

Studies on the Ethiopic Old Testament

Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Jeremiah Cycle

Edited by
Martin Heide and Stefan Weninger



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Introduction

STEFAN WENINGER, Philipps-Universität Marburg

The study of biblical texts, including the recovery of hitherto unknown apocrypha was the first and the primary concern of Ethiopic philology since its very beginnings in the sixteenth century. Just to give a few examples, Johannes Potken's edition of the Ethiopic Psalter of 1513 was the very first Ethiopic book printed ever. Five years later, he made a re-edition of this text in the framework of his *Psalterium in quatuor linguis: Hebraea, Graeca, Chaldaea, Latina*. The adjective 'Chaldean' here meant 'Ethiopic'.¹ The New Testament was first edited by Petrus Aethiops, that is Täsfa Şeyon, in 1548. Hiob Ludolf's edition of the Psalter of 1701 is still unsurpassed.

As for the Old Testament, today we have access to critical editions of most books (according to the LXX canon) thanks to the efforts of the following scholars: Johannes Bachmann (Obadia, Isaiah, Threni), J. Oscar Boyd (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus), August Dillmann (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings I–IV, Esdras I, Esdras II, Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Sirach, Joel, Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah), Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (Esdras III, Esther, Job, Amos), Hugh Craswall Gleave (Song of Songs), Hans Ferdinand Fuhs (Hosea, Micah), Sylvain Grébaut (Paralipomena I–II), Michael A. Knibb (Ezekiel),² Oscar Löfgren (Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephania, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel), Hiob Ludolf (Psalms, Odae), Samuel Mercer (Ecclesiastes),³ Hugh Austin Windle Pilkington (Proverbs).⁴

If we take into account that studies on the Ethiopic Bible are a somehow marginal field for both Orientalists and theologians, this is altogether not a bad result, although not all of the mentioned editions are of similar quality; for instance, Mercer's edition of Ecclesiastes (Kohélet) was severely criticized as unsatisfactory by Enno Littmann.⁵

1 On the history of this erroneous usage, see Kelly 2015.

2 Knibb 2015.

3 Mercer 1931.

4 For the complete bibliographic data, as far as not included in the references, see 'Bible: Gə'əz Bible editions', *EAE*, I (2003), 569a–571b (S. Weninger).

5 Littmann 1933.

Only one book of the Ethiopic Old Testament remains, of which there is no available critical edition: Jeremiah. Martin Heide and the present author were of course not the first who embarked on the study of the Ethiopic Book of Jeremiah (Eth.Jer.). Already August Heider in his dissertation of 1902 with the pompous title *Die aethiopische Bibelübersetzung. Ihre Herkunft, Art, Geschichte und ihr Wert für die alt- und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* treated Eth.Jer.⁶ However, he gave only a short introduction and a small specimen of the Jeremiah text, Chapter 1. In the same year, a revised version of his dissertation was published.⁷ Here Heider demonstrated with variants from Jer. 1–3,⁸ ‘how the Greek *Vorlage* could be retrieved out of the Old Ethiopic text’.⁹ He further edited and translated the small pseudepigraphical text of the *Prophecy of Jeremiah to Pashhur*.¹⁰ Heider came to the conclusion that the text of the oldest Ethiopic manuscripts had a *Vorlage* that belongs to the Lukianic recension of the Septuagint. His oldest and most important textual witness was the manuscript Berlin Petermann II, Nachtrag 43.

A couple of years later, Joseph Schäfers continued with the orphaned project. In the voluminous introduction to an edition of Eth.Jer.,¹¹ he reviewed Heider’s publication critically. Heider had based his results mainly on the above-mentioned Berlin manuscript. However, this shows numerous influences of the Arabic version. So it is a later textual witness of the ‘First Arabic Recension’ of the twelfth and thirteenth century.¹² Schäfers could demonstrate convincingly that those Ethiopic manuscripts, that show the oldest Ethiopic text, are based directly on a Greek *Vorlage*. Among these are primarily Berlin Orient. Fol. 3067 and BnF Éthiopien d’Abbadie 55. Apart from that, there is a further group of MSS that show even younger influences than the ones preferred by Heider. These belong to the so-called ‘Academic’ or better ‘Second Arabic Recension’.¹³ The basic tripartite division of the Ethiopic biblical tradition in (1) manuscripts that are based directly on their Greek *Vorlage*, (2) manuscripts that belong to the first Arabic or ‘vulgar’ recension, and (3) manuscripts of the ‘Second Arabic’ or ‘Academic’ Recension is common since August Dillmann.¹⁴

6 Heider 1902a.

7 Heider 1902b.

8 Ibid., 19–46.

9 Ibid., 19.

10 Ibid., 46–48.

11 Schäfers 1912.

12 ‘Bible: Biblical text criticism’, *E Ae*, I (2003), 565b–569a (S. Uhlig), esp. 568a.

13 Ibid.

14 See Hammerschmidt 1968, 41.

The oldest text that is attested in Ethiopic manuscripts is close to the LXX. According to Schäfers it mainly follows the text of Sinaiticus (Ⲱ, fourth century). Joseph Ziegler refined Schäfers's results in as far the oldest Ethiopic text of Jeremiah follows generally the Sinaiticus, however neither in its singular nor in its corrupt readings.¹⁵ Hence, the Ethiopic text offers an exceedingly important contribution to the textual history of the LXX, because it corroborates as well as corrects one of the three major textual witnesses of the LXX text (Alexandrinus (A), Vaticanus (B), Sinaiticus (Ⲱ)).

Schäfers did not live to see the completion of his work. He died in 1916 in Mossul on duty as a Catholic minister among Armenian refugees from a disease.¹⁶ The finished manuscript of the edition that he had submitted for the *Patrologia Orientalis* series was lost in Paris during the turmoil of the First World War.

Most, or nearly all, of the Ethiopic manuscripts of Eth.Jer. have also the book of Threni and the apocryphal additions of Jeremiah: The Book of Baruch (which is also part of the LXX canon), the Letter of Jeremiah, the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, and some other, smaller additions. In many cases, these additions are not marked as such in the manuscript, but treated as an integral part of Jeremiah. Peter Brandt, who had worked and published on the difficult question on the Ethiopic Bible canon, called this group the 'Jeremiah Cycle'. He could demonstrate that this unit was seen as a part of the Old Testament canon by the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition, even if there is some fluctuation in the precise composition of these additions.¹⁷ Hence, an edition of the Ethiopic Jeremiah should also comprise these satellites, although these short texts have already been edited. However, they were edited according to different text-critical approaches and the editions are based on a comparably small number of manuscripts—compared with modern possibilities. Dillmann edited the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* already in 1866 in his famous chrestomathy on the basis of three manuscripts.¹⁸ In 1986 Pierluigi Piovanelli edited this text anew as part of his dissertation.¹⁹ Johannes Bachmann published his *Aethiopische Lesestücke: Inedita Aethiopica für den Gebrauch in Universitäts-Vorlesungen* where he gave also a critical edition of the Letter of Jeremiah according to two manuscripts.²⁰ In the same year, this prolific scholar (who died the next year at the age of 32) published a critical

15 Schäfers 1912; Ziegler 1957.

16 Schmitt 1994.

17 Brandt 2000, 103.

18 Dillmann 1866, 1–15.

19 Piovanelli 1986, 109–231.

20 Bachmann 1893a, 8–10.

edition of Threni on the basis of four MSS, including a reconstruction of the Greek *Vorlage*.²¹ The Book of Baruch and the *Letter of Baruch* were published by August Dillmann in the last part of his great, but unfinished Old Testament edition (*Veteris Testamenti aethiopici toums quintus quo continentur libri apocryphi*), on the basis of six manuscripts, also accompanied by a reconstruction of the Greek *Vorlage*. The *Prophecy of Jeremiah to Pashhur* has been, as mentioned above, edited by Heider on the basis of a single manuscript (Frankfurt Ms. orient. Rüpp. II, 5/Ms. or. 11).²²

In conclusion of the fact that the editions of the ‘satellites’ of Jeremiah are unsatisfactory in the light of the many more manuscripts that are available nowadays, we decided to follow the Ethiopian tradition that perceives the Jeremiah Cycle as a unit and include these texts in our edition. In 2013 we submitted an application for a five-year research grant at the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), split in two phases of three and two years. In 2015 the project started.

The objectives of the project as stated in the description are:

1) A critical edition of the text with text-critical comments at important passages. For the edition, all textual witnesses should be collated. The comments have to take the Greek *Vorlage*, in some cases also the Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac texts into account.

2) The edited text should enable a quick orientation on the earliest Ethiopic version and its history.

3) We expect insights into the genesis of the Ethiopian canon, especially with respect to the ‘satellites’ of Jeremiah.

4) We also expect insights into the textual history of the LXX.

5) With the edition of the largest book of the Old Testament, questions of the earliest sources (*Vorlage*) and translation techniques can be answered.

Part of the DFG grant were also the funds for a project workshop. The workshop The Ethiopic Jeremiah-Cycle: A Critical Edition took place on 4 and 5 October 2016 with the following active participants: Alessandro Bausi, Steven Delamarter, Ted Erho, Martin Heide, Garry Jost, Michael A. Knibb, Siegfried Kreuzer, Curt Niccum, Loren Stuckebruck, and Stefan Weninger.

The following questions were discussed during the two-day workshop:

– How can the text-critical apparatus be structured that it remains readable despite its massive amount of information? Should we provide multiple apparatuses? How far can the *eliminatio codicum* go? How far should it go?

21 Bachmann 1893b.

22 Heider 1902b, 46–48.

– How can we capture the text-critical data so that they can be used on different digital platforms and formats?

– Although our immediate goal is a traditional book publication we want to safeguard future reuse within frameworks of the digital humanities. How can we achieve this?

– How extensive should the text-critical commentary be? What should be included?

These questions were discussed intensively during the workshop and both Martin Heide and the present author are most grateful for this tremendous input. Some of the results of this workshop are published in the present volume.

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Towards a Critical Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jeremiah: A Sample Collation of Jer. 1–3 and First Results

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To date, we know of nearly sixty Ethiopic manuscripts that transmit the book of Jeremiah (Jer.). Most of these MSS provide the complete Jeremiah Cycle, that is, they include the Book of Baruch (1Baruch), Lamentations (Lam.), the Letter of Jeremiah (Ep.Jer.), the *Prophecy of Jeremiah to Pashhur* (Pash.), and the *Paralipomena of Jeremiah* (4Baruch). At the onset of the project, all MSS were fully collated, covering Jer. 1:1–2:2. Furthermore, c. thirty-five MSS that proved to have a text that aligns best with the oldest MSS (before the eighteenth century) in Jer. 1:1–2:2 were collated through Jer. 1:1–3:25. As a result, the MSS can roughly be assigned to three recensions, the Early Recension (ER), the First Arabic Recension (AR1), and the so-called Second Arabic Recension (AR2). Moreover, a number of early manuscripts take an intermediate position (IM) that is more or less halfway between the ER and the AR2, and a number of late MSS show further harmonizations and secondary readings (AR2-sub and AR2-late). It has to be kept in mind that this classification applies to the book of Jeremiah only; 1Baruch, Lam., Ep.Jer., Pash., and 4Baruch all suffered differing textual developments. For a full list and description of all sigla and MSS, see the list at the end.

ER G63 G183 G133 G133x I722 E2082 E8644 E8644dpl E8671

IM B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E2080

AR2 L2499 B496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504

AR2-sub AR2-late

The AR2-sub and Ar2-late are subgroups of the AR2 with further harmonizations, secondary readings, and intrusions from the AR1. MSS of the AR2-late provided the basis of the Ethiopic MTR.¹

AR1 B42 ED26 C1570 P195 L486 L502

Later MSS with further textual changes: U10.4 E6529 E73

1 i.e. Modern Textus Receptus; see Delamarter and Jost in this volume.

The collations and their results generally confirm the conclusions that were already drawn by Schäfers more than a century ago.² However, at that time, MSS that belong to the ER were not yet known. Thus, Schäfers earliest MSS must be attributed to the IM, notably, Berlin Orient. Fol. 3067 (B3067); BnF Éthiopien d'Abbadie 55 (P55); and Frankfurt Ms. orient. Rüpp. II, 5/Ms. or. 11 (F11). With MSS that reflect the ER it is now possible to reconstruct the earliest available Ethiopic recension of the fifteenth century. It is noteworthy that Steven Delamarter and Garry Jost's approach identified similar clusters of MSS as the collations and their critical evaluation presented here,³ and that G63 was likewise identified as the best representative of the earliest attainable text. Below are five examples of text-critical decisions that led to the classification above.

1) The LXX translates Jer. 1:14 as ἐκκαυθήσεται τὰ κακὰ, 'evil shall flame forth'. This text is translated by all MSS of the ER, most MSS of the IM, and all MSS of the AR1 correctly as ትነድድ : እኪት ።. Some MSS harmonize *ad sensum* with ትነድድ : እሳት ።, 'fire will flame forth'. Most MSS, which belong to the AR2 and its subgroups, have ትትረኃው : እኪት ።, 'evil will be opened'. This reading seems to represent a hypercorrect translation of Masoretic פתח פתח פתח, 'evil will be turned loose'. MS B3067, which belongs to the IM, conflates both readings to ትትረኃው : ወትነድድ : እኪት ።, 'evil will be opened and flame forth'. Some late MSS translate the Hebrew elegantly as ትትከዓው : እኪት ።, 'evil will spread out'.

2) Jer. 1:18 reads ረሰይኩክ : በዛቲ : ዕለት : የም : ከመ : ሀገር : ጽንዕት : ወከመ : አረፍተ : ብርት : ጽኑዕ : ለኩሉ : ነገሥተ : ይሁዳ : , 'I make you this day like a fortified city, and like a strong bronze wall, against all kings of Judah', a reading common to all MSS of the ER and most MSS of the IM, based upon the LXX (τέθεικά σε ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ὡς πόλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ ὡς τεῖχος χαλκοῦν ὀχυρὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα). The AR1 adds not only the phrase ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር : , 'says the Lord', but also fills up what is missing in the LXX, namely וְלְעַמּוּד בַּרְזֶל, 'and to an iron pillar' (ወከመ : ዓምደ : ኃፂን :). This reading appears also in the margin of F11, in the text of B3067 (both IM) and in all MSS of the AR2 and its subgroups. Furthermore, the AR1 expanded ለኩሉ : ነገሥተ : ይሁዳ : to ላዕለ : ኩላ : ምድር : ወለኩሉ : ነገሥተ : ይሁዳ : , 'against the whole land and all kings of Judah'. This reading was probably produced by taking the text of the ER and adding details from Arabic MSS, namely على الارض كلها, 'against the whole land'. Arabic MSS with the text of Jer., such as BAV

2 Schäfers 1912.

3 See Delamarter and Jost in this volume.

Vat.ar.503 or Berlin Diez A fol. 41,⁴ have manifold additions and minor embellishments and are attributed to a certain Pethiōn who lived around the twelfth century CE.⁵ In many places, distinct variants of the AR1 can easily be traced by looking into Pethiōn's Arabic version. The AR2, on the other hand, expanded the text to **ለኩሉ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡**, which differs slightly from the Masoretic text (על-כָּל-הָאָרֶץ לְמַלְכִּי יְהוּדָה) and is probably based on the AR1, and which appears as well in the subgroups AR2-sub and AR2-late, partly with further variants.

3) The LXX omits Jer. 2:1–2a. The omission is reflected in the MSS of the ER and most MSS of the IM (E2080 E8644 E7584 P55 M54 E8671 F11). However, F11 provides the missing text in a margin, and B67 has it already in the text. All MSS of the AR2 including their subgroups have the text as well: **ወኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኀብዮ ፡ ሑር ፡ ወሰብክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዘኒሃ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብል #**, ‘The word of the Lord came to me: “Go and proclaim in the ears of Jerusalem, saying”’. This reading verbally agrees with the Masoretic text of Jer. 2:1–2a: **וְהָיָה דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר: הֲלֹךְ וְקִרְאַת בְּאָזְנֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם לֵאמֹר:**. It seems that the AR2 was revised according to the Hebrew.⁶ The Syriac Peshitta differs slightly in its word order (**ܐܘܚܝ ܐܝܠܝ ܕܠܒܢܐ ܕܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܝܠܟܝ ܕܥܡܪ ܕܝܥܠܝܐ ܕܝܥܠܝܐ ܕܝܥܠܝܐ ܕܝܥܠܝܐ**) and the AR1 differs profoundly (see next below).

4) However, the scribes of the AR1 revised Jer. 2:1–2a as well, reading, **ወካሶበ ፡ ነበበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ሑር ፡ አስምዕ ፡ ወአጠይቅ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ምስመሪ ፡ ሰብኢ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወበል ፡**, ‘Again the Lord spoke to me and said to me, “Go, testify, and proclaim in the ears of the people of Jerusalem, and say”’, which is obviously based on Pethiōn's Arabic version: **ثم اوحى الي الرب وقال انطلق واسمع واهتف في مسامع اهل اروسليم وقل**.⁷

5) In Jer. 2:29, the LXX translated the Hebrew **כִּלְכַּם פְּשַׁעַתַּם בִּי**, ‘you have all transgressed against me’, by hendiadys, as **πάντες ὑμεῖς ἡσεβήσατε καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἡνομήσατε εἰς ἐμέ**. This text appears correctly translated as **ኩልኩሙ ፡ ወለውኩሙ ፡ ወኩልኩሙ ፡ ዓመፅኩሙኒ ፡**, ‘you all have been ungodly, and you all have transgressed against me’, in G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644 E8671 E2080 B3067 F11, most of them belonging to the ER. However, E7584 P55 M54 (IM) as well as the AR2 and its subgroups disregard the surplus, leaning to the shorter Hebrew version: **ኩልኩሙ ፡ ወለውኩሙኒ ፡**, ‘you have all transgressed against me’. On the other hand, the AR1 harmonizes the text of the ER (**ኩልኩሙ ፡ ወለ**

4 See http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00003240 and https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.503. Cf. Hjälml 2017.

5 For more details, see Hjälml 2017.

6 Cf. Knibb 1999, 34–35; Knibb 2015, n. 97.

7 Berlin Diez A fol. 41, fol. 109v.

ውክሙኒ ፡ ወኩልክሙ ፡ ዓመፅክሙኒ ፡, ‘you all have been ungodly *against me*, and you all have transgressed against me’), and adds to that Jer. 2:29 from Pethiōn’s version: **لما ذا تعتبون علي وتحاكموني قد غدرتم بي جميعا كذبتم**, ‘why are you angry at me and judging me? You have transgressed against me, all of you, you have lied’. The AR1 slightly modified this Arabic text (or had another, but similar Arabic MS as its *Vorlage*). In the end, the AR1 reads Jer. 2:29 as **ኩልክሙ ፡ ዐለውክሙኒ ፡ ወኩልክሙ ፡ ዓመፅክሙኒ ፡ ለምንት ፡ ትትዋቀሱኒ ፡ እስመ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ዐለውክሙኒ ፡ ኀቡረ ፡ ወሐሰውክሙኒ ፡**, ‘you all have been ungodly to me, and you all have transgressed against me. Why are you angry against me? Look, you are altogether ungodly against me, and you have lied against me.’

Similar textual developments as described above are perceptible at various places, such as Jer. 1:6, 1:8, 2:20, 3:3, 3:6, 3:7, and 3:16 of the sample edition. After collating Jer. 1–3, the whole Jeremiah Cycle was collated with all MSS assigned to the ER against L2499 (AR2). Other parts of Jer. show similar textual conditions and confirm the general impression. For example, Jer. 23:1 (LXX) and the ER lack the phrase ‘thus says the Lord’, known from the Masoretic text, the Syriac Peshitta, and the Arabic version. It appears in the AR2 as **ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡**. In Jer. 23:2, the ER except E8644 follows the LXX (τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμαίνοντας τὸν λαόν μου) with **ከመዝ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለእለ ፡ ይሬዕይዎሙ ፡ ለሕዝብዮ ፡**, ‘thus says the Lord over those who pasture my people’, while the AR2 details the text as **ከመዝ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኖሎት ፡ እለ ፡ ይሬዕይዎሙ ፡ ለሕዝብዮ ፡**, ‘thus says the Lord, the God of Israel, over the shepherds who pasture my people’, agreeing with the Masoretic text, **כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־הַרְעִים הַרְעִים אֲתַעֲבֹד**.

The conclusions drawn from the textual developments above agree with Schäfers’s observations.⁸ Only the earliest MSS (here MSS belonging to the ER, and partly those of the IM) follow the LXX closely, which must be seen as the ultimate *Vorlage* of the earliest Ethiopic Old Testament. The MSS of the IM seem to be textual witnesses of the gradual acceptance of the AR2.

As a very intriguing feature, the ER has an early layer of text that is only visible in the final chapters of Jeremiah, Jer. 46–52 (henceforth, AL, i.e. ‘archaic layer’). The text of these chapters has a very cumbersome Ethiopic text. For instance, the preposition **እም**, ‘from’, ‘out of’, ‘outside of’ is often used to translate Greek ἄπο, ἐπί, ἐν, and εἰς, which seems to point to a Coptic *Vorlage* that used the particle *n-*. This particle may introduce the genitive attribute, but also the accusative object, as well as represent the prepositions εἰς and ἐν.⁹ Some-

⁸ Schäfers 1912.

⁹ Crum 1939, 215–216.

times, however, the AL also rendered Greek πρὸς with **ዘ** or **መንገል** instead of **ኀል**, and Greek καὶ with **ምስል** instead of **ወ**, which does not betray any Coptic influence. Furthermore, all Ethiopic personal names and place names in the AL are based on the LXX, not on any Coptic version. For instance, in Jer. 47:12, the LXX reads καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς Γοδόλιαν εἰς γῆν Ἰουδα εἰς Μασσηφα καὶ συνήγαγον οἶνον καὶ ὀπώραν πολλὴν σφόδρα καὶ ἔλαιον, ‘and they came to Godolia into the land of Judah, to Massepha, and gathered grapes, and very much summer fruit, and oil’. The AL rendered this phrase as **ወመጽኡ ፡ ዘጎዶልያድ ፡ ዘምድረ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ እምሴፋ ፡ ወመልክ ፡ ወይነ ፡ ወቀምሐ ፡ ወቀብሐ ፡**, disregarding πολλὴν σφόδρα, and translating πρὸς as **ዘ**, the first εἰς as **ዘ**, and the second εἰς as **እም**.

The known Coptic versions of Jeremiah are all differing from the AL, which means that the LXX remains the only possible *Vorlage* of the AL. It is very unlikely that the AL is the result of a later reworking/revision of the ER—why would any scribe introduce a change for the worse, with no particular reason or *Vorlage* (Arabic, Hebrew, Coptic) in view?¹⁰ Moreover, in analysing the AL, Schäfers demonstrated that, in many cases, the Greek *Vorlage* of the AL must have been a Greek majuscule with *scriptio continua*. In Jer. 46:14, for instance, the LXX reads ἔλαβον ἐξ αὐλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς, ‘he took [Jeremiah] out of the prison yard’, which in *scriptio continua* reads, ΕΛΑΒΟΝΕΞΑΥΛΗΣΤΗΣΦΥΛΑΚΗΣ. However, the AL reads **ወነሥክ ፡ ስድስተ ፡ ሰረቅተ ፡ በሞቅሐ ፡**, ‘he took six robbers into prison’, which means that either the *Vorlage* lacked, or the translator skipped the two letters AY of the *Vorlage*.¹¹

The Remaining Books of the Jeremiah Cycle

Regarding their textual history, the other books of the Jeremiah Cycle differ largely from the book of Jeremiah itself. The remaining books of the Jeremiah Cycle can be classified into four different categories. These books entered the Ethiopic canon at different stages and for different reasons: (1) books that are directly based on the LXX, but were also transmitted in the Hebrew Bible, which applies only to Lam.; (2) books that are likewise based on the LXX, but are not known from the Hebrew Bible, namely 1Baruch and Ep.Jer.; (3) books that are neither known from the LXX nor from the Masoretic text, but are based on a Greek *Vorlage*, namely 4Baruch; (4) books that are neither known from the LXX nor from the Masoretic text, but are based on an Arabic *Vorlage*, namely Pash.

¹⁰ For more examples and details, see Schäfers 1912, 148–151, 171.

¹¹ Schäfers 1912, 156–178.

After the whole Jeremiah Cycle had been collated with all MSS belonging to the ER against L2499 (AR2), selected chapters of 1Baruch, Lam., and Ep.Jer. were collated using B42, two chapters of 4Baruch were collated using MSS that belong to the ER, IM, AR1, and AR2,¹² and Pash. was fully collated, leading to further observations.

It seems that the Book of Lamentations was translated together with Jer. from the LXX, but textual changes of MSS that belong to the ER in Jer. towards those that belong to the AR2 are moderate.¹³ Moreover, the text has not been subject to any influence from the Arabic MSS of Pethiōn, although Lam. follows on Jer. in some MSS attributed to Pethiōn. Therefore, MSS that in Jeremiah show widely differing readings, due to their ER or AR1 affiliation, often agree with each other in Lam. The same can be said of the Book of Ezekiel.¹⁴

The most outstanding features of the Ethiopic books of 1Baruch and Ep.Jer. are their vigorous prunings or large omissions, which are common to MSS that belong to all three recensions in Jer., ER, AR1, and AR2.¹⁵ Missing are LXX-1Baruch 1:4–7, 12, 21; 2:2, 5–10, 12, 19–20, 26–29; 3:8, 18, 26–28; 4:11–29, 32–35, as well as LXX-Ep.Jer. 6, 28, 32, 36–47, 52, 57, 59–64, 68–70. In MSS of the ER, 1Baruch immediately follows the end of Jer., with no space, sign, or paragraph mark in-between. Nevertheless, the textual histories of 1Baruch and Ep.Jer. are completely different from Jer. Whereas B42 (AR1) had, due to the revision according to its Arabic *Vorlage*, many additions and embellishments in Jer., it *omits* even more verses than the ER and the AR2 in 1Baruch and Ep.Jer. The large omissions common to 1Baruch and Ep.Jer. were never filled up, not even in the later AR2. It stands to reason whether these omissions were already present in the specific LXX-*Vorlage* or whether they were introduced during the translation into Ethiopic. Moreover, the prunings suggest that the (non-)canonical status of 1Baruch and Ep.Jer. was known at the time of their translation, although both books were copied together with Jer.

4Baruch, on the other hand, is a faithful translation of its Greek *Vorlage*, probably codex 6 of the Patriarchal Library of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which is codex C in Herzer's edition.¹⁶ The Ethiopic version of 4Baruch does neither prune the text, nor indulge in omissions. The large differences between MSS belonging to the ER, AR1, and AR2 in Jer. are absent from 4Baruch.

12 Heide 2017.

13 Cf. Bachmann 1893.

14 Knibb 2015, 7–8, 31–32.

15 Cf. Dillmann 1894, 6.

16 Heide 2017, 540; Herzer 2005, xxxvii–xxxviii.

MSS that belong to the ER are lacking the *Prophecy of Jeremiah to Pashhur*.¹⁷ Pash. is also missing in most MSS belonging to the IM. The oldest MSS with Pash., B42 and C1570 (AR1, fifteenth century), inserted Pash. between Jer. 20:3–4. This small text was evidently taken from Pethiōn's Arabic version. Arabic Pash. is missing in the oldest Arabic MSS attributed to Pethiōn, Bodleian MS. Fraser 267, dated to the eleventh–twelfth centuries (fol. 76r).¹⁸ However, it appears *in the margin* of MS Berlin Diez A fol. 41 (dated 1325) on fol. 131r, with signs that it should be inserted between Jer. 20:3–4, although its immediate *Vorlage*, MS Arab. 9 (thirteenth century),¹⁹ does not have Pash. (fol. 180r). However, later MSS, such as BAV Vat.ar.503 (fourteenth century), have it *in the text* of Jer. 20:3–4. From these or similar Arabic MSS, the text most likely was translated into Ethiopic and, together with many minor additions of Pethiōn's text, became part of the AR1.

The Emergence of the Jeremiah Cycle

The collation of the earliest MSS revealed that G63, G133, and G133x (ER) numbered their paragraphs in the margin, in a similar way as the great Greek majuscules (Vaticanus, Sinaiticus). The last book numbered is Ep.Jer., marked with the paragraph number ፻፺፩ (151). The same arrangement of the text, albeit without numbers, appears in E8644. This numbering system is evidently based on the LXX: it covers solely the books known from the LXX (Jer., Lam., 1Baruch, Ep.Jer.). Together with the observations made above, the textual history of the Jeremiah Cycle can roughly be outlined as follows.

At the beginning (middle of the first millennium CE?), the books of the LXX-Jeremiah Cycle were translated into Ethiopic, namely Jer., 1Baruch, Lam., and Ep.Jer., from a *Vorlage* akin to Sinaiticus.

The first revision, which resulted in the ER, took place somewhere before the fifteenth century. This revision encompassed Jer. 1–45. The text was brought more into line with the LXX, and phrases that sounded awkward in Ethiopic were revised. The unrevised text (AL) is still visible in Jer. 46–52. Moreover, 4Baruch was joined to the end of the Jeremiah Cycle, as is obvious from the following reasons. In the earliest Ethiopic manuscripts, which are part of the ER, the paragraphs of Jeremiah are numbered (see above). In this case, Jer., 1Baruch, Lam. and Ep.Jer. are treated as a whole, with continuous numbers

17 I want to thank Ted Erho for kindly giving me insight into his collation of Ethiopic Pashhur.

18 Cf. for all Arabic MSS cited here Hjälms 2017.

19 See <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279385822-ms/?sp=186&r=-0.008,0.029,1.001,0.664,0>.

throughout. 4Baruch begins a new, ornamented page with the title **ዘባሮክ ፡**, ‘[The Book] of Baruch’, and discontinues to number the paragraphs. Moreover, Greek 4Baruch, which was never part of the LXX, has the title τὰ παραλειπόμενα Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, ‘The omissions of Jeremiah the prophet’. Some of the oldest Ethiopic MSS (G63 G133 G 183 I722) merely provide the short title **ዘባሮክ ፡**, ‘[The Book] of Baruch’. However, the two earliest MSS of the AR1 read **ተረፈ ፡ ነገር ፡ ዘባሮክ ፡ ዘኢኮነ ፡ ጎቡኣ ፡**, ‘The rest of the words of Baruch that are not hidden’. The phrase **ዘኢኮነ ፡ ጎቡኣ ፡**, ‘that are not hidden’ (i.e. ‘that are not apocryphal’) was probably added to meet objections against 4Baruch.²⁰ It seems that 4Baruch was joined to the Jeremiah Cycle for practical reasons (same protagonist(s)/similar subject as Jer./1Baruch), but scribes of those MSS that are assigned to the AR1 wanted to make *sure* that it had canonical status.

The fifteenth century saw the First Arabic Recension (AR1). This recension affected mainly the Book of Jeremiah. The text that served, besides the ER, as a *Vorlage* of the AR1 is known from the Arabic translation of Pethiōn. It is, for instance, transmitted in the MSS Berlin Diez A fol. 41 and BAV Vat.ar.503. These Arabic MSS are based on a Syriac *Vorlage* and have many additions and harmonizations. During this revision, Pash. entered the Ethiopic Jeremiah Cycle (see above). The chapters of Jer. were rearranged to comply with the Hebrew (and Syriac) order.

The so-called Academic or Second Arabic Recension (AR2) was undertaken during the sixteenth century. The AR2 does not have the large additions and harmonizations of the AR1 but aimed at restoring the Hebrew wording of the text. The large differences between the AR2 and ER are only visible in the Book of Jeremiah itself; the remaining books of the Ethiopic Jeremiah Cycle show much less variation. As in AR1, the order of Jer.’s chapters were rearranged. Pash. was accepted—probably through influence of the AR1—but removed from Jer. and placed between Ep.Jer. and 4Baruch. However, MS F11 provides a longer version of Pash. that differs from Pash. of all other MSS and that was inserted between Jer. 2:3–4 (see the third apparatus of the sample edition). This text has already been published by Heider.²¹

It is without question that the full collation of the whole Jeremiah Cycle will update the outline presented above (although the general picture is already clear), leading eventually to a different evaluation of some MSS (e.g. of the IM), or to minor adjustments of the textual history.

20 Heide 2017, 539.

21 Heider 1902a; 1902b.

The Sample Collation

All MSS have been collated for Jer. 1–2:2, and all MSS except the AR-late and some late witnesses of the AR1 have been collated for Jer. 2:3–3:16. The first apparatus lists the respective MSS, the second apparatus functions as the main apparatus, and the third apparatus provides marginalia, important singular readings, orthographic variants, and paragraph numbers.

The sigla given in the sample edition are as explicit as possible; the final critical edition will provide shorter sigla to unburden the critical apparatus. The final edition of the Ethiopic Jeremiah Cycle aims at restoring the earliest attainable text, at the same time documenting the textual history as detailed as possible. Moreover, through restoring the ER, the special features of the AL (Jer. 46–52) will become visible and provide further data that allow us to be more definite about its possible *Vorlage*. Editing the ER and the IM together with the main MSS of the AR2, while disregarding its subgroups AR-sub and AR2-late, will limit the critical apparatus to a moderate size, nevertheless allowing the reader to comprehend the development from the ER to the AR2. On the other hand, MSS of the AR1 repeatedly and considerably diverge from both the ER and the AR2, as was demonstrated above and as can be seen in the sample edition, and should therefore be edited separately, taking into account as much as possible the Arabic MSS attributed to Pethiōn.

Shortlist of Sigla and Abbreviations

ER G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644 E8644dpl E8671

Early Recension, 9 MSS

- G63 fifteenth/sixteenth century, GG 63, fols 1r–84v
- G133 fifteenth century, GG 133, fols 1r–60v (with displaced leaf in GG 119, fol. 17r–v)
- G133x fifteenth century, second MS bound in GG 133, c. Jer. 1–6
- G183 fifteenth century, GG 183, fols 1r–105r
- I722 fifteenth/sixteenth century, EMMML 25/IES 722, fols 1r–73r
- E2082 sixteenth/seventeenth century, EMMML 2082, fols 1r–46r
- E8644 fifteenth century? EMMML 8644, photographed by Ted Erho in Addis Abāba, National Archive and Library Agency, fols 1r–72v
- E8644dpl fifteenth century? Double portion in EMMML 8644 between Jer. 29 and 31
- E8671 sixteenth century, EMMML 8671, photographed by Ted Erho in Addis Abāba, National Archive and Library Agency

MixT E2080 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11

6 MSS, mixed text, all MSS have a text between ER and AR2

- E2080 sixteenth century? EML 2080, fols 94r–121v
 B3067 seventeenth century? Berlin Orient. Fol. 3067, fols 3r–32v
 Main witness with P55 in Schäfers's edition and in Ziegler 1957
 P55 fifteenth/sixteenth century, BnF Éthiopien d'Abbadie 55
 Oldest witness besides B3067 in Schäfers's edition, fols 80r–104v
 M54 fifteenth century, EMIP 1029/Məhur Gädam 54
 E7584 sixteenth/seventeenth century, EML 7584, fols 128r–167v
 E1768 fifteenth century, EML 1768, fols 89r–119v
 F11 seventeenth century? Frankfurt Ms. orient. Rüpp. II, 5/Ms. or. 11, fols 1r–133r

AR2 L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504

Second Arabic or Academic Recension, 11 MSS

- L2499 seventeenth century, BL Add. 24,991, fols 15r–37r
 L496 seventeenth century, BL Or. 496, fols 83v–127v
 BL Or. 496 follows BL Add. 24,991 closely
 P35 seventeenth century, BnF Éthiopien d'Abbadie 35, fols 151r–179r
 P6 seventeenth century, BnF Éthiopien 6, fols 1r–70v
 E6686 seventeenth century, EML 6686, fols 149v–186v
 Complete Enoch and Prophets
 G106 c. 1700, GG 106, fols 137r–163r
 B986 seventeenth/eighteenth century, Berlin orient. quart. 986, fols 84r–116v
 L484 eighteenth century, BL Or. 484, fols 99r–121r
 L489 1730, BL Or. 489, fols 31r–60r
 L492 eighteenth century, BL Or. 492, fols 83r–121v
 L504 1755, BL Or. 504, fols 3r–35v

AR2-sub E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706

Subgroup of Second Arabic Recension, 5 MSS

- E3439 eighteenth century, EML 3439, fols 69v–98v
 E5589 eighteenth century, EML 5589, fols 31r–65v
 E6285 eighteenth century? EML 6285, fols 4r–38r
 E6287 eighteenth century? EML 6287, fols 18r–85r
 E6706 eighteenth century, EML 6706, fols 117r–170r, 173r–182r

**AR2-late O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131
 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48**

Late subgroup of Second Arabic Recension, 19 MSS

- O6 eighteenth century? Bodleian MS. Aeth. 6, fols 1r–34v
- U10.48 eighteenth/nineteenth century, Qəddus Giyorgis church 48/UNESCO 10.48, fols 88r–124r
- U2.16 1897/1898, NALA 16/UNESCO 2.16
- U2.10 1914/1915, NALA 10/UNESCO 2.10, fols 1r–50v
- E65 nineteenth century, EMLL 65, fols 1r–111r
- MM168 nineteenth/twentieth century? EMIP 945/Mäqälä Mika'el 168, close to G106
- MM160 twentieth century, EMIP 937/Mäqälä Mika'el 160, fols 34r–87r
- E126 twentieth century, EMLL 126, fols 70r–148v
- E552 twentieth century, EMLL 552, fols 3r–125v
- E201 1916–1930, EMLL 201, fols 181r–334r
- ChS87 nineteenth century? EMIP 827/EMDL 497/Čäläqot Šəllase 87, fols 1r–46r
- V131 nineteenth century, BAV Cerulli.et.131, fols 1r–v, 3r–5v, 46v–90v
- V222 twentieth century, BAV Cerulli.et.222, fols 54r–125v
- V75 1930/1931, BAV Cerulli.et.75, fols 368v–394v
- E5591 1921/1922, EMLL 5591, fols 61r–147v = EMIP 1091/Addis 'Aläm 49
- E629 1961/1962, EMLL 629, fols 83r–143r
- I77 1934/1935, IES 77, Ḥaylā Šəllase Bible, with parallel columns in Amharic
- I1736 twentieth century, IES 1736, fols 258r–431r, with parallel columns in Amharic as I77
- MG48 twentieth century, EMDA 126, fols 1r–117r

AR1 B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73

First Arabic or Vulgar Recension, 9 MSS

- B42 fifteenth century, Berlin Petermann II, Nachtrag 42, fols 93r–219r (end of fifteenth century according to Heider)
- C1570 fifteenth century, Cambridge Add. 1570
- ED26 sixteenth century, EMDA 26
- P195 1648/1649, BnF Éthiopien d'Abbadie 195, fols 141r–243v
Close to B42, omissions and singular readings
- L486 eighteenth century, BL Or. 486, fols 117r–162v
Close to B42 and P195
- L502 eighteenth century, BL Or. 502, fols 24r–62v
- E6529 eighteenth century? EMLL 6529, fols 81r–119r
Additions of AR1 versus AR2 are marked/underlined
- U10.4 eighteenth century, Qəddus Giyorgis church 4/UNESCO 10.4, fols 137r–187r
- E73 1896/1897, EMLL 73, fols 3r–132v, with modern verse numbers, close to U10.4

Limited Use/Special Purpose

EAP357 eighteenth century? EAP357–10, pp. 111b–112a, Pashhur only

U10.12 eighteenth century? Qəddus Giyorgis church 12/UNESCO 10.12, Pashhur only

Abbreviations

+ *add.*

– *omit.*

ac *ante correct.*

h.t. *homoioтелеuton*

it. *iteravit*

mg *in marg.*

pc *post correct.*

pr. *praemit.*

crossed out: strikethrough in edition ~~ተነበቁ~~

supralinear text in manuscript: superscript in edition ^{ተነበቁ}

underlined: underlined in edition ተነበቁ

ዘኤርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ።

1 1 ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ቂልቅዩ ፡ ዘእምካህናት ፡ ዘይነብር ፡ ውስተ ፡ አናቶት ፡ ብሔረ ፡ ብንያም ፡ 2 ዘኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡

ER (G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR2-late (O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73) **1 ቃለ ፡]** *illegibilis* E8644] E8671] **2 ዘኮነ ፡]** *resumit* [E8644 [E8671]

ዘኤርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ።] – M54 E7584 E1768 E2080 L2499 L496 P6 G106 B986 L489 AR2-sub (-E628 5) MM168 MM160 V222 V75 B42 E73 በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ መሐሪ ፡ ወመስተሣህል ፡ E552 E201 ED26 P195 E6529 + በረከተ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ትኩን ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ አጽመ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ F11 ምዕራፍ ፡ ፩ ፡ P35 + በረከተ ፡ ወሀብተ ፡ ረድኤቱ ፡ የሀሉ ፡ ምስሌን ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፤ L486 + ምዕራፍ ፡ ፩ ፡ ክፍል ፡ ፩ ፡ L492 L504 L502 + ክፍል ፡ ፩ ፡ E6285 + በረከተ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ትኩን ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፤ ምዕራፍ ፡ ፩ ፡ O6 በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ መሐሪ ፡ ወመስተሣህል ፡ ርጉቀ ፡ መዓት ፡ ወብዙኃ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ወጻድቅ ፡ አንሰ ፡ እጽሕፍ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ። በረከተ ፡ ወሀብተ ፡ ረድኤቱ ፡ የሀሉ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሥትነ ፡ ማርያም ። ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ። አሜን ። C1570 በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ መሐሪ ፡ ወመስተሣህል ፡ ርጉቀ ፡ መዓት ፡ ወብዙኃ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ወጻድቅ ፡ እወጥን ፡ ጽሑፈ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ በረከተ ፡ ወሀብተ ፡ ረድኤቱ ፡ የሀሉ ፡ ምስሌ ፡ ፍቁሩ ፡ አባዲር ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ። ምዕራፍ ፡ ፩ ፡ ክፍል ፡ ፩ ፡ U10.4 + በረከተ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ የሀሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ነፍሰ ፡ ንጉሥነ ፡ ኢያሱ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ንጉሥነ ። በካፋ ፡ በዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፤ ምዕራፍ ፡ ፩ ፡ ክፍል ፡ ፩ ። ChS87 + በረከተ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ወሀብተ ፡ ረድኤቱ ፡ የሀሉ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ጽጌ ፡ ወስመ ፡ ጥምቀቱ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ወልድ ፡ U2.16 + በረከተ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ የሐሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ገብሩ ፡ ወሐያ ፡ ማርያም ፡ U2.10 + ምዕራፍ ፡ ፩ ፡ I77 I1736 | ነቢይ ።] – P35 E5589 **1 ቃለ ፡ ... ኀበ ፡]** – MM160 | **ዘእምካህናት ፡]** **ዘእምውስተ ፡ ካህናት ፡** E552 E201 AR1 | **ዘይነብር ፡]** **ወዘይነብር ፡** E126 **ዘይነይነብር ፡** E201 **እለ ፡ ይነብር ፡** B42 C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 E73 **እለ ፡ ነብሩ ፡** P195 **እዘይነብሩ ፡** E6529 (pc) | **ዘይነብር ፡ ውስተ ፡ አናቶት ፡]** በአናቶት ፡ E65 | **ውስተ ፡]** በውስተ ፡ G106 MM168 MM160 + ምድረ ፡ E6287 | **ብሔረ ፡]** ብሔረ ፡ F11 በብሔረ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late AR1 **2 ዘኮነ ፡]** **ወኮነ ፡** B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 E2080 AR2 E6285 AR2-late (-E126 E552 V75) AR1 **ኮነ ፡** F11 E3439 E6287 E6706 E126 E552 V75 **ወኮነ ፡** E5589

ዘኤርምያስ ፡] **ዘኤርምያስ ፡** G63 **ዘእርሚያስ ፡** G133 G133x G183 **1 ዘኮነ ፡]** – V222 | **ኤርምያስ ፡]** **እርምያስ ፡** G63 G183 I722 B42 ED26 **እርሚያስ ፡** G133 G133x **ኤርሚያስ ፡** E1768 + ነቢይ ፡ L492 L504 O6 U2.16 U2.10 E552 E201 ChS87 V222 E5591 I77 I1736 AR1 + ነቢይ ፡ E5589 | **ቂልቅዩ ፡]** **ኪልቂዩ ፡** E1768 U2.16 **ቂልቂዩ ፡** E2080 ED26 E6529 **ኪልቅዩ ፡** E2082 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 (pc) AR2 (-P6 L489) E6285 E6287 O6 U2.10 MM168 MM160 E201 V222 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48 L502 U10.4 E73 **ቂልቅዩ ፡** L486 **ኪልቅዩ ፡** L489 E5589 E65 ChS87 V131 V75 B42 **ቂልቂዩ ፡** E552 **አናቶት ፡]** አቶናት ፡ O6 | **ብንያም ፡]** **ብንያሚን ፡** AR1 (ac E6529)

ጎቤሁ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ኢዮስያስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ አሞጽ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ አመ ፡ ፲ወቺ ፡
 ዐመተ ፡ መንግሥቱ ፡ 3 ወኮነ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ኢዮአቃም ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኢዮስያስ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡
 ይሁዳ ፡ እስከ ፡ ተፈጸመ ፡ ፲ወጃ ፡ ዓመተ ፡ ሴዴቅያስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኢዮስያስ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡
 ይሁዳ ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ተዲወወት ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ በኃምስ ፡ ወርሃ ፡ 4 ወይቤሎ ፡
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ 5 ዘእንበለ ፡ እፍጥርክ ፡ እምከርሠ ፡ እምክ ፡ አእመርኩክ ።
 ወዘእንበለ ፡ ትዓላ ፡ እምነ ፡ ማሕፀን ፡ ቀደስኩክ ፡ ነቢየ ፡ ረሰይኩክ ፡ ለአሕዛብ ፡ 6

ER (G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080)
 AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285
 E6287 E6706) AR2-late (O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131
 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73)

ጎቤሁ ፡] ጎቤሁ፣ F11 ጎቤየ ፡ B3067 AR2 (-L496) E3439 E5589 E6285 AR2-late (-E65; pc U2.16)
 E6529 | ፲ወቺ ፡] ዐሠርቱ ፡ ወሠለስቱ ፡ G63 G133x E8644 E8671 E2080 L2499 P35 B986 L489 L492
 L504 B42 L502 ፲ወጃ ፡ M54 ዐሠርቱ ፡ ወቺ ፡ B3067 3 ወኮነ ፡] ወ F11 pr. ወኢንደገ ፡ ተነብዮ ፡
 ወነገረ ፡ ለአይሁድ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዘአስተርአዮ ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ኢዮስያስ ፡ ንጉሥ ። AR1 | ይሁዳ ፡¹]
 እ[ስራኤ]ል ፡ E8671 ዘይሁዳ ፡ P195 | እስከ ፡¹] + አመ ፡ G63 U2.10 E552 | ሴዴቅያስ ፡]
 መንግሥቱ ፡ ሴዴቅያስ ፡ E2080 ሴዴቂያስ ፡ P55 ሴዴቂያስ ፡ E8671 (?) ሴዴቅያስ ፡ E7584
 ሰዴቅያስ ፡ B986 | ወልደ ፡ ኢዮስያስ ፡²] - E8671 | አመ ፡] - E8671 | ወርሃ ፡] + ዘውእቱ ፡]
 አብ ። E6285 U2.16 AR1 + ዘውእቱ ፡ አብ ፡ U10.48 MG48 + ዘውእቱ ፡ አብ ። V131 4 ወይቤሎ ፡]
 ወይቤሎ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ E7584 ወይቤሊኒ ፡ F11 (pc) ኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ L496 ወኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ወይቤሊኒ ፡ B3067 AR2 (-L496) E3439 E6285 AR2-late (-E65 E126 V75) ኮነ ፡
 ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ወይቤሊኒ ፡ E5589 E6287 E6706 E126 V75 ኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡
 አምላክ ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ወይቤሊኒ ፡ E65 ይቤ ፡ እርምያስ ፡ AR1 | እግዚአብሔር ፡] + ጎቤየ ፡ ወይቤሊኒ ፡
 L496 - E3439 E6287 E6706 + ጎቤየ ፡ ወይቤሊኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ U10.48 + አስተርአየኒ ፡ ወይቤሊኒ ፡
 AR1 (-E6529) + ጎቤየ ፡ አየኒ ፡ ወይቤሊኒ ፡ E6529 5 እምከርሠ ፡] በከር[ሠ] ፡ E8671 እምከርሠ ፡ P6 -
 O6 | ወዘእንበለ ፡] ዘእንበለ ፡ E2082 | እምነ ፡ ማሕፀን ፡] እማሕፀን ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11
 AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late (-E552 E201) L502 U10.4 E73 | ቀደስኩክ ፡] + ወረሰይኩክ ፡ F11 E552 E201
 ኃረይኩክ ፡ ወቀደስኩክ ፡ ወረሰይኩክ ፡ AR1 | ነቢየ ፡] ወነቢየ ፡ E8644 E1768 L496 P6 E6686 L492
 L504 AR2-sub AR2-late (-U10.48 MM168 MM160 E552 E201) ማነቢየ ፡ U10.48 MM168 ነቢይ ፡
 P195 | ረሰይኩክ ፡] - F11 E552 E201 AR1

2 ኢዮስያስ ፡] ኢዮስያስ ፡ B3067 | አሞጽ ፡] አሞን ፡ L2499 P35 L484 L489 L492 L504 O6 ChS87
 3 ኢዮአቃም ፡] ኢዮአቃም ፡ E2082 E8644 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E8671 E2080 P35 P6 G106 B986
 L489 L492 L504 AR2-sub (-E6287) AR2-late AR1 ኢዮአቂም ፡ F11 ኢዮኤቂም ፡ E6686 ኢዮአቃም ፡
 L2499 ኢዮአቂም ፡ L496 L484 E6287 | ፲ወጃ ፡] ዐሠርቱ ፡ ወአሐዱ ፡ E2080 L2499 P35 B986 L484
 L492 L504 MM160 B42 ዐሠርቱ ፡ ወጃ ፡ E8671 | ዓመተ ፡] ዓመቱ ፡ U10.48 | ኢዮስያስ ፡²]
 ኢዮአስ ፡ P195 | እስከ ፡²] - P55 እስመ ፡ P195 | ተዲወወት ፡] ተዲወት ፡ E1768 (haplo) | በኃምስ ፡]
 - P55 በጃ E6287 5 እምክ ፡] it. P55 | አእመርኩክ ።] አሥመርኩክ ፡ E65

