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## Article

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# A Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Homily on the Archangel Uriel\*

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## Introduction

Although angels are an integral part of contemporary Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahädo Church (hereafter EOTC) theology, Gəʿəz angelological texts have been little studied to date. Only a few indigenous works of this type have been published in scholarly publications (by Budge, Conti Rossini, Caquot, Getatchew Haile, Fiaccadori, and Beylot)<sup>1</sup> but these offer only a small glimpse into this rich Ethiopian tradition. The present article seeks to expand this corpus through an edition and translation of a fifteenth-century homily (comparing it with another copy of the seventeenth century) on the Archangel Uriel.

This homily, found in a collection of homilies dedicated to the angels (*Darsanä mälaʾəkt*), namely in the earliest known indigenous Ethiopic angelological compendium, is attested in two Gəʿəz manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> both belonging to the monastic library of Däbrä Ḥayq. The earlier witness, EMLL 1835 (fols 166ra–181vb),<sup>3</sup> was copied during the time of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (r 1434–1468), while the other, EMLL 1841 (fols 137vb–151ra),<sup>4</sup>

\* Part of this article was read at the workshop *Seconda Giornata di Studi Etiopici dedicati a Paolo Marrassini*, organized by the Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Studi interculturali, Università degli Studi di Firenze, on 24 March 2017. I would like to thank Prof. Loren Stuckenbruck, my scientific host at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, for his scholarly and all-around help during my postdoctoral research awarded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. I am grateful to Prof. Getatchew Haile for his useful suggestions on how to approach the study of this text. My colleague Ted Erho deserves special thanks for providing me materials and helpful comments on the draft of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Budge 1894; Conti Rossini 1950; Caquot 1955; Caquot 1957; Getatchew Haile 1992; Getatchew Haile 2017, 39–49; Fiaccadori 1997; Beylot 2014.

<sup>2</sup> MSS Collegeville, MN, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (= EMLL), 1835 and 1841. Perhaps more such manuscripts exist, but, at present, only two are known to contain this text.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript is described by Getatchew Haile 1981, 326–327.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

has been dated to the seventeenth century on palaeographic grounds. As far as their genealogical relation is concerned, both copies descend from the same archetype. Apart from the textual arrangement, there is significant internal evidence to support this proposal. To mention some common archetype errors:<sup>5</sup> in § 6/13 both manuscripts say ‘እምኔከ ፣’ as against ‘ዘተአመን ከ ፣’ in the reconstructed text; in § 10/24 the reconstructed text says ‘ግራሲ ፣’ whereas both manuscripts read ‘ደራሲ ፣’; in § 16/2, both manuscripts read ‘ወትፈርህ ፣’, on the other hand the reconstructed text says ‘ወትበርህ ፣’; the reconstructed text in § 17/9 gives the reading ‘ኢትግድፎሙ ፣’, on the other hand both manuscripts have ‘ኢትግድፈኒ ፣’. In the following edition, the sigla A and D have been assigned to EML 1835 and EML 1841 respectively. Since only two copies are available, I have decided to make A the base text (for it is the older copy), which is then compared with D.

Two Old Testament writings/pseudepigrapha, 4 Ezra and 1 Enoch,<sup>6</sup> serve as the primary base for the homily, and both are quoted extensively (4 Ezra 3:1–5:49, 10:28–58; 1 En. 8:4, 9:1, 19:1, 20:1, 27:1–4, 33:2–4, 72:1, 82:7–9). In most cases, the citation slavishly adheres to the quoted work, though in a few cases the author summarizes and abridges the source material. Section 21 of the current homily has striking similarities to the ‘Homily on the Glory of Saturday’ and the *Māṣḥafä milad*.<sup>7</sup>

In general, the homily depicts Uriel as one of the great archangels, and as the *angelus interpres* and helper of both Enoch and Ezra; it concludes by advising the faithful and the clergy to celebrate the feast of Uriel so that they will obtain blessings and live a holy life.

Most EOTC traditions about the Archangel Uriel derive from the far more influential *Därsanä Ura’el* (‘Homiliary on Uriel’, hereafter the *Därsan* or the *Homiliary*). The *Därsan* comprises dozens of homilies and miracles (thus I use the term ‘long recension’), attested in more than thirteen manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> André Caquot’s publication (1955) is neither the complete *Därsanä Ura’el* nor the short recension but the ‘Homily by Theodosius’ from the

<sup>5</sup> Paragraph numbering is based on the edition.

<sup>6</sup> While 1 Enoch and 4 Ezra are considered scriptural by the EOTC, other Christian traditions consider one or both to be non-canonical. 4 Ezra was checked against the translation of Metzger 1983. For 1 Enoch I consulted the translation of Isaac 1983.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Getatchew Haile 1981, 327. On the other hand, VanderKam says that there is an extended quotation from Jubilees 1 in the Ethiopian *Apocalypse of Ezra*, while homiletic works such as the *Māṣḥafä milad* (‘Book of Nativity’) draw material from several places in Jubilees (‘Jubilees, Book of’, *EAE*, III (2007), 303a–b (J. C. VanderKam)). Cf. Wendt 1962a; 1962b; 1963a; 1963b.

<sup>8</sup> An edition and translation of *Därsanä Ura’el* is currently in preparation by the author of this article.

same homiliary.<sup>9</sup> Compilation and standardization of the *Dərsan* was done during the time of Mənilək II (r 1889–1913), though parts of it were composed before the nineteenth century. The homily under discussion (here I use the ‘short recension’),<sup>10</sup> however, certainly predates the composition of the *Homiliary*. Indeed, assuming that the full *Dərsanä mäla’əkt* is illustrative of theological developments around the time of Zär’a Ya’əqob, it may well be described as a precursor of the more substantive Uriel traditions found today. Veneration of the archangel seems, for example, to have become more popular after Zär’a Ya’əqob, and the first church dedicated in his honour was built by Emperor Na’od (r 1494–1508) at Bāyo and Mänzəḥ in the province of Kalena (which is called Əmäg<sup>w</sup>a) in the current Sämen Šäwa zone.<sup>11</sup> As veneration of the Archangel Uriel took place long before the composition of the *Dərsanä Ura’el*, our homily may well have played a role, perhaps even a substantial one, in its early stages.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the edition of the *Dərsanä Ura’el* by Täsfa Mika’el Gäbrä Šəllase (Täsfa Mika’el Gäbrä Šəllase 1992/1993, 318–385).

<sup>10</sup> As far as the textual history of the homily dedicated to the Archangel Uriel is concerned, there are two recensions: the ‘short’ and the ‘long’. The short recension is dedicated to be read on 21 Ḥamle (= 28 July). It is the earlier and briefer text, mentions no miracles and differs in form and content from the other recension. The long recension, on the other hand, assigns homilies to be read for every month followed by a miracle, and some manuscripts of this recension add the ‘image’ (*mälkə*) of Uriel at the end of the *Dərsan*.

<sup>11</sup> The *Dərsan* says that Emperor Na’od built the first church in commemoration of Uriel in Sämen Šäwa. The text is as follows: ‘ወእምድገረ ሐረ። (ናዖድ ፣) ሀገረ ፡ መንዝገ ፡ ሐነጸ ፡ ቩእብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ለእሐቲ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ በስመ ፡ ማርያም ፡ ወለካልዑ ፡ በስመ ፡ ዑርኤል ፡ ወሥልሰ ፡ በስመ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገዳመ ፡ ካሌና ፡ ዘትትባህል ፡ እመን ።’ (‘After he (Emperor Na’od) went to the country of Mänzəḥ, he built three churches in Kalena, which is called Əmäg<sup>w</sup>a: one dedicated to Mary, the other dedicated to Uriel and the third one is dedicated to Our Lord (Jesus)’, Täsfa Mika’el Gäbrä Šəllase 1992/1993, 314; translation my own). Popular traditions on Əmäg<sup>w</sup>a say that it is a holy place which Uriel sanctified with the blood of Christ and that Əmäg<sup>w</sup>a became the safe haven for the Holy Grail. A popular book by Alemayehu Wassie Eshete (‘Alämayyāhu Wase Əšäte) titled እመን (*Əmäg<sup>w</sup>a*) describes this tradition after doing frequent field visits to Kalena and interviewing the monks (‘Alämayyāhu Wase Əšäte 2014/2015).

Text

[1] በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ አምላክ ፡ ጸሐፍ A 166ra  
 ነ ፡ ድርሳነ ፡ ዘይትነበብ ፡ አመ ፡ ፳፱፱ ፡ ለወርኅ ፡ ሐምሌ ፡ በበዓለ ፡ ኡራኤ D 137vb  
 ል ፡ ፩ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ይተግሁ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ቅዱሳን ። መልአክ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ወቅ A 166rb  
 5 ዱስ ፡ ዘተፈነወ ፡ እምጎበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጎበ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይ D 138ra  
 ናዝዞ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ያርእዮ ፡ ምሳልያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ያ[ይ]ድእ ፡ ምሥጢራተ ፡ ዘ A 166rb  
 ይክውን ፡ ኩሎ ፡ በደኃሪ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ አመተሀውክ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ D 138ra  
 በዪዋዌ ፡ ወአመ ፡ አኃ[ዘ] ፡ ይኅዘን ፡ ወይተክዝ ፡ ዐቢየ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዪዋዌ ፡ D 138ra  
 ሕዝቡ ፡ ሰበ ፡ ርእየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይቀንዮሙ ፡ ለእስራኤል ፡ እኩየ ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ወመ  
 10 ሪሪ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ መምለክያነ ፡ ጣየት ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ ዕዝ A 166va  
 ራ ። D 138rb

[2] ወአመ ፡ ፴ ፡ ዓመት ፡ እም[ዘ] ፡ ወድቀት ፡ ሀገርነ ፡ ወሀለውኩ ፡ ውስ A 166va  
 ተ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ አነ ፡ ሱቱኤል ፡ ወተሰመይኩ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡ ወለበውኩ ፡ ድንጉ D 138rb  
 ፅየ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ምስካቢየ ፡ ወክሡት ፡ ገፅየ ፡ ወሕሊናየ ፡ የዐርግ ፡ ውስተ ፡ A 166va  
 15 ልብየ ፡ | እስመ ፡ ርኢኩ ፡ ሙስናሃ ፡ ለጽዮን ፡ ወትፍሥሕቶሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ D 138rb  
 ይነብሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ባቢሎን ፡ ወተሀውክት ፡ ነናስየ ፡ ጥቀ ። | ወአጎዝኩ ፡ እ A 166vb  
 ትናገር ፡ ምስለ ፡ ልዑል ፡ ነገሪ ፡ ግሩመ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እብል ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አንተ ፡ A 166vb  
 ትቤ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈጠርካሃ ፡ ለምድር ፡ ቀዲሙ ፡ ወዘንተኒ ፡ ባሕቲትክ ፡ አዘዝ A 166vb  
 ካሁ ፡ ለመሬተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወአውዕአቶ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ በሥጋ ፡ መዋቲ ። ወውእ A 166vb  
 20 ቱኒ ፡ ግብረ ፡ እደዌክ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወነፈሳክ ፡ [sic] ላዕሌሁ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ሕይወ A 166vb  
 ት ፡ ወኮነ ፡ እንለ ፡ እመሕያው ፡ በቅድሚክ ። | ወአጎደርክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገነ A 166vb  
 ት ፡ እንተ ፡ ተከለት ፡ የማንክ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ትቁም ፡ ምድር ። ወአዘዝኩ ፡ ሎ D 138va  
 ቱ ፡ ትእዛዘ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ወዐለወክ ። [3] ወእምዝ ፡ ፈጠርክ ፡ ላዕሌሁ ፡ ሞተ ፡ D 138va  
 ወላዕለ ፡ ውሉዱ ። ወ|ወለዱ ፡ ወተዋለዱ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ ወሕዝብኒ ፡ D 138va  
 25 ወነገድኒ ፡ ወበሐውርትኒ ፡ እለ ፡ አልቦሙ ፡ ማጎላቅት ። ወሐሩ ፡ ኩሎ A 167ra  
 ሙ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ለለግዕዞሙ ፡ ወአበሱ ፡ በቅድሚክ ፡ ወክህዱክ ፤ ወአንተሰ ፡ A 167ra  
 ኢክላእኮሙ ። ወካዕበ ፡ አምጸእክ ፡ አይኃ ፡ በበዘመኑ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወላ A 167ra  
 ዕለ ፡ እለ ፡ ይነብሩ ፡ | ውስተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወአጥፋእኮሙ ። ወኮነ ፡ ዕሩየ ፡ ኩነ A 167ra  
 ኔሆሙ ፡ አምጸእክ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ አዳም ፡ ሞተ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ አይኃ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እሉኒ ። A 167ra  
 30 ወአትረፍክ ፡ ለክ ፡ አሐደ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ቤቱ ። ወእምውስቲቶሙ ፡ ወእምኔሆ D 138vb  
 ሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ጸድቃን ። ወእምዝ ፡ አጎዝ ፡ ይብዝኑ ፡ ወይምልኡ ፡ እለ ፡ D 138vb  
 ይነብሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ። ወበዝኑ ፡ ውሉዶሙ ፡ ወተወልዱ ፡ እምኔሆ D 138vb  
 ሙ ፡ አህዛብ ፡ ወሕዝብኒ ፡ ብዙኅ ። ወአኃዙ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ይእብሱ ፡ ፈድፋደ ፡ D 138vb

[1]5 ምሥጢራተ ፡ ዘይክውን ፡ ኩሎ ፡ በደኃሪ ፡ ] ምሥጢራተ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ያድፖ ፡ ምሳልያተ ። D  
 7 ዪዋዌ ፡ ] ጼ” D 9 መምለክያነ ፡ ] ”ኪ” D [2]2 ወለበውኩ ፡ ] ወሀለውኩ ፡ D | ድንጉፅየ ፡ ] ”ዮ ፡ A  
 4 ሙስናሃ ፡ ] መ” A 5 እትናገር ፡ ] እትገር A 9 ወነፈሳክ ፡ ] pro ወነፈሳክ ፡ A D 10 ወአጎደርክ ፡ ]  
 ሁ” ፡ D [3]2 ወወለዱ ፡ ]2 ወወልዱ ፡ D 3 ማጎላቅት ። ]”ተ ፡ D 4 ለለግዕዞሙ ፡ ] ለለግዞሙ ፡ A  
 ወክህዱክ ፤ ] ”ኦ” D 5 በበዘመኑ ፡ ] በበ ፡ ዘመኑ ፡ D 7 አምጸእክ ፡ ] ”መ” A | ላዕለ ፡ ] ለእለ ፡ A  
 9 ጸድቃን ። ]”ነ ፡ D 11 ወሕዝብኒ ፡ ] ወሕዝብ ፡ D | ይእብሱ ፡ ] የአብሱ ፡ D

**Translation**

A 166ra [1] In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one  
 D 137vb God, we wrote a homily to be read on the twenty-first of the  
 month of Ḥamle,<sup>1</sup> on the feast of Uriel who is one of the vigilant  
 holy angels. (He is) a great holy angel, who was sent from the  
 Lord<sup>2</sup> to Prophet Ezra to console him, show him the symbols,  
 [and] reveal to him all mysteries which will take place in the later  
 A 166rb days. (This happened) when Ezra was | troubled while he was in  
 D 138ra captivity, | and when he was distressed and was greatly sorrowful  
 about the captivity of the people, when he saw the idol-worship-  
 10 ping Babylonians put the Israelites under cruel and bitter ser-  
 vitude, as Ezra himself has said.

[2] In the thirtieth year after the fall [of] our country, when I  
 was in Babylon, I, Sutu<sup>3</sup>el, who is named Ezra,<sup>3</sup> thought, and was  
 terrified, while in my bed and my face was open, and my mind was  
 A 166va lifted to my heart, | for I saw the destruction of Zion, and the  
 pleasure of the inhabitants of Babylon. My soul was severely  
 D 138rb troubled. | I started speaking with the Most High about a terrify-  
 ing matter, saying, ‘Oh Lord, have you (not) spoken when you  
 formerly created the earth, and you alone ordered the dust of the  
 earth and it brought forth Adam in a mortal flesh? He is the work  
 of your hands, and you breathed into him the spirit of life, and he  
 A 166vb became man in front of you. | And you had him dwell in the para-  
 dise that your right hand planted before the earth existed. You in-  
 structed him with a righteous order, but he revolted against you. 25

[3] Then you brought (lit. ‘created’) death upon him and his chil-  
 D 138va dren. Nations, peoples, tribes, and endless groups were born |  
 from him and they were procreated. All the nations went accord-  
 ing to their demeanour and erred before you, and denied you.  
 However, you did not reject them. Also, you brought, at different  
 A 167ra times, flood on the earth and on those who were in | the world,  
 and you destroyed them. Their punishment was equal to that of  
 Adam. As you brought death on Adam, likewise, flood on them.  
 You spared for yourself one with his family; and all the righteous  
 D 138vb (came) from among them and from them. | Then, they started to 35  
 multiply and fill the land in which they were living. Their children

<sup>1</sup> i.e. 28 July.

