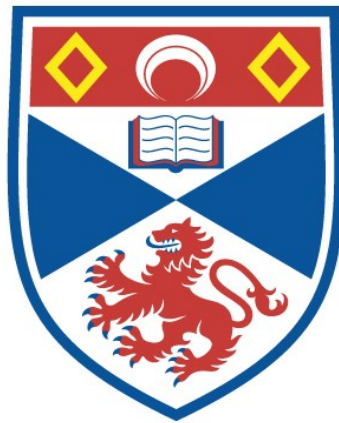


**PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG:
FRAGMENTS OF THE COMMENTARY ON THE
EVANGELISTS MATTHEW AND LUKE**

J. W. Watt

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1974

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J. W. W A T T

PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG

FRAGMENTS OF THE COMMENTARY
ON THE
EVANGELISTS MATTHEW AND LUKE

VOLUME I:
TEXT



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STATEMENT AND DECLARATION

On 1st. October, 1970 I was accepted as a Research Student under Ordinance General No. 12 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy under the Resolution of the University Court 1967, No. 1 with effect from that date.

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews.

TL 8205

CERTIFICATE

I certify that John William Watt has spent fourteen terms of research at the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court 1967, No. 1 and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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P R E F A C E

It is a pleasure to express here my gratitude to those who have assisted me in the preparation of this edition. Principal M. Black introduced me to the study of Syriac literature and guided the work throughout all its stages. For two months in Bonn I had the privilege of working with Professor L. Abramowski and of discussing with her some of the problems arising out of the text, particularly those relating to its Christology. And I am greatly indebted to Professor A. de Halleux (Louvain) for most generously offering to me his transcription of folios 35-38 of British Museum Additional Manuscript 17,126. I have compared his transcription with the original and in a few places come to a different decision, but this in no way diminishes the magnitude of the service he has rendered me in a task which, owing to the poor state of preservation of these particular folios, places a very heavy strain upon the eyes (cf. below, p.xii). The further debt which I owe to him for his great monograph on Philoxenus will be clear to all who read the following pages.

J. W. Watt

I N T R O D U C T I O N

INTRODUCTION

The sources of our fragmentary knowledge of the text of the commentary of Philoxenus of Mabbug on the gospels of Matthew and Luke may be divided into three:

1. A valuable, early manuscript, now in the possession of the British Museum (Add.17,126), written in Mabbug in 510/1 A.D., which originally contained the fourth book of the commentary. Unfortunately this codex does not present a continuous text but, owing to the loss of a number of leaves, offers three fairly large fragments, which together comprise twenty-five folios, and eight shorter fragments contained in a further ten folios. From the colophon of the manuscript and the contents of the fragments, it appears that they are all devoted to Luke, extending from Lk.2,40 to Lk.3,23, and together they make up about half of the extant text of this work. The extent of this manuscript and the fact that it was written in Mabbug while Philoxenus was bishop of the city make it without question the most important of the sources and in some measure a test of the authenticity of the others.¹

2. Extracts from the commentary preserved in miscellaneous manuscripts from the seventh and later centuries.

3. Extracts preserved in the works of later Jacobite authors. In this edition two extracts from the commentary (Mt.13,16-17; Mt.22,29-32) cited in unpublished writings of Moses Bar-Kepha ("On the Creation of the Angels") and John of Dara ("On the Resurrection of Bodies") have been incorporated into the main part of the text, while a number of citations

1. Cf. further the description of the manuscript below, pp.XI-XII. On the question of authenticity, cf. the volume of translation, pp.1-3.

from Philoxenus or reports of his opinions in the (published) commentaries of Dionysius Bar-Salibi and Bar-Hebraeus and the (unpublished) commentary of George of Be'elatan have been brought together in an appendix.

