THE LAST CHAPTERS OF ENOCH IN GREEK

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IN GREEK

EDITED BY

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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

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TO

SIR FREDERIC GEORGE KENYON

PREFACE

For the privilege of bringing together in one publication all that is known to exist in Greek of these last chapters of Enoch, I am indebted to the courtesy and generosity of Mr. A. Chester Beatty, the owner of the larger share of the leaves, and of Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, the editor of the Beatty biblical manuscripts. To Sir Frederic I also owe preliminary transcripts of the Beatty leaves, which he made amidst many other demands upon his time, and numerous corrections and restorations of the text. Another distinguished scholar, now deceased, the late Provost of Eton, Dr. Montague Rhodes James, contributed several valuable suggestions. It is an honor to be allowed to include them in this work.

My thanks are also due to the authorities of the British Museum, who enabled me to examine the papyrus under the most favorable conditions; particularly to Dr. H. Idris Bell, the Keeper of Manuscripts, who placed every facility of his department at my disposal, and to Mr. T. C. Skeat, who gave me the benefit of his excellent judgment upon many difficult points.

The Delegates of the Clarendon Press, through their Secretary, Dr. R. W. Chapman, have graciously allowed me to quote freely from Dr. R. H. Charles's translation of the Ethiopic version of Enoch.

Among my colleagues in the University of Michigan I owe most to Mr. H. C. Youtie, by whose expert scholarship and keen criticism almost every part of this work has profited. Professor William H. Worrell has kindly advised me about the treatment of several passages where knowledge of the Ethiopic language was necessary for the understanding of the textual situation, and Professor Leroy Waterman has helped with some questions that needed the judgment of a Hebrew scholar. Professors H. A. Sanders and J. G. Winter have given me the benefit of their experience in advice about various matters. The index of Greek words is the work of Mr. O. M. Pearl. It would be ungrateful

to pass without mention the valuable service of Mrs. F. W. Gravit, who performed with exemplary care the tedious task of typing a difficult manuscript, and also read the proofs.

The general editors of this series have helped me with wise advice; and I am under a special obligation to Mrs. Lake for undertaking to solve some vexing typographical problems.

CAMPBELL BONNER

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The story of the Book of Enoch has been told by several learned editors, and there is no need, in the present work, of more than a brief outline of the principal facts.[1] During the early centuries of the Christian era it was often mentioned and even cited as a part of the Holy Scriptures; later it was excluded from the canon and lost. No part of the original writings, Hebrew or Aramaic, which entered into the composite work, has survived in the original language. The Greek version, in which the early church read Enoch, also disappeared, and was known until recently only through a few quotations in the Byzantine chronicler George the Syncellus. Modern knowledge of the work has been derived from the Ethiopic version, which was made from the Greek, probably at a time when all Christendom except Egypt had dropped Enoch from the list of sacred writings. Three manuscripts of the Ethiopic Enoch were brought from Abyssinia in 1773 by the traveller James Bruce, and from one of them, in 1838, the first edition was made by Archbishop Laurence, who had published a translation in 1821.

An important addition to our scanty knowledge of the Greek version was made in 1892 when Bouriant published the fragments of a manuscript discovered in a tomb at Akhmim some years before (during the winter of 1886–1887) by the French Archaeological Mission. This manuscript, which contains also parts of the Gospel and the Apocalypse of Peter, was thought at the time of its publication to be of the eighth century, but is now assigned to the sixth.[2] Of Enoch it has preserved chapters

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[1] See the translations of Flemming-Radermacher, *Einleitung*, 3–14; of Martin, Introd. liii-lxii; and of Charles (1912), Introd. ix-xxi.

[2] Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p. 119; Professor H. A. Sanders thinks it may have been written at the end of the fifth century.

1–32 with some omissions; a small portion, 20 and part of 21, is given in two versions.[1]

The manuscript which is published below now gives us a substantial portion of the end of the Book of Enoch, chapters 97, 6–104 and 106–107. Neither 105 nor 108 was ever a part of this text; the doubts of editors of the Ethiopic version regarding the genuineness of these chapters prove to have been justified.

The history of these last ten chapters is as follows. Early in the year 1930 the University of Michigan acquired six leaves of a papyrus codex, two of which were soon identified as belonging to the Book of Enoch. The other four were recognized as a Christian text, and were tentatively described as a part of a homily on the Passion of Christ. In May, 1930, I reported my identification of the leaves of Enoch to Dr. H. I. Bell, from whom I had shortly before learned of the great treasure of biblical papyri which had been acquired by Mr. A. Chester Beatty. It was evident that the University of Michigan papyri were a part of the same find, but at that time no part of Enoch had been recognized among the Beatty manuscripts. However, in October, 1931, Sir Frederic Kenyon, who had seen the Michigan leaves in Ann Arbor a year before, wrote me that he had found some leaves of Enoch in a part of the Beatty collection upon which he had not previously worked. Further correspondence and comparison of photographs made it abundantly clear that the Beatty and the Michigan leaves of Enoch belonged to the same manuscript, of which up to this time fourteen leaves are known. Of these the closing chapters of Enoch occupy five entire leaves and the first page and half of the second page of a sixth. The Christian homily occupies the lower half-page of the sixth leaf and all the remaining eight. The leaves are divided between the two collections as follows: in the Beatty collection there are four leaves of Enoch, including the one containing the end of that work and the beginning of the homily, and four leaves of the homily; in the University of Michigan Library, two leaves

[1] For fuller details concerning the Ethiopic text and the Akhmim manuscript, see the introductions to the editions of Charles and Flemming-Radermacher.

of Enoch and four of the homily.[1]   In only three cases are two consecutive leaves found in the same collection, a circumstance which suggests that the finders divided this manuscript, leaf by leaf, on the spot.   It is possible that other leaves of this manuscript are held by some one of the finders or by an unknown purchaser—perhaps earlier leaves of Enoch or the end of the homily, which is incomplete.

In the case of a manuscript so inconveniently divided some co-operation between the holders was indispensable for any plan of publication; and the cordial relations already existing made it easy to arrive at a satisfactory understanding.   The University had previously ceded to Mr. Beatty certain lots of papyri belonging to manuscripts of which he held by far the larger share; and he and the general editor, Sir Frederic Kenyon, have very courteously allowed me the privilege of editing the manuscript containing Enoch and the Christian homily, although our share is the smaller.

By way of forwarding this arrangement, Sir Frederic Kenyon generously provided me with transcripts of the Beatty leaves of Enoch, so carefully executed as to leave no further work of deciphering to be done except here and there upon the lacerated margins.   He also sent me, in June, 1935, photographs of all the leaves, both those of Enoch and those of the Christian homily. By their aid I was able definitely to identify the latter as the homily on the Passion by Melito, bishop of Sardis in the time of Marcus Aurelius; a discovery which I reported in the following September to the Sixth Congress of the History of Religions in Brussels.[2]   Through the mediation of the same scholar I was enabled to examine the original manuscript in the British Museum in August, 1935, satisfying myself about the reading of some difficult passages of Enoch, and transcribing the leaves of Melito's homily, for some of which the photographs proved an inadequate aid because of serious injuries to the surface of the papyrus.   After some consideration it has been decided to reserve the text of Melito for a separate publication, since it presents problems of a different character and will interest a

[1] See the table, p. 7.   [2] *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, p. 107.

somewhat different group of readers; but in describing the manuscript it is necessary to take into account the part containing Melito as well as the leaves of Enoch.

The manuscript in its present condition consists of fourteen leaves of good but not fine papyrus. The lower edge of all the leaves has been damaged, with the consequent loss of the lower margin and two or more lines of text. Some pages at the beginning and end have lost the upper margin also, and in the case of two leaves, there has probably been a loss of at least one line at the top. In the majority, however, the upper margin has been but slightly injured. The outer margins of some of the leaves are almost perfectly preserved, and in general they are much less injured than the inner. In fact, aside from the losses at the bottom, most of the harm has been suffered by the upper third and the lower third of the inner margin and the adjacent text. There are numerous worm-holes, but the damage due to them is slight. The surface of the page believed to be 37 (according to the original numbering) has been badly rubbed, so that the upper left-hand quarter of the text is in poor condition. Joins are visible in the outer margins of two of the Michigan leaves, showing that the papyrus required for the sheets of the book was cut from a roll,[1] perhaps with some attention to the spacing of these joins, since none runs through the text.

The leaves were numbered in the upper margin by a hand different from that which wrote the text; the letter-numerals are cursive and the ink is thinner and lighter. Of the six leaves belonging to Enoch four have the numerals, well preserved and clearly legible, and the position of the other two is determined by comparison with the Ethiopic translation. Enoch is thus found to occupy pages 15–26 except for the latter half of the last page, where the homily begins.

Of the leaves of the homily, three have the numerals intact on one or both sides, those containing pages 27–28, 29–30, and 35–36. Pages 33–34 are also certain because the λ is preserved

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[1] This seems to have been a common practice in the fourth century; see Ibscher in C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten* (*Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1933, p. 84); also Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern²*, p. 129. I owe these references to H. C. Youtie.

on page 33 and the δ on page 34. The leaf believed to be 39–40 has lost the λθ, and although μ is plain, the papyrus has been broken away immediately after it in such a way that one cannot be quite sure that μ stood alone. The leaf placed as 31–32 has on page 32 λ followed by an illegible letter. The other two, believed to be 37–38 and 41–42, have lost their numerals entirely. Since there is no other Greek text of this homily, the placing of the uncertain leaves required considerable care; but the connection of ideas in the text seems to confirm the order that I have adopted. Valuable aid was also derived from a Syriac fragment attributed to Melito (Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum*, Vol. IX, p. 421, fr. 16), which proves to be a series of excerpts from our homily. Though the excerptor omitted long passages of the context, the order of the parts selected corresponds to the arrangement of our leaves which on internal grounds had appeared to be the natural one.

Following these indications, we may construct a table illustrating the relations of the leaves. The side of the papyrus which has the fibers running vertically is indicated by V, that with horizontal fibers by H. B indicates that the leaf belongs to the Beatty Collection, M represents the University of Michigan. In the Beatty Collection each leaf has its own number. In the University of Michigan Library, the two Enoch leaves bear the number 5552, the four of Melito, 5553.

Leaf 1	Pages 15–16	H-V	B	100
2	17–18	V-H	B	170
3	19–20	V-H	M	5552
4	21–22	V-H	B	169
5	23–24	V-H	M	5552
6	25–26	V-H	B	167
7	27–28	V-H	M	5553
8	29–30	H-V	B	168
9	31–32	H-V	M	5553
10	33–34	H-V	M	5553
11	35–36	H-V	B	171
12	37–38	H-V	B	173
13	39–40	H-V	M	5553
14	41–42	H-V	B	172

Kenyon pointed out that since leaves 2–13 appear to constitute a single twelve-leaf quire, the first leaf, pages 15–16, on which H precedes V, must have been the last of a quire of eight leaves, which began the book; unless a larger quire, say of ten leaves, was used, and the first four pages left blank (or used in part for a title or ornaments). It may also be suggested that the numerals may have been written, not immediately upon the making of the book, but after some leaves had been lost. A more serious difficulty appears in the case of leaf 14. This should begin a new quire, and V should have preceded H; but the reverse is true. Yet there can be little doubt that pages 41–42 are in their proper relation to the rest. It is true that the exact connection of thought between one leaf and the next is not always obvious, since all the pages have lost a few lines at the bottom. But the connection between 40 and 41 is fairly satisfactory, and it is certain that the page which I have numbered 41 really precedes 42. Not only is the sequence of the contents natural, but the outline of the leaves, with the erosion of the margins taken into consideration, shows that page 41 lay next to page 40 as indicated in the table. We can only suppose that the first leaf of the quire beginning after leaf 13 was laid down, not as usual with the V side, but with the H side underneath. Such irregularities are not unknown, as Schubart has shown (*Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*[2], p. 130).

There are now no conjugate leaves; but a suspicious smoothness of the inner margin of certain leaves near the middle of the quire makes it very probable that some sheets which were in one piece at the time of the discovery were cut apart by the finders in order to facilitate division. This is particularly noticeable in the middle sheet of the quire, now divided into leaves 7 and 8. The same thing seems to have been done with the Beatty manuscript of the Epistles of Paul; cf. Sanders, *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 7.

As usual with fragmentary codices, the best preserved leaves are those in or near the middle of the quire, and from them we get a fairly accurate idea of the size of the sheets in their original state. Page 24 may be taken as typical. It is now 23.8 cm. high and 13.5 wide; the upper margin, which is well preserved,

is 2 cm.; and the left-hand or outer margin is even broader, 2.2 to 2.4 cm. But the inner margin is surprisingly narrow; in fact, measurement of leaves which must have formed part of one sheet shows that the space allowed between the columns of writing was not more, sometimes even less, than that occupied by the outer margins. Page 24 has lost no more than two lines, estimated by retranslating the Ethiopic into Greek. Allowing for them and for a lower margin of the same depth as the upper, the original height of the sheet would be almost exactly 27 cm. Its width was about the same, possibly a few millimetres more. Thus the book when closed would have been tall in proportion to its width, like the Michigan Hermas and other papyrus codices.[1]

The columns of writing appear to have been about 23 cm. high, and in width the average is 11 cm. or a little less. The right-hand margins are often uneven, since the scribe encroaches upon them at will, sometimes lessening the size of the letters and crowding them together. The number of lines on a page seems to have varied from 41 to 46; pages 21–25, where we can be fairly sure about the actual length, run from 44 to 46, but 41 would have sufficed for pages 17 and 18. Page 15 is exceptional; only 34 lines are preserved and three would be enough to bridge the gap between the bottom of this page and the top of the next. The leaf has suffered damage at the top also, but it can scarcely have lost more than two lines there. Its original length I should place at 39 lines. The number of letters in the lines varies rather widely, from 26 to 35; there are many lines of 28, 30 and 32 letters.

The size of the pages enables us to draw some conclusions about the original extent of the book. In the first place it is most unlikely that it ever contained the entire group of writings known as the Book of Enoch, which would have made a very large codex. Even if the page numbering is not original, we have no reason to believe that the numerals were added after a large codex had been reduced to a small fraction of its former bulk. Further, the homily of Melito is more likely to have been included in a book of selections or of short works than to have

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[1] See the paragraph on tall codices in Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, pp. 6–7.

been added to a complete copy of Enoch. Assuming, then, that the numerals give us a true indication of the part lost at the beginning, we can compare the contents of our manuscript with the space occupied by the corresponding Ethiopic text in an edition without footnotes, such as Dillmann's. This calculation shows that if the first fourteen pages contained only Enoch, page 1 must have begun in the long chapter 89, probably about verse 51. That is an unlikely point, being near the middle of a major division; and our papyrus would have needed several more leaves to carry the text back to chapter 83, where that division begins. It is more likely that our selection from Enoch began with Charles's Section V, chapter 91. But in that case there would have been room for some other short writing before the text of Enoch began.

Along with the Beatty leaves there are three noteworthy fragments that belong to the same manuscript. One is quite small, containing a few words from three lines in the middle of a column. The recognizable words might belong either to Enoch or to Melito; the fact that a herring-bone pattern is drawn under the bottom line, as if to indicate the end of a work, favors Melito, since the close of Enoch, with its ornamented subscription, is preserved. But, as we have seen, it is probable that the codex contained still other material, and the closing words just mentioned may belong to some third work. In fact, the existence of a third work in this manuscript is indicated by the other two fragments, which are somewhat larger, one with eighteen, the other with twelve incomplete lines, in each case from the middle of a column. The text on the recto of the larger one contains reminiscences of Ps. vi. 1, while the verso imitates or paraphrases several verses of Ezek. xxxiv. The character of the smaller fragment is not certain, but the word ἀνέβλεψα suggests a vision. The style of these fragments is not that of Melito, and no passages corresponding to them have been found in the Ethiopic Enoch. They appear to belong to some other prophetic or apocalyptic writing which was also a part of the manuscript. It has seemed best to withhold them from publication for the present in the hope that the texts may be identified, or at least that their literary relations may be more definitely established.

There is a considerable number of very small fragments containing only a few letters each which belong to various manuscripts of the Beatty collection; of these, in the time at my disposal, I could make only a hasty search. With Sir Frederic Kenyon's assistance, I picked out eight which appeared to belong to the Enoch-Melito codex, but since not one of them supplies any part of the lost margins of the extant leaves, they are negligible for the purpose of this edition. One deserves mention for a special reason, and I transcribe it.

Recto	Verso
]ηρα[	]αενω̄χ̄'γρα[
]ησκ[	].εργωνκαισ[
].ει[	

The interest of this fragment lies in the occurrence on the verso of the name Enoch in connection with what must be an inflectional form or a derivative of γράφω. Since our manuscript probably never contained more of the Book of Enoch than the concluding section (chapter 91 to the end, without 105 and 108) the places to which the fragment could be assigned are few. The name of Enoch occurs in chapters 106–107, but they are preserved except for brief gaps into which this piece does not fit. The other occurrences of it are in chapters 91–93; and for the name Enoch in conjunction with the idea of writing, chapter 92, 1, "The book written by Enoch," etc., would seem to be the most likely place. But ἔργων corresponds to nothing in the Ethiopic version of that passage, and even if we allow for considerable differences between the Greek text and the Ethiopic version, it is impossible to place the fragment there with any confidence. The other passages where the name occurs (91, 3; 93, 1 and 3) are no better. Still, it is in the introductory verses, such as 92, 1 and 93, 1, that discrepancies between the Greek and the Ethiopic tradition are most likely to occur. The most that can be said is that if the fragment does belong somewhere in chapters 91–93, it slightly enhances the probability that other leaves—perhaps those covering 91 to 97, 6, where our text begins —may exist and may be produced in time.

The suggestion that the part taken from Enoch in this manuscript began with chapter 91 is related to another question, the name of the work.   Dr. Charles has shown[1] that it was referred to by various titles; and the variety is undoubtedly accounted for, at least in part, by the different character and different dates of the several writings that compose it.   The part contained in our manuscript is called *The Letter of Enoch* in the subscription (p. 12 of the manuscript) and the writer refers to "this letter" (where the Ethiopic has "book") in chapter 100, 6.   This title is not appropriate for the whole Book of Enoch, and certainly does not suit the visions of Section IV (chapters 83–90).   But it is not unsuitable as applied to Section V, chapters 91 ff.; compare the opening words of chapter 92, which Charles considers to have been originally the beginning of this division of the book: "The book written by Enoch ... for all my children who dwell on earth."

PALAEOGRAPHY, PUNCTUATION, ABBREVIATIONS

The whole manuscript of Enoch and Melito was written by one scribe; the few corrections, which are confined to single letters or syllables, were made by the first hand.   The ink is a good black, and the strokes are rather thick, as if made with a coarse pen.   Although sufficiently clear, the slightly sloping uncial hand is somewhat irregular and crude, certainly not the work of an accomplished scribe.   The base line is not always carefully followed and there is much variation in the size and spacing of the letters.   As to their forms, the following points may be noted.   Alpha is angular; the cross-stroke is occasionally neglected, or very slightly indicated, so that the letter is not easily distinguished from lambda.   Epsilon leans forward; the middle stroke projects beyond the top.   Mu is usually quite broad, and the middle bay is deep.   Xi is made with two strokes, occasionally with three.   Omicron varies considerably; in a few places it is so small as to be a mere dot; usually it is slightly smaller than the rest of the letters, but sometimes quite up to their scale.   It is notably large only when it begins a line and

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[1] *The Book of Enoch* (1912), Introd. p. xii.

paragraph. The loop of rho is small; sometimes it is no more than a thickening of the top, and the letter could be read as iota, except that iota extends only slightly if at all below the base-line. Sigma is small and sometimes leans over almost to the base-line. The oval of phi is narrow, angular at the ends, and is often sharp-pointed. The cross-stroke of psi is usually straight, not curved or inclined upwards. Omega varies from the shallow, almost flat-bottomed form common in the third century, to a deeper form with high middle stroke and strongly recurved ends.

The hand may be confidently assigned to the fourth century. It bears a certain general resemblance to P. London 46, a magical codex which is also of that century, although the scribe of the magical book uses a more irregular hand with numerous abbreviations, and some cursive forms and ligatures. The Enoch papyrus shows few cursive tendencies, and the letters are not usually connected. The principal exception is epsilon, which is often connected with a following iota or tau, and occasionally with the top-stroke of xi.[1]

Of the theological abbreviations, $\overline{κς}$, $\overline{κυ}$, $\overline{κω}$, $\overline{κν}$ occur, also $\overline{πρς}$ in two passages (p. 11, 23, p. 12, 14), in neither of which is the reference to God. θεός was apparently not abbreviated, if υψισ[του θε]ου is rightly read at p. 3, 28. $\overline{πνα}$ occurs for πνεύματα, p. 8, 8, but seems more naturally taken as singular at p. 4, 28, though there the Ethiopic employs a plural; in this case $\overline{πνα}$ refers to a spirit or spirits of error, which together with the use of $\overline{πρς}$ for human fatherhood indicates a lax use of the theological abbreviations. πνεύμασι is written in full, p. 11, 28. Aside from these cases the only other abbreviation is the stroke above a vowel at the end of a line to indicate final nu.

Marks of punctuation occur sparingly; I have noted only two examples of the high point (p. 6, 6; 10, 20). Pauses are several times indicated by a vacant space, varying in width from two to six letters. In some cases where the pause occurs about the

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[1] From this point on the text will be cited by the numbers of the pages actually preserved, without reference to their original numbering, and by the lines of the pages, wherever any verbal or palaeographical peculiarity is mentioned, and in general for the more minute references; otherwise by the chapters and verses.

middle of the line, the whole of the remainder is left blank. There is one instance (p. 6, 19) in which a single letter-space seems to have been left intentionally after a question, but there is no mark. In some denunciatory paragraphs where a line begins with οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, the omicron is written very large and thrust out one space into the margin.

The scribe has an odd mannerism of leaving three or four letter-spaces vacant before the word χαίρειν in the clause οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν χαίρειν. One might suppose at first glance that it was a naive way to indicate impressive emphasis, but he leaves no space in the phrase οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἀναπαῦσαι; compare p. 4, 24 with p. 4, 29. The explanation is simple. It was a common practice of letter-writers to separate the words πλεῖστα χαίρειν or other formulas containing the word χαίρειν by wide spaces; see for example Michigan Papyri III, Nos. 214, 217. Our scribe was accustomed to writing private letters and carried his habit over when copying a religious text.

At the end of the work there is a high point followed by a paragraph sign, a mark which occurs also in Melito's homily. The subscription 'Επιστολὴ 'Ενώχ is partly framed by double strokes above and below some of the letters. Below the subscription there is a line with short diagonal strokes making a sort of herring-bone pattern, and on each side an ornament suggesting a hanging lamp made of horizontal strokes with two irregular curves at the top and one below.

Although vowels are several times elided, the apostrophe is used only once to indicate elision (p. 2, 8). But it is used often after κ or γ preceding another consonant, and also in Hebrew names ending in consonants which do not stand in final position in Greek; so Μαθουσάλεκ', Λάμεχ', 'Ιάρεδ'. It may be noted that the scribe uses for these purposes not only a mark similar to the modern apostrophe, but the high point as well. There is an anomalous instance, παγι·δει, dative of παγίς (p. 8, 21), which suggests that the point served to indicate an accented syllable; but the scribe uses no accents elsewhere and this case is probably due to some misunderstanding.

Neither breathings nor instances of iota adscript occur. The diaeresis is generally but not always placed over initial ι and υ.

The ν movable is almost always used before both vowels and consonants. It is omitted before vowels twice (p. 1, 21, p. 11, 29), and before a consonant once (p. 4, 5). οὔτω, without the final sigma, stands before a vowel in the only passage where the word occurs (p. 1, 30).

SPELLING AND GRAMMATICAL FORMS

The spelling of the papyrus is decidedly bad, the errors being of much the same sort as those found in the Akhmim manuscript of chapters 1–32. Most of them are due to the tendency of the later speech to reduce to a single sound two or more vowels or diphthongs which the earlier language distinguished and represented by different symbols. The commonest error is the writing of αι for ε, which occurs about fifty times; ε is written for αι about one-fourth as often. Very common also is ει for ι, both short and long; ι for ει occurs about half as often. The scribe felt no difference between ο and ω; the erroneous writing of one for the other is about equally divided between the two possibilities. Much less common errors are ι for ε, p. 8, 31 (ειδιναι); ε for ι, p. 5, 18 (κορεων for κόριον); ε for η, p. 7, 19 (απεντηθη); η for ε, p. 6, 18 (ποιήσητε); and α for ο, p. 7, 36 (αποια for ὁποία). The error ὑμᾶς for ἡμᾶς (p. 9, 7) does not necessarily represent a confusion of sound between υ and η.

The diphthong οι is written for υ once (p. 4, 1) and for ου once (p. 4, 25). The latter case shows that, in order to be confused with οι, ου must have approached the sound of υ; cf. Mayser I, p. 118. υ appears once for οι (p. 3, 23). ου is written for ω in πλανουνων (for πλανώντων, p. 4, 19), and ω for ου in ομοιως (for ὁμοίους, p. 11, 28). The same confusion, rather than laxity in syntax, probably accounts for the apparent interchange of the third person plural of future indicatives and aorist subjunctives in sigma, as on p. 10, 8 and 14.

Errors in the use of consonants are less common. There are seven cases in which a single λ, ρ, or σ does duty for the doubled letter. θ is written for τ in λαθρευ[οντες (p. 4, 3), τ for δ, τοτε for τόδε (p. 12, 5), ζ for σ in ηλπιζαμεν (p. 8, 32). γ disappears between vowels in κραυη for κραυγή (p. 9, 19), and is erroneously

developed in place of ι in αγωνιαν (p. 3, 20); γ is written for κ in υποδιγνvω (p. 9, 35).

The scribe appears to have found a special difficulty in apprehending by ear or in pronouncing to himself certain groups of consecutive consonants, to judge by such errors as the omission of the ρ of διαστρέφοντες (p. 3, 20) and the second ρ of ὅρθρων (p. 5, 5) and the θ of ἐχθροί (p. 8, 38); on the other hand he inserts ρ after γ in γαστρί (p. 3, 33).   He omits the π of ὑπνώσουσιν (p. 5, 20) and the τ of συνταχθέν (p. 7, 11) and πλανώντων (p. 4, 19).

Aspiration is neglected in οὐκ εὑρήκαμεν (p. 8, 29), and transposed in καθεστῶ|των for κατεσθόν|των (p. 9, 6).   Elision is neglected in ἀπὸ ὑμῶν (p. 1, 17), where the fact that the two words are separated by a line-ending may explain the irregularity.

Vulgar forms of inflection are not numerous; γυναῖκαν (p. 10, 18 and 22), ἀπεθάνοσαν (p. 7, 25 and 28, p. 8, 16), εἴδοσαν (p. 8, 15).   But ἀπόθανον for ἀπέθανον occurs also (p. 7, 38), a solitary instance of the omission of the syllabic augment.   An irregular future of αἱρέω appears in ἀναφελεῖ (p. 1, 4), and a quite unknown future middle of συλλαμβάνω (συλλαβήσεται, p. 9, 21).   Some by-form of συνταράσσω such as συνθράσσω or συντράξω (?) seems to underlie the corrupt reading of p. 7, 10.   Such forms as κατέσθω for κατεσθίω (p. 9, 6 and 24), ἐσήμανα and σήμανον (p. 11, 22, p. 12, 10), and πεῖν (a doubtful reading in p. 7, 32) are well established in the Koine.

