

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 105

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 105

Psalms and Odes of Solomon, Ahikar, Aristeas, Pseudo-
Philo and the Sibylline Oracles

c. 500 BC – AD 500

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 105: Psalms and Odes of Solomon, Ahikar, Aristeas, Pseudo-Philo and the Sibylline Oracles

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and fifth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. The first volumes of the series follow the writers in order of date; this volume belongs to the later part of the series, which gathers the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings: the psalms, odes, tales of wisdom and oracles that circulated among Jews and Christians. This volume holds the Psalms and the Odes of Solomon, the Story of Ahikar, the Letter of Aristeas, the Fourth Book of Maccabees, the Sayings of the Fathers, the Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo, the Sibylline Oracles and a Syriac Jeremiah apocryphon.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. All the works in this volume are printed in older public-domain translations. The translations in Charles's Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, the Odes and Psalms of Solomon of Harris and Mingana, Terry's Sibylline Oracles, Herford's Pirke Aboth and Mingana's Syriac texts were read by machine from scans of the printed books and have not been proofread against the pages, so a misreading may remain. Page numbers and footnotes are left out. Greek, Hebrew and Latin words in the editors' notes are left out or, where a Greek word occurs in the text itself, given in Latin letters. The Syriac psalms of William Wright were transcribed for Roger Pearse's collection.

In this volume

The first half of this volume gathers the poetry and wisdom of the Jewish and early Christian world outside the Bible: the Psalms of Solomon, written in Jerusalem in the generation after Pompey took the city, the Odes of Solomon, which are the earliest Christian hymnbook that has come down to us, and the story of the wise Ahikar, which was already old when the book of Tobit was written.

The second half holds the Letter of Aristeas, which tells how the Septuagint was made, the Biblical Antiquities that were once ascribed to Philo, and the Sibylline Oracles, in which Jews and Christians put their own teaching into the mouth of the pagan prophetess. The Oracles are given in the blank-verse version of Milton Terry.

Dates and authorship

None of these books is part of the Bible. Some were written by Jews before the time of Christ, some by Christians in the first centuries, and some much later, and many carry the name of a patriarch, an apostle or a Father who did not write them. Some of them contain stories that the Church never received and teaching that it rejected. They are printed here so that a reader can see what they say and judge them against the Scriptures, as the Fathers themselves did. The books in this volume range from the fifth century BC to the fifth century AD, and several of the Syriac psalms are known only from medieval copies.

P A R T O N E

Psalms and Odes

*Eighteen Jewish psalms in the name of Solomon, the forty-two
Odes of Solomon, and psalms found only in Syriac manuscripts.*

The Psalms of Solomon (Greek version)

TRANSLATED BY G. B. GRAY

1st century BC

Eighteen Jewish psalms of the first century BC, written in Jerusalem after the Roman general Pompey took the city in 63 BC, lamenting the sins of the rulers and looking for a Messiah who will be a son of David. The work is ascribed to Solomon but is not by him and is not part of the Bible. This is Gray's translation of the Greek text.

PSALM 1

1. I cried unto the Lord when I was in distress, Unto God when sinners assailed. 2. Suddenly the alarm of war was heard before me; (I said), He will hearken to me, for I am full of righteousness. 3. I thought in my heart that I was full of righteousness, Because I was well off and had become rich in children. 4. Their wealth spread to the whole earth, And their glory unto the end of the earth. 5. They were exalted unto the stars; They said they would never fall. 6. But they became insolent in their prosperity, And... 7. Their sins were in secret, And even I had no knowledge (of them). 8. Their transgressions (went) beyond those of the heathen before them; They utterly polluted the holy things of the Lord.

PSALM 2: A PSALM. OF SOLOMON. CONCERNING JERUSALEM

1. When the sinner waxed proud, with a battering-ram he cast down fortified walls, And Thou didst not restrain (him). 2. Alien nations ascended Thine altar, They trampled (it) proudly with their sandals; 3. Because the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the holy things of the Lord, Had profaned with iniquities the offerings of God. 4. Therefore He said: Cast them far from Me; 5. It was set at naught before God, It was utterly dishonoured; 6. The sons and the daughters were in grievous captivity, Sealed (?) (was) their neck, branded (?) (was it) among the nations. 7. According to their sins hath He done unto them, For He hath left them in the hands of them that prevailed.

8. He hath turned away His face from pitying them, Young and old and their children together; 9. For they had done evil one and all, in not hearkening. 10. And the heavens were angry, And the earth abhorred them; 11. For no man upon it had done what they did, 12. And the earth recognized all Thy righteous judgements, O God. 13. They set the sons of Jerusalem to be mocked at in return for (the) harlots in her; Every wayfarer entered in in the full light of day. 14. They made mock with their transgressions, as they themselves were wont to do; In the full light of day they revealed their iniquities. And the daughters of Jerusalem were defiled in accordance with Thy judgement, 15. Because they had defiled themselves with unnatural intercourse. I am pained in my bowels and my inward parts for these things. 16. (And yet) I will justify Thee, O God, in uprightness of heart, For in Thy judgements is Thy righteousness (displayed), O God. 17. For Thou hast rendered to the sinners according to their deeds, Yea according to their sins, which were very wicked.

18. Thou hast uncovered their sins, that Thy judgement might be manifest; 19. Thou hast wiped out their memorial from the earth. God is a righteous judge, And He is no respecter of persons. 20. For the nations reproached Jerusalem, trampling it down; Her beauty was dragged down from the throne of glory. 21. She girded on sackcloth instead of comely raiment, A rope (was) about her head instead of a crown. 22. She put off the glorious diadem which God had set upon her, 23. In dishonour was her beauty cast upon the ground. 24. And I saw and entreated the Lord and said, Long enough, O Lord, has Thine hand been heavy on Israel, in bringing the nations upon (them). 25. For they have made sport unsparingly in wrath and fierce anger; 26. And they will make an utter end, unless Thou, O Lord, rebuke them in Thy wrath.

27. For they have done it not in zeal, but in lust of soul, 28. Pouring out their wrath upon us with a view to rapine. 29. Delay not, O God, to recompense them on (their) heads, To turn the pride of the dragon into dishonour. 30. And I had not long to wait before God showed me the insolent one Slain on the mountains of Egypt, Esteemed of less account than the least, on land and sea; 31. His body (, too,) borne hither and thither on the billows with much insolence, With none to bury (him), because He had rejected him with dishonour. He reflected not that he was man, 32. And reflected not on the latter end; 33. He said: I will be lord of land and sea; And he recognized not

that it is God who is great, Mighty in His great strength. 34. He is king over the heavens, And judgeth kings and kingdoms.

35. (It is He) who setteth me up in glory, And bringeth down the proud to eternal destruction in dishonour, Because they knew Him not. 36. And now behold, ye princes of the earth, the judgement of the Lord, For a great king and righteous (is He), judging (all) that is under heaven. 37. Bless God, ye that fear the Lord with wisdom, For the mercy of the Lord will be upon them that fear Him, in the Judgement; 38. So that He will distinguish between the righteous and the sinner, (And) recompense the sinners for ever according to their deeds; 39. And have mercy on the righteous, (delivering him) from the affliction of the sinner, And recompensing the sinner for what he hath done to the righteous. 40. For the Lord is good to them that call upon Him in patience, Doing according to His mercy to His pious ones, Establishing (them) at all times before Him in strength.

41. Blessed be the Lord for ever before His servants.

PSALM 3: A PSALM. OF SOLOMON. CONCERNING THE RIGHTEOUS

1. Why sleepest thou, O my soul, And blessest not the Lord? 2. Sing a new song, Unto God who is worthy to be praised. Esteemed of less account than the least. Held in less account than a person of the least position: so clearly S; on G cerip chāxiērow (or conjecturally chāxiērow), see Ryle and James. Sing and be wakeful against His awaking, For good is a psalm (sung) to God from a glad heart. 3. The righteous remember the Lord at all times, With thanksgiving and declaration of the righteousness of the Lord's judgements. 4. The righteous despiseth not the chastening of the Lord; His will is always before the Lord. 5. The righteous stumbleth and holdeth the Lord righteous: He falleth and looketh out for what God will do to him; 6. He seeketh out whence his deliverance will come. 7. The steadfastness of the righteous is from God their deliverer; There lodgeth not in the house of the righteous sin upon sin.

8. The righteous continually searcheth his house, To remove utterly (all) iniquity (done) by him in error. 9. He maketh atonement for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and afflicting his soul, 10. And the Lord counteth guiltless every pious man and his house. 11. The sinner stumbleth and curseth his life, The day when he was begotten, and his mother's travail. 12. He addeth sins to sins, while he liveth (?); 13. He falleth—verily grievous is his fall—and riseth no more. The destruction of the sinner is for ever, 14. And he shall not

be remembered, when the righteous is visited. 15. This is the portion of sinners for ever. 16. But they that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal, And their life (shall be) in the light of the Lord, and shall come to an end no more.

PSALM 4: A CONVERSATION OF SOLOMON WITH THE MEN-PLEASERS

1. Wherefore sittest thou, O profane (man), in the council of the pious, Seeing that thy heart is far removed from the Lord, Provoking with transgressions the God of Israel? 2. Extravagant in speech, extravagant in outward seeming beyond all (men), Is he that is severe of speech in condemning sinners in judgement. 3. And his hand is first upon him as (though he acted) in zeal, And (yet) he is himself guilty in respect of manifold sins and of wantonness. 4. His eyes are upon every woman without distinction; His tongue lieth when he maketh contract with an oath. 5. By night and in secret he sinneth as though unseen, With his eyes he talketh to every woman of evil compacts. 6. He is swift to enter every house with cheerfulness as though guileless. 7. Let God remove those that live in hypocrisy in the company of the pious, (Even) the life of such an one with corruption of his flesh and penury.

8. Let God reveal the deeds of the men-pleasers, The deeds of such an one with laughter and derision; 9. That the pious may count righteous the judgement of their God, When sinners are removed from before the righteous, 10. (Even the) man-pleaser who uttereth law guilefully. 11. And their eyes (are fixed) upon any man's house that is (still) secure, That they may, like (the) Serpent, destroy the wisdom of... with words of transgressors. 12. His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire. 13. He never ceaseth from scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans, Yea, he layeth waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire. 14. He deceiveth with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth, or judgeth. 15. He fills one (house) with lawlessness, And (then) his eyes (are fixed) upon the next house, the psalmist, or to the leader of that party; adopting the latter view some have identified the profane man with Alexander Jannaeus (Wellh.), others with Aristobulus (Ryle and James). To destroy it with words that give wing to (desire). (Yet) with all these his soul, like Sheol, is not sated.

16. Let his portion, O Lord, be dishonoured before thee; Let him go forth groaning, and come home cursed. 17. Let his life be (spent) in anguish, and penury, and want, O Lord; Let his sleep be (beset) with pains and his awaking

with perplexities. 18. Let sleep be withdrawn from his eyelids at night; Let him fail dishonourably in every work of his hands. 19. Let him come home empty-handed to his house, And his house be void of everything wherewith he could sate his appetite. 20. (Let) his old age (be spent) in childless loneliness until his removal (by death). 21. Let the flesh of the men-pleasers be rent by wild beasts, And (let) the bones of the lawless (lie) dishonoured in the sight of the sun. 22. Let ravens peck out the eyes of the hypocrites. 23. For they have laid waste many houses of men, in dishonour, And scattered (them) in (their) lust;

24. And they have not remembered God, Nor feared God in all these things; 25. But they have provoked God's anger and vexed Him. May He remove them from off the earth, Because with deceit they beguiled the souls of the flawless. 26. Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their flawlessness; 27. The Lord shall deliver them from guileful men and sinners, And deliver us from every stumbling-block of the lawless (men). 28. Let God destroy them that insolently work all unrighteousness, For a great and mighty judge is the Lord our God in righteousness. 29. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love Thee.

PSALM 5: A PSALM. OF SOLOMON

1. O Lord God, I will praise Thy name with joy, In the midst of them that know Thy righteous judgements. 2. For Thou art good and merciful, the refuge of the poor; 3. When I cry to Thee, do not silently disregard me. 4. For no man taketh spoil from a mighty man; 5. Who, then, can take aught of all that Thou hast made, except Thou Thyself givest? 6. 7. For man and his portion (lie) before Thee in the balance; He cannot add to, so as to enlarge, what has been prescribed by Thee. O God, when we are in distress we call upon Thee for help, And Thou dost not turn back our petition, for Thou art our God. 8. Cause not Thy hand to be heavy upon us, Lest through necessity we sin. 9. Even though Thou restore us not, we will not keep away; But unto Thee will we come.

10. For if I hunger, unto Thee will I cry, O God; And Thou wilt give to me. 11. Birds and fish dost Thou nourish, In that Thou givest rain to the steppes that green grass may spring up, (So) to prepare fodder in the steppe for every living thing; 12. And if they hunger, unto Thee do they lift up their face. 13. Kings and rulers and peoples Thou dost nourish, O God; And who is the help of the poor and needy, if not Thou, O Lord? 14. And Thou wilt

hearken—for who is good and gentle but Thou?— Making glad the soul of the humble by opening Thine hand in mercy. 15. Man's goodness is (bestowed) grudgingly and...; And if he repeat (it) without murmuring, even that is marvellous. 16. But Thy gift is great in goodness and wealth, And he whose hope is (set) on Thee shall have no lack of gifts.

17. Upon the whole earth is Thy mercy, O Lord, in goodness. 18. Happy is he whom God remembereth in (granting to him) a due sufficiency; 19. If a man abound overmuch, he sinneth. 20. Sufficient are moderate means with righteousness, And hereby the blessing of the Lord (becomes) abundance with righteousness. 21. They that fear the Lord rejoice in good (gifts), And Thy goodness is upon Israel in Thy kingdom. Blessed is the glory of the Lord, for He is our king.

PSALM 6: IN HOPE. OF SOLOMON

1. Happy is the man whose heart is fixed to call upon the name of the Lord; 2. When he remembereth the name of the Lord, he will be saved. 3. His ways are made even by the Lord, And the works of his hands are preserved by the Lord his God. 4. At what he sees in his bad dreams, his soul shall not be troubled; 5. When he passes through rivers and the tossing of the seas, he shall not be dismayed. 6. He ariseth from his sleep, and blesseth the name of the Lord: 7. When his heart is at peace, he singeth to the name of his God, And he entreateth the Lord for all his house. 8. And the Lord heareth the prayer of every one that feareth God, And every request of the soul that hopes for Him doth the Lord accomplish. 9. Blessed is the Lord, who showeth mercy to those who love Him in sincerity.

PSALM 7: OF SOLOMON. OF TURNING

1. Make not Thy dwelling afar from us, O God; Lest they assail us that hate us without cause. 2. For Thou hast rejected them, O God; Let not their foot trample upon Thy holy inheritance. 3. Chasten us Thyself in Thy good pleasure; But give (us) not up to the nations; 4. For, if Thou sendest pestilence, Thou Thyself givest it charge concerning us; For Thou art merciful, And wilt not be angry to the point of consuming us. 5. While Thy name dwelleth in our midst, we shall find mercy; 6. And the nations shall not prevail against us. For Thou art our shield, 7. And when we call upon Thee, Thou hearkenest to us; 8. For Thou wilt pity the seed of Israel for ever And Thou wilt not

reject (them): But we (shall be) under Thy yoke for ever, And (under) the rod of Thy chastening.

9. Thou wilt establish us in the time that Thou helpst us, Showing mercy to the house of Jacob on the day wherein Thou didst promise (to help them).

PSALM 8: OF SOLOMON. OF THE CHIEF MUSICIAN

1. Distress and the sound of war hath my ear heard, The sound of a trumpet announcing slaughter and calamity, 2. The sound of much people as of an exceeding high wind, As a tempest with mighty fire sweeping through the Negeb. 3. And I said in my heart, Surely (?) God judgeth us; 4. A sound I hear (moving) towards Jerusalem, the holy city. 5. My loins were broken at what I heard, my knees tottered; 6. My heart was afraid, my bones were dismayed like flax. 7. I said: They establish their ways in righteousness. I thought upon the judgements of God since the creation of heaven and earth; I held God righteous in His judgements which have been from of old. 8. God laid bare their sins in the full light of day; All the earth came to know the righteous judgements of God. 9. In secret places underground their iniquities (were committed) to provoke (Him) to anger;

10. They wrought confusion, son with mother and father with daughter; 11. They committed adultery, every man with his neighbour's wife. They concluded covenants with one another with an oath touching these things; 12. They plundered the sanctuary of God, as though there was no avenger. 13. They trode the altar of the Lord, (coming straight) from all manner of uncleanness; And with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices, as (though these were) common flesh. 14. They left no sin undone, wherein they surpassed not the heathen. 15. Therefore God mingled for them a spirit of wandering; And gave them to drink a cup of undiluted wine, that they might become drunken. 16. He brought him that is from the end of the earth, that smiteth mightily; 17. He decreed (?) war against Jerusalem, and against her land. 18. The princes of the land went to meet him with joy: they said unto him: Blessed be thy way! Come ye, enter ye in with peace.

19. They made the rough ways even, before his entering in; They opened the gates to Jerusalem, they crowned its walls. 20. As a father (entereth) the house of his sons, (so) he entered (Jerusalem) in peace; He established his feet (there) in great safety. 21. He captured her fortresses and the wall of Jerusalem; 22. For God Himself led him in safety, while they wandered. 23. He destroyed their princes and every one wise in counsel; He poured out the

blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, like the water of uncleanness. 24. He led away their sons and daughters, whom they had begotten in defilement. 25. They did according to their uncleanness, even as their fathers (had done): 26. They defiled Jerusalem and the things that had been hallowed to the name of God. 27. (But) God hath shown Himself righteous in His judgements upon the nations of the earth;

28. And the pious (servants) of God are like innocent lambs in their midst. 29. Worthy to be praised is the Lord that judgeth the whole earth in His righteousness. 30. Behold, now, O God, Thou hast shown us Thy judgement in Thy righteousness; 31. Our eyes have seen Thy judgements, O God. We have justified Thy name that is honoured for ever; 32. For Thou art the God of righteousness, judging Israel with chastening. 33. Turn, O God, Thy mercy upon us, and have pity upon us; 34. Gather together the dispersed of Israel, with mercy and goodness; 35. For Thy faithfulness is with us. And (though) we have stiffened our neck, yet Thou art our chastener; 36. Overlook us not, O our God, lest the nations swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver. 37. But Thou art our God from the beginning. And upon Thee is our hope (set), O Lord;

38. And we will not depart from Thee, For good are Thy judgements upon us. 39. Ours and our children's be Thy good pleasure for ever; O Lord our Saviour, we shall never more be moved. 40. The Lord is worthy to be praised for His judgements with the mouth of His pious ones; And blessed be Israel of the Lord for ever.

PSALM 9: OF SOLOMON. FOR REBUKE

1. When Israel was led away captive into a strange land, When they fell away from the Lord who redeemed them, 2. They were cast away from the inheritance, which the Lord had given them. Among every nation (were) the dispersed of Israel according to the word of God, 3. That Thou mightest be justified, O God, in Thy righteousness by reason of our transgressions: 4. For Thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth. 5. For from Thy knowledge none that doeth unjustly is hidden, 6. And the righteous deeds of Thy pious ones (are) before Thee, O Lord; Where, then, can a man hide himself from Thy knowledge, O God? 7. Our works are subject to our own choice and power To do right or wrong in the works of our hands; 8. And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men. 9. He that doeth righteousness

layeth up life for himself with the Lord; And he that doeth wrongly forfeits his life to destruction;

10. For the judgements of the Lord are (given) in righteousness to (every) man and (his) house. 11. Unto whom art Thou good, O God, except to them that call upon the Lord? 12. He cleanseth from sins a soul when it maketh confession, when it maketh acknowledgement; 13. For shame is upon us and upon our faces on account of all these things. 14. And to whom doth He forgive sins, except to them that have sinned? 15. Thou blessest the righteous, and dost not reprove them for the sins that they have committed; And Thy goodness is upon them that sin, when they repent. 16. And, now, Thou art our God, and we the people whom Thou hast loved: Behold and show pity, O God of Israel, for we are Thine; And remove not Thy mercy from us, lest they assail us. 17. For Thou didst choose the seed of Abraham before all the nations, And didst set Thy name upon us, O Lord,

18. And Thou wilt not reject (us) for ever. Thou madest a covenant with our fathers concerning us; 19. And we hope in Thee, when our soul turneth (unto Thee). The mercy of the Lord be upon the house of Israel for ever and ever.

PSALM 10: A HYMN. OF SOLOMON

1. Happy is the man whom the Lord remembereth with reproving, And whom He restraineth from the way of evil with strokes, That he may be cleansed from sin, that it may not be multiplied. 2. He that maketh ready his back for strokes shall be cleansed, For the Lord is good to them that endure chastening. 3. For He maketh straight the ways of the righteous, And doth not pervert (them) by His chastening. 4. And the mercy of the Lord (is) upon them that love Him in truth, And the Lord remembereth His servants in mercy. 5. For the testimony (is) in the law of the eternal covenant, The testimony of the Lord (is) on the ways of men in (His) visitation. 6. Just and kind is our Lord in His judgements for ever, And Israel shall praise the name of the Lord in gladness. 7. And the pious shall give thanks in the assembly of the people; And on the poor shall God have mercy in the gladness (?) of Israel;

8. For good and merciful is God for ever, And the assemblies of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord. The salvation of the Lord be upon the house of Israel unto everlasting gladness!

PSALM 11: OF SOLOMON. UNTO EXPECTATION

1. Blow ye in Zion on the trumpet to summon (the) saints, 2. Cause ye to be heard in Jerusalem the voice of him that bringeth good tidings; For God hath had pity on Israel in visiting them. 3. Stand on the height, O Jerusalem, and behold thy children, From the East and the West, gathered together by the Lord; 4. From the North they come in the gladness of their God, From the isles afar off God hath gathered them. 5. High mountains hath He abased into a plain for them; 6. The hills fled at their entrance. The woods gave them shelter as they passed by; 7. Every sweet-smelling tree God caused to spring up for them, That Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God. 8. Put on, O Jerusalem, thy glorious garments; Make ready thy holy robe; For God hath spoken good concerning Israel, for ever and ever.

9. Let the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem; Let the Lord raise up Israel by His glorious name. The mercy of the Lord be upon Israel for ever and ever.

PSALM 12: OF SOLOMON. AGAINST THE TONGUE OF TRANSGRESSORS

1. O Lord, deliver my soul from (the) lawless and wicked man, From the tongue that is lawless and slanderous, and speaketh lies and deceit. 2. Manifoldly twisted (?) are the words of the tongue of the wicked man, Even as... a fire that burneth up... 3.... to fill houses with a lying tongue, To cut down the trees of gladness... 4. To involve households in warfare by means of slanderous lips. May God remove far from the innocent the lips of transgressors by (bringing them to) want And may the bones of slanderers be scattered (far) away from them that fear the Lord! 5. In flaming fire perish the slanderous tongue (far) away from the pious! 6. May the Lord preserve the quiet soul that hateth the unrighteous; And may the Lord establish the man that followeth peace at home. 7. The salvation of the Lord be upon Israel His servant for ever; And let the sinners perish together at the presence of the Lord; But let the Lord's pious ones inherit the promises of the Lord.

PSALM 13: OF SOLOMON. A PSALM. COMFORT FOR THE RIGHTEOUS

1. The right hand of the Lord hath covered me; The right hand of the Lord hath spared us. 2. The arm of the Lord hath saved us from the sword that passed through, From famine and the death of sinners. 3. Noisome beasts ran upon them: With their teeth they tore their flesh, And with their molars crushed their bones. But from all these things the Lord delivered us. 4. The

righteous was troubled on account of his errors, Lest he should be taken away along with the sinners; 5. 6. For terrible is the overthrow of the sinner; But not one of all these things toucheth the righteous. For not alike are the chastening of the righteous (for sins done) in ignorance, And the overthrow of the sinners. 7. Secretly (?) is the righteous chastened, Lest the sinner rejoice over the righteous. 8. For He correcteth the righteous as a beloved son, And his chastisement is as that of a firstborn.

9. For the Lord spareth His pious ones, And blotteth out their errors by His chastening. For the life of the righteous shall be for ever; 10. But sinners shall be taken away into destruction, And their memorial shall be found no more. 11. But upon the pious is the mercy of the Lord, And upon them that fear Him His mercy.

PSALM 14: A HYMN. OF SOLOMON

1. Faithful is the Lord to them that love Him in truth, To them that endure His chastening, To them that walk in the righteousness of His commandments, In the law which He commanded us that we might live. 2. The pious of the Lord shall live by it for ever; The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His pious ones. 3. Their planting is rooted for ever; They shall not be plucked up all the days of heaven: For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel. 4. But not so are the sinners and transgressors, Who love (the brief) day (spent) in companionship with their sin; Their delight is in fleeting corruption, 5. And they remember not God. For the ways of men are known before Him at all times, And He knoweth the secrets of the heart before they come to pass. 6. Therefore their inheritance is Sheol and darkness and destruction, And they shall not be found in the day when the righteous obtain mercy;

7. But the pious of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness.

PSALM 15: A PSALM. OF SOLOMON. WITH A SONG

1. When I was in distress I called upon the name of the Lord, I hoped for the help of the God of Jacob and was saved; 2. For the hope and refuge of the poor art Thou, O God. 3. For who, O God, is strong except to give thanks unto Thee in truth? 4. And wherein is a man powerful except in giving thanks to Thy name? 5. A new psalm with song in gladness of heart, The fruit of the lips with the well-tuned instrument of the tongue, The firstfruits of the lips from a pious and righteous heart— 6. He that offereth these

things shall never be shaken by evil; The flame of fire and the wrath against the unrighteous shall not touch him, 7. When it goeth forth from the face of the Lord against sinners, To destroy all the substance of sinners, 8. For the mark of God is upon the righteous that they may be saved. Famine and sword and pestilence (shall be) far from the righteous,

9. For they shall flee away from the pious as men pursued in war; But they shall pursue sinners and overtake (them), And they that do lawlessness shall not escape the judgement of God; As by enemies experienced (in war) shall they be overtaken, 10. For the mark of destruction is upon their forehead. 11. And the inheritance of sinners is destruction and darkness, And their iniquities shall pursue them unto Sheol beneath. 12. Their inheritance shall not be found of their children, 13. For sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners. And sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgement, 14. When God visiteth the earth with His judgement. 15. But they that fear the Lord shall find mercy therein, And shall live by the compassion of their God; But sinners shall perish for ever.

PSALM 16: A HYMN. OF SOLOMON. FOR HELP TO THE PIOUS

1. – 3. When my soul slumbered (being afar) from the Lord, I had all but slipped down to the pit, When (I was) far from God, my soul had been wellnigh poured out unto death, (I had been) nigh unto the gates of Sheol with the sinner, when my soul departed from the Lord God of Israel— Had not the Lord helped me with His everlasting mercy. 4. He pricked me, as a horse is pricked, that I might serve Him, My saviour and helper at all times saved me. 5. I will give thanks unto Thee, O God, for Thou hast helped me to (my) salvation; And hast not counted me with sinners to (my) destruction. 6. Remove not Thy mercy from me, O God, Nor Thy memorial from my heart until I die. 7. Rule me, O God, (keeping me back) from wicked sin, And from every wicked woman that causeth the simple to stumble.

8. And let not the beauty of a lawless woman beguile me, Nor any one that is subject to (?) unprofitable sin. 9. Establish the works of my hands before Thee, And preserve my goings in the remembrance of Thee. 10. Protect my tongue and my lips with words of truth; Anger and unreasoning wrath put far from me. 11. Murmuring, and impatience in affliction, remove far from me, When, if I sin, Thou chastenest me that I may return (unto Thee). 12. But with goodwill and cheerfulness support my soul; When Thou strengthenest my soul, what is given (to me) will be sufficient for me. 13. For

if Thou givest not strength, Who can endure chastisement with poverty? 14. When a man is rebuked by means of his corruption, Thy testing (of him) is in his flesh and in the affliction of poverty. 15. If the righteous endureth in all these (trials), he shall receive mercy from the Lord.

PSALM 17: A PSALM. OF SOLOMON. WITH SONG. OF THE KING

1. O Lord, Thou art our King for ever and ever, For in Thee, O God, doth our soul glory. 2. How long are the days of man's life upon the earth? As are his days, so is the hope (set) upon him. 3. 4. But we hope in God, our deliverer; For the might of our God is for ever with mercy, And the kingdom of our God is for ever over the nations in judgement. 5. Thou, O Lord, didst choose David (to be) king over Israel, And swarest to him touching his seed that never should his kingdom fail before Thee. 6. But, for our sins, sinners rose up against us; They assailed us and thrust us out; What Thou hadst not promised to them, they took away (from us) with violence. 7. They in no wise glorified Thy honourable name; They set a (worldly) monarchy in place of (that which was) their excellency;

8. They laid waste the throne of David in tumultuous arrogance. But Thou, O God, didst cast them down, and remove their seed from the earth, 9. In that there rose up against them a man that was alien to our race. 10. According to their sins didst Thou recompense them, O God; So that it befell them according to their deeds. 11. God showed them no pity; He sought out their seed and let not one of them go free. 12. Faithful is the Lord in all His judgements Which He doeth upon the earth. 13. The lawless one laid waste our land so that none inhabited it, They destroyed young and old and their children together. 14. In the heat of His anger He sent them away even unto the west, And (He exposed) the rulers of the land unsparingly to derision. 15. Being an alien the enemy acted proudly, And his heart was alien from our God.

16. – 21. And all... Jerusalem, As also the nations... And the children of the covenant in the midst of the mingled peoples... There was not among them one that wrought in the midst of Jerusalem mercy and truth. They that loved the synagogues of the pious fled from them, As sparrows that fly from their nest. They wandered in deserts that their lives might be saved from harm, And precious in the eyes of them that lived abroad was any that escaped alive from them. Over the whole earth were they scattered by lawless (men). For the heavens withheld the rain from dropping upon the earth,

Springs were stopped (that sprang) perennial(ly) out of the deeps, (that ran down) from lofty mountains. For there was none among them that wrought righteousness and justice; From the chief of them to the least (of them) all were sinful; 22. The king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful. Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant. And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers, 23. – 26. And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample (her) down to destruction. Wisely, righteously he shall thrust out sinners from (the) inheritance, He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel. With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance, 27. – 29. He shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth; At his rebuke nations shall flee before him, And he shall reprove sinners for the thoughts of their heart. And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness, And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God. And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst, Nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness,

30. For he shall know them, that they are all sons of their God. And he shall divide them according to their tribes upon the land, 31. And neither sojourner nor alien shall sojourn with them any more. He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. Selah. 32. And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him under his yoke; And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of (?) all the earth; 33. And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as of old: 34. So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted, 35. And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her. And he (shall be) a righteous king, taught of God, over them, 36. And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst, For all shall be holy and their king the anointed of the Lord.

37. For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow, Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war, Nor shall he gather confidence from (?) a multitude (?) for the day of battle. 38. The Lord Himself is his king, the hope of him that is mighty through (his) hope in God. All nations (shall be) in fear before him, 39. For he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever. 40. He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and

gladness, 41. And he himself (will be) pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people. He will rebuke rulers, and remove sinners by the might of his word; 42. And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not stumble; For God will make him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit, And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness.

43. And the blessing of the Lord (will be) with him: he will be strong and stumble not; 44. His hope (will be) in the Lord: who then can prevail against him? (He will be) mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God, 45. (He will be) shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously, And will suffer none among them to stumble in their pasture. 46. – 48. He will lead them all aright, And there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed. This (will be) the majesty of the king of Israel whom God knoweth; He will raise him up over the house of Israel to correct him. His words (shall be) more refined than costly gold, the choicest; In the assemblies he will judge the peoples, the tribes of the sanctified. 49. His words (shall be) like the words of the holy ones in the midst of sanctified peoples.

50. Blessed be they that shall be in those days, In that they shall see the good fortune of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes. 51. May the Lord hasten His mercy upon Israel! May He deliver us from the uncleanness of unholy enemies! The Lord Himself is our king for ever and ever.

PSALM 18: A PSALM. OF SOLOMON. AGAIN OF THE ANOINTED OF THE
LORD

1. Lord, Thy mercy is over the works of Thy hands for ever; Thy goodness is over Israel with a rich gift. 2. Thine eyes look upon them, so that none of them suffers want; 3. Thine ears listen to the hopeful prayer of the poor. Thy judgements (are executed) upon the whole earth in mercy; 4. And Thy love (is) toward the seed of Abraham, the children of Israel. Thy chastisement is upon us as (upon) a first-born, only-begotten son, 5. To turn back the obedient soul from folly (that is wrought) in ignorance. 6. May God cleanse Israel against the day of mercy and blessing, Against the day of choice when He bringeth back His anointed. 7. Blessed shall they be that shall be in those days, In that they shall see the goodness of the Lord which He shall perform for the generation that is to come,

8. Under the rod of chastening of the Lord's anointed in the fear of his God, In the spirit of wisdom and righteousness and strength; 9. That he may direct (every) man in the works of righteousness by the fear of God, That he may establish them all before the Lord, A good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy. 10. 11. Selah. Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest. 12. (It is He) who hath established in (their) courses the lights (of heaven) for determining seasons from year to year, And they have not turned aside from the way which He appointed them. 13. In the fear of God (they pursue) their path every day, From the day God created them and for evermore. 14. And they have erred not since the day He created them. Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their path, Unless God commanded them (so to do) by the command of His servants.

The Psalms of Solomon (Syriac version)

TRANSLATED BY J. RENDEL HARRIS AND ALPHONSE MINGANA

1st century BC

The Syriac version of the Psalms of Solomon, which the manuscript prints after the Odes, in the Harris and Mingana translation with notes; the usual Greek numbering is given in italics.

PSALM 1 (SYRIAC PSALM 43)

(1) I cried unto the Lord when I was in affliction at my end; and to God when sinners set upon me: (2) for suddenly there was heard before me the sound of war: for He will hear me because I am filled with righteousness. (3) And I reckoned in my heart that I was filled with righteousness; in the day that I became rich and was with the multitude of (my) children. (4) Their wealth, however, has been given to the whole earth: and their glory as far as the ends of the earth. (5) And they were lifted high as the stars: and they said (6) that they will not fall, and they were insolent in their good things, and they spake without knowledge. (7) For their sins were in secret and I knew them not: (8) and their wickedness had exceeded that of the nations that had been before them: and they defiled the sanctuary of the Lord with pollution.

PSALM 2 (SYRIAC PSALM 44)

(1) In the insolence of the sinful man, he cast down with battering rams the strong walls, and thou didst not restrain him. (2) And the Gentile foreigners went up on thy altar, and were XLIV] trampling on it with their shoes in their insolence. (3) For the children of Jerusalem had polluted the Holy House of the Lord: and they were profaning the offerings to God with wickedness. (4) Wherefore He said, Remove them, cast them away from me. And He did not establish with them the beauty of His glory; (5) it was rejected before the Lord: and it was utterly torn in pieces. (6) Her sons and her daughters were in bitter captivity, and on their neck was put the sealed yoke of the Gentiles: (7) According to their sins so He dealt with them: for He

suffered them to pass into the hand of him that was stronger than they. (8) For He turned away His face from His mercy: young men and old men and their children together; (9) because they also had worked evil together, that they might not hearken unto me. (10) And the heaven was mightily angered, and the earth rejected them: (11) because none in (the earth) had done therein like their doings; (12) and that the earth may know all thy righteous judgements, O God. (13) They set up the sons of Jerusalem for mockery within her, in the place of harlots; and every one that transgressed was transgressing as if before the sun: while they made sport in their villainies as they were used to do. (14) In the face of the sun they made show of their villainies. And the daughters of Jerusalem were polluted according to thy judgements; (15) for they had polluted themselves in lustful intercourse. My belly and my bowels are in pain over these things. (16) But I will justify thee, O Lord, in the uprightness of my heart; because in thy judgements is thy righteousness, O God. (17) For thou dost reward sinful men according to their deeds: and according to their wicked and bitter sins. (18) Thou didst disclose

their sins, in order that thy judgement might be known. (19) And Thou didst not blot out their remembrance from the earth. God is a judge and righteous, and accepteth no man's person. (20) For the Gentiles reproached Jerusalem in their wickedness, and her beauty was cut off from the throne of His glory. (21) And she was covered with sackcloth instead of beauteous raiment: and there was a rope on her head instead of a crown. (22) She cast off from her the dazzling glory which God had put upon her; (23) and in contempt her beauty was cast away on the ground. (24) And I beheld and I besought the face of the Lord, and I said, Enough! Thou hast made Thy hand heavy. O Lord, upon Israel, by the bringing in of the Gentiles; (25) for they have mocked and not pitied, in anger; (26) and in reproach they are consumed, unless thou, O Lord, shalt restrain them in thy wrath. (27) For it is not in zeal that they did (this), but in the lust of the soul: (28) That they might pour out their wrath upon us in plundering us. But thou, O Lord, delay not to recompense them upon their own heads; (29) to cast down the pride of the dragon to contempt. (30) And I delayed not until the Lord showed me his insolence smitten on the mountains of Egypt: and despised more than him that is least (honoured) on land and sea:

(31) and his body coming on the waves in much contempt, and none to bury (him). (32) Because he had rejected Him with scorn, for he did not consider that he is a man. And the end he did not regard. (33) For he said, I will be the Lord of land and sea: and he knew not that the Lord is God, great, mighty, and powerful, (34) and He is King over Heaven and over Earth: and He judges kingdoms and princes, (35) He who raiseth me up in glory and layeth low the proud for destruction, not for a time but for ever, in contempt; because they knew Him not. (36) And now behold, ye great ones of the earth, the judgement of the Lord, for He is a righteous King, and judges what is under the whole Heaven. (37) Bless ye the Lord, ye who fear the Lord reverently; for the mercies of the Lord are on them that fear Him with judgement, (38) to separate between the righteous and the sinful, and to reward the sinful for ever according to their deeds—(39) and to be gracious to the righteous after their oppression by sinners: and to reward the sinful for what he has done to the righteous: (40) because the Lord is kind to those that call upon Him in patience, to do according to His mercy to His saints: so as to stand before Him at all times in strength. (41) Blessed is the Lord for ever by His servants.

PSALM 3 (SYRIAC PSALM 45)

(1) Why sleepest thou, my soul, and dost not bless the Lord? (2) Sing a new song to God and keep vigil in His watch. For a Psalm is good (to sing) to God out of a good heart. (3) The righteous will ever make mention of the Lord: in confession and in righteousness are the judgements of the Lord. (4) The righteous will never neglect when he is chastened by the Lord: because his will is always before the Lord. (5) The righteous stumbles and justifies God: he falls and I wait what the Lord will do to him. (6) And he looks to see from whence his salvation comes. (7) The stability of the righteous is from God their Saviour: for in the house of the righteous there does not lodge sin upon sin; (8) because he always visits the house of the righteous to remove the sins of his transgressions. (9) And he delivers his soul, in whatever he has sinned without knowledge, by fasting and humiliation; (10) and the Lord purifies every holy man and his house. (11) But the sinner stumbleth and curseth his own life, and the day in which he was born: and the birth-pangs of his mother; (12) and he adds sin upon sin to his life: (13) he falls, and because his fall is grievous, he rises not again: for the destruction of the sinner is for ever. (14) And he will not remember Him when He visits the righteous. (15)

This is the portion of sinners for ever. (16) But those who fear the Lord shall rise to eternal life: and their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and (their life) shall not fail any more. (Hallelujah).

PSALM 4 (SYRIAC PSALM 46)

Psalms of Solomon IV.

(1) Why sittest thou, O wicked man, in the congregation of the righteous, and thy heart is far removed from God; and by thy wickedness thou provokest to anger the God of Israel, (2) exceedingly by thy words and exceedingly by thy outward signs more than all men? He who is severe in his words in his condemnation of sinners in judgement, (3) and his hand is the first to be on him, as though (he acted) in zeal: and he is guilty himself of all kinds XLVI] of sinful crimes. (4) His eyes are on every woman immodestly and his tongue lies when he answers with oaths. (5) In the night and in the darkness as if he were not seen; by his eyes he talketh with every woman in the cunning of wickedness: (6) and he is quick to go into every house with joy as if he had no wickedness. (7) God shall move those who judge with respect of persons: but He lives with the upright, in the corruption of his body and in the poverty of his life. (8) God will disclose the deeds of those who are men-pleasers: in scorn and derision are his works. (9) And let the saints justify the judgement of their God, when the wicked shall be removed from before the righteous. (10) The acceptor of persons who talks law with guile, (11) and his eyes are on a house, quietly like a serpent, to dispel the wisdom of each one by words of villainy: (12) his words are with an evil intent, with a view to the working of the lust of wickedness: (13) and he does not remove until he has scattered in bereavement, and has desolated the house because of his sinful lust: (14) and he supposes in his words that there is none that sees and judges: (15) and he is filled with this sinfulness; and his eyes are on another house to devastate it with words of prodigality; and his soul is, like Sheol, never satisfied.

(16) For all these things, let his portion O Lord, be before thee in dishonour; let his going out be with groans and his coming in with curses: (17) in pains, and in poverty, and in destitution, O Lord, let his life be: let his sleep be in anguish, and his waking in vexation: (18) let sleep be removed from his eyelids by night: let him fall from every work of his hands in dishonour, (19) and let him enter his house empty-handed, and let his house be destitute of everything that can satisfy his soul: (20) and from his offspring let not one

draw near unto him: (21) let the flesh of the hypocrites be scattered by wild beasts: and the bones of the wicked (lie) before the sun in dishonour: (22) let the raven pick out the eyes of those who are men-pleasers. (23) Because they have laid waste many houses of men in dishonour: and have scattered them in lust: (24) and they remembered not God; nor feared God in all these things; (25) and they provoked God, and He was angered to destroy them from the earth: because with crafty intent they had played the hypocrite with innocent souls. (26) Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their innocence: (27) and the Lord will save them from all the cunning and wicked men; and he will redeem us from every stumbling-block of the wicked.

(28) God has destroyed all them that work fraud with pride, for a strong judge is the Lord our God in righteousness. (29) Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love thee.

PSALM 5 (SYRIAC PSALM 47)

Psalms of Solomon V. (1) O Lord my God, I will praise thy name with exultation, amongst those that know thy righteous judgements. (2) For thou art gracious and merciful, and the place of refuge of the poor. (3) When I cry unto thee, be not thou silent unto me. (4) For one does not take spoil from the strong man. (5) Or who will take aught from what thou hast made unless thou give it to him? (6) Because he is man, and his portion is before thee in the balance: and he shall not add aught to better it apart from thy judgement, O God. (7) In our afflictions, we call thee to our help: and thou hast not turned away our petition: for thou art our XLVII] God. (8) Delay not thou thy hand from us lest we be strengthened to sin: (9) and turn not away thy face from us, lest we remove away from thee: and to thee we will come: (10) for if I should be hungry, O Lord, unto thee will I cry, O God: and thou wilt bestow. (11) For the fowl and the fish thou dost feed. When thou givest rain in the desert to cause the grass to spring up, (12) to prepare food in the wilderness for every living thing, and if they shall be hungry, unto thee will they lift up their faces: (13) kings and rulers and peoples thou dost provide for, O God: and the hope of the poor and the miserable, who is it except thyself, O Lord? (14) And thou wilt answer him because thou art kind and gentle: and his soul shall be satisfied when thou openest thy hand in mercy: (15) for the kindness of a man is with parsimony, to-day and to-morrow; and if it should be that he repeats his gift and does not grumble, he is wonderful. (16) But thy bounty is plenteous in kindness and in wealth; and there is no

expectation towards thee that He will be sparing in gifts. (17) For over all the earth is thy mercy, O Lord, in kindness. (18) Blessed is the man whom the Lord shall remember in poverty: for that a man should exceed his measure (means that) he will sin. (19) Sufficient is a low estate with righteousness (20) For those that fear the Lord are pleased with good things: and thy grace is on Israel in thy kingdom. (21) Blessed be the glory of the Lord, for He is our King.

PSALM 6 (SYRIAC PSALM 48)

Psalms of Solomon VI. (1) Blessed is the man whose heart is prepared to call upon the name of the Lord: (2) and when he shall remember the name of the Lord, he will be saved. (3) His ways are directed from before the Lord: and the works of his hands are preserved by his God. (4) And 'in' the evil vision of the night his soul shall not be moved: because he is His: (5) and his soul shall not be affrighted in the passing through the rivers and in the tumult of the seas. (6) For he rose from his sleep and praised the name of the Lord: (7) and in the quietness of his heart he praised the name of the Lord and he made request from the face of the Lord concerning all his house. (8) And the Lord hears the prayer of every one that is in His fear, and every petition of the soul that trusts in Him; and the Lord fulfils it. (9) Blessed is He who doeth mercy upon them that love Him in truth.

PSALM 7 (SYRIAC PSALM 49)

Psalms of Solomon VII. (1) Remove not thy tabernacle from us, O God, lest those rise up against us who hated us without a cause: (2) for thou hast put them away, O God, that their foot may not tread the inheritance of thy sanctuary. (3) Thou in thy good pleasure chasten me, and deliver us not over to the Gentiles. (4) For if thou shouldest send death, it is thou who givest it command against us: (5) for thou art the merciful one, and wilt not be angry so as to consume us utterly. (6) For because of thy name that encamps amongst us, mercies shall be upon us: and the Gentiles shall not be able to prevail against us. (7) For thou art our strength: we will call upon thee and thou wilt answer us: (8) for thou wilt be gracious XLIX-L] to the seed of Israel for ever, and thou wilt not forget him. (9) Establish us in the time of thy help to show favour to the house of Jacob in the day that is prepared for them.

PSALM 8 (SYRIAC PSALM 50)

Psalms of Solomon VIII. (1) Distress and the sound of war mine ears have heard, the sound of the trumpet and the noise of slaughter and destruction: (2) the sound of much people like a mighty and frequent wind: like the tempest of fire which comes over the wilderness. (3) And I said to my heart: Where will [God] judge him? (4) And I heard a sound in Jerusalem the Holy City. (5) The bonds of my loins were loosed at the report (6) and my knees trembled and my bones were moved like flax. (7) And I said, they will make straight paths in righteousness, and I remembered the judgements of the Lord, from the creation of the heaven and the earth: and I justified God in all his judgements from the beginning. (8) But God lay bare their sins before the sun: and to all the earth were known the righteous judgements of the Lord. (9) For in the secret places of the earth were they doing evil; (10) the son had connexion with the mother and the father with the daughters: (11) and all of them committed adultery with their neighbours' wives: and they made them solemn covenants among themselves concerning these things: (12) they were plundering the Holy House of God, as if there were none to inherit and to deliver. (13) And they were treading His sanctuary in all their pollutions,

and in the time of their separation they polluted the sacrifices, as common meat: (14) and they left no sins which they did not commit, and even worse than the Gentiles. (15) For this cause God mingled for them a spirit of error, and caused them to drink an unmixed cup of drunkenness: (16) He brought him from the other side of the world, the one that afflicts grievously: (17) and he decrees war against Jerusalem and against her land: (18) and the judges of the land met him with joy: and they said to him: Thy path shall be ordered, come, enter in peace. (19) They levelled the rough paths for his entering: they opened the doors against Jerusalem: and they crowned her walls. (20) And he entered like a father into the house of his children in peace: and he set his feet 'there' in great firmness: (21) and they took possession of the towers and walls of Jerusalem. (22) For God brought him in assurance against their error. (23) And they destroyed their princes, because he was cunning in counsel: and they poured out the blood of the dwellers in Jerusalem like the water of uncleanness: (24) and he carried off their sons and their daughters, who had been (born) in pollution, (25) and had wrought their pollution even as also their fathers had done. (26) And Jerusalem de-

filed even those things that were consecrated to the name of God: (27) and God was justified in his judgements upon the nations of the earth, (28) and the saints of God were as innocent lambs in their midst. (29) God is to be praised who judges all the earth in His righteousness. (30) Behold, O God, thou hast shown us 'thy judgement' in thy righteousness, (31) and our eyes have seen thy judgements, O God; and we have justified thy name that is honoured for ever.

L-LI] (32) For thou art a God of righteousness: who judgest Israel with chastening. (33) Turn thy mercy towards us and be gracious to us: (34) and gather the dispersion of Israel, in mercy and in kindness: (35) for thy faithfulness is with us: and we are stiff-necked and thou art our chastener: (36) do not desert us, O our God! lest the Gentiles should swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver: (37) and thou art our God from the beginning, and upon thee is our hope, O Lord: (38) and we will not depart from thee, for thy judgements are good; (39) and upon us and upon our children is thy good will for ever, O Lord God, Our Saviour, and we will not be shaken again for ever. (40) The Lord is to be praised for His judgements by the mouth of His saints: (41) and blessed is Israel from the Lord for evermore.

PSALM 9 (SYRIAC PSALM 51)

Psalms of Solomon IX.

(1) When Israel went forth into captivity to a strange land, because they departed from the Lord their Saviour: (2) then were they cast out from the inheritance that God gave them: amongst all the Gentiles was the dispersion of Israel according to the word of God, (3) that thou mightest be justified, O God, in thy righteousness over our wickedness: (4) for thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth. (5) For there will not be hidden from thy knowledge any one who doeth wickedness: (6) and the righteousness of thy upright ones, O Lord, is before thee. And where shall a man be hidden from thy knowledge, O God? (7) For we work by freewill and the choice of our own souls to do either [LI-1.1] good or evil by the work of our hands: (8) and in thy righteousness thou dost visit the children of men. (9) For he who does righteousness lays up a treasure of life with the Lord: and he who does wickedness incurs judgement upon his soul in perdition.

(10) For His judgements are in righteousness upon every man and his house. (11) For with whom will the Lord deal graciously unless with them that call upon the Lord? (12) For he purifies the sins of the soul by confession,

(13) because shame is on us and our faces because of all these things. (14) For to whom will He remit sins except to those that have sinned? (15) For the righteous thou dost bless, and dost not reprove them for any of their sins; for thy grace is on those that have sinned when they have repented. (16) And now, thou art our God, and we are thy people whom thou hast loved: behold, and have mercy, O God of Israel; for thine we are: remove not thy compassions from us, lest the Gentiles should set upon us; (17) for thou hast chosen the seed of Abraham rather than all the Gentiles, (18) and thou hast put on us thy Name, O Lord: and thou wilt not remove for ever. (19) Thou didst surely covenant with our Fathers concerning us; and we hope in thee in the repentance of our souls. (20) The mercies over the house of Israel are of the Lord now and evermore.

PSALM 10 (SYRIAC PSALM 52)

Psalms of Solomon X. (1) Blessed is the man whom God remembered with reproof: and He has restrained from him the way of evil by stripes: so as to be purified from his sin, that it may not abound. (2) For he who prepares his loins for beating shall also be purified: for He is good to those that receive chastening. (3) For the way of the righteous is straight, and chastisement does not turn it aside. (4) For the face of the Lord is upon them that love Him in truth, and the Lord will remember His servants in mercy. (5) For the testimony is in the law of the everlasting covenant; the testimony of the Lord is in the ways of the children of men, by 'His' visitations. (6) Righteous and upright is our God in all His judgements, and Israel will praise the Name of the Lord with joy. (7) And the saints shall give thanks in the congregation of the People: and on the poor the Lord will have mercy in the gladness of Israel. (8) For the Lord is kind and merciful for ever: and the congregations of Israel shall praise the Name of the Lord. (9) For of the Lord is the salvation upon the house of Israel, unto the everlasting kingdom.

PSALM 11 (SYRIAC PSALM 53)

Psalms of Solomon XI.

(1) Blow ye 'the trumpet' in Zion, the well-known trumpet of the saints: (2) proclaim in Jerusalem the voice of the heralds, because God is merciful to Israel in His visitation. (3) Stand up on high Jerusalem, and behold thy children, who are all being gathered from the east and the west by the Lord: (4) and from the north they come to the joy of their God: and from the far-

away islands God gathered them. (5) Lofty mountains has He humbled and made plain before them: and the hills fled away before their entrance: (6) the cedars He caused to shelter them as they passed by: and every tree of sweet odour God made to breathe upon them: (7) in order that Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God. (8) O Jerusalem, put on the garments of thy glory; and make ready thy robe of holiness. For God has spoken good things to Israel now and ever. (9) May the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel: and concerning Jerusalem: may the Lord raise up Israel in the name of His glory. May the mercies of the Lord be upon Israel now and evermore.

PSALM 12 (SYRIAC PSALM 54)

Psalms of Solomon XII. (1) O Lord, save my soul from the perverse and wicked man, and from the whispering and transgressing tongue, that spake lies and deceit. (2) For in the (cunning) response of his words is the tongue of the transgressor of the law: for he shows like one whose deeds are fair, and kindles fire among the people. (3) For his sojourning is to fill (set fire to) houses by his lying talk: cutting down the trees of his delight with the flame of his tongue that does lawlessly. (4) He has destroyed the houses of the transgressors by war: and the slanderous lips God has removed from the innocent, the lips of the transgressors: and the bones of the slanderer shall be scattered far from those who fear the Lord. (5) By flaming fire will be destroyed the slanderous tongue from LIV-LV] among the upright, and their houses. (6) And the Lord shall preserve the soul of the righteous which hateth them that are evil; and the Lord shall establish the man that makes peace in the house of the Lord. (7) Of the Lord is salvation upon Israel his servant for ever: (8) and the sinners shall perish together from before the face of the Lord: and the saints of the Lord shall inherit the promises of the Lord.

PSALM 13 (SYRIAC PSALM 55)

Psalms of Solomon XIII. (1) The right hand of the Lord has covered us: the right hand of the Lord has spared us: (2) and the arm of the Lord has saved me from the spear that goes through and through, and from famine, and the pestilence of sinners. (3) Evil beasts ran upon them: and with their teeth were tearing their flesh; and with their jaw-teeth were breaking their bones. But us the Lord has delivered from all these things. (4) But the wicked man was troubled on account of his transgressions: lest he should be broken along

with the evil men. (5) Because dread is the fall of the wicked: but the righteous not one of these things shall touch. (6) For one cannot compare the chastening of the righteous who have (sinned) ignorantly with the overthrow of evil men who (sin) knowingly. (7) For the righteous is chastened so that the sinner will not exult over him. (8) For the Righteous One will admonish him as His beloved son;

and his chastening is like that of the first-born: (9) for the Righteous One will spare His saints, and their transgressions He will blot out by (His) chastisements. For the life of the righteous is for ever. (10) But sinners shall be cast into perdition: and their memorial shall no more be found. (11) But upon the saints shall be the mercy of the Lord. He will cherish all them that fear Him.

PSALM 14 (SYRIAC PSALM 56)

Psalms of Solomon XIV. (1) The Lord is faithful to them that love Him in truth: even to them that abide His chastening: to them who walk in righteousness in His commandments: He has given us the law for our life: (2) and the saints of the Lord shall live thereby for ever. The Paradise of the Lord are the trees of life which are His saints: (3) and the planting of them is sure for ever; nor shall they be rooted up all the days of the heaven. For the portion of the Lord and His inheritance is Israel. (4) Not so are the sinners and evil men, those who have loved a day in the participation of sin: for in the brevity of wickedness is their lust; (5) and they did not remember God; that the ways of the children of men are open before Him continually: and the secrets of the heart He knoweth before they come to pass: (6) therefore their inheritance is Sheol and Perdition and Darkness: and in the day of mercy upon the righteous they shall not be found. (7) For the saints of the Lord shall inherit life in delight.

LVII]

PSALM 15 (SYRIAC PSALM 57)

Psalms of Solomon XV.

(1) In my affliction I called on the name of the Lord, and for my help I called on the God of Jacob: and I was delivered. (2) Because thou, O God, art the hope and refuge of the poor. (3) For who that is strong will praise thee in truth? (4) And what is the strength of a man except that he should praise thy name? (5) A new song with the voice in the delight of the heart: the fruit of

the lips with the instrument attuned to the tongue: the firstfruits of the lips from a heart that is holy and just. (6) No one that doeth these things shall ever be moved by evil: the flame of fire and the anger of sinners shall not touch them, (7) when it goeth forth against the sinners from before the Most High to root up all the roots of sinners: (8) because the sign of the Lord is upon the righteous for their salvation: death and the spear and famine shall remove from the righteous; (9) for they shall flee from them as death flees from life: but they shall pursue after the wicked and catch them: and those who do evil shall not escape from the judgement of the Lord: for they will get before them like skilled warriors: (10) for the sign of destruction is upon their faces, (11) and the inheritance of sinners is Perdition and Darkness: and their iniquity shall pursue them down to the lower hell. (12) And their inheritance shall not be found by their children: (13) for their sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners: and sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgement, (14) When God shall visit the earth in His judgement. (15) And upon those who fear the Lord there shall be mercy therein; and they shall live in the compassion of our God: and sinners shall perish unto eternity.

PSALM 16 (SYRIAC PSALM 58)

Psalms of Solomon XVI.

(1) When my soul declined a little from the Lord, I had almost been in the lapses of the sleep of destruction; and when I was far away from the Lord, (2) my soul had almost been poured out to death, hard by the gates of Sheol along with the sinners: (3) and when my soul separated from the God of Israel, unless the Lord had helped me by His mercy which is for ever! (4) He pricked me, like the spur of the horse, according to His watchfulness: my Saviour and Helper at all times is He: He saved me. (5) I will praise thee, O God, because thou hast helped me with thy salvation: and hast not reckoned me with sinners for destruction. (6) Withdraw not thy mercy from me, O God: and let not the remembrance of thee remove from my heart until I die: (7) save me, O God, from the wicked and sinful woman and from every wicked woman who sets traps for the simple: (8) and let not the beauty of a wicked woman cause me to slip, nor any sin that is, (9) and establish the work of my hands before thee: and preserve my walk in the remembrance of thee. (10) My tongue and my lips in words of truth do thou establish; anger and unreasonable passion, (11) grumbling and little-mindedness in affliction do

thou remove from me: for if I shall sin when thou hast chastened me, it is for repentance: (12) but by the good will of joy establish my soul: and when thou shalt strengthen my soul whatever has been given shall be sufficient for me: (13) for if thou strengthenest me not, who can endure thy chastening in poverty? (14) For a soul shall be reproved in his flesh and by the affliction of his poverty: (15) and when a righteous man shall endure these things, mercy shall be upon him from the Lord.

PSALM 17 (SYRIAC PSALM 59)

Psalms of Solomon XVII. (1) O Lord, thou art our King, now and for ever: for in thee, O God, our soul shall glory. (2) And what is the life of man upon earth? For according to his time, so also is his hope. (3) But we hope on God our Saviour: for the empire of our God is for ever according to mercy: (4) and the kingdom of our God is over the Gentiles for ever with judgement. (5) Thou, O Lord, didst choose David for king over Israel: and thou didst swear to him concerning his seed, that their kingdom should not be removed from before thee. (6) But for our sins sinners rose up against us: and they set upon us and removed me far away: those to whom thou gavest no command have taken by violence, (7) and have not glorified thy honourable Name with praises: and they have set up a kingdom instead of that which was their pride. (8) They laid waste the throne of David in the exultation of their change. But thou wilt overthrow them and wilt remove their seed from the earth: (9) even when there shall rise up against them a man that was a stranger to our race. (10) According to their sins thou wilt reward them, O God: and it shall befall them according to their works. (11) And thou wilt not have mercy upon them, O God. Uproot their seed, and do not leave a single one of them.

(12) The Lord is faithful in all His judgements which He has done upon the earth. (13) The wicked man has devastated our land, so that there is none to dwell therein. They have destroyed both young and old and their children together. (14) In the splendour of his wrath he sent them away to the West, and the princes of the land to mockery without sparing. (15) In his foreign way the enemy exults, and his heart is alien from our God. (16) And Jerusalem did all things according as the Gentiles did in their cities to their gods. (17) And the children of the Covenant took hold of them in the midst of the mingled Gentiles: and there was none amongst them that did mercy and truth in Jerusalem. (18) They that love the assemblies of the saints fled away

from them: and they fled like sparrows who fly from their nests: (19) and they were wandering in the wilderness, in order to save their souls from evil: and precious in their eyes was the sojourning with them of any soul that was saved from them. (20) Over all the earth they were scattered by the wicked. Therefore were the heavens restrained that they should not send down rain upon the earth, (21) and the everlasting fountains were restrained, both (from) the abysses, and from the lofty mountains: because there was none among them who did righteousness and judgement: from their ruler to the lowest of them they were in every sin.

(22) The king was in transgression and the judge in provocation of wrath, and the people in sin. (23) Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their King, the Son of David, according to the time which thou seest. O God: and let Him reign over Israel thy servant, (24) and strengthen him with power that He may humble the sinful rulers: (25) and may purify Jerusalem from the Gentiles who trample her down to destruction, (26) so as to destroy the wicked from thy inheritance: and to break their pride like the potter's vessel: to break with LIX] a rod of iron all their firmness: (27) to destroy the sinful Gentiles with the word of His mouth: at His rebuke the Gentiles shall flee from before His face: and to reprimand sinners by the word of their heart: (28) that He may gather together a holy people who shall exult in righteousness: and may judge the tribes of the people whom the Lord His God sanctifies: (29) and He shall not any more suffer sin to lodge among them; and no more shall dwell amongst them the man that knoweth evil. (30) For He knoweth them that they are all the children of God, and He shall divide them according to their tribes upon the earth: (31) and the sojourner and the foreigner shall not dwell with them: for He will judge the Gentiles and the peoples in the wisdom of His righteousness: (32) and He shall possess a people from among the Gentiles: that it may serve Him under His yoke: and may praise the Lord openly over all the earth: (33) and He shall purify Jerusalem in holiness, as it was of old time: (34) that the Gentiles may come from the ends of the earth to behold His glory: bringing gifts to her sons who were scattered from her, (35) and to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith He hath glorified her: and He, the righteous King, taught of God, is over them:

(36) and there is no wicked person in His days amongst them, because they are all righteous and their King is the Lord Messiah: (37) for He will not trust on horse nor on his rider; nor on the bow: nor shall He multiply to

himself gold and silver for war: nor shall He rely on a multitude in the day of war: (38) for the Lord is His King: His hope and His strength are in the hope of God, and He will have compassion (over all... (39) for He will smite the earth with the word of His mouth for ever: (40) and He will bless the people of the Lord in... and delight (41) and He is pure... the head of a great people, to (confute) the rulers and to destroy sinners by His word: (42) and He shall not be weakened in His days from His God: because (God hath made Him powerful by His Holy Spirit) and wise in the counsel of the prudent with strength and righteousness. (43) and with the blessing of the Lord in Him, and (He shall not be weak). (His hope) is on his Lord and who shall stand against Him? (44) For He is strengthened in His deeds, and is mighty in the fear of His God: (45) feeding the flock of the Lord in righteousness and in faith; and He will not suffer that any one... in His pasturage: (46) He will gather them with equality:

and pride shall not be found in them that it should rule over them. (47) This is the beauty of the King of Israel... to raise him up over the house of Israel, to chasten him. (48) His words are more choice than gold, and they are precious in the synagogues to distinguish... from a holy people. (49) His words are like the words of the saints among a holy people: (50) blessed are they who are in those days to see the good men of Israel in the congregation of the people (which God will make), (51) to hasten His mercies upon Israel, and to redeem us from the pollutions of the filthy Gentiles: for the Lord is our King for ever.

PSALM 18 (SYRIAC PSALM 60)

(1) O Lord, thy mercy is upon the work of thy hands for ever: (2) and thy grace with a rich gift upon Israel. (3) Thine eyes behold everything and there is nothing hid from them. And thine ears hear the hope of.... Thy judgments are upon all the earth in mercy: and thy love is upon the seed of Israel the son of Abraham. (Thy chastisement is) upon us as upon an only firstborn son: to turn away the soul.... which is not instructed and not.... (May God purify) Israel for the day in blessing for His mercy.... Caetera desunt.

A New Fragment of the Psalms of Solomon in Syriac

The first six verses of the third Psalm are quoted on the margin of a manuscript of the Hymns of Severus, and it has been suggested that they represent a different translation of the Psalm from that which occurs in our two ma-

nuscripts. The quotation is as follows (see Hymns of Severus, ed. Brooks, Patr. Or. vii. 726, 727): . F f ... Here then we have, as the variations from our text show, either a revision of that text, or, more probably, as Prof. Nau suggests, an independent rendering of the Greek. As the next quotation is from the Wisdom of Solomon, and is introduced by the formula 'Again from the same' (fem.), it is probable that the extract from the Psalms of Solomon was incorrectly referred to the Wisdom of Solomon.

The Odes of Solomon

late 1st–2nd century

Forty-one of the forty-two Odes (the second is lost) in the Harris and Mingana translation from the Syriac. Most are hymns of the believer's joy in the Lord, the crown of truth, baptism and the Spirit. The first Ode is known only from a quotation in the Coptic Pistis Sophia.

ODE 1

1 The Lord is upon my head like a crown; And I shall not be without Him. 2 The crown of truth was woven for me; And it caused thy branches to bud in me; 3 For it is not like a withered crown that buddeth not: 4 But thou livest upon my head; And thou hast blossomed upon my head: 5 Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect; They are full of thy salvation. (Hallelujah.)

ODE 3

1 I clothe (them) with: 2 And (His) members are with Him, And on them do I hang; and He loves me. 3 For I should not have known how to love the Lord, If He had not loved me. 4 For who is able to distinguish love, Except one that is loved? 5 I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him. And where His rest is, there also am I. 6 And I shall be no stranger (there); For with the Lord Most High and Merciful, there is no grudging. 7 I have been united (to Him), for the lover has found the Beloved: In order that I may love Him that is the Son, I shall become a son. 8 For he that is joined to Him that is immortal, Will himself also become immortal. 9 And He that hath pleasure in the Living One, Will become living.

10 This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie, Which teacheth the sons of men to know His ways. 11 Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Hallelujah.

ODE 4

1 No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place; Nor is (one able) to change it, and put it in another place. 2a Because he hath no power over it; 2b For thy sanctuary Thou designedst before thou didst make places: 3a That which

is the elder shall not be changed by those that are younger than itself: 3b Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers. 4 Thou wilt never fail, Nor wilt Thou be without fruits: 5 For one hour of thy Faith Is more precious than all days and years. 6 For who is there that shall put on thy grace, and be injured? 7 For thy seal is known: And thy creatures are known to it. 8 And the hosts possess it: And the elect archangels are clad with it. 9 Thou hast given us thy fellowship: It was not that thou wast in need of us;

But that we are in need of thee. 10 Distil thy dews upon us; And open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey. 11 For there is no repentance with thee: That thou shouldest repent of anything that thou hast promised. 12 And the end was known to thee: 13 For what thou gavest, thou gavest freely: So that thou mayest not draw back and take them again. 14 For all was known to thee as God; And set in order from the beginning before thee: 15 And thou, O Lord, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

ODE 5

1 I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord; Because I love thee: 2 O Most High, do not thou forsake me, For thou art my hope. 3 Freely I have received thy grace; I shall live thereby. 4 My persecutors will come but let them not see me. 5 Let a cloud of darkness fall on their eyes, And let an air of thick gloom darken them. 6 And let them have no light to see, That they may take hold upon me. 7 Let their counsel become thick darkness: And what they have cunningly devised, let it return upon their own heads. 8 For they have devised a counsel, And it has come to nought. (Powerful as they were, they were overcome). 9 They have prepared themselves maliciously, And were found to be ineffective. 10 For my hope is upon the Lord; And I will not fear: 11 And because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear.

12 And He is as a garland on my head, And I shall not be moved; 13 Even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm: 14 And if (all) things visible should perish, I shall not die; 15 Because the Lord is with me, And I am with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 6

2 So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, And I speak by His love. 3 For He destroys what is foreign, And everything is of the Lord. 4 For thus He was from the beginning, And (shall be) to the end. 5 That nothing should be His adversary, And nothing should stand up against Him. 6 The Lord has

multiplied His knowledge; And was zealous that those things should be known which by His grace have been given to us. 7 And the praise of His name He gave us: Our spirits praise His holy Spirit. 8 For there went forth a stream, And became a river great and broad: It swept away everything, and broke up and carried away the Temple. 9 And the restraints (made) by men were not able to restrain it, Nor the arts of those whose (business it is to) restrain water.

10 For it spread over the face of the whole earth, And it filled everything. 11 All the thirsty upon earth were given to drink (of it): And thirst was done away and quenched: 12 For from the Most High the draught was given. 13 Blessed then are the ministers of that draught, Who have been entrusted with that water of His: 14 They have assuaged the dry lips, And the will that had fainted they have raised up: 15 And souls that were near departing They have held back from death: 16 And limbs that had fallen They have straightened and set up: 17 They gave strength to their coming And light to their eyes. 18 For everyone knew them in the Lord, And they lived by the water an eternal life. John iv. 14. Hallelujah.

ODE 7

1 As is the motion of anger over evil, So is the motion of joy over the Beloved, And brings in of its fruits without restraint. 2 My joy is the Lord, and my motion is towards Him: This path of mine is excellent. 3 For I have a Helper, to the Lord. He hath shown Himself to me without grudging in His simplicity; Because His kindness has minished His greatness. 4 He became like me that I might receive Him. In similitude was He reckoned like me, that I might put Him on. 5 And I trembled not when I saw Him; Because He was gracious to me. 6 Like my nature He became, that I might learn Him. And like my form, that I might not turn back from Him. 7 The Father of Knowledge Is the Word of Knowledge: 8 He who created Wisdom Is wiser than His works:

9 And He who created me when yet I was not Knew what I should do when I came into being: 10 Wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace And granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice; 11 For He it is that is incorrupt; The perfection of the worlds and the Father of them. 12 He hath given Him to appear to them that are His; That they may recognize Him that made them; And that they might not suppose that they came of themselves. 13 For it is to Knowledge He hath appointed His way; He hath

widened it and extended it and brought it to all perfection. 14 And He set over it the traces of His light; And it proceeded therein even from the beginning to the end. 15 For by Him He was served, And He was pleased with the Son;

16 And because of His salvation He will take possession of everything; And the Most High shall be known in His saints: 17 To announce to those that have songs of the coming of the Lord That they may go forth to meet Him and may sing to Him, With joy and with the harp of many tones. 18 The Seers shall go before Him, And they shall be seen before Him; 19 And they shall praise the Lord in His love; Because He is near and seeth; 20 And hatred shall be taken from the earth; And along with jealousy it shall be drowned: 21 For ignorance hath been destroyed; Because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived. 22 Let the Singers sing the grace of the Lord Most High; And let them bring their songs; 23a And let their heart be like the day, And like the excellent beauty of the Lord, their harmonies;

23b And let there be nothing without life, Nor without knowledge, nor dumb. 24 For (the Lord) hath given a mouth to His creation, To open the voice of the mouth towards Him; and to praise Him; 25 Confess ye His power; And show forth His grace. Hallelujah.

ODE 8

1 Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord: And let your love abound from the heart, and even to the lips: 2, Heb. xiii. 15. 2 To bring forth fruits to the Lord, a holy life, And to talk watchfully in His light. 3 Rise up and stand erect, Ye who were sometimes brought low; 4 Ye who were in silence, speak out, (Now) that your mouth hath been opened. 5 Ye who were despised, be lifted up; Now that your righteousness has been lifted up; 6 For the right hand of the Lord is with you; And He will be your helper. 7 And peace hath been prepared for you, Before ever your war happened. (Christ speaks.) 8 Hear the word of truth, And receive the knowledge of the Most High 9 Your flesh does not know what I am saying to you; Nor your raiment what I am showing to you;

10 Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it; 11 Keep my faith, ye who are kept by it. 12 And understand my knowledge, Ye who know me in truth: 13 Love me with affection, Ye who love: 14 For I do not turn away my face from them that are mine; For I know them. 15 Before they came into being, I took knowledge of them, And on their faces I set my seal. 16 I fashioned their

members; My own breasts I prepared for them; That they might drink my holy milk and live thereby. VIII] 17 I took pleasure in them, And I am not ashamed of them. 18 For my workmanship are they, And the strength of my thoughts: 19 Who then shall stand up against my handywork? Or who is there that is not subject to them? 20 I willed, and fashioned mind and heart; And they are mine. And by my own right hand I set my elect ones.

21 And my righteousness goeth before them; And they shall not be detached from my name: For it is with them. (The Odist.) 22 Pray and abide continually in the love of the Lord; Ye beloved ones, in the Beloved; And ye who are kept, in Him that lived (again); And ye that are saved, in Him that was saved. 23 And ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages, To the name of your Father. Hallelujah.

ODE 9

1 Open your ears; And I will speak to you. 2 Give me your souls; That I may also give you my soul. 3 The Word of the Lord and His good pleasures, The holy thought that He has thought concerning His Messiah. 4 For in the will of the Lord is your life; And His intention is (your) everlasting life; And your end is incorruptible. 5a Be enriched in God the Father, And receive the intention of the Most High; 5b Be strong and be redeemed by His grace. 6 For I announce peace, to you His saints; That none of those who hear may fall in war. 7 And that those who have known Him may not perish, And that those who receive (Him) may not be ashamed. 8 An everlasting crown is Truth; Blessed are they who set it on their heads: 9 A stone of great price (it is); And the wars were on account of the crown.

10 And righteousness hath taken it, And hath given it to you. 11 Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord; And all those who have conquered shall be inscribed in His book. 12 For their inscription is the victory, which is yours; And she (Victory) sees you before her, and wills that you shall be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE 10

1 The Lord hath directed my mouth by His Word; And He hath opened my heart by His Light. 2 And He hath caused to dwell in me His deathless life; And gave me to speak the fruit of His peace: 3 To convert the souls of those who are willing to come to Him; 18. And to lead captive a good captivity for freedom. (Christ speaks.) 4 I was strengthened and made mighty and took

the world captive; And (the captivity) became to me for the praise of the Most High and of God my Father. 5 And the Gentiles were gathered together who had been scattered abroad: And I was unpolluted by my love (for them), Because they confessed me in high places. 6 And the traces of the light were set upon their hearts; And they walked in my life and were saved, And they became my people for ever and ever.

Hallelujah.

ODE 11

1 My heart was cloven and its flower appeared; And grace sprang up in it; And it brought forth fruit to the Lord. 2 For the Most High clave (my heart) by His Holy Spirit, And exposed towards Him my affection. And filled me with His love. 3 And His cleaving of (my heart) became my salvation, And I ran in the way, in His peace, In the way of truth. 4 From the beginning and even to the end I received His knowledge. 5 And I was established upon the rock of truth, Where He had set me up. 6 And speaking waters drew near my lips From the fountain of the Lord plenteously. 7 And I drank and was inebriated With the living water that doth not die; Cf. E hes. v. 17, 18. 8a And my inebriation was not one without knowledge, 8b But I forsook vanity: 9 And I turned to the Most High my God, And I was enriched by His bounty; 10 And I forsook the folly cast away over the earth; And I stripped it off and cast it from me.

2. 11 And the Lord renewed me in His raiment, And possessed me by His light; 12 And from above He gave me rest without corruption; And I became like the land which blossoms and rejoices in its fruits: 13 And the Lord (was) like the sun (shining) upon the face of the land; 14 My eyes were enlightened, And my face received the dew: XI] 15 And my nostrils had the pleasure Of the pleasant odour of the Lord. 16 And He carried me into His Paradise, Where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord; 17 And I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; 18 And I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they That are planted in thy land, And that have a place in thy Paradise, 19 And that grow in the growth of thy trees; And have changed from darkness to light. Cf. Ps. Sol xiv. 2.

20 Behold! all thy servants are fair, They who do good works, And turn away from wickedness to thy pleasantness. 21 And they have turned away from themselves the bitterness of the trees, When they were planted in thy land. Cf. Ephr. (R.E. iii. 588). 22 And everything became like a remembrance

of thyself, And a memorial for ever of thy faithful servants. 23 For there is abundant room in thy Paradise; And nothing is useless therein: But everything is filled with fruit; Ephr. (R.E. iii. 584). 24 Glory be to thee, O Lord, the delight of Paradise for ever. Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

'for there is nothing there that is vain (or useless)'; he was speaking of Paradise, and the quotation is unmistakable. As it stands we must translate: 'Glory to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever.' If, however, we imagine to have dropped after we have: 'Glory to thee, O God; with thee is the delight of Paradise for ever.' This is very near to the Targum of Psalm xvi. 11: 'In thy right hand is delight for ever.'

ODE 12

1 He hath filled me with words of truth, That I may speak the same. 2 And like the flow of waters, flows truth from my mouth, And my lips showed forth its fruits. 3 And it has caused its knowledge to abound in me, Because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, And the door of His light; 4 And the Most High hath given Him to His Worlds. (Worlds) which are the interpreters of His own beauty. And the repeaters of His praise, And the confessors of His thought, And the heralds of His mind, And the instructors of His works. 5 For the swiftness of the Word is inexpressible (?) And like His expression (?) is His swiftness and His sharpness: And His course has no limit. 6 Never (doth the Word) fall, but ever it standeth; His descent and His way are incomprehensible. 7 For as His work is, so is His limit; For He is the light and the dawn of thought.

8 And by Him the worlds spake one to the other: And those that were silent acquired speech. 9 And from Him came love and concord; And they spake one to the other what they had (to tell). 10 And they were stimulated by the Word, And they knew Him that made them, Because they came into concord. 11 For the mouth of the Most High spake to them; And the interpretation of Himself had its course by Him. 12 For the dwelling-place of the Word is man, And His truth is love. 13 Blessed are they who by it have comprehended everything, And who have known the Lord by His truth. Hallelujah.

ODE 13

1 Behold! the Lord is our mirror: Open your eyes and see them in Him. 2 And learn the manner of your face; And tell forth praises to His Spirit: 3 And wipe off the filth from your face; And love His holiness and clothe yourselves therewith: 4 And you will be without stain at all times with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 14

1 As the eyes of a son to his father, So are my eyes at all time towards thee, O Lord. 2 For with thee are my consolations and my delights. 3 Turn not away thy mercy from me, O Lord: And take not thy kindness from me. 4 Stretch out to me, my Lord, at all times, thy right hand; And be my guide even to the end, according to thy good pleasure. 5 Let me be well-pleasing before thee, because of thy glory: And because of thy name let me be saved from the Evil One. 6 And let thy gentleness, O Lord, abide with me, And the fruits of thy love. 7 Teach me the Odes of thy truth That I may bring forth fruit in thee. 8 And open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, That with all (its) notes I may praise thee, O Lord.

9 And according to the multitude of thy mercies So shalt thou give to me: And hasten to grant our petitions. 10 And thou art able for all our needs. Hallelujah.

ODE 15

1 As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak So is my joy the Lord: 2 Because He is my Sun, and His rays have lifted me up; And His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face. 3 In Him I have acquired eyes, And have seen His holy day: 4 Ears I have acquired, And I have heard His truth. 5 The thought of knowledge I have acquired, And I have been delighted by Him. 6 The way of error I have left and I went towards Him, And I have received Salvation from Him abundantly. 7 And according to His bounty He hath given to me: And according to His excellent beauty He hath made me. 8 I have put on incorruption through His name, 1 Cor. xv. 54. And I have put off corruption by His grace. 9 Death hath been destroyed before my face; And Sheol hath been abolished by my word. 1 Cor. xv. 55.

10 And there hath gone up deathless life in the Lord's land; And it hath been made known to His faithful ones; And hath been given without stint to all those that trust in Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 16

1 As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare; And the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship; So also my work is the Psalm of the Lord in His praises; 2 My craft and my occupation are in His praises; Because His love hath nourished my heart, And even to my lips His fruits He poured out. 3 For my love is the Lord And therefore I will sing unto Him. 4 For I am made strong in His praise, And I have faith in Him. 5 I will open my mouth, And His spirit will utter in me The glory of the Lord and His beauty; 6 The work of His hands And the fabric of His fingers; 7 For the multitude of His mercies, And the strength of His Word. 8 For the Word of the Lord searches out the unseen thing, And scrutinizes His thought.

9 For the eye sees His works, And the ear hears His thought. 10 It is He who spread out the earth, And settled the waters in the sea: 11 He expanded the heavens, And fixed the stars; 12 And He fixed the creation and set it up: And He rested from His works. 13 And created things run in their courses, And work their works: And they know not how to stand (still) and to be idle. 14 And the hosts are subject to His Word. 15 The treasury of the light is the sun, And the treasury of the darkness is the night. 16 And He made the sun for the day that it might be bright; But night brings darkness over the face of the earth: 17 And (by) their reception one from the other They speak the beauty of God. 18 And there is nothing that is without the Lord; For He was before anything came into being.

19 And the Worlds were made by His Word, And by the thought of His heart. (Doxology.) 20 Glory and Honour to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE 17

1 I was crowned by my God; And my crown is living: 2 And I was justified by my Lord; And my salvation is incorruptible. 3 I was loosed from vanities, And I am not condemned. The choking bonds were cut off by His hand; 4 I received the face and the fashion of a new person; And I walked in Him and was redeemed. 5 And the thought of truth led me; And I walked after it and did not wander. [xvii (Christ speaks.)] 6 And all that have seen me were amazed; And I was supposed by them to be a strange person. 7a And He who knew and brought me up, Is the Most High in all His perfection: 7b And He glorified me by His kindness, And raised my thought to the height of Truth.

8 And from thence He gave me the way of His steps; And I opened the doors that were closed:

9 And I broke in pieces the bars of iron: But my own iron (bonds) melted and dissolved before me. 10 And nothing appeared closed to me; Because I was the opening of everything. 11 And I went towards all the bondsmen to loose them; That I might not leave any man bound and binding; 12 And I imparted my knowledge without grudging; And their request to me with my love. 13 And I sowed my fruits in hearts, And transformed them through myself: 14 And they received my blessing and lived; And they were gathered to me and were saved. 15 Because they became to me as my own members; And I was their head. (Doxology.) 16 Glory to thee our Head, the Lord Messiah. Hallelujah. XVII]

ODE 18

1 My heart was lifted up and enriched in the love of the Most High; That I might praise Him by my name. 2 My members were strengthened That they might not fall from His power. 3 Sickness removed from my body, And it stood for the Lord by His will; For His Kingdom is firm. 4 O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient, Do not deprive me of thy word: 5 Nor, for the sake of their works, Do thou restrain from me thy perfection. 6 Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness; Nor let truth flee away from falsehood. 7 Let thy right hand bring our salvation to victory, And receive from all quarters, And preserve whomsoever is affected by ills. 8 Falsehood and Death are not in thy mouth, my God; But thy will is perfection. 9 And vanity thou knowest not, For neither doth it know thee.

10 And error thou knowest not, For neither doth it know thee. 11 And ignorance appeared like dust, And like the scum of the sea: 12 And vain people supposed that it was (something) great; And they came to resemble it and became vain: 13 And the wise understood and meditated (thereon), And were unpolluted in their meditations; For such were in the mind of the Lord. 14 And they mocked at those who were walking in error: 15 And on their part they spake truth, From the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them. (Doxology.) 16 Praise and great comeliness to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE 19

1 A cup of milk was offered to me; And I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. 2 The Son is the cup, And He who was milked is the Fath-

er; And He who milked Him is the Holy Spirit. 3 Because His breasts were full; And it was not desirable that His milk should be spilt to no purpose. 4 And the Holy Spirit opened His bosom And mingled the milk of the two breasts of the Father, 5 And gave the mixture to the world without their knowing: And those who take (it) are in the fulness of the right hand. 6 The womb of the Virgin took (it) And she received conception and brought forth: 7 And the Virgin became a mother with great mercy; 8a And she travailed and brought forth a Son without incurring pain: 8b For it did not happen without purpose; 9 And she had not required a midwife, For He delivered her. 10 And she brought forth, as a man, by (God's) will: And she brought (Him) forth with demonstration And acquired (Him) with great dignity; 11 And loved (Him) in redemption; And guarded (Him) kindly; And showed (Him) in majesty. Hallelujah.

ODE 20

2 And to Him I offer the offering of His thought. 3 For His thought is not like (the thought of) the world, Nor (like the thought of) the flesh; Nor like them that serve carnally. 4 The offering of the Lord is righteousness; And purity of heart and lips, 5 Offer your reins (before Him) blamelessly; And let not thy heart do violence to heart; Nor thy soul do violence to soul. 6 Thou shalt not acquire a stranger...; Neither shalt thou seek to deal guilefully with thy neighbour; Neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness. 7 But put on the grace of the Lord without stint; And come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from and His tree; Apoc. ii. 7. 8 And put it on thy head and be glad; And recline on His rest; 9 And His glory shall go before thee;

And thou shalt receive of His kindness and His grace: And thou shalt be fat in truth in the praise of His holiness. (Doxology.) 10 Praise and honour to His name. Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

vv. 1, 2. The Semitisms should be noted.

ODE 21

1 My arms I lifted up on high; Even to the grace of the Lord: 2 Because He had cast off my bonds from me; And my Helper had lifted me up to His grace and His salvation. 3 And I put off darkness, And clothed myself with light: 4 And my soul acquired members Free from sorrow, Or affliction or

pain. 5 And increasingly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord; And His incorruptible fellowship. 6 And I was lifted up in the light, And I passed before Him; Sap. Sol. vi. 19; 6; and Koran iii. 40. 7 And I became near to Him, Praising and confessing Him. 8 He made my heart overflow; and it was found in my mouth; And it shone upon my lips. 9 And upon my face the exultation of the Lord increased, And His praise likewise. Hallelujah.

ODE 22

1 He who brings me down from on high; And brings me up from the regions below; 2 And who gathers the things that are betwixt, And throws them to me; 3 He who scattered my enemies And my adversaries; 4 He who gave me authority over bonds, That I might loose them; 5 He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads, And set me at his roots that I might destroy his seed— 6 Thou wast there and didst help me; And in every place Thy name was round about me. 7 Thy right hand destroyed his wicked venom; And thy hand levelled the way for those who believe in thee; 8 And it chose them from the graves, And separated them from the dead. 9 It took dead bones, And covered them with bodies; 10 And they were motionless, And it gave (them) energy for life.

11 Thy way was without corruption and thy face; Thou didst bring thy world to corruption; That everything might be dissolved and renewed, 12 And that the foundation for everything might be thy rock; And on it thou didst build thy Kingdom; And thou becamest the dwelling-place of the saints. Hallelujah.

ODE 23

1 Joy is of the saints! And who shall put it on but they alone? 2 Grace is of the elect! And who shall receive it but they who trust in it from the beginning? 3 Love is of the elect! And who shall put it on, but those who have possessed it from the beginning? 4 Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High; And ye shall know the grace of the Lord without grudging; To His exultation and to the perfection of His knowledge. 5 And His thought was like a letter, And His will descended from on high; 6 And it was sent like an arrow Which is violently shot from the bow; 7 And many hands rushed to the letter, To seize it and to take it and to read it. 8 And it escaped from their fingers, And they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was on it.

9 For it was not permitted to them to loose the seal; For the power that was over the seal was greater than they. 10 But those who saw it went after the letter, That they might know where it would alight, And who should read it, And who should hear it. 11 But a wheel received it, And (the letter) came over it; 12 And there was with it a sign Of the kingdom and of the government. 13 And everything which was moving the wheel It mowed and cut down; 14 And it destroyed many things that were adverse; And it spanned the rivers: 15 And crossed over and rooted up many forests, And made a broad path. 16 The head went down to the feet; For down to the feet ran the wheel; And that which had come upon it. 17 The letter was one of recommendation; For there were included in it all districts:

18 And there was seen at its head, a head which was revealed Even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father; 19 And he inherited and took possession of everything; And the thought of the many was brought to naught, 20 And all the apostates became bold and fled away, And the persecutors became extinct and were blotted out. 21 And the letter became a great tablet, Which was wholly written by the finger of God; 22 And the name of the Father was upon it; And of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, To rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 24

1 The Dove flew over the head of our Lord the Messiah, Because He was her head; 2 And she sang over Him, And her voice was heard: 3 And the inhabitants were afraid, And the sojourners trembled; 4 The birds took to flight, And all creeping things died in their holes. 5 And the abysses were opened and closed; And they were seeking for the Lord, like (women) in travail: 6 And He was not given to them for food Because He did not belong to them: 7 And the abysses were submerged in the submersion of the Lord: And they perished in the thought which they had existed in from the beginning. 8 For they travailed from the beginning, And the end of their travail was life. 9 And every one of them that was defective perished; For it was not permitted to them to make a defence for themselves that they might remain:

10 And the Lord destroyed the imaginations Of all them that had not the truth with them; H, over the Messiah. 11 For they were defective in wisdom, They who were lifted up in their hearts. 12 And they were rejected, Because the truth was not with them. 13 For the Lord disclosed His way, And spread

abroad His grace; 14 And those who understood it Know His holiness. Hallelujah.

ODE 25

1 I was rescued from my bonds; And unto thee, my God, I fled. 2 For thou wast the right hand of my salvation, And my helper. 3 Thou hast restrained them that rise up against me, And they were seen no more: 4 Because thy face was with me, Which saved me by thy grace. 5 But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many: And I was in their eyes like lead; 6 And I acquired strength from thyself, And help. 7 Thou didst set me a lamp at my right hand and at my left, That in me there may be nothing that is not bright; 8 And I was covered with the covering of thy spirit; And I removed from me the raiment of skins. 9 For thy right hand lifted me up, And removed sickness from me. 10 And I became mighty in thy truth, And holy by thy righteousness;

11 And all my adversaries were afraid of me: And I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord: 12 And I was justified by His gentleness, And His rest is for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 26

1 I poured out praise to the Lord; For I am His: 2 And I will speak His holy song, For my heart is with Him. 3 For His Harp is in my hands, And the Odes of His Rest shall not be silent. 4 I will cry unto Him from my whole heart; I will praise and exalt Him with all my members. 5 For from the East and even to the West Is His praise: 6 And from the South and even to the North Is His confession: 7 And from the top of the hills to their utmost bound Is His perfection. 8 Who can write the Odes of the Lord, Or who read them! 9 Or who can train his soul for life, That his soul may be saved? 10 Or who can rest on the Most High, That from His mouth he may speak? 11 Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord? For he who interprets would be dissolved, And that which was interpreted will remain.

12 For it suffices to know and to rest; For in the rest the singers stand; 13 Like a river which has an abundant fountain, And flows to the help of them that seek it. Hallelujah.

ODE 27

1 I expanded my hands: and I sanctified (them) to my Lord: For the expansion of my hands is His sign. 2 And my expansion Is the upright wood.

ODE 28

1 As the wings of doves over their nestlings, And the mouths of their nestlings towards their mouths; So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart. 2 My heart is delighted and leaps up, Like the babe who leaps up in the womb of his mother: 3 I believed; therefore I was at rest: For faithful is He in whom I have believed. 4a He has richly blessed me; And my head is with Him. 4b And the sword shall not divide me from Him, Nor the scimitar. 5 For I was ready before destruction came; And I have been set on His immortal pinions; 6 And deathless life embraced me And kissed me. 7 And from that (life) is the Spirit within me; And it cannot die, for it lives. (Christ speaks.) 8 They who saw me marvelled at me, Because I was persecuted; 9 And they supposed that I was swallowed up; For I seemed to them as one of the lost.

10 But my oppression Became my salvation. 11 And I was their scorn, Because there was no wrath in me. 12 Because I did good to every man I was hated; 13 And they come round me like mad dogs; Who ignorantly attack their masters. 14 For their thought is corrupt And their understanding perverted. 15 But I was carrying water in my right hand, And their bitterness I endured by my sweetness. 16 And I did not perish, for I was not their brother, Nor was my birth like theirs. 17 And they sought for my death and could not (accomplish it); For I was older than the memorial of them; And vainly did they cast lots against me. 18 And those who came after me Sought without cause to destroy the memorial of him who was before them. 19 For the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated; And His heart is superior to all wisdom. Hallelujah.

ODE 29

1 The Lord is my hope: In Him I shall not be confounded. 2 For according to His praise He made me, And according to His goodness even so He gave unto me. 3 And according to His mercies He exalted me; And according to His excellent beauty He set me on high. 4 And He brought me up out of the depths of Sheol; And from the mouth of death He drew me. 5 And I laid my enemies low; And He justified me by His grace. 6 For I believed in the Lord's Messiah; And He appeared to me that He is the Lord. 7 And He showed me His sign, And led me by His light; 8 And He gave me the rod of His power;

That I might subdue the imaginations of the people: And to bring down the power of the men of might. 9 To make war by His Word;

And to take victory by His power. 10 And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His Word; And he became like the stubble which the wind carries away. Ps. i. 4. 11 And I gave praise to the Most High; Because He exalted His servant and the Son of His Ps. cxv. (cxvi.) 16. handmaid. Hallelujah.

ODE 30

1 Fill ye water for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord: For it has been opened to you: 2 And come all ye thirsty and take a draught; And rest by the fountain of the Lord. 3 For fair it is and pure; And it gives rest to the soul. 4 Much sweeter is its water than honey; And the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it. 5 For it flows from the lips of the Lord, And from the heart of the Lord is its name. 6 And it came unlimited and invisible; And until it was set in the midst they did not know it. 7 Blessed are they who have drunk therefrom; And rested thereby. Hallelujah.

ODE 31

1 The abysses were dissolved before the Lord; And darkness was destroyed by His appearance. 2a Error went astray And disappeared from Him, 2b And (as for) Falsehood, I gave it no path, And it was submerged by the truth of the Lord. 3 He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy; And He spake a new (song of) praise to His name. 4 And He lifted up His voice to the Most High, And offered to Him the sons that were in His hands. 5 And His face was justified; For thus His Holy Father had given to Him. (Christ speaks.) 6 Come forth, ye that have been afflicted, And receive joy. 7 And possess your souls by grace; And take to you immortal life, 8 And they condemned me when I rose up; Me who had not been condemned. 9 And they divided my spoil, Though nothing was due to them.

10 But I endured and held my peace and was silent, That I might not be moved by them. 11 But I stood unshaken like a firm rock, That is beaten by the waves and endures. 12 And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake; That I might redeem my people and inherit it. 13 And that I might not make void the promises to the patriarchs To whom I was promised for the salvation of their seed. Hallelujah.

ODE 32

1 To the blessed the joy is from their hearts, And light from Him that dwells in them; 2 And the Word from the Truth who is self-originate. 3 For He hath been strengthened by the Holy Power of the Most High, And He is unperturbed for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 33

1 Grace again ran and left the Corruptor And came down upon him to bring him to naught: 2 And he made utter destruction from before him And devastated all his array: 3 And he stood on a lofty summit and cried aloud From one end of the earth to the other; 4 And drew to him all those who obeyed him: And he did not appear as an evil person; 5 But a perfect virgin stood Who was proclaiming and crying and saying: (Wisdom speaks.) 6 O ye sons of men, return ye; And ye their daughters, come ye; 7 And leave the ways of that Corruptor, And draw near unto me; 8 And I will enter into you And bring you forth from destruction; And I will make you wise in the ways of truth. 9 Be not destroyed; Nor perish. 10 Hear ye me and be saved; For the grace of God I am telling among you:

11 And by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed: I am your judge; 12 And they who have put me on shall not be injured: But they shall possess incorruption in the new world. 13 My chosen ones have walked in me, And my ways I will make known to them that seek me; And I will make them to trust in my name. Hallelujah.

ODE 34

1 There is no hard way where there is a simple heart; Nor is there any barrier where the thoughts are upright: 2 Nor is there any storm in the depth of the illuminated thought 3 The one who is surrounded on every side by open country, Is freed from doubts. Moses Bar-Kepha (B.M. Add. 2121, f. 51 b). 4 The likeness of that which is below Is that which is above; 5 For everything is above; And below there is nothing, but it is believed to be by the ignorant. 6 Grace has been revealed for your salvation: Believe and live and be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE 35

1 The dew of the Lord distilled rest upon me, And a cloud of peace it caused to rise over my head; 2 That it might guard me continually; And it became salvation to me: 3 Everybody was shaken and affrighted; And there came

forth from them a smoke and a judgement: 4 But I was keeping quiet in the ranks of the Lord; More than shadow was He to me, and more than support: 5 And I was carried like a child by its mother; And He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord. 6 And I grew great by His bounty: And I rested in His perfection: 7 And I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul; And I directed myself towards the Most High, And I was redeemed with Him: Hallelujah.

ODE 36

1 I rested on the Spirit of the Lord; And (the Spirit) raised me on high: 2 And made me to stand on my feet in the high place of the Lord; Before His perfection and His glory; While I was praising (Him) by the composition of His odes. [xxxvi (Christ speaks) 3 (The Spirit) brought me forth before the face of the Lord. And although a Son of Man, I was named the Luminary, the Son of God: 4 While I was the most glorified among the glorious ones; And the greatest among the great ones. 5 For according to the greatness of the Most High, so she made me; And like His own newness He renewed me: Koran iii. 40. 6 And He anointed me from His own perfection; And I became one of those that are near to Him; 7 And my mouth was opened like a cloud of dew; And my heart gushed out, as it were, a gush of righteousness;

8 And my access (to Him) was in peace: And I was established in the Spirit of Providence. Hallelujah.

ODE 37

1 I stretched out my hands to the Lord; And to the Most High I lifted my voice; 2 And I spake with the lips of my heart; And He heard me when my voice reached Him. 3 His Word came to me, And gave me the fruits of my labours: 4 And gave me rest by the grace of the Lord. Hallelujah. Critical Note.

ODE 38

1 I went up into the Light of Truth as into a chariot: And the Truth led me and brought me: 2 And carried me across hollows and gulfs, And from the cliffs and reefs it preserved me; 3 And became to me a Haven of Salvation; And set me on the arms of immortal life. 4 And it went with me and made me rest and suffered me not to err; Because it was and is the Truth; 5 And I ran no risk because I walked with Him; And I made no error in anything, because I obeyed Him. 6 For Error fled away from Him: And would not meet Him: 7 But Truth was proceeding in the right way; And whatever I did not

know He made clear to me: 8 All the drugs of Error and the plagues of death which are considered to be sweet (beverage).

9 And I saw the Destroyer of the Corruptor when the Bride who was being corrupted was adorned, Along with the Bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted. 10 And I asked the Truth, Who are these? and He said to me: This is the Deceiver and the Error: 11 And they imitate the Beloved and His Bride: And they lead astray and corrupt the world. 12 And they invite many to the Banquet, And give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication; 13 And they make them vomit up their wisdom and intelligence; And they deprive them of understanding; 14a And then they leave them; And so these go about like madmen and corrupt; 14b Since they are without heart; And do not seek after it. 15 And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceiver; And I congratulated myself that the Truth had gone with me;

16 And I was established and lived and was redeemed; And my foundations were laid by the Lord; For He planted me. 17 For He set the root: And watered it and fixed it and blessed it: And its fruits will be for ever. 18 It struck deep and sprang up and spread wide, And it was full and was enlarged. 19 And the Lord alone was glorified, In His planting and His husbandry: 20 In His care and in the blessing of His lips; In the beautiful planting of His right hand. 21 And in the splendour of His planting, And in the thought of His mind. Hallelujah.

ODE 39

1 Mighty rivers are the power of the Lord; Which carry headlong Those that despise Him: 2 And entangle their paths, And sweep away their fords: 3 And carry off their bodies And destroy their souls. 4 For they are more swift than lightning, And more rapid: 5 But those who cross them in faith Shall not be moved; 6 And those who walk on them without blemish Shall not be afraid. 7 For the sign in them is the Lord; And the sign becomes the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord. 8 Put on, therefore, the name of the Most High and know Him: And you shall cross without danger, While the rivers shall be subject to you. 9 The Lord has bridged them by His word; And He walked and crossed them on foot; 10 And His footsteps stand (firm) on the waters, and were not erased; They are as a beam that is firmly fixed.

11 And the waves were lifted up on this side and on that; And the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand (firm), 12 And are not obliterated, And are not defaced. 13 And a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him,

And for those who agree to the course of His faith; And who adore His name, Hallelujah.

ODE 40

1 As the honey distils from the comb of the bees, And the milk flows from the woman that loves her children, So also is my hope on thee, my God. 2 As the fountain gushes out its water, So my heart gushes out the praise of the Lord, And my lips utter praises to Him. 3 And my tongue is sweet in His intimate converse And my limbs are made fat by the sweetness of His Odes. 4 And my face is glad with His exultation; And my spirit exults in His love; And my soul shines in Him; 5 And the fearful one shall confide in Him; And redemption shall in Him stand assured; 6 And his gain is immortal life; And those who participate in it are incorruptible. Hallelujah.

ODE 41

1 Let all the Lord's bairns praise Him, And let us appropriate the truth of His faith. 2a And His children shall be acknowledged by Him; 2b Therefore let us sing in His love: 3 We live in the Lord by His grace; And life we receive in His Messiah. 4 For a great day has shined upon us; And marvellous is He who hath given us of His glory. 5 Let us, therefore, all of us unite together in the name of the Lord: And let us honour Him in His goodness: 6 And let our faces shine in His light; And let our hearts meditate in His love, By night and by day. 7 Let us exult with the joy of the Lord. (Christ speaks.) 8 All those that see me will be astonished; For from another race am I. 9 For the Father of Truth remembered me; He who possessed me from the beginning.

10 For his riches begat me, And the thought of His heart: (The Odist speaks.) 11 And His Word is with us in all our way, The Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls: 12 The man who was humbled, And was exalted by His own righteousness; 13 The Son of the Most High appeared In the perfection of His Father; 14 And light dawned from the Word That was beforetime in Him;

ODE 42

1 I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord; For the stretching out of my hands is His sign; 2 And my expansion is the outspread wood That was set up on the way of the Righteous One. (Christ speaks.) 3 And I became of no use to those who knew me: For I shall hide myself from those who did not take hold of me: 4 But I will be with those Who love me. 5 All my perse-

cutors have died; And they sought after me who proclaimed about me; Because I am alive. 6 And I rose up and am with them; And I will speak by their mouths. 7a For they have despised those who persecute them. 7b And I threw over them the yoke of my love: 8 Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, So is my yoke over those that know me.

9 And as the couch that is spread in the chambers of the bridegroom and the bride, So is my love over those that believe in me. 10 I was not rejected, though I was reckoned to be so; And I did not perish though they thought it of me. 11 Sheol saw me and was in distress; Death cast me up and many along with me: 12 I have been gall and bitterness to it, And I went down with it to the extreme of its depth. 13 And the feet and the head it let go, For it was not able to endure my face: 14 And I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men; And I spake with them by living lips: In order that my word may not be void. 15 And those who had died ran towards me; And they cried and said, Son of God, have pity on us;

16 And do with us according to thy kindness; And bring us out from the bonds of darkness: 17 And open to us the door By which we shall come out to thee; For we perceive that our death does not touch thee. 18 Let us also be saved with thee; For thou art our Saviour. 19 And I heard their voice, And I laid up their faith in my heart; 20 And I set my name upon their heads: For they are free men and they are mine. Hallelujah.

Some Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM WRIGHT

uncertain

Five psalms outside the Bible, ascribed to David and to Hezekiah, found in a Syriac manuscript and first published by William Wright. The first is the Psalm 151 of the Greek Bible.

INTRODUCTION

The following Communication has been received from Professor W. Wright.

Some Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac.