ወእቤ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እግዚእየ ፡ ናሁኬ ፡ ኢይክል ፡ ተናግሮ ፡ እስመ ፡ ንኡስ ፡ አነ ፡ 7
 ወይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኢትበል ፡ ወሬዛ ፡ አነ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተሐውር ፡ ኩለሂ ፡ ኀበ ፡
 ፈነውኩክ ፡ ወትናግር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘአዘዝኩክ ፡ 8 ወኢትፍራህ ፡ እምገጸሙ ፡ እስመ ፡
 ሀለውኩ ፡ ምስሌክ ፡ ወአድኅነክ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ 9 ወሰፍሐ ፡ እዴሁ ፡
 እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኀቤየ ፡ ወገሠሠኒ ፡ አፉየ ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ናሁ ፡
 ወደይኩ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አፉክ ፡ 10 ናሁ ፡ ሄምኩክ ፡ ዮም ፡ ለአሕዛብ ፡
 ወለነገሥት ፡ ትሠርዎሙ ፡ ወትንሥቶሙ ፡ ወታጥፍአሙ ፡ ወትሕንጽ ፡ ወትትክል ፡

ER (G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080)
 AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285
 E6287 E6706) AR2-late (O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131
 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73)
 6 ወእቤ ፡] *illegibilis* E8644] 9 ወይቤለኒ ፡] *resumit* [E8644 | ናሁ ፡] *illegibilis* E6287]

6 ወእቤ ፡] ወእቤሎ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 ወእቤሎ ፡ አሉ ፡ ሊተ ፡ F11 ወእቤሎ ፡ አሉ ፡ ሊተ ፡ B3067
 AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late ወእቤሎ ፡ እፈቅድ ፡ እምኔክ ፡ B42 C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 E73 ወእቤሎ ፡
 እፈቅድ ፡ እምኔክ ፡ ED26 P195 ወእቤሎ ፡ አሉ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እምኔክ ፡ E6529 | እግዚእየ ፡] እግዚእነ ፡
 E1768 + ታእርፈኒ ፡ B42 C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 E73 + ታእርፈኒ ፡ እስመ ፡ ED26 P195 E6529
 ናሁኬ ፡] ናሁኬ ፡ P6 MG48 ናሁ ፡ L489 L492 L504 ChS87 7 ተሐውር ፡] ተአምር ፡ L492 O6
 ChS87 | ፈነውኩክ ፡] ፈኖኩክ ፡ B3067 ፈነውኩክ ፡ P195 | ወትናግር ፡] ወትንግር ፡ B3067
 ወተትናግር ፡ F11 ወትንግር ፡ E6686 ትናግር ፡ B42 C1570 P195 L502 ወትንግር ፡ L486 8 ወኢትፍ
 ራህ ፡] ከመ ፡ ኢትፍራህ ፡ E65 E126 ወኢትፍራህኬ ፡ E552 E201 ኢትፍራህ ፡ AR1 (-E73)
 እምገጸሙ ፡] + ለአሕዛብ ፡ E65 + ወኢትደንግዕ ፡ እምኔሆሙ ፡ AR1 | ሀለውኩ ፡] ሀሎኩ ፡ B3067
 L2499 L496 P35 P6 L484 E3439 E6287 E6706(?) O6 U10.48 E65 E126 E552 E201 E5591 AR1
 ወአድኅነክ ፡] + አነ ፡ E2082 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E2080 L2499 (mg) L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106
 B986 L489 AR2-sub (-E6285; ? E6706) U10.48 U2.16 MM168 MM160 E552 ChS87 V222 V75 E5591
 E629 I77 I1736 MG48 + አነ ፡ እምኅሡም ፡ L492 L504 O6 + አነ ፡ እምሕሰም ፡ L484 + አነ ፡ V131 +
 እምሕሰም ፡ AR1 (-E73) አድኅነክ ፡ አነ ፡ እምሕሠም ፡ E73 9 እዴሁ ፡] እደዊሁ ፡ U2.16 MG48
 ኀቤየ ፡] – P6 E65 E126 | ናሁ ፡] ናሁኬ ፡ F11 E8671 P195 E6529 – L492 O6 ChS87 10 ናሁ ፡]
 ናሁኬ ፡ F11 E8671 ሞናሁ ፡ E6686 ወናሁ ፡ E3439 U2.16 U2.10 E65 E552 E201 V222 E5591 I77 I1736
 AR1 – E629 | ለአሕዛብ ፡] ላዕለ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ E1768 ለሕዝብ ፡ E7584 | ወለነገሥት ፡] ወለነገሥትኒ ፡
 E8671 E552 E201 B42 C1570 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 ወነገሥትኒ ፡ P195 | ትሠርዎሙ ፡]
 ሠርዎሙ ፡ E1768 ትሥርዎሙ ፡ E2082 B3067 P55 E7584 F11 E2080 L2499 L496 P35 P6 G106 B986
 AR2-sub (-E6706) | ወትንሥቶሙ ፡ ... ወትትክል ፡] ወትንሥቶሙ ፡ ወታጥፍአሙ ፡ ወትንገጽ ፡
 ወትተክል ፡ E1768 ወትንሥቶሙ ፡ ወተጠፍአሙ ፡ ወትተክል ፡ E8644(?) | ወትሕንጽ ፡
 ወትትክል ፡] ወትንሕዝ ፡ ወትትክል ፡ B3067 ወትክል ፡ ወሕንጽ ፡ O6 ሞትሕንጻ ፡ ወትትክል ፡ P6
 ወትሕንጽ ፡ ወትክል ፡ E126 U10.4 ወትትክል ፡ ወትሕንጽ ፡ U2.16 U2.10 MG48 ወትክል ፡
 ወትሕንጽ ፡ ChS87 ትሕንጻ ፡ ወትትክል ፡ E73

6 እግዚእየ ፡] እግዚእየ ፡ M54 | እግዚእየ ፡ ናሁኬ ፡] – O6 7 ወይቤለኒ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ፪ ፡ C1570
 L486 L502 U10.4 | ኩለሂ ፡ ኀበ ፡] it. M54 | ኩሎ ፡] ኩለሂ ፡ P195 8 እምገጸሙ ፡] እምከጸሙ ፡
 E7584 እምቅድመ ፡ ገጸሙ ፡ E3439 | እስመ ፡] it. V75 9 ወሰፍሐ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ፫ ፡ C1570 L486
 L502 U10.4 | እዴሁ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡] እግዚአብሔር ፡ እዴሁ ፡ E8671 | ወገሠሠኒ ፡] ወገሠሰኒ ፡
 E6285 | እግዚአብሔር ፡²] – E2080 | ቃልየ ፡] ቃልየ ፡ 1722 10 ወታጥፍአሙ ፡] ወታጥፍአሙ ፡
 P195

11 ወነበበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ ምንተ ፡ ትሬኢ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ወእቤ ፡ ቀስታመ ፡ ዘከርካዕ ፡ 12 ወይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሠናዩ ፡ ርኢከ ፡ እስመ ፡ እተግህ ፡ እነ ፡ ከመ ፡ እግበር ፡ ዘነበብኩ ፡ 13 ወነበበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዳግመ ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ ምንተ ፡ ትሬኢ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ ወእቤ ፡ ጽህርተ ፡ ይነድድ ፡ ወገጹ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ሰሜን ፡ 14 ወይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እምገጸ ፡ ሰሜን ፡ ትነድድ ፡ እኪት ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እለ ፡ ይነበሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፫ 15 ናሁ ፡ እነ ፡ እጼውዕ ፡ ኩሎ ፡

ER (G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6706) AR2-late (O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73) 12 ወይቤለኒ ፡] resumit [E6287 | ርኢከ ፡] illegibilis [E8644] 13 እግዚአብሔር ፡] resumit [E8644 ዳግመ ፡] illegibilis [E8671] | ወይቤለኒ ፡] resumit [E8671

11 እግዚአብሔር ፡] + ዳግመ ፡ F11 + ዳግመ ፡ G63 L2499 (mg) P6 E6686 G106 L484 L492 L504 O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E552 E201 ChS87 | ምንተ ፡] ወምንተ ፡ P55 E7584 ምንት ፡ L502 | ኤርምያስ ፡] – G106 MM168 MM160 | ወእቤ ፡] ወእቤሎ ፡ G183 I722 ወይቤ ፡ P55 E7584 L489 + እሬኢ ፡ U2.16 E629 + እሬኢ ፡ U2.10 | ቀስታመ ፡] ቀስታ ፡ ማ ፡ M54 ቀስተማ ፡ P55 E7584 – C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 ቀስታመ ፡ E73 | ዘከርካዕ ፡] ከርካዕ ፡ E1768 L496 P6 G106 B986 L489 L492 L504 E5589 E6285 AR2-late (-U10.48 E552 E201 E629) ዘከርካዕ ፡ E629 በትር ፡ ከርካዕ ፡ E6706 + እሬኢ ፡ V131 + እሬኢ ፡ V222 E5591 I77 I1736 + ወበትረ ፡ ዘእምዕዕ ፡ ለውዝ ፡ B42 E6529 + ወበትር ፡ ዘእምዕዕ ፡ ለውዝ ፡ ED26 P195 በትር ፡ ዘእምዕዕ ፡ ለውዝ ፡ C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 ከርካዕ ፡ በትር ፡ ዘእምዕዕ ፡ ለውዝ ፡ E73 12 አነ ፡] – MM168 MM160 አነ ፡ E629 | እግበር ፡] + ወትግበር ፡ AR1 (-L48 6 L502) + ወትግበር ፡ L486 13 ዳግመ ፡] – L492 O6 ChS87 | ኤርምያስ ፡] – P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late (-E65 E552 E201 E629) ኤርምያስ ፡ E629 | ወእቤ ፡] ወእቤሎ ፡ I722 ወይቤ ፡ P55 E7584 E201 ወይቤ P6 – E1768 E65 | ጽህርተ ፡] ሕህርት ፡ G63 ጸሀራተ ፡ E2080 (?) B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 ጽህርት ፡ P6 ጽህርት ፡ E7584 AR2-sub AR2-late (-U2.16 E126 E552 E201) L502 U10.4 ጽህርተት ፡ L484 ጽሕራርት ፡ E73 | ይነድድ ፡] ወይነድድ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 ትኩለ ፡ ይነድድ ፡ B42 E6529 ትኩለ ፡ ይነድድ ፡ ED26 P195 ትኩለ ፡ ወይነድድ ፡ C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 E73 እንዝ ፡ ይነድድ ፡ P6 ዘይነድድ ፡ E65 | መንገለ ፡] – P55 እመንገለ ፡ L2499 L496 P6 B986 L484 L489 L492 E3439 E6285 E6706 O6 E65 E126 ChS87 E629 እመንገለ ፡ E6287 እመንገለ ፡ V131 14 ወይቤለኒ ፡] ወይቤ ፡ L492 O6 | ወይቤለኒ ፡ ... ሰሜን ፡] – L489 E126 ChS87 ED26 P195 E6529 (h.t.) | እግዚአብሔር ፡] + እስመ ፡ E3439 E73 + እስመ ፡ V131 | ትነድድ ፡] ትትረኃው ፡ ወትነድድ ፡ B3067 ትትረኃው ፡ AR2 (-E6686 G106) AR2-sub AR2-late (-MM168 MM160 E552 E201) ትትከፃው ፡ E6686 G106 MM168 MM160 E552 E201 | እኪት ፡] እኪይት ፡ I722 እሳት ፡ E2082 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 | ውስተ ፡] ዲበ ፡ E1768 L492 O6 U2.16 U2.10 ChS87 MG48 | ምድር ፫] ምድረ ፡ I722 ሰበአ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ AR1 (-U10.4 E73) ምድረ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ U10.4 E73 15 ናሁ ፡] ወናሁ G133 | አነ ፡] – E6285 V131 V222 | ኩሎ ፡] – E5591 E73 ኩሎ ፡ U2.16 U2.10

11 ወነበበኒ ፡] pr. ፫ G63 (mg) G133 (mg) pr. ከፍል ፡ ፪ ፡ E6285 U2.16 U2.10 V131 V222 MG48 pr. ምዕራፍ ፡ ፪ ፡ E5591 ከፍል ፡ ፬ ፡ pr. C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 | ትሬኢ ፡] ትርኢ ፡ M54 12 ወይቤለኒ ፡] ወይቤለኒ ፡ M54 | እግዚአብሔር ፡] – P6 13 ወነበበኒ ፡] pr. ፬ G63 (mg) G133 (mg) G133x (mg) ወነበኒ ፡ I722 pr. ከፍል ፡ ፭ ፡ C1570 L486 U10.4 pr. ምዕራፍ ፡ ፪ L502 | ትሬኢ ፡] ትርኢ ፡ M54 ሰሜን ፡] ሰሜን ፡ L504 14 ሰሜን ፡] ሰሜን ፡ L504 15 እጼውዕ ፡] እጸውእ ፡ E126

ነገሥተ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ሰሜን ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይመጽኡ ፡ ወያነብሩ ፡ መናብርቲሆሙ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ዴዴያተ ፡ አናቅጸ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ አረፋቲሃ ፡ ወዘጥቅማ ፤ ወዲበ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አህጉረ ፡ ይሁዳ፡ 16 ወእትናገሮሙ ፡ በኩነኔየ ፡ በአንተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ እከዮሙ ፡ ዘነገሩ ፡ ወሦዑ ፡ ለአማልክተ ፡ ነኪር ፡ ወሰገዱ ፡ ለግብረ ፡ እደዊሆሙ ፡ 17 ወአንተሰ ፡ ቅንት ፡ ሐቋክ ፡ ወተንሥእ ፡ በሎሙ ፡ ዘአዘዝኩክ ፡ ወኢትፍራህ ፡ እምገጸሙ ፡ ወኢትደንግፅ ፡ እምቅድሜሆሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሀለውኩ ፡

ER (G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR2-late (O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73) 15 ቅድመ ፡] *om. usque ad 3:14* E1768] 16 ኩሉ ፡] *illegibilis* E7584] | ለግብረ ፡] *resumit* [E7584

ምድረ ፡] እምድረ ፡ E2080 E552 E201 B42 (pc) ED26 P195 | ሰሜን ፡] ሰሜት ፡ E1768 ዘሰሜን ፡ E201 E73 | ይቤ ፡] ወይቤ ፡ P55 E7584 | ወይመጽኡ ፡] ይመጽኡ ፡ B986 AR2-sub AR2-late (-O6 MM168 MM160 ChS87 E629; pc U10.48) L502 ይመጽኡ ፡ ወይመጽኡ ፡ B42 (pc) ይመጽኡ ፡ ወያነብሩ ፡] C1570 ED26 P195 E6529 U10.4 E73 ይመጽኡ ፡ ወያነብሩ ፡] L486 | ወይመጽኡ ፡ ወያነብሩ ፡] ወይመጽኡ ፡ ወያነብሩ ፡ E8671 ወያነብሩ ፡ ወይመጽኡ ፡ E2080 | መናብርቲሆሙ ፡] + ወኩሎሙ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E2080 + ኩሎሙ ፡ B3067 F11 E8671 AR2 (-L492) AR2-sub (-E5589) U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 ChS87 V75 E629 B42 ED26 P195 E6529 + ወኩሎሙ ፡ MG48 (pc) + ~~ኩሎሙ~~ E5589 pr. ኩሎሙ ፡ L492 O6 V222 I77 I1736 ኩሎሙ ፡ መናብርቲሆሙ ፡ ወኩሎሙ ፡ V131 መናብርቲ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ E552 E201 | ቅድመ ፡] – L492 O6 ChS87 P195 ቅድመ ፡ E8671 U2.16 | ዴዴያተ ፡] ዴዳት ፡ P55 M54 E7584 + ሙባኦ ፡ B42 ዴዴያተሆሙ ፡ AR1 (-B42) አናቅጸ ፡] አንቀጸ ፡ G133 G133x P6 L489 L492 L504 O6 ChS87 MG48 ናቅጸ ፡ P55 በአንቀጸ ፡ C1570 L486 L502 U10.4 በ E73 አናቅጽ ፡ ዘ E65 E126 | ወላዕለ ፡] ወላዕለ ፡ G63 + ኩሎ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E2080 ወላዕለ ፡ ውእቲ ፡ E8644 + ኩሎ ፡ B3067 ወላዕለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ F11 + ኩሎ ፡ E8671 AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late (-E552 E201) ወየግግቲ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ E552 E201 AR1 | ወዘጥቅማ ፤] ዘጥቅማ ፡ E2082 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late ዘጥቅማ ፡ በከመ ፡ ዘውሩ ፡ AR1 (-E73) ወጥቅማ ፡ በከመ ፡ ዘውሩ ፡ E73 | ወዲበ ፡] ወላዕለ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late (-E65) L502 ላዕለ ፡ E65 16 ወእት ናገሮሙ ፡] እትናገሮሙ ፡ E8671 + ወእትቤ ፡ ቀሎሙ ፡ AR1 | እከዮሙ ፡ ዘነገሩ ፡] እከየ ፡ ምግባሮሙ ፡ ወዘከመ (ዘከመ ፡ E6529) ፡ ንገሩ ፡ ወዐጠኑ ፡ AR1 (-P195) እከየ ፡ ምግባሮሙ ፡ በከመ ፡ ንገሩ ፡ ወአጣዑ ፡ P195 | ዘነገሩ ፡] – L492 O6 ChS87 | ለአማልክተ ፡] ለአማልክት ፡ E8671 P6 E5589 U2.10 E65 E126 | ነኪር ፡] ነኪራን ፡ B3067 E65 E126 17 ወአንተሰ ፡] አንተሰ ፡ P6 L492 O6 U2.16 U2.10 ChS87 MG48 ወአንተ ፡ ሐቋክ ፡ E65 | ወተንሥእ ፡] ተንሥእ ፡ I77 I1736 B42 L486 L502 E73 ወተንሥእ ፡ E65 | በሎሙ ፡] G63 G183 I722 E2082 + ኩሎ ፡ IM L2499 L496 P35 G106 B986 L484 L489 L504 AR2-sub MM168 MM160 V75 E629 P195 ወበሎሙ ፡ E8644 L492 O6 U2.16 U2.10 ChS87 MG48 ወበሎሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ P6 U10.48 E65 E126 E552 E201 V222 E5591 I77 I1736 AR1 (-P195) ማበሎሙ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ E6686 V131 | ዘአዘዝኩክ ፡] + ኩሎ ፡ L492 O6 U2.16 U2.10 ChS87 MG48 | ወኢትፍራህ ፡] ኢትፍራህ ፡ P55 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late (-E552 E201 E629) B42 U10.4 (pc) እትፍራህ ፡ E629 | ሀለውኩ ፡] ሀሎኩ ፡ B3067 P55 M54 E7584 L2499 L484 E3439 E6287 E6706 U2.16 U2.10 E65 E126 E552 E201 V222 E5591 MG48 AR1

አረፋቲሃ ፡ ... ይሁዳ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አህጉረ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ አረፋቲሃ ፡ ወዘጥቅማ ፤ P6 16 በኩነኔየ ፡] በኩነኔ ፡ P55 | ወሰገዱ ፡] it. P6 17 ወአንተሰ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ፫ ፡ E6285 U2.16 U2.10 V131 V222 MG48

**ምስሌክ ፡ ከመ ፡ አድጎንክ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። 18 ናሁ ፡ ረሰይኩክ ፡ በዛቲ ፡
ዕለት ፡ ዮም ፡ ከመ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ጽንዕት ፡ ወከመ ፡ አረፍተ ፡ ብርት ፡ ጽኑዕ ፡ ለኩሉ ፡**

ER (G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080)
AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285
E6287 E6706) AR2-late (O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131
V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73)

**18 ናሁ ፡] ወናሁ ፡ M54 | በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዮም ፡] ዮም ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2
AR2-sub AR2-late P195 በዛ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዮም ፡ E8671 (?) በዛ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዮም ፡ E2080 (sic!) ዮም ፡
በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ B42 ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዮም ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ C1570 L486
L502 U10.4 E73 ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ናሁ ፡ ረሰይኩክ ፡ ዮም ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ED26 E6529
ጽንዕት ፡] + ወከመ ፡ ዓምደ ፡ ኃዲን ፡ B3067 F11 (mg) AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late (-E65) AR1 + ወከመ ፡
ዓምደ ፡ ብርት ፡ E65 E126 | ብርት ፡] ብርተ G133 E552 E201 ኃዲን ፡ E65 E126 | ለኩሉ ፡] ላዕለ ፡
ኩሉ ፡ I722 (?) L496 E5589 E6287 U10.48 E126 E552 E201 V75 C1570 P195 L486 L502 U10.4 ላዕለ ፡
E3439 E6706 E65 I77 I1736 E73 ወኩሉ ፡ M54 ላዕለ ፡ ኩላ ፡ B42 ED26 E6529 ለጎበ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ U2.16
ለጎበ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ U2.10 ለጎበኩሉ ፡ MG48**

**ከመ ፡] – E65 18 ሀገር ፡ ጽንዕት ፡] አምባ ፡ P6 (mg) | ወከመ ፡] ከመ ፡ E65 | አረፍተ ፡] አተረፍተ ፡
P6 | አረፍተ ፡ ብርት ፡] አረፍት ፡ P55**

ነገሥተ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ወለመኳንንቲሆሙ ፡ ወለአሕዛብ ፡ ምድር ፡ 19 ወይጸብአኩ ፡ ወኢይክሉኩ ፡ እስመ ፡ አነ ፡ ምስሌክ ፡ ወአድኅነክ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።

ER(G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM(B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2(L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub(E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR2-late(O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1(B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73)

ነገሥተ ፡] ምድር ፡ ወላነገሥተ ፡ B3067 ምድር ፡ ለነገሥተ ፡ AR2(-L496 P35) E5589 E6285 AR2-lat e(-E65 MM168 E126 E552 E201) ምድር ፡ ወለነገሥተ ፡ P35 MM168 + ምድረ ፡ L496 E3439 E6706 E126 + ምድር ፡ E65 ምድር ፡ ወለኩሉ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ B42 ED26 P195 U10.4 ምድር ፡ ወለዕለ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ E552 E201 C1570 L486 L502 E6529 ምድር ፡ ወለዕለ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ II E73 | ይሁዳ ፡] – P6 E65 | ወለመኳንንቲሆሙ ፡] ወመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ P55 E8671 ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ M54 E7584 F11 E2080 ለመኳንንቲሆሙ ፡ ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ ለካህናትሂ ፡ B3067 ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ ለካህናት ፡ AR2(-L492) AR2-sub U10.48(pc) E65 MM168 MM160 E126 ChS87 V131 V222 V75 E629 I77 I1736 ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ ወለካህናተ ፡ L492 U2.16 U2.10 MG48 ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ ወለካህናቲሆሙ ፡ E5591 ለመኳንንቲሂ ፡ ወለካህናተ ፡ O6 ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ B42(pc) ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ ED26 P195 ወለመላእክቲሆሙ ፡ E552 E201 C1570 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73 | ወለአሕዛብ ፡] ወለአሕዛብ ፡ AR2(-L492) AR2-sub AR2-late(-O6 E552 E201 ChS87) ለኩሉ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ E8671 (?) ወለኩሉ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ E552 E201 B42 C1570 ED26 P195 U10.4 E73 ወለዕለ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ L486 L502 E6529 – L492 O6 ChS87 | ምድር ፡] + ወካህናቲሆሙሂ ፡ ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ B42 C1570 L486 L502 + ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ ED26 P195 U10.4 E73 + ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ E6529 + ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ E552 + ወካህናቲሆሙሂ ፡ E201 19 ወይጸብአኩ ፡] ወፀብአኩ ፡ M54 ይጸብአኩ ፡ B3067 L496 B986 AR2-sub U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 E126 V131 V222 V75 E5591 I77 I1736 MG48(pc) B42 ወይፀብአኩ ፡ U10.48 | አነ ፡] + ሀሎኩ ፡ E8644 U2.16 U2.10 E65 E126 E552 E201 AR1(-E73) + ሀሎኩ ፡ E629 + ሀለውኩ ፡ L496 B986 AR2-sub V131 V222 V75 E5591 I77 I1736 ሀሎኩ ፡ E73 | ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ።] – E2080 | እግዚአብሔር ።] + 2 ወኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ቤየ ፡ 2 ሑር ፡ ወስብክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዘኒሂ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብል ፡ B3067 + 2 ወኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ንቤየ ፡ 2 ወይቤለኒ ፡ ሑር(ሑር G106 L489 L492 L504 AR2-sub AR2-late) ፡ ወስብክ ፡ (ሰብክ ፡ F11 L489 L492 L504 O6 U10.48 ChS87)ውስተ ፡ እዘኒሂ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብል ፡ F11(mg) AR2 AR2-sub AR2-late + 2 ወካዕበ ፡ ነበበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ 2 ሑር ፡ አስምዕ ፡ ወአጠይቅ ፡ ንበ(ውስተ ED26) ፡ ምስማዕ ፡ (ምስመዕ ፡ B42)ሰብአ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወበል ፡ B42 C1570 ED26 P195 + 2 ወካዕበ ፡ ነበበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ 2 ሑር ፡ አስምዕ ፡ ወአጠይቅ ፡ ንበ ፡ ምስማዕ ፡ እዘኒሂ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወበል ፡ L486 L502 + 2 ወካዕበ ፡ ነበበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ 2 ሑር ፡ አስምዕ ፡ ወአጠይቅ ፡ ንበ ፡ ምስማዕ ፡ እዘኒሂ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወበል ፡ U10.4 E73 + 2 ወኮነ ፡ ቃለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ንቤየ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ 2 ወይቤለኒ ፡ ሑር ፡ ወአስምዕ ፡ ወስብክ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እዘኒሂ ፡ ሰብ[እ] ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወበ[ል] ፡ E6529(pc)

19 ወኢይክሉኩ ፡] ወይክሉኩ ፡ E2080 ኢ ፡ E2080(mg) ወኢክሉኩ ፡ E73 | ወአድኅነክ ፡] አድኅነክ ፡ E73 | እግዚአብሔር ።] + ከፍል ፪ E6285 U2.16 U2.10 V131 + ምዕራፍ ፪ E5591+ ከፍል ፡ ፭ ፡ C1570 L486 L502

2 2 ከመገ : ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር : ተዘከርኩ : ምሕረተክ : ዘአመ : ንእስከ : ወፍቅርክ : ዘአመ : ልህቀ : ዘተለውክ : 3 ለቅዱስ : እስራኤል : ለእግዚአብሔር : ቀዳሜ : ማእረፍ : ወኮሎሙ : እለ : ይበልዕም : ይኔስሑ ። ወትመጽእ : እኪት : ላዕሌሆሙ : ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር ፤። 4 ስምዑ : ቃለ : እግዚአብሔር : ቤተ :

ER(G63 G133 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM(B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2(L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub(E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR2-late(O6 U10.48 U2.16 U2.10 E65 MM168 MM160 E126 E552 E201 ChS87 V131 V222 V75 E5591 E629 I77 I1736 MG48) AR1(B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 L502 E6529 U10.4 E73) 2 ወፍቅርክ :] *ms collati usque huc* AR2-late] L486] L502] E6529] U10.4] E73] | ዘተለውክ :] *lacuna usque ad* 3:16 G133]

2 ከመገ : ... እግዚአብሔር :] – E2082 (h.t.) | ከመገ : ... ተዘከርኩ :] ዘከርኩ : ለኪ : ኢየሩሳሌም : B42 C1570 ED26 P195 L486 ተዘከርኩ : ለኪ : ኢየሩሳሌም : E6529 ዘከርኩ : ለኪ : ኢየሩሳሌም : L502 U10.4 E73 | ምሕረተክ :] ምሕረትክ : G63 G133x M54 ምሕረተክ : E8671 ምሕረተኪ : F11 (pc) E2080 AR2 AR2-sub AR1(-ED26) ምሕረትኪ : B3067 ED26 | ዘአመ : ንእስከ :] ዘእምንእ ስኪ : G63 E7584 F11 (pc) L2499 L496 P35 E6686 G106 B986 L484 AR2-sub(-E5589) U10.48 E6529 ዘአመ : ንእስኪ : E5589 ዘንእስከ : E8671 (?) እምንእስከ : M54 እምንእስኪ : B3067 P6 L489 L492 L504 ዘእምንእስከ : E2082 E8644 P55 ወሞገሰ : ንእስኪ : AR1(-E6529) | ወፍቅርክ : ዘአመ : ልህቀ :] ወፍቅርኪ : ዘአመ : ልህቂ : B3067 E7584 F11 (pc) E2080 AR2 AR2-sub ወአፍቅሮ : ትዕግሥትኪ : ዘአመ : ልህቂ : AR1 | ዘአመ :²] አመ : G63 ወአመ : M54 ዛአመ : E2082 ዘተለውክ :] ዘተለውክ : E8671 E2080 ወተለውኮ : E8644 ዘተለውኮ : P55 ዘተለውኪ : B3067 ዘተለውኪ : E7584 F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub + ድጎሬየ : በገዳም : ውስተ : ምድር : ዘኢይዘራዕ : B3067 F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub ዘከመ : ተለውክኒ : በገዳም : በበድው : በጎበ(ጎበ P195) : ኢይዘራዕ : AR1 3 ለቅዱስ :] አንቲ : ቅዱስት : B3067 ቅዱስ : F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub ወበጎበ : ቀደስክም : B42 C1570 በጎበ : ቀደስክም : ED26 P195 L486 E6529 | እስራኤል :] + ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር : ቅዱስ : እስራኤል : P55 M54 E7584 E2080 ለእስራኤል : ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር : ቅዱስ : እስራኤል : ወኃረይክም : ወአዘዘክም : ከመ : ይጎረይዎ (ይጎረይ ED26) : AR1 | ለእግዚአብሔር :] + ለእለ : ይትለእኩኒ : AR1 | ወኮሎሙ :] ወይቤ : ከሎሙ : B42 C1570 ወእቤ : ከሎሙ : ED26 P195 ይበልዕም :] በልዕም : G63 G133x pr. ይፈቅዱ : AR1 | ይኔስሑ ።] ይኔስሑ : G63 ይኔስሑ : E3439 ወትመጽእ : እኪት : ላዕሌሆሙ :] አወርድ : ወአመጽእ : ላዕሌሆሙ : እኪት : AR1 4 ቃለ :] ቀለ : B3067 L2499 | ቤተ :] ሰብአ : ቤተ : AR1(-C1570)

3 ማእረፍ :] ማእምፍ : E6686 (ac) ማእረፍ : E6686 (pc) | ወኮሎሙ :] pr. ከፍል : ፯ : C1570 L486 L502 | ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር ፤።] ይቤ : እግዚአብሔር ። እስመ : አንትሙኒ : እምትካት : ምስለ : አበዊክሙ : እንዘ : ትትቀወምም : ለፍኖተ : ጽድቅ ። ወእንዘ : ተጎድግዋ : ለፍኖተ : ርትዕ : ወምስለ : ውሉድክሙ : ዘይመጽኡ : እምድጎሬክሙ ። 2 እስመ : እሙንቱ : ይገብሩ : ጎጢአተ : እኪት : ፊድፋዶ : እምኔክሙ : እስመ : ይሠይጥም : ለዘይትከረከብ : ሎቱ : ሢጦ ። 3 ወይክሕድድም : ለዘያሐዩ : ሕሙማን : ወዘይፌውስ : ድውያን ። 4 ወየድግግም : ለዘየጎድግግ : አበሳ : ወጎጢአተ : ወጌጋየ ። 5 ወይሚንንም : ለዘፊስዮሙ : ለዕውራን : ከመ : ይርአዩ : ወለጽሙማን : ከመ : ይስምዑ : ወበሃይማን : ከመ : ይገብቡ : ወእለ : ለምጽ : ከመ : ይንጽሑ ፤ ወለዘያወፅሎም : ለመኖፍስት : ርኩሳን : እምላዕለ : ሰብእ ፤ ወለዘያረውጸሙ : ለሐንካሳን : ወለስቡራን ፤ ወለዘየሕውር : ዲበ : ባሕር : ከመ : ዘይሐውር : ዲበ : የብስ ፤ ወለዘይጌሥጸሙ : ለማዕበለ : ባሕር : ወለመዋግዲሃ : ወለነፋሳትኒ : ወይትኤዘዘ : ሎቱ ፤ ወይክሕድድም : ወየጎድግግ : ለዘይገብር : ሎሙ : ዘንተ : ከሎ ። 6 ወያበድሩ : ሎሙ : ይንሥኡ : ሜጦ : ፱ብሩረ : ዘይሠይጡ : ደቂቀ :

ያዕቆብ ፡ ወኲሉ ፡ በሐውርት ፡ ዘቤተ ፡ እስራኤል ። 5 ከመዝ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ምንተ ፡ ረከቡ ፡ አበዊክሙ ፡ በላዕሌየ ፡ በዘ ፡ ይግእዙኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይርጎቱ ፡ እምኔየ ፡ ነዋኝ ፡ ወሐሩ ፡ ወተለዉ ፡ ከንቶ ፡ ወከንቶ ፡ ኮኑ ። 6 ወኢይቤሉ ፡ አይቱ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘአውፅአነ ፡ እምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡ ዘመርሐነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ በድው ፡ በብሔረ ፡ ዓፅ ፡ በምድር ፡ ኀበ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዕፅ ፡ ወማይ ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ፍሬ ፤ ብሔር ፡ ኀበ ፡ ኢኬዶ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወኢነበሮ ፡ እንለ ፡ እመሕያው ። 7 ወአብአነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቀርሜሎስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንብላፅ ፡ ፍሬሁ ፡ ወበረከቶ ። ወወእክሙ ፡ ወአርከሎስ ክሙ ፡ ምድርየ ፡ ወአኅሠርክሙ ፡ ርስትየ ። 8 ወካህናትኒ ፡ ኢይቤሉ ፡ አይቱ ፡ ወእቱ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። ወእለሂ ፡ ተምህሩ ፡ ሕግየ ፡ ኢሐለዩኒ ። ወኖሎትየኒ ፡

ER (G63 G133x G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195) 5 ወከንቶ ፡] *lacuna usque ad 6:26* G133x]

ወኲሉ ፡ በሐውርት ፡] ኲሉ ፡ ነገድ ፡ ወበሐውርት ፡ AR1 (-C1570) | በሐውርት ፡] በሐውርተ ፡ G63 G133x M54 5 አበዊክሙ ፡] + አበሳ ፡ AR1 | በላዕሌየ ፡] ላዕሌየ ፡ B3067 E6285 | ወተለዉ ፡] ወተለው ፡ G183 (?) I722 E8644 B3067 M54 E2080 L496 L484 E6287 E6706 B42 ED26 | ከንቶ ፡] ከንቱ ፡ G63 G133x + ወኢረብሔ ፡ ወኢምንተኒ ፡ AR1 6 ወኢይቤሉ ፡] ወይቤሉ ፡ G63 I722 E2082 L492 B42 ኢ L492 (mg) | ወእቱ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡] ወእግዚአብሔር ፡ P55 E7584 ወእቱ ፡ E7584 (mg) | ዘመርሐነ ፡] ወመርሐነ ፡ M54 E6686 AR1 ወመርሐነ ፡ E7584 (mg) | ዓፅ ፡] ዕፅ ፡ P55 E7584 | ዕፅ ፡] ዕፅ ፡ G63 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 L2499 P35 AR1 | ወማይ ፡] ወማየ ፡ B3067 L2499 B42 ED26 | ዘአልቦ ፡] ወዘአልባቲ ፡ AR1 | ብሔር ፡] ብሔረ ፡ E2082 B3067 P55 E7584 L2499 L496 P35 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L492 E3439 P195 | ኢኬዶ ፡] ኢኬዳ ፡ E3439 (?) AR1 (-C1570) + እግረ ፡ L492 | ወኢነበሮ ፡] ወኢይነበሮ ፡ I722 ወኢነበራ ፡ AR1 (-C1570) ወኢነጸራ ፡ C1570 7 ወአብአነ ፡] ወአብሐነ ፡ E5589 ወአባዕኩክሙ ፡ ED26 P195 | ውስተ ፡] + ምድረ ፡ ED26 P195 ፍሬሁ ፡ ... ወወእክሙ ፡] ፍሬሁ (ፍሬሃ C1570) ፡ ወበረከታ ። ወሰበ ፡ በእክሙ ፡ B42 C1570 ፍሬሃ ፡ ወበረከታ ። ወሰበ ፡ ሦእክሙ ፡ ED26 P195 | ወአርከሎስክሙ ፡ ምድርየ ፡] ወአርከሎስክምዋ ፡ ለምድርየ ፡ IM AR2 AR2-sub AR1 | ርስትየ ።] ርስቲየ ፡ G63 + ወካህናትየ ፡ P55 E7584 pr. ምድረ ። ED26 P195 8 ወካህናትኒ ፡] ወካህናቲየኒ ፡ E8671 E2080 ወካህናትየኒ ፡ E8644 ወካህናትደኒ ፡ F11 ወካህናቲክሙ ፡ AR1 | ተምህሩ ፡] ተመህሩ ፡ L2499 P35 G106 B986 | ወኖሎትየኒ ፡] ወኖሎትኒ ፡ E2082 P55 E7584 AR2 (-P35 L492) AR2-sub P195 ኖሎትኒ ፡ L492 ወኖሎትደኒ ፡ F11 ወኖሎት ፡ P35 ወኖሎትክሙኒ ፡ AR1 (-P195)

እስራኤል ፡ ወይሁብዎ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ገራህተ ፡ ለብሐዊ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። 7 ወበእንተዝ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ነበበ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያንብር ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ ፡ ኲነኒ ፡ ሐዘን ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ ዘኢየጎልቅ ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ ውሉዶሙ ፡ እምድጎሬሆሙ ፤ እስመ ፡ አገብኡ ፡ ደመ ፡ ንጹሐ ፡ ወደመ ፡ ጸድቅ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ምኲናን ። F11 (vaticinatio ad Paschschur, versio longior) 4 ስምው ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ሄ ፡ E6285 pr. ሄ G133x (mg) pr. ። E8644 pr. ከፍል ፡ ፳ ፡ C1570 pr. ፪ ED26
ዘቤተ ፡] ለቤተ ፡ P195 | እስራኤል ።] ይስራኤል ፡ P55 M54 E7584 5 ከመዝ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ፱ ፡ C1570 | በዘ ፡ ይግእዙኒ ፡] ዘ ፡ ይግእዙኒ ፡ L484 | ወሐሩ ፡] ሐሩ ፡ B986 6 እምድረ ፡ ግብጽ ፡] እምግብጽ ፡ L492 | ግብጽ ፡] ጽግብ E2080 | ውስተ ፡] ፍናተ ፡ P6 7 ቀርሜሎስ ፡] ቀርቤሎስ ፡ E2082 | ፍሬሁ ፡] እምፍሬሁ ፡ E6287 | ወአኅሠርክሙ ፡] ወአሕስርክሙ ፡ B3067 M54 8 ወእለሂ ፡] እለሂ ፡ P6 | ሕግየ ፡] + እምኀቤየ ፡ B3067

ዐለዉኒ ፡ ወነብያቲየኒ ፡ ይትዌረዱ ፡ ለበዓል ፡ ወሐሩ ፡ ወተለዉ ፡ ዘኢይበቅሩሎ ፡ ።
 9 ወበበይነዝ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ እትዋቀሩሎ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወእሴነኖሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡
 ደቂቅኮሙ ፡ 10 እስመ ፡ ዐደውክሙ ፡ እምነ ፡ ደሴያተ ፡ ኬጥኤም ፡ ወፈንዉ ፡
 ውስተ ፡ ቂዳር ፡ ወጠይቁ ፡ በሕቁ ፡ ወርእዩ ፡ እመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ 11 እመ ፡
 ይዌልጡ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ አማልክቲሆሙ ፡ እንዘኬ ፡ ኢኮኑ ፡ አማልክተ ፡ ወሕዝብየሰ ፡
 ወለጡ ፡ ክብሮሙ ፡ በዘኢይበቅሩሎ ፡ ። 12 ደንገፀ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ በበይነዝ ፡
 ወአንሦጠጠ ፡ በሕቁ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ 13 እስመ ፡ ክልኤ ፡ እኩያተ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496
 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706)
 AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

ዐለዉኒ ፡] ዐለውኒ ፡ I722 E8644 B3067 E8671 E2080 L2499 L496 B986 L484 L489 E6287 E6706
 B42 | ወነብያቲየኒ ፡] E8671 (?) E2080 ወነብያቲየኒ ፡ G63 I722 ወነብያቲየኒ ፡ B3067 ወነብያቲየኒ ፡
 E2082 E8644 P55 M54 AR2 (-L492) AR2-sub AR1 ነቢያቲየኒ ፡ L492 ወነብያቲየኒ ፡ F11 ወነብያቲየኒ ፡
 E7584 | ይትዌረዱ ፡] ተደዋረዱኒ ፡ P195 ይትዌረዱ ፡ L489 L492 E6706 | ለበዓል ፡] + ግልፎ ፡
 AR1 | ወሐሩ ፡ ወተለዉ ፡] ወተለው ፡ ወሐሩ ፡ E2080 ወሐሩ ፡ ወተለው ፡ B3067 L496 B986 L484
 E3439 E6287 E6706 ሐሩ ፡ ወተለዉ ፡ P6 B42 9 ወበበይነዝ ፡] በበይነ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ E2080 በበይነዝ ፡ G63
 E2082 M54 F11 AR1 ወበይነዝ ፡ L492 L504 | እትዋቀሩሎ ፡] እትዋቀስክሙ ፡ AR1
 ወእሴነኖሙ ፡] ወእሳነኖሙ ፡ B3067 F11 L496 E6686 G106 B986 AR2-sub ወእሴነኖሙ ፡ P6 L504
 ለደቂቀ ፡ ደቂቅኮሙ ፡] ለደቂቅኮሙ ፡ E5589 | ደቂቅኮሙ ፡] ደቂቅሙ ፡ B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11
 AR2 AR2-sub ደቂቅክሙ ፡ ወትፋትሐክሙ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ኅለፉኬ ፡ (+ እንከ ፡ ED26 + እስከ ፡ P195)
 ውስተ ፡ ደሴያተ ፡ ሮም ፡ AR1 10 እስመ ፡ ዐደውክሙ ፡] ዕድሙ ፡ AR2 (-L489 L492) E3439 E6287
 E6706 እስመ ፡ ዕድሙ ፡ F11 (pc) ዕድሙ ፡ L489 L492 E5589 E6285 | እምነ ፡] ውስተ ፡ B3067
 F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub | ደሴያተ ፡] ደሴያተ ፡ E2082 P55 M54 E5589 – B42 C1570 | ኬጥኤም ፡] +
 ወርእዩ ፡ ወለእኩ ፡ AR1 | ወፈንዉ ፡] ወፈንዉ ፡ E2080 E6686 B42 C1570 ወፈንዋ ፡ P55 M54 E7584
 ወፈንወ ፡ L496 B986 L484 L492 L504 E6287 E6706 | ውስተ ፡] ኀበ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ AR1 | ቂዳር ፡]
 ቂዳራ ፡ M54 + ወእኦምሩ ፡ AR1 | ወጠይቁ ፡] ወጠየቁ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 | በሕቁ ፡ ወርእዩ ፡]
 በሕቱ ፡ AR1 | እመ ፡ ኮነ ፡] እስመ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ P55 E7584 እመ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ L2499 L496 P35 E6686 G106
 B986 L484 | ከመዝ ፡] + እመሶ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡ ግብረክሙ ፡ AR1 11 እመ ፡] እስመ ፡ P55
 እመ ፡ ... ኢኮኑ ፡] ወእመሶ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ዘወለጡ ፡ አምላክ ፡ በዘኢኮኑ ፡ AR1 | ይዌልጡ ፡]
 ይወልጡ ፡ M54 E7584 | በዘኢይበቅሩሎ ፡ ።] ወተለዉ ፡ ዘኢይበቅሩሎ ፡ ። AR1 12 ደንገፀ ፡]
 ደንገፀት ፡ P55 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080 AR2 (-E6686) AR2-sub P195 ወደንገፀ ፡ B3067 ደንገፀት ፡
 E6686 | ደንገፀ ፡ ... በበይነዝ ፡] አንከረአ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ በእንተዝ ፡ ፈርሀ ፡ ወርዕደ ፡ ደንገፀ ፡ B42
 አንከር ፡ አሰማይ ፡ በእንተዝ ፡ ወፈርሀ ፡ (+ ወርዕዱ C1570) ፡ ወደንገፀ ፡ AR1 (-B42)
 ወአንሦጠጠ ፡] ወአንሦጠጠት ፡ F11 E2080 E5589 E6285 ወአንሦጠጠት ፡ B986 ወአንሦጠጡ ፡
 C1570 | በሕቁ ፡] በሕቱ ፡ L484 P195 | ጥቀ ፡] – M54 F11 B42 C1570 13 እስመ ፡ ክልኤ ፡
 እኩያተ ፡] እኩያተ ፡ ክልኤተ ፡ E2080 B42 C1570 | ክልኤ ፡] ፪ ፡ E2082 F11 G106 L492
 AR2-sub (-E5589)

ዘኢይበቅሩሎ ፡ ።] ዘኢይበቅሩሎ ፡ M54 9 እትዋቀሩሎ ፡] እትወቀሶሙ ፡ E7584 | ለደቂቀ ፡]
 ለቂቀ ፡ G63 10 ኬጥኤም ፡] ቂጥእም ፡ E2080 ኬጢእም ፡ E8644 ቃጥኤም ፡ M54 ቀጥኤም ፡ P55
 E7584 ኬጢኤም ፡ P6 ኬጢኤም ፡ L489 ከጥኤም ፡ E6706 ቀጥኤም ፡ AR1 | ወፈንዉ ፡ ውስተ ፡]
 ወፈንወውስተ ፡ I722 (haplo) + ደሴያተ ፡ E6706 | ኮነ ፡] ኮኑ ፡ E5589 11 አሕዛብ ፡] አሕዝብ I722
 ወሕዝብየሰ ፡] ሕዝብየሰ ፡ L492 | ወለጡ ፡] ወለጡሂ ፡ P195

ገብሩ፡ ሕዝብየ፡ ኪያየኒ፡ ጎደጉ፡ ነቅዓ፡ ማየ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወከረዩ፡ ሎሙ፡
 ዐዘቃተ፡ ንፁፋተ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ማየ፡ 14 ቦኑ፡ ገብር፡ ውእቱ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ አው፡
 ወልደ፡ ቤት፡ ውእቱ፡ ለምንት፡ ኮነ፡ ዪዋ፡ 15 ወጥሕሩ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ አናብስት፡
 ወወውዑ፡ ዲቤሁ፡ እለ፡ አማሰንዋ፡ ለብሔሩ፡ ወነሠትዎ፡ ለአህጉሪሁ፡ ከመ፡
 አልቦ፡ ዘይነብሮን ብሎ፡ 16 ወአእመሩኪ፡ ደቂቀ፡ መምፍስ፡ ወጥፍናስ፡ ወተዋነ

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

ሕዝብየ፡] + ይቤ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ G183 I722 + እስመ፡ AR1 | ኪያየኒ፡] ኪያየ፡ E8644 P6
 ጎደጉ፡] ጎደጉኒ፡ E2082 B3067 P55 M54 F11 E8671 (?) E2080 AR2 AR2-sub (-E3439) ጎደጉኒ፡
 ወርጎቱ፡ እምነየ፡ ዘኮንክምሙ፡ AR1 | ሕይወት፡] + ጥዑም፡ L484 L492 L504 + ጥዑመ፡ B42
 C1570 + ጥዑመ፡ ወሐሩ፡ ED26 P195 | ዐዘቃተ፡] ዓዘቃተ፡ G63 I722 E2082 P6 L489 L492
 ዐዘቃተ፡ M54 ዐዘቃተ፡ P55 ዓዘቃተ፡ B42 ግበበ፡ አዘቃተ፡ ED26 P195 | ንፁፋተ፡] ንፁፋት፡
 P55 M54 ንፁፋት፡ E2082 ንጹፈ፡ L492 | ማየ፡] ማይ፡ F11 L496 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L489 L492
 L504 AR2-sub P195 + ወኢገብአ፡ ውስቱቶሙ፡ ማይ፡ ወዕቅልቅምሙ፡ በዐረር፡ P35 + ወኢምንተ
 ኒ(- ED26 P195)፡ ወለቅለቅምሙ፡ በዓረር፡ ወኢተጋብአ(ወኢጋብአ C1570)፡ ውስቱቶሙ፡ ማይ ።
 AR1 14 ቦኑ፡] + ውእቱ፡ B986 | ገብር፡] እስራኤል፡ አው፡ እንከ፡ ውእቱ፡ ገብርኑ፡ ወእመስ፡
 አግዓዚ፡ B42 C1570 እስራኤል፡ አው፡ እንከ፡ ውእቱ፡ ገብር፡ እመስ፡ አግዓዚ፡ ED26 P195
 ወልደ፡] ልደ B3067 P55 E7584 F11 E8671 (pc) E2080 AR2 AR2-sub ልድ፡ M54 እምነ፡ ትውልደ፡
 B42 እምነት-ልደ፡ C1570 እመ፡ ተወልደ፡ ED26 P195 | ቤት፡] ቤትየ፡ B42 C1570 ቤትየ፡ ED26
 በቤትየ፡ P195 | ለምንት፡] - P55 E7584 pr. እመ፡ ኢገብረ፡ ዘንተ፡ B42 እምኢገብረ፡ ዘንተ፡
 C1570 pr. ከመ፡ ኢገብረ፡ ዘንተ፡ ED26 P195 | ኮነ፡] እምኮነ፡ F11 | ዪዋ፡] + ወኮነ፡ ለምህርካ ።
 AR1 pr. ለ L2499 (mg) ለዪዋ፡ L484 L492 L504 15 ወጥሕሩ፡] ወጠሐሩ፡ E8644 B3067 P55 M54
 AR2 (-L492) E5589 E6287 E6706 ወጣኃሩ፡ E2082 ወሐሩ፡ L492 | ወጥሕሩ፡ ... ዲቤሁ፡]
 እምያእዜ(ወእምያእዜ፡ B42)፡ ይጥጎሩ፡ ላዕሌሁ(- B42)፡ ወይመሥጥዎ፡ አናብስተ፡ ንገሥተ፡
 ባቢሎን፡ ወያነሥኡ፡ ቃሎሙ፡ ወይዌውዑ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ AR1 | ወወውዑ፡] ወውዑ፡ E2082 L2499
 L496 P6 G106 L484 L492 L504 E3439 E6287 E6706 ወውዑ፡ P35 ወውዑ፡ L489 | ዲቤሁ፡]
 ላዕሌሁ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub | አማሰንዋ፡] አማሰንዎ፡ G63 I722 E2082 B3067 F11
 E6287 ይማሰንዋ፡ E8671 (?) ያማሰንዋ፡ E6686 አማሰዎ፡ E8644 | ወነሠትዎ፡] ወነሠትዎን፡ E2082
 E8644 P55 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub ነስእዎን፡ M54 ወይነሥትዎን፡ L484 AR1 (-P195)
 ወይነሥትዎ፡ P195 | ለአህጉሪሁ፡] + ይደልዎን፡ B3067 + ወረሰይዎን፡ L496 P35 AR2-sub +
 ወረሰይዎን፡ B986 + ወትከውን፡ ምድሩ፡ ምዝብርት፡ AR1 | ዘይነብሮን ብሎ፡] ዘይነብርዎን E6686 +
 ወአዕጸዳቲሁኒ፡ በድወ፡ እምኃጢአ፡ እለ፡ ይነብርዎ ። AR1 16 ወአእመሩኪ፡ ... መምፍስ፡]
 ወሰብአ፡ ሚምፍስ፡ B42 ወሰብአ፡ ሚምፍስ፡ C1570 ወሰብዓ፡ ማዕስ፡ ED26 P195 | መምፍስ፡]
 መንፈስ፡ P55 M54 F11 ማምስ፡ E2082 መምፍስ፡ E2080 ሞፍ፡ E2080 (mg) AR2 AR2-sub
 ወጥፍናስ፡] ወጠፍናስ፡ E2082 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E2080 L2499 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484
 L489 L504 AR2-sub ጣፍናስ፡ F11 L496 ወጠፈናስ፡ P35 ወጠፍናስ፡ L492 ወተሕፊስ፡ ክልኤ፡
 አህጉረ፡ ግብጽ፡ AR1 | ወተዋነዩኪ ብሎ፡] ይትዋነዩከ(- ED26) ። እሉ፡ እመንቱ፡ እለ፡ ይቀደሙ፡
 ዪውዎ፡ ሊቀ፡ አይሁድ፡ እምድጎረ፡ ተቀትለ፡ ኢዮስያስ፡ ተዪወወ፡ ወልዱ፡ ወእንበሩ፡

