

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

R. H. CHARLES, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL GREEK, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

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.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xi-lxxiv
§ 1. Short account of the Book (xi-xii). § 2. Various Titles of the Book (xii-xiv). § 3. The Ethiopic Version (E) and its MSS. (xiv-xvi). § 4. Editions of the Text (xvi-xvii). § 5. Translations of the Ethiopic Version (xvii-xviii). § 6. The Latin Versions L ¹ (ii. 14 - iii. 13, vii. 1-19) and L ² (vi.-xi.) (xviii-xxi). § 7. The fuller text of G ¹ as a rule derived from G (xxi-xxiv). § 8. The Slavonic Version (S) (xxiv-xxvii). § 9. The <i>Greek Legend</i> (= <i>Gk. Leg.</i>) (xxvii-xxviii). § 10. The newly recovered Greek Text of ii. 4-iv. 4 and its relation to E and L ¹ (xxviii-xxx1). § 11. The Archetype of G and its Descendants (xxx1-xxxiii). § 12. Critical Inquiries (xxxiv-xxxvi). § 13. Different Elements in the Book (xxxvi-xliii). § 14. Dates of the various Constituents of the <i>Ascension</i> (xliv-xlv). § 15. Martyrdom of Isaiah and the Oriental Influences apparent in it (xlv-xlix). § 16. Value of the <i>Ascension</i> for the History of outlying Religious Thought (xlix-li). § 17. The Antichrist, Beliar, and Neronic Myths and their subsequent Fusion (li-lxxv).	
SYMBOLS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION	lxxiv
TRANSLATION AND NOTES	1-82
ETHIOPIC VERSION	83-139

	PAGE
GREEK TEXT	84-95
LATIN VERSION (L ¹)	87-92, 102-108
LATIN VERSION (L ²)	98-139
LATIN TRANSLATION OF SLAVONIC VERSION	98-139
APPENDIX ON THE NAMES 'THE BELOVED,' 'BELIAR,' 'SAMMAEL'	140
'GREEK LEGEND'	141-148
INDEX I	149-150
INDEX II	151-155

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), 'Ελεγχος καὶ θρίαμβος τῆς . . . αἰρέσεως τῶν ἀθέων Μασσαλιανῶν, in Tollius, *Insignia Itinerarii Italici*, 1696, 116-117, ἑτέραν τινὰ εἶναι τριάδα, ἣ καὶ ὑπερκειμένην ἐξουσίαν, τὴν τῷ ὑπερτάτῳ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπικαθημένην, κατὰ τὴν βδελυρὰν ψευδεπίγραφον παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἠσαίου ὄρασις (see Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* cxxx. 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 Isaiæ 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 πεπλήσθαι ὑπὸ

τοῦ λαοῦ ἰσθόρηται· εἰ δέ τις οὐ προσίεται τὴν ἱστορίαν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ Ἑσαία 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 ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀποκρύφων. And in lxvii. 3 Βούλεται δὲ (Ἰέρακας) τὴν τελείαν αὐτοῦ σύστασιν ποιείσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀναβατικοῦ Ἑσαίου, δῆθεν ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἀναβατικῷ λεγομένῳ ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖσε ὅτι (the quotation which follows will be found in the notes on p. 67). In like manner Jerome calls it the *Ascensio Isaiæ*. 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 Ἐζεκιίου 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 Juris 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^{11} 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 *καθαρήσει*.

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 (= gloriae) against that of S L² (= magna gloriae). Next, in viii. 5 E and *Greek Legend* = σύνδουλος 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-xxx.

§ 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 L²¹ 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 S L² 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' (ἡμιον) 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.

§ II. 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.

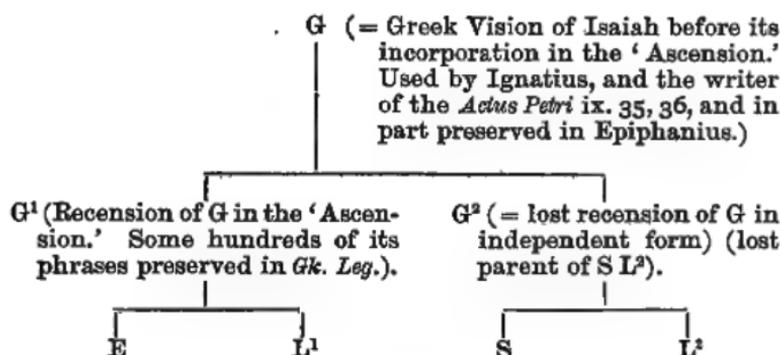
Their methods can be studied in vi.-xi., the chapters common to both, where in EL^1 and SL^2 we have very faithful reproductions of G^1 and G^2 respectively. The editor of G^1 , who was the editor of the entire work, has undoubtedly taken fewer liberties with the text before him, and has preserved important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

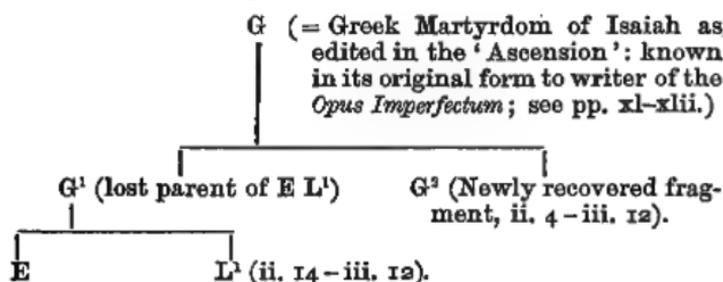
Of G^2 , owing to the happy discovery of last year, we are now in possession of two complete chapters, ii. 4 - iv. 4. We must bear in mind that G^1 , G^2 , L^1 have not the same significance when used in reference to i.-v. as when used in reference to vi.-xi. (see p. xxxi).

From G¹ were made the Ethiopic, and a Latin version, E and L¹, and from G² the Slavonic, and a Latin version, S and L².

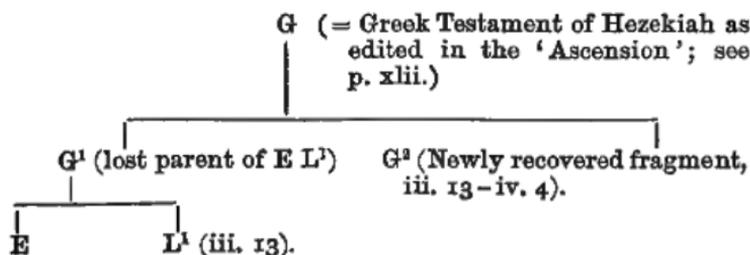
The following table will show at a glance the affinities of all the textual authorities on the Vision of Isaiah, vi.-xi. 1-40.



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 Isaiæ 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. Wetzzer'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 ex-
 planation 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, sum-
 marizes 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 ältes-
 tes 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 ὄρασιω 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 ἄδου 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, xliv. 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 depository 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 L²S 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^b, 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, xlvi, 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.* lxxvii. 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 τινι ἀποκρύφῳ τοῦτο φέρεται ὅπερ τάχα ἐπίτηδες ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ῥεραδιούργηται, λέξεις τινὰς τὰς μὴ πρεπούσας παρεμβεβληκότων τῇ γράφῃ ἢ ἡ ὅλη ἀπιστηθῆ.

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 S L² 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 (δ 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 *ὑψωθήσεται ἐπὶ πάντα θεόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν ἕξαλλα 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 (*πλάγος*). 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-epigraph *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 Σατανάηλ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐξάγγελος θεοῦ· ὅτε δὲ ἀπέγνων ἀντίτυπον τοῦ θεοῦ [καὶ] ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου Σατανᾶς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄγγελος ταρταροῦχος. 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 ἐτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι 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—

Φεύξεται ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀναξ φοβερὸς καὶ ἀναιδής,
ὄν πάντες στυγέουσι βροτοὶ καὶ φῶτες ἄριστοι·
ᾧλεσε γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ γαστέρι χεῖρας ἐφήκεν,
εἰς ἀλόχους ἤμαρτε καὶ ἐκ μιαρῶν ἐτέτυκτο.
ἤξει δ' ἐς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν παμβασιλῆας . . .

Nero's return is foretold in 361 sqq.—

ἔσσεται ὑστατίῳ καιρῷ περὶ τέρμα σελήνης
κοσμομαγῆς πόλεμος καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπῆς ἐν δολότητι.
ἤξει δ' ἐκ περάτων γαίης μητροκτόνος ἀνὴρ . . .
ὃς πᾶσαν γαίαν καθελεί καὶ πάντα κρατήσσει.

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 ἀπ' Ἰταλίας βασιλεὺς μέγας οἶά τε δρῆστης
 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 νεῖκος ἐγειρόμενον πολέμοιο,
 ἤξει καὶ Ῥώμης ὁ φυγὰς, μέγα ἔγχος αἰείρας,
 Εὐφρήτην διαβάς 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' (*παύσεται*). 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 ἀγίων). 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' ἤξει 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 Antichrist 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 *Νερῶν Καίσαρ* into Hebrew, and adding together the sums denoted by the Hebrew letters. Thus נרן קרן (נ=50, ר=200, ו=6, ך=50, ף=100, ן=60, ך=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 ἦξει Βελίαρ μετόπισθεν
καὶ στήσει ὀρέων ἕψος, στήσει δὲ θάλασσαν
ἥλιον πυρόεντα μέγαν λαμπρὰν τε σελήνην
καὶ νέκρας στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει . . .
καὶ δύναμις φλογέσσα δι' οἴδατος ἐς γαίαν ἦξει
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: xlv, 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.) *Incararnation 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. lxv). 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 ὄφεις¹ . . .
 ἀλλ' ἔσται καὶ αἴσιτος ὁ λοίγιος· εἴτ' ἀνακάμψει
 ἰσάζων θεῶν 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 ὄσσε 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**.

[] 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**.

[²] 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^b =} 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 Ἐζεकीου. 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 $\text{D}\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Y}$ the prophet and $\text{Y}\text{I}\text{D}\text{N}$ the father of Isaiah by one and the same form Ἀμώς. 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: יֵשׁוּב, Ἰασούβ. In the Ethiopic version of our book, it is found variously as Jôsëb, Jôsâb, Jôsab, Jôsëb.

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 Ἐζεκιῶν). 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 ἠγαπημένος, 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 ἠγαπημένος and ὁ ἀγαπητός render יְיָ and יֵשׁוּב 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 יֵבֶן (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 ἠγαπημένῳ 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 ἡγανημένος* is used as a title of Christ, e. g. Barn. iii. 6, iv. 3, 8. Cf. *Clem. Rom.* lix. 2, 3; *Ign. Smyrn.*, inscr.; *Herm. Sim.* IX. xii. 5; *Acts of Thecla*, c. 1; *ὁ ἡγανηρός* is also used, but usually with *υἱός* or *παῖς* (*Herm. Sim.* V. ii. 6; *Mart. Polyc.* 14; *Ep. ad Diogn.* 8; *Acts of Thecla*, v. 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 Σωμνάς. In the LXX the Hebrew form שֹׁבְנָא is reproduced by Σωμνάς 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 commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by, i. 6^b-13^a = Martyrdom of Isaiah. 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 ἀγα]πητοῦ . . . [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 חַי־יְהוָה. 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* = סַמַּאֵל. 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*¹, 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 Βελίαρ, 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 Βελίαρ. 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 ἀφελήσεις 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 Matthaëum* 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 נִשְׁחָה. 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 ἀρχὼν 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. ð reads 'Matanbakas.' In v. 3 it appears as Mèchémébèchûs. It has been conjectured to be derived from מַתָּן בְּחֵן = 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) ἐκκληδοίζετο 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 *Encyclopaedia 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

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

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 Belchirá, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false

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

12. *Belchirá*. 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 Βελιχειράρ; iii. 12 Βελχειρά; and Βεχειρά ii. 16; iii. 1; and Μελχειρά iii. 6. The first appears to be merely a variant of the second. Next the form Βεχειράς 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 Belchira attested by *a* in ii. 12; iii. 11; v. 2: Balchira 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; Belachirá by *a* in ii. 5: Melachirá by *a* in v. 12: Milchirás by *a* in v. 8; Íbchirá by *a*, Abchirá by *b* in ii. 16. Now as regards Íbchira it is clear that it goes back to Βεχειρά. Balchira is simply a later orthographic variant of Belchira, which, though only found in *a*, is clearly the older form. Belachirá 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 Melachirá in v. 12 (*a*), Milchirás in v. 8 (*a*), and Μελχειρά in ii. 6, G², all the above forms go back to Βεχειρά and Βελχειρά.

But what are we to make of Μελχειρά in iii. 6, of Melachirá in v. 12 (*a*) and the closely related forms—Malchirá in i. 8, Milchirás in v. 8? We may dismiss Malchirá i. 8 from consideration as a surname of Sammael. As regards the rest they are clearly variants or equivalents of Belchirá; for over against Μελχειρά in iii. 6 all MSS. of E give Balchirá, and rightly according to the context. In like manner Milchirás and Melachirá are equivalents of Balchirá, 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 Milchirás in *a* in v. 8 (*a*) of our book. And just as Milchirás 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 Μεχίσις 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 Βεχίρα is a secondary form of Βελχίρα. Gesenius, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 244-246, derives Belchîra from בֶּלְקַרְיָה = קַרְיָה בֶּעַל = lord of the world.

Zedekiah, the son of Chanânî = Ζεδεκίας υἱὸς Χανανί (B Χανανί A) = זְדַקְיָה בֶּן־כְּנַעֲנָה. See 1 Kings xxii. 11. The Greek Fragment gives Σ. υ. Χανανί.

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 ψευδοπροφῆται Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι υ' and 96 C ψευδοπροφῆται Ζεδεκίας . . . 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) δ Θεσβείτης ἐκ Θεσβῶν τῆς Γαλαάδ. Here we observe that our text takes 'נַשְׁתִּיב 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 δ Θεσβείτης, 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 Βεχαιρά. 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 L², 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 γαλεάγραῖς καὶ ἐν πέδαῖς. 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 Μανασσῆ ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸν ἐν πέδαῖς, our text is independent of it. Γαλεάγρα is a LXX rendering of דִּיִּתְּךָ 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 Is.* 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. *Manā.* 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 ἐαυτῷ 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 οὔτι, 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 ἀγνεῖα.

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 ἐγγίσει 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, 2 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 ἰσχυρά 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 ἰσχυρός is used once as a rendering of יָצִיב 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 εἷ(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 $\lambda\lambda$: = 'which' corrupt for $\lambda\eta$: = '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 = $\delta \delta\rho\chi\omega\nu \tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$. 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 $\tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha} \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ —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. δ 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 ἐφύτευεν 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 *ὄντος 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, xc. 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 interdie.'

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 θεῶν 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 Γάϊος 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 'Dominus 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 Ἐζεκίου* (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 tertium' which = *μετὰ τὴν τρίτην*. With this we should understand *ὥραν* rather than *ἡμέραν* as Blass.

This verse is reproduced in Cedrenus (ed. Bonn. i. 120-121): *ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ Ἐζεκίου βασιλέως Ἰουδα λέγει Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης κρατῆσαι τὸν ἀντίχριστον ἔτη γ' καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ, γινόμενα ἡμέρας ασς'. 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, Isaiiah, 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 ἀπταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων.*) Simeon's death, which took place under Trajan (*H. E.* iii. 32. 3 *ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ 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, Aristion 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 Aristion 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 ὅς ἐς χρόνον ἔσσειται 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 = 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 γρηγορήσας.

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 $\text{H}\alpha\theta\alpha$: = '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) ὄρασις 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. 13-14. 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 𐤇𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤅𐤏𐤏 , which Cheyne accepts as the original text over against the Mass. 𐤇𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤅𐤏𐤏 . 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 𐤇𐤍𐤏𐤃 and must bear in such cases the meaning of the latter. In the present instance 'parable' (= 𐤇𐤍𐤏𐤃) 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. lxxxviii. and lxxxix, where Ethan is called 𐤏𐤓 𐤇𐤓𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 ; and 1 Kings iv. 27, where he is surnamed 𐤏𐤓 𐤇𐤓𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 (A, Ζαρέτην 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' (δε), 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 παντὸς ζώου ζου-*

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,

μένον 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 'Balchîrâ 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 (*δ.* 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. α '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. α 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*: κατὰθεμά 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 Ἡσαίου, δὲν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπίστατε, is all but certainly derived from our text. Cf. also Tertullian, *De Patientia*, 14 'His patientiæ viribus secatur Esaias et de domino non tacet'; also *Scorpiace*, 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 Galgalá". 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 Galgalá 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 Galgalá.* 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.

Galgalá. 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.' L² is practically the same, see pp. 99-100.

7. *And they came.* *b* omits, but S L² support *a*.

Aged. L² and S connect this adjective also with Micaiah.

And Josab. Omitted by S L².

(*And on the left*). Added from S; cf. L².

8. *The Most High . . . who rests among His holy ones.* So LXX of Isa. lvii. 15 ἄψιστος ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. The words that immediately precede in the LXX may have been in the mind of the writer: ὁ ἄψιστος ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα ἅγιος ἐν ἀγίοις 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 him⁷ 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.⁷ 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.⁷ 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 SL². The passage however is genuine. It was before the writer of the *Greek Legend*, i. 14 ἤρθη 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 SL³ 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 SL².

† *The circle . . . (did)†.* Read with SL²: ‘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 (𐤍𐤏𐤍) LXX Ἰωάχ) 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 = εὐωδία, 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 εὐωδία corrupt for εὐδοκία?

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 L² 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-xlvii.

Angels. E has 'words' = λόγαι, 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 τῶν 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).⁷ 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 ⁷in the seventh heaven⁷. 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. L³, '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 *ὀνομαζῶ* 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 L² S.

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 ἰθεῶραρον ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ἕψιστον.

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 hand". 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 throne".

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 = ἀπρητος. 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. L²S 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 L² 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 wonderfulⁿ. 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, beholdⁿ * I heard * from hence another voice "being sent forth, andⁿ 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 saidⁿ: '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 L³ 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 ὁ ἐπιτρέπων. The verse is found in Greek in *Greek Legend*, ii. 24.

4. **Who is over**. Unemended text = 'on whom is.' A slight change gives 'who is over' = ὁ ἐφ' ἑστῶς ἐπί, *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 δ *Kúpios*, *L²S* '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 *L²S*, 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 *L²S*.

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 S L².

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 Christⁿ. 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 manⁿ". 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 isⁿ". 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; Hagucl 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. SL² = '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 near⁷ and worshipped Him, and they all praised Him with one voice, ¶ and I myself also gave praise with them⁷, 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. L²S = '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 από τοῦ 'Αναβατικοῦ 'Ησαίου according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxvii. 3. In this work the quotation appears as follows: 'Εδειξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος περιπατῶν ἔμπροσθέν μου, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι, καὶ εἶπε, Τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ εἶπα, Σὺ οἶδας, Κύριε; Λέγει, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπητός. καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ὅμοιος αὐτῷ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐλθῶν; 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 L²S, and that it preserves details which are only found separately in E and L²S. 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 δ 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 αἰῶνιος 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 SL², 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 Jesusⁿ: 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).⁷ 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. 1. 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 L³ 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.* L² 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 αὐτῆς; xix. 1 ἐλεηρωσάμην 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 ἐφύλασσαν 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 ἀναγγείλης 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.* *ὁ* 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 ἀρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς 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. 881; 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 Himⁿ, not knowing who He was, and 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 ascendedⁿ. 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 ἄδου 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 *L²S*. 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 L²S, 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.* L²S = 'And from the first heaven He ascended more glorious.' The comparative in L²S 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 Isaiæ et apocalypsis Eliae hoc habent testimonium.' Since this passage is attested by L¹ 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. ወኑ: በክረምት: በ¹ጅወጅ: በመንግሥቱ: ለሕዝቅያስ: ንጉሠ: ይሁዳ: ወደውዳ: ለምናቤ: ወልዱ: እስመ: ውእቱ: ባሕቲቱ: ሎቱ። 2. ወደውዳ: በቅድመ: ኢሳይያስ: ወልዱ: አሞጽ: ነቢይ: ወበቅድመ: ኢየሳብ።² ወልዱ: ኢሳይያስ: ከመ: ያወፍዮ: ቃላተ: ጽድቅ: ዘለሊሁ: ንጉሥ: ርእዩ: 3. ወክነደተ።³ ዘለዓለም።⁴ ወሥቃይተ።³ ዘገሀነም: ወዘመኩንዝ።⁵ ዓለም።⁶ ወዘመላእክትሁ: ወዘስልጣናትሁ: ወዘንደላትሁ: 4. ወቃላተ: ሃይማኖቱ: ለፍቅር: ዘለሊሁ: ርእዩ: በ*ዓመተዮወጅ: መንግሥቱ።⁷ ሰደቁሁ። 5. ወመጠዎ: ቃላተ: ጽሑፋት።⁸ ዘጸሐፈ: ሳምናስ።⁹ ጸሓፊ: ወእሰኒ: ወሀቦ: ኢሳይያስ: ወልዱ: አሞጽ: ወ*ለ¹⁰ነቢያትኒ: ከመ: ይጽሐፉ: ወከመ: ያንብኑ: ንቤሁ: ዘውእቱ: በቤተ።¹¹ ንጉሥ: ርእዩ።¹² በእነተ: ክነኒ: መላእክት: ወበእነተ: ተደምስሶቹ: ለዝ: ዓለም: ወበእነተ: ልብሰተሙ: ለቅዱሳን: ወጸአቸሙ: ወበእነተ: 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 ወዘምኩንዝ: bc. a ዘምኩንዝ: ⁶ bc. a ዘለዓለም: ⁷ So b save that I have omitted ለ before መን: a በዓመተ: መንግሥቱ: በዮወጅ: ለዓመተ: መንግሥቱ:
⁸ ac. b ጽሑፋት: ⁹ a. b ሳምናስ: ¹⁰ a omits. ¹¹ c. a ባሕቲቱ: b ቤተ: ¹² ac. b ፊእይ: ¹³ b. a ተወልጦተሙ:

መገገሥቱ፣ ለሕዝቅያስ፣ ርእይ፣ ኢሳይያስ፣ ቃላተዝ፣ ትንቢት፣ ወመጠዎ፣ ለኢዮሳብ፣ ወልዱ። ወውእቱ፣ እዝ፣ ይኤዝዝ፣ እዝ፣ ይቀውም፣ ኢዮሳብ¹ ወልዱ፣ ለኢሳይያስ፣ 7. ይቤሉ፣² ኢሳይያስ፣ ለሕዝቅያስ፣ ንጉሥ፣ ወአኩ፣ ባሕተቱ፣ በቅድመ፣ ምናሴ፣ ዘይቤሉ፣ ሕደው፣ እገዚአብሔር፣ ዘኢተፈነው፣ ስመ፣ ለዝ፣ ዓሲም፣ ወሕደው፣ ፍቅሩ፣³ ለእገዚእየ፣ ወሕደው፣ መንፈስ፣ ዘ*ሰላሳሳይ፣ ደተናገር፣ ከመ፣ ዘሉን፣ እላ*ንቱ፣⁴ ትእዛዝ፣ ወእሱ፣ ቃላት፣ ይጸርዓ፣ በንብ፣ ምናሴ፣ ወልድኩ፣ ወበገብረ፣ እደዊህ፣ በሥቃይ፣ ሥጋይ፣ *አሕውር፣ አኩ፣⁵ 8. ወይትሰኦክ፣ ሰማየል፣ መልኪራ፣ በምናሴ፣ ወዘሉ፣⁶ ፈቃዶ፣ ይገብር፣ ወውእቱ፣ ይከውን፣ ተላዊህ፣ ሰብልደር፣⁷ እምነይ፣ 9. ወብዙን፣ በኢየሩሳሌም፣ ወበይሁዳ፣ ይቀውሞመ፣ እምሃይማኖት፣ ጽድቅ፣ ወብልደር፣⁸ ይተብር፣ ሳሰ፣ ምናሴ፣ ወበእደዊህ፣ አኩ፣ እትወሰር። 10. ወሰሚዎ፣ ሕዝቅያስ፣ ዘንተ፣ ቃሰ፣ በከየ፣ ዐቢየ፣ ፈድፋድ፣ ወመጠጠ፣ አልባሲህ፣ ወወደየ፣ መሬተ፣ ውስተ፣ ርእሱ፣ ወወድቅ፣ በገጹ። II. ወይቤሉ፣ ኢሳይያስ፣ ተፈጸመ፣ ምክሩ፣ ሰሰማየል፣ ሳሰ፣ ምናሴ፣ *ኢፋይብቅዕከ። 12. ወበዘክቱ፣ ዕለት፣⁹ ሕሳየ፣ ሕዝቅያስ፣ በልቡ፣ ከመ፣ ይቅተሉ፣ ለምናሴ፣ ወልዱ። 13. ወይቤሉ፣ ኢሳይያስ፣ ለሕዝቅያስ፣ አጽርዓ፣ ፍቅር፣ ለምክርክ፣ ወጎሊና፣ ልብኪ፣ ኢይሂሉ፣ እስመ፣ አንሰ፣ በዝ፣ ጽውዓ፣¹⁰ ተጸዋዕኩ፣ ወበርስቱ፣ ለፍቅር፣¹¹ አኩ፣ እትወረስ።¹² II. ወኩ፣ እምደጎረ፣ ሞተ፣ ሕዝቅያስ፣ ወገገው፣ ምናሴ፣ ወ¹³ኢተዘከረ፣ ትእዛዛተ፣¹⁴ ሕዝቅያስ፣ አሱህ፣ አላ፣ ረስዎመ፣ ወንደረ፣ ሰማየል፣ ሳሰ፣ ምናሴ፣ ወጠገዐ፣¹⁵ ሶቱ፣¹⁶ 2. ወንደገ፣ ምናሴ፣ ተቀንዮ፣ ለእገዚአብሔር፣ ዘአሱህ፣ ወተቀንዮ፣ ሰሰደግን፣ ወሰመላእክተህ፣ ወሰንይ ሳተህ። 3. ወሚጠ፣ ሴተ፣ አሱህ፣ እሰ፣ ኩኩ፣ ቅድመ፣ ገጹ፣ ለሕዝቅያስ፣ *እም¹⁶ቃላት፣ ጥብብ፣ ወተቀንዮ፣ ለእገዚአብሔር።

4. ወሚጠ፣ ልቦ፣ ምናሴ፣ ከመ፣ ይትቀይይ፣ ሰብልደር፣⁷ እስመ፣ መል አኩ፣ ዐመዓ፣ ዘሥልጣነዝ፣ ዓሲም፣ ወውእቱ፣ ብልደር፣¹⁷ ዘስመ፣ መጠንቡ ኩስ፣ ወውእቱ፣ ይትፈግሕ፣ በኢየሩሳሌም፣ ሳሰ፣ ምናሴ፣ ወደኔይሉ።¹⁸

GREEK FRAGMENT FROM AMHERST PAPER I = G².

II. 4—IV. 4. (See Introd., pp. xxviii—xxx.)

II. 4. (. . . M)ανασση, και κατε- | (δου)νάμου αυτον εν | (τη) αποστα-

¹ b. a ኢዮሳብ፣ such generally or ኢዮሳብ፣

² bc. a ወይቤሉ፣

³ a. b ፍቅር፣

⁴ b om.

⁵ a. b የጋውር፣

⁶ b. a ወዘሉ፣

⁷ c. ab ሰብልደር፣

⁸ ac. b ወብልደር፣

⁹ Em. from በዘንቱ፣

ዕለት፣ ወ of bc፣ cf. Gk. Leg. i. 12

ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διελογίζετο, κ.τ.λ.

a በዘክቱ፣ ቃላት፣ ወ.

