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Two Armenian Manuscripts and the *Historia sacra**

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How were apocrypha and apocryphal traditions transmitted in Armenian? Some tentative answers to this question have been formulated previously, focusing on the contexts that carried some of these traditions¹. Today we shall look at the way two manuscripts, differing both in age and character, integrate apocryphal material into their contents. Thus we may gain some insight into both the history and the purpose of this transmission.

Matenadaran 2679

Manuscript 2679 of the Matenadaran (M 2679) is the oldest Armenian paper manuscript and also the oldest dated manuscript the content of which is predominantly literary and learned, rather than being a Gospel or Service Book². It was copied in 981 C. E. A facsimile edition, very capably edited by Artashes Mathevossian, was published in Erevan in 1995. Mathevossian has entitled it «The Book of Knowledge and Faith of David the Priest», the name of the copyist who assembled this complex collection. It is not a random assembly, however, but is organized coherently, with the first part structured by biblical chronology. Within this sequential chronological structure the copyist arranged and embedded material from diverse sources,

* The author's thanks are expressed to the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in Wassenaar, where this paper was completed.

¹ M. E. STONE. «The Armenian Apocryphal Literature: Translation and Creation», in *Il Caucaso: cerniera fra culture dal Mediterraneo alla Persia (secoli IV-XI)* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo 43), Spoleto 1996, p. 611-646.

² It is distinguished by its ancient script which is discussed in a separate study. Its script is the first example of the mixed *erkat'agir-bologir* style of writing: see M. E. STONE, «The Mixed Erkat'agir-Bologir Script», *Le Muséon* (forthcoming).

relating to different periods. This procedure offered opportunities for the introduction of apocryphal traditions.

After opening with some calendarical materials, on fol. 2^v the work takes up the creation story, and particularly the luminaries. Into some further calendarical texts the scribe inserted a document entitled « Months of the Hebrews », giving a calendar reckoning strikingly like that of the old Armenian calendar, and not dissimilar to the solar calendar of the Dead Sea covenants³.

Material on the early parts of *Genesis* is followed by discussions of various topics from the primordial history. At the bottom of 29^r an extensive genealogy commences which continues to the bottom of 30^r, attributed to « Andrew » (of Crete?). It intersperses the generations with paragraphs devoted to particular patriarchs. For example, in the comment on Seth, Josephus is quoted⁴. Into this genealogy the scribe-author introduces extensive expansions on *Genesis* 10:1-9, the division of the earth among the children of Noah. He lists the sons of Japheth at great length, as far as fol. 31^r, followed by the Hamites and the Shemites ending on fol. 35^r. We published an account of the division of the earth among the sons of Noah from a much later manuscript, M 533 copied in 1660⁵. The same document is embedded in the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Moysēs Daxuranc'i, easily available in Dowsett's English⁶. The biblical tradition early attracted the attention of writers of apocrypha and one of its oldest forms already occurs in *Jubilees*⁷.

Next, two texts which we have already published from later manuscripts are embedded in the Japhethite story: the *Lists of 72 Nations* and of *12 Literate Peoples*⁸. In a yet unpublished paper, we compared the published text of *72 Nations* with that in M 268 and improved the readings somewhat. We have not yet compared both these with the text as it occurs in M 2679. As for the *Literate Peoples*, the text of M 2679 differs from the published manu-

³ M. E. STONE, « The Months of the Hebrews », *Le Muséon* 101 (1988), p. 5-12.

⁴ This is interesting since no ancient Armenian translation of Josephus is known.

⁵ M. E. STONE, *Signs of the Judgment, Onomastica Sacra and The Generations from Adam* (*University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies* 3) Chico (Calif.) 1981, p. 221-227.

⁶ C. J. F. DOWSETT, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians, by Moysēs Daxuranc'i* (*London oriental series* 8) London - New York 1961, p. 1-2.

⁷ See *jūbīlētēs* 8:10^r - 10:1. This was also the subject of considerable discussion in the Ethiopic tradition; see R. COWLEY, *Ethiopic Biblical Commentary: A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988, p. 31-33.

