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OF ISAIAH

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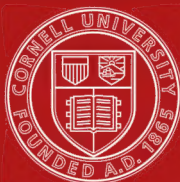
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THE
ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

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THE
ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

TRANSLATED FROM THE ETHIOPIC VERSION, WHICH, TOGETHER WITH THE NEW GREEK FRAGMENT, THE LATIN VERSIONS AND THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE SLAVONIC, IS HERE PUBLISHED IN FULL

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES
BY
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LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK

1900

A

TO MY FRIENDS

N. BONWETSCH, B. P. GRENFELL, A. S. HUNT

TO WHOM I AM SO MUCH INDEBTED

IN THE PRESENT WORK

PREFACE

A NEW edition of the *Ascension* has long been needed. That of Dillmann was in its time a most helpful and meritorious work, though his commentary is too brief, and his Ethiopic text less good than it might have been, owing to his somewhat faulty collation of the MSS. and his failure to use for critical purposes the Latin versions at his disposal.

For the present edition accordingly the Ethiopic MSS. have been collated and the text edited anew. Full account has therein been taken of the Latin versions and the *Greek Legend*, as well as of the new textual authorities now accessible—Grenfell and Hunt's fragmentary Greek text, and Bonwetsch's translation of the Slavonic version. Indeed, to make the textual evidence complete I have arranged the Greek text, the Latin versions, and the Latin translation of the Slavonic in parallel columns with the Ethiopic, and appended at their close the *Greek Legend*, which, being built on the *Ascension*, is an important witness to its text. The genealogical relations subsisting between these authorities are set forth in the Introduction.

Before leaving this subject I must record my deep obligations to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt for placing at my service the proofs of their critical and admirable edition of the valuable Greek fragment which they have recently discovered; to Professor Bonwetsch for his most helpful translation

of the Slavonic version, and to Father Mercati for a new and more accurate collation of the Vatican Latin fragments. For Father Mercati's help I am beholden to the kind offices of Mr. C. H. Turner, Fellow of Magdalen College. Finally, my best thanks are due to Messrs. A. & C. Black for generously undertaking the publication of the above texts.

The *Ascension* is a composite work, partly of Jewish, partly of Christian origin. The former element, which is derived from a Jewish work, the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, possesses a value of its own, but it is the Christian element, which is based on two originally independent writings, the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah, that chiefly engages our attention in the present work. These latter, particularly the Testament of Hezekiah, cast an illuminating, though at times lurid, light on certain outlying provinces of Christian belief and conduct towards the close of the first century. It bewails the fewness of the prophets, the prevalence of heresies, the sad declension in Christian character. It touches incidentally on the fact that there were Church Guilds, whose sole object was to keep believers in a state of readiness for the Advent of Christ, but expecting withal to experience first the dreaded coming of the Antichrist. Since the account it furnishes of the Antichrist is in some respects unique, I have brought the Introduction to a close with a Critical Essay on the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths as they appear in Jewish and Christian literature between 200 B.C. and 120 A.D.

17 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD.

September, 1900.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE *Ascension of Isaiah* is a composite work of very great interest. In its present form we cannot be sure that it existed earlier than the latter half of the second century of our era¹. Its various constituents, however, and of these there were three, circulated independently as early as the first

¹ From the third century onward the *Ascension* had an extensive circulation amongst Christian 'heretics'. Thus it was used by Hieracas and the Archontici (see quotations from Epiphanius, p. 67); by the Arians, to whom we owe the preservation of the Vatican fragments; by the Massalians or Bogomils in the East, and the Cathari in the West. Its presence amongst the Massalians is attested by Euthymius Zigabenus (circ. 1100), 'Ἐλεγχος καὶ θραμβος τῆς . . . αἵρέσεως τῶν ἀθέων Μασσαλιανῶν, in Tollius, *Insignia Itinerarii Italici*, 1696, 116-117, ἐτέραν τινὰ εἶναι τριάδα, ἥ καὶ ὑπερκειμένην ἑξουσίαν, τὴν τῷ ὑπερτάτῳ τῶν ἐπὶ οὐρανῶν ἐπικαθημένην, κατὰ τὴν βδελυρὰν ψευδεπίγραφον παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ 'Ἠσαίου ὄρασιν (see Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* cxxxi. col. 44); and amongst the Cathari by Moneta, *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses* (ed. Riechinius), 1742, p. 218, 'Omnes (prophetas) damnabant praeter Isaiam, cuius dicunt esse quemdam libellum, in quo habetur, quod spiritus Isaiae raptus a corpore usque ad septimum caelum ductus est, in quo vidit et audivit quaedam arcana, quibus vehementissime innituntur.'

century. These were the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Testament of Hezekiah. The first of these was of Jewish origin, and is of less interest here than the other two, which were the work of Christian writers. The Vision of Isaiah is important for the knowledge it affords us of first-century beliefs in certain circles as to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Seven Heavens, &c. The long lost Testament of Hezekiah, which is, I think, to be identified with iii. 13^b to iv. 18 of our present work, is unquestionably of great value in the insight it gives us into the history of the Christian Church at the close of the first century. Its descriptions of the worldliness and lawlessness which prevailed among the elders and pastors, i.e. the bishops and priests, of the widespread covetousness and vain-glory as well as of the growing heresies among Christians generally, agree with similar accounts in 2 Peter, 2 Timothy, and Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* iii, xxiii). This work, moreover, is the first and oldest document that testifies to the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome. Finally, it supplies us with indispensable materials for the history of the Antichrist.

§ 2. VARIOUS TITLES OF THE BOOK.

'Απόκρυφον Ἡσαίου is the name assigned to it by Origen in his commentary on Matthew xiii. 57 (Lommatzsch, iii. 49), Καὶ Ἡσαίας δὲ πεπρόσθαι ὑπὸ

τοῦ λαοῦ ἱστορήται· εἰ δέ τις οὐ προσίεται τὴν ἱστορίαν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ Ἑσαΐα αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι πιστευσάτω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους οὕτω γεγραμμένοις (Heb. xi. 37). See also *Ep. ad Afric.* 9 (Lommatzsch, xiii. 31), and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, vi. 16.

In Epiphanius, *Haer.* xl. 2, it is termed τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἑσαίου, which he says was used by the Ἀλλογενεῖς. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ λαβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀναβατικοῦ Ἑσαίου ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀποκρύφων. And in lxvii. 3 Βούλεται δὲ (Ἰέρακας) τὴν τελείαν αὐτοῦ σύστασιν ποιῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀναβατικοῦ Ἑσαίου, δῆθεν ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἀναβατικῷ λεγομένῳ ἔλεγεν ἐκείσε ὅτι (the quotation which follows will be found in the notes on p. 67). In like manner Jerome calls it the *Ascensio Isaiae*. See quotation in notes on p. 81.

Thirdly, it was known as the Ὅρασις Ἑσαίου. This we infer from the texts of E S and L² of vi. 1. This designation actually appears in Montfaucon's and Pitra's list of Canonical and Apocryphal Books. It belongs specifically, and probably originally, only to vi-xi. 40.

Finally, it is named the Διαθήκη Ἐξέκτου by Cedrenus i. 120-121 (see pp. 2, 29, notes). That such a work was incorporated in the Ascension might also be inferred from i. 2^b-5^a which describe the contents of Hezekiah's Vision (see also *Greek Legend*, i. 2). This description is applicable to the Christian Apocalypse, iii. 13^b-iv. 18, and to it alone in the Ascension. The fact, too, that Cedrenus

quotes partially iv. 12, 14, and refers to iv. 15-18 of this very section, points to the conclusion that such a book existed independently (see i. 2-4, notes).

§ 3. THE ETHIOPIC VERSION (E) AND ITS MSS.

The Ethiopic version, which we shall henceforth denote by E, is on the whole a faithful reproduction of the Greek (G¹).

As we shall see later, there were at an early date two recensions (G¹ and G²) of the original Greek of vi-xi, which presented very divergent texts in a large number of passages. It is from the former of these (G¹) that E is derived.

E is, as we have said, a faithful reproduction of the Greek. So closely as a rule does it follow the latter that it can almost always be retranslated without difficulty. Like every version, however, with a long history behind it, it has its defects. Thus there are additions made to the text in ii. 5, vii. 4, viii. 12, 34, ix. 18, and losses sustained in ii. 13, vii. 13, 15, 17, xi. 19. Manifest dittographies are found in iii. 22, 26, v. 3, viii. 20, ix. 22, xi. 24, and mistaken renderings of the Greek in vii. 21, ix. 3, 5. Corruptions too are not infrequent, as in i. 5, iii. 1, 10, 14, 31, iv. 1, vii. 2, 3, 8, viii. 2, 7, 14, ix. 1, 30, 33, x. 1, 12, xi. 24, 40, but most of these are obvious and admit of easy emendation.

Other defects in E are not native to it, but go back to G¹. Thus the omission in iii. 5 is trace-

able to this source: and likewise the addition in vii. 18.

The corruptions, moreover, in vi. 17, vii. 9, ix. 14, are simply reproductions of corruptions already existing in the Greek.

A discussion of the critical affinities of E to the other versions must be adjourned to the later sections.

The Manuscripts. Of E only three manuscripts *a*, *b*, *c*, have come to Europe; two of these are in the British Museum, *b* and *c*. These belong to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries respectively, and appear on the British Museum Catalogue as Nos. 501 and 503.

c is much less trustworthy than *b*, and yet in certain passages, particularly in xi. 2-24, we are obliged to follow it against *a* and *b* on the ground of external or internal evidence. For the sake of brevity I have not infrequently omitted its readings.

In *b* there are frequent omissions through homoioteleuton, and likewise many misleading corrections of the text. Notwithstanding, these two manuscripts are of indispensable worth for establishing the text of E. They were first used by Dillmann in his edition of the *Ascension* in 1877. His collation, however, of these manuscripts is defective and inaccurate, as we shall discover later (see p. xvi).

b and *c* are much inferior in value to *a*, which belongs to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This

manuscript, which may be assigned to the fifteenth century, was published as it stands in 1819 by Laurence. I have followed it in the main in my text.

§ 4. EDITIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC TEXT.

LAURENCE. *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis, Opusculum pseudepigraphum . . . cum Versione Latina Anglicanaque publici Iuris factum*, Oxoniae, 1819.

Laurence, as we have above mentioned, edited the text found in *a*. This he reproduced on the whole with great accuracy, and combined with it a Latin and an English translation. These translations, however, are often untrustworthy.

DILLMANN. *Ascensio Isaiae Aethiopice et Latine, cum Prolegomenis Adnotationibus criticis et exegeticis, additis Versionum Latinarum Reliquiis edita*, Lipsiae, 1877.

In this edition, by means of the manuscripts *b* and *c* (p. xvi), Dillmann made a vast advance on his predecessor. This advance, however, might have been somewhat greater if he had consulted the Latin fragments which he published *pari passu* with the construction of his text on *a*, *b*, *c*. On the other hand, his insight is shown by not a few happy emendations, and his translation is all that is admirable.

On the other hand, a very serious blemish disfigures the text and his *apparatus criticus* in the footnotes. Dillmann's collation of *a*, *b*, and *c* is occasionally inaccurate and defective. Thus, as

regards one of the proper names in ii. 5, and of two in iv. 22, his text represents none of the manuscripts. He wrongly collates *a* in iii. 2, vi. 13, xi. 37; *b* in i. 2, 4, iii. 5, iv. 18; and *a, b, c*, in vii. 8, 27, and ix. 39. The above inaccuracies are, it is true, of no great moment, but the same is not true of the following passages: iii. 16 (twice), vii. 3, 14, 24, viii. 5, x. 1, where the readings of the manuscripts differ, and not only is the wrong variant adopted in the text, but the right reading is not even collated in the footnotes. Sometimes the omitted variant merely upholds the order of the Greek as against the adopted one, as in ii. 9, but even this is of some value.

Finally, Dillmann's reduction of the orthography to one fixed norm is not desirable. It is better that the student should be presented with the forms that occur so commonly in the manuscripts.

§ 5. TRANSLATIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION.

LAURENCE. This translation, which has already been referred to (p. xvi), was reprinted by Gfrörer in his *Prophetæ veteres pseudepigraphi*, 1840, and was done into German by Jolowicz, *Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Propheten Jesaja, aus dem Aethiopischen (?) und Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt*, 1854.

DILLMANN. See p. xvi.

BASSET. This scholar has translated Dillmann's text into French: *Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens, traduits en français*. III. *L'Ascension d'Isaïe*, 1894,

and aimed at smoothness rather than exactness of expression.

BEER. *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 124-127. We have here an accurate German translation of ii-iii. 1-12, v. 2-14, of Dillmann's text.

§ 6. THE LATIN VERSIONS L¹ (ii. 14 - iii. 13, vii. 1-19) AND L² (vi.-xi).

There were two Latin versions, one of which L² embraces vi.-xi., the other L¹ only ii. 14 - iii. 13, vii. 1-19. The former was printed by Antonius de Fantis at Venice, in 1522, from a manuscript now unknown, and reprinted by Gieseler in a Göttingen program (*Vetus Translatio Latina Visionis Iesaiæ*, 1832), and by Dillmann as an appendix in his edition of 1877.

As I have been unable to get access to the Venice edition, I have re-issued the version, as it appears in Dillmann's edition, with certain corrections and critical notes.

Now as regards the two fragments of L¹, these were first discovered and edited by Mai in 1828 (*Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, III. part ii. 238, 239) from the codex rescriptus of the Acts of Chalcedon, Vat. 5750, the original writing of which belongs to the fifth or sixth century. His work unhappily was somewhat inaccurate and defective, but these shortcomings are now set right in the texts presented on pp. 87-92 and 102-108. For the corrections in question I am indebted to the

assistant Librarian in the Vatican, Father Mercati, whose kind services were secured for me by Mr. C. H. Turner of Magdalen College.

When we proceed to compare L^1 and L^2 and E together in chapter vii, the agreement of L^1 and E against L^2 at once springs to light. Even within this limited portion of the text it becomes clear that L^1 and E on the one side, and L^2 on the other, are not directly derived from one and the same Greek text, but only indirectly through the medium of two distinct recensions, G^1 and G^2 , which in nine-tenths of their matter presuppose a common parent G.

Although I had arrived at the above conclusion through a study of E, L^1 and L^2 , it was impossible to prove it beyond question till the Slavonic version (= S) was made accessible to me through the kindness of Professor Bonwetsch.

If the reader will now turn to the versions of chapter vii. on pp. 102-108, having first acquainted himself with the meaning of the symbols (see p. lxxiii, sq.) which I have used for critical purposes in this edition, he will see that EL^1 agree against SL^2 in presenting a fuller text in vii. 5, 12, 15, 16, 17, and likewise in the same corrupt addition in vii. 18.

On the other hand, SL^2 agree against EL^1 in presenting a fuller text in vii. 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17. There are many other less obvious though not

¹ In vii. 12, L^1 stands alone against ESL^2 , but this is due, as I have shown on p. 106, to its translator finding *καθαρίσει* in his text instead of *καθαίρησει*.

less weighty divergencies between EL¹ and SL², that is, between G¹ and G² in this chapter, but the above instances are sufficient to establish our contention.

We have now to show that throughout the rest of vi.-xi, where L¹ fails us, S L² agree against E alike in their additions and their omissions. Only the more important passages will be noticed. Thus S L² agree in more or less large additions in vii. 37, viii. 3, ix. 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 29, 36, 42, x. 15, xi. 34, 36, 40. Again, they agree in giving short summaries instead of the Ethiopic text of x. 25-28, xi. 27-30, and especially in omitting the very important passage in E, i.e. xi. 2-22, with the exception of a single phrase in xi. 19.

The above divergencies have in some instances assumed such vast proportions that it may occur to the reader that these were possibly developed on Abyssinian soil. But such a supposition is precluded by the fact that many of the most suspicious passages are supported by an independent Greek authority. This authority which we must now invoke is the *Greek Legend*, which is printed on pp. 141-148, and of which a short account will be found on pp. xxvii-xxviii. This work was based on the same form of text that is preserved in E and L¹. It does not, indeed, make a continuous use of our text, but yet uses it sufficiently to show beyond possibility of doubt that its writer had before him not G² but G¹.

The evidence is as follows. In vii. 17 where we have all five authorities, E L¹ and *Greek Legend*

agree in giving a text (= gloriæ) against that of S L² (= magnæ gloriæ). Next, in viii. 5 E and *Greek Legend* = σύνδουλός σου εἰμί, whereas S L² = σύμβουλος εἰμί. Here σύμβουλος is corrupt. In vi. 2, 9, ix. 7-8, 12, 13, x. 7, 12, 31 E has clauses which are supported by the *Greek Legend* but omitted by S L². Finally, the *Greek Legend* has preserved a clause (xi. 19, 20) out of the large section peculiar to E. To the above we might add that *Greek Legend*, ii. 10, has preserved a phrase found in L¹, vii. 11, but lost in E.

We have now shown that in chapters vi.-xi. E L¹ and the 'Greek Legend' go back to a definite Greek text which we have named G¹, and that S L² go back similarly to G².

The main differences of G¹ from G are due to the editor of the entire work: whereas those of G² from G are due to the editor of this independent edition of vi.-xi.

We have not as yet dealt with the first Latin fragment of Mai, ii. 14-iii. 13, but this need not delay us long; for it clearly belongs to the same form of text as the second fragment and agrees very closely with E. For a detailed treatment of its relations to E and the new Greek fragment, the reader should consult pp. xxviii-xxxi.

§ 7. THE FULLER TEXT OF G¹ AS A RULE IS DERIVED FROM G.

In certain passages S L² present a shorter text than E. If S L², in other words G², represent faith-

fully the text as it stood in the archetype G, then it is clear that in such passages the fuller text of E or G¹ is the work of the editor of G¹. This is no doubt true in a few cases. Thus we may be fairly confident that certain clauses in vi. 1-13 are additions from the hand of the editor of G¹. It has been thought also that certain phrases in ix. 5, 13, 17, x. 7 which give the definite name of the Messiah are from the same source, on the ground that they are against a definite statement in the context which declares that this name cannot be heard by Isaiah till he has left the body (see, however, ix. 5 note). On the other hand, we cannot suppose that the short summaries which S L² offer of x. 25-28 and xi. 27-30 are original, and that the fuller text in E is an expansion of these; for the text of E observes a due proportion which is wanting in S L². Here undoubtedly the editor of G² abridges the text of G.

We must next deal with the very important passage xi. 2-22. This passage which is found in E goes back to G¹, since phrases from verses 19, 20 reappear in the *Greek Legend*, ii. 39. But it goes back further still and is derived from the archetype G. We must now give the grounds for this view. First its subject-matter is quite in keeping with the context before and after; for from x. 8 to xi. 19 the concealment of the real nature of Christ is the underlying thought of the entire passage.

Next from the command which Isaiah hears given to Christ to descend to the earth and to

Sheol (x. 8), and afterwards to ascend therefrom (x. 14), we naturally expect Isaiah to witness these events in the vision in xi., seeing that he witnesses all else that is mentioned in x. 8-14. But the genuineness of xi. 2-22 is still more apparent, if we consider that in the short account of G² in xi. there is not a single reference to the crucifixion, descent into Sheol, and resurrection on the third day, though from ix. 12-17 we cannot do otherwise than expect a definite portrayal of these events in the vision. Thus in the latter passage it is told that Christ will descend to earth and assume human form; that owing to the instigation of the prince of this world men will rise up against Him and crucify Him, 'not knowing who He is.' Thereupon He will descend into Sheol (this clause is peculiar to S L²) and rise again on the third day—and send out His Twelve Apostles (this last clause is peculiar to S L²)—and ascend into heaven. Now if we turn to xi. 2-22 this is just what Isaiah sees in vision: Christ is born of the Virgin, but the nature of the birth is to be told to none (xi. 2-16). Then He works great miracles and the Jews roused by the adversary crucify Him in Jerusalem, 'not knowing who He is.' Thereupon He descends into Sheol (xi. 18-20). And on the third day He rises again and sends forth His Twelve Apostles and ascends into heaven (xi. 21, 22)¹.

¹ We should observe also that xi. 14 is quoted in the *Actus Petri*, xxiv, xi. 16, by Ignatius *ad Ephes.*, and xi. 11 most probably by *Protev. Iacobi*, xx. 4.

In the light of the above facts the genuineness of xi. 2-22 as an original constituent of G can hardly be disputed. And now if we turn to the passage which the editor of G² has substituted in its stead, our convictions are, if possible, further strengthened. It runs: 'Missus sum a Deo "omnia tibi ostendere. Nec enim ante te quis vidit, nec post te poterit videre quod tu vidisti et audisti. Et vidi similem filii hominis et cum hominibus habitare et in mundo". 19. Et non cognoverunt eum. 23. Et vidi ascendentem in firmamentum.' The words enclosed in brackets are peculiar to SL². Of these the greater part, i.e. 'Nec enim ante te . . . vidisti et audisti,' appears to be based on viii. 11.

In the next place the words 'Et non cognoverunt eum' have occurred before (ix. 14) in all versions in reference to those who crucified Christ, and in xi. 19 in E this significance is preserved where the same phrase recurs. In SL², however, this phrase is given a setting and a relation which are foreign to it so far as our authorities go. We have already dwelt above on the thorough inadequacy with which the earthly life and destinies of the Messiah are treated in SL². We conclude, therefore, that xi. 2-22 are derived from G, the archetype, and that here, as in x. 25-28, xi. 27-30, the editor of G² has abridged the text of G.

§ 8. THE SLAVONIC VERSION (= S).

For a short account of this version I will simply reproduce Professor Bonwetsch's note which he

appends to the translation which he has been so good as to make for this edition¹:—

‘The manuscript from which A. Popov published this Vision of Isaiah (*Bibliograf. Materialy*, i. 13–22) is No. 175 (18) in the Library of the Uspenschen Cathedral in Moscow, and belongs to the close of the twelfth century. It consists of 304 leaves, of which two towards the beginning are lost. The manuscript is written in two columns, each of thirty-two lines. Popov has added likewise the variants of a fourteenth-century manuscript of Servian origin, from which he had at an earlier date published the Vision of Isaiah (*Opis rukop. Chludova*, 414–419). The readings of this latter authority, which have not been accessible to me, I denote by *ch*, and those of the former by *u*. In the Latin translation of the text I have followed the phraseology of the Latin version, published at Venice, so far as it corresponds to the Slavonic text. Accordingly I often use the form of the imperfect where, according to S, the perfect could stand.’

I have already shown (p. xxi) that S is made from the same Greek text as L², i.e. G². It is, however, more faithful and full than L². Thus where L² omits words, phrases, or even whole sentences², as in vii. 29^b, 30, viii. 28, ix. 2, 20, x. 14, 18, 29, xi. 23, the lacunae are supplied by S in

¹ On the Slavonic texts see Kozak, *Jahrbücher f. prot. Theologie*, 1892, pp. 138–139; Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Gesch. der altchr. Litteratur*, i. 916.

² Such words, phrases, &c., in S are enclosed in brackets thus [].

agreement with E. Thus, these passages that are lost in L² go back to the archetype G.

As regards the phrases and passages peculiar to S L² vii. 12, 33, 37, viii. 28, ix. 2, 4, 20, x. 15, 29, xi. 1, 34 it is impossible, in most cases, to say categorically whether they appear for the first time in G² or went back to G.

Of these the phrase 'angelos innumerabiles' in S L² vii. 33 appears to be derived from G; for though wanting in E it is found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 19. In S L² ix. 5 'filius Dei' is likewise primitive since, though replaced by a different phrase in E, it is found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 25. Again, in S L² ix. 17 'et mittet suos praedicatores,' &c., may also be primitive, since the clause though not found in E in this passage is supported by E in xi. 22. Finally, the phrase 'cum hominibus habitare' in S L² xi. 1 reappears in *Greek Legend*, ii. 11 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρέφεισθαι. Hence this phrase, though lost in E, was most probably in G¹ and therefore in G. The phrase in S L² xi. 1 that immediately precedes, 'vidi similem filii hominis,'² may also be primitive though unattested by any derivative of G¹. The exclusion of such a phrase by the editor of G¹ is quite intelligible; for, from the close of the first century A.D., its use as a Messianic title was avoided, no doubt because it

¹ Such phrases and passages peculiar to S L² are enclosed in brackets thus [] .

² Cf. Rev. i. 13; xiv. 14; 4 Ezra vi. 1 (Syriac and Ethiopic versions).

was thought to imply the exclusive humanity of Christ.

Though the four passages just dealt with are in all probability derived from the archetype, it is hardly possible that the peculiar text of SL² in xi. 34, which is in reality 1 Cor. ii. 9, can be derived from the same source. There is no reason for the omission by E or G¹ of such a striking statement, but rather every reason for its inclusion. The interpolation was made by the editor of G².

§ 9. THE GREEK LEGEND (= GK. LEG.).

The following Isaiah legend was found by Dr. O. von Gebhardt in a Greek manuscript of the twelfth century, which is numbered 1534 in the National Library in Paris, and published with certain introductory remarks and notes in the *Z. f. W. T.*, 330–353, 1878. The manuscript consists of 337 folios with two columns on each page, and the above legend is given on fol. 245^a–251^b. Its division into chapters and verses, in our reprint on pp. 141–148, is due to Gebhardt. Of the four chapters into which he divides it, the last, having no relation to the present work, is not here reproduced. It will be found in the *Z. f. W. T.*, 350–353, 1878.

Gebhardt remarks that the iota subscript is wholly wanting in the manuscript, but that the breathings and accents are generally rightly added. The accentuation of the manuscript in the matter of proper names is followed in the printed text.

The critical affinities of the *Greek Legend* have

already been discussed. It has been shown (p. xx) that, together with E and L¹, it is derived from G¹. In a few passages, however, we have had occasion to remark that it attests the text of SL² where it stands alone, and by such attestation makes it more than probable that the passages in question belong to the archetype (see p. xxvi).

I have printed the *Greek Legend* as it stands in Gebhardt, save that I have emended two *voces nullae* that appear in it. The phrases that are taken directly from G¹ are printed in thick type, and the chapter and verse from which they are drawn placed in the margin.

§ 10. THE NEWLY RECOVERED GREEK TEXT OF
II. 4-IV. 4, AND ITS RELATION TO E AND L¹.

This very important Greek fragment of the text is written, according to Grenfell and Hunt, on a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century. 'The papyrus is in book form and consists of three nearly complete sheets, measuring 23 × 26.5 cm., and part of a fourth, containing in all seven leaves and fourteen pages. The writing is in single columns on each side of the leaf, the pages, with the exception of the first two, being numbered continuously from 9 to 20. From the numbering and from the strip of parchment designed to prevent the cord, which runs down the centre of the margin between pages 12 and 13 (cols. vi. and vii.), from tearing through the papyrus, it is clear that our fragment consists of the second half of the

third, and the whole of the fourth, fifth, and sixth sheets of a quire of six sheets. Six pages are therefore lost at the commencement of the quire. The missing beginning of the *Ascension* must have occupied not less than four pages. Probably, therefore, the first page, perhaps the first leaf, was left blank or had only the title' (Grenfell and Hunt's *Ascension of Isaiah*, p. 2). For other details relating to the papyrus and its orthography, the reader must consult the work of the scholars just cited.

The value of this fragment is very great. It supports L¹ in supplying gaps in E in ii. 16, iii. 2, and in emending iii. 1. Where L¹ fails, it helps to emend E in iii. 14, 24, 31, iv. 1, 2. It is true that some of these defects of E were so obvious that they were already remedied on internal evidence. Possibly its greatest contribution to our knowledge of the book is its clear text of the very important passage iv. 2^b-4, where, owing to the variations in the manuscripts of E, it was difficult to determine which manuscript should be followed.

On the other hand there are additions, omissions, and corruptions in the text. The chief corruptions, which are more deep-seated as a rule than in E, and omissions are in ii. 4, 12, iii. 2, 3, 6, 10, 14, and the chief addition in iii. 7.

But what is of more moment than an exhaustive list of the excellencies and failings of this fragment is to determine its textual relations with E and L¹. Now even a cursory examination shows that L¹;

notwithstanding the very imperfect form in which it exists, is more nearly related to E than to the Greek fragment, which we shall call G². Thus, whereas L¹ and G² agree against E in preserving 'et dimidiam' (ἡμισυ) in iii. 2, and a correct reading in iii. 10, their points of divergence are very numerous and more weighty. This L¹ agrees with E in attesting three phrases which are lost by G² in iii. 6, and in preserving a proper name in iii. 10 which has disappeared from G². Again, they agree in rejecting additions of G² in iii. 7, 8, and in presenting the undoubtedly true readings in iii. 2, 10, where G² is at fault.

We have seen in an earlier section (see pp. xviii.-xxi) that in vi.-xi. there were, at an early date, two distinct forms of the Greek text G¹ and G², and that the second Mai Latin fragment vii. 1-19 (= L¹) and E were derived from the former, and L² and S from the latter. Now, from the close affinities existing between E and the first Mai Latin fragment L¹, as against the Greek fragment, it might be concluded that in i.-v. also there were two Greek texts as in vi.-xi., and that as E and L¹ belong to G¹, so the papyrus Greek fragment is a representative of G².

Thus it is characteristic of G² in vi.-xi. to summarize shortly the primitive text as in x. 25-28, xi. 27-30, and in so doing to introduce confusion as in the latter passage. Now, in iii. 6 we find a similar (accidental?) abridgement of the text—the omission of three phrases or clauses—with

very disastrous results. Again, it is no less characteristic of G^2 in vi.-xi. to make additions to the text as in vii. 37, viii. 3, &c. (see p. xx). Now in iii. 7 there is an undoubted (?) addition.

Notwithstanding we must explain, I think, *the differences between EL^1 and the Greek fragment as due to the errors and variations incidental to the process of transmission, whereas the differences between EL^1 and SL^2 in vi.-xi. are due to a deliberate recension.* Thus all the differences between EL^1 and the Greek fragment arose subsequently to the formation of the complete work of the *Ascension*, whereas the substantial differences between EL^1 and SL^2 were the result of deliberation, and had practically attained finality on the publication of these distinct recensions.

Accordingly, though we may term the Greek fragment G^2 , and the Latin fragment L^1 , these two forms were not related to each other as were G^1 and G^2 in vi.-xi. Thus G^2 has one significance when used in reference to i.-v., and another when used in reference to vi.-xi.

§ 11. THE ARCHETYPE G AND ITS DESCENDANTS.

We are now in a position to summarize the results of our inquiries. First of all we are obliged to presuppose the existence of an archetype G for vi.-xi.

Some form of this archetype was still in existence early in the fourth century; as we must conclude from the quotation made by Epiphanius

(*Haer.* lxvii. 3) from the *Ascension of Isaiah*, ix. 35, 36, which was used according to his testimony by the Ophites and Hieracites. This quotation contains in loose form factors peculiar in part to G^1 and in part to G^2 , and accordingly presupposes their common source G (see note on p. 67). The text of G was, in every probability, in the hands of Ignatius, and the writers of the *Protevangelium Iacobi* and the *Actus Petri*.

Two editors at an early date edited G afresh. Each pursued his own aims independently, and in some cases added to the text, in others abridged it.

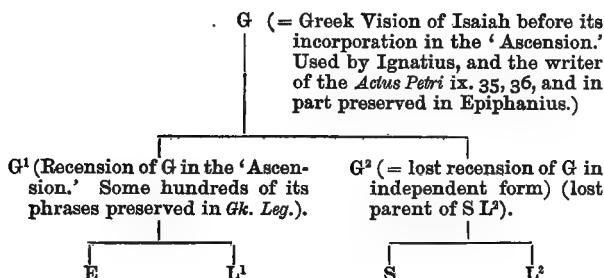
Their methods can be studied in vi.-xi., the chapters common to both, where in EL^1 and SL^2 we have very faithful reproductions of G^1 and G^2 respectively. The editor of G^1 , who was the editor of the entire work, has undoubtedly taken fewer liberties with the text before him, and has preserved important passages excised by the editor of G^2 (see pp. xxi.-xxiv.).

The actual text of G^1 was used by the author of the *Greek Legend*, and some hundreds of its phrases are literally reproduced in this work (see pp. 141-148), and that of G^2 was used by Jerome when writing his commentary on Isaiah lxiv. 4.

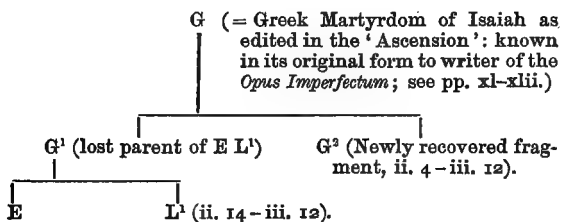
Of G^2 , owing to the happy discovery of last year, we are now in possession of two complete chapters, ii. 4-iv. 4. We must bear in mind that G^1 , G^2 , L^1 have not the same significance when used in reference to i.-v. as when used in reference to vi.-xi. (see p. xxxi).

From G^1 were made the Ethiopic, and a Latin version, E and L^1 , and from G^2 the Slavonic, and a Latin version, S and L^2 .

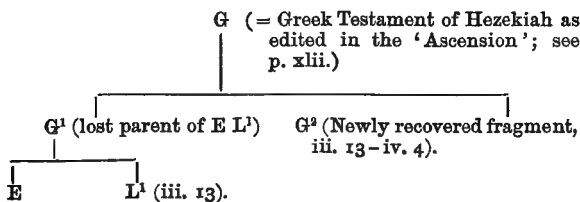
The following table will show at a glance the affinities of all the textual authorities on the Vision of Isaiah, vi.-xi. 1-40.



And on the Martyrdom of Isaiah :



And on the Testament of Hezekiah :



§ 12. CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

Under this heading I shall content myself, for the most part, with enumerating the critical inquiries of scholars on the subject of this book.

LAURENCE. *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819, pp. 141-180. This the earliest editor of the *Ascension of Isaiah* regarded it as the work of one hand, and as 'composed towards the close of the year 68, or in the beginning of the year 69.'

GESENIUS, *Commentar über den Jesaja*, Bd. i., 1821, pp. 45-56.

NITZSCH, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1830, pp. 209-246.

GIESELER, *Göttinger Pfingstprogramm*, 1832, distinguishes i.-v. and vi.-xi. as two independent writings, of Jewish and Christian origin respectively.

ENGELHARDT, *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, 1832, pp. 153 sqq.

GFRÖRER, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, 1838, i. 65-69, ii. 422 sqq.

HOFFMANN, A. G., art. 'Jesajas' in Ersch and Gruber's *Allg. Encyklop.*, sect. ii., Bd. xv. 387-390 (1838).

MOVERS-KAULEN. Wetzer's and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 1847, i. 338.

LÜCKE, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*², 1852, pp. 274-302, regarded i.-v. as a Jewish writing which was interpolated by a Jew before Origen, and after his time, in the fourth century, by a Christian in i. 5, iii. 13-iv. 24. vi.-xi. was written in the second half of the third century or earlier.

BLEEK, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, pp. 994-998.

EWALD, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*³, 1868, vii. 369-373.

LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, 1866, pp. 157-167.

DILLMANN, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877, pp. v.-xviii.; art. 'Pseudepigrapha' in Herzog's *Real-Enc.* xii. 359, 360. I will deal with this scholar's work under § 13.

RENAN, *L'église chrétienne*, 1879, pp. 528, 529.

JELLINEK, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vi., 1877, pp. xxxvii. sq. This writer makes no contribution to the explanation of our book.

BISSELL, *Apocrypha of O. T.*, 1880, pp. 669, 670.

STOKES, art. 'Isaiah, Ascension of,' in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 1882, iii. pp. 298-301. This is a most excellent piece of work, but hardly trustworthy as to its conclusions.

DEANE, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 236-275, summarizes well the results of previous research.

THOMSON, 'Books that influenced our Lord,' 1891, pp. 451-455.

ZÖCKLER, *Die Apokryphen des alten Testaments*, 1891, pp. 439, 440.

HARNACK, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, i. 854-856, ii. 573-579, 714 sq.

CLEMEN, 'Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja, ein ältestes Zeugnis für das römische Martyrium des Petrus,' *Z. f. W. T.*, 1896, 388-415. This is a learned article of Clemen. Few, however, will be prepared to accept his critical analysis of the book, and still fewer the date he assigns to the Jewish Christian

Apocalypse, iii. 13–iv. 22. On the other hand, the balance of evidence appears to be in favour of his main thesis, that we have in this work the oldest testimony to the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome.

ZELLER, 'Der Märtyrertod des Petrus in der Ascensio Jesaiae,' *Z. f. W. T.*, 1896, 558–568.

CLEMEN, 'Nochmals der Märtyrertod des Petrus in der Ascensio Jesaiae,' *Z. f. W. T.*, 1897, 455–465.

SCHÜRER, *Gesch. des Jüdischen Volks*³, 1898, iii. 280–285, gives a short account of our book, and the references to it in 'Patristic literature.' He appends a very full bibliography.

ROBINSON, 'The Ascension of Isaiah,' in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 499–501. A splendid article.

BEER, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 119–123. An excellent introduction but unhappily confined to ii.–iii. 12, v. 2–14.

BARTLET, *The Apostolic Age*, 1900, pp. 521–524. This scholar assigns iii. 13–v. 1 to the years 64–66 A.D.

§ 13. DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK.

All writers on the *Ascension*, save Laurence, recognise a plurality of authorship. For the most part they agree in assigning i.–v. to one source and vi.–xi. to another. Ewald was the first to distinguish the works of three different authors:—

i. vi. 1–xi. 1, 23–40.

ii. xi. 2–22, iii. 13–iv. 22.

iii. i. 1–iii. 12, v. 1–16, xi. 41–43.

This analysis has undoubtedly much to recom-

mend it. Dillmann remodelled it and put forward the following hypothesis, which is in some respects superior, in others inferior, to that of Ewald.

- i. The history of the Martyrdom of Isaiah, of Jewish origin: ii. 1 – iii. 12, v. 2–14.
- ii. The Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin: vi. 1 – xi. 1, 23–40.
- iii. The above two constituents were put together by a Christian writer, who prefixed i. 1, 2, 4^b–13, and appended xi. 42, 43.
- iv. Finally, a later Christian editor incorporated the two sections iii. 13 – v. 1 and xi. 2–22, and added as well the following verses, i. 3, 4^a, v. 15, 16, xi. 41.

Dillmann's view has, on the whole, been accepted by Harnack, Schürer, Deane, and Beer. Harnack, it is true, is in doubt as to the unity of the Christian Apocalyptic Vision iii. 13 – v. 1, xi. 2–22. All these scholars have been influenced by Gebhardt's statement that in the *Greek Legend* there is not a trace of iii. 13 – v. 1, xi. 2–22, and that, accordingly, these sections were absent from the text when the *Greek Legend* was composed. Thus, according to Gebhardt, Dillmann's analysis is confirmed by external evidence.

But Gebhardt's statement is wrong. Thus in *Greek Legend*, ii. 6, the words τὴν ὄρασιν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα are derived from iv. 19. Again in ii. 38 ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν θεοί, καὶ πλὴν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός are more nearly related to iv. 6, 8 than to x. 13. Again, ii. 11 ὁ κρατήσας τοῦ κόσμου comes from iv. 2 of our

book, and *εἰς ἀπωλείας ἐκπέμψει βυθόν* in the same passage appears to be founded on iv. 14. But the most striking passage is ii. 39 where the corrupt text *καταβήσῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ᾄδου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* is drawn literally from xi. 19, 20 of the *Ascension*.

The writer of the *Greek Legend*, therefore, was acquainted with the two sections in question. Furthermore, since elsewhere (pp. xxii.-xxiv.) we have shown that xi. 2-22 was an original constituent of vi.-xi., we are obliged to deny the validity of divisions ii. and iv. in Dillmann's theory.

Clemen, on very different grounds, has attacked Dillmann's hypothesis and sought to replace it by a much simpler one. According to this scholar the earliest part of the *Ascension* was a Jewish Christian Apocalypse, consisting of iii. 13-iv. 22, and written between the years 64-68, and the rest of the *Ascension* originated under the guidance of this passage. This theory of Clemen does not solve the problem.

We shall now attempt to discuss the problem *de novo*. In the first place the work is composite. This is obvious, and has been all but universally recognized from the fact that ii. 1-iii. 12 has been forcibly sundered from v. 1^b-14 by a piece of writing alien to it, iii. 13-iv. 22.

But the arbitrariness and disorder are not confined to this passage. This will be best shown if we compare the chronological order of the events narrated in the book with the order in which they are actually narrated.

Testament of Hezekiah¹, iii. 13^b—iv. 18—fifteenth year of Hezekiah (i. 4).

Isaiah's Vision, vi. — xi. 1—40—twentieth year of Hezekiah (i. 6, vi. 1).

Hezekiah gives commands to Manasseh in the presence of Isaiah, &c.: Isaiah's prophecy, i. 1—2^a, 6^b—13—twenty-sixth year of Hezekiah (i. 1).

Manasseh becomes king and puts Isaiah to death, ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 1^b—14—at least four years later than the date last mentioned.

A writer could hardly arrange his work in this topsy-turvy manner if he were writing it first-hand². On the other hand, if he was dealing with existing materials which did not admit of disintegration (such as vi.—xi., and in a less degree iii. 3^b—iv. 18) and easy incorporation into his work, the present disorder of the work becomes more intelligible.

Having recognized the general fact of the compositeness of the work, we must now proceed to

¹ See pp. xiii—xiv, xlv. 2, 29.

² Though modern scholars have not, so far as I am aware, noticed this strange medley, the writer of the *Greek Legend* was conscious of it, and recast the whole work. In order to avoid manifest inconsistencies he changed or omitted the dates before him. Thus Hezekiah's admonition to Manasseh he puts in the twenty-fifth year (twenty-sixth in *Ascension*), and omitting the date of Isaiah's vision (the twentieth year, i. 6, vi. 1) he represents it as subsequent to the admonition referred to. Hezekiah's vision belonging to the fifteenth year is almost without a reference. The date would have been in the way, but the reason more probably is that its contents were only remotely connected with the purpose the author of the *Gk. Leg.* had in hand.

details, and here, to some extent, we find ourselves at variance with our predecessors in this field.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah = i. 1, 2^a, 6^b-13^a, ii. 1-8, 10-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14. With Dillmann, Gebhardt, Schürer, and many other scholars, it is clear that we must assume the section on the Martyrdom as having been originally an independent work. The limits of this section, according to Dillmann, are ii. 1-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14. Dillmann rightly pointed out that the reasons assigned for Isaiah's martyrdom in these sections are quite different from those given in their adjoining contents, iii. 13, v. 1^a, v. 15, 16 (xi. 41). The last three have the appearance of editorial additions.

But the extent of the Martyrdom in our book is greater than that attributed to it by Dillmann. Other fragments survive in chapter i. Thus in ii. 1 the words 'he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah' suggest the questions, What commands were these? and when were they given? Now we find the probable answer to the latter question in i. 1, 2^a, in which Hezekiah summons Manasseh before him in the presence of Isaiah and Josab. The answer to the former question is still preserved in our text, though obscurely, owing to editorial additions. Thus in i. 6^b we learn that Isaiah gave certain commands to Manasseh. These are referred to in i. 7, ii. 1. What these commands were is not recorded in our book, but they are found in the Latin fragments preserved in the *Opus Imperfectum* (quoted in notes on pp. 8, 9), which go back

not to our text but to the original Martyrdom. There we find the explanation of many difficulties in our text. Thus in the first place we discover the reason for Isaiah summoning Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year, for the Latin supplies it: 'cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam.' In the next place, the object with which Hezekiah summoned Manasseh is not, as in our text, to become the depositary of certain visions (i. 2^b-6^a), but to receive certain directions as to his religious duties, the government of the kingdom, &c.: 'Vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa.' Now the final editor of our book, whose interests were centred in the visions, omitted these words, and attributed quite a different object to Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh. Hezekiah, he tells us, in i. 2, 6, summoned Manasseh 'in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen' (i.e. iii. 13^b-iv. 18), 'and also those which Isaiah the son of Amoz had given to him' (i.e. vi.-xi. 40). Hence we conclude that i. 2^b-6^a are editorial additions.

Thus the Latin passage referred to confirms a conclusion we should have arrived at independently. The Latin passage goes back apparently to the Martyrdom when existing in an independent form.

We have already seen that i. 1, 2^a, 6^b are derived from the original Martyrdom, but still more of this chapter comes from this source, indeed from 6^b to the close. This follows from the Latin passage

which either quotes or implies a knowledge of i. 7, 10, 12, 13. The term 'Beloved' in i. 13^a is most probably an editorial change; for the Latin quotes the words and gives 'Deus.' The last clause 'and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved' is no doubt from the editorial hand, and likewise a clause in verse 7. It brings the Jewish work on the Martyrdom into some connexion with the Christian elements of the *Ascension*.

The Testament of Hezekiah = iii. 13^b-iv. 18, and the *Vision of Isaiah* = vi.-xi. 1-40. With these two remaining constituents of our text we have now to deal.

We have elsewhere given reasons (pp. xiii-xiv, 2, 29) for regarding the former as having at one time existed independently. As it stands in the *Ascension* it is certainly mutilated, and without beginning or end.

The evidence is still stronger for the original independence of vi.-xi. 1-40. Thus the archetype of this section existed independently in Greek, inasmuch as the Latin and Slavonic versions L² S presuppose the independent circulation of G² in Western and Slavonic countries. Thus G², which preserved the independence of its archetype, differs in many notable respects, for better or worse, from G¹, which represents the form in which it was republished by the editor of the entire work.

Between the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah there are so many similarities of thought and diction that it is not unreasonable to assume that, though they appear to have been

independent works, they were the work of one and the same writer, or the work of two closely related writers.

Thus the following expressions and ideas are common to the two works:—The mention of the ‘seven heavens,’ iii. 18, iv. 14, 16, and *passim* in vi.–xi.; ‘garments’ (= the spiritual body), iv. 11, vii. 22, viii. 17, 26, &c.; ‘angel of the Holy Spirit,’ iii. 16, vii. 23, &c.; the blasphemous claim of the Antichrist, iv. 6, 8, x. 12, 13; judgement of the angels, and destruction of the world, iv. 18, x. 12.

On the other hand, it is not improbable that the Christian Testament of Hezekiah was based on an earlier Jewish work; for Hebrew or Aramaic idioms survive in the Greek, as εἰς καὶ εἰς καὶ εἰς ἐν τόποις καὶ τόποις in iii. 27. This Semitic idiom is reproduced, so far as possible, literally in the Ethiopic. The πολλοὶ καὶ πολλοί in iii. 19 seems to be simply a mistake for πολλοί. It has not the support of the Ethiopic.

To sum up: *the conditions of the problem are sufficiently satisfied by supposing a single editor, who had three works at his disposal, the Martyrdom of Isaiah of Jewish origin, and the two independent works, the Testament of Hezekiah, and the Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin. These he reduced or enlarged as it suited his purpose, and put them together as they stand in our text.* Some of the editorial additions are obvious, as i. 2^b–6^a, 13^a, ii. 9, iii. 13^a, iv. 1^a, iv. 19–v. 1^a, 15, 16, xi. 41–43.

§ 14. THE DATES OF THE VARIOUS CONSTITUENTS
OF THE 'ASCENSION.'

The Martyrdom (= i. 1, 2^a, 6^b-13^a, ii. 1-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14). The martyrdom is quoted by the *Opus Imperfectum* (pp. 8, 9 notes), Ambrose (p. 40 note), Jerome (p. 18 note), Origen (pp. xii, xiii, xlvi, xlvii, 17 note), Tertullian (p. 41 note), and it can hardly be denied by Justin Martyr (p. 14 note). It was probably known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37). This brings us, if the last reference is true, to the first century A.D. And this is no doubt the right date; for it is most improbable that works written by Jews in the second century should attain to circulation in the Christian Church.

The Testament of Hezekiah (= iii. 13^b-iv. 18). This vision, or testament, was written between 88-100 A.D. The *terminus ad quem* we have arrived at on pp. 30, 31, the *terminus a quo* on pp. lxxi, lxxii.

The Vision of Isaiah (= vi. - xi. 1-40). The later recension of this vision (G²) was used by Jerome (p. 81 note), a more primitive form of the text by Hieracas (p. 67 note), according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxvii. 3), by the Archontici (*Haer.* xl. 2). This shows that the book was in circulation towards the close of the third century. But it is much earlier attested by the *Actus Petri Vercellenses* (p. 77 note). This takes the Vision back to the second century, or at latest to early in the third. The Protevangel of James was apparently acquainted with it (see

notes on xi. 4, 8, 11), and I do think it is reasonable to explain the agreement between Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* xix. and xi. 16 (see note), otherwise than that the former is dependent on the latter. Thus the composition of the Vision in its primitive form G belongs to the close of the first century.

When the final editor put these works together in the form in which we now have them, it is impossible to say with any definiteness. Since the Greek papyrus fragment, which supposes the completed work, belongs to the fifth or sixth century, and presents many corruptions and variations from the text presupposed by E L¹, the work of editing is thrown back to the third century or earlier. The Latin version, which is found on a fifth or sixth-century palimpsest, and represents a corrupt and traditional form of L¹, demands such a date or an earlier one. When we consider also that the probable date of the Ethiopic version is the fifth century, it is probable that the work of editing goes back to early in the third century, or even to the second.

§ 15. THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH, AND THE ORIENTAL INFLUENCES APPARENT IN IT.

The legend of the Martyrdom took its origin, no doubt, in 2 Kings xxi. 16. Although Josephus does not mention it, it was certainly a Jewish tradition. That Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh is mentioned in the Talmud (*Jebam*, 49^b). Simeon ben Azzai found a statement to this effect in the

genealogical roll which he discovered in Jerusalem (Strack, *Einleitung in d. Talmud*², p. 82). In the *Babylonian Talmud* (trad. par M. Schwab, xi. 49) we have a tradition that shows traces of Eastern influences, and in some respects approaches the account in the *Ascension*. It is there recounted that Isaiah concealed himself from Manasseh in a cedar tree, but that the end of his cloak projecting from the tree betrayed his hiding-place, and thereupon Manasseh had the tree sawn in two with Isaiah in it.

The legend was known to the Apostolic age, if, as is generally assumed, we have in Heb. xi. 37 ἐπίσθησαν, a reference to the specific mode of Isaiah's martyrdom. But, even if this be doubtful, there is the evidence of the *Ascension* (i. 1, 2^a, 6^b-iii. 12, v. 1^b-14) which cannot be much later than the middle of the first century A.D. In the next century Justin Martyr quotes from our text (see p. 41, note), though without naming it, and likewise Tertullian (see same reference). When we come to Origen we find many references to the account of Isaiah's martyrdom in the *Ascension*. Thus in his Epistle to Africanus, ix (Lommatzsch, xvii. 31) καὶ τοῦτον παράδειγμα δώσομεν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν ἱστορούμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς μαρτυρούμενα (Heb. xi. 37) . . . Σαφὲς δ' ὅτι αἱ παραδόσεις λέγουσι πεπρίσθαι Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ ἐν τινὶ ἀποκρύφῳ τοῦτο φέρεται· ὅπερ τάχα ἐπίτηδες ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ῥεραδιούργηται, λέξεις τινὰς τὰς μὴ πρεπούσας παρεμβεβληκότων τῇ γράφῃ ἢ ἡ ὅλη ἀπιστηθῇ.

Again, on Matt. xxiii. 37 (Lommatzsch, iv. 237, 238) Origen appeals to the testimony of our book: 'Propterea videndum, ne forte oporteat ex libris secretioribus, qui apud Iudaeos feruntur, ostendere verbum Christi, et non solum Christi, sed etiam discipulorum eius . . . Fertur ergo in scripturis non manifestis serratum esse Iesaiam' (see also *ad Matt.* xiii. 57, quoted on p. xii, and in *Jesajam homil.* i. 5, quoted on p. 17 note).

Now that we have shown that the tradition of Isaiah's martyrdom was familiar to Jew and Christian from the first century onward, it is noteworthy that the form in which it is recorded appears to be derived from Eastern sources. What I refer to particularly is to martyrdom by means of *a wooden saw at the instigation of Satan*. To explain what I mean, I will make use of Larionoff's translation from the Persian of the 'Histoire du Roi Djemchid et des Divs' (*Journal Asiatique*, pp. 59-83, Juillet-Août, 1889), and his learned notes on this legend.

Larionoff regards the *Zend Avesta* as the source of the various legends of this nature which reappear in Jewish, Persian, and Arabic works. The hero's name, according to the *Zend Avesta*, is Yima Khsaêta, i. e. Djemchid. The story is summarized by Darmesteter (*Zend Avesta*, traduction nouvelle, 1892, i. 86, ii. 17, 18):—After a reign of 1000, or according to other authorities 616½ years, Yima was dethroned for his blind pride in accepting divine worship, and sawn in two by the serpent of

three heads, Azhi Dahâka, and Spityura (*Yasht*, xix. 34 sqq., 46). Dahâka then ruled and laid waste the land for 1000 years, at the close of which he was overthrown and cast into chains. Before the end he was to be set free for a period (*Yasht*, xiii. 61).

Turning now to the above Persian writing translated by Larionoff, we find that when Djemchid's throne was seized by Zohak, the man of serpents, he fled into the wilderness. One hundred years later, Ahriman and Biver (Zohak) having come upon him there, God caused a tree to open itself in order that Djemchid might conceal himself therein. Ahriman and Zohak accordingly failed to find him till Iblis informed them. Thereupon they ordered the tree to be sawn in twain. After several failures, this attempt succeeded on the third day, and Djemchid was killed. Again, in the *Shah-nameh* (trad. par J. Mohl, i. 47) this legend reappears, where it is told that, after having remained hidden for 100 years, Djemchid was discovered on the borders of the Chinese sea, and sawn asunder by Zohak.

From Jewish and Christian sources the legend passed over to the Mohammedans. The historian Tabari (*Journal Asiatique*, p. 64) tells how that when Isaiah admonished Joakim, the successor of Amon, on account of his evil deeds, the Israelites sought to slay him. Thereupon Isaiah fled, and took refuge in a tree which had opened at God's command to receive him. But Iblis seized his

cloak, and, when the tree closed, a piece of the cloak remained outside and betrayed Isaiah's hiding-place to his pursuers (cf. *Jerusalem Talmud* above), who thereupon sawed the tree in which Isaiah was (*Chronique de Tabari*, traduite par M. Zotenberg, i. 490, 491)¹.

§ 16. VALUE OF THE 'ASCENSION' FOR THE HISTORY OF OUTLYING RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

Seeing that in § 16 I deal at length with the question of the *Antichrist Legend*, of which a special development appears in the *Ascension*, I can only briefly draw attention to a few other points that cannot be omitted in this connexion.

1. *The Seven Heavens*. The conception of the seven heavens which prevailed in certain sections of Judaism is here abandoned. No evil is allowed to enter any of the heavens. Satan is cast down to the Firmament under the first heaven. On the other hand, the five lower heavens are only in partial communication with the sixth and seventh. For a comparison of the various descriptions of the Seven Heavens in Judaism and Early Christianity, see my edition of the *Slavonic Enoch*, pp. xxx-xlvii.

2. *Rise of Docetism*. Traces of this appear in xi. 7-11, where the birth of Christ is represented as taking place without any natural pangs. ix. 13 does not necessarily fall under this head.

¹ For an admirable and concise note on this question see Beer (*Apoc. u. Pseudepig. des Alten Testaments*, ii. 122, 123).

3. *Peculiar conception of the Trinity.* The Son and the Holy Spirit receive adoration and worship, ix. 27-36, but they in turn worship God, ix. 39, 40. Moreover, the Holy Spirit is spoken of as an angel, the Angel of the Spirit, or the Angel of the Holy Spirit, just as, in the *De Principiis*, i. 4, Origen writes that, according to his Hebrew teacher, the two Seraphim seen by Isaiah in the vision (Is. vi.) were the only begotten Son and the Holy Spirit ('duo illa Seraphim, quae in Esaia senis alis describuntur clamantia adinvicem et dicentia : Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth : de unigenito Filio Dei et Spiritu Sancto essent intelligenda').

The Holy Spirit is often designated, either as the Angel of the Spirit, iv. 21, ix. 39, 40, x. 4, xi. 4, or the Angel of the Holy Spirit, iii. 16, vii. 23, ix. 36, xi. 33. In two of these passages, iii. 16 and xi. 4, He is identified with Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation. This certainly is the case in xi. 4, and all but certainly in iii. 16.

4. *The use of the phrase 'One like a Son of Man.'* This phrase, with a Messianic meaning, is found in the addition peculiar to SL² in xi. 1, but, as we have shown elsewhere (see p. xxvi), is most probably derived from the archetype G; for the use of such an expression subsequent to the first century of the Christian era is hardly conceivable. It is easy to understand its rejection by the editor of G¹, as he shows signs of early Docetism. For other instances of its use see Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14.

5. *Doctrine of the Resurrection.* This doctrine is

very spiritually represented on the later Pauline lines in iv. 15-17, viii. 14, ix. 17, 18. Immediately after death the faithful receive their 'garments' or spiritual bodies (as in 2 Cor. v. 1-8); their 'thrones' and 'crowns,' which signify the consummation of their blessedness, they do not receive till after the ascension of Christ (ix. 17, 18). This date of the consummation of the righteous would not agree with the Pauline teaching.

§ 17. THE ANTICHRIST, BELIAR, AND NERONIC MYTHS, AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT FUSION.

The actual significance of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths, and the dates of their fusion with each other, as attested by the *Ascension of Isaiah*, present us with the most difficult question in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic literature.

It fairly bristles with problems. Many of these, it is true, have already been solved, and others are on the way to solution. Nevertheless, a large number still bid defiance to the student and investigator. This failure, hitherto, is largely to be attributed to the erroneous views which have prevailed on the nature of Apocalyptic and the *Antichrist Legend*, as Gunkel and Bousset have shown at some length. In this field the services of these scholars have been truly epoch-making. It is with the writings of the latter scholar that we are here more immediately concerned; particularly with his *Antichrist Legend*, his Commentary

on Revelation, and his article 'Antichrist' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. These works, while most helpful and stimulating in many directions, do not deal satisfactorily with the relations of Beliar and the Antichrist, and their account of the fusion of the latter with the Neronic Saga is wanting in lucidity and consistency. The aim of the present chapter is to touch briefly on the history of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths, before the fusion of any one of them with another, or of each with all, and next to mention the various passages where such fusion is attested, with their approximate dates. Thus I shall deal with

I. *The independent development of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths.*

II. *The fusion of the Antichrist myth with that of Beliar, and subsequently, and independently, with the Neronic myth.*

III. *The fusion of all these myths together.*

I. *The independent development of (i.) the Antichrist, (ii.) Beliar, (iii.) Neronic myths.*

(i.) *The Antichrist myth.* The term 'Antichrist' is comparatively late, though the thought signified by it is early. Thus it was not coined till far on in the first century of our era; for it is found only in the Johannine Epistles—1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. The idea, however, is expressed in Dan. xi. 36, 'he shall exalt himself . . . above the God of gods' (spoken of Antiochus), and in 2 Thess. ii. 4, 'he that opposeth himself (ὁ ἀντικείμενος) . . .

against all that is called God.' This idea, before its fusion with that of Beliar, implies a being of human origin, whereas Beliar, who came subsequently to be identified with the Antichrist, was originally a superhuman or Satanic being.

