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THE REST OF THE WORDS OF BARUCH:

A CHRISTIAN APOCALYPSE OF THE YEAR 136 A.D.

THE TEXT REVISED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

J. RENDEL HARRIS

FORMERLY FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND NOW PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LANGUAGES IN HAVERFORD COLLEGE,
PENNSTLVANIA.

LONDON .

C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE.
1889

Combridge:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

THE REST OF THE WORDS OF BARUCH.

THE present work is designed to draw attention to an important but hitherto much-neglected fragment of Apocalyptic literature which seems to me to be valuable, in spite of the contemptuous treatment which it has met with at the hands of the critics, both to the Ecclesiastical Historian and to the Christian Dogmatist; to the former, on account of the light which it throws on one of the most obscure periods in the growth of the Church, that, viz., which includes the revolt of the false Messiah; to the latter, because it helps us to see the manner in which one of the leading doctrines of the Christian Faith polarized the worshippers for and against itself (as almost every point of Christian doctrine does at some time or other in the history of the Church), and setting a man at variance spiritually with his fellow brought it to pass that the sword came down in the house itself to separate the undecided and half-hearted from the convinced and the faithful. that the many who were called might make way for the few who were chosen. And certainly when we say that in this tract the reader will hear the final farewell of the Church to the Synagogue, and that the parting words will be concerned with the doctrine of the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ, we have a right to ask for it a closer and a more careful perusal than it has hitherto met with. Nor is this the only reason why it should be made an object of attentive study. We hear much said now-a-days about the interpolation of Jewish Apocalypses by Christians, and it becomes a very interesting matter for critical study to determine how far such a tendency to the absorption and republication of earlier literary productions prevailed in those centuries which were especially marked by Apocalyptic activity, and in what manner that republication was commonly effected: for it is certain that in the early Christian literature we constantly disinter fragments

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OF BARUCH.

of earlier workmanship, and equally certain that nothing leads to such reckless criticism as the unskilled or half-skilled attempt to detach the embedded earlier form from its surroundings. The present tract is one in which we are able to point out not only, as I have intimated above, the exact date of its publication, but a great part of the earlier material which the writer appropriated. We can watch the bookmaker at his task, and can, so to speak, mark the places where the scissors and paste have been used; for this Apocalypse is the degenerate offspring of an illustrious line, perhaps the very last scion of a noble house. The Apocalyptic literature connected with Jeremiah and his companions must have been extensive and popular, widely read and full of household words; and a great part of this literature is still extant. We are therefore favourably placed for the study of an interesting problem in early religious teaching.

We may remark further that the Semitic and quasi-Semitic literature is at its best in the region of Apocalypse: the historical situations are better preserved because of the way in which they have been disguised; the cipher in which the story was written has prevented the text from being tampered with. Apocalyptic writers do not deal in the flatteries which so often deface ancient history. Josephus, for example, writing of the expected Messiah and in the hope of pleasing his patrons, will have Vespasian for his Coming One; but this adroit deviation from popular belief would not be worth publication unless it were made known both to the princes whom he designed to propitiate, and to the masses whom he proposed to enlighten. If he had held a contrary opinion or wished to inculcate it (for no one knows what the real opinions of this agreeable diplomatist were) he would have been obliged to write in allegory, cipher, or Apocalypse, and for the few rather than the many. Vespasian would have been an eagle or a dragon, or a dense forest or something of the kind. But we should at least be sure that we had got at his real opinions. Apocalypses, then, are the truer by their very falsity. The opinions which the writer disguises are his genuine opinions.

Further than this, they are his opinions, generally speaking, upon burning questions. Apocalypses concern themselves with the most critical situations in the experiences of men and natious; they touch the deeper exigencies of life; they debate

the inconsistencies of man's conceptions of God and the Universe; they discourse on the Providence and Fore-ordination of the Almighty, as it were, to His very face. St Paul is content to state his belief that Adam sinned and, ergo, all men sinned. With the Apocalyptic Baruch or Ezra, the calm theological statement becomes a burning passionate question, "O thou Adam! wherefore hast thou sinned?" In the same way the decline of the Jewish polity is predicted or recorded with much calmness by the Apostles; "the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost" is the sum total of it; an Apocalyptist, on the contrary, is spurred to write not so much by the fact, as by grief over the fact. His head must needs be waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears. The highest national hopes, too, find their expression in this way: the coming of Messiah, the fall of Rome, the end of a captivity, the imminence of judgments,-all these things require bated breath in the speaker; and we hear him more clearly because he whispers. We know more of the national aspirations of the Jews from their Apocalypses than from all the histories that are extant: which is the same as saying that Apocalypse is one of the highest forms of historical record.

Our document furnishes us, as we shall see, with an illustration of the truth that almost all apocalyptic literature belongs to special historical crises: there are very few books of this kind which do not shew, in addition to disguised facts, disguised figures; the chronology is in cipher as well as the story: the number of years to Messiah's kingdom and to the fall of the great Eagle must be given, but not so that the great Eagle can read it. Time, times and half-a-time, says the Apocalyptist in answer to the passionate 'How long, Lord' which is being repeated inwardly by the people; and then a convenient key is given, and some note which shall epigrammatically attract attention, such as ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω, or a rude hexameter scrap, like

* Ωδε ό νοῦς ό ἔχων σοφίαν.

These crises in history and their associated revolutions in thought furnish the Apocalyptic situation: and it is therefore no surprise to us to find a redundance of this kind of literature near the period calculated for the birth of the Messiah, or subsequent to the fall of the city under Titus, or its further desolation under Hadrian. But there is one further point which is not so

evident and which does not indeed lie in the nature of the case, but which is very important for the appreciation of Jewish Apocalypses; namely, the tendency which they shew to periodicity. The apocalyptic is not merely a prophet; he has become so by taking a cyclical view of the history of his people: that which furnishes his time-key in determining the duration of a captivity is the duration of a previous captivity. So many flights of the Phonix, so many Jubilee periods, and then human things will return upon themselves. He expects God to repeat himself in history, and the more so as he sees history repeating itself. It was inevitable that the Jews should indulge Messianic hopes seventy years after the capture of the city by Titus: and they indulged them the more actively as the seventy years ran out.

Nor were they without some encouragement to this belief from actual event. One of the things written across Jewish history was the fatality connected with the 10th of Ab. We may get some idea of the import of this day by recalling the language of Josephus concerning it: "the fated round of times was come, the tenth day of the month Lous, on which aforetime the city had been burnt by the Babylonians" (Bell. Jud. vi. 4.5). He does not hesitate to say that the time had been calculated by God; "one might rightly marvel at the accuracy of the cycle; for it was the very same month and day on which the city was formerly burnt by the Babylonians" (Bell. Jud. vi. 4.8).

So deeply was this day marked with black in their calendar that there is reason to suspect that from that day to this it has been kept as a day of mourning both by Jews and Christians. With the Jews, of course, this is obvious: but the following considerations suggest that the Christian Church also shared this mourning with them. The Greek Church keeps a special memorial of the fall of the city on the 4th of November, and reads on that day, as we shall see, a portion of the very Apocalypse which we are engaged upon. But the question naturally arises as to how a memorial designed for the Fall of the City came to be read on this date. The answer is that Ab, which is the eleventh month of the Hebrew Calendar, has been replaced by November, the eleventh in the Julian year, while some reason not known to us has displaced the day from the tenth to the fourth. We may,

therefore, suspect that Christians as well as Jews concerned themselves to note the fatal day' And it was inevitable that the observed periodicity in the dated fortunes of the city should lead to a belief that the period of oppression would also run parallel with the history of the earlier Captivity. At all events this is a sufficient explanation of the excited state of the Jews in the last decade of the seventy years which followed the destruction of the city. Perhaps a similar consideration of other periods mentioned in history or prophecy will furnish us the explanation of the appearance of the other Apocalyptists, Ezras, or Jeremiahs, or Baruchs. This reasoning finds its confirmation when we proceed to the examination of our own especial document. We shall show presently that it is a disguised history of the 66th year after the fall of the city: and the meaning attached to the number 66 is sufficiently evident from the fact that in many MSS. it has been corrected to 70. The number was seen to belong to the close of a cycle, what we may call the iron number of the captivity of Zion3. We will return to this point presently; but before discussing our Christian Baruch more closely, it is as well to say a few words about the earlier Apocalypses from which it is descended.

The Baruch literature begins, of course, with the Apocryphal Baruch of the Old Testament, a work which is still much in dispute, both as to the language in which it was written and the place and period to which it should be assigned. That it is pre-Christian may, however, probably be assumed; so that it differs from the rest of the writings which bear the name of Baruch, all of which belong to the period of the second Captivity (using this term for the result of the Roman War under Vespasian and Titus). At the same time this Apocryphal Baruch, though belonging to an earlier period, furnishes the suggestion for the later writings, and it may be anticipated before comparison that there will be numerous parallelisms in thought and expression between the

¹ We shall see by and bye that our Christian Baruch has the month of Ab in his mind as the commencement of the Exile. According to the Talmud Bether was captured on the 9th of Ab.

¹ We observe that the Menaeum heads the service for this day, Διήγησις εls τὸν θρῆνον τοῦ προφήτου Ἰερεμίου περί τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, και εls τὴν ἄλωουν ταίτης και περί τῆς ἐκστάσεως ᾿Αβιμέλεχ. This of itself is strongly suggestive of the comment of the fatal day, and the allusion to the lamentation of Jeremiah shows that our tract has replaced an earlier book which was used in the commemoration service.

^{· &}lt;sup>2</sup> The chronological parallels have been strained by the Jews to the detriment of the history, so as to make the Hadrian war last three years and a half; the time of the earlier hostilities: Renan rightly remarks (Origines, Vol. vi. p. 208, note) "ce dernier chiffre suspect; on a modelé le siège de Béther sur celui de Jérusalem."

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early apocryphon, the prototype, and the later brood. But these parallelisms hardly come into account in what we are occupied about, and it is sufficient to refer to any of the good writers upon Apocalyptic literature for the verification of the relations that have been intimated. We call this book, for distinction, the Apocryphal Baruch (or simply Baruch).

THE REST OF THE WORDS

With the next book, which we call the Apocalyptic Baruch, we have more to do; for not only is it a very important work, but, as we shall see, the connexion between it and our Christian Baruch is very marked. It was first published by Ceriani in Monumenta Sacra et Profana, Tom. I. fasc. i., from a Syriac Ms. in the Ambrosian Library'; Ceriani at first reserved the Syriac for a future edition of the Old Testament, and gave only a Latin translation; but in response to appeals which were made to him by various scholars, he printed the whole of the Syriac text in the fifth volume of the Monumenta. Until Ceriani's publication nothing was known of this apocalyptic Baruch, except the letter of Baruch at the close of the book, which is extant in many Mss. and has often been printed. An examination of this book, in detail, is not within our scope; it will be sufficient to enumerate a few of the more definite results which come to light when the processes of criticism are applied to the book. First of all, then, the writer was a Jew, and a pions Jew, living in troublous times. He laments many who have deserted the Covenant and have cast from them the yoke of the Law, but consoles himself on the other hand that there are many 'who have left their vanities and taken refuge under the shadow of thy wings.' The last expression is the proper one for indicating proselytism. For example, it is the term used by the Jewish Fathers in describing the persuasive powers of the good Hillel; "the gentleness of Hillel brought us near under the wings of the Shekinah;" nor should we be wrong in inferring that those who have deserted the law have done so under the influence of an adverse proselytism which is undermining or replacing Judaism. The Law, too, is his last Jewish citadel. The city was in ruins when he wrote (and we need scarcely say that this desolation was not that of the Babylonian Captivity), and in the face of this disaster, the only religious anchorage was the Law; we know well the zeal with which the Jew turned in his exile from the

Holy City to the pages of his holy book: "Unless thy law," said Zion, "had been my delight, I should then have perished in my affliction." To hold fast by the Law is the main precept; and the more so, because the end must be near: we pass away, but the Law remains. The end of all things is at hand; the pitcher is near the fountain, the ship almost in the harbour, the journey has the city in sight, life speeds to its ending: preaching and penitence, alms and intercession have had their allotted season. Such is the final sentiment of the apocalyptic writer, after he has given his views of the Messianic Kingdom, of the fall of Rome, of the future world and other matters which press upon the mind of the God-fearing people.

And it is not difficult to see the period to which this lamentation belongs. He is a pious Jew of the time of the desertion of Zion; how long after the year A.D. 70 he lived and wrote is more difficult to decide, and indeed no one has handled this point with adequate clearness. We will indicate presently the chief opinions which have been held.

Not only is the writer a Jew, but he is a Palestine Jew,—a Jerusalem Jew, we may say with a good degree of confidence. He is acquainted with the Holy City and its surroundings. The imagined Baruch, for example, receives a word from the Lord (c. 21) 'to go and sit in the valley of the Kedron in a cave of the earth;' how did he know that the Kedron valley was full of caves? In c. 47 he says, "Lo! I am going to Hebron, for thither hath the strong Lord sent me;" he does not say, "I am going from Jerusalem to Hebron;" the city is taken for granted in the story. Add to this, that Hebron would hardly be known out of Palestine. The writer is a Jew, dwelling in the neighbourhood at least of the Holy City; we do not know how far the actual right of dwelling in the city or its environs was restricted at this time; it cannot have been completely forbidden, for that is a regulation which history shews and our later Baruch confirms to have been the result of the revolt of Bar-Cochba. We shall shew presently that the Christian Baruch was also written in the city or near it.

Returning to the question of the time when the Apocalyptic Baruch was written, we observe that those who have written on the subject have dealt with (1) its similarity to another, even more famous Apocalypse, the fourth book of Ezra; (2) the evidences of the influences of Christian Scriptures upon the writer;

¹ The MR. is said to be as old as the sixth cent. Its class mark is B. 21 Inf. Ceriani has given a lithographic specimen of it.

(3) the actual notes of time which it contains; (4) the fact that it is quoted in the second century by Papias. For example: the connexion between fourth Ezra and the Apocalypse of Baruch, both in ideas and language, is undoubted. P. Hofstede de Groot in his work on Basilides' determines the date of the fourth book of Ezra to be A.D. 97 (reign of Nerva), and he decides, in agreement with Volkmar, that at this time the Gospel of John was either unwritten, or current only in a limited circle. Then in a note he remarks that shortly before 4th Ezra there appeared the Apocalypse of Baruch, a work originally written in Greek, but transmitted to us only in Syriac, which is later than the destruction of the temple, earlier than Papias, and has references to Matthew, Luke and Romans. And this Apocalypse he affirms to be the work of a Jew. De Groot's conclusions may be traversed, perhaps, on some points, and we are not concerned to defend them: the connexion. however, between Ps. Ezra and Apocal. Baruch which he remarks is recognized by other writers; and the only question is whether Apocal. Baruch or Ps. Ezra is the earlier.

Fritzsche on the other hand, in his account of the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament (Lips. 1871), will have it that the Apocalypse is written not long after the fall of the city. This is a good deal earlier than De Groot's estimate. H. Ewald' argues the date something as follows in his review of the earlier numbers of Ceriani's Monumenta. He points out that in c. 28 the reckoning from the destruction of the city to the expected Messiah is 'two parts weeks of seven weeks,' which he interprets to mean, in accordance with Hebrew parlance, two-thirds of 49 years: thus bringing us to the year 103 (70 + 349). But then allowing for twelve periods of final tribulation through which the world must pass from the time when the book is written until the end of the age, he subtracts 12 years and so brings us back to the year 91. It will be evident that this process of calculation and sub-calculation is very uncertain; and the same thing must be said of Ewald's other chronological points.

It is interesting to find, by way of contrast, that Hilgenfeld puts the date as far back as $\Lambda.D. 72^{3}$!

It is a difficult thing then to determine the date with precision: and it does not seem that the critics have arrived at any more definite conclusion as to the upper time-limit of the book, than that it was written after the Roman Captivity. For the lower limit the only evidence (apart from that afforded by our Christian Baruch) seems to be that there is good reason to believe that it was from the Apocal. Baruch that Papias derived his Chiliastic story about the rate of produce of corn and wine in the millennium. The passage of Papias is well known by frequent quotation: that of Baruch is sufficiently like to it (x. 29). "In one vine there shall be a thousand shoots, and one shoot shall produce a thousand clusters, and one cluster a thousand berries, and one berry shall give a cor of wine And they shall cat (of the manna) who come to the end of that time." It must be admitted, however, that there are elements in Papias' story which do not seem to be reproduced here; so that even at the lower time-limit we are a little uncertain. Nor do we arrive at much greater certainty when we try to determine the date of the Apocal. Baruch by the companion volume, the 4th of Ezra. Ewald goes so far as almost to assume that the two books are twin sisters, and if either is earlier than the other it is Apocal. Baruch. But this again is very uncertain. What we do seem to have arrived at is that it is generally admitted that 4th Ezra and Apocal. Baruch are closely related; that Baruch shews some parallels with the Christian Gospels; that its time of production is in the last thirty years of the first century, and that there is some reason to believe it is quoted by Papias. It is unfortunate that we cannot speak with greater confidence, because, since the Christian Baruch as we shall see is exactly dated, we should have been able to get an estimate of the time between the publication of a Jewish Apocalypse and its appropriation by a Christian writer, which estimate might have served us as a rough guide in other and similar cases.

In addition to the three Baruch books to which we have been alluding (Apocryphal Baruch, or simply Baruch, Apocalyptic Baruch, and Christian Baruch) it is very likely that there are other Baruch and Jeremiah books which have perished. The titles Baruch and Jeremiah are interchangeable: our Christian book sometimes bears the name which we have adopted, Rest of the words of Baruch, and sometimes it is called the Paralipomena of Jeremiah. And it is probable that similar confusion has

¹ Basilides am Ausgange des Apostolischen Zeitalters, Leipzig, 1868.

² Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1867, p. 1705 sqq.

^{*} Messias Judacorum, p. lxiii.

prevailed with regard to the Barnehs and Jeremiahs which are not now extant, but of which we find traces.

For example, we find that it is to an apocryphal Jeremiah that, Euthalius refers the quotation in Ephes. v. 14, "Awake thou that sleepest &c." Others, I believe, suppose it to be taken from an Apocryphal Adam. There is much confusion in these references to Apocryphal authors: but we may well imagine that the sentences come from some unrecovered part of the Baruch-Jeremiah literature, earlier of course than the Apocalypse.

An apocryphal Baruch is alluded to in Hippolytus', as being the text-book of a Gnostic named Justin. This Baruch is one of the superior angels, and not a prophet. Hippolytus gives a sketch of the system of Justin, and describes the oath which the initiated take that they will not divulge the mysteries nor relapse from the Good One to the creature: after which the worshipper is introduced to the secrets of the order, and beholds "what eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man." This is the passage which Euthalius regards St Paul in 1 Cor. ii. as quoting, not from Isaiah, but from Apocryphal Elias. As it is one of the chief Gnostic formulæ in Justin's system, it is at least conceivable that Elias may be a mistake for Baruch.

In the Altercation of Simon the Jew and Theophilus the Christian, a work of the fifth century, to which Harnack has recently drawn attention, there is an allusion to a book of Baruch, from which Theophilus quotes what he considers to be a convincing argument against Simon: "Quomodo ergo prope finem libri sui de nativitate eius et de habitu vestis et de passione eius et de resurrectione eius prophetavit dicens: Hic unctus meus, electus meus, vulvae incontaminatae iaculatus, natus et passus dicitur"? This is in answer to Simon's statement that "Baruch de Christo nihil meminit." The passage is not in any of our known books of Baruch.

In Cyprian's Testimonia iii. 29 there has been inserted in some MSS. a quotation from Baruch which has never been identified, as far as I know, in the known Baruch literature. It runs as follows: "Veniet enim tempus et quaeretis me vos et qui post

vos cupiant audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus et non invenient. Nationes autem cupient videre sapientem et non continget eis; non quia deerit aut deficiet sapientia huius saeculi terrae sed neque decrit'scrmo legis sacculo. Erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis et quietis sibi confabulantibus. quoniam quidam cos horrebunt et timebunt ut malos. Alii autem nec credent verbo legis Altissimi. Alii autem ore stupentes non credent, et credent et contradicentes erunt contrarii et impedientes spiritum veritatis. Alii autem erunt sapientes ad spiritum erroris, et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis dicta. Alii autem personales fidei: alii capaces et fortes in fide Altissimi et odibiles alieno." The passage is certainly in the Baruch manner, as we may see by comparing Apocal. Bar. c. 48, "Non enim multi sapientes reperientur illo tempore, et intelligentes singulares aliqui crunt: sed etiam qui sciunt, maxime conticescent.....et dicent multi multis illo tempore: Ubinam occultavit so multitudo intelligentiae?" But we can hardly identify it with any known passage: so we must still leave a margin for lost literature under the names of Baruch and Jeremiah.

We come now to our special subject, the Christian Baruch, a work which, as we said at the commencement, has met with a somewhat cold reception from the learned. Fritzsche describes it as much later in date and inferior in character to the Apocalypse of Baruch'. De Groot speaks of it as belonging to the Gnostic school, whatever that may mean. Kneucker² calls it "a tasteless working over" of the Apocalypse of Baruch. Dillmann refers it to the third or fourth century, which can hardly be meant as a commendation. Schürer is more guarded, and simply says that it is "a Christian book akin to our Apocalypse of Baruch, and has borrowed largely from it." The question of the literary excellence of the work is of course quite a subordinate one; it is of more importance to know that it is admittedly and obviously a Christian book; and therefore not to be despised even if it should turn out to be of the third or fourth century. But the fact is, as we have said, it is much earlier, and its chronology is susceptible of exact determination.

¹ Philosophumena, v. 24 27.

² Texte und Untersuchungen, Bd. 1. Heft 3, Leipzig, 1883.

^{*} See Schürer, Neutest. Zeitgeschichte, 111. 83 (Eng. translation). Schürer's notes on the Baruch literature are very valuable.

¹ He expressed a hope of editing it, however, at some future time; a promise which he does not seem to have redeemed; 18 years having elapsed since the announcement.

² Das Buch Baruch, Lips. 1879, p. 195.