⁸ M. E. STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1996, p. 158-163, and p. 159, n. 9.

script and from M 286⁹. The exact form of the text known to David the Priest remains to be studied, but it differs in a number of respects from that known to Dasxuranc'i. The existence of *Literate Peoples* is first attested by Uxtanes towards the end of the tenth century, i. e., more or less at the time David the Priest copied his manuscript. Its use in these two more or less contemporary sources implies that it is older than both of them. Moreover, Dowsett thought that Uxtanes and Dasxuranc'i had a common source¹⁰ which, we may now assert, was shared by David the Priest as well.

On fol. 35^v is a list of rivers, an antediluvian chronological list and then the years from Abraham to the Exodus. The narrative next proceeds to Joshua and the judges, including Deborah and Gideon (37^v). It continues with the narrative of the kings and the subsequent rulers of Judea. On fols 44-47^r is a list of Roman emperors with marginal notes. On the lower part of f. 47^v commences a text entitled « Epiphanius » which opens with elements from the legendary history of Armenia, including Bel and Semiramis. There are synchronizations of Semiramis, Abraham and figures from Greek mythology. This text continues down to fol 49^v. On that page commences another list of Roman emperors with the length of reign in years and months, which continues up to 71^v.

Various writings intervene, chiefly theological, and the chronological thread is broken but it recommences again after fol. 211. Into the intervening material some brief recapitulations of biblical books are introduced. Note the summaries of the four Books of Kingdoms which resemble in technique, apparently, the *Epitome of Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* which we published some years ago¹¹. The analysis of the *Epitome* showed it to be an exceptionally important textual witness to that apocryphal work¹².

On fol. 231, l. 15 a text commences which is entitled Վասն մարգարեից եւ թե որպէս վասն Քրիստոսի պատմեցին, « Concerning the Prophets and How they Related concerning Christ. » This is a rather long document continuing until 245^v. It deals with all the prophets and seems to give the whole or most of the *Vita* for each prophet and then goes on to a rather expansive passage about him based on his biblical book, which needs further analysis. It recalls other reworkings of the prophetic lives in Armenian, such as the *Names*,

⁹ The list from M 286 is being currently prepared for publication.

¹⁰ C. J. F. DOWSETT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), p. XVI-XVII; he also notes (*ibid.*, p. 1, n. 1) that this list goes back to Hippolytus' *Chronicle*; see *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹ M. E. STONE, « The *Epitome* of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs », *Revue des études arméniennes* 20 (1986-1987), p. 69-107.

¹² M. E. STONE, « The Textual Affinities of the *Epitome* of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Matenadaran No. 2679 » *Le Muséon* 108 (1995), p. 265-277.

*Works and Deaths of the Holy Prophets*¹³. However, clearly it must be edited in its own right. The prophets discussed are Hosea (fol. 231^v), Amos, Micah (232^r), Joel, Obadiah, Jonah (232^v), Joel, Nahum (233^r), Zechariah b. Berachiah, Habakkuk (233^v), Zephaniah (234^r), Haggai, Zechariah (234^v), Malachi (235^r), Isaiah (235^v), Jeremiah (237b), Daniel (241^r), Nathan, Eli who is Se'om (243^r), Joas, Elias (243^v), Elisha (245^r), and Zechariah father of John the Baptist (245^v). This is followed by a long passage on Job (245^v-248^r), Joshua b. Nun (248^r), Solomon and the building of the Temple, with list of kings (249^r).

On fol. 251^r is the *Epitome of Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* which has been published¹⁴. This concludes on fol. 252^r. The rest of the manuscript contains predominantly patristic texts, including over twenty discourses attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, some material by Cyril of Alexandria, and texts on heresies, including Marcionism and Iconoclasm.

What we learn from this manuscript is that the sort of chronological structure which David the Priest gave to substantial parts of his manuscript provided an overall framework into which various types of material were inserted. This type of work is doubtless inspired by the chronographic tradition and is, in its penchant for lists and categories, very similar to the Greek work known as the *Hypomnesticon of Josephus*¹⁵. That writing also deals with a series of Old Testament-related texts, and does so in a number of lists, sometimes in elenctic form.

The date of David the Priest's manuscript makes it extremely important. We cannot tell, of course, whether David the Priest copied the body of the text from an exemplar, or whether he assembled it himself. In either case, he did not compose most of the documents in it (if any). Consequently, we must assume that by the latter part of the tenth century, the learned embroidery on biblical themes, which forms such an important aspect of Armenian apocryphal writing, was mature¹⁶. The sort of overall retelling of biblical history, almost a « learned *Palaea* » we might say, is well and truly established. A further careful perusal of the manuscript will produce, I am sure, many more points of contact with apocryphal traditions than have been noted here.