That Antichrist denotes a *god-opposing being of human origin*, we shall now proceed to prove. The earliest historical personage identified with him was Antiochus Epiphanes. The language applied to this king by the writer recalls, though it may be unconsciously, the old Babylonian Saga of the Dragon's assault on the gods of heaven. Thus in viii. 10 it is said of him: 'It waxed great even to the host of heaven; and some of the host and of the stars it cast down to the ground and trampled upon them.' These words describe in symbolical terms Antiochus' attack on the heathen deities. This attack is mentioned again in xi. 36, 37 in plain, unfigurative language. The same verses describe the god-opposing character of Antiochus: 'He shall magnify himself above every god and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods (LXX *ὁψωθήσεται ἐπὶ πάντα θεόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν ἑξαλλα λαλήσει*) . . . neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers.'

The next historical character to whom epithets befitting the Antichrist are applied is Pompey the Great, who committed the unpardonable act of profanation, by entering the Holy of Holies after his conquest of Jerusalem. Thus, in the Psalms of Solomon (48-40 B.C.) he is called 'the Dragon'

(ὁ δράκων), ii. 29. Is there an allusion here to the Dragon myth¹? If so, it is at most only an unconscious survival. Pompey is described as 'the sinner,' ii. 1 (ὁ ἁμαρτωλός), the personification of sin (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας—the reading of the inferior uncials). He is also called 'the lawless one' (ὁ ἄνομος), xvii. 13, an attribute of Beliar. But since his soldiers are designated 'the lawless ones' (οἱ ἄνομοι), xvii. 20, the epithet may mean no more than heathen as in 1 Cor. ix. 21, and probably in Acts ii. 23, 'by the hand of lawless men' (διὰ χειρὸς ἀνόμων). 'Lawlessness' (ἀνομία) in 2 Cor. vi. 14 is specifically heathen. The epithet 'lawless' is, if technically used, proper to the Beliar myth (see below).

The next reference to the Antichrist is to be found in the Apocalypse of Baruch xxxvi.—xl. (date uncertain, before 70 A.D.). The rise of the Fourth Kingdom (= Rome) is referred to xxxix. 5, and subsequently the head of the Roman Commonwealth or Empire, xxxvi. 5, xxxix. 3, xl. 1. After all his hosts have been destroyed he is brought before the Messiah to Mount Zion to receive his sentence of destruction, xxxvi. 5–11, xl. 1, 2. In 4 Ezra v. 1–6 we have the signs of the last times recorded in great fullness. Amongst these the rise of the Fourth Empire (= Rome) is foretold, v. 3, 4, and subsequently the reign of Antichrist under the enigmatical words 'He shall rule, whom they that dwell upon the

¹ On the mythological origin of this expression see Cheyne's art. 'Dragon' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i.

earth look not for.' It is not improbable that the Antichrist in this passage, also, is to be regarded as of Roman origin.

In all the above passages the Antichrist is a god-opposing being *of human not of superhuman origin, of Gentile not of Jewish descent.*

In the Johannine Epistles of the New Testament (1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7) the Antichrist is a collective name for the false teachers¹ who have gone forth from the bosom of the Church. Neither this nor any other conception of Antichrist is to be confused with that of the pseudo-Christ (*ψευδόχριστος*) of Matt. xxiv. 24, Mark xiii. 22: the Antichrist in these Epistles is a deceiver (*πλάνους*). The personal Antichrist is most probably referred to in John v. 43, 'If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.'

(ii.) *The Beliar myth.* In the Old Testament Beliar does not appear as a proper name: see Bennett and Cheyne's article 'Beliar,' in vol. i. of *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. For Beliar conceived as a person we must come down to pseudepigraphal literature. In this literature Beliar, for the first time, attains to personality. Thus in *Jubilees*, i. 20, we read: 'Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people . . . and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee.' Since, elsewhere, Satan is conceived as the

¹ Closely allied to this conception is that of the false prophet in Rev. xvi. 13, who is described at length in xiii. 11-17. Of this characterization of the Antichrist, however, we shall treat subsequently.

accuser of the brethren (cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Eth. En. xl. 7; Rev. xii. 10), Beliar is to be regarded as a Satan, or the Satan¹. In the last passage, Rev. xii. 10, Satan is identified with the Dragon which stormed the heavens, and Beliar, who has his abode in the firmament, *Asc. Is.*, vii. 9, appears to be a Jewish transformation of this monster of Babylonian mythology. Thus it is through the Beliar constituent of the developed Antichrist myth that the old Dragon Saga² from Babylon gained an entrance into the eschatologies of Judaism and Christianity. To return, Beliar like Satan possesses authority in the world of evil agencies; thus it is he that sends seven evil spirits against man to work his undoing, Test. xii Patriarchs *Rub.* ii. Possibly in 2 Cor. vi. 15, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial,' Beliar may be identified with Satan; see, however, below. Again, just as the name Satan belonged to a number of evil spirits (see *Eth. En.*, xl. 7), so apparently did Beliar. Thus in Test. xii

¹ This identification appears throughout the Christian pseud-épigraph *The Questions of Bartholomew*, ed. Bonwetsch, 1897. It will be sufficient to quote iv. 25, ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Βελίαρ λέγει· Εἰ θέλεις μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομά μου, πρῶτον ἐλεγόμεν Σαταναήλ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐξάγγελος θεοῦ· ὅτε δὲ ἀπέγνων ἀντίτυπον τοῦ θεοῦ [καὶ] ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου Σατανᾶς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄγγελος ταραποῦχος. This tradition is attested before 70 A.D.: see the *Slavonic Enoch*, xviii. 3; xxix. 4, 5; xxxi. 4. According to this last and other Jewish writings Satan was originally regarded as an angel of God, and thus quite different from the Babylonian Dragon. Hence we have here a syncretism.

² See Cheyne's art. 'Dragon' in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i.; Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 155.

Patriarchs *Levi* 3, it is said 'the spirits of deceit and of Beliar' will be punished, and in *Levi* 18 that Beliar himself will be bound. For other references see notes on i. 8 of our text and below. From the above evidence we may conclude that *at the beginning of the Christian era, if not much earlier, Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit.* In the sequel we shall, I think, recognize that Beliar was never regarded as aught else than a Satanic spirit, until the Beliar myth was amalgamated with that of Antichrist.

(iii.) *The Neronic myth.* Since we have here to deal only with the early and independent development of the Neronic myth, our present task is simply to show that soon after the death of Nero the myth became current that (a) Nero had not really died, but was still living; and (b) that he would soon return from the far East to take vengeance on Rome.

(a) When Nero, with the help of a freedman, committed suicide and was cremated (Suetonius, *Nero* 49), so great was the public joy that the people thronged the streets in holiday attire (*Nero* 57). All, however, did not share in the general rejoicing, nor yet in the belief of Nero's death. Thus Tacitus writes that there were many who pretended and believed that he was still alive (*Hist.* ii. 8, 'vario super exitu eius rumore eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque'), and Suetonius declares that edicts were issued in his name, as though he were still alive and would return speedily to destroy his enemies (*Nero* 57,

'edicta quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri'). That this belief gained a wide currency very soon after Nero's decease, is shown by the fact that within a year after it (69 A.D.) an impostor had already appeared under his name. The pretender in this movement was put to death in Cythnus by Calpurnius Asprenas (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8, 9, Dio Cassius, lxiv. 9).

(b) That Nero had taken refuge in the far East probably formed a constituent of the myth from the outset¹; for we are told that prophecies made during his lifetime had pointed to the East as the scene of his future greatness. Some of these declared that he would make Jerusalem the seat of his empire, and others that he would finally recover the sovereignty of the world (Suet. *Nero* 40, 'Sponponderant tamen quidam destituto Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinae fortunae restitutionem'). It was, probably, such vaticinations as these, combined with the fact that Nero had already established friendly relations with the Parthian king Vologeses I (*Nero* 57), that led Nero, as the end drew nigh, to think of fleeing to the Parthians (*Nero* 47).

In conformity with this expectation we find that the second pseudo-Nero appeared under Titus on the Euphrates, about 80 A.D., and was recognized by the Parthian king Artabanus (Zonaras xi. 18). Finally, in the reign of Domitian, about 88 A.D., a

¹ See further evidence for this statement below in the *Sibylline Oracles*, pp. lix-lx.

third pretender came forward among the Parthians, and all but succeeded in hurling Parthia against Rome (Tac. *Hist.* i. 2, 'mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio'; Suet. *Nero* 57).

Even as late as 100 A.D. the belief was current that Nero was still alive. Thus Dio Chrysostomus, *Orat.* xxi. 10, καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι οἴονται. But this statement is hyperbolic.

The Nero myth was thus firmly rooted among the common folk of the Gentile world within the first decade after his death. Within the same decade it had established itself in the eschatology of Hellenistic Judaism. This statement can be proved from the following passages in the *Sibylline Oracles*. Thus in v. 143-147, which belongs to the oldest sections of the book, and was written 71-74 A.D. (see 155-161) as Zahn (*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1886, 337 sqq.) and Bousset rightly assert, the flight of Nero from Babylon (= Rome) to the Parthians is mentioned—

Φεύζεται ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἄναξ φοβερὸς καὶ ἀναιδής,
 ὃν πάντες στυγέουσι βροτοὶ καὶ φῶτες ἄριστοι·
 ὤλεσε γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ γαστέρι χεῖρας ἐφῆκεν,
 εἰς ἀλόχους ἤμαρτε καὶ ἐκ μιαρῶν ἐτέτυκτο.
 ἦξει δ' ἐς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν παμβασιλῆας . . .

Nero's return is foretold in 361 sqq.—

ἔσσεται ὑστατίῳ καιρῷ περὶ τέρμα σελήνης
 κοσμομανῆς πόλεμος καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος ἐν δολότητι.
 ἦξει δ' ἐκ περάτων γαίης μητροκτόνος ἀνὴρ . . .
 ὃς πᾶσαν γαῖαν καθελεῖ καὶ πάντα κρατήσει.

Early in the next decade¹ we find other testimonies to the prevalence of this myth. Thus in iv. 119-122 (circ. 80 A.D.) Nero is described as a fugitive to Parthia—

καὶ τότε ἅπ' Ἰταλίας βασιλεὺς μέγας οἶά τε δρήστης
 φεύξεται ἄφαντος ἄπυστος ὑπὲρ πόρον Εὐφρήταο,
 ὃς ποτε δὴ μητρῶον ἄγος στυγεροῖο φόνοιο
 τλήσεται ἄλλα τε πολλὰ κακίστη χειρὶ πιθήσας.

and in iv. 137-139 as returning to assail the West at the head of a vast host—

ἐς δὲ δύσιν τότε νείκος ἐχειρόμενον πολέμοιο,
 ἥξει καὶ Ῥώμης ὁ φυγὰς, μέγα ἔγχος αἰείρας,
 Εὐφρήτην διαβὰς πολλαῖς ἅμα μυριάδεσσιν.

In the New Testament. This widespread expectation has left its memorial also in the New Testament. The first passage referring to the embattled might of the kings of the East marching against Rome is Rev. xvi. 12, 'And the sixth poured out his bowl upon the great river, the Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way might be made ready *for the kings that come from the sunrising.*' But in xvii. the traces of this myth are far more abundant and unmistakable. Indeed, as very many scholars have already observed, this chapter in original form was a symbolic description by a Jewish writer of Nero's returning at the head of the Parthian kings. Nero is the eighth king

¹ With later testimonies from the *Sibylline Oracles* as to the Neronic Myth in this stage we are not here concerned: they will be found in v. 93 sqq., viii. 70, 71, 145, 146.

mentioned in xvii. 11, yet he is one of the seven spoken of in the same verse, the last of whom was Vespasian. The chapter, however, was subsequently worked over and adapted to the form of the later Neronic Myth. Thus verses 8, 11^a, 14, 15 tell of Nero redivivus. He is 'the beast' 'that was and is not and is about to come up out of the abyss' (verse 8), and again, in the same verse, the beast which 'was and is not and shall have his parusia' (παρέσται). Similarly in verse 11^a. By excising, with Bousset, 6^b, 8, 11^a, 14, 15, we can in large measure recover the original form of the Jewish document which prophesied the destruction of Rome by Nero and the Parthian kings. These kings are symbolically described in verses 12, 13, 'And the ten horns that thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but they receive authority as kings, with the beast, for one hour. These have one mind and they give their power and authority unto the beast.'

II. *The fusion of the Antichrist myth (i.) with that of Beliar before 60 A.D.; and (ii.) independently with that of Nero redivivus, 88-100 A.D.*

(i.) As a result of this fusion the Antichrist is regarded as (a) *A God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers.* This appears to have been effected on Christian soil before 50 A.D. (b) *A purely Satanic power, before 70 A.D.*

(a) 2 Thess. ii. 1-12, according to the usual interpretation, presents an indubitable instance of

this fusion. Thus, on the one hand, we have Beliar. 'The man of lawlessness' (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας) is all but certainly a translation of Beliar; for ἀνόμημα is the LXX rendering of it in Deut. xv. 9, and ἀνομία in 2 Kings xxii. 5, and παράνομος is frequently found as its equivalent, when it is used as an epithet: Deut. xiii. 13; Judges xix. 22, xx. 13; 2 Kings xvi. 7, xx. 1, xxiii. 5, &c.

In the next place it is Beliar appearing as the Antichrist; for the words 'he that opposeth himself . . . against all that is called God' (ὁ ἀντικείμενος . . . ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεόν) form an excellent definition of the Antichrist. If 2 Thess. is an authentic writing of St. Paul (and the evidence appears to me to point decidedly in this direction), we have here the earliest evidence for the fusion of these myths (circ. 50 A.D.¹), and also for *the humanization of the Beliar myth through its fusion with that of Antichrist*; for hitherto Beliar had been conceived as a Satanic or superhuman being². The Antichrist thus comes to be conceived as *a God-opposing man armed with miraculous or Satanic powers*.

We should next observe that in 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 the myth appears to have a purely *religious* signification and not a *political* one as in Rev. xiii. 1-10, xvii. Thus in 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7 the Roman empire

¹ Schmiedel's view which regards 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 (see his most excellent Commentary *in loc.*, p. 43) as a Beliar-Neronic myth (68-70 A.D.) is at conflict with the law of development as well as with all the evidence accessible on the subject.

² The passage in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 63-74, will be discussed later.

is referred to as the power which checks the manifestation of the Antichrist, whereas in Rev. xiii. 1-10, xvii., it is the Roman empire itself that is the Antichrist. In no case could 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 have been written after 70 A.D. This section, whether of Pauline authorship or not, is in its main features a Christian transformation of a current Judaistic myth.

In 2 Thess. ii. 1-12 the Antichrist appears as a human sovereign armed with miraculous powers. In Rev. xiii. 11-17 he is a false teacher rather; hence this conception is more akin to that which prevails in the Johannine Epistles. Though both in John and Rev. xiii. 11-17 the Antichrist is human, in the latter passage he is armed with Satanic powers and 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by reason of the signs which it was given him to do in the sight of the beast' (xiii. 14). His task is to make the inhabitants of the earth worship the first beast (i.e. Beliar Nero), whose death-stroke had been healed (xiii. 12). The reference in this passage is most probably to the priesthood which was attached to the cultus of the Caesars (Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, Bousset), and had as the chief seat of its activity the province of Asia. This Antichrist is designated 'the false prophet' in xvi. 13.

Again, it is possible, as Bousset says, that 'the abomination of desolation' in Matt. xxiv. 15, which belongs to the Judaistic Apocalypse introduced among the genuine utterances of our Lord, is to be

interpreted as the Antichrist taking his seat in the temple of Jerusalem; cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4. This would constitute the original sense of the Apocalypse: its application to Rome would be an afterthought.

The same fusion of these conceptions may be attested also in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Thus in Dan. 5 the Messiah is represented as making war on Beliar and stripping him of his captives (ποιήσει πρὸς τὸν Βελίαρ πόλεμον . . . καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λάβη (*sic*) ἀπὸ τοῦ Βελίαρ ψυχὰς ἁγίων). Both the date and the nationality of this writer are uncertain. In this passage, however, as well as in *Levi* 18, where the Messiah is represented as binding Beliar, Beliar may be conceived merely as Satan (cf. Eph. iv. 8).

Sibylline Oracles, ii. 167, 168 (circ. 200 A.D.) should probably be cited under this head—

καὶ Βελίαρ θ' ἥξει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει
ἀνθρώποις·

(b) *The Beliar Antichrist* = a purely Satanic power before 70 A.D. (or 30 A.D.?). This stage of the myth is found in Rev. xi. 7, 'And when they shall have finished their testimony, *the beast that cometh up out of the abyss* shall make war with them and overcome them and kill them.' The Antichrist in this instance makes his advent *in Jerusalem* (see verse 8), therefore before 70 A.D. This form of the myth is quite independent of that which appears in Rev. xiii. and xiv., where it is amalgamated with the Neronic Myth and assumes a political character.

It is not clear whether 2 Cor. vi. 15, 'what concord hath Christ with Beliar?' should be reckoned under this head or under i. 2. On the other hand it may not be wrong to recognize in the *Assumption of Moses*, x. 1. 2, an instance of this compound conception.

'And then His (God's) Kingdom will appear
throughout creation

And then Satan will be no more

And sorrow will depart with him.

Then the hands of the angel (Michael) will be
filled

And he will be appointed chief

And he will avenge them of their enemies.'

If this passage comes rightly under this head, then the fusion of the ideas of Beliar and Anti-christ must be anterior to 30 A.D.

'(ii.) *Fusion of the Antichrist Myth with that of the Nero redivivus*¹. This fusion could hardly have taken place before the first half of Domitian's reign, when the last Neronic pretender appeared. As soon, however, as the hope of the return of the living Nero could no longer be enter-

¹ It is quite possible that the passages which I have classed under this head might on equally cogent grounds be reckoned under III. The course adopted in the text has been followed owing to the appearance of the Dragon (i. e. Satan or Beliar) and the Neronic Antichrist on the same canvas in Rev. xiii. 1-10. But this fact is in itself far from decisive. Moreover, the simple Neronic myth appears to need some infusion of the Beliar myth in order to develop the expectation of Nero redivivus, or Nero as a semi-demonic power.

tained, the way was prepared for this transformation of the myth. The living Nero indeed was no longer expected to return from the East, but Nero¹ was to be restored to life from the abyss by the Dragon, i.e. Satan. This expectation is recounted in Rev. xiii. First the beast that comes up out of the sea with ten horns and seven heads is clearly to be identified with the Roman empire (xiii. 1). To this beast the Dragon gives his power and his throne (xiii. 2). But one of his heads (i.e. Nero) had been as it were smitten unto death, but the death-stroke was healed, that is, Nero was restored to life, xiii. 3, 14. Nero, so restored, spoke 'great things and blasphemies,' and authority was given to him to reign for 'forty and two months,' that is the three and a half years for which, according to universal tradition, the Antichrist was to rule (see p. 29 note). Further references to Nero redivivus as the Antichrist will be found in xvii. 8: 'The beast, that thou sawest, was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and to go

¹ That Nero is referred to under the mystical number 666 (Rev. xiii. 18) may be regarded as established. This interpretation was arrived at nearly seventy years ago. We obtain the number 666 by transliterating *Nep̄wv Kaīsar* into Hebrew, and adding together the sums denoted by the Hebrew letters. Thus נרון קסר (נ=50, ר=200, ו=6, ך=50, ק=100, ס=60, ר=200)=666. This solution is confirmed by the fact that it is possible to explain by it an ancient (Western?) variant for the number 666, i.e. 616. This latter, which is attested by Irenaeus (V. 30. 1), the commentary of Ticonius, and the uncial C, can be explained from the Latin form of the name Nero, which by its omission of the final *n* makes the sum total 616 instead of 666.

into perdition'; and again, 'when they beheld the beast, how that he was, and is not, and shall come.' Finally, in verse 11 of the same chapter the identification of Nero redivivus with the Antichrist is inevitable. 'And the beast that was, and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven, and he goeth to perdition.'

In the above passages Nero redivivus and the Roman Empire are identified. The former is regarded as an incarnation of all the might and horror of the latter.

III. *Fusion of the Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic myths in various degrees and forms.*

From this fusion the myth emerges in three forms, which owe their diversity in the main to the three variations of the Neronic myth which enter into the combination. These forms are: (i.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as alive.* The Antichrist has here a political significance, and is human. (ii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in the form of the dead Nero.* The Antichrist has here no political significance, and is a Satanic being. (iii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.*

(i.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero still conceived as living*—before 90 A.D. We have seen above, from documentary evidence, that before 80 A.D. the myth had gained wide circulation both among Gentiles and Jews, that Nero

was still living in the East, and would speedily return to avenge himself on Rome. We have further seen that long before 80 A.D. the minds of both Jews and Christians were familiar with the expectation of the Antichrist pure and simple, and of the Antichrist possessing the attributes of Beliar or Satan, and so denoting a God-opposing man armed with miraculous powers, or a truly Satanic being. So strong was the tendency of such mythical currents to merge in a common stream that it is not surprising to find this coalescence achieved in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 63-74. This passage is unhappily of uncertain date, though no doubt before 90 A.D., since Nero is still regarded as alive. Its significance, however, cannot be mistaken. Beliar comes as Antichrist, and is descended from Augustus (ἐκ Σεβαστηνῶν)¹. That this descendant of Augustus is Nero there is no room for doubt. The lines in question are

ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἥξει Βελίαρ μετόπισθεν
καὶ στήσει ὀρέων ἕψος, στήσει δὲ θάλασσαν
ἡέλιον πυρόεντα μέγαν λαμπράν τε σελήνην
καὶ νέκρας στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει . . .
καὶ δύναμις φλογέσσα δι' οὐδατος ἐς γαῖαν ἥξει
καὶ Βελίαρ φλέξει καὶ ὑπερφιάλους ἀνθρώπους,
πάντας, ὅσοι τούτῳ πίστιν ἐνεποιήσαντο.

To assign these lines to 30 B.C., as Gfrörer, Hilgen-

¹ The excision of 61^b-63^a as an interpolation by Bleek, Lücke and Schürer only serves to aggravate the confusion of the text.

feld, Bousset, and other scholars have done, is impossible unless the Σεβαστηνοί=the inhabitants of Σεβαστή, i.e. Samaria. In that case the passage would come under II. i. (b).

(ii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as Antichrist in the form of the dead Nero.* In due time the belief that Nero was still alive in the East began to die. The time of its extinction must naturally have varied according to temperament and locality. It is accordingly difficult to assign definite dates. Since, however, the latest pretender to the Neronic rôle came forward in 88 A.D., we may not unreasonably infer that from that year the belief began to lose its grip on the common folk—on none others had it ever any real hold—and to decline steadily till it finally disappeared. No doubt during the next twenty to forty years it crops up sporadically, but even during that period its place has been taken by two rival and stronger forms of the same saga.

These new forms of the saga may have already been evolved in the later years of Vespasian. The older form, with which we have now to deal, is at all events not later than 90–100 A.D. This phase of the Antichrist Myth is found in the present work, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, iv. 2–4, ‘And after (the world) is consummated, Beliar, the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother: who himself (even) this king 3. Will persecute

the plant which the Twelve Apostles have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hand. 4. This ruler in the form of that king will come, &c.'

From this passage it is manifest that the belief in Nero being still alive had already been abandoned. Nero's history belongs to the past. It is recorded in iv. 2-3. In such a case, if the Apocalyptic writer is bent on retaining the Neronic element, one of two courses is open. Either Beliar must come in the form of the dead Nero, or Nero must be recalled to life by a Satanic miracle. The first course is adopted by the writer of the *Ascension*, the second by the author of Rev. xiii, xvii. 8, 11^a. The latter representation we have discussed already. Our present concern is with the former, and particularly with its probable date. This is a question of importance; for it has been objected on the one hand by Zeller that this form of the myth belongs to the second century (*Z.f. W. T.*, 'Der Märtyrertod des Petrus in der Ascension Jesaiae,' 1896, 558-568), and on the other by Harnack that it cannot be earlier than the third (*Gesch. d. altchristl. Litteratur*, ii. 573-579).

Zeller is moved to make this assertion on grounds really foreign to the subject at issue, such as the date of the Simon Magus romance, and the distinction which is already drawn in iii. 24, 29, between bishops and presbyters, a distinction that, in his opinion, was not established before the second half of the second century. Into the merits

of these questions it is needless to enter at present. We must rather turn to Harnack, who backs up his view with the statement that it cannot be proved that the conception of the returning Nero as the Antichrist prevailed in Christian circles of the second century. In the face of Rev. xiii, and Rev. xvii. 8, 11^a, and certain passages in *Sibylline Oracles*, v, which severally belong to various years of the period 88-150, we cannot understand on what grounds such a statement can be maintained.

In pages 714-716 of the same work, Harnack has rightly recognized that the Antichrist conception in the *Ascension* is compounded of two ideas: (1) that Nero would return as the Antichrist; (2) that the devil is Antichrist. Now we have seen above, in II. i. (b), that the latter expectation did prevail, most probably before 30 A.D., and certainly before 70 A.D., and also that the former expectation is in all likelihood attested in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 63-74 (see III. i. above), before 90 A.D., and certainly in Rev. xiii, xvii. 8, 11^a, not later than 100 A.D., and possibly as early as 90 A.D. There is thus no real difficulty in the evolution of such a myth as appears in the *Ascension* before 100 A.D.

Seeing, therefore, that, probably as early as the close of Vespasian's reign, the materials were at hand for the formation of the myth, we may very reasonably set down 88 A.D. as the earliest probable date for the form of the myth, which is presented in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. We have found else-

where (see pp. xliv, 30, 31) that the section in which the form in question occurs cannot be later than 100 A.D. Hence 88-100 is the approximate date for this phase of the Antichrist legend.

(iii.) *Incarnation of Beliar as the Antichrist in Nero redivivus.* It is quite possible that the phase of the Antichrist myth which I have given under heading II. (ii.) should appear here (see note on p. lxxv). In that case this development would belong to the reign of Domitian.

In the *Sibylline Oracles*, v. 28-34 (written in the reign of Hadrian), the enigmatical account of Nero appears to involve all the above elements. Thus it is Nero redivivus that is described; for the author of the lines is writing two generations after Nero's death. In the next place he is called in semi-mythological language 'the serpent' (herein we have the Beliar element), and finally he makes himself equal to God. The lines bearing on our subject in this book are 28, 29, 33, 34:—

πεντηκόντα δ' ὃ τις κεραίην λάχε, κοίρανος ἔσται
δεινὸς ὄφης¹ . . .

ἀλλ' ἔσται καὶ ἄϊστος ὁ λογίος· εἴτ' ἀνακάμψει
ισάζων θεῷ αὐτόν· ἐλέγξει δ' οὐ μιν ἔοντα.

Book v. 214-227 belongs more clearly to the above classification. According to this passage, Nero is to return aloft through the air, upborne by the Fates. His achievements are portrayed in 219-225.

¹ This designation of Nero recurs in xii. 81, 264. See also ix. 41, where the reference is obscure.

In Book viii, of which lines 4-429 belong to the close of the second century, the various myths have so thoroughly coalesced that Nero is no longer regarded as a man but as a Satanic monster.

He has himself become the Dragon, viii. 88 (*πυρφόρος ὅσσε δράκων*), and assumed the monster's form, viii. 157 (*θῆρα μέγαν*).

It is needless here to pursue the ramifications of this myth further, than to state that so thoroughly did the Neronic element in the composite Antichrist saga gain the upper hand in the East, that in Armenian the word Nero became the equivalent for Antichrist (see Conybeare in Bousset's *Antichrist Legend*, p. 282).

SYMBOLS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION.

a, b, c, denote the Ethiopic MSS. described on p. xv.

u, ch, denote the Slavonic MSS. described on p. xxv.

G denotes the lost Greek archetype of G¹ G².

G¹ denotes the lost Greek text from which E L¹ were translated,
and on which the Gk. Leg. was based. See pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

G² denotes the Greek text from which S L² were translated, of
which II. 4 - IV. 2 has now been recovered. See pp. xxviii-
xxxiii.

E denotes the Ethiopic Version based on *a, b, c*.

S denotes the Slavonic Version.

L¹ denotes the Latin Version from G¹ (consisting of II. 14-
III. 13; VII. 1-19).

L² denotes the Latin Version from G² (consisting of VI-XI).

Gk. Leg. denotes the Greek Legend printed on pp. 141-148.
See also pp. xxvii-xxviii.

hmt = homoioteleuton.

[¹] The use of these brackets in S L² means that the words so
enclosed, though only in one of these authorities, are also
found in E, and therefore go back to G.

[²] The use of these brackets in G² L¹ L² or S means that the
words so enclosed are found only in one of these authorities,
and may or may not go back to G.

[³] The use of these brackets in the English translation of E
or in L¹ means that the words so enclosed are found in G¹,
and not in G²: the words so enclosed in S L² are found in
G², but not in G¹. In certain cases the words peculiar either
to G¹ or G² are derived from G.

() The words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor
in E L¹ L² S, but in the Greek fragment they are restorations,
being undecipherable in the papyrus.

< > These brackets are used only in the Greek fragment.
Words or letters so enclosed were omitted in the papyrus.

* * The words so enclosed are emendations of the text....

† † The words so enclosed are corrupt.

[] The words so enclosed are interpolated.

THE
ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

TRANSLATION

i. 1. And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year i. 1, 2^a =
of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah that he ^{Martyr-}
called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one. ^{dom of}
Isaiah.
2. And he called him into the presence of Isaiah

i. 1. In the *Greek Legend* it is the twenty-fifth year.

Of the reign. Lit. 'in the reign'; but I take the phrase to be equal to ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείως Ἑζεκίου. Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 42, xiv. 27; Prol. of Eccles.; Hag. i. 1, ii. 1, &c.

2. *Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet.* The word prophet here is no doubt to be taken with Isaiah and not with Amoz. Amoz is mentioned in the Old Testament in 2 Kings xix. 2 and Isa. i. 1, ii. 1, &c. In iv. 22 he is wrongly identified with Amos, the eighth-century prophet—a confusion that the writer shares in common with many of the Greek and Latin Fathers. This mistake on the part of the latter may be due to the fact that the LXX inaccurately represents יחזקאל the prophet and אמוז the father of Isaiah by one and the same form Ἀμῶς. One and the same form also is used in Ethiopic for the two names. On the other hand there was an old Talmudic tradition to the effect that Amoz, the father of Isaiah, was a prophet also. In *Megilla*, 10^b, the writer seeks to prove by a very obscure line of argument that Amoz, the father of Isaiah, was a prophet. If

i. 2^b-6^a =
editorial
addition.

the son of Amoz the prophet, and into the presence of Jôsâb the son of Isaiah, in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen: 3. And of the eternal judgements and the torments of Gehenna, and of the * prince *

this was even a current tradition, the confusion in iv. 22 becomes still more intelligible.

Jôsâb. This name is found in Isa. vii. 3 : יֶשָׁב, Ἰασούβ. In the Ethiopic version of our book, it is found variously as Jôsêb, Jôsâb, Jôsab, Jôsêb.

2^b-5^a describe the vision of Hezekiah which he saw in the fifteenth year of his reign. These verses were inserted by the editor to prepare for the vision which is recounted in iii. 13-iv. 22. They give a brief description of it. This vision may in all probability be taken to be the testament of Hezekiah (see below). The evidence for this conclusion we shall now give. The vision is definitely ascribed to Hezekiah in verse 2 : 'which the king himself had seen.' In verse 4 the same idea recurs: 'words . . . which he himself had seen in the fifteenth year of his reign during his illness,' and most probably in verse 5 : 'the written words which Samnas the scribe had written'; and again later in the same verse according to MS. a : 'words . . . which only the king had seen.' That this idea is not an invention of the Ethiopic translation is clear from the *Greek Legend*, i. 2, which speaks of 'The words which Hezekiah the king himself had seen during his illness' (see p. 139). Nay, more, Georgius Cedrenus (see p. 29) quotes iv. 12 of our book as derived from the 'Testament of Hezekiah' (Διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου). Though little value need be attached to the evidence of Cedrenus individually, yet the rest of the evidence, when combined with it, is sufficient to show that the final editor of our apocrypha had seen and used a book purporting to be a work of Hezekiah, and iii. 13-iv. 22 appears to be the Testament in question.

3. This verse gives the contents of Hezekiah's vision or prophecy.

Of the eternal judgements. *bc* read, 'of the judgements of this world.' MSS. do not give genitive here but the accusative.

Gehenna. Mentioned only in iv. 14.

of this world, and of his angels, and his authorities and his powers, 4. And the words of the faith of the Beloved which he himself had seen in the

*And of *the prince* of this world.* So Dillmann proposes. *a* reads, 'which is the eternal place of punishment': *bc* 'and of the place of punishment of this world.' For phrase see ii. 4, iv. 2, x. 29. The reference is to the Antichrist in iv. 2.

Angels . . . authorities . . . powers, i. e. Ἄγγελοι, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις. The very same list is found in 1 Pet. iii. 22 ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων. Cf. Eph. i. 21, iii. 10, vi. 12; Col. i. 16, ii. 10, 15.

4. *The Beloved.* This Messianic title is found throughout most of the book: i. 4, 5, 7, 13; iii. 13, 17, 18; iv. 3, 6, 9, 18, 21; v. 15; vii. 17, 23; viii. 18, 25; ix. 12. There are good grounds for believing this title pre-Christian. These are so excellently given by Canon Robinson in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 501, that I take the liberty of reproducing them here. (1) 'It is used in the Old Testament (ὁ ἡγαπημένος, LXX) as a title of Israel; e.g. Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26, where it renders "Jeshurun," as it does also in Isa. xlv. 2; again in Isa. v. 1, 7 ὁ ἡγαπημένος and ὁ ἀγαπητός render יְיָ and יֵיָ respectively. It was natural, therefore, that, like the titles "Servant" and "Elect," it should be transferred from the people to the Messiah. (2) At the period when the Gospels were written "the Beloved" and "the Elect" were practically interchangeable terms, for Matthew writes ὁ ἀγαπητός μου (xii. 18) in citing Isa. xlii. 1, where the Hebrew is יְיָ (LXX, ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου); and Luke (ix. 35) substitutes ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος for ὁ ἀγαπητός in the words spoken in the Transfiguration. (3) These two substitutions suggest that, whatever may have been the original meaning of the phrase ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mark i. 11, ix. 7), both Matthew and Luke regarded ὁ ἀγαπητός as a separate title, and not as an epithet of υἱός. And it is interesting to note that the old Syriac version emphasized this distinction by rendering "My Son and My Beloved." (4) In Eph. i. 9 St. Paul uses ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ as equivalent to ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ in a context in which he is designedly using terms derived from Jewish sources. (5) Certain passages of the LXX where ὁ ἀγαπητός occurs were explained by Christian interpreters as Messianic (Ps. xlv. (xlv.)

fifteenth year of his reign during his illness. 5. And he delivered unto him the written words which Samnas the scribe had written, and also those which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, had given to him, and also to the prophets, that they might write and store up with him what he himself had seen in the

tit. ; Zech. xii. 10). (6) Lastly we have several passages in early Christian writings in which *ὁ ἡγαπημένος* is used as a title of Christ, e. g. Barn. iii. 6, iv. 3, 8. Cf. *Clem. Rom.* lix. 2, 3 ; *Ign. Smyrn.*, inser. ; *Herm. Sim.* IX. xii. 5 ; *Acts of Thecla*, c. 1 ; *ὁ ἀγαπητός* is also used, but usually with *υἱός* or *παῖς* (*Herm. Sim.* V. ii. 6 ; *Mart. Polyc.* 14 ; *Ep. ad Diogn.* 8 ; *Acts of Thecla*, c. 24 ; in the last three cases in a liturgical formula).⁷

Fifteenth year of his reign during his illness. See 2 Kings xx. 1-6 ; Isa. xxxviii. 1-20. According to the Old Testament text Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, and his illness fell out fifteen years before he died. Hence the date harmonizes with the Old Testament chronology. This verse is almost wholly reproduced in the *Greek Legend* : see i. 2 (p. 141).

5^a. *The written words which Samnas the scribe had written.* These words appear to relate to the vision of Hezekiah which was written out by Shebna the scribe after declaration of the king. The writing (מִכְתָּב) composed by Hezekiah during his illness (Isa. xxxviii. 9) may have suggested the idea in our text.

Samnas. See also vi. 17. In *Greek Legend*, i. 3 Σαμνάς. In the LXX the Hebrew form שִׁבְנָה is reproduced by Σαμνάς or Σοβνάς. See 2 Kings xviii. 18, 26 ; Isa. xxii. 15, xxxvi. 3, 11, 22, xxxvii. 2.

5^b-6 describe the vision of Isaiah, vi.-xi. 40, which he saw in the twentieth year of Hezekiah's reign, vi. 1.

Those which Isaiah . . . had given him. This is evidently the vision which Isaiah saw in the twentieth year of Hezekiah. See next verse.

Which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, had given to him and also to the prophets. So *bc.* *a* reads, 'which Isaiah the son of Amoz and the prophets also had given to him.'

Store up with him what he himself had seen in the king's house. Cf. *Greek Legend*, i. 2. The vision is that of Isaiah recorded

king's house regarding the judgement of the angels, and the destruction of this world, and regarding the garments of the saints and † their † going forth, and regarding † their † transformation and the persecution and ascension of the Beloved. 6. In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, Isaiah had seen the words of this prophecy and had delivered them to Jôsâb his son. And whilst he (Hezekiah) gave i. 6^b-13^a= Martyrdom of Isaiah. commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by, 7. Isaiah said to Hezekiah the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him: 'As the Lord liveth, whose name has not been sent into this world, and as the Beloved of my Lord

in vi.-xi. It is specially mentioned that this vision was experienced in the king's palace; see vi. 10-15. *a* reads, 'store up with him what the king alone had seen'; *b* (with a grammatical correction), 'store up with him the vision which had been in the king's house.'

Judgement of the angels. The only references to this judgement are found in x. 12, iv. 18.

Destruction of this world. See x. 12, iv. 18.

Garments of the saints. See vii. 22, viii. 14, 26, ix. 9, 24, 25 (xi. 35), iv. 16, 17.

† *Their † going forth, and regarding † their † transformation.* The pronouns are all but certainly wrong. The words should refer to the Messiah. Cf. iii. 13 of the Greek [ἡ] ἐξέλευσις [τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ] . . . [καὶ ἡ] μεταμόρφωσις αὐτοῦ; also *Greek Legend*, i. 2. Thus these words could refer to iii. 13 as well as the account in vi.-xi.

The persecution and ascension of the Beloved. The former is mentioned in iii. 13 (cf. iv. 13, ix. 14, xi. 19, 20). The ascension in ix. 16, x. 14, xi. 23-32, iii. 18, iv. 13.

7. Manasseh was barely more than eight in the twenty-sixth year of Hezekiah's reign.

As the Lord liveth, &c. The familiar Hebrew idiom כִּי יְיָ הוֹיָה. The Greek is to be found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 8, iii. 13.

The Spirit which speaketh in me. Cf. ix. 36.

liveth, and the Spirit which speaketh in me liveth, all these commands and these words will be made of none effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of my body. 8. And Sammael Malchîrâ will serve

And as the Beloved . . . in me liveth. Editorial addition.

These commands. Referred to in the close of i. 6 and in ii. 1.

I shall depart, &c. There seems to have been a loss of the words 'from this life' or 'from life' in his Ethiopic text. See *Greek Legend*, i. 8, 13.

8. *Sammael* = סמאל. Sammael was originally one of the chief archangels. But with a view to make the earth his kingdom he tempted Eve (*Jalkut Shim Beresh*. 25). Thenceforward he appears as the chief of the Satans (*Debarim rabba*, 11), and as the angel of death (*Targ. Jer.* on Gen. iii. 6). Moreover, just as Michael was the angelic patron of Israel, so Sammael was its special foe (*Shem. rabba*, 18). See Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, 169, 218, 219, 253, from which these statements have been drawn.

Sammael is mentioned also in i. 11; ii. 1; iii. 13; v. 15, 16; vii. 9; xi. 41. On the various activities of Sammael and his relation to Beliar, see later notes on this verse.

Malchîrâ. Whence this name is derived I know not. It appears here to be a surname of Sammael. The name recurs in v. 8 (MS. *a*) as *Milchîras*, where see note. In xi. 41 Sammael has the surname Satan.

And he will become a follower of Beliar. Since these words most probably go back to a Hebrew original, we shall render: 'so that he will become,' &c. Cf. ii. 4.

Beliar. Mentioned also in i. 9; ii. 4; iii. 11, 13; iv. 2, 14, 16, 18; v. 1, 4 (*a c*), 15. The form Berial is simply a corruption of the Ethiopic version; for in the Greek version on iii. 11, 13 we have Βελίap, and in the Latin version in the same verses Beliac, a slip of the scribe for Beliar. In many cases the Ethiopic MSS. still retain the correct form: *c* always right except in v. 1: *a* right in i. 9 and v. 4: *b* in iv. 16. In v. 4, however, this reading seems corrupt. In *Jubilees*, i. 20, we find Belchôr, and in xv. 33 of the same work Bêlêar and Biliar in the two best MSS. All these forms point

Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he will become a follower of Beliar rather than of me :

to Beliar. Beliar is spoken of also in 2 Cor. vi. 15 ; in *Jubilees*, as we have already noticed, the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the *Test. XII Patriarchs*. In *Jubilees* the references are i. 20, 'spirit of Beliar' ; xv. 33, 'sons of Beliar.' In the former passage Beliar is conceived as an evil spirit. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 167, Beliar is to come as the Antichrist and work many signs : while, according to iii. 63-73, he is to proceed from the emperors of Rome, and after working many great signs and deceiving even the elect he and his followers are to be burnt up. In the *Testaments of his XII Patriarchs*, Beliar appears at times as the source of immoral deeds and at times as the Antichrist. Thus he is the source of impurity, Reub. 6, and of lying, Dan. 5. He cannot overcome a chaste man, Reub. 4, and flees from men who beware of wrath and lies, Dan. 5. He sends seven evil spirits against man, Reub. 2. His works are to the Law of the Lord as darkness unto light, Lev. 19 (cf. 2 Cor. vi. 15). The spirits of Beliar will be punished, Lev. 3. The Messiah will war against him and wrest from him his captives, Dan. 5, and bind him, Lev. 18. Beliar is closely connected with the tribe of Dan : see 5, also Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*, 26, 171, 172. On the derivation and Old Testament meanings of the words, see *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, cols. 525-527.

Relation of Sammael to Beliar. In some respects their functions are identical, but in others they are clearly distinguishable. They are identical in the following respects. Both Sammael and Beliar dwell and rule in the firmament, vii. 9, iv. 2 : both take possession of Manasseh, Sammael, ii. 1 ; Beliar, i. 9, iii. 11, v. 1 : both are wroth with Isaiah for his visions, Sammael, v. 15 ; Beliar, iii. 13, v. 1, both have Isaiah sawn in sunder through Manasseh, Sammael, xi. 41 ; Beliar, v. 15 : both are ultimately to be overcome, Sammael, to be destroyed, v. 15 ; Beliar to be cast into Gehenna, iv. 16. But in certain respects they are to be differentiated, and Sammael herein appears to be the inferior of Beliar. Thus Sammael exerts himself to make Manasseh the subject of Beliar, i. 8 (ii. 4). Beliar, moreover, has his subordinate kings (Satanic or human ?), iv. 16 ; he is the prince (or king) of this world, i. 3, iv. 2 ; and, as in the *Sibyllines*, he is the Anti-

9. And many in Jerusalem and in Judea he will cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar will dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be sawn asunder.' 10. And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments, and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face. 11. And Isaiah said unto him: 'The counsel of Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought will avail thee.' 12. And on that day Hezekiah resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son. 13. And Isaiah said to

christ, iv. 2. This earth will be the scene of his parusia, iv. 2, and of his manifestation, iv. 18.

9. *True faith.* Literally, 'faith of truth' or 'of righteousness.'

Beliar will dwell, &c. In the *Greek Legend* Beliar is replaced by Satan, just as Sammael in verse 11: see i. 9, where much of this verse is reproduced.

10. See *Greek Legend*, i. 10.

11. *Counsel of Sammael . . . is consummated.* The *Greek Legend*, i. 11, is clearer: *δεῖ γὰρ πληρωθῆναι τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Σατανᾶ κτλ.* Observe that the familiar term Satan replaces Sammael.

Nought will avail thee. Cf. *Greek Legend*, i. 11 οὐκ ὠφελήσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδέν.

12. *And on that day.* Emended from *bc* = 'on this day and': *a* = 'on those words.' See Critical Note, where *Greek Legend* is quoted. These words have hitherto been wrongly connected with the preceding verse.

13. *I shall inherit the heritage, &c.* See viii. 12.

i.-ii. 1. The sense and partly the diction of many clauses in i.-ii. 1 are reproduced in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* Homil. i. (printed among the works of Chrysostom, vol. vi. xx-xxi, Montfaucon). See also Fabricius, *Codex Pseud.* p. 1094; Laurence, 149; Dillmann, p. 65. 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia (ii. 1) obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui sanctam et omnia beneficia Dei pro merito eius collata in ipsum, et (i. 8, ii. 4) stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo, qui solet insurgere super genus humanum ad evertendum,

Hezekiah : 'the Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and the purpose of thy heart will not be accomplished, for with this calling have I been called and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved.'

i. 13^b = editorial addition.

ii. 1. And it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah his father

ii. 1-iii. 12 = Martyrdom of Isaiah.

gesturus omnia, quae Deum ad iracundiam provocarent. Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, (i. 1, 6^b) vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. (i. 7) Et dixit ad eum Esaias : vere quia non descendunt verba tua in cor eius, sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici (i. 10, 12) Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere, dicens : quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix Esaias propheta, dicens : (i. 13) irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum hoc, videns Ezechiae religionem, quia plus amabat Deum quam filium suum.' I have italicized the words that are drawn from our book and added the references. On value of this text see Introd., pp. xl.-xli.

8-12. A somewhat different account of this interview of Isaiah and Hezekiah is found in the Talmud Berachoth, 10^a. 'What is the meaning of the words "Thou shalt die and not live"? "Thou shalt die in this world and not live in the next world." He said : "Wherefore is all this?" He answered him : "Because thou hast not practised fruitfulness and increase." He rejoined : "Because it was revealed to me by the Holy Spirit that unprofitable children would spring from me." He replied : "What concern hast thou in the secrets of the All Merciful? Thou shouldest have done what was commanded thee, and the Holy One, blessed be He, may do what pleases Him." He replied thereto : "Give me thy daughter : perhaps my merits and thine together will bring it about that profitable children may spring from me." Then replied he : "The judgement is already determined regarding thee."

ii. 1. *Manasseh . . . forgat.* These words represent a paronomasia in Hebrew, מְנַשֶּׁה מְנַשֶּׁה. This was observed by the author

but forgot them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh and clung fast to him. 2. And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served Satan and his angels and his powers. 3. And he turned aside the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah (from) the words of wisdom and from the service of God. 4. And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar;

of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*. See p. 8. 'Providentia Dei sic eum (i. e. Manasseh) dispensavit vocari, quia obliturus fuerat.' See *Greek Legend*, iii. 2. The same play on words is found in *Genesis* xli. 51.

Commands of Hezekiah. See i. 6, 7.

Sammael abode, &c. See note on i. 8.

2. This verse is found in its entirety in *Greek Legend*, iii. 2.

3. *Turned aside the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah*. Such is the obvious and literal translation of the Ethiopic text. The Ethiopic verb (rendered 'turned aside') is used in this sense in the next verse and in iv. 9; v. 8. This rendering is supported by the *Greek Legend*, iii. 3 ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Dillmann (followed by Beer) translates: 'mutavit in domo patris sui ea, quae coram facie Ezechiae fuerant.' This rendering is based on a rare idiom, in accordance with which the word 'house' can stand in a locative sense without a preposition after verbs meaning 'sojourning,' &c., as in *Gen.* xxiv. 23; xxxviii. 11; *Luke* xix. 5. Such a verb is not indeed expressed in *Num.* xxx. 11; the sense, however, implies it. Since, however, our text neither expresses nor admits of such a verb, Dillmann's rendering is very questionable, even if the *Greek Legend* was not decisive on this point.

(*From*) *the words of wisdom and from the service of God*. The text makes these words the object of the verb. I have supplied the preposition in accordance with the *Greek Legend*, iii. 3 ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως.

4. *Beliar, the angel of lawlessness*. See on iv. 2.

Beliar . . . the ruler of this world. Cf. i. 3; x. 29; *John* xii. 31; xvi. 11 ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου: 2 *Cor.* iv. 4 ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος

for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs. And he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which were spread abroad in Jerusalem. 5. And witchcraft and magic increased and divination and auguration, and fornication, [and adultery], and the persecution of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachîrâ, and] Tobia the Canaanite, and John of Anathoth, and by (Zadok) the chief of the works. 6. And the rest of the acts, behold they are written in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. 7. And, when Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship

τούτου : Eph. vi. 12 πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου : ii. 2 τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος.

Matanbûchûs. So MSS. *ac.* *b* reads 'Matanbakas.' In v. 3 it appears as Mèchêmbêchûs. It has been conjectured to be derived from מְצִיבָה = worthless gift : see Lücke, i. 282.

Made him strong. So rightly emended by Dillmann.

In apostatizing. See 2 Kings xxi. 9, which gives this idea. G² less good : 'in apostasy.'

5. See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6 (LXX) ἐκκληθονίζετο καὶ ἐφαρμακεύετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο. Also 2 Kings xxi. 6. See Greek : also *Greek Legend*, iii. 3.

[*And adultery*]. Bracketed as an addition on the Ethiopic. Wanting both in G and *Greek Legend*, iii. 3.

Persecution. See 2 Kings xxi. 16.

[*Belachîrâ and*]. I have bracketed these words as they are absent from the Greek. Moreover the name is evidently introduced for the first time in ii. 12.

Anathoth. See *Encyclopædia Biblica* in loc.

(*Zadok*). Supplied from the Greek.

6. 2 Kings xxi. 17 ; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18.

of Satan and his wantonness, he withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. 8. And there also there was much lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place. 9. And Micaiah the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Jôsâb, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascension into heaven, withdrew and settled on the mountain. 10. They were all clothed with garments of hair, and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going astray of Israel. 11. And these eat nothing save wild herbs which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two

l. 9 =
editorial
addition.

7. *His wantonness.* Greek has πομπήν αὐτοῦ : *Greek Legend*, iii. 8 ἄσωριαν.

9. This verse, which could not have appeared as it stands in the Jewish Martyrdom of Isaiah, is an editorial addition drawn largely and almost verbally from vi. 7. The clause 'withdrew and settled on the mountain' is repeated from ver. 8 ; the misleading phrase 'his son' and the clause 'many of the faithful . . . ascension into heaven' are the editor's own.

Habakkuk. Eth. has Enbâqôm = Greek Ἀμβακούμ.

11. *Herbs.* Dillmann refers to 2 Kings iv. 38 sqq. This living on herbs may be designed to prepare them to receive supernatural disclosures. A similar preparation was made by Daniel, x. 2, 3. In 4 Ezra ix. 26, Ezra, when preparing for a divine revelation, declares : 'De herbis agri manducavi.' Similarly in xii. 51 'Sedi in campo septem diebus . . . et manducabam de floribus solummodo agri, de herbis facta est esca mihi in diebus illis.' See Clemen, *Z. f. W. T.* 1896, p. 396.

years of days on the mountains and hills. 12. And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchîrâ, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false

12-16 introduce Belchîrâ and give certain details of his history. The subject of verse 11 is resumed in iii. 1.

12. *Belchîrâ*. See ii. 5, 12, 16; iii. 1, 6, 12; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 15. There are many difficulties connected with this name in our book. The first is concerned with the form of the word. Thus it has four forms in the Greek Papyrus Fragment: ii. 12 Βελχείρα; iii. 12 Βελχείρα; and Βεχείρα ii. 16; iii. 1; and Μελχείρα iii. 6. The first appears to be merely a variant of the second. Next the form Βεχείρας occurs once in iii. 10 of the *Greek Legend*. In the Latin Fragment iii. 1, 11 only Bechira is attested. The same variance prevails within the Ethiopic version. Thus we find Belchîra attested by *a* in ii. 12; iii. 11; v. 2: Balchîra by all MSS. in iii. 1, 6; v. 3, 5, 15; and by *bc* in ii. 5, 12; iii. 12; v. 2, 12; and by *b* in v. 4; Belachîrâ by *a* in ii. 5: Melâchîrâ by *a* in v. 12: Milchîrâs by *a* in v. 8; Îbchîrâ by *a*, Abchîrâ by *b* in ii. 16. Now as regards Îbchîrâ it is clear that it goes back to Βεχείρα. Balchîra is simply a later orthographic variant of Belchîra, which, though only found in *a*, is clearly the older form. Belachîrâ is very closely akin to Greek forms of the name in ii. 12 and iii. 12 of the Greek Fragment. Thus with the exception of Melâchîrâ in v. 12 (*a*), Milchîrâs in v. 8 (*a*), and Μελχείρα in ii. 6, G¹, all the above forms go back to Βεχείρα and Βελχείρα.

But what are we to make of Μελχείρα in iii. 6, of Melâchîrâ in v. 12 (*a*) and the closely related forms—Malchîrâ in i. 8, Milchîrâs in v. 8? We may dismiss Malchîrâ i. 8 from consideration as a surname of Sammael. As regards the rest they are clearly variants or equivalents of Belchîrâ; for over against Μελχείρα in iii. 6 all MSS. of E give Balchîrâ, and rightly according to the context. In like manner Milchîrâs and Melâchîrâ are equivalents of Balchîrâ, for whereas the former are attested only by *a*, the latter is read by *bc*. They are, however, ancient variants, for if we turn to the *Greek Legend*, we find frequent mention of a false prophet Μελχίας. It is this Melchias in the *Legend* who addressed to Isaiah the words attributed to Milchîrâs in *a* in v. 8 (*a*) of our book. And just as Milchîrâs clearly

prophet, whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now †Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab, king of Israel, had been the teacher of the 400 prophets of Baal, had himself smitten and reproved Micaiah the son of Amâdâ the prophet. 13. And he, Micaiah,

stands for an impersonation of the devil (see v. 9) and is actually so designated by Ambrose on Ps. cxviii, so Melchias is in the *Legend* called Διάβολος by Isaiah. Melâchîrâ in v. 12 is the same as Milchîrâs in v. 8, and as Melχîas in the *Greek Legend*. Thus at an early date in the tradition the name of the false prophet was sometimes written as Belchîrâ (with its variants) and Melchîrâ (with its variants). From the presence of *l* in the great majority of the variants, it follows that Βελχίρâ is a secondary form of Βελχίρâ. Gesenius, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 244-246, derives Belchîrâ from בֶּלְכִרְיָה = קִרְיָהּ = בעל = lord of the world.

Zedekiah, the son of Chenâan = Σεδεκίας υἱὸς Χανανά (B Xavanâ A) = זְדַקְיָה בֶן-כְּנַעְנָה. See 1 Kings xxii. 11. The Greek Fragment gives Σ. υ. Xavanî.

Bethlehem. Bethany in the Greek.

Hezekiah the son of Chanânî. Undoubtedly the same as the Zedekiah just mentioned. Indeed, as the Greek Fragment shows, for Hezekiah we should read Zedekiah. This is not a mere slip of the Ethiopic translation; for it appears from the *Chron. Pasch.* (p. 98 B ἦσαν ψευδοπροφήται Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι ν' and 96 C ψευδοπροφήται Σεδεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι τετρακόσιοι—quoted by Dillmann, p. 66) that these two different Greek transliterations of the same Hebrew name were current. As the Greek proves, however, they have no right in our text.

Brother of his father. This Zedekiah was an uncle of Belchîrâ.

Of Baal. This is an error on the part of the writer. He has confounded the prophets mentioned in 1 Kings xxii. 6 with those mentioned in 1 Kings xviii. 22.

Smitten. 1 Kings xxii. 24.

Son of Amâdâ, Son of Imlah. Various forms assumed by this name in Greek MSS. are Ιεμαα, Ιεμιλα, Ιεμλα. See Holmes and Parsons, LXX on 2 Chron. xviii. 8.

had been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. (And he was) with Zedekiah the prophet: they were with Ahaziah the son of *Ahab, king in Samaria*. 14. And Elijah the prophet of Têbôn of Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the hand of Leba Nâsr because he had slain the prophets of God. 15. And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and their teacher Jâlerjâs of Mount †Joel †, had heard—16. Now he was a brother of Zedekiah—

13. (*And he was*). Supplied from G².

Ahab, king in Samaria. See Critical Note *in loc.*

14. *Of Têbôn of Gilead*. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1 (LXX) ὁ Θεσβεΐτης ἐκ Θεσβῶν τῆς Γαλαάδ. Here we observe that our text takes יְשִׁבְעָה in 1 Kings xvii. 1 as signifying ἐκ Θεσβῶν or 'from Thisbe,' a town of Naphtali. So also Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 13. 2 προφήτης . . . ἐκ πόλεως Θεσεβώνης τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας. This Thisbe (Θισβή) is mentioned in Tobit i. 2. Further, it omits ὁ Θεσβεΐτης, as does MS. A of the LXX. The above Hebrew word, according to the Massoretic punctuation, = 'of the sojourners of.'

Prophesied regarding Ahaziah. See 2 Kings i. 1-6.

Leba Nâsr. Corrupt for Salmanassar. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxii. 6 and 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Dillmann).

15. †Joel †. See note 16, p. 87.

16. *Now he was a brother*. For 'he' E has Ἰβχिरָא (a), G² Βεχίρᾱ. I have followed L, which omits this name. But the more natural rendering of E would be: 'Now that Belchirâ was a brother,' &c. In verse 12 Belchirâ is said to be a nephew of Zedekiah. Grenfell and Hunt appear to be right in relating the 'he' to Jâlerjâs.

†*Aguarôn*†. Corrupt for Gomorrha. Gomorrha used contemptuously for Samaria. See iii. 10.

(*Slew*). Supplied from G²L¹.

when they had heard, they persuaded Ahaziah the king of † Aguarôn † and (slew) Micaiah.

iii. 1. *And Belchîrâ* recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him; for he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan. 2. And it came to pass when Alagar Zagâr, king of Assyria, had come and captured Samaria and taken the nine (and a half) tribes captive, and led them away to the *mountains* of the Medes and the rivers of Tâzôn; 3. This (Belchîrâ), whilst still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria; for he feared Hezekiah. 4. And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem. 5. And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to

iii. 1. *And Belchîrâ* recognized. Text corrected from G² L¹.

