ¹⁵ καὶ ¹⁶ χερουβὶμ
 καὶ ¹⁷ σεραφὶμ καὶ ἐστὶν χαρὰ ἐν ¹⁸ οὐρανῷ καὶ ¹⁹
 γῇ· ἀνατέλλει ²⁰ δὲ καὶ ²¹ ὁ ²² ἥλιος ἐξ ἐδέμ. ²³

¹BE: ἡ ἐννάτη (E: θ') ὥρα τῆς
 νυκτός.

²BE: σοφοῦ.
 C: σοφίου.
 D: omits name.
 F: σωφοῦ.

³BE: ἡ δεκάτη (E: ι') ὥρα τῆς
 νυκτός.

C: omits this hour.
 James combines hours θ' and
 ι', not seeing the superlinear
 ὥρα ι'.

⁴B: χάλου.
 D: omits name.
 EF: χάλτου.

⁵F: τελίος.

⁶BE: omit ἐν...οὐδέν.

⁷BE: ἡ ἐνδεκάτη (E: ια') ὥρα
 τῆς νυκτός.
 C: ὥρα ι'.

⁸BE: γάλου.
 C: σάλτου.
 D: omits name.
 F: γάλτου.

⁹BE: ἐν αὐτῇ.
 C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.

¹⁰C: ἀνοίγωνται.

¹¹B: (after οὐρανοῦ) καὶ εὐπρο-
 δεχόμενος ἐν καθαρῇ συνήδσει
 καὶ καρδίᾳ.
 C: (after οὐρανοῦ) προσευχόμενος
 ἐν καθαρῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ συνήδσει.

C: (after οὐρανοῦ) προσευχό-
 μενος ἐν καθαρῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ
 συνήδσει.

E: (after οὐρανοῦ) καὶ ὁ προσ-
 ευχόμενος ἐν καθαρῇ συνει-
 δήσει καὶ καρδίᾳ.

¹²B: ἀκουστός γίνεται.

C: ἐπὶκοος γίνεται.

E: εὐάκουστος γίνεται.

¹³BCE: ἐν αὐτῇ (C: ταύτῃ) ὥρᾳ.

¹⁴B: περὶ ἰπιδνεται.

C: περιήττανται.

E: περιίπτανται.

F: πέτουνται.

¹⁵C: οἱ ἄγγελοι σὺν ᾗχῳ.

¹⁶BCE: add τὰ.

¹⁷BCE: add τὰ.

¹⁸BCE: add τῷ.

¹⁹BCEF: add ἐν τῇ (F omits γῇ).

²⁰C: ἀνατέλλει.

²¹B: omits δὲ καί.

²²B: omits ὁ.

²³BCE: add ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

9 The 9th hour is called γwpgw.^a

10 The 10th hour is called κltw, in which
 nothing is conjured.^b

11 The 11th hour is called gltw, in which
 the gates of heaven are opened and a man
 praying in contrition^c will be readily heard.
 In this (hour) the angels and cherubim and
 seraphim fly with noisy wings^d and (there) is
 joy in heaven and (on) earth; and the sun rises
 from Eden.^e

a. Note that no information is given about this hour
 except its name.

b. The same as in the 9th hour of the day (1:9).

c. This word, καρδνυξίς, properly translated "slumber,"
 or "stupor," in classical and Koine Greek, takes on the meaning
 "compunction," and hence "contrition" in the early Byzantine
 period. Compare the entries of Liddell and Scott with those of
 Lampe and Sophocles.

d. Lit. "with wings with noise."

e. Lit. "Edem." Where the Syriac has "the paradise of
 God," the Greek specifies Eden. Note that the reading of BCE
 adds "over all the earth" which is closer to the Syriac than ADF.

12 ὥρα ιβ' ¹ καλεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα ² ἐν ᾗ ³ ἀναπαύονται ⁴
 τὰ πύρινα τάγματα. ⁵ αὐταὶ εἰσὶν αἱ ὀνομασίαι
 τῶν ὥρων ⁶ τῷ οὖν ⁷ καλῶς ταῦτα ⁸ νοήσαντι ⁹ οὐδέν
 τῶν ὄντων ¹⁰ ἀποκρυβήσεται ¹¹ ἀλλὰ πάντα ¹² ὑποταγή-
 σονται. ¹³

¹BE: ἡ δωδεκάτη (E: ιβ') ὥρα.
 C: ὥρα ια' οὐ ὥρα ιβ'.