13 ኪያየኒ፡] ኪያየኒ፡ P55 | ጎደጉ፡ ነቅዓ፡ ማየ፡ ሕይወት፡] - M54 14 ቦኑ፡] pr. ክፍል ፳ E6285
 15 ላዕሌሁ፡] ላዕለ፡ L504 | እለ፡] ለእለ፡ P195 | ለአህጉሪሁ፡] ለአህጉሪሁ፡ E2082 L2499
 ከመ፡] ወከመ፡ B42 16 ወአእመሩኪ፡] ወአእመሩ፡ L2499 ወአእመሩኪ፡ L492 pr. ፳ G63 (mg)

ዩኪ ቱ፡ 17 ናሁ፡ ርእዬ፡ ዘረሰየኪ፡ ጎዲገ፡ ዚአየ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክኪ ። 18 ወይእይሂ፡ ምንተ፡ ብኪ፡ በፍኖተ፡ ግብጽ፡ ከመ፡ ትስተዬ፡ ማየ፡ ሕሙግ ፤ ወምንተ፡ ብኪ፡ በፍኖተ፡ ፋርስ፡ ከመ፡ ትስተዬ፡ ማየ፡ ፈለግ ። 19 ይገሥጽኪ፡ ተርሕቆትኪ፡ ወይዘልፈኪ፡ እክይኪ፡ ወታአምሪ፡ ወትጤይቂ፡ ከመ፡ ይመርረኪ፡ ጎዲገ፡ ዚአየ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክኪ፡ 20 እስመ፡እምዓ

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

ህየንቴሁ፡ ካልአ፡ ወይዲውዉ፡ መሳፍንት፡ እምድጎረ፡ መሳፍንት ። B42 ED26 እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ እሉ፡ ይቀደሙ፡ ዪውዎ፡ ሊቀ፡ አይሁድ፡ እምድጎረ፡ ተቀትለ፡ ኢዮስያስ፡ ተዪመወ፡ ወልዱ፡ ወእንበሩ፡ ህየንቴሁ፡ ካልአ፡ ወይዲውዉ፡ መሳፍንት ። C1570 P195

17 ርእዬ፡፤ ርእይ፡ E8644 ርኢ፡ AR1 | ዘረሰየኪ፡፤ ዘከመ፡ ርሰየኪ፡ P6 L489 L492 እስመ፡ ከመዝ፡ ይፈሰየክ፡ AR1 (-P195) እስመ፡ ከመዝ፡ ርሰየክ፡ P195 | ዚአየ፡፤ + እስመ፡ ጸላእክ፡ ወርጎቀ፡ እምአምልኮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘፈጠረክ፡ ወመርሐክ፡ ውስተ፡ ፍኖተ፡ ሕይወት፡ B42 ED26 + እስመ፡ ጸላእክ፡ ወርጎቀ፡ እምአምልኮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘፈጠረክ፡ ወመርሐክ፡ ውስተ፡ ፍኖት፡ C1570 + እስመ፡ ጸላእክ፡ ወርጎቀ፡ እምአምልኮ፡ P195 | ይቤ፡፤ - P195 | አምላክኪ ።፤ አምላክኪ ። AR1 18 ወይእይሂ፡፤ ወይእይኒ፡ E2082 E8644 F11 L496 E6686 B986 AR2-sub ወይእይ፡ P6 | ምንተ፡፤ ምንት፡ E6686 G106 L484 L489 L492 L504 AR2-sub | ብኪ፡¹ ኮንክ፡ ወምንተ፡ ብክ፡ ዘእንሰሰውክ፡ AR1 | ግብጽ፡ ... በፍኖተ፡² - E2080 (h.t.) | ትስተዬ፡¹ ትስተዬ፡ AR1 | ሕሙግ ፤፤ + እምተከይ፡ ዘግብጽ ። እፎ፡ ኮንክ፡ AR1 | ወምንተ፡፤ ወምንት፡ P6 E6686 G106 L484 L489 L492 L504 AR2-sub | ብኪ፡² ብክ፡ ጎበ፡ ዘተሐውር፡ B42 ብክ፡ ዘተሐውር፡ AR1 (-B42) | ፋርስ፡፤ ሶርያ፡ AR1 | ትስተዬ፡² ትስተዬ፡ E2082 E8644 E2080 L489 L504 AR1 ትስተዬ፡ E8671 19 ይገሥጽኪ፡፤ ይገሥጽኪ፡ E2080 B986 ይገሰሰኪ፡ P55 E7584 ይገሥጽኪ፡ B3067 ይገሥጽኪ፡ E3439 ለይገሥዕክ፡ AR1 (-P195) ዘይገሥጽክ፡ P195 | ተርሕቆትኪ፡፤ ተርሕቆትኪ፡ G63 I722 P55 E7584 ተርሕቆትኪ፡ M54 AR2 AR2-sub ተርሕቆትክ፡ AR1 (-C1570) ተርሕቆትክ፡ C1570 | ወይዘልፈኪ፡፤ ወይዘልፈኪ፡ G63 ወይዘልፈኪ፡ E8671 ወዘለፍኪ፡ M54 ወይዘልፈኪ፡ E2082 E8644 ወይዘልፈኪ፡ L2499 ይዘልፈኪ፡ L496 ወይዘልፈኪ፡ F11 P35 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L489 L492 L504 E6285 E6287 ይዘልፈኪ፡ B986 E3439 E5589 E6706 ወይዘልፈኪ፡ AR1 (-C1570) ወይዘልፈኪ፡ C1570 | እክይኪ፡፤ ተእክይኪ፡ L492 እክይኪ፡ AR1 | ወታአምሪ፡፤ ወተአምሪ፡ E2082 E8644 B3067 M54 F11 E8671 E2080 L2499 E6686 G106 L484 L492 ተአምሪ፡ L496 P6 B986 AR2-sub ርኢኪ፡ AR1 (-P195) ርኢኪ፡ P195 + ወለቡ፡ ወአእምር፡ AR1 | ወትጤይቂ፡፤ ወትጤይቂ፡ M54 ወትጤይቂ፡ E2082 E8644 B3067 E8671 E2080 B986 L504 E5589 ወጠይቅ፡ AR1 | ይመርረኪ፡፤ ይመርረኪ፡ M54 ይመርረኪ፡ E2082 ይከውኒክ፡ ግብረ፡ መሪረ፡ AR1 | ዚአየ፡፤ + እስመ፡ ጎዲገ፡ አምልኮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክኪ፡ ወኢአመን ከኒ ። ከመዝ፡ AR1 | አምላክኪ፡፤ ኃይል፡ AR1 (-C1570)

17 ናሁ፡፤ pr. ክፍል፡፤ C1570 18 በፍኖተ፡¹ ፍኖተ ። E8671 | በፍኖተ፡¹ ... ሕሙግ ፤፤ ከመ፡ ትስተዬ፡ ማየ፡ ሕሙግ፡ በፍኖተ፡ ግብጽ፡ L492 | ሕሙግ ፤፤ ... ማየ፡² - M54 (h.t.); it. ሕሙግ ፤፤ ... ማየ፡ E7584 | በፍኖተ፡² በፍኖተ፡ E8671 19 እክይኪ፡፤ እክይኪ፡ E6285 | ይቤ፡፤ pr. ክፍል፡፤ ፤ወጃ፡ C1570

ለም ፡ ቀጥቀጥኪ ፡ አርዑተኪ ፡ ወሰበርኪ ፡ መዋቅሕተኪ ፡ ወዐበይኪ ፡ ገቢረ ፡
ግብርኪ ፡ ወትቤሊ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ አሐውር ፡ ውስተ ፡ አውግር ፡ ነዋኝት ፡ ወታሕተ ፡
ኩሉ ፡ ም ፡ ዘዐ ፡ ጽላሎተ ፡ ወበህየ ፡ እትከወው ፡ በዝሙተየ ። 21 ወአንሰ ፡
ተከልኩ ፡ ለኪ ፡ ወይን ፡ ወኩሎ ፡ አቅማሐ ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ወእፎ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ዕጉስታር ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

20 ቀጥቀጥኪ ፡] G63 G183 I722 ተቀጥቀጥኪ ፡ E2082 ቀጥቀጥኪ ፡ E8671 ቀጥቀጥኪ ፡ ኩ E8644 E2080 ቀጥቀጥኪ ፡ B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub (-E5589) AR1 (-P195) ቀጥቀጥኪ ፡ E5589 ተቀጥቀጥኪ ፡ P195 | አርዑተኪ ፡] አርዑታኪ ፡ I722 አርዑተኪ ፡ AR1 | ወሰበርኪ ፡] ወሰበርኩ ፡ B3067 P55 E7584 F11 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub AR1 (-P195) ወሰበርኪ ፡ M54 ወሰበርክ ፡ P195 መዋቅሕተኪ ፡ ወዐበይኪ ፡] መዋቅሕተኪ ፡ ወዐበይክ ፡ B42 መዋቅሕተኪ ፡ ወዐበይክ ፡ AR1 (-B42) ወዐበይኪ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ግብርኪ ፡] – AR2 (-P35) AR2-sub ወዐበይኪ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ ግብርኪ ፡ P35 | ገቢረ ፡] ገብረ ፡ M54 | ግብርኪ ፡] ግብረኪ ፡ ER (-G63) P55 E7584 E8671 ግብርክ ፡ AR1 (-C1570) ግብረክ ፡ C1570 ወትቤሊ ፡] – E2082 P55 M54 F11 E8671 E2080 ወትቤሊ ፡ ኢግብርኩ ፡ F11 (mg) E2080 (mg) + ኢግብርኩ ፡ B3067 AR2 (-E6686) AR2-sub + ኢግብርኩ ፡ E6686 ወትቤሊ ፡ E7584 ወትቤ ፡ ኢያመልክ ፡ ካልአ ፡ አምላክ ። ወአንተሰ ፡ ኢግብርኩ ፡ B42 ወትቤ ፡ ኢያመልክ ፡ አማልክተ ፡ ካልአ ። ወአንተሰ ፡ C1570 ወትቤ ፡ ኢያመልክ ፡ ካልአ ፡ አምላክ ። ወአንተ ፡ ED26 P195 | ዳእሙ ፡ አሐውር ፡] ወዳእሙ ፡ ተሐውረ ፡ L2499 P35 P6 E6686 G106 L489 L492 ዳእሙ ፡ ተሐውረ ፡ L496 B986 L484 L504 AR2-sub አሐውር ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ B3067 ዳእሙ ፡ ትቤሊ ፡ ተሐውር ፡ F11 ዳእሙ ፡ እሐው ፡ I722 ዳእሙ ፡ ተሐውር ፡ AR1 | ውስተ ፡] ላዕለ ፡ AR1 (-P195) | አውግር ፡] አድባር ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 AR2 AR2-sub AR1 | ም ፡ ዘዐ ፡] ዕፀወ(ዕፀ) ED26 ዕፀው ፡ ወ C1570 ፡ አም ፡ እለ ፡ ብዙኃነ ፡ አዕቅ ፡ ዘዐሙ ፡ AR1 | ጽላሎተ ፡] ጽላሎት ፡ I722 E8644 F11 E6686 G106 L484 L489 L492 AR2-sub + ትስሕት ፡ ሰሙ ፡ ወትቤሙ ፡ B42 C1570 + ትስሕት ፡ ወትቤሙ ፡ ED26 P195 እትከወው ፡] ከወውኪ ፡ B3067 AR2 AR2-sub + ኪ E7584 እክውው ፡ F11 (pc) | በዝሙተየ ።] ዝሙተየ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 (?) ዝሙተኪ ፡ B3067 AR2 AR2-sub በዝሙት ፡ P195 + ኪ E7584 + ትቤሊ ፡ F11 E8671 + ትቤ ፡ AR1 21 ወአንሰ ፡] ወአንተሰ ፡ E2082 አንሰ ፡ E8671 L496 P6 B986 AR2-sub ወአንተሰ ፡ L504 | ተከልኩ ፡] ተከልኩኪ ፡ E7584 F11 ተከልኩኪ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub አዕቅ ፡ ወተከልኩ ፡ B42 C1570 + ዕዕቅ ፡ ርቱዕ ፡ ወተከልኩ ፡ ED26 P195 | ለኪ ፡] – AR2 AR2-sub ለክ ፡ AR1 | ወይን ፡] ወይነ ፡ E2082 E8644 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E2080 AR1 (-C1570) + ሴሪቅ ፡ F11 (mg) ወይነ ፡ ዘሴሪቅ ፡ B3067 ሴሪቅ ፡ AR2 (-P35) AR2-sub ሴሪቅ ፡ ወይነ ፡ P35 | አቅማሐ ፡] አቅማኃተ ፡ P6 L489 L492 L504 B42 C1570 አቅማኃ ፡ G106 | ጽድቅ ፡] ወአንተኪ ፡ ተመየጥክ ፡ ላዕሊየ ፡ ወዐለውኪ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነኪር ፡ ፍጥረት ። AR1 (-P195) ወአንተ ፡ ተመየጥክ ፡ ላዕሊየ ፡ ወዐለውኪ ፡ ከመ ፡ ነኪር ፡ P195 | ወእፎ ፡] እፎ ፡ E8644 P55 M54 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub AR1 (-P195) ወእፎ ፡ ... ነኪር ፡] – P195 | ኮነ ፡] ኮንኪ ፡ B3067 F11 (mg) AR2 AR2-sub ኮንክ ፡ B42 ED26 እንክ ፡ C1570 | ዕጉስታር ፡] ዕጉስታረ ፡ ወሦክ ፡ B3067 ሦክ ፡ F11 (mg) AR2 (-L484 L492) AR2-sub (-E6285) እጉስታር ፡ L2499 (mg) እጉስጠረ ፡ E7584 ዕጉስታረ ፡ E6285 B42 – L484 ዕጉስታረ ፡ L492

20 መዋቅሕተኪ ፡] መዋቅሕተኪ ፡ I722 መዋቅሕተኪ ፡ M54 | ነዋኝት ፡] ነዋኝት ፡ E8644 21 ወአንሰ ፡] pr. ከፍ ፯ E6285 | ወእፎ ፡ ... ነኪር ፡] – P195 (h.t.)

ወይነ ፡ ነኪር ፡ 23 ወእፎ ፡ ትብሊ ፡ ኢረኩስኩ ፡ ወኢተለውክዎ ፡ ለበዓል ፤፤ ርእዬ ፡ ፍኖተኪ ፡ ወአእምሪ ፡ ዘገበርኪ ፡ በበሰርክ ፡ ትዬብቢ 24 በውስተ ፡ ፍናዊሃ ፡ ወተርሕበት ፡ በውስተ ፡ ማያት ፡ አሕቃላት ፡ በፍትወተ ፡ ነፍሳ ፡ ትትዌረድ ። ወአጎዝዋ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

ወይነ ፡] ወይን ፡ M54 B42 ወወይነ ፡ B3067 L496 AR2-sub ወወይነ ፡ B986 ወወይነ ፡ E6686 ወይነ ፡ L489 | ነኪር ፡] ነኪር ፡ L489 + 22 እስመ ፡ ተሐዘብኪ ፡ በአፍላግ ፡ ወተካየድኪ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ይትሐተም ፡ ኃጢአትኪ ፡ በቅድሜየ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። B3067 F11 (mg) L2499 P35 P6 L484 L492 + 22 እም(እመ L496 B986 E3439 E6706 እስመ E6285) ፡ ተሐዘብኪ(ተሐጸበኪ) ፡ በአፍላግ ፡ ወተካየድኪ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ወይትሐተም ፡ ኃጢአትኪ ፡ (ኃጢአትኪ ፡ B986 L489 AR2-sub) በቅድሜየ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። L496 E6686 G106 B986 L489 L504 AR2-sub + 22 ወእመ ፡ አንተ ፡ ኃጢአት ፡ ኃግይእከ ፡ ቅሩባት ፡ እማንቱ ፡ ጎቤከ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኃያል ። AR1 (-P195) + 22 ወእምአኮ ፡ ተሐዘብከ ፡ ኃግይእከ ፡ ቅሩባት ፡ እማንቱ ፡ ጎቤከ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኃያል ። ዘመጽሐፈ ፡ ኤርምያስ ፡ P195 23 ወእፎ ፡ ትብሊ ፡] እፎ ፡ ትብል ፡ B42 ወእፎ ፡ ትብል ፡ AR1 (-B42) ወኢተለውክዎ ፡] ወኢተለውክዎ ፡ I722 ወኢተለውክዎ ፡ B3067 E2080 | ለበዓል ፤፤ ለበዓል ፡ ግልፎ ፡ ወኢያምለክዎ ። AR1 | ርእዬ ፡ ... ትዬብቢ] ርእኬ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ፍናዊክ ፡ ዘውስተ ፡ አፍላግ ፡ ወርኢ ፡ ወአእምሪ ፡ ዘገበርክ ፡ ወዘከመ ፡ አንጎእከ ፡ ቃለክ ፡ ለአምልኮተ(ለአምልኮ ፡ ED26 P195) ፡ ጣያት ፡ በበወበበ ፡ B42) ፡ ሰርክ ፡ ትዮብብ ። AR1 | ትዬብቢ] G183 I722 ትዮብቢ ፡ G63 E2080 ትዮብብ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E8671 (?) AR1 (-C1570) ትብቢ ፡ E8644 (?) B3067 F11 AR2 (-L489) AR2-sub (-E6706) AR2-late ትጌጊ ፡ E2082 ትቤ ፡ L489 E6706 24 በውስተ ፡¹ ... ወአጎዝዋ ፡] አጠዋይ(ጠዋይ P195) ፡ በፍናዊሁ(ፍናዊሁ B42) ፡ ከመ ፡ አድጎ ፡ ገዳም ፡ ዘይቴሜሐር(ዘይትመሐር B42 C1570) ፡ ሩጽተ ፡ ወይትረዓይ ፡ ውስተ ፡ በድው ፡ ወይትዌረድ ፡ በፍትወተ ፡ ነፍሱ ። ወኮንክሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ እጓለ ፡ ቈናጽል ፡ እለ ፡ ይከሥቱ ፡ አፉሆሙ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይርጎቡ ፡ ለነፍስ ፡ ። ከማሁኬ(ከማሁ ED26) ፡ ከሎሙ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ከሠቱ ፡ አልባቢሆሙ ፡ ለአምልኮ ፡ ጣያት ። ወአልቦሙ ፡ ጸድቃነ ፡ እለ ፡ ይጌሥዎሙ ፡ ወአጎዝዎ ፡ AR1 | ወተርሕበት ፡] ወተረሐበት ፡ M54 F11 E2080 L484 ተረሐበት ፡ E8671 | በውስተ ፡² በውተ ፡ G63 ውስተ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 | ማያት ፡] ማያተ ፡ F11 (pc) E2080 AR2 + ከሉ ፡ ወውስተ ፡ ከሉ ፡ F11 – E3439 | አሕቃላት ፡] ወአሕቃላት ፡ G63 አሕሰቀት ፡ M54 አሕቃልት ፡ P55 E7584 አሕቃል ፡ E2080 ዘአሕቃላት ፡ E6287

23 ወእፎ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ፲ወ፪ ፡ ዘእመጽሐፈ ፡ እርምያስ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ C1570 ክፍል ፡ ዳግም ፡ ዘእመጽሐፈ ፡ እርምያስ ። B42 ED26 | ትብሊ ፡] ትብሊ ፡ G183 I722 | ኢረኩስኩ ፡] አርኩስኩ ፡ L492 ኢረኩስኩ ፡ E6706 | ለበዓል ፤፤ ለበዓል ፡ M54 | ርእዬ ፡] ርእዬ ፡ I722 ርእዬ ፡ E2080 ፍኖተኪ ፡] ፍኖትኪ ፡ B3067 ፍኖተኪ ፡ E6706 | ወአእምሪ ፡] ወአእምርኪ ፡ L489 24 ፍናዊሃ ፡] ፍናዊሂ I722 ፍናዊሃ ፡ M54 ፍናዊት ፡ E3439 | በፍትወተ ፡] በፈትወተ E2080 በፍኋትወተ ፡ L492 ነፍሳ ፡] ነፍስ ፡ E2080 ነፍስ ፡ E5589

ወአልቦ ፡ ዘያገብአ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ የኅሥሥዋ ፡ ኢይዓምእዋ ፡ ይረክብዋ ፡ ኅበ ፡
 ኅሥረት ። 25 ሚጢ ፡ እገረኪ ፡ እምነ ፡ ፍኖት ፡ መብእስ ፡ ወጉርዒኪ ፡ እምነ ፡
 ጽምእ ። ወትቤ ፡ አጥባዕኩ ፡ እሰመ ፡ አፍቀርኩ ፡ ነኪረ ፡ ወሐረት ፡ ወተለወቶሙ ፡
 26 ከመ ፡ ኃፍረተ ፡ ሠራቂ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይእንዝዎ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ የኅስሩ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡
 እሙንቱኒ ፡ ወነገሥቶሙኒ ፡ ወመላእክቲሆሙኒ ፡ ወካህናቲሆሙኒ ፡ 27 እስመ ፡
 ይብልዎ ፡ ለዕፅ ፡ አቡነ ፡ አንተ ። ወለእብንኒ ፡ አንተ ፡ ወለድኸኒ ። ወሚጡ ፡ ኅቤየ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496
 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706)
 AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

ዘያገብአ ፡] ዘያገብእ ፡ L2499 ዘያገብእ ፡ AR1 | ኩሎሙ ፡] ወ' ፡ E8671 E5589 | የኅሥሥዋ ፡]
 ያኅሥሥዋ ፡ M54 ኅሥሥዋ ፡ B3067 AR2 AR2-sub የኅሥሥዋ ፡ AR1 | ኢይዓምእዋ ፡] ኢይዓምው ፡
 M54 E7584 L2499 L496 E6686 G106 B986 ኢይዓምው ፡ L489 L504 E3439 E6287 E6706 ED26 P195
 ኢይዓምው ፡ P6 L489 L492 E5589 E6285 አጽምእዋ ፡ E8644 ኢይዓምውዋ ፡ B3067 ኢይዓምውዋ ፡
 P35 ወኢይዓምው ፡ F11 ወይዓምው ፡ B42 C1570 | ይረክብዋ ፡] ወይረክብዋ ፡ F11 E5589 E6287
 ወይረክብዋ ፡ B42 C1570 ይረክብዋ ፡ ED26 P195 ወይረክብዋ ፡ P6 L484 E3439 | ኅበ ፡] በኅበ ፡ M54
 E2080 | ኅበ ፡ ኅሥረት ።] በኅሣር ፡ P55 E7584 + እንበለ ፡ አሣእን ። B3067 – L2499 እንበለ ፡
 አሣእን ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 (-L2499) AR2-sub በኅበ ፡ ኅስረ ፡ AR1 25 ሚጢ ፡ እገረኪ ፡] አእትቱኬ ፡
 ወሚጡ ፡ እገረክሙ ፡ እምኃጢአት ፡ AR1 | ሚጢ ፡ ... መብእስ ፡] ሚጢ ፡ እግረኪ ፡ እምነ ፡
 ፍኖት ፡ መብእስ ፡ L2499 (mg) | እገረኪ ፡] እግረኪ ፡ B3067 M54 እግረኪ ፡ E2082 F11 E8671 AR2
 AR2-sub | እምነ ፡ ፍኖት ፡] እምፍኖት ፡ E8671 E3439 E5589 E6706 | ወጉርዒኪ ፡] ወጉርዒኪኒ ፡
 P6 E5589 ወጉርዒክሙኒ ፡ AR1 | ወትቤ ፡] ወትቤሊ ፡ L496 E6287 | ወትቤ ፡ አጥባዕኩ ፡] ወኢትብሉ ፡
 ጽኖፅነ ፡ ወጥባዕነ(ወጠባዕነ ፡ ED26 P195) ፡ ለአምልኮ ፡ ጣዖት ፡ AR1 | እሰመ ፡] አነሰ ፡
 P55 M54 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub pr. አነሰ ፡ F11 + አነሰ ፡ B3067 | አፍቀርኩ ፡] አፍቀርነ ፡ AR1
 ወሐረት ፡] ወሐርኩ ፡ E2080 – P55 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub | ወሐረት ፡ ... 26 ከመ ፡] ወተለውነ ፡
 ኪያሆሙ ፡ ወሐርነ ። 26 በከመ ፡ B42 C1570 ወሐሩ ፡ ወተለው ፡ 26 በከመ ፡ ED26 ወሐሩ ፡ ወተለው ፡
 26 ወከመ ፡ P195 26 ሠራቂ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይእንዝዎ ፡] ዘያጋፍር ፡ ሠራቂ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ረክብዎ ፡ ወእንዝወ ፡
 AR1 | የኅስሩ ፡] ያኅስሩ ፡ P55 M54 ይሠሩ ፡ E2082 የኃፍሩ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub ተኃፍሩ ፡
 AR1 | እስራኤል ፡] + ወኃስሩ ፡ AR1 | ወነገሥቶሙኒ ፡] ወነገሥቶሙ ፡ E8644 E2080 L2499 L496
 P35 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L489 E6706 ነገሥቶሙኒ ፡ B42 C1570 | ወመላእክቲሆሙኒ ፡] ወመላእክቲ
 ሆሙ ፡ L2499 L484 L492 E5589 E6287 መላእክቲሆሙኒ ፡ L496 B986 E6706 ወበበይቶሙኒ ፡ AR1
 ወካህናቲሆሙኒ ፡] G183 I722 E2082 ወለካህናቲሆሙኒ ፡ G63 ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ L496 L492
 AR2-sub (-E6285) ካህናቲሆሙኒ ፡ L504 ወካህናቲሆሙ ፡ ወነቢያቲሆሙ ፡ E7584 E8671 – E8644 P55 M54
 ወነቢያቲሆሙኒ ፡ B3067 + ወነቢያቲሆሙኒ ፡ F11 E2080 L2499 (pc) P35 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L489
 L504 E6285 ED26 P195 + ወነቢያቲሆሙ ፡ L496 B986 L492 AR2-sub (-E6285) 27 ይብልዎ ፡]
 ይብልዎ ፡ M54 ይብልዎ ፡ B3067 P55 F11 AR2 AR2-sub ይብልዎ ፡ AR1 | አቡነ ፡] አቡየ ፡ P55 M54
 L2499 L484 L489 L504 አቡየ ፡ E7584 እምነ ፡ AR1 | አንተ ።] አንቲ ። AR1 | ወለእብንኒ ፡] +
 አቡነ ፡ AR1 ወለእብን ፡ E3439 ወለእብኒ ፡ E6287 E6706 | ወለድኸኒ ።] ወለድኸነ ። E8644 B3067
 E8671 AR2 (-L489) AR2-sub B42 – AR1 (-B42) | ወሚጡ ፡] እስመ ፡ ሚጡ ፡ AR1

ዘያገብአ ፡] ዘያገብእ ፡ B3067 25 ሚጢ ፡] pr. ክፍል ፡ Iወ፫ ፡ C1570 | አፍቀርኩ ፡] ወአፍቀርኩ ፡
 M54 26 ኃፍረተ ፡] ኃፍረት ፡ B3067 M54 | ከማሁ ፡] ከመ ፡ P195 ወከማሁ ፡ E6287 | እስራኤል ፡]
 ጳኤል ፡ E3439 | እሙንቱኒ ፡] እሙንቱ ፡ M54 27 አንተ ፡] – G106

ዘባኖሙ ፡ ወአኮ ፡ ገጸሙ ። ወአመሰ ፡ ምንዳቢሆሙ ፡ ይብሉኒ ፡ ተንሥእ ፡ ወአድኅነን ። 28 አይቴኑሙ ፡ አማልክቲክ ፡ ዘገበርክ ፡ ለከ ፡ ኢይትነሥኡኑ ፡ ያድኅኑክ ፡ አመ ፡ ምንዳቢክ ፡ እስመ ፡ ቡኖልቄ ፡ አህጉሪክ ፡ አማልክቲክ ፡ ይሁዳ ። ወቡኖልቄ ፡ ፍናዊሃ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ሦዑ ፡ ለበዓል ። 29 ለምንትኑ ፡ ትነብቡኒ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ኩልክሙ ፡ ዐለውክሙ ፡ ወኩልክሙ ፡ ዓመፅክሙኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር 30 በከመ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡ ቀተልክሙ ፡ ደቂቀክሙ ፡ ወኢተወክፍክሙ ፡ ተግሣጽዮ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

ዘባኖሙ ፡] ዝባኖሙ ፡ I722 | ገጸሙ ።] + ወአልባቢሆሙሰ ፡ አርሐቄ ፡ እምኔዮ ። AR1 | ወአመሰ ፡] አመሰ ፡ P6 ወእመ ፡ F11 | ምንዳቢሆሙ ፡] በምንዳቢሆሙ ፡ E8644 ምንዳቢሆሙሰ ፡ F11 + ዕለተ ፡ እኪት ፡ AR1 | ተንሥእ ፡] + ለረድኤትነ ፡ AR1 | ወአድኅነን ።] አድኅነን ፡ P55 M54 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub + ወባልሐነ ፡ AR1 28 አይቴኑሙ ፡] ወአይቴኑሙ ፡ B3067 F11 E2080 AR2 (-L496 B986) አይቴኑ ፡ E6285 ወአይቴማ ፡ M54 ወአይቴ ፡ P55 ወአይቴኑ ፡ E8644 E7584 ወአይቴኑማ ፡ E2082 ወአይቴኑመኪ ፡ B42 አይቴኑመኪ ፡ C1570 | አማልክቲክ ፡¹ ... አማልክቲክ ፡² ሀለው ፡ አማልክቲክሙ ፡ ዘገበርክሙ ፡ ለክሙ ፡ አንተ ፡ ኃረይክሙ ። ይትነሥኡኒ ፡ ወይርድኡክሙ ፡ (ይትነሥኡኒ ፡ ይርድኡክሙ ፡ ወያድኅኑክሙ ፡ ED26 P195) ፡ አመ ፡ ምንዳቢክሙ ፡ አመ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ እኪት ፡ እስመ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ አማልክቲክሙ ፡ ቡኖልቄ ፡ አህጉሪክሙ ፡ ወአዕጻዳቲክሙ ። አዘመደ ፡ AR1 ያድኅኑክ ፡] ወያድኅኑክ ፡ M54 ወያድኅኑክ ፡ E8644 B3067 P55 E7584 ወኢያድኅኑክ ፡ E2082 ቡኖልቄ ፡] በኅልቄ ፡ B3067 AR2 (-L2499 L496) AR2-sub ቡኖልቄ ፡ E8644 | አማልክቲክ ፡ ይሁዳ ።] ይሁዳ ፡ አማልክቲክ ፡ E2080 | ወቡኖልቄ ፡] ወቡኅልቄ ፡ B3067 F11 E8671 AR2 (-L2499 L496) AR2-sub ወቡኖልቄ ፡ E8644 | ሦዑ ፡] ሦዕክሙ ፡ AR1 | ለበዓል ።] + ግልፎ ፡ AR1 29 ለምንትኑ ፡] ለምንት ፡ F11 E6285 | ትነብቡኒ ፡] + ኪያዮ ፡ B3067 ትነብቡኒ ፡ B42 | ዐለውክሙ ፡] ዐለውክሙኒ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub AR1 | ወኩልክሙ ፡ ዓመፅክሙኒ ፡] – P55 M54 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub | እግዚአብሔር] + ለምንት(ለምንትኑ C1570) ፡ ትትዋቀሱኒ ፡ እስመ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ዐለውክሙኒ ፡ ኅቡረ ፡ ወሐሰውክሙኒ ፡ (ወሐሰውክሙ ። ED26 P195) AR1 30 በከመ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡] G63 በከመ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡ G183 ወበከመ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡ I722 በከንቱ ፡ E2080 P35 ብክ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡ M54 በከ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡ E2082 E8644 P55 E7584 F11 E8671 AR2 (-P35) AR2-sub በከ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡ B3067 | በከመ ፡ ... ወኢተወክፍክሙ ፡] ወኮነ ፡ ትግሣጽዮ ፡ ለደቂቅክሙ ፡ ከንቶ ፡ እስመ ፡ በከ ፡ ቀተልኩ ፡ ደቂቅክሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢተወክፍክሙ ፡ AR1 (-P195) ወኮነ ፡ P195 | ቀተልክሙ ፡] ቀተልክሙኒ ፡ P55 ቀተልክዎሙ ፡ L496 B986 E5589 E6285 ቀተልክሙ ፡ E6686 ቀተልኩ ፡ E8671 G106 L489 L492 L504 E6287 | ደቂቀክሙ ፡] ደቂቀክሙኒ ፡ P55 E8671 E2080 ደቂቅኒ ፡ E7584 + ከሙ E7584 ደቂቀክሙኒ ፡ F11 ለደቂቀክሙ ፡ E5589 E6285 + ወኢተለውክሙ ፡ E8671

ምንዳቢሆሙ ፡ ይብሉኒ ፡] ምንዳቢሆ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ M54 | ይብሉኒ ፡] – L496 ይብሉ ፡ E3439 ይብሉኒ ፡ ... ወአድኅነን ።] it. P55 28 አይቴኑሙ ፡] pr. ክፍል ፡ ፲ወ፬ ፡ C1570 | አማልክቲክ ፡ ዘገበርክ ፡] ዘገበርክ ፡ አማልክተ ፡ E3439 | ኢይትነሥኡኑ ፡] + እንክ ፡ E6285 | አህጉሪክ ፡] አህጉሪክ ፡ E2082 B3067 L2499 | ፍናዊሃ ፡] ፍናዊሂ ፡ I722 | ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡] ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ I722 29 ለምንትኑ ፡] pr. ክፍል ፡ ፲ወ፭ ፡ C1570 30 ተግሣጽዮ ፡] ተግሣዮ ፡ I722

መጥባኅተ፡ በልዓቶሙ፡ ለነቢያቲክሙሂ፡ ከመ፡ አንበሳ፡ ዘይሢሩ፡ ወኢፈራህ
ክሙ፡ 31 ስምዑ፡ ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ከመዝ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
መዝብረኑ፡ ኮንክዎሙ፡ ለደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡ አው፡ ምድረ፡ በድው፡ እስመ፡
ይቤሉ፡ ሕዝብየ፡ ኢንትቀነይ፡ ወኢንመጽእ፡ ኀቤከ፡ እንከ፡ 32 ትረስዕኑ፡
መርዓት፡ ሰርን፡ ወድንግልኒ፡ ብዝጋናሃ፡ ወሕዝብየሰ፡ ረስዑኒ፡ መዋዕለ፡
ዘአልቦ፡ ዘይኃልቆ 33 ምንተ፡ እንከ፡ ዓዲ፡ ሠናየ፡ ዘትፈቅድ፡ በፍናዊከ፡ ከመ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496
P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706)
AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

መጥባኅተ፡ በልዓቶሙ፡ ለነቢያቲክሙሂ፡] ወለነቢያትየኒ፡ በበልዓቶሙ፡ በመጥበሕት፡ M54
ወለነቢያቲኪኒ፡ በበልዓቶሙ፡ መጥባሕት፡ P55 E7584 ወለነቢያቲክሙኒ(ወለነቢያትክሙኒ L504)፡
በልዓቶሙ፡ መጥባኅተ፡ AR2 AR2-sub መጥባሕት፡ በልዓቶሙ፡ ለነቢያቲክሙ፡ F11 ወአጥፍአሙ፡
ፀብእ፡ በለወልድክሙ፡ በወለነቢያቲክሙኒ፡ በልዓቶሙ፡ መጥባኅተ፡ AR1 (-C1570)
ወአጥፍአሙ፡ በፀብእ፡ ለወልድክሙ፡ ወለነቢያቲክሙኒ፡ በልዓቶሙ፡ መጥባኅተ፡ C1570
ዘይሢሩ፡] ዘይሣሩ፡ M54 ዘይሰርር፡ E8671 ወይሢሩ፡ L2499 L484 ዘይመሥጥ፡ L2499 (mg)
ዘይመሥጥ፡ ወይሢሩ፡ L492 L504 AR1 | ወኢፈራህክሙ፡] ወበዝኒ፡ ኢፈራህክሙኒ፡ IM (-E867
1) AR2 AR2-sub AR1 ወኢይፈራህክሙ፡ E8671 31 ስምዑ፡] ይእዜኒ፡ ስማዕ፡ AR1 (-P195)
ወይእዜኒ፡ ስማእ፡ P195 | ቃለ፡] ቀለ፡ B3067 | እግዚአብሔር፡^{1]} + ኦትውልድ፡ ጠዋይ፡
ወእኩይ፡ AR1 (-P195) + ይቤ፡ ኤርምያስ፡ ኦትውልድ፡ ጠዋይ፡ ወእኩይ፡ P195 | መዝብረኑ፡]
መዝብረኑ፡ M54 መዝብረኑ፡ E8644 B3067 F11 L2499 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L492 መዝብረ፡ L504
መዝብረኑ፡ ኮንክዎሙ፡] ኮንኩኑ፡ ከመ፡ ገዳም፡ AR1 | አው፡] + ከመ፡ AR1 | በድው፡] +
ምዝብርት፡ AR1 | እስመ፡ ይቤሉ፡] ለምንት፡ ይቤ፡ AR1 | ይቤሉ፡] ይብሉ፡ P55 AR2 AR2-sub
ይብሉኒ፡ E8671 | ሕዝብየ፡] + ናሁ፡ ኀደግናከ፡ AR1 | ኢንትቀነይ፡] + ለከ፡ E8644 IM AR2
AR2-sub AR1 | ወኢንመጽእ፡] ኢንመጽእ፡ ወኢንገብእ፡ B42 C1570 + ወኢንገብእ፡ ED26 P195
32 ትረስዕኑ፡] pr. ወካዕበ፡ B42 C1570 pr. ካዕበ፡ ED26 P195 | መርዓት፡] ድንግል፡ ቢታ(ሞታ
C1570)፡ ወመርዓት፡ AR1 | ወድንግልኒ፡] ወድንግል፡ L496 P35 P6 E6686 L489 L492 L504 E6285
E6287 – AR1 | ብዝጋናሃ፡] በዝጋናሃ፡ E2080 ባዝጋናሃ፡ B3067 AR2 (-L504) E3439 መዝጋናሃ፡
E8671 ወባዝጋናሃ፡ AR1 | ዘይኃልቆ] ዘይኀልቁ፡ B3067 E7584 ጥልቁ፡ E8644 P55 M54 E8671
L2499 B42 ጥልቁ፡ L496 P35 B986 ጥልቀ፡ F11 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L489 L492 L504
AR2-sub (-E6287) ጥልቀ፡ E6287 + ወተመሐሩ፡ እኪተ(እንከ C1570)፡ በፍናቶሙ፡ AR1
33 ምንተ፡] ምንት፡ AR2 (-P35 L492) AR2-sub (-E3439) ምንትኑ፡ L492 | ዓዲ፡^{1]} – ED26
ሠናየ፡] ሠናይ፡ IM (-E8671) AR2 AR2-sub ሠናይተ፡ ED26 P195 | ዘትፈቅድ፡] ዘትፈቅዲ፡ L2499
P35 L484 ዘይፈቅዱ፡ AR1 | በፍናዊከ፡] በፍናዊሂ፡ I722 በፍናዊከ፡ M54 በፍናውኪ፡ B3067 P35
በፍናዊኪ፡ L2499 L484 በፍናዊሆሙ፡ AR1

31 ስምዑ፡] pr. ፯ G63 (mg) pr. ከፍል፡ ፰፡ E6285 pr. ፳፡ E8644 pr. ከፍል፡ ፲ወ፯፡ C1570
እግዚአብሔር፡^{1]} እግዚአብሔር፡ M54 | ከመዝ፡ ይቤ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡] – M54 (h.t.)
ኮንክዎሙ፡] ኮንዎሙ፡ P55 | እስራኤል፡] ፳ኤል፡ B986 | ኢንትቀነይ፡] ኢንቀነይ፡ L492
እንከ፡] – P6 32 ሰርን፡] ሰርኑ፡ P55 | ወሕዝብየሰ፡] ወሕዝብሰ፡ E2080 ወሕዝብየኒ፡ E8644 E6706
ሕዝብየሰ፡ L492 | ረስዑኒ፡] + ብዙኃ፡ E6686 | መዋዕለ፡] መዋዕል፡ E2082

ትጎሥሥ ፡ ተፋቅሮ ። አኮ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ዓዲ ፡ አንተሂ ፡ አሕሠምከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ታርኩሱ ፡
 ፍናዊክ 34 ወትረክብ ፡ ውስተ ፡ እደዊክ ፡ ደመ ፡ ነፍሰ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ አኮ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ግብ ፡
 ዘረከብክምሙ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምም ፡ ወቤት ። 35 ንጹሕ ፡ አኮ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡
 ይትመየጥ ፡ መዐቱ ፡ እምኔየ ። ናሁ ፡ አኮ ፡ እትዋቀሠክ ፡ እስመ ፡ ትቤ ፡ ኢአበስኩ
 36 እስመ ፡ አስተአበድክ ፡ ጥቀ ፡ ወአመክቦብክ ፡ ፍናዊክ ፡ ወበግብጽሂ ፡ ተጎፈርክ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496
 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706)
 AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195)

ትጎሥሥ ፡] – P55 E7584 E8671 (?) ትጎሥሥ ፡ B3067 L2499 P35 L484 ይጎሥሥ ፡ AR1 | አኮ ፡] –
 L484 | አንተሂ ፡ ... ፍናዊክ] ወእሙንቱሂ ፡ አሕሰሙ ፡ ገቢረ ፡ እከይ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያርኩሱ ፡
 ፍናዊሆሙ ፡ B42 C1570 ወእሙንቱሂ ፡ አሕሰሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያርኩሱ ፡ ፍናዊሆሙ ፡ ED26 P195
 34 ወትረክብ ፡] G183 I722 E2082 E8671 ወትረክብ ፡ G63 ወትረክባ ፡ E8644 P55 M54 ወትረክብ ፡
 B3067 E7584 F11 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub | ወትረክብ ፡ ... ንጹሕ ፡] ወእደዊሆሙሂ ፡ ተሰርዮት(ተሰርዮ
 ት C1570) ፡ በደመ ፡ ምስኪናን ፡ ነፍሰ ፡ ንጹሕን ። ወይቤሉ ፡ ንጹሕን ፡ ንሕነ ፡ እምኔሚአት ።
 AR1 | ነፍሰ ፡] እንላ ፡ ማውታ ፡ ደመ ፡ B3067 pr. እንላ ፡ ማውታ ፡ ወደመ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub (-E6706)
 pr. እንላ ፡ እማውታ ፡ ወደመ ፡ E6706 | ንጹሕ ፡] + ወእንላ ፡ ማውታ ፡ F11 | አኮ ፡] ወአኮ ፡ P55 M54
 E7584 F11 AR2 (-L496) E5589 E6285 P195 | ዘረከብክምሙ ፡] ዘረከብክምሙ ፡ L2499 ዘረከብክምሙ ፡
 P35 E6686 ዘረከብክምሙ ፡ G106 ዘረከብክምሙ ፡ F11 ዘረከብክነ ፡ B42 ዘረከብክነ ፡ ED26 P195
 ወቤት ።] ወቤተ ፡ E8644 ቤት ፡ E8671 ወትብላ ፡ E2080 L496 B986 AR2-sub ወትብላ ፡ B3067 F11
 AR2 (-L496 B986) 35 ንጹሕ ፡ አኮ ፡] ንጹሕን ፡ ንሕነ ፡ B42 C1570 ወንጹሕን ፡ ንሕነ ፡ ED26 P195
 መዐቱ ፡ ... ናሁ ፡] መዓትክ ፡ እምኔነ ። ናሁኬ ፡ B42 ED26 መዓት ፡ እምኔነ ። ናሁ ፡ P195 | አኮ ፡] –
 F11 P195 | እትዋቀሠክ ፡] እትዋቀሥክ ፡ E8644 እትዋቀሠክ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub እትዋቀሰክሙ ፡
 ወእትፋትሐክሙ ፡ ወእካንነክሙ ፡ AR1 | ትቤ ፡] ትቤሉ ፡ F11 P35 L489 ትቤሉ ፡ L2499 L496 P6
 E6686 G106 L484 L492 L504 AR2-sub ትብሉ ፡ B42 C1570 ትቤሉ ፡ ED26 P195 | ኢአበስኩ]
 አበስኩ ፡ E2080 ኢአበስነ ፡ AR1 36 አስተአበድክ ፡] አስተአበድኩ ፡ P55 አስተአበድኪ ፡ AR2 (-P6)
 AR2-sub (-E6287) አስተአበድክኪ ፡ F11 አስተአበድክኪ ፡ P6 E6287 አስተአበድክሙ ፡ AR1
 ወአመክቦብክ ፡] ወአምዐዕክ ፡ P55 M54 ወአመ ፡ ክዕበዶክ ፡ E8644 ወአመክዓብኪ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 (-L48
 9) AR2-sub ወአስተመክቦብኪ ፡ L489 | ወአመክቦብክ ፡ ... በአሶር ።] ወአመክቦብክሙ ፡
 ፍናዊክሙ ። ናሁ ፡ ትረውጹ ፡ በግብጽ ፡ ወትትጋፈሩ ፡ በከመ(ከመ ፡ P195) ፡ ተጎፈርክሙ(-P195) ፡
 ወግዮክሙ ፡ እምሰርዮ ፡ AR1 | ፍናዊክ ፡] ፍናዊክ ፡ I722 M54 ፍናዊኪ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 (-L484 L492)
 AR2-sub ፍናወኪ ፡ L484 ፍናወኪ ፡ L492 | ወበግብጽሂ ፡] ወግብጽሂ ፡ E2080 ወበግብጽሂ ፡ P55
 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 (-L492) AR2-sub ወበግብጽ ፡ L492 | ተጎፈርክ ፡^{1]} ትትሐፈር ፡ E8671
 ትትጋፈሪ ፡ F11 (pc) ተጎፈርኪ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub

33 ተፋቅሮ ።] ተፋቅሮ ። M54 ታፍቅሮ ፡ P55 + ምስሌየ ፡ F11 | ፍናዊክ] ፍናዊክ ፡ I722 M54
 34 ውስተ ፡^{1]} በውስተ ፡ E8644 | ንጹሕ ፡] ንጹሕን ፡ M54 | ዘረከብክምሙ ፡] ዘረከብክምምሙ ፡
 M54 ዘረከብክምሙ ፡ P55 | ዳእሙ ፡] – B3067 it. L2499 35 መዐቱ ፡] መዐቱ ፡ M54 | ናሁ ፡] pr.
 ከፍል ፡ ፲ወ፯ ፡ C1570

በከመ ፡ ተጎፈርከ ፡ በአሶር ። 37 ወእምዝየሂ ፡ ትወፅእ ፡ ወእደዊከሂ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ርእሰከ ።
 እስመ ፡ አቅበፀከ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተሰፋከ ፡ ወኢትረክቦ ።
 3 1 እመሰ ፡ ሰደዳ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ለብእሲቱ ፡ ወወፅአት ፡ እምነቢሁ ፡ ወአውሰበት ፡
 ካልአ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ትገብእኑ ፡ እንከ ፡ ንቢሁ ፡ ዳግመ ። አኮኑ ፡ ትረኩሶ ፡ እንከ ፡
 ይእቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ወአንቲሂኬ ፡ ዘመውኪ ፡ በብዙኃን ፡ ኖሎት ፡ ወተሰወጥኪ ፡
 ንቢየ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። 2 አንሥኢ ፡ አዕይንቲኪ ፡ ርቱዓ ፡ ይቤ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496
 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706)
 AR1 (B42 C1570 ED26 P195) 1 እመሰ ፡] *illegibilis usque ad* 3:19 ED26]

