
†ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΝΖΗΛΕΙΑΣ • THE APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH

INTRODUCTION

The *Apocalypse of Elijah* is an early Christian-Era work written in Coptic, commonly held to be a documentation of the oral presentation of multiple original and classical manuscripts. Presented in part as the direct word of God to the prophet Elijah, the text includes a short commentary on some early Christian fasting and prayer disciplines, a prophetic message about the kingdoms of Assyria and Egypt, and accounts of the presentation of the antichrist, his encounters with Elijah and Enoch, and his ultimate demise. There is another Hebrew 'Apocalypse of Elijah' dating from the 3rd–7th Centuries (*Sefer Eliyahu*), but it does not appear to share any significant similarities or inspiration from the Coptic text.

Two of the foundational Coptic texts of the *Apocalypse of Elijah* were edited and published by George Steindorff in 1899; one of these, which was obtained from St Shenoute's White Monastery, has been dated to the early 4th Century and contained the beginning and conclusion of the text, but was missing most of the middle portion. Another important manuscript, a papyrus dated to the 4th/5th Century, is that published through the Chester Beatty Library, which to this day is the most complete variant of the text to be discovered.

The Coptic (Akhmimic) text here presented is that of [Steindorff's 1899 transcription](#) and the English translation closely follows [that of Anthony Alcock](#); chapter and verse divisions follow those of O.S. Wintermute[§].

AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

The *Apocalypse of Elijah* is commonly dated between the middle of the 2nd Century to the early 4th Century. The work is clearly influenced by Christian thinking, with references to Christian manuscripts such as Revelation that could have only become available after ~150 CE, and the earliest known Coptic fragments date from the beginning of the 4th Century. Earlier dates stem from the notion that, given the reality that pieces of the text were likely originally written in Greek and subsequently translated into Coptic, it is probable that there existed forms of a written text as early as the late 2nd Century, and later given oral manifestation in Egypt, which was subsequently transcribed.

Although the work, in its current form, is clearly Christian, it is possible that it is based on an earlier, Jewish work – which may be a common 'ancestor' of this and the aforementioned Hebrew apocalypse.

—| VIII-VIII-MMXXVI |—

§ O. S. Wintermute, "A New Translation and Introduction," in, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 1 (New York, London: Yale University Press, 1983).

Ἀποκάλυψις Μωϋσέως 1

[P.19] ¹ πωρεχε ἡπχαεις αqωπε ωαραϊ εqχογ ἡμας χε-πωρηε
ἡπρωμε εχic ἡπιαος χε-ετβε-ο τετῆογαρ ναβε αχετῆ
νετῆναβε, τετῆ†-νογκῶ ἡπχαεις πμογτε εταρτενε-τηνε;
² ἡῆ-ἡῤπε-πκοσμοc ογδε νετῆῤπκοσμοc χε-πωογωογ γαρ
ἡπκοσμοc πα-πδιαβολοc πε ἡῆπqβωλ αβαλ, ³ ερι-πμεεγε χε-
αqωῆ-ρτηq ραρωτνε σε πχαεις [ῆ]πεαγ εταρτανο ῆ-ρω nim
κααc χαqηαναρμηῆ αβαλ ρῆταιχμαλωcia ἡπιαων. ⁴ ραρ γαρ
ῆcap α-πδιαβολαc ῤ-επιθγμεi ατῆκα-πρι απῤριε αρ[p]ῆi α.χῆ-
πκαq αογ ατῆκα-πκα[ρ] α†-καρποc, εq-ογωρε αωmk ῆῆρωμε
ῆ-τρε ῆογκωρτ εqπῆτ ρῆογ-[P.20] ρραγ εqογωρε ααmkογ ῆτρε
ῆογμαγ. ⁵ ετβε-νεi σε αqωῆ-ρτηq ραταῆ σε πμογτε ἡπεαγ,
αqτῆναq ἡπqωρηε απκοσμοc, κααc χαqηαναρμηῆ αβαλ
ρῆταιχμαλωcia ἡπqταμε-αγγελοc εqῆnnῆγ ωαραν ογδε
αρχαγγελοc ογδε λαογε ῆαρχη, αλλα αqωβτq ῆτρε νογρωμε
εqῆnnῆγ ωαραν κααc χαqηαναρμε[n] * * * * * ⁷ ρωπε σε νεq
ῆωρηε * * εqρωπε νῆτνε ῆiωτ, ⁸ ερι-πμεεγε χε-αqαβτε
νῆτνε ῆρεnθρονοc ἡῆρεn-κλοομε ρῆτπε χε-ογαν nim

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 1

[P.19] ¹ The word of the Lord came to me, saying, “Son of man,
say to this people: Why do you add sins to your sins and give
cause for wrath to the Lord God who made you. ² Do not love
the world or what is in it; for, the pride of the world is that of
the devil together with its dissolution. ³ Remember, the Lord
of glory who created everything has been merciful to you, so
he might save us from the captivity of this age. ⁴ For, many
times the devil has desired to not let the sun rise on the earth
and to not let the earth bear fruit, [P.20] wishing to devour
people like a roaring fire, wishing to devour them like water.
⁵ So, for this reason, the God of glory has been merciful. He
sent his son to the world, so he might save us from this
captivity. ⁶ He did not tell an angel who came to us, or
archangel or any principality, but he changed himself into
human form, coming to us so he might save us [...] ⁷ Therefore,
be for him children [...], since he is a father to you. ⁸ Remember
that he has prepared for you thrones and crowns in heaven;

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 1

- ¹ The numbers in green indicate pages in the MS used by Steindorff.
- ² The opening of this verse quotes from 1Jn 2:15.
- ³ The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* lacks ‘of glory’ after ‘the Lord’.
- ⁴ In place of ‘rise’, Alcock has ‘shine’.
- ⁵ Alcock lacks the opening ‘So’.
- ⁶ For ‘principality’, Alcock has ‘other power’; the *Chester Beatty Papyrus* lacks the term.
- ⁷ The asterisks follow Steindorf and the ellipsis (in the translation) follows Alcock (as also in v. 6).
- ⁸ Cf. Rv 2:10, 20:4.

ΕΤΝΑΣΩΤΜΕ Ν̄CΩῙ CENAΧῙ Ν̄Ν̄ΘΡΟΝΟC Μ̄Ν̄ΚΛΟΟΜΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΕΤΕ-ΝΩῙ
ΝΕ.

⁹ ΠΑΧΕ-ΠΧΑΕΙC ΧΕ-† ΝΑCΡΕΪ̄ Μ̄ΠΑΡΕΝ ΑΧ̄Ν̄-ΤΟΥ-ΤΕΖΝΕ ΤΑΡ̄-
CΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥ-^[P.21]CΙΧ̄ Ν̄ΟΥΝΕΜ, CENAΖΚΟ ΕΝ, CENAΕΙΒΕ ΕΝ
ΟΥΔΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ Ν̄ΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΑC̄Ν̄CΑΜ ΑΡΑῩ ¹⁰ ΕΝ ΟΥΔΕ CENAΡ̄-
ΚΩΛΥΕ Μ̄ΜΑῩ ΕΝ Ν̄CῙ Ν̄ΘΡΟΝΟC, ΑΛΛΑ CENAΜΑΑΖΕ Μ̄Ν̄-ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC
ΦΑΤΑΠΟΛΙC. ¹¹ Ν̄ΡΕΦ̄Ρ̄-ΝΑΒΕ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΑῩ CENAΧΙ-ΩΠΕ, CENAΩΤΒΕ
Ν̄ΘΡΟΝΟC ΕΝ ΑΖΡΗ̄, ΑΛΛΑ CENAΕΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΑῩ, ¹² CΕΡ̄-ΧΑΕΙC ΑΡΑῩ
Ν̄CῙ Ν̄ΘΡΟΝΟC Ν̄Τ̄ΜΟῩ ΑΒΑΛ ΧΕ-Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΠΘΕ ΝΕΜΕῩ ΕΝ, ΑΥΕΥΕ
Ν̄Ω̄Μ̄ΜΟ ΑΝΕΦΜΑ Ν̄ΖΩΠΕ.