The future middle of κομίζω appears in the Attic-Ionic form instead of the Hellenistic form with σ (p. 5, 30).

In the matter of consonant assimilation the scribe's practice is not uniform.   Before a guttural, ν is assimilated only at p. 8, 6. It stands unchanged before π in συνπασαν (p. 7, 9), but we find εμμεσο for ἐν μέσῳ (p. 1, 6).   Before σ, ν is dropped in συστρα-φήσονται (p. 5, 13), retained without assimilation in συνσειωμενοι for συσσειόμενοι (p. 7, 7); but the division of the word after συν, which stands at the end of a line, may account for the latter instance.   Before λ, ν is assimilated in συλλαβήσεται (p. 9, 21).

The division of words at the end of lines is regular except that when σ stands before a consonant it is several times retained with

the preceding vowel rather than carried over to the following consonant, as in προέχεσ|θε (p. 3, 23; other examples on p. 7, 28, 30 and 36); but ἐπι|[στρέψου]σιν (p. 3, 35) and ἀκου|σθήσεται (p. 9, 19).

In addition to the numerous irregularities in spelling and grammar, which cause an editor little trouble, almost every page exhibits errors of a more serious sort which show that the scribe was often drowsy or inattentive, and suggest that he understood his text imperfectly. Letters and even syllables are often omitted, as in σαρκ⟨ιν⟩ους (p. 11, 29), ⟨κα⟩τάξουσιν (p. 8, 19), and there are many other blunders impossible to classify or explain. In several passages the papyrus presents a hopelessly corrupt reading, and reconstruction of the text is difficult; see the notes for full discussion of these problems. It is worthy of remark that while orthographic errors are very numerous in the part of the manuscript occupied by Melito's homily, there are no examples of meaningless corruptions such as several that stand in the text of Enoch, e.g. τουμωθεν (p. 7, 20), κανκημ[(p. 7, 34), ημαθν[(p. 8, 38). It would seem likely, therefore, that with all his slovenliness our scribe is not responsible for the worst corruptions in the text of Enoch; it is fairly certain that the manuscript from which he copied was itself corrupt or else almost illegible in some places.

Regarding that manuscript one or two small points of information can be gathered from the character of the errors in our papyrus. Like ours, the source evidently had examples of ρ written with so small a loop that it was liable to be confused with ι; compare αιμα for ἄρμα (p. 5, 9), βραζομενων for βιαζομένων (p. 9, 23). The reading ενκεκ·λαμμενα (p. 8, 4) indicates that the omicron of the original was sometimes so small as to be mistaken for a mere dot or point, which is sometimes the case in our papyrus. ν and η were sometimes confused, as in κα]ταβοσιη for καταβῶσιν (p. 6, 7).

At p. 3, 34 there is a curious reading which probably shows that the writer was familiar with Coptic. He wrote ριτι[ ] where ριψ[ουσιν] is required. The psi made with a straight cross stroke is identical in form with the Coptic ϯ (ti), and in fact the Copts used not only their special symbol ϯ, but also ΤΙ to indicate the

ti sound. Our scribe seems, quite unconsciously, to have substituted the Coptic sound suggested to him by the form of the Greek psi for the actual letter which stood in his copy.

On the whole, I incline to think that the immediate source of our papyrus was a not much older manuscript, probably of the third century.

SYNTAX, STYLE AND VOCABULARY

A proper study of the syntactic, stylistic and verbal peculiarities of the Greek Enoch would necessarily take into consideration the chapters extant at the beginning of the book (1–32) as well as those published here, and this is not the place for an exhaustive investigation. Radermacher has listed the principal points of interest to grammarians in the Greek text of chapters 1–32 in a brief appendix (pp. 149–151) following the register of Greek words in the Flemming-Radermacher translation. In the following paragraphs I call attention to several peculiar features of chapters 96–107; others not entered here may be studied with the aid of the notes and the Index of Greek Words, which is intended to supplement this discussion.

Under the head of modal phenomena there is a case of ὄφελον with subjunctive to express a wish relating to the future (p. 10, 6–9). The future indicative is once used in a clause of fear (p. 10, 41). οὐ μή is found about equally often with the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive (see Index, μή). μέχρις οὗ occurs with the aorist infinitive in a clause referring to the future (p. 5, 6), but ἕως οὗ with subjunctive in a parallel construction a few lines farther on (p. 5, 19). In a prohibition introduced by μή we find present and aorist imperatives and aorist subjunctives in coördinate clauses (p. 9, 38–41).

Infinitives of purpose occur twice (p. 5, 15, 32) and there are three epexegetical infinitives (p. 4, 16; p. 5, 3; p. 10, 16). An infinitive with τοῦ is used after φοβοῦμαι (p. 6, 14).

The translator shows the same lack of sensitiveness to distinction of tenses which marks the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament, as in τεθέαμαι καὶ ἐσήμανα (p. 11, 22) and in τότε τεθέαμαι after a series of aorists (p. 12, 3). Aorists and

perfects are mixed in the indicative (p. 8, 27–30), presents and aorists in the infinitive (p. 7, 33–34) and in the subjunctive (p. 10, 6–9).

A periphrastic future with ἔσομαι and present participle occurs in two passages (p. 6, 21; p. 7, 7–8).

In the clause ἐὰν ἀποστείληται τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (p. 6, 19) there is an instance of the transitive middle of ἀποστέλλω, which appears to be without parallel. The circumstance that the verb acts upon that which belongs to the subject might seem to class it as an indirect reflexive middle; but the use may be simply an example of imperfect discrimination between the active and middle voices.

The use of the prepositions is best studied with the aid of the index; but the following points are worthy of remark. While μετά occurs several times, σύν appears in the papyrus only in compounds; but there is one instance of the preposition in the earlier part of the Greek text (chapter 9, 7). I have restored παρά in a lost margin (p. 1, 27) to go with a dative, but there is no other instance either in the Akhmim manuscript or the final chapters. The not very common use of ἐπί with dative to express cause occurs three times (p. 5, 37–38; p. 7, 26). Attention may also be called to the phrases ἐπ' ἀληθείας (p. 10, 7, 9) and ἐπὶ μιᾶς (p. 4, 13; see note). After πρός the form ἐμέ is used three times (p. 11, 1, 6, 17); but [πρός] με seems to have been written once (p. 11, 4).

Forms of πᾶς followed by a negative with the verb occur in two passages where classical Greek would have used οὐδείς (p. 4, 7; p. 7, 37).

διότι is used once as a direct interrogative (p. 3, 1).

There are some peculiar arrangements of conjunctions, such as εἰκόνα[ς ἀργυ]ρᾶς καὶ χρυσᾶς, ξυλίνας τε [καὶ λιθίνας] (p. 4, 1–2), and φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ (p. 9, 36). It may be that Hebrew parallelism accounts for them.

Although opinions may differ about individual examples, there are several instances of αὐτός in the nominative case with a certain emphasis, but also with an approach to the demonstrative character which this pronoun has in Modern Greek; cf. p. 3, 11; p. 6, 35; p. 7, 27; p. 10, 14; p. 11, 38.

As might be expected, the Greek version of Enoch exhibits many of the irregularities in the use and the omission of the article which characterize the Greek of the LXX and the N.T. There are examples of the tendency, mentioned by Thackeray (*Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, p. 24), "where a genitive is dependent on another noun, to use the article with both or with neither." Thus we find φρονίμων λόγους (p. 4, 15), ἐν ὁδοῖς δικαιοσύνης (p. 4, 17), εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπωλείας (p. 2, 30), εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως (p. 2, 33; cf. 5, 14), ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνάγκης (p. 5, 29), but ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως (p. 9, 24–25). Yet there are several cases which do not conform to this rule, such as εἰς [χεῖρας τ]ῶν δικαίων (p. 3, 3), ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ τῆς καρδίας (p. 4, 8), ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ μεγάλου (p. 8, 9), τὸν λόγον κυρίου (p. 11, 24). Another sort of variation in the use or omission of the article is exemplified in the prophecy on p. 5, 7, where we read διαπορεύσεται ἵππος, but in the parallel construction two lines below, τὸ ἅρμα . . . καταβήσεται; and there is a similar inconsistency in the long ἐάν clause beginning on p. 6, 7.

The verb λαεργεῖν, "to work in stone," "make of stone" (p. 4, 12) does not appear in the lexicons, nor does ἀναφαιρεῖν (p. 1, 4). προέχομαι (p. 3, 23) is used in a sense which the lexicons do not record, "offer" (of a petition); nor do they attest κόριον (p. 5, 18) in the sense of "the pupil of the eye," though κόρη is well known in this meaning.

THE TEXT

Since the Beatty-Michigan papyrus is the sole Greek text of the last chapters of Enoch, its errors and defects must be corrected chiefly by the use of the Ethiopic version, the unique Latin fragment being a brief and unsatisfactory abridgment of a single chapter (106). This situation presents difficulties which must be faced frankly. Obviously the reconstruction of the Greek text in its corrupt portions could be confidently attempted only by a scholar who had an equal command of both Greek and Ethiopic. I know nothing of Ethiopic, and little of any Semitic language. How large this deficiency may bulk in the eyes of an Orientalist is shown by Dr. R. H. Charles's query about Radermacher's edition of the Greek text of the opening chapters: "How

is a purely classical scholar to edit a Greek text which is Greek in vocabulary, but largely Semitic in idiom?"

There can be no satisfactory answer to that question. But many new texts would wait a long time if their owners or custodians were obliged to defer publication until all the desirable qualifications were found combined in the person of one editor. Even if this papyrus text of Enoch could be placed in the hands of an Orientalist well trained in Greek, it is not certain that the ordinary discipline of classical and biblical Greek would serve his purpose. Not to mention the experience in papyrology necessary for determining the reading of damaged passages, a late papyrus manuscript is likely to present peculiar problems concerned with the behavior of the language as transmitted by scribes who spoke and often wrote a vulgar form of Greek. Further, expert knowledge of the Semitic languages sets its own particular pitfalls in the path of an editor of a Greek text derived from a Semitic language; see, for example, the natural but mistaken conclusion about the text of Chapter 101, 4 which Halévy (followed by all later editors) reached by comparing the Ethiopic with the supposed Hebrew original.

I have thought it proper to proceed with the undertaking, making full acknowledgment of the above-mentioned deficiency, and taking what precautions I could against errors. Fortunately there are good translations of the Ethiopic available, and a careful comparison of them rarely leaves the meaning of a passage in doubt, unless there is reason to suspect corruption in either the Ethiopic manuscripts or the Greek papyrus or in both traditions. Naturally I have made most use of the translation of Charles, which, by the kind permission of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, I quote freely, and usually without specific acknowledgment in the individual passages. Sometimes the legitimate freedom of which Charles availed himself for literary reasons leaves some minor point in doubt; in such cases I have substituted a more literal phrasing suggested by the renderings of Flemming and Martin. I have made less use of Beer's translation, citing it chiefly when opinion is divided.

After careful study of these translations into western languages there remained a considerable number of passages where I was

in doubt whether a rendering was close or free, whether an Ethiopic word could convey a shade of meaning not brought out by the translators, or, in a few instances, whether a reading passed without notice by the translators might not bear a significant relation to the Greek text. Here I must make grateful mention of the help that I have received from Professor W. H. Worrell, who has very kindly examined the doubtful passages at my request and given me the benefit of his opinion. Occasionally it has not been found convenient to make special acknowledgment of his aid *ad locum*, as in cases where he merely returned an affirmative or negative answer to some question of mine. But as a rule I have introduced his name in parentheses by way of acknowledging his assistance. He should not be held responsible for any statement about the Ethiopic text except those so marked, nor for any erroneous inferences that I may have drawn from information supplied by him.

Many of the readings of the Ethiopic manuscripts are of no interest to an editor of the Greek text. I have cited more of them than necessary, in the belief that they would help the reader to form an idea of the character of the translation as compared with the Greek source; and it will be manifest that, while faithful in intent, it has many faults, omitting here, expanding there, and in general committing numerous errors. Yet there are not a few places in which it preserves a reading better than that of the Greek papyrus. Another reason for citing variations in the Ethiopic manuscripts is that the reader may observe again a phenomenon which has now become familiar to workers in Greek literary papyri, namely, that an early text is seldom if ever found to ally itself consistently with any individual or family among the later manuscripts or versions of the work in question. Charles and Flemming have recognized two classes among the twenty-nine Ethiopic manuscripts: first, a small group of earlier and in general better ones (GGaMQTU),[1] and second, the remainder,

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[1] I have used the majuscule symbols adopted by Flemming in preference to the italic minuscules used by Charles, and have also followed Flemming in using I, II as symbols for the two families. A complete list of the manuscripts and descriptions of the more important ones are to be found in Charles's *The Book of Enoch* (1912), pp. xx–xxvii.

which are later, have been "revised" by native scholars, and contain corruptions of many kinds. The division between the two families is not clean-cut, since certain members of family I (especially TU) are often found aligned with family II.

In general, the evidence of the papyrus upholds the distinction between Family I of the Ethiopic manuscripts, as the better group, and Family II, the large majority. Thus οὐχὶ (p. 1, 21) supports I against II, which omits the negative and is wrongly followed by all the recent translators. Again, οὐ κατ' ἐπιστήμην (p. 4, 6) is correctly rendered by I, while II has "in heathen temples." μυστηριακῶς (p. 12, 14) agrees with I; "every secret thing" II. At p. 7, 30 GGaQ alone have preserved the verb "rise" which is in the Greek. There are several other places, of no great interest individually, which combine with the cases cited to give Family I the better ranking.

On the other hand, the papyrus agrees with Family II against most or all members of Family I in several important readings; so at p. 6, 20 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, with T, II (+ "all" II), while I, represented by GaM, reads "because of your deeds" (+ "all" Ga). At p. 12, 5 μέχρις was read by T, II; "that" GGaMQ. The good group GGaQ is also wrong at p. 3, 7, where they have "no grave of yours shall be seen," while the predicate in the Greek is οὐ μὴ ὀρυγῇ, correctly rendered by the other manuscripts. A notable instance of the superiority of Family II (with T) is p. 5, 12, where they read ἐβοήθουν with the papyrus; the others have "brought down." See also the note on p. 9, 30.

Although the average of accuracy shown by Family I is higher, it is clear that some excellent readings depend exclusively on Family II. Hence an eclectic method seems to be required in establishing the Ethiopic text, especially since some members of the first family often stand with the second, and single members of both families sometimes preserve the right reading against all the other manuscripts.[1]

The notes call attention to several passages where the Ethiopic presents a better text than the Greek. They are chiefly cases where the Greek scribe has been led to omit words or sentences

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[1] See Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (1912), Introd. p. xxiv.

by the recurrence of similar endings. But the superiority of the longer text is not always beyond doubt; sometimes the Ethiopic translator seems to have padded his text, using two expressions in the effort to find a satisfactory rendering, or merely yielding to the temptation to insert a word or phrase which would sound well as a parallel to something in the true text. Yet the Hebrew fondness for paired members of discourse in poetical passages is not to be forgotten, and the fuller Ethiopic text may perhaps be defended in some of these cases as truer to the original than the Greek.

THE PLAN OF THE EDITION

Two purposes which were kept in view in preparing this manuscript for publication have made it advisable to depart slightly from the method usually followed in editing literary and ecclesiastical texts.

In the first place, in printing a text not previously known in a Greek version, and particularly a text which has suffered many corruptions and has been transmitted by an inferior scribe, it was necessary to present an exact transcript and indicate all gaps and all uncertain readings. This uncorrected transcript is placed on the left-hand pages of the edition. It has not seemed worth while to use an uncial type for this purpose, since the specialist will readily understand the palaeographical peculiarities which account for various confusions and errors. Words are not divided, abbreviations are not resolved, punctuation and spacing are indicated only where the papyrus actually has them, and in general an effort has been made to suggest the appearance of the manuscript. Gaps in the text are indicated by square brackets, which, when an accurate estimate is possible, enclose the number of dots corresponding to the letters lost. Dots are placed under mutilated letters only when the injury has reduced them to very small traces, or when some letter other than the one printed could be considered a possible reading.

Secondly, the editors of the series have rightly held that another text should be provided which would be useful, and not repellent in appearance, to readers unfamiliar with the technical

conventions of papyrological publication. For this purpose it was of course necessary to separate words, expand abbreviations, and supply accents, breathings, punctuation, and capital letters for proper names. This is done in the text on the right-hand pages. But the scribe's carelessness and the numerous corruptions of the text make it necessary to go further; not only must many carelessly omitted letters, syllables, and even words and phrases be restored, but in some cases more drastic emendation is needed to make the text intelligible.

It has not been easy to decide how far this process of recension should be carried. To some critics the text may seem to have been treated too freely, while others may be disturbed by difficulties which I have not found it possible, or have not thought it prudent, to remove. More important than the effort to meet all criticisms is the choice of a method which will place the diplomatic data at the reader's disposal, and at the same time offer a text that is fairly readable and not unnecessarily encumbered with technical symbols. With this in view I have adopted the following procedure:

1) The well known and very common orthographic errors which arise from confusion of similar sounds are corrected in the revised text without comment in the footnotes; e.g. $\alpha\iota\sim\epsilon$, $\epsilon\iota\sim\iota$, $o\sim\omega$, $o\iota\sim\upsilon$, $\tau\sim\theta$, and single consonants for double. The diplomatic transcript alone shows the actual writing of the papyrus in these cases. This plan seems to be justified by the fact that it relieves the footnotes of at least 200 entries.

2) Other minor errors due to the scribe's negligence and affecting single letters or diphthongs are similarly treated, but in several instances attention is called to the correction by a footnote, which might perhaps have been spared. With the transcript opposite it seems useless to disfigure the revised text with many instances of such devices as $\dot{\alpha}\pi o\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}\{a\}\sigma\theta\epsilon$ or $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota o\langle\iota\rangle s$ $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $\dot{o}\sigma\iota o\langle\iota\rangle s$ $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $\phi\rho o\nu\acute{\iota}\mu o\langle\iota\rangle s$.

3) The insertion or omission by the editor of entire words or of combinations of two or more letters is indicated both by a footnote and by placing the words or letters concerned in angular brackets $\langle\,\rangle$ for insertions and braces $\{\,\}$ for omissions.

4) In the corrected text dots are omitted from uncertain letters,

and in all but a few very doubtful cases missing parts of the text, chiefly on the margins of the leaves, have been restored within square brackets.

5) No special type or symbol has been used to mark major textual corrections of a kind that could not be indicated by brackets or braces; attention is always called to them in the notes. There are certain places where, in supplying lost letters, it was necessary also to emend unintelligible writing that stood just before the broken margin; consequently it was found impossible to use the square brackets without creating a false impression, as, for example, at p. 7, 34. In these passages the diplomatic transcript and the footnotes make the situation clear, and a question mark in the text serves as an additional warning.

6) Although as an aid in calculating the losses at the upper and lower margins I have regularly re-translated the Ethiopic version into Greek, I have refrained from printing these reconstructions in the text except in the obvious case of p. 1, 35, because experience has shown that they are misleading. Special reasons have occasionally led me to suggest such reconstructions in the notes; but it should be remembered that they are tentative and merely for purposes of illustration.

I am quite sure that I have not succeeded in following the procedure just outlined with absolute consistency, for the chances of error are great. However, the reader has at hand the material which will enable him to correct any misleading impressions which he might derive from the appearance of the revised text.

Besides their use to explain the reading of the papyrus, the notes report whatever seems essential about the Ethiopic version and attempt, as far as possible, to explain its relation to the Greek text. Discussion of some grammatical and lexicographical points was unavoidable, and it is hoped that the treatment of these matters may be of service to students of the language of the period.

Since I have minutely examined the Beatty leaves as well as those belonging to the University of Michigan, the responsibility for all statements about the readings of the manuscript is mine only; but all the preliminary work upon the Beatty leaves was done by Sir Frederic Kenyon. Shortly after the acquisition of

those leaves he sent me a provisional transcript, following this later with a revised transcript and a partially corrected text embodying many supplements and emendations of his own, together with several admirable suggestions made by the late Provost of Eton, Dr. M. R. James. With Sir Frederic Kenyon's approval I have adopted the obvious corrections and supplements entered upon his transcripts without calling special attention to them in the notes. The more important supplements and emendations made by him and by Dr. James are credited to their authors in every case except a few in which, working on the provisional transcript, I had arrived independently at the same result. In some instances, while incorporating into the text a supplement or correction of my own, I have mentioned a different suggestion of Kenyon's; this I have done for the natural reason that in these doubtful passages the reader may well prefer Kenyon's view to mine.

In preparing the Michigan leaves for publication I have had the valuable aid of Mr. H. C. Youtie, Research Associate in Papyrology, who has revised my transcript and corrected my readings in many places, and has made many contributions to the notes, particularly in connection with linguistic peculiarities. When a text has been the subject of frequent discussions extending over a considerable period, it is not always possible to assign credit at every point where help has been given; it must suffice to say that Mr. Youtie's keen vision and sound scholarship have influenced this work for the better in many places besides the comparatively few in which his name is expressly mentioned.

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SYMBOLS

𝕲   The Greek Text.

𝕰   The Ethiopic Text.

I   Family I, the older group of Ethiopic manuscripts.

II   Family II, the remainder of the Ethiopic manuscripts.

Single Ethiopic manuscripts are cited by the capital letters used to designate them in Flemming's edition.

TEXT AND NOTES

[ιε]

p. 1

]ωνται   97, 6

[. . . . . .]ριλογριτωνανομιωνϋμωνεν

[. . . . .]τουμεγαλουαγιουκαταπροσωπον

[.]μωνειτανεφελειταπανταεργαταμε

5 [.]ασχονταεντηανομια

[.]ναϋμινοιαμαρτωλοιεμμεσοτησθαλα   7

σησκαιεπιτησξηρασοντεσμνημοσυνορ

εισυμασκακων ουαϋμινοικτομε   8

νοιχρυσιονκαιαργυριονουκαποδικαι

10 οσυνησκαιερειταιπλουτωπεπλουτηκα

μενκαιταϋπαρχονταεσχαμενκαικε

κτημεθακαιπανοεανθελησομενποι   9

ησομενοτιαργυριοντεθησαυρικαμε

εντοισθησαυροισημωνκαιαγαθαπολ

15 λαενταισοικιαισημωνκαιωσυδωρεκ

σχιστεπεπλανησθαιοτιουμηπαρα   10

μεινηοπλουτοσϋμωναλλαταχυαπο

υμωνοτιαδικωσπαντακεκτησθαι

---

2 So 𝕰 except G which has "all your unrighteousness."

3 τοῦ μεγάλου ἁγίου: so GGaMQN; "the great and holy one" TU, II (except two manuscripts). For κατά 𝕰 seems to have read καὶ τό and supplied a verb, translating "your face shall blush with shame."

4 ειτανεφελει: apparently for εἶτ' ἀναφελεῖ. ἀναφαιρέω does not appear in the lexicons, but in 2 Kings (Sam.) iv. 7 the first hand of B has καὶ ἀναφαιροῦσιν τὴν κεφαλήν where most MSS read ἀφαιροῦσιν. Sophocles cites ἀναφαίρεμα = ἀφαίρεμα, oblation, from the anonymous life of Nilus the Younger (ca. 1000).

It is also possible that ν was wrongly inserted into an original εἶτα ἀφελεῖ. Evidence for the future -ελεῖ is presented in Mayser, I, 357–8 and Winer-Schmiedel, §13, 5. In this instance the idea of "remove" seems to pass into that of "destroy, reject." "He will reject every work" GQT, "every work shall be rejected" MU, II.

5 "Grounded on unrighteousness" 𝕰.

6 ⟨οἱ⟩: Kenyon.

7 𝕰 has "whose remembrance is evil against you" (Charles) or "euch verderblich ist" (Flemming), "whose" apparently referring to "sea and land" (Worrell).

9 "Silver and gold" 𝕰.

10 πλούτῳ: om. GU.

[ιε]

p. 1   καὶ ἀναγνωσθήσ]ονται

    [πάντες] οἱ λόγοι τῶν ἀνομιῶν ὑμῶν ἐν-   97, 6

    [ώπιον] τοῦ μεγάλου ἁγίου κατὰ πρόσωπον

    [ὑ]μῶν· εἶτ' ἀναφελεῖ τὰ πάντα ἔργα τὰ με-

5   [τ]ασχόντα ἐν τῇ ἀνομίᾳ.

    [ο]ὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ⟨οἱ⟩ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσ-   7

    σης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ὄντες· μνημόσυνον

    εἰς ὑμᾶς κακόν. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ κτώμε-   8

    νοι χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἀπὸ δικαι-

10   οσύνης, καὶ ἐρεῖτε, πλούτῳ πεπλουτήκα-

    μεν καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐσχ⟨ήκ⟩αμεν καὶ κε-

    κτήμεθα, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν θελήσωμεν ποι-   9

    ήσωμεν, ὅτι ἀργύριον τεθησαυρίκαμεν

    ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀγαθὰ πολ-

15   λὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκ-

    κέχυται. πεπλάνησθε, ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρα-   10

    μείνῃ ὁ πλοῦτος ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ ⟨ἀπελεύσεται⟩ ἀπὸ

    ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἀδίκως πάντα κέκτησθε·

---

11 ἐσχ⟨ήκ⟩αμεν: Kenyon.

12 "And possess all that we desire, and now let us do what we purposed" 𝔈, a text which probably arose from a double rendering of ὃ ἐὰν θελήσωμεν with the preceding as well as with the following verb.

13-17 The Greek text is sound except for the orthographic error πεπλανη-σθαι and the corrupt εκσχιστε. ἐκκέχυ-ται is certainly right, cf. l. 28 below and Sir. xxx. 18, ἀγαθὰ ἐκκεχυμένα ἐπὶ στόματι κεκλεισμένῳ. The corruption probably followed these steps: εκεχυ-ται, εκσχυται, εκσχισται.

𝔈 reads "for we have gathered silver and our granaries are full as with water, and many are the husbandmen in our houses. And like water shall your lie flow away, for your wealth shall not abide with you," etc. θησαυ-ροί can mean either treasuries or granaries, and it may be that the original of 𝔈 read in l. 14 καὶ ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἡμῶν ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκκέχυται, the last three words introduced from below. MQT, II place "and" after "full," reading "and many as water are the husbandmen," etc. "Hus-bandmen," which had already excited some suspicion (Beer), may represent a corruption of ἀγαθά to something like ἐργάται.

17 ⟨ἀπελεύσεται⟩: Kenyon. "Will ascend" or "will fly away" 𝔈.

18 πάντα: om. GaQUN.

ϟαιημισεισκαταρανμεγαληνπαρα
20 [. .]θησεσθαικαινυνομνυωυμιντοισ   98, 1
    [. .]ονιμοισκαιουχειτοισαφροσιοτιπολ
    [. . . .]ψεσθαιεπιτησγησανομιασοτικαλ   2
    [. . .]τεριθησονταιανδρεσωσγυναικεσ
    [. . .]χρωμαοραιωνϋπερπαρθενουσ
25 [. . . . .]ιλειακαιμεγαλωσυνηκαιενε
    [. . . . .]αεσονταιδεαργυριονκαιχρυσιον
    [. . .]αυτοισεισβρωματακαιενταισοι
    [. . . . .]αυτωνωσυδωρεκχυθησονται
    [. . . . . .]ηεπιστημηναυτουσμηδεφρο   3
30 [. . . . .]εναν̇αυτωαπολισθεκοινωσ
    [. . . . . .]ρτωνυπαρχοντωνϋμων
    [. . . . . .]πασησδοξησκαιτηστιμησ
    [. . . . . . .]ε[.]σατιμειανκαι[. .]μωστ̣[
    [. . . . .]με[.]α̣ληντ̣[

Four lines are lost.