¹⁰ a. b ጽዋዕ፣

¹¹ a. b ለፍቅር፣

¹² a. bc እትወረስ፣

¹³ a om.

¹⁴ a. bc ትእዛዝ፣

¹⁵ b. a ወጠገ፣

¹⁶ Supplied in accordance with Gk. Leg. iii. 3.

¹⁷ c. ab ብልደር፣

¹⁸ Em. by Dln. from ወደኔይሉ፣ so G² κατε(δου)νάμου.

G²

በአገሩም፡ ወበዐመ፡ ዘተዘርክ፡
 በአደረሰሌም። 5. ወበዘን፡¹ *ሰ
 ገል፡ ወሥራይ፡² ወተጠይር፡ ወአስተ
 ቃሥ፡ ወዘመተ፡ [ወሐዊረ፡ ብለሲተ፡
 ብለሲ]፡³ ወስደተ፡ ዳደቃን፡ በእደ፡
 ምናሴ፡ [ወበእደ፡ ብሰኪራ]፡⁴ ወበ
 እደ፡⁵ ጦብደ፡⁶ ከነፍ፡ ወበእደ፡ ፍሐ
 ነስ፡ ዘእምአናተተ፡ ወበእደ፡ ዘሊቀ፡⁷
 ነዋይ።⁸ 6. ወተራፋተ፡ ነገር፡ ነዋ፡
 ጽሐፋን፡ እመንቱ፡ ወስተ፡ መጽሐ
 ፈ፡ ነገሥተ፡⁹ ይሁዳ፡ ወእስራኤል።
 7. ወአሳይደስ፡ ወልደ፡ አምጽ፡ ሰብ፡
 ርእዩ፡ ዐመ፡¹⁰ ዘይትገበር፡ በአደረ-
 ሰሌም፡ ወተቀንቶ፡ ሰሰይጣን፡ ወዘ
 ወዳ፡¹¹ ተግሥ፡ እምአደረሰሌም፡
 ወነበር፡ ሴተ፡¹² ልሔም፡ ዘይሁዳ።
 8. ወበህዩ፡ ሀሎ፡ *ዐመ፡ ብዘን።¹³
 ወተግሥ፡¹⁴ እም*ሴተ፡ ልሔም፡¹⁵
 ነበር፡ ወስተ፡ ደብር፡ *በመካ፡
 ገዳም።¹⁶ 9. ወሚኪደስ፡ ነበይ፡
 *ወአናይደ፡ አረጋዊ፡¹⁷ ወአዮኤል፡¹⁸
 ወእንባቆም፡ ወአዮሳብ፡¹⁹ ወልዳ፡
 ወብዘንታ፡ እሎ፡ የአም፡ መሃይም
 ናን፡²⁰ ዐርገተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ተግሥ፡
 ወነበር፡ ወስተ፡ ደብር። 10. ክሎ

σει²¹ και τη | (ἀν)ομία, ἦτις²² ἐσπάρη
 ἐν | (Ἰ)ερουσαλήμ. 5. Κα(ι) ἐπλή-
 θυνεν | (ἡ) φαρμακεία και ἡ μαγεία
 και ἡ μαντεία και | οἱ κληδονισμοὶ
 και | ἡ πορνεία και ὁ διωγμὸς | τῶν
 δικαίων ἐν | χερσὶ²³ Μανασσῆ | και
 ἐν χερσὶν τοῦ Του|βι τοῦ Χανα-
 νίτου | και ἐν χερσὶν Ἰωνάν | τοῦ
 Ναθὼθ και ἐν χερ|σὶν Σαδὼκ τοῦ
 ἐ|πὶ τῶν πραγματειῶν. 6. και οἱ
 λοιποὶ λό|γοι ἰδοὺ γεγραμμέ|νοι
 εἰσ(ιν ἐ)ν τοῖς βί|βλοῖς τῶν (β)α-
 σ(ιλέων | Ἰουδα και Ἰ(σραήλ)
 7. . . . | (κ)αὶ τὴν πομπή(ν αὐ)τοῦ |
 ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπ(ὸ Ἰ(ερουσαλ)ῆμ |
 και ἐκάθισεν ἐν Β(ηθ)λε|ἐμ τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας. 8. (και) | ἐκεῖ δὲ ἦν
 ἀνομ(ία π)ολ|λή, και ἀναχωρή-
 σα(ς) | ἀπὸ Βηθλεεμ ἐκά(θι)|σεν
 ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν τό|πῳ ἐρήμῳ. 9. και
 Μιχά|ας ὁ προφήτης και Ἀ|νανίας
 ὁ γέρον και Ἰ(ω)ήλ και Ἀμβα-
 κούμ και | Ἰ[σ]ασούφ ὁ υἱὸς αὐ-
 τοῦ | και πολλοὶ τῶν πισ|τῶν τῶν
 πιστευόν|των²⁴ εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀνα-
 βῆναι ἀνεχώρησαν, και ἐ|κάθισαν
 εἰς τὸ ὄρος, 10. πάν|τε(ς) σάκκον

¹ a. b ወበዘን፡ ² a. b ሰገላ፡ ወመሠርዩ፡ ³ Bracketed
 because wanting in G² and Gk. Leg. iii. 3 ⁴ Bracketed be-
 cause wanting in G: name appears first in ii. 12. b reads በሰኪራ፡
⁵ a. b om. ⁶ b. ac ጠባይ፡ ⁷ Em. from ዘሊቀ፡ of bc. a ዘሊቀ፡
⁸ a. bc ነገሥ፡ ⁹ a adds ብዘን፡ against bc and Gk. Leg. iii. 8.
¹⁰ a. b ወዘወ-ዕ፡ c ወዘወ-ዓ፡ ¹¹ a. bc በሴተ፡ ¹² a. b trs. and
 reads ብዘን፡ for ብዘን፡ ¹³ a. bc ወተግሥ፡ ¹⁴ ac. b አደረሰሌም፡
¹⁵ a. bc ወነበር፡ ¹⁶ a. b መካን፡ ገዳም፡ ¹⁷ a. bc ወአናይደስ፡ አረጋይ፡
¹⁸ a. b ወአዮኤል፡ ¹⁹ b. a አዮሴብ፡ ²⁰ a trs. aft. ሰማይ፡
²¹ E has an active sense here. ²² Em. with E from ωσ. ²³ MS.
 χειρμανασση. ²⁴ Em. by Grenfell and Hunt from πιστων οντων.

G²

α· *ωφ; ρ·τ·ο·ρ·ζ·; ω·κ·τ·α·; ¹
 ι·λ·ρ·τ·; λ·σ·ν·τ·; ρ·ν·τ·τ·; λ·η·;
 κ·δ·ρ·α·; ρ·ν·δ·α·υ·α·; κ·λ·; ² ο·ζ·φ
 α·; λ·σ·ν·τ·; ω·κ·τ·α·; ρ·λ·δ·α·;
 *λ·δ·; ο·λ·; ³ ο·λ·τ·; δ·δ·τ·τ·; λ·δ
 ρ·δ·α·; II. ω·λ·α·; κ·δ·ρ·α·; Η·ρ·
 ο·δ·ο·; Η·λ·ν·ο·λ·; α·ρ·α·; γ·ρ·ρ·;
 ρ·φ·ι·τ·α·; ⁴ λ·ρ·κ·ε·λ·α·; ω·κ·ν·ο·
 α·; ρ·δ·α·; ρ·ν·δ·α·; κ·λ·ρ·ρ·δ·;
 ι·λ·ρ·; ω·ι·α·; ω·δ·τ·; κ·ε·λ·α·; ω
 ω·δ·τ·; κ·ω·γ·α·; η·δ·α·; ⁵ ρ·σ·τ·;
 σ·φ·ο·δ·α·; I2. ω·λ·ρ·ε·γ·ζ·η·; υ·α·
 ρ·α·; ω·δ·τ·; γ·ρ·ρ·; ω·υ·α·; κ·δ
 ρ·; ⁶ α·λ·α·; α·λ·σ·γ·α·; Η·δ·α·; α·δ
 η·α·; ⁷ λ·ρ·κ·η·σ·γ·α·; α·λ·ρ·φ·ρ·δ·; ω
 δ·α·; η·σ·κ·η·; α·λ·φ·; ι·λ·ρ·; Η·σ·ν·ι·α·;
 α·δ·τ·; α·δ·α·; ω·κ·η·φ·ρ·δ·; ⁸ ω·δ
 α·; η·σ·ε·; Η·ω·λ·τ·; λ·τ·; α·λ·υ·;
 ω·α·σ·φ·ο·α·; κ·η·κ·α·; γ·τ·ω·; λ·δ·α·
 α·δ·; α·σ·ρ·υ·α·; ⁹ ω·λ·τ·; α·ρ·ρ·ι·α·
 ρ·τ·; Η·α·γ·α·; ¹⁰ ω·ω·λ·τ·; ρ·α·ρ·; ω·θ
 α·α·; ¹¹ α·ρ·ρ·η·ρ·δ·; ω·δ·α·; α·σ·γ·α·; ¹²
 ι·λ·ρ·; I3. ω·ω·λ·τ·; τ·α·λ·α·; λ·ρ·
 κ·η·κ·α·; ω·τ·ω·ε·φ·; α·ρ·ρ·η·ρ·δ·; ¹³ ω·δ·τ·;
 ρ·φ·α·; ¹⁴ ρ·ν·δ·α·; α·ρ·φ·ρ·δ·; ι·λ·ρ·;
 υ·α·α·; ρ·ν·δ·α·; α·η·η·ρ·; ¹⁵ ω·δ·α·;

περιβεβλημένοι, | και πάντες ἦσαν
 προφήται, | οὐδὲν ἔχοντες μετ' αὐ-
 τῶν | ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ ἦσαν, πενθοῦν-
 τες πένθος μέγα περὶ τῆς πλ(ά)-
 νης τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. II. και οὔτοι
 οὐκ ἦσθιον εἰ μὴ βοτάνας τίλλον-
 (τε)ς | ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων και *..... |
 ¹⁶ μετὰ Ἡσα(ίο)υ ¹⁷ *οικοῦν-
 τες. και ἐπε(ί) ἦσαν ¹⁸ ἐν τ(ο)ῖς
 ὄρεσιν και ἐν τοῖς βουνοῖς (δ)ύ(ο
 ἔ)τη | ἡμερῶν ¹⁹ I2. (ἐπὶ) τοῦ
 ε(ῖ)ναι αὐτοὺς (ἐν) | τοῖς ἐρήμ(ο)ις
 και.....|.....|ἐν Σαμαρία
 φ(ῶ)νομα | ἦν Βελιχειὰρ ἐκ τῆς |
 συγγενίας Σεδεκίου | υἱοῦ Χανανὶ τοῦ
 ψευδοπροφήτου ὃς ἦν | κατοικῶν
 ἐν Βηθανία ²⁰. και Σεδεκίας υἱὸς |
 Χανανὶ ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πατρὸς
 αὐτοῦ, ἐν δὲ ²¹ ταῖς ἡμέραις | Ἀχαάβ
 βασιλέως τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ἦν ²² διδάσ-
 καλος τῶν τετρακοσίων προφητῶν |
 τοῦ ²³ Βαάλ, και αὐτὸ(ς) | ἐράπισεν
 και ἔβρι|σεν τὸν Μιχαίαν υἱὸν Ἰεμ-
 μαδὰ τὸν προφήτην· I3. και αὐτὸς
 δὲ ἔβρι(σ)θη ὑπὸ Ἀχαάβ και |
 ἐβλήθη Μιχαίας | εἰς φυλακὴν.
 [και ἦν ¹ | μ(ε)τὰ Σεδεκίου τοῦ | ψευ-

¹ α. b om.² b. a λλ;³ b trs.⁴ a. b ρφίτα;⁵ a. b ε.⁶ b ε.⁷ b αλκλ; On the various forms of this

name 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 αυαα;

¹⁰ b om.¹¹ bc ωααα;¹² a. cf. G² Ἰεμμαδά. b ααα;¹³ b om.¹⁴ Add αυαα; in accordance with G² και ἦν.¹⁵ For

αηηρ; (b), a reads αηηρ; ¹⁶ E = ἔψαντες ἐτρέφοντο. ¹⁷ E adds

ὁ προφήτης. ¹⁸ E = και οἰκοῦντες ἦσαν. ¹⁹ E adds και μετὰ

τοῦτο. ²⁰ E = Βηθλεέμ. ²¹ Above the line in MS. ²² MS.

ἰσραηλπλην. Grenfell and Hunt explain πλ as a dittography of ηλ.

²³ MS. της.

G²

*አለሜራም: በሰላኤው: 1

δοπροφήτο(ν) | ὄντος¹⁰. ἦσαν μετὰ |
 Ὀχοζείου υἱοῦ Ἀλά(μ)¹¹ | ἐν Σεμ-
 μωμα |

14. ወኤልያስ: ነቢይ: 2
 ዘአም*ቴባ: 3 ዘአም7
 በአይ: ደዳኤል: በአኩ-
 ዝይ: *ወ'ሰሰማርያ: *ወ'
 ወ-አቸ: ተነባይ: በአንተ:
 አኩዝይ: ከመ: *ሰምስ
 ካባ: ደዮሁ: 5 ደመውት:
 *ወ'ሰሰማርያ: በአይ: ል
 ባ: ናስር: ትትወሀብ: እ
 ስመ: ቀተሰ: ነቢያት: እ7
 ዘአብሐር: 15. ወሰባ:
 ሰምፀ: ነቢያት: ሐሰት:
 አሰ: ምስሰ: አኩዝይ: 7
 ወልይ: አካሳብ: *መመ
 ምህርመ: አያልርያስ: 2
 እምደብር: አፍኤል:
 16. ወው-አቸ: [አብከ
 ራ:] 8 እኑሁ: ሰሰደቆያ: 9

14. καὶ Ἠλείας (ὁ προ-
 φῆ) | τῆς ἐκ Θεο(βῶν)¹²
 ... | καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίαν, |
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπροφήτευσεν
 περὶ Ὀχοζείου ὅτι ἐν
 κλίῃ ἀρ|ρωστίας¹³ ἀπο-
 θανεῖται καὶ ἡ Σαμαρία
 εἰς | χεῖρας Ἀνασὰρ
 παραδοθήσεται ἀνθ' ὧν |
 ἐφόνευσεν τοὺς | προφή-
 τας τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ. 15.
 (κα)ὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ
 προφῆται¹⁴ (ο)ὶ μετὰ
 Ὀχοζείου υἱοῦ Ἀλάμ
 καὶ | (ὁ) διδάσκαλος
 αὐτῶν | Ἰαλλαρίας¹⁵ ἐξ
 ὄρους † Ἰσ|λαλ†¹⁶
 16. καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν [ο |

FRAGMENT OF THE FIRST
LATIN VERSION = L¹.

II. 14—III. 13.

(See Introd., pp. xxi,
xxix—xxx.)

14. (pro)fetas Dei.
 15. Et cum audis-
 sent pseudoprofe-
 tae qui erant cum
 Ochodiam filium
 Achab, *qui fuerat
 doctor eorum Gam-
 marias¹⁷ de monte
 Efrem, 16. Et ipse
 fuit frater Sedeciae,

¹ For በሰላኤው: (a), ḃ reads በሰኤው: The phrase አለ' በለ' 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 basalala'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 Ἡሰ፣: ⁴ ḃ om.

⁵ a ሰምስካባ: ሰደዮሁ: ⁶ Em. with G: E wrongly ሰ.
⁷ ḃ አኩዝይ: ⁸ I have with L bracketed this word: ḃ reads አብከራ: ⁹ a ሰሰደቆያ: ¹⁰ MS. ψευδοπροφήτο οντες. ¹¹ See note ¹ above.

¹² Remainder of this line and the next two undecipherable. ¹³ E adds αὐτοῦ. ¹⁴ E L¹ = 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. Jôél or Îjôél of E could arise from Ἰσηλ.

¹⁷ Should be et Gamarias qui fuerat doctor eorum.

G²L¹

σω: ω-ὸτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ¹
 3. ΗΨ: ω-Ἰτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ²
 3. ΗΨ: ω-Ἰτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ³
 3. ΗΨ: ω-Ἰτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ⁴
 3. ΗΨ: ω-Ἰτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ⁵
 3. ΗΨ: ω-Ἰτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ⁶
 3. ΗΨ: ω-Ἰτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ⁷
 3. ΗΨ: ω-Ἰτ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: ⁸

καὶ | ἀπενέγκαι αὐτοὺς |
 εἰς ὄρη⁹ Μήδων καὶ |
 ποταμῶν¹⁰ [καὶ]¹¹ Γω-
 ζάν, 3. οὗτος ἦν νεώ-
 τερος, καὶ ἔφυγεν | καὶ
 ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱε(ρου)σαλήμ.
 ἡμ(έρ)αις (Ἐζε)κίου
 βασι(λέως) Ἰούδα. κα(ὶ)
 οὐκ ἐπάτει¹² * εἰς Σα-
 μαρίαν ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ πα-
 τρός αὐτοῦ¹³, ὅτι τὸν
 Ἐζεκιάν ἐφοβεῖτο. | 4.
 καὶ εὗρέθη ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
 Ἐζεκίου λαλῶν λόγους
 ἀνομίας ἐν Ἱερουσα-
 μῇ, | 5. καὶ κατηγο-
 ρήθη ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν |
 Ἐζεκίου καὶ ἔφυγεν |
 εἰς τὴν χώραν Βηθ-
 λεέμ. καὶ ἔπεισαν¹⁴.

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 Samaritani¹⁵
 patris sui, quoniam
 timebat Ezechiam.
 4. Et inventus est in
 tempore Ezechieae lo-
 quens v(erba) injus-
 titiae in Hierusa-
 lem, 5. Et spretus
 est¹⁶ a pueris Eze-
 ciae et fugit in
 regione(m) Beth-

¹ ὄρια (?). If so, this may be a corruption of ὄρη as in G² (and L²); if not, then our text agrees with the Massoretic text of 2 Kings xvii. 6 (יָרֵךְ) against LXX which imply יָרֵךְ. ² ὁ Ἰηρ: ³ ὁ Η. ⁴ ὁ om. ⁵ ὁ Ησολ: E alone is right here: see note on G² *in loc.* ⁶ ὁc Ἰηλ: ⁷ ὁc ω-ὸτ: Ἰητ: Ὀ-ἰω-Ἰτ: 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)παρει. ¹³ Corruption can be understood from L¹ which gives: in via Samariae patris sui. Thus L¹=ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν Σαμαρία τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Since this was unintelligible, some scribe of G² transposed ἐν ὁδῷ and ἐν Σαμαρία (εἰς Σαμαρίαν being probably his correction). From E we see that ἐν Σαμαρία should be Σαμαρείτον. The error can be explained by the Hebrew: ἐν ὁδῷ ἐν Σαμαρία τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ = יְרֵךְ יְרֵךְ בְּרֵךְ בְּרֵךְ where יְרֵךְ is corrupt for יְרֵךְ. Thus the Greek should be: ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. ¹⁴ Text defective. See exegetical note *in loc.* ¹⁵ MS. Samariae. See note¹³ above. ¹⁶ = κατεφρόνηθη corrupt for κατηγορήθη as contempsit (ver. 6) = κατεφρόνησεν (Turner).

G²L¹

λελ: ωλ⁹σ¹⁰η¹¹υ¹²τ: Hh
 ωτ: Α¹³σ¹⁴γ¹⁵δα: ω¹⁶ησ:
 Α¹⁷λ¹⁸η¹⁹ε²⁰α²¹υ: Α²²δ²³τ²⁴α²⁵κ²⁶ε:
 σ²⁷σ²⁸α²⁹κ³⁰τ: Α³¹ς³²φ³³α: λ³⁴σ³⁵
 υ³⁶α³⁷δ: Α³⁸σ³⁹γ⁴⁰ε: ω⁴¹τ⁴²ω⁴³δ⁴⁴
 α⁴⁵τ: Ω⁴⁶α⁴⁷λ⁴⁸ε: Ω⁴⁹α⁵⁰λ⁵¹ε:
 ω⁵²δ⁵³ε⁵⁴τ⁵⁵ε: Η⁵⁶ε⁵⁷λ⁵⁸ε⁵⁹ε: ω⁶⁰
 δ⁶¹σ⁶²ε⁶³τ⁶⁴ε: Η⁶⁵υ⁶⁶α: ε⁶⁷φ⁶⁸ε:
 λ⁶⁹δ⁷⁰ε⁷¹α: ε⁷²υ⁷³φ⁷⁴ε⁷⁵φ:
 ω⁷⁶σ⁷⁷α⁷⁸κ⁷⁹τ: Γ⁸⁰ω⁸¹ς⁸²α⁸³ς⁸⁴
 α⁸⁵υ: ω⁸⁶τ⁸⁷σ⁸⁸υ⁸⁹α⁹⁰τ: ω⁹¹η
 σ⁹²ε: υ⁹³α⁹⁴φ: ψ⁹⁵ε⁹⁶σ: Α⁹⁷η⁹⁸
 α⁹⁹τ: *Α¹⁰⁰θ¹⁰¹: ε¹⁰²α¹⁰³φ¹⁰⁴α:
 ω¹⁰⁵σ¹⁰⁶α¹⁰⁷α: Ο¹⁰⁸ε¹⁰⁹ω: Γ¹¹⁰α
 α¹¹¹τ: Ο¹¹²σ¹¹³α: ε¹¹⁴α¹¹⁵φ¹¹⁶α: ω¹¹⁷
 η¹¹⁸σ: Α¹¹⁹σ¹²⁰φ¹²¹α¹²²α¹²³ε: ε¹²⁴τ¹²⁵
 φ¹²⁶α¹²⁷α:

ἀπὸ | τῆς (δρά)σεως καὶ
 ἀπὸ | τοῦ (δει)γματι-
 μού | ὅτι (ἐ)δειγματί-
 σεν | τὸν (Σ)αμαήλ,
 καὶ ὁ (τι δι' α)ὐτοῦ
 ἐφανε|(ρώθη ἢ) ἐξέλευ-
 σις | τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἐκ
 (τοῦ ἐβδ)όμου οὐρα-
 (νοῦ καὶ ἢ) μεταμόρ-
 φωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἢ
 κατάβασις αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 ἢ ἰδέα ἦν δεῖ 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 ἢ τῶν δώ|δεκα μα-
 θητεία¹¹, καὶ | ὡς δεῖ
 αὐτὸν¹² μετὰ | ἀνδρῶν
 κακοποι|ῶν σταυρωθῆ-
 ναι, | καὶ ὅτι ἐν μνη-
 με(ί)ψ | ταφήσεται,

propter (visionem et
 propter)¹³ quod *in
 se¹⁴ ostenderit Sam-
 ael, et quoniam ipse
 nuntiavit¹⁵ adventum
 dilectissimi de septimo
 caelo et trans-
 figurationem¹⁶ ejus
 et discensum et formam
 in qua trans-
 figuraretur esse homi-
 nis, et persecutio-
 nem, quam passurus
 est, et contumeliam
 quam patere(tur)

I4 ω¹σ²ω³*λ⁴α⁵: σ⁶α⁷α⁸υ: ε⁹τ¹⁰φ
 α¹¹: α¹²τ: ω¹³*α¹⁴φ¹⁵α¹⁶τ: α¹⁷α: ε¹⁸φ¹⁹α:

I4. κ(α)ὶ δώ|δεκα οἱ μετ' α(ὐ)-
 τοῦ | ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σκανδα|λισθήσον-
 ται, κα(ι) | ἢ τήρησις¹⁷ τῶν τ(η)-
 ρητῶν τοῦ μνημο|νείου,

¹ c σ⁹α¹⁰κ¹¹τ: So L¹ adventum. E shows leanings to text of L¹:
 Α¹²δ¹³τ¹⁴α¹⁵κ¹⁶ε: could be translated actively = revelavit. ² ac
 τ¹⁷ω¹⁸δ¹⁹α²⁰τ: ³ b ω²¹ε²²τ²³φ²⁴α²⁵τ: ⁴ ac ω²⁶μ²⁷φ²⁸ε²⁹τ³⁰ε: ⁵ b om.
⁶ b ω³¹ε³²λ³³φ³⁴ε³⁵φ: υ³⁶α³⁷φ: ⁷ bc ω³⁸τ³⁹σ⁴⁰υ⁴¹α⁴²τ: ⁸ b ε⁴³α⁴⁴φ⁴⁵α: Α⁴⁶θ⁴⁷:
⁹ Em. from a λ⁴⁸α: bc read λ⁴⁹η: a manifest correction. ¹⁰ Em.
 from ab Ο⁵⁰φ⁵¹α⁵²τ⁵³ε: in accordance with G². ¹¹ E = παρουσία καὶ ἢ
 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

σφ-αζι 15. ωζετ; ¹σδλκκ; ²ΗΩτ; ηκδτλρ; λητ; ολσρτ; υλωτ; Ηω-λτ; οζυδ; *σφθδ; εζωθ; ³ 16. ωσδλκκ; Ησπ; δλ; ψρ; ωσλκλδ; *σδλκκ; ⁴ σολλκτ; ψρλ; ησ; ⁵ ουδλτ; θλτ; ρτ; σφ-αζι; ⁶ 17. ω-λτ; ζφκ; ηλκ; ζο; σπ; ζτψσ; ⁸ εωκλ; ωεζ; Ιωξ δκρλυ; 18. ωεζυτ; κρ; δκκ; ωηκ; Δλ; λτ; ζτ; ζφκ; ωλ; τκσ; οσλφκ; εε-γ; ω*ο¹⁰τ; ζτ; *ο¹¹λ-ο; οσρ; λσ-η; σκκ; 19. *ω ησ; υλω; ¹² οητ; λλ; ετκ σκ; ρτ; οσλδλ; ψρ; ετς τ; 20. *ω-οητ; τκσ; ωσ ηκ; ¹³ εηω; ¹⁴ οω-λτ; σφ θδ; 21. ωλσ-ε-λ; λφδρτ; ε-ε-τ; δκρλυ; ¹⁵ τσυκτ; Η Ιωξκφκρτ; ωγρσρτ; ¹⁶

15. καὶ ὡς ἡ κ(ατάβα)|σις τοῦ ἀγγέ(λου τῆς) | ἐκκλησίας τῆ(ς ἐν οὐρα)|νῷ με | τος ἐν ταῖς ἐ(σχάταις) |(ἡμ)έ(ραις), 16. κα(ι)¹⁷ | ὁ ἀγγελος τοῦ Πνεύματος | τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ Μιχα|ήλ ἄρχων τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων | ὅτι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέ|ρα αὐτοῦ ἀνοίξου-|σιν τὸ μνημονεῖον, | 17. καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καθίσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμ-|ους αὐτῶν ἐξελεύ|σεται, καὶ ὡς ἀποστε|λεῖ τοὺς ¹⁸ μαθητὰς | αὐτοῦ 18. καὶ μαθητεύ|σουσιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πᾶσαν γλῶσ-|σαν εἰς τὴν ἀν(ά)στα|σιν τοῦ ἀγα-|πητοῦ, | καὶ οἱ (π)ιστεῦσαν|τες τ(ῷ) σταυρῷ αὐτοῦ σωθ(ή)σον-|ται καὶ | ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐ(τ)οῦ εἰς τὸν ἕβδομον | (ο)ὐ(ρ)ανὸν ὄθεν καὶ | (ῆλθε)ν. 19. καὶ ὡς π(ο)λ(λοι κ)αι πολλοὶ (τ)ῶν | (πιστε)ύοντων εἰς | (αὐτὸν) ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ Πνεύ-|ματι |(λαλήσουσ)ιν, 20. Καὶ ὡς | πολλὰ σημεῖα καὶ | τέρατα ἔ(σ)-|ται ἐν | ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, 21. καὶ ¹⁹ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν | αὐτ(ὸ)ν (ἀ)φήσουσιν οἱ (μ)αθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν προφητείαν τῶν δώδε|κα ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ²⁰ | καὶ τὴν πίστιν ²¹ καὶ | τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν | καὶ τὴν

¹ b ωκτ; ² bc σολλκτ; ³ a σφθδ; ⁴ b ω. ⁵ b wrongly ωησ; ⁶ So bc. a σφ-αζι; ⁷ b om. ⁸ a wrongly σπ; κδψσ; λλ-λδδ; ⁹ a δκκ; ¹⁰ a wrongly om. ¹¹ a wrongly λσ. ¹² b ωησ; υλω; ¹³ b ω-οητ; τκσ; ωσ ηκ; ¹⁴ a adds οω-λ; a vox nulla. ¹⁵ b Ηδκρλυ; ¹⁶ a ωγρσρτ; 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.