We will first of all shew that the book was written by a Judæo-Christian living in the city of Jerusalem. The action of the story, being concerned with the exile of the people, is divided between Jerusalem and Babylon; but the writer betrays himself by an excessive knowledge of the topography of the Holy City. Jeremiah wishes to send Abimelech the Ethiopian away from the city in order that he may not see the destruction thereof: and the Lord directs him to send him to the gardens of Agrippa, where he shall be hidden in the mountain side until the return of the people from exile. Accordingly Jeremiah directs Abimelech to take a basket and go to the garden of Agrippa by the mountain road and bring back figs. Abimelech goes, falls asleep under a tree, wakes after a sufficient sleep of 66 years, and coming back to the ruined city fulls to recognize it. "Alas!" says he, "I have lost my way because I took the mountain road."

Now the mention of the garden of Agrippa would of itself be a sufficient betrayal of the locality of the writer, but when it is intimated that there were two roads thither, we are not only convinced that the writer was speaking of a spot well-known to him, but we are even encouraged to attempt an identification of the spot mentioned. It is very likely that the gardens of Herod alluded to are in the fertile valley below Solomon's pools, frequently spoken of by travellers and their guides as Solomon's gardens, and bearing to-day the name of Artas, which is an evident perversion of the Roman hortus. I know no more likely place for a royal garden in the vicinity of Jerusalem. And the curious thing is that there are decidedly two roads from Jerusalem to Artas; one the high-road to Bethlehem and Hebron, with a short divergence to the left at Solomon's pools; and the other the track round the hills which follows the line of Solomon's aqueduct from the pools to the city. It certainly looks as if the geography were real geography; and if this be the case the book was written in Jerusalem, as was its prototype the Apocalypse of Baruch. And in any case the allusion to the gardens of Agrippa remains whether we have correctly identified their position or not.

But we may go further than this: not only have we a geographical limit in the gardens of Agrippa, but we have also both superior and inferior chronological limits. Superior, by the fact that the book was written later than Agrippa whichever of the family may be intended; inferior, because it could not be written

after the time when his name ceased to be popularly attached to the place described. And it seems to me that this consideration alone would be fatal to Dillmann's hypothesis of the third or fourth century as the time of production of the book. The writer then is a Jerusalem Christian.

The next thing is to give the chronological identification. We have already alluded to this by anticipation. The word of the Lord to Jeremiah concerning Abimelech is that "I will cover him in the mountain until I cause the people to return to the city." Now on the hypothesis, allegorical and cyclical, of a Babylonian captivity, the conventional duration of exile is 70 years. Yet the writer makes Abimelech fall asleep for 66 years. The Greek service-book corrects this to 70, and inserts the 70 again in the passage where Abimelech, meeting the old man outside of the city, obtains from him the information that Jeremiah is with the people in Babylon; where it adds the words 'since 70 years.' The correction was perfectly natural and every way likely: but we must read sixty-six years, and not seventy. The same exchange of numbers will be found in c. vi. where Abimelech shews his basket of figs, and remarks that, though sixty-six years had elapsed since they were gathered, they were not spoiled. And since this is the date of the suggested return from exile, and the book professes to be describing contemporary movements (for it records almost nothing of subsequent date), then the year of the expected return is A.D. 70 (the date of the Captivity) + 66 years = A.D. 136, and the book must have been written very soon after that time.

Very soon after; because, as we shall see, it is an Eirenicon addressed to the people of that time, a time marked perhaps more deeply than any other in the history both of Jews and Christians (unless perhaps it be the capture of the city by Titus), when severe political regulations produced greater changes in six months in the relations of the Church and Synagogue than had taken place in all the preceding years of the century. We know very little, as we would wish to know, of the details of the new settlement of Jewish affairs by Hadrian: but we learn from the history and the coins that Jerusalem was no more, that it was replaced by Aelia Capitolina; that the plough was passed over the sacred soil in token of its renewed subjugation; that Roman statues, the emperor and his gods, were in the holy places; and that an edict

of the emperor prohibited the Jew from approaching the holy city. Turning to the lists of bishops in Eusebius, we find that Gentile names appear now for the first time. It is not necessary, to assume the accuracy of Eusebius' list of Jerusalem bishops; many of these lists, especially the earlier portions of them, are afterthoughts. But the tradition which makes Marcus bishop of Jerusalem at the close of the Hadrian War can hardly be incorrect. It means at least that there has been, from political necessity, a change in the organic life of the Church. The last have become first, and the first last. The Judæo-Christian party with its antique traditions and venerable Mosaism is passing away. The breach with Judaism, which Paul usually effected in a few months in any city where he laboured, was not really accomplished in Jerusalem until the false Messiah had run his course. But then when it came, it came quickly.

Now our document is the Church's Eirenicon to the Synagogue, at the time of the Hadrian edict. The problem is, how to evade the edict of banishment from the holy City which is pronounced on the race. Granted that we are carried away captive, and that there is a possibility of return from captivity, how is this return to be brought about? And the answer is contained in the letter which Baruch is instructed to send from Jerusalem to Jeremiah in Babylon. So we find in c. vi. as follows: "If ye obey my voice, saith the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, I will separate you from Bahylon; but he that will not obey, let him be as a stranger to Jerusalem (ξένος της Ίερουσαλήμ), and I will test you by the water of Jordan, and there he that will not obey will be made manifest." If nothing more had been said, we should have conjectured that this meant the rite of baptism; but lest we should have any doubt on the matter, the writer continues parenthetically, "this is the sign of the great seal," the conventional Patristic term for baptism. It is possible that these words may be a later interpolation, but they are not the less striking on that account, for they would disclose the interpretation that primitively attached to the passage. The meaning of it all is that the Christians, who are evidently not affected by the imperial edict, for they took no part in the rebellion, have suggested to Jews that by becoming Christians by the way of baptism they can evade the force of the edict, and no longer be strangers to Jerusalem. The people are to be brought down to Jordan's side from Babylon, and there the

precious and the vile are as far as possible to be separated one from another. Those that will make the necessary renunciation are received, the rest rejected. The story runs that Jeremiah sorted them out by families, and when a whole family was clear in renouncing Babylon and its customs they were accepted, and if not they were rejected. It is not easy to imagine the manner of the selection. The writer does not mean Rome when he speaks of the people renouncing Babylon and passing over Jordan, and talks of mixed families where men had married Babylonish women. I think he here means the old school of Jews (those who are Babylonians by choice and who make no move towards Jordan), between whom and the Gentile Church lies the conflict for the possession of the intermediate party, the Judao-Christians of various types. The selection being made by families is thoroughly in the Eastern manner, where religion is always bounded by social and racial limits, just as population is to this day reckoned by households. "Himself believed and his house" is the conventional formula for a change of religion: "as for me and my house" is a similar term. What makes one a little more confident in this interpretation that it was an appeal on the part of the Gentile Christians or at least of the Gentilising Christians to the more conservative, half convinced among their Jewish brethren, is that we find from the account that some undecided people in the middle ground came part way to Jerusalem and then returned; and that on their returning to Babylon, they were received with an intimation that as they had secretly departed from them, they would not be received again: Babylon would have none of them. This according to the story leads to the formation of a new colony which is derisively called Samaria. Now this is not difficult of interpretation, if we imagine that there were those who had gone so far from Judaism as to provoke an edict against their being received again into ecclesiastical fellowship, and yet had not come so near to Christianity as to be able to pass the baptismal standards. In this case, then, one result of the Hadrian edict is the formation of a new Ebionite movement in Palestine. This exactly agrees with the statements of Epiphanius and Jerome as to the origin of Ebionism: they attempted to be both Jews and Christians, and ended by being neither.

It is just possible that this accepting and rejecting of families of Jews by unauthorized or half-authorized persons may be the

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origin of a story in the Talmud which seems to cover some irritation of national feeling! on the subject of proselytism.

The story is apparently referred to the time of Rabbi Joshua who is talmudically the second generation from Hillel the Great.

"R. Joshua said, I received from R. Johanan ben Zakkai, who received it from his teacher as a tradition in a direct line from Moses on Mount Sinai, that Elias would not come to pronounce clean or unclean, to reject or admit families in general, but only to reject those that had entered by violence, and to admit those who had been rejected by violence. There was, beyond Jordan', a family of the name of Beth Zerefa, which a certain Ben Zion had excluded by violence. There was there another family (of impure blood) whom this Ben Zion had admitted by violence. He comes to pronounce such clean or unclean, to reject or to admit them." It is quite possible that this story refers to the admission of proselytes by Jewish Christians of the city of Jerusalem (note the Ben Zion) who rank practically in the city as Jews, at all events up to the time of the final rupture, although in foreign cities they had long been known as a 'third race.'

In Jerusalem itself the line of demarcation between Jews and Christians was for a long time very faintly marked. The ecclesia was intra synagogam. Witness the account of the relations between the Pharisees and S. James the Just which Hegesippus furnishes; no difference of opinion seems to exist, except on the one point of the person of Jesus Christ, whom St James affirms to be coming in the clouds of heaven. Something of the same sort is implied in the story of Stephen. We shall see by and bye that this is the very point which provokes the people in the story to stone Jeremiah, just as in the history they had done to St James.

We have shewn, then, that the date suggested by the Baruchstory is exactly the right date for the interpretation of the events that are there adumbrated. It is very interesting to see that baptism, which at first served to initiate proselytes into Judaism,

but which does not seem to have been applied to Jews of good standing, has now become one of the means for distinguishing the Jews from the proselytes, and that the baptized are baptizing the baptizers.

Before leaving the question of chronology, we must say a word or two about another time-note in the book. The people stone Jeremiah, and when dying he predicts the coming of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, after a lapse of four hundred and seventy-seven years. It is a little difficult to see what he means by these figures and how he arrives at them. It must be either that the Apocalyptist is giving the actual period from the first return from Exile to the Messiah, or he is fabricating a similar period for the second advent, the numbers being assumed to repeat as in the case of the duration of the Exile. That the former is the right interpretation may be gathered from the prediction which Jeremiah makes that the Messiah will choose to himself 12 apostles in order that they may preach the gospel amongst the Gentiles. (c. ix. 18.) But how does he calculate the period? For we have no possibility of deducing 477 years from the interval between Jeremiah's death and the birth of Christ. The building of the walls under Ezra and Nehemiah is, however, not very far from the time intimated; if we assume this to have taken place in 458 B.C. or thereabout we should not be 20 years out in the reckoning. But it would be idle to assume a great acquaintance with chronology on the part of our simple-minded Apocalyptist; and we might perhaps leave this part of the question unsettled without feeling that the interpretation would suffer. We will, however, venture one suggestion for clearing the matter up. At the close of the sixth book of Josephus' Jewish Wars will be found a table of the leading periods in the history of Jerusalem from conquest to conquest and captivity to captivity. Now in this list the time from David to the Babylonian exile is given as 477 years: so that it is just possible that the Apocalyptist made an error in taking a number from Josephus' tables.

We will now pass on to consider the literary debts of the Christian Baruch to his predecessors, beginning with some passages which are founded on the Apocalypse of Baruch.

Apocal ii. Haec autem dixi tibi, ut dicas Jeremiae, et omnibus qui similes sunt vobis, ut recedatis ab urbe ista, quia opera vestra

Mishna Edujoth, viii. 7, quoted in Schürer Neutest. Zeitgesch. ii. 156, Eng.

² We must not strain allegory in order to see here a reference to baptism. I use the passage to show that the Jews in the first century quarrelled over and discussed their family membership and its purity or impurity just as our Apocalypse shows them to be doing in the early part of the second century.

¹ The MSS, are very confused over this number; the Ethiopic in particular fluctuating between 303, 330, and 333 weeks.

sunt urbi huic tanquam columna firma et preces vestrae tanquam murus validus.

This passage is imitated in the later Baruch as follows: c. i. 1, ξξελθε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης σὶ καὶ ὁ Βαρούχ.....αὶ γὰρ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ὡς στῦλος ἐδραῖός ἐστιν ἐν μέσφ αὐτῆς καὶ ὡς τεῖχος ἀδαμάντινον περικυκλοῦν αὐτόν. (We are thus able to restore some parts of the original Greek of the Apocalypse of Baruch.)

The remote source of either sentence is to be sought in Jer. i. 18.

Apocal. vi. Et factum est crastino die, et ecce exercitus Chaldaeorum circumdedit urbem, et tempore vesperae reliqui populum ego Baruch et exivi et steti apud quercum: et contristabar super Sion et ingemiscebam super captivitatem quae supervenerat populo: et ecce subito spiritus fortitudinis sustulit me et extulit me supra Jerusalem in altum. et vidi et ecce quatuor angeli stantes super quatuor angulos urbis, tenentes unusquisque ex eis lampada ignis in manibus suis.

Compare with this the account by the later Baruch of the

capture of the city, especially

iii. 2. Καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ σάλπιγγος, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἄγγελοι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κατέχοντες λαμπάδας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως.

The angels then in Bar. Apocal, wait until one of their number takes the holy vessels and delivers them to the earth, which opens her mouth and swallows them up. The Christian Baruch makes this hiding of the vessels to be done by Jeremiah and Baruch.

x. Die Jeremiae ut vadat et confirmet captivitatem populi usque ad Babylonem; tu autem mane hie in vastitate Sion et ego ostendam tibi post hos dies quod futurum est ut contingat in fine dierum. et dixi Jeremiae sieut praecepit mihi Dominus. et ipse quidem ivit cum populo; ego autem Baruch reversus sum et sedi ante portas templi et lamentatus sum lamentationem istam super Sion et dixi.

The whole of these details are absorbed by the later Baruch, with the single exception of the mention of the 'gates of the temple.' Each writer makes Baruch the one that laments over the city.

A more striking case of absorption of the earlier story is the account of the priests throwing the keys of the Sanctuary up to heaven.

Apocal. x. Vos autem sacerdotes sumite claves sanctuarii et

proiicite in altitudinem coeli et date eas Domino et dicite; Custodi domum tuam tu: nos enim ecce inventi sumus occonomi mendaces.

The passage in *Apocal*. xi. Dicite mortuis: Benti vos magis quam nosmetipsi, qui vivi sumus, becomes in *Bar. Christ.* iv. 9 Μακάριοι είσιν 'Αβραὰμ 'Ισαὰκ καὶ 'Ιακώβ, ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.

It will be seen that the coincidences in the opening chapters of the two Apocalypses are very marked. The same coincidence is to be traced on referring to the closing chapters of the Apocalyptic Baruch. Baruch writes a letter to the nine and a half tribes who are in Babylon and sends it by means of an eagle.

Apocal. lxxvi. Accersivi aquilam et locutus sum ei verba ista: Te fecit Altissimus ut sis excelsior prae omnibus avibus: et nunc vade, neque commoreris in loco, neque ingrediaris nidum, neque consistas super quamvis arborem, donec transieris latitudinem aquarum multarum fluminis Euphratis, et ieris ad populum illum qui habitat ibi et proice ad eos epistolam hanc: recordare autem quod tempore diluvii a columba accepit Noe fructum olivae cum eam emisisset de arca; sed et corvi ministrarunt Eliae deferentes ei cibum, sicut praeceptum erat eis; etiam Salomon tempore regni sui quocumque volebat mittere, aut quaerere aliquid, avi praecipiebat, et obediebat ei sicut praecipiebat ei : et nune ne taedeat te, neque/declines ad dexteram aut ad sinistram, sed vola et vade via recta ut custodias mandatum Fortis sicut dixi tibi. (lxxvii.) Et fuit cum consummassem omnia verba epistolae huius et scripsissem eam cum cura usque ad finem eius et plicuissém cam et obsignassem eam diligenter et ligassem eam ad collum aquilae et dimisi et misi cam.

This is imitated in c. vii. of the Christian Baruch with no loss of force in the transcription:

Bar. Christ. vii. Σολ λέγω, βασιλεῦ τῶν πετεινῶν, ἄπελθε ἐν εἰρήνη μεθ' ὑγείας καλ τὴν φάσιν ἔνεγκέ μοι. Μὴ ὁμοιωθῆς τῷ κόρακι ὃν ἐξαπέστειλε Νῶε, καλ οὐκ ἀπέστραφη εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν

άλλὰ ὁμοιώθητι τῆ περιστερᾶ ἥτις ἐκ τρίτου φάσιν ἡνεγκε τῷ δικαίῳ· οὕτω καὶ σὺ, ἄρον τὴν καλὴν φάσιν ταύτην τῷ Ἱερεμἰα, καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ, ἴνα εὖ σοι γένηται, ἄρον τὴν χάρτην ταύτην τῷ λαῷ τῷ ἐκλεκτῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐὰν κυκλώσωσὶ σε πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας βουλόμενοι πολεμῆσαι μετὰ σοῦ, ἀγώνισαι ὁ Κύριος δώη σοι δύναμιν. Καὶ μὴ ἐκκλίνης εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ ἡ ἀριστερὰ, ἀλλ' ὡς βέλος ὕπαγον ὀρθῶς οὕτως ἄπελθε κτέ.

These instances will be sufficient to show the kind of use which the later Apocalyptist made of the earlier. And that the earlier form had attached to it the epistle of Baruch appears not only from the legend of the carrier-eagle but from the admission' at the close of the Christian Baruch that "the rest of the words of Jeremiah and all his might are written, not here, but in the epistle of Baruch."

The traces of the use of the beautiful Apocalypse, known as the fourth book of Ezra, are less marked, but they are decided. The famous passage in c. v. foretelling that "blood shall drop from wood and the stone shall utter its voice" was known to our Apocalyptist: it furnished him with the idea of the closing situation in his book; that in which Jeremiah sets up a stone, which takes his likeness, and deceives thereby the people who wish to kill him, until he has finished communicating the mysteries which he has seen to the crowd and his companions Baruch and Abimelech. The riotous folk stone the stone, thinking it to be Jeremiah. But at last the stone cries out with a human voice, "O foolish children of Israel, wherefore do ye stone me, thinking that I am Jeremiah?" The motive for this story is evidently the single sentence quoted above from Ezra. Another clause in the same connexion, where Ezra foretells amongst the signs of the end that "salt water shall be found in sweet water and friends be at war with one another," is copied by the Christian writer (c. ix. 16), "Snow shall become black and sweet waters salt."

The writer was also acquainted with the Apocryphal Isaiah. In c. ix. 18, 19 the text of our author runs as follows: "He shall come, and he shall come forth and he shall choose him twelve

apostles that they may preach the Gospel amongst the Gentiles: whom I beheld adorned by his Father and coming into the world on the mount of Olives; and he shall fill the hungry souls. While Jeremiah was saying these things concerning the Son of God, that he is coming into the world, the people was enraged, and said; These are the same words as were spoken by Isaiah the son of Amos, when he said, I beheld God and the son of God. Come then and let us kill him with a different death to that wherewith we killed Isaiah." The people are not alluding here immediately to the famous sixth chapter of Isaiah in which the prophet sees the Lord on his throne, or as the Targumists prefer to render it, so as to avoid the anthropomorphic conception, the glory of the Lord on his throne; but they are speaking of a prophecy or pseudo-prophecy in which the manner of his death seems also to have been recorded as well as his cestasy. And this can hardly be anything else than the Ascension of Isaiah, in which Justin Martyr is supposed to have found his information about the sawing in twain of Isaiah with a wooden saw, and to which Origen definitely appealed as an authority for the manner of the prophet's martyrdom. We will not saw him asunder, they say, as Isaiah was martyred. but, for the sake of variety, we will stone him. It is, of course, possible that the writer might have based his fiction on mere traditions, but the reference to Jeremiah as seeing the coming of the Son of God and his sending forth of the twelve apostles to preach is conclusive in favour of the Ascension of Isaiah as the origin from which he drew. The reason why Isaiah is arrested is because "Berial was in great wrath against Isaiah on account of the vision and the revelation which Sammael had unveiled and because by him was seen the coming of the Beloved from the seventh heaven, and his transformation,...and the tortures wherewith the children of Israel would torture him, and the coming and the teaching of the twelve apostles..." And that the writer had the actual book to refer to will appear from the use he has made of another detail of the Martyrdom of Isaiah. When the writer describes the tortures of the prophet and his final ascent in rapture through the seven heavens before his death, he makes the prophet fall into a death-like trance in which speech and breathing cease. And

¹ This may however be a later appendix.

² Iv. Esd. v. 5. It is quite possible that the whole sentence is a confused allusion to the sawing asunder of Isaiah and the stoning of Jeremiah, and that Ezra himself may be drawing on legendary sources: but compare what is said on this point on pp. 43, 44.

 $^{^1}$ A conception which lies underneath the passage in the Gospel: "He saw his glory and spake of him," John xii. 41.

² Ascensio Isaiae, ed. Dillmann, v. iii.

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what Isaiah sees in that vision he tells afterwards to the king and the circle of the prophets. "While he was speaking by the Holy Ghost, in the hearing of all, he held his peace and his mind was rapt away and taken upward so that he saw not those that stood around; his eyes were open but his mouth was still and the mind of his body was rapt away upward, but his breath was in him, for he saw a vision." (I think that we should read here 'his breath was not in him.') The writer explains further that the "vision which he saw was not of this world, but of the world which is hidden from mortal eyes. And after Isaiah saw this vision, he narrated it to Hezekiah and Josab his son and the rest of the assembled prophets." All of this is imitated in our Christian Baruch: Jeremiah falls into a death-like trance, but after three days he revives, his soul revisits her tenement, and he tells the Glory of the Father and the Son. This use of Apocryphal Isaiah begins in the earlier part of the prophet's cestasy (c. ix. 3) where he cries out "Holy, holy, holy...beyond the sweet voice of the two seraphim:" here the direct reference is to Isaiah vi., as is seen from the trisagion and the mention of two scraphim ("one cried unto another"), but that Ps. Isaiah is in mind with its full Christology appears from the insertion of the words "the true light that lighteneth me."

We need not hesitate to say then that the writer has used the Ascension of Isaiah, and used it too, for it is an interpolated Apocalypse, augmented and expanded by Christian hands, in its later and Christian form. The date of this work is discussed by Dillmann in his preface, and we need not dispute his conclusion in referring the book to the beginning of the second century.

We have thus determined three earlier Judæo-Christian works which have been used and imitated in the process of manufacture of the Christian Baruch. We will pass on to examine the possible use which the writer may have made of other traditions concerning Jeremiah, or, which is for our purpose the same thing, of lost books incorporating traditions.