¹³ CΩΤΜΕ Ν̄Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄ Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ̄ ΕΤΒΕ-ΜΠΛΑΝΟC ΕΤΝΑΑΩΕΪ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ΤΖΑΪ̄
Ν̄Ν̄ΟΥΑΕΙΩ̄ ΧΕ-ΑΥΝΑΚΟῩ ΝΕῩ Ν̄ΖΕΝCΒΑΥΕ Ε-ΝΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝ ΝΕ,
ΕΥΝΑΡ-ΑΘΕΤΕῙ Μ̄ΠΝΟΜΟC Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΪ̄ ΤΑΥΕΙΡΕ ^[P.22] Ν̄ΤΟΥΖΕῙ
Ν̄ΤΟΥΝΕΝΕῩ ΕΥΧΟῩ Μ̄ΜΑC ΧΕ-ΤΝΗCΤΙΑ ΖΟΠ̄ ΕΝ ΟΥΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕ-
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ CΩΝΤ̄ Μ̄ΜΑC ΕΥΕΙΡΕ Μ̄ΜΑῩ Ω̄Μ̄ΜΟ ΑΤΔΙΔ̄ΘΗΚΗ̄ Μ̄ ΕΥΡ̄-
ΑΠΟCΤΕΡΕῙ Μ̄ΜΑῩ Ν̄Ν̄ΩΠΩΠ̄ ΕΤΤΑΪΔΕΙΤ̄. ¹⁴ ΝΕΪ̄ ΔΕ CΕCΜΑΝΤΕ
Ν̄Ν̄ΟΥΑΕΙΩ̄ ΝΙΜ̄ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΙCΤΙC ΕΤΑΧΡΑΕΙΤ̄.

¹⁵ Μ̄Ν̄ΤΟΥ-Ρ̄-ΠΛΑΝᾹ CΕ Μ̄ΜΩΤΝΕ Ν̄CῙ ΝΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΟ̄ Ρ̄-ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Α-
ΠΧΑΕΙC CΩΝΤ̄ Ν̄ΝΗCΤΙΑ Ν̄ΤΑΥΤΑΝΟ̄ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΕ ΑΥΝΑΦΡΕ Ν̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ
ΕΤΒΕ-Μ̄ΠΑΘΟC Μ̄Ν̄ΝΕΠΘΥΜΙᾹ ΕΤ†-ΟΥΒΕ-ΤΗΝΕ, ΧΕΚΑΑC ΝΕΦΩΩΒ̄Ζ̄
Μ̄ΜΩΤΝΕ Ν̄CῙ-ΠΠΟΡΟC, ¹⁶ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΝΗCΤΙᾹ ΕCΟΥΑΑΒΕ ΤΕΤΑΪCΩΝΤ̄

for, all who obey me will receive thrones and crowns among those belonging to me.”

⁹ The Lord said, “I will write my name on their forehead and seal their ^[P.21] right hand. They will not hunger or thirst, ¹⁰ nor will the sons of lawlessness prevail over them, nor will the thrones prevent them, but they will walk with angels to my city. ¹¹ But the sinners will be shamed and they will not pass beyond the thrones, but the thrones of death will seize and overpower them; for, the angels do not agree with them ¹² and they have estranged themselves from his resting places.

¹³ Hear, wise men of the land, about the deceivers who will multiply in the last times; for, they will adopt for themselves teachings that are not God’s, disbelieving the law of God, ^[P.22] whose god is their belly, saying, “There is no fast, nor did God create it,” estranging themselves from the covenant and depriving themselves of the glorious promises. ¹⁴ These are fixed for all ages in firm faith. So, do not let them deceive you.

¹⁵ Remember that the Lord created all fasts when he created the heavens as a benefit for people because of the passions and the desires that assail you, so that the evil one may not scorch you, ¹⁶ but it is a holy fasting that I have created,”

⁹ Cf. Rv 3:12, 7:3, 14:1, 20:4.

¹⁰ In place of ‘sons’, Alcock has ‘children’.

¹¹ Cf. *Apocalypse of Paul*, 13–14.

¹² Cf. *Apocalypse of Paul*, 15–16.

¹³ In place of ‘in the last times’, Alcock has ‘at the end of the ages’.

¹⁴ After the x in ΕΤΑΧΡΑΕΙΤ̄, Steindorf adds a superscript ‘sic’.

¹⁵ Here, ‘created’ translates Ν̄ΤΑΥΤΑΝΟ̄.

¹⁶ Other readings for ‘holy’ are ‘pure’ and ‘clean’.

ἡμᾶς παῖδες ἡσυχίας. ¹⁷ πετῖ-νηστεύε νούγειω ^[P.23] νιμ
 νεφῖ-ναβε, εὐν-κωρ ζιτῶν ἡσυχί. ¹⁸ πεπετογααβε μαρεφῖ-
 νηστεύε, πετῖ-νηστεύε δε εφογααβε ¹⁹ εν αφτ-σωντ
 ἡπῃδε μῆνκεα[γ]ελος δοῦ αφτ-μῆκαρ ἡτφῖχῃ, εφσωγῖ
 νεφ ἀροῦν ἡοργῃ ἀφοογῖ ἡτοργῃ. ²⁰ νηστία δε εφογααβε
 τεταῖσωντ ἡμᾶς ἡνοῦγῃτ οὔααβε μῆγενσιχ οὔααβε,
²¹ ἡρεσκα-ναβε ἀβαλ, ἡρεσῖ-θεραπεύε ἡγενωδνε, ἡρεσῖκ-
 λαμων ἀβαλ, ²² ἡρεσῖ-εներγει ὡαπορονος ἡπνοῦτε ἀγκῆ
 νεῖ ἀγκᾶ-ναβε ἀβαλ ἡνοῦπροσεύχῃ εφογααβε.
²³ νιμ ἡντῃνε πετῖναβωκ ἀβαλ ἀτκαῖ εφχι-εαῦ ἡντῖτεχνῃ, ε-
 μῆ-^[P.24] σατβῖ ἡτοοτῖ ἡ νιμ πετῖναβωκ ἀβαλ ἀπολεμος
 ἀμειρε ε-μῆ-ζωκ ζιοοῖ; ²⁴ μῆ ἀγῶαδῖτῖ σενᾶ-ζατβῖ εν, ἡε-
 αφωδς ἡπωφ[ικ]ιον ἡπῖ[ρο] τειροῦ * * * ²⁵ οὔτ τε τῖε μῆς
 [ο]μ ἡ-λαοῦε ἀε ἀροῦν ἀπᾶ ετο[γ]ααβε εφε ἡσῃτ σνο
²⁶ πετε ἡσῃτ σνο τῖπροσεύχῃ εῖε ἡκειε ἀραῖ δοῦ ἡκεαγγελος
 ῖ-πειθε νεμεῖ εν. ²⁷ ζωπε σε ετετῖεῖε ἡνοῦγῃτ ἡ-οὔωτ
 ἡοὔαῖω νιμ ἡπῃδε ἡατετῖναῖ-νοεῖε ἡζατε νιμ.

said the Lord. ¹⁷ “He who fasts at all ^[P.23] times will not
 sin, being zealous and fighting. ¹⁸ Let the holy person fast.
 The impure one who fasts makes the Lord and the angels
 angry ¹⁹ and he tortures his soul, gathering for himself
 anger against the day of anger. ²⁰ Pure fasting is what I
 have created with a pure heart and pure hands. ²¹ It forgives
 sins, it cures illnesses, it forces out demons, ²² it is effective
 up to the throne of God. In addition to these things, sins
 are forgiven with pure prayers.

²³ Who of you will go to the field proud of his skill without a
^[P.24] tool in his hand, or who will go to war without wearing
 armour? ²⁴ If he is found, will he not be killed because he has
 despised the office of the king? ²⁵ In this way, it is not possible
 for anyone to go to the holy place when he is doubtful. ²⁶ The
 one who is doubtful in his prayer, then [...] and nor do the
 angels agree with him. ²⁷ Therefore, be of one mind at all times
 in the Lord so that you will understand at every moment.

¹⁷ In the *Akhmimic MS*, the referent of the phrase, ‘at all times’, is ambiguous; in the *Chester Beatty Papyrus*, it more clearly modifies ‘sin’.

¹⁸ See #16.

¹⁹ Cf. Zp 2:3.

²⁰ Wintermute formats vv. 20–23 as poetry.

²¹ The point of fasting on the Day of Atonement is for the forgiveness of sin.

²² After ‘throne of God’, the *Chester Beatty Papyrus* adds ‘as a fragrance’.

²³ The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* lacks ‘to war’.

²⁴ Steindorff’s Sahidic text for the Apocalypse begins at the word ‘despised’ in this verse.

²⁵ A more literal translation of ‘doubtful’ (ἡσῃτ σνο) is ‘of two minds’, as also in v.26 (cf. v. 27 for the corollary).

²⁶ For the ellipsis in this verse, Alcock offers a possible translation, ‘the others are against him’.

²⁷ Here, ‘every moment’ translates ἡζατε νιμ – the Sahidic text has ‘everything’ (ζοβ νιμ), and the Akhmimic text may be corrupt.