¹²B: adds αὐτῶν.
 CE: add αὐτῶν.

²B: εὐλοῖν καλῶν.
 C: εὐλοῖν καλῶν.
 D: (space) ἡ (space).
 E: ἀλσιγκούλ.
 F: ἀλσῖν καὶ ἀλσίγγελος.

¹³C: ὑποταγήσεται.
 F: ὑποταγᾶσονται.

³BE: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.
 C: τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ.

⁴C: ἀναπαύονται.

⁵BCE: τὰ τάγματα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 καὶ τὰ πύρινα τάγματα
 (C: πνεύματα).

⁶B: adds ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν
 ταῖς ζ' ἡμέραις καὶ ταῦτα
 ἔλαβον παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἐδή-
 λωσά σοι ὡς καθὼς καὶ ἐγνώ-
 ρισα ταύτας ἑμαυτὰ καὶ ἔλαβον
 παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ γνωρίσω καὶ
 ἐδήλωσα.

C: adds ὃς ἐποίησεν τὰς ζ'
 ἡμέρας καὶ ταῦτα ἔλαβον
 παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἐδήλωσά σοι
 ὡς καθὼς καὶ ἠγνώρησα καὶ
 ἑμαυτὸν καὶ ἰδοὺ παρεδήλωσά
 σοι ἅπαντα.

E: adds ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν
 ταῖς ζ' ἡμέραις· ταύτας
 ἑμαυτὸν καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ θεοῦ
 καὶ ἐγνώρισα καὶ ἐδήλωσά σοι.

⁷C: τοῦτ' οὖν.

⁸E: omits ταῦτα.

⁹B: τότε τι ἄλλο νόησις τῇ.
 C: νοήσαντες.

¹⁰F: ὄνόντων.

¹¹B: οὐκ ἀποκριθήσονται τὸν ὥρων ὄντων οὐδέν.
 C: οὐκ ἀποκριβείσεται τι τῶν ὄντων.
 DF: ἀποκρυβήσεται.
 E: οὐκ ἀποκρυβήσεται τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν.

12 The 12th hour is called 'lśy, or 'lśyn,
 in which the fiery ranks rest. These are
 the names of the hours;^a therefore, to him
 who has learned them well nothing of what
 exists will be hidden, but all things will
 be made subject (to him).^b

a. The biblical creation motif slips into the Greek text
 time and again, as witnessed here by the variants BCE which
 speak of the seven days of creation.

b. The importance of the names of the hours to magical
 interests is nowhere made as clear as here, where the promise
 is given that knowing the names will render all things subject
 to the knower.

Historiarum Compendium 1:17-18^a

"Ὅτι Ἀδὰμ τῷ ἑξακοσιοστῷ ἔτει μετανοήσας ἔγνω δι' ἀποκαλύψεώς τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἐργηγόρων καὶ τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως, καὶ περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν ἡμερινὴν καὶ νυκτερινὴν ἀναπεμπομένων εὐχῶν τῷ θεῷ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων δι' Οὐριήλ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας ἀρχαγγέλου, οὕτως· Ἦρα πρώτη ἡμερινῇ πρώτη εὐχὴ ἐπιτελεῖται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, δευτέρᾳ εὐχὴ ἀγγέλων, τρίτῃ εὐχὴ πτηνῶν, τετάρτῃ εὐχὴ κτηνῶν, πέμπτῃ εὐχὴ θηρίων, ἕκτῃ ἀγγέλων παράστασις καὶ διέκρισις πάσης κτίσεως, ἑβδόμῃ ἀγγέλων εἰσοδος πρὸς θεὸν καὶ ἔξοδος ἀγγέλων, ὀγδόῃ αἴνεσις καὶ θυσίαι ἀγγέλων, ἐννυῖα δέησις καὶ λατρεία ἀνθρώπου, δεκάτῃ ἐπισκοπαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ δεήσεις οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων, ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀνθομολόγησις καὶ ἀγαλλίασις πάντων, δωδεκάτῃ ἔντευξις ἀνθρώπων εἰς εὐδοκίαν.

a. Text from Bekker, *George Cedrenus*, vol. 1, pp. 17-8.