[ιϛ]

p. 2   επιτην[98, 4
         ποιαφεαυτων[.]. . . . .[
         μεγαληναφιξονταιοιποιουντεσ[

19 ημις: l. ὑμεῖς.
21 οὐχί: so GGaQT; om. MU, II.
22 𝕰 apparently read πολλά and omitted ἀνομίας, translating "you shall see many things."
23 ἄνδρες: "ye men" 𝕰. ὡς γυναῖκες: "more than a woman" 𝕰.
24 παρθένους: "a virgin" 𝕰.
26–28 𝕰 omits ἔσονται, translating "in silver and in gold and in purple, in honor and in food they shall be poured out as water."
29–30 "Therefore they have no knowledge nor wisdom" 𝕰. The text of the papyrus is certainly corrupt. Kenyon

proposed [οὐ μὴ δῶ] ἐπιστήμην αὐτοῖς μηδὲ φρό[νησιν μηδ]εμίαν, which fits the spaces well; but 𝕰 gives no hint of δῶ, and the trace before ἐπιστήμην is more like η than ω. I have therefore combined a suggestion of James with Kenyon's μηδεμίαν and read [διὰ τὸ μὴ] ἐπιστήμην αὐτοὺς μηδὲ φρό[νησιν μηδ]εμίαν ⟨ἔχειν⟩. As to μηδεμίαν > μηδέναν, the error is of a sort that this scribe might easily have committed.
30 αυτω has been corrected to ουτω by a small omicron placed above alpha. ἀπολεῖσθε: "they shall perish" 𝕰.

καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς κατάραν μεγάλην παρα-
20   [δο]θήσεσθε. καὶ νῦν ὀμνύω ὑμῖν τοῖς   98, 1
[φρ]ονίμοις καὶ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἄφροσι, ὅτι πολ-
[λὰς ὄ]ψεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνομίας· ὅτι κάλ-   2
[λος] περιθήσονται ἄνδρες ὡς γυναῖκες,
[καὶ] χρῶμα ὡραῖον ὑπὲρ παρθένους,
25   [ἐν βασ]ιλείᾳ καὶ μεγαλωσύνῃ καὶ ἐν ἐ-
[ξουσί]ᾳ. ἔσονται δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον
[παρ'] αὐτοῖς εἰς βρώματα, καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰ-
[κίαις] αὐτῶν ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκχυθήσονται
[διὰ τὸ μ]ὴ ἐπιστήμην αὐτοὺς μηδὲ φρό-   3
30   [νησιν μηδ]εμίαν ⟨ἔχειν⟩. οὕτω ἀπολεῖσθε κοινῶς
[μετὰ πά]ντων ⟨τῶν⟩ ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν
[καὶ τῆς] πάσης δόξης καὶ τῆς τιμῆς
[ὑμῶν καὶ] ε[ἰ]ς ἀτιμίαν καὶ [ἐρή]μωσι[ν
[καὶ σφαγὴν] με[γ]άλην τ[ὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν εἰς
[τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς ἐμβληθήσεται.]

Four lines are lost.

[ις]

p. 2   ἐπὶ τὴν [γῆν οὐκ ἀπεστάλη ἀλλ' αὐτὴν οἱ ἄνθρω-   98, 4
ποι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν [ἔκτισαν καὶ εἰς κατάραν
μεγάλην ἀφίξονται οἱ ποιοῦντες [αὐτήν.

31 ⟨τῶν⟩: Kenyon.
33-34 There is hardly space for three
letters before the μ of ἐρήμωσιν.
Perhaps ε was omitted because of the
similar sound of the preceding αι. In
spite of the injuries to these lines, the
restoration is fairly certain; cf. 𝔈 "and
in shame and in slaughter and in great
destitution their spirits shall be cast
into the furnace of fire." Verse 4 be-
gins "I have sworn unto you, ye sin-
ners, as a mountain has not become a
slave, and a hill does not become the
handmaid of a woman, even so sin has

not been sent upon the earth," etc.
In addition to 35, three more lines were
lost at the bottom of this page.

1-2 The bracketed words follow 𝔈
closely, but l. 1 is rather long; perhaps
αὐτήν was omitted. Note that the
papyrus is not broken away completely
after ἑαυτῶν as the corrected text
alone would suggest, but the bottoms
of several letters remain. They are
not characteristic enough to justify
printing the restorations without
brackets.

καιστειραγυναικειουκεδοθηαλ[5

5   αεργατωνχειρωνοτιουχωρισθηδο[
     ειναιεηδουληνανοθενουκεδο[
     αλλαεκκαταδυναστειασεγενετο·ρ[
     ουδεηανομιαανωθενεδοθηαλ'εκ
     παραβασεωσ   ομοιωσουδεστειρα
10   γυνηεκτισθαλεξιδιωναδικημα
     τωνεπετειμηθατεκνιαατεκνοσ
     αποθανειται   ομνυωϋμιναμαρ   6
     τωλοικατατουαγιουτουμεγαλουοτιταερ
     γαϋμωνταπονηραεστεανακεκαλυμ
15   μεναεντωουρανωουκεσταϋμινε[
     γοναποκεκρυμμενοναδικονμηϋ[7
     λαβηταιτηψυχηϋμωνμηδεϋπολ[
     βηταιτηκαρδιαϋμωνοτιουγεινωσ[
     σινουδεβλεπουσινουδετααδικημ[
20   ταϋμωνθεωρειταιουδεαπογραφε[

4–12 𝔈 contains no allusion to slavery, nor is the subject of sin resumed, as in lines 8–9. For this whole passage it has only "and barrenness has not been given to the woman, but on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children." In the papyrus this seems to be represented by καὶ στειρα .... τῶν χειρῶν (4–5) and ἄτεκνος ἀποθανεῖται (11–12); the intervening words were omitted by the Ethiopic translator or had disappeared from the Greek copy used by him. But the Greek text presents serious difficulties. στεῖρα means barren, not barrenness. Hence various courses are possible: (1) reading στείρᾳ γυναικί we may insert ἀτεκνία after ἐδόθη, as Kenyon suggested; but this reading does not explain the transition to the subject of slavery in l. 5. (2) Reading στείρᾳ we may assume a longer omission after ἐδόθη, e.g. ἀτεκνία, οὐδὲ δούλη δουλεία; but in that case barrenness as well as slavery should be mentioned in the clause after ὡρίσθη. (3) Recognizing that no treatment of the text which retains στειρα in l. 4 can escape difficulties, we may regard στειρα as an old error for δουλεία, which may have become illegible. The presence of this στειρα in the original of 𝔈 would facilitate the omission of ὅτι ... ἀτεκνία (5–11).

I would therefore reconstruct 4–12 as follows: καὶ δουλεία γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν· ὅτι οὐχ ὡρίσθη δούλην εἶναι δούλην· ἄνωθεν οὐκ ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ ἐκ καταδυναστείας ἐγένετο. ὁμοίως οὐδὲ στεῖρα γυνὴ ἐκτίσθη, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδίων ἀδικημάτων ἐπετιμήθη ἀτεκνίᾳ ⟨καὶ⟩ ἄτεκνος ἀποθανεῖται. ὁμοίως οὐδὲ ἡ ἀνομία ἄνωθεν ἐδόθη, ἀλλ' ἐκ παραβάσεως.

Another treatment of 11–12 consists in placing a pause after ἐπετιμήθη and

καὶ δουλεία (στειρα pap.) γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐδόθη ἀλ[λὰ δι-   5

5   ὰ ⟨τὰ⟩ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν· ὅτι οὐχ ὡρίσθη δο[ύλην

εἶναι {εη} δούλην· ἄνωθεν οὐκ ἐδό[θη

ἀλλὰ ἐκ καταδυναστείας ἐγένετο.   ὁ[μοίως

οὐδὲ ἡ ἀνομία ἄνωθεν ἐδόθη ἀλλ' ἐκ

παραβάσεως.   ὁμοίως οὐδὲ στεῖρα

10   γυνὴ ἐκτίσθη ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδίων ἀδικημά-

των ἐπετιμήθη ἀτεκνίᾳ ⟨καὶ⟩ ἄτεκνος

ἀποθανεῖται.   ὀμνύω ὑμῖν ἁμαρ-   6

τωλοὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μεγάλου ὅτι τὰ ἔρ-

γα ὑμῶν τὰ πονηρὰ ἔσται ἀνακεκαλυμ-

15   μένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἔ[ρ-

γον ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἄδικον.   μὴ ὑ[πο-   7

λάβητε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν μηδὲ ὑπολ[ά-

βητε τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν ὅτι οὐ γινώσ[κου-

σιν οὐδὲ βλέπουσιν οὐδὲ τὰ ἀδικήμ[α-

20   τα ὑμῶν θεωρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἀπογράφε[ται

construing ἀτεκνίᾳ ἄτεκνος ἀποθανεῖται "she shall die utterly childless," like θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε, Gen. ii. 17.   But the "Hebrew" dative seems to be usually connected directly with a verb, not with adjectives.   But see Moulton, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, II. p. 444, citing P. Oxy. I, 5, 16.

The transposition of the two ὁμοίως clauses, 7–9 and 9–12, brings about a more logical arrangement of the thought, the conclusion that the sinner makes his own choice closing the argument and leading naturally to the denunciation in §6.   This reconstruction ignores the corrupt εη in l. 6.   Kenyon suggested οὐχ ὡρίσθη δο[ύλον] εἶναι ἢ δούλην, but the masculine seems out of place here.   I have also considered οὐχ ὡρίσθη δο[ύλην] εἶναι καὶ δουλεία ἄνωθεν οὐκ ἐδόθη, but rejected it as involving more changes.   ⟨τά⟩ in l. 5

was supplied by Kenyon.   At the end of l. 7 οὕτως would do away with the unpleasant repetition of ὁμοίως.   But if υ had been in the lost margin its lower part should be visible in the interlinear space, which is preserved; but this is not the case.

13 "The Holy Great One" GQTU: "the Holy and Great One" GaM, II.

14 ἔσται: "are" 𝐄.

15 𝐄 has "and" after "heaven." ἔσται: "are" 𝐄.

16 "Covered and hidden" 𝐄.

17 For the second ὑπολάβητε 𝐄 has "say."

18–19 "Ye know not" and "Ye see not" 𝐄, continuing with "that" as if ὅτι stood in place of οὐδέ.   τὰ ἀδική-μάτα: "every sin" 𝐄.

20 𝐄 omits ὑμῶν θεωρεῖται οὐδέ, adds "every day" with ἀπογράφεται, omits αὐτά and adds "in heaven" before

αυταενωπιοντουϋψιστουαποτου[8
επιγνωταιοτιπαντατααδικημ[
μωναπογραφονταιημερασεξ[
μεχριτησκρισεωσϋμων
25   ουαιϋμιναφρονεσοτιαπολε[9
αφροσυνηνϋμωνκαιτων[
ουμηακουσηταικαιτααγαθ[
παντησειυμινταδεκακα[
ϋμασκαινυνγεινωσκεταιοτ[10
30   ϋμινεισημεραναπολειασ[
ταισωθηναιαμαρτωλοιαπ[
αποθανεταιγεινωσκοντε[
ταιεισημερανκρισεωσμ[
νωχωρειασμειζωνοστ[
35   Οναιϋμινοισκληροτραχη[11
[.]αρδιαποιουντεστοκα[
[.........]ενϋμινεσο[

Four lines are lost.

ἐνώπιον.

21 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν: cf. Preuschen-Bauer s. v. νῦν, 3b, and Johannessohn, p. 278.

22 ἀδικήματα: "violence" or "oppression" 𝕰, which adds "which ye commit;" but that clause is lacking in Ga. (Worrell).

23 Read ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας, comparing p. 8, 32, Gen. xxxix. 10, Esther iii. 7.

24 𝕰 inserts "the day" before κρίσεως.

26 φρονίμων λόγους is read in the similar passage p. 4, 15; but 𝕰 does not translate λόγους here, and since the first part of the line is broadly written, the extra word is not needed.

27 ἀκούσητε: similarly T, II, "Ye hear not;" "know not" M, "see not" Q. GGa have a verb which means forget, and hence neglect, disregard, offend against (Worrell).

28 ἀπαντᾶν is more commonly used of troubles and misfortunes; cf. 1 Kings (Sam.) xxviii. 10, Job iv. 12, Sir. xxxiv. (xxxi.) 22, xxxvi. (xxxiii.) 1; but cf. p. 7, 19. I supply περιέξει, cf. Ps. xxxix. (xl.) 13; but καθέξει (Kenyon) is also possible, cf. Job xv. 24, Jerem. vi. 24. The clause τὰ δὲ .... ὑμᾶς is omitted in 𝕰.

29 ἡτοίμασται: cf. "know that ye are ready" 𝕰. The impersonal passive is strange here, but it is probably to be restored in 32 also. A part of

αὐτὰ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ὑψίστου.   ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν   8
ἐπιγνῶτε ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἀδικήμ[ατα ὑ-
μῶν ἀπογράφονται ἡμέραν ἐξ [ἡμέρας
μέχρι τῆς κρίσεως ὑμῶν.

25   οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ἄφρονες ὅτι ἀπολε[ῖσθε διὰ τὴν   9
ἀφροσύνην ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν [φρονίμων
οὐ μὴ ἀκούσητε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθ[ὰ οὐκ ἀ-
παντήσει ὑμῖν, τὰ δὲ κακὰ [περιέξει
ὑμᾶς.   καὶ νῦν γινώσκετε ὅτ[ι ἡτοίμασται   10

30   ὑμῖν εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπωλείας.   [μὴ ἐλπίζε-
τε σωθῆναι, ἁμαρτωλοί· ἀπ[ελθόντες
ἀποθάνετε, γινώσκοντε[ς ὅτι ἡτοίμασ-
ται εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως μ[εγάλης καὶ στε-
νοχωρίας μείζονος τ[οῖς πνεύμασιν ὑμῶν.

35   Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ σκληροτράχη[λοι τῇ   11
[κ]αρδίᾳ ποιοῦντες τὸ κα[κὸν καὶ ἔσθον-
[τες αἷμα· πόθ]εν ὑμῖν ἔσο[νται ἀγαθὰ ἵνα
[φάγητε, κτλ.]

Four lines are lost.

the first two letters of ὅτι has been
broken away and wrongly attached to
the end of the following line.
30–31 "Do not hope to live" 𝔈. The
translator usually employs "live,"
"life" for σώζεσθαι, σωτηρία.
31 ἀπελθόντες seems to be required
by 𝔈: "ye shall depart and die."
32 One might expect ἀποθανεῖσθε,
though the imperative is possible. 𝔈
adds "for ye know no ransom," which
may indicate that λύτρα μή has been
lost before γινώσκοντες. For ὅτι
ἡτοίμασται cf. 29.
33–34 καὶ στενοχωρίας μείζονος: "and
for the day of tribulation and great

shame" 𝔈.
35 Omicron is entirely, and upsilon
partly, to the left of the ordinary mar-
gin, and both letters are larger than
the average.
37 The remainder of verse 11 and the
beginning of verse 12 are as follows in
𝔈: "Whence have ye good things to
eat and to drink and to be filled?
From all the good things which the
Lord the Most High has placed in
abundance on the earth; therefore ye
shall have no peace. Woe to you who
love the deeds of unrighteousness,"
etc. Four lines of the Greek text are
lost.

ιϛ

p. 3   [......]σαδικιασδιοτιελπιδασκα[98, 12
        [......].νυνγνωστονῢμινεστωοτιεισ
        [.......]ωρδικαιωνπαραδοθησεσθαικαι
        [...]κτενουσινῢμασκαιουμηφεισονται
    5   [.]μων   ουαιῢμινοιεπιχεροντεσ   13
        [.]ρισκακοιστωνδικαιωντογοσῢμωνου
        μηορυγη   ουαιῢμινοιβουλομε   14
        νοιακραιωσαιτουσλογουστωνδικαιων
        ουμηγενηταιῢμινελπισσωτηριασ
    10 Ουαιῢμινοιγραφοντεσλογουσψευδισκαι   15
        λογουσπλανησεωσαυτοιγραφουσινκαιπολ
        λουσαποπλανησουσιντοισψευδεσιναυ
        τωνπλανασθαιυμεισαυτοικαιουκεστιν   16
        ῢμιν χαιρειναλλαταχεωσαπολεισθαι
    15 Ουαιῢμινοιποιουντεσπλανηματακαι   99, 1
        τοισεργοιστοισψευδεσινλαμβανοντεσ
        τιμηνκαιδοξαναπολωλαταιουκεστιν
        ῢμινσωτηριανεισαγαθον
        Ọυαιυμινοιεξαλλοιουντεστουσλογουστουσ   2
    20 αληθεινουσκαιδιαστεφοντεστηναγωνι

1 διότι: "why" **E**. διότι appears to
be direct interrogative, as in Judges
v. 28, a passage called to my atten-
tion by H. C. Youtie. Schleusner
defined it correctly in his *Thesaurus*
(1820), but the grammars and vocab-
ularies of biblical Greek have over-
looked it. There is no need to resort
to the obvious emendation διὰ τί.
2 The trace before νῦν seems to be
part of a vertical stroke, hence καλὰs|
ἔχετε is not quite satisfactory. **E**
renders "Why do you hope for good for
yourselves," which suggests καλὰs
ἔχε|τε ὑμῖν.
4 "They will cut off your necks and
slay you and have no mercy," etc. **E**.
6 τογος: τάφος is certainly meant,

but it is hard to explain the corruption.
7 ὀρυγῇ: "shall be seen" GGaQ.
8 ακραιωσαι: ἀχρεῶσαι, another
form of ἀχρειῶσαι, resembles the
sound of the corrupt word very closely,
and it was considered as a possible
correction by James and Kenyon.
But the word implies physical damage
in the cases that I have found, and
may be translated "mar," "mutilate,"
"destroy." A better sense is given by
ἀκυρῶσαι, "cancel," "make of no
effect;" cf. 1 Esdr. vi. 31 (32), ὅσοι
ἐὰν παραβῶσίν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων
καὶ ἀκυρώσωσιν. "Ye who set at
nought" **E**.
9 σωτηρίας: "life" **E**, cf. 98, 10, and
l. 18 below.

ιζ

p. 3   [ἔργα τῆ]s ἀδικίας· διότι ἐλπίδας κα[λὰς ἔχε-   98, 12
          [τε ὑμῖ]ν; νῦν γνωστὸν ὑμῖν ἔστω ὅτι εἰς
          [χεῖρας τ]ῶν δικαίων παραδοθήσεσθε καὶ
          [ἀπο]κτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐ μὴ φείσονται
   5   [ὑ]μῶν. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ἐπιχαίροντες   13
          [τ]οῖς κακοῖς τῶν δικαίων· τάφος ὑμῶν οὐ
          μὴ ὀρυγῇ. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ βουλόμε-   14
          νοι ἀκυρῶσαι τοὺς λόγους τῶν δικαίων·
          οὐ μὴ γένηται ὑμῖν ἐλπὶς σωτηρίας.
   10   Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ γράφοντες λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ   15
          λόγους πλανήσεως· αὐτοὶ γράφουσιν καὶ πολ-
          λοὺς ἀποπλανήσουσιν τοῖς ψεύδεσιν αὐ-
          τῶν· πλανᾶσθε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν   16
          ὑμῖν χαίρειν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀπολεῖσθε.
   15   Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ποιοῦντες πλανήματα, καὶ   99, 1
          τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ψευδέσιν λαμβάνοντες
          τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν· ἀπολώλατε, οὐκ ἔστιν
          ὑμῖν σωτηρία εἰς ἀγαθόν.
          Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ἐξαλλοιοῦντες τοὺς λόγους τοὺς   2
   20   ἀληθινοὺς, καὶ διαστρέφοντες τὴν αἰωνί-

10 Here, as in l. 15, the O of Οὐαί is in the margin.

11–13 πλανήσεως: "of the godless" **E**. The translator usually employs godless, godlessness, or phrases containing these words, to translate πλάνη, πλάνησις, πλανάω—a theological specialization of the notion of error.

Note the change from the second to the third person, a habit which was probably the writer's own mannerism, since it occurs often in both **ᴕ** and **E**. In the words corresponding to αὐτοὶ γράφουσιν ... τοῖς ψεύδεσιν αὐτῶν **E** is probably corrupt: "they write down their lies that men may hear and forget the other."

The change to future in l. 12 suggests the possibility that the original of **E**, and possibly the true Greek text, had ἵνα πολλοὺς ἀποπλανήσωσιν corresponding to the purpose clauses in **E**.

13 πλανᾶσθε ... καί: om. **E**.

14 χαίρειν: "they shall have no peace" **E**.

15 In the next few lines there is confusion of second and third persons in **E**; compare 19–22 below and note on 11–13.

16–17 ἔργοις: perhaps an error for λόγοις, cf. **E**, "praise and glorify lying words." ἀπολώλατε: "ye shall perish" **E**.

18 σωτηριαν: error for σωτηρία.

20 διαστεφοντες, αγωνιαν: corrected

ανδιαθηκηνκαιλογιζομενοιεαυτουσ
αραμαρτητουσεντηγηκαταποθησονται
[. .]τεετυμαζεσθαιοιδικαιοικαιπροεχεσ   3
θα̣ιτασεντευξεισϋμωνεισμνημοσυνον

25   [.]ι̣δοτεαυτασενδιαμαρτυριαενωπιον
[.]ω̣ραγ'γελλωνοπωσεισαγαγωσιντααμαρ
[. .]ματατωναδικωνενωπιοντουϋψισ
[. . . . .]ουεισμνημωσυνονκαιτοτεσυν   4
[. . . . .]θησονταικαιαναστασθησονταιεν

30   [. . . .]ααπολιαστησαδικιασ εναυτω   5
[. . . . .]ρωαικεινωετικτουσαιεκβαλου
[. . . .]αι̣εκπασουσινκαιενκαταλιψουσιν
[. . . . . . .]νβρεφοσκαιαενγραστρειεχου
[. . . . .]υσινκαιεθηλαζουσαιριτι

35   [. . . . .]ρααυτωνκαιουμηεπι
[. . . . . . .]σ̣ι̣νεπιτανηπιααυτωνου
[. . . . .]ζονταουδεμηφεισονται̣

by Kenyon. The substitution of γ for ι between vowels (less common after back than front vowels), is due to the phonetic tendency illustrated in Mayser, I, p. 168; but his example of κλάγω from the Louvre papyrus is now differently read, see U.P.Z., I, 78; see also Thackeray, I, p. 113. For αἰών becoming ἀγών in a Coptic text, cf. Winlock-Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, I, 243 (Worrell).

21–22 𝕲 here corrects the obviously wrong reading of 𝐄, "make themselves into what they were not, sinners."

καταποθήσονται: "shall be trodden upon the earth" (i.e. καταπατηθήσονται) 𝐄. But compare the story of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, Num. xvi. 32, ἠνοίχθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιεν αὐτούς, and Ex. xv. 4, κατεπόθησαν ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ (B).

23 προέχεσθε: evidently "offer," but this meaning is not listed in L. and S. nor in Preisigke. "To raise your prayers as a memorial" (Charles) 𝐄.

28–29 καὶ τότε συν[ταραχ]θήσονται: "and in those days the nations shall be stirred up" 𝐄; similarly before ἀνασταθήσονται 𝐄 has a subject lacking in 𝕲, "the families of the nations."

30 τῆς ἀδικίας: om. 𝐄 except MT "of sin," Q "of sinners."

32 εκπασουσιν: the simplest approach to an intelligible text is Kenyon's ἐκ⟨σ⟩πάσουσιν. Owing to the difficulty of pronouncing three consonants, σ may have dropped out here; there are examples of this error in manuscripts ARU of Ps. xxi (xxii). 10, σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐκσπάσας με ἐκ γαστρός. But the sense produced by this emendation is not satisfactory. In the passage just cited from the Psalms

αν διαθήκην, καὶ λογιζόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς
ἀναμαρτήτους· ἐν τῇ γῇ καταποθήσονται.
[τό]τε ἑτοιμάζεσθε οἱ δίκαιοι καὶ προέχεσ-   3
θε τὰς ἐντεύξεις ὑμῶν εἰς μνημόσυνον,
25   [δ]ίδοτε αὐτὰς ἐν διαμαρτυρίᾳ ἐνώπιον
[τ]ῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅπως εἰσαγάγωσιν τὰ ἁμαρ-
[τή]ματα τῶν ἀδίκων ἐνώπιον τοῦ ὑψίσ-
[του θε]οῦ εἰς μνημόσυνον· καὶ τότε συν-   4
[ταραχ]θήσονται καὶ ἀνασταθήσονται ἐν
30   [ἡμέρ]ᾳ ἀπωλείας τῆς ἀδικίας. ἐν αὐτῷ   5
[τῷ και]ρῷ ἐκείνῳ αἱ τίκτουσαι ἐκβαλοῦ-
[σιν κ]αὶ ἐκποιήσουσιν καὶ ἐγκαταλείψουσιν
[τὸ νήπιο]ν βρέφος, καὶ αἱ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχου-
[σαι ἐκτρώσο]υσιν καὶ αἱ θηλάζουσαι ῥίψ-
35   [ουσιν τὰ τέκ]να αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐπι-
[στρέψου]σιν ἐπὶ τὰ νήπια αὐτῶν οὐ-
[δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ θηλά]ζοντα οὐδὲ μὴ φείσονται

ἐκσπᾶν is used in a context which im-
plies tender care, not violence. To
judge by its general use, the verb
might be employed of another person
tearing children away from their moth-
ers; but with αἱ τίκτουσαι as subject
it would be inappropriate. One might
think that the writer was alluding to
inducing birth by violence; compare
James's plausible restoration of ἐκτρώ-
σουσιν in 34. But such an idea,
while appropriate after αἱ ἐν γαστρὶ
ἔχουσαι, does not suit here. Between
ἐκβαλοῦσιν and ἐγκαταλείψουσιν some
idea associated with abandonment is
called for.

A satisfactory sense is given by ἐκποι-
ήσουσιν, which is found in the sense
of *give away for adoption* in Isaeus 7, 25
and Dio Cassius 60, 33 (Vol. III, p. 10
Boissevain), and occurs in the broader
sense of alienating property several
times in business documents; see Prei-

sigke. It is not easy to see how this
reading could have become ἐκπασου-
σιν, but our scribe seems to be ca-
pable of any blunder.

The Ethiopic version, about which I
have consulted Professor W. H. Wor-
rell, is condensed and inexactly ren-
dered. The words αἱ τίκτουσαι ...
ἐκτρώσουσι are represented by "those
who are destitute shall go forth and
snatch up their children and cast them
away; and their children shall fall
from them (i.e. by premature birth),"
etc. The last clause supports James's
restoration ἐκτρώσο]υσιν. "Snatch
up" or "carry off" (Charles) seems to
point to ἐκσπάσουσιν or ἐξαρπάσουσιν
in the original of 𝐄; but neither is
satisfactory in this passage.