Ἀποκάλυψις Μωϋσέως 2

¹ τβε-ḿṛpaī σε ḿaccγpuc ḿḿ-ṗḃḃa abal ḿṯṗe ḿḿṗkaḗ
ḿḿnetḗapaḗ ḿṗkaḗ, ṯḿoy σε cenacḿ-ḡam apay en, ² ṗaxe-
ṗaxeis, oyde cenacḗ-ḗnḗe en ^[P.25] ḗḿṗḃḃḃḃḃḃ ḗḡṡan
³ aīḃa[ḿo aḗṛṛo eḗ]ṡḃḃḃḗ [aynamoyte aḗar] ḗe-
ṗṛḃḃ ḿ[accγpuc aoy] ṗṛḃḃ ḿṡaḗikia [ḗḃaṡaḃḃ
ḿ]ḃḃḃḃḃḃḃḃḃ ḗḗḿ-ḗḃḃḃ ḿḿ-ḃḃḗṡṡṡṡṡṡ. ⁴ ṗkaḗ ḃaḃḃ
enam ḗioḗḗḃḃ ḗe-cenacḗ-ḗapaxe ḿnetḿ-ḃḃḗ. ⁵ oyḿḗar ḃaḗ-
ḗḃḃḃḃḃḃ a-ṗḃoy ḗḿḗḗḗḗḗ ḗṡḃḃ. ṗḃoy ḗe ḃaḃḃḃ abal
ḿḃay.
⁶ aoy ḗḃaṡḃḃḃḃ σε oyṛḃḃ ḗḿḗca ḿḗḃḃṡ, ḗḃḃḃḃḃḃḃḃḃ apay
ḗe-ṗṛḃḃ ḿṡṛḃḃḃ, ⁷ ḗḃḃḃḃḃ ḗḗḿ-ḡaḗacca ḿṡḗe ḿoyḃoyi
eḗḗḗḗḗ, ⁸ ḗḃḗḗḗḗḗ ḿṗṛḃḃ ḿṡaḗikia, ḗḃḗḗ ḿṗḗḗḗ ḿḗḃḃḗ
ḗḗḗḗḗḗḗḗḗ ḿḗḗḗḗḗḗ eḗay.
^[P.26] ⁹ cḃḗḗḗḗ ḿḗḗḗḗḗ ḗṡḃḃḃ aṡḗ-ṛ-ḗeḗeḗe ḿoye[ṛḃḃḃ]ḃ
ab[ḗ]ḗ ḗḿ[ḗḃḃ]ḗ ḿḿoyḗḃḃḃ * * * * ¹⁰ * * * * [ḗḃḗḗ ḿ] ṡṛḃḃḃḃ

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 2

¹ Because of the Assyrian kings and the dissolution of heaven and earth and what is below the earth, ² now, therefore, they will not prevail against them,” said the Lord, “and they will not be afraid ^[P.25] in war. ³ When they see [a king] rising in the north, he will be called the Assyrian king. The king of injustice will multiply his wars against Egypt and its confusion. ⁴ The land will sigh together because your children will be seized. ⁵ There are many who will wish for death in those days; but death will elude them.
⁶ And a king will rise in the west, and he will be called the king of peace. ⁷ He will go across the sea like a lion roaring, ⁸ he will kill the king of injustice, he will avenge himself on Egypt in wars and much bloodshed.
^[P.26] ⁹ It will happen, in those days, that he orders a peace from Egypt and an [empty] gift. ¹⁰ He will give peace to these [saints,

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- ¹ The abrupt transition here clearly marks the introduction of a new source.
- ² In place of ‘them’, the Sahidic text has ‘those who are mine’.
- ³ The words, ‘a king’, are restored (by Steindorff) following the Sahidic text.
- ⁴ Here, ‘land’ is used to represent the people who live in Egypt.
- ⁵ The Sahidic text lacks ‘but death will elude them’.
- ⁶ In place of ‘And’, the Sahidic text opens with ‘Then’.
- ⁷ Cf. 1P 5:8.
- ⁸ For ‘wars’, the Sahidic text has a singular noun.
- ⁹ The translation of the latter part of this verse is ‘restored’ from the Sahidic text.
- ¹⁰ The translation of this verse relies heavily on restorations from the Sahidic text.

ἡνεῖ ἐτο[γααβε] * * * * * ¹¹ ἄε-οὔε πε πρεν ᾱ[πνοῦτε ϣνα]
 † ἡρενταῖο ἡνε[τ]ο[γααβε] * * * οὔχιε ἡντοπος
 ἡνετογααβε, ¹² ϣνα† ἡρενδωρον ἀπῆ ᾱπνοῦτε ἐϣοῦῖτ,
 ϣνακατϣ ἀβαλ ἡ-ᾱπολις ἡκῆμε ἡνοῦκραϣ ἐμποῦᾱμε,
¹³ ϣναχι-ἡπε ἡᾱμα ἐτογααβε, ϣναρι ἡἡειδωλον ἡἡρεθνος,
¹⁴ ϣναχι-ἡπε ἡνοῦχρημα, ϣναεζο ἡρενοῦῖεβε ἀρετοῦ ἀραῦ,
¹⁵ ϣναῤ-κελεγε ἀσωπε ἡἡρᾱ-ἡζητ ἡπκαζ ἡἡἡναδ ἡπλαος,
 σεχιτοῦ ἀτμητροπολις ἐτ-ζιχῆ-θαλασσα, ἐϣοῦ ᾱμας ἄε-οὔ
 ...

[P.27] ³⁰ ... ὡἡρε ἡνοῦτωρπ. ³¹ ᾱπολις ἡ-κῆμε ναωϣ ἐζαμ
 ἡἡἡζοογε ἐτᾱμο, σενασωτμε γαρ ἐν ἀπζραῦ ᾱπετ† ἀβαλ
 ἡἡπετταῦ. ἡαγορα ἡᾱπολις ἡκῆμε ναχι-ζαῖζ, ³² σεναριμε
 ζιοῦσαπ σε νετζοοπ ἡἡκῆμε, σεναῤ-ἐπιῶμει ἀπμοῦ. πμοῦ
 πωτ, ϣκα-οὔε.
³³ ἡἡἡζοογε ἐτᾱμο σεναπωτ ἀρῆῖ ἀἡπετρα, σεϣωσε ἀβαλ
 ἐϣοῦ ᾱμας ἄε-ζεῖε ἀρῆῖ ἀχων δοῦ ἀν νοῦμοῦ. ³⁴ οὔθλιϣις

saying], “One is the name of God.” ¹¹ He will give honours to
 the saints and a high place to the saints. ¹² He will give empty
 gifts to the house of God, ¹³ he will guilefully turn from the
 cities of Egypt without their knowing it, ¹⁴ he will count the
 holy places, he will measure the heathen idols, he will count
 their wealth, he will set up priests, ¹⁵ he will order the wise
 men of the land and the most important people to be seized
 and they will be taken to the metropolis on the sea, they saying,
 ...

³⁰ ... a [P.27] child in robbery.” ³¹ The cities of Egypt will sigh in
 those days; not hearing the voice of he who sells and he who
 buys. The markets of the cities of Egypt will become dust. ³² All
 who are in Egypt will weep. They will long for death; death
 will flee and leave them.

³³ In those days, they will run to the rocks and jump off, saying,
 “Fall on us,” and they will still not die. ³⁴ A double trial will

¹¹ The Sahidic text opens, “He will give glory to the priests of God.”

¹² Cf. Dt 6:4.

¹³ For this verse, Wintermute reads, “He will wander around in the cities of Egypt with guile, without their knowing.”

¹⁴ An alternative (perhaps more literal) translation of ‘measure’ is ‘weigh’.

¹⁵ Both the Akhmimic and Sahidic texts published by Steindorff break off at the end of this verse; the Akhmimic text preserves only two letters (οῦ) from the quotation that follows. There is a single leaf (2 pages) of papyrus missing from the Akhmimic text.

³⁰ Here, Wintermute restores vv. 16–30a from the *Chester Beatty Papyrus* (see #15).

³¹ Cf. Rv 18:11.

³² Cf. Rv 9:6.

³³ Cf. Ho 10:8. The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* lacks ‘in those days’.

³⁴ Cf. Lk 23:30, Rv 6:16.