<sup>2</sup> In this homily, I have translated እግዚአብሔር ፡ as ‘Lord’ and አምላክ ፡ as ‘God’.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 4 Ezra 3:1.

እንዝ፡ ቀዲሙ፡ ። [4] ወእምዝ፡ ሶበ፡ አበሱ፡ ቅድሚክ፡ ጎረይክ፡ ፩፡ እም  
 ኔሆሙ፡ ዘስሙ፡ አብርሃም፡ ወአፍቀርከሁ፡ ወአርአይኮ፡ መጎለቅተ፡ ፡ 9 A 167rb  
 ለም፡ ለባጎቲቲ፡ ዘበሕቲትክሙ፡ ሌሊተ፡ ። ወአቀምክ፡ ሎቲ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ዘለ  
 ዓለም፡ ከመ፡ ለግሙራ፡ ኢትግድ፡ ለዘርዑ፡ እለ፡ ወፅዑ፡ እምግብ፡ ፡  
 5 ወወሰድኩሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብረ፡ | ሲና፡ ። ወአጽገንክ፡ ሰማያተ፡ ወአድለቅለ  
 ቃ፡ ለምድር፡ ወሆካ፡ ለዓለም፡ ወአድለቅለቃ፡ ለቀላይ፡ ወአኮሰካ፡ ለባሕ  
 ር፡ ። ወጎለፈ፡ ፡ ፬፡ አናቅፀ፡ ስብሐቲክ፡ ዘእሳትኒ፡ ወዘድልቅልቅኒ፡ ወዘመ  
 ንፈሰኒ፡ ወዘበረድኒ፡ ከመ፡ ተሀቦሙ፡ ለዘርአ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ሕገ፡ ወለዘመ  
 ደ፡ እስራኤል፡ ትእዛዘ፡ ። ወኢያሰሰልክ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ልበ፡ እኩዩ፡ ከመ፡ ፡ A 167va  
 10 ይግበሩ፡ ፍሬ፡ ሕግክ፡ በላዕሌሆሙ፡ ። እስመ፡ ልበ፡ እኩዩ፡ ለብሰ፡ አዳ  
 ም፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ወተመወአ፡ ወአኮ፡ ውእቲ፡ ባሕቲቲ፡ ለኩሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ፡  
 ተወልዱ፡ እምኔሆሁ፡ ። D 139rb  
 [5] ወእምዝ፡ ነበረት፡ ይእቲ፡ ደዌ፡ ምስለ፡ ሕግክ፡ ውስተ፡ ልበ፡ ሕዝ  
 ብ፡ ምስለ፡ ሥርወ፡ እኩይ፡ ። ጠፍአት፡ ሠናይት፡ ወተርፈት፡ እኪት፡ ፡ A 167vb  
 15 ወጎለፈ፡ መዋዕል፡ ወተፈጸመ፡ ዘመን፡ ። ወአቀምክ፡ ለክ፡ ገብርክ፡ ዘስ  
 ሙ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ይሕንጽ፡ ሀገረክ፡ ለስምክ፡ ወያብኡ፡ ውስቲቲ፡ ፡  
 እምነ፡ መባእክ፡ ። ወአኮ፡ ብዙኅ፡ መዋዕል፡ ወዓመታተ፡ ወአበሱ፡ እለ፡ ፡  
 ይነብሩ፡ ዲበ፡ ምድር፡ እንዝ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘያሴንዩ፡ ወኢምንተኒ፡ በከመ፡ ፡ D 139va  
 20 ይ፡ ልብ፡ ። ወመጣክ፡ ሀገረክ፡ ውስተ፡ እደ፡ ጸላእትክ፡ ። [6] ወእቤ፡ አነ፡ ፡  
 በልብዩ፡ ውእተ፡ | አሚረ፡ ቦኑ፡ እለ፡ ይኔይሱነ፡ እሉ፡ ነቢረ፡ ባቢሎ  
 ን፡ ይነብሩ፡ ይኔይሱ፡ ከመ፡ ይንሥእዋ፡ ለሀገረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ። ወእምዝ፡ በጸ  
 ሕነ፡ ዝዩ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ኃሙአተ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ኅልቄ፡ ወብዙኃነ፡ ከሐድያነ፡ ፡  
 ርእየት፡ ነፍሰዩ፡ ናሁ፡ ፬፡ ዓመተ፡ ። በዝንቲ፡ አንከረ፡ ልብዩ፡ ወእፎ፡ ት  
 25 ትዔገሶሙ፡ ለኃጥአን፡ ርእይዩ፡ ወከመ፡ ትምሕሙ፡ ለረሲዓን፡ ። ወገደ  
 ፍክ፡ ሕዝበክ፡ ወወቀብክ፡ ጸላእተክ፡ ። ወኢነገርክ፡ ወኢለመኑሂ፡ እፎ፡ ፡ D 139vb  
 ደኃሪታ፡ ለሃቲ፡ ፍኖት፡ ። ቦኑ፡ ዘትኔይሱ፡ ባቢሎን፡ ለጽዮን፡ ገቢረ ፤ አ  
 30 ው፡ ካልአኑ፡ ሕዝበ፡ አእመርክ፡ እምእስራኤል፡ አው፡ አይ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ፡  
 <ዘተአመንክ፡> ከመ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ በሕግክ፡ ዘኢያስተርኢ፡ ዕሤቲ፡ ወፍሬ፡ ፡  
 ጸግሁ፡ ። ወሐርክ፡ ውስተ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ወረከብክዎሙ፡ ፍሱሐነ፡ እንዝ፡ ኢ

[4],1 ጎረይክ፡] ሐ” D | ፩፡] አሐደ፡ D 2 መጎለቅተ፡] ማ” D 3 ዘበሕቲትክሙ፡] በባሕ” D  
 8 ወዘበረድኒ፡] ወዘበድኒ፡ D 10 በላዕሌሆሙ፡ ።] ላዕሌሆሙ፡ D 11 ወተመወአ፡] ”ውአ፡ D  
 [5],4 ሀገረክ፡] ”ር” D 6 ወኢምንተኒ፡] ወአ” A 7 ትውልድ፡] ”ዱ፡ D 8 ሀገረክ፡] ”ር” D  
 [6],2 ውእተ፡] ወ.” A 4 ኅልቄ፡] preserves the archaic form of ኅ” A | ወብዙኃነ፡] ”ን፡ D  
 ከሐድያነ፡] ”ን፡ D 5 ርእየት፡] ወ” D | አንከረ፡] ”ት፡ D 6 ትምሕሙ፡] ትምክሐሙ፡ D  
 7 ወወቀብክ፡] ”ዓ” D | ጸላእተክ፡] ጸላእክ፡ A; ”ት” D 8 ለጽዮን፡ om. D 9 ሕዝበ፡] ”ብ፡ A  
 እምእስራኤል፡] ራ later add. A 10 <ዘተአመንክ፡>] እምኔክ፡ AD | ወፍሬ፡ ጸግሁ፡ ።] እምፍሬ፡ ፡  
 ጸግሁ፡ D 11 ውስተ፡] rep. D

4 This verse and the following are from 4 Ezra 3:12.

became many; nations and many people were born from them. Again, they started to sin greatly as before. [4] And when they  
 A 167rb sinned before you, you chose one of them whose name was | Abra-  
 ham.<sup>4</sup> You loved him and you revealed to him alone the end of the  
 world, at night when you (two) were alone.<sup>5</sup> You made for him an  
 5 everlasting covenant that you would never forsake his seeds which  
 D 139ra came out of Egypt. You brought them to Mount | Sinai. You  
 lowered the heavens, shook the earth, and stirred the world, made  
 the ocean to tremble, and stirred the sea. And your glory passed  
 A 167va through | four gates, which are of fire, earthquake, wind, and ice to  
 10 give the law to the seed of Jacob and the commandment to the  
 tribes of Israel. But you did not remove from them the evil mind  
 in order for them to perform the fruit of your law (appear) on  
 them. For Adam wore formerly an evil heart, and was defeated,  
 D 139rb not he alone but all who were born from | him. 15

[5] Thus the disease became permanent together with your law  
 in the people's heart together with the evil root. What was good  
 A 167vb disappeared, and evil | remained. And ages passed and the time was  
 completed. And you raised up for yourself a servant whose name  
 was David and you told him to build your city in your name so  
 that they may bring into it your offering. Not many times and  
 years (passed before) all inhabitants of the earth erred, performing  
 nothing good, as Adam and all his descendants had done. For  
 D 139va they, too, had | worn the evil heart. And you delivered your city  
 into the hands of your enemies.<sup>6</sup> [6] At that time, I said in my  
 A 168ra heart, 'Are the deeds of the | inhabitants of Babylon any better  
 than us, better to take the city of Zion?' After this, we came here  
 (in Babylon) and I saw countless sins, and my soul saw many den-  
 iers during these thirty years (lit. 'behold thirty years'). My heart  
 was amazed by this, and seeing how you tolerated the sinners, and  
 20 how you spared the ungodly, and forsook your people but kept  
 D 139vb your enem<ies>. You have not told anyone how | the end of this  
 A 168rb path will be. Is Babylon really better | than Zion (in behaviour)?  
 Or have you recognized other people than Israel? Or what people  
 have you <entrusted>, as Jacob, by your law, whose reward and  
 30 the fruit of his labour have not appeared? And you have travelled  
 among nations and you found them happy without minding your

<sup>5</sup> Here Metzger's translation of 4 Ezra 3:15 says 'end of the times', whereas I have translated 'end of the world'. Cf. Metzger 1983, 528.

<sup>6</sup> Section 5 is partially from 4 Ezra 3:20–27.



ይዜከሩ፡ ሕገክ፡ ወትእዛዘክ ። ወይእዜኒ፡ ድሉ፡ በመዳልው፡ ኃጣውኢነ፡ ወዘይነብሩ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘጎቤሁ፡ ይትረክብ፡ ሕቀ፡ ወመጠነ፡ እን ተ፡ ታገብእ፡ ዐይነ፡ መዳልው ። ወማእዜኑ፡ ኢአበሱ፡ | ቅድሚክ፡ እለ፡ ይነብሩ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ | አው፡ አይ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ዘከመዝ፡ ዐቀቡ፡ ትእዛዘ 5 ክ ። ወሕዝብ፡ ፍጹም፡ ኢይትረክቡ ።

[7] ወአውሥእኒ፡ ዝንቱ፡ መልእክ፡ ዘተፈነው፡ ጎቤየ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ኡራኤ ል፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ አንክሮ፡ እንክ፡ ልብክ፡ ከመ፡ ትረክብ፡ ምክረ፡ ስብሐቲ ሁ፡ ለልዑል ። ወእቤ፡ እው፡ እግዚእየ ። ወይቤለኒ፡ ሠልሰ፡ ፍኖት፡ ተፈ ፍኹ፡ አርኢክ ፤ ወሥልሰ፡ አምሳለ፡ እሢም፡ ቅድሚክ ። ወእመ፡ ነገርክ 10 ኒ፡ አሐተ፡ እምኔሆን፡ እነግረክ፡ አነሂ፡ እንተ፡ ትፈቱ፡ ታእምር፡ እንቦ ይነ፡ ምንት፡ ዝንቱ፡ | ልብ፡ | እኩየ ። ወእቤ፡ በል፡ እግዚእየ፡ ወይነሊ፡ ሐር፡ ድሉ፡ እ[ሳ]ተ፡ በበጃ፡ መዳልው፡ ወስፈር፡ ወነፋስ፡ በስፈርት፡ አ 15 ው፡ ጸውዓ፡ ለዕለት፡ እንተ፡ ጎለፈት ። ወአውሣእክም፡ ወእቤሎ፡ መኑ፡ ዘተወልደ፡ እምአንስት፡ ወይክሎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ግብር፡ ከመ፡ ኪያየ፡ ትሰአ ለኒ፡ በበይነ፡ ዝንቱ ።

[8] ወይቤለኒ፡ ሶበሰ፡ ተስእልኩክ፡ ወብለክ፡ ሚመጠን፡ አብያት፡ ሀለ ወ፡ ውስተ፡ ልበ፡ ባሕር፡ አው፡ ሚመጠን፡ አንቅዕት፡ ውስተ፡ ቀላይ ። አው፡ ሚመጠን፡ ፍኖት፡ ሲኦል ። አው፡ አይ፡ ፍኖተ፡ ገነት ። እመ፡ ትቤለኒ፡ ውስተ፡ ቀላይኒ፡ ኢወረ|ድኩ፡ ወውስተ፡ ሲኦልኒ፡ ግሙራ፡ 20 ኢወረድኩ፡ ወውስተ፡ ሰማይኒ፡ ግሙራ፡ ኢዐረጉ ። ወይእዜሰ፡ ኢተስእ ልኩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ በእንተ፡ እሳት፡ ወነፋስ፡ ወዕለት፡ እንተ፡ ጎለፈት ። ወና ሁ፡ ኢትክል፡ አእምሮቶ፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘአውሣእክኒ፡ በእንተ፡ እሉ፡ ወይ ቤለኒ፡ ሶበ፡ እንተ፡ ለዘጎቤክ፡ ኢትክል፡ አእምሮ፡ ሥርዐተ፡ ፍኖቱ፡ ለ ልዑል ። ወኢትክል፡ እንተ፡ ዘ<ት>ማስን፡ አምሮ፡ ፍኖቱ፡ ለዘኢይማስ 25 ን ። ወእምዝ፡ ሶበ፡ ሰማዕክ፡ ወደቁ፡ በገጽየ፡ ወእቤሎ፡ እምጎየሰነ፡ ሶ በ፡ ኢተፈጠርነ፡ እምንት፡ ፈጠር፡ ወንሕየው፡ በጎጢአተነ፡ ወነሐምም ። ወኢናእምር፡ በዘነሐ|ምም ።

[9] ወአውሥእኒ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ ሐሩአ፡ አም፡ ወዕፀው፡ ገዳም፡ ወተማከሩ፡ ምክረ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ ንዑ፡ ንሐር፡ ንጽብእ፡ ለባሕር፡ ወከመ፡ ናእትት፡ እ 30 ምቅድሚኒ፡ ወንግበር፡ ለነ፡ ካልዐ፡ ብሔረ፡ ለአም ። ወከማሁ፡ ማእበለ፡