That traditions concerning Jeremiah were widely circulated in early times appears from many considerations: the second book of the Maccabees, for instance, has the whole story of the hiding of the sacred vessels, in a form which does not agree with the Apo-

calyptic Baruch, and which is not in perfect harmony with the Christian Baruch. And its version professes to be that of official documents. "It is also found in the records that Jeremiah the prophet commanded them that were carried away to take some of the fire, as it hath been signified: and that the prophet on giving them the law charged them that were carried away not to forget the commandments of the Lord, and that they should not be led astray in their minds on seeing images of silver and gold with their ornaments. And with other such admonitions exhorted he them that the law should not depart from their heart. It is also contained in the writing that the prophet being warned of God commanded that the tabernacle and the ark should be brought along after him: and that he went forth into the mountain where Moses climbed up and saw the heritage of God. And Jeremiah on coming thither found a kind of cave-dwelling. and he carried in there the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense and closed up the door. And certain of those that followed him came up to mark the way and they could not find it. But when Jeremiah learned of it, he blamed them and said, The place shall be unknown until God gather his people again together, and become propitious. And then shall the Lord shew these things'."

There is one point in which the later Baruch agrees better with this than the Apocalypse: it makes Jeremiah hide the vessels and not the angels. Possibly, therefore, the writer was under the influence of the Maccabean tradition, which need not be very early. The date of the second of Maccabees is, however, one of the unsolved problems.

Another very important tradition concerning Jeremiah is that he was stoned. This is not an original idea of the Christian Baruch. We find it in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The famous passage "they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, &c." is a summary of the sufferings of the worthies of Faith, and each statement is based on the history of some real person: it has always been known that "they were sawn asunder" referred to Isaiah, just as "stopped the mouths of lions" referred to Daniel, and "quenched the violence of fire" to the three Hebrew children; but it is not so generally felt that "they were stoned" belongs to Jeremiah.

¹ Ascensio, p. xvi. Quibus omnibus perpensis Ascensionem iam primis secundi sacculi decenniis exstitiase censeo.

^{1 2} Macc. ii.

Yet such is the case, as the Baruch-Jeremiah legends shew: and the Epistle to the Hebrews is therefore one of the early witnesses to the tradition. But whence was it derived? We may not easily reply, but it was from the same source in written or unwritten tradition that Christian Baruch derived his information.

There is other important evidence of the diffusion of the tradition. The place of burial of Jeremiah is still shewn in Jerusalem in a cave which passes by the name of Jeremiah's grotto. This grotto lies in the southern side of the conspicuous hill to the north of the city which is supposed by many persons to be the place called Calvary. On the north-west side of the same hill are the ruins of the early Church which commemorated the martyrdom of St Stephen who was said to have been stoned here. And it is said that this hill is the Tarpeian rock of ancient Jerusalem, the Beth-hassagelah or 'Place of Stoning' of the Talmud. It seems then that there is some connexion between the death which Jeremiah met, according to tradition, and the place where he is said to be buried. And the tradition concerning his stoning in Jerusalem must be early: for the uniform church tradition of later days, as we find it in the life of Jeremiah attributed falsely to Epiphanius, or the life that is given on his commemoration day in the Greek Church (see Menaeum for May 1), is that he was stoned indeed, but at Tahpanhes in Egypt, and not, as the Jerusalem tradition and the Christian Baruch say, in Jerusalem. Can we be wrong in affirming the antiquity of the tradition which we find in our authority! The opinion of the first and second centuries seems to be that Jeremiah was stoned in Jerusalem¹.

But did the traditions of our document centre round any actual person? Are Jeremiah and Baruch the background of the picture or the foreground? Do the historical features of the romance limit themselves to the City and the time of the Jewish expulsion and the baptismal suggestion of the Christians to the Jews: or may we go further? The writer has, according to some

MSS., changed 'Baruch the scribe' of the old Testament into 'Baruch the reader.' Does he mean a real official of the Church? It would be hard to say: but with Jeremiah the case is easier: for there is reason to believe that Judah, the last bishop of Jerusalem before the definitely Christian régime, died at the hands of the party of Barcochba. The Chronicon of Eusebius declares that many of the Christians suffered for not taking arms against Rome; and marks the close of the war by the arrival of the first Gentile Bishop. Now if Judah the supposed fifteenth bishop had outlived the war, he would certainly not have been exiled by the Romans: so he must have vacated his office by death.

A further interesting question arises with regard to the relations of our writer to the Christian records. We see him quoting freely and incorporating adroitly from many of the Judaeo-Christian books which were current at that time in Palestine; Isaiah, Ezra, and Baruch—he knows them all. Baruch the Apocalyptist, whom he quotes most freely, though hardly to be called a Christian, has been affirmed by careful critics to be under the influence of the sentiments and to show traces of the language of our Gospels. What of the Christian Baruch? Had he any acquaintance with the New Testament Scriptures? There is some ground for believing that he was acquainted with the Gospel of John. This will no doubt sound somewhat strange, but we will not prejudge the question by choosing for the time of production of the fourth gospel a period as late as is consistent with what has been hitherto known of the literature of the second century: there has been too much à priori reasoning in the dating of the fourth Gospel. Nor is the Nemesis which attaches to this arbitrary and ex silentio criticism exhausted. Neither will we on the other hand over-emphasise coincidences of thought and expression between our writer and the Gospel; although it might be possible to argue that when a writer (ix. 13) calls Jesus Christ the light of all the ages, the unquenchable lamp, the life of the faith, it is natural to refer to the Light of the World, the Light of Men and the Light of Life, and to the contrast which Christ makes between himself and John the Baptist, when he calls him the lamp which has been kindled and shines. We might point out also that the conjunction of $\phi \hat{\omega}_{S}$ and $\zeta \hat{\omega} \hat{\eta}$ is frequently recognized as not merely Christian, but Johannine. M. Clermont-Ganneau has established a number of cases of the occurrence of $\phi \hat{\omega_s} + \zeta \omega \hat{\eta}$ as a

I I do not forget that an attempt might have been made to bring the legends into harmony with our Lond's words "O Jerusalem which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee;" but such a tendency would not have produced an callier tradition but a later one. It is more reasonable, though the hypothesis is not necessary, and might even be fanciful, to understand our Lord as saying this in allusion to the legends. When he said it he was in view of the place of supposed martyrdom of Isaiah on the south of the city and of Jeremiah on the north.

Christian formula in Syria. The two words are often arranged crosswise, thus $\phi \omega c$; and M. Ganneau says we must seek the origin of the formula in the Gospel of John!. And with less judgment it would be possible to quote the words (ix. 18) έρχόμενον είς τον κόσμον as a reminiscence of John i. 9, the interpretation of which is however doubtful. As none of these coincidences would definitely convince me of a quotation from John, so neither do I unduly desire to convince any one by them; but I would draw attention to one clause in the adoration of Jeremiah (ix. 3) where he addresses the Lord as τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ φωτίζον με, the true Light that lighteneth me: where the collocation of words is so peculiar, that it is almost impossible to refer the language to any other than St John, and in view of this fact the previous coincidences acquire new force. Further the passage is found, not only in the Greek, which exhibits at many points a text that has undergone some correction, but in the Ethiopic version, which often approaches very nearly, as we shall see, to the original form of the Apocalypse. Unless then it can be shewn that these words are a later addition, in the Ethiopic as well as in the Greek, we must admit a quotation from the fourth Gospel, which quotation happily allows of being dated in or about the year 136 A.D.

Authorities for the Text.

In the year 1866 Dillmann published the Ethiopic version of the Christian Baruch from several MSS.; and in the preface to the Ethiopic Chrestomathy, in which the text appeared, he pointed out that it was a regular part of the Ethiopic Bible, where it appears along with the Book of Baruch, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the Epistle of Jeremiah. The Ethiopic version is translated from the Greek, and becomes a very important witness for the text. I follow, in my ignorance of Ethiopic, the best translations I can get of Dillmann's text; good ones fortunately are not lacking. There is a German translation by Prätorius in Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 1872, p. 230—247; and a later revised translation with notes by König in Theologische

Studien und Kritiken for 1877, pp. 318-338. I cite the evidence of this version as aeth.

The Menaca for Nov. 4th are a direct authority for the Greek text, which they contain in a somewhat abbreviated form, and in a less pure text. For example the Menacum printed at Venice in 1843 gives the first five chapters only of the text. The whole of the text, according to Ceriani, is found in the Menacum printed at Venice in 1609. Ceriani quotes occasionally a Ms. Menacum of the Ambrosian Library; and no doubt the evidence of this class of documents might be multiplied a hundredfold. Their combined evidence is given as men.

To this Ceriani added a Ms. (marked AF. IX. 31) of the fifteenth century, which he describes as belonging to the Bibliotheca Regia Braidensis; which I take to represent the convent library of the Italian town of Bra in Piedmont. From this Ms., with the aid of the Menaeum, Ceriani published the text which appears in the fifth volume of his Monumenta Sacra pp. 11—18. This Ms. I call a.

To these authorities we may add the following from the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

Cod. b = Cod. 34, of the S. Sepulchre portion of the Library, of the eleventh century, containing the Έρωτήσεις καὶ ᾿Αποκρίσεις of Anastasius the Sinaite. At the end there are a number of questions concerning the dissonances of the Evangelists de resurrectione Christi: a fragment from Irenæus, the same as is printed in Tischendorf's Anecdota Sacra et Profana p. 120 from Cod. Coislin. 120; and on f. 251, at the end of the life of Jeremiah the prophet, comes the title τὰ παραλειπόμενα Ἱερεμίον τοῦ προφητοῦ.

Cod. c = Cod. 6 S. Sepulcri of the tenth century has been collated with the foregoing. It contains a valuable text which often deviates widely from that of the foregoing MS. The text begins on f. 242 of the MS.

The next two manuscripts belong to a totally different recension; but they are related *inter se*: the text which they give is an epitome of the Paralipomena, probably taken from the Menaca with appendices from collateral sources: they are as follows:

Cod. d = Cod. 66 S. Sep. a late MS. (15th cent. ?) containing a collection of apocryphal matters of all kinds: a brief summary may be useful. It begins with an extract from Chrysostom, followed by

f. 6 b. Τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ

¹ Archéologie Orientale, p. 171. ² Lips. 1866.

^{*} Cf. Wright, Cat. of Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum; Codd. 7, 8, 14, 16, 20.

θεολόγου λόγος περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης καὶ ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.

- f. 14. Της σεβασμίας μεταστάσεως της υπερενδόξου δεσποίνης ημών και ἀειπαρθένου.
- f. 23. Περίοδοι τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ παρθένου ἐπιστηθίου φίλου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου.
- f. 93 b. Πράξεις τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ.
- f. 109 b. 'Εκ τῶν περιόδων τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου. ὑπὸ (l. ἀπὸ) πράξεως πέντε καὶ δεκάτου μέχρι τέλους τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ.
- f. 124. Πράξεις Ματθία καὶ ᾿Λυδρέα ἐν τῷ χώρα τῶν ἀνθρωπυφάγων.
- f. 146 b. Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ πῶς ἐν Ῥώμη ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος.
- f. 165. Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Μάρκου.
 - f. 169 b. Τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκά.
- f. 177. ΄ Υπόμνησις εἰς τὸν ἄγιον ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ματθαΐου,
- f. 181 b. Τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου.
- f. 182. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς ἀντιλογίας τοῦ διαβόλου μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου ήμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- f. 186. Βίος σύντομος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν τῷ φρέατι.
 - f. 188 b. Βίος τοῦ ἀγίου Γερασίμου.
 - f. 190 b. Διήγησις Μάλχου μοναχοῦ.
 - f. 194. Διήγησις περί...Νικολάου.
 - f. 196. Μαρτύριον Μενίγνου (sic).
 - f. 199. 'Αθλησις...Θεοδώρου.
 - f. 202 b. Μαρτύριον Φωτείνου.
 - f. 209 b. Διήγησις... ἐν τῷ βίφ... Παχωμίου.
- f. 212 b. $\Delta \iota \dot{\eta} \gamma \eta \sigma \iota \varsigma$ περὶ τοῦ θρήνου τοῦ προφήτου 'Ιερεμία περὶ τῆς 'Ιερουσαλήμ. καὶ περὶ τῆς άλώσεως ταύτης καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκστάσεως ' $\Lambda \beta \iota \mu \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \chi$. εὐλόγησου δέσποτα.
 - A life of Jeremiah is prefixed to the text of the Paralipomena.
- f. 215. περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως Ἱερουσαλήμ' τὰ λαληθέντα ὑπὸ κυρίου πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν' καὶ ὅπως ἡ αἰχμαλωσία γέγονεν ἔχει οὕτως.

f. 222 b. 'Οπτασία Κοσμᾶ μοναχοῦ.

f. 229. Διήγησις έτέρας οπτασίας.

- f. 231 b. Διήγησις περί τοῦ γενομένου θαύματος εν `Λφρίκη [εν] τῆ πόλει Καρταγενη.
 - f. 233. 'Εφραίμ' είς τὸν πάγκαλον Ίωσήφ.
 - f. 252. Χρυσοστόμου είς τὸν μάταιον βίον.
- f. 260. Διήγησις καὶ διαθήκη τοῦ δικαίου καὶ πατριάρχου Αβραάμ δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πεῖραν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. εὐλόγησον δέσποτα.

It will be seen that the MS. though late contains a great deal of valuable apocryphal matter: for example, I found it worth while when working at Jerusalem to copy the whole of the 'Λντιλογία τοῦ διαβόλου and the Διαθήκη 'Λβραάμ, as well as the Baruch matter.

The title attached to the Baruch extracts seems to imply that they were taken from a Menaeum.

Cod. e= Cod. 35 S. Crucis (the library of the Convent of the Holy Cross now removed to the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem). This is also a late paper MS. (xvth cent.) and contains a similar text of the Paralipomena to the preceding. It contains also the prefixed life of Jeremiah. The MS. opens with a $\delta\iota\dot{\eta}\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ 'laκώβου $\epsilon\iota\dot{\varsigma}$ τὸ γενέσιον τῆς θεοτόκου. We have collated the Baruch text with Cod. d.

We have thus the following authorities for the text:

aeth = Ethiopic version as edited by Dillmann. \

men = The Menaea.

a = Cod. Braidensis.

b = Cod. 34 S. Sepulcri.

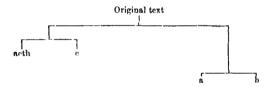
c = Cod. 6 S. Sepulcri. d = Cod. 66 S. Sepulcri.

e = Cod. 35 S. Crucis.

In using these authorities, we find that d and e are only transcripts, with occasional modifications, from the Menaeum; and a very little examination will shew that the text of the Menaeum is only a secondary authority. Of the remaining MSS., a and b present an almost identical text, and constitute together a single authority. The text is thus reduced to three principal authorities, which vary widely *inter se* from time to time; viz. aeth, a + b, and c. In comparing the readings we shall find that the Ethiopic text

is on the whole much superior to the text of a, b; and that where it diverges from this, it almost always has c associated with it.

We should thus be led to take generally the consensus of aeth and c as furnishing the earliest reading; but this would require, first, that there should be a margin left for occasional cases in which a, b may have preserved the right reading: and second, that the consensus of a, b with either of the pair aeth and c against the other should be regarded as, almost to a certainty, the primitive reading. The MSS, would thus be represented by



The scheme will test itself readily as we edit the text; but a few instances may perhaps be taken to show the relation of the authorities and the generally corrupt state of transcription.

- v. 23. α. εἰ μὴ ἢς πρεσβύτης, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεοῦ ὑβρίσαι τὸν μείζονα αὐτοῦ ἐπεὶ κατεγέλων ὅτι μαίνη.
- b. εἰ μὴ εἰς πρεσβύτης καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῶν ἀνθρώπω Θεοῦ ὑβρίσαι τὸν μείζονα αὐτοῦ ἐπεὶ καταγέλων σου καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι μένει.
- c. εἰ μὴ εἰς πρεσβύτης καὶ οὐκ ἐξών ἀνθρώπων ὑβρίσαι τὸν μείζονα αὐτοῦ· ἐπικατεγέλουν σοι καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι μὲν [ἡχμαλώ-τευσον κτέ].
- aëth. Wenn du nicht ein bejahrter Mann wärest, so würde ich dich schmähen und über dich lachen, doch nicht soll es geschehen, dass man einen Menschen verachtet, und zwar einen bejahrten Mann; und wenn du nicht ein solcher wärest, so würde ich sagen, dass du ausser dir bist.

Comparing these readings we see that the $\Theta\epsilon\hat{v}$ is to be rejected in a,b: while the consensus of b,c and the Ethiopic makes it certain that the word $\epsilon\hat{\pi}\kappa\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\gamma\hat{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$ was followed more or less

closely by καὶ ἔλεγον; while the similarity of the endings ἐγέλων and ἔλεγον is sufficient reason for the omission of a clause. Nor can we be far wrong if, restoring the particle ἀν from the Menaen, we read ἐπικατεγέλων ἀν σοι καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι μαίνη.

vi. 22. α. ὁ ἀκούων, ἀφορίσω αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλώνος, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀκούων, ξένος γένηται τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ.

c. ὁ ἀκούων ἀναφέρω αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τῆς Baβυλῶνος ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀκούων ξένος γίνεται τῆς Γερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆς Baβυλῶνος.

aeth. Diejenigen, welche (auf sie) gehört haben, werde ich aus Babylon ausführen und sie werden nicht verbannt von Jerusalem in Babylon sein.

The chief point here is the addition of the words 'and from Babylon' by Cod. c: they evidently stood in the Ethiopic archetype but being unintelligible they were corrected to 'in Babylon.'

Thus we have the consensus of c and aeth for an apparently unintelligible reading: but the story explains it, as we proceed, for those who will not obey Jeremiah are not only refused admission to Jerusalem, but they are rejected also on their attempt to return to Babylon. So that the clause is a genuine one.

- vii. 12. a, b. εάν κυκλώσουσί σε πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ βούλωνται πολεμήσαι μετὰ σοῦ, ἀγώνισαι (b ἀγώνησαι).
- c. ἐὰν κυκλώσωσίν σε πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἀληθείας βουλόμενοι πολεμῖσαι μετὰ σοῦ, ἀγώνισαι.

The missing clause being found also in the Ethiopic, we are entitled to restore it to the text.

There are some places, however, in which the text is extremely obscure in all authorities: and we may even be obliged to resort to conjecture for a reading. For example:

- iv. 10. a, b. ταῦτα εἰπὼν Βαρούχ, ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, κλαίων καὶ λέγων, "Οτι διὰ σὲ, 'Ιερουσαλήμ, ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ σοῦ.
- c. ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐξῆλθεν κλαίων καὶ λέγων, "Οτι λοιποῦ διὰ σὲ, γ Γερουσαλήμ· καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

aeth. Und nachdem er dieses geredet hat, ging er weinend hinaus.

Here the Ethiopic has cut the knot of a difficult passage by the simple process of omission of a clause and a, b by the omission

¹ The superiority of the Ethiopic text is affirmed also by König (Stud. a. Krit. 1877, p. 319): "In der That hat mir eine durchgängige Vergleichung beider Texte gezeigt, dass beide weit von einander abweichen, ja dass der äthiopische dem Originale der Schrift näher als der bis jetzt veröffentlichte griechische Text steht."

of a word: we may suggest the reading " $O\tau\iota$ $\lambda \nu \pi o \dot{\nu} \mu \epsilon \nu o \varsigma$ $\delta\iota \dot{\alpha} \sigma \dot{\epsilon}$, Tepovoa $\lambda \dot{\eta} \mu$, $\dot{\epsilon} \xi \ddot{\eta} \lambda \theta o \nu \ \dot{\alpha} \pi \dot{\sigma}$ $\sigma o \dot{\nu}$. This furnishes the necessary material for the explanation of the variants.

vi. 16. α, b. `Αποστείλας δὲ εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἤνεγκεν χάρτην καὶ μέλανα καὶ ἔγρα√εν ἐπιστολήν.

c. ὁ δὲ Βαροὺχ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν ἀγωρὰν (sic!) τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἤνεγκεν χάρτην καὶ μέλαν καὶ ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολήν.

aeth. Und Baruch geleitete ihn bis zur Strasse und holte Papier und Tinte und schrieb.

The Ethiopic text shows that $\delta \iota a \sigma \pi o \rho \hat{a}$ is a corruption: for it gives Strasse which is equivalent in Eastern language to ayopá: (e.g. Sak in Arabic is either street or market; and this interchangeability of the two words has given rise to variant and conflate readings in the New Testament in Mark vi. 56 èv raîs αγοραίς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις:) so that we may safely read αγορά: but αγορά των έθνων is more difficult: yet the των έθνων cannot be omitted since it is found in c as well as in a, b. Let us see, then, whether there are any considerations that will throw light on this difficult reading. Is there any market that might be called the Gentiles' market; or any street that might bear the name of the Gentiles' street? This question brings before us some very interesting matter. We may establish the following points: (a) that there was a famous fair held annually at Abraham's oak near Hebron; (β) that this was especially a fair of the Gentiles; (y) that this fair is closely connected in history with the Jewish war under Hadrian; and (δ) that the introduction of the city Hebron, and the terebinth of Abraham, into the story was suggested to the writer by the earlier Baruch whom he so largely draws upon in other details. And first, with regard to the fair: Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History devotes a chapter to the account of the religious disorders that prevailed at this fair, and to the suppression by Constantine of the forms of idolatry that had associated themselves with it. At this Terebinth, says he, there assemble annually the inhabitants of the country and the remoter parts of Palestine, and the Phænicians and the Arabians, during the summer season to keep a feast, and very many resort thither for the sake of trade, both buyers and sellers. The feast is diligently frequented by all nations, by the Jews because they boast of their descent from Abraham; by the Greeks because angels there appeared to men, and by Christians. On this famous spot Constantine ordered the erection of a Christian Church.

This concourse of the Gentiles at the Terebinth-fair appears also from the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, who says that the oak and sepulchre of Abraham are an object of religious veneration $\pi\rho\delta s$ $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\dot{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$, where Reland long ago saw—that we must correct $\dot{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$ into $\dot{\epsilon}\theta\nu\hat{\omega}\nu$, as Lagarde has done in his edition of the *Onomasticon*.

Sozomen, indeed, speaks of the Jews as frequenting the fair, but there is evidence to set against this statement, according to Jerome', who says that "exsecrabile fuisse Judacis mercatum celeberrimum visere." We may, therefore, call this annual gathering a market of the Gentiles, in agreement with our text of Baruch.