εσκηβ сηααωεї ριχμ-пкаρ τηρϥ ρη̄νηροογε ετ̄ιμο, ³⁵ ϣηᾱρ-
 κελεγε σε π̄ρρο, σεσωπε η̄ςριμε ηιμ ετ̄-κιβε, σεητοϥ ηεϥ
 εγμηρ, σετ̄-κιβε η̄ηδρα ^[P.28] κων, σεσωκ η̄νοϥσνωϥ αβαλ
 ρη̄νοϥκιβε, σετεογε ανκλο η̄ησατε. ³⁶ ετβε-ταναγκη η̄ηπολις
 ϣηᾱρ-κελεγε αν, σεσωπε η̄λιλος ρημ ηγμ χ̄η-η̄ηη̄τснаγс
 η̄ραμπε σερ̄ηї σετεογε ατεβαϥ ατ̄κ-саτε. ³⁷ атмeciоу
 ετ̄ιχμ-пкаρ ηᾱρ-ρ̄ηβε, татасмice аснақиетс атпе, есхоу
 η̄μας χε-ετβε-ο ᾱρ̄μεс атωβε ат̄πε-ω̄ηρε απκαρ;
³⁸ асарөе се табρην η̄ηтπαρθενос есхоу η̄μας χε-π̄η-
 ογᾱω πε ат̄̄ρεωε χε-μ̄η-ω̄ηρε ροоп ηен ριχμ-пкаρ, αλλα
 η̄ηω̄ηρε αναν ᾱγ̄ροоп ρη̄η̄πηγε.
³⁹ ρη̄νηροογε ετ̄ιμο ᾱγ̄νατ̄ωне σε ρамт ^[P.29] η̄ρ̄ρο ρη̄η̄περснс,
 се̄р-αixμαλωτιζε η̄ηιοϥδαї ετ̄ροоп ρ̄η-κ̄ημε, сеχ̄ιτοϥ
 ат̄̄ιεροϥсaлнм, се̄ωρх η̄μας, сео̄ωρ η̄μο. ⁴⁰ тоте
 аωатет̄̄сωтме χε-пωρх пет̄̄нт̄̄ιεροϥсaлнм, пωρ
 η̄ηет̄̄ρ̄аїте, η̄ογ̄̄ιβε η̄пкаρ, χε-ϣηαωск ен ем̄п̄еи се ω̄ηρε
 η̄п̄т̄еко. ⁴¹ ϣηαοϥω̄ηρ αβαλ σε πανομос ρη̄νηροογε ετ̄ιμο
 ρη̄η̄μα ετοϥααβε. ⁴² сенап̄ωт се η̄ρ̄раї η̄η̄περснс ρη̄νηροογε
 а̄ρ̄ηаpит η̄η̄ρ̄раї η̄асс̄pиос. ϣтаϥ η̄ρ̄ро сенамӣзе η̄η̄рамт,

increase over the whole land in those days. ³⁵ He will order
 kings to seize all nursing women to be brought to him bound
 and breast feed dragons ^[P.28] to bring up their blood from their
 breasts for the poisoned arrows. ³⁶ Because of the distress of
 the cities, he will also order every lad, twelve years and
 younger, to be seized and taught to shoot arrows. ³⁷ The
 midwife on earth will mourn. The one who has given birth will
 look to heaven, saying, “Why did I sit at brick to bear a son to
 the earth?” ³⁸ The childless woman and the virgin will, rejoice,
 saying, “It is time for us to rejoice because we have no children
 on earth, but our children are in heaven.”

³⁹ In those days, three ^[P.29] Persian kings will arise and they will
 take captive the Jews who are in Egypt and take them to
 Jerusalem to settle in it and live there. ⁴⁰ Then, if you hear that
 security is what is in Jerusalem, tear up your garments, priests
 of the land; for, it will not be long before he comes, the son of
 destruction. ⁴¹ The lawless one will appear in those days in the
 holy places. ⁴² The Persian kings in those days will escape to ...
 with the Assyrian kings. Four kings will battle with three,

³⁵ Here, the *Chester Beatty Papyrus* adds ‘In that time’ at the start of the verse.

³⁶ In place of ‘cities’, the *Chester Beatty Papyrus* has ‘wars’.

³⁷ Wintermute formats vv. 37–38 as poetry.

³⁸ Before ‘rejoice’, Alcock adds ‘therefore’.

³⁹ The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* ends, “and they will populate it for them again.”

⁴⁰ Alcock, following the Akhmimic text more literally, has ‘separation’ in place of ‘security’ (which is implied by the Sahidic texts).

⁴¹ In Semitic languages, the phrase ‘son of’ can mean anyone of a particular class or society.

⁴² The ellipsis (following Alcock) is for the word, *а̄ρ̄ηаpит* – a probable *hapax legomenon*; it may be a place name. Others suggest that it may be idiomatic for ‘standing to fight’. Cf. v. 43, which could support either interpretation.

⁴³ σΕΝΑΡ-ΖΑΜΤΕ ΝΡΑΜΠΕ ΖΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΟ ΩΑΤΠΥQΙ ΜΠΧΡΗΜΑ
ΜΠΡΠΕΕΙΕ ΕΤΖΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΟ.

⁴⁴ ΖΝΝΖΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΜΜΟ [P.30] ΟΥΝ-ΟΥCΝΑQ ΝΑCΩΚ ΧΝ-ΝΚΩC
ΩΑΜΝQΕ, ΠΙΕΡΟ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΝΑΡ-CΝΑQ, CΕΤΜΖ-CΟΥ ΝΖΗΤQ ΝΖΑΜΤ
ΝΖΟΟΥΕ. ⁴⁵ ΟΥΑΙ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΖΗΤQ. ⁴⁶ ΖΝΝΖΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΜΜΟ QΝΑ-
ΤΩΝΕ CΕΥΡΡΟ ΖΝΤΠΟΛΙC ΕΤΖΑΡΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΑC ΧΕ-ΤΠΟΛΙC Μ-ΠΡΙ
ΑΟΥ ΤΕ-ΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡQ ΖΤΑΡΤΡΕ ΠΩΤ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΑΜΝQΕ. ⁴⁷ ΖΝΤΜΑΖCΩΕ
ΝΡΑΜΠΕ ΝΡΑΙ ΜΠΕΡCΗC ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΚΡΑQ ΖΜΜΝQΕ, CΕΝΑ-ΖΩΤΒΕ
ΜΠΡΡΟ ΝΑCΣΥΡΙΟC, CΕ-ΝΑΧΙ ΜΠΚΒΑ ΜΠΚΑΖ ⁴⁸ CΕ ΜΠΕΡCΗC ΑΟΥ
CΕΡ-ΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΑΖΩΤΒΕ ΝΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΝΝΑΝΟΜΟC, CΕΝΑΡ-
ΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΑΚΩΤ ΝΝΡΠΗΥΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΒΕ, ⁴⁹ CΕΝΑ† ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ [P.31]
ΕΥΚΗΒ ΑΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, CΕΝΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ-ΟΥΕ ΠΕ ΠΡΕΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.
⁵⁰ ΠΚΑΖ ΤΗΡQ ΝΑΟΥΩΥΤ ΜΠΕΡCΗC. ⁵¹ ΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ, ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΟΥΜΟΥ
ΖΑΝΠΛΗΓΗ, CΕΝΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ-ΟΥΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΠΕ-ΤΑΠΧΑΕΙC
ΤΝΝΑΥQ ΝΕΝ, ΧΝΝΕ-ΠΚΑΖ Ρ-ΧΑΙΕ. ⁵² QΝΑΡ-ΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΑΤΜ†-ΛΑΟΥΕ
ΝΡΡΟ ΝΖΑΜΤΕ ΝΡΑΜΠΕ ΜΝCΑΥ ΝΕΒΑΤ. ΠΚΑΖ ΝΑΜΟΥΖ Ν-ΑΓΑΘΟΝ
ΖΝΟΥΖΕ ΝΟΥQΕ ΕΝΑΩΥQ. ⁵³ ΝΕΤΑΝΖ ΝΑΒΩΚ ΖΑΧΟΟΥ Ν-

⁴³ they will fight for three years in that place until they take the
wealth of the temple that is in that place.

⁴⁴ In those days, [P.30] blood will flow from Qus to Memphis.
The river of Egypt will be blood, impossible to drink from for
three days. ⁴⁵ Woe to Egypt and those in it. ⁴⁶ In those days, a
king will arise in the city called the City of the Sun and the
whole land will be troubled and flee to Memphis. ⁴⁷ In the sixth
year, the Persian kings will ambush and kill the Assyrian king
in Memphis. ⁴⁸ The Persians will avenge themselves on the
land and order to kill all the heathens and the lawless. They
will order the holy temples to be built ⁴⁹ and redouble their
gifts [P.31] to the house of God. They will say, “One is the name
of God.” ⁵⁰ The entire land will worship the Persians. ⁵¹ The
remnant, who did not die from the blows, will say, “It is a just
king whom the Lord has sent to us so the land may not become
waste.” ⁵² He will order that nothing be given to the king for
three years and six months. The land will be full of good in

⁴³ In place of ‘that is in’, the *Chester Beatty Papyrus* has ‘from’.

⁴⁴ ‘Qus’ was always an important place because of its position as the starting point for travel to the Red Sea.

⁴⁵ The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* ends with ‘those who live in Egypt’.

⁴⁶ The ‘City of the Sun’ is most likely Heliopolis, biblical On.

⁴⁷ Alcock transposes ‘and kill [him]’ to the end of the verse.

⁴⁸ Here, ‘heathens’ (following Alcock) translates ΖΕΘΝΟC – but it is not clear exactly what the author means.

⁴⁹ In place of ‘They will say’, the *Chester Beatty Papyrus* has ‘He will say’.

