

NOTES ON APOCRYPHA.

i. *Pseudo-Philo and Baruch.*

AMONG other problems connected with that enigmatical book, the 'Pseudo-Philo on Biblical Antiquities', one has occurred which may be worth putting forward. Was it used by the writer of the Apocalypse of Baruch? Here are some passages which suggest an affirmative answer. (I quote Kmoskó's Latin version in *Patrol. Syr.* i 2, 1907.)

Bar. lix. Et aquae quartae lucidae quas vidisti, hic est adventus Moysis, etc. Illo tempore lucerna legis aeternae illuxit omnibus qui sedebant in tenebris, quae credentibus annuntiaret promissionem mercedis eorum et incredulis tormentum ignis ipsis reservatum.

Philo (God speaks to Moses.) Et inclinavi caelos et descendi incidere lucernam populo meo.

(Joshua's speech on the vision of Abraham, Gen. xv). Ego autem . . . pavorem circumdedi eum, et ante eum locum ignis in quo expientur opera facientium iniquitatem in me et faculas ostendi ignis unde illuminabuntur iusti qui crediderunt mihi.

Bar. lix. Sed et caeli illo tempore remoti sunt a loco suo, et qui sub throno fortissimi erant commoti sunt quando receperat Moysen apud se.

Philo (on the giving of the Law). Et caeli plicabantur, etc., etc., et angeli praecurrebant quousque deus poneret legem testamenti sempiterni filiis Israel, etc.

Bar. lix. Indicavit enim ei monita multa cum institutis legum et finem temporis . . . item autem similitudinem Sion et mensuras eius quae facienda erant in similitudinem sanctuarii hodierni.

Philo (Moses on Pisgah). Et ostendit ei mensuras sanctuarii et numerum oblationum.

(Moses on Sinai.) Et ostendit ei similitudinem eorum ut faceret secundum exemplar quod viderat.

Bar. lix. Sed etiam tunc ostendit ei mensuras ignis et profunditates quoque abyssi et pondus ventorum et numerum guttarum pluviae et repressionem irae . . . et altitudinem aëris et magnitudinem Paradisi et finem saeculorum et initium diei iudicii *et numerum oblationum* (see above) . . . et os gehennae, etc.

Philo (Moses on Pisgah). Et ostendit ei locum unde elevant nubes aquam ad irrigandum omnem terram, et locum unde accipit fluvius

irrigationem, et terram Aegypti, et locum firmamenti . . . Et ostendit ei locum unde pluit manna populo usque ad semitas paradisi.

Bar. lx. Et aquae quintae nigrae . . . ista sunt opera quae faciebant Amorrhaei et incantationes magicarum suarum quas faciebant, et malitia mysteriorum ipsorum et permixtio immunditiae eorum. Sed etiam Israel inquinatus est peccatis diebus Iudicum quando videbant signa multa quae fiebant ab eo qui fecit ipsos.

Philo (story of Cenez, the first Judge). Interrogavit derelictos de tribu Dan, et dixerunt: Nos docuerunt Amorrei quae ipsi agebant ut doceremus filios nostros . . . Hae sunt Nymphae quae invocatae ostenderunt Amorreis per singulas horas opera eorum. . . . Et hi sunt lapides preciosi quos habebant Amorrei in sanctis suis.

Audivit multitudinem Amorreorum dicentium: Surgentes expugnemus Israel. Scimus enim quoniam sanctae nostrae Nymphae ibi sunt cum eis et tradent eos in manus nostras.

Compare also his account of the *Midianite* wizard Aod, who 'abiit et fecit magicis suis, praeciens angelis qui praeerant maleficiis'.

Bar. lxiv 7. Manasses illo tempore appellatus est impius, et in fine in igne fuit habitatio eius (also xlv 15. Domicilium autem reliquorum multorum in igne erit).

Philo (of Jair). Et in quo igne morieris, in eo habebis habitationem. (of Doeg). Et erit habitatio eius cum Iair semper in igne inextinguibili.

The above parallels occur (all but one) in a single section assigned by Dr Charles to a writer called A³ of A.D. 50-70: the exception, from c. xlv, is given to 'B²' later than A.D. 70.

Those which follow are from other parts of Baruch.