12 ሕገክ፡] ”ግ” D | ወትእዛዘክ ።] ”ዝ” D | ኃጣውኢነ፡] ኃጣውኢነ፡ D 13 ዘጎቤሁ፡] ወዘኃ” D ሕቀ፡] ህ” D 14 ዐይነ፡] ኃይለ፡ D | ኢአበሱ፡] አበሱ፡ D | ቅድሚክ፡] በ” D 15 ዐቀቡ፡] ዓ” D ትእዛዘክ ።] ወትዛ” A, ወትእዛ” D [7],2 ትረክብ፡] ”ርክ” D 3 ሠልሰ፡] ሠለሥተ፡ D | ፍኖት፡] ”ተ፡ D 4 ወሥልሰ፡] ወሰልሥ፡ D 5 አነሂ፡] ወአ” D | ታእምር፡] አእ” D 6 እኩየ ።] ”ይ፡ D ወይነሊ፡] ወይቤለኒ፡ D 7 እ[ሳ]ተ፡] እሰተ፡ A | በበጃ፡] om. D | መዳልው፡] በመ” D | ወስፈር፡] ”ፍ” D | ወነፋስ፡] ነፋስ፡ D | በስፈርት፡] በመ” D 9 እምአንስት፡] om. A [8],1 ወብለክ፡] ወእብ” D | ሚመጠን፡] ”ነ፡ D | ሀለዉ፡] ”ወ፡ D 3 ፍኖት፡] ”ተ፡ D 4 ቀላይኒ፡] ቀላይ፡ D 5 ኢተስእልኩ፡] ”እልኩክ፡ D 8 እንተ፡] አ” D | ለዘጎቤክ፡] ለዘ፡ ኃቤክ፡ D 9 እንተ፡] አ” AD ዘ<ት>ማስን፡] ዘታ” AD | አምሮ፡] አእምሮ፡ D | ለዘኢይማስን ።] ለዘ፡ ኢይማስን፡ D 10 ሰማዕክ፡] ”ኩ፡ D 11 ፈጠር፡] እምንትፈጠር፡ D 12 ወኢናእምር፡] ወኢናእምር፡ D [9],2 ንጽብእ፡] ንጽብእሙ፡ D

law and commandment. Now therefore weigh in a balance our sins and those of the inhabitants of the world; in which it will be found which way the turn of the scale will incline. And when | have the inhabitants of the world not sinned before you? | Or what people have kept strictly your commandment? And no perfect people is found (on earth).<sup>7</sup> [7] And the angel named Uriel that has been sent to me, answered and said to me, ‘Admire with your heart so that you may receive counsel of the glory of the Most High.’ Then I said, ‘Yes, my Lord.’ And he replied to me, ‘I have been sent to you to show you three ways;<sup>8</sup> and I will set three similitudes before you. If you can solve one of them for me, I also will show you the way you desire to know, and tell | you why the heart is | evil.’ I said, ‘Speak on, my Lord.’ And he said to me, ‘Go, weigh fire on a scale and measure the wind in a measure, or call back the day that has passed.’ I answered him and said, ‘Who of those born of women can do this thing as you asked me?’<sup>9</sup>

[8] And he said to me, ‘If I had asked you, saying, “How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea, or how many fountains are there in the ocean, or how many are the roads to Sheol, or which are the roads to | paradise?’, you would say to me, “I did not go down into the ocean, | I never went down to Sheol, and I never ascended into heaven.” Now I have not asked other than fire, wind, and the passed day. And, behold, you cannot comprehend, and you did not reply to me about these things.’ And he said to me, ‘If you cannot comprehend the order of the way of the Most High, a corruptible mind cannot comprehend the way of the incorruptible.’ Then when I heard (this), I fell on my face | and said to him, ‘It would be better for us not to be created than created and live in our sins; and to suffer but not understand why we suffer.’<sup>10</sup> |

[9] He answered me and said, ‘Trees<sup>11</sup> and desert plants came together and made a plan and said, “Come, let us go and wage war against the sea that we may have it retreat before us, and make us

<sup>7</sup> Section 6 is from 4 Ezra 3:28–36.

<sup>8</sup> For the expression ‘three ways’ cf. 4 Ezra 4:3 ‘three problems’.

<sup>9</sup> For Section 7 cf. 4 Ezra 4:1–6.

<sup>10</sup> Section 8 is from 4 Ezra 4:7–12.

<sup>11</sup> I have translated አዎ as ‘tree’ and ‘forest’, as given in Leslau 1987, 62.

ባሕርኒ ፡ ተማከሩ ፡ ምክረ ፡ ወይቤሉ ፡ ንዑ ፡ ንዕርግ ፡ ወንጽብአሙ ፡ ለአ  
 ም ፡ ዘውሰተ ፡ ገዳም ፡ ከመ ፡ | ንግበር ፡ ለነ ፡ ካልዓ ፡ ብሔረ ፡ ለባሕር ። ወ A 169va  
 ኮነ ፡ ከንቱ ፡ ምክሩ ፡ ለአም ፡ ወሶበ ፡ መጽአት ፡ እሳት ፡ ወበልዓቶ ፡ ከማ  
 ሁ ፡ ምክሩ ፡ ለባሕር ፡ ወለማእበሉ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሐፃ ፡ አቀሞ ፡ ወከልኦ ፡ ወእ  
 5 መሰ ፡ ተአምር ፡ ፍትሕ ፡ መነ ፡ እ|ምእሉ ፡ ትጸድቅ ፡ ወመነ ፡ ታአሱ ። D 141ra  
 [10] ወአውሃእክዎ ፡ ወእቤሎ ፡ ክልኤሆሙ ፡ አበሱ ፡ ወከንቶ ፡ ሐለዩ ፡ እ  
 ስመ ፡ ምድርኒ ፡ ተውሕበት ፡ ለአም ፡ ባሕርኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትጽር ፡ ማዕበላ ። ወ  
 አውሥአኒ ፡ ወይቤሉኒ ፡ ሠናዩ ፡ ፈትሕክ ፡ ወለምንት ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ዘኢትፈት A 169vb  
 ሕ ፡ ለርእስክ ። በከመ ፡ ተውጎበት ፡ ምድር ፡ ለአም ፡ ወባሕርኒ ፡ ለማዕበ  
 10 ል ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ውሰተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ይንበሩ ፡ ዘውሰተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ዓዕ  
 ሙ ፡ ይክሉ ፡ አእምሮ ፡ ወአኮ ፡ ዘበሰማያት ፡ ወዘመልዕልተ ፡ ሰማያት ። ወ  
 አውሳእክዎ ፡ ወእቤሎ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ለምንት ፡ እንክ ፡ ተውህበ ፡ ለነ ፡ ልብ ፡  
 በዘንጌሊ ። አንሰ ፡ ኢፈቀ፣ኩኩ ፡ እስእል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ልዑል ፡ ፍናዊሁ ፡ አ D 141rb  
 ላ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘዩጎልፍ ፡ ሳዕሌነ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ አሚረ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተውህበ ፡ እስራ  
 15 ኤል ፡ | ለአሕሳብ ፡ ወሕዝብኒ ፡ ዘ<ታ>ፈቅር ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ኃጥአን ። ወተገደ A 170ra  
 ፈ ፡ አራቶሙ ፡ ለአበዊነ ፡ ወኢሀሎ ፡ ኪዳነነ ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ ፡ ወነጎልፍ ፡ እም  
 ዓ<ለ>ም ፡ ከመ ፡ አንበጣ ፡ ወሕይወትነሂ ፡ ከመ ፡ ጢስ ፡ ወኢይደልወነ ፡ ይ  
 መሐሩነ ። ወበሕቱ ፡ ምንተ ፡ <ን>ሬሲ ፡ ለ<ሰ>ሙ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘተሰምዩ ፡ ሳ  
 ዕሌነ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ተስእልኩክ ። [11] ወአውሥአኒ ፡ ወይቤሉኒ ፡ እመ  
 20 ሰ ፡ ሀሎክ ፡ ሐዩውክ ፡ ትሬእዮ ፡ በጊዜሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይጌጉእ ፡ ለሐሊፍ ፡ እ  
 ስመ ፡ ኢይክል ፡ | ዓለም ፡ ጸዊረ ፡ ተስፋሆሙ ፡ ለጸድቃን ፡ እስመ ፡ ምሉ A 170rb  
 እ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ጸእረ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወምሉእ ፡ ደዌ ። እስመ ፡ ተመልአት ፡ እኪ  
 ት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ተስእልኩኒ ፡ በእንቲአሁ ፡ ወኢበጽሐ ፡ መእረራ ። ወእመ ፡  
 ኢተዐጽደ ፡ ማእረራ ፡ ለይእቱ ፡ ብሔር ፡ ጎበ ፡ ተዘርአት ፡ እኪት ። እስ  
 25 መ ፡ ጎጠተ ፡ ዘርእ ፡ ውሰተ ፡ ልቡ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ወተወልደ ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ኃጢአ  
 ት ፡ ወበዝጎ ፡ እስክ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ወይትወለድሂ ፡ እስክ ፡ ይበጽሕ ፡ ማእረራ ።  
 ወሐልዮ ፡ እስኩ ፡ ለሊክ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ጎጠተ ፡ ዘርእ ፡ እኩይ ፡ ወመጠነዝ ፡ ዝን A 170va  
 ቱ ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ተወልደት ፡ ኃጢአት ። ወሶበ ፡ ተዘርአት ፡ ጎጠተ ፡ ዘርእ ፡ እ  
 ፎ ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ብዙጎ ፡ እመ ፡ ገብረት ፡ ፍሬ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ማጎለቅተ ። [12] ወ  
 30 አውሃእክዎ ፡ ወእቤሎ ፡ እስክ ፡ ማእዜኑ ፡ እንክ ፡ ወማእዜ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ው D 141vb

4 ንዕርግ ፡ ] ንሐር ፡ D | ወንጽብአሙ ፡ ] ”ፅ” D | ለአም ፡ ] ለአእዋም ፡ D 5 ብሔረ ፡ ] መካነ ፡ D  
 ለባሕር ። ] በባሕር ፡ D 6 ከማሁ ፡ ] ወ” D 8 ፍትሕ ፡ ] ”ሐ” D | ወመነ ፡ ታአሱ ። ] ”ተዓሱ” D  
 [10],1 ወእቤሎ ፡ ] እቤሎ ፡ D | ወከንቶ ፡ ] ”ቱ” D 2 ወአውሥአኒ ፡ ] ወአውሥአኒ ፡ A  
 3 ፈትሕክ ፡ ] ”ታ” D | ዘኢትፈትሕ ፡ ] ዘኢትፈትሕ A 5 ይንበሩ ፡ ] ይንበሩ ፡ D 6 ዘበሰማያት ፡ ] ዘበ ፡  
 ሰማያት ፡ D | ወአውሳእክዎ ፡ ] ”ሣ” D 8 በዘንጌሊ ። ] በዘ ፡ ንጌሊ ፡ D | ልዑል ፡ ] ዘ” D  
 10 ዘ<ታ>ፈቅር ፡ ] ዘዖ” AD | ወተገደፈ ፡ ] ”ድ” D 11 ለአበዊነ ፡ ] ዘእ” D | ኪዳነነ ፡ ] ”ንነ” D  
 እምዓ<ለ>ም ፡ ] እምዓም ፡ AD 12 ይመሐሩነ ። ] ”ምሐ” D 13 ወበሕቱ ፡ ] ወባ” D | <ን>ሬሲ ፡ ] ይ  
 ሬ” AD | ለ<ሰ>ሙ ፡ ] ለክሙ ፡ AD 14 ተስእልኩክ ። ] om. D [11],1 ወይቤሉኒ ፡ ] om. D  
 2 ሐዩውክ ፡ ] ወሐዩውክ ፡ D 5 መእረራ ። ] ማ” D 6 ለይእቱ ፡ ] ኢዩእቱ ፡ D 7 ወተወልደ ፡ ] ”ዱ”  
 D 9 ወመጠነዝ ፡ ] ወመጠነ ፡ D 11 እመ ፡ ገብረት ፡ ] እመገብረት ፡ D

another country for trees.” And in like manner, the waves of the sea made a plan and said, “Come, let us go and wage war against the trees of the desert and make us another | country for the sea.”  
 A 169va  
 But the plan of the trees was in vain, and the fire came and consumed it; likewise the plan of the sea and its waves, for the sand stood firm and stopped them. If now you know judgment, which  
 D 141ra of them would you | undertake to justify, and which to condemn?<sup>12</sup>

[10] I answered and said to him, ‘Both were wrong and (both) had thought vainly, for the land has been assigned to the trees, and 10 to the sea firmed (has been assigned) to carry its waves.’ He answered me and said to me, ‘You have judged fairly, but why do  
 A 169vb you not | judge so in your own case? For as the earth is assigned to the tree and the sea to the waves, so also those who dwell upon earth can understand only what is on earth, but not what is in the 15 heavens and above the heavens.’ Then I answered and said to him, ‘Oh Lord, why then is the mind, by which we comprehend, given  
 D 141rb to us? For I did not wish | to enquire about his highest ways, but  
 A 170ra about those things which happen to us at all times, as | Israel has been given over to the Gentiles, and the people <you> love (to) 20 sinful people, and the law of our fathers has been abandoned, and our written covenant no longer exists. And we pass from the wor<l>d like locusts, and our life is like a (wisp of) smoke, and we are not worthy to obtain mercy. But what <will> we do to his holy <name>, appointed on us? It is about this that I have asked 25 you.’<sup>13</sup> [11] He answered me and said to me, ‘If you are present and alive, you will see it in its time, for it is hastening to pass. The  
 A 170rb world is unable to | carry the hope of the righteous because the  
 D 141va world is full of agony and infirmities. | For evil, about which you asked me, (has been sown but) its harvest is not yet at hand, nor is 30 the crop of this country, where the evil has been sown, to be reaped. For the grain of seed in Adam’s heart has produced the seed of sin and has multiplied up to this time. And it will be produced until the time of harvesting. Ponder now for yourself, if this  
 A 170va much fruit of sin | was produced from a grain of a wicked seed. 35  
 When a grain of seed was produced, how much good (would be produced) if it did produce a fruit which has no end.’<sup>14</sup> [12] Then I

<sup>12</sup> Section 9 is from 4 Ezra 4:13–18.

<sup>13</sup> For Section 10 cf. 4 Ezra 4:19–25.

<sup>14</sup> Section 11 is from 4 Ezra 4:26–32.

እቱ፡ ፀቢይ፡ እስመ፡ ውሁድ፡ ወእኩይ፡ ውእቱ፡ መዋዕሊን። ወአውሥ  
አኒ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ ወአከ፡ አንተ፡ ዘትጌጉእ፡ ፈድፋድ፡ እም፡ ልዑል። ወ  
አንተሰ፡ በእንተ፡ ርእስከ፡ ትጌጉእ፡ ወልዑልሰ፡ በእንተ፡ ብዙኃን። ወበ  
እንተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ተስእላ፡ | ነፍሳቲሆሙ፡ ለጻድቃን፡ በውስተ፡ አብያቲሆ  
5 ሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብላ፡ እስከ፡ ማእኤኑ፡ ንሂሉ፡ ዝየ፡ ወማእኤ፡ ይበጽሕ፡  
ማእረረ፡ እሴትን።

A 170vb

[13] ወአውሥእ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ኡራኤል፡ መልአክ፡ ከመ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ጉል  
ቆሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ከማክሙ፡ በበ፡ መዳልው፡ ተደለው፡ ዓለም። ወበሰፈር  
ት፡ ሰፈሮ፡ ለባሕር፡ ዘኢያረምምኒ፡ ወኢይነቅህ፡ እስከ፡ ይትፈጸም፡ በ  
D 142ra

10 መስፈርቱ፡ ዘተውኅበ፡ ሎቱ። ወአውሃክዎ፡ ወእቤሎ፡ እግዚአ  
የ፡ ወናሁኬ፡ ምሉአን፡ ንሕን፡ | ኃጢአተ፡ ኩልነ፤ ዮጊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ እ  
A 171ra  
ንጋ፡ ንትከላእ፡ መእረሮሙ፡ ለጻድቃን፡ በእንተ፡ ኅጢአቶሙ፡ ለእለ፡  
ይነብሩ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም። ወይቤለኒ፡ ሖር፡ ተሰአላ፡ ለጽንሰት፡ እምከ  
መ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ፱፡ አውራኃ፡ እመ፡ ትክል፡ ማኅፀና፡ አጽንዖ፡ ዘተፈጥ

15 ረ፡ ውስቲታ። ወእቤሎ፡ ኢትክል፡ እግዚአ። [14] ወይቤለኒ፡ ሲኦልኒ፡  
ወአብያተ፡ መንፈሶሙ፡ ለጻድቃን፡ ከመ፡ ማኅፀን፡ እሙንቱ። ወበከ  
D 142rb  
መ፡ ትጌጉእ፡ ማኅፀን፡ ለወሊድ፡ በሕማማ፡ ከማሁ፡ ትጌጉእ፡ ምድር  
ኒ፡ ታወፈ፡ ማኅፀንታ፡ እለ፡ እፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡ ውስቲታ። ወውእተ፡ አ  
A 171rb  
ሚረ፡ ይነግሩከ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘትፈቱ፡ ታእምር። ወአውሃእክዎ፡ ወእቤሎ፡