⁵⁰ Here, ‘will worship’ translates ΝΑΟΥΩΥΤ. It was a normal practice to extend divine honours to the rulers of Egypt, whether natives or conquerors.

⁵¹ In place of ‘remnant’, Alcock has ‘others’.

⁵² After ‘good’, Alcock adds ‘things’.

ΠΕΤΜΑΥΤ, ΕΥΧΟΥ ΜΗΑΣ ΧΕ-ΤΩΝΕ ΑΖΡΗΙ ΤΕΤΝΩΠΕ ΝΕΜΕΝ ΖΜ-
ΠΕΙΜΤΑΝ.

great welfare. ⁵³ The living will go before the dead, saying,
“Arise and be with us in this rest.”

⁵³ Cf. Ps 95:11, Heb 3:11,18, 4:1-11. The psalmist equates the ‘rest’ with the attainment of the land of promise; subsequently, writers easily identified it with the realization of eschatological promises in other forms. At this point in the text, the author uses a figure close to that found in Ps 95:11, although he has reinterpreted the good land of rest to apply to Egypt.

Ἀποκάλυψις Μωϋσέως 3

¹ ρητμαρ-ϥτωε ἡραμπε ἡπῆρο ετῆμο ϥνα-οϥωνρ αβαλ σε
πωρηε ἡτανομια, εϥχοϥ ἡμας δε-ανακ πε πχ̅, ενταϥ εν πε,
ηἡρ-πιστεϥεραϥ, ² πχ̅ αϥθαει, αϥἡνηϥ ἡ-^[P.32] τρε ἡοϥσαμῆτ
ἡσρααμπε, ε-πκλαμ ἡσρααμπε κωτε αραϥ, εϥ-μααρε ριχῆ-
ἡκηπε ἡτπε, ε-πμεεине ἡπσταϥρος σωκ ρητϥ, ³ ε-πκοσμοс
τηρϥ nano αραϥ ἡτρε ἡ-πῆρ ετῆ-οϥαῖνε χῆ-ἡσα ἡπῆριε
ϥανσα ἡρωτπ. ⁴ τεῖ τε τρε ετϥἡνηϥ, ε-νεϥαγγελοс τηροϥ
κωτε αραϥ. ⁵ ϥναροϥ-τοοτϥ ροϥοϥ αν σε πωρηε ἡτανομια
αωρε αρетϥ ρἡἡμα-τοϥααβε, ⁶ ϥνα-χοос ἡπῆρ δε-ρεῖε, ϥρεῖε,
ϥανχοос δε-ῆ-οϥαῖνε, ϥειρε, ⁷ ϥναχοос δε-εри-κεκε, ϥειρε,
ϥνα-χοос ἡποορ δε-εри-снаϥ, ϥειρε. ⁸ ϥναβωк νεμεϥ αβαλ
ρῆτπε, ϥναμααρε ριχῆ-θαλαсса ἡ-^[P.33] ηεροοϥ ἡτρε
ἡπετωοϥοϥ, ⁹ ϥνα-τε-ἡβαλεεϥε μααρε, ϥνατε-ncωρ
сωтme, ϥνατε-небω ϥεχε, ϥνατε-ἡβῶλεεϥε no αβαλ,
¹⁰ ηετсаβρ ϥνατῆβοϥαϥ, ηετωωνε ϥνατῶαϥ, ηετε

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 3

¹ In the fourth year of that king, the king of lawlessness will appear, saying, "I am Christ," though he is not; do not believe him. ² Christ will come like ^[P.32] a covey of doves, a crown of doves surrounding him, walking on the clouds of heaven, the sign of the cross around him. ³ The entire world will see him like the sun that shines from the east to the west. ⁴ This is how he will come, all his angels around him. ⁵ The son of lawlessness will also throw out his hand to stand in the holy places. ⁶ He will say to the sun, "Fall," and it falls, he will say, "Shine," and it shines, he will say, "Become dark," and it does; ⁷ he will say to the moon, "Become blood," and it does. ⁸ He will go with them from the sky; he will walk on the sea and ^[P.33] the rivers as on dry land. ⁹ The lame will walk. He will cause the deaf to hear; he will cause the dumb to speak; he will cause the blind to see; ¹⁰ he will purify the lepers and heal the sick. For those

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 3

- ¹ In the *Akhmimic MS*, there is a space before the start of this verse, possibly the scribe's indication of the start of a new section.
- ² Note that the standard abbreviation for 'Christ' (χ̅ς) is used here, unlike in v. 1 (χ̅ς).
- ³ Alcock has 'has shone' in place of 'shines'.
- ⁴ The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* has 'the Christ' in place of 'he'.
- ⁵ The figure of the 'son of lawlessness' can be traced to the Book of Daniel.
- ⁶ Wintermute formats vv. 6–10 as poetry.
- ⁷ The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* lacks this verse.
- ⁸ Alcock has 'heaven' in place of 'the sky' (the Coptic word can mean either).
- ⁹ The list of miracles parallels Mt 11:5.
- ¹⁰ Here, one is reminded of Jesus' statement concerning a house divided against itself, (Mt 12:24–27).

ἡΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΚΝΑΤΕΚΟΥ ΑΒΑΛ, ¹¹ ΚΝΑΤΑΩΩ ἡΝΕΚΜΕΕΙΝΕ
 ἡἡΝΕΚ-ΜΑΪΖΕ ἡΠῆΤΟ ΑΒΑΛ ἡΟΥΑΝ ΝΙΜ, ¹² ΚΝΑΕΙΡΕ ἡἡΖΒΗΥΕ,
 ΕΤΑ-ΠΧ̄ ΕΟΥΕ ΣΑΒΛΛΕ-ΤΟΥΝ̄-ΡῆΕΚΜΑΥΤ ΟΥΑΕΕΤΥ. ¹³ ΖῆΠΕΐ
 ΑΤΕΤΝΑΣΟΥΩΝΥ ΧΕ-ἡΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ἡΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ, ΧΕ-ἡἡ-ΣΑΜ
 ἡἡΜΑΥ ΑΤΨΥΧΗ. ¹⁴ ΕΣ-ΝΕΚΜΕΐΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΤῆΝΑΧΟΟΥΕ ΑΡΩΤΝΕ
 ΧΑΤΕΤΝΑΣΟΥΩΝΥ: ¹⁵ ΟΥΠΕΛΗΘ ἡΟΥΖΗΜ ΠΕ ἡΖΡ-ΩΙΡΕ ἡΩΑΜ-
 ΟΥΡΗΤΕ, ΕΥἡ-ΟΥΤΑΐΕ ἡΣΚΙΜ ΖΙΤΖΙ ἡΧΩΥ, ἡΩΑ ^[P.34] ΤΜΕΖΗΛ,
 ΝΕΥἡΖ ἡἡΝΗΥ ΩΑΝΕΥ-ΜΕΕΧΕ, ΕΥἡ-ΟΥΚΟΚ ἡΣΩΒΖ ΖΙΤΖΙ ἡΝΕΥΟΙΧ.
 ΚΝΑΩΒ̄ΤΥ ἡΠῆΤΟ ΑΒΑΛ ἡΝΕΤΣΑΝΤ ἡΣΩΥ, ¹⁶ ΚΝΑΡ-ΩΗΡΕ ΖΗΜ,
 ΚΝΑΡ-ΖΛΛΟ, ¹⁷ ΚΝΑΩΒ̄ΤΥ Ζῆ-ΜΕΕΙΝΕ ΝΙΜ, ἡΜΕΕΙΝΕ ἡΤΑΥ ἡΤΥΑΠΕ
 ΝΟΥΖ-ΩΙΒΕ. ¹⁸ ΖῆΠΕΐ ΑΤΕΤΝΑΣΟΥΩΝΥ ΧΕ-ἡΤΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ
 ἡΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ.

with demons, he will cast them out. ¹¹ He will multiply his
 signs and miracles before everyone. ¹² He will do things that
 Christ did, except raising the dead alone. ¹³ Through this, you
 will know him, that he is the son of lawlessness, that he has no
 power over the soul. ¹⁴ I will tell you about his signs so that
 you will know him: ¹⁵ he is a small [...] boy with thin legs, a
 spot of white hair on his forehead, [...], ^[P.34] [...] his eyebrows
 coming to his ears, a [...] on his hands. ¹⁶ He will change before
 those who look after him. He will become a small child, he will
 become an old man; ¹⁷ he will change in all his signs, but the
 sign of his forehead is unchangeable. ¹⁸ In this, you will know
 him, that he is the son of lawlessness.

¹¹ Alcock has ‘increase’ in place of ‘multiply’.

¹² There is disagreement in apocryphal texts about the Antichrist’s (in)ability to raise the dead.

¹³ One could read ‘life’ in place of ‘the soul’.

¹⁴ At the start of this verse, Wintermute adds ‘For, behold’.

¹⁵ The translation of this verse is uncertain, as indicated by the ellipses.