From the Compendium of George Cedrenus

Adam, in the six hundredth year,^a having repented, learned by revelation the things concerning the Watchers and the Flood, and about repentance and the divine Incarnation, and about the prayers that are sent up to God by all creatures at each hour of the day and night, with the help of Uriel, the archangel over repentance. Thus, in the first hour of the day the first prayer is completed in heaven; in the second the prayer of angels; in the third the prayer of winged things; in the fourth the prayer of domestic animals; in the fifth the prayer of wild beasts; in the sixth the review of the angels and the inspection of all creation; in the seventh the entrance of the angels to God and the exit of the angels; in the eighth the praise and sacrifices of the angels; in the ninth the petition and worship of men;^b in the tenth the visitations of the waters and the petition of the heavenly and earthly (beings); in the eleventh the thanksgiving and rejoicing of all (things); in the twelfth the entreaty of human beings for favor.

a. Compare this with the Apocalypse of Adam, plate 64, lines 2-4: "The revelation which Adam taught his son Seth in the seven hundredth year."

b. Lit. "of a man."

A cursory study of the apparatus shows that D is a copy of A. For this reason the importance of D as an independent witness is in serious doubt. Some passages in D, however, offer readings not only different from, but even superior to those of A.¹⁵ Granted, the usual practice of D is to leave a blank space corresponding to the Hebrew letters of A, but several times D supplies the Greek word which A transliterates.¹⁶ The most interesting of these instances is at 2:3 where D reads ταῖς, where A reads יְמֵי. If the scribe of D could read the Hebrew letters, why did he not render them as ταῖς, as do B and E? If the scribe could not read the Hebrew letters, how did he know the correct Greek word behind several other passages (see note 16 above)? The possibility must at least be left open that, while D is a copy of A, it may have been compared against a third manuscript. Nevertheless, this possibility should not be given too much weight, since the "better" readings of D are also the obvious emendations for those passages where A is corrupt, and since the rendering of יְמֵי by ταῖς may merely be a mistake.

Manuscript F is also very close to A, though not, like D, a direct copy. It is the most corrupt of the six manuscripts and contains frequent spelling and tense errors. Although its readings are generally inferior to those of A, they occasionally shed some light on a difficult passage, as at 2:4 where F agrees with C against ABDE. The occasional variant DF strengthens the possibility that D, though a copy of A, was checked against a third manuscript.

It seems relatively certain that the Hebrew letters found in A are merely the device of a Greek scribe and form no link between A and a hypothetical Hebrew original.¹⁷ This is also the conclusion of A. Delatte, who provides a table of Greek letters for both the Hebrew letters and the magical symbols found in this manuscript.¹⁸ The names of the hours written in Hebrew letters are similar to the names of the Stundengötter, which are known from other Greek magical texts.¹⁹ In addition to the names of the hours, the scribe of A has also written an occasional word of the Greek text in Hebrew letters.

The relationship between manuscripts B and E seems clear. B is the younger of these two closely related documents.²⁰ C is

independent of either group ADF or BE. The most frequent grouping of the variants is ADF, BE, C, and C often stands in contrast to the other five manuscripts,²¹ usually giving a different name to each hour than BE.²² Nevertheless, C stands closer to BE than to ADF, and the reading BCE against ADF is not uncommon.²³ More often C shares a similar, though not identical, reading with BE against ADF, as in the long addition at 2:8, or the shorter one at 1:5.

Finally, it may be said that BCE are usually, though not always, closer to the readings of the Syriac, especially of Syriac recension 2. This is evident, for example, in the additions to ADF made by BCE at 2:2 and 2:3, or in numerous small examples as in the reading "ὕπὲρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων" at 1:6.²⁴

These six Greek manuscripts are distinctly concerned with magic. This is evident from the emphasis placed on the names of each hour and the connection of a given hour with an occult operation appropriate to it alone. In the closing lines of the document, the reader is assured that by knowing the names of the hours "nothing of what exists will be hidden, but all things will be made subject (to him)." The fourth hour of the night is identified as the hour in which one ought to be engaged in "every magical act." Moreover, the specific operations which concern each hour in the Greek text are the preparation of talismans against certain dangers or in protection of crops and domestic animals.