Confederate with him. According to G² we should have the same verb here as in the preceding sentence: 'was an adherent of.'

2. *Alagar Zagâr*, i. e. Salmanassar.

(*And a half*). The words in brackets are supplied from the Greek and Latin. Israel is so designated also in the Apoc. Bar. lxii. 5, lxxvii. 19, lxxviii. 1; also in the Syriac and Arabic versions of 4 Ezra xiii. 40 and in John of Malalas, p. 158. See my Apoc. Bar., p. 124.

Mountains. E = ὄρια, 'boundaries,' corrupt for ὄρη, as in G¹ L¹, yet see note on p. 89.

Tâzôn, i. e. Gozan. See 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11.

the region of Bethlehem. And *they* persuaded . . . 6. And Balchîrâ accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him, saying: 'Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that they shall be laid waste and (against the children of Judah and) Benjamin also that they shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O lord the king, that thou shalt go (bound) with hooks and iron chains': 7. But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah. 8. And Isaiah himself hath said: 'I see more than Moses the prophet.' 9. But Moses said: 'No man can see God and live'; and Isaiah hath said: 'I have seen God and behold I live.' 10. Know,

5. *They* persuaded . . . E reads, 'he persuaded,' but G² gives plural. As Grenfell and Hunt propose, we should most probably supply Belchîrâ as object of the verb and the false prophets as its subject.

6. *Those who.* The Greek and Latin give 'the prophets who.' (*Against the children of Judah and*). Supplied from L¹.

(*Bound*) with hooks and iron chains = ἐν γαλεάγραις καὶ ἐν πέδαϊς. The words are clearly based on 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 'The captains . . . took Manasseh in chains (or with hooks) and bound him with fetters.' Since the LXX renders κατέλαβον Μανασσὴ ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸν ἐν πέδαϊς, our text is independent of it. Γαλεάγρα is a LXX rendering of מִקְלָה in Ezek. xix. 9.

7. G² makes an addition here against E and L¹.

8-9. These verses are referred to by Origen, *In Iesaiam Homil.* i. 5 (Lommatzsch, xiii. 245, 246) 'Aiunt ideo Isaiam esse sectum a populo quasi legem praevaricantem et extra scripturas annuntiantem. Scriptura enim dicit: "nemo videbit faciem meam et vivet." Iste vero ait: "Vidi Dominum Sabaoth." Moses, aiunt, non vidit et tu vidisti? Et propter hoc eum secuerunt et condemnauerunt eum ut impium.'

9. *No man can see God, &c.* Exod. xxxiii. 20.

I have seen God, &c. Isa. vi. 1.

therefore, O king, that *he is lying*. And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath declared to be the people of Gomorrah. And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the prophets before Manasseh. 11. But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the councillors of the king. 12. And the words of Belchira pleased him [exceedingly], and he sent and seized Isaiah. 13. For Beliar was in great wrath against Isaiah by reason of the vision, and because of the exposure wherewith he had exposed Sammael, and because through him the going forth of the Beloved from the seventh heaven had been made known, and His transformation and His descent and the likeness

Testament
of Heze-
kiah = iii.
13^b—iv.
18.

10. *He is lying*. Emended with L¹G². See Crit. note. Text = 'they are lying prophets.' But verses 8—10^{ab} refer to Isaiah only.

Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, &c. Based on Isa. i. 10: 'Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.' Cf. Jerome's *Comm. in Ies.* i. 10 'Aiunt Hebraei ob duas causas interfectum Isaiam: quod principes Sodomorum et populum Gomorrhæ eos appellaverit, et quod, domino dicente ad Moysen Non poteris videre faciem meam, iste ausus sit dicere Vidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum.' The same tradition is found in the Talmud, *Jebam.* fol. 49^b.

11. *Beliar*. See note on i. 9.

12. I have connected 'and the words . . . exceedingly' with verse 12 and not with 11 as in preceding editions. 'Exceedingly' is an addition of E.

13. *The exposure*. G² has here the word *δειγματισμός* which is only found once elsewhere. Cf. Matt. i. 19 for the verb.

The going forth of the Beloved, &c. These words describe the contents of vi.—xi.

into which He should be transformed (that is) the likeness of man, and the persecution wherewith He should be persecuted, and the tortures wherewith the children of Israel should torture Him, and the coming of His twelve disciples, and the teaching, and that He should before the Sabbath be crucified upon the tree, and should be crucified together with wicked men, and that He should be buried in the sepulchre, 14. And the twelve who were with Him should be offended because of Him: and *the watch of* those who watched the sepulchre: 15. And the descent of the angel of the Christian Church, which is in the heavens, whom He will summon in the last days. 16. And that (Gabriel)

The coming of His twelve disciples, and the teaching. The terser form of G² may be right: ἡ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητεία. Here the words appear to mean the instruction given to the Twelve, but in verse 21 the instruction given by the Twelve.

Before the Sabbath be crucified upon the tree, and should. These words are not found in G², but are supported by our text in xi. 20.

14. *Offended because of Him.* Matt. xxvi. 31.

**The watch of* those who were watching.* So emended with G² by a slight change of vocalization from corrupt text of (a) 'those watchers also were watching'; bc attempt to emend: 'the watchers also watching.' Cf. Matt. xxviii. 4.

15. *Angel of the Christian Church.* Cf. Rev. ii. 1, 8, 12, &c. G² has simply 'Church,' but the Ethiopic phrase means nothing more.

Whom He will summon. The text may also be rendered 'who will summon.'

16. *And that (Gabriel) the angel of the Holy Spirit.* I have with the Greek connected these words with those that follow rather than with those that precede, as earlier editions, and accordingly have placed them in verse 16. This angel is, as Grenfell and Hunt assume, Gabriel. This name fills the lacuna in the G² (see also next note). He and Michael, according to the

the angel of the Holy Spirit, and Michael, the chief of the holy angels, on the third day will open the sepulchre: 17. And the Beloved sitting on their shoulders will come forth and send out His twelve

Greek, open the Sepulchre. This agrees with the Gospel of Pet. 9, which tells that two angels descended and stood on the tomb. In Matt. xxviii. 2 only one angel is mentioned as descending, but in Luke xxiv. 4, John xx. 12 two angels appeared after the Resurrection. In E the verb 'will open' is in the singular, but the Greek is decisive, and its evidence is supported by verse 17.

Angel of the Holy Spirit. Cf. iv. 21, vii. 23 (viii. 14), ix. 36, 39, 40, x. 4, xi. 4, 33; Herm. Mand. xi. 9 ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος. Here and in xi. 4 this angel appears to be Gabriel, but elsewhere in the book to be the Holy Spirit.

Michael, the chief of the holy angels. The mention of Michael in this connexion points to the writer being a Jewish Christian. Michael is not again referred to in this book save in the Latin version ix. 23, 42.

17. *The Beloved.* The Ethiopic has 'that Beloved.' Here as frequently the Ethiopic has rendered the definite article by the demonstrative.

Sitting on their shoulders, i. e. of the Angel of the Holy Spirit and of Michael. Cf. Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12; Gospel of Pet. 10 τοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα ὑπορθοῦντας.

Will come forth and send out His twelve disciples. These words are loosely quoted in the Rest of the Words of Baruch ix. 18 Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ἐπιλέξεται ἑαυτῷ δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωνται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. In the work cited these words are put into the mouth of Jeremiah. When the people heard them they were enraged, and said ix. 20 ταῦτα πάλιν ἐστὶ τὰ ῥήματα τὰ ὑπὸ Ἡσαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀμὼς εἰρημένα, λέγοντος ὅτι, Εἶδον τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. See Rendel Harris' edition, pp. 20-21, 64.

His twelve disciples. 'The Twelve' are mentioned elsewhere in 13, 14, 21, iv. 3, and xi. 22. The expression is a stereotyped one. This usage of course springs from the Gospels. It does not include St. Paul. Cf. Acts vi. 2; Rev. xxi. 14. In this sense it is used by St. Paul himself, 1 Cor. xv. 5. In the above passage it cannot

disciples: 18. And they will teach all the nations and every tongue of the resurrection of the Beloved, and those who believe in His cross will be saved, and in His ascension into the seventh heaven whence He came: 19. And that many who believe in Him will speak through the Holy Spirit: 20. And many signs and wonders will be wrought in those days. 21. And afterwards, on the eve of His approach, His disciples will forsake the teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and their faith, and their love

include St. Paul; for the reference is to the commission given to the Apostles before the Ascension. The very next words iii. 18a are based on command given in Matt. xxviii. 19. Even as late as the third century, in the list of the Twelve given by the 'Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles,' the name of St. Paul is not included. On the other hand he figures as one of the Twelve in the Greek of the Apology of Aristides (ch. xv).

18. Cf. Matt. xxviii. 19, where the Ethiopic rendering of *μαθητεύω* is the same as here, though the meaning of *μαθητεύω* is here different.

Believe in His cross. Cf. ix. 26.

Ascension. The Ethiopic word means rather 'resurrection.'

21. On the thought of the verse cf. Acts xx. 29, 30; 1 Tim. i. 6, iv. 1, 12; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 2 Pet. ii. 1.

Afterwards. Not in Greek.

Teaching. Gk. *προφητεία*. See verse 13, where the same thought is expressed by *μαθητεία*. It is noteworthy that the word here is not *διδασχῆ*. Yet if this portion of the Ascension of Isaiah were late, there could hardly fail to be here the stereotyped expression *διδασχῆ τῶν δώδεκα*.

Their faith. G² reads 'the faith.' In this case *πίστις* should be taken objectively as equivalent to 'the Christian faith,' as in the Pastoral Epistles, 1 Tim. i. 19 (see Bernard *in loc.*), iv. 1, 6, v. 8, &c.; Jude iii. 20.

Their love and their purity. These words relate to the inward disposition, and connote respectively a man's duty to his

and their purity. 22. And there will be much contention on the eve of [His advent and] His approach. 23. And in those days many will love office, though devoid of wisdom. 24. And there will be many lawless elders, and shepherds dealing wrongly by their own sheep, and they will ravage (them) owing to their not* having* holy shepherds. 25. And many will change the honour of the garments of the saints for the garments of the covetous, and there will be much respect of persons in those days and

neighbour and to himself. The latter is more than chastity, and signifies purity of life and motive (see Bernard, 1 Tim. iv. 12).

It is noteworthy that the above three substantives are found together though not in the same order in 1 Tim. iv. 12, where Timothy is bidden to be a pattern for believers ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πίστει, ἐν ἀγνείᾳ.

22. *Much contention.* The Ethiopic translator is far afield here as he not unfrequently is when he meets the word αἵρεσις. Instead of 'much contention' read 'many heresies.' Compare 2 Pet. ii. 1 'Among you also there shall be false teachers who shall privily bring in destructive heresies.'

[His advent and]. These words I have bracketed as a duplicate rendering of ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν αὐτόν.

24. *They will ravage (them) owing to their not having holy shepherds.* Instead of 'holy' the Greek gives 'pure.' The above rendering is based on an emendation of α, which as it stands = 'they will ravage owing to their not . . . the holy shepherds.' The dots indicate a *vox nulla*, which however by a change of one letter = διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν as we actually have in G². The words 'holy shepherds,' which in α is in the nominative, should be in the accusative as G² has it. G² = 'who will be ravaged through not having pure shepherds.'

25. *Garments of the saints.* A special form of dress is here designated. Harnack (*Chronol. d. Altchristlichen Litteratur*, 575) conjectures that the dress here referred to is that of the ascetics.

Covetous. Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 1, α ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις . . . ἔσονται . . . φιλάργυροι.

lovers of the honour of this world. 26. And there will be much slander and vainglory at the approach of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit will withdraw from many. 27. And there will not be in those days many prophets, nor those who speak trustworthy words, save one here and there in divers places, 28. On account of the spirit of error and fornication and of vainglory, and of covetousness, which shall be in those, who will be called servants of that One and in those who will receive that One. 29. And there will be great hatred in the shepherds and elders towards each other. 30. For there will be great jealousy in the last days; for

26. *Much slander.* There is here a dittography in E which = 'slanderers [and slanderers] much,' i. e. two different plural forms in E of the same singular, or rather the first word means 'slander.' See Crit. Note.

27. *Prophets.* There is no mention of the apostles. Their age therefore seems past, and that of the prophets to have taken their place as in Rev. where the apostles are only mentioned once as living contemporaries xviii. 20 (ii. 2 ?) but the prophets throughout : cf. x. 7, xi. 18, xvi. 6, xviii. 24, &c.

Trustworthy words. Since G² here is merely *ισχυρά* and E is a literal rendering of that word, we are forced by the context to give it an unnatural meaning. It is hardly possible to believe that *λαλοῦντες ἰσχυρά* is aught else than a bad rendering of a Semitic original. The rest of the verse points also in this direction. I find that *ισχυρός* is used once as a rendering of *יָדֹנִי* by Aquila and Theodotion in Deut. vii. 9.

Save one here and there in divers places. G² shows that the idiom is thoroughly Semitic : *ἡ εἷς καὶ εἷς(s) καὶ εἷς ἐν τόποις καὶ τόποις.*

28. *The spirit of error.* This phrase is found in 1 John iv. 6. Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 1.

Covetousness. See verse 25.

Receive that One, i. e. the Beloved. Cf. iv. 9.

every one will say what is pleasing in his own eyes.
 31. And they will make of none effect the prophecy of the prophets which were before me, and *these* my visions also will they make of none effect, in order to speak after the impulse of their own heart.

IV. 1. And now Hezekiah and Jôsâb my son, *these* are the days of the *completion of the world*. 2. After it is consummated, Beliar the great ruler, the king of this world, will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea, he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man,

30. *Every one will say, &c.* Cf. *Hermas, Sim. ix. 22.*

31. *These*. MSS. give $\lambda\alpha$ = 'which' corrupt for $\lambda\alpha$ = ~ 'these.'

iv. 1. See Critical Note, p. 95.

Hezekiah and Jôsâb my son. Editorial addition.

2. *Beliar, the great ruler.* See note on ii. 4. The Ethiopic may be rendered 'angel' or 'archon' or 'ruler.' From iv. 4, however, where the same Ethiopic word is a rendering of $\delta\rho\chi\omega\nu$, it is obviously a rendering of the same word here.

King of this world. In ii. 4 he is called 'the ruler of this world': in x. 29 'the prince of this world.' The two latter = $\delta \delta\rho\chi\omega\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\omicron\varsigma\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$. See note on ii. 4.

From his firmament. This firmament is subsequently referred to in vi. 13, vii. 9-12, x. 29, as the dwelling-place of Sammael (and probably of Beliar). Unlike St. Paul, who in some way conceived evil powers to have their abode in heaven—Eph. vi. 12 $\tau\omicron \nu \pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ —the writer of this book admits them to no higher place than the firmament which lies immediately below the first heaven. See my edition of the Slavonic Enoch, xxix. 5 note.

Lawless king. In ii. 4 'the angel of lawlessness.' In 2 Thess. ii. 3 the Antichrist is 'the man of lawlessness.' Lawlessness is the characteristic of Antichrist: see Introduction, pp. liv, lxii.

Slayer of his mother. For other references to the matricide see *Sibyll. Or.* iv. 121, v. 145, 363, viii. 71, &c.

2-3. *Who himself (even) this king* 3. *Will persecute the plant, &c.*

a lawless king, the slayer of his mother: who himself (even) this king 3. Will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved

We must here follow the Greek (see p. 95). MS. b of E, it is true, comes very near to this: 'who himself (is) the king of this world and he will persecute the plant.' See Critical Note *in loc.*

It is quite clear that these words and the rest of verse 3 belong to the historical Nero. The rest of the passage has to do with the Antichrist only.

3. *Will persecute.* It is of importance to observe that, just as in Revelation (xvii. 6; xix. 2), the persecution under Nero is the only persecution known to this writer. Hence he was not acquainted with that of Domitian, Tacitus, *Agric.* 44: this persecution extended to Palestine: Hegesippus in Eusebius, *Hist.* iii. 19-20.

The plant which . . . have planted. From the Greek τὴν φυτείαν ἣν φυτεύουσιν we seem bound to conclude that the writer was acquainted with Matt. xv. 13 πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου, where φυτεία is used apparently for the first time in existing literature as the equivalent of the classical Greek φυτὸν or φύτευμα. It naturally means 'a planting.' The idea goes back to the Old Testament. Judah was 'the plant' of God's delight, Isa. v. 7. This thought is adopted by the Enochic writers and developed in various directions. Thus Israel is 'the plant of righteousness' (Eth. En. xciii. 5), 'the plant of uprightness' (Eth. En. xciii. 2), &c. See my edition of Enoch, x. 16 note. The writer in the text has taken over this idea from Judaism and applied it naturally to the Christian Church. It is only, therefore, in point of diction and not of thought that our text is dependent on Matt. xv. 13; for there the phrase is applied to doctrines and not as here to the Church.

The Twelve Apostles. St. Paul is not included in the Twelve by this writer, though the doctrine of the resurrection taught in iv. 16-17 is certainly derived from 2 Cor. v. See note on iii. 17.

Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands. The Greek is peculiar, τῶν δώδεκα . . . ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ παραδοθήσεται. The missing word of three letters I have supplied by εἰς in the Greek text, p. 95. Thus we have τῶν δώδεκα εἰς. From E, however, we should expect ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα (cf. Acts xxi. 8 ὅντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά

have planted. Of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands. 4. This ruler in the form of that king will come and there will come with him all the powers of this world, and they will hearken unto him in all that he desires. 5. And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will

and Rev. xxii. 11 ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ = 'one of the seven'). This idiom is found in Ethiopic, though not so frequently as in Hebrew.

Of the Twelve one will be delivered up. It is probable that it is St. Peter whose martyrdom is referred to here. The reference can only be to St. Peter or St. Paul; for the martyrdom took place under Nero. That it is St. Peter rather than St. Paul appears to follow from the inference drawn on iii. 17 that our writer does not include St. Paul in the number of the Twelve. I am not aware of any writer who does so till half a century later.

4. *This ruler.* MSS. *ab* add 'Berial' against *c* and Greek.

With him all the powers of this world. In Rev. xx. 7-9 Satan assembles the nations from the four corners of the earth to attack the camp of the saints and the holy city. A closer parallel is to be found in Rev. xvi. 14, where the kings of the whole world are gathered together 'unto the war of the great day of God.' This expectation that all the kings and nations of the earth should combine against Israel goes back as far as Ezekiel xxxviii. 2-xxxix. 16. See also Zech. xiv. 2 sq.; *Eth. En.* lvi. 13, 16; *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 319-322, 663-674. By early Christian writers this expectation was transformed so that the assault of the world powers was conceived as directed against the young Christian Church.

5. *The sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour.* Similar portents are attributed to the Beliar Antichrist in *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 64-66, which may be a contemporary work of a Hellenistic Jew. It is quoted on p. lxviii of the Introduction. The same idea as one of the signs of the end of the world is reproduced by the author of 4 Ezra v. 4 'Si autem tibi dederit altissimus vivere, et videbis post tertiam turbatam, Et relucescet subito sol noctu
Et luna interdite.'

The Antichrist will make fire come down from heaven (Rev.

make the moon to appear at the sixth hour. 6. And all that he hath desired he will do in the world: he will do and speak like the Beloved and he will say: 'I am God and before me there has been none.' 7. And all the people in the world will believe in him. 8. And they will sacrifice to him and they will serve him saying: 'This is God and beside him there is no other.' 9. And the greater

xiii. 13), and perform signs and lying wonders (Rev. xiii. 14, xix. 20; 2 Thess. ii. 9). For later Christian references to such magical wonders of the Antichrist see Bousset's *Antichrist Legend*, 175 sqq.

6. *He will do and speak like the Beloved.* So *ac.* *b* reads 'He will make himself like to the Beloved.' The Antichrist is the caricature of Christ. Like Him he is to have his advent and his manifestation and to be a worker of miracles: and as Christ is at the head of the kingdom of God, so he is supreme over the kingdom of evil.

I am God and before me there has been none. See iv. 8, x. 13. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4 where the Antichrist 'exalteth himself above all that is called God . . . setting himself forth as God.' In *Sibyll. Or.* v. 33, 34 (=xii. 85, 86) it is said of Nero redivivus: *εἶτ' ἀνακάμψει | ἰσάζων θεῷ αὐτόν.* This no doubt is the blasphemy on the part of the Neronic Antichrist mentioned in Rev. xiii. 5, 6: 'And there was given to him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and he opened his mouth for blasphemy against God.' The impious claims of Caligula were never forgotten by the Jews. Philo writes (*Leg. ad Caium*, ii. 569) *ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν ἐξετύφωσεν οὐ λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεός.* The claims of the Caesars are most probably answerable for this particular feature in the Antichrist Legend. Domitian went to still greater lengths in this direction, Suetonius, *Domit.* 13 'Domitianus et Deus noster hoc fieri iubet. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter.'

7, 8. Cf. Rev. xiii. 4, 8, 12.

9. This deceiving of the faithful is attributed to false Christs in Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22. Only those who were faithless in their lives according to 2 Thess. ii. 10-12 should succumb to the deceits of the Antichrist.

number of those who shall have been associated together in order to receive the Beloved, he will turn aside after him. 10. And there will be the power of his miracles in every city and region. 11. And he will set up his image before him in every city. 12. And he shall bear sway three

Associated . . . to receive the Beloved. Thus the Christians had organizations designed to keep them ready for the Parusia. Cf. iii. 28; iv. 13.

10. See verse 5. The lying wonders spoken of here contain an allusion probably to the trickery of the priesthood devoted to the worship of the emperors throughout the cities of the East.

11. *Set up his image before him in every city.* In Rev. xiii. 14 the false prophet commanded those 'that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, who hath the stroke of the sword and lived,' i.e. Nero redivivus. In both these passages the image is set up with a view to the divine worship of the Antichrist. The historical ground for such an expectation is furnished by the command of Caligula that his statue should be placed in the temple and sacrifices offered to it. See Philo, *De Leg. ad Caium*, §§ 44 sqq.; Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 8. 2. Images of the Roman emperors were erected in various cities of the East, and to these divine honours were paid. Caligula ordered Petronius, the Governor of Syria, to compel the Jews to join in the worship paid to him by the other provinces of the empire. The attempt to enforce such worship in the synagogues of Alexandria, though carried out at the cost of much bloodshed, failed finally, and the altar raised at Jamnia to the emperor was actually razed to the ground. This defiance of the imperial authority led to the above-mentioned orders of Caligula for the erection of his statue in Jerusalem.

12. *Three years and seven months and twenty-seven days.* Computed according to the Julian reckoning this period amounts, as Lücke (*Einleitung in die Offenbarung*, ii. 285) has pointed out, to 1335 days, the actual number found in Dan. xii. 12 and adopted therefrom by our writer. This period points back to the 'time and times and half a time' in Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7; Rev. xii. 14, in other words three and a half years. The same period is

years and seven months and twenty-seven days.
13. And many believers and saints having seen

otherwise described as forty-two months in Rev. xi. 2, xiii. 5, or as twelve hundred and sixty days in Rev. xi. 3, xii. 6, in which case the month is reckoned at thirty days, or as 1290 days in Dan. xii. 11 and the *Διαθήκη Ἐξεκίου* (see Clemen in the *Z. f. W. T.*, 1896, pp. 404 sq.).

The above three and a half years has a special significance in apocalyptic literature as the period of the reign of Antichrist, or the period of the last and worst woes; cf. Rev. xiii. 5, xii. 6, 14. It is referred to as 'the times of the Gentiles' in Luke xxi. 24, which belongs to the interpolated Jewish Apocalypse. This apocalyptic period has affected also Luke iv. 25 and James v. 17. For though the famine in Elijah's time lasted, according to 1 Kings xviii. 1, three years, it is said in Luke iv. 25 and James v. 17 to have lasted three and a half years. The same period is mentioned in 4 Ezra v. 4 'Thou wilt see it (the Roman Empire) troubled after the third (time).' The Latin is 'post tertiam' which = *μετὰ τὴν τρίτην*. With this we should understand *ῥραν* rather than *ἡμέραν* as Blass.

This verse is reproduced in Cedrenus (ed. Bonn. i. 120-121): *ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ Ἐξεκίου βασιλείῳ Ἰούδα λέγει Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης κρατῆσαι τὸν ἀντίχριστον ἔτη γ' καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά, γινόμενα ἡμέρας αςγ'. καὶ μετὰ τὸ τὸν ἀντίχριστον βληθῆναι ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ, ἐλθεῖν τὸν δεσπότην τῶν ὅλων Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν καλῶν τε καὶ κακῶν*. Two difficulties present themselves here. The first concerns the name which Cedrenus assigns to our book, the *Testament of Hezekiah*, though attributing the Vision to Isaiah. The name we take to be rightly transmitted, see pp. xiii-xiv. 2 note. The attribution of the words recorded to Isaiah may refer to Isaiah's interpretation of Hezekiah's Vision or may be a mere error of Cedrenus. The statements made in i. 2, 4 undoubtedly convey the idea that the book relates to the visions of Hezekiah. See note on i. 2.

The second difficulty has to do with the number 1290. This number is not found elsewhere with a like meaning except in Dan. xii. 11. I cannot discover any satisfactory solution of this difficulty, nor yet which of the two authorities has preserved the number correctly.

13. Dillmann renders differently: 'Et multi (quidem erunt)

Him for whom they were hoping, who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ, [after that I, Isaiah, had seen Him who was crucified and ascended]

fideles et sancti quum viderunt eum quem ipsi sperabant . . . et credentes quoque in eum—ex iis pauci, &c.’ This translation appears to be doubly erroneous. It is against the sense of the context and against the grammar. It is against the context ; for this recounts the triumphs of the Antichrist at the close of the Christian era and not the conversion of men to Christianity who had personally seen Christ. Hence the words which Dillmann adds ‘quidem erunt’ are to be rejected. But even if he were right, the text would be senselessly tautological. The thought of ‘credentes in eum’ is already given by ‘fideles.’ It is against the grammar ; for the literal rendering of the Ethiopic should be not ‘et credentes quoque in eum’ but ‘et ii quoque qui credebant in eum.’ The equivalent of ‘quoque’ in the Ethiopic is a particle, and is suffixed to the relative and not to the verb. In other words we have here a second class, distinct from that just mentioned. The first is composed of believers who had seen Christ, the second of believers who had not. To this question we shall return presently.

The words ‘And many believers and saints . . . believers in Him’ represent a *nominativus pendens* in E, which reflects in all likelihood a similar phenomenon in G ; for in the *Greek Legend*, which was built on the Greek of the Ascension, this anomaly is found in the following passages : ii. 1 ; iii. 11, 19. Hence we may restore the Greek as follows : καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν πιστοὶ καὶ ὅσιοι ἰδόντες εἰς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἤλπιζον τὸν σταυρωθέντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν Κύριον Χριστὸν [μετὰ τὸ ἐμὲ Ἡσαΐαν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀναβάντα], οἱ δὲ καὶ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν—ὀλίγοι ἐξ αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.

We see that two classes of the faithful are discriminated in this verse ; believers who had seen Christ personally and believers who had not. That this distinction was a familiar one in the first century of our era is clear from the New Testament.

Thus in St. John xx. 29, ‘Because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed : blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed’ ; and 1 Pet. i. 8, ‘whom not having seen ye love.’ A kindred thought appears in St. Luke x. 23, ‘Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see ; for I say

and those also who were believers in Him—of these few in those days will be left as His servants,

unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see and saw them not.'

Of the above two classes our text declares that few will be left. We have therefore, here, a guide to the date of this section of the book. Though somewhat vague, it is sufficiently definite to enable us to conclude that the author cannot have written later than 100 A.D. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 32. 8) holds that with the martyrdom of Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, the last of those who had seen and heard Christ had passed away. (*παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακούσαι κατηξιωμένων.*) Simeon's death, which took place under Trajan (*H. E.* iii. 32. 3 *ἐπὶ Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος*), has been assigned to various years between 102 and 110 A.D. Hence only a few, as our text has it, of those who had been personal followers of Christ could have been living between 90 and 100 A.D. Another passage in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39. 4, 7) should be adduced here as bearing on the present question. In this passage Papias, who is quoted by Eusebius, claims to have met two men, Arision and John the Elder, who had been personal followers of our Lord. Papias was bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century. His book (*Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*) may be set down to the third or fourth decade in that century; that his meeting with John and Arision was in the first we may reasonably infer if we combine this passage of Papias with that quoted above.

Thus we conclude that our text points to 100 A.D. as the *terminus ad quem*. We have elsewhere seen that the form of the Antichrist myth attested in the text could hardly have arisen earlier than 88 A.D. Hence the composition of the above section goes back to 88–100 A.D.

We must deal now with individual points of interpretation in this verse.

For whom they were hoping. See second note on iii. 9. For this idea compare Luke ii. 25, where Simeon is described as 'waiting for the consolation of Israel'; also 1 Tim. i. 1, 'Christ Jesus our hope'; Col. i. 27; Ignatius, *Magn.* 11. In St. John v. 45 we have an exact parallel in diction, *Μωσῆς, εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἠλπίζατε.*

[*After that I, Isaiah . . . who was crucified and ascended*]. This

while they flee from desert to desert, awaiting the coming of the Beloved. 14. And after (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two days the Lord

awkward clause is an editorial addition made to adapt the Testament of Hezekiah to its present context.

Few will be left. Cf. St. Luke xviii. 8, 'when the Son of man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth?'

Flee from desert to desert. This flight of believers before the Antichrist is a familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypses. Thus this flight is enjoined in the Jewish Apocalypse interpolated in Mark xiii. 14-16, 'when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (i.e. the Antichrist) . . . let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains,' &c. In Rev. xii. 14 it is said that the stay of believers in the wilderness, whither they had fled (xii. 6) would be for 'a time and times and half a time,' that is for three and a half years, the period during which Antichrist should be supreme, as we have already seen. For references in later Christian writers to this subject see Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*, pp. 212-217.

For instances of such flights to the desert owing to persecutions in the past see 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13, xix. 4, 8, 9, 13; 1 Macc. ii. 28, 29; 2 Macc. v. 27, vi. 11, x. 6; Pss. Sol. xvii. 19; Heb. xi. 37, 38.

Awaiting the coming of the Beloved = ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ. Cp. 1 Cor. i. 7; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. ix. 28; also 1 Thess. i. 10.

There is thus in this verse no occasion for resorting to heroic measures with Bousset (*Antichrist Legend*, p. 138), who proposes to excise 'who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ . . . His servants while they,' to insert a negative before 'were hoping.' The text would in this case contain a reference to the Antichrist: 'And many believers and saints having seen him for whom they were (not) hoping will flee from desert,' &c. Such a cryptic reference to the Antichrist as the personage 'for whom they were not hoping,' after such a lengthy and explicit account as precedes would indeed be an anti-climax. The whole context is against Bousset's proposal.

14. It will be observed that the text reads merely 'three hundred and thirty-two days.' I have with Lücke, Gfrörer,

will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven with the glory of the seventh heaven, and He will drag Beliar into Gehenna and also his armies. 15. And He will give rest to the godly whom He shall find

and Dillmann inserted 'one thousand.' Dillmann is probably right in regarding 'two' as an Ethiopic corruption of 'five.' The text would then agree with iv. 12.

The Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven. Cf. 2 Thess. i. 7, 'At the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of His power.' See also Eth. En. i. 4, 9; Jude 14; 1 Thess. iii. 13.

Drag Beliar into Gehenna. In Rev. xix. 20 the two forms of the Antichrist are cast into the lake of fire = Gehenna. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xl. 2, where the Antichrist is slain by the hands of the Messiah; 2 Thess. ii. 8, where he is slain by the word of Christ. Destruction (*ἀπώλεια*) is the destination of the Neronic Antichrist, Rev. xvii. 8, 11.

15-17. The first resurrection.

15. *Give rest to the godly.* So also in 2 Thess. i. 6, 7, 'If so be that it is a righteous thing with God to recompense those that afflict you with affliction and you that are afflicted with rest at the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ from heaven' (*ἀνταποδοῦναι . . . ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἀνεσιν*). This rest, which is connected with the parusia, is synonymous with 'the times of refreshing' which are to 'come from the presence of the Lord,' Acts iii. 19 (*ὅπως ἂν ἔλθῃσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου*). Cf. also Heb. iv. 1.

Whom He shall find in the body. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 17, 'Then we that are alive that are left shall be caught up together with them in the clouds.' In earlier literature a special blessing is pronounced on those who survive the coming of the kingdom. Dan. xii. 12; *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 371 ὁ μακαριστός, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐς χρόνον ἔσσεσθαι ἀνὴρ (so most though not the best MSS.); Pss. Sol. xvii. 50 μακάριοι οἱ γινόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις. But according to certain writers those who were to participate in this blessing must be found in Palestine on the advent of the kingdom. See my note on xxix. 2 of the Apocalypse of Baruch. The idea goes back to Joel ii. 32.

in the body in this world, [and the sun will be ashamed]: 16. And to all who because of (their) faith in Him have execrated Beliar and his kings. But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed, they will descend

[*And the sun will be ashamed*]. Though these words are not found in the chief MSS. of the LXX which presuppose a different text to the Massoretic, they are in one uncial and seventeen cursives, which add them after the ordinary text of the LXX according to Parsons and Holmes' edition. Since the Ethiopic version of Isaiah xxiv. 23 agrees exactly with the LXX, the interpolation is not due to an Ethiopic scribe, but was made in the Greek text.

16. *Beliar and his kings*. Have we here a reminiscence of the intermediate stage of the Neronic myth which is partially preserved in Rev. xvii? See Rev. xvii. 12-13: also Introduction, pp. lx-lxi.

The saints will come with the Lord. Cf. 1 Thess. iii. 13, 'At the coming of our Lord Jesus with all His saints' · iv. 14, 'Even so them that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with Him.'

With their garments which are stored up on high in the seventh heaven. This idea goes back to 2 Cor. v. 1, 'If the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' In the Slavonic Enoch xxii. 8-10, the garments of the blessed are said to be composed of God's glory. They are 'garments of life,' Eth. En. lxii. 16; cviii. 12. Compare also Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2. In the next place since according to the Ascension of Isaiah the final abode of the blessed is heaven, the spiritual bodies, or garments of the faithful, are said to be already there.

Whose spirits are clothed. Only the righteous shall have spiritual bodies. This is the Pauline doctrine: see my *Eschatology*, pp. 390 sqq. It is to be observed further that as their spirits are already clothed (see also ix. 9, where the departed righteous are represented as already vested in these garments or

and be present in the world, and He will strengthen those, who have been found in the body, together with the saints, in the garments of the saints, and the Lord will minister to those who have kept watch in this world. 17. And afterwards they will turn themselves upward in their garments, and their body will be left in the world. 18. Then

spiritual bodies), they have in reality already attained to the resurrection. This is also the later Pauline teaching: see above-quoted work, pp. 395, 399 sqq.

Will descend and be present in the world. This view is contrary to all the teaching of the New Testament, save of Rev. xx. 1-6; for it implies a stay, whether long or short, on earth of the saints who have descended from heaven with Christ. There is no reference to this event in vi.-xi. Apparently a feast is to be celebrated; for it is said that Christ will minister to the faithful.

He will strengthen those, who have been found in the body . . . in the garments of the saints. If the text is right, it may be best taken as follows: 'He will strengthen those who have been found in the body together with the saints (who are) in the garments of the saints'; i. e. He will bless together the living saints who are on earth, and the departed and glorified saints who have come down from heaven. But the text may be corrupt. Thus the clause 'those who have been found in the body' is misleading if taken by itself. It is not 'the living' that will be blessed, but 'the living saints.' Hence omit 'together with' before 'the saints,' and read 'the saints who have been found in the body.' But again the verb 'will strengthen' seems wrong. It is ἐνισχύσει, which may be a corruption of ἐνδύσει or ἐπενδύσει. Then we should have: 'He will clothe the saints who have been found in the body with the garments of the saints.'

The Lord will minister to those who have kept watch, &c. From Luke xii. 37. Our text does not agree with the Ethiopic version of Luke. The words 'minister' and 'kept watch' go back to the Lucan διακονήσει and γρηγορούντας.

17. The words 'and their body will be left in the world' show that this verse does not refer to the saints that had accompanied the Lord, but to the saints 'who had been found

the voice of the Beloved will in wrath rebuke the things of heaven and the things of earth and the mountains and the hills and the cities and the desert and the forests and the angel of the sun and that of the moon, and all things wherein Beliar manifested himself and acted openly in this world, and there will be [a resurrection and] a judgement

in the body.' The awkwardness of the clause 'will turn themselves upward' belongs to the text. It could also be translated 'will return above'; but this could not be said of those who had not yet been above. Or again, if instead of $\alpha\theta\alpha$ = 'above' we read $\eta\alpha\theta\alpha$ = 'from above,' as in ix. 9, the first half of the sentence could be rendered: 'And afterwards they will be transformed in their garments from above.' With this we might compare Phil. iii. 21, 'who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of His glory': also 1 Cor. xv. 52, 53, 'We shall all be changed . . . for this corruptible must put on incorruption.'

18. *Angel of the sun.* Cf. Rev. xix. 17, 'An angel standing in the sun.' See Eth. En. lx. 12-21, on the angels or spirits of the thunder, hoar-frost, mist, rain, &c. : lxxv, lxxx, on the angels of the stars. Also Rev. vii. 1, 2, on the angels of the winds; xiv. 18, the angel of fire; *Jubilees*, ii, on the angels fire, hail, hoar-frost, thunder, &c.

That of the moon. So bc. a reads 'the moon.'

Beliar manifested himself. The Antichrist reveals or manifests himself (2 Thess. ii. 3) just as the Christ.

The second resurrection and the judgement of the wicked.

There will be [a resurrection and] a judgement in their midst. This statement, if genuine, is peculiar. It seems to identify the resurrection with the raising of wicked men to judgement. The righteous dead have already been raised; for they accompanied the Lord at His parusia, iv. 14-16: the living righteous have been transformed and removed from this world, iv. 15-17. Accordingly, if the text is authentic, there is taught in iv. 14-17 a resurrection to life in which only the righteous have part, and in iv. 18 a resurrection to condemnation which does not take place till all the risen and glorified

in their midst in those days, and the Beloved will cause fire to go forth from Him, and it will consume all the godless, and they will be as though they had not been created. 19. And the rest of the words of the vision is written in the vision of Babylon. 20. And the rest of the vision regarding the Lord, behold, it is written in the parables according to my words which are written in the book which I publicly prophesied. 21. And the descent of the Beloved into Sheol, behold, it is

iv. 19-v. 1^a
- editorial
addition.

righteous have been raised to heaven. Such a view of the first and second resurrections would be unique. It does not agree with Rev. xx. 4, 11-13, the only passage where these two resurrections are mentioned in the New Testament. For in Revelation the first resurrection is that in which only the martyrs participate, and the second is the general resurrection, in which the rest of the departed righteous and all the wicked dead are raised to judgement. Nor does it harmonize with the interpolated (?) verses in John v. 28-29, where the general resurrection is spoken of as a resurrection of life to the righteous, and a resurrection of judgement to the wicked. Nor, again, does it agree with the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection, though the writer has undoubtedly assimilated some of the chief elements of that doctrine, as we have seen above. I have therefore bracketed the words 'a resurrection and.' The text then would deal only with the judgement of the wicked.

Will cause fire to go forth, &c. Cf. 2 Thess. i. 8, ii. 8; Is. xi. 4; 4 Ezra xii. 33, xiii. 38, 49: see my Apoc. Baruch xxix. 3, note. The Ethiopic is literally 'will cause fire to ascend.' I have taken it to be an awkward rendering of ἀνήσει πῦρ.

As though they had not been created. From Job x. 19 (Dillmann). The text seems to teach annihilation.

19. *The vision of Babylon.* Cf. Isa. xiii. 1 (LXX) ὅρασις ἣν εἶδεν Ἡσαίας υἱὸς Ἀμὸς κατὰ Βαβυλῶνος.

21. *The descent of the Beloved into Sheol . . . is written in the section, where the Lord says: 'Behold, my Son will understand.'*

written in the section, where the Lord says: 'Behold, my Son will understand.' And all these things, behold they are written [in the Psalms] in the parables of David, the son of Jesse, and in the Proverbs of Solomon his son, and in the words of Korah, and Ethan the Israelite, and in the words of Asaph, and in the rest of the Psalms also which the angel of the Spirit inspired, 22. (Namely) in those which have not the name written,

This quotation is taken from Isa. lii. 13, where the LXX has 'Ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου. Παῖς has been rendered 'son' by the Ethiopic translator. It is hard to recognize in Isa. lii. 13-liii. any reference to his Descent in Hades. Perhaps it is in the LXX of liii. 8 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον. The last three words imply מִן הַפְּשָׁעִים וְנָעַם, which Cheyne accepts as the original text over against the Mass. לְמַן וְנָעַם. The LXX phrase may have been interpreted in this way by early Christians.

[In the Psalms] in the parables. 'In the Psalms' may be regarded as an explanatory marginal gloss on 'in the parables' (= ἐν ταῖς παραβολαῖς), which was subsequently incorporated in the text; παραβολή goes back of course to לְפָסֶק and must bear in such cases the meaning of the latter. In the present instance 'parable' (= לְפָסֶק) means 'song' or 'poem,' as in Pss. xlix. 4; lxxviii. 2; Job xxvii. 1; xxix. 1.

Dillmann, on the other hand, takes the words 'in the Psalms' as a general title embracing 'the parables of David' and 'the proverbs of Solomon.'

Ethan, the Israelite. Here the text shows dependence on the LXX. See titles of Pss. lxxviii. and lxxxix, where Ethan is called τῷ Ἰσραηλείτῃ; and 1 Kings iv. 27, where he is surnamed τὸν Ἑβραηλίτην (A, Ζαρείτην B).

Inspired literally = caused to speak.

22. In those which have not the name written. I.e. the Psalms to which no author's name is prefixed. For 'in those' (bc), α reads 'and in those.'

and in the words of my father Amos, and of Hosea the prophet, and of Micah and Joel and Nahum and Jonah and Obadiah and Habakkuk and Haggai and Zephaniah and Zechariah and Malachi, and in the words of Joseph the Just and in the words of Daniel.

My father Amos. See note on i. 2.

Amos, and of Hosea, &c. We have here a list of the twelve Minor Prophets. The order in which they are enumerated is neither that of the Hebrew nor of the LXX, but comes nearer to the latter. The list of these prophets in 4 Ezra i. 39, 40 follows the order of the LXX. It is remarkable that there is no mention of Isaiah and Jeremiah in our text. The prophecies of the former, it is true, have been referred to elsewhere (see iii. 31, iv. 19, vi. 1), and as the writer claims to be Isaiah, such an omission may seem natural. The same peculiar phenomena, however (as Nitzsch has remarked), are attested by 4 Ezra i. 39, 40, where not only are Isaiah and Jeremiah omitted but also Daniel.

Words of Joseph the Just. This book is probably with Dillmann to be identified with the pseudepigraph *Προσευχὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ* (see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V. T. i.* pp. 761-769; Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüdischen Volkes*, iii. 265, 266). It appears on several lists of extra-canonical books and is said to have consisted of 1100 *στίχοι*. Marshall (*Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 778) has drawn attention to its antichristian character. The only existing fragments of this work, for the preservation of which we are indebted almost exclusively to the writings of Origen, clearly betray this animus. See *In Joan.* tom. ii. c. 25 (Lommatsch, i. 147, 148), *Fragm. Comment. in Genes.* tom. iii. c. 9 (Lommatsch, viii. 30, 31) *Philocalia*, c. 23 (Lommatsch, xxv. 223, 224). In all these passages it is not Joseph, however, but Jacob who is the speaker. Jacob claims in these to be 'an angel of God,' 'the first servant in God's presence' (*ὁ ἐν προσώπῳ θεοῦ λειτουργὸς πρῶτος*), whereas the angel who wrestled with Jacob and who was identified by Christians with the Messiah was only eighth in rank. But, most remarkable of all, Jacob declares himself to be the 'first-begotten of every creature animated by God' (*πρωτόγονος πάντος ζώου ζων-*

Martyr-
dom of
Isaiah = v.
1^b-14.

v. 1. On account of these visions, therefore, Beliar was wroth with Isaiah, and he dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and he sawed him in sunder with a wooden saw. 2. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder Balchîrâ stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because of Isaiah. 3. And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing] deriding; 4. And Balchîrâ said to Isaiah: 'Say: "I have lied in all that I have spoken,

μένου ὑπὸ θεοῦ). This phrase undoubtedly recalls Col. i. 15 *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*.

On the other hand, Nitzsch (*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 228, 229) thinks that the Joseph referred to in the text is Joshua the son of Josedek, mentioned in Sir. xlix. 12, or Joseph the husband of Mary, Matt. i. 19 (*ὁν δίκαιος*).

v. 1. And he sawed him in sunder. With these words the martyrdom of Isaiah is resumed which broke off at ii. 12.

3. Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs. So all MSS. There is no asyndeton as Beer supposes. So Zohak acts with the aid of Ahriman. See Introd. pp. xlvii-xlviii. Dillmann emends into 'Belchîrâ and Mechêmbêchûs,' because the verbs 'stood up' and 'deriding,' are in the plural. We must rather change the verbs into the singular. Balchîrâ is the tool of Beliar, and is identified with him in verse 9. This identification appears also in Ambrose: see on verse 4. For Mechêmbêchûs see ii. 5.

[Laughing] deriding. 'Laughing' is a doublet: there is no copula in *ab*. It is added in the late MS. c.

4-8. Balchîrâ (*b*. Beliar *ac*) tempts Isaiah.

4. Say: 'I have lied in all that I have spoken.' These words and part of verse 8 are quoted (as Laurence, p. 148, discovered) in the Commentary of Ambrose on Ps. cxviii (ed. Bened. vol. i. 1124): 'Fertur prophetae cuidam, et plerique ferunt, quod Esaiæ, in carcere posito, cum mole imminentis urgeretur exitii, dixisse diabolum; Dic quia non a Domino locutus es, quæ dixisti, et omnium in te mentes affectusque mutabo, ut qui indignantur injuriam absolutionem in te conferant.'

and likewise the ways of Manasseh are good and right. 5. And the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are good.” 6. And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. 7. But Isaiah was (absorbed) in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them (not). 8. And Balchîrâ spake thus to Isaiah: ‘Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee. 9. And Isaiah answered and said: ‘So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers and all thy house. 10. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body.’ 11. And they seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a wooden

7. *Saw them (not).* The negative must be supplied as in vi. 10.

8. *Balchîrâ.* So bc. *a* ‘Milchîrâs.’ See notes on ii. 12, v. 3. Balchîrâ, the tool of Beliar, again proceeds to tempt Isaiah. See quotation from Ambrose in note on verse 4.

9. *So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed.* So b. *a* is secondary: ‘So far as I am concerned, accursed—that is to say—’ The curse is directed against the false prophet as a man: hence ‘all thy house,’ and also against him as a plenipotentiary of Satan: hence ‘all thy powers.’ Both these aspects are recognized in the *Greek Legend*: κατὰ θεμά σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφήτα, διάβολε.

11. *With a wooden saw.* *Greek Legend*, iii. 16 ἐν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ πρισθῆναι αὐτόν. Hence the passage in Justin Mart. *cum Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἠσαίου, ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε, is all but certainly derived from our text. Cf. also Tertullian, *De Patientia*, 14 ‘His patientiae viribus secatur Esaias et de domino non tacet’; also *Scorpiae*, 8; Ps.—Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iii. 177.

saw. 12. And Manasseh and Balchîrâ and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on. 13. And to the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: 'Go ye to the region of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup.' 14. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he was sawn in twain. 15. This Beliar did to Isaiah through Balchîrâ and Manasseh; for Sammael was very wrathful against Isaiah from the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, on account of the things which he had seen regarding the Beloved, 16. And on account of the destruction of Sammael, which he had seen through the Lord, while Hezekiah his father was still king. And he did according to the will of Satan.

v. 15, 16 =
editorial
addition.

THE VISION WHICH ISAIAH THE SON OF AMOS SAW.

vi.-xi. 1-40
= Vision
of Isaiah.

vi. 1. In the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, came Isaiah the son of Amoz, and Josab the son of Isaiah to Hezekiah to

For later references see Otto's note on Justin Mart. *cum Tryph.* cxx. 15. On the legend see Introd., pp. xlv-xlix.

12. *Balchîrâ*. So *bc.* *a* reads *Melâchîrâ*. See note on ii. 12.

[*And*]. I have bracketed 'and' as it seems an intrusion.

13. *The cup*. On the meaning of the phrase cf. Matt. xx. 22.

14. *Neither cried aloud nor wept*. See quotation from Tertullian on the endurance of Isaiah in note on v. 11.

vi. *Title*. I have with S connected the words 'in the twentieth year . . . king of Judah' with what follows, rather than with what precedes as E and L².

Jerusalem "from Galgalâ". 2. And (having entered) he sat down on the couch of the king, "and they brought him a seat, but he would not sit (thereon)". 3. "And when Isaiah began to speak the words of faith and truth with King Hezekiah", all the princes of Israel were seated and the eunuchs and the councillors of the king. And there were there "forty" prophets and sons of the prophets: they had come from the villages and from the mountains and the plains when they had heard that Isaiah was coming from Galgalâ to Hezekiah. 4. "And they had come" to salute him "and to hear his words. 5. And that he might place his hands upon them," and that they might prophesy and that he might

1. *From Galgalâ.* These words are supported by *Greek Legend*, i. 3, but omitted by S L².

2. (*Having entered*). I have restored these words since they are found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 1, S and L².

And they brought him a seat, but he would not sit (thereon). Though these words are omitted by S L², they are no doubt genuine, since they have the support of the *Greek Legend*, i. 5, see p. 141. Isaiah chooses the couch of the king and not a stool or seat to recline on. Is it because he is going to have a vision?

3. *And when Isaiah.* So *ab.* c 'And then.'

All the princes. MSS. insert 'and' before these words after a Semitic idiom; but if reading of c above is followed, the 'and' must be read.

Forty prophets. 'Forty' is omitted by S L², but *Greek Legend*, i. 3, supports text.

Villages. I take the Ethiopic to be a rendering of κώμαι in accordance with S L².

Galgalâ. On the various forms of this proper name see *Critical Notes*, 8, 12, 17, p. 101.

4, 5. These verses are very much curtailed in S L².

That they might prophesy and that he might hear their prophecy. This reading of ac is supported by S L²: 'annunciare ei

hear their prophecy: "and they were all before Isaiah." 6. And when Isaiah was speaking "to Hezekiah" the words of truth and faith, they all heard † a door which one had opened and † the voice of the Holy Spirit. 7. And the king summoned all the prophets and all the people who were found there, and they came. And Micaiah and the aged Ananias and Joel "and Josab" sat on his right hand (and 'on the left). 8. And it came to pass when they had all heard the voice of the Holy Spirit, they all worshipped on their knees, and glorified the God "of truth", the Most High "who is in the upper world and who sits on High the Holy One and" who rests among His holy ones. 9. "And they gave glory to Him" † who had thus bestowed a door in an alien

quae ventura erant.' *b*'s text is therefore secondary: 'that he might prophesy, that they might hear his prophecy.'

6. *A door which one had opened.* According to verse 9, this door is in the world. Hence Lücke's idea that it is in heaven—as in Rev. iv. 1—seems to be wrong. *E* seems corrupt. See note on verse 9, *S* runs: 'When he was speaking [all] the words of truth, the Holy Spirit came upon him and all heard and saw the words of the Holy Spirit.' *L*² is practically the same, see pp. 99–100.

7. *And they came.* *b* omits, but *S L*² support *a*.

Aged. *L*² and *S* connect this adjective also with Micaiah.

And Josab. Omitted by *S L*².

(*And on the left*). Added from *S*; cf. *L*².

8. *The Most High . . . who rests among His holy ones.* So LXX of Isa. lvii. 15 ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. The words that immediately precede in the LXX may have been in the mind of the writer: ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. See on x. 6.

9. *Who had thus bestowed . . . on a man.* Text corrupt. Read

world, had bestowed (it) on a man †. 10. And as he was speaking in the Holy Spirit in the hearing of all, he became silent "and his mind was taken up from him" and he saw not the men that stood before him, 11. Though his eyes indeed were open. Moreover his lips were silent "and the mind in his body was taken up from him." 12. But his breath was in him; "for he was seeing a vision. 13. And the angel who was sent to make him see was not of this firmament, nor was he of the angels of glory of this world, but he had come from the seventh heaven." 14. And the people who stood near did (not) think, but †the circle of the prophets (did)†, that the holy Isaiah had been taken up.

'who had bestowed such an excellence of words on a man in the world.' See Critical Note.

10. *And his mind was taken up from him.* Omitted by S L². The passage however is genuine. It was before the writer of the *Greek Legend*, i. 14 ἦρθη ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ.

Saw not. See v. 7.

11. *And the mind . . . from him.* This is practically a repetition of the clause in verse 10. Though S L² omit, it is probably genuine; for the three versions contain the repetition: 'he became silent' (verse 10), 'his lips were silent' (verse 11).

12. *His breath was in him.* L² gives: 'inspiratio sancti spiritus erat cum illo.' So S but that it omits sancti. But the *Greek Legend*, ii. 2, supports our text and rendering. It reproduces this clause: ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμφύσημα ζωῆς. Ἐμφύσημα is used by Symmachus in Job xxxvii. 10 to render הַנְּשִׁיף. The text of L² is secondary. It is an explanatory gloss on the other meaning of ἐμφύσημα = 'inspiration.'

13. *Firmament.* Cf. iv. 2, viii. 9-13.

14. *The people . . . did (not) think.* Negative is restored in accordance with S L².

† *The circle . . . (did)†.* Read with S L²: 'the prophets recognized.'

15. And the vision which the holy Isaiah saw was not from this world but from the world which is hidden from the flesh. 16. And after Isaiah had seen this vision, he narrated it to Hezekiah, and to Josab his son and to the other prophets who had come. 17. But the leaders and the eunuchs and the people did not hear, but only Samna the scribe, and †Îjôaqêm, and †Asaph the recorder; for these also were doers of righteousness, and the †sweet smell† of the Spirit was upon them. But the people had not heard; for Micaiah and Josab his son had caused them to go forth, when the wisdom of this world had been taken from him and he became as one dead.

Had been taken up. E gives 'had been taken away.' By changing the vocalization of one letter we get the proper sense which is attested by SL².

15. *The flesh.* E, which I have rendered idiomatically 'the flesh' means more usually 'his flesh.' SL² give 'all flesh.'

16. *And after Isaiah had seen this vision.* More fully in SL². See *in loc.*

Josab his son. From these words to their recurrence in vii. 1, SL² are wanting through homoioteleuton.

17. *Samna.* See note on i. 5.

Îjôaqêm, that is Joaqem or Joachim. Is this Joah (𐤍𐤓𐤕) LXX 'Ιωάχ) the son of Asaph mentioned in Isa. xxxvi. 3? If so, we should emend the text and read: 'Îjôaqêm the son of Asaph.' Dillmann identifies him with Eliakim mentioned in the same passage, but the form of the word is slightly more in favour of the former view.

These also were doers of righteousness. According to bc 'These also had deeds of righteousness.'

The †sweet smell†. E here = εὐδία, which may be a corruption of εὐδοκία. The same corruption is found in the Greek MSS. of Ecclesiasticus xliii. 26. Thus we should have: 'The good pleasure of the Spirit was upon them.' Or is εὐδία corrupt for εὐδομία?

And he became. a omits.

vii. 1. And the vision which Isaiah saw, he told to Hezekiah and Josab his sonⁿ and Micaiah and the rest of the prophets, (and) said: 2. *At this moment*, when I prophesied according to the (words) heard which ye heard, I saw a glorious angel not like unto the glory of the angels which I used always to see, but possessing such glory and †position† that I cannot describe "the glory"ⁿ of that angelⁿ. 3. And having seized me by my hand *he raised me on high*, and I said unto him: 'Who art thou, and what is thy name, and whither art thou raising me on high? for strength was given me to speak with him.' 4. And he said unto me: 'When I have raised thee on high [through the (various) degrees] and made thee see the vision, on account of which I have been sent, then thou wilt understand who I am: but my name thou dost not know: 5. Because thou wilt return into this thy body, but whither I am raising thee on high, thou wilt see; "for for this purpose have I been sent."ⁿ 6. And I rejoiced because he spake courteously to me. 7. And he said unto me: 'Hast thou rejoiced

vii. 2. *At this moment*. Emended. See Critical Note. Text = 'and this was.'

2. †Position†. E, which = function, administration or order (*τάξις*), seems corrupt. How is this to be reconciled with the reading of the L² and S: which is 'lumen'? L¹ has 'sanctam (claritatem).' See, however, *Greek Legend*, ii. 6.

3. *He raised me on high*. Emended. See Critical Note.

5. *Whither*. See verse 3. L and S have 'quando.'

For for this purpose have I been sent. Observe that L¹ has these words, though S L² omit them.

7. This verse appears at much greater length in the S L², but our text agrees with L¹.

because I have spoken courteously to thee?' And he said: 'And thou wilt see how a greater also than I am will speak courteously and peaceably with thee.' 8. And †His Father also who is greater† thou wilt see; for for this purpose have I been sent from the seventh heaven in order to explain all these things unto thee.' 9. And we ascended to the firmament, I and he, and there I saw Sammael and his hosts, and there was great fighting therein and the *angels* of Satan were envying one another. 10. And as above so on the earth also; for the likeness of that which is in the firmament is here on the earth. 11. And I said unto the angel (who was with me): '(What is this war and) what is this envying?' 12. And he said unto me: 'So has it been since this world was made until now, and this war (will continue) till He, whom thou shalt see will come

Will speak. S L² = 'wish to speak.' Cf. note on verse 5.

8. †His Father also who is greater†. Corrupt. L¹=*eminentiorem ipsius majoris*. So practically S save that it has a doublet. Hence read: 'One more eminent than the greater Himself.'

9. *The firmament, &c.* See x. 29-31, where the domain of the evil angels embraces two provinces, the firmament and the air.

Sammael and his hosts. So also L¹. S L² agree in presenting a slightly different text, and apparently less original. These two versions together with *Greek Legend*, ii. 9, give Satan instead of Sammael. For the presence of evil beings in the heavens or on their outskirts see my edition of the Slavonic Enoch, *Introd.* pp. xxx-xlvi.

Angels. E has 'words' = *λόγοι*, which I take to be a corruption of *ἄγγελοι*, which is the reading presupposed by L¹.

11. (*What is this war and*). Supplied from L¹. S L² = 'What is this war and envying and battle?' See x. 29.