በስድስቱ፣ ሰዓት፣ ያስተርፈላ። 6. ወክሱ፣ ዘፈቀደ፣ ይገብር፣ *ባጎላም፣ ይገብር፣² ወ*ይትናገር፣ ባንቡ፣³ ፍቅር፣ ወይብል፣ አ፣ ወ-እቶ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ወእምቅድሚያ፣ አህሎ፣ ወአመቶ፣ 7. ወየእምነም፣ ክሱ፣ ሰብእ፣ *ባጎላም፣ 8. ወይሠውዑ፣ ሎቶ፣ ወይትቀዳ፣ ሎቶ፣ እነዘ፣ ይብሉ፣ ዝውእቶ፣ እግዚአብሔር፣ ወዘእንቡህ፣ አልሉ፣ ባዕደ።⁴ 9. ወመብዝተተሙ፣ ሰለሉ፣ ንብኑ፣ ከመ፣ ይትወክፍም፣ ሰፍቆር፣ ይመይጥ፣⁵ ደ-ጎራህ። 10. ወይከውን፣ ንይሉ፣ መንክራቲህ፣ ሰቡ፣ አህጉር፣ ወብጎውርት፣ 11. ወያቆውም፣ እምሳሎ፣ ቅድመ፣ ገጹ፣ በክሱ፣ አህጉር። 12. ወይእጎዘ፣ ሠለስተ፣⁶ ዓመተ፣ ወ*ሰብዐተ፣⁶ ወርን፣ ወመዋዕሉ፣ ፍወኝ። 13. ወብዙንን፣ መሃይምናን፣ ወቅዱሳን፣ ሰቡ፣ ርእዩ፣ ዘእመንቶ፣ ይሴፈዉ፣ ዘተሰቅሉ፣ አየሱስ፣ እግዚእ፣ ክርስቲስ፣ ደ-ጎራ፣ ርእክም፣ አ፣ አላይያስ፣ [ለዘ፣ ተሰቅሉ፣ ወዐርገ፣]⁷ ወእሰ*ሂ።⁸ የአምቶ፣ ሶቶ፣ ጎዳጣን፣ እምውስቲተሙ፣ በውእቶ፣ መዋዕል፣ ይተርፉ፣ ሎቶ፣⁹ አገብርቶ፣⁹ እነዘ፣ ይገቡ፣¹⁰ እምገዳም፣ ውስተ፣ ገዳም፣ እነዘ፣¹¹ ይጸንሑ፣ ምጽአት። 14. ወእምደ-ጎራህ፣ *ኀ¹²፣¹³ ወፀ¹⁴ መዋዕል፣ ይመጽእ፣ እግዚእ፣ ምስሉ፣ መላእክቲህ፣ ወምስሉ፣ ንይላተ፣¹⁵ ቅዱሳን፣ እምሳብዕ፣ ሰማይ፣ ምስሉ፣ ስብጎተ፣ ሳብዕ፣ ሰማይ፣ ወይስሑብ፣ ብልያርገ፣¹⁶ ውስተ፣ ገዳም፣ ወንይላተህ*፤¹⁷ 15. ወያዐርፎመ፣ ሰለሉ፣ ይረክቦመ፣ በሥጋ፣ በውስተዝ፣ ዓላም፣ ሰመምሰኪይ፣ ሠናይ፣ [ወፀጎይሱ፣ ይትንፈር፣]¹⁸ 16. ወክሱመ፣ እሉ፣ በ*እንተ፣² ሃይማኖቶ፣¹⁹ ረገምም፣²⁰ ሰብልያር፣²¹ ወሰነገሥቶ፣ ወቅዱሳንሱ፣ ምስሉ፣ እግዚእ፣ ይመጽኡ፣ ምስሉ፣ አልባሲሆመ፣ ዘላዕሉ፣ ይተብር፣ ውስተ፣ ሳብዕ፣ ሰማይ፣ ምስሉ፣ እግዚእ፣ ይመጽኡ፣ እሉ፣ መንፈሶመ፣ ልቡሳን፣ እመንቶ፣ ይወርዱ፣ ወይሄልዉ፣ ውስተ፣ ዓላም፣ ወይጼንገም፣²² ሰለሉ፣ በሥጋ፣ ተረክቡ፣ ምስሉ፣ ቅዱሳን፣ በልብሰተሙ፣ ሰቅዱሳን፣ ወይትለክመ፣ እግዚእ፣ ሰለሉ፣ ዐቅሱ፣ በውስተዝ፣ ዓላም። 17. ወእምደ-ጎራህ፣ ይትመየጡ፣ ውስተ፣ አልባሲሆመ፣ ላዕሉ፣ ወይትገደገ፣ ሥጋሆመ፣ ውስተ፣ ዓላም። 18. አሚገ፣ ቃሉ፣ ሰፍቆር፣ ይገሥጽ፣ በመዓት፣ *ለዘ፣ ሰማይ፣²³ ወለዘ፣²⁴ የብስ፣ ወሰኦደባር፣ ወሰኦውግር፣ ወሰኦህጉር፣ ወሰቢደው፣ ወሰዕፀው፣²⁵ *ወሰመልክ፣ ፀጎይ፣² ወሰዘወርጎ፣²⁶ ወሰክ

1 b ለ. 2 b om. 3 b ይትሚሰል፣ ከመ፣ 4 bc ባዕደ፣
 5 b ወይመይጦመ፣ 6 b ፤. 7 Bracketed as an Ethiopic interpolation.
 8 b ፤. 9 b አገብርቲህ፣ 10 bc ይገይዩ፣ 11 bc ወእነዘ፣
 12 Added to text. Cf. iv. 12. 13 bc ፀ፤. 14 a ክልኡ፣
 ፤ may be corrupt for ፤ as Dln. supposed. 15 b ኃይላተ፣ 16 ab ብርያርገ፣
 17 a om. 18 An Ethiopic interpolation. 19 b ሃይማኖት፣
 20 ab add እሉ before this word. 21 a ሰብልያር፣ Here bc uphold right orthography.
 22 b ወይጸንገም፣ 23 Em. from a ሰዝ፣ ሰማይ፣ and c ሰዘበሰማይ፣ b reads ሰሰማይ፣
 24 So bc. a reads ሰዝ፣ 25 a ወሰዕው፣ 26 a ወሰወርጎ፣

ለሂ፡¹ ሰገባ፡ አስተርአየ፡ ወአገሀይ፡ ብልደር፡² በውስተዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ወይከውን፡
 [ትገማኤ፡ ወ]³ ዙዜ፡ በውስተትሙ፡ በዝክ፡ መዋዕል፡ ወፍቆ*ር፡⁴ ያዐርግ፡⁵
⁶እሳተ፡ እምኔህ፡⁶ ወይበልዕ፡ ዙሉ፡ ረሲዓ፡ ወይከውን፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢተፈጥሩ፡
 19. ወትራፋተ፡ ነገር፡ ራእይ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ ውስተ፡ ራእየ፡ ባቢሎን፡
 20. ወትራፋተ፡ ራእየ፡ እገዚእ፡ ነዋ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ *በምሳልደት፡
 በቃላት፡⁷ በዘ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘገሃይ፡⁸ ተነባይኩ፡ 21.
 ወርደተ*ኒ፡⁹ ሰፍቆር፡ ውስተ፡ ሲኦል፡ ነዋ፡ ጽሑፋን፡ እሙንቹ፡ ውስተ፡
 መምተርት፡¹⁰ በዘ፡ ይብል፡ እገዚእ፡ ነዋ፡ ይሴቡ፡¹¹ ወልደየ፡ ወዙሉ፡ ዝንቹ፡
 ነዋ፡⁴ ጽሑፋን፡ ውስተ፡ *መዘምርት፡ በምሳልደት፡¹² ዳዊት፡ ወልደ፡ እሰይ፡
 ወበምሳልደት፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልዳ፡ ወበነገራት፡ ቆራ፡ ወኤታን፡¹³ እስራኤላዊ፡
 ወበነገራት፡ አሳፍ፡ *ወ'ውስተ፡ ትራ*ፋተ፡ መዘምርት፡ ዘመልአክ፡ መንፈስ፡
 አንበባ፡¹⁴ 22. ውስተ፡¹⁵ እሰ፡ አልሰሙ፡ ስም፡¹⁶ ጽሑፍ፡¹⁷ ወውስተ፡ ነገራት፡¹⁸
 አሞጽ፡ አሱየ፡ ወሆሴ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወዘሚኪያስ፡ ወዘኢየሱል፡ ወዘናሶም፡
 ወዘዮናስ፡ ወዘኡብድዮ፡ ወዘእንባቆም፡ ወዘሐጌ፡ *ወዘሰፎንያስ፡ ወዘዘካ
 ርያስ፡⁹ ወዘምልኪያስ፡¹⁹ ወበነገራት፡ ዮሴፍ፡ ዳደቆ፡ ወበነገራት፡ ዳንኤል፡
 V. በእነተ፡ እሳንቹ፡ እንክ፡ ራእያት፡²⁰ ተም፡ ብርደል፡²¹ ሳባ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
 ወነበረ፡ ውስተ፡ ልባ፡ ምናሴ፡ ወወሠር፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በሞሠርተ፡ ዕፁ፡
 2. ወኢሳይያስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይትወሠር፡ ቆመ፡ መስተዋደዮ፡²² ብልኪራ፡²³ ወነቢየተ፡
 ሐሰት፡ ዙሉሙ፡ ቆሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይስቅቆ፡ ወይትፈሥሐ፡ ሳባ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡
 3. ወበልኪራ፡ በምኤምፍኩስ፡²⁴ ቆመ፡²⁵ ቆደመ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እንዘ፡ [ይስቅቆ፡]²⁶
 ደክ*ሞስስ፡²⁷ 4. ወይሴ፡ በልኪራ፡²⁸ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በል፡ ሐሰውኩ፡²⁹
 ዙሉ፡ ዘተናገርኩ፡ ወፍናዊሁ፡ ለምናሴ፡ ሠናደት፡ ወርቸግት፡³⁰ እማንቹ፡
 5. ወፍናዊሁ፡ ለበልኪራ፡ ሠናደ*ት፡⁴ ውእቹ፡ ወዘእሰ፡³¹ ምስሴሁ፡
 6. ወዘንተ፡ ይፀ*ሉ፡⁴ ሰባ፡ አንዘ፡ ይትወሠር፡ 7. ወኢሳይያስ፡ ሀሉ፡
 በራእየ፡ እገዚእ፡ ወክሙታት፡ አዕይንቲሁ፡ ወ(እ)³² ደራ*እ'የሙ፡ 8. ወበል
 ኪራ፡³³ ዘንተ፡ ተናገር፡ ለኢሳይያስ፡ በል፡ ዘኢብሰክ፡ ወእመይጥ፡ ልሰሙ፡
 ወአጊብር፡³⁴ ለምናሴ፡³⁵ ወሰመላእክተ፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወሰሐዝብ፡ ወሰዙላ፡ አየሩ

¹ b ወሰዙላሂ፡ ² ab ብርደል፡ ³ Bracketed as an inter-
 polation : see exegetical note, p. 36. ⁴ b om. ⁵ bc የዓርግ፡
⁶ bc trs. ⁷ bc በምሳሌ፡ በቃል፡ ⁸ b ዘገሃይ፡ ⁹ b ሂ.
¹⁰ Em. by Dln. from ac መምተርት፡ b መዘመርት፡ ¹¹ b ይሴቡ፡
¹² a መዘምርት፡ በምሳሌደት፡ ¹³ b ወናታን፡ ¹⁴ b አንበባ፡
¹⁵ a ወውስተ፡ ¹⁶ ab ስመ፡ ¹⁷ a ጽመ፡ (sic) : b ጽሑፋት፡
¹⁸ bc ነገር፡ ¹⁹ b ወዘምልኪያስ፡ ²⁰ a ራእያት፡ ²¹ abc.
²² b መስተዋደዮ፡ ²³ b በልኪራ፡ ²⁴ b ምኤምፍኩስ፡ ²⁵ Em.
 from ቆሙ፡ ²⁶ Bracketed as a doublet. ²⁷ Em. from ደክሞስሱ፡
²⁸ ac ብልደር፡ ²⁹ b repeats this word. ³⁰ b ወርቸፀት፡ ³¹ b
 ወዘእንበላ፡ ³² Must be supplied as in vi. 10. ³³ a ወሚልኪራስ፡
³⁴ b ወአጊብርሙ፡ ³⁵ a adds ወሰምናሴ፡

ሳሌም፡¹ ከመ፡ ይስገዳ፡ ሰከ። 9. ወአውሥአ፡ አሳይያሽ፡ ወይቤ፡ እመሰ፡
 እምገቤ*የ፡ *ወእቶ፡ ብሂል፡ ወጉዝ፡ ወርጉም፡³ አነተ፡ ወዙሱ፡ ገይላተከ፡
 ወዙሱ፡ ሌትከ፡ 10. እስመ፡ አልብከ፡ ፈረፋይ፡ ዘትነሥእ፡ እማእሰ፡ ሥጋዩ።
 11. ወአገዘዎ፡ ወመሠርዎ፡ ሰአሳይያሽ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞጽ፡ በሞሠርተ፡ ፀፀ።
 12. ወምናሴ፡ ወበልኪራ፡⁴ ወገቢያተ፡ ሐሰት፡ ወመላእክት፡ ወሐዘብ፡
 ወዙሱ፡ ቆመ፡⁵ እንዘ፡ ይራእዩ። 13. ወሰቢያተ፡ እሰ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ይቤ፡
 ዘእንበሰ፡ ይትመር፡ ሶፋ፡ ብሔረ፡ ጢርስ፡ ወሲያና፡ እስመ፡ ለተ፡
 ሰላሐተትዩ፡ ተስሐ፡ *እገዚአብሔር፡ ጽዋፀ።⁶ 14. ወአሳይያሽ፡ እንዘ፡
 ይትመር፡ አደርሐ፡ ወአብክዩ፡ አላ፡ አፉሁ፡ ይትና*ገር፡ ሰመንፈስ፡ ቆዳስ፡
 እስከ፡ ተመራ፡ ሰክልኤ። 15. ዘነተ፡ ጉብረ፡ ብልያር፡⁷ ሰአሳይያሽ፡
 በእይ፡ በልኪራ፡ ወበእይ፡ ምናሴ፡ እስመ፡ ሀሱ፡ ሰማየል፡ በፀባይ፡ መፃት፡⁸
 ሳሰ፡ አሳይያሽ፡ እመዋፀሰ፡ ሐዘቆያሽ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ይሁዳ፡ በእነተ፡ የገራት፡
 ዘርእዩ፡ በእነተ፡ ፍቆር፡ 16. ወበእነተ፡ ሀጉሰ፡ ሰማየል፡⁹ ዘርእዩ፡ በእገዚእ፡
 እንዘ፡ ዓዲ፡ ይገገሥ፡ ሐዘቆያሽ፡ አሱሁ። ወጉብረ፡ በከመ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ሰሰይጣን።

THE SECOND LATIN
VERSION (= L²).

VI—XI

(See Introd., pp. xviii—
xxvii.)

ወራእይሰ፡ ዘርእዩ፡
 አሳይያሽ፡ ወልደ፡
 አሞጽ።

VISIO, QUAM VIDIT
 YSAIAS "PROPHETA"
 "FILIIUS AMOS"¹³.

VI. በፃመተ፡ ጅመንገ
 ሥቶ፡ ሰሐዘቆያሽ፡ ንጉሠ፡
 ይሁዳ፡ መጽኦ፡¹⁰ አሳይ
 ያሽ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞጽ፡ ወአ
 የሳብ፡ ወልደ፡ አሳይ
 ያሽ፡ ነብ፡ ሐዘቆያሽ፡ አየ
 ኅሳሌም፡ እምገልገላ።¹¹
 2. ወ(ሶብ፡ በአ፡)¹² ነብረ፡

VI. Anno XX reg-
 nante Ezechia, rege
 Judae, venit Ysaïas
 [propheta], filius
 Amos, ad Ezechiam
 in Hierusalem¹⁴,
 2. Et intrans sedit

LATIN TRANSLATION OF
 THE SLAVONIC VERSION, BY
 PROFESSOR BONWETSCH.

VI—XI.

(See Introd., pp. xxiv—
xxvii.)

VISIO QUAM VIDIT
 [SANCTUS] ISAIAS
 "PROPHETA" FI-
 LIUS AMOS.

VI. Anno XX reg-
 nante Ezechia, rege
 Judae, venit Isaias
 filius Amos, [et Ja-
 sus, filius Isaias¹ ad
 Ezechiam in Hieru-
 salem. 2. Et cum

¹ a repeats.

² b om.

³ b. a ወጉዝ፡ ዘውእቶ፡ ብብህሉ፡

⁴ So bc. a ወምላኪራ፡

⁵ a ቆመ፡

⁶ bc trs.

⁷ ab ብርያል፡

⁸ b መፀት፡

⁹ b ሰማየል፡

¹⁰ a መጽኦ፡

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 Isaias 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 ነጉሥ፡ ወ መንበረ፡ አምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወአፈቀ* ደ፡² ደንበር።
 3. ወሶባ፡³ አሐዘ፡ አሳይ ደስ፡⁴ ደተናገር፡ ምስላ፡ ሐዘቅደስ፡ ነጉሥ፡ ነገር፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወጽድቅ፡ ወ ጅሎሙ፡ መላእክት፡ እስራኤል፡ ይኩሩ፡ ወኅፀዋን፡ ወመምክራት፡ ነጉሥ። ወሀላ፡ ህዳ፡⁵ ምስላ ደት፡ ወውሉደ፡ ነቢያት፡ መጽሐ፡ እምአድደም፡ ወእምአድባር፡⁶ ወእም አሐቀል፡ ሶቤ፡⁷ ሰምዑ፡ ከመ፡ አሳይደስ፡ ደመጽእ፡ እምገልገላ፡⁸ ነባ፡ ሐዘቅደስ፡ 4. ወመጽሐ፡ ከመ፡ የእምሳዎ፡ ወከመ፡ ደስምዑ፡ ነገራት፡⁹ 5. ወከመ፡ ደኑባር፡ እደሁ፡ ላዕሌሆመ፡ ወከመ፡ * ደትነባቶ፡ ወከመ፡ ደስማዕ፡ ትንቢተመ፡¹⁰ ወጅሎሙ፡ ሀላ፡ ቅድመ፡ አሳይ ደስ። 6. ወሶባ፡ ተናገር፡ አሳይደስ፡ * ምስላ፡ ሐዘቅደስ፡² ነገራት፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወሃይማኖት፡¹¹ ወሰምዑ፡

supra lectum regis. 3. Et omnes principes Israel et consiliarii regis et eunuchi stabant ante illum. 3-4. Veneruntque ex omnibus villis et agris et montibus prophetarum audientes quod Ysaïas venerat a Galgatha¹² ad Ezechiam, salutare eum, 5. Et annunciare ei, quae ventura erant. 6. Tunc¹³ loquebatur verba veritatis. Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in eum, et om-

intrasset sedit supra lectum regis. 3. Et omnes principes + Jerusalem¹⁴ et consiliarii regis et eunuchi stabant ante illum. 3-4. Veneruntque ex omnibus villis¹⁵ et [ex¹ agris et montibus prophetarum, cum audivissent, quod Isaias venerat a Galgal¹⁶ ad Ezechiam, salutare¹⁷ eum, 5. [Simul autem] et annuntiare¹⁸ ei [de iis] quae ventura erant. 6. Cum¹⁹ loquebatur verba [omnia] veritatis, Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in eum et

¹ b ናራተ፡² b om.³ c ወሶቤን፡⁴ a አሳይደስ፡⁵ bc om.⁶ a ወእምአድደም፡⁷ bc ሶባ፡⁸ a እምገልገላ፡⁹ bc ነገራት፡¹⁰ b ደትነባደ፡ ወከመ፡ ደስምዑ፡ ትንቢተ፡¹¹ b ወሃይ

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: vŭzvĕsjai u:

vjs' = omnis and vicus.

¹⁶ L² Galgatha.¹⁷ u et salu-tavit. ¹⁸ Blgovĕstiti : blgovĕstit [annuntiat] u, ch.¹⁹ So E,but L² tunc.

L²

S

አሎሙ፡ ተሰጥተ፡¹ ዘአ
 ርገው፡ ተወለደ፡ መን
 ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡² 7. ወጸ
 ወዑ፡ ነገሥ፡ ነሲደተ፡ አ
 ሎሙ፡ ወአሎ፡ ሕዝብ፡
 ዘተረክብ፡ ለህዳ፡ ወመጽ
 ኡ፡³ ወሚክደስ፡ ወአናን
 ደስ፡ አረጋይ፡ ወአዮኤል፡
 ወአዮሳብ፡⁴ ይኩበኛ፡⁵
 በየማኑ፡ 8. ወካኑ፡ ሰቤ፡
 ሰምዑ፡ አሎሙ፡⁶ ለዎሎ፡
 መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሰገዱ፡
 አሎሙ፡ በብረኪዎሙ፡
 ወሰብሐዎ፡ ለአምላካ፡
 ጽድቅ፡ ለልዑል፡ ለዘው
 ስተ፡ ለዑል፡ ዓለም፡ ወ
 ለዘ፡ ላዕለ፡ ይኩበኛ፡ ቅዱ
 ስ፡ ወለዘ፡ በቅዱሳን፡ ደዐ
 ርፍ፡ 9. ወወህላ፡ ስብ
 ሐተ፡ ለዘ፡ ተመዝ፡ ጸገ
 ወ፡ ጥተ፡ በዓለም፡ ክ
 ር፡ ጸገው፡ ተገብሰሱ፡
 10. ወእነዘ፡ ይተናገር፡
 በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እነዘ፡
 አሎሙ፡ ይሰምዑ፡ አር
 መመ፡ ወኅሊናሁ፡ ተገሥ
 ኡ፡ እምላዕሌሁ፡⁸ ወው
 እቸሂ፡ አይራእዮሙ፡ ለ
 ዐደው፡ እሱ፡ ይቆሙ፡

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 sanctis,
 9. Et talem virtutem
 verborum¹² in mundo
 donanti. 10. Loquente
 vero eo in Spiritu Sancto
 in auditu omnium
 statim tacuit, et ex-
 inde videbant stantem
 quendam¹³ ante

omnes videbant au-
 diebantque verba
 Sancti Spiritus. 7.
 Convocavit enim¹
 rex [et] prophetas¹³
 et omnes et introie-
 runt, quotquot eo-
 rum¹⁵ inventi sunt
 ibi, insimul. Erant
 autem Micheas et
 Ananias senes et
 Joel et quotquot¹⁶
 sederunt¹⁷ a dextris¹⁸
 et a sinistris¹⁹. 8. Et
 cum audierunt vo-
 cem Sancti Spiritus
 flexerunt genua et
 cantaverunt Deo alti-
 ssimo requiescenti
 in sanctis, 9. Et
 talem virtutem in
 verbo¹⁹ in mundo
 donante. 10. Lo-
 quente vero eo in
 Spiritu Sancto in
 auditu omnium
 statim tacuit, et ex-
 inde non¹ videbat
 stantes²¹ ante eum.

¹ b ሰጥተ፡² ab om. but SL² support.³ b om.⁴ a ወአዮሳብ፡ b adds ወልዱ፡⁵ a ይኩበኛ፡⁶ a adds ሰገዱ፡⁷ Seems corrupt. I propose ጸገው፡ ከመዝ፡ ነገተ፡ ንብ፡ በዓለም፡ = L² talem virtutem verborum in mundo donanti.⁸ b ላዕለ፡⁹ Corrupt for enim?¹⁰ Less corrupt text in S.¹¹ See note ¹⁹.¹² Corrupt. S right = E.¹³ prorocȳ: MSS. proroci.¹⁴ L²trs. 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

ቅድጫሁ፡ 11. ወአዕይ
ንጊሁሰ፡ ክሁታት፡ እማ
ንቱ፡¹ ወአፋሁኒ፡ ደረም
ም፡ ወኅሊና፡ ሥጋሁ፡
ተንሥኡ፡ እምሳባሌሁ፡
12. ወባሕቱ፡ እስትንፋ
ሱሱ፡² ሀሰወት፡³ ሳባሌሁ፡
እሰመ፡ ራእዩ፡ ደራኡ።
13. ወመልአክ፡ ዘተፈነወ፡
ከመ፡ ደርአዮ፡⁴ ኢኮኑ፡
ዘዘኩ፡ ምጽናዕ፡ ወኢኮኑ፡
እመላእክተ፡ በብሐታት፡⁵
ዘዘ፡ ዓለም፡ አላ፡ እምሳ
ብዕ፡⁶ ሰማይ፡ መጽአ።
14. ወ*ኢአምሰሰ፡⁷ ሕዝ
ብ፡ ዘይቀውም፡ ዘእን
በሰ፡ መክብብ፡ ነቢያት፡
ዘተንሥኡ፡⁸ ቅዱስ፡ ኢሳይ
ያሰ። 15. ወራእይሰ፡
ዘርአዩ፡ *ቅዱስ፡ ኢሳይ
ያሰ፡⁹ ኢኮኑ፡ እምዘ፡
ዓለም፡ አላ፡ እምዓለም፡
ዘኅሱእ፡ እምሥጋሁ።¹⁰
16. ወኢሰይያሰ፡ እም
ድኅረ፡ ርእዩ፡ ዘነተ፡ ራእ
ዩ፡ ዘነፃ፡ ለሕ*ዘ¹¹ቅያሰ፡
ወሰኢዮሳብ፡¹² ወልዱ፡ ወ
ለባዕዳንሂ፡ 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
cessavit a visione,
"reversus"¹⁸ notifica-
vit [visionem] Eze-
chiae et filio tejus
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. Visio¹ vero¹ quam
videbat non erat de
saeculo hoc, sed de
abscondito ab¹¹ omni¹¹
carni. 16. Et cum ces-
savit a visione¹¹ et²¹
reversus est in se¹¹,
[et] notificavit Eze-
chiae et filio tejus
Nasoni²².

መጽአ። 17. ወመኳንነትሰ፡¹³ ወኅጽዋን፡ ወሕዝብ፡ ኢሰምዑ፡ ዘእንበለ፡
ሳምናስ፡¹⁴ ጸሓፊ፡ ወኢዮአቂም፡¹⁵ ወአሳፍ፡ ጸሓፊ፡¹⁶ ተዘኳር፡ እስመ፡

¹ a repeats.² b እስትንፋስሰ፡³ b ሀሱ፡⁴ b ደርአዮ፡⁵ b በብሐት፡⁶ a እም-ብዕ፡ (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 ወሰኢዮሰብ፡¹³ b ወመኳንነትሰ፡¹⁴ b ሳሚናስ፡¹⁵ a ወኢዮአቂም፡¹⁶ a ጸሐፊ፡¹⁷ S in revelatiōne.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.

