

Dg 475







ገሮግ፡ ነቢ፡

# HËRMÂ NABÎ

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION OF PASTOR HERMAE EXAMINED.

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG FOR THE PURPOSE OF OBTAINING THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

GEORGE H. SCHODDE,  
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA.

*Received by the library of the University of Leipzig on 15th Nov. 1876*

LEIPZIG.

IN COMMISSION WITH TH. STAUFFER.

1876.





INTRODUCTION

TO

MY HONORED TEACHER AND FRIEND

REV. PROF. M. LOY, A. M.

COLUMBUS, O.



TO  
MY HONORED TEACHER AND FRIEND

REV. PROF. M. LOY, A. M.





## INTRODUCTION.

Pastor Hermae is one of the oldest monuments of the postapostolic literature in the Christian Church. It was written at Rome, undoubtedly between 130 and 140 A. D., and is of especial importance for a full understanding of certain phases of life and doctrine in the Early Church. The oldest Greek authorities for the existence of Hermae are Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen. It is interesting that Origen (Hom. 25 to Luke 12, 58.) claims the author of the Pastor to have been a biblical person, the Hermae greeted by St. Paul Rom. 16, 2. Our Ethiopic translator, whose original Ms. undoubtedly came from Egypt, carries out this idea further, asserting the author to have been St. Paul himself; this on the basis of Acts 14, 12. Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. III. 3, 6), adopts the theory of Origen. — The oldest authority in the Latin Church testifying of Hermae is the Muratorian Canon. Here we find: *Pastorem vere nuperime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma (Hermae) conscripsit, sedente in cathedra urbis Romae Episcopo fratre ejus. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet se publicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter profetas completum (completos) numero neque inter Apostolos in finem temporum potest* — In the African Church the first one to use the Pastor extensively was Tertullian; and it is curious that he, after his con-

version to Montanistic principles, severely criticises one portion<sup>1</sup> of the book which the Ethiopic translator has omitted<sup>2</sup>.

But in order to appreciate Hermas as we find him in the Ethiopic dress, it will be necessary to cast a glance at the original Greek, and at the Latin versions. The following list is arranged according to the time of the discovery of the various texts.

I. The old Latin text, called "Vulgata" (V. or Vulg.), undoubtedly the same that Tertullian used. It was first printed by Faber Stapulensis, Paris, 1513.

II. A second Latin version was found by Dressel, Codex Palatinus 150, written in the XIV century (P. or Palt.). Dressel says it is "a Vulgata illa centies in melius declinantem, ambiguisque in casibus fere semper praestantiozem. First published in Dressel's "Pastres Apostolici" 1857.

III. Although the original of the Pastor of Hermas is beyond all doubt Greek, still, strange to say, nothing was known of any Greek copy; except indeed the quotations in the Fathers. The good fortune to find the original was left for the 19. century. In the early part of the fifth decade of this century a Greek, Simonides, came to Leipzig presenting a text of the original Greek, purporting to have discovered it in a cloister on Mt. Athos. The first half was an apographon, the second half three leaves of the original Ms. This text was soon published as: *Hermae Pastor, graece primum ediderunt et interpretationem veterem latinam addiderunt Rudolphus Anger et Guilielmus Dindorf. Pars prior quae textum graecum continet . . . edidit R. Anger, Lipsiae 1866.* But it soon turned out that of the first part Simonides had not given up the original copy made by him on Mt. Athos, but a second one written in Leipzig. Into this latter text he had put many

<sup>1</sup> viz: Mand. IV. 1 of Tert. de pudicitia X.

<sup>2</sup> A full discussion of these and later references in patristic literature is given in Hilgenfeld's Prolegomena.

arbitrary changes in order to avoid the appearance of having retranslated it from the Latin. The fraud was, however, soon discovered and the original copy obtained whereupon Prof. Anger immediately published a full list of the true readings in Gersdorf's *Repertorium* as: "Nachträgliche Bemerkungen zum Pastor Hermae" 1856 and 57.<sup>1</sup> About the same time Prof. Tischendorf published an edition of the Leipzig text in Dressel's "Patres Apostolici" 1857. Here Prof. T. claimed that this Greek text was, for the most part, a retranslation from the Latin. A severe controversy took place on this subject,<sup>2</sup> which was turned completely against Tischendorf by the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus. The Leipzig text ends with Simil. X 30. and is designated L.

The discovery and publication of the Ethiopic version took place between the publication of the Leipzig and of the Sinaiticus texts.

IV. It was a most agreeable surprise to the friends of patristic literature when it was announced that a large fragment (from the beginning to Mand. III.) of the Pastor of Hermas had been discovered in the Codex Sinaiticus, undoubtedly the oddest<sup>3</sup> Ms. of the N. T. known. Not only is the text here given, but it has also been corrected by three different hands, marked by Tischendorf<sup>4</sup> B. C.<sup>a</sup>, (in contradistinction from C.<sup>b</sup> of Barnabas) and D.<sup>5</sup> Nearly all the cor-

<sup>1</sup> These, embracing 2 "Hefts" together with a third treating of the Ethiopic text, appeared also as a "Seperatabdruck" 1857.

<sup>2</sup> For the literature on this subject, see Lipsius' article "Der Hirt des Hermas und der Montanismus in Rom" in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie", 8. Jahrgang, Heft III. Cf. also Hilgenfeld's Prolegomena.

<sup>3</sup> But see Hilgenfeld "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 1864, Heft I und II."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Prolegomena cum comentario" to his large "Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum". Hilgenfeld marks them S\*\* and S\*.\*.

<sup>5</sup> Corrector A. of the canonical portion of the codex has not corrected Hermas.



rections are by C.<sup>a</sup>, who, according to Tischendorf, belongs to the VII century.<sup>1</sup> This date is of especial importance to us, since the Ethiopic version stands in a most intimate relationship to S.C.<sup>a</sup>, and the language of the version speaks for the same, or even for an earlier century. — Tischendorf published a list of the various readings of Codex L. and Codex S. in the second edition of Dressel's "Patres Apostolici" 1863, and showed by his prefixed essay "De Herma Graeco Lipsiensi" that he had not altogether given up his idea about the Latin origin of the Leipzig text. In the year 1866 Prof. Hilgenfeld, among his series of patristic literature, published as "Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum", edited also "Hermae Pastor Graece. E codicibus Sinaitico et Lipsiensi, scriptorum que ecclesiasticorum excerptis, collatis versionibus latina utraque et aethiopica, libri clausula latine addita, restituit, commentario critico et adnotationibus instruxit Adolphus Hilgenfeld" Lipsiae. This is the edition to which all the citations in the following dissertation refer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hilgenfeld "Prolegomena" p. IX.

<sup>2</sup> Hilgenfeld has not made the best use possible of the ethiopic Hermas, a list of the mistakes found by me in his edition will be published in the new edition of the Pastor by v. Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn, just going through the press.

## PART I.

### THE ETHIOPIC TEXT.

I. *Its discovery and literature.* Of the existence of an Ethiopic version of Pastor Hermae nothing was known in Europe before 1858. Hiob Ludolf's friend Gregorius apparently was not acquainted with it and not one of the travels in Ethiopia from Bruce's down to Isenberg's contains the least notice of it. It was left to the good fortune of the brothers d'Abbadie to find this treasure. M. Antoine d'Abbadie immediately communicated the fact of its discovery to Prof. Dillmann (then in Kiel); through him the news reached Prof. Anger, who was just then working on the Greek text. By him an extract of the newly found version (Visis I. Chap. I. the beginning; Vis. II. Chap. III. the end; Chap. IV. the end; Vis. III. Chap. III. the end.) with notes by Prof. Dillmann, was published in Gersdorf's Repertorium 1856. The Ethiopic text itself was issued 1860 in the II. Vol. of the "Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft", as "Hermae Pastor. Aethiopice primum edidit et aethiopice latine vertit Antonius d'Abbadie". Here an exact copy of the text, with all its defects, is given so that it fully supplies the place of the original Ms. Prof. Dillmann published "Bemerkungen zu dem aethiop. Pastor Hermae" in the XV. Vol. of the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" (Z. D. M. G.) 1861, p. 111—131, treating mainly the philological side of the

question. At that time the Codex Sinait had already been found, but the fragments of Hermas in it had not yet been published. Since these have been given to the world, no one, as far as I know, has made an examination into the relationship existing between the Ethiop. text and the Sinait. This alone is enough to justify an investigation.

II. *The Manuscript.* For the external description of the Ms. we can do no better than to repeat what is given in the "Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie", Paris, 1859. On page 180 No. 174 we find: **ሂርግ**: "Le Pasteur Hermas" 21 sur 17 huit cahiers détachés copiés pour moi sur papier d'Europe, en deux colonnes par page; 80 feuillets dont 1 blanc. Tous les manûirons d'Éthiopie parlent de Herma d'après la citation qu'en a faite a Yared dans le Diggua; bien peu d'entre eux en ont vu le seul<sup>1</sup> manuscrit connu, qui existe au convent de Guindaguinde. J'en dois la communication à la complaisance de Monseigneur Jacobis, préfet des missions apostoliques en Éthiopie, et je l'ai fait copier chez lui a Gual'a<sup>2</sup>, en Ag'ame. I. **ሀረግ፡ኅብ.ደ.** — 45 feuillets. . . . Cet ouvrage est le livre attribué au pasteur et connu par deux Traductions latines. D'après un premiers examen le texte gi'iz semble avoir été traduit de l'arabe. — Internally the text is in a most dilapidated state. This is no more than could be expected. Excluded from churchy use by its dogmatical contents, no one would devote his attention, in the time of the bloom of the **ገድል**: literature, to a book as deep as the Pastor. In one respect, this is a fortunate thing; for as it is, the text gives us such an insight into Ethiop. orthography as very few other Mss. do. The

<sup>1</sup> It is still the only Ms. known. Cf. the catalogues of Vienna (Z. D. M. G. XVI) and of the Magdala collection in the Brit. Mus. (Z. D. M. G. XXIV, p. 599 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> But according to d'Abbadie's letter to Prof. Anger (Nachtr. Berm. III, p. 2) it was at Guindaguinde.

weak sides of the text are many. The greatest freedom in the interchanging of similar letters, sometimes most provoking (e. g. **ወኅበ:** for **ወሀበ:** 42. a. 10); corrupt passages;<sup>1</sup> repetitions (e. g. 10. a. 15; 10. b. 23. 21. a. 3 etc.); blunders (e. g. 8. a. 22; 8. b. 4.); negligent mode of putting or omitting the **ነቀጥ:** (e. g. 82. b. 12; 57. a. 8), poor punctuation, often distroying the seuse, — these are some of the faults of the text. Especial attention must be called to the fact (because d'Abbadie fails to mention it) that one page 50 of the Ethiop. text the passage from b. 3 **በእንቲአሆሙ:** to 23. **አሕራግ:** belongs between **እኔበ:** and **ወይን:** a. 11 (Latin; p. 145. 11. de iis, to 18 frucificat between palmites and vitis l. 1.). One of the peculiarities of the text is the unsettled state of the vowels, a certain sign of the early date of the translation.<sup>2</sup> This peculiarity is also a characteristic feature of the two large Ethiop. Inscriptions found by Rüppel, and published by him in the Atlas to his "Reise in Abyssinien" 1836. These undoubtedly belong to a period prior<sup>3</sup> to the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia. Examples of the fluctuation of the vowels in these inscriptions are:<sup>4</sup> **መወአ:** for **መዋእ:** I. 5 **ፋለሰን:** for **ፋላሰን:** I. 7. **መሒዘ:** for **መሐዘ:** I. 9. **ሰረዌ:** I. 9. 10. **ተለወን:** for **ተለውን:** I. 11. **መሰለ:** for **ምስለ:** I. 16. **እሐዘበ:** for **እሐዛበ:** I. 23. **ሰመዩ:** for **ሰማዩ:** (but 46. **ሰማዩ:**). It seems as though there is a special preference shown here for the short *ä*, although there are exceptional cases in which the change is in favor of other vowels. e. g. **ሰሌሐን:** for **ሰልሐን:** I. 5; **መንግሥቶሙ:** for **መንግሥቶመ:** (or an old form, cf. **ንግሥ:**?); **ወእቲ:** for **ውእቲ:** (cf. **ውኢቲ:** Hermas 75. b. 25.). Whether this preference for the short ä ist to be explained

<sup>1</sup> These are marked in d'Abbadie's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dillmann, Grammatik der Aethiop. Sprache, §§ 12 and 15.

<sup>3</sup> But see Dillmann, Z. D. M. G. 1853, p. 355 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Of course the readings of Gesenius "Hallische Literaturzeitung" 1839 and of Dillmann Z. D. M. G. 1853 have been here adopted.

by the fact that this form was easier to carve, or that the carver still had the consciousness that *ä* was the **ግዕዝ**: vowel (for thus the Ethiopians call the first vowel) would be hard to decide. So much is certain, the unsettled state of the vowels in the Axumitic inscriptions represents that early period in the development of the Ethiop. Alphabet when the vowelsystem was not yet fixed.<sup>1</sup> The Ethiop. version of Hermas seems to represent a somewhat later period; the vowels are still unsettled, although much more stable than in the large inscriptions, and no preference is any longer shown for the short *ä*. This alone is enough to vindicate for our Hermas an early period in the literature of Abyssinia.<sup>2</sup> — The translator has also appended a note (from 10 8 b. 15 to the end) which d'Abbadie has also translated (p. 181). Here the translator claims, on the basis of Acts 14. 12, that Paul himself was the Hermas who wrote the Pastor, committing the singular blunder of saying that Silas was called **ደዮ**: and Paul **ሄሮዲስ**:, whereas (also according to the Ethiop. version of the N. T.) it was Barnabas, not Silas, who accompanied Paul to Lystra.

III. *The diction of the translator.* In his essay in the XV vol of the Z. D. M. G. Prof. Dillmann has already pointed to the resemblance existing between the diction of the Ethiop. Bible and that of the translator of Hermas, directing his main

<sup>1</sup> Not unworthy of note is the fact that the consonants sometimes waver in these inscriptions; e. g. II, 2. **ፍገ-ሠ**: but 36, **ነገ-ስ**: The Ethiop. alphabet seems to have gone through two stages of development; in the first the consonants were stable and the vowels fluctuating; in the second the case was reversed.