12. *So it has been since this world was made.* S L² avoid this statement: see p. 106.

and destroy him. 13. And afterwards he caused me to ascend (to that which is) above the firmament: which is the (first) heaven. 14. And there I saw a throne in the midst, and on his right and on his left were angels. 15. "And (the angels on the left were) not like unto the angels who stood on the right", but those who stood on the right had the greater glory, and they all praised with one voice, "and there was a throne in the midst", and those who were on the left gave praise after them ;

Destroy him. Cf. x. 12. S L² add 'with the breath of His power.'

13. (*To that which is*). Here we have exceptionally to follow L² S against E L¹, and insert these words.

(*First*). Omitted by L¹ E : inserted from L² S.

14. *A throne*, i. e. an angel belonging to the order called 'Thrones,' *Θρόνοι*, mentioned in Col. i. 16; Test. Lev. 3; and in vii. 15, 21, 27, viii. 8 and xi. 25 of our present text, and *Greek Legend*, ii. 40. So the text of E L¹, and *Greek Legend*, ii. 12, in the present passage. S L² on the other hand, require the term to be construed in its ordinary sense; for they add 'and on it there sat an angel in great glory.' These words may belong to the original text; for they recur in vii. 19, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37.

15. The angels on the right are superior to those on the left. Cf. vii. 29, 30, 33, 34. This difference prevails till the sixth heaven : see viii. 6-7.

(*The angels on the left were*). These words are supplied from L¹. L² S omit the words 'And (the angels on the left were) not like unto the angels who stood on the right.' The omission seems due to homoioteleuton.

And there was a throne in the midst. The throne here may be an angel as in the preceding verse. The entire clause is omitted by S L², but L¹ supports our text.

And those who were on the left gave praise after them. Here E, which reads 'and they praised him and those who were on the left after them,' has inverted the order of the words.

but their voice was not such as the voice of those on the right, nor their praise like the praise of those. 16. And I asked the angel who conducted me, and I said unto him: 'To whom is this praise sent?' 17. And he said unto me: '(It is sent) to the praise of (Him who sitteth in) the seventh heaven: to Him † who rests in the holy world †, and to His Beloved, whence I have been sent to thee. [Thither is it sent.] 18. And again he made me to ascend to the second heaven. Now the height of that heaven is the same as from the heaven to the earth [and to the firmament]. 19. And (I saw there, as) in the first heaven, angels on the right and on the left, "and a throne in the midst, and the praise of the angels in the second

The true order is preserved in L¹ which I have followed in text. L¹ is here supported by S. L² is corrupt.

17. *To the praise of (Him who sitteth in) the seventh heaven.* I have emended the text. See Critical Note 3, p. 107. See also vi. 8. The subject is revived in x. 2.

†*Who rests in the holy world*†. So a. b gives 'who rests among the holy ones of the world.' Both are certainly wrong. L¹ has 'qui est perpetui saeculi.' L² S omit. The word 'rests' may have been borrowed from vi. 8. L¹ is here to be preferred. The original may have been τοῦ κατοικοῦντος τὸν αἰῶνα = 'who inhabiteth eternity.' See Isa. lvii. 15 quoted on vi. 8.

18. *Of that heaven.* L¹ S omit 'that,' which is probably a rendering of the Greek Article, as is frequently the case. Better therefore render 'of the heaven' as in L¹ S.

[*And to the firmament*]. Though this phrase goes back to G¹, for it is found in L¹, I have bracketed it as it is against the sense and is omitted by L² S.

19. (*I saw there, as*). Supplied from L¹ L² S.

19-20. *And the praise of the angels . . . in the second heaven.* Though L¹ is wanting from this verse forwards, our text has the support

heaven; and he who sat on the throne in the second heaven was more glorious than all (the rest).⁷¹ 20. And there was great glory in the second heaven, and the praise also was not like the praise of those who were in the first heaven. 21. And I fell on my face to worship him, but the angel who conducted me did not permit me, but said unto me: 'Worship neither throne nor angel which belongs to the six heavens—for for this cause I was sent to conduct thee—until I tell thee "in the seventh heaven"⁷². 22. For above all the heavens and their angels has thy throne been placed, and thy garments and thy crown which thou shalt see.' 23. And I rejoiced with great joy, that those who love the

of *Greek Legend*, ii. 14. On the words 'he who sat on the throne in the second heaven,' see note on vii. 14.

21. *I fell on my face to worship him.* See Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9.

Worship neither throne nor angel. See vii. 14 note.

Which belongs to the six heavens. L², 'of that heaven': S, 'from heaven.'

For for this cause. Text reads 'whence.' But since the angel is from the seventh heaven (cf. vi. 13, vii. 8, 27), this cannot be right. The right text is supplied by L² 'propter hoc,' and S 'nam propter hoc.' All three renderings can be explained as equivalents of *ὅθεν*, as Dillmann conjectured.

Until I tell thee. The text could also be rendered, 'except Him whom I tell thee of.' This would agree with L², 'sed tantum quem ego dixero tibi.' On the other hand, *Greek Legend*, ii. 22, appears to support the rendering given above.

22. S L² (see p. 109) are clearly inferior to E in this verse. E alone gives the sense required by the next verse.

Thy throne. See viii. 26 note.

Thy garments. See iv. 16 note.

23. See the somewhat different version of S L², p. 110.

Most High and His Beloved will afterwards ascend thither by the angel of the Holy Spirit. 24. And he raised me to the third heaven, and in like manner I saw those upon the right and upon the left, and there was a throne there in the midst; but the memorial of this world is there unheard of. 25. "And I said to the angel who was with me;" for the glory of my appearance was undergoing transformation as I ascended to each heaven in turn: 'Nothing "of the vanity" of that world is here named.' 26. And he answered me, and said unto me: 'Nothing is named on account of its weakness, and nothing is hidden there of what is done.' 27. "And I wished to learn how it is known, and he answered me saying: 'When I have raised thee to the seventh heaven whence I was sent, to that which is above these, then thou shalt know that there is nothing hidden from the thrones and from those who dwell in the heavens and from the angels.'" And the praise wherewith they praised and the glory of him who

24. *There was a throne there in the midst.* So *b. ac* add against *b* and *L² S*, 'and one who sat.'

Memorial: practically = 'name,' as in Prov. x. 7, Eccles. ix. 5.

Is there unheard of: lit. 'is named.' This sense of *ὀνομαζέω* is found in Eph. v. 3.

25-27. The more remote each heaven is from the earth, the smaller is the impression made upon it by the things of earth. Yet none of the things of earth can escape the knowledge of the inhabitants of the heavens.

25. Slightly different order in *L² S*.

Glory of my appearance. *S L²* 'glory of my spirit.'

27. *S L²* are very defective here. *Greek Legend*, ii. 17, supports our text. See also ix. 19-23.

sat on the throne was great, "and the glory of the angels on the right hand and on the left was beyond that of the heaven which was below them". 28. And again he raised me to the fourth heaven, and the height from the third to the fourth heaven was greater than from the earth to the firmament. 29. And there again I saw those who were on the right hand and those who were on the left, "and him who sat on the throne was in the midst", and there also they were praising. 30. And the praise and glory of the angels on the right was greater than that of those on the left. 31. And again the glory of him who sat on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right, and their glory was beyond that of those who were below. 32. And he raised me to the fifth heaven. 33. And again I saw "those upon the right hand and on the left, and him who sat on the throne possessing greater glory than those of the fourth heaven". 34. And the glory of those on the right hand was greater than that of those "on the left [from the third to the fourth]". 35. And the glory

29. *Him who sat on . . . midst.* These words may be interpolated by a scribe who did not understand the technical meaning of 'throne.' See *Greek Legend*, ii. 18, also L²S.

29^b-30. Omitted by L² through homoioteleuton.

32. *He raised me.* SL² = 'I ascended.'

32, 33. Cf. fragment of Zephaniah Apocalypse in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77 καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἑθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον.

32-36. Very defective in SL², verse 35 being wholly omitted.

34. [*From the third to the fourth*]. A disturbing gloss.

of him who was on the throne was greater than that of the angels on the right hand⁷. 36. And their praise was more glorious than that of the fourth heaven. 37. "And I praised Him, who is not named and the Only-begotten" who dwelleth in the heavens, whose name is not known to any flesh, who has bestowed such glory on the several heavens, "and who makes great the glory of the angels, and more excellent the glory of Him who sitteth on the throne⁷."

viii. 1. And again he raised me into the air of the sixth heaven, and I saw such glory as I had not seen in the five heavens. 2. *For I saw* angels possessing great glory. 3. And the praise there was holy and wonderful. 4. And I said to the angel who conducted me: 'What is this which I see, my lord?' 5. And he said: 'I am not thy

36. See Slav. En. xviii. 9, on the singing of the angels in the fifth heaven.

37. SL² give a widely divergent text from the above. See pp. 112-113.

Who is not named = ἀπῆρτος. See quotation from Clem. Alex. under vii. 32, 33.

The Only-begotten. This phrase, though not here in SL², is found in viii. 7 of S and viii. 25 of both S and L². Our text presupposes John i. 16, 18, iii. 16, 18.

Such glory on the several heavens. L²S = 'such glory on the angels over the several heavens.'

viii. 1. *Glory.* SL² = 'great glory.'

In the five heavens. SL² = 'in the fifth heaven.'

2. *For I saw*. For this emendation under guidance of S and L², see Critical Note. MSS. give 'when I ascended' and connect these words with verse 1. At the close of this verse SL² add an additional clause: see p. 113.

5. *I am . . . thy fellow servant.* The word rendered 'fellow

lord, but thy fellow servant.' ¶6. And again I asked him, and I said unto him: 'Why are there not angelic fellow servants (on the left)?' ¶7. And he said: 'From the sixth heaven there are no longer *angels* on the left, nor a throne set in the midst, but (they are directed) by the power of the seventh heaven, where dwelleth He that is not named ¶and the Elect One, whose name has not been made known, and none of the heavens can learn His name¶. 8. For it is He alone to whose voice all the heavens and thrones give answer. I have ¶therefore been empowered and¶ sent to raise thee here that thou mayest see this glory, 9. And that thou mayest see the Lord of all those heavens

servant' more usually means 'companion,' but occasionally it is a rendering of σύνδουλος (Matt. xviii. 28, 31) as here. Cf. *Greek Legend*, ii. 11, where these words are found: οὐκ ἐγὼ Κύριος, ἀλλὰ σύνδουλός σου εἰμί. See Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9.

6. *Angelic fellow servants*. Literally = 'fellow servants of the angels.'

7. **Angels**. See note 10, p. 113. MSS. = 'and upward.'

(*They are directed*). I have supplied these words under guidance of L²S. The former gives 'ordinationem habent'; the latter = 'administrati sunt.'

Where dwelleth He that is not named = ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρρητος. This appears to be correct. L²S, which are corrupt, may in part be explained from it. S = 'ubi est celebris ille' = ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ ῥητός. L² = 'ubi est dives.' 'Dives' may represent ἀφθονος, corrupt for ἄρρητος (?).

And the Elect One. S = 'et unigenitus filius ejus.' L² has merely 'filius Dei.' The 'unigenitus' in S does not seem to be primitive, though the term occurs in vii, 37 of our text. See note on i. 4.

8. *Thrones*. S L² give 'angels'—a general for a specific term.

9-10. See S L², which omit 10 and give another turn to 9. Verse 10 anticipates what is recounted in x. 8 sqq.

and these thrones, 10. "Undergoing (successive) transformation until He resembles your form and likeness." 11. I indeed say unto thee, Isaiah; No man about to return into a body of that world has "ascended or" seen what thou seest or perceived what thou hast perceived and what thou wilt see. 12. For it has been permitted to thee in the lot of the Lord to come hither [and from thence comes the power of the sixth heaven and of the air]. 13. And I magnified my Lord with praise, in that through His lot I should come hither. 14. And he said: "Hear, furthermore, therefore, this also from thy fellow servant"; when from the body by the *will of God* thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment "which thou seest, and like-

11. See viii. 23. E = 'No man . . . has seen this or ascended or perceived what thou seest and what thou wilt see.' I have transposed 'has seen' and 'ascended' under guidance of *Greek Legend*, ii. 29. Next from S we see that the clause 'what thou seest' should follow after 'seen' and 'what thou wilt see' after 'perceived.'

12. *In the lot of the Lord* = through sharing in the lot of the Lord. See i. 13. E adds against SL² 'in the lot of the cross,' which I have taken to be a marginal explanatory gloss subsequently embodied in the text.

Hither, i. e. the seventh heaven.

[*And from thence &c.*]. I have bracketed these words as the interpolation of an Ethiopic scribe, based on viii. 7, not quite rightly apprehended.

13. *Should come hither*. S = 'am departing,' L² = 'am walking.'

14. *Hear . . . fellow servant*. SL² omit.

*From the body by the *will of God**. Emended. See Critical Note, p. 115. *ac* = 'from the alien body by the angel of the spirit thou hast ascended.' *b* = 'in an alien body the God of the spirit has made thee to ascend.'

Which thou seest . . . wilt see. L² S omit.

wise other numbered garments laid up (there) thou wilt seeⁿ, 15. And then thou wilt become equal to the angels of the seventh heaven.' 16. And he raised me up into the sixth heaven, and there were no (angels) on the left, nor a throne in the midst, but all had one appearance and their (power of) praise was equal. 17. And (power) was given to me also, and I also praised along with them and that angel also, and our praise was like theirs. 18. And there they † all named the primal Father † and His Beloved, "the Christⁿ" and the Holy Spirit, all with one voice. 19. And (their voice) was not like the voice of the angels in the five heavens, 20. [Nor like their discourse] but the voice was different there, and there was much light there. 21. And then, when I was in the sixth heaven I thought the light which I had seen in the five

Garment. See viii. 26; ix. 9, 24, 25; xi. 3. 5.

16. *No (angels) on the left.* S L² have 'no angels on the right or on the left,' but our text is correct: see above, viii. 7.

All had one appearance. This statement appears to be derived from Slav. En. xix. 1, 'There is no difference in their countenance,' where the angels of the sixth heaven are described.

17. See S L² for slight variations of the text.

18. † *All named the primal Father †.* So *ab. c* omits 'primal.' We should emend and read with S L², 'they praised the Father of all.'

Christ. This title, which goes back to G¹ and possibly to G (see x. 7 note), is found likewise in ix. 5, 13, 17, x. 7, in all of which passages it is absent from L³ S.

His Beloved. So *a. bc* 'the Beloved.'

19. *The five heavens.* S L² preferably 'in the fifth heaven.'

20. [Nor like their discourse]. A doublet. S L² omit.

21. *The light.* Text could be translated 'that light,' but the Greek article is frequently rendered by the demonstrative in Ethiopic.

heavens to be but darkness. 22. And I rejoiced and praised Him who hath bestowed such lights on those who wait for His promise. 23. And I besought the angel who conducted me that I should not henceforth return to the carnal world. 24. I say indeed unto you, "Hezekiah and Josab my son and Micaiah" that there is much darkness here. 25. And the angel who conducted me discovered what I thought and said: 'If in this light thou dost rejoice, how much more wilt thou rejoice, when in the seventh heaven thou seest the light, where is the Lord and His Beloved [whence I have been sent, who is to be called "Son" in this world. 26. Not (yet) hath been manifested He who shall be in the corruptible world] and the garments, and the thrones, and the crowns which are laid up for the righteous, "for those who trust in that Lord who will descend in your form. For the

Five heavens. L²S = 'fifth heaven.'

22. *Such lights.* L² 'such joy,' S 'such things.'

Wait for His promise. S L² = 'receive His mercy.'

23. See viii. 11.

24. S L² omit the proper names.

25. *Discovered what I thought and.* L²S omit.

The Lord . . . in this world. S L² = 'the heavenly Father and His Only-begotten Son.'

25, 26. I have bracketed the words 'whence I have been sent . . . in the corruptible world.' They are omitted by S L² and introduce confusion into the context. By excising them we restore unity to these verses. The interpolation is most probably due to an Ethiopic scribe. The unusual form of the Ethiopic in verse 26 supports this suggestion. In ix. 5, 13, 17, &c., the kindred phrases are derived from the Greek.

Who is to be called 'Son' in this world. Cf. ix. 5.

light which is there is great and wonderful". 27. And as concerning thy not returning into the body thy days are not yet fulfilled for coming here.' 28. And when I heard (that) I was troubled, and he said: 'Do not be troubled.'

ix. 1. And he took me into the air of the seventh heaven, and moreover I heard a voice saying: 'How far will he ascend that dwelleth *in the flesh *?' and I feared and trembled. 2. And "when I trembled, behold" * I heard * from hence another voice "being sent forth, and" saying: 'It is permitted to the holy Isaiah to ascend hither; for here is his garment.' 3. And I asked the angel who was with me "and said": 'Who is he who forbade me and who is he who *permitted* me to ascend?' 4. And he said unto me: 'He who forbade thee, this is he *who is over* the praise-giving of the sixth heaven. 5. And He who *permitted* thee,

ix. 1. **In the flesh* *. E here reads 'among aliens,' which I have taken to be corrupt as S L² give *in carne* and *Greek Legend*, ii. 23, ἐν σαρκί.

2. *And when I trembled, &c.* E is corrupt, but admits easily of emendation. See Critical Note, p. 118. As it stands, it runs: 'And he said unto me when I trembled: Behold, from hence another voice has come, being sent forth, and it says.'

From hence. This gives the wrong sense. *Greek Legend*, ii. 23, has ἐκ τῶν ἄνω. This is right in meaning, for the second voice is from the seventh heaven, the first voice being from the sixth: see verses 4, 5.

3. *Who *permitted*.* E has here 'turned to,' which gives a wrong sense of δ ἐπιτρέπων. The verse is found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 24.

4. **Who is over* *. Unemended text = 'on whom is.' A slight change gives 'who is over' = δ ἐφ' ὧς ἐπὶ, *Greek Legend*, ii. 25.

5. **Permitted* *. See on verse 3.

this is "thy Lord God, the Lord Christ, who will be called "Jesus" in the world", but His name thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body.' 6. And he raised me up into the seventh heaven, and I saw there a wonderful light and angels innumerable. 7. And there I saw all the righteous "from the time of Adam. 8. And there I saw the holy Abel and all the righteous. 9. And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him", stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were "like angels", standing there in great glory.

Thy Lord. So *a. c* gives 'our Lord.' *Greek Legend*, ii. 25, has *ὁ Κύριος*, *L² S* 'filius Dei.'

God, the Lord Christ . . . world. In deference to Dillmann's opinion I formerly regarded these words and certain phrases in ix. 13, 17, x. 7 as interpolations, on the ground of the statement that follows: 'His name thou canst not hear,' &c. I now think that they go back to *G*. For in the first place they spring not from the Ethiopic scribe, but existed already in *G¹*. Thus x. 7 is found in the *Gk. Leg.* ii. 37. In the next, the words 'His name,' &c., do not refer to the earthly name of Christ, but to some secret name known only to the blessed. Cf. vii. 7. A similar idea is found in *Rev.* xix. 12 'He hath a name written which no one knoweth but He Himself.'

Thy body. So *c* and *S. b* and *L²* give 'body,' and *a* 'this body.'

7-10. We should observe that though all the righteous from the time of Adam are already possessed of their spiritual or resurrection bodies (see notes on iv. 16) as in *Rev.* vi. 11, they are represented as not yet enjoying perfect blessedness. They are not as yet crowned, nor have they as yet sat down on their thrones. These verses are very defective in *L² S*, which speak only of certain righteous individuals being already in heaven. That our text goes back accurately to the older Greek recension is proved by the *Greek Legend*, ii. 27, which reproduces the clauses which are missing in *L² S*.

9. *Like angels.* Cf. *Eth. En.* li. 4 (see note in my edition),

10. But they sat not on their thrones, nor were their crowns of glory on them. 11. And I asked the angel who was with me: 'How is it that they have received the garments, but have not the thrones and the crowns?' 12, 13. And he said unto me: 'Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive, till the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see Him descend "[will descend, I say] into the world in the last days the civ. 4; Matt. xxii. 30; Apoc. Bar. li. 5, 9, 12. L²S omit this phrase.

11. *Who was with me.* L²S give instead 'and I said.'

Thrones. Cf. Rev. iii. 21; Luke xxii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 28; 1 Cor. vi. 3.

Crowns. Cf. Rev. ii. 10, iii. 11, iv. 4; Jas. i. 12; Herm. Sim. viii. 2, 3. The idea is derived from the custom of crowning the victors in the games, as in 1 Cor. ix. 25; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 5; 1 Pet. v. 4. It is the reward for martyrdom, 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

Have not the thrones, &c. Text is very doubtful here, but the sense is as clear as in SL².

12-13. The angel replies that the righteous in the seventh heaven will not receive their thrones and crowns till the Beloved descends and becomes man on earth. From verse 18 it appears that it is not till Christ reascends into heaven that they receive them. See note on verse 18.

The text of E is almost unintelligible as it appears in the MSS. and in Dillmann's text. This is owing to a simple blunder on the part of a scribe, who transferred the words 'Nevertheless they see and know whose will be the thrones and whose the crowns' from their right position at the close of the sentence 'till the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see Him descend [will descend, I say] into the world in the last days the Lord, who will be called Christ' to an impossible position immediately preceding it. That this restoration is right is established by S: see p. 120. L² is here corrupt though also helpful.

Will see Him descend . . . into the world in the last days. These words

Lord, who will be called Christ⁷. Nevertheless they "see and" know whose will be thrones, and whose the crowns when He has descended, and been made in your form, "and they will think that He is flesh and is a man⁷. 14. And the god of that world will stretch forth * his hand against the Son,* and they will crucify Him on a tree, and will *slay* Him not knowing who He is. 15. And thus His descent, "as you will see, will be hidden even from the heavens, so that it will not be known who He is⁷. 16. And when He hath plundered the angel of death, He will ascend on the third day, are wanting both in L² and S; but they are original; for they appear in *Greek Legend*, ii. 25; see p. 143.

Will think that He is flesh and is a man. 'Is flesh' and 'is a man' are parallel expressions. His divine nature will not be recognized.

14. *His hand against the Son*. So Dillmann rightly emends text. See Critical Note.

*Will *slay* Him.* So I have emended text with the guidance of SL². MSS. = 'and will lay hands upon Him,' and transpose these words before 'and will crucify Him.' See Critical Note.

15-17. The above verses in E vary so widely from those in L² and S, that it is impossible to reconcile them save in a few phrases. L² = 'And He will descend into Hades and make it and the phantoms (visiones = φαντάσματα) of hell desolate. 16. And He will seize the prince of death, and will plunder him, and will crush all his powers, and He will rise the third day, 17. Having certain righteous persons with Him, and He will send forth His preachers into the whole world and will ascend into the heavens.' S in the main agrees with L², but is very corrupt.

16. *Plundered the angel of death.* These words are found also in L². They have to do with the rescue of certain souls out of the hand of the angel of death. Christ holds the keys of it, Rev. ix. 1. The angel of death is again referred to in x. 8, xi. 19. The next verse states explicitly the deliverance of righteous

[and he will remain in that world five hundred and forty-five days]. 17. And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the "Lord Christ" ascend

souls from Hades. See Ignatius, *ad Magn.* ix; Matt. xxvii. 52, 53; *Evang. Nicodemi*, i. 1, xi. 1 (ed. Tischendorf). The above statement confirms the genuineness of the mention of the descent into Hades in ix. 15 of L²S. Sheol, where the angel of death abides (x. 8), is thus an intermediate abode; Haguel or Abaddon (x. 8) is the final abode of the lost.

[*Remain in that world five hundred and forty-five days*]. This clause is wanting in SL². It is of course no creation of Ethiopic scribes. The Ethiopic translator found it already in his Greek text. The idea is a Gnostic one. It was held by the Valentinians and the Ophites (see Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* i. 3. 2, 30. 14) as Lücke has already remarked (*Einleitung in d. Offenbarung*, i. 290). It was, nevertheless, an intrusion in the Greek text; for the many righteous mentioned in verse 17 are none other than the souls delivered from Hades, and the ascent mentioned in that verse is the ascent from Hades. This is clear from SL², which bring the resurrection of Christ and the deliverance of the souls from Hades together: ix. 16. 'surget tertia die. 17. habens quosdam iustos secum.'

17. *And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him*, i. e. from Hades, as I have shown in the preceding note. Yet the present form of the Ethiopic implies that the ascension here designed is not from Hades but from earth to heaven after the resurrection.

Whose spirits do not receive their garments, &c. So *a. b* omits negation against *ac. c* = 'who in their spirit have not received their garments.' L²S omit. Since all the righteous according to ix. 7 (E), and according to ix. 7 (L²S) a certain class of righteous men, are already in the seventh heaven arrayed in their garments or spiritual bodies, the spirits delivered from Hades can only have been the *imperfectly righteous*. As such they do not receive their spiritual bodies till Christ's ascent to the seventh heaven.

SL² add at the close of this verse: 'et mittet suos praedicatores in universum orbem terrarum et ascendet in coelos.' The former statement is made elsewhere in our text; see iii. 17, 18, xi. 22.

and they ascend with Him. 18. Then indeed they will receive their [garments and] thrones and crowns, when He has ascended into the "seventh" heaven. 19. And I said unto him that which I had asked him in the third heaven: 20. '*Show me how* everything which is done in that world is here made known.' 21. And whilst I was still speaking with him, behold one of the angels who stood nigh, more glorious than the glory of that angel, who had raised me up from the world, 22. Showed me a book, [but not as a book of this world] and he opened it, and the book was written, but not as a book of this world. And he gave (it) to me and I read it, and lo! the deeds of the children of Israel were written therein, and the deeds of those whom

18. *Then indeed they will receive their [garments and] thrones and crowns.* 'Garments and' should be omitted with SL². The class mentioned here are really the righteous already referred to in ix. 11-13, who, though clad in their garments, do not as yet possess their thrones and crowns. According to this verse they attain to these on the ascension of Christ.

Then. This mark of time is explained by the concluding clause of the verse.

19. See vii. 27. See p. 122 for slightly different and fuller forms of L² and S.

20. **Show me how* *. Emended in accordance with SL². See Critical Note. MSS. = 'And he said unto me.'

22. [*But not as a book of this world*]. SL² omit. A doublet. E 'books.' See two lines later.

On the heavenly books see my note on Eth. En. xlvii. 3.

Children of Israel. S L² = 'Jerusalem.'

*Of those whom *I* know (not).* MSS. = 'whom thou knowest.' I have emended in accordance with S 'quos ego non scivi.' The negative is not infrequently lost in Ethiopic MSS. L² and *Greek Legend*, ii. 31, speak of all men being judged.

I know (not), my son Josab. 23. And I said: 'In truth, there is nothing hidden in the seventh heaven, which is done in this world.' 24. And I saw there many garments laid up, and many thrones and many crowns. 25. And I said to the angel: 'Whose are these garments and thrones and crowns?' 26. And he said unto me: 'These garments many from that world will receive, believing in the words of That One, "who shall be named" as I told thee, "and they will observe those things, and believe in them, and believe in His cross: for them are *these* laid up". 27. And I saw a certain One "standing, whose glory surpassed that of all," and His glory was great "and wonderful. 28. And after I had seen Him", all the righteous whom I had seen "and also the angels whom I had seen" came to

23. *This world.* Greek Legend, ii. 32, 'that world'; SL² 'world.' SL² add after 'this world,' 'And I asked the angel: who is he yonder who excels all (S omit) the angels in his glory?' And he answered and said unto me: 'He yonder (S 'the pre-eminent angel yonder') is the great angel Michael ever praying on behalf of humanity.' These words go back to the second Greek recension. SL² again refer to Michael in ix. 29.

26. *Will receive.* L² 'ammittunt': S = 'destituuntur.' If the reading implied by SL² is not an error, the editor of G² meant the verse to refer to the Antichrist. But in that case verse 26 would be no answer to verse 25.

As I told thee. Better in SL²: 'regarding whom I told thee.'

These. Emended. *ac* read 'but for them are laid up'; *b* 'which for them are laid up' or 'for whom they are laid up.'

27-32. Vision and worship of the Second Person of the Godhead.

27. See SL² for a shorter version.

28. *And the angels . . . Abel, Seth, and.* SL² omit. Adam and Abel have already been mentioned in ix. 7.

Him. "And Adam and Abel and Seth, and all the righteous first drew near" and worshipped Him, and they all praised Him with one voice, "and I myself also gave praise with them", and my giving of praise was as theirs. 29. And then all the angels drew nigh and worshipped and gave praise. 30. And *I* was (again) transformed and became like an angel. 31. And thereupon the angel who conducted me, said to me: 'Worship this One,' and I worshipped and praised. 32. And the angel said unto me: 'This is the Lord of all the praisegivings which thou hast seen.' 33. And whilst *he* was still speaking, I saw another Glorious One who was like Him, and the righteous drew nigh and

My giving of praise was as theirs. S = 'their giving of praise was as that of those.' L² = 'the voice was as that of those.'

29. *All the angels drew nigh.* SL² = 'and then (L² omit them) Michael approached and worshipped and with him all the angels.'

30. **I* was (again) transformed.* According to vii. 25 Isaiah underwent transformation as he ascended into each heaven in turn. Accordingly he was transformed on entering the seventh heaven, and before he joined in its worship, ix. 28. When, however, he was brought before the Second Person of the Godhead, he was again transformed and became like an angel. I have accordingly with SL² emended E, which read: 'He (i.e. Christ) was transformed.' On the other hand, the text of ESL² on verse 33 supports E in verse 30. But as we shall see, they are all corrupt in that passage.

31. *Worship.* L²S add, and no doubt rightly, 'and praise.'

33-36, Vision and worship of the Third Person of the Godhead.

33. **He*.* So S. E wrongly, 'I'; for it is the angel that has been speaking. L² omits clause.

Like Him. L²S add 'in all things.'

worshipped and praised, and I praised together with them. But *my* glory was not transformed into accordance with their form. 34. And thereupon the angels drew near and worshipped Him. 35. And I saw the Lord and the second angel, and they were standing. 36. And the second whom I saw was on the left of my Lord. And I asked: 'Who is this?' and he said unto me: 'Worship Him, for He is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who

I praised. L² S = 'he praised.'

My glory was not transformed into accordance with their form. E reads 'His' instead of 'my,' and has the support of S L². We have here, however, a primitive error. In verse 30 Isaiah was transformed into the likeness of the *angels* and could thereby enjoy certain visions, but he was not transformed into the likeness of the *righteous*, and was on that account excluded from steadfastly beholding the ineffable vision in verse 37, which angels could not behold but only the righteous, verse 38.

34. At the close of this S adds: 'and the angel said unto me: "Worship Him and praise." And I worshipped Him and praised.' L² contains only the last sentence.

35-36. These verses were used by the heretic Hieracas. They are drawn ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀναβατικῶ Ἡσαίου according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxvii. 3. In this work the quotation appears as follows: Ἐδειξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος περιπατῶν ἔμπροσθέν μου, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι, καὶ εἶπε, Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ; καὶ εἶπα, Σὺ οἶδας, Κύριε; Λέγει, Οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπητός. καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ὅμοιος αὐτῷ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐλθών; Καὶ εἶπα, Σὺ γινώσκεις, τουτέστι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν σοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. It will be observed that this account is much fuller than that which is given in E or L² S, and that it preserves details which are only found separately in E and L² S. Thus E speaks of the Holy Spirit being 'on the left,' and this statement discovers itself in the above quotation. On the other hand the word 'ambulantem' in S ('ambulans' in L²) has its counterpart in περιπατῶν in the quotation. Thus the above text is more primitive than either E or S L², and may in some respects represent the lost archetype G.

speaketh in thee and the rest of the righteous.' 37. And I saw the great glory, the eyes of my spirit being open, and I could not thereupon see, nor yet could the angel who was with me, nor all the angels whom I had seen worshipping my Lord. 38. But I saw the righteous beholding with great power the glory of that One. 39. And my Lord drew nigh to me and the angel of the Spirit "and He said: 'See how it is given to thee to see God, and on thy account power is given to the angel who is with thee.' 40. And I saw how my Lord and the angel of the Spirit" worshipped, and they both together praised "God". 41. And thereupon all the righteous "drew near and" worshipped. 42. And the angels "drew near and" worshipped and all the angels praised.

x. 1. And thereupon I heard the voices and the

ix. 36. *Speaketh*. So S L² and i. 7, *Greek Legend*, ii. 13, instead of 'has spoken' as in E.

37-42. Vision and worship of the First Person of the Godhead.

37. Isaiah says that he saw and that forthwith he did not see. That is, he beheld for a moment but could not steadfastly behold. S L² give quite another idea. They declare that Isaiah did not see God at all, but this is against verse 39. Neither Isaiah nor the angels could steadfastly behold God: cf. *Eth. En.* xiv. 21, 'None of the angels could . . . behold the face of the Honoured and Glorious One, and no flesh could behold Him.' Only the glorified righteous could steadfastly behold Him, verse 38; Rev. xxii. 4. The Divine Being is so named in *Eth. En.* xiv. 20, 'The Great Glory sat thereon,' and x. 16 (note); xi. 32 of our text, 39. Cf. viii. 8-9.

41-42. After 'all the righteous drew near and worshipped' *ac* add 'and all the righteous.' S L² insert a reference to Michael as in verse 23.

giving of praise, which I had heard in each of the six heavens, ascending * and being heard * there : 2. And all "were being sent up to that Glorious One" whose glory I could not behold. 3. "And I myself was hearing and beholding the praise (which was given) to Him. 4. And the Lord and the angel of the Spirit were beholding all and hearing all". 5. And all the praises which are sent up from the six heavens are not only heard but seen. 6. And "I heard" the angel "who conducted me and" he said : ' This is the Most High of the high ones, dwelling in the holy world, and resting in His holy ones, who will be called by the Holy Spirit through the lips of the righteous "the Father of the Lord".' 7. And I heard the voice of the Most High "the Father of my Lord" saying to my Lord "Christ who will be

X. 1. *Ascending * and being heard * there.* Emended with L². E = 'which I had heard ascending hither' (b) or 'when ascending hither' (ac).

2. *Sent up, &c.* See vii. 16-17.

Whose glory, &c. ix. 37.

6. *And I heard . . . said.* L²S = 'And the angel said unto me.'

The Most High of the high ones . . . holy ones. Based on Isa. lvii. 15 ὁ ὑψιστος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα . . . ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύμενος. See on vi. 8. S L² which give a different form of the earlier clauses (see p. 128) = εἰς αἰώνιος τὸν ὑψηλὸν αἰῶνα κατοικῶν.

Called. L²S = praised.

7. *Christ who will be called Jesus.* Though this and similar expressions in ix. 5, 13, 17 are omitted by S L², there are no valid grounds for regarding them as interpolations, as I have shown in the note on ix. 5. They go 'back to' G¹. This follows from the fact that the excised words are found in the *Greek Legend*, ii. 37, where indeed all this verse is found : see pp. 145-146.

called Jesus": 8. 'Go forth and descend through all the heavens, and thou wilt descend to "the firmament and" that world: to the angel in Sheol thou wilt descend, "but to Haguel thou wilt not go". 9. And thou wilt become like unto the likeness of all who are in the five heavens. 10. "And thou wilt be careful to become like the form of the angels of the firmament [and the angels also who are in Sheol]". 11. And none of the angels of that world shall know "that Thou art Lord with Me of the seven heavens and of their angels. 12. And they shall not know that Thou art with Me, *till* with a *loud*

8. *Angel in Sheol.* This is the angel of death already referred to in ix. 16. The angels in Sheol are mentioned in x. 10, and the 'angels' of death in x. 14. We might compare the expression in Rev. ix. 11, 'the angel of the abyss.'

Haguel = Abaddon or Gehenna in the sense of being the final abode of the lost. Cf. 'the abyss' in Rev. ix. 1, 2, xi. 7, xvii. 8, xx. 1, 3.

9-10. His descent was not to be concealed from the sixth heaven, x. 19, but from the five lower heavens and from the angels of the firmament, and from the angels in Sheol. This last statement I have bracketed, as the release of the souls in Sheol could not have been effected without a recognition of Christ on the part of the angels of Sheol.

10. L² S omit.

11. *None of the angels of that world shall know, &c.* Evidently based on 1 Cor. ii. 8, 'which none of the rulers of this world knoweth; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.'

That thou art Lord, &c. L² S omit, but *Greek Legend*, ii. 40, reproduces these words; see p. 146.

12. The angels of that world (i.e. the earth) will not learn that Christ is with God till the final judgement. For the emendation of this verse see p. 129. The text as it stands is unintelligible: 'And when with the voice of the heavens

voice I have called (to) the heavens, and their angels and their lights, (even) unto the sixth heaven, in order that you maystⁿ judgeⁿ and destroyⁿ the † princes † and angelsⁿ and godsⁿ of that world, and the world that is dominated by them: 13. For they have denied Me and said: "We alone are and there is none beside us." 14. And afterwards from the *angels* of death Thou wilt ascend to Thy place, and Thou wilt not be transformed in each heaven, but in glory wilt Thou ascend and sit on My right hand. 15. And thereupon the princes and powers

I have called both to their angels and their lights: and when I have made great the sixth heaven (or to the sixth heaven).' So *a.* *b* omits 'and' before 'when' (twice) and inserts 'thee' after both verbs. L² S omit this passage.

Called (to) the heavens. Cf. Ps. l. 4, where these words are used with reference to judgement as here.

Mayst judge . . . the †princes† . . . of that world. For 'princes' read 'prince,' as in SL². L² = 'wilt judge the prince of that world and his angels.' Cf. John xvi. 11, 'the prince of this world is judged.'

Destroy. Cf. vii. 12.

Gods of that world. 2 Cor. iv. 4, 'God of this world.'

And the world that is dominated by them. L² S omit, but the clause is implied by *Greek Legend*, ii. 38 τὸν κόσμον ἐκείνον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων . . . κυριεύμενον.

13. *Alone are.* *Greek Legend*, ii. 38, adds 'gods,' but L² S support text. See note on iv. 6.

14. **Angels* of death.* See on x. 8. Emended from 'gods of death' by a slight change of vocalization. See Critical Note. The converse change was required in viii. 14.

*From the *angels* of death Thou wilt ascend.* So *ac.* *b* = 'and when Thou hast died and risen Thou wilt ascend.' L² omits clause but S gives 'quando e terra elevaberis.'

15. *Princes and powers . . . will worship Thee.* Cf. Phil. ii. 10; Heb. i. 6: see also Deut. xxxii. 43 (LXX).

Princes and powers † of that world †. From a comparison of L² S and *Greek Legend*, ii. 40 (see p. 144), it is clear that our text is

† of that world † will worship Thee.' 16. These commands I heard the Great Glory giving to my Lord. 17. And † so † I saw my Lord go forth from the seventh heaven into the sixth heaven. 18. And the angel who conducted me [from this world was with me and] said unto me: 'Understand, Isaiah, and see how the transformation and descent of the Lord * will appear *. 19. And I saw, and when the angels saw Him, "thereupon those in the sixth heaven" praised and lauded Him; for He had not been transformed after the shape of the angels there, "and they praised Him" and I also praised with them. 20. And I saw when He descended into the fifth heaven, that in the fifth heaven He made Himself like unto the form of the angels there, and they did not praise Him (nor worship Him); for His form was like unto theirs.

defective and the words 'of that world' are corrupt. We should read in their stead, 'and angels and all principalities.' So far we have the support of *Greek Legend*, ii. 39, and L² S, that is of G¹ and G² and therefore of the archetype. L² S add 'which are in heaven and on earth and under the earth.'

16. *These commands.* So *Greek Legend*, ii. 41 ταῦτα, S read τοῦτον or rather ἐκεῖνον.

The Great Glory. The text here (which is that of bc and L² S and *Greek Legend*, ii. 41) upholds our rendering on ix. 37.

17. † So †. L² S = 'then'; *Greek Legend*, ii. 41 = 'after these things.'

18. *From this world, was with me and.* I have bracketed these words: they are omitted by S L².

*How the transformation . . . of the Lord * will appear *.* Emended; a reads 'in order that thou mayst see the transformation of the Lord.' So a. b = 'in order that thou mayst know, &c.' S L² = 'quae (or quid) est transfiguratio eius.'

20. (*Nor worship Him*). I have added these words because being

21. And then He descended into the fourth heaven, and made Himself like unto the form of the angels there. 22. And "when they saw Him", they did not praise "or laud Him"; for His form was like unto their form. 23. And again I saw when He descended into the third heaven, "and He made Himself like unto the form of the angels in the third heaven. 24. And those who kept the gate of the (third) heaven demanded the password, and the Lord gave (it) to them in order that He should not be recognized. And when they saw Him, they did not praise or laud Him; for His form was like unto their form. 25. And again I saw when He descended" into the second heaven, "and again He gave the password there; those who kept the gate proceeded to demand and the Lord to give. 26. And I saw when He made Himself like unto the form of the angels in the second heaven, and they saw Him and they did not praise Him; for His form was like unto their form. 27. And again I saw when He descended" into the first heaven, "and there also He gave the password to those who kept the gate, and He made Himself like unto the

found in *Greek Legend*, ii. 42, they go back to G¹ and should therefore appear in E. S L² likewise attest them.

23-28. These verses are shortly summarized in L² S. With the exception of a few phrases *Greek Legend* fails us from this point forward.

24. *b* omits.

Password, or 'passport.' Since L² gives 'character' as the equivalent of the rare Ethiopic word here we may perhaps assume that *χαρακτήρ* stood in the Greek. S = 'signa.' Possibly the word 'sign' would best represent the sense.

form of the angels who were on the left of that throne⁷, and they neither praised nor lauded Him; for His form was like unto their form. ⁷28. But as for me no one asked me on account of the angel who conducted me⁷. 29. And again He descended into the firmament ⁷where dwelleth the ruler of this world⁷, and He gave the password ⁷to those on the left,⁷ and His form was like theirs, and they did not praise Him there; ⁷but they were envying one another and fighting; for here there is a power of evil and envying about trifles⁷. 30. And I saw ✓ when He descended ⁷and made Himself like⁷ unto the angels of the air, and He was like one of them. 31. And He gave no password; ⁷for one was plundering and doing violence to another.⁷

xi. 1. After this ⁷I saw, and⁷ the angel ⁷who spoke with me, who conducted me⁷, said unto me: 'Understand, Isaiah son of Amoz; for for this purpose have I been sent from God.' 2. ⁷And I indeed saw

29. *Where dwelleth the ruler of this world.* So also S, but L² omits.

30. The angels of the air are distinguished here from those of the firmament in verse 29. It is otherwise in vii. 9-10.

31. Everything is in disorder in the air. Hence no guardians of the gates.

One was plundering . . . another. So Greek Legend, ii. 9.

xi. 1. *Who spoke with me, who conducted me.* L³ S omit. One of the phrases (if not both) seems to be a marginal gloss.

2-22. These verses, save a clause of verse 19, are wanting in L² S, which omit all reference to Mary and Joseph and the birth of Christ, His work and crucifixion, and speak only of His life on earth. See pp. 133-135. This section, nevertheless, goes back to G. See Intro. pp. xxii-xxiv.

2. *Of the family of David . . . Mary.* Whether Mary as well as

a woman of the family of David the prophet, named Mary, a Virgin, and she was espoused to a man named Joseph, a carpenter, and he also was of the seed and family of the righteous David of Bethlehem Judah. 3. And he came into his lot. And when she was espoused, she was found with child, and Joseph the carpenter was desirous to put her away. 4. But the angel of the Spirit appeared in this world, and after that Joseph did not put her away, but kept Mary and did not

Joseph was descended from David as is here asserted it is impossible to establish conclusively from the New Testament. Several passages, however, could lend themselves to this interpretation as Luke i. 32, 69; Acts ii. 30; Rom. i. 3, 4; 2 Tim. ii. 8. However this may be, it can be proved that the belief was early established. Thus Julius Africanus (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7. 17) and Tertullian (*Adv. Iud.* 9) at the beginning of the third century taught it: Irenaeus (*Haer.* iii. 21. 5) in the latter half of the second century: Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* chaps. 43, 45, 67, 100, 120) at the close of the first half, and Ignatius (*Ad Ephes.* xviii. 2) at its beginning. It was thus an accepted fact in the first half of the second century. But this evidence, combined with that of the apocryphal Nativity of Mary and the very early Protevangel of James, is sufficient to make it very probable that this view prevailed towards the close at all events of the first century. The evidence of the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* cannot be adduced here as the date of the passage in question is still undetermined.

3. *Came into his lot.* Cf. *Protev. Iacobi*, ix. 1 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ Ἰωσήφ· σὺ κεκλήρωσαι τὴν παρθένον Κυρίου παραλαβεῖν εἰς τήρησιν ἑαυτῷ; xix. 1 ἐκκληρώσαμην αὐτὴν γυναῖκα.

3, 4. Cf. *Matt.* i. 20 sqq.

4. *Appeared in this world.* So *ac.* *b* reads 'appeared to him.'

Kept Mary. Cf. *Protev. Iacobi*, ix. 3, xiii. 1, for the use of this word in regard to Mary: in xiv. 2 we have an exact parallel to our text. There it is told that after the angel of the Lord had appeared to Joseph, the latter 'arose from his sleep and

reveal this matter to any one. 5. And he did not approach Mary, but kept her as a holy virgin, though with child. 6. And he did not live with her for two months. 7. And after two months of days while Joseph was in his house, and Mary his wife, but both alone, 8. It came to pass that when they were alone that Mary straightway looked with her eyes and saw a small babe, and she was astonished. 9. And after she had been astonished, her womb was found as formerly before she had conceived. 10. And when her husband Joseph said unto her: 'What has astonished thee?' his eyes were opened and he saw the infant and praised God, because into his portion God had come. 11. And a voice came to them: 'Tell this vision to no one.' 12. And the story regarding the infant was noised abroad in Bethlehem. 13. Some said: 'The Virgin Mary hath borne a child, before she was married glorified the God of Israel, who had given him this grace *and kept her*' (καὶ ἐφύλασσεν αὐτήν).

And did not reveal this matter to any one. In *Protev.* xv-xvi Joseph refuses to answer the questions of the priest regarding Mary's condition: καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐσίγησεν (xv. 4).

7. *His house.* So *a.* *bc* read 'the house.'

His wife. So *c.* *b* reads 'his espoused wife'—evidently a correction.

8. A somewhat less marvellous though kindred account is found in *Protev. Iacobi*, xix. 2.

9. *Her womb was found.* So *a.* *bc* read 'she found her womb.'

Conceived. *a* adds 'Him.'

10. *Her husband Joseph.* *b* omits for the same reason that it corrected verse 7. In *a* 'her husband' is erased.

11. This verse is undoubtedly related to *Protev. Iacobi*, xx. 4 καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα Σαλώμη, Σαλώμη, μὴ ἀναγγείλῃς ὅσα εἶδες παράδοξα.

two months.' 14. And many said: 'She has not borne a child, nor has a midwife gone up (to her), nor have we heard the cries of (labour) pains.' And they were all blinded respecting Him and they all knew regarding Him, though they knew not whence He was. 15. And they took Him, and went to Nazareth in Galilee. 16. And I saw, O Hezekiah and Josab my son, and I declare to the other prophets also who are standing by, that (this) hath escaped all the heavens and all the

14. This verse is practically cited in the *Actus Petri*, ch. xxiv. (p. 72, ed. Lipsius): 'Et alter propheta dicit honorificatum patrem: Neque vocem illius audivimus neque obstetrix subit.'

15. *In Galilee.* b omits.

16. (*This*) *hath escaped, &c.* What escaped the princes of this world is the virginity and the child-bearing of Mary. This being so, it is hard to avoid concluding that our text is the source of Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* xix καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκεὺς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου. Throughout x. 8-xi. 19 the concealment of the real nature of Christ is the entire theme, and as a subordinate factor of this the concealment of Mary's virginity. In the Epistle of Ignatius, on the other hand, the subject is introduced abruptly and obviously forms part of a received doctrine, such as is presented in our text. While Ignatius' words summarize admirably the teaching of our text, paragraph 9 of his letter to the Romans forms a protest against the Docetic tendency which was already at work and could perhaps appeal to xi. 17 of our author in supporting its claims.

The source of the above speculation is to be traced no doubt to 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8, 'The wisdom of God . . . which none of the rulers of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.' This statement involves the application made by our author to the Incarnation. The words of Ignatius formed a favourite quotation with the Fathers. Thus it is cited by Origen (*Hom. in Luc.*, Op. iii. p. 938 A; Eusebius, *Quaest. ad Steph.* i., Op. iv. p. 381; Ambrose

princes and all the gods of this world. 17. And I saw: In Nazareth He sucked the breast as a babe and as is customary in order that He might not be recognized. 18. And when He had grown up He worked great signs and wonders in the land of Israel and of Jerusalem. 19. And after this the adversary envied Him and roused the children of Israel against Him⁷, not knowing who He was, ⁷and they delivered Him to the king, and crucified Him, and He descended to the angel (of Sheol). 20. In Jerusalem indeed I saw Him being crucified on a tree: 21. And likewise after the third day rise again and remain days. 22. And the angel who conducted me said: 'Understand, Isaiah:' and I saw when He sent out the Twelve Apostles and ascended⁷. 23. And I saw Him, and He was in the firmament, but He had not changed

on *Luc. i. 27*, *Op. i. 1281* ('Non mediocris quoque causa est ut virginitas Mariae falleret principem mundi'). For other references see Lightfoot on the Ignatian Epistles.

19. *Descended to the angel (of Sheol)*. The words 'of Sheol' I have supplied from *Greek Legend*, ii. 39, where the words are quoted: *καταβήσῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ᾗδου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*. The last two words form the beginning of the next verse. See also *x. 8, 10 (ix. 16)*. For 'descended to the angels' (*a*), *bc* read 'made him descend to the angels.'

21. *Days*. *ab* have simply 'days,' *c* 'forty days.' Dillmann is of opinion that originally the number 545 stood here, as in *ix. 16* (see note). The phraseology at all events is the same.

22. The sending forth of 'The Twelve' is recounted also in *iii. 17*, and in *ix. 17* in *L² S*. Cf. *Mt. xxviii. 18, 19*; *Acts i. 8, 9*. There is a further mention of 'The Twelve' in our text in *iv. 3*.

23. *Saw Him*. So *a. bc* 'Saw.'

Himself into their form, and all the angels of the firmament "and the Satans" saw Him and they worshipped. 24. And "there was much sorrow there, while" they said: 'How did our Lord descend *in our midst*, and we perceived not the glory [which has been upon Him], which we see has been upon Him from the sixth heaven?' 25. And He ascended into the second heaven, and He did not transform Himself, but all the angels who were on the right and on the left and the throne in the midst 26. Both worshipped Him and praised Him and said: 'How did our Lord escape us whilst

And worshipped. b omits.

23, 24. There is some difficulty connected with these verses. They ought to contain an account of the ascent through the firmament and the first heaven, for verse 25 describes the ascent into the second heaven. Our text confines the events to the firmament, whereas L² could be interpreted as referring only to the first heaven, for it speaks of 'the angels *above* the firmament.' S is doubtful. In any case the text of all three is defective. See L² S, p. 135.

24. *In our midst*. Emended with L² (S). See Critical Note. E = 'upon us.'

[Which has been upon Him]. Bracketed as a doublet. The verbs translated 'has been' differ in the Ethiopic.

Which we see . . . from the sixth heaven. Christ possessed the divine glory in His descent through the five heavens, i.e. from the sixth downward, though it was concealed. For 'we see' c reads 'thou seest,' an easier reading.

25, 26. Ascent into the second heaven.

25. And He ascended into the second heaven. L² S = 'And from the first heaven He ascended more glorious.' The comparative in L² S seems inconsistent with the context.

Who were on the right and on the left . . . midst. So S save that for 'the throne' it reads 'he that sat on the throne.' L² wrongly omits.

descending, and we perceived not?' 27. And in like manner He ascended into the third heaven, "and they praised and said in like manner." 28. And in the fourth heaven and in the fifth "also they said precisely after the same manner. 29. But there was one glory, and from it He did not change Himself. 30. And I saw when He ascended" into the sixth heaven, "and they worshipped and glorified Him". 31. But in all the heavens the praise increased (in volume). 32. And I saw how He ascended into the seventh heaven, and all the righteous and all the angels praised Him. And then I saw Him sit down on the right hand of that Great Glory whose glory I told you that I could not behold. 33. And also the angel of the Holy Spirit I saw sitting on the left hand. 34. And this angel said unto me: 'Isaiah, son of Amoz, *it is enough for thee*; "for these are great things"; for thou hast seen what no child of flesh has seen.

26. *Perceived not.* L²S add 'nor worshipped.'

27. L²S both err in adding 'into the second and' before 'into the third.'

27-30. Since both these versions compress verses 27-30 into three lines, it is clear that herein they represent exactly G² or the second recension of the Greek. Our text represents G¹.

32. *All the angels.* L²S add: 'et omnes virtutes.'

And then . . . Glory. So also S. L² wrongly omits.

The Great Glory. So b. *ac* omit, but S supports. See also ix. 37 (note), x. 16 where it rightly appears in the text.

I told you that. L²S omit.

33. See ix. 36.

34. **It is enough for thee**. Emended with L²S. Text corrupt = 'I preserve thee.'

No child of flesh has seen. After these words L²S (see p. 137).

35. And thou wilt return into thy garment (of the flesh) until thy days are completed. Then thou wilt come hither.' 36. These things Isaiah saw and told unto all that stood before him, and they praised. And he spake to Hezekiah the King "and said": 'I have spoken these things.' 37. Both the end of this world; 38. And all this vision will be consummated in the last generations. 39. And Isaiah made him swear that he would not tell (it) to the people of Israel, nor give these words to any man to transcribe. 40. . . . *Such things* ye will read. And watch ye in the Holy Spirit in order that ye may receive your garments and thrones and crowns of glory which are laid up in the "seventh" heaven. 41. On account of these visions

xi. 41-43 =
editorial
additions.

give what is really 1 Cor. ii. 9. Jerome, as we know, writes in his *Comment. in Isaiam*, lxiv. 4 (Vallarsi iv. 760): 'Ascensio enim Isaiae et apocalypsis Eliae hoc habent testimonium.' Since this passage is attested by L² and S, it therefore goes back to G², and it was a MS. of G² most probably that Jerome used. But since it is absent from E, it does not belong to G¹. Thus the textual evidence confirms Zahn's judgement, *Gesch. der Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, ii. 801-810. The passage runs: 'What eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, how great things God hath prepared for all (S om. 'all') that love Him.'

35. *Thy days are fulfilled.* See viii. 27.

36. *These things Isaiah saw and told.* I have emended text in accordance with L² S. The text = these things I saw. And Isaiah told.

And they praised. L² S = 'And hearing these (L² omit 'these') wonderful things they all praised and glorified.'

40. **Such things* ye will read.* Emended with S from reading of *ac*, which = 'and then ye will read.' Before these words such a clause as that in S is lost: 'quantumcumque intellegitis a rege dicta in prophetis.'

and prophecies Sammael Satan sawed in sunder Isaiah the son of Amos, the prophet, by the hand of Manasseh. 42. And all these things Hezekiah delivered to Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year. 43. But Manasseh did not remember them nor place these things in his heart, but becoming the servant of Satan he was destroyed.

Here endeth the vision of Isaiah the prophet with his ascension.