The reason of the detestation which the Jews felt for this fair will be found according to Jerome in the consideration of the connexion between the fair and the Hadrian War. Many thousands of men had been sold at this market, after the capture of Bether, the last stronghold of the Jews, some of them at miserable rates, such as the price of a horse's feed of corn. Thus Jerome says, "quod ultima captivitate sub Hadriano, quando et urbs Jerusalem subversa est, innumerabilis populus diversae actatis et utriusque sexus in mercato Terebinthi venumdatus sit. Et ideirco exsecrabile etc.," and again in his Commentary on Zechariah⁸, "legamus veteres historias et traditiones plangentium Judaeorum, quod in tabernaculo Abrahae, ubi nunc per annos singulos mercatus celeberrimus exercetur, post ultimam eversionem quem sustinuerant ab Hadriano multa hominum millia venumdata sint et quae vendi non potuerint translata in Aegyptum." It is clear, therefore, that the market, however famous, and widely attended, could never have been popular with the Jews. It has even becam questioned whether in the time subsequent to the war, they were not disqualified by edict from

¹ Sozomen H. E. ii. 4, ένταθθα δὲ λαμπρὰν εἰσέτι νῦν ἐτήσιον πανήγυριν ἄγουσιν ἄρα θέρους οὶ ἐπιχωρίοι, καὶ οὶ προσωτέρω Παλαιστινοί, καὶ Φοίνικες καὶ ᾿Αρράβιοι. Συνίασι δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἐμπορείας ἔνεκα, πωλήσοντες καὶ ἀγοράσοντες.

² Reland, Palestina pp. 711 sqq. sub voce Chebron.

³ Ἡ δρῦς ᾿Αβραὰμ καὶ τὸ μνῆμα αὐτοθὶ θεωρεῖται καὶ θρησκεύεται ἐπιφανῶς πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν. Cf. Jerome, De situ et nominibus, sub voce Arboc, A cunctis in circuitu gentibus terebinthi locus superstitiose colitur.

⁴ Jerome, Comm. in Jer. xxxi. 15.

⁵ Jerome, Comm. in Zach. xi. 4, 5.

coming as near to Jerusalem as Hebron; some persons maintain that they were absolutely exiled from the soil of Palestine; but in any case we can see clearly that the market was a foreigners' market, and that it was closely connected historically with Hadrian's victories. Indeed it is quite possible that Hadrian established the fair. Something of the kind seems to be implied in the statement of the Paschal Chronicle, which under the date 119 A.D. (!) reports as follows: Ἡλθεν Αδριανός εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ελαβεν τους Ιουδαίους αιχμαλώτους, καὶ ἀπελθών είς την λεγομένην Τερέβινθον προέστησεν πανήγυριν και πέπρακεν αὐτους εἰς ταγήν ἵππου ἔκαστον, καὶ τους ὑπολειφθέντας ἔλαβεν είς Γάζαν καὶ έκει έστησεν πανήγυριν καὶ έπώλησεν αὐτούς. καὶ έως του νυν ή πανήγυρις έκείνη λέγεται 'Λδριανή.

THE REST OF THE WORDS

There is here some confusion of dates, and it is also a question whether Hadrian visited Palestine himself or whether he merely established the fairs at the Terebinth and at Gaza by military authority; there is, however, reason for believing that the time of Hadrian is the time to which we must refer the establishment of these annual gatherings.

It appears then that we may put in a good claim for the identification of the Gentiles' market, and for the justification of the difficult reading of our best manuscript.

Nor need we be at all surprised at the allusion to Hebron in the story: for in the Apocalypse of Baruch, which our writer follows, we find the very same thing. Baruch goes to Hebron in search of a theophany or at least of an angelophany. It is the proper place to look for heavenly visitants1. Our Ethiopic Version, if we could accept its reading, would make the Christian Baruch

¹ The parallelism between the two writers may be seen by placing the passages side by side:

Apocal. Bar.

Bar. Christ.

xxi. 1. Et abii inde et sedi in Valle Cedron in caverna terrae.

xlvii. Et eum exissem ac dimisissem cos, abii inde et dixi eis; Ecce ego vado usque ad Hebron: illuc enim misit me Fortie.

lxxvii. 18. Et fuit prima et vigesima mense octavo veni ego Baruch et sedi subtus quercum in umbra ramorum (? is this the Terebinth)...et scripsi has duas epistolas.

ίν. 11. και έμεινεν έν μνημείω καθεζό-

νί. 16. δ δέ Βαρούχ αποστείλας είς την άγοραν των έθνων ήνεγκε χάρτην και μέλανα και έγραψεν ἐπιστολήν.

also go to Hebron, as the proper place to finish the interview with the angel. This would bring the two Apocalypses into even closer relation: but we need not assume this. If our supposition be correct that the book belongs to the close of the Hadrian War, it is certain that the thoughts of the writer must have turned to the market where the Jews were sold into slavery; and conversely, if we have properly identified the Gentiles' market, the argument is in favour of referring the book to the time of Hadrian as the most likely period for an allusion to the Terebinth.

These instances, then, will perhaps suffice to show the nature of the text with which we are dealing. It need scarcely be remarked that a host of insignificant itacisms and cases of corrupt transcription have been neglected. The chapters and verses are taken from the text of Ceriani.

Note on the Geography of Ezra and Baruch.

As we study the parallels between this pair of Apocalypses, or between any pair of the triad, 4 Ezra, Apocal, Baruch, Bar. Christ., we derive great advantage for the interpretation of the three texts. It is a great gain, for instance, to see how much, in each case, depends on a proper knowledge of the suburbs of Jerusalem and the country between that city and Hebron. We will take the matter a little further and try to apply our results to a problem that has been hitherto unsolved. Let us ask ourselves the question whether it is possible to identify the field of Arphad or Ardath mentioned in the 4th book of Ezra as the locality of one of the visions of that Apocalypse. The passage runs "ibis in campum florum ubi domus non est aedificata, et manduces solummodo de floribus campi.....et profectus sum, sicut dixit mihi, in campum qui vocatur Arphad et sedi ibi in floribus" (iv. Esd. ix. 24-26). The MSS. are, as might be expected, in the greatest confusion over this Ardath: the Latin texts reading Ardath. Ardat, Ardoch, or Ardack which are evidently modifications of a primitive Ardat, or Ardath; the Arabic reads Araat, the Armenian Ardab; while the Syriac and Ethiopic agree in reading Arphad, and the weight of their combined testimony is so great that it is the accepted reading in Fritzsche's text. On the other hand the Arabic reading is very close, when written in uncial Greek, to the Latin reading; nor is the Armenian very far

from it. The question being insoluble from the MSS alone, we turn to the known relations between the group of Apocalypses mentioned above: the first thought that suggests itself is that perhaps the field in question may be the field of Agrippa mentioned in Christian Baruch. The two names are not so remote as to render identification impossible, and if we imagine the γ to drop out we can come very near to the Arphad of the Syriae version. But perhaps this assumption is a little too difficult, and so we will try another and easier one.

Observing the fact that Hebron is mentioned in Apocal. Baruch as one of the seats of prophetic inspiration, and that Hebron is also implied in the Christian Baruch, we ask ourselves whether it is mentioned in 4 Ezra. Now if we turn to the Apocalypse of Baruch, we find that the vision at Hebron is preceded by a seven days' fast, and that before the prophet begins his fast or sets out for Hebron he bids farewell to the people and their elders who are extremely unwilling that he should depart from amongst them. The parallel to this passage in 4 Ezra is in c. xii. v. 40—51; as we may see from the following:

Apocal, Bar.

c. xlvi. Et responderunt filius meus et seniores populi et dixerunt mihi: Usque ad istiusmodi humiliavit nos Fortis, ut recipiat te a nobis cito et vere crimus in tenebris, &c. &c.

c. xlvii. Et eum exissem ac dimisissem cos abii inde et dixi eis; Ecce ego vado usque ad Hebron...et veni ad eum locum ubi sermo factus fuerat ad me et sedi ibi et ieiunavi septem diebus, et factum est post dies septem...

4 Esdras.

- c. xii. 40. Et factum est cum audisset omnis populus quoniam pertransierunt septem dies et ego non fuissem reversus in civitatem et congregant se omnis a minimo usque ad maximum et venit ad me et dixerunt mini diceutes,
- 41. Quid peccavimus tibiet quid iniuste egimus in te...tu enim nobis superasti... sient lucerna in loco obscuro.
- 50. Et profectus est populus sient dixi ei in civitatem: ego auten sedi in campo septem diebus sieut mihi mandavit et manducavi de floribus, &c. Et factum est post dies septem....

We suspect, then, that the place of the fifth vision of Ezra (the vision of the great Eagle) may be taken to be Hebron; but a glance at the text will shew that the scene is the same as in the fourth vision (the vision of the Sorrowing Woman): and this scene is the field of Arphad, or Ardath, or whatever may be its right name. It seems, therefore, that Hebron as a place for visions turns up in all three Apocalypses, and that Ardath is in

its neighbourhood. With some likelihood we may say further that the oak of Abraham as a place for celestial communications turns up in all three writings: in the Christian Baruch by implication in the allusion to the Gentiles' market or fair at the Terebinth; and in the Apocalypse of Baruch the oak is suggested in the parallel passage to this, quoted in a previous note (Apocal. Bar. c. lxxvii. 18)¹. But it is also in Ezra, for we find in c. xiii. 57, "Et profectus sum et transii in campum (sc. Ardath)...et sedi ibi tribus diebus. (c. xiv.) Et factum est tertio die, et ego sedebam sub quercu (sc. Terebintho)."

Now observe further that the place of vision is described in Ezra as "campum...ubi domus non est aedificata," and compare the description which Sozomen gives of the sacred oak and its surroundings. "The place is open and cultivated ground, nor are there any buildings except the well and the ancient Abrahamic buildings around the oak " (αἴθριος γάρ καὶ ἀρόσιμός ἐστιν ό χώρος και οὐκ ἔχων οἰκήματα ἡ μόνα τὰ περὶ τὴν δρῦν πάλαι τοῦ ᾿Αβραὰμ γενόμενα καὶ τὸ φρέαρ τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθέν). At first sight the parallelism of these two passages seems a little artificial; but this objection disappears as soon as we observe that in either case the absence of buildings is a corollary from the sanctity of the place. It had been rendered holy by the Theophany which had occurred there. Each of our three Apocalyptists is occupied with the subject of the Upper Jerusalem, and examination shews that it was believed that Abraham had seen this Heavenly City at Mamre. Let us then compare what Ezra and Apocalyptic Baruch say on this point:

Bar, Apocal.

iv. 8. "Ostendi eam (sc. Jerusalem) Adamo priusquam peccaret; cum vero abjecit mandatum, sublata est ab eo, ut etiam paradisus. Et postea ostendi eam servo meo Abrahamo noctu inter divisiones victimarum."

4 Esdras.

x. 50. Ostendit tibi Altissimus claritatem gloriac eius (sc. Jerusalem) et pulchritudinem decoris cius. Proptorea enim dixi tibi ut venires in agrum ubi non est fundamentum aedificii; nec enim poterat opus aedificii hominis sustinere in loco ubi incipiebat Altissimi civitas ostendi.

The place of Ezra's vision is the same as that of Abraham.

We have thus proved that the scene of the 14th chapter of Ezra is geographically identified with the neighbourhood of Abraham's oak; if any doubt remained on our mind as to the correctness of

the investigation, it might be dispelled by the following further consideration: when Ezra is sitting under the oak, a voice comes to him out of the bush saying, Ezra, Ezra; and the speaker goes on to say that it was in the burning bush that he appeared to Moses when the people was in bondage in Egypt. Now we may very well ask, What is the reason for this abrupt allusion to the burning bush; how came the author's mind to travel that way? The answer is that the Terebinth of Mamre was supposed to have the same virtue of non-inflammability as the bush in Mount Sinai. The evidence for this will be found in Reland, Palesting, under the heading Chebron, and is as follows:

Ps. Eustathius, writing a commentary on the Hexaemeron, says (Migne, Patr. Gr. xviii. 778) that Joseph was buried in the same place as his ancestor Abraham, and that in this place is the Terebinth where Jacob hid the idols of Laban, and which is still reverenced by the people of the neighbouring countries.... And if this Terebinth be set on fire it is swallowed in flame and one would think it to have been consumed; but as soon as the fire is extinguished the Terebinth is seen to be unharmed. The same account is given by Georgius Syncellus in his Chronographia (ed. Niebuhr, Vol. 1. 202): and it appears that Syncellus and Eustathius are drawing from a common authority, since their language is similar, and they both make the mistake of confounding the oak at Shechem with the tree at Mamre. This common authority is named by Syncellus; it is the chronographer Julius Africanus, who must therefore be also responsible for the blunder'.

1 We give the passages side by side:

Ps. Eustathius.

ΈπΙ τέλει δέ και τον Ίωσήφ, της Αιγύπτου άποχωρήσαντες, κηδεύουσω ένθα ό προπάτωρ αὐτῶν Αβραάμ προκεκήδευτο: έν ψ τόπω υπήρχε και ή τερίβινθος, υφ ή Frankey TaxwB The (sic) Adday Ta elbuha, ήτις έτι και νύν είς τιμήν τών προγόνων ύπδ τών πλησιοχώρων θρησκεύεται έστι γάρ άγρι τοῦ δεθρο παρά του πρέμνου αὐτης βωμός, έφ' ον τά τε ολοκαιτώματα καί τὰς drathuffas avedepov. elval re daol paftoor αύτην ένδε των επιξενωθέντων άγγέλων τῷ Αβραάμ, ηνπερ τῷ τόπφ τότε παρών evedutence kal et airis à deidyactos aveφύη τερέβινθος. Υφαφθείσα γάρ όλη πῦρ

Georgius Syncellus.

' ΙΙ ποιμενική σκήνη τοῦ 'Ιακώβ έν 'Εδέση σωτομένη κατά τούς γρόνους Αντονίνου Poualor Buridens diecolapy kepairo us φησιν ο Αφρικανός, έως τῶν χρόνων αὐτοῦ 'Αυτωνίνου Ιστόρησας. 'Ιακώβ άπαρεσθείς τοις ύπο Σιμεών και Λευί πραγθείσιν έν Σικίμοις διά την της άδελφης φθοράν εls τούς επιχωρίους, θάψας έν Σικίμοις οθς έφέρετο θεούς παρά την πέτραν ύπο την θαυμάσιαν τερέβινθον ήτις μέχρι νθν els τιμήν πατριαρχών ύπο τών πλησιοχώρων τιμάται, μετήρεν els Βαιθήλ· ταύτης παρά πρέμνον βωμός ήν, ώς φασιν ό Αφρικανός, The TEDEBLUBOU. ¿d' by Tas extends duépepou

We have thus a perfect explanation of the allusion made by Ezra to the burning bush. There was a tradition that the Terebinth was incombustible. It appears, therefore, that we ought to identify the field of Esdras' vision with the neighbourhood of Hebron and the sacred oak. This suggests that we should read Arbaa1 as the name of the field (the ancient name of Hebron being Kiriath-Arba). Writing this in uncial characters, the word easily becomes appead, from which the Ardab of the Armenian is a mere transposition, and Arphad of the Syriac a slight change of two closely related letters. The other variants readily explain themselves in a similar manner.

The Ezra-Baruch legends in the Koran.

We have in the preceding section traced the process of corruption by which the manuscripts of the fourth book of Ezra have disguised the writer's geography almost beyond identification. We will now add something further to the subject, though only in a tentative manner, by trying to demonstrate that traces of our group of Apocalypses or at least of some of them are to be found in the Koran and in Commentaries on the Koran.

The second chapter of the Koran entitled 'the Cow' contains near the close a curious passage which Sale renders as follows: "Hast thou not considered how he behaved himself who passed by a city which had been destroyed even to her foundations? He said, How shall God quicken this city after she hath been dead? And God caused him to die for an hundred years and afterwards raised him to life. And God said, How long hast thou tarried here? He answered, A day or a part of a day. God said, Nay thou hast tarried here an hundred years. Now look on thy food and drink, they are not yet corrupted; and look on thine ass: and this have we done that we might make thee a sign unto them." And Sale remarks that it is the opinion of the Arabic commentators

γίνεται και νομίζεται τοῦς πάσιν είς κόνιν έκ έν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τῆς χώρας ένοικοι. ἡ δ' της φλογός άναλύεσθαι, καίτοι σβεσθείσα μέντοι ασινής όλη και ακέραιος δείκνυται.

ού κατεκαίετο δοκούσα πίπρασθαι, παρά ταύτην ὁ τάφος 'Αβραάμ και 'Ισαάκ, φασί δέ τινες βάβδον είναι τινος των επιξενωθέντων άγ-έλων τω 'Αβραάμ φυτευθείσαν αὐτόθι.

¹ The LXX give uniformly Arboo, which Jerome corrects to Arbee: "corrupte in nostris codicibus Arboc scribitur cum in Hebraeis legatur Arbee "

that the person spoken of here is Ozair or Ezra. He gives some further expansion of the legends, which it is quite likely that he took from Maracci. At all events there is in this author's Prodromus ad Refutationem Alcorani Pt. iv. 85 a good note on the subject, as follows: "Convenient omnes, quos videre potui, Alcoranum hic loqui de Ozair, id est Ezra, qui transiens iuxta civitatem Jerusalem iam a Chaldaeis destructam, insidens asino cum canistro ficorum et cyatho pleno musto, coepit ambigere, quomodo posset Deus illam urbem restituere, et habitatores eius in ea exstinctos suscitare. Deus autem mori fecit eum, mansitque mortuus per centum annos; post quos suscitatus a Deo, vidit ficus et musti eyathum adhuc integros et incorruptos; asinum vero extinctum et in ossa redactum; ad quae respiciens Ezra iussu Dei vidit illa elevari, atque inter se compacta carne vestiri, et ficri asinum, in quem cum Deus spiritum immisisset statim coepit rudere." D'Herbelot in his Bibliothèque Orientale, under the heading Ozair, gives the same traditions more at length: "Les interprètes de l'Alcoran disent sur ce passage que l'homme dont il est parlé ici est Ozair ou Esdras lequel ayant été mené in captivité par Bakht-al-Nassar ou Nabuchodonosor à Babylone, et delivré ensuite miraculeusement de sa prison, se transporte à Jerusalem, qui étoit pour lors ruinée, et s'arrêta à un village, fort proche de cette ville, nommé Sair abad, maison de promenade, et Deir anab, lieu de vignoble, une vigne dans la signification que les Italiens donnent à ce mot. Ce lieu qui n'étoit couvert que de mazures, avoit cependant dans son terroir des Figuiers et des Vignes chargez de fruits. Esdras en prit pour sa provision et alla se loger auprès de quelque pan de muraille qui restoit encore sur pied. Ce fut là qu'il établit un hermitage où il vivoit des fruits qu'il avoit cueillis et tenoit un asne que luy avait servi de monture pendant son voyage, attaché auprès de luy. Ce saint homme en considerant de ce lieu là les ruines de la ville Sainte pleuroit amèrement devant le Seigneur et disoit souvent en luy même, plûtost en admirant la puissance de Dieu, qu'en murmurant contre elle: 'Comment les ruines de Jerusalem, pourroient-elles jamais se relever.' Mais il n'efit pas plûtost concu cette pensée que Dieu le fit mourir sur le champ et le tint caché aux yeux de hommes avec tout ce qu'il avoit autour de lui, l'espace, d'un siècle entier, au même état qu'il se trouvoit pour lors. Cependant, soixante et dix ans après la mort de Nabuchodonosor, Dieu suscita Noschek Roy de Perse, qui ordonna

le rétablissement de la Ville et du Temple de Jerusalem, et trente ans après les ordres de ce Roy ayant été executez Dieu resuscita Esdras en un tel état qu'il luy parut n'avoir dormi que pendant un jour, mais ayant ouvert les yeux, il connut bientôt, que Dieu avoit operé un grand miracle en sa personne, et s'écria aussitôt, Dieu certainement est tout puissant; car, il peut faire tout ce qu'il luy plait."

Upon the passage which we have quoted from the Koran, Maracci endeavours to shew that the legend, though it contains more figments than words, agrees better with the history of Nehemiah than Ezra; the cup of wine being a reminiscence of the office which Nehemiah held at the Persian court, and the ass a reflection of the beast on which he made the circuit of the ruined city. But he asks in despair "Whence the death of Nehemiah and his ass: and their resurrection after the lapse of a century: and whence this story of the marvellous conservation of wine and figs? Some persons say that it is not Ezra, nor Nehemiah, but a certain Alchedrum." The story certainly is a queer confusion of legends; it must be evident that we have many single gentlemen rolled into one, and that the principal one amongst them is our friend Abimelech the Ethiopian, whose basket of figs furnishes the explanation which Maracci searched the Scriptures for in vain.

The mythical Alchedrum is therefore Abimelech: and the sentence in which God directs the supposed Ezra to look on his marvellously conserved food and drink has its origin in the passage where the old man tells Abimelech to look into the basket and see that the figs have no evil smell though they were gathered 66 years ago. We may, if we please, refer the story of the ass and the wine-cup to Nehemiah, but as we have here a practically certain origin for the Mohammedan legends, it is best to exhaust this source before seeking a second, and we find that the story of the sleep of Abimelech is the origin of the one hundred years' death-sleep of the Ezra of the Koran. And indeed although the Koran gives the time as 100 years, the legends quoted by D'Herbelot shew traces of a knowledge of the number 70 as given in corrected copies of the Christian Baruch. Why else should it have been said that the 100 years was made up of 70 years from the death of Nebuchadnezzar together with 30 years to the time of Noschek, king of Persia?

Further, the passage in the Koran is used to prove the resurrection of the dead by the resurrection of the city. And it is to be noticed that Abimelech when he sees that the figs exude still their milky juice, breaks into an exultant apostrophe to his flesh which God is able to revive.

The writer, too, who made his Ezra sleep 100 years and think it to be a day or part of a day, is in exact consonance with Abimelech who thinks he has slept a very little and would in fact like to sleep a little more.