The first of these sources, Add.17,126, has long been known, but the first attempt to gather all the available material was made by Budge,¹ who was followed by Baumstark² and Tisserant.³ These lists were superseded by that of De Halleux,⁴ who gathered and ordered many additional fragments in compiling his inventory of all the writings of Philoxenus.⁵ It is upon this list that the present edition is based.⁶

The colophon of Add.17,126⁷ states not only that "here ends the fourth book of the Commentary on the Evangelists Matthew and Luke" but also that the book contains "the Commentary on five chapters taken from the Evangelist Luke". From this the following observations may be made:

1. The work extended over the two gospels, Matthew and Luke. The fact that the later sources introduce the extracts as being from the "Commentary on Matthew" or the "Commentary on Luke" should not therefore be taken as an indication that there were two separate works. The oldest manuscript shows that the one work covered both gospels.

2. The work was divided into books and subdivided into chapters.

-
1. E.A.W Budge, The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbôgh (London, 1894), II, pp. xlix f.
 2. A. Baumstark, Die Evangelienexegese der syrischen Monophysiten, Oriens Christianus, 2 (1902), pp. 161 f.; idem., Geschichte der syrischen Literatur (Bonn, 1922), p. 141, note 5.
 3. E. Tisserant, Philoxène de Mabboug, Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, 12 (1935), col. 1517.
 4. A. de Halleux, Philoxène de Mabbog (Louvain, 1963), pp. 134-150.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-308.
 6. The introductory questions treated here are also discussed by De Halleux, *ibid.*, pp. 128-134.
 7. The text and translation of the colophon are given at the close of the text and translation of the commentary (vol. I, p.179, note 1; vol. II, p.155, note 52).

Add.17,126, the fourth book, contained the commentary on five chapters of Luke. The later sources often introduce an extract from a given chapter, and occasionally also specify the book.

3. The work was known as the "Commentary on the Evangelists Matthew and Luke" or the "Commentary on the chapters (of Matthew and Luke)".

As one might expect from the title, the numbering of the chapters and books is continuous across both gospels. Nor does the numbering of the chapters recommence with the beginning of a new book. This emerges from the fact that the commentary on Mt.26,36-44 belongs to the second book and the twenty-ninth chapter (cf. the title to the fragment, ad. loc.), while that on Lk.2,7 belongs to the thirty-second chapter (cf. title, ad. loc.) and the fourth book takes the work from Lk.2,40, or earlier, to Lk.3,38.

Clearly within this structure there is no place for a commentary on Mark. That would require to form another work, of which there is no evidence and against which speaks the dogmatic character of Philoxenus' exegetical writings.¹ The situation is different in the case of the fourth gospel; the "Commentary on John"² forms a natural companion to that on Matthew and Luke. It too was divided into chapters and bore the title, "On Chapters taken from the Evangelists", and is preserved in a manuscript (British Museum, Add.14,534) of similar appearance and age to Add.17,126.³ Being a separate work from the "Commentary on Matthew and Luke", the enumeration of the chapters does not continue from Luke, but begins afresh.⁴

Some of the later sources add a further element to the description

1. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 128 f.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 150-162.

3. Cf. W. Wright, Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1838 (London, 1870-72), pp. 526 f.

4. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 130.

of the work by specifying; that this "Commentary of (on) Chapters" is "against the Nestorians". Add.17,267 introduces the fragment on Lk.2, 24-30 as from the "Commentary on the Chapters of the Evangelist Luke, against which the Nestorians stumble" (cf. title, ad. loc.). Since much of the work consists of dogmatic polemic against the Nestorians,¹ this description is quite appropriate and one may conclude that in the later sources the "(Commentary of the) Chapters against the Nestorians", or against Theodore or Diodore, or the "Commentary of Chapters" all refer to the present work.² Philoxenus appears to have prefaced the work with a treatise (~~the~~) against Diodore (of Tarsus) and Theodore (of Mopsuestia).³

De Halleux includes in his list of fragments belonging to this commentary a number which are not introduced in the manuscripts as coming from Philoxenus' "Commentary on Matthew/Luke" or his "Commentary of Chapters" or "(Commentary of) Chapters against Diodore/Theodore/the Nestorians", but merely as being written by Philoxenus.⁴ It cannot be affirmed with certainty that these passages genuinely belong to the present work, but there is much to be said for this in view of their "exegetical" content. It has therefore seemed best to include them here. The same consideration applies to almost all the fragments collected in the appendix to this edition; only those on Mt.26,29, Lk.1,35 and Lk.3,23 are introduced as from the "Commentary on Matthew" (according to Bar-Salibi and George), the "Commentary on the Gospel" (according to Bar-Hebraeus) and the "Chapter on 'Jesus was about thirty years of age'" (according to George) respectively.⁵ The question of the authenticity

1. Cf. vol. II, pp. 3f.

2. Cf. the titles to the fragments on Lk.2,52, Introduction B, Introduction A.

3. Cf. the titles to the fragments Introduction A and Introduction B, and De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 132.