<sup>2</sup> The frequent lengthening of syllables could probably be explained (at least often) on the basis of the accent. Trumpp, Z. D. M. G. 1874 has given a system of pronunciation as communicated to him by an Abyssinian **ወልደ-ስላሴ**: (Son of the Trinity). On p. 548 he says that **ወ-እቲ**: is accented ve-é-tu, and **ደእቲ**: je-é-ti. In Hermas 75. b. 25 we find **ወ-አቲ**: and for **ደእቲ**: the regular form is **ደአቲ**:



attention to the use of peculiar words and forms to demonstrate this resemblance, so that the point in question can be considered proved. Here attention will be drawn to certain peculiarities in the expression of thought existing between the translators of the Eth. Bible and our translator; touching an altogether different side from the one Prof. D. has discussed. — The very title is characteristic of a true Ethiopian; the choice of the word ነቢይ: in preference to ኖላዌ: ποιμὴν exhibits at once an Ethiopic way of thinking and that agreeable freedom common to Abyssinian translators. ነቢይ: is a favorite word in Theolog. literature of Ethiopia, being applied to the authors of a whole class of literature, namely to that peculiar “visionary” literature which flourished in Abyssinia. Thus in d’Abbadie’s catalogue p. 26 the vision-seeing ጎርጎርዮስ: is a ነቢይ:; p. 65 under ጉባኤ: ነቢያት: are included ሂኖክ: ኢሳይያስ: and ባርክ:; then Daniel (although according to the Didascalia<sup>1</sup> p. 94 there are but 15 prophets), David (Didas, 61, 11) Moses (l. c. 82, 16) are ነቢያት: Laurence’s edition of Henoch bears the title መጽሐፈ: ሂኖክ: ነቢይ: That Hermas, according to Ethiopic ideas is a ነቢይ: needs no further proof.<sup>2</sup> The freedom taken by the translator in the title is carried through the whole book, so that a single word is often a significant commentary to the way he understood a passage. A good translation, in which the sense of the words is given, is always preferred to a literal one in which there might be a doubt as to the meaning of a passage<sup>3</sup>; e. g. እወጥር: ውስተ: አህጉር: quum rus irem in oppida, or, inter oppida, is a translation of πορευομένου μου εἰς κώμας. Then 7, 9. δόξας θεοῦ is rendered

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Platt.

<sup>2</sup> The same liberality is shown in the use of the word መልክ:

<sup>3</sup> In this respect Ethiop. translations are the exact opposite of Syriac translations; the latter are often totally unintelligible on account of the slavishness of the version. This is the case even in Syr. translation of some of the O. and N. Testament books.

3. b. 25 **ቃለ፡ጽድቅ፡ስብሐት፡** because **ጽድቅ፡** would not have answered as well (cf. **ቃለ፡ጽድቅ፡** Didasc. 80, 4.); 33, 18 εἰς τὰ ὄτα with λαλῶν<sup>1</sup> is an unethiopic way of thinking, and therefore it is translated 23. a. 13 **አስምዖናው፡**; for 47, 10 ἔντευξις (cf. Z. D. M. G. XV, p. 112) **ጣዕም፡**; 50, 10 φόβον is rendered **ፋርሀተ፡እግዚአብሔር፡** cf. 54, 12 and 34. b. 22. because φόβον θεοῦ was meant. In looking at passages like 1. Cor. 4, 14. and 1. Cor. 3, 9. we see that the Hermas translator did nothing but what the Ethiop. translators of the Bible did before him. How far the latter went in their freedom appears from the curious rendering of Col. 3, 11. where Βάρβαρος καὶ Σκύθης is translated **ሐቃል፡ወሀገራት፡** agrestes et oppidani. Characteristic is the translation of κένος pp. 69 and 70. by **ከንቱ፡** and by **ዕኅቅ፡**; by the first whenever it applies to man, by the latter whenever it has reference to a vessel. Another peculiarity is what might be called inversion i. e. going out from a certain idea of harmony two consecutive words in Gr. often change position in the translations; e. g. 11. 5. ἐν ἀκακίᾳ καὶ ἀπλότῃτι is rendered 6. b. 4. **በጽድቅ፡ወበስፋት፡ልብ፡** (cf. 24, 24. with 16. a. 6.); 33, 16. ὅτι ἄσπιλοι καὶ καρδαροί, is 23. a. 8. **ንጹሐን፡እመንቱ፡ወአልሰው፡ርስሐተ፡** cf. 16, 22. with 10. a. 6. also 70. 26. In the N. T. this is found on almost every page. The Pauline salutation χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη is invariably rendered **ሰላም፡ወጸጋ፡** because **ሰላም፡** is the first word used in greeting in Ethiopia. Rom. 8. 6. ζῶῃ καὶ εἰρήνῃ is translated **ሰላም፡ወአይወተ፡**; 1. Cor. 11, 3. the Eth. construction of the first half of the verse is ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ παντὸς ἀνδρός, but the second half is exactly like the Gr.; the translator evidently did not want to place ἀνδρός before Χριστός. Thus Eph. 6, 2. ἥτις sc. is put before τίμα...μητέρα. A change of grammatical relation is

<sup>1</sup> But with words signifying to hear we find it e. g. Dill. Chrest. Aethiop. p. 67, 6.

not rare; thus for 10, 11. ἐκ πλήρους τὰς εὐαγγελίας, we find 5. b. 23. ተስፋ-ሆሙ፡፡ፋጸ-መ፡፡; cf. also 37, 9. with 25. a. 9; then 53, 1. with 33. b. 22. and 71, 7. with 44. b. 19. See also 1. Thess. 5, 9. Another peculiarity is the division of one word into two where one word did not seem to suffice in Ethiopic. Thus. of 78, 3. ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης κατοικεῖτε ὑμεῖς the rendering is 48. b.9. ከመ፡፡ራላስዖን፡፡ሀለው-ከሙ፡፡ወነግዳን፡፡አንትሙ፡፡ the exact equivalent of the biblical ራላስዖን፡፡ወነግድ፡፡; e. g. 1. Par. 29, 15. where it is equal to παροιχοὶ καὶ παροιχοῦντες cf. Eph. 2, 19. Then ἐπιδουμία πονηρά is often rendered literally, often ፋትወት፡፡ወእከይት፡፡ e. g. 71, 6. cf. 44. b. 19.; and ἐπιδουμία ἀγαθή often ጽድቅ፡፡ወወናይት፡፡ cf. 1. Cor. 1, 11; 1. Cor. 11, 29. 34.; Gal. 4, 6. Eph. 1, 6. 1. Thess. 3, 3. for σάλνεσθαι we find ታንቀልቅለ፡፡ወይቅበጽ፡፡ cf. Phil. 2, 8; Rom. 12, 1. 1. Cor. 7, 13. Direct for indirect address is not seldom in Eth. translations. In Hermas we find 12, 4. ἡρνησάμην δεδωκέναι translated 7. a. 7. ወእቤላ፡፡ኢያግባእከ፡፡ cf. Rom. 12, 17; 1. Cor. 1, 15<sup>1</sup>.

These are but a few of the many testimonies bearing directly on the relationship existing between the translation of Hermas and the Ethiop. version of the Bible and what is true of these single cases is true of the whole; the spirit of the translation throughout is the same as that of the version of the Bible, so that it is even more than a probability what Dillmann says (Z. D. M. G. XV, p. 113.) "ich glaube behaupten zu dürfen dass unser Text aus der Zeit stammt der die älteste aethiop. Bibelübersetzung angehört, und dass das Buch mit den eigentlich biblischen Büchern übersetzt wurde".

<sup>1</sup> The Pauline almost exclusive application of κύριος to Christ and θεός to God, has found entrance into the Ethiop. version of the Bible. Here κύριος is rendered አግዚእ፡፡ and θεός አግዚአብሔር፡፡ No such distinction is found in Hermas. Especially to be noticed is the fact that in Hermas. 39. a. 20; 42. a. 13. 43. a. 5 and 7. and 43. 2. 11 we find አግዚአብሔር፡፡ used as a translation of θεός. Dill. fails to mention this fact in his Lexicon. The biblical translation of θεός is መለኮት፡፡ e. g. Rom. 1, 20.

## PART II.

### THE ETHIOPIC TEXT AND ITS ORIGINAL.

The Ethiopic literature is *κατ' ἐξοχήν* a literature of translations; at least this is true of its noblest specimens. There are probably but few other people on earth who have taken so much and given so little; but what they have taken they have well preserved, so that many a book, whose original has been lost, is still found in an Ethiopic translation; e. g. Henoeh, Liber Jubilaeorum and others. Owing to this peculiar outward influence; the periods of Ethiopic literature are not designated by any special phase of development in Ethiopic life, but by the fate of surrounding nations. Of these periods there are two. I. The Greek (or Graeco-Coptic) period. II. The Arabic period. The first extends from the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia to the rise of Arabic power in Africa; the second from that time to the transformation of Ethiopic into Amharic and Tigré. To the first period belongs by far, the nobler portion of the literature with the version (or versions) of the Bibel at the head. These are mainly translations from the Greek. How far the Coptic had a determining influence on the literature of that period is hard to decide, but the intimacy between the Coptic and the Abyssinion Churches, especially after the Synod of Chalcedon, would justify the belief that the influence could not have been small, so that many works now looked upon as translations either from the

Greek or from the Arabic are really from the Copic.<sup>1</sup> — To which of these two periods does the translation of Hermas belong? Beyond all doubt to the first, and in the first to the Greek not to the Coptic. M. d'Abbadie indeed said "Catalogue p. 180. D'après un premier examen, le texte gi'iz semble, avoir été traduit de l'arabe"; but in his introduction to the edition itself, he says: Quod dixeram aethiopicam istam Pastoris Hermae interpretationem ex prototypo Arabico factam videri, nunc, toto opere accuratius perlecto, retracandum esse intellexi. There is nothing in the text to speak for a Coptic origen; and the evidences are so imperative for a Greek original that throughout the first part this has been taken as proved.<sup>2</sup> However not only can this be taken as true, but even a closer relationship can be found than that of Greek original and Ethiopic translation: This the following table of variae lectiones will show. (The abbreviations are: Ae.=Aethiopicus. S.=Sinaiticus. L.=Lipsiensis. p.=Palatinus. v.=Vulgata. o.=omits. SC<sup>a</sup>.=3. Corrector of Codex S. VII. Century. The Greek is quoted according to the edition of Hilgenfeld. The two codices standing together have the same reading, being placed according to circumstances, either in-or outside of the parenthesis. The page and line of the Ethiopic text are not given; they can easily be found by the headings. Where nothing is given Ae. either omits or it cannot be decided whether it agrees with S. or to L.).

### VISIO I.

p. 3. L. Ἔρασις ἁ (Ae. S. o.). S. πέπρακέν με ῥόδη τιῆ εἰς ῥώμη. Ae. **ህጠኒ፡ለሮዴ፡ብሔረ፡ሮሜ** :: *verdidit me regionem*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus W. Fell in his "Canones apostolici aethiopice" proves that these have for their original the Coptic canons.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dillmann, Z. D. M. G. XV, p. 111; and Supplement to d'Abbadie's Edition; then Gersdorf's Repertorium 1858, IV, Heft II, p. 3 of the "Separatabdruck".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gal. 1, 22.

(or regione<sup>1</sup>) Romae (L. πεπρακέναι καὶ ὁδὸν τινα εἰς Ῥώμην).  
 2. S. ἀνεγνωρισάμην αὐτήν. Ae. **ΖΗ-ΠΗΦ**: (L. ο.). 3. 4. μετὰ  
 χρόνον τινα λουομένην εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Τίβεριν εἶδον. Here the  
 construction of the Ae. is exactly the same as that of SC<sup>a</sup>.  
 agreeing with it alone. 5. S. τὴν χεῖρα. Ae. **ΧΕΡΕ**: (L. χεῖρα).  
 S. ἐξήγαγον. Ae. **ΚΩ-ΓΛΗ**: (L. ἐξέβαλον). 7. S. μακάριος ἦμην.  
 Ae. **ΚΡΟ-Κ-ΠΟΔΗ**: (L. ἀριστόν or ἀρεστόν ἦμην). 9. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἔτε-  
 ρον δὲ οὐδέν. Ae. **ΩΚΗ:ΠΟΡΕ**: (S. ἔτερον οὐδὲ ἐν). S. καὶ δοξά-  
 ζοντος. Ae. **ΩΚΗΗC**: (L. ἐδόξαζον). S. ὡς. Ae. **ΧΕ**: (L. ὅτι).  
 11. S. μεγάλοι εἰσίν. Ae. has the same construction. (L. has  
 δυναταί before ἐκπρεπεῖς). 12. S. ἀπήνεγκέν με. Ae. **ΩΡΕΖ**:  
 (L. ἀπήγαγε). — p. 4. 2. S. τὰ ὀμαλά. Ae. **ΟΟCΛΗ-Π**: (L. τὰς  
 ὄχθας). 4. L. SC<sup>a</sup>. τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου. Ae. **ΥΩ.ΚΤΕ**: (S. ο.  
 μου). 5. S. ἐκείνην. Ae. **ΧΖΠ-ΗΤ**: (L. ο.). 7. S. βλέψας εἰς  
 αὐτήν. Ae. **CΛ.ΗΦ**: (L. ἐμβλέψας). 8. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. συ. (Ae. (?))  
 S. ο.). 11. L. μου. Ae. — **Ζ**: (S. ο.). 13. S. ἁγίας Ae. **ΦΡΕ-ΠΤ**:  
 (L. ο.). 15. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. τρόπον, Ae. **ΩΡΟΠΤ:ΠΟCΗ**: et quid feci.  
 (S. τόπον). S. δε. (SC<sup>a</sup>. L. Ae. ο.). 16. S. σε. Ae. — **Η**: (L. ο.).  
 S. ἠγγασάμην. Ae. **ΧΩΔΕ**: (L. ἠγγούμην). 17. S. σὲ ἐνετράπην  
 ὡς ἀδελφὴν. Ae. **ΚΠΨ-CΗ.ΗCΟ:ΧΥΤΕ**: (L. με ἐκατάκρινας).  
 18. S. καὶ ἀνάσπατα. Ae. **ΩCΗ-Π**: (L. ο.). 19. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. μοι.  
 Ae. — **Ζ**: (S. ο.). 20. S. πονηρίας. Ae. **Ψ-ΠΩΠ**: (L. πορνείας).  
 SC<sup>a</sup>. ἦ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι. Ae. has the same construction as SC<sup>a</sup>.  
 22. S. καὶ (L. Ae. ο. καί). — p. 5. 1. S. βουλεύεται. Ae. **Ρ-ΥΛ**:  
 (L. καλεύεται). 2. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ. Ae. **Η-ΠΖ**: (S. αὐτῶν).  
 4. S. πράγματι αὐτοῦ. Ae. **ΗΓ-ΠΖ**: (L. ο. αὐτοῦ). S. πονηρά.  
 Ae. **ΧΗ-Ρ**: (L. πάλιν). 7. S. γαυριῶντες. Ae. **Π-ΧΩΠ**: (L. γῆν  
 ἐρῶντες). 9. S. ἐλπίδα. Ae. **Π-ΠΖ**: (L. ἐλπίδας). 10. S. ἀπεγ-  
 νόκασιν. Ae. **ΑΠ-ΡΑ**: (L. ἀπεδώκασιν).