But, as we have said, the legends collected in D'Herbelot are not totally explained by the introduction of our Abimelech. It looks as if the fourth book of Ezra were here, if not some biblical allusion also to Nehemiah. The account which he gives of Ezra finding a hermitage in a desolate spot not far from the city, is marvellously like the story of the sojourn in the Field of Arphad; his diet of figs may be only a correction for the flowers which Ezra is directed to live on. And even the allusion to the ruins which covered the ground may be an adaptation of Ezra's note that the spot was clear of buildings. We will even go so far as to suspect that the field of Arbaa (Arbad) underlies the perplexing names which D'Herbelot quotes for the place of Ezra's hermitage.

It seems, therefore, to sum up, that there is good reason to believe that Mohammed was acquainted with the Christian Baruch, and that the Commentators who explained his allusion were acquainted also with the fourth book of Ezra. In view of the uncertainty which prevails with regard to the literary sources of Mohammedanism especially on the Christian side, it may be not wholly useless to have given some confirmation of the theory of Ceriani, that the second chapter of the Koran draws on the story contained in the last words of Baruch.

The Christian Baruch, 4 Ezra, and Barnabas.

An interesting question arises in one passage of our author as to the possibility of a reference to the epistle of Barnabas, and the subject is important enough in view of the uncertainty of the date of that epistle; so that it seems hardly fair to dismiss the matter in the compass of a foot-note.

In c. ix. 15, we find a prediction that the tree of life which is planted in the midst of Paradise will come into the world, and that this tree will cause the fruitless trees to become fruitful, and the boastful trees to wither; and the tree which is established will make them to bend. So at least we have edited, deserting the reading of our MSS.: which give the sense will make them to be judged. The difference between the two readings is only a single letter. Our best MS. has failed here, and the text of the Ethiopic version is so confused, that it is almost unintelligible. That our emendation, however, is substantially correct may be seen from the following passage quoted in Gregory of Nyssa amongst a number of Testimonics against the Jews.

Καὶ τότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται, λέγει Κύριος, ὅταν ξύλον ξύλων (l. ξύλω) κλιθῆ καὶ ἀναστῆ καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἰμα στάξει (l. στάξη). The two corrections which we have given in brackets, obvious enough of themselves, are given by Ceriani from an Ambrosian Ms.*

Now this bending of tree to tree is exactly what is spoken of in our author, when he intimates that the tree of life will make all the other trees to bow before it. So that our correction of the text is justified, as we shall see more clearly as we proceed.

Two questions then arise, first as to the origin of the quotation which Nyssen makes: second as to the meaning of the similar matter in the text of our author. We will take these points in order. The passage is very like one in the twelfth chapter of Barnabas, which runs as follows: Ομοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὁρίζει ἐν ἄλλφ προφήτη λέγοντι· Καὶ πότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται; λέγει Κύριος· ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῆ καὶ ἀναστῆ καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλον αἰμα στάξη.

We may regard it as almost certain that Gregory Nyssen is quoting from Barnabas; the differences being so slight that we can at once allow for them by the ordinary processes of transcription. We have only to imagine the text of Barnabas to have dropped $\xi \dot{\nu} \lambda \varphi$ after $\xi \dot{\nu} \lambda \varphi$ and all is clear. But this brings

¹ Zacagni, Collectanea Monumenta, p. 309; Ceriani, Mon. Sac. v. i. 108.

² Cod, C, 135, Inf.

Barnabas into very close relation with the language of the Christian Baruch.

We must not, however, assume any direct quotation between them, inasmuch as the passage in Barnabas is distinctly given as a quotation from one of the prophets. Nor should we have much difficulty in identifying this prophet with the Apocalyptic Ezra, because a great part of the quotation can at once be found in his text, and because the Christian Baruch, who exhibits parallel language to that part of Barnabas' quotation which cannot be found in the text of Ezra as edited, has been shewn to have internal relations with the fourth book of Ezra. We will place the passages side by side for the sake of comparison:

Gregory Nyss., and Barnabas (xii. 1).
Καὶ πότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται; λέγει
Κύριος: "Όταν ξύλον
κλιθῷ καὶ ἀναστῷ καὶ
ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἰμα
στάξη.

Christian	Baruch	(ix.	15,
	16).		

Γίνεται δέ μετά τους καιρούς τούτους, και έρχεται είς την γήν τό δένδρον της ζωής τό έν μέσφ τοῦ παραδείσου φυτευθέν,

καί τὰ βεβλαστηκότα καὶ μεγαλαυχοῦντα... ποιήσει κλιθῆναι τὸ δένδρον τὸ στηριχθέν....

τὰ γλυκέα δδατα άλμυρὰ γενήσονται. 4 Ezra iv. 33, v. 5, 9.

Et respondi et dixi, Quomodo et quando hace?.....

et de ligno sanguis stillabit, et lapis dabit vocem suam

et in dulcibus aquis salsae invenientur.

We must then, I think, conclude that the Recension of 4 Ezra which Barnabas and the Christian Baruch used contained a chause answering to $\delta\tau a\nu \; \xi \dot{\nu}\lambda o\nu \; \xi \dot{\nu}\lambda \phi \; \kappa \lambda \iota \theta \hat{\eta}$. This is, I think, the very conclusion arrived at by Le Hir in his discussion of the fourth book of Ezra'. Le Hir, however, goes further and very ingeniously seeks the origin of the whole Ezra passage in the prophet Habakkuk, where the stone cries from the wall that is builded by deceit and the cross-beam answers back to it, and where woe is denounced on those who build houses by blood. The conjunction of stone, tree and blood is suggestive even in a translation, especially when it is a talking stone, too, as in 4 Ezra and in the later Baruch. But M. Le Hir goes so far as to restore the whole passage of Habakkuk into close textual agreement with Barnabas and Ezra, as the following will shew:

Habakkuk ii, 11.

יעננה: הוי בנה עיר ברמים וכונן... Suggested corruption of Le Hir,

כפים מעץ יענה ויעיר: בדם ימוך

Now without endorsing the whole of the suggestions of this reading, we may say that the first one, which turns on the equivalence of the two Hebrew roots which mean respectively to answer and to bend, is so striking that we may be pretty sure we have tracked the quotations to their source; and we may add to this, what I do not think Le Hir noted, that the words which precede in Habakkuk "the stone shall cry out of the wall," answer exactly to "the stone shall give its voice" of Ezra, and, in fact, furnish the momentum for the misunderstandings which culminate in the personification of the dying Jeremiah by a stone. We may therefore follow with confidence the greater part of Le Hir's reasoning.

And, bearing in mind that the Hebrew text of the passage in Habakkuk is perfectly satisfactory, and needs neither textual correction nor any subtleties of interpretation, we may say that in a certain circle, probably Jerusalem, there prevailed a flagrant corruption or mistranslation of the passage: that this corruption became the basis of exegetical subtleties on the part of Apocryphal writers, both Jews and Christians: the former, probably, explained the 'blood that drops from wood' of the martyrdom of Isaiah: while the latter, who never missed the chance of seeing the 'cross' in any reference to 'beams,' 'trees,' 'rods' or 'timber,' were able to find a prophetic testimony to the central object of their faith in the fact that 'wood should bend to wood,' or that 'blood should trickle' therefrom.

And this brings us to the second point; viz. the meaning which our Christian Baruch attached to the words which he has absorbed. He is preaching the triumph of the Cross; this may be regarded to be as certain as if he had followed Barnabas' example and prefixed a paragraph saying that the prophet is here speaking of the Cross. But it is not quite so clear whether he is speaking of the assumption of the Cross, which is of course the Tree of Life, into Paradise and its adoration by the rest of the trees of the garden, or of the descent of the Tree from Paradise and its adoration by the rest of the trees of the world. The former opinion derives some weight from the fact that some of the early Christians believed the Cross

¹ Études Bibliques, p. 198.

had been caught up into Paradise, a natural belief when we consider that they had so persistently taught that it was the Tree which had been planted in the midst of the garden.

But the latter opinion agrees better with the statement of the writer that the tree is coming to the earth and that the fruitless trees (i.e. the Gentiles) will under its influence bear fruit, while those that have sprouted and are high-minded (i.e. the extreme section of the Jews) will have to bow before it.

ΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ.

Ι. Έγενετο, ηνίκα ηχμαλωτεύθησαν οι υίοι Ίσραηλ άπο 1 τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Χαλδαίων, ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Τερεμίαι. Ίερεμία, ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, ἀνάστα, ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, σύ και Βαρούχ: ἐπειδή ἀπολώ αὐτήν διὰ τὸ πλήθος των άμαρτιων των κατοικούντων έν αὐτή. Λί γηρ προσευχαί 2 ύμων ώς στύλος έδραϊός έστιν έν μέσφ αὐτης, καὶ ώς τεῖχος αδαμάντινον περικυκλούν αυτήν. Νύν αναστάντες εξέλθατε 3 πρό του την δύναμιν των Χαλδαίων κυκλώσαι αὐτήν. Καὶ 4 απεκρίθη Ίερεμίας, λέγων Παρακαλώ σε, Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι τῷ δούλφ σου λαλησαι ἐνώπιόν σου. Εἰπεν δὲ αὐτῶ ό Κύριος Λάλει, ό εκλεκτός μου Ίερεμίας. Καὶ ελάλησεν 5 Ίερεμίας, λέγων Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, παραδίδως την πόλιν την εκλεκτην είς χείρας των Χαλδαίων, ίνα καυχήσηται δ βασιλεύς μετά του πλήθους του λαού αὐτου, καὶ εἴπη ὅτι, Ίσχυσα έπι την ιεράν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ; Μή, Κύριέ μου άλλ' 6 εί θέλημά σού έστιν, έκ των γειρών σου άφανισθήτω. Καὶ 7 είπε Κύριος τώ Ἱερεμία Ἐπειδή σθ έκλεκτός μου εί, ανάστα καὶ ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, σὰ καὶ Βαρούχ: ἐπειδή απολώ αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ πλήθος τών άμαρτιών τών κατοικούντων

Title, with abc; aeth, The rest of the words of Baruch.

Ι. 1 ηνικα ab; οτε c | οι; c οm | απο ab; υπο c | Ιερεμιαν cum c aeth; ab add τον προφητην λεγων | Ιερ...Βαρουχ ab, aeth; αναστηθη και συ και Βαρουχ c | απολω c; απολλω ab | αυτην ab aeth; την πολιν ταυτην c | κατοικουντων ab; ενοικουντων c | υ. 2 εστιν; c οm | περικυκλουν a; περικυκλων b; περι τα τείχη αυτης c (not aeth) | υ. 3 νυν αναστ. εξελθατε ab (α εξελθετε); νυν ουν c, inserting ανασταντες εξελθατε at the end of the verse | προ του κτέ following the Menaea and de; but abe προ του ή δυναμις των χαλδαίων κυκλωσει (κυκλωση a) αυτην | υ. 4 απεκριθη ab; ελαλησεν c | επιτρεψον μοι ab; κελευσον με c | τω δουλω σου ab aeth; c om | ενωπιον σου ab; λογον εναντιον σου c | αυτω c aeth; ab om | v. b ελαλησεν ab; είνει c | λεγων ab; οπ c | παραδίδως a; παραδίδης b; παραδίδοις c | πολιν; a eth a add ταυτην | μετα...αυτου ab aeth; c om | v. b σου (b); b σον | σου (b); c om | v. b c0 | c1 | c2 | εκ...ταιτης a2 | c3 | c4 | c5 | c6 | c8 | c8 | c9 |

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8 έν αὐτή. Οὔτε γάρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὔτε ή δύναμις αὐτοῦ, δυνήσεται είσελθειν είς αὐτην, εί μη ένω πρώτος ανοίξω τας πύλας 9 αυτής. 'Ανάστηθι ούν, καὶ ἀπελθε πρὸς Βαρούν, καὶ ἀπάγγειλον 10 αὐτῷ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα. Καὶ ἀναστάντες ἔκτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτός, έλθετε έπὶ τὰ τείγη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δείξω ύμιν, ὅτι, έαν μη έγω πρώτος αφανίσω την πόλιν, ου δύιανται είσελθείν 11 είς αὐτήν. Ταῦτα εἰπών ὁ Κύριος, ἀπηλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱερεμίου.

ΙΙ. Ίερεμίας δε διέρρηξεν τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν γούν έπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ άγιαστήριον 2 τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ίδων αὐτὸν ὁ Βαρούν γοῦν πεπασμένον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἰμίτια αὐτοῦ διερρωγότα, ἔκραξε φωνή μεγάλη, λέγων Πάτερ Ίερεμία, τί έστι σοι, ή ποιον αμάρτημα 3 εποίησεν ο λαός; Επειδή όταν ήμαρτώνει ο λαός, χοῦν επασσεν έπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἱερεμίας, καὶ ηὕχετο ὑπέρ τοῦ λαοῦ, 4 έως αν άφεθη αὐτῷ ἡ άμαρτία. Ἡρώτησε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Βαρούχ, 5 λέγων Πάτερ, τί έστι σοι : Είπε δὲ αὐτῷ Ίερεμίας Φύλαξαι τοῦ σχίσαι τὰ ἰμάτιά σου, ἀλλὰ σχίσωμεν τὰς καρδίας ήμων καὶ μή αντλήσωμεν ύδωρ έπὶ τὰς ποτίστρας, άλλά κλαύσωμεν καὶ γεμίσωμεν αὐτὰς δακρύων ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐλεήση 6 τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ὁ Κύριος. Καὶ εἶπε Βαρούν Πάτερ Ἱερεμία, τί 7 γέγονε: Καὶ εἶπεν Ἱερεμίας ὅτι, Ὁ Θεὸς παραδίδωσι τὴν πόλιν είς γείρας τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Χαλδαίων, τοῦ αἰγμαλωτεῦσαι 8 του λαου είς Βαβυλώνα. 'Ακούσας δε ταῦτα Βαρούχ, διέρρηξε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπε Πάτερ Γερεμία, τίς σοι 9 εδήλωσε τοῦτο; Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἱερεμίας. Ἐκδεξαι μικρὸν

v. 8 εις ab; προς c | τας π. αυτης ab; αυτοις τας πυλας c | v. 10 δειξω ab; δικνυω c | εαν μη c; εαν μητι $ab \mid a\phi av$, την πολιν ab aeth; απολεσω αυτην $c \mid πολιν$; ab add και ανοιξω, not c, aeth | δινανται ah; δινησονται c | εις αιτην ah; εν αιτη c | υ. 11 απηλθεν ab; avexwpnoer c | Iep.; c adds eis tor ouror; not ab aeth.

II. 1 Ιερ...θεου (h)c neth; ah δραμων δε Ιερεμιας ανηγγείλε τω Βαρουχ ταυτα (b ταυτα τω Β.) και ελθοντες εις τον ναον του θεου; b adds διερρηξεν τα ιματία αυτου Ιερεμιας και επεθηκεν χουν επι την κεφαλην αυτου, και ηρξαντο αμφοτεροι κλεειν εν τω αγιαστηριω του θεου | v. 2 και ιδων ab; ειδων δε c | χουν; c om | αυτου (1^o); c add χουν | φωνη μεγαλη λεγων α; φωνην μεγαλην λεγ. b; c om | πατερ ab aeth; c om | τι εστιν ab aeth; απεστην c | εποιησεν ab aeth; ημαρτεν c | v. 3 ημαρτανεν ab aeth; ημαρτεν c | εως αν ab; οπως c | αυτω ab aeth; αυτοις c | αμαρτια; c add αυτη | v. \P ερωτησεν ab; επερωτησεν $c \mid a$ υτον ab; aυτω $c \mid o$; c om $\mid \pi a$ τερ $\tau \iota$ εσ $\tau \iota$ σοι c aeth; τι εστιν τοιτο ab | v. 5 τα ιματια σου; c om | aλλα (1°); ab add μαλλον (not c aeth) | και (1°); c om | ποτιστρας; h ποτιστριας | αλλα $\{2^c\}$; c add μαλλον | τον λαον τ. ο κ. ab; κυρ. τ. λ. τ. c | v. 6 πατερ Ιερ. ab neth; προς Ιερεμιαν c | v. 7 Ιερεμιας ab neth; c om | παραδιδωσει a; παραδιδει b; παραδω $c \mid την$ πολιν ab aeth; c add την εκλεκτην \mid του βασιλεως ab neth; c om | rov aix. ab; kai apovoi c | v. 8 ravra ab aeth; c om | kai avros ab (neth); c om | και ειπεν ab arth; λεγων c | εδηλωσε ab; απηγγειλεν c.

μετ' έμου έως ώρας έκτης της νυκτός, ίνα γνώς, ότι άληθές έστι τὸ ὁῆμα. "Εμειναν οὖν ἐν τῶ θυσιαστηρίω κλαίοντες.

ΙΙΙ. 'Ως δὲ ἐγένετο ἡ ώρα τῆς νυκτὸς, καθώς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος 1 τω Ίερεμία, ήλθον όμου έπι τὰ τείνη της πόλεως Ίερεμίας και Βαρούν. Καὶ ἐνένετο φωνή σάλπιννος, καὶ ἐξήλθον ἄγγελοι 2 έκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κατέγοντες λαμπάδας έν ταῖς γερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς 3 Ίερεμίας καὶ Βαρούγ, ἔκλαυσαν, λέγοντες. Νῦν ἐγνώκαμεν ὅτι αληθές έστι τὸ ρήμα. Παρεκάλεσε δὲ Ἱερεμίας τοὺς αγγέλους, 4 λέγων Παρακαλώ ύμας μη απολέσθαι την πόλιν άρτι, έως αν λαλήσω πρός Κύριον βήμα. Καὶ είπεν Κύριος τοῖς αγγέλοις Μη απολέσητε την πόλιν έως αν λαλήσω πρός του έκλεκτου μου Ίερεμίαν. Καὶ εἶπε Δέομαι, Κύριε, κέλευσόν με λαλησαι ένωπιών σου. Καλ είπε Κύριος Λάλει, ο εκλεκτός μου Τερεμίας, 5 Καὶ είπεν Ίερεμίας. Ίδου νῦν, Κύριε, εγνώκαμεν ὅτι παραδίδως 6 την πόλιν σου είς γείρας των έγθρων αυτής, και άπαρουσι τον λαὸν είς Βαβυλώνα. Τί ποιήσωμεν τὰ ἄγιά σου ή τὰ σκεύη τής 7 λειτουργίας σου, τί θέλεις αὐτὰ ποιήσωμεν: Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῶ ὁ 8 Κύριος: *Λρον αὐτὰ, καὶ παράδος αὐτὰ τῆ γῆ καὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίω λέγων, "Ακουε, γη, της φωνής του κτίσαντός σε έν τη περιουσία των ύδάτων, δ σφραγίσας σε εν έπτα σφραγίσιν, εν έπτα καιροίς, και μετά ταῦτα λήψη την ωραιότητά σου φύλαξον τά σκεύη της λειτουργίας έως της συνελεύσεως του ήγαπημένου. / ***

v. 9 το ρημα bc aeth; ab add τουτο | ουν c aeth; ab add αμφοτεροι | at the end αδ add και ησαν διερρωγοτα τα ιματια αυτών και η γη επι τας κεφαλας αυτών.

III. 1 ws ab: ore c | The purtos ab aeth: c om | lep. Kai Bap. ab; c aeth om | at end arth adds und setzen sich nieder indem sie warteten | v. 2 kan toov a : kan aeth : c om | eyeveto; c om | $\sigma a \lambda \pi_i \gamma \gamma o s$ c aeth; $\sigma a \lambda \pi_i \gamma \gamma \omega v$ ab | $\kappa a i$ (2°) ; c om | $a \gamma \gamma$.; c oi ayy. | kateroutes: c exoutes | ev t. y. autwo ab aeth; c om | eti ab; eis c | ths πολεως ab aeth; c om | v. 3 λεγοντες c aeth; και ειπαν ab | εγνωκαμεν ab; εγνωμεν c | υ. 4 πολιν: c adds ταυτην (not ab aeth) | προς κ. ρ. c aeth; μετα του θυ του υψιστου ab | και ειπ... Ιερεμιαν c aeth; ab om | και ειπε (2°); ab add κλαιων; c om | δεομαι... Ιερ. (v. 5) ab aeth; com | v. 6 Kupie; com | εγνωκαμέν ab; εγνωμέν c | παραδίδως a; παραδιδης b; παραδιδοις c | σου; c om | των εχθρων αυτης ab aeth; των Χαλδαιων c | απαρουσι; ν. 8 αυτω ο: c om | αρον ab aeth; αρατε c | παραδος ab aeth; παραδοτέ c | και τω θυσ. e aeth (dem Erdboden und dem Hause des Heiligtums); ab om | λεγων ab aeth: c om | ακ. γη; στι γη ακ. c | της φωνης ab (aeth); c om | εν τη π. ι. υδ. ab (aeth durch die Kraft der Gewilsser); c ο πλασας σε εν ουσια των κτισματων | ο σφρ. σε; e men του σφραγισαντος σε | εν επ. σφρ. ab aeth; c om | εν επ. κ. ab (c καιδροις); aeth om | κai ; c om | $\lambda \eta \psi \eta$ τ . $\omega \rho$, σov ab (aeth); $\lambda \eta \mu \psi \eta$ $\tau \eta \nu$ $o\delta ov$ $\tau \eta$ $\omega \rho ai o \tau \eta \tau \iota$ σov c! φυλαξον; c και φυλαξης | de men aeth εως της συνελευσεως τ. η; εως της συντελειας τ. η. ab; c εως ερωτησιν ποιηση $\overline{\kappa s}$ περι αυτων' οτι ημεις ουκ ευρεθημεν αξιοι φυλαξαι

111.]

v.]

9 Καὶ ἐλάλησε Ἱερεμίας Παρακαλῶ σε, Κύριε δεῖξόν μοι, τὶ ποιήσω ᾿Αβιμέλεχ τῷ Λἰθίοπι ὅτι πολλὰς εὐεργεσίας ἐποίησε τῷ
λαῷ καὶ τῷ δούλῳ σου Ἱερεμία ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀνέσπασέ με
ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ βορβόρου καὶ οὐ θέλω αὐτὸν, ἵνα ἴδη
τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα

10 μὴ λυπηθῆ. Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ: ᾿Απόστειλον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τοῦ ᾿Αγρίππα διὰ τοῦ ὅρους: καὶ ἐγω σκεπάσω αὐτὸν, ἔως οὖ ἐπιστρέψω τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

11 Εἶπε δὲ Κύριος τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ: ᾿Απελθε μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ σου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ μεῖνον μετ' αὐτῶν εὐαγγελιζόμενος αὐτοῖς, 12 ἔως οὖ ἐπιστρέψω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Κατάλειψον δὲ

13 τον Βαρούχ ώδε, έως ου λαλήσω αυτώ. Ταυτα είπων ό

14 Κύριος, ἀνέβη ἀπὸ Ἱερεμίου εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἱερεμίας δὲ καὶ Βαρούχ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἀγιαστήριον, καὶ τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας παρέδωκαν τῆ γῆ, καθώς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κύριος καὶ αὔθωρον κατέπιεν αὐτὰ ἡ γῆ ἐκάθισαν δὲ οἱ δύο.