34 ἐκτρώσο]υσιν James. ριτι: error
for ριψ-; see Introduction, p. 17.
36 ἐπι[στρέψου]σιν James.
37 οὐ[δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ θηλά]ζοντα: om. 𝐄.

[. . . . .]ια. . .[. . . . .]. . .

Three lines are lost.

ιη

p. 4

[. . .]οιγλοιφοντεσεικωνα[99. 7

ραϲκαιχρυϲαϲξυλιναϲτε[

καιοϲτρακειναϲκαιλαθρευ[

ταϲμαϲινκαιδαιμονιοι[

5   μαϲικαιπνευμασινπονη[

πασαισταισπλαναισουκατεπιϲ[

καιπανβοηθημαουμηευρηται[

αυτωνκαιπλανηθησονταιεναφρ[8

συνηϲκαικαρδιαϲαυτωνκαιταωρ[

10   ματατωνενυπνιωνκαταπλανη

σουσινϋμαϲϋμεισκαιταεργαϋμων   9

ταψευδηαεποιηϲατεκαιελαεργ[

ϲατεκαιεπιμειαϲαπολειαϲθαι

καιτοτεμακαριοιπαντεϲοιακου   10

38 Perhaps [ἐπὶ τὰ παιδάρ]ια τὰ ἀγ[απώμενα (similarly 𝔈), but a trace resembling π or γ does not occupy quite the right position after the certain letters ια. For φείδομαι ἐπί cf. 2 Kings (Sam.) xxi. 7, Ezek. xx. 17. Three lines are lost; 𝔈 has "And again I swear to you, sinners, that sin is ripe for a day of unceasing bloodshed; and they who worship stones," etc.

2 "Gold and silver" 𝔈 and Tertullian de idolol. 4, 22–28. [καὶ λιθίνας]: Kenyon from Tertullian; om. 𝔈.

4 καὶ βδελύγ]μασι: for βδέλυγμα as a heathen deity or his image or altar, cf. Deut. xxvii. 15, Ezek. vii. 20, 1 Macc. vi. 7. For the series of nouns φαντάσμασιν ... πλάναις 𝔈 has only "evil spirits (unclean spirits II) and

demons and all kinds of idols;" Tertullian phantasmatibus et daemoniis et spiritibus infamibus et omnibus erroribus. βδελύγμασι may have left a trace in the reading of II and in Tertullian's infamibus; and since the best MS has infamis, is it possible that the original text was et spiritibus et infamiis?

6 οὐ κατ' ἐπιστήμην: James. So Tertullian and GQT; "in temples of idols" II and some members of group I.

7 καί is not needed, but the fault may lie with the writer. εὕρηται (i.e. εὕρητε) may be defended as a shift from third to second person, cf. lines 9–11; but εὑρή⟨σον⟩ται was probably intended. For the negation πᾶν ... οὐ = οὐδέν, often considered a Hebraism, cf. Ljungvik, p. 19.

[. . . . .]ια. . .[. . . . .]. . .

Three lines are lost.

ιη

p. 4   [καὶ] οἱ γλύφοντες εἰκόνα[ς ἀργυ-   99, 7
ρᾶς καὶ χρυσᾶς, ξυλίνας τε [καὶ λιθίνας
καὶ ὀστρακίνας, καὶ λατρεύ[οντες φαν-
τάσμασιν καὶ δαιμονίοι[ς καὶ βδελύγ-
5   μασι καὶ πνεύμασιν πονη[ροῖς καὶ
πάσαις ταῖς πλάναις οὐ κατ' ἐπισ[τήμην
καὶ πᾶν βοήθημα οὐ μὴ εὑρή⟨σον⟩ται [ἀπ'
αὐτῶν. καὶ πλανηθήσονται ἐν ἀφρ[ο-   8
σύνῃ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀρ[ά-
10   ματα τῶν ἐνυπνίων καταπλανή-
σουσιν ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν   9
τὰ ψευδῆ ἃ ἐποιήσατε καὶ ἐλαεργ[ή-
σατε, καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἀπολεῖσθε.
καὶ τότε μακάριοι πάντες οἱ ἀκού-   10

Examples from the opening chapters are given in Flemming-Radermacher, p. 150.

9 ἀφροσύνης καί: error for ἀφροσύνῃ τῆς (Kenyon). For the clause καὶ τὰ ὁράματα ... ὑμᾶς 𝔈 reads "their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts and the visions of their dreams."

11 A verb belonging to ὑμεῖς may have been lost; "through them shall they become godless and fearful" 𝔈, but 𝔈 is a poor guide in this passage, and a good sense can be obtained by omitting καί in 13 and treating ὑμεῖς and ἔργα as subjects of ἀπολεῖσθε.

11–13 καὶ τὰ ἔργα ... ἐλαεργήσατε: "for they do all their works in a lie and worship stone" 𝔈. λαεργεῖν is not recorded in the lexicons. λαεργής

occurs in Nic. Ther. 708.

13 απολειασθε: read ἀπολεῖσθε; but the original reading may have been ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἀπωλείας ⟨ἀπολεῖσ⟩θε, the corruption resulting from haplography. With either reading ἐπί presents some difficulty; it does not seem natural here. If we read simply ἀπολεῖσθε as above, ἐπὶ μιᾶς is apparently "with one accord," "together," like ἀπὸ μιᾶς in Luke xiv. 18. I find no other examples of it. 𝔈 translates "in a moment."

14 In view of the future indicatives that follow, one might expect πάντες οἳ ἀκούσονται, since the combination πᾶς ὅς is fairly common in the Koine; but the text elsewhere shows so many shifts of construction that it is scarcely prudent to alter it. "Accept and

15 σαντεσφρονιμωνλογουσκαιμαθη
   σονταιαυτουσποιησαιτασεντολαστου
   ϋψιστουκαιπορευσονταιενοδοισδι
   καιοσυνησαυτουκαιουμηπλανησο[
   σινμετατωνπλανουνωνκαισω
20 θησονται   ουαιοιοικοδομουν   **13**
   τεστασοικοδομασαυτωνουκϙ[
   πονϊδιωνκαιεκλιθωνκαιε[
   πλινθωνπασανοικοδομηνπ̅[
   ταιοισουκεστινυμιν   χα[
25 Ουαιοιεξοιθενουντεστηνθεμ[**14**
   ωσινκαιτηνκληρονομια[
   τερωναυτωντηναπαιωνοσ[
   διωξαιταιϋμασπ̅ναπλανη[
   ουκεστινϋμιναναπαυσαι
30 Ουαιϋμινοιποιουντεστηνα[**15**
   καιεπιβοηθουντεστηαδι[
   οντεστονπλησιοναυτω[
   ημεραστησκρισεωστησ[
   οτιτοτεεκτρεψειτηνδοξ[**16**
35 καιεπεγερειτονθυμον[
   ϋμωναπολειποντασυ[
   φαιακαιπαντεσοιδε[

understand" **E**.

16–17 ποιῆσαι τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ ὑψίστου: "and follow the ways of the Highest" **E**.

18 αὐτοῦ: om. U, II.

19 πλανουνων: error for πλανώντων. καί: "for" **E**. After σωθήσονται paragraphs 11–12 found in **E** are wanting.

20 οὐαί: "woe to you" **E**.

21–22 οὐκ ⟨ἐκ⟩ κόπων ἰδίων: Kenyon. **E** reads "by the labor of others."

22–23 "And all their building materials are bricks and stones of sin" **E**, whence it would appear that τῆς

ἀμαρτίας has been lost after πλίνθων. After οἰκοδομήν, ποιεῖτε may be suggested; οἰκοδομοῦντες is too long, and the trace cannot be omicron.

24]ταιοις: probably μα]ταιοι with s erroneously added; **E** has nothing to correspond to μάταιοι.

25 Note the unusual οι for ου in ἐξουθενοῦντες. LXX has θεμελίωσις only in 2 Esdras iii. 11–12, and in a literal sense.

28 πλανη[σεως Kenyon. For ὅτι ... πλανήσεως **E** has "And whose souls follow after idols."

15   σαντες φρονίμων λόγους καὶ μαθή-
        σονται αὐτούς, ποιῆσαι τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ
        ὑψίστου, καὶ πορεύσονται ἐν ὁδοῖς δι-
        καιοσύνης αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ μὴ πλανήσο[υ
        σιν μετὰ τῶν πλανώντων καὶ σω-
20   θήσονται. οὐαὶ οἱ οἰκοδομοῦν-   13
        τες τὰς οἰκοδομὰς αὐτῶν οὐκ ⟨ἐκ⟩ κ[ό-
        πων ἰδίων, καὶ ἐκ λίθων καὶ ἐ[κ
        πλίνθων πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν π[οιεῖτε· μά-
        ταιοι οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν χα[ίρειν.
25   Οὐαὶ οἱ ἐξουθενοῦντες τὴν θεμ[ελί-   14
        ωσιν καὶ τὴν κληρονομία[ν τῶν πα-
        τέρων αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος, [ὅτι
        διώξεται ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα πλανή[σεως·
        οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἀναπαῦσαι.
30   Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὴν ἀ[νομίαν   15
        καὶ ἐπιβοηθοῦντες τῇ ἀδι[κίᾳ, φονεύ-
        οντες τὸν πλησίον αὐτῶ[ν ἕως τῆς
        ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως τῆς [μεγάλης·
        ὅτι τότε ἐκτρίψει τὴν δόξ[αν ὑμῶν   16
35   καὶ ἐπεγερεῖ τὸν θυμὸν [αὐτοῦ καθ᾽
        ὑμῶν· ἀπολεῖ πάντας ὑ[μᾶς ἐν ῥομ-
        φαίᾳ καὶ πάντες οἱ δί[καιοι μνημο-

29 ὑμῖν: "they" 𝕰, cf. 28, and see
note, p. 3, 11–13.
30 ὑμῖν: "them" 𝕰. ἀ[νομίαν Ken-
yon: "unrighteousness" 𝕰.
34 ἐκτρίψει: Kenyon. ἐκτρείψει be-
came ἐκτρέψει; but 𝕰 "cast down,"
"overthrow" suggests καταστρέψει.
After ὑμῶν 𝕰 adds "and bring afflic-
tion on your hearts."
35 τὸν θυμόν: "the spirit of his anger"
Ga, II; "his anger and his spirit"
GMQT, "spirit" being nominative
(and so subject of "destroy") in QT.
It is possible that the translator merely

used two nouns in an effort to render
the full meaning of θυμός.
36 ὑ[μᾶς: so 𝕰.
37 Supplied by Kenyon. "Just and
holy" T, II; "holy and just" GGaMQ.
The scribe wrote δεικαιοι.
μνημονεύσουσιν is needed ("remember"
𝕰), but a by-form μνημονήσουσιν must
have been used. The new L. and S.
recognizes μνημονέω on the authority
(as I am informed by Mr. Roderick
McKenzie) of Corp. Gloss. III 77, 21,
where the Hermeneumata Amploniana
have mynemono: commemoro.

νησουσιντασαδικιασ[100, 1
[.]ε[.]ριτοπω......[

Two lines are lost.

[ιθ]

p. 5   [......]ιματ[...............]σον   100, 1–2
          [.....]ειτην[...........]οτουυιουαυ
          [.......]ποτουα[.]απητουαυτουαποκτιναι
          [.]ν[...]καιοαμα[.]τωλοσαποτουεντιμου
     5   [..]τεαποτουαδελφουαυτουεξορθωνμε
          χρισουδυναιτονηλιονφονευθησονται
          επιτοαυτοκαιδιαπορευσεταιιπποσεωσ   3
          τουστηθουσαυτουδιατουαιματοστωναμαρ
          τωλωνκαιτοαιμαμεχριαξονωνκατα
    10   βησεται   καικαταβησονταιαγ'γελοι   4
          καταδυννοντεσειστααποκρυφαενημε
          ραεκεινηοιτεινεσεβοηθουντηαδικια
          καισυστραφησονταιεισενατοπονκαι
          ουψιστοσεγερθησενταιενημερακρι
    15   σεωσποιησαιεκπαντωνκρισινμε
          γαληνκαιταξειφυλακηνεπιπαντασ   5
          τουσδικαιουσκαιαγιουστωναγιωναγ'
          γελωνκαιτηρηθησονταιωσκορεων

38 καὶ τότε κτλ.: **E** reads "In those
days in one place fathers together with
their sons shall be smitten, and broth-
ers one with another shall fall in death
until their blood flows like a stream."
Two full lines in addition to 39 would
be required for the Greek text.

1 **E** has "until their blood flows like a
stream," or "until there is a flow of
their blood like a stream." This
would permit other reconstructions of
the Greek, e.g., with impersonal verb,
ἕως ὡς ποταμὸς ῥέῃ τοῦ αἵματος (or

τῷ αἵματι) αὐτῶν.
2 ἀφέξ]ει τὴν [χεῖρα: T, II add "in
compassion." υἱοῦ .... ἀγαπητοῦ:
"his son and his son's son" GMT,
"his son's son" II.   For the word ἀγα-
πητός in a similar connection, cf. the
Greek text of ch. 10, 12; 12, 6.
4–5 **E** joins ἐντίμου with ἀδελφοῦ,
"his honored brother."   ὄρθων: l.
ὄρθρων.   A common error of popular
speech, which avoided ρ in consecutive
syllables; cf. the Michigan Hermas,
Sim. 5, 1, 1 and Mayser, I, p. 186 f.
The plural is unusual.

νήσουσιν τὰς ἀδικίας [ὑμῶν.   καὶ τό-   100, 1
[τ]ε ⟨ἐν⟩ [ἐ]νὶ τόπῳ . . . . . . [

Two lines are lost.

[ιθ]

p. 5   [ῥέῃ τὰ α]ἵματ[α αὐτῶν.   καὶ ἄνθρωπο]ς οὐ-   100, 1–2
[κ ἀφέξ]ει τὴν [χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἀπ]ὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐ-
[τοῦ, οὔτ’ ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ἀ[γ]απητοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι
[α]ὐ[τόν], καὶ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐντίμου,
5   [οὔ]τε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἐξ ὄρθρων μέ-
χρις οὗ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον φονευθήσονται
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.   καὶ διαπορεύσεται ἵππος ἕως   3
τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁμαρ-
τωλῶν, καὶ τὸ ἅρμα μέχρι ἀξόνων κατα-
10   βήσεται.   καὶ καταβήσονται ἄγγελοι   4
καταδύνοντες εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐν ἡμέ-
ρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· ⟨καὶ⟩ οἵτινες ἐβοήθουν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ
{καὶ} συστραφήσονται εἰς ἕνα τόπον καὶ
ὁ ὕψιστος ἐγερθήσεται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρί-
15   σεως ποιῆσαι ἐκ πάντων κρίσιν με-   5
γάλην, καὶ τάξει φυλακὴν ἐπὶ πάντας
τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἁγίους τῶν ἁγίων ἀγ-
γέλων, καὶ τηρηθήσονται ὡς κόριον

6–7 For the construction cf. μέχρι οὗ βασιλεῦσαι τοὺς Πέρσας, 1 Esd. i. (57) 54. φονευθήσονται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό: "shall slay one another" E.

9 αἷμα: l. ἅρμα. μέχρι ἀξόνων: "to its height" E.

11 καταδύνοντες: not rendered by E. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ: "in those days" E.

12 ἐβοήθουν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ: so T, II; the others read "brought down sin." The construction in E is "the angels shall descend . . . and bring together all those who," etc.   I transfer καὶ to a position after ἐκείνῃ from l. 13.

where it is out of place.

14 εγερθησενται: l. ἐγερθήσεται. ἡμέρᾳ: "that day" E. κρίσεως: om. TU, II (except V).

15 ἐκ πάντων: "on all sinners" T, II; "amongst sinners" GMQU. For this use of ἐκ, cf. Ps. cxviii (cxix). 84, Is. i. 24; but the writer has κατὰ πάντων in a like context in ch. 1, 7 and 9.

18 καὶ τηρηθήσονται: "to guard them" E. κορεων: l. κόριον.   I have seen no other example of the diminutive in this sense; κόρη is generally used.

οφθαλμουεωσουεκ'λειπητακακαηδα
20 μαρτιακαιαπεκεινουϋνωσουσ[.]νευσε
βεισϋπνοηδυλεικαιουκεστεουκετι
οεκ'φοβωναυτουστοτεοψονταιοιφρο   6
νιμοιτωνανθρωπωνκαικατανοησου
σινοιυιοιτησγησεπιτουσλογουστουτουσ
25 τησεπιστοληστ̄αυτησκαιγνωσθηναιο
τ[.]ουδυναταιοπλουτοσαυτωνδιασωσαιαυτο̄
εντηπτωσιστησαδικιασ   ουαιϋμιν   7
οιαδικοιοτανεκθλειβηταιτουσδικαιουσ
ε[.]ημερααναγ'κησστερεασκαιφυλαξη
30 τ[..]αυτουσενπυρειοτικωμειεισθαικα
τατ̣αεργαϋμων   ουαιϋμινσκληρο   8
κ̣αρδιο[.]αγρυπνουντεσνοησαιτοκακον
π[.]ρ[....]ιϋμασφοβοσκαιουκεστινοαντι
[..]μβ[.]νομενοσυμων   ουαιυ[.]ιν   9
35 [.]α̣[.]ι̣[.]τοισαμαρτωλοισεπιτοισεργοισ
[......]ματοσϋμων   ουαιϋμινπα

19 ἐκλείπῃ: "he makes an end of" GGaMQ²; "an end has been made of" Q¹TU, II.

ἠδ': This Ionic and poetic connective is occasionally found in late Greek. Liddell and Scott cite two instances from Aretaeus which are doubtless due to deliberate Ionizing. Add the following from Radermacher, p. 5 (where errors are made in both references): Author of the treatise περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πόλεων, Müller, Fragm. Hist. Graec. II, 259, 20; Eustathius of Antioch, contra Orig. de engastrimytho (ed. Jahn, Texte und Untersuchungen, Vol. II), p. 49, 28; 60, 26; 71, 23. Brinkmann in Rh. M. LXII (1907), 630, calls attention to the fact that in Eustathius it may serve to avoid hiatus. It stands before a vowel here. 20 𝕰 omits ἀπ' ἐκείνου and trans-lates "though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nothing to fear." νωσουσ[ι]ν: 1. ὑπνώσουσιν. οἱ seems to be required before εὐσεβεῖς. 21 ηδυλει: 1. ἡδύν; ν was read λι, which became λει. 22–23 "And the wise men shall see the truth" 𝕰. The evidence of the Greek is against the transposition of οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς γῆς into the preceding clause, which Charles proposed. 24 κατανοήσουσιν with ἐπί is probably equivalent to "look upon," cf. Ps. cxlii. 5, κατενόουν εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ ἐπέβλεπον and Sirach xxiii. 19, κατανοοῦντες εἰς ἀπόκρυφα μέρη. 𝕰 has "all the words," omitting τούτους. 25 ἐπιστολή: "book" 𝕰; but the subscription at the end of the work (p. 12, 18–19) reads ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΝΩΧ.

ὀφθαλμοῦ ἔως οὗ ἐκλείπῃ τὰ κακὰ ἠδ' ἁ-
20 μαρτία. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὑπνώσουσ[ι]ν ⟨οἱ⟩ εὐσε-
βεῖς ὕπνον ἡδύν, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται οὐκέτι
ὁ ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς. τότε ὄψονται οἱ φρό-   6
νιμοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατανοήσου-
σιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους τούτους
25 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης, καὶ γνώσονται ὅ-
τ[ι] οὐ δύναται ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτῶν διασῶσαι αὐτοὺς
ἐν τῇ πτώσει τῆς ἀδικίας. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν   7
οἱ ἄδικοι ὅταν ἐκθλίβητε τοὺς δικαίους
ἐ[ν] ἡμέρα ἀνάγκης στερεᾶς καὶ φυλάξη-
30 τ[ε] αὐτοὺς ἐν πυρί, ὅτι κομιεῖσθε κα-
τὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν σκληρο-   8
κάρδιο[ι], ἀγρυπνοῦντες νοῆσαι τὸ κακόν·
π[ε]ρ[ιέχε]ι ὑμᾶς φόβος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀντι-
[λα]μβ[α]νόμενος ὑμῶν. {οὐαὶ ὑ[μ]ῖν   9
35 [π]ᾶ[σ]ι[ν] τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις
[τοῦ στό]ματος ὑμῶν.} οὐαὶ ὑμῖν πᾶ-

γνωσθῆναι: probably an error for γνώσονται, occasioned by the resemblance of ON to ΘΗ. γνωσθήσεται is possible, but the change of construction makes it less satisfactory.
26 αυτο, i.e. αὐτόν: error for αὐτούς.
27 πτωσις: l. πτώσει.
28 ὅταν supports the reading of 𝔈, which Charles believed to be corrupt and emended to "ye who." 𝔊 and 𝔈 agree as to the position of the clause "on the day of strong anguish," which Charles placed immediately after "sinners" (ἄδικοι).
29 αναγκη: l. ἀνάγκης, the sigma being lost by haplography.
φυλαξητ[αι]: l. φυλάξητε. 𝔈 has "burn," i.e. φλέξητε. But Q reads "save," which may point to φυλάξητε.

31 σκληροκάρδιοι: "perverse of heart" 𝔈.
34–39 The textual situation may be explained in either of two ways. 1) Having wrongly written ἔργοις (35) for λόγοις, the scribe recognized his error after finishing the clause, then started afresh in 36 without erasing the foregoing words. 2) The error in 34–36 may belong to an earlier stage of the tradition; 36–39 (οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ... ὑμῶν), the correct text (except for the omission of ἔργοις, 38), may have been inserted in the margin by a corrector. The present text would then result from a scribe's incorporating the marginal correction into the text without taking the precaution to omit the faulty sentence.
36 πᾶσιν: om. 𝔈.

[. . . . .]ι̣[.]αμαρτωλοισεπιτοισλογοιστου
[. . . .]α̣[. .]σϋμωνκαιεπιτοιστωνχει
[. . .]ϋ[.]ωνοτιτοαγιονεργωναπεπλα
40   [. . . . . .]ενθ . [. . .] . . [. .] . . φλεγομε[.] . .
          ] . . [   ]υ̣ . σε[

Four lines are lost.

[κ]

p. 6   ]νε[100, 11
        χληκαιδροσοσκαιομβ[
        ταιεπιταισαμαρτιαισϋμω[12
        ουνομβροδωραειναμη[
5   ταβηναιυμινκαιδροσονκα̣[
        καιομιχλη·χρυσιονδιαγραψα̣[

39 After ὑμῶν 𝔈 has "which are the
works of your godlessness." Since
the translator usually renders πλάνη
and πλανάω by "godlessness," "act
godlessly," etc., a form of ἀποπλανάω
seems to be required. It is probably
simplest to supply ἀπό and read as in
the emended text. The genitive with-
out preposition is not often used with
verbs of separation in LXX; and the
other changes proposed are not violent
considering the scribe's habits. If we
read τὸ ἅγιον ἔργον, an active form,
ἀπεπλα[νήσατε], would be necessary;
but "lead astray" makes poor sense
with such an object. I find no in-
stance of ἀποπλανᾶν used of things
in the sense of "corrupt" or "spoil."
40 After ἀπεπλα[νήθητε] 𝔈 continues:
"In blazing flames burning worse than
fire shall ye burn. (v. 10) And now
know ye that from the angels He will
inquire as to your deeds in heaven,
from the sun and from the moon and

from the stars in reference to your
sins, because upon the earth ye execute
judgment upon the righteous; (v. 11)
and he will summon to testify against
you every cloud and mist and dew and
rain." The last few words begin the
following page, which has lost one line
at the top. On this page four, per-
haps five, lines after the last visible
remains would have been needed to
express the sense of the Ethiopic
words.
41 υ might also be read as χ.

1–3 In 𝔈 verse 11 is as follows: "And
he will summon to testify against you
every cloud and mist and dew and
rain; for they shall all be withheld be-
cause of you from descending upon
you, and they shall be mindful of your
sins." So Charles and similarly Flem-
ming, who uses "vor euch" instead of
"because of you." It is probable that
the Greek text was shorter and differ-

[σιν το]ι̂[s] ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ
[στόμ]α[το]s ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ⟨ἔργοις⟩ τῶν χει-
[ρῶν] ὑ[μ]ῶν ὅτι ⟨ἀπὸ⟩ τῶ⟨ν⟩ ἁγίων ἔργων ἀπεπλα-
40 [νήθητε] ἐν θ.[. . .].. [. .]. .φλεγομ[.]. .
].. [   ]ν.σε[

Four lines are lost.

[κ]

p. 6   πᾶσα] νε[φέλη καὶ ὁμί-   100, 11
χλη καὶ δρόσος καὶ ὀμβ[ρος - - -
ται ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶ[ν. δίδοτε   12
οὖν ὄμβρῳ δῶρα ἵνα μὴ [κωλυθῇ κα-
5 ταβῆναι ὑμῖν, καὶ δρόσῳ κα[ὶ νεφέλῃ
καὶ ὁμίχλη· χρυσίον διαγράψα[τε ἵνα κα-

ently constructed; and some of the Ethiopic manuscripts, which vary greatly here, present a shorter version. The nominatives in 1–2 must have been subjects of a predicate meaning "be withheld" or of one meaning "bear witness." Hence, 1) we may read ἀνασχεθήσονται or συσχεθήσονται (2–3), making 2 slightly longer than its neighbors, and take ἐπί as "because of" as in verse 9 above. 2) Since the papyrus has no place for "they shall be mindful" (𝕰), that phrase may be regarded as a faulty rendering of an expression properly meaning "shall testify." Then, by placing a predicate meaning "shall be withheld" before the nominatives in 1–2, one could make a text consistent with the remains of the papyrus, e.g., ἀνασχεθήσονται ἀφ' ὑμῶν πᾶσα νεφέλη καὶ ὁμίχλη καὶ δρόσος καὶ ὄμβρος· μαρτυροῦνται ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. But I have seen no example of μαρ-

τύρομαι with ἐπί and dative in the sense of against; Neh. ix. (2 Esd. xix.) 29–30 is not an exact parallel. In view of the uncertainty of the reconstruction I have not filled the lacunae at the beginning of 1 and the end of 2. 5 δρόσον: error for δρόσῳ, coördinate with ὄμβρῳ or, less satisfactorily, δρόσος, construed as part subject of κωλυθῇ; ομιχλη (6) can be read as either dative or nominative. The traces after δρόσον are very slight. 𝕰 omits "cloud and mist." 6 χρυσίον διαγράψατε ἵνα: "when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend" 𝕰, the clause being treated as part of the preceding sentence. In spite of the punctuation of the papyrus, I incline to think that the high point should be after ὑμῖν (l. 5). Then, reading the three nouns of 5–6 as datives, one obtains a better parallel to δίδοτε οὖν ὄμβρῳ δῶρα, κτλ.