እሙንቸሃ፡ ገበርተ፡¹ ጽደቅ፡ ተወመዐዛ፡² ተመንፈሰ፡ ሰሙ፤ ወሕዝብሰ፡
 ኢሰምዑ፡ እሰመ፡ አውጽእም፡³ ሚኪያሰ፡ ወኢየሳብ፡ ወልዱ፡ ሰባ፡⁴
 ተንሥኦ፡ ጥበባ፡ ዝገሰም፡ እምኒሁ፡ ወካ፡⁵ ከመ፡ ዘጥተ፡።

L¹

VII. 1-19.

(See Introd.,
pp. xviii-xxi.)L²

S

VII. ወራእዮ፡
 ዘርእዮ፡ አሳይያሰ፡
 ይዬ፡ ሰሕዝቅያሰ፡
 ወሰኢየሳብ፡ ወል
 ዱ፡ ወሰሚኪያሰ፡
 ወሰሳዕዳንሃ፡ ክሰ
 ያት፡ ወይዬ፡።⁶
 2. በሰግት፡⁷ ዛቲ፡
 ሰባ፡ ተሰይኦ፡ በ
 ከመ፡ ስምዕ፡ ዘሰ
 ማዕከመ፡ ርኢ
 ኩ፡⁸ መልክ፡ ክ
 ቡረ፡ ወኢካ፡⁹ ከ
 መ፡ ክብረ፡ መላእ
 ክት፡ ዘዘልፈ፡ እ
 ሬእየመ፡¹⁰ አላ፡
 *ክብረ፡ ዐቢየ፡¹¹
 ወተሚመተ፡¹² ተሰ
 ቸ፡ ዘኣክ፡ አይክል፡
 ዜንግተ፡ 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 non

VII. et Mich-
 eae caeterisque
 prophetis di-
 cens: 2. Quan-
 do prophetavi
 auditum, quem
 [in] auditum
 quem audistis,
 vidi angelum
 gloriosum, non
 secundum glor-
 iam angelor-
 um, quos sem-
 per vidi, sed
 qu a n d a m
 *magnam glor-
 iam¹⁶ [et]¹⁷ lu-
 men 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 glor-
 iam angelorum
 quos semper
 vidi; sed quan-
 dam *gloriam
 magnam¹⁶ lu-
 men¹⁷ habentem,
 quod non
 possum¹⁸ noti-

¹ bc ግብርተ፡
 getical note.

² b መዐዛተ፡ Text seems corrupt. See exe-
³ b አውጽእም፡ ⁴ b ወሰባ፡ ⁵ a om.

⁶ Em. from b ይዬ፡ ac om. Cf. L¹L²S 'dicens.' ⁷ Em. from
 ወካት፡ Cf. L¹ in 'eo. In ab ወካት፡ 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 ይራእየመ፡

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 = svet :
 u s̄to sanctum : ch̄ s̄tu sanctam. ¹⁸ ch̄ mogu : u mogoch potui.

	L ¹	L ²	S
<p> ΑΗ: σολάη:: 3. ωάθζγλ: ¹ ῶ: ἄθηλ: ὀλ ελ: ωλβδ: σ ι: ἄτ: ωσθ: ω-λτ: ἄσθ: ω ἄετ: ροζγλ: ² ἄδσ: ζεδ: *τωυθ: ἄτ: ³ ησ: ἄτςγζ: ροδδβ: 4. ω εβδλ: ῶ: ἄθ ζγθ: [σθζγλ:] ⁴ ωλκλελθ-θ: ζ ἄε: ἄη: τδςθ: ῶβγ: ⁵ τδβ: σθ: ἄι ωδσ ῶ: ἄτςγζ: ⁶ 5. ἄδσ: υἷωθ: ΑΗ: ρζ*η: ⁷ τ </p>	<p> 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 revertar- is in carnem. Cum¹² enim </p>	<p> 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 loqucum illo. 4. Tunc †respondens¹⁵ dixit †mihi¹⁷: 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 </p>	<p> ficare. 3. †Et¹ cum accepisset me manu duxit me in altum¹⁶. Egoque dixi: Quis es †tu¹? quomodo tibi nomen est? et quo me super- fers? virtus enim mihi data est lo- qui cum illo. 4. Tunc †cum respondisset¹⁷ dixit¹⁷: Quando *feram te¹⁸ in altum †et¹ o- stendam tibi visionem pro qua missus sum, tunc scies, quis sum ego. Et nomen me- um nescis. 5. Quia¹⁹ vis ite- rum reverti in </p>

¹ Em. from *bc* ωζλθ: *a* reads ζλθ: Contrast the corruption in viii. 1. SL² support emendation. ² *ab* ροζγλ:

³ *b* τωυθλ: ⁴ L¹ om., also SL². Hence bracketed. ⁵ *b* ἄσγθ:

⁶ *b* ἄτςγζ: (sic). ⁷ *b* om. ⁸ Corrupt. Is et accessit =

καὶ ἀνήλαθε 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, SL² om. ei. ¹⁰ ὅταν σε ἐναγάγω

where the last word is corrupt for ἀναγάγω. ¹¹ A free rendering.

S (= E) is literal. ¹² So SL². E = quo. ¹³ Read et accipiens

with SE. ¹⁴ Corrupt for me. ¹⁵ Add et with SE.

¹⁶ *ch* alta. ¹⁷ EL² add mihi. ¹⁸ L² trs. ¹⁹ Za ne = S.

L¹

79λ: ωγΑΩ: δ
 0C7h: †Λδ:
 *λδσ: ΑΗ: †Δ
 9h: 1 6. ω†
 Δ. 7. δh: λδσ:
 ΑΩ-0†: †57
 ζε: 7. ωεβ
 Αε: †Δ. 7. δh:
 λδσ: 9Φ0: 2 †
 57C7h-ηωεβ:
 ωΑΗ: 90-Α9εζ:
 †Λδ: ησ: ε
 α0: 3 ω04δ:
 0δ: *ε†57C:
 90Αδη4 8. ω
 Α00-ε: 5 ΑΗ: 90
 Α: †Λδ: λδσ:
 ΑΗ: †Δ. 7. δh:
 90Α-0: Α9ε:
 ησ: δ-0C0: Αη:
 Η†: Ηδ: 9.
 ω0C7h: ω-δ†:

sustolero te,
 tunc videbis,
 *[†]propter hoc
 enim missus
 sum¹⁶. 6.
 Quonia^m⁷
 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 eminenti-
 orem ipsius
 majoris¹² vide-
 bis. Propter
 hoc enim mis-
 sus sum a sep-
 timo caelo ut
 omnia tibi os-
 tendam. 9. [Et

L²

corpus tuum,
 et quando te
 elevabo, †pos-
 tea⁷ videbis.
 6. Et gavisus
 sum, quia mansu-
 ete respon-
 dit¹³. 7. Et dixit
 mihi: Gavisus
 es, quia humil-
 iter¹⁴ respondi
 tibi, et major-
 em me videbis
 [et] *humili-
 orem et sapien-
 tior¹⁵ volen-
 tem loqui tecum
 8. †Melio^r
 et dulcior¹⁶;
 in hoc enim
 missus sum, ut
 notificem tibi
 omnia haec.
 9. Ascendimus

S

corpus tuum.
 Et quando te
 elevabo vide-
 bis. 6. Et ga-
 visus sum quia
 mansuete re-
 spondit[†] mihi¹.
 7. Et dixit mi-
 hi: Gavisus es
 quia¹⁶ mansu-
 ete¹⁷ respondi
 tibi? Et †me-
 liorem^{†18} me
 videbis humi-
 liorem et sapi-
 entior¹⁹ volen-
 tem loqui
 tecum. 8. †Et
 majorem ma-
 joris, †lucidio-
 rem et modes-
 tior²⁰; in
 hoc enim mis-
 sus sum, ut
 notificem tibi
 *haec omnia²¹.
 9. Ascendi au-

¹ SL² om. but L¹ supports.

² δ 9ω-γ:

³ δ 9Φ0:

⁴ b trs.

⁵ b ωΑ00-ε:

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 S E.

¹⁴ S E = mansuete.

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 ταπεινώφρονα

καὶ σώφρονα.

²⁰ Seems corrupt.

²¹ So E. L² trs.

L² = et meliorem et dulcior^{em}.

	L ¹	L ²	S
<p> ᾠδὸς: *κί: ω ω-λτ:¹ ωουε: Κακῆς: Ἀνάγγελ Δ:² ω*Α³ΨΕΛ ΤΥ: ωΥΑ: ΟΝ Ε: ΦτῆΔ: ΟΥΟΛ Υ: †ωΥΓΖ:†: †ΑῖΕῖ: Ε: Ἄη Δκ: Ε.Ε.Θ.Ω.: ΙΟ. ωΝησω: ΟΥ ΘΑ: ησΥ:³ Ν ᾠ.Ε.Σ.Ι: Ἄησω: ἌᾠηΑ: ἈΗ: Ν ᾠδὸς: Ηε: ω ἰτ: ᾠ.Ε.Σ: ω λτ: II. ωλ βΑ: ἈσΔκῆ: σΥτ: ω-λτ:⁶ Η.Ε.Υ.Σ.: Ι.2. ω Ε.Β.Α.Ι: ησῆ: ω-λτ: Ἄᾠησω: </p>	<p> 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 (sic 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- </p>	<p> ego et ille super firmamentum, et vidi ibi proe- lium magnum sathanae et virtutem ejus "resistentem honorantiae"¹² dei¹¹, et unus erat praestan- tior alio invidendo; 10. Quia sicut est in ter- ra tanto¹³ est in firmamento, formae enim firmamenti hic sunt in terra. 11. Et dixi angelo: Quid est hoc bellum et in- vidia "et proe- lium"¹¹? 12. Et "respondens"¹¹ dixit mihi: </p>	<p> tem [et] ego et ille super firmamentum. Et vidi ibi proe- lium magnum satanae et virtutes¹⁴ ejus [et] "resisten- tem pietati"¹⁵ et unus *alium invidentes¹⁶. 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"¹¹? 12. Et "respondit mi- hi et"¹⁷ dixit¹⁷: </p>

¹ b trs. bef. **ω-ἰτ:** ² a **Ἀνάγγελ Δ:** ³ b om. ⁴ Corrupt = καὶ λόγοι, where λόγοι corrupt for ἄγγελοι. So L¹ angeli. b reads **ωΥΓΖ:** ⁵ a **ω-λτ:** 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 = blagočjstiju. L² honorantiae Dei. ¹⁶ L² erat praestantior alio invidendo. ¹⁷ L² respondens dixit mihi.

	L ¹	L ²	S
<p> ክብር: ዝኅሉም: እ ስከ: ደእኩ: ወዝ ቀተል: እስከ: ደ መጽእ: ዘሀሰወከ: ትርእይ: ወይይ መስሶ: 13. ወ እም ደኅራህ: እፅ ረገዚ: መልዕልተ: ምጽናዕ: ዘፍወእ ቱ: ለማይ: 14. ወፍሀህ: ርእኩ: መንበረ: ማእከ ሰ: ወበየማኑ: 7 ወበዐጋሙ: መላ እክት: ሀሰወገ። 15. ወኢኩኑ: (መ ላእክት: እሰ: በፀ ጋሙ: 9 ከመ: መ ላእክት: እሰ: በየ ማኑ: 10 ደቀውሙ: እላ: 11 እሰ: በየማ ኑ: 10 ደቀውሙ: 12 </p>	<p> lum¹³ factum est usque nunc¹⁴ [est]¹⁴, sic erit bellum quoad usque veniat quem visurus es et emun- dabit¹⁵ eum. 13. Et postea po- suit me super solidamentum; * et fuit¹⁶ cae- lum. 14. Et vidi ibi sedem in medio, et ad dexteram ejus et ad sinistra(m) angeli erant. 15. *Et non tales erant an- geli ad sinis- tra(m)¹⁷ quales¹⁸ ad dextra(m), </p>	<p> istud bellum "diaboli est, et" non quiescet donec veniet, quem vis vi- dere, et inter- ficiet eum "spi- ritu virtutis ejus"¹⁹. 13. Pos- tea levavit me in ea, quae sunt super firmamentum, quod est "pri- mum" coelum. 14. Et vidi thronum in me- dio, "de super sedebat ange- lus in magna gloria", et a dextris ejus se- debant angeli et a sinistris. 15. Aliam ha- bebant glor- </p>	<p> istud bellum "est diaboli"²⁰ et" non quiescet donec veniet quem vis vi- dere et inter- ficiet (eum)²¹ "spiritu vir- tutis suae"²². 13. Postea ele- vavit me in ea quae sunt su- per firmamen- tum, quod est "primum" cae- lum. 14. Et vidi "ibi" thro- num in medio "et in eo"²³ se- debat angelus in magna glo- ria" et a dextris ejus sedebant²⁴ et a sinistris angeli. 15. Aliam²⁵ vero²⁶ </p>

¹ a ወይይ መስሶ: ² We should add ወ-ስተዘ: = in id quod as in SL². ³ b ዝኩ: ⁴ a ወ-ስተ: ⁵ a om. ⁶ b ማእከላ: ⁷ b በየኑ: (sic). ⁸ b om. this and next three words. ⁹ I have added these words in accordance with L¹ (the context requires them), and changed the preceding verb from ከኩ: to ከኑ: ¹⁰ b በየማኑ: ¹¹ b ወእሱ: ¹² b om. ¹³ MS. ex qua oculum. ¹⁴ Should with ESL² be excised. ¹⁵ = καθαρίσει corrupt for καθαιρήσει 'will destroy.' So ES L². ¹⁶ Should be quod est primum as in SL². E = quod est caelum. ¹⁷ Here L² supplements E by supplying its lost clause 'angeli ad sinistram.' MS. reads talis for tales. SL² agree in a different text. ¹⁸ MS. qualis. ¹⁹ Should be suae as in S. ²⁰ L² trs. ²¹ Added from L¹ L² E¹. ²² L² ejus. ²³ L² desuper. ²⁴ u sedens. ²⁵ u et majorem. ²⁶ L² om.

	L ¹	L ²	S
*ፈ.ፈ.ፋ.ፈ. ክብር፡ ሰሙ፡ ወይሴብሉ፡ ክብሩ፡ ስብሰው፡ ሰ*አካዱ፡ ² ቃል፡ ወመንበር፡ ሆሎ፡ ማእከሉ፡ ወኪያሁ፡ ይሴብሉ፡ ወእሉ፡ በፀጋምሂ፡ ደኅራሆሙ፡ ወቃሱሙ፡ ለካ፡ ክመ፡ ቃሉ፡ እሉ፡ በየማን፡ ወአሱብላተሙ፡ ከመ፡ ስብላተ፡ እልክቸ።	ad dextram enim claritatem magna(m) habuerunt : et laudabant omnes una voce : ¹ et sedes erat in medio ¹ , et a sinistra postea benedicebant. Fuit autem vox a sinistro non sicut(a dextro) ⁷	iam, qui erant a dextris, et cantabant una voce, et illi qui erant a sinistris post illos ¹ cum eis ¹¹ canticum eorum non erat sicut dextrorum. 16. Et interrogavi angelum ducentem me : Cui canticum istud missum est ? 17. Et ¹ respondens ¹ dixit mihi : ¹ "Magnae ¹ gloriae Dei, qui est super septimum coelum, et filio ejus dilecto, unde [ego] missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum elevavit me in	*gloriam habebant ¹² , qui erant a dextris, et cantabant una voce ; et illi qui erant a sinistris post illos cantabant, canticum autem ¹³ eorum non erat sicut dextrorum. 16. Interrogavi autem angelum ducentem me : Cui canticum istud missum est ? 17. Et ¹ cum respondisset ¹ dixit mihi : ¹ "Magnae ¹ gloriae Dei quae ¹⁴ est super septimum caelum et filio ejus dilecto, unde missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum elevavit me in se-
16. ወተስእልክም፡ ለመልእክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ወእሴብሉ፡ ለመኑ፡ ዘሰብላተ፡ ይተፈኖ። 17. ወይሴብሉ፡ ወሰተ፡ ስብላተ፡ (ዘበ) ³ ላብዕ፡ ለማይ፡ ለዘ፡ በቅዱስ፡ ፋላም፡ ደ*ፀፍርፍ፡ ወለፍቁሩ፡ እመንብ፡ ተፈገገውክ፡ ነቤክ፡ [ሀየ፡ ይተፈኖ]። ⁶ 18. ወካዕሱ፡ አዕረገኒ፡ ወስተ፡ ጻገም፡ ለማ	erat illis similis ¹ . 16. Et rogavi angelum qui me ducebat, ¹ et dixi ei ¹⁰ . Cui mittunt angeli hymnos ¹⁰ ? 17. Et dixit mihi : Gloriae sedentis septimi caeli, ¹ qui est perpetui saeculi, ¹ et dilecto ejus a quo missus sum ad te. 18. Et imposuit me (in) secundum cae-	missum est ? 17. Et ¹ respondens ¹ dixit mihi : ¹ "Magnae ¹ gloriae Dei, qui est super septimum coelum, et filio ejus dilecto, unde [ego] missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum elevavit me in	16. Interrogavi autem angelum ducentem me : Cui canticum istud missum est ? 17. Et ¹ cum respondisset ¹ dixit mihi : ¹ "Magnae ¹ gloriae Dei quae ¹⁴ est super septimum caelum et filio ejus dilecto, unde missus sum ad te. 18. Et iterum elevavit me in se-

¹ ፊ ክብር፡ ብዙ፡ ² ፊ ፈ.

with L¹. See exegetical note.

⁶ Bracketed since L¹ S L² om.

from hymnus. Cf. next verse where hymnos appears. S L² give

canticum in both cases. ⁹ So E. S L² om. ¹⁰ MS. hymnus.

¹¹ Corrupt for cantabant as in S. ¹² L² trs. ¹³ L² om.

¹⁴ L² qui.

³ Supplied in accordance

⁴ ፊ በቅዱሳ፡ ⁵ a om.

⁷ Supplied from E. ⁸ Em.

	L ¹	L ²	S
<p> ደ፡ ወልዕልናሁሰ፡ ሰውእቶ፡ ሰማይ፡ ደክውን፡ ከመ፡¹ *እምሰማይ፡ ሰ ምድር፡² [ወሰም ጽናዕ]።³ 19. ወ (ርእኩ፡ ህየ፡ ከ መ፡)⁴ ወሰተ፡ ቀ ዳማይ፡⁵ ሰማይ፡ *ደም፡ ወጽግ መ፡⁶ *መላእክተ፡ ወመንበረ፡⁷ ማእ ክሰ፡⁸ ወ*ሰብሓ ተ፡ መላእክተ፡⁹ ዘበዳግም፡ ሰማ ይ፡ *ወዘይተብር፡ ደብ፡ መንበር፡ ሰ ዳግም፡ ሰማይ፡¹ ክብረ፡ ራድ፡ፋድ፡ ሶቶ፡ እምሁሉ።¹⁰ </p>	<p> 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. </p>	<p> *secundo coe- lo¹³, *altitudo ejuserat¹⁴ sicut a primo coelo usque ad ter- ram. 19. Et vidi ibi, sicut in primo coelo, dextros et sin- istros angelos. </p>	<p> cundum cae- lum; *altitu- do autem caeli erat¹⁶ sicut a primo caelo usque ad ter- ram¹⁷. 19. Vi- di autem ibi, sicut in primo caelo dextros et sinistros angelos¹⁸. </p>

	L ²	S
<p> 20. ወብዙሃ፡ ክብር፡ ሀ ሉ፡ ወሰተ፡ ዳግም፡ ሰማ ይ፡ ወሰብሓተመ፡¹¹ ኢ </p>	<p> 20. Et *gloria isto- rum angelorum¹⁵ et canticum excelsiora </p>	<p> 20. Et (gloria isto- rum angelorum et)¹⁹ canticum excelsius </p>

- ¹ b om.
- ² a እምድር፡ ሰሰማይ፡
- ³ Though found also in L¹ must be excised. SL² rightly om.
- ⁴ Supplied in accordance with context, L¹ SL².
- ⁵ b ዳግም፡
- ⁶ b በደምን፡
- ወበፀግም፡**
- ⁷ These words in nom. in MSS. but put in acc. owing to change made in preceding line. ac om. መላ።
- ⁸ b ማእክላ፡
- ⁹ bc ሰብሐተ፡
- ¹⁰ b እምሁሉ፡ which it reads before ሶቶ፡
- ¹¹ b ወሰብሐተ፡
- 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.

L²

S

ኮኑ፡ ከመ፡ ስብሓተ፡ እል
ክቱ፡ ለዘባ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ሰ
ማይ፡፡ 21. ወወደቁ፡
በገጽዮ፡¹ ከመ፡ እስገድ፡
ሱቱ፡ ወኢገደገደ፡ መል
እክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ አላ፡
ይጮሰኒ፡ ኢትስገድ፡ *ወ
ኢለመንበር፡ ወኢለመል
እክ፡² ለዘ፡ እምሲድስቱ፡
ሰማይ፡ እምንበ፡³ ተረ፤
ወክ፡ እምራኅክ፡ ዘእን
በሰ፡ እክ፡ እንገርክ፡ በላ
ብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡፡ 22. እስ
መ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ክሱ፡
ሰማይተ፡ ወመላእክተሆ
መ፡⁴ መንበርክ፡ ንርር፡
ወአልባሲክኒ፡⁵ ወአክሊል
ክኒ፡ ዘሀሰወክ፡ ጎርአይ፡፡
23. ወተረግሕክ፡⁶ ፍሥ
ሓ፡ ዐቢዩ፡ እስመ፡ እሰ፡
ደፈቅርዎ፡ ለልዑል፡ ወሰ

erant quam primo-
rum. 21. Et cecidi
in faciem meam, ut
adorarem eum⁷. Et
non dimisit⁸ me
angelus, qui me in-
struebat, *et dixit
mihī⁹: 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-
los¹⁴, 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 L², but S upholds *b*. ³ A mis-
translation of *ᾄθεν*. See exegetical note. ⁴ *b* *ወመልዕልተሆመ*;
⁵ *b* *ወልብሰክኒ*; ⁶ *a* *ወተረግሕ*; ⁷ So E. S inferior text.
⁸ = *ἀφήκε*, which, however, the translator should have rendered by
permissit. ⁹ S wrongly om. ¹⁰ See note ¹⁹. ¹¹ So S = *ᾄθεν*
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

ፍቁሩ፣¹ ደኃፊተሙ፣ በ መልአክ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ *የዐርጉ፡ ህዩ።² 24. ወአ ፀረገ፤ ውስተ፡ ማልስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወከማህ፡ ርአኩ፡ እሰ፡ በየማን፡ ወበፀጋም፡ ወበ*ህዩ፤ መንበር፡ ማ እከሰ፡⁴ ደኑበር፡⁵ ወበ ሕቱ፡ ዝክሩ፡ ሰዝ፡ ዓሰ ም፡ አይሰመይ፡ በህ ዩ።³ 25. ወእጌሱ፡ ሰመ ልአክ፡ ዘምስሌይ፡ እስመ፡ ደትዌሳጥ፡⁶ ክብር፡ ገጽዩ፡ ሰባ፡ አዐርገ፡⁷ ለሰሰማ ደ፡ እስመ፡ አልቦ፡ ምን ተ፤ እምዘክቱ፡ ዓሰም፡ ክንተ፡ በዘዩ፡ ዘይሰመይ። 26. ወአውሥክ፤ ወይጌ ሰ፤⁸ አልቦ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ በእንተ፡ ደካሙ፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘይትንባእ፡ *በህዩ፡ ዘ⁹ ደትንበር። 27. ወፈቀ ደኩ፡ እጠይቅ፡ እር፡ ደ ትእመር፡ ወአውሥክ፤ እንዝ፡ ደብል፡ ሰባ፡ ውስተ፡ ሳብ፡ ሰማይ፡ እም ንባ፡ ተፈገውኩ፡ አፀረጉ ኩ።¹⁰ ውስተ፡ ዘመልፀ *ልጎ፡ እሰ፡ ሰጫ፡ ታአ

scientibus altissimi^f et aeternalem¹¹ et¹¹ dilectum filium ejus, ^fquia sicut¹¹ *(ab) angelo¹² Sancti Spiritus sic hi ascendent in illum. 24. Et elevavit me super tertium coelum, et similiter vidi parvum thronum, et dextros et sinistros angelos. Memoria tamen mundi istius illic non nominabatur. 25. Sed transformabatur gloria mei spiritus, cum ascendebam in coelum, et dixi: de illo mundo nihil *nominatur hic¹³. 26. Et respondens mihi angelus ait: nihil nominatur propter infirmitatem ejus, et nihil absconditur *illic de illis, quae¹⁴ facta sunt.

altissimum et ^faeternalem¹¹ dilectum filium ejus: ^fet sicut¹¹ ab angelo Sancti Spiritus hi illic¹⁶ exeunt¹⁷. 24. Et elevavit me super tertium caelum, et illic¹⁸ similiter vidi parvum¹⁹ thronum et dextros et sinistros angelos. Memoria tamen mundi istius illic non nominabatur. 25. Sed transformabatur gloria spiritus²⁰ mei, cum ascendebam in caelum et dixi: nihil de illo²¹ mundo *hic nominatur²²? 26. Et respondit mihi angelus et ait mihi: nihil nominatur propter infirmitatem ejus nihilque hic¹⁸ absconditur *de illis quae²³ facta sunt²⁴.

¹ b ወለፍቁር:² b trs.³ a om.⁴ b ማእከላ:⁵ ac ወዘይተበር:⁶ b ደትመየጥ:⁷ b አፀረገ፤⁸ a እንዝ፡ ደብል:⁹ a ዘሰ፡ ዘዩ:¹⁰ a አፀረገ፤¹¹ S om.¹² Em. with

SE from angeli.

¹³ SE trs.¹⁴ So E. See note ²². ¹⁵ L²add et. ¹⁶ Si tamo: ch sila.¹⁷ L² better: ascendunt in illum.L² is largely supported by E.¹⁸ L² E om. ¹⁹ So L² = μικρόν

corrupt for μέσον (?) as in E.

²⁰ So L². E = faciei or formae.²¹ onogo u, togo ch.²² So E. L² trs.²³ L² (E) illic de illis quae.²⁴ Greater part of vii. 27 in E is wanting in SL².

L

ምር: ከመ: አልቦ: ዘይት
 ነባሕ: ለመናብርት: ወለ
 እሰ: ይኑብኑ: ውስተ: ስማይት: ¹ ወ*አ²ለመላ
 እክት: ወስብሓት: ³ ዘ
 ይሱብሐ: ወክብኑ: ለዘ
 ይኑብር: ደቡ: መንበር:
 የቦቤ: ወለመላእክት:
 ዘቦ: የማን: ወለዘ: ⁴ ለፀ
 ጋም: ክብር: ፈፈፋይ:
 ለመ: ⁵ እምሰማይ: ዘእ
 ምታሕፕሮም: 28. ወ
 ካዕቦ: አዕረገዢ: ውስተ:
 ራብዕ: ሰማይ: ወልዕል
 ናህ: እምማልሰ: ለራብዕ:
 ሰማይ: ይፈፈፋይ: ⁶ እ
 ምድር: ² እስከ: ምጽ
 ናዕ: 29. ወሰህዩ: ካዕ
 ቤ: ርእኩ: እሰ: ለየማን:
 ወእሰ: ለፀጋም: ወዘይ
 ብር: *ደቡ: መንበር: ²
 ህሉ: ማእከሰ: ⁷ ወሰህዩ:
 ንደ: ይሱብሐ: 30. ወ
 ስብሓት: ወክብር: ⁸ ዘ
 መላእክት: የማን: የቦቤ:
 እም*ዘፀጋም: 31. ወ
 ካዕቤ: ክብኑ: ለዘ: ይኑ

S

27. Et canticum
 *cantabant, et glori-
 ficabant sedentem⁹,
 et iste¹⁰ angelus erat
 major secundo. 28.
 Et iterum elevavit
 me in quartum coel-
 um. 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 b ሰማይ:² b om.³ b ወስብሐት:⁴ b ወእሰ:⁵ a ሶፑ:⁶ a ፈፈፋይ:⁷ b ማእከላ:⁸ b 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 firma-
 mentum. ¹⁵ So E. L² wrongly om. ¹⁶ L² om. through hmt (?).