In a Syriac MS., formerly belonging to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but now deposited in the University Library of Cambridge, I find the following apocryphal Psalms, which, with the exception of the first, have not yet, so far as I know, been printed anywhere. The MS. contains the Kethabha dhe-Dhurrasha, or 'Book of Discipline,' a large theological treatise, composed on a very artificial plan, by Elias, bishop of Peroz-Shabhor or al-Anbar (who lived about a.d. 920; see Assemani, B.O. iii. 1, p. 258 sq.). At the end of the first section of this work, the scribe has added a few excerpts for the purpose of filling up some blank leaves. These are: (1) the Psalms in question, ff. 115a-116b; (2) explanations of some difficult words in 'the Book of the Paradise'; and (3) a disputation between a Jacobite and a Nestorian, ff. 116b-117b. The scribe was the well known Homo of Al-Kosh, near Mosul, "the village of the prophet Nahum." He has recorded his name in several subscriptions, but as the MS. is imperfect at the end, the exact date of writing is not given. It must, however, roughly speaking, lie between a.d. 1675 and 1712 (see Hoffmann, Opusc. Nestor., pp. Ill, IV), and the watermark in the paper----three crescents with a rather small adjunct of this shape [*] in one corner of the page----would seem to belong to the latter part of the xviith century.

These same Psalms, five in number, are also found, with the same adjuncts, in the Vatican MS. of Elias of al-Anbar's work, Cod. Vat. Syr. clxxxiii, ff. 117b-119a (see Assemani's Catalogue, t. iii, p. 385). Professor Guidi has, with his usual kindness, collated this MS. for me. It is dated A. Gr. 2014 = a.d. 1703, and was written at Al-Kosh by one Khaushabha bar Daniel. The Psalms are five in number, of which the first is that ordinarily numbered as Ps. cli in Greek and Syriac Hexaplar MSS. (see, for example, the Codex Ambrosianus, ed. Ceriani, f. 38b). I reproduce the text, so far as possible, exactly as it stands in the MSS.

I. PS. CLI. A THANKSGIVING OF DAVID

(1) I was the youngest among my brethren, and a youth in my father's house. (2) I used to feed my father's flock, and I found a lion and a wolf, and slew them and rent them. (3) My hands made an organ, and my fingers fashioned a harp. (4) Who will show me my Lord? He, my Lord, is become my God. (5) He sent His angel and took me away from my father's flock, and anointed me with the oil of anointing. (6) My brethren, the fair and the tall, in them the Lord had no pleasure. (7) And I went forth to meet the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols. (8) But I drew his sword and cut off his head, and took away the reproach from the children of Israel.

II. THE PRAYER OF HEZEKIAH WHEN ENEMIES SURROUNDED HIM

(1) With a loud voice glorify ye God; in the assembly of many proclaim ye His glory. (2) Amid the multitude of the upright glorify His praise; and speak of His glory with the righteous. (3) Join yourselves (literally, your soul) to the good and to the perfect, to glorify the Most High. (4) Gather yourselves together to make known His strength; and be not slow in showing forth His deliverance [and His strength] and His glory to all babes. (5) That the honour of the Lord may be known, wisdom hath been given; and to tell of His works it hath been made known to men: (6) to make known unto babes His strength, and to make them that lack understanding (literally, heart) to comprehend His glory; (7) who are far from His entrances and distant from His gates: (8) because the Lord of Jacob is exalted, and His glory is upon all His works. (9) And a man who glorifies the Most High, in him will He take pleasure; as in one who offers fine meal, and as in one who offers he-goats and calves; (10) and as in one who makes fat the altar with a multitude of burnt offerings; and as the smell of incense from the hands of the just. (11)

From thy upright gates shall be heard His voice, and from the voice of the upright admonition. (12) And in their eating shall be satisfying in truth, and in their drinking, when they share together.

(13) Their dwelling is in the law of the Most High, and their speech is to make known His strength. (14) How far from the wicked is speech of Him, and from all transgressors to know Him! (15) Lo, the eye of the Lord taketh pity on the good, and unto them that glorify Him will He multiply mercy, and from the time of evil will He deliver their soul. (16) Blessed be the Lord, who hath delivered the wretched from the hand of the wicked; who raiseth up a horn out of Jacob and a judge of the nations out of Israel; (17) that He may prolong His dwelling in Zion, and may adorn our age in Jerusalem.

III. WHEN THE PEOPLE OBTAINED PERMISSION FROM CYRUS TO
RETURN HOME

(1) O Lord, I have cried unto Thee; hearken Thou unto me. (2) I have lifted up my hands to Thy holy dwelling-place; incline Thine ear unto me. (3) And grant me my request; my prayer withhold not from me. (4) Build up my soul, and destroy it not; and lay it not bare before the wicked. (5) Them that recompense evil things turn Thou away from me, O judge of truth. (6) O Lord, judge me not according to my sins, because no flesh is innocent before Thee. (7) Make plain to me, O Lord, Thy law, and teach me Thy judgments; (8) and many shall hear of Thy works, and the nations shall praise Thine honour. (9) Remember me and forget me not; and lead me not into things that be too hard for me. (10) The sins of my youth make Thou to pass from me, and my chastisement let them not remember against me. (11) Cleanse me, O Lord, from the evil leprosy, and let it no more come unto me. (12) Dry up its roots in (literally, from) me, and let not its leaves sprout within me. (13) Great art Thou, O Lord; therefore my request shall be fulfilled from before Thee. (14) To whom shall I complain that he may give unto me? and what can the strength of men add [unto me]? (15) From before Thee, O Lord, is my confidence; I cried unto the Lord and He heard me, and healed the breaking of my heart. (16) I slumbered and slept; I dreamed and was helped, and the Lord sustained me. (17) They sorely pained my heart; I will return thanks because the Lord delivered me. (18) Now will I rejoice in their shame; I have hoped in Thee, and I shall not be ashamed. (19) Give Thou honour for ever, even for ever and ever. (20) Deliver Israel Thine elect, and them of the house of Jacob Thy proved one.

IV. Spoken by David when he was contending with the lion and the wolf which took a sheep from his flock. (1) O God, O God, come to my aid; help Thou me and save me; deliver Thou my soul from the slayer. (2) Shall I go down to Sheol by the mouth of the lion? or shall the wolf confound me? (3) Was it not enough for them that they lay in wait for my father's flock, and rent in pieces a sheep of my father's drove, but they were wishing also to destroy my soul? (4) Have pity, O Lord, and save Thy holy one from destruction; that he may rehearse Thy glories in all his times, and may praise Thy great name: (5) when Thou hast delivered him from the hands of the destroying lion and of the ravening wolf, and when Thou hast rescued my captivity from the hands of the wild beasts. (6) Quickly, O my Lord (Adonai), send from before Thee a deliverer, and draw me out of the gaping pit, which imprisons me in its depths.

V. Spoken by David when returning thanks to God, who had delivered him from the lion and the wolf and he had slain both of them. (1) Praise the Lord, all ye nations; glorify Him, and bless His name: (2) Who rescued the soul of His elect from the hands of death, and delivered His holy one from destruction: (3) and saved me from the nets of Sheol, and my soul from the pit that cannot be fathomed. (4) Because, ere my deliverance could go forth from before Him, I was well nigh rent in two pieces by two wild beasts. (5) But He sent His angel, and shut up from me the gaping mouths, and rescued my life from destruction. (6) My soul shall glorify Him and exalt Him, because of all His kindnesses which He hath done and will do unto me. *Queens' College, Cambridge, 4th May, 1887.*

[Most footnotes and all Syriac material omitted] 1. * Or better, as in Cod. Ambros., The Lord, He is my God. 2. + The feminine suffix seems to be addressed to the city of Jerusalem. 3. * Cod. Vat. my requests.

Some Uncanonical Psalms

TRANSLATED BY ALPHONSE MINGANA

medieval, from Syriac and Garshuni manuscripts

Short psalms ascribed to David and Hezekiah that are not in the Bible, from a Syriac manuscript, such as the Prayer of Hezekiah when surrounded by his enemies.

¹ I give in the following pages the text and the translation of five uncanonical Psalms. Psalm 1 is found in many MSS. of the Syriac Psalter where it is known as Ps. cli. and where it is often introduced as follows: "This Psalm was said by David on himself, when he fought Goliath." It is a translation from Greek, but I have remarked in a footnote that its first verse seems, in thought but not in phraseology, to be reminiscent of the corresponding verse of the famous Gnostic "Hymn of the Soul." If this comparison were proved to be possible, we would be allowed to hold the contrary view, viz. that the "Hymn" itself was under the influence of the "Psalm"; this, however, is a question on which we cannot dwell at present as it is beyond the scope of our present studies. ² The four other Psalms are only found in the interesting work entitled *Durrāsha*, "Discipline," or more generally *ma'wātha*, "Centuries," of the Nestorian writer Elijah of Anbar who died about 940. The work is represented by some other MSS. all of which are, however, much later than the one marked Mingana Syr. 31 in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham. The MS. has unfortunately lost a few of its final leaves and is consequently undated, but on palæographic grounds it may be assigned to about A.D. 1340. It formerly belonged to the Nestorian writer Isho'yahb bar Mukaddam who died about 1445, and who in an inscription on fol. 90b informs us that he collated a large part of it with an autograph of the author himself. There is reason to believe that at least six out of the eight other MSS. in existence are mere transcripts of this Mingana Syr. 31. A facsimile of the pages containing the Psalms accompanies the translation. I have also com-

pared the translation with Syr. MS. Mingana 51 (ff. 100 b-105 a) of about A.D. 1550, in the custody of Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

³ The source of the author for some of these uncanonical Psalms is unknown to me, but there is no doubt that he was drawing upon excellent material at his disposal. There is in the matter of elevation of thought and diction considerable difference between all these uncanonical Psalms, and in reading those numbered 2 and 3 we almost feel that we are perusing the Bible itself. Their Hebrew parallelism is perfect and there are grounds for believing that they are a direct translation from Hebrew or Aramaic. Psalms 1, 4-5 refer more or less distinctly to the deliverance of David from the wild beasts of 1 Sam. xvii. 34-36.

Translation.

⁴ The Five Psalms of David, which are not written in the Series of the Psalms. I. Thanksgivings of David. I was the youngest of my brothers, and a child in the house of my father.¹ I shepherded the sheep of my father, and met a lion and also a wolf,² and I slew them and rent them. My hands made an organ, and my fingers fitted a harp. Who will show me to my Lord? —He, my Lord, became my God.³ He sent his angel and removed me from the sheep of my father, and anointed me with the oil of unction.⁴ The Lord was not pleased with my elder and handsome brothers, and I went to meet the Philistine, who cursed me by his idols; but I unsheathed his sword, cut off his head, and banished the insult from the children of Israel. 1 Compare this verse with the beginning of the Edessene Gnostic hymn of the Soul: "While I was a small child, and dwelling in my kingdom in the house of my father." Bedjan's Acta. iii. 110.

⁵ 2 From 1 Sam. xvii. 34-36 we know that David was met by a lion and a bear and not a wolf. The variant may be explained by the graphic resemblance that exists in Syriac between the words bear and wolf. This verse is missing in Greek. 3 The Greek is: "Who will show it to my Lord? He is the Lord, He heareth me." 4 The Greek is: "Of His unction."

Prayer of Hezekiah when Surrounded by Enemies.

⁶ Praise God with a loud voice, and proclaim His glory in the congregation of many people. Praise His magnificence in the assembly of the just, and make known His majesty in the company of the pious. Extol His praise, and narrate His exalted dignity in unison with the righteous. Unite your souls

with the good and with the meek in order to magnify the Most High. Gather together in order to proclaim His might, and be not tired in showing forth His salvation, His power, and His glory to all the children. It is in order that the majesty of the Lord may be made manifest that Wisdom has been given, and it is in order that it may proclaim His works that it has been made known to men; for the spreading of His might among the children, and instructing the weak-hearted in His glory: those who are remote from its good advices, and far from its doors. Because the Lord of Jacob is high, and His majesty is on all His servants. The Most High shall be as pleased with the one who magnifies Him as with the one who offers pure flour, and the one who offers he-goats and calves, and the one who makes the altar smell with the odour of many holocausts, and as with the incense from the hands of the righteous. His voice is heard from thy righteous doors, and there is admonition from the voice of the pious, and true satisfaction from their food and their drink, when taken in fellowship.

7 Their resting place is in the law of the Most High, and their speech is for the proclamation of His might. How remote is His word from the wicked, and how difficult it is for all evildoers to understand it! Behold the eye of the Lord looks upon the righteous, and He will increase His mercy on those who praise Him, and from the time of evil He will deliver their soul. Blessed be the Lord who delivered the needy from the hand of the strangers, and saved the meek from the hand of the evildoers, who raises power from Jacob, and the judge of the Gentiles from Israel, in order that He may lengthen His sojourn in Zion and adorn all our people of Jerusalem. 8 When the People Received Permission from Cyrus to Return to their Country. O Lord, I have cried to Thee: listen to me; I have lifted my hands to the habitations of Thy holiness: incline Thy ear to me, and grant me my request, and do not refuse my prayer. Build my soul, and do not destroy it, and do not expose it before the unrighteous. Remove from me those who would requite me with evil, O Lord, just judge. Do not judge me according to my sins, because all flesh does not triumph before Thee. Make me, O Lord, understand Thy law and teach me Thy judgments, and many will hear Thy works and the Gentiles will bear witness to Thy majesty. Remember me, and do not forget me, and do not inflict on me calamities more than I can bear. Cast away from me the sins of my youth, and let them not remember my chastisement. Purify me, O Lord, from the evil leper, and let him not keep walk-

ing to me. Dry up his roots from me, and let not his leaves stretch over me. O Lord, Thou art great, and that is why my prayer is answered. Whom should I implore to give me anything, and what is the power of the sons of men before Thee, O Lord, my trust? I cried to the Lord, and He answered me and made whole the wound of my heart. I lay down and slept, I dreamed and was helped, and Thou, O Lord, hast sustained me. They have wounded my heart, but I shall receive (joy) because the Lord has delivered me: let me rejoice now in their confusion! I trusted in Thee and I shall not be confounded: grant honour for ever, and for ever and ever save Israel, Thy elect, and the children of Jacob, Thy chosen.

4.

9 Said by David when Fighting the Lion and the Wolf which took a Sheep from his Flock. O my God, O my God, come to my help. Help me and save me. Deliver my soul from the murderer. Let me not go down to Sheol in the mouth of the lion, and let the wolf devour me not. Is it not sufficient for them that they lay in wait for the flock of my father, and took out a lamb from the flock of my father, that they wish now to destroy my soul? Have pity, O Lord, and deliver Thy elect from destruction, in order that he may repeat Thy praises in all his moments, and glorify the name of Thy Majesty. When Thou hast delivered him from the hands of the lion which destroys and the wolf which devours, and Thou hast returned the booty from the hands of the beasts. O my Lord, send speedily a deliverer from before Thee, and pull me out of the open abyss that wishes to secure me in its depths.

10 5. Said by David when Thanking God who saved him from the Lion and the Wolf both of which he Killed. Praise the Lord, O ye all the peoples; magnify Him and bless His name, because He has delivered the soul of His elect from the hands of death, and saved His chosen from destruction. And He delivered me from the snare of Sheol, and my soul also from the unfathomable pit. Because if my salvation had not come from Him but a very short time before it did come, I would have been cut into two pieces for two beasts. He sent, however, His angel who closed the open jaws which were about to devour me, and saved my life from destruction. Let my soul magnify Him and exalt Him for all His favours that He did and is doing for me.

P A R T T W O

Tales and Wisdom

The sage Ahikar, the story of the Greek Old Testament, a sermon on the martyrs and the sayings of the rabbis.

The Story of Ahikar (Syriac version)

5th century BC (earliest text); versions of the 1st-10th centuries AD

The story of Ahikar, the wise counsellor of the Assyrian kings, betrayed by his adopted nephew Nadan, together with his proverbs, as told in the Syriac version. It is a non-biblical story of the fifth century BC or earlier, known also from an Aramaic papyrus found at Elephantine. This is Syriac version A, in the translation by J. Rendel Harris, A. S. Lewis and F. C. Conybeare.

CHAPTER 1

1. AGAIN, by the divine power, I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Aḥikar, sage and secretary of Sennacherib the king of Assyria and Nineveh. In the twentieth year of Sennacherib, son of Sarḥadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, I, Aḥikar, was the king's secretary. 2. And it had been said to me when I was a boy, that no son will be born to thee: and the wealth that I had acquired was too vast to tell. Sixty wives had I wedded: and sixty castles did I build them: and I had no son. 3. Thereupon I, Aḥikar, built me a great altar, all of wood; and kindled fire upon it, and laid good meat thereon, and thus I spake: 4. 'O Lord, my God; when I shall die and leave no son, what will men say of me? they will say that this, then, is Aḥikar the just and good and God-serving: he is dead, and has left no son to bury him, no! nor a daughter: and his possessions, as if he were accursed, no man inherits.

5. But I ask of Thee, O God, that I may have a male child; so that when I shall die, he may cast dust on my eyes.' 6. and this voice was heard by me, 'O Aḥikar, wise scribe, all that thou hast asked of me I have given thee; but as to my having left thee childless, let it suffice thee: perplex not thyself: but behold! Nadan thy sister's son: he shall be a son unto thee: so that with the growth of his stature thou shalt be able to teach him everything.' 7. And when I heard these things, I was grieved again, and said, 'O Lord God! is it that Thou wilt give me as a son Nadan my sister's son, so that when I die, he may throw dust on my eyes?' And no further answer was returned to me. 8. – 10. And I obeyed the command and took to me for a son Nadan, my sister's

son: and because he was yet young, I furnished him with eight wet-nurses: and I brought up my son on honey, and made him lie on choice carpets, and clothed him in fine linen and purple; and my son grew and shot up like a cedar, and when my son was grown big, I taught him book-lore 10 and wisdom; and when the king came from the place to which he had gone, he called me and said to me, 'O Ahikar, the wise scribe and master of my thoughts, when thou shalt wax old and die, who is there to come after thee and to serve me like thyself?'

11. And I answered and said to him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! I have a son, wise like myself, and book-learned like myself, and educated.' 12. And the king said to me, 'Bring him and let me see him. If he is able to stand before me, I will release thee in peace, and thou shalt spend thy old age in honour, until thou shalt end thy days.' 13. Then I took my son Nadan and set him before the king, and when my lord the king saw him, he said, 'This day shall be a blessed day before God, so that like as Ahikar walked before my father Sarhadum, and before me also, he shall be rewarded and I will set his son in my gate in his lifetime, and he shall depart his life [in peace].' 14. Thereupon I, Ahikar, bowed down before the king and said, 'My lord the king, live for ever! And like as I walked before thy father and before thyself even until now, so do thou also extend thy forbearance to the youthfulness of this my son, that thy grace which was toward me may be found multiplied towards him.'

15. Then when the king heard this, he gave me his right hand, and I, Ahikar, bowed down before the king. Nor did I cease from the instruction of my son, until I had filled him with instruction as with bread and water. And on this wise was I discoursing to him:

CHAPTER 2

1. 'Hear, O my son Nadan, and come to the understanding of me, and be mindful of my words, as the words of God: 2. My son Nadan, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it to no man; lest it become a hot coal in thy mouth and burn thee, and thou lay a blemish on thy soul, and be angered against God. 3. My son, do not tell all that thou hearest, and do not disclose all that thou seest. 4. My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, and do not seal one that is loosed. 5. My son, lift not up thy eyes and look upon a woman that is bedizened and painted; and do not lust after her

in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all that is in thy hands, thou findest no advantage in her; and thou wilt be guilty of sin against God.

6. My son, commit not adultery with the wife of thy neighbour; lest others should commit adultery with thy wife. 7. My son, be not in a hurry, like the almond-tree whose blossom is the first to appear, but whose fruit is the last to be eaten; but be equal and sensible, like the mulberry-tree whose blossom is the last to appear, but whose fruit is the first to be eaten. 8. My son, cast down thine eyes, and lower thy voice, and look from beneath thine eyelids: for if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day: and if by sheer force the plough was guided, its share would never be loosed from the shoulder of the camel. 9. My son, it is better to remove stones with a wise man than to drink wine with a fool. 10. My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.

11. My son, with a wise man thou wilt not be depraved, and with a depraved man thou wilt not become wise. 12. My son, associate with the wise man, and thou wilt become wise like him; and associate not with a garrulous and talkative man, lest thou be numbered with him. 13. My son, while thou hast shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and for thy sons' sons. 14. My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, "He ate it for medicine." And the poor man eats it, and they say, "For his hunger he ate it." 15. My son, eat thy portion, and despise not thy neighbours. 16. My son, it is not becoming even to eat with a shameless man. 17. My son, envy not the prosperity of thy enemy; and rejoice not at his adversity.

18. My son, draw not near to a woman that is a whisperer, nor to one whose voice is high. 19. My son, go not after the beauty of a woman, and lust not after her in thy heart because the beauty of a woman is her good sense, and her adornment is the word of her mouth. 20. My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with wisdom. 21. My son, the wicked falleth and riseth not; but the just man is not moved, for God is with him. 22. My son, withhold not thy son from stripes; for the beating of a boy is like manure to the garden, and like rope to an ass [or any other beast], and like tether on the foot of an ass. 23. My son, subdue thy son while he is yet a boy, before he wax stronger than thee and rebel against thee, and thou be shamed in all his corrupt doing.

24. My son, get thee an ox that [is fat and] lies down, and an ass that has good hoofs, but do not get thee a slave that is runaway nor a maid that is thievish; lest they destroy all that thou hast gotten. 25. My son, the words of a liar are like fat sparrows; and he that is void of understanding eateth them. 26. My son, bring not upon thee the curses of thy father and of thy mother, lest thou rejoice not in the blessings of thy children. 27. My son, walk not in the way unarmed; because thou knowest not when thy enemy shall come upon thee. 28. My son, even as a tree is fair in its branches and fruit, and a bosky mountain in its trees, so is a man fair in his wife and weans; and he that hath not brethren, nor wife nor weans, is despised and contemptible before his enemies; and he is like unto a tree by the roadside, from which every passer-by plucketh, and every beast of the weald teareth down its leafage.

29. My son, say not, "My lord is a fool, and I am wise"; but take hold of him in his faults and thou shalt obtain mercy. 30. My son, count not thyself to be wise, when others count thee not to be wise. 31. My son, lie not in thy speech before thy lord, lest thou be convicted, and he shall say to thee, "Away from my sight!" 32. My son, let thy words be true, in order that thy lord may say to thee, "Draw near me," and thou shalt live. 33. My son, in the day of thy calamity revile not God; lest when He hear thee, He should be angered against thee. 34. My son, treat not thy slave better than his fellow; for thou knowest not which of them thou wilt have need of at the last. 35. My son, smite with stones the dog that has left his own master and followed after thee.

36. My son, the flock that makes many tracks becomes the portion of the wolves. 37. My son, judge upright judgement in thy youth, in order that in thy age thou mayst have honour. 38. My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows. 39. My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck. 40. My son, smite the [wise] man with wise word, that it may be in his heart like a fever in summer; [but know] that if thou smite the fool with many blows, he will not understand. 41. My son, send a wise man and give him no orders; but if thou wilt send a fool, go rather thyself and send him not. 42. My son, test thy son with bread and water, and then thou canst leave in his hands thy possessions and thy wealth.

43. My son, withdraw at the first cup, and tarry not for lickerish draughts: lest there be to thee wounds in thy head. 44. My son, he whose hand is full is

called wise and honourable; and he whose hand is scant is called foolish and abject. 45. My son, I have carried salt and removed lead; and I have not seen anything heavier than that a man should pay back a debt when he did not borrow. 46. My son, I have carried iron and removed stones; and they were not heavier on me than a man who settles in the house of his father-in-law. 47. My son, teach hunger and thirst to thy son, that according as his eye sees he may govern his house. 48. My son, better is he that is blind of eye than he that is blind of heart; for the blind of eye straightway learneth the road and walketh in it: but the blind of heart leaveth the right way and goeth into the desert.

49. My son, better is a friend that is at hand than a brother who is far away: and better is a good name than much beauty: because a good name standeth for aye, but beauty wanes and wastes away. 50. My son, death is better than life to a man that hath no rest: and better is the voice of wailing in the ears of a fool than music and joy. 51. My son, better is a drumstick in thy hand than a wing [?] in the pot of other people; and better is a sheep that is at hand than a heifer that is far off: and better is poverty that gathers than wealth that scatters; and better one sparrow in thy hand than a thousand on the wing: and better is a woollen coat on thy back than fine linen and silks on the backs of others.

52. My son, restrain a word in thy heart, and it shall be well with thee; because when thou hast exchanged thy word, thou hast lost thy friend. 53. My son, let not a word go forth from thy mouth, until thou hast taken counsel within thy heart: because it is better for a man to stumble in his heart than to stumble with his tongue. 54. My son, if thou hear an evil matter, put it seven fathoms deep underground. 55. My son, tarry not where there is contention: for from strife arises murder. 56. My son, every one who does not judge right judgement angers God. 57. My son, remove not from thy father's friend, lest perchance thy friend come not near to thee. 58. My son, go not down into princes' gardens, and draw not near to princes' daughters. 59. My son, aid thy friend before the ruler, that thou mayst find out how thou mayst help him from the lion.

60. My son, rejoice not over thy enemy when he dieth. 61. My son, when thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him. 62. My son, if the waters should stand up without earth, and the sparrow fly without wings, and the raven become white as snow, and the bitter become sweet as

honey, then may the fool become wise. 63. My son, if thou art a priest of God, be thou ware of Him and enter His presence in purity, and from His presence remove not. 64. My son, him that God prospers do thou also honour. 65. My son, strive not with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood. 66. My son, the eye of man is like a fountain of water, and it is not satisfied with riches until filled with dust. 67. My son, if thy will is to be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from theft, and thou shalt become wise.

68. My son, have no part in the espousal of a woman; for if it shall go ill with her, she will curse thee; and if it shall go well with her, she will not remember thee. 69. My son, he that is elegant in his dress is elegant also in his speech, and he that is contemptible in his dress is contemptible also in his speech. My son, if thou shalt find a find before an idol, offer the idol its share of it. My son, the hand that was satisfied and is now hungry will not give, nor the hand that was hungry and is now satisfied. My son, let not thine eyes look upon a woman that is beautiful; and be not inquisitive into beauty that does not belong to thee: because many have perished through the beauty of woman, and her love has been as a fire that burneth. My son, let the wise man strike thee with many blows, and let not the fool salve thee with sweet salve. My son, let not thy foot run after thy friend, lest he be surfeited with thee and hate thee. My son, put not a gold ring on thy finger, when thou hast not [wealth]³, lest fools make mock of thee. This is the teaching which Ahikar taught to Nadan his sister's son.

CHAPTER 3

1. But I, Ahikar, supposed that everything which I had been teaching Nadan he took hold of in his heart, and that he stood in my stead in the king's gate; and I knew not that Nadan listened not to my words, but scattered them, as it were to the wind, and returned and said that 'my father Ahikar is grown old, and stands at the door of his grave; and his intelligence has withdrawn and his understanding is diminished'; 2. and my son Nadan began [to ill-treat] my servants by beating them and slaughtering them and destroying them; and he showed no mercy on my servants and my handmaidens though they were industrious and well-beloved and excellent; and my horses he slew and my good mules he hamstrung. 3. So when I beheld me that my son Nadan was doing detestable things, I answered and said to him, 'My son

Nadan, touch not my property; my son, it is said in the proverb, “What the hand did not acquire, the eye did not spare.””

4. Moreover I showed to Sennacherib my lord all these matters; and my lord spake on this wise: ‘As long as Ahikar lives, no man shall have power over his wealth.’ 5. Then when my son Nadan saw his brother Nebuzardan standing in my house, he was very irate and he spake on this wise: ‘My father Ahikar is grown old and his wits have waned; [and as for his wise words, he despised them]; hath he given his possessions to Nebuzardan my brother, and hath he removed me from his house?’ 6. When I, Ahikar, heard these things, I said, ‘Alas for thee, my wisdom, that my son Nadan has made insipid; and as for my wise sayings, he has contemned them.’ 7. Now when my son Nadan heard thereof, he was angry and went to the gate of the king, and devised evil in his heart; and sat down and wrote two letters to two kings who were enemies of Sennacherib my lord; one to Akhi, the son of Hamselim, king of Persia and Elam, as follows:

8. ‘From Ahikar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, arise and come to Assyria to meet me; and I will bring thee into Assyria, and thou shalt seize the kingdom without war.’ 9. 10. And he wrote another letter, as follows: ‘To Pharaoh, king of Egypt, from Ahikar, Secretary and Great Seal of the king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter shall reach thee, arise and come to meet me at Eagles’ dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Ab. And I will bring thee into Nineveh without war and thou shalt seize the kingdom.’ And he made these writings of his like to my own handwriting; and he sealed them in the king’s palace, and went his way. And he wrote further another letter to me, as if from my lord the king Sennacherib; and on this wise he wrote it:

11. ‘From Sennacherib the King, to Ahikar, my Secretary and Great Seal, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, gather all thy forces together, to the rock that is called Sis: and come forth from thence and come to meet me at Eagles’ dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Ab. 12. And when thou seest me approaching to thee, array thy forces against me, like a man that is ready for battle: for ambassadors of Pharaoh the king of Egypt are come to me, that they may see what forces I have.’ 13. And my son Nadan sent this letter to me by the hands of two of the king’s servants. And thereupon my son Nadan took the letters that he had written, as if he

had actually found them; and he read them before the king; and when my lord the king heard them, he lamented and said, 'O God, wherein have I sinned against Ahikar, that he should do unto me on this fashion?'

14. And my son Nadan answered and said to the king, 'My lord, do not fret nor rage. Arise and let us go to Eagles' dale on the day that is written by him in the letter. And if it be true, then all that thou commandest shall be done.' 15. So my son Nadan took the king my lord, and they came to me at Eagles' dale: and they found me having with me great forces that were gathered there. And when I saw the king, I put my forces in array against him, as it was written in the letter. And when the king saw it, he was much afraid. 16. Then my son Nadan answered and said to him: 'Let it not disturb thee, my lord the king. Return and come into thy chamber in peace: and I will bring Ahikar before thee.' Then my lord the king returned to his house.

17. And my son Nadan came to me and said to me, 'All that thou hast done, thou hast done finely: and much hath the king praised thee; and he commands thee to dismiss thy forces that they may go every man to his own place and his own district. And do thou come to me thyself alone.'

CHAPTER 4

1. Thereupon I came before the king, and when he saw me, he said unto me, 'Art thou come, Ahikar, my Secretary and the foster-child of Assyria and Nineveh, thou whom I caused to come into honour? but thou hast turned back and taken the part of my enemies.' 2. And he gave me those letters that were written in my name and were sealed with the seal of my own ring. And when I read them, my tongue stammered and my limbs became faint: and I sought for a single word from the words of wisdom and I found me none. 3. And my son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Away with thee from the king's sight, thou foolish old man: and give thy hands to bonds and thy feet to iron fetters.' Then Sennacherib the king turned away his face from me, and he talked with Nabusemakh... and said to him, 'Arise, go slay Ahikar, and separate his head a hundred ells from his body.'

4. Then I fell on my face on the ground and worshipped the king, and I said, 'My lord the king, live for ever. Seeing, my lord, that it hath pleased thee to kill me, thy will be done. I know, however, that I have not sinned against thee. But command them, my lord the king, that they kill me at the door of my house: 5. and let them give my body to burial.' 6. – 10. And the king said to Nabusemakh..., 'Go, kill Ahikar at the door of his house, and

give his body to burial. Thereupon I, Ahikar, sent to Eshfagni my wife that she should bring forth from the daughters of my tribe maids a thousand and one: 'and let them put on raiment of mourning, and let them wail and lament and weep over me. And let them come to meet me, and let them make a funeral feast over me before I die. And prepare thou bread and a table and a banquet for Nabusemakh... and his Parthians that are with him, and come to meet them, and receive them and bring them into my house. And I too will come into the house as a guest. And Eshfagni my wife, for that she was exceeding wise, understood all my message, and did whatsoever I had sent to her to do; and she came forth to meet them, and she brought them into my house: and they did eat bread, and with her own hand she served them, until they fell asleep from drunkenness, every man in his place. Thereat I, Ahikar, entered and said to Nabusemakh, 'Look towards God, and remember the love that there was between us brother: and grieve not over my death:

and remember that thee also did Sarhadum the father of Sennacherib deliver to me that I should slay thee, yet I slew thee not, because I was aware that there was in thee no ground of offence; and I kept thee alive until the king desired thee, and when I brought thee before him, he gave me great gifts, and many presents did I carry off from him. And do thou too, now, preserve me alive and recompense me this kindness: and in order that the word come not abroad that I was not killed and that the king may not quarrel with thee, behold, I have in my prison-house a slave, Marzifan hight, and he is due to die: clothe this slave in my raiment and rouse up the Parthians against him and they will slay him: and I shall not die, because I have done no wrong. 11. And when I spake thus, moreover Nabusemakh... also was sore grieved over me, and he took my raiments and clad in them the slave that was in the prison-house. And he roused up the Parthians, and they arose in the fumes of their wine, and they slew him and removed his head a hundred ells from his corse, and they gave over his body for burial. 12. 13. Then went forth the report in Assyria and Nineveh, that Ahikar the Secretary is killed. And Nabusemakh... rose up, and Eshfagni my wife, and they made for me a hiding-place underground; its breadth was three cubits and its height five cubits, under the threshold of the door of my house. And they put bread and water with me, and went and showed to Sennacherib the king that Ahikar, the Secretary, was dead: and when the men heard it, they wept; and the wo-

men disfigured their faces and said: ‘Alas for thee, Ahikar the wise Secretary, thou fence of the breaches of our country: for like thee there will never be any one to us.’

14. Then Sennacherib the king called my son Nadan, and said to him, ‘Go make a funeral feast for thy father Ahikar, and then return to me.’ 15. And when Nadan my son came, no funeral feast did he make for me, nor any remembrance at all; but gathered him the vain and lewd folk, and set them down at my table, with singing and with great joy; and my beloved servants and handmaidens he stripped and flogged without mercy. 16. Nor had he any reverence for my wife Eshfagni, but sought to do with her the way of man with woman. 17. And I, Ahikar, was cast into darkness in the pit beneath. And I was hearing the voice of my bakers, cooks, and butlers as they wept and sobbed within my house. 18. And after a few days came Nabusemakh... and opened [my prison] over me and comforted me; and set before me bread and water; and I said to him, ‘When thou goest forth from me, remember me before God, and say, O God, just and righteous, and that showest grace upon the earth, hear the voice of Thy servant Ahikar, and remember that he sacrificed to Thee fattened oxen like sucking lambs. And now he is cast into the darksome pit where he seeth no light. And dost Thou not save him that crieth unto Thee? O Lord, hear the voice of my colleague, [I pray Thee.]

CHAPTER 5

1. Now when Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard that I, Ahikar, had been slain, he was greatly rejoiced, and he wrote a letter to Sennacherib on this wise: 2. 3. ‘Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. I am planning to build a castle between heaven and earth, wherefore seek out and send me from thy kingdom a man who is a skilled architect, that he may give me reply concerning all that I shall ask him. And when thou shalt send me such a man, I will collect and send thee the revenue of Egypt for three years: and if thou send me not a man who shall give me reply concerning all that I ask him, then do thou collect and send me the tribute of Assyria and Nineveh for three years, by the hands of these ambassadors that come to thee.’ 4. And when this letter was read before the king, he cried out to all the nobles and franklins of his kingdom, and said unto them: ‘Which of you will go to Egypt to give reply to the king concerning all that he shall ask him? And he shall build him the castle that he planneth, and bring back the three years’ tribute of Egypt and come hither.’

5. And when the nobles heard this, they answered and said unto the king: 'My lord the king, thou knowest that not only in the years of thy reign, but also in the years of thy father Sarhadum, Ahikar the Secretary was in the habit of resolving questions like these. 6. And now, also, behold his son Nadan, he is instructed in his father's book-lore and wisdom.' And when my son Nadan heard these things, he cried out before the king and said: 'The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let alone men' 7. 8. And when the king heard these words, he was much perturbed, and he descended from his throne and sat on the ground, and spake thus: 'Alas for thee, Ahikar the wise, that I destroyed thee for the words of a boy! Who will give thee to me for such a time as this? I would give him thy weight in gold.' For Ahikar, whom thou didst command me to slay, is yet alive.'

9. And when the king heard these words, he answered and said, 'Speak on, speak on, Nabusemakh; speak on, thou good and clever man, unskilled in evil. If it is indeed as thou sayest, and thou show me Ahikar alive, then I will give thee presents of silver, a hundred talents in weight, and of purple, fifty talents in value.' 10. And Nabusemakh answered and said, 'Swear to me, my lord the king, that, if there be not found before thee other sins of mine, this sin shall not be remembered against me.' And the king gave him his right hand on this matter. 11. And forthwith the king mounted his chariot, and came unto me in haste, and opened [my prison] over me, and I ascended and came and fell before the king; the hair of my head had grown down on my shoulders, and my beard reached my breast; and my body was foul with the dust, and my nails were grown long like eagles'.

12. And when the king saw me, he wept and was ashamed to talk with me, and in great grief he said to me, 'It was not I that sinned against thee, Ahikar; but thy son whom thou broughtest up, he it was that sinned against thee.' 13. Thereupon I answered and said to him, 'Because I have seen thy face, my lord, no evil is in my mind.' And the king said to me, 'Go to thy house, Ahikar, and shave off thy hair, and wash thy body, and recover thy strength forty days; and after that come to me.'

CHAPTER 6

1. Therefore I went to my house, and I was in my house about thirty days, and when I was recovered, I came to the king, and the king answered and said to me: 'Hast thou seen, Ahikar, what a letter Pharaoh, king of Egypt, has written me?' 2. – 5. And I answered and said, 'My lord the king, let there

be no trouble to thee over this affair. I will go to Egypt and build the king a castle: and I will make him answer concerning all that he may ask me: and I will bring back with me the three years' tribute of Egypt.' And when the king heard these things he rejoiced with a great joy: and he gave me gifts: and as for Nabusemakh... he set him at the head of all. And after this I wrote a letter to Eshfagni my wife, as follows: 'When this letter reaches thee, command my huntsmen that they catch me two young eagles: and command the workers in flax, that they make me hempen ropes; the length of each one of them shall be a thousand ells, and their thickness that of one's little finger. And bid the carpenters to make me cages for the young eagles: and deliver over Ubael and Tabshelim, the two boys, who do not yet know how to talk, and let them teach them to say on this wise: "Give the builders mud, mortar, tiles, bricks, for they are idle."' "

6. And Eshfagni my wife did all that I commissioned her: then I said to the king: 'Command, my lord, and send me that I go to Egypt.' And when the king commanded me to go, I took me a force of soldiers and went. 7. And when we came to the first halting-place, I let out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet and made the boys ride on them; and they took them and went up to a height, and the boys cried out as they had been taught, 'Mud, mortar, tiles, bricks supply to the builders who are idle.' Then I pulled them in again. 8. And when we came to Egypt, I went to the king's gate: and his nobles told the king, 'There is come the man whom the king of Assyria has sent.' And the king commanded and gave me a place to reside in; and on the following day I came in before him and worshipped him and inquired after his health.

9. And the king answered and said unto me, 'What is thy name?' And I said to him, 'My name is Abikam: one of the contemptible ants of the kingdom.' And the king answered and said to me, 'Am I thus despised of thy lord, that he has sent me a despised ant of his kingdom? Go, Abikam, to thy lodging, and come to me early in the morning.' 10. Then the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in red,' and the king dressed himself in fine linen, and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like unto Bel, and thy nobles are like unto his priests.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy lodging, and come to me on the morrow.'

11. And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in robes of white linen,' and the king himself put on white and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the sun, and thy nobles to his rays.' And again he said to me, 'Get thee to thy lodging, and come to me to-morrow.' 12. And again the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in black,' and the king put on crimson. And he commanded, and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam; and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the moon, and thy nobles to the stars.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy house: and come to me to-morrow.'

13. And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow dress in diverse and varied colours, and let the doors of the palace be covered with red hangings.' And the king himself was robed in fine needlework. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam? and my nobles, to what are they like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the month Nisan, and thy nobles to its flowers.' Then the king said to me, 'The first time thou didst compare me to Bel, and my nobles to his priests. 14. The second time thou hast compared me to the sun, and my nobles to its rays. The third time thou hast compared me to the moon, and my nobles to the stars. And the fourth time thou hast likened me to Nisan, and my nobles to the flowers thereof. And now tell me, Abikam, to what is thy lord like?'

15. And I answered and said to him, 'Be it far from me, my lord the king, that I should make mention of my lord Sennacherib, whilst thou art seated. 16. My lord Sennacherib is like [the God of Heaven] and his nobles to the lightnings that are in the clouds: for when he wills, he fashions the rain and the dew [and] the hail; and if he thunders, he restrains the sun from rising, and its rays from being seen; and he will restrain Bel from coming in and from going forth in the street, and his nobles from being seen; and he will hinder the moon from rising and the stars from appearing.' 17. And when the king heard these things he was exceeding wroth, and said to me, 'By the life of thy lord, I adjure thee tell me what is thy name?' 18. And I answered and said to him, 'I am Ahikar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh.'

19. And the king said to me, 'Did I not certainly hear that thy lord had killed thee?' And I said to him, 'I am yet alive, my lord the king: and God saved me from something which my hands did not.' 20. And the king said to me, 'Go, Ahikar, to thy house, and come to me to-morrow, and tell me a word which I never heard nor any one of my nobles, and which was never heard in the city of my kingdom.'

CHAPTER 7

1. Then I sat down and meditated in my heart and wrote a letter as follows: 'From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. 2. 'Kings have need of kings and brethren of brethren: and at this time my gifts are become scant, because silver is scarce in my treasury: command, therefore, to send me from thy treasury 900 talents of silver, and in a little while I will return them to their place.' 3. This letter, then, I folded and held it in my hands: and the king commanded and I came into his presence, and I said to him, 'Perhaps in this letter there is a word that was never heard by thee.' And when I read it before the king and before his nobles, they cried out, as they were ordered by the king to do, and said, 'This has been heard by all of us, and it is so.'

4. Whereupon I said to them, 'Behold, [in that case] there is a debt of 900 talents from Egypt to Assyria.' And when the king heard this, he marvelled. 5. Then he said to me, 'I am planning to build a castle between earth and heaven. Its height from the earth shall be one thousand fathoms.' 6. Then I brought out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet, and set the boys on their backs; and they were saying, 'Provide mud, mortar; [foreman, mix] tiles and bricks for the builders, because they are idle.' And when the king saw it, he was confounded. 7. Then I, Ahikar, took a switch and beat the king's nobles, till they all took to flight. Then the king was indignant with me, and said to me, 'Thou art gone clean mad, Ahikar: who is able to carry up anything to these boys?'

8. And I said to him, 'Concerning the affairs of Sennacherib my lord, say ye nothing; for if he had been at hand, he would have built a couple of castles in one day.' And the king said to me, 'Have done with the castle, Ahikar, and go to thy lodging; and in the morning come to me.' 9. And when it was morning, I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'Explain to me, Ahikar, the following matter. The horse of thy lord neighs in Assyria, and our mares hear his voice here, and their foals miscarry.' 10. Then I went

forth from the king's presence, and commanded my servants to catch me a cat, and I whipped it in the streets of the city; and when the Egyptians saw it, they went and told the king that 'Aḥikar has acted contemptuously of our people and makes mock of us. For he has caught a cat and whips it in the streets of our city.'

11. And the king sent for me and called me; and I came into his presence. 12. 13. And he said to me, 'In what way art thou insulting us?' and I answered and said to him, 'This cat has seriously damaged me in no slight matter; for a cock had been entrusted to me by my lord, whose voice was extremely beautiful, and by the time that he crowed I understood that my lord wished for me, and I went to the gate of my lord. And in this past night this cat went to Assyria and tore off the head of this cock of mine and returned.' And the king answered and said to me, 'As far as I can see, Aḥikar, since thou art grown old thou art become stark mad. For it is 360 parasangs from here to Assyria; and how canst thou say that in a single night this cat went and cut off the head of the cock and came back?'

14. Then I said to him, 'And if it is 360 parasangs from Egypt to Assyria, how do thy mares in this place hear the voice of the horse of my lord, and their foals miscarry?' 15. And when the king heard this, he was sore vexed, and he said to me, 'Aḥikar, expound to me this riddle: A pillar has on its head twelve cedars; in every cedar there are thirty wheels, and in every wheel two cables, one white and one black.' 16. And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, the ox-herds in our country understand this riddle that thou tellest. The pillar of which thou hast spoken to me is the year; the twelve cedars are the twelve months of the year; the thirty wheels are the thirty days of the month; the two cables, one white and one black, are the day and the night.'

17. Again he said to me, 'Twine me five cables from the sand of the river.' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, bid them bring me from thy treasury one rope of sand, and I will make one to match it.' Then he said to me, 'Unless thou do this, I will not give thee the Egyptian tribute.' 18. Thereupon I sat down and calculated in my heart how I should do it. And I went out from the king's palace and bored five holes in the eastern wall of the palace. 19. And when the sun entered the holes I scattered sand in them, and the sun's path began to appear as if [the sand] were twined in the holes. Then I said to

the king; 'My lord, bid them take up these, and I will weave you others in their stead.' And when the king and his nobles saw it, they were amazed.

20. And again the king commanded to bring me an upper millstone that was broken: and he said to me, 'Aḥikar, sew up for us this broken millstone.' Then I went and brought a nether millstone, and cast it down before the king and said to him, 'My lord the king, since I am a stranger here, and have not the tools of my craft with me, bid the cobblers cut me strips (?) from this lower millstone which is the fellow of the upper millstone; and forthwith I will sew it together.' 21. And when the king heard it, he laughed and said, 'The day in which Ahikar was born shall be blessed before the God of Egypt; and since I have seen thee alive, I will make it a great and appropriate day.' 22. Then he gave me the revenue of Egypt for three years, and straightway I returned and came to my lord the king Sennacherib: and he came forth to meet me and received me.

23. And he made it a great day and set me at the head of his household: and he said to me, 'Ask what thou wilt, Ahikar'; and I worshipped the king and said, 'Whatever thou wilt to give me, bestow it upon Nabusemakh...'; because he gave me my life; and for myself, my lord, bid them give me my son Nadan, that I may teach him a further lesson. For he has forgotten my former teaching.' 24. 25. And the king commanded and gave me my son Nadan; and the king said to me, 'Go thy way, Ahikar, and work thy will on thy son Nadan; for no man shall rescue his body from thy hands.' Thereupon I took Nadan my son, and brought him to my house; and I bound him with iron chains whose weight was twenty talents, and I fastened the chains in rings, and I fastened collars on his neck; and I struck him one thousand blows on the shoulders and a thousand and one on his loins; and I put him in the porch of the door of my palace, and gave him bread by weight and water by measure.

26. And I delivered him to my boy Nabuel to guard, and told my boy, 'Write down in a tablet whatever I say to my son Nadan, when I go in or come out.' And I answered and said to my son Nadan as follows:

CHAPTER 8

2. as for me, my righteousness has saved me. 3. Thou hast been to me, my son, like a scorpion, which strikes at a rock. And the rock said to it, "Thou hast struck at an unconcerned heart." And it struck at a needle, and they say to it, "Thou hast struck at a sting worse than thy own." 4. My son, thou hast

been to me like a gazelle that was standing over a sumach-tree and eating it. And the sumach-tree said to it, "Why eatest thou me, seeing that they tan thy skin with me?" And the gazelle said, "I eat thee in my life, and when I am dead they will pluck thee up by thy roots." 5. My son, thou hast been to me like the man that threw a stone at the heaven, and it did not reach the heaven; but he incurred sin against God.

6. My son, thou hast been like the man who saw his companion shivering from cold, and took a pitcher of water and threw it over him. In the primitive sense of 'almsgiving'? Apparently the point of the story is missed, which is that the sumach-tree has its revenge on the gazelle: 'thy skin shall be dyed with my roots presently.' 7. My son, not when thou hadst killed me, wouldst thou have been able to stand in my place; for be well aware, my son, that even if the tail of the swine should grow to seven ells, he would never take the place of the horse: and even if his hair should become soft and woolly, he would never ride on the back of a free man. 8. My son, I said that thou shouldst be in my place; and thou shouldst acquire my house and my wealth, and inherit them. But God was not pleased therewith and has not heard thy voice.

9. My son, thou hast been to me as the lion that came upon an ass in the morning of the day and said to him, "Welcome, my lord Kyrios." But the ass said to him, "May the same welcome that thou givest me be the portion of him that tied me up last night, and did not make my halter fast, so that I had not seen thy face." 10. My son, a snare was set upon a dunghill, and there came a sparrow and looked at it and said, "What doest thou here?" And the snare said, "I am praying to God." The sparrow said, "And what is that in thy mouth?" The snare said, "Bread for guests." Then the sparrow drew near and took it, and the snare caught him by the neck. And the sparrow said, as he was being shaken, "If this is thy bread for guests, may the God to whom thou prayest never listen to thy voice."

11. My son, thou hast been to me as an ox that was bound with a lion; and the lion turned and crushed him. 12. My son, thou hast been to me like the weevil that is in the corn, which destroys kings' granaries, and is itself of no account. 13. My son, thou hast been to me like the pot, to which they made golden handles, but its bottom was not cleansed from blackness. 14. My son, thou hast been to me like a husbandman that sowed a field with twenty measures of barley; and when he reaped it, it made him twenty measures.

And he said to it: "What I scattered, I have gathered, but thou art shamed with thine evil name, in that thou hast made a bushel into a bushel: and I, [how] am I to live?" 15. My son, thou hast been to me like the... bird that could not save himself from death, and by his voice slaughtered his companions.

16. My son, thou hast been to me like the buck that led his companions into the slaughterhouse; and yet he did not save his own life. 17. – 20. My son, thou hast been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them. My son, thou hast been to me like the swine that had been to the baths, and when it saw a muddy ditch, went down and washed in it, and cried to its companions, "Come and wash." My son, my finger is upon thy mouth, and thy finger is upon my eyes. Why have I brought thee up, thou jackal, that thy eyes look thus upon apples? My son, the dog that eats of his hunting will become the portion of wolves: and the hand that is not industrious shall be cut off from its shoulder: and the eye in which there is no vision the raven shall pluck it out.

21. What good hast thou done me, my son, that I remembered thee and that my soul had comfort in thee? My son, if the gods steal, by whom shall they make them to swear? 22. And a lion that steals a piece of land, how will he sit down and eat it? 23. My son, I caused thee to behold the face of the king, and brought thee to great honour: and thou hast chosen to do me evil. 24. My son, thou hast been to me like the tree that said to its woodcutters, "If there had not been somewhat from me in your hands, ye had not fallen upon me." 25. My son, thou hast been to me like the young swallows which fell out of their nest; and a cat caught them and said to them, "If it had not been for me, great evil would have befallen you." They answered and said to her, "Is that why thou hast put us in thy mouth?"

26. My son, thou hast been to me like the cat, to which they say, "Leave off thy thievish ways, and thou shalt go out from and come in to the king's palace, according to thy heart's wish." And she answered and said, "If I should have eyes of silver and ears of gold, I will not leave off my thieving." 27. My son, thou hast been to me like a serpent that was mounted on a thorn-bush and thrown into a river; and a wolf saw them and said to them: "Bad rides on bad, and worse than either carries them off." The serpent said to him, "If thou hadst been here, thou shouldst have paid the reckoning for

the she-goats and their young ones.” 28. My son, I have seen a shegoat brought into the slaughter-house, and because its time was not yet come, it returned to its place and saw its children and its children’s children. My son, I have seen colts that have become slayers of their mothers.

29. My son, I fed thee with every pleasant meat: and thou, my son, hast fed me with bread of ashes, and I was not satisfied therewith. 30. My son, I salved thee with sweet salves, and thou, my son, hast fouled my body with dust. 31. My son, I trained up thy stature like a cedar, but thou hast humbled me in my life, and hast made me drunken with thy wickedness. 32. My son, I raised thee like a tower and said, “If the enemy should come upon me, I will go up and dwell in thee”: and thou, when thou sawest my enemy, didst bow before him. 33. My son, thou hast been to me like the mole that came up out of the earth that he might get possession of the sun, because he had no eyes; and an eagle saw him and struck him and carried him off.’

34. My son Nadan answered and said to me, ‘My father Ahikar, such things be far from thee: do to me according to thy mercy: for God also forgives the fault of men: and thou also, forgive me this my folly: and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house, and I shall be called evil: but thou, devise not evil against me.’ 35. I answered and said to him, ‘My son, thou hast been to me like that palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river, and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, “Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs.” And its lord said unto it, “Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?”

36. My son, they say to the wolf, “Why dost thou follow after the sheep?” He said to them, “Their dust is exceeding good for my eyes.” Again they brought him into the school-house: the master said to him, “Aleph, Beth”; the wolf said, “Kid, Lamb.” 37. My son, I taught thee that there is a God: and thou risest up against good servants, and beatest those that have not sinned; and like as God has kept me alive on account of my righteousness so hath He destroyed thee for thy works. 38. My son, they set the head of the ass over a dish at the table, and he rolled off and fell in the dust. And they say, “He spites himself; he does not receive honour.” 39. My son, thou hast verified the proverb, which is current: “Call him whom thou hast begotten, thy son, and him whom thou hast purchased, thy slave.”

40. My son, the proverb is true that is current: “Take thy sister’s son under thy arm and dash him against a stone.” But God is He that hath kept me alive, and He will judge between us.’ 41. Thereat Nadan swelled up like a bag and died. And to him that doeth good, what is good shall be recompensed: and to him that doeth evil, what is evil shall be rewarded. And he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, filleth it with his own stature. And to God be glory, and His mercy be upon us. Amen. The proverbs of Ahikar the sage and secretary of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh are ended.

The Story of Ahikar (Arabic version)

5th century BC (earliest text); versions of the 1st-10th centuries AD

The story of Ahikar (Haiqar in the Arabic), the wise counsellor of the Assyrian kings, betrayed by his adopted nephew Nadan, together with his proverbs, as told in the Arabic version. It is a non-biblical story of the fifth century BC or earlier. This is the Arabic version in the translation by J. Rendel Harris, A. S. Lewis and F. C. Conybeare, with the Syriac and Armenian versions given beside it in the book.

CHAPTER 1

1. In the name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Source of Reason, we hereby begin with the help of the Most High God and His best guidance, to write the story of Haiqār the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqār the Sage. There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, King of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqār, and he was 2. Vizier of the king Sennacherib. He had a fine fortune and much goods, and he was skilful, wise, a philosopher, [in] knowledge, [in] opinion and [in] government, and he had married sixty women, and had built a castle for each of them. But with it all he had no child by any of these women, who might be his heir. 3. And he was very sad on account of this, and one day he assembled the astrologers and the learned men and the wizards and explained to them his condition and the matter of his barrenness. And they said to him, 'Go, sacrifice to the gods and beseech them that perchance they may provide thee with a boy.'

4. And he did as they told him and offered sacrifices to the idols, and besought them and implored them with request and entreaty. And they answered him not one word. And he went away sorrowful and dejected, departing with a pain at his heart. 5. And he returned, and implored the Most High God, and believed, beseeching Him with a burning in his heart, saying, 'O Most High God, O Creator of the Heavens and of the earth, O Creator of all created things! I beseech Thee to give me a boy, that I may be consoled by him, that he may be present at my death, that he may close my eyes,

and that he may bury me.' Then there came to him a voice saying, 'Inasmuch as thou hast relied first of all on graven images, and hast offered sacrifices to them, for this reason thou shalt remain childless thy life long.

6. But take Nadan thy sister's son, and make him thy child and teach him thy learning and thy good breeding, and at thy death he shall bury thee.' 7. Thereupon he took Nadan his sister's son, who was a little suckling. And he handed him over to eight wet-nurses, that they might suckle him and bring him up. 8. And they brought him up with good food and gentle training and silken clothing, and purple and crimson. 9. And he was seated upon couches of silk. And when Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar, he taught him good manners and writing and science and philosophy. 10. And after many days King Sennacherib looked at Haiqār and saw that he had grown very old, and moreover he said to him, 'O my honoured friend, the skilful, the trusty, the wise, the governor, my secretary, my vizier, my Chancellor' and director; verily thou art grown very old and weighted with years; and thy departure from this world must be near. Tell me who shall have a place in my service after thee.'

11. And Haiqār said to him, 'O my lord, may thy head live for ever! There is Nadan my sister's son, I have made him my child. And I have brought him up and taught him my wisdom and my knowledge.' 12. And the king said to him, 'O Haiqār! bring him to my presence, that I may see him, and if I find him suitable, put him in thy place; and thou shalt go thy way, to take a rest and to live the remainder of thy life in sweet repose.' 13. Then Haiqār went and presented Nadan his sister's son. And he did homage and wished him power and honour. And he looked at him and admired him and rejoiced in him and said to Haiqār: 'Is this thy son, O Haiqār? I pray that God may preserve him. And as thou hast served me and my father Sarhadum so may this boy of thine serve me and fulfil my undertakings, my needs, and my business, so that I may honour him and make him powerful for thy sake.'

14. And Haiqār did obeisance to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live, O my lord the king, for ever! I seek from thee that thou mayst be patient with my boy Nadan and forgive his mistakes that he may serve thee as it is fitting.' Then the king swore to him that he would make him the greatest of his favourites, and the most powerful of his friends, and that he should be with him in all honour and respect. 15. And he kissed his hands and bade him farewell. And he took Nadan his sister's son with him and

seated him in a parlour and set about teaching him night and day till he had crammed him with wisdom and knowledge more than with bread and water. Literally 'the sealer of my secrets', *passim*. Thus he taught him, saying:

CHAPTER 2

1. 'O my son! hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say. 2. O my son! if thou hearest a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it not to another, lest it become a live coal and burn thy tongue and cause a pain in thy body, and thou gain a reproach, and art shamed before God and man. 3. O my son! if thou hast heard a report, spread it not; and if thou hast seen something, tell it not. 4. O my son! make thy eloquence easy to the listener, and be not hasty to return an answer. 5. O my son! when thou hast heard anything, hide it not. 6. O my son! loose not a sealed knot, nor untie it, and seal not a loosened knot. 7. O my son! covet not outward beauty, for it wanes and passes away, but an honourable remembrance lasts for aye.

8. O my son! let not a silly woman deceive thee with her speech, lest thou die the most miserable of deaths, and she entangle thee in the net till thou art ensnared. 9. O my son! desire not a woman bedizened with dress and with ointments, who is despicable and silly in her soul. Woe to thee if thou bestow on her anything that is thine, or commit to her what is in thine hand and she entice thee into sin, and God be wroth with thee. 10. O my son! be not like the almond-tree, for it brings forth leaves before all the trees, and edible fruit after them all, but be like the mulberry-tree, which brings forth edible fruit before all the trees, and leaves after them all. 11. O my son! bend thy head low down, and soften thy voice, and be courteous, and walk in the straight path, and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest, for if it were by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass would build many houses every day; and if it were by dint of strength that the plough were driven, the plough would never be removed from under the shoulders of the camels.

12. O my son! the removing of stones with a wise man is better than the drinking of wine with a sorry man. 13. O my son! pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people. 14. O my son! cleave to wise men who fear God and be like them, and go not near the ignorant, lest thou become like him and learn his ways. 15. O my son! when thou hast got thee a comrade or a friend, try him, and afterwards make him a comrade and a friend; and do not praise him without a trial; and

do not spoil thy speech with a man who lacks wisdom. 16. O my son! while a shoe stays on thy foot, walk with it on the thorns, and make a road for thy son, and for thy household and thy children, and make thy ship taut before she goes on the sea and its waves and sinks and cannot be saved.

17. [O my son! if the rich man eat a snake, they say “It is by his wisdom”, and if a poor man eat it, the people say “From his hunger”.] 18. O my son! be content with thy daily bread and thy goods, and covet not what is another’s. 19. O my son! be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him, and rejoice not in the calamities of thy neighbours. If thine enemy wrong thee, show him kindness. 20. O my son! a man who fears God do thou fear him and honour him. 21. O my son! the ignorant man falls and stumbles, and the wise man, even if he stumbles, he is not shaken, and even if he falls he gets up quickly, and if he is sick, he can take care of his life. But as for the ignorant, stupid man, for his disease there is no drug.

22. O my son! if a man approach thee who is inferior to thyself, go forward to meet him, and remain standing, and if he cannot recompense thee, his Lord will recompense thee for him. 23. O my son! spare not to beat thy son, for the drubbing of thy son is like manure to the garden, and like tying the mouth of a purse, and like the tethering of beasts, and like the bolting of the door. 24. O my son! restrain thy son from wickedness, and teach him manners before he rebels against thee and brings thee into contempt amongst the people and thou hang thy head in the streets and the assemblies and thou be punished for the evil of his wicked deeds. 25. O my son! get thee a fat ox with a foreskin, and an ass great with its hoofs, and get not an ox with large horns, nor make friends with a tricky man, nor get a quarrelsome slave, nor a thievish handmaid, for everything which thou committest to them they will ruin.

26. O my son! let not thy parents curse thee, and the Lord be pleased with them; for it hath been said, “He who despiseth his father or his mother let him die the death (I mean the death of sin); and he who honoureth his parents shall prolong his days and his life and shall see all that is good.” 27. O my son! walk not on the road without weapons, for thou knowest not when the foe may meet thee, so that thou mayst be ready for him. 28. O my son! be not like a bare, leafless tree that doth not grow, but be like a tree covered with its leaves and its boughs; for the man who has neither wife nor children is disgraced in the world and is hated by them, like a leafless and fruitless

tree. 29. O my son! be like a fruitful tree on the roadside, whose fruit is eaten by all who pass by, and the beasts of the desert rest under its shade and eat of its leaves.

30. O my son! every sheep that wanders from its path and its companions becomes food for the wolf. 31. O my son! say not, "My lord is a fool and I am wise," and relate not the speech of ignorance and folly, lest thou be despised by him. 32. O my son! be not one of those servants, to whom their lords say, "Get away from us," but be one of those to whom they say, "Approach and come near to us." 33. (O my son! caress not thy slave in the presence of his companion, for thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end.) 34. O my son! be not afraid of thy Lord who created thee, lest He be silent to thee. 35. O my son! make thy speech fair and sweeten thy tongue; and permit not thy companion to tread on thy foot, lest he tread at another time on thy breast.

36. O my son! if thou beat a wise man with a word of wisdom, it will lurk in his breast like a subtle sense of shame; but if thou drub the ignorant with a stick he will neither understand nor hear. 37. O my son! if thou send a wise man for thy needs, do not give him many orders, for he will do thy business as thou desirest: and if thou send a fool, do not order him, but go thyself and do thy business, for if thou order him, he will not do what thou desirest. If they send thee on business, hasten to fulfil it quickly. 38. O my son! make not an enemy of a man stronger than thyself, for he will take thy measure, and his revenge on thee. 39. O my son! make trial of thy son, and of thy servant, before thou committest thy belongings to them, lest they make away with them; for he who hath a full hand is called wise, even if he be stupid and ignorant, and he who hath an empty hand is called poor, ignorant, even if he be the prince of sages.

40. O my son! I have eaten a colocynth, and swallowed aloes, and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity. 41. O my son! teach thy son frugality and hunger, that he may do well in the management of his household. 42. O my son! teach not to the ignorant the language of wise men, for it will be burdensome to him. 43. O my son! display not thy condition to thy friend, lest thou be despised by him. 44. O my son! the blindness of the heart is more grievous than the blindness of the eyes, for the blindness of the eye may be guided little by little, but the blindness of the heart is not guided, and it leaves the straight path, and goes in a crooked way. 45. O my

son! the stumbling of a man with his foot is better than the stumbling of a man with his tongue.

46. O my son! a friend who is near is better than a more excellent brother who is far away. 47. O my son! beauty fades but learning lasts, and the world wanes and becomes vain, but a good name neither becomes vain nor wanes. 48. O my son! the man who hath no rest, his death were better than his life; and the sound of weeping is better than the sound of singing; for sorrow and weeping, if the fear of God be in them, are better than the sound of singing and rejoicing. 49. O my child! the thigh of a frog in thy hand is better than a goose in the pot of thy neighbour; and a sheep near thee is better than an ox far away; and a sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand sparrows flying; and poverty which gathers is better than the scattering of much provision; and a living fox is better than a dead lion; and a pound of wool is better than a pound of wealth, I mean of gold and silver; for the gold and the silver are hidden and covered up in the earth, and are not seen; but the wool stays in the markets and it is seen, and it is a beauty to him who wears it.

50. O my son! a small fortune is better than a scattered fortune. 51. O my son! a living dog is better than a dead poor man. 52. O my son! a poor man who does right is better than a rich man who is dead in sins. 53. O my son! keep a word in thy heart, and it shall be much to thee, and beware lest thou reveal the secret of thy friend. 54. O my son! let not a word issue from thy mouth till thou hast taken counsel with thy heart. And stand not betwixt persons quarrelling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and thou wilt be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest thyself. 55. O my son! withstand not a man stronger than thyself, but get thee a patient spirit, and endurance and an upright conduct, for there is nothing more excellent than that.

56. O my son! hate not thy first friend, for the second one may not last. 57. O my son! visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the Sultan's presence, and do thy diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion. 58. O my son! rejoice not in the death of thine enemy, for after a little while thou shalt be his neighbour, and him who mocks thee do thou respect and honour and be beforehand with him in greeting. 59. O my son! if water would stand still in heaven, and a black crow become white, and myrrh grow sweet as honey, then ignorant men and fools might understand and become wise.

60. O my son! if thou desire to be wise, restrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from stealing, and thine eyes from beholding evil; then thou wilt be called wise.

61. O my son! let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve. Be humble in thy youth and thou shalt be honoured in thine old age. 62. O my son! withstand not a man in the days of his power, nor a river in the days of its flood. 63. O my son! be not hasty in the wedding of a wife, for if it turns out well, she will say, 'My lord, make provision for me'; and if it turns out ill, she will rate at him who was the cause of it. 64. (O my son! whosoever is elegant in his dress, he is the same in his speech; and he who has a mean appearance in his dress, he also is the same in his speech.) 65. O my son! if thou hast committed a theft, make it known to the Sultan, and give him a share of it, that thou mayst be delivered from him, for otherwise thou wilt endure bitterness.

66. O my son! make a friend of the man whose hand is satisfied and filled, and make no friend of the man whose hand is closed and hungry. 67. There are four things in which neither the king nor his army can be secure: oppression by the vizier, and bad government, and perversion of the will, and tyranny over the subject; and four things which cannot be hidden: the prudent, and the foolish, and the rich, and the poor.

CHAPTER 3

1. 2. Thus spake Haiqār, and when he had finished these injunctions and proverbs to Nadan, his sister's son, he imagined that he would keep them all, and he knew not that instead of that he was displaying to him weariness and contempt and mockery. Thereafter Haiqār sat still in his house and delivered over to Nadan all his goods, and the slaves, and the hand-maidens, and the horses, and the cattle, and everything else that he had possessed and gained; and the power of bidding and of forbidding remained in the hand of Nadan; and Haiqār sat at rest in his house, and every now and then Haiqār went and paid his respects to the king, and returned home. Now when Nadan perceived that the power of bidding and of forbidding was in his own hand, he despised the position of Haiqār and scoffed at him, and set about blaming him whenever he appeared, saying, 'My uncle Haiqār is in his dotage, and he knows nothing now'; and he began to beat the slaves and the handmaidens, and to sell the horses and the camels and be spendthrift with all that his uncle Haiqār had owned.

3. And when Haiqār saw that he had no compassion on his servants nor on his household, he arose and chased him from his house, and sent to inform the king that he had scattered his possessions and his provision. 4. 5. And the king arose and called Nadan and said to him: 'Whilst Haiqār remains in health, no one shall rule over his goods, nor over his household, nor over his possessions.' And the hand of Nadan was lifted off from his uncle Haiqār and from all his goods, and in the meantime he went neither in nor out, nor did he greet him. 6. Thereupon Haiqār repented him of his toil with Nadan his sister's son, and he continued to be very sorrowful. And Nadan had a younger brother named Benuzārdān, so Haiqār took him to himself in place of Nadan, and brought him up and honoured him with the utmost honour. And he delivered over to him all that he possessed, and made him governor of his house.

7. Now when Nadan perceived what had happened he was seized with envy and jealousy, and he began to complain to every one who questioned him, and to mock his uncle Haiqār, saying: 'My uncle has chased me from his house, and has preferred my brother to me, but if the Most High God give me the power, I shall bring upon him the misfortune of being killed.' And Nadan continued to meditate as to the stumbling-block he might contrive for him. And after a while Nadan turned it over in his mind, and wrote a letter to Achish, son of Shah the Wise, king of Persia, saying thus; 8. 'Peace and health and might and honour from Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, and from his vizier and his secretary Haiqār unto thee, O great king! Let there be peace between thee and me. And when this letter reaches thee, if thou wilt arise and go quickly to the plain of Nisrin, and to Assyria and Nineveh, I will deliver up the kingdom to thee without war and without battle-array.'

9. And he wrote also another letter in the name of Haiqār to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 'Let there be peace between thee and me, O mighty king! If at the time of this letter reaching thee thou wilt arise and go to Assyria and Nineveh to the plain of Nisrin, I will deliver up to thee the kingdom without war and without fighting.' 10. And the writing of Nadan was like to the writing of his uncle Haiqār. Then he folded the two letters, and sealed them with the seal of his uncle Haiqār; they were nevertheless in the king's palace. 11. 12. Then he went and wrote a letter likewise from the king to his uncle Haiqār: 'Peace and health to my Vizier, my Secretary, my Chancellor,

Haiqār. O Haiqār, when this letter reaches thee, assemble all the soldiers who are with thee, and let them be perfect in clothing and in numbers, and bring them to me on the fifth day in the plain of Nisrin, and when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me the ambassadors of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they may see the strength of our army and may fear us, for they are our enemies and they hate us.'

13. Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Haiqār by one of the king's servants. And he took the other letter which he had written and spread it before the king and read it to him and showed him the seal. And when the king heard what was in the letter he was perplexed with a great perplexity and was wroth with a great and fierce wrath, and said, 'Ah, I have shown my wisdom! what have I done to Haiqār that he has written these letters to my enemies? Is this my recompense from him for my benefits to him?' 14. And Nadan said to him, 'Be not grieved, O king! nor be wroth, but let us go to the plain of Nisrin and see if the tale be true or not.' 15. Then Nadan arose on the fifth day and took the king and the soldiers and the vizier, and they went to the desert to the plain of Nisrin. And the king looked, and lo! Haiqār and the army were set in array. And when Haiqār saw that the king was there, he approached and signalled to the army to move as in war and to fight in array against the king as it had been found in the letter, he not knowing what a pit Nadan had digged for him. And when the king saw the act of Haiqār he was seized with anxiety and terror and perplexity, and was wroth with a great wrath.

16. And Nadan said to him, 'Hast thou seen, O my lord the king! what this wretch has done? but be not thou wroth and be not grieved nor pained, but go to thy house and sit on thy throne, and I will bring Haiqār to thee bound and chained with chains, and I will chase away thine enemy from thee without toil.' And the king returned to his throne, being provoked about Haiqār, and did nothing concerning him. And Nadan went to Haiqār and said to him, 'W'allah, O my uncle! The king verily rejoiceth in thee with great joy and thanks thee for having done what he commanded thee. And now he hath sent me to thee that thou mayst dismiss the soldiers to their duties and come thyself to him with thy hands bound behind thee, and thy feet chained, that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see this, and that the king may be feared by them and by their king.' Then answered Haiqār and said,

‘To hear is to obey.’ And he arose straightway and bound his hands behind him, and chained his feet.

CHAPTER 4

1. And Nadan took him and went with him to the king. And when Haiqār entered the king’s presence he did obeiance before him on the ground, and wished for power and perpetual life to the king. Then said the king, ‘O Haiqār, my Secretary, the Governor of my affairs, my Chancellor, the ruler of my State, tell me what evil have I done to thee that thou hast rewarded me by this ugly deed.’ 2. Then they showed him the letters in his writing and with his seal. And when Haiqār saw this, his limbs trembled and his tongue was tied at once, and he was unable to speak a word from fear; but he hung his head towards the earth and was dumb. And when the king saw this, he felt certain that the thing was from him, and he straightway arose and commanded them to kill Haiqār, and to strike his neck with the sword outside of the city.

3. Then Nadan screamed and said, ‘O Haiqār, O blackface! what avails thee thy meditation or thy power in the doing of this deed to the king?’ 4. Thus says the story-teller. And the name of the swordsman was Ibn Samik. And the king said to him, ‘O swordsman! arise, go, cleave the neck of Haiqār at the door of his house, and cast away his head from his body a hundred cubits.’ 5. Then Haiqār knelt before the king, and said, ‘Let my lord the king live for ever! and if thou desire to slay me, let thy wish be [fulfilled]; and I know that I am not guilty, but the wicked man has to give an account of his wickedness; nevertheless, O my lord the king! I beg of thee and of thy friendship, permit the swordsman to give my body to my slaves, that they may bury me, and let thy slave be thy sacrifice.’

6. – 9. The king arose and commanded the swordsman to do with him according to his desire. And he straightway commanded his servants to take Haiqār and the swordsman and to go with him naked that they might slay him. And when Haiqār knew for certain that he was to be slain he sent to his wife and said to her, ‘Come out and meet me, and let there be with thee a thousand young virgins, and dress them in gowns of purple and silk that they may weep for me before my death. And prepare a table for the swordsman and for his servants. And mingle plenty of wine, that they may drink.’ And she did all that he commanded her. And she was very wise, clever, and prudent. And she united all possible courtesy and learning. And when the

army of the king and the swordsman arrived they found the table set in order, and the wine and the luxurious viands, and they began eating and drinking till they were gorged and drunken. Then Haiqār took the swordsman aside apart from the company and said, 'O Abu Samik, dost thou not know that when Sarhadum the king, the father of Sennacherib, wanted to kill thee. I took thee and hid thee in a certain place till the king's anger subsided and he asked for thee? And when I brought thee into his presence he rejoiced in thee: and now remember the kindness I did thee.

10. And I know that the king will repent him about me and will be wroth with a great wrath about my execution. For I am not guilty, and it shall be when thou shalt present me before him in his palace, thou shalt meet with great good fortune, and know that Nadan my sister's son has deceived me and has done this bad deed to me, and the king will repent of having slain me; and now I have a cellar in the garden of my house, and no one knows of it. 11. Hide me in it with the knowledge of my wife. And I have a slave in prison who deserves to be killed. Bring him out and dress him in my clothes, and command the servants when they are drunk to slay him. They will not know who it is they are killing. 12. And cast away his head a hundred cubits from his body, and give his body to my slaves that they may bury it. And thou shalt have laid up a great treasure with me. And then the swordsman did as Haiqār had commanded him, and he went to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live for ever!'

13. Then Haiqār's wife let down to him in the hiding-place every week what sufficed for him, and no one knew of it but herself. And the story was reported and repeated and spread abroad in every place of how Haiqār the Sage had been slain and was dead, and all the people of that city mourned for him. And they wept and said: 'Alas for thee, O Haiqār! and for thy learning and thy courtesy! How sad about thee and about thy knowledge! Where can another like thee be found? and where can there be a man so intelligent, so learned, so skilled in ruling as to resemble thee that he may fill thy place?' But the king was repenting about Haiqār, and his repentance availed him naught. 14. 15. Then he called for Nadan and said to him, 'Go and take thy friends with thee and make a mourning and a weeping for thy uncle Haiqār, and lament for him as the custom is, doing honour to his memory.' But when Nadan, the foolish, the ignorant, the hard-hearted, went to the house of his uncle, he neither wept nor sorrowed nor wailed, but assembled heart-

less and dissolute people and set about eating and drinking. And Nadan began to seize the maidservants and the slaves belonging to Haiqār, and bound them and tortured them and drubbed them with a sore drubbing.

16. 17. And he did not respect the wife of his uncle, she who had brought him up like her own boy, but wanted her to fall into sin with him. But Haiqār had been cast into the hiding-place, and he heard the weeping of his slaves and his neighbours, and he praised the Most High God, the Merciful One, and gave thanks, and he always prayed and besought the Most High God. 18. And the swordsman came from time to time to Haiqār whilst he was in the midst of the hiding-place: and Haiqār came and entreated him. And he comforted him and wished him deliverance. 19. And when the story was reported in other countries that Haiqār the Sage had been slain, all the kings were grieved and despised king Sennacherib, and they lamented over Haiqār the solver of riddles.

CHAPTER 5

1. And when the king of Egypt had made sure that Haiqār was slain, he arose straightway and wrote a letter to king Sennacherib, reminding him in it 'of the peace and the health and the might and the honour which we wish specially for thee, my beloved brother, king Sennacherib. 2. 3. I have been desiring to build a castle between the heaven and the earth, and I want thee to send me a wise, clever man from thyself to build it for me, and to answer me all my questions, and that I may have the taxes and the custom duties of Assyria for three years.' Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Sennacherib. He took it and read it and gave it to his viziers and to the nobles of his kingdom, and they were perplexed and ashamed, and he was wroth with a great wrath, and was puzzled about how he should act.

4. Then he assembled the old men and the learned men and the wise men and the philosophers, and the diviners and the astrologers, and every one who was in his country, and read them the letter and said to them, 'Who amongst you will go to Pharaoh king of Egypt and answer him his questions?' 5. And they said to him, 'O our lord the king! know thou that there is none in thy kingdom who is acquainted with these questions except Haiqār, thy vizier and secretary. 6. But as for us, we have no skill in this, unless it be Nadan, his sister's son, for he taught him all his wisdom and learning and knowledge. Call him to thee, perchance he may untie this hard knot.' Then the king called Nadan and said to him, 'Look at this letter and understand

what is in it.' And when Nadan read it, he said, 'O my lord! who is able to build a castle between the heaven and the earth?'

7. And when the king heard the speech of Nadan he sorrowed with a great and sore sorrow, and stepped down from his throne and sat in the ashes, and began to weep and wail over Haiqār, saying, 'O my grief! O Haiqār, who didst know the secrets and the riddles! woe is me for thee, O Haiqār! O teacher of my country and ruler of my kingdom, where shall I find thy like? O Haiqār, O teacher of my country, where shall I turn for thee? woe is me for thee! how did I destroy thee! and I listened to the talk of a stupid, ignorant boy without knowledge, without religion, without manliness. Ah! and again Ah for myself! who can give thee to me just for once, or bring me word that Haiqār is alive? and I would give him the half of my kingdom. Whence is this to me? Ah, Haiqār! that I might see thee just for once, that I might take my fill of gazing at thee, and delighting in thee. Ah! O my grief for thee to all time! O Haiqār, how have I killed thee! and I tarried not in thy case till I had seen the end of the matter.' And the king went on weeping night and day.

8. Now when the swordsman saw the wrath of the king and his sorrow for Haiqār, his heart was softened towards him, and he approached into his presence and said to him: 'O my lord! command thy servants to cut off my head.' Then said the king to him: 'Woe to thee, Abu Samik, what is thy fault?' And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my master! every slave who acts contrary to the word of his master is killed, and I have acted contrary to thy command.' Then the king said unto him, 'Woe unto thee, O Abu Samik, in what hast thou acted contrary to my command?' And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my lord! 9. – 11. thou didst command me to kill Haiqār, and I knew that thou wouldst repent thee concerning him, and that he had been wronged, and I hid him in a certain place, and I killed one of his slaves, and he is now safe in the cistern, and if thou command me I will bring him to thee.' And the king said unto him, 'Woe to thee, O Abu Samik! thou hast mocked me and I am thy lord.' And the swordsman said unto him, 'Nay, but by the life of thy head, O my lord! Haiqār is safe and alive.' And when the king heard that saying, he felt sure of the matter, and his head swam, and he fainted from joy, and he commanded [them] to bring [Haiqār]. And he said to the swordsman, 'O trusty servant! if thy speech be true, I would fain enrich thee, and exalt thy dignity above that of all thy friends.' And the swordsman went

along rejoicing till he came to Haiqār's house. And he opened the door of the hiding-place, and went down and found Haiqār sitting, praising God, and thanking Him. And he shouted to him, saying, 'O Haiqār, I bring the greatest of joy, and happiness, and delight!' And Haiqār said to him, 'What is the news, O Abu Samik?' And he told him all about Pharaoh from the beginning to the end. Then he took him and went to the king. And when the king looked at him, he saw him in a state of want, and that his hair had grown long like the wild beasts' and his nails like the claws of an eagle, and that his body was dirty with dust, and the colour of his face had changed and faded and was now like ashes.

12. And when the king saw him he sorrowed over him and rose at once and embraced him and kissed him, and wept over him and said: 'Praise be to God! who hath brought thee back to me.' Then he consoled him and comforted him. And he stripped off his robe, and put it on the swordsman, and was very gracious to him, and gave him great wealth, and made Haiqār rest. 13. 14. Then said Haiqār to the king, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! These be the deeds of the children of the world. I have reared me a palm-tree that I might lean on it, and it bent sideways, and threw me down. But, O my lord! since I have appeared before thee, let not care oppress thee.' And the king said to him: 'Blessed be God, who showed thee mercy, and knew that thou wast wronged, and saved thee and delivered thee from being slain. But go to the warm bath, and shave thy head, and cut thy nails, and change thy clothes, and amuse thyself for the space of forty days, that thou mayst do good to thyself and improve thy condition and the colour of thy face may come back to thee.'

15. Then the king stripped off his costly robe, and put it on Haiqār, and Haiqār thanked God and did obeisance to the king, and departed to his dwelling glad and happy, praising the Most High God. And the people of his household rejoiced with him, and his friends and every one who heard that he was alive rejoiced also.

CHAPTER 6

1. 2. And he did as the king commanded him, and took a rest for forty days. Then he dressed himself in his gayest dress, and went riding to the king, with his slaves behind him and before him, rejoicing and delighted. But when Nadan his sister's son perceived what was happening, fear took hold of him and terror, and he was perplexed, not knowing what to do. And when

Haiqār saw it he entered into the king's presence and greeted him, and he returned the greeting, and made him sit down at his side, saying to him, 'O my darling Haiqār! look at these letters which the king of Egypt sent to us, after he had heard that thou wast slain. They have provoked us and overcome us, and many of the people of our country have fled to Egypt for fear of the taxes that the king of Egypt has sent to demand from us.' Then Haiqār took the letter and read it and understood all its contents. Then he said to the king, 'Be not wroth, O my lord! I will go to Egypt, and I will return the answers to Pharaoh, and I will display this letter to him, and I will reply to him about the taxes, and I will send back all those who have run away; and I will put thy enemies to shame with the help of the Most High God, and for the happiness of thy kingdom.'

3. And when the king heard this speech from Haiqār he rejoiced with a great joy, and his heart was expanded and he showed him favour. And Haiqār said to the king: 'Grant me a delay of forty days that I may consider this question and manage it.' And the king permitted this. 4. And Haiqār went to his dwelling, and he commanded the huntsmen to capture two young eaglets for him, and they captured them and brought them to him: and he commanded the weavers of ropes to weave two cables of cotton for him, each of them two thousand cubits long, and he had the carpenters brought and ordered them to make two great boxes, and they did this. 5. Then he took two little lads, and spent every day sacrificing lambs and feeding the eagles and the boys, and making the boys ride on the backs of the eagles, and he bound them with a firm knot, and tied the cable to the feet of the eagles, and let them soar upwards little by little every day, to a distance of ten cubits, till they grew accustomed and were educated to it; and they rose all the length of the rope till they reached the sky; the boys being on their backs. Then he drew them to himself.

6. And when Haiqār saw that his desire was fulfilled he charged the boys that when they were borne aloft to the sky they were to shout, saying, 'Bring us clay and stone, that we may build a castle for king Pharaoh, for we are idle.' And Haiqār was never done training them and exercising them till they had reached the utmost possible point (of skill). Then leaving them he went to the king and said to him, 'O my lord! the work is finished according to thy desire. Arise with me that I may show thee the wonder.' 7. So the king sprang up and sat with Haiqār and went to a wide place and sent to bring the

eagles and the boys, and Haiqār tied them and let them off into the air all the length of the ropes, and they began to shout as he had taught them. Then he drew them to himself and put them in their places. And the king and those who were with him wondered with a great wonder: and the king kissed Haiqār between his eyes and said to him, ‘Go in peace, O my beloved! O pride of my kingdom! to Egypt and answer the questions of Pharaoh and overcome him by the strength of the Most High God.’

8. 9. Then he bade him farewell, and took his troops and his army and the young men and the eagles, and went towards the dwellings of Egypt; and when he had arrived, he turned towards the country of the king. And when the people of Egypt knew that Sennacherib had sent a man of his Privy Council to talk with Pharaoh and to answer his questions, they carried the news to king Pharaoh, and he sent a party of his Privy Councillors to bring him before him. And he came and entered into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance to him as it is fitting to do to kings. And he said to him: ‘O my lord the king! Sennacherib the king hails thee with abundance of peace and might, and honour; and he has sent me, who am one of his slaves, that I may answer thee thy questions, and may fulfil all thy desire: for thou hast sent to seek from my lord the king a man who will build thee a castle between the heaven and the earth.

10. And I by the help of the Most High God and thy noble favour and the power of my lord the king will build [it] for thee as thou desirest. But, O my lord the king! what thou hast said in it about the taxes of Egypt for three years—now the stability of a kingdom is strict justice, and if thou winnest and my hand hath no skill in replying to thee, then my lord the king will send thee the taxes which thou hast mentioned, and if I shall have answered thee in thy questions, it shall remain for thee to send whatever thou hast mentioned to my lord the king.’ 11. And when Pharaoh heard that speech, he wondered and was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and the pleasantness of his speech. 12. – 14. And king Pharaoh said to him, ‘O man! what is thy name?’ And he said, ‘Thy servant is Abiqām, and I am a little ant of the ants of king Sennacherib.’ And Pharaoh said to him, ‘Had thy lord no one of higher dignity than thee, that he has sent me a little ant to reply to me, and to converse with me?’

15. 16. And Haiqār said to him, ‘O my lord the king! I would to God Most High that I may fulfil what is on thy mind, for God is with the weak that He

may confound the strong.' Then Pharaoh commanded that they should prepare a dwelling for Abiqâm and supply him with provender, meat, and drink, and all that he needed. And when it was finished, three days afterwards Pharaoh clothed himself in purple and red and sat on his throne, and all his viziers and the magnates of his kingdom were standing with their hands crossed, their feet close together, and their heads bowed. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Abiqâm, and when he was presented to him, he did obeisance before him, and kissed the ground in front of him. And king Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! thou art like the idol Bel, and the nobles of thy kingdom are like his servants.' He said to him, 'Go, and come back hither to-morrow.' So Haiqâr went as king Pharaoh had commanded him.

17. And on the morrow Haiqar went into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance, and stood before the king. 18. And Pharaoh was dressed in a red colour, and the nobles were dressed in white. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqam, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Abiqam said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the sun, and thy servants are like [its] beams.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go to thy dwelling, and come hither to-morrow.' 19. Then Pharaoh commanded his Court to wear pure white, and Pharaoh was dressed like them and sat upon his throne, and he commanded them to fetch Haiqar. And he entered and sat down before him. 20. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqam, whom am I like? and my nobles, to whom are they like?' And Abiqam said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the moon, and thy nobles are like the planets and the stars.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here.'

21. Then Pharaoh commanded his servants to wear robes of various colours, and Pharaoh wore a red velvet dress, and sat on his throne, and commanded them to fetch Abiqam. And he entered and did obeisance before him. 22. And he said, 'O Abiqam, whom am I like? and my armies, to whom are they like?' And he said, 'O my lord! thou art like the month of April, and thy armies are like its flowers. 23. And when the king heard it he rejoiced with a great joy, and said, 'O Abiqam! the first time thou didst compare me to the idol Bel, and my nobles to his servants. And the second time thou didst compare me to the sun, and my nobles to the sunbeams. And the third time thou didst compare me to the moon, and my nobles to the planets and

the stars. And the fourth time thou didst compare me to the month of April, and my nobles to its flowers.

24. But now, O Abiqam! tell me, thy lord, king Sennacherib, whom is he like? and his nobles, to whom are they like? And Haiqar shouted with a loud voice and said: 'Be it far from me to make mention of my lord the king and thou seated on thy throne. But get up on thy feet that I may tell thee whom my lord the king is like and to whom his nobles are like.' 25. And Pharaoh was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and his boldness in answering. Then Pharaoh arose from his throne, and stood before Haiqar, and said to him, 'Tell me now, that I may perceive whom thy lord the king is like, and his nobles, to whom they are like.' 26. And Haiqar said to him: 'My lord is the God of heaven, and his nobles are the lightnings and the thunder, and when he wills the winds blow and the rain falls. And he commands the thunder, and it lightens and rains, and he holds the sun, and it gives not its light, and the moon and the stars, and they circle not. And he commands the tempest, and it blows and the rain falls and it tramples on April and destroys its flowers and its houses.

27. And when Pharaoh heard this speech, he was greatly perplexed and was wroth with a great wrath, and said to him: 'O man! tell me the truth, and let me know who thou really art.' 28. And he told him the truth, 'I am Haiqâr the scribe, greatest of the Privy Councillors of king Sennacherib, and I am his vizier and the Governor of his kingdom, and his Chancellor.' 29. And he said to him, 'Thou hast told the truth in this saying. But we have heard of Haiqâr, that king Sennacherib has slain him, yet thou dost seem to be alive and well.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'Yes, so it was, but praise be to God, who knoweth what is hidden, for my lord the king commanded me to be killed, and he believed the word of profligate men, but the Lord delivered me, and blessed is he who trusteth in Him.'

30. And Pharaoh said to Haiqâr, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here, and tell me a word that I have never heard from my nobles nor from the people of my kingdom and my country.'

CHAPTER 7

1. And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and wrote a letter, saying in it on this wise: 'From Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 2. 'Peace be to thee, O my brother! and what we make known to thee by this is that a brother has need of his brother, and kings of each other, and

[my] hope from thee is that thou wouldst lend me nine hundred talents of gold, for I need it for the victualling of some of the soldiers, that I may spend [it] upon them. And after a little while I will send it thee.' Then he folded the letter, and presented it on the morrow to Pharaoh. 3. And when he saw it, he was perplexed and said to him, 'Verily I have never heard anything like this language from any one.' 4. Then Haiqār said to him, 'Truly this is a debt which thou owest to my lord the king.' And Pharaoh accepted this, saying, 'O Haiqār, it is the like of thee who are honest in the service of kings. Blessed be God who hath made thee perfect in wisdom, and hath adorned thee with philosophy and knowledge.

5. 6. And now, O Haiqār, there remains what we desire from thee, that thou shouldst build us a castle between heaven and earth.' Then said Haiqār, 'To hear is to obey. I will build thee a castle according to thy wish and choice; but, O my lord! prepare us lime and stone and clay and workmen, and I have skilled builders who will build for thee as thou desirest'. And the king prepared all that for him, and they went to a wide place; and Haiqār and his boys came to it, and he took the eagles and the young men with him; and the king and all his nobles went and the whole city assembled, that they might see what Haiqār would do. Then Haiqār let the eagles out of the boxes, and tied the young men on their backs, and tied the ropes to the eagles' feet, and let them go in the air. And they soared upwards, till they remained between heaven and earth. And the boys began to shout, saying, 'Bring bricks, bring clay, that we may build the king's castle, for we are standing idle!'

7. 8. And the crowd were astonished and perplexed, and they wondered. And the king and his nobles wondered. And Haiqār and his servants began to beat the workmen, and they shouted for the king's troops, saying to them, 'Bring to the skilled workmen what they want and do not hinder them from their work.' And the king said to him, 'Thou art mad; who can bring anything up to that distance?' And Haiqār said to him, 'O my lord! how shall we build a castle in the air? and if my lord the king were here, he would have built several castles in a single day.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, O Haiqār, to thy dwelling, and rest, for we have given up building the castle, and to-morrow come to me'. 9. 10. Then Haiqār went to his dwelling and on the morrow he appeared before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqār, what news is there of the horse of thy lord? for when he neighs in

the country of Assyria and Nineveh, and our mares hear his voice, they cast their young.' And when Haiqār heard this speech he went and took a cat, and bound her and began to flog her with a violent flogging till the Egyptians heard it, and they went and told the king about it.

11. – 13. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Haiqār, and said to him, 'O Haiqār, wherefore dost thou flog thus and beat that dumb beast?' And Haiqār said to him, 'O my lord the king! verily she has done an ugly deed to me, and has deserved this drubbing and flogging, for my lord king Sennacherib had given me a fine cock, and he had a strong true voice and knew the hours of the day and the night. And the cat got up this very night and cut off its head and went away, and because of this deed I have treated her to this drubbing.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Haiqār, I see from all this that thou art growing old and art in thy dotage, for between Egypt and Nineveh there are sixty-eight parasangs, and how did she go this very night and cut off the head of thy cock and come back?'

14. And Haiqār said to him, 'O my lord! if there were such a distance between Egypt and Nineveh, how could thy mares hear when my lord the king's horse neighs and cast their young? and how could the voice of the horse reach to Egypt?' 15. 16. And when Pharaoh heard that, he knew that Haiqār had answered his questions. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqār, I want thee to make me ropes of the sea-sand.' And Haiqār said to him, 'O my lord the king! order them to bring me a rope out of the treasury that I may make one like it.' Then Haiqār went to the back of the house, and bored holes in the rough shore of the sea, and took a handful of sand in his hand, sea-sand, and when the sun rose, and penetrated into the holes, he spread the sand in the sun till it became as if woven like ropes. And Haiqār said, 'Command thy servants to take these ropes, and whenever thou desirest it, I will weave thee (some) like them.'

17. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqār, we have a millstone here and it has been broken and I want thee to sew it up.' Then Haiqār looked at it, and found another stone. 18. And he said to Pharaoh, 'O my lord! I am a foreigner, and I have no tool for sewing. But I want thee to command thy faithful shoemakers to cut awls from this stone, that I may sew that millstone.' 19. Then Pharaoh and all his nobles laughed. And he said, 'Blessed be the Most High God, who gave thee this wit and knowledge.' 20. And when Pharaoh saw that Haiqār had overcome him, and returned him his answers, he at once

became excited, and commanded them to collect for him three years' taxes, and to bring them to Haiqār. 21. And he stripped off his robes and put them upon Haiqār, and his soldiers, and his servants, and gave him the expenses of his journey. And he said to him, 'Go in peace, O strength of his lord and pride of his Doctors! have any of the Sultans thy like? give my greetings to thy lord king Sennacherib, and say to him how we have sent him gifts, for kings are content with little.'

22. Then Haiqār arose, and kissed king Pharaoh's hands and kissed the ground in front of him, and wished him strength and continuance, and abundance in his treasury, and said to him, 'O my lord! I desire from thee that not one of our countrymen may remain in Egypt.' 23. And Pharaoh arose and sent heralds to proclaim in the streets of Egypt that not one of the people of Assyria or Nineveh should remain in the land of Egypt, but that they should go with Haiqār. Then Haiqār went and took leave of king Pharaoh, and journeyed, seeking the land of Assyria and Nineveh; and he had some treasures and a great deal of wealth. 24. And when the news-reached king Sennacherib that Haiqār was coming, he went out to meet him and rejoiced over him exceedingly with great joy and embraced him and kissed him, and said to him, 'Welcome home, O kinsman! my brother Haiqār, the strength of my kingdom, and pride of my realm. Ask what thou wouldst have from me, even if thou desirest the half of my kingdom and of my possessions.' Then said Haiqār unto him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! Show favour, O my lord the king! to Abu Samik in my stead, for my life was in the hands of God and in his.'

25. 26. Then said Sennacherib the king, 'Honour be to thee, O my beloved Haiqār! I will make the station of Abu Samik the swordsman higher than all my Privy Councillors and my favourites.' Then the king began to ask him how he had got on with Pharaoh from his first arrival until he had come away from his presence, and how he had answered all his questions, and how he had received the taxes from him, and the changes of raiment and the presents. And Sennacherib the king rejoiced with a great joy, and said to Haiqār, 'Take what thou wouldst fain have of this tribute, for it is all within the grasp of thy hand.' And Haiqār said: 'Let the king live for ever! I desire naught but the safety of my lord the king and the continuance of his greatness. O my lord! what can I do with wealth and its like? but if thou wilt show me favour, give me Nadan, my sister's son, that I may recompense him

for what he has done to me, and grant me his blood and hold me guiltless of it.'

27. And Sennacherib the king said, 'Take him, I have given him to thee.' And Haiqār took Nadan, his sister's son, and bound his hands with chains of iron, and took him to his dwelling, and put a heavy fetter on his feet, and tied it with a tight knot, and after binding him thus he cast him into a dark room, beside the retiring-place, and appointed Nebu-hal as sentinel over him and commanded him to give him a loaf of bread and a little water every day; and whenever Haiqār went in or out he scolded Nadan, his sister's son, saying to him wisely:

CHAPTER 8

2. thou didst treat me with killing and didst repay me with my ruin. But the Lord knew that I was wronged, and He saved me from the snare which thou hadst set for me, for the Lord healeth the broken hearts and hindereth the envious and the haughty. 3. O my boy! thou hast been to me like the scorpion which, when it strikes on brass, pierces it. 4. O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the madder, and it said to her, "Eat of me today and take thy fill, and tomorrow they will tan thy hide in my roots." 5. O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it upon him. 6. O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who took a stone, and threw it up to heaven to stone his Lord with it. And the stone did not hit, and did not reach high enough, but it became the cause of guilt and sin.

7. O my boy! if thou hadst honoured me and respected me and hadst listened to my words thou wouldst have been my heir, and wouldst have reigned over my dominions. 8. O my son! know thou that if the tail of the dog or the pig were ten cubits long it would not approach to the worth of the horse's even if it were like silk. 9. O my boy! I thought that thou wouldst have been my heir at my death; and thou through thy envy and thy insolence didst desire to kill me. But the Lord delivered me from thy cunning. 10. O my son! thou hast been to me like a trap which was set up on the dunghill, and there came a sparrow and found the trap set up. And the sparrow said to the trap, "What doest thou here?" Said the trap, "I am praying here to God." And the lark asked it also, "What is the piece of wood that thou holdest?" Said the trap, "That is a young oak-tree on which I lean at the time of prayer." Said the lark: "And what is that thing in thy mouth?" Said the trap:

“That is bread and victuals which I carry for all the hungry and the poor who come near to me.” Said the lark: “Now then may I come forward and eat, for I am hungry?” And the trap said to him, ‘Come forward.’ And the lark approached that it might eat. But the trap sprang up and seized the lark by its neck. And the lark answered and said to the trap, “If that is thy bread for the hungry God accepteth not thine alms and thy kind deeds. And if that is thy fasting and thy prayers, God accepteth from thee neither thy fast nor thy prayer, and God will not perfect what is good concerning thee.”

11. O my boy! thou hast been to me (as) a lion who made friends with an ass, and the ass kept walking before the lion for a time; and one day the lion sprang upon the ass and ate it up. 12. O my boy! thou hast been to me like a weevil in the wheat, for it does no good to anything, but spoils the wheat and gnaws it. 12. O my boy! thou hast been like a man who sowed ten measures of wheat, and when it was harvest time, he arose and reaped it, and garnered it, and threshed it, and toiled over it to the very utmost, and it turned out to be ten measures, and its master said to it: “O thou lazy thing! thou hast not grown and thou hast not shrunk.” 13. O my boy! thou hast been to me like the partridge that had been thrown into the net, and she could not save herself, but she called out to the partridges, that she might cast them with her(self) into the net.

14. O my son! thou hast been to me like the dog that was cold and it went into the potter’s house to get warm. And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them. 15. O my son! thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole and it went down and wallowed in it. 16. O my son! thou hast been to me like the goat which joined its comrades (on their way) to the sacrifice, and it was unable to save itself. 17. O my boy! the dog which is not fed from its hunting becomes food for flies. 18. O my son! the hand which does not labour and plough and (which) is greedy and cunning shall be cut away from its shoulder.

19. O my son! the eye in which light is not seen, the ravens shall pick at it and pluck it out. 20. O my boy! thou hast been to me like a tree whose branches they were cutting, and it said to them, “If (something) of me were not in your hands, verily you would be unable to cut me.” The maggot of the bread ate 12d the body of a king, but was itself of no use to any one nor prof-

itable, but vile. Son, thou hast been to me 13 like the young of the swallow which fell out of its nest, and a weasel found it and said: If it had not been for me 1, then a great evil would have befallen you. The nestling said to the weasel: Thy good which thou hast done to me shall return upon thine head. 21. O my boy! thou art like the cat to whom they said: "Leave off thieving till we make for thee a chain of gold and feed thee with sugar and almonds." And she said, "I am not forgetful of the craft of my father and my mother."

22. O my son! thou hast been like the serpent riding on a thorn-bush when he was in the midst of a river, and a wolf saw them and said, "Mischief upon mischief, and let him who is more mischievous than they direct both of them." And the serpent said to the wolf, "The lambs and the goats and the sheep which thou hast eaten all thy life, wilt thou return them to their fathers and to their parents or no?" Said the wolf, "No." And the serpent said to him, "I think that after myself thou art the worst of us." 23. O my boy! I fed thee with good food and thou didst not feed me with dry bread. 24. O my boy! I gave thee sugared water to drink and good syrup, and thou didst not give me water from the well to drink. 25. O my boy! I taught thee, and brought thee up, and thou didst dig a hiding-place for me and didst conceal me.

26. O my boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar; and thou hast twisted and bent me. 27. O my boy! it was my hope concerning thee that thou wouldst build me a fortified castle, that I might be concealed from my enemies in it, and thou didst become to me like one burying in the depth of the earth; but the Lord took pity on me and delivered me from thy cunning. 28. O my boy! I wished thee well, and thou didst reward me (with) evil and hatefulness, and now I would fain tear out thine eyes, and make thee food for dogs, and cut out thy tongue, and take off thy head with the edge of the sword, and recompense thee for thine abominable deeds.' 29. And when Nadan heard this speech from his uncle Haiqar, he said: 'O my uncle! deal with me according to thy knowledge, and forgive me my sins, for who is there who hath sinned like me, or who is there who forgives like thee? Accept me, O my uncle! Now I will serve in thy house, and groom thy horses and sweep up the dung of thy cattle, and feed thy sheep, for I am the wicked and thou art the righteous: I the guilty and thou the forgiving.'

30. And Haiqar said to him, 'O my boy! thou art like the tree which was fruitless beside the water, and its master was fain to cut it down, and it said to him, "Remove me to another place, and if I do not bear fruit, cut me down." And its masters said to it, "Thou being beside the water hast not borne fruit, how shalt thou bear fruit when thou art in another place?" 31. O my boy! the old age of the eagle is better than the youth of the crow. 32. O my boy! they said to the wolf, "Keep away from the sheep lest their dust should harm thee." And the wolf said, "The dregs of the sheep's milk are good for my eyes." 33. O my boy! they made the wolf go to school that he might learn to read, and they said to him, "Say A, B." He said, "Lamb and goat in my belly."

34. O my boy! they set the ass down at the table and he fell, and began to roll himself in the dust, and one said, "Let him roll himself, for it is his nature, he will not change." 35. O my boy! the saying has been confirmed which runs: "If thou begetest a boy, call him thy son, and if thou rearest a boy, call him thy slave." 36. O my boy! he who doeth good shall meet with good; and he who doeth evil shall meet with evil, for the Lord requiteth a man according to the measure of his work. 37. O my boy! what shall I say more to thee than these sayings? for the Lord knoweth what is hidden, and is acquainted with the mysteries and the secrets. And He will requite thee and will judge betwixt me and thee, and will recompense thee according to thy desert.