15 καὶ ἔκλαυσαν. Πρωίας δὲ γενομένης, ἀπέστειλεν Ἱερεμίας τὰν ᾿Αβιμέλεχ, λέγων: ᾿Αρον τὰν κόφινον, καὶ ἄπελθε εἰς τὰ χωρίον τοῦ ᾿Αγρίππα διὰ τῆς ὑδοῦ τοῦ ὅρους, καὶ ἐνεγκών ολίγα σῦκα, δίδου τοῖς νοσοῦσι τοῦ λαοῦ: ὅτι ἐπὶ σὲ ἡ εὐφρασία 16 τοῦ Κυρίον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν σου ἡ δόξα. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπελή-

λυθεν καθώς εἶπεν αὐτῷ.
1 IV. Πρωίας δὲ γενομένης, ἰδοὺ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐκὑκλωσε τὴν πόλιν: ἐσάλπισεν δὲ ὁ μέγας ἄγγελος, λέγων:

auras (siel shewing that the scribe has wandered to c. iv. r. 4) στι επιτροποι του ψευδουτ ενοεθπμεν.

υ. 9 και ελαλ. ab; ελ. δε c; ab add κλαιων (not c acth) | Γερεμιας; c add προς κν λεγων | παρακαλω: ah add και δυσωπω | τω λαω και τω δ. σου c aeth; ab om | Ιερεμια: aeth adds weit mehr als alle Leute der Stadt | οτι αυτος ανεσπασεν ab: c autos γαρ ανεστησεν | του βορβορου c aeth; ab om | αυτον ινα ιδη ab aeth; ινα αφης αυτον ιδειν c | τον αφαν. ab acth; την ερημωσιν c | πολεως; ab add ταυτης | και τ. ερ.; ε η τον αφανισμον η την ερημωσιν | αλλ ινα μη λυπηθη aeth; ab αλλ ινα ελεησης αυτον και μη λυπ.: c ηδη (κic) και λυπηθη | v. 10 τω lερ.; c on | αμπελωνα; c αγρον | δια του ορους και εγω c acth; ab και εν τη σκια του ορους | εως ου επι. ab; c εως αποστρεψω | εις την πολιν ab aeth; c εις Βαβυλωνα | v. 11; c om | v. 12; c om; aeth om εωτ ου λαλ. αυτω | ν. 13; ε λαλησας δε αυτω ο κε ανεχωρησεν εις τον οινόν απο του Ιερεμιου [υ. 14 αγιαστηριον; c adds του θεου | και (2); ab add επαραντες | τα σκευη; ab add τα αγια | παρεδωκαν; ab add αυτα | γη ab acth; c adds και τω θυσιαστηριω | καθως ελαλησεν αυτ. ο κs h arth de men; c καθως ειπεν κς; a om | αυθωρον c; ab ευθεως | οι δυο c aeth; ab om | εκλαυσαν; ab add aμα | v. 16 αρον... απελθον ab acth; c απελθε | και .. λαου; com | οτι δοξα ab (arth); c οτι ευφρασια κυ εις την κεφαλην σου ηξει | υ. 16 c aeth; ali και ταυτα ειπων Τερεμιας απελυσεν αυτον. Αβιμελέχ δε επορευθή καθα είπεν αυτώ. IV. 1 την πολιν c neth; α την πολιν Ιερουσαλημ; b πασαν τ. π. Ιερ.

Είσελθατε είς την πόλιν ή δύναμις των Χαλδαίων ίδου γάρ ηνεώχθη ύμιν ή πύλη. Εἰσηλθεν οὐν ὁ βασιλεύς μετά τοῦ 2 πλήθους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡγμαλώτευσαν πάντα τὸν λαόν. Ἱερεμίας 3 δὲ ἄρας τὰς κλείδας τοῦ ναοῦ, ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, καὶ έρριψεν αὐτάς ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἡλίου, λέγων Σοὶ λέγω, ἥλιε, λάβε τας κλείδας του ναού του Θεού, και φύλαξον αυτάς έως ήμέρας. εν η εξετάσει σε Κύριος περί αὐτῶν. Διότι ήμεις οὐχ εὐρέθημεν 4 άξιοι του φυλάξαι αυτάς, ότι επίτροποι ψεύδους έγενήθημεν. Ετι κλαίοντος Ίερεμίου τον λαόν, είλκοντο είς Βαβυλώνα, 5 Ο δε Βαρούν επέθηκε γουν επί την κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ, και εκάθισε, 6 καὶ ἔκλαυσε τὸν θρηνον τοῦτον, λέγων Διὰ τί ἠρημώθη Ἱερουσαλήμ; Διὰ τὰς άμαρτίας τοῦ ήγαπημένου λαοῦ παρεδόθη εἰς χείρας έχθρων, δια τάς άμαρτίας ήμων και τοῦ λαοῦ. 'Λλλά 7 μή καυχάσθωσαν οί παράνομοι, καὶ εἴπωσιν ὅτι, Ἰσχύσαμεν λαβείν την πόλιν του Θεού έν τη δυνάμει ήμων. 'Ηδυνήθητε έπ' αὐτης άλλα δια τὰς άμαρτίας ήμων παρεδόθημεν. '() δὲ Θεὸς 8 ήμων οίκτειρήσει ήμας, και επιστρέψει ήμας είς την πόλιν ήμων ύμεια δε ζωήν ούχ έξετε. Μακάριοί είσιν οι πατέρες ήμων, 9 'Αβραὰμ, Ίσαὰκ καὶ Ίακώβ, ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, καὶ οὐκ είδον τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης. Ταῦτα εἰπών, 10 έξηλθεν, κλαίων και λέγων ότι, Λυπούμενος* διώ σε, Ίερουσαλήμ, εξήλθον από σού. Καὶ εμεινεν εν μνημείω καθεζόμενος. 11 των αγγέλων εργομένων, και εκδιηγουμένων αυτώ περί παντων.

V. 'Ο δὲ 'Λβιμέλεχ ἤνεγκε τὰ σῦκα τῷ καύματι, καὶ Ι
 καταλαβὼν δένδρον, ἐκάθισεν ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγα-

V. 1 καυματι; aeth adds von dort wohin ihn Jeremias gesandt hatte | καταλαβων; c κατελαβεν | δενδρον; c αdds και | υπο την σκιαν αυτου; c om (not ah aeth) | του αναπαηναι bc (b om του); του αναπαυσαι a.

v.]

παθναι ολίγου, καὶ κλίνας την κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν κόφινον των σύκων υπνωσεν, κοιμώμενος έτη έξηκονταέξ καὶ οὐκ 2 έξυπνίσθη έκ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα έγερθεὶς από του υπνου αυτού, είπεν ότι, Ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθην αν άλλο ολίγον, και βεβαρημένη έστιν ή κεφαλή μου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκορέσθην 3 του ύπνου μου. Καὶ ανακαλύψας τὸν κόφινον τῶν σύκων, 4 εὖρεν αὐτὰ στάζοντα γάλα. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἡθελον κοιμηθῆναι 5 ολίγον, ότι βεβαρημένη έστιν ή κεφαλή μου άλλά φοβούμαι, μήπως κοιμηθώ καὶ βραδυνώ τοῦ έξυπνισθήναι καὶ άλιγωρήση 'Ιερεμίας ὁ πατήρ μου' εὶ μὴ γὰρ ἐσπούδαζεν, οὐκ ᾶν ἀπέστειλέ 6 με ὄρθρου σήμερον. 'Αναστάς οὖν πορεύσομαι τῶ καύματι, καὶ 7 * ἀπέλθω ὅπου οὐ καῦμα, οὐ κόπος ἔστιν καθ' ἡμεραν*. 'Εγερθεὶς οθν ήρε τον κόφινον τών σύκων, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τών ώμων έαυτου καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνω αὐτήν, ούτε την οικίαν, ούτε τον τόπον, ούτε το γένος έαυτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν 8 Ευλογητός Κύριος, ὅτι μεγάλη ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ ἐμέ οὐκ 9 έστιν αυτη ή πόλις πεπλάνημαι, ότι διά της όδου του όρους 10 ηλθον, έγερθεις από του ύπνου μου καὶ βαρείας ούσης της κεφαλής μου διά τὸ μη κορεσθήναι με τοῦ υπνου μου, πεπλά-11 νημαι την όδον. Θαυμαστον είπειν τοῦτο εναντίον Ίερεμίου, 12 ότι πεπλάνημαι. Εξήλθε δε άπο της πόλεως και κατανοήσας είδε τὰ σημεία της πόλεως, καὶ είπεν. Λύτη μὲν ἔστιν ή πόλις. 13 πεπλάνημαι δέ. Καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ 14 εζήτησε, καὶ οὐδένα εὖρε τῶν ἰδίων. Καὶ εἶπεν Εὐλογητὸς 15 Κύριος, ὅτι μεγάλη ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' ἐμέ. Καὶ πάλιν

v. 1 κλινας ah; εκλινεν...και c | επιά aeth; υπο ah | των συκων c om (not aeth?) | κοιμωμενος ετη εξ. εξ; neth αm ; c και εποιησεν εξηκοντα και εξ ετη εκκοιμωμενος | εκ; απο e | auτου; ab add κατα προσταξιν θεου δια τον λογον ον ειπεν τω Ιερεμια στι εγω αυτον σκεπασω | υ. 2 και (1'); c oin | εγερθεις; c εξυπνησθεις | ηδεως; h ιδεως | αν αλλο oliyor; ab all oliyor; c oliyor; acth wenn ich doch noch ein wenig schliese | kai βεβ.; c aλλα βαρια | μου (2°); <math>c with om |v| 4 ολιγον; de men aλλο ολιγον |βεβαρημενη; c βαρια | v. 8 ορθρου σημερον c; σημερον ab; heim Lichtwerden aeth | v. 6 text corrupt; ab ου γαρ καυμα ου κοπος εστιν καθημεραν; c om; aeth denn die Hitze ist ja heiss und niemals lisset sie ganz und gar nuch | v. 7 exepteis; avastas c | των ωμων ab; την κεφαλην c; weth om και επεθηκεν .. εαυτου | αυτην ... εαυτου ab (adding εαυτου after rowor); aeth weder die Stadt noch sein Haus; c om oute tor towor | και ειπεν: ab oute τινα ευρεν κ. ειπ. | v. 8 επ' εμε c adds σημερον (not ab aeth) | ουκ; c και ουκ; aeth και ελεγεν' ουκ | v. 9 πεπλανημαι; c adds γαρ την οδον | ηλθον; c om | v. 10 πεπλανημαι; ab add δε | υ. 11 ειπειν; c εστιν | Ιερεμιου; c του Ι. | οτι πεπλανημαι; c adds την οδον; aeth wie sich mir die Studt verandert hat | v. 12 εξηλ. δε; c και εξηλ | κατανοησας είδε ab; ευρεν $c \mid της$ πολεως ab; αυτης $c \mid c$ adds at end την οδον $\mid v$. 13 πολιν; c coov | και εξητησε; c om | v. 14 και ειπεν; c om | κυριος; ab ο κυριος; ει κυριε c | εμε; c adds rai our foter auth y modes | v. 15 mader; c om (not ab aeth).

έξηλθεν έξω της πόλεως. Και έμεινε λυπούμενος μη είδως ποῦ ἀπέλθη. Καὶ ἀπέθηκε τὸν κόφινον, λέγων Καθέζομαι 16 ώδε, έως ὁ Κύριος ἄρη, την έκστασιν ταύτην ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Καθη- 17 μένου δε αὐτοῦ, είδε τινα γηραιον εργομένον εξ άγροῦ, και λένει αὐτῶ 'Αβιμέλεγ' Σοὶ λέγω, πρεσβύτα, ποία έστιν ή πόλις αύτη: Καὶ είπεν αὐτῶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐστι. Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ 18 'Αβιμέλεχ' Ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ Ἱερεμίας ὁ ἱερεύς, καὶ Βαρούν ὁ άναγνώστης, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ὅτι οὐχ εύρον αὐτούς; Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ πρεσβύτης. Οὐκ εἶ σὺ 19 έκ της πόλεως ταύτης, σήμερον μυησθείς τοῦ [ερεμίου, ὅτι 20] έπερωτάς περί αύτου μετά τοσούτον γρόνον: Ίερεμίας γάρ 21 έν Βαβυλώνι έστι μετά τοῦ λαοῦ ήγμαλωτεύθησαν γάρ ὑπὸ Ναβουγοδονόσορ του βασιλέως, και μετ' αυτών έστιν Ίερεμίας ευαγγελίσασθαι αυτοίς και κατηγήσαι αυτούς τον λόγον. Ευθύς 22 δὲ ἀκούσας ᾿Αβιμέλεχ παρὰ τοῦ γηραιοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἶπεν. Εἰ 23 μή ής πρεσβύτης, καὶ ότι οὐκ έξον ανθρώπω ύβρίσαι τον μείζονα αὐτοῦ, ἐπικατεγέλων ἄν σοι καὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι μαίνη ότι είπας, Ήγμαλωτεύθη ὁ λαὸς είς Βαβυλώνα. Εἰ ήσαν 24 οί καταδράκται τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατελθόντες ἐπ' αὐτούς: οὕπω έστὶ καιρὸς ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλώνα. Πόση γὰρ ώρα ἐστὶν. 25 αφ' οδ απέστειλέ με ο πατήρ μου Ίερεμίας είς το γωρίον τοῦ Αγρίππα ἐπὶ ὀλίγα σῦκα. ἵνα δίδωμεν τοῖς νοσοῦσι τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἀπελθών ἤνεγκον αὐτὰ, καὶ ἐλθών ἐπί τι δένδρον 26 τῶ καύματι, ἐκάθισα τοῦ ἀναπαῆναι ὀλίγον, καὶ ἔκλινα τὴν κεφαλήν μου έπὶ τὸν κόφινον, καὶ ἐκοιμήθην, καὶ ἐξυπνισθεὶς

v. 15 modeus; ab add kai ederen ta hen onheia the modeus eigin (810) | eigus; c igun] $a\pi\epsilon \lambda \theta n c$: $a\pi\epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon v$ ab | και $a\pi\epsilon \theta n \kappa \epsilon v$ ab $a\epsilon th$: $a\phi n \kappa \epsilon v$ δε c | κοφινον: c adds $\tau \omega v$ $a\nu \kappa \omega v$: aeth? | υ. 16 εως: c adds av | υ. 17 καθημένου: καθεξομένου c | γηραίον: c γηραίον ανον | ερχ.; c om | λεγει; c ειπεν | Αβιμελεγ ab acth; c om | σοι; b συ | πρεσβύτα; abc mon πρεσβύτα | αυτω: c om | Γερουσαλημ: aeth das alte Jerusalem | v. 18 λεγει; c ειπεν | που; ab και που | εστιν; ab εισιν | ιερευς aeth; ab ιερευς του θεου; c αρχιερευς | ο αναγνωστης; c om; aeth der Levit | v. 19 αυτω ο πρ. c aeth; ο πρ. τω Αβιμέλεχ ab | v. 20 unnoθεις: c εμνησθης | μετα τοσ. γρ.: aeth, obgleich du diese ganze Zeit da sussest | υ. 21 υπο; ε υπο του | βασιλεως; ε adds Βαβυλωνος; acth von Persien | εστιν Ιερ.; ε απηλθεν | και κατ. αυτους ab (αυτοις b); c aeth om | τον λογον ubc; aeth om | v. 23 ori; c om | $a\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega$ (aeth); ab $a\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega$ $\theta\epsilon\sigma\upsilon$; c $a\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$ | $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu$ $a\nu$; $\kappa\alpha\tau$. $a\nu$ demen; επει καταγελων ab; επικατεγελουν c | σοι c; σου bile men; a om | και ελεγον; a om | $\mu \alpha \nu \eta \alpha \alpha e t h$; $\mu e \nu e \iota b$; $\mu e \nu c \mid \sigma \tau \iota \epsilon \iota \pi \alpha s$; $c om \mid \eta \chi \mu \alpha \lambda$; $c \eta \chi \mu \alpha \lambda \omega \tau \epsilon \iota \sigma \sigma \nu \mid \nu$. 24 ουπω; c ουπω ουκ | καιρος; c οm | απελθειν; c πορευθηναι | v. 25 αφ' ου; c εξοτου | ειε ... Αγριππα; c om (not aeth ab) | επι; c ενεγκαι | συκα; ab add ενεγκαι; c aeth om | ινα διδ... λαου; c τοις νοσουσιν | v, 26 απελθων; c om | ηνεγκον αυτα και ελθων; ab om; aeth ich bin gegangen und dorthin gelangt und habe genommen was er mir befehlen hat und habe mich umgewandt, und indem ich ging | τι; c om | εκαθισα,..κοφινον (1°); $c \text{ om } \mid \epsilon \kappa o \iota u n \theta n v : ab add o \lambda i you \mid \epsilon \xi u \pi v \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon \iota s ; c a v a \sigma \tau a s .$

ſv.

απεκάλυψα του κόφινον των σύκων, νομίζων ότι έβράδυνα, καλ εθρον τὰ σῦκα στάζοντα γάλα, καθώς συνέλεξα αὐτά. Σὐ δὲ 27 λέγεις, ότι ήγμαλωτεύθη ὁ λαὸς εἰς Βαβυλώνα; "Ινα δὲ γνῷς, 28 λάβε, ίδε τὰ σῦκα. Καὶ ἀνεκάλυψε τὸν κόφινον τῶν σύκων 29 τῶ γέρουτι. Καὶ είδεν αὐτὰ στάζοντα γάλα. Ἰδών δὲ αὐτὰ 30 ό πηραιος ἄνθρωπος, εἶπεν 'Ω υίέ μου, δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος εἶ σὐ, και οὐκ ἡθέλησεν ὁ Θεὸς δείξαί σοι τὴν ἐρήμωσιν τῆς πόλεως. "Ηνεγκε γαρ ταύτην την εκστασιν έπὶ σὲ ὁ Θεός. Ίδου γάρ εξήκοντα καὶ εξ έτη σήμερον είσιν ἀφ' οὐ ήγμαλωτεύθη ὁ λαὸς 31 είς Βαβυλώνα. Καὶ ἵνα μάθης, τέκνον, ὅτι ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἀνάβλεψον είς τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ ἴδε, ὅτι ἐφάνη ἡ αὔξησις τῶν γενημάτων ίδε καὶ τὰ σῦκα, ὅτι καιρὸς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ γνῶθι. 32 Τότε έκραξε μεγάλη φωνή 'Αβιμέλεγ, λέγων Ευλογήσω σε. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν ψυγῶν 33 των δικαίων έν παντί τόπω. Και λέγει τω γηραιώ ανθρώπω. Ποίος έστιν ο μην ούτος; 'Ο δε είπε Νισσάν *καὶ έστιν ή 34 δωδεκάτη*. Καὶ ἐπάρας ἐκ τῶν σύκων, ἔδωκε τῷ γηραιῷ ἀνθρώπω, καὶ λέγει αὐτώ. Ο Θεὸς φωταγωγήσει σε εἰς τὴι ἄνω πόλιν Ίερουσαλήμ.

1 VI. Μετὰ ταῦτα εξηλθεν Αβιμέλεχ εξω τῆς πόλεως, καὶ προσηύξατο πρὸς Κύριον. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ήλθε, καὶ ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτὸν, ὅπου ἢν Βαρούχ: εὖρε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν 2 μνημείω καθεζόμενον. Καὶ ἐν τῷ θεωρῆσαι ἀλλήλους, ἔκλαυσαν

υ. 26 απεκαλυψα; c ανεκαλυψα | εβραδυνα; c εχρονησα | τα συκα; c αυτα; (aeth?) | σινελεξα; c ανελεξαμην | ηχμ. ό λαος; c ηχμαλωτευθησαν | υ. 30 δικαιος...συ c (aeth); ab δικαιου ανου νιος ει συ | δειξαι σοι c acth; ah ιδειν σε | πολεως; ab add ταυτης; not c acth | $\gamma a \rho (1^{\circ})$; $c \circ m \mid o \theta \epsilon o s$; $c \circ m \mid \sigma \eta \mu \epsilon \rho o \nu \epsilon \iota \sigma \iota \nu \epsilon (aeth)$; $ab \circ m \mid \eta \chi \mu$, $\delta \lambda a o s$; $c \circ a \iota \chi \mu a - b \iota \nu \epsilon$ λωτευθησαν | υ. 31 τεκνον; c om | αληθες εστιν; αδ αληθη εισιν απερ λεγω σοι | στ... γρωθο aeth, ab (στι ουκ) (α γεννηματων): C στι ουκ εστι καιρος των συκων | fin geth adds und er erkannte dass die Zeit von alle diesen nicht war | v. 32 tote; c kai | Abinedey; com | ευλογησω; c ευλογω | κυριε ο θεος; ab ο θεος; c κυριε; aeth O Herr mein Gott. Gott | των ψυχων; τ οιμ | τοπω αιδ αείλ; τ καιρω | υ. 33 και λεγει τω γηραιω ανω; τ το φως το αληθινον η αληθινη ανταποδοσις, ο ων μεγας, θαυμαστος εις τους αιωνας αμην. τοτε λενει τω γη, αν. | Νισσαν και ε. δωδ.: αβ Νισσαν' ο εστι δωδεκατος: c Ισαακ εστιν o μην ovros; aeth der zwölfte des Monats Nisan welcher Mijazja ist. The Ethiopic text must be right: for Nisan is not the twelfth month, either in civil or ecclesiastical reckoning. A reference to Ezra viii, 15 will shew the passage on which our writer works: "we departed from the river of Ahava on the twelfth day of the first month to go unto Jerusalem": the 12th of Nisan is here meant, the return commencing in Nisan, in order that Jerusalem may be reached in Ab: cf. Ezra passim. Or can it be Niggar o egythe ABiB? v. 34 kal emapas; c outos apas out | kal λεγει: c ειπων | εις; ab επι.