II. 15. S. ἦ. Ae. **ΠΠ**:<sup>2</sup> (L. εἰ). S. ἐμαυτοῦ. Ae. **ΠΔ-ΠΡΕ**:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. 1, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Dillmann, Z. D. M. G. XV, p. 112, having only the L. εἰ before him

(L. ἐαυτῶ). 18. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἢ ποίοις. Ae. **ΠΗΡΕΤ**: (L. ο. ἦ). 19. S. διακρίνοντος. Ae. **ΞΤΗΗ**: (L. διαλογιζομένου). 20. S. μου. Ae. — **Ρ**: (L. ο.). 21. SC<sup>a</sup>. χιονίνων. Ae. **ΗΣΜΠΖΡ**: (L. λευκῶν, S. ο.). Ae. has λευκῆν after ἐξ.<sup>1</sup> Ae. **ΔΥΦΤ**: i. e. πρεσβύτες (S. πρεσβύτες. L. πρεσβύτες.). 24. SC<sup>a</sup>. κλαίων. Ae. **ΞΠΗ**: (S. χαίρων, L. ο.). — p. 6. 1. S. μοι (Ae. L. ο.). S. Ἐρμαῖ. Ae. **ΖΣΓ**: (L. ο.). 4. L. τινός (S. Ae. ο.). L. μοι. Ae. — **Ζ**: (S. ο.). 5. 6. S. τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. Ae. **ΗΥΓ**: (L. τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα). 10. S. ἐπιδυμήση. Ae. **ΖΤΩΤ**: (L. ἀναβῆν ἐπιδυμία ἦ. 11. S. ὁ. Ae. **Η**: (L. ο.). 12. S. πάσης. (Ae. L. ο.).

III. 13. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. σοι. Ae. — **Η**: (S. ο.). 14. L. καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς. Ae. **ΩΛΘΛΗΣΜ**: (S. ἦ αὐτούς. SC<sup>a</sup>. καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς<sup>2</sup>). 15. L. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἐπιστρέψης. Ae. **ΤΓΡΧ**: (S. ἐπεστρέψη). 17. L. δεινῶς. Ae. **ΖΡΖΡ**: (S. ο.). 18. S. προγεγονότα. Ae. **ΗΗΥ: ΣΡΣΜ**: (L. γεγονότα). 19. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. σοι. Ae. — **Η**: (S. ο.). 20. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. βιωτικῶν. (Ae. **ΛΗ: ΣΛΣΜ**: (S. ἰδιωτικῶν). 21. S. πολυσπλαγχνία. Ae. **ΠΠΔ: ΣΡΔΖΤ**:<sup>3</sup> (L. πολλή ἢ εὐσπλαγχνία). 22. S. καὶ ἰσχυρο ποιήσει σε καὶ δεμελίωσει σε. Ae. **ΡΧΥΗ: ΩΡΔΖ: ΛΗ**: (L. ἰσχυρο ποίησε, καὶ ἔδεμελίωσεν). 24. S. L. τὸν οἶκον (Ae. **ΠΗΤ**: potius, lapsus calami for **ΠΤΗ**: domus tua?). — p. 7. L. SC<sup>a</sup>. σου. Ae. — **Η**: (S. σου καὶ). S. οἶδα. Ae. **ΧΧΣΜ**: (L. οἶδας). 4. S. μετανόησουςιν. Ae. **ΥΠΔ**:<sup>4</sup> (L. μετανόησουςιν). 6. S. ταῦτα. Ae. **ΗΥΤ**: (L. ο.). 7. L. μου. Ae. — **Ζ**: (S. ο.). 9. S. μεγάλως καὶ θαναμαστῶς ὅ. Ae. **ΟΠΡ: ΩΣΥΗΖ: Η**: (L. μεγάλας καὶ

thought the translator had mistaken this for an interrogative particle. S. explains the mystery with its ἦ.

<sup>1</sup> For parallel cases cf. Rom. 9, 2; Rom. 12, 1.

<sup>2</sup> A lapsus calami for ὑμᾶς thus agreeing with L. and Ae.

<sup>3</sup> This is no doubt true; for if the translator had L. before him, there would be some sign of the εὐ- in εὐσπλαγχνία.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dillmann's Grammatik, p. 427. This is the only way to explain the Ae. perfect; for how could the Greek Subjunctive be translated by the perf?

ἑταυμαστάς ὄν). 11. S. βαστάσαι. Ae. **θφζ**: (L. συνιέναι). 13. S. ὄν ἀγαπῶ. Ae. **λγφρτ**: (L. ὄς ἀγαπῶ). SC<sup>a</sup>. L. κραταιῶ. Ae. **φρα**: (S. κρατα). S. και Ae. **ω**: (L. ὄ.). 14. L. αὐτοῦ βουλῆ. Ae. **ἡοητω**: (S. ο. αὐτοῦ). 15. S. κτίσει αὐτοῦ. Ae. **τγηφρ**: (L. ο. αὐτοῦ). 18. S. ἀγίαν. Ae. **φρρτ**: (L. ο.). 18. S. ἦν και ηὐλόγησεν. L. εὐλόγησεν. Ae. freely **πλγτκγ**: et pro ea.

IV. 24. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ὅτι οὖν. Ae. **ω**: (S. ο.). 25. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. και ἦραν τῆν καδέδρα. Ae. **ωγρλφρπφωκτ**: (S. ο.). — p. 8. S. και λέγων. Ae. **ωλφρα**: (L. ο.). 4. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἀρεσκά. Ae. **κρσγ**: (S. ο. ἀρεσκά). 6. S. ἔδνεσιν. Ae. **κρηφ**: (L. ἐδνεκοῖς). 10. L. μοι. Ae. — **ζ**: (S. ο.). S. ὑπάγουσα. L. ἀπάγουσα. Ae. **λφφρ**: eundum est! Ae. ο. ἀνδρίσου.<sup>1</sup>

## VISIO II.

I. 12. S. κόμας. Ae. **κστγ**: (L. κόμην). 13. S. και πέρσι. Ae. **ηφρ**: (L. ο.). 19. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. δέ. Ae. **ω**: (S. ο.). — p. 9. S. δέ. Ae. **ωφρητ**:<sup>2</sup> (L. δη). 2. S. ἔλαβον. Ae. **γφλρ**: **κγ**: (SC<sup>a</sup>. L. have in addition Δάβε, φησίν, αὐτὸ και ἀποδώσεις μοι). 6. S. τὸ βιβλίδιον. Ae. **βλτ**: **σφρρη**: (L. ο.). 6. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. δέ. Ae. **ω**: (S. ο.).

II. 10. S. Ἐρμᾶ. Ae. **γρφ**: (L. ο.). 11. S. ἐβλασφήμησαν. Ae. **κκγ**: (L. ἐβλασφήμησεν). S. τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν. Ae. **κηφφ** **ρρ**: (L. ο. αὐτῶν). 22. S. και πᾶσιν. Ae. **ω**: — **λητ**: (L. πᾶσι δέ). — p. 10. L. ἄφρεσιν ἐπάγει. Ae. **βτφρφ**: (S. ο.). 2. S. τῆς καρδίας. Ae. **αρρ**: (L. ο. τῆς). S. μετανοήσουσιν. Ae. **γηρ**:<sup>3</sup> (L. μετανοήσωσι). 6. S. μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς σωτηρίαν. Ae. **κρρηρ**: (L. αὐτόν instead of αὐτούς). 8. S. και (τοῖς) δε. Ae. **ω** — **ρη**: (L. ο. και). S. ἐσχάτης. Ae. **ρφρτ**: (L.

<sup>1</sup> This same verb is omitted 23, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matth. 10, 28 and Dillmann Lexicon **φρητ**:

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 7, 4.



ἐνάτης). 14. S. ὑπομένετε. Ae. **ἕ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. ὑπομνεῖτε). 17. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. κύριον. Ae. **ἕ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (S. χρῑστόν). 18. S. νῦν. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. ο.). 20. S. πολυσπλαγχνία. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**:<sup>1</sup> (L. τὴν πολλὴν αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν).

III. 21. S. μνησικακήσης. Ae. **ἕ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. μνησικάκει). 24. S. παιδεία. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. παιδείαν). — p. 11. L. μιν. (S. Ae. ο.). 3. S. L. πραγματείαις. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (SC<sup>a</sup>. ἄμαρ-τίαις). 5. S. σε. Ae. — **ἑ**: (L. ο.). 6. S. πολλή, Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. ο.). SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἐάν.. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (S. ἐν). 7. L. σῶζει. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (S. σῶσεις). S. καί. Ae. **ἑ**: (L. ὅσοι δέ). 8. S. κατι-σχύουσιν. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (κατισχύουσιν). 11. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: with ἑλέψις. Vulg. magna, Pal. maxima. (S. L. ο.). 12. ἄρνησαι. Ae. **ἕ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. ο.). 13. S. ὧς. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. ο.). S. γέγραπ-ται ἐν τῷ Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: sicut dicunt Êldâd et Mûdâd. (L. ἐν τῷ ἐλλάγη κατὰ Μωσῆ δαβὶδ!).

IV. 15. S. μοι. Ae. — **ἑ**: (L. ο.). S. κοιμωμένω. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. ο.). 16. L. τινός. (S. Ae. ο.). S. μοι. Ae. — **ἑ**: (L. ο.). 18. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. τίς. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ**: (S. τί). SB.<sup>2</sup> L. εἶπον (οὔν) αὐτῷ. Διὰ τί οὖν πρεσβυτέρα; Ὅτι φησίν. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (S. ο.). — p. 12. 1. S. ταύτην. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. ο.). 4. S. τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. πρώτοις). 6. γνωρισθήσεται. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (L. γνωσθήσεται). 7. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. οὔν. Ae. **ἑ**: (S. ο.). 9. S. L. Γραπτή. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: e libro.<sup>3</sup> 11. S. ταύτην. Ae. **ἑ-ἑ-ἑ**: (αὐτήν).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 6, 21.

<sup>2</sup> And of course also SC<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The Aeth. certainly had Γραπτή in his original, which he did not understand; he read γραπτή and translated it „e libro.” Whether he had it in his text twice, and omitted it once propter homoeoteleuton, is not certain.

## VISIO III.

I. L. ὄρασιν. S. ἦν. Ae. **Ⲭⲏⲣⲉⲛⲏ**: visio quam. 16. S. μοι ἐπηγγείλατο. Ae. **ⲕⲏⲧⲘⲕⲏⲣⲉⲗ**: (L. ο. μοι). S. διά. Ae. **ⲕⲓⲛⲟⲣⲉⲛ**: (L. ο.). 17. L. ἐκείνης. Ae. **ⲕⲓⲛⲟⲣⲉⲛ**: (S. ο.). S. αὐτῆ. Ae. **ⲛⲟⲣⲉⲗⲉ**: (L. ο.). 18. S. εἶπέν μοι. Ae. **ⲧⲏⲖⲏⲗ**: (L. ο. μοι). 18—19. S. ἐνδεῆς εἶ και σπουδαῖος. Ae. **ⲡⲟⲘⲕⲟⲣⲉ**: **ⲕⲓⲛⲟⲣⲉⲛ**: (L. has εἶς after σπουδαῖος). 19. S. τὸ γινῶναι. Ae. **ⲡⲏⲕⲡⲟⲘ**: (L. τὴν γνώμην). S. L. ἐλθέ. Ae. **ⲁⲘⲉⲛ**: **ⲡⲟⲘⲕⲟⲣⲉ**: perge! exi!<sup>1</sup>. — p. 13. 1. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. χρονίζεις, Ae. **ⲛⲟⲘ**: (S. χονδρίζεις). S. ἐμφανισθήσομαι. Ae. **ⲕⲏⲧⲘⲕⲏⲣⲉ**: (L. μέλλω φανισθήσομαι). S. σοι. Ae. — **ⲏ**: (L. ο.). 12. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. και ὥσει. Ae. **ⲟⲩ**: ο. ὥσει (S. ὥσει). 16. S. πάλιν. Ae. **ⲏⲟⲛ**: (L. ο.). 18. **ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉ**: post me. Vulg. post me (S. L. ο. ὅπισθεν. Ae. ο. ἔξ). 20. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. λέγει μοι. Ae. **ⲧⲏⲖⲏⲗ**: (S. ο. μοι). 21. S. πάντα. Ae. **ⲡⲏⲗⲟⲩ**:<sup>2</sup> tantum (L. πάλιν). 22. S. ἐξαυτῆς. Ae. **ⲏⲏⲛ**:<sup>3</sup> (SC<sup>a</sup>. μετὰ σεαυτοῦ. L. ἐξ αὐτῆς μετὰ σεαυτοῦ). — p. 14. 2. S. και. (L. Ae. ο.). 5. S. καδίσαι τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη. Ae. has the same construction. (L. καδίσαι after μέρη). 6—8. Ae. has the same construction as SC<sup>a</sup>. omitting only διαλογιζομένου. (S. ο.). 9. S. μέρη. (Ae. L. ο.). 11. L. τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. Ae. **ⲏⲟⲩ**: (S. SC<sup>a</sup>. τοῦ ὀνοματός μου). 12. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἐμμένεις. Ae. **ⲧⲏⲛⲏⲣⲏ**: **ⲟⲩⲏⲗⲉⲏ**: si. patiens fueris et in simplicitate permanseris.<sup>4</sup> (S. μενιζ). 13. S. σου. (Ae. L. ο.). S. και. (Ae. L. ο.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 16, 2 and the Coptic **Ⲓⲏⲏⲡⲉ ⲛⲟ** which often answers to the Greek ἰδοὺ e. g. Gen. 22, 13. Ex. 1, 9; cf. also 43, 6; 47, 5 and the extra **ⲟⲩⲉ**: Rom. 6, 9.