በከመ ፡ ተጎፈርከ ፡] – I722 L489 + በከመ ፡ ተጎፈርኪ ፡ L489 (mg) | ተጎፈርከ ፡²] ተፈርከ ፡ E8644
 ተጎፈርኪ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub | በአሶር ።] በአሶርሂ ፡ G63 በአሶር ፡ E8644 E2080 ወበሱርኒ ፡
 M54 በአሱርኒ ፡ P55 E7584 በኃሣር ፡ E2082 37 ወእምዝየሂ ፡] ወእምዝየሂ ፡ P55 M54 E7584
 AR2 (-L496 B986) እምዝየሂ ፡ L496 እምዝየሂ ፡ B986 AR2-sub | ትወፅእ ፡] ትወፅእ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2
 AR2-sub (-E6706) ትውጽኢ ፡ E6706 | ትወፅእ ፡ ... ወኢትረክቦ ።] ኢትወፅኦ ። ወእደዊከሙ ፡
 ዲበ ፡ ርእሰከሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ አቅበጸክሙ (ዓቀበፀክሙ ፡ P195) ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተሰፋክሙ ፡
 ወኢትረክቦ ። AR1 | ወእደዊከሂ ፡] ወእደዊከሂ ፡ E8644 P55 M54 E7584 ወእደዊኪ ፡ L2499 L496
 G106 B986 E3439 ወእደውኪ ፡ P35 P6 L484 L489 L492 L504 AR2-sub ወእደውኪኒ ፡ F11 (pc)
 E6686 | ርእሰከ ።] ርእሰኪ ፡ B3067 F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub | አቅበፀከ ፡] ኢቀብጸከ ፡ M54
 ኢቀብጸከ ፡ P55 አቅብጸኪ ፡ B3067 አቅብፀኪ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub | ተሰፋከ ፡] ተሰፋኪ ፡ B3067
 F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub | ወኢትረክቦ ።] ወኢትረክብ ። E8671 E2080 ወኢትረክብ ። E2082 M54
 ወኢትረክባ ። P55 ወኢትረክቢ ። B3067 F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub 1 እመሰ ፡] G63 እመ G183 E8644
 P55 E8671 AR2 (-P35 L504) AR2-sub አመ ፡ E2082 እስመ ፡ I722 M54 እሐመ ፡ E7584 እስመ ፡ F11
 እመሰ ፡ ... ለብእሲቱ ፡] አኮኑ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይድኅር ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ብእሲቶ (ወብእሲቶ P195) ፡ እመ ፡ ሰደዳ ፡
 AR1 (-ED26) | ወአውሰበት ፡ ... ብእሲት ፡] ወተወሰበት ፡ ይእቲሃ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ንበ ፡ ካልእ ፡ ብእሲ ፡
 ወዳግመ ፡ ገብአ ፡ ንቢሃ ፡ ወአውሰባ ፡ ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ምታ (ብእሲሲ P195) ፡ አኮኑ (+ እንከ P195) ፡
 ረከሶት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ወትረኩሶ ፡ ምድር ፡ በእንቲአሆሙ ። B42 C1570 | ትረከሶ ፡] ፡
 ረከሶት ፡ F11 | ወአንቲሂኬ ፡] ወአንቲሂኬ ፡ G183 አንቲሂኬ ፡ M54 E7584 F11 አንቲሂኬ ፡ P55
 አንቲሂ ፡ B986 E5589 E6285 | ወተሰወጥኪ ፡] ወተመየጢኪ ፡ E2080 ተመየጢ ፡ ወተመጢ ፡
 B3067 ተመየጢ E7584 ተመየጢ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub (-E3439) ወተመየጢ ፡ F11 (pc) 2 አንሥኢ ፡] ፡
 ወአንሥኢ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub P195 | አዕይንቲኪ ፡] አዕይንተኪ ፡ B3067 P55
 AR2 (-P6) AR2-sub AR1 + ወነጸሪ ፡ ዓውደኪ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ E8671

37 ወኢትረክቦ ።] + ከፍል ፡ ፱ ፡ E6285 + ምዕራፍ ፡ ፫ ፡ L489 L504 1 እመሰ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ፲ወ፰ ፡
 C1570 | ሰደዳ ፡] ሰዳዳ ፡ L496 | ብእሲ ፡] – E2082 | ለብእሲቱ ፡] ለብእሲት ፡ E5589
 ወወፅአት ፡] ወፅአት ፡ E6706 | ወአንቲሂኬ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ፲ወ፱ ፡ C1570 2 አንሥኢ ፡] pr. ፰
 G63 (mg)

እግዚአብሔር ወነጽሪ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ፍናወ ፡ እስመ ነበርኪ ፡ ከመ ፡ ቋፃተ ፡ በድወ ፡ ወአርኩስኪያ ፡ ለምድር ፡ በዝሙትኪ ፡ ወበእከይኪ ፡ 3 ወነበርኪ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብዙኃን ፡ ኖሎት ፡ በኃሣርኪ ፡ ገጸ ፡ ዘማ ፡ ኮንኪ ፡ ወተጎፈርኪ ፡ በጎበ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ 4 አኮ ፡ ከመ ፡ እግዚእኪ ፡ ወአቡኪ ፡ ዘጸዋዕክኒ ፡ ወኢከመ ፡ ምትኪ ፡ ዘንእስኪ ፡ 5 ኢትነብሪ ፡ ወአቡኪ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ መባቱ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ነብኪ ፡ ወገበርኪ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ እኩየ ፡ ወክህልኪ ፡ 6 ወይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በመዋዕለ ፡ ኢዮስያስ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ርኢክኑ ፡ ዘረሰየኒ ፡ ንብረተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ሐረት ፡ ውሰተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ደብር ፡ ነዋኅ ፡ ወታሕተ ፡ ኩሎ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 P195)

ወነጽሪ ፡] ወነበሪ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 L2499 P35 + ንበ ፡ B42 P195 + ወርእዬ ፡ L2499(mg) L496 + ወርእዬ ፡ L484 L492 L504 ወርእዬ ፡ B986 AR2-sub + ወነጽሪ ፡ P35 + ወንበሪ ፡ L489 | ወነጽሪ ፡ ኩሎ ፡] ወኩሎ ፡ E8671 | ኩሎ ፡] ኩሎ ፡ AR1 | ፍናወ ፡] ፍናወ ፡ G63 P195 ፍናወኪ ፡ E7584 E3439 ፍናወኪ ፡ E5589 E6287 ፍናወኪ B42 + ወርእዬ ፡ እመቦ ፡ ንበ(በንበ ፡ P195) ፡ ኢዘመወኪ ፡ AR1 ቋፃተ ፡] ቋፃት ፡ B3067 M54 E6706 ቆዑተ ፡ E8644 E8671 ቁፃተ ፡ L2499 P35 G106 B986 L484 ቆዑተ ፡ L489 | በድወ ፡] በድወ ፡ E8644 P55 M54 E7584 E2080 L2499 L496 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L492 L504 AR2-sub B42 C1570 በድወ ፡ L489 | በዝሙትኪ ፡] በርኩስኪ ፡ ወበዝሙትኪ ፡ AR1 ለኃሣርኪ ፡] pr. ተኃጥአ ፡ ዝናም ። ወኢፈቀድኪ ፡ ትኅድጊ ፡ ግበረኪ ፡ AR1 | በኃሣርኪ ፡] ለኃሣርኪ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 (pc) E2080 AR2 AR2-sub | ኩሎ ፡] + ወለዘተክለ ፡ ጠል ፡ ወተወን ፡ በእንተዝ B3067 E7584 (mg) + ወተክልአ ፡ ጠል ፡ ወተወን ፡ በእንተዝ ፡ F11 (mg) AR2 AR2-sub 4 ወአቡኪ ፡] አቡኪ ፡ E8671 | ዘጸዋዕክኒ ፡] ዘጸዋዕክኒ ፡ E2082 ዘጸዋዕክኒ ፡ F11 | ምትኪ ፡] ምንትኪ ፡ E7584 ሞትኪ ፡ L492 ምንት ፡ P195 5 ኢትነብሪ ፡] ኢተንባሪ ፡ E2082 ሞትነብሪ ፡ E2080 ኢ ፡ E2080 (mg) ወኢትነብሪ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub | ወአቡኪ ፡] – E8671 | መባቱ ፡ ናሁ ፡] ወናሁ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub (-E6285) ናሁ ፡ E2082 E8644 B3067 F11 E6285 AR1 ንቤሁ ፡ E8671 | ነብኪ ፡] ተናገርኪ ፡ ወነብኪ ፡ AR1 ነበርኪ ፡ E8671 | እኩየ ፡] እኪት ፡ AR1 – F11 6 ወይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡] ወካዕበ ፡ ነበበኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይቤለኒ ፡ AR1 | ርኢክኑ ፡] ኢ'' ፡ E8671 | ዘረሰየኒ ፡] ዘረሰየትኒ ፡ M54 ዘረሰየትኒ ፡ E8644 IM (-M54) AR2 (-L496 L489) AR2-sub ዘረሰየትኒ ፡ L489 ዘረሰየት ፡ L496 ዘገብረት ፡ ዘረሰየትኒ ፡ ነባሪተ ፡ AR1 | ንብረተ ፡] + ዕሉተ ፡ B3067 ንብረተ ፡ ዕሉተ ፡ E2080 ዕሉተ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 (-L504) AR2-sub ወለተ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 ዕሉት ፡ ዕሉተ ፡ L504 + ወለተ ፡ B42 ነባሪተ ፡ E8671 C1570 ንብረት ፡ ወለተ ፡ P195 እስራኤል ፡] ይስራኤል ፡ ከመ ፡ B42 + ከመ ፡ C1570 P195 | ሐረት ፡] ወሐረት ፡ B3067

ወአርኩስኪያ ፡] ወአርኩስኪያ ፡ E8644 | በዝሙትኪ ፡] በዝሙትኪ ፡ E8644 3 ወነበርኪ ፡] – E2080 ወነበርኪ ፡ E2080 (mg) | ብዙኃን ፡] ብዙኃን ፡ P55 – E3439 E6706 | ወተጎፈርኪ ፡] ወጎፈርኪ ፡ M54 4 ወአቡኪ ፡] – P195 | ወአቡኪ ፡] ዘጸዋዕክኒ ፡] ወአብይኪ ፡] ዘጸዋዕክኒ ፡ M54 6 ወይቤለኒ ፡] pr. ፱ G63 (mg) pr. ከፍል ፡ ፳ ፡ C1570 | በመዋዕለ ፡] – I722 በመዋዕለ ፡ I722 (mg) እስራኤል ፡] ፳ኤል ፡ B986

ዕፀው፡ ወያም፡ ወዘመውት፡ በህየ፡ 7 ወእቤላ፡ እምድጎረ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘንተ፡ ገብረት፡ ግብኢ፡ ጎቤየ፡ ወኢገብኣት፡ ወኣርኣየት፡ ምርዓታ፡ በምርዓተ፡ ይሁዳ፡ 8 ወርኢኩ፡ ከመ፡ ጎደግዋ፡ ኩሎሙ፡ መሐዛኒሃ፡ እለ፡ ዘመውት፡ ምስሊሆሙ፡ ሀገረ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወሰደድከዋ፡ ወወሀብከዋ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ጎድጋዜሃ፡ ውስተ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 P195)

ዕፀው፡ ወያም፡] G63 P55 E7584 E6285 **ዕፀው፡ ወያም፡** G183 I722 **ዕፀ፡ ወኣም፡** E2082 E8644 **ዕፀው፡** የም፡ B3067 M54 E2080 L2499 L496 P35 P6 B986 L484 L489 L504 E3439 E6706 **ዕፀ፡ ኣም፡** E8671 **ዕፀው፡ ኣም፡** L492 **ዕፀ፡ ወኣም፡** F11 (pc) E6686 G106 E5589 **ዕፀዋተ፡ ኣእዋም፡ እንተ፡ ብዙኃት፡ ኣዕፀዊሆን፡ ዘቦ፡ ጽላሎተ፡** B42 **ዕፀዋተ፡ ኣእዋም፡ እንተ፡ ብዙኃት፡ ኣዕፀዊሆን፡** C1570 P195 + **ዘቦ፡ ቈጽል፡** L496 E3439 E6287 E6706 **7 ወእቤላ፡]** ወይቤላ፡ E2082 E8671 P195 | **ኩሎ፡ ዘንተ፡]** ኩሎ፡ ዘንተ፡ E2080 **ዘንተ፡ ኩሎ፡** P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 AR2-sub B42 **ኩሎ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኩሎ፡** E2082 **ዝንቱ፡ ኩሎ፡** E8671 | **ገብረት፡]** ገበርኪ፡ E8671 | **ግብኢ፡]** እኩያተ፡ ነሰሒ፡ ወግብኢ፡ B42 C1570 እኩያተ፡ ነሰሒ፡ ግብኢ፡ P195 | **ወኢገብኣት፡]** ወኣቦየት፡ ግቢኣ፡ ጎቤየ፡ M54 E7584 (pc) F11 AR2 (-L484) AR2-sub + ወኣቦየት፡ ግቢኣ፡ E7584 ወኣቦየት፡ ግቢኣ፡ L484 ወኣቦየት፡ ግቢኣ፡ ጎቤሁ፡ P55 E7584 (ac) ወኣቦየት፡ ወኢገብኣት፡ ጎቤየ፡ B3067 | **ወኢገብኣት፡** ... **ይሁዳ፡]** ወኢነሰሐት፡ ወዐቦየት፡ ገቢኣ፡ ጎቤየ፡ ወርእየት፡ እከያ፡ ወዕልውታ፡ ወምርዓታ፡ እሕታ፡ እንተ፡ ትነብር(ብረት፡ B42)፡ ምርዕተ፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወኢያፍቀረታ፡ ለእሕታ፡ ዘትነብር፡ ይሁዳ፡ ወርኩሰት፡ ምድር፡ በእንቲኣሃ፡ እስመ(እንተ፡ P195)፡ ኃዳሪተ፡ እስራኤል(ይስራኤል፡ P195)፡ ዘመውት፡ B42 C1570 | **ወኣርኣየት፡]** ወርእየት፡ IM(-B3067) AR2 AR2-sub ወኣርኣየት፡ E8644 | **ምርዓታ፡ በምርዓተ፡]** እጎታ፡ ምርዕተ፡ E2080 L2499 P35 P6 E6686 G106 L489 L492 L504 E6285 E6287 E6706 **እጎታ፡ ምርዕት፡** F11 (pc) L496 B986 L484 E3439 E5589 | **በምርዓተ፡]** መርዓተ፡ E8644 B3067 P55 M54 E7584 **8 ወርኢኩ፡]** ወርእየት፡ F11 – AR2 AR2-sub ወርኢኩ፡ P195 | **ከመ፡]** – E8671 | **መሐዛኒሃ፡]** ማኅዛኒሃ፡ E2082 E8644 E8671 መኅዛኒሃ፡ M54 E2080 P6 L489 L492 L504 መኅዛኒሃ፡ L484 መዓዘኒሃ፡ P195 ማሐዛኒሃ፡ B986 | **ሀገረ፡]** ወርኢኩ፡ ከመ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎ፡ ምንትኒ፡ ዘመውት፡ ዕሉተ፡ E2080 (mg) AR2 (mg L504) **ዕሉት፡** F11 (pc) + ወርኢኩ፡ ከመ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎ፡ ምንትኒ፡ ዘመውት፡ F11 (mg) E6287 ወርኢኩ፡ ከመ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘመውት፡ ዕሉተ፡ AR2-sub (-E6287) ወርኢኩ፡ ከመ፡ ላዕለ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘመውት፡ E6287 | **ወሰደድከዋ፡]** ወደኃርከዋ፡ B42 C1570 pr. ወደኃድከዋ፡ P195

ዕፀው፡] **ዕፀው፡** I722 E2080 | **በህየ፡]** በሂየ፡ P55 E7584 **7 ወእቤላ፡]** pr. ከፍል፡ ፳፩፡ C1570 **እምድጎረ፡]** እምድጎረ፡ E7584 | **ገብረት፡]** ገበርኪ^{ብርት}፡ F11 **8 ኩሎሙ፡]** ኩሎ፡ E2082 – P6 | **እስራኤል፡]** ይስራኤል፡ P55 E7584 L2499 B42 – E6287 P195 **፳፩፡** L496 G106 **ወሰደድከዋ፡ ወወሀብከዋ፡]** ወሰደድከዋ፡ ወወሀብከዋ፡ L489 | **ወወሀብከዋ፡]** – E2082 E3439 **ጎድጋዜሃ፡]** ሕዳጋዜሃ፡ E2082 L2499 B42 ሕዳጋዜሁ፡ E8644

እደዊሃ ፡ ወኢኅፍረት ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ወሐረት ፡ ወዘመወት ፡ 9 ወከንቶ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ዝሙታ ፡ ወዘመወት ፡ በዕፀው ፡ ወበእብን ፡ 10 ወምስለ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ኢተመይጠት ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ጎሥረት ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ልባ ፡ ዳእሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሐሰት ፡ 11 ወይቤለኒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አጽደቀት ፡ ነፍሳ ፡ ዕሉተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ እምነ ፡ ጎሥርተ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ 12 ሐር ፡ አንብብ ፡ ዘንገረ ፡ ለመንገለ ፡ መስዕ ፡ ወበል ፡ ተመየጢ ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወኢያጽንዕ ፡ ገጽየ ፡ ላዕሌክሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ መሐሪ ፡ አነ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወኢይትመዐዐክሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ 13 ዳእሙ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 P195)

እደዊሃ ፡] እዴሃ ፡ IM (-B3067) AR2 AR2-sub AR1 | ወኢኅፍረት ፡] + ጎስርተ ፡ E8644 E7584 E2080 L496 E6686 G106 P195 + ጎስርት ፡ E5589 + ኃስረት ፡ E2082 P55 + ወጎስረት ፡ E8671 ወሐፍረት ፡ ወሐስረት ፡ B3067 M54 ወኢኃፈረት ፡ ጎስርት ፡ L2499 P35 P6 L484 L489 L492 L504 AR2-sub (-E558 9) B42 ወኢኃፈረት ፡ ጎስርተ ፡ F11 B986 | ይሁዳ ፡] + እጎታ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub + ወኢያፍቀረታ ፡ ለዘማ ፡ እሕታ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትነብር ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ AR1 | ወሐረት ፡] - E8644 M54 ሐረት ፡ B986 E5589 E6285 + ይእቲ ፡ B42 P195 + ይእቲኒ ፡ C1570 9 ወከንቶ ፡ ኮነ ፡] ወበዝኃ ፡ AR1 | ወበእብን ፡] ወበአእባን ፡ G183 (?) I722 B3067 L489 ወበአእባን ፡ ወከንቶ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ዝሙታ ፡ AR1 10 ወምስለ ፡] ምስለ ፡ E2082 E8644 B3067 P55 E7584 E3439 E6706 | ኢተመይጠት ፡] ወ' ፡ E8671 | ጎሥረት ፡] ጎስርት ፡ AR2 (-B986) AR2-sub ጎስርተ ፡ F11 E2080 B986 AR1 | ይሁዳ ፡] + እጎታ ፡ F11 + እጎታ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub | ልባ ፡] + እሕታ ፡ እንተ ፡ ትነብር ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ AR1 | ዳእሙ ፡] ወዳእሙ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 F11 AR2 (-L496 B986) ወዳእሙ ፡ L496 ወዳእሙ ፡ ኢነስሐት ፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ AR1 | ሐሰት ፡] + ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ AR2 (-E6686 G106) AR2-sub + ይቤ ፡ እግዚእ E6686 G106 + በሐሰት ፡ ነስሐት ፡ B42 C1570 + በሐሰት ፡ ወኢነስሐት ፡ P195 11 ወይቤለኒ ፡] ይቤለኒ ፡ E2080 ወካዕበ ፡ ይቤለኒ ፡ B42 C1570 ወካዕበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ P195 | አጽደቀት ፡] ናሁ ፡ አጽደቀት ፡ ጎስርተ (ጎድርተ B42 (pc)) ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ወይስራኤል ፡ B42 C1570 ናሁ ፡ አጽደቀት ፡ ጎስርተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ P195 አጽደቀት ፡ ነፍሳ ፡] አጽደቀታ ፡ ለነፍሳ ፡ E6686 G106 | ዕሉተ ፡] ዕልው ፡ I722 ዕሉት ፡ E2082 P6 L489 እሎተ ፡ F11 (pc) ፈድፋድ ፡ ዕልውት ፡ ጎድርተ ፡ B42 C1570 ፈድፋድ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ጎሥርተ ፡ P195 | እስራኤል ፡] ይሁዳ ፡ AR1 | እምነ ፡] + እሕታ ፡ ዘማ ፡ AR1 | ጎሥርተ ፡] ጎስርተት ፡ F11 ጎስርት ፡ AR2 AR2-sub (-E6706) 12 ሐር ፡ አንብብ ፡] ወሐር ፡ ወአንብብ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 C1570 ወሐር ፡ ወአንብብ ፡ AR2 (-L496 B986) P195 ሐር ፡ ወአንብብ ፡ L496 B986 ሐር ፡ ወአንብብ ፡ AR2-sub + ወአስምዕ ፡ AR1 | መስዕ ፡] ሰሜን ፡ AR2 AR2-sub | ተመየጢ ፡] ንስሒ ፡ ወተመየጢ ፡ AR1 | ሀገረ ፡] ዕሉተ ፡ F11 (pc) AR2 AR2-sub ዕሉት ፡ P6 | ላዕሌክሙ ፡] ላዕሌኪ ፡ B42 | አነ ፡] ወኢያጽንዕ ፡ ኩነኒኪ ፡ B42 ወኢያጽንዕ ፡ ኩነኒክሙ ፡ C1570 ወኢያጽንዕ ፡ ኩነኒየ ፡ P195 ወኢይትመዐዐክሙ ፡] ወኢይትመዐዐክሙ ፡ B3067 ወኢይትመዐዐክሙ ፡ E2082 L2499 ወኢይትመዐዐክሙ ፡] ሙ ፡ L484 ወኢእትመዐዐክሙ ፡ B986 E5589 ወኢይትመዐዐክሙ ፡ እንከ ፡ B42 ወኢይትመዐዐክሙ ፡ እንከ ፡ C1570 + እንከ ፡ P195

ወዘመወት ፡] ወዘወት ፡ E8644 ወዘመት ፡ P6 9 ወከንቶ ፡] ወከንቱ ፡ L484 ወኮነቶ ፡ E5589 | ኮነ ፡] ኮነት ፡ P55 E7584 | ወዘመወት ፡ በዕፀው ፡] ወዕፀው ፡ E8644 | በዕፀው ፡] በዕፅ ፡ E2082 10 ኩሉ ፡] - E7584 11 ወይቤለኒ ፡] pr. I G63 (mg) pr. ከፍል ፡ ፳ወ፪ ፡ C1570 | አጽደቀት ፡] ነፈቀት ፡ M54 አጽደት ፡ L492 | እስራኤል ፡] ይስራኤል ፡ F11 ፳ኤል ፡ B986 E5589 12 ዘንገረ ፡] ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ E6686 ዘንብረ ፡ L504 | ለመንገለ ፡] መንገለ ፡ P35 | እስራኤል ፡] ይስራኤል ፡ B42 P195 ፳ኤል ፡ B986 E5589 | ወኢያጽንዕ ፡] ኢያጽንዕ ፡ M54 | እስከ ፡] እስመ ፡ E2082

አእምሮ ፡ ዓመዓኪ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዐለውኪ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክኪ ። ወዘረውኪ ፡ ፍናዊኪ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ነኪር ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዕፀው ፡ አዕዋም ፡ ወኢሰማዕኪ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ። 14 ተመየጡ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ዓላውያን ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ እስመ ፡ አነ ፡ እቀንዩክሙ ፡ ወአነሥአክሙ ፡ ጀእምሀገሮ ፡ ወካልኡ ፡ እምብሔሮ ። ወእወስደክሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ 15 ወእሁብክሙ ፡ ኖሎተ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ልብየ ፡ ወይሬዕዩክሙ ፡ በጥበብ ። 16 ወእምዝ ፡ አመ ፡ በዛኅክሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ይእተ ፡

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 P195) 14 ተመየጡ ፡] *resumit ab 1:14* [E1768

13 ዓመዓኪ ፡] + ወተዘከሪ ፡ ኃግውአኪ ፡ B42 + ወተዘከሪ ፡ ኃግውአኪ ፡ C1570 | ዐለውኪ ፡] ዐለውኪዮ ፡ E8671 ዐለውኪ ፡ ይቤ ፡ F11 E2080 E3439 ዐሎኪ ፡ ይቤ ፡ M54 ዐሎኪ ፡ ይቤ ፡ P55 E7584 P35 – E2082 ዐሎኪ ፡ ይቤ ፡ AR2 (-P35) AR2-sub (-E3439) ዐለውኪ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክኪ ። ከመ ፡ አንቲስ ፡ አበስኪ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ AR1 | ወዘረውኪ ፡] ወዘረኪ ፡ B3067 P55 M54 E7584 F11 | ፍናዊኪ ፡] ፍናውኪ ፡ B3067 L496 P6 G106 P195 ፍናወኪ ፡ F11 E6686 L484 E5589 E6287 E6706 B42 + ወወለጥኪ ፡ AR1 | ነኪር ፡] ነኪራን ፡ AR2 AR2-sub + ዘይከውን ፡ L489 + ዘይከውን ፡ L492 | ታሕተ ፡] ወ' ፡ E8644 P55 M54 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub B42 + ም F11 በታሕተ ፡ C1570 P195 | ዕፀው ፡] ዕፀው ፡ አም ፡ M54 ዕፀው ፡ E2082 P55 E7584 F11 AR2 (-P35 E6686) AR2-sub (-E6287) AR1 ዕፀ ፡ E8671 | አዕዋም ፡] ወ' ፡ E2080 P35 C1570 ማዕዋም E6686 E6287 አም ፡ F11 አእዋመ ፡ B3067 + ዘገዳም ፡ B42 C1570 | ወኢሰማዕኪ ፡] ወኢሰማዕ ፡ C1570 P195 14 ተመየጡ ፡] ነስሐ ፡ ወተመየጡ ፡ ኀቤየ ፡ B42 ነስሐ ፡ ወተመየጡ ፡ C1570 P195 | ተመየጡ ፡ ... እግዚአብሔር ፡] – E8644 (h.t.) | ደቂቀ ፡] ደቂቅ ፡ L2499 L496 AR2-sub | እስመ ፡] + እፍቀርኩክሙ ፡ AR1 | እቀንዩክሙ ፡] + ወአምጸእኩክሙ ፡ AR1 | ወአነሥአክሙ ፡] – I722 ወእነሥአክሙ ፡ M54 E1768 L2499 L496 P35 E6686 G106 B986 L484 B42 C1570 | ጀእምሀገሮ ፡] አሐደ ፡ እምሀገሮ ፡ E2080 ጀእምሀገር E2082 E1768 F11 L496 P35 P6 B986 L492 AR2-sub (-E5589) P195 አሐደ ፡ እምሀገር ፡ E8644 B3067 P55 M54 E8671 L2499 E6686 G106 L484 L489 L504 B42 አሐደ ፡ እምሀገር ፡ E7584 ጀደ ፡ እምነ ፡ ሀገር ፡ E5589 + ወአምዒዋዊ ፡ AR1 | ወካልኡ ፡] G183 I722 ወካልኡቱ ፡ G63 B3067 ወካልኡት ፡ E8644 P55 M54 E7584 E8671 E2080 L2499 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 B42 C1570 ወጀ ፡ E2082 E1768 F11 L496 P35 P6 E3439 E6287 E6706 ወጀት ፡ E5589 E6285 ካልእ ፡ P195 – L492 L504 | እምብሔሮ ፡] እምብሔር ። E2082 B3067 P55 M54 E1768 F11 L2499 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 E6285 E6287 B42 P195 እምነ ፡ ብሔር ። L496 E3439 E5589 E6706 እምብሔረ ። E7584 ወእምብሔር ፡ ጀ L492 ወእምብሔር ፡ ክልኤት ፡ L504 + ወአመጽአክሙ ፡ AR1 15 ኖሎተ ፡] ወ' ፡ E8671 | ወይሬዕዩክሙ ፡] ወይርዕዩክሙ ፡ IM (-E8671) AR2 (-L496 G106) AR2-sub ወኤርእዩክሙ ፡ E2082 ወይርእዩክሙ ፡ L489 ዘይርዕዩክሙ ፡ B42 ወዩርእዩ ፡ C1570 ወይርእዩክሙ ፡ P195 | በጥበብ ፡] በጥበብ ፡ P55 M54 + ወአእምሮ ። AR2 (-L484) AR2-sub + ወበአእምሮ ። L484 B42 C1570 + ወአእምሮ ። P195 16 አመ ፡ በዛኅክሙ ፡] አብዛኅክሙ ፡ E8671 P195 | ውስተ ፡] እምውስተ ፡ L492 L504 በውስተ ፡ P195 | ይእተ ፡] ውእተ ፡ IM (-B3067) AR2 AR2-sub (-E6287) pr. በውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ AR1

13 እግዚአብሔር ፡] እግዚ ፡ B986 | አምላክኪ ።] – E5589 | ወኢሰማዕኪ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ይቤ ፡] ወሰማዕኪ ፡ ቃለ ፡ M54 14 ተመየጡ ፡] ወተመየጡ ፡ B3067 | ዓላውያን ፡] ዓላዊያን ፡ G63 G183 P55 M54 E7584 E8671 E2080 L2499 P35 B986 L489 | እስመ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ጽወፒ ፡ C1570 | አነ ፡] ወአነ ፡ P195 | እምብሔሮ ፡] እብሔሮ ፡ I722 (?) 16 ወእምዝ ፡] pr. ከፍል ፡ ጽወፒ ፡ C1570

አሚረ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ኢይብሉ ፡ እንከ ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ሥርዓቱ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወኢይሔልይዋ ፡ በልብ ፡ ወኢይሰምይዋ ፡ ወኢየጎሥሥዋ ፡ ወኢይገብርዋ ፡ እንከ ፡ ውእት ፡ አሚረ ፡ 17 ወበውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይሰምይዋ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ መንበረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይትጋብኡ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወኢይተልወ ፡ እንከ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ እኩየ ፡ 18 በውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይመጽኡ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ሳዕለ ፡ ቤተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወይመጽኡ ፡ እምብሔረ ፡ ደቡብ ፡ ወእምኩሉ ፡ በሐውርት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ እንተ ፡ ወሀብክምሙ ፡ ለአበዊክሙ ፡ 19

ER (G63 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM (B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2 (L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub (E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1 (B42 C1570 P195) 16 ወኢይሔልይዋ ፡] resunit ab 1:16 [G133

ኢይብሉ ፡] ወኢይብሉ ፡ P55 E1768 L2499 P35 P6 E6686 G106 L484 L489 L492 ወእይበሉ ፡ M54 ኢትዜክሩ ፡ ታቦተ ፡ ኪዳን ፡ ወኢትብሉ ፡ AR1 | እንከ ፡^{1]} + ነያ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub C1570 P195 + ነየ ፡ B42 | ሥርዓቱ ፡] + ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 AR2 AR2-sub | ለቅዱስ ፡] ቅዱስ ፡ L496 P6 E6686 L492 L504 AR2-sub (-E6285) ለቅዱስ ፡ E6285 ወኢይሔልይዋ ፡] ወኢይሔልዋ ፡ E7584 E1768 ኢይሔልይዋ ፡ E8644 B3067 E8671 ኢይሄይልዋ ፡ E2082 ወኢትብሉ ፡ አይቱ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ ኢትሔልይዋ ፡ AR1 | በልብ ፡ ወኢይሰምይዋ ፡] በልቦሙ ፡ ወኢይሰምይዋ ፡ በአፋሆሙ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub በአልባቢክሙ ፡ ወኢትሰምይዋ ፡ በአፋክሙ ፡ ወኢትዜክርዎ ፡ ወኢትሔውጽዎ ፡ AR1 | ወኢይሰምይዋ ፡] – E8671 | ወኢየጎሥሥዋ ፡] ወኢየጎሥሥዋ ፡ E1768 E6706 ወኢየጎሥሥዎ ፡ P6 ወኢተጎሥሥዎ ፡ AR1 | ወኢይገብርዋ ፡] – P55 M54 E7584 E1768 AR2 AR2-sub AR1 | ውእት ፡] ይእት ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 AR2 AR2-sub (-E6285) AR1 ወውእት ፡ E8644 17 ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡] – G183 I722 ወይትጋብኡ ፡] + ኩሉ ፡ F11 E8671 E2080 AR2 (-P35 L484) AR2-sub + ኩሎሙ ፡ L484 AR1 አሕዛብ ፡] + በስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ F11 (mg) AR2 (-E6686 G106) AR2-sub + በስመ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ E6686 G106 | ወኢይተልወ ፡] ወኢይተልወ ፡ G63 ወይተልወ ፡ M54 E7584 E8671 ወኢይተልወ ፡ E8644 B3067 ወይተልወ ፡ E2082 ወይተሉ ፡ E2080 ኢ E2080 (mg) ወኢይተሉ ፡ F11 AR2 AR2-sub ወይሴፊው ፡ ስመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይተልወ ፡ AR1 18 በውእቱ ፡] ወበውእቱ ፡ G63 IM (-B3067) AR2 (-P6) AR2-sub AR1 | ይመጽኡ ፡] ይመጽኡ ፡ E8644 | ሳዕለ ፡] ምስለ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub ወ F11 | እስራኤል ፡] + ወይሐውሩ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ይሁዳ ፡ ወደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ጎቡረ ፡ AR1 ወይመጽኡ ፡] + ጎቡረ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub | ደቡብ ፡] ሰሜን ፡ F11 AR2 AR2-sub + ወእምድረ ፡ ሰሜን ፡ AR1 | በሐውርት ፡] + ወእወስዶሙ ፡ B42 | እንተ ፡] + ውስተ ፡ E8671 | ወሀብክምሙ ፡] ወሀብክም ፡ IM (-B3067) AR2 AR2-sub B42 C1570 ወረሱ ፡ ወወሀብክም ፡ P195 | ለአበዊክሙ ፡] ለአበዊክም ፡ M54 F11 L2499 P35 P6 L484 L492 L504 AR1

እስራኤል ፡] ይስራኤል ፡ P55 E7584 E1768 P195 እግዚአብሔር ፡ P6 17 ወበውእቱ ፡] በውእቱ ፡ P6 pr. ከፍል ፡ ጽወጅ ፡ C1570 | ይሰምይዋ ፡] ይቤልዋ ፡ P195 18 እስራኤል ፡] ይስራኤል ፡ P55 M54 E1768 F11 እግዚአብሔር ፡ E8644 ጽኤል ፡ B986 E5589 | በሐውርት ፡] በሐውርተ ፡ E2082 ምድር ፡] + እስከ ፡ P195

ወአነሂ ፡ እቤ ፡ ይኩን ፡ እግዚአ ፡ እስመ ፡ አዘዝኩከ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ውሉዶሙ ፡ እሁበከ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ጎሪተ ፡ ርስተ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘኩሎ ፡ ይመልክ ፡ ዘአሕዛብ ፡ ወእመሰ ፡ እንቢየ ፡ ትቤለኒ ፡ ወኢትትመየጥ ፡ እምነየ ፡ 20 ወባሕቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተዐልዎ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ ለምታ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ክሕዱኒ ፡ ቤተ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ 21 ቃለ ፡ አእላፍ ፡ ተሰምዐ ፡ ብካየ ፡ ወገዓሮሙ ፡ ለደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ እስመ ፡ ዐመፀ ፡ በፍናዊሆሙ ፡ ወረሰዕዎ ፡ ለአምላኩሙ ፡ ወቅዱሶሙ ፡ 22 ተመየጡ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ዓላዊያን ፡ ወእፌውሰክሙ ፡ ቊስልክሙ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ ንከውነክ ፡ አግብርቲክ ፡

ER(G63 G133 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM(B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2(L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub(E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1(B42 C1570 P195) 19 ውሉዶሙ ፡] *resumit ab 3:1* [ED26

19 ወአነሂ ፡] አነሂ ፡ L496 B986 AR2-sub ወአነ ፡ P6 | እቤ ፡] ይቤ ፡ E8644 E3439 + ይቤ ፡ B3067 እፌሰየክ ፡ ወልድየ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ B42 C1570 + እፌሰየክሙ ፡ ወልድየ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ P195 | ይኩን ፡] + እቤ ፡ F11 | እግዚአ ፡] እግዚአብሔር ፡ B42 | አዘዝኩከ ፡] አዘዝከ ፡ M54 E1768 F11 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub B42 C1570 አዘዝኩከ ፡ E7584 አዘዝኩ ፡ P55 E8671 | እሁበከ ፡] እሁበክሙ ፡ E2080 L496 L489 AR2-sub እሁበክሙ ፡ L2499 P6 B986 L484 ወእሁበክሙ ፡ P55 E7584 ወትቤ ፡ እሁቦሙ ፡ F11 ወእሁበከ ፡ AR1(-B42) | ምድረ ፡] – E1768 | ርስተ ፡] – P195 + ሊቀውንተ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ እንተ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ርስተ ፡ AR1 | ይመልክ ፡] – E8671 | ዘአሕዛብ ፡] አሕዛብ ፡ G63 ወእቤ(ወይቤ ፡ P195) ፡ ትጼውውኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ አብ ፡ AR1 | ወእመሰ ፡] እመሰ ፡ L2499(pc) L496 B986 L492 E3439 E5589 E6285 | እንቢየ ፡] I722 እንብየ ፡ ER(-I722) B3067(ac) P55 E1768 AR1(-P195) እንብየ ፡ M54 እብየ E7584 አብየ ፡ F11(pc) E8671 E2080 AR2 AR2-sub(-E3439) + እንብየ ፡ P35 አብነ ፡ E3439 እንብይነ ፡ P195 | ትቤለኒ ፡] ትብሉኒ ፡ E8644 E3439 ትቤለኒ ፡ P35 P195 ትብሉኒ ፡ F11 ትብሉኒ ፡ AR2-sub(-E3439) | ወኢትትመየጥ ፡] ወኢትትመየጡ ፡ E8644 P35 AR1 ወትትመየጡ ፡ E3439 ወኢትመየጥ ፡ M54 ወኢትትመየጡ ፡ E2082 B3067 | እምነየ ፡] ጎቤየ E8644 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11(pc) AR2(-L504) AR2-sub AR1(-C1570) + እምአምልኮትክሙ ፡ AR1(-P195) + እምልኮትየ ፡ P195 እምነ[የ] ፡ L489(mg) 20 ከመ ፡ ... ብእሲት ፡] አንትመሰ ፡ ከመ ፡ ብእሲት ፡ እንተ ፡ AR1 ክሕዱኒ ፡] ክሕድክሙኒ ፡ አደቂቀ ፡ AR1 21 ቃለ ፡ አእላፍ ፡] ቃለ ፡ በአእላፍ ፡ E7584 F11(pc) ቃለ ፡ በአእላፍ ፡ AR2(-E6686) AR2-sub ቃለ ፡ በፌማ ፡ በአእላፍ ፡ E6686 | ተሰምዐ ፡] + በፍናው ፡ AR1 | ወገዓሮሙ ፡] ገዓር ፡ ገዓሮሙ ፡ E1768 ገዓሮሙ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub | ዐመፀ ፡] ወለጡ ፡ ወዐመፀ ፡ B42 C1570 ዐለዉ ፡ ወዐመፀ ፡ ED26 P195 | በፍናዊሆሙ ፡] በፍናዊሆሙ ፡ I722 በፍዊሆሙ ፡ M54 በፍኖቶሙ ፡ E8644 | ለአምላኩሙ ፡] ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላኩሙ ፡ AR1 ወቅዱሶሙ ፡] ቅዱስ ፡ E8671 22 ዓላዊያን ፡] ዐላዊያን ፡ M54 ዓላዊያን ፡ E2082 AR2(-L2499 P35) AR2-sub P195 | ቊስልክሙ ፡] G183 I722 ቊስልክሙ ፡ G63 G133(?) E2082 E8644 IM AR2 AR2-sub + ወእትዊክፍ ፡ (ወእትወክፍ ፡ B42) ንስሐክሙ ፡ ወይቤሉ ፡ AR1(-P195) + ወእፌውሰክሙ ፡ ወይቤሉ ፡ P195 + ወይቤሉ ፡ P35 | ንከውነክ ፡] ንከውነ ፡ E1768 ንከውን ፡ P55 M54 E7584 AR2 AR2-sub(-E3439) – E3439

19 እግዚአ ፡ ... ላዕለ ፡] – P195 | ውሉዶሙ ፡] ውሉዶ ፡ E2082 | ጎሪተ ፡] ጎሪት ፡ E2082 ጎርት ፡ P195 | ርስተ ፡] ወርስተ ፡ P55 E7584 | ዘአሕዛብ ፡] አሕዛብ ፡ M54 | ትቤለኒ ፡ ... እምነየ ፡] – L504 20 ወባሕቱ ፡] ባሕቱ ፡ P6 | እስራኤል ፡] ይስራኤል ፡ P55 E7584 E1768 F11 B42 21 ቃለ ፡] pr. ፲፩ G63(mg) G133(mg) pr. ከፍል ፡ ፳ወ፩ ፡ C1570 pr. ፭ ED26 | ብካየ ፡] ብካይ ፡ E2082 B3067 ለደቂቀ ፡ እስራኤል ፡] ለእስራኤል ፡ P35 | እስራኤል ፡] ይስራኤል ፡ E1768 F11 P195 ይዝራኤል ፡ B42 | ዐመፀ ፡] ዐመፃ ፡ E2082 B3067 ዐመፀኒ ፡ E6285 | ወቅዱሶሙ ፡] ወለቅዱሶሙ ፡ M54 ቅዱሶሙ ፡ E2082 B3067 ቅዱስ ፡ E8644 22 ንሕነ ፡] – P195

እስመ ፡ አንተ ፡ አምላክነ ። 23 ወአማን ፡ ሐሰት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አውግሪነ ፡ ወኃይለ ፡ አድባሪነ ፡ ወዳእሙ ፡ እምነበ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክነ ፡ መድኃኒተ ፡ እስራኤል ። 24 ወኃፍረቶሙ ፡ ኀልቀት ፡ ተግባሮሙ ፡ ለአበዊነ ፡ ዘእምንእሶሙ ፡ አባግዲሆሙ ፡ ወአልህምቲሆሙ ፡ ወአዋልዲሆሙ ፡ ወደቂቆሙሂ ። 25 ወኖምነ ፡ በኃፍረት ፡ ወከደነ ፡ ኃሣርነ ፡ እስመ ፡ አበሰነ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ንሕነሂ ፡ ወአበዊነሂ ፡ እምንእሰነ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዝዕለት ፡ ወኢሰማዕነ ፡ ቀለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክነ ።

ER(G63 G133 G183 I722 E2082 E8644) IM(B3067 P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 E8671 E2080) AR2(L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 G106 B986 L484 L489 L492 L504) AR2-sub(E3439 E5589 E6285 E6287 E6706) AR1(B42 C1570 ED26 P195) 25 *mss collati usque huc* AR2-sub]AR1]

እስመ ፡ ... አምላክነ ።] ወአንተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወአምላክነ ። AR1 | አንተ ፡] – E2080 | አምላክነ ።] + መሐረነ ፡ AR2-sub(-E6285) + መሐረነ ፡ E6285 23 ወአማን ፡] አማን ፡ E8644 E8671 E3439 ወአማን ፡ ... አድባሪነ ፡] – P195 | አውግሪነ ፡ ወኃይለ ፡ አድባሪነ ፡] አመ ፡ ነገርነ ፡ E8671 አድባሪነ ፡] + ወእምልኮትነ ፡ ለጣዖት ፡ በመልዕልተ ፡ አድባር ፡ ዘከንቱ ፡ B42 C1570 + ወእምልኮትነ ፡ ዘጣዖት ፡ ዘመልዕልተ ፡ አድባር ፡ ዘከንቱ ። ED26 P195 | ወዳእሙ ፡] ወዳእሙ ፡ B986 ዳእሙ ፡ L496 AR2-sub(-E6285) | እስራኤል ።] ይስራኤል ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 L2499 L496 P35 P6 E6686 L484 B42 P195 + ወኮነ ፡ አበዊነ ፡ ለከንቱ ፡ አኅለቆሙ ፡ AR1(-C1570) + ወኮነ ፡ አበዊነ ፡ ለከንቱ ። ወከንቱ ፡ አኅለቆሙ ፡ C1570 24 ኀልቀት ፡] ኀልቃት ፡ I722 አኅለቀት ፡ IM(-B3067) AR2 AR2-sub አኅለቀ ፡ ወአዋፍአ ፡ AR1 | ዘእምንእሶሙ ፡] እምንእሶሙ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 AR2 AR2-sub ዘእመ ፡ ንእሶሙ ፡ E8671 ዘእምንእሶሙ ፡ F11 | አባግዲሆሙ ፡] አባግዲሆሙሂ ፡ B42 ወአባግዲሆሙ ፡ AR1(-B42) | ወአዋልዲሆሙ ፡] ወአዋልዲሆሙሂ ፡ E8671 E2080 አዋልዲሆሙ ፡ B986 – AR1 | ወደቂቆሙሂ ።] ወደቂቆሙሂ ፡ F11 E8671 ወደቂቆሙ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 F11 AR2 AR2-sub ወቀተለ ፡ ደቂቆሙ ፡ ወአዋልዲሆሙ ፡ AR1 25 በኃፍረት ፡] G183 I722 በኀፍረትነ ፡ G63 G133 E2082 E8644 B3067 M54 F11 E8671 AR2 AR2-sub AR1(-C1570) በኀፍረትነ ፡ E2080 በኀፍረትነ ፡ P55 E7584 E1768 + እምኃሳሮሙ ፡ AR1 | ወከደነ ፡] + ኀፍረትነ ፡ E8644 L492 አበሰነ ፡] አበድነ ፡ ወአበሰነ ፡ AR1 | ቅድመ ፡] በቅድመ ፡ AR1 | እግዚአብሔር ፡¹] + አምላክነ ፡ AR2 AR2-sub + እግዚእነ ፡ AR1 | ንሕነሂ ፡] ንሕነ ፡ P55 M54 E7584 E1768 AR2(-L489 L492; pc L2499) AR2-sub ወንሕነሂ ፡ E2082 B3067 | ወአበዊነሂ ፡] ወአበዊነሂ ፡ M54 አበዊነሂ ፡ E6686 G106 ወአበዊነ ፡ E3439 – E8671 | ዝዕለት ፡] ዕለት ፡ M54 E8671 ዝዕለት ፡ E8644 P55 E7584 F11 L2499 L496 P35 E6686 G106 L484 L492 L504 E3439 E6287 E6706 ዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ P6 B986 L489 E5589 E6285 AR1 | ወኢሰማዕነ ፡ ... አምላክነ ።] ወኢተቀነይነ(ወኢተቀነይነ B42) ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ አምላክነ ፡ ወኢሰማዕነ ፡ ቃሎ ። AR1 | ቀለ ፡] ቃለ ፡ E2082 IM(-E2080) AR2 AR2-sub

አምላክነ ።] ምላክነ ። G63 23 መድኃኒተ ፡] መመድኃኒተ ፡ E2082 24 ተግባሮሙ ፡] ነፍሶሙ ፡ M54 | ወአልህምቲሆሙ ፡] ወአልህቲሆሙሂ ፡ E8644 25 ኃሣርነ ፡] ወኃሣርነ ፡ L492 አምላክነ ።] – P6 + ምዕራፍ ፡ ፩ L489 L504

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Editions of Ethiopic Biblical Texts and Their Apparatuses: Experiences and Lessons from Ezekiel

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In a message to me concerning the programme for the project-workshop on the new critical edition of the Ethiopic Jeremiah Cycle, Stefan Weninger posed two questions that were being considered in preparation for the edition: whether it was advisable to produce one critical text, or whether it was better to produce parallel texts for different stages of revision (as in Rochus Zuurmond's Matthew);¹ and, related to this, whether one apparatus or several apparatuses would be better. He asked me if I would respond to these questions in the light of my experience with my edition of Ezekiel,² and what follows is an attempt to do this.

Scholarly editions of the books of the Ethiopic Bible are likely to be used for a variety of purposes in addition to the basic task of making a reliable text of the work available: in the textual criticism of the Greek Bible, in the study of the history of the Ethiopic version, in manuscript studies, and in the study of philological and grammatical issues, and a fundamental question for any planned edition is to determine the extent to which the edition is meant to provide for these different purposes. The answer to this question will inevitably have an effect on the kind of text that is provided, on the need or not for parallel texts, on the question of one or several apparatuses, and on the nature of the orthographic information that is provided.

The Ethiopic translation of the Old Testament does not exist in isolation, and editions of the books of the Ethiopic version ought to be considered in the light of the editions of related versions, and particularly the Septuagint, of which the Ethiopic is a daughter version, and the *Peshitta*. For each of them there exists a long-standing project to produce editions of all the books of the Old Testament according to a standard set of rules, but their approaches are very different. The overall aim of the *Peshitta* project, as set out by the general editor in the preface to the series, is 'to present as clearly and completely as possible within reasonable limits of space a text with variant readings from the best selection of manu-

1 Zuurmond 2001.

2 Knibb 2015.

scripts'.³ It was argued that, because of the number and relatively late date of the available manuscripts and the degree of variety of the variant readings, it was not possible to present a text that might be defined as the original *Peshitta*, and, because of this, it was decided to print as the text a manuscript from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Ambrosian Library), Ambrosiana B 21 inf. (for which the siglum 7a1 is used), from the sixth or seventh century. This was done for practical reasons on the basis that it was most suitable 'because of its age, completeness, clear hand and accessibility',⁴ but it was at the same time recognized that, notwithstanding its value, it could not 'be considered the most important witness in view of the problem of reconstructing the original *Peshitta* version.'⁵ The Ambrosian manuscript is printed as it stands apart from the correction of obvious scribal errors and the inclusion of a small number of emendations, and in these cases the original reading is given in an upper apparatus. The lower apparatus, of limited size, contains variant readings from manuscripts dating from the twelfth century and earlier on the basis that variants attested only by later manuscripts appear to be of limited value, and that a shorter apparatus would 'facilitate the use of the edition for exegesis and textual studies'.⁶ The volumes in the series now cover most of the Old Testament.

By contrast, the aim of the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint is to provide a critical text, a reconstruction of the original Greek text.⁷ It is based for each book on a collation of all known Septuagint manuscripts up to the time of Johannes Gutenberg. The variant readings of all the manuscripts, uncial and miniscule, and of the versions (including the Ethiopic) are given in the main apparatus, where they are organized into groups, families and recensions, while the fragmentary evidence of the later Jewish revisers is given in a second apparatus. Where the text exists in more than one distinct form, these are given in parallel, as for example in the Daniel volume, in which the Old Greek and the Theodotionic version are given on facing pages,⁸ and in the Tobit volume, in which the two main text-forms are printed one above the other and the third in the apparatus to the second.⁹ As is to be expected in a critical edition of this

3 De Boer 1977, v.

4 Ibid., vii.

5 Ibid., viii.

6 Ibid., vi–vii.

7 For the history of the Göttingen Septuagint and a discussion of the principles on which it is based, see Wevers 1975 and the essays by Olivier Munnich, Detlef Fraenkel, and Peter J. Gentry in the volume Kratz and Neuschäfer 2013.

8 Munnich 1999.

9 See Hanhart 1983, 31–36; cf. Munnich 2013, 34: 'Angesichts der äusserst komplexen Textgeschichte des Buches *Tobit* hebt der Editor die Notwendigkeit hervor, alle drei Text-

nature, the orthography is normalized, but the orthography of the manuscripts themselves is treated in a succinct fashion in the introductions to the volumes. A preliminary edition of the Septuagint text of the Psalms was published by Alfred Rahlfs in 1931,¹⁰ and since then some twenty volumes have been published in the series.