Bar. iv 3 (the heavenly Sion). Quae hic praeparata fuit ex quo cogitavi facere paradysum. Et ostendi eam Adam priusquam peccaret; cum vero abiecit mandatum, sublata est ab eo, ut etiam Paradysus. Et postea ostendi eam servo meo Abraham noctis inter divisiones victimarum. Et iterum etiam Moysi ostendi eam in monte Sinai quando ostendi ei imaginem tabernaculi et omnia vasa eius.

Philo (God speaks to Moses). Et dixit: Hic locus est quem docui protoplastum dicens: Si non transgredieris quae tibi mandavi, omnia sub te erunt. Ille autem transgressus est . . . Et adiecit dominus adhuc ostendere vias paradisi et dixit ei: Hae sunt viae quas perdiderunt homines non ambulantes in eis . . .

(Moses on Sinai.) Et praecepit ei de tabernaculo et de arca domini . . . et de candelabro et de labro et vasis eius . . . et ostendit ei similitudinem eorum, etc.

Bar. xxi 23. Et obsignetur infernus ne ex hoc nunc accipiat mortuos, et reddant promptuarum animarum eas quae in eis inclusae sunt.

Et tunc ad finem aequiparabitur omne sicut mensura temporum et sicut horae aetatum.

xlii 6, 7. Tolle enim corruptio eos qui eius sunt, et vita illos qui eius sunt. Et advocabitur pulvis et dicetur ei: Redde quod tecum non est, et siste omne quod custodisti ad tempus suum.

Philo (Deborah). Signata est enim iam nunc mors, et perfecta est, et mensura et tempus et anni reddiderunt depositum suum . . . quoniam et infernus accipiens sibi deposita non restituet nisi repositur ab eo qui deposuit ei.

(God speaks to Noah.) Et vivificabo mortuos, et erigam dormientes de terra, et reddet infernus debitum suum et perditio restituet paratecem suam.

These parallels, which might, I believe, be increased in number, are telling. The view that Baruch is the source and Philo the copyist can hardly commend itself: he must be regarded as a source of Baruch, and as a source not used only by the writer of a single section.

Philo's book, however, is admittedly of one date, and that after A. D. 70. Dr Charles's assignment, therefore, of a date before 70 to the section of Baruch (liii-lxxiv) in which Philo is most obviously used, falls to the ground. I ought to add that I find it impossible to accept the scheme of the dissection of Baruch as set forth by Dr Charles. In this case, as in that of 4 Esdras, the inability to allow for slight inconsistencies consequent upon the weaving together of disparate strands of apocalyptic tradition has been the snare of over-ingenuous critics.

ii. *Apocrypha in Commodian.*

It is to be supposed as generally recognized that Commodian in constructing his very elaborate scheme of the end of the world has welded together the data of several independent apocalypses, that of John being for him perhaps the most authoritative. One of the works he used contained revelations about the 'lost' $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes. What it was remains to be determined. Another, I am now able to say, was the Apocalypse of Peter. From this he draws the following passages:—

Instr. II ii 1, &c.

C. A. 1001

Dat tuba caelo signum sublato
leone

Ecce canit caelo rauca . . .

Et fiunt desubito tenebrae cum
caeli fragore

quae pavidat totum orbem . . .

Sol fugit incaute, subito fit noctis
imago

In flamma ignis Dominus iudicabit
iniquos

995
Cum coeperit autem mundum
iudicare per ignem

Instr. II ii 1, &c.

Iustos autem non tanget ignis sed
immo delinget

Tantus erit ardor ut lapides ipsi
liquescant

In fulmine cogunt uenti, furet ira
caelestis

Ut quacumque fugit impius occu-
petur ab igne

Instr. II iv (a second fall of fire)

Emissus iterum dei dominabitur
ignis

In una flamma conuertitur tota
natura

Uritur ab imis terra

De mare nil remanet

Interit hoc caelum et ista terra
mutatur, etc.

The points here are: the darkness preceding the fall of fire; the fire discriminating between good and bad; men fleeing but overtaken by the fire; the heaven being judged; the general destruction.

A passage in C. A. (749 sqq.) is evidently based on the torment of idolaters in the Apocalypse:—

Quisque deos ergo sequitur fabricatos in auro

Argento uel lapide, ligno uel aeramine fusos

Cum ipsis infelix mittetur in igne reffectus (*or* reffectis)

Nec ibi permoritur sed dat cruciatus iniquus (*ignitos Ludwig*).

The noticeable words are 'Cum ipsis'. In the Apocalypse the worshippers are tormented in the presence of their idols.