4. Cf. the titles to the fragments on Mt.1,17; 16,16-17; 26,26-29; Lk.2,21.

5. Cf. the titles to the appendix fragments, ad. loc.

of all these fragments in the light of their subject matter is discussed in the introduction to the volume of translation (pp. 1-3).

The present edition thus contains all the fragments listed by De Halleux except those which are preserved only in Arabic (or Karshuni)¹ or Ethiopic,² or have been conveniently published,³ or are inaccessible.⁴ It also follows the order proposed by De Halleux. Each fragment can only be assigned to a biblical passage on the basis of its content and since the suggestions of De Halleux are in every case eminently reasonable there is no good reason to change any, even if the biblical passages to which many of the fragments refer cannot be identified with any certainty. Where the chapter or book is given in the title to a fragment, that provides a check on its position within the whole, but these instances are few. They do give us, however, some clue to the structure of the work, into which the extant fragments fit as follows:-

	<u>Book</u>	<u>Chapter</u>
Introduction		
Mt. 1,17		
2,1		5
2,14-15		6
3,1		7
3,1-16		[7?]
11,11		
13,16-17		22
16 /		

-
1. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 134 (no. A1 [cf. Baumstark, Geschichte, p. 281, note 6; Latin translation from lost Syriac original in PG, 111, col. 602]), 136 f. (no. 6), 139 (no. 13), 149 (no. 16).
 2. Ibid., p. 137 (nos. 7 and 8).
 3. Ibid., p. 142 (no. 1 [cf. P. Krüger, Der Sermo des Philoxenos von Mabbug de annuntiatione Dei Genetricis Mariae, Orientalia Christiana Periodica, 20 (1954), pp. 153-165]). Cf. also above, note 1 (no. A1).
 4. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 147 (no. 11). The folio 1 verso of the manuscript Sachau 238, now in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), cannot be photographically reproduced owing to a covering. Inaccessible is also the manuscript noted by O.H. Parry, Six Months in a Syrian Monastery (London, 1895), p. 337 (no. 2), in the monastery of Deir-Za'feran, dated 1001 A.D., which appears to contain a revision of Philoxenus' commentary on the gospels by a certain Abraham of Malatia. Cf. Baumstark, Geschichte, p. 350 (on p. 141, note 5); De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 128.

		<u>Book</u>	<u>Chapter</u>
	16		
	16,16-17		
	22,29-32		
	26,26-29		
	26,36-44	2	29
	27,45-53		29
Lk.	2,7	?	32
	2,21		?
	2,24-39		
	2,40	Book	
	2,42-46	4	5
	2,51-52		Chapters
	2,52		35
	3,22		
	3,23		
	3,23-38		

Add. ↑ ↓
 ↓ ↑ ↓
 17,126

These chapters of Philoxenus bear no relation to the traditional kephalaia of the Greek New Testament — of which there are sixty-eight in Matthew and eighty-three in Luke — which are also found in the Harklean version and in some Peshitta manuscripts influenced by the Harklean,¹ or to the Syriac sections (*ܟܦܠܝܘܬܝܢ*) — twenty-two in Matthew and twenty-three in Luke — found in Peshitta manuscripts. Presumably they are Philoxenus' own creation. We can form no idea of the total length of the work; even the extent of the fourth book, Add.17,126, is uncertain.²