38. And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqar, he swelled up immediately and became like a blown-out bladder. And his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side, and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered, and he perished, and died. And his latter end was destruction, and he went to hell. For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets up traps shall be caught in them. This is what happened and (what) we found about the tale of Haiqar, and praise be to God for ever. Amen, and peace. This chronicle is finished with the help of God, may He be exalted! Amen, Amen, Amen. A. S. LEWIS.

The Letter of Aristeas

TRANSLATED BY H. T. ANDREWS

2nd century BC

A letter, said to be from Aristeas, an officer of King Ptolemy II of Egypt, to his brother Philocrates, telling how the king had the Jewish law translated into Greek by seventy-two elders sent from Jerusalem, and describing the Temple, the high priest Eleazar and the seven banquets at which the elders answered the king's questions. It is the origin of the story of the Septuagint. It was written in Greek by a Jew of Alexandria, probably in the second century BC, and the story is legend. It is a Jewish work outside the Bible.

SECTIONS 1–45

1. Since I have collected material for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the High priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission, I have attempted to draw up a clear exposition of the matter for you, for I perceive that you possess a natural love of learning, 2. a quality which is the highest possession of man—to be constantly attempting 'to add to his stock of knowledge and acquirements' whether through the study of history or by actually participating in the events themselves. It is by this means, by taking up into itself the noblest elements, that the soul is established in purity, and having fixed its aim on piety, the noblest goal of all, it uses this as its infallible guide and so acquires a definite purpose.

3. It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his own citizens and by others both for his virtue and his majesty and who had in his possession documents of the highest value to the Jews in his own country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of the divine law, for their 4. laws are written on leather parchments in Jewish characters. This embassy then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all

found an opportunity of pleading with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king's father, when he first obtained possession of this city and conquered the land of Egypt. It is worth while that I should tell 5. you this story, too, since I am convinced that you, with your disposition towards holiness and your sympathy with men who are living in accordance with the holy law, will all the more readily listen to the account which I purpose to set forth, since you yourself have lately come to us from the 6. island and are anxious to hear everything that tends to build up the soul. On a former occasion, too, I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race,—the record which I had obtained from the most learned high priests of the most learned land of Egypt.

As you are so eager to acquire the knowledge of those things which can benefit the mind, I feel it incumbent upon me to impart to you all the information in my power. I should feel the same duty towards all who possessed the same disposition but I feel it especially towards you since you have aspirations which are so noble, and since you are not only my brother in character no less than in blood but are one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness. For neither the pleasure derived from gold nor any other of the possessions which are prized by shallow minds confers the same benefit as the pursuit of culture and the study which we expend in securing it. But that I may not weary you by a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative. 9. Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the king's library, received vast sums of money, for the purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world. By means of purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the king. On one occasion when I was present he was asked, How many thousand books are there in the library? 10. and he replied, 'More than two hundred thousand, O king, and I shall make endeavour in the immediate future to gather together the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in your library.' 'What is to prevent you from doing this?' replied the king. 'Everything that is necessary has been placed at your disposal.' 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius, 'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use

the Syriac tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.' And the king when he understood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.

12. Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the body-guard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had been transported from Judea by the king's father—for when by a combination of good fortune and courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful issue, in the process of terrorising the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and others he reduced to captivity. The number of those whom he transported from the country of the Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand. Of these he armed thirty thousand picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts. (And even before this time large numbers of Jews had come into Egypt with the Persian, and in an earlier period still others had been sent to Egypt to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.

As I have already said Ptolemy picked out the best of these, the men who were in the prime of life and distinguished for their courage, and armed them, but the great mass of the others, those who were too old or too young for this purpose, and the women too, he reduced to slavery, not that he wished to do this of his own free will, but he was compelled by his soldiers who claimed them as a reward for the services which they had rendered in war. Having, as has already been stated, obtained an opportunity for securing their emancipation, I addressed the king with the following arguments. 'Let us not be so unreasonable as to allow our deeds to give the lie to our words. Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but also to translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom? In the perfection and wealth of your clemency release those who are held in such miserable bondage, since as I have been at pains to discover, the God who gave them their law is the God who maintains your kingdom. They worship the same God—the Lord and Creator of the Uni-

verse, as all other men, as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or Dis.

This name was very appropriately bestowed upon him by our first ancestors, in order to signify that He through whom all things are endowed with life and come into being, is necessarily the ruler and lord of the Universe. Set all mankind an example of magnanimity by releasing those who are held in bondage.' After a brief interval, while I was offering up an earnest prayer to God that He would so dispose the mind of the king that all the captives might be set at liberty—(for the human race, being the creation of God, is swayed and influenced by Him. Therefore with many divers prayers I called upon Him who ruleth the heart that the king might be constrained to grant my request. For I had great hopes with regard to the salvation of the men since I was assured that God would grant a fulfilment of my prayer.

For when men from pure motives plan some action in the interest of righteousness and the performance of noble deeds, Almighty God brings their efforts and purposes to a successful issue)—the king raised his head and looking up at me with a cheerful countenance asked, 'How many thousands do you think they will number?' Andreas, who was standing near, replied, 'A little more than a hundred thousand.' 'It is a small boon indeed,' said the king, 'that Aristreas asks of us!' Then Sosibius and some others who were present said, 'Yes, but it will be a fit tribute to your magnanimity for you to offer the enfranchisement of these men as an act of devotion to the supreme God. You have been greatly honoured by Almighty God and exalted above all your forefathers in glory and it is only fitting that you should render to Him the greatest thankoffering in your power.' Extremely pleased with these arguments he gave orders that an addition should be made to the wages of the soldiers by the amount of the redemption money, that twenty drachmae should be paid to the owners for every slave, that a public order should be issued and that registers of the captives should be attached to it.

He showed the greatest enthusiasm in the business, for it was God who had brought our purpose to fulfilment in its entirety and constrained him to redeem not only those who had come into Egypt with the army of his father but any who had come before that time or had been subsequently brought into the kingdom. It was pointed out to him that the ransom money would exceed four hundred talents. 21. I think it will be useful to insert a copy of the decree, for in this way the magnanimity of the king, who was em-

powered by God to save such vast multitudes, will be made clearer and more manifest. 22. The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city of Alexandria and the land of Egypt or sold them to others—and in the same way any captives who were in our land before that time or were brought hither afterwards—all who possess such captives are required to set them at liberty at once, receiving twenty drachmae per head as ransom money. The soldiers will receive this money as a gift added to their wages, the others from the king's treasury.

23. We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness. The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field of battle was all the booty which they should have claimed. To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of absolute injustice. 24. Wherefore since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations. Within three days after the publication of this decree, they must make lists of slaves for the officers appointed to carry out our will, and immediately produce the persons of the captives.

25. For we consider that it will be advantageous to us and to our affairs that the matter should be brought to a conclusion. Any one who likes may give information about any who disobey the decree, on condition that if the man is proved guilty he will become his slave; his property, however, will be handed over to the royal treasury.' 26. When the decree was brought to be read over to the king for his approval, it contained all the other provisions except the phrase 'any captives who were in the land before that time or were brought hither afterwards,' and in his magnanimity and the largeness of his heart the king inserted this clause and gave orders that the grant of money required for the redemption should be deposited in full with the paymasters

of the forces and the royal bankers, and so the matter was decided and the decree ratified within seven days.

27. The grant for the redemption amounted to more than six hundred and sixty talents; for many infants at the breast were emancipated together with their mothers. When the question was raised whether the sum of twenty talents was to be paid for these, the king ordered that it should be done, and thus he carried out his decision in the most comprehensive way. 28. When this had been done, he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books. For all affairs of state used to be carried out by means of decrees and with the most painstaking accuracy by these Egyptian kings, and nothing was done in a slipshod or haphazard fashion. And so I have inserted copies of the memorial and the letters, the number of the presents sent and the nature of each, since every one of them excelled in magnificence and technical skill.

29. The following is a copy of the memorial. The Memorial of Demetrius to the great king. 'Since you have given me instructions, O king, that the books which are needed to complete your library should be collected together, and that those which are defective should be repaired, I have devoted myself with the utmost care to the fulfilment of your wishes, and I now have the following proposal to lay before you. 30. The books of the law of the Jews (with some few others) are absent from the library. They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am informed by those who know; for they have never had a king's care to protect them. It is necessary that these should be made accurate for your library since the law which they contain, in as much as it is of divine origin, is full of wisdom and free from all blemish. For this reason literary men and poets and the mass of historical writers have held aloof from referring to these books and the men who have lived and are living in accordance with them, because their conception of life is so sacred and religious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says. If it please you, O king, a letter shall be written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, asking him to send six elders out of every tribe—men who have lived the noblest life and are most skilled in their law—that we may find out the points in which the majority of them are in agreement, and so having obtained an accurate translation may place it in a conspicuous place in a manner worthy of the work itself and your purpose. May continual prosperity be yours!

33. When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the Jewish captives. And he gave fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of his coffers to allow the artificers to make a selection of any materials they might require for the purpose, and that a hundred talents in money should be sent to provide sacrifices for the temple and for other needs. I shall give you a full account of the workmanship after I have set before you copies of the letters. The letter of the king ran as follows: 35. 'King Ptolemy sends greeting and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar. Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives—large numbers of these he placed in the army and paid them higher wages than usual, and when he had proved the loyalty of their leaders he built fortresses and placed them in their charge that the native Egyptians might be intimidated by them. And I, when I ascended the throne, adopted a kindly attitude towards all my subjects, and more particularly to those who were citizens of yours—I have set at liberty more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the appropriate market price for them, and if ever evil has been done to your people through the passions of the mob, I have made them reparation. The motive which prompted my action has been the desire to act piously and render unto the supreme God a thankoffering for maintaining my kingdom in peace and great glory in all the world. Moreover those of your people who were in the prime of life I have drafted into my army, and those who were fit to be attached to my person and worthy of the confidence of the court, I have established in official positions.

Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library. It will be a kindness on your part and a reward for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that in questions of dispute we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree,

for the investigation is of the highest possible importance. I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this work. I have sent Andreas, the chief of my bodyguard, and Aristéas—men whom I hold in high esteem—to lay the matter before you and present you with a hundred talents of silver, the firstfruits of my offering for the temple and the sacrifices and other religious rites. If you will write to me concerning your wishes in these matters, you will confer a great favour upon me and afford me a new pledge of friendship, for all your wishes shall be carried out as speedily as possible. Farewell. To this letter Eleazar replied appropriately as follows: Eleazar the High priest sends greetings to King Ptolemy his true friend.

My highest wishes are for your welfare and the welfare of Queen Arsinoë your sister and your children. I also am well. I have received your letter and am greatly rejoiced by your purpose and your noble counsel. I summoned together the whole people and read it to them that they might know of your devotion to our God. I showed them too the cups which you sent, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls and the table of dedication, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of the sacrifices and providing the things of which the temple stands in need. These gifts were brought to me by Andreas, one of your most honoured servants, and by Aristéas, both good men and true, distinguished by their learning, and worthy in every way to be the representatives of your high principles and righteous purposes. These men imparted to me your message and received from me an answer in agreement with your letter. I will consent to everything which is advantageous to you even though your request is very unusual. For you have bestowed upon our citizens great and never to be forgotten benefits in many (ways).

45. Immediately therefore I offered sacrifices on behalf of you, your sister, your children, and your friends, and all the people prayed that your plans might prosper continually, and that Almighty God might preserve your kingdom in peace with honour, and that the translation of the holy law might prove advantageous to you and be carried out successfully.

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46. In the presence of all the people I selected six elders from each tribe, good men and true, and I have sent them to you with a copy of our law. It will be a kindness, O righteous king, if you will give instruction that as soon as the translation of the law is completed, the men shall be restored again to us in safety. Farewell.' 47. The following are the names of the elders: Of the first

tribe, Joseph, Ezekiah, Zachariah, John, Ezekiah, Elisha. Of the second tribe, Judas, Simon, Samuel, Adaeus, Mattathias, Eschlemias. Of the third tribe, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas, Ornias, Dakis. 48. Of the fourth tribe, Jonathan, Abraeus, Elisha, Ananias, Chabrias... Of the fifth tribe, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sabbataeus, Simon, Levi. 49. Of the sixth tribe, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemias. Of the seventh tribe, Sabbataeus, Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesias, Natthaeus. Of the eighth tribe, Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathan. Of the ninth tribe, Theophilus, Abraham, Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel.

50. Of the tenth tribe, Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zachariah, Baneas, Elisha, Dathaeus. Of the eleventh tribe, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathes, Chabu, Dositheus. Of the twelfth tribe, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abietes, Ezekiel. They were seventy-two in all. Such was the answer which Eleazar and his friends gave to the king's letter. 51. I will now proceed to redeem my promise and give a description of the works of art. They were wrought with exceptional skill, for the king spared no expense and personally superintended the workmen individually. They could not therefore scamp any part of the work or finish it off negligently. 52. First of all I will give you a description of the table. The king was anxious that this piece of work should be of exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem.

53. And when they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure. And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that there was nothing to prevent him. And he said that he was anxious to make it five times the size, but he hesitated lest it should prove useless for the temple services. 54. He was desirous that his gift should not merely be stationed in the temple, for it would afford him much greater pleasure if the men whose duty it was to offer the fitting sacrifices were able to do so appropriately on the table which he had made. 55. He did not suppose that it was owing to lack of gold that the former table had been made of small size, but there seems to have been, he said, some reason why it was made of this dimension. For had the order been given, there would have been no lack of means. Wherefore we must not transgress or go beyond the proper measure.

56. At the same time he ordered them to press into service all the manifold forms of art, for he was a man of the most lofty conceptions and nature had endowed him with a keen imagination which enabled him to picture the appearance which would be presented by the finished work. He gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the Jewish Scriptures, everything should be made as beautiful as possible. When such instructions were laid down, they were to be carried out to the letter. 57. They made the table two cubits long (one cubit broad) one and a half cubits high, fashioning it of pure solid gold. What I am describing was not thin gold laid over another foundation, but the whole structure was of massive gold welded together. 58. And they made a border of a hand's breadth round about it. And there was a wreath of wave-work, engraved in relief in the form of ropes marvellously wrought on its three sides.

59. For it was triangular in shape and the style of the work was exactly the same on each of the sides, so that whichever side they were turned, they presented the same appearance. Of the two sides under the border, the one which sloped down to the table was a very beautiful piece of work, but it was the outer side which attracted the gaze of the spectator. 60. Now the upper edge of the two sides, being elevated, was sharp since, as we have said, the rim was three-sided, from whatever point of view one approached it. And there were layers of precious stones on it in the midst of the embossed cord-work, and they were interwoven with one another by an inimitable artistic device. 61. For the sake of security they were all fixed by golden needles which were inserted in perforations in the stones. 62. At the sides they were clamped together by fastenings to hold them firm. On the part of the border round the table which slanted upwards and met the eyes, there was wrought a pattern of eggs in precious stones, elaborately engraved by a continuous piece of fluted relief-work, closely connected together round the whole table.

63. And under the stones which had been arranged to represent eggs the artists made a crown containing all kinds of fruits, having at its top clusters of grapes and ears of corn, dates also and apples, and pomegranates and the like, conspicuously arranged. These fruits were wrought out of precious stones, of the same colour as the fruits themselves and they fastened them edgeways round all the sides of the table with a band of gold. 64. And after the crown of fruit had been put on, underneath there was inserted another pattern of eggs in precious stones, and other fluting and embossed work, that

both sides of the table might be used, according to the wishes of the owners and for this reason the wave-work and the border were extended down to the feet of the table. 65. They made and fastened under the whole width of the table a massive plate four fingers thick, that the feet might be inserted into it, and clamped fast with linch-pins which fitted into sockets under the border, so that which ever side of the table people preferred, might be used. Thus it became manifestly clear that the work was intended to be used massive gold welded together: lit. the plate of beaten metal was attached to it.

66. either way. On the table itself they engraved a 'maeander', having precious stones standing out in the middle of it, rubies and emeralds and an onyx too and many other kinds of stones which excel in beauty. 67. And next to the 'maeander' there was placed a wonderful piece of network, which made the centre of the table appear like a rhomboid in shape, and on it a crystal and amber, as it is called, had been wrought, which produced an incomparable impression on the beholders. 68. They made the feet of the table with heads like lilies, so that they seemed to be like lilies bending down beneath the table, and the parts which were visible represented leaves which stood upright. 69. The basis of the foot on the ground consisted of a ruby and measured a hand's breadth high all round. It had the appearance of a shoe and was eight fingers broad. Upon it the whole expanse of the foot rested.

70. And they made the foot appear like ivy growing out of the stone, interwoven with *akanthus* and surrounded with a vine which encircled it with clusters of grapes, which were worked in stones, up to the top of the foot. All the four feet were made in the same style, and everything was wrought and fitted so skilfully, and such remarkable skill and knowledge were expended upon making it true to nature, that when the air was stirred by a breath of wind, movement was imparted to the leaves, and everything was fashioned to correspond with the actual reality which it represented. 71. And they made the top of the table in three parts like a triptychon, and they were so fitted and dovetailed together with spigots along the whole breadth of the work, that the meeting of the joints could not be seen or even discovered. The thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit, so that the whole work must have cost many talents.

72. For since the king did not wish to add to its size he expended on the details the same sum of money which would have been required if the table

could have been of larger dimensions. And everything was completed in accordance with his plan, in a most wonderful and remarkable way, with inimitable art and incomparable beauty. 73. Of the mixing bowls, two were wrought (in gold), and from the base to the middle were engraved with relief work in the pattern of scales, and between the scales precious stones were inserted with great artistic skill. 74. Then there was a 'maeander' a cubit in height, with its surface wrought out of precious stones of many colours, displaying great artistic effort and beauty. Upon this there was a mosaic, worked in the form of a rhombus, having a net-like appearance and reaching right up to the brim. 75. In the middle, small shields which were made of different precious stones, placed alternately, and varying in kind, not less than four fingers broad, enhanced the beauty of their appearance. On the top of the brim there was an ornament of lilies in bloom, and intertwining clusters of grapes were engraven all round.

76. Such then was the construction of the golden bowls, and they held more than two firkins each. The silver bowls had a smooth surface, and were wonderfully made as if they were intended for looking-glasses, so that everything which was brought near to them was reflected even more clearly than in mirrors. 77. But it is impossible to describe the real impression which these works of art produced upon the mind when they were finished. For, when these vessels had been completed and placed side by side, first a silver bowl and then a golden, then another silver, and then another golden, the appearance they presented is altogether indescribable, and those who came to see them were not able to tear themselves from the brilliant sight and entrancing spectacle. 78. The impressions produced by the spectacle were various in kind. When men looked at the golden vessels, and their minds made a complete survey of each detail of workmanship, their souls were thrilled with wonder. Again when a man wished to direct his gaze to the silver vessels, as they stood before him, everything seemed to flash with light round about the place where he was standing, and afforded a still greater delight to the onlookers. So that it is really impossible to describe the artistic beauty of the works.

79. The golden vials they engraved in the centre with vine wreaths. And about the rims they wove a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive in relief work and inserted precious stones in it. The other parts of the relief work they wrought in different patterns, since they made it a point of honour to com-

plete everything in a way worthy of the majesty of the king. 80. In a word it may be said that neither in the king's treasury nor in any other, were there any works which equalled these in costliness or in artistic skill. For the king spent no little thought upon them, for he loved to gain glory for the excellence of his designs. 81. For oftentimes he would neglect his official business, and spend his time with the artists in his anxiety that they should complete everything in a manner worthy of the place to which the gifts were to be sent. So everything was carried out on a grand scale, in a manner worthy of the king who sent the gifts and of the high priest who was the ruler of the land.

82. There was no stint of precious stones, for not less than five thousand were used and they were all of large size. The most exceptional artistic skill was employed, so that the cost of the stones and the workmanship was five times as much as that of the gold. 83. I have given you this description of the presents because I thought it was necessary. The next point in the narrative is an account of our journey to Eleazar, but I will first of all give you a description of the whole country. When we arrived in the land of the Jews we saw the city situated 84. in the middle of the whole of Judea on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude. On the summit the temple had been built in all its splendour. It was surrounded by three walls more than seventy cubits high and in length and breadth corresponding to the structure of the edifice. All the buildings

85. were characterised by a magnificence and costliness quite unprecedented. It was obvious that no expense had been spared on the door and the fastenings, which connected it with the door-posts, and 86. the stability of the lintel. The style of the curtain too was thoroughly in proportion to that of the entrance. Its fabric owing to the draught of wind was in perpetual motion, and as this motion was communicated from the bottom and the curtain bulged out to its highest extent, it afforded a pleasant 87. spectacle from which a man could scarcely tear himself away. The construction of the altar was in keeping with the place itself and with the burnt offerings which were consumed by fire upon it, and the approach to it was on a similar scale. There was a gradual slope up to it, conveniently arranged for the purpose of decency, and the ministering priests were robed in linen garments, down to their

88. ankles. The Temple faces the east and its back is toward the west. The whole of the floor is paved with stones and slopes down to the appointed places, that water may be conveyed to wash away the 89. blood from the sacrifices, for many thousand beasts are sacrificed there on the feast days. And there is an inexhaustible supply of water, because an abundant natural spring gushes up from within the temple area. There are moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns underground, as they pointed out to me, at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and each of them has countless pipes 90. so that the different streams converge together. And all these were fastened with lead at the bottom and at the sidewalls, and over them a great quantity of plaster had been spread, and every part of the work had been most carefully carried out. There are many openings for water at the base of the altar which are invisible to all except to those who are engaged in the ministration, so that all the blood of the sacrifices which is collected in great quantities is washed away in the twinkling of an

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91. eye. Such is my opinion with regard to the character of the reservoirs and I will now show you how it was confirmed. They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me, as has already been pointed out. 92. The ministration of the priests is in every way unsurpassed both for its physical endurance and for its orderly and silent service. For they all work spontaneously, though it entails much painful exertion, and each one has a special task allotted to him. The service is carried on without interruption—some provide the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheat flour, others the spices; others 93. again bring the pieces of flesh for the burnt offering, exhibiting a wonderful degree of strength. For they take up with both hands the limbs of a calf, each of them weighing more than two talents, and throw them with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place of the altar and never miss placing them on the proper spot. In the same way the pieces of the sheep and also of the goats are wonderful both for their weight and their fatness. For those, whose business it is, always select the beasts which are without blemish and specially fat, and thus the sacrifice which I have described, is carried out.

94. There is a special place set apart for them to rest in, where those who are relieved from duty sit. When this takes place, those who have already rested and are ready to resume their duties rise up spontaneously since there is no one to give orders with regard to the arrangement of the sacrifices. The most complete silence reigns so that one might imagine that there was not a single person present, though there are actually seven hundred men engaged in the work, besides the vast number of those who are occupied in bringing up the sacrifices. Everything is carried out with reverence and in a way worthy of the great God. We were greatly astonished, when we saw Eleazar engaged in the ministration, at the mode of his dress, and the majesty of his appearance, which was revealed in the robe which he wore and the precious stones upon his person. There were golden bells upon the garment which reached down to his feet, giving forth a peculiar kind of melody, and on both sides of them there were pomegranates with variegated flowers of a wonderful hue. He was girded with a girdle of conspicuous beauty, woven in the most beautiful colours. On his breast he wore the oracle of God, as it is called, on which twelve stones, of different kinds, were inset, fastened together with gold, containing the names of the leaders of the tribes, according to their original order, each one flashing forth in an indescribable way its own particular colour.

On his head he wore a tiara, as it is called, and upon this in the middle of his forehead an inimitable turban, the royal diadem full of glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold... having been judged worthy to wear these emblems in the ministrations. Their appearance created such awe and confusion of mind as to make one feel that one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world. I am convinced that any one who takes part in the spectacle which I have described will be filled with astonishment and indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind at the thought of the sanctity which is attached to each detail of the service. 100. But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel and looked around us. It is situated in a very lofty spot, and is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top of immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of guarding the temple precincts, so that if there were an attack, or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that

surround the temple. On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned. The towers were guarded too by most trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country. These men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments, nor did they permit any stranger to enter it. They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our own experience taught us. They were very reluctant to admit us,—though we were but two unarmed men—to view the offering of the sacrifices.

And they asserted that they were bound by an oath when the trust was committed to them, for they had all sworn and were bound to carry out the oath sacredly to the letter, that though they were five hundred in number they would not permit more than five men to enter at one time. The citadel was the special protection of the temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might efficiently protect it. The size of the city is of moderate dimensions. It is about forty furlongs in circumference, as far as one could conjecture. It has its towers arranged in the shape of a theatre, with thoroughfares leading between them now the cross roads of the lower towers are visible but those of the upper towers are more frequented. For the ground ascends, since the city is built upon a mountain. There are steps too which lead up to the cross roads, and some people are always going up, and others down and they keep as far apart from each other as possible on the road because of those who are bound by the rules of purity, lest they should touch anything which is unlawful. It was not without reason that the original founders of the city built it in due proportions, for they possessed clear insight with regard to what was required. For the country is extensive and beautiful.

Some parts of it are level, especially the districts which belong to Samaria, as it is called, and which border on the land of the Idumeans, other parts are mountainous, especially (those which are contiguous to the land of Judea). The people therefore are bound to devote themselves to agriculture and the cultivation of the soil that by this means they may have a plentiful supply of crops. In this way cultivation of every kind is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped in the whole of the aforesaid land. The cities which are large and enjoy a corresponding prosperity are well-populated, but they neglect

the country districts, since all men are inclined to a life of enjoyment, for every one has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure. The same thing happened in Alexandria, which excels all cities in size and prosperity. Country people by migrating from the rural districts and settling in the city brought agriculture into disrepute: and so to prevent them from settling in the city, the king issued orders that they should not stay in it for more than twenty days. And in the same way he gave the judges written instructions, that if it was necessary to issue a summons against any one who lived in the country, the case must be settled within five days.

And since he considered the matter one of great importance, he appointed also legal officers for every district with their assistants, that the farmers and their advocates might not in the interests of business empty the granaries of the city, I mean, of the produce of husbandry. I have permitted this digression because it was Eleazar who pointed out with great clearness the points which have been mentioned. For great is the energy which they expend on the tillage of the soil. For the land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is abundance of honey. Other kinds of fruit trees and dates do not count compared with these. There are cattle of all kinds in great quantities and a rich pasturage for them. Wherefore they rightly recognise that the country districts need a large population, and the relations between the city and the villages are properly regulated. A great quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought into the country by the Arabs. For the country is well adapted not only for agriculture but also for commerce, and the city is rich in the arts and lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea. It possesses too suitable and commodious harbours at Askalon, Joppa, and Gaza, as well as at Ptolemais which was founded by the King and holds a central position compared with the other places named, being not far distant from any of them.

The country produces everything in abundance, since it is well watered in all directions and well protected from storms. The river Jordan, as it is called, which never runs dry, flows through the land. Originally (the country) contained not less than 60 million acres—though afterwards the neighbouring peoples made incursions against it—and 600,000 men were settled upon it in farms of a hundred acres each. The river like the Nile rises in harvest-time and irrigates a large portion of the land. Near the district belonging to the

people of Ptolemais it issues into another river and this flows out into the sea. Other mountain torrents, as they are called, flow down into the plain and encompass the parts about Gaza and the district of Ashdod. The country is encircled by a natural fence and is very difficult to attack and cannot be assailed by large forces, owing to the narrow passes, with their overhanging precipices and deep ravines, and the rugged character of the mountainous regions which surround all the land. We were told that from the neighbouring mountains of Arabia copper and iron were formerly obtained.

This was stopped, however, at the time of the Persian rule, since the authorities of the time spread abroad a false report that the working of the mines was useless and expensive, in order to prevent their country from being destroyed by the mining in these districts and possibly taken away from them owing to the Persian rule, since by the assistance of this false report they found an excuse for entering the district. I have now, my dear brother Philocrates, given you all the essential information upon this subject in brief form. I shall describe the work of translation in the sequel. The High priest selected men of the finest character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage. They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature, but had studied most carefully that of the Greeks as well. They were specially qualified therefore for serving on embassies and they undertook this duty whenever it was necessary. They possessed a great facility for conferences and the discussion of problems connected with the law. They espoused the middle course—and this is always the best course to pursue. They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, but they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question.

And all of them carefully observed this rule and were anxious above everything else to excel each other in its observance and they were all of them worthy of their leader and of his virtue. And one could observe how they loved Eleazar by their unwillingness to be torn away from him and how he loved them. For besides the letter which he wrote to the king concerning their safe return, he also earnestly besought Andreas to work for the same end and urged me, too, to assist to the best of my ability. And although we promised to give our best attention to the matter, he said that he was still greatly distressed, for he knew that the king out of the goodness of his

nature considered it his highest privilege, whenever he heard of a man who was superior to his fellows in culture and wisdom, to summon him to his court. For I have heard of a fine saying of his to the effect that by securing just and prudent men about his person he would secure the greatest protection for his kingdom, since such friends would unreservedly give him the most beneficial advice. And the men who were now being sent to him by Eleazar undoubtedly possessed these qualities. And he frequently asserted upon oath that he would never let the men go if it were merely some private interest of his own that constituted the impelling motive—but it was for the common advantage of all the citizens that he was sending them.

For, he explained, the good life consists in the keeping of the enactments of the law, and this end is achieved much more by hearing than by reading. From this and other similar statements it was clear what his feelings towards them were. 128. It is worth while to mention briefly the information which he gave in reply to our questions. For I suppose that most people feel a curiosity with regard to some of the enactments in the law, especially those about meats and drinks and animals recognised as unclean. When we asked why, since there is but one form of creation, some animals are regarded as unclean for eating, and others unclean even to the touch (for though the law is scrupulous on most points, it is specially scrupulous on such matters as these) he began his reply as follows: 'You observe,' he said, 'what an effect our modes of life and our associations produce upon us; by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities and become miserable throughout their life; but if they live with the wise and prudent, they find the means of escaping from ignorance and amending their lives. Our Lawgiver first of all laid down the principles of piety and righteousness and inculcated them point by point, not merely by prohibitions but by the use of examples as well, demonstrating the injurious effects of sin and the punishments inflicted by God upon the guilty. For he proved first of all that there is only one God and that his power is manifested throughout the universe, since every place is filled with his sovereignty and none of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge.

For all that a man does and all that is to come to pass in the future are manifest to Him. Working out these truths carefully and having made them plain, he showed that even if a man should think of doing evil—to say nothing of actually effecting it,—he would not escape detection, for he made it

clear that the power of God pervaded the whole of the law. Beginning from this starting point he went on to show that all mankind except ourselves believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom they vainly worship. For when they have made statues of stone and wood, they say that they are the images of those who have invented something useful for life and they worship them, though they have clear proof that they possess no feeling. For it would be utterly foolish to suppose that any one became a god in virtue of his inventions. For the inventors simply took certain objects already created and by combining them together, showed that they possessed a fresh utility: they did not themselves create the substance of the thing, and so it is a vain and foolish thing for people to make gods of men like themselves. For in our times there are many who are much more inventive and much more learned than the men of former days who have been deified, and yet they would never come to worship them.

The makers and authors of these myths think that they are the wisest of the Greeks. Why need we speak of other infatuated people, Egyptians and the like, who place their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifices to them both while living and when dead? Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took a comprehensive view of each particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole creation.

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Hence the leading Egyptian priests having looked carefully into many matters, and being cognizant with (our) affairs, call us "men of God". This is a title which does not belong to the rest of mankind but only to those who worship the true God. The rest are men not of God but of meats and drinks and clothing. For their whole disposition leads them to find solace in these things. Among our people such things are reckoned of no account, but throughout their whole life their main consideration is the sovereignty of God. Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see.

For though, speaking generally, all things are alike in their natural constitution, since they are all governed by one and the same power, yet there is a deep reason in each individual case why we abstain from the use of certain things and enjoy the common use of others. For the sake of illustration I will run over one or two points and explain them to you.

For you must not fall into the degrading idea that it was out of regard to mice and weasels and other such things that Moses drew up his laws with such exceeding care. All these ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness to aid the quest for virtue and the perfecting of character. For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by their cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, such as for instance pigeons, turtle-doves, locusts, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this class. But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be wild and carnivorous, tyrannising over the others by the strength which they possess, and cruelly obtaining food by preying on the tame birds enumerated above. And not only so, but they seize lambs and kids, and injure human beings too, whether dead or alive, and so by naming them unclean, he gave a sign by means of them that those, for whom the legislation was ordained, must practise righteousness in their hearts and not tyrannise over any one in reliance upon their own strength nor rob them of anything, but steer their course of life in accordance with justice, just as the tame birds, already mentioned, consume the different kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth and do not tyrannise to the destruction of their own kindred.

Our legislator taught us therefore that it is by such methods as these that indications are given to the wise, that they must be just and effect nothing by violence, and refrain from tyrannising over others in reliance upon their own strength. For since it is considered unseemly even to touch such unclean animals, as have been mentioned, on account of their particular habits, ought we not to take every precaution lest our own characters should be destroyed to the same extent? Wherefore all the rules which he has laid down with regard to what is permitted in the case of these birds and other animals, he has enacted with the object of teaching us a moral lesson. For the division of the hoof and the separation of the claws are intended to teach us that we must discriminate between our individual actions with a view to the practice of virtue. For the strength of our whole body and its activity depend upon our shoulders and limbs. Therefore he compels us to recognise that we must

perform all our actions with discrimination according to the standard of righteousness—more especially because we have been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind.

152. For most other men defile themselves by promiscuous intercourse, thereby working great iniquity, and whole countries and cities pride themselves upon such vices. For they not only have intercourse with men but they defile their own mothers and even their daughters. 153. But we have been kept separate from such sins. And the people who have been separated in the aforementioned way are also characterised by the Laugier as possessing the gift of memory. For all animals "which are cloven-footed and chew the cud" represent to the initiated the symbol of memory. 154. For the act of chewing the cud is nothing else than the reminiscence of life and existence. For life is wont to be sustained by means of food, 155. wherefore he exhorts us in the Scripture also in these words: "Thou shalt surely remember the Lord that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things". For when they are properly conceived, they are manifestly great and glorious; first the construction of the body and the disposition of the

156. food and the separation of each individual limb and, far more, the organisation of the senses, the operation and invisible movement of the mind, the rapidity of its particular actions and its discovery of the arts, display an infinite resourcefulness. 157. Wherefore he exhorts us to remember that the aforesaid parts are kept together by the divine power with consummate skill. For he has marked out every time and place that we may continually remember the God who rules and preserves (us). 158. For in the matter of meats and drinks he bids us first of all offer part as a sacrifice and then forthwith enjoy our meal. Moreover, upon our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance, and in like manner he has ordered us to put the divine oracles upon our gates and doors as a remembrance of God. 159. And upon our hands, too, he expressly orders the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that we ought to perform every act in righteousness, remembering (our own creation), and above all the fear of God.

160. He bids men also, when lying down to sleep and rising up again, to meditate upon the works of God, not only in word, but by observing distinctly the change and impression produced upon them, when they are going to sleep, and also their waking, how divine and incomprehensible the change from one of these states to the other is. 161. The excellency of the

analogy in regard to discrimination and memory has now been pointed out to you, according to our interpretation of "the cloven hoof and the chewing of the cud". For our laws have not been drawn up at random or in accordance with the first casual thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the indication of right reason. 162. For by means of the directions which he gives with regard to meats and drinks and particular cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor listen to anything thoughtlessly nor to resort to injustice by the abuse of the power of reason.

163. In the case of the wild animals, too, the same principle may be discovered. For the character of the weasel and of mice and such animals as these, which are expressly mentioned, is destructive. 164. Mice defile and damage everything, not only for their own food but even to the extent of rendering absolutely useless to man whatever it falls in their way to damage. 165. The weasel class, too, is peculiar: for besides what has been said, it has a characteristic which is defiling: It conceives through the ears and brings forth through the mouth. 166. And it is for this reason that a like practice is declared unclean in men. For by embodying in speech all that they receive through the ears, they involve others in evils and work no ordinary impurity, being themselves altogether defiled by the pollution of impiety. And your king, as we are informed, does quite right in destroying such men.'

167. Then I said 'I suppose you mean the informers, for he constantly exposes them to tortures and to painful forms of death'. 'Yes,' he replied, 'these are the men I mean; for to watch for men's destruction is an unholy thing. And our law forbids us to injure any one either by word or deed. My brief account of these matters ought to have convinced you, that all our regulations have been drawn up with a view to righteousness, and that nothing has been enacted in the Scripture thoughtlessly or without due reason, but its purpose is to enable us throughout our whole life and in all our actions to practise righteousness before all men, being mindful of Almighty God. And so concerning meats and things unclean, creeping things, and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness and righteous relationships between man and man.' 170. He seemed to me to have made a good defence on all the points; for in reference also to the calves and rams and goats which are offered, he said that it was necessary to take them from the herds and flocks, and sacrifice tame animals and offer nothing wild, that the offerers of the sacrifices might understand the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver and not

be under the influence of an arrogant self-consciousness. For he, who offers a sacrifice, makes an offering also of his own soul in all its moods. I think that these particulars with regard to our discussion are worth narrating, and on account of the sanctity and natural meaning of the law, I have been induced to explain them to you clearly, Philocrates, because of your own devotion to learning.

172. And Eleazar, after offering the sacrifice, and selecting the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the king, despatched us on our journey in great security. And when we reached Alexandria, the king was at once informed of our arrival. On our admission to the palace, Andreas and I warmly greeted the king and handed over to him the letter written by Eleazar. The king was very anxious to meet the envoys, and gave orders that all the other officials should be dismissed and the envoys 175. summoned to his presence at once. Now this excited general surprise, for it is customary for those who come to seek an audience with the king on matters of importance to be admitted to his presence on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or very important cities with difficulty secure admission to the Court in thirty days—but these men he counted worthy of greater honour, since he held their master in such high esteem, and so he immediately dismissed those whose presence he regarded as superfluous and continued walking about until they came in and he was able to welcome them.

176. When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connexion between the pages had been so effected as to be invisible, the king as soon 177. as he saw them began to ask them about the books. And when they had taken the rolls out of their coverings and unfolded the pages, the king stood still for a long time and then making obeisance about seven times, he said: 'I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that sent you still more, and most of all God, whose oracles these are.' 178. And when all, the envoys and the others who were present as well, shouted out at one time and with one voice: 'God save the King!' he burst into tears of joy. For his exaltation of soul and the sense of the overwhelming honour which had been paid him compelled him to weep over his good fortune.

179. He commanded them to put the rolls back in their places and then after saluting the men, said: 'It was right, men of God, that I should first of

all pay my reverence to the books for the sake of which I summoned you here and then, when I had done that, to extend the right-hand of friendship to you. It was for this reason that I did this first. 180. I have enacted that this day, on which you arrived, shall be kept as a great day and it will be celebrated annually throughout my life time. It happens also that it is the anniversary of my naval victory over Antigonos.

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181. Therefore I shall be glad to feast with you to-day.' 'Everything that you may have occasion to use', he said, 'shall be prepared (for you) in a befitting manner and for me also with you.' After they had expressed their delight, he gave orders that the best quarters near the citadel should be assigned to them, and that preparations should be made for the banquet. 182. And Nicanor summoned the lord high steward, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after the Jews, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one. For this arrangement had been made by the king and it is an arrangement which you see maintained to-day. For as many cities (as) have (special) customs in the matter of drinking, eating, and reclining, have special officers appointed to look after their requirements. And whenever they come to visit the kings, preparations are made in accordance with their own customs, in order that there may be no discomfort to disturb the enjoyment of their visit. The same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys. Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after Jewish guests was a very conscientious man.

183. All the stores which were under his control and set apart for the reception of such guests, he brought out for the feast. He arranged the seats in two rows in accordance with the king's instructions. For he had ordered him to make half the men sit at his right hand and the rest behind him, in order that he might not withhold from them the highest possible honour. When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests. 184. Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer the Jewish priests, and called upon one of our number, Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead. And he rose up and made a remarkable prayer. 'May Almighty God enrich you, O king, with all the good things which He has

made and may He grant you and your wife and your children and your comrades the continual possession of them as long as you live!

185. At these words a loud and joyous applause broke out which lasted for a considerable time, and then they turned to the enjoyment of the banquet which had been prepared. 186. All the arrangements for service at table were carried out in accordance with the injunction of Dorotheus. Among the attendants were the royal pages and others who held places of honour at the king's court. 187. Taking an opportunity afforded by a pause in the banquet the king asked the envoy who sat in the seat of honour (for they were arranged according to seniority). How he could keep his kingdom unimpaired to the end? 188. After pondering for a moment he replied, 'You could best establish its security if you were to imitate the unceasing benignity of God. For if you exhibit clemency and inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them in accordance with their deserts, you will turn them from evil and lead them to repentance.'

189. The king praised the answer and then asked the next man, How he could do everything for the best in all his actions? And he replied, 'If a man maintains a just bearing towards all, he will always act rightly on every occasion, remembering that every thought is known to God. If you take the fear of God as your starting-point, you will never miss the goal.' 190. The king complimented this man, too, upon his answer and asked another, How he could have friends like-minded with himself? He replied, 'If they see you studying the interests of the multitudes over whom you rule; you will do well to observe how God bestows his benefits on the human race, providing for them health and food and all other things in due season.' 191. After expressing his agreement with the reply, the king asked the next guest, How in giving audiences and passing judgments he could gain the praise even of those who failed to win their suit? And he said, 'If you are fair in speech to all alike and never act insolently nor tyrannically in your treatment of offenders.'

192. And you will do this if you watch the method by which God acts. The petitions of the worthy are always fulfilled, while those who fail to obtain an answer to their prayers are informed by means of dreams or events of what was harmful in their requests and that God does not smite them according to their sins or the greatness of His strength, but acts with forbearance towards them.' 193. The king praised the man warmly for his answer and asked the next in order, How he could be invincible in military affairs?

And he replied, 'If he did not trust entirely to his multitudes or his warlike forces, but called upon God continually to bring his enterprises to a successful issue, while he himself discharged all his duties in the spirit of justice.' 194. Welcoming this answer, he asked another how he might become an object of dread to his enemies. And he replied, 'If while maintaining a vast supply of arms and forces he remembered that these things were powerless to achieve a permanent and conclusive result. For even God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and making merely a display of the greatness of his power.'

195. This man the king praised and then said to the next, What is the highest good in life? And he answered 'To know that God is Lord of the Universe, and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us to the goal.' 196. The king exclaimed that the man had answered well and then asked the next How he could keep all his possessions intact and finally hand them down to his successors in the same condition? And he answered 'By praying constantly to God that you may be inspired with high motives in all your undertakings and by warning your descendants not to be dazzled by fame or wealth, for it is God who bestows all these gifts and men never by themselves win the supremacy'. 197. The king expressed his agreement with the answer and enquired of the next guest, How he could bear with equanimity whatever befell him? And he said, 'If you have a firm grasp of the thought that all men are appointed by God to share the greatest evil as well as the greatest good, since it is impossible for one who is a man to be exempt from these. But God, to whom we ought always to pray, inspires us with courage to endure.'

198. Delighted with the man's reply, the king said that all their answers had been good. 'I will put a question to one other', he added, 'and then I will stop for the present: that we may turn our attention to the enjoyment of the feast and spend a pleasant time.' 199. Thereupon he asked the man, What is the true aim of courage? And he answered, 'If a right plan is carried out in the hour of danger in accordance with the original intention. For all things are accomplished by God to your advantage, O king, since your purpose is good.' 200. When all had signified by their applause their agreement with the answer, the king said to the philosophers (for not a few of them were present), 'It is my opinion that these men excel in virtue and possess ex-

traordinary knowledge, since on the spur of the moment they have given fitting answers to these questions which I have put to them, and have all made God the starting-point of their words.'

201. And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria, said, 'True, O King—for since the universe is managed by providence and since we rightly perceive that man is the creation of God, it follows that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God.' When the king had nodded his assent to this sentiment, the speaking ceased and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. When evening came on, the banquet ended. 203. On the following day they sat down to table again and continued the banquet according to the same arrangements. When the king thought that a fitting opportunity had arrived to put inquiries to his guests, he proceeded to ask further questions of the men who sat next in order to those who 204. had given answers on the previous day. He began to open the conversation with the eleventh man, for there were ten who had been asked questions on the former occasion. When silence was

205. established, he asked How he could continue to be rich? After a brief reflection, the man who had been asked the question replied—'If he did nothing unworthy of his position, never acted licentiously, never lavished expense on empty and vain pursuits, but by acts of benevolence made all his subjects well disposed towards himself. For it is God who is the author of all good things and 206. Him man must needs obey.' The king bestowed praise upon him and then asked another How he could maintain the truth? In reply to the question he said, 'By recognizing that a lie brings great disgrace upon all men, and more especially upon kings. For since they have the power to do whatever they wish, why should they resort to lies? In addition to this you must always remember, O King, that God is a lover of the truth.' 207. The king received the answer with great delight and looking at another said, 'What is the teaching of wisdom?' And the other replied, 'As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders, and you should mildly admonish the noble and good. For God draws all men to Himself by his benignity.'

208. The king praised him and asked the next in order How he could be the friend of men? And he replied, 'By observing that the human race increases and is born with much trouble and great suffering: wherefore you

must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of men is made up of pains and penalties. For if you understood everything you would be filled with pity, for God also is pitiful.' 209. The king received the answer with approbation and inquired of the next 'What is the most essential qualification for ruling?' 'To keep oneself', he answered, 'free from bribery and to practise sobriety during the greater part of one's life, to honour righteousness above all things, and to make friends of men of this type. For God, too, is a lover of justice.' 210. Having signified his approval, the king said to another 'What is the true mark of piety?' And he replied, 'To perceive that God constantly works in the Universe and knows all things, and no man who acts unjustly and works wickedness can escape His notice. As God is the benefactor of the whole world, so you, too, must imitate Him and be void of offence.'

211. The king signified his agreement and said to another 'What is the essence of kingship?' And he replied, 'To rule oneself well and not to be led astray by wealth or fame to immoderate or unseemly desires, this is the true way of ruling if you reason the matter well out. For all that you really need is yours, and God is free from need and benignant withal. Let your thoughts be such as become a man, and desire not many things but only such as are necessary for ruling.' 212. The king praised him and asked another man How his deliberations might be for the best? and he replied, 'If he constantly set justice before him in everything and thought that injustice was equivalent to deprivation of life. For God always promises the highest blessings to the just.' 213. Having praised him, the king asked the next How he could be free from disturbing thoughts in his sleep? And he replied, 'You have asked me a question which is very difficult to answer, for we cannot bring our true selves into play during the hours of sleep, but are held fast in these by imaginations that cannot be controlled by reason.'

214. For our souls possess the feeling that they actually see the things that enter into our consciousness during sleep. But we make a mistake if we suppose that we are actually sailing on the sea in boats or flying through the air or travelling to other regions or anything else of the kind. And yet we actually do imagine such things to be taking place. 215. So far as it is possible for me to decide, I have reached the following conclusion. You must in every possible way, O King, govern your words and actions by the rule of piety that you may have the consciousness that you are maintaining virtue and that you

never choose to gratify yourself at the expense of reason and never by abusing your power do despite to righteousness. 216. For the mind mostly busies itself in sleep with the same things with which it occupies itself when awake. And he who has all his thoughts and actions set towards the noblest ends establishes himself in righteousness both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Wherefore you must be steadfast in the constant discipline of self.'

217. The king bestowed praise on the man and said to another—'Since you are the tenth to answer, when you have spoken, we will devote ourselves to the banquet.' And then he put the question, How can I avoid doing anything unworthy of myself? 218. And he replied, 'Look always to your own fame and your own supreme position, that you may speak and think only such things as are consistent therewith, knowing that all your subjects think and talk about you. 219. For you must not appear to be worse than the actors, who study carefully the rôle, which it is necessary for them to play, and shape all their actions in accordance with it. You are not acting a part, but are really a king, since God has bestowed upon you a royal authority in keeping with your character.' 220. When the king had applauded loud and long in the most gracious way, the guests were urged to seek repose. So when the conversation ceased, they devoted themselves to the next course of the feast.

221. On the following day, the same arrangement was observed, and when the king found an opportunity of putting questions to the men, he questioned the first of those who had been left over for the next interrogation, What is the highest form of government? 222. And he replied, 'To rule oneself and not to be carried away by impulses. For all men possess a certain natural bent of mind. 223. It is probable that most men have an inclination towards food and drink and pleasure, and kings a bent towards the acquisition of territory and great renown. But it is good that there should be moderation in all things. What God gives, that you must take and keep, but never yearn for things that are beyond your reach.' 224. Pleased with these words, the king asked the next How he could be free from envy? And he after a brief pause replied, 'If you consider first of all that it is God who bestows on all kings glory and great wealth and no one is king by his own power. All men wish to share this glory but cannot, since it is the gift of God.'

225. The king praised the man in a long speech and then asked another How he could despise his enemies? And he replied, 'If you show kindness to

all men and win their friendship, you need fear no one. To be popular with all men is the best of good gifts to receive from God.'

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226. Having praised this answer the king ordered the next man to reply to the question, How he could maintain his great renown? and he replied that 'If you are generous and large-hearted in bestowing kindness and acts of grace upon others, you will never lose your renown, but if you wish the aforesaid graces to continue yours, you must call upon God continually.' 227. The king expressed his approval and asked the next, To whom ought a man to show liberality? And he replied, 'All men acknowledge that we ought to show liberality to those who are well disposed towards us, but I think that we ought to show the same keen spirit of generosity to those who are opposed to us that by this means we may win them over to the right and to what is advantageous to ourselves. But we must pray to God that this may be accomplished, for he rules the minds of all men.'

228. Having expressed his agreement with the answer, the king asked the sixth to reply to the question, To whom ought we to exhibit gratitude? And he replied, 'To our parents continually, for God has given us a most important commandment with regard to the honour due to parents. In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend for He speaks of "a friend which is as thine own soul". You do well in trying to bring all men into friendship with yourself.' 229. The king spoke kindly to him and then asked the next, What is it that resembles beauty in value? And he said, 'Piety, for it is the pre-eminent form of beauty, and its power lies in love, which is the gift of God. This you have already acquired and with it all the blessings of life.' 230. The king in the most gracious way applauded the answer and asked another How, if he were to fail, he could regain his reputation again in the same degree? And he said, 'It is not possible for you to fail, for you have sown in all men the seeds of gratitude which produce a harvest of goodwill,

231. and this is mightier than the strongest weapons and guarantees the greatest security. But if any man does fail, he must never again do those things which caused his failure, but he must form friendships and act justly. For it is the gift of God to be able to do good actions and not the contrary.' 232. Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from grief? And he replied, 'If he never injured any one, but did good to everybody and followed the pathway of 233. righteousness, for its fruits bring

freedom from grief. But we must pray to God that unexpected evils such as death or disease or pain or anything of this kind may not come upon us and injure us. But since you are devoted to piety, no such misfortune will ever come upon you.' 234. The king bestowed great praise upon him and asked the tenth, What is the highest form of glory? And he said, 'To honour God, and this is done not with gifts and sacrifices but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are fashioned and governed by God in accordance with His will. Of this purpose you are in constant possession as all men can see from your achievements in the past and in the present.'

235. With loud voice the king greeted them all and spoke kindly to them, and all those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they were far superior to them [i.e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting-point. After this the king to show his good feeling proceeded to drink the health of his guests. 236. On the following day the same arrangements were made for the banquet, and the king, as soon as an opportunity occurred, began to put questions to the men who sat next to those who had already responded, and he said to the first 'Is wisdom capable of being taught?' And he said, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power to receive all the good and reject the contrary.' 237. The king expressed approval and asked the next man, What is it that is most beneficial to health? And he said, 'Temperance, and it is not possible to acquire this unless God create a disposition towards it.'

238. The king spoke kindly to the man and said to another, 'How can a man worthily pay the debt of gratitude to his parents?' And he said, 'By never causing them pain, and this is not possible unless God dispose the mind to the pursuit of the noblest ends.' 239. The king expressed agreement and asked the next How he could become an eager listener? And he said, 'By remembering that all knowledge is useful, because it enables you by the help of God in a time of emergency to select some of the things which you have learned and apply them to the crisis which confronts you. And so the efforts of men are fulfilled by the assistance of God.' 240. The king praised him and asked the next How he could avoid doing anything contrary to law? And he said, 'If you recognize that it is God who has put the thoughts into the hearts of the lawgivers that the lives of men might be preserved, you will follow them.'

241. The king acknowledged the man's answer and said to another, 'What is the advantage of kinship?' And he replied, 'If we consider that we ourselves are afflicted by the misfortunes which fall upon our relatives and if their sufferings become our own—then the strength of kinship is apparent at once, for it is only when such feeling is shown that we shall win honour and esteem in their eyes. 242. For help, when it is linked with kindness, is of itself a bond which is altogether indissoluble. And in the day of their prosperity we must not crave their possessions, but must pray God to bestow all manner of good upon them.' 243. And having accorded to him the same praise as to the rest, the king asked another How he could attain freedom from fear? And he said, 'When the mind is conscious that it has wrought no evil, and when God directs it to all noble counsels.'

244. The king expressed his approval and asked another How he could always maintain a right judgement? And he replied, 'If he constantly set before his eyes the misfortunes which befall men and recognized that it is God who takes away prosperity from some and brings others to great honour and glory.' 245. The king gave a kindly reception to the man and asked the next to answer the question How he could avoid a life of ease and pleasure? And he replied, 'If he continually remembered that he was the ruler of a great empire and the lord of vast multitudes, and that his mind ought not to be occupied with other things, but he ought always to be considering how he could best promote their welfare. He must pray, too, to God that no duty might be neglected.' 246. Having bestowed praise upon him, the king asked the tenth How he could recognize those who were dealing treacherously with him? And he replied to the question, 'If he observed whether the bearing of those about him was natural and whether they maintained the proper rule of precedence at receptions and councils, and in their general intercourse, never going beyond the bounds of propriety in congratulations or in other matters of deportment.

247. But God will incline your mind, O King, to all that is noble.' When the king had expressed his loud approval and praised them all individually (amid the plaudits of all who were present), they turned to the enjoyment of the feast. 248. And on the next day, when the opportunity offered, the king asked the next man, What is the grossest form of neglect? And he replied, 'If a man does not care for his children and devote every effort to their education. For we always pray to God not so much for ourselves as for our children

that every blessing may be theirs. Our desire that our children may possess self-control is only realized by the power of God.' 249. The king said that he had spoken well and then asked another How he could be patriotic? 'By keeping before your mind,' he replied, 'the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been banished for a crime. If you bestow benefits upon all, as you continually do, God will give you favour with all and you will be accounted patriotic.'

250. After listening to this man, the king asked the next in order How he could live amicably with his wife? And he answered, 'By recognizing that womankind are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak. It is necessary to deal wisely with them and not to provoke strife. 251. For the successful conduct of life the steersman must know the goal toward which he ought to direct his course. It is only by calling upon the help of God that men can steer a true course of life at all times.' 252. The king expressed his agreement and asked the next How he could be free from error? And he replied, 'If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgement the requests which are made to you and carry out everything in the light of your judgement, you will be free from error, O King. But the knowledge and practice of these things is the work of the Divine power.'

253. Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from wrath? And he said in reply to the question, 'If he recognized that he had power over all even to inflict death upon them, if he gave way to wrath, and that it would be useless and pitiful if he, just because he was lord, 254. deprived many of life. What need was there for wrath, when all men were in subjection and no one was hostile to him? It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all, and you,' said he, 'O King, must of necessity copy His example.' 255. The king said that he had answered well and then inquired of the next man, What is good counsel? 'To act well at all times and with due reflection,' he explained, 'comparing what is advantageous to our own policy with the injurious effects that would result from the adoption of the opposite view, in order that by weighing every point we may be well advised and our purpose

may be accomplished. And most important of all, by the power of God every plan of yours will find fulfilment because you practise piety.'

256. The king said that this man had answered well, and asked another What is philosophy? And he explained, 'To deliberate well in reference to any question that emerges and never to be carried away by impulses, but to ponder over the injuries that result from the passions, and to act rightly as the circumstances demand, practising moderation. But we must pray to God to instil into our mind a regard for these things.' 257. The king signified his consent and asked another How he could meet with recognition when travelling abroad? 'By being fair to all men,' he replied, 'and by appearing to be inferior rather than superior to those amongst whom he was travelling. For it is a recognized principle that God by His very nature accepts the humble. And the human race loves those who are willing to be in subjection to them.' 258. Having expressed his approval at this reply, the king asked another How he could build in such a way that his structures would endure after him? And he replied to the question, 'If his creations were on a great and noble scale, so that the beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he never dismissed any of those who wrought such works and never compelled others to minister to his needs without wages. For observing how God provides for the human race, granting them health and mental capacity and all other gifts, he himself should follow His example by rendering to men a recompense for their arduous toil. For it is the deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually.'

260. The king said that this man, too, had answered well and asked the tenth, What is the fruit of wisdom? And he replied, 'That a man should be conscious in himself that he has wrought no evil and that he should live his life in the truth. Since it is from these, O mighty King, that the greatest joy and steadfastness of soul and strong faith in God accrue to you if you rule your realm in piety.' And when they heard the answer they all shouted with loud acclaim, and afterwards the king in the fullness of his joy began to drink their healths. 262. And on the next day the banquet followed the same course as on previous occasions, and when the opportunity presented itself the king proceeded to put questions to the remaining guests, and he said to the first, 'How can a man keep himself from pride?' And he replied, 'If he maintains equality and remembers on all occasions that he is a man ruling

over men. And God brings the proud to nought, and exalts the meek and humble.'

264. The king spoke kindly to him and asked the next, Whom ought a man to select as his counsellors? and he replied, 'Those who have been tested in many affairs and maintain unmingled goodwill towards him and partake of his own disposition. And God manifests Himself to those who are worthy that these ends may be attained.' 265. The king praised him and asked another, What is the most necessary possession for a king? 'The friendship and love of his subjects,' he replied, 'for it is through this that the bond of goodwill is rendered indissoluble. And it is God who ensures that this may come to pass in accordance with your wish.' 266. The king praised him and inquired of another, What is goal of speech? And he replied, 'To convince your opponent by showing him his mistakes in a well-ordered array of arguments. For in this way you will win your hearer, not by opposing him, but by bestowing praise upon him with a view to persuading him. And it is by the power of God that persuasion is accomplished.'

267. The king said that he had given a good answer, and asked another How he could live amicably with the many different races who formed the population of his kingdom? 'By acting the proper part towards each,' he replied, 'and taking righteousness as your guide, as you are now doing with the help of the insight which God bestows upon you.' 268. The king was delighted by this reply, and asked another 'Under what circumstances ought a man to suffer grief?' 'In the misfortunes that befall our friends,' he replied, 'when we see that they are protracted and irremediable. Reason does not allow us to grieve for those who are dead and set free from evil, but all men do grieve over them because they think only of themselves and their own advantage. It is by the power of God alone that we can escape all evil.' 269. The king said that he had given a fitting answer, and asked another, How is reputation lost? And he replied, 'When pride and unbounded self-confidence hold sway, dishonour and loss of reputation are engendered. For God is the Lord of all reputation and bestows it where He will.'

270. The king gave his confirmation to the answer, and asked the next man, To whom ought men to entrust themselves? 'To those,' he replied, 'who serve you from goodwill and not from fear or self-interest, thinking only of their own gain. For the one is the sign of love, the other the mark of ill-will and time-serving. For the man who is always watching for his own gain is a

traitor at heart. But you possess the affection of all your subjects by the help of the good counsel which God bestows upon you.'

SECTIONS 271-322

271. The king said that he had answered wisely, and asked another, What is it that keeps a kingdom safe? And he replied to the question, 'Care and forethought that no evil may be wrought by those who are placed in a position of authority over the people, and this you always do by the help of God who inspires you with grave judgement'. 272. The king spoke words of encouragement to him, and asked another, What is it that maintains gratitude and honour? And he replied, 'Virtue, for it is the creator of good deeds, and by it evil is destroyed, even as you exhibit nobility of character towards all by the gift which God bestows upon you.' 273. The king graciously acknowledged the answer and asked the eleventh (since there were two more than seventy), How he could in time of war maintain tranquillity of soul? And he replied, 'By remembering that he had done no evil to any of his subjects, and that all would fight for him in return for the benefits which they had received, knowing that even if they lose their lives, you will care for those

274. dependent on them. For you never fail to make reparation to any—such is the kind-heartedness with which God has inspired you.' The king loudly applauded them all and spoke very kindly to them and then drank a long draught to the health of each, giving himself up to enjoyment, and lavishing the most generous and joyous friendship upon his guests. 275. On the seventh day much more extensive preparations were made, and many others were present from the different cities (among them a large number of ambassadors). When an opportunity occurred, the king asked the first of those who had not yet been questioned How he could avoid 276. being deceived by fallacious reasoning? and he replied, 'By noticing carefully the speaker, the thing spoken, and the subject under discussion, and by putting the same questions again after an interval in different forms. But to possess an alert mind and to be able to form a sound judgement in every case is one of the good gifts of God, and you possess it, O King.'

277. The king loudly applauded the answer and asked another, Why is it that the majority of men never become virtuous? 'Because,' he replied, 'all men are by nature intemperate and inclined to 278. pleasure. Hence, injustice springs up and a flood of avarice. The habit of virtue is a hindrance to those who are devoted to a life of pleasure because it enjoins upon them the

preference of temperance and righteousness. For it is God who is the master of these things.' 279. The king said that he had answered well, and asked, 'What ought kings to obey?' And he said, 'The laws, in order that by righteous enactments they may restore the lives of men. Even as you by such conduct in obedience to the Divine command have laid up in store for yourself a perpetual memorial.' 280. The king said that this man, too, had spoken well, and asked the next, 'Whom ought we to appoint as governors?' And he replied, 'All who hate wickedness, and imitating your own conduct act righteously that they may maintain a good reputation constantly. For this is what you do, O mighty King,' he said, 'and it is God who has bestowed upon you the crown of righteousness.'

281. The king loudly acclaimed the answer and then looking at the next man said, 'Whom ought we to appoint as officers over the forces?' And he explained, 'Those who excel in courage and righteousness and those who are more anxious about the safety of their men than to gain a victory by risking their lives through rashness. For as God acts well towards all men, so too you in imitation of Him are the benefactor of all your subjects.' 282. The king said that he had given a good answer and asked another, 'What man is worthy of admiration?' And he replied, 'The man who is furnished with reputation and wealth and power and possesses a soul equal to it all. You yourself show by your actions that you are most worthy of admiration through the help of God who makes you care for these things.' 283. The king expressed his approval and said to another 'To what affairs ought kings to devote most time?' And he replied, 'To reading and the study of the records of official journeys, which are written in reference to the various kingdoms, with a view to the reformation and preservation of the subjects. And it is by such activity that you have attained to a glory which has never been approached by others, through the help of God who fulfils all your desires.'

284. The king spoke enthusiastically to the man and asked another 'How ought a man to occupy himself during his hours of relaxation and recreation?' And he replied, 'To watch those plays which can be acted with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes taken from life and enacted with dignity and decency is profitable and appropriate. For there is some edification to be found even in these amusements, for often some desirable lesson is taught by the most insignificant affairs of life. But by practising the utmost propriety in all your actions, you have shown that you are a philosopher and

you are honoured by God on account of your virtue.' 286. The king, pleased with the words which had just been spoken, said to the ninth man, How ought a man to conduct himself at banquets? And he replied, 'You should summon to your side men of learning and those who are able to give you useful hints with regard to the affairs of your kingdom and the lives of your subjects (for you could not find any theme more suitable or more

287. educative than this) since such men are dear to God because they have trained their minds to contemplate the noblest themes—as you indeed are doing yourself, since all your actions are directed by God.' 288. Delighted with the reply, the king inquired of the next man, What is best for the people? That a private citizen should be made king over them or a member of the royal family? And he 289. replied, 'He who is best by nature. For kings who come of royal lineage are often harsh and severe towards their subjects. And still more is this the case with some of those who have risen from the ranks of private citizens, who after having experienced evil and borne their share of 290. poverty, when they rule over multitudes turn out to be more cruel than the godless tyrants. But, as I have said, a good nature which has been properly trained is capable of ruling, and you are a great king, not so much because you excel in the glory of your rule and your wealth but rather because you have surpassed all men in clemency and philanthropy, thanks to God who has endowed you with these qualities.'

291. The king spent some time in praising this man and then asked the last of all, What is the greatest achievement in ruling an empire? And he replied, 'That the subjects should continually dwell in a state of peace, and that justice should be speedily administered in cases of dispute. 292. These results are achieved through the influence of the ruler, when he is a man who hates evil and loves the good and devotes his energies to saving the lives of men, just as you consider injustice the worst form of evil and by your just administration have fashioned for yourself an undying reputation, since God bestows upon you a mind which is pure and untainted by any evil.' 293. And when he ceased, loud and joyful applause broke out for some considerable time. When it stopped the king took a cup and gave a toast in honour of all his guests and the words which they had uttered. Then in conclusion he said, 'I have derived the greatest benefit from your presence.

294. I have profited much by the wise teaching which you have given me in reference to the art of ruling.' Then he ordered that three talents of silver

should be presented to each of them, and appointed one of his slaves to deliver over the money. All at once shouted their approval, and the banquet became a scene of joy, while the king gave himself up to a continuous round of festivity. 295. I have written at length and must crave your pardon, Philocrates. I was astonished beyond measure at the men and the way in which on the spur of the moment they gave answers which really needed a long time to devise. 296. For though the questioner had given great thought to each particular question, those who replied one after the other had their answers to the questions ready at once and so they seemed to me and to all who were present and especially to the philosophers to be worthy of admiration. And I suppose that the thing will seem incredible to those who will read my narrative in the future.

297. But it is unseemly to misrepresent facts which are recorded in the public archives. And it would not be right for me to transgress in such a matter as this. I tell the story just as it happened, conscientiously avoiding any error. I was so impressed by the force of their utterances, that I made an effort to consult those whose business it was to make a record of all that happened at the royal audiences and banquets. 298. For it is the custom, as you know, from the moment the king begins to transact business until the time when he retires to rest, for a record to be taken of all his sayings and doings—a most excellent and useful arrangement. 299. For on the following day the minutes of the doings and sayings of the previous day are read over before business commences, and if there has been any irregularity, the matter is at once set right.

300. I obtained therefore, as has been said, accurate information from the public records, and I have set forth the facts in proper order since I know how eager you are to obtain useful information. 301. Three days later Demetrius took the men and passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia long, to the island, crossed the bridge and made for the northern districts of Pharos. There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the seashore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything that they needed for the purpose was placed at their disposal. 302. So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius. 303. And the session

lasted until the ninth hour; after this they were set free to minister to their physical needs.

304. Everything they wanted was furnished for them on a lavish scale. In addition to this Dorotheus made the same preparations for them daily as were made for the king himself—for thus he had been commanded by the king. In the early morning they appeared daily at the Court, and after saluting the king went back to their own place. 305. And as is the custom of all the Jews, they washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and translating the particular passage upon which they were engaged, and I put the question to them. 306. Why it was that they washed their hands before they prayed? And they explained that it was a token that they had done no evil (for every form of activity is wrought by means of the hands) since in their noble and holy way they regard everything as a symbol of righteousness and truth.

307. As I have already said, they met together daily in the place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness and applied themselves to their task. And it so chanced that the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days, just as if this had been arranged of set purpose. 308. When the work was completed, Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presence of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had conferred upon them. They bestowed warm praise upon Demetrius, too, and urged him to have the whole law transcribed and present a copy to their leaders. 309. After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no alteration should be made in it. And when the whole company expressed their approval, they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any one who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making any omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.

312. When the matter was reported to the king, he rejoiced greatly, for he felt that the design which he had formed had been safely carried out. The

whole book was read over to him and he was greatly astonished at the spirit of the lawgiver. And he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that none of the historians or the poets have ever thought it worth their while to allude to such a wonderful achievement?' And he replied, 'Because the law is sacred and of divine origin. And some of those who formed the intention of dealing with it have been smitten by God and therefore desisted from their purpose.' He said that he had heard from Theopompus that he had been driven out of his mind for more than thirty days because he intended to insert in his history some of the incidents from the earlier and somewhat unreliable translations of the law. When he had recovered a little, he besought God to make it clear to him why the misfortune had befallen him. And it was revealed to him in a dream, that from idle curiosity he was wishing to communicate sacred truths to common men, and that if he desisted he would recover his health. I have heard, too, from the lips of Theodectes, one of the tragic poets, that when he was about to adapt some of the incidents recorded in the book for one of his plays, he was affected with cataract in both his eyes. And when he perceived the reason why the misfortune had befallen him, he prayed to God for many days and was afterwards restored.

317. And after the king, as I have already said, had received the explanation of Demetrius on this point, he did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should be sacredly guarded. 318. And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judea, for it was only right, he said, that he should now send them home. But when they came back, he would treat them as friends, as was right, and they would receive rich presents from him. 319. He ordered preparations to be made for them to return home, and treated them most munificently. He presented each one of them with three robes of the finest sort, two talents of gold, a sideboard weighing one talent, all the furniture for three couches. 320. And with the escort he sent Eleazar ten couches with silver legs and all the necessary equipment, a sideboard worth thirty talents, ten robes, purple, and a magnificent crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, also bowls and dishes, and two golden beakers to be dedicated to God.

321. He urged him also in a letter that if any of the men preferred to come back to him, not to hinder them. For he counted it a great privilege to enjoy the society of such learned men, and he would rather lavish his wealth upon them than upon vanities. 322. And now Philocrates, you have the com-

plete story in accordance with my promise. I think that you find greater pleasure in these matters than in the writings of the mythologists. For you are devoted to the study of those things which can benefit the soul, and spend much time upon it. I shall attempt to narrate whatever other events are worth recording, that by perusing them you may secure the highest reward for your zeal.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees

TRANSLATED BY R. B. TOWNSHEND

1st century AD

A Jewish sermon in Greek of the first century AD on the thesis that the Inspired Reason can master the passions, which it proves by the martyrdoms of Eleazar and of the seven brothers and their mother under King Antiochus. It is included in some manuscripts of the Septuagint, and some of them ascribe it to Josephus, who did not write it; it is not part of the Bible in the Jewish or the usual Christian canon. This is R. B. Townshend's translation, in eighteen chapters.

CHAPTER 1

¹Philosophical in the highest degree is the question I propose to discuss, namely whether the Inspired Reason is supreme ruler over the passions; and to the philosophy of it I would seriously entreat your earnest attention. For not only is the subject generally necessary as a branch of knowledge, but it includes the praise of the greatest of virtues, whereby I mean self-control. That is to say, if Reason is proved to control the passions adverse to temperance, gluttony and lust, it is also clearly shown to be lord over the passions, like malevolence, opposed to justice, and over those opposed to manliness, namely rage and pain and fear. But, some may ask, if the Reason is master of the passions, why does it not control forgetfulness and ignorance? their object being to cast ridicule. The answer is that Reason is not master over defects inhering in the mind itself, but over the passions or moral defects that are adverse to justice and manliness and temperance and judgement; and its action in their case is not to extirpate the passions, but to enable us to resist them successfully.

²I could bring before you many examples, drawn from various sources, where Reason has proved itself master over the passions, but the best instance by far that I can give is the noble conduct of those who died for the sake of virtue, Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren and the Mother. For these all by their

contempt of pains, yea, even unto death, proved that Reason rises superior to the passions. I might enlarge here in praise of their virtues, they, the men with the Mother, dying on this day we celebrate for the love of moral beauty and goodness, but rather would I felicitate them on the honours they have attained. For the admiration felt for their courage and endurance, not only by the world at large but by their very executioners, made them the authors of the downfall of the tyranny under which our nation lay, they defeating the tyrant by their endurance, so that through them was their country purified. But I shall presently take opportunity to discuss this, after we have begun with the general theory, as I am in the habit of doing, and I will then proceed to their story, giving glory to the all-wise God.

³ Our enquiry, then, is whether the Reason is supreme master over the passions. But we must define just what the Reason is and what passion is, and how many forms of passion there are, and whether the Reason is supreme over all of them. Reason I take to be the mind preferring with is revealed to the soul of the 'righteous man' in the Book of Moses, and I therefore translate by 'The Inspired Reason', that is to say the Reason or Rational Will obeying the guidance of the Law. When so guided, the becomes our higher self, and includes not only reason, but the moral sense and that noblest form of courage which consists in perfect self-sacrifice for the sake of our ideal. With regard to I have only used 'Inspired' for it when thus connected with. Elsewhere it is generally represented by 'righteous', which must be taken in the meaning it usually bears in the Old Testament of 'following the Law' in the Jewish sense. Similarly is either 'righteousness' or 'religion', according to the context, with the same definitely limited connotation of orthodox Judaism. clear deliberation the life of wisdom. Wisdom I take to be the knowledge of things, divine and human, and of their causes. This I take to be the culture acquired under the Law, through which we learn with due reverence the things of God and for our worldly profit the things of man. Now wisdom is manifested under the forms of judgement and justice, and courage, and temperance.

⁴ But judgement or self-control is the one that dominates them all, for through it, in truth, Reason asserts its authority over the passions. But of the passions there are two comprehensive sources, namely, pleasure and pain, and either belongs essentially also to the soul as well as to the body. And with respect both to pleasure and pain there are many cases where the passions have

certain sequences. Thus while desire goes before pleasure, satisfaction follows after, and while fear goes before pain, after pain comes sorrow. Anger, again, if a man will retrace the course of his feelings, is a passion in which are blended both pleasure and pain. Under pleasure, also, comes that moral debasement which exhibits the widest variety of the passions. It manifests itself in the soul as ostentation, and covetousness, and vain-glory, and contentiousness, and backbiting, and in the body as eating of strange meat, and gluttony, and gormandizing in secret. Now pleasure and pain being as it were two trees, growing from body and soul, many offshoots of these passions sprout up; and each man's Reason as master-gardener, weeding and pruning and binding up, and turning on the water and directing it hither and thither, brings the thicket of dispositions and passions under domestication. For while Reason is the guide of the virtues it is master of the passions. Observe, now, in the first place, that Reason becomes supreme over the passions in virtue of the inhibitory action of temperance. Temperance, I take it, is the repression of the desires;

5 but of the desires some are mental and some physical, and both kinds are clearly controlled by Reason; when we are tempted towards forbidden meats, how do we come to relinquish the pleasures to be derived from them? Is it not that Reason has power to repress the appetites? In my opinion it is so. Accordingly when we feel a desire to eat water-animals and birds and beasts and meats of every description forbidden to us under the Law, we abstain through the predominance of Reason. For the propensions of our appetites are checked and inhibited by the temperate mind, and all the movements of the body obey the bridle of Reason.

CHAPTER 2

1 And what is there to be surprised at if the natural desire of the soul to enjoy the fruition of beauty is quenched? This, certainly, is why we praise the virtuous Joseph, because by his Reason, with a mental effort, he checked the carnal impulse. For he, a young man at the age when physical desire is strong, by his Reason quenched the impulse of his passions. And Reason is proved to subdue the impulse not only of sexual desire, but of all sorts of covetings. For the Law says, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor anything that is thy neighbour's. Verily, when the Law orders us not to covet, it should, I think, confirm strongly the argument that the Reason is capable of controlling covetous desires, even as it does the passions that militate against

justice. How else can a man, naturally gormandizing and greedy and drunken, be taught to change his nature, if the Reason be not manifestly the master of the passions? Certainly, as soon as a man orders his life according to the Law, if he is miserly he acts contrary to his nature, and lends money to the needy without interest, and at the seventh-year periods cancels the debt. And if he is parsimonious, he is overruled by the Law through the action of Reason, and refrains from gleaning his stubbles or picking the last grapes from his vineyards. And with regard to all the rest we can recognize that Reason is in the position of master over the passions or affections.

2 For the Law ranks above affection for parents, so that a man may not for their sakes surrender his virtue, and it overrides love for a wife, so that if she transgress a man should rebuke her, and it governs love for children, so that if they are naughty a man should punish them, and it controls the claims of friendship, so that a man should reprove his friends if they do evil. And do not think it a paradoxical thing when Reason through the Law is able to overcome even hatred, so that a man refrains from cutting down the enemy's orchards, and protects the property of the enemy from the spoilers, and gathers up their goods that have been scattered. And the rule of Reason is likewise proved to extend through the more aggressive passions or vices, ambition, vanity, ostentation, pride, and backbiting. For the temperate mind repels all these debased passions, even as it does anger, for it conquers even this. Yea, Moses when he was angered against Dathan and Abiram did not give free course to his wrath, but governed his anger by his Reason. For the temperate mind is able, as I said, to win the victory over the passions, modifying some, while crushing others absolutely. Why else did our wise father Jacob blame the houses of Simeon and Levi for their unreasoning slaughter of the tribe of the Shechemites, saying, 'Accursed be their anger! For had not Reason possessed the power to restrain their anger he would not have spoken thus.

3 For in the day when God created man, he implanted in him his passions and inclinations, and also, at the very same time, set the mind on a throne amidst the senses to be his sacred guide in all things; and to the mind he gave the Law, by the which if a man order himself, he shall reign over a kingdom that is temperate, and just, and virtuous, and brave. Well then, some one may ask, if Reason is master of the passions why is it not master of forgetfulness and ignorance?

CHAPTER 3

¹But the argument is supremely ridiculous. For Reason is not shown to be master over passions or defects in itself, but over those of the body. For example, none of you is able to extirpate our natural desire, but the Reason can enable him to escape being made a slave by desire. None of you is able to extirpate anger from the soul, but it is possible for the Reason to come to his aid against anger. None of you can extirpate a malevolent disposition, but Reason can be his powerful ally against being swayed by malevolence. Reason is not the extirpator of the passions, but their antagonist. ²The case of the thirst of King David may serve at least to make this clearer. For when David had fought the live-long day against the Philistines, and by the help of our country's warriors had slain many of them, he came at eventide, all fordone with sweat and toil, to the royal tent, around which was encamped the whole army of our ancestors. So all the host fell to their evening meal; but the king, being consumed with an intense thirst, though he had abundance of water, was unable to slake it. Instead, an irrational desire for the water that was in the possession of the enemy with growing intensity burned him up and unmanned and consumed him. Then when his body-guard murmured against the craving of the king, two youths, mighty warriors, ashamed that their king should lack his desire, put on all their armour, and took a water-vessel, and scaled the enemy's ramparts; and stealing undetected past the guards at the gate, they searched through all the enemy's camp. And they bravely found the spring, and drew from it a draught for the king. But David, though still burning with the thirst, considered that such a draught, reckoned as equivalent to blood, was a grievous danger to his soul. Therefore, opposing his Reason to his desire, he poured out the water as an offering to God. For the temperate mind is able to conquer the dictates of the passions, and to quench the fires of desire, and to wrestle victoriously with the pangs of our bodies though they be exceeding strong, and by the moral beauty and goodness of Reason to defy with scorn all the domination of the passions. And now the occasion calls us to set forth the story of the self-controlled Reason.

CHAPTER 4

¹At a time when our fathers enjoyed great peace through the due observance of the Law, and were in happy case, so that Seleucus Nicanor, the king of

Asia, sanctioned the tax for the temple-service, and recognized our polity, precisely then, certain men, acting factiously against the general concord, involved us in many and various calamities. Onias, a man of the highest character, being then high priest and having the office for his life, a certain Simon raised a faction against him, but since despite every kind of slander he failed to injure him on account of the people, he fled abroad with intent to betray his country. So he came to Apollonius, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia and Cilicia, and said, 'Being loyal to the king, I am here to inform you that in the treasuries of Jerusalem are stored many thousands of private deposits, not belonging to the temple account, and rightfully the property of King Seleucus. Apollonius, having made inquiry into the details of the matter, praised Simon for his loyal service to the king, and hastening to the court of Seleucus, disclosed to him the valuable treasure; then, after receiving authority to deal with the matter, he promptly marched into our country, accompanied by the accursed Simon and a very powerful army, and announced that he was there by the king's command to take possession of the private deposits in the treasury.

² Our people were deeply angered by this announcement, and protested strongly, considering it an outrageous thing for those who had entrusted their deposits to the temple treasury to be robbed of them, and they threw all possible obstacles in his way. Apollonius, however, with threats, made his way into the temple. Then the priests in the temple and the women and children besought God to come to the rescue of his Holy Place that was being violated; and when Apollonius with his armed host marched in to seize the moneys, there appeared from heaven angels, riding upon horses, with lightning flashing from their arms, and cast great fear and trembling upon them. And Apollonius fell down half-dead in the Court of the Gentiles, and stretched out his hands to heaven, and with tears he entreated the Hebrews that they would make intercession for him and stay the wrath of the heavenly host. For he said that he had sinned and was worthy even of death, and that if he were given his life he would laud to all men the blessedness of the Holy Place. Moved by these words, Onias, the high-priest, although most scrupulous in other cases, made intercession for him lest King Seleucus should possibly think that Apollonius had been overthrown by a human device and not by divine justice. Apollonius, accordingly, after his astonishing deliverance departed to report to the king the things that had befallen

him. But Seleucus dying, his successor on the throne was his son Antiochus Epiphanes, an overweening terrible man;

³ who dismissed Onias from his sacred office, and made his brother Jason high-priest instead, the condition being that in return for the appointment Jason should pay him three thousand six hundred and sixty talents yearly. So he appointed Jason high-priest and made him chief ruler over the people. And he (Jason) introduced to our people a new way of life and a new constitution in utter defiance of the Law; so that not only did he lay out a gymnasium on the Mount of our fathers, but he actually abolished the service of the temple. Wherefore the divine justice was kindled to anger and brought Antiochus himself as an enemy against us. For when he was carrying on war with Ptolemy in Egypt and heard that the people of Jerusalem had rejoiced exceedingly over a report of his death, he immediately marched back against them. And when he had plundered the city he made a decree denouncing the penalty of death upon any who should be seen to live after the Law of our fathers. But he found all his decrees of no avail to break down the constancy of our people to the Law, and he beheld all his threats and penalties utterly despised, so that even women for circumcising their sons, though they knew beforehand what would be their fate, were flung, together with their offspring, headlong from the rocks.

⁴ When therefore his decrees continued to be condemned by the mass of the people, he personally tried to force by tortures each man separately to eat unclean meats and thus abjure the Jewish religion.

CHAPTER 5

¹ Accordingly, the tyrant Antiochus, accompanied by his councillors, sat in judgement on a certain high place with his troops drawn up around him in full armour, and he ordered his guards to drag there every single man of the Hebrews and compel them to eat swine's flesh and things offered to idols; but if any should refuse to defile themselves with the unclean things, they were to be tortured and put to death. And when many had been taken by force, one man first from among the company was brought before Antiochus, a Hebrew whose name was Eleazar, a priest by birth, trained in knowledge of the law, a man advanced in years and well known to many of the tyrant's court for his philosophy. And Antiochus, looking on him, said:
² 'Before I allow the tortures to begin for you, O venerable man, I would give you this counsel, that you should eat of the flesh of the swine and save your

life; for I respect your age and your grey hairs, although to have worn them so long a time, and still to cling to the Jewish religion, makes me think you no philosopher. For most excellent is the meat of this animal which Nature has graciously bestowed upon us, and why should you abominate it? Truly it is folly not to enjoy innocent pleasures, and it is wrong to reject Nature's favours. But it will be still greater folly, I think, on your part if with idle vapouring about truth you shall proceed to defy even me to your own punishment also that the Creator of the world, as a Lawgiver, feels for us according to our nature. He has commanded us to eat the things that will be convenient for our souls, and he has forbidden us to eat meats that would be the contrary. But it is the act of a tyrant that you should compel us not only to transgress the Law, but should also make us eat in such manner that you may mock at this defilement so utterly abominable to us. But you shall not mock at me thus, neither will I break the sacred oaths of my ancestors to keep the Law, not even though you tear out mine eyes and burn out mine entrails.

3 I am not so unmanned by old age but that when righteousness is at stake the strength of youth returns to my Reason. So twist hard your racks and blow your furnace hotter. I do not so pity mine old age as to break the Law of my fathers in mine own person. I will not belie thee, O Law that wast my teacher; I will not desert thee, O beloved self-control; I will not put thee to shame, O wisdom-loving Reason, nor will I deny ye, O venerated priesthood and knowledge of the Law. Neither shalt thou sully the pure mouth of mine old age and my lifelong constancy to the Law. Clean shall my fathers receive me, unafraid of thy torments even to the death. For thou indeed mayest be tyrant over unrighteous men, but thou shalt not lord it over my resolution in the matter of righteousness either by thy words or through thy deeds.

CHAPTER 6

1 But when Eleazar replied thus eloquently to the exhortations of the tyrant, the guards around him dragged him roughly to the torturing place. And first they unclothed the old man, who was adorned with the beauty of holiness. Then binding his arms on either side they scourged him, a herald standing and shouting out over against him, 'Obey the orders of the king!' But the great-souled and noble man, an Eleazar in very truth, was no more moved in his mind than if he were being tormented in a dream; yea, the old man keeping his eyes steadfastly raised to heaven suffered his flesh to be torn by

the scourges till he was bathed in blood and his sides became a mass of wounds; and even when he fell to the ground because his body could no longer support the pain he still kept his Reason erect and inflexible. With his foot then one of the cruel guards as he fell kicked him savagely in the side to make him get up. But he endured the anguish, and despised the compulsion, and bore up under the torments, and like a brave athlete taking punishment, the old man outwore his tormentors. The sweat stood on his brow, and he drew his breath in hard gasps, till his nobility of soul extorted the admiration of his tormentors themselves. Hereupon, partly in pity for his old age, partly in sympathy for their friend, partly in admiration of his courage, some of the courtiers of the king went up to him and said: 'Why, O Eleazar, dost thou madly destroy thyself in this misery? We will bring to thee of the seethed meats, but do thou feign only to partake of the swine's flesh, and so save thyself.'

² And Eleazar, as if their counsel did but add to his tortures, cried loudly: 'No. May we sons of Abraham never have so evil a thought as with faint heart to counterfeit a part unseemly to us. Contrary to Reason, indeed, were it for us, after living unto the truth till old age, and guarding in lawful guise the repute of so living, now to change and become in our own persons a pattern to the young of impiety, to the end that we should encourage them to eat unclean meat. Shame were it if we should live on a little longer, during that little being mocked of all men for cowardice, and while despised by the tyrant as unmanly should fail to defend the Divine Law unto the death. Therefore, O sons of Abraham, do ye die nobly for righteousness' sake; but as for you, O minions of the tyrant, why pause ye in your work?'

³ So they, seeing him thus triumphant over the tortures and unmoved even by the pity of his executioners, dragged him to the fire. There they cast him on it, burning him with cruelly cunning devices, and they poured broth of evil odour into his nostrils. But when the fire already reached to his bones and he was about to give up the ghost, he lifted up his eyes to God and said, 'Thou, O God, knowest that though I might save myself I am dying by fiery torments for thy Law. Be merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.' And with these words the holy man nobly yielded up his spirit under the torture, and for the sake of the Law held out by his Reason even against the torments unto death.

⁴Beyond question, then, the Inspired Reason is master over the passions; for if his passions or sufferings had prevailed over his Reason we should have credited them with this evidence of their superior power. But now his Reason having conquered his passions, we properly attribute to it the power of commanding them. And it is right that we should admit that the mastery lies with Reason, in cases at least where it conquers pains that come from outside ourselves; for it were ridiculous to deny it. And my proof covers not only the superiority of Reason to pains, but its superiority to pleasures also; neither does it surrender to them.

CHAPTER 7

¹For the Reason of our father Eleazar, like a fine steersman steering the ship of sanctity on the sea of the passions, though buffeted by the threats of the tyrant and swept by the swelling waves of the tortures, never shifted for one moment the helm of sanctity until he sailed into the haven of victory over death. No city besieged with many and cunning engines ever defended itself so well as did that holy man when his sacred soul was attacked with scourge and rack and flame, and he moved them who were laying siege to his soul through his Reason that was the shield of sanctity. For our father Eleazar, setting his mind firm as a beetling sea-cliff, broke the mad onset of the surges of the passions. O priest worthy of thy priesthood, thou didst not defile thy holy teeth, nor didst thou befoul with unclean meat thy belly that had room only for piety and purity. O confessor of the Law and philosopher of the Divine life! Such should those be whose office is to serve the Law and defend it with their own blood and honourable sweat in the face of sufferings to the death. Thou, O father, didst fortify our fidelity to the Law through thy steadfastness unto glory;

²and having spoken in honour of holiness thou didst not belie thy speech, and didst confirm the words of divine philosophy by thy deeds, O aged man that wast more forceful than the tortures, O reverend elder that wast tenser-strung than the flame, thou great king over the passions, Eleazar. For as our father Aaron, armed with the censer, ran through the massed congregation against the fiery angel and overcame him, so the son of Aaron, Eleazar, being consumed by the melting heat of the fire, remained unshaken in his Reason. And yet most wonderful of all, he, being an old man, with the sinews of his body unstrung and his muscles relaxed and his nerves weakened, grew a young man again in the spirit of his Reason and with

Isaac-like Reason turned the hydra-headed torture to impotence. O blessed age, O reverend grey head, O life faithful to the Law and perfected by the seal of death!

³ Assuredly, then, if an old man despised the torments unto death for righteousness' sake it must be admitted that the Inspired Reason is able to guide the passions. But some perhaps may answer that not all men are masters of the passions because not all men have their Reason enlightened. But as many as with their whole heart make righteousness their first thought, these alone are able to master the weakness of the flesh, believing that unto God they die not, as our patriarchs, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, died not, but that they live unto God. Therefore there is nothing contradictory in certain persons appearing to be slaves to passion in consequence of the weakness of their Reason. For who is there that being a philosopher following righteously the whole rule of philosophy, and having put his trust in God, and knowing that it is a blessed thing to endure all hardness for the sake of virtue, would not conquer his passions for the sake of righteousness? For the wise and self-controlled man alone is the brave ruler of the passions. Yea, by this means even young boys, being philosophers by virtue of the Reason which is according to righteousness, have triumphed over yet more grievous tortures.

CHAPTER 8

¹ For when the tyrant found himself notably defeated in his first attempt, and impotent to compel an old man to eat unclean meat, then truly in violent rage he ordered the guards to bring others of the young men of the Hebrews, and if they would eat unclean meat to release them after eating it, but if they refused, to torture them yet more savagely. And under these orders of the tyrant seven brethren together with their aged mother were brought prisoners before him, all handsome, and modest, and well-born, and generally attractive. And when the tyrant saw them there, standing as if they were a festal choir with their mother in the midst, he took notice of them, and struck by their noble and distinguished bearing he smiled at them, and calling them nearer said: ² 'O young men, I wish well to each one of you, and admire your beauty, and honour highly so large a band of brothers; so not only do I advise you not to persist in the madness of that old man who has already suffered, but I even entreat of you to yield to me and become partakers in my friendship. For, as I am able to punish those who disobey my

orders, so am I able to advance those who do obey me. Be assured then that you shall be given positions of importance and authority in my service if you will reject the ancestral law of your polity. Share in the Hellenic life, and walk in a new way, and take some pleasure in your youth; for if you drive me to anger with your disobedience you will compel me to resort to terrible penalties and put every single one of you to death by torture. Have pity then on yourselves, whom even I, your opponent, pity for your youth and your beauty. Will you not consider with yourselves this thing, that if you disobey me there is nothing before you but death in torments?’

³ With these words he ordered the instruments of torture to be brought forward in order to persuade them by fear to eat unclean meat. But when the guards had produced wheels, and jointdislocators, and racks, and bone-crushers, and catapults, and chaldrons, and braziers, and thumbscrews, and iron claws, and wedges, and branding irons, the tyrant spoke again and said, ‘You had better feel fear, my lads, and the Justice you worship will pardon your unwilling transgression’. But they, hearing his persuasions, and seeing his dreadful engines, not only showed no fear but actually arrayed their philosophy in opposition to the tyrant, and by their right Reason did abuse his tyranny. And yet consider; supposing some amongst them to have been faint-hearted and cowardly, what sort of language would they have used? would it not have been to this effect? ⁴ ‘Alas! miserable creatures that we are and foolish above measure! When the king invites us and appeals to us on terms of kind treatment shall we not obey him? Why do we encourage ourselves with vain desires and dare a disobedience that is to cost us our lives? Shall we not, O men my brothers, fear the dread instruments and weigh well his threats of the tortures, and abandon these empty vaunts and this fatal bragging? Let us take pity on our own youth and have compassion on our mother’s age; and let us lay to heart that if we disobey we shall die. And even the divine justice will have mercy on us, if compelled by necessity we yield to the king in fear. Why should we cast away from us this dear life and rob ourselves of this sweet world? Let us not strive against necessity nor with vain confidence invite our torture. Even the Law itself does not willingly condemn us to death, we being in terror of the instruments of torture. Why does such contentiousness inflame us and a fatal obstinacy find favour with us, when we might have a peaceful life by obeying the king? But no such words escaped these young men at the prospect of the torture, nor did such

thoughts enter into their minds. For they were despisers of the passions and masters over pain. And thus no sooner did the tyrant conclude his urging of them to eat unclean meat than all with one voice together, and as with one soul, said to him:

CHAPTER 9

¹ ‘Why dost thou delay, O tyrant? We are ready to die rather than transgress the commandments of our fathers. For we should be putting our ancestors also to shame, if we did not walk in obedience to the Law and take Moses as our counsellor. O tyrant that counsellest us to transgress the Law, do not, hating us, pity us beyond ourselves. For we esteem thy mercy, giving us our life in return for a breach of the Law, a thing harder to bear than death itself. Thou wouldst terrify us with thy threats of death under torture, as if a little while ago thou hadst learned nothing from Eleazar. But if the old men of the Hebrews endured the tortures for righteousness’ sake, yea, until they died, more befittingly will we young men die despising the torments of thy compulsion, over which he our aged teacher also triumphed. Make trial therefore, O tyrant. And if thou takest our lives for the sake of righteousness, think not that thou hurts us with thy tortures. For we through this our evil entreatment and our endurance of it shall win the prize of virtue; but thou for our cruel murder shalt suffer at the hands of divine justice sufficient torment by fire for ever.’

² These words of the youths redoubled the wrath of the tyrant, not at their disobedience only but at what he considered their ingratitude. So by his orders the scourgers brought forward the eldest of them and stripped him of his garment and bound his hands and arms on either side with thongs. But when they had scourged him till they were weary, and gained nothing thereby, they cast him upon the wheel. And on it the noble youth was racked till his bones were out of joint. And as joint after joint gave way, he denounced the tyrant in these words: ‘O thou most abominable tyrant, thou enemy of the justice of heaven and bloody-minded, thou dost torment me in this fashion not for manslaying nor for impiety but for defending the Law of God.’ And when the guards said to him, ‘Consent to eat, that so you may be released from your tortures,’ he said to them, ‘Your method, O miserable minions, is not strong enough to lead captive my Reason. Cut off my limbs, and burn my flesh, and twist my joints; through all the torments I will show you that in behalf of virtue the sons of the Hebrews alone are unconquer-

able.’ As he thus spake they set hot coals upon him besides, and intensifying the torture strained him yet tighter on the wheel. And all the wheel was besmeared with his blood, and the heaped coals were quenched by the humours of his body dropping down, and the rent flesh ran round the axles of the machine.

³ And with his bodily frame already in dissolution this great-souled youth, like a true son of Abraham, groaned not at all; but as if he were suffering a change by fire to incorruption, he nobly endured the torment, saying, ‘Follow my example, O brothers. Do not for ever desert me, and forswear not our brotherhood in nobility of soul. War a holy and honourable warfare on behalf of righteousness, through which may the just Providence that watched over our fathers become merciful unto his people and take vengeance on the accursed tyrant.’ And with these words the holy youth yielded up the ghost. But while all were wondering at his constancy of soul, the guards brought forward the second in age of the sons, and grappling him with sharp-clawed hands of iron they fastened him to the engines and the catapult. But when they heard his noble resolve in answer to their question, ‘Would he eat rather than be tortured?’ these panther-like beasts tore at his sinews with claws of iron, and rent away all the flesh from his cheeks, and tore off the skin from his head. But he steadfastly enduring this agony said, ‘How sweet is every form of death for the sake of the righteousness of our fathers!’ And to the tyrant he said, ‘O most ruthless of tyrants, doth not it seem to thee that at this moment thou thyself sufferest tortures worse than mine in seeing thy tyranny’s arrogant intention overcome by my endurance for righteousness’ sake? For I am supported under pain by the joys that come through virtue, whereas thou art in torment whilst glorying in thy impiety; neither shalt thou escape, O most abominable tyrant, the penalties of the divine wrath.’

CHAPTER 10

¹ And when he had bravely met his glorious death, the third son was brought forward and was earnestly entreated by many to taste and so to save himself. But he answered in a loud voice, ‘Are ye ignorant that the same father begat me and my brothers that are dead, and the same mother gave us birth, and in the same doctrines was I brought up? I do not forswear the noble bond of brotherhood. Therefore if ye have any engine of torment, apply it to this body of mine; for my soul ye cannot reach, not if ye would. But

they were greatly angered at the bold speech of the man, and they dislocated his hands and his feet with their dislocating engines, and wrenched his limbs out of their sockets, and unstrung them; and they twisted round his fingers, and his arms, and his legs, and his elbow-joints. And in no wise being able to strangle his spirit they stripped off his skin, taking the points of the fingers with it, and tore in Scythian fashion the scalp from his head, and straight-way brought him to the wheel. And on this they twisted his spine till he saw his own flesh hanging in strips and great gouts of blood pouring down from his entrails. And at the point of death he said, 'We, O most abominable tyrant, suffer thus for our upbringing and our virtue that are of God; but thou for thy impiety and thy cruelty shalt endure torments without end.

² And when this man had died worthily of his brothers, they brought up the fourth, and said to him, 'Be not thou also mad with the same madness as thy brethren, but obey the king and save thyself. But he said unto them, 'For me ye have no fire so exceeding hot as to make me a coward. By the blessed death of my brethren, by the eternal doom of the tyrant, and by the glorious life of the righteous, I will not deny my noble brotherhood. Invent tortures, O tyrant, in order that thou mayest learn thereby that I am brother of those who have been already tortured. When he heard this the bloodthirsty, murderous, and utterly abominable Antiochus bade them cut out his tongue. But he said, 'Even if thou dost remove my organ of speech, God is a hearer also of the speechless. Lo, I put out my tongue ready: cut it out, for thou shalt not thereby silence my Reason. Gladly do we give our bodily members to be mutilated for the cause of God. But God will speedily pursue after thee; for thou cuttest out the tongue that sang songs of praise unto him.'

CHAPTER 11

¹ But when this man also was put to a death of agony with the tortures, the fifth sprang forward saying, 'I shrink not, O tyrant, from demanding the torture for virtue's sake. Yea, of myself I come forward, in order that, slaying me also, thou mayest by yet more misdeeds increase the penalty thou owest to the justice of Heaven. O enemy of virtue and enemy of man, for what crime dost thou destroy us in this way? Doth it seem evil to thee that we worship the Creator of all and live according to his virtuous Law? But these things are worthy of honours not of tortures, if thou didst understand human aspirations and hadst hope of salvation before God. Lo, now thou art God's enemy and makest war on those that worship God.' As he spake thus

the guards bound him and brought him before the catapult; and they tied him thereto on his knees, and, fastening them there with iron cramps, they wrenched his loins over the rolling 'wedge' so that he was completely curled back like a scorpion and every joint was disjoined. And thus in grievous strait for breath and anguish of body he exclaimed, 'Glorious, O tyrant, glorious against thy will are the boons that thou bestowest on me, enabling me to show my fidelity to the Law through yet more honourable tortures.

² And when this man also was dead, the sixth was brought, a mere boy, who in answer to the tyrant's inquiry whether he was willing to eat and be released, said: 'I am not so old in years as my brethren, but I am as old in mind. For we were born and reared for the same purpose and are equally bound also to die for the same cause; so if thou chooseth to torture us for not eating unclean meat, torture.' As he spake these words they brought him to the wheel, and with care they stretched him out and dislocated the bones of his back and set fire under him. And they made sharp skewers red-hot and ran them into his back, and piercing through his sides they burned away his entrails also. But he in the midst of his tortures exclaimed, 'O contest worthy of saints, wherein so many of us brethren, in the cause of righteousness, have been entered for a competition in torments, and have not been conquered! For the righteous understanding, O tyrant, is unconquerable. In the armour of virtue I go to join my brothers in death, and to add in myself one strong avenger more to punish thee, O deviser of the tortures and enemy of the truly righteous. We six youths have overthrown thy tyranny. For is not thine impotence to alter our Reason or force us to eat unclean meat an overthrow for thee?

³ Thy fire is cool for us, thy engines of torture torment not, and thy violence is impotent. For the guards have been officers for us, not of a tyrant, but of the Divine Law; and therefore have we our Reason yet unconquered.'

CHAPTER 12

¹ And when this one also died a blessed death, being cast into the cauldron, the seventh son, the youngest of them all, came forward. But the tyrant, although fiercely exasperated by his brethren, felt pity for the boy, and seeing him there already bound he had him brought near, and sought to persuade him, saying, 'Thou seest the end of the folly of thy brethren; for through their disobedience they have been racked to death. Thou, too, if thou dost not obey, wilt thyself also be miserably tortured and put to death before thy

time; but if thou dost obey thou shalt be my friend, and thou shalt be advanced to high office in the business of the kingdom. And while thus appealing to him he sent for the boy's mother, in order that in her sorrow for the loss of so many sons she might urge the survivor to obey and be saved. But the mother, speaking in the Hebrew tongue, as I shall tell later on, encouraged the boy, and he said to the guards, 'Loose me, that I may speak to the king and to all his friends with him. And they, rejoicing at the boy's request, made haste to loose him. And running up to the red-hot brazier, 'O impious tyrant,' he cried, 'and most ungodly of all sinners, art thou not ashamed to take thy blessings and thy kingship at the hands of God, and to slay his servants and torture the followers of righteousness?

² For which things the divine justice delivers thee unto a more rapid and an eternal fire and torments which shall not leave hold on thee to all eternity. Art thou not ashamed, being a man, O wretch with the heart of a wild beast, to take men of like feelings with thyself, made from the same elements, and tear out their tongues, and scourge and torture them in this manner? But while they have fulfilled their righteousness towards God in their noble deaths, thou shalt miserably cry 'Woe is me! for thy unjust slaying of the champions of virtue. And then standing on the brink of death he said, 'I am no renegade to the witness borne by my brethren. And I call upon the God of my fathers to be merciful unto my nation. And thee will he punish both in this present life and after that thou art dead. And with this prayer he cast himself into the red-hot brazier, and so gave up the ghost.

CHAPTER 13

¹ If therefore the seven brethren despised the tortures even to the death, it is universally proved that the Inspired Reason is supreme lord over the passions. For if they had yielded to their passions or sufferings and eaten unclean meat, we should have said that they had been conquered thereby. But in this case it was not so; on the contrary by their Reason, which was commended in the sight of God, they rose superior to their passions. And it is impossible to deny the supremacy of the mind; for they won the victory over their passions and their pains. How can we do otherwise than admit right Reason's mastery over passion with these men who shrank not before the agonies of burning? For even as towers on harbour-moles repulse the assaults of the waves and offer a calm entrance to those entering the haven, so the seven-towered right Reason of the youths defended the haven of righteousness and

repulsed the tempestuousness of the passions. They formed a holy choir of righteousness as they cheered one another on, saying: 'Let us die like brothers, O brethren, for the Law. Let us imitate the Three Children at the Assyrian court who despised this same ordeal of the furnace. Let us not turn cravens before the proof of righteousness. And one said, 'Brother, be of good cheer,' and another, 'Bear it out nobly'; and another, recalling the past, 'Remember of what stock ye are, and at whose fatherly hand Isaac for righteousness' sake yielded himself to be a sacrifice.