¹⁶ For the 2nd sentence, the Sahidic text reads, “Sometimes he will become old, but other times he will become young again.”

¹⁷ The Akhmimic and Sahidic texts have different grammatical constructs at the end of this verse, but the translations are essentially the same.

¹⁸ Wintermute opens with ‘Therein’ in place of ‘In this’.

Ἀποκάλυψις Μωϋσέως 4

¹ ὁναῶτμε σε παρθενος, ετε-περεν πε ταβιθα δε-α-
πατωπε ογανηζ αβαλ ρη̄ιμα ετογααβε, σεααλες μη-περβας
νη̄ως, ² σπωτ η̄σωφ φα-ρη̄ι ᾱφουδαia, εσσωζε η̄μαφ
φατρηερογσαλημ δε-ω πατωπε, ω̄ πωηρε η̄τανομια, ω̄
πεταρ̄-χαδε ανετογααβε τηρου

... [P.35] ¹⁵ ωπε ω̄ πωηρε η̄τανομια κσιπ[ε ρου εν η̄τακ, εκρ̄-
πλανα μη̄πλαος μη̄πιουτε πε̄ι ετε-μπεωπ-ρισε αραφ; κσᾱνε εν
η̄τακ δε-τη̄ανη ρη̄ιπαδεις ¹⁶ ε̄χοу η̄ωεδε αγσ̄η-σ̄αμ αραφ
ε̄χοу η̄μας δε-αχ̄η-νε̄ι τη̄νακοу αρ̄η̄ι η̄тсарз̄ μη̄-π̄να,
τη̄ρωтве η̄маκ, ε-μη̄-σ̄αμ η̄маκ αωεδε ρ̄η̄φοоуε ε̄η̄μο, δε-
τη̄χωρε η̄ογᾱιω η̄ιμ ρ̄η̄ιπαδεις. η̄τακ δε κ̄ε̄ιε η̄χαδε απ̄ιουτε
η̄ογᾱιω η̄ιμ. ¹⁷ ρ̄наῶτμε σε πατωπε, ρ̄βωлк, ρ̄η̄-ποлемеi
η̄μαγ, ¹⁸ те-тполis̄ т̄ηрс̄ κωте̄ араγ. ¹⁹ ρ̄η̄φοоуε ε̄η̄μο
с̄енаωφ̄ λιω̄ι αρ̄η̄ι ᾱт̄пе, ε̄γ̄η̄-ογᾱῑне, ε-π̄лаос̄ т̄ηρϣ̄ η̄ο араγ̄
μη̄η̄κocмoc̄ т̄ηρϣ̄.

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 4

¹ The virgin, whose name is Tabitha, will hear that the
shameless one revealed himself in the holy places. She will put
on garments of fine linen ² and pursue him to Judaea,
reproving him, as far as Jerusalem, “O shameless one, O son of
lawlessness, an enemy to all the saints.

... [P.35] ¹⁵ “Shame, O son of lawlessness! Are you not ashamed,
misleading the people of God for whom you did not suffer?
Do you not know we live in the Lord.” ¹⁶ Saying the words they
overcame him, saying, “In addition to these things, we will
leave the flesh of the spirit. We will kill you; you will be unable
to speak on that day; for, we are ever strong in the Lord. You
are always an enemy of the Lord.”” ¹⁷ The shameless one will
hear, will become angry, and fight them. ¹⁸ The whole city will
surround them. ¹⁹ On that day, they will cry to heaven, shining,
all people rejoicing with the whole world.

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 4

- ¹ In the Arabic version of Joseph the Carpenter (Ch. 32) Tabitha, Enoch and Elijah are killed in a confrontation with the Antichrist.
² The Akhmimic text breaks off at the end of this verse, with a single leaf (2 pages) missing. Wintermute restores vv. 3–15a from Steindorff’s Sahidic text.
¹⁵ The Akhmimic text may have been derailed for vv. 15b–16a, and Steindorff recommends the Sahidic version as more intelligible: *Do you not know that we live in the Lord to reprove you at all times, when you say, “I have prevailed over these things. We will leave the flesh of the body...”*
¹⁶ See #15.
¹⁷ Alcock has ‘*wage war on*’ in place of ‘*fight*’.
¹⁸ At the start of this verse, Alcock adds ‘*and*’.
¹⁹ Cf. Dn 12:3.

²⁰ ϣναδ̄ν-δ̄αμ ἀραγ̄ εν σε πωηρε ν̄τα^[P.36] νομια, ϣναβωκ
 απκαρ, ϣωινε σε-ρ̄-ναβε απλαος, ²¹ ϣναπωτ σε-νετογααβε
 τηρογ, σε̄ντογ εῡμηρ μ̄ν̄νογ̄ειβε μ̄πκαρ ϣναρ̄ωτβε μ̄μαγ,
²² ϣρ-ολικε μ̄μαγ * * * * *
²³ μ̄μαγ, σε̄εινε ν̄νογ̄βελ αβαλ ρ̄ν-ρ̄ενωλις ν̄βανιπε, ϣνᾱεινε
 ν̄-νογ̄ραρε αβαλ ρ̄ν̄νογαπηγε, ϣνᾱεινε ν̄νογ̄̄εβε ογε ογε,
 ϣναρ̄-κελεγε σετ-ρ̄μ̄χ' αω̄εεντογ ρ̄ικονια.
²⁴ νεϊ̄ δε ν̄ταγ̄ ετε-μ̄πογρ-τωνε ρ̄ανβασανος μ̄πρ̄ρο ετ̄μμο,
 σενᾱει ν̄νογ̄β σεπωτ ρ̄ιχ̄ν-ν̄χιωρε ᾱρ̄ενμα ν̄ερ̄ημος,
 σενᾱνκατε ν̄τρε ν̄ογε εῡρ̄ινηβ. ²⁵ π̄χᾱεις ναω̄ωπ̄ νογ̄-π̄ν̄α
 ἀραγ̄ μ̄ν̄νογ̄γ̄χη, ²⁶ νογ̄-^[P.37] ϣαρ̄ζ̄ ναρ̄ωπε εῡε μ̄πετρα, μ̄ν̄-
 ο̄ηριον ναογ̄αμογ̄ ωαφ̄π̄ ρ̄αε ν̄-ρ̄οογε ν̄τ̄ναδ̄ ν̄κ̄ρῑcis, ²⁷ ᾱογ̄
 σενα-τ̄ωνε σε̄εινε ν̄ογ̄μα ν̄ν̄ταν, αλλα σεναρ̄ωπε εν
 ρ̄ν̄τ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ρ̄ρο μ̄π̄χ̄ ν̄τρε ν̄νεταγ̄ρ̄-ρ̄γ̄πομ̄εινε χ̄ε-πᾱχερ̄ ν̄β̄ι
 [π̄]χᾱεις †νατ̄̄ε̄ς νεγ̄ ατογ̄ρ̄με̄ς ρ̄ιογ̄νεμ̄ μ̄μαγ, ²⁸ σενᾱχι-
 ρ̄ματ̄ ᾱχ̄ν̄-ρ̄ενκεκεγε, σεναδ̄ορο απω̄ηρε ν̄τανομια, σενᾱνο
 απω̄ωλ αβαλ ν̄τ̄πε μ̄ν̄-π̄καρ, ²⁹ σενᾱχι ν̄ν̄ορονος μ̄πεαγ̄
 μ̄ν̄ν̄κ̄λοομε̄.

²⁰ The son of law^[P.36]lessness. He will go to the land and seek
 to sin against the people. ²¹ He will pursue all the saints and
 they will be brought bound with the priests of the land ²² and
 he will kill them and he will [... ...] ²³ and their eyes will be
 plucked out with iron picks. He will remove their skin and
 their heads. He will bring the priests one by one and order
 vinegar and a salt solution to be brought to their noses.
²⁴ Those unable to withstand the tortures of that king will take
 gold and flee on the ferry to desert places. They will lie down
 like one asleep. ²⁵ The Lord will receive their spirits and souls.
²⁶ Their ^[P.37] flesh will petrify. Wild beasts will not eat them
 until the last day of the great judgement. ²⁷ They will arise and
 find a resting place, but they will not be in the kingdom of
 Christ like those who resisted. For, the Lord said, "I will allow
 them to sit at my right hand." ²⁸ They will receive grace over
 the others. They will be kings over the son of lawlessness. They
 will see the dissolution of heaven and earth. ²⁹ They will
 receive thrones and the glory of crowns.

²⁰ Alcock opens, "He will not overcome them, the son of lawlessness."

²¹ The Sahidic texts lack vv. 21–22.

²² The 23 asterisks comprise a complete line in the *Akhmimic MS* (and in Steindorff's text).

²³ The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* lacks the 1st sentence.

²⁴ In place of 'on the ferry', here following Alcock, Wintermute has 'over the fords'.