Another curious example of Comodian's apocryphal sources is this. In C. A. (562, &c.) he relates the Appearance to Thomas, to whom our Lord says:—

Accede propius et contange corpus ut ante;

Non ego sum umbra, mortuorum qualis habetur:

Vestigium umbra non facit. considera uulnus.

C. A. 1001

Deiutaque pios et cadet super
impios ignis

1006

Cum strepitu tonitruui descendit
impetus ignis

Stellae cadunt caeli, iudicantur
astra nobiscum

His tantum proficiet, qui fuerint
Christo notati

Ros ad illos erit, nam ceteris
poena letalis

1021

Quocumque se uertunt homines,
uis ignea feruet, etc.

The only other instance known to me of this detail, that a shade leaves no foot-marks, is in the *Testament en Galilée*, ed. Guerrier, c. 22 : 'Toi, André, vois si mes pieds foulent la terre, et s'il y a des traces (de pas) : car il est écrit dans le prophète que les fantômes, les démons, ne laissent pas de traces sur la terre.' The fact that this book existed in Latin under the title of *Epistola Apostolorum* makes it easier to understand that Commodian should have seen it.

iii. 2 *Clement and the Apocalypse of Peter.*

Scattered through the ancient Homily, which bears the title of the Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, are phrases and ideas which to my mind are evidence that the author read, and respected the teaching of, the Apocalypse of Peter. It will be convenient to present these in a collected form.

- l 4. τὸ φῶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔχαρίσατο.
A. P. ap. Method. : σὺ οὐκ ἐφθόνησας ἡμῖν ὦ κύριε τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο φῶς.
v 1. μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.
viii 3. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.
A. P. Gr. ἓνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν . . . τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου.
μέγιστον χῶρον ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.
v 7. ἀποπίπτομεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας.
A. P. τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης . . . ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.
ix 1. μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται.
A. P. (Eth.) has much to say on the resurrection of the flesh.
xvi 3. γινώσκετε δὲ ὅτι ἔρχεται ἡδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος, καὶ τακῆσονται τινες τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος· καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
A. P. (Eth.) describes the final fire and the destruction of the firmament : as quoted in Macarius (if this be indeed from the Apocalypse) it has : καὶ τακῆσεται πᾶσα δύναμις οὐρανοῦ.
xvii 5. καὶ ὄψονται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κράτος οἱ ἄπιστοι· καὶ ξενισθήσονται ἴδοντες τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι σὺ ἦς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν κτλ.
A. P. (Eth.). 'They will all behold me coming on a shining eternal cloud . . . My Father will set a crown on my head. Then, beholding that, the peoples will weep, every one apart.'
Gr. οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν ἐλεύσεσθαι εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, and see below.
xvii 7. οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εὐπραγήσαντες καὶ ὑπομείναντες τὰς βασάνους καὶ μισήσαντες τὰς ἡδοναθείας τῆς ψυχῆς.
A. P. τοὺς πιστοὺς τοὺς . . . θλιβομένους καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.
xvii 7. ὅταν θεάσωνται τοὺς ἀστοχήσαντας καὶ ἀρνησαμένους . . . τὸν

Ἰησοῦν, ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ ἔσονται δόξαν δίδόντες τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν.

A. P. (Eth.): 'The righteous will see those who hated them being punished: the torment of each is for ever, according to his deeds. With one voice those who are in torment will say, Have mercy on us, for we know now the judgement of the Lord which He told us aforetime and we believed not' (cf. xvii 5).

xix 3. ἐκεῖνος ἄνω μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναβιώσας εὐφρανθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἀλύπητον αἰῶνα.

A. P. (Eth.). Hast thou seen the company of the Fathers? this is their rest.

(Gr.). ποῖός ἐστιν ὁ αἰὼν ἐν ᾧ εἰσι ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν;

iv. *Heathen use of the Apocalypse of Peter.*

Among the causes which contributed to the rejection of the Apocalypse of Peter by leading Christian scholars (not by the people) I take this to have been one, that it afforded an easy and advantageous point of attack to the heathen objector. Both Celsus and the writer whom Macarius Magnes answers may be adduced on the point: the latter with certainty since he names it as his source in one place: the former almost as confidently.