2 And each and all of them together, looking at each other brightly and very boldly, said, 'With a whole heart will we consecrate ourselves unto God who gave us our souls, and let us lend our bodies to the keeping of the Law. Let us not fear him who thinketh he kills; for a great struggle and peril of the soul awaits in eternal torment those who transgress the ordinance of God. Let us then arm ourselves with divine Reason's mastery of the passions. After this our passion, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall receive us, and all our forefathers shall praise us. And to each separate one of the brothers, as they were dragged off, those whose turn was yet to come said, 'Do not disgrace us, brother, nor be false to our brethren already dead. You are not ignorant of the love of brethren, whereof the divine and all-wise Providence has given an inheritance to those who are begotten though their fathers, implanting it in them even through the mother's womb; wherein brethren do dwell the like period, and take their form during the same time, and are nourished from the same blood, and are quickened with the same soul, and are brought into the world after the same space, and they draw milk from the same founts, whereby their fraternal souls are nursed together in arms at the breast; and they are knit yet closer through a common nurture and daily companionship and other education, and through our discipline under the Law of God.

3 The feeling of brotherly love being thus naturally strong, the seven brethren had their mutual concord made yet stronger. For trained in the same Law, and disciplined in the same virtues, and brought up together in the upright life, they loved one another the more abundantly. Their common zeal for moral beauty and goodness heightened their mutual concord, for in conjunction with their piety it rendered their brotherly love more fervent. But though nature, companionship, and their virtuous disposition increased the ardour of their brotherly love, nevertheless the surviving sons

through their religion supported the sight of their brethren, who were on the rack, being tortured to death; nay more, they even encouraged them to face the agony, so as not only to despise their own tortures, but also to conquer their passion of brotherly affection for their brethren.

CHAPTER 14

¹O Reasoning minds, more kingly than kings, than freemen more free, of the harmony of the seven brethren, holy and well attuned to the keynote of piety! None of the seven youths turned coward, none shrunk in the face of death, but all hastened to the death by torture as if running the road to immortality. For as hands and feet move in harmony with the promptings of the soul, so those holy youths, as if prompted by the immortal soul of religion, went in harmony to death for its sake. O all-holy sevenfold companionship of brethren in harmony! For as the seven days of the creation of the world do enring religion, so did the youths choir-like ening their sevenfold companionship, and made the terror of the tortures of no account. We now shudder when we hear of the suffering of those youths; but they, not only seeing it with their eyes, nor merely hearing the spoken, imminent threat, but actually feeling the pang, endured it through; and that in the torture by fire, than which what greater agony can be found? For sharp and stringent is the power of fire, and swiftly did it bring their bodies to dissolution.

²And think it not wonderful if with those men Reason triumphed over the tortures, when even a woman's soul despised a yet greater diversity of pains; for the mother of the seven youths endured the torments inflicted on each several one of her children. But consider how manifold are the yearnings of a mother's heart, so that her feeling for her offspring becomes the centre of her whole world; and indeed, here, even the irrational animals have for their young an affection and love similar to men's. For example, among the birds, the tame ones sheltering under our roofs defend their nestlings; and those that nest upon the mountain tops, and in the rock clefts, and in the holes of trees, and in the branches, and hatch their young there, do also drive away the intruder. And then, if they be unable to drive him away, they flutter around the nestlings in a passion of love, calling to them in their own speech, and they give succour to their young ones in whatever fashion they can. And what need have we of examples of the love of offspring among irrational animals, when even the bees, about the season of the making of the comb, fend off intruders, and stab with their sting, as with a

sword, those who approach their brood, and do battle against them even to the death? But she, the mother of those young men, with a soul like Abraham, was not moved from her purpose by her affection for her children.

CHAPTER 15

1 O Reason of the sons, lord over the passions! O religion, that wast dearer to the mother than her children! The mother, having two choices before her, religion and the present saving alive of her seven sons according to the tyrant's promise, loved rather religion, which saveth unto eternal life according to God. O how may I express the passionate love of parents for children? We stamp a marvellous likeness of our soul and of our shape on the tender nature of the child, and most of all through the mother's sympathy with her children being deeper than the father's. For women are softer of soul than men, and the more children they bear the more do they abound in love for them. But, of all mothers, she of the seven sons abounded in love beyond the rest, seeing that, having in seven child-bearings felt maternal tenderness for the fruit of her womb, and having been constrained because of the many pangs in which she bore each to a close affection, she nevertheless through the fear of God rejected the present safety of her children. Ay, and more than that, through the moral beauty and goodness of her sons and their obedience to the Law, her maternal love for them was made stronger. For they were just, and temperate, and brave, and great-souled, and lovers of each other and of their mother in such manner that they obeyed her in the keeping of the Law even unto death.

2 But nevertheless, though she had so many temptations to yield to her maternal instincts, in no single instance did the dreadful variety of tortures have power to alter her Reason; but the mother urged each son separately, and all together, to die for their religion. O holy nature, and parental love, and yearning of parents for offspring, and wages of nursing, and unconquerable affection of mothers! The mother, seeing them one by one racked and burned, remained unshaken in soul for religion's sake. She saw the flesh of her sons being consumed in the fire, and the extremities of their hands and feet scattered on the ground, and the flesh-coverings, torn off from their heads right to their cheeks, strewn about like masks. O mother, who now knew sharper pangs than the pangs of labour! O woman, alone among women, the fruit of whose womb was perfect religion! Thy firstborn, giving up the ghost, did not alter thy resolution, nor thy second, looking with eyes of

pity on thee under his tortures, nor thy third, breathing out his spirit. Neither didst thou weep when thou beheldest the eyes of each amid the torments looking boldly on the same anguish, and sawest in their quivering nostrils the signs of approaching death.

³ When thou sawest the flesh of one son being severed after the flesh of another, and hand after hand being cut off, and head after head being flayed, and corpse cast upon corpse, and the place crowded with spectators on account of the tortures of thy children, thou sheddest not a tear. Not the melodies of the sirens nor the songs of swans with sweet sound do so charm the hearers' ears, as sounded the voices of the sons, speaking to the mother from amid the torments. How many and how great were the tortures with which the mother was tormented while her sons were being tortured with torments of rack and fire! But Inspired Reason lent her heart a man's strength under her passion of suffering, and exalted her to make no account of the present yearnings of mother-love. ⁴ And although she saw the destruction of her seven children and the many and varied forms of their torments, the noble mother willingly surrendered them through faith in God. For she beheld in her own mind, even as it had been cunning advocates in a council-chamber, nature, and parenthood, and mother-love, and her children on the rack, and it was as if she, the mother, having the choice between two votes in the case of her children, one for their death and one to save them alive, thereupon regarded not the saving of her seven sons for a little time, but, as a true daughter of Abraham, called to mind his God-fearing courage. O mother of the race, vindicator of our Law, defender of our religion, and winner of the prize in the struggle within thyself! O woman, nobler to resist than men, and braver than warriors to endure! For as the Ark of Noah, with the whole living world for her burden in the world-whelming Deluge, did withstand the mighty surges, so thou, the keeper of the Law, beaten upon every side by the surging waves of the passions, and strained as with strong blasts by the tortures of thy sons, didst nobly weather the storms that assailed thee for religion's sake.

CHAPTER 16

¹ Thus then, if one both a woman and advanced in years, and the mother of seven sons, endured the sight of her children being tortured to death, the Inspired Reason must confessedly be supreme ruler over the passions. I have proved, accordingly, that not only have men triumphed over their suffer-

ings, but that a woman also has despised the most dreadful tortures. And not so fierce were the lions around Daniel, not so hot was the burning fiery furnace of Mishael, as burned in her the instinct of motherhood at the sight of her seven sons being tortured. But by her religion-guided Reason the mother quenched her passions, many and strong as they were. For there is this also to consider, that had the woman been weak of spirit, despite her motherhood, she might have wept over them, and perchance spoken thus: 'Ah, thrice wretched me, and more than thrice wretched! Seven children have I borne and am left childless! In vain was I seven times with child, and to no profit was my ten months' burden seven times borne, and fruitless have been my nursings, and sorrowful my sucklings. In vain for you, O my sons, did I endure the many pangs of labour, and the more difficult cares of your upbringing. Alas, for my sons, that some were yet unwed, and those that were wedded had begotten no children; I shall never see children of yours, nor shall I be called by the name of grandparent.

² Ah me, that had many beautiful children, and am a widow and desolate in my woe! Neither will there be any son to bury me when I am dead! But the holy and God-fearing mother wailed not with this lamentation over any one of them, neither besought she any to escape death, nor lamented over them as dying men; but, as though she had a soul of adamant and were bringing forth the number of her sons, for a second time, into immortal life, she besought rather and entreated of them that they should die for religion's sake. O mother, warrior of God in the cause of religion, old and a woman, thou didst both defeat the tyrant by thy endurance, and wast found stronger than a man, in deeds as well as words. For verily when thou wast put in bonds with thy sons, thou stoodest there seeing Eleazar being tortured, and thou spakest to thy sons in the Hebrew tongue: 'My sons, noble is the fight; and do ye, being called thereto to bear witness for our nation, fight therein zealously on behalf of the Law of our fathers. For it would be shameful if, while this aged man endured the agony for religion's sake, you that are young men shrank before the pain. Remember that for the sake of God ye have come into the world, and have enjoyed life, and that therefore ye owe it to God to endure all pain for his sake;

³ for whom also our father Abraham made haste to sacrifice his son Isaac, the ancestor of our nation; and Isaac, seeing his father's hand lifting the knife against him, did not shrink. And Daniel, the just man, was cast to the

lions, and Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael were flung into the furnace of fire, and they endured for God's sake. And ye also, having the same faith unto God, be not troubled; for it were against Reason that ye, knowing righteousness, should not withstand the pains. With these words the mother of the seven encouraged every single one of her sons to die rather than transgress the ordinance of God; they themselves also knowing well that men dying for God live unto God, as live Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the patriarchs.

CHAPTER 17

¹Some of the guards declared that when she also was about to be seized and put to death, she cast herself on the pyre in order that no man might touch her body. O mother, that together with thy seven sons didst break the tyrant's force, and bring to nought his evil devices, and gavest an example of the nobleness of faith. Thou wert nobly set as a roof upon thy sons as pillars, and the earthquake of the torments shook thee not at all. Rejoice therefore, pure-souled mother, having the hope of thy endurance certain at the hand of God. Not so majestic stands the moon amid the stars in heaven as thou, having lit the path of thy seven starlike sons unto righteousness, standest in honour with God; and thou art set in heaven with them. For thy child-bearing was from the son of Abraham. And had it been lawful for us to paint, as might some artist, the tale of thy piety, would not the spectators have shuddered at the mother of seven sons suffering for righteousness' sake multitudinous tortures even unto death? And indeed it were fitting to inscribe these words over their resting-place, speaking for a memorial to future generations of our people:

²HERE LIE AN AGED PRIEST AND A WOMAN FULL OF YEARS AND HER SEVEN SONS THROUGH THE VIOLENCE OF A TYRANT DESIRING TO DESTROY THE HEBREW NATION. THEY VINDICATED THE RIGHTS OF OUR PEOPLE LOOKING UNTO GOD AND ENDURING THE TORMENTS EVEN UNTO DEATH. ³For truly it was a holy war which was fought by them. For on that day virtue, proving them through endurance, set before them the prize of victory in incorruption in everlasting life. But the first in the fight was Eleazar, and the mother of the seven sons played her part, and the brethren fought. The tyrant was their adversary and the world and the life of man were the spectators. And righteousness won the victory, and gave the crown to her athletes. Who but wondered at the ath-

letes of the true Law? Who were not amazed at them? The tyrant himself and his whole council admired their endurance, whereby they now do both stand beside the throne of God and live the blessed age. For Moses says, ‘All also who have sanctified themselves are under thy hands. And these men, therefore, having sanctified themselves for God’s sake, not only have received this honour, but also the honour that through them the enemy had no more power over our people, and the tyrant suffered punishment, and our country was purified, they having as it were become a ransom for our nation’s sin; and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine Providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated. For when the tyrant Antiochus saw the heroism of their virtue, and their endurance under the tortures, he publicly held up their endurance to his soldiers as an example;

4 and he thus say that a few years ago, when the Red Indian tortures still awaited captives, many frontiersmen, men whom it would hardly have been safe to call cowards, made no secret that they intended to keep their last bullet (if need be) for themselves. As to whether a woman could harden her heart to the act, let me borrow the words of the author of this book, ‘, and say that many a woman in every age and every land has chosen death rather than that polluted hands should touch her body. inspired his men with a sense of honour and heroism on the field of battle and in the labours of besieging, so that he plundered and overthrew all his enemies.

CHAPTER 18

1 O Israelites, children born of the seed of Abraham, obey this Law, and be righteous in all ways, recognizing that Inspired Reason is lord over the passions, and over pains, not only from within, but from without ourselves; by which means those men, delivering up their bodies to the torture for righteousness’ sake, not only won the admiration of mankind, but were deemed worthy of a divine inheritance. And through them the nation obtained peace and restoring the observance of the Law in our country hath captured the city from the enemy. And vengeance hath pursued the tyrant Antiochus upon earth, and in death he suffers punishment. For when he failed utterly to constrain the people of Jerusalem to live like Gentiles and abandon the customs of our fathers, he thereupon left Jerusalem and marched away against the Persians. Now these are the words that the mother of the seven sons, the righteous woman, spake to her children: ‘I was a pure maiden, and I strayed

not from my father's house, and I kept guard over the rib that was builded into Eve. No seducer of the desert, no deceiver in the field, corrupted me; nor did the false, beguiling Serpent sully the purity of my maidenhood; I lived with my husband all the days of my youth; but when these my sons were grown up, their father died. Happy was he; for he lived a life blessed with children, and he never knew the pain of their loss.

² Who, while he was yet with us, taught you the Law and the prophets. He read to us of Abel who was slain by Cain, and of Isaac who was offered as a burnt-offering, and of Joseph in the prison. And he spake to us of Phineas, the zealous priest, and he taught you the song of Ananias, Azarias, and Michael in the fire. And he glorified also Daniel in the den of lions, and blessed him; and he called to your minds the saying of Isaiah, "Yea even though thou pass through the fire, the flame shall not hurt thee. He sang to us the words of David the psalmist, "Many are the afflictions of the just. He quoted to us the proverb of Solomon, "He is a tree of life to all them that do his will. He confirmed the words of Ezekiel, "Shall these dry bones live? For he forgot not the song that Moses taught, which teaches, "I will slay and I will make alive. This is your life and the blessedness of your days."

³ Ah, cruel was the day, and yet not cruel, when the cruel tyrant of the Greeks set the fire blazing for his barbarous braziers, and with his passions boiling brought to the catapult and back again to his tortures the seven sons of the daughter of Abraham, and blinded the eyeballs of their eyes, and cut out their tongues, and slew them with many kinds of torment. For which cause the judgement of God pursued, and shall pursue, the accursed wretch. But the sons of Abraham, with their victorious mother, are gathered together unto the place of their ancestors, having received pure and immortal souls from God, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Pirke Aboth, the Sayings of the Fathers

TRANSLATED BY R. T. HERFORD

c. AD 200

The Sayings of the Fathers, the best-known tractate of the Mishnah: short maxims of the Jewish teachers of the law from the men of the Great Synagogue to the rabbis of about AD 200, beginning with the chain of those who handed down the Torah. The sixth chapter is a later addition. This is R. T. Herford's translation, and the work is a Jewish one outside the Bible.

CHAPTER 1

1. Moses received Torah from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgement; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence for the Torah. 2. Simeon the Just was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say: On three things the world standeth: on the Torah, and on the Service, and on the doing of kindnesses. 3. Antigonos of Socho received from Simeon the Just. He used to say: Be not like slaves who serve the master with a view to receiving a present; but be like slaves who serve the master not with a view to receiving a present: and let the fear of Heaven be upon you. 4. Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem received from them. Jose b. Joezer of Zeredah said: Let thy house be a house of meeting for the Wise, and bedust thyself with the dust of their feet, and drink with thirst their words.

5. Jose b. Johanan of Jerusalem said: Let thy house be opened wide; and let poor folk be thy household; and talk not much with the wife. [He said it concerning his own wife; much more concerning the wife of his associate. Hence the Wise have said: So long as a man talks much with the wife he causes evil to himself, and desists from words of Torah, and his end is that he inherits Gehenna.] 6. Joshua b. Perahiah and Nittai the Arbelite received from them. Joshua b. Perahiah said: Make to thyself a teacher; and get thee an associate; and judge every man with a leaning to his merit. 7. Nittai the

Arbelite said: Keep far from an evil neighbour, and consort not with the wicked, and be not heedless of retribution. 8. Judah b. Tabbai and Simeon b. Shetah received from them. Judah b. Tabbai said: Make not thyself as those that prepare the judges; and when the suitors are standing before thee let them be in thine eyes as wicked men; and when they have been dismissed from before thee let them be in thine eyes as just men who have received their sentence.

9. Simeon b. Shetah said: Do much in examining the witnesses; and be careful in thy words; perchance by means of them they may learn to lie. 10. Shemaiah and Abtalion received from them. Shemaiah said: Love work, and hate mastery, and make not thyself known to the government. 11. Abtalion said: Ye Wise, be careful in your words; lest ye become guilty with the guilt that involves exile, and be exiled to a place of evil waters, and the disciples that come after you drink and die, and the Name of Heaven be found profaned. 12. Hillel and Shammai received from them. Hillel said: Be of the disciples of Aaron, one that loves peace, that pursues peace, that loves mankind and brings them nigh to Torah. 13. He used to say: Whoso makes great his name destroys his name; whoso adds not makes to cease; and he who will not learn is guilty so as to deserve killing. And whoso serves himself with the crown passes away.

14. He used to say: If I am not for myself, who is for me? And when I am for myself, what am I? And if not now, when? 15. Shammai said: Make thy Torah a fixed duty; say little and do much; and receive every man with the look of a cheerful face. 16. Rabban Gamaliel said: Make to thyself a teacher; and remove thyself from what is doubtful; and do not often tithe by mental valuation. 17. Simeon his son said: All my days I have grown up among the Wise, and I have not found anything better than silence; and not study is the chief thing but action; and whoso makes many words occasions sin. 18. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: On three things the world stands: on judgement, on truth, and on peace. [As it is said: 'Truth and judgement of peace judge ye in your gates.']

CHAPTER 2

1. Rabbi said: What is that right way which a man should choose for himself? Whatever is an honour to him that does it and an honour to him in the sight of men. And be careful over a light precept as over a weighty, for thou knowest not the giving of the rewards of the precepts. And reckon the loss

involved in a precept against its reward, and the reward of a sin against its loss. And keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin; know what is above thee, an eye that sees and an ear that hears, and all thy deeds written in a book. 2. Rabban Gamaliel the son of Rabbi Judah the Prince said: Comely is study of Torah with worldly occupation, for toil in both makes sin forgotten. And all Torah without work ends in failure and brings with it sin. And let all who labour with the congregation labour with them for the Name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers upholds them, and their righteousness standeth for ever. And ye—I confer upon you, saith God, [plenteous] reward, as if ye had wrought.

3. Be careful with the government, for they do not come near to a man except for their own need; and they appear like friends in the hour of their advantage, and they stand not by a man in the hour of his need. 4. He used to say: Make His will as thy will that He may make thy will as His will; efface thy will before His will that He may efface the will of others before thy will. 5. Hillel said: Separate thyself not from the congregation, and be not sure of thyself till the day of thy death; and judge not thine associate until thou comest to his place. And say not of a word which cannot be understood that it will be understood in the end. And say not ‘when I am at leisure I will study’; perchance thou wilt not be at leisure. 6. He used to say: A rude man fears not sin; and no vulgar person is pious; and the shy man does not learn nor the passionate teach, nor he that hath much business become wise. And in a place where there are no men strive to be a man.

7. Moreover, he saw a skull which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it: Because thou drownedst they drowned thee; and at the last they who drowned thee shall be drowned. 8. He used to say: More flesh more worms; more wealth more care; more maidservants more lewdness; more menservants more thieving; more women more witchcraft; more Torah more life; more classroom more wisdom; more counsel more discernment; more righteousness more peace. Whoso has gained a good name has gained it for himself; who has gained for himself words of Torah has gained for himself the life of the world to come. 9. Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai received from Hillel and from Shammai. He used to say: If thou hast practised much Torah, take not credit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created. 10. Five disciples there were to Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai, and these are they: Rabbi Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, Rabbi Joshua b. Hananiah, Rabbi Jose the priest, Rabbi

Simeon b. Nathaniel, and Rabbi Eleazar b. Arach. He used to sum up their praise—Eliezer b. Hyrcanus is a plastered cistern which loseth not a drop; Joshua b. Hananiah, happy is she who bore him; Jose the priest is pious; Simeon b. Nathaniel feareth sin; Eleazar b. Arach is a full-flowing spring.

11. He used to say: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in the other scale, he would weigh down them all. Abba Saul said, in his name: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus with them, and Eleazar b. Arach in the other scale, he would weigh them all down. 12. He said to them: Go and see what is that good way to which a man should cleave. R. Eliezer said: A good eye. R. Joshua said: A good associate. R. Jose said: A good neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that regards the result of an action. R. Eleazar said: A good heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words, for your words are included in his. 13. He said to them: Go and see what is that evil way from which a man should keep himself. R. Eliezer said: An evil eye. R. Joshua said: An evil associate. R. Jose said: An evil neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that borrows and does not pay. [He that borrows from man is as he that borrows from God, blessed be He; as it is said, ‘The wicked borroweth and payeth not, but the righteous showeth favour and giveth.’] R. Eleazar said: An evil heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words; for your words are included in his.

14. They said each three things. R. Eliezer said: Let the honour of thine associate be dear to thee as thine own. And be not easily wroth; and repent one day before thy death. And warm thyself at the fire of the Wise, and be careful of their glowing coal lest thou be singed. For their bite is the bite of a jackal, and their sting the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss the hiss of a serpent, and all their words like coals of fire. 15. R. Joshua said: An evil eye and the evil principle and hatred of mankind drive a man out of the world. 16. R. Jose said: Let the wealth of thy associate be dear to thee as thine own. And set thyself to learn Torah, for it is not a legacy to thee. And let all thy actions be to the Name of Heaven.

17. R. Simeon said: Be careful in reading the ‘Shema’ and in prayer. And when thou prayest make not thy prayer a fixed form, but [mercies and] entreaties before God. [As it is said: ‘For he is gracious and merciful, longsuffering and full of compassion, and repenteth him of the evil.’] And be not wicked in thine own sight. 18. R. Eleazar said: Be alert to learn Torah, [and

know] what thou shalt answer to an Epicurean; and know before whom thou toilest, and who is master of thy work, [who will pay the hire of thy labour]. 19. R. Tarphon said: The day is short and the work is great, and the labourers are slow, and the hire is much, and the master of the house is urgent. 20. He used to say: It is not incumbent on thee to finish the work, and thou art not free to desist from it. If thou hast learned much Torah, they will give thee much hire; and the master of thy work is faithful who will pay thee the hire of thy labour; and know that the giving of the reward of the righteous is for the time to come.

CHAPTER 3

1. Akabia b. Mahalalel said: Keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin;—know whence thou comest, and whither thou goest, and before whom thou art to give strict account. Know whence thou comest,—from a fetid drop; and whither thou goest,—to the place of dust, worm, and maggot; and before whom thou art to give strict account,—before the King of the kings of the kings, the Holy One, blessed be He. 2. R. Hanina, the deputy of the priests, said: Pray for the peace of the kingdom; for except for the fear of that we should have swallowed up each his neighbour alive. 3. R. Hanina b. Teradion said: When two sit and there are not between them words of Torah, lo, this is ‘the seat of the scornful’, as it is said: ‘Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful’. But when two sit and there are between them words of Torah, the Shechinah rests between them, as it is said: ‘Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another, [and the Lord hearkened and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon His name]’.

4. [I find here only two. Whence it is proved that when even one sits and is occupied with Torah the Holy One, blessed be He, fixes for him a reward? As it is said: ‘Let him sit alone and be silent, for he hath taken it upon him.’] 5. R. Simeon said: Three who have eaten at one table and have not said over it words of Torah, lo, they are as if they had eaten sacrifices of the dead, as it is said: ‘For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness without God.’ But three who have eaten at one table and have said over it words of Torah are as if they had eaten from the table of God, blessed be He, as it is said: ‘And he said to me, This is the table that is before the Lord.’ 6. R. Hanina b. Hachinai said: He who wakes in the night, and he who walks alone by the way and turns his heart to idle thoughts, lo, he makes himself guilty against his soul.

7. R. Nehunia b. ha-Kanah said: Every one who receives upon him the yoke of Torah, they remove from him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation. And every one who breaks off from him the yoke of Torah, they lay upon him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation. 8. R. Halaphta [b. Dosa] of Chephar Hanania said: When ten sit and are occupied with Torah, the Shechinah is among them, as it is said: 'God stands in the congregation of God.' [And whence is it proved for even five? As it is said: 'He hath founded His troop upon the earth.'] whence even three? As it is said: 'He judgeth among gods.' And whence even two? As it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another.' And whence even one? As it is said: 'In every place where I record My name I will come to thee and will bless thee.'

9. R. Eleazar b. Judah of Bartotha said: Give Him of what is His, for thou and thine are His. And thus the Scripture saith, in the place concerning David, 'For all things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee.' 10. R. Jacob said: He who walks by the way and studies and breaks off his study and says, 'How beautiful is that tree,' and 'how beautiful is that fallow', the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul. 11. R. Dosthai b. Jannai, in the name of R. Meir, said: A disciple of the Wise who sits and studies and forgets a word of his study, the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul; as it is said: 'Only take heed to thyself and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen.' It may be that his study has been hard to him. Learn to say, 'Lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life.' Lo! he makes not himself guilty until he sits and turns them away from his heart.

12. R. Hanina b. Dosa said: Every one whose fear of sin precedes his wisdom, his wisdom endures; and every one whose wisdom precedes his fear of sin, his wisdom does not endure. 13. He used to say: Every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, his wisdom endures. And every one whose wisdom is more than his deeds, his wisdom does not endure. 14. He used to say: Every one with whom the spirit of mankind is pleased, the Spirit of God is pleased with him. And every one with whom the spirit of mankind is not pleased, the Spirit of God is not pleased with him. 15. R. Dosa b. Harchinas said: Morning sleep, and midday wine, and children's talk, and sitting in the meeting-houses of the vulgar, drive a man out from the world. 16. R. Eleazar, the Modiite, said: He who profanes holy things and despises the set feasts

[and shames his associate in public], and makes void the covenant of Abraham our father, and discloses meanings in the Torah which are not according to the Rule, yea, even if he have [Torah and] good works, he has no portion in the world to come.

17. R. Ishmael said: Be light-minded and yielding to forced service, and receive every man with gladness. 18. R. Akiba said: Laughter and light-mindedness accustom a man to shame. Tradition is a fence for Torah. Vows are a fence for separation. A fence for wisdom is silence. 19. He used to say: Beloved is man in that he was created in the image of God. [Greater love was it that it was known to him that he was made in the image.] As it is said: 'In the image of God he made man.' Beloved are Israel, that they are called sons of God. Greater love was it that it was known to them that they were called sons of God. As it is said: 'Sons are ye to the Lord your God.' xii. Beloved are Israel, in that to them was given the precious instrument wherewith the world was created. Greater love was it that it was known to them that there was given to them the precious instrument wherewith the world was created, as it is said: 'For a good doctrine I have given you; forsake not my Torah.' All is foreseen, and free-will is given, and the world is judged by goodness, and all is according to the amount of work.

20. He used to say: All is given on pledge, and the net is spread over all the living; and the shop is open and the shopman gives credit, and the account-book is open and the hand writes, and every one who will borrow comes and borrows, and the collectors go round continually every day, and exact payment from man whether with his knowledge or without it; and they have whereon to lean, and the judgement is a judgement of truth; and everything is prepared for the banquet. 21. R. Eleazar b. Azariah said: If there is no Torah there is no worldly occupation; if there is no worldly occupation there is no Torah. If there is no wisdom there is no fear; if there is no fear there is no wisdom. If there is no knowledge there is no discernment; if there is no discernment there is no knowledge. If there is no meal there is no Torah; if there is no Torah there is no meal.

22. He used to say: Every one whose wisdom is greater than his deeds, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are many and its roots few; and the wind comes and roots it up and turns it over on its face. [As it is said: 'For he shall be like a tamarisk in the desert, and he shall not see when good cometh, but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land

undwelt in.’] But every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are few and its roots many, which, if all the winds that are in the world come and blow upon it, they move it not from its place; [as it is said: ‘For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that sendeth out its roots by the river, and shall not fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green; and in the year of drought he shall not be anxious, neither shall cease from yielding fruit].

23. R. Eleazar Hisma said: Offerings of birds and purifications, these are the main Rules. Astronomy and geometry are mere fringes to wisdom.

CHAPTER 4

1. Ben Zoma said: Who is wise? He who learns from every man; as it is said: ‘From all my teachers I get understanding, for thy testimonies are my conversation.’ Who is mighty? He who controlleth his evil disposition; as it is said: ‘Better is the long-suffering than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.’ Who is rich? He that rejoiceth in his portion; as it is said: ‘When thou eatest of the labour of thy hands, happy art thou and it shall be well with thee.’ ‘Happy art thou’ in this world, and ‘it shall be well with thee’ in the world to come. Who is honoured? He who honoureth mankind; as it is said: ‘For them that honour Me I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed.’ 2. Ben Azai said: Be swift towards a light precept [as towards a weighty one] and flee from sin; for precept leads to precept and sin leads to sin. For the reward of a precept is a precept, and the reward of a sin is a sin.

3. He used to say: Despise not any man, and be not captious at any thing; for you find no man that has not his hour, and no thing that has not its place. 4. R. Levitas of Jabneh said: Be exceedingly humble, for the hope of man is only the worm. 5. R. Johanan b. Berokah said: ‘Every one who profanes the Name of Heaven in secret, they exact punishment of him openly; the ignorant and the wilful are alike sinners in regard to the profaning of the Name. 6. R. Ishmael his son said: He who learns with a view to teaching, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach; he who learns with a view to doing, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach and to do. 7. R. Zadok said: [Separate not thyself from the congregation, and be not as they who prepare the judges]. Make not them a crown wherewith to magnify thyself, nor a dish to eat from. And thus Hillel used to say: He who serves

himself with the crown passes away. Behold, [thou hast learned.] 'Every one that makes a profit from words of Torah removes his life from the world.'

8. R. Jose said: Every one who honours the Torah is himself honoured of men. And every one who dishonours the Torah is himself dishonoured of men. 9. R. Ishmael his son said: He who withdraws from judgement gets rid of enmity, theft and perjury; and he who is haughty in his teaching is foolish, wicked and arrogant. 10. He used to say: Judge not alone; for there is none save One that judgeth alone. And say not to thy colleagues, Receive my opinion; for they are entitled and thou art not. 11. R. Jonathan said: Every one who fulfils the Torah when poor will in the end fulfil it when rich; and every one who makes it vain when rich will in the end make it vain when poor. 12. R. Meir said: Do little in business and be busy with the Torah; and be humble of spirit before all men; and if thou hast been idle in respect of the Torah, there will be many idle things in thy way; and if thou hast laboured at the Torah, there will be for Him much reward to give thee.

13. R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: He who does one precept gains for himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression gains for himself one accuser; repentance and good works are as a shield in face of punishment. 14. R. Johanan, the sandal-maker, said: Every assembly which is for the sake of Heaven will in the end be established; and one that is not for the sake of Heaven will in the end not be established. 15. R. Eleazar b. Shammua said: Let the honour of thy disciple be dear to thee as the honour of thy associate, and the honour of thy associate as the fear of thy teacher, and the fear of thy teacher as the fear of Heaven. 16. R. Judah said: Be careful in teaching; for error in teaching amounts to sin. 17. R. Simeon said: There are three crowns; the crown of Torah, the crown of priesthood and the crown of royalty; but the crown of a good name mounts above them.

18. R. Nehorai said: Betake thyself to a place of Torah, and say not it shall come after thee; for thine associates will fulfil it through thee. And 'Lean not upon thine own understanding'. 19. R. Jannai said: It is not in our hands to explain either the prosperity of the wicked or the chastisements of the righteous. 20. R. Matthia b. Harash said: Be first in greeting every man; and be a tail to lions and not a head to foxes. 21. R. Jacob said: This world is like a porch before the world to come. Make thyself ready in the porch, that thou mayst enter into the banqueting-hall. 22. He used to say: Fairer is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than all the life of the world to

come; and fairer is one hour of calmness of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world.

23. R. Simeon b. Eleazar said: Pacify not thy associate in the hour of his anger, and console him not in the hour when his dead is stretched out before him; and question him not in the hour of his vow, and seek not to behold him in the hour of his degradation. 24. Samuel, the small, said: 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown, [lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath from him]'. 25. Elisha b. Abuiah said: He who learns when a youth, to what is he like? To ink written on new paper. And he who learns when an old man, to what is he like? To ink written on erased paper. 26. R. Jose b. Judah, of Chephar ha-Babli, said: He who learns from the young, to what is he like? To one that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his winepress. He that learns from the old, to what is he like? To one that eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine.

27. Rabbi said: Look not at the pitcher but at what is in it. There is a new pitcher that is full of old wine, and an old pitcher in which there is not even new wine. 28. R. Eleazar ha-Kappar said: Jealousy and desire and ambition drive a man out of the world. 29. He used to say: Those that are born are for death, and the dead for making alive, and the living to be judged; to know and to make known and to be known that He is the maker and He the creator, and He the discerner, and He the Judge, and He the witness, and He the adversary, and He will judge in whose presence there is neither obliquity nor forgetfulness nor respect of persons nor taking a bribe; for all is His; and know that all is according to reckoning. Let not thy nature make thee believe that the grave is a place of refuge. For not of thy will wast thou formed, and not of thy will dost thou live, and not of thy will dost thou die, and not of thy will art thou to give just account and reckoning before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

CHAPTER 5

1. By ten Sayings the world was created. And why does the Scripture teach this? Could not the world have been created by one Saying? But it was in order to exact penalty from the wicked who destroy the world that was created by ten Sayings, and to give good reward to the righteous who establish the world that was created by ten Sayings. 2. Ten generations from Adam to Noah, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the

generations provoked Him, until He brought the flood upon them. 3. Ten generations from Noah to Abraham, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the generations provoked Him, until Abraham our father came, and received the reward of them all. 4. Ten trials Abraham our father was tried with, and he bore them all, to make known how great was the love of Abraham our father.

5. Ten wonders were done for our fathers in Egypt, and ten by the sea. 6. [Ten plagues did the Holy One, blessed be He, bring upon the Egyptians in Egypt, and ten by the sea.] 7. Ten trials did our fathers try God with in the wilderness, as it is said: 'And they tempted Me these ten times, and did not hearken to My voice.' 8. Ten wonders were done in the Sanctuary, [for our fathers]. No woman miscarried through the smell of the sacred flesh; and the sacred flesh did not ever stink; and no uncleanness befell the High Priest on the day of Atonement; and no fly was seen in the slaughter-house; and no defect was found in the sheaf, or in the two loaves, or in the shewbread; and rain never quenched the fire; and wind never overcame the pillar of smoke; the people stood close together yet had room to bow themselves; no serpent nor scorpion did harm in Jerusalem; and none said to his companion, The place is too narrow for me that I should lodge in Jerusalem.

9. Ten things were created 'between the suns'. And these are they: The mouth of the earth; the mouth of the well; the mouth of the ass of Balaam; the bow; and the manna, and the rod of Moses; and the shamir-worm; and writing; and the writing; and the Tables. Some say, also the evil spirits, and the grave of Moses, and the ram of Abraham our father; and some say also the tongs that are made with tongs. 10. Seven things concerning a rude man, and seven concerning a wise man. A wise man does not speak in the presence of one who is greater than he in wisdom; and he does not break in upon the words of his associate; and he does not hasten to reply; he asks according to the Rule, and answers according to the subject; and he speaks on the first thing first, and on the last last; concerning what he has not heard he says, I have not heard; and he acknowledges the truth. The opposites of these are found in the rude man.

11. Seven kinds of punishment come upon the world for seven main transgressions. When some men tithe and some do not tithe, famine from drought comes; some go hungry and some are full. When they have resolved that they will not tithe at all, famine from tumult and from drought comes.

And when they have resolved that they will not offer the cake of dough a famine of extermination comes. Pestilence comes upon the world for the capital crimes mentioned in the Torah which are not within the jurisdiction of the court of justice. Also, for fruits of the seventh year. The sword comes upon the world for suppression of justice and for perversion of justice, and for those that teach in the Torah not according to Rule. The wild beast comes on the world for false swearing, and for profaning of the Name. Exile comes upon the world for false worship, for incest, for bloodshed, and for not giving release to the earth.

12. At four seasons pestilence increases; in the fourth year, in the seventh, at the end of the seventh, and at the end of the Feast in each year. In the fourth, because of the tithe for the poor in the third; in the seventh, because of the tithe for the poor in the sixth; at the end of the seventh, because of the fruits of the seventh; and at the end of the Feast, because of the robbery of the gifts assigned to the poor. 13. Four types of men: He that says, What is mine is mine and what is thine is thine; this is the average type, some say it is the type of Sodom. He that says, What is mine is mine and what is thine is mine, is one of the vulgar; He that says, What is mine and what is thine are thine, is pious. He who says, What is thine and what is mine are mine, is wicked.

14. Four types of character: Easy to provoke and easy to pacify, his gain is cancelled by his loss. Hard to provoke and hard to pacify, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Hard to provoke and easy to pacify, he is pious. Easy to provoke and hard to pacify, he is wicked. 15. Four types of disciples: Quick to hear and quick to lose, his gain is cancelled by his loss. Slow to learn and slow to lose, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Quick to hear and slow to lose, he is wise. Slow to hear and quick to lose, this is an evil lot. 16. Four types of almsgivers: He who is willing to give but not that others should give, his eye is evil towards what is theirs; he who is willing that others should give but does not give himself, his eye is evil towards what is his; he who is willing to give and that others should give, is pious; he who is not willing that he should give or that others should give, is wicked.

17. Four types of them that go to the house of learning: He that goes and does nothing, has the reward of his going; he that goes not but does something, has the reward of doing; he that goes and does something, is pious; he that neither goes nor does anything, is wicked. 18. Four types of them that sit

before the Wise: A sponge, a funnel, a strainer and a sieve. A sponge, because it sucks up everything; a funnel, because it receives at one end and lets out at the other; a strainer, because it lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs; a sieve, because it lets out the coarse meal and keeps the fine flour. 19. All love which depends on something—if the thing ceases, the love ceases. If it does not depend on something it ceases not for ever. What love is that which depends on something? This is the love of Amnon and Tamar. And that which does not depend on something? This is the love of David and Jonathan.

20. Every controversy which is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established; and that which is not for the name of Heaven will not in the end be established. What controversy is that which is for the name of Heaven? The controversy of Shammai and Hillel. And that which is not for the name of Heaven? This is the controversy of Korah. 21. Every one that makes the many virtuous, sin comes not by his means; and every one that maketh the many to sin, they give him not the opportunity to repent. Moses was virtuous and made the many virtuous, and the virtue of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'He executed the righteousness of the Lord, and His judgments with Israel.' Jeroboam sinned and made the many to sin, the sin of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'For the sin of Jeroboam who sinned and made Israel to sin.'

22. Every one who has three things is one of the disciples of Abraham our father. And every one who has three other things is one of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. If he has a good eye, and a lowly soul and a humble spirit, he is of the disciples of Abraham our father. If he has an evil eye, and a boastful soul and a haughty spirit, he is of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. What is the difference between the disciples of Abraham our father and the disciples of Balaam the wicked? The disciples of Balaam the wicked inherit Gehenna and go down to the pit of destruction, as it is said: 'But Thou, O God, wilt bring them down to the pit of destruction. Men of blood and deceit shall not live out half their days; but I will trust in Thee.' But the disciples of Abraham our father inherit the Garden of Eden and inherit the world to come; as it is said: 'That I may cause them that love me to inherit substance, and that I may fill their treasures.'

23. R. Judah b. Tema said: Be bold as a leopard, and light as an eagle, and swift as a gazelle, and strong as a lion to do the will of thy Father which is in heaven. 24. [He used to say: The bold-faced man is for Gehenna, and the

shame-faced man is for the Garden of Eden. May it be Thy will, O Lord our God and the God of our fathers, that Thy city may be built speedily in our days; and grant our portion to be in Thy Torah.] 25. [Ben Bag-Bag said: Turn it, and turn it again, for the whole is in it, and the whole of thee is in it; and from it swerve not, for there is to thee no greater good than it.] 26. [Ben He-He said: According to the toil is the pay.] 27. [He said: At five years old one is fit for the Scripture, at ten years for Mishnah, at thirteen for the commandments, at fifteen for Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for retribution, at thirty for power, at forty for discernment, at fifty for counsel, at sixty for elderhood, at seventy for grey hairs, at eighty for strength, at ninety for decrepitude, and at a hundred he is as if he were dead and had passed away and vanished from the world.]

CHAPTER 6: THE ACQUISITION OF TORAH, THE CHAPTER OF R. MEIR

1. The Wise have taught in the language of the Mishnah; blessed is He that made choice of them and of their Mishnah. beloved, one that loves God and loves mankind, makes glad both God and mankind. And it clothes him with humbleness and fear, and purifies him to become righteous, pious, upright and faithful; keeps him far from sin and brings him to virtue. Men enjoy from him counsel and sound knowledge, discernment and might; as it is said: 'Counsel is mine and sound knowledge; I am discernment; I have might.' And it gives him sovereignty and dominion and searching out of justice; and they disclose for him secrets of Torah. And he is made like a spring which ceases not, and like a stream that goes on getting stronger. And he is modest and longsuffering and forgiving of insult. And it makes him great and lifts him above all the things that are done.

2. R. Joshua b. Levi has said: Every day a Bath-Qol goes forth from Mount Horeb and proclaims and says 'Woe to mankind because of their insulting of the Torah'; for every one that is not occupied with the Torah is called reprobate; as it is said: 'As a jewel of gold in the snout of a swine, so is a fair woman without sense.' And Scripture says: 'And the tables were the work of God, and the writing writing of God, graven on the tables.' Read not 'haruth' (graven) but 'heruth' (freedom); for none is your freeman, but he who is occupied with the study of Torah. And every one who is occupied in the study of Torah, lo, he exalts himself, as it is said: 'And from Mattanah to Nahaliel, and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.' 3. He who learns from his associate one chapter, one rule, one verse, one saying, even one letter, must show hon-

our to him; for thus we find in the case of David, king of Israel, that he learned from Ahithophel only two things, but he called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend; as it is said: 'But thou, a man mine equal, my teacher and my familiar friend'. And are not these things an argument a fortiori? If David, king of Israel, who learned from Ahithophel only two things, called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend, how much more one who learns from his associate one chapter or one rule, or one verse, or one saying, or even one letter, ought to show honour to him: and 'honour' simply means Torah; as it is said: 'The wise shall inherit honour'; and 'The perfect shall inherit good': and 'good' simply means Torah; as it is said: 'For I have given thee good doctrine, forsake not my Torah.'

4. This is the way of Torah: A morsel with salt thou shalt eat, 'and thou shalt drink water by measure'; and thou shalt sleep on the ground, and thou shalt live a life of hardship, and thou shalt labour in the Torah. If thou doest thus 'happy' shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee; 'happy' in this world, and 'well with thee' in the world to come. 5. Seek not greatness for thyself, neither covet honour. Perform more than thou hast learned. And crave not for the tables of kings; for thy table is greater than their table, and thy crown greater than their crown; and faithful is He, the master of thy work, to pay thee the reward of thy labour. 6. Greater is Torah than priesthood and than sovereignty. For sovereignty is acquired through thirty qualifications, and priesthood by twenty-four; but the Torah is acquired by forty-eight things. And these are they:—'By learning, the listening of the ear, the ordering of the lips, the discernment of the heart, fear, dread, humility, cheerfulness, purity, attendance on the Wise, discussion with associates, argument with disciples, sedateness, Scripture, Mishnah; by little business, little intercourse with the world, little sleep, little conversation, little luxury, little merriment; by forbearance, a good heart, faith in the Wise, acceptance of chastisements; by being one that knows his place, and rejoices in his portion, and makes a fence for his words, and claims not goodness for himself, that is loved, that loves God, that loves mankind, that loves deeds of charity, that loves uprightness, that loves reproofs, and keeps himself far from honour, and puffs not up his heart with his learning, and delights not in giving decisions, that bears the yoke along with his associate, and judges him with a leaning to merit, and establishes him upon truth, and establishes him upon peace, and settles his heart in his study, that asks and answers, that hears and

adds thereto, that learns with a view to teaching, and that learns with a view to action, that makes his teacher wise, that makes sure what he hears, and that repeats a word in the name of him who said it. See, thou hast learned: Every one that says a word in the name of him who said it brings redemption into the world; as it is said: 'And Esther said to the king in the name of Mordecai.'

7. Great is Torah, for it gives to them that practise it life in this world and in the world to come; as it is said: 'For they are life to them that find them, and health to all their flesh.' And Scripture says: 'It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones.' And it says: 'She shall be a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy are they that retain her.' And it says: 'For they shall be a chaplet of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy neck.' And it says: 'She shall give to thine head a chaplet of grace; a crown of beauty shall she deliver thee.' And it says: 'For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and they shall increase to thee years of life.' And it says: 'Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour.' And it says: 'For length of days, and years of life, and peace shall they add to thee.'

8. R. Simeon b. Judah, in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai, said: Beauty, strength, riches, honour, wisdom, old age, grey hairs, children, are comely for the righteous and comely for the world; as it is said: 'The hoary head is a crown of glory; it shall be found in the way of righteousness.' And it says: 'Children's children are the crown of old men; and the glory of children are their fathers.' And it says: 'The glory of young men is their strength; and the beauty of old men is the hoary head.' And it says: 'Then the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed; for the Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before His ancients gloriously.' 9. R. Simeon b. Menasia said: These seven attributes, which the Wise have assigned to the righteous, were all exemplified in Rabbi and in his sons.

10. R. Jose b. Kisma has said: Once I was walking by the way and there met me a man, and he greeted me, and I greeted him again. He said to me, Rabbi, whence comest thou? I said to him, I am from a great city of wise men and scribes. He said to me, Rabbi, wilt thou dwell with us in our place, and I will give thee a thousand thousand gold pieces and precious stones and pearls? I said to him, If thou gavest me all the silver and gold and precious stones and pearls which are in the world I would not dwell except in a place of Torah. For thus it is written in the book of Psalms, by the hands of David,

king of Israel: 'The Torah of Thy mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver.' And not only so, but in the hour of a man's death it is not silver or gold or precious stones or pearls which accompany him, but Torah and good works alone; as it is said: 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee, when thou liest down it shall watch over thee, and when thou wakest it shall talk with thee.' 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee'—in this world. 'When thou liest down it shall watch over thee'—in the grave. 'When thou wakest it shall talk with thee'—in the world to come. And it says: 'The silver is Mine and the gold is Mine, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

11. Five possessions hath the Holy One, blessed be He, acquired in His world, and these are they: Torah is one possession; heaven and earth are one possession; Abraham is one possession; Israel is one possession; the house of the sanctuary is one possession. Whence is this proved concerning Torah? That which is written: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old.' Whence concerning heaven and earth? That which is written: 'Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Heaven is My throne and the earth the footstool of My feet: what is this house that ye build for Me, and what is the place of My rest?' And it says: 'How manifold are Thy works, O Lord! in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of Thy possessions.' Whence concerning Abraham? That which is written: 'And he blessed him and said, Blessed be Abraham of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth.' Whence concerning Israel? That which is written: 'Till Thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over which Thou hast possessed.' And it says: 'As for the saints that are in the earth, they are the excellent in whom is all my delight.' Whence concerning the house of the Sanctuary? That which is written: 'The place, O Lord, which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have founded.' And it says: 'And He brought them to the border of His Sanctuary, to this mountain which His right hand hath possessed.'

12. All that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in His world, He created it only for His glory; as it is said: 'Every one that is called by My name, and whom I have created for My glory, I have formed him, I have made him.' And it says: 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.'

P A R T T H R E E

Retellings, Oracles and a Prophecy

The history of Israel retold, the oracles of the Sibyl, and a Syriac writing in the name of Jeremiah.

The Biblical Antiquities of Philo

PSEUDO-PHILO

1st century AD

A retelling of the history of Israel from Adam to the death of Saul in sixty-five chapters, with long speeches, prayers and stories that are not in the Bible, such as the rescue of Abraham from the fire, the hymn of Deborah and the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. It was written in Hebrew about the first century AD, survives only in Latin, and was long printed with the works of Philo of Alexandria, though he did not write it.

CHAPTER 1

1. The beginning of the world. Adam begat three sons and one daughter, Cain, Noaba, Abel and Seth. 2. And Adam lived after he begat Seth 700 years, and begat 12 sons and 8 daughters. 3. And these are the names of the males: Eliseel, Suris, Elamiel, Brabal, Naat, Zarama, Zasad, Maathal, and Anath. 4. And these are his daughters: Phua, Iectas, Arebica, Sifa, Tecia, Saba, Asin. 5. And Seth lived 105 years and begat Enos. And Seth lived after he begat Enos 707 years, and begat 3 sons and 2 daughters. 6. And these are the names of his sons: Elidia, Phonna, and Matha: and of his daughters, Malida and Thila. 7. And Enos lived 180 years and begat Cainan. And Enos lived after he begat Cainan 715 years, and begat 2 sons and a daughter. 8. And these are the names of his sons: Phoe and Thaal; and of the daughter, Catenath.

9. And Cainan lived 520 years and begat Malalech. And Cainan lived after he begat Malalech 730 years, and begat 3 sons and 2 daughters. 10. And these are the names of the males: Athach, Socer, Lophia: and the names of the daughters, Ana and Leua. 11. And Malalech lived 165 years and begat Jareth. And Malalech lived after he begat Jareth 730 years, and begat 7 sons and 5 daughters. 12. And these are the names of the males: Leta, Matha, Cethar, Melie, Suriel, Lodo, Othim. And these are the names of the daughters: Ada and Noa, Iebal, Mada, Sella. 13. And Jareth lived 172 years and begat Enoch.

And Jareth lived after he begat Enoch 800 years and begat 4 sons and 2 daughters. 14. And these are the names of the males: Lead, Anac, Soboac and Iectar: and of the daughters, Tetzeco, Lesse. 15. And Enoch lived 165 years and begat Matusalam. And Enoch lived after he begat Matusalam 200 years, and begat 5 sons and 3 daughters.

16. But Enoch pleased God at that time and was not found, for God translated him. 17. Now the names of his sons are: Anaz, Zeum, Achaun, Pheledi, Elith; and of the daughters, Theiz, Lefith, Leath. 18. And Mathusalam lived 187 years and begat Lamech. And Mathusalam lived after he begat Lamech 782 years, and begat 2 sons and 2 daughters. 19. And these are the names of the males: Inab and Rapho; and of the daughters, Aluma and Amuga. 20. And Lamech lived 182 years and begat a son, and called him according to his nativity Noe, saying: This child will give rest to us and to the earth from those who are therein, upon whom (or in the day when) a visitation shall be made because of the iniquity of their evil deeds. 21. And Lamech lived after he begat Noe 585 years. 22. And Noe lived 300 years and begat 3 sons, Sem, Cham, and Japheth.

CHAPTER 2

1. But Cain dwelt in the earth trembling, according as God appointed unto him after he slew Abel his brother; and the name of his wife was Themech. 2. And Cain knew Themech his wife and she conceived and bare Enoch. 3. Now Cain was 15 years old when he did these things; and from that time he began to build cities, until he had founded seven cities. And these are the names of the cities: The name of the first city according to the name of his son Enoch. The name of the second city Mauli, and of the third Leeth, and the name of the fourth Teze, and the name of the fifth Iesca; the name of the sixth Celeth, and the name of the seventh Iebbath. 4. And Cain lived after he begat Enoch 715 years and begat 3 sons and 2 daughters. And these are the names of his sons: Olad, Lizaph, Fosal; and of his daughters, Citha and Maac. And all the days of Cain were 730 years, and he died.

5. Then took Enoch a wife of the daughters of Seth, which bare him Ciram and Cuuth and Madab. But Ciram begat Matusael, and Matusael begat Lamech. 6. But Lamech took unto himself two wives: the name of the one was Ada and the name of the other Sella. 7. And Ada bare him Iobab: he was the father of all that dwell in tents and feed flocks. And again she bare him Iobal, which was the first to teach all playing of instruments (lit. every

psalm of organs). 8. And at that time, when they that dwelt on the earth had begun to do evil, every one with his neighbour's wife, defiling them, God was angry. And he began to play upon the lute (kinnor) and the harp and on every instrument of sweet psalmody (lit. psaltery), and to corrupt the earth. 9. But Sella bare Tubal and Misa and Theffa, and this is that Tubal which showed unto men arts in lead and tin and iron and copper and silver and gold: and then began the inhabitants of the earth to make graven images and to worship them.

10. Now Lamech said unto his two wives Ada and Sella: Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech, give heed to my precept: for I have corrupted men for myself, and have taken away sucklings from the breasts, that I might show my sons how to work evil, and the inhabitants of the earth. And now shall vengeance be taken seven times of Cain, but of Lamech seventy times seven.

CHAPTER 3

1. And it came to pass when men had begun to multiply on the earth, that beautiful daughters were born unto them. And the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were exceeding fair, and took them wives of all that they had chosen. 2. And God said: My spirit shall not judge among these men for ever, because they are of flesh; but their years shall be 120. Upon whom he laid (or wherein I have set) the ends of the world, and in their hands wickednesses were not put out (or the law shall not be quenched). 3. And God saw that in all the dwellers upon earth works of evil were fulfilled: and inasmuch as their thought was upon iniquity all their days, God said: I will blot out man and all things that have budded upon the earth, for it repenteth me that I have made him.

4. But Noe found grace and mercy before the Lord, and these are his generations. Noe, which was a righteous man and undefiled in his generation, pleased the Lord. Unto whom God said: The time of all men that dwell upon the earth is come, for their deeds are very evil. And now make thee an ark of cedar wood, and thus shalt thou make it. 300 cubits shall be the length thereof, and 50 cubits the breadth, and 30 cubits the height. And thou shalt enter into the ark, thou and thy wife and thy sons and thy sons' wives with thee. And I will make my covenant with thee, to destroy all the dwellers upon earth. Now of clean beasts and of the fowls of the heaven that are clean thou shalt take by sevens male and female, that their seed may be saved alive

upon the earth. But of unclean beasts and fowls thou shalt take to thee by twos male and female, and shalt take provision for thee and for them also.

5. And Noe did that which God commanded him, and entered into the ark, he and all his sons with him. And it came to pass after 7 days that the water of the flood began to be upon the earth. And in that day all the depths were opened and the great spring of water and the windows of heaven, and there was rain upon the earth 40 days and 40 nights. 6. And it was then the 1652nd (1656th) year from the time when God had made the heaven and the earth in the day when the earth was corrupted with the inhabitants thereof by reason of the iniquity of their works. 7. And when the flood continued 140 days upon the earth, Noe only and they that were with him in the ark remained alive: and when God remembered Noe, he made the water to diminish. 8. And it came to pass on the 90th day that God dried the earth, and said unto Noe: Go out of the ark, thou and all that are with thee, and grow and multiply upon the earth. And Noe went out of the ark, he and his sons and his sons' wives, and all the beasts and creeping things and fowls and cattle brought he forth with him as God commanded him. Then built Noe an altar unto the Lord, and took of all the cattle and of the clean fowls and offered burnt offerings on the altar: and it was accepted of the Lord for a savour of rest.

9. And God said: I will not again curse the earth for man's sake, for the guise of man's heart hath left off from his youth. And therefore I will not again destroy together all living as I have done. But it shall be, when the dwellers upon earth have sinned, I will judge them by famine or by the sword or by fire or by pestilence (lit. death), and there shall be earthquakes, and they shall be scattered into places not inhabited (or, the places of their habitation shall be scattered). But I will not again spoil the earth with the water of a flood, and in all the days of the earth seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and autumn, day and night shall not cease, until I remember them that dwell on the earth, even until the times are fulfilled. 10. But when the years of the world shall be fulfilled, then shall the light cease and the darkness be quenched: and I will quicken the dead and raise up from the earth them that sleep: and Hell shall pay his debt and destruction give back that which was committed unto him, that I may render unto every man according to his works and according to the fruit of their imaginations, even until I judge between the soul and the flesh. And the world shall rest, and death

shall be quenched, and Hell shall shut his mouth. And the earth shall not be without birth, neither barren for them that dwell therein: and none shall be polluted that hath been justified in me. And there shall be another earth and another heaven, even an everlasting habitation.

11. And the Lord spake further unto Noe and to his sons saying: Behold I will make my covenant with you and with your seed after you, and will not again spoil the earth with the water of a flood. And all that liveth and moveth therein shall be to you for meat. Nevertheless the flesh with the blood of the soul shall ye not eat. For he that sheddeth man's blood, his blood shall be shed; for in the image of God was man made. And ye, grow ye and multiply and fill the earth as the multitude of fishes that multiply in the waters. And God said: This is the covenant that I have made betwixt me and you; and it shall be when I cover the heaven with clouds, that my bow shall appear in the cloud, and it shall be for a memorial of the covenant betwixt me and you, and all the dwellers upon earth.

CHAPTER 4

1. And the sons of Noe which went forth of the ark were Sem, Cham, and Japheth. 2. The sons of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, and Madai, Nidiazech, Tubal, Mocteras, Cenez, Riphath, and Thogorma, Elisa, Dessin, Cethin, Tudant. And the sons of Gomer: Thelez, Lud, Deberlet. And the sons of Magog: Cesse, Thipha, Pharuta, Ammiel, Phimei, Goloza, Samanach. And the sons of Duden: Sallus, Phelucta Phallita. And the sons of Tubal: Phanatonova, Eteva. And the sons of Tyras: Maac, Tabel, Ballana, Samplameac, Elaz. And the sons of Mellech: Amboradat, Urach, Bosara. And the sons of Ascenez: Jubal, Zaraddana, Anac. And the sons of Heri: Phuddet, Doad, Dephadzeat, Enoc. And the sons of Togorma: Abiud, Saphath, Asapli, Zepthir. And the sons of Elisa: Etzaac, Zenez, Mastisa, Rira. And the sons of Zepti: Macziel, Temna, Aela, Phinon. And the sons of Tessis: Meccul, Loon, Zelataban. And the sons of Duodennin: Itheb, Beath, Phenech.

3. And these are they that were scattered abroad, and dwelt in the earth with the Persians and Medes, and in the islands that are in the sea. And Phenech, the son of Duden, went up and commanded that ships of the sea should be made: and then was the third part of the earth divided. 4. Domereth and his sons took Ladech; and Magog and his sons took Degal; Madam and his sons took Besto; Iuban (sc. Javan) and his sons took Ceel; Tubal and his sons took Pheed; Misech and his sons took Nepthi; Tiras and

his sons took Rôô; Duodennut and his sons took Goda; Riphath and his sons took Bosarra; Torgoma and his sons took Fud; Elisa and his sons took Thabola; Thesis (sc. Tarshish) and his sons took Marecham; Cethim and his sons took Thaan; Dudennin and his sons took Caruba. 5. And then began they to till the earth and to sow upon it: and when the earth was athirst, the dwellers therein cried unto the Lord and he heard them and gave rain abundantly, and it was so, when the rain descended upon the earth, that the bow appeared in the cloud, and the dwellers upon earth saw the memorial of the covenant and fell upon their faces and sacrificed, offering burnt offerings unto the Lord.

6. Now the sons of Cham were Chus, Mestra, and Phuni, and Chanaan. And the sons of Chus: Saba, and... Tudan. And the sons of Phuni: [Effun-tenus], Zeleutelup, Geluc, Lephuc. And the sons of Chanaan were Sydona, Endain, Racin, Simmin, Uruin, Nenugin, Amathin, Nephin, Telaz, Elat, Cusin. 7. And Chus begat Nembroth. He began to be proud before the Lord. But Mestram begat Ludin and Megimin and Labin and Latuin and Petrosonoin and Ceslun: thence came forth the Philistines and the Cappadocians. 8. And then did they also begin to build cities: and these are the cities which they built: Sydon, and the parts that lie about it, that is Resun, Beosa, Maza, Gerara, Ascalon, Dabir, Camo, Tellun, Lacis, Sodom and Gomorra, Adama and Seboim. 9. And the sons of Sem: Elam, Assur, Arphaxa, Luzi, Aram. And the sons of Aram: Gedrum, Ese. And Arphaxa begat Sale, Sale begat Heber, and unto Heber were born two sons: the name of the one was Phalech, for in his days the earth was divided, and the name of his brother was Jectan.

10. And Jectan begat Helmadam and Salastra and Mazaam, Rea, Dura, Uzia, Deglabal, Mimoel, Sabthphin, Evilac, Iubab. And the sons of Phalech: Ragau, Rephuth, Zepheram, Aculon, Sachar, Siphaz, Nabi, Suri, Seciur, Phalacus, Rapho, Phalthia, Zaldephal, Zaphis, and Arteman, Heliphas. These are the sons of Phalech, and these are their names, and they took them wives of the daughters of Jectan and begat sons and daughters and filled the earth. 11. But Ragau took him to wife Melcha the daughter of Ruth, and she begat him Seruch. And when the day of her delivery came she said: Of this child shall be born in the fourth generation one who shall set his dwelling on high, and shall be called perfect, and undefiled, and he shall be the father of nations, and his covenant shall not be broken, and his seed shall be multiplied for ever. 12. And Ragau lived after he begat Seruch 119

years and begat 7 sons and 5 daughters. And these are the names of his sons: Abiel, Obed, Salma, Dedasal, Zeneza, Accur, Nephes. And these are the names of his daughters: Cedema, Derisa, Seipha, Pherita, Theila.

13. And Seruch lived 29 years and begat Nachor. And Seruch lived after he begat Nachor 67 years and begat 4 sons and 3 daughters. And these are the names of the males: Zela, Zoba, Dica and Phodde. And these are his daughters: Tephila, Oda, Selipha. 14. And Nachor lived 34 years and begat Thara. And Nachor lived after he begat Thara 200 years and begat 8 sons and 5 daughters. And these are the names of the males: Recap, Dediap, Berechap, Iosac, Sithal, Nisab, Nadab, Camoel. And these are his daughters: Esca, Thipha, Bruna, Ceneta. 15. And Thara lived 70 years and begat Abram, Nachor, and Aram. And Aram begat Loth. 16. Then began they that dwelt on the earth to look upon the stars, and began to prognosticate by them and to make divination, and to make their sons and daughters pass through the fire. But Seruch and his sons walked not according to them.

17. And these are the generations of Noe upon the earth according to their languages and their tribes, out of whom the nations were divided upon the earth after the flood.

CHAPTER 5

1. Then came the sons of Cham, and made Nembroth a prince over themselves: but the sons of Japheth made Phenech their chief: and the sons of Sem gathered together and set over them Jectan to be their prince. 2. And when these three had met together they took counsel that they would look upon and take account of the people of their followers. And this was done while Noe was yet alive, even that all men should be gathered together: and they lived at one with each other, and the earth was at peace. 3. Now in the 340th year of the going forth of Noe out of the ark, after that God dried up the flood, did the princes take account of their people. 4. And first Phenech the son of Japheth looked upon them. The sons of Gomer all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 5,800.

But of the sons of Magog all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their leading the number was 6,200. And of the sons of Madai all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 5,700. And the sons of Tubal all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 9,400. And the sons of Mesca all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number

5,600. The sons of Thiras all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 12,300. And the sons of Riphath passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 11,500. And the sons of Thogorma passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 14,400. But the sons of Elisa passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 14,900.

And the sons of Thersis all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 12,100. The sons of Cethin all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincy were in number 17,300. And the sons of Doin passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 17,700. And the number of the camp of the sons of Japheth, all of them men of might and all girt with their armour, which were set in the sight of their captains was 140,202 besides women and children. The account of Japheth in full was in number 142,000. 5. And Nembroth passed by, he and the son(s) of Cham, all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 24,800. The sons of Phua all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 27,700.

And the sons of Canaan all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 32,800. The sons of Soba all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 4,300. The sons of Lebilla all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 22,300. And the sons of Sata all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 25,300. And the sons of Remma all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 30,600. And the sons of Sabaca all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 46,400. And the number of the camp of the sons of Cham, all of them mighty men, and furnished with armour, which were set in the sight of their captaincies was in number 244,900 besides women and children.

6. And Jectan the son of Sem looked upon the sons of Elam, and they were all of them passing by according to the number of the sceptres of their captaincies in number 47,000. And the sons of Assur all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 73,000. And the sons of Aram all of them passing by according to the sceptres of

their captaincies were found in number 87,300. The sons of Lud all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were found in number 30,600. [The number of the sons of Cham was 73,000.] But the sons of Arfaxat all of them passing by according to the sceptres of their captaincies were in number 114,600. And the whole number of them was 347,600. 7. The number of the camp of the sons of Sem, all of them setting forth in valour and in the commandment of war in the sight of their captaincies was ix besides women and children.

8. And these are the generations of Noe set forth separately, whereof the whole number together was 914,000. And all these were counted while Noe was yet alive, and in the presence of Noe 350 years after the flood. And all the days of Noe were 950 years, and he died.

CHAPTER 6

1. Then all they that had been divided and dwelt upon the earth gathered together thereafter, and dwelt together; and they set forth from the East and found a plain in the land of Babylon: and there they dwelt, and they said every man to his neighbour: Behold, it will come to pass that we shall be scattered every man from his brother, and in the latter days we shall be fighting one against another. Now, therefore, come and let us build for ourselves a tower, the head whereof shall reach unto heaven, and we shall make us a name and a renown upon the earth. 2. And they said everyone to his neighbour: Let us take bricks (lit. stones), and let us, each one, write our names upon the bricks and burn them with fire: and that which is thoroughly burned shall be for mortar and brick. (Perhaps, that which is not thoroughly burned shall be for mortar, and that which is, for brick.)

3. And they took every man their bricks, saving 12 men, which would not take them, and these are their names: Abraham, Nachor, Loth, Ruge, Tenu-te, Zaba, Armodath, Iobab, Esar, Abimahel, Saba, Auphin. 4. And the people of the land laid hands on them and brought them before their princes and said: These are the men that have transgressed our counsels and will not walk in our ways. And the princes said unto them: Wherefore would ye not set every man your bricks with the people of the land? And they answered and said: We will not set bricks with you, neither will we be joined with your desire. One Lord know we, and him do we worship. And if ye should cast us into the fire with your bricks, we will not consent to you. 5. And the princes were wroth and said: As they have said, so do unto them, and

if they consent not to set bricks with you, ye shall burn them with fire together with your bricks.

6. Then answered Jectan which was the first prince of the captains: Not so, but there shall be given them a space of 7 days. And it shall be, if they repent of their evil counsels, and will set bricks along with us, they shall live; but if not, let them be burned according to your word. But he sought how he might save them out of the hands of the people; for he was of their tribe, and he served God. 7. And when he had thus said he took them and shut them up in the king's house: and when it was evening the prince commanded 50 mighty men of valour to be called unto him, and said unto them: Go forth and take to-night these men that are shut up in mine house, and put provision for them from my house upon 10 beasts, and the men bring ye to me, and their provision together with the beasts take ye to the mountains and wait for them there: and know this, that if any man shall know what I have said unto you, I will burn you with fire.

8. And the men set forth and did all that their prince commanded them, and took the men from his house by night; and took provision and put it upon beasts and took them to the hill country as he commanded them. 9. And the prince called unto him those 12 men and said to them: Be of good courage and fear not, for ye shall not die. For God in whom ye trust is mighty, and therefore be ye stablished in him, for he will deliver you and save you. And now lo, I have commanded 50 men to take [you with] provision from my house, and go before you into the hill country and wait for you in the valley: and I will give you other 50 men which shall guide you thither: go ye therefore and hide yourselves there in the valley, having water to drink that floweth down from the rocks: hold yourselves there for 30 days, until the anger of the people of the land be appeased and until God send his wrath upon them and break them. For I know that the counsel of iniquity which they have agreed to perform shall not stand, for their thought is vain. And it shall be when 7 days are expired and they shall seek for you, I will say unto them: They have gone forth and have broken the door of the prison wherein they were shut up and have fled by night, and I have sent 100 men to seek them. So will I turn them from their madness that is upon them.

10. And there answered him 11 of the men saying: Thy servants have found favour in thy sight, in that we are set free out of the hands of these proud men. 11. But Abram only kept silence, and the prince said unto him:

Wherefore answerest thou not me, Abram, servant of God? Abram answered and said: Lo, I flee away to-day into the hill country, and if I escape the fire, wild beasts will come out of the mountains and devour us. Or our victuals will fail and we shall die of hunger; and we shall be found fleeing from the people of the land and shall fall in our sins. And now, as he liveth in whom I trust, I will not remove from my place wherein they have put me: and if there be any sin of mine so that I be indeed burned, the will of God be done. And the prince said unto him:

Thy blood be upon thy head, if thou refuse to go forth with these. But if thou consent, thou shall be delivered. Yet if thou wilt abide, abide as thou art. And Abram said: I will not go forth, but I will abide here. 12. And the prince took those 11 men and sent other 50 with them, and commanded them saying: Wait, ye also, in the hill country for 15 days with those 50 which were sent before you; and after that ye shall return and say: "We have not found them," as I said to the former ones. And know that if any man transgress one of all these words that I have spoken unto you, he shall be burned with fire. So the men went forth, and he took Abram by himself and shut him up where he had been shut up aforetime. 13. And after 7 days were passed, the people were gathered together and spake unto their prince saying: Restore us the men which would not consent unto us, that we may burn them with fire. And they sent captains to bring them, and they found them not, save Abram only. And they gathered all of them to their prince saying: The men whom ye shut up are fled and have escaped that which we counselled.

14. And Phenech and Nemroth said unto Jectan: Where are the men whom thou didst shut up? But he said: They have broken prison and fled by night: but I have sent 100 men to seek them, and commanded them if they find them that they should not only burn them with fire but give their bodies to the fowls of the heaven and so destroy them. 15. Then said they: This fellow which is found alone, let us burn him. And they took Abram and brought him before their princes and said to him: Where are they that were with thee? And he said: Verily at night I slept, and when I awaked I found them not. 16. And they took him and built a furnace and kindled it with fire, and put bricks burned with fire into the furnace. Then Jectan the prince being amazed (lit. melted) in his mind took Abram and put him with the bricks into the furnace of fire.

17. But God stirred up a great earthquake, and the fire gushed forth of the furnace and brake out into flames and sparks of fire and consumed all them that stood round about in sight of the furnace; and all they that were burned in that day were 83,500. But upon Abram was there not any the least hurt by the burning of the fire. 18. And Abram arose out of the furnace, and the fiery furnace fell down, and Abram was saved. And he went unto the 11 men that were hid in the hill country and told them all that had befallen him, and they came down with him out of the hill country rejoicing in the name of the Lord, and no man met them to affright them that day. And they called that place by the name of Abram, and in the tongue of the Chaldeans Deli, which is being interpreted, God.

CHAPTER 7

1. And it came to pass after these things, that the people of the land turned not from their evil thoughts: and they came together again unto their princes and said: The people shall not be overcome for ever: and now let us come together and build us a city and a tower which shall never be removed. 2. And when they had begun to build, God saw the city and the tower which the children of men were building, and he said: Behold, this is one people and their speech is one, and this which they have begun to build the earth will not sustain, neither will the heaven suffer it, beholding it: and it shall be, if they be not now hindered, that they shall dare all things that they shall take in mind to do. 3. Therefore, lo, I will divide their speech, and scatter them over all countries, that they may not know every man his brother, neither every man understand the speech of his neighbour. And I will deliver them to the rocks, and they shall build themselves tabernacles of stubble and straw, and shall dig themselves caves and shall live therein like beasts of the field, and thus shall they continue before my face for ever, that they may never devise such things. And I will esteem them as a drop of water, and liken them unto spittle: and unto some of them their end shall come by water, and other of them shall be dried up with thirst.

4. And before all of them will I choose my servant Abram, and I will bring him out from their land, and lead him into the land which mine eye hath looked upon from the beginning when all the dwellers upon earth sinned before my face, and I brought on them the water of the flood: and then I destroyed not that land, but preserved it. Therefore the fountains of my wrath did not break forth therein, neither did the water of my destruc-

tion come down upon it. For there will I make my servant Abram to dwell, and I will make my covenant with him, and bless his seed, and will be called his God for ever. 5. Howbeit when the people that dwelt in the land had begun to build the tower, God divided their speech, and changed their likeness. And they knew not every man his brother, neither did each understand the speech of his neighbour. So it came to pass that when the builders commanded their helpers to bring bricks they brought water, and if they asked for water, the others brought them straw. And so their counsel was broken and they ceased building the city: and God scattered them thence over the face of all the earth. Therefore was the name of that place called Confusion, because there God confounded their speech, and scattered them thence over the face of all the earth.

CHAPTER 8

1. But Abram went forth thence and dwelt in the land of Chanaan, and took with him Loth his brother's son, and Sarai his wife. And because Sarai was barren and had no offspring, then Abram took Agar her maid, and she bare him Ismahel. And Ismahel begat 12 sons. 2. Then Loth departed from Abram and dwelt in Sodom [but Abram dwelt in the land of Cam]. And the men of Sodom were very evil and sinners exceedingly. 3. And God appeared unto Abraham saying: Unto thy seed will I give this land; and thy name shall be called Abraham, and Sarai thy wife shall be called Sara. And I will give thee of her an eternal seed and make my covenant with thee. And Abraham knew Sara his wife, and she conceived and bare Isaac. 4. And Isaac took him a wife of Mesopotamia, the daughter of Bathuel, which conceived and bare him Esau and Jacob.

5. And Esau took to him for wives Judin the daughter of Bereu, and Basemath the daughter of Elon, and Elibema the daughter of Anan, and Manem the daughter of Samahel. And Basemath bare him Adelifan, and the sons of Adelifan were Temar, Omar, Seffor, Getan, Tenaz, Amalec. And Judin bare Tenacis, Ieruebemas, Bassemen, Rugil: and the sons of Rugil were Naizar, Samaza; and Elibema bare Auz, Iollam, Coro. Manem bare Tenetde, Thenatela. 6. And Jacob took to him for wives the daughters of Laban the Syrian, Lia and Rachel, and two concubines, Bala and Zelpha. And Lia bare him Ruben, Simeon, Levi, Juda, Isachar, Zabulon, and Dina their sister. But Rachel bare Joseph and Benjamin. Bala bare Dan and Neptalim, and Zelpha bare Gad and Aser. These are the 12 sons of Jacob and one daughter. 7. And

Jacob dwelt in the land of Chanaan, and Sichem the son of Emor the Cor-rean forced his daughter Dina and humbled her. And Simeon and Levi the sons of Jacob went in and slew all their city with the edge of the sword, and took Dina their sister, and went out thence.

8. And thereafter Job took her to wife and begat of her 14 sons and 6 daughters, even 7 sons and 3 daughters before he was smitten with affliction, and thereafter when he was made whole 7 sons and 3 daughters. And these are their names: Eliphac, Erinoe, Diasat, Philias, Diffar, Zellud, Thelon: and his daughters Meru, Litaz, Zeli. And such as had been the names of the former, so were they also of the latter. 9. Now Jacob and his 12 sons dwelt in the land of Chanaan: and his sons hated their brother Joseph, whom also they delivered into Egypt, to Petephres the chief of the cooks of Pharao, and he abode with him 14 years. 10. And it came to pass after that the king of Egypt had seen a dream, that they told him of Joseph, and he declared him the dreams. And it was so after he declared his dreams, that Pharao made him prince over all the land of Egypt. At that time there was a famine in all the land, as Joseph had foreseen. And his brethren came down into Egypt to buy food, because in Egypt only was there food. And Joseph knew his brethren, and was made known to them, and dealt not evilly with them. And he sent and called his father out of the land of Chanaan, and he came down unto him.

11. And these are the names of the sons of Israel which came down into Egypt with Jacob, each one with his house. The sons of Reuben, Enoch and Phallud, Esrom and Carmin; the sons of Simeon, Namuhel and Iamin and Dot and Iachin, and Saul the son of a Canaanitish woman. The sons of Levi, Gerson, Caat and Merari: but the sons of Juda, Auna, Selon, Phares, Zerami. The sons of Isachar, Tola and Phua, Iob and Sombram. The sons of Zabulon, Sarelon and Iaillil. And Dina their sister bare 14 sons and 6 daughters. And these are the generations of Lia whom she bare to Jacob. All the souls of sons and daughters were 72. 12. Now the sons of Dan were Usinam. The sons of Neptalim, Betaal, Neemmu, Surem, Optisariel. And these are the generations of Balla which she bare to Jacob. All the souls were 8.

13. But the sons of Gad:... Sariel, Sua, Visui, Mophat and Sar: their sister the daughter of Seriebel, Melchiel. These are the generations of Zelpha the wife of Jacob which she bare to him. And all the souls of sons and daughters were in number 10. 14. And the sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manassen: and

Benjamin begat Gela, Esbel, Abocmephec, Utundeus. And these were the souls which Rachel bare to Jacob, 14. And they went down into Egypt and abode there 210 years.

CHAPTER 9

1. And it came to pass after the departure of Joseph, the children of Israel were multiplied and increased greatly. And there arose another king in Egypt which knew not Joseph: and he said to his people: Lo, this people is multiplied more than we. Come let us take counsel against them that they multiply not. And the king of Egypt commanded all his people saying: Every son that shall be born to the Hebrews, cast into the river, but keep the females alive. And the Egyptians answered their king saying: Let us slay their males and keep their females, to give them to our bondmen for wives: and he that is born of them shall be a bondman and serve us. And this is that that did appear most evil before the Lord. 2. Then the elders of the people assembled the people with mourning and mourned and lamented saying: An untimely birth have the wombs of our wives suffered. Our fruit is delivered over to our enemies and now we are cut off. Yet let us appoint us an ordinance, that no man come near his wife, lest the fruit of their womb be defiled, and our bowels serve idols: for it is better to die childless, until we know what God will do.

3. And Amram answered and said: It will sooner come to pass that the age shall be utterly abolished and the immeasurable world fall, or the heart of the depths touch the stars, than that the race of the children of Israel should be diminished. And it shall be, when the covenant is fulfilled whereof God when he made it spake to Abraham saying: Surely thy sons shall dwell in a land that is not theirs, and shall be brought into bondage and afflicted 400 years.—And lo, since the word was passed which God spake to Abraham, there are 350 years. And since we have been in bondage in Egypt it is 130 years. 4. Now therefore I will not abide by that which ye ordain, but will go in and take my wife and beget sons, that we may be made many on the earth. For God will not continue in his anger, neither will he alway forget his people, nor cast forth the race of Israel to nought upon the earth, neither did he in vain make his covenant with our fathers: yea, when as yet we were not, God spake of these things.

5. Now therefore I will go and take my wife, neither will I consent to the commandment of this king. And if it be right in your eyes, so let us do all of

us, for it shall be, when our wives conceive, they shall not be known to be great with child until 3 months are fulfilled, like as also our mother Thamar did, for her intent was not to fornication, but because she would not separate herself from the sons of Israel she took thought and said: It is better for me to die for sinning with my father-in-law than to be joined to Gentiles. And she hid the fruit of her womb till the 3rd month, for then was it perceived. And as she went to be put to death she affirmed it saying: The man whose is this staff and this ring and goat-skin, of him have I conceived. And her device delivered her out of all peril.

6. Now therefore let us also do thus. And it shall be when the time of bringing forth is come, if it be possible, we will not cast forth the fruit of our womb. And who knoweth if thereby God will be provoked, to deliver us from our humiliation? 7. And the word which Amram had in his heart was pleasing before God: and God said: Because the thought of Amram is pleasing before me, and he hath not set at nought the covenant made between me and his fathers, therefore, lo now, that which is begotten of him shall serve me for ever, and by him will I do wonders in the house of Jacob, and will do by him signs and wonders for my people which I have done for none other, and will perform in them my glory and declare unto them my ways. 8. I the Lord will kindle for him my lamp to dwell in him, and will show him my covenant which no man hath seen, and manifest to him my great excellency, and my justice and judgments and will shine for him a perpetual light. For in ancient days I thought of him, saying: My spirit shall not be a mediator among these men for ever, for they are flesh, and their days shall be 120 years.

9. And Amram of the tribe of Levi went forth and took a wife of his tribe, and it was so when he took her, that the residue did after him and took their wives. Now he had one son and one daughter, and their names were Aaron and Maria. 10. And the spirit of God came upon Maria by night, and she saw a dream, and told her parents in the morning saying: I saw this night, and behold a man in a linen garment stood and said to me: Go and tell thy parents: behold, that which shall be born of you shall be cast into the water, for by him water shall be dried up, and by him will I do signs, and I will save my people, and he shall have the captaincy thereof alway. And when Maria had told her dream her parents believed her not.

11. But the word of the king of Egypt prevailed against the children of Israel and they were humiliated and oppressed in the work of bricks. 12. But Jochabeth conceived of Amram and hid the child in her womb 3 months, for she could not hide it longer: because the king of Egypt had appointed overseers of the region, that when the Hebrew women brought forth they should cast the males into the river straightway. And she took her child and made him an ark of the bark of a pine-tree and set the ark on the edge of the river. 13. Now the boy was born in the covenant of God and in the covenant of his flesh. 14. And it came to pass, when they cast him out, all the elders gathered together and chode with Amram saying: Are not these the words which we spake saying: "It is better for us to die childless than that our fruit should be cast into the water?" And when they said so, Amram hearkened not to them.

15. But the daughter of Pharaon came down to wash in the river according as she had seen in a dream, and her maids saw the ark, and she sent one of them and took it and opened it. And when she saw the child and looked upon the covenant, that is, the testament in his flesh, she said: He is of the children of the Hebrews. 16. And she took him and nourished him and he became her son, and she called his name Moyses. But his mother called him Melchiel. And the child was nourished and became glorious above all men, and by him God delivered the children of Israel, as he had said.

CHAPTER 10

1. Now when the king of Egypt was dead another king arose, and afflicted all the people of Israel. But they cried unto the Lord and he heard them, and sent Moses and delivered them out of the land of Egypt: and God sent also upon them 10 plagues and smote them. Now these were the plagues, namely, blood, and frogs, and all manner of flies, hail, and death of cattle, locusts and gnats, and darkness that might be felt, and the death of the firstborn. 2. And when they had gone forth thence and were journeying, the heart of the Egyptians was yet again hardened, and they continued to pursue them, and found them by the Red Sea. And the children of Israel cried unto their God and spake to Moyses saying: Lo, now is come the time of our destruction, for the sea is before us and the multitude of enemies behind us, and we in the midst. Was it for this that God brought us out, or are these the covenants which he made with our fathers saying: To your seed will I give the land

wherein ye dwell? and now let him do with us that which seemeth good in his sight.

3. Then did the children of Israel sever their counsels into three divisions of counsels, because of the fear of the time. For the tribe of Ruben and of Isachar and of Zabulon and of Symeon said: Come, let us cast ourselves into the sea, for it is better for us to die in the water than to be slain of our enemies. And the tribe of Gad and of Aser and of Dan and Neptalim said: Nay, but let us return with them, and if they will give us our lives, we will serve them. But the tribe of Levi and of Juda and Joseph and the tribe of Benjamin said: Not so, but let us take our weapons and fight them, and God will be with us. 4. Moses also cried unto the Lord and said: O Lord God of our fathers, didst thou not say unto me: Go and tell the sons of Lia, God hath sent me unto you? And now, behold, thou hast brought thy people to the brink of the sea, and the enemy follow after them: but thou, Lord, remember thy name.

5. And God said: Whereas thou hast cried unto me, take thy rod and smite the sea, and it shall be dried up. And when Moses did all this, God rebuked the sea, and the sea was dried up: the seas of waters stood still and the depths of the earth appeared, and the foundations of the dwelling-place were laid bare at the noise of the fear of God and at the breath of the anger of my Lord. 6. And Israel passed over on dry land in the midst of the sea. And the Egyptians saw and went on to pursue after them, and God hardened their mind, and they knew not that they were entering into the sea. And so it was that while the Egyptians were in the sea God commanded the sea yet again, and said to Moses: Smite the sea yet once again. And he did so. And the Lord commanded the sea and it returned unto his waves, and covered the Egyptians and their chariots and their horsemen unto this day.

7. But as for his own people, he led them forth into the wilderness: forty years did he rain bread from heaven for them, and he brought them quails from the sea, and a well of water following them brought he forth for them. And in a pillar of cloud he led them by day and in a pillar of fire by night did he give light unto them.

CHAPTER 11

1. And in the 3rd month of the journeying of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, they came into the wilderness of Sinai. And God remembered his word and said: I will give light unto the world, and lighten the habitable

places, and make my covenant with the children of men, and glorify my people above all nations, for unto them will I put forth an eternal exaltation which shall be unto them a light, but unto the ungodly a chastisement. 2. And he said unto Moses: Behold, I will call thee to-morrow: be thou ready and tell my people: "For three days let not a man come near his wife," and on the 3rd day I will speak unto thee and unto them, and after that thou shalt come up unto me. And I will put my words in thy mouth and thou shalt enlighten my people. For I have given into thy hands an everlasting law whereby I will judge all the world. For this shall be for a testimony. For if men say: "We have not known thee, and therefore we have not served thee," therefore will I take vengeance upon them, because they have not known my law.

3. And Moses did as God commanded him, and sanctified the people and said unto them: Be ye ready on the 3rd day, for after 3 days will God make his covenant with you. And the people were sanctified. 4. And it came to pass on the 3rd day that, lo, there were voices of thunders (lit. them that sounded) and brightness of lightnings and the voice of instruments sounding aloud. And there was fear upon all the people that were in the camp. And Moses put forth the people to meet God. 5. And behold the mountains burned with fire and the earth shook and the hills were removed and the mountains overthrown: the depths boiled, and all the habitable places were shaken: and the heavens were folded up and the clouds drew up water. And flames of fire shone forth and thunders and lightnings were multiplied and winds and tempests made a roaring: the stars were gathered together and the angels ran before, until God established the law of an everlasting covenant with the children of Israel, and gave unto them an eternal commandment which should not pass away.

6. And at that time the Lord spake unto his people all these words, saying: I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt not make to thyself graven gods, neither shalt thou make any abominable image of the sun or the moon or any of the ornaments of the heaven, nor the likeness of all things that are upon the earth nor of such as creep in the waters or upon the earth. I am the Lord thy God, a jealous God, requiting the sins of them that sleep upon the living children of the ungodly, if they walk in the ways of their fathers, unto the third and fourth generation, doing (or shewing) mercy unto 1000 genera-

tions to them that love me and keep my commandments. 7. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, that my ways be not made vain. For God abominateth him that taketh his name in vain.

8. Keep the sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days do thy work, but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord. In it thou shalt do no work, thou and all thy labourers, saving that therein ye praise the Lord in the congregation of the elders and glorify the Mighty One in the seat of the aged. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that are in them, and all the world, the wilderness that is not inhabited, and all things that do labour, and all the order of the heaven, and God rested the seventh day. Therefore God sanctified the seventh day, because he rested therein. 9. Thou shalt love thy father and thy mother and fear them: and then shall thy light rise, and I will command the heaven and it shall pay thee the rain thereof, and the earth shall hasten her fruit, and thy days shall be many, and thou shalt dwell in thy land, and shalt not be childless, for thy seed shall not fail, even that of them that dwell therein.

10. Thou shalt not commit adultery, for thine enemies did not commit adultery with thee, but thou camest out with a high hand. 11. Thou shalt not kill: because thine enemies got not the mastery over thee to slay thee, but thou beheldest their death. 12. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, speaking falsely, lest thy watchmen speak falsely against thee. 13. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor that which he hath, lest others also covet thy land. 14. And when the Lord ceased speaking, the people feared with a great fear: and they saw the mountain burning with torches of fire, and they said to Moses: Speak thou unto us, and let not God speak unto us, lest peradventure we die. For, lo, to-day we know that God speaketh with man face to face, and man shall live. And now have we perceived of a truth how that the earth bare the voice of God with trembling. And Moses said unto them: Fear not, for for this cause came this voice unto you, that ye should not sin (or, for this cause, that he might prove you, God came unto you, that ye might receive the fear of him unto you, that ye sin not).

15. And all the people stood afar off, but Moses drew near unto the cloud, knowing that God was there. And then God spake unto him his justice and judgements, and kept him by him 40 days and 40 nights. And there did he command him many things, and showed him the tree of life, whereof he cut

and took and put it into Mara, and the water of Mara was made sweet and followed them in the desert 40 years, and went up into the hills with them and came down into the plain. Also he commanded him concerning the tabernacle and the ark of the Lord, and the sacrifice of burnt offerings and of incense, and the ordinance of the table and of the candlestick and concerning the laver and the base thereof, and the shoulder-piece and the breastplate, and the very precious stones, that the children of Israel should make them so: and he shewed him the likeness of them to make them according to the pattern which he saw. And said unto him: Make for me a sanctuary and the tabernacle of my glory shall be among you.

CHAPTER 12

1. And Moses came down: and whereas he was covered with invisible light—for he had gone down into the place where is the light of the sun and moon,—the light of his face overcame the brightness of the sun and moon, and he knew it not. And it was so, when he came down to the children of Israel, they saw him and knew him not. But when he spake, then they knew him. And this was like that which was done in Egypt when Joseph knew his brethren but they knew not him. And it came to pass after that, when Moses knew that his face was become glorious, he made him a veil to cover his face. 2. But while he was in the mount, the heart of the people was corrupted, and they came together to Aaron saying: Make us gods that we may serve them, as the other nations also have. For this Moses by whom the wonders were done before us, is taken from us. And Aaron said unto them: Have patience, for Moses will come and bring judgement near to us, and light up a law for us, and set forth from his mouth the great excellency of God, and appoint judgements unto our people.

3. And when he said this, they hearkened not unto him, that the word might be fulfilled which was spoken in the day when the people sinned in building the tower, when God said: And now if I forbid them not, they will adventure all that they take in mind to do, and worse. But Aaron feared, because the people was greatly strengthened, and said to them: Bring us the earrings of your wives. And the men sought every one his wife, and they gave them straightway, and they put them in the fire and they were made into a figure, and there came out a molten calf. 4. And the Lord said to Moses: Make haste hence, for the people is corrupted and hath dealt deceitfully with my ways which I commanded them. What and if the promises are at an end

which I made to their fathers when I said: To your seed will I give this land wherein ye dwell? For behold the people is not yet entered into the land, even though they bear my judgements, yet have they forsaken me. And therefore I know that if they enter the land they will do yet greater iniquities. Now therefore I also will forsake them: and I will turn again and make peace with them, that a house may be built for me among them; and that house also shall be done away, because they will sin against me, and the race of men shall be unto me as a drop of a pitcher, and shall be counted as spittle.

5. And Moses hasted and came down and saw the calf, and he looked upon the tables and saw that they were not written: and he hasted and brake them; and his hands were opened and he became like a woman travailing of her firstborn, which when she is taken in her pangs her hands are upon her bosom, and she shall have no strength to help her to bring forth. 6. And it came to pass after an hour he said within himself: Bitterness prevaieth not for ever, neither hath evil the dominion alway. Now therefore will I arise, and strengthen my loins: for albeit they have sinned, yet shall not these things be in vain that were declared unto me above. 7. And he arose and brake the calf and cast it into the water, and made the people drink. And it was so, if any man's will in his mind were that the calf should be made, his tongue was cut off, but if any had been constrained thereto by fear, his face shone.

8. And then Moses went up into the mount and prayed the Lord, saying: Behold now, thou art God which hast planted this vineyard and set the roots thereof in the deep, and stretched out the shoots of it unto thy most high seat. Look upon it at this time, for the vineyard hath put forth her fruit and hath not known him that tilled her. And now if thou be wroth with thy vineyard and root it up out of the deep, and wither up the shoots from thy most high eternal seat, the deep will come no more to nourish it, neither thy throne to refresh that thy vineyard which thou hast burned. 9. For thou art he that art all light, and hast adorned thy house with precious stones and gold and perfumes and spices (or and jasper), and wood of balsam and cinnamon, and with roots of myrrh and costum hast thou strewed thine house, and with divers meats and sweetness of many drinks hast thou satisfied it. If therefore thou have not pity upon thy vineyard, all these things are done in vain, Lord, and thou wilt have none to glorify thee. For even if thou plant another vineyard, neither will that one trust in thee, because thou didst destroy the former. For if verily thou forsake the world, who will do for thee

that that thou hast spoken as God? And now let thy wrath be restrained from thy vineyard the more (because of) that thou hast said and that which remaineth to be spoken, and let not thy labour be in vain, neither let thine heritage be torn asunder in humiliation.

10. And God said to him: Behold I am become merciful according to thy words. Hew thee out therefore two tables of stone from the place whence thou hewedst the former, and write upon them again my judgements which were on the first.

CHAPTER 13

1. And Moses hasted and did all that God commanded him, and came down and made the tables (and the tabernacle), and the vessels thereof, and the ark and the lamps and the table and the altar of burnt offerings and the altar of incense and the shoulderpiece and the breastplate and the precious stones and the laver and the bases and all things that were shewn him. And he ordered all the vestures of the priests, the girdles and the rest, the mitre, the golden plate and the holy crown: he made also the anointing oil for the priests, and the priests themselves he sanctified. And when all things were finished the cloud covered all of them. 2. Then Moses cried unto the Lord, and God spake to him from the tabernacle saying: This is the law of the altar, whereby ye shall sacrifice unto me and pray for your souls. But as concerning that which ye shall offer me, offer ye of cattle the calf, the sheep and the she goat: but of fowls the turtle and the dove.

3. And if there be leprosy in your land, and it so be that the leper is cleansed, let them take for the Lord two live young birds, and wood of cedar and hyssop and scarlet; and he shall come to the priest, and he shall kill one, and keep the other. And he shall order the leper according to all that I have commanded in my law. 4. And it shall be when the times come round to you, ye shall sanctify me with a feast-day and rejoice before me at the feast of the unleavened bread, and set bread before me, keeping a feast of remembrance because on that day ye came forth of the land of Egypt. 5. And in the feast of weeks ye shall set bread before me and make me an offering for your fruits. 6. But the feast of trumpets shall be for an offering for your watchers, because therein I oversaw my creation, that ye may be mindful of the whole world. In the beginning of the year, when ye show them me, I will acknowledge the number of the dead and of them that are born, and the fast of

mercy. For ye shall fast unto me for your souls, that the promises of your fathers may be fulfilled.

7. Also the feast of tabernacles bring ye to me: ye shall take for me the pleasant fruit of the tree, and boughs of palm-tree and willows and cedars, and branches of myrrh: and I will remember the whole earth in rain, and the measure of the seasons shall be established, and I will order the stars and command the clouds, and the winds shall sound and the lightnings run abroad, and there shall be a storm of thunder, and this shall be for a perpetual sign. Also the nights shall yield dew, as I spake after the flood of the earth 8. when I (or Then he) gave him precept as concerning the year of the life of Noe, and said to him: These are the years which I ordained after the weeks wherein I visited the city of men, at what time I shewed them (or him) the place of birth and the colour (or and the serpent), and I (or he) said: This is the place of which I taught the first man saying: If thou transgress not that I bade thee, all things shall be subject unto thee. But he transgressed my ways and was persuaded of his wife, and she was deceived by the serpent. And then was death ordained unto the generations of men.

9. And furthermore the Lord shewed (or, And the Lord said further: I shewed) him the ways of paradise and said unto him: These are the ways which men have lost by not walking in them, because they have sinned against me. 10. And the Lord commanded him concerning the salvation of the souls of the people and said: If they shall walk in my ways I will not forsake them, but will alway be merciful unto them, and will bless their seed, and the earth shall haste to yield her fruit, and there shall be rain for them to increase their gains, and the earth shall not be barren. Yet verily I know that they will corrupt their ways, and I shall forsake them, and they will forget the covenants which I made with their fathers. Yet will I not forget them for ever: for in the last days they shall know that because of their sins their seed was forsaken; for I am faithful in my ways.

CHAPTER 14

1. At that time God said unto him: Begin to number my people from 20 years and upwards unto 40 years, that I may show your tribes all that I declared unto their fathers in a strange land. For by the 50th part of them did I raise them up out of the land of Egypt, but 40 and 9 parts of them died in the land of Egypt. 2. When thou hast ordered them and numbered them (or, while ye abode there. And when thou hast numbered them, etc.), write the

tale of them, till I fulfil all that I spake unto their fathers, and set them firmly in their own land: for I will not diminish any word of those I have spoken unto their fathers, even of those which I said to them: Your seed shall be as the stars of heaven for multitude. By number shall they enter into the land, and in a short time shall they become without number.

3. Then Moses went down and numbered them, and the number of the people was 604,550. But the tribe of Levi numbered he not among them, for so was it commanded him; only he numbered them that were upwards of 50 years, of whom the number was 47,300. Also he numbered them that were below 20 years, and the number of them was 850,850. And he looked over the tribe of Levi and the whole number of them was CXX. CCXD. DCXX. CC. DCCC. 4. And Moses declared the number of them to God; and God said to him: These are the words which I spake to their fathers in the land of Egypt, and appointed a number, even 210 years, unto all that saw my wonders. Now the number of them all was 9000 times 10,000, 200 times 95,000 men, besides women, and I put to death the whole multitude of them because they believed me not, and the 50th part of them was left and I sanctified them unto me. Therefore do I command the generation of my people to give me tithes of their fruits, to be before me for a memorial of how great oppression I have removed from them.

5. And when Moses came down and declared these things to the people, they mourned and lamented and abode in the desert two years.

CHAPTER 15

1. And Moses sent spies to spy out the land, even 12 men, for so was it commanded him. And when they had gone up and seen the land, they returned to him bringing of the fruits of the land, and troubled the heart of the people, saying: Ye will not be able to inherit the land, for it is shut up with iron bars by their mighty men. 2. But two men out of the 12 spake not so, but said: Like as hard iron can overcome the stars, or as weapons can conquer the lightnings, or the fowls of the air put out the thunder, so can these men resist the Lord. For they saw how that as they went up the lightnings of the stars shone and the thunders followed, sounding with them. 3. And these are the names of the men: Chaleb the son of Jephone, the son of Beri, the son of Batuel, the son of Galipha, the son of Zenen, the son of Selimun, the son of Selon, the son of Juda. The other, Jesus the son of Naue, the son of Eliphat,

the son of Gal, the son of Nephelien, the son of Emon, the son of Saul, the son of Dabra, the son of Effrem, the son of Joseph.

4. But the people would not hear the voice of the twain, but were greatly troubled, and spake saying: Be these the words which God spake to us saying: I will bring you into a land flowing with milk and honey? And how now doth he bring us up that we may fall on the sword, and our women shall go into captivity? 5. And when they said thus, the glory of God appeared suddenly, and he said to Moses: Doth this people thus persevere to hearken unto me not at all? Lo now the counsel which hath gone forth from me shall not be in vain. I will send the angel of mine anger upon them to break up their bodies with fire in the wilderness. And I will give commandment to mine angels which watch over them that they pray not for them, for I will shut up their souls in the treasures of darkness, and I will say to my servants their fathers: Behold, this is the seed unto which I spake saying:

Your seed shall come into a land that is not theirs, and the nation whom they shall serve I will judge. And I fulfilled my words and made their enemies to melt away, and subjected angels under their feet, and put a cloud for a covering of their heads, and commanded the sea, and the depths were broken before their face and walls of water stood up. 6. And there hath not been the like of this word since the day when I said: Let the waters under the heaven be gathered into one place, unto this day. And I brought them out, and slew their enemies and led them before me unto the Mount

CHAPTER 16

1. [The scan lacks the page that holds the end of chapter 15 and the beginning of chapter 16.] 2. ... now are the thoughts of men greatly polluted. 3. Lo, I will command the earth, and it shall swallow up body and soul together, and their dwelling shall be in darkness and in destruction, and they shall not die but shall pine away until I remember the world and renew the earth. And then shall they die and not live, and their life shall be taken away out of the number of all men: neither shall Hell vomit them forth again, and destruction shall not remember them, and their departure shall be as that of the tribe of the nations of whom I said, "I will not remember them," that is, the camp of the Egyptians, and the people whom I destroyed with the water of the flood. And the earth shall swallow them, and I will not do any more unto them.

4. And when Moses spake all these words unto the people, Choreb, and his men were yet unbelieving. And Choreb sent to call his seven sons which were not of counsel with him. 5. But they sent to him in answer saying: As the painter sheweth not forth an image made by his art unless he be first instructed, so we also when we received the law of the Most Mighty which teacheth us his ways, did not enter therein save that we might walk therein. Our father begat us [not], but the Most Mighty formed us, and now if we walk in his ways we shall be his children. But if thou believe not, go thine own way. And they came not up unto him. 6. And it came to pass after this that the earth opened before them, and his sons sent unto him saying: If thy madness be still upon thee, who shall help thee in the day of thy destruction? and he hearkened not unto them. And the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up, and their houses, and four times was the foundation of the earth moved to swallow up the men, as it was commanded her. And thereafter Choreb and his company groaned, until the firmament of the earth should be delivered back.

7. But the assemblies of the people said unto Moses: We cannot abide round about this place where Choreb and his men have been swallowed up. And he said to them: Take up your tents from round about them, neither be ye joined to their sins. And they did so.

CHAPTER 17

1. Then was the lineage of the priests of God declared by the choosing of a tribe, and it was said unto Moses: Take throughout every tribe one rod and put them in the tabernacle, and then shall the rod of him to whomsoever my glory shall speak, flourish, and I will take away the murmuring from my people. 2. And Moses did so and set 12 rods, and the rod of Aaron came out, and put forth blossom and yielded seed of almonds. 3. And this likeness which was born there was like unto the work which Israel wrought while he was in Mesopotamia with Laban the Syrian, when he took rods of almond, and put them at the gathering of waters, and the cattle came to drink and were divided among the peeled rods, and brought forth [kids] white and speckled and parti-coloured. 4. Therefore was the synagogue of the people made like unto a flock of sheep, and as the cattle brought forth according to the almond rods, so was the priesthood established by means of the almond rods.

CHAPTER 18

1. At that time Moses slew Seon and Og, the kings of the Amorites, and divided all their land unto his people, and they dwelt therein. 2. But Balac was the king of Moab, that lived over against them, and he was greatly afraid, and sent to Balaam the son of Beor the interpreter of dreams, which dwelt in Mesopotamia, and charged him saying: Behold I know how that in the reign of my father Sefor, when the Amorites fought against him, thou didst curse them and they were delivered up before him. And now come and curse this people, for they are many, more than we, and I will do thee great honour. 3. And Balaam said: Lo, this is good in the sight of Balac, but he knoweth not that the counsel of God is not as man's counsel. And he knoweth not that the spirit which is given unto us is given for a time, and our ways are not guided except God will. Now therefore abide ye here, and I will see what the Lord will say to me this night.