I have supplied dextrorum from E.

L²

S

ብር፡ ደብ፡ መንበር፡ ደፈ.
 ደፍ.ደ፡ እመላእክት፡¹
 እሰ፡ በየማን፡ ወክብር
 መሰ፡ ፈ.ደ.ፋ.ደ፡² እምዘ፡
 ታሕቶ፡³ 32. ወ'አዕረ
 ዝ፡ ወ-ሰተ፡ ኃምስ፡ ሰማ
 ደ፡፡ 33. ወ*ካዕቡ፡²
 ርአኩ፡ ዘቡ፡ የማን፡ ወፀ
 ጋም፡ ወዘይተብር፡ ደብ፡
 መንበር፡ ፈ.ደ.ፋ.ደ፡ ክብር፡
 ሮቶ፡ እምዘ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማ
 ደ፡፡ 34. ወክብርመሰ፡
 ሰእሰ፡ በየማን፡ ፈ.ደ.ፋ.ደ፡
 እምእሰ፡ በፀጋም፡ [እም
 ማልስ፡ እስክ፡ ራብዕ፡]⁵
 35. ወፃክብ፡ ሰዘ፡ ወ-ሰ
 ተ፡ መንበር፡⁶ የዐቢ፡ እመ
 ላእክት፡ ዘ*ቡ፡² የማን፡
 36. ወሰብ-ተሰማ፡ *ክብ
 ረ፡ ዐቢ፡⁷ ሮቶ፡ እምራ
 ብዕ፡ ሰማደ፡፡ 37. ወሰ
 ባሕኩ፡ ሰዘ፡ አ.ደ.ሰመደ፡
 ወብሐት፡ ዘ*ቡ፡² ሰማደ
 ት፡ ደተብር፡ ዘሰመ፡ አ.ተ
 ፀወቆ፡⁸ ሰክሉ፡ ዘሥጋ፡
 ሰዘ፡ ከመዘ፡ ክብር፡ ወሀ
 ቢ፡ እምሰማደ፡ ሰሰማ
 ደ፡ *ወዘ፡ የዐቢ፡ ክብር፡

qui erant a dextris,
 et gloria eorum
 similiter superabat
 gloriam inferorum.
 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 habent-
 es 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
 dextris¹³, 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
 glorificabant¹⁷ 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 ስ እመላእክት፡ ² ስ om. ³ ስ ታሕቶደ፡ ⁴ ስ ወካቡ፡ (sic).

⁵ I have bracketed these words with Dln. For እስክ፡ ስ reads ወእስክ፡

⁶ ስ መንበር፡ ⁷ ስ ክብር፡ ዐቢ.ደ፡ ⁸ ስ አ.ደ.ተ.ፀወቆ፡ ⁹ ስ ወሰዘ.

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፡ *ወክብረ፡
 ደፈደፍደ፡¹ ሰዘ፡ ይ፤
 ብር፡ ደባ፡ መንበር።

VIII. ወዓዲ፡ አዕረገዢ፡
 ውስተ፡ አየር፡ ዘላዲስ፡
 ሰማይ፡ ወ²ርእኩ፡ ስብ
 ጥተ፡ ዘ*አ³ርእኩ፡ ውስ
 ተ፡ ንምስቲ፡⁴ ሰማይ፤
 2. *አስመ፡ ርእኩ፡⁵ መ
 ላእክት፡⁶ በዐቢይ፡ ክብር፡
 እዝ፡ ሀለጢ፤ 3. *ወበ³
 ህየ፡ ስብጥተ፡ ቅዱስ፡
 *ሀሉ፡ ወ³መንክር።⁷
 4. ወእቤ*ሉ⁸፡ ሰመልክ
 ክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ምንተ
 ኑዝ፡ ዘአራኤ፡ እገዛለየ።
 5. ወይቤ*ሉ⁸፡ ኢኮንኩ፡
 አኒ፡ እገዛለክ፡ አላ፡ ቢጽ
 ክ፡ አኒ። 6. ወዓዲ፡ ተስእ
 ልክዎ፡⁹ ወእቤሉ፡ ምንተ
 *ኑኤ፡ ቢጽ፡ መላእክት።
 7. ወይቤ፡ እምላዲስ፡
 ሰማይ፡ መላእክት፡¹⁰ *ዘ³
 ፀጋም፡ አልሶቲ፡¹¹ እምይ
 እኩ፡ ወአመንበር፡ 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 ¶ magnam¹⁴,
 qualem non vidi in
 quinto coelo. 2. Et
 aspexi angelum¹⁴ in
 gloria magna, 3. ¶ Et
 facta virtutum erant
 honorabilia et prae-
 cedentia¹⁵, 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 consiliator¹⁶. 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-
 nam¹⁴ [super id]¹⁸,
 qualem non vidi
 in quinto caelo,
 2. Nam¹⁹ aspexi an-
 gelos²⁰ in gloria
 magna. 3. ¶ Ordines
 virtutum horrenda-
 rum et praeterfluen-
 tes¹⁵, 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 ወክብረ፡ ደፈ፡ፋ፡ደ፡² b ወኢ.³ b om.⁴ b ጁ.⁵ Em. with S nam aspexi from ሰቤ፡ ፀረገ፡ Contrast corruption in vii. 3. ⁶ Em. from ወመላእክት፡ ⁷ Em. by Dln. from መንበር፡ of MSS.⁸ a om.⁹ b adds እ፤¹⁰ Em. from ወላሰ፡ inaccordance with S L².¹¹ b ወአልሶቲ፡¹² S om.¹³ SE om.¹⁴ Read angelos with SE.¹⁵ L² and S = σίμβουλος 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 Eom. 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

ለ፡ ገሱረ፡ አላ፡ እምነይል፡
 ዘላብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ገሱ፡
 ይተብር፡ ዘኢይሰመይ፡
 ወጎሩዩ፡¹ ዘስሙ፡ ኢተዐ
 ወቀ፡² ወኢአሱሙ፡ ሰማ
 ያት፡ ስሞ፡ አእምር፡ ኢይ
 ክሱ፤ 8. እስሙ፡ ወእት፡
 *ሀሉ፡ ባሕተ፡³ ዘ*ሰ፡
 ቃሉ፡ አሱሙ፡ ሰማያት፡
 ወመናብርት፡ ያወሥኡ፡
 ተገልጹኩ፡ አ፡⁴ ወተረ
 ያኩ፡ ከመ፡ ናዕር፡⁵ ዘዩ፡
 ከመ፡ ትርአይ፡ ዘንተ፡
 ስብሐት፡ 9. ወትርአይ፡
 እገዚአመ፡ ለ*እሙን፡⁶
 ሰማያት፡ *አሱሙ፡ ወዘ⁶
 እሱ፡ መናብርት፡ 10. እ
 ገዘ፡ ይተዋለ፡ እስከ፡
 ይከውን፡ በከመ፡ ራእይ
 ከመ፡ ወበከመ፡ አምሳሊ
 ከመ፡ 11. አንሰኩ፡
 እብሰኩ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ እስ
 መ፡ በሥጋ፡ ዘክቶ፡⁷ ገሳ
 ም፡ ዘሀሰው፡ ብእሊ፡
 ይገባእ፡⁸ *ወአዕር፡ ወ
 ኢርአዩ፡⁹ ወኢሰበው፡⁹
 ዘአንተ፡ ለበውኩ፡¹⁰ ወ
 *ዘሀሰውኩ፡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 istam
 9. Et dominum omnium coelo-
 rum et angelos eius
 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-
 genitus]¹⁷ filius ejus¹⁸
 8. Et omnes caeli et
 angeli ejus audiunt
 (eum). Ego vero mis-
 sus sum assumere te
 huc, ut videas gloriam
 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 ወጎሩዩ፡² bc ኢይተዐቀ፡³ b trs.⁴ b om.⁵ b ናዕር፡⁶ b ወሰኩሉ፡ ወሰ.⁷ b ዘን፡⁸ I have

trs. ዘኢርአዩ፡ ወአዕር፡ as above, changing H into ወ after Gk. Leg. ii. 29 οὐδέις . . . ἀνέβη οὐδὲ εἶδεν. b om. H before ኢርአዩ፡ ⁹ Should be trs. to beginning of verse 12 and take the place of ወ.

¹⁰ b ትራኡ፡ c ርአኩ፡¹¹ b adds ጎዩ፡¹² See note, p. 54.¹³ Ed.

Ven. quē. S quod.

¹⁴ S (E) visurus es.¹⁵ L² ordinationemhabent. ¹⁶ ch imenityi: 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 Soalso E. L² vidisti.

L²

S

12. እስመ፡ ሀሳወክ፡ በመ ክፈልተ፡¹ እግዚእ፡² [በ ክፍሉ፡ ፀፀ፡]³ ትምጻእ፡⁴ ዝዩ፡ [ወእምህዩ፡ ውእቶ፡ ንደሱ፡ ለሳድሱ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወሰኦየር]⁵። 13. ወእ ፀባይክዎ፡ በስብሐት፡ ለእግዚእዩ፡ እስመ፡ በመ ክፈልተ፡ ዘአሁ፡ ዝዩ፡ እመጽእ። 14. ወይቤ፡ ስማዕኩ፡ ዓዲ፡ ዘንተዚ፡ እምንባ፡ በጽኑ፡ ሰባ፡ *እምንባ፡ ሥጋ፡ *እም ክረ፡ እምላክ፡⁷ ዐረገ፡⁸ ዝዩ፡ *አማን፡ ልብሰ፡ ትንሥእ፡ ዘአንተ፡⁹ ትራኡ፡ ወባፀ ዳንጊ፡ ኑሉቃን፡¹⁰ ንቡራን፡ አልባሰ፡ ትራኡ። 15. ወ አማን፡ ዐረዩ፡ ትከውን፡ *ለ¹¹መላእክት፡ *ለ¹²ዘ፡ *ለ¹³ሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ። 16. ወአዐረገዚ፡ ውስተ፡ ሳድሱ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወአልቦቶ፡ ዘባ፡ ፀጋም፡ ወእመንባረ፡ ማ እክሰ፡ አሳ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ አሐዱ፡¹² ራእዮሙ፡ ወ

12. Ideo quia tibi est in sorte domini venire huc. 13. *Et ego magnificavi mecantans domino¹³, quia in sorte ejus ambulo. 14. Et dixit mihi : quando reversus fueris per voluntatem patris, tunc vestem tuam recipies, 15. Et tunc eris aequalis angelis, qui sunt in sexto¹⁴ coelo. 16. Et assumpsit me in sextum coelum, et thronus 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 autem dominum meum cantans¹⁶, quia in sorte ejus abeo¹⁷. 14. Et dixit mihi : quando *ecarne huc¹⁸ reversus fueris per voluntatem patris, tunc *recipies vestem¹⁹, 15. Et tunc [tul]eris aequalis angelis, qui sunt in septimo caelo. 16. Et assumpsit me in sextum caelum. Et thronus illic jam non erat²⁰ nec dextri²⁰ nec sinistri angeli, sed omnes habebant unam speciem

¹ *a* በክፈልተ፡ (sic).

² *b* እግዚአብሔር፡

³ An explanatory gloss.

⁴ *b* ትመጽእ፡

⁵ A gloss based on misunderstanding of viii. 7.

⁶ *b* om.

⁷ Em. from ክር፡ እምላክ፡ መንፈሱ፡ (= alieno Deus Spiritus) of *b* in accordance with S L² = per voluntatem Dei. *a* reads ክር፡ እመልክ፡ መንፈሱ፡ (= alieno ab angelo Spiritus). The form of the middle word of *a* is secondary, due to a wrong insertion of መንፈሱ፡ (= Spiritus).

⁸ *b* አዐረገ፡

⁹ *b* ክመ፡ ትንማእ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዘ. ¹⁰ *a* ኑሉቃን፡ *b* ኑሉቋን፡ This and the adjoining words should be in the acc. as the object of ትራኡ፡

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

ሰብሐተሙ፤ ዕኒይ።
 17. ወተወህበኒ፤ ወሰባ
 ሕክ፤ አነ፤ ምስሌሆሙ፤
 ወዘክኒ፤ መልአክ፤ ወክነ፤
 ሰብሐተኒ፤¹ ከመ፡ ዘአሆ
 ሙ። 18. ወበህዩ፤ ተዙ
 ሎሙ፤ ደሰምዩ፤ ለቀዳ
 ማዊ፤ አብ፤ ተ²ወለፍቀኒ፤³
 [ለክርስቲስ፤]⁴ ወለመንፈ
 ስ፤ ቀዳሱ፤ ዙሎሙ፤ በ*አ
 ሐዳ፤⁵ ቃል፤ 19. ወእ
 ክነ፤ በከመ፤ ቃሎሙ፤ ለዘ፤
 ወስተ፤ ንምስቱ፤ ለማዶ
 ት፤ መላእክት፤⁶ 20. [ወ
 እ*በ፡ከመ፤ ነቢሳሙ፤]⁸
 አባ፤ ባዕድ፤ ቃል፤ ሆሎ፤
 ህዩ፤ ወ*በዙ፤ ላርሃ፤⁹
 ሆሎ፤ ህዩ። 21. ወሶጬሃ፤
 እንዘ፤ ሆሎክ፤ ወስተ፤
 *ላድሱ፤ ለማዶ፤¹⁰ አም
 ሰልክ፤ ጽልመተ፤ ዘክ፤
 ላርሃናተ፤ ዘርእክ፤ ወ
 ስተ፤ ንምስቱ፤ ለማዶት።
 22. ወተፈግሕክ፤ ወሰባ
 ሕክ፤ ለዘ፤ ከመዘ፤ ላር

canticum aequale. 17. Et datum est
 mihi, ut ego canerem cum eis, et an-
 gelus, "qui erat me-
 cum¹¹, et ego fuimus
 tales, sicut gloria
 eorum, "et gloria
 eorum erat una¹¹.
 18. Et glorificabant
 patrem omnium et
 dilectum filium ejus
 et Sanctum Spiritum.
 Omnes uno ore
 19. "Cantabant,¹² sed
 non tali voce quali
 in quinto coelo,
 20. Sed alia voce, et
 lumen magnum erat
 "ibi¹³. 21. Et quan-
 do eram in sexto
 coelo, existimabam
 lumen, quod "erat¹⁴
 in quinto coelo, tene-
 bras esse. 22. Gavi-
 sus sum valde et

et canticum eorum¹¹
 aequale. 17. Et da-
 tum est mihi ut et¹¹
 ego canerem cum eis,
 et angelus, "qui erat
 mecum¹¹, (et ego)¹²
 fuimus¹³ sicut gloria
 eorum, "(et gloria
 eorum)¹⁴ erat una¹¹.
 18. Et glorificabant
 patrem omnium et
 dilectum filium¹⁵ et
 Sanctum Spiritum.
 Omnes uno ore
 19. "Cantabant,¹² sed
 non tali¹⁶ qualem
 habebant in "quinto
 caelo¹⁷, 20. sed alia
 voce et lumen mag-
 num erat¹⁸. 21. Et
 quando eram in sexto
 caelo, existimabam
 lumen, quod in quin-
 to caelo, tenebras
 esse. 22. Et¹⁹ gavi-
 sus sum valde et

¹ *b* ወሰብሐተኒ፤

² The passage obelized seems corrupt for glorificabant patrem omnium of S L².

b trs. ዙሎሙ፤ ደሰምዩ፤ We should with *c* om. ለቀዳማዊ፤ : next for ደሰምዩ፤ read ደሴብሐ፤ and placing ዙሎሙ፤ after አብ፤ we should read ደሴብሐ፤ ለአብ፤ ዙሎሙ፤ 'they praised the Father of all.'³ *bc* ወለፍር፤⁴ Interpolated as in ix. 5, on which see exegetical note.

⁵ *b* ኧ. ⁶ *b* trs. before ለዘ፤ and prefixes ለ. ⁷ *b* om. ⁸ A doublet? For ነቢሳሙ፤ *b* reads ንባሳሙ፤ ⁹ *b* trs. ¹⁰ *bc* ኧ ለማዶት፤ 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

ገናተ፡ ጸገወ፡ ለእሰ፡ ይጸ
ገኑ፡ ተሰፋሁ። 23. ወ
አስተብቃፊዎ፡ ለመልአክ፡
ክ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ከመ፡
እም ይእኩ፡ አይግባእ፡
ወስተ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘምጋ።
24. እብሰክመኑ፡ ሕዝ
ቅያሕ፡ ወአዮሳብ፡ ወል
ድዮ፡ ወሚክያሕ፡ ከመ፡
ብዙኅ፡ ጸልመት፡ ሆሎ፡
ዝዩ።² 25. ወመልአክ፡
ዘይመርሐኒ፡ አእመራ፡
ምንተ፡ ሐሰይኩ፡ ወይቤ፡
ወእመ፡³ ተፈግሐኩ፡
ባዘ፡ ብርሃናት፡⁴ *ተፈግ
ሐኩ፡ እድ፡⁵ ፈረፋድ፡
*ባሳብ፡ ሰማይ፡ ሰባ፡
ተሬእ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ንባ፡
እገዚእ፡ ሆሎ፡ ወፍቆ፡⁷
[እምንባ፡ ተፈገውክ፡ ዘ
ሆሎ፡ ይተባህል፡ ወስተ፡
ዓለም፡ ወልድ። 26. እ
ተከምተ፡ ዘሆሎ፡ ይኩን፡
ወስተ፡ ዘይማሰን፡ ዓለ
ም፡]።⁸ ወአልባሰኒ፡ ወመ
ናብርት፡⁹ ወአክሊላት፡⁹
*ዘንባራን፡ ለዳድቃን፡
ለእሰ፡ ይተአመኑ፡ ባዘኩ፡

cantavi donanti *tale
gaudium¹⁰ recipien-
tibus misericordiam¹¹
ejus. 23. Et rogavi an-
gelum instrumentem
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
mibi: 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 instrumentem
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
mibi: 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 አይግባእኒ:² a adds ወጸልመት፡ ብዙኅ፡³ a adds ባዘ፡

a slip of the scribe.

⁴ b om.⁵ b ብርሃናት፡⁶ This order ofእድ፡ after the verb it introduces is found in Mt. vi. 23. For ተፈግ
⁷ b reads ተፈግሐኩ፡ We should emend into ተፈግሐኩ፡ ⁷ b ወዘፍር፡
(sic).⁸ Bracketed as an interpolation. See exegetical note
in loc.⁹ b adds ኒ.¹⁰ S = talia.¹¹ Ed. Ven. miam.¹² See note 17.¹³ L² tale gaudium.¹⁴ ሕ' to jako.¹⁵ Cor-rupt for septimi caeli as in L². E = lumen in septimo caelo.¹⁶ E = Dominus et Dilectus ejus.¹⁷ = στολοι corrupt for

στολαί = vestes as in E. See ix. 2. (So already Gesenius.)

L²

S

እግዚእ: ለዘ: በራእይክ
 መ: ደወርደ: እስመ:
 ብርሃን: ዘህዩ: ዐቢይ:
 መወንክር:: 27. ወሰ
 ኢገባእትከሰ: ወ-ሰተ: ሥ
 ጋ: ዓዲ: መዋዕሊክ: ኢተ
 ፈጸማ: ሰመጸእ: ዝዩ::
 28. ወሰሚዕዩ: ሐዘኸ:
 ወደቤ: ኢተ ሐዘኸ::

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 tristar¹⁸
 [neve sis morosus].

IX. ወወሰደረ: ወ-ሰተ:
 አዩር: ዘላብዕ: ለማይ:
 ወዓዲ: ለማዕክ: ቃለ:
 እንዘ: ትብል: ለእኩ:
 አይቲ: ሀሰዎ: ደዕረግ:
 ዘባ: ሰከራን: ሰይ
 ብር: ወፈራህክ: ወርዐ
 ደ: ከንክ:: 2. ወ[ደቤ
 ሰይ:]⁵ ሰባ: ርዐይ: ከንክ:
 ነዋ: እምህዩ: ሰካእት:
 ቃለ:⁷ ለማዕክ:⁸ እንዘ:
 ትትፈዩ: ወደብል: ደት
 ነደግ: ደዕረግ: ዝዩ: 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 ስ ኢተፈጸመ:

2 ስ ደብል:

3 ስ ዘዘባ:

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. ካልእት: ቃል:

8 Em. with

S L² audiui from መጽእት: Cf. for this and next three words*Gk. Leg. ii. 23 ἤκουσα φωνῆς . . . πεμπομένης καὶ λεγούσης.*

9 ስ om.

10 L² defective here. See S *in loc.*

11 Venis corrupt for venit

owing to interpolation of preceding mihi. Venit huc goes back to

ἀναβαίνει ὅδε of *Gk. Leg. ii. 23*. Thus S E here agree togetheragainst L² *Gk. Leg. ii. 23*.

12 Add aliam from S E.

13 = περὶ

τοῦ σε μὴ ἀνελεθεῖν.

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: አሳይያስ: እስመ: ዝዩ: ውእቶ: ልብሱ::
 3. ወተስለልክዎ: ለመልእክ: ዘምስሌዩ: ወእቤ: መኑ: *ውእቶ: ዘከልአይ: መኑ: ስውእቶ: ዘተመይጢይ: ስመ: እዕረግ::
 4. ወይቤሰይ: ዘከልአክ: ስውእቶ: ዘደባ: ስብሐተ: ስድቦቶ: ስማይ 5. ወ*ዘተመይጢይ: ስውእቶ: እግዚእክ: [እግዚእብሔር: እግዚእ: ክርስቶስ: ዘህሉ: ደተሰህል: *ውስተ: ግሰም: አደሰብ: ወስጥሰ: አተክል: ስሚዐ: እስክ: እም*ዘ: ሥጋ: ተዐርግ::
 6. ወአዕረገይ: ውስተ: ሳብዐ: ስማይ: ወርእክ: ሰህዩ: ብርሃክ: መንክር: ወመላእክተይ: ዘእንበሰ: ጉልቆ::
 7. ወበህዩ: ርእክ: ዲቃይ: ክሉም: ዘእምአመ: አዳም 8. ወበህዩ: ርእክዎ: ለአቤል: ቅዱስ: ወለክሉም: ዲቃይ 9. ወበህዩ: ርእክዎ: ለሃኖክ: ወለክሉም: እሰ: ምስሌሁ: እሰ: ዐርቁ:

nus est enim gloria dei,¹¹ hic enim est stola. 3. Et interrogavi angelum, qui erat mecum: Quis est prohibens mihi? et quis est praecipiens mihi ascendere? 4. Et dixit mihi: Prohibens est, qui est super cantantes angelos sexticoeli, "angelus". 5. Et praecipiens est filius Dei, et nomen ejus non potes audire, donec de carne⁹ exhibis. 6. Quando nos ascendimus in septimum coelum, vidi ibi lumen mirabile "et inenarrabile" et angelos innumerabiles. 7. Et justos vidi quosdam. 9. Exutos stolis

ut intret, "dignus Deo"¹⁰; hic enim est stola. 3. Et interrogavi angelum, qui erat mecum: Quis est prohibens mihi? (et)¹¹ quis est [iterum] praecipiens mihi ascendere? 4. Et dixit mihi: Prohibens igitur¹², qui (est)¹¹ super cantantes (angelos)¹¹ sexticaeli, "angelus," 5. Et praecipiens tibi iste¹ est filius Dei, et nomen ejus non potes audire, donec de carne [tua] exhibis 6. "Et" ut ascendimus in septimum caelum, "et" vidi ibi lumen mirabile "et inenarrabile" et angelos innumerabiles, 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 ዘከልአክ:⁴ Em. from ዘደባ: Cf. *Gk. Leg.*

ii. 25 ὁ ἐφεστῶς τῶν ὕμων.

⁵ An interpolation: see exegeticalnote *in loc.* b trs. እግዚእክ: እግዚእብሔር:⁶ a reads ዲቃይ: and

trs. after ክሉም:

⁷ Add tibi from E.⁸ Add tibi from SE.⁹ Add tua from SE.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.

L²

S

እምል*ብሰተ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወርእክዎሙ፡ በልብሰተ ሙ፡ ዘላዕላ፡ ወእሙን ፑሱ፡ ሀላዉ፡ ከመ፡ መላ እክተ፡ እሱ፡ ህዩ፡ ደቀው ሙ፡ በስብሓተ፡ ሀቢይ፡ 10. ወባሕቸ፡ ውስተ፡ መናብርተሙ፡² ኢነባ፡ ወእክሊላተ፡³ ስብሓተ ሙ፡⁴ ኢህሎ፡ ላዕሊሆሙ፡፡ 11. ወተስእልክዎ፡ በመል እክ፡ ዘምስሊዩ፡ እይ፡ ዘእ ልባሱ፡⁵ ኢሥኡ፡ *ወበመና ብርተሱ፡ ወበእክሊላተ፡ ኢህላዉ፡፡ 12-13. ወ ይቤሲ፡ እክሊላተ፡⁷ ወ መናብርተ፡ ክብር፡⁸ ኢነ ሥኡ፡ ደእክ፡⁹ እስክ፡ ደወርድ፡ ፍቁር፡ በራእ ይ፡ ዘተራእዮ፡ እንዘ፡ ደወርድ፡ [ደወርድኩ፡] *ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡¹⁰ በይ ኃፊ፡ መዋዕል፡ [እንዘእ፡ ዘህሎ፡ ደተሰህል፡ ክርስ ተስ፡] ወባሕቸ፡ ደራእዮ፡ ወደእምኑ፡ መናብርተ፡ እይ፡¹⁰ ዘአሆሙ፡ ወእክ ሊላተ፡ እይ፡¹⁰ እምድኅረ፡ ወረድ፡¹⁰ ወኮነ፡ 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.
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 መናብርተሆሙሱ፡³ bc ወእክሊላ፡⁴ b adds ኢ.⁵ b ዘልብሰ፡⁶ b ወመናብርተሱ፡ ወእክሊላተ፡ ኢህሎ፡ ላዕሊሆሙ፡⁷ a እክሊላተ፡⁸ b ክብር፡⁹ After there follows in the MSS.

ወባሕቸ፡ . . . ወእክሊላተ፡ እይ፡ but wrongly as this sentence has its right place after ደተሰህል፡ 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 SE.

¹² S recipiunt.

¹³ Add descendet from SE. ¹⁴ Corrupt and defective. See S and E. ¹⁵ u om. ¹⁶ E=receperunt. ¹⁷ koego: koe u, ch.