¹³ M. E. STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 158-173.

¹⁴ See note 11 above.

¹⁵ J. FABRICIUS, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti Volumen Alterum (...) accedit Josephi veteris Christiani auctoris Hypomnesticon*, Hamburg 1723.

¹⁶ M. E. STONE, *art. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1), p. 611-646.

British Library, Harley 5459

The manuscript of the British Library, Harley 5459 (BL Harl 5459) is an Apocryphal History dating to the year 1689¹⁷. The material presented by the manuscript falls into a number of types, set out in the Appendix to this paper. We have assigned titles to the different parts of the manuscript. The first, *The Sacred History*, is a rewriting of history from before Creation down to the Passion of Christ. This extends from fol. 2^r to fol. 87^v. On the latter folio starts a text called *Story of the Holy Bones*.

In further detail : On fol. 2^r the *Cycle of Four Works* starts, a well-known apocryphal Adam cycle, which takes the story from before the creation of Adam to Noah¹⁸. Lipscomb, who examined this manuscript, notes that it is the full text of the *Cycle of Four Works*, including an extended passage on Noah and the Ark, found only in one other manuscript¹⁹. This carries the story over the Flood. There are numerous Armenian copies of the *Cycle of the Four Works* and a Georgian translation exists as well. The work seems to have been composed in Armenian, using older sources and traditions²⁰.

« This is the story of the Ark of the Covenant which the Lord God gave » which occurs on fol. 33^r is one of a number of Armenian works dealing with the Ark. Others are currently being prepared for publication.

« This is the story of Isaiah, who prophesied concerning Christ » on fol. 38^r is a short document also containing a brief extract from the story of the 72 Translators, in a form derived from Epiphanius, *de mensuris et ponderibus*. This includes the tale of Simeon, one of the translators, who is identified as the old man Simeon mentioned in *Luke 2:25-26*. He translated, so the story goes, the verse referring to the virgin birth (*Isa 7:14*) and remained alive to see its fulfillment. This connection between the translator and *Luke's Gospel* is also made in the various Armenian re-workings of the *Story of the 72 Transla-*

¹⁷ F. C. CONYBEARE, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1913.

¹⁸ Details from M. E. STONE, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve (Early Judaism and Its Literature 3)*, Atlanta (Georgia) 1992. Edition in W. L. LIPSCOMB, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 8)*, Atlanta (Georgia) 1990.

¹⁹ See Lipscomb's discussion of its manuscripts (W. L. LIPSCOMB, *op. cit.*, p. 14-17).

²⁰ See the discussion in M. E. STONE, « Report on Seth Traditions in the Armenian Adam Books », in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, B. LAYTON (ed.), Leiden 1981, t. 2, p. 460-471.

tors in Armenian²¹. It serves to bridge the gap between *Isaiah* and the Gospels, for none of the apocryphal stories in the manuscript mention the other prophets. Instead, on fol. 38^r we have a simple list of twenty-four prophets. Such lists are not uncommon and certain of them have been published²². The number twenty-four is doubtless a doubling of the Minor Prophets. Twenty-four prophets are found in the *Miscellany* of Mxit'ar of Ayrivank²³. Many further remarks could be made on the texts from which this *Historia sacra* is composed and similar Armenian compositions could be cited, but the above observations suffice to exemplify the character of this material.

The next section of the text, *The Saints and the Promise of Eschatology*, starts on fol. 90^r. It gives a careful selection of four hagiographic and homiletic compositions. These are designed to show the continuation of the working of God in the Church, and include the much-beloved life of St. Sargis Zoravar (General) and his son Martiros. That is followed by a homily on those who have fallen asleep and a life of St. Malxas. The section concludes with a sermon attributed to a John *vardapet*, which is devoted to eschatological matters. It commences :

Մեք ակն ունեմք գալլատեայնն քի այ մերոյ վակայայբանու-
թեամբ սբ գրոց եւ բանէ առաքելոց եւ մարգարէից եւ վկայահայնու-
թեամբ աւետարայիսին քի որ այսպս լինելոց է աւերումն աշխարհի ի
վերջին ժամայնակն :