<sup>2</sup> The translator seems to have taken this adverbially; he gives a free translation of the whole sentence.

<sup>3</sup> The translator read ἐξ αὐτῆς; exactly the same construction is found 21, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Has the translator not taken the verb ὑμένεσκων 14 up here in order to accommodate it to the following?

II. 17. S. τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἦσο·: nomen ejus,<sup>1</sup> (L. τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ). 18. S. διὰ τὸ ὄνομα. Ae. በአንተ: ἦσο·: (L. διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος). L. τοῦ θεοῦ. (S. Ae. o.). 20. Ae. አምፀፀምሂ: a sinistra (S. L. o. a.). 22. S. ἔχουσιν. Ae. በσο·: (L. ἔχουσι). — p. 15. 2. S. πάντων. Ae. ἡሎσο·: (L. o.). L. ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν. Ae. ኃጢአቶሙ·: (S. o. αὐτῶν). 4. S. L. αὐτῆς. Ae. ለቴ: <sup>2</sup>. 6. S. μου τῆς χειρός. Ae. —ኒ: በአዲያ: (L. τῆς χειρός μου). 9. S. μέγα πρᾶγμα. Ae. በቢያ: ግብረ: (L. μετὰ πρᾶγματα). 10. S. λέγει μοι, Σύ, ἰδοῦ, οὐχ ὄραξ. Ae. ትቤለኒ: አትራኢኑ: et dixit mihi videsne? (o. ἰδοῦ). (L. o. λέγει μοι, σύ). S. οὐχ ὄραξ. Ae. ኢትራኢኑ: (L. ὁ χῶρος). 11. S. οἰκοδομούμενον. Ae. ስያሐንጽ: (L. ὠκοδομούμενον). 12. L. SC<sup>a</sup>. λαμπροῖς. Ae. ፀግዳ: (S. λαμπρός). 13. L. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἕξ. Ae. ጁ (S. ἐξήκοντα). 15. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἕξ. Ae. ጁ (S. ἐξήκοντα L. o.). 23. S. τοὺς μὲν, — τοὺς δέ. Ae. በዛ: — በዛ: (L. οὓς μὲν — τοὺς δέ). — p. 16. 1. L. ἔρριπτον. Ae. ያወረው: (S. ἐτίθουν). 8. L. εἰς τὴν ὁδόν. Ae. ወስተ: ፋፋት: (S. εἰς τὸ αὐτό). 9. L. ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ. (S. Ae. o.). SC<sup>a</sup>. L. καὶ καιομένους, ἑτέρους δὲ πίπτοντας. Ae. ወያው-ዕያ: ወገ: አለ: ያወደቃ: (S. o.).

III. 14. S. δέξασά μοι. Ae. ወሶበ: ርአየተኒ: (L. δέξας δέ μοι) L. τὰ πρᾶγματα (S. Ae. o.). 14. S. ἦἔλεον. 16 πρᾶγματα. Ae. ራቃደት: — ፋካራው: (L. o.). 17. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἄνδρωπος. Ae. ብአሲ: (S. L. ἄνδρωπε). 18. S. ναί. Ae. አው: (L. καί) S. ἀναγγεῖλω. Ae. አንግር: (L. ἀναγγεῖλω καὶ ἠλαρώτεροι γίνονται). 19. S. ἀκούσαντες. Ae. ሰሚዕ: (L. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες) L. ἀκούσαντες μετανοήσωσιν. Ae. አመሰም-ዮኔስሐ: (S. ἀκούσωσιν καὶ) SC<sup>a</sup>. L. καὶ αὐτοί. Ae. አሎ: (S. o.). — p. 17, 2. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἀποκαλύψεις. Ae. ፋካር: (S. ἀποκαλύψειν). 3. S. ὁ μὲν πύργος. Ae. ዝንጉ: ማጎፈያ: (L. τὸν μὲν πύργον). 6. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. μετὰ. Ae. ምስለ:

<sup>1</sup> Ejus here is equal to the Greek article.

<sup>2</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the original of the aethiop. had αὐτῆ (Hilg.): the translator was confused by the position of αὐτῆς.

(S. με). 7. S. μοι. Ae. **Λ.Τ:** (L. ο.). 12. S. εἶπόν σοι καὶ τὸ πρότερον. Ae. **ΥΓCἡ-ἡ:ΦΞ.Σ.Υ:** (L. adds. πανουργος εἶ περι τὰς γραφάς). 12. 13. S. ἐκζητεῖς. Ae. **ΑΔΔἠ:** (L. ἐκζητήσεις). 13. L. εὐρήσεις. Ae. **ΤΖἠΠ:** (S. εὐρίσκεις). 14. S. ἄκουε. Ae. **ἠΟΥδ:** (L. ἄκουσον). 15. S. ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν. Ae. **ἠΞ.Ω.Τ.ἠ.Σ.:** (L. ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν).

IV. 20. S. οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες. Ae. **ἠΛ:Ρ.Α.Ζ.Κ:** (L. ο. οί). 20—21. L. ἡ δὲ ἔφη. Ae. **Ω.Τ.Π.:** (S. ο.). — p. 18, 4. S. (SC<sup>a</sup>?) L. ἔξ. (Ae. SB. ο.). 9. S. ἔξοδον. Ae. **ΟΥ.Π.:** (L. διαφοράν). S. αὐτῶν. Ae. **Α.Χ.Κ.Π.Ζ.:** lapidum. (L. ο.) 10. S. ἐκ πάντων. Ae. **ἠ.Ρ.Υ.Α.:** (L. ο. ἐκ). 11. SB. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. σοι. Ae. **Α.ἠ.:** (S. ο.). 12. S. σου. Ae. **ἠ.:** (L. ο.). 14. Ae. **Ω.Υ.Ξ.:** etiam. ἔτι (S. L. ο.). 15. SB.<sup>1</sup> L. εἰ ἄρα ἔσται ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔσται. Ae. **Α.ἠ.Σ.Ω.ἠ.Ω.Ζ.:** **Π.Ζ.Τ.Υ.Α.Ω.ἠ.Ω.Ζ.:** (S. ο.). 18. S. πάντα. Ae. **Υ.Α.:** (L. ταῦτα).

V. 19. S. νῦν. Ae. **Ρ.ἠ.Π.Ζ.:** (L. οὔν). 22. S. καὶ διάκονοι (L. Ae. ο.). 23. S. πορευθέντες κατὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ θεοῦ. Ae. **Κ.Ζ.Κ.Α.Δ.ἠ.Π.Π.ἠ.Π.Α.Κ.:** purificationem egerunt (L. has σεμνήν διδασκαλίαν). 25. S. τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς. Ae. **Α.Υ.Υ.Ρ.Ζ.:** (L. τοῖς δούλοις). — p. 19, 1. S. καὶ πάντοτε. Ae. **ἠ.ἠ.Σ.Ω.Π.Υ.Α.:** (L. ο. καί). L. συνεφώνησαν. Ae. **Ρ.Τ.Υ.Φ.Υ.:** (S. συμφωνήσαντες). 2. L. διὰ τοῦτο. Ae. **Π.Ρ.Υ.Π.:** (S. διὰ τό. SB. διὰ τοῦ). 5. L. εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν. Ae. **Ω.ἠ.Τ.ἠ.Κ.Ζ.:** (S. ο.) S. ταῖς ἀρμογαῖς αὐτῶν. Ae. **Ρ.Ρ.Σ.:** (L. ο.). 7. L. οἱ κεκοιμημένοι. (S. Ae. ο.). 8—10. S. τοὺς δὲ — λατομουμένους. Ae. the same (L. ο.). 8. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἀπό. Ae. **ἠ.Ρ.:** (S. ἐπί). 12. S. κατορθώσαντο. Ae. **Κ.Κ.Τ.Ο.:** (?). (L. κατώρθωσαν. 14. S. νέοι εἰσίν. Ae. **Υ.Υ.ἠ.Τ.ἠ.Σ.Ω.Ζ.Τ.:** (L. ο.). L. τοῦ κυρίου. Ae. **ἠ.Π.Π.ἠ.Π.Α.Κ.:** (S. ο.). 16. L. οὐχ εὐρέθη. Ae. **Κ.Α.Ρ.Π.Τ.Ζ.ἠ.Π.:** (S. ο. οὐκ). 17. L. οί. Ae. **ἠ.Λ.:** (S. ο.). 18. S. μετανοῆσαι. Ae. **Ρ.Υ.ἠ.Α.:** (L. μεταχωρήσαι). S. μακράν.

<sup>1</sup> And of course also SC<sup>a</sup>.

Ae. **ΓΓΦ**: (L. o.). 20. L. μετανοήσουσιν. Ae. **ΖΗΛ**:<sup>1</sup> μετανοήσωσιν. 21. S. ισχυροί. Ae. **ΞΞΘ**: (L. δίσχηρηστοι). 21. L. ἐκεῖνη οἱ ἐκεῖνων. (S. Ae. o.) — p. 20, 1. L. ἔξουσιν. Ae. **ΞΞΗΘ**: (S. ἔχουσιν). 2. S. ἔχουσιν. Ae. **ΡΘΘ**: (L. ἔξουσιν).

VI. 3. S. τοὺς δέ. Ae. **ΞΛΗ**: (L. τούς). L. καὶ μακρὰν ριπτομένους. Ae. **ΩΞΞΞΦ**: **ΓΓΦ**: (S. o.). 4. S. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοί. Ae. **ΞΛ**: **ΞΘ**: **ΖΦ**: **ΞΦ**: (L. — διότι επ—). 5. S. ἐν ὑποχρίσει. Ae. **ΞΖΗ**: **ΞΞΞ**: (L. εἰς for ἐν). S. πονηρίας. Ae. **ΞΗΡ**: (L. ἀνομία). 7. S. εὐχρηστοί. Ae. **ΠΦΘ**: (L. ἀδελφοί). L. τοῦ πύγρου (S. Ae. o.). 8. 9. S. διὰ τοῦτο—παρώργισαν. Ae. has the same, but (L. o.). 10. L. λίθους (S. Ae. o.). L. SC<sup>a</sup>. μή. Ae. **Χ**: (S. o.). 13—14. L. μηδέ—εἰσιν (S. Ae. o.). 17. S. ἀπὶ ἀλλήλων. Ae. **ΞΘΠΞΘ**: (L. o.). S. αἱ πονηρίαι αὐτῶν. Ae. **ΞΗΡ**: (L. has αὐτῶν after καρδίας). — p. 21, 1. S. ἔχουσιν. Ae. **ΡΘΘ**: (L. ἔχοντες). 6. L. οἱ ἔχοντες πίστιν. Ae. **ΞΛ**: **Χ**: (S. o. οἱ). 6—7. L. τοῦ αἰῶνος—πλοῦτον. Ae. has the same (S. o.). 8. S. διὰ τάς. Ae. **ΩΠΞΖ**: (L. τάς). 9. S. καί. Ae. **Ω**: (L. o.). SC<sup>a</sup>. L. γάρ (S. Ae. o.). 16. S. κυρίως. Ae. **ΠΞΠΞΛ**: (L. χριστῷ). SC<sup>a</sup>. ἀπὸ δέ (Ae. **ΞΘ**: i. e. ἀπό. L. S. ἀπό). 17. S. ἀχρηστος ἦς. Ae. **ΧΔΡ**: **ΗΓ**: **ΠΦΘ**: (L. εὐχρηστος ἦςδε). 17. 18. S. εὐχρηστος εἶ. Ae. **ΠΦΘ**: **ΗΖΗ**: (L. has εἶ after ὠφέλιμος. 19. L. καὶ γὰρ λίθων. Ae. the same (S. o.).

VII. 20. S. οὐς. Ae. **ΞΛ**: (L. o.). 24. S. αὐτῶν (Ae. L. o.). S. δοκοῦντες. Ae. **ΞΘΠΞΘ**: (L. δολοῦντες). 25. L. ἀνοδίας. Ae. **ΩΞΔ**: (S. ἀνομίας). — p. 22. 1. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. εἰσιν οἱ. Ae. **ΞΘ**: **ΖΦ**: **ΞΛ**: (S. o.). 6. L. δέσεις γνῶναι. Ae. **ΖΞΦΞΘ**: **ΖΞΘ**: (S. o.). 9. S. ἡ ἀγνότης ἐλθῆ εἰς μνείαν. Ae. **ΖΔΘΦ**: **ΗΘΠ**: **ΛΞΞ**: obliti sunt<sup>2</sup> rursus justitiae (L. has γνῶσις instead of ἀγνότης). 10. S. ἐπιδυμιῶν. Ae. **ΞΞΞ**: via ipsorum (?). (L. πονηριῶν). 15. L. ἔξουσιν. Ae. **ΞΞΗΘ**: (S. ἔχουσιν). 15.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 7, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The translator read ἀγνότης and took it from ἀγνοεῖω to be ignorant of.

S. πύργον. Ae. **ማጎፈድ**: (L. τόπον). S. τούτου. Ae. **ዝ**: (L. τούτης). 19. L. ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Ae. **ኃጢአቶሙ**: (S. ο. αὐτῶν). 21—22. S. τὰ ἔργα ἃ εἰργάσαντο πονηρά. Ae. **እከዩ:ምግበርሙ**: **ዘገብሩ**: (L. ο.). 23. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. μετανοῆσαι. Ae. **ከመ:ይነስሐ**: (o. V. and P.).