L

S

ἔλθῃσιν: ὡς ἂν ἴδῃ
 φ: ὡς: ὡς ἂν: ὡς ἂν
 τ: 14. ὡς ἂν ἴδῃ: ἄ
 ἴσῃ: ἡ ἡ: ἡ ἡ: ἡ ἡ:
 * ἄ: ἔ: ὡ: ὡ: ὡ: ὡ:
 * ὡς ἂν ἴδῃ: ἔ: ὡ: ὡ:
 * ὡς ἂν ἴδῃ: [ἄ ἔ φ ὡ
 σ: ἂ ὡ ὡ:]⁴ * ἄ ἡ: ἄ
 ἔ ἄ ὡ: ὡ: ὡ: ὡ:
 τ³¹ 15. ὡς ἂν ἴδῃ: ἔ
 ἔ: ὡ ἡ: ἄ ἡ: ἄ ἡ:
 ἄ: ἂ ὡ ἡ: ἂ ἡ: ἂ ἡ:
 σ: ἡ: ἄ ἔ ὡ ὡ: ὡ:
 ὡ: ὡ: ὡ: ὡ: 16. ὡ ἂ
 ὡ: ἂ ἔ: ἂ ὡ ἄ ἡ: ὡ
 ἡ: ὡ ὡ ὡ: ὡ ἡ ἡ:
 ἡ ὡ: [ἡ ὡ ἡ: ὡ ἡ:
 ὡ ἂ ὡ: ὡ ἡ ὡ ἡ:]⁶
 ὡ ὡ ὡ 17. ὡ ἡ ὡ:
 ὡ ὡ: ἄ ὡ ὡ ὡ: ὡ
 ἡ ὡ: ὡ ὡ ὡ: ἡ ὡ
 ὡ ὡ:⁶ * ἄ ὡ ὡ: ἄ⁷
 ἡ ὡ: ἄ ὡ: ὡ ὡ: ἄ ὡ

erit in specie vestra,
 14. Et princeps
 mundi illius exten-
 det manum suam
 in filium [dei]⁷, [et
 occidet illum]⁸ 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 apprehendet⁹
 principem mortis, et
 depraedatum eum
 ponet, [et conteret¹⁰
 omnes virtutes ejus¹¹,
 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-
 cept 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
 infernum et nuda
 et deserta ponetur
 visio, 16. Appre-
 hendetque¹⁵ prin-
 cipem mortis cap-
 tivum¹⁶ [et con-
 teret omnem virtu-
 tem ejus¹⁷ et surget
 tertia die, 17. Ha-
 bens quosdam justos
 *secum [et mittet
 suos praedicatores¹⁷

¹ ὡ ἔ ἡ:² Em. by Dln. from ἂ ἔ: ὡ ἡ:³ ὡ om.

⁴ I have trs. these words from their place in the MSS. before ὡς ἂν ἴδῃ: ἔ: ὡ: ὡ: to their right place after it, as in SL². Further ὡς ἂν ἴδῃ: = ἐκτενοῦσι (cf. 2 Kings vi. 7; Ecclus. xxxiv. 18), a manifest corruption of κτενοῦσι: cf. SL² occidet. Whether ἄ ἔ φ ὡ σ: ἂ ὡ ὡ: was added by the Ethiopic translator or already found interpolated in G¹ we cannot say. ⁵ ὡ ἔ ἡ ὡ ἡ.

An interpolation: see exegetical note *in loc.* ⁶ ἂ ὡ ἡ ὡ ὡ: ὡ ἡ ὡ ὡ: ὡ ἡ ὡ ὡ: ⁷ ὡ ἂ ὡ ὡ ὡ: (sic), ὡ ἂ ὡ ὡ ὡ: ἂ. 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 occidet eum nescientes as implied by E.

¹⁵ Very corrupt. L² very superior. ¹⁶ L² et depraedatum eum ponet. This is right: cf. E. ¹⁷ ὡ om.

L¹

S

ዘእ: [ክርስቲስ:] ወየዐር
 7: ምስሌሁ: 18. አሜ
 ሃክ: ይገምዱ: [አልባሶ
 መ: ወ] መናብርተመ: 2
 ወአክሊላጊጊሆመ: ለባ:
 ወስተ: ላብዕ: ለማይ:
 ዐርገ: ወእቶ: 19. ወ
 እጭሎ: ዘተስልእክዎ: ወ
 ስተ: ሃልስ: ለማይ:
 20. ተወይጭሊ: ተክሎ:
 በዘክቶ: ዓለም: ዘይትገ
 ባር: ባዘኖ: ይትዐወቅ: 21.
 ወእነዘ: ዓይ: እት
 *ናግር: ምስሌሁ: ገዋ:
 አሐዳ: 5 እመላእክት: እ
 ለ: ይቆወመ: 6 ስቡሕ:
 ፈረፋይ: እምስብላቶ:
 ለዘክ: መልእክ: ለዘ:
 እምዓለም: አፀረገ: 22.
 ወአርአየ: መዳሕፍ
 ተ: [ወአክ: ክመ: መዳሕ
 ፍት: ዘግለም:] 8 ወሊት
 ሐመ: ወመዳሕፍት:
 ጽሑፍ: ሀሎ: 9 ወአክ:
 ክመ: መዳሕፍተዝ: 10 ዓለ
 ም: ወወሀባ: 11 ወአን
 ባብክዎን: 12 ወገዋ: ምግ
 ባራጊሆመ: ለውሎይ:

sum orbem terra-
 rum¹¹ et ascen-
 det in coelos; 18. Tunc
 recipient isti
 thronos suos et corona-
 nas. 19. Et post
 haec verba¹² 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 omnibusque
 angelis¹⁵, 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
 terrarum¹⁶ et ascen-
 det [iterum]¹⁶ in
 caelos: 18. Tunc re-
 cipient isti thronos
 suos et coronas.
 19. Et post haec
 verba¹⁷ dixi illi: De
 quo te interrogavi
 in primo¹⁷ caelo,
 20. Ostende mihi,
 hic enim promisisti¹⁸
 mihi ostendere¹⁸
 quomodo quae in
 illo mundo fiunt hic
 sciuntur¹⁹. 21. Ad-
 huc me loquente cum
 illo ecce quidam an-
 gelus de stantibus
 gloriosior multo
 ducente me et om-
 nibus angelis²⁰, 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* መናብር
 ቲሆመ: ³ Corrupt. Read አጠይቀ: እር: with S L² = ostende
 mihi quomodo. Ver. 21 shows that it was Isaiah was speaking.
⁴ *a* om. ⁵ *b* ሂ. ⁶ *b* adds እምእሎ: ⁷ *a* ዘዘ. ⁸ *a*
 a doublet: hence bracketed. ⁹ *a* adds ሀሎ: ¹⁰ *a* መዳሕፍት:
 ዘዘ: ¹¹ *a* ወተውሀባ: ¹² *b* ወአንባብክዎመ: 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

አበረኤል፡ *ህዩ፡ ሀለዋ፡¹
 ጽሑፋት፡ ወምግባርመ-
 ሰ፡ *ዘአያአምር፡² ወል-
 ድዩ፡ አዮሳብ፡፡ 23. ወ
 እቤ፡ አማን፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይ-
 ትገባእ፡ በሳብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡
 ዘይትገባር፡ *ሰውስተ
 *ዘ፡ ዓለም፡፡ 24. ወር
 አኩ፡ በህዩ፡ አልባሰ፡ ብ
 ዙኑ፡ *ገቡረ፡ ወመናብር
 ተ፡ ብዙኑ፡⁴ ወአክሊላተ፡
 ብዙኑ፡ 25. ወእቤ፡ ሰ
 መልአክ፡⁵ ዘመኑ፡ ዘአል-
 ባሰ፡ ወመናብርት፡ ወአ-
 ክሊላተ፡፡ 26. ወይቤ
 ሰ፡ ዘሰ፡ 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-
 tate⁷. 24. Vidi
 stolas multas et
 thronos et coronas⁸
 jacentes. 25. Et dixi
 angelo : Istaе stolae
 et coronae quibus
 servantur *et thro-
 ni⁹? 26. Et dixit
 mihi : Istaс coronas

saalem¹⁰ 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.¹⁴ 24. Vidi †au-
 tem¹ stolas multas
 et thronos et coro-
 nas †multas¹ jacentes,
 25. (Et dixi)¹⁴
 angelo : Istaе stolae
 *et throni¹⁵ et coronae
 quibus¹⁶ servantur ?
 26. Et dixit mihi :

¹ b trs.² Em. from **ዘጽአምር**: Cf. S quos ego non scivi.³ a om.⁴ b om.⁵ a adds **ዘይመርሐኒ**:⁶ Corrupt.

See S.

⁷ S om.⁸ SE add multas.⁹ Trs. before

et coronae with SE.

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 ᾿Αληθῶς 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

በዙጋን፤ እምዘክቱ፤ ገላ
ም፡ እሳ፡¹ ይሥኡ፡ ተአ
ሚኖሙ፡ በቃላቱ፡² ሰዘ
ክ፡ ዘክሙ፡³ እሴሰክ፡
[ይሰመይ፡]⁴ ወየፀቅብ
ዎን፡⁵ ወይትአመኑ፡ ሰ
ሙ፡⁶ ወይትአመኑ፡ በመ
ስቀሉ፤ እላ፡⁷ ሱሙ፡
ንሱር። 27. ወርአክ፡
አሐዱ፡⁸ እንዘ፡ ይቀው
ም፡ *ዘሰብላጊሁ፡ ይት
ዐደው፡ እምዘሱ፡ ወስብ
ላጊሁ፡ ፀቢይ፡ ውእቱ፡¹⁰
ወመንክር። 28. ወሶሳ፡
ርአክዎ፡¹¹ ሱሱሙ፡ ዲድ
ቃን፡ እሳ፡ ርአክ፡ ወመላ
እክት*¹²፡ *እሳ፡ ርአክ፡¹³
መድኡ፡ ንሴሁ፡ ወአዳም፡
ወአሴል፡ ወሴት፡ ወሱሱ
ሙ፡ ዲድቃን፡ ቅድመ፡¹⁴
ቀርቡ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ሱቱ፡
ወሰብሐዎ፡ ሱሱሙ፡ በ
*አሐዱ፡¹⁵ ቃል፡ ወሰልየኒ፡
ሀሰውክ፡ ምስሴሆሙ፡
እሴብሐ፡ ወኮክ፡ ስብሐ
ጊዩ፡¹⁶ ከመ፡ ዘአሆሙ።
29. ወሶሴ፡ ቀርቡ፡ መ
ላእክት፡ ሱሱሙ፡ ወሰ
ገዱ፡ ወሰብሐ። 30. ወተ

multi ammittunt de
illo mundo credentes
verba illius, de quo
locutus sum tibi.
27. Et "conversus"
vidi dominum in
gloria magna, "et exp-
pavi valde". 28. Et
appropinquaverunt
ad eum omnes justi
et adoraverunt eum
una voce cantantes,
et erat vox¹⁵ sicut
illorum. 29. Et¹⁶
"Michael appropin-
quans adoravit, et
cum eo¹⁷ 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" justi¹⁹ 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 eo¹⁷
omnes angeli adora-
verunt et cantave-
runt. 30. Et trans-

¹ ስ ንሳ፡ ይመድኡ፡ ወ.

² ስር በቃላት፡

³ ስ በክሙ፡

⁴ Inter-

polated: see exegetical note on ix. 5.

⁵ ስ ወየፀቅቡ፡ ተአዘዙ፡

⁶ ስር ሱቱ፡

⁷ Em. from ስ እሳ፡ ላ አላ፡

⁸ ስ ሄ.

⁹ ስ ወ.

¹⁰ ስር ይእቲ፡

¹¹ ስር ርአይዎ፡

¹² ላ om.

¹³ ስ om.

¹⁴ ስ ስብሐትዩ፡

¹⁵ Should be gloria mea.

¹⁶ Add tunc

with S E.

¹⁷ L² Istar 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.

I^a

S

ወሰጥኩ፡ ወኮኸኩ፡¹ ከመ፡ መልአክ። 31. ወሶጬ፡ ይጮሲ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘይ መርሐኒ፡ ለዘ፡ ስገድ፡ ወሰገድኩ፡ ወሰባሕኩ። 32. ወይጮሲ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘውላቶ፡ እግዚእ፡ *ዘ² ጽሱ፡ ስብሓት፡ ዘርእኩ።³ 33. ወእነዘ፡ ገዳ፡ ይትናገር፡⁴ ርእኩ፡ ካልኦ፡ ስብሐ፡⁵ ዘይመስሎ፡ ወዳድ ቃን፡ ገጮሆ፡ ቀርቡ፡ ወሰገዳ፡ ወሰብሐ፡ ወሰሲዩ፡ ሰባሕኩ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ወስብሓትዮ፡⁶ እ.ተወለጠ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተሙ። 34. ወሶጬ፡ ቀርቡ፡ መሳክት፡ ወሰገዳ፡ ሎቶ።⁷

transfiguravime^f iterum^m, et fui sicut angeli^s. 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 *omnium gloriarum, quas⁹ vidisti. 33. Et¹⁰ vidi alium gloriosissimum similem ejus^f in omnibus^m, et justii appropinquaverunt [ad eum¹ et adoraverunt^f eum^m et cantaverunt, et ille cantabat¹¹ cum eis et non transfiguravit se¹¹ in visu illorum. 34. +Cum eis, et venerunt angeli et adoraverunt eum,^f et ego adoravi eum et

figuravi me^f iterum^m et fui sicut angelus 31. Tunc dixit mihi angelus qui me ducebat: Hunc adora et canta; Et adoravi eum et cantavi. 32. Et dixit mihi angelus: Iste est dominus omnis glorie, quam vidisti. 33. Et [adhuc illo dicente¹ vidi alium gloriosissimum similem ejus^f in omnibus^m, et justii appropinquaverunt [et] eum^m et cantaverunt; et ille cantabat¹² cum eis et non transfiguravit se¹³ secundum visum¹⁴ illorum, 34. Et +cum eo¹⁵ venerunt angeli et adoraverunt eum. [Et dixit mihi angelus: Adora eum et canta.]^f Et adoravi eum et

¹ Em. in accordance with S L² from ወተወለጠ፡ ወኮኸኩ፡ See exegetical note *in loc.* ² b H. ³ b adds ሎቶ፡ ይትናገው፡ ⁴ Em. from እትናገር፡ in accordance with S. ⁵ b ስብሐት፡ ⁶ Em. from ወስብሓት፡ See exegetical note *in loc.* ⁷ a om. ⁸ S E

angelus. ⁹ S E use sing. ¹⁰ Add illo dicente with S E. 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. ወርእከዎ፡ ሰእግዚእ፡
 ወሰዳገም፡ መልእክ፡ ወእ
 መንገድ፡ ሀሰ። ቆ።
 ማገገ 36. ወዳገምሰ፡
 ዘርእኩ፡ በፀጋመ፡ እግዚ
 እዩ፡ ወተሰእልኩ፡ መኑ፡
 ወእቶ፡ ዘንቶ፡ ወይቤሰ፡
 ስጊድ፡ ሎቶ፡ እስመ፡ ዘ
 ወእቶ፡ መልእክ፡ መን
 ፈሰ፡ ቆዳሰ፡ ዘላዕሌኩ፡
 ወሰላዕዳገሃ፡ ዲድቃን፡
 ዘይተናገር፡፡ 37. *ወ
 ርእኩ፡ ስብሓተ፡ ዐቢዩ፡
 ተከሚተ፡ አዕይነተ፡ መን
 ፈሰዩ፡ ወክኩ፡ ሰባ፡ አክ
 ህልኩ፡ እርእይ፡ ወአመ
 ልእኩ፡ ዘምስሌዩ፡ ወ*ኢ፡
 ክሎመ፡ መላእክተ፡ እሰ፡
 ርእኩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰገዱ፡
 ሎቶ፡ ሰእግዚእዩ፡፡
 38. ወባሕቶ፡ *ርእኩ፡
 ሰዲድቃን፡ ሰንይል፡ ዐ
 *ሰይ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሬእዩ፡

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 b ሰ. ² Em. from ዘተናገር: See exegetical note. ³ Text is strange. It might be emended ወሰባ፡ ስብሓተ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ተከሚተ፡ ዘክኩ፡ ተከሚተ፡ አዕይነተ፡ መንፈሰዩ፡ አክህልኩ፡ እርእይ፡ = '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 መንፈሰዩ፡ a reads ነፍሰዩ፡ and trs. አክህልኩ፡ ሰባ፡ ⁴ b om. ⁵ b እሬኡ፡ ዲድቃን፡ 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 quotation 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

ስብሐት፡ ለዘክ። 39. ወቀርቦ፡ ንቤዩ፡ ለእግዚአ
 *ዳ፡፡ ወመልአክ፡ መን
 ፈስ፡ ወይቤ፡ ርአ፡ ከመ፡
 ተውሀበክ፡ ተርአዮ፡ ለእ
 ግዚአብሔር፡² ወበእንጉ
 ለክ፡ ለመልአክ፡ ዘምስ
 ሌክ፡ ተውሀቦ፡ ንይል።³
 40. ወርእ*ኩ፡ ከመ፡
 ሰገደ፡ *እግዚአዳ፡ ወመ
 ልአክ፡⁵ ዘመን፤ፈስ፡⁶ ወ
 ሰብሔ፡ ክልሌሆመ፡ ፋ
 ሉር፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።
 41. ወሰቤሃ፡ ክሉመ፡ ዳ
 ደቃን፡ *ቀርቦ፡ ወሰገደ፡¹
 42. *ወፊመላእክት፡ *ቀ
 ርቦ፡ ወሰገደ፡ ወክሉመ፡
 መላእክት፡⁸ ሰብሔ።
 X. ወሰቤሃ፡ ሰማዕክ፡
 ቃላተ፡ ወስብሐተ፡ ዘሰ
 ማዕክ፡ በሰማያት፡ ዘስ
 ደስቱ፡ ሰማይ፡⁹ ለእዝ፡

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 iusti
 adoraverunt
 42. Et "cum eis
 Michael et" angeli
 omnes adoraverunt
 et cantaverunt.

X. Postea audi vo-
 cem "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 ለእግዚአዳ፡ ወሰመልአክ፡ ⁶ a adds ቅዱስ፡ ⁷ a ወክሉመ፡
 ዳደቃን፡ 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 የዐር፡ a reads ዘሰማዕክሆመ፡
 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

የዐርገ፡¹ ወይሰማዕ፡² ህዩ፡
 2. ወደሱሙ፡ ሰዘኩ፡
 ለሰሱሱ፡ ዘአክህልኩ፡ ስ
 ብሓተ፡ ርአዩ፡³ ይተፈዮ፡
 3. ወሰሊዩ፡ እስምዕ፡
 ስብሓተ፡ ወእራኢ፡
 4. ወእገዚእ፡ *ወፊመል
 እኩ፡ መንፈስ፡ ዘሱ፡ ይሰ
 ምዕ፡ ወደሱ፡ ይራኢ፡
 5. ወደሱ፡ ስብሓተ፡ *ዘፋ
 ይተፈዮ፡ እምስደቡቱ፡
 ሰማዩ፡ እኩ፡ ክመ፡ ዘይ
 ሰማዕ፡ አላ፡ ያስተርኢ፡
 6. ወሰማዕክዎ፡ ሰመል
 እኩ፡ ዘይመርሐኒ፡ ወይ
 ቤ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ዘልዑል፡
 ፈደፋደ፡ እምልዑላ፡
 ሰቅዱስ፡⁵ ዓሰም፡ ዘይ
 ብር፡ ወሰቅዱላ፡ ያዐር
 ፍ፡ ዘህሱ፡ ይተሰህል፡
 እመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሰአፈ፡
 ዳደቃ፡ አሱህ፡ ለእገዚ
 እ፡
 7. ወሰማዕኩ፡ ቃ
 ላ፡⁶ ዘልዑል፡ ፈደፋደ፡
 አሱህ፡ ለእገዚእዩ፡ እንዘ፡
 ይብሱ፡ ለእገዚእዩ፡ [ክር
 ስተስ፡ ዘህሱ፡ ይተሰህል፡

batur in septimo co-
 elo⁷. 2. Et omnes
 glorificabant illum,
 cujus ego gloriam
 non poteram videre.
 5. Et omnium sex
 coelorum canticum
 non solum audiebat-
 ur sed videbatur.
 6. Et dixit mihi
 angelus: Hic est
 [vivus] unus aeter-
 nus in excelsa aeter-
 nitate vivens, et in
 sanctis requiescens,
 "cujus nec nomen
 nec visionem possu-
 mus sufferre⁸, qui
 *est laudatus a Sancto
 Spiritu in ore
 [sanctorum]⁸ justo-
 rum. 7. Et "post
 haec⁷ audiui vocem
 aeterni dicentem

sextum caelum⁹.
 2. Et omnes glorifi-
 cabant illum cujus
 non poteram ego
 gloriam videre.
 5. Omnium autem
 sex caelorum canti-
 cum non solum au-
 diebatur sed "et⁷
 videbatur. 6. Et
 dixit mihi angelus:
 Hic est *unus aeter-
 nus¹⁰ in excelso sae-
 culo¹¹ vivens et in
 sanctis requiescens,
 cujus nec nomen
 *nec donum¹² possu-
 mus¹³ sufferre; qui
 *cantatus est¹⁴ a Sancto
 Spiritu in ore jus-
 torum. 7. Et "post
 haec⁷ audiui vocem
 aeterni dicentis¹⁵

¹ a አዐርገ፡² See note ⁹ on preceding page.³ b ርአዩ፡⁴ b om.⁵ a repeats.⁶ b ቃሉ፡ ሰ.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 = αἰών. Soaeternitate in L². See exegetical note on x. 6. ¹² u om. S = οὔτε δόσιον corruption (?) of οὔτε ὄρασιον, which is the reading of L².¹³ ch potest quis.¹⁴ L² = est laudatus. E = vocabi-tur. ¹⁵ L² dicentem.

L²

S

እየሱስ፡] ¹ 8. ዓእ፡ ወረ
 ድ፡ ድሮ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወት
 ወርድ፡ *ምጽናዕ፡ ወዘ
 ክ፡ ዓለመ፡² እስከ፡ ገቡ፡
 መልአክ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ሲኦል፡
 ትወርድ፡³ ወባሕቶ፡ እስ
 ክ፡ ለሐጉል፡ ኢተ*ሐ³ው
 ር፡፡ 9. ወትተሚሰል፡
 በከመ፡ እምሳለ፡ ድሮመ፡
 *እለ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ገምስ
 ቶ፡⁵ ሰማያት፡ 10. ወ
 በከመ፡ ርእየተመ፡ ሰመ
 ባእክተ፡ ምጽናዕ፡ እንዘ፡
 ትትገቀብ፡ ትተሚሰል፡
 [ወሰመባእክተ*፤⁶ እለ፡
 ወውስተ፡ ሲኦል፡] ⁷ 11.
 ወኢያእምሩ፡⁸ ድሮመ፡
 መባእክተ፡ ዘዘክ፡ ዓለ
 ም፡ ከመ፡ አንተ፡ እገዛእ፡
 ምስሌ፡ ዘሰብዕተህ፡⁹
 ሰማያት፡ ወ*ዘመባእክ
 ቲሆመ፡ 12. ወኢያእ
 ምሩ፡¹⁰ ከመ፡ አንተ፡ ም
 ስሌ፡ *ሶብ፡ በቃሰ፡ ሰማ
 ያት፡ ጸዋዕክ፡ ወሰመባእ
 ክተሆመ፡ ወሰብርሃናተ
 ሆመ፡ ሶብ፡ አዕቢይክ፡¹¹
 ለ*ባድስ፡ ሰማይ፡¹² *ከ

domino filio: 8. Exi
 et descende de omni-
 bus coelis et sis in
 mundo et vade usque
 ad angelum, qui est
 in infernum¹⁵; 9.
 Transfigurans te se-
 cundum formam
 illorum. 11. Et non
 cognoscent te, neque
 angeli neque princi-
 pes seculi illius:
 12. Et judicabis
 principem illius se-
 culi¹ et angelos ejus
 et mundum directores¹⁴:

domino filio: 8. Exi
 et descende de om-
 nibus caelis et sis in
 mundo et vade¹⁵ us-
 que ad angelum,
 qui est in inferno;
 9. Cum transfigu-
 rasses te secundum
 formam illorum.
 11. Et non cognos-
 cent te neque an-
 geli neque princi-
 pes saeculi illius:
 12. Et judicabis
 principem¹⁶ et ange-
 los ejus et mundum
 regnatum ab iis:

¹ Interpolated. See exegetical note on ix. 5. ² *b* እምጽገዕ፡
 ዝዓለም፡ Text follows *a* save that ዓለም፡ is corrected into ዓለመ፡
c reads ምጽናኦት፡ ዘክ፡ ዓለም፡ ³ *a* om. ⁴ *b* ዘእንበለ፡
⁵ *bc* ፩. ⁶ *b* om. ⁷ Interpolated. See exegetical note
in loc. For እለ፡ *b* reads ዘ፡ ⁸ *a* ወኢያእምሩ፡ ⁹ *b* ፩.
¹⁰ *ac* ወኢያእምሩ፡ ¹¹ Text very corrupt. I emend as follows:
 እስከ፡ ሶብ፡ በቃል፡ አዕቢይክ፡ ጸዋዕክ፡ ለሰማያት፡ ወሰመ'' ወሰብ''. For
 ሶብ፡ of *b*, *a* reads twice ወሰብ፡ *b* adds ከ 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

ሀሎ፡ ወ¹ገይሴላ፡ ለሱ፡
 አሳይደሰ፡ ወርአ፡ ከመ፡
 *ይትረአይ፡ ተወልጦቶ፡²
 ለአገዛእ፡ ወርደቶ፡፡³
 19. ወርአኩ፡ ወሶሰ፡ ር
 እይዎ፡ መላእክት፡ ሰሌዓ፡
 ዘ*ሳ፡ ሳይሰ፡ ሰማይ፡
 ሰብሐዎ፡ ወወደስዎ፡ እስ
 መ፡ አተወሰጠ፡ በከመ፡
 ርእየተ*መ፡ ሰመላእክ
 ት፡ ዘህየ፡ ወሰብሐዎ፡ ወ
 አነሂ፡ ሰብሐኩ፡ ምስሌሆ
 መ፡፡ 20. ወርአኩ፡ ሰ
 በ፡ ወረደ፡ ወስተ፡ ኃም
 ስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተመሰለ፡
 ወስተ፡ ኃምስ፡ ሰማይ፡
 *ሰከመ፡ ርእየተመ፡ ሰ
 መላእክት፡ ዘህየ፡ ወአ
 ሰብሐዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርአ
 የቶ፡ ከመ፡ ዘአሆመ፡፡⁷
 21. ወሶሌዓ፡ ወረደ፡ ወ
 ስተ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተ
 መሰለ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተ
 መ፡ ሰመላእክት፡ ዘህየ፡
 22. ወሶሰ፡ ርእይዎ፡ አሰ
 ብሐዎ፡ ወአወደስዎ፡ እ

dixit mihi: Intel-
 lige⁸ et vide, quae⁹
 est transfiguratio
 ejus et descensio?
 19. Cum viderunt
 eum⁷ 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
 eum⁷ 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 ትርአይ፡ ተወልጦ፡ of *a*. *b* reads ታእምር፡ ተወልጦ፡
 Perhaps for ትርአይ፡ we might read ደራሲ፡ = 'He accomplishes, &c.'
 See S L². ³ MSS. ወርደቶ፡ ⁴ *b* om. ⁵ *b* ጸ. ⁶ *b* ጸ.

⁷ *a* ርእየተመ፡ *Gk. Leg.* ii. 42 and S L² support *b*. ⁸ Add Isaia
 with S E. ⁹ Ed. Ven. ገ. 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 vüzoru [sec. visum] *u*.