20 እመሰ፡ ረከብኩ፡ ሞገሰ፡ በቅድመ፡ አዕይንቲክ፡ ወእመሰ፡ ረሰይክ፡ ሊ  
ተ፡ ወይትከሀለኒ፡ ንግረኒ፡ ወዝንቱኬ፡ አምጣነ፡ ዘኅለፊኑ፡ መዋዕል፡ ይ  
በዝኅ፡ ወሚመ፡ ዘሀለም፡ ይምጻእ፡ ለዘኅለፊሰ፡ አአምር፡ ወባሕቱ፡ ዘይ  
መጽእሰ፡ ኢየአምር። ወይቤለኒ፡ ቁም፡ መንገለ፡ የማን፡ ፩፡ ኅብረ፡  
D 142va  
ወአርኤክ፡ ፍካሬ፡ አምሳል፡ ወቆምኩ፡ ወናሁ፡ ጽህርት፡ ይነድድ። ወ  
A 171va  
25 ኅለፈ፡ እንተ፡ ቅድሚየ፡ ወኅለፈ፡ ነዱ፡ ወተረፈ፡ ጢሱ፡ ወእምድኅሬ  
ሁ፡ ኅለፈት፡ ደመና፡ ምልእተ፡ ማይ፡ እንተ፡ ቅድሚየ፡ ወትዘንም፡ ዐ  
ቢይ፡ ዝናም፡ ብዙኅ፡ ወሶበ፡ ኅለፈ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዝናም፡ ፀቢይ፡ ተረፈ፡  
ነፍኒፍ። [15] ወይቤለኒ፡ ሐሊዮ፡ እንከሰ፡ ለሊክ፡ በከመ፡ ይበዝኅ፡ ዝና  
ም፡ እምነፍኒፍ፡ ወእምጢሰ፡ እሳት፡ ወከማሁ፡ ይበዝኅ፡ መስፈርቶ፡ ወ

30 ተረፈ፡ ነፍኒ፣፣ ፍ፡ ወጢስ። ወአስተብቄዕክዎ፡ | ወእቤሎ፡ አሐዩኑ፡ እን  
A 171vb |  
D 142vb

[12],4 እም፡ ልዑል። | እምልዑል፡ D 5 ወልዑልሰ፡ | ልዑልሰ፡ D 8 ማእረረ፡ ] ”ር፡ D  
እሴትን። ] ዕ” D [13],1 ጉልቆሙ፡ ] the letter ጉ is in archaic form in A 2 በበ፡ መዳልው፡ ]  
በበመዳልው፡ D 3 ዘኢያረምምኒ፡ ] ”ሂ፡ D 4 ዘተውኅበ፡ ] ”ህ” D | ወአውሃክዎ፡ ] ወአውሃእክ  
ዎ፡ D 5 ወናሁኬ፡ ] ናሁኬ፡ D | ኃጢአተ፡ ] ኃጥአን፡ A D 6 ንትከላእ፡ ] ትት” D | መእረሮሙ፡ ]  
ማእ” D 8 አውራኃ፡ ] ”ኅ፡ D [14],4 እፍጥረተ፡ ] እም” D 7 ወይትከሀለኒ፡ ] ዘ” D 8 ወሚመ፡ ]  
”ማ፡ D 10 ወአርኤክ፡ ] ”ኢ” D 11 ቅድሚየ፡ ] ”ም፡ D [15],1 ሐሊዮ፡ ] ”ል” D  
2 ወእምጢሰ፡ ] ”ስ፡ D | ወተረፈ፡ ] ወዘ” D 3 ወአስተብቄዕክዎ፡ ] ”ቋ” D

15 For Section 12 cf. 4 Ezra 4:33–35.  
16 4 Ezra 4:35 gives the name Jeremiel.

D 141vb answered and said to him, ‘How long and when | will this great  
 thing take place, as our time is short and evil?’ He answered me  
 and said to me, ‘You do not hasten more than the Most High. You  
 hasten for yourself, but the Highest does for many. Thus the souls  
 A 170vb of the | righteous, in their chambers, ask, saying, “How long are  
 we to remain here? And when will come the harvest of our re-  
 ward?”<sup>15</sup>

[13] And the angel Uriel<sup>16</sup> answered him, saying to him, ‘As the  
 number of those like you is completed, the world was weighed  
 D 142ra with a scale, and he measured the sea with | a measure, and he will  
 neither keep silent nor wake up until what is given to him by  
 measure is fulfilled.’ Then I answered him, saying to him, ‘Oh  
 A 171ra Lord, my Lord, behold, we all are | filled with sin. And is it per-  
 haps on account of us that the time of harvest is hindered for the  
 righteous, on account of the sins of those who dwell on earth?’ He  
 said to me, ‘Go and ask a pregnant woman, when her nine months  
 have been completed, if her womb can keep the child created  
 within her any longer.’ Then I said, ‘She cannot, oh Lord.’<sup>17</sup> [14]  
 D 142rb He said to me, ‘Sheol, and the chambers of the | souls of the right-  
 eous are also like the womb. For just as a womb hastens to give  
 A 171rb birth due to its pain, likewise, the earth hastens for | its womb to  
 give back those things that were committed to her since the cre-  
 ation of the world. At that time, they will tell you what you desire  
 to know.’ I answered to him, saying to him, ‘If I have found fa-  
 vour in your sight, and if you regulate what I can do, please tell  
 me, is this concerning the long time that has passed or about that  
 which is yet to come? I know that which has passed, but I do not  
 D 142va know | what is yet to come.’ He said to me, ‘Stand up at the right  
 A 171va side in solidarity, and I will show you | the interpretation of the  
 symbol.’ So I stood up and, behold, a caldron was flaming and  
 passed before me, and the flame had gone and the smoke re-  
 mained. And after this a cloud, full of water, passed before me and  
 a rainstorm poured down heavily. And, when the rainstorm had  
 passed, drizzle remained.<sup>18</sup> [15] And he said to me, ‘Think about it  
 yourself: as the rain is more than the drizzle and smoke of fire, in  
 A 171vb the same manner, the measure will be more, whereas the drizzle |  
 D 142vb and the smoke were<sup>19</sup> remained.’ Then I beseeched him | and said

<sup>17</sup> Section 13 is from 4 Ezra 4:35–41.

<sup>18</sup> Section 14 is from 4 Ezra 4:42–49.

<sup>19</sup> The subject marker of the verb ተረፈ ፡ is given in singular form by both manuscripts.

ጋ : እስከ : እማንቱ : መዋዕል ። ወአውሥአኒ : ወይቤለኒ : በእንተ : ትእ  
 ምርት : ዙተስእልከኒ : ፩ : ገጽ : እክል : ነጊሮተክ : ወበእንተ : ሕይወትክ  
 ሰ : ኢተፈነ<ው>ኩ : እንግርክ : ወኢሂ : አአምር ። ወተአምሪሁሰ : ናሁ :  
 መዋዕል : ይመጽእ : ወትእገዞሙ : ድንጋዬ : በቢይ : ለእለ : ይነብሩ : ው  
 5 ስተ : ምድር ። ወይትጎባእ : ብሔረ : ጽድቅ : ወትመክን : ብሔረ : ሃይ  
 ማኖት ፤ ወትበዝጎ : አመፃ : | እምዘ : ርኢክ : አንተ : ወዘሰማዕከ ። ወይነግ A 172ra  
 ሥ : በብሔር : ዘርኢክ : ይእዜሰ : ሙሱን : ወምዝቡር : ወትከውን : ም  
 ድር|ኒ : በድወ ። ወእመሰ : ወሀበከ : ልዑል : ሕይወተ : ትሬእያ : ለምድ D 143ra  
 ር ።

10 [16] ወእምድኅረ : ፫ : ወርኅ : እንዘ : ትትሃወክ : ወት<በ>ርህ : ፀሐይ : ግ  
 ብተ : በሌሊት : ወወርኅኒ : በዓልት : ወያንጸፈጽፍ : ደም : ዕምፀው : ወዕ  
 ብን : ትነቁ : ወአሕዛብኒ : ተሀወኩ : ወከዋክብትኒ : ይሰጠቁ : ወይነግ  
 ሥ : ዘኢተሐዙበዎ : ብዙኃን : ወኩሉ : ይሰምዕ : | ቃሎ : ወይከውን : ድ A 172rb  
 ምጽ : ውስተ : ብዙኅ : በሐውርት ። ወእሳትኒ : ጽፋቅ : ይትፈነዉ : ወአ  
 15 ሬዊተ : ገዳምኒ : ይፈልሱ : እምብሔሮሙ ። ወይትወለድ : ትእምርት :  
 እምአንስት : ወ|ማይኒ : ዘጥዑም : መሪረ : ይትረከብ : ወአዕርክትኒ : ግብ D 143rb  
 ተ : ይትቃተሉ : በበይናቲሆሙ : ወትትኃጣእ : ይእተ : አሚረ : ጥብብ :  
 ወምክረኒ : ትገብእ : ውስተ : ቤታ : ወየ<ሐ>ሥሥዋ : ኅበ : ብዙኅን : ወ  
 ኢይረክብዋ ። ወትበዝጎ : ዓመፃ : ወእበድ : ውስተ : ምድር ። ወትሴ|አ  
 20 ል : ወትብል : ሀገር : ለእንተ : ቅሩባ : ወትብል : ቦኑ : ዘጎለፈ : እንተ : A 172va  
 ኅቤክ : ጸድቅ : አው : ዘይገብራ : ለጽድቅ : ወትብል : አልቦ : ወበእማን  
 ቱ : መዋዕል : ይሴፎ : ሰብእ : ወኢይትረከብ : ወያወሰብሂ : ወኢይትፈሥሃ  
 ሕ : ወይጸሙሂ : ወይትጌበር : ወኢይሴረ|ኅ : ፍኖቱ ። ዘንተ : ተአምረ : D 143va  
 መጸእኩ : እንግርክ ። ወእመሰ : ካዕበ : ጸለይከ : ወበከይከ : በከመ : ይእ  
 25 ዜ : ጸምከ : ወካዕበ : ሰቡአ : መዋዕል : ትሰምዕ : ካዕበ : ዘይባቢ ።  
 [17] ወነቃህኩ : ካዕበ : ወጥቀ : አንሰ|ጠጠኒ : ኅሊናየ : ወሥጋየ : ወነፍሰየ A 172vb  
 ኒ : ሰ<ር>ኅት : እስከ : ደከምኩ : ወአኃዘኒ : ውእቱ : መልአክ : ወመጽ  
 አ : ኅቤየ : ወተናገረኒ : ወአቀመኒ : በእገርየ : ወአጽንዓኒ ። ወእምዘ : በካ  
 ልእት : ሌሊት : መጽአ : ኅቤየ : ፍልጥኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክቲሆሙ :  
 30 ለ<አ>ሕ<ዛ>ብ : ወይቤለኒ : እምአይቱ : አንተ : ወበእንተ : ምንት : ትኩ  
 ዝ : ገጽክ : ኢተአምርኑ : ከመ : ተአመ|ንክ : በእንተ : እስራኤል : በብሔ D 143vb  
 ብ : ለ

5 ገጽ ፣] ጽ : D 6 ኢተፈነ<ው>ኩ ፣] ኢተፈኖኩ ፣ D 9 እምዘ : ርኢክ ፣] ዘርኢክ ፣ D  
 10 በብሔር ፣] ለ” D [16],1 ወት<በ>ርህ ፣] ወትፈ.” AD 2 በዓልት ፣] በመዓልት ፣ D  
 ወያንጸፈጽፍ ፣] ወያንፀ” D | ዕምፀው ፣] እምዕፀው ፣ D 3 ተሀወኩ ፣] ይትሀወኩ ፣ D | ይሰጠቁ ፣] ይወ  
 ድቁ ፣ D 9 ወምክረኒ ፣] ”ር” D | ወየ<ሐ>ሥሥዋ ፣] ”ወየሥ” AD 12 ኅቤክ ፣] ”ኪ ፣ D | ጸድቅ ፣]  
 AD; pro ጸድቅ ፣ 16 ዘይባቢ ።] ዘየ” D [17],1 አንሰጠጠኒ ፣] ”ሶ” D 2 ሰ<ር>ኅት ፣] ሰረ” AD  
 3 ወአቀመኒ ፣] ወቀመኒ ፣ A | በእገርየ ፣] በገርየ ፣ A 4 ሊቀ ፣] ”ተ” D 5 ለ<አ>ሕ<ዛ>ብ ፣] ለሕዝ  
 ብ ፣ AD

20 Section 15 is from 4 Ezra 4:50–5:4.

to him, ‘Will I ever live until these days?’ He answered me, saying to me, ‘Concerning the signs about which you asked me, I can tell you (only) a part. As for your life, I was not se<n>t to tell you, nor do I know. As for the signs, behold, the days will come and a great terror will grip those who live on earth, the country of right-  
 5 eousness will be hidden, the country of the faith will be barren, and violence will | increase more than what you saw and heard.  
 A 172ra Corruption will reign on the country you now see. The country  
 D 143ra will be corrupt and destroyed, and the land | will be desert. If the Most High grants you life, you shall see the land.’<sup>20</sup> 10

[16] ‘After three months, when the sun will be troubled and suddenly gives li<gh>t at night, and the moon during the day, blood will drip from wood, and stone will howl; nations will be troubled, and the stars will fall (lit. ‘split’). And someone, whom  
 A 172rb many never suspected, will reign; and all | will heed his words. 15  
 And his voice will reach to many countries. And dense fire will be sent out, and the wild beasts will roam beyond their haunts. Then  
 D 143rb a sign will be born of women and the sweet | water will be found sour, and friends will suddenly fight each one. At that time, wisdom will be vanished and counsel will withdraw into its chamber, 20  
 and at many will see<k> it, but they will not find it. And rebellion  
 A 172va and foolishness will increase on earth. And a country will ask | its neighbour, “Has righteousness, or anyone who does right, passed through you?” And it will answer, “No.” And at that time man will hope but he will not be found; he will marry but he will not  
 D 143va be happy; he will labour and toil but his ways | will not prosper. I came to tell you this sign. But if you pray again, and weep as you do now, and fast double for seven days, you shall hear yet greater things.’<sup>21</sup>

A 172vb [17] Then I awoke, and my mind and body shuddered | ex- 30  
 tremely, and my soul was so t<roub>led that I fainted. The angel who came and talked with me held me, set me on my feet, and strengthened me. Now, on the second night, Phaltiel,<sup>22</sup> a chief officer of the <heathens>, came to me and said to me, ‘Where are you from? And why is your face so sad? Or do you not know that  
 D 143vb you are entrusted | with Israel in the land they were exiled? Rise

<sup>21</sup> Section 16 is from 4 Ezra 5:4–13.

<sup>22</sup> Phaltiel is the captain of the people who came to Ezra between his first and second vision (4 Ezra 5:16). The name is Psaltiel in Syriac. The Vulgate and the King James versions give the name Salathiel.