The major problem in translating these six manuscripts involves the terms στοιχεῖον and ἀποτελεῖν and their cognates.²⁵ To render these terms by their respective classical meanings, "element" and "to complete," provides an unsatisfactory translation, and the passages have baffled several critics. The entry of G. W. Lampe apropos of these passages reads "ἀποτελεσμα: ... 7. sens. dub., plu.? *created objects* στοιχειοῦσθαι α. εἰς ὁδόν-κοντος Apoc. Adam 2 (p. 142)."²⁶ Lampe also suggests that in a magical text στοιχεῖω should be rendered "transform," but in support of this he offers only a reference to this passage.²⁷ The assumption that these terms ought to be translated by their classical equivalents is incorrect; the idiom involved here is not classical, but Byzantine.

In an excellent article based in part on passages from our text, C. Blum has shown that the key to understanding στοιχεῖον and ἀποτέλεσμα lies in the vocabulary of late Byzantine magic, particularly in the Byzantine traditions concerning Apollonius of Tyana.

The Apollonius of Tyana who appears in Byzantine, Syrian and Arab folklore devotes himself chiefly to one occupation, viz. the producing of talismans against serpents, vermin, wild beasts, human enemies, floods and the like. The scene is Constantinople or Antioch. In the older Greek sources his talismans are called (ἀπο) τέλεσμαα, the verb being (ἀπο) τέλειν. In the later chronicles στοιχειοῦσθαι and στοιχειοῦσθαι, and στοιχεῖον, are used along with the earlier terms.²⁸

Blum notes that στοιχειοῦσθαι replaces an earlier term (τέλειν) in about the tenth or eleventh century, with the period of George Cedrenus the likely time of transition.

The case is very clearly stated, when we come to the Palladium of Troy. Malalas speaks of ... τὸ Παλλάδιον ..., ὃ ἔλεγον εἶναι τετελεσμένον εἰς νύκην, σὺλδιτροντα τὴν πόλιν ἐνθα ἀπόκειται ἀπαράληπτον (p. 109, I). On the other hand, Cedrenus I p. 229, quoted above, says τετελεσμένον ... ἦτοι ... ἐστοιχειωμένον. It seems as if the chronicler had thought it advisable to explain τετελεσμένον by a more modern expression.²⁹

After examining several passages from other writings, Blum concludes:

All the material available indicates that στοιχειοῦσθαι and στοιχεῖον in the sense here suggested are a purely Byzantine idiom. The belief in talismans is universal, but from a lexicologic point of view we have nothing in the ancient literature to link up with. We have stated already, in a preliminary fashion, that our terms tended to supersede τέλειν and its derivatives, and this is abundantly brought out by a comparison of our sources with parallels dating from before "the dark centuries" of the Eastern Empire.³⁰

Significantly, all of the witnesses to this magical meaning for στοιχεῖον are dated from the tenth century or later.³¹

Blum's rendering of ἀποτέλεσμα as "talisman" is widely supported.³² Moreover, English etymologists trace the derivation of the word "talisman", which entered the language at about the seventeenth century, to the late Greek (ἀπο) τέλεσμα.³³ In view, therefore, of the marked emphasis on magic and the late