VIII. p. 23, 2. SC<sup>a</sup>. τί ἄλλο ἰδεῖν. Ae. **ቦኑ:ዘ:—ትርአይ:ባዕድ**: estne quod (velis) videre aliud? (S. L. ο. τί). 6. L. οὗτος. Ae. **ዝንቱኬ**: (S. ο.) 9. L. διὰ ταύτης. Ae. **ቦቲ**: (S. διὰ ταύτην). 12. L. ἀκολουθῆ αὐταῖς. Ae. **ተለዎን:ለእሎንተ**: (S. ἀκολουθήσῃ, αὐτῆ). S. ζῶῃ αὐτοῦ. Ae. **አይወቱ**: (L. ο. αὐτοῦ). 14. L. πιστεύων ὅτι ἐὰν ἀφεξῆται πονηρῶν ἔργων. Ae. **ተአግረዮ:ከመ:ለእመ:ተግሕው:እምኩሉ:ፋትወት:እኩዩ**: (S. ο.). 15. S. κυρία, τίνες. Ae. **መኑ:እግዝእትዩ**: (L. κυρίαί πᾶσαι). 17. Ae. The order is changed agreeing neither with S. nor L.; they are: Innocentia, Hilaritas, Caritas, Castitas, Sinceritas<sup>1</sup>. — p. 24, 1. L. δυνάμεις αὐτῶν. Ae. **ኃይሎን**: (S. δυνάμεις ἅς ἔχουσιν). 2. S. αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν. Ae. **ኃይሎን**: (L. ο.). 3. S. καδῶς καί. Ae. **ወበከመ**: (L. καδῶς). 7. L. οὖν. Ae. **ወ**: (S. ο.). S. οὖν (L. Ae. ο.). 10. L. ἐπηρώτησα. Ae. **ተስእልከዎ**: (S. ἐπηρώτων) but Ae. has **ወ**: the δέ of S. 11. S. φωνῆ. Ae. **በቃል**: (L. φωνή). 12. 13. S. ἔτι οἰκοδομούμενον. Ae. **ይትሐነጽ**: (L. ἐποικοδοου). 13. SC<sup>a</sup>. ὡς ἐὰν οὖν. Ae. **ወእምከመ**: (S. ὅς ἐάν. L. ἕως, ἂν οὖν). S. συντελεσῃ. Ae. **ሐልቀ**: (L. ο.). 15. S. με (Ae. L. ο.). 15. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἄρκετή σοι. Ae. **ተአክለከመ**: sufficit vobis. L. ἄρκεῖ σοι (S. ἄρκετοί). 18. L. ἐντέλλομαι σοι πρῶτον. Ae. **ዘእኤንዘከ** quod te jubeo (S. ο.). 20. L. πάντα. Ae. **ለኩሎሙ**:<sup>2</sup> omnibus. 21. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. καδαρισῶῶσιν. Ae. **ይነጽሐ**: (L. καδαρίσωσιν).

<sup>1</sup> But it is difficult to say which is the translation of each Greek word; e. g. what Greek word is the original of **ፋ.ም.ከት**: Hilaritas?

<sup>2</sup> The translator seems to have read πάντων agreeing with ἁγίων: the phrase εἰς τὰ ὅσα after ἁγίων and translates **ወታስምሎ**: illos andire facias.

IX. 25. S. L. στάξαντος. Ae. **ωζξζή:** (SC<sup>a</sup>. τάξαντος). —  
 p. 25. 1. S. και ἀγιασθήτε. Ae. **ή-ή-φξή:** (L. ο.). 4. SC<sup>a</sup>. L.  
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Ae. **οβς-ε-ήσο:** (S. ἐν αὐτοῖς). 6. S. L. μεταλαμ-  
 βάνετε. Ae. **κτκρ:** possidete (a lapsus calami for **κ.κτ  
 κρ:**<sup>1</sup> ne poss. Ae. after μεταλαμ. introduces the clause **ή-  
 ζρ:** quod accipitis. 9. S. ἀσθένειαν. Ae. **ξφ:** morbus (L.  
 ἀφθονία). S. τῆ σαρκί αὐτῶν. Ae. **λρρρσο:** (L. ο. αὐτῶν).  
 16. S. ἀγαθοποιεῖν. Ae. **ή-η-ζ:** (L. ἀγοδοποιῆσαι). 17. S. βλέ-  
 πετε. Ae. **ο-φ:** (L. βλέπε). 18. S. στενάξουσιν. Ae. **ρρρζ:**  
 (L. στενάξωσιν). S. ἀναβήσεται. Ae. **ρδκγ:** (L. ἀποβήσεται).  
 20. S. ἀγαθῶν ὑμῶν. Ae. **ηδδδησο:** divitiae vestrae (L. ο.).  
 — p. 26. 2. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. συγκεράσαι. Ae. **ή-ή-ή:** (S. ο.). 5. SC<sup>a</sup>.  
 διχοστασίαι ὑμῶν. Ae. **ςς-φ-ήσο:** (S. διχ. αὐταί. L. ο. ὑμῶν).  
 10. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ὑμῶν πάντων. Ae. **ή-δδδησο:** (S. ἡμῶν πάντων).

X. 12. S. ἀπήνεγκαν αὐτήν. Ae. **ωδξφ:**<sup>2</sup> (L. ἦραν αὐτήν).  
 14. S. ἀπήνεγκαν και αὐτὸ πρὸς. Ae. **ωωδξφ: η.ρρ-ζ: γη:**  
 (L. και ἀπήν. εἰς). 21. S. ἐτέρᾳ. Ae. **ξγσο:** (?) (L. δευτέρᾳ).  
 23. L. ἦ. Ae. **ξρρζ:** (S. ο.). 24. L. εὐπρεπεστάτη. Ae. **ρρρζ:** (?)  
 (S. ἐκπρεπεστάτη). — p. 27. 3. S. λέγουσάν μοι. Ae. **ή-οδδζ:**  
 (L. ο. μοι). SC<sup>a</sup>. L. πᾶσα ἐρώτησις. Ae. **οκζ-ή-ή-ή-ηρδ  
 κδ: δ-ηκ:** (S. πᾶσαν μοι, πᾶσαν ἐρωτήσεις. 5. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. και αὐτῆ.  
 Ae. **ωορδξ-ε-ε:** (**ωορδξ-ε-ε:**) (S. ο.). 7. S. τί. Ae. — **ε:** (L.  
 ὅτι)<sup>3</sup>. 12. 13. L. ἵνα μοι. Ae. **ρρ-ή-ζ:** (S. ο. μοι). 17. S. L.  
 Ἄλλ' ἀπὸ σοῦ, Κύριε. Ae. **ή-ο: κρρρ. κ-οδδκ:** apud Domnium.

XI. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. τριῶν (S. Ae. ο.). 20. S. καδδδρα. Ae. **ω-  
 ἠ-ε: ρρρζ: ρρ-ή-ρρ:** (L. καδδδρα). 22. S. μαλακιῶν. Ae. **ξφ:**

<sup>1</sup> d'Abbadie calls this a locus corruptus, this small correction restores the harmony with the Gr.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 5, 12.

<sup>3</sup> The translator omits (6) ὄρθη νεανίσκος, but it is his fault, not this fault of the original; for by his **κρρρ. κ:** and mas. verbs he shows that he knows the change of persons; from the Greek verbs alone he could not notice it.

morbus (L. ἀμαρτιῶν). 23. S. ἐπίδα. Ae. **†η̇**: S. προσδοκῶσιν. Ae. **βθ̇**:<sup>1</sup> (L. προσδέχονται). 25. S. μαλακισθέντες. Ae. **†φρ̇**: (L. ο.). — p. 28. 3. S. διὰ τί. Ae. **ξ̇**: (L. διὰ τοῦτο). 5. S. καδέδραν. Ae. **σ̇**: (L. καδέδρας). S. ἔχεις. Ae. **σ̇**: (L. ecce audivisti! (?) (L. εἶδον).

XII. 13. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. προσδέχεται. Ae. **βθ̇**: (S. προσδέχετε). L. τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ζωῆς. A. **ξ̇**: (S. τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐσχάτης ζωῆς). 15. S. κληρονομία. Ae. **†η̇**: (L. κληρος). 16. S. οὐκέτι ἀνακεῖται. Ae. **ξ̇**: (L. οὐκ ἐπανακεῖται). 20. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἀποκάλυψιν, ἣν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψεν. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. ἀποκαλύψει). S. πνεύματα. Ae. **ξ̇**: (L. πνεῦμα). 24. L. τὴν ἰσχυροποίησιν ὑμῶν. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. has autōn instead of ὑμῶν). — p. 29. S. ἐδήλωσεν. Ae. **ξ̇**: (L. ἐδηλοποίησεν).

XIII. 4. S. καὶ καλήν τὴν μορφήν αὐτῆς. Ae. **ξ̇**: (et hilaris) vultu (o. καλήν) (L. ο.). 5. S. λοπουμένω. Ae. **ξ̇**: (L. λυπουμένη). 8. S. ἀνανεοῦται. Ae. **ξ̇**: (L. ἀνανεοποιεῖται). 15. L. οί. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. ο.). 16. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. ἀποκαλύψεν?). 16. L. περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. ο.).

#### VISIO IV.

I. 19. L. ὄρασις. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. ο.). 20. L. εἰς τύπον τῆς δόξης τῆς ἐπερχομένης. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. ο.). — p. 30. 1. S. καμπανῆ. Ae. **ξ̇**:<sup>2</sup> (circumiens) (L. καμπή). L. εἰς τὸν ἀργόν. Ae. **ξ̇**: (S. ο.). S. ἐστὶν δε ὄσει. Ae. **ξ̇**: (L. ἐστὶν ὄς). 2. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. δέκα. Ae. **ξ̇**:

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful; for cf. 28, 13.

<sup>2</sup> The translator took this as an adjective from καμπω.



**CT:** (S. τεσσα). S. L. βραδίως (Ae. **δν·λ:** vasta cf. P. and V.). SC<sup>a</sup>. οὖν. L. δέ. Ae. **ωλ·νη:** (S. ο.). 3. L. ἀξιῶ. Ae. **λδ·τδ**  
**φδ·η:** (S. και ἀξιῶν). 5. S. μετάνοιαν. Ae. **βν·δδ:** (L. μετά-  
ληψιν). 6. L. πᾶσιν. Ae. **λν·λσ:** (S. ο.). 8. S. μοι. Ae. — **ζ:**  
(L. ο.). 10. S. ὄς. Ae. **ησ:** (L. ο.). 10. Ae. **λ·τ·ζ·υ:** i. e.  
μὴ διψήσης (S. L. μὴ διψυγήσεις). 11. S. ἐμαυτῶ. Ae. **πδ·δ·τ:**  
**τ·ρ:** solus (L. και ἐν αὐτῶ). 13. S. ἰδών. Ae. **κλ·η:** (L. εἶ-  
δον). 13. L. και ὡς (Ae. S. ο. ὄς). 16. SC<sup>a</sup>. ἐμαυτῶ. Ae. **ηλ**  
**τ·τ·ρ:**<sup>1</sup> (S. L. ἐαυτῶ). S. L. και — οὕτω γαρ. Ae. **ωπδ·β·νη:**  
et idcirco<sup>2</sup>. 17. L. Ae. ο. one μείζονος. L. τοῦ κοινορτοῦ. Ae.  
**ηη·:·ξδδ:** (S. ο. τοῦ). 19. S. κῆτός τι (L. Ae. ο.). 22. SC<sup>a</sup>.  
L. κλαίειν. Ae. **λ·η·η:** (S. κλίνειν τὰ γόνατα). — p. 31. Ae. **τ·φ**  
**πξ:** i. e. διψυγήσης (S. διψυγήσεις. L. διψυγήσις). 3. L. ἔδειξέ  
μοι. Ae. **κκ·κ·ρ·ζ:** (S. ἐδίδαξέν με). 6. S. κῆτος. Ae. **κκ·φ:**  
(L. κτῆνος. 7. L. ἐκτείνας. Ae. **τ·δ·τ·δ:** (S. ἐκλίνει). 8. SC<sup>a</sup>. L.  
παρῆλθον. Ae. **δδ·τ·η:** (S. παρῆλθεν).

II. 11. S. μετὰ δέ. Ae. **ωλ·σ·ρ·γ·ζ:** (L. ο. δέ). 12. SC<sup>a</sup>.  
L. ἰδού ὑπαντᾷ. Ae. **ς·υ·:·ζ·η·η·τ:** (S. ὑπαντᾷ). 14. S. και ὑπο-  
δήμασιν λευκοῖς. Ae. **ωλ·η·λ·ζ·γ·:·ξ·ρ·ρ:** (L. ο.). 15. S. μήτρα.  
Ae. **γ·δ·η·η:** (L. μήτρα). S. ἦν. Ae. **ρ·λ·τ:** 16. L. τρίχας  
αὐτῆς. Ae. **ρ·δ·κ·τ:** (S. χιρας). 22. S. πολυσπλαγχνία. Ae. **π·η**  
**η·η·:·ρ·δ·ζ·τ:** (L. πολλῆ εὐσπλαγχνία). — p. 32. 2. L. μεγάλου.  
Ae. **ο·η·ρ:** (S. ἀγίου ἀγγελου). 2. L. κύριος. Ae. **λ·η·η·κ·η·η·κ·κ:**  
(S. ο.). 5. L. και (Ae. S. ο.). 6. S. και (L. Ae. ο.). 12. S.  
ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν. Ae. **δ·η·η·σ:** (L. ο. ὑμῶν). 14. S. ἐπιρρίψαντες  
τὰς μερίμνας. Ae. **δ·ρ·η·σ·:·η·λ·ς·η·σ:** (L. ἐπιρρίψατε τὰς  
καρδίας). 16. ἔργῳ. Ae. **σ·ρ·τ:** (L. ἐρμῆν). 17. S. ὑμῶν (Ae.  
L. ο.).

III. 20. L. και. Ae. **ω:** (S. ο.). SC<sup>a</sup>. L. χρωμάτων). Ae.  
**γ·η·ζ:** (S. χρωμάτων). — p. 33. 5. L. δεῖ. Ae. **υ·η·ρ:** (S. ο.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. line 11. of this page.

<sup>2</sup> The translator connected οὕτω and γάρ and prefixed them to ἐγείρουσιν.