ταβοσιηοτιεανεπιρειψηεφυμ[13
ωνκαιπαχνηκαιψυχοσαυτησκαι[
ανεμοικαιοπαγετοσαυτωνκαιπα
σαιαιμαστειγαισαυτωνουδυνασθα[10
ὑποστηναιεμπροσθενψυχουσκα[.]τ[
μαστειγωναυτωνκατανοησατετο[101, 1
νυνΰιοιτωνανθρωπωνταεργα[
ὕψιστουκαιφοβηθητετουτοποιησα[
τοπονηρονεναντιοναυτουεανα[15   2
κλεισητασθυριδαστουουρανουκαικ[
λυσητηνδροσονκαιτωνομβρων
καταβηναιειναικαΰμωντιποιησῃ
τε εαναποστειληταιοτονθυμονα[3
τουεφυμασκαιεπιταεργαΰμωνουχι   20
εσεσθαιδεομενοιαυτουδιατΰμεισλα
λειταιτωστοματιΰμωνμεγαλακ[
σκληραεπιτημεγαλωσυνηαυτ[4
τετουσναυκληρουστουσπλωε[

---

7 κα]ταβοσιη: l. καταβῶσιν; con-
fusion of N and H. ὅτι ἐάν: "when"
Ɛ, i.e. ὅταν.
επιρειψη. l. ἐπιρρίψῃ, apparently in-
transitive here. The simple ῥίπτω
in the sense of "throw oneself" occurs
several times in classical Greek. I
find no case of ἐπιρρίπτω intransitive
except Job xxvii. 22 (Rahlfs), where
it is used of a high wind; nothing in
either the Hebrew or the Greek text
of Job seems to justify the insertion of
"God" as the subject, as in A.V.,
R.V. and some special editions. One
might consider ἐπινείψῃ, since ἐπι-
νείφω is used several times by Philo
(references in L. and S.) in referring to
rain, dew, manna; but I incline to ad-
here to ἐπιρρίψῃ. The passive ἐπιρ-
ριφῇ is less likely; cf. Ps. xxi (xxii).
11, and Hermas Sim. 2, 3. "Frost
and snow" Ɛ.

8 αὐτῆς: "their" Ɛ.
9 ἄνεμοι: "snowstorms" Ɛ, but
"storms" only in G. καὶ ὁ παγετὸς
αὐτῶν: om. Ɛ.
11–12 ψύχους καὶ τῶν μαστίγων: om.
Ɛ. For αὐτῶν perhaps αὐτοῦ should
be read; but something may have
been lost after καί, e.g. παγετοῦ καί.
τοίνυν: om. Ɛ.
13 υἱοί: "all ye children" T², II.
τῶν ἀνθρώπων: "of heaven" Ɛ. τὰ
ἔργα: "the heaven and every work"
Ɛ.
14 φοβήθητε τοῦ ποιῆσαι: "fear him
and do no evil" Ɛ. For the extended
use of the genitive infinitive, cf.
Radermacher, 188–90, Acts xxiii. 20,
συνέθεντο τοῦ ἐρωτῆσαί σε.
17 "The rain and the dew" Ɛ.
18 εἴνεκα: cf. Crönert, p. 113, n. 3.
19 ὁ has no place here. Possibly the
scribe meant to write ὁ ὕψιστος, then

ταβῶσιν· ὅτι ἐὰν ἐπιρρίψῃ ἐφ' ὑμ[ᾶς χι-   **13**
ὼν καὶ πάχνη καὶ ψῦχος αὐτῆς, καὶ [οἱ
ἄνεμοι καὶ ὁ παγετὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶ-
10   σαι αἱ μάστιγες αὐτῶν, οὐ δύνασθε
ὑποστῆναι ἔμπροσθεν ψύχους κα[ὶ] τ[ῶν
μαστίγων αὐτῶν. κατανοήσατε το[ί-   **101, 1**
νυν, υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ ἔργα [τοῦ
ὑψίστου καὶ φοβήθητε τοῦ ποιῆσα[ι
15   τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν ἀ[πο-   **2**
κλείσῃ τὰς θυρίδας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κ[ω-
λύσῃ τὴν δρόσον καὶ τὸν ὄμβρον
καταβῆναι εἵνεκα ὑμῶν, τί ποιήσε-
τε; ἐὰν ἀποστείληται {ὁ} τὸν θυμὸν α[ὐ-   **3**
20   τοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, οὐχὶ
ἔσεσθε δεόμενοι αὐτοῦ; διὰ τί ὑμεῖς λα-
λεῖτε τῷ στόματι ὑμῶν μεγάλα κ[αὶ
σκληρὰ ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ αὐτ[οῦ; ὁρᾶ-   **4**
τε τοὺς ναυκλήρους τοὺς πλωι[ζο-

recollected himself, but failed to erase the ὁ.

20 The reading of the papyrus is supported by T and by Π except that Π adds "all" before "your works." "Because of (all Ga) your deeds" GaM.

21 οὐχὶ ἔσεσθε δεόμενοι αὐτοῦ: probably to be taken as "will you not be entreating him," rather than "will you not be in need of him." 𝕰 has "ye cannot petition him," probably due to the translator's failure to see that οὐχί introduced a question. For διὰ τί 𝕰 apparently read διότι, rendering it "because," but it may be that in the source of 𝕰 διότι was written, not by error, but as an equivalent of διὰ τί. See note on p. 3, 1.

22 τῷ στόματι ὑμῶν: om. 𝕰.

23 σκληρά: "insolent" 𝕰. μεγαλω-σύνη: "righteousness" 𝕰, which adds

"therefore ye shall have no peace." 𝕰 has "And see ye not," and it is possible that οὐχ ὁρᾶτε was written in the papyrus, although the neighboring lines were not so long. But it is more likely that οὐχ, if present in the original, was omitted here through the influence of the preceding diphthong.

24 ναυκλήρους: the meaning sailing-master, skipper, captain, is common in later Greek; "kings of the ships" 𝕰. Following Halévy (Journ. Asiat. 1867, p. 392) editors have explained this reading of 𝕰 as due to an error on the part of the Greek translator, who confused מלחי "sailors" with מלכי "kings." But the Greek text is correct, and the error must now be charged to the Ethiopic translator. He was probably unfamiliar with ναύκληρος and rendered its second element by negūš, a

25 μενουστηνθαλασσανϋποτουκ[
    νοσκαιχειμωνοσσεσα[. . .]με[
    πλοιααυτωνκαιχειμαζομενοιπα[5
    τεσφοβουνταιεξωδετα[
    καιταυπαρχοντααυτωνεκ'βαλλο[
30 ειστηνθαλασσανκαιϋποππ[
    σιντηκαρδιααυτωνοτιη[
    ταπειεταιαυτουσκαιεναυτ[
    ταιουχιπασαηθαλασσακαι[6
    υδατααυτησεργοντουυψ[
35 καιαυτοσσυνεστησατο[. .]π[
    τωνκαισυνεδησεναυτ[
    εφραξεναυτηναμμω[
    εμβριμησεωσαυτουφ[7
    ρενονταικαιοιϊχθυεσ. [

Three lines are lost.

word normally meaning *king*, though also (in a weaker sense) signifying *chief* (Worrell). The construction in 24–27 is irregular. τοὺς ναυκλήρους may be regarded as proleptic, as if θάλασσαν were to be followed by some such clause as ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος καὶ χειμῶνος σεσάλευται τὰ πλοῖα αὐτῶν; in place of this clause the writer put a second object of ὁρᾶτε with participial modifier. It is not necessary to appeal to the doubtful "finite participle," for which see Mayser, II, 1, p. 341. With a pause after αὐτῶν the writer takes a fresh start with "ship-captains" understood as subject. 27 𝕰 reads χειμαζόμενα and adds "and are in distress"; the end of the word in the papyrus is badly injured, but οι suits the traces better than α. 28 𝕰 omits πάντες and adds "and therefore;" at the end of the line there was room for nine or ten letters after

τά. Since 𝕰 has "all their goodly possessions" τὰ [ἀγαθὰ πάντα] is the most natural way of filling the gap; the fact that ὑπάρχοντα says almost the same thing is scarcely an objection. Such words as φορτία, χρήματα, or even ἀγοράσματα might be suggested, or σκεύη, comparing Acts xxvii. 19, where τὴν σκευήν is used under similar circumstances; but there are difficulties of space affecting some of these words, while the Ethiopic version casts doubt upon others. In place of ἔξω δέ 𝕰 has "that" or "because," and in line 29 it renders ἐκβάλλουσιν as if it were intransitive, "go upon the sea" adding "with them," which is not in the Greek.
34 After ὕδατα αὐτῆς 𝕰 adds "and all its movement."
35–37 Of the three parallel clauses only the last, περιέφραξεν αὐτὴν ἄμμῳ was certainly read by 𝕰 as it stands

25 μένους τὴν θάλασσαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ κ[λύδω-
    νος καὶ χειμῶνος σεσα[λευ]μέ[να τὰ
    πλοῖα αὐτῶν, καὶ χειμαζόμενοι πά[ν-   5
    τες φοβοῦνται, ἔξω δὲ τὰ [ἀγαθὰ πάντα
    καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλο[υσιν
30 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ὑποπτ[εύου-
    σιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν ὅτι ἡ [θάλασσα κα-
    ταπίεται αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν αὐτ[ῇ ἀπολοῦν-
    ται.   οὐχὶ πᾶσα ἡ θάλασσα καὶ [πάντα τὰ   6
    ὕδατα αὐτῆς ἔργον τοῦ ὑψ[ίστου ἐστί,
35 καὶ αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο [τὰ] π[έρατα αὐ-
    τῶν, καὶ συνέδησεν αὐτ[ήν, καὶ περι-
    έφραξεν αὐτὴν ἄμμῳ; [καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
    ἐμβριμήσεως αὐτοῦ φ[οβοῦνται καὶ ξη-
    ραίνονται, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες.[7

Three lines are lost.

in ⑮. For the other two, the Ethi-
opic presents only one, which reads
"has sealed all its doings" (Flem-
ming, Martin, Beer, with most of
Group II); "all" is lacking in M.
"Has set limits to its doings" Charles,
combining readings of E and Y. The
former version ("sealed") can scarcely
be reconciled with either of the first
two clauses in the Greek text; the
second version might represent the
first clause, or a conflation of the two.
After συνεστήσατο there is a space
from which all traces of writing have
disappeared; it is too broad for one
letter, slightly narrow for two, but
careful measurement shows that τά
could have stood there. The next
letter could only have been π or γ.
τὰ πέρατα makes the best sense espe-
cially in view of the thought of the
next two clauses. Perhaps πέρατα

was corrupted to πράγματα, which
the Ethiopic translator accepted as
equivalent to πράξεις. αὐτῶν is in-
consistent with αὐτήν in 37; the
variation is probably due to the com-
bination of a singular and a plural in
the subject of the sentence (33–34).
The writer returns to a plural in ξη-
ραίνονται (38–39).

Reminiscences of this passage, com-
bined with Job xxxviii. 8 and Ps.
lxiv (lxv). 7, are perhaps to be de-
tected in Const. Apost. 8, 12 (Migne I,
1096 B), ὁ συστησάμενος ἄβυσσον....
περιφράξας δὲ αὐτὴν πύλαις ἄμμου
λεπτοτάτης.

After 39 there are traces of one line,
and two more would have been needed.
Æ reads "and all its fish die, and all
that is in it; but ye sinners that are on
the earth fear him not.   Has he not
made the heaven and the earth," etc.

κα

p. 7　　　[. .]νκαιπαντατα ε ναυτοισκαιτισεδωκενε　　　101, 8

[. .]στημηνπασιντοισκεινουμενοισεν

[. .]θαλασσηοιναυκληροιτηνθαλασσαν　　　9

[. .]βουνταικαιοτανεκβαληεφυμαστον　　　102, 1

5　　[.]λυδωνατουπυροστησκαυσεωσυμων

πουαποδραντεσσωθησεσθαικαιοταν

δωεφυμασφωνηναυτουεσεσθαισυν

σειωμενοικαιφοβουμενοιηχωμεγαλω

καιτηνγηνσυνπασανσειωμενηνκαι　　　2

10　　τρεμουσανκαιτυντραζομενηνκαιοιαγ'　　　3

γελοισυντελουντεστοσυναχθεναυτοισ

καιοουρανοσκαιοιφοστηρεσσειωμενοι

καιτρεμοντεσαπαντεσοιϋιοιτησγησ

καινμεισαμαρτωλοιεπικαταρατοιεισ τον

---

1 οὐκ ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τήν preceded. 𝔈 omits the καί before τίς.
2 𝔈 has "understanding and wisdom."
3-4 "Do not the kings of ships fear the sea?" 𝔈; as to "kings" for "sailors" compare the note on verse 4. After φοβοῦνται 𝔈 has "yet sinners fear not the Most High."
4 καὶ ὅταν: "in those days when" 𝔈.
5 For the phrase τὸν κλύδωνα τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καύσεως ὑμῶν 𝔈 has "a grievous fire;" the Greek is probably colored by Hebrew idiom.
7 δῷ: "hurl" 𝔈. φωνήν: "word" 𝔈. "Will you not" 𝔈, and perhaps the original of 𝔊; οὐκ after αὐτοῦ might be easily lost; see p. 6, 23, n.
8 ἤχῳ μεγάλῳ is not in 𝔈, but it may be taken as dat. of cause with φοβούμενοι and is probably in its right place here; cf. Sir. xlvi. 17, καὶ ἐβρόντησεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κύριος, καὶ ἐν ἤχῳ μεγάλῳ ἀκουστὴν ἐποίησεν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ.

9-13 The Ethiopic reads "and all the lights (i.e. of heaven) shall tremble for great fear, and the whole earth will be frightened and tremble and be afraid. And all the angels shall fulfil their command and they shall try to hide themselves from the great glory, and the children of the earth shall tremble and quake."

The accusatives in 9-10 can stand only if some verb such as ὄψεσθε is inserted after καί (9), as James suggested. καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι would then begin a new clause, which, however, would have no finite verb; see note on 11. The revised text above (due to a suggestion of H. C. Youtie) treats the accusatives as written by mistake instead of nominatives, which continue, somewhat loosely, as if οὐκ ἔσονται had preceded.

10 τυντραξομενην: if we allow for the common confusion of λ and ρ, this

κα

p. 7   [γῆ]ν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς; καὶ τίς ἔδωκεν ἐ-   101, 8

         [πι]στήμην πᾶσιν τοῖς κινουμένοις ἐν

         [τῇ] θαλάσσῃ; οἱ ναύκληροι τὴν θάλασσαν   9

         [φο]βοῦνται. καὶ ὅταν ἐκβάλῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὸν   102, 1

5   [κ]λύδωνα τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καύσεως ὑμῶν,

         ποῦ ἀποδράντες σωθήσεσθε; καὶ ὅταν

         δῷ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς φωνὴν αὐτοῦ, ⟨οὐκ⟩ ἔσεσθε συν-

         σειόμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι ἤχῳ μεγάλῳ;

         καὶ ἡ γῆ σύμπασα σειομένη καὶ   2

10   τρέμουσα καὶ συνταρασσομένη, καὶ οἱ ἄγ-   3

         γελοι συντελοῦντες τὸ συνταχθὲν αὐτοῖς,

         καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ οἱ φωστῆρες σειόμενοι

         καὶ τρέμοντες, ⟨καὶ⟩ ἅπαντες οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς γῆς.

         καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐπικατάρατοι εἰς τὸν

would appear to be from Attic τυν-τλάζω, "to walk in mud" or "to pelt with mud" or "roll in mud," Ar. *Pax* 1148, Sosip. 1, 35. Here it could only mean something like "deluged with mud." But the verb is rare and attested only in Attic, and the context calls rather for a word describing general wreckage and confusion. The corruption probably conceals a form of συν-ταράσσω, perhaps in some by-form. Compare θράσσω for ταράσσω, used chiefly in poetry. But the following phenomena should also be noted: a) ἔθρασεν (from θράζω?) is a variant reading of A for ἔθλασεν in Job xx. 19; b) Arcadius, p. 157, 17, cites τράζω, usually regarded as an error; the passage was called to my attention by H. C. Youtie, to whom I also owe c) ταράζω in Mod. Greek, which rests upon a late confusion of forms in -σσω and -ζω. 11 συναχθεν: read συνταχθέν. The sentence beginning οἱ ἄγγελοι has no

conclusion in the Greek. 𝔈 has "will fulfil their command and try to hide themselves from the great glory." But the second predicate, "will try to hide," etc., looks very much as if it might have belonged to καὶ ὁ οὐρα-νὸς καὶ οἱ φωστῆρες (l. 12). Conversely, in 𝔈 "all the lights" (*heaven* is omitted) has for its predicate "shall tremble and fear," which would suit ἄγγελοι better. Perhaps the original text read something like this, beginning after τυντραζομενην: καὶ ὁ οὐ-ρανὸς καὶ οἱ φωστῆρες ἀποκρυβήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγαλοδόξου, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι συντελοῦντες τὸ συνταχθὲν αὐτοῖς ἔσον-ται σειόμενοι καὶ τρέμοντες, καὶ ἅπαν-τες οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς γῆς. For μεγαλο-δόξου (cf. 3 Macc. vi. 18), Family II of 𝔈 has "the great in glory" where the others read "the great glory." The papyrus shows that Charles's suspicion of the word ἄγγελοι was unfounded.

15 αιωναιουκεστινϋμιν   χαιρειν θαρ   4
σειται ψυχαιτωνδικαιωντωναποθα
νοντωντωνδικαιωνκαιτωνευσεβων
καιμηλυπισθαιοτικατεβησαναι ψυχαι   5
ϋμωνειδουμεταλυπησκαιουκαπεν
20 τηθητωσωματιτησσαρκοστουμωθεν
τηζωηϋμωνκαιτηνωσιωτηταϋμων
επειαιημεραιασητα ιημεραιησαναμαρ
τωλωνκαικαταρατωνεπιτησγησοτᾱ   6
αποθανηταιτοτεερουσινοιαμαρτωλοι
25 οτιευσεβεισκατατηνιμαρμενηναπε
θανωσανκαιτιαυτοισπεριεγενετοεπι
τοισεργοισαυτωνκαιαυτοιομοιωσημιν   7
απεθανοσανειδετεουνωσαποθνησ
κουσινμεταλυπησκαισκοτουσκαιτι
30 αυτοισεγενετοπερισσοναποτουνυνασ[
τητωσανκαισωθητωσανκαιοψονται[8
ειστοαιωνακαλωσϋμασφαγεινκαιπειν   9
τοιγαρουναρπασαικαιαμαρτανεινκαι

---

15 Read αἰῶνα. By punctuating after ὑμεῖς and αἰῶνα the Greek text may be accepted. 𝔈 has "and you, sinners, shall be accursed for ever and you shall have no peace."
This passage, like several preceding, shows the scribe's mannerism of leaving a space between ὑμῖν and χαίρειν; see Introduction p. 14.
16 δικαίων: 𝔈 continues "and be hopeful, ye who died in righteousness." Perhaps the Greek has lost καὶ εὐελπίζετε ψυχαί.
17 καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν: om. 𝔈.
18: ὅτι: "if" GGa.
19 ειδου: read εἰ⟨ς ᾅ⟩δου. απεντηθη: for ἀπηντήθη, a form apparently not attested elsewhere. L. and S. cite the impf. and perf. middle, and Lucian censures ἀπαντώμενος, Lexiph. 25. The sense is "it did not happen to

the body of your flesh" (a Hebraism?), i.e. "your body in the flesh did not fare," etc. Similarly 𝔈. Compare p. 2, 28.
20 τουμωθεν: read ὑμῶν ἐν (Kenyon). I cannot explain the corruption.
21 και: read κατά.
22 "But on the day when you became sinners, and on the day of cursing and punishment" 𝔈; corrupt or mistranslated. James suggests ⟨ὡς⟩ before the second ἡμέραι.
25–26 The article seems to be required before εὐσεβεῖς. απεθανωσαν: for ἀπεθάνοσαν = ἀπέθανον, common in LXX. "As we die, the righteous die" 𝔈.
28 𝔈 omits ἀπεθάνοσαν ... ὡς.
30 περισσόν: 𝔈 adds "than we."
30–32 ἀπὸ ... αἰῶνα. For these words 𝔈 has "From henceforth we are

15 αἰῶνα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν χαίρειν. θαρ- 4
σεῖτε, ψυχαὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν ἀποθα-
νόντων, τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν,
καὶ μὴ λυπεῖσθε ὅτι κατέβησαν αἱ ψυχαὶ 5
ὑμῶν εἰ⟨s ᾅ⟩δου μετὰ λύπης καὶ οὐκ ἀπην-
20 τήθη τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν ἐν
τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα ὑμῶν,
ἐπεὶ αἱ ἡμέραι ἃς ἦτε ἡμέραι ἦσαν ἁμαρ-
τωλῶν καὶ καταράτων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ὅταν 6
ἀποθάνητε, τότε ἐροῦσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ
25 ὅτι ⟨οἱ⟩ εὐσεβεῖς κατὰ τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἀπε-
θάνοσαν, καὶ τί αὐτοῖς περιεγένετο ἐπὶ
τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν; καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ἡμῖν 7
ἀπεθάνοσαν. ἴδετε οὖν ὡς ἀποθνήσ-
κουσιν μετὰ λύπης καὶ σκότους, καὶ τί
30 αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο περισσόν; ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀ⟨να⟩σ-
τήτωσαν καὶ σωθήτωσαν, καὶ ὄψοντα[ι 8
εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καλῶς ὑμᾶς φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν. 9
τοιγαροῦν ἁρπάσαι καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν καὶ

equal. And what will they receive and what will they see for ever?" ("What will they receive" MT, II; "how will they rise" GGaQ). At the end of 30 ασ is certain, which indicates ἀναστήτωσαν, να having been lost by haplography. The separation of σ from τ at the end of the line is not an objection; cf. 36, and there are other examples. "We are equal" in 𝔈 makes sense, but rests upon a mis-reading of ἰσώθησαν for σωθήτωσαν with erroneous change of construction; hence the order in the copy used by 𝔈 (or at least by the source of GGaQ) must have been σωθήτωσαν καὶ ἀναστήτωσαν.

32-33 After αἰῶνα (32) 𝔈 adds "Behold, they too have died, and henceforth forever shall they see no light." The first clause may have been intro-

duced here from 27-28 where similar words are omitted by 𝔈; see note. But if it belongs here, 𝔈 may be right in using an interrogative construction with ὄψονται; in which case the Greek source must have been καὶ ⟨τί⟩ ὄψονται εἰς τὸ⟨ν⟩ αἰῶνα; ⟨ἴδετε, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεθάνοσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐκ ὄψονται φῶς⟩. The repetition of ὄψονται and αἰῶνα would make the omission of the bracketed words easier. For the language cf. Ps. xxxv (xxxvi). 10, xlviii (xlix). 20.

A more probable explanation of the confusion in the text is suggested by the fact that 𝔊 places καλῶς ... πεῖν in 32 while 𝔈 has similar words, perhaps rightly, before ἁρπάσαι (33), where it reads "I tell you, sinners, ye are contented to eat and drink and

[. .]πωδυτεινκαιενκτισθαικανκημ[

35 [. .]ημασαγαθαειδετεουνοιδικαιουντεσ 10

[. . .]ουσαποιαεγενετοαυτωνηκατασ

[. . .]φηοτιπασαδικαιοσυνηουχευρε

[. .]εναυτοισεωσαποθανονκαιαπολον 11

[. . .]αιεγενοντοωσουκοντοεσκαικατε

40 [. . . .]ναιψυχαιαυτωνμετωδυνησεισ

[. . . . . . .]. . . . εγωρμνυωϋμι[103, 1

Three lines are lost.

κβ

p. 8   επισταμαιτομυστηριοντουτοαν[103, 2

γαρτασπλακαστουουρανουκαιειδ[

γραφηναναγ᾽καιανεγνωνταγ[

ναεναυταισκαιενκεκ·λαμμεν[

rob and sin and strip men naked and acquire possessions and see good days." The infinitives can scarcely stand after ὄψονται, taking the place of the participle in description. Perhaps in 31–32 𝕲 should read καὶ ὄψονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καλῶς ἡμᾶς ἔσθοντας καὶ πίνοντας, this clause being a continuation of the jeering ἀναστήτωσαν καὶ σωθήτωσαν. The author replies to these taunts in 33, τοιγαροῦν ⟨καλῶς ἐστιν⟩ (so oftener than ἔχει in LXX) ὑμᾶς φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν καὶ⟩ ἁρπάσαι, etc., the occurrence of similar words leading to omissions and corruptions. The occurrence of present and aorist infinitives in the same construction without distinction of meaning is not unknown, cf. Radermacher, p. 151. πεῖν is doubtful, but suits the traces better than πιεῖν.

34 For ενκτισθαι, read ἐγκτᾶσθαι, which may have been intended by the scribe; the iota is blotted as if the

writer had tried to change it to something else. After this καν is clear, then follows κημ. The passage is hopelessly corrupt. κτήματα is naturally expected, though not necessary; καὶ ἰδεῖν is required by 𝔈.
35 Two letters are lost, then there is a vertical stroke, doubtless part of η, and μας. The scribe probably wrote ερημας for ἡμέρας. Read ἀγαθά⟨s⟩; σ lost before ε.
οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτούς: cf. Luke xvi. 15. One might expect the accusative; but a nominativus pendens is possible, and should not be emended. The Ethiopic translator wrongly took these words to mean "the righteous." Consequently verses 10–11 are taken by Flemming-Radermacher as a reply from the wicked to the author's voice in l. 33. Charles and Beer limit this reply to verse 11. Martin considers verses 10–11 as a part of the address to sinners in verse 9, but holds that the speaker is simply rehearsing the

[λω]ποδυτεῖν καὶ ἐγκτᾶσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν (?)
35 ἡμέρας ἀγαθάς(?). ἴδετε οὖν, οἱ δικαιοῦντες 10
[ἑαυτ]ούς, ὁποῖα ἐγένετο αὐτῶν ἡ κατασ-
[τρο]φή, ὅτι πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη οὐχ εὑρέ-
[θη] ἐν αὐτοῖς ἕως ἀπέθανον καὶ ἀπώλον- 11
[το κ]αὶ ἐγένοντο ὡς οὐκ ὄντες καὶ κατέ-
40 [βησα]ν αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν μετ' ὀδύνης εἰς
[ᾅδου...]..... ἐγὼ ὀμνύω ὑμῖ[ν 103, 1

Three lines are lost.

κβ

p. 8 ἐπίσταμαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο· ἀν[έγνων 103, 2
γὰρ τὰς πλάκας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ εἶδ[ον τὴν
γραφὴν ⟨τὴν⟩ ἀναγκαίαν· ἔγνων τὰ γ[εγραμμέ-
να ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐγκεκολαμμέν[α περὶ

charge that virtue is useless, with a view to answering it later.

37 δικαιοσύνη: "violence" 𝕰. Either the translator read αδικαιοσυνη (dittography of final α of πᾶσα) and accepted that as a possible equivalent of ἀδικία or ἀδίκημα, or he deliberately adapted the text before him to suit his notion that οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτούς meant the righteous. For πᾶσα ... οὐ = οὐδεμία, cf. Abel §36 f, §75 n, and note on p. 4, 7.

41 In addition to αδου three or at most four letters were completely lost, then follow traces of four before the recognizable εγω. The first of those traces resembles λ or the first half of μ. The Ethiopic suggests νῦν δέ or νῦν οὖν. Neither exactly suits the traces.