In Macarius we have the well-known quotation—perhaps two quotations—in *Apocr.* iv 6, 7 (16). But also in iv 30 there is a passage, on the resurrection of the flesh, which seems clearly to have been inspired by the Apocalypse. Τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκεν τοῦτο ποιήσειεν ὁ θεὸς . . . τὰ δ' ἅπαξ δόξαντα τῷ θεῷ . . . αἰῶνια αὐτὰ προσήκει εἶναι καὶ μῆτε καταγινώσκεισθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος μῆτε διαφθείρεσθαι . . . ὅθεν ἄλογον εἶ, τοῦ παντὸς φθαρέντος, ἀκολουθήσει ἡ ἀνάστασις . . . εἰ δὲ κακεῖνό τις ἐθέλοι κατανοεῖν, εὐρήσει μεστὸν ἀβελτηρίας πρᾶγμα τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν θαλάττῃ πολλάκις ἀπώλοντο καὶ ὑπὸ ἰχθύων ἀηλώθη τὰ σώματα, πολλοὶ δ' ὑπὸ θηρίων καὶ ὀρνέων ἐβρώθησαν (he then puts an elaborate case). Ἄλλ' ἐρεῖς μοι ὅτι τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ δυνατόν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀληθές. οὐ γὰρ πάντα δύναται κτλ.

Σκέψασθε δὲ κακεῖνο πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἄλογον εἰ μὲν ὁ δημιουργὸς τὸν μὲν οὐρανόν, οὐ μὴδέν τις ἐνενόησε κάλλος θεοσεσιώτερον, περιώψεται τηκόμενον καὶ ἄστρα πίπτοντα καὶ γῆν ἀπολλυμένην, τὰ δὲ σεσηπότα καὶ διεφθαρμένα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναστήσει σώματα κτλ.

It is in this last paragraph that we see most clearly how our author is summing up the data of the Petrine Apocalypse. It should be remembered, as an additional bit of evidence, that in the Ethiopic text the topic of the resurrection is treated, at length, *after* that of the burning of heaven and earth.

Celsus ap. Orig. v 14 ἡλίθιον δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ νομίζειν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεὸς

ὡς περ μάγειρος ἐπενέγκη τὸ πῦρ, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ἐξοπτηθήσεσθαι γένος· αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους διαμενεῖν, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ζῶντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάλαι ποτε ἀποθανόντας, αὐταῖς σαρξίν ἐκείναις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναδύνας· ἀτεχνῶς σκολήκων ἢ ἑλλπίς· ποία γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ποθήσειεν ἔτι σῶμα σεσηπός; ὁπότε μὴδ' ἑμῶν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐνίοις κοινόν ἐστιν . . . οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἀποκρίνασθαι καταφεύγουσιν εἰς ἀποπτωτάτην ἀναχώρησιν, ὅτι πᾶν δυνατὸν τῷ θεῷ· ἀλλ' οὔτε γε τὰ αἰσχρὰ ὁ θεὸς δύναται κτλ.

Here we have three points—the fire which will destroy the wicked and spare the good (the φρόνιμον πῦρ of Clement and *sapiens ignis* of Minucius Felix), the resurrection of the flesh, and the argument of God's omnipotence applied thereto.

Does it not seem as if Hierocles (if it be he), following Celsus, had drawn fresh material from the book which he recognized that Celsus had in his mind?

v. *Tertullian's allusion to the Apocalypse of Adam.*

IN an early number of the *Bull. d'anc. litt. et arch. chrét.* (1911, p. 127) M. P. de Labriolle called attention to a difficulty presented by the last words of Tertullian *de Paenitentia*, which are:—

Peccator enim omnium notarum cum sim, nec ulli rei nisi paenitentiae natus, non facile possum super illa tacere, quam ipse quoque et stirpis humanae et offensae in Dominum princeps Adam exhomologesi restitutus in paradysum suum non tacet.

M. de Labriolle points out that the references given by Preuschen to the Latin and Armenian Lives of Adam do not suffice to explain Tertullian's words, which imply a knowledge of an utterance of Adam.

I think that a passage on which I commented in 1893 (*Apocrypha Anecdota* i 145) points in the direction of the true solution.