ር : በጎበ : አፍለስምሙ ። ተንሥእ ፡ እንከሰ ፡ ወጠዐም ፡ እክለ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ከ A 173ra  
 ሙ ፡ ኢትግድ<ፎሙ> ፡ ከመ ፡ ኖላዊ ፡ ዘየሐድግ ፡ መርዔቶ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እ  
 ደ ፡ ተኩላት ፡ እኩያን ። [18] ወእቤሎ ፡ ሖር ፡ እምጎቤየ ፡ ወኢትምጸእ ፡  
 ጎቤየ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ መዋዕል ፤ ወእምዝ ፡ ነአ ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ወእነግረከ ፡ ነገ  
 5 ረ ። ወሐረ ፡ እምጎቤየ ፡ ወአነሂ ፡ ጸምኩ ፡ ሰበዓ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ተኪዝየ ፡ እን  
 ዘ ፡ እበኪ ፡ በከመ ፡ አዘዘኒ ፡ ኡርያል ፡ መልአክ ። ወእምዝ ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ሰ  
 ቡዕ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ አሰረጎኒ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ሕሊናየ ፡ ወልብየ ፡ ጥቀ ። | ወነሥአታ ፡ D 144ra  
 ለነፍስየ ፡ መንፈሰ ፡ | ጥብብ ። ወአጎዝኩ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ እንብብ ፡ ቅድሜሁ ፡ ለ A 173rb  
 ዑል ፡ ወእቤ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ እምኩሉ ፡ አማ ፡ ለምድር ፡ ወዕፀዊሃ ፡  
 10 ጎረይክ ፡ ለክ ፡ ፩ ፡ አጸደ ፡ ወይን ። ወእምኩሉ ፡ በሐውርተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ጎረ  
 ይክ ፡ ለክ ፡ አሐደ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወእም ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ቀላያተ ፡ ዓለም ፤ ወመላእክ ፡  
 ለክ ፡ ፩ ፡ ፈለገ ። ወእምኩሉ ፡ ዘተጎንፃ ፡ አህጉረ ፡ ቀደስክ ፡ ለክ ፡ ጽዮሃ ፡  
 ወእምኩ ፡ ዘፈጠርክ ፡ አዕዋፈ ፡ ቀደስክ ፡ ለክ ፡ አጎተ ፡ ርግብ ፤ ወእምኩ  
 ሉ ፡ ዘተፈጥረ ፡ መራዕይ ፡ ጎረይክ ፡ ለክ ፡ ፩ ፡ | በግዐ ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡ አሕ A 173va  
 15 ዛብብ ፡ ብዙጎን ፡ ጎረይክ ፡ ለክ ፡ ፩ ፡ ሕዝበ ። ዘእምኩሉ ፡ አምከርክ ፡ ሕገ ፡ D 144rb  
 ወወሀብከሁ ፡ ለሕዝብ ፡ ዘእምኩሉ ፡ አፍቀርክ ። ወይእዜኒ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ለም  
 ንት ፡ መጠውከሁ ፡ ለዝኩ ፡ ፩ ፡ ለብዙኃን ፡ ወአሕሰርካሁ ፡ ፩ ፡ ስርው ፡ እ  
 ምባዕዳን ፡ ስርው ፡ ወዘረውካሁ ፡ ለዋጎድክ ፡ እምብዙጎን ። ወኪድዎሙ ፡  
 ለእለ ፡ ተአመ<ኑ> ፡ በሕግክ ፡ ወዕድዋኒሃ ፡ ለሥርዓትክ ። ወእመሰ ፡ ጸላእኮ  
 20 ሙ ፡ ለሕዝብክ ፡ ይኔይስ ፡ ከመ ፡ | ትቅስፎ ፡ በእዴክ ። A 173vb  
 [19] ወዘንተ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ብሂልየ ፡ ተፈነወ ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መልአክ ፡ <ዘ>መ  
 ጽአ ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ በእንታክቲ፣ ሌሊት ፡ እንተ ፡ ጎለፈት ። ወይቤለኒ ፡ ስምዓ D 144va  
 ኒ ፡ እንግርክ ፡ ወአጽምአኒ ፡ ወ<እ>ደግም ፡ ቅድሜክ ፡ ወእቤሎ ፡ በል ፡ እ  
 ግዚእየ ። ወይቤለኒ ፡ ጥቀኑ ፡ ነኪር ፡ ለእስራኤል ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አው ፡ ፈድፋ  
 25 ደ ፡ አፍቀርከሁ ፡ ለእስራኤል ፡ እምፈጣሪሁ ። [20] ወእቤሎ ፡ አልቦ ፡ እግ  
 ዜአ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአጽሀቀኒ ፡ ነበብኩ ፡ ወአስርሐኒ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ነፍሰ A 174ra  
 የ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እትሐሰስ ፡ እርኩብ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ ልዑል ፡ ወአእም  
 ር ፡ አሰረ ፡ ፍትሐ ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ ኢትክል ፤ ወእቤሎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ምንት ፡ እ  
 ግዚአ ፡ ወለምንት ፡ ተወለድኩ ፡ ወለምንት ፡ ኢኮነኒ ፡ መቃብረ ፡ ማጎፀኖ ፡  
 30 ለእምየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይርአይ ፡ ሕማሞ ፡ ለያቆብ ፡ ወስራኖሙ ፡ ለዘመደ ፡ እ D 144vb  
 ሰራኤል ። ወይቤለኒ ፡ ጎጦልቄ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ አዲ ፡ ኢመጽአ ፡ ወአስተጋብ  
 እ ፡ ጽጌ ፡ ዘተዘርወ ፡ ሊተ ፡ ወአሕመልምል ፡ ሊተ ፡ ሣዕሪ ፡ ዘየብስ ፡ ወ

7 ወጠዐም ፡ ] ”ዓ” D 8 ኢትግድ<ፎሙ> ፡ ] ትግድፈኒ ፡ AD [18],3 ሰበዓ ፡ ] ”ቡ” D 4 ኡርያል ፡ ]  
 ኡራኤል ፡ D 6 ለዑል ፡ ] ለልዑል ፡ D 8 ፩ ፡ ] አሐደ ፡ D 9 ምድር ፡ ] ”ረ ፡ D | ወእም ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ] ወ  
 እምኩሉ ፡ D 10 ፩ ፡ ] አሐደ ፡ D | ዘተጎንፃ ፡ ] ”ሐንጻ ፡ D | አህጉረ ፡ ] ”ር ፡ D | ጽዮሃ ፡ ] ጽዮንሃ ፡ D  
 11 ወእምኩ ፡ ] ወእምኩሉ ፡ D 12 ፩ ፡ ] አሐደ ፡ D 13 ፩ ፡ ] አሐደ ፡ D 14 ወወሀብከሁ ፡ ] ”ካ” D  
 15 ፩ ፡ ] አሐዳ ፡ D | ፩ ፡ ] አሐዳ ፡ D 17 ተአመ<ኑ> ፡ ] ”ነ ፡ AD 18 ይኔይስ ፡ ] ይኔስ ፡ A  
 [19],1 <ዘ>መጽአ ፡ ] መጽአ ፡ AD 3 ወ<እ>ደግም ፡ ] ወዳግም ፡ A; ወዳግመ ፡ D 4 ጥቀኑ ፡ ] ጥዩቀ  
 ኑ ፡ D [20],6 ለያቆብ ፡ ] ለያዕቆብ ፡ D 7 ጎጦልቄ ፡ ] ጎጦ in the archaic form A

A 173ra therefore and eat some bread | which is there so that you may not  
 forsake <them>, like a shepherd who leaves his flock in the  
 clutches (lit. hands) of wicked wolves.<sup>23</sup> [18] I said to him, ‘Depart  
 from me and do not come near until (after) seven days; then you  
 may come to me and I will tell you something.’ He left me, and I  
 fasted seven days, saddened while weeping, as the angel Uriel had  
 commanded me. And then, after seven days, my mind and  
 D 144ra | thoughts troubled me extremely again. | Then the spirit of | wis-  
 A 173rb | dom lifted my soul. And I began once more to speak in the pres-  
 ence of the Most High. And I said, ‘Oh Lord, my Lord, of all the 10  
 trees of the earth and of all its plants, you chose one vine; of all the  
 lands of the world, you chose one land for yourself; of all the  
 oceans, you filled for yourself one river; of all the cities that have  
 been built, you consecrated Zion for yourself; of all the birds that  
 have been created, you sanctified one dove for yourself; of all the 15  
 A 173va flocks that have been fashioned, you chose one lamb for yourself; |  
 D 144rb | and of all the multitude | of nations, you chose one people whom  
 you taught the law and gave it to the same people you loved more  
 than others. But now, oh Lord, why have you given over the only  
 one to the many, and dishonoured the only one root more than 20  
 the other roots, and scattered your only one more than the many?  
 And they have trod down those who trust<ed> in your law who  
 are enemies of your order. If you really hate your people, it is bet-  
 A 173vb | ter that you punish | them by your hands.<sup>24</sup>  
 [19] When I had spoken these words, the angel <who> had 25  
 D 144va come to me the other night | was sent to me. And he said to me,  
 ‘Listen to me, and I will tell you; pay attention to me, and I will  
 repeat (it) before you.’ ‘Speak on, my Lord’, I said. And he said to  
 me, ‘Is this really strange to Israel? Or have you loved Israel more  
 than his creator?’<sup>25</sup> [20] I said, ‘No, Lord, but I spoke because it 30  
 A 174ra worried me | and tired my entire soul at all times, while I strive to  
 find out the way of the Most High and to know the trace of his  
 judgment.’ He said to me, ‘You cannot.’ And I said to him, ‘Why,  
 oh Lord? Why then was I born? And why has not my mother’s  
 D 144vb womb | become a grave for me, that I might not see the suffering 35  
 of Jacob and the toil of the people of Israel?’ He said to me, ‘The  
 number of the years was not yet complete. Gather for me the

<sup>23</sup> Section 17 is from 4 Ezra 5:14–18.

<sup>24</sup> Section 18 is from 4 Ezra 5:19–30.

<sup>25</sup> Section 19 is from 4 Ezra 5:31–33.

አ|ርጉጉ፡ ግዲ፡ አብያተ፡ ዕጽዋን። ወአምጽእ፡ ሊተ፡ ነፍሳተ፡ ዕጽዋት፡ A 174rb  
 ወውስቴቶን ፤ ወአርእየኒ፡ ገጽሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ግሙራ፡ ኢርኢ<ከ> ፤ ወአስም  
 ግኒ፡ ቃሎሙ፡ ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ እንግረከ፡ በእንተ፡ ሕግሞሙ፡ በርቱዕ፡  
 ፈነወ፡ <ዘ>ረከሶሙ፡ ። ወእቤሎ፡ እግዚአ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ወመኑ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘ  
 5 ይክሎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ አእምሮ፡ | ዘእንበለ፡ ዘኢኮነ፡ መስለ፡ ሰብእ፡ ንብረ D 145ra  
 ቱ። ወአንሰ፡ አብድ፡ ወትሑት፡ ወእፎ፡ እክል፡ ነጊሮተከ፡ ዘንተ፡ | ዘት A 174va  
 ሴአለኒ።  
 [21] ሰምዑኬ፡ አ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔ  
 ር፡ ለዕዝራ፡ ነቢይ፡ ምሥጢሮ፡ ኅቡአ፡ መጺአ፡ ኅቤሁ፡ በአምሳለ፡ አ-  
 10 ራኤል፡ መልአክ፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ ወልድ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ለሙሴ፡ ምስጢሮ፡  
 ተመሰሎ፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልአክ፡ ገጽ፡ በከመ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ በመጽሐፈ፡ ኩፋ  
 ሌ። በከመ፡ አስተርአዮ፡ ለኢያሱ፡ በኢያሪኮ፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልአክ፡ ወሰ  
 ይፍ፡ ምሉህ፡ ውስተ፡ እይሁ። ወይቤሎ፡ ኢያሱ፡ እምነ፡ ዘዚአነነ፡ | A 174vb |  
 አንተ፡ አው፡ እምነ፡ ፀርነ። ወይቤሎ፡ አንሰ፡ መልአክ፡ ኅይሉ፡ ለእግዚ D 145rb  
 15 አብሔር። [22] ወወድቀ፡ በገጹ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወሰገደ፡ ሎቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድ  
 ር። ወለእግዝእትነሂ፡ ማርያም፡ በክልኤ፡ ድንግል፡ አስተርአያ፡ በአምሳ  
 ለ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል፡ መልአክ፡ ከመ፡ ያብሰራ፡ ሥጋዊሁ፡ በወንጌለ፡  
 ሉቃስ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ተብህለ። ወበመጽሐፈ፡ ኪዳንሂ፡ ይቤሎሙ፡ እግዚ  
 እነ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ አሜሁ፡ አስተረአይክዋ፡ ለማርያም፡ በአምሳለ፡ | ገብ A 175ra  
 20 ርኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ወተናገርክዋ፡ ወአምነት፡ ወሰሐቀት፡ በልባ፡  
 ወተወክፈት። ወቃል፡ ውስቴታ፡ ቦእኩ፡ ወሥጋ፡ ኮንኩ፡ | ወለልየ፡ ላእ D 145va  
 ከ፡ ኮንኩ፡ ለርእስየ፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልአክ።  
 [23] ወለዕዝራኒ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወካህን፡ አስተርአዮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በአምሳ  
 ለ፡ አራኤል፡ መልአክ፡ ወነገሮ፡ ምሥጢራቲሁ፡ ዘይገብር፡ በበዘመኑ፡

9 ዕጽዋት፡ ] ”ተ፡ D 10 ኢርኢ.<ከ> ፤ ] ኢርኢኩ፡ AD | ወአስምግኒ፡ ] ”መግኒ፡ D 11 ውእተ፡ ] ወ  
 ው” D | እንግረከ፡ ] እነ” D 12 ፈነወ፡ ] ፍፍ፡ D | <ዘ>ረከሶሙ። ። ወረከሶሙ፡ AD | ወመኑ፡ ] መ  
 ኑ፡ D 13 መስለ፡ ] ምሰለ፡ D [21],4 ተመሰሎ፡ ] ”ሲ” D | በአምሳለ፡ ] በአምሰለ፡ AD 7 እምነ፡  
 ፀርነ። ] እምፀርነ፡ D [22],2 በክልኤ፡ ድንግል፡ ] om. D | በአምሳለ፡ ] ”ሰ” D [23],2 በበዘመኑ፡ ]  
 በበ፡ ዘመኑ፡ D

26 Section 20 is from 4 Ezra 5:34–39.  
 27 According to the *Targumic tosefta* of Joshua 5:13, the angel who appeared to Joshua is the angel Uriel (Ariel).  
 28 መልአክ፡ ኃይል፡, ‘commander’ as discussed in Dillmann 1865, 48–49. For a similar translation, cf. Amsalu Tefera 2015, 205 (ed.), 216 (tr.).  
 29 The text of Section 21 has a striking similarity with the ‘Homily on the Glory of Saturday’ (EMML 1480, fols 96v–106v, the work of Emperor Zār’a Yaʿaqob) and the *Mäšhafä milad* (cf. Wendt 1962a; Wendt 1962b; Getatchew Haile 1981, 327).  
 30 Actually *Testament en Galilée* (edited by Guerrier 1912). Here is the quoted text: ‘ተአ ምፋኑ፡ ከመ፡ ገብርኤል፡ መልአክ፡ መጽአ፡ ወዜነዋ፡ ለማርያም፡ ወንቤሎ፡ እወ፡ እግዚአ፡

A 174rb flowers that are scattered, and make the withered grass bloom  
 again for me, and | open the closed chambers, and bring forth for  
 me the souls that are locked up in them, and show me the faces of  
 those whom <you> never saw, and caused me to hear their voice.  
 At that time, I will tell you about their suffering, that it found 5  
 them in the right way.’ I said, ‘Oh Lord, my Lord, who is able to  
 D 145ra know this | knowledge other than he whose place is not with men?  
 As for me, I am foolish and lowly; how can I answer to you con-  
 A 174va cerning what | you are asking of me?’<sup>26</sup>

[21] Listen, oh people of the Lord, how the Lord spoke to 10  
 Prophet Ezra his concealed mystery, coming to him in the likeness  
 of the angel Uriel, as the Son spoke to Moses formerly his mystery  
 appearing in the likeness of the Angel of the Presence, as it is writ-  
 ten in the book of Jubilees. As he appeared to Joshua in Jericho in  
 the likeness of an angel with a sharp sword in his hand.<sup>27</sup> And 15  
 A 174vb | Joshua said to him, ‘Are you one of us | or of our enemy?’ | And  
 D 145rb he replied to him, ‘I am the commander<sup>28</sup> of (the host of) the  
 Lord.’<sup>29</sup> [22] And Joshua fell on his face to the ground and bowed  
 to him. And he (the Son) appeared to Our Lady, the twofold Vir-  
 gin Mary, in the likeness of the angel Saint Gabriel to announce 20  
 her his incarnation; he was called Gabriel in the Gospel of Luke.  
 And Our Lord said to his disciples in the Book of the Covenant,<sup>30</sup>  
 A 175ra Gabriel | and spoke to her and she believed; she smiled in her mind  
 and accepted. Then I, the Word, entered into her and became flesh. 25  
 D 145va I became a messenger | for myself in the likeness of an angel.’