ዕርገተ፡ ኢሳይያስ።

TO ANABATIKON HCAIOY
ASCENSIO ISAIÆ



ዕርገተ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ።

I. ወኮኑ፡ በክረምት፡ በ¹ጅወጁ፡ በመንግሥቱ፡ ለሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ይሁዳ፡
ወደውዖ፡ ለምናሴ፡ ወልዱ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡ ሎቱ። 2. ወደውዖ፡
በቅድመ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወልዱ፡ አሞጽ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወበቅድመ፡ ኢዮሳብ፡²
ወልዱ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ከመ፡ ያወፍዮ፡ ቃላተ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘለሊሁ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ርእየ፡
3. ወክኒደተ፡³ ዘለዓለም፡⁴ ወሥቃደተ፡³ ዘገሀነም፡ ወዘመኩንዝ፡⁵ ዓለም፡⁶
ወዘመላእክቲሁ፡ ወዘስልጣናቲሁ፡ ወዘነይላቲሁ፡ 4. ወቃላተ፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡
ለፍቅር፡ ዘለሊሁ፡ ርእየ፡ በ*ዓመተ፡⁷ መንግሥቱ፡ ሰደቁሁ። 5. ወመጠዎ፡
ቃላተ፡ ጽሑፋት፡⁸ ዘጸሐፈ፡ ሳምናስ፡⁹ ጸሓፊ፡ ወእሳኒ፡ ወሀቦ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
ወልዱ፡ አሞጽ፡ ወ*ሰ¹⁰ነቢያትኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይጽሐፉ፡ ወከመ፡ ያንብሩ፡ ንቤሁ፡
ዘውእቱ፡ በቤተ፡¹¹ ንጉሥ፡ ርእየ፡¹² በእንተ፡ ክኒ፡ መላእክት፡ ወበእንተ፡
ተደምስሶቹ፡ ለዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ወበእንተ፡ ልብሰተሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ወደኣተሙ፡
ወበእንተ፡ ተወልጦተሙ፡¹³ ወስደት፡ ወዕርገቱ፡ ለፍቅር። 6. በጅዓመተ፡

¹ *bc. a H.* ² *b. a ኢዮሴብ፡* such generally or *ኢዮስብ፡* ³ We should expect genitives dependent on *ቃላተ፡* instead of accusatives: see however *Gk. Leg. i. 2* for a similar construction.
⁴ *a. bc ዘዝ፡ ዓለም፡* ⁵ *Em. by Dln. from ወዘምኩናዝ፡ bc. a ዘምኩናን፡* ⁶ *bc. a ዘለዓለም፡* ⁷ So *b* save that I have omitted ለ before *መን፡* *a* በዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ በ፲ወጅ፡ ለዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡
⁸ *ac. b ጽሑፋት፡* ⁹ *a. b ሳምናስ፡* ¹⁰ *a omits.* ¹¹ *c. a ባሕቲቱ፡*
b ቤተ፡ ¹² *ac. b ራእይ፡* ¹³ *b. a ተወልጦሙ፡*

መንግሥቱ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤ ርእዩ፤ አሳይደስ፤ ቃላተዝ፤ ትንቢት፤ ወመጠዎ፤ ለኢዮሳብ፤ ወልዱ። ወውእቱ፤ እንዘ፤ ይኤዝዝ፤ እንዘ፤ ይቀውም፤ ኢዮሳብ¹ ወልዱ፤ ለአሳይደስ፤ 7. ይቤሉ፤² አሳይደስ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤ ንጉሥ፤ ወአኩ፤ ባሕቲቱ፤ ለቅድመ፤ ምናሴ፤ ዘይቤሉ፤ ሕደው፤ እግዚአብሔር፤ ዘኢተፈነወ፤ ስመ፤ ለዝ፤ ዓለም፤ ወሕደው፤ ፍቅሩ፤³ ለእግዚእዩ፤ ወሕደው፤ መንፈስ፤ ዘ*በ⁴ሳዕሌዩ፤ ደትናገር፤ ከመ፤ ድሉን፤ እሳ*ንቱ፤⁴ ትእዛዝ፤ ወእሉ፤ ቃላት፤ ይጸርዓ፤ በንብ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወልድኩ፤ ወበግብረ፤ እደዊሁ፤ በሥቃዩ፤ ሥጋዩ፤ *አሕውር፤ አኔ፤⁵ 8. ወይትሰክክ፤ ሰማየል፤ መልኪራ፤ በምናሴ፤ ወድሉ፤⁶ ፈቃዶ፤ ይገብር፤ ወውእቱ፤ ይከውን፤ ተላዊሁ፤ ለብልደር፤⁷ እምነዩ፤ 9. ወብዙጋኑ፤ ለኢየሩሳሌም፤ ወበይሁዳ፤ ደቀውሞመ፤ እምሃይማኖት፤ ጽድቅ፤ ወብልደር፤⁸ ይኑበር፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወበእደዊሁ፤ አኔ፤ እትወሰር። 10. ወሰሚዎ፤ ሕዝቅያስ፤ ዘንተ፤ ቃሉ፤ በከዩ፤ ዐቢዩ፤ ፈድፋድ፤ ወሠጠጠ፤ አልባሲሁ፤ ወወደዩ፤ መሬተ፤ ውስተ፤ ርእሱ፤ ወወድቅ፤ በገጹ። 11. ወይቤሉ፤ አሳይደስ፤ ተፈጸመ፤ ምክሩ፤ ለሰማየል፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ *ኢ⁴ይበቅብሁ። 12. ወበዝክቱ፤ ዐለት፤⁹ ሕላዩ፤ ሕዝቅያስ፤ በልቡ፤ ከመ፤ ይቅተሉ፤ ለምናሴ፤ ወልዱ። 13. ወይቤሉ፤ አሳይደስ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤ አጽርዓ፤ ፍቅር፤ ለምክርክ፤ ወኅሊና፤ ልብከኒ፤ ኢይሂሉ፤ እስመ፤ አንሱ፤ በዝ፤ ጽውዓ፤¹⁰ ተጸዋዕኩ፤ ወበርስቱ፤ ለፍቅር፤¹¹ አኔ፤ እትወረስ።¹² II. ወኩ፤ እምድጎረ፤ ሞተ፤ ሕዝቅያስ፤ ወነገሠ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወ¹³ኢተዘከረ፤ ትእዛዛተ፤¹⁴ ሕዝቅያስ፤ አሉሁ፤ አሳ፤ ረስዎመ፤ ወነደረ፤ ሰማየል፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወጠገዐ፤¹⁵ ቦቱ፤¹⁶ 2. ወነደገ፤ ምናሴ፤ ተቀንዮ፤ ለእግዚአብሔር፤ ዘአሉሁ፤ ወተቀንዮ፤ ለሰይጣን፤ ወለመላእክቲሁ፤ ወሰንደላቲሁ። 3. ወሚጠ፤ ቤተ፤ አሉሁ፤ እሱ፤ ኩኑ፤ ቅድመ፤ ገጹ፤ ለሕዝቅያስ፤ *እም¹⁶ቃላት፤ ጥበብ፤ ወተቀንዮ፤ ለእግዚአብሔር።

4. ወሚጠ፤ ልቡ፤ ምናሴ፤ ከመ፤ ይትቀነደ፤ ለብልደር፤⁷ እስመ፤ መልክ፤ ዐመዓ፤ ዘሥልጣነዝ፤ ዓለም፤ ውእቱ፤ ብልደር፤¹⁷ ዘስመ፤ መጠንሱኩስ፤ ወውእቱ፤ ይትፈግሕ፤ በኢየሩሳሌም፤ ሳዕሉ፤ ምናሴ፤ ወደኃይሉ፤¹⁸

GREEK FRAGMENT FROM AMHERST PAPER = G².

II. 4—IV. 4. (See Introd., pp. xxviii—xxx.)

II. 4. (. . . M)ανασση, καὶ κατε-
(δυ)νάμου αὐτὸν ἐν | (τῇ) ἀποστά-

¹ b. a ኢዮሴብ፤ such generally or ኢዮስብ፤

² bc. a ወይቤሉ፤

³ a. b ፍቅር፤

⁴ b om.

⁵ a. b ዩጋውር፤

⁶ b. a ወድሉ፤

⁷ c. ab ለብርደል፤

⁸ ac. b ወብርደል፤

⁹ Em. from በዝንቱ፤

ዐለት፤ ወ of bc፤ cf. Gk. Leg. i. 12

ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ διελογίζετο, κ.τ.λ.

a በዝክቱ፤ ቃላት፤ ወ.

¹⁰ a. b ጽዋዕ፤

¹¹ a. b ለፍቅርዩ፤

¹² a. bc እትዋረስ፤

¹³ a om.

¹⁴ a. bc ትእዘዝ፤

¹⁵ b. a ወጠገኑ፤

¹⁶ Supplied in accordance with Gk. Leg. iii. 3.

¹⁷ c. ab ብርደል፤

¹⁸ Em. by Dln. from ወደኃይሉ፤ so G² κατε(δυ)νάμου.

G²

በአገሩ፡ ወበዐመዓ፡ ዘተዘርኡ፡
በኢየሩሳሌም፡፡ 5. ወበዘኀ፡¹ *ሰ
ገል፡ ወሥራዴ፡² ወተጣይር፡ ወአስተ
ቃሥ፡ ወዘመኑ፡ [ወሐዊረ፡ ብሏሲ፡
ብሏሲ]፡³ ወስደተ፡ ዲድቃን፡ በእደ፡
ምናሴ፡ [ወበእደ፡ ብሏኪራ]፡⁴ ወበ
እደ፡⁵ ጦብደ፡⁶ ከነፍዊ፡ ወበእደ፡ ዮሐ
ንስ፡ ዘእምአናተት፡ ወበእደ፡ ዘለቀ፡⁷
ንዋይ፡፡⁸ 6. ወትራፋተ፡ ነገር፡ ነዋ፡
ጽሑፋን፡ እመንቱ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐ
ፊ፡ ነገሥተ፡⁹ ይሁዳ፡ ወእስራኤል፡፡
7. ወኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አጥጽ፡ ሶቤ
ርእዩ፡ ዐመዓ፡¹⁰ ዘይትገበር፡ በኢየሩ
ሳሌም፡ ወተቀንዮ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ ወዘ
ውዖ፡¹¹ ተገኘ፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም፡
ወነበረ፡ ቤተ፡¹² ልሔም፡ ዘይሁዳ፡፡
8. ወበህዪ፡ ህሎ፡ *ዐመዓ፡ ብዙን፡፡¹³
ወተገኘ፡¹⁴ እምቤተ፡ ልሔም፡
ነበረ፡¹⁵ ውስተ፡ ደብር፡ *በመካከ፡
ገዳም፡፡¹⁶ 9. ወሚኪያስ፡ ነቢይ፡
*ወአናንደ፡ አረጋዊ፡¹⁷ ወአዮኤል፡¹⁸
ወእንባቃም፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡¹⁹ ወልዱ፡
ወብዙን፡ እሴ፡ የእምኑ፡ መገይም
ናን፡²⁰ ዐርገተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ተገኘ፡
ወነበረ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብር፡፡ 10. ዘሎ

σει²¹ καὶ τῇ | (ἀν)ομίᾳ, ἥτις²² ἐσπάρη
ἐν | (Ἱ)ερουσαλήμ. 5. Κα(ι) ἐπλή-
θυνεν | (ῆ) φαρμακεία καὶ ἡ μα|γεία
καὶ ἡ μαντεία καὶ | οἱ κληδονισμοὶ
καὶ | ἡ πορνεία καὶ ὁ διωγμὸς | τῶν
δικαίων ἐν | χερσὶ²³ Μανασσῆ | καὶ
ἐν χερσὶν τοῦ Του|βι τοῦ Χανα-
νίτου | καὶ ἐν χερσὶν Ἰωνᾶν | τοῦ
Ναθὼθ καὶ ἐν χερ|σὶν Σαδὼκ τοῦ
ἐπὶ τῶν πραγματειῶν. 6. καὶ οἱ
λοιποὶ λό|γοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμέ|νοι
εἰς(ιν ἐν) τοῖς βί|βλοις τῶν (β)α-
σ(ιλέων) | Ἰούδα καὶ Ἰ(σραήλ)
7. . . . | (κ)αὶ τὴν πομπή(ν αὐ)τοῦ |
ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπ(ὸ Ἱερουσαλ)ήμ |
καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν Β(ηθ)λε|ἐμ τῆς
Ἰουδαίας. 8. (καὶ) | ἐκεῖ δὲ ἦν
ἀνομ(ία π)ολ|λή, καὶ ἀναχωρή-
σα(ς) | ἀπὸ Βηθλεέμ ἐκά(θι)|σεν
ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν τό|πῳ ἐρήμῳ. 9. καὶ
Μιχα|ᾶς ὁ προφήτης καὶ Ἀ|νανίας
ὁ γέρον καὶ ᾿Ι|ω|ῆλ καὶ Ἀμβα-
κούμ καὶ | Ἰ[σ]ασούφ ὁ υἱὸς αὐ-
τοῦ | καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πισ|τῶν τῶν
πιστευόν|των²⁴ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνα-
βῆναι ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ ἐ|κάθισαν
εἰς τὸ ὄρος, 10. πάν|τε(ς) σάκκον

¹ a. b ወበዘኀ፡² a. b ሰገለ፡ ወመሠርዩ፡³ Bracketedbecause wanting in G² and Gk. Leg. iii. 3⁴ Bracketed be-

cause wanting in G : name appears first in ii. 12. b reads በሐኪራ፡

⁵ a. b om.⁶ b. ac ጦብደ፡⁷ Em. from ዘለቀ፡ of bc. a ዘለቅ፡⁸ a. bc ንገሡ፡⁹ a adds ብዙን፡ against bc and Gk. Leg. iii. 8.¹⁰ a. b ወዘውዕ፡ c ወዘውዓ፡¹¹ a. bc ቤተ፡¹² a. b trs. and

reads ብዙን፡ for ብዙን፡

¹³ a. bc ወተገኘ፡¹⁴ ac. b ኢየሩሳሌም፡¹⁵ a. bc ወነበረ፡¹⁶ a. b መካን፡ ገዳም፡¹⁷ a. bc ወአናንደስ፡ አረጋይ፡¹⁸ a. b ወኢዮኤል፡¹⁹ b. a ኢዮሴብ፡²⁰ a trs. aft. ሰማይ፡²¹ E has an active sense here.²² Em. with E from ωs.²³ MS.

χειρμανασση.

²⁴ Em. by Grenfell and Hunt from πιστων οντων.

G²

መ፡ *ሠቀ፡ ይተዐጸፉ፡ ወክሎሙ፡¹
 ነቢያት፡ እመነቱ፡ ምነተሂ፡ እነዝ፡
 አልሎሙ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ አባ፡² ዐራቆ
 ሙ፡ እመነቱ፡ ወክሎሙ፡ ይላሐው፡
 *ላሐ፡ ዐቢዩ፡³ በእነተ፡ በሐተተ፡ እስ
 ራኤል፡፡ II. ወእሱ፡ አልሎሙ፡ ዘይ
 በልፀ፡ ዘእነበለ፡ ሐምሌ፡ ገዳም፡
 ይቀነጥሱ፡⁴ እምአድባር፡ ወአብሲ
 ሎሙ፡ ይሴሰዩ፡ ምስሌ፡ አላይያስ፡
 ነቢይ፡ ወነበሩ፡ ውስተ፡ አድባር፡ ወ
 ውስተ፡ አውግር፡ ካልኤ፡⁵ ዓመተ፡
 መቐዕል፡፡ 12. ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ሀሊ
 ዎሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ ወሀለው፡ አሐ
 ዱ፡⁶ ብእሲ፡ በሰማርያ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ብል
 ኪራ፡⁷ እምአዘማዱ፡ ለሰዱቅያስ፡ ወ
 ልይ፡ ከናክ፡ ሐላዌ፡ ነቢይ፡ ዘመነበሩ፡
 በቤተ፡ ልሑም፡፡ ወሐዘቅያስ፡⁸ ወል
 ዱ፡ ከናኒ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ እኑ፡ አሱህ፡
 ወበመዋዕለ፡ አካክብ፡ ንጉሠ፡ እስራ
 ኤል፡ መምህሮሙ፡⁹ ውእቱ፡ ለ፪ኛነቢ
 ያት፡ ዘበዓል፡¹⁰ ወውእቱ፡ ጸፍዎ፡ ወፀ
 አሎ፡¹¹ ለሚኪያስ፡ ወልይ፡ አማዳ፡¹²
 ነቢይ፡፡ 13. ወውእቱ፡ ተጽእሎ፡ እም
 አካክብ፡ ወተወድዩ፡ ሚኪያስ፡¹³ ውስተ፡
 ሞቅሕ፡¹⁴ ምስሌ፡ ሰዶቅያስ፡ ነቢይ፡
 ሀለው፡ ምስሌ፡ አክዝያ፡¹⁵ ወልይ፡

περιβεβλημένοι, | καὶ πάντες ἦσαν
 προφήται, | οὐδὲν ἔχοντες μετ' αὐ-
 τῶν | ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ ἦσαν, πενθοῦν-
 τες πένθος μέγα περὶ τῆς πλ(ά)-
 νης τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. II. καὶ οὗτοι
 οὐκ ἦσ|θιον εἰ μὴ βοτάνας τίλλον-
 (τε)s | ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ *..... |
¹⁶ μετὰ Ἡσα(ίο)υ¹⁷ *οἰκοῦν-
 τες. καὶ ἐπε(ί) ἦσαν¹⁸ ἐν τ(ο)ῖς
 ὄρε|σιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς βουνοῖς (δ)ύ(ο)
 ἔ|τη | ἡμερῶν¹⁹ 12. (ἐπὶ) τοῦ
 ε(ἰ)ναι αὐτοὺς (ἐν) | τοῖς ἐρήμ(ο)ις
 καὶ.....|.....|ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ
 ᾧ (ὁ)νομα | ἦν Βελιχειὰρ ἐκ τῆς
 συγγενίας Σεδεκίου | υἱοῦ Χαναὶ τοῦ
 ψευ|δοπροφήτου ὃς ἦν | κατοικῶν
 ἐν Βηθα|νία²⁰. καὶ Σεδεκίας υἱὸς |
 Χαναὶ ὃς ἦν ἀδελ|φὸς τοῦ πατρὸς
 αὐ|τοῦ, ἐν δὲ²¹ ταῖς ἡμέραις | Ἀχαῶβ
 βασιλέως τοῦ | Ἰσραὴλ ἦν²² διδάσ-
 καλος τῶν τετρα|κοσίων προφητῶν |
 τοῦ²³ Βαάλ, καὶ αὐτὸ(ς) | ἐράπισεν
 καὶ ὕβρι|σεν τὸν Μιχαῖαν υἱὸν Ἰεμ-
 μαδὰ τὸν προφήτην* 13. καὶ αὐτὸς
 δὲ ὕβρι(ισ)|θη ὑπὸ Ἀχαῶβ καὶ |
 ἐβλήθη Μιχαῖας | εἰς φυλακὴν.
 Ἦ καὶ ἦν¹ | μ(ε)τὰ Σεδεκίου τοῦ | ψευ-

¹ a. b om.² b. a እሲ፡³ b trs.⁴ a. b ይቀነጥሱ፡⁵ a. b ፪.⁶ b ፮.⁷ b በልኪራ፡ On the various forms of thisname of which the most primitive form appears to be that in the text, see note, p. 13. ⁸ See exegetical note, p. 14. ⁹ a መሀሮሙ፡¹⁰ b om.¹¹ bc ወጸእሱ፡¹² a. cf. G² Ἰεμμαδά. b አማዳ፡¹³ b om.¹⁴ Add ወሀለው፡ in accordance with G² καὶ ἦν.¹⁵ For

አክዝያ፡ (b), a reads አክዝያ፡

ὁ προφήτης.

¹⁶ E = ἔψαντες ἐτρέφοντο.¹⁷ E adds

αὐτοῦ.

¹⁸ E = καὶ οἰκοῦντες ἦσαν.¹⁹ E adds καὶ μετὰ

αὐτοῦ.

²⁰ E = Βηθλεέμ.²¹ Above the line in MS.²² MS.

ισραηλπλην. Grenfell and Hunt explain πλ as a dittography of ηλ.

²³ MS. της.

G²*አሰጋሬም: በሰላኤው::¹

δοπροφήτο(ν) | ὄντος¹⁰. ἦσαν μετὰ |
 'Οχοζείον υἱοῦ 'Αλὰ(μ)¹¹ | ἐν Σεμ-
 μωμα |

14. ወኤልያስ: ነቢያ:²
 ዘእም*ቴሶን:³ ዘእምግ
 ሰኢድ: ደጼኤል: ሰኢኩ-
 ዝያ: *ወ'ሰሰማርያ: *ወ'
 ወ-አቸ: ተነባዩ: በእንተ:
 አኩዝያ: ከመ: *ሰምስ
 ካባ: ደጭሁ:⁵ ደመውት:
 *ወ'ሰማርያ: በኢድ: ል
 ቤ: ናስር: ትትወሀብ: እ
 ስመ: ቀተሰ: ነቢያት: እግ
 ዚአብሐር:: 15. ወሰብ:
 ሰምፀ: ነቢያት: ሐሰት:
 እሰ: ምስሰ: አኩዝያ:⁷
 ወልድ: አካሐብ: *ወመ
 ምህርመ: አያልርያስ:²
 እምደብር: አያኤል:
 16. ወው-አቸ: [አብከ
 ራ:]⁸ እኩሁ: ሰሰደቅያ:⁹

14. καὶ Ἠλείας (ὁ προ-
 φῆς) | τῆς ἐκ Θεο(βῶν)¹²
 ... | καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίαν, |
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπροφή|τευεν
 περὶ 'Οχοζεί|ου ὅτι ἐν
 κλίνῃ ἀρ|ρωστίας¹³ ἀπο-
 θανεί|ται καὶ ἡ Σαμαρία
 εἰς | χεῖρας Ἀλνασάρ
 πα|ραδοθήσεται ἀνθ' ὧν |
 ἐφόνευσεν τοὺς | προφή-
 τας τοῦ Θεο(υ). 15.
 (κα)ὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ
 προφῆται¹⁴ (ο)ἱ μετὰ
 'Οχοζείον υἱοῦ 'Αλὰμ
 καὶ | (ὁ) διδάσκαλος
 αὐτῶν | Ἰαλλαρίας¹⁵ ἐξ
 ὄρους + Ἰσ|λαλ¹⁶
 16. καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν [ο |

FRAGMENT OF THE FIRST
 LATIN VERSION = L¹.

II. 14—III. 13.

(See Introd., pp. xxi,
 xxix-xxxi.)

14. (pro)fetas Dei.
 '15. Et cum audis-
 sent pseudoprofe-
 tae qui erant cum
 Ochodiam filium
 Achab, *qui fuerat
 doctor eorum Ga-
 marias¹⁷ de monte
 Efrem, 16. Et ipse
 fuit frater Sedeciae,

¹ For በሰላኤው: (a), b reads በሰኤው: The phrase አሰ' በሰ' is clearly a transliteration = Alamerem balala'aw. Alam in the first word = Ἀχάβ; for Ἀχάβ is so written in ii. 15 of G². Again balala'aw was probably basala'aw (i.e. βασιλέως), since ሰ and ሰ are sometimes confused in Ethiopic. Thus we have 'Ahab . . . king.' The intervening letters êrêm may be corrupt and defective for ἐν Σεμμω, itself corrupt for ἐν Σαμαρία: cf. 1 Kings xxi. 1 'Ahab, king of Samaria.' ² a om. ³ bc ዘሶን: ⁴ b om.

⁵ a ሰምስካብ: በደጭሁ: ⁶ Em. with G: E wrongly በ.

⁷ b አኩዝያ: ⁸ I have with L bracketed this word: b reads አብከራ:

⁹ a ሰሰደቅያ: ¹⁰ MS. ψευδοπροφήτο οντες. ¹¹ See note ¹ above.

¹² Remainder of this line and the next two undecipherable. ¹³ E adds αὐτοῦ. ¹⁴ EL¹ = ψευδοπροφήται.

¹⁵ E = Jâlergâs, L¹ Gamarias. ¹⁶ Corrupt possibly for Ἰσραήλ.

In that case Efrem would be simply an equivalent in thought though not in letter. Jôêl or Îjôêl of E could arise from Ἰσηλ.

¹⁷ Should be et Gamarias qui fuerat doctor eorum.

G²L¹

ሰሚዖሙ፡ አእመንዎ፡¹
ለአኩዝደ፡ ንጉሡ፡ ተአ
ጉሮኑ፡ ወ²ሰሚኪደስ።

Βεχειρ(ᾰ)]⁷ ἀδελφὸς
τοῦ | Σεδεκίου, ἀκού-
σαν(τ)ες⁸ μετέπεισαν
τὸν | Ὀχολείαν βασιλέα |
Γομόρρων καὶ ἐφό-
(ν)ευσαν τὸν Μιχαί-
(α)ν. III. I. καὶ Βε-
χειρὰ ἔγνω, | (κ)αὶ εἶ-
δεν τὸν τό(π)ον τοῦ
Ἡσαίου | (καὶ τῶ)ν
προφη(τῶν τῶν) μετ'
αὐ(τοῦ. οὗτο)ς γὰρ ἦν
οἱ|κῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ |
Βηθλεέμ, καὶ ἐκολλή-
θη τῷ Μανασσῇ. καὶ |
αὐτὸς ἦν ψευδοπροφη-
τεύων ἐν Ἱερουσα|λήμ,
καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ Ἱερου-
σαλήμ ἐκολλή|θησαν
πρὸς αὐτόν. | καὶ αὐ-
τὸς δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ | Σαμα-
ρίας. 2. καὶ ἐγένε|το
ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν Ἀλ|γασάρ
Ἀσσυρίων βασι|λέα
καὶ αἰχμαλωτί|σαι τὴν
Σαμαρίαν | καὶ λαβεῖν
τὰς ἐν|(νέ)α ἡμῶν⁹
φυλὰς ἐ|ν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ

suasit¹⁰ Ochodiam
regem Gomorrae, et
occidit¹⁰ Micheam.

III. I. ወበልኪራ፡³ ለበ
ወ፡⁴ ወርእዩ፡ መካከ፡ ኢሳ
ይደስ፡ ወዘነቢደት፡ ዘአሰ፡
ምስሌህ፡ እስመ፡ ወአቶ፡
* ይኑበር፡ በብሔር፡⁵ ዘሴ
ት፡ ልሔም፡ ወተጸምዶ፡
ለምናሴ፡ ወወአቶ፡ ይት
ኔበደ፡ ሐሰተ፡ በአየተሳ
ሴም፡ ወበዙጋኑ፡ እም
አየተሳሴም፡ እሰ፡ ትብቲ፡
ምስሌህ፡ ወወአቶሰ፡
እምሰማርዶ፡ ወአቶ።
2. ወካኑ፡ በዘ፡ መጽአ፡
አሰገር፡ ዘጋር፡ ንጉሡ፡
አሰርዶ፡ ወኔወዋ፡ ለሰማ
ርዶ፡ ወነሥአ፡ ተስፃጊህ፡
ሐዘብ፡⁶ በዴዋ፡ ወወሰዶ

III. I. Et cognovit
Bechira, et vidit
locum Eseeiae et pro-
fetarum qui cum
illo erant; ipse enim
habitat in Beth-
lem¹¹; †et abiit Hie-
rosolima, et†¹² con-
juncti sunt et *ipse
a Samaria¹³. 2. Et
factum est cum ve-
nisset Salmanassar
rex Assyriorum, et
accepisset Samari-
am, et abduxisset
novem¹⁴ et dimi-
dia(m) tribus in cap-
tivitatem et per-

¹ ስ ስምንዎ፡ ² Add ቀተሰ፡ with G² L¹. ³ Em. with G² L¹ from
abc ወለበልኪራ፡ ⁴ c. ab ወለበወ፡ ⁵ Em. with G² from a
ይኑበር፡ (a vox nulla). ስ በብሔር፡ ⁶ Em. from a ሐዘብ፡ bc
ሐዘብ፡ ⁷ Is an intrusion, though supported by E: see exegetical
note, ii. 16. ⁸ So E. L¹ om. ⁹ So L¹. E om. ¹⁰ Should
be in plural as in EG² ¹¹ MS. Bechem. EG²=regione Bethlehem.
¹² Defective and corrupt. E G²=et conjunctus est Manassi
et ipse prophetabat mendacium in Hierosolyma et multi ex
Hierosolyma. ¹³ Em. by Nitzsch from ipsi Asamaria. ¹⁴ Em.
from nomen.

G²L¹

መ: ውስተ: በሓውርተ: ¹
 ሜዶን: ወአፍላገ: ጠዘን: ²
 3. ዘውእቸ: ወሬዛ: ተ
 ገተአ: ወመጽአ: አየሩሳ
 ሌም: ⁴ በመዋዕለ: ሕዝ
 ቅደስ: ገገው: ይሁዳ: ወ
 ኢሶሪ: በፍጥተ: አቡሁ:
 ዘሰማርያ: ⁵ እስመ: ሕዝ
 ቅደስ: ይፈርህ: 4. ወ
 ተረክበ: በመዋዕለ: ሕዝ
 ቅደስ: እንዘ: ይተናገር:
 ነገራት: ⁶ ፀመዳ: በአየሩሳ
 ሌም: 5. *ወአስተዋደ
 ይዎ: ይቆ: ⁷ ሕዝቅደስ:
 ወተገተአ: በሐረ: ቤተ:
 ልሔም: ወአእመነ: ...: ⁸

καὶ | ἀπενέγκαι αὐτοὺς |
 εἰς ὄρη ⁹ Μήδων καὶ |
 ποταμῶν ¹⁰ [καὶ] ¹¹ Γω-
 ζάν, 3. οὗτος ἦν νεώ-
 τερος, καὶ ἔφυγεν | καὶ
 ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱερ(ου)σαλήμ
 ἡμ(έρ)αις (Ἐξ)εῖ |
 βασ(ιλέως) Ἰουδα. κα(ὶ)
 οὐκ ἐπατεί ¹² * εἰς Σα-
 μαρίαν ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ πα-
 τρός αὐτοῦ ¹³, ὅτι τὸν
 Ἐzekian ἐφοβείτο. | 4.
 καὶ εὗρέθη ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
 Ἐzekίου λαλῶν λόγους
 ἀνομίας ἐν Ἱερουσα-
 μῇ, | 5. καὶ κατηγο-
 ρήθη ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων |
 Ἐzekίου καὶ ἔφυγεν |
 εἰς τὴν χώραν Βηθ-
 λεέμ. καὶ ἐπεισαν ¹⁴.

duxisset eos in mon-
 tem Medorum et
 ad flumen Gozan:
 3. Bechira fuit ju-
 venior, et fugit et
 pervenit Hierosoly-
 mam in diebus Eze-
 ciae regis Judeae:
 non ambulabat in
 via Samaritani ¹⁵
 patris sui, quoniam
 timebat Ezeciam.
 4. Et inventus est in
 tempore Ezeciae lo-
 quens v(erba) injus-
 titiae in Hierusa-
 lem, 5. Et spretus
 est ¹⁶ a pueris Eze-
 ciae et fugit in
 regione(m) Beth-

¹ *oria* (?). If so, this may be a corruption of *ōrh* as in G² (and L²); if not, then our text agrees with the Massoretic text of 2 Kings xvii. 6 (יֶרֶךְ) against LXX which imply יֶרֶי. ² *ῥῥ* ጠዘን:

³ *ῥ* H. ⁴ *ῥ* om. ⁵ *ῥ* Hመርያ: E alone is right here: see note on G² *in loc*. ⁶ *bc* ነገረ: ⁷ *ῥ* ወውስተ: እሳት: ወደደደዎ: ደቂቅ:

⁸ Text defective. Better read pl. with G². ⁹ See note on E *in loc*. ¹⁰ Corrupt for *ποταμούς*. ¹¹ Should be excised. ¹² MS.

(*ε*)*πατεῖς*. ¹³ Corruption can be understood from L¹ which gives: in via Samariae patris sui. Thus L¹ = ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Since this was unintelligible, some scribe of G² transposed ἐν ὁδῷ and ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ (*εἰς Σαμαρίαν* being probably his correction). From E we see that ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ should be Σαμαρείτου. The error can be explained by the Hebrew: ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν Σαμαρίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ = יְנִי בְּשַׁמְרֵן בְּרֶךְ where "ש" is corrupt for יְנִי. Thus the Greek should be: ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. ¹⁴ Text defective. See exegetical note *in loc*. ¹⁵ MS.

Samariae. See note ¹³ above. ¹⁶ = κατεφρονήθη corrupt for κατηγορήθη as contempsit (ver. 6) = κατεφρόνησεν (Turner).

G²L¹

ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወየሐ
ዩ፡ ወአሳይያስ፡ ይቤ፡
እኔ፡ ርእክም፡ ለእግዚአብ
ሔር፡ ወነዋ፡ ሕያው፡ እኔ።
10. ንጉሥ፡ አእምርኩ፡
ከመ፡ *ነቢያት፡ ሐሰት፡
እመንቸ¹² ወሰደደሳሌ
ምኒ፡ ሰይም፡ ሰመዶ፡ ወ
ሰመላእክት፡ ይሁዳ፤ ወ
አደደሳሌም፡ ሕዝቡ፡ ገሞ
ራ፡ ረሰዮሙ። ወብዙጉ፡
አስተዋደዮ፡³ ለአሳይያ
ስ፡ ወሰነቢያት፡ በጎብ፡
ምናሴ። 11. ወነበረ፡
ብልደር፡⁴ ወስተ፡ ልብ፡
ምናሴ፡ ወወስተ፡ ልብ፡
መላእክት፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወብ
ጊደም፡ ወዛፀዋጉ፡ ወ
ዘመምክራ፤ ንጉሥ።
12. ወአደሞ፡ ፈደፋደ፡
ነገረ፡ ብልክራ፡⁵ ወፈነወ፡
ወአሐዘ፡ ለአሳይያስ።
13. እስመ፡ ብልደር፡⁴
*ሰመዓት፡ ዐቢይ፡ ሀሎ፡⁶
ላባሉ፡ አሳይያስ፡ እምራ

ῥησεται ἄνθρωπος | τὸν
θεὸν καὶ ζήσεται⁽¹⁾, |
'Hσαίας δὲ εἶπεν εἰδὼν
τὸν (θεὸν) κ(α)ὶ ἰδοὺ |
ζῶ. 10. βασι(λ)εὺ
(γέ)νω(σ)|κε ὅτι ψευ-
δής(ς) ἐστίν. καὶ τὴν
'Ι(ε)ρου|σαλὴμ Σόδο-
(μ)α ἐ|κάλεσεν, κ(α)ὶ
τοὺς|ἄρχοντα(ς)'Ιουδα|
καὶ 'Ισραὴλ⁷ (λαὸν Γο-)|
μόρρας προ(οσηγό)|ρευ-
σεν. (κ)α(ὶ) πολλὰ |
κατηγόρει ἐπὶ τοῦ | Μα-
νασσή⁸ καὶ τῶν προ-
φητῶν. 11. καὶ ἐ|κά-
θισεν Βελιὰρ ἐν | τῇ
καρ(δ)ία τοῦ Μα|νασσή
καὶ ἐν τῇ καρ|δία τῶν
ἀρχόντων | 'Ιουδα καὶ
Βενιαμὲν | καὶ τῶν εὐ-
νούχων | καὶ τῶν συμ-
βού|λων* τοῦ βασιλέ-
ως⁹ 12. καὶ ἤρεσαν αὐ-
τῷ οἱ λόγοι τοῦ Βελ-
χειρὰ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν |
καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸν |
'Hσαίαν. 13. ἦν γὰρ
ὁ Βελιὰρ ἐν θυμῷ
πολ|λῷ (ἐ)πὶ 'Hσαίαν

niam homo non po-
test videre Deum¹⁰;
dixit autem Eseias
Vidi Deum et ecce
vivo. 10. Tu, rex,
intellige quoniam
mendax est: et ecce¹¹
Hierusalem Sodom-
am dixit, et pri(n)ci-
pes [ejuset]¹² Judeae
et Hierusalem popu-
lum Gomorrae nom-
inavit¹³. Et coram¹⁴
(Manasse)¹⁵ in mul-
tis detradixit Eseiae
et profetis. 11. Et
supersedit Beliar¹⁶ in
corde Manasse, et
corde¹⁷ principum
Joudae et Benjamin
et spadonum et con-
siliariorum¹⁸ regis.
12. Et placueruntei[s]
sermone Bechire,
et mandavit rex et
adprehenderunt¹⁹
Eseiam. 13. Fuit
enim Beliar¹⁶ bitem
habens in Eseiam

¹ b om. ² Since L² has mendax est and G² ψευδής(ς) ἐστίν the text is corrupt; we should read **ሐሳዩ፡ ወአቸ፡** ³ bc
አስተዋደዮ፡ ⁴ ab ብርደል፡ ⁵ b ብልክራ፡ ⁶ b ተምዐ፡
⁷ E L¹ = 'Ιερουσαλήμ rightly: cf. Isa. i. 10. ⁸ Add τοῦ 'Hσαίου from
E L¹. ⁹ MS. τῶν βασιλέων. ¹⁰ Add et vivere with E G².
¹¹ E G² om. ¹² Should be excised. ¹³ MS. nominavit. ¹⁴ MS.
cum. ¹⁵ Added from E G². ¹⁶ MS. Beliac. ¹⁷ MS. corda.
¹⁸ MS. consiliario. Mai em. ¹⁹ E G² give sing.

G²L¹

እይ: ወእምካሂት: Hh
ሠት: ለሰማያል: ወከመ:
በእንተአሁ: አስተርአይ:
ምጽአት: ለፍቅር: እም
ላብዕ: ለማይ: ወተወል
ጦቱ: ምርዳቱ: ወራእ
ዩኒ: በዘ: ሀሰው: ይተወ
ሰጥ: ሰራእይ: ሰብእ:
ወስደቱኒ: ዘይሰደድ: ወ
ስቃያትኒ: ሐህሎ: ደቂቀ:
እስራኤል: ይግቅደም: ምጽአት:
፲፱፻፳፭ እርዳ
አሁ: ወትምህርት: ወከ
መኒ: ሀሰዎ: ቅድመ: ሰን
በት: *በዕፁ: ይሰቀል:
ወምስላ: ዕደው: ገበ
ርት: ዐመፃ: ይሰቀል: ወ
ከመ: በመቃብርኒ: ይት
ቀር:

ἀπὸ | τῆς (ὁρά)σεως καὶ
ἀπὸ | τοῦ (δ)ειγματισ-
μοῦ | ὅτι (ἐ)δειγματί-
σεν | τὸν (Σ)αμαήλ,
καὶ ὁ (τι δι' α)ὐτοῦ
ἐφανε| (ρώθη ἡ) ἐξέλευ-
σις | τοῦ ἀγα|πητοῦ ἐκ |
(τοῦ ἐβδ)όμου οὐρα-
(νοῦ καὶ ἡ) μεταμόρ-
φωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ |
κατά|βασις αὐτοῦ, καὶ |
ἡ ἰδέα ἣν δει| αὐτὸν |
μεταμορφωθῆναι | ἐν
εἶδει ἀνθρώπου, | καὶ ὁ
διωγμὸς ὃν διω|χθήσε-
ται, καὶ αἱ κολά|σεις αἷς
δεῖ τοὺς υἱ|οὺς τοῦ Ἰσ-
ραὴλ αὐτὸν | κολάσαι,
καὶ ἡ τῶν δώ|δεκα μα-
θητεία¹¹, καὶ | ὥς δεῖ
αὐτὸν¹² μετὰ | ἀνδρῶν
κακοποι|ῶν σταυρωθῆ-
ναι, | καὶ ὅτι ἐν μνη-
με(ί)ῳ | ταφήσεται,

propter (visionem et
propter)¹³ quod * in
se¹⁴ ostenderit Sam-
ael, et quoniam ipse
nuntiavit¹⁵ adventum
dilectissimi de sep-
timo caelo et trans-
figurationem¹⁶ ejus
et discensum et for-
mam in qua trans-
figureretur esse hom-
inis, et persecutio-
nem, quam passurus
est, et contumeliam
quam patere(tur)

14 ወ፲፱፻፳፭ እሰ: ምስላሁ: ይትዐቀ
ፉ: ጦቱ: ወ*ዕቅበት: 10 እሰ: የዕቅቡ:

14. κ(α)ὶ δώ|δεκα οἱ μετ' α(ὐ)-
τοῦ | ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σκανδα|λισθήσον-
ται, κα(ὶ) | ἡ τήρησις¹⁷ τῶν τ(η)-
ρητῶν τοῦ μνημο|νείου,

¹ c ምጽአት: So L¹ adventum. E shows leanings to text of L¹:
አስተርአይ: could be translated actively = revelavit. ² ac

ተወልጦት: ³ b ወይትዌለት: ⁴ ac ወምቃያትኒ: ⁵ b om.

⁶ b ወይሰቅደም: ሀሰዎ: ⁷ bc ወትምህርት: ⁸ b ይሰቀል: በዕፁ:

⁹ Em. from a እሰ: bc read እንዘ: a manifest correction. ¹⁰ Em.
from ab ዐቀብት: in accordance with G². ¹¹ E = παρουσία καὶ ἡ

μαθητεία. ¹² Add with E πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου σταυρωθῆναι ἐπὶ ξύλου.

Cf. ix. 14, xi. 20 of E. ¹³ Lost by hmt. Supplied from EG². ¹⁴ Cor-

rupt for ostensione(?). ¹⁵ G² has a passive construction. E has

a verb that = revelatus est or revelavit. ¹⁶ MS. transfigurati

quem. Dln. em. ¹⁷ See note ¹⁰ above.

G²

መቃብረ፤ 15. ወርደተ፡¹ መልአክ፡²
 ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ በሰማያት፡
 ሀለውት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ በደኃሪ፡ *መዋዕል፡
 ይጼውዕ፡³ 16. ወመልአክ፡ ዘመን
 ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሚካኤል፡ *መልአክ፡⁴
 መላእክት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ከመ፡⁵ በማልስት፡
 ዐለት፡ ደርኑ፡ መቃብረ፡⁶ 17.
 ወ፡ውእቱ፡ ፍቁር፡ ነቢር፡ ደቡ፡ መታክ
 ፍቲሆሙ፡⁸ ይወጽእ፡ ወይፈኑ፡ ነወጀ
 አርዳኢሁ፡ 18. ወይሚህሩ፡ ዙሎ፡
 አሕዛቡ፡⁹ ወዙሎ፡ ልሳነ፡ ለትንሣኤ፡
 ፍቁር፡ ወእቡ፡ ተአመኑ፡ በመስቀሉ፡
 ይደኅኑ፡ ወ*በ¹⁰ትንሣኤሁ፡ *በ¹¹ሳብዕ፡
 ሰማይ፡ እምነቡ፡ መጽእ፡ 19. *ወ
 ከመ፡ ሀለዉ፡¹² በዙጋኑ፡ እቡ፡ ይትአ
 መኑ፡ ቦቱ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይትና
 ገሩ፡ 20. *ወበዙጉ፡ ተአምር፡ ወመ
 ንክር፡¹³ ይከውን፡¹⁴ በውእቱ፡ መዋ
 ዕል፡ 21. ወእምደኅረ፡ ለቀሪቦቹ፡
 የገደጉ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡¹⁵ ተምህርተ፡ ዘ
 ነወጀሐዋርያት፡ ወሃይማኖትሙ፡¹⁶

15. καὶ ὡς ἡ κ(ατά)βα|σις τοῦ
 ἀγγέ(λου τῆς) | ἐκκλησίας τῆ(ς ἐν
 οὐρα)|νῶ με | τος ἐν ταῖς
 ἐ(σχάταις) | (ἡμ)έ(ραις), 16. κα(ι)¹⁷
 | ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ Πνεύμα-
 τος | τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ Μιχα|ήλ
 ἄρχων τῶν ἀγ|γέλων τῶν ἁγίων |
 ὅτι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέ|ρα αὐτοῦ ἀνοίξου-
 σιν τὸ μνημονεῖον, | 17. καὶ ὁ
 ἀγαπητὸς κα|θίσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμ-
 ονς αὐτῶν ἐξελεῦ|σεται, καὶ ὡς
 ἀποστε|λεῖ τοὺς¹⁸ μαθητὰς |
 αὐτοῦ 18. καὶ μαθητεῦ|σουσιν
 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πάσαν γλῶσ-
 σαν εἰς τὴν ἀν(ά)στα|σιν τοῦ ἀγα-
 π(η)τοῦ, | καὶ οἱ (π)ιστεύσαν|τες
 τ(ῶ) σταυρῷ αὐ|τοῦ σωθ(ή)σον-
 ται καὶ | ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐ|(τ)οῦ
 εἰς τὸν ἔβδομον | (ο)ῦ(ρ)ανὸν ὅθεν
 καὶ | (ἦλθεν. 19. καὶ ὡς π(ο)λ|
 (λοῖ)κ)αὶ πολλοὶ (τ)ῶν |(πιστε)υόν-
 των εἰς |(αὐτὸν) ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύ-
 ματι |(λαλήσουσ)ιν, 20. Καὶ ὡς |
 πολλὰ σημεῖα καὶ | τέρατα ἐ(σ)-
 ται ἐν | ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις,
 21. καὶ¹⁹ ἐν τῷ ἐγγί|ζειν | αὐτ(ὸ)ν
 (ἅ)φήσουσιν οἱ (μ)αθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
 τὴν προφητεῖαν τῶν δώδε|κα ἀπο-
 στολῶν αὐτοῦ²⁰ | καὶ τὴν πίστιν²¹
 καὶ | τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν | καὶ τὴν

¹ b ወርተ፡ ² bc መላእክት፡ ³ a መዋዕል፡ ⁴ b ወ. ⁵ b wrongly
 ወከመ፡ ⁶ So bc. a መቃብር፡ ⁷ b om. ⁸ a wrongly
 መታክሐሆሙ፡ ለሱራፈል፡ ⁹ a አሕዛቡ፡ ¹⁰ a wrongly om.
¹¹ a wrongly እም. ¹² b ወበከመ፡ ሀለው፡ ¹³ b ወበዙጉ፡ ተአምር፡
 ወመንክር፡ ¹⁴ a adds በውን፡ a vox nulla. ¹⁵ b ዘአርዳኢሁ፡
¹⁶ a ወሃይማኖት፡ ¹⁷ Grenfell and Hunt supply lacuna with
 Γαβριήλ. ¹⁸ E adds δώδεκα. ¹⁹ E adds μετὰ ταῦτα. ²⁰ E om.
²¹ b adds αὐτῶν. Possibly the αὐτοῦ in the preceding phrase should
 be read as αὐτῶν after πίστιν.

G²

ሉት፡ ወበሊቃውንት፡ በበይናቲሆሙ።
 30. እስመ፡ ቅንኢት፡ ዐቢይ፡ ይከውን፡
 በደኃ፡ መዋዕል፡ እስመ፡ ክሉ፡ ዘአ
 ፍትዎ፡ በቅድመ፡ እዕይንቲህ፡ ይትና
 ገር። 31. ወደጸርዑ፡ ትንቢት፡ ነቢ
 ዮት፡ ዘእሲ፡ እምቅድሜ፡ ወራእያ
 ት*የገ፤ እሳ፡² ደጸርዑ፡³ ከመ፡ ጉስ
 ዐት፡⁴ ልቦሙ፡ ይትናገሩ። IV. ወ⁵
 ይእክኒኑ፡ ሕዝቅያሲ፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡ ወ
 ልድዩ፡ እሳ፡⁶ እማንቱ፡ መዋዕል፡⁷ ተጽ
 ወን፡⁸ ተገላም።⁹ 2. ወእምድጎረ፡
 ተፈጸመ፡ ይወርድ፡ ብልደር፡¹⁰ መል
 አክ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ንጉሠዝ፡ ገላም፡ ዘአገዝ፡¹¹
 እምአመ፡ ነበረ፡ ወይወርድ፡ እምጽ
 ናዑ፡ በራእዩ፡ ብእሲ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ዐመዓ፡
 ቀታሌ፡ እመ፡ *H¹²ውእቱ፡ *ንጉሥ፡
 ዝንቱ፡ 3. ተክሲ፡¹³ ዘተክሲ፡ ነወጀሐ
 ዋርደተ፡ ፍቅር፡ ይሰድድ፡ እምነወጀ
 በእዱ፡ ይትወህብ። 4. ዘ¹⁴መል
 አክ፡¹⁵ በራእዩ፡ ዝክቱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ይመ
 ጽእ፡ ወይመጽእ፡¹⁶ ምስሌህ፡ ክሉ፡
 *ገደላት፡ ዝክ፡¹⁷ ገላም፡ ወይስምዐም፡
 በክሉ፡ ዘፈቀደ።

30. (ζ)ήλος γὰρ ἔσται | π(ολὺς) ἐν
 ταῖς ἑσχα|ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἕκαστος
 γὰρ τὸ ἄρεστόν | ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλ-
 μοῖς | αὐτοῦ λαλήσει 31. καὶ |
 ἐξαφήσουσιν¹⁹ τὰς | προφητείας τῶν
 προ|φητῶν τῶν πρὸ ἐ|μου καὶ τὰς
 ὁράσεις | μου ταύτας καταρ(γῇ)-
 σουσιν ἵνα τὰ (δ)ρέγμ(α)τ(α) | τῆς
 καρδίας αὐτῶν | λαλήσωσιν.. IV.
 καὶ νῦν | Ἐξ(ε)κία καὶ Ἰασοῦβ
 ν(ι)|έ μ(ου) αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἀ(ι) |
 (ἡμέ)ρα(ι) τῆς πληρ(ώ)|(σεω)ς
 τ(οῦ) κ)όσμου.. | 2. τος αὐ-
 τοῦ ἐ(ν εἶδει)|ἀνθρώπου βασιλέ-
 ως ἀνόμου μητρα|λώου²⁰ ὅστις
 αὐτὸς²¹ | ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος | 3. τὴν
 φυτ(ε)ῖαν ἦν | φυτεύουσιν οἱ δώ-
 δεκα ἀπόστολοι | τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ
 διώ|ξε(ι) καὶ (τ)ῶν δώδεκα | (εἰς)
 ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ | (π)αραδοθή-
 σεται. 4. οὐ|τος (ὁ ἄρ)χων ἐν τῇ
 ἰ|δέᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐ|κείνου ἐλεύ-
 σεται | (κ)αὶ αἱ δυνάμεις πᾶσαι |
 (ἐλ)εύσ(ον)ται τ(ο)ύτ(ου) | (τ)οῦ
 κό(σμου)

5. *ወ¹በቃሉ፡ ይሠርቅ፡ ፀሓይ፡ በሌሊት፡ ወወርዝ፡ ይገብር፡¹⁸ ከመ፡

¹ b om. ² Em. with G² from እሲ፡ b gives ሲ፡ instead of እሲ፡ a mere scribal correction. ³ b ተጸርዑ፡ ⁴ b ጉሥዑ፡

⁵ a om. ⁶ Em. from እሲ፡ ⁷ Em. from መዋዕል፡ ⁸ ጽወን፡

an unusual form of ጽወን(?) = κλήσεως. Is this corrupt for τελέσεως? Otherwise correct ጽወን፡ into ወደክ፡ = 'completion.' G² has probably πληρώσεως. For ጽ'' b reads ጸወ፡ ⁹ b adds ወበክ፡ ይትናገሩ፡ ¹⁰ ab ብርደል፡ ¹¹ a ዘአክዘ፡ ¹² a ዝ.

¹³ Em. from b ንጉሥ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ገላም፡ ወተክሲ፡ For ወተ'' ac read ወተክል፡ I regard the corruption as due to the phrase ንጉሠዝ፡ ገላም፡ two lines before. ¹⁴ b ዘ. ¹⁵ ab add ብርደል፡ but G² om. with c. ¹⁶ bc ወይመጽእ፡ ¹⁷ b ኃይላት፡ ዝንቱ፡ ¹⁸ b ይገብር፡

¹⁹ E = καταργήσουσιν. ²⁰ MS. μητρολῶου. ²¹ = E. MS. αὐτοῦ.

ልሂ፡¹ በገባ፡ አስተርአየ፡ ወአገህደ፡ ብልደር፡² በውስተዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ወይከውን፡
 [ትንግሥ፡ ወ]³ ዙኑ፡ በውስተትሙ፡ በዝክ፡ መዋዕል፡ ወፍቆ*ር፡⁴ ያዐርግ፡⁵
 *አሳተ፡ እምኒሁ፡⁶ ወይበልዕ፡ ዙሉ፡ ረሲዓ፡ ወይከውኑ፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢተፈጥሩ፡
 19. ወትራፋተ፡ ነገረ፡ ራእይ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ ውስተ፡ ራእይ፡ ባለሎን፡
 20. ወትራፋተ፡ ራእይ፡ እግዚእ፡ ነዋ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ *በምሳልያት፡
 በቃላት፡⁷ በዘ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘገሃደ፡⁸ ተነበይኩ፡ 21.
 ወርደት*ኒ፡⁹ ለፍቆር፡ ውስተ፡ ሲኦል፡ ነዋ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ ውስተ፡
 መምተርት፡¹⁰ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ እግዚእ፡ ነዋ፡ ይሴሉ፡¹¹ ወልደየ፡ ወዙሉ፡ ዝንቹ፡
 ነዋ፡⁴ ጽሑፋን፡ ውስተ፡ *መዛምርት፡ በምሳልያት፡¹² ዳዊት፡ ወልደ፡ እስይ፡
 ወበምሳልያት፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልዱ፡ ወበነገራት፡ ቆራ፡ ወኤታን፡¹³ እስራኤላዊ፡
 ወበነገራት፡ አሳፍ፡ *ወ'ውስተ፡ ትራ*ፋተ፡ መዛምርት፡ ዘመልአክ፡ መንፈስ፡
 አንበባ፡¹⁴ 22. ውስተ፡¹⁵ እሰ፡ አልሶሙ፡ ስም፡¹⁶ ጽሑፍ፡¹⁷ ወውስተ፡ ነገራት፡¹⁸
 አሞጽ፡ አቡየ፡ ወሆሴዕ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወዘሚኪያስ፡ ወዘኢየሕል፡ ወዘናሖም፡
 ወዘየናስ፡ ወዘአብደሃ፡ ወዘእንባቆም፡ ወዘሐገ፡ *ወዘሰፎንያስ፡ ወዘዘካ
 ርያስ፡⁶ ወዘምልኪያስ፡¹⁹ ወበነገራት፡ የሴፍ፡ ዳድቅ፡ ወበነገራት፡ ዳንኤል፡
 V. በእንተ፡ እሳንቹ፡ እንክ፡ ራእያት፡²⁰ ተምዐ፡ ብርያል፡²¹ ሳዕለ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
 ወነበረ፡ ውስተ፡ ልባ፡ ምናሴ፡ ወወሠር፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በሞሠርት፡ ዕፅ፡
 2. ወኢሳይያስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትወሠር፡ ቆመ፡ መስተዋድዮ፡²² በልኪራ፡²³ ወነበደተ፡
 ሐሰት፡ ዙሎሙ፡ ቆሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይስሐቁ፡ ወይትፈሥሑ፡ ሳዕለ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
 3. ወበልኪራ፡ በምኤምፊኩስ፡²⁴ ቆመ፡²⁵ ቆድመ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እንዘ፡ [ይስሐቁ፡]²⁶
 ደክ*ሞስስ፡²⁷ 4. ወይሴ፡ በልኪራ፡²⁸ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በል፡ ሐሰውኩ፡²⁹
 ዙሉ፡ ዘተናገርኩ፡ ወፍናዊሁ፡ ለምናሴ፡ ሠናያት፡ ወርቸዓት፡³⁰ እማንቹ፡
 5. ወፍናዊሁ፡ ለበልኪራ፡ ሠናይ*ት፡⁴ ወእቹ፡ ወዘእሰ፡³¹ ምስሌሁ፡
 6. ወዘንተ፡ ይሴ*ሎ፡⁴ ሰባ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትወሠር፡ 7. ወኢሳይያስ፡ ሀሎ፡
 በራእይ፡ እግዚእ፡ ወክሡታት፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ ወ(ኢ)³² ይራ*እ*ሞሙ፡ 8. ወበል
 ኪራ፡³³ ዘንተ፡ ተናገር፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በል፡ ዘእብሰክ፡ ወእመይጥ፡ ልሶሙ፡
 ወአገብር፡³⁴ ለምናሴ፡³⁵ ወለመላእክት፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወለሐዘብ፡ ወለክተላ፡ ኢየሩ

- ¹ *b* ወሰክለሂ፡ ² *ab* ብርያል፡ ³ Bracketed as an inter-
 polation: see exegetical note, p. 36. ⁴ *b* om. ⁵ *bc* የዓርግ፡
⁶ *bc* trs. ⁷ *bc* በምሳሌ፡ በቃልየ፡ ⁸ *b* ዘገሃደ፡ ⁹ *b* ሂ.
¹⁰ Em. by Dln. from *ac* መምተርት፡ *b* መዘመርት፡ ¹¹ *b* ይሴሎ፡
¹² *a* መዘመርት፡ በምሳሌያት፡ ¹³ *b* ወናታን፡ ¹⁴ *b* አንበባ፡
¹⁵ *a* ወውስተ፡ ¹⁶ *ab* ስመ፡ ¹⁷ *a* ጽመ፡ (sic)፡ *b* ጽሑፋት፡
¹⁸ *bc* ነገረ፡ ¹⁹ *b* ወዘምልኪያስ፡ ²⁰ *a* ራእያት፡ ²¹ *abc*.
²² *b* መስተዋድዮ፡ ²³ *b* በልኪራ፡ ²⁴ *b* ምኤምፊኩስ፡ ²⁵ Em.
 from ቆሙ፡ ²⁶ Bracketed as a doublet. ²⁷ Em. from ደክሞስሱ፡
²⁸ *ac* ብልደር፡ ²⁹ *b* repeats this word. ³⁰ *b* ወርቸዐት፡ ³¹ *b*
 ወዘእንባቆ፡ ³² Must be supplied as in vi. 10. ³³ *a* ወሚልኪራስ፡
³⁴ *b* ወአገብርሙ፡ ³⁵ *a* adds ወለምናሴ፡

ሳሌም፤¹ ከመ፡ ይስገዳ፡ ሰከ። 9. ወአውሥኦ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወይቤ፡ እመሰ፡ እምነቤ*²፡ *ወእቱ፡ ብሂል፡ ወጉዝ፡ ወርጉም፤³ አገተ፡ ወዙሱ፡ ገይላቲከ፡ ወዙሱ፡ ቤተከ፡ 10. እስመ፡ አልብከ፡ ፈረፋይ፡ ዘትነሥኦ፡ እማእስ፡ ሥጋየ። 11. ወአገዘዎ፡ ወወሠርዎ፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞጽ፡ በሞሠርተ፡ ዕፅ። 12. ወምናሴ፡ ወበልኪራ፡⁴ ወነቢደተ፡ ሐሰት፡ ወመላእክት፡ ወሐዘብ፡ ወዙሱ፡ ቆሙ፤⁵ እነዝ፡ ይሬእዩ። 13. ወሰነቢደተ፡ እሱ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ይቤ፡ ዘእንበሰ፡ ይትወሠር፡ ሱሩ፡ ብሔረ፡ ጢርስ፡ ወሲያና፡ እስመ፡ ሊተ፡ ለባሕተትየ፡ ተስሐ፡ *እገዚአብሔር፡ ጽዋዐ።⁶ 14. ወኢሳይያስ፡ እነዝ፡ ይትወሠር፡ ኢጸርሐ፡ ወኢበከየ፡ አላ፡ አፉሁ፡ ይትና*⁷ገር፡ ለመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እስከ፡ ተወሠረ፡ ለክልኤ። 15. ዘገተ፡ ገብረ፡ ብልደር፡⁷ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በእደ፡ በልኪራ፡ ወበእደ፡ ምናሴ፡ እስመ፡ ሀሱ፡ ሰማየል፡ በዐቢይ፡ መፃት፤⁸ ላዕለ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እመዋዕለ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ይሁዳ፡ በእገተ፡ ነገራት፡ ዘርእየ፡ በእገተ፡ ፍቆር፡ 16. ወበእገተ፡ ሆጉሉ፡ ሰማየል፤⁹ ዘርእየ፡ በእገዚእ፡ እነዝ፡ ዓዲ፡ ይነገሥ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ አቡሁ። ወገብረ፡ በከመ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ለሰይጣን።

THE SECOND LATIN
VERSION (= L²).

VI—XI.

(See Introd., pp. xviii—
xxvii.)

LATIN TRANSLATION OF
THE SLAVONIC VERSION, BY
PROFESSOR BONWETSCH.

VI—XI.

(See Introd., pp. xxiv—
xxvii.)

ወራእይሰ፡ ዘርእየ፡
ኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡
አሞጽ።

VI. በዓመተ፡ ሼመንገ
ሥቱ፡ ለሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሠ፡
ይሁዳ፡ መጽአ፤¹⁰ ኢሳይ
ያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞጽ፡ ወኢ
ዮሳብ፡ ወልደ፡ ኢሳይ
ያስ፡ ንብ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ኢየ
ሩሳሌም፡ እምገልገላ።¹¹
2. ወ(ሶብ፡ በክ)፤¹² ነበረ፡

VISIO, QUAM VIDIT
YSAIAS "PROPHETA"
FILIUS AMOS¹³.

VI. Anno XX reg-
nante Ezechia, rege
Judae, venit Ysaïas
[propheta], filius
Amos, ad Ezechiam
in Hierusalem¹⁴,
2. Et intrans sedit

VISIO QUAM VIDIT
[SANCTUS] ISAÏAS
"PROPHETA" FI-
LIUS AMOS.

VI. Anno XX reg-
nante Ezechia, rege
Judae, venit Isaïas
filius Amos, [et Ja-
sus, filius Isaïae¹ ad
Ezechiam in Hieru-
salem. 2. Et cum

¹ a repeats.

² b om.

³ b. a ወጉዝ፡ ዝወእቱ፡ በብህሉ፡

⁴ So bc. a ወምላኪራ፡

⁵ a ቆሙ፡

⁶ bc trs.