The Ep. of Barnabas (ii 10) says: ἡμῖν οὖν οὕτως λέγει· θυσία τῷ θεῷ καρδία συντετριμμένη (Ps. l 19): ὁσμή εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν (non-Biblical). A marginal note here in the Constantinople MS is ψαλμ. Ν'. καὶ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἀδάμ. The same quotation occurs in Clement and in Irenaeus, thus:—

(a) Clem. Al. *Paed.* iii 12 (Stählin i p. 286) after quoting (as Barnabas has also done) Isa. i 11–13: πῶς οὖν θύσω τῷ κυρίῳ; “θυσία” φησὶν “τῷ κυρίῳ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον”. πῶς οὖν στέψω ἢ μύρω χρίσω; “ὁσμή” φησὶν “εὐωδίας τῷ θεῷ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν.”

(b) *Str.* ii 18. 79 (St. ii p. 154) τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἡσαΐα (i 11) “τί μοι πλῆθος τῶν θυσιῶν” . . . καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περικοπή: “λθε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας” (Isa. lviii 6). αὕτη γὰρ θυσία θεῷ δεκτή (cf. Isa. lvi 7, Ecclus. xxxv 6), καρδία συντετριμμένη (Ps. l 19) καὶ ζητοῦσα τὸν πεπλακότα. “ζυγὰ δόλια βδέλυγμα” κτλ. (Prov. xi 1).

(c) [Cf. *Str.* iv 5. 19 (St. ii p. 257) καίτοι καὶ Ἰωβ . . . ἡμῖν ἐστι παράδειγμα ἀγαθὸν ἀναγεγραμμένος, δυσωπῶν τὸν περάσαντα, εὐλογῶν τὸν πλάσαντα.]

(d) Iren. (IV xxix 3, Harvey i 195, Grabe IV xxxii, Mass IV xvii). He has quoted Ps. l 18, 19; Ps. xlix; Isa. i 11, 16-18. Then he says: 'quemadmodum alibi ait: sacrificium Deo cor contribulatum: odor sauuitatis Deo cor clarificans eum qui plasmavit.'

Of these, the passage *c* hardly comes into consideration; but all the others occur in juxtaposition with Isa. i 11 sqq. and Irenaeus, who does not read the clause in Ps. l, might be interpreted as referring it to Isaiah. It may, then, be a supplement to some text of Isaiah or to that of Ps. l. But the marginal note of the MS of Barnabas is good evidence that it also occurred in the Apocalypse of Adam. The words would undoubtedly fit well into a speech of Adam, praising his Maker for pardon granted to him. To such an utterance Tertullian no doubt alludes; and we have reason to believe that among the Adamic books there was one which laid stress upon Adam's penitence after the Fall.

In the Gelasian decree is mention of a Penitence of Adam; Cedrenus (Migne, i 41) prefaces his extract from an Adam book about the hours of day and night with the statement that 'Adam in the 600th year having repented learned by revelation concerning the Watchers and the Flood, and concerning repentance and the divine incarnation, and concerning the prayers that are sent up to God by all creatures at every hour of the day and night, by the hand of Uriel, the angel that is over repentance.' Such were the contents of the Apocalypse of Adam; it included matter about penitence, in which a confession of Adam would naturally find a place. We do not, of course, possess it as a whole. The last and best edition of the fragments is in *Patrol. Syr.* i 2. The narrative portions may have left some traces in the Lives of Adam, and in the Conflict of Adam and Eve; but the indications are that the greater part of it must have been Apocalyptic and not Haggadic.

vi. *Traces of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch in other writings.*

The text of this note is furnished by the Greek Physiologus as printed by Pitra *Spiciol. Solesm.* iii p. 369 (cap. lii).

περὶ τοῦ γρῦψ.

Ἔστιν ὁ γρῦψ μεγεθέστατον ὄρνειον παρὰ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· οὗτος μὲν ἐν ἑῷα γῆ εἰς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ ὅταν ἀνατέλλει ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὰ βάθη τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ βαντίζει τὸν κόσμον τὰς ἀκτῖνας, ἀπολεῖ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ὁ γρῦψ, καὶ δέχεται τὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ ἡλίου· καὶ ἕτερος 5 συμπορεύεται αὐτὸν ἕως δυσμάς, ὡς γέγραπται· Ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ πορεύου, φωτοδῶτα, δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς.

Ἑρμηνεία. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν θεότητα δύο γρῦψ συμπαρεστήκουν· τούτεστι Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχιστρατηγὸς καὶ ἡ ἀγία θεοτόκος, καὶ δεχέται τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θυμὸν ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀπασιν ἐρεῖ· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς. Καλῶς οὖν ὁ φυσιολόγος ἐλεξε 10 περὶ τοῦ γρῦψ.