VI. 1 προσηνέατο; c ηνέατο | ηλθε και; ab add κρατησας αυτου της δεξιας χειρος | aυτον; ab add εις τον τοπον | Baρουχ; ab add καθεζομένος | ευρέ δε; c και ευρέ | καθεζομένος | ab om | v. 2 εκλ. αμφ. b (aeth); a om; c εκλαυσαν.

αμφότεροι καὶ κατεφίλησαν αλλήλους. 'Αναβλέψας δὲ Βαρούγ, είδε τὰ σῦκα ἐσκεπασμένα ἐν τῷ κοφίνω καὶ ἄρας τοὺς οφθαλμούς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, προσηύξατο λέγων "Εστι Θεός ὁ παρέγων μισθάποδοσίαν τοῖς άγίοις αὐτοῦ. Ετοίμασον 3 σεαυτήν, ή καρδία μου, καὶ εὐφραίνου, καὶ ἀγάλλου ἐν τῶ 2 Cor. v. 1. σκηνώματί σου, λέγω τῷ σαρκικῷ οἴκω σου τὸ πένθος σου γάρ μετεστράφη είς γαράν. Εργεται γάρ ὁ ίκανὸς, καὶ ἀρεῖ σε έκ τοῦ σκηνώματός σου. Οὐ γὰρ γέγονέ σοι άμαρτία. Ανάψυξον ή παρθενική μου πίστις, καὶ πίστευσον ὅτι ζήσεις. 4 Έπίβλεψον έπλ τὸν κόφινον τοῦτον τῶν σύκων ἰδοῦ γὰο έξη- 5 κονταξέ έτη εποίησαν, καὶ οὐκ εμαράνθησαν, οὐδε ὤζεσαν, άλλά στάζουσι τοῦ γάλακτος. Ούτως γίνεταί σοι ή σάοξ μου, έὰν 6 ποιήσης τα προσταγθέντα σου ύπο του αγγέλου της δικαιοσύνης. 'Ο φυλάξας του κόφινου των σύκων, αυτός πάλιν 7 φυλάξει σε έν τη δυνάμει αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα είπων ὁ Βαρούν, 8 λέγει τῷ 'Αβιμέλεγ' 'Ανάστηθι, καὶ εὐξώμεθα, ἵνα γνωρίση ήμιν ο Κύριος τὸ, πῶς δυνησώμεθα ἀποστείλαι τὴν φίσιν τῷ Ίερεμία είς Βαβυλώνα διά την γενομένην σοι σκέπην. Καί 9 ηθέατο Βαρούγ, λέγων 'Η δύναμις ήμων, ο Θεός ήμων Κύριε, τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν Φῶς, τὸ ἐξελθὸν ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ, παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαί σου της αναθότητος τὸ μένα όνομα, ὁ οὐδεὶς δύναται γνώναι άκουσον της φωνής του δούλου σου, καὶ γενού γνώσις 10 έν τη καρδία μου. Τί θέλεις ποιήσωμεν: πώς ἀποστείλω πρός

υ. 2 αλληλους (2°): b repeats εν τω θεωρ. αλλ. | αναβλεψας; acth om | δε: ab om | Bapour; ab add tois of balfics autou (b tous of θ . a.) | kofirm; ab add tou Abimeler (not , c aeth) | apas ab; c (aeth) $e\pi\eta per$ | $\pi po\sigma\eta v\xi a\tau o$ $\lambda e\gamma \omega v$ ab (aeth); c $ei\pi ev$ | $e\sigma \tau iv$ ab; eisεστιν ο c; gross ist Gott aeth | αγιοις αυτου c (aeth seinen Gerechten); ab τοις αγαπωσι $\sigma \in [v, 3, \eta]$ c om $[a\gamma a\lambda\lambda ov ab]$ c $a\gamma a\lambda\lambda (a\sigma ov)$ [ev] c $aeth \lambda e\gamma wv$ $[\lambda e\gamma w]$ c aeth om $[o\kappa w]$ σου; ς τω οικω σου αγιω | μετεστραφη; ς μεταστραφητω; aeth μεταστραφησεται | γαρ (2°); c om | apel; c epel | ek τ. σκη; c. εν τω σκηνωματι; acth und wird dich in deinen Körper zurückkehren lassen | yeyove; c eyeveto ev; aeth omits clause | v. 4 ab αναψυξον εν τω σκηνωματι σου, εν τη παρθενική σου ποιμνή; ε αναστήθι αναστρεψον els το ιδιον σου η παρθενική μου πιστις; aeth schaue auf deine Jungfräulichkeit des Glaubens | oti; c kai | v. 5 toutor ab (acth); c om | v. 6 προσταχθέντα σου ab (acth deinen Befehl); ε προστεταχθεντα (!) σοι | υ. Β λεγει τω Αβ.; ε ειπεν ο Αβ.; cf acth. antwortete Abintelech und sagte zu ihm | το; c om | δυνησωμέθα αb; c δυναμέθα | φασιν : c adds ταυτην (not aeth) | δια...σκεπην; ab δια την σκεπην την γενομένην σοι εν τη οδω; c δια την σκεπην σου; aeth die Beschützung mit der du mich bedeckt hast | v. 9 Βαρουχ; ab add και Αβιμελέχ | λέγων; ab λέγοντες | η δυναμις ημών ο θε ημών κε ab: ο θε κε η δυναμις μου c aeth (meine Kraft ist Gott, der Herr) | εκλεκτον: aeth om | εκ: c εκ του | παρακαλω και δεομαι c aeth; ab παρακαλουμεν και δεομεθα | της αγ.; c την αγαθοτητα | ονομα; ab add σου | γνωναι; c add αυτω | υ. 10 του δουλου c aeth; αδ των δουλων | μου c aeth; αδ ημων | τι θε. ποιησ.; αδ τι ποιησωμεν; c εως αν το (sic) θελω ποιησω; aeth (?) | πως αποστ.; ab πως αποστειλωμεν; c εως αν αποστειλω: acth und ich schicke.

VII.]

11 Ίερεμίαν είς Βαβυλώνα: Έτι δὲ προσευγομένου τοῦ Βαρούχ, 12 ίδου άγγελος Κυρίου ήλθε, και λέγει τω Βαρούχ. Βαρούχ, ό σύμβουλος τοῦ φωτὸς, Μη μεριμνήσης τὸ, πῶς ἀποστείλης πρός Ίερεμίαν έργεται γάρ πρός σε ώρα του φωτός 13 αυριου άστος, και συ έπισκέψη προς Ίερεμίαν. Γράψου ουν έν τη έπιστολή ὅτι, Λάλησον τοῖς υίοῖς Ἰσραήλ. Ὁ γενόμενος έν ύμιν ξένος, άφορισθήτω, και ποιήσωσι ιε ήμέρας και μετά 14 ταῦτα εἶσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν, λέγει Κύριος. Ὁ μὴ αφοριζόμενος έκ της Βαβυλώνος, δ΄ Ιερεμία, οὐ μη εἰσέλθη εἰς την πόλιν και ἐπιτιμῶ αὐτοῖς, τοῦ μὴ ἀποδεγθῆναι αὐτοὺς αὐθις ὑπὸ 15 των Βαβυλωνιτων, λέγει Κύριος. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπων ὁ ἄγγελος, 16 απηλθεν από τοῦ Βαρούχ. Ο δὲ Βαρούχ αποστείλας εἰς την αγοράν των έθνων, ήνεγκε γάρτην και μέλανα, και έγραψεν 17 ἐπιστολήν περιέγουσαν οὕτως Βαρούγ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ γράφει τῶ Ἱερεμία. Ὁ ἐν τῆ αἰγμαλωσία τῆς Βαβυλώνος, χαίρε καὶ αναλλιώ, ότι ό Θεός οὐκ ἀφηκεν ήμας έξελθειν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τούτου λυπουμένους διὰ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐρημωθεῖσαν καὶ ὑβρι-18 σθείσαν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῶν δακρύων ήμων, καὶ εμνήσθη της διαθήκης, ής έστησε μετά των πατέρων 19 ήμων 'Αβραάμ, καὶ 'Ισαάκ, καὶ 'Ιακώβ. 'Απέστειλε γάρ πρός με του άγγελου αυτού, και είπε μοι τους λόγους τούτους, ούς 20 απέστειλα πρός σε. Ούτοι ούν είσλν οι λόγοι, ούς είπε Κύριος ό Θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ ἐξαγαγών ήμας ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐκ τῆς 21 μεγάλης καμίνου. "Ότι οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε τὰ δικαιώματά μου, άλλα ύψώθη ή καρδία ύμων, καὶ έτραχηλιάσατε ένώπιον μου. έθυμώθην καὶ ἐν ὀργῆ παρέδωκα ὑμᾶς τῆ καμίνω εἰς Βαβυλώνα. 22 Εάν οὖν ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς μου, λέγει Κύριος, ἐκ στόματος Ίερεμίου τοῦ παιδός μου, ὁ ἀκούων, ἀναφέρω αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλώνος, ο δε μή ακούων, ξένος γενήσεται της Ιερουσαλήμ καλ

υ. 10 Βαβυλωνα; ab add την φασιν ταυτην |v.11 Βαρουχ (1°); ab add και του Αβιμέλεχ $|\eta λθε; c$ om $|\lambda εγει; c$ ειπεν | Βαρουχ; ab add απαντας τους λογους τουτους |v.12| Βαρουχ c aeth; ab om $|\phi ωτος; ab$ add $\lambda εγει |μεριμησης <math>c$ aeth; ab $μεριμησης ε aeth; ab παστειλητε <math>|\gamma ap; c$ om |nρος; c τον |v.13| λαλησον; c ειπατε |o; c οτι $|\xi ενος; c$ εξ ένος |v.14| ω |ep.; ab om |eπιτιμω| a; bc επετιμων |av-τους| c; ab om |vπο; ab om |vπο; ab om |v.15| και; c om |aπηλθεν; c ανεχωρησεν |v.16| ab αποστειλας be εις την διασποραν των εθνών ηνεγκεν χαρτην και μέλανα και εγραψεν επιστολην περιεχούσαν ουτώς; c ο be Βαρουχ απεστειλεν εις την αγωραν των εθνών και ηνεγκεν χαρτην και μέλαν και εγρ. επ. λεγών οτι; aeth und Buruch geleitete ihn bis zur Strusse und hotte Papier und Tinte und schrieb folgendermassen |v.17| o $(2^{\circ}); c$ om |aeth| τω |aγαλλιω| a; αγαλλιου| b; αγαλλιασου| c |v.20| εκ $(2^{\circ}); c$ om |v.21| εθυμωθην c; om |aeth| |ev| εργη και θυμω |ev| |ev| αφορισω |ev| |ev|

τής Βαβυλώνος. Δοκιμάσεις δε αὐτοὺς εκ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ 23 Ἰορδάνου ὁ μὴ ἀκούων φανερὸς γενήσεται τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖόν εστι τῆς μεγάλης σφραγίδος.

VII. Καὶ ἀνέστη Βαρούγ, καὶ ἐξηλθεν ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου. 1 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἀνθρωπίνη φωνή ὁ ἀετὸς, εἶπε Χαῖρε, Βαρούχ, 2 ό οἰκονόμος τῆς πίστεως. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Βαρούχ ὅτι, Ἐκλεκ- 3 τός εί συ ό λαλών, έκ πάντων των πετεινών του ουρανού έκ της γάρ αὐγης τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δηλόν ἐστι. Δεῖξόν μοι οὖν, τί 4 ποιείς ένταθθα; Καὶ είπεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀετός: 'Απεστάλην ώδε, ὅπως 5 πάσαν φάσιν ἡν θέλεις, ἀποστείλης δι' έμοῦ. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῶ 6 Βαρούγ· Εί δύνασαι σὺ ἐπᾶραι τὴν φάσιν ταύτην τῷ Ἱερεμία είς Βαβυλώνα; Καὶ είπεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀετός. Είς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ 7 απεστάλην. Καὶ άρας Βαρούν την έπιστολην, καὶ δεκαπέντε 8 σῦκα ἐκ τοῦ κοφίνου τοῦ ᾿ΛβιμέλεΥ, ἔδησεν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ ἀετοῦ, καὶ είπεν αὐτῶ. Σοὶ λέγω, βασιλεῦ τῶν πετεινῶν, 9 ἄπελθε ἐν εἰρήνη μεθ' ὑγείας, καὶ τὴν φάσιν ἔνεγκόν μοι. Μὴ 10 ομοιωθής τω κόρακι, δυ εξαπέστειλε Νωε, και ουκ απεστράφη έτι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν άλλὰ ὁμοιώθητι τῆ περιστερά, ήτις έκ τρίτου φάσιν ήνεγκε τω δικαίω ούτω καὶ σύ, άρον την 11 καλήν φάσιν ταύτην τω Ίερεμία καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτώ, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, άρον τον γάρτην τοῦτον τῶ λαῶ τῶ ἐκλεκτῶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Έαν κυκλώσωσι σε πάντα τὰ πετεινά τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πάντες 12 οί έχθροι της άληθείας βουλόμενοι πολεμήσαι μετά σοῦ, άγώνισαι ὁ Κύριος δώη σοι δύναμιν. Καὶ μη ἐκκλίνης εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ. μήτε είς τὰ ἀριστερὰ, ἀλλ' ώς βέλος ὕπαγον ὀρθώς, οὕτως ἄπελθε έν τη δυνάμει του Θεού. Τότε ο αετός επετάσθη, έχων την 13

verbannt von Jerusalem in Babylon sein.

έπιστολήν, καὶ ἀπήλθεν εἰς Βαβυλώνα, καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο ἐπί τι ξύλον έξω της πόλεως είς τόπον έρημον εσιώπησε δε έως οδ 14 διήλθεν Ίερεμίας, αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλοι τινές τοῦ λαοῦ ἐξήρχοντο γαρ θάψαι νεκρόν καὶ γαρ ήτήσατο Ίερεμίας παρά τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ, λέγων Δός μοι τόπον, ποῦ θάψω τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῦ 15 λαοῦ μου. Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ. ᾿Λπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ κλαιόντων μετά τοῦ νεκροῦ, ήλθον κατέναντι τοῦ αετοῦ καὶ εκραξεν ο αετός, λέγων. Σοὶ λέγω, Ἱερεμία ο εκλεκτός του Θεού, ἄπελθε, σύναξον τὸν λαὸν ἄπαντα, καὶ ἔλθωσιν ὧδε, ἵνα ἀκούσωσι τοῦ καλοῦ κηρύγματος, ὁ ἤνεγκά σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Βαρούχ καὶ 16 τοῦ ᾿Αβιμέλεγ. ᾿Ακούσας δὲ ὁ Ἱερεμίας, ἐδόξασε τὸν Θεόν καὶ ἀπελθών συνήξε τὸν λαὸν σύν γυναιξί καὶ τέκνοις, καὶ 17 ήλθεν όπου ὁ ἀετός. Καὶ κατήλθεν ὁ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τὸν τεθνηκότα, 18 καὶ ἀνέζησε γέγονε δὲ τοῦτο, ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν. Ἐθαύμασε δὲ πας ό λαὸς ἐπὶ τῶ γεγονότι, λέγοντες ὅτι. Μπ οὖτος ἔστι ὁ Θεὸς ό όφθεις τοῖς πατράσιν ήμων έν τῆ έρήμω διὰ Μωϋσέως, καὶ έποίησεν έαυτον έν σχήματι άετοῦ καὶ έφάνη ήμιν διά τοῦ 19 μεγάλου ἀετοῦ τούτου; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀετὸς τῶ Ἱερεμία, Δεῦρο λύσον την επιστολήν ταύτην, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι αὐτήν τῷ λαῷ. 20 Λύσας οὖν την ἐπιστολην, ἀνέγνω τῶ λαῶ. ᾿Λκούσας οὖν ὁ λαὸς. εκλαυσαν, καὶ ἐπέθηκαν γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλε-21 γου τῶ Ἱερεμία Σῶσον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπάγγειλον ἡμῖν, τί ποιήσω-22 μεν, ΐνα εἰσέλθωμεν πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν; ᾿Αποκριθεὶς δὲ Ίερεμίας είπεν αὐτοῖς. Πάντα δσα έκ της έπιστολής ηκούσατε.

υ. 13 επιστολην; c adds εν τω τραγηλω αυτου | ανεπαυσατο c acth; ελθων ανεπαυσατο ab | τι ξυλον ab; c στυλου; acth auf einer Saille and explains the τόπος έρημος as eine Stelle des unbehanten Landes | ου διηλθεν; c av παρελθη | autos κτέ; αίδ αυτος γαρ και ο λαος εξηρχοντο; ε αυτος γαρ και αλλοι τινές του λαου, απηρχοντο YAD | P. 14 VEKPOV: ab Add efw rns Tolews | Kai yad nr.: c nr. yad | Tou Nabouy.: ab του βασιλεως Naβ. (not c neth) | που c aeth; ab οπως | αυτω; ab add ο βασιλευς | v. 15 κατεραντι; c εναντιον | σοι λεγω ab aeth; c om | απαντα c aeth; ab om | ελθωσιν ωδε; ab ελθε ενταυθα; acth (?) es soll hicher kommen | του κ, κηρ. ο ην. aeth; ε τ. κ. κη, του θύ ο ην.; αι επιστολης ης ηνεγκα | του Βαρ. και του Αβ.; ε Βαρ. και Αβ. | υ. 17 και κατηλθέν ο αέτος: c om (όμοιοτ.) | ανέζησε: ab add και ανέστη | γέγονε δε τουτο ab; τουτο δε εγενετο c; acth und dieses that er | v. 18 μη...θ c; ab εστιν θ c; aeth vielleicht ist dies der Gott | και εποιησεν...τουτου c (acth); ab και νυν εφανη ημιν δια του αετου τουτου | υ. 19 τω Ιερ.; αb σοι λεγω Ιερ. | αυτην τω λαω c aeth; ab eis τα ωτα του λαου | ανεγνω; c adds αυτην (not neth) | v. 20 ακουσας ουν c (? aeth); ab ακουσαντες δε πας | εκλαυσαν ab acth; εκλαυσεν c | επεθηκαν ab acth; επεθηκεν $c \mid \tau \eta \nu$ κεφαλ. αυτων ueth; ab τας κεφαλας αυτων; $c \tau \eta \nu$ κεφαλην αυτου $\mid v$. 21 σωσον nuas και c arth (rette uns!); ab om | ινα; c πως | παλιν; c om | v. 22 αποκρ. δε Ιερ. ELWER AUTOLS C; ab Kal ELWER Woos autous; aeth und Jeremias erhob sich und sagte zu thuen | ek the emigrolye; ab oin (not c arth) | nkovgate; c om.

φυλάξατε καὶ εἰσάξει ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. "Εγραψε δὲ καὶ 23 έπιστολήν ὁ Ἱερεμίας πρός Βαρούχ, οῦτως λέγων Τίέ μου άγαπητέ, μη άμελήσης έν ταις προσευγαίς σου δεόμενος ύπερ ήμων οπως κατευοδεύση την δδον ήμων, άχρις αν εξέλθωμεν εκ τών προσταγμάτων τοῦ ανόμου βασιλέως τούτου δίκαιος γαρ εύρέθης ενάντιον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔασέν σε εἰσελθεῖν ἐνταῦθα μεθ' ήμων, δπως μη ίδης την κάκωσιν την γενομένην τω λαώ ύπο των Βαβυλωνίων ωσπερ γάρ πατήρ, υίὸν μονογενή έχων, τούτου δέ 24 παραδοθέντος είς τιμωρίαν οι ουν ιδόντες τον πατέρα αυτου, καί παραμυθούμενοι αὐτὸν, σκέπουσιν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μη ίδη πώς τιμωρείται αὐτὸς ὁ υίὸς καὶ πλείονα φθαρή ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης ουτως γάρ σε έλέησεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔασέν σε έλθειν είς Βαβυλώνα ίνα μη ίδης την κάκωσιν του λαού άφ' ής γάρ είσηλθομεν είς την πόλιν ταύτην, ουκ επαύσατο ή λύπη εφ ήμων, εξήκοντα καλ εξ έτη σήμερον. Πολλάκις γαρ εξερχόμε- 25 νος ηθρισκον έκ τοῦ λαοῦ κρεμαμένους ύπὸ Ναβουχοδονόσορ βασιλέως, κλαίουτας καὶ λέγουτας, Έλέησου ήμας, ὁ θεὸς Ζάρ. 'Ακούων ταθτα, έλυπούμην καὶ ἕκλαιον δισσόν κλαυθμόν οὐ 26 μόνον ότι εκρέμαντο, άλλ' ότι επεκαλούντο θεον άλλότριον λέγοντες, Έλέησον ήμας. 'Εμνημόνευον δε ήμερας έορτης ας έποιουμεν εν Ίερουσαλήμι πρό τοῦ ήμᾶς αίγμαλωτευθήναι. Καὶ μιησ- 27 κόμενος εστέναζον, και επέστρεφον είς τὸν οἰκόν μου όδυνώμενος καλ κλαίων. Νύν οὐν δεήθητι, εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου εἶ, σθ καλ ᾿Αβιμέ- 28 λεχ, ύπερ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, ὅπως εἰσακούσωσιν τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ τῶν κριμάτων τοῦ στόματός μου καὶ ἐξέλθωμεν ἐντεῦθεν. Λέγω γάρ σοι, ὅτι ὅλον τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἐποιήσαμεν ἐνταῦθα, 29

v. 22 nuas; ab add Kupios; not c acth | for vv. 23...26; the text of ab is very confused and varies a good deal from that which we have adopted from c neth; it runs as follows: έγραψε δε Ίερεμιας έπιστολην είς Ίερουσαλημ προς Βαρουχ και Αβιμελέχ ένωπιον παντος του λαου, τας θλιψεις τας (b on) γινομένας είς αὐτους το πως παρεληφθησαν φπο του βασιλεως των χαλδαιων και το πως έκαστος τον πατερα αύτου έθεωρει δεσμευομένον και πατηρ τέκνον παραδοθέν (b παραδοθέντα) εls τιμωριαν' οι δε θελοντες παραμυθησασθαι τον πατερα αύτου έσκεπον το προσωπον αύτου ίνα μη ίδη τον υίον αὐτου τιμωρουμένον και ό θεος έσκεπασεν σε και 'Αβιμέλες' ίνα μη ίδηται ήμας τιμωρουμένους | υ. 23 κατευοδεύση; ο κατευοδοση | δικαιός γαρ ευρέθης; ο δικαιοι γαρ ευρεθησαν; aeth du aber hast Gerechtigkeit vor Gott gefunden | μεθ' ημων aeth; c om | v. 24 $\phi\theta\alpha\rho\eta$; c $\phi\theta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$ | outws; c outs | $\epsilon\iota s$ $\tau\eta\nu$ π oliv $\tau \alpha \nu \tau\eta\nu$ aeth; miss aeth Zer, Sorot, Serot | υ. 27 οδυνωμένος (c) aeth; οδυρομένος αb | υ. 28 νυν ουν δεη, c aeth; ab δεηθητι δυν | εις τον τοπον οπου ει c aeth (wo ihr seid); ab om | εισακουσωσιν...στοματος μου c aeth; ab εισακουσθη η δεησις υμων | κριματων; acth ρηματων (das Wort) | και εξ. εν. ab: c εξελθωσιν ενταυθα | υ. 29 ολον; ab om (not c neth).