4. And in the night God said unto him: Who are the men that are come unto thee? And Balaam said: Wherefore, Lord, dost thou tempt the race of man? They therefore cannot sustain it, for thou knewest more than they, all that was in the world, before thou foundedst it. And now enlighten thy servant if it be right that I go with them. 5. And God said to him: Was it not concerning this people that I spake unto Abraham in a vision saying: Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven, when I raised him up above the firmament and showed him all the orderings of the stars, and required of him his son for a burnt offering? and he brought him to be laid upon the altar, but I restored him to his father. And because he resisted not, his offering was acceptable in my sight, and for the blood of him did I choose this people. And then I said unto the angels that work subtilly: Said I not of him: To Abraham will I reveal all that I do?

6. Jacob also, when he wrestled in the dust with the angel that was over the praises, did not let him go until he blessed him. And now, behold, thou thinkest to go with these, and curse them whom I have chosen. But if thou curse them, who is he that shall bless thee? 7. And Balaam arose in the morning and said: Go your way, for God will not have me to come with you. And they went and told Balac all that was said of Balaam. And Balac sent yet again other men to Balaam saying: Behold, I know that when thou offerest burnt offerings to God, God will be reconciled with man, and now ask yet again of thy Lord, and entreat by burnt offerings, as many as he will. For if peradven-

ture he will be propitiated in my necessity, thou shalt have thy reward, if so be God accept thy offerings.

8. And Balaam said to them: Lo, the son of Sephor is foolish, and knoweth not that he dwelleth hard by (lit. round about) the dead: And now tarry here this night and I will see what God will say unto me. And God said to him: Go with them, and thy journey shall be an offence, and Balac himself shall go unto destruction. And he arose and went with them. 9. And his she-ass came by the way of the desert and saw the angel, and he opened the eyes of Balaam and he saw the angel and worshipped him on the earth. And the angel said to him: Haste and go on, for what thou sayest shall come to pass with him. 10. And he came unto the land of Moab and built an altar and offered sacrifices: and when he had seen a part of the people, the spirit of God abode not in him, and he took up his parable and said: Lo, Balac hath brought me hither unto the mount, saying: Come, run into the fire of these men. Lo I cannot abide that fire which waters quench, but that fire which consumeth water who shall endure? And he said to him: It is easier to take away the foundations and all the topmost part of them, and to quench the light of the sun and darken the shining of the moon, than for him who will to root up the planting of the Most Mighty or spoil his vineyard. And Balac himself hath not known it, because his mind is puffed up, to the intent his destruction may come swiftly.

11. For behold, I see the heritage which the Most Mighty showed me in the night, and lo the days come when Moab shall be amazed at that which befalleth her, for Balac desired to persuade the Most Mighty with gifts and to purchase decision with money. Oughtest thou not to have asked what he sent upon Pharaoh and upon his land because he would bring them into bondage? Behold an overshadowing vine, desirable exceedingly, and who shall be jealous against it, for it withereth not? But if any say in his counsel that the Most Mighty hath laboured in vain or chosen them to no purpose, lo now I see the salvation of deliverance which is to come unto them. I am restrained in the speech of my voice and I cannot express that which I see with mine eyes, for but a little is left to me of the holy spirit which abideth in me, since I know that in that I was persuaded of Balac I have lost the days of my life:

12. Lo, again I see the heritage of the abode of this people, and the light of it shineth above the brightness of lightning, and the running of it is swifter than arrows. And the time shall come when Moab shall groan, and

they that serve Cham (Chemosh?) shall be weak, even such as took this counsel against them. But I shall gnash my teeth because I was deceived and did transgress that which was said to me in the night. Yet my prophecy shall remain manifest, and my words shall live, and the wise and prudent shall remember my words, for when I cursed I perished, and though I blessed I was not blessed. And when he had so said he held his peace. And Balac said: Thy God hath defrauded thee of many gifts from me. 13. Then Balaam said unto him: Come and let us advise what thou shalt do to them. Choose out the most comely women that are among you and that are in Midian and set them before them naked, and adorned with gold and jewels, and it shall be when they shall see them and lie with them, they will sin against their Lord and fall into your hands, for otherwise thou canst not subdue them.

14. And so saying Balaam turned away and returned to his place. And thereafter the people were led astray after the daughters of Mcab, for Balac did all that Balaam had showed him.

CHAPTER 19

1. At that time Moses slew the nations, and gave half of the spoils to the people, and he began to declare to them the words of the law which God spake to them in Oreb. 2. And he spake to them, saying: Lo, I sleep with my fathers, and shall go unto my people. But I know that ye will arise and forsake the words that were ordained unto you by me, and God will be wroth with you and forsake you and depart out of your land, and bring against you them that hate you, and they shall have dominion over you, but not unto the end, for he will remember the covenant which he made with your fathers. 3. But then both ye and your sons and all your generations after you will arise and seek the day of my death and will say in their heart: Who will give us a shepherd like unto Moses, or such another judge to the children of Israel, to pray for our sins at all times, and to be heard for our iniquities?

4. Howbeit, this day I call heaven and earth to witness against you, for the heaven shall hear this and the earth shall take it in with her ears, that God hath revealed the end of the world, that he might covenant with you upon his high places, and hath kindled an everlasting lamp among you. Remember, ye wicked, how that when I spake unto you, ye answered saying: All that God hath said unto us we will hear and do. But if we transgress or corrupt our ways, he shall call a witness against us and cut us off. 5. But know ye that ye did eat the bread of angels 40 years. And now behold I do bless your tribes,

before my end come. But ye, know ye my labour wherein I have laboured with you since the day ye came up out of the land of Egypt.

6. And when he had so said, God spake unto him the third time, saying: Behold, thou goest to sleep with thy fathers, and this people will arise and seek me, and will forget my law wherewith I have enlightened them, and I shall forsake their seed for a season. 7. But unto thee will I show the land before thou die, but thou shall not enter therein in this age, lest thou see the graven images whereby this people will be deceived and led out of the way. I will show thee the place wherein they shall serve me 740 (l. 850) years. And thereafter it shall be delivered into the hand of their enemies, and they shall destroy it, and strangers shall compass it about, and it shall be in that day as it was in the day when I brake the tables of the covenant which I made with thee in Oreb: and when they sinned, that which was written therein vanished away. Now that day was the 17th day of the 4th month.

8. And Moses went up into Mount Oreb, as God had bidden him, and prayed, saying: Behold, I have fulfilled the time of my life, even 120 years. And now I pray thee let thy mercy be with thy people and let thy compassion be continued upon thine heritage, Lord, and thy long-suffering in thy place upon the race of thy choosing, for thou hast loved them more than all. 9. And thou knowest that I was a shepherd of sheep, and when I fed the flock in the desert, I brought them unto thy Mount Oreb, and then first saw I thine angel in fire out of the bush; but thou calledst me out of the bush, and I feared and turned away my face, and thou sentest me unto them, and didst deliver them out of Egypt, and their enemies thou didst sink in the water. And thou gavest them a law and judgements whereby they should live. For what man is he that hath not sinned against thee? How shall thine heritage be established except thou have mercy on them? Or who shall yet be born without sin? Yet wilt thou correct them for a season, but not in anger.

10. Then the Lord shewed him the land and all that is therein and said: This is the land which I will give to my people. And he shewed him the place from whence the clouds draw up water to water all the earth, and the place whence the river receiveth his water, and the land of Egypt, and the place of the firmament, from whence the holy land only drinketh. He shewed him also the place from whence it rained manna for the people, and even unto the paths of paradise. And he shewed him the measures of the sanctuary, and the number of the offerings, and the sign whereby men shall interpret (lit.

begin to look upon) the heaven, and said: These are the things which were forbidden to the sons of men because they sinned. 11. And now, thy rod wherewith the signs were wrought shall be for a witness between me and my people. And when they sin I shall be wroth with them and remember my rod, and spare them according to my mercy, and thy rod shall be in my sight for a remembrance all the days, and shall be like unto the bow wherein I made a covenant with Noe when he came out of the ark, saying: I will set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign between me and men that the water of a flood be no more upon the earth.

12. But thee will I take hence and give thee sleep with thy fathers and give thee rest in thy slumber, and bury thee in peace, and all the angels shall lament for thee, and the hosts of heaven shall be sorrowful. But there shall not any, of angels or men, know thy sepulchre wherein thou art to be buried, but thou shalt rest therein until I visit the world, and raise thee up and thy fathers out of the earth [of Egypt] wherein ye shall sleep, and ye shall come together and dwell in an immortal habitation that is not subject unto time. 13. But this heaven shall be in my sight as a fleeting cloud, and like yesterday when it is past, and it shall be when I draw near to visit the world, I will command the years and charge the times, and they shall be shortened, and the stars shall be hastened, and the light of the sun make speed to set, neither shall the light of the moon endure, because I will hasten to raise up you that sleep, that in the place of sanctification which I shewed thee, all they that can live may dwell therein.

14. And Moses said: If I may ask yet one thing of thee, O Lord, according to the multitude of thy mercy, be not wroth with me. And shew me what measure of time hath passed by and what remaineth. 15. And the Lord said to him: An instant, the topmost part of a hand, the fulness of a moment, and the drop of a cup. And time hath fulfilled all. For $4\frac{1}{2}$ have passed by, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ remain. 16. And Moses when he heard was filled with understanding, and his likeness was changed gloriously: and he died in glory according to the mouth of the Lord, and he buried him as he had promised him, and the angels lamented at his death, and lightnings and torches and arrows went before him with one accord. And on that day the hymn of the hosts was not said because of the departure of Moses. Neither was there any day like unto it since the Lord made man upon earth, neither shall there be any such for ever, that he should make the hymn of the angels to cease because of a man;

for he loved him greatly; and he buried him with his own hands on an high place of the earth, and in the light of the whole world.

CHAPTER 20

1. And at that time God made his covenant with Jesus the son of Naue which remained of the men that spied out the land: for the lot had fallen upon them that they should not see the land because they spake evil of it, and for this cause that generation died. 2. Then said God unto Jesus the son of Naue: Wherefore mournest thou, and wherefore hopest thou in vain, thinking that Moses shall yet live? Now therefore thou waitest to no purpose, for Moses is dead. Take the garments of his wisdom and put them on thee, and gird thy loins with the girdle of his knowledge, and thou shalt be changed and become another man. Did I not speak for thee unto Moses my servant, saying: "He shall lead my people after thee, and into his hand will I deliver the kings of the Amorites"? 3. And Jesus took the garments of wisdom and put them on, and girded his loins with the girdle of understanding. And it came to pass when he put it on, that his mind was kindled and his spirit stirred up, and he said to the people: Lo, the former generation died in the wilderness because they spake against their God. And, behold now, know, all ye captains, this day that if ye go forth in the ways of your God, your paths shall be made straight.

4. But if ye obey not his voice, and are like your fathers, your works shall be spoiled, and ye yourselves broken, and your name shall perish out of the land, and then where shall be the words which God spake unto your fathers? For even if the heathen say: It may be God hath failed, because he hath not delivered his people, yet whereas they perceive that he hath chosen to himself other peoples, working for them great wonders, they shall understand that the Most Mighty accepteth not persons. But because ye sinned through vanity, therefore he took his power from you and subdued you. And now arise and set your heart to walk in the ways of your Lord and he shall direct you. 5. And the people said unto him: Lo, this day see we that which Eldad and Modat prophesied in the days of Moses, saying: After that Moses resteth, the captainship of Moses shall be given unto Jesus the son of Naue. And Moses was not envious, but rejoiced when he heard them; and thenceforth all the people believed that thou shouldest lead them, and divide the land unto them in peace: and now also if there be conflict, be strong and do valiantly, for thou only shalt be leader in Israel.

6. And when he heard that, Jesus thought to send spies into Jericho. And he called Cenez and Seenamias his brother, the two sons of Caleph, and spake to them, saying: I and your father were sent of Moses in the wilderness and went up with other ten men: and they returned and spake evil of the lands and melted the heart of the people, and they were scattered and the heart of the people with them. But I and your father only fulfilled the word of the Lord, and lo, we are alive this day. And now will I send you to spy out the land of Jericho. Do like unto your father and ye also shall live. 7. And they went up and spied out the city. And when they brought back word, the people went up and besieged the city and burned it with fire. 8. And after that Moses was dead, the manna ceased to come down for the children of Israel, and then began they to eat the fruits of the land. And these are the three things which God gave his people for the sake of three persons, that is, the well of the water of Mara for Maria's sake, and the pillar of cloud for Aaron's sake, and the manna for the sake of Moses. And when these three came to an end, those three gifts were taken away from them.

9. Now the people and Jesus fought against the Amorites, and when the battle waxed strong against their enemies throughout all the days of Jesus, 30 and 9 kings which dwelt in the land were cut off. And Jesus gave the land by lot to the people, to every tribe according to the lots, according as he had received commandment. 10. Then came Caleph unto him and said: Thou knowest how that we two were sent by lot by Moses to go with the spies, and because we fulfilled the word of the Lord, behold we are alive at this day: and now if it be well-pleasing in thy sight, let there be given unto my son Cenez for a portion the territory of the three (or the tribe of the) towers. And Jesus blessed him, and did so.

CHAPTER 21

1. And when Jesus was become old and well-stricken in years, God said to him: Behold, thou waxest old and well-stricken in days, and the land is become very great, and there is none to divide it (or take it by lot), and it shall be after thy departure this people will mingle with the inhabitants of the land and go astray after other gods, and I shall forsake them as I testified in my word unto Moses; but do thou testify unto them before thou diest. 2. And Jesus said: Thou knowest more than all, O Lord, what moveth the heart of the sea before it rageth, and thou hast tracked out the constellations and numbered the stars, and ordered the rain. Thou knowest the mind of all

generations before they be born. And now, Lord, give unto thy people an heart of wisdom and a mind of prudence, and it shall be when thou givest these ordinances unto thine heritage, they shall not sin before thee and thou shall not be wroth with them.

3. Are not these the words which I spake before thee, Lord, when Achar stole of the curse, and the people were delivered up before thee, and I prayed in thy sight and said: Were it not better for us, O Lord, if we had died in the Red Sea, wherein thou drownedst our enemies? or if we had died in the wilderness, like our fathers, than to be delivered into the hand of the Amorites that we should be blotted out for ever? 4. Yet if thy word be about us, no evil shall befall us: for even though our end be removed unto death, thou livest which art before the world and after the world; and whereas a man cannot devise how to put one generation before another, he saith "God hath destroyed his people whom he chose": and, behold, we shall be in Hell: yet thou wilt make thy word alive. And now let the fulness of thy mercies have patience with thy people, and choose for thine heritage a man which shall rule over thy people, he and his generation.

5. Was it not for this that our father Jacob spake, saying: A prince shall not depart from Juda, nor a leader from his loins. And now confirm the words spoken aforetime, that the nations of the earth and tribes of the world may learn that thou art everlasting. 6. And he said furthermore: O Lord, behold the days shall come and the house of Israel shall be like unto a brooding dove which setteth her young in the nest and will not forsake them nor forget her place. So, also, these shall turn from their deeds and fight against the salvation that shall be born unto them. 7. And Jesus went down from Galgala and built an altar of very great stones, and brought no iron upon them, as Moses had commanded, and set up great stones on mount Gebal, and whitened them and wrote on them the words of the law very plainly: and gathered all the people together and read in their ears all the words of the law.

8. And he came down with them and offered upon the altar peace-offerings, and they sang many praises, and lifted up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the tabernacle with timbrels and dances and lutes and harps and psalteries and all instruments of sweet sound. 9. And the priests and Levites were going up before the ark and rejoicing with psalms, and they set the ark before the altar, and lifted up on it yet again peace-offerings very many, and

the whole house of Israel sang together with a loud voice saying: Behold, our Lord hath fulfilled that which he spake with our fathers saying: To your seed will I give a land wherein to dwell, a land flowing with milk and honey. And lo, he hath brought us into the land of our enemies and hath delivered them broken in heart before us, and he is the God which sent to our fathers in the secret places of souls, saying: Behold, the Lord hath done all that he spake unto us. And now know we of a truth that God hath confirmed all the words of the law which he spake to us in Oreb; and if our heart keep his ways it will be well with us, and with our sons after us.

10. And Jesus blessed them and said: The Lord grant your heart to continue therein (or in him) all the days, and if ye depart not from his name, the covenant of the Lord shall endure with you. And he grant that it be not corrupted, but that the dwelling-place of God be builded among you, as he spake when he sent you into his inheritance with mirth and gladness.

CHAPTER 22

1. And it came to pass after these things, when Jesus and all Israel had heard that the children of Ruben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasse which dwelt about Jordan had built them an altar and did offer sacrifices thereon and had made priests for the sanctuary, all the people were troubled above measure and came unto them to Silon. 2. And Jesus and all the elders spake to them saying: What be these works which are done among you, while as yet we are not settled in our land? Are not these the words which Moses spake to you in the wilderness saying: See that when ye enter into the land ye spoil not your doings, and corrupt all the people? And now wherefore is it that our enemies have so much abounded, save because ye do corrupt your ways and have made all this trouble, and therefore will they assemble against us and overcome us.

3. And the children of Ruben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasse said unto Jesus and all the people of Israel: Lo now hath God enlarged the fruit of the womb of men, and hath set up a light that that which is in darkness may see, for he knoweth what is in the secret places of the deep, and with him light abideth. Now the Lord God of our fathers knoweth if any of us or if we ourselves have done this thing in the way of iniquity, but only for our posterity's sake, that their heart be not separated from the Lord our God lest they say to us: Behold now, our brethren which be beyond Jordan have an altar, to make offerings upon it, but we in this place that

have no altar, let us depart from the Lord our God, because our God hath set us afar off from his ways, that we should not serve him.

4. And then verily spake we among ourselves: Let us make us an altar, that they may have a zeal to seek the Lord. And verily there be some of us that stand by and know that we are your brothers and stand guiltless before your face. Do ye therefore that which is pleasing in the sight of the Lord. 5. And Jesus said: Is not the Lord our king mightier than 1000 sacrifices? And wherefore taught ye not your sons the words of the Lord which ye heard of us? For if your sons had been occupied in the meditation of the law of the Lord, their mind would not have been led aside after a sanctuary made with hands. Or know ye not that when the people were forsaken for a moment in the wilderness when Moses went up to receive the tables, their mind was led astray, and they made themselves idols? And except the mercy of the God of your fathers had kept us, all the synagogues should have become a byword, and all the sins of the people should have been blazed abroad because of your foolishness.

6. Therefore now go and dig down the sanctuaries that ye have builded you, and teach your sons the law, and they shall be meditating therein day and night, that the Lord may be with them for a witness and a judge unto them all the days of their life. And God shall be witness and judge between me and you, and between my heart and your heart, that if ye have done this thing in subtlety it shall be avenged upon you, because you would destroy your brothers: but if ye have done it ignorantly as ye say, God will be merciful unto you for your sons' sake. And all the people answered: Amen, Amen. 7. And Jesus and all the people of Israel offered for them 1,000 rams for a sin-offering (lit. the word of excusing), and prayed for them and sent them away in peace: and they went and destroyed the sanctuary, and fasted and wept, both they and their sons, and prayed and said: O God of our fathers, that knowest before the heart of all men, thou knowest that our ways were not wrought in iniquity in thy sight, neither have we swerved from thy ways, but have served thee all of us, for we are the work of thy hands: now therefore remember thy covenant with the sons of thy servants.

8. And after that Jesus went up unto Galgala, and reared up the tabernacle of the Lord, and the ark of the covenant and all the vessels thereof, and set it up in Silo, and put there the Demonstration and the Truth (i. e. the Urim and Thummim). And at that time Eleazar the priest which served the altar

did teach by the Demonstration all them of the people that came to inquire of the Lord, for thereby it was shown unto them, but in the new sanctuary that was in Galgala, Jesus appointed even unto this day the burnt offerings that were offered by the children of Israel every year. 9. For until the house of the Lord was builded in Jerusalem, and so long as the offerings were made in the new sanctuary, the people were not forbidden to offer therein, because the Truth and the Demonstration revealed all things in Silo. And until the ark was set by Solomon in the sanctuary of the Lord they went on sacrificing there unto that day. But Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest of the Lord ministered in Silo.

CHAPTER 23

1. And Jesus the son of Naue ordered the people and divided unto them the land, being a mighty man of valour. And while yet the adversaries of Israel were in the land, the days of Jesus drew near that he should die, and he sent and called all Israel throughout all their land with their wives and their children, and said unto them: Gather yourselves together before the ark of the covenant of the Lord in Silo and I will make a covenant with you before I die. 2. And when all the people were gathered together on the 16th day of the 3rd month before the face of the Lord in Silo with their wives and their children, Jesus said unto them: Hear, O Israel, behold I make with you the covenant of this law which the Lord ordained with our fathers in Oreb, and therefore tarry ye here this night and see what God will say unto me concerning you. 3.

3. And as the people waited there that night, the Lord appeared unto Jesus in a vision and spake saying: According to all these words will I speak unto this people. 4. And Jesus came in the morning and assembled all the people and said unto them: Thus saith the Lord: One rock was there from whence I digged out your father, and the cutting of that rock brought forth two men, whose names were Abraham and Nachor, and out of the chiselling of that place were born two women whose names were Sara and Melcha. And they dwelled together beyond the river. And Abraham took Sara to wife and Nachor took Melcha. 5. And when the people of the land were led astray, every man after his own devices, Abraham believed in me and was not led aside after them. And I saved him out of the fire and took him and brought him over into all the land of Chanaan. And I spake unto him in a vision saying: Unto thy seed will I give this land. And he said unto me: Behold now thou

hast given me a wife and she is barren. And how shall I have seed of that womb that is shut up?

6. And I said unto him: Take for me a calf of three years old and a she-goat of three years and a ram of three years, a turtle-dove and a pigeon. And he took them as I commanded him. And I sent a sleep upon him and compassed him about with fear, and I set before him the place of fire wherein the works of them that commit iniquity against me shall be avenged, and I showed him the torches of fire whereby the righteous which have believed in me shall be enlightened. 7. And I said unto him: These shall be for a witness between me and thee that I will give thee seed of the womb that is shut up. And I will liken thee unto the dove, because thou hast received for me the city which thy sons shall (begin to) build in my sight. But the turtle-dove I will liken unto the prophets which shall be born of thee. And the ram will I liken unto the wise men which shall be born of thee and enlighten thy sons. But the calf I will liken unto the multitude of the peoples which shall be multiplied through thee. And the she-goat I will liken unto the women whose wombs I will open and they shall bring forth. These things shall be for a witness betwixt us that I will not transgress my words.

8. And I gave him Isaac and formed him in the womb of her that bare him, and commanded it that it should restore him quickly and render him unto me in the 7th month. And for this cause every woman that bringeth forth in the 7th month, her child shall live: because upon him did I call my glory, and showed forth the new age. 9. And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau, and unto Esau I gave the land of Seir for an heritage. And Jacob and his sons went down into Egypt. And the Egyptians brought your fathers low, as ye know, and I remembered your fathers, and sent Moses my friend and delivered them from thence and smote their enemies. 10. And I brought them out with a high hand and led them through the Red Sea, and laid the cloud under their feet, and brought them out through the depth, and brought them beneath the mount Sina, and I bowed the heavens and came down, and I congealed the flame of the fire, and stopped up the springs of the deep, and impeded the course of the stars, and tamed the sound of the thunder, and quenched the fulness of the wind, and rebuked the multitude of the clouds, and stayed their motions, and interrupted the storm of the hosts, that I should not break my covenant, for all things were moved at my coming down, and all things were quickened at my advent, and I suffered not my

people to be scattered, but gave unto them my law, and enlightened them, that if they did these things they may live and have length of days and not die.

11. And I have brought you into this land and given you vineyards. Ye dwell in cities which ye built not. And I have fulfilled the covenant which I spake unto your fathers. 12. And now if ye obey your fathers, I will set my heart upon you for ever, and will overshadow you, and your enemies shall no more fight against you, and your land shall be renowned throughout all the world and your seed be elect in the midst of the peoples, which shall say: Behold the faithful people; because they believed the Lord, therefore hath the Lord delivered them and planted them. And therefore will I plant you as a desirable vineyard and will rule you as a beloved flock, and I will charge the rain and the dew, and they shall satisfy you all the days of your life. 13. And it shall be at the end that the lot of every one of you shall be in eternal life, both for you and your seed, and I will receive your souls and lay them up in peace, until the time of the age is fulfilled, and I restore you unto your fathers and your fathers unto you, and they shall know at your hand that it is not in vain that I have chosen you. These are the words that the Lord hath spoken unto me this night.

14. And all the people answered and said: The Lord is our God, and him only will we serve. And all the people made a great feast that day and a renewal thereof for 28 days.

CHAPTER 24

1. And after these days Jesus the son of Naue assembled all the people yet again, and said unto them: Behold now the Lord hath testified unto you this day: I have called heaven and earth to witness to you that if ye will continue to serve the Lord ye shall be unto him a peculiar people. But if ye will not serve him and will obey the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell, say so this day before the Lord and go forth. But I and my house will serve the Lord. 2. And all the people lifted up their voice and wept saying: Peradventure the Lord will account us worthy, and it is better for us to die in the fear of him, than to be destroyed out of the land. 3. And Jesus the son of Naue blessed the people and kissed them and said unto them: Let your words be for mercy before our Lord, and let him send his angel, and preserve you: Remember me after my death, and remember ye Moses the friend of the Lord. And let not the words of the covenant which he hath made with you depart

from you all the days of your life. And he sent them away and they departed every man to his inheritance.

4. But Jesus laid himself upon his bed, and sent and called Phineēs the son of Eleazar the priest and said unto him: Behold now I see with mine eyes the transgression of this people wherein they will begin to deceive: but thou, strengthen thy hands in the time that thou art with them. And he kissed him and his father and his sons and blessed him and said: The Lord God of your fathers direct your ways and the ways of this people. 5. And when he ceased speaking unto them, he drew up his feet into the bed and slept with his fathers. And his sons laid their hands upon his eyes. 6. And then all Israel gathered together to bury him, and they lamented him with a great lamentation, and thus said they in their lamentation: Weep ye for the wing of this swift eagle, for he hath flown away from us. And weep ye for the strength of this lion's whelp, for he is hidden from us. Who now will go and report unto Moses the righteous, that we have had forty years a leader like unto him? And they fulfilled their mourning and buried him with their own hands in the mount Effraim and returned every man unto his tent. And after the death of Jesus the land of Israel was at rest.

CHAPTER 25

1. And the Philistines sought to fight with K the men of Israel: and they inquired of the Lord and said: Shall we go up and fight against the Philistines? and God said to them: If ye go up with a pure heart, fight; but if your heart is defiled, go not up. And they inquired yet again saying: How shall we know if all the heart of the people be alike? and God said to them: Cast lots among your tribes, and it shall be unto every tribe that cometh under the lot, that it shall be set apart into one lot, and then shall ye know whose heart is clean and whose is defiled. 2. And the people said: Let us first appoint over us a prince, and so cast lots. And the angel of the Lord said to them: Appoint. And the people said: Whom shall we appoint that is worthy, Lord? And the angel of the Lord said to them: Cast the lot upon the tribe of Caleb, and he that is shown by the lot, even he shall be your prince. And they cast the lot for the tribe of Caleb and it came out upon Cenez, and they made him ruler over Israel.

3. And Cenez said to the people: Bring your tribes unto me and hear ye the word of the Lord. And the people gathered together and Cenez said to them: Ye know that which Moses the friend of the Lord charged you, that ye

should not transgress the law to the right hand or to the left. And Jesus also who was after him gave you the same charge. And now, lo, we have heard of the mouth of the Lord that your heart is defiled. And the Lord hath charged us to cast lots among your tribes to know whose heart hath departed from the Lord our God. Shall not the fury of anger come upon the people? But I promise you this day that even if a man of mine own house come out in the lot of sin, he shall not be saved alive, but shall be burned with fire. And the people said: Thou hast spoken a good counsel, to perform it.

4. And the tribes were brought before him, and there were found of the tribe of Juda 345 men, and of the tribe of Ruben 560, and of the tribe of Simeon 775, and of the tribe of Levi 150, and of the tribe of Zabulon 655 (or 645), and of the tribe of Isachar 665, and of the tribe of Gad 380. Of the tribe of Aser 665, and of the tribe of Manasse 480, and of the tribe of Ephraim 468, and of the tribe of Benjamin 267. And all the number of them that were found by the lot of sin was 6110. And Cenez took them all and shut them up in prison, till it should be known what should be done with them. 5. And Cenez said: Was it not of this that Moses the friend of the Lord spake saying: There is a strong root among you bringing forth gall and bitterness? Now blessed be the Lord who hath revealed all the devices of these men, neither hath he suffered them to corrupt his people by their evil works. Bring hither therefore the Demonstration and the Truth and call forth Eleazar the priest, and let us inquire of the Lord by him.

6. Then Cenez and Eleazar and all the elders and the whole synagogue prayed with one accord saying: Lord God of our fathers, reveal unto thy servants the truth, for we are found not believing in the wonders which thou didst for our fathers since thou broughtest them out of the land of Egypt unto this day. And the Lord answered and said: First ask them that were found, and let them confess their deeds which they did subtilly, and afterwards they shall be burned with fire. 7. And Cenez brought them forth and said to them: Behold now ye know how that Achiar confessed when the lot fell on him, and declared all that he had done. And now declare unto me all your wickedness and your inventions: who knoweth, if ye tell us the truth, even though ye die now, yet God will have mercy upon you when he shall quicken the dead?

8. And one of them named Elas said unto him: Shall not death come now upon us, that we shall die by fire? Nevertheless I tell thee, my Lord, there are

none inventions like unto these which we have made wickedly. But if thou wilt search out the truth plainly, ask severally the men of every tribe, and so shall some one of them that stand by perceive the difference of their sins. 9. And Cenez asked them of his own tribe and they told him: We desired to imitate and make the calf that they made in the wilderness. And after that he asked the men of the tribe of Ruben, which said: We desired to sacrifice unto the gods of them that dwell in the land. And he asked the men of the tribe of Levi, which said: We would prove the tabernacle, whether it were holy. And he asked the remnant of the tribe of Isachar, which said: We would inquire by the evil spirits of the idols, to see whether they revealed plainly: and he asked the men of the tribe of Zabulon, which said: We desired to eat the flesh of our children and to learn whether God hath care for them. And he asked the remnant of the tribe of Dan, which said: The Amorites taught us that which they did, that we might teach our children. And lo, they are hid under the tent of Elas, who told thee to inquire of us. Send therefore and thou shall find them. And Cenez sent and found them.

10. And thereafter asked he them that were left over of the tribe of Gad, and they said: We committed adultery with each other's wives. And he asked next the men of the tribe of Aser, which said: We found seven golden images which the Amorites called the holy Nymphs, and we took them with the precious stones that were set upon them, and hid them: and lo, now they are laid up under the top of the mount Sychem. Send therefore and thou shalt find them. And Cenez sent men and removed them thence. 11. Now these are the Nymphs which when they were called upon did show unto the Amorites their works in every hour. For these are they which were devised by seven evil men after the flood, whose names are these: <? Cham> Chanaan, Phuth, Selath, Nembroth, Elath, Desuath. Neither shall there be again any like similitude in the world graven by the hand of the artificer and adorned with variety of painting, but they were set up and fixed for the consecration (i. e. the holy place?) of idols. Now the stones were precious, brought from the land of Euilath, among which was a crystal and a prase (or one crystalline and one green), and they shewed their fashion, being carved after the manner of a stone pierced with open-work, and another of them was graven on the top, and another as it were marked with spots (or like a spotted chryso-prase) so shone with its graving as if it shewed the water of the deep lying beneath.

12. And these are the precious stones which the Amorites had in their holy places, and the price of them was above reckoning. For when any entered in by night, he needed not the light of a lantern, so much did the natural light of the stones shine forth. Wherein that one gave the greatest light which was cut after the form of a stone pierced with open-work, and was cleansed with bristles; for if any of the Amorites were blind, he went and put his eyes thereupon and recovered his sight. Now when Cenez found them, he set them apart and laid them up till he should know what should become of them. 13. And after that he asked them that were left of the tribe of Manasse, and they said: We did only defile the Lord's sabbaths. And he asked the forsaken of the tribe of Effraim, which said: We desired to pass our sons and our daughters through the fire, that we might know if that which was said were manifest. And he asked the forsaken of the tribe of Benjamin, which said: We desired at this time to examine the book of the law, whether God had plainly written that which was therein, or whether Moses had taught it of himself.

CHAPTER 26

1. And when Cenez had taken all these words and written them in a book and read them before the Lord, God said to him: Take the men and that which was found with them and all their goods and put them in the bed of the river Phison, and burn them with fire that mine anger may cease from them. 2. And Cenez said: Shall we burn these precious stones also with fire, or sanctify them unto thee, for among us there are none like unto them? And God said to him: If God should receive in his own name any of the accursed thing, what should man do? Therefore now take these precious stones and all that was found, both books and men: and when thou dealest so with the men, set apart these stones with the books, for fire will not avail to burn them, and afterwards I will shew thee how thou must destroy them. But the men and all that was found thou shalt burn with fire. And thou shalt assemble all the people, and say to them: Thus shall it be done unto every man whose heart turneth away from his God.

3. And when the fire hath consumed those men, then the books and the precious stones which cannot be burned with fire, neither cut with iron, nor blotted out with water, lay them upon the top of the mount beside the new altar; and I will command a cloud, and it shall go and take up dew and shed it upon the books, and shall blot out that which is written therein, for they

cannot be blotted out with any other water than such as hath never served men. And thereafter I will send my lightning, and it shall burn up the books themselves. 4. But as concerning the precious stones, I will command mine angel and he shall take them and go and cast them into the depths of the sea, and I will charge the deep and it shall swallow them up, for they may not continue in the world because they have been polluted by the idols of the Amorites. And I will command another angel, and he shall take for me twelve stones out of the place whence these seven were taken; and thou, when thou findest them in the top of the mount where he shall lay them, take and put them on the shoulder-piece over against the twelve stones which Moses set therein in the wilderness, and sanctify them in the breastplate (lit. oracle) according to the twelve tribes: and say not, How shall I know which stone I shall set for which tribe? Lo, I will tell thee the name of the tribe answering unto the name of the stone, and thou shall find both one and other graven.

5. And Cenez went and took all that had been found and the men with it, and assembled all the people again, and said to them: Behold, ye have seen all the wonders which God hath shewed us unto this day, and lo, when we sought out all that had subtilly devised evil against the Lord and against Israel, God hath revealed them according to their works, and now cursed be every man that deviseth to do the like among you, brethren. And all the people answered Amen, Amen. And when he had so said, he burned all the men with fire, and all that was found with them, saving the precious stones. 6. And after that Cenez desired to prove whether the stones could be burned with fire, and cast them into the fire. And it was so, that when they fell therein, forthwith the fire was quenched. And Cenez took iron to break them, and when the sword touched them the iron thereof was melted; and thereafter he would at the least blot out the books with water; but it came to pass that the water when it fell upon them was congealed. And when he saw that, he said: Blessed be God who hath done so great wonders for the children of men, and made Adam the first-created and shewed him all things; that when Adam had sinned thereby, then he should deny him all these things, lest if he shewed them unto the race of men they should have the mastery over them.

7. And when he had so said, he took the books and the stones and laid them on the top of the mount by the new altar as the Lord had commanded him, and took a peace-offering and burnt-offerings, and offered upon the

new altar 2000, offering them all for a burnt sacrifice. And on that day they kept a great feast, he and all the people together. 8. And God did that night as he spake unto Cenez, for he commanded a cloud, and it went and took dew from the ice of paradise and shed it upon the books and blotted them out. And after that an angel came and burned them up, and another angel took the precious stones and cast them into the heart of the sea, and he charged the depth of the sea, and it swallowed them up. And another angel went and brought twelve stones and laid them hard by the place whence he had taken those seven. And he graved thereon the names of the twelve tribes.

9. And Cenez arose on the morrow and found those twelve stones on the top of the mount where himself had laid those seven. And the graving of them was so as if the form of eyes was portrayed upon them. 10. And the first stone, whereon was written the name of the tribe of Ruben, was like a sardine stone. The second stone was graven with a tooth (or ivory), and therein was graven the name of the tribe of Simeon, and the likeness of a topaz was seen in it; and on the third stone was graven the name of the tribe of Levi, and it was like unto an emerald. But the fourth stone was called a crystal, wherein was graven the name of the tribe of Juda, and it was likened to a carbuncle. The fifth stone was green, and upon it was graven the name of the tribe of Isachar, and the colour of a sapphire stone was therein. And of the sixth stone the graving was as if it had been inscribed, (or as a chrysoprase) speckled with diverse markings, and thereon was written the tribe of Zabulon, and the jasper stone was likened unto it.

11. Of the seventh stone the graving shone and shewed within itself, as it were, enclosed the water of the deep, and therein was written the name of the tribe of Dan, which stone was like a ligure. But the eighth stone was cut out with adamant, and therein was written the name of the tribe of Neptalim, and it was like an amethyst. And of the ninth stone the graving was pierced, and it was from Mount Ophir, and therein was written the tribe of Gad, and an agate stone was likened unto it. And of the tenth stone the graving was hollowed, and gave the likeness of a stone of Theman, and there was written the tribe of Aser, and a chrysolite was likened unto it. And the eleventh stone was an elect stone from Libanus, and thereon was written the name of the tribe of Joseph, and a beryl was likened to it. And the twelfth stone was cut out of the height of Sion (or the quarry), and upon it was written the tribe of Benjamin; and the onyx stone was likened unto it.

12. And God said to Cenez: Take these stones and put them in the ark of the covenant of the Lord with the tables of the covenant which I gave unto Moses in Oreb, and they shall be there with them until Jahel arise to build an house in my name, and then he shall set them before me upon the two cherubim, and they shall be in my sight for a memorial of the house of Israel. 13. And it shall be when the sins of my people are filled up, and their enemies have the mastery over their house, that I will take these stones and the former together with the tables, and lay them up in the place whence they were brought forth in the beginning, and they shall be there until I remember the world, and visit the dwellers upon earth. And then will I take them and many other better than they, from that place which eye hath not seen nor ear heard neither hath it come up into the heart of man, until the like cometh to pass unto the world, and the just shall have no need of the light of the sun nor of the shining of the moon, for the light of the precious stones shall be their light.

14. And Cenez arose and said: Behold what good things God hath done for men, and because of their sins have they been deprived of them all. And now know I this day that the race of men is weak, and their life shall be accounted as nothing. 15. And so saying, he took the stones from the place where they were laid, and as he took them there was as it were the light of the sun poured out upon them, and the earth shone with their light. And Cenez put them in the ark of the covenant of the Lord with the tables as it was commanded him, and there they are unto this day.

CHAPTER 27

1. And after this he armed of the people 300,000 men and went up to fight against the Amorites, and slew on the first day 800,000 men, and on the second day he slew about 500,000. 2. And when the third day came, certain men of the people spake evil against Cenez, saying: Lo, now, Cenez alone lieth in his house with his wife and his concubines, and sendeth us to battle, that we may be destroyed before our enemies. 3. And when the servants of Cenez heard, they brought him word. And he commanded a captain of fifty, and he brought of them thirty-seven men who spake against him and shut them up in ward. 4. And their names are these: Le and Uz, Betul, Ephal, Dealma, Anaph, Desac, Besac, Gethel, Anael, Anazim, Noac, Cehac, Boac, Obal, Iabal, Enath, Beath, Zelut, Ephor, Ezeth, Desaph, Abidan, Esar, Moab, Duzal, Azath, Phelac, Igat, Zophal, Eliesor, Ecar, Zebath, Sebah, Nesach

and Zere. And when the captain of fifty had shut them up as Cenez commanded, Cenez said: When the Lord hath wrought salvation for his people by my hand, then will I punish these men.

5. And so saying, Cenez commanded the captain of fifty, saying: Go and choose of my servants 300 men, and as many horses, and let no man of the people know of the hour when I shall go forth to battle; but only in what hour I shall tell thee, prepare the men that they be ready this night. 6. And Cenez sent messengers, spies, to see where was the multitude of the camp of the Amorites. And the messengers went and spied, and saw that the multitude of the camp of the Amorites was moving among the rocks devising to come and fight against Israel. And the messengers returned and told him according to this word. And Cenez arose by night, he and 300 horsemen with him, and took a trumpet in his hand and began to go down with the 300 men. And it came to pass, when he was near to the camp of the Amorites, that he said to his servants: Abide here and I will go down alone and view the camp of the Amorites. And it shall be, if I blow with the trumpet ye shall come down, but if not, wait for me here.

7. And Cenez went down alone, and before he went down he prayed, and said: O Lord God of our fathers, thou hast shewn unto thy servant the marvellous things which thou hast prepared to do by thy covenant in the last days: and now, send unto thy servant one of thy wonders, and I will overcome thine adversaries, that they and all the nations and thy people may know that the Lord delivereth not by the multitude of an host, neither by the strength of horsemen, when they shall perceive the sign of deliverance which thou shalt work for me this day (or horsemen, and that thou, Lord, wilt perform a sign of salvation with me this day). Behold, I will draw my sword out of the scabbard and it shall glitter in the camp of the Amorites: and it shall be, if the Amorites perceive that it is I, Cenez, then I shall know that thou hast delivered them into mine hand. But if they perceive not that it is I, and think that it is another, then I shall know that thou hast not hearkened unto me, but hast delivered me unto mine enemies. But and if I be indeed delivered unto death, I shall know that because of mine iniquities the Lord hath not heard me, and hath delivered me unto mine enemies; but he will not destroy his inheritance by my death.

8. And he set forth after he had prayed, and heard the multitude of the Amorites saying: Let us arise and fight against Israel: for we know that our

holy Nymphs are there among them and will deliver them into our hands. 9. And Cenez arose, for the spirit of the Lord clothed him as a garment, and he drew his sword, and when the light of it shone upon the Amorites like sharp lightning, they saw it, and said: Is not this the sword of Cenez which hath made our wounded many? Now is the word justified which we spake, saying that our holy Nymphs have delivered them into our hands. Lo, now, this day shall there be feasting for the Amorites, when our enemy is delivered unto us. Now, therefore, arise and let everyone gird on his sword and begin the battle. 10. And it came to pass when Cenez heard their words, he was clothed with the spirit of might and changed into another man, and went down into the camp of the Amorites and began to smite them. And the Lord sent before his face the angel Ingethel (or Gethel), who is set over the hidden things, and worketh unseen, (and another) angel of might helping with him: and Ingethel smote the Amorites with blindness, so that every man that saw his neighbour counted them his adversaries, and they slew one another. And the angel Zeruel, who is set over strength, bare up the arms of Cenez lest they should perceive him; and Cenez smote of the Amorites forty and five thousand men, and they themselves smote one another, and fell forty and five thousand men.

11. And when Cenez had smitten a great multitude, he would have loosened his hand from his sword, for the handle of the sword clave, that it could not be loosed, and his right hand had taken into it the strength of the sword. Then they that were left of the Amorites fled into the mountains; but Cenez sought how he might loose his hand: and he looked with his eyes and saw a man of the Amorites fleeing, and he caught him and said to him: I know that the Amorites are cunning: now therefore shew me how I may loose my hand from this sword, and I will let thee go. And the Amorite said: Go and take a man of the Hebrews and kill him, and while his blood is yet warm hold thine hand beneath and receive his blood, so shall thine hand be loosed. And Cenez said: As the Lord liveth, if thou hadst said, Take a man of the Amorites, I would have taken one of them and saved thee alive: but forasmuch as thou saidest "of the Hebrews" that thou mightest show thine hatred, thy mouth shall be against thyself, and according as thou hast said, so will I do unto thee. And when he had thus said Cenez slew him, and while his blood was yet warm, he held his hand beneath and received it therein, and it was loosed.

12. And Cenez departed and put off his garments, and cast himself into the river and washed, and came up again and changed his garments, and returned to his young men. Now the Lord cast upon them a heavy sleep in the night, and they slept and knew not any thing of all that Cenez had done. And Cenez came and awaked them out of sleep; and they looked [upon him] with their eyes and saw, and behold, the field was full of dead bodies: and they were astonished in their mind, and looked every man on his neighbour. And Cenez said unto them: Why marvel ye? Are the ways of the Lord as the way of men? For with men a multitude prevaieth, but with God that which he appointeth. And therefore if God hath willed to work deliverance for this people by my hands, wherefore marvel ye? Arise and gird on every man your swords, and we will go home to our brethren.

13. And when all Israel heard the deliverance that was wrought by the hands of Cenez, all the people came out with one accord to meet him, and said: Blessed be the Lord which hath made thee ruler over his people, and hath shown that those things are sure which he spake unto thee: that which we heard by speech we see now with our eyes, for the work of the word of God is manifest. 14. And Cenez said unto them: Ask now your brethren, and let them tell you how greatly they laboured with me in the battle. And the men that were with him said: As the Lord liveth, we fought not, neither knew we anything, save only when we awaked, we saw the field full of dead bodies. And the people answered: Now know we that when the Lord appointeth to work deliverance for his people, he hath no need of a multitude, but only of sanctification.

15. And Cenez said to the captain of fifty which had shut up those men in prison: Bring forth those men that we may hear their words. And when he had brought them forth, Cenez said to them: Tell me, what saw ye in me that ye murmured among the people? And they said: Why askest thou us? Why askest thou us? Now therefore command that we be burned with fire, for we die not for this sin that we have now spoken, but for that former one wherein those men were taken which were burned in their sins; for then we did consent unto their sin, saying: Peradventure the people will not perceive us; and then we did escape the people. But now have we been (rightly) made a public example by our sins in that we fell into slandering of thee. And Cenez said: If ye yourselves therefore witness against yourselves, how shall I have compassion upon you? And Cenez commanded them to be burned with fire,

and cast their ashes into the place where they had burned the multitude of the sinners, even into the brook Phison.

16. And Cenez ruled over his people fifty and seven years, and there was fear upon all his enemies all his days.

CHAPTER 28

1. And when the days of Cenez drew nigh that he should die, he sent and called all men (or all the elders), and the two prophets Jabis and Phinees, and Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest, and said to them: Behold now, the Lord hath showed me all his marvellous works which he hath prepared to do for his people in the last days. 2. And now will I make my covenant with you this day, that ye forsake not the Lord your God after my departing. For ye have seen all the marvels which came upon them that sinned, and all that they declared, confessing their sins of their own accord, and how the Lord our God made an end of them for that they transgressed his covenant. Wherefore now spare ye them of your house and your sons, and abide in the ways of the Lord your God, that the Lord destroy not his inheritance.

3. And Phinees, the son of Eleazar the priest, said: If Cenez the ruler bid me, and the prophets and the people and the elders, I will speak a word which I heard of my father when he was a-dying, and will not keep silence concerning the commandment which he commanded me when his soul was being received. And Cenez the ruler and the prophets said: Let Phinees say on. Shall any other speak before the priest which keepeth the commandments of the Lord our God, and that, seeing that truth proceedeth out of his mouth, and out of his heart a shining light? 4. Then said Phinees: My father, when he was a-dying, commanded me saying: Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel when they are gathered together unto the assembly: The Lord appeared unto me the third day before this in a dream in the night, and said unto me: Behold, thou hast seen, and thy father before thee, how greatly I have laboured for my people; and it shall be after thy death that this people shall arise and corrupt their ways, departing from my commandments, and I shall be exceeding wroth with them. Yet will I remember the time which was before the ages, even in the time when there was not a man, and therein was no iniquity, when I said that the world should be, and they that should come should praise me therein, and I will plant a great vineyard, and out of it will I choose a plant, and order it and call it by my name, and it shall be mine for ever. But when I have done all that I have spoken, never-

theless my planting, which is called after me, will not know me, the planter thereof, but will corrupt his fruit, and will not yield me his fruit. These are the things which my father commanded me to speak unto this people.

5. And Cenez lifted up his voice, and the elders, and all the people with one accord, and wept with a great lamentation until the evening and said: Shall the shepherd destroy his flock to no purpose, except it continue in sin against him? And shall it not be he that shall spare according to the abundance of his mercy, seeing he hath spent great labour upon us? 6. Now while they were set, the holy spirit that dwelt in Cenez leapt upon him and took away from him his bodily sense, and he began to prophesy, saying: Behold now I see that which I looked not for, and perceive that I knew not. Hearken now, ye that dwell on the earth, even as they that sojourned therein prophesied before me, when they saw this hour, even before the earth was corrupted, that ye may know the prophecies appointed aforetime, all ye that dwell therein.

7. Behold now I see flames that burn not, and I hear springs of water awaked out of sleep, and they have no foundation, neither do I behold the tops of the mountains, nor the canopy of the firmament, but all things unappearing and invisible, which have no place whatsoever, and although mine eye knoweth not what it seeth, mine heart shall discover that which it may learn (or say). 8. Now out of the flame which I saw, and it burned not, I beheld, and lo a spark came up and as it were builded for itself a floor under heaven, and the likeness of the floor thereof was as a spider spinneth, in the fashion of a shield. And when the foundation was laid, I beheld, and from that spring there was stirred up as it were a boiling froth, and behold, it changed itself as it were into another foundation; and between the two foundations, even the upper and the lower, there drew near out of the light of the invisible place as it were forms of men, and they walked to and fro: and behold, a voice saying: These shall be for a foundation unto men and they shall dwell therein 7000 years.

9. And the lower foundation was a pavement and the upper was of froth, and they that came forth out of the light of the invisible place, they are those that shall dwell therein, and the name of that man is <Adam>. And it shall be, when he hath (or they have) sinned against me and the time is fulfilled, that the spark shall be quenched and the spring shall cease, and so they shall be changed. 10. And it came to pass after Cenez had spoken these words that

he awaked and his sense returned unto him: but he knew not that which he had spoken neither that which he had seen, but this only he said to the people: If the rest of the righteous be such after they are dead, it is better for them to die to the corruptible world, that they see not sin. And when Cenez had so said, he died and slept with his fathers, and the people mourned for him 30 days.

CHAPTER 29

1. And after these things the people appointed Zebul ruler over them, and at that time he gathered the people together and said unto them: Behold now, we know all the labour wherewith Cenez laboured with us in the days of his life. Now if he had had sons, they should have been princes over the people, but inasmuch as his daughters are yet alive, let them receive a greater inheritance among the people, because their father in his life refused to give it unto them, lest he should be called covetous and greedy of gain. And the people said: Do all that is right in thine eyes. 2. Now Cenez had three daughters whose names are these: Etheta the firstborn, the second Pheila, the third Zelpha. And Zebul gave to the firstborn all that was round about the land of the Phœnicians, and to the second he gave the olive-yard of Accaron, and to the third all the tilled land that was about Azotus. And he gave them husbands, namely to the firstborn Elisephan, to the second Odriel, and to the third Doel.

3. Now in those days Zebul set up a treasury for the Lord and said unto the people: Behold, if any man will sanctify unto the Lord gold and silver, let him bring it to the Lord's treasury in Sylo: only let not any that hath stuff belonging to idols think to sanctify it to the Lord's treasures, for the Lord desireth not the abominations of the accursed things, lest ye disturb the synagogue of the Lord, for the wrath that is passed by sufficeth. And all the people brought that which their heart moved them to bring, both men and women, even gold and silver. And all that was brought was weighed, and it was 20 talents of gold, and 250 talents of silver. 4. And Zebul judged the people twenty and five years. And when he had accomplished his time, he sent and called all the people and said: Lo, now I depart to die. Look ye to the testimonies which they that went before us testified, and let not your heart be like unto the waves of the sea, but like as the wave of the sea understandeth not save only those things which are in the sea, so let your heart also

think upon nothing save only those things which belong unto the law. And Zebul slept with his fathers, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father.

CHAPTER 30

1. Then had the children of Israel no man whom they might appoint as judge over them: and their heart fell away, and they forgot the promise, and transgressed the ways which Moses and Jesus the servants of the Lord had commanded them, and were led away after the daughters of the Amorites, and served their gods. 2. And the Lord was wroth with them, and sent his angel and said: Behold, I chose me one people out of all the tribes of the earth, and I said that my glory should abide with them in this world, and I sent unto them Moses my servant, to declare unto them my great majesty and my judgements, and they have transgressed my ways. Now therefore behold I will stir up their enemies and they shall rule over them, and then shall all the people[s] say: Because we have transgressed the ways of God and of our fathers, therefore are these things come upon us. Yet there shall a woman rule over them which shall give them light 40 years.

3. And after these things the Lord stirred up against them Jabin king of Asor, and he began to fight against them, and he had as captain of his might Sisara, who had 8000 chariots of iron. And he came unto the mount Effrem and fought against the people, and Israel feared him greatly, and the people could not stand all the days of Sisara. 4. And when Israel was brought very low, all the children of Israel gathered together with one accord unto the mount of Juda and said: We did call ourselves blessed more than all people, and now, lo, we are brought so low, more than all nations, that we cannot dwell in our land, and our enemies bear rule over us. And now who hath done all this unto us? Is it not our iniquities, because we have forsaken the Lord God of our fathers, and have walked in those things which could not profit us? Now therefore come let us fast seven days, both men and women, and from the least (sic) even to the sucking child. Who knoweth whether God will be reconciled unto his inheritance, that he destroy not the planting of his vineyard?

5. And after the people had fasted 7 days, sitting in sackcloth, the Lord sent unto them on the 7th day Debhora, who said unto them: Can the sheep that is appointed to the slaughter answer before him that slayeth it, when both he that slayeth <...> and he that is slain keepeth silence, when he is sometimes provoked against it? Now ye were born to be a flock before our

Lord. And he led you into the height of the clouds, and subdued angels beneath your feet, and appointed unto you a law, and gave you commandments by prophets, and chastised you by rulers, and shewed you wonders not a few, and for your sake commanded the luminaries and they stood still in the places where they were bidden, and when your enemies came upon you he rained hailstones upon them and destroyed them, and Moses and Jesus and Cenez and Zebul gave you commandments. And ye have not obeyed them.

6. For while they lived, ye shewed yourselves as it were obedient unto your God, but when they died, your heart died also. And ye became like unto iron that is thrust into the fire, which when it is melted by the flame becometh as water, but when it is come out of the fire returneth unto its hardness. So ye also, while they that admonish you burn you, do show the effect, and when they are dead ye forget all things. 7. And now, behold, the Lord will have compassion upon you this day, not for your sakes, but for his covenant's sake which he made with your fathers and for his oath's sake which he sware, that he would not forsake you for ever. But know ye that after my decease ye will begin to sin in your latter days. Wherefore the Lord will perform marvellous things among you, and will deliver your enemies into your hands. For your fathers are dead, but God, which made a covenant with them, is life.

CHAPTER 31

1. And Debbora sent and called Barach and said to him: Arise and gird up thy loins as a man, and go down and fight against Sisara. For I see the constellations greatly moved in their ranks and preparing to fight for you. I see also the lightnings unmoveable in their courses, and setting forth to stay the wheels of the chariots of them that boast in the might of Sisara, who saith: I will surely go down in the arm of my might to fight against Israel, and will divide the spoil of them among my servants, and their fair women will I take unto me for concubines. Therefore hath the Lord spoken concerning him that the arm of a weak woman shall overcome him, and maidens shall take his spoil, and he also himself shall fall into the hands of a woman. 2. And when Debbora and the people and Barach went down to meet their enemies, immediately the Lord disturbed the goings of his stars, and spake unto them saying: Hasten and go ye, for our (or your) enemies fall upon you: confound their arms and break the strength of their hearts, for I am come that my people may prevail. For though it be that my people have sinned, yet will I have mercy on them. And when this was said, the stars went forth as it was

commanded them and burned up their enemies. And the number of them that were gathered (or burned) and slain in one hour was 90 times 97,000 men. But Sisara they destroyed not, for so it was commanded them.

3. And when Sisara had fled on his horse to deliver his soul, Jahel the wife of Aber the Cinean decked herself with her ornaments and came out to meet him: now the woman was very fair: and when she saw him she said: Come in and take food, and sleep: and in the evening I will send my servants with thee, for I know that thou wilt remember me and recompense me. And Sisara came in, and when he saw roses scattered upon the bed he said: If I be delivered, O Jahel, I will go unto my mother and thou shalt (or Jahel shall) be my wife. 4. And thereafter was Sisara athirst and he said to Jahel: Give me a little water, for I am faint and my soul burneth by reason of the flame which I beheld in the stars. And Jahel said unto him: Rest a little while and then thou shalt drink.

5. And when Sisara was fallen asleep, Jahel went to the flock and milked milk therefrom. And as she milked she said: Behold now, remember, O Lord, when thou didst divide every tribe and nation upon the earth, didst thou not choose out Israel only, and didst not liken him to any beast save only unto the ram that goeth before the flock and leadeth it? Behold therefore and see how Sisara hath thought in his heart saying: I will go and punish the flock of the Most Mighty. And lo, I will take of the milk of the beasts whereunto thou didst liken thy people, and will go and give him to drink, and when he hath drunk he shall become weak, and after that I will kill him. And this shall be the sign that thou shalt give me, O Lord, that, whereas Sisara sleepeth, when I go in, if he wake and ask me forthwith, saying: Give me water to drink, then I shall know that my prayer hath been heard.

6. So Jahel returned and entered in, and Sisara awaked and said to her: Give me to drink, for I burn mightily and my soul is inflamed. And Jahel took wine and mingled it with the milk and gave him to drink, and he drank and fell asleep. 7. But Jahel took a stake in her left hand and drew near unto him saying: If the Lord give me this sign I shall know that Sisara shall fall into my hands. Behold I will cast him upon the ground from off the bed whereon he sleepeth, and it shall be, if he perceive it not, that I shall know that he is delivered up. And Jahel took Sisara and pushed him from off the bed upon the earth, but he perceived it not, for he was exceeding faint. And Jahel said: Strengthen in me, O Lord, mine arm this day for thy sake and thy

people's sake, and for them that put their trust in thee. And Jahel took the stake and set it upon his temple and smote with the hammer. And as he died Sisara said to Jahel: Lo, pain hath come upon me, Jahel, and I die like a woman. And Jahel said unto him: Go boast thyself before thy father in hell, and tell him that thou hast fallen into (or say, I have been delivered into) the hands of a woman. And she made an end and slew him and laid his body there until Barach should return.

8. Now the mother of Sisara was called Themech, and she sent unto her friends saying: Come, let us Judith go forth together to meet my son, and ye shall see the daughters of the Hebrews whom my son will bring hither to be his concubines. 9. But Barach returned from following after Sisara and was greatly vexed because he found him not, and Jahel came forth to meet him, and said: Come, enter in, thou blessed of God, and I will deliver thee thine enemy whom thou followedst after and hast not found. And Barach went in and found Sisara dead, and said: Blessed be the Lord which sent his spirit and said: Into the hands of a woman shall Sisara be delivered. And when he had so said he cut off the head of Sisara and sent it unto his mother, and gave her a message saying: Receive thy son whom thou didst look for to come with spoil.

CHAPTER 32

1. Then Debbora and Barach the son of Abino and all the people together sang an hymn unto the Lord in that day, saying: Behold, from on high hath the Lord shewn unto us his glory, even as he did aforetime when he sent forth his voice to confound the tongues of men. And he chose out our nation, and took Abraham our father out of the fire, and chose him before all his brethren, and kept him from the fire and delivered him from the bricks of the building of the tower, and gave him a son in the latter days of his old age, and brought him out of the barren womb, and all the angels were jealous against him, and the orderers of the hosts envied him. 2. And it came to pass, when they were jealous against him, God said unto him: Slay for me the fruit of thy belly and offer for my sake that which I gave thee. And Abraham did not gainsay him and set forth immediately. And as he went forth he said to his son: Lo, now, my son, I offer thee for a burnt offering and deliver thee into his hands who gave thee unto me.

3. And the son said to his father: Hear me, father. If a lamb of the flock is accepted for an offering to the Lord for an odour of sweetness, and if for the

iniquities of men sheep are appointed to the slaughter, but man is set to inherit the world, how then sayest thou now unto me: Come and inherit a life secure, and a time that cannot be measured? What and if I had not been born in the world to be offered a sacrifice unto him that made me? And it shall be my blessedness beyond all men, for there shall be no other such thing; and in me shall the generations be instructed, and by me the peoples shall understand that the Lord hath accounted the soul of a man worthy to be a sacrifice unto him. 4. And when his father had offered him upon the altar and had bound his feet to slay him, the Most Mighty hastened and sent forth his voice from on high saying: Kill not thy son, neither destroy the fruit of thy body: for now have I showed forth myself that I might appear to them that know me not, and have shut the mouths of them that always speak evil against thee. And thy memorial shall be before me for ever, and thy name and the name of this thy son from one generation to another.

5. And to Isaac he gave two sons, which also were from a womb shut up, for at that time their mother was in the third year of her marriage. And it shall not be so with any other woman, neither shall any wife boast herself so, that cometh near to her husband in the third year. And there were born to him two sons, even Jacob and Esau. And God loved Jacob, but Esau he hated because of his deeds. 6. And it came to pass in the old age of their father, that Isaac blessed Jacob and sent him into Mesopotamia, and there he begat 12 sons, and they went down into Egypt and dwelled there. 7. And when their enemies dealt evilly with them, the people cried unto the Lord, and their prayer was heard, and he brought them out thence, and led them unto the mount Sina, and brought forth unto them the foundation of understanding which he had prepared from the birth of the world; and then the foundation was moved, the hosts sped forth the lightnings upon their courses, and the winds sounded out of their storehouses, and the earth was stirred from her foundation, and the mountains and the rocks trembled in their fastenings, and the clouds lifted up their waves against the flame of the fire that it should not consume the world.

8. Then did the depth awake from his springs, and all the waves of the sea came together. Then did Paradise give forth the breath of her fruits, and the cedars of Libanus were moved from their roots. And the beasts of the field were terrified in the dwellings of the forests, and all his works gathered together to behold the Lord when he ordained a covenant with the children of

Israel. And all things that the Most Mighty said, these hath he observed, having for witness Moses his beloved. 9. And when he was dying God appointed unto him the firmament, and shewed him these witnesses whom now we have, saying: Let the heaven whereinto thou hast entered and the earth wherein thou hast walked until now be a witness between me and thee and my people. For the sun and the moon and the stars shall be ministers unto us (or you).

10. And when Jesus arose to rule over the people, it came to pass in the day wherein he fought against the enemies, that the evening drew near, while yet the battle was strong, and Jesus said to the sun and the moon: O ye ministers that were appointed between the Most Mighty and his sons, lo now, the battle goeth on still, and do ye forsake your office? Stand still therefore to-day and give light unto his sons, and put darkness upon our enemies. And they did so. 11. And now in these days Sisara arose to make us his bondmen, and we cried unto the Lord our God, and he commanded the stars and said: Depart out of your ranks, and burn mine enemies, that they may know my might. And the stars came down and overthrew their camp and kept us safe without any labour. 12. Therefore will we not cease to sing praises, neither shall our mouths keep silence from telling of his marvellous works: for he hath remembered his promises both new and old, and hath shown us his deliverance: and therefore doth Jahel boast herself among women, because she alone hath brought this good way to success, in that with her own hands she slew Sisara.

13. O earth, go thou, go, ye heavens and lightnings, go, ye angels and hosts, [go ye] and tell the fathers in the treasure-houses of their souls, and say: The Most Mighty hath not forgotten the least of all the promises which he made with us, saying: Many wonders will I perform for your sons. And now from this day forth it shall be Judith M known that whatsoever God hath said unto men that he will perform, he will perform it, even though man die. 14. Sing praises, sing praises, O Debbora (or, if man delay to sing praises to God, yet sing thou, O Debbora), and let the grace of an holy spirit awake in thee, and begin to praise the works of the Lord: for there shall not again arise such a day, wherein the stars shall bear tidings and overcome the enemies of Israel, as it was commanded them. From this time forth if Israel fall into a strait, let him call upon these his witnesses together with their

ministers, and they shall go upon an embassy to the most High, and he will remember this day, and will send a deliverance to his covenant.

15. And thou, Debbora, begin to speak of that thou sawest in the field: how that the people walked and went forth safely, and the stars fought on their part (or, how that, like peoples walking, so went forth the stars and fought). Rejoice, O land, over them that dwell in thee, for in thee is the knowledge of the Lord which buildeth his stronghold in thee. For it was of right that God took out of thee the rib of him that was first formed, knowing that out of his rib Israel should be born. And thy forming shall be for a testimony of what the Lord hath done for his people. 16. Tarry, O ye hours of the day, and hasten not onward, that we may declare that which our understanding can bring forth, for night will come upon us. And it shall be like the night when God smote the firstborn of the Egyptians for the sake of his firstborn.

17. And then shall I cease from my hymn because the time will be hastened (or prepared) for his righteous ones. For I will sing unto him as in the renewing of the creation, and the people shall remember this deliverance, and it shall be for a testimony unto them. Let the sea also bear witness, with the deeps thereof, for not only did God dry it up before the face of our fathers, but he did also overthrow the camp from its setting and overcame our enemies. 18. And when Debbora made an end of her words she went up with the people together unto Silo, and they offered sacrifices and burnt offerings and sounded upon the broad trumpets. And when they sounded and had offered the sacrifices, Debbora said: This shall be for a testimony of the trumpets between the stars and the Lord of them.

CHAPTER 33

1. And Debbora went down thence, and judged Israel 40 years. And it came to pass when the day of her death drew near, that she sent and gathered all the people and said unto them: Harken now, my people. Behold, I admonish you as a woman of God, and give you light as one of the race of women; obey me now as your mother, and give ear to my words, as men that shall yourselves die. 2. Behold, I depart to die by the way of all flesh, whereby ye also shall go: only direct your heart unto the Lord your God in the time of your life, for after your death ye will not be able to repent of those things wherein ye live. 3. For death is now sealed up, and accomplished, and the measure and the time and the years have restored that which was committed

to them. For even if ye seek to do evil in hell after your death, ye will not be able, because the desire of sin shall cease, and the evil creation shall lose its power, and hell, which receiveth that that is committed to it, will not restore it unless it be demanded by him that committed it. Now, therefore, my sons, obey ye my voice while ye have the time of life and the light of the law, and direct your ways.

4. And when Debbora spake these words, all the people lifted up their voice together and wept, saying: Behold now, mother, thou diest and forsakest thy sons; and to whom dost thou commit them? Pray thou, therefore, for us, and after thy departure thy soul shall be mindful of us for ever. 5. And Debbora answered and said to the people: While a man yet liveth he can pray for himself and for his sons; but after his end he will not be able to entreat nor to remember any man. Therefore, hope not in your fathers, for they will not profit you unless ye be found like unto them. But then your likeness shall be as the stars of the heaven, which have been manifested unto you at this time. 6. And Debbora died and slept with her fathers and was buried in the city of her fathers, and the people mourned for her 70 days. And as they bewailed her, thus they spake a lamentation, saying: Behold, a mother is perished out of Israel, and an holy one that bare rule in the house of Jacob, which made fast the fence about her generation, and her generation shall seek after her. And after her death the land had rest seven years.

CHAPTER 34

1. And at that time there came up a certain Aod of the priests of Madian, and he was a wizard, and he spake unto Israel, saying: Wherefore give ye ear to your law? Come and I will shew you such a thing as your law is not. And the people said: What canst thou shew us that our law hath not? And he said to the people: Have ye ever seen the sun by night? And they said: Nay. And he said: Whensoever ye will, I will shew it unto you, that ye may know that our gods have power, and will not deceive them that serve them. And they said: Shew us. 2. And he departed and wrought with his magic, commanding the angels that were set over sorceries, because for a long time he did sacrifice unto them. 3. (For this was formerly in the power of the angels and was) performed by the angels before they were judged, and they would have destroyed the unmeasurable world; and because they transgressed, it came to pass that the angels had no longer the power. For when they were judged, then the power was not committed unto the rest: and by these signs (or

powers) do they work who minister unto men in sorceries, until the unmeasurable age shall come.

4. And at that time Aod by art magic shewed unto the people the sun by night. And the people were astonished and said: Behold, what great things can the gods of the Madianites do, and we knew it not! 5. And God, willing to try Israel whether they were yet in iniquity, suffered the angels, and their work had good success, and the people of Israel were deceived and began to serve the gods of the Madianites. And God said: I will deliver them into the hands of the Madianites, inasmuch as by them are they deceived. And he delivered them into their hands, and the Madianites began to bring Israel into bondage.

CHAPTER 35

1. Now Gedeon was the son of Joath, the most mighty man among all his brethren. And when it was the time of summer, he came to the mountain, having sheaves with him, to thresh them there, and escape from the Madianites that pressed upon him. And the angel of the Lord met him, and said unto him: Whence comest thou and where is thine entering in? 2. He said to him: Why askest thou me whence I come? for straitness encompasseth me, for Israel is fallen into affliction, and they are verily delivered into the hands of the Madianites. And where are the wonders which our fathers have told us, saying: The Lord chose Israel alone before all the peoples of the earth? Lo, now he hath delivered us up, and hath forgotten the promises which he made to our fathers. For we should have chosen rather to be delivered unto death once for all, than that his people should be punished thus time after time.

3. And the angel of the Lord said unto him: It is not for nothing that ye are delivered up, but your own inventions have brought these things upon you, for like as ye have forsaken the promises which ye received of the Lord, these evils are come upon you, and ye have not been mindful of the commandments of God, which they commanded you that were before you. Therefore are ye come into the displeasure of your God. But he will have mercy upon you, as no man hath mercy, even upon the race of Israel, and that not for your sakes, but because of them that are fallen asleep. 4. And now come, I will send thee, and thou shalt deliver Israel out of the hand of the Madianites. For thus saith the Lord: Though Israel be not righteous, yet because the Madianites are sinners, therefore, knowing the iniquity of my

people, I will forgive them, and after that I will rebuke them for that they have done evil, but upon the Madianites I will be avenged presently.

5. And Gedeon said: Who am I and what is my father's house, that I should go against the Madianites to battle? And the angel said unto him: Peradventure thou thinkest that as is man's way so is the way of God. For men look upon the glory of the world and upon riches, but God looketh upon that which is upright and good, and upon meekness. Now therefore go, gird up thy loins, and the Lord shall be with thee, for thee hath he chosen to take vengeance of his enemies, like as, behold, he hath bidden thee. 6. And Gedeon said to him: Let not my Lord be wroth if I speak a word. Behold, Moses, the first of all the prophets, besought the Lord for a sign, and it was given him. But who am I, except the Lord that hath chosen me give me a sign that I may know that I go aright. And the angel of the Lord said unto him: Run and take for me water out of the pit yonder and pour it upon this rock, and I will give thee a sign. And he went and took it as he commanded him.

7. And the angel said unto him: Before thou pour the water upon the rock, ask what thou wouldst have it to become, either blood, or fire, or that it appear not at all. And Gedeon said: Let it become half of it blood and half fire. And Gedeon poured out the water upon the rock, and it came to pass when he had poured it out, that the half part became flame, and the half part blood, and they were mingled together, that is, the fire and the blood, yet the blood did not quench the fire, neither did the fire consume the blood. And when Gedeon saw that, he asked for yet other signs, and they were given him. Are not these written in the book of the Judges?

CHAPTER 36

1. And Gedeon took 300 men and departed and came unto the uttermost part of the camp of Madian, and he heard every man speaking to his neighbour and saying: Ye shall see a confusion above reckoning, of the sword of Gedeon, coming upon us, for God hath delivered into his hands the camp of the Madianites, and he will begin to make an end of us, even the mother with the children, because our sins are filled up, even as also our gods have shewed us and we believed them not. And now arise, let us succour our souls and fly. 2. And when Gedeon heard these words, immediately he was clothed with the spirit of the Lord, and, being endued with power, he said unto the 300 men: Arise and let every one of you gird on his sword, for the Madianites

are delivered into our hands. And the men went down with him, and he drew near and began to fight. And they blew the trumpet and cried out together and said: The sword of the Lord is upon us. And they slew of the Madianites about 120,000 men, and the residue of the Madianites fled.

3. And after these things Gedeon came and gathered the people of Israel together and said unto them: Behold, the Lord sent me to fight your battle, and I went according as he commanded me. And now I ask one petition of you: turn not away your face; and let every man of you give me the golden armlets which ye have on your hands. And Gedeon spread out a coat, and every man cast upon it their armlets, and they were all weighed, and the weight of them was found to be 12 talents (or 12,000 shekels). And Gedeon took them, and of them he made idols and worshipped them. 4. And God said: One way is verily appointed, that I should not rebuke Gedeon in his lifetime, even because when he destroyed the sanctuary of Baal, then all men said: Let Baal avenge himself. Now, therefore, if I chastise him for that he hath done evil against me, ye will say: It was not God that chastised him, but Baal, because he sinned aforetime against him. Therefore now shall Gedeon die in a good old age, that they may not have whereof to speak. But after that Gedeon is dead I will punish him once, because he hath transgressed against me. And Gedeon died in a good old age and was buried in his own city.

CHAPTER 37

1. And he had a son by a concubine whose name was Abimelech; the same slew all his brethren, desiring to be ruler over the people. [A leaf gone.] 2. Then all the trees of the field came together unto the fig-tree and said: Come, reign over us. And the fig-tree said: Was I indeed born in the kingdom or in the rulership over the trees? or was I planted to that end that I should reign over you? And therefore even as I cannot reign over you, neither shall Abimelech obtain continuance in his rulership. After that the trees came together unto the vine and said: Come, reign over us. And the vine said: I was planted to give unto men the sweetness of wine, and I am preserved by rendering unto them my fruit. But like as I cannot reign over you, so shall the blood of Abimelech be required at your hand. And after that the trees came unto the apple and said: Come, reign over us. And he said: It was commanded me to yield unto men a fruit of sweet savour. Therefore I cannot reign over you, and Abimelech shall die by stones.

3. Then came the trees unto the bramble and said: Come, reign over us. And the bramble said: When the thorn was born, truth did shine forth in the semblance of a thorn. And when our first father was condemned to death, the earth was condemned to bring forth thorns and thistles. And when the truth enlightened Moses, it was by a thorn bush that it enlightened him. Now therefore it shall be that by me the truth shall be heard of you. Now if ye have spoken in sincerity unto the bramble that it should in truth reign over you, sit ye under the shadow of it: but if with dissembling, then let fire go forth and devour and consume the trees of the field. For the apple-tree was made for the chastisers, and the fig-tree was made for the people, and the vine[yard] was made for them that were before us.

4. And now shall the bramble be unto you even as Abimelech, which slew his brethren with wrong, and desireth to rule over you. If Abimelech be worthy of them (or Let Abimelech be a fire unto them) whom he desireth to rule, let him be as the bramble which was made to rebuke the foolish among the people. And there went forth fire out of the bramble and devoured the trees that are in the field. 5. After that Abimelech ruled over the people for one year and six months, and he died hard by a certain tower, whence a woman cast down upon him the half of a millstone. [A gap of uncertain length in the text.]

CHAPTER 38

1. (Then did Jair judge Israel 22 years.) The same built a sanctuary to Baal, and led the people astray saying: Every man that sacrificeth not unto Baal shall die. And when all the people sacrificed, seven men only would not sacrifice whose names are these: Dephal, Abiesdrel, Getalibal, Selumi, Assur, Jonadali, Memihel. 2. The same answered and said unto Jair: Behold, we remember the precepts which they that were before us commanded us, and Debbora our mother, saying: Take heed that ye turn not away your heart to the right hand or to the left, but attend unto the law of the Lord day and night. Now therefore why dost thou corrupt the people of the Lord and deceive them, saying: Baal is God, let us worship him? And now if he be God as thou sayest, let him speak as a God, and then we will sacrifice unto him.

3. And Jair said: Burn them with fire, for they have blasphemed Baal. And his servants took them to burn them with fire. And when they cast them upon the fire there went forth Nathaniel, the angel which is over fire, and quenched the fire and burned up the servants of Jair: but the seven men he

made to escape, so that no man of the people saw them, for he had smitten the people with blindness. 4. And when Jair came to the place (or it came to the place of Jair) he also was burned. But before he burned him, the angel of the Lord said unto him: Hear the word of the Lord before thou diest. Thus saith the Lord: I raised thee up out of the land of Egypt, and appointed thee ruler over my peoples. But thou hast risen and corrupted my covenant, and hast led them astray, and hast sought to burn my servants in the flame, because they reprov'd thee, which though they be burned with corruptible fire, yet now are they quickened with living fire and are delivered. But thou shalt die, saith the Lord, and in the fire wherein thou shalt die, therein shalt thou have thy dwelling. And thereafter he burned him, and came even unto the pillar of Baal and overthrew it, and burned up Baal with the people that stood by, even 1000 men.

CHAPTER 39

1. And after these things came the children of Ammon and began to fight against Israel and took many of their cities. And when the people were greatly straitened, they gathered together in Masphath, saying every man to his neighbours: Behold now, we see the strait which encompasseth us, and the Lord is departed from us, and is no more with us, and our enemies have taken our cities, and there is no leader to go in and out before our face. Now therefore let us see whom we may set over us to fight our battle. 2. Now Jephthan the Galaadite was a mighty man of valour, and because he was jealous of his brothers, they had cast him out of his land, and he went and dwelt in the land of Tobi. And vagrant men gathered themselves unto him and abode with him. 3. And it came to pass when Israel was overcome in battle, that they came into the land of Tobi to Jephthan and said unto him: Come, rule over the people. For who knoweth whether thou wast therefore preserved to this day or wast therefore delivered out of the hands of thy brethren that thou mightest at this time bear rule over thy people?

4. And Jephthan said unto them: Doth love so return after hatred, or doth time overcome Esther all things? For ye did cast me out of my land and out of my father's house; and now are ye come unto me when ye are in a strait? And they said unto him: If the God of our fathers remembered not our sins, but delivered us when we had sinned against him and he had given us over before the face of our enemies, and we were oppressed by them, why wilt thou that art a mortal man remember the iniquities which happened unto

us, in the time of our affliction? Therefore be it not so before thee, lord. 5. And Jephthan said: God indeed is able to be unmindful of our sins, seeing he hath time and place to repose himself of his long-suffering, for he is God; but I am mortal, made of the earth: whereunto I shall return, and where shall I cast away mine anger, and the wrong wherewith ye have injured me? And the people said unto him: Let the dove instruct thee, whereunto Israel was likened, for though her young be taken away from her, yet departeth she not out of her place, but spurneth away her wrong and forgetteth it as it were in the bottom of the deep.

6. And Jephthan arose and went with them and gathered all the people, and said unto them: Ye know how that when our princes were alive, they admonished us to follow our law. And Ammon and his sons turned away the people from their way wherein they walked, to serve other gods which should destroy them. Now therefore set your hearts in the law of the Lord your God, and let us entreat him with one accord. And so will we fight against our adversaries, and trust and hope in the Lord that he will not deliver us up for ever. For although our sins do overabound, nevertheless his mercy filleth all the earth. 7. And the whole people prayed with one accord, both men and women, boys and sucklings. And when they prayed they said: Look, O Lord, upon the people whom thou hast chosen, and spoil not the vine which thy right hand hath planted; that this people may be before thee for an inheritance, whom thou hast possessed from the beginning, and whom thou hast preferred alway, and for whose sake thou hast made the habitable places, and brought them into the land which thou swarest unto them; deliver us not up before them that hate thee, O Lord.

8. And God repented him of his anger and strengthened the spirit of Jephthan. And he sent a message unto Getal the king of the children of Ammon and said: Wherefore vexest thou our land and hast taken my cities, or wherefore afflictest thou us? Thou hast not been commanded of the God of Israel to destroy them that dwell in the land. Now therefore restore unto me my cities, and mine anger shall cease from thee. But if not, know that I will come up unto thee and repay thee for the former things, and recompense thy wickedness upon thine head: rememberest thou not how thou didst deal deceitfully with the people of Israel in the wilderness? And the messengers of Jephthan spake these words unto the king of the children of Ammon. 9. And Getal said: Did Israel take thought when he took the land of the Amorites?

Say therefore: Know ye that now I will take from thee the remnant of thy cities and will repay thee thy wickedness and will take vengeance for the Amorites whom thou hast wronged. And Jephthan sent yet again to the king of the children of Ammon saying: Of a truth I perceive that God hath brought thee hither that I may destroy thee, unless thou rest from thine iniquity wherewith thou wilt vex Israel. And therefore I will come unto thee and show myself unto thee. For they are not, as ye say, gods which have given you the inheritance that ye possess. But because ye have been led astray after stones, fire shall follow after you unto vengeance.

10. And because the king of the children of Ammon would not hear the voice of Jephthan, Jephthan arose and armed all the people to go forth and fight in the borders saying: When the children of Ammon are delivered into my hands and I am returned, any that first meeteth with me shall be for a burnt offering unto the Lord. 11. And the Lord was very wroth and said: Behold, Jephthan hath vowed that he will offer unto me that which meeteth with him first. Now therefore if a dog meet with Jephthan first, shall a dog be offered unto me? And now let the vow of Jephthan be upon his firstborn, even upon the fruit of his body, and his prayer upon his only begotten daughter. But I will verily deliver my people at this time, not for his sake, but for the prayer which Israel hath prayed.

CHAPTER 40

1. And Jephthan came and fought against the children of Ammon, and the Lord delivered them into his hand, and he smote threescore of their cities. And Jephthan returned in peace. And the women came out to meet him with dances. And he had an only begotten daughter; the same came out first in the dances to meet her father. And when Jephthan saw her he fainted and said: Rightly is thy name called Seila, that thou shouldest be offered for a sacrifice. And now who will put my heart in the balance and weigh my soul? and I will stand and see whether one will outweigh the other, the rejoicing that is come or the affliction which cometh upon me? for in that I have opened my mouth unto my Lord in the song of my vows, I cannot call it back again. 2. And Seila his daughter said unto him: And who is it that can be sorrowful in their death when they see the people delivered? Rememberest thou not that which was in the days of our fathers, when the father set his son for a burnt offering and he gain-said him not, but consented unto him rejoicing? And he that was offered was ready, and he that offered was glad.

3. Now therefore annul not anything of that thou hast vowed, but grant unto me one prayer. I ask of thee before I die a small request: I beseech thee that before I give up my soul, I may go into the mountains and wander (or abide) among the hills and walk about among the rocks, I and the virgins that are my fellows, and pour out my tears there and tell the affliction of my youth; and the trees of the field shall bewail me and the beasts of the field shall lament for me; for I am not sorrowful for that I die, neither doth it grieve me that I give up my soul: but whereas my father was overtaken in his vow, [and] if I offer not myself willingly for a sacrifice, I fear lest my death be not acceptable, and that I shall lose my life to no purpose. These things will I tell unto the mountains, and after that I will return. And her father said: Go.

4. And Seila the daughter of Jephthan went forth, she and the virgins that were her fellows, and came and told it to the wise men of the people. And no man could answer her words. And after that she went into the mount Stelac, and by night the Lord thought upon her, and said: Lo, now have I shut up the tongue of the wise among my people before this generation, that they could not answer the word of the daughter of Jephthan, that my word might be fulfilled, and my counsel not destroyed which I had devised: and I have seen that she is more wise than her father, and a maiden of understanding more than all the wise which are here. And now let her life be given her at her request, and her death shall be precious in my sight at all times. 5. And when the daughter of Jephthan came unto the mount Stelac, she began to lament. And this is her lamentation wherewith she mourned and bewailed herself before she departed, and she said: Harken, O mountains, to my lamentation, and look, O hills, upon the tears of mine eyes, and be witness, O rocks, in the bewailing of my soul. Behold how I am accused, but my soul shall not be taken away in vain. Let my words go forth into the heavens, and let my tears be written before the face of the firmament, that the father overcome not (or fight not against) his daughter whom he hath vowed to offer up, that her ruler may hear that his only begotten daughter is promised for a sacrifice.

6. Yet I have not been satisfied with my bed of marriage, neither filled with the garlands of my wedding. For I have not been arrayed with brightness, sitting in my maidenhood; I have not used my precious ointment, neither hath my soul enjoyed the oil of anointing which was prepared for me. O my mother, to no purpose hast thou borne thine only begotten, and

begotten her upon the earth, for hell is become my marriage-chamber. Let ail the mingling of oil which thou hast prepared for me be poured out, and the white robe which my mother wove for me, let the moth eat it, and the crown of flowers which my nurse plaited for me aforetime, let it wither, and the coverlet which she wove of violet and purple for my virginity, let the worm spoil it; and when the virgins, my fellows, tell of me, let them bewail me with groaning for many days.

7. Bow down your branches, O ye trees, and lament my youth. Come, ye beasts of the forest, and trample upon my virginity. For my years are cut off, and the days of my life are waxen old in darkness. 8. And when she had so said, Seila returned unto her father, and he did all that he had vowed, and offered burnt offerings. Then all the maidens of Israel gathered together and buried the daughter of Jephthan and bewailed her. And the children of Israel made a great lamentation and appointed in that month, on the 14th day of the month, that they should come together every year and lament for the daughter of Jephthan four days. And they called the name of her sepulchre according to her own name Seila. 9. And Jephthan judged the children of Israel ten years, and died, and was buried with his fathers.

CHAPTER 41

1. And after him there arose a judge in Israel, Addo the son of Elech of Praton, and he also judged the children of Israel eight years. In his days the king of Moab sent messengers unto him saying: Behold now, thou knowest that Israel hath taken my cities: now therefore restore them in recompense. And Addo said: Are ye not yet instructed by that which hath befallen the children of Ammon, unless peradventure the sins of Moab be filled up? And Addo sent and took of the people 20,000 men and came against Moab, and fought against them and slew of them 45,000 men. And the remnant fled before him. And Addo returned in peace and offered burnt offerings and sacrifices unto his Lord, and died, and was buried in Ephrata his city. 2. And at that time the people chose Elon and made him judge over them, and he judged Israel twenty years. In those days they fought against the Philistines and took of them twelve cities. And Elon died and was buried in his city.

3. But the children of Israel forgot the Lord their God and served the gods of the dwellers in the land. Therefore were they delivered unto the Philistines and served them forty years.

CHAPTER 42

1. Now there was a man of the tribe of Dan, whose name was Manue, the son of Edoc, the son of Odo, the son of Eriden, the son of Phadesur, the son of Dema, the son of Susi, the son of Dan. And he had a wife whose name was Eluma, the daughter of Remac. And she was barren and bare him no child. And when Manue her husband said to her day by day: Lo, the Lord hath shut up thy womb, that thou shouldst not bear; set me free, therefore, that I may take another wife lest I die without issue. And she said: The Lord hath not shut up me from bearing, but thee, that I should bear no fruit. And he said to her: Let the law make plain our trial. 2. And as they contended day by day and both of them were sore grieved because they lacked fruit, upon a certain night the woman went up into the upper chamber and prayed saying: Do thou, O Lord God of all flesh, reveal unto me whether unto my husband or unto me it is not given to beget children, or to whom it is forbidden or to whom allowed to bear fruit, that to whom it is forbidden, the same may mourn for his sins, because he continueth without fruit. Or if both of us be deprived, reveal this also unto us, that we may bear our sin and keep silence before thee.

3. And the Lord hearkened to her voice and sent her his angel in the morning, and said unto her: Thou art the barren one that bringeth not forth, and thou art the womb which is forbidden to bear fruit. But now hath the Lord heard thy voice and looked upon thy tears and opened thy womb. And behold thou shalt conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Samson, for he shall be holy unto thy Lord. But take heed that he taste not of any fruit of the vine, neither eat any unclean thing, for as himself hath said, he shall deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines. And when the angel of the Lord had spoken these words he departed from her. 4. And she came unto her husband into the house and said unto him: Lo, I lay mine hand upon my mouth and will keep silence before thee all my days, because it was in vain that I boasted myself, and believed not thy words. For the angel of the Lord came unto me to-day, and showed me, saying: Eluma, thou art barren, but thou shalt conceive and bear a son.

5. And Manue believed not his wife. And he was ashamed and grieved and went up, he also, into the upper chamber and prayed saying: Lo, I am not worthy to hear the signs and wonders which God hath wrought in us, or to see the face of his messenger. 6. And it came to pass while he thus spake, the

angel of the Lord came yet again unto his wife. Now she was in the field and Manue was in his house. And the angel said unto her: Run and call unto thine husband, for God hath accounted him worthy to hear my voice. 7. And the woman ran and called to her husband, and he hasted and came unto the angel in the field in Ammo (?), which said unto him: Go in unto thy wife and do quickly all these things. But he said to him: Yet see thou to it, Lord, that thy word be accomplished upon thy servant. And he said: It shall be so.

8. And Manue said unto him: If I were able, I would persuade thee to enter into mine house and eat bread with me, and know that when thou goest away I would give thee gifts to take with thee that thou mightest offer a sacrifice unto the Lord thy God. And the angel said unto him: I will not go in with thee into thine house, neither eat thy bread, neither will I receive thy gifts. For if thou offerest a sacrifice of that which is not thine, I cannot show favour unto thee. 9. And Manue built an altar upon the rock, and offered sacrifices and burnt offerings. And it came to pass when he had cut up the flesh and laid it upon the holy place, the angel put forth his hand and touched it with the end of his sceptre. And there came forth fire out of the rock and consumed the burnt offerings and sacrifices. And the angel went up from him with the flame of the fire.

10. But Manue and his wife when they saw that, fell upon their faces and said: We shall surely die, because we have seen the Lord face to face. And it sufficed me not that I saw him, but I did also ask his name, knowing not that he was the minister of God. Now the angel that came was called Phadahel.

CHAPTER 43

1. And it came to pass in the time of those days, that Eluma conceived and bare a son and called his name Samson. And the Lord was with him. And when he was begun to grow up, and sought to fight against the Philistines, he took him a wife of the Philistines. And the Philistines burned her with fire, for they were brought very low by Samson. 2. And after that Samson entered into (or was enraged against) Azotus. And they shut him in and compassed the city about and said: Behold, now is our adversary delivered into our hands. Now therefore let us gather ourselves together and succour the souls one of another. And when Samson was arisen in the night and saw the city closed in he said: Lo, now, these fleas have shut me up in their city. And now shall the Lord be with me, and I will go forth by their gates and fight against them.

3. And he went and set his left hand under the bar of the gate and shook it and threw down the gate of the wall. One of the gates he held in his right hand for a shield, and the other he laid upon his shoulders and bare it away, and because he had no sword he pursued after the Philistines with it, and killed therewith 25,000 men. And he lifted up all the purtenances of the gate and set them up on a mountain. 4. Now concerning the lion which he slew, and the jawbone of the ass wherewith he smote the Philistines, and the bands which he brake off from his arms as it were of themselves, and the foxes which he caught, are not these things written in the book of the Judges? 5. Then Samson went down unto Gerara, a city of the Philistines, and saw there an harlot whose name was Dalila, and was led away after her, and took her to him to wife. And God said: Behold, now Samson is led astray by his eyes and hath forgotten the mighty works which I have wrought with him, and is mingled with the daughters of the Philistines, and hath not considered my servant Joseph which was in a strange land and became a crown unto his brethren because he would not afflict his seed. Now therefore shall his concupiscence be a stumbling-block unto Samson, and his mingling shall be his destruction, and I will deliver him to his enemies and they shall blind him. Yet in the hour of his death will I remember him, and will avenge him yet once upon the Philistines.

6. And after these things his wife was importunate unto him, saying unto him: Show me thy strength, and wherein is thy might. So shall I know that thou lovest me. And when Samson had deceived her three times, and she continued importunate unto him every day, the fourth time he showed her his heart. But she made him drunk, and when he slumbered she called a barber, and he shaved the seven locks of his head, and his might departed from him, for so had himself revealed unto her. And she called the Philistines, and they smote Samson, and blinded him, and put him in prison. 7. And it came to pass in the day of their banqueting, that they called for Samson that they might mock him. And he being bound between two pillars prayed saying: O Lord God of my fathers, hear me yet this once and strengthen me that I may die with these Philistines: for this sight of the eyes which they have taken from me was freely given unto me by thee. And Samson added saying: Go forth, O my soul, and be not grieved. Die, O my body, and weep not for thyself.

8. And he took hold upon the two pillars of the house and shook them. And the house fell and all that was in it and slew all them that were round about it, and the number of them was 40,000 men and women. And the brethren of Samson came down and all his father's house, and took him and buried him in the sepulchre of his father. And he judged Israel twenty years.

CHAPTER 44

1. And in those days there was no prince in Israel: but every man did that which was pleasing in his sight. 2. At that time Michas arose, the son of Dedila the mother of Heliu, and he had 1000 drachms of gold and four wedges of molten gold, and 40 didrachms of silver. And his mother Dedila said unto him: My son, hear my voice and thou shalt make thee a name before thy death: take thou that gold and melt it, and thou shalt make thee idols, and they shall be to thee gods, and thou shalt become a priest to them. 3. And it shall be that whoso will inquire by them, they shall come to thee and thou shalt answer them. And there shall be in thine house an altar and a pillar built, and of that gold thou hast, thou shalt buy thee incense for burning and sheep for sacrifices. And it shall be that whoso will offer sacrifice, he shall give for sheep 7 didrachms, and for incense, if he will burn it, he shall give one didrachm of silver of full weight. And thy name shall be Priest, and thou shalt be called a worshipper of the gods.

4. And Michas said unto her: Thou hast well counselled me, my mother, how I may live: and now shall thy name be greater than my name, and in the last days these things shall be required of thee. 5. And Michas went and did all that his mother had commanded him. And he carved out and made for himself three images of boys, and of calves, and a lion and an eagle and a dragon and a dove. And it was so that all that were led astray came to him, and if any would ask for wives, they inquired of him by the dove; and if for sons, by the image of the boys: but he that would ask for riches took counsel by the likeness of the eagle, and he that asked for strength by the image of the lion: again, if they asked for men and maidens they inquired by the images of calves, but if for length of days, they inquired by the image of the dragon. And his iniquity was of many shapes, and his impiety was full of guile.

6. Therefore then, when the children of Israel departed from the Lord, the Lord said: Behold I will root out the earth and destroy all the race of men, because when I appointed great things upon mount Sina, I showed my-

self unto the children of Israel in the tempest and I said that they should not make idols, and they consented that they should not carve the likeness of gods. And I appointed to them they should not take my name in vain, and they chose this, even not to take my name in vain. And I commanded them to keep the sabbath day, and they consented unto me to sanctify themselves. And I said to them that they should honour their father and mother: and they promised that they would so do. And I appointed unto them not to steal, and they consented. And I bade them do no murder, and they received it, that they should not. And I commanded them not to commit adultery, and they refused not. And I appointed unto them to bear no false witness, and not to covet every man his neighbour's wife or his house or anything that is his: and they accepted it.

7. And now, whereas I spake unto them that they should not make idols, they have made the works of all those gods that are born of corruption by the name of a graven image. And also of them through whom all things have been corrupted. For mortal men made them, and the fire served in the melting of them: the act of men brought them forth, and hands have wrought them, and understanding contrived them. And whereas they have received them, they have taken my name in vain, and have given my name to graven images, and upon the sabbath day which they accepted, to keep it, they have wrought abominations therefrom. Because I said unto them that they should love their father and mother, they have dishonoured me their maker. And for that I said to them they should not steal, they have dealt thievishly in their understanding with graven images. And whereas I said they should not kill, they do kill them when they deceive. And when I had commanded them not to commit adultery, they have played the adulterer with their jealousy. And where they did choose not to bear false witness, they have received false witness from them whom they cast out, and have lusted after strange women.

8. Therefore, behold, I abhor the race of men, and to the end I may root out my creation, they that die shall be multiplied above the number of them that are born. For the house of Jacob is defiled with iniquities and the impieties of Israel are multiplied and I cannot [some words lost] wholly destroy the tribe of Benjamin, because that they first were led away after Michas. And the people of Israel also shall not be unpunished, but it shall be to them an offence for ever to the memory of all generations. 9. But Michas will I deliver

unto the fire. And his mother shall pine away in his sight, living upon the earth, and worms shall issue forth out of her body. And when they shall speak one to the other, she shall say as it were a mother rebuking her son: Behold what a sin hast thou committed. And he shall answer as it were a son obedient to his mother and dealing craftily: And thou hast wrought yet greater iniquity. And the likeness of the dove which he made shall be to put out his eyes, and the likeness of the eagle shall be to shed fire from the wings of it, and the images of the boys he made shall be to scrape his sides, and for the image of the lion which he made, it shall be unto him as mighty ones tormenting him.

10. And thus will I do not only unto Michas but to all them also that sin against me. And now let the race of men know that they shall not provoke me by their own inventions. Neither unto them only that make idols shall this chastisement come, but it shall be to every man, that with what sin he hath sinned therewith shall he be judged. Therefore if they shall speak lies before me, I will command the heaven and it shall defraud them of rain. And if any will covet the goods of his neighbour, I will command death and it shall deny them the fruit of their body. And if they swear by my name falsely I will not hear their prayer. And when the soul parteth from the body, then they shall say: Let us not mourn for the things which we have suffered, but because whatsoever we have devised, that shall we also receive.

CHAPTER 45

1. And it came to pass at that time that a certain man of the tribe of Levi came to Gabaon, and when he desired to abide there, the sun set. And when he would enter in there, they that dwelt there suffered him not. And he said to his lad: Go on, lead the mule, and we will go to the city of Noba, peradventure they will suffer us to enter in there. And he came thither and sat in the street of the city. And no man said unto him: Come into my house. 2. But there was there a certain Levite whose name was Bethac. The same saw him and said unto him: Art thou Beel of my tribe? And he said: I am. And he said to him: Knowest thou not the wickedness of them that dwell in this city? Who counselled thee to enter in hither? Haste and go out hence, and come into my house wherein I dwell, and abide there to-day, and the Lord shall shut up their heart before us, as he shut up the men of Sodom before the face of Lot. And he entered into the city and abode there that night.

3. And all the dwellers in the city came together and said unto Bethac: Bring forth them that came unto thee this day, and if not we will burn them and thee with fire. And he went out unto them and said to them: Are not they our brethren? Let us not deal evilly with them, lest our sins be multiplied against us. And they answered: It was never so, that strangers should give commands to the indwellers. And they entered in with violence and took out him and his concubine and cast them forth, and they let the man go, but they abused his concubine until she died; for she had transgressed against her husband at one time by sinning with the Amalekites, and therefore did the Lord God deliver her into the hands of sinners. 4. And when it was day Beel went out and found his concubine dead. And he laid her upon the mule and hasted and went out and came to Gades. And he took her body and divided it and sent it into all parts (or by portions) throughout the twelve tribes, saying: These things were done unto me in the city of Noba, for the dwellers therein rose up against me to slay me and took my concubine and shut me up and slew her. And if this is pleasing before your face, keep ye silence, and let the Lord be judge: but if ye will avenge it, the Lord shall help you.

5. And all the men, even the twelve tribes, were confounded. And they gathered together unto Silo and said every man to his neighbour: Hath such iniquity been done in Israel? 6. And the Lord said unto the Adversary: Seest thou how this foolish people is disturbed? In the hour when they should have died, even when Michas dealt craftily to deceive the people with these, that is, with the dove and the eagle and with the image of men and calves and of a lion and of a dragon, then were they not moved. And therefore because they were not provoked to anger, let their counsel now be vain and their heart moved, that they who allow evil may be consumed as well as the sinners.

CHAPTER 46

1. And when it was day the people of Israel were greatly moved and said: Let us go up and search out the sin that is done, that the iniquity may be taken away from us. And they spake thus, and said: Let us inquire first of the Lord and learn whether he will deliver our brethren into our hands. And if not, let us forbear. And Phinees said unto them: Let us offer the Demonstration and the Truth. And the Lord answered them and said: Go up, for I will deliver them into your hands. But he deceived them, that he might accomplish

his word. 2. And they went up to battle and came to the city of Benjamin and sent messengers saying: Send us the men that have done this wickedness and we will spare you, but requite to every man his evil doing. And the people of Benjamin hardened their heart and said unto the people of Israel: Wherefore should we deliver our brethren unto you? If ye spare them not, we will even fight against you. And the people of Benjamin came out against the children of Israel and pursued after them, and the children of Israel fell before them and they smote of them 45,000 men.

3. And the heart of the people was very sore vexed, and they came weeping and mourning unto Silo and said: Behold, the Lord hath delivered us up before the dwellers in Noba. Now let us inquire of the Lord which among us hath sinned. And they inquired of the Lord and he said unto them: If ye will, go up and fight, and they shall be delivered into your hands; and then it shall be told you wherefore ye fell before them. And they went up the second day to fight against them. And the children of Benjamin came out and pursued after Israel and smote of them 46,000 men. 4. And the heart of the people was altogether melted and they said: Hath God willed to deceive his people? or hath he so ordained because of the evil that is done that as well the innocent should fall as they that do evil? And when they spake thus they fell down before the ark of the covenant of the Lord and rent their clothes and put ashes upon their heads, both they and Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest, which prayed and said: What is this deceit wherewith thou hast deceived us, O Lord? If it be righteous before thy face which the children of Benjamin have done, wherefore didst thou not tell us, that we might consider it? But if it was not pleasing in thy sight, wherefore didst thou suffer us to fall before them?

CHAPTER 47

1. And Phinees added and said: O God of our fathers, hear my voice, and tell thy servant this day if it is well done in thy sight, or if peradventure the people have sinned and thou wouldest destroy their evil, that thou mightest correct among us also them that have sinned against thee. For I remember in my youth when Jambri sinned in the days of Moses thy servant, and I verily entered in, and was zealous in my soul and lifted up both of them upon my sword, and the remnant would have risen against me to put me to death, and thou sentest thine angel and didst smite of them 24,000 men and deliver me out of their hands. 2. And now thou hast sent the eleven tribes and brought

them hither saying: Go and smite them. And when they went they were delivered up. And now they say that the declarations of thy truth are lying before thee. And now, O Lord God of our fathers, hide it not from thy servant, but tell us wherefore thou hast done this iniquity against us.

3. And when the Lord saw that Phinees prayed earnestly before him, he said to him: By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that had I not sworn, I would not have remembered thee in that thou hast spoken, neither would I have answered you this day. And now say unto the people: Stand up and hear the word of the Lord. 4. Thus saith the Lord: There was a certain mighty lion in the midst of the forest, and unto him all the beasts committed the forest that he should guard it by his power, lest perchance other beasts should come and lay it waste. And while the lion guarded it there came beasts of the field from another forest and devoured all the young of the beasts and laid waste the fruit of their body, and the lion saw it and held his peace. Now the beasts were at peace, because they had entrusted the forest unto the lion, and perceived not that their young were destroyed.

5. And after a time there arose a very small beast of those that had committed the forest unto the lion, and devoured the least of the whelps of another very evil beast. And lo the lion cried out and stirred up all the beasts of the forest, and they fought among themselves, and every one fought against his neighbour. 6. And when many beasts were destroyed, another whelp out of another forest like unto it, saw it, and said: Hast thou not destroyed as many beasts? What iniquity is this, that in the beginning when many beasts and their young were destroyed unjustly by other evil beasts, and when all the beasts should have been moved to avenge themselves, seeing the fruit of their body was despoiled to no purpose, then thou didst keep silence and spakest not, but now one whelp of an evil beast hath perished, and thou hast stirred up the whole forest that all the beasts should devour one another without cause, and the forest be diminished. Now therefore thou oughtest first to be destroyed, and so the remnant be established. And when the young of the beasts heard that, they slew the lion first, and put over them the whelp in his stead, and so the rest of the beasts were subject together.