[23] To Ezra, the prophet and priest, too the Lord appeared in  
 the likeness of Uriel the angel and told him the mysteries he works

ወአውሥአ ፡ ወይቤለነ ፡ ኢትዚክሩኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ እቤለክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ለመላእክት ፡ ከመ ፡  
 እንተ ፡ መልእክ ፡ ኮንክዎሙ ። ወንቤሎ ፡ እው ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወይቤለነ ፡ አሜሁ ፡ በአምሳለ ፡ ገብር  
 ኤል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ አስተርአይክዎ ፡ ለማርያም ፡ ድንግል ። ወተናገርክዎ ፡ ወልባ ፡ ተወክ  
 ፈ ፡ አምነት ፡ ወሰሐቀት ። ወአነ ፡ ቃል ፡ ውስቴታ ፡ ቦእኩ ፡ ወሥጋ ፡ ኮንኩ ። ወለልዩ ፡ ላእከ ፡  
 ኮንኩ ፡ ለርእሰዩ ። ወበአምሳለ ፡ መልእክ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ እገብር ።’ (‘Saviez-vous que l’ange *Gab-*  
*riel* est venu, qu’il a annoncé à *Marie*? Nous lui dimes: Oui, ô Seigneur. Il répondit et  
 nous dit: Ne vous souvenez-vous pas que jadis, je vous ai dit que pour les anges,  
 j’étais comme un ange? Nous lui dimes: Oui, ô Seigneur. Il nous dit: Alors sous l’ap-  
 parence de l’archange *Gabriel*, j’apparus (moi-même) à la vierge *Marie*, je m’entretins  
 avec elle, son cœur a consenti, elle a cru et elle a ri. Moi le Verbe, je suis entré en elle  
 et je suis devenu chair; et (c’est ainsi que) je suis moi-même devenu ministre à  
 moi-même, c’est sous l’apparence d’un ange (que) je faisais ainsi’, cf. Guerrier 1912,  
 197–198).

በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡ ዘተፈነው ፡ ኅቤየ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ መልአክ ፡ ዘመጽ  
 አ ፡ ኅቤየ ፡ በእንታክቲ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ እንተ ፡ ኅለፈት ። ወይቤለኒ ፡ በከመ ፡ A 175rb  
 ኢትክል ፡ ነጊረ ፡ ፩ ፡ እምእሉ ፡ እለ ፡ እቤለክ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ኢትክልሂ ፡ ከቢቶ  
 ቶ ፡ ለፍትሕየ ፡ ወለማገለቅተ ፡ ፍቅርየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ አነ ፡ እትኤገስ ፡ በእንተ ፡  
 5 ሕዝብየ ። [24] ወእቤሎ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ አንተ ፡ ተአገስከ ፡ በእንተአሆሙ ፡ ወ  
 ምንተ ፡ እንከ ፡ ይሬስየ ፡ | እለ ፡ እምቅድሚነ ፡ ወለእለኒ ፡ እምድጎሬነ ። ወ D 145vb  
 ይቤለኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኅልቀት ፡ ረሰይክዋ ፡ ለኩነኔየ ፡ ከመ ፡ እለኒ ፡ ተድጎና ፡  
 ኢይጎነድዩ ፡ ወእለኒ ፡ ቀደሙ ፡ ኢያፈጥኑ ። ወእቤሎ ፡ ቦኑ ፡ እገመ ፡ ኢክ  
 ህልክ ፡ ፈጢርቶሙ ፡ በምዕር ፡ ኅቡረ ፡ ወእለሂ ፡ ቀደሙ ፡ ወእለሂ ፡ ተድጎ  
 A 175va  
 10 ፋ ፡ ወለእለሂ ፡ ሀለው ፡ ከመ ፡ ፍጡነ ፡ ታርኢ ፡ ኩነኔከ ። ወይቤለኒ ፡ አኮ ፡  
 ግብር ፡ ዘይጌጉእ ፡ እምገባሪሁ ፡ ፈድፋደ ፤ ወዓለምኒ ፡ እመ ፡ ኢጸርሙ ፡  
 ለእለ ፡ ተፈጥሩ ፡ ውስቴታ ። [25] ወእቤሎ ፡ እፎኪ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ከመ ፡ አሕ  
 ይዎ ፡ ተሕይዎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ፈጠርክ ፡ ኅበረ ፡ በምዕር ። ወእመሰ ፡ ታሐይ  
 ዎ ፡ በምዕር ፡ ይጠዋቀይ ፡ ዓለም ። ወእምአኮ ፡ ይእዜኒ ፡ እምኢክህለ ፡ | ጸ  
 A 175vb  
 15 ዊርቶ ፡ በምዕር ፡ ምስለ ፡ እለ ፡ ሀለው ። ወይቤለኒ ፡ እስኩ ፡ እሆአብላ ፡ ለ  
 ማጎፀነ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ወበላ ፡ ለምንት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትወልዲ ፡ ለምንት ፡ በበዓመ  
 ት ፡ ትወልዲ ፡ ዐሠርተ ፡ ትወልዲ ፤ ሰአል ፡ እንከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተሀብ ፡ ዐሠርቲ  
 ሆሙ ፡ በምዕር ፡ አኮኑ ፡ ኢትክል ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ በበዓመት ፤ ወበከመ ፡ ማጎፀ  
 ን ፡ እንተ ፡ ኢትክል ፡ ግሙራ ። ወበእንተሂ ፡ ልጎቅት ። ወከማሁ ፡ አነሂ ፡  
 20 ሠራዕኩ ፡ ወተስዕልክዎ ፡ ወእቤሎ ፡ እስመ ፡ ወሀብከኒ ፡ ፍኖተ ፡ በዘእነ  
 ብብ ፡ ቅድሚክ ፡ ናሁ ፡ አነተ ፡ አማን ፡ | ትቤለኒ ፡ ነአስ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ እምክ  
 ሙ ፡ ወይእቲ ፡ ረስአት ። A 176ra |  
 D 146rb  
 [26] ወአውሥአኒ ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ ተሰአላ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ወለደት ፡ ወትነግረክ ፡ ወ  
 በላ ፡ ለምንት ፡ እለ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ ወለድኪ ፡ ኢኮኑ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ቀዲሙ ፡ እለ ፡  
 25 ይለብሱ ፡ ኅይለ ፤ ወትበለክ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ዘበኅይለ ፡ ነአስ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ ወካል  
 ዕ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ በማጎፀነ ፡ ርስእ ፤ ወለሊክ ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ ተአምር ፡ ከመ ፡ ትውጎ  
 ዱ ፡ ኅይለ ፡ አንትሙ ፡ እምነ ፡ ቀደምትክሙ ፤ ወእለሂ ፡ እምድጎሬክሙ ፡  
 ይውጎዱ ፡ እምኔክሙ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ዘተፈጥረ ፡ ወሀለው ፡ ከመ ፡ ኅለፈ ፡ ኃይ  
 ለ ፡ ውርዘቱ ። A 176rb  
 30 [27] ወከማሁ ፡ ተፈነው ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡ ነቢየ ፡ አመ ፡ D 146va  
 ርእየ ፡ ሕማማ ፡ ለጽዮን ፡ ኅዘነ ፡ ወተከዘ ፤ ወአመ ፡ ርእየ ፡ ግርማ ፡ ስብሐ  
 ቲሃ ፡ ለጽዮን ፡ ደንገፀ ፡ ወፈርህ ፡ ወጸርጎ ፡ በዐቢይ ፡ ቃል ፡ ወይቤ ፡ አን  
 ተ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ ወመጻእከ ፡ ኅቤየ ፡ ቀዲሙ ፡ ለምንት ፡ ከመዝ ፡  
 ረሰይከኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ እባእ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ብዙጎ ፡ ተሕሥዖ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ት

3 ዘመጽአ ፡ ኅቤየ ፡] om. D 5 ፩ ፡] አሐደ ፡ D 6 እትኤገስ ፡] ”ዲገሥ ፡ D 7 ሕዝብየ ።] ዝ later inserted A [24],2 እምቅድሚነ ፡] ”የ ፡ D 5 ፈጢርቶሙ ፡] ፍጥረ” D [25],1 እፎኪ ፡] ”ኬ ፡ D 2 ተሕይዎሙ ፡] ”ሐ” D | ኅበረ ፡] ”ቡ” D | ታሐይዎ ፡] ተ” D 3 ወእምአኮ ፡] ”መ” D እምኢክህለ ፡] ”መ” D 4 እሆአብላ ፡] ኣሆ ፡ አብላ ፡ D 5 ለምንት ፡] om. A | እንዘ ፡] om. D 6 ዐሠርተ ፡] ”ዓ” D 10 ቅድሚክ ፡ በዘ ፡ እነብብ ፡ D | አነተ ፡] ”ግ” D [26],3 ወትበለክ ፡] ”ቤ” D ተወልደ ፡] ”ዱ ፡ D [27],1 ነቢየ ፡] ”ይ ፡ D

at different times, as Ezra himself had said, ‘The angel who had  
 A 175rb come to me the previous night<sup>31</sup> | said to me, “As you are unable  
 to do one of the things that have been mentioned, so you are un-  
 able to find out my judgment and the meaning of love for I am tol-  
 erant to my people.”<sup>32</sup> [24] And I said, ‘My Lord, you tolerated 5  
 D 145vb them, and what should they, | who were before us or those who  
 were after us, have done?’ And he said to me, ‘I made my judg-  
 ment like a ring lest those who were behind be delayed or those  
 A 175va who came first hasten.’ And I said to him, ‘Could you not then |  
 perhaps have created at once together those who preceded, those 10  
 who followed, and those who exist at present so that you may  
 show your judgement once (lit. ‘instantly’)?’ He said to me, ‘A  
 work does not hasten more than its worker; as for the world, it  
 could not endure those which are created under it.’<sup>33</sup> [25] And I  
 said to him, ‘And how would you, oh Lord, revive those whom 15  
 D 146ra you created together all at once? | If you revive them all at once,  
 A 175vb will the world endure? If it cannot now, it might not | be able to  
 endure it at once with those at present.’ And he said to me, ‘Now  
 have the womb of a woman agree: say to it, “Why do you bear ten  
 (children)?” Now ask if she can bear all ten at one time. Can she 20  
 not, only annually? As the womb which never can, so also I or-  
 dained about the old.’ And I asked him, saying to him, ‘Now that  
 A 176ra you have given me the way, | for me to speak before you, behold  
 D 146rb you say to me, your mother is minor | but she is old.’<sup>34</sup>  
 [26] And he answered and said to me, ‘Ask the one that bore a 25  
 child, and she will tell you: say to her, “Why are not those whom  
 bore now become powerful like the former ones?” And she shall  
 say to you, “This one was born in the strength of youth and the  
 other was born in the old womb. But you yourself know that you  
 are inferior in power against those who preceded you. And those 30  
 A 176rb who succeed you will be inferior to you; | likewise, the one who is  
 created, lived as if the power of his youth is passed away.”<sup>35</sup>  
 [27] Likewise, Uriel the angel was sent to Prophet Ezra. When

<sup>31</sup> Cf. 4 Ezra 5:31.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. 4 Ezra 5:40.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. 4 Ezra 5:41–43.

<sup>34</sup> Section 25 is from 4 Ezra 5:43–50.

<sup>35</sup> Section 26 is from 4 Ezra 5:51–55.

ኩን ፡ ደኃሪትየ ፡ ለሕርትምና ፡ | ወጸሎትየኒ ፡ ለትእይርት ። [28] ወእንዘ ፡ A 176va  
 አነ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ እብል ፡ ወናሁ ፡ መጽአ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ መልአክ ፡ ዘመጽአ ፡ ኅቤ  
 የ ፡ ቅዲሙ ፡ ወረከበኒ ፡ እሰክብ ፡ ከመ ፡ በድን ፡ ወልብየኒ ፡ ኢሀሎ ፡ ምስ  
 ሌየ ፡ ወአጎዘኒ ፡ በየማንየ ፡ ወአጽንዓኒ ፡ ወአቀመኒ ፡ በገርየ ፡ ርቱዓ ። ወአ  
 5 ውሥአኒ ፡ | ወይቤለኒ ፡ ምንተ ፡ ኮንከ ፡ ወምንት ፡ ያደነግፀከ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ D 146vb  
 ምንት ፡ ኢሀለው ፡ ልብከ ፡ ምስሌከ ። ወእቤሎ ፡ እሰመ ፡ ገደፍከኒ ፡ ወሐደ  
 ገኒ ። ወአንሰ ፡ በከመ ፡ ትቤለኒ ፡ ወግእኩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገዳም ። ወናሁ ፡ ርአ  
 A 176vb  
 ኩ ፡ ዘኢይክል ፡ አእምሮ ። ወይቤለኒ ፡ ቁም ፡ እንከሰ ፡ እንግርክ ፡ ከመ ፡  
 ብእሲ ። ወእቤሎ ፡ በል ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወዳእሙ ፡ ኢትኅድገኒ ፡ እሰመ ፡ ርአ  
 10 ኩ ፡ ዘኢርኢኩ ፡ ወሰማዕኩ ፡ ዘኢሰማዕኩ ፡ ወዘኢየአምር ፡ ባሕቱ ፡ ወዘንገዓ  
 ኒ ፡ ልብየ ፡ ወተሐልም ፡ ነፍሰየ ፡ ወይእዜኒ ፡ ብቀኅዒ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ ንግሮ ፡  
 ፍካሬሁ ፡ ለዝንቱ ፡ ለገብርክ ። [29] ወአውሥአኒ ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ ሰምዓኒ ፡ እ  
 ንግርክ ፡ | በእንተ ፡ ዘትፈርህ ፡ እሰመ ፡ ከሰተ ፡ ለከ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ልዑ  
 D 147ra |  
 ል ፡ እሰመ ፡ ምሥጢር ፡ ህቡእ ፡ ውእቱ ። ወሶበ ፡ ርእየ ፡ ጽድቀከ ፡ እሰ  
 A 177ra  
 15 መ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ ተሐዝን ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕዝብከ ። ወጥቀ ፡ ትቴክዝ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ጽ  
 ዮን ። ዝንቱ ፡ ነገሩ ፡ ሃቲሰ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ እንተ ፡ ርአከ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ከመዝ ፡  
 ልሑት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወአጎዘከ ፡ ትናዝዝ ፡ ወይእቲሰ ፡ ኢኮነት ፡ ብእሲተ ፡ እ  
 ንዝ ፡ ትሬኢ ፡ ዳዕሙ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ትከውነከ ። እሰመ ፡ ነገረተከ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕ  
 ማመ ፡ ወልዳ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ እንተ ፡ ርአከ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ይእቲ ፡ እንዘ ፡  
 20 ይእዜ ፡ ትሬእያ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ኅንጽት ። [30] ወዝኒ ፡ | ዘትቤለኒ ፡ መካ  
 ነ ፡ | ኮንኩ ፡ ፴ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ እሰመ ፡ ፴ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ ነበረ ፡ ዓለም ፡ እንዘ ፡ ዓል  
 D 147rb  
 ቦ ፡ ዘያበውእ ፡ ቀርባን ። ወእምድኅረ ፡ ፴ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ኅነጸ ፡ ሰሎሞን ፡ ሀገ  
 ረ ፡ ወአብአ ፡ ቀርባን ፡ ውእተ ፡ አሚረ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘወለደት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ዘነበ  
 ረት ፡ መካን ፡ ወዘንተኒ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ ስራሐ ፡ ሐጸንክዎ ፡ ዘትቤለከ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ነ  
 25 በረት ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ይእቲ ። ወዝንቱኒ ፡ ዘትቤለከ ፡ አመ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ቦአ ፡  
 ወልድየ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጽርሑ ፡ ሞተ ። ወረከበኒ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ሕማም ፡ በደቀታ ፡  
 ለኢየሩሳሌም ።

[28],2 ወናሁ ፡] ናሁ ፡ D 3 ቅዲሙ ፡] ቀ” D 4 በገርየ ፡] በእገርየ ፡ D 6 ኢሀለው ፡] ”ወ ፡ D  
 እሰመ ፡] ሶበ ፡ D 8 እንግርክ ፡] ”ነ” D 10 ዘኢሰማዕከ ፡] ”ኩ ፡ D 12 ፍካሬሁ ፡] ”ከ” D  
 [29],3 ጽድቀከ ፡] ”ቅ” D 7 ሕማመ ፡] ”ማ” D [30],3 ቀርባን ፡] ”ነ ። D | ኅነጸ ፡] ”ፀ ፡ D  
 5 ወዝንተኒ ፡] ወዝንቱኒ ፡ D | ብዙኃ ፡] በብዙኅ ፡ D 7 ጽርሑ ፡] ”ጉ ፡ D | በደቀታ ፡] ”ድ” D

<sup>36</sup> There is a similarity between the narration of this homily (Sections 27–31) and the homily for the months of Hədar and Taḥśās on Ezra and Alexander the Great, translation of Septuagint in the longer recension of the *Dərsanä Uraʾel* (EMML 54, fols 42r–45r, cf. Macomber 1975, 57; EMML 1942, fols 51r–54r, cf. Getatchew Haile 1981, 440–447).