A comparison of the Leiden edition of the *Peshitta* and the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint highlights a number of issues that are important in the editing of Ethiopic texts. Perhaps most important is the choice between the use of a base text and the reconstruction of a critical text. The use in the Leiden edition of a relatively early manuscript as a base text—essentially the procedure adopted by Oscar Löfgren in his edition of the Ethiopic Daniel,¹¹ as well as by many others in the Ethiopic field—makes for clarity and certainty, but, if the edition is to be used in the textual criticism of the Greek Bible or in studies of the history of the text, it is necessary to have available a critical text, a reconstruction of the oldest accessible text.¹² Related to this is the question of the number of manuscripts that should be collated. The decision in the Leiden *Peshitta* to limit the number of variants recorded in the apparatus, and not to include variants from manuscripts dating from after the twelfth century, seems apparently sensible; it can be hard at times to follow and interpret the mass of evidence presented in the apparatus of the Göttingen edition. However, it is also clear that a sufficient number of manuscripts do need to be collated in order for it to be possible to use an edition to trace the history of a text or developments in orthography and language.¹³ The key thing is not the number of manuscripts that are collated, but the principles governing their selection and the clarity with which their evidence is presented in the apparatus.¹⁴ Questions of orthography, treated in the Göttingen edition in the introduction or an appendix, also inevitably impinge on the nature and extent of an apparatus. From an Ethiopic perspective it is also worth noting

formen separat zu drucken, ohne den Versuch zu unternehmen, sie auf eine gemeinsame Vorlage zurückführen.’

10 Rahlfs 1931.

11 Löfgren 1927, l–li.

12 Cf. Wevers 1975, 23 (in relation to the Septuagint): ‘What is now abundantly clear is that we can never return to those days of [H. B.] Swete when the text of Codex B was reprinted, errors and all, and manuscripts were collated to it. No NT scholar would dream of accepting such a text, and there is no good reason for Septuagint scholars to do so either.’

13 Fraenkel 2013 convincingly argues that the complexity of the apparatuses in the Göttingen Septuagint is needed in order to reflect properly the nature and complexity of the textual evidence and its interrelationship.

14 Cf. Munnich 2013, 38–43.

that it is taken for granted in the Göttingen edition that there may be a need for parallel texts.

The issues discussed above recur not surprisingly in the editing of the books of the Ethiopic translation of the Bible to which I now turn. Rather than attempt to respond to Weninger's questions only in the light of my experience with my edition of Ezekiel,¹⁵ it seemed to me—in the context of this project-workshop—worth taking account also of the other prophetic books and of the volume mentioned by Weninger, Zuurmond's edition of Matthew.¹⁶ It may be said at the outset that the question of whether parallel texts and separate apparatuses are needed depends partly on the nature of the textual evidence, on the extent of the differences between the different forms of the text, and partly on how the evidence can most effectively be presented.

In the Introduction to his edition of the Gospel of Matthew, Zuurmond stated that his purpose was 'to present the evidence of the essential manuscripts as fully as possible in a way as comprehensible as possible', but he also recognized the need to compromise in the achievement of this aim.¹⁷ The textual history of the Ethiopic version of Matthew is complex, and Zuurmond identified five groups of manuscripts (plus a large group of more recent manuscripts with the modern *textus receptus*) in the over two hundred and fifty manuscripts that he investigated.¹⁸ He argued that these five groups were representative of five different types of text: two early texts, the A-text and the B-text, both based on the Greek, the latter representing a thorough revision of the former; the C-text, which is contained in a large number of manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century and conflates readings from the A-text and the B-text; and the D-text and the E-text, which both probably came into existence during the seventeenth century, the former as a revision of the C-text in the light of (an) Arabic text(s) of the Gospels, the latter as a revision of the D-text to bring it more closely into line with the Arabic 'Alexandrian Vulgate'. To present this complexity in the light of his stated aim, Zuurmond provides critical editions of the A-text and the B-text on facing pages, and similarly for the D-text and the E-text, but gives only a few specimens of the C-text at the end. Each of the five texts is provided with its own apparatus, but the apparatus of the A-text, which represents the oldest accessible text, includes not only the variants attested by

15 Knibb 2015.

16 I have not included any discussion of the Book of Jeremiah, but see Knibb 2014, 505–507; Heide 2017. I have also not discussed the Book of Enoch except, briefly, in relation to the question of parallel texts; see below, p. 52.

17 Zuurmond 2001, 1. For what follows, see also Knibb 2002.

18 Zuurmond based the edition itself on a complete collation of twenty-seven manuscripts.

the A-group of manuscripts, but also those of the C-group and in addition those of the critically-edited B-, D-, and E-texts, but not of their individual representatives. The orthography in the edition, for both texts and apparatuses, has been adapted to August Dillmann's *Lexicon*,¹⁹ with some inevitable compromises, and orthographic variants of the more important manuscripts are covered in a series of appendices. The C-text again forms an exception in that in this case the text appears strictly as it occurs in EMMML 1832, which is dated to 1280/1281 and is the most primitive C-text available. In the apparatus to the C-text the orthography follows the earliest mentioned manuscript, and it seemed to me, incidentally, that this last practice was worth following more generally as a way of providing at least some additional orthographic information.

Zuurmond goes a considerable way to fulfilling his aim of presenting the evidence of the essential manuscripts as fully as possible and as clearly as possible, and he makes a convincing case for printing the different forms of the text in parallel and for providing each with its own apparatus.²⁰ Presenting the two pairs of texts on facing pages certainly makes the development between the A- and the B-text and between the D- and the E-text easy to observe. The A-text represents the oldest retrievable text, and the overall textual development is reflected in the apparatus to that text, while providing each of the other texts with its own apparatus helps to prevent the apparatus to the A-text becoming overloaded. It is certainly helpful to have the B-text given in full opposite the A-text because of its early date and historical importance—it was a representative of the B-text (BAV Vat.et.25) that was used for the *editio princeps*. Once the decision was made to give the A- and the B-text in parallel, it clearly made sense to do the same for the two texts that were revised against the Arabic, but it does seem a pity that Zuurmond did not think it was practical to provide also a critical edition of the C-text, and that he only gives specimens of this text, not least because, according to Zuurmond, the C-text was the dominant type of text from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century and was important in the textual history of the Ethiopic Matthew.²¹

The decision to provide a critical edition of the main text—the A-text—and to normalize the orthography of this text and its apparatus in accordance with Dillmann's *Lexicon* seems correct,²² but less obviously so the decision to do the same for the other texts and the apparatuses except in the case of the specimens

19 Dillmann 1865.

20 Zuurmond 2001, 3–4.

21 Ibid., 4–5.

22 Dillmann 1865.

of the C-text. But it will be necessary to come back to the question of orthography.

I turn briefly, in the context of discussion of the need or otherwise for parallel texts, to the Book of Enoch. Three editions of the Ethiopic text were published in the last century, by Johannes Flemming in 1902, by Robert H. Charles in 1906, and by me in 1978,²³ and all three presented a single Ethiopic text and apparatus. However, as all three editors noted, in BnF Abbadianus 55 the text is considerably abbreviated after Chapter 83.²⁴ In the dissertation on which my edition was based, I stated that, if the readings of BnF Abbadianus 55 from Chapter 83 onwards were to be incorporated into the Ethiopic apparatus proper, there was a serious risk that the apparatus would become confused and overloaded, and hence for Chapters 83–108 I gave the text of BnF Abbadianus 55 in full under the main Ethiopic apparatus.²⁵ However, I was strongly advised by Edward Ullendorff not to do this in the published version on the grounds that it was not appropriate to treat the evidence of BnF Abbadianus 55 in this way as if it were part of the apparatus. In the end, I ignored the evidence of BnF Abbadianus 55 for Chapters 83–108 except in one or two cases of special importance.²⁶

That is now past history, and since that time many new manuscript discoveries have been made, and it has become clear that the relationship between the manuscripts is more complex than it appeared in the 1960s and 1970s. That said, several factors now make me regret not giving the BnF Abbadianus 55 text of 1 Enoch 83–108 separately in the published version. First, I have become increasingly convinced that the abbreviation of the text of the final chapters of Enoch in BnF Abbadianus 55 should not be seen in isolation, but ought to be considered in the light of the abbreviation that occurs in some manuscripts of the Ethiopic Ezekiel and the Ethiopic Daniel, including BnF Abbadianus 55.²⁷ Secondly, it seems unlikely that the abbreviated text only occurs in BnF Abbadianus 55.²⁸ Finally, and perhaps most important, the abbreviated text of 1 Enoch 83–108 in BnF Abbadianus 55 could not properly be incorporated in the main Ethiopic

23 Flemming 1902; Charles 1906; and Knibb 1978. For the historical circumstances in which my edition was produced, and the editorial principles that were followed, see Knibb 2011, 224–225.

24 Flemming 1902, x, 114–115; Charles 1906, xx, xxiv; Knibb 1978, I, xii.

25 See Knibb 1974, 74.

26 See Knibb 1978, I, xii.

27 Knibb 2015, 6–7; Löfgren 1927, xxxix.

28 In Ezekiel BnF Abbadianus 55 is closely linked to EMM 1768 and the MS Aksum Ṣayon. I note that 1 Enoch 106:4b–10a is lacking in all three manuscripts; cf. Macomber 1979, 14. But the relationship requires further investigation.

apparatus, but deserved to be presented as a parallel text, as a stage in the development of the text.

Johannes Bachmann's edition of the Ethiopic text of Isaiah was published in 1893,²⁹ but the author's early death in 1894 meant that the promised second volume *Der äthiopische Text in seinem Verhältnis zur Septuaginta* never appeared. Bachmann used Berlin Petermann II, Nachtrag 42 as a base text, supplemented by another manuscript from Berlin (orient. quart. 283) and one from Frankfurt (Ms. orient. Rüpp. II, 4/Ms. or. 10),³⁰ and it is no surprise that there is only a single text and apparatus. He also refers to two 'especially important' manuscripts in Oxford (Brucianus = Bodleian MS. Bruce 74; Laurentianus = Bodleian MS. Huntington 626), for which he had to rely on collations made by David Samuel Margoliouth. The variants attested by the two manuscripts were meant to be included—and account taken of them in the reconstruction of the Greek—in the text-critical discussion in the second volume.³¹ Notwithstanding this, Bachmann states in the apparatus to Isaiah 40:14, 'Cum codex Berolinensis hic vehementer depravatus sit nec non in caeteris capitibus lacunam exhibeat maximam, codicem Oxoniensem Brucianum sequimur' ('Since the Berlin codex [Berlin Petermann II, Nachtrag 42] is here extremely corrupt and also in other chapters has a large lacuna, we have followed the Oxford Bruce codex [Bodleian MS. Bruce 74]').³² But in practice he was not able to make much use of the Oxford manuscripts in the published volume.³³

So far as the orthography is concerned, Bachmann comments that the spelling of the collated manuscripts, however incorrect it may often be, has been retained exactly as it is in the text-critical apparatus; and he adds in a footnote that he regards this as necessary for the further clarification of the orthography-question.³⁴ However, he appears to have normalized the orthography of the text itself according to Dillmann's *Lexicon*.³⁵

A number of features of Löfgren's edition of Daniel—the very full description of the manuscripts used, the analysis of the textual history, the use of parallel texts, and the textual commentary—have meant that it remains, some ninety

29 Bachmann 1893. For the Ethiopic Isaiah, cf. now Niccum 2017a.

30 Bachmann comments that the Frankfurt manuscript is rarely correct, and that it shows many omissions, particularly in the second part (Bachmann 1893, vii).

31 Bachmann 1893, vii–viii.

32 Bachmann 1893, 69 (translation by M. A. Knibb).

33 Many more manuscripts of the Ethiopic text of Isaiah are known to exist than the five mentioned by Bachmann; Curt Niccum refers to a survey of seventy-three manuscripts (Niccum 2017a, 677).

34 Bachmann 1893, v.

35 Dillmann 1865.

years after its publication, in some respects a model.³⁶ Löfgren knew of thirty-four manuscripts of the Ethiopic text, and of these he made full use of twelve and partial use of another two. One of the manuscripts, BnF Éthiopien 11, dated in Löfgren's view from the fourteenth century.³⁷ He argued that the Old Ethiopic text of Daniel was preserved in its purest form in this manuscript and in BnF Abbadianus 55, but particularly in BnF Éthiopien 11 which represented the text current about 1300 and, despite many corruptions and gaps, was alone significant for the textual criticism of the Septuagint. He emphasized that his edition was not intended to provide a text reconstructed by critical-eclectic procedures, and in accordance with his views his text consisted of an exact copy of BnF Éthiopien 11, but with obvious mistakes corrected, gaps filled up from the manuscript tradition closest to the Greek original, the orthography normalized according to Dillmann's *Lexicon* (with some exceptions), and with inconsequential archaisms replaced with the normal spelling.³⁸ Where the text does not follow BnF Éthiopien 11, the original reading is given in an upper apparatus; the variants of the remaining eleven manuscripts on which Löfgren's edition is based are given in the lower apparatus.

Daniel 11:13(14)–45 is significantly abbreviated in Ethiopic manuscripts with an older type of text, whether representative of the Old Ethiopic or the vulgar text, but Chapter 11 is given in full in manuscripts with the Hebraizing recension. Three manuscripts with the vulgar text also give, in addition to the older text, a complete version of 11:13(14)–45, in one case (Berlin orient. quart. 283) the same text that occurs in the Hebraizing manuscripts, in the other two manuscripts (Bodleian MS. Bruce 74 and BnF Éthiopien 114) a translation based on a Syro-Arabic text.³⁹ Daniel 11:13(14)–45 thus occurs in three quite distinct versions in Ethiopic, and, whereas for the rest of the book it was possible to accommodate the variants attested by a Hebraizing text in the apparatus to his edited text, for 11:13(14)–45 this was not possible, and Löfgren quite rightly gave the three versions of this part in full as parallel texts, first the older type of text, and then the Hebraizing recension and the text that is based on the Syro-Arabic one above the other, each with its own apparatus.⁴⁰

As already noted, Löfgren normalized the orthography of the text, but he also normalized the orthography of the variants in the apparatus except in cases where the variant was attested by only one manuscript.

36 Löfgren 1927. For the Ethiopic text of Daniel cf. Niccum 2017b.

37 Löfgren 1927, xxiii–xxiv.

38 Ibid., l–lii.

39 Ibid., xxxix–xl.

40 Ibid., 71–77.

Löfgren's procedures are not so different from those of the Leiden *Peshiṭta*, and his edition has similar advantages and disadvantages; one may well regret that he did not provide a critically-edited text. One may also regret, in terms of tracing the history of the language, that the orthography in the apparatus was for the most part normalized. That said, the edition remains extremely valuable.

The Ethiopic text of the twelve Minor Prophets has never been published, in a scholarly edition, as a single work, and the most recent scholarly editions of the Ethiopic text of the twelve are divided among six separate publications.⁴¹ They are of different age and different authorship, but common to all but one of them is the use of a single manuscript as a base text and the attachment to it of the variants of more or less the same group of manuscripts, all of which have been used in editions of other books in the Ethiopic Old Testament. The group includes BL Or. 501 and Add. 24,991; Bodleian MS. Bruce 74; BnF Abbadianus 35 and Abbadianus 55; Frankfurt Ms. orient. Rüpp. II, 4/Ms. or. 10.

Four of the publications all used the same manuscript as their base text, namely Bodleian MS. Huntington 625 dating from the fourteenth century. The oldest of the four was Dillmann's edition of the Ethiopic text of Joel, which was published as an appendix to Merx's 1879 commentary on the book.⁴² Dillmann described Bodleian MS. Huntington 625 as 'the oldest or original text';⁴³ he normalized the orthography of the manuscript, but noted its archaic spellings in the apparatus and gave the variants of five other manuscripts. Bachmann's edition of the Ethiopic text of Obadiah was published in 1892.⁴⁴ It was intended as the first part of an ongoing series specifically concerned to investigate the text-critical value of the Ethiopic version for the reconstruction of the Septuagint,⁴⁵ and the edition included a reconstruction of the Greek according to Bodleian MS. Huntington 625. Bachmann normalized the orthography according to Dillmann's *Lexicon*, but gave the variants of only two other manuscripts.

41 For earlier editions of the Ethiopic Minor Prophets, see Löfgren 1930, vi–viii; Fuhs 1971, 1–2, n. 3; Delamarter et al. 2017, 684–685. Steve Delamarter, Anke Dorman, Curt Niccum, Kipp Swinney, and Jeremy Brown are very critical of existing editions of the Minor Prophets because of the limited number of manuscripts on which they are based, and particularly because none of them make use of manuscripts later than the eighteenth century; only the two editions prepared by Hans Ferdinand Fuhs (see below) receive partial approval.

42 Merx 1879.

43 Dillmann 1879, 450.

44 Bachmann 1892.

45 Bachmann did publish a second part, an edition of the Ethiopic text of Malachi, but this was superseded by Löfgren's edition (Löfgren 1930).

The largest use of Bodleian MS. Huntington 625—that is, in terms of the extent of the text covered—was made by Löfgren. Encouraged by the reaction to his work on the Ethiopic text of Daniel, Löfgren planned to publish an edition, along similar lines but in more compact form,⁴⁶ of the Ethiopic text of the Minor Prophets, but in the event he only published the second volume. This contained the Ethiopic text of the last seven Minor Prophets (in the Ethiopic order, which follows that of the Septuagint: Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, approximately half the total text), together with a very short introduction;⁴⁷ the projected first volume, which was to have contained a full introduction in addition to the text of the first five Minor Prophets, never appeared.

Löfgren's decision to publish the second half of the text first was influenced by the fact that Bodleian MS. Huntington 625 lacks Hosea and Amos 1:1–5:14a. Nine manuscripts in total were collated for the edition, six of which had already been used and described in the Daniel edition, as Löfgren notes.⁴⁸ The principles followed in the arrangement of the text and apparatus and in matters of orthography are the same as in the Daniel volume. The text of Bodleian MS. Huntington 625 is given with only minor correction, the (mostly orthographic) deviations from the manuscript are recorded in an upper apparatus, and the variants of the manuscripts used for each Minor Prophet are given in a lower apparatus.

So far as the three remaining Minor Prophets are concerned, the edition of the Ethiopic text of Amos by Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira⁴⁹ stands somewhat apart. Pereira listed twenty-two manuscripts of the Ethiopic Amos including Bodleian MS. Huntington 625, whose text he noted is incomplete, but used only two of them. He based his edition on BnF Abbadianus 55, which he described as far the oldest of the manuscripts containing the text of Amos,⁵⁰ and used BnF Abbadianus 35 to fill up the gaps and for any corrections. The apparatus records variants attested by BnF Abbadianus 35 and Abbadianus 55 only.

The two editions prepared by Fuhs, of Micah and of Hosea,⁵¹ are the most recent of the six publications covering the Minor Prophets. Fuhs used rather more manuscripts even than Löfgren—eighteen in the case of Micah, twenty in the case of Hosea—but, like Löfgren, explicitly rejected the idea of trying to reconstruct the text through critical-eclectic procedures on the grounds that the pre-

46 Cf. Löfgren 1927, xi.

47 Löfgren 1930.

48 Ibid., vi. Delamarter et al. 2017, 684 refer to a study of sixty-four manuscripts.

49 Pereira 1917.

50 Pereira 1917, 12.

51 Fuhs 1968; Fuhs 1971.

conditions for this did not yet exist.⁵² Instead he used Bodleian MS. Huntington 625 as the base-text for Micah, and for Hosea, in the absence of a manuscript from the fourteenth century, he used as the base a text derived from a combination of BL Or. 501 and BnF Abbadianus 55 from the fifteenth century as well as BnF Abbadianus 195, the close companion of Bodleian MS. Huntington 625 in Micah, from the eighteenth century, all of which he assigned to the Old Ethiopic. However, it may be thought that the base-text for Hosea was produced in a rather mechanical way.

For both publications Fuhs provided an apparatus of variants, and for Micah a textual commentary, for Hosea an apparatus of the versions combined with a text-critical commentary. In both volumes, he normalized the orthography of the text, but not that of variants except where a variant was attested by several manuscripts using different spellings. For both texts he also provided a detailed introduction, and in many respects it may be said that the two volumes are the most useful of those covering the Minor Prophets.

I turn now to try to answer directly the questions Weninger posed to me concerning my edition of the Ethiopic Ezekiel.⁵³

My aim when I began was to produce a clear and reliable edition of the older text, one that could be used for the textual criticism of the Septuagint, that would make clear the historical development of the text, and that would be of use in the study of the history of the language and in the study of Ethiopic vocabulary. I originally intended to achieve this by basing the edition closely on BL Or. 501 of the fifteenth century, but with the correction of obvious mistakes and of some other passages where, in the light of the Greek, other manuscripts clearly had a better text. At that time I also intended to retain the orthography of BL Or. 501, and all divergences from BL Or. 501 were to be recorded in an upper apparatus. In effect, when I began, my aim and intended methods were the same as those of all the previous scholars who had edited the Ethiopic texts of the prophetic books.

Important factors in the choice of BL Or. 501 as a base text were its age and accessibility, but, as I came to realize, its text was not infrequently inferior to that of other manuscripts from the fifteenth century; there were, so far as I knew, no manuscripts of Ezekiel in existence from the fourteenth century.⁵⁴ I also be-

⁵² Fuhs 1968, 38; Fuhs 1971, 26.

⁵³ Knibb 2015; cf. Knibb 2017.

⁵⁴ In early September 2017 Ted Erho informed me that he had found in the Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (Leiden University Library) a fragmentary manuscript with the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel 37:23–48:13 that was perhaps datable on palaeographic grounds to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The manuscript is thus at least a century older

came increasingly conscious of the limitations of basing an edition essentially on a single manuscript, of privileging a single manuscript, however early. At all events, I changed my overriding aim, and it became explicitly ‘to provide a critical edition of the oldest accessible text of the Ethiopic version of Ezekiel, which as a general rule is assumed [...] to be the text that most closely reflects the Greek *Vorlage*’.⁵⁵

The choice of manuscripts to be collated for the edition resolved itself without too much difficulty. I was aware of thirty-six manuscripts of the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel at the time I began, and the position has not changed that much since then; some uncertainties over identification have been clarified, and one new manuscript has been added to the list. However, I do not know whether any of the more recent expeditions to Ethiopia have resulted in the identification of hitherto unknown copies. Of the thirty-six manuscripts of whose existence I was aware, I had direct knowledge of eighteen, and I had information about the age of another twelve. Manuscripts of the Ethiopic Ezekiel can be divided into two main groups, those with an older and those with a younger type of text (Eth I and Eth II), and this division can be correlated with their age—whether they date from before or after approximately 1600. The manuscripts with the older type of text can be further divided, on the basis of the conjunctive errors they contain, into three main families: Family 1 and Family 2, which both date from the fifteenth century, and Family 3, whose text is of a slightly later date and represents a revision of the text in Families 1 and 2. On the other hand, a test collation of all the Ezekiel manuscripts in the British Library, the Bodleian Library manuscript of Ezekiel, and the manuscript in the University Library of Frankfurt am Main showed that all the manuscripts from after approximately 1600 had a fairly uniform text—basically the text that appears in Francesco da Bassano. This text is based on the text of Family 3, but has also been revised against the Masoretic text. Cambridge Add. 1570 of the sixteenth century, whose text bridges that of the older and younger manuscripts, has also been revised against the Masoretic text. In the light of this and in the light of my aims in the edition, I decided to collate all eleven manuscripts that dated from the sixteenth century and earlier, two from the seventeenth century, and two from the eighteenth century, and to leave completely out of account the manuscripts dating from the nineteenth and twentieth century. It seemed to me that in order to make clear the historical de-

than the oldest manuscript of the Ethiopic Ezekiel that was known previously, namely Ṭānāsee 9. The following article is a study of the manuscript and its significance. I am very grateful to Ted Erho for informing me of the existence of the manuscript and to the staff of the library for their kind assistance.

55 Knibb 2015, 1–2.

velopment of the text it was essential to collate all eleven manuscripts with the older type of text, but that it was sufficient to collate only two each from the seventeenth and eighteenth century as representative of the younger type of text.⁵⁶ This seemed to me justified on the basis that my concern was with the older stages in the evolution of the text, not with any more recent developments. The total of fifteen manuscripts that I collated may be compared with the twelve collated by Löfgren for his edition of Daniel, and the twenty-seven collated by Zuurmond for his edition of Matthew. Five of the manuscripts that I used (BL Or. 501, BnF Abbadianus 55, Cambridge Add. 1570, BnF Abbadianus 35, and BL Add. 24,991) were also used by Löfgren, and this provided a helpful point of comparison in evaluating conclusions.

The nature of the textual evidence made it necessary to consider the question of the need, or not, for parallel texts with their own apparatuses in relation to Ezekiel 1–39 and Ezekiel 40–48 separately. Family 1 and Family 2, whose texts both date from the fifteenth century and no doubt can be carried back a little earlier, provide the oldest evidence available for the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel, but it is not clear that the text of Family 2 represents a revision of that of Family 1, or vice versa, unlike in the case of Zuurmond's A-text and B-text, and the differences between Family 1 and Family 2 are not such that it seemed necessary to give their texts in parallel. In practice it seemed feasible for Ezekiel 1–39 to give in the apparatus to the critical text not only the variants of Families 1 and 2, but also those of Family 3 and of the two Hebraizing texts, Cambridge Add. 1570 and the Eth II manuscripts.

The situation is very different for Ezekiel 40–48, for which at an early stage it seemed clear that it would be necessary to provide parallel texts in order to take proper account of the evidence of Cambridge Add. 1570 and of the text of the Eth II manuscripts. These two later texts are revisions of the existing text, not new translations, but because of the differences from the older text in Chapters 40–48 where the texts run in parallel, and because of the extent of the material supplied in the Cambridge manuscript and the Eth II manuscripts to fill up the substantial gaps in the older text, it did not seem practical to treat the three texts together. The two Hebraizing texts are therefore for Chapters 40–48 given on facing pages, each with its own apparatus, after the main text.

Questions of orthography are less easy to resolve. Ethiopic manuscripts, as hardly needs to be said, offer considerable, often arbitrary, variation in both orthography and morphology, and manuscripts of Ezekiel from the fifteenth century frequently differ in spelling from the forms that occur in Dillmann's *Lexicon*. It is important on the one hand to record this information, on the other

⁵⁶ Knibb 2015, 7.

not to affect the usability of an edition. Although not my original intention, I ultimately decided, in line with common practice in critical editions, to normalize spelling and grammatical forms in accordance with Dillmann's *Lexicon*.⁵⁷ However, I did spell both አንበሳ ፡ and አደ ፡, አውደ ፡ with an 'alf, the spelling that occurs in the older manuscripts, rather than with an 'ayn. There are other words, such as አውየወ ፡, which, almost without exception, the older manuscripts again spell with 'alf not 'ayn,⁵⁸ or በልሐ ፡, በሊሕ ፡, commonly spelt with *haut* not *harm*, where in future I would want to consider whether, in the light of the etymology of the word, Dillmann should or should not be followed.

In the apparatus, in contrast to the text, I deliberately did not standardize the orthography, but in each entry followed the orthography of the first witness mentioned. But the apparatus does include orthographic variants in some cases, in addition to the textual variants that were my main concern, 'for example archaic forms, forms of verbs with an initial laryngeal, forms involving the diphthongs *aw*, *ay*, or forms involving the conjunction of the vowels *u* and *i* with the corresponding semi-vowels *w* and *y*. I [...] also included all the variant spellings of words that only occur very rarely.'⁵⁹ This kind of evidence is clearly of importance for the historical development of the language and in terms of the grouping of manuscripts, but it is an open question where best to record it, and how much to include. I did consider placing orthographic evidence in an appendix, but in the end opted for including it in the one apparatus. However, I would now want to place orthographic variants attested by the oldest manuscripts in a separate apparatus under the main textual apparatus or, failing that, to reconsider placing this evidence in an appendix. In addition to the evidence provided in the apparatus, I also tried to include some general remarks about the orthography of some of the manuscripts in the Introduction.

Punctuation in Ethiopic manuscripts tends to be subject to as much variation as the orthography, and it seemed best simply to insert the punctuation in the main text myself.⁶⁰ But punctuation in Ethiopic manuscripts can be important as an indication of the way in which the text was interpreted. I did consider briefly the possibility of including the punctuation of the manuscripts in a separate apparatus, but it did not seem in a biblical text such as this that it was worth doing.

57 Cf. Bausi 2016, 88.

58 Cf. Löfgren 1927, li; Löfgren 1930, viii.

59 Knibb 2015, 39.

60 Cf. West 2013, 19: 'In editing Greek or Latin texts it is accepted that the editor will provide these aids to the reader in comprehension, capitalizing names and punctuating in whatever way best clarifies the sense, regardless of what the manuscripts do. Why not do the same with an Indian text?'

For the two Hebraizing forms of the text of Chapters 40–48, I adopted a different procedure. Here, in order to make clear not only the different stages of textual revision, but also the historical development of the language, it seemed right not to standardize the text according to Dillmann's *Lexicon*. For the text represented only by the Cambridge manuscript this seemed obvious. But also for the manuscripts with the later type of text it seemed simplest to give the text of a single important manuscript, BnF Abbadianus 35, exactly as it is, and to give the relatively few textual variants and the orthographic variants in an apparatus. Also for both texts, the punctuation is that of the manuscript. This goes against what Zuurmond did in respect of the orthography of the different forms of the text of Matthew and is clearly debatable.

Finally, I should add that in the Introduction I tried to give as much information as I could about the original location of the manuscripts, about their decoration, about the numbering of sections, about peculiarities of orthography, and so on, in the hope not only of providing further evidence for the grouping of manuscripts into families, but also perhaps of locating the families in particular centres. It would be of very great interest if it were possible to associate particular textual families, and particular orthographic practices, with specific monastic centres.

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Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293) and the Ethiopic Text of Ezekiel 37:23–48:13

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In early September 2017 I was informed by Ted Erho that he had discovered in the Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (Leiden University Library) a fragmentary manuscript of the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel 37:23–48:13, which he suggested could plausibly be dated on palaeographic grounds to the late thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. He noted that several archaisms are attested in the text.¹ As he rightly surmised, the manuscript is of some interest to me because it is at least a century older than the oldest manuscript (Ṭānāsee 9) that was available to me for the preparation of my recently published edition of the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel,² and it appeared that it would be worthwhile to compare the text of the manuscript with that established in my edition. The manuscript is in a fragile condition, but the library was able to provide me with TIFF images on the basis of which, and of a personal examination in May 2018, the following study is based. I would like to record here my very grateful thanks to Erho for drawing the manuscript to my attention, and to Silvia Vermetten of the Special Collections section and Karin Scheper, conservation specialist, at Leiden University Library for all the help and information they have very kindly provided.³

The aim of this article is to provide a description of the manuscript and to consider its significance particularly in relation to my edition of the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel.

Description of the Manuscript

Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293) was purchased by the library at a Sotheby's auction on 21 April 1980 as an item in a collection of Oriental manuscripts.⁴ So far

1 Erho, email message of 2 September 2017.

2 Knibb 2015.

3 The images of MS Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293) included with this article are reproduced by kind permission of the Leiden University Library.

4 For the Leiden University Library catalogue entry, see Struyk 1995, 11. See also Witkam 2007, 304, 306–307.

as I am aware no information is available concerning the previous owner(s) of the manuscript, the circumstances in which the first part of the manuscript, now lost, became separated from the fragment that remains, and its origins. It may be thought likely that the fragmentary manuscript that remains—probably, to judge by its condition, already at that stage separated from the remainder—was brought to England by a member of the Mäqdāla expedition.⁵ What is clear is that at some point the manuscript was studied by someone with knowledge of Classical Ethiopic and of Greek who spoke English, although it is not possible to say when or where this occurred. Thus, short pencil comments in English are occasionally written in the margin, for instance ‘obscure’, ‘short’ and ‘short’ (on Ezek. 41:24–25). The Western chapter and verse numbers—chapter numbers with Roman numerals, verse numbers with Arabic numerals—have been inserted in pencil, occasionally with minor mistakes; on fol. 1r only verse numbers are used, and the first chapter number (xxxviii) occurs on fol. 1v. There are also numerous underlines in pencil throughout the manuscript. They occur under archaic forms (e.g. አሜ ፣ ሶቤ ፣) or forms that appeared unusual (e.g. መስተጸዕኖ ን ፣ (38:4), ዓብይ ፣ (38:19; 39:20)), under proper names (e.g. ሮስምስኅ ፣ (38:2)) and transliterations (e.g. ቴሌላት ፣ (40:7); ወአይሌው ፣ ወኤሌሞን ፣ (40:21)), and also under words where it is not clear why they have been underlined (e.g. ወት ማህርክ ፣ ምህርክ ፣ (38:13), ወአሐዛብኒ ፣ (39:4)). The underlines are sometimes accompanied by a cross in the margin or by other marginal signs, and there are also frequent question marks. Greek glosses have also occasionally been inserted in the text (e.g. βoppα (38:6; 39:2, in both cases as a gloss on ደቡብ ፣), τέσσαρας ἔνθεν καὶ τέσσαρας ἔνθεν = ሰማንቱ ፣ ማዕዳት ፣ (interlinear comment on 40:41)). There are parentheses around the name ጎግ ፣ in 38:20.

Vellum, 32 fols, 16.5 × 13 cm (text area 11 × 9 cm), 2 columns each approximately 4 cm wide, 14–17 lines to a page (for nearly half the pages, 15 lines), (4)5–6(7) letters per line. Binding: without boards, but a fragment of leather attached to the top of the spine suggests that originally there were leather-covered boards.⁶

The part of the manuscript that survives contains the Ethiopic text of Ezek. 37:23c–47:18a, beginning ወአጸር]ዮሙ ፣ ወይከውኑኒ ፣ ሕዝብየ ፣ ወአነሂ ፣ እከውኖ ሙ ፣ አምላከሙ ፣ and ending ማእከለ ፣ ደማስቆ ፣ ወ[ማእከለ ፣ ገላአድ ፣; and of Ezek. 48:1bc–13a, beginning ወዝውእቱ ፣⁷ አስ]ማቲሆሙ ፣ ለእለ ፣ ቅድመ ፣ ሕዝ

5 Cf. ‘Mäqdāla’, *EAE*, III (2007), 763a–765a (R. Pankhurst), esp. p. 764b.

6 I owe this observation to a suggestion made by Scheper.

7 It is likely that the Leiden manuscript will have read ወዝውእቱ ፣ አስማቲሆሙ ፣ with the majority of the manuscripts instead of the reading of Tānāsee 9, ወዝ ፣ አስማቲሆሙ ፣, which I adopted in my edition.

ብ : and ending ወሌዋዊያንሰ : ዘቅሩበ : ደወሎሙ : ለካህናት : ክልኤ : እልፍ : ወ ጎምሳ : [ምእት : ኑኑ : ወግድሙ : እልፍ : . It consists of thirty-two folia represented by four quires plus two loose folia.⁸ The first quire has three bifolia, the other three quires four bifolia each, and this gives a total of fifteen bifolia (thirty folia). The outer leaves of the third quire (fol. 15 and fol. 22) are separated, and although it is difficult to find hard evidence in the present state of the manuscript, it is reasonable to think that they originally formed a single bifolium.⁹

The four quires have quire signatures and are numbered 19–22. However, there is evidence to suggest that there was originally a twenty-third quire consisting of three bifolia, and that fol. 31 and 32 are the left halves of the two inner bifolia of this quire. As will be apparent from the above, the manuscript in its present condition lacks—in addition to the Ethiopic text of Ezek. 1:1–37:23ab—the text of Ezek. 47:18b–48:1a and 48:13b–35. There is nothing in the character of the text of the Leiden manuscript in comparison with that of the other older manuscripts to suggest that the Leiden manuscript would just have left these two passages out, and this suggests that some folia have been lost at the end of the manuscript. The text of Ezek. 47:18b–48:1a fits more or less exactly on a folium with 15 lines,¹⁰ the folium that will have stood between the existing fol. 30 and fol. 31 and will have formed the left half of the outermost bifolium of the proposed twenty-third quire. The text of Ezek. 48:1bc–13a is given on the existing

8 For what follows concerning the codicology of the manuscript, I am very much indebted to Scheper for information she kindly provided in email messages dated 28 September 2017 and 17 April 2018. However, responsibility for views expressed here about the original extent of the manuscript is mine.

9 So Scheper, email message of 17 April 2018: ‘As for fol. 15 and 22, I too suspect that they were formerly conjoint though it is difficult to find hard evidence in the current condition of the manuscript. Fol. 15 has been crudely stitched onto fol. 16 and seems to lack the part of the parchment close to the fold-line (which may have been cut off prior to the stitching as that part of the parchment would not lay flat); fol. 22 is simply loose and has retained its shape which suggests it was part of a bifolium’.

10 The missing passage (ወ[ማእከለ : ገላአድ : in 47:18 to ወዝ : እስ]ማቲሆሙ : in 48:1) consists of 293 letters in my edition, but 12 letters need to be added to this total to take account of three cases where it is likely that the text of the Leiden manuscript will have differed from that in my edition: 47:19, ወዴምቃዴም : instead of my conjecture ቃዴም :; 47:21, ዐሠርቱ : ወክልኤቱ : instead of ፲ወ፪ : (the Leiden manuscript uses words for the numbers not the corresponding numerical signs); 48:1, ወዝውእቱ : እስማቲሆሙ : instead of the reading which I adopted in my edition, ወዝ : እስማቲሆሙ : (see above, n. 7). If these assumptions about the text of the Leiden manuscript are correct, the missing folium will have had a total of 305 letters and not 293. For comparison, fol. 29 (with 15 lines) has 311 letters, fol. 30 (with 16 lines on the recto and 15 on the verso) has 322 letters, fol. 31 (with 14 lines) has 286 letters, and fol. 32 (with 15 lines) has 316 letters.

fol. 31 and 32, but the text of Ezek. 48:13b–35 then requires three folia to accommodate it. I suggest that these three missing folia formed the right halves of three bifolia that together made up the proposed twenty-third quire.¹¹ On this basis, the existing fol. 31 and 32 formed the left halves of the two inner bifolia of the quire, and there is physical evidence that at least they did form the left halves of bifolia.¹²

The question of the original contents of the entire manuscript is somewhat easier to resolve. As argued above, the manuscript originally contained twenty-three quires, of which the quires numbered 19–22 and the remains of no. 23 survive. This part of the manuscript gave the Ethiopic text of Ezek. 37:23c–48:35 in the form in which it occurs in manuscripts with the older type of text (designated Eth I in my edition).¹³ Comparison with other manuscripts belonging to the Eth I group indicates that 37:23c–48:35 forms approximately one fifth of the complete Ethiopic text of Ezekiel in its older form. The five quires at the end of the manuscript, as reconstructed, contained thirty-six folia, but it is not possible to say how many folia there were in the eighteen quires that have been lost, and this makes precise calculations impossible. But it seems clear that the remaining four-fifths of the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel, that is the part containing 1:1–37:23ab, would have needed the eighteen quires—approximately four-fifths of the total—that have been lost at the beginning of the manuscript and would have filled them. It also seems clear that Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293) contained only the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel. As such, it may be compared, for its size and for the fact that it contains only a single biblical text, with Berlin Patermann II, Nachtrag 29. The Berlin manuscript measures 17 × 14 cm as com-

11 The text of 48:13b–35 consists of 857 letters in my edition, and the number of letters required for the passage in the Leiden manuscript will have been of a similar magnitude. The actual figure will have been different and higher in the manuscript because—apart from other possible variants—the manuscript uses words for the numbers and not the numerical signs, but it is reasonable to assume that the text of Ezek. 48:13b–35 in the Leiden manuscript will have consisted of approximately 900 letters. On the other hand, the three missing folia that it is suggested formed the right halves of the three bifolia that made up the proposed twenty-third quire will have had space for 900 letters on the basis that the average number of letters on each folium will have been at least 300 (see the figures given at the end of the previous note).

12 So Scheper, email message of 17 April 2018: ‘It is clear that both fol. 31 and 32 were conjoint leaves with now missing folia. There are tiny remnants of parchment beyond the fold-line. It is, however, impossible to tell whether they formed the two inner bifolia, but it is clear that they were the left halves of bifolia’.

13 Cf. Knibb 2015, 5–6, 26–33.

pared with 16.5×13 cm and contains only the Ethiopic text of Enoch, but it dates from the sixteenth century.¹⁴



Fig. 1 Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293), fol. 1r.

¹⁴ Cf. Flemming 1902, viii.



Fig. 2 Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293), fol. 1v.



Fig. 3 Leiden Or. 14.692 (Hebr. 293), fol. 7r.

There are many features of the manuscript that confirm the observation made by Erho that it was perhaps datable on palaeographic grounds to the late thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁵ The manuscript belongs to Siegbert Uhlig's Period I, the monumental script up to the second half of the fourteenth century, as both the form of the characters and general features indicate. The characters may be compared with those discussed by Uhlig.¹⁶

- The sixth-order vowel-markers of **᠓**, **ᠣ**, and **ᠤ** are placed near the top of the letters and extend out to the right. Similarly, the vowel markers of second-order **ᠠ** and of seventh-order **ᠠ** and **ᠡ** are also placed near the top of the letters.

– The vowel-marker of sixth-order **h**, instead of being almost vertical, tends to be horizontal and extends out to the left.¹⁷

- The vowel-marker of sixth-order **ñ** extends prominently upwards and to the left.

– The base of sixth order $\mathfrak{p}$ is written flat along the line and extends out to the right.

– For the fourth order of **0**, the basic sign extends down to, or close to, the line, and the vowel marker is attached to the middle of the right-hand side and also extends down to the line.

17 Cf. also Uhlig 1988, 79.

Not all the distinctive written forms of characters that occur in manuscripts from before the mid-fourteenth century are to be found, and in particular third-order **ደ** with two hooks at the bottom is not attested. But the character of the script as a whole definitely points to the period before 1350, and this is confirmed by other features of the manuscript.

The archaic spellings **እግዚእ** : **ብሔር** : and **እመ** : **ሕያው** : are used throughout the manuscript, and archaic forms are sometimes used for adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. Thus **አሜ** : is used to the exclusion of **አመ** :,¹⁸ and the ten occurrences of **እስኪ** : , of which seven are to be found in Chapter 47, slightly outweigh the eight occurrences of **እስከ** :.¹⁹ Similarly, **ሶቤ** : is used three times (37:28; 38:16; 46:9) and **ሶበ** : (39:28) only once. But **ሂየ** : only occurs in 40:38 and 42:13bis; **መንገሌ** : only in 47:2 and 47:15; and **ኀቤ** : only in 47:6; elsewhere **ህየ** : , **መንገለ** : , and **ኀበ** : are repeatedly used.²⁰

Punctuation is almost entirely confined to the use of the word-divider (**ነቀሓት** :), and there is very little attempt to structure the text. Thus there are no *cruces ansatae* and no division into sections. Rubrication, accompanied by a simple paragraph sign in the margin, is used for the first three lines of Chapter 38,²¹ and four points (**ነጥብ** :) are used after **ሰሜናዊ** : in 40:35²² and at the end of Chapter 46,²³ again in each case accompanied by a simple paragraph sign in the margin.²⁴ But apart from these three instances—and the use of the word-divider—there are no punctuation marks in the part of the manuscript that survives, and this suggests there was little in the manuscript as a whole.

The numerals are written out as words in the text, and the numerical signs are not used except for the quire numbers. The latter do not have the short lines

18 **አሜ** : : 38:14, 18; 39:13, 26, 27; 40:1bis; 43:18; 44:15; 45:18.

19 **እስኪ** : : 38:19; 40:27; 41:16; 48:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8; **እስከ** : : 37:25; 39:15, 19; 40:19, 23; 41:20; 46:3; 48:6.

20 **ህየ** : : 37:25; 39:12; 40:3; 44:2; 46:8; 47:10bis; **መንገለ** : : 39:11; 40:18, 19tris, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 40bis, 41, 44bis; 41:7; 47:15bis; 48:3; **ኀበ** : : 38:11, 12, 16; 40:22; 41:1, 3, 11, 19bis, 20; 42:13bis; 44:10, 16; 47:8; 48:8. As an adjunct to the above, it may be noted that by the side of **ኂበ** : (38:16, 22) and **በኂበ** : (43:12), the preposition assumes the form **ድብ** before suffixes: cf. **ድቢሁ** : (40:41; 43:18); **ድቢሆን** : (40:42).

21 A space is also left at the beginning of the previous line to make the final word of the Chapter 37 (**ለዓለም** :) end flush with the right-hand margin.

22 It is not at all clear why a break should be marked at this point.

23 A space is also left in the last line of Chapter 46 to ensure that Chapter 47 begins on a new line.

24 A very similar sign is used in BnF Éthiopien 7; cf. Uhlig 1988, 139; Löfgren 1927, xxii and pls I and II.

above and below them that are always used with the numerical signs at a later stage, and this absence is a sign of the archaic character of the manuscript.²⁵

Its archaic character is also strongly suggested by aspects of the phonology. Thus the vowel /ä/ rather than /ə/ is used before laryngals with an a-vowel: for instance አበአኒ : (40:28, 32, 35, 44 and *passim*); አው-ፀአኒ : (47:2); similarly, አርባዓ : (41:2), አርባዓ : (41:4). The spelling መስተጻዕናን : (38:4, 15; 39:19) should perhaps also be mentioned here.

The vowel /ä/ rather than /a/ is retained in words with a syllable ending in a laryngal and in nouns of the *qatl*-pattern with a laryngal as the middle radical: for instance ትንጸኅ : (39:13); ዘጠበኘኩ : (39:17, 19); በረኒየ : (40:2); ወረኒዩ : (40:3); ረሕብ : (40:5, 11 and *passim*);²⁶ also ደእሙ : (39:10); በዕድ : (41:9, 13; ባዕድ : in 41:14).²⁷

The vowel in the prefix of the imperfect I.1 of verbs whose first radical is a laryngal sometimes remains as /ə/ and does not become /a/: for instance ይዓቅቡ : (37:24), but የዓቅቡ : (40:45, 46), የዐቅቡ : (48:11); ይሐውር : (47:8), but የሐውር : (39:15), አሐውር : (38:11), የሐውሩ : (37:24; 39:14); ትዓርግ : (38:9, 18), but ተርዓግ : (38:16; 41:7); ይሐበልይዎሙ : (39:10); ይሐንጹ : (39:11).

Archaic forms of the verb ርእየ include አስተረኢ : (38:23), አርኢየከ : (40:4), አርኢዮሙ : (43:10), and ታርኢዮሙ : (43:11); compare ርኢየተ : (40:3). It may be added that the two words of the *qätil*-pattern ending in የ that occur in the text are treated differently. The plural of ነቢይ : is given as ነቢያት : (38:17) as is normally the case. But መቢይ : is consistently spelt ዓቢይ : (38:19; 39:18; 47:5, 15), and the plural is given as ዓቢያት : (47:10).

Most of the vocalic choices discussed above can be paralleled in later manuscripts, but the totality of the vocalic evidence confirms the view, which is supported by all the other evidence, that Leiden Or. 14.692 belongs in Uhlig's Period I and dates from before about 1350. It may be compared, in terms not only of palaeographical characteristics and general features, but also of format, with the Paris manuscript of Job and Daniel (BnF Éthiopien 7), which has been dated to about 1350, and with the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library) manuscript of the Gospels that was used for the *editio princeps* (BAV Vat.et.25)

25 Cf. Löfgren 1927, xxii; Conti Rossini 1912–1915 (19), 558.

26 The manuscripts attest both ረሕብ : and ርሕብ : as well as ራሕብ : , and in my edition I gave the form as ርሕብ : .

27 In a somewhat similar way, the masculine plural of ብዙኅ : is given as ብዙኅን : (38:6, 8, 9, 12, 23), not ብዙኃን : .

and has been dated to the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth.²⁸ For all three manuscripts a pen with a narrow nib was used, particularly for Leiden Or. 14.692 and for BAV Vat.et.25; in all three manuscripts the letters are spaced out with the result that there are only a small number of letters per line (4–7 in Leiden Or. 14.692, 6–7 in BnF Éthiopien 7 and BAV Vat.et.25); and, although Leiden Or. 14.692 is particularly small, all three manuscripts are of relatively small size (Leiden Or. 14.692: 16.5 × 13 cm; BAV Vat.et.25: 20 × 12.5 cm; BnF Éthiopien 7: 23.5 × 15.5 cm). But what distinguishes Leiden Or. 14.692 from the other two manuscripts is the limited extent of the punctuation and the absence, so far as we can tell, of *cruces ansatae*. This suggests that the manuscript belongs relatively early in Uhlig's Period I, and that it can be attributed to the thirteenth or the very beginning of the fourteenth century. A date for the manuscript of about 1300, if not shortly before, seems justified.²⁹

Textual Significance

My aim in my work was to provide a critical edition of the oldest accessible text of the Ethiopic Ezekiel, and I assumed that as a general rule this would be the text that most closely corresponded to the Greek, although I recognized that such agreement could in some cases be the result of chance or secondary correction.³⁰ As already indicated, the Leiden manuscript is at least a century older than the oldest manuscript (Tānāsee 9) that was available to me for the preparation of the edition, and if I had known of its existence, I would certainly have made use of the Leiden manuscript. The manuscript does not attest any textual variant that was not already known, but the question remains what is its significance for my edition.

The thirty-seven manuscripts of the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel that were known to me to exist could be divided on the basis of their age, the extent of the text they contain, and of whether their text reflects knowledge of the Hebrew original, into two main groups, Eth I and Eth II, containing respectively an older and a younger type of text. I argued that the eleven manuscripts belonging to the older group could be further divided into four families: Family I consisting of

28 For these dates, cf. Uhlig 1988, 130–132, 139–140. For BAV Vat.et.25, see also Zuurmond 1989, II, 56–58.

29 In a wider context Leiden Or. 14.692 may also be compared with two manuscripts of the Ethiopic Old Testament that belong in Uhlig's Period I, but are seemingly a little later: the Vatican Library manuscript of Isaiah, the Ascension of Isaiah and Daniel (BAV Vat.et.263) and the Bodleian Library manuscript of the Minor Prophets (Bodleian MS. Aeth. d. 12); cf. Uhlig 1988, 125–128, 137–139.

30 Cf. Knibb 2015, 32–33.

Ṭānāsee 9 (T9, first half of the fifteenth century) and two manuscripts from Gundā Gunde, EML 26 (E1, fifteenth century) and EML 25 (E2, early sixteenth century); Family 2 consisting of Berlin Petermann II, Nachtrag 42, BL Or. 501 (B, L1, both from the fifteenth century), EML 2080 (E3, perhaps from about 1500), and EML 2082 (E4, sixteenth or seventeenth century); Family 3 consisting of BnF Abbadianus 55 (A1), EML 1768 (E5) and a manuscript from Aksum Šəyon (AS), all dating from around 1500 and containing a revised type of text; and Family 4 consisting only of Cambridge Add. 1570 (C), which is dated to 1588/1589 and has links with Family 2, but also forms a bridge between the older and the younger type of text. It is apparent that Family 1 and Family 2 were both in existence at approximately the same time, but I argued that despite many minor mistakes and corruptions, Ṭānāsee 9, either alone or together with the other representatives of Family 1, not infrequently offered the reading that was closest to the underlying Greek. But I also noted that there was evidence in the double readings attested by the representatives of this family that the text it represents had already been subjected to sporadic revision on the basis of a Syriac-based Arabic text, a process of revision that in some cases affected all the manuscripts. I concluded that Ṭānāsee 9 gave us access to the Ethiopic text of Ezekiel as it existed about 1400, not, as Oscar Löfgren maintained in the case of the Paris manuscript of Daniel (BnF Éthiopien 7), about 1300.³¹ It did not represent the Old Ethiopic, but like all the other Eth I manuscripts of Ezekiel belonged to the vulgar recension.³² It may be asked how far this judgment is affected by the discovery of the Leiden manuscript.