« We await the coming of Christ our God, according to the witness of the holy book and through the word of the Apostles and prophets and through the witness of the Gospel of Christ, that thus the destruction of the world will take place at the end of time. »

This is followed by a text of *15 Signs of the Judgment*, a document which we published in 1981²⁴. Then, it was known in Armenian from two manuscripts in Jerusalem, one of the eighteenth and one of the nineteenth centuries. In them, it is ascribed to « The Books of the Jews », to which certain

²¹ M. E. Stone and R. Ervine are concluding a new translation and edition of this text. On the Armenian text of Epiphanius see M. E. STONE, « Concerning the Seventy-Two Translators : Armenian Fragments of Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus* », *Harvard Theological Review* 73 (1980), p. 331-336. On the Georgian version, see M. VAN ESBROECK, *Les versions géorgiennes d'Épiphane de Chypre. Traité des poids et des mesures* (CSCO 461. *Scriptores Iberici* 20), Leuven 1984, especially p. 6-7.

²² M. E. STONE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 13), p. 174-175. Some others are currently being prepared for publication.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ M. E. STONE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5), p. 3-57.

other Armenian apocrypha are also attributed²⁵. The *15 Signs of the Judgment* is widely known in European vernacular and Latin versions, and even a medieval Hebrew translation out of Latin has turned up²⁶. Further on in this text (fol. 101^r) there is a description of the eschatological bodies of the righteous and the wicked. We intend to edit the whole document as a monument of Armenian eschatological belief and a florilegium of eschatological statements.

Since this piece deals with the eschatological events, it forms a fitting conclusion to the history that started with the revolt of Sadael before creation. The author has woven this tale of sacred history into a single overarching structure, and provided a coherence to his work.

Thus, the first two divisions of the manuscript form a fairly clear progression from Creation to Parousia and the eschaton. But the end has not been reached. Indeed, we are barely at the middle of the manuscript. A series of chapters from the *Book of Daniel* follow (108^v-128^r). These are in a strange order: first, chapters 5 and 6; then, *Susanna*, and chapters 1 and 2; and finally chapters 3, 4, and *Bel and the Dragon*. The order, however, is in fact very conscious and is deliberately used by the author to make a specific series of points.

These chapters fall into three structured groups. The key may be seen to lie in the conclusions of the three groups of chapters. If we view them sequentially, they present a cumulative exemplification of Divine power and sovereignty, this message complementing the message of redemption of the first two parts of the manuscript. Chapter 5 contains the story of Belshazzar's wickedness and at the end of this chapter Belshazzar dies, punished for his desecration. Chapter 6 is quite different. God saves his servant Daniel from the lion's den, where he has been thrown as a result of his faithfulness. King Darius confesses God, « For he is a living God, enduring forever. His kingdom shall never be destroyed and his dominion has no end. He delivers and rescues, he works signs and wonders in heaven and on earth » (6:26-27). So ends the first group of stories.

Susanna and the first two chapters of the *Book of Daniel* form the second Danielic unit. *Susanna* and *Daniel* 1 are stories of Daniel as a young man and demonstrate his virtue and faithfulness to God's law. *Susanna* lauds his discrimination in judgment while the story in *Daniel* 1 celebrates his and his companions' strict adherence to Divine commandments. *Susanna* is set

²⁵ See M. E. STONE, « Jewish Apocryphal Literature in the Armenian Church », *Le Muséon* 95 (1982), p. 287-288.

²⁶ M. E. STONE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 5). See W. W. HEIST, *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday*, East Lansing 1952.

among the Israelites, who proclaim Daniel's judgment with the words, « Then the whole assembly raised a great shout and blessed God who saves those who hope in him (60) ... And from that day onward Daniel had a great reputation among the people (64). » *Daniel* 1 and 2 are taken sequentially, Daniel's interpretation of the king's vision (chapter 2) following naturally from his virtuous conduct (chapter 1). Daniel's interpretation is an eschatological message, « the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed » (2:44). The ruler of the earthly kingdom responds, « Truly your God is God of gods and Lord of kings and revealer of mysteries ! » (2:46).