⁷ ab ብርደል፡

⁸ b መፃት፡

⁹ b ሰማየል፡

¹⁰ a መጽአ፡

¹¹ ab እምገልገላ፡ S L²

om. Gk. Leg. i. 3 supports text.

¹² Added from Gk. Leg. ii. 1 ;

S L².

¹³ The following late title prefixed to the above appears in the printed edition of the lost MS.: Visio mirabilis Isaïae prophetae in raptu mentis, quae divinae trinitatis arcana et lapsi generis humani redemptionem continet. ¹⁴ Defect. here. See note ¹¹.

L²

S

ደባ፡ ዐራተ፡¹ ንጉሥ፡ ወ
መንበረ፡ አምጽአ፡ ሎቱ፡
ወአፈቀ*ደ፡² ደንበር።
3. ወሶብ፡³ አሐዘ፡ አሳይ
ያስ፡⁴ ደትናገር፡ ምስሉ፡
ሕዝቅያስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነገረ፡
ዓይኖቹ፡ ወጽድቅ፡ ወ
ክሉሙ፡ መላእክተ፡ እስ
ራኤል፡ ደኑባሩ፡ ወኅፃ
ዋን፡ ወመምክራት፡ ንጉ
ሥ። ወሀለዉ፡ ህዩ፡⁵ ግብ
ያት፡ ወውሉደ፡ ነቢያት፡
መጽአ፡ እምአድያም፡
ወእምአድባር፡⁶ ወእም
አሕቅል፡ ሶቤ፡⁷ ሰምዑ፡
ከሙ፡ አሳይያስ፡ ደመጽ
እ፡ እምገልገላ፡⁸ ንብ፡
ሕዝቅያስ፡ 4. ወመጽአ፡
ከሙ፡ የእምኅዋ፡ ወከሙ፡
ደስምዑ፡ ነገራት፡⁹ 5.
ወከሙ፡ ደንበር፡ እዲህ፡
ሳባህሆሙ፡ ወከሙ፡ *ደ
ትነብዩ፡ ወከሙ፡ ደስማዕ፡
ትንቢተሙ፡¹⁰ ወክሉሙ፡
ሀለዉ፡ ቅድመ፡ አሳይ
ያስ። 6. ወሶብ፡ ተናገረ፡
አሳይያስ፡ *ምስሉ፡ ሕዝ
ቅያስ፡² ነገራት፡ ጽድቅ፡
ወዓይኖቹ፡¹¹ ወሰምዑ፡

supra lectum regis.
3. Et omnes prin-
cipes Israel et consili-
arii regis et eunuchi
stabant ante illum.
3-4. Veneruntque ex
omnibus villis et
agris et montibus
prophetae, et filii
prophetarum audi-
entes quod Ysaïas
venerat a Galgatha¹²
ad Ezechiam, salu-
tare eum, 5. Et
annunciare ei, quae
ventura erant. 6.
Tunc¹³ loquebatur
verba veritatis. Spi-
ritus Sanctus super-
venit in eum, et om-

intrasset sedit supra
lectum regis. 3. Et
omnes principes +Je-
rusalemi¹⁴ et con-
siliarii regis et eu-
nuchi stabant ante
illum. 3-4. Vene-
runtque ex omnibus
villis¹⁵ et 'ex' agris
et montibus prophe-
tae et filii propheta-
rum, cum audivis-
sent, quod Isaïas
venerat a Galgal¹⁶ ad
Ezechiam, salutare¹⁷
eum, 5. [Simul au-
tem] et annuntiare¹⁸
ei [de iis] quae ven-
tura erant. 6. Cum¹⁹
loquebatur verba
[omnia] veritatis,
Spiritus Sanctus su-
pervenit in eum et

¹ b ግራተ፡² b om.³ c ወሶቤ፡⁴ a አሳይያስ፡⁵ bc om.⁶ a ወእምአድያም፡⁷ bc ሶብ፡⁸ a እምገልገላ፡⁹ bc ነገረተ፡¹⁰ b ደትነብዩ፡ ወከሙ፡ ደስምዑ፡ ትንቢተ፡¹¹ b ወዓይ

ማኖት፡

¹² Corrupt for Galgal as in S.¹³ Should be cum

as in S E, and full stop after veritatis should be comma.

¹⁴ Corrupt for Israel as in L² E.¹⁵ Ot vsi ch: vŭzvėsjai u:

vjs' = omnis and vicus.

¹⁶ L² Galgatha.¹⁷ u et salu-¹⁸ Blgověstiti : blgověstit [annuntiat] u, ch.¹⁹ So E,but L² tunc.

L²

S

ዘሉሙ፡ ተሰኝተ፡¹ ዘአ
ርገው፡ ተወሰቃለ፡ መን
ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡² 7. ወደ
ውዑ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ነቢዮት፡ ዘ
ሉሙ፡ ወዘሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡
ዘተረከቡ፡ በህየ፡ ወመጽ
ኡ፡³ ወሚክደስ፡ ወአናን
ደስ፡ አረጋይ፡ ወኢዮኤል፡
ወኢዮሳብ፡⁴ ይኑባር፡⁵
በየማኑ፡ 8. ወኮኑ፡ ሶቤ፡
ሰምዑ፡ ዘሉሙ፡⁶ ሰቃለ፡
መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሰገዱ፡
ዘሉሙ፡ በብረኪሆሙ፡
ወሰብሕዎ፡ ሰአምላክ፡
ጽድቅ፡ ለልዑል፡ ለዘው
ስተ፡ ልዑል፡ ንሰም፡ ወ
ለዘ፡ ሳባለ፡ ይኑባር፡ ቅዱ
ስ፡ ወለዘ፡ በቅዱሳን፡ ያዐ
ርፍ፡ 9. ወወሀሉ፡ ስብ
ሐተ፡ ለዘ፡ ተመዝ፡ ጸገ
ው፡ ኖተ፡ በንሰም፡ ክ
ር፡ ጸገው፡ ተሰብሕሉ፡
10. ወእንዘ፡ ይተናገር፡
በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እንዘ፡
ዘሉሙ፡ ይሰምዑ፡ አር
መመ፡ ወኅሊናሁ፡ ተንሥ
ኡ፡ እምሳባሌሁ፡⁸ ወው
እቸሂ፡ ኢይራእዮሙ፡ ለ
ዐደው፡ እሱ፡ ይቆውሙ፡

nes videbant et au-
diebant verba Sancti
Spiritus. 7. Convo-
cavit eum⁹ rex [et]
prophetas, et omnes
introierunt, quot-
quot inventi sunt
ibi, insimul. Erant
autem Micheas et
Ananias senes, Joel
et quotquot ex eis
inventi sunt¹⁰ a dex-
tris eius et a sinis-
tris¹¹. 8. Cum autem
audierunt vocem
Sancti Spiritus, flexe-
runt genua et canta-
verunt deo altissimo
requiescenti in sanc-
tis, 9. Et talem vir-
tutem verborum¹² in
mundo donanti.
10. Loquente vero
eo¹³ in Spiritu Sancto
in auditu omnium
statim tacuit, et ex-
inde videbant stan-
tem quendam¹⁴ ante

omnes videbant au-
diebantque verba
Sancti Spiritus. 7.
Convocavit enim¹⁵
rex [et] prophetas¹⁶
et omnes et introie-
runt, quotquot eo-
rum¹⁷ inventi sunt
ibi, insimul. Erant
autem Micheas et
Ananias senes et¹⁸
Joel et quotquot¹⁹
sederunt²⁰ a dextris²¹
et a sinistris²². 8. Et
cum audierunt vo-
cem Sancti Spiritus
flexerunt genua et
cantaverunt Deo al-
tissimo requiescenti
in sanctis, 9. Et
talem virtutem in
verbo²³ in mundo
donanti. 10. Lo-
quente vero eo²⁴
in Spiritu Sancto
in auditu omnium
statim tacuit, et ex-
inde non²⁵ videbat
stantes²⁶ ante eum.

¹ b ሰኝተ፡² ab om. but SL² support.³ b om.⁴ a ወኢዮስብ፡ b adds ወልዱ፡⁵ a ይኑባር፡⁶ a adds ሰገዱ፡⁷ Seems corrupt. I propose ጸገው፡ ከመዝ፡ ኒሩተ፡ ንቡብ፡ በንሰም፡ = L² talem virtutem verborum in mundo donanti.⁸ b ሳባለ፡⁹ Corrupt for enim?¹⁰ Less corrupt text in S.¹¹ See note ¹⁹.¹² Corrupt. S right = E.¹³ prorocy: MSS. proroci.¹⁴ L²

trs. wrongly.

¹⁵ L² om.¹⁶ E om., and no doubt rightly.¹⁷ L² ex iis inventi sunt.¹⁸ L² adds ejus.¹⁹ S originally =

verborum.

²⁰ L² adds in.²¹ L² videbant stantem quendam.

L²

S

ቅድሚያ፡ 11. ወአዕይ
ንጊሁሰ፡ ክህፉት፡ እማ
ንቱ፡¹ ወአፋሁኒ፡ ደረም
ም፡ ወኅሲ፡ ሥጋሁ፡
ተንሥኡ፡ እምሳባሌሁ፡
12. ወባሕቱ፡ እስትንፋ
ሱሰ፡² ሀሰወት፡³ ሳባሌሁ፡
እሰመ፡ ራእዩ፡ ደራሲ።
13. ወመልእክ፡ ዘተፈነወ፡
ከመ፡ ደርአዮ፡⁴ ኢኮክ፡
ዘዘኩ፡ ምጽናዕ፡ ወኢኮክ፡
እመላእክተ፡ በብሐታት፡⁵
ዘዘ፡ ዓለም፡ አላ፡ እምሳ
ብዕ፡⁶ ሰማይ፡ መጽሐ።
14. ወ*ኢምሰሰ፡⁷ ሕዝ
ብ፡ ዘይቀውም፡ ዘእን
በሰ፡ መክብብ፡ ነቢያት፡
ዘተንሥኡ፡⁸ ቅዱስ፡ ኢሳይ
ያስ። 15. ወራእይሰ፡
ዘርአዩ፡ *ቅዱስ፡ ኢሳይ
ያስ፡⁹ ኢኮክ፡ እምዘ፡
ዓለም፡ አላ፡ እምዓለም፡
ዘኅቡእ፡ እምሥጋሁ።¹⁰
16. ወኢሰይያስ፡ እም
ድኅረ፡ ርእዩ፡ ዘነተ፡ ራእ
ዩ፡ ዜነዎ፡ ለሕ*ዝ¹¹ቅያስ፡
ወለኢዮሳብ፡¹² ወልዱ፡ ወ
ለባዕዳን፡ ነቢያት፡ እሰ፡

eum. 11. Oculi au-
tem eius erant aperti,
os vero clausum,
12. Sed inspiratio
[Sancti] Spiritus erat
cum illo. 14. Et non
extimabant, quod
elevatio accepisset
Ysaïam, prophetae
vero cognoscebant,
quod revelatio¹⁷ erat.
15. Visio, quam vi-
debat, non erat de
seculo hoc, sed de
abscondito "omni"
carni. 16. Et cum ces-
savit a visione,
"reversus"¹⁸ notifica-
vit [visionem] Eze-
chiae et filio +ejus
Nasoni¹⁹,

11. Oculi autem ejus
erant aperti, os vero
clausum, 12. Sed in-
spiratio spiritus erat
cum illo. 14. Et
non existimabant
[omnes] quod ele-
vatus esset Isaias,
prophetae vero co-
gnoscebant, quod *in
revelatione²⁰ erat.
15. Visio [vero] quam
videbat non erat de
saeculo hoc, sed de
abscondito ab "omni"
carni. 16. Et cum ces-
savit a visione "et"²¹
reversus est in se²²,
[et] notificavit Eze-
chiae et filio +ejus
Nasoni²².

መጽሐ። 17. ወመኳንነትሰ፡¹³ ወጎጽዋን፡ ወሕዝብ፡ ኢሰምዑ፡ ዘእንበሰ፡
ሳምናስ፡¹⁴ ጸሓፊ፡ ወኢዮአቂም፡¹⁵ ወአሳፍ፡ ጸሓፊ፡¹⁶ ተዝካር፡ እስመ፡

¹ a repeats.² b እስትንፋስሰ፡³ b ሀሉ፡⁴ b ደርአዮ፡⁵ b በብሐት፡⁶ a እምብዕ፡ (sic).⁷ Em. froma እምሰሰ፡ in accordance with S L² non existimabant. b reads

ምሰሰ፡

⁸ b ዘተንሥኡ፡⁹ b om.¹⁰ b እንዘ፡ በሥጋሁ፡¹¹ a om.¹² ወለኢዮሳብ፡¹³ b ወመኳንነትሰ፡¹⁴ b ሳሚናስ፡¹⁵ a ወኢዮአቂም፡¹⁶ a ጸሐፊ፡¹⁷ S in revelatione.¹⁸ Add

in se from S.

¹⁹ See note ²².²⁰ L² revelatio.²¹ L² om.²² Corrupt for suo Jasobi: so E. ch reads Nasudi for Nas. After Jasobi S L² i.e. G² om. through homoioteleuton vi. 16^c, 17; vii. 1^a.

እሙንቱሂ፡ ገበርተ፡¹ ጽድቅ፡ ተመፀዛ፡² ተመንፈሰ፡ ቦሙ፤ ወሕዝብሰ፡
ኢሰምዑ፡ እስመ፡ አውጽእዎሙ፡³ ሚኪያስ፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡ ወልዱ፡ ሶብ፡⁴
ተንሥክ፡ ጥበብ፡ ዝፃለም፡ እምኒሁ፡ ወኮክ፡⁵ ከመ፡ ዘጥተ፡፡

L¹L²

S

VII. 1-19.

(See Introd.,
pp. xviii-xxi.)

VII. ወራእየሰ፡
ዘርእየ፡ኢሳይያስ፡
ይቤ፡ሰሕዝቅያስ፡
ወሰኢዮሳብ፡ ወል
ዱ፡ ወሰሚኪያስ፡
ወሰባዕዳንሂ፡ ነቢ
ያት፡ ወይቤ፡፡⁶
2. በሰዓት፡⁷ ዛቲ፡
ሶብ፡ ተነበይኩ፡ በ
ከመ፡ ስምዑ፡ ዘሰ
ማዕከሙ፡ ርኢ
ኩ፡⁸ መልእክ፡ ክ
ቡረ፡ ወኢኮክ፡⁹ ከ
መ፡ ክብረ፡ መላእ
ክት፡ ዘዘልፈ፡ እ
ራእዮሙ፡¹⁰ አላ፡
*ክብረ፡ ዐቢዩ፡¹¹
ወተሚመተ፡¹² ተቦ
ቲ፡ ዘአክ፡ ኢይክል፡
ዘነፃተ፡ ክብሩ፡

VII. Filio
suo et Mich-
aeae et reliquis
profetis, di-
cens: 2. In eo
in quo *profeti-
am meam au-
distis¹³, vidi an-
gelum glorio-
sum non secun-
dum gloriam
angelorum,
quos ego sem-
per videbam,
sed clarita-
te(m) magnam
et sanctam ha-
bentem, quam
ego claritatem
exponere non

VII. et Mich-
aeae ceterisque
prophetis di-
cens: 2. Quan-
do prophetavi
auditum, quem
[in] auditum
quem audistis,
vidi angelum
gloriosum non se-
cundum gloriam
angelorum,
quos semper
vidi, sed
quandam
*magnam gloriam¹⁶
et lumen habentem,
quod non
possum noti-

VII. et Mich-
eae et ceteris
prophetis di-
cens: 2. Quan-
do prophetavi
[in] auditum
quem audistis,
vidi angelum
gloriosum, non
secundum gloriam
angelorum
quos semper
vidi; sed quan-
dam *gloriam
magnam¹⁶ lu-
men¹⁷ habentem,
quod non
possum¹⁸ noti-

¹ bc ገብረተ፡
getical note.

² b መፀዛተ፡ Text seems corrupt. See exe-

³ b አውጽእዎሙ፡ ⁴ b ወሰብ፡ ⁵ a om.

⁶ Em. from b ይቤ፡ ac om. Cf. L¹ L² S 'dicens.' ⁷ Em. from ወኮክ፡ Cf. L¹ in eo. In ab ወኮክ፡ ዛቲ፡ are marked off by punctuation from what precedes and connected with what follows.

⁸ b ዘርኢኩ፡ አክ፡ ወ. ⁹ b adds ክብሩ፡ ¹⁰ b ይራእዮሙ፡

¹¹ b trs. ¹² = ἀρχήν (cf. iii. 23) corrupt(?) for ἀγίαν. ¹³ Fuller and more original text in E S L². ¹⁴ Corrupt for audistis as in S E.

¹⁵ S trs. ¹⁶ L² = magnam gloriam et. ¹⁷ = svt : u stō sanctum : ch stū sanctam. ¹⁸ ch mogu : u mogoch potui.

	L ¹	L ²	S
ለዘ፡ መልአክ። 3. ወአዕረገኒ፡¹ ሶባ፡ አሐዘኒ፡ በእ ደዩ፡ ወእቤሉ፡ መ ኑ፡ አገተ፡ ወመኑ፡ ወ-እቱ፡ ስምክ፡ ወ አይቲ፡ ታዐርገኒ፡² እስመ፡ ኃይል፡ *ተወህባ፡ ሊተ፡³ ከመ፡ እትናገር፡ ምስሌሁ። 4. ወ ይቤሰኒ፡ ሶባ፡ አዕ ረገክ፡ [መፃርገ፡]⁴ ወአርአይኩክ፡ ራ እዩ፡ ለዘ፡ ተፈኖክ፡ ሶባ፡⁵ ትሌቡ፡ መኑ፡ አነ ወስም የሰ፡ አታአምር፡⁶ 5. እስመ፡ ሀለወክ፡ ለዘ፡ ሥጋ*ክ፡⁷ ት	possum. 3. *†Et accessit† et tenuit ma- num meam⁸, et *dixi ei⁹: Quis es tu, et quod tibi no- men est, et quo me tolles? Ac- cepi enim viris loquendi cum eo. 4. Et dixit mihi: *Cum te imposuero¹⁰ et ostendero tibi visionem, prop- ter quod ad te missus sum, tunc intelliges quisim, nomen autem meum non dicam tibi¹¹, 5. Eo quod reverta- ris in carnem. Cum¹² enim	ficare. 3. Ac- cipiens¹³ me manu duxit me in altum, et ego dixi: Quis es? quo modo tibi no- men est? et quo [modo] †ave¹⁴† super- fers? Virtus enim data est mihi loqui cum illo. 4. Tunc "respondens" dixit "mihi" Quando te fer- am in altum¹⁵, ostendam tibi visionem, pro qua missus sum [ego, et] tunc scies, quis sum ego. Et nomen meum nescis, 5. Ideo quia vis iter- um reverti in	ficare. 3. †Et† cum accepisset me manu duxit me in altum¹⁶. Egoque dixi: Quis es †tu†? quomodo tibi nomen est? et quo me super- fers? virtus enim mihi data est lo- qui cum illo. 4. Tunc "cum respondisset" dixit¹⁷: Quando *feram te¹⁸ in altum †et† o- stendam tibi visionem pro qua missus sum, tunc scies, quis sum ego. Et nomen me- um nescis. 5. Quia¹⁹ vis iter- um reverti in

¹ Em. from *bc* ወርአክ፡ *a* reads ርአክ፡ Contrast the corruption in viii. 1. S L² support emendation. ² *ab* ተዐርገኒ፡

³ *b* ተወህባ፡ ⁴ L¹ om., also S L². Hence bracketed. ⁵ *b* አምገ፡

⁶ *b* አትምር፡ (sic). ⁷ *b* om. ⁸ Corrupt. Is et accessit =

καὶ ἀνῆλθε corrupt for καὶ ἀνήγαγε? S preserves true text: et cum accepisset me manu duxit me in altum = καὶ λαβὼν με χειρὶ ἀνήγαγεν με. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* ii. 9. ⁹ = E. S L² om. ei. ¹⁰ ὅταν σε ἐναγάγω

where the last word is corrupt for ἀναγάγω. ¹¹ A free rendering.

S (= E) is literal. ¹² So S L². E = quo. ¹³ Read et accipiens

with S E. ¹⁴ Corrupt for me. ¹⁵ Add et with S E.

¹⁶ *ch* alta. ¹⁷ E L² add mihi. ¹⁸ L² trs. ¹⁹ *Za* ne = S.

L¹L²

S

ገባእ፡ ወንበሰ፡ እ
ዐርገክ፡ ትሬኢ፡
*እስመ፡ ለዝ፡ ትሬ
ኖኩ።¹ 6. ወት
ፈግሕኩ፡ እስመ፡
በየውሀት፡ ትናገ
ረኢ። 7. ወይቤ
ሰኒ፡ ትፈግሕኩ፡
እስመ፡ የጥሀ፡² ት
ናገርኩክ፡ ወይቤ፡
ወለዝ፡ የዐ-በየረኒ፡
ትሬኢ፡ ከመ፡ ይ
ዉሀ፡³ ወዕፋፈ፡
ሀሉ፡ *ይትናገር፡
ምሰሌከ⁴ 8. ወ
አባሀ፡⁵ ለዝ፡ የዐ
ሲ፡ ትሬኢ፡ እስመ፡
ለዝ፡ ትፈገውኩ፡ እ
ምሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡
ከመ፡ አብርሀ፡ ለዝ፡
ዘነተ፡ አሉ። 9.
ወዐረገክ፡ ወሰተ፡

sustolero te,
tunc videbis,
*propter hoc
enim missus
sum⁶. 6.
Quonia⁷
simpliciter
mihi respon-
dit⁸: 7. Et
ait mihi:
(*Gavisus es,
quia hilariter
 respondi tibi?
et ait mihi)⁹
et majorem¹⁰
me videbis.
Hilariter et
simpliciter lo-
quetur¹¹ tecum.
8. *Et emin-
torem ipsius
majoris¹² vide-
bis. Propter
hoc enim mis-
sus sum a sep-
timo caelo ut
omnia tibi os-
tendam. 9. [Et

corpus tuum,
et quando te
elevabo, [pos-
tea¹ videbis.
6. Et gavisus
sum, quia man-
sue te respon-
dit¹³. 7. Et dixit
mihi: Gavisus
es, quia humil-
iter¹⁴ respondi
tibi, et major-
em me videbis
[et] *humili-
orem et sapien-
torem¹⁵ volen-
tem loqui tecum
8. [Melio rem
et dulciorem¹⁶;
in hoc enim
missus sum, ut
notificem tibi
omnia haec.
9. Ascendimus

corpus tuum.
Et quando te
elevabo vide-
bis. 6. Et ga-
visus sum quia
mansue te re-
spondit¹⁷ mihi¹.
7. Et dixit mi-
hi: Gavisus es
quia¹⁶ mansue-
te¹⁷ respondi
tibi? Et meli-
orem¹⁸ me
videbis humi-
liorem et sapi-
entorem¹⁹ vo-
lentem loqui
tecum. 8. [Et
majorem ma-
joris, [lucidio-
rem et modes-
torem²⁰; in
hoc enim mis-
sus sum, ut
notificem tibi
*haec omnia²¹.
9. Ascendi au-

¹ SL² om. but L¹ supports.² b የውሃ፡³ b የጥሀ፡⁴ b trs.⁵ b ወአባሀ፡⁶ So E. SL² om.⁷ Et gavisus

sum lost by hmt. before quoniam.

⁸ MS. respondet.⁹ This

clause lost through hmt. I have restored from E.

¹⁰ MS.

majus.

¹¹ MS. loquitur.¹² E = patrem ipsius majorem.¹³ Add mihi with SE.¹⁴ SE = mansue te.¹⁵ See note on

phrase in S.

¹⁶ Za ne = S.¹⁷ L² = humiliter.¹⁸ Cor-rupt for majorem as in L².¹⁹ Mistranslations (?) of ταπεινότερα

καὶ σώφρονα.

²⁰ Seems corrupt.L² = et meliorem et dulciorem.²¹ So E. L² trs.

	L ¹	L ²	S
ምጽናዕ: *እከ: ወ ወ-እቱ: ¹ ወበህዩ: ርእክዎ: ለሰማየ ል: ² ወ*ለ ³ ጋይላ ጊህ: ወሀሉ: ዐቢ ይ: ቀተል: በገዕሌ ሁ: ተወገራተ: ተሰይጣን: ጅ: ሰካ ልክ: ይደናፀፈ:: 10. ወበከመ: በገ ዕሉ: ከማሁ: ³ በ ምድር: እስመ: እምሰሉ: ሰዘ: በ ምጽናዕ: ዘዩ: ወ- ስተ: ምድር: ወ- እቱ: 11. ወእ ቤሉ: ለመልእክ: መንተ: ወ-እቱ: ⁶ ዝደንጽ: 12. ወ ይቤሰኒ: ከመዝ: ወ-እቱ: እምአመ:	sustulit me] ⁷ et ascendi ego (et) ⁸ ipse in [primum] ⁹ solidamentum, et ibi vidi Sam- ael et fortitudi- nem ejus: et fuit in eo bel- lum grande, et angeli satanae simul inviden- tes. 10. Sicut enim susus(s)ic et in terra (for- mae enim ejus, quod in firma- mento, hic sunt in terra) ¹⁰ . 11. Et dixi angelo, "qui fuit mecum" ¹¹ : Quid est bel- lum hoc et quae invidia haec? 12. Et dixit mihi: "Sic est *ex quo secu-	ego et ille super firmamentum, et vidi ibi proe- lium magnum sathanae et virtutem ejus "resistentem honorantiae" ¹² dei ¹¹ , et unus erat praestan- tior alio invidendo; 10. Quia sicut est in ter- ra tanto ¹³ est in firmamento, formae enim firmamenti hic sunt in terra. 11. Et dixi angelo: Quid est hoc bellum et in- vidia "et proe- lium"? 12. Et "respondens" ¹¹ dixit mihi:	tem [et] ego et ille super firmamentum. Et vidi ibi proe- lium magnum satanae et virtutes ¹⁴ ejus [et] "resisten- tem pietati" ¹⁵ et unus *alium invidentes ¹⁶ . 10. (Quia) sicut est in terra ita est et in firma- mento. For- mae enim eo- rum in firma- mento hic sunt in terra. 11. Et dixi angelo: Quid est hoc bellum et in- vidia "et proe- lium"? 12. Et "respondit mi- hi et" ¹⁷ dixit ¹⁷ :

¹ b trs. bef. ወ-ስተ: ² a ለሰማይል: ³ b om. ⁴ Corrupt = καὶ λόγοι, where λόγοι corrupt for ἄγγελοι. So L¹ angeli. b reads ወገረ: ⁵ a ወአላደ: ⁶ Text defective. See exegetical note. ⁷ ESL² om. I have bracketed the words as a doublet of et ascendi ego. ⁸ Supplied from ESL². ⁹ ESL² om. ¹⁰ Lost through hmt, and restored from E. S here agrees with EL¹ against L². ¹¹ Found in Gk. Leg. ii. 10 though lost in E. ¹² = onoranza = auctoritas. ¹³ Read ita as in S. ¹⁴ L² virtutem. ¹⁵ = blagočstiju. L² honorantiae Dei. ¹⁶ L² erat praestantior alio invidendo. ¹⁷ L² respondens dixit mihi.

*ፌድፋድ፡ ክብር፡¹ ሰሙ፡ ወይሴብሐ፡ ዙሎሙ፡ በ*አካዱ፡² ቃል፡ ወመንበር፡ ሀሎ፡ ማእከሉ፡ ወከፊሁ፡ ይሴብሐ፡ ወእሉ፡ በፀጋምሄ፡ ደጋፊሆሙ፡ ወቃሎሙሰ፡ አካ፡ ከመ፡ ቃሉ፡ እሉ፡ በየማን፡ ወአሰብሓትሙ፡ ከመ፡ ስብሓት፡ እልክቸ።
I6. ወተስልልክዎ፡ ለመልእክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ወአቤሎ፡ ለመኑ፡ ዘስብሓት፡ ይትፌኖ። I7. ወይቤሰኒ፡ ውስተስብሓት፡ (ዘሰ)³ ሳብዕ፡ ለማይ፡ ለዘ፡ በቅዱስ፡⁴ ንሰም፡ ያዎ፡ ርፍ፡ ወሰፍቁ፡ እመንበ፡ ተፈነውክ፡ ንቤክ፡ [ህየ፡ ይትፌኖ]።⁶ I8. ወካዕሰ፡ አዕረገኒ፡ ውስተ፡ ኛገም፡ ለማ

ad dextram
enim clarita-
tem magna(m)
habuerunt: et
laudabant om-
nes una voce:
¶et sedes erat
in medio⁷, et a
sinistra postea
benedicebant.
Fuit autem vox
a sinistro non
sicut(a dextro)⁷
¶nec hymnus⁸
erat illis simi-
lis⁷. 16. Et ro-
gavi angelum
qui me duce-
bat, ¶et dixi ei⁷:
Cui mittunt an-
geli hymnos¹⁰?
17. Et dixit
mihi: Gloriam
sedentis septi-
mi caeli, ¶qui
est perpetui
saeculi,⁷ et di-
lecto ejus a quo
missus sum ad
te. 18. Et im-
posuit me (in)
secundum cae-

iam, qui erant a dextris, et cantabant una voce, et illi qui erant a sinistris post illos cum eis^{†11} canticum eorum non erat sicut dextrorum. 16. Et interrogavi angelum ducentem me: Cui canticum istud missum est? 17. Et[†]respondens[†] dixit mihi: "Magnae" gloriae Dei, qui est super septimum coelum, et filio ejus dilecto, unde [ego] missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum elevavit me in

S

* gloriam habebant¹², qui erant a dextris, et cantabant una voce, et illi qui erant a sinistris post illos cantabant, canticum autem¹³ eorum non erat sicut dextrorum. 16. Interrogavi autem angelum ducentem me: Cui canticum istud missum est? 17. Et "cum respondisset" dixit mihi: "Magnae" gloriae Dei quae¹⁴ est super septimum caelum et filio ejus dilecto, unde missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum elevavit me in se-

¹ *ḥ* ḥ-ḥ: ḥ-ḥ: ² *ḥ* ḥ.
with L¹. See exegetical note.

⁶ Bracketed since $L^1 S L^2$ om.

from *hymnus*. Cf. next verse where *hymnos* appears. SL² give *canticum* in both cases. ⁹ So E. SL² om. ¹⁰ MS. *hymnus*.

¹¹ Corrupt for cantabant as in S.

14 L^2 qui.

³ Supplied in accordance

⁴ б нѣтъ; ⁵ а om.

⁷ Supplied from E. ⁸ Em.

ymnos appears. SL^2 give

L² om. ¹⁰ MS. hymnus.

¹² L² trs.

¹³ L² om.

	L ¹	L ²	S
ደ፡ ወልዕልናሁሰ፡ ሰውእቱ፡ ሰማይ፡ ደከውን፡ ከመ፡ ¹ *እምሰማይ፡ ሰ ምድር፡ ² [ወለም ጽናዕ]። ³ 19. ወ (ርእኩ፡ ህዩ፡ ከ መ፡) ⁴ ውስተ፡ ቀ ዳማይ፡ ⁵ ሰማይ፡ *ደምኒ፡ ወጽግ መ፡ ⁶ *መላእክተ፡ ወመንበር፡ ⁷ ማእ ከሰ፡ ⁸ ወ*ስብሓ ተ፡ መላእክተ፡ ⁹ ዘበዳገም፡ ሰማ ይ፡ *ወዘይብር፡ ደበ፡ መንበር፡ በ ዳገም፡ ሰማይ፡ ¹ ክብር፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ሶቱ፡ እምክሉ። ¹⁰	lum, et fuit altitudo caeli qualis a caelo usque ad ter- ram [et ad fir- mamentum] ¹² . 19. Et vidi ibi quomodo vide- ram in primo caelo angelos dextros et sin- istros et sedes media.	*secundo coe- lo ¹³ , *altitudo ejuserat ¹⁴ sicut a primo coelo usque ad ter- ram. 19. Et vidi ibi, sicut in primo coelo, dextros et sin- istros angelos.	cundum cae- lum; *altitu- do autem caeli erat ¹⁶ sicut a primo caelo usque ad ter- ram ¹⁷ . 19. Vi- di autem ibi, sicut in primo caelo dextros et sinistros angelos ¹⁸ .

	L ²	S
20. ወብዙተ፡ ክብር፡ ሀ ሉ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳገም፡ ሰማ ይ፡ ወስብሓተመ፡ ¹¹ ኢ	20. Et *gloria isto- rum angelorum ¹⁵ et canticum excelsiora	20. Et (gloria isto- rum angelorum et) ¹⁹ canticum excelsius

¹ b om. ² a እምድር፡ ሰሰማይ፡ ³ Though found also in L¹ must be excised. S L² rightly om. ⁴ Supplied in accordance with context, L¹ S L². ⁵ b ዳገም፡ ⁶ b በደምን፡ ወበፀገም፡ ⁷ These words in nom. in MSS. but put in acc. owing to change made in preceding line. ac om. መላ". ⁸ b ማእከላ፡ ⁹ bc ስብሐተ፡ ¹⁰ b እምኒሆመ፡ which it reads before ሶቱ፡ ¹¹ b ወስብሐተ፡ ¹² So also E, but should be excised from both. ¹³ Should be acc. as in L¹ S. ¹⁴ See note ¹⁶. ¹⁵ S wrongly om. ¹⁶ = et fuit altitudo caeli of L¹ (E). L² defective: altitudo ejus erat. ¹⁷ Obs. wrong addition of et ad firmamentum in L¹ E. ¹⁸ S defective. See what is required by text in E (L¹). 'Throne' should be mentioned as in E L¹ and probably he that sat on it, as in E, for the former is referred to in ver. 21 of S L² and the latter probably in same ver. in L² adorarem eum. ¹⁹ Supplied from L².

L³

S

ኮክ: ከመ: ስብላተ: እል
ክቱ: ለዘባ: ቀዳማዊ: ሰ
ማይ:: 21. ወወደቆ:
በገዳዩ: ከመ: እስግድ:
ሎቱ: ወዲያይገድ: መል
እክ: ዘይመርሐኒ: አላ:
ይቤሰኒ: ኢትስግድ: *ወ
እለመንበር: ወዲለመል
እክ: ለዘ: እምስድስቱ:
ለማይ: እምነብ: ተፈኒ
ውኩ: እምራኅክ: ዘእን
በሰ: እኩ: እንግርክ: በላ
ብሰ: ሰማይ:: 22. እስ
መ: መልዕልተ: ዙሉ:
ለማያት: ወመላእክቲሆ
ሙ: መንበርክ: ንቡር:
ወአልባሲከኒ: ወአክለል
ከኒ: ዘሀለውክ: ትርአይ::
23. ወተፈግሕኩ: ፍሥ
ሓ: ዐቢያ: እስመ: እሰ:
ያፈቅርዎ: ለልዑል: ወለ

erant quam primo-
rum. 21. Et cecidi
in faciem meam, ut
adorarem eum⁷. Et
non dimisit⁸ me
angelus, qui me in-
struebat, *et dixit
mihi⁹: Noli adorare
angelum, neque
thronum istius coe-
li¹⁰; *propter hoc¹¹
missus sum instru-
ere te, *sed tantum,
quem ego dixero
tibi¹². [Adora simili-
tereum qui est]¹³. 22.
Super omnes ange-
los¹, thronos et super
vestes et coronas,
quas videbis deinceps¹⁴. 23. Et gavi-
sus sum gaudio mag-
no valde, quia talis
est consummatio

erant quam primo-
rum; 21. Et *cum
cecidissem in faciem
meam adoravi eos¹⁵
et non dimisit¹⁶ me
angelus, qui me in-
struebat¹⁷: Noli ado-
rare *neque thro-
num neque ange-
lum¹⁸ *e caelo¹⁹, nam²⁰
propter hoc missus
sum instruere te;
*quem tibi ego dix-
ero²¹ tantum 22.
Super omnes thro-
nos et vestes et
coronas, quem
videbis deinceps.
23. Et gavisus sum
gaudio magno valde,
quia talis²² est con-
summatio scientibus

¹ b om. ² a trs. So L³, but S upholds b. ³ A mis-
translation of ὁθεν. See exegetical note. ⁴ b መልዕልተሆሙ:

⁵ b ወልብስከኒ: ⁶ a ወተፈግሕ: ⁷ So E. S inferior text.

⁸ = ἀφῆκε, which, however, the translator should have rendered by
permisit. ⁹ S wrongly om. ¹⁰ See note 19. ¹¹ So S = ὁθεν

which E renders 'whence.' ¹² Agrees with E. S corrupt.

¹³ Interpolated. ¹⁴ Verse corrupt: E = nam supra omnes coelos

eorumque angelos thronus tuus positus est, et vestes quoque tuae

et corona tua quae videbis. ¹⁵ u = cum cecidissem. ¹⁶ See

note 8. ¹⁷ Add et dixit mihi with L² E. ¹⁸ L² angelum

neque thronum. ¹⁹ L² istius caeli. But E alone seems right =

qui e sex caelis. ²⁰ L² om. ²¹ Corrupt. L² gives

sounder text. ²² Taka: ta ch.

L²

S

ፍቁፋ፣¹ ደጋሪተሙ፡ በ
መልአክ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡
*የዐርጉ፡ ሆኖ፡² 24. ወአ
ዐረገኒ፡ ውስተ፡ ማልስ፡
ሰማይ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ርእሱ፡
እሱ፡ በየማን፡ ወበፀጋም፡
ወበ*ሆየ፡ መንበር፡ ማ
እከሰ፡⁴ ይኑበር፡⁵ ወባ
ሐቸ፡ ዝክፋ፡ ሰዝ፡ ዓለ
ም፡ አይሰመይ፡ በህ
የ፡³ 25. ወእቤሱ፡ ሰመ
ልአክ፡ ዘምስሌ፡ እስመ፡
ይተዋሰጥ፡⁶ ክብር፡ ገድዮ፡
ሶቤ፡ አዐርግ፡⁷ ለሰሰማ
ይ፡ እስመ፡ አልቦ፡ ምን
ተ፡ እምዘክቸ፡ ዓለም፡
ከነተ፡ በዘየ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡
26. ወአውሥአ፡ ወይቤ
ሰ፡⁸ አልቦ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡
በእነተ፡ ደካሙ፡ ወአልቦ፡
ዘይተገባእ፡ *በሆየ፡ ዘ⁹
ይተገበር፡ 27. ወፈቀ
ደኩ፡ እጠይቅ፡ እር፡ ይ
ተአመር፡ ወአውሥአ፡
እነዝ፡ ይብል፡ ሶቤ፡ ው
ስተ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ እም
ነቤ፡ ተፈነውኩ፡ አዐርጉ
ከ፡¹⁰ ውስተ፡ ዘመልዕ
*ልተ፡ እሱ፡ ሶቤ፡ ታአ

scientibus altissi-
mum¹¹ et aeternalem¹¹
et¹¹ dilectum filium
ejus, quia sicut¹¹
*(ab) angelo¹² Sancti
Spiritus sic hi ascen-
dunt in illum. 24. Et
elevavit me super
tertium coelum, et
similiter vidi par-
vum thronum, et
dextros et sinistros
angelos. Memoria
autem istius mundi
illic non nominaba-
tur. 25. Sed transfor-
mabatur gloria mei
spiritus, cum ascen-
debam in coelum, et
dixi: de illo mundo
nihil *nominatur
hic¹³. 26. Et respon-
dens mihi angelus
ait: nihil nominatur
propter infirmitatem
ejus, et nihil abscon-
ditur *illic de illis,
quae¹⁴ facta sunt.

altissimum et¹¹ aeter-
nalem¹¹ dilectum
filium ejus: et si-
cut¹¹ ab angelo Sancti
Spiritus hi illic¹⁶ ex-
eunt¹⁷. 24. Et ele-
vavit me super ter-
tium caelum, et illic¹⁸
similiter vidi par-
vum¹⁹ thronum et
dextros et sinistros
angelos. Memoria
tamen mundi istius
illic non nominaba-
tur. 25. Sed trans-
formabatur gloria
spiritus²⁰ mei, cum
ascendebam in cae-
lum et dixi: nihil
de illo²¹ mundo
*hic nominatur²²?
26. Et respondit
mihi angelus et ait
mihi: nihil nomina-
tur propter infirmi-
tatem ejus nihilque
hic¹⁸ absconditur *de
illis quae²³ facta
sunt²⁴.

¹ b ወለፍቁፋ:² b trs.³ a om.⁴ b ማእከላ:⁵ ac ወዘይኑበር:⁶ b ይተመየጥ:⁷ b አዐርገኒ:⁸ a እነዝ፡ ይብል:⁹ a ዘቤ፡ ዝየ:¹⁰ a አዐርግ:¹¹ S om.¹² Em. with

S E from angeli.

¹³ S E trs.¹⁴ So E. See note ²².¹⁵ L²add et. ¹⁶ Si tamo: ch sila.L² is largely supported by E.

corrupt for μέσον(?) as in E.

²¹ onogo u, togo ch.²² So E. L² trs.²⁴ Greater part of vii. 27 in E is wanting in S L².¹⁷ L² better: ascendunt in illum.¹⁸ L² E om.¹⁹ So L² = μικρόν²⁰ So L². E = faciei or formae.²³ L² (E) illic de illis quae.

L

S

ምር፡ከመ፡እልቡ፡ዘይት
ንባእ፡ለመናብርት፡ወለ
እሱ፡ይብሩ፡ውስተ፡
ለማያት፡¹ ወ*ኢለመላ
እክት፡፡ ወስብሓት፡³ ዘ
ይሱብሐ፡ወክብሩ፡ለዘ
ይብር፡ደቡ፡መንበር፡
የዐቢ፡ወለመላእክት፡
ዘቡ፡የማን፡ወለዘ፡⁴ በፀ
ጋም፡ክብረ፡ፈረዳድ፡
ሎሙ፡⁵ እምስማይ፡ዘእ
ምታሕቲሆሙ፡፡ 28. ወ
ካዕቡ፡አዕረገዚ፡ውስተ፡
ራብዕ፡ለማይ፡ወልዕል
ናሁ፡እምማልሽ፡ለራብዕ፡
ለማይ፡ይፈደፍድ፡⁶ እ
ምድር፡² እስከ፡ምጽ
ናዕ፡፡ 29. ወበህዩ፡ካዕ
ቡ፡ርእኩ፡እሱ፡በየማን፡
ወእሱ፡በፀጋም፡ወዘይ
ብር፡*ደቡ፡መንበር፡²
ሀሎ፡ማእከሉ፡⁷ ወበህዩ፡
ዓዲ፡ይሱብሐ፡፡ 30. ወ
ስብ*ሓት፡ወክብር፡⁸ ዘ
መላእክት፡የማን፡የዐቢ፡
እም*ዘፀጋም፡ 31. ወ
ካዕቡ፡ክብሩ፡ለዘ፡ይነ

27. Et canticum
*cantabant, et glori-
ficabant sedentem⁹,
et iste¹⁰ angelus erat
major secundo. 28.
Et iterum elevavit
me in quartum coe-
lum. Altitudo *ter-
tii coeli¹¹ usque ad
quartum coelum
major erat. 29. Et
ibi vidi thronum et
dextros et sinistros
angelos¹²;

31. Gloria vero se-
dentis melior erat
quam angelorum,

27. Canticum-
que 'quod' canta-
bant et glorificatio
sedentis et angelus
major erat secundo.
28. Et iterum ele-
vavit me in quartum
caelum. *Altitudo
autem a tertio usque
ad quartum caelum¹³
[multo] major erat¹⁴.
29. Et ibi iterum¹⁵
vidi thronum et dex-
tros et sinistros an-
gelos 'et hi iterum
cantabant. 30. Et
gloria et cantus an-
gelorum (dextrorum)
major erat eorum a
sinistris¹⁶, 31. Et
gloria sedentis major
erat quam angelo-

¹ ስማይ፡² ስ om.³ ስ ወስብሐት፡⁴ ስ ወእሱ፡⁵ ላ ሶቹ፡⁶ ላ ፈረዳድ፡⁷ ስ ማእከላ፡⁸ ስ ወክብር፡⁹ Corrupt. See S.¹⁰ S om.¹¹ S E = a tertio.¹² Verses29^b, 30 lost through hmt (?). They are found in S.¹³ u om.¹⁴ S L³ defective. E supplies omission: quam a terra ad firmamentum.¹⁵ So E. L³ wrongly om.¹⁶ L² om. through hmt (?).

I have supplied dextrorum from E.

L²

S

ብር፡ ደቡ፡ መንበር፡ ደፈ.
 ደፍድ፡ እመላእክት፡¹
 እሰ፡ በየማን፡ ወክብር
 መብ፡ ፈድፋድ፡² እምዘ፡
 ታሕቶ፡³ 32. ወኸዐረ
 ገዢ፡ ውስተ፡ ኃምስ፡ ሰማ
 ደ። 33. ወኸዐሰ፡²
 ርእሱ፡ ዘበ፡ የማን፡ ወፀ
 ጋም፡ ወዘይብር፡ ደቡ፡
 መንበር፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ክብረ፡
 ቦቱ፡ እምዘ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማ
 ደ፤ 34. ወክብርመብ፡
 ሰእሰ፡ በየማን፡ ፈድፋድ፡
 እምእሰ፡ በፀጋም፡ [እም
 ሣልስ፡ እስክ፡ ራብዕ፡]⁵
 35. ወኸብሩ፡ ለዘ፡ ውስ
 ተ፡ መንበር፡⁶ የዐቢ፡ እመ
 ላእክት፡ ዘኸብ፡² የማን፡
 36. ወስብሓተመ፡ ኸብ
 ረ፡ ዐቢ፡⁷ ቦቱ፡ እምራ
 ብዕ፡ ሰማደ። 37. ወስ
 ባሕክ፡ ለዘ፡ ኢይሰመደ፡
 ውብሕት፡ ዘኸብ፡² ሰማደ
 ት፡ ደብር፡ ዘስመ፡ ኢት
 ዐውቀ፡⁸ ለኸሱ፡ ዘሥጋ፡
 ለዘ፡ ከመዘ፡ ክብረ፡ ወሀ
 ቤ፡ እምሰማደ፡ ለሰማ
 ደ፡ *ወዘ፡⁹ የዐቢ፡ ክብረ፡

qui erant a dextris,
 et gloria eorum
 similiter superabat
 gloriam inferiorum.
 32. Et ascendi in
 quintum coelum.
 33. Et ibi vidi "an-
 gelos innumerabiles",
 34. Et gloria eorum
 36. Et canticum glo-
 riosius erat quarti
 coeli¹⁰. 37. "Et ego
 miratus sum, tantam
 multitudinem ange-
 lorum videns diver-
 sis bonitatibus ordi-
 natorum¹¹, et sin-
 guli gloriam habentes
 glorificabant¹² ex-
 istentem in alto, cujus
 nomen non est reve-
 latum omni carni,
 quia tantam gloriam
 dat angelis super
 singulos coelos. "Et
 respondens angelus
 dixit mihi: quare

rum, qui erant a
 dextris¹², gloriaque
 eorum similiter su-
 perans (gloriam)
 eorum qui infra.
 32. Et ascendi in
 quintum caelum.
 33. Et ibi iterum¹³
 vidi "angelos"¹⁴ innu-
 merabiles¹⁵, 34. et
 gloria eorum 36. et
 canticum glorio-
 sius¹⁶ quarto caelo.
 37. "Egoque mira-
 tus sum, tantam
 magnam¹³ multitudi-
 nem cum vidissem
 angelorum diversis
 bonitatibus ornato-
 rum¹⁶, singuli gloriam
 suam¹³ habentes, et¹³
 glorificabant¹² exist-
 entem in altitudini-
 bus cujus nomen
 non¹⁷ est revelatum
 omni carni, quia tan-
 tam gloriam dat an-
 gelis super singulos
 caelos. "Et cum re-
 spondisset angelus
 dixit mihi: quare

¹ ሆ እመላእክት፡² b om.³ ሆ ታሕታይ፡⁴ ሆ ወክብር፡ (sic).⁵ I have bracketed these words with Dln. For እስክ፡ b reads ወእስክ፡⁶ ሆ መንበር፡ ⁷ bc ክብር፡ ዐቢ፡ ⁸ ሆ ኢይትዐውቀ፡ ⁹ ሆ ወለዘ፡¹⁰ Mistranslation of τοῦ τετάρτου οὐρανοῦ. Should be quarto caelo (Gesenius). ¹¹ S ornatorum.¹² Sustich: suich a sinistris ch.¹³ L² om. ¹⁴ u legiones. ¹⁵ L² adds erat. ¹⁶ L² ordina-torum. ¹⁷ ch om.

L²

S

መላእክት፡ * ወክብር፡
ፈፈደፍደ፡¹ ለዘ፡ ይ፡
ብር፡ ደብ፡ መንበር።

VIII. ወዓዲ፡ አዕረገ፡
ወ-ስተ፡ አየር፡ ዘላድሰ፡
ሰማይ፡ ወ²ርኢኩ፡ ስብ
ሓተ፡ ዘ*ኢ³ርኢኩ፡ ወ-ስ
ተ፡ ንምስቲ፡⁴ ሰማይ፡
2. *እስመ፡ ርኢኩ፡⁵ መ
ላእክት፡⁶ በዐቢይ፡ ክብር፡
እንዘ፡ ሀለፈ፡ 3. *ወበ³
ህየ፡ ስብሓተ፡ ቅዱስ፡
*ሀሎ፡ ወ³መን[ክ]ር።⁷
4. ወእቤ*ሎ²፡ ለመልእ
ክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ምንተ
ኑዝ፡ ዘኢራኢ፡ እግዚእየ።
5. ወይቤ*ላኒ፡ ኢኮንኩ፡
እኔ፡ እግዚእክ፡ አላ፡ ቢጽ
ክ፡ እነ። 6. ወዓዲ፡ ተስእ
ልክዎ፡⁹ ወእቤሎ፡ ምንተ
*ኑኢ፡ ቢጸ፡ መላእክት።
7. ወይቤ፡ እምሳድሰ፡
ሰማይ፡ መላእክት፡¹⁰ *ዘ³
ፀጋም፡ አልቦቲ፡¹¹ እምይ
እኬ፡ ወኢመንበር፡ ማእከ

miraris de hoc, quod
non sunt unius spe-
ciei? non enim vi-
disti insuperabiles
virtutes et¹² millia
millium angelorum.¹¹
VIII. Et postea as-
sumpsit me in aërem
sexticoeli, et vidi ibi¹³
gloriam "magnam"¹¹,
qualem non vidi in
quinto coelo. 2. Et
aspexi angelum¹⁴ in
gloria magna, 3. "Et
facta virtutum erant
honorabilia et prae-
cedentia"¹¹, canticum
eorum sanctum et
mirabile erat. 4. Et
dixi ad angelum du-
centem me : Quid est
quod video, domine
mi? 5. Et dixit
mihi : Non sum tibi
dominus, sed con-
siliator¹⁵. 7. Et dixit
mihi : De sexto coe-
lo, et hic jam thronus

miratus es de hoc,¹⁶
non isti unius spe-
ciei? Non enim vi-
disti insuperabiles
virtutes millia mil-
lium angelorum.¹¹
VIII. * Iterum vero
elevavit¹⁷ me in aë-
rem sexti caeli, et
vidi gloriam "mag-
nam"¹¹ [super id]¹⁸,
qualem non vidi
in quinto caelo,
2. Nam¹⁹ aspexi an-
gelos²⁰ in gloria
magna. 3. "Ordines
virtutum horrenda-
rum et praeterfluen-
tes"¹¹, canticum vero²¹
eorum sanctum et
mirabile erat. 4. Et
dixi angelo me du-
centi : Quid est, quod
video, domine mi?
5. Et dixit mihi :
Non sum tibi domi-
nus, sed consiliator²².
7. Et [iterum] dixit
mihi de sexto cae-
lo²³ : Thronus non est

¹ b ወክብር፡ ፈፈደ፡² b ወኢ.³ b om.⁴ b ፩.⁵ Em. with S nam aspexi from ሰቤ፡ ዐረገ፡ Contrast corruption in vii. 3.⁶ Em. from መላእክት፡ ⁷ Em. by Dln. from መንበር፡ of MSS.⁸ a om.⁹ b adds እነ፡¹⁰ Em. from ወላዕላ፡ inaccordance with S L².¹¹ b ወአልቦቲ፡¹² S om.¹³ SE om.¹⁴ Read angelos with SE.¹⁵ L² and S = σύμβουλος a corruption of σύνδουλος which E rightly represents : see note on p. 54.¹⁶ L² adds quod.¹⁷ So also E. L² et postea assumpsit.¹⁸ L² E

om.

¹⁹ So also E. L² et.²⁰ So also E. L² angelum.²¹ L² om.²² See note ¹⁵.²³ L² adds et hic jam.

L²

S

ሰ፡ንቡረ፡አባ፡እምነይል፡
 ዘሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ንብ፡
 ይኩበር፡ ዘኢይሰመይ፡
 ወጥፋዩ፡¹ ዘሰሙ፡ ኢተዐ
 ወቀ፡² ወኢክሎሙ፡ ሰማ
 ያት፡ ስጥ፡ አእምሮ፡ ኢይ
 ክሉ፤ 8. እስመ፡ ወእቶ፡
 *ሀሉ፡ ባሕቲቶ፡³ ዘ*ሰ፡
 ቃሉ፡ ክሎሙ፡ ሰማያት፡
 ወመናብርት፡ ያወሥኡ።
 ተነጻልኩኬ፡ አከ፡⁴ ወተፈ
 ኖኩ፡ ከመ፡ አዕርገ፡⁵ ዘዩ፡
 ከመ፡ ትርአይ፡ ዘነተ፡
 ስብሓተ፡ 9. ወትርአይ፡
 እግዚአሙ፡ ለ*እሙንቶ፡
 ሰማያት፡ *ክሎሙ፡ ወዘ⁶
 እሉ፡ መናብርት፡ 10. እ
 ንዘ፡ ይትዌለጥ፡ እስከ፡
 ይከውን፡ በከመ፡ ራእይ
 ከመ፡ ወበከመ፡ እምሳሌ
 ከመ። 11. አንሰኬ፡
 እብሰከ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እስ
 መ፡ በሥጋ፡ ዝክቶ፡⁷ ዓለ
 ም፡ ዘሀለወ፡ ብእሲ፡
 ይግባእ፡⁸ *ወኢዐርገ፡ ወ
 ኢርአዩ፡⁹ ወኢለበወ፡¹⁰
 ዘአንተ፡ ለበውከ፡¹¹ ወ
 *ዘሀለወከ፡¹¹ ትርአይ፡

non est, nec sinistri
 angeli, sed de virtute
 septimi coeli ordina-
 tionem habent, ubi
 est dives¹² filius dei.
 8. Et omnes coeli et
 angeli ejus audiunt
 eum, et ego missus
 sum assumere te huc,
 ut videas gloriam ist-
 tam 9. Et domi-
 num omnium coelo-
 rum et angelos ejus
 et virtutes. 11. Di-
 co autem tibi, Ysaia,
 nemo in carne illius
 mundi volens con-
 verti, vidit, quae tu
 vides, neque videre
 potest, quae¹³ tu vi-
 disti¹⁴,

nec sinistri angeli,
 sed de virtute sep-
 timi caeli *adminis-
 trati sunt¹⁵ ubi est
 celebrer¹⁶ ille et uni-
 genitus¹⁷ filius ejus¹⁸
 8. Et omnes caeli et
 angeli ejus audiunt
 (eum). Ego vero mis-
 sus sum assumere te
 huc, ut videas glor-
 iam istam 9. Et
 dominum omnium
 caelorum et angelos¹⁹
 et virtutes. 11. Di-
 co²⁰ tibi, Isaia, nemo
 in carne *mundi il-
 lius²¹ volens con-
 verti homo²² †visio-
 nem, quam†²³ tu vi-
 des neque videre
 potest quod tu *vi-
 surus es²⁴,

¹ b ወጥፋይ፡² bc ኢይተዐወቅ፡³ b trs.⁴ b om.⁵ b አዕርገ፡⁶ b ወለክሉ፡ ወለ.⁷ b ዝነቶ፡⁸ I have

trs. ዘኢርአዩ፡ ወኢዐርገ፡ as above, changing H into ወ after Gk. Leg.
 ii. 29 οὐδέις . . . ἀνέβη οὐδέ εἶδεν. b om. H before ኢርአዩ፡

⁹ Should be trs. to beginning of verse 12 and take the place of ወ.

¹⁰ b ትራኢ፡ c ርአከ፡ ¹¹ b adds ዓዩ፡ ¹² See note, p. 54. ¹³ Ed.

Ven. quē. S quod. ¹⁴ S (E) visurus es. ¹⁵ L² ordinationem

habent. ¹⁶ ch imenitity፡ u imenimyī. L² dives. ¹⁷ L² om.

¹⁸ L² Dei. ¹⁹ L² adds ejus. ²⁰ L² adds autem. ²¹ L² E trs.

²² So also E. L² om. ²³ Read vidit quae with L² E. ²⁴ So

also E. L² vidisti.

L²

S

12. እስመ፡ሀሰወክ፡በመ
ክፈልተ፡¹ እግዚእ፡² [በ
ክፍሉ፡ዐፀ፡]³ ትምጃእ፡⁴
ዝዩ፡ [ወእምሀዩ፡ወእቱ፡
ንደሉ፡ሰላድሱ፡ሰማይ፡
ወሰክዩር]⁵። 13. ወእ
ዐቢደክዎ፡ በስብሐት፡
ሰእግዚእዩ፡ እስመ፡በመ
ክፈልተ፡ ዚህ፡ ዝዩ፡
እመጽእ። 14. ወደቤ፡
ስማዕኬ፡ ዓዲ፡ ዘንተ፡
እምነብ፡ ቢጽክ፡ ሰብ፡
*እምነብ፡ ሥጋ፡ *እም
ክረ፡እምሳክ፡⁷ ዐረገ፡⁸ ዝዩ፡
*አማ፡ ልብሰ፡ ትነሥእ፡
ዘአንተ፡⁹ ትራኤ፡ ወሳዕ
ዳነ፡ ጉሉቃን፡¹⁰ ንሱራን፡
አልባስ፡ ትራኤ 15. ወ
አማ፡ ዐረዩ፡ ትከውን፡
*ሰ¹¹መላእክት፡ *ሰ⁶ዘ፡
*ሰ⁶ላብዐ፡ ሰማይ። 16.
ወአዐረገ፡ ወስተ፡ሳድሱ፡
ሰማይ፡ ወአልቦቱ፡ ዘብ፡
ፀጋም፡ ወእመነበረ፡ ማ
እክሰ፡ አላ፡ ዙሉሙ፡
አሐዱ፡¹² ራእዮሙ፡ ወ

12. Ideo quia tibi
est in sorte domi-
ni venire huc. 13.
*Et ego magnificavi
mecantans domino¹³,
quia in sorte ejus am-
bulo. 14. Et dixit
mihi : quando rever-
sus fueris per volun-
tatem patris, tunc
vestem tuam reci-
pies, 15. Et tunc
eris aequalis angelis,
qui sunt in sexto¹⁴
coelo. 16. Et as-
sumpsit me in sex-
tum coelum, et thro-
nus jam non erat
illic¹⁵ nec dextri¹⁵ nec
sinistri angeli, sed
habebant omnes
unam speciem et

12. Ideo quia tibi
est in sorte
domini venire huc.
13. *Magnificavi au-
tem dominum meum
cantans¹⁶, quia in
sorte ejus abeo¹⁷.
14. Et dixit mihi :
quando *ecarne huc¹⁸
reversus fueris per
voluntatem patris,
tunc *recipies ves-
tem¹⁹, 15. Et tunc
[tu] eris aequalis
angelis, qui sunt
in septimo caelo.
16. Et assumpsit me
in sextum caelum.
Et thronus illic jam
non erat¹⁵ nec dex-
tri²⁰ nec sinistri an-
geli, sed omnes habe-
bant unam speciem

¹ *a* በክፈልተ፡ (sic).