(vII.

κατέχουσιν ήμᾶς λέγοντες ὅτι, Εἴπατε ήμῖν ψόδην ἐκ τῶν φόδῶν Σιῶν, καὶ τὴν ψόδην τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν. Καὶ ἀντελέγο30 μεν αὐτοῖς, Πῶς ἄσωμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλοτρίας ὅντες; Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδησε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ ἀετοῦ, λέγων, ᾿Απελθε ἐν εἰρήνη, ἐπισκέψηται Κύριος ἀμφοτέρους.
31 Καὶ ἐπετάσθη ὁ ἀετὸς, καὶ ἤνεγκεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ Βαρούχ. Καὶ λύσας ἀνέγνω, καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἔκλαυσε ἀκούσας διὰ τὰς λύπας καὶ τὰς κακώσεις τοῦ λαοῦ. Ἱερεμίας δὲ ἄρας τὰ σῦκα, διέδωκε τοῖς νοσοῦσι τοῦ λαοῦ. Καὶ ἔμεινε διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος.

1 VIII. Έγένετο δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ἢ ἐξέφερε ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν 2 ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν ᾿Ανάστηθι, σὐ καὶ ὁ λαὸς, καὶ δεῦτε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καὶ ἐρεῖς τῷ λαῷ, Ὁ θέλων τὸν Κύριον καταλειψάτω τὰ ἔργα τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ τοὺς ἄρρενας τοὺς λαβόντας ἐξ αὐτῶν γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰς 3 γυναῖκας τὰς λαβούσας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρας. Καὶ διαπεράσωσιν οἱ ἀκούοντές σου, καὶ ἀρον αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ τοὺς δὲ μὴ 4 ἀκούοντάς σου, μὴ εἰσαγάγης αὐτοὺς εἰς αὐτήν. Ἱερεμίας δὲ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ ἀναστάντες ἢλθον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῦ περᾶσαι, λέγων αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα, ὰ εἶπε Κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν. Καὶ τὸ ἤμισυ τῶν γαμησάντων ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἡθέ-

υ. 29 κατ. ημ. c aeth; ab ελεγον | και την; aeth καινην (sagt uns einen neuen Gesang) | υμων; b ημων | αντελεγομεν ab; λεγωμεν c (? aeth) | ύμων c aeth; ab την ωδην κιγιου | υ. 30 αετου; ab add Ιερεμιας | κυριος αμφοτερους ab; c uμας αμφοτ. o $\overline{\kappa}$ | υ. 31 επετασθη ab aeth; c o m | aeth; a b add aeth; c o m | aeth; a au aeth; a aeth; aeth;

VIII. 1 ο θεος c neth; nh κυριος | λαον; αb add αυτου (not c neth) | προς Ιερεμιαν αb; τω Ιερεμια c | end of veirge ab add λεγων | v. 2 επι τον; α προς τον | τα εργα; c neth add των εθνων (from vii. 32) | λαβουτας ab; c (neth) γαμησαντας | λαβουσας ab; c (?neth) γαμησαντας (sic) | v. 3 διαπερασωσιν αb; περασωσιν c | σου; b σοι | τους δε μη ακουοντες c | εισαγαγης ab; ενεγκης c | εις αυτην c neth; εκει ab | v. 4 αυτος c neth; ab προς τον λαον | ανασταντες ηλθον ab; ηνεγκεν αυτους c; aeth (?) | κυριος προς αυτον; c αυτω ο Κυριος | και το ημισυ; at this point the text of c abruptly drops from its level of excellence, and the manuscript ends with trivial matter chiefly taken from the Septungint; perhaps his copy was imperfect after the word γαμησαντων; at all events his text proceeds as follows: και το ήμισυ των γαμησαντων έξ αύτων άρω και στησω αύτοις διαθηκην αίωνιον του είναι με αύτοις είς θεον και αύτοι έσονται μοι είς λαον και ού κινησω τον λαον μου 'Ισραηλ άπο της γης της έδωκα αύτοις Κυριε, παντοκρατωρ, ό θεος 'Ισραηλ' ψυχη έν στενοις και πνευμα άκηδιον έκε-

λησαν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Ἱερεμίου, ἀλλ' εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν Οὐ μὴ καταλείψωμεν τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀλλ' ὑποστρέφωμεν αὐτὰς μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. Ἐπέρασαν οὖν 5 τὸν Ἰορδάνην, κὰὶ ἤλθον εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Καὶ ἔστη Ἱερεμίας, καὶ Βαρούχ καὶ ᾿Αβιμέλεχ, λέγοντες ὅτι, Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κοινῶν Βαβυλωνίταις οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην. Καὶ 6 εἶπον πρὸς αὐτούς ᾿Αναστάντες ὑποστρέψωμεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα εἰς τὸν τόπον ἡμῶν. Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν. Ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν 7 εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἐξῆλθον οἱ Βαβυλωνῖται εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν, λέγοντες Οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐμισήσατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ κρυφῆ ἐξήλθετε ἀφ' ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἰσελεύ-

κραγεν προς σε άκουσον, κυριε, και έλεησον ότι θεος έλεων και έλεησον ότι άμαρτανωμεν έναντιον σου. ότι σοι καθημένος τον αίωνα ήμεις απολλυμένοι τον αίωνα. κύριε, παντοκρατώρ, δ θεος Ίσραηλ, ακουσον δη της προσευχης των τεθνηκοτων Ίσραηλ και υίων των άμαρτανοντων έναντιον σου οι ούκ ήκουσαν της φωνης θεου αύτων και έκολληθησαν ήμιν τα κακα· μη μνησθηι (cod μνησθεις) άδικιων πατερων ήμων· άλλα μνησθητι χειρος σου και δυοματος σου έν τω καιρω τουτω, έγενετο δε μετα την συμπληρωσιν των έβδυμηκοντα έτων μεχρι του βασιλευσαι Περσας έν τω πρωτω έτει (cod έτη) Κυρου βασιλεως Περσων. του τελεσθηναι λογον Κυριου άπο στοματος Ίερεμιου έξηγειρεν κυριος το πνευμα Κυρου βασιλεως Περσων και παρηγγειλεν φωνην έν παση τη βασιλεια αύτου και άμα διαγραπτων λεγει. Ταδε λεγει Κυρος (cod K.) δ βασιλευς Περσων. πασας τας βασιλειας της γης (cod om) έδωκεν μοι κυριος ο θεος του ούρανου και αύτος έπεσκεψατο έπ' έμε: του οίκοδομησαι αύτω (cod αύτον) οίκον έν Ίερουσαλημ τη έν τη Ἰουδαια ήτις ούν έστιν έκ του έθνους αύτου έστω ο Κυριος αύτου μετα αύτου και άναβας els την Ιερουσαλην την (cod τηνι) έν τη 'Ιουδαια οίκοδομειτω (cod όκοδομιτω) τον οίκον του θεου 'Ισραηλ' ούτος (cod ούτως) δ Κυριος δ κατασκηνωσας έν 'Ιερουσαλημ' και δ βασιλευς Κυρος έξηνεγκεν-τα άγια σκευή (cod σκευεί) του Κυρίου ά μετηγαγέν Ναβουγοδονόσωρ έξ Ίερουσαλημ, και...(cod άπερησατω) αυτα έν τω είδωλιω αυτου έξηνεγκεν τα παντα Κυρος δ βασιλευς Περσων και παρεδωκεν αυτα Μιθριδατη (cod Μηθρηδατη) τω έαυτου γαζοφυλακι (cod γαζοφυλακη). δια τουτου δε παρεδοθησαν Σαραβαρω προστατη της 'Ιουδαίας' άμα Ζορωβαβελ ός (cod ώς) και ήτησατο έπι Δαρίου βασίλεως Περσων την οίκοδομην του ναου. ήν γαρ κωλυσας έπι τον 'Αρταξερξου χρονον ώς ίστορησε Εσδρας. τω δευτερω έτει (cod έτη) παραγενομένοι els το lepov του θεου els Ίερουσαλημ μηνος δευτερου ήρξατο Ζοροβαβελ ό του Ραθαλαηλ και Ίησους ό του Ίωσεδεκα και οἱ άδελφοι αύτων και οl lepeis και οl Λευιται και παντές οl παραγενομένοι έκ της αίγμαλωσίας είς Ίερουσαλημι και έθεμελιωσαν τον οίκον του θεου τη νουμηνία του δευτέρου μηνος. έν τω έλθειν είς την Ἰουδαιαν και Ίερουσαλημ' προφητευοντων Αγγεου και Ζαγαριου υίου 'Αδδων' τελευταιων (cod τελευτεων) προφητών ανεβη δε δ Εσδρας έκ Βαβυλώνος ώς γραμματεύς εύφυης ών έν τω Μωυσεώς νομώ ός (cod ώς) και έπιστημην πολλην είχεν τω διδασκειν αυτον (cod αυτω) άπαντα τον λαον τα δικαιωμάτα και τα κριματα έπι τον 'Αρταξερξου χρονον' και έποιησαν έγκαινια του οίκου του θεου, υμνουντες και εύλογουντες τω κυριω έπι τη έγερσει του οίκου του θεού.

υ. 4 εις την πολιν ημων aeth; ab εις Βαβυλωνα | υ. 6 κοινων; b κοινωνων | ταυτην; aeth ημων | υ. 6 και ειπον; aeth adds οι γαμησαντες γυναικας (welche eine Weib geheiratet hätten) | εις τον τοπον ημων; aeth om | επορευθησαν; acth adds και υπεστρεψαν | υ. 7 ον μη...ημων; aeth om | εμισησατε; aeth adds vorher.

σεσθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς. "Ορκφ γὰρ ὡρκίσαμεν ἀλλήλους κατὰ τοῦ ονόματος τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, μήτε ὑμᾶς μήτε τέκνα ὑμῶν δέξασθαι, 8 ἐπειδὴ κρυφῆ ἐξήλθετε ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Καὶ ἐπιγνόντες ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ ἢλθον εἰς τόπον ἔρημον μακρόθεν τῆς 'Ιερουσαλὴμ, καὶ ψκοδόμησαν ἐαυτοῖς πόλιν, καὶ ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς 9 Σαμάρειαν. 'Απέστειλε δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς 'Ιερεμίας, λέγων' Μετανοήσατε' ἔρχεται γὰρ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ εἰσάξει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν τόπον ὑμῶν τὸν ὑψηλόν.

ΙΧ. "Εμειναν δε οί τοῦ Ἱερεμίου, χαίροντες καὶ ἀναφέροντες 2 θυσίαν ύπερ τοῦ λαοῦ εννέα ημέρας. Τη δε δεκάτη ανήνενκεν 3 Ίερεμίας μόνος θυσίαν, καὶ ηύξατο εὐχὴν, λέγων "Αγιος, ἄγιος. άγιος· τὸ θυμίαμα τῶν δένδρων τῶν ζώντων, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν Joh. 1. 9. τὸ Φωτίζον με. ἔως οὐ ἀναληφθώ πρὸς σὲ, περὶ τῆς Φωνῆς τῆς 4 γλυκείας των δύο Σεραφίμ. Παρακαλώ ύπερ άλλης εὐωδίας 5 θυμιάματος καὶ ή μελέτη μου Μιγαήλ ὁ ἀργάγγελος τῆς 6 δικαιοσύνης, έως αν είσενέγκη τούς δικαίους. Παρακαλώ σε, Κύριε παυτοκράτωρ πάσης κτίσεως, ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπερινόπτος, ὦ πάσα κρίσις κέκρυπται ἐν αὐτῶ πρὸ τοῦ ταῦτα 7 γενέσθαι. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Ίερεμίου, καὶ ἰσταμένου έν τῷ θυσιαστηρίω μετά Βαρούχ καὶ 'Αβιμέλεχ, ἐγένετο ώς είς 8 των παραδιδόντων την ψυχην αυτού. Καὶ έμειναν Βαρούχ καὶ 'Αβιμέλεν κλαίοντες, καὶ κράζοντες μεγάλη τῆ φωνή ὅτι, 'Ο πατήρ ήμων Ίερεμίας κατέλιπεν ήμας, ὁ ίερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, 9 καὶ ἀπηλθεν. Ἡκουσε δὲ πῶς ὁ λαὸς τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ αὐτῶν, καὶ έδραμον έπ' αὐτοὺς πάντες, καὶ είδον Ίερεμίαν ἀνακείμενον γαμαί τεθνηκότα καὶ διέρρηξαν τὰ ίμάτια αὐτών, καὶ ἐπέθηκαν γοῦν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔκλαυσαν κλαυθμὸν πικρόν. 10 Καλ μετά ταθτα ήτοίμασαν έαυτους, ίνα κηδεύσωσιν αυτόν.

υ. 7 προς ημας; aeth eis την πολίν ημών.

1X. 1 or του lepemou; aeth om | εννεα; aeth επτα | υ. 3 το θυμαμα... ζωντων; aeth angenehmer Wohlgeruch den Menschen | προς σε; aeth ich flehe dich an wegen deines Volkes und ich bitte dich | υ. 4 παρακαλω υπερ (h περι)... θυμαματος; aeth und um des Weihrauchduftes der Cherubim (και περι ευωδιας θυμαματος των χερουβιμ) | υ. 6 aeth ich bitte dich duss doch ja der gesangskundige Michael, der Engel der Gerechtigkeit ist er, die Pforten der Gerechtigkeit offen halte, bis sie in dieselben einziehen | υ. 6 Κυριε; b om | κυριε... γενεσθαι; aeth Herr über alles und Herr welcher alles umfasst und alles erschaffen hat, welcher erscheint und welcher nicht geboren ist, welcher alles vollendet hat und bei dem die ganze Schöpfung verborgen war, ehe die Dinge im Verborgenen gemacht wurden | υ. 7 ταυτα... Lepemou; aeth und dies betete er und als er sein Gebet geendet hatte | υ. 8 και εμεναν; aeth und alsbald felen B, und A. nieder.

Καὶ ίδου φωνή ήλθε, λέγουσα: Μή κηδεύετε του έτι ζώντα: 11 δτι ή ψυγή αὐτοῦ εἰσέργεται εἰς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ πάλιν. Καὶ 12 ακούσαντες της φωνής, ουκ εκήδευσαν αυτόν, αλλ' εμειναν περικύκλω του σκηνώματος αυτου ήμέρας τρείς, λέγοντες καλ άπορούντες, ποία δρα μέλλει άναστήναι. Μετά δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας 13 είσηλθεν ή ψυγή αὐτοῦ είς τὸ σώμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπῆρε τὴν Φωνήν αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσω πάντων, καὶ είπε. Δοξάσατε τὸν Θεὸν. πάντες δοξάσατε τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν Υίὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἐξυπνίζοντα ήμας Ίησοῦν Χριστον, τὸ φῶς τῶν αἰώνων πάντων, ὁ άσβεστος λύγνος, ή ζωή της πίστεως. Γίνεται δε μετά τους 14 καιρούς τούτους άλλα έτη τετρακόσια έβδομηκονταεπτά! καὶ έργεται είς την γην καὶ τὸ δένδρον της ζωής τὸ ἐν μέσω τοῦ παραδείσου φυτευθέν ποιήσει πάντα τὰ δένδρα τὰ ἄκαρπα ποιήσαι καρπόν, και αύξηθήσονται, και βλαστήσουσι, *καί ό καρπός αὐτῶν μετά τῶν ἀγγέλων μενεῖ.* Καὶ τὰ βεβλα-15 στηκότα, καλ μεγαλαυγούντα, καλ λέγοντα, Έδωκαμεν τὸ τέλος ήμων τω πέρι ποιήσει αὐτὰ ξηρανθήναι μετά του ύψους των κλάδων αὐτων καὶ ποιήσει αὐτὰ κλιθήναι* τὸ δένδρον τὸ στηριγθέν καὶ πριήσει τὸ κόκκινον ώς ἔριον λευκὸν γενέσθαι. Η γιών μελανθήσεται, τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα άλμυρὰ γενήσονται 16 έν τῷ μεγάλῳ φωτὶ τῆς εὐφροσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ εὐλογήσει 17 τας νήσους του ποιήσαι καρπον έν τω λόγω του στόματος του Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ελεύσεται, καὶ εξελεύσεται, καὶ 18 έπιλέξεται έαυτώ δώδεκα αποστόλους, ΐνα εὐαγγελίζωνται έν τοις έθνεσιν ον έγω έωρακα κεκοσμημένον ύπο του Πατρός αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν καὶ ἐμπλήσει τὰς πεινώσας ψυχάς. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ 19

υ. 11 κηδευετε; b κηδευσατε; acth wickelt ihn nicht in Leinen; no in v. 12 | ν, 12 εμειναν...αναστηναι; aeth sassen indem sie um ihn drei Tage wachten bis seine Seele in seinen Körner zurlickkehrte | v. 13 μετα... φωνην αυτου; acth und eine Stimme erscholl | τον θεον (2°); aeth τον χριστον (den . Gesalhten) | εξυπνίζοντα: aeth auferwecken und richten | v. 14 ετη τετρ. εβδ. ab; aeth 303 (codd, 330, 333) Wochen von Tagen | και το δενδρον aeth; των δενδρων ab | φυτευθεν; aeth war und nicht gepflanzt war | кас., µечес; ab om; aeth und ihre Frucht wird bei den Engeln wohnen | v. 15 βεβλαστηκοτα; α βεβληκοτα | μετα...κλιθηναι (b κριon the whole verse thus in aeth; und um der Pflanzschule der Bäume willen, damit sie griin werden und hoch wachsen, wollen wie der Luft Verherrlichung spenden damit ihre Wurzeln nicht ausdürren wie eine Pflanze deren Wurzel nicht Boden gefasst hat | και ποιησει aeth; και ab | ως aeth; και ab | υ. 16 τα γλυκεα...γενησονται: neth addn και τα αλμυρα γλυκέα γενησονται | εν .. θεου; neth mit grossem Frohlocken und die Freuden Gottes | v. 17 xpiorov; aeth viov | v. 18 iva evay εωρακα; aeth damit ihnen gezeigt werde was ich geschen habe | κεκοσμημενον ab; aeth geschickt | neurwoas a aeth; raneurwoas b.

Cf. Ign. ad Trall. xr. 2. IX.]

Ίερεμίου περί του Υίου του Θεου, ότι έργεται είς τον κόσμον, 20 ωργίσθη ὁ λαὸς, καὶ εἶπε Ταῦτα πάλιν ἐστὶ τὰ ῥήματα τὰ ύπο 'Ησαίου τοῦ υίοῦ 'Αμώς εἰρημένα, λέγοντος ὅτι, Είδον 21 του Θεου, και του Τίου του Θεού. Δεύτε ούν, και μη άποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ ἐκείνου θανάτω, άλλά λίθοις λιθοβολήσωμεν 22 αὐτόν. Ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα ἐπὶ τῆ ἀπονοία ταύτη Βαρούγ καί 'Αβιμέλεγ, καὶ ὅτι ἤθελον ἀκοῦσαι πλήρης τὰ μυστήρια. 23 â είδε. Λέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἱερεμίας Σιωπήσατε, καὶ μὴ κλαίετε 24 ου μη γάρ με ἀποκτείνωσιν, έως ου πάντα όσα είδον διηγή-25 σωμαι ύμιν. Είπε δε αὐτοις 'Ενέγκατε μοι λίθον. 'Ο δε έστησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἶπε. Τὸ φῶς τῶν αἰώνων, ποίησον τὸν λίθον τοῦτον 26 καθ' ομοιότητά μου γενέσθαι. 'Ο δε λίθος ανέλαβεν ομοιότητα 27 του Ίερεμίου. Καὶ έλιθοβόλουν τον λίθον, νομίζοντες ότι 28 Ίερεμίας έστίν. 'Ο δὲ Ἱερεμίας πάντα παρέδωκε τὰ μυστήρια, 29 α είδε, τω Βαρούν και τω 'Λβιμέλεν. Και είθ' ούτως έστη έν μέσω τοῦ λαοῦ, ἐκτελέσαι βουλόμενος τὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτοῦ. 30 Έβόησε δε ό λίθος, λέγων 'Ω μωροί υίοι Ίσραήλ, διά τί λιθοβολείτέ με, νομίζοντες ὅτι ἐγώ Ἱερεμίας; Ἰδοὺ Ἱερεμίας 31 έν μέσω ύμων ζοταται. 'Ως δὲ είδον αὐτὸν, εὐθέως ἔδραμον προς αυτον μετά πολλών λίθων. Καὶ επληρώθη αυτοῦ οίκο-32 νομία. Καὶ έλθόντες Βαρούγ καὶ 'Λβιμέλεγ, έθαψαν αὐτὸν, καλ λαβόντες τὸν λίθον ἔθηκαν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ, ἐπιγράψαντες ούτως. Ούτός έστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ βοηθὸς τοῦ Ἱερεμίου.