Chapter 103, 1, of which we have only the beginning, reads in 𝕰, "Now, therefore, I swear to you the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and Mighty One in do-

minion, and by his greatness I swear to you." The expression is suspiciously full; but equivalent Greek words could have been contained in the three lines that are lost.

1 τοῦτο: so T, II; the others omit.
2 γάρ: "and" 𝕰. "In the heavenly tablets" MT, II.
3 ⟨τήν⟩ Kenyon. If τὴν ἀναγκαίαν is right, it must mean "of authority;" τῶν ἁγίων James, cf. "the books of the holy ones" GaM, II. "The holy books" (τὴν ἁγίαν) GQT. One might suspect haplography and write ⟨ἀν⟩έγνων, but 𝕰 renders "found written," which may indicate a different verb from that in l. 1.
4 ενκεκ·λαμμεν[: read ἐγκεκολαμμένα. The dot after the second κ is not the minute omicron occasionally used by this scribe, but an equivalent for the apostrophe between consonants; there is another case on p. 9, 34; cf. Thompson, *Palaeography*, p. 62.

5	ϋμωνοτιαγαθακαιηχαρακαιητ[	3
	ητοιμασταικαιεγ'γεγραπταιταισψ[	
	τωναποθανοντωνευσεβωνκαιχα[	4
	σονταικαιουμηαπολωνταιταπ̅ν̅α	
	αυτωνουδετωμνημοσυνοναποπροσ	
10	οπουτουμεγαλουεισπασαστασγενεασ	
	τωναιωνων μηουνφοβεισθαιτουσ	
	ονιδισμουσαυτωνκαιϋμεισοινεκροιτ̅ω̅	5
	αμαρτωλωνοτ αναποθανητ αιερουσιν	
	εφυμεινμακαριοιαμαρτωλοιπασασ	
15	τασημερασαυτωνωσαειδωσανεντη	
	ζωηαυτωνκαιενδοξοσαπεθανοσαν	6
	καικρισισουκεγενηθηεντηζωηαυ	
	τωναυτοιϋμεισγεινωσκεταιοτιεισα	7
	δουταξουσιντασψυχαισυμωνκαιεκει	
20	εσονταιεναναγ'κημεγαληκαιενσκο	8
	τικαιενπαγι · δεικαιενφλογεικαιομε	
	νηκαιεισκρισινμεγαληνεισελευσον	
	ταιαιψυχαιυμωνενπασαισταισγενε	
	αιστουαιωνοσ ουαιυμινουκεστ[	
25	υμειν χαιρεινμηγαρειπητεοιδικ[	9

5 ὑμῶν: "them" **E**. ἀγαθά: "everything good" **E**. Perhaps ⟨τὰ⟩ ἀγαθά, but the use of the article at this period presents many irregularities.

ὁ ἡτοίμασται: GaT², II add "for them."

7 After εὐσεβῶν **G** has omitted the following by homoioteleuton: "and that much good shall be given you in recompense for your labors, and that your lot is better than that of the living; and the spirits of you (of them MT) who have died in righteousness shall live . . . ."

8 χαρήσονται: GGaM, II add "and exult."

11 τῶν αἰώνων: "of the world" **E**.

12 ονιδισμους: the first ι was omitted, then written above the line, but by the original scribe. καὶ .... ἀμαρτωλῶν: "Woe to you, sinners" **E**.

13 ὅταν ἀποθάνητε: om. family II. **E** adds "in the wealth of your sins, and those who are like you" (say, etc.).

14 Perhaps μακάριοι ⟨οἱ⟩ ἁμαρτωλοί. When a predicate adjective precedes a plural noun, the noun usually has the article, but not always (cf. Ps. cxviii. 1; but some texts have it there also). With a singular noun the article is often omitted, μακάριος ἀνήρ occurring several times.

15 ωσαειδωσαν: l. ὅσα⟨ς⟩ εἴδοσαν (Kenyon), i.e., "all the days that

5 ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ τ[ιμὴ 3
   ἡτοίμασται καὶ ἐγγέγραπται ταῖς ψ[υχαῖς
   τῶν ἀποθανόντων εὐσεβῶν· καὶ χα[ρή- 4
   σονται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπόλωνται τὰ πνεύματα
   αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὸ μνημόσυνον ἀπὸ προσ-
10 ώπου τοῦ μεγάλου εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς
   τῶν αἰώνων.   μὴ οὖν φοβεῖσθε τοὺς
   ὀνειδισμοὺς αὐτῶν.   καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἱ νεκροὶ τῶν 5
   ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὅταν ἀποθάνητε ἐροῦσιν
   ἐφ' ὑμῖν, μακάριοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ πάσας
15 τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῶν ὅσας εἴδοσαν ἐν τῇ
   ζωῇ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐνδόξως ἀπεθάνοσαν, 6
   καὶ κρίσις οὐκ ἐγενήθη ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐ-
   τῶν.   αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰς ᾅ- 7
   δου ⟨κα⟩τάξουσιν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖ
20 ἔσονται ἐν ἀνάγκῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐν σκό- 8
   τει καὶ ἐν παγίδι καὶ ἐν φλογὶ καιομέ-
   νῃ, καὶ εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλην εἰσελεύσον-
   ται αἱ ψυχαὶ ὑμῶν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενε-
   αῖς τοῦ αἰῶνος.   οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἔστ[ιν
25 ὑμῖν χαίρειν.   μὴ γὰρ εἴπητε οἱ δίκ[αι- 9

they have seen;" 𝔈 has "they have
seen all their days."   After this 𝔊 has
omitted by homoioteleuton "and now
they have died in prosperity and
wealth, and tribulation and murder
they have not seen," which may be
rendered *exempli gratia* καὶ νῦν ἀπε-
θάνοσαν ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ καὶ ἐν πλούτῳ, καὶ
θλῖψιν καὶ φόνον οὐκ εἴδοσαν.
18 αὐτοί: om. 𝔈.
19 ταξουσιν: l. ⟨κα⟩τάξουσιν, with
𝔈 "cause to descend;" cf. Tob. xiii.
2, Ps. xxx (xxxi). 17. ψυχαῖς: l.
ψυχάς. ὑμῶν: so Q; "their" all the
others.
καὶ ... μεγάλῃ: "They shall be
wretched and their affliction shall be
great" 𝔈.

21 παγίδι: figuratively, as often in
LXX, cf. Prov. xii. 13, Jer. xxxi
(xlviii). 43. "Chains" 𝔈. Note the
dot after the first iota.
22 καὶ εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλην: "where
there is grievous judgment" (Charles)
or "where the great judgment is held"
𝔈, which inserts "and the judgment
shall be" before ἐν πάσαις (23); it
is doubtful whether the added clause
represents an original different from
the Greek.
24 τοῦ αἰῶνος: "to eternity" (εἰς
τὸν αἰῶνα) II.
25 As before (p. 4, 24) there is a space
(for three letters) between ὑμῖν and
χαίρειν.

οιοσοιοντεσεντηζωητωνημερω̄
τησθλιψεωσκοπουσεκοπιασαμενκ[
ανηλωμεθακαιολιγοιεγενηθημενκ[
αντιλημπτοραουκευρηκαμενσυν[10
30   τριμμενοικαιαπολωλαμενκαιαπ[
πισμεθακαιμηκετιειδιναισωτερια[
ημερανεξημερασηλπιζαμενγε[11
θαικεφαληεγενηθημενκερ[
πιασαμενεργαζομενοικαιτω[
35   ψιμωνουκεκυριευκαμενεγερ[
μενκαταβρωμααμαρτωλωγ[
μοιεβαρυνανεφυμαστωνζγ[
οικυριευουσινοιεχροιημαθν[12
κεντριζουσινημασκαιπερικ[
40   ουσινημασεζητησαμενπο[13
[.]ταυτωνοπωσαναψυχ[

Three lines are lost.

26 οσοι: 1. ⟨καὶ⟩ ὅσ⟨ι⟩οι or, as James suggests, ⟨οἱ⟩ ὅσ⟨ι⟩οι; "the just and good" 𝔈. . But instead of a phrase of address, 𝔈 has "regarding the just and good," which causes confusion in the persons; cf. Charles's note about the MS variants. I do not understand his conclusion that the third person is the original in verses 9–15; on his own showing the first is more natural. τῶν ἡμερῶν: 𝔈 indicates that these words should mean "in the days," beginning a new sentence. But except in such phrases as ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός the Greek of LXX uses temporal genitives sparingly. The idea would usually be expressed by ἐν ἡμέραις θλίψεως, or ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς θλίψεως; cf. Abel, p. 124. **27** After ἐκοπιάσαμεν 𝔈 adds "and we

have experienced every trouble and met with much evil." **29** After ἐγενήθημεν 𝔈 adds "and our spirit has become small, and we have been destroyed." ἀντιλήμπτορα: "any to help us even with a word" 𝔈. **30** συντετριμμένοι ⟨ἐσμέν⟩: "We have been tortured" 𝔈. It would be hard to parallel the construction after ἀπηλπίσμεθα, although "we have given up hope even to know safety again from day to day" seems a possible translation. Various slight changes would produce a normal construction, but it has seemed best to leave the text untouched. 𝔈 has "and have not hoped to see life from day to day;" σωτηρία = "life", as often in this version. **34–35** τω[ν ο]ψιμων, corruption of τῶν

οι ⟨καὶ⟩ ὅσιοι ὄντες ἐν τῇ ζωῇ, τῶν ἡμερῶν
τῆς θλίψεως κόπους ἐκοπιάσαμεν, κ[αὶ
ἀνηλώμεθα καὶ ὀλίγοι ἐγενήθημεν, κ[αὶ
ἀντιλήμπτορα οὐχ εὑρήκαμεν· συν[τε-   **10**
30   τριμμένοι ⟨ἐσμὲν⟩ καὶ ἀπολώλαμεν, καὶ ἀπ[ηλ-
πίσμεθα καὶ μηκέτι εἰδέναι σωτηρία[ν
ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας. ἠλπίσαμεν γε[νέσ-   **11**
θαι κεφαλή, ἐγενήθημεν κέρ[κος· ἐκο-
πιάσαμεν ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ τῶ[ν ὀ-
35   ψωνίων οὐ κεκυριεύκαμεν. ἐγεν[ήθη-
μεν κατάβρωμα ἁμαρτωλῶν, [οἱ ἄνο-
μοι ἐβάρυναν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸν ζυ[γόν.
οἳ κυριεύουσιν, οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν(?) [ἐγ-   **12**
κεντρίζουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ περικ[λεί-
40   ουσιν ἡμᾶς· ἐζητήσαμεν πο[ῦ φύγωμεν   **13**
[ἀ]π' αὐτῶν ὅπως ἀναψύχ[ωμεν

Three lines are lost.

ὀψωνίων (Kenyon); cf. 𝔈 "and have not enjoyed the fruits of our labor."
36–37 [οἱ ἄνο]μοι: Kenyon.
38 εχροι: l. ἐχθροί. For the corrupt ημαθν[Kenyon emends to ἡμῶν ἐν-. ἐγκεντρίζω occurs in Wisdom xvi. 11. 𝔈 reads "they have had dominion over us that hated us and smote us."
39–40 Here 𝔈 reads "to those that hated us we have bowed our necks, but they pitied us not." As Charles suggests, "to those that hated us" is probably a dittography; "we have bowed our necks" appears to represent, probably incorrectly, the word at the end of 39 and the beginning of 40; and the last clause is not represented in Greek. For the mutilated word (39–40) περικ[υκλ]οῦσιν would give a satisfactory sense, and the verb

is common in LXX; but the manner of the division at the end of the line makes it an unlikely reading here. περικυκλεύω is attested, as far as I know, only in Schol. Ar. Ran. 195. περικλείουσιν is better and not too remote from common use; cf. P. Oxy. 1666, 12.
40 πο[ῦ φύγωμεν]: for the construction cf. Prov. xxii. 27, Matt. viii. 20, Mark xi. 18. ⟨ἀ⟩πο[δρᾶναι] or ⟨ἀ⟩πο[φυγεῖν] (Kenyon) is also possible. "We sought to escape them in order to flee and have rest" 𝔈.
41 The missing part reads in 𝔈 "but we found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them. (14) And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation, and—." Three lines would have sufficed for the Greek equivalent.

κγ

p. 9   εκραξαμενεπιτουσκαταβαλλοντασ   103, 14
        [.]αιβιαζομενουσημασκαιτασεντευξεισ
        [.]μωνουκαπεδεξαντοουδεεβουλον
        [.]οεπακουσαιτησφωνησημωνκαιου   15
    5   καντελαμβανοντοημωνουχευρον
        τεσκατατωνβιαζομενωνκαικαθεστῶ
        τωνημασαλλαστερεουσιναυτουσεφυμασ
        απεκτεινανημασκαιεισολειγουσηγαγον
        καιουχυποδικυουσινπεριτωνπεφω
    10 νευμενωνημωνκαιουκαναμιμνησ
        κουσινπεριαμαρτωλωναυτωντασα
        μαρτιασαυτωνωμνυωϋμινοτιοιαγ'γε   104, 1
        λοιεντωουρανωαναμιμνησκουσιν
        εισαγαθονενωπιοντησδοξησστουμε

---

1 τοὺς καταβάλλοντας: "those who de-
voured us" E, with a different text
(cf. line 6 below); Aristophanes' col-
loquial use of ἐμβάλλεσθε in the
sense of "eat heartily" (Pax 1312)
cannot be used to prove καταβάλλειν
= devour. In this passage καταβάλ-
λειν may be used somewhat vaguely
in the sense of "strike down"; but it is
more likely that it has the meaning
"abuse," "insult," "slander." For
this meaning L. and S. cite Philod.
Voll. Rhet. II, p. 164 (Sudhaus); add
Philod. περὶ παρρησίας p. 42, l. 11
(λοιδορεῖν ἢ πομπεύειν ἢ καταβάλλειν
ἢ βλάπτειν). Similar meanings were
developed in καταβολή and καταβλη-
τικός; see L. and S. under these
words.
2 καὶ βιαζομένους: om. E. τὰς
ἐντεύξεις: "our cry" E.
4–8 For the passage καὶ οὐκ ἀντελαμ-
βάνοντο ... εἰς ὀλίγους ἤγαγον E has

only "they helped those who robbed
and devoured us and made us few."
5–6 οὐχ εὑρόντες κατὰ κτλ.: "finding
no fault with" or "finding nothing
against." A similar phrase, ἔχειν
κατά with genitive, in the sense of
"hold something against," "harbor a
grudge," occurs several times in the
N.T. (Matt. v. 23, Rev. ii. 4, 14) and
in the Shepherd of Hermas Mand. 2, 2;
Sim. 8, 10, 1; 9, 23, 2; 9, 24, 2; in these
passages it is used either with a neuter
object or none at all. Compare μή
τις κατά τινος in the deacon's warning
before the offertory (Const. Apost. 8,
12, Migne 1092A).
6 καθεστῶ|των: l. κατεσθόντων
(Youtie). The form κατέσθω for
κατεσθίω is found in both LXX
(Numb. xiii. 33) and N.T. (Mark xii.
40, text of B).
7 ἀλλὰ στερεοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς:
om. E.

κγ

p. 9   ἐκράξαμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς καταβάλλοντας   103, 14
             [κ]αὶ βιαζομένους ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις
             [ἡ]μῶν οὐκ ἀπεδέξαντο, οὐδὲ ἐβούλον-
             [τ]ο ἐπακοῦσαι τῆς φωνῆς ἡμῶν. καὶ οὐ-   15
     5   κ ἀντελαμβάνοντο ἡμῶν, οὐχ εὑρόν-
             τες κατὰ τῶν βιαζομένων καὶ κατεσθόν-
             των ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ στερεοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς,
             ⟨οἳ⟩ ἀπέκτειναν ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰς ὀλίγους ἤγαγον·
             καὶ οὐχ ὑποδεικνύουσιν περὶ τῶν πεφο-
    10   νευμένων ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμιμνήσ-
             κουσιν περὶ ⟨τῶν⟩ ἁμαρτωλῶν {αὐτῶν} τὰς ἁ-
             μαρτίας αὐτῶν. ὀμνύω ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ ἄγγε-   104, 1
             λοι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν ⟨ὑμῶν⟩
             εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ με-

8 The Ethiopic seems to indicate ⟨οἳ⟩ before ἀπέκτειναν (see note on 4–8); if this is right, αὐτούς of line 7 approaches ἐκείνους in meaning and serves as antecedent of the following clause.

9 After ἤγαγον 𝕰 has "and they concealed their oppression and they did not remove from us the yoke of those who devoured us, dispersed us and murdered us," for which there is no equivalent in Greek. οὐχ ὑποδικύουσιν: l. οὐχ ὑποδεικνύουσιν "they do not lay information against." "They concealed" 𝕰.

The construction is peculiar; ἡμῶν is apparently partitive. "Our murder" most MSS of 𝕰, but others give the third person. The confusion probably rests upon a misunderstanding of the Greek text of verse 9. The Greek here, as in lines 2 and 7, supports the judgment of Dillmann and Flemming in the matter of the pronouns, against Charles, Martin, and Beer. See the notes of the editors on verse 9.

10–12 οὐκ ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν ... ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. The simplest correction probably consists in inserting τῶν before ἁμαρτωλῶν and omitting the first αὐτῶν, with the rather awkward rendering "concerning the sinners they remember not their sins." But it is probable that we have a conflation of two constructions derived from variant readings in earlier copies: οὐκ ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν and οὐκ ἀναμ. τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν. The error ἁμαρτιῶν⟩ ἁμαρτωλῶν would be easy. 𝕰 gives no help: "and remembered not that they had lifted up their hands against us."

12 After ὑμῖν "ye righteous" is added in T², II.

13 ὑμῶν seems to be required at the end of the line; so 𝕰.

15   γαλουθαρσειταιδηοτιεπαλαιωθηταιεν   2
     τοισκακοισκαιενταισθλιψεσινωσιφωσ
     τηρεστουουρανουαναλαμψεταικαιφα
     νειταιαιθυριδεστουουρανουανοιχθη
     σονταιϋμινκαιηκραυηϋμωνακου   3
20   σθησεταικαιηκρισισϋμωνηνκραζεται
     καιφανειταιεφωσασυλλαβησεταιυμιν
     περιτησθλιψεωσϋμωνκαιεκπαντων
     οστισμετεσχεντωνβραζομενωνκαι
          θ
     κατεσχοντωνϋμαστακακαεντηημε   5
25   ρατησκρισεωστησμεγαλησκαιουμηευ
     ρηταιωσοιαμαρτωλοισκυλησεσθαικαι

15 After μεγάλου 𝔈 adds "and your names are written before the glory of the Great One." Is this simply an alternative version of the preceding sentence? For ἐπαλαιώθητε cf. Susanna 52 πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν; Ps. vi. 7 ἐπαλαιώθην ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μου. "Aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction" 𝔈. 16 Read ὡσεί; cf. Dan. xii. 3. Before this 𝔈 has "but now."
17 𝔈 I repeats "ye shall shine" before καὶ φανεῖτε; II omits it.
18 θυρίδες: "door" 𝔈.
19–21: the words καὶ ... φανεῖται are represented in 𝔈 by "and in your cry, cry for judgment, and it shall appear to you." κραυη: l. κραυγή; γ was lost by softening before η, cf. Mayser I, 163 f.
20 κράζετε: the sense is, "the judgment for which ye cry shall also appear."
21–24 βραζομένων: l. βιαζομένων, noting the reverse error above p. 5, line 9, αἷμα for ἅρμα. κατεσθόντων: corrected by the first hand.
This sentence, which is obscure and

possibly corrupt, is probably best understood if no stop is placed after φανεῖται, and the thought "judgment shall appear," or "be made manifest" is continued with "against everything that shall take part in (or, contribute to) your oppression." συλλαβήσεται seems to be a hitherto unrecorded vulgarism for συλλήψεται. Mr. H. C. Youtie has called my attention to a passage which may throw some light upon it, namely Arcadius De Accent. p. 149, 14–18 Barker: ἔτι περισπῶνται τὰ ἔχοντα προϋπάρχοντα ὀνόματα, φόβος φοβῶ, ἀσεβὴς ἀσεβῶ .... λαβὴ λαβῶ· τὸ γὰρ λάβω ὑποτακτικόν ἐστι τοῦ ἔλαβον. I know of no other trace of the verb λαβῶ, but λάβω as a present indicative in Modern Greek is attested by Jannaris, §996, 149, and Hatzidakis, p. 125; it is obviously a new formation on the aorist stem. There is a difficulty in ὑμῖν. With such a verb it ought to mean "with you;" hence, in this position, one can scarcely explain it as dative of disadvantage. Possibly ἐφ' was omitted, a not unnatural error

15 γάλου. θαρσεῖτε δὴ ὅτι ἐπαλαιώθητε ἐν 2
τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν· ὡσεὶ φωσ-
τῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀναλάμψετε καὶ φα-
νεῖτε, αἱ θυρίδες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀνοιχθή-
σονται ὑμῖν. καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ ὑμῶν ἀκου- 3
20 σθήσεται, καὶ ἡ κρίσις ὑμῶν ἣν κράζετε
καὶ φανεῖται ἐφ' ὅσα συλλαβήσεται ⟨ἐφ'⟩ ὑμῖν
περὶ τῆς θλίψεως ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πάντων
ὅστις μετέσχεν τῶν βιαζομένων καὶ
κατεσθόντων ὑμᾶς. ⟨οὐ φοβήσεσθε⟩ τὰ κακὰ ἐν τῇ ἡμέ- 5
25 ρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ οὐ μὴ εὐ-
ρ⟨εθ⟩ῆτε ὡς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί. ⟨ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ⟩
σκυλήσεσθε καὶ

when the preposition occurs earlier in the same line; but ἐφ' ὑμᾶς is the regular way to express hostility. ἐφ' ὑμῖν could be regarded as an extension of the use of ἐπί with dative after verbs of emotion, for which see Mayser, II, 2, p. 474, and Johannessohn, p. 314.

ἐκ πάντων (22): for this use of ἐκ, see note on 100, 4 (p. 5, 15). Thus, continuing the thought "judgment shall be made manifest (= exacted)" the writer goes on "from all who took part with those who oppressed and devoured you."

For these lines 𝔈 has "for all your tribulation shall be visited upon the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you"—Charles's version, with which other editors substantially agree.

24–28 τὰ κακὰ .... τῶν αἰώνων. For this passage 𝔈 offers a widely different text which it is best to consider in two parts. First we find the words "hope, and desist not from hoping, for you shall have great joy as the angels in heaven." There is no trace of any of this in the Greek text and we must suppose the scribe to have omitted a verse by accident, or else 𝔈 is interpolated. Next come these words: "What must you do then? You shall not need to hide yourselves on the day of the great judgment, and you shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal judgment shall remain far from you for all the generations of the world."

The Greek text lacks part of this, while it is a little fuller than the Ethiopic elsewhere; e.g., in the words τὰ κακά and σκυλήσεσθε. What preceded τὰ κακά is uncertain: κακά could not have been construed with "hide from," which would need ἀπό with genitive. It is simplest to supply οὐ φοβήσεσθε. Whether this was preceded by a question corresponding to 𝔈 "what must you do then" is doubtful; I suspect that these words formed no part of the Greek text. In lines 25–26 𝔈 indicates a passive in place of εὔρητε; read εὐρ⟨εθ⟩ῆτε.

In 26–28 𝔈 omits σκυλήσεσθε and takes ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔσται in the sense of "shall be far from you." But the

κρισισαιωνιοσεξϋμωνεσταιεισπασασ
τασγενεαστωναιωνωνμηφοβεισθαι   6
οιδικαιοιοτανειδηταιτουσαμαρτωλουσ
30 κατισχυοντασκαιευοδουμενουσκαι
μημετοχοιαυτωνγεινεσθαιαλλαμα
κραναπεχεσθαιαποπαντωντωναδι
κωναυτωνμηγαρειπητεοτιαμαρτω   7
[.]οιουμηεκ'ζητησωσιναιαμαρτιαιυμω̄
35 [...]ημερωνκαινυνϋποδιγνυωϋμιν   8
[..]..φωσκαισκοτοσημερακαινυξυπο
[.]τωουσιντασαμαρτιασυμωνπασασ
[.]ηπλανασθαιτηκαρδιαυμωνμηδεψευ   9
[..]σθαιμηδεεξαλλοιωσητετουσλογουσ
40 [....]ληθειασμηδεκαταψευδεσθαιτω̄
[.......]ναγιουκαιμηδοτεεπαυτηντασ
[........]μωνουγαρεισδικαιωμαε[.]σαγ[

meaning of ἐξ is clearly shown above and by the references on p. 5, 15; furthermore the words should apply to sinners rather than to the righteous. I would therefore assume that a reference to the sinners dropped out by homoioteleuton in line 26, and restore as follows after ἁμαρτωλοί: ⟨ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί⟩ σκυλήσεσθε, καὶ κρίσις κτλ.; "But you sinners shall be troubled and eternal judgment shall be upon you," etc. For αἰώνων 𝕰 has "world."

28 𝕰 has "and now" before "fear not."

30 εὐοδουμένους: "prospering in their ways" I, "prospering in their lust" II. καί: so II; om. I.

32 𝕰 omits πάντων.

33. Read ἀδικ⟨ημάτ⟩ων. After αὐτῶν 𝕰 adds "for ye shall become companions of the host (or, the angels, cf. Flemming ad loc.) of heaven." The origi-

nal text of 33 was probably μὴ γὰρ εἴπητε οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὅτι κτλ. 𝕰 has "although ye sinners say" or "ye sinners indeed say."

34 ἐκζητησωσιν: Probably an error for ἐκζητηθῶσιν. Most Ethiopic MSS have "ye shall not search out all our sins;" N, followed by Charles and Beer, "all our sins shall not be searched out." Acc. to Charles, "all our sins" is nom. in T, II, acc. in GGa. After this 𝕰 adds "and be written down" acc. to T, II; the others have "and write down" with variations in the person of the verb. Then follows "nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day."