The final group is chapters 3, 4 and *Bel and the Dragon*. Chapter 3 is the story of the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace. In the Armenian version, of course, it contains the *Song of the Three Hebrews* and the *Prayer of Azariah*. The heart of the story is the faithfulness of the three Hebrews and the divine intervention in the form of an angel. This leads to the king's assertion « Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-Nego who has ... delivered his servants who trusted him, (3:28) for there is no other god who is able to deliver in this way. » Chapter 4 tells of Nebuchadnezzar who, having spoken with *hybris* against God, was turned into a wild beast. He recognizes God after a year, and at the end of chapter 4 he launches into a remarkable hymn of God's unique and universal sovereignty (4:34-37). This universal sovereignty of God is demonstrated in the stories of *Bel and the Dragon*, two of Nebuchadnezzar's idols who are shown by Daniel's stratagem to be impotent. The two stories exemplify the words of 4:35 : « All the inhabitants of the earth are accounted as nothing, and he does what he wills with the host of heaven. »

Thus, the grouping of the *Daniel* chapters is not incidental but deliberate. In a narrative form associated with a prophet, they repeatedly proclaim the universal recognition of divine sovereignty. God's power is witnessed through his faithful servants and recognized by emperors²⁷. God's rule in this world is made evident ; his future kingdom is promised. Thus, fundamentally, this Danielic preaching repeats the conclusions of the *Historia sacra* in different terms, terms which served ancient Jewish and Christian exegetes alike to conceptualize the imperial rule of God over non-believers and to assert His supremacy over them all.

The next division of the manuscript is a series of chapters from *Genesis*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*. These biblical chapters and the subsequent groups of chapters from *Numbers* and *Maccabees*, together with

²⁷ See D. SATRAN, *Nebuchadnezzar Dethroned: The Interpretation of Daniel in Early Jewish and Christian Literature* (forthcoming).

the *Daniel* ones, occupy just over half of the manuscript (fol. 128^r-190^v). Like the *Danielic* chapters, this material is not in rigid sequential order. An individual organizing principle must be sought here as well, and it is evident in the title we have given this section in our list of contents of the manuscript in the Appendix. That is *The Genealogy of Christ: The Abrahamic line up to Perez according to Matthew 1:2-3*. By their sequence, the chapters of Genesis show the progress of the genealogy of Christ: Abraham → Isaac → Jacob → Judah → Perez, just as in the *Gospel of Matthew*.

Then come four chapters from Leviticus which illustrate the *Purity of the People and the Priesthood*. Chapters 11-12 deal with Israel's holiness, and chapters 21-22 with that of the priests. The overall sequence of the manuscript so far reflects the *Historia sacra* and then the great teachers of the Church, followed by the Parousia, the eschaton and the assertion of God's rule. Old Testament chapters are selected so as to demonstrate or prefigure matters relating to these overall themes. Genesis is plumbed for the genealogy of Christ, and that theme also dominates the chapters from the historical books. The Leviticus chapters serve to prefigure the Church itself, setting demands of holiness implicitly both before laity and clerics.

Taking up chapter 2 of *Joshua*, the story of Rahab is told. The reason for this is *Matthew* 1:5 which mentions that she was the wife of Salmon, and mother of Boaz, Ruth's husband, and grandmother of Jesse. *Joshua* 4, given as part of this story, relates the crossing of the Jordan. Christ was baptized in the Jordan, of course, and the Israelites crossing the Jordan were a major typological presaging of the Baptism of Christ, and of Christian baptism. Rahab's family continues to dominate in the selection of *Joshua* 6. *Josh* 6:25 says, « her family has lived in Israel even since » (cf. *Mt* 1:5)²⁸.

The chapters from *Samuel* and *Kings* are in a somewhat varied order. Again, however, the genealogy of the beginning of *Matthew* appears to be the guiding principle. This is clear from the birth of Solomon (2 *Sam* 12, cf. *Mt* 1:6), the stories of David's children, ending with Rehoboam of Judah (1 *Kgs* 4, cf. *Mt* 1:7).