² *b* እግዚአብሔር፡

³ An explana-

tory gloss.

⁴ *b* ትመጽእ፡

⁵ A gloss based on misunder-

standing of viii. 7.

⁶ *b* om.

⁷ Em. from ከር፡ እምሳክ፡

መንፈስ፡ (= alieno Deus Spiritus) of *b* in accordance with S L² = per voluntatem Dei. *a* reads ከር፡ እመልክ፡ መንፈስ፡ (= alieno ab angelo Spiritus). The form of the middle word of *a* is secondary, due to a wrong insertion of መንፈስ፡ (= Spiritus).

⁸ *b* አዐረገ፡

⁹ *b* ከመ፡ ትንግእ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዘ.

¹⁰ *a* ጉሉቃን፡ *b* ጉሉቋን፡ This and the

adjoining words should be in the acc. as the object of ትራኤ፡

¹¹ *b* ምስሰ፡

¹² *b* ጿ.

¹³ S E have the better text.

¹⁴ Corrupt

for septimo.

¹⁵ Interpolated (?). See note ²⁰.

¹⁶ So also E.

¹⁷ L² ambulo.

¹⁸ So also E. L² om.

¹⁹ E = vestem accipies

quam tu vides.

²⁰ Interpolated (?). E om. rightly. See viii. 7.

L²

S

ስብሐተሙ፡ ዕዲ፡፡
 17. ወተውህበኒ፡ ወሰባ
 ሕክ፡ አነ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡
 ወዘክኒ፡ መልአክ፡ ወኮ፡
 ስብሐተክ፡¹ ከመ፡ ዘአሆ
 ሙ፡፡ 18. ወበህዩ፡ ተደ
 ሎሙ፡ ይስምዩ፡ ለቀዳ
 ማዊ፡ አብ፡ ተ²ወለፍቀዱ፡³
 [ለክርስቲስ፡]⁴ ወለመነፈ.
 ስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ደሴሙ፡ በ*አ
 ሐዱ፡⁵ ቃል፡ 19. ወኢ
 ኮ፡ በከመ፡ ቃሎሙ፡ ለዘ፡
 ውስተ፡ ነምስቱ፡ ሰማያ
 ት፡ መላእክት፡⁶ 20. [ወ
 ኢ*በከመ፡ ነቢሎሙ፡]⁸
 አባ፡ ባዕድ፡ ቃል፡ ሆሎ፡
 ህዩ፡ ወ*በዘኑ፡ ብርሃኑ፡⁹
 ሆሎ፡ ህዩ፡፡ 21. ወሶቤሃ፡
 እንዘ፡ ሆሎክ፡ ውስተ፡
 *ላድስ፡ ሰማይ፡¹⁰ እም
 ሰልክ፡ ጽልመተ፡ ዝክ፡
 ብርሃናተ፡ ዘርእክ፡ ው
 ስተ፡ ነምስቱ፡ ሰማያት፡፡
 22. ወተፈግሕክ፡ ወሰባ
 ሕክ፡ ለዘ፡ ከመዝ፡ ብር

canticum aequale.
 17. Et datum est
 mihi, ut ego canerem
 cum eis, et angelus,
 "qui erat mecum"⁷,
 et ego fuimus tales,
 sicut gloria eorum,
 "et gloria eorum erat una"⁸.
 18. Et glorificabant
 patrem omnium et
 dilectum filium ejus
 et Sanctum Spiritum.
 Omnes uno ore
 19. "Cantabant,"⁹ sed
 non tali voce quali
 in quinto coelo,
 20. Sed alia voce, et
 lumen magnum erat
 "ibi". 21. Et quando
 eram in sexto coelo,
 existimabam lumen,
 quod "erat" in
 quinto coelo, tenebras
 esse. 22. Gavisus
 sum valde et

et canticum eorum¹¹
 aequale. 17. Et datum
 est mihi ut et¹¹
 ego canerem cum eis,
 et angelus, "qui erat
 mecum"¹², (et ego)¹³
 fuimus¹³ sicut gloria
 eorum, "et gloria
 eorum"¹⁴ erat una¹⁵.
 18. Et glorificabant
 patrem omnium et
 dilectum filium¹⁵ et
 Sanctum Spiritum.
 Omnes uno ore
 19. "Cantabant,"¹⁶ sed
 non tali¹⁶ qualem
 habebant in *quinto
 caelo¹⁷, 20. sed alia
 voce et lumen magnum
 erat¹⁸. 21. Et
 quando eram in sexto
 caelo, existimabam
 lumen, quod in quinto
 caelo, tenebras
 esse. 22. Et¹⁹ gavisus
 sum valde et

¹ *b* ወስብሐተኒ፡ ² The passage obelized seems corrupt for glorificabant patrem omnium of S L². *b* trs. ደሴሙ፡ ይስምዩ፡ We should with *c* om. ለቀዳማዊ፡፡ next for ይስምዩ፡ read ይሰብሑ፡ and placing ደሴሙ፡ after አብ፡ we should read ይሰብሑ፡ ለአብ፡ ደሴሙ፡ 'they praised the Father of all.' ³ *bc* ወለፍር፡ ⁴ Interpolated as in ix. 5, on which see exegetical note. ⁵ *b* ኢ. ⁶ *b* trs. before ለዘ፡ and prefixes ለ. ⁷ *b* om. ⁸ A doublet? For ነቢ" *b* reads ነቢሎሙ፡ ⁹ *b* trs. ¹⁰ *bc* ኢ ሰማያት፡ ¹¹ L² om. but E supports. ¹² Supplied from L². ¹³ L² adds tales. ¹⁴ Supplied from L². Lost through hmt. ¹⁵ L² adds ejus. ¹⁶ L² adds voce. ¹⁷ E has 'five heavens.' ¹⁸ Add ibi with L² E. ¹⁹ L² om. against S E.

L²

S

ሃናት፡ ጸገው፡ ለእሱ፡ ይጸ
ገኙ፡ ተስፋሁ። 23. ወ
አስተብቃፀክም፡ ለመልአክ
ክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ከመ፡
እምይእኩ፡ አይገባኝ።¹
ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘሥጋ።
24. እብለክሙኩ፡ ሕዝ
ቅያሴ፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡ ወል
ድዩ፡ ወሚክያሴ፡ ከመ፡
ብዙኅ፡ ጽልመት፡ ሀሉ፡
ዝየ።² 25. መልአክ፡
ዘይመርሐኒ፡ አእመረ፡
ምንት፡ ሐሰይኩ፡ ወይቤ፡
ወእመ፡³ ተፈግሕክ።⁴
በዝ፡ ብርሃኖት፡⁵ *ተፈግ
ሕክ፡ እፎ።⁶ ፈድፋድ፡
*በላብሰሰ፡ ሰማይ፡ ሶብ፡
ትሬኡ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ንብ፡
እገዛእ፡ ሀሉ፡ ወፍቁፋ።⁷
[እምንብ፡ ተፈፈውኩ፡ ዘ
ሀሉ፡ ይተሰህል፡ ውስተ፡
ዓለም፡ ወልድ። 26. እ
ተከሥተ፡ ዘሀሉ፡ ይኩን፡
ውስተ፡ ዘይማስክ፡ ዓለ
ም።]⁸ ወአልባሰኒ፡ መመ
ናብርት፡⁹ ወአክሊላት፡⁹
*ዘንቡራን፡ ለጻድቃን፡
ለእሱ፡ ይተሕመኩ፡ በዝኩ፡

cantavi donanti *tale
gaudium¹⁰ recipien-
tibus misericordiam¹¹
ejus. 23. Et rogavi an-
gelum instruente
me, ut exinde non re-
verterer ad mundum
illum carnalem.
24. Dico autem vo-
bis, quod multae
tenebrae sunt hic.
25. Angelus vero
instruens me dixit
mihi : Quod es gavi-
sus de isto lumine,
quanto magis gau-
debis et exultabis,
quando videbis lu-
men septimi coeli,
in quo sedet coelestis
pater et unigenitus
filius ejus, 26. Ubi
exercitus¹² et throni

cantavi donanti ta-
lia¹³ recipientibus
misericordiam ejus.
23. Et rogavi an-
gelum instruente
me, ut exinde non
reverterer in mun-
dum istum carna-
lem. 24. Dico au-
tem vobis, quod mul-
tae tenebrae sunt hic.
25. Angelus vero
instruens me dixit
mihi : Quod¹⁴ es ga-
visus de isto lumine,
quanto magis gau-
debis et exultabis
quando videbis lu-
men +caeli justo-
rum¹⁵ ubi sedet
*caelestis pater et
unigenitus ejus
filius¹⁶, 26. Ubi ex-
ercitus¹⁷ et throni et

¹ a አይገባኝ፡² a adds ወጽልመት፡ ብዙኅ፡³ a adds በዝ፡

a slip of the scribe.

⁴ b om.⁵ b ብርሃናት፡⁶ This order ofእፎ፡ after the verb it introduces is found in Mt. vi. 23. For ተፈ" b reads ተፈግሕክ፡ We should emend into ትተፈግሕክ፡ ⁷ b ወዘፍር፡ (sic).⁸ Bracketed as an interpolation. See exegetical note in loc.⁹ b adds ሊ.¹⁰ S = talia.¹¹ Ed. Ven. mīam.¹² See note 17.¹³ L² tale gaudium.¹⁴ č'to jako.¹⁵ Cor-rupt for septimi caeli as in L². E = lumen in septimo caelo.¹⁶ E = Dominus et Dilectus ejus.¹⁷ = σόλοι corrupt for

στολαί = vestes as in E. See ix. 2. (So already Gesenius.)

L²

S

እግዚእ: ለዘ: በራእይክ
መ: ይወርድ: እስመ:
ብርሃን: ዘህየ: ዐቢይ:
ወመንክር:: 27. ወለ
ኢገባእትከሰ: ውስተ: ሥ
ጋ: ዓዲ: መዋዕለክ: ኢተ
ፈጸማ: ለመጸእ: ዝየ::
28. ወስሚዕየ: ሐዘክክ:
ወይቤ: ኢተ ሐዘክ::

et coronae jacent
justis. 27. Et de
illo te non reverti in
carnem tuam, non
est tempus expletum
veniendi huc. 28.
Et audiens haec tris-
tatus sum valde¹⁰.

coronae jacent justis
27. Et *de illo te non
reverti¹³ in carnem
tuam, nondum¹⁴ est
tempus expletum¹⁵
veniendi huc.
28. (Et)¹⁶ *haec au-
diens¹⁷ tristatus sum
valde. 'Et dixit mi-
hi: Ne tristaris¹⁸
[neve sis morosus].

IX. ወወሰይኒ: ውስተ:
እየር: ዘላብዕ: ለማይ:
ወዓዲ: ለማዕክ: ቃለ:
እንዘ: ትብል:² እስከ:
አይቲ: ሀለዎ: ይዕረግ:
ዘበ:³ ተከራን:⁴ ተይ
ብር: ወፈራህክ: ወርዑ
ይ: ኮንክ:: 2. ወ[ይቤ
ሰኒ:]⁵ ሰበ: ርዕይ: ኮንክ:
ኒዋ: እምህየ:⁶ *ካልእተ:
ቃለ:⁷ ለማዕክ:⁸ እንዘ:
ትተፈዎ: ወይብል: ይተ
ንደግ: ይዕረግ:⁹ ዝየ: ቅዱ

IX. Et assumpsit
me in aërem septimi
coeli, et audiui vocem
dicentem "mihi":
Usque quo volens in
carne vivere *venis
huc¹¹? Et timui
valde et tremefactus
sum. 2. "Iterum" que
audiui¹² vocem dicen-
tem: noli prohibere
eum, ut intret, "dig-

IX. Et assumpsit¹⁹
me in aërem septimi
caeli. Et audiui vo-
cem dicentem "mi-
hi": *Usque quo in
carne volens vivere
ascendit²⁰? Et timui
valde et tremefactus
sum. 2. Et "iterum"
"aliam" vocem audiui
dicentem: Nolite
prohibere (eum)²¹

¹ ሕ አተፈጸመ:² ሕ ይብል:³ ሕ ዝዘበ:⁴ Corrupt.See exegetical note *in loc.*⁵ Bracketed as an interpolation,being against S L² and context.⁶ Text gives wrong sense.See exegetical note *in loc.*⁷ MSS. ካልእተ: ቃለ:⁸ Em. withS L² audiui from መጽአት: Cf. for this and next three words*Gk. Leg. ii. 23 ἡκουσα φωνῆς . . . πεμπομένης καὶ λεγούσης.*⁹ ሕ om.¹⁰ L² defective here. See S *in loc.*

owing to interpolation of preceding mihi. Venit huc goes back to

ἀναβαίνει ὧδε of *Gk. Leg. ii. 23*. Thus S E here agree togetheragainst L² *Gk. Leg. ii. 23*.¹³ Add aliam from S E.¹⁸ = περὶ

τοῦ σε μὴ ἀνελθεῖν.

¹⁴ = E.¹⁵ končasja: expleri kon-

catisja u.

¹⁶ Added from L² E.¹⁷ L² trs. E om. haec.¹⁸ So E but that it om. mihi.¹⁹ vŭznese: v'zved *ch*.²⁰ = E,but see L².²¹ Added from L².

L²

S

ስ: ኢሳይያስ: እስመ: ዝዩ: ውእቱ: ልብሱ::
 3. ወተስእልክዎ: ለመል: አክ: ዘምስሌ: ወእቤ: መኑ: *ውእቱ: ዘክልአረ: ወመኑ:¹ ውእቱ: ዘተ: መደጠኒ:² ከመ: እዕ: ረፖ:: 4. ወደቤሊ: ዘክልአክ:³ ዝውእቱ: ዘ: ዲቤ:⁴ ስብተ: ስድስቱ: ሰማይ፤ 5. ወ*ዘተመ: ደጠኑ: ዝውእቱ: እፖ: ዘእክ: [እፖዚአብሔር: እፖዚአ:¹ ክርስቲስ: ዘህ: ሎ: ይተበህል: *ውስተ: ዓለም:¹ ኢየሱስ:]⁵ ወስ: ሞስ: ኢትክል: ሰሚዐ: እስክ: እም*ዘ: ሥጋ: ተዐርፖ:: 6. ወአዕረገኒ: ውስተ: ሳብዕ: ሰማይ: ወርኢክ: በህዩ: ብርሃኒ: መንክረ: ወመላእክቲኒ: ዘእንበለ: ንልቀ:: 7. ወበህዩ: ርኢክ: ዲድ: ቃኒ:⁶ ክሎመ: ዘእምአ: መ: አዳም፤ 8. ወበህዩ: ርኢክዎ: ለአቤል: ቅዱስ: ወለክሎመ: ዲድቃን፤ 9. ወበህዩ: ርኢክዎ: ለሂ: ኖክ: ወለክሎመ: እለ: ምስሌሁ: እለ: ዐርቁ:

nus est enim gloria dei,⁷ hic enim est stola. 3. Et interrogavi angelum, qui erat mecum: Quis est prohibens mihi? et quis est praeci- piens mihi ascen- dere? 4. Et dixit mihi: Prohibens⁷ est, qui est super cantantes angelos sexticoeli,⁷ angelus⁷. 5. Et praeci- piens⁸ est filius Dei, et no- men ejus non potes audire, donec de carne⁹ exhibis. 6. Quando nos ascendi- mus in septimum coelum, vidi ibi lumen mirabile⁷ et an- gelos innumerabiles. 7. Et justos vidi quos- dam. 9. Exutos stolis

ut intret, "dignus Deo"¹⁰; hic enim est stola. 3. Et inter- rogavi angelum, qui erat mecum: Quis est prohibens mihi? (et)¹¹ quis est [iterum] praeci- piens mihi a- scendere? 4. Et dixit mihi: Prohibens igitur¹², qui (est)¹¹ super cantantes (angelos)¹¹ sexticaeli, "angelus,"⁷ 5. Et praeci- piens [tibi iste] est filius Dei, et nomen ejus non potes audire, donec de carne [tua] exhibis 6. [Et] ut ascendimus in sep- timum caelum, [et] vidi ibi lumen mira- bile⁷ et angelos in- numerabiles, 7. Et iustos vidi quosdam 9.* Exeuntes e¹³ stolis

¹ b om.² A false rendering of ὁ ἐπιτρέπων. See *Gk. Leg.*

ii. 24.

³ b ዘክልአክ:⁴ Em. from ዘዲቤህ: Cf. *Gk. Leg.*

ii. 25 ὁ ἐφεστὼς τῶν ὕμνων.

⁵ An interpolation: see exegetical

note in loc. b trs. እፖዚአክ: እፖዚአብሔር:

⁶ a reads ዲድቃን: and

trs. after ክሎመ:

⁷ Add tibi from E.⁸ Add tibi from S E.⁹ Add tua from S E.¹⁰ See longer form in L². Cf. Rev. iii. 4.¹¹ Added from L².¹² L² est. We should have tibi est

according to E.

¹³ L² exutos.

L^a

S

እምል*ብሰተ: ሥጋ: ወርእክምሙ: በልብሰተ ሙ: ዘላዕሉ: ወእሙን ጉሰ: ሀሰዉ: ከመ: መላ እክት: እሰ: ህዩ: ይቀው ሙ: በስብሓት: ዐቢይ: 10. ወባሕቱ: ውስተ: መናብርተሙ:² እነበሩ: ወእክሊላት:³ ስብሓተ ሙ:⁴ አህሉ: ላዕሌሆሙ: 11. ወተስእልክም: ለመል እክ: ዘምስሌዩ: እፎ: ዘእ ልባሰ:⁵ ነሥኡ: *ወበመና ብርተሰ: ወበእክሊላት: አህሰዉ⁶: 12-13. ወ ይቤሰኒ: እክሊላት:⁷ ወ መናብርተ: ክብር:⁸ እነ ሥኡ: ይእኬ:⁹ እስከ: ይወርድ: ፍቁር: በራእ ይ: ዘተግላዩ: እንዘ: ይወርድ: [ይወርድኩ:] *ውስተ: ዓለም:¹⁰ በደ ኃፊ: መዋዕል: [እንዘእ: ዘህሉ: ይተሰህል: ክርስ ተስ:] ወባሕቱ: ይግላዩ: ወደክምሩ: መናብርተ: እይ:¹⁰ ዘአሆሙ: ወእክ ሊላት: እይ:¹⁰ እምድጎረ: ወረድ:¹⁰ ወኮከ: በከመ:

carnalibus et existen-
tes in stolis excel-
sis, et erant in glo-
ria magna stantes.
10. Sed in thronis
suis non sedebant,
coronae autem glor-
iae¹¹ non erant super
eos. 11. Et inter-
rogavi angelum "et
dixi¹²: quare stolas
receperunt? et
thronos et coronas
"gloriae¹³ non rece-
perunt¹²? 12-13. Et
dixitque mihi "ange-
lus: Non receperunt¹²
modo, donec¹³ filius
hic primum†istos
introducet thronos
et coronas, quando†¹⁴

carnalibus et exis-
tentes in stolis excel-
sis, et erant in glo-
ria magna stantes:
10. Sed in thronis
suis non sedebant,
coronae autem glor-
iae "eorum¹ non¹⁵
erant super eos. 11.
Et interrogavi ange-
lum "et dixi¹²: Quare
stolas receperunt, et
thronos "gloriae¹³ et
coronas non recipi-
unt¹⁶? 12-13. Et
dixit mihi: Non re-
cipiunt eos nunc,
donec descendet
filius Dei hic pri-
mum: sciunt tamen
quorum sunt throni
eorum et cujus¹⁷ coro-
nae quando descen-

¹ a om.² bc መናብርተሆሙሰ:³ bc ወእክሊሊ:⁴ b adds ሂ.⁵ b ዘልብሰ:⁶ b ወመናብርተሰ:⁷ ወእክሊላት: አህሉ: ላዕሌሆሙ:⁷ a እክሊላት:⁸ b ክብር:⁹ After there follows in the MSS.

ወባሕቱ: . . . ወእክሊላት: እይ: but wrongly as this sentence has its
right place after ይተሰህል: ክርስተስ: In the above text I have
restored it to its right position. See exegetical note for details.
The bracketed clauses are interpolations. ¹⁰ b om. ¹¹ Add

eorum from S E.

¹² S recipiunt.¹³ Add descendetfrom S E. ¹⁴ Corrupt and defective. See S and E. ¹⁵ uom. ¹⁶ E=receperunt.¹⁷ koego: koe u, ch.

L¹

S

ራእይክሙ፡¹ ወያመስል
ዎ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወሰብእ፡ ውእ
ቸ። 14. ወያሰፍሕ፡
እምላክ፡ ዘዘኩ፡ ዓለም፡
*እዶ፡ ደባ፡ ወልዱ፡²
*ወያሰቅልዎ፡ ደባ፡ ዐፀ፡³
*ወያወርዱ፡ [እደዋሆ
ሙ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡]⁴ *እንዘ፡
ኢዶእምኒ፡ መኑ፡ ውእ
ቸ።⁵ 15. ወከመዘ፡ ር
ደቱ፡ በከመ፡ አንተ፡ ትራ
ኢ፡ ለሰማያት፡ የኑብሕ
ሙ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይትዐወቅ፡
መኑ፡ ውእቸ። 16. ወሶ
ባ፡ ሰረቅ፡ ለመልእክ፡ ሞ
ት፡ ወየዐርግ፡ በማልስት፡
ወይብር፡ ውስተ፡ ዝክ፡
ዓለም፡ [ነምስተ፡ ምእተ፡
ወአርብ፡ ወነምስተ፡]⁶
መዋዕለ 17. ወአሜን፡
የዐርጉ፡ እምዲድቃን፡ ብ
ዚኃን፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ዘመን
ፈሶሙ፡⁷ *አልባሰ፡ ኢ፡⁸
ነሥኡ፡ እስከ፡ የዐርግ፡ እግ

erit in specie vestra,
14. Et princeps
mundi illius exten-
det manum suam
in filium 'dei', [et
occidet illum]³ et
suspendet illum in
ligno et occidet ne-
sciens, qui sit. 15.
Et descendet 'in in-
fernum, et eum de-
sertum ponet et om-
nes visiones inferni,
16. Et apprehendet'⁹
principem mortis, et
depraedatum eum
ponet, 'et conteret'¹⁰
omnes virtutes ejus',
et surget tertia die,
17. Habens quos-
dam justos secum,
'et mittet suos prae-
dicatores in univer-

det et erit in specie
vestra¹¹. 14. Et prin-
ceps mundi illius†
propter filium ejus
extendet manus suas
in eum†¹² et sus-
pendent¹³ illum in
ligno, et*occidet eum
nesciens¹⁴ qui sit.
15. Et descendet 'in
infernium et nuda
et deserta ponetur
visio, 16. Appre-
hendetque'¹⁵ prin-
cipem mortis cap-
tivum¹⁶ 'et con-
teret omnem virtu-
tem ejus' et surget
tertia die, 17. Ha-
bens quosdam justos
*secum 'et mittet
suos praedicatores'¹⁷

¹ b ርእከ፡² Em. by Dln. from በእደ፡ ወልዱ፡³ b om.

⁴ I have trs. these words from their place in the MSS. before ወያሰቅልዎ፡ ደባ፡ ዐፀ፡ to their right place after it, as in SL². Further ያወርዱ፡ = ἐκτενοῦσι (cf. 2 Kings vi. 7; Ecclus. xxxiv. 18), a manifest corruption of κτενοῦσι፡ cf. SL² occidet. Whether እደዋሆሙ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ was added by the Ethiopic translator or already found interpolated in G¹ we cannot say. ⁵ b ፪፻፲፱፻፪.

An interpolation: see exegetical note *in loc.* ⁶ a ዘመንፈሶሙ፡ bc ዘበመንፈሶሙ፡ ⁷ b ወአልሲሆሙ፡ (sic), c አልባሰሙ፡ ኢ. ⁸ An obvious interpolation.

⁹ Gives excellent sense. Visiones = φαντάσματα.

¹⁰ Ed. Ven. conterret.¹¹ See fuller form in E of verses 12-13.¹² Corrupt. L² here correct: cf. E.¹³ L² suspendet. Plural

seems right: cf. E.

¹⁴ Better read occident eum nescientes as

implied by E.

¹⁵ Very corrupt. L² very superior.¹⁶ L² et

depraedatum eum ponet. This is right: cf. E.

¹⁷ u om.

L¹

S

ዚእ፡ [ክርስቲስ፡] ወየዐር
ጉ፡ ምስሌሁ፡፡ 18. እሚ
ሃክ፡ ይሥሉ፡ [እልባሰ
ሙ፡ ወ] መናብርትሙ፡²
ወአክሊላቲሆሙ፡ ሰባ፡
ወስተ፡ ላብዐ፡ ሰማይ፡
ዐርገ፡ ወእቲ፡፡ 19. ወ
እቤሉ፡ ዘተስእልክዎ፡ ወ
ስተ፡ ሣልስ፡ ሰማይ፡
20. ተወይቤላ፡ ተ³ክሉ፡
በዘክቲ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘይትገ
በር፡ በዘክ፡ ይትዐወቅ፡፡
21. ወእነዘ፡ ዓዲ፡ እት
*ናግር፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ሳዋ፡
እሐዱ፡⁵ እመላእክት፡ እ
ሰ፡ ይቐውሙ፡⁶ ስቡሕ፡
ፈደፋደ፡ እምስብሓቲ፡
በዘክ፡ መልእክ፡ ሰዘ፡
እምዓለም፡ አዕርገ፤፡
22. ወአርአየ፡ መዳሕፍ
ት፡ [ወአክ፡ ከመ፡ መዳሕ
ፍት፡ ዘግለም፡]⁸ ወፈት
ሖሙ፡ ወመዳሕፍት፡
ጽሑፍ፡ ሀሉ፡⁹ ወአክ፡
ከመ፡ መዳሕፍትዝ፡¹⁰ ዓለ
ም፡፡ ወወሀበ፤¹¹ ወአን
በብክዎን፡¹² ወነዋ፡ ምግ
ባራቲሆሙ፡ ሰውሉደ፡

sum orbem terra-
rum¹ et ascen-
det in coelos ; 18. Tunc recipient isti
thronos suos et coro-
nas. 19. Et "post
haec verba¹ dixi
illi : De quo te in-
terrogavi in primo
coelo, 20. Ostende
mihi, "hoc enim
mihi promisisti¹³. 21. Adhuc me lo-
quente secum¹⁴, ecce
quidam angelus de
astantibus, gloriosior
ducente me "omni-
busque angelis¹, 22.
Et ostendit mihi
librum et aperiens
dedit [eum] mihi, et
vidi scripturam non
sicut istius saeculi,
et legi eam, et ecce
actus Hierusalem

in universum orbem
terrarum¹⁵ et ascen-
det [iterum]¹⁶ in
caelos : 18. Tunc re-
cipient isti thronos
suos et coronas.
19. Et "post haec
verba¹ dixi illi : De
quo te interrogavi
in primo¹⁷ caelo,
20. Ostende mihi,
"hic enim promisisti
mihi ostendere¹
"quomodo quae in
illo mundo fiunt hic
sciuntur¹. 21. Ad-
huc me loquente cum
illo ecce quidam an-
gelus de stantibus
gloriosior multo
ducente me "et om-
nibus angelis¹, 22.
Et ostendit mihi
librum et cum aper-
uisset dedit mihi, et
vidi scripta, erant
non sicut istius sae-
culi. Et legi eam,
et ecce actus Hieru-

¹ Interpolated : see exegetical note *in loc.*

² *b* መናብርትሙ፡ ³ Corrupt. Read አጠይቁ፤ እድ፡ with SL² = ostende mihi quomodo. Ver. 21 shows that it was Isaiah who was speaking.

⁴ *a* om. ⁵ *b* ፩. ⁶ *b* adds እምእሉ፡ ⁷ *a* ዘዘ. ⁸ *a*

a doublet : hence bracketed. ⁹ *a* adds ሀየ፡ ¹⁰ *a* መዳሕፍት፡

ዘዘ፡ ¹¹ *a* ወተውሀበ፤ ¹² *b* ወአንበብክዎሙ፡ ¹³ L² defective.

See S. ¹⁴ Should be cum eo or illo. ¹⁵ This subject referred

to in iii. 17 and xi. 22 of E though not here. ¹⁶ Interpolated.

¹⁷ This should be tertio as in E.

L²

S

እስራኤል፡ *ሀዩ፡ ሀለዋ፡¹
ጽሑፋት፡ ወምግባርሙ
ሰ፡ *ዘኢያኤምር፡² ወል
ድዩ፡ እዮሳብ። 23. ወ
እቤ፡ አማን፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይ
ትገባእ፡ በሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡
ዘይትገባር፡ *ሰውስተ
*ዝ፡ ዓለም። 24. ወር
ኢኩ፡ በሀዩ፡ አልባሰ፡ ብ
ዙን፡ *ገቡረ፡ ወመናብር
ት፡ ብዙን፡⁴ ወአክሊላት፡
ብዙን፡ 25. ወእቤ፡ ለ
መልአክ፡⁵ ዘመኑ፡ ዝአል
ባሰ፡ ወመናብርት፡ ወአ
ክሊላት። 26. ወደቤ
ሲ፡ ዝሰ፡ አልባሰ፡ ሀለዉ፡

erant ibi scripti, †et
omnium hominum
opera erant ibi, de
quibus et ego
eram†⁶. 23. Vidi
in veritate, quia ni-
hil absconditur in
septimo coelo, quod
est in mundo fac-
tum. †Et interro-
gavi angelum : Quis
est iste praeeminens
omnes⁷ angelos in
gloria sua ? Et re-
spondens dixit mihi :
Iste est magnus an-
gelus Michael depre-
cans semper pro hu-
manitate *et humili-
tate⁷ⁿ. 24. Vidi
stolas multas et
thronos et coronas⁸
jacentes. 25. Et dixi
angelo : Istae stolae
et coronae quibus
servantur *et thro-
ni⁹ ? 26. Et dixit
mihi : Istas coronas

salem¹⁰ erant ibi
scripti et quorundam
hominum vidi opera,
quos ego non scivi.
23. *Cognovi iterum
in veritate, quia ni-
hil absconditur¹¹ in
septimo caelo *eo-
rum quae in mundo
fiunt¹². †Et interro-
gavi angelum : Quis
igitur¹³ est iste prae-
eminens angelos in
gloria sua ? Et cum
respondisset dixit
mihi : Praeeminens
angelus iste est
magnus archangelus
Michael deprecans
semper pro humani-
tate.ⁿ 24. Vidi †au-
tem¹ stolas multas
et thronos et coro-
nas †multas¹ jacen-
tes, 25. (Et dixi)¹⁴
angelo : Istae stolae
*et throni¹⁵ et coronae
quibus¹⁶ servantur ?
26. Et dixit mihi :

¹ b trs.² Em. from ዘታኤምር፡ Cf. S quos ego non scivi.³ a om.⁴ b om.⁵ a adds ዘይመርከኒ፡⁶ Corrupt.

See S.

⁷ S om.⁸ SE add multas.⁹ Trs. before

et coronae with S E.

¹⁰ E = filiorum Israel.¹¹ HereS L² agree against E which = Et dixi : Re vera, nihil est quod abscondatur. So also Gk. Leg. ii. 32 καὶ . . . εἶπον· Ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν λαμβάνει κ.τ.λ.¹² = Gk. Leg. ii. 32 τῶν εἰς . . . τὸν κόσμον πραττο-
μένων. L² = quod est in mundo factum est.¹³ L² om.¹⁴ Added from L² E.¹⁵ L² wrongly trs. after servantur.¹⁶ kēm : tēm u, ch.

L

S

በዘኃን፡ እምዘክቱ፡ ዓለ
ም፡ እሰ፡¹ ይነሥኡ፡ ተኣ
ሚኖሙ፡ በቃላቱ፡² ሰዘ
ኩ፡ ዘከመ፡³ እቤሰኩ፡
[ይሰመይ፡]⁴ ወየዐቅብ
ዎን፡⁵ ወይትአመኑ፡ ቦ
ሙ፡⁶ ወይትአመኑ፡ በመ
ስቀሱ፡ እሳ፡⁷ ሎሙ፡
ንቡር። 27. ወርኢኩ፡
አሐዱ፡⁸ እነዘ፡ ይቀው
ም፡ *ዘ⁹ስብሓተህ፡ ይት
ዐደው፡ እምዘሉ፡ ወስብ
ሓተህ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ውኣቱ፡¹⁰
ወመንክር። 28. ወሶቢ፡
ርኢክዎ፡¹¹ ኩሎሙ፡ ዳድ
ቃን፡ እሰ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ወመላ
እክት*¹²፡ እሰ፡ ርኢኩ፡¹³
መጽኡ፡ ነቤሁ፡ ወአዳም፡
ወእቤል፡ ወሴት፡ ወዘሎ
ሙ፡ ዳድቃን፡ ቅድመ፡¹⁴
ቀርቡ፡ ወሰነዱ፡ ሎቱ፡
ወሰብሐዎ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ በ
*አሐዱ፡ ቃል፡ ወሰልየኒ፡
ሀለውኩ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡
እሴብሐ፡ ወኩ፡ ስብሐ
ቲየ፡¹⁵ ከመ፡ ዚአሆሙ።
29. ወሶቤሃ፡ ቀርቡ፡ መ
ላእክት፡ ኩሎሙ፡ ወሰ
ንዱ፡ ወሰብሐ። 30. ወት

multi ammittunt de
illo mundo credentes
verba illius, de quo
locutus sum tibi.
27. Et "conversus"
vidi dominum in
gloria magna, "et ex
pavi valde". 28. Et
appropinquaverunt
ad eum omnes just
i et adoraverunt eum
una voce cantantes,
et erat vox¹⁵ sicut
illorum. 29. Et¹⁶
"Michael appropin
quans adoravit, et
cum eo" omnes an
geli adoraverunt et
cantaverunt. 30. Et

*Istarum stolarum
multi destituuntur¹⁷
de illo mundo cre
dentes verbo illi¹⁸,
de quo locutus sum
tibi. 27. Et "con
versus" vidi domi
num in gloria mag
na "et expavi valde"
28. Et appropinqua
verunt ad eum omnes
"quos vidi" just¹⁹ et
adoraverunt eum
cantantes una voce,
[et ille erat similis
eis] et *erat gloria²⁰
eorum sicut illorum.
29. Et tunc "Michael
appropinquavit et
adoravit et cum eo"
omnes angeli adora
verunt et cantave
runt. 30. Et trans

¹ b ነቢ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ ወ.

² bc በቃሉ፡

³ b በከመ፡

⁴ Inter-

polated: see exegetical note on ix. 5.

⁵ b ወየዐቅቡ፡ ትእዛዛ፡

⁶ bc ሎቱ፡

⁷ Em. from b እሰ፡ a አላ፡

⁸ b ፩.

⁹ b ወ.

¹⁰ bc ይኣቲ፡

¹¹ bc ርኢይዎ፡

¹² a om.

¹³ b om.

¹⁴ b ስብሐትየ፡

¹⁵ Should be gloria mea.

¹⁶ Add tunc

with SE.

¹⁷ L² Istas coronas multi ammittunt. Destituuntur = lišajutsja. S L² both wrong; for the context requires the mention of those who receive the garments. E = Has vestes multi accipient.

¹⁸ L² E illius.

¹⁹ Observe large addition in E.

²⁰ L² vox: better gloria mea as in E.

L²

S

ወለጥኩ፡ ወኮኸኩ፡¹ ከመ፡
መልአክ። 31. ወሰቤሃ፡
ይቤሰ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘይ
መርሐኒ፡ ሰዘ፡ ስግድ፡
ወሰገድኩ፡ ወሰባሕኩ።
32. ወይቤሰ፡ መልአክ፡
ዘውእቱ፡ እግዚእ፡ *ዘ²
ኸሉ፡ ስብሓት፡ ዘርእኩ።³
33. ወእነዘ፡ ዓዲ፡ ይትና
ገር፡⁴ ርእኩ፡ ካልእ፡ ስብ
ሐ፡⁵ ዘይመስሉ፡ ወዳድ
ቃኑ፡ ነቤሁ፡ ቀርቡ፡ ወሰ
ገዱ፡ ወሰብሐ፡ ወሰሊየኑ፡
ሰባሕኩ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡
ወስብሓትዮ፡⁶ እተወለ
ጠ፡ በከመ፡ ርእዮተሙ።
34. ወሰቤሃ፡ ቀርቡ፡ መ
ባእክት፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ሎቱ።⁷

transfiguravi me¹ ite-
rum¹, et fui sicut
angeli⁸. 31. Tunc
dixit mihi angelus
qui me ducebat:
Hunc adora et canta.
Et adoravi eum et
cantavi. 32. Et dixit
mihi angelus, [qui
me ducebat]: Iste
est dominus *omni-
um gloriarum, quas⁹
vidisti. 33. Et¹⁰ vidi
aliud gloriosissi-
mum similem ejus
[in omnibus¹¹, et] iusti
appropinquaverunt
[ad eum¹ et adorave-
runt¹ eum¹ et canta-
verunt, et] ille can-
tabat¹¹ cum eis et
non [transfiguravit
se¹¹ in visu illorum.
34. Cum eis, et] i
venerunt angeli et
adoraverunt eum, [et
ego adoravi eum et

figuravi me¹ iterum¹
et fui sicut angelus
31. Tunc dixit mihi
angelus qui me du-
cebat: Hunc adora
et canta; Et adora-
vi eum et cantavi.
32. Et dixit mihi an-
gelus: Iste est dom-
inus omnis gloriæ,
quam vidisti. 33. Et
[adhuc illo dicente¹
vidi aliud gloriosis-
simum similem ejus
[in omnibus¹¹, et
iusti appropinquave-
runt et adoraverunt
[et] eum¹ et canta-
verunt; et] ille canta-
bat¹² cum eis et non
[transfiguravit se¹³
secundum visum¹⁴
illorum, 34. Et
[cum eo¹⁵ venerunt
angeli et adorave-
runt eum. [Et dixit
mihi angelus: Ado-
ra eum et canta.]
[Et adoravi eum et

¹ Em. in accordance with S L² from ወተወለጠ፡ ወኮኸኩ፡ See exegetical note in loc. ² b ዘ. ³ b adds ሎቱ፡ ይትፈኒው፡ ⁴ Em. from እትናገር፡ in accordance with S. ⁵ b ስብሐት፡ ⁶ Em. from ወስብሓት፡ See exegetical note in loc. ⁷ a om. ⁸ SE angelus.

⁹ SE use sing. ¹⁰ Add illo dicente with SE. ¹¹ See notes ¹² and ¹³. ¹² So also L² but in both we should read ego cantabam with E. ¹³ A primitive error for transfiguravi me. Cf. ver. 30, and see exegetical note on ix. 33.

¹⁴ po vidom: u po vidomy. ¹⁵ L² cum eis et = μετὰ τούτων καὶ. E = καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.

L²

S

35. ወርሕክዎ፡ ሰእግዚእ፡
 ወሰዳግም፡ መልአክ፡ ወእ
 መንገድ*ጊ፡ ሀላ። ቅዱ
 ማገ። 36. ወዳግም፡
 ዘርሕክ፡ በፀጋመ፡ እግዚ
 እየ፡ ወተስልክ፡ መኑ፡
 ወእቱ፡ ዘንገድ፡ ወይቤላ፡
 ስግድ፡ ሎቱ፡ እስመ፡ ዘ
 ወእቱ፡ መልአክ፡ መን
 ፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘላባሌክ፡
 ወሰላባላገ፡ ዳድቃ፡
 ዘይተናገር፡ 37. *ወ
 ርሕክ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ዐቢየ፡
 ተከሚተ፡ አዕይነተ፡ መን
 ፈስ፡ ወእኑ፡ ሰባ፡ አክ
 ህልክ፡ እርሕይ፡ ወእመ
 ልአክ፡ ዘምስሌየ፡ ወ*ኢ፡
 ዘሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ እሴ፡
 ርሕክ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰግዱ፡
 ሎቱ፡ ሰእግዚእየ፡
 38. ወላሕቱ፡ *ርሕክ፡
 ሰዳድቃ፡ ሰገይል፡ ዐ
 *ቢይ፡ እንዘ፡ ይፈልዩ፡

cantavi. 35. Et "ite-
 rum⁷ vidi alium "in
 gloria magna⁷. 36.
 Et "ambulans⁷ in-
 terrogavi "angelum⁷.
 Quis est? et dixit
 mihi: Adora eum;
 iste enim est ange-
 lus Sancti Spiritus
 loquens in te et in
 omnibus justis. 37.
 Et "post haec⁷ alia
 quidem inenarrabilis
 [et ineffabilis] reve-
 labatur gloria, quam
 ego apertis oculis
 mei spiritus non
 poteram videre, nec
 qui me ducebat
 "angelus⁷, neque om-
 nes angeli, quos vi-
 deram adorantes do-
 minum. 38. Nisi
 tantummodo justos
 vidi in gloria magna
 aspicientes gloriam⁸.

cantavi⁷. 35. Et
 "iterum⁷ alium "in
 gloria magna⁷ vidi.
 36. Et "ambulantem⁷
 interrogavi "ange-
 lum⁷: Quis "iste⁷ est?
 et dixit mihi: Adora
 eum; iste enim est
 angelus *Sancti Spiri-
 tus¹⁰ loquentis¹¹ in te
 et in omnibus iustis.
 37. Et "post haec⁷ alia
 quaedam¹² inenar-
 rabilis revelabatur
 gloria *quam ego
 apertis oculis spiri-
 tus mei non poteram
 videre¹³ nec qui me
 ducebat (angelus)¹⁴
 neque omnes angeli
 quos videram ado-
 rantes dominum,
 38. Nisi tantummo-
 do justos vidi in
 gloria magna aspi-
 cientes gloriam

¹ ὁ ὁ.² Em. from ዘተናገር: See exegetical note.³ Text

is strange. It might be emended ወሰባሃ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ተከሚተ፡ ዘእኑ፡ ተከሚተ፡ አዕይነተ፡ መንፈስ፡ አክህልክ፡ እርሕይ፡ = 'And thereupon the Great Glory was revealed which, though the eyes of my spirit were open, I could not see.' This would agree with SL². But text is no doubt right and SL² wrong. For መንፈስ፡ *a* reads ገፍስ፡ and trs. አክህልክ፡ ሰባ፡ ⁴ ὁ om. ⁵ ὁ እፊት፡ ዳድቃ፡ ⁶ *a* om.

⁷ See note ⁹.⁸ Add illius with E or ejus with S.⁹ Part.

Pret. *u, ch* add et. L² reads ambulans, but wrongly: see quota-
 tion from Epiphanius in exegetical note on ix. 35-36. ¹⁰ angel⁷

stago: angel'skago *u, ch*. [vel Popov errore typograph.] ¹¹ L²
 loquens. ¹² L² quidem. ¹³ See different idea expressed

in E. ¹⁴ Added from L² S.

L²

S

ስብሓት፡ ለዝክ። 39. ወቀርብ፡ ገቤዩ፡ እግዚእ *የ፡ ወመልአክ፡ መን ፈሰ፡ ወይቤ፡ ርአ፡ ከመ፡ ተወህባክ፡ ትርአዮ፡ ለእ ግዚአብሔር፡² ወበእንተ አክ፡ ለመልአክ፡ ዘምስ ሴክ፡ ተወህቦ፡ ገይል።³ 40. ወርእ*ክ፡⁴ ከመ፡ ሰገደ፡ *እግዚእዩ፡ ወመ ልአክ፡⁵ ዘመን፤ፈሰ፡⁶ ወ ሰብሐ፡ ክልኢሆመ፡ ፋ ቡረ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። 41. ወሶቤሃ፡ ድቃን፡*ቀርቡ፡ ወሰገዱ፡¹ 42. *ወመላእክት፡ *ቀ ርቡ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ወድሐሙ፡ መላእክት፡⁸ ሰብሐ። X. ወሶቤሃ፡ ሰማዕክ፡ ቃላት፡ ወስብሐታት፡ ዘሰ ማዕክ፡ በሰማያት፡ ዘስ ድስቱ፡ ሰማይ፡⁹ እንዘ፡

39. Et appropinqua- vit "primum" domi- nus meus et angelus spiritualis¹⁰, 40. Et adoraverunt [eum] et cantaverunt se- cundo¹¹ insimul, 41. Tunc omnes iusti adoraverunt [eum], 42. Et "cum eis Michael et" angeli omnes adoraverunt et cantaverunt.

X. Postea audi- vocem "ibi" et *canti- cum, quod¹² audi- tin sexto coelo¹³, ascendebat et "audie-

ejus". 39. Et ap- propinquavit "eis"¹⁴. "primum" dominus meus et angelus spiritualis¹⁵, 40. Et adoraverunt et can- taverunt duo¹⁶ ae- quale¹⁷. 41. "Et" tunc omnes ius- ti adoraverunt 42. Et "cum eis Michael et" angeli omnes adoraverunt et cantaverunt.

X. Postea audi- vocem "ibi" et cantica, quae¹⁸ audivit in cae- lo ascendentia in

¹ b om. ² b ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ³ b adds ደብዳቤ፡ ዝዩ፡ ⁴ a om.
⁵ bc ለእግዚእዩ፡ ወለመልአክ፡ ⁶ a adds ቅዱስ፡ ⁷ a ወድሐሙ፡
ዱድቃን፡ ወ. ⁸ c om. ⁹ b adds ዘሰማይ፡ which I take
to be a corruption of ወይሰማዕ፡ removed by an error from the
following clause where it followed የዐርዳ፡ a reads ዘሰማዕክዎሙ፡
a mere correction, which however points to ደሰማዕ፡ ¹⁰ Ed. Ven.
specialis. So note ¹⁵ for passage lost by hmt. here. ¹¹ Cor-
rupt. Read duo with S E. ¹² S cantica quae. ¹³ Corrupt
for in singulis sex caelis. See E and S. ¹⁴ L² om. E = mihi.
¹⁵ SL² om. through hmt. et dixit: Vide ut tibi permissum sit
aspicere Deum et propter te angelo qui tecum, datum est robur.
Et vidi quod adoravit Dominus meus et angelus spiritualis. On
the other hand this passage may be peculiar to G¹ and therefore not
go back to G. ¹⁶ So also E. L² corruptly secundo. ¹⁷ tükūmo.
L² insimul which is better. So E. ¹⁸ iže: že u, eže quod ch.

L²

S

የዐርፖ: ¹ ወይሰማዕ: ² ህዩ: 2. ወዘሉሙ: ለዘክ: ለሰቡሕ: ዘኢክህልክ: ስብሓት: ርኢዩ: ³ ይትፈዩ: 3. ወለሊዩ: እሰምዕ: ስብሓት: ወእሬኢ: 4. ወእግዚእ: *ወመልእክ: መንፈስ: ዘሉ: ይሰምዕ: ወዘሉ: ይሬኢ: 5. ወዘሉ: ስብሓት: *ዘዲትፈዩ: እምስድስቱ: ሰማያት: እኩ: ክመ: ዘይሰማዕ: እሳ: ያስተርኢ: 6. ወሰማዕክዎ: ለመልእክ: ዘይመርሐኒ: ወይቤ: ዘውእቱ: ዘልዑል: ፈድፋድ: እምልዑላን: በቅዱስ: ⁵ ዓለም: ዘይብር: ወበቅዱሳን: ያዐርፍ: ዘህሉ: ይትሰህል: እመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: በእፈ: ዳድቃን: እቡህ: ለእግዚእ: እ: 7. ወሰማዕክ: ቃላት: ⁶ ዘልዑል: ፈድፋድ: እቡህ: ለእግዚእ: እንዘ: ይብሉ: ለእግዚእ: [ክርስትስ: ዘህሉ: ይትሰህል:

batur in septimo coelo¹⁷. 2. Et omnes glorificabant illum, cuius ego gloriam non poteram videre. 5. Et omnium sex coelorum canticum non solum audiebatur sed videbatur. 6. Et dixit mihi angelus: Hic est [vivus] unus aeternus in excelsa aeternitate vivens, et in sanctis requiescens, [cujus nec nomen nec visionem possumus sufferre¹¹, qui *est laudatus a Sancto Spiritu in ore [sanctorum]⁸ iustum. 7. Et [post haec¹¹ audiavi vocem aeterni dicentem

sextum caelum⁹. 2. Et omnes glorificabant illum cuius gloriam non poteram ego gloriam videre. 5. Omnium autem sex caelorum canticum non solum audiebatur sed [et] videbatur. 6. Et dixit mihi angelus: Hic est *unus aeternus¹⁰ in excelso saeculo¹¹ vivens et in sanctis requiescens, cuius nec nomen *nec donum¹² possumus¹³ sufferre; qui *cantatus est¹⁴ a Sancto Spiritu in ore iustorum. 7. Et [post haec¹¹ audiavi vocem aeterni dicentis¹⁵

¹ a እዐርፖ:² See note ⁹ on preceding page.³ b ርኢዩ:⁴ b om.⁵ a repeats.⁶ b ቃላት: ለ.⁷ S om., but E supports text, reading ibi however for in septimo caelo.⁸ Bracketed as a doublet.⁹ Since E = in caelis sex caelorum ascendentia, it is probable that in caelo and in sextum caelum are corrupted from some expression like that in E. Hence text = 'which I had heard ascending in each of the six heavens.' See fuller text in L² and E.¹⁰ E = altissimus altorum.¹¹ = αἰῶνι. Soaeternitate in L². See exegetical note on x. 6.¹² u om.S = οὔτε δόσιν corruption (?) of οὔτε ὄρασιν, which is the reading of L².¹³ ch potest quis.¹⁴ L² = est laudatus. E = vocabitur.¹⁵ L² dicentem.

L²

S

እየሱስ፡]¹ 8. ዓእ፡ ወረድ፡ ዙሉ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወትወርድ፡ *ምጽናዕ፡ ወዘኩ፡ ዓለመ፡² እስከ፡ ነብ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ሲኦል፡ ትወርድ፡³ ወባሕቱ፡ እስከ፡ ሰቀጉል፡ ኢተ*ሐ³ውር። 9. ወትተሜሰል፡ በከመ፡ እምሳለ፡ ዙሉመ፡ *እለ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ንምስቱ፡⁵ ሰማያት፡ 10. ወበከመ፡ ርእየተመ፡ ሰመላእክተ፡ ምጽናዕ፡ እንዘ፡ ትትፃቀብ፡ ትትሜሰል፡ [ወሰመላእክተ*ፈ፡⁶ እለ፡ ወስተ፡ ሲኦል፡]⁷ 11. ወኢያእምሩ፡⁸ ዙሉመ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘዘኩ፡ ዓለም፡ ከመ፡ አንተ፡ እገዛእ፡ ምስሌ፡ ዘሰብዐተህ፡⁹ ሰማያት፡ ወ*ዘመላእክተሆመ፡ 12. ወኢያእምሩ፡¹⁰ ከመ፡ አንተ፡ ምስሌ፡ *ሶብ፡ በቃለ፡ ሰማያት፡ ጸዋዕኩ፡ ወሰመላእክተሆመ፡ ወሰብርሃናተሆመ፡ ሶብ፡ አዕቢይኩ፡¹¹ ሰ*ላድስ፡ ሰማይ፡¹² *ከ

domino filio: 8. Exi et descende de omnibus coelis et sis in mundo et vade usque ad angelum, qui est in infernum¹³; 9. Transfigurans te secundum formam illorum. 11. Et non cognoscent te, neque angeli neque principes seculi illius: 12. Et judicabis principem illius seculi¹ et angelos ejus et mundum directores¹⁴:

domino filio: 8. Exi et descende de omnibus caelis et sis in mundo et vade¹⁵ usque ad angelum, qui est in inferno; 9. Cum transfigu-
rasses te secundum formam illorum. 11. Et non cognoscent te neque angeli neque principes saeculi illius: 12. Et judicabis principem¹⁶ et angelos ejus et mundum regnatum ab iis:

¹ Interpolated. See exegetical note on ix. 5. ² *b* እምጽገዐ፡ ዘዓለም፡ Text follows *a* save that ዓለም፡ is corrected into ዓለመ፡ *c* reads ምጽናዕተ፡ ዘኩ፡ ዓለም፡ ³ *a* om. ⁴ *b* ዘእንበለ፡ ⁵ *bc* ጁ. ⁶ *b* om. ⁷ Interpolated. See exegetical note *in loc.* For እለ፡ *b* reads ዘ፡ ⁸ *a* ወኢያእምሩ፡ ⁹ *b* ጁ. ¹⁰ *ac* ወኢያእመሩ፡ ¹¹ Text very corrupt. I emend as follows: እስከ፡ ሶብ፡ በቃል፡ አዕቢይኩ፡ ጸዋዕኩ፡ ለሰማያት፡ ወሰመ" ወሰብ". For ሶብ፡ of *b*, *a* reads twice ወሶብ፡ *b* adds *h* after both verbs. ¹² *bc* trs. ¹³ Read inferno. ¹⁴ Corrupt for mundum regnatum ab iis as in S E. See Greek on p. 71 note. ¹⁵ idi: daže i u. ¹⁶ Add illius saeculi from L² E.

L²

S

መ፡ ትኩንኑ፡¹ ወትደም
 ስስ፡ ለመኳንንቱ፡ ወለመ
 ላእክቱ፡ *ወለአማልክት፡
 ዝኩ፡² ዓለም፡ ወለዓለም፡
 ዘእምኒሆመ፡ ደትመለ
 ክ፡³ 13. እስመ፡ ክሕ
 ዱኒ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ ንሕከ፡
 ክመ፡ ወዘእንበሌ፡ ወእ.
 መኑሂ፡ 14. ወእምደ
 ኅረ፡ እመላእክት፡⁴ ሞት፡
 ተዐር፡ ለመኳንክ፡ ወኤ
 ትትዌለ፡ ሰ*ሰ፡ ሰማዩ፡
 ሰማዩ፡ አላ፡ በሰብሓት፡
 ተዐር፡ ወትኅብር፡ በየማ
 ንዩ፡ 15. ወአማ፡ ደሰ
 ገዱ፡ ለክ፡ መኳንንት፡ ወ
 ኃይላት፡ ዘዝኩ፡ ዓለም፡
 16. ዘነት፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ *ስ
 ብሐት፡ ዐቢዩ፡⁶ እንዘ፡
 ደኤዘዘ፡ *ለእግዚእዩ፡⁷
 17. ወ*ከመዘ፡⁸ ርኢኩ፡
 ሰብ፡ ወፀኡ፡ *እምሳብዕ፡
 ሰማዩ፡ እግዚእዩ፡⁹ ውስ
 ት፡ ሳድስ፡ ሰማዩ፡ 18.
 ወመልእክ፡ ዘወሰደ፡¹⁰
 [እምዘ፡ ዓለም፡ ምስሌዩ፡

13. Ideo quia¹¹ ne-
 gaverunt me et dixe-
 runt: Nos sumus et
 sine nobis nemo est.
 14. Postea [vero]
 non transfigurabis
 te per coelos in
 magna gloria ascen-
 dens et sedebis a
 dextris meis; 15.
 Tunc adorabunt te
 principes et virtutes
 et [omnes] angeli et
 omnia initia coelo-
 rum et terrae et in-
 fernorum¹². 16. Et¹³
 audiui magna gloria
 praeciendi¹³ do-
 mino meo. 17. [Et]
 tunc exivit dominus
 de septimo coelo et
 descendit in sextum
 coelum. 18. Et an-
 gelus instruens me

13. Ideo quia¹⁴ nega-
 verunt me et dixe-
 runt: Nos sumus et
 *praeter nos¹⁵ nemo
 est [alius]. 14. [Et
 quando autem e terra
 elevaberis¹⁶, postea¹⁷
 non transfigurabis te
 per caelos, [sed¹ in
 magna gloria ascen-
 des¹⁸ et sedebis a dex-
 tris meis. 15. [Et¹
 tunc adorabunt te
 principes et virtutes
 et angeli et omne in-
 itium eorum in caelis
 et in terra et in infer-
 nis¹⁹. 16. Istam²⁰ au-
 divi magnam gloriam
 praecipientem domi-
 no meo. 17. Tunc²¹
 exivit dominus de
 septimo caelo et
 descendit in sextum
 caelum. 18. Et an-
 gelus instruens me

¹ b om. ² bc ወለአማልክቱ፡ ዘዝኩ፡ ³ a ወትመልክ፡ ⁴ Em.
 from እምአማልክት፡ Cf. x. 8. See exegetical note *in loc.* For
 እምአማልክት፡ of a, b reads ሞትኩ፡ ወትኅሣእኩ፡ an arbitrary(?) change.
⁵ bc እንዘ፡ ⁶ So bc and Gk. Leg. ii. 41 ταῦτα ἡκουον τῆς δόξης
 τῆς μεγάλης. a ዘስብሐት፡ ዐቢዩ፡ ⁷ a adds እምሳብዕ፡ ሰማዩ፡
⁸ S L² = 'then' which is right. Cf. Gk. Leg. ii. 41. Here ከመዘ፡
 is a mistranslation of μετὰ ταῦτα. ⁹ bc trs. ¹⁰ bc ዘይመርሐኒ፡
¹¹ Ed. Ven. iō qa (sic). ¹² SE = istam. ¹³ Corrupt.
 See S. ¹⁴ za ne. ¹⁵ Or sine nobis. ¹⁶ L² om.
 See different text of E. ¹⁷ ktomu, λοιπόν. ¹⁸ L²
 ascendens. ¹⁹ Initium = ἀρχή 'principality.' ²⁰ siju. We
 should have ista. L² et. ²¹ L² et tunc rightly.