<sup>37</sup> Section 28 is from 4 Ezra 10:29–38.

D 146va he saw the suffering | of Zion,<sup>36</sup> he was sad and sorrowful; and  
 when he saw the majestic glory of Zion, he trembled and was  
 afraid. He called in a loud voice and said, ‘You are Uriel who came  
 to me before. Why did you do to me like this, that I may enter  
 A 176va into this serious enquiry, and my end enter into this corruption, |  
 5 and my prayer appear ridiculous?’ [28] And while I was speaking  
 like this, behold, the angel who had come to me formerly came to  
 me and found me lying down like a corpse, and my mind was not  
 with me. He held me by my right hand and strengthened me. He  
 D 146vb set me up straight on my feet. He replied and | said to me, ‘What  
 10 happened to you? And why are you terrified? And why is not  
 your mind with you?’ And I said to him, ‘Because you have rejec-  
 ted me and forsaken me. I went out into the desert as you told me.  
 A 176vb | And, behold, I saw what I cannot understand.’ And he said to me,  
 ‘Stand up. Now, I will tell you like a man.’ And I said to him, 15  
 ‘Speak on, oh Lord; but do not forsake me, for I have seen what I  
 have not seen (before) and heard what I have not I heard (before)  
 and what I do not know. But my mind forgot and my soul is  
 dreaming. Now, I beseech you, my Lord, tell your servant the in-  
 terpretation of this (vision).’<sup>37</sup> [29] And he answered to me and 20  
 D 147ra said to me, | ‘Listen to me and I will tell you about what you are  
 A 177ra afraid of, because (what) the Lord, | the Most High, has revealed  
 to you is a hidden mystery. For he has seen your righteousness, how  
 you grieved much for your people and (how) you are deeply dis-  
 tressed for Zion. This, then, is the matter: you saw a woman be- 25  
 fore, who was mourning so much and whom you consoled. What  
 you saw was not (really) a woman but what will be your city.  
 Since she told you of the sickness of her son, this woman whom  
 you saw is Zion, although you see it as a city being built.<sup>38</sup> [30]  
 A 177rb | And what | she said to you, “I have been barren | for thirty years”, 30  
 D 147rb (it is) because the world was without offering for thirty years. And  
 after thirty years, Solomon built a city and offered offerings. It is  
 at that time that the barren (one) gave birth. And what she told  
 you, that she conceived him with much labour, is how Jerusalem  
 has been.<sup>39</sup> And what she said to you, “My son died on the day he 35  
 entered into his bridal chamber, and this great pain found me”, is  
 because of the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cf. 4 Ezra 10:39–44 for Section 29.

<sup>39</sup> This verse, as do others, omits phrases, making the text less clear. Cf. 4 Ezra 10:47–49.

<sup>40</sup> Section 30 is partially from 4 Ezra 10:44–49.



[31] ወገኑ ፡ ርኢከ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ሀለወት ፡ እፎ ፡ ትለሕዎሙ ፡ ለደቂቃ ፡ ወእ A 177va  
 ንተሰ ፡ አጎዝከ ፡ ትናዝዛ ፡ እምሕማማ ። ወይእዜኒ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ርእየከ ፡ እግዚአ D 147va  
 ብሔር ፡ ልዑል ፡ ከመ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ነፍሱከ ፡ ተሐዝን ፡ ወበኩሉ ፡ ልብከ ፡ ተ  
 ሐምም ፡ በእንቲአሃ ፡ ዘእርአየከ ፡ ብርሃነ ፡ ስብሐቲሃ ፡ ወሰነ ፡ ተድላሃ ። በ  
 5 እንተ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ እቤለከ ፡ ትንበር ፡ ውሱተ ፡ ገዳም ፡ ኅበ ፡ ኢተሐንጸ ፡ ቤ  
 ት ፡ እስመ ፡ አእመርኩ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ያርኢኩ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። ወበእ  
 ንተ ፡ ዝንተ ፡ እብለከ ፡ ትምጻእ ፡ ዝየ ፡ ኅበ ፡ አልቦ ፡ መሰረተ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ A 177vb  
 እስመ ፡ ኢይትከሀል ፡ ንድቅ ፡ ግብረ ፡ እደ ፡ እንለ ፡ እመሕያው ፤ የሀሉ ፡  
 ውሱተ ፡ መካን ፡ ኅበ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ያርኢከ ፡ ልዑል ። ወአንተሰ ፡ ኢትፍራህ ፡ እ  
 10 ንከ ፡ | ወኢይደንግፅከ ፡ ልብከ ፡ ዳዕሙ ፡ ባእ ፡ ወርኢ ፡ ብርሃና ፡ ወጽንዓ ፡ D 147vb  
 ንድቃ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ትክል ፡ ሰሚዓ ፡ ሰማዕ ፡ በእዝንከ ፡ እስመ ፡ አብጻእ  
 <ኩከ> ፡ እብዙጎን ፡ ወተሰመይከ ፡ በኅበ ፡ ልኡል ፡ ከመ ፡ ውጉዳን ።  
 [32] ዝንቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡ ዐቢይ ፡ ፩ ፡ እም ፡ | ፯ ፡ ሊ A 178ra  
 ቃ<ነ> ፡ መላእክት ፡ ዘተፈነወ ፡ እም ፡ ኅበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኅበ ፡ ዕዝራ ፡  
 15 ነቢይ ፡ ወካህን ፡ ወአይድያ ፡ ምሥጢረ ፡ ኅቡእ ፡ ዘይትከሰት ፡ በበእድሜ  
 ሁ ። ዐቢይ ፡ ወክቡር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ዘተነግረ ፡ እ  
 ቡዩ ፡ በአፈ ፡ እዝራ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ወካህን ። [33] ወበሄኖክ ፡ ዘሐበአ ፡ እግዚአብ  
 ሔር ፡ | እምገጸ ፡ ሞት ፡ ሶበ ፡ አስመሮ ፤ ይቤ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኡራኤ D 148ra  
 ል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ካልአኒሁ ፡ ሊቃነ ፡ መላእክት ፡ አመ ፡  
 20 በልዕምሙ ፡ ረዓይት ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ በጉሕሉተ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ጸርጉ ፡ ወበጸሐ ፡ ቃ A 178rb  
 ሎ ፡ ሰማየ ። ወአሜሃ ፡ ሐወጹ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ወኡራኤል ፡ ወገብርኤል ፡ እ  
 ምሰማይ ፡ ወርእየ ፡ ብዙጎን ፡ ደመ ፡ ዘይትከዕው ፡ ዲበ ፡ ምድር ፡ ተኅተ ፡  
 ወኩሉ ፡ ዘይትገበር ፡ ዐመፃ ፡ በዲበ ፡ ምድር ፤ ወበልሕዎሙ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ እ  
 ምግፍዐ ፡ ራዓይት ፡ ወአሕጉልዎሙ ፡ ለረዐይት ፡ በትእዛዘ ፡ እግዚአብሔ  
 25 ር ። [34] ዝንቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፡ | ዘነገሮ ፡ ለሄኖ D 148rb  
 ክ ፡ ምሥጢረ ፡ | ኩነኔሆሙ ፡ ለከዋክብት ። ወሶበ ፡ ርእየ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ መካነ ፡ A 178va  
 ኩነኔሆሙ ፡ ለመላእክት ፡ ግሩመ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ ወይቤለ  
 ኒ ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ በዝየ ፡ ተደሚሮሙ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ምሰለ ፡ አንስት ፡ ይቀው  
 ሙ ፡ መኖፍስቲሆሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ ዓባይ ፡ ኩነኔ ፡ በዘ ፡ ይትኳነኑ ፡ እስ  
 30 ከ ፡ ይትፌጸሙ ። ወካዕበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ መልአክ ፡ ክ  
 ቡር ፡ ሊቀ ፡ መላእክት ፤ ኡራኤል ፡ ፩ ፡ እምነ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ እስ  
 መ ፡ ዘረዓም ፡ ወዘረዓድ ። መልአክ ፡ ዘረዓም ፡ ተሰምየ ፡ ኡራኤል ፡ ክቡ A 178vb

[31],1 ትለሕዎሙ ፡ ] ”ላ” D 6 ያርኢኩ ፡ ] ”ከ” D 7 ዝንተ ፡ ] ”ቱ” D | ትምጻእ ፡ ] ”መጽ” D  
 8 ኢይትከሀል ፡ ] ኢይትከሀል ፡ D | የሀሉ ፡ ] ወየ” D 11 አብጻእ<ኩከ> ፡ ] አብጻእኮ ፡ A; አውፃእኮ ፡  
 D 12 እብዙጎን ፡ ] እምብዙጎን ፡ D | ወተሰመይከ ፡ ] ዘተ” D [32],3 ኅቡእ ፡ ] ”አ” D  
 [33],1 ዘሐበአ ፡ ] ”ብ” D 4 ወበጸሐ ፡ ] ”ጽ” D | ቃሎ ፡ ] ”ሙ” ፡ D 6 ተኅተ ፡ ] ታሕ” D  
 7 ወበልሕዎሙ ፡ ] ”ባ” D 8 ለረዐይት ፡ ] ረዓ” D [34],5 ዓባይ ፡ ] አባይ ፡ A

41 Cf. 4 Ezra 10:50–58.  
 42 The last sentence is from 1 En. 8:4.

A 177va [31] ‘And | now you saw how she had to console her children;  
D 147va and you began consoling her in her pain. | And now because the  
Most High saw you being sorrowful about her (Zion) with all  
your soul and you suffered, with all your heart on her account, he  
showed you the light of her glory and the beauty of her dignity. 5  
Therefore, I told you to live in the desert where no house is built,  
A 177vb for I knew all that the Lord has to tell you. Therefore I bade you |  
to come here where there is no foundation of righteousness, for no  
building, the work of human being, could be in the place the Most  
D 147vb High has to show you. Therefore, do not be afraid, | and let not 10  
your heart be terrified, but go in and see its light and the strength  
of her building. Hear with your own ears as much as you can hear,  
for <I> have brought <you> out of many and you are named be-  
fore the Most High as (only) few.’<sup>41</sup>

A 178ra [32] This is the great angel Uriel, one of | the seven ar<ch>angels 15  
sent from the Lord to Ezra the prophet and priest, and informed  
him the hidden mystery which will be revealed in its time. The  
Archangel Uriel is great and honoured, whose greatness was told  
by the mouth of Ezra the prophet and priest. [33] And by Enoch,  
D 148ra whom the Lord | concealed from the face of death when he pleased 20  
him. Enoch said about the Archangel Uriel and other archangels,  
A 178rb when the giants ate people, | because of the treachery of men they  
cried out, and their voice reached heaven.<sup>42</sup> At that time, Michael,  
Uriel, and Gabriel<sup>43</sup> visited from heaven and saw the enormous  
blood spilled down on the earth and all the iniquity that was being 25  
done on the earth; and they saved the people from the injustice of  
the giants and they destroyed the giants by the command of the  
D 148rb Lord. [34] This is Uriel the archangel | who told Enoch the mys-  
A 178va tery of | the government of the stars. When Enoch saw the place of  
awful damnation of the angels, as Enoch himself has said, ‘And 30  
Uriel said to me, “The spirits of the angels who associated with the  
women will stand here until the day of great judgment where they  
will be punished until they end.”’<sup>44</sup> And again Enoch said about  
the honourable Archangel Uriel, ‘Uriel is one of the holy angels,  
A 178vb because he is of thunder and | tremors.’<sup>45</sup> The honourable angel 35  
Uriel is named ‘the angel of the thunder’ because he causes the

<sup>43</sup> Here the homily (both A and D) omits Suriel, who is one of the four archangels in 1 En. 9:1.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. 1 En. 19:1.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. 1 En. 20:1.

5 ር : መልአክ : እስመ : ዘያደምፅ : ስብሐቲሁ : ለልዑል : በዐቢይ : ወበግ  
 ሩም : ቃል ። መልአክ : ዘረዓድ : ተሰምየ : ኡራኤል : ቅዱስ : እስመ : ግ  
 ሩም : ውእቱ : ዘያርዕዶሙ : ለኢጋንንት ።  
 [35] ወአዲ : ይቤ : ሄኖክ : አመ : ርእየ : መካነ : ተድላሆሙ : ለጻድቃን :  
 5 መካነ : ኩነኔሆሙ : ለጎጥአን ። ውእተ : ጊዜ : እቤ : በእንተ : ዛቲ : ምድ  
 ር : በእንተ : ምንት : አላ : ቡርክት : ኩላ : ምድር : ኩላንታሃ : ምል  
 እት : ፅፀወ : ወዘ : ቁላ : ርግምት : ማእከሎሙ ። ውእተ : ጊዜ : አውሥ  
 አኒ : አሐዱ : እምቅዱሳን : መላእክት : እንዘ : ሀሎ : ምስሌየ : ወይቤለ  
 ኒ : ዝቁላ : ርግምት : ይእቲ : ለርጉማን : እስከ : ለዓለም : ዝየ : ይትጋብ  
 10 ኡ : ኩሎሙ : እለ : ይብሉ : በአፋሆሙ : ላዕለ : እግዚአብሔር : ቃለ :  
 ዘኢይደሉ ። ወበእንተ : ስብሐተ : ዚአሁ : ይትናገሩ : ፅፁባተ : ዝየ : ያስ  
 ተጋብእምሙ : ወዝየ : ምኩናናቲሆሙ ፤ በደኃሪ : መዋዕል : ይከውን : ላ  
 ዕሌሆሙ : አርአያ : ኩነኔ : ዘበጽድቅ : በቅድመ : ጻድቃን : ለዓለም : ኩ  
 15 ሎ : መዋዕል : ዘዝየ : ይበርክዎ : መሐርያን : ለእግዚአ : ስብሐት : ንጉ  
 ሥ : ዘለዓለም ። ወ<በ>መዋዕል : ኩነኔሆሙ : ይባርክዎ : በምሕረት : ከ  
 መ : ከፈሎሙ : ውእተ : ጊዜ : በረክዎ : ለእግዚአ : ስብሐት : ወሎቱ : ነ  
 ገርኩ : ወዘከርኩ : በከመ : ይደሉ : ለዕባዩ ።  
 [36] ወካዕበ : ይቤ : ሄኖክ : በእንተ : ኡራኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ወርኢ  
 ኩ : አጽናፈ : ምድር : በጎበ : ሰማይ : የዐርፍ : ወጎዋጎወ : ሰማይ : ርኢ  
 20 ኩ : ርጎዋተ ። ወርኢኩ : እፎ : ይወፅእ : ከዋክብተ : ሰማይ : ወጎለቁ :  
 እምነ : ይወፅኡ : ወጸሐፍኩ : ኩሎ : ሙፃኢሁ : ለለ፩፩ : በበጎልቆሙ :  
 ወበበአስማቲሆሙ : ወበበደርጎሙ : ወምንበሪሆሙ : ወጊዜሆሙ : ወአው  
 ራኒሆሙ : ከመ : አርአየኒ : ኡራኤል : መልአክ : ቅዱስ : ዘምስሌየ : ወ  
 ኩሎ : አርአየኒ : ወእጽሐፎ : ሊተ ፤ ወዐዲ : አስማቲሆሙ : ጸሐፊ : ሊ  
 25 ተ : ወትእዛዙሙ : ወማጎበራቲሆሙ ። [37] ወግዲ : ይቤ : ሄኖክ : በእን  
 ተ : ኡራኤል : መልአክ : ሊቀ : መላእክት : መጽሐፈ : ሚጦተ : ብርሃና  
 <ተ> : ሰማይ : ፩፩ : በከመ : ሀሎ : በበ : ሕዘቢሆሙ : ፩፩ : በበስልጣኖ  
 ሙ : ወበበዘመኖሙ : አሐዱ : አሐዱ : በበሰሙ : ወሙላዳቲሆሙ : ወበ  
 በ : አውራኒሆሙ : እለ : አርአየኒ : ኡራኤል : መልአክ : ቅዱስ : ዘሀ  
 30 ሎ : ምስሌየ : ዘውእቱ : መራኒሆሙ ። ወኩሎ : መጽሐፎሙ : በከመ :

10 መልአክ ፣] ምክ ፣ D [35],3 ኩላንታሃ ፣] ምላ ፣ D 4 ወዘ ፣ ቁላ ፣] ወዛቁላ ፣ D 8 ዚአሁ ፣] ዜናሁ ፣  
 D 9 ምኩናናቲሆሙ ፤] መካናቲሆሙ ፣ D 10 ዘበጽድቅ ፣] ዘበ ፣ ጽድቅ ። D 11 ይበርክዎ ፣] ምላ  
 D 12 ወ<በ>መዋዕል ፣] መዋዕል ፣ AD 13 በረክዎ ፣] ግ ፣ D 14 ወዘከርኩ ፣] ዘዘከርኩ ፣ D  
 [36],3 ይወፅእ ፣] ምክ ፣ D | ወጎለቁ ፣] keep the archaic form of the letter ጎ ፣ AD  
 4 በበጎልቆሙ ፣] በበ ፣ ጎልቆሙ ፣ D 5 ወበበአስማቲሆሙ ፣] ወበበ ፣ D | ወበበደርጎሙ ፣] ወበ ፣ ደር  
 ጎሙ ፣ D | ወምንበሪሆሙ ፣] ምላ ፣ D | ወአውራኒሆሙ ፣] ው later inserted in A [37],2 ሚጦተ ፣]  
 ምላ ፣ D | ብርሃና<ተ> ፣] ብርሃናት ፣ AD 3 በበስልጣኖ ፣] በበ ፣ D 4 ወበበዘመኖሙ ፣] በበ ፣ D  
 በበሰሙ ፣] በበ ፣ D

D 148va praise of the | Most High to be called out with a great and marvelous voice. He is named ‘the angel of tremors’ because Saint Uriel is majestic who makes the daemons trembles.