date suggested by the vocabulary, there can be little doubt that the hours of the day and night as found in the Greek manuscripts represent, as M. R. James observed in 1893,³⁴ a work of Byzantine occultism.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. I.e., *talismans*.
2. M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 138-45.
3. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1904), p. 258.
4. Nau, *PS*, vol. 2, pp. 1363-81.
5. F. Boll, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1908), vol. 7, pp. 177-79.
6. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (Liège: Vaillant-Carmane, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 572-612. The Horarium appears on pp. 601-03.
7. This judgment agrees with that of M. L. Concasty, in *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, le supplément grec* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1960), vol. 3, p. 296. See below pp. 130-31.
8. Cp. folio 169^b (D) with folio 247^b (A).
9. See below pp. 136-37.
10. Cedrenus cites no references, and his account is shorter than any other recension, Greek or Syriac. Since his entire *Compendium* is a collage of information drawn from many sources without any attempt to reproduce those sources exactly, it is possible that the hours of the day have been drawn from the Testament of Adam in a paraphrastic manner.
11. As is indicated by comparing the variants from MSS BCDEF.
12. Bekker, *George Cedrenus*, vol. 1, pp. 17-8.
13. Boll, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, vol. 7, pp. 177-79.
14. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, pp. 601-03.
15. Different readings are found at 1:5, 1:9, 1:10b (γέρων), 2:7b (ἀπαν τό). Superior readings are at 1:10a (αἰνοῦσιν), 1:10b (δαίμονοῦντας), 2:2a, 2:7b (ἀλείψει and ἀπαλλαγέσται), 2:8, and 2:12.
16. At 1:3, 1:4, 1:5, 1:10b (twice), 2:2b, 2:7a, and 2:8.
17. Nau, *PS*, vol. 2, pp. 1370-71.

18. See Delatte, *Anecdota Athentensia*, p. 446.
19. See K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae; die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), vol. 2, p. 234 for a list of such names and the texts in which they occur.
20. BE share the formula ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ against the ἐν ᾧ of AD, or the ἐν ταύτῃ ὥρᾳ of C, and the formula ἡ (πρώτη, etc.) ὥρα against ADC ὥρα (α', etc.). Both also omit the eighth hours of the day and night.
21. E.g., the omission of the fifth and tenth hour of the night, or the reading ἀγγελου against ἐκλεκτοῦ at 1:11.
22. The exceptions being 1:1 and 2:6, where C agrees with BE.
23. E.g., the omission of τὸν θεόν at 1:6; ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ at 1:7; the omission of all but the name of the hour at 1:9, etc.
24. Since the relationship of the Greek and Syriac bears more directly on the problem of original language, it will be treated more fully below. See pp. 138-41.
25. I.e., at 1:3, 4, 5, 9, and at 2:2, 3 (BCE), 4, 8, and 10.
26. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 217.
27. Ibid., p. 1261.
28. Blum, *Eranos* 44 (1946) 317.
29. Ibid., p. 322.
30. Ibid.
31. I.e., Theophanes Continuatus (10th century), Cedrenus (11th century), Nicetas Choniates (13th century), Pseudo-Codinus (15th century), and our manuscripts (15th to 17th centuries).
32. See Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, pp. 1012-13.
33. See Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, Mass.: G & C Merriam Co., Publishers, 1961), s. v. "talisman," p. 2333.
34. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p. 138.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. This assumes the earliest possible date for Christian documents in Arabic to be the late sixth century. However, a date two hundred years later than this is much more probable. See H. Gibb, *Arabic Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), pp. 13, 37-41, 46-51.
2. See Dillmann, *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 185-226; Bratke, *ZWT* 1 (1893) 493; and Grebaut, *ROC* 6 (1911) 73.
3. A. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, (Studi e Testi 118; Vatican: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), p. 200.
4. See below pp. 149-51.
5. See above pp. 30-31.
6. Reinink, *OCA* 197 (1972) 391f. See also James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p. 141.
7. This formula consists of the injunction against associating with the children of Cain and the arrangements for care of the patriarchal remains. See Reinink, *OCA* 197 (1972) 392, and Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, pp. 13, 19, 20, 23, etc.
8. Götze, *ZSVG* 2 (1924) 92.
9. See Reinink, *OCA* 197 (1972) 393.
10. See Bratke, *ZWT* 1 (1893) 493; and Grebaut, *ROC* 6 (1911) 73.
11. Avalachivili, *ROC* 26 (1927/8) 384-91.
12. See below p. 153.
13. See above p. 111, n. b.
14. See above p. 123, n. g.
15. See above p. 113, n. e. Note that the Hebrew plurals were adopted in Greek usage and do not of themselves indicate a Hebrew original (see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 1230, 1523-24).
16. See Renan, *JA* 5.2 (1853) 461, and Nau, *PS*, vol. 2, p. 1376.
17. Bezold, *Orientalische Studien*, pp. 895, 909.