Two further sections remain. The chapters from *Numbers* are all from the Balaam stories. They are doubtless included because of the prophecy in *Num* 24:17 (« a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel ») which were taken early in a Christian sense (see *Rev* 22:16 and perhaps the star in *Mt* 2:2.9-10). If we accept the Matthean reference, of course

²⁸ The title of *Joshua* 7 on fol 157^r had been corrupted. It is surmounted by a dot, but the corrupted form has led the scribe to reckon this to be a title of *Isaiab*, and so he has added the title « the prophet ». This shows, incidentally, that the British Library manuscript is not an autograph, but a copy.

the Numbers chapters are the biblical root of the star of the Magi, just as the preceding chapters are the biblical documentation of Christ's genealogy.

Robert Thomson pointed out, many years ago, the importance of the Maccabean paradigm for the Armenians, as reflected in literature of the oldest period of Armenian writing²⁹. The selection of the chapters from *1 Maccabees* here may reflect a similar consciousness of typology by the author or our collection. The point implied is that, with the proper divinely ordered leadership (cf. *1 Macc* 5:26) the small people true to God can overcome numerous Gentile enemies and reconsecrate the defiled Temple. This is an assertion of the particular self-understanding of the Armenians.

To complete the manuscript, two sections are added. One deals with the ascetic life, the desert fathers. Again it shows one of the great exemplifications of the Christian life, and the attempts to live an angelic life in this world. To conclude, the author seals his work with the General Confession of Sins.

Conclusions

Clearly BL Harl. 5459 is a much more explicitly elaborated composition than M 2679. But M 2679 is very much older. There are many other Armenian manuscripts and genres that elaborate the progress of biblical history from Adam to Christ in one or another way. For example, we published a text entitled *Biblical Paraphrases* some years ago³⁰. By a combination of excerpts and small apocryphal examples, this work related history from Creation on, using techniques similar to those found in parts of M 2679³¹. On the other hand, manuscripts exist with the sort of fully integrated and organized structure evident in BL Harl. 5459, which incorporate numerous apocryphal writings and traditions.

Our aim here has been to illustrate that the structures of such manuscripts are often coherent. The contents of many so-called « Miscellanies » are in fact not random. Some of them form « Palaea »s, retellings of sacred history. That is a good occasion for the introduction of apocryphal traditions, but not the only one. Elsewhere we have pointed to genres such as learned lists, elenchic literature, historiography and others which were infused with a similar view-point and which expressed similar ideas.

²⁹ R. W. THOMSON, « The Maccabees in Early Armenian Historiography », *Journal of Theological Studies* 26 (1975), p. 329-341.

³⁰ M. E. STONE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 13), p. 81-126.

³¹ The excerpts resemble in particular those which have been embedded in M 2679.

We should regard BL Harl. 5459 as a single literary work, pursuing the theme of the redemption of the world from its creation to the eschaton. It transmits not only the history of salvation, but also, implicitly, the life of the Church and of the Armenian people as part of one integrated world-view. It highlights the prefiguration of the New Testament in the Old by the apposition of selected Old Testament chapters to *The Sacred History*.

M 2679 is equally complex in its structure, but the overarching concepts are not as immediately evident in all its parts. Further consideration and research will make them evident, in our opinion. Thanks to the antiquity of M 2679 in the Armenian literary tradition, we can trace back such Palea-style rewritings to the tenth century. Of course, M 2679 differs considerably from BL Harl. 5459 in style and character ; it is much more preoccupied with list materials. However, the overall similarity, given difference of time and place, is striking. We would be well advised to attend to such literary structures, since they frequently are expressions of very clear conceptual patterns.