[35] And again, Enoch said, when he saw the place of joy for the righteous, and the place of judgment for the sinners, ‘At that time, I said about that land, “What is the purpose of this blessed  
 A 179ra land whose entirety is full of trees and of this accursed valley | in the middle of them?” At that time, one of the holy angels, who was with me, answered and said to me, “This accursed valley is for those who are cursed forever. All who utter with their mouths  
 10 against the Lord words that are not fitting will be gathered together here. Those who will say evil things against the praise of his  
 D 148vb glory, they gather them here and their punishment will be here. |  
 A 179rb And in the last days, there will be the manifestation | of the right judgment upon them before the righteous. The merciful will bless  
 15 the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King forever. And <at> the time of their judgment, they will bless him on account of his mercy, as he will have shared with them at that time. They blessed the Lord of Glory, as I announced and they proclaimed him as it fits his greatness.”<sup>46</sup>

20

D 149ra [36] Again Enoch | said about the Archangel Uriel, ‘I saw the  
 A 179va ends of the earth on which heaven rests, and I saw the | gates of heaven opened. And I saw how the stars of heaven come out.<sup>47</sup> I counted (the windows) through which they come, and wrote down all their outlets, each one individually according to their  
 25 number and their names, according to their constellations and their positions, their times, and their months, as the holy angel Uriel, who was with me, showed me everything to write down. And  
 A 179vb he also wrote down their names for me, and their orders and their |  
 D 149rb associations.<sup>48</sup> [37] Again, | Enoch said about the Archangel Uriel  
 30 in the book of the revolutions of the light<s> of heavens, each is arranged as it is in its grouping; each is according to its authority and its time. Each is arranged according to its name and its place of origin, and according to its month which Uriel, the holy angel, who is with me and is their guide, showed me. All their regula-  
 35 tions are exactly as he showed me and as would happen every year

<sup>46</sup> Section 35 is from 1 En. 27:1–4.

<sup>47</sup> For ‘come out’ here A uses a singular subject ይወጣኑ ፡.

<sup>48</sup> Section 36 is mostly from 1 En. 33:2–4.

ውእቱ፡ አርአየኒ ። ወበከመ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓመት፡ እስከ፡ | ይትጊበር፡ ግብረ፡ A 180ra  
 ጎዲስ፡ ዘይነብር፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም ። [38] ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡ በ|እንተ፡ D 149va  
 ኡራኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ወአማን፡ ነገሩ፡ ወጥንቁቅ፡ ሐሳቡ፡ ዘልኩ  
 ዕ፡ እስመ፡ ዘብርሃናት፡ ወለአውራጎ፡ ወለመዋዕል፡ አርአየርኒ፡ ወነፍ  
 5 ሐ፡ ዲቤየ ፤ ኡራኤል፡ ዘአዘዘ፡ ሊተ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም፡  
 ለጎይለ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወስልጣነ፡ ቦቱ፡ በሌሊት፡ ወበመዐልት፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማ  
 ይ ፤ ወከመ፡ ያርኢ፡ ብርሃነ፡ ዲበ፡ ሰብእ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወወርጎ፡ ወኩሎ  
 ሙ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ወኩሎሙ፡ ስልጣናተ፡ ሰማይ፡ እለ፡ ይትመየጡ፡ በክ  
 በሰሙ ። A 180rb

10 [39] ርእዩኬ፡ ዕቦዮ፡ ኡራኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ዘወሀቦ፡ እግዚአብ  
 ሔ|ር፡ ስልጣነ፡ ላዕለ፡ ብርሃናተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወከመ፡ ያርእዮ፡ ለሄኖክ፡ ጎ  
 ቡአቲሆሙ፡ ለብርሃናተ፡ ሰማይ ። ይቤ፡ ሄኖክ፡ ወነፍሐ፡ ዲቤየ፡ ኡራ  
 ኤል፡ ዘአዘዘ፡ ሊተ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፍጥረተ፡ ዓለም ። ወነፍጎ፡ ኡራኤ  
 ል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ዲበ፡ ሄኖክ፡ ከመ፡ ይንሣእ፡ አእምሮ፡ በዲበ፡ አ  
 15 እምሮ፡ | ለርእየ፡ ምሥጢራት፡ እስመ፡ ካህን፡ ውእቱ፡ ኡራኤል፡ ዐቢ  
 ይ ፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ወኩሎሙ፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ ከማሁ፡ ካህናት፡  
 እሙንቱ ። ወኩሎሙ፡ ካህናት፡ ላእካነ፡ ምሥጢራ፡ ለቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡  
 ክርስቲያን፡ እለ፡ ይነብሩ፡ ዲበ፡ ምድር፡ ለእመ፡ ገብሩ፡ ተዝካሮሙ፡ D 150ra  
 ለሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ መስተካህናን፡ እለ፡ በሰማያት፡ ፈድፋድ፡ ይትቁደ  
 20 ስ፡ ክህነቶሙ፡ ለሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ ሰማያዊያን ።  
 [40] ግብሩኬ፡ ተዝካሩ፡ ለኡራኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ካህን፡ ዐቢይ፡ ኩ  
 ልክ|ሙ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ ለገዪሰ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወበአ  
 ብእ፡ ወቀሩባን፡ ወበአውትሮ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወበአንብእ፡ ብዙጎ፡ ዘየነጽሖ  
 ሙ፡ ለአባሲያን፡ ወበአልብሶ፡ ዕሩቃን፡ ወበአጽግቦ፡ ርጉባን፡ ወበፈቲህ፡  
 25 ሙቁኃን፡ ወበናዝዞ፡ ሕዙናን ። ወበሐ|ዲገ፡ አበሳሆሙ፡ ለቢጽክሙ፡ እ  
 ለ፡ አበሱ፡ ለክሙ፡ ከመ፡ ይትጎፈር፡ ሰይጣን፡ ዘይፈቅድ፡ ያሕጉሎ  
 ሙ፡ ለምእመናን ፤ ግብሩ፡ ተዝከሮ፡ ለመልአክ፡ ኡራኤል፡ ካህን፡ ሊቀ፡  
 መላእክት፡ ዐቢይ ። ካህናትኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይትቀደስ፡ ክህነትክሙ፡ ወከመ፡  
 ለ 181ra  
 ይኩን፡ ውኩፈ፡ መሥዋትክሙ ። ወመነከሳትኒ፡ ወመበለታትኒ፡ ከመ፡  
 30 ይትቀደስ፡ ምንኩስናክሙ ። ደናግልኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይትዐቀብ፡ ድንግልናሆ  
 ሙ ። ወሕዝባዊያንኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይትቀደስ፡ ነፍስክሙ፡ ወሥጋክሙ ። ወከ  
 መ፡ ይትባረኩ፡ ደቂቅክሙ ፤ ወኩሉ፡ ተግባርክሙ፡ በትንብልናሁ፡ ለዝ  
 ንቱ፡ መልአክ፡ ክቡር፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡ ካህን፡ ዐቢይ፡ ዘነፍሐ፡ ዲበ፡  
 ሄኖክ፡ ከመ፡ ይንሣእ፡ | ጥበበ፡ በዲበ፡ ጥበብ፡ ወከመ፡ ይትመላእ፡ መን  
 A 181rb

[38],3 አርአየርኒ ፣] አርአየኒ ፣ D [39],1 ኡራኤል ፣] ለኡራኤል ፣ D [40],2 ለገዪሰ ፣] በ” D  
 3 ዘየነጽሖሙ ፣] ”ያ” D 5 አበሳሆሙ ፣] ”ባ” D 7 ተዝከሮ ፣] ”ካ” D

49 Cf. 1 En. 72:1.  
 50 Cf. 1 En. 82:7-9.

- A 180ra until the new creation, | that will last forever, will be created.<sup>49</sup> [38]
- D 149va And again Enoch said about | Uriel, the archangel, ‘His words are true and his measured reckoning is exact, because Uriel himself showed me about the lights of the months and the days, and Uriel breathed on me which the power of all ordered creatures of the world to me heavenly power which has authority over night and day on the heaven so that he may shine the light, sun, moon, and
- A 180rb all the | stars, and all heavenly powers which rotate in their orbits on men.’<sup>50</sup>
- [39] Now, see the greatness of Archangel Uriel to whom the 10
- D 149vb Lord | gave the power over the lights of heaven to show the hidden mysteries of the lights of heaven to Enoch. Enoch said, ‘Uriel breathed on me what the Lord of the whole created world ordered for me.’<sup>51</sup> And Uriel, the archangel, breathed on Enoch that he
- A 180va may receive knowledge | over knowledge to see mysteries. For the 15 great Archangel Uriel is a priest; and all the archangels are priests like him. And all priests are servants of the mystery of the holy
- D 150ra Church | who are on earth. If (priests) observe the memorial of the archangels, who serve as priests in heaven, their priesthood on earth will be more blessed by the heavenly archangel. 20
- A 180vb [40] Therefore, all of you Christians, | men and women, observe (the memorial)<sup>52</sup> of Uriel the archangel, the great priest by going to church and offering sacrifice, by praying regularly with much tears—which cleans sinners—clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, releasing prisoners, consoling the sorrowful, and by for-
- D 150rb giving the | offences of your friends who offended you, so that Satan, who wants to destroy the faithful, may be ashamed. Do the
- A 181ra commemoration of the angel Uriel, the priest and great | archangel; for the priests, in order for your priesthood to be sanctified and your sacrifices to be accepted; for the monks and nuns, in order 30 for your monkhood to be sanctified; for the virgins, in order for their virginity to be kept; for the laity, in order for your souls and
- D 150va bodies to be sanctified and in order for your children and all your | deeds to be blessed by the intercession of this honoured angel,
- A 181rb archangel, and great priest who breathed on Enoch to receive | 35 wisdom over wisdom and to be filled with the spirit of prophecy.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> This sentence is from 1 En. 82:7.

<sup>52</sup> Both A and D omit this object ‘memorial’.

<sup>53</sup> A similar blessing is found in the longer recension of Uriel for the month of Yäkkatit (the story of Samson and Delilah).

ፊሰ : ትንቢት ። [41] ወእግዚእነሂ : ነፍሐ : ላእለ : አርዳኢሁ : እንዘ : ይ  
 ብል : ንሥኡ : መንፈሰ : ቅዱሰ : ለእለ : ኅደግሙ : ኃጢአት : ይትኅደ  
 ግ : ሎሙ : ወለእኢ : ኢሐደግሙ : ኅጢአት : ኢይትኅደግ : ሎሙ ። ወ  
 ንፍኅትሰ : ዲበ : ሰብእ : ኢይደልዎሙ : ለካልዐን : ዘእንበለ : ካህናት ።  
 5 ወኡራኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ነፍኅ : ዲበ : ሂኖክ : እስመ : ካህን : ውእ D 150vb  
 ቱ ። [42] ኢይምሰልክሙ : ቀሊለ : ገቢረ : በዓሉ : ለኡራኤል : ሊቀ : መ  
 ላእክት : ዐቢይ ፤ ግበሩ : በዓሎ : ዮም : በትፍሥሕት : ከመ : ይትፈሣሕ : A 181va  
 ብክሙ ። አኮ : ባኅቲቱ : ዘይትፈሣሕ : አላ : እግዚአብሔር : ይትፈሣ  
 ሕ : ሶበ : ታከብርዎሙ : ለቅዱሳን : መላእክቲሁ ። ወእግዝእትነ : ማርያ  
 10 ም : ድንግል : በክልኤ : ትትፈሣሕ : ሶበ : ታፈቅርዎሙ : ለለእካሂሃ : ም  
 ሰለ : ኩሎሙ : መላእክተ : ወልዳ : ለእካሂሃ : እሙንቲ ። ወይእቲ : ተሐ D 151ra  
 ውጽክሙ : ዮም : አመ : በዓላ : ወትክድንክሙ : ሚላተ : | ሣህላ : ወትዕ  
 ቀብክሙ : | በጽንዓ : ኅይላ : ወታድኅንክሙ : እምአፈ : ተኩላ ። ወታብ A 181vb  
 እክሙ : ውስተ : ገነተ : ተድላ ። ከማሁ : ታብኦ : ለአቡነ : ዘካርያስ : መ  
 15 ካነ : ትፍሥሕት : ወተድላ : ወምስለ : ኩሎሙ : አኅዊሁ : ደቂቀ : ዛቲ :  
 ደብተራ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ። ወአሜን ። ለይኩን : ለይኩን ። ።

[41],1 ላእለ :] ለዕለ : D 3 ወለእኢ :] ወለእለ : A 4 ካህናት ።] ለካ” D [42],4 ወእግዝእትነ :]  
 ”ሂ : D 5 ለለእካሂሃ :] ለላእካሂሃ D | ምስለ :] እስመ : D 6 ለእካሂሃ :] ላ” D 9 ታብኦ :] ተ” A  
 10 ወምስለ :] ምስለ : D | ደቂቀ : ዛቲ : ደብተራ :] ወደቂቁ : ውስተ : ዛቲ : መርጡላ : D  
 11 ወአሜን ። ለይኩን : ለይኩን ። ።] ኦ : ኡራኤል : አማኅፀንኩክ : ነፍሰዩ : ለገብርክ : ናዝራዌ :  
 later added D

[41] And Our Lord, too, breathed on his disciples, saying, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit, whose so ever sins you remit, they are remitted to them; and whose so ever sins you retain, they are retained.’<sup>54</sup> Breathing on the laity is not possible for others but for priests; and  
D 150vb Uriel the archangel breathed on Enoch because he is a | priest. [42] 5  
A 181va You should not think that observing the feast of the great Archangel Uriel is a simple matter. | Observe his feast today with pleasure so that he may be pleased with you. It is not only he who will be pleased, but the Lord will also be pleased when you honour his holy angels. And Our Lady Mary, the twofold Virgin, will 10 be pleased when you love her servants with all the angels of her Son, who are her servants. She will visit you today on her feast to  
D 151ra cover you with the scarlet of | her mercy, and to protect you with  
A 181vb the strength of her | power, and to save you from the mouth of the wolf, and have you enter into the paradise of pleasure. Likewise, 15 may she have our father Zacharias<sup>55</sup> enter into the place of pleasure and happiness together with all his brothers, the children of this tabernacle, forever and ever; amen and amen, let it be, let it be.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. John 20:23.

<sup>55</sup> Zacharias held the position of *ges haše* in the court of Emperor Zär’a Ya’əqob (r. 1434–1468). Cf. Getatchew Haile 1981, 328.



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### Abstract

The text presented in this article is the earliest homily in honour of the Archangel Uriel. The homily is attested in two copies: the earlier is EMMML 1835 (fols 166ra–181vb) copied during the time of Emperor Zär'a Yā'əqob (r 1434–1468), and the other is EMMML 1841 (fols 137vb–151ra) dated to the seventeenth century. The text makes significant use of 4 Ezra and 1 Enoch, depicting Uriel as *angelus interpres* and helper of Enoch and Ezra.