35 The space before τῶν could accommodate three letters; but the scribe has made the first letters of several neighboring lines rather broad, and ἐξ might have filled the gap. ἐξ ἡμερῶν may be reconciled with 𝕰

κρίσις αἰώνιος ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔσται εἰς πάσας
τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων. μὴ φοβεῖσθε   6
οἱ δίκαιοι ὅταν ἴδητε τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς
30 κατισχύοντας καὶ εὐοδουμένους, καὶ
μὴ μέτοχοι αὐτῶν γίνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μα-
κρὰν ἀπέχεσθε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδι-
κ⟨ημάτ⟩ων αὐτῶν. μὴ γὰρ εἴπητε οἱ ἁμαρτω-   7
[λ]οὶ ⟨ὅτι⟩ οὐ μὴ ἐκζητηθῶσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν
35 [. . .] ἡμερῶν. καὶ νῦν ὑποδεικνύω ὑμῖν   8
[. .]. . φῶς καὶ σκότος ἡμέρα καὶ νὺξ ἐπο-
[π]τεύουσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν πάσας.
[μ]ὴ πλανᾶσθε τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν μηδὲ ψεύ-   9
[δε]σθε μηδὲ ἐξαλλοιώσητε τοὺς λόγους
40 [τῆς ἀ]ληθείας, μηδὲ καταψεύδεσθε τῶν
[λόγων το]ῦ ἁγίου, καὶ μὴ δότε ἔπαινον ταῖς
[εἰκόσιν ὑ]μῶν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς δικαίωμα ε[ἰ]σάγ[ου-

(see note on 34) by supplying after
it εἰς ἡμέρας. ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας
occurs several times in LXX.
υποδιγνυω: l. ὑποδεικνύω. For κν⟩γν,
see Mayser, I, 169 f.
36 Before φῶς there are traces of two
or possibly three letters and addi-
tional space for about two more letters
at the left. ὅτι may have been
written broadly; [ὅτι κ]αί is probably
too long. ὅπως would fill the space
better, and is occasionally used as an
equivalent of ὅτι (references in
Moulton, Vocabulary, under ὅπως, 2);
but the use is colloquial and there is
no example in the Greek Enoch.
37 υπο[π]τωουσιν: l. ἐποπτεύουσιν.
38 "Be not godless" 𝔈.
41 επαυτην: evidently corrupt. 𝔈
has "and do not take account of (or
heed) your idols," though MT, II read
"and do not praise." On the basis of

the latter reading one might suggest
that 𝔊 originally read καὶ μὴ δότε
ἔπαινον ταῖς [εἰκόσιν] ὑμῶν; on the
other hand σπουδήν (proposed by
Youtie) is palaeographically nearer to
επαυτην if we allow for the phonetic
confusion of δ and τ; and σπουδὴν
διδόναι occurs in 2 Cor. viii. 16.
σπουδήν would also give a meaning
that is fairly close to "heed," "atten-
tion." There is a slight difficulty in
the dative since σπουδή and σπουδάζω
are usually associated with preposi-
tional phrases introduced by περί,
πρός, ὑπέρ; but δότε may have con-
duced to the use of the dative.
42 δικαίωμα: probably used carelessly
for δικαιοσύνη; "righteousness" 𝔈.
The two words are occasionally con-
fused in LXX, as appears from the
variants on Prov. viii. 20, Ezek.
xviii. 21.

[. . . . .]ηκ[. .]πασα[

Two lines are lost.

κδ

p. 10 τησαληθειασεξαλλοιουσινκαιαντι[104, 10
       φουσινοιαμαρτωλοικαιαλλασσουσι[
       τουσπολλουσκαιψευδοντεκαιπλασσο[
       πλασματαμεγαλακαιτασγραφασαν[
   5   φουσινεπιτοισονομασιναυτωνκα[11
       οφελονπαντασ τουσλογουσμουγραφω[
       επαληθειασεπιταονοματααυτουκαι[
       τεαφελωσινμητεαλλοιωσουσιντονλο
       γοντουτοναλλαπαντα επαληθειασγρα
  10   φωσιναεγωδιαμαρτυρουμαιαυτοισκαι   12
       παλινεγωγεινωσκωμυστηριονδευτε
       ρονοτιδικαιοσκαιοσειοσκαιφρονιμοσ
       δοθησονταιαιβιβλοιμουεισχαραναλη
       θειασκαιαυτοιπιστευσωσιναυταισκαιεν   13

43 [ἡ πλάνη]: cf. 38 and note on p. 5, 39. Two lines were lost, which may have contained, e.g., ὑμῶν ἀλλ' εἰς μεγάλην ἁμαρτίαν. καὶ νῦν γεινώσκω τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον, ὅτι τοὺς λόγους—. For the latter part of verse 9 and the beginning of verse 10 𝔈 has "for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness, but in great sin. And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways," etc.

1 ἀντι[γρά]φουσι: "pervert" 𝔈. Good examples of ἀντιγράφω in the sense of "write against" or "attack in writing" may be found in Philode-

mus, Voll. Rhet. I, p. 12, 25, II, p. 208, 9; De ira, p. 86 W; it is not a common use of the word. ἀντιστρέφω, retort an argument (Arist. and Philod.) is less satisfactory here.

2 οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί: "many sinners" Q, II; "sinners . . . (will pervert) . . . in many ways" GGaMT.

2-3 καὶ . . . πολλούς: om. 𝔈, which has in this place "and will speak wicked words," lacking in 𝔊.

4-5 𝔈 "will write books concerning their words." The Greek seems to mean "they copy (or re-write?) the writings (Scriptures) in their names;" cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 43, ὅπως γράφωνται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι συγγρα-φαί.

[σιν πάντα τὰ ψεύδ]η κ[αὶ] πᾶσα [ἡ πλάνη

Two lines are lost.

κδ

p. 10   τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξαλλοιοῦσιν καὶ ἀντι[γρά-   104, 10
         φουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀλλάσσουσι[ν
         τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ ψεύδονται καὶ πλάσσο[υσιν
         πλάσματα μεγάλα καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἀν[αγρά-
    5   φουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν· κα[ὶ   11
         ὄφελον πάντας τοὺς λόγους μου γράφω[σιν
         ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν καὶ [μή-
         τε ἀφέλωσιν μήτε ἀλλοιώσωσιν τῶν λό-
         γων τούτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπ’ ἀληθείας γρά-
    10   φωσιν ἃ ἐγὼ διαμαρτυροῦμαι αὐτοῖς. καὶ   12
         πάλιν ἐγὼ γινώσκω μυστήριον δεύτε-
         ρον, ὅτι δικαίοις καὶ ὁσίοις καὶ φρονίμοις
         δοθήσονται αἱ βίβλοι μου εἰς χαρὰν ἀλη-
         θείας, καὶ αὐτοὶ πιστεύσουσιν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐν   13

6 ὄφελον occurs in this form in both LXX and N.T. In wishes about the future it is found with opt. Job xxx. 24, Ps. cxviii (cxix). 5; with future (ἀποκόψονται) in Gal. v. 12, where DEFG read ἀποκόψωνται. The subjunctive is certainly intended here. Lucian treats the construction as a solecism (*Soloec.* 1). For καὶ ὄφελον 𝔈 has "but when." μου: so TU, II; the others omit.

7 αὐτοῦ: error for αὐτῶν. 𝔈 has "in their languages." The author probably means "would that they would write my words truly in their own names and neither curtail nor change them," *i.e.* the plagiarism is nothing if the message is left intact.

8 Read ἀλλοιώσωσιν τῶν λόγων τούτων. It is not necessary to supply τι. Cf. Rev. xxii. 19, ἐάν τις ἀφέλῃ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων.

10 ἃ ἐγὼ διαμαρτυροῦμαι αὐτοῖς: "that I first testified about them" 𝔈.

11 καὶ πάλιν: "then" or "so" 𝔈.

12 𝔈 omits καὶ ὁσίοις.

13 𝔈 omits μου. εἰς χαρὰν ἀληθείας: cf. Philipp. i. 25, εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως. 𝔈 coordinates "joy" and "righteousness" (which often represents ἀλήθεια) and adds "and much (or manifold) wisdom."

14 Before καὶ αὐτοὶ 𝔈 has "and to them shall the books be given." Read πιστεύσουσιν.

15   αυτοισχαρησονταικαιαγαλλιασονταιπαν
      τεσοιδικαιοιμαθεινεξαυτωνπασασ
      τασοδουστησαληθειασ   μεταδεχρονο̅   106, 1
      ελαβονμαθουσαλεκ'τωυιωμουγυναικαν
      καιετεκεννιονκαιεκαλεσεντοονομα
20   αυτουλαμεχ· εταπεινωθηηδικαιοσυνη
      μεχριτησημερασεκεινησκαιοτεεισηλι
      κιανεπηλθενελαβεναυτογυναικαν
      καιετεκεναυτωπαιδιονκαιοτεεγεννη   2
      θητοπαιδιονηντοσωμαλευκοτερονχει
25   ωνοσκαιπυροτερονρωδουτοτριχομα
      πανλευκονκαιωσερεαλευκακαιουλοσ
      καιενδοξονκαιοτεανεωξεντουσο
      φθαλμουσελαμψενηοικιαωσειηλιοσ   3
      καιανεστηεκτωνχειρωντησμαιασ
30   καιανεωξεντοστομακαιευλωγησεν
      τωκ̅ω̅καιεφοβηθηλαμεκ'απαυτο[4
      καιεφυγενκαιηλθονπροσμαθου[
      αλακ'τονπατερααυτουκαιειπεναυτ[5

15 αυτοις: error for αὐταῖς. ἀγαλλι-
άσονται: 𝔈 has "and then shall all
the righteous, who have learned from
them all the paths of righteousness,
be recompensed." The difference be-
tween this and the Greek lies in the
single word ἀγαλλιάσονται, which the
Ethiopic translator misunderstood or
translated loosely, adapting the con-
struction of μαθεῖν to his misconcep-
tion of its meaning.
17 Charles's doubts about the appro-
priateness, for this place, of ch. 105
of the Ethiopic text are shown to have
been fully justified.   The Greek passes
directly from 104 to 106, which, to-
gether with 107, is generally considered
to be a fragment of a Book of Noah.
18 Μαθουσάλεκ: here and in l. 33 the
final consonant was first written χ;
afterwards a vertical stroke was made
through χ to convert it into κ, which
is the spelling in p. 11, 9 and p. 12, 13.
The ink is the same and the correction
appears to be by the first hand.   In
LXX the spelling is Μαθουσάλα.
γυναικαν: l. γυναῖκα. For this vul-
gar error, cf. Abel, p. 35. For the
whole passage 18–22 𝔈 has only "my
son Methusaleh took a wife for his
son Lamech."
22 γυναῖκα: 𝔈 adds "and she became

15   αὐταῖς χαρήσονται, καὶ ἀγαλλιάσονται πάν-
τες οἱ δίκαιοι μαθεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν πάσας
τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον   106, 1
ἔλαβον Μαθουσάλεκ τῷ υἱῷ μου γυναῖκα
καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱὸν καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα
20   αὐτοῦ Λάμεχ· ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δικαιοσύνη
μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης. καὶ ὅτε εἰς ἡλι-
κίαν ἐπῆλθεν, ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα·
καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ παιδίον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγεννή-   2
θη τὸ παιδίον ἦν τὸ σῶμα λευκότερον χι-
25   όνος καὶ πυρρότερον ῥόδου, τὸ τρίχωμα
πᾶν λευκὸν καὶ ὡς ἔρια λευκὰ καὶ οὖλον
καὶ ἔνδοξον. καὶ ὅτε ἀνέῳξεν τοὺς ὀ-
φθαλμούς, ἔλαμψεν ἡ οἰκία ὡσεὶ ἥλιος.
καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῆς μαίας   3
30   καὶ ἀνέῳξεν τὸ στόμα καὶ εὐλόγησεν
τῷ κυρίῳ· καὶ ἐφοβήθη Λάμεχ ἀπ' αὐτο[ῦ   4
καὶ ἔφυγεν καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς Μαθου[σ-
άλεκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτ[ῷ,   5

pregnant by him."
23–24 ὅτε ἐγεννήθη τὸ παιδίον: om. 𝔈.
24 "White as snow" 𝔈.
25 πυροτερον: l. πυρρότερον. "Red
as the flower of a rose" 𝔈. Cf. Apoc.
Pet. 3, 8 τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν
λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος καὶ ἐρυθρότερα
παντὸς ῥόδου.
For τὸ τρίχωμα .... ἔνδοξον (25–27)
𝔈 has "the hair of his head, and his
crown, were white as wool and his
eyes beautiful." Here "and his
crown" is probably a supplementary
effort to render τρίχωμα. οὖλον was
corrupt in the translator's copy or
else he did not understand the word.

28 "He lighted up the whole house
like the sun, so that the whole house
was very bright" 𝔈.
29 καὶ ἀνέστη: "and thereupon he
arose" GGa, "and when he arose" all
others.
30–31 Read εὐλόγησεν. 𝔈 has "and
talked with the Lord of Righteous-
ness," to which Q adds "and blessed
the Lord of Heaven." The dative
with εὐλογεῖν is found also in ch. 10,
21 and 12, 3. Cf. Helbing, p. 20.
Λαμεκ: l. Λάμεχ. "His father La-
mech" 𝔈. For ἀπό after φοβεῖσθαι,
cf. Helbing, p. 29.
33 Μαθουσάλεκ: see note on 18.

τεκνωνεγεννηθημουαλοιονουχομ[
35　οντοισανθρωποισαλλατοιστεκνοι[
αγ'γελωντουουρανουκαιοτυποσạλọ[
τεροσουχομοιωσημιντασμμạ[
ωσακτινεστουηλιουκαιενδοξ[
σοπονκαιϋπολαμβανωοτιουκ[　　　　　6
40　εξουαλλαεξαγ'γελουκαιευλαβο[
τονμηποτετιεστεενταισημ[
τουεντηγηκαιπαρετουμαιπ[　　　　7
δẹọμαιβαδισονπροσενῳ[
[. . .]μωνḳạịε[

Two lines are lost.

κε

p. 11　　[. . . .]ϋπροσεμεεισταтερματατησγησου　　106, 8
[. . .]εντοτεειναιμεκαιειπενμοιπατερ
[. . .]επακουσοντησφωνησμουκαιηκαι
[. . . .]μεκαιηκουσατηνφωνηναυτουκαι
5　[. .]θονπροσαυτονκαειπαειδουπαριμειτε
κνωνδιατιελ ηλυθασπροσεμετεκνονκαι　　　9
απεκριθηλεγωνδιαναγ'κηνμεγαληνηλ
θονοδεπατερκαινυνεγεννηθητεκνον　　　　10

34 ἐγεννήθη: "I have begotten" 𝔈.
μοι would be expected here, but μου
can scarcely be treated simply as a
lapsus calami. Whether the scribe re-
ferred the genitive back to τέκνον as
possessive, or anticipated the By-
zantine tendency to substitute gen.
for dat. is not certain; cf. Jannaris,
§1350.
35 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις: "a man" 𝔈.
35–36 τοῖς τέκνοι[ς τῶν] ἀγγέλων τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ: so 𝔈. Charles wrongly
emends to "the sons of the God of
heaven."
37–38 Compare Apoc. Pet. 3.7, ἐξήρχε-
το γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῶν ἀκτὶν ὡς
ἡλίου.
39 After οὐκ there is space for about
seven letters. ἔστιν is satisfactory,
but ἐγεννήθη is not impossible.
40 εξου would naturally represent ἐκ
σοῦ; this is a fairly common error in
papyri. But it is more likely that the
syllable εμ was omitted by accident.
𝔈 "of me"; the Latin has ne non ex
eo natus esset nisi nontius dei, which,
in view of the crudity of the version,
gives little help. For ἀγγέλου 𝔈 has
"angels."
41 τι: "a wonder" 𝔈.

τέκνον ἐγεννήθη μου ἀλλοῖον, οὐχ ὅμ[οι-
35 ον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τέκνοι[ς τῶν
ἀγγέλων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὁ τύπος ἀλλο[ιό-
τερος, οὐχ ὅμοιος ἡμῖν· τὰ ὄμμα[τά ἐστιν
ὡς ἀκτῖνες τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ἔνδοξ[ον τὸ πρό-
σωπον· καὶ ὑπολαμβάνω ὅτι οὐκ [ἔστιν   6
40 ἐξ ⟨ἐμ⟩οῦ ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀγγέλου, καὶ εὐλαβο[ῦμαι αὐ-
τὸν μήποτέ τι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἡμ[έραις αὐ-
τοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ. καὶ παραιτοῦμαι, π[άτερ, καὶ   7
δέομαι, βάδισον πρὸς Ἐνὼ[χ τὸν πατέ-
[ρα ἡ]μῶν καὶ ἐ[ρώτησον?

Two lines are lost.

κε

p. 11 [ἦλθε]ν πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰς τὰ τέρματα τῆς γῆς οὗ   106, 8
[εἶδ]εν τότε εἶναί με καὶ εἶπέν μοι, πάτερ
[μου] ἐπάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ἧκε
[πρός] με. καὶ ἤκουσα τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ
5 [ἦλ]θον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπα, ἰδοὺ πάρειμι τέ-
κνον·διὰ τί ἐλήλυθας πρὸς ἐμέ, τέκνον; καὶ   9
ἀπεκρίθη λέγων, δι' ἀνάγκην μεγάλην ἦλ-
θον ὧδε, πάτερ· καὶ νῦν ἐγεννήθη τέκνον   10

42 καί: "and now" 𝔈.
44 The text may have continued ἐρώ-
τησον αὐτὸν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ("learn
the truth from him" 𝔈); but the
traces after ων are doubtful in the
extreme. 𝔈 proceeds "for his dwell-
ing-place is among the angels. And
when Methuselah heard the words of
his son—." Two lines of Greek text,
which would have sufficed for this,
have been lost.

2 [εἶδ]εν: Kenyon; "had heard" 𝔈.
For καὶ εἶπεν .... πρός με (2–4)
𝔈 has only "and he cried aloud."

5 καειπα: read καὶ εἶπα; 𝔈 adds "to
him."
6 διὰ τί: Lat. quid est quod (perhaps
τί ὅτι, an easy corruption of διότι);
𝔈 "for." Charles suggests that the
translator confused διὰ τί and διότι.
But it is possible that the Greek
original of 𝔈 actually had διότι inter-
rogative, and the translator misunder-
stood it. See notes on p. 3, 1 and
p. 6, 21. 𝔈 omits the second τέκνον.
8 Read ὧδε: 𝔈 "to thee," omitting
πάτερ here and adding "and because
of a disturbing vision have I ap-
proached." 𝔈 also adds after νῦν

μαθουσαλεκ'τωϊιωμουκαιοτυποσαυτου
10   καιηεικονααυτουλευκωτερονχειωνοσ
καιπυροτερονρωδουκαιτοτριχοματησκε
φαλησαυτουλευκοτερονερειονλευκων
καιταομματααυτουεφομοιαταιστουηλιου
ακτισινκαιανεστηαποτωντησμαιασχει   11
15   ρωνκαιανοιξαστοστομαευλογησεντον
κ̄ντουαιωνοσκαιεφοβηθηουιοσμου   12
λαμεχ · καιεφυγενπροσεμεκαιουπιστευ
ειοτϊϊιοσαυτουεστιναλλαοτιεξαγ'γελων
τηνακριβιανεχιεικαιτηναληθειαντοτε   13
20   απεκριθηνλεγωναναξκαινισειοκ̄σ̄προσ
ταγμαεπιτησγησκαιτοναυτοντροπ οντε
κνοντεθεαμαικαιεσημανασοιενγαρ
τηγενεαιαρεδ'τουπ̄ρ̄σ̄μουπαρεβησαν
τονλογονκ̄ῡαποτησδιαθηκηστουουρανου

"hear me, father."

9 μαθουσαλεκ: error for Λάμεχ. After μου 𝕰 adds "who has no equal."

10 εικονα: for εἰκών; dittography of α. In 9–10 𝕰 reads "his nature is not like man's nature and his color (or, the color of his body, with Ga; see Charles) is," etc. The words ὁ τύπος ... εἰκών αὐτοῦ seem to represent nature, and the Greek scribe probably omitted the remainder, viz. οὐχ ὅμοιος ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα αὐτοῦ. Cf. verses 2 and 5.

13 εφομοια: probably an error for ἀφόμοια. Neither ἐφόμοιος nor ἐφομοιόω is satisfactorily attested. Sophocles cited Philo de Abrahamo 69 (Cohn-Wendland IV p. 17) for ἐφομοιώσαντες, which occurred in Mangey's text, but the MSS read ἐξ-. Both ἐξομοιόω and ἀφομοιόω are fairly common, but not the adjectives corresponding. L. and S. do not cite ἐξόμοιος, and for ἀφόμοιος they refer only to Diosc. 5, 102, where it means unlike, and to the prologue to Sirach, where the neuter as a substantive occurs in the phrase οὐ μικρᾶς παιδείας ἀφόμοιον.

14 ἀκτῖσιν: here 𝕰 adds "and he opened his eyes and lighted up the whole house."

15 After χειρῶν the Latin adds eadem hora qua procidit de utero matris suae. This takes the place of ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα, omitted in Latin.

16 τοῦ αἰῶνος: Latin viventem in saecula, 𝕰 "of heaven." According to Charles "the Lord of Heaven" occurs only here in Enoch. ὁ υἱός μου: "his father" 𝕰, om. Lat.

18 ὅτι υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν: "that he is sprung from him" 𝕰.

18–19 ὅτι ἐξ ἀγγέλων ... ἀλήθειαν. For this passage 𝕰 reads "(he is) the image of the angels of Heaven; and behold, I have come to thee that thou mayest make the truth known to me."

Clearly the Greek is defective. The

Λάμεχ τῷ υἱῷ μου, καὶ ὁ τύπος αὐτοῦ
10 καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ⟨οὐχ ὅμοιος ἀνθρώποις
καὶ τὸ χρῶμα αὐτοῦ⟩ λευκότερον χιόνος
καὶ πυρρότερον ῥόδου, καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κε-
φαλῆς αὐτοῦ λευκότερον ἐρίων λευκῶν,
καὶ τὰ ὄμματα αὐτοῦ ἀφόμοια ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου
ἀκτῖσιν, καὶ ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς μαίας χει-   11
15 ρῶν καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα εὐλόγησεν τὸν
κύριον τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ ἐφοβήθη ὁ υἱός μου   12
Λάμεχ, καὶ ἔφυγεν πρὸς ἐμέ, καὶ οὐ πιστεύ-
ει ὅτι υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ὅτι ἐξ ἀγγέλων

(One or two lines omitted here)

τὴν ἀκρίβειαν †εχιει† καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.   τότε   13
20 ἀπεκρίθην λέγων, ἀνακαινίσει ὁ κύριος πρόσ-
ταγμα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τέ-
κνον τεθέαμαι καὶ ἐσήμανά σοι· ἐν γὰρ
τῇ γενεᾷ Ἰάρεδ τοῦ πατρός μου παρέβησαν
τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

first clause may have run ἐξ ἀγγέλων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ τύπος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν; but the sense is complete after ἀγγέλων, cf. verse 6. For the second clause a possible Greek text, just filling one line, might read: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθον πρός σε ἵνα μοι γνωρίσῃς.
19 Read ἀκρίβειαν. 𝕰 has here only one word for truth. As to this use of ἀκρίβεια, cf. Daniel vii. 16 τὴν ἀκρί-βειαν ἐζήτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ. εχιει: corrupt; ἦν ἔχεις?
20 ἀπεκρίθην: "I, Enoch, answered" 𝕰. ἄναξ (not in 𝕰) can scarcely be right. This poetic word continued to be used in verse and in religious language down to Roman times; but it occurs neither in LXX nor in N. T., and is disturbing here. Read ἀνα-καινίσει (James). The σ is injured and must have been strangely formed; the scribe probably started another

letter and changed it. For the use of the verb, cf. 2 Macc. iv. 11, παρα-νόμους ἐθισμοὺς ἐκαίνιζεν. "Will accomplish a new thing" 𝕰.
21 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον: not quite natural here. Does Enoch say that he has seen this new command in the same way as he has seen his other visions? τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ, referring back to πρόσταγμα is a possible correction but not very likely. 𝕰 has "this I have already seen," omitting τέκνον.
22 ἐσήμανα: for this late form, cf. Mayser, I, p. 360. See also p. 12, 10.
23–24 𝕰 like 𝕲 omits the subject of παρέβησαν. But in 24 where 𝕲 has ἀπὸ τῆς διαθήκης, 𝕰 reads "from the heights," which Charles emended to "(some) of the angels;" N actually reads "angels." The Greek text is probably sound; παρέβησαν has

25	καιιδουαμαρτανουσινκαιπαραβαινου	14
	σιντοεθοσκαιμεταγυναικονσυνγεινον	
	ταικαιμεταυτωναμαρτανουσινκαιεγημᾱ	
	εξαυτωνκαιτικτουσινουχομοιωσπνευ	17a
	μασιαλλασαρκουσκαιεστεοργηημεγαλη	15
30	επιτησγησκαικατακλυσμοσκαιεσται	
	απολιαμεγαληεπιενιαυτονενακαι	16
	τọδ[.]τοπαιδιοντογεννηθενκαταλει	
	φθησεταικαιτριααυτουτεκναδοθησε	
	ται[.]ποθανοντωντωνεπιτησγησ	
35	[. . .]πραυνιτηνγηναποτησουσησεν	17b
	[. . .]ηφθορασκαινυνλεγελαμεχ'οτιτε	18
	[. . .]νσουεστινδικαιωσκαιωσιωνκα	
	[. . . .]ραυτουτοονομααυτοσγαρεστευμων	
	[. . . .]λιμμααφουανκαταπαυσηταικαι	
40	[. . .] . αυτουαποτησφθοραστησγησκαιạ	

merely been used in a double construction, once with direct object, once with a preposition and genitive. For the latter, which occurs several times in LXX, cf. Deut. xvii. 20, ἵνα μὴ παραβῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντολῶν.

26 ἔθος: "law" 𝔈.

28–30 After αὐτῶν 𝔈 adds "and they begot children by them." Verse 17 consists of the words "And they begot giants on the earth, not after the spirit, but after the flesh. And there shall be a great punishment upon the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed of all corruption." Dillmann regarded the passage as a gloss; Goldschmidt and Charles transferred it to a position after verse 14. They were right so far as the words "not of the spirit . . . upon the earth" are concerned; but "and they begot giants on the earth" is probably an interpolation from chapter 7, 2, and "the earth shall be cleansed of all corruption"

represents lines 35–36, which are in their right place. Note that although τίκτουσιν seems to have a masculine subject, the mothers are to be supplied in thought. In LXX τίκτω is regularly used of the female except in figurative language.

Read ὁμοίους, σαρκ⟨ίν⟩ους (James). ὀργή corresponds to "punishment" of 𝔈 in verse 17. But at the beginning of verse 15, before καὶ κατακλυσμός 𝔈 has "and there shall be a great destruction upon the whole earth," which may be an interpolation; compare the words immediately following κατακλυσμός, which are sound.

32 γεννηθέν: 𝔈 adds "to you."

33 δοθήσεται: read σωθήσεται (Kenyon with 𝔈). 𝔈 adds "with him."

34 ἀποθανόντων: the original of 𝔈 had πάντων in addition. After γῆς most Ethiopic MSS (not GGaQ) add "he and his sons shall be saved."

35 πραϋνεῖ: "the earth shall be

25   καὶ ἰδοὺ ἁμαρτάνουσιν καὶ παραβαίνου-   14
             σιν τὸ ἔθος, καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν συγγίνον-
             ται καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἁμαρτάνουσιν καὶ ἔγημαν
             ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ τίκτουσιν οὐχ ὁμοίους πνεύ-   17a
             μασι ἀλλὰ σαρκ⟨ίν⟩ους· καὶ ἔσται ὀργὴ μεγάλη   15
30   ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ κατακλυσμός, καὶ ἔσται
             ἀπώλεια μεγάλη ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα· καὶ   16
             τόδ[ε] τὸ παιδίον τὸ γεννηθὲν καταλει-
             φθήσεται, καὶ τρία αὐτοῦ τέκνα σωθήσε-
             ται [ἀ]ποθανόντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·
35   [καὶ] πραϋνεῖ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς οὔσης ἐν   17b
             [αὐτ]ῇ φθορᾶς. καὶ νῦν λέγε Λάμεχ ὅτι τέ-   18
             [κνο]ν σού ἐστιν δικαίως καὶ ὁσίως, ⟨καὶ⟩ κά-
             [λεσο]ν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ⟨Νῶε⟩· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔσται ὑμῶν
             [κατά]λειμμα ἐφ' οὗ ἂν καταπαύσητε καὶ ⟨οἱ⟩
40   [υἱο]ὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀ-

cleansed" 𝔈.