Leiden Or. 14.692 attests, not surprisingly, numerous orthographic variants as compared with the critical text in which the orthography was conformed to that of August Dillmann's *Lexicon*.³³ But it also attests some textual variants, including a significant number of omissions, which correspond to readings in one or more of the manuscripts belonging to Family 1 and, particularly, to Family 2.

- 38:9 κατακαλύψαι γῆν, **ከመ ፡ ትክድና ፡ ለምድር ፡ ትክድና ፡ ለምድር ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = L1 A1 E1 E3 E4 C
- 38:12 ἐπὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς γῆς, **ውስተ ፡ ሕጉብርተ ፡ ምድር ፡**] om. **ምድር ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = E3 E4
- 39:1 ἐπὶ σέ, **ላዕሌከ ፡**] om. Leiden Or. 14.692 = E3
- 39:5 λέγει κύριος, **ደቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡**] om. **እግዚአብሔር ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = T9 L1 E1 E3 E4 C

31 Cf. Löfgren 1927, xxv.

32 Cf. Knibb 2015, 30–31.

33 Dillmann 1865.

- 39:8 καὶ γνώση ὅτι ἔσται, **ወታኣምር ፡ ከመ ፡ ይከውን ፡]** **ወተኣምር ፡ ከመ ፡ ይከውን ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = B L1 E1 E3 E4
- 39:13 καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῖς εἰς ὄνομαστόν, **ወይከውን ፡ ስምዐ ፡]** om. **ስምዐ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = E1 E3 E4
- 39:14 ἄνδρας [...] διαστελοῦσιν ἐπιπορευομένους τὴν γῆν, **ይትጋብኡ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡]** **ይትጋብኡ ፡ ዲበ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = T9 L1 E1 E3 E4
- 40:2 ἐν ὀράσει θεοῦ, **በራእየ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡]** **በራእየ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = L1 E3 E4
- 40:12 ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, **እምለፌሂ ፡ ወእምለፌሂ ፡]** **እምለፌሂ ፡ ወለፌሂ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = B L1 E3
- 40:23 βλέπουσα ἐπὶ, **ይኔጽር ፡ መንገል ፡]** **ወተናጸረ ፡ ምስለ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = B L1 E1 E4
- 40:34 ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, **ለፌሂ ፡ ወለፌሂ ፡]** om. **ወለፌሂ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = B L1 E1 E3 E4
- 40:38 καὶ τὰ θυρώματα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ αἰλαμμω αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης, **ወኖጋቲሁኒ ፡ ለኤላሞ ፡ ውስተ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡]** **ወኖጋቲሁኒ ፡ ለኤላሞ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ አንቀጽ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = B L1 E3 E4
- 40:41 τέσσαρες ἔνθεν καὶ τέσσαρες ἔνθεν, **፬ ፡ እምለፌ ፡ ወ፬ ፡ እምለፌ ፡]** om. **ወ፬ ፡ እምለፌ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = T9 B E1 E3 E4
- 40:46 λειτουργεῖν αὐτῷ, **ከመ ፡ ይትለአክዎ ፡]** om. **ከመ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = E1 E3
- 40:47 καὶ εὖρος πηχῶν ἑκατόν, **ወግድሙ ፡ ፻ ፡ በእመት ፡]** **ወግድሙ ፡ በእመት ፡ ምእት ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = B E3 E4
- 40:48 καὶ πηχῶν πέντε ἔνθεν, **ወግምስ ፡ በእመት ፡ እምለፌሂ ፡]** **ወግምስ ፡ በእመት ፡ ለፌሂ ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = E3
- καὶ πηχῶν τριῶν ἔνθεν, ወ፫ ፡ በእመት ፡ ለፌሂ ፡]** om. Leiden Or. 14.692 = E3 E4
- 41:3 καὶ πηχῶν ἑπτὰ ἔνθεν, **ወስብዕ ፡ በእመት ፡ ለፌሂ ፡]** om. Leiden Or. 14.692 = B L1 E3 E4
- 46:3 καὶ ἡ πύλη οὐ μὴ κλεισθῇ, **ወኢይትዐጸው ፡ ኖጎት ፡]** om. **ኖጎት ፡** Leiden Or. 14.692 = B E3 E4

The number of variants and omissions in Leiden Or. 14.692 that occur in each of the other manuscripts is as follows: E3, 18; E4, 15; L1, 10; B, 9; E1, 9; T9, 3; C, 2; A1, 1. There is an inevitable degree of arbitrariness in the above list, and the figures need to be treated with caution. But notwithstanding this, it seems clear that the Leiden manuscript belongs with Family 2, or rather that it is the oldest representative of this family. It gives us access to the text of the Ethiopic Ezekiel, at least for Family 2, as it existed about 1300, and this is a century

earlier than the date of about 1400 that I maintained in my edition on the evidence of Tānāsee 9.³⁴

It is the age of Leiden Or. 14.692 that ultimately is the most important aspect of the manuscript. It raises anew the question of the relationship of Family 1 and Family 2 to one another and to the underlying Greek, and it is a matter of regret that it does not provide any textual evidence that was not already known for the resolution of the problem or for the reconstruction of a critical text.

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34 Cf. Knibb 2015, 31–32.

The Digital Methodology of the Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament (THEOT) Project Applied to Ethiopic Jeremiah 2

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Introduction

Since its inception in 2013, the Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament (THEOT) project has been focused primarily on the challenges of workflow and methodology. We had to develop processes for creating accurate transcriptions of manuscripts. We had to develop the methods and tools to render transcriptions of texts into sets of numbers, to which a whole range of statistical analyses could be applied. At the end of these seven years, we have created well over eight hundred transcriptions of sections or entire books of the Ethiopic Old Testament and have worked out a set of tools and processes for statistical analysis that enables us to (1) generate dendrograms (a graphic representation of the statistical proximity of manuscripts to one another based on their shared readings); (2) identify the clusters of manuscripts that represent the book's textual history; (3) identify and list the distinctive readings of every cluster of manuscripts; (4) identify the best representative manuscript from each cluster; (5) identify the secondary affiliations of manuscripts, that is, not only the clusters to which they are primarily related, but also the manuscripts and clusters to which they bear a secondary relationship; and (6) identify and analyse the profile of every manuscript as it relates to acts of scribal idiosyncrasy (readings set forth by one manuscript against all others). We have produced rich data sets (transcriptions and statistical reports) for twenty-four books of the Ethiopic Old Testament, and are in the process of writing up the first four volumes of our reports: on Deuteronomy (Ralph Lee), Ruth (Daniel Assefa), Amos (Curt Niccum), and Obadiah (Garry Jost).¹

Martin Heide has been our friend and dialogue partner from the very beginning, contributing to our discussions out of his extensive knowledge on the production of critical editions. When he decided to prepare an edition of the Ethio-

1 Our joint introductory article was published in Daniel Assefa et al. 2020.

pic Jeremiah Cycle, I assigned one of our transcription teams to produce an electronic text of Francesco da Bassano's edition.² And as Heide commenced his work, we saw an opportunity to compare methods and results. Heide is a mature practitioner of the standard approach to creating critical editions, grounded on careful collations and judicious text-critical judgments. Of interest is how our results, generated by a different sociology of scholarship and with different methods, would compare to his results. Though we would follow very different workflows, and though our project would include the limited participation of novices with little knowledge of Gə'əz, we could verify whether we reached the same conclusions. Also of interest is whether there would be certain aspects of the work that only his method could produce reliably, and vice versa.

We were delighted and honoured, then, to be invited to contribute to the Marburg conference in which Heide shared his initial findings regarding the best manuscript witnesses, the extant clusters of manuscripts, and his working conclusions about the stemma which best describes the relationships of the clusters.

There is a fundamental difference in our approaches. It relates to the ultimate aim of the research. In Heide's case the desired outcome of the project is an edition whose primary focus is the reconstruction of the earliest attainable text. Strictly speaking, in order to achieve that outcome, later manuscripts, from the eighteenth century onward, offer little or no help toward project outcomes. It is standard practice to set them aside. The goal of THEOT is to reconstruct and analyse the entire textual history of the book under study. From this perspective, the later manuscripts have as valuable a role to play as the earlier manuscripts. For the classic approach, the Greek text—which is obviously the *Vorlage* of the tradition—is highly relevant for the work. It is proximity to the Greek text that, in the first place, forms the primary criterion for establishing the working hypothesis regarding stemmata. The effect of this approach is that it can blur the line between a goal to recover the earliest attainable Gə'əz text and the goal to reconstruct the Greek *Vorlage*. The one thing that does seem obvious is this: with the classic method, the focus of attention is always drawn to the beginning of the tradition. This does not mean that the later texts are ignored completely. Heide will no doubt be very careful to present their witness in some manner. However, the very format of a critical edition—with the reconstructed, earliest text in the main page, and all other witnesses consigned to the apparatus—means that the later traditions will be presented not as coherent texts, but as a

2 In May through July 2013, Jeremy Brown, Steve Delamarter, Sam Aldridge, and Shaun Short worked together to prepare two independent transcriptions of the Jeremiah Cycle. Brown compared the differences in JUXTA and produced the final 'clean' edition of the text.

collection of fragmented readings, forever straying from the original. For THEOT's purposes this approach does not do justice to what these later editions represent—trusted forms of the canonical text.

We selected Chapter 2 of Jeremiah as the passage which would constitute our sample for study. In Francesco da Bassano's edition Chapter 2 contains 504 words, which is 2.5% of the approximately 20,300 words that make up the entire Jeremiah Cycle. This posed an interesting challenge for the THEOT project, since this is the smallest sample of a book on which we have ever worked. Would this small sample generate conclusions that are statistically reliable?

THEOT's Work Flow

In the summer of 2015, we engaged our team of transcribers to create transcriptions of thirty-four manuscripts of Jeremiah 2.³

Table 1 **The thirty-four manuscripts of Jeremiah used in the study**

Witness	Manuscript Name	Date
W01	Berlin Orient. Fol. 3067	sixteenth century
W02	Berlin Petermann II, Nachtrag 42 ⁴	fifteenth century
W03	BL Add. 24,991 ⁵	seventeenth century
W04	BL Or. 496	seventeenth century
W05	BnF Éthiopien d'Abbadie 35	seventeenth century
W06	BnF Éthiopien d'Abbadie 55	fifteenth century
W07	Cambridge Add. 1570	1588/1589
W08	EMIP 682, CFRRC 28 ⁶	twentieth century
W09	EMIP 827/EMDL 497/Čäläqot Šöllase 87	eighteenth century
W10	EMIP 937/Mäqälä Mika'el 160	nineteenth century
W11	EMIP 945/Mäqälä Mika'el 168	eighteenth century
W12	EMIP 1029/Məhur Gädam 54	fifteenth century

- 3 For the book of Jeremiah, these included Ashlee Benson, Jonah Sandford, Shaun Short, and Steve Delamarter.
- 4 Dillmann 1878.
- 5 Wright 1877.
- 6 EMIP stands for the Ethiopian Manuscript Imaging Project, directed by Delamarter, assisted by Brown. Catalogs of the project are published as part of the Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies series from Pickwick Publications, Eugene, OR.

Witness	Manuscript Name	Date
W13	EMIP 1051/Addis 'Alām 9	seventeenth century
W14	EMIP 1083/Addis 'Alām 41	eighteenth century
W15	EMIP 1091/Addis 'Alām 49	1921
W16	EMIP 1105/Addis 'Alām 63	eighteenth–early nineteenth century
W17	IES 722 ⁷ = EMLL 25	fifteenth century
W18	EMLL 65	early nineteenth century
W19	EMLL 2080	fourteenth century
W20	EMLL 2082	sixteenth–seventeenth century
W21	EMLL 6686	seventeenth century
W22	EMLL 7584	sixteenth century
W23 ⁸	E8644 8644	fifteenth century
W24	E8671 8671	fifteenth century
W25	GG 63 ⁹	fifteenth century
W26	GG 106	1682–1706
W27	GG 183	fifteenth century
W28	IES 77	early twentieth century
W29	G1-IV-82/HMML ML 026) ¹⁰	fourteenth–fifteenth century
W30	UNESCO 2.16 ¹¹	nineteenth century
W31 ¹²	UNESCO 10.12	eighteenth century

- 7 IES stands for the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abāba, where members of the EMIP team digitized 5,749 items in the archives and manuscripts department in the spring of 2010 with support from the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme (Project 286).
- 8 Additional images of Chapter 2 in this manuscript and the next were provided to us by Ted Erho from the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), Addis Abāba, in 2016.
- 9 A digitization team headed by Michael Gervers and assisted by Denis Nosnitsin digitized the collection Gundā Gunde and a catalogue by Erho is in preparation.
- 10 From a digitization project directed by Mersha Alehegne Mengistie and supported by the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Collegeville, MN.
- 11 UNESCO refers to the collection of around 370 manuscripts that were microfilmed in Ethiopia between September 1969 and February 1970 by a UNESCO mobile microfilm unit. The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts Department of Fine Arts and Culture produced a sketchy hand list: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (Addis Ababa, 20 February 1970).
- 12 The tenth location at which the UNESCO project microfilmed was at Dima Qəddus Giyorgis church. Hence, in the following sigla, the number 10 indicates that location, with

Witness	Manuscript Name	Date
W32	UNESCO 10.4	seventeenth–eighteenth century
W33	UNESCO 10.48	early twentieth century
W34	BAV Cerulli.et.75 ¹³	1930

We used our standard protocols to produce three stages of transcriptions. The first two (dubbed by us as ‘point 1’ and ‘point 2’) were made independently by the transcribers. The third was created by comparing the differences between the point 1 and point 2 transcriptions in JUXTA and against the manuscript, making judgments, and setting forth a clean ‘point 3’ which stands as the final transcription of the manuscript.

In order to prepare the texts for digital analysis, the transcriptions were collated in such a way that all the words that shared the same root were lined up in the same column. On average each manuscript brought somewhere around 504 words to the meeting. However, because of variants and idiosyncratic readings, when these were all lined up, there were fully 949 columns (!) under consideration. These represented the 949 data points for our study. All the conclusions we reach below are based on these 949 data points and, of course, will be valid only to the extent that Jeremiah Chapter 2, and the thirty-four manuscripts in our study, are representative of the entire Jeremiah Cycle and the manuscript tradition which bears it. We never lose sight of this fact, and we know that, generally speaking, the reliability of the conclusions we reach rises proportionally to the size of our samples. The reader is asked to keep this in mind as we review the conclusions below.

Approximately 200 hours were necessary to generate data that could be subjected to analysis and interpretation. This included 34 hours to create an electronic base text and to create image sets for the transcribers, an additional 127 hours of labour to create transcriptions, 40 hours to format the text into columns, and another few hours to run the scripts.

The Formal Aspect of the Textual History of Ethiopic Jeremiah: The Dendrogram and the Identification of the Main Stories in the Textual History

We reach a major milestone in our work when we can generate from our data a dendrogram that shows the statistical proximity of the manuscripts to one another.

the number after the period indicating the UNESCO project number at that location (and not necessarily the shelf mark given by the church).
13 Entries for the manuscripts in the Cerulli collection in the Vatican library can be found in Raineri 2004.

er. Our first task is to identify clusters and forks. The clusters represent groups of manuscripts that share many variants in common. The forks are the points of division between clusters. Each major fork is a graphical representation of difference between branches containing clusters. Behind each fork is a list of distinctive readings which differentiate the clusters on either side of the fork. After these are identified and further analysis is made, it is possible to identify the manuscripts that best represent the clusters of which they are part (marked with a six-point star). See Figure 1 for the dendrogram of the manuscripts we analysed, complete with the clusters and forks and best representative manuscripts of each cluster.

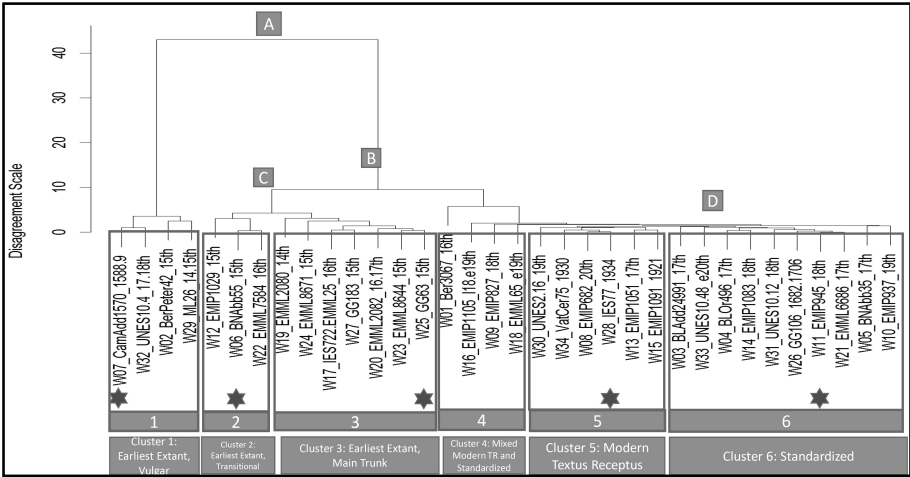


Fig. 1 The dendrogram of the manuscripts of Ethiopic Jeremiah.

Before we know the content of the distinctive readings of the clusters, based solely on the formal aspects of the tradition (i.e. the statistical profiles of the shared variants among the manuscripts), we can identify the stories that require further elucidation by a close analysis of the linguistic data. In the case of Ethiopic Jeremiah, there appear to be seven such stories.

The first story is that of the monumental uniformity of the tradition. This may not be obvious at first glance. We do, after all, have four manuscripts (in Cluster 1) that differ from the rest of the tradition by about 45%. In our method this means that the readings in these four manuscripts are different from all the rest of the manuscripts in 45% of the columns in which the words are aligned—nearly half! But, as we will see, this phenomenon says everything about those four manuscripts and very little about the rest of the tradition. If you remove those four from the equation for a moment, it becomes clear that the rest of the

variation within the entire Ethiopic tradition occurs in less than 9% of the columns. Variation within the Ethiopic Old Testament books that we have studied characteristically runs between 8% and 14%. Thus, the uniformity of Ethiopic Jeremiah—minus the readings of Cluster 1 for the moment—actually falls near the bottom of that spectrum. The text of Ethiopic Jeremiah is essentially one recension with two subgroups.

The second story of the textual history of Ethiopic Jeremiah is the story of the two primary clusters of manuscripts, the old ones (in Clusters 2 and 3) and the young ones (in Clusters 4, 5, and 6). Fork B in the dendrogram marks the primary division in the general tradition between the early manuscripts and the later manuscripts. In other words, the primary differences in the tradition are between these two super-clusters. As we will see in a moment, there is a precise list of distinctive readings that set apart the two, and it is clear and uniform, indicating a divide between them. We can even quantify the percentage difference between the two super-clusters: about 5–6%. But we do well to remember the flip side of that statistic: all the manuscripts in Clusters 2 through 6 share 94% to 95% of their words.

The third story of the textual history of Ethiopic Jeremiah examines the nature of the earliest attested manuscripts, namely, those from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. These include not only Clusters 2 and 3, but also Cluster 1. We acknowledge that Cluster 1 contains, with one exception, manuscripts that come from the earliest period. Cluster 1 is part of the story of the earliest attested manuscripts of Ethiopic Jeremiah. But again, we see that it is not the primary story of the earliest attested cluster. The primary story of the earliest attested period is that there is a super-cluster of ten manuscripts (in our Clusters 2 and 3) that is marked by a uniformity so strong, that all the differences among the manuscripts are played out in less than 5%. Nevertheless, Clusters 2 and 3 are distinct from one another and can aptly be called sub-groups of the earliest attested.

Our fourth story in the textual history of Ethiopic Jeremiah is the story of Cluster 1, and this story has two aspects. The first aspect is the remarkable number of readings which set this cluster apart from the others. However, the second aspect is the solidarity of the tradition against this cluster. These readings are present among our earliest witnesses, and yet, the subsequent tradition turns its back on the recension—and in this case, it seems valid to use the term recension—and the vast majority of its distinctive readings are not attested in later manuscripts. Therefore, we will want to analyse both phenomena: (1) what was the nature of the agenda for the text edition in Cluster 1?; and (2) are any of these distinctive readings preserved in the later tradition?

The fifth story in the textual history of Ethiopic Jeremiah is the story of Cluster 6, which contains what we call the ‘Standardized Text’. The core of this cluster is made up of manuscripts copied in the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

turies. Since they are chronologically later than the manuscripts of Clusters 1–3, we assume that they are crafted in response to the text that is carried in the prior, earliest attested tradition. In the Standardized Text we are bearing witness to *the* major revision that was carried out in the main stream (i.e. excluding Cluster 1, which is not in the main stream) of the Ethiopic Jeremiah transmission history. We will want to know the nature of the agenda behind that revision.

The sixth story in the textual history of Ethiopic Jeremiah is the story of Cluster 5. This is a subtle story indeed. The quantitative difference between Cluster 6 and Cluster 5 is almost imperceptible. And yet, the manuscripts that cluster together (i.e. sharing distinctive readings) in Cluster 5 are predominantly from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whereas those in Cluster 6 are predominantly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With the limited sample from Jeremiah Chapter 2, it would be valid to question whether the manuscripts of Cluster 5 do in fact form a cluster distinct from Cluster 6. And yet, we have learnt from other books of the Ethiopic Old Testament that these very manuscripts often form a distinct cluster that we know as the Modern Textus Receptus (MTR). In fact, the best representative of this cluster is IES 77, the so-called Ḥaylā Šəllase Bible, the manuscript reproduced as the Maḥbārā Ḥawaryat edition of the Gəʿəz Bible and which represents the actual Modern Textus Receptus in the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition. We see here in Jeremiah the same phenomenon that we see in many other books of the Ethiopic Old Testament: The MTR is grounded on the Standardized Text and in certain cases—as is apparently the case in Jeremiah—the MTR is almost indistinguishable from the Standardized, though in other cases the differences are substantial. As we will see, the list of distinctive readings that set off the MTR in Jeremiah from the Standardized Text is a small list indeed; nevertheless, the manuscripts of the MTR do cluster together and deviate ever so slightly from the Standardized.

The seventh and final story considers the manuscripts in Cluster 4. Clearly they are more closely related to the manuscripts of Clusters 5 and 6 than to any other clusters, which is to say that they participate, generally, in the long list of variants that characterize the manuscripts to the right of Fork B. However, when we look more closely at the remainder of their distinctive readings we find a mixture of alignments, sometimes with readings distinctive to Cluster 5 and sometimes with readings distinctive to Cluster 6. We also notice that, with one exception (B3067), the manuscripts are later than the manuscripts which comprise the Standardized Text. We draw the preliminary conclusion that these manuscripts carry a mixed text which has elements of both Clusters 5 and 6. At the same time, we should not overemphasize the quantity of this mixture. The differences between these manuscripts and those in Clusters 5 and 6 are played out in only 1% to 3% of the tradition.

Up to this point, THEOT's analysis is generated solely from what we could call the formal features of the tradition, that is, the quantifiable nature of the statistical alignment of shared variants—quite apart from the actual linguistic substance of the tradition. However, with this preliminary analysis of form completed, we can proceed to an analysis that considers the linguistic data. Following are some examples of these processes, even though we do not offer here a full execution of that program.

The Content Aspect of the Textual History of Ethiopic Jeremiah: The Analysis of the Content and Linguistic Data in the Textual History

We consider it quite remarkable that many of the most important aspects of the textual history of a book can be discerned from a careful analysis of the dendrogram. However, we are also acutely aware of the limitations of this approach. A deep understanding of the nature of the textual traditions can only be discerned through careful philological analysis of the texts and the variations that constitute their uniqueness. In order to achieve this goal, THEOT has developed a set of scripts that deliver up for analysis the very texts that distinguish cluster from cluster and manuscript from manuscript. What follows is an illustration of this sort of evidence, and the conclusions they suggest for Ethiopic Jeremiah.¹⁴

Old and Young: The Two Main Branches of the Tradition

As we said above, when we leave Cluster 1 aside for the moment, the rest of the tradition falls into two super-clusters made up of Clusters 2 and 3 on the left and Clusters 4–6 on the right. This division corresponds not only to shared variants, but also to the age of the manuscripts. Generally, the older manuscripts fall to the left and the younger manuscripts fall to the right.

This divide on the dendrogram—marked as Fork B—is the graphic representation of the following list of distinctive readings that differentiate the two super-clusters from each other. The following chart provides the forty-four readings that differ to a high degree (66% and more)¹⁵ between these super-clusters. For the purpose of clarity, we show the distinctive readings that set apart Super-

14 Reports from work based on these methods include Delamarter and Marvin 2019; Delamarter et al. 2017; Jost 2015.

15 To gain a full understanding of what is going on linguistically, it is necessary for us to consult not just the isolated readings generated by the computer scripts, but also to look at these variants in context. For this, we refer back to the dots and bars document or to another html display tool which arranges the texts of all of the manuscripts by cluster and by column.

cluster 2–3 from Super-cluster 5–6. These readings are from one to five words long:¹⁶

Table 2 The distinctive readings that set apart Clusters 2–3 and Clusters 5–6

Verse	% Difference	Readings in the Super-Cluster 2–3	Readings in the Super-Cluster 4–6
2:1	100%	X X	ወኮነ ቃለ
2:1	100%	X	እግዚአብሔር
2:1	93.8%	X	ኃቢየ
2:1–2:2	100%	X X	ወይቤለኒ ሐር
2:2	100%	X	ወስብክ
2:2	100%	X	ውስተ
2:2	100%	X	እዘኒሃ
2:2	100%	X X X	ለኢየሩሳሌም እንዘ ትብል
2:2	100%	X X X X	ድኅሬየ በገዳም ውስተ ምድር
2:2	100%	X	ዘኢይዘራእ
2:10	100%	እስመ	X
2:10	100%	እምነ X	X ውስተ
2:15	77.8%	X	ላዕሌሁ
2:15	66.7%	ዲቤሁ	X
2:16	100%	መምፍስ X	X ፍፍ
2:20	100%	ወአበይኪ	X
2:20	100%	ገቢረ ግብርኪ	X X
2:20	77.8%	X	ወትቤሲ
2:20	100%	X	ኢገበርኩ
2:20	66.7%	አውግር X	X አድባር
2:20	100%	እትክዓው X	X ክዓውኪ
2:21	88.9%	ለኪ	X
2:21	100%	ወይነ X	X ሴሬቀ
2:21	100%	ዕጉስታር	X

16 In what follows, an X stands for no corresponding word in the column.

Verse	% Difference	Readings in the Super-Cluster 2–3	Readings in the Super-Cluster 4–6
2:21	87.5%	X	ሦከ
2:22	75%	X	እም+
2:22	100%	X	ተሐዘብኪ
2:22	100%	X	በአፍላግ
2:22	100%	X X	ወተካየድኪ ኪዳነ
2:22	100%	X X X X X	ይትሐተም ኃጢአትኪ በቅድሜየ ይቤ እግዚአብሔር
2:24	77.8%	ኀበ	X
2:24	100%	ኀሥረት	X
2:24	93.8%	X X	እንበለ አሳእን
2:25	66.7%	እስመ X	X አንሰ
2:25	77.8%	ወሐረት	X
2:26	88.9%	X	ወነቢያቲሆሙኒ
2:29	66.7%	ወኩልክሙ ዐመፅክሙኒ	X X
2:30	66.7%	X መጥበጎተ	ወለነቢያቲክሙኒ X
2:30	66.7%	X ለነቢቲክሙኒ	መጥባሕት X
2:34	93.8%	X	እንለ
2:34	100%	X	ማውታ
2:34	100%	X	ወደመ
2:34	88.9%	ወቤት	X
2:35	82.6%	X	ወትብሊ

A Closer Look at the Earliest Attested MSS, Part One: The Character of Super-Cluster 2–3

Since these clusters present the heart of the earliest attested tradition, and since there is therefore nothing prior with which they can be compared, it is usual to characterize them first with reference to the external traditions of Hebrew and Greek. For the purposes of this presentation it will suffice to simply say that the Gəʿəz text of these clusters clearly represents some form of the Septuagint, following, in the main, its variations with reference to the Hebrew.

A Closer Look at the Earliest Attested MSS, Part Two: The Differences between Clusters 2 and 3

For all of their uniformity, Clusters 2 and 3 are distinct from one another. The scripts identify twenty-one variations between Clusters 2 and 3.

The origin of many of the differences can be explained in terms of scribal errors (e.g. 2:8, 19, 25, 26, 30, and 33) with Cluster 3 preserving the ‘better’ text. For example, at 2:19 the prior text is **ይገሥጽኪ** (Cluster 3) from which the homophone but senseless **ይገስሰኪ** arose (Cluster 2). In 2:15 **ላዕሌሁ** vs **ዲቤሁ** is a stylistic change. See also the exchange of **አድባር**, ‘mountains’, and **አውግር**, ‘hills’, at 2:20 and **(በ)ኀበ** and **በ** at 2:24. Another stylistic change is **ዘባኖሙ ኀቤዩ**, which fits Gə‘əz grammar better than the more literal **ኀቤዩ ዘባኖሙ** (2:27). At 2:25, Cluster 3 has the more difficult text with a combination of the literal rendering of the LXX **ወሐረት**, ‘she went’, followed by an explanatory **ወተለወቶሙ**, ‘and she followed them’. Cluster 2 brings the text into alignment with the Greek and Hebrew. At 2:29, Cluster 3 has the text closest to the LXX. Cluster 2 follows the Masoretic text or an affiliated version. Cluster 3 appears to preserve consistently the earlier form of the text.¹⁷

Table 3 The distinctive readings that set apart Clusters 2 and 3 from one another

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 2 MSS	Readings in Cluster 3 MSS
2:2	85.7%	ለቅዱስ እስራኤል ይቤ እግዚአብሔር	X X X X
2:6	66.7%	X	ውእቱ
2:8	66.7%	ወካህናትኒ	X
2:14	66.7%	X	ለምንት
2:15	66.7%	ላዕሌሁ	X
2:15	100%	X	ዲቤሁ
2:19	66.7%	X ይገስሰኪ	ይገሥጽኪ X
2:20	100%	X አድባር	አውግር X
2:24	66.7%	X	ኀበ
2:25	100%	X አንሰ	እስመ X
2:25	66.7%	X	ወሐረት

17 We are indebted to Curt Niccum for the description of the distinctive readings provided here.

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 2 Mss	Readings in Cluster 3 Mss
2:26	83.3%	X	ወለካህና-ቲሆሙ-ኒ
2:27	100%	ዘባኖሙ	X
2:27	100%	X	ዘባኖሙ
2:29	100%	X X	ወኩልክሙ ዐመፅክሙ-ኒ
2:30	100%	ወለነቢ,ዖ-ቲኪ,ኒ X	X መጥበጎት
2:30	100%	መጥባሕት X	X ለነቢ-ቲክሙ-ኒ
2:30	83.3%	ወበዝኒ	X
2:31	66.7%	X	ሕዝብየ
2:31	66.7%	ለከ	X
2:33	66.7%	X	ትጎሥሥ

A Closer Look at the Earliest Attested MSS, Part Three: The Character of Cluster 1

Cluster 1 is remarkable in several ways. It is made up of a subset of the earliest attested manuscripts, in a strictly chronological sense, and it carries a version of the text that differs from all the other clusters to a degree that is almost without parallel in any stage of the extant Ethiopic tradition.¹⁸ The four manuscripts that make up the cluster differ from one another very little. Thus, they cannot be passed off individually as idiosyncratic; they represent a minority tradition in the period of the earliest attested manuscripts.

As the dendrogram shows,¹⁹ the list of distinctive readings—that is, those readings that are unique to Cluster 1—is a very substantial list. In all, there are 202 readings whose degree of difference from the rest of the tradition is greater than 60%. Below is a list of only the 137 Text Variation Units (TVUs) with 100% difference, namely, where all four manuscripts in Cluster 1 share a reading that is witnessed by no other manuscript in the sample. These 137 TVUs range between one and nineteen words in length.

¹⁸ The only thing similar to the phenomenon of Cluster 1 in Jeremiah is the cluster of manuscripts in Ethiopic Ezekiel which Knibb described as carrying a ‘vulgar text’.

¹⁹ For those unfamiliar with the interpretation of a dendrogram, we mention once more that the dendrogram is a graphic representation of the statistical relationships. The statistics themselves derive from the presence or absence of words. Thus, a large value on the disagreement scale on the dendrogram necessarily implies a substantial list of unique readings.

Again, we will not attempt here to present a detailed characterization of the text carried by Cluster 1. A few comments will have to suffice.²⁰ At 2:2–3, Cluster 1 has a doublet taken over virtually word for word from the Arabic according to Joseph Schäfers.²¹ At 2:5 **ወኢረብሐ ወኢምንተኒ** aligns with Arabic (and also Syriac) per Schäfers.²² At 2:10 **እመቦ ፩ዘገብረ ግብርክሙ** is from the Arabic.²³ At 2:13, **ወርኅቁ እምኔየ ዘኮንክዎሙ** is from the Arabic.²⁴ At 2:17, **እስመ ጸላእከ ወርኅቀ እምአምልኮ እግዚአብሔር** is from the Arabic, which presented its own problems (i.e. one of the words is ‘sinnlos’).²⁵ At 2:19, **ወአንተሂ ተመየጥከ ላዕሌየ ወዓለውከኒ ከመ ነኪር ፍጥረት** is from the Arabic.²⁶

Table 4 The unique readings of Cluster 1

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 1	Readings in Clusters 2–6
2:1	100%	ወካዕበ	X ²⁷
2:1	100%	ነበበኒ	X
2:2	100%	አስምዕ ወአጠይቅ	X X
2:2	100%	ምስማዓ	X
2:2	100%	ሰብአ	X
2:2	100%	ለኪ አኢየሩሳሌም	X X
2:2	100%	ወምገሰ	X
2:2	100%	ትዕግሥተኪ	X
2:2	100%	ዘከመ	X
2:2	100%	በበድው በኀበ	X X
2:2– 2:3	100%	ወበኀበ ቀደስክዎ ለእስራኤል ይቤ እግዚአብሔር	X X X X X
2:3	100%	ወኃረይክዎ ወአዘዝክዎ ከመ ይኅር ይዎ	X X X X
2:3	100%	ለእለ ይትለአኩኒ	X X

20 Again, we acknowledge Niccum’s contributions in this paragraph.

21 Schäfers 1912, 2–3.

22 Ibid., 3.

23 Ibid., 3.

24 Ibid., 3.

25 Ibid., 4.

26 Ibid., 4.

27 X represents a minus in comparison to the other column.

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 1	Readings in Clusters 2–6
2:3	100%	ወይቤ	X
2:3	100%	ይፈትዱ	X
2:3	100%	አወርድ	X
2:3	100%	X	እኪት
2:3	100%	እኪተ	X
2:4	100%	ሰብአ	X
2:4	100%	ነገድ	X
2:5	100%	አበሳ	X
2:5	100%	ወኢረብሐ ወኢምንተኒ	X X
2:8	100%	ግልፎ	X
2:9	100%	ወእትፋትሐከሙ ካዕበ ጎልፋኬ	X X X
2:9	100%	ውስተ ደሰያተ ሮም	X X X
2:10	100%	ወርእዩ ወለአኩ	X X
2:10	100%	ጎበ X ደቂቀ	X ውስተ X
2:10	100%	ወአእምሩ	X
2:10	100%	X ባሕቱ X	በሕቁ X ወርእዩ
2:10	100%	እመቦ ጃዘገብረ ግብርክሙ	X X X
2:11	100%	X ወእመቦ	ይዌልጡ X
2:11	100%	ዘወለጡ	X
2:11	100%	X	እንዘኬ
2:11	100%	ወተለው	X
2:12	100%	X አንከረአ	ደንገፀት X
2:12	100%	X በእንተዝ	በበይነዝ X
2:12	100%	ወፈርሁ	X
2:12	100%	ወደንገፀ	X
2:13	100%	ወርጎቁ እምኔየ ዘኮንክዎሙ	X X X
2:13	100%	ወለቅለቅዎሙ በዓረር	X X
2:13	100%	ውስቴቶሙ ማይ	X X
2:14	100%	እስራኤል	X
2:14	100%	እንከ	X
2:14	100%	ወእመሰ አግዓዚ	X X

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 1	Readings in Clusters 2–6
2:14	100%	እምትውልደ	X
2:14	100%	እም+ ኢገብረ ዘንተ	X X X
2:14– 2:15	100%	ወኮነ ለምህርክ እምይእዜ X ይጥኅሩ	X X X ወጠሕሩ X
2:15	100%	ነገሥተ ባቢሎን ወያነሥኡ ቃሎሙ	X X X X
2:15	100%	ወትከውን ምድሩ	X X
2:15	100%	ምዝብርተ	X
2:16	100%	X X	ወአእመሩኪ ደቂቀ
2:16	100%	X ወአዕፃዳቲሁኒ በድወ እምኃጢ አ እለ ይነብርዋ ወሰብአ ሚምፎስ ወታሕፌስ ክልኤ አህጉረ ግጽ	ወጠፍኖስ X X X X X X X X X X X
2:16	100%	እሉ እሙንቱ እለ ይቅደሙ ቂው ዎ ሊቀ አይሁድ እምድጎረ ተቀት ለ ኢዮስያስ ተቂወወ ወልዱ ወአ ንበሩ ህዩንቴህ ካልአ ወይቂወው መሰፍንተ እምድጎረ መሰፍንት	X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X
2:17	100%	እስመ	X
2:17	100%	እስመ ጸላእክ ወርኅቀ እምአምልኮ እግዚአብሔር ዘፈጠረክ ወመሐርክ በውስተ ፍኖት	X X X X X X X X X
2:18	100%	ኮንክ ወምንተ	X X
2:18	100%	ዘአንሶሰውክ	X
2:18	100%	እምተከዜ	X
2:18	100%	እፎ እንክ	X X
2:18	100%	ዘተሐውር	X
2:18	100%	ሶርያ	X
2:19	100%	ርኢኬ ወለቡ	X X
2:19	100 %	ግብረ መሪረ	X X
2:19	100%	እስመ ኃደገ አምልኮ X	X X X ይቤ
2:19	100%	ወኢአመንከኒ ከመዝ ይቤ እግዚአ ብሔር ኃያል	X X X X X
2:20	100%	ኢያመልክ	X
2:20	100%	ካልአ	X
2:20	100%	ወአንተሰ	X

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 1	Readings in Clusters 2–6
2:20	100%	ላዕለ X	X ውስተ
2:20	100%	ዕፀው	X
2:20	100%	X እለ ብዙኃን አዕፀቅ ዘረመ	ዘረ X X X X
2:20	100%	ትስሕት	X
2:20	100%	ወትዜሙ	X
2:20	100%	ትቤ	X
2:21	100%	አዕፀቀ	X
2:21	100%	ወተከልኩ	X
2:21	100%	ወአንተሂ ተመዋጥክ ላዕሌዋ ወዓለ ውክኒ ከመ ነኪር ፍጥረት	X X X X X X X
2:22	100%	አንተ ሐፀብከ	X X
2:22	100%	ኃጣይኢክ ቅሩባት አማንቱ ኀቤክ	X X X X
2:22– 2:23	100%	ኃያል ዘእመጽ ሕፈ ኤርምያስ	X X X
2:23	100%	ግልፎ ወኢያምለክዎ	X X
2:23	100%	ኀበ	X
2:23	100%	ዘውስተ አፍላግ ወርኢ	X X X
2:23	100%	ዘከመ አንግእከ ቃለክ ለአምልኮ ጣዖት	X X X X X
2:24	100%	X ኣጠዋይ	በውስተ X
2:24	100%	X ከመ ዓድገ ገዳም ዘይትመሀር ሩጽተ ወይትረኣይ	ወተርህበት X X X X X X
2:24	100%	X X በድው ወይትዌረድ	ማያተ አሕቃላት X X
2:24	100%	X ወኮንከሙ ከመ እጉለ ቈናጽል እለ ይከሥቱ አፋሆሙ	ትትዌረድ X X X X X X X
2:24	100%	ወሶበ ይርኀቡ	X X
2:24	100%	ከማሁኬ ከሉሎሙ ደቂቀ እስራኤል ከሠቱ አልበቢሆሙ ለአምልኮ ጣዖት ወአልቦሙ ጸድቃኑ እለ ይጌሥጽዎሙ	X X X X X X X X X X X X
2:25	100%	እኣትቱኬ	X
2:25	100%	እምኃጢኣት	X
2:25	100%	ጸናዕነ	X
2:25	100%	ለአምልኮ ጣዖት	X X

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 1	Readings in Clusters 2–6
2:25	100%	ኪያሆሙ	X
2:26	100%	ረከብዎ	X
2:26	100%	ወኃሥሩ	X
2:26	100%	ወአበይቶሙኒ	X
2:27	100%	አቡነ	X
2:27	100%	እስመ	X
2:27	100%	ወአልበቢሆሙሰ አርጎቁ እምኔየ	X X X
2:27	100%	አመ ዕለተ እኪት	X X X
2:27	100%	ለረድኤትነ	X
2:27	100%	ወባልኃነ	X
2:28	100%	ሀለው	X
2:28	100%	እንተ ኃረይክሙ	X X
2:28	100%	ወይርድኡክሙ	X
2:28	100%	አመ ዕለተ እኪት	X X X
2:28	100%	ብዙኃን እማልክቲክሙ	X X
2:28	100%	ወአዕፃዳቲክሙ አዘመደ	X X
2:28	100%	ግልፎ	X
2:29	100%	ለምንትኑ ትትዋቀሱኒ እስመ ናሁ ዓለውክሙኒ ኅቡረ ወሐሰውክ ሙኒ	X X X X X X X
2:30	100%	ወኮነ ተግሣጽየ ለደቂቀክሙ	X X X
2:30	100%	እስመ	X
2:30	100%	እስመ	X
2:30	100%	ብእፀብዕ ለውሉድክሙ	X X
2:31	100%	ይእዜኒ	X
2:31	100%	አትውልድ አጠዋይ ወእኩይ	X X X
2:31	100%	X	መዝበረኑ
2:31	100%	ከመ ገዳም	X X
2:31	100%	ከመ	X
2:31	100%	ምዝብርት X ለምንት	X እስመ X
2:31	100%	ናሁ ኃደግናከ	X X
2:31	100%	ወኢንጉብእ	X

Verse	% Difference	Readings in Cluster 1	Readings in Clusters 2–6
2:32	100%	ወካዕበ	X
2:32	100%	ድንግል	X
2:32	100%	X	ወድንግል
2:32	100%	ወተምሀሩ እንከ በፍኖቶሙ	X X X
2:33	100%	ወእሙንቱሂ	X
2:34	100%	ወእደዊሆሙኒ ተሲርየት	X X
2:34	100%	ምስኪናን	X
2:34	100%	ወይቤሉ ንጹሐን ንሕነ እምጋጢ አት	X X X X
2:35	100%	ንሕነ	X
2:35	100%	ወእትፋትሐክሙ ወእኳንነክሙ	X X
2:36	100%	ናሁ ትረውፁ	X X
2:36	100%	X ወጐየይክሙ እምሶርያ	በአሶር X X

When we put this list of six in the context of the total list of the 137 TVUs with 100% difference, we have to ask ourselves how significant these connections to the Arabic are for the characterization of Cluster 1. Is it enough to justify calling the whole thing the ‘Arabic recension’? The answer to this question calls for clear criteria that govern the decision to use the term ‘recension’ as opposed to ‘edition’, and so on. Our hope is that such subjective descriptions can be replaced with statistical ones which would help us to avoid mischaracterizing a text through the use of a label that is not statistically justified. This is clearly a recension, but in the end, we decided to reserve ‘Arabic recension’ for a version that would appear to be a *de novo* revision straight from the Arabic (e.g. manuscript W in Oscar Löfgren’s 1927 edition of Daniel).²⁸ We think that it would be safe to regard Cluster 1 as one or more attempts to conform the earlier text, or at least modify the earlier text since the original readings are often retained, towards external, primarily Arabic, versions.

Is there anything else we can say about Cluster 1? Beyond the distinctive readings that set it apart from the other clusters, is there evidence to identify its secondary affiliations? The following chart shows how it is that the manuscripts in Cluster 1 align with the distinctive readings from Super-cluster 2–3 on the one hand (left) and those from Super-cluster 4–6 on the other (right).

²⁸ Löfgren 1927.

Secondary Affiliations Distinctive Readings													
Cluster under study: Cluster 01 (W07, W32, W02, W29)													
Left comparison clusters: Cluster 02 (W12, W06, W22) , Cluster 03 (W19, W24, W17, W27, W20, W23, W25)													
Right comparison clusters: Cluster 04 (W01, W16, W09, W18) , Cluster 05 (W30, W13, W15, W28, W08, W34) , Cluster 06 (W03, W33, W04, W14, W31, W26, W11, W21, W05, W10)													
Cluster 02: Cluster 03:	W02 - BerPeter42_15th			W07 - CamAdd1570_1588			W32 - UNES10.4_17-18			W29 - ML26_14-15th			Cluster 04: Cluster 05: Cluster 06:
	Num left TVUs	Diff num TVUs left vs. right	Num right TVUs	Num left TVUs	Diff num TVUs left vs. right	Num right TVUs	Num left TVUs	Diff num TVUs left vs. right	Num right TVUs	Num left TVUs	Diff num TVUs left vs. right	Num right TVUs	
Left side of each ms	21	13	8	21	13	8	21	13	8	20	11	9	Right side of each ms
TVUs with % diff = 100	14	11	3	14	11	3	14	11	3	14	11	3	TVUs with % diff = -100
TVUs with % diff 90 to 100	4	4	0	4	4	0	3	3	0	3	2	1	TVUs with % diff -100 to -90
TVUs with % diff 80 to 90	2	-1	3	2	-1	3	2	-1	3	2	-1	3	TVUs with % diff -90 to -80
TVUs with % diff 70 to 80	4	-4	8	4	-4	8	4	-4	8	4	-4	8	TVUs with % diff -80 to -70
TVUs with % diff 60 to 70	3	1	2	1	-3	4	1	-3	4	3	1	2	TVUs with % diff -70 to -60
TVUs with % diff 50 to 60	2	-2	4	1	-4	5	2	-2	4	1	-4	5	TVUs with % diff -60 to -50
TVUs with % diff 40 to 50	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	TVUs with % diff -50 to -40
TVUs with % diff 30 to 40	4	-7	11	5	-5	10	5	-5	10	5	-5	10	TVUs with % diff -40 to -30
TVUs with % diff 20 to 30	16	-25	41	18	-21	39	17	-23	40	17	-23	40	TVUs with % diff -30 to -20
TVUs with % diff 10 to 20	80	56	24	80	56	24	79	54	25	79	54	25	TVUs with % diff -20 to -10
TVUs with % diff 0 to 10													TVUs with % diff -10 to 0

Fig. 2 The proximity of the manuscripts in Cluster 1 to Super-cluster 2–3 and Super-cluster 4–6.

This proves, from another angle, that if you were to remove all the distinctive readings of Cluster 1, what you would have left are manuscripts that fit squarely into Super-cluster 2–3 over against the Super-cluster 4–6.

A Closer Look at Clusters 5 and 6, the Manuscripts Carrying the MTR and the Standardized Text

The distinctive readings of Cluster 6, the Standardized Text, were set forth above and are at the heart of the main body of variants that divide the extant manuscripts into old manuscripts (Clusters 2–3) and young manuscripts (Clusters 5–6). Cluster 5 contains manuscripts with the form of the text we call the Modern Textus Receptus.

A Closer Look at Cluster 4: Mixed Text Manuscripts

It is clear that the primary affiliation for all the manuscripts in Cluster 4 is with Clusters 5 and 6. But in the case of one of these manuscripts, B3067, there is a unique secondary relationship with readings from Super-cluster 1–3. There are, in fact, twenty-five instances in Jeremiah 2 where B3067 shares readings with Clusters 1–3,²⁹ even though overall it has even more shared readings with Su-

29 In 2:10a, col. 1 (where it lacks **አስመ**); 2:16a, col. 4 (where it has **ዮዮ**); 2:20b, cols 3–6 (where it has **ወትቤሲ ኢገበርኩ** instead of **ወእበይክ ገበረ ግበረክ ወትቤ**); 2:21a, cols 16–17 (where it has two minuses); 2:21b, col. 3 (a minus); 2:24d, cols 6–7 (two minuses); 2:25c, col. 6 (where it lacks **አስመ**); 2:26c, col. 5 (where it has **ወነቢያቲሆሙኒ**); 2:29, cols 7–8 (two minuses); 2:30a, col. 5 (a minus); 2:30a, col. 8; 2:33c, col. 3 (**አንተሂ**); 2:34a, cols 3–

per-cluster 4–6. The other three manuscripts in Cluster 4 do not share these readings.

On the Weaknesses and Strengths of the THEOT Process

Certain aspects of the THEOT process have challenges. At the outset, it should be clear that the THEOT scripts and the reports they produce do not bring any human perception or linguistic sophistication to the task. They bring no philological comprehension; they have no understanding of text critical logic and method. They are merely tools in the hands of humans. Thus, they are no match for a philological expert with mature text-critical judgment. To the degree that the humans writing the scripts and interpreting the reports have such comprehension and good judgment, the scripts can be used to identify and deliver up just the right data to tell the text-critical story the human wants to tell. But if the human logic is ill-conceived, or if inappropriate data is used to substantiate the wrong claim, the scripts will do nothing to stop this. One can only be thankful that when scripts or queries are ill-conceived, they tend to serve up data that when analysed carefully betrays flaws that make it clear that something was wrong with the thinking behind the query.

The THEOT process is very slow on the front end. While this is true to a degree with the classic collation method, there is a tremendous amount of work to be done in the THEOT method before tentative conclusions can be reached.

However, once we complete the jobs of transcription, data cleaning, and formatting into columns, and we are ready to run statistical scripts on the data, several clear strengths emerge.

An array of standardized computer scripts. The THEOT scripts explore all of the statistical relationships among all of the words of all of the manuscripts in a standardized way. Data sets for all the books we study are approached in the same way, by the same computations, and with the same outputs. The outputs (such as the dendrogram and the various distinctive readings reports, the best representative manuscripts report, the report on scribal idiosyncrasies, etc.), are all comprehensive, incorporating all of our data.