²⁵ For 'their spirits and souls', Steindorff's Sahidic text has 'the spirit and the soul'.

²⁶ Alcock opens, "Their bodies will become stones."

²⁷ The opening ᾱογ̄ follows Steindorff's emendation – the *MS* has ᾱϣ̄γ̄.

²⁸ The Sahidic text lacks the 1st sentence.

²⁹ Cf. Rv 2:10, 20:4.

³⁰ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲃⲉ ϣⲛⲧ-ϭⲟϥⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲃ̅ⲧⲁⲧ
 ⲁⲧⲟϥ(ⲟϥ)ⲛⲟϥ, ³¹ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲁⲕⲟϥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲱⲕ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, ⲥⲉⲡⲱⲧ
 ⲁⲑⲉⲣⲟϥⲥⲁⲗⲛⲙ, ⲥⲉⲙⲓϣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛⲡⲁⲧⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϥϭⲟϥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲥ ϭⲉ-ⲃⲓⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ
 [P.38] [ⲉ]ⲧⲁ-ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲟϥⲉ ϭ̅ⲛ̅-ⲛ̅ϣⲁⲣⲡ, ⲁⲕⲉⲟϥⲉ, ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲣ-ⲃ̅ⲛ̅-
 ⲃⲁⲙ ⲁⲧⲟϥⲛ̅ⲥ̅-ⲣ̅ⲙ̅-(ⲙ)ⲉϥⲙⲁϥⲧ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ϭⲉ-ⲙ̅ⲛ̅-ⲃⲁⲙ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲧ-ϣ̅ϭ̅ⲭⲏ.
 ϣ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲥⲟϥⲱⲛⲕ ϭⲉ-ⲛ̅ϭ̅ⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ. ³² ϥⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ
 ϥⲃⲱⲗⲕ ϥ̅ⲣ̅-ⲕⲉⲗⲉϥⲉ ⲁϭⲣⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ϣⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ, ³³ ⲥⲉⲙⲟϥⲣ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ
 ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲟϥⲉ ⲁϣⲣⲏⲓ ⲥⲉⲣⲱⲕⲣ

³⁰ Sixty just people prepared for this hour will hear. ³¹ They will wear the armour of God. They will run to Jerusalem and fight with the shameless one, saying, "All powers [P.38] the prophets have given since the beginning, you have done, but you were unable to raise the dead, because you do not have the power over the soul. This is how we know that you are the son of lawlessness." ³² He will hear, be angry and order altars to be set alight, ³³ the just to be bound, to be put up and burned.

³⁰ In place of 'will hear', Alcock has 'will sit on the throne'.

³¹ The Sahidic text adds 'them and' before 'the shameless one'.

³² In place of the opening pronoun, the Sahidic text has 'The shameless one'.

³³ Wintermute has 'righteous' in place of 'just'.

Ἀποκάλυψις Μωϋσέως 5

¹ ΜΜΑΥ ΔΟΥ ΖΗΦΟΥΕ ΕΤΗΜΟ ΦΗΤ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΑΝΖΑΤ ΑΡΑΥ ΣΕΠΩΤ
ΑΒΑΛ ΜΜΑΥ ΕΥΧΟΥ ΜΜΑC ΔΕ-ΠΕΙ ΕΝ ΠΕ ΠΧC, ΜΑ-ΠΧC ΖΩΤΖΕ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟC, ΜΑΦΩΤ ΣΕΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΝΑΩΙΝΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ΑΖΑΡΕΦΡ-ΠΕΙΘΕ
ΜΜΑΥ ΖΗΖΕΝΜΕΙΝΕ ΜΗΖΕΝΜΑΙΖΕ. ² ΖΗΝΖΟΥΕ ΕΤΗΜΟ ΠΧC ΝΑΩΝ-
ΖΤΗΖ ΖΑΝΕΤΕ-ΝΩΥ ΝΕ, ΥΝΑΤΗΝΑΥ ΝΝΕΦΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΒΑΛ ΝΤΠΕ
ΕΥΜΑΖ-CΕ ΝΤΒΑ ΜΗΥΤΑΥ ΝΖΟ ΕΥΝ-CΑΥ Ν^[P.39] ΤΗΖ ΜΠΟΥΕ ΠΟΥΕ
ΜΜΑΥ. ³ ΠΡΡΑΥ ΝΑΚΙΜ ΑΤΠΕ ΜΗΝΚΑΖ ΕΥCΜΟC ΕΥΤ-ΕΑΥ. ΝΕΙ ΔΕ
ΕΤΕ-[Π]ΡΕΝ ΜΠΧC ΣΗΖ ΑΧΝ-ΤΟΥΤΕΖΝΕ, ⁴ ΤCΦΡΑΓΙC ΖΙΧΝ-ΤΟΥCΙΧ
ΝΙΖ[Η]Μ ΜΗΝΙΝΑC [CΕ]ΝΑΤΕΛΑΥ ΑΧΝ-ΝΟΥΤΝΖ CΕΦΕΙΤΟΥ ΖΙΤΖΙ
ΝΤΥΒΛΚΕ. ⁵ ΤΟΤΕ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΜΗΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΝΑΡ-CΤΥΛΟC ΝΟΥΑΙ[ΝΕ]
ΕΥCΩΚ ΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΚΑΖ ΕΤ[ΟΥΑΔΒΕ ⁶ CΕΤΕΕC ΝΕΥ ΑΤΟΥΩΜ
ΑΒΑ[Λ] ΖΗΠΩΗΝ ΜΠΩΝΖ CΕΡ-Φ[ΟΡΕΙ] ΝΖΒCΟΥ * * * * *
[CΕ]ΡΑΙC ΑΡΑ[Υ CΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC CΕΝΑΕΙ]ΒΕ ΕΝ [ΟΥΔΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ
ΝΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΑΖ-]CΗ-CΑΜ [ΑΡΑΥ ΕΝ.

⁷ ΖΗΦΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΗΜΟ ΠΚ[ΑΖ ΝΑΖΤΑΡΤΡΕ * * * * * Κ ΕΚΕ * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * ^[P.40] ⁸ ΝΖΑΛΕΤΕ ΝΑΖΕΙΕ ΑΧΜ-ΠΚΑΖ ΕΥΜΑΥΤ,

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 5

¹ On that day, many hearts will harden against him. They will flee from him, saying, "This is not Christ. Christ does not kill the just; he does not persecute people he seeks but persuades them with signs and wonders." ² In those days, Christ will pity those who are his; he will send his angels from heaven, sixty thousand four hundred, each with six ^[P.39] wings. ³ The roar will move heaven and earth, as they praise and give glory. ⁴ Those on whose forehead is written the name of Christ, on whose hands the seal, great and small, will be lifted on their wings and removed from his anger. ⁵ Then Gabriel and Uriel will make a pillar of light, leading them to the holy land, ⁶ and they will be given to eat from the tree of life, and they will wear *white* clothes ... and angels will watch over them. They will not thirst nor will the son of lawlessness prevail against them.

⁷ On that day, the earth will tremble ^[P.40] ⁸ the birds will fall dead to the earth, ⁹ the land will be dry, the waters of the sea

APOCALYPSE OF ELIJAH 5

¹ Here, 'kill' reads ΖΩΤΒΕ for ΖΩΤΖΕ.

² The Sahidic text opens, "On that day."

³ Other readings for 'roar' (as Alcock) are 'sound' (as Wintermute) or 'voice'.

⁴ Alcock starts a new sentence at 'the great and the small'.

⁵ Cf. Ex 13:21ff.

⁶ The translation of this verse is based on the reconstruction by C. Schmidt, using the fragment included by Steindorff at the end of his text.

⁷ There is an illegible line after this verse.

⁸ The *Akhmimic* MS is in good condition for the first part of this page.

⁹ In place of 'be dry', Alcock has 'become desiccated'.