L²

S

ስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡¹ ርእየተመ፡፡ 23. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡ ሰባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ማልስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተው፡ ለመላእክት፡ *ዘ²ውስተ፡ *ማልስ፡ ሰማይ³፡፡ 24. *ወማላሰፍተ፡ እሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጾ፡ ሰማይ፡ ንሠሠ፡ ወእግዚእ፡ ወሀሶመ፡ ከመ፡ አይተአመር፡⁴ ወሰባ፡ ርእይዎ፡ እሰብሐዎ፡ ወአወደሰዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡ ርእየተመ፡፡ 25. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡⁵ ሰባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወዓዲ፡ ወሀሰ፡ በህየኒ፡ ማላሰፍተ፡⁶ እስመ፡ እሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጾ፡ የን^{*}ሠሠ፡ ወእግዚእ፡ ይህብ፡፡ 26. ወርእኩ፡ ሰባ፡ ተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተመ፡ ለመላእክት፡ ለዘ፡ በዳ^{*}ግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወርእይዎ፡ ወአሰብሐዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ በከመ፡⁷ ርእየተመ፡፡ 27. ወዓዲ፡ ርእኩ፡ ሰባ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወበህየኒ፡ ወሀሰ፡ ማላሰፍተ፡ ለእሰ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ አንቀጾ፡ ወተመሰሰ፡ በከመ፡ ርእየተመ፡ ለመላእክት፡ እሰ፡ በፀጋመ፡ ዘኩመንበር፡ ወአሰብሐዎ፡ ወአወደሰዎ፡ እስመ፡ ርእየቱ፡ በከመ፡⁷ ርእየተመ፡፡ 28. ወኪያየሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘተሰለሰ፡ በእነተ፡ መልእክ፡ ዘይመርሐ፡፡ 29. ወዓዲ፡ ወረደ፡ ውስተ፡ መጽናዕ፡ ነባ፡ *መኩንዘ፡⁸ ንሰም፡ ይተብር፡⁹ *ውወሀሰ፡ ማላሰፍተ፡¹⁰ ለእሰ፡ በፀጋም፡ ወርእየቱ፡ ከመ፡ ዘአሀሠ፡ ወ*አሰብሐዎ፡ በህየ፡¹¹ አላ፡ በደንጽ፡ ሀሰዉ፡ *አሐዳ፡

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 illis¹² 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 firmamentum¹³ et ibi dedit signa, et forma erat ejus sicut

29. Descendit autem in firmamentum¹³ et ibi dedit signa, et forma erat ejus sicut

29. Descendit autem in firmamentum¹³ ubi princeps saeculi istius sedet¹ et ibi dedit signum, et forma erat ejus sicut

¹ ስ ዘከመ፡² ስ እሰ፡ ዘ³ ስ ዘህየ፡⁴ ስ om.⁵ ስ ርእኩ፡⁶ ስ adds ከመ፡ አይተአመር፡⁷ ስ ዘከመ፡⁸ ስ ምክርን፡ ዘከ፡⁹ ስ ይተብር፡¹⁰ ስ ማላሰፍተ፡¹¹ ስ be trs. To በህየ፡ ስ adds ስ¹² ስ om.¹³ ስ Add with

S E ubi princeps saeculi istius

sedet.

¹⁴ ስ L² forma sicut.¹⁵ ስ L² om.¹⁶ ስ znamenija.L² characterem.

L²

S

ለአሐዱ፡¹ *ወ²ይተቃተ
 ሉ፡ እስመ፡ *ህዩ፡ ህሎ፡³
 ኃይሉ፡ እኩይ፡ ወይንጽ፡
 *ዘበ፡ ገዳጥ⁴፡፡ 30. ወ
 ርእኩ፡ ሰባ፡ ወረደ፡ ወተ
 መሰሰ፡ ለመላእክተ፡ እየ
 ር፡ ወውእቱ፡ ህሎ፡ ከመ፡
 አሐዱ፡⁵ እምውስተተ
 መ፡፡ 31. ወአወሀባ፡
 ማላሰፍተ፡ እስመ፡ አ
 ሐዱ፡⁶ ሰ*አሐዱ፡⁶፡
 የሀይደ፡ ወይንፍዕ፡፡⁷
 XI. ወእምድገረዝ፡ ር
 እኩ፡ ወ፡መልእክ፡ ዘተና
 ገረ፡ ምስሌዩ፡ ዘመርሐይ፡
 ይቤሰይ፡⁸ ሰባ፡ አሳይ
 ደስ፡ ወልደ፡ አምጽ፡ እስ
 መ፡ ሰዘ፡ ተፈኖኩ፡ እም
 ነባ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡፡
 2. ወአነሂ፡ ርእኩ፡ እም
 ትውልደ፡⁹ ዳዊት፡ ነባ
 ደ፡¹⁰ ብእሲተ፡ እነተ፡ ስ
 ማ፡ ማርያም፡ ወይእት፡
 ደንግል፡ ወትተፈነር፡
 ለብእሲ፡ ዘስመ፡ የሴፍ፡
 ብእሲ፡ ፀረባዊ፡¹¹ ወውእ
 ቱሂ፡ እምዘርእ፡ ወእም
 ትውልደ፡⁵ ዳዊት፡ ዲደቅ፡ ዘእምቤተ፡ ልሔም፡ ዘይሁዳ፡ 3. ወይመጽእ፡
 ለመክራልተ፡ ዘአሁ፡¹² ወሰባ፡ ተፍሐረት፡ ትትረከብ፡ ፀንስታ፡¹³ ወይፈቅደ፡

illorum, et non glori-
 ficaverunt eum¹⁴, et
 non cantaverunt ei.¹⁷
 30. Et descendit ad
 angelos, qui erant in
 hoc aëre, sicut unus
 ex eis. 31. Et non
 dedit eis signum
 [et non cantaverunt].

illorum et non
 glorificaverunt¹⁶ ne-
 que ei cantaverunt.¹⁷
 30. Descendit autem
 et ad angelos aëris
 hujus¹⁷ et erat¹⁷ sicut
 unus ex eis. 31. Et
 non dedit eis sig-
 num [neque interro-
 gaverunt enim eum]¹⁸.

XI. Et post haec
 dixit mihi angelus :
 Intellige, Ysaïas fili
 Amos ; in hoc mis-
 sus 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 hom-
 inibus habitare et in
 mundo.

XI. Et post haec
 dixit mihi angelus :
 Intellige, Isaïa, fili
 Amos ! in hoc enim
 missus sum a do-
 mino omnia tibi
 ostendere. Nec
 enim ante te quis
 vidit, nec post te
 videre poterit, si-
 cut tu vidisti et
 audivisti. Et ecce
 vidi similem *ut
 filium hominis ; et
 cum hominibus cum
 habitasset in mundo.

¹ bc ㉔. ² ac om. ³ bc trs. ⁴ b ኃይሉ፡ ⁵ b om.
⁶ bc ㉔. ⁷ The clause ወአሐዱ፡ . . . ወይንፍዕ፡ is found in Gk.
 Leg. ii. 9 but not in SL². ⁸ b ወይቤሰይ፡ ⁹ c ሐይደየ፡
 ጣዕዎ፡ ነእስ፡ ዘእምቤተ፡ ¹⁰ c om. ¹¹ b ፀረብ፡ ¹² a ዘእሃ፡
¹³ b ፀንስታ፡ ¹⁴ S om. ¹⁵ Ed. Ven. q̄. S sicut. ¹⁶ Add
 eum with L² E. ¹⁷ L² qui erant in hoc aëre. ¹⁸ This may
 represent 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፣ ጸረባጭ፣¹ ደኅድጋ። 4. ወመልእክ፣ መንፈስ፣² ደስተርእ፣ በዘ፣
 ዓለም፣ ወእምዘ፣ ኢየሳይጋ፣ የሴፍ፣ ወየዐቅባ፣³ ሰማርያም፣ ወውእቶሰ፣
 አልቦ፣ በዘ፣ ይክሥት፣ ዘነተ፣ ነገረ። 5. ወኢይቀርባ፣ ሰማርያም፣ ወየዐቅባ፣
 ከመ፣ ደንገል፣ ቅድስት፣ ወባሕቶ፣ ፀንሰ፣ እንዘ፣ ባተ። 6. ወኢይተባር፣⁴
 ምስሌ፣ *አውራጎ፣ ክልኤ፣⁵ 7. ወእምድኅረ፣ ክልኤ፣⁶ አውራጎ፣ መዋዕል፣⁷
 ወየሴፍ፣ ይሂሉ፣ ወስተ፣ ቤቶ፣⁸ ወማርያም፣ በእሲቶ፣⁹ ወባሕቶ፣ ክልኤሆሙ፣
 ባሕተትሙ፣ 8. ወይከውን፣ ሰባ፣ ይሂል፣ ባሕተትሙ፣ ወትኔጽር፣
 ማርያም፣ በአዕይነቲ፣ ሰባ፣ ወትራኤ፣ ጎባ፣ ንኡሰ፣ ወትደነገ። 9. ወእ
 ምድኅረ፣ ደንገ፣ ትትረከብ፣¹⁰ ክርግ፣ ከመ፣ ቀደሙ፣¹¹ ዘእንባሰ፣ ትፀንሰ፣¹²
 10. ወሰባ፣ ይቤላ፣ *ምጋ፣ የሴፍ፣¹³ ምንተ፣¹⁴ ደደነገጸክ፣ ደትከሠት፣¹⁵
 አዕይነቲሁ፣¹⁶ ወይራእዮ፣ ሰጎባ፣ ወይሴብሶ፣¹⁷ ሰእንዘኡብሐር፣ አስመ፣
 *በመክራልቶ፣ መጽአ፣¹⁸ እንዘኢ። 11. ወቃል፣ ይከውን፣ ሎሙ፣ ዘነተ፣
 ራእዮ፣ ሰመኑሂ፣ ኢትንገሩ። 12. ወይትንገር፣ ቃል፣ በእንተ፣ ጎባ፣ በቤተ፣
 ልሔም። 13. ቦእሰ፣ ደብሉ፣ ወሲደት፣ *ደንገል፣ ማርያም፣¹⁹ ቅድመ፣
 ክልኤ፣²⁰ አውራጎ፣ ዘተወስበት፣²¹ 14. ወብዘጋን፣ ደብሉ፣ አወሲደት፣
 ወአዐርገት፣ መወልደት፣²² ወ*አጽራጎ፣ ሕማም፣²³ ኢሰማዕብ፣ ወይደሰሉ፣
 ከሎሙ፣ እምኔሆ፣ ወያአምሩ፣²⁴ ከሎሙ፣ ቦቶ፣ ወኢያ*አምሩ፣ እምአይቲ፣
 ወአቶ፣ 15. ወይነሥእም፣ ወይመጽአ፣ *ሰናዘራት፣ ዘገሊላ።²⁵ 16. ወርእኩ፣
 ሕዘቅደስ፣ ወአዮሳብ፣ ወልደዮ፣ ወሰባዕጽንገ፣ ነቢዮት፣ እነገር፣ ሰእሰ፣
 ደቀውሙ፣ ከመ፣ ኑብኤ፣²⁶ ከሎ፣ ሰማዮት፣ ወከሎ፣ መኳንንተ፣ ወ*ከሎ፣
 አምላክ፣²⁷ ዘዘ፣ ዓለም። 17. ወር*ኤ፣²⁸ ሰናዘራት፣ ሀሎ፣²⁹ ይጠቡ፣ ከመ፣
 ጎባ፣³⁰ ወሰከመ፣ ሥርዓት፣ ሀሎ፣ ከመ፣ ኢይትአመር። 18. ወሰባ፣ ልህቀ፣
 ደገብር፣ ተኔምረ፣ ዐቢዮ፣³¹ ወመንክረ፣ በምድረ፣ እስራኤል፣ *ወ³¹ ኢየሩሳሌም።

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* ወእባር። ⁵ *b* trs. and for ክልኤ፣ reads ጄ. ⁶ *b* ነር። ጄ.
⁷ *b* om. ⁸ *bc* ቤት። ⁹ *c* and also originally *a* but the
 word is erased save the first letter : *b* reads ፍጎርቶ። ¹⁰ *bc* ትረከብ።
¹¹ *bc* ዘቀደሙ። ¹² *a* ትጽንሰ። ¹³ *c*. *a* originally had this
 phrase twice, but subsequently ምጋ፣ was erased in both in-
 stances. *b* omits phrase. ¹⁴ *bc* ምንተ። ¹⁵ *bc* ወይትከሠት።
¹⁶ *b* adds ሰየሴፍ። ¹⁷ *b* ወያአምሩ። ¹⁸ *b* በጄ ይመጽአ።
¹⁹ *bc* trs. ²⁰ *b* ጄ. ²¹ Erased in *a*, but two first letters
 decipherable : all erased but first in *b*. ²² *a* መውልደ፣ (sic).
²³ *b* አጽርጋ፣ ሕማም። ²⁴ *b* ወኢየአምሩ። ²⁵ *b* ናዘራት።
²⁶ *b* ኑብኤ። Perhaps we should read የኑብኤ። ²⁷ *a* om.
²⁸ *b* እንዘ። ²⁹ *b* adds ወከመ፣ ሥርዓት፣ ሀሎ፣ ይጠቡ። ³⁰ *b* ዐቢዮት።
³¹ *b* ወቢ.

L²

S

19. ወእም ደ-ገረዝ፡ ደቀ
ንእ፡ ሱቱ፡¹ ክራዊ፡ ወደገ
ሥእመ፡ ሰው-ሱ-ደ፡ እስራ-
ኤል፡ ገዕሌሁ፡ እንዘ፡ አደ-
አምሩ፡ መኑ፡ ው-እቱ፡ ወ
ደሚጥውዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወ
ደሰቅልዎ፡ *ወደወርድ፡
ንባ፡ መልአክ።² 20. ለ
ኢየሩሳሌምኑ፡ ረአክዎ፡
እንዘ፡ ደሰቅልዎ፡ ደባ፡ ዕፅ፡
21. ወከመኒ፡ እም ደ-ገረ፡
ግልሰተ፡ ዕለተ፡ ደ-ትግግ
እ፡ ወደ-ብር፡ መዋዕለ።³
22. ወደሌሳይ፡ መልአክ፡
ዘደመርሐኒ፡ ሰቡ፡ አሳ-
ደደስ፡ ወርአኩ፡ ሰባ፡
ፈገግሙ፡⁴ *ለዕሠርቱ፡
ወክልኤቱ፡ አርዳኢ፡⁵ ወ
ዐርገ። 23. ወአነ፡ ርአ-
ክዎ፡⁶ ወከኑ፡ ለምጽዕዕ፡
ወአ-ተወለጠ፡ በከመ፡ ር-
እየተሙ፡ ወርአይዎ፡ ይ-
ሱሙ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘም-
ጽዕዕ፡ *ወሰይጣን፡ ወሰ-
ገዱ።⁷ 24. ወ-በዙጉ፡
ሐዘን፡ ከኑ፡ ለህዩ፡ እንዘ፡
ደ-በሱ፡ እፍ፡ ወረድ፡ እ-
ገዘእ*፡⁸ ማእከሰኑ፡⁹
ወነሐኑ፡ አለበውኑ፡ ስ-ብ-
ተ፡ [ዘህለውተ፡ ገዕሌ-
ሁ፡]⁹ ዘንገራኡ፡ ዘተረክቡ፡

19. Et non cognove-
runt eum.

19. Et non cogno-
verunt 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-

23. Et vidi ascenden-
tem in firmamentum,
*et jam¹³ non erat se-
cundum formam ፣eor-
um¹⁴ transfigurans
se. Cum autem vidis-
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፡ ንባ፡ መላእክት፡³ c adds ግ.⁴ bc ፈገግ፡⁵ b ገደገርድ-እቱ፡ እገዘእ፡⁶ bc ርአኩ፡⁷ b ወሰይጣን፡⁸ Em. in accordance with L² in medio nostri

from ገዕሌኩ፡

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

ላዕሌሁ፡ እምሳድስ፡ ሰማይ፡፡ 25. ወዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ሰማይ፡ ወኢተወለጠ፡ አላ፡ ከሱሙ፡ መላእክት፡ እለ፡ በሰማይ፡ ወበፀጋም፡ ወመንበር፡ *ማእከለ፡ ውእቸ፡¹
 26. ወይሰግዱ፡² ሎቸ፡ ወይሱብሕዎ፡ ወይብሱ፡ እፎ፡ እግዚእ*³፡ ኑብአክ፡⁴ እንዘ፡ ይወርድ፡ ወኢለበውኑ፡፡ 27. ወከማሁ፡ ዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ማልስ፡ ወከማሁ፡ ሰብሐ፡⁵ ወይሱብ፡ 28. *ወውስተ፡ ራብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወኃምስ⁶፡ ከማሁ፡ ክመ፡⁷ ይሱብ፡ 29. ወላሕቸ፡ ስብሐትሱ፡ አሕዱ፡⁷ ውእቸ፡ *ወ³እምኔሁ፡ ኢተወለጠ፡፡ 30. ወርእክ፡ ሰብሐ፡ ውስተ፡ ሳድስ፡ ሰማይ፡ ዐርገ፡ ወሰገዱ፡ ሎቸ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ 31. ወላሕቸ፡ ውስተ፡ ክሱ፡ ሰማይት፡ ስብሐት፡ ይትዌሰክ፡፡ 32. ወርእክዎ፡ እፎ፡ ዐርገ፡ ውስተ፡ ላብዕ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ ከሱሙ፡ ዳድቃን፡ ወከሱሙ፡ 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 te¹⁴? 27-30. Ita ascendit [in secundum caelum et]¹⁴ in tertium et in quartum et in quintum et in sextum 31. †Usque ad omnes coelos, et gloriae suae conjungebat se†¹⁵. 32. Quando¹⁶ ascendit in septimum caelum, 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 sedet¹ 26. Adoraverunt †eum¹ et cantaverunt dicentes: Quomodo transisti praeter nos, domine, et non cognovimus †neque adoravimus te¹? 27-30. †Et¹ 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. †Et¹ ut ascendit in septimum caelum cantaverunt ei om-

¹ b Hማእከሌሱሙ፡² b ወሰገዱ፡³ b om.⁴ bc ኅሱኡ፡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 SE et dextri et sinistri et is qui in medio throno sedet.¹³ Ed. Ven. quō.¹⁴ Wrong addition. See

note 10.

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 SL² err in adding these words. See exegeticalnote on xi. 27. L² adds caelum after sec.

L²

S

ት፡ ወሰጫ፡ ርእኩ፡ ከ
 መ፡ ነባረ፡ በየማኑ፡ ስብ
 ሐት፡¹ ዐቢይ፡ ዝኩ፡ ዘእ
 ቤሰክመ፡ ከመ፡ እክህል
 ኩ፡ ስብሓት፡ ርእዩ፡²
 33. ወመልአክኒ፡ ዘመን
 ፈሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ርእኩ፡ *ከ
 መ፡ ነባረ፡³ በፀጋም፡
 34. *ወመልአክ፡ *ዘ⁴
 ደቤሰይ፡ አባይደስ፡ ወል
 ደ፡ አጥጽ፡ አክሰኩ፡⁵ እስ
 መ፡⁷ ዐቢይት፡ እገንቱ፡
 እስመ፡ ጠየቀ፡ ዘአጠየቀ፡
 ወልደ፡ ሥጋ፡ 35. ወት
 ገብእ፡ ወስት፡ ልብስኩ፡
 እስኩ፡ መዋዕሊኩ፡ ደትፈ
 ጸማ፤⁸ አማ፡ ትመጽእ፡
 ዝየ፡ 36. እስንተ፡⁹ ር
 እየ፡¹⁰ መደቤ፡ አባይደስ፡
 ሰክሎመ፡ እሰ፡ ደቀው
 መ፡ ቅድሚሁ፡ ወደሰብ

nes justi et omnes
 angeli¹¹ et omnes vir-
 tutes¹², quas¹³ non
 potui videre. 33.
 Angelum mirabi-
 lem¹³ vidi sedere a
 sinistris [ejus], 34.
 Qui dixit mihi: Suf-
 ficit tibi Ysaia; vi-
 disti [enim],¹ quod
 nemo [alius] vidit
 carnis filius, quod
 nec oculus vidit, nec
 auris audivit, nec in
 cor hominis ascen-
 dit, quanta praepra-
 ravit deus omnibus
 diligentibus se¹⁴.
 35. Dixitque mihi:¹¹
 Revertere in stolam
 tuam, donec tempus
 dierum tuorum adim-
 pleatur¹¹ et¹¹ tunc ve-
 nies huc. 36. Haec
 videns Ysaias dixit
 circumstantibus se,
 et¹¹ audientes mira-

nes justi et omnes
 angeli¹¹ et omnes vir-
 tutes¹². Et tunc vidi
 eum ut sedit a dex-
 tris Magnae Gloriam¹,
 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 filius, nec¹⁷
 oculus vidit nec auris
 audivit nec in cor
 hominis ascendit,
 quanta praepra-
 ravit Deus diligentibus
 eum¹⁸.—35. Et dixit
 mihi¹¹: Revertere in
 stolam tuam, donec
 tempus dierum tuo-
 rum adimpleatur¹¹ et¹¹
 tunc venies [mihi]
 huc. 36. Haec cum
 vidisset Isaias dixit
 circumstantibus
 eum, et¹¹ cum audis-

¹ a ዘስብሐት፡ ² bc ርእዩ፡ ³ b om. ⁴ a om. ⁵ c. ab H.

⁶ Em. in accordance with SL² sufficit tibi from አደገኩ፡ Dln. proposes ደኩክ፡ ⁷ bc እስኩ፡ ⁸ a ደትፈጸም፡ ⁹ a እሰንተ፡

¹⁰ Em. from ርእኩ፡ 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 spiritualem. 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.

L³

S

ሐ። ወይተናገር፡ ለሐዘ
 ቅደስ፡ ነጉሥ፡ ወይዬ፡¹
 ከመ፡ እላንተ፡² ተናገርኩ፡
 37. ወተናገረኝ፡³ ለዘ፡
 ዓለም፡ 38. ወዘላ፡ ዘ
 ጌ፡ ራእይ፡ ትተራጸም፡
 *በደኃሪት፡ ትውልድ፡⁴
 39. ወአምሐሱ፡ አላይይ
 ሰ፡ ከመ፡ አይነገር፡ ለሐ
 ዘበ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወእእላ
 ነተ፡ ቃላተ፡ ከመ፡ *አየሀ
 ብ፡ ለአዕልዎ፡ ለሰብአ፡
 40. * . . . ከማ፡ ጋኑ
 ብዎን፡⁵ ወአንተሙሰ፡ ሀ
 ልዉ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡
 ከመ፡ ትንሥኡ፡ አልባሲክ

bilia cantaverunt | omnes et⁷ glorifica-
 verunt ¶dominum⁷
 dantem talem gra-
 tiam hominibus⁷.
 Et dixit Ezechiae
 regi: 37. Consum-
 matio seculi hujus,
 38. Et †opera imple-
 buntur†⁸ in novissi-
 mis generationibus.
 39. Et prohibuit eis,
 ut non annunciarent
 populo Israel, nec
 verba haec darent
 ad scribendum omni
 homini. 40. Sed
 †quanta intelligen-
 tur a rege et dicta⁹
 in prophetis†¹⁰. *Ita
 et vos estote¹¹ in
 Sancto Spiritu, ut
 recipiatis 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 annunciarent
 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
 recipiatis stolam
 vestram et thronos
 et coronas gloriae in
 caelis jacentes. ¶Et
 cessavit loquens et

¹ b ወእዬ፡ c ወእዬሱ፡² b እላ፡ ዘነተ፡ c እላንተ፡³ ac ወተናገረኝ፡⁴ b በደኃሪ፡ መዋዕል፡⁵ b አይሀብ፡ለዕዕልወተ፡ ⁶ Em. in accordance with S talia intelligite from a ወአማ፡ ጋኑብዎን፡ (ጋኑብብዎን፡ c፡ ያኑብብዎን፡ 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.

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
 Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου.

[See Introd. pp. xxvii-xxviii.]

Ascension
 of Isaiah,
 i. 1, 2.

1. Ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Ἐζεκίου ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καλέσαι Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ὄντα ἑτῶν ἕνδεκα, ἔμπροσθεν Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ Ἰασοῦμ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. 2. Καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ μακάριος Ἡσαίας εἶδεν, καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν καὶ ἐξέλευσιν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄδην, καὶ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν ἣν μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας εἶδεν ἐν τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 3. Καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν Σωμνὰς ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἀσοῦρ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος ἐρχόμενον τὸν μέγαν Ἡσαίαν ἀπὸ Γαλαλίων εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τεσσαράκοντα υἱοὺς προφητῶν καὶ Ἰασοῦμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Ἐζεκίᾳ περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως αὐτῶν. 4. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐχάρη χερὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα, καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἰς συνάντησιν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡσαίου 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 Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσὴν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἡσαίαν τὸν προφήτην, ἵνα ἐπιθήσῃ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ εὐλογῆσῃ αὐτόν. ὡς

i. 1. Instead of ὄντα ἑτῶν ἕνδεκα, Gebhardt proposes ὄντα αὐτῷ ἕνα as in Ethiopic. Ἰασοῦμ LXX. Ἰασούβ. Ethiopic = Jōsēb, Jōsēb or Jōsāb. 2. εἶδεν twice ἴδεν in MB. 3. Ἀσοῦρ corrupted from Ἀσάφ: see note on vi.17.

δὲ εἶδεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαΐας τὸν Μανασσῆν, ἐγένετο ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Ἐζεκία· Οὐ δύναμαι εὐλογήσαι τὸν Μανασσῆν

- i. 7. τὸν μέλλοντά με τιμωρεῖν μεγάλοις βασάνοις καὶ πικραῖς. 7. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐζεκίας τῷ ἁγίῳ προφῆτῃ Ἡσαΐα· Εὐλόγησον, πάτερ, Μανασσῆν τὸν υἱόν μου. 8. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεός μου καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Μανασσῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου βασάνοις πικραῖς τοῦ
- i. 9. ζῆν ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι. 9. Κατοικήσει γὰρ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Μανασσῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου, καὶ πρισθῆσομαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρίωνι
- v. 11. ξυλίνῳ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν εἰς δύο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ 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 πρόσωπον
- i. 11. αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ νεκρός. 11. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας τοῦ θεοῦ προφῆτης Ἡσαΐας τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἐζεκία· Οὐκ ὠφελήσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲν κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος· δεῖ γὰρ πληρωθῆναι τὴν βουλήν τοῦ
- i. 12. σατανᾶ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ σου τῷ Μανασσῆ. 12. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ διελογίζετο Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Μανασσῆν. ὁ δὲ Σωμνᾶς 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 Ἐζεκίαν τὸν βασιλέα· Κατήργησεν κύριος ὁ θεός καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς
- i. 7. αὐτοῦ τὴν βουλήν σου· οὐ μὴ γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο. δεῖ γὰρ με ἐκ παντὸς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Μανασσῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τιμωρηθέντα ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου.