The capacity for targeted queries. The standardized reports provide us with a wealth of data to analyse. But there is also capacity for targeted queries (experiments, if you will), in which theories can be proposed, search queries formulated, data generated, and confirmation reached about the accuracy or not of the predictions. We often find ourselves following one query after another in search

5 (ወተረከበ ውስተ እደቂክ); 2:34a, cols 10–13 (ማውታ ወደመ ነፍሰ ንጹሕ); 2:35a, col. 2 (ወትብሊ); 2:35a, col. 6 (አነ).

of the correct data—not a search for data that confirms our theories, but for the data appropriate to speak to the question we have.

The ability to generate lists of distinctive readings. This capacity for targeted queries is particularly valuable in the case with the identification and analysis of distinctive readings. It is necessary and helpful, of course, to identify and analyse the distinctive readings that constitute the major forks at the top of the differences in the dendrogram. But queries can be formulated with the scripts that can get at obscure correlations that are unlikely to be fully apprehended in manual processes where the data points are few and far between.

The ability to identify secondary affiliations. This last point is nowhere clearer than with the use of the secondary affiliations scripts. These are precisely the kinds of correlations that do not show up clearly at all in the dendrogram. When we have a cluster of mixed-text manuscripts or manuscripts which appear only to be loosely affiliated with other tight clusters—such as Cluster 4 in the Jeremiah data—then we apply this script to come at the data from a different angle and the reports can show us not only statistical proximity (e.g. all four manuscripts have twenty differences from another cluster) but obscure shared readings.

The ability to identify best representative manuscripts. As previously mentioned, one of the scripts identifies the manuscript that best represents each cluster of manuscripts. Another script generates a ‘statistics’ report that fully identifies the idiosyncratic readings of each manuscript. When these idiosyncratic readings are removed from the best representative manuscripts, it is possible to generate fairly clean ‘majority’ texts that represent accurately the readings of each cluster.

A diagnostic for new copies of Ethiopic Jeremiah. One of the values of the list of distinctive readings for each cluster is that it provides a diagnostic by which new copies of Ethiopic Jeremiah can quickly be associated with the manuscripts that share its readings.

In the end, our work identified the same clusters as Heide and the same best representative of the earliest attested clusters, namely GG 63. All this was performed on a sample of only 2.5% of the Jeremiah Cycle. We hope that our work contributed to the confirmation of Heide’s work. And we also hope that the THEOT method contributes a set of perspectives and theories that can be tested against the full collations produced in the final edition.

Further Information on the Programming Behind THEOT Workflow

The stories of the textual history of the Ethiopic Jeremiah Cycle are told in this paper, based on an analysis of the relationships of thirty-four manuscripts. The basic premise of the study is that relationships among manuscripts are based on

their shared readings. Various manual and computer processes are employed to identify these shared readings, and to characterize their relationships.³⁰

The development of the processes can be described as a creative and productive interplay of manual and computer processes. The original manual processes were automated, and then the output of the computer processes inspired additional manual processes, which were in turn automated, and so on. The goals of the processes are

- Precision—to identify and quantify shared variants in absolute statistical terms, rather than impressionistic language;
- Consistency—to employ methodology consistently within an Old Testament book, and across books;
- Efficiency—to maximize what can be extracted from data created by worker input, with the result that we can process more Old Testament books than otherwise possible, and know more about their textual history;
- Accuracy—to create data sets that are accurate, due to a combination of quality assurance workflows and computer processes, and to employ them in methodologically appropriate ways (i.e. to identify and generate the appropriate data that tell the story we trying to tell at the moment);
- Comprehensiveness—to incorporate all of the data points available from all of the manuscripts.

Decisions about Methodology

As we developed the manual and computer processes, a number of alternatives presented themselves, and so the THEOT team made various decisions that shaped the methodology. These are described below.

Granularity of textual unit. After experimenting with several alternatives, we settled on using a single Gəʾəz word as the textual unit for comparison. Alternatives that were ultimately not used are (1) an entire verse (Western verse divisions), (2) a small TVU of approximately three to five words, or (3) a single Gəʾəz letter.

Which textual unit to compare. So that a computer script could make comparisons of each manuscript against other manuscripts, a step in the THEOT process is to manually line up words in an MS Word document. But the question is which criteria should be used to determine which words to line up. After experimenting with several alternatives, we settled on using the single criterion that

30 George Kiraz has applied computer programming to the study of Semitic linguistic phenomena and was an early inspiration to our thinking. See Kiraz 2001. Further explanation of the methodology has been provided in Jost 2015.

words with the same Gə‘əz root should be lined up. We did not arrange words in columns based on linguistic features, such as whether a noun is singular or plural, or various forms of the verb.

Criteria to determine whether words are the same. After experimenting with several alternatives, we settled on using the criterion of whether a manuscript has a word, or is missing a word in a location in the text. Alternatives not used are (1) do the words match exactly, letter for letter? (2) do the words match after both have been normalized?³¹ (3) do the words match when only the consonants are compared (vowels ignored)?

Whether to exclude unique readings for dendrogram. When a manuscript was the only manuscript having a particular reading, that data point was excluded, because unique readings reflect not so much the textual history of the manuscripts, but rather scribal idiosyncrasies or history of language. The alternative not used is to include unique readings for dendrograms.

Whether to exclude unique readings for best representative manuscripts. For identifying best representative manuscripts, however, the decision was made to include unique readings. By doing so, manuscripts with many unique readings are eliminated from consideration. The alternative not used is to exclude unique readings for identifying best representative manuscripts.

THEOT Manual and Computer Processes

Given the above decisions, the THEOT methodology proceeds as follows.³²

1) *Collect and assemble image sets.* Foundational to all such work is the availability of images of the manuscripts. Since THEOT is closely connected to the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project (EMIP), we already have over half the quantity of manuscripts necessary to carry out such a study. These have to be supplemented with images of manuscripts from other collections and projects which will help fill out the sample in terms of chronological distribution. We also try to include any manuscripts that have been used in text critical studies performed to date so that we can correlate our conclusions with those of others working in the field. We bundle images of the manuscript into large PDF files

31 For this match algorithm, the following letters are considered to be the same letter: (1) ሀ, ሐ, and ኀ; (2) አ and ዐ; (3) ሠ and ሰ; (4) ጸ and ፀ. Furthermore, for gutturals, first order and fourth order vowels are considered to be the same: (1) ሀ and ሃ; (2) ሐ and ሑ; (3) ኀ and ኃ; (4) አ and ኣ; (5) ዐ and ዓ. This comparison was achieved in software using a list of letter substitutions provided by Aaron Butts.

32 Much more could be said about each of these steps, but for the purposes here, it will suffice to give a brief overview.

and mark the location of the TVUs to be transcribed. In the case of Jeremiah, this amounted to marking the verses of Chapter 2.

2) *Create electronic base texts.* Rather than having transcribers working from scratch for each manuscript, we create an electronic base text, whose primary purpose is to facilitate quick and accurate work by the transcriber. In some cases, this means having two or more forms of the base text, depending on whether the tradition carries significant variants. In all cases this means finding the best available text for the basis for transcription work. It was at this point that we standardized the conventions for naming and layout of the lines of the transcription.

3) *Transcribe the manuscripts.* Using the PDF images and an electronic base text as a starting point, and armed with a set of policies regarding the insertion of proper sigla to designate primary and secondary hands, lacunae, erasures, and so on, we created an accurate transcription of the manuscript, using the quality assurance process described above.

4) *Collate and format the transcriptions.* We combined the transcriptions into a single MS Word document, ordered them according to verse segment, and then lined up the words in columns, so that a computer script could determine which words to compare against words in other manuscripts. This document is referred to as the ‘dots and bars’ document, since periods (dots) are used to mark missing words, and vertical bars are used to delineate text units (usually two or three per verse).

5) *Create the database of variants.* A computer script processed the dots and bars document, and created a database of variants, which indicates which reading each manuscript has in each location in the text. A ‘1’ (one) indicates that there is no word in that location for a manuscript, a ‘2’ (two) indicates that a word is present, and a ‘0’ (zero) indicates that the reading cannot be determined (parchment is missing or damaged).

6) *Calculate the percentage agreement table.* A computer script compared each of the data points to calculate a percentage agreement for each manuscript against every other manuscript. The percentage values are arranged in a table.

7) *Generate the dendrogram.* A computer script fed the percentage agreement table into R Statistical Package,³³ which then generated a dendrogram, using the Average linkage method.³⁴ It should be noted that a dendrogram is not the same as a stemma.

33 R Core Team 2016. See also Jockers 2014.

34 In the R statistical package, average linkage method is one option used by the hierarchical clustering algorithm that builds the dendrogram. The various linkage methods provide dif-

8) *Identify clusters of manuscripts.* We manually identified clusters, based on the hierarchical clustering visually in evidence in the dendrogram.

9) *Identify distinctive readings.* A computer script (a) accepted as input one or more clusters of manuscripts to constitute an ‘in-group’ and one or more clusters to constitute an ‘out-group’; (b) for each data point (i) determine the most frequent reading of the manuscripts in the in-group; (ii) calculate the percentage of manuscripts in the in-group having that reading; (iii) calculate the percentage of manuscripts in the out-group having the most frequent reading of the in-group; (iv) subtract the in-group percentage minus the out-group percentage to determine the percentage difference, and include that in the data for this data point; (c) order the data points by the percentage difference, and put the data in a report.

Example:

- manuscripts in in-group: W01, W02, W03
- manuscripts in out-group: W04, W05, W06, W07, W08
- most frequent reading in in-group: ‘2’ (a word is present)
- percentage of in-group manuscripts that have this reading: 100%
- percentage of out-group manuscripts that have this reading: 0% (all manuscripts have reading ‘1’, no word is present)
- subtract 100%–0%, which yields 100% for percentage difference

Data points with a percentage difference of 100%, such as the example presented above, are the most interesting, because these are unique readings for the cluster (in comparison to the specified out-group manuscripts). Note that this technique allows for great precision. If, for example, one of the out-group manuscripts had the most frequent reading of the in-group, then the calculation would be 100%–20% (1 out of 5) = 80%.

10) *Identify secondary affiliation distinctive readings.* The dendrogram shows the primary relationships among clusters, but frequently it is helpful to study the secondary relationships of clusters or manuscripts. A computer script (a) accepted as input a cluster of manuscripts to constitute a ‘cluster under study’, one or more clusters for the ‘left comparison clusters’, and one or more clusters for the ‘right comparison clusters’; (b) determine the most frequent reading for left comparison clusters and right comparison clusters; (c) for each manuscript under study, for each data point: (i) determine the manuscript’s reading; (ii) calculate the percentage of manuscripts in the left comparison clusters that agree with the manuscript’s reading, (iii) calculate the percentage of manuscripts in the right comparison clusters that agree with the manuscript’s reading, (iv) calculate a

ferent views of the data, in the same way that the mean average and median average provide different views of a data set.

percentage difference between (ii) and (iii); (d) order the manuscripts under study according to which agree most with the left comparison clusters; e) print the data in a report.

11) *Identify best representative manuscripts.* A computer script (a) determined the cluster profile by collecting the most frequent reading for each data point; (b) added these cluster profiles as additional columns to the database of variants (this allows manuscripts to be compared to the cluster profiles); (c) recalculated the percentage agreement table, including the cluster profiles (include unique readings); (d) in general, for each cluster, the manuscript with the highest percentage agreement with its cluster profile will be the best representative manuscript. However, manuscripts with a high number of zeros in the database of variants should be excluded from consideration. Zeros indicate that the reading cannot be determined. As an example, a manuscript where half of the pages are missing would have zeros entered for the missing text. That manuscript should be excluded from consideration for best representative manuscript. Note also that for the purpose of identifying best representative manuscripts, unique readings *were* included. The reason is that a manuscript with a large number of unique readings should also be excluded from consideration as the best representative of the cluster.

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A Few Notes—Once More—on Editing Ethiopic Texts*

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Introduction

For the obvious reason that, particularly in earlier periods starting from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Ethiopia was known to a large extent, not only through encounters with Ethiopians in their country and abroad (especially in Rome and the Near East), but also through the analysis of its written heritage transmitted in manuscripts, a large part of Ethiopian studies has consisted in the examination and publication of its written heritage, namely texts and mostly Gə‘əz texts. Editing therefore is traditionally a branch of ‘classical Ethiopian studies’ and it was from the very beginning an essential component of the broader Ethiopian studies. As happened in other disciplines, the initiators were also editors and philologists, in their own way. We do not need to dwell on details of the whole history of editing of Ethiopic texts here, but, in addition to the

- * This text partly resumes some points of the paper ‘Should Ethiopic Orthography be Normalized in Editions of Biblical Texts, and How to Do It in a Reasonable Way? (With Some Thoughts on Electronic Editions)’, presented at The Ethiopic Jeremiah-Cycle: A Critical Edition project workshop, Philipps-Universität Marburg, 4–5 October 2016, convened by Martin Heide and Stefan Weninger, and other points of the paper ‘Editing Ethiopic Texts: The Case of the More Ancient Layer’, presented at the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies: Regional and Global Ethiopia—Interconnections and Identities, 1–5 October 2018, Mekelle University (Mekelle, Ethiopia), Panel 0805: Past, Present and Future of Editing Ethiopian Texts: Regional and Global Perspectives. Parts of the paper presented at the project workshop in Marburg are also published in Bausi 2016. This research has been funded by the European Research Council, European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007–2013)/ERC Advanced Grant agreement no. 338756, project TraCES: From Translation to Creation: Changes in Ethiopic Style and Lexicon from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages (2014–2019); the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft through the Sonderforschungsbereich 950, Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa (2011–2019); and the long-term project Beta maṣāḥəft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung, funded within the Academies’ Programme, coordinated by the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities, under survey of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Hamburg (2016–2040). Note that the transcription of Ethiopic follows the rules of the aforementioned projects TraCES and Beta maṣāḥəft.

very few sketches we have, it is desirable that a detailed history of Ethiopian texts editing will be written once, that will look at the *method*, and not only at the *texts* that were published. But there is no doubt that, since the First International Conference of Ethiopian Studies held in Rome in 1959 defined the field and international conferences started to serve as a forum of broad scholarly exchange, editing held its firm place in Ethiopian studies and in the studies on the Ethiopic Bible and literature in particular.

Yet, broad and well-grounded reflections on method are scarce and editing Ethiopian texts has remained a practice largely determined by sectorial trends, with different practices and little common ground. The different methods, in case a method is declared in a printed published edition (this is not always the case), appear to be thoroughly oriented towards and determined by the broader field to which the single edited Ethiopic texts traditionally belong, so that a coherent field of Ethiopic textual criticism has not yet fully emerged. This happens despite the increasing number of published editions.

General Remarks

Notwithstanding some non-mainstream attempts at a precise methodological reflection on editing Gə'əz texts in printed form, almost exclusively from European scholarship, and the impressive flourishing of philology programmes at Ethiopian universities, one has to admit that the general academic panorama does not provide yet any widely shared view on how to edit Ethiopic texts. The scholarly and academic control—that is the most important requirement for securing quality and establishing common standards—is still low and not well focused, and the field has not yet any established common ground for mutual understanding. The task of checking what and how is done should be committed to reviews. These, however, are often limited to a summarization of content and often end with the assumption that an edition is good by its only existence, since a new text is made accessible in the form of a printed publication.¹ Additional factors, moreover, must be considered.

1) Historians and new field researches have highlighted the relevance of so far more neglected typologies of texts, like documentary texts (feudal deeds as well as minor historiographical texts), which require specific editorial solutions due to their particular status;

1 See the Osservatorio sulle Edizioni Critiche, Università degli Studi di Milano (at <https://sites.unimi.it/oec/>), where newly appeared critical editions are evaluated on the basis of a set of parameters; see there Bausi 2021b, which is an analysis of Tedros Abraha 2017; for the same review in shorter form see Bausi 2021a.

2) There is an Ethiopian tradition of editing, still too little known and hardly explored, represented by the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥədo Church and related people and institutions;

3) The ‘manuscript cultures’ approach has provided a deeper and wider understanding of manuscripts as a decisive factor in shaping transmission, cultural social: in one word, historical processes, besides and in connection with their role of text carriers. Yet, the ‘manuscript cultures’ point of view does not provide any editorial solution ready at hand. There are two aspects of this latter approach: (a) the edition can assume as its task the exhaustive documentation of each single manuscript as in-depth as possible, highlighting and documenting every single minimal textual, paratextual, and material feature, up to—this will be probably possible in the near future—reproducing the smell of the manuscript; (b) as far as the text is concerned (whatever we intend to define it), the ‘manuscript cultures’ perspective does not provide any editorial solution ready at hand, unless we understand as a solution to display, for example, synoptically all the readings of each single manuscript. The same is true for online, digital, and electronic editions, since every technical option depends upon and implies methodological decisions.

The consideration of these aspects, however, should never lose of sight the basic coordinates of the *Sitz im Leben* of the creation of manuscripts and texts and of their dissemination within a pre-modern society where print had not yet been introduced. The consideration of the process of copying and of the presence or not of an institutional control (to copy for oneself or for an institution makes a huge difference, as for example the case of the Jewish manuscript culture shows in medieval Europe), and of the possibility of tracing the process of creation and dissemination, in its material and concrete aspects, should be placed as a firm point in whatever reliable textual investigation. There are processes and phenomena that are essentially of a historical nature. These questions are not new and require the attitude of looking at the Ethiopic manuscript tradition—and at the single manuscript traditions in particular—beyond the relative familiar, yet specific and peculiar perspective of biblical textual criticism, where the impact of an immense amount of scholarship and the obvious fact that, aside from specific cases (for example for major Apocrypha for which the Gəʿəz version is the most authoritative one), the *Vorlage* is more or less approximately known.²

2 I repeat here what I have written in previous contributions, that, also understandably, have not raised the attention that I think they should deserve, not for the solution they propose, but at least for the urgency of the topic: see Bausi 2016; also Bausi 2020.

Special Cases

If now, before turning more precisely to a few questions posed by texts belonging to the ‘earlier layer’ to which biblical translations belong,³ or generally literary texts, we turn for the moment our eye towards a completely different kind of texts and literature, we will realize that the situation is quite complex. While a large number of literary Gə‘əz texts still await a first edition and linguistic questions (in terms of layers, standardization, and normalization) are also posed, consideration is also due to the interaction of oral with written texts. Also ‘modern classics’ of national or regional literatures in modern languages (starting from Amharic and Təgrəñña) require in turn adequate and authoritative editions.

It is worthwhile to give at least one example. As to the classics of modern spoken languages like Amharic and Təgrəñña—as far as I know—they are not committed to authoritative series where the critical text is firmly established. Let’s make the example of what has become a classic like *Toblāhtā* by Fəssəḥa Giyorgis: this was first printed by initiative of Francesco Gallina in 1895,⁴ and it was republished ‘103 years later’ in 1997/1998;⁵ it has been now reprinted again in 2018 from the second edition, the text of which is exactly reproduced.⁶ I had the occasion of reading and comparing faithfully the first two editions and it is clear that there are details that were changed from the first edition. The first edition, in turn, has flaws and errors of its own, that cannot belong to the text as it would have been according to the will of the author. Therefore, we still do not have a reliable critical edition of a text that is considered one of the most peculiar and interesting examples of early Təgrəñña literature.

Well beyond the traditional scope of printed editions of translated and original literary Gə‘əz texts—to which the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥədo Church has given a huge, largely underestimated, and scholarly not yet assessed contribution—the last decades have also marked a growing interest towards documentary texts (feudal deeds as well as minor historiographical texts), which pose questions of their own and require adequate editorial solutions. These documents have been increasingly used in recent times, but they were rarely systematically edited.⁷ A case in point is that of an extremely interesting collection of archaic or early documentary texts, the *Donation of King Tanṭawədəm*, dated to

3 Cf. Bausi 2017; Bausi 2018a for a summary of some questions.

4 Cf. Fəssəḥa Giyorgis 1895.

5 ‘ፎሳሪ ምኒሊክ ሠለስተን ዓመት እንደገና ተሳትመ ።’, as is stated in the frontispiece, in 1990 EC, see Fəssəḥa Giyorgis 1997/1998.

6 Cf. Fəssəḥa Giyorgis 2018, 39–55; Fəssəḥa Giyorgis 1997/1998, 25–41.

7 Cf. for example Kropp 2018 for the text related to the foundation of Dabra Təbab; and cf. Bausi 2014–2015 for a review of a few contributions from the text-critical point of view.

the period of the king (twelfth century) and recently edited by Marie-Laure Derat in her comprehensive book on the history of the eleventh–thirteenth century kingdom of Ethiopia (once called, ‘the Zāg^we period’).⁸ The text is extremely challenging and calls in some points for complex hypotheses and conjectures. Some technical aspects of the editions, like the occasional normalization, require further thinking. In general, even though several cases show the high degree of variation in the copies of the same basic document distributed among several institutions, there are also cases—like the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos, for which we have two series of the same documents preserved in the same codex—that do not show remarkable phenomena of free variation.⁹ There is the common assumption that non-literary texts normally vary more freely, but this is not always the case: even in documentary texts, every copying does not necessarily imply an updating. Updating requires a trigger that is not always in place.

The ‘Earlier Layer’ and Biblical Texts

As to the ‘early layer’, a special case in point is that of the Ethiopic Bible, that definitely represents the better known and more studied part of ‘the more ancient layer’ of Ethiopic written heritage, both in consideration of the whole body of texts, that include major writings of parabiblical genre (such as Book of Enoch), and the number of studies and editions. While for the Old Testament there is a major project going on, coordinated by Steve Delamarter, with large international participation (Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament),¹⁰ the Ethiopic New Testament is the field where the work has progressed faster and has seen the publication of editions in printed form, several of them in the last decades, starting with Rochus Zuurmond up to the last volume on the Book of Acts, to my knowledge. To the same year also belongs the edition of 1 and 2 Corinthians by Tedros Abraha, that has received little or no scholarly attention.¹¹

8 Cf. Derat 2018, 261–271, in the Annexe, ‘Donation du roi Ṭantawedem à l’église de la Croix de Qefereyā (Urā Masqal)’; also Bausi 2018b for some remarks on this important text.

9 Cf. now Valieva and Liuzzo 2021.

10 For this major project on the Old Testament, there are several preliminary studies, but not yet a published edition to my knowledge, so that it will be better to say something on this when this important step will be hopefully accomplished soon; cf. Daniel Assefa et al. 2020.

11 Cf. Bausi 2016 for some remarks on this edition.

The best way to provide some remarks is take a concrete example and I would like now to deal with Curt Niccum's edition of the Book of Acts.¹² Contrary to what usually happens for other editions of Ethiopic texts, in this case there have been some reviews which have focused also on questions of method and practice.¹³ The importance and reliability of the work is also acknowledged by being the only very recent edition of New Testament texts to have been considered worth quoting in the new edition of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* from 2012, although in the form of the PhD dissertation delivered in 2000,¹⁴ and not of the printed edition of 2014, that appeared too late.¹⁵

The edition of Niccum is remarkable for placing the Ethiopic version of Acts within the broader context of New Testament studies and debates.¹⁶ A large part of his Introduction is in fact dedicated to the recent research on the Book of Acts and to demolishing some of the previous hypotheses.¹⁷ In this sense, this study is quite at variance with a few preceding ones.¹⁸

The core point of the study is expressed with the sentence by Brooke F. Westcott and Fenton J. A. Hort, 'Knowledge of versions should precede final judgment upon readings'.¹⁹ On this I would comment by making explicit two prerequisites of this statement, that bring us out of the huge, but methodologically too narrow perspective of New Testament criticism only: 'knowledge of versions' can be substituted with 'mutual relationship of the witnesses', in terms of primary and secondary readings and textual witnesses; when we are in the presence of two readings that are both possible, we can determine which is primary, only having determined the mutual relationship of the respective witnesses: the

12 Cf. Niccum 2014.

13 Cf. Knibb 2015; Simonet 2016; and more descriptively, Yonatan Binyam 2017; and see also Paulson 2015. There will be probably more, but these are those known to me.

14 Cf. Niccum 2000.

15 Cf. Niccum 2014; see Aland et al. 2012, 77*; the other new editions of Ethiopic texts considered were Zuurmond 1989; Zuurmond 2001; Wechsler 2005; Hofmann 1967a; Hofmann 1967b; Uhlig and Maehlum 1993; Hofmann and Uhlig 1993.

16 Cf. Heide 2015 for a good summary of recent research.

17 Cf. already Niccum 2006, where he had argued with very good reasons for the Ethiopic version as a non-Western-type text.

18 Particularly the several editions by Tedros Abraha, of Romans, Hebrews, and 1 and 2 Corinthians, namely Tedros Abraha 2001; Tedros Abraha 2004; Tedros Abraha 2014; see Niccum 2014, 48, n. 4, 'The volumes edited by Tedros Abraha have serious shortcomings when dealing with the Greek and versional evidence', and, I would add, not only when dealing with that.

19 Cf. Westcott and Hort 1881, II, 32, quoted by Niccum 2014, 68.

utilization of the versional evidence is *a special case of this more general rule*, that is valid even in the absence of supportive versional evidence and should be applied quite independently of it.

There is a series of important definitive achievements by this edition, among which I would like to mention at least the following ones:

- 1) the Ethiopic A-version was translated based upon a Greek *Vorlage*;
- 2) the Ethiopic A-text probably goes back to the fourth century,²⁰ that is much earlier than it was usually posed;
- 3) the Ethiopic A-text is very close to the so-called Alexandrian text (mostly represented by $\aleph$, Sinaiticus and B, Vaticanus, both from the fourth century), and closely related to $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ (Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus I, third century, containing Gospels and Acts), that is an important witness to the Alexandrian text;
- 4) the Ethiopic revised text (B-text) appears to have been probably directly influenced by the text of Acts as is found in MS Arab. 151.²¹

Coming to the method of the edition Niccum clearly states that his edition ‘offers a reconstruction of the earliest attainable text of Acts’, specifying that ‘this is not a reconstruction of the original translation. Although an earlier text could be reconstructed at times via conjectural emendation, the critical text only reflects manuscript evidence’.²² This means that not even obvious emendation is carried out, even in the presence of all reasons to do that. A sort of ‘fetishism of the manuscript’ seems to surface here. In fact, if there are clear cases where it is possible to securely reconstruct an earlier reading that is fully justified by the inner development of the Ethiopic version, there is no reason not to propose that emendation, obviously marking it in the most appropriate way. It remains that the aim of the reconstruction is the Ethiopic text and not its *Vorlage*.

Among the whole witnesses of the earlier A-text, however, there is one manuscript that holds a special place.

The critical text primarily follows manuscript 20, the oldest, known manuscript and the strongest witness to the A-text, but manuscripts 14, 23, 42, 91, 532, and 1264, because they frequently preserve the A-text, have also offered valuable testimony. In addition, manuscript 2 and the conflatory manuscript 137 occasionally aided in reconstructing the A-text.²³

20 Cf. Niccum 2014, 35.

21 Cf. *ibid.*, 24, 28.

22 *Ibid.*, 71 and n. 8.

23 *Ibid.*, 71.

Manuscript 20 is MS Ambrosiana B 20/b inf., II (*Tetraglotton*). Yet Niccum also specifies that ‘[b]ecause of the carelessness of the manuscript’s two scribes, the critical text differs frequently from the actual manuscript’.²⁴ Moreover,

For the reconstruction obvious scribal errors were omitted or emended. The Vorlage of the Ethiopic translation surely contained its own errors, and the translators themselves probably committed some in the process. Errors that have a reasonable claim to an origin in the earliest period have been retained.²⁵

This passage is crucial in two points:

1) Errors that might have been deemed to belong to the early translation can be considered ‘errors’ only from the point of view of the *Vorlage*; in fact, if they really belong to the creation of the Ethiopic, they are not errors within the Ethiopic version, but they *are* the earliest Ethiopic version, even though these errors might have been emended later on: the error (either as a misreading or other), as an innovation in comparison to the Greek text, is an innovation among the bundle of innovations that characterizes, in the end, every creation of a new text, that before did not exist. It can seem a paradox, but it is true that *every error is technically an innovation and every creation is also an innovation*.

2) ‘[S]cribal errors were omitted and emended’, says Niccum: but also, ‘Some standardization of orthography and morphology has been introduced. For example, the older prepositional forms such as ብ and እ, which occur often in manuscript 20, have been “modernized”’.²⁶ This is not a minor point: there is no reason, unless that of having a text as close as possible to the ‘classical grammar’ as is presently taught in traditional Ethiopian schools and academic institutions and in non-Ethiopian academic institutions, not to respect these ancient spellings and forms.²⁷

Coming to a few technical points regarding the edition,²⁸ the editor has followed the method used in Nestle and Aland’s edition and has marked his manuscript

²⁴ Ibid., 71, n. 9.

²⁵ Ibid., 71.

²⁶ Ibid., 71.

²⁷ I have already said what I think on this, cf. Bausi 2016, 76, n. 92.

²⁸ For unknown reasons, the verses throughout the text are numbered wrongly in the text in a first edition of this work, whereas the numbering of verses is correct in the apparatus. To some extent one can still work with this, but the consultation of text and apparatus is much

witness with a series of digits: so, as already said, the base manuscript Ambrosiana B 20/b inf., II (*Tetraglotton*) is number 20, and so on. But even this edition has an additional system to mark the most important witnesses (as is well known, using sigla like $\aleph$ for Sinaiticus, A for Alexandrinus, B for Vaticanus, C for Ephraemi Syriac Codex Rescriptus, D^{ca} for Bezae Cantabrigiensis, D^p for Claromontanus, etc.): and it would have been good to use similar sigla, introducing for example ‘A’ for the Ambrosiana manuscript. This would have helped, not only in consideration of the readability of the sigla, but also because it would have better contrasted the references to the verses and the sigla themselves. It would have been enough to use alphabetic sigla for the most used manuscripts.

There are moreover two still more basic questions:

1) Is there any proportion between the textual history of the Greek New Testament and the textual history—at least its earliest phase—of the Ethiopic version? I think that they are simply not comparable; the area of distribution is incomparably smaller and we must admit that the quoted sentence by Westcott and Hort, ‘Knowledge of versions should precede final judgment upon readings’, makes full sense when talking of the readings to be attributed to the Greek text, but the textual evidence must be also assessed on the basis of the internal criteria of the relationship among textual witnesses.²⁹

2) The ‘A-text’ of Niccum is reconstructed, but how? On the basis of which evidence? There are in fact some hints in Niccum’s Introduction, yet a thorough discussion is missing. On this one cannot but agree with the important critical remarks by Michael A. Knibb, who made valuable observations on the method of Niccum’s edition, and which also conclude these very few modest notes.³⁰

longer and complicated. It is a real pity that such a careful and excellent study has this major flaw.

29 I am afraid that the same failed expectations can affect the study of palaeography: there might be progress, but it is impossible to compare the range of features used to determine where a Hebrew manuscript belongs (from Spain to Iran, from England to Yemen) to the kind of range and variation that can be observed within such a limited and coherent area like the Ethiopian and Eritrean manuscript culture.

30 Cf. Knibb 2015, 256, ‘Niccum’s views about the Ethiopic text of Acts and its history fit into the broad consensus of views about the text of the books of the Ethiopic New Testament. But while the decisions he has taken about the establishment of the text make sense, it is much to be regretted that his discussion of the Ethiopic in chapter 4 does not include any description—of the kind that Zuurmond, for example, provided for his edition of Mark—of even the major manuscripts that have been used for the edition. It is also to be regretted that neither in chapter 4 nor in chapter 1 is there any discussion of the evidence on which the reconstruction of the textual history, and the distinction between the A-, the Ab- and the B-text, is based, and that no examples of the kind of changes that were introduced into the text are given. There is also no stemma. The desire to integrate the Ethiopic

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text of Acts firmly into the overall textual history of the book is a welcome feature of this edition and will no doubt be appreciated by New Testament textual critics, but it may be thought that much more deserved to be said about the Ethiopic evidence. [...] For the Greek witnesses, Niccum uses the abbreviations that are standard in New Testament textual criticism, but he does not provide a list of the abbreviations he mentions. The Ethiopic manuscripts that have been collated and used for the edition are identified, and cited in the apparatus, by numbers, usually the final element in the shelf mark or the EMLL number. The numbers of the relevant manuscripts are given in parentheses in column 1 of the list of Ethiopic manuscripts, but because of their random character it can be difficult to spot them in the list, and they do not stand out. It is also not obvious that, given their random character, it makes sense to list the manuscripts in the apparatus in numerical order.’

- (247) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017)', *Osservatorio sulle Edizioni Critiche* (2021), <https://sites.unimi.it/oc/upload/777368e972e2e44de943cdd3e9f54c49.pdf>.
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Septuaginta und äthiopischer Text

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1 Vorbemerkung: Zusammenhänge und Fragestellungen

Das äthiopische Alte Testament wurde aus der Septuaginta übersetzt. Diese Aussage ist seit langem unbestritten. Wann und auf welchen Wegen dies geschah, sowie die weitere Entwicklung sind dagegen durchaus umstritten. Dabei geht es nicht nur um die möglicherweise unterschiedliche Übersetzung der einzelnen Schriften, sondern auch um die Frage, ob und wieweit sich innerhalb einer einzelnen Schrift, etwa des Jeremiabuches, Einflüsse aus unterschiedlichen Zeiten widerspiegeln. Die Antworten auf diese Fragen hängen eng mit dem jeweiligen Bild von der Überlieferung der Septuaginta zusammen. Während es ziemlich unbestritten ist, dass der älteste Bezug über Ägypten verlief und die ursprüngliche Übersetzung aus der ägyptischen Textform der Septuaginta erfolgte, zeigt sich die Problematik insbesondere bei der Frage, wie die offensichtlichen Bezüge des äthiopischen Textes zur syrischen Textform der Septuaginta zu beurteilen sind. Ist diese Textform spät, eventuell so spät, dass eine Vermittlung erst über den arabischen bzw. arabisch-islamischen Raum erfolgte?

Es liegt auf der Hand, dass die Antworten auf diese Fragen ihrerseits wesentlich die Kriterien für die Frage nach dem ältesten Text und die textgeschichtliche Rekonstruktion mitbestimmen. Im Folgenden soll das Bild der Entstehung und Überlieferung der Septuaginta dargestellt werden, und zwar zunächst das traditionelle Bild, auf dem auch das traditionelle Bild der Entstehung und Überlieferung des äthiopischen Textes basiert, und dann das neuere Bild, wie es sich u. a. aus den Qumranfunden und neueren methodischen Zugängen ergibt.

2 Textformen und Editionsprinzipien der Septuaginta

2.1 Editionen der Septuaginta und ihre Editionsprinzipien

Für den Text der Septuaginta stehen heute im Wesentlichen zwei diplomatische und zwei eklektische Ausgaben zur Verfügung, von denen jeweils die kleinen Ausgaben vollständig und die großen Ausgaben unvollständig sind. Die kleine

diplomatische Ausgabe ist jene von Henry Barclay Swete.¹ Sie gibt im Wesentlichen den Text des Vaticanus aus dem 4. Jh. wieder und vermerkt im Apparat Lesarten anderer Kodizes und weiterer Quellen.² Die große diplomatische Ausgabe von Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean und Henry S. John Thackeray,³ bietet ebenfalls den Text des Vaticanus (inkl. Hinweise auf Korrekturen im Kodex), und dazu einen umfangreichen Apparat, der neben den Majuskeln und den Lesarten der Tochterübersetzungen die Varianten der jeweils dreißig (nach Meinung der Herausgeber) wichtigsten Minuskelhandschriften enthält. Diese sind nicht mit den Nummern des auf die Ausgabe von Robert Holmes und P. Jacob Parsons zurückgehenden Bezeichnungssystems zitiert,⁴ sondern, wohl vor allem aus Platzgründen, mit Buchstaben.⁵ Leider umfasst diese sehr gründliche und verlässliche Edition nur den Pentateuch und die Geschichtsbücher, wobei sie vor allem für letztere unverzichtbar ist. Die eklektischen Ausgaben sind die von Alfred Rahlfs 1935 publizierte (von Robert Hanhart überarbeitete und 2006 erschienene)⁶ sog. Handausgabe und die 1931 mit den Psalmen begonnene und noch nicht abgeschlossene Göttinger Ausgabe, in der Jeremia von Joseph Ziegler bearbeitet wurde.⁷ Die Handausgabe von Rahlfs basiert im Wesentlichen auf den Kodizes B, S und A sowie Zeugen des hexaplarischen (*O'*) und des lukianischen (*L'*) Textes. Die sogenannten ständigen Zeugen sind am Anfang jedes Buches jeweils kurz angeführt. Die Göttinger Ausgabe dagegen erhebt den Anspruch, die Textüberlieferung vollständig zu bieten. Die Liste (und die Besprechung) der ständigen Zeugen findet sich hier in der Einleitung, so jedenfalls noch für den Jeremiaband, während später, in Analogie zur Cambridger Ausgabe, die ständigen Zeugen auch auf jeder Seite kurz benannt werden. Während in beiden Ausgaben zwar manchmal auch Belege für den Obertext genannt werden, ist der Apparat im Wesentlichen ein sogenannter negativer Apparat, in dem die vom rekonstruierten Obertext abweichenden Lesarten vermerkt sind.

Für die Erstellung eines eklektischen Textes sind naturgemäß die Bewertung der Handschriften und insbesondere die Editionsprinzipien von großer Bedeutung. Rahlfs folgte in der Handausgabe wie gesagt im Wesentlichen den drei

1 Swete 1887–1894.

2 Ergänzend zum Text des Vaticanus sind im dritten Teilband 1–4 Makk. wiedergegeben.

3 Brooke et al. 1906–1940.

4 Holmes und Parsons 1798–1827. Siehe dazu Rahlfs 1914, fortgeführt und ergänzt in Rahlfs und Fraenkel 2004.

5 Dabei ist zu beachten, dass die Buchstaben von Buch zu Buch unterschiedliche Handschriften bezeichnen können.

6 Rahlfs 1935 (zahlreiche Nachdrucke) sowie die leicht überarbeitete Fassung Rahlfs und Hanhart 2006.

7 Rahlfs 1931; Ziegler 1957.

großen Kodices B (Vaticanus), S (Alexandrinus) und A (Sinaiticus). Der Sinaiticus steht dem Text des Vaticanus weithin sehr nahe, während der Alexandrinus als von hexaplarischen Lesarten stark beeinflusst gilt. Das führt zu einem deutlichen Vorrang des Vaticanus. Nicht zuletzt auch deswegen, weil die Lesarten des lukianischen Textes auf eine lukianische Bearbeitung um 300 AD zurückgeführt werden und andererseits Lesarten, die sich auch als Zitate im Neuen Testament finden, als sekundäre Quereinflüsse abgetan werden.

Auch Ziegler in der Göttinger Ausgabe tendiert vorrangig zum Vaticanus bzw. er entscheidet sich häufig für die dem masoretischen Text nahestehende Lesart. Das mag daran liegen, dass seit 1928 bzw. durch die dritte Auflage der Biblia Hebraica von 1937 mit dem sog. Kodex Leningradensis (EBP I B 19^A) eine hochwertige Form des masoretischen Textes zur Verfügung stand, und wohl auch an einer Hochschätzung der Vulgata, die ebenfalls dem hebräischen Text nahesteht.⁸

2.2 Die textkritischen Kriterien der älteren Forschung

Im Prinzip haben schon die ältesten Editionen der Septuaginta, nämlich die Aldina (1516) und die Complutense (1514–1517) textkritisch gearbeitet,⁹ indem nach den besten Handschriften gesucht und auf deren Basis der Text erstellt wurde. Das beinhaltet bestimmte Kriterien für die Suche und für die Auswahl, nur dass diese Kriterien nicht explizit thematisiert wurden bzw. uns nicht überliefert sind. In der Sixtina (1587)¹⁰ sind zwar auch die Lesarten anderer Handschriften und der Aldina vermerkt, aber im Wesentlichen handelt es sich um eine diplomatische Ausgabe des hier erstmals verwendeten Vaticanus. Diese Edition des Vaticanus gewann zunehmend Einfluss. Die Editionen der folgenden Zeit bis hin zur Cambridger Edition im 20. Jh. sind praktisch diplomatische Editionen des Vaticanus mit einem immer umfangreicheren Apparat.¹¹ Die einzige Ausnahme war die auf dem Alexandrinus basierende Ausgabe von Johannes Ernestus Grabe (1709–1720).¹² Zuvor hatte Grabe in einer Abhandlung von 1705 gezeigt, dass für das Richterbuch der Alexandrinus den älteren Text bie-

8 Kittel 1937.

9 Ebd.

10 Ebd.

11 Diese Dominanz des Vaticanus durch die diplomatischen Ausgaben und bis hinein in die eklektischen Editionen führte dazu, dass bis in die Gegenwart diese Textform manchmal als Hauptüberlieferung bezeichnet wird, obwohl das weder numerisch noch sachlich zutrifft.

12 Grabe 1709–1720.

tet.¹³ Diese führte dazu, dass in der Cambridge Ausgabe zwar der Text des Vaticanus den Obertext bildet, dass aber im Apparat auch der Text des Alexandrinus vollständig wiedergegeben ist. Dies wiederum ist der Hintergrund dafür, dass Rahlfs in seiner Handausgabe für das Richterbuch zwei Textformen bietet.¹⁴

Wichtige Grundsätze für die Texterstellung formulierte Paul A. de Lagarde in seinen Anmerkungen zum griechischen Sprüchebuch, in seinen drei – nicht ganz glücklich als „Axiome“ bezeichneten – Regeln: Axiom/Regel I. besagt, dass man eklektisch arbeiten muss und man nicht einfach einer Handschrift folgen kann.

I. die manuscrite der griechischen übersetzung des alten testaments sind alle, entweder unmittelbar oder mittelbar das resultat eines eklektischen verfahrens: darum muss, wer den echten text wiederfinden will, ebenfalls eklektiker sein.

Satz II. und III. nennen dafür die Regeln.

II. wenn ein vers oder verstheil in einer freien und in einer sklavisch treuen übertragung vorliegt, gilt die erstere als die echte.

III. wenn sich zwei lesarten nebeneinander finden, von denen die eine den masoretischen text ausdrückt, die andre nur aus einer von ihm abweichenden urschrift erklärt werden kann, so ist die letztere für ursprünglich zu halten.¹⁵

Axiom II setzt voraus, dass der ursprüngliche Text der Septuaginta in der Regel freier übersetzt war und eine Anpassung an den hebräischen Text später erfolgte. Axiom III setzt einerseits Axiom II voraus, verweist aber zusätzlich darauf, dass es mehrere hebräische Textformen gab und dass Varianten keineswegs immer auf die Übersetzer zurückgehen müssen, sondern eine hebräische Vorlage haben können. Dass es solche alternativen Textformen gab, war schon damals bekannt, etwa durch den samaritanischen Pentateuch, ist aber nunmehr durch die Qumranfunde glänzend bestätigt.

Leider geriet de Lagarde später auf eine andere Bahn. Während er ursprünglich gegenüber dem berühmten Statement von der *trifaria varietas* in der Vorrede des Hieronymus zur Chronik zurückhaltend war, übernahm er unter dem

¹³ Grabii 1705.

¹⁴ Dabei ist der bei Rahlfs 1935 gebotene A-Text allerdings nicht einfach der Text des Alexandrinus, sondern eine von da aus kritisch bearbeitete Textform, während der B-Text den Text des Vaticanus wiedergibt.

¹⁵ De Lagarde 1863, 3 (de Lagarde folgte der von seinen Fakultätskollegen, den Brüdern Grimm, vertretenen radikalen Kleinschreibung).

Einfluss von Frederik Field diese Vorstellung.¹⁶ Hieronymus spricht dort davon, dass in Syrien/Antiochien bis hin nach Konstantinopel der Text des Lukian in Verwendung sei, in Ägypten der Text des Hesychius und dazwischen in Palästina der Text des Origenes bzw. der hexaplarische Text. Diese Aussage über die Mehrgestaltigkeit der Septuaginta rechtfertigt für Hieronymus seine Revisionsarbeit an Hand des hebräischen Textes (und des, dem hebräischen Text nahe stehenden hexaplarischen Textes). Seine Revisionstätigkeit rechtfertigte Hieronymus allerdings auch in seinem Brief an die gotischen Kleriker Sunnia und Fretela. Diese hatten Hieronymus wegen seiner Psalterrevision (*liber Psalmorum iuxta Hebraicum translatus*) gefragt. Hier nennt Hieronymus zwei griechische Textformen, die verbreitete Septuaginta, die nun auch als lukianisch bezeichnet wird,¹⁷ und den Text der hexaplarischen Kodizes, (der dem hebräischen Text näher steht und) den er für seine Revision verwendete.

Field zitiert in seiner umfangreichen Einleitung beide Statements unmittelbar hintereinander, aber offensichtlich ohne ihren Unterschied wahrzunehmen, wobei er sich dann nur auf den lukianischen Text konzentriert und diesen – entgegen dem Wortlaut des Briefes – selbstverständlich und unhinterfragt als spät und als Ergebnis einer weitreichenden lukianischen Bearbeitung betrachtet (wofür er auch schon Vorgänger benennt).¹⁸

De Lagarde übernahm die Grundidee und wollte bekanntlich die drei Textformen edieren, um dann von da zum Urtext zurückzugehen. Wohl nicht zufällig begann er mit einer Edition des lukianischen Textes der Geschichtsbücher.

In seiner Edition des Genesistextes erklärte Rahlfs zwar, dass das hier Gebotene von dem de Lagarde'schen Modell der drei alten Textformen entfernt sei,¹⁹ aber trotzdem blieb der lukianische Text einfach eine späte Bearbeitung durch Lukian um 300 AD und gegenüber allen anderen Texten, insbesondere natürlich gegenüber dem Text des Vaticanus, der jüngste.

16 Siehe dazu jetzt Neuschäfer 2013, 258–259, Fn. 91.

17 Hieronymus, Brief 106, „et nunc loukianeios dicitur“. Der Brief bezieht sich zwar auf die frühere Psalmenbearbeitung des Hieronymus, ist aber später geschrieben als das Vorwort zur Chronik. Schulz-Flügel 2014, 753, betrachtet die Anfrage als zutreffend und datiert den Brief zwischen 406 und 410. Auch wenn die Adressaten fiktiv sein sollten, hatte Hieronymus offensichtlich Grund und auch Interesse, seine Arbeit zu verteidigen.

18 Field 1875, lxxxiv–xciv = Norton und Hardin 2005, 157–173.

19 „Daß das, was ich hier biete, noch viel weniger als das im Buch Ruth Gebotene dem Lagarde'schen Ideal eines Aufbaues nach den berühmten Rezensionen des Origenes, Lukian und Hesych entspricht, erkenne ich keineswegs. Aber wenn wir vorwärtskommen wollen, müssen wir uns nicht von vorgefaßten Theorien, sondern lediglich von dem gegebenen Material leiten lassen“, Rahlfs 1926, 3.

Diese Bewertung hatte Rahlfs in zwei großen Studien zu den Psalmen (1907) bzw. zu den Königebüchern (1911) vorbereitet und dann in der Psalmenedition von 1931 nochmals dargelegt.²⁰ Bei den Psalmen erarbeitete Rahlfs zunächst eine Einteilung der Handschriften in Textgruppen, wobei er trotz Kritik an Friedrich Baethgen dessen „bipolares“ Modell aufnahm.²¹ Um Verwandtschaft der von ihm kollationierten Handschriften mit B oder L festzustellen, wählte er 129 Lesarten, in denen B (Vaticanus) und L (lukianischer Text) sich unterscheiden und anhand welcher er die anderen Handschriften jeweils einer der Textgruppen zuordnete. Dabei ergab sich, dass die älteren von ihm untersuchten Handschriften tendenziell dem Vaticanus nahestehen, während die jüngeren eher den Mehrheitstext bieten. Die älteren Handschriften unterteilte er in drei Texttypen, nämlich den unterägyptischen, den oberägyptischen und den abendländischen Texttyp. Basierend auf diesen Textgruppen stellt er vier Regeln zur Rekonstruktion des ältesten Textes auf: (1) Wenn die drei alten Textformen zusammengehen, ist ihre Lesart i. d. R. aufgenommen. (2) Wenn die alten Zeugen gegen die jüngeren mit dem MT zusammengehen, untereinander aber uneins sind, ist i. d. R. die Lesart bevorzugt, die dem MT entspricht. (3) Wenn die alten Zeugen vom MT abweichen, aber die jüngeren mit dem MT zusammengehen, folgt der Text den alten Zeugen, da eine Korrektur nach dem MT durch Origenes und Lukian angenommen wird. (4) In zweifelhaften Fällen wird der Lesart von B + S der Vorzug gegeben, wenn diese übereinstimmen.²²

Betrachtet man diese Regeln, so ergeben sie eindeutig eine Tendenz für jene griechischen Textformen, die dem MT nahe stehen: Da B und S dem masoretischen Text nahe stehen, ergeben Regel 1 und 4 implizit eine Tendenz zu diesem. Regel 2 entscheidet explizit für den MT. Lediglich Regel 3 widerspricht dieser Tendenz, wobei interessanterweise Lukian, dem sonst eine freiere Textgestaltung zugeschrieben wird, hier mit Origenes zusammengesehen wird. Im Vergleich fällt auf, dass lediglich Regel 3 den Axiomen von de Lagarde entspricht, während die anderen Regeln den Axiomen de Lagardes klar widersprechen.

In ähnlicher Weise setzt Rahlfs in seiner Analyse des lukianischen Textes der Königebücher durchwegs voraus, dass Vaticanus den ältesten Text bietet und dass alles, was im lukianischen Text anders ist, auf Lukians Bearbeitung zurückgeht. Allerdings gibt es dabei ein Problem: Im Sinn eines flüssigeren Griechisch ergänzt Lukian oft den Artikel, manchmal auch den Namen einer handelnden Person (z. B. an Stelle eines bloßen „er“), oder er fügt ein erklärendes Wort ein, oder er verwendet ein attisches Wort oder eine attische Form an Stelle

20 Rahlfs 1907; Rahlfs 1911; Rahlfs 1931.

21 Baethgen 1882.

22 Rahlfs 1931, 71–73.

eines koine-Wortes. Allerdings macht Lukian das nicht immer. Manchmal streicht er den Artikel oder den Namen oder ein erklärendes Wort oder auch einen Attizismus. Rahlfs ließ sich allerdings von dieser Widersprüchlichkeit nicht beirren, sondern erklärte sie kurzerhand zum Hauptkennzeichen der lukianischen Rezension.²³

Rahlfs thematisierte auch das protolukianische Problem, d. h. die Beobachtung, dass es lukianische Lesarten schon bei Josephus,²⁴ im Neuen Testament und in der Vetus Latina, also lange Zeit vor Lukian gab. Solche Übereinstimmungen zwischen Septuaginta-Manuskripten und den Zitaten erklärte Rahlfs als sekundäre Beeinflussungen, konkret: Die lukianische Septuagintaüberlieferung habe die Josephusüberlieferung und die Vetus Latina (!) beeinflusst, und andererseits habe das Neue Testament die lukianischen Manuskripte beeinflusst. Damit waren alle Argumente gegen eine späte Datierung des lukianischen Textes beiseitegeschoben. Diese Vorgangsweise betraf nicht nur die lukianischen Manuskripte, auch Belege in anderen Handschriften und die Versionen galten als sekundär, sobald sie mit dem NT übereinstimmten. Dem entsprechend findet sich im Apparat der Handausgabe aber auch in der Psalmenausgabe wiederholt die Notiz „ex ...“ (z. B. „ex Matth ...“), womit die entsprechenden Lesarten als sekundär galten.