APPENDIX

The Contents of BL Harl. 5459, anno 1689³²*The Sacred History*

- 2^r Cycle of Four Works *taking the story from Adam to Noah.*
- 12^v This is the Story of Terach and father of Abraham.
- 14^r This is the story of Abraham the ancestor of recognition of God. The hospitality of Abraham.
- 18^r Concerning the birth of Isaac.
- 20^r This is the story of the birth of Joseph, son of Jacob.
- 26^r After the death of Joseph the people of the Israelites increased in number.
- 33^r This is the story of the Ark of the Covenant which the Lord God gave.
- 38^r This is the story of Isaiah, who prophesied concerning Christ.
- 38^r Up to the birth of Christ Savior, 24 Prophets came by number. This is what is inscribed.
- 38^r This is the story of the birth of the Holy Virgin Mary.
- 41^r Story of John the Baptist, and the Annunciation to Mary concerning Christ.
- 45^r Story concerning the Birth of St. John the Baptist.
- 46^r Story of the Coming of Joseph to his Home.
- 48^v Story of the Coming of the Kings of the Magi, Melk'om, Gaspar and Balthasar, who came to worship the Newly-Born Child Christ.
- 52^v Story of the Coming of Mary to the Temple for the Fortieth Day Worship (in) the Holy Temple.
- 54^r Story of the Infancy, concerning the Going to Egypt to do Miracles.
- 59^r Story of John the Baptist who, having Issued Forth from the Desert, Came to the Jordan for the Baptism.
- 61^v Story of the Coming of Christ to Jerusalem.
- 64^r Story of the Silver which King Abgar sent as a Gift for Christ.
- 65^r Story of the Entry of Christ, and the Plot which the Priests Made.

³² This is a preliminary listing of the contents of the manuscript. It is our intention to edit all the apocryphal texts from this manuscript that have not been edited elsewhere.

- 67^r Story of the Suffering of Tortures and Crucifixion of Christ, for the Sake of Sinners, in the Spilling of the Blood he removed the Sins of the World.
- 71^r *Preceded by an ornamental headpiece*
Story of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, our God.
- 73^r Concerning the Doubting of Thomas.
- 77^v Story of the Paralytic.
- 83^r This is the Story of the Wood of the Crucifixion of Christ.
- 87^v This is the Story of the Holy Bones.

The Saints and the Promise of Eschatology

- 90^r This is the Story of Saint Sargis the General and his Son Martiros.
- 94^v Sermon « Those Asleep » pronounced by the Mouth of Job, by Saint Gregory of Tat'ew.

Further hagiographic recital of St. Malxas (97^r).

John *vardapet* concerning the destruction of the world and the day of judgment, and the coming of Christ (100^r).

This is followed by a text of 15 Signs of the Judgment, a document which we published in 1981 (see supra, n. 5). Further on in this document (fol. 101^r) there is a description of the eschatological bodies of the righteous and the wicked.

The Sovereignty of God (Sections of Daniel)

- 108^v Chapter 5 : Story of Daniel the Proph(et).
The Armenian Bible text of Daniel 5 in the Armenian version, with a number of corruptions and variants, in comparison with the edition of Bagratuni (1860). This is true of all biblical texts in the following.
- 111^r Chapter 6 : History of Daniel the Prophet.
Daniel 6, in the Armenian version.
- 113^r The Story of Susanna ; in the 8th Chapter.
The Story of Susanna according to the Armenian Biblical text, chap. 14 in the Armenian Bible of Bagratuni.
- 116^r The Story of Daniel the Prophet, Chap. 1.
The Armenian text of Chapter 1 of the Book of Daniel.
- 117^r Story of King Nebuchadnezzar.
The Armenian text of Chapter 2 of the Book of Daniel.
- 120^v Story of Daniel the Prophet, Chapter 3.
The Armenian text of Chapter 3 of the Book of Daniel.
- 123^r 5th Vision, in the 4th Chap. of Daniel.
The Armenian text of Chapter 5 of the Book of Daniel.

- 125^v Story of Daniel the Prophet, Chap. 13.
Stories of Bel and the Dragon according to the Book of Daniel.

The Genealogy of Christ: The Abrahamic line up to Perez according to Matthew 1:2-3

Abraham → Isaac → Jacob → Judah → Perez

- 128^r Story of the Descendants of Abraham in the 24th chapter.
Genesis 24, in the Armenian version. Eliezer brings Rebecca to Isaac.
- 131^r Of Genesis, in the 25th chapter.
Genesis 25 in the Armenian version. Ketura and Ishmael; descendants of Ishmael.
- 135^r Of Genesis, in the 27th chapter.
Genesis 27-28 in the Armenian version. Blessing of Jacob and Esau; Jacob's flight.
- 138^v Of Genesis, in the 29th chapter.
Genesis 29-30 in the Armenian version.
- 142^v Of Genesis, in the 38th chapter.
Genesis 38 in the Armenian version. Judah and Tamar; Shelah and Perez born.

The Purity of the People and the Priesthood

Sanctity for Israel, Leviticus 11-12; sanctity of Priests, Leviticus 21-22.