L²

S

ሀሎ፡ ወ¹ይቤሰ፡ ለቡ፡
 ኢሳይያስ፡ ወርኢ፡ ከመ፡
 *ይተረክይ፡ ተወልዶ፡²
 ለእፃዚእ፡ ወርድቱ፡³
 19. ወርኢኩ፡ ወሶብ፡ ር
 እይዎ፡ መላእክት፡ ሰባ፡
 ዘ*ብ፡ ሳይስ፡ ሰማይ፡
 ሰብሕዎ፡ ወወደስዎ፡ እስ
 መ፡ ኢተወሰጠ፡ በከመ፡
 ርእየት*መ፡ ለመላእክ
 ት፡ ዘህየ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ ወ
 አሂ፡ ሰባሕኩ፡ ምስሌሆ
 መ፡ 20. ወርኢኩ፡ ሰ
 ብ፡ ወረድ፡ ወስተ፡ ኃም
 ስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡
 ወስተ፡ ኃምስ፡ ሰማይ፡
 *ብከመ፡ ርእየትመ፡ ለ
 መላእክት፡ ዘህየ፡ ወኢ
 ሰብሕዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእ
 የቱ፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢሆመ፡⁷
 21. ወሰቤ፡ ወረድ፡ ወ
 ስተ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተ
 መሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየት
 መ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ዘህየ፡
 22. ወሶብ፡ ርእይዎ፡ ኢሰ
 ብሕዎ፡ ወኢወደስዎ፡ እ

dixit mihi: Intel-
 lige⁸ et vide, quae⁹
 est transfiguratio
 ejus et descensio?
 19. Cum viderunt
 [eum] angeli, lauda-
 verunt et glorificave-
 runt eum, non enim
 transfiguravit se in
 figura eorum, et ego
 cantavi cum eis.
 20. Cum descendis-
 set in quintum coe-
 lum, ibi statim trans-
 figuravit se secun-
 dum formam ange-
 lorum illorum, et
 non cantaverunt ei
 et non adoraverunt
 eum, erat enim for-
 ma sicut illorum.
 21. Et descendit in
 quartum coelum, et
 apparuit illi(s)¹⁰ se-
 cundum formam il-
 lorum, 22. Et non
 cantaverunt ei, erat
 enim forma sicut

dixit¹¹: Intellige,
 [Isaia], et vide quae
 fit transfigurationem
 et descensionem ejus.
 19. Cum viderunt¹²
 angeli, cantaverunt
 [eum] et laudave-
 runt eum; non enim
 transfiguravit se *se-
 cundum figuram¹³
 eorum, et ego au-
 tem cantavi cum eis.
 20. [Et] cum descen-
 disset in quintum
 caelum, et¹⁴ trans-
 figuravit se secun-
 dum formam ange-
 lorum illorum, et
 non cantaverunt ei
 et non adoraverunt¹⁵,
 erat enim ejus for-
 ma sicut illorum.
 21. Descendit autem
 in quartum caelum
 et apparuit illis *se-
 cundum formam¹⁶
 illorum 22. Et non
 cantaverunt ei, erat
 enim *sicut secun-

¹ An interpolation? S L² om. *b* reads H before ምስሌየ፡

² Em. from ትርኢይ፡ ተወልዶ፡ of *a*. *b* reads ታእምር፡ ተወልዶ፡
 Perhaps for ትርኢይ፡ we might read ይራሰ፡ = 'He accomplishes, &c.'
 See S L². ³ MSS. ወርድቱ፡ ⁴ *b* om. ⁵ *b* ጸ. ⁶ *b* ጸ.

⁷ *a* ርእየትመ፡ *Gk. Leg.* ii. 42 and S L² support *b*. ⁸ Add Isaia

with S E. ⁹ Ed. Ven. q̄. ¹⁰ Ed. Ven. illi. ¹¹ Add mihi

with L² E. ¹² Add eum with L² E. ¹³ L² in figura.

¹⁴ L² ibi statim. ¹⁵ L² add eum. See note on p. 72. ¹⁶ po

obrazu: po vūzoru [sec. visum] u.

L²

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ስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡¹ ርእየተሙ። 23. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡ ሶባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ሣልስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተው፡ ለመላእክት፡ *ዘ²ውስተ፡ *ሣልስ፡ ሰማይ³። 24. *መግላለፍተ፡ እሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ሰማይ፡ ንሡሡ፡ ወእግዚእ፡ ወሀቦሙ፡ ከመ፡ አይተአመር⁴ ወሶባ፡ ርእይዎ፡ እሰብሐዎ፡ ወአወደስዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡ ርእየተሙ። 25. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡⁵ ሶባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወዓዲ፡ ወሀባ፡ በሀየረ፡ ማላለፍተ፡⁶ እስመ፡ እሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጽ፡ የን^{*}ሥላሡ፡ ወእግዚእ፡ ይህብ። 26. ወርእኩ፡ ሶባ፡ ተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተሙ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ለዘ፡ በዳ^{*}ግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወርእይዎ፡ ወእሰብሐዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ በከመ፡⁷ ርእየተሙ። 27. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡ ሶባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወበሀየረ፡ ወሀባ፡ ማላለፍተ፡ ለእሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተሙ፡ ለመላእክት፡ እሰ፡ በፀጋመ፡ ዘኩመንበር፡ ወእሰብሐዎ፡ ወአወደስዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ በከመ፡⁷ ርእየተሙ። 28. ወኪያየሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘተስእለ፤ በእነተ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘይመርሐ፤። 29. ወዓዲ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽናዕ፡ ንባ፡ *መከንዝ፡⁸ ዓለም፡ ይኑበር፡⁹ *ወ⁴ወሀባ፡ ማላለፍተ፡¹⁰ ለእሰ፡ በፀጋም፡ ወርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡ ዘአሆሙ፡ ወ*እሰብሐዎ፡ በሀየ፡¹¹ አላ፡ በደንጽ፡ ሀሰዉ፡ *አሐዱ፡

illorum. 23. Venit autem in tertium coelum, 25-28. Et in secundum et in primum transfigurans se in singulos eorum. Ideo non cantabant ei¹², nec adorabant, apparebat enim illis¹³ similis eorum, ostendebat enim characterem per singulos coelos custodibus portarum.

dum formam¹⁴ illorum. 23. Venit autem in tertium caelum, 25-28. Et in secundum et in primum, transfigurans se in singulos eorum. Ideo non cantabant nec adorabant eum¹⁵, apparebat enim similis eorum, ostendebat autem signa¹⁶ per singulos caelos custodibus portarum.

29. Descendit autem in firmamentum¹⁸ et ibi dedit signa, et forma erat ejus sicut

29. Descendit autem in firmamentum¹⁸ ubi princeps saeculi istius sedet¹ et ibi dedit signum, et forma erat ejus sicut

¹ b Hhመ፡² b እሰ፡ ዘ³ b ዘሀየ፡⁴ b om.⁵ bc ርእኩ፡⁶ b adds ከመ፡ አይተአመር፡⁷ b Hhመ፡⁸ c ምክርን፡ ዘዘ፡⁹ b ይኑበር፡¹⁰ a ማላለፍተ፡¹¹ bc trs. To በሀየ፡ b adds L.¹² S om.¹³ Add with S E

ubi princeps saeculi istius

sedet.

¹⁴ L² forma sicut.¹⁵ L² om.¹⁶ znamenija.L² characterem.

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ለአሐዱ፡¹ *ወ²ይትቃተ ለ፡ እስመ፡ *ሀዩ፡ ሀሎ፡³ ኃይሉ፡⁴ እኩይ፡ ወደገጽ፡ *ዘበ፡ ገዳጥ⁵። 30. ወ ርኢኩ፡ ሰባ፡ ወረደ፡ ወተ መሰሰ፡ ለመላእክተ፡ እዩ ር፡ ወውእቱ፡ ሀሎ፡ ከመ፡ አሐዱ፡⁶ እምውስተት መ። 31. ወእወሀበ፡ ማኅለፍተ፡ እስመ፡ አሐዱ፡⁶ ለ*አሐዱ፡⁶ የሀይደ፡ ወይገፍዕ።⁷ XI. ወእምድጋረዝ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ወ⁵መልአክ፡ ዘተና ገረ፡ ምስሌዩ፡ ዘመርሐኒ፡ ይቤላ፤⁸ ሰባ፡ አሳይደስ፡ ወልደ፡ አምጽ፡ እስመ፡ ሰዘ፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ እምነባ፡ እግዚአብሔር። 2. ወእነሂ፡ ርኢኩ፡ እምተውልደ፡⁹ ዳዊት፡ ነቢይ፡¹⁰ ብእሲተ፡ እንተ፡ ስማ፡ ማርያም፡ ወይእቲ፡ ድንገል፡ ወትገፈንር፡ ለብእሲ፡ ዘስመ፡ የሴፍ፡ ብእሲ፡ ፀረባዊ፡¹¹ ወውእቱሂ፡ እምዘርእ፡ ወእምተውልደ፡⁵ ዳዊት፡ ዲድቕ፡ ዘእምቤተ፡ ልሔም፡ ዘይሁዳ፡ 3. ወይመጽእ፡ ለመክፈልተ፡ ዘአሁ።¹² ወሶባ፡ ተፍሐረት፡ ትተረከብ፡ ፀንስታ፡¹³ ወይፈቐድ፡

illorum, et non glorificaverunt eum¹⁴, "et non cantaverunt ei.¹⁵ 30. Et descendit ad angelos, qui erant in hoc aëre, sicut unus ex eis. 31. Et non dedit "eis" signum [et non cantaverunt].

XI. Et post haec dixit mihi angelus : Intellige, Ysaïas fili Amos ; in hoc missus sum a deo "omnia tibi ostendere. Nec enim ante te quis vidit, nec post te poterit videre, quod¹⁶ tu vidisti et audisti. Et vidi similem filii hominis, et cum hominibus habitare et in mundo.¹⁷

illorum et non glorificaverunt¹⁶ neque ei cantaverunt¹⁷. 30. Descendit autem et ad angelos *aëris hujus¹⁷ et erat¹⁷ sicut unus ex eis. 31. Et non dedit "eis" signum [neque interrogaverunt enim eum]¹⁸.

XI. Et post haec dixit mihi angelus : Intellige, Isaïa, fili Amos ! in hoc enim¹ missus sum a domino¹⁹ "omnia tibi ostendere. Nec enim ante te quis vidit, nec post te videre poterit, sicut²⁰ tu vidisti et audivisti. Et ecce²¹ vidi similem *ut filium²² hominis ; et cum hominibus *cum habitasset in mundo¹

¹ bc ፪፮.² ac om.³ bc trs.⁴ b ገደል፡⁵ b om.⁶ bc ፪.⁷ The clause ወአሳዱ፡ . . . ወይገፍዕ፡ is found in Gk. Leg. ii. 9 but not in SL².⁸ b ወይቤላ፤⁹ c ሐይስዮ፡¹⁰ c om.¹¹ b ፀረብ፡¹² a ዘእነ፡¹³ b ፀንስተ፡¹⁴ S om.¹⁵ Ed. Ven. q̄. S sicut.¹⁶ Addeum with L² E.¹⁷ L² qui erant in hoc aëre.¹⁸ This mayrepresent G². L²=et non cantaverunt. G¹ (E and Gk. Leg.) give quite a different version.¹⁹ L² E deo.²⁰ L² quod.²¹ L² om.²² L² filii.

የሴፍ፡ ጸረባዊ፡¹ ይገድጋ። 4. መልእክ፡ መንፈስ፡² ያስተርኢ፡ በዝ፡
 ዓለም፡ ወእምዘ፡ ኢየሱድ፡ የሴፍ፡ ወየዐቅባ፡³ ለማርያም፡ ወውእቱሰ፡
 አልቦ፡ ለዘ፡ ይከሥት፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ። 5. ወኢይቀርባ፡ ለማርያም፡ ወየዐቅባ፡
 ከመ፡ ድንገል፡ ቅድስት፡ ወባሕቱ፡ ፀንሰ፡ እንዘ፡ ባቲ። 6. ወኢይብር፡⁴
 ምስሌሃ፡ *አውራኑ፡ ክልኤ፡⁵ 7. ወእምድገረ፡ ክልኤ፡⁶ አውራኑ፡ መዋዕል፡⁷
 ወየሴፍ፡ ይሂሱ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ፡⁸ መማርያም፡ በእሴቱ፡⁹ ወባሕቱ፡ ክልኤሆሙ፡
 ባሕቲትሙ፤ 8. ወይከውን፡ ሶባ፡ ይሂልዉ፡ ባሕቲትሙ፡ ወትኒጽር፡
 ማርያም፡ በአዕይነቲሃ፡ ሶባሃ፡ ወትሬኤ፡ ገዳ፡ ንኡሰ፡ ወትደነገ። 9. ወእ
 ምድገረ፡ ደንገፀት፡ ትትረከብ፡¹⁰ ከርሣ፡ ከመ፡ ቀደመ፡¹¹ ዘእንበለ፡ ትፀንሰ፡¹²
 10. ወሶባ፡ ይቤባ፡ *ምታ፡ የሴፍ፡¹³ ምንተ፡¹⁴ ደደነገጸኪ፡ ይትከሠት፡¹⁵
 አዕይነቲሆ፡¹⁶ ወይሬእየ፡ ለገዳ፡ ወይሴብሱ፡¹⁷ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡
 *በመክፈልቱ፡ መጽሐ፡¹⁸ እግዚእ። 11. ወቃል፡ ይከውን፡ ሎሙ፡ ዘንተ፡
 ራእየ፡ ለመኑሂ፡ ኢትንገረ። 12. ወይትነገር፡ ቃል፡ በእንተ፡ ገዳ፡ በቤተ፡
 ልሔም። 13. ሶእሰ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወሰደት፡ *ድንገል፡ ማርያም፡¹⁹ ቅድመ፡
 ክልኤ፡²⁰ አውራኑ፡ ዘተወስበት፡²¹ 14. ወብዙን፡ ይብሉ፡ ኢወሰደት፡
 ወኢዐርገት፡ መወልደት፡²² ወ*ኢጽራኑ፡ ሕማም፡²³ ኢለማዕነ፡ ወይጼለሉ፡
 ኩሎሙ፡ እምነህ፡ ወያእምሩ፡²⁴ ኩሎሙ፡ ቦቱ፡ ወኢያ*አግምሩ፡ እምአይቱ፡
 ወእቱ። 15. ወይነሥእም፡ ወይመጽሐ፡ *ለናዘሬት፡ ዘገሊላ፡²⁵ 16. ወርኢኩ፡
 ሕዝቅደስ፡ ወኢዮሳብ፡ ወልድየ፡ ወለባዕዳንሂ፡ ነቢይት፡ እነገር፡ ሶእሰ፡
 ይቀውሙ፡ ከመ፡ ንብኡ፡²⁶ ኩሎ፡ ለማያት፡ ወኩሎ፡ መኳንንት፡ ወ*ኩሎ፡
 እምላክ፡²⁷ ዘዘ፡ ዓለም። 17. ወር*ኢ²⁷ኩ፡ በናዘሬት፡ ሀሎ፡²⁸ ይጠሉ፡ ከመ፡
 ገዳ፡²⁹ ወበከመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ሀሎ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይትአመር። 18. ወሶባ፡ ልህቀ፡
 ይገብር፡ ተአምረ፡ ዐቢየ፡³⁰ ወመንከረ፡ በምድረ፡ እስራኤል፡ *ወ³¹ኢየሩሳሌም።

¹ *b* ፀረብ፡ ² *b* adds ቅዱስ፡ ³ So *bc*. So *a* read, but the
 first three letters are erased and the fourth almost wholly.
⁴ *b* ወኢብር፡ ⁵ *b* trs. and for ክልኤ፡ reads ፩. ⁶ *b* ነበረ፡ ፩.
⁷ *b* om. ⁸ *bc* ቤት፡ ⁹ *c* and also originally *a* but the
 word is erased save the first letter : *b* reads ፍጥርቱ፡ ¹⁰ *bc* ትረከብ፡
¹¹ *bc* ዘቀደመ፡ ¹² *a* ትጽንሰ፡ ¹³ *c*. *a* originally had this
 phrase twice, but subsequently ምታ፡ was erased in both in-
 stances. *b* omits phrase. ¹⁴ *bc* ምንተ፡ ¹⁵ *bc* ወይትከሠት፡
¹⁶ *b* adds ለየሴፍ፡ ¹⁷ *b* ወያእኩት፡ ¹⁸ *b* በ፪ ይመጽሐ፡
¹⁹ *bc* trs. ²⁰ *b* ፩. ²¹ Erased in *a*, but two first letters
 decipherable : all erased but first in *b*. ²² *a* መውልድ፡ (sic).
²³ *b* አጽርኃ፡ ሕማመ፡ ²⁴ *b* ወኢየአመኑ፡ ²⁵ *b* ናዘሬት፡
²⁶ *b* ንብኡ፡ Perhaps we should read የንብኡ፡ ²⁷ *a* om.
²⁸ *b* እንዘ፡ ²⁹ *b* adds ወከመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ሀሎ፡ ይጠሉ፡ ³⁰ *b* ዐቢይት፡
³¹ *b* ወቢ.

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19. ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ይቀ
ንእ፡ ቦቱ፡¹ ከኢራዊ፡ ወያ
ሥኦሙ፡ ሰውሉድ፡ እስራ
ኤል፡ ሳዕሌሁ፡ እንዘ፡ አደ
አምሩ፡ መኑ፡ ውእቱ፡ ወ
ይሚጥውዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወ
ይሰቅልዎ፡ *ወይወርድ፡
ንቡ፡ መልአክ።² 20. በ
አየሩሳሌምኮ፡ ረአክዎ፡
እንዘ፡ ይሰቅልዎ፡ ደቡ፡ ዐፀ፡
21. ወከመኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡
ማልስት፡ ዐለት፡ ይትነማ
እ፡ ወይኑባር፡ መዋዕለ።³
22. ወይቤሰኒ፡ መልአክ፡
ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ለቡ፡ እሳ
ይያስ፡ ወርአኩ፡ ሰባ፡
ፈነዎሙ፡⁴ *ለዐሠርቱ፡
ወክልኤቱ፡ አርዳኦ፡⁵ ወ
ዐርገ። 23. ወአከ፡ ርአ
ክዎ፡⁶ ወኮ፡ በምጽናዕ፡
ወኢተወለጠ፡ በከመ፡ ር
እየተሙ፡ ወርእይዎ፡ ኩ
ሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘም
ጽናዕ፡ *ወሰይጣን፡ ወሰ
ንዱ።⁷ 24. ውብዙኅ፡
ሐዘን፡ ኮኑ፡ በህዩ፡ እንዘ፡
ይብሉ፡ እፎ፡ ወረድ፡ እ
ንዚእ*¹፡ ማእከሰ፡⁸
ወንሐከ፡ አለበውኑ፡ ስብ
ኅት፡ [ዘህሰውት፡ ሳዕሌ
ሁ፡]⁹ ዘንሬኡ፡ ዘተረከቡ፡

19. Et non cognove-
runt eum.

23. Et vidi ascenden-
tem in firmamen-
tum, qui¹⁰ non erat
secundum formam
transfigurans se. Et
videntes omnes an-
geli, qui erant super
firmamento, "expa-
verunt et¹¹ adorantes
24. Dicebant: Quo-
modo¹¹ †ascendisti in
medio nostri domi-
ne?†¹² et non cogno-

19. Et non cogno-
verunt eum.

23. Et vidi ascenden-
tem in firmamentum,
*et jam¹³ non erat se-
cundum formam[†] eor-
um¹⁴ transfigurans
se. Cum autem vidi-
sent eum omnes an-
geli *qui erant super
firmamento¹⁵ "expa-
verunt et¹¹ adorantes
24. Dicebant: Quo-
modo *latuit nos
dominus in medio¹⁶
et non cognovimus

¹ b om.

² bc ወደወርድዎ፡ ንቡ፡ መላእክት፡

³ c adds ሄ.

⁴ bc ፈነወ፡

⁵ b ፲ወ፪አርድኤቱ፡ እንዚእ፡

⁶ bc ርአኩ፡

⁷ b ወሰይጣን፡

⁸ Em. in accordance with L² in medio nostri

from ሳዕሌኑ፡

⁹ A doublet.

¹⁰ = et is. Ed. Ven. q.

¹¹ Ed. Ven. quō.

¹² Corrupt. If second sing. is retained,

we must read descendisti.

¹³ L² qui (q).

¹⁴ L² om.

¹⁵ u om.

¹⁶ L² corrupt here.

L²

S

ሳዕሌሁ፡ እምሳደስ፡ ሰማይ፡፡ 25. ወዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወኢተወለጠ፡ እሳ፡ ክሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ እሳ፡ በየማን፡ ወበፀጋም፡ ወመንበር፡ *ማእከሳ፡ ውእቱ፡¹
26. ወደሰገዱ፡² ሎቱ፡ ወደሴብሕዎ፡ ወደብሉ፡ እፎ፡ እግዚእ*³፡ ኑብእ፡⁴ እንዘ፡ ይወርድ፡ ወኢለበው፡፡ 27. ወከማሁ፡ ዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ማልስ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ሰብሕ፡⁵ ወይቤሉ፡፡ 28. *ወውስተ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወኃምስሂ፡⁶ ከማሁ፡ ክመ፡³ ይቤሉ፡፡ 29. ወባሕቱ፡ ስብሓትሰ፡ አሕዱ፡⁷ ውእቱ፡ *ወ³እምኒሁ፡ ኢተወለጠ፡፡ 30. ወርእኩ፡ ሰብሕ፡ ውስተ፡ ሳደስ፡⁸ ሰማይ፡ ዐርገ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡፡ 31. ወባሕቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ክሉ፡ ሰማይት፡ ስብሓት፡ ይትዌሰክ፡፡ 32. ወርእክዎ፡ እፎ፡ ዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ ክሎሙ፡ ዳድቃን፡ ወክሎሙ፡ መላእክ

vimus regem gloriae? 25. Et *primo coelo⁹ †gloriosior†¹⁰ ascendebat et non transfigurabat se. Porro¹¹ omnes angeli¹² 26. Adoraverunt, et cantaverunt dicentes: Quomodo¹³ transisti per nos domine? et non vidimus, †neque adoravimus te†? 27-30. Ita ascendit [in secundum coelum et]¹⁴ in tertium et in quartum et in sextum 31. †Usque ad omnes coelos, et gloriae suae conjungebat se†¹⁵. 32. Quando¹⁶ ascendit in septimum coelum, cantaverunt ei om-

regem gloriae? 25. Et *ex primo caelo¹⁷ ascendebat †gloriosior†¹⁸, et non transfigurabat se. Sed¹⁹ omnes angeli †et dextri et sinistri et is qui in medio throno sedet†¹ 26. Adoraverunt †eum† et cantaverunt dicentes: Quomodo transisti praeter nos, domine, et non cognovimus †neque adoravimus te†? 27-30. †Et† ita ascendit [in secundum et]²⁰ in tertium et in quartum et in quintum et in sextum caelum. 31. In omnibus tamen caelis gloria ejus adjecta est. 32. †Et† ut ascendit in septimum caelum cantaverunt ei om-

¹ b Hማእከሌሎሙ፡² b ወሰገዱ፡³ b om.⁴ bc ኅሱእ፡⁵ b ሰብሕዎ፡⁶ b ውስተ፡ ወራብዕ፡ ወኃምስ፡ ሰማይ፡⁷ bc ኧ.⁸ a om.⁹ See note 17.¹⁰ Corrupt or interpolated.¹¹ S =

sed.

¹² Add with S E et dextri et sinistri et is qui in medio throno sedet.¹³ Ed. Ven. quō.¹⁴ Wrong addition. Seenote ²⁰.¹⁵ Corrupt. S (= E) preserves true text.¹⁶ S et ut.¹⁷ E in secundum caelum.¹⁸ Corrupt or interpolated.¹⁹ L²

porro.

²⁰ Both S L² err in adding these words. See exegetical note on xi. 27. L² adds caelum after sec.

L²

S

ተ፡ ወሰባ፡ ርእሱ፡ ከ
መ፡ ነባረ፡ በየማኑ፡ ስብ
ሐተ፡¹ ዐቢይ፡ ዝክ፡ ዘእ
ቤለክመ፡ ከመ፡ ሕክህል
ክ፡ ስብሓተ፡ ርእሱ፡²
33. ወመልእክኒ፡ ዘመን
ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ርእሱ፡ *ከ
መ፡ ነባረ፡³ በፀጋም፡
34. *ወመልእክ፡ *ከ⁵
ይቤላ፡ ሕሳይያስ፡ ወል
ይ፡ አሞጽ፡ አክሰክ፡⁶ እስ
መ፡⁷ ዐቢይተ፡ እሳንቱ፡
እስመ፡ ጠየቀ፡ ዘኢጠየቀ፡
ወልይ፡ ሥጋ፡ 35. ወተ
ገብእ፡ ወስተ፡ ልብስክ፡
እስክ፡ መዋዕሊክ፡ ይተፈ
ጸማ፡⁸ አሜሃ፡ ተመጽእ፡
ዝኖ፡ 36. እሱንተ፡⁹ ር
እሱ፡¹⁰ መይቤ፡ ሕሳይያስ፡
ለኩሉመ፡ እሰ፡ ይቆው
መ፡ ቅድሚህ፡ ወይሴብ

nes justi et omnes
angeli ¶et omnes vir-
tutes¹¹, quas¹² non
potui videre. 33.
Angelum mirabi-
lem¹³ vidi sedere a
sinistris [ejus], 34.
Qui dixit mihi: Suf-
ficit tibi Ysaia; vi-
disti [enim], quod
nemo [alius] vidit
carnis filius, ¶quod
nec oculus vidit, nec
auris audivit, nec in
cor hominis ascen-
dit, quanta prae-
paravit deus omnibus
diligentibus se¹⁴.
35. Dixitque mihi:
Revertere in stolam
tuam, donec tempus
dierum tuorum adim-
pleatur ¶et¹⁵ tunc ve-
nies huc. 36. Haec
videns Ysaia dixit
circumstantibus se,
et ¶audientes mira-

nes justi et omnes
angeli ¶et omnes vir-
tutes¹¹. ¶Et tunc vidi
eum ut sedit a dex-
tris Magnae Glorae¹⁷,
quam non potui vi-
dere; 33. ¶Et¹ an-
gelum Spiritus vidi
sedentem a sinis-
tris. 34. Et dixit
mihi: Sufficit tibi,
Isaia! cognovisti¹⁵
quod nemo cognovit¹⁶
e carnis filiis, ¶nec¹⁷
oculus vidit nec auris
audivit nec in cor
hominis ascendit,
quanta prae-
paravit Deus diligentibus
eum¹⁸.—35. Et dixit
mihi¹¹: Revertere in
stolam tuam, donec
tempus dierum tuo-
rum adimpleatur ¶et¹¹
tunc venies [mihi]
huc. 36. Haec cum
vidisset Isaias dixit
circumstantibus
eum, ¶et cum audis-

¹ a ዘስብሐተ፡ ² bc ርእሱ፡ ³ b om. ⁴ a om. ⁵ c. ab H.

⁶ Em. in accordance with SL² sufficit tibi from ሕድሃክ፡ Dln. proposes ይክንክ፡ ⁷ bc እስክ፡ ⁸ a ይተፈጸም፡ ⁹ a እሱንተ፡

¹⁰ Em. from ርእሱ፡ in accordance with SL². The same error has crept into bc two lines later. ¹¹ L² defective. See S.

¹² Should be quam; change due to loss of preceding words.

¹³ Should be spiritualement. SE = spiritus (gen.). ¹⁴ S eum.

¹⁵ L² (E) vidisti. ¹⁶ L² (E) vidit. ¹⁷ L² quod nec. On

this passage see exegetical note on xi. 34. ¹⁸ L² se.

L²

S

ሐ:: ወይትናገር: ለሐዘ
ቅደስ: ንጉሥ: ወይቤ:¹
ከመ: እሳንተ:² ተናገርኩ:
37. ወተፍጻሜቱ:³ ለዘ:
ዓለም: 38. ወዘላ: ዘ
ፒ: ራእይ: ትትፈጸም:
*በደኃሪት: ትውልድ::⁴
39. ወአምሐሮ: አሳይዖ
ስ: ከመ: አይንገር: ለሐ
ዘበ: እስራኤል: ወአእላ
ንተ: ቃላተ: ከመ: *አላህ
ብ: ለአዕልዎ: ለሰብእ::
40. *... ከማፃ: ታኅ
ብዎን::⁶ ወአንተመሰ: ሀ
ልጢ: በመንፈስ: ቅዱስ:
ከመ: ትንሥኡ: አልባሲክ

bilia cantaverunt
omnes et⁷ glorifica-
verunt "dominum"⁷
dantem talem gra-
tiam hominibus⁷.
Et dixit Ezechiae
regi: 37. Consum-
matio seculi hujus,
38. Et +opera imple-
buntur⁸ in novissi-
mis generationibus.
39. Et prohibuit eis,
ut non annuntiarent
populo Israel, nec
verba haec darent
ad scribendum omni
homini. 40. Sed
+quanta intelligen-
tur a rege et dicta⁹
in prophetis¹⁰. *Ita
et vos estote¹¹ in
Sancto Spiritu, ut
recipiat stolas ves-
tras et thronos et
coronas gloriae in
coelisjacentes. "Ces-
savit autem loqui et

sent haec¹² mirabilia
glorificaverunt et⁷
cantaverunt "Deum,
dantem talem gra-
tiam hominibus⁷.
Dixit autem Eze-
chiae regi: 37. Con-
summatio saeculi
hujus, 38. Et om-
nis haec visio im-
plebitur in novis-
sima generatione.
39. Et prohibuit eos,
ne annuntiarent
filiis¹³ Israel, nec ver-
ba haec darent ad
scribendum omni ho-
mini, 40. Sed +quan-
tumcunque intelli-
gitis a rege dicta in
prophetis[†], talia in-
telligite omnes. Vos
autem vigilate¹⁴ in
Sancto Spiritu, ut
recipiat stolas
vestram et thronos
et coronas gloriae in
caelisjacentes. "Et
cessavit loquens et

¹ b ወእቤ: c ወእቤሮ:² b እሳ: ዘንተ: c እሎንተ:³ ac ወተፍጻሜቱ:⁴ b በደንራ: መዋዕል:⁵ b አይሀብ:

ለዐዕልወተ:

⁶ Em. in accordance with S talia intelligite from a ወአማፃ: ታኅብዎን: (ታኅብብዎን: c; ያኅብብዎን: b).⁷ S deum.⁸ Corrupt. See S for right version.⁹ Ed. Ven. dcā.¹⁰ Corrupt and defective. Better in S.¹¹ Corrupt. See note ¹⁴.¹² L² om.¹³ L² E populo.¹⁴ So E. L² corrupt.

	L ²	S
መ፡ ወመናብርተ፡ ወአክ	exivit ab Ezechia	exivit ab Ezechia
ሊላተ፡ ዘስብላት፡ ዘቡ፡	rege. ⁷	rege ⁷ . [Ipsi autem
ላብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ንቡር።	Explicit visio Ysaiæ	Deo nostro gloria
	prophetæ.	nunc et semper et
		in saecula saeculo-
		rum. Amen.] ⁸

41. በእነተ፡ እሱ፡¹ ራእያት፡² ወተንበታት፡³ ወሠር፡ ሰማየል፡ ሰይጣን፡
በእይ፡ ምናሴ፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አጥጽ፡ ነቢይ። 42. ወዘነተ፡ ዘሉ፡
ወሀብ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ለምናሴ፡ በዓመተ፡ ጼወ፤³ 43. ወኢተዘከረ፡ ምናሴ፡
ወኢወደኖን፡ ወስተ፡ ልቡ፡ *ለእሳ፡⁴ አሳ፡ ተቀረየ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ ተሀጉለ።

ተፈጸመ፡ በዝየ፡ *ዘ⁵ኢሳይያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ ምስለ፡ ዕርገቱ።⁶

¹ a እሳ፡ ² a puts in acc. ³ b adds ለመንግሥቱ፡
⁴ bc om. ⁵ c ራእየ፡ ⁶ b om. entire subscription. ⁷ Possibly
this sentence belonged to original form of Vision. ⁸ An
addition of the Slavonic scribe.

APPENDIX

THE USE OF THE NAMES 'THE BELOVED,' 'BELIAR,' AND 'SAMMAEL,' IN THE VARIOUS CONSTITUENTS OF THE 'ASCENSION.'

The Beloved. This title of the Messiah is peculiar to the Testament of Hezekiah iii. 13, 17, 18; iv. 3, 6, 9, 18, and to the Vision of Isaiah vii. 17, 23; viii. 18, 25; ix. 12. Its presence in i. 4, 5, 7, 13 in the Martyrdom of Isaiah is due to the editor of the *Ascension*, as well as in iv. 21.

Beliar. This designation is wholly absent from the Vision of Isaiah. It is found both in the Martyrdom of Isaiah and in the Testament of Hezekiah, but in two quite different meanings. Thus in the Testament he appears as the Beliar Antichrist manifested in the flesh in the form of Nero iv. 2, 14, 16, 18, whereas in the Martyrdom he is a purely Satanic immaterial being i. 8, 9; ii. 4; iii. 11. In this latter sense he is introduced in his editorial additions in iii. 13^a; v. 1^a, 15.

Sammael. This name is absent from the Testament of Hezekiah. It is also absent from the Vision of Isaiah; for in vii. 9 it is due to the editor of the *Ascension*, since it is wanting in SL² (see p. 105). It was, therefore, peculiar to the Martyrdom i. 8, 11; ii. 1, but appears also in the editorial additions, iii. 13^a; v. 15, 16; xi. 41.

To sum up, the name 'Sammael' was originally peculiar to the Martyrdom, Beliar to the Testament of Hezekiah in one sense, and to the Martyrdom in another, and the title 'Beloved' common to the Testament and the Vision, but absent from the Martyrdom. It is needless to add that these facts confirm our critical analysis of the *Ascension*.

Προφητεία, ἀποκάλυψις καὶ μαρτύριον

τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ εὐδόξου καὶ μεγίστου τῶν προφητῶν
Ἑσαίου τοῦ προφήτου.

[See Introd. pp. xxvii–xxviii.]

Ascension
of Isaiah,

1. Ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Ἰεζεκίου ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καλέσαι Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ὄντα ἐτῶν ἔνδεκα, ἔμπροσθεν Ἑσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ Ἰασοῦμ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. 2. Καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ μακάριος Ἑσαίας εἶδεν, καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν καὶ ἐξέλευσιν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐβδόμου οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄδην, καὶ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν ἣν μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰεζεκίας εἶδεν ἐν τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 3. Καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν Σωμνὰς ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἀσοὺρ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος ἐρχόμενον τὸν μέγαν Ἑσαίαν ἀπὸ Γαλγάλων εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τεσσεράκοντα υἱοὺς προφητῶν καὶ Ἰασοῦμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Ἰεζεκίᾳ περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως αὐτῶν. 4. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰεζεκίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα, καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἰς συνάντησιν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἑσαίου ἐπελάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, 5. Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν τεθῆναι αὐτῷ δίφρον· οὐκ ἐκάθισεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δίφρον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην τοῦ βασιλέως. 6. Τότε ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἰεζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἑσαίαν τὸν προφήτην, ἵνα ἐπιθήσῃ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ εὐλογήσῃ αὐτόν. ὥς

i. 1, 2.

i. 5.

x. 8 (iii.

13).

iii. 13; x.

18.

i. 2, 4.

i. 5; vi.

17.

vi. 1, 3.

vi. 2.

vi. 5.

i. 1. Instead of ὄντα ἐτῶν ἔνδεκα, Gebhardt proposes ὄντα αὐτῷ ἕνα as in Ethiopic. Ἰασοῦμ LXX. Ἰασούβ. Ethiopic = Jōsēb, Jōsēb or Jōsāb. 2. εἶδεν twice ἴδεν in MB. 3. Ἀσοὺρ corrupted from Ἀσάφ: see note on vi. 17.

δὲ εἶδεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τὸν Μανασσὴν, ἐγέλασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Ἐζεκία· Οὐ δύναμαι εὐλογῆσαι τὸν Μανασσὴν

- i. 7. τὸν μέλλοντά με τιμωρεῖν μεγάλας βασάνους καὶ πικραῖς. 7. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐζεκίας τῷ ἁγίῳ προφῆτῃ Ἡσαΐα· Εὐλόγησον, πάτερ, Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱόν μου. 8. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ζῇ κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Μανασσὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου βασάνους πικραῖς τοῦ
- i. 9. ζῆν ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι. 9. Κατοικήσει γὰρ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Μανασσὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου, καὶ πρισθῆσομαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρίωνι
- v. 11. ξυλίνῳ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν εἰς δύο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐξ Ἰούδα ἀποστήσει ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζῶντος καὶ
- i. 10. προσκυνήσουσιν εἰδώλοις. 10. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα καὶ ἔσχισεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς, καὶ ἔβαλεν χοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ σάκκον καὶ σποδὸν ὑπεστρώσατο, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ προσώπων
- i. 11. αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ νεκρός. 11. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἐζεκία· Οὐκ ὠφελήσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲν κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος· δεῖ γὰρ πληρωθῆναι τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ
- i. 12. σατανᾶ ἐν τῷ νῷ σου τῷ Μανασσῇ. 12. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ διελογίζετο Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Μανασσὴν. ὁ δὲ Σωμνὰς ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπεν τῷ ἁγίῳ προφῆτῃ Ἡσαΐα ὅτι Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς βούλεται ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν
- i. 13. υἱὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ σέ. 13. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας πρὸς Ἐζεκιάν τὸν βασιλέα· Κατήργησεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς
- i. 7. αὐτοῦ τὴν βουλὴν σου· οὐ μὴ γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο. δεῖ γάρ με ἐκ παντὸς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Μανασσὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τιμωρηθέντα ἐξελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου.

14. Ὡρυξεν δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκείαις χερσίν, καὶ εὗρεν ὕδωρ πολὺ, καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὸ πηγὴν Σιλωάμ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀπεσταλμένος.

- ii. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσκαλεσάμενος Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν
- vi. 2. ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφῆτην εἰς τὰ βασιλεία εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Καὶ καθεζομένου τοῦ μεγάλου προφῆτου Ἡσαΐου ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην
- vi. 10. τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκστάσει, καὶ ἦρθη ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. 2. Καὶ ὡς τοῦτο γέγονεν, ἤρξατο λέγειν Σωμνὰς ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος ὅτι ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας. Εἶτα εἰσελθὼν Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς
- vi. 14. χειρὸς ἔγνω ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀνελήφθη, ἥγουν μετέστη·
- vi. 12. ὅτι ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμφύσημα ζωῆς. 3. Ἐποίησεν δὲ οὕτως κείμενος ἐπὶ

τῆς κλίνης τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ νύκτας τρεῖς. 4. Καὶ ὅτε εἶδεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τὰ ἐξαίσια καὶ ἀκατανόητα καὶ παράδοξα τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ ἔργα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, τὴν τε πατρικὴν δόξαν καὶ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὴν τε τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων τάξιν καὶ χοροστασίαν· ἤκουσεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα καὶ ἀπόρρητα τοῦ θεοῦ ῥήματα· τότε ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ. 5. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἐκάλεσεν ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας Ἰασούμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ vi. 16, 17. καὶ Σωμνὰν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ Ἐζεκίαν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς περι(ε)στῶτας, οἵτινες καὶ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἅπερ εἶδεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης. 6. Ἐγένετο, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ vii. 2; iv. προφητεύειν με τὴν ὄρασιν τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ εἶδον θεοῦ 19; vii. 4. ἄγγελον δεδοξασμένον· οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὧν εἶδον τότε ἐγὼ ἔβλεπον νῦν, ἀλλὰ πλείονα καὶ περισσοτέρων εἶχεν δόξαν. 7. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με· Ἀκουσόν μου, Ἡσαΐα υἱὲ Ἀμώς· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπεστάλην τοῦ ἀνενέγκαι σε ἕως ἐβδόμου vii. 4, 5. οὐρανοῦ, ὅπως ἴδῃς τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαπητόν. 8. Καὶ εὐφράνθητι πάντῳ ὅτι vii. 6, 9. πράεως ἐλαλήσεν μοι. 9. Καὶ λαβὼν με εὐθέως ἀνήγαγεν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ τὸν σατανᾶν καθεζόμενον ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ θόρυβον πολλὸν περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν μεγάλην· εἰς γὰρ τὸν ἕνα ἀρπάζειν x. 31. καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἐβούλετο, τοῦ καθημένου χαίροντος πάντῳ ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ταύταις. 10. Καὶ εἶπον τῷ θεῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ vii. 11. ὄντι· Κύριε, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὃς χαίρει ἐπὶ τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἀσπόνδῳ πολέμῳ; 11. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με· Οὐκ ἐγὼ κύριος, viii. 5. ἀλλὰ σύνδουλός σου εἰμί. οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ κρατήσας τοῦ κόσμου, iv. 2. ὃν καταβαλεῖ ἐκ τοῦ στερεώματος τούτου καὶ εἰς ἀπωλείας ἐκπέμψει iv. 14. βυθὸν ὁ μέλλων καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις SL²x.1 (?) συναναστρέφειν κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας εἰδέας, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. viii. 10, 26. 12. Καὶ πάλιν ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν πρῶτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ vii. 13, 14. κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θρόνον, δεξιούς τε καὶ ἀριστερούς ἐστῶτας θεοῦ ἀγγέλους καὶ ὑμνοῦντας ἀσιγήτῳ φωνῇ. 13. vii. 15, 16. Καὶ εἶπον τῷ θεῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ὄντι μετ' ἐμοῦ· Τίνι ὁ ὕμνος 17. οὗτος ἀναπέμπεται; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Οὗτος ὁ ὕμνος εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀναπέμπεται τοῦ καθεζομένου ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ οὐρανῷ, μεγάλου καὶ ἀκαταλήπτου θεοῦ. 14. Καὶ εἶδ' οὕτως ἀνήγαγέν με vii. 18, 19. εἰς τὸν δεύτερον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ θρόνον κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, δεξιούς τε καὶ ἀριστερούς ἀσωμάτους, ὑμνοῦντας

- vii. 20. ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον θεόν. καὶ πλείους ἦν ὁ ὕμνος
vii. 24. ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ οὐρανῷ ὑπὲρ τὸν πρῶτον. 15. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν τρίτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον κάκει θρόνον
κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλήθος ἀναρίθμητον ἀγγέλων
καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ὑμνοῦντων ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· καὶ
ὁ ὕμνος ὁ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ μέζων ἦν ὑπὲρ τοὺς λοιπούς. 16. Ἐτι
(ix. 19.) δὲ ὄντος μου ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ ἐλογισάμην ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἶπον·
ix. 20 ; vii. 27. Ἐὰρ τι δύναται γνωσθῆναι ὧδε τῶν ἐν τῷ κάτω κόσμῳ γινομένων
vii. 27. ἔργων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ; 17. Καὶ εἶπεν
ὁ θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὦν· Ἔγνων τί ἐλογίσω ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ
σου, Ἥσαϊα. ἄφες νῦν· ὅταν γὰρ ἀνενέγκω σε εἰς τὸν ἔβδομον
οὐρανόν, τότε γνώσῃ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸ θεῖον ἐκ τῶν
vii. 25, 28. ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ φθαρτῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων. 18. Καὶ πάλιν
vii. 29. ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν τέταρτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον κάκει κατὰ
μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θρόνον, καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου ἄγγελοι καὶ
ἀρχάγγελοι ὑμνοῦντες ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ τὸν
υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. 19.
vii. 32, 33. Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν πέμπτον οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶδον
κάκει θρόνον κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλήθος ἀναρίθμητον
SL² vii. 33. ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων. 20. Ἦσαν δὲ εἰς τὸν πέμπτον οὐρανόν καὶ
ὑποθρόνια ζῶα ἀναμειγμένα μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὑμνοῦντα ἐκείνον τὸν
viii. 16. μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον. 21. Καὶ ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν ἕκτον οὐρανόν,
καὶ οὐκέτι ἡδυνάμην ὑποστῆναι τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὰ φῶτα· καὶ
vii. 21. ἐφοβήθην πάνυ καὶ ἔπεσον ἐπὶ πρόσωπον. 22. Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ
θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὦν· Ἀκουσον, Ἥσαϊα προφῆτα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς·
μὴ προσκυνήσῃς μήτε ἀγγέλους μήτε ἀρχαγγέλους μήτε κυριό-
τητας μήτε θρόνους, ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ σοι εἴπω. καὶ κρατήσας με ἐκ
ix. i (2). τῆς χειρὸς ἐνίσχυσε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν ἐμοί. 23. Καὶ ἀνερχομένων
ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ οὐρανῷ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τῶν κάτω πεμ-
πομένης καὶ λεγούσης· Ἔως πότε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ μέλλον ἀκμῇν
ἐν σαρκὶ οἰκεῖν ἀναβαίνει ὧδε ; καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἤκουσα
ix. 2. φωνῆς ἐτέρας ἐκ τῶν ἄνω λεγούσης· Ἀφεθήτω ἀναβαίνειν ὁ
δίκαιος Ἥσαϊας· ὧδε γὰρ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ, ὧδε καὶ ὁ στέφανος
ix. 3. αὐτοῦ, ὧδε καὶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ ἐστίν. 24. Καὶ εἶπον τῷ θεῷ
ἀγγέλῳ τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντι· Δέομαί σου· τίς ἐστίν ὁ κωλύων με
μὴ ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ τίς ἐστίν ὁ ἐπιτρέπων μοι ἀναβαίνειν ;
ix. 4. 25. Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὦν· Ὁ μὲν κωλύσας σε
ἀναβαίνειν ἔστιν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐφεστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμνων τῶν πέντε
ix. 5. οὐρανῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιτρέπων σοι ἀναβαίνειν ἔστιν ὁ κύριος τῆς

δόξης, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὃν καὶ ἰδέσθαι ἔχεις κατερχόμε- ix. 12, 13.
 μενον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας. Τούτον ix. 31.
 τοῖνυν προσκύνησον καὶ ὑμνησον καὶ δόξασον. 26. Καὶ ὡς
 ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν ἑβδομον οὐρανὸν ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐτέρας ix. 6.
 λεγούσης μοι· Ἐνίσχυσον, Ἡσαΐα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς. καὶ εὐθέως ἐνίσχυσέν
 με τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί. 27. Καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ πάντας ix. 7, 8.
 τοὺς δικαίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ· Ἀβελ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ Σὴθ τὸν ix. 28.
 δίκαιον, Ἰάρεθ τὸν δίκαιον καὶ Ἐνῶχ τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ix. 9.
 ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν δικαίων γεγεννημένους. 28. Καὶ εἶδον ὡς
 προσεκύουν, καὶ ἔπεσον ἀγῶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησα. ix. 28.
 καὶ ἀνέστην ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας μου. 29. Καὶ ὅτε τὴν ὀφειλομένην
 προσκύνησιν ἀπέδωκαν, ἐκάθητο ὁ κύριος ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ προσκαλε-
 σάμενός με εἶπέν μοι· Ἄκουσον δὴ, Ἡσαΐα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς, καὶ ἔσο viii. 11.
 εἰδὼς ὡς οὐδεὶς ᾔδε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέβη, οὐδὲ εἶδεν ἕτερος ἢ
 σὺ εἶδες, μέλλων ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς σαρκός. 30.
 Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔδωκε βιβλίον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν μου, καὶ εἶπέν μοι· ix. 20.
 Δέξαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀνάγνωθι ἃ ἐλογίσω ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ, ἀνερ- ix. 19, 20.
 χόμενος ἐνθάδε, καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι οὐδὲν λανθάνει ἐκ τῶν γινομένων
 ἔργων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ κόσμῳ πονηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν. 31. Καὶ (vii. 27.)
 ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέγνων· καὶ ἰδοὺ πᾶσα ix. 22.
 ἀπογραφὴ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ αἰῶνος ἕως αἰῶνος ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, τῶν τε
 ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν, μεχρὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνθυμήσεων. 32. Καὶ ix. 23.
 ἀναγνοὺς τὸ βιβλίον εἶπον· Ἀληθῶς, δέσποτα, οὐδὲν λανθάνει ᾧδε
 τῶν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν κόσμον πραττομένων. 33. Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως εἶπεν xi. 35 (viii.
 ὁ κύριος πρὸς με· Ὑπόστρεφε αὐθις, Ἡσαΐα, εἰς τὸ τῆς σαρκός σου ¹¹).
 ἔνδυμα· δεῖ γάρ σε τὸν τῆς ζωῆς σου χρόνον ἐν τῷ φθαρτῷ κόσμῳ
 πληρῶσαι. 34. Κἀγὼ ἐδεήθην αὐτοῦ λέγων· Δέσποτα, μὴ ἀπολύ- viii. 23.
 σης με εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐκείνον τὸν μάταιον. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς
 εἶπεν· Πορεύου ἐκείσε· οὐπω γὰρ ὁ τῆς ζωῆς σου χρόνος πεπλήρω- xi. 35;
 ται. 35. Καὶ ἔπεσα εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ δεόμενος μὴ ἀποσταλῆναί viii. 27.
 με εἰς τὸν κόσμον. καὶ ἔτι προσθεὶς ὁ κύριος εἶρκεν μοι· Τί viii. 23.
 κλαίεις, Ἡσαΐα; ἶδε ὁ τόπος σου, ἶδε ὁ θρόνος σου, ἶδε ὁ στέφανός
 σου, ἶδε καὶ τὰ ἐνδυμήματά σου πάντα ἃ προητοίμασά σοι. 36. ix. 2.
 Δεῖ γάρ σε τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐν κλήρῳ ξύλου τελέσαντα ἀναβῆναι ᾧδε.
 πρίσουςιν γάρ σε οἱ παράνομοι ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ καὶ διχάσουσιν (v. 11.)
 ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν εἰς δύο. 37. Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἐλέγετό μοι
 ἤκουσα τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐπηρμένου θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς x. 7.
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗ τὴν δόξαν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἠδυνήθην x. 2.
 ἰδεῖν, λεγούσης τῇ κυρίῳ μου καὶ Χριστῷ, ὅς κληθήσεται ix. 5; x. 7.

- x. 8. Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ· 38. Ἐξέλθε, τέκνον, καὶ κατὰβηθι
 x. 12. κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ οὐρανὸν ἡρέμα. καταβήσῃ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν
 κόσμον ἐκείνον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἑκπαλαι κυριευόμενον καὶ
 τῶν προσκυνούντων αὐτοῖς, οἵτινες ἡρνήσαντό με καὶ εἶπον·
 x. 13 (iv. 6,8). (x. 8); Ὡσαύτως καταβήσῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ἄδου ἐν
 xi. 19, 20. Ἱερουσαλήμ· πλήν ἕως τοῦ τελευτῆσαι σε μὴ ἀπελεύσῃ. 40.
 x. 14, 15. Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ θανατωθῆναί σε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναβήσῃ ὧδε.
 τότε καθήσῃ ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, καὶ προσκυνήσουσί σε πάντες
 ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, καὶ
 πᾶσαι τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ γινώσκονται πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν
 x. 11. οὐρανῶν στρατιαὶ ὅτι σὺ εἰ κύριος μετ' ἐμοῦ τῶν ἑπτὰ οὐρανῶν
 x. 16. τούτων καὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. 41. Ταῦτα ἤκουον τῆς δόξης
 x. 17, 19. τῆς μεγάλης λεγούσης τῷ κυρίῳ μου καὶ Χριστῷ. καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα κατῆλθεν ὁ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς
 τὸν ἕκτον οὐρανόν· ἀκεῖ ἐδόξασαν, ὕμνησαν, προσεκύνησαν πᾶσαι
 x. 20. τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ δυνάμεις τὸν κύριον. 42. Καὶ εἶδον ὡς ἐξῆλθεν
 ὁ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ [ἕκτου] οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν πέμπτον
 οὐρανόν. ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἐδόξασαν, οὐχ ὕμνησαν οὐδὲ προσεκύνησαν·
 ἦν γὰρ ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡ αὐτῶν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐν ἀγγέλοις
 ἄγγελος, ἐν ἀρχαγγέλοις ἀρχάγγελος καὶ ἐν δυνάμεσι δύνამις. 43.
 Καὶ οὕτως διῆλθεν ἡρέμα καθεξῆς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν
 τοιοῦτῳ σχήματι, καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸν γῆινον καὶ θνητὸν κόσμον
 εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς αὐτὸς μόνος ὁ κύριος ἠβελησεν.
 ii. 1. iii. Ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς
 τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ Μανασσῆς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν τὴν
 ii. 2. βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. 2. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς οὐκ ἐμνήσθη
 τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπελάθετο πάντων. καὶ
 ἀφῆκεν τὴν λατρείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν κατὰ τὸ θέλημα
 ii. 3. αὐτοῦ εἰδῶλα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ, καὶ ἐλάτρευσεν τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ
 τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν αὐτοῦ. 3. Καὶ
 ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 ii. 4. λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως. καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ
 τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν βεβήλων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων εἰδώλων,
 ii. 5. καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ φαρμακία καὶ ἡ πορνεία καὶ ἡ
 ἐπαοιδία καὶ ὁ κληδονισμὸς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος, καὶ ἐδιώκοντο
 iii. 6. πάντες οἱ εὐσεβῶς ζῶντες κατὰ θεόν. 4. Τότε οὖν προεφῆτευσεν

iii. 3. κληδονισμός MS. It is to be observed that the writer
 uses ἐπαοιδία instead of μαντεία.

ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ λέγων· Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός· Ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἡ ἡγαπημένη καὶ ἐκλεκτὴ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας Σαλμανασσάρ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, ii. 14. καὶ Μανασσῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ iii. 6. οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ ἀχθήσονται αἰχμάλωτοι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. 5. Καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν Μελχίας ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης ταῦτα προφητεύοντος τοῦ μεγάλου Ἡσαΐου καὶ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικούντων εἶπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ Μανασσῇ· 6. Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὰ καὶ πάννυ δεινὰ προφητεύει ὁ Ἡσαΐας ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ iii. 6. καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις Ἰουδα, λέγων ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὕτη παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ Μανασσῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ αἰχμάλωτοι ἀχθήσονται εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν πέδαις καὶ γαλεάγραις, καὶ ἔσται ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς δέσμιος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. 7. Τότε θυμοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς πλησθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς iii. 12. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκέλευσεν Μελχίαν τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην συλλαβέσθαι τὸν μέγαν Ἡσαΐαν, διότι προεφήτευσεν δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ. 8. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας ἀναχωρήσας ii. 7. ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑποφέρειν αὐτὸν ὄραν τὴν γινομένην ἀνομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄσωτίαν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν καὶ λατρείαν τοῦ σατανᾶ. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκάθητο ἀπέναντι Βηθλεέμ. 9. Κἀκεῖ δὲ ἦν ἀνομία πολλή· ὅθεν ἀναχωρήσας πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ii. 8. ἐκάθισεν ἐν ὄρει τινί, τόπῳ ἡσυχῷ καὶ καθαρῷ, δοξάζων ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν φιλόανθρωπον θεόν. καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιχαίας ὁ προφήτης καὶ Ἀμβακοὺμ καὶ Ἰασοὺμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ii. 9. καὶ Ἄννας ὁ γέρων, καὶ πολλοὶ ἕτεροι τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνελθεῖν. 10. Ἐκεῖσε οὖν λοιπὸν ἀνελθόντες Μελχίας καὶ Βεχείρας οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται συνέλαβον τὸν ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν τὸν (iii. 12.) προφήτην, 11. Καὶ ἀγαγόντες αὐτὸν πρὸς Μανασσῆν τὸν βασιλέα, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἡσαΐα, διατί προφητεύεις πονηρὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα μου; 12. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τῷ Μανασσῇ· Βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ οὐ προφητεύω πονηρὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῇ συμβαίνειν λαλῶ. 13. Ζῇ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς αὐτοῦ υἱὸς καὶ i. 7. τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ πόλις ἡ καλλίστη καὶ μεγάλη παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ii. 14. ἀναιδῶν διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ κατοικοῦντος ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ σὲ iii. 6.

iii. 6. γαλαιάγραις MS. 8. ἐκάθιτο MS. 13. ἀπεινῶν MS.

- δέ, βασιλεῦ Μανασσῇ, ἐν πέδαις καὶ γαλεάγραις ἀπάξουσιν αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. 14. Τότε θυμωθεὶς σφόδρα ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἤκουσεν πικροῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκέλευσεν παρευθὺ πρισθῆναι τὸν ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν ἐν πρίωνι σιδηρῷ. 15. Καὶ τούτου ἐν τάχει γινομένου καὶ πιζομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὥρας ἱκανάς, οὐδ' ὅλως ἤπτετο αὐτοῦ ὁ σιδηρος. 16. Τότε λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τῷ Μανασσῇ· Βασιλεῦ, ἔση εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ ἐκληρώθην πρισθῆναι, καὶ ἄλλως τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον.
- v. 11. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς προσέταξεν ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ
v. 1, 2, 3. πρισθῆναι αὐτόν. 17. Καὶ πιζομένου αὐτοῦ ἔστη Μελχίας ὁ
ψευδοπροφήτης κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λέγων· Εἶπε ὅτι οὐκ
ἐπροφήτευσα ταῦτα περὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἀρθήσονται ἀπὸ σοῦ αἱ
v. 9; i. 7. βάσανοι αὐται. 18. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας· Κατάθεμά
σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφήτα, διάβολε· Ζῇ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεός μου
καὶ ζῇ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι Ἱερουσαλήμ
aὕτη ἡ μεγάλη πόλις καὶ εὐρύχωρος τέλεον ἐρημωθήσεται, καὶ
Μανασσῆς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης αἰχμάλωτοι ἀχθήσονται ἐν
v. 14. Βαβυλῶνι. 19. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ μακάριος Ἡσαΐας ἔπρισαν
αὐτὸν διχῇ πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ.

iii. 13. γαλαιάγραις MS. 16. ἐκληρώθη MS.

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Note 1. For references to later writers see 'Ambrose,' 'Epiphanius,' 'Jerome,' 'Origen' in Index II.

Note 2. From the echoes of the New Testament in the Testament of Hezekiah we may safely conclude that the writer of the latter was acquainted with Matthew, Luke, and 2 Corinthians, and probably with 2 Thessalonians and Revelation. The writer of the Vision of Isaiah was acquainted with Revelation or some portion of it.

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