7. Michas arose and made you rich by that which he committed, both he and his mother. And there were evil things and wicked, which none devised before them, but in his subtlety he made graven images, which had not been made unto that day, and no man was provoked, but ye were all led astray,

and did see the fruit of your body spoiled, and held your peace even as that evil lion. 8. And now when ye saw how that this man's concubine which suffered evil, died, ye were moved all of you and came unto me saying: Wilt thou deliver the children of Benjamin into our hands? Therefore did I deceive you and said: I will deliver them unto you. And now I have destroyed them which then held their peace, and so will I take vengeance on all that have done wickedly against me. But you, go ye up now, for I will deliver them unto you.

9. And all the people arose with one accord and went. And the children of Benjamin came out against them and thought that they would overcome them as heretofore. And they knew not that their wickedness was fulfilled upon them. And when they had come on as at first, and were pursuing after them, the people fled from the face of them to give them place, and then they arose out of their ambushes, and the children of Benjamin were in the midst of them. 10. Then they which were fleeing turned back, and the men of the city of Noba were slain, both men and women, even 85,000 men, and the children of Israel burned the city and took the spoils and destroyed all things with the edge of the sword. And no man was left of the children of Benjamin save only 600 men which fled and were not found in the battle. And all the people returned unto Silo and Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest with them.

11. Now these are they that were left of the race of Benjamin, the princes of the tribe, of ten families whose names are these: of the 1st family: Ezbaile, Zieb, Balac, Reindebac, Belloch; and of the 2nd family: Nethac, Zenip, Phenoch, Demech, Geresaraz; and of the 3rd family: Jerimuth, Veloth, Amibel, Genuth, Nephuth, Phienna; and of the 4th city: Gemuph, Eliel, Gemoth, Soleph, Raphaph, and Doffo; and of the 5th family: Anuel, Code, Fretan, Remmon, Peccan, Nabath; and of the 6th family: Rephaz, Sephet, Araphaz, Metach, Adhoc, Balinoc; and of the 7th family: Benin, Mephiz, Araph, Ruimel, Belon, Iaal, Abac; and (of) the (8th, 9th and) 10th family: Enophlase, Melec, Meturia, Meac; and the rest of the princes of the tribe which were left, in number threescore. 12. And at that time did the Lord requite unto Michas and unto his mother all the things that he had spoken. And Michas was melted with fire and his mother was pining away, even as the Lord had spoken concerning them.

CHAPTER 48

1. At that time also Phinees laid himself down to die, and the Lord said unto him: Behold thou hast overpassed the 120 years that were ordained unto all men. And now arise and go hence and dwell in the mount Danaben and abide there many years, and I will command mine eagle and he shall feed thee there, and thou shalt not come down any more unto men until the time come and thou be proved in the time. And then shalt thou shut the heaven, and at thy word it shall be opened. And after that thou shalt be lifted up into the place whither they that were before thee were lifted up, and shalt be there until I remember the world. And then will I bring you and ye shall taste what is death. 2. And Phinees went up and did all that the Lord commanded him. Now in the days when he appointed him to be priest, he anointed him in Silo.

3. And at that time, when he went up, then it came to pass that the children of Israel when they kept the passover commanded the children of Benjamin saying: Go up and take wives for yourselves by force, because we cannot give you our daughters, for we sware in the time of our anger: and it cannot be that a tribe perish out of Israel. And the children of Benjamin went up and seized for themselves wives and built Gabaon for themselves and began to dwell there. 4. And whereas in the meanwhile the children of Israel were at rest, they had no prince in those days, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes. 5. These are the commandments and the judgments and the testimonies and the manifestations that were in the days of the judges of Israel, before a king reigned over them.

CHAPTER 49

1. And at that time the children of Israel began to inquire of the Lord, and said: Let us all cast lots, that we may see who there is that can rule over us like Cenez, for peradventure we shall find a man that can deliver us from our afflictions, for it is not expedient that the people should be without a prince. 2. And they cast the lot and found no man; and the people were greatly grieved and said: The people is not worthy to be heard by the Lord, for he hath not answered us. Now therefore let us cast lots even by tribes, if perchance God will be appeased by a multitude, for we know that he will be reconciled unto them that are worthy of him. And they cast lots by tribes, and upon no tribe did the lot come forth. And Israel said: Let us choose one of ourselves, for we

are in a strait, for we perceive that God abhorreth his people, and that his soul is displeased at us.

3. And one answered and said unto the people, whose name was Nethez: It is not he that hateth us, but we ourselves have made ourselves to be hated, that God should forsake us. And therefore, even though we die, let us not forsake him, but let us flee unto him for refuge; for we have walked in our evil ways and have not known him that made us, and therefore will our device be vain. For I know that God will not cast us off for ever, neither will he hate his people unto all generations: therefore now be ye strong and let us pray yet again and cast lots by cities, for although our sins be enlarged, yet will his long-suffering not fail. 4. And they cast lots by cities, and the lot came upon Armathem. And the people said: Is Armathem accounted righteous beyond all the cities of Israel, that he hath chosen her thus before all the cities? And every man said to his neighbour: In that same city which hath come forth by lot let us cast the lot by men, and let us see whom the Lord hath chosen out of her.

5. And they cast the lot by men, and it took no man save Elchana, for upon him the lot leapt out, and the people took him and said: Come and be ruler over us. And Elchana said unto the people: I cannot be a prince over this people, neither can I judge who can be a prince over you. But if my sins have found me out, that the lot should leap upon me, I will slay myself, that ye defile me not; for it is just that I should die for my own sins only and not have to bear the weight of the people. 6. And when the people saw that it was not the will of Elchana to take the leadership over them, they prayed again unto the Lord saying: O Lord God of Israel, wherefore hast thou forsaken thy people in the victory of the enemy and neglected thine heritage in the time of trouble? Behold even he that was taken by the lot hath not accomplished thy commandment; but only this hath come about, that the lot leapt out upon him, and we believed that we had a prince. And lo, he also contendeth against the lot. Whom shall we yet require, or unto whom shall we flee, and where is the place of our rest? For if the ordinances are true which thou madest with our fathers, saying: I will enlarge your seed, and they shall know of this, then it were better that thou saidst to us, I will cut off your seed, than that thou shouldest have no regard to our root.

7. And God said unto them: If indeed I recompensed you according to your evil deeds, I ought not to give ear unto your people; but what shall I do,

because my name cometh to be called upon you? And now know ye that Elchana upon whom the lot hath fallen cannot rule over you, but it is rather his son that shall be born of him; he shall be prince over you and shall prophesy; and from henceforth there shall not be wanting unto you a prince for many years. 8. And the people said: Behold, Lord, Elchana hath ten sons, and which of them shall be a prince or shall prophesy? And God said: Not any of the sons of Phenenna can be a prince over the people, but he that is born of the barren woman whom I have given him to wife, he shall be a prophet before me, and I will love him even as I loved Isaac, and his name shall be before me for ever. And the people said: Behold now, it may be that God hath remembered us, to deliver us from the hand of them that hate us. And in that day they offered peace offerings and feasted in their orders.

CHAPTER 50

1. Now [whereas] Elchana had two wives, the name of the one was Anna and the name of the other Phenenna. And because Phenenna had sons, and Anna had none, Phenenna reproached her, saying: What profiteth it thee that Elchana thine husband loveth thee? but thou art a dry tree. I know moreover that he will love me, because he delighteth to see my sons standing about him like the planting of an oliveyard. 2. And so it was, when she reproached her every day, and Anna was very sore at heart, and she feared God from her youth, it came to pass when the good day of the passover drew on, and her husband went up to do sacrifice, that Phenenna reviled Anna saying: A woman is not indeed beloved even if her husband love her or her beauty. Let not Anna therefore boast herself of her beauty, but he that boasteth let him boast when he seeth his seed before his face; and when it is not so among women, even the fruit of their womb, then shall love become of no account. For what profit was it unto Rachel that Jacob loved her? except there had been given her the fruit of her womb, surely his love would have been to no purpose? And when Anna heard that, her soul was melted within her and her eyes ran down with tears.

3. And her husband saw her and said: Wherefore art thou sad, and eatest not, and why is thy heart within thee cast down? Is not thy behaviour better than the ten sons of Phenenna? And Anna hearkened to him and arose after she had eaten, and came unto Silo to the house of the Lord where Heli the priest abode, whom Phinees the son of Eleazar the priest had presented as it was commanded him. 4. And Anna prayed and said: Hast not thou, O Lord,

examined the heart of all generations before thou formedst the world? But what is the womb that is born open, or what one that is shut up dieth, except thou will it? And now let my prayer go up before thee this day, lest I go down hence empty, for thou knowest my heart, how I have walked before thee from the days of my youth.

5. And Anna would not pray aloud as do all men, for she took thought at that time saying: Lest perchance I be not worthy to be heard, and it shall be that Phenenna will envy me yet more and reproach me as she daily saith: Where is thy God in whom thou trustest? And I know that it is not she that hath many sons that is enriched, neither she that lacketh them is poor, but whoso aboundeth in the will of God, she is enriched. For they that know for what I have prayed, if they perceive that I am not heard in my prayer, will blaspheme. And I shall not only have a witness in mine own soul, for my tears also are handmaidens of my prayers. 6. And as she prayed, Heli the priest, seeing that she was afflicted in her mind and carried herself like one drunken, said unto her: Go, put away thy wine from thee. And she said: Is my prayer so heard that I am called drunken? Verily I am drunken with sorrow and have drunk the cup of my weeping.

7. And Heli the priest said unto her: Tell me thy reproach. And she said unto him: I am the wife of Elchana, and because God hath surely shut up my womb, therefore I prayed before him that I might not depart out of this world unto him without fruit, neither die without leaving mine own image. And Heli the priest said unto her: Go, for I know wherefore thou hast prayed, and thy prayer is heard. 8. But Heli the priest would not tell her that a prophet was foreordained to be born of her: for he had heard when the Lord spake concerning him. And Anna came unto her house, and was consoled of her sorrow, yet she told no man of that for which she had prayed.

CHAPTER 51

1. And in the time of those days she conceived and bare a son and called his name Samuel, which is interpreted Mighty, according as God called his name when he prophesied of him. And Anna sat and gave suck to the child until he was two years old, and when she had weaned him, she went up with him bearing gifts in her hands, and the child was very fair and the Lord was with him. 2. And Anna set the child before the face of Heli and said unto him: This is the desire which I desired, and this is the request which I sought. And Heli said unto her: Not thou only didst seek it, but the people also

prayed for this. It is not thy request alone, but it was promised aforetime unto the tribes; and by this child is thy womb justified, that thou shouldest set up prophecy before the people, and appoint the milk of thy breasts for a fountain unto the twelve tribes.

3. And when Anna heard that, she prayed and said: Come ye at my voice, all ye peoples, and give ear unto my speech, all ye kingdoms, for my mouth is opened that I may speak, and my lips are commanded that I may sing praises unto the Lord. Drop, O my breasts, and give forth your testimonies, for it is appointed to you to give suck. For he shall be set up that is suckled by you, and by his words shall the people be enlightened, and he shall shew unto the nations their boundaries, and his horn shall be greatly exalted. 4. And therefore will I utter my words openly, for out of me shall arise the ordinance of the Lord, and all men shall find the truth. Haste ye not to talk proudly, neither to utter high words out of your mouth, but delight yourselves in boasting when the light shall come forth out of which wisdom shall be born, that they be not called rich which have most possessions, neither they that have borne abundantly be termed mothers: for the barren hath been satisfied, and she that was multiplied in sons is become empty;

5. For the Lord killeth with judgement, and quickeneth in mercy: for the ungodly are in this world: therefore quickeneth he the righteous when he will, but the ungodly he will shut up in darkness. But unto the righteous he preserveth their light, and when the ungodly are dead, then shall they perish, and when the righteous are fallen asleep, then shall they be delivered. And so shall all judgement endure until he be revealed which holdeth it. 6. Speak thou, speak thou, O Anna, and keep not silence: sing praises, O daughter of Bathuel, because of thy wonders which God hath wrought with thee. Who is Anna, that a prophet should come out of her? or who is the daughter of Bathuel, that she should bring forth a light for the peoples? Arise thou also, Elchana, and gird up thy loins. Sing praises for the signs of the Lord: For of thy son did Asaph prophesy in the wilderness saying: Moses and Aaron among his priests and Samuel among them. Behold the word is accomplished and the prophecy come to pass. And these things endure thus, until they give an horn unto his anointed, and power cleaveth unto the throne of his king. Yet let my son stand here and minister, until there arise a light unto this people.

7. And they departed thence and set forth with mirth, rejoicing and exulting in heart for all the glory that God had wrought with them. But the people went down with one accord unto Silo with timbrels and dances, with lutes and harps, and came unto Heli the priest and offered Samuel unto him, whom they set before the face of the Lord and anointed him and said: Let the prophet live among the people, and let him be long a light unto this nation.

CHAPTER 52

1. But Samuel was a very young child and knew nothing of all these things. And whilst he served before the Lord, the two sons of Heli, which walked not in the ways of their fathers, began to do wickedly unto the people and multiplied their iniquities. And they dwelt hard by the house of Bethac, and when the people came together to sacrifice, Ophni and Phinees came and provoked the people to anger, seizing the oblations before the holy things were offered unto the Lord. 2. And this thing pleased not the Lord, neither the people, nor their father. And their father spake thus unto them: What is this report that I hear of you? Know ye not that I have received the place that Phinees committed unto me? And if we waste that we have received, what shall we say if he that committed it require it again, and vex us for that which he committed unto us? Now therefore make straight your ways, and walk in good paths, and your deeds shall endure. But if ye gainsay me and refrain not from your evil devices, ye will destroy yourselves, and the priesthood will be in vain, and that which was sanctified will come to nought. And then will they say: To no purpose did the rod of Aaron spring up, and the flower that was born of it is come to nothing.

3. Therefore while ye are yet able, my sons, correct that ye have done ill, and the men against whom ye have sinned will pray for you. But if ye will not, but persist in your iniquities, I shall be guiltless, and I shall not only sorrow lest (or and now I shall not blot out these great evils in you, lest) I hear of the day of your death before I die, but also if this befall (or but even if this befall not) I shall be clear of blame: and though I be afflicted, ye shall nevertheless perish. 4. And his sons obeyed him not, for the Lord had given sentence concerning them that they should die, because they had sinned: for when their father said to them: Repent you of your evil way, they said: When we grow old, then will we repent. And for this cause it was not given unto them that they should repent when they were rebuked of their father, be-

cause they had always been rebellious, and had wrought very unjustly in despoiling Israel. But the Lord was angry with Heli.

CHAPTER 53

1. But Samuel was ministering before the Lord and knew not as yet what were the oracles of the Lord: for he had not yet heard the oracles of the Lord, for he was 8 years old. 2. But when God remembered Israel, he would reveal his words unto Samuel, and Samuel did sleep in the temple of the Lord. And it came to pass when God called unto him, that he considered first, and said: Behold now, Samuel is young that he should be (or though he be) beloved in my sight; nevertheless because he hath not yet heard the voice of the Lord, neither is he confirmed unto the voice of the Most Highest, yet is he like unto Moses my servant: but unto Moses I spake when he was 80 years old, but Samuel is 8 years old. And Moses saw the fire first and his heart was afraid. And if Samuel shall see the fire now, how shall he abide it? Therefore now shall there come unto him a voice as of a man, and not as of God. And when he understandeth, then I will speak unto him as God. 3.

3. And at midnight a voice out of heaven called him: and Samuel awoke and perceived as it were the voice of Heli, and ran unto him and spake saying: Wherefore hast thou awaked me, father? For I was afraid, because thou didst never call me in the night. And Heli said: Woe is me, can it be that an unclean spirit hath deceived my son Samuel? And he said to him: Go and sleep, for I called thee not. Nevertheless, tell me if thou remember, how often he that called thee cried. And he said: Twice. And Heli said unto him: Say now, of whose voice wast thou aware, my son? And he said: Of thine, therefore ran I unto thee. 4. And Heli said: In thee do I behold the sign that men shall have from this day forward for ever, that if one call unto another twice in the night or at noonday, they shall know that it is an evil spirit. But if he call a third time, they shall know that it is an angel. And Samuel went away and slept.

5. And he heard the second time a voice from heaven, and he arose and ran unto Heli and said unto him: Wherefore called he me, for I heard the voice of Elchana my father? Then did Heli understand that God did begin to call him. And Heli said: In those two voices wherewith God hath called unto thee, he likened himself to thy father and to thy master, but now the third time he will speak as God. 6. And he said unto him: With thy right ear attend and with thy left refrain. For Phinees the priest commanded us, saying:

The right ear heareth the Lord by night, and the left ear an angel. Therefore, if thou hear with thy right ear, say thus: Speak what thou wilt, for I hear thee, for thou hast formed me; but if thou hear with the left ear, come and tell me. And Samuel went away and slept as Heli had commanded him.

7. And the Lord added and spake yet a third time, and the right ear of Samuel was filled with the voice. And when he perceived that the speech of his father had come down unto him, Samuel turned upon his other side, and said: If I be able, speak, for thou hast formed me (or knowest well concerning me). 8. And God said unto him: Verily I enlightened the house of Israel in Egypt and chose unto me at that time Moses my servant for a prophet, and by him I wrought wonders for my people, and avenged them of mine enemies as I would, and I took my people into the wilderness, and enlightened them as they beheld. 9. And when one tribe rose up against another tribe, saying: Wherefore are the priests alone holy? I would not destroy them, but I said unto them: Give ye every one his rod, and it shall be that he whose rod flourisheth I have chosen him for the priesthood. And when they had all given their rods as I commanded, then did I command the earth of the tabernacle that the rod of Aaron should flourish, that his line might be manifested for many days. And now they which did flourish have abhorred my holy things.

10. Therefore, lo, the days shall come that I will cut off (lit. stop) the flower that came forth at that time, and I will go forth against them because they do transgress the word which I spake unto my servant Moses, saying: If thou meet with a nest, thou shalt not take the mother with the young, therefore it shall befall them that the mothers shall die with the children, and the fathers perish with the sons. 11. And when Samuel heard these words his heart was melted, and he said: Hath it thus come against me in my youth that I should prophesy unto the destruction of him that fostered me? and how then was I granted at the request of my mother? and who is he that brought me up? how hath he charged me to bear evil tidings? 12. And Samuel arose in the morning and would not tell it unto Heli. And Heli said unto him: Hear now, my son. Behold, before thou wast born God promised Israel that he would send thee unto them to prophesy. And now, when thy mother came hither and prayed, for she knew not that which had been done, I said unto her: Go forth, for that which shall be born of thee shall be a son unto me. Thus spake I unto thy mother, and thus hath the Lord directed thy way.

And even if thou chasten thy nursing-father, as the Lord liveth, hide thou not from me the things that thou hast heard.

13. Then Samuel was afraid, and told him all the words that he had heard. And he said: Can the thing formed answer him that formed it? So also can I not answer when he will take away that which he hath given, even the faithful giver, the holy one which hath prophesied, for I am subject unto his power.

CHAPTER 54

1. And in those days the Philistines assembled their camp to fight against Israel, and the children of Israel went out to fight with them. And when the people of Israel had been put to flight in the first battle, they said: Let us bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord, peradventure it will fight with us, because in it are the testimonies of the Lord which he ordained unto our fathers in Oreb. 2. And as the ark went up with them, when it was come into the camp, the Lord thundered and said: This time shall be likened unto that which was in the wilderness, when they took the ark without my commandment, and destruction befel them. So also, at this time, shall the people fall, and the ark shall be taken, that I may punish the adversaries of my people because of the ark, and rebuke my people because they have sinned.

3. And when the ark was come into the battle, the Philistines went forth to meet the children of Israel, and smote them. And there was there a certain Golia, a Philistine, which came even unto the ark, and Ophni and Phinees the sons of Heli and Saul the son of Cis held the ark. And Golia took it with his left hand and slew Ophni and Phinees. 4. But Saul, because he was light on his feet, fled from before him; and he rent his clothes, and put ashes on his head, and came unto Heli the priest. And Heli said unto him: Tell me what hath befallen in the camp? And Saul said unto him: Why askest thou me these things? for the people is overcome, and God hath forsaken Israel. Yea, and the priests also are slain with the sword, and the ark is delivered unto the Philistines.

5. And when Heli heard of the taking of the ark, he said: Behold, Samuel prophesied of me and my sons that we should die together, but the ark he named not unto me. And now the testimonies are delivered up unto the enemy, and what can I more say? Behold, Israel is perished from the truth, for the judgements are taken away from him. And because Heli despaired wholly, he fell off from his seat. And they died in one day, even Heli and

Ophni and Phinees his sons. 6. And Heli's son's wife sat and travailed; and when she heard these things, all her bowels were melted. And the midwife said unto her: Be of good cheer, neither let thy soul faint, for a son is born to thee. And she said to her: Lo now is one soul born and we four die, that is, my father and his two sons and his daughter-in-law. And she called his name, Where is the glory? saying: The glory of God is perished in Israel because the ark of the Lord is taken captive. And when she had thus said she gave up the ghost.

CHAPTER 55

1. But Samuel knew nothing of all these things, because three days before the battle God sent him away, saying unto him: Go and look upon the place of Arimatha, there shall be thy dwelling. And when Samuel heard what had befallen Israel, he came and prayed unto the Lord, saying: Behold, now, in vain is understanding denied unto me that I might see the destruction of my people. And now I fear lest my days grow old in evil and my years be ended in sorrow, for whereas the ark of the Lord is not with me, why should I yet live? 2. And the Lord said unto him: Be not grieved, Samuel, that the ark is taken away. I will bring it again, and them that have taken it will I overthrow, and will avenge my people of their enemies. And Samuel said: Lo, even if thou avenge them in time, according to thy longsuffering, yet what shall we do which die now? And God said to him: Before thou diest thou shalt see the end which I will bring upon mine enemies, whereby the Philistines shall perish and shall be slain by scorpions and by all manner of noisome creeping things.

3. And when the Philistines had set the ark of the Lord that was taken in the temple of Dagon their god, and were come to enquire of Dagon concerning their going forth, they found him fallen on his face and his hands and feet laid before the ark. And they went forth on the first morning, having crucified his priests. And on the second day they came and found as on the day before, and the destruction was greatly multiplied among them. 4. Therefore the Philistines gathered together in Accaron, and said every man to his neighbour: Behold now, we see that the destruction is enlarged among us, and the fruit of our body perisheth, for the creeping things that are sent upon us destroy them that are with child and the sucklings and them also that give suck. And they said: Let us see wherefore the hand of the Lord is strong against us. Is it for the ark's sake? for every day is our god found fallen

upon his face before the ark, and we have slain our priests to no purpose once and again.

5. And the wise men of the Philistines said: Lo, now by this may we know if the Lord have sent destruction upon us for his ark's sake or if a chance affliction is come upon us for a season? 6. And now, whereas all that are with child and give suck die, and they that give suck are made childless, and they that are suckled perish, we also will take kine that give suck and yoke them to a new cart, and set the ark upon it, and shut up the young of the kine. And it shall be, if the kine indeed go forth, and turn not back to their young, we shall know that we have suffered these things for the ark's sake; but if they refuse to go, yearning after their young, we shall know that the time of our fall is come upon us. 7. And certain of the wise men and diviners answered: Assay ye not only this, but let us set the kine at the head of the three ways that are about Accaron. For the middle way leadeth to Accaron, and the way on the right hand to Judæa, and the way on the left hand to Samaria. And direct ye the kine that bear the ark in the middle way. And if they set forth by the right-hand way straight unto Judæa, we shall know that of a truth the God of the Jews hath laid us waste; but if they go by those other ways, we shall know that an evil (lit. mighty) time hath befallen us, for now have we denied our gods.

8. And the Philistines took milch kine and yoked them to a new cart and set the ark thereon, and set them at the head of the three ways, and their young they shut up at home. And the kine, albeit they lowed and yearned for their young, went forward nevertheless by the right-hand way that leadeth to Judæa. And then they knew that for the ark's sake they were laid waste. 9. And all the Philistines assembled and brought the ark again unto Silo with timbrels and pipes and dances. And because of the noisome creeping things that laid them waste, they made seats of gold and sanctified the ark. 10. And in that plaguing of the Philistines, the number was of them that died being with child 75,000, and of the sucking children 65,000, and of them that gave suck 55,000, and of men 25,000. And the land had rest seven years.

CHAPTER 56

1. And at that time the children of Israel required a king in their lust. And they gathered together unto Samuel, and said: Behold, now, thou art grown old, and thy sons walk not in the ways of the Lord; now, therefore, appoint a king over us to judge betwixt us, for the word is fulfilled which Moses spake

unto our fathers in the wilderness, saying: Thou shalt surely appoint over thee a prince of your brethren. 2. And when Samuel heard mention of the kingdom, he was sore grieved in his heart, and said: Behold now I see that there is no more (or not yet) for us a time of a perpetual kingdom, neither of building the house of the Lord our God, inasmuch as these desire a king before the time. And now, if the Lord refuse it altogether (or But even if the Lord so will), it seemeth unto me that a king cannot be established.

3. And the Lord said unto him in the night: Be not grieved, for I will send them a king which shall lay them waste, and he himself shall be laid waste thereafter. Now he that shall come unto thee to-morrow at the sixth hour, he it is that shall reign over them. 4. And on the next day, Saul, the son of Cis, was coming from Mount Effrem, seeking the asses of his father; and when he was come to Armathem, he entered in to inquire of Samuel for the asses. Now he was walking hard by Baam, and Saul said unto him: Where is he that seeth? For at that time a prophet was called Seer. And Samuel said unto him: I am he that seeth. And he said: Canst thou tell me of the asses of my father? for they are lost. 5. And Samuel said unto him: Refresh thyself with me this day, and in the morning I will tell thee that whereof thou camest to inquire. And Samuel said unto the Lord: Direct, O Lord, thy people, and reveal unto me what thou hast determined concerning them. And Saul refreshed himself with Samuel that day and rose in the morning. And Samuel said unto him: Behold, know thou that the Lord hath chosen thee to be prince over his people at this time, and hath raised up thy ways, and thy time shall be directed.

6. And Saul said to Samuel: Who am I, and what is my father's house, that my lord should speak thus unto me? For I understand not what thou sayest, because I am a youth. And Samuel said to Saul: Who will grant that thy word should come even unto accomplishment of itself, that thou mayest live many days? but consider this, that thy words shall be likened unto the words of a prophet, whose name shall be Hieremias. 7. And as Saul went away that day, the people came unto Samuel, saying: Give us a king as thou didst promise us. And he said to them: Behold, the king shall come unto you after three days. And lo, Saul came. And there befell him all the signs which Samuel had told him. Are not these things written in the book of the Kings?

CHAPTER 57

1. And Samuel sent and gathered all the people, and said unto them: Lo, ye and your king are here, and I am betwixt you, as the Lord commanded me. 2. And therefore I say unto you, before the face of your king, even as my lord Moses, the servant of God, said unto your fathers in the wilderness, when the synagogue of Core arose against him: Ye know that I have not taken aught of you, neither have I wronged any of you; and because certain lied at that time and said, Thou didst take, the earth swallowed them up. 3. Now, therefore, do ye whom the Lord hath not punished answer before the Lord and before his anointed, if it be for this cause that ye have required a king, because I have evil entreated you, and the Lord shall be your witness. But if now the word of the Lord is fulfilled, I am free, and my father's house.

4. And the people answered: We are thy servants and our king with us; because we are unworthy to be judged by a prophet, therefore said we: Appoint a king over us to judge us. And all the people and the king wept with a great lamentation, and said: Let Samuel the prophet live. And when the king was appointed they offered sacrifices unto the Lord. 5. And after that Saul fought with the Philistines one year, and the battle prospered greatly.

CHAPTER 58

1. And at that time the Lord said unto Samuel: Go and say unto Saul: Thou art sent to destroy Amalech, that the words may be fulfilled which Moses my servant spake saying: I will destroy the name of Amalech out of the land whereof I spake in mine anger. And forget not to destroy every soul of them as it is commanded thee. 2. And Saul departed and fought against Amalech, and saved alive Agag the king of Amalech because he said to him: I will shew thee hidden treasures. Therefore he spared him and saved him alive and brought him unto Armathem. 3. And God said unto Samuel: Hast thou seen how the king is corrupted with money even in a moment, and hath saved alive Agag king of Amalech and his wife? Now therefore suffer Agag and his wife to come together this night, and to-morrow thou shalt slay him; but his wife they shall preserve till she bring forth a male child, and then she also shall die, and he that is born of her shall be an offence unto Saul. But thou, arise on the morrow and slay Agag: for the sin of Saul is written before my face alway.

4. And when Samuel was risen on the morrow, Saul came forth to meet him and said unto him: The Lord hath delivered our enemies into our hands as he said. And Samuel said to Saul: Whom hath Israel wronged? for before the time was come that a king should rule over him, he demanded thee for his king, and thou, when thou wast sent to do the will of the Lord, hast transgressed it. Therefore he that was saved alive by thee shall die now, and those hidden treasures whereof he spake he shall not show thee, and he that is born of him shall be an offence unto thee. And Samuel came unto Agag with a sword and slew him, and returned unto his house.

CHAPTER 59

1. And the Lord said unto him: Go, anoint him whom I shall tell thee, for the time is fulfilled wherein his kingdom shall come. And Samuel said: Lo, wilt thou now blot out the kingdom of Saul? And he said: I will blot it out. 2. And Samuel went forth unto Bethel, and sanctified the elders, and Jesse, and his sons. And Eliab the firstborn of Jesse came. And Samuel said: Behold now the holy one, the anointed of the Lord. And the Lord said unto him: Where is thy vision which thine heart hath seen? Art not thou he that saidst unto Saul: I am he that seeth? And how knowest thou not whom thou must anoint? And now let this rebuke suffice thee, and seek out the shepherd, the least of them all, and anoint him. 3. And Samuel said unto Jesse: Hearken, Jesse, send and bring hither thy son from the flock, for him hath God chosen. And Jesse sent and brought David, and Samuel anointed him in the midst of his brethren. And the Lord was with him from that day forward.

4. Then David began to sing this psalm, and said: In the ends of the earth will I begin to glorify him, and unto everlasting days will I sing praises. Abel at the first when he fed the sheep, his sacrifice was acceptable rather than his brother's. And his brother envied him and slew him. But it is not so with me, for God hath kept me, and hath delivered me unto his angels and his watchers to keep me, for my brethren envied me, and my father and my mother made me of no account, and when the prophet came they called not for me, and when the Lord's anointed was proclaimed they forgot me. But God came near unto me with his right hand, and with his mercy: therefore will I not cease to sing praises all the days of my life. 5. And as David yet spake, behold a fierce lion out of the wood and a she-bear out of the mountain took the bulls of David. And David said: Lo, this shall be a sign unto me for a mighty beginning of my victory in the battle. I will go out after them and deliver

that which is carried off and will slay them. And David went out after them and took stones out of the wood and slew them. And God said unto him: Lo, by stones have I delivered thee these beasts in thy sight. And this shall be a sign unto thee that hereafter thou shalt slay with stones the adversary of my people.

CHAPTER 60

1. And at that time the spirit of the Lord was taken away from Saul, and an evil spirit oppressed (lit. choked) him. And Saul sent and fetched David, and he played a psalm upon his harp in the night. And this is the psalm which he sang unto Saul that the evil spirit might depart from him. 2. There were darkness and silence before the world was, and the silence spake, and the darkness became visible. And then was thy name created, even at the drawing together of that which was stretched out, whereof the upper was called heaven and the lower was called earth. And it was commanded to the upper that it should rain according to its season, and to the lower that it should bring forth food for man that should be made. And after that was the tribe of your spirits made. 3. Now therefore, be not injurious, whereas thou art a second creation, but if not, then remember Hell (lit. be mindful of Tartarus) wherein thou walkedst. Or is it not enough for thee to hear that by that which resoundeth before thee I sing unto many? Or forgettest thou that out of a rebounding echo in the abyss (or chaos) thy creation was born? But that new womb shall rebuke thee, whereof I am born, of whom shall be born after a time of my loins he that shall subdue you.

And when David sung praises, the spirit spared Saul.

CHAPTER 61

1. And after these things the Philistines came to fight against Israel. And David was returned to the wilderness to feed his sheep, and the Madianites came and would have taken his sheep, and he came down unto them and fought against them and slew of them 15,000 men. This is the first battle that David fought, being in the wilderness. 2. And there came a man out of the camp of the Philistines by name Golia, and he looked upon Saul and upon Israel and said: Art not thou Saul which fleddest before me when I took the ark from you and slew your priests? And now that thou reignest, wilt thou come down unto me like a man and a king and fight against us? If not, I will come unto thee, and will cause thee to be taken captive, and thy people

to serve our gods. And when Saul and Israel heard that, they feared greatly. And the Philistine said: According to the number of the days wherein Israel feasted when they received the law in the wilderness, even 40 days, I will reproach them, and after that I will fight with them.

3. And it came to pass when the 40 days were fulfilled, and David was come to see the battle of his brethren, that he heard the words which the Philistine spake, and said: Is this peradventure the time whereof God said unto me: I will deliver the adversary of my people into thy hand by stones? 4. And Saul heard these words and sent and took him and said: What was the speech which thou spakest unto the people? And David said: Fear not, O king, for I will go and fight against the Philistine, and God will take away the hatred and reproach from Israel. 5. And David went forth and took 7 stones and wrote upon them the names of his fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and Aaron, and his own name, and the name of the Most Mighty. And God sent Cervihel, the angel that is over strength.

6. And David went forth unto Golia and said unto him: Hear a word before thou diest. Were not the two women of whom thou and I were born sisters? and thy mother was Orpha and my mother was Ruth. And Orpha chose for herself the gods of the Philistines and went after them, but Ruth chose for herself the ways of the Most Mighty and walked in them. And now thou and thy brethren are born of Orpha, and as thou art arisen this day and come to lay Israel waste, behold, I also that am born of thy kindred am come to avenge my people. For thy three brethren also shall fall into my hands after thy death. And then shall ye say unto your mother: He that was born of thy sister hath not spared us. 7. And David put a stone in his sling and smote the Philistine in his forehead, and ran upon him and drew his sword out of the sheath and took his head from him. And Golia said unto him while his life was yet in him: Hasten and slay me and rejoice.

8. And David said unto him: Before thou diest, open thine eyes and behold thy slayer which hath killed thee. And the Philistine looked and saw the angel and said: Thou hast not killed me by thyself, but he that was with thee, whose form is not as the form of a man. And then David took his head from him. 9. And the angel of the Lord lifted up the face of David and no man knew him. And when Saul saw David he asked him who he was, and there was no man that knew him who he was.

CHAPTER 62

1. And after these things Saul envied David and sought to kill him. But David and Jonathan, Saul's son, made a covenant together. And when David saw that Saul sought to kill him, he fled unto Armathem; and Saul went out after him. 2. And the spirit abode in Saul, and he prophesied, saying: Why art thou deceived, O Saul, or whom dost thou persecute in vain? The time of thy kingdom is fulfilled. Go unto thy place, for thou shalt die and David shall reign. Shalt not thou and thy son die together? And then shall the kingdom of David appear. And the spirit departed from Saul, and he knew not what he had prophesied. 3. But David came unto Jonathan and said unto him: Come and let us make a covenant before we be parted one from the other. For Saul, thy father, seeketh to slay me without cause. And since he hath perceived that thou lovest me he telleth thee not what he deviseth concerning me.

4. But for this cause he hateth me, because thou lovest me, and lest I should reign in his stead. And whereas I have done him good he requiteth me with evil. And whereas I slew Golia by the word of the Most Mighty, see thou what an end he purposeth for me. For he hath determined concerning my father's house, to destroy it. And would that the judgement of truth might be put in the balance, that the multitude of the prudent might hear the sentence. 5. And now I fear lest he kill me and lose his own life for my sake. For he shall never shed innocent blood without punishment. Wherefore should my soul suffer persecution? For I was the least among my brethren, feeding the sheep, and wherefore am I in peril of death? For I am righteous and have none iniquity. And wherefore doth thy father hate me? Yet the righteousness of my father shall help me that I fall not into thy father's hands. And seeing I am young and tender of age, it is to no purpose that Saul envieth me.

6. If I had wronged him, I would pray him to forgive me the sin. For if God forgiveth iniquity, how much more thy father who is flesh and blood? I have walked in his house with a perfect heart, yea, I grew up before his face like a swift eagle. I put mine hands unto the harp and blessed him in songs, and he hath devised to slay me, and like a sparrow that fleeth before the face of the hawk, so have I fled before his face. 7. Unto whom have I spoken this, or unto whom have I told the things that I have suffered save unto thee and Melchol thy sister? For as for both of us, let us go together in truth. 8. And it were better, my brother, that I should be slain in battle than that I should

fall into the hands of thy father: for in the battle mine eyes were looking on every side that I might defend him from his enemies. O my brother Jonathan, hear my words, and if there be iniquity in me, reprove me.

9. And Jonathan answered and said: Come unto me, my brother David, and I will tell thee thy righteousness. My soul pineth away sore at thy sadness because now we are parted one from another. And this have our sins compelled, that we should be parted from one another. But let us remember one another day and night while we live. And even if death part us, yet I know that our souls will know one another. For thine is the kingdom in this world, and of thee shall be the beginning of the kingdom, and it cometh in its time. 10. And now, like a child that is weaned from its mother, even so shall be our separation. Let the heaven be witness and let the earth be witness of those things which we have spoken together. And let us weep each with the other and lay up our tears in one vessel and commit the vessel to the earth, and it shall be a testimony unto us.

11. And they bewailed each one the other sore, and kissed one another. But Jonathan feared and said unto David: Let us remember, O my brother, the covenant that is made betwixt us, and the oath which is set in our heart. And if I die before thee and thou indeed reign, as the Lord hath spoken, be not mindful of the anger of my father, but of the covenant which is made betwixt me and thee. Neither think upon the hatred wherewith my father hateth thee in vain but upon my love wherewith I have loved thee. Neither think upon that wherein my father was unthankful unto thee, but remember the table whereat we have eaten together. Neither keep in mind the envy wherewith my father envied thee evilly, but the faith which I and thou keep. Neither care thou for the lie wherewith Saul hath lied, but for the oaths that we have sworn one to another. And they kissed one another. And after that David departed into the wilderness, and Jonathan went into the city.

CHAPTER 63

1. At that time the priests that dwelt in Noba were polluting the holy things of the Lord and making the firstfruits a reproach unto the people. And God was wroth and said: Behold, I will wipe out the priests that dwell in Noba, because they walk in the ways of the sons of Heli. 2. And at that time came Doeck the Syrian, which was over Saul's mules, unto Saul and said unto him: Knowest thou not that Abimelec the priest taketh counsel with David and hath given him a sword and sent him away in peace? And Saul sent and called

Abimelec and said unto him: Thou shalt surely die, because thou hast taken counsel with mine enemy. And Saul slew Abimelec and all his father's house, and there was not so much as one of his tribe delivered save only Abiathar his son. The same came to David and told him all that had befallen him.

3. And God said: Behold, in the year when Saul began to reign, when Jonathan had sinned and he would have put him to death, this people rose up and suffered him not, and now when the priests were slain, even 385 men, they kept silence and said nothing. Therefore, lo, the days shall come quickly that I will deliver them into the hands of their enemies and they shall fall down wounded, they and their king. 4. And unto Doech the Syrian thus said the Lord: Behold, the days shall come quickly that the worm shall come up upon his tongue and shall cause him to pine away, and his dwelling shall be with Jair for ever in the fire that is not quenched. 5. Now all that Saul did, and the rest of his words, and how he pursued after David, are they not written in the book of the kings of Israel?

6. And after these things Samuel died, and all Israel gathered together and mourned him, and buried him.

CHAPTER 64

1. Then Saul took thought, saying: I will surely take away the sorcerers out of the land of Israel. So shall men remember me after my departure. And Saul scattered all the sorcerers out of the land. And God said: Behold, Saul hath taken away the sorcerers out of the land, not because of the fear of me, but that he might make himself a name. Behold, whom he hath scattered, unto them let him resort, and get divination from them, because he hath no prophets. 2. At that time the Philistines said every man to his neighbour: Behold, Samuel the prophet is dead and there is none that prayeth for Israel. David, also, which fought for them, is become Saul's adversary and is not with them. Now, therefore, let us arise and fight mightily against them, and avenge the blood of our fathers. And the Philistines assembled themselves and came up to battle.

3. And when Saul saw that Samuel was dead and David was not with him, his hands were loosened. And he inquired of the Lord, and he hearkened not unto him. And he sought prophets, and none appeared unto him. And Saul said unto the people: Let us seek out a diviner and inquire of him that which I have in mind. And the people answered him: Behold, now there is a woman named Sedecla, the daughter of Debin (or Adod) the Madianite, which de-

ceived the people of Israel with sorceries: and lo she dwelleth in Endor. 4. And Saul put on vile raiment and went unto her, he and two men with him, by night and said unto her: Raise up unto me Samuel. And she said: I am afraid of the king Saul. And Saul said unto her: Thou shalt not be harmed of Saul in this matter. And Saul said within himself: When I was king in Israel, even though the Gentiles saw me not, yet knew they that I was Saul. And Saul asked the woman, saying: Hast thou seen Saul at any time? And she said: Oftentimes. And Saul went out and wept and said: Lo, now I know that my beauty is changed, and that the glory of my kingdom is passed from me.

5. And it came to pass, when the woman saw Samuel coming up, and beheld Saul with him, that she cried out and said: Behold, thou art Saul, wherefore hast thou deceived me? And he said unto her: Fear not, but tell me what thou sawest. And she said: Lo, these 40 years have I raised up the dead for the Philistines, but this appearance hath not been seen, neither shall it be seen hereafter. 6. And Saul said unto her: What is his form? And she said: Thou inquirest of me concerning the gods. For, behold, his form is not the form of a man. For he is arrayed in a white robe and hath a mantle upon it, and two angels leading him. And Saul remembered the mantle which Samuel had rent while he lived, and he smote his hands together and cast himself upon the earth. 7. And Samuel said unto him: Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up? I thought that the time was come for me to receive the reward of my deeds. Therefore boast not thyself, O king, neither thou, O woman. For it is not ye that have brought me up, but the precept which God spake unto me while I yet lived, that I should come and tell thee that thou hadst sinned yet the second time in neglecting God. For this cause are my bones disturbed after that I had rendered up my soul, that I should speak unto thee, and that being dead I should be heard as one living.

8. Now therefore to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me, when the people are delivered into the hands of the Philistines. And because thy bowels have been moved with jealousy, therefore that that is thine shall be taken from thee. And Saul heard the words of Samuel, and his soul melted and he said: Behold, I depart to die with my sons, if perchance my destruction may be an atonement for mine iniquities. And Saul arose and departed thence.

CHAPTER 65

1. And the Philistines fought against Israel. And Saul went out to battle. And Israel fled before the Philistines: and when Saul saw that the battle waxed hard exceedingly, he said in his heart: Wherefore strengthenest thou thyself to live, seeing Samuel hath proclaimed death unto thee and to thy sons? 2. And Saul said to him that bare his armour: Take thy sword and slay me before the Philistines come and abuse me. And he that bare his armour would not lay hands upon him. 3. And he himself bowed upon his sword, and he could not die. And he looked behind him and saw a man running and called unto him and said: Take my sword and slay me. For my life is yet in me. 4. And he came to slay him. And Saul said unto him: Before thou kill me, tell me, who art thou? And he said unto him: I am Edab, the son of Agag king of the Amalechites. And Saul said: Behold, now the words of Samuel are come upon me even as he said: He that shall be born of Agag shall be an offence unto thee.

5. But go thou and say unto David: I have slain thine enemy. And thou shalt say unto him: Thus saith Saul: Be not mindful of my hatred, neither of mine unrighteousness....

The Sibylline Oracles

TRANSLATED BY MILTON S. TERRY

2nd century BC to 5th century AD

Twelve books of Greek hexameter oracles in the name of the Sibyl, in Terry's English blank verse, together with the two fragments of a lost proem that Theophilus of Antioch quotes. The books are Jewish and Christian writings of the second century BC to the fifth century AD that foretell judgement on the nations, praise the one God and mock idols. Terry's edition has twelve books because the Greek books numbered IX and X in other editions are not found in the manuscripts he used, so his last four books are numbered IX to XII, with the manuscript numbers XI to XIV in brackets.

PROEM: FIRST FRAGMENT

¹ Ye mortal men and fleshly, who are nought, / How soon are ye puffed up,
nor see life's end! / Ye tremble not, and have no fear of God, / Your Overseer,
the Most High One, who knows, The All-Observer, witness of all things, /
All-nourishing Creator, who in all / Implanted his sweet Spirit, and made
him / The guide of mortal men. One God there is / Who reigns alone, su-
premely great, unborn, Almighty and invisible, himself / Alone beholding
all things, but unseen / Is he himself by any mortal flesh. / For who is able
with the eyes of flesh / To see the heavenly, true, immortal God, Whose
dwelling is the sky? Not in the beams / Of the bright sun can men endure to
stand, / Mortal-born men, mere veins and flesh in bones. / Honor him, then,
sole ruler of the world, / Who only through eternal ages bides,

² The self-existent, unbegotten One, / Ruling all things through all, and
to all men / Imparting judgment in a common light. / Of evil counsels ye
shall surely have / The merited reward, because ye failed To glorify the true,
eternal God, / And offer him the holy hecatombs, / But unto demons made
your sacrifice— / Even those in Hades. And ye walk about / In pride and
madness, leave the path of right, And go away among the thorns and briers. /
Why do ye wander? Pause, O foolish ones, / Who rove in darkness, and black

night obscure, / And leave night's darkness, and receive the light. / Lo, he is clear to all, he cannot err. Come, chase not gloom and darkness evermore. / Behold, the sun's sweet light shines wondrous fair. / Know how to treasure wisdom in your hearts. / There is one God who sends rain, earthquakes, winds, / Lightnings and famines, plagues and mournful cares,

3 And snows and ice. But why should I speak all? / He governs heaven, rules earth, and self-exists.

PROEM: SECOND FRAGMENT

1 But if all that is born must also perish, / It cannot be from thighs of man and wife / God has been formed. But God is one alone, / Highest of all. He has made heaven, and sun, And stars, and moon, and the fruit-bearing earth, / And ocean's swelling streams, and lofty hills, / And the perennial fountains. And he brought / The countless millions of the waters forth; / And nourished life in all the creeping things That move on earth, and clear-toned twittering birds / Of various colors, and of whizzing wings, / That cleave the air. And in the mountain glades / Disposed he the wild races of the beasts, / And to us mortals made subordinate All cattle; the God-formed one made chief / Of all things; and subordinate to man / He put all variegated forms of life, / And things that are incomprehensible. / For all these things what mortal flesh can know?

2 He only knows who himself made these things / From the beginning, incorruptible / Creator, everlasting One, who dwells / In the pure ether. He rewards the good / With an abundant bounty, but fierce wrath He rouses for the wicked and unjust, / And war, and pestilence, and tearful woes. / O men, why vainly puffed up do ye bring / Yourselves to ruin? Blush to deify / Polecats and monstrous beasts. And is it not A madness and a frenzy of the mind / If gods steal plates, and plunder earthen pots? / And when they might inhabit in their power / The golden heaven, see them moth-eaten there, / And thickly woven under spiders' webs! Ye worship serpents, dogs, cats—O ye fools, / And reverence birds, and creeping things of earth, / Stone images and statues made with hands, / And stone heaps by the roads. These ye revere, / And also many foolish things besides,

3 Which it would even be a shame to tell. / These are the baneful gods of thoughtless men, / And from their mouth pours deadly poison down. / But of him is life and perennial light / Imperishable, and he sheds a joy Sweeter than honey on the sons of men. / For him alone should any bend the neck /

And tread the eternal paths of piety. / Leaving all those, the full cup of revenge, / Pure, strong, pressed down and unadulterated, Drain off with madly eager soul, all ye. / But ye will not arouse you from your sleep / And come to sober reason, and know God, / The mighty King, who oversees all things. / Therefore on you the flame of burning fire Is coming; ye through ages every day / Shall be by gleaming torches set on fire, / For false and worthless idols put to shame. / But they who fear God and eternal truth, / Life shall inherit, and forever dwell

4 Amid the verdant fields of Paradise, / Feasting on sweet bread from the starry heaven.

BOOK I

1 Beginning with the earliest race of men, / Even to the latest, I will prophesy / Of all things past, and present, and to come / In the world through the wickedness of men. And first, God bids me utter how the world / Came into being. And do thou declare, / O crafty mortal—prudently declare, / Lest ever thou disparage my commands— / How the celestial King, who made the world And all things, said: Let it be, and it was. / For he the earth established, casting it / Round about Tartarus; and he gave forth / The soft sweet light, and raised the heaven on high, / And spread abroad the ocean's blue expanse, And crowned the pole with hosts of brilliant stars, / And decked the earth with plants, and mixed the sea / With rivers, and the air with vapors fused, / And watery clouds. And then another race / He put forth, fishes in the seas, and gave

2 Birds to the blowing winds, and to the woods / The shaggy beasts, and crawling dragons vile, / And all things whatsoever now are seen. / These made he by his word, and all was done / Quickly and well. For he as self-produced Existed sole, and looked from heaven down; / And the world was complete. And then again, / He fashioned afterward a living work, / Man, after his own image, newly formed, / Beautiful, godlike, whom in Paradise Ambrosial he assigned a dwelling-place, / Where elegant labors might become his care. / But in that verdant field of Paradise / He was alone; discourse he longed to hold, / And much desired another form to see Like to himself. Then opened God his side / And from it took a bone, and made fair Eve, / His wedded spouse, and in that Paradise / Brought her to dwell with him. On her he gazed, / And a great admiration held his soul,

3 Being suddenly rejoiced to look upon / A pattern so exact. And with wise words / He answered, words that flowed spontaneously; / For God cares for all things. And neither lust / Obscured their minds, nor from a sense of shame Were they clothed, but remote from evil hearts, Even like beasts they walked with limbs exposed. Then to them also God commandments gave, And showed them that they must not touch the tree. But the vile serpent led them off by guile To meet the doom of death, and to receive Knowledge of good and evil. But the wife First became traitress to him; she gave him, And foolishly persuaded him to sin; And he, persuaded by the woman's words, Forgetful of the immortal Maker grew, And treated plain commandments with despite. Therefore instead of good received he evil, According to his deed. And then, the leaves Of the sweet fig-tree sewing, they prepared

4 Garments for one another, and concealed The sexual parts, because they were ashamed. But on them the Immortal set his wrath, And forth he cast them from the immortal field. For it was now appointed unto men To dwell upon the soil, since he kept not The word of God, the Immortal, Mighty, High. Then went they forth upon the fertile globe, Moistened with tears and sobs, and God himself, The Immortal, spoke these memorable words: "Increase and multiply, and work on earth With skillful hand, that by your toilsome sweat Ye may receive sufficiency of food." Thus spoke he; but the author of deceit Prone on the dusty earth he made to crawl, And harshly banished; and dire enmity He sent between them; this to save his head / Is watchful; man his heel; for death is near, / Neighbor of men and poisonous vipers sly. / And then the race was multiplied, as bade

5 Himself the almighty Ruler, and increased / One nation with another far and wide. / Houses of various sorts they reared aloft, / And cities and their walls they builded well / And wisely. And a long-continuing day Was given them for the life they loved so much. / For they died not by grievous ills consumed, / But as overcome by sleep. Happy the men / Of great soul whom the immortal Saviour loved, / The King most high. But also they transgressed, And gave themselves to folly; for bold-faced / They mocked their fathers, and their mothers shamed; / Acquaintances they knew not, and they met / Brothers with treason. Then became they vile, / And armed with helmets red with human gore They also made wars; and upon them fell / The last calamity from heaven sent forth, / And took life's fears away, and Hades then / Re-

ceived them. Hades it was called where first / Adam arrived when he had tasted death

6 And earth had covered him on all sides round. / Therefore all earthborn men are said to go / Into the halls of Hades. But all these / Having arrived in Hades have received / Honor, for they to the first race belonged. But when these he had taken, then again / Of the surviving and most righteous men / Another race he formed, much varied, which displayed / Works pleasing, good, and fair, and high respect, / And thorough wisdom. They brought forward arts Of all kinds, meeting difficulties with skill. / And one devised to till the land with plows, / Another worked in wood; one sailed the deep, / Another made a study of the stars; / Another practiced augury with birds; Sorcery and magic arts were others' care; / Others intently practiced other arts, / Watchful inventors, worthy of the name / Because within they held a sleepless mind. / Immense in body, and to look upon

7 Compact and huge were they, but they went down / Under Tartarean chambers terrible, / Held in strong chains to expiate their crimes / In the Gehenna of burning, quenchless fire. / And after these again appeared a race, Mighty-souled, third race of perfidious men. / Fearful and many were the evil deeds / They wrought among themselves. And these by war / And carnage and calamity were slain / Continually, having a haughty heart. And from these afterward another race / Proceeded, late completed, fit for war, / Murderous and rash; of the fourth race were they. / Much blood they shed, nor feared they God or man, / For fierce, excessive passion urged them on, And impious wickedness. And they by wars, / Carnage, and strife were hurled to Erebus, / Wretched and impious men. Them that survived / The heavenly God himself in wrath removed / Out of his world, and in vast Tartarus

8 Cast down, beneath the bottom of the earth. / Again thereafter yet another race / Much worse than men he made, for whom no good / Will ever the immortal God prepare, / Since they wrought many evils. For they were Wanton and violent beyond compare, / Giants perverse, uttering foul blasphemies. / Single among all men, most just and true, / Was Noah, faithful, and to all good works / Attentive. And to him the Lord himself From heaven spoke these things: "Noah, be thou bold, / And preach repentance to the people all, / That they may all be saved. But they will not / Regard it, having souls devoid of shame, / And all the impious race will I destroy With mighty floods of waters. But straightway / I bid thee from the non-imbibing root /

An indestructible house of wood to build. / I will put understanding in thy heart, / And skill in art, and measurement, and space, And in all things will I have anxious care / That thou be saved and all that with thee dwell. / Now I am he who is (and in thy heart / Meditate it); I clothe me with the sky / And cast the sea around me; and to me

9 Earth is a footstool. Round my form I pour / The air, and all around me dance the stars. / Nine letters have I, and four syllables. / Mark me: The first three have two letters each, / The other has the rest, and five are mutes. Of the whole sum the hundreds are twice eight, / And thrice three tens, with seven. Know who I am / And be not unacquainted with my love." / Thus he spoke, and a mighty trembling seized / Him who heard such things, and then in his mind, Having prepared each matter, he implored / The people and began with words like these: / "O men, filled with all unbelief and fallen / In madness great, ye will not hide from God / Whate'er ye do, for all things he beholds, Immortal Saviour, all-surveying. He / Bade me exhort you that ye perish not. / Be sober, cease ye from your wicked deeds, / Nor fiercely fight, nor hold a murderous heart, / Nor moisten many a land with human gore.

10 Adore, O mortals, the supremely great / And fearless heavenly Maker, the great God, / Imperishable, whose dwelling is the sky; / And him let all entreat, for he is good; / Entreat him for the life of all the world, Of cities and four-footed beasts and birds, / That unto all he may be merciful. / For when the whole vast world of men shall be / By waters ruined, ye'll wail a dreadful song. / And suddenly to you the ambient air Will be unsettled, and the wrath of God / Will come from heaven upon you; and be sure / On men the immortal Saviour it will send, / Unless God ye appease, and now repent, / And unto one another be no more So petulant and wicked and unjust, / But with a holy life be fortified." / But when they heard him each turned up his nose;

11 / They called him mad, a man with frenzy fired. / And then again did Noah sound this strain: "O cowardly, vile-hearted, wavering men, / Forsaking reverence and loving shame, / Rapacious tyrants, violent transgressors, / Liars, filled with all unbelief, untrue, / Workers of evil, sly adulterers, Flip-pant, and pouring slanders forth, the wrath / Of God ye do not fear, and ye are kept / To the fifth generation to atone. / Ye nowise weep, ye monsters, but ye laugh. / Sardonic smiles will ye laugh, let me say, When God's approach-

ing fearful flood shall come; / When a pure race on earth the wave renews, /
Springing perennial from the dry, dead roots; / In one night root and branch
becomes unknown, / And cities with their people from the deep The Earth-
shaker scatters and their walls destroys. / And then the whole world of un-
numbered men / Shall die. But how will I weep, how lament / In wooden
house! How mingle tears with waves! / For if the waters at God's word shall
come,

12 Earth shall swim, hills swim, even air shall swim; / Water shall be all
over, and all things / Shall be destroyed by waters. And the winds / Shall
stand still, and a second age shall dawn. / O Phrygian, from the lofty water
first To go forth, thou another race of men / Shalt nourish up, as from an-
other new / Beginning, and shalt be a nurse for all." / But when he to that
lawless generation / Had vainly spoken thus, then the Most High Revealed
himself, and called again, and said: / "The time has come, O Noah, to make
known / Each thing, whatever daily I to thee / Have promised and decreed;
to execute / In all the world, because of human guilt, All things, whatever
myriad wrongs were done / By former generations. But do thou / Make haste
and enter with thy sons, and wife, / And their wives. Call as many as I bid, /
The tribes of beasts and creeping things and birds,

13 And in the breasts of such as I ordain / To keep alive will I then straight
impart / The prompt and willing mind to enter in." / Thus he spoke; and he
went and cried aloud. / And then his spouse and sons and their young wives
Entered the house of wood. And then straightway / Went every other thing,
even as God willed. / But when the key was fitted to the lid, / Adjusted cross-
wise in its polished place, / Then was the will of the celestial God Accom-
plished. Then he drove the gloomy clouds / Together, and concealed the
sun's bright disk, / And moon and stars and circle of the heavens, / Obscur-
ing all things; and loud thunders rolled, / Terror of mortals, and the light-
nings flashed; And all the winds together were aroused, / And all the streams
of waters were unloosed, / And from heaven opened mighty cataracts, / And
earth's recesses and the tireless deep / Disclosed their myriad waters, and the
wide

14 Illimitable earth was covered o'er. / But that divine house floated with
the storm, / And, tossed by many a furious wave and swept / By blast of winds
along, rose fearfully. / But still the keel cut through the mass of foam, While
the loud-murmuring waters dashed around. / But when the whole world God

had drowned with rains, / In Noah's mind 'twas given to understand / The purpose of the Immortal; and he went / Sufficiently in Nereus. But straight-way The lid he lifted from the polished wall, / Where crosswise it was joined with skillful stays, / And, looking out upon the mighty mass / Of boundless waters, Noah's eyes surveyed / Death all around. Fear seized him, and his heart Quaked mightily. And then the wind was stayed / A little, for it had toiled many days / To wet the whole world; then it broke apart, / Disclosing, as if pale and stained with blood, / The great and fiery surface of the sky

15 Hard toil-worn. Noah difficulty held / His courage. And procuring then a dove, / He sent her forth alone to learn if the earth / Appeared yet solid; but with wearied wing / She flew around all things and returned again, For the great water was not yet assuaged, / For greatly was it filling every place. / But having rested other days, he sent / The dove again, to learn if yet had ceased / The many waters; and she flew afar And went upon the earth, and having paused / To rest a little on the humid ground, / Again to Noah back she came, and bore / An olive-branch, the sign of tidings great. / Then was he full of boldness and great joy, For earth he hoped to look upon again. / And thereupon another bird, black-winged, / He straight sent forth; and, trusting in his wings, / He promptly flew, and coming to the earth, / Remained there. Then knew Noah that the land

16 Was very near. But when the ark had tossed / Here and there on the furious waves, controlled / By skill divine, it swam o'er the sea's surge, / And was made fast upon the narrow shore. / There is upon the Phrygian mainland dark A steep, tall mountain, Ararat by name, / Because thereon all were to be restored; / And in it there is great and strong desire. / There the great river Marsyas draws his streams. / There the ark rested on the lofty height, The waters ceasing. Then again from heaven / Uttered the holy voice of the great God / This word: "O rescued Noah, faithful, just, / Come boldly forth with thy sons and thy wife / And their three young wives, and fill all the earth, Increasing, multiplying, rendering justice / One to another, on from age to age, / Until to judgment all the race of men / Comes, for a judgment shall be unto all." / Thus spoke the heavenly voice, and Noah rushed

17 As from his couch forth boldly on the earth, / And his sons with him, his wife, and their wives, / And creeping things, and birds, and quadrupeds; / And all else from the wooden house went forth / Into one place. And then, most just of men, Went Noah forth, the eighth, having fulfilled / Upon the

waters twice one hundred days / And one; such was the will of the great God. / Then a new age of life again appeared, / First golden, which was now the sixth and best Since man was first formed; heavenly it was called, / Because in all things it had care toward God. / O prime race of the generation sixth! / O mighty joy which I shall then obtain / When I escape dire ruin, having been Much tossed with mine espoused, and brothers-in-law, / And husband's father and with husband's mother, / And having suffered with the wives like me. / Now I will sing: a many-colored flower / Shall on the fig-tree bloom, and in mid-time

18 The royal power and scepter it shall show. / For three kings, great-souled and most just of men, / Shall show the lots and reign full many a year, / Awarding justice unto men, to whom / Labor and amiable deeds are dear. And earth productive shall show many fruits / Spontaneous, and yield much corn for the race. / And then the nursing fathers, far apart / From cold dire plagues, shall not be growing old / All their days; they will die as cast in sleep, And pass down to the Acheronian shores, / In Hades' habitations, and down there / Shall they have honor. For they were a race / Of blessed ones, fortunate heroes, whom / The God of Sabaoth gave a noble mind; And they shall ever in his counsels share. / And blessed shall they be, even though they come / To Hades. Then again rose fierce and strong / Another second race of earthborn men, / The Titans. Like in form were each and all,

19 In aspect, size, and nature; and their speech / Was one, like that which from the earliest race / God formerly implanted in their minds. / But these with haughty heart against the Highest / Took counsel, hastening to destruction on, And waging war against the starry heaven. / And then would the great ocean's flood have poured / Its maddened waters on them, but the great / Sabaoth checked and held it, though incensed, / For he had promised not to bring again A deluge on malevolent mankind. / But when the many waters' boundless flood, / Wave rolling here and there on wave, he made / From wrath to cease, the great high-thundering God / In other depths of ocean, less profound, Marked off the land by harbors and rough shores. / And then the Child of the great God to men / Shall come incarnate, being fashioned like / To mortals on the earth. And he shall bear / Four vowels, and the consonants in him

20 Two times are told; and the whole sum I name: / For eight ones, and as many tens to these, / And yet eight hundred will the name reveal / To men

who are given up to unbelief. / Now do thou in thy heart consider Christ,
The Child of the immortal God most high; / He shall fulfill God's law, and
not destroy; / His image he shall bear, and teach all things. / To him shall
priests come bearing gold and myrrh / And frankincense; for all things will
he do. But when a voice shall come through desert land / Preaching to men,
and all, with a loud cry, / Make straight the ways, and cast forth wickedness /
Out of the heart, and let men's bodies all / By water be illumined, that, being
born From above, they may never more at all / Turn from the righteous
(now, won by the dance, / His head will one of barbarous mind cut off, / And
give for a reward), then shall a sign / Suddenly be to men, when, guarded
well,

21 From Egypt's land shall come a beautiful stone, / At which the Hebrews
shall be scandalized, / But nations shall be gathered, led by him, / For God
who rules on high shall be made known / Through him, and a way in a com-
mon light. For life eternal he'll show men elect, / But for the lawless lasting
fire prepare. / And then the sick will he heal, and all men / Worthy of blame,
who will show faith in him. / Then shall the blind see, and the lame shall
walk, The deaf shall hearken, and the dumb shall speak, / Demons be cast
out, and the dead be raised, / Billows he'll walk, and in the desert place, /
From five loaves and a fish of the deep sea, / Will sate five thousand, and what
then remains Will fill twelve baskets for the virgin pure. / And then will Is-
rael, drunken, not perceive, / Nor shall they hear, weighed down by sickly
ears. / But when the burning wrath of the Most High / Upon the Hebrews
comes, and from them faith

22 Be taken away, because the heavenly Child / Of God they injured, then
will Israel give / With foul lips buffetings and scorn to him. / For food gall,
and for drink strong vinegar / Impiously they give, with evil madness
stricken In breast and heart; not seeing with their eyes, / More blind than
moles, more terrible than beasts / That crawl envenomed, fettered by deep
sleep. / But when he stretches out his blameless hands / And metes out all
things, and a crown of thorns Bears, and they pierce his side with spears— /
For which dark night prodigious in midday / Three hours shall come—then
shall the temple / Of Solomon disclose great signs to men, / And then shall
he in Hades' mansion walk, And resurrection to the dead proclaim. / But in
three days he'll come to light again / And show his form to men, and teach

all things, / And in the clouds ascending will depart / Into a heavenly mansion, having left

23 Unto the world the gospel covenant. / And in his name shall a new sprout bloom forth / Among the nations, guided by great law. / But also after these things have transpired, / Apostles shall be guides; and afterward Of prophets a cessation there shall be. / But when the Hebrews their ill harvest reap, / Much gold and silver will the Roman king / Plunder from them. And other princes then / Continually will be, as kings expire, And they will oppress mortals. Great will be / The fall of those men when they shall commence / Unrighteous insolence. But when the temple / Of Solomon on ground divine shall fall, / Hurlled down by barbarous men, in brazen mail, The Hebrews shall be driven from the land, / Wandering afar, and plundered, and much tares / In the wheat will they mingle, and will stand / An evil faction among all mankind. / And all their cities, outraged, will lament

24 Each other, since an evil work they wrought, / Receiving the great God's wrath in their hearts.

BOOK II

1 Now when my song of wisdom God restrained, / Much I implored, and in my breast again / He put the charming voice of words divine. / Trembling at every form I follow these, For what I speak I do not comprehend, / But God commands each thing to be declared. / But when on earth shocks, and strong thunderbolts, / Thunder and lightning, and mildew of earth, / Madness of wolves, and slaughter of mankind, And ruin both of men and bellowing bulls, / Four-footed cattle, and laborious mules, / And goats and sheep, even then the barren field / Shall become much abandoned from neglect, / And fruits shall fail, and license shall abound Among most men, and temple robbery. / And then of men the tenth race will appear, / When the earth-shaking Thunderer will break / The zeal of idols, and will shake the people / Of seven-hilled Rome, and all their treasured wealth

2 Will perish, burned by Vulcan's fiery flame. / And then shall bloody signs from heaven descend.— / But the whole world of men, enraged, will kill / Each other, and in tumult God will send / Famines and plagues and thunderbolts on men Who without righteousness condemn the just. / And of men will the whole world be deserted, / So that, if any one beholds a trace / Of man on earth, he will be wonderstruck. / But then will the great God who

dwells in heaven Devout men's Saviour in all things become / And then shall peace profound and union be, / And the fruit-bearing earth shall yield again / Abundant fruits, nor shall it longer be / Divided, nor with toilsome service tilled. But every port and harbor shall be free / To all men, even as they were before. / And brazen impudence shall be destroyed. / Then a great sign will God thereafter show. / A star will shine forth like a lustrous crown,

3 Bright, all-resplendent, from the radiant sky, / Days not a few; for then will he from heaven / Display the victor's garland unto men / Who struggle for the prize; and then will be / That mighty contest of triumphal march Into the heavenly city, and all earth / Having the fame of immortality / Shall be all men's possession, and all people / In the immortal contests will contend / For glorious victory. Nor shamefully Can any then with silver buy a crown, / For to them will the holy Christ assign / The righteous things, and crown the ones approved, / And give his martyrs the immortal pledge, / And such as waged the contest unto death. And he will give the incorruptible prize / Of contests unto virgins who strove well; / And to all men the right things will he grant, / And to strange nations that live righteously, / And know one God. And such as love the bonds

4 Of marriage, and adulterous acts despise, / Will he give rich gifts and eternal hope. / For every soul of man is God's own gift, / And men should not stain it with any woes. / [Become not rich unjustly, but be pure In all thy life. Assist those near to thee, / And stand aloof from strangers. Speak no lies, / But guard all true things. Reverence not thou / Vain idols, but the everlasting God / Hold first in honor, and thy parents next. Dispense all righteous things, but do not come / Into unrighteous judgment. Cast not off / The poor unjustly, nor judge outwardly. / If thou judge wickedly, God will judge thee. / False witness fly, and righteous things make known. Keep thy virginity, and in all things / Guard love. Unrighteous measure do not give; / But beautiful is measure full to all. / Strike not the scales outside, but draw them equal. / Swear not in ignorance, nor willingly;

5 God hates false oaths, whatever one may swear. / Never receive in hand a gift that came / From unjust works. Seeds steal thou not; accursed / Through countless generations will he be, / Whoever takes it, for he scatters life. Yield not to vile lusts, slander not, nor kill, / Give to the toilworn laborer reward; / The poor afflict not. Hold thy tongue with care, / And secret things fast in thy heart restrain. / To orphans, widows, and the needy give. Will not to act

unjustly, nor allow / Unrighteous things. Give to the poor at once, / And say not, Come to-morrow. Of thy grain / Give to the toilsome with a ready hand. / Know, he that gives alms lendeth unto God. Mercy from death frees when the judgment comes; / Not sacrifice, but mercy God desires / Rather than sacrifice. Clothe therefore thou / The naked; with the hungry share thy bread. / Him without shelter in thy house receive,

6 And lead the blind. On shipwrecked mariners / Have thou compassion, for the sailor's art / Is perilous. To the fallen give a hand. / And save the man that stands all unassisted. / Suffering is common; life is as a wheel; Riches uncertain. If thou hast wealth, reach / Thy hand unto the poor, and of the things / Which God gave thee bestow thou on the needy. / Common is all the life of mortal men, / But it comes out unequal. When thou seest A poor man, never banter him with words, / Nor rudely accost a man that should be blamed. / The life in death is tested; if one did / The unlawful or just, it shall be discerned / When he comes into judgment. Injure not The mind with wine, nor drink excessively. / Eat not blood, and from idol offerings keep. / Gird not the sword around thee 'gainst a friend, / But for defense; would that thou use it not / Unjustly or justly; for if thou put to death

7 An enemy thou hast defiled thy hand. / Keep from thy neighbor's field, and cross it not. / Each boundary is just, and troubles come / By trespass. Wealth is profitable / Unto the upright, but to the unjust an evil. Harm not the growing produce of the field. / Let foreigners be equally esteemed / Among the citizens; for all should break / A painful hospitality, as guests / Of one another; but let no one be A stranger with you, since of one blood all / Ye mortals are, and for mankind no realm / Affords a permanent abiding place. / Wish not nor pray to be rich, but pray this: / To live of few things, and possess no thing Unjustly. Mother of all wickedness / Is love of gain. Yearn not for gold or silver, / But be assured that in them there will be / A deadly two-edged instrument of iron. / Gold and silver are ever a snare to men.

8 O gold! source of all evils, bane of life, / Full of vexation, would that thou wert not / To mortals such a longed-for misery. / For through thee come wars, plunders, homicides, / Children with parents in a bitter strife, And brethren hating those of their own blood. / Plot no deceits, and do not arm thy soul / Against a friend. Conceal not in thy heart / Another thing from what thou speakest forth, / Nor change with place even as a polypus

Grown to a rock. But be thou frank with all, / And those things which are of the heart declare. / Whoever willfully commits a wrong, / An evil man is he; but he that sins / Under constraint, his end I do not tell; But let the will of every man be right. / Boast not of wisdom, nor of power, nor wealth; / God only is wise and mighty, and abounds / In riches. Do not wear thy heart away / With evils that are past, for what is done

9 Can never be undone. Send not thy hand / Forth in a hasty deed, but curb wild wrath. / For often as one strikes he may commit / Unwittingly a murder. Let there be / A common suffering, neither great nor strong. Excess of good has not been wont to yield / Profit to mortals, but much luxury / Brings on excessive lusts. Great wealth puffs up, / And waxes into wanton insolence. / Desire, obtaining mastery, effects Destructive madness. Anger is a lust, / And when it passes further, it is wrath. / The zeal of good men is a noble thing, / But of the vile is vile. Destructive is / The boldness of the wicked; glory crowns That of the good. The love of virtue holds / Deserved esteem, but Cyprian loves add shame. / Agreeable is the amiable man / Among his fellows. Moderately he eats, / Drinks, and discourses; moderation is

10 Of all things best; excess brings many a pain. / Nor envious nor distrustful be, nor be / A railer, nor a man of evil thoughts, / Nor yet a false deceiver. Exercise / Prudence, and keep thyself from shameful works. Follow not malice, but by righteousness / Blot out revenge; for useful is persuasion, / But strife engenders strife. Do not believe / Too quickly, ere thou truly see the end.] / This is the contest, this is the reward, This is the prize, this is the gate of life, / And entrance into immortality, / Which God in heaven to righteous men appointed / As victory's reward. They that obtain / The crown shall enter gloriously by this. But when this sign appears through all the world, / Children are born gray-haired, then human woes, / Famines and plagues and wars, and change of seasons / And many tearful sorrows will abound. / Alas! How many children in the lands

11 Will mourn, and sadly for their parents weep, / And, wrapped in shrouds, bury the flesh in earth, / The mother of the peoples, mingling them / With blood and dust. O miserable men / Of the last generation, evil-doers, Cruel and foolish; nor perceiving this, / That when the tribes of women cease to bear, / The harvest-time of mortal men is come. / And ruin threatens when impostors come / Instead of prophets speaking on the earth.

And Beliar will come, and many signs / Will work for men. And then of holy men / Elect and faithful there will be confusion, / And a plundering of them and of the Hebrews. / And there will come fierce wrath, when from the East Shall come a people of twelve tribes, and seek / A people, whom the Assyrian branch destroyed, / Tribe-kinsmen of the Hebrews; and with them / Shall nations perish. Afterward again / Will they rule over the surviving men,

12 Elect and faithful Hebrews, and subject / Them as before, since their power will not fail. / The Most High, all-surveying, who abides / In the pure heaven, will scatter sleep on men, / Covering their eyelids round. O blessed servants, Whom when the Master comes he finds awake. / Awaken all, and watch with sleepless eyes; / For he will come at morning, or at eve, / Or in midday; but he will surely come, / And it will be as I say; it will be To those at ease, that from the radiant heaven / The stars to all at midday will appear, / With the two luminaries; and the time / Is pressing on. And then will light on earth / The Tishbite, drawing from the heaven above His heavenly chariot, and three signs will show / To all the world, of life to be destroyed. / Alas! How many women in that day / Will be found with a burden in the womb; / How many infant children at the breast;

13 How many will be dwelling on the waves. / Alas! How many that day will behold. / For a dark mist will wrap the boundless world, / East, west, and south, and north; and from the heavens / Will flow a mighty stream of burning fire, And every place consume—earth, ocean, sky, / And sea, and pools, and rivers, and harsh Hades, / And heaven's axis. And the lights of heaven / Will rush together, and take on a form / All-desolate. For all the stars will fall Into the sea, and all the souls of men / Gnash their teeth, burning in the stream below, / That burns with brimstone and the force of fire. / And then the elements of all the world / Shall be forsaken—air, earth, sea, light, heaven, And days and nights. No longer through the air / Will fly the insatiate birds, nor swimming beasts / Pass through the sea, nor vessels sail the waves, / Nor cattle plow the field, nor sound of trees / Under the winds; but all things then will melt

14 Together, and will come out purified. / Then will the angels of the immortal God / Come, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, / Who know whatever evil things men do, / And from the dark and murky gloom below Up to the judgment will lead forth all souls, / To the tribunal of the immortal God. / For One alone imperishable is, / Himself the Almighty; he shall judge man-

kind, / And then to nether realms, souls, spirit, and voice, The heavenly God
will give, and also bones / Fitted to joints, and made divinely fair. / And flesh
and sinews in all parts will join, / And veins and skin; and afterward the hair /
Will spring forth as aforetime. So one day Shall earthly bodies moved with
breath be raised. / And then will Uriel, mighty angel, break / The bolts of
harsh and lasting adamant, / Which, monstrous, hold the awful gates of
hell, / And hurling them aside, to judgment bring

15 All the sad forms exceeding sorrowful, / Chiefly the phantom forms of
Titans old, / And giants, whom the deluge swept away; / And such as perished
in the billowy seas, / And all that furnished banquet for the beasts, And
creeping things, and winged fowls—all these / Uriel will summon to the
judgment-seat; / And also those whom flesh-devouring fire / Destroyed in
flame, even these shall rise and stand / Assembled at the judgment-seat of
God. And when the dead are raised, and fates resolved, / And the high ful-
minating Lord of hosts / Is seated on his heavenly throne, and sets / The
mighty pillar, then amid the clouds / In the glory of Christ, with blameless
angels thronged, The Incorruptible himself will come / Unto him who is in-
corruptible, / And on the right hand of the great tribunal / Sit, judging lives
of just and unjust men. / Moses will come, great friend of the Most High,

16 And Abraham, himself also great, will come, / Isaac and Jacob, Joseph,
Daniel, / Elijah, Habakkuk, and Jonah, all, / And those whom persecuting
Hebrews slew. / But all those Hebrews after Jeremiah, At the tribunal judged,
he will destroy; / That they may worthy recompense receive, / And pay for
what in mortal life they did. / And then all through the burning stream shall
pass / Of fire unquenchable; but all the righteous Shall be saved. But the un-
godly to all ages / Shall be undone, who erst wrought wickedness, / And
knowingly committed murders vile; / Liars and thieves and ruiners of
home, / Crafty and terrible; and parasites, And marriage-breakers, pouring
slanders forth; / The fearful, insolent idolators; / Those who, forsaking the
immortal God, / Become blasphemers; robbers of the just, / Destroyers both
of faith and holy men; Presbyters, priests, and ministers revered, / Who prac-
ticed with a double face their guile, / And shamelessly perverted others'
rights; / Impostors, credulous, but more destructive / Than wolves and leo-
pards, vilest of the vile;

17 Also the arrogant, and usurers, / Who pile up compound interest at
home, / And wrong the widow and the fatherless; / And such as give to wid-

ows and to orphans / The product of unrighteous deeds, and such As, giving
out of hardships, cause reproach; / All who forsake their parents in old age, /
Not reverencing or requiting them, / But disobedient, contradicting sires /
With harsh words; those who take assurances And then deny; and servants
who have turned / Against their masters; also the impure, / Who by lascivi-
ousness defile the flesh / And loose the maiden's girdle secretly; / And such as
having burdens in the womb Produce abortion, and their offspring cast /
Unlawfully away; and sorcerers / And sorceresses—all these will the wrath /
Of the immortal God cause to approach / The pillar, where around a circle
flows ¹⁸ The river inexhaustible of fire. / Then will the angels of the immor-
tal God, / Who ever liveth, direly punish them / With flaming scourges and
with fiery flames, / Bound from above with ever-during bonds. Then in Ge-
henna, in the midnight gloom, / Will they be to Tartarean monsters cast, /
Many and fierce, where darkness is supreme. / But when all punishments have
been entailed / On all whose hearts were evil, then straightway From the
great river will a fiery wheel / Circle them round, pressed down with wicked
works; / And then in many a way most piteously / Will fathers, mothers,
nursing children wail; / Nor will there be satiety of tears, Nor will the piteous
cry of those who mourn / Be heard elsewhere, but worn down afar / Amid the
darkening shades of Tartarus / They cry aloud, and pay the penalty /
Threefold for all the wicked works they did,

¹⁹ Burning in fire; and they shall gnash their teeth, / All consumed by de-
vouring thirst and force, / And wish to die, but death shall flee from them, /
For nevermore will death nor night give rest. / Much will they vainly pray to
God most high, But he will turn his face away from them. / [For seven ages a
day of penitence / Gave he to men by a pure virgin's hand.] / But others, with
whom right and good works weighed, / Most upright in their piety and
thoughts, The angels, bearing through the burning stream, / Shall lead to
light and life exempt from care. / There is the immortal way of the great
God, / And fountains three, of honey, wine, and milk. / The land, alike for
all, divided not By wall or fence, shall bear abundant fruit / Indigenous; the
means and modes of life / Common will be, and riches without lot. / For
there no longer will be poor nor rich, / Tyrant nor slave, nor great, nor
small, nor kings,

²⁰ Nor chieftains, but all share a common life. / No more will any say the
night has come, / Or morrow comes, or yesterday has been. / They have no

trouble about many days. / Spring, summer, autumn, winter will not be
[Marriage nor death, nor will they buy and sell, / Nor will there be sunset or
sunrise more], / For he will make it one long, lasting day. / Then to the pious
will the almighty God / Grant yet another thing, when they shall pray For
men to be saved from devouring fire / And lasting torments; and this he will
do. / For having plucked the steadfast from the flame / That rests not, and re-
moving them elsewhere, / He for his people's sake will send them on Unto
another and eternal life, / In fields Elysian, where are the great waves / Of the
deep-bosomed Acheronian lake. / Ah, wretched I! what shall I in that day? /
For, ill-disposed and anxious for all things,

21 I sinned and had no care for marriage-bonds, / Nor reason. But within
my sumptuous halls / I shut the needy out, and knowingly / Aforetime did
unlawful things perform. / Thou, Saviour, rescue me, the shameless one,
From my tormenters, me who did the shame. / I pray thee, let me rest a while
from song, / Holy Giver of manna, King of the great realm.

BOOK III

1 Thou blessed One, loud Thunderer of the heavens, / Who holdest in their
place the cherubim, / I pray thee give me now a little rest, / Since I have
uttered what is all so true. For weary has my heart within me grown. / Why
should my heart be quivering now again, / And my soul, lashed as with a
whip, be forced / To utter forth its oracle to all? / Yet once more I will speak
aloud all things Which God impels me to proclaim to men. / O men, in god-
like form and image made, / Why do ye vainly wander, and not walk / The
straight path, keeping ever in your mind / The immortal Maker? One God
rules alone, Unutterable, dwelling in the sky, / Self-constituted, and invis-
ible, / Though he himself alone beholds all things. / No sculptor's hand
formed him, nor by man's art / Appears his image in gold or ivory;

2 But he proclaims his own eternity / As one who is, and was, and yet shall
be. / For who is he, frail mortal, that with eyes / Can look on God? Or who
could bear to hear / The name alone of the great God of heaven Who rules
the world? He by a word all things / Created, heaven, and sea, and tireless
sun, / And the full moon, and stars that shed forth light, / The mighty
mother Tethys, fountains, streams, / Imperishable fire, and days and nights.
This is the God who made four-lettered Adam, / The first one formed, whose
name fills east and west / And south and north. The same is he who fixed /
The type and form of man, and made the beasts, / And creeping things, and

such as spread the wing. Ye do not reverence or worship God, / But vainly go astray and bow the knee / To serpents, and to cats make sacrifice, / And other idols, statues made of stone, / And sit before the doors of godless shrines.

3 Ye guard against the God who keeps all things, / And in the wickedness of stones delight, / Forgetful of the immortal Saviour's judgment, / Who made the heaven and earth. Woe to a race / That has delight in blood, deceitful, vile, Ungodly, double-tongued, malicious men, / Unchaste, idolatrous, designing fraud, / An evil madness raving in their breasts. / They plunder, and maintain a shameless soul; / For no rich man will with another share. But a dire evil shall to all men come, / Faith they will nowhere hold, and many wives / And widows will in secret others love / Because of gain, and they will not observe / Life's sacred bond if only they get men. But when Rome also over Egypt rules, / Having one end in view, then shall appear / The mighty kingdom of the immortal king / Set over men. A holy king shall come / Wielding the scepter over every land

4 Unto all ages of advancing time. / And then will the stern wrath of Lætian men / Rome thrice expose to pitiable fate. / And all mankind shall perish in their homes, / When from the heavens a fiery cataract flows. Ah me, unhappy! When shall that day come, / And judgment of the immortal God's great king? / Now surely, O ye cities, ye are built / And all adorned with temples and race-grounds, / Markets, and images of precious stone, All that ye may come to a bitter day. / For it will come whenever there shall pass / The smell of sulphur among all mankind. / But these things severally I will tell / In as many cities as men carry vice. From the great Cæsars Beliar shall come / Hereafter, and shall stand on mountain height, / And stay the sea, and the great fiery sun, / And shining moon, and make the dead stand up, / And perform many miracles with men.

5 But nothing to perfection will he bring, / But many mortals he will lead astray, / Elect and faithful Hebrews; also men / Without law, such as never heard God's word. / But when the threatenings of the mighty God Shall draw near, and upon the earth shall come / The flaming power as in a billowy wave, / It shall burn Beliar too, and faithless men, / All, even as many as put their trust in him. / And then the world shall by a woman's hands Be governed and persuaded in all things. / And when o'er all the world a widow reigns, / And flings the gold and silver in the sea, / And brass and iron of perishable man / Flings in the flood, then all earth's elements Shall widow-like

be waste and desolate. / And God who dwells on high will roll the heaven / Together, even as a scroll is rolled. / And on the noble land and on the sea / The entire multiform arch of heaven shall fall.

6 A cataract of glowing fire shall flow / Unceasing, and burn land and sea and sky; / Creation itself will he melt into one, / And take out that which tends to purity. / The luminous laughing spheres shall be no more, Nor night, nor dawn, nor many days of care, / Nor spring-time, summer, winter, autumn more. / And then shall come God's judgment, in the midst / Of a great age when all these things shall be. / O navigable waters, and all lands Wherever the sun rises and goes down, / All things shall be subjected unto him / Who comes a second time into the world; / For from the first he recognized his power. / But when the threatenings of the mighty God Had been fulfilled, which once he threatened those / Who made a tower in the Assyrian land / (And they were all one language, and resolved / To mount aloft into the starry heaven), / Straightway the Immortal added to the winds

7 A mighty force, and tempests from above / Hurlled down the huge tower, and among mankind / Raised up confusion, wherefore mortals gave / Unto that city the name of Babylon. / But when the tower fell, and the tongues of men Became discordant, all the earth was filled With mortals, and divided among kings. And then appeared the generation tenth Of mortal men, from the time when the flood Came on the earlier race. And Kronos reigned, And Titan and Japetus, whom men esteemed / Fairest of Gaia and Uranus born, / And gave them also names of earth and heaven, / Because they were most excellent of men. / Into three parts divided they the earth, According to the inheritance of each, And each ruled his own portion, without strife; For they were bound by the paternal oath, And equal were their portions. But old age Came on the father, and his time was full,

8 And he died; but the sons, infringing oaths, / Contended with each other in fierce strife, / Who should hold regal honor, and bear rule / Over all mortals. Then did Kronos fight / And Titan with the rest. But Rhea, and Gaia, And garland-loving Venus, Demeter, / And Vesta, and Dione golden-haired / Brought them to friendship, and a council called / Of all the kings and brothers, and near kin, / And also others of ancestral blood, And they decided Kronos should be king, / For he was oldest and of noblest form. / But Titan placed on Kronos mighty oaths / To rear no male posterity, that he / Himself might reign when age and fate should fall On Kronos. So whenever

Rhea bore, / Beside her sat the Titans, and destroyed / All the male issue; but the female lived, / And were left to the mother's nursing care. / But when at the third birth the honored Rhea

9 Brought forth illustrious Juno, and they saw / With wondering eyes a race of females born, / The savage Titans took themselves away. / Then when a male child Rhea brought to birth / She sent him quickly into Phrygia, There to be reared in secret, having bound / Three Cretans by an oath to do her will. / They called him Dia, for he was sent away. / Poseidon also secretly she sent; / And Pluto, third, by women's helping hand Did Rhea, coming to Dodona, bear, / Whence flows Eurotas' moistened path away, / And, with Peneius mixed, pours in the sea / Its water, and men call it Stygian. / But when the Titans heard of hidden sons Begotten by King Kronos and his wife, / Straightway assembled Titan sixty youths, / Bound Kronos and his wife Rhea in chains, / Hid them in earth, and kept them under guard. / And then the sons of mighty Kronos heard,

10 And they stirred up a great tumultuous war. / And this was the beginning of dire war / Among all mortals, for it was indeed / With men the primal origin of war. / Then God sent evil on the Titan race, And all from Titan and from Kronos sprung / Died. But as time rolled on these kingdoms rose; / Egyptian, Persian, Median, Ethiopian, / Assyrian-Babylon, and Macedon, / Egyptian yet again, then that of Rome. And then a message of the mighty God / Pressed on my heart, and bade me prophecy / On all the earth, and in the minds of kings / Those things deposit which are yet to be. / And first the only God delivered me What kingdoms of mankind shall be raised up. / And first the house of Solomon shall rule / The horsemen of Phenicia and of Asia, / And those of other islands, and the race / Of the Pamphylians, Persians, Phrygians,

11 Carians, Mysians, and Lydians famed for gold. / And then the overweening Hellenes, / Impure, another Macedonian race, / Much mixed, shall rule, and they shall bring on men / A fearful cloud of war, but the God of heaven Will utterly destroy them from below. / And then another kingdom will arise, / White, many-headed from the western sea, / Which will rule many a land, and many shake, / And afterward bring terror to all kings. Much gold and silver will she take by force / From many cities, yet in the vast earth / There will be gold and silver and elegance. / And they will sore afflict mankind, and then / To those same men will come a ruinous fall, When they

attempt unrighteous insolence. / On them will be the bond of wickedness, /
Male will consort with male, and they will set / Children in dens of shame.
And in those days / A great affliction among men will come,

12 And vex and wound and fill all things with evil / Through shameful
covetousness, and gain ill-gotten / In many lands, but most in Macedon. /
And hatred shall spring up, and all deceit, / Until the seventh kingdom,
which a king Of Egypt, but of Grecian birth, shall rule. / And then the na-
tion of the mighty God / Shall be again strong, and be guides of life / To all
mankind. But wherefore now should God / Lay it upon my spirit to declare
What evil first, what next, what last shall be / Upon all men, and how they
shall begin? / First on the Titans God will evil send, / For mighty Kronos's
sons will vengeance take, / Because they bound the king and mother dear.
Again will tyrants rule the Hellenes, / And they will be proud, haughty, vi-
cious kings, / Adulterous, and altogether bad; / And no more will there be a
rest from war. / The dreadful Phrygians shall perish all,

13 And Troy will meet misfortune in that day. / Evil will also to the Per-
sians come, / And to the Assyrians, and all Egypt too, / And Libya and the
Ethiopians, / Carians, Pamphylians, and on mortals all Shall evil be imposed.
Why then of each / Do I speak? When the first comes to an end / Straightway
the second falls upon mankind; / And yet I will the very first sound forth. /
There will an evil come to pious men Who dwell by the great temple of So-
lomon, / And are the progeny of righteous men. / Of these I also will declare
the tribe / And line of fathers, and the home of all— / Do all with skill, O
mortal full of guile. There is a city on the [Asian] soil, / Ur of the Chaldees,
whence has come a race / Most upright, ever of good counsel fond / And
noble deeds. For they seek not with care / The circling pathway of the sun
and moon,

14 Nor monstrous deeds on earth, nor the blue depth / Of sea or ocean,
nor the signs of sneezing, / Nor birds of augurers, nor soothsayers, / Nor wiz-
ards, nor enchanters, nor the frauds / And silly speeches of ventriloquists,
Nor studies of Chaldean astrologers, / Nor oracles they gather from the
stars. / For all these things are errors, which vain men / Search day by day,
and exercise their souls / In labors void of profit, and then teach Their error
unto other thoughtless men. / Hence many evils have befallen men, / And
turned them from good ways and righteous deeds. / But they do seek with
care for righteousness / And virtue, and have not the avarice Which breeds

unnumbered ills to mortal men, / Continuous war, and famine without end. / Just measure they observe in field and town; / They steal not from each other in the night, / Nor drive off herds of oxen, sheep, and goats;

15 Nor do they neighbors' landmarks take away; / Nor does the man of great wealth grieve the poor, / Nor oppress widows, but he rather aids, / Ever imparting wheat and wine and oil, / And always happy with those that have nought; And to the destitute at harvest-time / He sends a share. Thus they fulfill the word / Of the great God—a hymn enshrined in law. / For he who dwells in heaven completed earth / To be a common property for all. But when the people of twelve tribes depart / From Egypt and with joy pursue their way, / With leaders sent of God, they will proceed / In a pillar of fire by night, and one of cloud / At morning of each day as they go on; And for them God a leader will appoint, / A great man, Moses, whom a princess found / Beside a marsh, and carried off and reared / And called her son. But when anon he came / As leader of the people whom God brought Away from Egypt to the Sinai mount, / Then God delivered them the law from heaven, / And wrote upon two tables all things just, / Which he enjoined to do; and if, perchance, / One give no heed, he must unto the law

16 Make satisfaction, either at men's hands, / Or, if man's notice he escape, he shall / By ample satisfaction be destroyed. / For he who rules in heaven completed earth / To be a common property for all, And in all bosoms placed he noblest thought. / To them alone the bounteous field yields fruit, / A hundred-fold from one, and thus completes / God's measure. But to them shall also come / Misfortune, nor will they escape all plague. And even thou, forsaking thy fair shrine, / Shalt flee away when it becomes thy lot / To leave the holy ground, and thou shalt be / Carried to the Assyrians, and shalt see / Wives and young children serving hostile men. All means of life and wealth shall be destroyed, / And every land and sea be filled with thee, / And at thy customs all will take offense. / Thy land shall be all waste, and the fenced altar / And sacred temple and extended walls,

17 All to the ground shall fall, because in heart / Thou hast not kept the holy law of God; / But thou hast erred and served vain images, / And hast not feared the immortal Sire of gods / And of all men, nor willed to honor him, But thou hast honored images of men. / Therefore seven decades shall thy fruitful land / And the wonders of the temple be a waste. / And yet for thee a goodly end remains, / And highest glory from the immortal God. But wait

thou, and confide in God's pure laws, / When to the light he lifts thy wearied knee. / And then will God send out of heaven a king / To judge each man in blood and light of fire. / There is a royal tribe, whose progeny Shall be unfailing, and in course of time / Will it rule, and God's temple build anew. / And all the kings of Persia will assist / With gold and brass and well-wrought iron, and God / Himself will give by night the holy dream,

18 And then the temple shall be as of old, / Now when my soul had ceased from hallowed song, / And I prayed the great Sire to be released, / Again a message of Almighty God / Rose in my heart, and he commanded me To prophesy o'er all the earth, and place / In royal minds the things which are to be. / And to my mind God gave me first to tell / What bitter woes for Babylon he planned, / Because they God's great temple had destroyed. Alas! alas! for thee, O Babylon, / And also for the Assyrians, when the clash / Of arms shall pass through all the sinful earth, / And shout of war shall ruin every land, / Even as the stroke of God, leader of hymns. For it will come as from the air above, / O Babylon, and from the holy ones / Of the high heaven it will descend on thee, / And wrath eternal shall destroy thy children. / And then wilt thou be as thou wast at first,

19 Even as things which are not, and with blood / Shalt thou be filled, as thou before didst shed / The blood of many good and righteous men, / Whose blood yet cries out to the lofty heaven. / To thee, O Egypt, a great plague shall come, Dreadful to homes, and such as thou didst hope / Might never fall on thee; for through thy midst / A sword shall pass, and separation, death, / And famine shall prevail until of kings / The seventh generation, and then cease. Woe, woe to thee, O land of Gog and Magog, / In the midst of the rivers of Ethiopia! / What pouring out of blood shalt thou receive, / And be called house of judgment among men! / And thy land of much dew shall drink black blood. Woe, woe, to thee, O Libya, and woe, woe, / O sea and land! Ye daughters of the West / How shall ye come upon a bitter day! / And ye shall come pursued by cruel strife / Dreadful and harsh; dire judgment will set in,

20 And by force ye will all to ruin come, / Because ye marred the Immortal's mighty house, / And with iron teeth ye chewed it terribly. / So shalt thou see thy land full of the dead, / By war, and every spirit of violence, Famine, and pestilence, and barbarous foes, / Thy land all desert and the city waste. / And there shall shine at evening-time a star / Which they will call a comet,

baleful sign / To mortals of dire famine, sword, and death, And ruin of great leaders and chief men. / And among men great signs again shall be, / For the deep-flowing Tanais will forsake / Mæotis' marshy lake, and the deep stream / Shall flow along a fruitful furrow's mark, And the vast flood a neck of land shall check. / And there will be wide chasms and yawning pits, / And many cities with their men shall fall. / In Asia—Iassus, Cebren, Pandonia, / Colophon, Ephesus, Nice, Antioch,

21 Tanagra, Sinope, Smyrna, Myrina. / In Europe—Cyagra, Clitos, Basilis, / Meropeia, Antigone, Magnesia, / Mykene, Pantheia, and most happy Gaza, / Hierapolis and Astypalia. Know, then, Egypt's dread race is near its end, / And then unto the Alexandrians / Better the year gone by. Though Rome received / Tribute of Asia, thrice as many goods / Shall Asia back again receive from Rome, And savage insolence return to her. / Many from Asia served Italian homes, / But the Italians, twenty times as many, / Shall serve in Asia in great poverty. / O virgin, soft, rich child of Latin Rome, How oft at thy much-courted wedding-feasts, / Drunken with wine, a servant, in the world / Thou shalt not become wedded, but how oft / Will haughty mistress cut thy pretty hair, / And taking vengeance cast upon the earth The things of heaven, and from the earth again / Raise heavenward, for mortals are held fast / In miserable and unrighteous life. / And Samos shall be sand, and Delos dull, / And Rome a room, but all decrees fulfilled;

22 And Smyrna falls by no avenging word, / But by base plots and cowardice of leaders. / But calm peace into Asia's land shall go, / And Europe shall be happy—healthful air, / Full of years, strong, no winter and no hail; Bearing all things, and birds and beasts of earth. / O happiest man who at that time shall be! / Or woman, free from care, in rural bliss! / For all good order from the starry heaven / Shall come on men, and justice, and with her The sober concord which with mortal men / Surpasses all things, and affection, faith, / And friendship for the stranger. Far from them / Are lawlessness, blame, envy, folly, wrath. / And want shall flee from men, and violence, And murder, baneful strifes and bitter feuds, / And theft, and every evil, in those days. / But Macedonia shall to Asia bear / A heavy woe, and greatest suffering / Shall spring up over Europe from a birth

23 Of spurious Kronids and a race of slaves; / And she shall subjugate fenced Babylon, / And in all lands the sun looks down upon / Call herself mistress, and then come to nought / In bitter ruin, having not a law For

those late born, and wandering far away. / And then shall come to Asia's happy land, / Unknown, a man with purple garment clad, / Ferocious, strange, unrighteous, fiery; / For him a thunderbolt raised into light. And Asia all shall bear an evil yoke, / And many a murder will the damp soil drink. / And he will court all the invisibles / Of Hades, whose race he wills to destroy, / And from whom his own race shall be destroyed. But there will be one root, perversely cut / From ten horns, and set by another plant; / The warlike father of the purple race / He will cut off, and be himself then taken / By sons of like mind in the chance of war;

24 And then the horn grown by his side shall rule. / And straightway unto fruitful Phrygia / Shall be a sign, when Rhea's blood-stained race, / Growing and blooming in the god-like earth / Continually from roots that know no thirst, Shall in one night be root and branch destroyed, / In a city of Neptune, shaker of the earth, / Antandrus, which thenceforward bears the name / Dorylæum, old Phrygia's much-wept town, / And therefore at that time Earth-shaker called. It will scatter the secret places of the earth / And loosen walls. And then no signs of good / But a beginning of evil will appear. / There will come on the well-known woes of war, / Among all tribes, and furnish Æneads Sprung from the native soil and kindred blood; / But he again is prey to men beloved. / O Ilion, I pity thee! For Erinnyes / In Sparta shall spring forth most beautiful; / A noble shoot and famous, she bequeaths

25 Asia and Europe a far-spreading wave. / But to thee chiefly wailings, toils, and groans / She will bear and award; but thou shalt have / Undying fame among those yet to be. / And then a certain old man will appear, False writer and of doubtful native land, / And in his eyes the light will sink away. / But he will have large mind, and song immense / Of understanding, blended with two names. / Chios he will be called, and he will write Of Ilion, not truthfully indeed, / But plainly, for my verses he will seize; / For he will be first to unfold my books. / And he war's helmed heroes will adorn, / Hector of Priam, and Achilles, son Of Peleus, and the rest of warlike fame. / And with them he will make the gods to stand, / And by all arts deceive defenseless men. / And to those dying about Ilion / Shall be a glory widely spread abroad;

26 And he will celebrate their vengeful deeds. / Also to Lycia will a Locrian race / Bring many evils. And thee, Chalcedon, / When thou the passage of the narrow sea / Hast taken, an Ætolian youth will slay. And, Cyzicus, from

thee the sea shall tear / Vast wealth away. And thou, Byzantium, / Shalt be in love with Asia, and receive / Sad wailings and immeasurable blood. / And Lycia's lofty mountain, riven at top With rocky chasms, shall pour a murmuring stream, / Till Patara's prophetic signs shall cease. / O Cyzicus, that dwellest by Propontis, / City of wine, around thee Rhyndacus / Shall crash his crested wave. And thou, O Rhodes, Daughter of day, shalt long be unenslaved, / And much prosperity shall yet be thine, / And on the sea thy power shall be supreme. / But later thou shalt be to greedy men / A spoil, because of beauty and of wealth,

27 And on thy neck a dreadful yoke shall come. / A Lydian earthquake shall again destroy / The things of Persia, and most horribly / Shall Europe's tribes and Asia's suffer woes. / And Sidon's cruel king and shout of war From others will show forth destruction dire / Beyond the sea to Samos. With the blood / Of fallen lights earth murmurs to the sea, / And wives together with the stately maids / Their ignominious insults will bewail, Some for the dead, some for the fallen sons. / O sign of Cyprus, phalanxes shalt thou / By earthquake overthrow, and many souls / Shall gloomy Hades all at once receive. / And Trallis, hard by Ephesus, shall fall By earthquake, and walls built by cruel men; / Boiling hot water shall rain on the earth, / Which earth weighed down shall drink—a sulphurous smell. / And Samos, in time, will royal houses build.