36 Λάμεχ: "thy son Lamech" 𝔈.
37 σου: αὐτοῦ Kenyon; but ὅτι may
be recitative. δικαίως: "in truth" 𝔈.
Read ὁσίως. 𝔈 omits καὶ ὁσίως.
⟨καὶ⟩ before κάλεσον: Kenyon.
38 ⟨Νῶε⟩: Kenyon.
39 κατάλειμμα: cf. Sir. xliv. 17 (18),
διὰ τοῦτο ἐγενήθη (Νῶε) κατάλειμμα
τῇ γῇ. καταπαυσηται: for καταπαύ-
σητε, act. intransitive in the sense of
"rest," as often in LXX and N. T.
There is a play upon the meaning of
Noah; see 107, 3 n., where the ety-
mology is discussed. Compare Lat. *et
ipse vocabitur Noe qui interpretatur re-
quies quia requiem prestabit in archam.*
αφ: read ἐφ', comparing Sir. v. 7 and
xliv. 23. ἐφ' ... καταπαύσητε: om. 𝔈.
39–40 Supplied by Kenyon. 𝔈 reads
"he and his sons shall be saved." Is
this "shall be saved" an inexact ren-
dering of καταπαύσητε, or an attempt
to supply a verb after καταπαύσητε

was lost (cf. n. on 39)? In the Greek
text καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ looks like an in-
terpolation. It is awkward to join it
to the subject of καταπαύσητε; yet if
this is not done, we must either supply
σωθήσονται after αὐτοῦ, or delete καὶ
... αὐτοῦ and connect the ἀπό phrase
with the verb of 39.
40–42. It is impossible to decide from
the traces whether κατα or καια should
be read (40). If κατά is right, the
phrase depends loosely upon φθορᾶς,
and the scribe did not use the first two
spaces of 41; see below. If καια is right,
read καὶ ἀ[πό], as James suggested,
the words being parallel to the pre-
ceding and following ἀπό phrases. 𝔈
reads "on account of all the sin and
all the unrighteousness (GGaQ add
"of apostasy") which shall be consum-
mated on the earth in his days."
This version suggests πασῶν τῶν
ἀδικιῶν τῶν συντελεσθεισῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς. But there are indications that

[. .]παντωντωναμαρτωλωνκ[. . .]πο

[. . . . .]γτωνσυντελιῳγε[

. . . .

Four lines are lost.

κϛ

p. 12   υπεδιξανμοικαιεγεηνυ[106, 19

     ταισπλαξεινΤουουρανουαν[

     τοτετεθεαμαιταενγεγραμμ[107, 1

     τωνοτεγενεαγενεασκακ[

5   καιειδωντοτεμεχριστουανασ[

     γενεανδικαιοσυνησκαιηκακιᾳ[

     λειταικαιηαμαρτιααλλαξειαπο[

     γησκαιτααγαθαηξειεπιτησγησε

     παυτουσκαινυναποτρεχεταιτεκν[2

10   καισημανονλαμεχ'τωνιωσουοτι

     τοπαιδιοντουτοτογεννηθεντεκνον

     αυτουεστινδικαιοσκαιουψευδοσκαιο   3

     τεηκουσενμαθουσαλεκ'τουσλογουσ

     ενωχ'τουπ̅ρ̅σ̅αυτουμυστηριακωσ

15   γαρεδηλωσεναυτωκαιεκληθητοο

the notion of wickedness came to be associated with συντέλεια. In 1 Sam. viii. 3, ἐξέκλιναν ὀπίσω τῆς συντελείας (Heb. יֶּצַע), Aq. Sym. Theod. preferred πλεονεξία, and the Vulgate has *post avaritiam*; but Hesychius, apparently with that passage in mind, has the gloss συντελείας · κακίας, and so the last edition of L. and S. The LXX translator chose a word which followed a meaning of the verb יצע rather than the specialized meaning of "wicked gain," which the noun has in the O. T.; hence the other translators corrected him. But cf. Jerem. vi. 13, where the LXX took יֶּצַע in a broader meaning and translated it by ἄνομα. If the Greek translator of Enoch found similar difficulty in handling his original, συντελειῶν may be correct in the papyrus text.

Kenyon observed that nothing seems to be lost before πασῶ]ν in 42, and this is true also of πάντων in 41 if κατά is rightly read in 40. Some injury to the surface may have prevented the use of the first two or three spaces; but it is also possible that forms of σύμπας were used.

After 42 𝔈 continues "in his days. (19) And after that there shall be still greater unrighteousness than that which was first brought to pass upon the earth. For I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for he, the Lord,"

[πὸ] πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν κ[αὶ ἀ]πὸ
[πασῶ]ν τῶν συντελειῶν ἐ[πὶ τῆς γῆς

Four lines are lost.

κϛ

p. 12   ὑπέδειξέν μοι καὶ ἐμήνυ[σεν, καὶ ἐν   106, 19
        ταῖς πλαξὶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀν[έγνων αὐτά.
        τότε τεθέαμαι τὰ ἐγγεγραμμ[ένα ἐπ' αὐ-   107, 1
        τῶν, ὅτι γενεὰ γενεᾶς κακ[ίων ἔσται,
    5   καὶ εἶδον τόδε μέχρις τοῦ ἀνασ[τῆναι
        γενεὰν δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἡ κακία [ἀπο-
        λεῖται καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀλλάξει ἀπὸ [τῆς
        γῆς καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἥξει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐ-
        π' αὐτούς. καὶ νῦν ἀπότρεχε τέκν[ον   2
    10 καὶ σήμανον Λάμεχ τῷ υἱῷ σου ὅτι
        τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο τὸ γεννηθὲν τέκνον
        αὐτοῦ ἐστιν δικαίως καὶ οὐ ψευδῶς. καὶ ὅ- 3
        τε ἤκουσεν Μαθουσάλεκ τοὺς λόγους
        Ἐνὼχ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, μυστηριακῶς
    15 γὰρ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ, ⟨ἐπέστρεψεν

etc. This would require four lines of
Greek text.

1 Read ὑπέδειξεν, ἐμήνυσεν; the dotted
letter is more like ν than μ. "Showed
me and informed me" 𝔈.
2 Restored by Kenyon.
3 τότε: "and" 𝔈.
4 Read ὅτι. κακ[ίων ἔσται: Kenyon.
So 𝔈 according to Martin's rendering;
"generation upon generation shall
transgress" Charles, Flemming, Beer.
5 τότε: so apparently in the papyrus;
read καὶ εἶδον τόδε, unless these words
are to be placed before ὅτι in the
preceding line. The clause is lacking
in 𝔈. μέχρις: T, II; "that" GGaMQ.
Note the change of construction,

μέχρις τοῦ ἀναστῆναι ... καὶ ἡ κακία
ἀπολεῖται.
8 τὰ ἀγαθά: "all good" 𝔈.
9 ἐπ' αὐτούς: om. 𝔈. ἀποτρέχεται:
read ἀπότρεχε (James, Bonner); ται
(= τε) is a dittography.
12 δικαίως: "truly" 𝔈, as in 106, 18.
ψευδος: probably to be read ψευδῶς.
"No lie" in 𝔈 seems to support ψεῦ-
δος, but may only show that the
Greek copy used by 𝔈 also confused ο
and ω.
14 μυστηριακῶς: "everything in se-
cret" family I; "every secret thing" II.
15 After αὐτῷ 𝔈 has "he returned and
showed him" (GM), e.g. ⟨ὑπέστρεψεν
καὶ ἐσήμανεν αὐτῷ⟩; so James. Per-
haps ἐδήλωσεν as well as αὐτῷ was re-

νομααυτουνωεευφρενοντηνγην
αποτησαπολιασ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ
ΕΝΩΧ'

peated in this clause, which 𝕲 has lost
through homoioteleuton, and which is
lacking in GaQU also; "he returned,
having seen" T, II. ἐκλήθη: "and
called" (active) 𝕰.
16 αὐτοῦ: "of that son" 𝕰. εὐφραί-
νων: "for he will comfort" 𝕰.
THE MEANING OF NOAH. In 106, 18
the name Noah is associated with the
idea of "rest:" αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔσται ὑμῶν
[κατά]λειμμα ἐφ' (pap. αφ) οὗ ἂν κατα-
παύσητε ... ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τῆς γῆς.
The words ἐφ' οὗ ἂν καταπαύσητε are
not translated in 𝕰, or at least not
correctly translated; there is a possi-
bility that "shall be saved" is a bad
rendering of καταπαύσητε, but there
may have been corruption in the source
used by the translator. In 107, 3 𝕲 and
𝕰 agree in connecting the name with
another idea, that of "cheer," "com-
fort," "consolation," ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα

αὐτοῦ Νῶε, εὐφραίνων τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἀπωλείας. In neither passage is the
explanatory clause introduced as a
formal etymology, but there can be
little doubt that in each the writer is
suggesting a meaning for the name.
The interest of these passages consists
in their relation to Gen. v. 29 and the
views which commentators have taken
of that verse. In the Revised Version
it reads "and he called his name Noah,
saying, This same shall comfort us
for our work and for the toil of our
hands because of (lit. "from") the
ground which the Lord hath cursed."
A difficulty has been felt here from
ancient times. Thus in the Midrash
(Bereshith Rabba, ed. Wünsche, p.
113): "According to R. Jochanan the
explanation does not agree with the
name nor the name with the explana-
tion. It should be 'he named him

καὶ ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ). καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄ-
νομα αὐτοῦ Νῶε, εὐφραίνων τὴν γῆν
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπωλείας.

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ΕΝΩΧ

Noah, because he will give us rest, or Nachman, because he will comfort us.' " That is to say, the name Noah seemed to be more naturally related to נוח "rest," than to נחם "comfort." Now the Septuagint has οὗτος διανα-παύσει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἡμῶν, κτλ.; and in view of the alleged etymological inconsistency in the Hebrew text, some editors have emended ינחמנו to יניחנו in conformity with the LXX; so, among others, Ball, Kittel, Procksch. Others see in "comfort" only an approximate synonym of "give rest," and find no difficulty in the traditional text. There is a full discussion of the passage in Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, I, 27. He accepts the emendation, but holds that as constructed in Gen. v. 29 יניחנו would necessarily mean "give comfort" or "ease." "From the ground," rendered in R. V. "because of the ground," he takes as the source whence comfort is to come, the promise thus referring to Noah's gift of wine to man. Other commentators also, both earlier and later, see here an allusion to the culture of the vine (Böhme, Budde, Holzinger, Gunkel, Procksch). The passages in Enoch are significant because they show that the doubts or controversies about the meaning of Noah may considerably antedate the Christian era. It is possible that the Greek translator of Enoch has made two attempts to render a form of the verb נוח, in one case adhering to the root meaning, "rest," in the other adopting the meaning "comfort," which, as Ehrlich shows, may be derived from the hiphil of the same verb, as in Genesis v. 29.

ADDENDUM

The name Noah means "rest," according to Theophilus of Antioch (ad Autolycum 3, 19, p. 232 Otto); Philo (de Abrahamo 5) says it means "rest" or "just."

TRANSLATION

No effort has been made to avoid the crudities of style which go with a close translation; and several grammatical inconsistencies, which seem to have existed in the original Greek version, have been allowed to stand as they appear in the papyrus.

Square brackets enclose words supplied to fill gaps in the papyrus. Angular brackets enclose words not in the papyrus but believed to have once belonged to the text. Braces are placed around words erroneously inserted in the text. Words in italics have been added merely for convenience in translation.

p. 1   97 (6) . . . [all] the words of your iniquities [shall be read out] in the presence of the Great Holy One before your faces. Then he will remove all the works that partook of iniquity.

(7) Woe unto you, sinners, who are in the midst of the sea and on the dry land; there is an evil memorial against you. (8) Woe unto you, ye who gain gold and silver not by way of righteousness; and ye will say, "We have grown rich with riches and have got and possessed ourselves of goods; (9) and let us do all that we desire, because we have treasured up silver in our treasuries and much goods in our houses, and they are poured out like water." (10) Ye err, for your wealth shall not abide, but it ⟨shall go⟩ from you quickly, because ye possess it all unjustly; and ye shall be given over to a great curse.

98 (1) and now I swear unto you, the wise, and not to the foolish, that ye shall see many iniquities upon the earth. (2) For men shall put on beauty even as women, and fair color beyond maidens, in sovereignty and grandeur and in power. They shall have silver and gold for food, and in their houses they shall be poured out like water, (3) [because] they ⟨have⟩ no knowledge nor judgment. So shall ye perish together with all your goods and all your glory and honor, and in dishonor and desolation [and] great [slaughter your spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire].

p. 2   (4) . . . [sin was not sent] upon the [earth, but] men [made it] of themselves; and they who do [it] shall come [into] a great

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[curse].   (5) And slavery was not given to a woman, but because of the works of her hands; for it was not ordained that a slave should be a slave.   It was not given from above, but came about through oppression.   Likewise neither was iniquity given from above, but *it came* from transgression.   Likewise a woman was not created barren, but because of her own wrongdoings she was punished with childlessness; ⟨and⟩ childless shall she die. (6) I swear to you, sinners, by the Holy Great One that your evil deeds shall be revealed in heaven.   No unrighteous deed of yours shall be hidden.   (7) Think not in your souls, and think not in your hearts that *men* know not and see not, and your wrongdoings are not observed nor written down before the Highest.   (8) From now on know ye that all your wrongdoings are written down day by day until your judgment.

(9) Woe unto you, fools, for ye shall perish [through] your folly, and ye shall not give ear to the [wise], and blessings shall not be your portion, but evils [shall be about] you.   (10) And now know that [*all things* have been made ready] for you for the day of destruction.   [Hope not] to be saved, ye sinners; depart and die, knowing [that *all things* have been made ready] for the day of great judgment and greater anguish [to your spirits]. (11) Woe unto you, ye obstinate in heart, doing evil [and devouring blood;] whence shall ye have [good things that ye may eat . . .].

(12) [Woe unto you who love the works] of unrighteousness; why [have ye] good hopes [for yourselves?]   Now be it known to you that ye shall be given over into [the hands] of the righteous, and they shall slay you and shall not spare you.   (13) Woe unto you, ye who rejoice in the troubles of the righteous; no grave shall be dug for you.   (14) Woe unto you, ye who would set at nought the words of the righteous; ye shall have no hope of salvation.   (15) Woe unto you, ye who write false words and words of error; they write and they will lead many astray by their lies.   (16) Ye yourselves err, and ye have no joy, but quickly ye shall perish.

99 (1) Woe unto you, ye who cause errors, and by your false deeds gain honor and glory; ye are lost, ye have no salvation for good.   (2) Woe unto you, ye who alter the words of truth

and pervert the eternal covenant, and reckon yourselves without sin; they shall be swallowed up in the earth.   (3) Then make you ready, ye righteous, and offer your petitions for a memorial; give them in testimony before the angels, that they may bring the sins of the unrighteous before the Most High God for a memorial.   (4) And then they shall be confounded and they shall rise in the day of the destruction of unrighteousness.   (5) In that very time women who give birth shall cast out and give away and abandon their infants, and they that are with child shall destroy their fruit and they that suckle shall cast down their children and shall not return to their babes nor their sucklings, and they shall not spare . . .

p. 4   99 (7) . . . and those who carve images of silver and of gold, of wood and of stone and of clay, and worship phantoms and demons [and abominations] and evil spirits and all errors with no understanding; and they shall find no help in them.   (8) And they shall err in the folly of their hearts, and the visions of their dreams shall lead you astray; (9) ye and the lying works that ye have made and wrought of stone, together shall ye perish.   (10) And then blessed are all those who have heard words of the wise and will learn them, *so as* to do the commandments of the Highest; and they will walk in the ways of his righteousness and they shall not go astray with them that err, and they shall be saved.   (Verses 11–12 are omitted in the Greek version.)

(13) Woe *to them* who build their houses not ⟨by⟩ their own labor; and of stone and of bricks ye make every house.   Foolish men, ye have no joy.   (14) Woe *to them* who set at nought the foundation and the inheritance of their fathers which is from all time, [for] a spirit of error shall pursue you.   There is no rest for you.

(15) Woe to you who work iniquity and give aid to unrighteousness, [slaying] their neighbor [until the] day of the [great] judgment; (16) because then he will destroy [your] glory and will arouse his anger [against] you; he will slay you all by the sword, and all the righteous shall remember [your] unrighteousness.

100 (1) [And] then ⟨in⟩ one place . . .

. . . [their] blood [shall flow. (2) And a man shall] not [with- p. 5
hold his hand] from his son, [nor] from his beloved, to slay him,
and the sinner from the man of worth, nor from his brother.
From dawn until the sun sets they shall be slaughtered together.
(3) And the horse shall walk through the blood of sinners up
to his chest, and the chariot shall sink down to its axles. (4)
And angels shall come down, descending into the secret places
on that day; ⟨and⟩ all who helped unrighteousness shall be
gathered together into one place and the Highest will rise on
the day of judgment to make a great judgment upon all. (5) And
over all the righteous and holy he will set a guard of the holy
angels, and they shall be kept as the apple of the eye until tribu-
lations and sin shall give over. And from that time the pious
shall sleep a sweet sleep, and there shall no longer be any to
make them afraid. (6) Then the wise among men shall see, and
the sons of the earth shall give heed to these words of this letter,
and they shall know that their wealth cannot save them in the
fall of unrighteousness.

(7) Woe unto you, ye unrighteous, when ye oppress the right-
eous on the day of hard anguish, and guard them in fire; for ye
shall be recompensed according to your deeds. (8) Woe unto
you, ye hard of heart, watchful to devise evil; fear encompasses
you about, and there is none to take your part. (9) {Woe unto
you, all ye sinners, because of the works of your mouth.} Woe
unto you, all ye sinners, because of the words of your mouth
and the ⟨works⟩ of your hands, because ye have gone astray
from the deeds of holiness; in . . . flaming . . .

(11) . . . [every] cloud [and] mist and dew and rain [shall be p. 6
withheld?] because of your sins. (12) Therefore [offer] gifts to
the rain, that it be not [hindered] from descending for you, and
to dew and [cloud] and mist; pay gold that they may come down.
(13) For if snow falls upon you, and frost and its cold, and the
winds with their chill, and all their scourges, ye can not stand
before cold and their scourges.

101 (1) Consider then, sons of men, the works of the Highest
and fear to do evil before him. (2) If he closes the windows of

heaven and hinders the dew and the rain from descending because of you, what will ye do? (3) If he sends his anger against you and against your works, will you not be entreating him? Why do ye utter with your mouths bold and hard *sayings* against his greatness? (4) Ye [see] the sailors that sail the sea, their ships tossed by the billow and storm; (5) and beaten by the storm they all fear and cast out into the sea all their goods and their property, and in their hearts they forebode that the [sea] will swallow them up and they will [perish] in it. (6) Are not all the sea and [all] its waters the work of the Most High, and did he not set their [limits,] and bind it and fence it about with sand? (7) [And by] his wrath they are affrighted and dried up; and the fish . . .

p. 7 (8) [Did he not make the heaven and the] earth and all that is in them? And who gave understanding to all things that move in the sea? The sailors fear the sea.

102 (1) And when he hurls out against you the surge of the fire of your burning, where shall ye flee and be safe? And when he gives *forth* his voice against you, will ye not be shaken and affrighted by the mighty sound? (2) And the whole earth *shall be* shaken and trembling and thrown into confusion, (3) and the angels fulfilling that which is commanded them, and the heaven and its lights shaken and trembling ⟨and⟩ all the sons of the earth. And ye, sinners accursed for ever, there is no joy for you. (4) Be of good courage, souls of the just that are dead, the just and the pious, (5) and be not grieved that your souls have gone down to Hades with grief, and the body of your flesh fared not in your life according to your holiness, for the days that ye lived were days of sinners and of men accursed upon the earth. (6) When ye die, then will the sinners say that the pious have died according to their fate, "and what have they gained because of their deeds? (7) They too have died even as we. See now how they die in grief and darkness, and what had they more *than we?* From now on let them rise and be saved, (8) and they shall for ever see us eating and drinking" (? see note). (9) Therefore ⟨it is well for you to eat and drink and⟩ (see note) plunder and sin and rob and gain property and see good

days. (10) Behold, now, they who try to justify themselves, how great has been their downfall, because no righteousness was found in them until they died (11) and were destroyed and became as though they were not, and their souls went down in pain to [Hades . . .]

103 (1) I swear to you . . .

(2) I understand this mystery; for I have read the tablets of p. 8 heaven and have seen the writing of authority; I learned that which was written upon them and graven thereon concerning you, (3) that blessings and joy and honor have been prepared and written down for the souls of those who died in godliness. (4) And their spirits shall be glad and shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One unto all the generations of the ages. Therefore fear not their revilings.

(5) And ye of the sinners who are dead, when ye are dead they will say of you, "Blessed *were the* sinners all their days that they saw in their life, (6) and they have died in glory and there was no judgment in their life." (7) Ye yourselves know that they will take your souls down to Hades, and there they shall be in great anguish (8) and in darkness and in toils and in burning flame, and your souls shall come into a great judgment in all the generations of the age. Woe unto you, there is no joy for you. (9) For say not, ye who were righteous and holy in your life, "During the days of oppression we suffered hardships and were spent and became few, and we found none to take our part; (10) we have been ground *to powder* and destroyed, and we have given up hope even to know safety again day by day. (11) We hoped to be the head, we became the tail; we toiled and labored and we have not been masters of our wages. We have become the prey of sinners, the lawless have made the yoke heavy upon us. (12) They who are our masters, our enemies, goad us and encompass us about; (13) we sought where we might flee from them to be refreshed . . .

(14) We cried out against those who insulted and outraged us p. 9 and they did not receive our petitions, and would not give ear to our voice. (15) And they did not take our part, finding no

complaint against those who outrage and devour us; but they harden against us them who slew us and made us few; they lay no charge concerning those of us who have been murdered, and concerning ⟨the⟩ sinners they remember not their sins."

104 (1) I swear to you that the angels in heaven remember ⟨you⟩ for good before the glory of the Great One. (2) Be of good courage now because ye have grown old in troubles and in tribulations. Like lamps of heaven shall ye shine and be seen; the windows of heaven shall be opened for you. (3) And your cry shall be heard, and your judgment for which ye cry shall also be made manifest against everything that shall help against you for your oppression, and *shall be exacted* from all who partook with those who outrage and devour you. (5) ⟨Ye shall not fear⟩ evil on the day of the great judgment and ye shall not be found as the sinners; ⟨but ye sinners⟩ shall be troubled, and there shall be eternal judgment upon you to all the generations of the ages. (6) Fear not, ye righteous, when ye see sinners waxing strong and prospering, and be not sharers with them, but keep far away from all their unrighteousness. (7) Say not, ye sinners, ⟨that⟩ the sins of your days will not be sought out (or, "your sins will not be sought out day by day"; see note). (8) And now I show to you [that] light and darkness, day and night, behold all your sins. (9) Err not in your hearts, nor lie, nor change the words of truth, nor utter falsehood against the [words] of the Holy One, and give not praise (?) to your [images]; for [all your lies] lead not to righteousness, and all [your error . . .

p. 10 (10) . . . sinners alter and write against [the words] of truth and lead the many away, and they lie and invent great falsehoods and write out the Scriptures in their names; (11) and would that they would write all my words truthfully in their names, and neither take away or change *anything* in these words, but write truthfully all that I testify to them! (12) And again I know a second mystery, that to the just and holy and wise my books shall be given for joy in the truth, (13) and they shall believe them and in them shall they be glad; and all the righteous shall rejoice to learn from them all the ways of truth.

106 (1) And after a time I took a wife for Methusaleh my son,

and she bore a son and called his name Lamech. Righteousness
was brought low until that day. And when he came of age,
he took him a wife, (2) and she bore him a child; and when the
child was born, his body was whiter than snow and redder than
a rose, his hair all white and as white wool, and curly and glori-
ous. And when he opened his eyes, the house shone like the
sun. (3) And he arose from the hands of the midwife and
opened his mouth and blessed the Lord. (4) And Lamech was
afraid of him and fled and went to Methusaleh his father (5)
and said to him, "A strange child has been born to me, not like
unto men but unto the children of [the] angels of heaven, and his
form is strange, not like unto us. His eyes [are] as beams of the
sun, and glorious his face; (6) and I think that he is not of me,
but of an angel, and I fear him, lest something shall come to
pass on the earth in his days. (7) And I beseech *thee*, [father,
and] entreat *thee*, go to Enoch our [father] and ask" (?) . . .

(8) . . . [Methusaleh] came to me at the ends of the earth p. 11
where he saw that I was then, and said to me, "[My] father,
give ear to my voice and come [to] me." And I heard his voice
and came to him and said, "Behold, I am here, child. Why hast
thou come to me, child?" (9) And he answered, saying, "Because
of a great need (or "distress") have I come here, father; (10) and
now a child has been born to Lamech, my son, and his form
and his image ⟨are not like unto men, and his color is⟩ whiter
than snow and redder than a rose; and the hair of his head is
whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the beams of the
sun. (11) And he rose up from the hands of the midwife and,
opening his mouth, he blessed the Lord of the age; (12) and my
son Lamech was afraid, and fled to me, and he does not believe
that he is his son, but that [he is] from angels. ⟨And behold,
I have come to thee that thou mightest make known to me⟩
the very truth." (13) Then I answered, saying "The Lord will
make a new command upon the earth; and the manner of it
(text "in the same way"), my son, I have seen and made known
to thee. For in the generation of Jared my father they trans-
gressed the word of the Lord, *departing* from the covenant of
heaven. (14) And, behold, they sin and transgress the custom,

and have to do with women and sin with them, and they have married *wives* from among them; (17a) and they bear children not like spirits but of flesh.   (15) And there shall be great wrath upon the earth, and a deluge; and there shall be great destruction for one year.   (16) And this child that is born shall be left, and his three sons shall be saved when they who are on the earth are dead; (17b) and he shall cleanse (lit. "tame") the earth from the corruption that is upon it.   (18) And now tell Lamech that he is his son in truth and holiness, ⟨and⟩ call his name ⟨Noah⟩; for he shall be a remnant of you whereon[1] ye shall rest, and his sons, from the corruption of the earth and from all the sinners and from all the wickedness (?) [on the earth].

p. 12 (19) [.... the Lord] has showed them and made them known to me, and I have read [them in] the tablets of heaven.

107 (1) Then I beheld that which was written upon them, that one generation shall be worse than another; and this I saw[2] until there shall arise a generation of righteousness, and wickedness shall perish, and sin shall depart from the earth and blessings shall come to them upon the earth.   (2) And now run, child, and make it known to Lamech thy son that this child that is born is his son in truth and not in falsehood.   (3) And when Methusaleh heard the words of Enoch his father—for he had revealed *them* to him secretly—⟨he returned and revealed *them* to him⟩.   And his name was called Noah, comforting the earth after the destruction.

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[1] Possibly "whereby ye shall have rest," keeping ἀφ' in the Greek text and taking it to express means or agency.

[2] The words "and this I saw" (or "and then I saw"; see note) should perhaps be placed before "that one generation" etc.

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