7. L. ἐστί. Ae. **ω-χ-τ:** (S. ο.) S. ἐκφυγόντες. Ae. **χ-σ-ό-γ-η-σ-:**  
(L. ἐκφύγοντες. 10. L. αὐτῶ. Ae. **ω-ἡ-τ-τ:** (S. αὐτῶν). 13. S.  
ἀποβαλεῖτε. Ae. **τ-γ-ε-γ:** (L. ἀποβάλλεσθαι). 15. L. ἐστίν. Ae.  
**ω-χ-τ:** (S. ο.). 16. L. κατοικήσουσιν. Ae. **β-η-η-ζ:** (S. κατοι-  
κοῦσιν). 18. L. ταῦτα (S. Ae. ο.). 20. L. δελήσετε. Ae. **δ-φ-ε-**  
**ἡ-σ-:** (S. δελήσητε). 21. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. καὶ οὐκ εἶδον ποίω τόπω ἀπῆλ-  
θεν. Ae. **χ-ε-λ-σ-ο-σ-τ-η-χ-ε-γ-ε-ζ-α-δ-τ:** (S. ο.). 22. L. φόφος.  
Ae. **ε-σ-θ:** (S. νέφος).

### VISIO V.

p. 34. L. ὄρασις. Ae. **ε-λ-ε:** (S. ἀποκαλύψεις). L. τῶ οἴκῳ  
μου. Ae. **ο-ο-τ-ε:** (S. ο. μου). 3. S. τίς (L. Ae. ο.). L. αἴγειον  
Ae. **η-η-ε-ω-μ-α-ε:** (S. λευκόν). 5. S. ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. Ae. **ε-η-η-**  
**σ-τ-η-ε-τ:** (L. τὸν ὄμω). 10. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. τίς εἶ. Ae. **σ-η-η-ε-ζ-**  
**ε-ε:** (S. τί). 12. S. εἰμί δ. Ae. **η-η-η-ω-χ-τ:** (SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ο.).  
14. S. ἣν ὅ παρεδόσθην. Ae. **η-η-τ-ε-χ-ω-ε-ε-ε:** (L. has ἐστί for  
ἣν). 17. S. συγχύνου. Ae. **τ-ε-ε-ε-ε-ε:** (L. αἰσχύνου). 19. L. πάντα.  
Ae. **η-η-η:** (S. ταῦτα). S. τὰ κεφάλαια. Ae. **χ-σ-ο-ε-ε-ε-η-ε:**  
(L. μετὰ τὰ ὄντα). 20. S. πρῶτον πάντων. Ae. **η-η-η-ε-ε-ε-ε-**  
**η-ε-ε-ε-ε:** (L. ο. πάντων). — p. 35. 1—4. S. τὰ δε — παραβο-  
λάς. Ae. the same (L. ο.). 10. S. ἀλλ' ἔτι (L. Ae. ο.). 11. L.  
πάντα. Ae. **η-η-η:** (S. ο.).

### MANDATUM I.

p. 36. 2. S. πίστευσον οὖν αὐτῶ. Ae. **χ-σ-ο-ε-ε-ε-η-η-ε:** (L. ο.).  
3. S. φοβηθεῖς δὲ ἐγκράτευσαι. ταῦτα φύλαξαι. Ae. the same (L.  
ο.). 5. L. ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. Ae. **ω-ε-ε-ε-ε-ε-ε-ε:** (S. ἀρε-  
τὴν δικαιοσύνης).

### MANDATUM II.

8. S. γίνου. Ae. **η-ε-ε:** (L. νοῦ). 9. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. γινώσκοντα. Ae.  
**ε-χ-σ-ο-ε:** (S. γινώσκοντα). S. τὴν πονηρίαν. Ae. **χ-η-ε-ε-ε-ε:** (L.



(L. o.). — p. 43. 1. S. ὁ ἀνὴρ (L. Ae. o.). 2. S. ἔμπροσθεν. Ae. **በቀድመ**: (L. ἔναντι). SC<sup>a</sup>. L. ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ. Ae. **በ ልቡ**: (S. has αὐτῆς for αὐτοῦ. 4. S. μετανοεῖ καί. Ae. **ወደ ስሕ**: (L. μετανοήσας). 7. SC<sup>a</sup>. L. σύνεσις ἐστίν. Ae. **ጥበብ፡ው ጸብ**: (S. ἐστίν εἰσαλή).

III. p. 44. 10. SC<sup>a</sup>. πονηρεύσεται. Ae. **ይገብር፡እከይት**: (L. πονηρεύεται). 13. S. ἐγώ. Ae. **አነሂ**: (L. o.). — Here ends the Codex Sinaiticus, and so the materials for further examination are wanting. What conclusion can be drawn?

If Prof. Anger could say, on the basis of those little portions of the Ethiopic text published by him in Gersdorf's Repertorium<sup>1</sup>, p. 10 "vergleicht man nun diese Texte (i. e. L. Ae. Vulg. Pal.) so ergibt sich, dass der aethiopischen Uebersetzung eine andere, von der bisher bekannten verschiedene Recension zu Grunde liegt", it is hoped that the preceding list has verified this assertion, so as to carry it beyond all doubt. Ae. and L. stand together only in such few passages where L. has the better and fuller reading; especially is this the case where S. omits pronouns and L. has retained them. But here again is must not be forgotten that many of these are demanded by the peculiarity of the Semitic idiom so that it is not always certain that the original from which the Ethiopic translator drew his Hermas contained them. The passages peculiar<sup>2</sup> to L. and Ae. are about the following: p. 6. 15; p. 10. 1; 12. 16; 16. 1; 16. 8; 16. 22; 17. 13; 18. 22; 19. 5; 20. 3; 21. 26; 22. 6; 23. 14; 27. 3; 28. 13; 29. 39 (twice). 32. 2; 33. 20. These are however, with one or two exceptions, scarcely of any importance, and find their explanation in the fact that the original the Ethiopian had before him, had retained the pure text in certain passages where S. had already been changed. But what are these in

<sup>1</sup> N. B. This was *before* the discovery of Codex S.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. Where neither S. nor any of the correctors agree with Ae.

comparison to the almost numberless differences existing between L. and Ae.? Every page of the preceding table is full of these; and a single glance will soon dispell all attempts to bring Ae. and L. into a closer relationship. But how is it with S.? Naturally a resemblance should be expected. Tischendorf has proved beyond a doubt that Egypt is the „fatherland” (patria<sup>1</sup>) of the Codex S.; the Ethiopic Hermas, as a representative of the Graeco-Coptic period, and as an important patristical book, undoubtedly was translated from a Greek original which was used in Egypt. The church in Egypt is the mother and sustaining element of the Abyssinian church to this day, so that à priori a closer resemblance can be expected between a Ms. of Egyptian origen and the Ethiopic version than between the latter and a Ms. found on Mt. Athos, and thus a specimen of the Hermas in the northern part of Greece. That the facts of the case exactly correspond to these natural presumptions, i. e. that the Ethiopic translation belongs to the same set or family of Mss. to which the Sinaiticus Hermas belongs, this, it is hoped, the preceding list of variae lectiones shows beyond a doubt; the readings in favor of this fact can be counted by the dozen, and to enumerate them would be useless. Let me draw attention to three striking examples. Z. D. M. G. XV. 112. Dillmann says that the reading **ⲛⲓ:** (2. b. g. Hilg. 5. 15) presupposes that the translator understood εἰ as an interrogative particle; the fact of the case is that he read the ⲥ of S.; then 11<sup>a</sup>. 9 is the interesting **ⲡⲟⲩ:** the exact equivalent of S. ἔξοδον over against L. διαφοράν. 20. a. b. **ⲕⲕⲱⲛ:** “circumiens” is the Greek καμπανῆ; not being acquainted with Roman geography the translator took this from the verb κάμπτω. L. has καμπήλη. — But before going further we must have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prolegomena to the “Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum”, and also Prolegomena to the Codex Frederico-Augustanus § 11. (This is the Sinaiticus of the O. T. published already 1846).

a clear idea of the relation existing between S. and the correctors of S. This is easily stated. S. has been corrected, as already stated above, by 3 different persons, of which corrections by far the greatest part, at least 95 percent, are the work the 3. Corrector of S. (the 2. of Hermas<sup>1</sup>); and, what is important, he has almost without exception corrected those readings of the original Sinaiticus (IV. century) which the Codex L. has correct. Codex S. then with its correctors (for they must be taken as a complex), represents, in the main, the Hermas text with the correct readings of the original S. (and the omissions of the poor readings of the L. text), and in addition nearly all of the correct readings of L. given by the hand of SC<sup>a</sup>.; and with *very* rare exceptions Ae. here has the same as S.+SC<sup>a</sup>. — But we can go still further; SC<sup>a</sup>. not only gives the true text of L. where S. has been corrupted, but has also peculiar readings of its own which no other Greek text contains. Here, strange to say, *the Ethiopic version follows SC<sup>a</sup>.* They go hand in hand; some of the strangest peculiarities of SC<sup>a</sup>. are given by the Ae. This the following examples will illustrate. p. 3, 3—4 the construction of SC<sup>a</sup>. is exactly identical with that of Ae. 5, 21. SC<sup>a</sup>. alone  $\chi\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ . Ae.  $\mathbf{h\sigma\text{:}\alpha\zeta\epsilon\text{:}}$ ; 5, 24.  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  which is found alone in SC<sup>a</sup>. is given correctly by Ae. — 16, 17. SC<sup>a</sup>.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ . The Ae. has not the least sign of the vocative  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\omega\pi\epsilon$  of S. and L.; 23, 2 the  $\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron$   $\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  of SC<sup>a</sup>. is given exactly by Ae.  $\mathbf{\rho\upsilon\text{:}\eta\text{:}(\tau\text{.}\delta\text{.}\phi\text{.}\epsilon\text{.})\tau\text{.}\kappa\text{.}\chi\text{.}\beta\text{:}\eta\delta\epsilon\text{:}}$  but S. and L. omit  $\tau\acute{\iota}$ . 30, 16. a comparison with line 11. shows that Ae.  $\mathbf{\eta\delta\text{.}\tau\text{:}\tau\text{:}\rho\text{:}}$  is the representative of  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$  of SC<sup>a</sup>. over against  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$  of S. and L. 39, 2. SC<sup>a</sup>.  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\sigma\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ , is given exactly by Ae. 26<sup>a</sup>, 2.  $\mathbf{\lambda\eta\eta\text{.}\kappa\text{.}\eta\text{.}\delta\text{.}\epsilon\text{:}\eta\epsilon\text{.}\rho\text{.}\epsilon\text{:}\epsilon\text{:}}$   $\mathbf{\lambda\delta\delta\text{.}\eta\text{.}\sigma\text{:}}$  over against L. 40, 7.  $\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  of SC<sup>a</sup>. is Ae.  $\mathbf{\eta\sigma\text{.}\tau\text{:}}$  L. has  $\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ; for other examples cf. 14, 6—8. 19, 8.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 7.

24, 12—13. 26, 5. 42, 11. Of course all the correct readings of S. which SC<sup>a</sup>. has not changed were found in his Ms. also. With this corrector whom on paleological grounds Tischendorf claims to belong to the VII century, or rather to the beginning of the VII century (ineunte fere saeculo septimo), our Ethiopic translator, whose diction demands the same, or a little earlier period, stands in such close connection, that it can be stated with considerable certainty that the original from which the Ethiopic version has flown *belongs to the same country and period to which SC<sup>a</sup>. belongs.*

Of course it is impossible that Ae. and SC<sup>a</sup>. should correspond in every particular — that would belong to the region of the miraculous; but these diviations are few and far-between, and can, with the exception of a few (e. g. 6, 15, 18, 22.), be explained either on the ground of a semitic mode of expression, or from the fact that sometimes the Ae. original had even a better text than SC<sup>a</sup>.<sup>1</sup>; but on the whole the above conclusion is correct.

But another fact goes to prove that the terminus ad quem for the translation of the Pastor of Hermas is the VIII. century. Both d'Abbadie (Catalogue and Introduction to the edition of the text) and Dillmann (Z. D. M. G. l. l. and Gersdorf's Repertorium l. l.) say that Pastor Hermas is mentioned in the መዋሥኢት: or ድጎ: of Abyssinia's musical genius, Jared (ያሬድ: Jârêd); but neither of the two seems to have seen the passage. Still both seem to place implicit confidence in the statement of the "Mamhîran" from whom d'Abbadie learned the fact, and there is no reason to doubt the fact. That neither of the two could verify the assertion arises from the fact that there is only (or at least appears to be) *one* complete copy of these "Antiphonia" of Jârêd in Europe.

<sup>1</sup> That omissions speak neither for nor against S. will be seen later.

This was presented by Bruce<sup>1</sup> to the British Museum. (cf. Cat. Codicum Aeth. Mus. Brit. p. 32—33). A large portion of the book is also in the possession of d'Abbadie. Mention is made of Jâred in the Catalogus Codicum Aeth. Biblio. Bodl. p. 73. and Dillmann published in his "Chrestomathia" p. 34—36. a biography of him from the Synaxarium. Jared, according to the fixed tradition of Abyssinia, lived in the VII. century<sup>2</sup> and thus could have been a contemporary of the translator of Hermas. I have been able to find only two expressions indicating the early date of Jârêds activity in Abyssinia. These are both in Dillmann's Chrestomathy; p. 34 it is stated "And this Jârêd was of the family of the Abba Gêdêwôn of the priests of Axum which was the first of those (cities) that built churches in the Land of Ethiopia"; then p. 36. "Then he (Jâred) died in peace, and his grave is not known to this day". These then are indeed no direct testimonies, but they are strong enough to justify our confidence in the Abyssinian tradition concerning the age of Jârêd.

Thus then, we can, on the basis of the text, of the comparison with the Greek and of the quotation by Jârêd confidently place the VII. century as the terminus ad quem of the translator, and it is probable that he belongs even to an earlier period. The terminus a quo is of course the translation of the Bible (IV. century); any attempt more closely to define the time of the translation would be an impossibility.