14. Ὄρυξεν δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἡσαΐας ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ 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 βασιλεια εἰσήλθεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Καὶ καθεζομένου τοῦ μεγάλου προφῆτου Ἡσαίου ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην
- vi. 10. τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ ἦρθη ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. 2. Καὶ ὡς τοῦτο γέγονεν, ἤρξατο λέγειν Σωμνᾶς 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, ἦγουν 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 Ἑσαΐας τὰ ἐξαισία 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 ἀγίων 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 ἐκάλεισεν ὁ μέγας Ἑσαΐας Ἰασοῦμ, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ vi. 16, 17. καὶ Σωμνὰν τὸν γραμματέα καὶ Ἐζεκιάν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς περι(ε)στῶτας, οἵτινες καὶ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἅπερ εἶδεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἑσαΐας 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 περισσοτέραν εἶχεν δόξαν. 7. Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με· Ἄκουσόν μου, Ἑσαΐα υἱὲ Ἄμωσ· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπεστάλην τοῦ ἀνεγέγκαι 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 πάνυ ὅτι vii. 6, 9. πραεῶς 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 πολὺν περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκαταστασίαν μεγάλην· εἰς γὰρ τὸν ἕνα ἀρπάζειν x. 31. καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἐβούλετο, τοῦ καθημένου χαίροντος πάνυ ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις ταύταις. 10. Καὶ εἶπον τῷ θεῷ ἀγγέλω 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 ἀπώλειας ἐκπέμψει iv. 14. βυθὸν ὁ μέλλων καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις SJL²xi.1(?) συναναστρέφεισθαι 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 ἀγγέλω 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 μείζων 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
ἔργων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ποιηρῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν; 17. Καὶ εἶπεν
vii. 27. ὁ θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὢν· Ἔγνω τί ἐλόγισα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ
σου, Ἥσαϊα. ἄφες νῦν· ὅταν γὰρ ἀνελέγκω σε εἰς τὸν ἕβδομον
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
SL²vii.33. ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων. 20. Ἦσαν δὲ εἰς τὸν πέμπτον οὐρανόν καὶ
ὑποθρόνια ζωᾶ ἀναμειγμένα μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὑμνοῦντα ἐκείνον τὸν
viii. 16. μέγαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον. 21. Καὶ ἀνήγαγέν με εἰς τὸν ἕκτον οὐρανόν,
καὶ οὐκέτι ἠδυνάμην ὑποστῆναι τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὰ φῶτα· καὶ
vii. 21. ἐφοβήθημ πάνυ καὶ ἔπεσον ἐπὶ πρόσωπον. 22. Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ
θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὢν· Ἄκουσον, Ἥσαϊα προφήτα, νιὲ Ἀμώς·
μὴ προσκυνήσῃς μῆτε ἀγγέλους μῆτε ἀρχαγγέλους μῆτε κυριό-
τητας μῆτε θρόνους, ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ σοι εἶπω. καὶ κρατήσας με ἐκ
τῆς χειρὸς ἐνίσχυσε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν ἐμοί. 23. Καὶ ἀνερχομένων
ix. 1 (a). ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ οὐρανῷ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τῶν κάτω πεμ-
πομένης καὶ λεγούσης· Ἔως πότε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ μέλλον ἀκμῆν
ἐν σαρκὶ οἰκεῖν ἀναβαίνει ὧδε; καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἤκουσα
ix. 2. φωνῆς ἐτέρας ἐκ τῶν ἄνω λεγούσης· Ἀφεθήτω ἀναβαίνειν ὁ
δικαίος 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 ὢν· Ὁ μὲν κωλύσας σε
ἀναβαίνειν ἔστιν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐφεστῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμνων τῶν πέντε
ix. 5. οὐρανῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτρέπων σοι ἀναβαίνειν ἔστιν ὁ κύριος τῆς

- x. 8. Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ 38. Ἐξελθε, τέκνον, καὶ κατὰβηθι
 x. 12. κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ οὐρανὸν ἡρέμα. καταβήσῃ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν
 κόσμον ἐκείνον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἔκπαια κυριευόμενον καὶ
 τῶν προσκυνούντων αὐτοῖς, οἵτινες ἠρνήσαντό με καὶ εἶπον·
 x. 13 (iv. 6,8). (x. 8); Ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν θεοί, καὶ πλὴν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός. 39.
 xi. 19, 20. Ὡσαύτως καταβήσῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ ἄδου ἐν
 x. 14, 15. Ἱερουσαλήμ· πλὴν ἕως τοῦ τελευτήσαι σε μὴ ἀπελεύσῃ. 40.
 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
 πάσαι τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ γνώσκονται πάσαι αἱ τῶν
 x. 11. οὐρανῶν στρατιαὶ ὅτι σὺ εἶ κύριος μετ' ἐμοῦ τῶν ἑπτὰ οὐρανῶν
 x. 16. τούτων καὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. 41. Ταῦτα ἤκουον τῆς δόξης
 x. 17, 19. τῆς μεγάλης λεγοῦσης τῷ κυρίῳ μου καὶ Χριστῷ. καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα κατήλθεν ὁ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ ἑβδόμου οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς
 τὸν ἕκτον οὐρανόν· κακεῖ ἐδόξασαν, ἕμνησαν, προσεκύνησαν
 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 ἕμνησαν 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 κατήλθεν εἰς τὸν γῆινον καὶ θνητὸν κόσμον
 εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς αὐτὸς μόνος ὁ κύριος ἠθέλησεν.
- ii. 1. iii. Ἐτελεύτησεν δὲ Ἐξεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προστετέθη πρὸς
 τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ Μανασσῆς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ παρέλαβεν τὴν
 βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. 2. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς οὐκ ἐμνήσθη
 ii. 2. τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπελάθετο πάντων. καὶ
 ἀφήκεν τὴν λατρείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν κατὰ τὸ θέλημα
 αὐτοῦ εἰδῶλα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ, καὶ ἐλάτρευσεν τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ
 ii. 3. 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 ἐλάτρευσεν 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 προεφήτευσεν

iii. 3. κληδονισμός MS. It is to be observed that the writer uses ἐπαοιδία instead of μαντεία.

ὁ μέγας Ἡσαίας περὶ τῆς πόλεως Ἱερουσαλήμ λέγων· Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός· Ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἡ ἠγαπημένη 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 Ἡσαίου καὶ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικούντων εἶπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ Μανασσῆ· 6. Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὰ καὶ πάνυ δεινὰ προφητεύει ὁ Ἡσαίας ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ iii. 6. καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις Ἰούδα, 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 Ἡσαίαν, διότι προεφήτευσεν δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ. 8. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαίας ἀναχωρήσας ii. 7. ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑποφέρειν αὐτὸν ὄραν τὴν γινομένην ἀνομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀσωτίαν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν καὶ λατρείαν τοῦ σατανᾶ. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκάθητο ἀπέναντι Βηθλεέμ. 9. Κάκεϊ δὲ ἦν ἀνομία πολλή· ὅθεν ἀναχωρήσας πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ii. 8. ἐκάθισεν ἐν ὄρει τινί, τόπῳ ἡσύχῳ καὶ καθαρῷ, δοξάζων ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν φιλόνητον θεόν. καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μιχαίας ὁ προφήτης καὶ Ἀμβακούμ καὶ Ἰασούμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ii. 9. καὶ Ἄννας ὁ γέρον, καὶ πολλοὶ ἕτεροι τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνελθεῖν. 10. Ἐκείσε οὖν λοιπὸν ἀνελθόντες Μελχίας καὶ Βεχείρας οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται συνέλαβον τὸν ἅγιον Ἡσαίαν τὸν (iii. 12.) προφήτην, 11. Καὶ ἀγαγόντες αὐτὸν πρὸς Μανασσῆν τὸν βασιλέα, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἡσαία, διατί προφητεύεις ποιηρὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐμέ καὶ τὰ τέκνα μου; 12. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἡσαίας τῷ Μανασσῆ· Βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ οὐ προφητεύω ποιηρὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῇ συμβαίνειν λαλῶ. 13. Ζῆ 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 ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ ii. 14. ἀναιδῶν διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ κατοικούντος ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ σὲ iii. 6.

iii. 6. γαλαϊάγραις MS. 8. ἐκάθητο MS. 13. ἀπεινῶν MS.

- δέ, βασιλεῦ Μανασσῆ, ἐν πέδαις καὶ γαλεάγραις ἀπάξουσιν αἰχμάλωτον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. 14. Τότε θυμωθεὶς σφόδρα ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἤκουσεν πικροῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκέλευσεν παρευθῆναι τὸν ἅγιον Ἡσαΐαν ἐν πρίωνι σιδηρῶ. 15. Καὶ τούτου ἐν τάχει γνωμένου καὶ περιζομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὄρας ἰκανάς, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἤπτετο αὐτοῦ ὁ σιδηρος. 16. Τότε λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τῷ Μανασσῆ· Βασιλεῦ, ἔση εἰδῶς ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ ἐκληρώθην πισθῆναι, καὶ ἄλλως τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον.
- v. 11. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανασσῆς προσέταξεν ἐν πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ
- v. 1, 2, 3. πισθῆναι αὐτόν. 17. Καὶ περιζομένου αὐτοῦ ἔστη Μελχίας ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λέγων· Εἶπέ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπροφήτευσα ταῦτα περὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἀρθήσονται ἀπὸ σοῦ αἱ
- v. 9; i. 7. βάσανοι αὐταί. 18. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἅγιος Ἡσαΐας· Κατάθεμά σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφήτα, διάβολε· Ζῆ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς μου καὶ ζῆ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι Ἱερουσαλήμ αὕτη 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 Βαβυλῶνι. 19. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ μακάριος Ἡσαΐας ἔπρισαν αὐτὸν διχῆ πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ.
- iii. 6.
- v. 14.

iii. 13. γαλαϊάγραις MS. 16. ἐκληρώθη MS.

INDEX I

Passages from the Scriptures and other ancient books directly connected or closely parallel with the Text.

<p>EXODUS. xxxiii. 20.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JOB. x. 19.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ISAIAH. i. 10. vi. 1. xiii. 1. lii. 13. lvii. 15.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2 KINGS. xxi. 17.</p> <p>2 CHRONICLES. xxxiii. 6. xxxiii. 11. xxxiii. 18.</p> <p>MATTHEW. xii. 18 (My Beloved). xv. 3. xxviii. 19.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LUKE. xii. 37.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JOHN. i. 16, 18. xvi. 11.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ASCENSION OF ISAAH. iii. 9.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">iv. 18.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">iii. 10. iii. 9. iv. 19. iv. 21. vi. 8, x, 6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ii. 6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ii. 5. iii. 6. ii. 6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">i. 4. iv. 3. iii. 18.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">iv. 16.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(vii. 37 G^a; viii. 25 G^b). ii. 4.</p>	<p>1 THESSALONIANS. iii. 13.</p> <p>2 THESSALONIANS. i. 7. ii. 4.</p> <p>1 CORINTHIANS. ii. 9. (xi. 34 G²).</p> <p>2 CORINTHIANS. v. 1. iv. 16.</p> <p>1 TIMOTHY. iv. 12. iii. 21.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1 PETER. iii. 22. i. 3.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">REVELATION. ii. 1. iii. 15. xiii. 14. iv. 11. xix. 10. viii. 5. xix. 20. iv. 14.</p> <p>ASCENSION OF ISAAH. xi. 16. xix.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PROTEVANGELIUM IACOBI. xi. 3, 4, 11. ix. 1, 3, xv. 4, xx. 4.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ASCENSION OF ISAAH. iv. 16.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">iv. 15. iv. 6.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(xi. 34 G²).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">iv. 16.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">iii. 21.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">i. 3.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">iii. 15. iv. 11. viii. 5. iv. 14.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IGNATIUS. <i>Ad Ephes.</i> xix.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PROTEVANGELIUM IACOBI. ix. 1, 3, xv. 4, xx. 4.</p>
---	---	---	--

ASCENSION OF JUSTIN MARTYR.		ASCENSION OF REST OF WORDS	
ISAIAH.	<i>Dial. c. Tryph.</i>	ISAIAH.	OF BARUCH.
v. 11.	cxx.	iii. 9.	ix. 20.
	ACTUS PETRI	iii. 17-18.	ix. 18.
	VERCELLENSES.		TERTULLIAN.
xi. 14.	xxiv.	v. 14.	<i>De Pat.</i> 14.

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.

INDEX II

Names and Subjects.

- Abel (ix. 8, 28, G¹).
Actus Petri Vercellenses, pp. xxiii, xxxii, xlv, 77.
Adam (ix. 7, 28, G¹).
Advent, the Second, iii. 23, 26.
Aguarôn, corrupt for Gomor-rha, ii. 16.
Ahab, ii. 12, 13.
Ahaziah, ii. 13, 14, 15, 16.
Ahriman, p. xlviii.
Alagar Zagâr = Salmanassar, iii. 2.
Amâda (= Imlah), ii. 12.
Ambrose referred to or quoted, pp. xlv, 40, 78.
Amos, iv. 22.
Amoz, i. 2; ii. 7; vi. 1; xi. 1, 34.
Ananias, ii. 9; vi. 7.
Angel of the Christian Church, iii. 15.
Angel of the Holy Spirit, iii. 16; vii. 23; ix. 36; xi. 33.
Angel of the Spirit, iv. 21; ix. 39, 40; x. 4; xi. 4.
Angel of lawlessness, ii. 4.
— death, ix. 16; x. 14.
— Sheol, xi. 19.
— the moon, iv. 18.
— the sun, iv. 18.
Antichrist, the, iv. 2-14.
Antichrist Myth, the, pp. lii-lv.
Antichrist Myth, Fusion of the, with that of Beliar, pp. lxi-lxv.
Antichrist Myth, Fusion of the, with that of Nero redivivus, pp. lxx-lxxvii.
Antichrist Myth, Fusion of the, with both the Beliar and Neronic myths, pp. lxxvii-lxxiii.
Archontici, pp. xi, xlv.
Asaph, iv. 21; vi. 17.
Baal, ii. 12.
Balchirâ : see 'Belchirâ.'
Bartholomew, Questions of, quoted, p. lvi.
Bartlet, Vernon, p. xxxvi.
Baruch, Apoc. of, p. liv.
— Rest of Words of, quoted on iii. 17.
Basset, p. xvii.
Beer, pp. xviii, xxxvi sq., xlix.
Belchirâ, ii. 5, 12 (note), 16 (note); iii. 1, 6, 12; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 15.
Beliar, i. 8 (note), 9; ii. 4; iii. 11, 13; iv. 2, 14, 16, 18; v. i. 15.
— Myth, the, lv-lvii. See 'Antichrist Myth'; also note on p. 140.
Beloved, the, p. xlii; i. 4 (note), 5, 7, 13; iii. 13, 17, 18; iv. 3, 6, 9, 18, 21; v. 15; vii. 17, 23; viii. 18, 25; ix. 12. See note on p. 140.
Beloved, Ascension of the, i. 5; iii. 18; ix. 17; xi. 22.

- Beloved, Crucifixion of the, iii. 13; ix. 14; xi. 19, 20.
 Beloved, Descent of the (viii. 26, G¹), ix. 12-13; x. 8, 17-31.
 Beloved, Going forth of the, i. 5.
 Beloved, Persecution of the, i. 5; iii. 13.
 Beloved, Resurrection on the third day of the, iii. 16, 18; ix. 16-17; xi. 21.
 Beloved, Transformation of the, i. 5; iii. 13 (viii. 10, G¹).
 Benjamin, iii. 6, 11.
 Bethlehem, ii. 7, 8, 12; iii. 1, 5; xi. 2, 12.
 Bissell, p. xxxv.
 Bleek, p. xxxv.
 Bonwetsch, pp. xix, xxiv, xxv, lvi, 98.
 Book in which the deeds of men were written, ix. 22.
 Bousset, pp. li, lix, lxi, lxiii, lxxix, 7, 27, 32.
 Cathari, p. xi.
 Cedrenus referred to or quoted, pp. xiii, 2, 29.
 Chanaan, ii. 12.
 Cheyne, pp. liv sq., 38.
 Christ (ix. 5, 12-13; x. 7, G¹).
Chronicon Paschale quoted on ii. 12.
 Clemen, pp. xxxv sq., xxxviii, 12, 29.
 Cross, Belief in the, iii. 18 (ix. 26, G¹).
 Crowns, the reward of the righteous, vii. 22; viii. 26; ix. 10-13, 18, 24, 25; xi. 40.
 Dahâka, p. xlvi.
 Daniel, iv. 22.
 Darmesteter, p. xlvi.
 David, the son of Jesse, iv. 21; xi. 2.
 Deane, p. xxxv.
 Dillmann, pp. xvi sq., xviii, xxxv, xxxvii sq., xl, 14, 15, 29, 32, 40.
 Docetism, p. xlix.
 Elders (= Presbyters), iii. 24.
 Elect One, the (viii. 7, G¹).
 Elijah, ii. 14.
 Engelhardt, p. xxxiv.
 Enoch (ix. 9, G¹).
 — the Slavonic, referred to or quoted, pp. xlix, lvi, 34.
 Epiphanius referred to or quoted, pp. xiii, xliv, 67.
 Ethan the Israelite, iv. 21.
 Eusebius quoted, 31.
 Euthymius Zigabenus quoted, p. xi.
 Ewald, pp. xxxv sq.
 Ezra, Fourth, quoted, pp. liv, 26, 29.
 Father, the, the First Person of the Trinity, viii. 18 (vii. 8; x. 6, 7, G¹).
 Firmament, the abode of Beliar or Satan, iv. 2; vii. 9-12; x. 29.
 Flight of believers before the Antichrist, iv. 13.
 Gabriel, iii. 16.
 Galgalâ, vi. 1, 3.
 Galilee, xi. 15.
 Garments=spiritual bodies of the blessed, iv. 16; vii. 22; viii. 14, 26; ix. 9, 17, 24-26; xi. 40.
 Gebhardt, O. von, pp. xxvii sq., xxxvii.
 Gehenna, i. 3; iv. 14.
 Gesenius, pp. xxxiv, 14.
 Gfrörer, pp. xvii, xxxiv.
 Gieseler, pp. xviii, xxxiv.
 Glorious One, the, ix. 33 (x. 2, G¹).
 Glory, the Great, x. 16; xi. 32.
 God of that world, ix. 14 (x. 12, G¹).

- Gomorrha, ii. 16; iii. 10.
Greek Legend, the, based on the *Ascension*, pp. xx sqq., xxvi sqq., xxxvii sqq., &c., 140-148.
 Grenfell, pp. xxviii, xxix, 15, 17, 19.
 Guilds formed to keep believers ready for the Second Advent, iv. 9, 13.
 Gunkel, p. li.
- Habakkuk, ii. 9; iv. 22.
 Hades. See Sheol (ix. 15, S I²).
 Haggai, iv. 22.
 Haguel (x. 8, G¹).
 Harnack, pp. xxxv, xxxvii, lxx sqq.
 Heaven, the first, vii. 13-17; x. 27.
 — the second, vii. 18-23; x. 25, 26.
 — the third, vii. 24-27; ix. 19; x. 23, 24.
 — the fourth, vii. 28-31; x. 21.
 — the fifth, vii. 32-37; x. 20.
 — air of the sixth, viii. 1-15.
 — the sixth, viii. 15-28; ix. 4; x. 17, 19.
 — air of the seventh, ix. 1-5.
 — the seventh, iii. 13; iv. 14, 16; vi. 13; vii. 17, 21; viii. 7, 15, 25; ix. 6 sqq.; x. 17; xi. 40.
 Heavens, the Seven, p. xlix.
 Hezekiah, i. 1, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13; ii. 1, 3 (12 corrupt); iii. 3, 4, 5; v. 15, 16; vi. 1, 3, 16 (vii. 1, viii. 24, G¹); xi. 36, 42.
 — Testament of (a lost work incorporated in the *Ascension* = ii. 13^b—iv. 18), pp. xii sqq., xxxiii, xli sqq., lxix sqq., 2, 29-31 (notes), 150.
 Hieracas, pp. xi, xliv, 67.
 High, the Most, vi. 8; vii. 23; x. 6, 7.
 Hoffmann, p. xxxiv.
 Holtzmann, p. lxiii.
 Holy One, the, vi. 8.

- Hosea, iv. 22.
 Hunt, pp. xxviii, xxix, 15, 17, 19.
- Ignatius referred to or quoted, pp. xxxiii, xxxii, 77.
 Ijôaqêṃ (= Joah), vi. 17.
 Image of Antichrist set up, iv. 11.
 Isaiah, i. 2, 5, 7, 11, 13; ii. 7; iii. 1, 6, 8-10, 12 sq.; v. 1-4, 7-9, 11, 14 sq.; vi. 1, 3, 5 sq., 14-16; vii. 1; ix. 2; xi. 1, 34, 36, 39, 43.
Isaiah, Ascension of, its various titles, pp. xii-xiv.
 — *Ascension of*, its various constituents, pp. xxxvi-xliii. (see 'Martyrdom of Isaiah,' 'Testament of Hezekiah,' 'Vision of Isaiah').
 — *Ascension of*, its various constituents, their dates, pp. xlv-xlv, lxxi-lxxii, 30, 31 (notes).
 — *Ascension of*, Ethiopic Version of, pp. xiv-xvi, 83-139.
 — *Ascension of*, Ethiopic Version, Texts of Laurence and Dillmann, pp. xvi-xvii.
 — *Ascension of*, Greek Text of, pp. xxviii-xxxii, 84-95.
 — *Ascension of*, Greek Text of, edited by Grenfell and Hunt, pp. xxviii-xxix.
 — *Ascension of*, Latin Versions of, pp. xviii-xxi, 87-92, 102-108, 102-139.
 — *Ascension of*, Slavonic Version of, pp. xxiv-xxvii.
 — *Ascension of*, Slavonic Version, Bonwetsch's Latin translation of, 102-139.
 — *Ascension of*, Value of, for history of religious thought, pp. xlix-li.
 Isaiah, Martyrdom of (a lost work incorporated in the

- Ascension* = i. 1, 2^a, 6^b-13^a; ii. 1-8, ii. 10-iii. 12; v. 1^c-14), pp. xii, xxxiii, xl-xlii, xliv.
- Isaiah, Martyrdom of, Oriental influences apparent in, pp. xlv-xlix.
- Vision of (an originally independent work incorporated in the *Ascension* = vi-xi. 40), pp. xii, xiii, xxxiii, xlii-xlv.
- Israel, iii. 7.
- Jålerjås, ii. 15.
- Jellinek, p. xxxv.
- Jerome referred to or quoted on iii. 10; xi. 34.
- Jerusalem, i. 9; ii. 4, 7; iii. 1, 4, 6, 10; xi. 18, 20.
- Jesus (ix. 5; x. 7, G¹).
- Joel, ii. 9, 15 (corrupt for Israel?), iv. 22; vi. 7.
- John of Anathoth, ii. 5.
- Jolowicz, p. xvii.
- Jonah, iv. 22.
- Josåb, i. 2, 6; ii. 9; vi. 1, 7, 16 (17; vii. 1 viii. 24, G¹).
- Joseph, the husband of the Virgin, xi. 2-4, 7, 10.
- the Just, iv. 22.
- Josephus quoted on ii. 14.
- Jubilees quoted on i. 8.
- Judah, iii. 7, 11.
- cities of, iii. 6.
- Judgement of the world, iv. 18; x. 12.
- Justin Martyr referred to or quoted, pp. xliv, xlvi, 41.
- Korah, iv. 21.
- Kozak, p. xxv.
- Langen, p. xxxv.
- Larionoff, p. xlvi.
- Laurence, pp. xvi, xvii, xxxiv.
- Leba Nasr (= Salmanassar), ii. 14.
- Lücke, pp. xxxiv. 28, 32, 63.
- Mai, pp. xviii, xxi, xxx.
- Malachi, iv. 22.
- Malchirá, i. 8.
- Manasseh, i. 1, 7-9, 11, 12; ii. 1, 2, 4, 5; iii. 1, 10, 11; v. 1, 4, 8, 15; xi. 41, 43.
- Marshall, 39.
- Mary the Virgin, xi. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13.
- Matanbúchús, ii. 4.
- Mêchêmbêchús, v. 3.
- Medes, iii. 2.
- Mercati, p. xix.
- Micah, iv. 22.
- Micaiah, ii. 9, 13, 16; vi. 7, 17 (vii. 1; viii. 24, G¹).
- Michael, iii. 16 (ix. 23, 29, 42 in S L²).
- Milchiras, v. 8 note.
- Mohl, p. xlvi.
- Monetá quoted, p. xi.
- Moses, iii. 8, 9.
- Movers-Kaulen, p. xxxiv.
- Nahum, iv. 22.
- Nazareth (xi. 17, G¹).
- Nero referred to, iv. 2.
- Neronic Myth, pp. lvii-lxi (see 'Antichrist Myth').
- Nitzsch, p. xxxiv.
- Obadiah, iv. 22.
- Only-begotten, the (vii. 37 G¹, viii. 7 in S, viii. 25 in S L²).
- Ophites, the, pp. xxxii, 63.
- Opus Imperfectum* referred to or quoted, pp. xl-xli, xliv, 8-9.
- Oracles, Sibylline quoted, pp. lix-lx, lxviii, lxxi, 7, 27.
- Origen referred to or quoted, pp. xii, xiii, xliv, xlvi-xlvii, 1, 17.
- Patriarchs, Testaments of the XII, quoted or referred to, pp. lvi, 7.
- Peter, Martyrdom of, referred to, iv. 3.

- Philo, quoted, 27.
 Popov, p. xxv.
 Prince of this world, i. 3.
 Prophets, Disappearance of the, iii. 27.
Proteuangelium Iacobi quoted or referred to, pp. xxiii, xxxii, xlii, 75, 76.
 Psalms of Solomon quoted, 33.
- Renan, p. xxxv.
 Resurrection, Doctrine of the, pp. 1-11.
 Robinson, Canon, pp. xxxvi, 3 (note).
 Ruler of this world, ii. 4.
- Samaria, ii. 13, 14; iii. 2.
 Sammael, i. 8, 11; ii. 1; iii. 13; v. 15, 16 (vii. 9, G¹), xi. 41.
 See note on p. 140.
 Samnas, i. 5; vi. 17.
 Satan, ii. 2, 7; vii. 9 (xi. 23, G¹), xi. 41, 43.
 Schmiedel, p. lxii.
 Schürer, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii, xl.
 Schwab, p. xlvi.
 Seth (ix. 28, G¹).
 Sheol, x. 8 (10) (xi. 19, G¹).
 Shepherds (= bishops ?), iii. 24.
 Sidon, v. 13.
 Sodom, iii. 10.
 Solomon, iv. 21.
 Son of Man, One like the, pp. xxiv, 1 (xi. 1 of S L²).
 Souls rescued from Hades, ix. 16.
 Spirit, the Holy, iii. 19, 26; vi. 6, 8, 10; viii. 18; x. 6; xi. 40.
 Stokes, p. xxxv.
- Suetonius referred to or quoted, pp. lvii, lviii, 27.
- Tabari, p. xlvi.
 Tacitus referred to or quoted, pp. lvii, lviii, lix.
 Talmud quoted on i. 8-12.
 Tazôn (= Gozan), iii. 2.
 Teaching of the Twelve, iii. 13, 21.
 Tebôn, ii. 14.
 Thomson, p. xxxv.
 Throne (= angel), vii. 14 (see note).
 Thrones = rewards of the righteous, vii. 22; viii. 26; ix. 10-13, 18, 24, 25; xi. 40.
 Tobia, ii. 5.
 Tribes, nine and a half, iii. 2.
 Trinity, peculiar doctrine of the, p. 1.
 Turner, pp. xix. 89.
 Twelve Disciples or Apostles, the, iii. 13, 14, 17, 21; iv. 3 (xi. 22, G¹).
 Tyre, v. 13.
- Valentinians, 63.
- Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, 6.
 World, king of this, iv. 2.
 — prince of this, i. 3.
 — ruler of this, ii. 4; x. 29.
- Years, three and a half, rule of Antichrist, iv. 12.
- Zadok, ii. 5.
 Zahn, pp. lix, 81.
 Zechariah, iv. 22.
 Zedekiah, ii. 12, 13, 16.
 Zeller, pp. xxxvi, lxx.
 Zephaniah, iv. 22.
 Zöckler, p. xxxv.
 Zohak, p. xlvi.

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