Diese Klassifizierung des lukianischen Textes aber auch der neutestamentlichen Zitate beeinflusste für lange Zeit die editorischen Kriterien. Das gilt auch für die Editionsprinzipien der Jeremiaausgabe von Joseph Ziegler.²⁵ Auch bei Ziegler finden sich die Hochschätzung und der Vorrang von B und S, die zugleich beide MT nahestehen: „Das Plus und Minus gegenüber M ist unwesentlich“;²⁶ „Sehr häufig sind in S* die Auslassungen; der Schreiber scheint sehr nachlässig gewesen zu sein, wie die zahlreichen Homoioteleutonsprünge zeigen.“²⁷ „Nur selten sind in S allein Umstellungen gegen M bezeugt“.²⁸ „Auch wenn S allein [...] den Artikel in Übereinstimmung mit M auslässt, hat er die ursprüngliche Wiedergabe bewahrt“.²⁹ „Oftmals tritt der codex Alexandrinus zu B-S, so daß die drei Unzialen B S A (mit einigen abhängigen Minuskeln und

23 Rahlfs 1911, 293: „Der Hauptcharakterzug dieser Rezension ist das Fehlen eines klaren Prinzips“.

24 Diese Übereinstimmungen wurden von Mez 1895 herausgearbeitet. Mez' Ergebnisse wurden später von Thackeray 1929 überzeugend bestätigt.

25 Ziegler 1957.

26 Ebd., 46–47.

27 Ebd., 48.

28 Ebd., 50.

29 Ebd., 51.

Versionen) den alten unrezensierten Text überliefern“.³⁰ Hier geht es durchwegs um die Nähe zum MT, die für den ältesten Text vorausgesetzt wird. Damit ist auch die eigentlich schwer zu entscheidende Frage, welches Wort gegebenenfalls die ältere Wortwahl darstellt, entschieden: „Lehrreich ist die Wortwahl. An allen genannten Stellen haben B-S A die alte, ursprüngliche Wiedergabe erhalten“.³¹

Der lukianische Text wird – wie seit Rahlfs üblich und selbstverständlich – als ein in all seinen Spezifika von Lukian um 300 AD bearbeiteter und damit später Text betrachtet, wofür das Zitat aus der Vorrede des Hieronymus zur Chronik herangezogen wird.³² Entsprechend dieser selbstverständlichen Datierung werden Übereinstimmungen mit den *recentiores*, insbesondere mit Symmachus, als Beweis für die Übernahme aus diesen Texten des 2. Jh. betrachtet, ebenso die Übereinstimmungen mit dem hexaplarischen Text. „Sehr viele Stellen der lukianischen Rezension stimmen mit den Wiedergaben der jüngeren griech. Übersetzer überein; dies zeigt sich namentlich im Austausch verschiedener Wörter (Synonyma).“³³ „Die meisten Ergänzungen nach M hat Lukian der hexaplarischen Rezension entnommen [...] Jedoch fühlt sich Lukian nicht so streng wie Origenes an M gebunden“.³⁴ „Auch diese Dubletten entstammen den jüngeren Übersetzungen [...] manchmal verdanken sie ihre Entstehung einer anderen Punktierung des hebr. Textes“.³⁵ Auf Grund der selbstverständlichen Annahme einer lukianischen Rezension und deren später Datierung hat Ziegler nicht die alternative Möglichkeit erwogen, dass solche Übereinstimmungen (oder auch abweichende „Punktierung“ bzw. Lesetraditionen) ebenso gut auf gemeinsame Grundlage in der Old Greek zurückgehen könnten.

„Die Beifügung des Artikels, Personalpronomens und verschiedener Partikel“ wird nur kurz gestreift,³⁶ ebenso deren Auslassung bzw. Streichung.³⁷ In *Beiträge zur Jeremias-Septuaginta* (1958) thematisierte Ziegler dann umfangreich vor allem die Artikelsetzung durch Lukian und stellte deren Gegensätzlichkeit (meistens Ergänzungen, aber auch Streichungen) heraus, woraus er folgte „Konsequenz war nicht seine Stärke“.³⁸

30 Ebd., 56.

31 Ebd., 58.

32 Ebd., 80.

33 Ebd., 85.

34 Ebd., 87.

35 Ebd., 88.

36 Ebd., 89.

37 Ebd., 90.

38 Ziegler 1958, 162.

Unter derselben Prämisse, dass der lukianische Text der jüngste sei, untersuchte Sebastian P. Brock das erste Buch Samuelis.³⁹ Es ist nicht erstaunlich, dass er zu einem ganz ähnlichen Ergebnis kam. Über die Analyse hinaus stellte Brock die Frage nach der Verwendung dieses Textes und kam zu der Ansicht, dass der mit Artikeln und erklärenden Wörtern ergänzte Text besser zum Vorlesen (und Hören) geeignet sei. Natürlich beobachtete auch Brock die gegenläufigen Tendenzen in der angenommenen Revisionstätigkeit des Lukian, aber er konzentriert sich einfach auf die übereinstimmenden Änderungen („consistent variants“), d. h. auf die Ergänzungen, während er die gegenläufigen Änderungen („less consistent variants“), obwohl sie über den ganzen Text verteilt zu finden sind, weitgehend weglässt, weil sie weniger interessant sind („present less interest“).⁴⁰ Damit ist das erwartete traditionelle Bild bestätigt, und alle störenden Beobachtungen sind beseitigt.

3 Neuere Funde und neuere Entwicklungen

3.1 Erinnerung an eine vergessene Erkenntnis

Bevor wir uns den neueren Funden und Erkenntnissen zuwenden, sei an dieser Stelle an die bereits erwähnte Arbeit von Baethgen zu den Psalmen erinnert.⁴¹ Baethgen war in seiner Analyse der Überlieferung zu zwei Hauptformen des Psalmentextes gekommen, die er mit O¹ und O bezeichnete. Dabei ist O¹ die ältere freiere Textform, während O eine hebraisierend überarbeitete Textform darstellt. Diese jüngere Form O wird von Vaticanus und den damit verwandten Handschriften repräsentiert, während die ältere Textform O¹ vom lukianischen und dem kirchlichen Mehrheitstext repräsentiert wird. Dieses Modell setzt im Wesentlichen zwei Phasen der Textgeschichte voraus, nämlich die ursprüngliche Übersetzung (heute oft als „Old Greek“ bezeichnet) und eine hebraisierende Überarbeitung, die irgendwann vor der Zeit des Vaticanus und der ältesten erhaltenen Textzeugen, also vor dem 4. Jh. erfolgt sein muss. Diese von Rahlfs als bipolares Modell bezeichnete Sicht betrachtet den sog. lukianischen bzw. antio-

39 Brock 1966.

40 So deutlich in der zusammenfassenden Auswertung: „The features which have been discussed do not of course by any means cover the whole range of this type of variant, but it is hoped that all cases where L shows evidence of consistent, or nearly consistent, revision, have been included“ (Brock 1966, 254). „Of the less consistent variants of this type in L, it has only been possible for reasons of space, to give a selection. Non-recurrent variants like these are found over the whole of the ms tradition and present less interest“ (ebd., 255).

41 Baethgen 1882.

chenischen Text als Teil der Gesamtüberlieferung des älteren Textes,⁴² aber beobachtet keine lukianische Rezension. Baethgens Untersuchung entspricht nicht nur den oben erwähnten Axiomen von de Lagarde sondern passt auch gut zu dem oben erwähnten Statement von Hieronymus in seinem Brief an Sunnia und Fretela, wo ebenfalls von zwei Textformen die Rede ist, der allgemein verbreiteten Septuaginta, die jetzt von vielen als lukianisch bezeichnet wird („et a plerisque nunc *lukianeios* dicitur“) und der Textform, die in den hexaplarischen Kodizes zu finden ist (und dem von Hieronymus bevorzugten hebräischen Text näher steht).⁴³

Rahlfs übernahm wie erwähnt im Wesentlichen das bipolare Modell, aber nicht die zeitliche Abfolge, und zwar mit der Begründung, dass er sich eine so frühe hebraisierende Revision nicht vorstellen könne. Leider sagt er dabei nicht, was „so früh“ bedeutet. Faktisch bedeutet „früh“ vor den ältesten einschlägigen Textzeugen, d. h. vor dem 4. Jh., ein Zeitraum in dem es die Übersetzungen des Aquila und Theodotion und die Arbeit des Origenes gab, die sich – bei allen Unterschieden im Einzelnen – eng an den protomasoretischen Text anlehnten. Unausgesprochen stand dahinter wohl die hohe Einschätzung des Vaticanus und die Skepsis gegenüber einer Textform, die zur kirchlichen und auch liturgisch verwendeten Mehrheitsüberlieferung geworden war. Rahlfs urteilte damit letztlich nach dem Alter der Handschriften, und er setzte zugleich voraus, dass der mit dem Namen Lukian verbundene Text eine späte Revision sein müsse. Durch die Funde von biblischen Texten aus Qumran und Umgebung hat sich die Situation erheblich verändert, indem nun die von Baethgen erschlossene und von Rahlfs bezweifelte „frühe Revision“ vor allem durch die Zwölfprophetenrolle aus Naḥal Ḥever klar nachgewiesen ist.

3.2 Neue Entwicklungen durch die Qumranfunde

Durch die Entdeckung und Publikation der biblischen Texte aus Qumran hat sich nicht nur das Bild der Textgeschichte im Allgemeinen geändert, sondern auch das Bild der Textgeschichte der Septuaginta.

Zunächst zeigte sich das Bild einer gewissen Pluriformität der hebräischen Überlieferung. Dass es in der frühjüdischen Zeit unterschiedliche hebräische

42 Identifizierbar durch die Übereinstimmungen mit dem von den antiochenischen Kirchenschriftstellern in ihren Zitaten und Kommentaren verwendeten Text.

43 „illiud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινήν, id est communem, appellant atque vulgata et a plerisque nunc *λουκιανείος* dicitur, aliam LXX interpretum, quae et in *ἐξαπλοῖς* codicibus invenitur et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est et Hierosolymae atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur“ (Brief 106, § 2, 2).

Textformen gegeben haben musste, war auch früher schon bekannt, einerseits durch Besonderheiten der Septuaginta, die man nicht den Übersetzern zuordnen konnte, sondern die aus dem Hebräischen zu erklären waren,⁴⁴ andererseits durch die zahlreichen Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem Septuagintatext und dem Samaritaners, die nicht zufällig sein konnten, sondern die auf eine gemeinsame Tradition zurückgehen mussten.

Die biblischen Texte aus Qumran bestätigten zwar die sehr konstante Überlieferung des masoretischen Textes, sie bestätigten aber auch Lesarten der Septuaginta und des Samaritanus und zeigten weitere Textformen.⁴⁵ Allerdings ist auch zu beobachten, dass ab dem 1. Jh. BC der protomasoretische Text dominierte. In der herodianischen Zeit wurde praktisch nur mehr diese Textform abgeschrieben, wenn auch natürlich mit Varianten.

Eine der ersten auffallenden Beobachtungen war, dass von den vier Samuelhandschriften vor allem 4QSam^a häufig mit dem lukianischen Text übereinstimmte, z. B. bezüglich der kleinen erklärenden Zusätze, aber auch in anderen Details.⁴⁶ Damit lag ein gewichtiges Argument für das hohe Alter dieser Textform vor, denn bei diesen Übereinstimmungen konnte es sich nicht um sekundäre Quereinflüsse zwischen den Handschriften handeln, denn diese Handschriften lagen die ganze Zeit in den Höhlen. Diese Beobachtung wertete auch die Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem lukianischen Text und den Zitaten bei Josephus und im Neuen Testament sowie den Entsprechungen in der Vetus Latina auf, die man nun nicht mehr so pauschal als sekundär beiseiteschieben konnte.

Eine wichtige Beobachtung ist auch, dass erklärende Ergänzungen und Verdeutlichungen auch in den biblischen Texten aus Qumran zu beobachten sind. Diese Phänomene hätte man früher als Kennzeichen von sogenannten Vulgar-texten bezeichnet. Nun wurden sie manchmal als Phänomen (eines Teiles) der sogenannten qumranischen Schreiberpraxis betrachtet.⁴⁷ Das für unsere Thematik Wesentliche ist, dass wir damit analoge (und häufig auch genau übereinstimmende) Phänomene zwischen z. B. 4QSam^a und dem lukianischen Text vor

44 Vgl. oben, de Lagardes drittes Axiom.

45 Zu den Texttypen in Qumran siehe Kreuzer 2002, 132–138 (mit einer Diskussion der damaligen Klassifizierung durch Emanuel Tov) und jetzt Tov 2012, 100–111; auch Tov unterscheidet jetzt deutlicher zwischen Schreiberpraxis („Text written in the Qumran Scribal Practice“, 100–105) und den Textformen („Classification of the Scrolls According to Textual Character“, 107–110).

46 Eine erste Studie zur Sache wurde bereits 1953 publiziert: Cross 1953; siehe auch Cross 1955. Leider blieb die Fachwelt lange Zeit auf Studien von Cross und seinen Schülern, u. a. Eugene Ulrich (siehe vor allem: Ulrich 1978) angewiesen, weil sich die offizielle Publikation extrem lang verzögerte und erst 2005 vorgelegt wurde: Cross et al. 2005.

47 Siehe etwa Tov 2012, 100–105.

uns haben.⁴⁸ Auch das zeigt, dass einschlägige lukianische Lesarten nicht erst auf eine lukianische Rezension zurückgehen müssen, sondern ebenso gut bereits auf die hebräische Vorlage dieses Textes zurückgehen können.

Eine weitere und besonders wichtige Entdeckung entstand durch die von Dominique Barthélemy gegebene Analyse der griechischen Zwölfprophetenrolle aus dem südlich von Qumran gelegenen Naḥal Ḥever (8HēvgrXII).⁴⁹ Die Rolle zeigt klare Zeichen einer Überarbeitung des griechischen Textes in Richtung auf den hebräischen Bezugstext. Markante Kennzeichen sind die Wiedergabe der beiden – eigentlich bedeutungsgleichen – Formen des hebräischen Personalpronomens der ersten Person, אֲנִי und אָנֹכִי mit ἐγώ bzw. ἐγώ εἰμι; letzteres auch wenn ein finites Verb folgt. Diese im Griechischen schlicht falsche Wiedergabe soll erkennbar machen, welche Form des Personalpronomens im Hebräischen vorliegt. Hinter dieser und anderen ähnlichen Vorgangsweisen steht ein Schriftverständnis, bei dem jedes – auch formale – Detail wichtig ist, denn sonst wäre es ja nicht da. Markant ist auch eine streng konkordante Wiedergabe. So wurde hebr. אִישׁ, „Mann“, immer mit ἀνὴρ, „Mann“, wiedergegeben, auch wo es „ein jeder“ bedeutet und die ältere Septuaginta richtigerweise ἕκαστος geschrieben hatte. Ein weiteres Kennzeichen ist, dass die Partikel אַךְ, „auch“, mit καὶ γὰρ, „und auch“, wiedergegeben wurde. Dies wurde für Barthélemy insofern wichtig, als er dieses Phänomen mit einer Auslegungsregel der inkludierenden Partikeln („L'exégèse des particules incluant“) verband, die sich auch bei Rabbi Išmael, einem Rabbiner des 1. Jh. AD, findet.⁵⁰ Auf Grund dieses Zusammenhangs bezeichnete Barthélemy diese Bearbeitung des griechischen Textes als die Kaige-Revision und datierte er sie in das 1. Jh., und damit als bereits innerjüdische Entwicklung. Auf Grund des Fundortes sprach er auch von der palästinischen Rezension. Barthélemy identifizierte dieselben Phänomene auch an weiteren Texten (im Vaticanus), die schon seit langem als besonders formalistische Übersetzung aufgefallen waren, wie dem B-Text des Richterbuches, den von Thackeray abgegrenzten Teilen der Samuel- und Königebücher und weiterer

48 Entsprechende Beobachtungen sind weithin anerkannt. Die zahlreichen Übereinstimmungen lassen sich sehr schön in der textkritischen Diskussion in der offiziellen Publikation der Samueltex-te aus Qumran nachvollziehen: Cross et al. 2005. Diese Sicht wurde von Saley 2009 in Frage gestellt, der aufzeigte, dass es nur relativ wenige exklusive Übereinstimmungen zwischen 4QSam^a und dem lukianischen Text gibt. Allerdings werden mit dieser Fragestellung diese beiden Textzeugen vom übrigen Traditionsstrom und den zahlreichen Übereinstimmungen isoliert. Würde man dasselbe Kriterium auf Vaticanus und (proto)masoretischen Text anwenden, käme man ebenfalls zu nur wenigen exklusiven (!) Übereinstimmungen.

49 Barthélemy 1963.

50 Barthélemy 1963, 10–12.

Schriften, in denen man dieselben Kennzeichen festgestellt hatte.⁵¹ Barthélemy sprach von einer Kaige-Gruppe (*groupe Kaige*) und betrachtete diese Kaige-Rezension als Vorläufer (*devancier*) der Übersetzung des Aquila, der diese Prinzipien bekanntlich auf die Spitze trieb. Die Identifikation der Kaige-Rezension ist heute durchwegs anerkannt, nur dass die Naḥal Ḥever Rolle aus paläographischen Gründen in das 1. Jh. BC datiert wird,⁵² wonach auch die Kaige-Rezension schon im 1. Jh. BC eingesetzt hat.

In der Folgezeit wurde versucht, aus den verschiedenen Schriften weitere Kennzeichen der Kaige-Rezension zu identifizieren. In Summe wurden ca. 90 unterschiedliche Besonderheiten zusammengetragen, was aber zum Teil spekulativ war und nur für einzelne Schriften zutraf. Im Wesentlichen bleiben die von Barthélemy bzw. schon von Thackeray aufgezeigten Kennzeichen, wobei neben den oben genannten noch die Wiedergabe von שופר genannt werden könnte, die in der ursprünglichen Septuaginta funktional mit σάλπιγξ, „Trompete“, „Posaune“, erfolgte, während Kaige eine wortwörtliche, materiale, Wiedergabe mit κεράτιν, „Horn“ wählte. Gemeinsame Nenner sind, dass es um eine enge formale Entsprechung zum Hebräischen geht sowie um eine konkordante, d. h. einheitliche, Wiedergabe von Wörtern und von grammatischen Formen (vor allem der Tempora).

Während die Kaige-Rezension heute weithin anerkannt ist, ist die de facto zweite Seite der Medaille kaum bekannt und rezipiert. Barthélemy hatte nicht nur die Kaige-Bearbeitung identifiziert, sondern auch nach der älteren Vorlage, d. h. dem der Bearbeitung zugrundeliegenden Text gefragt. War dieser Text noch erhalten?

Die Vorgangsweise Barthélemys ist an den Überschriften der betreffenden Kapitel gut zu erkennen: Er verglich die beiden hauptsächlichen Textformen, nämlich Vaticanus und den lukianischen/antiochenischen Text und stellte zunächst fest, dass die beiden Texte so basale Gemeinsamkeiten haben, dass sie nicht separat entstanden sein können, sondern voneinander abhängig sind („Identité de base entre la forme antiochienne et la forme palestinienne du texte

51 Thackeray 1921 unterschied zwischen einer älteren Übersetzung: Abschnitte α (1 Sam.), ββ (2 Sam. 1,1–11,1) und (1 Kön. 2,12–21,43), und einer jüngeren Übersetzung: Abschnitte βγ (2 Kgt. 10–3 Kgt. 2) und γδ (3 Kgt. 22–4 Kgt. 25). Thackeray vermutete, dass die Texte mit den weniger erfreulichen Ereignissen (Konflikte der Thronfolgegeschichte, Nebeneinander und Ende von Nordreich und Südreich) zuerst ausgelassen und erst später übersetzt wurden. Diese Idee einer sekundären Vervollständigung ist zwar durch die Identifikation der Kaige-Rezension hinfällig, aber die Beschreibung der sprachlichen Charakteristika der beiden Textformen bleibt zutreffend und entspricht weitgehend den Beobachtungen von Barthélemy (siehe Barthélemy 1963, 114–115).

52 Parsons 1990, 26: „a date in the later i [= 1. Jh.] A.D.“.

grec“).⁵³ Dabei ist das wesentliche Kennzeichen der palästinischen (= Kaige) Textform die große Nähe zum hebräischen Text („La forme palestinienne diffère essentiellement par un souci de plus grande fidélité au texte hébraïque“).⁵⁴ Aus der weiteren Untersuchung folgt die entscheidende Erkenntnis: Der antiochenische Text kann nicht durch Textverderbnis aus dem palästinischen hervorgegangen sein („La forme antiochienne ne peut être issue de la forme palestinienne par abâtardissement“).⁵⁵ Nach der Untersuchung wechselseitiger Einflüsse („Contamination réciproque de la Septante ancienne et de la recension palestinienne“)⁵⁶ kommt Barthélemy zur entscheidenden Konsequenz: Die lukianische Rezension ist nur eine vermeintliche Annahme („La prétendue ‚recension lucianique‘“),⁵⁷ die hinfällig ist. Vielmehr ist der lukianische Text die alte Septuaginta, wenn auch mit Textverderbnissen.

Die zusammenfassende Aussage lautet:

Nous pouvons donc conclure fermement que l'expression „recension lucianique“ ne recouvre qu'une duperie relativement tardive, tandis que les mots „texte lucianique“ recouvrent une tradition populaire plus ancienne, mais rien de plus. Je propose donc que l'on renonce à ces désignations dans la critique textuelle de la Septante, même si certains glossateurs de manuscrits grecs et syriaques les ont employées. Pour certains livres (et c'est le cas pour les Règles) on pourra parler de „texte antiochien“ dans la mesure où cette forme textuelle est assez caractérisée et où son usage par l'école d'Antioche est assez bien établi. Mais ne considérons pas ce „texte antiochien“ comme le fruit d'une recension autonome ou, pour employer le langage ancien, comme constituant une „édition“ spéciale. C'est essentiellement la Septante ancienne, plus ou moins abâtardie et corrompue.

„Wir können daher mit Gewissheit zu dem Schluss kommen, dass der Ausdruck ‚lukianische Rezension‘ nur eine relativ spät [entstandene] Täuschung darstellt, wohingegen die Worte ‚lukianischer Text‘ sich nur auf eine sehr alte Tradition beziehen; nicht mehr. Ich schlage daher vor, dass man in der Textkritik der Septuaginta auf diese Bezeichnungen verzichtet, auch wenn gewisse Glossatoren der griechischen und syrischen Manuskripte sie verwendet haben. Für gewisse Bücher (und

53 Barthélemy 1963, 92–102.

54 Ebd., 102–110.

55 Ebd., 110–113.

56 Ebd., 113–126.

57 Ebd., 126–128.

das ist bei den Königtümern der Fall) könnte man vom ‚antiochenischen Text‘ sprechen, und zwar dort, wo diese Textform charakteristisch ist und wo er ausreichend anerkannt ist. Aber betrachten wir diesen ‚antiochenischen Text‘ nicht als das Ergebnis einer eigenständigen Rezension oder, um einen alten Begriff zu verwenden, als eine spezielle ‚Edition‘. Er ist vielmehr im Wesentlichen die alte Septuaginta, mehr oder weniger verderbt und korrumpiert.“⁵⁸

Dieses Fazit ist völlig klar formuliert. Faktisch ist der Verzicht auf die Annahme einer lukianischen Rezension und die Erkenntnis, dass der antiochenische Text die Old Greek präsentiert, wenn auch natürlich mit Textverderbnissen im Zuge der Überlieferung, die Kehrseite der Entdeckung der Kaige-Rezension. Damit hatte sich das Bild der Textgeschichte der Septuaginta wesentlich vorverlagert: Die entscheidenden Phasen waren die ursprüngliche Übersetzung („Old Greek“), im Wesentlichen aus dem 3. und 2. Jh. BC, und die im 1. Jh. BC einsetzende isomorph-hebraisierende Revision.⁵⁹ Insbesondere ändert sich damit auch die Datierung des lukianischen/antiochenischen Textes. Dieser ist nicht das Ergebnis einer lukianischen Rezension um 300 AD, sondern er steht der ursprünglichen Septuaginta (Old Greek) nahe und stammt damit aus dem 3./2. Jh. BC, jedenfalls aus der Zeit vor der Kaige-Rezension.

Allerdings wurde in der weiteren Forschung diese zweite Seite der Erkenntnis Barthélemys kaum rezipiert. Das liegt wohl einerseits daran, dass das französisch geschriebene Buch zwar in fast jeder Bibliographie, in der es passt, genannt wird, dass es aber offensichtlich selten im Original sondern meist nur indirekt und damit selektiv zur Kenntnis genommen wurde.⁶⁰ Andererseits war das Konzept einer lukianischen Rezension so vertraut, dass man die Bezeich-

58 Ebd., 127 (Übersetzung Siegfried Kreuzer).

59 1972 nahm Barthélemy zu diversen Kritiken an seinem Buch und seinen Erkenntnissen auch bezüglich des antiochenischen Textes Stellung. Er konzidierte dort zwar einige Änderungen in Details, und dass es schon kleinere Bearbeitungen gegeben haben könnte, als Ant und die Vorstufe von B noch zusammen waren, er verteidigte sich aber auch gegen falsche Interpretationen und hielt im Wesentlichen an seinen Erkenntnissen fest: Barthélemy 1972.

60 Dabei mag der Vortrag von Sebastian P. Brock von 1965 (Brock 1968) mitgewirkt haben. Brock war damals beim Abschluss seiner Dissertation zu den hexaplarischen und lukianischen Bearbeitungen des griechischen Textes von 1 Samuel (Brock 1966). Barthélemys Arbeit hätte zu einer grundsätzlichen Revision seiner Arbeit geführt. So verteidigte er das alte Konzept einer lukianischen Rezension, und zwar mit teilweise irreführenden Beispielen und ohne wirklich auf Barthélemys Analysen einzugehen. Der Beitrag wurde lange Zeit keiner Überprüfung unterzogen. Siehe dazu jetzt Kreuzer 2012c.

nung als lukianischer Text (die auch aus der Antike belegt ist) gewohnheitsmäßig mit einer späten Datierung und einer lukianischen Rezension verband.⁶¹

In weiterer Folge wurde zwar ein immer größerer „protolukianischer“ Anteil im lukianischen Text zugegeben, was de facto das alte Konzept und auch die alten Analysen weithin aushöhlte,⁶² zugleich wurde aber die Rede von der lukianischen Rezension wie selbstverständlich weiter verwendet oder gar die alten Beschreibungen der redaktionellen Kennzeichen als nach wie vor relevante Kriterien für die Texterstellung angesehen.

3.3 Neue Beobachtungen und ein neuer methodischer Zugang

Ein neuer Zugang zum Problem wurde von Siegfried Kreuzer gefunden. Er beschäftigte sich zunächst mit der Kaige-Rezension und bemerkte dabei, dass diese hebraisierende Bearbeitung nicht der hebräischen Grammatik folgte, sondern der Textoberfläche. So wurde der Artikel im Griechischen nicht nach den Regeln der Determination gesetzt, sondern nach der Textoberfläche, d. h. nach dem Vorhandensein eines sichtbaren Elements im hebräischen Text, nämlich ה oder ח.⁶³ Das führte in weiterer Folge zu einer interessanten Beobachtung auch bezüglich des lukianischen/antiochenischen Textes. Betrachtete man diesen – mit Barthélemy – als den älteren Text, dann konnte man die Differenzen konsistent erklären. Zwar gab es auch in dieser Blickrichtung sowohl Streichungen als auch Ergänzungen des Artikels, aber sie waren nicht mehr willkürlich und unregelmäßig, sondern sie folgten genau dem hebräischen Text im Sinn der Textoberfläche. Um ein Beispiel zu geben: Nach 2 Sam. 15,6 stahl Absalom: אֶת־לֵב אִשָּׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל, was im alten lukianischen Text sinngemäß mit Plural und grammatisch korrekt mit Artikel wiedergegeben wurde: τὰς καρδίας παντῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, „die Herzen der Männer Israels/der Israeliten“.

Die Kaige-Rezension dagegen passte isomorph an den hebräischen Text an: τὴν καρδίαν ἀνδρῶν Ἰσραὴλ, d. h. „das Herz“ wurde in den Singular gesetzt; der Artikel blieb stehen, weil er mit ח eine Entsprechung hatte. Dagegen wurden die beiden folgenden Artikel gestrichen, weil im Hebräischen kein entsprechendes Element zu sehen ist.

Dasselbe Prinzip gilt auch umgekehrt: אֶת־יְקֹל הַשֹּׁפָר im folgenden Vers 10 wurde in der Old Greek ohne Artikel wiedergegeben, offensichtlich in allgemeinen

61 So spricht z. B. Quast 2000 in seiner Beschreibung der editorischen Arbeit für die Septuaginta ganz selbstverständlich von der hexaplarischen und der lukianischen Rezension, deren Charakteristika zudem bekannt seien.

62 So etwa Hugo 2013, der von einer „Lukianischen Mischung“ spricht.

63 Die *nota accusativi* bewirkt zwar nicht die Determination, aber da sie nur bei determinierten Objekten steht, wurde sie offensichtlich als gleichwertig betrachtet.

Sinn: φωνὴν σάλπιγγος, „wenn ihr Posaunenschall hört“. In der Kaige-Rezension wurde der Artikel ergänzt, weil im Hebräischen entsprechende Morpheme, eine *nota accusativi* und ein Artikel, vorhanden sind: τὴν φωνὴν τῆς κερατίνης (außerdem ist hier sehr schön der von Barthélemy aufgezeigte Wechsel von „Posaune“ zu „Horn“ zu sehen). Diese Beobachtung, die in zahlreichen Textanalysen bestätigt wurde, erlaubt eine konsistente Erklärung der bei traditioneller Betrachtung unregelmäßigen und widersprüchlichen Phänomene.⁶⁴

Im Wesentlichen geht es darum, die Varianten nach den klassischen Regeln der Textkritik zu prüfen und zu beurteilen, d. h. vor allem unter der Frage: Welche Variante ist die ältere und wie lassen sich die Varianten erklären, bzw. kurz zusammengefasst: Die älteste Lesart ist jene, von der aus sich die Entstehung der Varianten am einfachsten erklären lässt.⁶⁵

Diese Überlegungen sind im Prinzip auf alle Texte anwendbar, und es geht auch nicht nur um die Frage lukianischer Text versus (vor allem) Vaticanus.

Als ein kleines Beispiel könnte man Ps 103,4 nennen, der in Hebr. 1,7 zitiert wird: Der MT von Ps. 103,4^{LXX} bzw. 104,4^{MT} lautet: עָשָׂה מִלֵּאכֵי רִחִיּוֹת מִשְׁרָתִי אֵשׁ וְטָהַר, „(Gott, der) die Winde zu seinen Boten macht und flammendes Feuer zu seinen Dienern“. In der Septuagintatradition gibt es zwei leicht unterschiedliche Lesarten. Der eine Text ist eine genaue Wiedergabe des MT: ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον. In der anderen Lesart ist der Bote nicht das „flammende Feuer“ sondern die „Flamme des Feuers“.

Beide griechischen Textformen haben eine breite Bezeugung in den Handschriften und eine der beiden Lesarten ist auch in Hebr. 1,7 zitiert. Im Apparat der Psalmenausgabe von Rahlfs ist der Sachverhalt folgendermaßen dargestellt:

4 πῦρ φλέγον] πυρος φλογα Bo Sa L^b

A^c (φλεγα!): ex Hebr. 17

Beide Lesarten sind gut bezeugt. Rahlfs entscheidet sich für die Lesart des Vaticanus, wobei die andere Lesart trotz ihrer auch geographisch weiten Verbreitung (boharisch und sahidisch, also Ägypten; lukianisch, also Syrien; Kor-

64 Dabei ist es wichtig, längere zusammenhängende Passagen zu analysieren, denn isolierte, einzelne Wendungen kann man fast immer in der einen wie in der anderen Richtung einordnen, entweder als Verbesserung des Griechischen oder als Anpassung an das Hebräische. Für einige Analysen längerer Passagen siehe u. a. Kreuzer 2009a; Kreuzer 2009b; Kreuzer 2010; Kreuzer 2012a. Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen kamen auch Kim 2008, sowie Sigismund 2010.

65 Im Blick auf das Neue Testament – und angesichts der dort sehr großen Zahl von Handschriften und der heutigen computerunterstützten Möglichkeiten – wird diese an sich alte Regel als „kohärenzbasierte genealogische Methode“ bezeichnet und umgesetzt.

rektor c des Alexandrinus) offensichtlich deswegen als sekundär betrachtet wird, weil sie angeblich aus dem Neuen Testament stammt („ex Hebr 17“).

Fragt man nach textkritischen Argumenten, ist es schwierig, einen Grund für eine Veränderung in der einen oder anderen Richtung anzugeben. Beides ist brauchbares und verständliches Griechisch. Fragt man jedoch auch nach der hebräischen Vorlage, so wird ein Grund sichtbar: Die Lesart $\pi\upsilon\rho\ \phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$ aus B et al. stimmt genau mit dem masoretischen Text überein, während die Lesart $\pi\upsilon\rho\ \phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\alpha$ aus Bo Sa L^b A^c und Hebr. 1,7 davon leicht abweicht. Es ist somit wahrscheinlich, dass letztere Lesart die ältere ist und die Lesart aus B et al. die genaue Anpassung an den masoretischen Text darstellt. Die textkritische Überlegung im Sinn der klassischen Textkritik bzw. im Sinn der „kohärenzbasierten genealogischen Methode“ und ohne die Vorentscheidung, dass der lukianische Text jung und wegen der Übereinstimmung mit dem neutestamentlichen Zitat sekundär sein müsse, führt zur gegenüber Rahlfs gegenteiligen Entscheidung.

Nun kann man in diesem Fall noch die interessante Beobachtung machen, dass auch die ältere Lesart genau dem hebräischen Konsonantentext entspricht, allerdings mit einer anderen Vokalisation. Der Hintergrund der beiden griechischen Textformen ist somit derselbe hebräische Konsonantentext mit zwei unterschiedlichen Lesetraditionen, einer (proto)masoretischen und einer anderen Lesetradition. Über das relative Alter der beiden hebräischen Lesetraditionen kann nichts gesagt werden, wahrscheinlich existierten sie zumindest einige Zeit nebeneinander. Wesentlich ist, dass die, nennen wir sie: nicht-(proto)masoretische „Vokalisation“ bzw. Lesetradition die Vorlage der ursprünglichen Übersetzung wurde, während die mit der (proto)masoretischen Lesetradition übereinstimmende griechische Textform auf eine isomorphe Anpassung zurückgeht.⁶⁶

Vergleicht man nicht nur die Differenzen für die in Hebr. 1,7 zitierten Wörter, sondern im ganzen Vers und im ganzen Psalm, so zeigt sich eine Reihe von ähnlichen Differenzen. Die isomorph-hebraisierende Bearbeitung ist nicht so streng wie in den Samuel- und Königsbüchern durchgeführt, sondern etwas milder, man könnte sie daher als semi-Kaige bezeichnen.⁶⁷

Abgesehen von Textverderbnissen und von (meist kleinräumigen) Korrekturen und Kontaminationen (die oft zu Doppelüberlieferungen führten) gab es im Wesentlichen zwei Phasen der Septuagintaüberlieferung: Die ursprüngliche Septuaginta (Old Greek) und die – in unterschiedlicher Intensität erfolgten –

66 Die beiden Lesarten sind ein schönes Beispiel für das dritte Axiom von de Lagarde, vgl. oben.

67 Ähnliche Beobachtungen kann man auch in anderen Textbereichen machen, z. B. im Pentateuch, vgl. Himbaza 2016. Für Analysen aus dem Bereich der nicht-Kaige-Abschnitte der Samuelbücher siehe Kreuzer 2012b und Kreuzer 2014.

isomorph-hebraisierenden Bearbeitungen, die im 1. Jh. BC einsetzten und weiterhin auch in dieser Zeit erfolgten.

Dieses neue Bild der Textgeschichte der Septuaginta löst zugleich das traditionelle sogenannte prototheodotionische und protolukianische Problem, d. h. das Problem, dass theodotionische Lesarten schon lange vor der Zeit Theodotions, der gegen Ende des 2. Jh. AD eingeordnet wird, zu finden sind und dass lukianische Lesarten schon lange vor der Zeit Lukians, der um 300 AD eingeordnet wird, zu finden sind.⁶⁸ Der theodotionische Text ist mehr oder weniger identisch mit dem Kaige-Text. Verschiedentlich wird daher in der Forschung von Kaige-Theodotion gesprochen.⁶⁹ Die Verbindung mit einem Theodotion des späten 2. Jh.'s ist dann lediglich eine späte Zuschreibung (vielleicht um den Text in Analogie zu Aquila und Symmachus mit einer Autorität zu verbinden), oder vielleicht hat tatsächlich dieser Theodotion den schon lange vorhandenen Kaige-Text noch zusätzlich ein wenig bearbeitet. Ähnlich ist auch der sog. lukianische Text schon alt und wurde er im 4. Jh. mit der Autorität des Märtyrers Lukian verbunden.

3.4 Exkurs: Zur Kompatibilität mit den Bemerkungen des Hieronymus⁷⁰

Das neue Bild der Textgeschichte der Septuaginta ist durchaus mit den Bemerkungen des Hieronymus über die Textformen der Septuaginta kompatibel. Die beiden Textformen der Septuaginta verbreiteten sich sozusagen in zwei Wellen: Zunächst verbreitete sich die – vielleicht nicht nur aber doch im Wesentlichen in Alexandria entstandene – alte Septuaginta in Ägypten und in der griechisch sprechenden Diaspora. Ab dem 1. Jh. BC verbreitete sich dann die isomorph-hebraisierende Textform (Kaige und semi-Kaige) von Jerusalem aus. Der hebraisierte Text überlagerte von Jerusalem ausgehend sukzessive die alte Septuaginta, die dementsprechend in den weiter entfernten Bereichen länger erhalten blieb. Daher haben wir die besten Zeugen für den alten Text im Norden, d. h. in

68 Zum prototheodotionischen und protolukianischen Problem siehe z. B. Fernández Marcos 2001: „Theodotonic readings occur not only in these writers [Origenes, Clemens von Alexandrien], but also in much earlier writers such as Justin, Clement of Rome, Shepherd of Hermas, Letter of Barnabas, Epistle to the Hebrews, Apocalypse of John and the Synoptic Gospels“ (Fernández Marcos 2001, 144); sowie: „From the earliest research it had already been noted that in the Lucianic recension there were two clearly differentiated components: 1. Some late Material, certainly post-Hexaplaric, included in the time of the historical Lucian; 2. An underlying layer of variant ancient readings, earlier than the time of Lucian“ (ebd., 232).

69 z. B. Tov 2012, 142–143.

70 Zum Folgenden vgl. Kreuzer 2018.

Syrien und Kleinasien, im Westen in Form der *Vetus Latina* und im Süden in Form griechischer Texte und in der sahidischen Übersetzung. Dieses Bild hatte Hieronymus vor sich: Den syrischen Text, der mit der Autorität Lukians verbunden war, den ägyptischen Text, der mit der Autorität eines Hesych verbunden war, und dazwischen, in Palästina, der hebraisierte Text, der für Hieronymus mit Origenes und mit hexaplarischen Manuskripten verbunden war. Auf diesem Hintergrund schrieb er in seiner Vorrede zur Chronik von der *trifaria varietas*, wobei er mit dieser Bemerkung über die Verschiedenheiten der griechischen Tradition vor allem seinen Rückgang auf das Hebräische rechtfertigen wollte.

Die Bemerkung des Hieronymus im Brief an Sunnia und Fretela hat einen letztlich ähnlichen Hintergrund:⁷¹ Hieronymus wurde angefragt, warum er in seiner Bearbeitung der Psalmen eine andere griechische Textform verwendet hatte, als die geläufige. Er antwortet mit dem Hinweis darauf, dass es zwei Editionen des Septuagintatextes gibt: Den alten, weithin verbreiteten, allgemeinen (*koinén*) Text der Septuaginta, der jetzt (*nunc*) als lukianisch bezeichnet wird, und den Text der hexaplarischen Kodizes, der in Jerusalem und den Kirchen des Ostens verwendet wird, und den Hieronymus getreulich ins Lateinische übersetzte

Illiud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινήν, id est communem, appellant atque vulgatam et a plerisque nunc λουκιάνειος dicitur, aliam LXX interpretum, quae et in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus invenitur et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est et Hierosolymae atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur.⁷²

„Dies sage ich, damit ihr wisst, dass es eine Edition ist, die Origenes und Eusebius von Cäsarea und alle griechischen Autoren die *koiné*, das ist die allgemeine und verbreitete, bezeichnen, und die jetzt von den meisten die lukianische genannt wird, und eine andere die Übersetzung der LXX, die auch in den hexaplarischen Kodizes gefunden wird und die von uns sorgfältig in lateinische Sprache übersetzt wurde und die in Jerusalem und in den Kirchen des Ostens gesungen/(vor)gelesen wird.“

71 Der Brief bezieht sich zwar auf die Psalmbearbeitung, wurde aber offensichtlich erst viel später geschrieben. Siehe dazu Schulz-Flügel 2014. Manchmal wird gefragt, ob der Brief tatsächlich auf eine Anfrage zweier gotische Kleriker zurückgehe. Aber auch wenn die Adressaten fiktiv sind, hatte Hieronymus offensichtlich einen Grund und jedenfalls das Anliegen, seine Vorgangsweise zu verteidigen.

72 Brief 106, § 2, 2.

Hier setzt Hieronymus den lukianischen Text ausdrücklich mit der allgemein verbreiteten Septuaginta gleich, die jetzt, d. h. in der Zeit des Hieronymus, als lukianisch bezeichnet wird. Es geht somit nicht um einen neuen Text, sondern um eine neue Zuschreibung. Diese Zuschreibung ist hagiographisch erklärbar: Lukian war als antiochenischer Exeget gut bekannt, auch wenn er in dogmatischer Hinsicht zeitweise umstritten war. Vor allem aber erlitt er 312 in der diokletianischen Verfolgung in Nikomedien das Martyrium. Sein Leichnam wurde in einen nahen See geworfen und auf der anderen Seite bei Drepanon ans Ufer gespült, wo man ihm eine Kirche errichtete. Nun war Drepanon zugleich der Herkunftsort der Kaisermutter Helena. Diese Verbindung führte nicht nur zu einer Umbenennung des Ortes in Helenopolis sondern auch zu intensiver Förderung der Verehrung Lukians durch das Kaiserhaus, was dazu beitrug, dass sich die Verehrung Lukians im 4. Jh. in weiten Teilen des römischen Reiches verbreitete.⁷³ Durch die Verbindung mit Lukian gewann der alte Septuagintatext sowohl eine gelehrte als auch eine martyriologische und letztlich kaiserliche Anerkennung. Diese Legitimation der alten Septuaginta richtete sich wahrscheinlich gegen eine Bevorzugung des hebraisierten griechischen Bibeltexes (wie sie Hieronymus verkörperte und für die er nach Origenes wohl nicht der erste war).

Die im Statement von der *trifaria varietas* genannte Verbindung des (alten) Septuagintatextes mit Hesych in Ägypten mag einen analogen, zusätzlich vielleicht auch einen lokalen Hintergrund haben, nur dass es für uns schwierig ist festzustellen, welcher Hesych dabei gemeint war.

4 Konsequenzen für die Beziehungen des äthiopischen Textes zur Septuaginta

Es ist unbestritten, dass die äthiopische Übersetzung sowohl des Alten als auch des Neuen Testaments aus dem Griechischen erfolgte und dass die Übersetzung der einzelnen Schriften in der Zeit von ca. 350/400 bis ca. 600 entstand. Andererseits sind – vor allem auf Grund gezielter Zerstörungen durch den Emir Grañ im 16. Jh. – leider kaum Handschriften aus der Zeit vor 1400 erhalten.⁷⁴ Das ergibt einen weiten Raum für Entwicklungen innerhalb der äthiopischen Überlieferung und für die Frage nach Bezugstexten und äußeren Einflüssen. Für diese Fragen sind die Fachleute zuständig, die auf dieser Tagung versammelt sind.

Im Blick auf die Septuaginta geht es nicht nur um die Erstübersetzung, sondern auch um die Frage weiterer Einflüsse und Beziehungen und um deren zeit-

⁷³ Brennecke 1991.

⁷⁴ Brock 1980; Zuurmond 1992.

lichen und räumliche Verortung: M. W. wird für den äthiopischen Text unter anderem auch ein Einfluss aus dem syrischen Raum angenommen. Die Frage ist, wie es zu dieser Annahme bzw. zu diesem Einfluss kommen kann. Es scheint dabei auch um Übereinstimmungen mit dem lukianischen/antiochenischen Text zu gehen. Wenn diese Textform gemäß traditioneller Annahme erst ab dem 4. Jh. existierte bzw. in Syrien verbreitet war, dann liegt es nahe anzunehmen, dass dieser Kontakt nicht über Ägypten, sondern über den Osten, d. h. über die arabische Halbinsel erfolgte, sei es in vorislamischer oder erst in islamischer Zeit.

Wenn aber der lukianische bzw. der antiochenische Text der Old Greek nahe steht, bzw. der beste Zeuge für diese ist, dann ist die Existenz dieses Textes für viel ältere Zeit und nicht zuletzt für Ägypten anzunehmen. M. a. W.: Der sog. lukianische bzw. antiochenische Text, der nach Hieronymus der allgemeine, verbreitete Septuagintatext ist, stand auch in Ägypten zur Verfügung, und damit von Anfang an auch für die äthiopische Übersetzung. Das wird auch dadurch bestätigt, dass die sahidische Übersetzung wie oben erwähnt häufig mit dem lukianischen Text und damit der Old Greek übereinstimmt. Nach dem oben Gesagten wird es mit dem hesychianischen Text eine ähnliche Bewandnis haben, d. h. er wird im Wesentlichen die Old Greek darstellen, sofern man überhaupt eine „hesychianische“ Textform identifizieren kann.

Andererseits standen auch schon früh die hebraisierten Textformen zur Verfügung, da die Kaige-Rezension schon im 1. Jh. BC eingesetzt hatte. Abgesehen davon, dass der Vaticanus, der in vielen Teilen Kaige- und semi-Kaige-Texte enthält, häufig dem ägyptischen Bereich zugeordnet wird, bezeugen auch Papyri einen stark isomorph bearbeiteten Text: So Papyrus Bodmer XXIV aus der Zeit um 200 bzw. dem 3. Jh., der einen großen Teil der Psalmen umfasst und einen stark isomorphen Text repräsentiert. In dieser Hinsicht interessant ist auch Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 5101, der einige wenige Psalmen bietet.⁷⁵ Dieser stammt aus der Zeit um 100 AD und enthält (ähnlich wie die Zwölfprophetenrolle aus Naḥal Ḥever) den Gottesnamen in althebräischer Schrift, d. h. es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um einen jüdischen Papyrus mit hebraisierend bearbeitetem griechischen Text.

Zur Zeit der Entstehung der äthiopischen Übersetzung aber auch in den folgenden Jahrhunderten standen somit sowohl die ursprüngliche Septuaginta (Old Greek) als auch hebraisierend bearbeitete Textformen zur Verfügung (natürlich beide mit Textverderbnissen oder auch Kontaminationen). Das bedeutet, die Nähe zu einer bestimmten Textform ist schwerlich ein Indiz für eine bestimmte Entstehungszeit, und auch eine Entsprechung zum hebräischen Text muss nicht

⁷⁵ Zu diesem siehe Smith 2012.

auf direkten Kontakt zurückgehen, sondern kann auch über einen Kaige-Text entstanden sein.

Die Entwicklung des äthiopischen Textes wird somit im Wesentlichen aus inneräthiopischen Beobachtungen rekonstruiert werden müssen, wobei es trotzdem sinnvoll sein wird, auf semantische und grammatische Diagnostica zu achten, die auf externe Verbindungen verweisen könnten.

Eigenarten und Besonderheiten der Septuaginta waren zweifellos von grundlegender Bedeutung für die äthiopische Übersetzung, umgekehrt werden die Forschungen an der äthiopischen Übersetzung gewiss auch manche Erkenntnisse für die Septuaginta bringen.

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Πάντα τὰ κατ' ἑξοχὴν καλούμενα Βιβλία Θείας δηλαδὴ Γραφῆς παλαιάς τε, καὶ νέας. *Sacrae Scripturae Veteris, Novaeque omnia* (Venetiis: in aedib. Aldi et Andreae soceri, 1518).

Bezae Cantabrigiensis

Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.2.41 (= Cambridge MS Nn.2.41)

Claromontanus = Codex Claromontanus

Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France (= BnF), Grec 107

Codex Leningradensis

St Petersburg, Russia, The National Library of Russia, EBP I B 19^A

Complutense

I: *Vetus testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum. Et imprimis Pentateuchus Hebraico Greco atque Chaldaico idiomate. Adiuncta unicuique sua latina interpretatione*; II: *Secunda pars Veteris testamenti Hebraico Grecoque idiomate nunc primum impressa: adiuncta utrique sua latina interpretatione*; III: *Tertia pars...*; IV: *Quarta pars...*; V: *Novum testamentum grece & latine in academia complutensi noviter impressum*; VI: *Vocabularium hebraicum atque chaldaicum totius veteris testamenti cum alijs tractatibus prout infra in prefatione continetur in academia complutensi noviter impressum*, I–VI (In hac praeclarissima Complutensi universitate [Alcalá]: de mandato & sumptibus reverendissimi in christo patris & illustrissimi domini fratris Francisci Ximenez de Cisneros: industria & solertia honorabilis viri Arnaldi guilielmi de Brocario, 1514–1517).

Ephraemi Syriac Codex Rescriptus

Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France (= BnF), Grec 9

Sixtina

Ἡ Παλαιά Διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα δι' αὐθεντίας Ξύστου Ε'. ἄκρου ἀρχιερέως ἐκδοθεῖσα. *Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate Sixti V. pont. max. editum* (Romae: ex typographia Francisci Zanetti, 1586).

Sinaiticus = Codex Sinaiticus

London, British Library (= BL), Add MS 43725

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Codices Graeci I

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Sinai, St Catherine monastery, New Finds

Vaticanus = Codex Vaticanus

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (= BAV), Vat.gr.1209