28 / O Italy, to thee no foreign war Shall come, but lamentable tribal blood, / Not easily subdued, and much renowned, / Wilt thou in reckless insolence destroy. / But thou thyself, beside hot ashes stretched, / As thou in thine own spirit didst foresee, Shall slay thyself. Not of the good shalt thou / The mother be, but of wild beasts the nurse. / Another man shall come from Italy, / A spoiler; then, Laodicea, thou, / Beautiful city of the Carians, By Lycus' wondrous water, creeping prone, / Shalt weep in silence for thy boastful sire. / Byzantine Thracians shall rise up on Hæmus. / To the Campanians quaking fear shall come / Because of wasting famine; Corsica Weeps her old father, and Sardinia / Shall by great storms of winter, and the strokes / Of a holy God, sink in the ocean depths— / Down in the waves with children of the sea. / Alas! alas! how many virgin maids

29 Will Hades marry, and the deep take charge / Of the unburied youths! Alas! alas! / Infants and vast wealth floating on the sea! / O happy land of Mysians, suddenly / Shall cease thy royal race. Not long, indeed, Will

Carthage stand. But bitter grief shall be / To the Galatians. And to Tenedos /
The last but greatest misery shall come. / And Sicyon with strong yells, and
Corinth, thee / Boasting o'er all, an equal flute shall sound. Now when my
soul had ceased from hallowed song, / Again a message of Almighty God /
Rose in my heart, and he commanded me / To utter prophecies upon the
earth. / Woe, woe, Phenician race of men and women, Also to all the cities
by the sea; / No one of you shall come to the sun's light / In common light,
no longer shall there be / Number and tribe, because of unjust speech / And
lawless life and base which all indulged,

30 Opening a foul mouth, uttering fearful words, / False and unrighteous;
and they set themselves / In opposition to the mighty God, / And opened
falsely a polluted mouth. / Therefore shall they by dreadful strokes be slain In
all the earth, and bitter destiny / Will God send on them, burning from the
ground / Their cities and foundations manifold. / Woe, woe to thee, O Crete,
burdened with pain, / On thee shall come a stroke, and terribly Shalt thou be
made a ruin evermore. / And every land shall see thee black with smoke, /
And fire shall never leave thee, but shall burn. / Woe, woe to thee, O Thrace,
for thou shalt bend / Beneath a servile yoke; when the Galatians, Mixed with
the Dardans, hurriedly destroy / Hellas, then will sore evil come on thee; / In
a strange land thou'lt give and yet receive. / Woe, woe to thee, O Gog, and so
with all, / One by one, Magog, Marson, and Aggon;

31 How many an evil lot shall fall to thee! / Many shall also fall on Lycia's
sons, / And those of Mysia and Phrygia. / And many nations of Pamphylia /
And Lydia shall fall, and Maurians, And Ethiopians and barbarous tribes, /
And Cappadocians and Arabians. / How now may I, according to his lot, /
Speak of each one? For unto all the nations, / As many as are dwelling on the
earth, Will the Most High send forth an evil plague. / When now a very bar-
barous nation comes / Against the Greeks, it will slay many chiefs / Of
chosen men; and many fatted sheep / And horses shall be torn, and mules
and herds Of bellowing oxen, and in lawlessness / Shall they with fire the
well-made houses burn. / And many shall as slaves be led by force / Into a for-
eign land, and children too, / And women from bed-chambers, girdled low,

32 Delicate, falling down with tender feet, / Will be seen chained and suf-
fering all abuse / By hostile, barbarous men; nor shall they have / Helper in
life, nor any help in war. / But they shall see their goods and all their wealth
Enriching foes; and trembling takes their knees. / A hundred fly, but one

shall slay them all, / And five shall rouse an ambush heavy-armed. / But they among themselves mixed shamefully / In fearful war and tumult will bring joy Unto the foes, but sorrow to the Greeks. / Then shall a servile yoke be on all Greece, / And all at once shall war and pestilence / With mortals yet remain. And God will make / The mighty heaven on high like brass, and drought On all the earth, which itself will be iron. / And then will men all bitterly lament / The land uncultivated and unplowed. / And he who made the heaven and earth will place / High heaped on earth a fire, and of all men

33 The third part only shall remain alive. / O Greece, why hast thou trusted mortal men / As leaders, who cannot escape from death? / And wherefore bringest thou thy foolish gifts / Unto the dead, and sacrifice to idols? Who put the wretched error in thy heart / To do these things and leave the mighty God? / Honor the All-Father's name and let it not / Escape thee. There have been a thousand years, / Yea, and five hundred more, since haughty kings Ruled o'er the Greeks, who first to mortal men / Brought evils, making many images / Of gods that perish for such as are dead, / Whence ye were taught to think on vanities. / But when the anger of the mighty God Shall come upon you, then will ye find out / The face of God the mighty; and all souls / Of men, in great distress, will lift their hands / Up to the broad heaven and begin to call / On the great King, the Helper, and to seek

34 A rescuer from the mighty wrath to come. / But come, learn this and lodge it in your hearts, / What troubles in the rolling years shall come. / When Hellas brings her sacrifice of oxen / And bellowing bulls, a whole burnt-offering Unto the temple of the mighty God, / She shall escape the hateful sound of war, / And fear and famine, and go forth again / Away from underneath a slavish yoke. / But such a race of godless men shall be Until that fatal day receives its end. / For ye shall not bring sacrifice to God / Till all things come to pass, whatever things / The one God wills to be not without end— / All shall be brought to pass; strong fate impels. Of godly men there yet shall be again / A holy race, devoted to the mind / And counsels of the Highest; they shall honor / The great God's temple with drink-offerings, / Burnt-offerings, and holy hecatombs,

35 With sacrifice of well-fed bulls, choice rams, / Firstlings of sheep, and the fat parts of lambs, / Sacredly offering whole burnt sacrifice / On the great altar. But in righteousness, / Having obtained the law of the Most High, Blest shall they dwell in cities and rich fields. / And prophets shall by the immortal

One / Exalted be, and bring great joy to men. / For to them only has the great God given / His kindly counsel, and put in their hearts Faith and most noble thought. Through vain deceit / They do not hold in awe the works of men, / Of gold, and brass, and silver, and ivory, / And wood, and stone, clay forms of feeble gods, / Besmeared with chalk, with figures painted o'er— Whatever mortals with vain mind desire. / But they lift up their holy arms to heaven; / At daybreak from the couch they always cleanse / Their hands with water, and pay honors due / To God the immortal, who is ever great,

36 And then to parents. But above all men / They keep the bed of marriage undefiled, / And mix not boys with males in acts impure, / Like the Phenicians, Latins, and Egyptians, / And spacious Greece, and nations many more, Persians, Galatians, and of Asia all, / Transgressing the immortal God's pure law. / Wherefore the Immortal will inflict on men / Delusion, famine, sufferings and groans, / And war, and pestilence, and mournful woes; Because the immortal Father of all men / They did not wish to honor righteously, / But honored idols made with human hands, / Which things even men themselves will cast away / In clefts of rocks, concealing them from shame, When a young king of Egypt seventh shall rule / His own land, reckoned from the Grecian power / Which Macedonia's mighty men shall rule, / Then shall there come from Asia a great king / With eagle's fire, who with his foot and horse

37 Shall cover all the land, break down all things, / And fill all things with evil; he will cast / The Egyptian kingdom down, seize on all goods, / And ride upon the broad back of the sea. / And then before the mighty God, the King Immortal, they will bend the fair white knee / On the all-fostering earth, and all the works / Made with hands in a flame of fire shall fall; / And then great joy will God bestow on men. / For land, and trees, and countless flocks of sheep Will yield mankind the genuine fruit of wine, / And of sweet honey, and white milk, and wheat, / Which is for men the very best of all. / But thou, O mortal versed in various arts / And evil-minded, shalt not be like this; But turn back, and be reconciled to God. / Offer to God whole hecatombs of bulls / And lambs and goats, amid the circling hours. / Propitiate him, the immortal God; / Perchance he will show mercy. For himself

38 Alone is God, and other there is none. / Hold righteousness in honor, wrong no man / As by oppression, for the immortal One / Enjoins these things on miserable men. / But thou, be on thy guard against the wrath Of

the great God, when to all men shall come / The height of famine, and, being overpowered, / They meet dire judgment. King shall seize on king / And wrest his land away, and nations waste / And plunder nations, and lords plunder tribes, And leaders all flee to another land, / And earth itself be changed, and barbarous rule / Ravage all Greece, and the rich land of wealth / Become exhausted, and straight into strife / Shall they because of gold and silver come In a strange land. (The love of gain will be / An evil guide for cities.) And they all / Shall be unburied, and their flesh shall be / By vultures and wild beasts of earth destroyed. / And when these things are finished, the huge earth

39 Shall all the remnants of the dead consume; / And all unsown shall it be, and unplowed, / Proclaiming woefully the abomination / Of countless men through many circling years, / And shields and javelins and all sorts of arms; Nor will the forest wood be cut for fire. / Then from the sunrise God will send a king, / Who will make all earth cease from evil war, / Killing some, others binding with strong oaths. / Nor yet will he by his own counsels do All these things, but by excellent decrees / Of God persuaded. But again the people / Of the great God with wealth will be weighed down, / With gold and silver and purple ornament, / And of good things will earth and sea be full. And then will kings begin again / To envy one another, and in heart / To cherish wicked projects. Envy brings / No good to wretched mortals. But again / Shall kings of nations rush upon the land

40 In masses, bringing doom upon themselves, / For they will purpose to destroy the shrine / Of the great God, and men most excellent. / What time they reach the land, polluted kings / Will sacrifice within the city's walls, Each having his own throne and subject tribe. / And then will God speak with a mighty voice / To all rude people of an empty mind; / And judgments from the mighty God shall come / Upon them, and they all shall be destroyed By an immortal hand. And fiery swords / Shall fall from heaven on earth, and mighty lights / Shall come down flaming in the midst of men. / And mother earth shall be tossed in those days / By an immortal hand, and fish of the sea, And all earth's beasts, and countless flocks of birds, / And all the souls of men, and all the sea / Shall shudder at the face of the Immortal, / And there shall be dismay. High mountain peaks / And huge hills he will rend, and Erebus

⁴¹ The dark and dismal will appear to all; / And misty gorges in the lofty hill / Shall be full of the dead; the rocks shall stream / With blood, and every torrent fill the plain. / And well-built walls shall all fall to the earth By hostile men, for they knew not the law, / Neither God's judgment, but with senseless soul, / All rushing to the temple, lifted spears. / God judges all by war, and sword, and fire, / And overwhelming flood; and there shall be Brimstone from heaven, and stones and grievous hail; / And death shall come upon the quadrupeds. / Then shall men come to know the immortal God / Who judges these things. Lamentation too, / And uproar shall come on the boundless earth, Because men perish, and in speechless woe / Shall all be bathed in blood, and earth herself / Shall drink the blood of them that are destroyed, / And the wild beasts will glut themselves with flesh. / All these things the eternal God himself

⁴² Gave me to prophesy; nor shall they be / Without complete fulfillment, for he put / Them only in the heart; for without guile / The Spirit of God continues in the world. / Again the children of the mighty God Shall all about the temple live in peace, / Delighting in those things which he shall give / Who is Creator, righteous Judge, and King. / For he alone, and standing wondrous near, / Can shelter as a wall of flaming fire From all around. And there shall be no wars / In cities or in country; not the hand / Of cruel war, but rather there shall be / With them the immortal Champion himself, / And the hand of the Holy One. And then the isles And cities all shall speak, and tell how much / The Immortal loves those men, for he with them / Shares in all conflict and delivers them. / And heaven, and sun divinely formed, and moon, / And mother earth shall tremble in those days.

⁴³ And a sweet word shall they lead forth in hymns: / "Come, falling on the earth let us all pray / To the immortal King, great God, most high. / Let us send to the temple, since sole Lord / He is, and let us all observe the law Of God most high, who above all on earth / Is the most righteous One. For we have strayed / Far from the path of the immortal One, / And have done reverence with a senseless soul / To works of human hands, to images Carved out of wood, and of departed men." / These things souls of the faithful cry aloud: / "Come, let us with God's people, falling down / Upon our faces, gladden in our homes / With hymns God the Creator, and procure The weapons of our foes in every land / For seven lengths of the revolving years— / Even

shields and helmets and all sorts of arms, / And a great store of bows and harmful arrows, / For forest wood shall not be cut for fire."

⁴⁴ But, wretched Hellas, cease thy arrogance, / So willful, and entreat the immortal One, / Magnanimous, and be upon thy watch. / Send to this city the people ill-advised / Who from the Mighty's holy land have come. Do not move Camarina, for 'tis best / She be unmoved—a leopard from the lair, / An evil which thou shouldst by no means meet. / But keep away, and do not in thy heart / Hold arrogance, an overbearing soul, Ready for mighty contest. And serve God, / The mighty One, that thou mayst share with them, / Whenever this indeed shall have an end, / And on good men shall come the fatal day, / According as the mighty One ordains. For earth, all-mother, shall to mortals yield / The best fruit, boundless store of wheat, / And wine and oil. And from the heaven a drink, / Delightful of sweet honey there shall be, / And trees, and fruits of trees, and fatted sheep,

⁴⁵ And oxen, and young lambs, and kids of goats. / And forth shall burst sweet fountains of white milk, / And of good things the cities shall be full, / And fat the fields, and there shall not be sword / Nor uproar on the earth, nor shall the earth Groan heavily and tremble any more. / Nor war nor drought shall longer be on earth, / Nor famine, nor the fruit-destroying hail, / But great peace shall be upon all the earth. / King will be friend to king until the end Of time, and a new law on all the earth / Will the Immortal in the starry heaven / Perfect for men, touching whatever things / Have been by miserable mortals done. / For he alone is God, no other is, And he will burn with fire man's grievous power. / But now being quick to keep my thoughts in heart, / Shun godless worship, serve the living God, / Against adultery be on thy guard, / And all uncleanness; thine own children rear,

⁴⁶ And do no murder; for the immortal One / Is angry with such as commit these sins. / And then will he a kingdom for all time / Raise up for all men, and a holy law / Give to the pious to whom he has pledged To open up the land, and the wide world, / And portals of the blessed, and all joys, / And mind immortal, and eternal bliss. / And out of every land unto the house / Of the great God will they bring frankincense, And gifts, and there shall be no other house / To be inquired of by men yet to be; / But whom God gave to honor faithful men, / Him mortals shall call Son of the great God. / And all paths of the field and the rough hills, And lofty mountains, and the sea's wild waves, / Shall in those days be easy to pass over, / For all peace of the

good shall come on earth. / And the sword shall God's prophets take away, /
For they shall be the judges of mankind,

47 And righteous kings; for of the mighty God / This is the judgment and
the sovereignty. / Be of good cheer, O maiden, and exult; / For the Eternal,
who made heaven and earth, / Has given thee joy, and he will dwell in thee,
And for thee shall be an immortal light. / And wolves and lambs promiscu-
ously shall eat / Grass in the mountains, and among the kids / Shall leopards
graze, and wandering bears shall lodge / Among the calves, and the carni-
vorous lion Shall eat straw in the manger like the ox, / And little children
lead them with a band. / For tame will be on earth the beasts he made, / And
with young babes will dragons fall asleep, / And no harm, for God's hand
will be on them. Now tell I thee a sign exceeding clear, / That thou mayst
know when of all things on earth / The end shall be. When in the starry
heaven / Swords shall be seen by night toward west or east, / Straightway shall
there be a dark cloud of dust,

48 Borne downward from the heaven o'er all the earth, / And the sun's
brightness in the midst of heaven / Shall be eclipsed, and the moon's beams
appear / And come again on earth, and there shall be / The sign of blood-
drops issuing from the stones, And ye shall see a war of foot and horse / In a
cloud, like a hunting of wild beasts, / Like a dark mist. This is the end of
war / Which God who dwells in heaven shall bring to pass. / But all must sac-
rifice to the great King. These things to thee say I, who madly left / Assyria's
long Babylonian walls, / And prophesied to all men of the fire, / God's fury
which on Hellas should be sent, / That I might unto mortals prophesy Of
mysteries divine. They say in Greece / That I am of a foreign fatherland, /
Born of Erythres, shameless. Others say / I am a Sibyl and of Circe born / And
father Gnostos, raving mad, and false.

49 But at the time when all things come to pass / Ye will make mention of
me; no one more / Will call me mad, but God's great prophetess. / For God
will show me whatsoever things / Belonged at first to my progenitors, Those
things God laid down in his plans for me. / All future things God stored up
in my mind, / That I might prophesy of things to come, / And things that
were, and tell them unto men. / For when the world was deluged with a flood
Of waters, and one man alone was left, / A man of honor, sailing on the
waves / In wooden house, along with beasts and birds, / His bride was I, and
from his blood I came. / To him the first things were, and the last things

Were all made known; and so from mine own mouth / All these things have
I truthfully declared.

BOOK IV

¹ Hear, people of proud Asia, Europe too, / How many things by great loud-
sounding mouth, / All true and of my own, I prophesy. / No oracle of false
Apollo this, Whom vain men called a god, though he deceived; / But of the
mighty God, whom human hands / Shaped not, like speechless idols cut in
stone. / For his house is no dedicated stone / Set for a temple, wholly deaf and
dumb, A great and sore dishonor to mankind; / For he, not formed by mor-
tal hands, from earth / May not be seen, nor measured by men's eyes. / He
looks on all, himself by no one seen. / His are the murky night, and day, and
sun, And stars, and moon, and seas that swarm with fish, / And land, and
rivers, and perennial fountains, / Creatures designed for life, and rains that
serve / To bring forth fruit, and tree, and wine, and oil. / The same has
moved me in my inmost soul

² As with a whip, how many and great things / Now and hereafter shall
befall mankind, / From the first generation to the eleventh, / Truly to tell.
For all things he hath spoken / Who himself bringeth all things to an end.
But thou, O people, hear the Sibyl's words, / Who pours from hallowed
mouth a truthful strain. / Blessed of men shall they be on the earth / As many
as shall love the mighty God, / Giving him praise before they eat and drink,
Trusting in piety. Such, when they see / Temples and altars, copies of dumb
stones / Without worth, and polluted with the blood / Of living things and
sacrifice of beasts, / Reject them all; but they shall look upon One God's great
glory, having not committed / Atrocious murder, nor acquired vast gain / By
stealing, which things are most horrible; / Nor shameful longing for another's
bed / Had they, nor vile and hateful lust of males.

³ Such mode of life and customs other men / Shall never imitate, as if
they longed / For shamelessness; but children without sense / With jest and
laughter ridiculing them— / Presumptuous deeds and vile—shall lie to them
In as many things as they themselves shall do; / For hard to trust is the whole
race of men. / But when the final judgment of the world / And mortals
comes, which God himself shall bring, / Judging at once the impious and the
just, The ungodly under darkness he will send, / And they shall know what
wickedness they wrought; / But in a fruitful land the just shall dwell, / God
giving them breath, life, and sustenance. / But all these things shall surely

come to pass In the tenth generation; and what things / From the first generation shall occur / I now declare. First shall the Assyrians rule / Over all men, and wield authority / During six generations of the world,

4 From the time when, the God of heaven being wroth, / Sea covered earth and cities and all men, / A whelming flood of waters breaking in. / The Medes shall overcome them, and exult / Two generations only on the throne, At which time these events shall come to pass: / Dark night shall be at the mid-hour of day, / And from the heaven the stars and circling moon / Shall disappear, and earthquakes shake the land, / And many cities and the works of men Hurl to the dust; and then out of the deep / The islands of the sea shall peer aloft. / But when the great Euphrates overflows / With blood, then also both among the Medes / And Persians shall arise the direful noise Of battle, and the Medes, discomfited / And falling underneath the Persian spears, / Shall flee beyond the mighty Tigris' waves. / The Persian power shall be of all the world / The mightiest, and unto them shall be

5 One generation of most prosperous rule. / But such foul deeds as men seek to avert— / Battle-cries, murders, quarrels, banishments, / Ruin of towers, and rising up of cities— / Shall take place when proud, boasting Hellas sails O'er the broad Hellespont, and carries doom / To Phrygia and to Asia. But to Egypt, / The land of many furrows and much wheat, / Shall come a blasting famine twenty years, / What time the Nile, corn-nourisher, shall hide Somewhere beneath the earth his sable wave. / To Hellas there shall come a mighty king / From Asia, with innumerable ships, / Lifting his spear on high, and he shall walk / The wet paths of the deep, and sail alone Where others tread on foot; him, fugitive / From battle, fearful Asia shall receive. / And Sicily the wretched shall a stream / Of powerful fire destroy, while Etna's flame / Breaks forth, and down into the molten stream

6 Shall Croton, great and powerful city, fall. / And strife shall be in Hellas; they shall rage / Against each other, and hurl to the dust / Numerous cities, and kill many men / Wrangling; but equal is the strife for both. But when at length the course of time shall come / To the tenth generation of mankind, / Then shall there be a slavish yoke and fear / Upon the Persians. And when Macedon / Shall boast the scepter, there shall come to Thebes A terrible destruction; and the Carians / Shall dwell in Tyre, and Tyrians be destroyed. / And sand shall hide all Samos under shore; / Delos shall be no longer visible; / And Babylon, magnificent to see, But small to fight, shall

stand with vain hopes walled. / Macedonians shall dwell in Bactria, / And those of Bactria and Susa all / Shall flee away into the land of Greece. / These things shall come to pass when Pyramus,

7 Pouring his silvery eddies on the shore, / Shall reach afar unto a sacred isle. / And Sybaris shall fall, and Cyzicus, / When earthquakes shake the land, and cities perish. / To Rhodes shall come the last but greatest woe. Nor shall the Macedonians always rule; / But from the West a great Italian war / Shall blossom out, and under it the world, / Bearing a slavish yoke, shall subject be / To the Italians. Thou, O Carchedon, Thy tower shall also to the ground be hurled. / Wretched Laodicea, thee some day / Shall earthquakes damage, leveling to the dust; / But a city of broad streets shall rise again. / And also thou, O wretched Corinth, shalt Some day behold thy utter overthrow. / O Lycian Myra, who art beautiful, / Thee also some time shall the heaving land / Hurl to the dust, and falling prone to earth, / Amid the din of battle thou shalt pray

8 To flee, an alien, to another land. / Then on the godless ones of Patara, / Along with thunders and with earthquake shocks / Another shall pour out a dark sea flood. / Also for thee, Armenia, there remains A slavish fate, and then shall also come / To Solyma an evil blast of war, / From Italy, and God's great temple spoil. / But when they, trusting folly, shall forget / Piety, and foul murder consummate Around the temple, then from Italy / A mighty king, even like a star, shall flee / Unseen, unknown, beyond Euphrates' ford. / Then shall he expiate the bloody crime / Of matricide, and many other deeds Which he with wicked hands will have performed. / And many about Rome's sacred plain shall bleed, / While he escapes beyond the fatherland. / But into Syria Rome's great chief shall come / And burn with fire the temple, and with spear

9 Shall slaughter many men of Solyma, / And spoil the great broad country of the Jews. / And then, too, shall an earthquake overthrow / Both Salamis and Paphos, and dark floods / Shall wildly dash on wave-washed Cyprus' shore. But when from deep clefts of the Italian land / Fire shall come whirling into the broad heaven / And many cities burn and men destroy, / And a vast mass of heated ashes shall fill / The expanse of air, and the small drops of rain Shall fall like a red mildew out of heaven, / Then know the anger of the heavenly God, / Because they slew the blameless godly race. / And thereupon into the West shall come / The wrangle of a newly wakened war, And bear-

ing a huge spear, Rome's fugitive / Shall cross Euphrates with many myriads. /
O hapless Antioch, thee they shall call / No more a city, when thou fallest
down / Through want of understanding round thy spears.

10 Then also famine and war's horrid din / Shall ruin Cyprus. Woe,
wretched Cyprus, woe! / Thou shalt be hidden by the sea's broad wave, /
Which by the wintry blasts is tossed on high. / But into Asia there shall come
great wealth, Which Rome herself, once plundering, put away / In her lux-
urious homes; and twice as much / Of other things shall she to Asia give; /
And then there shall be an excess of war. / And Carian cities by Mæander's
wave, Which have been beautifully fenced with towers, / Shall by a bitter
famine be destroyed, / When the Mæander his dark water hides. / But when
from men shall perish piety, / And faith and righteousness, and they shall
live In recklessness profane, and insolence / Presumptuous, and full many
other sins, / And of the pious no one makes account, / But from a want of
understanding all / Like children utterly destroy themselves,

11 In violence exulting, and in blood / Holding their hands, then will it
be discerned / That God is mild no longer, but surcharged / With fury, and
by a great conflagration / Will utterly destroy the race of men. Ah, miserable
mortals, change these things, / Nor tempt the mighty God to wrath ex-
treme; / But letting go swords, wailings, homicides, / And insolence, wash in
the flowing stream / The whole body, and with hands stretched out to heav-
en, Seek pardon for the former deeds, and heal / Bitter impiety with piety, /
And God will give repentance, not destroy. / And he will stay his wrath, if ye
will all / Observe in your hearts precious piety. But if, ill-minded, ye obey me
not, / But loving wickedness, receive these things / With a base hearing, over
all the world / Fire shall be, and the greatest omens, swords, / And trumpets,
at the rising of the sun;

12 All earth the mighty roaring sound shall hear. / The whole land he will
burn, and the whole race / Of men shall perish, and he will consume / All cit-
ies, with the rivers and the seas; / These all shall be reduced to smoky dust.
But when all things become an ashy pile, / God will put out the fire unspeak-
able / Which he once kindled, and the bones and ashes / Of men will God
himself again transform, / And raise up mortals as they were before. And
then will be the judgment; God himself / Will sit as judge, and judge the
world again. / As many as committed impious sins / Shall Stygian Gehenna's
depths conceal / Neath molten earth and dismal Tartarus. But the pious shall

again live on the earth, / And God will give them spirit, life, and means / Of nourishment, and all shall see themselves, / Beholding the sun's sweet and cheerful light. / O happiest man, who at that time shall live!

BOOK V

¹ But bring to me the lamentable time / Of the illustrious Latins, who were first, / After the kings of Egypt were cut off, / And had all been borne down into the earth; And also after Pella's citizen, / Under whom all the Orient was subdued, / And the rich West, whom Babylon disgraced / And gave a corpse to Philip; not of Jove / Nor Ammon truly boasted to have sprung. And they shall issue of the race and blood / Of great Assaracus, those born at Troy, / Even him who cleft the violence of fire. / But after many kings and warlike men, / And after the twin children of the beast That feeds on sheep, shall there come forth a king / Pre-eminent, who will sum up twice ten / With his initial letter. He shall be / In war exceeding powerful; and of ten / Shall also his first letter be the sign.

² After him rules who of the alphabet / Has the first letter. Thrace and Sicily / And Memphis crouch and quail in dread of him— / Memphis, cast to the ground by wickedness / Of leaders, and a woman unsubdued, Fallen on the wave. And he will institute / Laws for the peoples, and subdue all things. / But after a long time will he transmit / The kingdom to another, who will have / The number of three hundred his first sign, And of a river the beloved name. / The Persians he will rule and Babylon, / And then will smite the Medians with his spear. / Then one will rule who takes the number three. / Then shall one whose first letter marks twice ten Become king, and to the remotest bounds / Of ocean shall he go, and sweep along / The reflux tide by the Ausonian shores.

³ / And one whose mark is fifty shall be lord, / A dreadful serpent, breathing grievous war; He will stretch out his hands against his kin, / And cut them off, and spread confusion wide, / Fight, kill the people, and dare countless things. / And he will cleave the isthmus, and with gore / Besprinkle it. But this destructive one Shall pass from sight and then return again, / Presuming to be equal unto God; / But he will sift him as if he were naught. / And after him will three kings be destroyed / By one another. Then a great destroyer Of pious men shall come, and he shall show / Conspicuously the letter seven times ten. / His son, however, whose initial sign / Denotes three hundred, shall usurp the power. / And after him shall be a destined one, A

soul destroyer, of the number four. / And then an old man numbering fifty comes, / And next to him, whose first initial marks / Three hundred, is a Celtic mountaineer; / Hastening away to battle in the East

4 He shall not miserable fate escape, / But sink in painful toils. Him foreign dust / Shall cover a dead corpse, having the name / Of Nemea's flower. And after him shall reign / Another man, with silver helmet decked, And to him shall be given the name of a sea; / And he shall be a man of excellence, / And turn his mind to all things. And on thee / Thou excellent, most noble, dark-haired one, / And on thy branches all these days shall come. Three shall reign, but the third one late shall rule. / Thrice wretched I, sister of Isis, grieve / To place in heart an evil prophecy. / Even a sacred song of oracles. / First Menades shall rush around the base Of thy sad temple, and in evil hands / Shall it be in that day when the Nile whelms / All Egypt's land to sixteen cubits deep; / It shall flood all the land, and cover men / With water, and the beauty of the earth

5 And glory of her face shall disappear. / Memphis, thou shalt for Egypt greatly mourn; / For though thou once didst rule the land in power, / Thou shalt become sad, and the Thunderer / Shall call from heaven with a mighty voice: O mighty Memphis, who of old didst boast / So greatly o'er weak mortals, thou shalt wail / In sore distress, and wretchedness extreme, / So that thou truly shalt thyself discern / The eternal God, immortal in the clouds. Where is thy gain in having among men / Prepared great power? Because thou hast against / My God-anointed children been enraged, / And hast stirred evil up among good men, / Thou shalt for such things have for penalty This foster child. No longer openly / Shall there be right for thee among the blessed; / Fallen from the stars, thou shalt not mount to heaven.

6 / These things to Egypt God commissioned me / To utter touching the last time when men Shall be all evil. But the wicked toil / In sorrow, looking for calamity, / Wrath of the Immortal, Thunderer of heaven, / But worshipping false gods, and stones, and beasts, / And fearing many other things besides, Which have no speech, nor mind, nor power to hear, / Which things for me to mention is not right, / Dumb idols all, the work of mortal hands. / Of their own labors and their impious thoughts / Have men received gods made of wood, and stone, And brass, and gold, and silver, soulless, vain, / Deaf, and they made them molten in the fire, / In such things having vainly put their trust. / Thmois and Xoïs are in sore distress; / Destroyed the counsel

is of Hercules, And Jupiter, and Hermes, and for thee, / O Alexandria, famed nourisher / Of cities, war shall never leave thee more. / For thy pride thou shalt give as many things / As thou hast done before. Long time shalt thou

7 Be silent, even on the joyful day. / No more for thee shall flow the luxurious cup. / And all thy land an artful man shall ruin / With blood, and corpses by the horrid altars; / Of barbarous mind, strong, very terrible, Senselessly raging, hurrying on thy doom / With force innumerable as the sand. / Then wilt thou, happy city, suffer much. / All Asia falling on the earth shall wail / Because of gifts which she received from thee, And with which, head encircled, she rejoiced. / But he who had the Persians for his lot / Shall war on Egypt, and slay every man, / And plunder and destroy all means of life, / So that a third remains for wretched man. But he from the West shall speed with nimble leap, / Invading all the land and wasting all. / But when he has obtained the height of power, / And odious dread, he will return, resolved / The city of the blessed to destroy.

8 And then a powerful king, sent forth from God, / Shall slay all mighty kings and noble men. / Then thus shall be a lasting end to men. / Alas! alas for thee, unhappy heart! / Why dost thou move me Egypt's troubled state, Beset by many rulers, to rehearse? / Go to the East, to Persia's thoughtless race, / And show them what is and what is to be. / Euphrates' river shall a deluge form, / And Persians and Iberians destroy, And Babylonians, and Massagetæ / That take delight in war, all armed with bows. / All Asia fire-consumed unto the isles / Shall drip. And Pergamos, of old revered, / Shall wholly perish, and an utter waste Shall Pitane appear to human eyes. / All Lesbos shall sink deep into the deep, / So as to perish; Smyrna down the steep / Being rolled shall wail, she who was once revered / And famous shall be utterly destroyed.

9 And the Bithynians shall lament their land / Reduced to ashes, also Syria / The mighty, and Phenicia rich in plants. / Woe, woe to thee, O Lycia, for thee / What evils are devised! Of its own will The sea has mounted on the troubled land, / So that the soil of Lycia, once replete / With fragrance sweet, shall wail for earthquake dire, / And bitter floods. Fierce wrath shall also come / On Phrygia, on account of grief for which Rhea, Jove's mother, came and tarried there. / The sea shall overthrow the Taurian race, / A barbarous nation, and the Lapithæ / Shall to the earth be cast down and despoiled. / The land of Thessaly shall be destroyed By the deep eddying river Peneus, / Deep-flowing, sweeping mortals from the earth. / Eridanus [the river that

professed / To have begotten once the forms of beasts]. / Greece the thrice wretched shall the poets weep,

10 When out of Italy a mighty king / Of mighty Rome shall smite the isthmus' neck, / A godlike man, whom they say Jove himself / And honored Juno bore, who, courting praise / For his sweet songs with a melodious voice, Will with the wretched mother many slay. / From Babylon shall flee the fearful king / And shameless, whom all mortals justly hate; / For he slew many, and laid violent hands / Upon the womb; against his wife he sinned, And of flagitious parents was he born. / But he will come unto the Medes and kings / Of Persia whom he first sought, and for whom / He wrought renown, and, with these wicked ones, / Will lurk against a nation not beloved. He seized the God-made temple, and he burned / The citizens and people going in, / Who have been justly eulogized in song.

11 / On his appearing the creation shook, / Kings perished, but among them yet remained Authority, until they had destroyed / The mighty city and the righteous people. / But when in the fourth year a star shall shine, / Which alone shall destroy the entire land, / Because of honor first to Neptune paid, Then there shall come from heaven a mighty star / Into the dreadful sea, and burn the deep, / And Babylon itself, and Italy, / For which full many faithful Hebrew saints / And also the true temple were destroyed. Thou shalt among base mortals suffer wrongs, / But shalt remain whole ages all a waste, / Hating thy soil, for thou didst long for drugs, / Adulteries were with thee, and with boys / Thou didst indulge in lawless acts of shame, Effeminate, unjust, and wicked city, / Ill-fated above all. Woe, woe to thee, / Thou unclean city of the Latin land! / Mad woman, fond of serpents, by thy banks / A widow thou shalt sit, and over thee

12 The river Tiber shall weep as for a spouse. / O thou of murderous heart and impious soul, / Dost thou not know what God has power to do, / And what his purpose is? But thou didst say, / "I am alone, and none shall plunder me." But now thee and all thine shall God destroy, / The ever-living One, and in that land / No longer shall a trace of thee remain, / As when of old thy honors God procured. / Remain thou then alone, O lawless one, And, mixed with burning fire, dwell in the realm / Of Hades, the Tartarean lawless land. / And now again, O Egypt! I lament / Thy sorrow. Memphis, leader thou of toils, / Filled with the dead, in thee the pyramids Shall utter forth a shameful sound of woe. / Python of old, twin city rightly called, / Be still forever, that

thou mayest cease / From wickedness. Thou basely insolent, / Store-house of sorrows, Manad, full of woe,

13 Terrible sufferer, and full of tears, / Thou shalt remain a widow through all time. / Thou didst become old ruling the world alone. / But when a white dress Barca round herself / Shall put on over that which is defiled, O may I not be, might I not have been! / O Thebes, where is thy great power? A rude man / Shall slay the people; but thou, throwing on / Gray garments, wretched one, shalt weep alone. / And thou shalt make atonement for all things Which thou hast done, because of lawless deeds, / And they shall look upon thee in distress / As one that did possess a shameful soul. / Syene a great man shall overthrow, / And Tentyris of the Ethiopians Shall swarthy Indians occupy by force. / Pentapolis, a man of mighty power / Shall make thee weep. O Libya, much bewildered, / Who shall explain thy woes? And who of men / Cyrene, shall bewail thy miseries?

14 Thou shalt not from thy hateful weeping cease / Until the time of thy destruction comes. / Among the Britons and the wealthy Gauls / Shall ocean, filled with much blood, loudly roar, / For they did evil to the sons of God, When a Phenician king from Syria led / With the Sidonians a vast Gallic force; / And thee thyself, Ravenna, he will slay, / And in the work of murder be a guide. / O Indians and great Ethiopians, Be not presumptuous, for when Capricorn / Around the pole, and Taurus in mid heaven / Among the Twins shall have encircled these, / And Virgo rises, and about his front / The sun a girdle fastening leads all heaven— A great ethereal fire shall be on earth, / And in the conflicts of the warring stars / Shall nature become new, and all the land / Of the Indians and the Ethiopians / Shall perish in the midst of fire and groans.

15 Weep also thou, O Corinth, the sad doom / Of thy destruction, when with twisted threads / The Fates, three sisters, spinning, lead on high / The one who fled by guile beside the voice / Of the isthmus, until all shall gaze on him Who once cut off the rock with beaten brass; / And he thy land will ruin, and will smite / As it has been appointed; for to him / Has the only God given to accomplish what / Not one of all the former kings could do. For standing there in power he will give others / To pluck off with a sickle from the root / Three heads, so that unholy kings shall eat / Their parents' flesh. For unto all mankind / Murder and terrors are laid up in store Because of the great city and just people / Saved through all time by special providence. / O

thou unstable one, and ill-advised, / By evil fates surrounded, unto men /
Both a beginning and great end of woe,

16 A creature harmed and saved again by fate, / Excess of evils, woe, and
man's great end, / Who among mortals ever longed for thee? / Who is not
angry with thee in his heart? / In thee cast forth, what king his honored life
Lost? All things evilly hast thou disposed, / And deluged all with evil, and by
thee / Have beautiful portions of the world been changed. / Into our strife
these last, perchance put forth: / And how dost thou say, "I will thee persuade,
And if in any thing I blame thee, speak!" / There once was among men the
sun's bright light, / And prophets' common rays were wide diffused, / And
language, dripping fair drink for all men, / Appeared, developed, and day
dawned on all. Because of this, O thou of narrow mind, / Author of greatest
evils, both a sword / And sorrow will be coming in that day. / Beginning and
great end of woe to men, / A creature harmed and saved again by fate,

17 Hear the harsh sound of sharp words, bane of men. / But when the Per-
sian land is free from war / And pestilence and woe, then in that day / There
shall be of the blessed heavenly Jews / A race divine, who in the midst of the
land Shall round God's city dwell; and with great walls / Even as far as Joppa
circled round, / They lift themselves up to the dusky clouds. / No longer will
the trumpet sound abroad / War's murderous tones, nor shall men be des-
troyed By the mad hands of foes; but there shall stand / Forever monuments
of wicked men. / But there shall come from heaven a wondrous man, /
Whose hands were stretched out on the fruitful wood, / The noblest of the
Hebrews, who once caused The sun to stand still, when he gave command /
With admirable speech and hallowed lips.

18 / No longer vex thy soul, nor put a sword / Unto thy bosom, O thou
child of God, / Rich, only longed-for flower, thou goodly light, Thou con-
summation noble, longed-for, pure, / Lovely Judea, city beautiful, / Inspired
by hymns. No longer on thy soil / Will the Greeks revel with unhallowed
foot, / But have within their hearts a similar law. But thee shall noble chil-
dren reverence, / And at the table stand with holy songs, / With offerings of
all sorts and worthy prayers. / As many as endure the weariness / Of light af-
fliction, and are just, shall come To greater good and excellent delights; / But
those who sent to heaven foul, lawless speech / Shall against one another
cease to speak, / And hide themselves until the world shall change. / But from
the clouds a rain of gloomy fire Shall come, and mortals shall no longer

reap / From earth the splendid corn; wild and untilld / Shall all things be,
till mortal men shall know / The God who rules all, the immortal One, / Ex-
isting ever; mortal things no more

19 Shall grow old, neither dogs nor carrion birds, / Such as the Egyptians
taught should be revered / By tender youthful mouths, and foolish lips. / But
all these things the Hebrews' holy land / Alone shall bear; from honey-drip-
ping rock And from a spring there shall a rivulet And milk ambrosial flow
to all the just; For in our glorious Maker, God alone, Having great faith and
piety, they hoped. But why does the wise mind grant me these things? Yet
thee, O wretched Asia, I deplore In pitying sorrow, and the Ionian race And
Carians, and the Lydians rich in gold. Woe, Sardis; woe, woe, Trallis, greatly
loved; Woe, woe, Laodicea, city fair, How shalt thou perish by the earth-
quake shock, Fall into ruin, and to dust be changed! In gloomy Asia of the
rich Lydians Shall Dian's temple, fixed at Ephesus, Some day by yawning
chasms and earthquake shocks

20 Come headlong down into the dreadful sea, Even as ships are over-
whelmed by storms. And Ephesus, quite overthrown, shall wail, Lamenting
by her banks, and searching out Her temple, no more to be occupied. And
then, incensed, shall God, the imperishable, Who dwells on high, send
lightning from the heaven Down on the power of him that is impure. And
in that day, instead of winter's storms There shall be summer; and to mortal
men This shall then be, for the great Thunderer Will utterly destroy all
shameless ones With thunders, lightnings, and terrific flames Against mali-
cious men, and ruin them / As godless, so that bodies of the dead Shall lie on
earth more numerous than the sand. / And Smyrna also, weeping for Lycur-
gus, / Unto the gates of Ephesus shall come, / And yet herself the rather come
to naught. / And foolish Cumæ, with her inspired streams,

21 By hands of gods and lawless men hurled down, / Shall offer up her joy
into the air / No more, but lie a corpse by Cumæ's streams. / And then those
left shall suffer ills together. / Cumæ's rude populace, a hateful tribe, Having
a sign, shall know for what they suffered. / And then when they shall have
their wicked land / Reduced to ashes, Lesbos, situate / By Eridanus, shall per-
ish evermore. / Woe, woe to thee, Corcyra, city fair, Cease from thy revel.
Hierapolis, / Thou also, only soil with riches mixed, / Shalt have what thou
hast longed to have, a land / Of many tears, having been enraged against / A
country by the streams of Thermodon. And rocky Tripolis, beside the waves /

Of the Mæander, filled up by the shore / With mighty waters, thou shalt be destroyed / Utterly, by God's will and providence. / I do not wish to take the neighboring land

22 Of Phœbus, yet a thunderbolt from heaven / Wanton Miletus some day shall destroy, / Because she took up Phœbus' crafty song / And the wise care and prudent plans of men. / Be merciful, All-Father, to the land Of Judah, wanton, fruit-abounding, great, / That we may live to see thy purposes. / For this thou knewest at first, O God, in love, / That to all men it might appear thy gift, / And that they might see what God will bestow. I long thrice wretched Thracia's works to see, / And the wall trailed in dust between two seas, / Even like a river for the swimming fish. / O wretched Hellespont, some day a child / Of the Assyrians shall throw a bridge Across thee. Against thee will Thracians fight / And of thy power exhaust thee utterly; / And on the Macedonian land shall seize / A king of Egypt, and a barbarous clime / Will cast the prowess of the leaders down.

23 Lydians, Galatians, and Pamphylians, / With the Pisidians, being armed for war, / With all the people conquer in fell strife. / Thrice wretched Italy, thou shalt remain / Unwept, deserted, in a blooming land, The deadly serpent fully to destroy. / But far above along the ethereal sky / God's voice like rolling thunder shall be heard, / And the sun's own imperishable flames / Be no more, and the moon's brilliant light Shall not again be in that latest time, / When God shall rule. All things shall be in gloom, / Darkness shall be on earth, and blinded men, / And evil beasts, and a long time of woe; / So that it will be seen that God is king, And looks down from the heavens on all below. / Himself will not then pity hostile men, / Who sacrifice the herds of lambs and sheep, / And bellowing calves, great calves with gilded horns, / To lifeless Hermes and to gods of stone.

24 But let the law of wisdom take the lead, / The glory of the righteous, lest, anon, / The imperishable God be filled with wrath, / And every race and tribe of men destroy; / For it is binding on us to love God, The wise Creator, who forever lives. / There shall be at the last time, when the moon / Comes near its end, a world-disputing war, / And it will be in cunning and in guile; / And from the earth's extremity shall come A matricidal man, a fugitive, / Revolving sharp devices in his mind; / He every land will seize, and conquer all; / Wiser than all men, he will know all things. / That on account of which he himself perished Forthwith he will seize. And he will destroy / Many men

and great tyrants, and consume / All of them as none other ever did. / And such as fell he will restore through zeal. / But from the West shall come much war to men,

25 And hills of blood shall to the rivers flow. / But in the plains of Macedonia / The rage drops, and alliance from the West / Is offered, but destruction for the king. / And then a wintry blast shall blow on earth, And evil war shall fill the land again. / For fire on mortals from the heavenly plains / Shall be rained down in showers, fire, and blood, / Water and lightning, darkness, awful night, / Wasting in war, and on the slaughter gloom; And it will bring destruction to all kings, / Even those then best; and thus shall terminate / The lamentable ruin of dire war. / No longer will one fight with swords, or iron, / Or darts, which things shall not again be right. And prudent people, such as have survived, / Will have peace, having tested wickedness / In order that at last they might have joy. / Ye matricides, leave off the impudence / Of bold effrontery and wicked works,

26 Ye who have basely furnished couch for boys, / And in the brothel harlots made of those / Who once were pure, by means of insolence, / And punishment, and forced indecency. / For in thee lawless mother with her child Held carnal intercourse, and with her sire / The daughter was united as a bride. / Also in thee have kings their ill-starred mouth / Polluted, and in thee have wicked men / Found couch with beasts. O city full of grief And evil, given to reveling, be still. / For virgins will no longer find with thee / The sacred fire of the love-kindling grove. / By thee the loved house was of old put out, / When I saw it a second time laid waste, And wrapped in fire by an unholy hand, / House always blooming, temple watched of God, / Brought forth by saints, imperishable ever, / A ground of hope for soul and body too. / For without burial rites none will praise God

27 Out of the hidden earth, nor will the wise / Artificer prepare a stone for such, / Nor did he reverence gold, the cheat of souls / And of the world; but they with sacrifice / And holy hecatombs adored the God And mighty Maker of all breathing things. / But now an unseen and unholy king / Rose, cast this down, and let it go unbuilt, / With a great multitude and famous men. / But having gone up to the immortal land He himself perished. Such a sign no more / Was ever wrought on men; so it seemed good / That others the great city should destroy. / For from the heavenly plains there came a man, / A blessed one, who held within his hand A scepter with which God intrusted

him, / And all things he ruled nobly, and restored / To all the good the wealth which former men / Had taken; and all cities with vast fire / From the foundations he destroyed and burned,

28 The towns of men who had wrought wicked deeds. / And that same city which God loved he made / More radiant than the stars, and sun and moon, / And put on ornament, and made in flesh / A sanctuary very beautiful, And formed for miles a great and boundless tower / Touching the very clouds, and seen by all, / So that the faithful and the just might all / Behold the glory of the eternal God, / A longed-for sight. Morning and evening hymned The praise of God. For there shall no more come / Dire evils upon miserable men, / Adulteries and lawless lust of boys, / Nor murder, nor confusion, but with all / A righteous rivalry. Last is the time Of the saints, when the lofty Thunderer, / God, who is founder of the mighty temple, / Brings to their consummation all these things. / Alas! alas for thee, O Babylon, / For golden throne and golden sandal famed,

29 Thou ancient kingdom, sole lord of the world; / Once mighty and all-potent, thou shalt lie / No more in golden mountains, and the streams / Of the Euphrates; thou shalt be laid low / In time of earthquake. But the dreadful Parthians Made thee rule all things. Hold thy insolent mouth, / O vile race of Chaldeans! Do not speak / Nor be concerned how thou shalt rule the Persians, / Or how thou shalt be conqueror of the Medes. / For on account of thy power which thou hadst, Having sent hostages to Rome, and served / In Asia, thou shalt as a prudent queen / Into the judgment of the unrighteous come, / For whom thou hast sent ransoms. Thou shalt give / Instead of puzzling words keen wrath to foes. And in the last time shall the sea be dry, / And ships no longer sail to Italy; / But great and fruitful Asia and the plain / Of Crete shall be all water. And great woe / Shall Cyprus have, and on a dreadful fate

30 Shall Paphos rush, so that one shall behold / Salamis, great city, suffering mighty woe. / Now waste and fruitless shall she be again / Upon the coast; and locusts not a few / The Cyprian land shall ruin. Look at Tyre And weep, O hapless mortals! Fearful wrath / Waits thee, Phenicia, until thou fall / A vile corpse, so that sirens truly weep. / In the fifth generation, when the ruin / Of Egypt shall have ceased, and shameless kings Mingle together, nations of all tribes / Shall camp in Egypt, and in Macedonia, / And Asia, and among the Lydians / Shall rage a cruel world-oppressing war / Of much blood and

dust, which the king of Rome And rulers of the West shall cause to cease. /
When wintry storm comes dropping like the snow, / And the great river and
vast lakes are frozen, / Straightway into the Asian land shall go / A barbarous
multitude, and the dire race

31 Of Thracians like a feeble thing destroy. / And then will wretched
mortals, hunger-worn, / Devour their parents, and gulp down all food, / And
wild beasts in all dwellings eat their food, / They and the birds devour all
mortal men. And with the wicked ocean shall be filled, / Being blood-red
from the river—flesh and blood / Of foolish men. Then thus a littleness /
Shall be upon the earth, that of mankind / And womankind the number one
may see. But myriad things shall a dire race bewail / At the end, when the sun
sets not to rise, / But to remain submerged in ocean's wave, / Because it saw
the baneful wickedness / Of many mortals. And a moonless night Shall gather
round the mighty heaven itself, / And no small mist shall hide the world's
ravines. / But then a second time shall God's light rule / The good men, even
as many as praise God. / Isis, thrice wretched goddess, thou alone

32 Shalt by the waters of the Nile remain, / A lawless Bacchanal upon the
sands / Of Acheron, and over all the earth / No more shall memory of thee
remain. / And thou, Serapis, sitting on the stones, Shalt be in trouble about
many things. / Thou shalt in thrice unhappy Egypt lie / An immense corpse;
all that in Egypt bore / A love toward thee shall wail thee bitterly. / But such
as praise God, having in their minds Unimpaired reason, know that thou art
naught. / And then a linen-vested priest shall say: / "Come, let us raise a beau-
tiful temple of God / In truth; come, let us change the fearful laws / Of our
forefathers, by which they required Processions, and performed their mystic
rites / To gods of stone and clay that had no sense. / Let us our souls turn and
give praise to God / The imperishable, who himself is sire,

33 Who always has been, who is Lord of all / The true one, king, and soul-
sustaining sire, / The mighty God, existing evermore. / And then in Egypt
there shall be a great / And holy temple, and their sacrifices Into it shall the
God-made people bring, / And God shall give to them eternal life. / But
when the Ethiopians forsake / The shameless tribes of the Triballians, / And
cultivate their Egypt, wickedness They will begin, that afterward all things /
May come to pass. For they shall overthrow / The mighty temple of the
Egyptian land, / And on earth will God rain a fearful wrath / Upon them,
and all base and lawless men Shall be destroyed. And in that land no more /

Will any one receive forbearing grace, / Because they did not guard what God
had given. / The threatening of the shining sun I saw / Among the stars, and
in the lightning flash

34 The dire wrath of the moon. The stars travailed / With battle; God per-
mitted them to fight. / For in the sun's stead long fire-flames arose; / The
morning star made fight and trod upon / The Lion's back, and the moon's
double horn Changed its face; Capricorn smote Taurus' neck, / But Taurus
took away from Capricorn / Returning day; Orion would no more / Abide
the yoke, and the lot of the Twins / Did Virgo change to Aries; no more
shone The Pleiads, and the Dragon left his zone. / Pisces went down into the
Lion's belt; / The Crab remained not, for he feared Orion; / Scorpio ap-
proached the dreadful Lion's tail, / And from the sun's flame slipped the Dog
away; Aquarius kindled to a flame the night / Of the strong shining one.
The flame itself / Was roused up till it shook the warring ones, / And in a
rage hurled them headlong to earth. / Then quickly smitten down upon the
waves

35 Of ocean, it set all the earth on fire, / And the high heaven remained
without a star.

BOOK VI

1 The Immortal's mighty Son, renowned in song, / Proclaim I from the
heart, to whom a throne / The most high Father gave for a possession / Ere
he was born; and then he was raised up, In flesh given him, and washed in
Jordan's stream, / Which bears with gleaming foot the waves away. / He hav-
ing fled from fire first shall behold / The blessed Spirit of God descending
down / With white wings of a dove. And he shall bloom A blossom pure, and
all things shall burst forth. / And he will show to men the ways, will show /
The heavenly paths, and with wise words teach all. / And he will lead to
righteousness, and win / The hostile people, boasting a descent From a cele-
stial Father. He will tread / The billows, and men's maladies destroy. / He will
raise up the dead, and many woes / Drive far away; and from one root shall
come / Enough of bread for men, when David's house

2 A scion shall bring forth, and in his hands / Shall be the whole world—
land and heaven and sea. / He will flash lightning on the earth, as once / The
two born from each other's sides beheld / The light appear. And this shall
come to pass When earth rejoices in hope of a son. / But for thee only, Sod-
omitit land, / Are miseries in store, for with fell mind / Thou didst not give

attention to thy God, / Who laughs at mortal schemes, but out of thorns
Didst plait for him a crown, and fearful gall / In wanton insolence of spirit
didst mix. / This shall bring on thee bitter miseries. / O wood most blessed,
on which God was stretched, / Earth shall not hold thee, but a heavenly
house shalt thou behold, when the new form of God / Shall flash forth as the
lightning into view.

BOOK VII

1 O Rhodes, thou wretched one, thee first I mourn. / Of cities first, first shalt
thou be destroyed, / Bereft of men and of all means of life. / And Delos, thou
shalt sail upon the sea, And be unstable on the watery way. / Cyprus, a billow
of thy bridal sea / Shall some time ruin thee. Thee, Sicily, / The burning fire
within thee shall consume. / Nor heed God's terrible and pleasant water.
Noah, sole fugitive of all men came. / The land shall swim, the mountains
and the air / Shall also swim, all things shall water be, / And all things shall
by water be destroyed. / The wind shall cease, and a second age begin. O
Phrygia, from the upper water first / To break forth, thou thyself shalt be the
first / To deny God, being pleased with other gods, / Who shall destroy thee,
miserable one, / When many rolling years shall be complete.

2 The wretched Ethiopians, suffering / By pitiable woes, and crouching
down / In terror, shall be smitten by the sword. / Rich Egypt, ever caring for
the corn / Which the Nile underneath his floating waves Makes seven times
drunk, shall perish by the strife / Of tribes with one another. Quickly then /
Will men drive Apis out, no god for men. / Woe, woe, Laodicea, daring
one, / Thou shalt be false, God having never seen; And Lycus' surges shall
wash thee away. / He himself, who is born the mighty God, / Shall work
great signs, and in the midst of heaven / Shall hang an axle, and shall place
on high / A mighty terror to be seen by men, Measuring a column with an
immense fire, / Whose drops shall slay the races of mankind / That have done
evil. For a time will come / When men may God appease, but put no end / To
bitter sorrows; but through David's house

3 Shall all things be fulfilled. For unto him / Has God himself given and
confirmed a throne; / And messengers beneath his feet repose, / Some in the
fire, some in the streams appear, / Others save cities, and some send forth
winds. And unto many men shall life be hard, / Entering in souls, and chan-
ging minds of men. / But when a new shoot from the root shall spring, / The
vast creation which he once to all / Spread forth abundantly for nourish-

ment, And all things with the times shall be complete. / But when strange Persians, warlike tribe, shall rule, / The bridal chambers shall be full of fear / Because of lawless tribes. For her own son / Will mother have as husband, son will harm His mother, daughter couching by her sire / Shall sleep according to barbarian law. / But afterward to them the Roman Mars / Shall shine forth from a multitude of spears, / And they shall mix much land with human blood.

4 But then the chief of Italy shall flee / From the power of the spear, and they shall leave / Upon the land a shaft engraved in gold, / Among the foremost fighters, evermore / Bearing a symbol of necessity. But then shall Ilias sink into the tomb, / Wicked and piteously starved by fate, / No wedding there, and brides shall deeply grieve, / Because they knew not God, but ever gave / The echo to the cymbal and the drum. Consult the oracle, O Colophon; / For over thee is hanging fearful fire. / Ill-wedded Thessaly, the earth no more / Shall see thee, nor thy ashes, and alone / Escaping from the mainland thou shalt sail; So, hapless one, thou shalt be war's vile filth, / Falling by means of rivers and sharp swords. / And thou, O hapless Corinth, shalt receive / Around thee heavy war, thou timid one, / And by each other ye shall be destroyed.

5 O Tyre, how much shalt thou alone receive? / For the small number of the pious men / Within thy land will scatter thee afar. / O Coele-Syria, thou towerest high / Above Phenician men, for whom the sea Of Berytas lies pouring forth abroad; / O wretched one, thou hast not known thy God, / Who once in Jordan's waters bathed himself, / And over whom the Spirit spread his wing; / Who, ere the earth and starry heaven were formed, Was made a ruler of his Father's word, / And by the Holy Spirit put on flesh, / And quickly flew unto his Father's house. / Three towers for him the mighty heaven has fixed, / In which God's noble stewards shall abide, Hope, piety, and longed-for reverence, / In gold and silver having no delight, / But in the holy reverence of men, / And sacrifices, and most righteous thoughts. / But thou to the immortal, mighty God,

6 The lofty One, shalt offer sacrifice, / Not melting grains of frankincense in fire, / Nor smiting with the sword the shaggy lamb. / But with all such as bear thy blood, take thou / Wild fowls, and, having prayed, send them away And turn thy eyes to heaven; and thou shalt pour / On the pure fire the water, and thus cry: / "O Father, thou who didst beget the Word, / A bird have I sent

thee, swift messenger / Of words, O thou Word, sprinkling thy baptism With holy waters, through which from the fire / Thou didst make thyself manifest to light." / Thou shalt not shut the door when unto thee / A stranger comes in need to keep away / Hunger of poverty, but taking hold Of that man's head, and sprinkling it with water, / Pray thrice, and cry unto thy God such things: / "I ask not riches. Suppliant I received / Once openly a suppliant. Father, thou / Provider, hear; thou wilt give him that prays."

7 Then, when the man has gone, say: "Press me not, / God's sacred service, righteous, holy, free, / By which Gehenna was reproved... / O Father, strengthen thou my wretched heart. / To thee I look, to thee, the Undeified, Who wast not fashioned by the hands of men." / Sardinia, weighty now, thou shalt be changed / To ashes. Thou shalt be no more an isle, / When comes a decade round. Amid the waves / Shall sailors seek thee when thou art no more, And the king-fishers for thee shall lament. / Mygdonia, rugged, inaccessible, / A watch-fire o'er the sea, thou boastest age, / And of age thou shalt perish altogether / With the hot wind, and rave with many woes. O Celtic land, on thine own mountain heights, / Along the Alps so inaccessible, / Deep sand shall altogether cover thee. / Tribute shalt thou no longer give, nor corn, / Nor pasture; but thou shalt forever be

8 Deserted by the nations, frozen thick / With chilling ice, and shalt atone the wrongs / Which thou, unholy one, didst not discern. / Great-hearted Rome, thou to Olympus shalt / Flash lightning after Macedonian spears; But God shall make thee utterly unknown, / When yet thou seemst more firmly to remain. / Then to thee such things I will cry aloud. / Being ruined thou wilt speak aloud, once bright / And clear. A second time to thee, O Rome, Again a second time I'll speak to thee. / And now thee, wretched Syria, piteously / Do I bewail. O Thebans ill-advised, / In you there is an evil noise, flutes play, / The trumpet sounds for you an evil note, And ye shall see the entire land destroyed. / Woe, woe to thee, thou wretched, ugly sea! / Thou shalt be utterly consumed by fire, / And thou wilt ruin people with thy brine. / For there shall be such raging fire on earth

9 As flows like water, and it shall destroy / The whole land; mountains it will set on fire, / Burn up the rivers, empty out the springs. / The world shall be disordered, men destroyed. / Then sorely burned, the wretched ones will look Toward heaven, not with stars, but fire inwrought. / Not quickly do they perish, but destroyed / Under the flesh and burning in the spirit / For

endless years, they will know that God's law / Is hard to prove, and cannot be deceived. And then earth shall be taken by violence, / Whatever god she daringly set forth / Upon the altars, and shall be deceived / By the smoke through the air, producing woes. / But they shall bear much longing, who for gain Prophecy shameless things and lengthen out / The evil time; who, clothed in shaggy skins / Of sheep, themselves as Hebrews falsely pass, / Which race they have no part in, but with words / Constantly talking, misers in their woes,

10 They will change customs, and will not persuade / The just, who through the heart propitiate God. / But in the third lot of revolving years, / The eighth, first shall another world appear. / And there shall be a long unyielding night. And then shall pass around a dreadful stench / Of brimstone, messenger of homicides, / When men by night and hunger shall be killed. / Then a pure mind will he beget in men, / And will establish thy race as it was To thee aforetime. No more shall one cut / Deep furrows with the plow, nor oxen sink / The guiding iron downward; nor shall vines / Nor ears of corn be seen, but all shall eat / The dewy manna with their fair white teeth. With them then also God himself shall be, / And teach them, as he taught me, doleful one. / For O, how many evils once I did / Knowingly! Also many other things / I wickedly and carelessly performed.

11 Countless my couches, but no marriage bond / Concerned me, and to all a savage oath / I rashly brought. The needy I shut out, / And among those who went to the like glen / I went, and did not heed the voice of God. Therefore did fire devour me, and shall gnaw, / For I myself shall not live, but a time / Of evil shall destroy me. Then will men / Make me a grave, passing me by the sea / And killing me with stones. For with my sire A dear son share I. Stone me, stone me, all; / For thus shall I live, and fix eyes on heaven.

BOOK VIII

1 God's revelations of great wrath to come / In the last time upon the faithless world, / I make known, prophesying to all men / According to their cities, from that time When the great tower fell, and the tongues of men / Were parted into many dialects. / First of the Egyptian kingdom did I speak, / Then that of Persians, Ethiopians, Medes, / And also of Assyrian Babylon, Then the great pride of Macedonia; / Now am I into the dominion sent / Of celebrated lawless Italy. / At last unto all mortals will it show / Man-

ifold evils, and exhaust the toils Of men of every land. And to the West / Will it the warrior king of nations lead, / Give laws to peoples, and subdue all things. / Late will the mills of God grind the fine flour. / Fire then will ruin all things, and to dust

2 Reduce the summits of the leafy hills, / And all flesh. Love of gain and want of mind / Of evils a beginning are to all; / For of deceitful gold and silver springs / Longing desire, for nothing mortals deem Better than these, not the sun's light, nor heaven, / Nor sea, nor the broad earth whence all things grow, / Nor God who gives all things, Maker of all; / Nor faith, nor piety do they prefer. / Source of impiety, confusion's guide, A means of wars, an enemy of peace, / Is want of understanding, setting fathers / At enmity with sons, and sons with fathers. / And marriage in comparison with gold / Will have no honor. Borders land will have, And guards each sea, divided craftily / For all that have gold, so that evermore / Those wishing it possess the nursing earth. / They waste the poor, that they themselves more land / Procuring may enslave them by deceit.

3 And if the huge earth from the starry heaven / Held not her throne afar, even light to men / Had not been equal, but, being bought with gold, / Had by the rich been owned, and for the poor / God must have then prepared another world. On thee some day shall come, O haughty Rome, / A fitting stroke from heaven, and thou the first / Shalt bend the neck, be leveled to the earth, / And fire shall utterly consume thee, beat / Upon thy pavements, and thy wealth shall perish, And on thy site shall wolves and foxes dwell. / And then shalt thou become all desolate / As though thou hadst not been. Where then will be / Palladium? What God will keep thee safe, / Whether of gold or stone or brass? Or then Where the decrees of thy assembly? Where / Rhea, or Kronos, or the race of Jove, / And all those whom thou didst once hold in awe, / Demons without life, phantoms of the dead, / The boast of whose tomb ill-starred Crete shall have,

4 Worshipping thrones of the unconscious dead? / When thou hast had thrice five voluptuous kings, / And hast enslaved the world from east to west, / A gray-haired prince shall rise, bearing the name / Of the near sea, and with polluted foot Will he survey the world, and gifts obtain, / And have vast sums of gold, and gather up / Of hateful silver more, and having stripped / [The peoples], he will then again return. / And in all mysteries will he partake Of Magian shrines, show forth a child as god, / Abolish all things

sacred, and disclose / To all from the first the mysteries of deceit. / Sad then will be the time when he himself, / Sad one, shall perish. And the populace Some time will say: "O city, thy great power / Has fallen, knowing that an evil day / Staightway is coming." Then shall weep together / Fathers and infant children, when they see / Before them thy most lamentable fate.

5 Woe, woe, they wail by Tiber's mournful banks. / After him at the last shall three bear rule / And fill the name out of the God of heaven, / Whose power now is and shall be evermore. / And one, an old man, very long will wield The scepter, a most pitiable king, / Who all the treasures of the world shall guard, / And shut up in his houses, that when comes / The matricidal fugitive again / From the earth's ends, having given these things to all, Vast wealth on Asia he will then bestow. / And then shalt thou weep, having put aside / The glory of the ruler's purple robe, / And put on mourning garments, O proud realm, / Offspring of Latin Rome. No more to thee Shall be the glory of thy lofty mien, / Nor shalt thou, hapless, ever be raised up, / But prostrate shalt thou lie; for even the glory / Of eagle-bearing legions shall fall down. / Where then thy power? What land will be ally,

6 O thou who hast been lawlessly enslaved / By thine own follies? For through all the earth / There will be then confusion of mankind, / When the Almighty, coming to the throne, / Shall judge the souls of living and of dead, And all the world. And parents will not be / Dear to their children, nor will children be / To parents, on account of wickedness / And unexpected trouble. Then to thee / Shall gnashing, capture, and dispersion come, Cities shall fall and earth be rent in chasms. / When thus upon the billows there shall come / A dragon bearing fire, and full within, / And shall afflict thy children, there shall be / Famine and tribal war, and near at hand Is the end of the world, and the last day / And judgment of the immortal God for such / As are both called and chosen. First of all / Inexorable wrath shall fall on Rome; / A time of blood and wretched life shall come.

7 Woe, woe to thee, O land of Italy, / Great, barbarous nation; thou didst not perceive / Whence naked and unworthy thou didst come / To the sun's light, that to that place again / Naked thou shouldst return, and then come forth To judgment, as one who unjustly judged. / With hands gigantic coming from on high / Alone through all the world, thou shalt abide / Under the earth. By naphtha and asphalt / And sulphur and much fire thou utterly Shalt disappear, and be as burning dust / Forever, and all who behold shall hear /

From Hades an exceeding mournful wail, / And gnashing of teeth, and with
thine own hands / Thou wilt forever beat thy godless breast. To all alike
there shall be equal night, / To rich and poor; naked they came from earth /
And naked into earth again they go. / They grow, complete their time, and
cease from life. / No slave, nor lord, nor tyrant will be there,

8 Nor king, nor leader, filled with vain conceit. / No legal advocate, nor
magistrate / Judging for money; nor do they pour out / The blood of sacri-
fices in libations / Upon the altars. Not a drum will sound, Nor cymbal, nor
the perforated flute / Of frenzied tone, nor sound of pipe like that / Of
crooked dragon; nor the barbarous trumpet / The harbinger of wars, nor
drunken men / In lawless revels, nor in choral dances, Nor sound of lyre; no
instrument of evil, / Nor strife, nor wrath of various kind, nor sword / Is with
the dead, but unto all alike / Eternity is keeper of the key / Of the great pris-
on for God's judgment-seat. With images of gold and silver and stone / Be
ready, that unto the bitter day / Ye may come, thy first punishment, O
Rome, / Even a gnashing anguish to behold. / And no more under slavish
yoke to thee

9 Will either Greek or Syrian put his neck, / Barbarian or any other na-
tion. / Thou shalt be plundered and shalt be destroyed / For what thou didst,
and wailing loud in fear / Thou shalt give until thou shalt all repay. And
thou shalt be a triumph for the world, / Also a matter of reproach for all. /
And then the sixth race of the Latin kings / At last end life, and lay the
scepter down. / From the same race another king shall reign, Rule the whole
earth and hold the scepter firm; / And he shall govern with untrammelled
power / And by the counsels of the mighty God. / Sons and a race of stable
sons are his, / For thus it is decreed, as time rolls on, When there shall be of
Egypt thrice five kings. / Thence when the phenix the fifth time appears, / He
will come pillaging a race of people, / A countless tribe, the nation of the
Hebrews. / Then Mars will plunder Mars, and he himself

10 Shall the presumptuous threats of Rome destroy. / Perished the power
of Rome, once flourishing, / Along with ancient kings of neighboring cit-
ies. / No longer will the plain of fertile Rome / Prevail, when out of Asia
comes with Mars One bearing rule; and having wrought all this / He after-
wards will in the city come. / And thrice three hundred eight and forty
years / Shalt thou in full complete, when ill-starred fate / Shall seize upon
thee, finishing thy name. Alas for me, me, the thrice wretched one! / When

shall I see that day of thine, O Rome— / Thine, but most for all Latins?
Honor him / If thou wilt, who ascends the Trojan car, / As by a secret birth
from Asia's land, Having a soul of fire. But when he smites / The isthmus,
peering eagerly around, / Going to all and passing through the sea, / Then
will black blood go after the great beast, / And a dog chase the lion which
destroys

11 The shepherds. But his scepter they will take, / And into Hades he will
pass away. / The last but greatest ill shall come to Rhodes. / And base captivity
yet waits for Thebes. / Egypt shall perish by her ruler's baseness. But those
men who escaped the utter ruin— / Thrice blessed, four times blessed, was
each man! / And Rome shall be a room, and Delos dull, / And Samos sand.... /
Later shall evil on the Persians come For their pride, and all insolence shall
perish. / And then a holy king o'er all the earth / And to all ages shall the
scepter wield, / Having risen from the dead. A piteous fate / Will then the
Most High bring on those at Rome, And on all men, and all within these
bounds / Shall perish. But they will not be persuaded / Of what much better
is. But when for all / The evil day of famine and of plague / Shall come on,
and of uproar hard to bear, Even then again that former daring prince, Hav-
ing convened the council, shall forthwith Take counsel with them how he
may destroy. * Blight shall appear along with flowers and leaves, And heav-
en's base shall display on the firm rock

12 Rain-storm and fire, and much wind on the land, And over all the
earth a multitude Of poisonous sowings. Yet again they'll work With shame-
less soul, nor fear the wrath of God, Nor that of man. Forsaking modesty
They will choose shame, become tyrannical And violent transgressors, liars
too, Lovers of unbelief, evil-doers, Untrue, faith-killers, pouring out foul
speech In false words; no sufficiency of wealth Will they have, but will basely
gather more. Subject to tyrants, they will be destroyed. The stars shall all fall
down into the sea, Many stars one by one, and the bright star Men call a
comet is a sign of evil, Of much war and calamity to come. Let me not live
when the gay one shall reign, But then, when heavenly grace shall rule with-
in, And when a holy child the murderous guile Of all shall utterly destroy
with chains, Opening the baleful deep and suddenly / The house of wood
shall cover mortals round. / But when the tenth generation shall go down /
To Hades, then shall come the mighty power / Of one of female sex; and God
himself

13 Will permit many evils to increase, / When she with royal honor crowns herself; / And all the year will be how like an age! / The parched sun running onward nightly shines, / The stars will leave the heaven; and rushing on With a strong tempest, he will waste the earth. / And there shall be a rising of the dead; / The lame shall swiftly run, the deaf shall hear, / The blind shall see, those who spoke not shall speak, / And life and wealth shall be alike to all. The land the same for all, divided not / By walls or fences, shall more fruits produce, / And fountains of sweet wine, and of white milk, / And honey he will give... / And judgment of the immortal God.... But when the seasons God shall change,... / Winter producing summer, then oracles [will all be fulfilled]. / But when the world has perished....

Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Cross.

14 Earth will sweat when the judgment sign appears, / And the eternal King will come from heaven In person to judge all flesh and all the world. / The faithful and the faithless shall see God / Exalted with the saints at the end of time. / The souls of fleshly men upon his throne / He will judge, when the whole world is laid waste, And thorns spring up. And men will cast away / Their idols and all wealth. And searching fire / Will burn the land, the heaven and the sea; / And burn the gates of Hades' prison-house. / Then to the free light of the saints shall come All the flesh of the dead, but lawless ones / The fire will try forever. Every thing / One did in secret will he then declare, / For dark breasts God will open to the light. / Wailing will come from all, and gnashing of teeth;

15 The brightness of the sun will be eclipsed, / And the dances of the stars; the heaven shall whirl. / And the moon's beaming luster be destroyed. / He will exalt the valleys and destroy / The heights of hills, and no more shall appear A gloomy height among men. With the plains / The mountains will be level, and no more / Will there be any sailing on the sea. / For earth with springs shall be by thunder parched, / And dashing streams shall fail. The trump from heaven Shall send a woful sound, and bellow forth / Y Utterly gone among men are distinctions of lofty and lowly. / O O, what an end of all things! earth broken in pieces shall perish; / Approaching pest and sorrows of the world. / And then the widely-yawning earth will show / Tartarean chaos, and all kings shall come / Unto God's judgment-seat. From heaven shall flow

16 A stream of fire and brimstone. But the Wood / Shall then be to all mortals for a sign, / Among the faithful a distinguished seal, / The longed-for horn, the life of pious men, / But the world's stumbling-block, bestowing light On the elect by water in twelve streams. / And then the shepherd-rod of iron shall rule. / This one now in acrostics written down / Is our God, Saviour, and immortal King, / Even the one who suffered for our sake. Whom Moses typified, when he stretched out / Holy arms, conquering Amalek by faith, / In order that the people may know him / To be elect and honored before God, / The rod of David, and the very stone Which he indeed once promised, and in whom / He who believes shall have eternal life. / For not in glory, but as mortal man / Shall he come unto judgment, pitiable, / Dishonored, without beauty, that he might

17 Give hope to them that mourn; and he will give / Form to corruptible flesh, and heavenly faith / To those without faith, and entirely change / Man who was fashioned by the hand of God, / And whom the serpent craftily deceived To go away unto the fate of death, / And gain a knowledge of the good and bad, / And so, forsaking God, serve mortal ways. / For taking him at first as counselor, / From the beginning, the Almighty said: "O child, forthwith let us make, both of us, / Forming from our own image, mortal tribes; / I with my hands and thou then with the Word / Shalt serve our form, that we may give to it / A common origin. Keeping in mind This purpose, into judgment he will come: / And to a holy virgin he will bear / An antitypal copy, giving light / By water through the elder's hands, by word / Doing all things, and healing all disease.

18 His word shall stay the winds, and with his feet / He'll calm the raging sea, and walk thereon / In peace and faith. And with five loaves of bread / And one fish of the sea, in a desert place / Will he of men four thousand satisfy; And taking all the fragments which remain, / Twelve baskets he will fill for the people's hope. / And he will call the souls of blessed ones, / And love the sorrowful, who being mocked / Will render good for evil, beaten, scourged, Yet ever longing after poverty. / Knowing, beholding, hearing every thing, / The heart he will discern, and lay it bare / Unto conviction. For of all things he / Is hearing, mind, and vision, and the Word, Who made all forms, to whom all things give ear; / The dead he saves, and healeth all disease. / At last into the hands of lawless men / And faithless he will come, and they will give / With hands unholy blows as against God,

19 And poisonous spittle from polluted mouths. / And he will give his holy back to scourges / [For he himself shall give unto the world / A holy virgin], and silent he remains / Under the scourge, lest any one should know Who or of whom he is, or whence he came, / In order that he may speak to the dead. / And he will also wear a crown of thorns, / For out of thorns shall ever come the crown / Of holy ones elect. And with a reed According to their laws they'll pierce his side, / For from reeds by another spirit moved / Was he brought up for judgments of the soul, / And wrath and recompense. But when these things / Which I have spoken shall all be fulfilled, Unto him then shall every law be loosed, / Which from the first by the decrees of men / Was given because of disobedient people. / He will spread out his hands and all the world / Will measure. Gall for food, and vinegar

20 For drink, they gave him; they shall dearly pay / The price of this inhospitable board. / The temple's veil is rent, and in midday / For three hours shall a monstrous night prevail. / For when the eternal Ruler came on earth, It was again shown, what had been concealed / From the thought of the world, that men no more / Should serve the secret temple and the law. / And he shall come to Hades, and announce / To all the saints hope, the end of the ages, And the last day; and death's lot he will end, / The third day sleeping, and then from the dead / Freeing himself he will come into light, / First having shown the power of the resurrection / To the elect, washed from their former sin By means of water from the immortal spring, / That, being born again, they might no more / Serve the unlawful customs of the world. / First to his own will then the Lord appear / In the flesh as he was before, and show

21 In hands and feet four marks fixed in his limbs, / As if for east and west, and north and south; / For even so many kingdoms of the world / Shall consummate this lawless, blameful deed. / Daughter of Zion, holy one, rejoice. Thou who hast suffered many things, thy King, / Mounted upon a foal is entering in, / Appearing meek to all, that he may wrest / The slavish yoke so heavy, under which / We are enthralled, and which lies on our neck, And loose the godless laws and powerful bonds. / Know thou thy God, him who is Son of God, / Giving him glory, and within thy breast / Holding him cherished; love him from the soul / And bear his name. The former deeds put off, And loose them by his blood, for by thy songs / And by thy prayers he will not be appeased. / Nor unto perishable sacrifices / Will he give heed, being imperishable, / But rather he delights in sacred song

22 Of holy mouth, proceeding from the soul. / Know who he is, and thou shalt see thy Maker. / Then shall the elements of all the world / Be desolate, air, earth, sea, flaming fire, / And sky and night, and all days to one fire And to one barren, shapeless mass shall come. / For all the luminous stars shall fall from heaven; / No more will winged birds fly through the air, / Nor footstep be on earth; for all wild beasts / Shall perish, voices of men, beasts, and birds Shall be no more. The world, being disarranged, / Shall hear no useful sound, but the deep sea / Shall echo back a mighty threatening noise, / And swimming, trembling creatures of the sea / Shall all die; and no longer on the waves Will sail a freighted ship. The earth shall groan / Blood-stained by wars; and all the souls of men / Shall gnash their teeth—the souls of lawless men, / Wasted by lamentations and by fear, / By hunger, thirst, and pestilence and murders—

23 And they shall call it beautiful to die, / And death will flee from them, for death no more / Nor night shall give them rest. And many things / Will they in vain ask God who rules on high. / And then he will turn openly his face Away from them. [For he gave seven ages, / Days of repentance unto mortal men, / Fashioned by means of a holy virgin's hand.] / All these things to my mind did God reveal, / And all that has been spoken by my mouth Will he fulfill. The number of the sands, / And measured spaces of the sea I know. / I know the secret places of the earth, / And gloomy Tartarus, and men who are, / And who shall be hereafter, and the dead. I know the numbers of the stars and trees, / And all the species of the quadrupeds, / And swimming things, and birds that fly aloft. / For I myself the forms and mind of men / Have fashioned, and right reason have bestowed,

24 And taught them knowledge. I who see and hear / Formed eyes and ears; and I observe each thought, / And have myself a knowledge of all things, / Silent a while, and afterward reproofing, / And punishing whatever any man Has done in secret. On God's judgment-seat / I also come to speak with mortal men. / Also the dumb I understand, and hear / The one who speaks not, and I know how great / The entire height from earth to heaven is. And the beginning and the end I know, / Who am Creator of the heaven and earth. / [For all is from him, first and last he knows.] / For I alone am God, and other God / There is not. They my image deify, Obtained from wood and fashioned by the hand / Into dumb idols, which they glorify /

With supplications and unholy rites. / Forsaking the Creator, they become /
Servants of insolence. But holding still

25 To him, they sacrifice their useless gifts, / And as if honoring him, they
deem these things / All useful, filling feasts with smell of flesh, / As if to their
own dead. For they burn flesh / And marrow bones, on altars sacrifice, To
demons pour out blood, and kindle lights / For me who give light; and men
pour out wine, / As to a thirsty god! Unto no purpose / They become drunken
over useless gods. / I have no need of your burnt offerings, Nor your libations,
nor polluted smoke, / Nor odious blood. For these things will men do / In
memory of tyrants and of kings / Unto dead demons as though they were
heavenly, / Performing godless and destructive rites. And, godless, they their
images call gods, / Forsaking the Creator, and from them / Imagine they de-
rive all hope and life, / Though they are deaf and without power to speak, /
Faithful for evil, ignorant all of good.

26 Two ways have I myself before them placed, / Of life and death, and
counsel I have given / A good life to prefer; but they themselves / Laid hold
on death and on eternal fire. / Man, having upright reason, is my image. For
him a table pure and without blood / Make ready and with good things fill it
up. / Give to the hungry bread, to the thirsty drink, / And to the body that is
naked clothes, / From thine own labors and with holy hands Providing.
Raise up the afflicted, stand / Beside the weary, for the living One / Provide
and bring this living sacrifice. / Sow thou in piety that I may give / These
things to thee; immortal fruits and light Eternal thou shalt have, and fade-
less life, / When I put all things to the proof with fire. / For I will melt down
all things and select / For purity. I will roll up the heaven, / And open wide
the caverns of the earth.

27 And then will I raise up the dead, and loose / The lot and sting of
death; and afterward / For judgment I will come and judge the life / Of pious
and of impious men, and place / Goat opposite to goat, and shepherd to shep-
herd, And calf to calf, convicting one another. / Whoever will exalt them-
selves shall be / By proofs condemned, and those who stopped each mouth, /
That they themselves, being full of jealousy, / Might thus enslave such as were
doing right, Commanding silence, urged by love of gain. / And then the ap-
proved shall all have place by me. / No longer in affliction wilt thou say, /
"To-morrow shall be, and yet it is not; / Yesterday has been." No long days of
care, Nor spring, nor summer, nor the winter cold, / Nor autumn, nor the

sunset and sunrise. / For I will make a long day, and the light, / The great and longed-for light of Jesus Christ, / Shall be forever and for evermore....

28 The Self-begotten, Undeified, Eternal, / Dwelling in heaven and measuring with his power / The fiery blast, who also holdeth fast / The clashing scepter with ferocious fire, / And calms the rolling thunder's crashing noise, He shakes the earth and holds the rushing [winds], / And blunts the lightning's whip of fiery flame, / The vast outpour of storms, and vernal hail, / And chilling stroke of clouds, and winter's shock. / For these were every one marked out in thought, As many as seemed good to thee thyself, / And to whose movements thou didst nod assent; / Who, ere yet any creature had been formed / Wast with thy Son as bosom counselor, / Former of mortal men, and judge of life. Him with the first sweet utterance of mouth / Thou didst address and say: "Let us make man / According to our likeness and our form, / And give him vital breath, to whom though mortal / All worldly things shall be subordinate,

29 And to whom, dust-formed, we subject all things." / Thus spakest thou to the Word, and by thy mind / All things occurred, and all the elements / At once obeyed thy order, and a creature / Eternal was in mortal image formed; Heaven also, air, fire, earth, and the sea's wave, / Sun, moon, chorus of stars, mountains and day, / Night, sleep, awaking, spirit and emotion, / Soul and intelligence, art, voice and strength, / And the wild tribes of living things, of fish, And birds, land animals, amphibia, / And also creeping things, and double natures; / For he himself arranged all things for thee, / Under thy rule. But in the latest times / The earth has changed itself, and there has come A humble one, from the Virgin Mary's womb; / A new light rose, and coming from the heavens / He entered mortal form. And therefore first / Did Gabriel show his strong and holy frame, / And second to the virgin he by voice

30 Spoke, being himself a messenger, and said: / "Virgin, receive God in thy holy breast." / So speaking God breathed grace. But as for her, / Always a virgin, terror and surprise / Seized her at once as she heard, and she stood In trembling, and her mind was filled with fear, / Her heart leaped at the messages unknown. / But she again was gladdened, and her heart / Was by the voice cheered, and the maiden laughed, / And her young cheek blushed, merry with the joy; And she was spell-bound in her heart by awe. / But confidence came to her, and the Word / Flew in her womb, and became flesh in

time, / Was gendered and was made a human form, / And came to be a youth, of virgin born, This was a mighty wonder to mankind, / But it was nothing greatly wonderful / To God the Father, and to God the Son. / And the glad earth received the new-born babe, / The heavenly throne laughed, and the world exulted.

31 The new appearing and prophetic star / Was honored by the wise men, and the babe / In the manger and wrapped in his swaddling-clothes / Was shown to those obedient unto God. / And of the Word was Bethlehem fatherland Called by the keepers of herds, goats and sheep. / To be of lowly mind, to hate base plans, / Wholly to love one's neighbor as himself, / And from the soul to love God and to serve him. / Therefore we, from the holy heavenly race Of Christ sprung, shall be called of common blood, / And in our service have a sense of joy, / Following the paths of piety and truth. / Let us not venture in the inmost shrine / Of temples, nor to graven images Pour out libations, nor revere with prayers, / Nor with the pleasant perfume of the flowers / Nor light of lamps, nor yet with votive gifts / Adore them, nor with smoke of frankincense / Upon the altar sending forth its flame,

32 Nor with the sacrifice of bulls to send / The cruel gory slaughtering of sheep,— / Those mysteries of recompense on earth,— / Nor with the smoke of flesh-consuming fire / And odors foul pollute the light of heaven; But, joyful with pure minds and cheerful soul, / With love abounding, and with generous hands, / With soothing psalms, and songs that honor God, / We are commanded to sing praise to thee, / Imperishable and without deceit, All-Father God, of understanding mind...

BOOK IX (BOOK XI IN THE MANUSCRIPTS)

1 O World of widely scattered men, long walls, / Insatiate cities, and unnumbered nations, / Of the east, and west, and south, and also north, / Divided into various languages And kingdoms, of you what is worst I speak. / For from the time when on the earlier men / The flood came, and a miserable race / Destroyed by many waters, he who rules / Over all things produced another race Of tireless men, who stood up against heaven / And built a tower of height unspeakable. / From others then came tongues, and upon them / Came hurled along the wrath of God most high, / And the huge tower fell. But against each other They stirred up bitter strife. Then the tenth race / Of mortal men lived when these things occurred, / And then the whole earth was distributed / Among strange men and various dialects, / Whose

numbers I will mention and by name Celebrate in acrostics, and by means /
Of the initial letter make them known. / First Egypt shall receive a royal
power / And eminently just; but then in her / Shall many counsel-bearing
men arise

2 And there shall reign a formidable man, / A very powerful warrior; he
shall have / The letter of the acrostic for his name, / And against pious men
will draw the sword. / And a great sign shall he have while he rules In the
Egyptian land, which, famed afar / For great things, shall with plenteous
corn provide / Souls perishing with hunger, and the judge, / Himself in
bonds, child of Assyrian men, / The eastern land shall nourish, and his name
Know as the measure of the number ten. / But when the ten plagues from
bright heaven shall come / On Egypt, then again to thee I'll cry. / Woe, woe,
thou Memphis, woe, thou mighty kingdom! / The Red Sea shall much people
of thine slay. But when the twelve-tribe people, by command / Of the Im-
mortal, leave the fertile plain / A wasted ruin, then unto mankind / Will
God himself, sole ruler, give a law. / Then for the Hebrews shall a mighty
king

3 Of lofty spirit over Egypt reign, / Whose name resembles sand, but
falsely called / As to his fatherland a Theban man. / But Memphis he, dread
serpent, will admire, / And many things will he protect in wars. And when
twelve rolling decades of the kingdom / Shall have passed round, and in ad-
dition seven, / And also the tenth hundred in the East, / Of others all things
being left behind, / Then shall the Persian domination come. And then shall
darkness be upon the Jews, / Nor shall they famine in that day escape, / Nor
pestilence most unendurable. / But when the Persian shall rule, and the son /
Of his son's son shall lay the scepter by, And years roll round until they reach
five fours, / A hundred add to these, and so complete / Nine hundred, and all
things thou shalt repay. 4/ Then thou shalt to the Persians be a slave, / Given
over to the Medes, by plagues destroyed And also by the impetuous battle-
fray. / Then to the Persians and the Assyrians / Shall evil come, and to the
whole of Egypt, / And unto Libya and the Ethiopians, / And the Pamphyli-
ans and all other men. And unto the Ionians shall be given / The royal
power, and they again shall waste / The nations, plundering all the earth for
spoil. / Sad dirges will the doleful Persians sing / Beside the Tigris; Egypt will
shed tears Sufficient many a land to irrigate. / And then to thee, O Media,
many evils / Will one in India born, a rich man, do, / Until thou hast made

recompense for all / Which thou hast done before with shameful soul. Woe,
woe to thee, O nation of the Medes, / Hereafter thou to Ethiopian men /
Shalt be enslaved; beyond the meridian land / Shalt thou seven and a hun-
dred years complete, / Wretched, and place thy neck beneath the yoke.

5 And then an Indian prince of sable skin, / Gray hair, and mighty soul,
shall come to power, / Who shall lay many evils on the East / By reason of
impetuous battle-frays. / And he shall injure thee and lay thee waste Much
more than all. But when he shall have reigned / Twenty and ten years, yet
seven more and ten, / Then shall each nation be in furious rage / Against the
king's dominion, and make known / Their freedom, leaving for three single
years Their slavish blood. But he will come again / And put their necks be-
neath the servile yoke, / Each nation of strong men, even as before / Serving
the king, and willingly they'll yield. / And there shall be great peace through
all the world. And then to the Assyrians there shall be / A mighty man for
king, and he shall rule / And persuade all to speak what he desires, /
Whatever things God in the law enjoined. / And then will all the long-
haired kings fear him,

6 Timid, and mute, and strong, of lovely mien. / Him by the counsel of
the mighty God / Will they serve, for he will persuade all things / By reason,
and all things will he subdue. / And he a temple of the mighty God And
lovely altar will himself erect / In his might, but will hurl the idols down. /
But having gathered into one the tribes / And race of fathers, and the infant
children, / He will include them as inhabitants. His name shall have two
hundred for its number, / And of the eighteenth letter show the sign. / But
when at the tenth revolving period / He shall wield power, and at an end of
time / Come to the two and five, then shall the kings Be numerous as the
plants of mortal men, / Even numerous as the tribes, cities, and isles, / Lands
of the blessed, and the fruitful fields. / But one of these shall be a mighty
king, / Leader of men, and many great-souled kings

7 Shall under him have rule, and unto him / And to his sons and grand-
sons opulent / Will parts be given because of royal power. / Decades of dec-
ades, eight ones add to these, / Of years of rule, and to the last they come. But
when the strong beast with fierce war shall come, / Then, O ye noble kings,
shall wrath spring forth. / Woe to thee, Persian land! How many streams /
Outpoured of human blood shalt thou receive, / When that strong-minded
man shall come to thee! Then to thee I again will cry these things. / But

when the Italian land puts forth its growth, / Great wonder to men, shall a child-like moan / Be heard with unmixed stroke, in shadowy cave, / Offspring of the wild beast that feeds on sheep, Who, grown to manhood, on seven mighty hills, / Shall hurl down many with a shameless soul; / Both of them have the number of one hundred, / And their names will of things which are to come / Show forth a great sign. On the seven hills Will they build mighty walls, and around them / Will men wage heavy wars. And then again / Around thee will be rising up of men, / O thou great land that hast the beautiful corn, / Bold Egypt—but again I'll cry these things.

8 Against thee in thy house a mighty stroke / Shalt thou receive, and yet again to thee / Shall be a rising up of thine own men. / Now over thee, O wretched Phrygia, / I weep in pity, for to thee shall come Capture from Hellas, tamer of fleet steeds, / And fearful war through mighty battle fray. / Ilion, I pity thee, for on thy roofs / From Sparta shall the avenging Furies come, / Conjoined with evil star, and bring thee toils, Distresses, groans and sobs, when well-trained men, / By far the noblest heroes of the Greeks, / And dear to Ares, shall begin the fight. / Of these one shall be king, a spearman famed, / And with his brother plan the basest deeds. And they shall overthrow the famous walls / Of Phrygian Troy, and in ten rolling years / Complete the bloody work of the time of war. / But suddenly a wooden artifice / Shall cover men, and this upon thy knees

9 Thou wilt receive, not knowing it replete / With Grecian treachery and heavy woe. / Alas, alas, how many in one night / Will Hades gather in, and how much spoil / Of tearful old men will be led away! But in the generations that shall come / Fresh and undying shall the glory be. / And the great king, a hero sprung from Jove, / Of the first letter of the alphabet / Shall have a name; and homeward he will march, And then fall by a treacherous woman's hand. / But of Assaracus's race and blood / A child will reign, a hero of renown, / A strong and valiant man; and from this [race] / Made desolate by mighty fire, shall come A fugitive, by the dread toil of war / Without a fatherland; upon his shoulders / Bearing his aged sire, and in his hand / Holding his only son, a pious deed / Will he accomplish. Looking all around,

10 He put aside the onset of the fire / Of burning Troy, and hastening through the crowd. / In terror, crosses fearful land and sea. / And he shall have a trisyllabic name; / And the first letter of the alphabet Will not obscurely show this highest man. / Then the strong Latin city he will build, /

And in the fifteenth year, by waters slain, / Come to his end in the depths of the sea. / But him, though dead, the nations of mankind Shall not forget, for his race over all / Hereafter shall rule, far as the Euphrates, / And to the middle of the Tigris stream, / The Assyrian land, and where the Parthian dwells. / This in the generations yet to come Shall be, when all these things shall come to pass. / But there shall be a certain wise old man, / A minstrel, whom all mortals call most wise, / By whose great understanding all the world / Shall be instructed; for with power and thought

11 Will he his chapters write, and clearly write / At times with beauty inexpressible, / Seizing my words, my measures, and my verse, / For he himself will first my books unfold, / And after these things hide them, and to men Show them no more till life and death shall end. / But when these things which I spoke are fulfilled, / The Greeks again will fight with one another; / Assyrians, Arabs, quiver-bearing Medes, / Persians, Sicilians, and the Lydians Will then revolt; Thrace and Bithynia, / And those that dwell along the streams of Nile, / Land of the beautiful corn—at once on all / Will God, the Eternal, set the din of war. / But terribly will an Assyrian man, A base-born Ethiopian, quickly come, / Having a wild beast's soul, and every isthmus / Will he cleave, prying timidly around, / Going to all and sailing through the sea. / And then, O faithless Greece, shall many things

12 Befall thee. Woe, woe to thee, wretched Greece; / How many things must thou aloud bewail! / For during seven and eighty rolling years / Thou shalt the miserable refuse be / Of fearful battle among all the tribes. And then again a Macedonian woe / Shall come on Greece and lay all Thracia waste, / And bring the toil of war upon the isles / And mainlands; with war-loving champions / Will he be foremost, and the name he bears Is by the sign of ten times fifty shown. / He shall be short-lived in his government, / But leave a mighty monarchy behind, / And a boundless land. But he himself shall fall / By an ill-minded spearman, while he lives In plenty as no other leader lived. / But after him a great-souled son of his / Shall reign, whose name begins the alphabet; / But he shall be the outgo of his race. / Not truly shall all call him son of Jove,

13 Or Ammon, nor yet Kronos' bastard son, / As they would feign. And he will plunder cities / Of many mortal men, and there will rise / In Europe sore distress; and he himself / With pestilence will ravage Babylon, And every land the sun looks down upon; / And he alone will sail the eastern world. /

Alas, alas, for thee, O Babylon, / Being captive led in triumph, thou shalt serve— / Thou who of Asia wast the mistress called. And Mars shall come, shall surely come and slay / Thy many children. Then shalt thou send forth / Thy royal man, with name of the number four, / Wielding the spear and fearful with the bow; / Along with powerful warriors he will go. And then Cilicia's and Assyria's midst / Famine and war shall hold. But great-souled kings / Will arm for bitter strife a dreadful band. / But do thou flee and leave the former king; / Desire not thou to stay nor be a slave.

14 For a dread lion shall upon thee come, / Flesh-eating beast, ferocious, strange to law, / With mantle cast upon his shoulders round. / Flee thou that man of thunder; there shall come / On Asia a base yoke, and all the land Shall drink a shower of murder. But when Mars / Of Pella shall a great, rich city found / In Egypt, bearing his name, he shall meet, / Betrayed by treacherous comrades, fate and death. / For, leaving India, and to Babylon Returning, there around the festal board / Shall barbarous murder bring him to his fall. / Thereafter a few years shall other kings, / Cruel and insolent and faithless, rule / According to each tribe. And then shall rise A great souled, valiant hero, who shall glean / All Europe naked, and each land shall drink / The blood of every tribe. But having filled / Of life his portion, he shall disappear. / And other kings, twice four men, there shall be

15 Of this race, and the same name to them all. / And Egypt then shall be a regal bride, / And the great city of the Macedonian king, / Rare Alexandria, famous nourisher / Of cities, and in beauty radiant, Shall be the sole metropolis. / And then let Memphis blame those in command. / And peace profound shall be through all the world, / And more fruit will the black-soil land then have. / And then shall be disaster to the Jews, Nor shall they famine in that day escape, / Nor grievous pestilence; but wandering men / And many will the black-soil land receive, / Ambrosial land, of fine corn, the new world. / But eight kings of the Egyptian marshy soil Shall fill two hundred three and thirty years. / Yet of them all, the race shall perish not, / But there shall issue forth a female root, / A bane of men, betrayer of her kingdom. / But then they wickedness and evil deeds

16 Shall perpetrate, and one destroy another. / The son that wears the purple robe will smite / His warlike sire, and he by his son falls, / And ere he shall beget another child / He shall cease. But again the root shall sprout Spontaneous; of it is a neighboring race. / For of the land beside the streams

of Nile / Which travel on by seven mouths to the sea / She shall be queen, and her beloved name / The number twenty tells. And she shall ask Ten thousand things, and gather up all goods / Of gold and silver; but from her own men / Shall treachery befall her. Then on thee, / O fair and happy land, again shall come / Battles and fights and slaughter of mankind. But after many shall o'er fertile Rome / Have borne rule, not indeed of happiness / Precursors, but despotic lords and chiefs / Of thousands and of countless myriads, / Then, overseers of the lawful assemblies,

17 Shall the most mighty Cæsars bear the rule, / And every day keep making their demands. / The last of these shall rule the number ten, / The highest Cæsar, who upon the earth / Shall stretch his limbs, cast down through fearful Mars By a hostile man; whom, bearing in their hands, / The sons of Rome shall bury piously, / And round about him heap a monument / For love of him, in memory of his grace. / But when there comes an end of passing time, And thou hast filled out twice two hundred years. / And also twice ten, from the time when ruled / Thy founder, child of the wild beast, no more / Shall there be a dictator of short rule, / But there shall be a king, a godlike man. And when the king is going into Egypt, / Against him horrid Mars shall surely come / With glittering helm, and then shall conquest dire / Come to thee; for around the walls of the land / Shall be foul works of dire and violent wars.

18 But suffering pitiable things in war / Over the freshly wounded she will flee / In wretched plight; and then unto the couch / Of that dread man will she come; and the end / Is but the nuptials and the marriage-bed. Woe, woe to thee, ill-wedded woman, thou / Shalt give the Roman king thy royal power; / And thou shalt make atonement for all things / Whatever thou hast done to men in wars. /... For all the land... unto a mighty man, As far as Libya and the dark-skinned men. / And thou no longer shalt a widow be, / But with a lion shalt thou live as wife, / A terrible devourer of mankind, / A furious warrior. Then shalt thou become, O hapless one, among all men at once / Invisible, for thou shalt disappear, / Having a shameless soul; and in its house / Shall the encircling tomb receive thy form / So stately, having once had life within,

19 Cunningly wrought and fit for many chiefs. / And many people will lament for thee / And over thee the king will sorely grieve. / And then shall an Egyptian servant toil, / Who many years against the Indians bore Her

trophies; she shall serve disgracefully, / And mingle with the river Nile her tears, / For she acquired wealth, and of all good things / A great store. Nourisher of cities, she / Shall feed a race of sheep-devouring men. Alas, unto how many beasts shalt thou, / O happy Egypt, be a slave and prey! / But having given to the peoples laws, / Thou, who didst once exult o'er mighty kings, / Shalt to the peoples be a wretched slave, On account of that people, whom of old, / A pious race, thou didst lead to much woe / Of toils and sorrows, and upon their neck / Didst place a plow, and irrigate the fields / With human tears. Therefore shall God himself,

20 The king imperishable in the heaven, / Destroy thee utterly, and hurl thee down / Into deep grief; and thou shalt pay the price / Of what thou didst of old unjustly do, / And know at last that God's wrath came to thee. But I to Python and to Panopeus / Of goodly towers will go; and then will all / Declare that I am a true prophetess, / And a diviner, but insane in soul. / A messenger.... When to the books thou comest Be not afraid, and all things yet to be / And things that were ye shall know from my words. / Then will none longer call a prophetess / Inspired of God an augurer of woe. / But thou, O King, now end my much-loved strain, Driving off frenzy, and the voice divine, / And passion fierce, and give a charming song.

BOOK X (BOOK XII IN THE MANUSCRIPTS)

1 But bring to me the lamentable time / Of the illustrious Latins, who were first / After the kings of Egypt were cut off, / And had all been borne down into the earth; And also after Pella's citizen, / Under whom all the East had been cast down, / And the rich West; whom Babylon disgraced / And gave a corpse to Philip; not of Jove / Nor Ammon truly boasted to have sprung; And after him, who, from the race and blood / Of great Assaracus, went forth from Troy, / Even he who cleft the violence of fire; / And after many kings, and warlike men, / And after the young children of the beast That feeds on sheep, and centuries six have passed, / And Rome two decades has dictator been, / Then shall arise a king pre-eminent / As from the western sea, and govern Rome, / Exceeding brave and warlike; and his name

2 Begins the letters of the alphabet; / And having bound thee he will hold thee fast / By man-destroying war, thou rich in fruit. / And thou shalt expiate the shameful deeds / To which thou once didst freely give thyself. For this great-souled one will excel in wars. / Him Thrace and Sicily and Memphis fear,— / Memphis, cast to the ground by wickedness / Of leaders, and a wo-

man unsubdued, / Fallen by the spear; and he will institute Laws for the peoples, and subdue all things; / With mighty glory he will long hold sway. / For not a little time will he bear rule, / When yet another scepter-bearing king / Not one hour longer than this one shall rule The Romans, for to him God gave all things, / And showed forth seasons in the divine earth, / Great wonders unto them as signs he showed. / But when a lustrous star, all like the sun, / Appears from heaven in the midst of day,

3 Then shall the hidden Word of the Most High / Come bearing flesh like mortals. But with him / The might of Rome and of the famous Latins / Shall increase. But the mighty king himself / By his own predetermined fate shall die, And to another give the royal power. / But after this one will a certain man / Famed as a powerful warrior take the lead, / Bearing the purple mantle on his shoulders; / Three hundred numbers he with his first sign. The Medes and arrow-hurling Parthians / He will destroy, and by his mighty strength / Subvert the city of the lofty gates. / And upon Egypt will much evil come, / And on the Assyrians, and the Colchians, And the Heniochi, and Germans dwelling / By the Rhine's waves beyond the sandy shores. / And he himself will afterwards destroy / The city of the lofty gates beside / Eridanus, that evil things devised;

4 And then will he fall, struck by burning iron. / And after him another man will rule, / Deep versed in guile, and he will number three / And show it by the initial of his name. / And much gold he will gather, and of wealth There will not be a large sufficiency; / But without sense of shame, collecting more, / Under the earth he will deposit all. / And peace shall come, and Mars shall cease from war. / But he by divination many things Will make known, seeking things of greatest good / For life's support. Yet on him there shall be / A great sign: out of heaven small drops of blood / Shall issue, and the king shall be destroyed. / He will do many lawless things, and place Woes on the necks of Romans, putting trust / In divination. He will also slay / The heads of the assembly. And a plague / Shall seize Campanians, Thrace, and Macedon, / And the Italians; Egypt will alone

5 Feed numerous races. But the king himself / Will craftily destroy the virgin maid, / Deceiving her by means of mysteries. / But her the citizens in tearful grief / Will bury, but against the king they all Will cherish anger. Ruin then will come / By a strong hand to blooming powerful Rome. / Again another of wide sway shall reign, / Whose name the number twenty will de-

note. / And then shall wars and bitter sorrows come Upon the Sauromatians,
and on Thrace, / And the Triballians that hurl the spear, / And all the Ro-
mans Mars will fiercely rend. / But while this one rules the Italian land / And
the Pannonians, a dread sign shall be: Dark night will come at the mid hour
of day / Around them, and a shower of stones from heaven. / Then shall the
Italians' mighty prince and judge / By fate divine go into Hades' halls. / Again
another dire and dreadful man

6 Whose name the number fifty shows, shall come. / And many of those
in wealth noblest born / Out of all cities he will put to death, / By nature a
dire serpent; few his words / Whenever he extends his guiding hands, Works
ruin, and brings many things to pass. / Wrestling in contests, driving in the
race, / Destroying many lives, and daring still / Ten thousand things. And he
will cleave the mount / Of the two waters and with gore pollute. But also to
the Italians he will be / Doubly destructive; making himself God / He will re-
proach the willing populace. / But while he rules there shall be peace pro-
found / And fears among men. By the Ausonian shores The water, rushing
from the ocean streams, / Shall come all out of place. Casting about / He will
establish contests for the people / Many in number, and, himself presiding, /
He will contend with voice and cithara,

7 Along with harp-string uttering a song. / But later, having left the royal
power, / He will flee and be miserably destroyed, / Thus making expiation for
his deeds. / And after him shall three reign, two of them Obtaining by their
names the number seventy, / And after them one, of the letter three. / And
one by one shall they all perish, slain / Under the army's hands by mighty
Mars. / Thereafter shall a great destroyer come Of pious men, a ruler of
strong heart, / A warlike Mars, and seven times ten will show / His number
clearly. He will overthrow / Phenicia, and will ruin Lydia. / Also a sword will
come upon the land Of Jerusalem, even to the utmost curve / Of the Tiberian
sea. Woe, woe to thee, / Phenicia! O how many things will suffer / That sor-
row-laden one, with trophies bound! / And every nation shall upon thee
tread.