⁹ πκαρ ναωρεογε, νμογῑεγε νθαλασσα ναωρεγε, ¹⁰ νρεφρ̄-ναβε
 ναωρ εραμ ριχ̄ν-πκαρ ευχογ̄ νμας ξε-ο πετακεεφ̄ νεν,
 πωρηε ντανομια εκχογ̄ νμας ανακ πε πχ̄ ε-ντακ
 πδιαβολος; ¹¹ νν̄-β̄αμ νμακ ανογ̄με νμακ ξε-κναναρμνε.
 αρ̄ρ-ρεν[μεϊ]νε νπν̄ντο αβαλ ωατκεεν] νων̄μο απχ̄
 εταρτεναν. ογαϊ ν]εν [ξε αν]̄ωτμε νσογ̄κ,
 * * * * * ννογ̄ρε βογ̄[ογ̄ν] * * * * *
 * * * ζε νουδικαιος τ̄νογ̄ωτ νεφ] η αqτογ̄ν πετ̄cβογ̄ νεν
 τ̄νπ]αρακα λειμμα] * * * * * ρ̄ν
 { γ̄σε ῑωρηε ντα ναραγεναρ̄ ρ̄ναρταρ̄ εν * qn }

[P.41] ²⁴ ... ογε ρ̄μρεπ̄ νμ̄ιε. ²⁵ ρ̄νφοογε ετ̄νμο ντογῑεγε
 νν̄πκαρ νατ̄ νογ̄ραγ̄, ν̄ροογ̄ ναωρεξε ν̄ννογ̄ερ̄νγ̄ ξενε
 ατετ̄ν̄ωτμε ν̄ποογε ατ̄cm̄ ν̄ρωμε εφ̄μααρ̄ε ε-ν̄π̄ει ατ̄κ̄p̄ic̄
 ν̄πωρηε ν̄π̄νογ̄τε; ²⁶ ν̄ναβε ν̄πογε πογε ναωρε αρ̄ετογ̄ αραq
 ρ̄ν̄π̄μα εταγεογε ν̄μο ειτε ναφοογε ειτε νατογ̄ρι,
²⁷ ναδικαιος ν̄ταγ̄ ν̄να * * π̄ cenano ανρεφρ̄-ναβε
 ρ̄ν̄[ογ̄]κ[ο]λαc̄ic̄ ν̄ν̄εταγ̄ρ̄-διωκε ν̄μ[α]γ̄ ν̄ν̄εταρ̄ρ̄-
 παραδιδογ̄ ν̄μ[αγ̄] απμογ̄. ²⁸ τοτε ν̄ρεφρ̄ναβε ρ̄ * * ο * * η

will dry up, ¹⁰ the sinners will groan on the earth, saying,
 “What have you done to us, son of lawlessness, saying you
 were Christ, when you are the devil? ¹¹ You cannot save
 yourself and you want to save us. You have made signs before
 us until you estranged us from Christ who saved us. Woe to
 us; for, we listened to you.

¹² Now we will die in a famine. Where now is the trace of a
 righteous one and we will worship him, or where indeed is the
 one who will teach us and we will is appeal to him. ¹³ Now,
 indeed we will be wrathfully destroyed ...

[P.41] ²⁴ ... in a court of truth.” ²⁵ On that day, the hills and
 the earth will roar, the [...] will say to each other, “Have you
 heard today the voice of man walking without coming to
 the judgement of the Son of God?” ²⁶ The sins of each will
 confront him where they were committed, whether by day
 or by night. ²⁷ Those of the just and ... will see the sinners
 being punished and those who pursued them and betrayed
 them to death. ²⁸ The sinners then ... will see the place of

¹⁰ In place of ‘the devil’, the Sahidic text has ‘the son of lawlessness’.

¹¹ The Sahidic text adds ‘vain’ before ‘signs’.

¹² For this verse, we follow Schmidt’s reconstruction (see #6 – we include the text of the fragment in green) and (loosely) Wintermute’s translation.

¹³ The Akhmimic text breaks of in the middle of this verse, with a single leaf (2 pages) missing.

²⁴ Wintermute restores vv. 14–23 from Steindorff’s Sahidic text.

²⁵ Cf. Mi 6:2.

²⁶ Cf. Ws 4:20.

²⁷ Cf. 1En 108:14f, 62:11f, Jub 23.30–31, Lk 16:23–26.

²⁸ For the ellipsis, Wintermute has ‘in torment’ (reading ρ̄[νκ]εο[λαc̄]ic̄).

CENANO AΠMA N̄NΔIK[AI]OC ²⁹ AOY †ZE OYŃ-OYZMAT NAZΩ[ΠE]
 ZN̄NZOYGE ET̄MO PETE-N[ΔIKAI] ^[P.42] OC NAṖ-AITEI M̄MAQ N̄ZAZ
 N̄CAΠ, CENATEEQ NEY. ³⁰ ZM̄FOOYGE ET̄MO ΠXAEIC NAṖ-KPINE
 NTΠE M̄NPKAZ, ³¹ QNAṖ-KPINE N̄NETAYṖ-PAPABA ZNTΠE
 M̄NNETAZEIRE ZIXM̄-ΠKAZ, ³² QNAṖ-KPINE N̄NΩAC M̄ΠΛAOC,
 QNAΩHTOY APWZE N̄ECAY, CETEOYGE NEQ E-M̄N-KPAQ M̄MOY ZOOP
 N̄ZHTOY. M̄N̄NCE-NEI QN̄NHY AZPHI SE ZHLEIAC M̄NENOX CEKOY
 AZPHI NTCAṖZ M̄ΠIKOCMOC CE-XI N̄NOYCAṖZ M̄ΠNA CEPOT
 CEPΩHP E NTANOMIA CEZOTBE M̄MAQ E-MAQZ-ΩEXE. ³³ ZM̄FOOYGE
 ET̄MO QNABΩA ABAL M̄POYHTO ABAL NTZE
 N̄[OY] ^[P.43] KPYCTALLOC E-AQBΩA ABAL ZITN̄-OYKΩZT, QNATEKO
 NTZE N̄OYΔPAKΩN E-M̄N-NIQE N̄ZHTQ, ³⁴ CENA XOOC NEQ XE-A-
 PKOYAIΩ INE APAK, †NOY SE AKNATEKO M̄NNETṖ-ΠICTEYE APAK,
 CENATEKOY ATΩOTE M̄ΠNOYN CEZΩX C M̄MAC APOOY. ZM̄FOOYGE
 ET̄MO QN̄NHY ABAL NTΠE SE ΠXC PṖPO M̄NNETOYAABE THPOY,
 QPΩKZ M̄PKAZ, QṖ-ZO N̄PAMΠE ZIXΩQ XE-A-NPEQṖ-NAVE EMAZTE
 ZIXΩQ, QNATANO N̄OYΠE N̄BṖPE M̄NOYKAZ N̄BṖPE M̄NΔIABOΛOC *

the just; ²⁹ and, thus, grace will occur. In those days, what the
 just ^[P.42] ask for, they will be given. ³⁰ On that day, the Lord will
 judge heaven and earth. He will judge those who transgressed
 in heaven and those who did so on earth. ³¹ He will judge the
 shepherds of the people. He will ask about the flock of sheep.
 They will tell him without deceit. ³² After these things, Elijah
 and Enoch will come down and put aside the flesh of this
 world and put on their spiritual flesh. They will pursue the son
 of lawlessness and kill him, he being unable to speak. ³³ On
 that day, he will dissolve before them like ^[P.43] ice dissolved by
 fire. He will be destroyed like a dragon in which there is no
 breath. ³⁴ They will say to him, “Your time has ... to you. So,
 now you will be destroyed together with those who believe in
 you. ³⁵ They will perish in the pit of the abyss, which will be
 closed on them.” ³⁶ On that day, Christ will come from heaven,
 the king of all the saints. ³⁷ He will burn the earth. He will
 spend a thousand years on it, ³⁸ because the sinners have ruled

²⁹ Alcock opens, “and, in this way, there will be grace.”

³⁰ Wintermute formats vv. 30–31 as poetry.

³¹ A portion of vv. 31–32 is preserved in a Greek fragment, published by E. Pistelli, *Papiri greci e latini*, (p. 16).

³² Cf. Paul’s ‘spiritual body’ in 1Co 15:44.

³³ In place of ‘dragon’, Wintermute has ‘serpent’.

³⁴ For the ellipsis (as Alcock), Wintermute has ‘passed by’, reading [OY]INE.

³⁵ Cf. Rv 20:3.

³⁶ Wintermute reads, “On that day, the Christ, the king, and all his saints will come forth from heaven.”

³⁷ Cf. Rv 20:6. It is fitting that events ‘on that day’ should continue for 1,000 years since one day in the sight of the Lord is equal to 1,000 years. Cf. Ps 90:4, 2P 3:8, Jub 4:30. By uniting Ps 90:4 with Gn 2:2, it was possible to construct a view of the world that continues for 6,000 years before reaching the Sabbath, i.e. ‘the rest’ of 1,000 years.

³⁸ In place of the ellipsis, Wintermute has ‘deadly’ (reading [M]MOY for the 2 asterisks after M̄NΔIABOΛOC).

* ɸγ ροοπ ḡητοϋ, ɸηαṛρο [μ]ḡηετοϋααβε, εɸḡηα αρηἱ *
ḡηηγ αρηἱ, εγροοπ μḡḡ^[P.44] αγγελος ḡογαἱω νιμ, εγροοπ μḡ-
πḡς ηρο ḡραμπε.

†αποκαλγἱς ηρηλειας

on it. He will make a new heaven and a new earth. No ... devil
is in them, ³⁹ as he goes up and down, they being with ^[P.43] the
angels at all times and with Christ a thousand years.

The Apocalypse of Elijah

³⁹ A title at the end of the text is customary for works of this type.