This is corrupt, and, of course, late. In l. 2 a verb such as κατοικεί is wanted. In l. 3 εἰς τὰ βάθη need not be wrong; it may merely mean 'in the depths of the waters', though strictly no doubt ἐκ τῶν βαθῶν is required. The proceedings of the bird are obscurely expressed in the next lines: a quotation, which will be given later, will serve to explain them: ἀπολεί may be for ἀπλοῖ. In l. 5 αὐτῷ and not αὐτόν is naturally looked for; in 5, 6 a various reading given by Andr. Mustodoxides in his text of the Physiologus (1826 συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων) is to be noted, viz.: ὡς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ Πορεύσεται φωτεινὸς (v.l. φωτουδός) τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς. In l. 8 Mustodoxides has, for ἡ ἀγία θεοτόκος, Γαβριήλ.

A clearer exposition of what the Physiologus has in mind is in a passage of the Disputation of the Panagiotie (orthodox Greek) with the Azymite (Latin) schismatic printed by Vassiliev in *Anecdota Graeco-Byz.*, and quoted by me on the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (*Apocr. Anecd.* ii p. lxxv). It must be repeated here:—

Ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος δίδει τὸ στέμμα τῶν ἀγγέλων (gives the crown to the angels) καὶ ἐνδύουσι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ἀνατέλλει. καὶ εἰθὺς δύο ὄρνεα καλούμενα γρυψί, τὸ ἐν καλεῖται φέριξ (φοῖνιξ) καὶ τὸ ἕτερον χαλῆδρις ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα, καὶ βρέχουσιν τὸν ἥλιον ἵνα μὴ καύσῃ τὸν κόσμον· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καίονται αἱ πτέρυγες τῶν ὀρνέων καὶ ἀπομένουσιν μόνον τὰ κρέη. καὶ πάλιν ὑπάγουσιν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ λούονται καὶ πάλιν περροῦνται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὀρνέων ἐπαίρουσιν μίμησιν οἱ ἀλέκτορες . . . καὶ προγνώθη τοὺς κτύπος τῶν ὀρνέων (and they—the cocks—perceive the voice of the birds, i. e. of the Phoenix and Chaledris) χάριτι τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ σημαίνουσιν τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καὶ τί λέγουσιν; . . . ὁ εἰς λέγει πορεύου· ὁ ἕτερος· φωτοδότα· ὁ τρίτος· δὸς τὸ φῶς· ὁ τέταρτος· τὸν κόσμον· καὶ ἐμπληροῦσιν οἱ τέσσαροι ἤγουν ὁ χριστός.

The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (4 Baruch) §§ 6–8 gives an earlier account of the same matter:

Baruch sees the sun in his chariot, ready to go forth. καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄρνεον περιτρέχον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡλίου ὡς ὄρη ἐννέα . . . τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον παρατρέχει τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας ἐφαπλῶν δέχεται τὰς πυρμύρφους ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἤπλωσε τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδον εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν πτερόν αὐτοῦ γράμματα παμμεγέθη ὡς ἄλwanος τόπον ἔχων μέτρον ὡσεὶ μοδίων τετρακισχιλίων· καὶ ἦσαν γράμματα χρυσᾶ . . . καὶ ἀνέγνω· καὶ ἔλεγον οὕτως· Οὔτε γῆ με τίκει οὔτε οὐρανός, ἀλλὰ τίκτουσί με πτέρυγες πυρός· (Slavonic—but the son of the father—πατρός for πυρός) . . . φοῖνιξ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. The angels open the 365 gates of heaven. Καὶ ἦλθεν φωνὴ λέγουσα· Φωτοδότα, δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ φέγγος· καὶ ἀκούσας τὸν κτύπον τοῦ ὀρνέου εἶπον· κύριε, τί ἐστὶν ὁ κτύπος οὗτος; καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐξυπνίζον τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλέκτορας. The sun then comes forth, and the Phoenix with it. Then Baruch is taken to the west and sees the sun and the bird returning: τὸ δὲ ὄρνεον ἔστη τεταπεινωμένον καὶ συστέλλον

τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ. . . . διὰ τοῦ κατέχειν τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνας, διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς δλοημέρου καύσεως, δι' αὐτῶν ταπεινοῦνται. Were it not for the wings of the Bird, no living thing could exist.