8 Woe on the Assyrians shall come, and babes / Shalt thou see serving
among hostile men / Along with wives, and all their sustenance / And all
their wealth shall perish. For the wrath, / The wrath of God that causes bitter
woe, Shall come, because they did not keep his law, / But served all idols with
unseemly arts. / And many wars and fights again shall be, / Slaughter of men,

famines and pestilence, / And uproar in the cities. But the king Old and of great soul, and excelling all, / Shall at life's end fall by the army's need. / Then shall two other princes rule, and love / The memory of their father, the great king, / Glorifying in warriors fighting hand to hand. And of these there shall be a noble man, / A ruler, whose name will three hundred show; / Yet he shall also fall by treachery / Even in the army, stretched upon the ground, / Struck in the plain of Rome by two-edged brass.

9 And after him a powerful warlike man, / Of the letter four, shall rule the mighty realm, / Whom all upon the boundless earth shall love, / And then shall war cease over all the world. / But him even from the West unto the East Will all serve willingly, not of constraint, / And cities of themselves will subject be. / For to him will the heavenly Sabaoth, / God the imperishable, who abides / Above the sky, abundant glory bring. And then will wasting famine much impair / Pannonia, and all the Celtic land, / And they will perish one upon another. / And it shall be with the Assyrians / As though Orontes with creations flowed, And splendor, and whatever better seems. / And these the great king will admire, and love / Some other things far more. But he'll receive / A great wound in the middle of his breast, / Being taken at the end of life in guile

10 By a friend in the sacred royal house, / And he shall fall pierced. After him shall be / A ruler and a venerable man, / Fifty his number, who withal shall slay / Great numbers of the citizens of Rome; But he shall briefly rule; for afterwards, / On account of the king that went before, / Shall he go wounded into Hades' halls. / Forthwith then shall another king arise, / A warrior, whose rule has the signal mark Three hundred. He shall reign and desolate / The Thracians' varied land, and those that dwell / On the far barbarous borders of the Rhine, / The Germans, and Iberians that hurl / The arrow. To the Jews shall also come Another great disaster, and with them / Phenicia shall a shower of murder drink. / And the walls of the Assyrians shall fall / By many warriors, and again shall these / Be by a life-destroying man cut off.

11 And then shall there be threatenings of God's rule, / Earthquakes and pestilence in every land, / And snow-storms out of season, and fierce lightnings. / And then a king, great in the toil of war, / A Celtic warrior, hastening to the strife Of battle, shameful fate shall not escape, / But he shall die, and foreign dust shall hide / His carcass, having for his name a flower. / And

after him another man shall lead, / Of silver helmet; of the sea his name,
And the beginning of the alphabet, / And of four syllables, a very Mars. / And
priests and temples he will dedicate / In all the cities; traversing the world /
With his own foot, and bringing gifts, he will Furnish gold and much amber
unto many. / He also will withhold all mysteries / Of the magicians from the
sacred temples, / And what is much more excellent for men / Will place...
[ruling] [thunderbolt]...

12 And blessed peace shall be when this king comes, / And he shall also be
a rich-voiced bard, / A law observer, and a righteous judge; / But he shall fall
destroyed by fate divine. / After him three shall rule, but the third long Shall
be in power, three decades holding on. / But known from the first unit yet
again / Another king shall rule; and after him / Another ruler, numbering
seven times ten; / Honored shall be their names. They shall destroy Men
marked by many a brand, the mighty Moors, / The Britains, Dacians, and
Arabians. / But when of these the youngest is destroyed, / Then shall dire war
to Parthia come again; / And he who wounded them before at last Shall also
plunder. Then the king himself / Shall fall, even by the treachery of a beast, /
Baring his hands—a cause itself of death. / And after him another man shall
rule / Famed for much wisdom, having for his name

13 The initial number of the first great king / Of the first unit; good and
great is he. / And for the houses of the Latin people / Will this strong one ac-
complish many things / In memory of his father; and the walls Of Rome will
he adorn with gold, and silver, / And ivory; and with a mighty man / Visit
the market-places and the temples. / And then by Roman wars will he bring
on / Most fearful wounds, and plunder all the land Of the Germans, when
there shall appear from heaven / A mighty sign of God; and he will save / For
the king's sake and for his piety / The brass-armed, wearied men; for in all
things / The God of heaven will hear him when he prays, And out of season
send the rain of heaven. / But when these things are finished which I said, /
Then also with the rolling years shall cease / The kingdom of this great and
pious king. / And at the end of life will he exhibit

14 Coming into the palace his young child, / And to that ruler with the
golden hair / Leaving the royal power, he will expire / By his own fate. Twice
ten shall note his name, / Who, having been born king from the royal race
Of his own father, shall receive the power. / This man will with superior
judgment hold / All things, and the great-hearted Hercules / Will emulate,

and be the best in arms / Among the mighty, and have highest fame Both among huntsmen and in horsemanship. / But he will live in peril all alone. / But while he rules there shall appear to him / A fearful sign; within the plain of Rome / There shall be a great mist, so that a man Will not discern his neighbor. Then shall wars / And dismal sorrows be when the king himself, / Maddened by love and furious, shall come / Shaming the young race in the nuptial couch, / Shameful with hymeneal songs impure.

15 Then in desertion hidden shall the great man / Destructive, giving himself up to wrath, / Rage in a bath-room, bound by treacherous fate. / Know, then, that Rome's destructive time is near / Because of zeal for power, and by Mars' hands Shall many perish in Palladian homes. / And then shall Rome be desolate and make / Atonement for all things which she has done. / My heart laments, my heart within me mourns, / For from the time of thy first king, proud Rome, Who gave good law to men upon the earth, / And the Word of the great, immortal God / Came to the earth, until the ending up / Of the nineteenth kingdom, there shall be complete / Two hundred and twice twenty and four years. To these add six months more of other time. / Then to the widowed race comes the twentieth king, / When in thy houses, smitten by sharp brass / With sword he pours out blood. His name reveals / The number eighty, and he has old age.

16 And he will shortly make thee desolate / With many warriors, many overthrows, / And murders, homicides, and deadly feuds, / And sufferings for victorious leadership. / And in confusion many a horse and man, Pierced through, shall fall in battles on the plain. / And then another, with the number ten / As the sign of his name, will come and work / Much woe and grief, and plunder many men, / But short-lived he himself shall be, and fall By mighty Mars, struck by the burning iron. / Another, of the number fifty, comes, / A warrior, raised up in the East for rule. / As far as Thrace shall come the warlike Mars; / Then will he flee and come unto the land Of the Bithynians, and the Sicilian plain; / But him shall brazen, soul-destroying Mars / Quickly in the Assyrian plains destroy. / Then shall one become ruler by deceit, / A man of wiles and knowing what is fit,

17 Being raised up from the West, and he shall have / Two hundred as the number of his name, / A sign far above that of royal power. / He will begin war on Assyrian men, / Assemble all the army, and all things Put under him. The Romans he will rule / With mighty energy; but in his heart / Is much

craft and the baleful wrath of Mars. / A dreadful serpent, terrible in war, /
Who will destroy all lofty men on earth, Slaughtering the noble to obtain
their wealth, / Despoiling all the land of ruined men, / He will betake him to
the Orient. / And with them shall be every artifice. / Then shall a youthful
Cæsar with him rule, Having the name of a puissant king / Of Macedon, by
the first letter known. / Diverting broils about him, he will fly / The arduous
cunning of the coming king / In the bosom of the army, and the one,

18 Who in barbarian usage rules the temple, / Shall suddenly by mighty
Mars be slain, / Cut down by burning iron; and even when dead / The people
will abuse his lifeless form. / And then the kings of Persia shall arise And Ro-
man Mars [will smite] the Roman king. / And pastoral Phrygia shall with
earthquakes groan. / Woe, woe, Laodicea; woe to thee, / Sad Hierapolis; for
you the first / The yawning earth received... Of Rome, vast Aus[onia?] / All
things as many... / Shall wail... men destroyed / By the hand of Mars; but
when by eastern roads / He hastens forth to look on Italy, Smitten by burn-
ing iron, and all exposed / He will fall, hated for his mother's sake. / For
horns... all things... restrains another,... / Burning... that all together do not
know. / But not for all are all things; only those

19 Shall unto real felicity attain / Who honor God and shun idolatry. /
And now, King of the world, of every realm / The monarch, pure, immortal,
for thou hast / Into my heart set the ambrosial strain, Cease thou the word,
for I am not aware / Of what I say; for all things thou to me / Dost ever speak.
But give me a brief rest, / And place thou in my heart a charming song. / For
weary has my heart within me grown Of words divine, foretelling royal
power.

BOOK XI (BOOK XIII IN THE MANUSCRIPTS)

1 He bids me sing again the mighty word, / Even the holy and immortal
God / Imperishable, who gives kings their power / And then removes it, and
ordains for them The tone of life and of destroying death; / Even things the
heavenly God enjoins on me / Unwillingly to make known unto kings /
Concerning royal power... / And Mars of the leaping spear; by him all perish,
Youth and age, judging to the market-place. / For many wars, and fights, and
homicides, / Families and pestilences, earthquake-shocks / And mighty
thunder-bolts; and many paths / Of the Assyrians through the entire world,
And gathering spoil and plundering of temples. / Then of the inventive Per-
sians there shall be / An insurrection, and along with them / Indians, Ar-

menians, and Arabians. / And for these to the Romans there will come ² A soldier-king, insatiable in war. / Marching against the Assyrians, a new Mars, / Who will stretch out to the deep silver stream / Of the Euphrates, having thither sent / A little warlike force... [through ignorance] For, by his friend abandoned, he shall fall / Amid the ranks, struck by the burning iron. / Then will a purple-loving warrior rule, / Appearing out of Syria, fear of Mars, / And by his son, a Cæsar, will persuade The whole world. Both their names will be obtained / If upon one and twenty there are placed / Five hundred. But when these shall rule in war, / And enact laws, there shall be, but not long, / Respite from war. But when unto a flock A wolf makes oath against the white-toothed dogs, / Then will he spoil and hurt the woolly sheep, / And cast them down, in spite of all his oaths. / And then of lawless and perfidious kings / There shall be strife in wars, and terribly

³ Shall the Syrians be destroyed, and Indians, / Armenians, Arabs, Persians, Babylonians, / Through mighty conflict shall destroy each other. / But when a Roman Mars shall overthrow / The Germans, having in a dreadful war Triumphed upon the ocean, then will be / Among the Persian men of insolence / A war of many years; but victory / Shall not be theirs. For as a fish swims not / Upon the summit of a lofty rock Many ridged, windy, inaccessible, / Nor does a tortoise fly, nor eagle swim / In water, so the Persians in that day / From victory shall be far, while the fond nurse / Of the Italians in the plain of Nile Reposing, and beside the sacred wave, / Shall send the appointed lot to seven-hilled Rome. / These things shall pass, but while the name of Rome / Shall numbers hold of calculable time, / So many years by voluntary act

⁴ Will the great noble city of the king / Of Macedonia measure out the grain. / Another toilsome song will I now sing / Unto the Alexandrians, by the strife / Of shameful men destroyed. Those who were strong Aforetime, being then weak, will wish / For peace, because of leaders' wickedness. / And the wrath of the mighty God shall come / On the Assyrians, and a mountain stream / Shall utterly destroy them, as it comes And injures Cæsar's city of the moon. / The Pyramus will irrigate the city / Of Mopsus; then shall the Ægæans fall / Because of battle among mighty men. / O wretched Antioch, thee heavy war Will not leave; an Assyrian war shall press / Around thee, for within thy palaces / Shall dwell a chief of men, who will fight all / The ar-

row-hurling Persians, having been / Himself born of the Romans' royal power.

5 Now, cities of Arabia, deck yourselves / With temples and with stadia for the race, / And with broad markets, and with splendid wealth, / With images, gold, silver, ivory; / And of all thou, especially, O Bostra, City of Philip, that thou mayest come / Into great sorrow; for the laughing forms / Of the zodiacal circle, Ram, and Bull, / And Twins, will not assist thee; nor with these / Whatever stars are visible in heaven Determining the hours. O wretched one, / That, having trusted many, afterward / That very man should what is thine pollute! / Now to war-loving Alexandrians / Will I proceed to sing most dreadful wars. And surely many people will be slain / When cities perish, and opposing states / Wrangle and fight about an odious feud. / And around these will horrid Mars rush on / And stir up war. And then one of great soul Along with his own mighty son shall fall / By means of the treachery of the older king. / And after him another great-souled man / And skilled in war, shall rule strong verdant Rome, / Proceeding from the Dacians, of the number

6 Three hundred, also of the letter four. / Many will he destroy; and then all brothers / And friends will the king slay, even kings being killed. / Then also on the former king's account / Will thefts and murders suddenly occur. Then when a very crafty man shall come, / A robber, out of Syria appearing, / Ignoble Roman, also craftily / A race of Cappadocians will approach, / And fall in siege, insatiable of war. Then, Tyana and Mazaca, shall be / Thy conquest; thou shalt be in servitude / And bear a heavy yoke upon thy neck. / And Syria shall mourn for men destroyed; / Nor will the moon her holy city save, When he first out of Syria, sore beset, / Shall flee the Romans through Euphrates' streams, / No longer like the Romans, but the fierce / Dart-hurling Persians, then the Italian lord / Broken will fall, struck by the burning iron,

7 Having left his world; his children perish too. / But when a Gallic king shall govern Rome, / Then also to the Romans there shall come / Unstable nations,—to the walls of Rome / Mars the destroyer with his bastard son. Then also shall come famines, pestilence, / And wasting thunder-bolts, and dreadful wars, / And tumults of the cities suddenly, / And the Syrians shall be terribly destroyed, / For on them shall come wrath of the Most High. And straightway there shall be a rising up / Of the inventive Persians, and con-

joined / With Persians shall the Syrians overthrow / The Romans; but, controlled by the decree / Of power divine, they shall not conquer laws. Alas! how many will flee from the East / With their goods unto men of other tongues! / Alas! the dark blood of how many men / The land shall drink! For this shall be the time / In which the living will with their own mouths

8 Call the dead happy. Beautiful to die, / They will exclaim, and it will flee from them. / Now over thee, O wretched Syria, / I weep in sorrow, for to thee shall come / A dreadful blow from arrow-hurling men, Which thou didst hope would never come to thee. / Also the fugitive of Rome shall come, / Lifting on high his spear, and, passing through / Euphrates with his many myriads, / He will burn thee, and all things ill-dispose. O wretched Antioch, thee they no more / Will call a city, when beneath the spears / Thou shalt fall down by thine own lack of sense; / And having spoiled and stripped thee of all things, / They leave thee coverless, without a house, And whoso sees thee will at once lament. / And thou, O Hierapolis, shalt be / A triumph; thou, Bercea, too; weep ye / At Chalcis for the children newly slain. / Alas, alas, how many shall abide

9 By high Mount Cassius, by Amanus, too; / As many also as the Lycus laves, / And Marsuas and silvery Pyramus. / For even to Asia's borders they will take / The spoil, strip cities, and all idols take away, And cast down temples to the nursing earth. / And then to Gallia and Pannonia, / To Mysians and Bithynians there shall be / A mighty sorrow, when the soldier comes. / O Lycians, Lycians, there will come a wolf To lick thy blood, whenever Sannians come / With city-wasting Mars, and Carpians / Draw near to fight with the Ausonians. / And then by his own shameless recklessness / A bastard son will put the king to death, And he himself for his impiety / Will straightway perish. After him again / Will yet another rule, whose name presents / The first of letters; quickly shall he fall / By mighty Mars, struck by the burning iron.

10 And yet again the world shall be confused, / Men perishing by pestilence and war. / And the Persians shall again force on the toil / Of warfare, maddened by the Ausonians. / And then there shall a flight of Romans be. But then shall come a priest, the last of all / Sent by the sun, from Syria appearing, / And he will all things by deceit effect. / And then shall be a city of the sun, / And around it [the Persians] will endure The fearful menaces of the Phenicians. / But when two leaders, warlike men, shall rule / The mighty Ro-

mans, one of whom shall have / The number seventy, one the number three, / Then the proud bull that digs the earth with hoofs, And raises up the dust with double horns, / Shall do the dark-skinned reptile many ills, / Which draws a trailing furrow with his scales, / And he himself shall perish. After him / Shall come another, beautiful-horned stag,

11 Hungry upon the mountains, craving strong / To feed upon the venom-shedding beasts. / Then shall a fierce and dreadful lion come, / Sent from the sun, and breathing plenteous flame. / And then with much and shameless recklessness Will he destroy the rapid, well-horned stag, / And the huge beast so venomous and dread / That sends forth many a cry, and the he-goat, / Bow-legged, and renown will follow him. / And he himself, obtaining all by lot, Uninjured and insatiable, shall rule / The Romans, and the Persians shall be weak. / But thou, O Prince, King of the world, God, end / The song of my words, and give charming song.

BOOK XII (BOOK XIV IN THE MANUSCRIPTS)

1 Men, why in vain, as though ye were immortals, / And being in power but for a little time, / Do ye imagine such exalted things, / All of you wishing over men to reign? Not understanding that the lust of power / God himself hates, and most the insatiate kings, / Malevolent, ungodly, and on such / Brings darkness; for instead of noble deeds / And righteous thoughts, ye all choose purple robes. These, loving wars and miseries and murders, / Short-lived will be made by the immortal God, / Who dwells in heaven, and will exterminate, / And upon one another ruin them. / But when, fair-haired and terrible, shall come The bull-destroyer, trusting in his might, / He also will slay all, and tear the shepherds, / And they will have no strength, except the dogs, / With swift foot eagerly pursuing on, / Encounter in the strife, and then the dog

2 Will chase the lion that destroyed the shepherds. / Then shall there be a man, four-syllabled, / Trusting in might, made clearly known by one; / But quickly him will brazen Mars destroy / By battles of insatiable men. Then shall two other princely men bear rule, / Both of the number forty; and with these / Great peace shall be throughout the world, and right / And justice to all people; but even these / Will men with gleaming helmet, wanting gold, And for the sake of silver, basely slay, / Having taken them in their hands. And then shall reign / A terrible young warrior, ruler known / By the number seventy, hot with deadly wrath, / Who basely to the army shall betray

The Roman people, slain by wickedness / Through wrath of kings, and shall
hurl to the earth / Even every city of the illustrious Latins. / Rome is no
longer to be seen or heard, / Such as of late the traveler's eye beheld,

3 For all those things shall in the ashes lie, / And of her works not any
shall be spared. / For wrathful he will come, and out of heaven / Send light-
nings from the sky, and thunderbolts, / Upon mankind—even God, the im-
mortal One; And some he will destroy by burning blasts, / And others with
his chilling thunder-bolts. / And then shall children of Rome, mighty
Rome, / And the Latins slay the shameless ruler dire; / Nor on him, dead,
shall the dust lightly lie, For he shall be a sport for dogs, and birds, / And
wolves, for he destroyed a warlike tribe. / After him, numbering forty, there
shall rule / Another, famous Parthian-destroyer, / German-destroyer, slayer
of fierce beasts That kill men, who upon the ocean's streams / And the Eu-
phrates press unceasing on. / And then again shall Rome be as before. / But
when there comes a great wolf in thy plains, / A ruler from the West, then he
shall die

4 By mighty Mars, pierced through with the sharp brass. / Then o'er the
valiant Romans there shall rule / Another great-souled warrior, brought to
light / Out of Assyria, and his name begins / The letters; in subjection he
himself Will bring all things by wars, and he at once / Over the armies will
exhibit power / And laws establish. But him brazen Mars / Will soon destroy,
in treacherous armies fallen. / After him three of haughty soul shall reign,
One having the first number, one three tens, / And the other king three
hundred will partake. / Cruel, they gold and silver in much fire / Will melt,
statues for temples made with hands, / And to the armies they, being armed,
will give Money for victory, and costly things / Will they distribute, numer-
ous and good, / Devising shameful things, so they shall harm / The arrow-
hurling Parthians of the deep / And swift Euphrates, and the hostile Medes,

5 And fair-haired warriors the Massagetæ, / And the strong Persians,
quiver-bearing men. / But when the king by his own fate shall fail, / Leaving
the royal scepter to his sons / More valiant, urging them to what is right,
Then they, unmindful of their father's prayers, / And girding on the imple-
ments of war, / Will rush in conflict for the royal power. / And then a king,
known from [the number] three, / Shall rule alone, and, smitten by the
spear, Shall quickly see his fate. And after him / Shall many perish at each
other's hands, / Strong mortals, wrestling for the royal power. / And one of

mighty soul shall then bear rule / Over the mighty Romans, an old king, Of
the number four, and all things well dispose. / And then shall war unto
Phenicia come / And conflict, when the nation shall approach / Of arrow-
shooting Persians; and how many / Shall fall down under men of barbarous
speech!

6 Sidon, and Tripolis, and Berytus / The loudly boasting, shall each other
see / Covered with blood and bodies of the dead. / Wretched Laodicea, round
thyself / Thou shalt a great and unsuccessful war Stir up through the impiety
of men. / O hapless Tyrians, ye shall gather in / An evil harvest, when in the
day-time / The sun that lighteth mortals shall retire, / And his disk not ap-
pear, and drops of blood, Thick and abundant, shall come down from heav-
en / Upon the earth. And then the king shall die, / Betrayed by his compan-
ions. After him / Shall many shameless leaders still promote / The wicked
strife, and one another kill. And then shall be a venerable king / Sagacious,
with a name that numbers five, / Confiding in great armies; him will men /
Love for his royal power, and of a name / Illustrious, he shall do illustrious
deeds.

7 While this king reigns there shall be a great sign: / 'Twixt Taurus and
Amanus, clad with snow, / From the Cilician land shall be destroyed / A cer-
tain city, new and beautiful / And mighty, by a powerful-flowing stream.
And in Propontis and in Phrygia / There shall be many earthquakes; and the
king / Of great renown shall under his own fate / By wasting, deadly sickness
end his life. / And after him shall rule two princely kings, One's name three
hundred, and the other three. / So also he will utterly destroy / Many upon
the seven-hilled city Rome, / That he the mighty kingdom may obtain. /
And then unto the Senate there shall be A deep misfortune; it shall not es-
cape / The angry king, against it holding wrath. / And furious rains and
snow-storms shall there be, / And hail shall ruin fruits upon the earth, / And
men shall fall in battles, overcome

8 By mighty Mars in the Italian wars. / And then another king, of many
schemes, / Shall bear rule, all the army summoning, / And for the sake of war
distributing / Treasures to those with brazen breastplate clad. The corn-
abounding Nile beyond the shores / Of Libya shall for two years irrigate /
The plain of Egypt and the fertile land. / But famine will on all things seize,
and war, / Robberies, murders, slaughter of mankind. And many cities shall
by warlike men / Be overthrown; and at the army's hands / Himself, betrayed,

shall fall by burning iron. / After him one whose number is three hundred / Shall rule the Romans and the mighty men, And he will stretch a deadly javelin forth / Against the Armenians, and the Parthians, / The Assyrians, and the Persians, bold in fight. / And then a structure there shall be at Rome, / Magnificently built of gold and amber,

9 Silver and ivory and beauty rare. / And in it many people shall abide / From all the East, and from the prosperous West; / And for it other laws the king will make. / Him afterward upon a boundless isle Shall wasting death and mighty fate receive. / Another man, of ten times three, shall reign, / Like a wild beast, with mane, and terrible, / And from the Greeks shall he his lineage trace. / And then in fertile Phthia shall the city Of the Molossi fall, and also famed / Larissa, situate on Peneus' banks. / And then in horse-abounding Scythia / Shall there be insurrection, and dire war / Beside the waters of Mæotis' lake, At the outpourings of the utmost draught / Of Phasis' watery fountain on the meads / Of asphodel. And many then will fall / By powerful warriors. Ah, by fiery brass / How many Mars will seize! And then the king

10 Will utterly destroy the Scythian race, / And die in his own lot, releasing life. / Then shall another rule, made evident / By the number four, a fearful man, whom all / The Armenians, even as many as shall drink The thick ice of Araxes' flowing stream, / And the brave Persians shall much fear in war. / Between the Colchians and Pelasgi strong / Shall there be fearful wars and homicides, / And Phrygia's land and cities of the land Propontis, making bare their two-edged swords, / Shall smite each other in base wickedness. / Then a great sign with the revolving years / Will God from heaven display to mortal men, / A falcon, omen of pernicious war. The king will not escape the army's hands, / But die at their hands, cut by burning iron. / After him, numbering fifty, there shall reign / Another, out of Asia, terrible, / A fierce antagonist, and he will place

11 War even on the famous walls of Rome, / And on the Colchians, and the Henochians, / And the milk-drinking Agathyrans, / The Euxine Sea and Thracia's sandy bay. / The king will not escape the army's hands, Whom, even dead, they will abuse his corpse. / And then, the king destroyed, illustrious Rome / Shall be a desert, and much people perish. / And then again one terrible and dread / From mighty Egypt will bear rule, and slay The great-souled Parthians, and the Medes, and Germans, / And Agathyrans of the

Bosporus, / Britons, Hibernians, and Iberians / That bear the quiver, crooked
Massagetæ, / And Persians thinking themselves more than men. And then a
famous man upon all Greece / Will turn his eye, and act the enemy / To
Scythia and windy Caucasus. / And while he rules a potent sign shall be: /
Crowns altogether like the beaming stars

12 From heaven will shine forth in the south and north. / Then he will
leave unto his son, whose name / Begins the alphabet, the royal power, / And
forthwith by his fate into the house / Of Hades will the noble king depart.
And when his son rules in the land of Rome, / Known from one, there shall
be on all the earth / Great peace much longed for, and the Latin people /
Will love the king even for his father's worth. / Him, urgent to go to the East
and West, The Romans will hold firmly fast at home / Against his will, and
in command of Rome, / Because among all there is friendly soul / Felt for the
royal and illustrious prince. / But ruinous death will snatch him out of life,
Short-lived, given over to his destiny. / Other strong warriors afterward
again / Shall smite each other, forwarding base strife, / Not exercising royal
power of kings, / But that of tyrants. And in all the world

13 Will they accomplish many evil things, / But chiefly to the Romans, till
the time / Of the third Dionysus, until Mars / With gleaming helmet shall
from Egypt come, / Whom they Prince Dionysus then will call. But when a
murderous lion and lioness / The famous purple royal robe shall rend, / They
will upon the inmost vitals seize, / The kingdom being hard pressed; and
then a holy king, / Whose name has the first letter, will exchange Hostile
chiefs for the sake of victory, / And leave them as a prey for dogs and birds. /
Woe, woe to thee, thou city burned with fire, / O powerful Rome! How many
things for thee / To suffer when all these things come to pass! But afterward
the great and famous king / With gold and amber, silver and ivory, / Will al-
together raise thee up again, / And in the world thou shalt be first in goods, /
And temples, markets, riches, stadia;

14 And thou again shalt be a light for all, / Even as thou hast been in the
former time. / Woe, wretched Cecrops, and ye Argive Greeks, / Laconians,
too, and those around Peneus, / And by Molossos' stream thick grown with
reeds, Tricca, Dodona, Ithome cut on high, / Pierus' neck, and great Olym-
pus' peak, / Ossa, Larissa, and high-gate Calydon. / But when for mortals
God works a great sign / And day becomes dark twilight round the world,
Even then to thee, O king, the end shall come, / Nor wilt thou find it pos-

sible to flee / A brother's piercing bow against thee thrown. / And then a life-destroying one shall reign, / Unspeakable, fierce, of the royal line. Who shall have Egypt's race, much heavier armed / And stronger than his brother; he obtains / The number eighty as initial mark. / Then all the world will in its bosom feel / The grievous wrath of the immortal God

15 For penalty. And there shall come on men / Famines, and plagues, and wars, and homicides, / And ceaseless darkness also on the earth, / Mother of peoples, and disordered times, / And wrath severe from heaven, and earthquake shocks, And flaming thunder-bolts, and stones, and storms, / And squalid drops. A quaking also moves / The lofty summits of the Phrygian land, / The bases of the Scythian mountains shake; / The city trembled, trembled all the earth, Along with those of the Hellenic land. / And many cities, God being very wroth, / Shall fall prone under flaming thunder-bolts / And lamentations; and to flee the wrath / And make escape is not even possible. Then at the army's hand the king shall fall, / Struck down, as no one, under his own men. / After him of the Latins many men / Will be raised up, and on their shoulders place / The purple mantle, longing to obtain

16 By lot the royal power. And then three kings / Shall be upon the famous walls of Rome, / Two having the first number, but the one / The name of victory as no other bears. / Concerned for men, they will have love for Rome And all the world, and there shall be for them / No relaxation. For not to the world / Has God been gracious, nor will he to men / Be kind, since they have many evils done. / Therefore made he for kings a shameful soul, Much worse than that of panthers and of wolves. / For them will men, in brazen helmets clad, / Seizing unsparingly with their own hands, / And for their seepers utterly destroy, / Even kings, like helpless women cleft for naught. Woe, wretched lofty men of glorious Rome, / Trusting in false oaths, ye shall be destroyed. / And many spearmen then upon the world, / Men rushing forward, will the offspring seize / From blood of first-born men....

17 Twice may not demon such a lot first lead; / And all men he will with their works destroy. / But God again those having shameless soul / Will bring into the judgment yet to come, / As many as are marked; these, sent away Into that condemnation of wickedness, / Are fenced in, striking one upon another. / And many stars, and brilliant comet, [sign] / Of much war and of battle-strife to come. / But when one gathers many oracles Concerning islands, planning with strange guests / War and fierce strife and harm to sacred

things, / And in the Roman houses gathers wheat / And barley, pressing for abundance on, / For twelve months long, the city in those days Shall suffer hardship. But straightway again / It shall be prosperous not a little while; / And rest will come when ruling is destroyed. / And then the last race of the Latin kings / Shall come, the kingdom will again grow up,

18 And children and the children's race shall be / Unshaken, for it shall be known to them / When God himself shall be the ruling king. / There is a land, fond nourisher of men, / Situate in an open plain; the Nile Around it borders, wafting blessings on / All Libya and Ethiopia. / And short-lived Syrians, some here and some there, / Shall plunder all the substance of that land. / And it shall have a great and prudent king; Sending one of the children as a light, / And meditating dreadful things for such / As are exceeding dreadful unto all, / He will of all high-minded Italy / A mighty helper bring. And when he comes Unto Assyria's dark-colored sea, / He will spoil the Phenicians in their homes, / Unloosing foul war and dire battle-din. / Of the two rulers one shall rule the earth. / Now will I of the Alexandrians sing

19 The painful end. Barbarians shall dwell / In sacred Egypt, unharmed, quiet land, / Whenever envy shall from some place come. / Winter will become summer; then will all / The oracles to their fulfillment come. But when three youths in the Olympia / Shall conquer, and to them, while they take heed, / Thou speak the oracle invoked of God / To cleanse them first by blood of tender beasts, / Thrice then may the Highest move his awful neck. Whenever he the long and mournful spear / Shall stretch out upon all, much barbarous blood / Will flow amid the dust, when by strange guests / The city has been plundered utterly. / Happy is he who died, and happy he Who has no child. For under slavish yoke / Shall he be placed that formerly was free, / And famous once for plans himself revolved. / Such is the various slavery of kings. / And then of the Sicilians there shall come

20 A host ill-fated, carrying dire alarm, / When a barbarian nation shall approach. / When they grow fruit they will divide the land. / To them will God, the lofty thunderer, / Evil for evil give; continually Guest plundering guest of gold will go away. / But when all see the fearful lion's blood, / And when unto the body there shall come / The murderous lioness, then he will rend / Away from him the scepter from his head. As when in Egypt at the friendly feast / The people all eat, and complete great works, / One finds another, and there is among them / Much shouting, also thus alarm shall be /

Among men, while the conflict rages round, And many perish, and they
massacre / Each other in impetuous battle fray. / And then one covered with
dark scales shall come. / Two others shall come hostile to each other; / With
them a third, a great ram from Cyrene

21 Of whom I spoke before, who flees in battle / Along the streams of
Nile. But yet not thus / Do all complete the unsuccessful way. / And then the
lengths of the great rolling years / Shall be all tranquil. Yet a second war Shall
then again on Egypt be imposed; / And they shall boast, but have no vic-
tory. / O wretched craftsmen of a noble city! / And in wars there shall not be
booty long. / And then the neighboring men of a large land Shall flee in
fear, and lead their fearful sires. / And then, obtaining a great victory, / Shall
they upon the city light again; / They will destroy courageous Jewish men, /
Slaughtering by war far as the hoary sea, Both shepherds for their fatherland
and sires. / But to the dead there shall succeed a race / Of trophy-bearing
men. Alas! how many men / Around the waves shall swim! For multitudes /
Will lie exposed upon the sandy shores;

22 Heads covered with the golden hair shall fall / Under the swift Egyp-
tians; then indeed / Shall follow the Arabians' mortal blood. / But when
wolves pledge themselves by oaths to dogs / Upon a sea-girt isle, then shall
there be A rising up of towers, and men will dwell / In the city that has
suffered many things. / No more will treacherous gold and silver be, / Nor
earthly wealth, nor toilsome servitude, / But one fast friendship and one
mode of life Will be with the glad people, and all things / Will common be,
and equal light of life. / And wickedness from earth in the vast sea / Shall
sink away. And then the harvest-time / Of mortals is near. Strong necessity Is
laid upon these things to be fulfilled. / Nor then will any other traveler say, /
Recalling, that men's perishable race / Shall ever cease. And then o'er all the
earth / A holy nation will the scepter hold

23 Unto all ages with their mighty sires.

A Jeremiah Apocryphon

TRANSLATED BY ALPHONSE MINGANA

medieval, from Syriac and Garshuni manuscripts

A Syriac writing in the name of the prophet Jeremiah, about his warnings to Zedekiah and the fall of Jerusalem, given in two recensions with the editor's notes. It is not scripture.

¹(i) A Jeremiah Apocryphon.

Prefatory Note.

²IN the following pages I give the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of a rather strange work purporting to contain the history of the events that preceded and followed the deportation of the Jews to Babylon. I have followed in my edition two manuscripts: Paris 65 and Mingana Syr. 240, in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, designated hereafter by the letters P. and M. respectively. P. is dated 1905 of the Greeks (A.D. 1594), and M. has lost its colophon, but on palæographical grounds may be ascribed to about A.D. 1650. The former was written at Ḥamāt, and the latter was recently acquired by me in Kurdistan. No attention has been paid to Paris 238, 273, and 276, because all the above MSS. seem to contain only two different recensions of the story, and Paris 65 and Mingana Syr. 240 offer the best specimen of each recension.

³From footnotes that I have added to the following pages the reader will conclude that I believe that P. which is now in Garshūni was transcribed from a MS. written in Arabic characters and executed in Egypt. The same, however, could not be said of M. This fact induces us to suppose that the two recensions of the story referred to above may provisionally be divided into an Egyptian recension and a Syrian, Palestinian, or Mesopotamian recension. The discrepancies and verbal differences which characterise the two recensions are profound and unmistakable. I first tried to establish from all the above MSS. a good text for the body of the story and relegate the numerous

variants to the footnotes, but in the course of my transcription I discovered that the plan was impracticable, and I was driven to the conclusion that the best method to give an adequate idea of each recension would be to edit separately all the text of its best specimen, and this is the reason why the reader finds for his guidance in the present work a complete set of facsimiles of all P. and of all M. The same difficulty presented itself to me in the translation. To note all the variants of each recension seemed to me to be cumbersome and useless, so I confined myself to refer in short notes only to the most important variants exhibited by the two MSS. In a few cases the translation represents a combination of both P. and M. and the purely verbal discrepancies and still more the orthographical variants have been completely ignored.

⁴The Arabic used in the story is grammatically and lexicographically more correct than that used in the "Exhortation to Priesthood" which I edited and translated on pp. 97-120, but it is still much below the standard of what a good piece of classic Arabic should be. If it comes to be established that the Arabic text is a translation from a foreign language—an opinion to which I cannot subscribe—I might be tempted to assert that the story was originally written in Greek, from which it was translated into Syriac, and that the Syriac gave rise to the recension represented by M. As to the recension represented by P. it was possibly translated either direct from Greek or more probably from a Coptic intermediary, before it came under the influence of the Syrian copyists. I was not aware till very late that P. had been transcribed in Arabic characters and translated in R.O.C. 1910, pp. 255-266, 398-404, and 1911, pp. 128-143. The MS. has lost nothing, however, by a more critical edition.

⁵The story itself appears to me to emanate from a man who lived either in Egypt or in Western (not Eastern) Palestine.

Translation.

⁶We will write concerning the deportation of the Children of Israel to Babylon at the hand of the King Nebuchadnezzar in the days of the prophet Jeremiah. And the word of God came to the prophet Jeremiah saying: "Say to the King Zedekiah and to the people of the Children of Israel, 'Why do you add sins to your sins, and iniquity to your iniquity? My eye has seen your deeds, and my ear has heard your sayings. If you had fasted, I would have been merciful to you; and if you had prayed, I would have listened to you, says the Lord Omnipotent. You have not fasted to me, nor have you

stretched your hands towards me, but you have fasted to Baal and prayed to Zeus, and you have forgotten the Lord God of Abraham and said, 'Who is the God of Israel?' You have been unmindful of all my goodness to you when I took you out of the land of Egypt, delivered you from the servitude of Pharaoh, and smote the inhabitants of Egypt with plagues. I cared for you like a tender mother cares for her virgin daughters until she delivers them up to the bridegroom, in order that no harm may befall you in all your ways.

⁷ "I have glorified you above all nations, and have called you my people, O Children of Israel. I have brought you out of a wilderness full of scorpions and vipers, and made you dwell in the desert forty years while your dresses did not wear out, your shoes were not torn up, and the hair of your heads did not grow up, and in all that length of time your clothing did not show any dirt on it. I gave you the bread of angels from heaven, while a column of light shone upon you by night, and a cloud protected you by day. I guarded you with my right hand and my holy arm, and delivered you from the hands of your enemies and made you possess that for which you had not toiled. I took you out of the depth of the sea, and you beheld your enemies behind you standing by the sea like statues. I sent down angels from heaven to assist you in crossing the middle of the sea, and drowned the chariots of Pharaoh in its depth with promptitude. I ordered the abysses to cover them, and made you enter a land for which you had not toiled, a land that flows with milk and honey, and put your fear in the hearts (of your enemies).

⁸ "After all these things which I did for you, you have forgotten my name and said, 'There is no God but Baal and Zeus.' You have returned to me evil for good, forsaken me, offered sacrifices to Baal, and immolated your sons and daughters to Zeus. You have turned away from me, all of you, old and young, and have committed injustices against one another. The seed of adultery has appeared in your midst, and there is no just judge among you. If you persist in these deeds, says the Lord, I will inflict calamities on you and cause my wrath to flow like a flowing river which does not turn back. Your young men will die smitten with the sword, and your old men of hunger and thirst; your children will be deported while you look at them, and your great city will be destroyed. Your land shall become a deserted waste, because I lost patience with you, says the Lord Omnipotent. I bore with you so that perchance you may repent and return to me, and I return to you. But now I have turned my face away from you.

9 "While you were doing my will and were calling me, 'O Lord, O Lord,' I was listening to you with promptitude; but now were you to cry to me I would not answer you and say, 'Here I am,' nor would I send down to you dew in time and rain in season. In the days when you were obedient to me, all the nations were trembling before you. Each one of you used to chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, and my angels preceded you anywhere you halted. But when you offended me, all the earth turned against you; and the sun and the moon mourned over you because they beheld your prevarication, your worship of idols, and all the iniquity which is within you, and which you perpetrated before the idol of Zeus. You kindled my wrath and did not return to me, says the Lord Omnipotent, God of Israel."

10 The prophet Jeremiah rose up then and went to King Zedekiah. He saw him sitting in the Sun-Gate, and with him was a company of false prophets, who were prophesying falsely to him. When King Zedekiah saw the prophet Jeremiah, he stood up before him and received him and said to him: "O seer, hast thou the word of God in thy mouth in these days?" And Jeremiah the prophet said to him: "Here is the word;" and he narrated to him the word of God before all the people. When the king heard the words of the prophet Jeremiah he waxed very angry, and asked the people and the false prophets who were round him whether that young man was mad. And Hananiah, the liar, rose up, put on his head horns of iron, and began to speak and say, 'This is what the Lord God says: "Thou, O king, shalt triumph over thy enemies and over these"—and he made a sign to north, south, east, and west—and proceeded thus: No one will be able to contradict thee, O king, nor dwell in the land." And there was then no word of God in the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah.

11 When the king heard these words from Hananiah, the liar and the deceiver, in the presence of all the false prophets his companions, he said to those of his servants that were present: "Take this Jeremiah and cast him into the dungeon, in the lowest pit, which is full of mire, in order that he may die; no other food should be given to him apart from a little bread and water in order that we may know whether the word of God is with him or not." Then they threw forthwith Jeremiah in the place which the king had designated. When Abimelech, a servant in constant attendance on the king, heard that King Zedekiah had thrown Jeremiah into prison, he rose up and inquired after the place where King Zedekiah was staying, and went to him.

When the king saw the servant approaching him, he said to him: "Be welcome, O faithful servant; thou hast come to-day to us; what is thy request?" And the servant said to him: "O king what has the prophet Jeremiah done, that you should have acted with him in this way? Do you not fear God, O king, in casting the prophet of the Lord into prison and in extinguishing the lamp of Israel which shone on the people of God?" Then King Zedekiah said to him: "Thou hast done well in reminding me to-day of him, O Ephti, take some men with thee, and go and take him out of prison."

¹² Then Abimelech took with him men, old rags, and strong ropes, and repaired to the prison in which Jeremiah was lying; he threw to him the old rags, and let down to him the strong ropes and said: "Attach these to your armholes so that we may draw you up." He did as he was told, and they drew him out of prison and gave him his freedom. ¹³ Then the Lord said to the prophet Jeremiah: "O you whom I have elected and honoured, arise and go for the second time to Zedekiah and say to him, "Thus says the Lord God of Israel, How long will you irritate my spirit, shed innocent blood, cause pregnant women to miscarry, and take the fruit of their wombs and burn it with fire before the statue of Baal. The blood of those whom you have unjustly killed cried towards the throne of my glory, and the cry of the unjustly treated went up to the gates of heaven. Why have you trodden in the path of Manasseh and forsaken the ways of David, your father? If you persist before me in these deeds, I will bring down my wrath and anger on you, and strip you of your glory; I will overthrow your throne and give your kingdom to your enemy who will put out your eyes and place them in your hands, and slay your two children and place one at your right hand and the other at your left; and put a chain round your neck like a dog. In this way you will be deported into Babylon, tied to the chariot of the king Nebuchadnezzar, and you will die there while driving the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill. This great people will also be led into captivity with you, and Jerusalem will be destroyed to its foundations, because you have dishonoured my name by your worship of foreign gods and have broken my covenant which I made with your fathers.'" All these words utter you before the elders of the children of Israel."

¹⁴ The prophet Jeremiah then said: "No, my Lord and my God, Lord of mercy and creator of the universe; no, O Lord, do not send me to King Zedekiah, because he is a man who hates Thy pious ones, and he will wax

angry if I mention Thy name before him, and his anger will be brought to the highest pitch if I mention the name of Thy saints who have been slain and of Thy holy ones who have been stoned. He has further sought my destruction, and if I go back to him he will throw me in the pool of mire, in the lowest dungeon, and I shall die there." The Lord said then to the prophet Jeremiah: "Rise up and go to him. It is I who send you in my name, and be not afraid." Then the prophet Jeremiah rose up and went to King Zedekiah and to the people of the children of Israel. He had an audience with the king, and he related to him all the words of God. King Zedekiah became exceedingly angry, and ordered the prophet Jeremiah to be thrown for the second time in the lowest cistern, the cistern of mire. When Abimelech heard of the imprisonment of the prophet Jeremiah, he went to King Zedekiah and saved him like the first time and set him free.

¹⁵ Then the word of God came for the third time to the prophet Jeremiah saying: "O Jeremiah whom I have elected, arise and go to King Zedekiah and utter to him the words of the Lord, God of Israel." Then the prophet Jeremiah fell down before the Lord, lifted his hands to Him, worshipped before Him and said to Him: "No, my Lord, do not send me to King Zedekiah, because if I mention to him Thy holy name he will wax angry and kill me." Then the Lord ordered the prophet Jeremiah to write down in a book all that was revealed to him and deliver it to his disciple Baruch, to bring to King Zedekiah. The prophet Jeremiah did what God ordered him to do, and he wrote a letter and sent it to King Zedekiah with his disciple Baruch and ordered him to read it before him and before the company of the children of Israel. And Baruch went to the palace of the king whom he saw sitting with his boon-companions. He stood before him with the letter in his hand, and uttered the words of God. When the king heard the speech of the disciple Baruch he became exceedingly angry, took the letter from him, and burned it with fire that he made there before all the children of Israel. He also ordered at once Baruch, the disciple of the prophet Jeremiah, to be flogged—and he was cruelly lashed—and asked him where (his master) lived. The disciple told the king his master's whereabouts, and the king ordered that he should be brought before him bound with chains and fetters.

¹⁶ The servants went out to look for him and they found him in a sepulchral crypt braiding fresh twigs and leaves. They seized him forthwith and did with him what the king had ordered them to do, and they presented

him to King Zedekiah. When he stood before the king, Satan filled the latter's heart and he began to gnash his teeth at him and said to him: "I will shed your blood and pour it in the plate from which I eat, I will deliver your flesh to the birds of heaven and your bones to the carnivores of the earth, for the written words that your disciple uttered before me. What is between me and you, O Jeremiah, that you should prophesy falsely against me and against my kingdom and say, 'Your kingdom shall be taken from you and your throne shall be overthrown, and the people shall be deported and Jerusalem shall be destroyed to its foundations?' I swear to you by the great gods Baal and Zeus that I shall torment you with a grievous torment, and not finish you off quickly, but shall cast you into the lowest pit of the prison, and see whether your words will apply to me truly or not."

¹⁷ The king ordered him to be tied hands and feet with iron and thrown into the pit which he had named; he further ordered that no bread and water should be given to him, in order that he may die of hunger and thirst. The prophet Jeremiah turned then towards the king and said to him before the people of the children of Israel: "May God judge between thee and me, O King Zedekiah; I have prophesied for many years on behalf of the Lord, and no lie has ever come out of my mouth, and thou art throwing me for the third time in prison, in the lowest pit, wishing me to die there. Thou hast confidence in the false prophets who prophesy to thee falsely. This being the case listen to the words of God which are in my mouth: ¹⁸"Thou hast angered me with thy iniquitous deeds, and I shall turn my face away from thee and from the people of the children of Israel. I shall kindle my wrath and anger against this land, and the king of the Chaldeans shall come with men as numerous as locusts, and shall dismantle to its foundations the rampart of the city of Jerusalem and fix his throne in its midst. And thou, O King Zedekiah, when thou seest these things with thy eyes, pangs of travail will take possession of thee like a woman who gives birth to a child. Thou shalt extend on thy bed and cover thy face with thy mantle as with a shroud, and thy servants will carry thee on their necks like a corpse and run with thee towards the Jordan in order that they may cross it and save thee. God then will move the hearts of the servants of Nebuchadnezzar, who will seek thee in thy bed-chamber and not find thee, and they will follow thee and overtake thee on the river Karmelis; they will throw thee on the ground, uncover thy face, and strip thee of thy mantle, and present thee to Nebuchad-

nezzar, the king of the Chaldeans, and thou shalt see his eyes with thy eyes, and thy mouth shall speak with his mouth. He will put a chain round thy neck like a dog, bring thy two sons to thy presence, and slay one at thy right hand and the other at thy left. He will put out thy eyes and place them in thy hands, and carry thee with him to the countries of Babylon, tied to his chariot, with mud, mire and ashes on thy head. Thou shalt eat bread, weeping and sighing, and shalt drink water with grief and hardship, and shalt die there while driving the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill."

¹⁹ When Jeremiah finished these words he was seized by the servants to do with him what King Zedekiah had ordered. And the prophet Jeremiah said to the servants of Zedekiah: "Have a little patience with me until I finish the words of God which are in my mouth. And King Zedekiah said: "Leave him until he utters all that he has to say. While the prophet Jeremiah was left alone he turned to all the people standing before the king and said: "Listen to what the Lord Omnipotent says: 'I protected your fathers when I took them out of the land of Egypt, but because you have forgotten the great goodness I did to your fathers in the desert, you shall be requited with a much greater evil. When I took your fathers out of the land of Egypt, and they dwelt forty years in the desert, their dresses did not wear out, their shoes were not torn up, and the hair of their heads did not grow. You, however, shall be deported and shall be in the way to your destination only a month and your dresses shall wear out and become like old skins; they shall tear up, and you shall sew them with cords made of palm-tree fibres, of alfa, and palm-tree leaves.

²⁰ The hair of your heads shall come down to your shoulders like the hair of women, and instead of the column of light which shone upon your fathers day and night and went before them in their way, you shall be deported and walk in the heat of the sun and the cold of the night, and you shall experience the most intense heat of the summer and severe cold of the winter. I shall order the moon and the stars which shine at night not to shed their light on you, in order that you may be in darkness. You shall crawl on your hands in groping your way, and shall stumble on one another with vehemence, intense pains, and bitter weeping. ²¹ "You shall hunger after bread, and thirst after water, and you shall sigh and say, 'Thou art just, O Lord, and Thou hast done everything with wisdom; Thou hast acted towards us according to our merits.' Instead of the manna and the quails which God sent to

your fathers, and the sweet water which He caused to jet forth for them from the rock, there shall descend on you from heaven, earth, dust, and a fiery wind that will cling to your bodies and inflict on them sores, wounds, and blisters that do not heal. I shall render your drinking water brackish and bitter in your mouths, in order to desiccate your bodies and dry up your bones. Instead of the light of the sun that (God) caused to shine on your fathers, you shall have lice and vermin to consume your bodies. You shall remain seventy years in the captivity and servitude of the Chaldeans until the Lord turns His wrath away from you."

²² When the prophet Jeremiah finished all these words to King Zedekiah and to the elders and princes of the people who were surrounding him, they cried one and all, saying, 'Long live thou King Zedekiah.' The king then ordered the prophet to be cast into the dungeon, in the place where the cistern of mire was found. The description of this dungeon is that people walked three hours underground in the dark until they reached it; its sides were as thin as a glass bowl; no one was able to stand in that place, except on the joint of his knees; it was full of mire and pitch which reached the armpits of a man. And the prophet Jeremiah remained in that place for several days in great pains. ²³ When Abimelech, the servant of the king heard the story of the prophet Jeremiah, he visited him every day, by giving a denarius to the gaoler in order to let him enter, and gave the prophet Jeremiah bread and water, and then returned to his master. He did this for twenty-one days, after which he went to King Zedekiah and said to him: "I felt the necessity of presenting myself before you for the sake of the prophet Jeremiah. Was it not sufficient for you, O king, to imprison the prophet of God a first time and a second time, that you should have thrown him a third time into prison? You have extinguished the lamp of the children of Israel, which was shedding light on the people of God; and he did not speak before thee except what God had revealed to him." Then the king said to him, "O Abimelech, you have done well in reminding me of him to-day; rise up, go and take men with thee and draw him out of the dungeon, and place him in a house until we ascertain if his words are true or not, and test the truth of his sayings."

²⁴ Abimelech went then immediately and took with him two servants from the palace of the king, and drew up the prophet Jeremiah from the dungeon, after he had spent there twenty-one days, and placed him in a house of peace and rest. Then the prophet Jeremiah said to Abimelech:

"Blessed be thou, O my child Abimelech, because thou hadst pity on me in the time of my trials. Thus says the Lord Omnipotent, 'He who does good to those in trouble, or in prison, and to the poor, God will remember him with His grace, and with His help and assistance.' Thou shalt not see the destruction of Jerusalem, O my child, and thou shalt not go to the hardship of the captivity; thou shalt not die, but shalt live until the Lord turns away His wrath. The sun shall nurture thee and the firmament shall rear thee, and the earth on which thou shalt sleep shall give thee rest, and the stone shall protect thee from the cold of the winter and the heat of the summer, and thy soul shall be in joy and pleasure for seventy years until thou seest Jerusalem in its glory and rebuilt as it was before."

²⁵ After this King Zedekiah returned to sin before the Lord, and he entered the house of the Lord and took out the two columns of marble which gave light in it without a lamp and placed them in the temple before the statues of Baal and Zeus, and he carried the precious and holy plates to the place where he used to sit and drink with his concubines. He pulled down the altar on which sacrifices were offered, and he made it a table to himself in the temple which belongs to Baal and Zeus. He brought out also the ark of the covenant, and out of the gold of the candle-stick he made a crown which he placed on the head of the idol. He ordered that oxen should be offered to Baal the idol, and summoned the pregnant women in travail and commanded that their offspring should be taken out of their wombs and sacrificed on the fire to Baal and Zeus. He also ordered that all children from two years old and under should likewise be sacrificed and their blood taken and offered to Baal and Zeus.

²⁶ In that very day the earth shook and its (four) points quaked, and the Lord thundered from heaven and his wrath spread over all the earth, and He ordered the angel of anger to come down to it with fury, and had it not been for the intervention of the angels and the holy ones who knelt down before the Lord and besought Him to turn away His wrath from His people, all would have perished. The Lord perceived the odour of their sighing and their holy lamentations, had mercy upon the people of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and removed His wrath and did not destroy them. ²⁷ And the word of God came to the prophet Jeremiah, saying, 'Jeremiah, Jeremiah,' and he answered, 'Here I am, O Lord.' And the Lord said to him: "I have sworn that I shall not remove my wrath, and I say to you that I shall not do anything

before I have told it to you. Were it not for your prayers that have surrounded Jerusalem none of its inhabitants would have been alive, and I would have destroyed it to its foundations, because my eyes are covered with tears over the innocent blood of the children that has been shed; they cry and say, 'Avenge our blood.' Lo, concerning this people among whom you live examine the three following punishments: do you wish me to order Satanael, the angel of wrath, to destroy them and exterminate them from their young ones to their adults, with their old men and young men? Or do you wish me to inflict famine on them and to command heaven which is above them to become brass and the earth which is below them to become iron, so that no dew may fall from heaven and no fruits should come from the earth; and I shall destroy all the trees and annihilate their storehouses that are full so that they may eat one another and fall in the streets of the city from hunger and thirst? Or do you wish me to allow Nebuchadnezzar who is King of Babylon to subdue them and lord it over them for seventy years, and they be slaves of the Chaldeans to the point of destruction, in order that they may know that I am the God who hold their spirits in my hands?"

28 When the prophet Jeremiah heard these words from the Lord, he fell down in worship on his face before Him and wept and said: "O God of all mercy; Thou art the God of gods and Creator of the universe. Look, O Lord, upon the children of Thy servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to whom Thou swore that their seed shall be like the stars of heaven; no, O Lord, do not destroy them one and all, and let not the angel Satanael come down on them because he will not leave a single one of them. Where is the oath that Thou swore to our father Abraham, Thy beloved, in saying to Him, 'Thy seed shall not cease under heaven,' and if Thou sendest against them famine and dearth, and Thou restrainest heaven from sending down its dew, and the earth from yielding its fruit, the children of Thy servants will perish from the surface of the earth, and where shall be the covenant that Thou gavest to Thy servant Israel in saying to him, 'Thy children shall remain for ever and ever.' And do not be angry, O Lord, because of the ill-treatment that I receive at the hands of Thy servants: Thy people who sinned against Thee. If Thou orderest for them, O Lord, a deportation by Nebuchadnezzar and a captivity to Babylon, verily a father chastises his sons and a master his servants."

29 Then the Lord summoned forthwith the angel Michael, the head of the angels, and said to him: "Arise and go to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and say to him: 'Go to Judea, to the city of Jerusalem, and spread thy hand and the hand of the Chaldeans who are with thee over its land, and bring into captivity all the inhabitants of the land of Israel, lord it over them, and take them to the land of the Chaldeans, and enslave them there for seventy years. Their adults shall do brickwork and clay work, and their old men shall hew wood and draw water, and their women shall spin and weave wool, and they shall show thee their work every day, and thou shalt make accounts with them as if they were slaves. Act, however, with mercy and justice towards them, because (in the end) I shall have pity upon them.'"

30 Michael worshipped then the Lord immediately and went in haste to Babylon, which he reached in that very night. He nudged Nebuchadnezzar the king in the right side and said to him: "O Nebuchadnezzar, arise quickly so that I may speak with you." When Nebuchadnezzar awoke from his sleep and saw the angel of God with shining eyes like the star of the morning, with a spear in his hand, with loins girded with a sword, with feet covered with hot polished brass, and with a terrifying speech, he said to him: "Woe is me, O my master, because in no time have I seen the like of you. Are you not one of the gods of Babylon? Or perchance are you the God who spread heaven and established the earth, and fashioned every thing?" And the angel answered him saying: "I am not God, but His servant. I am one of the seven angels who stand before the throne of the Lord God, and here is what the Lord God says, 'Arise with all your might and with the Chaldeans, and spread your hand over all the land of Judea and deport its inhabitants and bring them to the land of Babylon. And they shall be slaves to you: their adults shall work at clay and bricks, and their old men shall hew wood and draw water, and their women shall spin and weave wool, and they shall bring in their work every day like slaves, and you shall settle their accounts, but show mercy towards them. I have delivered them to you for punishment, and after that I shall have pity on them for ever and ever.'"

31 And Nebuchadnezzar said to the angel Michael: "Woe is me, O my master, the Lord has perchance waxed angry with me because of the great number of my sins, and He wishes me to go to foreign lands in order to destroy my life in them; do destroy me with your hand; this would be more advantageous for me than that I and all who are with me should die in a for-

eign land. Who is the king of Babylon, and who is Nebuchadnezzar before the people of God the Most High? And who am I that I should go to Jerusalem and fight the people of God? Is it not the people whom Pharaoh fought, and God drowned him in the abysses, and water covered him? Is it not the people whom the Amorites fought, and they all perished? In this way five nations were destroyed before them. Who am I then, O Lord, that I should fight a just people and conquer it, a people who when they go to war do not take with them any material of war, but, if they stretch out their hands, angels help them from heaven and fight on their behalf?

³² And the angel Michael said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Every thing you said is true. Every people who keep the commandments of God, no one is able to overcome them; but if they forsake His commandments and His law, He delivers them into the hands of their enemies, and they perish at their hands. Now, this people have sinned, prevaricated, and increased their iniquity; arise thou, then, and destroy them that they may know that God is the only one that lasts for ever and ever." When the angel Michael finished his words to Nebuchadnezzar, he stretched his hand, anointed him, and fortified him against the (Jewish) people, and went up to heaven. ³³ After the angel Michael had gone, Nebuchadnezzar arose and went to his wife Hilkiah whom he awakened from her sleep. He narrated to her all that the angel had told him. When she heard those words from him she was greatly perplexed and fell down weeping, and said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Woe is me, my lord, and my brother; take me with thee wherever thou goest, because I shall not see thee another time. Who is the king who fought this people and was saved? Dost thou not know that this is the people of God, and that everything that they ask from God they obtain it forthwith?" And Nebuchadnezzar said to her: "It is their God that has delivered them up to me." And she said to him: "O my lord, listen attentively to what I am going to say to thee: if thou goest to fight them, take with thee a ram, and when thou art near the city of Judea alight from thy chariot, lay the sceptre of gold that is in thy hand on the head of the ram and let it go; if it take the direction of Judea, follow it, and know that the Lord has delivered them up to thee; but if the ram does not proceed forward to Judea but turns its face towards Babylon, return thou with it and fight not the people of God; if you are like the number of the sand of the sea not a single soul will return alive with thee."

³⁴ When the wife said these words to the king, he accepted them from her, and he rose forthwith and summoned his generals Cyrus and Isarus, and narrated to them all that God had promised him through His angel. And they said to the king: "May you live for ever! It is their God that is angry with them. This people has sinned; send therefore at once a messenger to Zedekiah, king of Jerusalem, to convey to him words of conciliation, and despatch gifts with him, and make inquiries whether his people have worshipped foreign gods and forsaken the words of the Lord, and whether they have refused (to listen to) the prophets who were with them and who interceded with the Lord on their behalf. If not, do not proceed to their land, as He has destroyed others who fought them, and fire will come down on us from heaven and consume us along with our land."

³⁵ These words pleased King Nebuchadnezzar, who sent forthwith a messenger from his generals, accompanied by a thousand horsemen, and he wrote with him a letter to King Zedekiah, and despatched gifts to him: a great quantity of carmine, gold, and frankincense. The general departed then for Jerusalem with his party. When he reached it, King Zedekiah was informed that the messenger of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had arrived. He at once went out to meet him, surrounded by the women of the children of Israel dancing before their king. Then King Zedekiah dismounted and received the general of the king (of Babylon) and accepted the gifts from him. He took the gold and of it he made a crown which he placed on the head of the idol; as to the frankincense he burnt it before Baal and Zeus. He was also pleased with the letter of the King Nebuchadnezzar, and he wrote to him to Babylon an answer to his letter in the following terms:

³⁶ "Zedekiah, King of Judea, writes to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, thus: 'Peace be with you. This peace exists between you and me. My gods are your gods, and your gods are my gods.'" He sealed the letter, handed it to the general, and despatched with him gems and precious stones. When the priests of Baal, the idol, heard (this) they said to the king: "Where is Jeremiah who said, 'The king of Babylon shall come and take possession of this land?'" A few days later the general reached Babylon with the thousand horsemen who were with him, and handed to Nebuchadnezzar the answer to his letter. When the king understood its meaning perfectly he roared like a lion and neighed like the horse which pulls the wheel, and said to Cyrus and his retinue: "Prepare at once your horses, the troops and the soldiers." ³⁷ And

Nebuchadnezzar went forth in those days and with him were all the Chaldeans to the number of six hundred thousand horsemen and six hundred thousand chariots, and on each chariot were sixteen horsemen, in all six thousand thousand thousand, and six hundred thousand, with spears, weapons, and leather shields, and they marched on the right hand of the king and on his left, until they reached the partition of the roads between Babylon and Jerusalem. There Nebuchadnezzar alighted from his chariot, stripped himself of the royal robe, removed the crown from his head, brought the sceptre of his kingdom, and put it on the head of the ram. The ram took immediately the road of Judea, and the direction of Jerusalem. The king then said to all who were with him: "I am very much surprised, but the Lord God has delivered the (Jewish) people to me. Then the king ordered that his ram should be brought to him and placed on the sceptre of his kingdom pitched in the ground; and then he placed his robe at his right hand, and removed his crown and laid it under his feet, and he turned his face towards the direction of the east, and said: "O God whom I do not know, God of the pious Hebrews, and of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, O God whose name I am not worthy to pronounce with my mouth that has sinned and my lips that have deceived.

³⁸ I am afraid that thou shouldest not deliver the (Jewish) people to me because I am a sinner. My sins and those of my people have perchance increased before Thee. Then he proceeded: "O God of Israel and God of heavens and earth, whose name has reached me, the unworthy servant, God who has power over heavens and earth, I beseech thee, O Lord, to tell me whether that man who came to my house and nudged me is Thy angel, and whether it is Thy will that I should fight this people. I implore Thee to give a sign to this effect to me and to these men who are standing before Thee, because I am Thy servant, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. Thou hast, O Lord, hardened in the times of yore the heart of Pharaoh, until the sea submerged him and those who were with him. If I have sinned before Thee, and Thou wishest my destruction, destroy me while I am still in the borders of my own land with all those who are with me; but, O Lord, if Thou truly deliverest (the Jewish people) to me, let the shade of my sceptre return towards me."

³⁹ And at that instant the sun moved and the shade of the sceptre of Nebuchadnezzar turned towards his head. (The king) then left the sceptre at his left side and the liver of the goat at his right side and said: "O Lord fortify

my heart." And the Lord gave him courage and bravery, and he ascertained that it was the God of the Jewish people who had delivered them to him. ⁴⁰ And God who is God of mercy remembered Abimelech and his kindness towards the prophet Jeremiah in the days in which King Zedekiah had imprisoned him in the dungeon. And the Lord did not wish him to be in the captivity of Babylon and in the servitude of Nebuchadnezzar. And the servant Abimelech according to his daily habit went to the garden of his master, who was the boon-companion of Zedekiah, in order to bring him fruits. He took a basket which he filled with grapes, figs, and other fruits from the garden of his master, and covered them with green foliage, and carried them in order to bring them to the house of his master. While he was still on the way God remembered the words which He spoke to the prophet Jeremiah, that he "shall not see the destruction of Jerusalem, nor be under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. While he was walking and looking towards heaven, and while the distance (to his destination) was about an hour's (walk), he saw a cave in which there was shade and much refreshing humidity, and he said to himself: "I have gone out before my time, and have not taken to-day bread to the prophet, the man of God, my father Jeremiah; so I shall sit here awhile and sleep for an hour in this refreshing shade. He therefore repaired towards the shade and slept; and he placed the basket near his head, and it was full of grapes, figs, peaches, and pears, covered with foliage.

⁴¹ The earth gave him rest, and the rock of the cave expanded over him and covered him like the roof of a house; the dew fortified him and the sun nurtured him, and he did not hunger nor thirst, and he was not affected by the cold of the winter nor the heat of the summer till the time when Jerusalem was destroyed and then rebuilt afresh; (all this happened to him) by the great power of God, which protected him. ⁴² After this King Nebuchadnezzar reached Judea, with all his Chaldean generals, and he subjugated all Judea and all the towns round Jerusalem. His troops spread over the land of Israel like locusts, and they clapped with their hands and danced with their feet and said: "Let us go and fight the Hebrews, plunder their possessions and destroy them, because all other people are now in arms against the people of Israel whom nobody has dared approach and subdue down to this day. Their rod was over all the nations by the power of God, their God who fights for them." All the young men of the children of Israel fell before Nebuchadnezzar, and all their power was weakened, and the people of Israel became before

him like pregnant women at the time of their travail. He ordered them to gather together before him bound in fetters of iron. He who was on the roof did not come down except with bonds, and he who was in the sown field did not enter the city except with fetters, and each one of them was seized in the spot where he was, and none was left who did not come to King Nebuchadnezzar who had fixed his throne at the gate of Jerusalem, the ramparts of which he had ordered to be demolished instantly.

⁴³ When King Zedekiah heard this he was greatly agitated and the pangs of travail overtook him like a woman in labour. He stretched on his bed and spread his mantle over him and covered his face with a kerchief, like a shrouded dead man. His servants took him with the intention of crossing the Jordan with him and fleeing to save him. And King Nebuchadnezzar gave orders that King Zedekiah be brought before him, and Cyrus, his general, went to the residence of Zedekiah, and saw it ornamented with silk, gold, and silver, and his sleeping chamber perfumed with incense and fine aloes-wood, and in it was the idol which he used to worship. And God put in the hearts of the servants of King Nebuchadnezzar to pursue the servants of King Zedekiah, and they overtook them with the bed-litter on their shoulders in the valley of the sea of Karmlis. They threw him from their shoulders, and took the mantle that was over him, and presented him to Cyrus the first general of the King Nebuchadnezzar. The latter summoned the Chaldeans and ordered that Zedekiah's eyes be put out and placed in his hands, and that his two children be killed and placed one at his right side and the other at his left, and that a collar be tied round his neck in order that he may be led like a dog.

⁴⁴ They presented him in this state to King Nebuchadnezzar, who commanded that he should be attached to the tail of his horse as far as Babylon, and that there he should drive the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill, and be given for food a small quantity only of bread and water. The King Nebuchadnezzar ordered also that all the elders of the children of Israel should be bound and that their necks should be tied to their feet until the bones of their necks were broken, and that the pregnant women should have stones placed on their wombs until they aborted. ⁴⁵ The heart of Nebuchadnezzar was hardened against them like the horses which neigh under the wheels, and he said to the Hebrews: "Where is Jeremiah, the prophet of God, that I may ask him whether I should return to my country and to

my land, and inquire of him concerning the ark of the Lord, in which are the tables written with the finger of the Lord, and which, I have been told, proceeds before you." And the congregation of the children of Israel cried with weeping and said: "Where can we find the blessed prophet? The prophet Jeremiah has been imprisoned by King Zedekiah, who ordered that no bread and no water should be given to him until he dies." While the Hebrews were saying this, lo! a spirit carried Jeremiah and placed him before King Nebuchadnezzar, and he informed him that the ark was no more because it was on the mountains of Jericho and had disappeared owing to the great quantity of dust that was heaped on it through the effect of the winds. As to the tabernacle of the ark Zedekiah placed it under the idol of Baal. Then the elders of the children of Israel cried and said: "Live, O king, for ever and ever, and allow us to speak before you." And Nebuchadnezzar said to them: "Speak; it is your God who has humbled and dejected you; who is there to save you?" And they said to him: "This prophet whom you have summoned is young, do not listen, therefore, to his words, and be not deceived by his personality, as there is nothing to distinguish him from the other men of his own age; here there is a congregation of the children of Israel standing before you: hand to them staves of olive-trees; he whose staff comes into leaf in his hand is the true prophet."

⁴⁶ The king agreed, and summoned before him all the young men of the children of Israel, and their number was two hundred and twenty thousand, and he handed to them staves of olive-trees. In that very moment the angel carried Jeremiah and presented him to King Nebuchadnezzar, while the staff which was in his hand had come into leaf. When the king saw this, he was greatly astonished and rose from his throne and bowed down to the ground before the prophet Jeremiah and said to him: "Thou art the true prophet of God; go, therefore, and ask God, if it is He who has sent me to this land; if not, I shall decamp away from you. And the prophet Jeremiah said to him: "Loosen the fetters of these bound men and give them a little rest from their pain until I go and ask the Lord. And King Nebuchadnezzar loosened their bonds, and the prophet Jeremiah went to the temple of the Lord, and saw it sprinkled with the blood of the young children, and he wept bitterly and said: O God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords, I beseech Thee and implore Thee to-day to look from the height of heavens and show mercy towards Thy people who are under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, and deliver

them from the hands of their enemies and their haters. O God of mercy and compassion have pity. And he bowed down on his face to the ground in adoration, interceding in favour of the people.

47 And a voice came to him from the Lord, saying: "O Jeremiah whom I have elected, thou hast interceded sufficiently for this iniquitous nation and this harsh and insensible people. Dost thou not know that I am a compassionate and merciful God? This people numbers more than eight hundred thousand thousand souls, and in this sixth hour of the day take a lamp in thy hand and walk in all Jerusalem and see if thou canst find a single man among them in whom there is justice; if thou findest such a one, I shall cancel the deportation order for all the people, and shall not let them go with Nebuchadnezzar; if thou findest one whose mouth is unpolluted by sacrifices to idols, I shall deliver the people from servitude and shall not allow them to go into captivity; if thou findest a single man who loves his brother or his friend, I shall save them all; but if thou findest no one, enter the temple and place the burning lamp on the candlestick, and it will not burn out until seventy years have elapsed, when the people shall have returned, walking in my ways, following my law and not forsaking what is due to me. When thou hast placed the burning lamp in its place, remove the garment of light from thee, and accompany the people into captivity where they shall be under the power of Nebuchadnezzar for seventy years."

48 When the prophet Jeremiah heard this from the Lord he went out with a burning lamp in his hand. Some men from the people said to him: "O father Jeremiah, why dost thou walk with a burning lamp in daylight?" And he answered: "I am in search of a man in whom there is justice and I am not able to find any." Some others said to him: "O father Jeremiah why dost thou walk with a lamp in daylight?" And he answered: "I am in search of a man whose mouth is unpolluted by sacrifices to idols, and I am not able to find any." Yet some others said to him: "O Father Jeremiah why dost thou walk with a lamp in daylight?" And he answered: "I am in search of a man in whom there is love for his friend or his neighbour, and I am not able to find any."

49 And Jeremiah searched among all the people, but he was unable to find any man (with the above qualifications). Then he wept bitterly, and went into the temple of God and placed the lamp burning to itself on the candlestick; and he entered the place in which the holy vestments are kept, and

brought out the garment of the High Priest, and he mounted the terrace of the temple and addressed the stone which was the head of the corner; "To thee I say that thou hast been a great honour to all those that surround thee and thou hast consolidated them, and thou art like the eternal Son of God who shall come into the world: the faithful King, and the Lord of the two testaments, the old and the new; for this reason I shall say to thee that this temple shall only be demolished up to the place of the corner-stone; this is the reason why thou hast received this honour. Open now thy mouth and receive the garment of the High Priest and keep it with thee until the time God wishes and brings back Israel, his people."

⁵⁰ The stone immediately opened its mouth and received the brodered coat of priesthood from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah. Then he took the mitre on which was written the name of the Lord Sabaoth, the Omnipotent, which Aaron and his sons used to place on their heads at the divine service, and lifted it to heaven and said to the sun: "To thee, I say, O owner of the great light, and O hidden chief, I cannot see the like of thee in all the creatures of God, be therefore the keeper of this head covering on the sides of which is written the name of God the Omnipotent, keep it till the day in which God brings back from captivity the children of Israel to this place." And he threw the mitre towards it, and a ray of the sun took it up. And Jeremiah hid the rest of the belongings of the house of the Lord.

⁵¹ When Jeremiah finished all this he removed from himself the garment of light in the middle of the temple, and put on sackcloth and girded himself with a linen girdle on his loins, and worshipped the Lord before the sanctuary, and bowed down his head to the ground; then he took the keys of the temple of the Lord and threw them upon the door-post and said: "O threshold of the temple of the Lord, receive these keys until the Lord brings back the people from captivity." And immediately the high door-post received them from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah. After this Jeremiah presented himself to the king of the Chaldeans. When the people noticed that Jeremiah was wearing sackcloth, and that his head was full of earth, they all cried with wailing and weeping, and threw earth on their heads, because they had ascertained that the Lord had not forgiven them. They were aware of the fact that when Jeremiah entered the temple and interceded in favour of the people, if the Lord had pity on them and had accepted his prayer and his intervention on their behalf, he came out to them wearing a white

garment and his head perfumed with scent down to his beard and the opening of his robe.

⁵² When Jeremiah finished these things, he said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Ride on thy chariot and proceed to Babylon, because the Lord has delivered this people to thee for punishment; and no harm shall befall thee." And Nebuchadnezzar arose like a lion and went to Babylon, his country. He ordered his generals and the head of his army to gather together all the Jews and march them in front of them. And the prophet Jeremiah walked in front of them weeping, with bare feet and a bare head. When the king noticed him he said to him: "What fault hast thou, O prophet of God? Come and ride with me; but it is not fitting to ride with the king while thou art wearing sackcloth." And the prophet Jeremiah answered him and said: "I have sinned before the Lord more than all the people; by the living Lord, my God, I shall not remove this garment from me until the Lord turns away His wrath and puts an end to the captivity of His people." Then King Nebuchadnezzar ordered his generals to make the prophet Jeremiah ride with them by force.

⁵³ The Hebrew people walked to Babylon in great hardship and pain, and in less than a month their dresses were spoiled, and became like old and worn out skins, and their shoes were torn from their feet, and the hair of their heads grew up and came down to their shoulders like that of women, and the sun scorched their bodies to the point of destruction, and mud and muck mounted their bodies and stuck to them, and gave rise to blisters, wounds, and sores in their flesh; and the cold of the moon and of the stars affected them by night until they fell down on their faces, and they lost their way in the intensity of darkness that overtook them. They wept and fell upon one another, and were on the point of dying from hunger and thirst; they cried with a sigh and lifted their eyes towards heaven and said: "What a difference between this and the manna and the quails which God gave to Moses, and the spring of sweet water that jetted forth from a rock in the desert." Instead of this God caused dust to come on them from heaven, and changed the sweet water into a brackish and bitter water, until they were affected with a mange and scab for which there was no remedy.

⁵⁴ The pregnant women aborted from the fatigue of the journey, and those who suckled threw their young ones from their shoulders because their breasts dried up from the hunger and thirst that overtook them, and could

not give suck to their infants, and they cried with bitter weeping and great grief and said: "O Lord, Thy judgments are just, and everything Thou hast done to us is done with wisdom, because Thou hast requited us according to our deeds; we have sacrificed our children to the idols, and Thou art punishing us according to our works. Because we have revolted against Thee and sinned before Thee, all this calamity has befallen us, and we deserve a punishment more severe than this." And Nebuchadnezzar brought them to Babylon, and he entered his palace and kissed the faces of his children and his wife. He was filled with joy in seeing them, and he narrated to them all that happened to them from the day he left them and went out of the country of the Chaldeans to the day he came back to them. Then he put on royal garments and sat for the trial of the Hebrews, and the arrangement of the business of their work and hire. He counted them and discovered that they had diminished by two hundred and twenty thousand and fifty souls; these had perished in the way from fatigue, hunger, and thirst, not counting the infants who had died on the arms of their mothers.

⁵⁵ King Nebuchadnezzar ordered that the adults should do clay-work and brickwork, that the old men should hew wood and draw water, and that the women should spin and weave wool; he further ordered that they should all show their work every day like slaves, and that every day they should be given a little food consisting of bread and water. And the Hebrews served in Babylon under the yoke of slavery, and King Nebuchadnezzar built through them many villages, towers, houses, granaries, and forts on the shores of the sea which surrounds Babylon. The Chaldeans used to go every day to the river with their harps, and guitars, and used to ask the Hebrews, saying: "Show us how you sing to your Lord and your God." And the Hebrews used to answer with weeping and sighing: "How can we sing the praise of the Lord in a strange land?" The people of the Lord were greatly subdued and they cried while weeping and sobbing, and said: "The Lord has justly inflicted upon us this calamity, according to our deeds. Now, O Lord, look upon us, with mercy, because our faces have been put to shame before us; Thou our Lord and our God, do not requite us according to the iniquity of our deeds, because it is we who have kindled Thy wrath, and not listened to Thy prophets in Jerusalem."

⁵⁶ The Hebrews toiled for the king in Babylon, and his servants drove them about, and greatly tormented them. And Jeremiah the prophet prayed

night and day in Babylon, and interceded with God in favour of the people, when he saw their tribulations and their pains. As to Zedekiah he was tied to the chariot of Nebuchadnezzar until he reached Babylon, and there he was appointed to drive the horse of the flour-mill for forty years in captivity. He was in great tribulation all this time; then he died in wretchedness and bodily exhaustion that he felt more than other people. And Nebuchadnezzar showed mercy towards the Hebrews all the time of his life. When Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon died, he was succeeded by Cyrus the Persian, who greatly tormented the Hebrews with hunger and thirst, and reduced the rations of the food which they were given in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. He gave to each one of them one loaf of bread once in two days, and diminished the quantity of water to be given to them. He also increased their labours, and inflicted upon them grievous harm, and their number began to dwindle. After they had numbered one hundred thousand thousand and eighty thousand thousand, nothing remained of them but eighty thousand thousand.

⁵⁷ Some Hebrew children, seventy in number, used to learn with Chaldean children. Among them was a young boy called Ezra. His mother took him to the scribes while he was still very young, not distinguishing good from evil. And the spirit of God was upon him. And the children of the Hebrews and the children of the Chaldeans used to go every day and carry water on their shoulders for their teachers. When they went one day to carry water, the jar of Ezra fell down and broke. Then the children of the Chaldeans turned to the children of the Hebrews and said to them: "Fie! O miserable, weak, and despicable ones!" And they clapped their hands and said: "O Hebrews, you are weak people in whom there is no energy." And they laughed at Ezra, who lifted his eyes towards heaven, sobbed, wept bitterly, and said: "O my Lord, and God Omnipotent, turn towards us and have mercy upon us for the sake of Abraham Thy beloved, and Isaac Thy servant, and Israel Thy holy one. Do not forget the covenant that Thou hast established with Thy servants our fathers, and do not remove from us Thy face and Thy mercy. We are hated by all nations, and despised and rejected in this nation. Now, O Lord, look upon us, and show us mercy from Thyself. We have sinned before Thee, but Thou art forgiving and merciful, O Lord. Thou forgivest sins and Thou desirest not the death of sinners."

⁵⁸ When Ezra finished his prayer, he took off his mantle and went into the sea, and filled it with water as if it were a jar; then he placed it on his

shoulder and walked with his fellow-students, and not a single drop fell from it. When he reached the scribes, he began to sprinkle the place with water from his mantle; then he put it on immediately, and it was as dry as before. When the teacher saw him, he rose up and bowed down to the ground before him and said: "Verily I say unto thee, O Ezra, my child, it is thou who shalt deliver thy people from captivity." And Ezra was growing every day in grace before God, and men, he and the other children of the Hebrews. A few days later the children wished to go out to draw water as was their wont. The children of the Chaldeans went out and said to one another: "Let us separate ourselves from the children of the Hebrews, and not have any intercourse with them, and not eat and drink with them, because they do not worship our gods." And they seceded from them, beat them, sneered at them and insulted their God. When Ezra saw what had happened, he wept over his companions and implored God to help them. Then he struck a rock with his feet, and water sprang from it like a sea, and it increased in volume until it reached the feet of the Chaldeans as if to drown them. The teacher rose up instantly and knelt down before Ezra and kissed his hands and his feet and said to him: "What is there between thee and these dogs? Dost thou wish to destroy all the town because of them?"

⁵⁹ Then Ezra had pity on his teacher, when he noticed his weeping, and he repaired to the spot where the rock was found and laid his foot on it and said: "O earth, open thy mouth and swallow this water, because the Lord has said, 'No second flood of water shall come unto the earth, but that fire shall come which will consume the earth to its foundations and purify it, in the last day.'" The earth opened then its mouth at once and swallowed all the water. And Ezra rose up and took all the children of the Hebrews, and removed them from the school of the Chaldeans. After all this King Cyrus summoned the people of the Hebrews before him, and said to them: "Bring me all your harps through which you praise your God, and play them before me." And they said to King Cyrus: "We fear to play them in a strange land, because our God does not wish it." And Cyrus said to them: "As you praised your God in Jerusalem so do here." And they answered him saying: "The sons of Levi whom God has chosen take precedence of us and play the harps." And King Cyrus summoned the tribe of Levi before all the Hebrews and ordered that they should begin and sing to the accompaniment of the harps. They came before them and played the harp, and while shouting in unison they

clapped their hands and beat the earth with their feet. Then the ground lifted immediately those who were standing on it, and mounted upwards, as if to cause the children of Israel to descend upon their own land, and their voices were heard that day in Jerusalem.

⁶⁰ The Chaldeans feared then and became disturbed, and a cloud came down from heaven, and overshadowed the temple in Jerusalem. All those who were in Jerusalem ascertained in that day that the Lord had mercy upon the people of Israel, and that He was willing to deliver them from captivity. When Cyrus, king of the Chaldeans, noticed what had happened through the play on the harps, he feared greatly and said to the Hebrews: "Do not move the strings of your harps with your hands as long as you are in these countries, until you go to your own countries and praise your God in the town of Jerusalem." When the seventy years of the captivity had elapsed, there were three young men: Ezra son of Yaratha, and Daniel son of Betariah, and Ezekiel son of Buzi, to whom God spoke, and who prophesied in Babylon. They said to one another: " Let us take a lamb and go out to the desert and there offer a sacrifice to the God of Israel, as our fathers were wont to do, for the remission of their sins, and God used to send down to them from heaven a rod of fire and receive their sacrifices after they had offered them. Let us go and do the same because the grace of God and His mercy have perhaps come near us, and the Lord will send His angel to receive our sacrifice from us." And they did this.

⁶¹ Then Ezra took wood of nard, wood of styrax, and wood of ebony, in all three varieties of wood, placed a ram on the wood, turned his face towards the sunrise, and looked towards Jerusalem, and prayed to God of Israel, saying: " O Lord God of our pious fathers, the One and Eternal God, who heard Abel, the first murdered man, and took his revenge from his brother Cain; who created the image of Seth beforehand according to His own image, and removed from him the power of darkness; who caused Enoch to ascend to heaven with his body on account of the purity of his heart, and taught him the secrets of heaven and what is to take place at the end of the world; who delivered Noah because of his justice, and granted to him the power of Adam before his fall and made him the lord of everything which is under heaven: I pray Thee and beseech Thee, O Lord, O Omnipotent God, to hear my supplication and listen to my prayer, and to my tears. Remember the covenant which Thou hast made with our father Abraham when Thou saidst to him,

'If thy sons keep My covenant, I will destroy their enemies.' Now, O Lord, I implore Thee to visit Thy servants, who are ready to die for Thy holy name. Listen to us to-day from the height of Thy heaven, and receive our sacrifice, smell its odour, and show pity and forgiveness to Thy people."

⁶² When Ezra finished his prayer with his brethren who were with him, their supplication reached the throne of the Lord, and their words penetrated the hearing of the Lord Sabaoth, who sent His angel, in the figure of a man, to take up their offerings to the Lord. Michael, the head of the angels, came down from heaven, and stood on their altar, and burned the wood and the lamb with a rod of fire that he held in his hand, and after the fire had consumed everything that was there, he ascended to heaven. He stood up in the air, looked at the three young men, and blessed them with the heavenly blessing, and then heaven opened and received him. ⁶³ As to the prophet Jeremiah he went while wearing sackcloth to King Cyrus. He further interceded with the Lord in favour of the people, and while standing in prayer before the Lord, he said: "O Lord, O Lord, O God of my spirit and of my body, listen now to the supplication of Thy servant on behalf of the tribulations of this people against whom the days of Thy wrath have ended. Fulfil (Thy promise about) the appointed time that Thou hast decreed for the deliverance of Thy people." And the Lord summoned the angel Michael saying: "Make haste and go down to the land of the Chaldeans, and save the people and take them out of their captivity. If the inhabitants of Babylon impede them, I shall make heaven stick to the earth and I shall cause My wrath to dwell in them until they allow them to go from under their hands. Go also to the prophet Jeremiah, My elected one, and impart this news to him; take him to the king of Babylon, and deliver the people from him. If the king of the Chaldeans impedes them I shall destroy him with his people as I destroyed Pharaoh in the times of yore with the Egyptians who were with him, and all his chariots."

⁶⁴ While the prophet Jeremiah was in the sepulchral vault weeping over the sins of the people, lo! the angel Michael came to him and said to him: "Peace be with you, O elected prophet of God. Grow cheerful because it is time for cheerfulness." And the prophet Jeremiah looked at Michael, the angel of God, and said to him: "Here I am, O angel of the Lord. I recognised thy greeting, and thy words have strengthened my bones. Where wast thou that thou didst not appear to me till this day in which I am in great trouble

with this people, like a father with his children?" And the angel said to the prophet Jeremiah: "Here I am to-day before you in order to deliver your people, because I have been sent by God for this purpose, on account of your prayer which has been accepted. Thus says the Lord whom I serve, 'I have mercy on this people and I wish to send them back to their land and their country in order that they may serve Me there. If the kings of Babylon do not allow them to go, I shall wax angry with them and destroy their land, in order to force them to send them back, and if in spite of this they refuse I shall do with them what I did with Pharaoh, the king of Egypt.'"

⁶⁵ After the angel Michael had said this to the prophet Jeremiah, he addressed him thus: "You remain here until I go and summon all the people to you." And the angel Michael went out and took the form of a Hebrew man, and assembled all the people of Israel in one place as if they were one man, and he repaired to those who were making bricks and clay and said to them: "You have worked sufficiently; go now to your father Jeremiah, because the Lord has saved you from this toil." And he went to those who were hewing wood and drawing water, and said the same thing to them. And he went to town to those women who were weaving wool, and he said to them: "You have had enough work and toil; the Lord has saved you from your work, and given you deliverance. Come on and go to your father Jeremiah." And none was left, but all gathered together. The angel Michael gathered them all together with the prophet Jeremiah, and all went to King Cyrus and to the first general of the Chaldeans. And Jeremiah said to Cyrus and to Emesis his first general. "Listen to the words of the Lord, God of Israel." And he began to repeat to them the words uttered to him by the angel Michael. And Cyrus and Emesis said to the prophet Jeremiah: "And who is the God of Israel? You, O Hebrews, return to your work, and throw such words away from you." And the king ordered the prophet Jeremiah to be flogged before them; and this was done in a cruel way. And King Cyrus and Emesis went then out of the palace, and ordered the superintendents of the work of the Hebrews to strike the latter and torment them until they did their duty. And Cyrus and Emesis rode and went out themselves in order to torment the Hebrews.

⁶⁶ In that very hour a cloud and mist appeared, the earth shook, a big earthquake occurred, wind became fierce, the sun suffered eclipse in the middle of the day, and darkness covered the earth. The inhabitants of the earth mixed pell-mell, horsemen with the crowds, and the feet of the horses

that were ridden sunk deep into the earth like pegs; until all the Chaldeans cried to King Cyrus and to Emesis and said to them: "Is not this sufficient for you? Do you wish the Lord to do with us as He did with the Amorites?" As to King Cyrus he fell from his horse and his backbone broke; likewise the first general Emesis fell and his right arm broke to the elbow-joint. Then the two cried: "O God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Israel, God of the Hebrews, have pity on us; we have sinned against Thee, because we have not allowed Thy people to get out of our land. We pray Thee and beseech Thee, O Lord, to have mercy upon us and not to punish us for our sins. Pity us and heal us, and we shall let them go to their land in joy and peace." And the prophet Jeremiah had pity on them when he heard their words and their sobs, and he approached King Cyrus and raised him up from the ground and healed his bone which was broken; he did likewise heal the arm of the first general of the Chaldeans.

⁶⁷ When the Lord noticed that their hearts had turned away from that on which they were bent, He gave orders and the earth and all the inhabited globe became quiet, and the sun shone on the surface of the earth. Then King Cyrus and Emesis summoned the Hebrews, reckoned their working days, and paid them their wages in full, and gave them much gold and silver. The king helped then the prophet Jeremiah to mount his own steed, and clothed him in royal garments, and placed his crown upon his head, and delivered to him many horses, mules, and camels, laden with provisions for the journey. He further wrote letters to all the land of the Chaldeans ordering (its inhabitants) to welcome the prophet Jeremiah and his people (when they passed by them), and wish them Godspeed in joy and merriment, and to honour them and render service to them until they left them. And the king presented also the prophet Jeremiah with twelve slaves.

⁶⁸ And the prophet Jeremiah left the towns of the Chaldeans with all the people of the Hebrews. The number of the Hebrews who went out of Babylon was eighty thousand thousand; they had thus diminished by a hundred thousand thousand during their stay in captivity. When they left Babylon they began with prayers and supplications, saying: "Rise, rise, O Jerusalem, and rejoice, and wear thy diadem in joy and gladness, because thy children who had left thee with tears, fear, and sadness, have come to thee with joy, and jubilation." And the prophet Jeremiah went out to his land in joy and gladness, and all the towns of the Chaldeans honoured him, and horsemen were rid-

ing before him up to Jerusalem in order to praise it and to honour it with the people; and in this state they reached Jerusalem. As to the servant Abimelech, he awoke from his sleep and went out of the place in which he was sleeping, and the stone that was over him moved away. He looked at the basket of grapes, figs, and other fruits and saw that their dust was still on them, and noticed that the green foliage with which they were covered had become longer and broader. And Abimelech said to himself: "I have not overslept and my head is still heavy with sleep; I shall get some more rest and rise up and go to town, because it is time for me to take some food to the prophet Jeremiah, my blessed father, who is in prison."

⁶⁹ When Abimelech awoke from his sleep, exactly seventy years had elapsed. He carried the basket of grapes, figs, and other fruits, which were as fresh as when they were picked, and entered Jerusalem. When he saw that its rampart was demolished and the town itself destroyed, and when he noticed that vines and fig-trees were just showing their buds, the palm-trees their spadices, and the sycamore trees their sprouts, he was amazed and bewildered. When he went inside the town and noticed that its streets had changed and its walls had either altered or were demolished, and that the destroyed buildings in it were reconstructed, and the reconstructed buildings in it destroyed, and when he did not find in it anyone whom he could recognise, his mind became confused, and he stood and said: "O my Lord and my God, what is this delusion that has overtaken me?" ⁷⁰ Then he saw an old man collecting firewood, and he went to him, and the old man said to him: "What can I do for my son?" And he said to him: "What did King Zedekiah do to-day with my father, the prophet Jeremiah? Did he free him from the dungeon?" And the old man said to him: "What are these words you are uttering, my son? Who is Zedekiah, and who is Jeremiah? Seventy years have elapsed this day from the day in which Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem, and carried the people into captivity to Babylon, and the prophet Jeremiah was among them." And Abimelech said to him: "Had you not been an old man I would have said to you that you were mad. I went a little while ago to the garden of my master and brought him fruits, but my eyes being somewhat heavy, I slept for a short time. Is it in this short time that the people were carried into captivity? Is it possible that darkness has overtaken them and covered them? Or that the moon has swallowed them that I am unable to see any of them?"

71 The old man answered then and said: "You are truly a holy man, and God spared you the sight of the destruction of Jerusalem, the great tribulations of the road and the subjection to Nebuchadnezzar. He has brought down sleep upon you in order that you may see Jerusalem reconstructed as in the days of her glory. If you wish to ascertain the truth of my words: this is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah arrived accompanied by all the people; this should be a proof for you that Jerusalem has returned to its former state. You are truly a holy man of the Lord, who had pity on you and granted you rest for seventy years, until the people came back to their place. O my son, these grapes and figs which are with you, the present time is not their season. Look, my son—and you are a holy man of God—look at the trees, how they are at this time of year, and know that this is not the time for grapes and other fruits.

72 This month is the month of April, and this day is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah reached Jerusalem, after a stay of seventy years in captivity. The words that you have uttered square with one another. Lo, the people are coming now and with them branches of palm-trees, and holding in their hands twigs of aromatic bushes and olive-trees." Then Abimelech saw the prophet Jeremiah riding the horse of the king and shining like the sun, and he hastened to him and bowed down before him. When Jeremiah saw him he dismounted from his horse, embraced him, cried aloud to him and said: "Be welcome, be welcome, O my beloved Abimelech! Look at the honour that God bestowed on you. He does this to anyone who is merciful and charitable to his fellow-creatures. You had pity on me in the day of my tribulations, and the Lord has overshadowed you with His holy arm and placed you in a refreshing sleep till you saw Jerusalem reconstructed and glorified for the second time. You have not tasted of the food of subjection, nor have you borne the yoke of King Nebuchadnezzar during the last seventy years which we spent in captivity and persecution. God spared you this great hardship because of your charitable deeds. Let all those who hear your story do acts of charity and mercy with everybody, and God will spare them all trouble."

73 When Jeremiah finished his address to him, they all entered the town together. And Abimelech did not cease to be held in honour by the prophet Jeremiah and by the rest of the people all the time of his life. When the prophet Jeremiah entered the town he glorified God with this canticle: "Re-

joice, O Jerusalem! Arise and wear thy diadem. Thy sons had gone out of thee with tears and sadness, and have now come to thee in joy and jubilation. Let heaven rejoice and earth jubilate over the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who have returned to their land. Let our fathers take their harps in their hands, and sing before the Lord, because God has brought back again their children who had been carried into captivity in which they had almost perished; Let Cherubim and Seraphim sing and praise with us over the sons of Abraham, and let them rejoice over the children of Israel who have returned again to their land and their country."

⁷⁴ When Jeremiah entered the door of the Temple, he said to the doorpost: "To thee I say, O threshold of the house of God, bring out the keys which I had confided to thee." And it immediately brought out the keys and delivered them to the prophet Jeremiah. And he opened the door of the Temple and he went into it with all the people, and they worshipped before the Lord. And he entered the Holy of Holies where he saw the lamp burning as if it was fresh, and its light was shining, in the way in which he had left it, without diminution. It was with it that he had searched Jerusalem to discover if there was in it a man in whom there was mercy, and he did not find any. All of them worshipped God saying: "Holy, holy, holy! Thou art, O Lord, a just Lord, in all Thy actions, and Thou hast done everything with wisdom. Thou didst with us all this in order to punish us in the measure of our sins, and Thou hast requited us in proportion with our iniquities."

⁷⁵ The prophet Jeremiah called the sons of Aaron and said to them: "Arise now and offer sacrifices to the Lord, and be pure according to the prescriptions of your priesthood." And he also went up to the terrace of the house of the Lord, and he stood on the corner-stone, and said: "To thee I say, O stone, Open thy mouth and bring out thy trust: the garment of the High Priest, because we are in need of it." And it brought out the garment, and Jeremiah handed it to the High Priest. And after that he went out before the sun, and said to it: "To thee, I say, O sun, the great luminary of heaven, bring out the mitre which I confided to thee and on which is the name of the Lord, the Holy One, because the Lord had mercy on His people, and we are in need of it for the service of the altar." Then the prophet Jeremiah stretched his hand towards the rays of the sun and the mitre came down from it, and he handed it to the High Priest. And he handed also to the High Priest the rest of the

vestments of the house of the Lord which he had taken with him to Babylon.

⁷⁶[And the head of the priests who came with them from captivity wore the priestly robe, the garment and the mitre on which was written the name of the Lord, and the prophet Jeremiah put on the garment of the prophetic office—which God had ordered him to remove from him when he went into captivity and place in the Temple until his return from the deportation to Babylon—and approached the sanctuary of the Lord. The latter was filled with the glory of God, which spread over all the Temple and the people, and the glory of the Lord increased upon them with His mercy. And the God of Israel dwelt among them with the Cherubim and Seraphim]. As to the sons of Aaron they performed their duty, each one according to his own rank and order, and shouted with their horns, and offered sacrifices, and the glory of the Lord descended and filled all the house. And the fire came down from heaven and consumed the holocaust. All the people observed as a feast the twenty-fifth day of April and glorified the Lord with great joy."

⁷⁷Here as above (p. 173) it is very difficult to ascertain what was in the author's mind in using such terms as *tailasan*, *kalansuah*, *izar*, *mandil*, and *rida*. 2 M. "And Jeremiah spread his mantle and the mitre fell in it." 3 Read *al-lati*. Here again P. writes "Cherubim" with an initial *shin*, which denotes an Egyptian origin. All this paragraph between brackets is missing in M. P. adds "and harps. In Arabic *hamalū* "they lifted" which denotes the Syriac *as-sek* meaning "to lift" and "to offer sacrifice. (See above p. 180. Here again M. has the Hebrew-Syriac *Nisān* and P. the Coptic *Barmudah* which indicates its Egyptian origin. 9 Mingana 240 ends here with the following colophon: "Glory, praise, honour, and worship be to the Lord of hosts for ever and ever, Amen! Here [And the prophet Jeremiah worshipped before the Lord and said: " Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, and blessed be His name for ever and ever. He remembered His holy covenant and His oath to our father Abraham that his seed will last for ever. He looked from the heights of heaven upon His people and the heirs of His inheritance, He saw their grief and the sobbing of their hearts, delivered them with His mighty arm and powerful hand, and brought them back to His holy Temple.

⁷⁸To Him be glory, honour, majesty, and power, because He is the God of Israel, who destroyed His enemies who turned their hearts away from His service, and sacrificed to the idol of Baal, and worshipped it instead of God,

their Lord, and offered incense to gods made with hands, and offered the blood of infants to the stars of heaven and to demons, and impeded them from walking in the way of God, their Lord. For this reason God delivered them to their enemies in order that they may wreak vengeance upon them. They uprooted their memory from the earth, and destroyed their seed from among the children of Israel, His people." ⁷⁹[Then the prophet Jeremiah arose and turned his face towards the people, and congratulated them on their safety and beautiful deliverance. He blessed them and made a covenant with them that they shall not relinquish the service of God, their Lord, and worship the idol of Baal for a second time. And they offered in that day numerous sacrifices, burnt-offerings, holocausts, and they rejoiced greatly in the house of the Lord, and thanked God immensely, and glorified His name, saying: " Blessed be the name of the Lord, God of Israel, who visited and delivered His people, and saved them from the hardships of the Chaldeans; who took them out of Babylon and ends the story of the children of Israel and glory be to the Lord of lords, and King of kings, for evermore, Amen! And praise be to the Lord of the worlds, Amen! Here ends the story of the deportation of the children of Israel from Jerusalem into Babylon. May God have pity on the weak scribe, on the reader and the pious hearers. Amen! Amen! Amen!"

⁸⁰ I give in the lines above between brackets the translation of the end of the story in the Paris MS. This end seems to be a later addition and is much under the influence of the Gospel of St. Luke i. 67-73. brought them to His land and His inheritance, which He granted to them; who returned to them their kingdom, prophecy, and priesthood; who did not allow His wrath to dwell with them for ever, but had pity on them and delivered them." [And the people did not cease to serve God with a good and perfect service, and with offerings and sacrifices, in all the lifetime of the prophet Jeremiah. And glory, praise, and thanks be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, Amen! [Here ends, by the assistance of the Holy Trinity, this great story of the deportation of the children of Israel into Babylon. Remember, O Lord, Thy sinning servant, Cyriacus, who is unworthy of the name of man, because of the great number of his sins. He copied this from a bad MS., and he who finds in it a mistake and corrects it, God will forgive him his sins, because its scribe is the weakest, the most imperfect, and the lowliest of all the (men) of the world.]

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English translation by William Wright, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. 9 (1886–7); public domain. The text was transcribed for Roger Pearse's collection *Early Church Fathers – Additional Texts* (tertullian.org/fathers). SermonIndex has removed the page numbers and the footnotes and divided the text into sections; the wording is the translator's own. *Licence: Public domain.*

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English translation by J. Rendel Harris, A. S. Lewis and F. C. Conybeare, from *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, edited by R. H. Charles, volume 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1913 edition at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. Charles's introduction to the book, the headings and summaries he added, his notes and the record of the manuscript readings at the foot of the page, and the Greek, Hebrew and Latin words quoted in them are also left out. The second Syriac text (version B), which is fragmentary and is printed under the first, the Armenian version, which is printed in a third column and has no numbering of its own, and the Ethiopic, Greek and Slavonic pieces that follow are also left out; the Arabic version is given separately. The passage that begins chapter 8 is missing from the scan, and verse 1 of that chapter is therefore lacking. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1913 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*

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Pirke Aboth, the Sayings of the Fathers

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The Biblical Antiquities of Philo

English translation by M. R. James, from *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, now first translated from the Old Latin version by M. R. James (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917; *Translations of Early Documents*, Series I: *Palestinian-Jewish Texts, Pre-Rabbinic*); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1917 edition from the University of California library at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. James's long introduction, his notes at the foot of the page, the margin references to the Bible, the two appendices on the Latin readings and vocabulary, and the index are also left out. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1917 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*

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A Jeremiah Apocryphon

English translation by Alphonse Mingana, from *Woodbrooke Studies: Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshūni*, edited and translated by A. Mingana, with introductions by Rendel Harris, volume 1 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1927); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1927 volume at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. Rendel Harris's introduction and the Syriac text in facsimile are also left out. No modern English version has been made. Licence. The translation was published in 1927 and is in the public domain. *Licence: Public domain.*