*The omissions in the Ethiopic text.* The Pastor of Hermas has not been preserved in his integrity in the Ethiopic translation. Certain parts have been omitted throughout the book,

<sup>1</sup> Bruce gives a picture of this volume in his "Voyage to Abyssinia" 1814 on page 302.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dillmann Z. D. M. G. XV. and Gersdorf's Repertorium; and Cat. Cod. Aeth. Brit. Mus. p. 32 vixisse dicitur sub Caleb rege, septimo post Christum saeculo. But Isenberg "Amharic Lexicon" p. 209. makes the curious statement: Jared, a native of Sêmên, who lived about 300 yrs ago, and is believed to live still (?).



and these must be noticed. The following is a list of those words and phrases found in the Greek but not in the Ethiopic; of course the citations are again according to Hilgenfeld's Edition Visio I. — p. 3. 2. τινί. 11. ἀφύπνωσα. 12. δι' ἀνοδίας τινός.<sup>1</sup> — p. 4. 18. ὃ γύναι. — p. 5. 21. λευκῶν. — p. 6. 3. κυρία, ὀνειδισμός μοι. 4. ὑπό (the Gr. gen. is nom. in Ae.). 8. καὶ ἔκφρικτος. 9. καὶ ἥδη δεδουκίμασένον. 10. ὁ ἐγκρατής. 12. πάσης. — p. 7. 12. ἦν — ἡμερα. 18. ἰδού. — p. 8. 10. Ἀνδίζου. 17. ὅτι με ἄξιον ἠγγίσαστο καί. 20. ἦν καὶ πέρυσιν ἐωράκειν. — p. 9. 1. Λάβε — 2. μοι. 14. τὰς ἀσελγείας — 15. αὐτῶν. 17. ἀδελφῆ. 20. ἃ ἐντείλατο — 21. τότε — p. 10. 1. ἀγίοις. 3. ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν. 7. πεπλήρωνται — 8. πᾶσι. — p. 12. 2. ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου. 8. ἐν Γραπτῇ πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης. 9. ἐκεῖνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται Γραπτῇ. — p. 13. 4. πρὶν — 7. ὄρας. 7. εἰς — 8. ἐλθεῖν καί. 12. ὄσει. 13. καὶ ὄσει φρίκη — 14. γενόμενος. 19. καὶ ἀψαμένη μου. 20. Ἐρμαῖ. — p. 14. 4. ὅ. 7. διαλογιζομένου μου οὖν καί. 12. μείνον, 21. καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐπαγγελίαι. — p. 16. 10. ἰδού. 23. ἀπὸ τῆς ξηραῖς. — p. 16. 8. ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. 9. ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ. 12. κυλισθῆναι καί. 13. εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. 20. ἀκούσαντες. — p. 17. 1. πεπληρωμένοι γὰρ εἰσιν. 18. τοῦ δεσπότου. 20. οἱ ἔξ. — p. 18. 1. αὔξειν — 2. πάσης. 4. ἔξ. 24. καὶ διδάξαντες καί. — p. 19. 20. οἱ οὖν — μετανοήσωσιν. — p. 20. 13. μηδέ — ἄχρηστοί εἰσιν. — p. 21. 9. αὐτῶν. 19. χρησθήση. — p. 23. 2. κατεπίδνυμος ὢν. 4. ὑπεμειδίασε. 8. τὰς χεῖρας. 10. καὶ ἀνδιζομένη. 18. τῆς μητροῦς. — p. 24. 13. οἰκοδορούμενος. 18. νοῆσαί σε γὰρ δεῖ πρώτον. — p. 25. 1. καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης σκολιότητος. 3. ἀκούσατέ μου καί. 4. καὶ ἐπισκέπτεσθε — 5. ἀλλήλων. 6. ἐκ καταχύματος καί. 11. διὰ τό. — 12. αὐτῶν. — p. 26. 12. ἔξ. — p. 27. 7. ὄφθη νεανίσκος.<sup>2</sup> 18. αὐτά — p. 29. 4. καὶ καλήν. 5. εὐθύς. — p. 30. 4. αὐτοῦ. 5. μέ. — p. 31. 17. ὄραμάτων. — p. 32. 1. δι' οὐδενός and εἰ μή. — p. 34. 16. πονερῶς καί. 18. ἀπεστάλην γὰρ, φησὶν ἴνα. — p. 35. 7. αὐτάς. 11. παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου. — p. 40.

<sup>1</sup> Is not this construction an imitation of Gen. 8, 9?

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this cf. above p. 37.

12. πονηρὰ ἐνδυμήση. — p. 41. 1. the whole passage from ἔπου γάρ to — p. 42. 4. μετανοῆ, and in place of this Ae. has simply “nam fornicatio erit”. — p. 43. 1. φησίν. 11. τὰς ἐντολάς μου φυλάξῃς καί. — p. 45. 3. καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα. 6. ἡμέρας. — p. 47. 7. ὁ κύριος. — p. 49. 16. καὶ τὸ λοιπόν. — p. 50. 13. καὶ ἐνέργειαν. — p. 52. 1. καὶ σύνιε αὐτάς. 6. ἔργου — ἐνδόξου. 7. πάντα. — p. 53. 20. φησίν. — p. 54. 12. ὃν δεῖ σε φοβῆσθαι καὶ σωθῆναι instead of this Ae. has et recusas in omnibus. cf. 50. 11 (36. 6. 8). — p. 55. 11. μέγας καί. — p. 56. 10. ἀλλὰ ποίει αὐτό. 18. καί. — p. 58. 1. αὐτά. 12. καὶ μὴ ἐγκρατεύηται ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. 13. ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ. 14. καί — 15. ἀναγκῶν. — p. 59. 7. φησι. 12. πάντες — 13. ποιῶντες. — p. 60. 10. ἀλλ’ — 11. καί. — p. 63. 12. ἄνθρωπε. — p. 64. 4. πραγματείαις καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φιλίαις. 8. καὶ γίνονται κεχερωσμένοι. 17. περὶ θεότητος instead of this Ae. has **σοκ. δ. δ.** librum (Domini). — p. 68. 16. ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως θεοῦ. 24. τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον. — p. 69. 21. καὶ προφητεύειν. 23. ἀνδρῶν. — p. 70. 6. ὁ ἄνθρωπος. — p. 71. 8. καὶ σεμνήν. — p. 72. 7. καὶ κενή. 8. αὐταὶ οὖν — 9. τοῦ θεοῦ. 11. ἵνα ἀποσχόμενοι — 14. αἱ ἐπιδυμίαι αὐταί. 14. τὴν ἐπιδυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ καδοπλισάμενος. — p. 73. 12. ἀλήθειαν. 13. ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενος. 14. καὶ πᾶς — 15. τῷ θεῷ. — p. 74. 8. ἀλλὰ παρενδυμηθῆς. 21. φησιν. — p. 75. 1. τοῦ θεοῦ. 2. οὐ (but the sentence is an affirmative one and thus gives the same meaning as the Gr. — p. 75. 3. πάντων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν. 13. ταῖς δυσκόλοις — 14. ἀσελγείαις. 15. ἐγὼ γάρ — 18. οὖν αὐτόν). — p. 76. 6. τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ. — p. 77. 9. τὴν δὲ ἀπειλήν — 12. καὶ ἀπολέσαι. 13. λέγω αὐτῷ — 23. τῷ θεῷ. — p. 78. 10. καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαίπωρε. — p. 80. 2. ἔχουσα δὲ χαράν. 5. ἐν ᾗ δύνασθε χαρῆναι. 6. μηδὲ ἐπιδυμεῖτε αὐτοῦ. 7. ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιδυμεῖν. — p. 82. 19. καὶ λέγει — 21. ξηρά. 23. διὰ τί οὖν — 24. ὅμοια. 25. ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. 28. τὰ φύλλα ὅμοιά εἰσι. — p. 83. 1. καὶ οὐ. — 2. ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. 7. τὰ μὲν βλαστῶντα, τὰ δὲ ξηρά. 16. καί — 17. ὄντες. 18. τοιοῦτοι — ξηροὶ καί. 20. ὅτι ἡ πρᾶξις — 21. αὐτῶν. 26. καὶ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν διαμαρτήσεις. 27. καὶ ἀμαρτάνουσι.

29. πῶς οὖν. — p. 84. 3. λήφονται. 4. οὐ γάρ — 6. καθαράν.  
 8. καὶ ἕς — καρποφορήσει. — p. 84. 19. λέγωσιν — 21. Of this  
 Ae. gives a free translation however. Neque est hujus modi  
 jejunium quod jejunas, 25. τήρησον τάς — 26. αὐτοῦ. — p. 84.  
 28. πίστευσον — 29. πράγματος. — p. 85. 1. καὶ ταῦτα — 2. τῷ  
 θεῷ. 4. καὶ δούλους πολλούς. 10. τοῦ δούλου — 11. δὲ αὐ-  
 τοῦ. 12. καὶ τελέσας — 18. βοτανῶν. 23. καὶ τοῦ ἀγροῦ. —  
 p. 86. 3. ὅτι τό — 4. παρενεδυμήθη. 5. καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.  
 7. ἡμέρας ὀλίγας. 9. τὰ ἐδέσματα — 10. τοῦ δεσπότου. 12. τὰ  
 ἐδέσματα. 14. ὅτι οὕτως ἐχρήσατο αὐτοῖς. 16. πάλιν — αὐτοῦ.  
 17. instead of the Gr. φίλους and υἱόν. Ae. „servos suos<sup>1</sup>  
 et servum suum.“ 23. οὐδὲ δύναμαι νοῆσαι. 24. ἄν λαλήσω  
 μετὰ σου. 26. καὶ ἔση. — p. 87. 1. αὐτοῦ. 2. τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.  
 3. καί, 3. ἐνδοξότερος — 6. ἐντολήν. 7. γάρ and ὅτι. 9. καὶ  
 μετὰ — 10. ἔχουσιν. 11. αὕτη — λίαν. 12. ἐστίν. 12. οὖν. —  
 13. πάντων. 14. βήματος. 14. καὶ after πονηρᾶς. 15. ἀπὸ πάν-  
 των — 16. φυλάξης. 17. οὕτω — 18. γεγραμμένα. — p. 88. 1.  
 χήρα ἢ ὄφρανῶ ἢ ὑστερουμένῳ instead of this simply **ἰρηρῶ**:  
 pauperes. 1. καὶ οὕτω ταπεινοφρονήσεις from to IV. Ae. has.  
 only ἔσται ἡ νηστεία αὕτη (6). καλή καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτος τῷ θεῷ.  
 7. καὶ ἔσοι αὐτὰ τηρήσωσι. μακάριοι ἔσονται. — p. 88. 12. πολλά.  
 16. ἐκτοῦ ἀμπελωνος. 16. τῶν συμβούλων — 18. ἀπυκριθεῖς. 18. λίαν  
 — 20. δηλωθήσεται. 21. μάτην — 22. αὐτά. 22. ὡσαύτως —  
 24. σου. 24. λέγων. 25. δούλος ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ καί. 27. καὶ πᾶσαν —  
 29. παραβολῶν. 29. καὶ ἄρροι πρὸς τὴν ἐντευξίν. 32. ἀδιαλείπτως.  
 32. σὺ δὲ το — p. 89. 7. δηλωθή. V. 8. εἶπον — 12. αὐτά. 12. καὶ  
 σύνιε αὐτά. 14. καὶ ἀπαρτίσας αὐτὰ καὶ ἐνδυναμώσας, and espe-  
 cially worthy of note ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά ἐστιν. 17. ὃν αὐτὸς  
 ἐφύτευσεν, and ἅγιοι. 18. τοῦ κυρίου — αὐτοῦ. 19. ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελω-  
 νος. 21. τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ. 21. ἐκ τοῦ δειπνου. and ἅς ἔδωκε. —  
 22. αὐτῷ καὶ σύμβολοι. 22. κτισθέντες. 24. τοῦ δεσπότου. 25. καὶ  
 θανασιῶσ, or ἐνδόξως with πάντα. 26. φημί and the sentence  
 put into the 3. person: nec quisquam hoc intellexisset. 27. οὐδὲ

<sup>1</sup> Suos and suum are here equal to the Gr. article.

ἕτερος τῶν ἀνδρώπων. 28. αὐτά. 29. Λέγε — 31. παραβολῆ. —  
 p. 90. 2. καὶ κυριότητα. 11. βλέπεις — 15. δούλου. 15. τὸ προόν.  
 16. ὁ θεός. 17. ἐν ᾗ — 18. ἅγιον. 20. πολιτευσαμένην. —  
 23. ἅγιον. 23. ἤρесе — 25. ἅγιον. 27. τῷ πνεύματι. 28. σχῆ to  
 p. 91. 3. κατόκησεν, instead of this Ae. has eos haeredes consti-  
 tuit. 7. καὶ ἀμίαντον. 7. ἴνα. 13. σου for this Ae. has ne spi-  
 ritum illum qui super te habitavit profanes; si inquinaveris  
 corpus tuum. 15. ὁμίανας τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ. 17. πᾶσα — 18. παντο-  
 δύναμος καί. 19. θεός — ἰάσεται. 20. ἀμφοτέρα — 22. φύλασσε.  
 25. συζητῶν (Ae. retains the καί). — p. 92. 1. καὶ δυναταί —  
 2. ἀνδρώπων. 3. ἐν τολαῖς. 3. καὶ ὅς — 4. ἔσται. 8. ὧν σοι  
 ἐντειλάμην. 8. ὅπως — 10. εἰσι. 12. οἱ οὖν μετανοοῦντες. 13. τὰς  
 ἐκτριβούσας ὑμᾶς. 14. δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετήν. 14. δυνήσεσθε — 15. ταύ-  
 τας. 16. πορεύεσθε οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς μου ταύταις. 17. ταῦτα —  
 ὑμῖν. — p. 93. 4. ᾗν — ᾗν. 5. ἐπὶ τῷ — 6. λίαν. 8. καὶ ἄλλα  
 — 9. σκιρτῶντα. 11. καὶ ἀπάτης ἐστίν. 12. τὰς ψυχὰς. 13. καὶ  
 καταστρέφει αὐτούς. 13. ἀπατῶν αὐτούς. 14. ἐν αἷς — 16. μα-  
 ταλαῖς καί. 17. ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου. 20. Ἰλαρὰ καί. — p. 94.  
 1. οἱ — καί. 2. καὶ ἀπάταις. 2. ζωῆς. 3. ὅτι — 4. αὐτῶν. 8. καὶ  
 ἀπάτη. 10. ἐλπὶς, and the μετάνοια is subject. 17. τουσσοῦτον  
 εἶχε τὸ βλέμμα. — p. 95. μὴ σκιρτῶντα δέ. 3. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθῶν  
 καὶ τριβόλων. 6. ἐν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ τριβόλοις. 10. βλέπων —  
 11. ταλαιπωρούμενα. 14. καὶ πικρός. 16. ἐκ δέ — 17. τιμωρίας.  
 19. καὶ ἀπάταις. 20. καὶ before ποικίλαις. 22. καὶ τιμωρίας. —  
 p. 96. 1. Ἄκουε. 1. τὰς to p. 97. 2. δύναμιν (These are di-  
 rectly joined, so as to exclude every idea that a leaf of the  
 Ms. should be lost). 23. μεγάλας. — p. 98. 18. καὶ μὴ μετα-  
 νοήσωσι, θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς περιποιῶνται. 29. οὐ (this of course  
 changes the sense of the whole sentence). — p. 99. 2. πάσης.  
 3. καὶ καθαρισθῶσι. 6. ἐνδοξος ἄγγελος. — p. 114. 14. εὐπρε-  
 πῶς. — p. 115. 21. δοκοῦσαι. 22. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν  
 τοῦ λίθου ὑποδεδύκεισαν. 30. ἡ δὲ πέτρα καί. — p. 117. 10. μι-  
 κρὸν πάντας. — p. 120. 10. ἀποκριθεῖς. — p. 124. 17. ὡσεὶ νε-  
 ώτερος ἐγεγόνειν καί. 18. αἱ δὲ ὄρχοῦντο. 24. λινοῦς. 30. ὁ ποι-  
 μὴν. 30. ταῖς παρθέναῖς — 31. πεποιήκατε. — p. 129. 16. Mī-