- 144^v Leviticus, in the 11th chapter.
Leviticus 11 in the Armenian version. Clean and unclean food: « you shall be holy, for I am holy ».
- 145^v Leviticus, in the 12th chapter.
Leviticus 12 in the Armenian version. Birth purification and sacrifice.
- 146^r Leviticus, in the 21st chapter.
Leviticus 21 in the Armenian version. Priestly purity. Aaron's sons must be unblemished to serve at the altar.
- 147^v Leviticus, in the 22nd chapter.
Leviticus 22 in the Armenian version. Priestly privileges relating to sacrifice. 22:31-33 assert the holiness of God and His mighty deeds in Exodus.

The Ancestors of Christ, continued.

- 149^r In the 2nd (chapter) of Joshua.
Joshua 2 in the Armenian version. Jericho, the spies and Rahab.
- 152^r Chapter 4 of Joshua son of Nun.
Joshua 4 in the Armenian version. Crossing of the Jordan, establishment of 12 stones as witness of redemption (v. 23-24).

- 153^v In the 5th chapter of Joshua son of Nun.
Joshua 5 in the Armenian version. Circumcision of the people; Passover; start of Jericho events.
- 154^v In the 6th chapter of Joshua son of Nun.
Joshua 6 in the Armenian version. Fall of Jericho; preservation of Rahab's family (6:17, 22-25).
- 157^r In the 7th chapter of Joshu(a son of N)un the Prophet.
Joshua 7 in the Armenian version. Sin of Achan, Judabite of Zerab.

Note the corruption of the abbreviated name which is surmounted by a dot. This has caused the copyist to reckon this to be a chapter of Isaiah, so he has added the title « the Prophet ». One opening is missing from the microfilm. The missing pages, 157^r-158^r contained the end of Joshua 7 and the beginning of 3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 13. That must have started on 158^r, since 158^o commences in v. 3 of that chapter.

- 158^r *Third Kingdoms (1 Kings), chapter 13. Jehoahaz of Israel; his wars with the Arameans; Jehoash of Israel; death of Elisha.*
- 161^r In the 12th chapter of Second Kings.
2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 12 in the Armenian version. Nathan's reproach of David; Bath-Sheba; birth of Solomon.
- 163^r In the 13th chapter of Kings.
2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 13 in the Armenian version. Amnon and Tamar; death of Amnon; Absalom flees.
- 166^r In the 14th chapter of Kings.
2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 14 in the Armenian version. Woman of Tekoah; Absalom's reconciliation with David.
- 167^v-168^r *are missing from microfilm.*
- 169^r In the 13th chapter of third Kingdom(s).
3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 13 in the Armenian version. Prophecy against the altar at Bethel; evil of Jeroboam; his rejection by God.
- 170^v In the 14th chapter of third Kingdoms.
3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 14 in the Armenian version. Abijah's prophecy against Jeroboam. Rehoboam of Judah.

Oracles of the Messianic King

- 172^v In the 21st chapter of Numbers.
Numbers 21 in the Armenian version. The bronze serpent; song of the well; Sihon and Og.
- 174^v In the 22nd chapter of Numbers.
Numbers 22 in the Armenian version. Balaam story and oracles.
- 177^r In the 23rd chapter of Numbers.
Numbers 22:29 and chap. 23 in the Armenian version. Balaam story and oracles continued.

- 178^v In the 24th chapter of Numbers.
Numbers 24 in the Armenian version. Balaam story and oracles continued.

The Maccabean Victory

These chapters commence with the installation of Judas, the reconsecration of the Temple, further battles against idolaters. 5:62 strongly asserts the primacy of the Maccabean family.

- 180^f In the 3rd chapter of Maccabees.
1 Maccabees 3 in the Armenian version.
- 183^v In the 4th chapter of Maccabees.
1 Maccabees 4 in the Armenian version.
- 187^f In the 5th chapter of Maccabees.
1 Maccabees 5 in the Armenian version.

The Desert Fathers

- 192^f History of the Lives of the Fathers.
 193^f Life of Theodora, Maiden of Christ.

The General Confession

- 201^f *Confession of the Armenian Church in 10 paragraphs numbered with Western numerals.*
1. I have sinned against God, I have sinned, God, against the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, I have caused death before God (...)