A step further back, to the *Secrets of Enoch*. I quote the last version, in *Pseudepigrapha of O.T.* (by N. Forbes):—

Recension A. 12¹. And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names are Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head; their appearance is empurpled like the rainbow: their size is *nine* hundred measures, their wings are like those of angels, each has twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from God.

(In Recension B these creatures are merely angels.)

15¹ (at the rising of the sun). Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri, break into song: therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the commandment of the Lord.

15². 'The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world.'

If the parallel passages in the Panagiote and Baruch had been taken into account (they are not mentioned in Dr Charles's notes), I think that the Slavonic text might have been differently translated in some particulars. For instance, the phrase in 12¹ 'bearing heat and dew' pretty evidently refers to the warding off of the sun's heat from the earth, and to the words *βρέχουσιν τὸν ἥλιον*. Also in 15 what is to my mind the plain meaning might have emerged in some such rendering as this: 'Therefore every fowl (*or* every cock) flutters with its wings; . . . and they utter this song at the commandment of the Lord "The giver of light comes to give (*or perhaps* Come, O giver of light; give) light to the whole world".' Most likely also the plural—Phoenixes and Chalkydri—is misleading, and there was really only one of each kind. In fact, a variant MS does describe them as two in number, 'one like a phoenix and the other like a chalkedris'.

Reverting to our first text, the *Physiologus*, we see that light is thrown on it by each of the three others. The creature described is called a γρόψ or griffin, and Enoch's description, with its 'feet and tail like a lion' and wings, justifies this. It lives by the ocean river: the Panagiote tells us that it bathes in the ocean every day. It is the largest of all fowls: in Enoch its size is 900 measures, in Baruch it is as long as 9 mountains, in the Panagiote it is (corruptly) 'as from 9 cubits'. Note the recurrence of the 9. (I feel sure Dr Hughes's emendation of Baruch in the *Pseudepigrapha* 'circling before the sun about 9 cubits away' is on the wrong lines, and indeed unnecessary.) Then we see that the γρόψ had a companion (either the Phoenix or the Chaledris) on its daily journey, and so it has in the Panagiote and in Enoch. We

must assume that something has fallen out, or that the source has been unskilfully abridged, after *δυσμᾶς*, but we see that the remaining words should run 'as it is written on his wings, "Go forth, light-giver, give light to the world"'. In Baruch the Phoenix has an inscription on his wings, though it is not that recorded by *Physiologus*. What *Physiologus* does read is the utterance of the cock; it is almost identical in all our texts, and (as Professor Burkitt remarks¹) it seems clearly to be meant for an imitation of a cock's crow.

We see further that *Physiologus* gives us the least intelligible of all the accounts. This particular section does not occur in the oldest manuscripts, nor, I think, in any of the ancient versions. Still, it is quite clear that his source depended on Baruch (and to some degree upon Enoch). The Panagiote has matter derived from both: perhaps he used a better text of *Physiologus*, or else the same source as the last-named.

Physiologus is thus a witness (of a sort) to the influence of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch. I have another such to produce whose date and surroundings are fortunately ascertainable.

The Spanish Abbot, St Valerius (d. 695), whose works are printed in *España Sagrada* xvi and Migne *P. L.* lxxxvii, narrates several visions vouchsafed to his contemporaries. One such, seen by a youth named Baldarius (*Esp. Sag.* p. 385), contains the following episode. He has been brought before the Lord, who ordains that he shall return to earth, since his time is not yet fulfilled.

Cum autem me reducerent, ait illis dominus: Sustinete modicum, quia sol ascendet, donec pertranseat, ne eum radii solis exaestuent. Dum autem sustineremus, ecce ascendeat sol ab oriente sub nos summa uelocitate percurrrens, ignifero fulgore rutilans, atque coruscans immenso candore radiabat. Cuius immanis gyri rotunditas incomparabilis erat. Ante ipsum autem praecedens ingenti magnitudine auis rufa, et desuper posteriora eius fusco colore fuscata saepe reuoluto alarum remigio crepitanti fragore impulso aëre temperabat exaestuantem eiusdem solis ardorem, quae alacri uelocitate properans praeteriit; post cuius terribilis uisionis abscessum coepimus remeare deorsum.

Here is the same conception as in Baruch, and in a similar setting. It is the first trace of the book in any Latin text that has been pointed out. Some quite rare apocrypha may well have been current in Spain, whether as importations from Africa, or under Priscillianist influence.

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¹ *Jewish and Christian Apocalypse* p. 76 note.