σος. — 130. 2. οὔτε οἱ ἄνδρωποι ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων — p. 130. 6. τούτου. 19. καὶ ἀναβαίνουσι ζῶντες. — p. 132. 20. τοῖς πνεύμασι. — p. 136. 16. φθαρτὸς ὢν πλήρης ἁμαρτιῶν. — p. 137. 20. τῶν τονούτων οὖν ἡ παράδοξος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγελῶν ἐστίν. 23. ἐν αὐτῷ. 24. τοι οὕτω εἰσιν. — p. 138. 3. καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀγρία γίνεται. 4. the whole passage from οὕτω to 26. ἀποθανοῦνται. — p. 139. 25. οἱ ταῦτα βουλευόμενοι — p. 140. 13. τῷ θεῷ.

One thing must be distinctly remembered that every where where anything has been omitted the logical and grammatical nexus has been restored, so that the abbreviated form does not present the picture of a broken-up and crippled Hermas. Important thoughts are left out p. 41; the important omission in the text p. 89. 15 ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμά ἐστιν; p. 38. 29. οὐ. which just reverses the meaning. Especially worthy of note is the fact that in answer to the question at the bottom of p. 95, immediately p. 97. 2 τῆς τρυφῆς etc. is given, leaving out all the intervening sentences. Probably with these few exceptions it can be said that not a single thought of any note has been omitted, the substance and kernel of the whole is given and only some of the endless repetitions have been eradicated.<sup>2</sup> It is most curious that just Similitudines IV, V. and VI have been so abbreviated; they present rather the picture of a concise epitome than of an earnest translation; but Similitudnes VIII and IX. are given almost verbatim. This is a sufficient proof that the abbreviator, whoever he may be, did not take this freedom in order to accomodate Hermas to any peculiar idea of harmony or nice arrangement; but for other reasons. What then are the causes of this epitomized character of the Ethiopic Hermas? were there any dogmatical grounds? In two places

<sup>1</sup> The omissions on page 85 Gr. detract nothing from general run of the similitude; lines 13—18 seem to be altogether unimportant.

<sup>2</sup> In fact a good idea of the endless repetitions in the Greek Hermas can be gained only by comparing it with the Ethiopic.

this is evident. I) On page 41. The canon here laid down, if not directly against any peculiar written code of the church, still was opposed to her spirit and practice. It was a statement that could arouse opposition in any part of the church; and that the abbreviator was not the only one who took offence at it the example of Tertullian shows, who in his work "de pudicitia" Chap. X condemns it in the strongest terms. This then gives us no solution to the question, as to the originator of these abbreviations. II. The peculiar christological views laid down in the by Hermas, which peep through the words in the greater portion of the third part of the Pastor, are given "in nuce" on page 89. 15. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά ἐστιν. *This sentence is omitted in the Ethiopic version.* That the dogmatics of the epitomist actuated him here is of course selfevident. He apparently did not notice the heretical points in the other parts, because they were hidden under the veil of a similitude; but they were too open for him here. But this again furnishes no data from which to conclude who the epitomist was. In the VII. Century so bold an expression as the above mentioned could cause a Greek to leave it out as well as an Ethiopian. At that time such a statement would be a heresy in all Christendom, not only in Ethiopia. — There are no evidences that the dogmatics of the abbreviator had anything to do with the other portions left out<sup>1</sup>. Especially noteworthy is the fact that, outside of the single passage 89. 15; there is nothing left out that refers to the christological portions of the book.

This is all that need be said on the character of the omissions. But the unsettled question arises again who is the author of them, the Greek or the Ethiopian? This, I think, can be decided with considerable certainty; it is undoubtedly the work of the Ethiopic translator and was not found

<sup>2</sup> This is also true of Sim. V and VI. where at first glance it might seem otherwise.

already in the original Greek Ms. The reasons for this opinion are the following.

I.) On page 34 and 35 of this dissertation it has been shown as very probable, that the Ethiopic Hermas was translated from a Greek Ms. belonging to the same country and time to which the third corrector of Sinaiticus belongs; that the two were, so to say, sister-manuscripts, so that the original of the Ethiopic version undoubtedly contained everything found also in SC<sup>a</sup>. But we find that Ae. omits portions which SC<sup>a</sup>. contains. This is the case p. 6. 3. p. 7. 12. p. 9. 1. 2. p. 12. 9. p. 13. 5 ff. 13 f. p. 14. 12. p. 17. 1. p. 20. 14. and the whole of page 41.

II.) In all the patristic literature written in Greek, there are but few examples of abbreviation found. Thus to believe that the Greek had epitomized would demand the strongest proof in its justification. Not so the opinion that the Ethiopian is the author of these omissions; for freedom of this kind evidently was common with Abyssinian translators; the Abyssinian version of the Bible being at the head. In the pars posterior to his edition of the Octateuchus Aethiopicus Prof. Dillmann has given a long list of words and phrases left out in the Ethiopic version which are found in the Vulgata edition of the Septuagint, some of which seem to be intentional. This is the case with Gen. 2, 2. where the Ethiop. Bible does not mention the number of days.

Another example of the way translators in Ethiopia abbreviate is found in the Fetha Negest. ብትሐ፡ነገሥት: of which a portion has been published by Fr. A. Arnold, Halle 1841. Here many passages from Scriptures are quoted and abbreviated; the abbreviator, like the translator of Hermas, taking only the substance of the words. Thus Deut. XVII. 16. 17. and 18. are abbreviated "Not shall he have many horses, nor wives, nor gold nor silver; and when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, then the priests shall write (for him) a divine book".

It is very doubtful whether the Ethiopic Henoch has the text of the Greek complete. Of the fragments of the Greek preserved in the Chonography of Syncellus some parts are omitted in the Ethiopic version<sup>1</sup>. The translator evidently takes the same freedom that the translator of Hermas took. Of other translations the originals are lost, so that it is impossible to find more examples<sup>2</sup>.

III. It will be noticed that the portions most abbreviated are found Sim. IV. V. and VI., in the most dogmatical portion of the book, while Sim. IX. with its allegorical figures is a masterpiece of a literal translation, omitting scarcely anything. This certainly points to a semitic and not to a Greek epitomist. The imaginative mind of the Semitic cuts down the dogmatical portions; the logical and dogmatic mind of the Greek would have cut down the allegorical representations in Sim. IX.

IV. An interesting analogy is furnished by a translation into another semitic language, viz. the Syriac version or versions of the Ignatian epistles. Found by Cureton they were published by him together with the Greek and Lat. texts in the "Corpus Ignatianum" 1849. Cureton claimed the Syriac to present the original kernel of the epistles and the Greek to be an enlargement of this. This was ably refuted by Merx in his dissertation "Meletemata Ignatiana", and by Zahn "Ignatius von Antiochien" Chap. II. 3. "Die Ignatianischen Briefe bei den Syrern". In this translation the same motives that prompted the Abyssinian translator to abridge seems to have actuated the Syriac mind. Zahn says p. 238. "Er schrieb aus was ihm besonders wohlgefiel, erbaulich und geistvoll erschien".

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dillmann "Das Buch Henoch" übersetzt und erklärt, Lpz. 1853. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. Cornill „Das Buch des weisen Philosophen“, pag. 11.



If to these positive arguments we add the negative one that there is not in all the abbreviations a single point that could have prompted a *Greek* to epitomize, it can certainly be confidently stated that the omissions are to be ascribed to the Ethiopic translator and not to the original Ms. from which the version has flown.

---

It is then possible arguments are added the opposite one  
 that the not in all the abbreviations a single point that  
 the author took to epitomize it can contain  
 the author's intention that the omission are to be ascribed  
 to the scribe's error and not to the original. It is from  
 which the version has been made, the scribe's error is  
 that the author of the edition of the 15th  
 century and the edition of the 16th century are  
 of the same family as the 15th century edition and  
 the 16th century edition are of the same family as the  
 15th century edition. The scribe's error is that the  
 edition of the 16th century is of the same family as the  
 edition of the 15th century and the edition of the 16th  
 century is of the same family as the edition of the 15th  
 century.

*Dg 475*

Printed by F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig.

The text in this section is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a continuation of the discussion or a separate section of text, but the specific words and sentences cannot be accurately transcribed.



COLLEZIONE



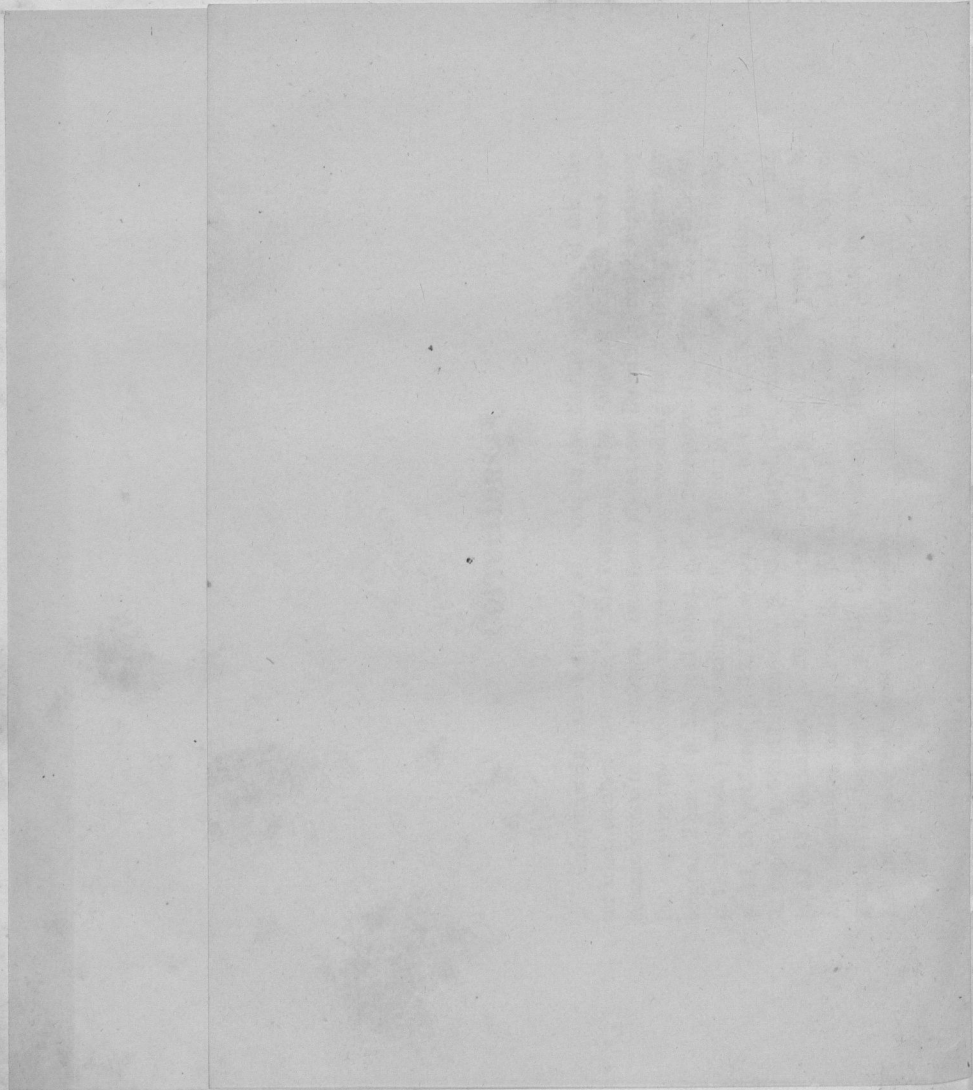
## Corrections.

Unfortunately quite a number of errata in the English portion of this dissertation escaped the eyes of the corrector. The following are the most important errors to be corrected. In several places read literal for litteral, beginning for begining, resemblance for resembence, preceding for preceeding, origin for origen. Then p. 5, 15. read oldest, p. 6, 4. necessary, 15. Patres, 25. published, p. 7, 21. oldest, p. 8, 6. readings, p. 9, 11. Visio, p. 10, 12. copiés, 24. churchly, p. 13, 25. preferred, p. 12, 21. whole, p. 16, 6. f. b. far, 5. Abyssinian, p. 17, 1. Coptic, p. 32, 19. pronouns, p. 33, 3. dispel, 23. striking, p. 34, 5. of the, p. 35, 13. deviations, p. 36, 8. contemporary, p. 36, 2. f. b. years, p. 41, 5. f. b. dogmatical, note 1, from the, p. 42, 10. in the Pastor, p. 44, 3. Chronography, 11. masterpiece, p. 45, 1, we, 4. stated. The other mistakes are of less importance and cause no difficulty.



to the historic text and not to the original. It  
be omitted, except that the omissions are to be marked  
by a small circle. It is to be noted that the omissions  
are not in all the abbreviations a single point, but  
in many cases two or three points are used. In these  
cases the points are to be added to the original one

57  
Dg 475





1/2









D: Lg 475



**ULB Halle**

001 128 981

3/1