It remains to offer a description of each of the manuscripts utilised in this edition. Those belonging to the British Museum are treated first, followed by those from the Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, the Bodleian in Oxford, the Vatican and Berlin. Within each collection the manuscripts are described in the order of their numbers. At the close, the sources employed for the text of the appendix are mentioned. In the description of each manuscript there is a note of the portion of the text for which it has been employed, and at the end of the description of manuscripts and sources there is a table enabling the reader to see upon which manuscripts any given portion of the text is based.³

1. E.g. British Museum Add.MS 14,456, cf. Wright, Catalogue, pp. 55-57.
 2. Cf. below, pp.xif.
 3. Cf. below, pp.xvif.

British Museum Manuscripts

Add.12,154¹

Vellum, about 251 x 168 mm., 294 leaves, 27 to 41 lines per page, written in the late 8th or early 9th century. The manuscript appears to stem from three hands, folios 1-16 and 28-79 being in a clear, though rather inelegant Estrangela. The contents are of a very varied nature.

Folios 49 verso-51 verso contain extracts from the writings of Philoxenus. The fragment on Lk.2,52 runs from f. 49^v to f. 50^r, that on Lk.2,7 from f. 50^r to f. 50^v, those on Mt.2,14-15 are on f. 50^v, and that on Mt.2,1 runs from f. 50^v to f. 51^r. The first of these extracts is introduced as being "of Saint Mar Xenaias of Mabbug, from the thirty-fifth chapter against the Nestorians"; the others as "of the same, from the xth. chapter".

On folio 64^{r-v} the fragment on Mt.11,11 is to be found, between extracts from Cyril of Alexandria and Jacob of Batnae on the same. The extract from Philoxenus is introduced as being from the Commentary on Matthew.

Add.12,155²

two columns per page,
Vellum, about 292 x 188 mm., 268 leaves, 43-61 lines per column, written in an Estrangela hand with some Serto characters of the 8th century (747 A.D.?). The fragment on Mt.26,36-44 is on f. 78^{vb}, that on Lk.2,21 on f. 78^{ra-b}, in a collection of Demonstrations "against the Phantasiastae or followers of Julian of Halicarnassus" (f. 62^v-81^v). The whole volume is entitled "A Volume of Demonstrations from the holy Fathers against various heresies". Cf. Add.14,532, Add.14,533, and Add.14,538.

Add.14,529³

Vellum, about 244 x 155 mm., 72 leaves, two columns per page with

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1. Cf. Wright, Catalogue, pp. 976-989, esp. pp. 980, 981.
 2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 921-955, esp. p. 932.
 3. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 917-920, esp. p. 918.

29 to 35 lines per column, written in a good Estrangela of the 7th or 8th century. The fragment Introduction B is on f. 13^{rb}-14^{va} among a number of extracts of Philoxenus in a section of "Select Judgments of the Holy Fathers against the heresies of Julian of Halicarnassus".

Add.14,532, (1)¹ Add.14,533, (2)² Add.14,538, (3)³

(1) Vellum, about 251 x 172 mm., 221 leaves, two columns per page, 32-44 lines per column, written in a good Estrangela, probably of the 8th century. The fragment on Mt.26,36-44 is on f. 74^{ra}, that on Lk.2,21 on f. 72^{va-b}.

(2) Vellum, about 255 x 175 mm., 189 leaves, two columns per page, 38-58 lines per column, written in an Estrangela hand with some Serto characters of the 8th or 9th century. The fragment on Lk.2,21 is on f. 70^{rb-va}.

(3) Vellum, about 260 x 180 mm., 155 leaves, 36-50 lines per page, written in Serto, probably in the tenth century. The fragment on Mt.26,36-44 is on f. 113^{r-v}, that on Lk.2,21 on f. 113^r.

Folios 36^r-94^v of Add.14,532, 52^r-72^v of Add.14,533, and 101^v-119^v of Add.14,538 are for the most part identical with folios 62^v-81^v of Add.12,155 (cf. above), except that the collection in Add.14,533 is incomplete, as a whole quire is wanting after folio 72. The text of the fragment on Mt.26,36-44 was presumably in this lost quire.

Add.14,613⁴

Vellum, about 163 x 121 mm., 276 leaves, 19-26 lines per page, written in a Serto hand of the 9th or 10th century. The contents are of a very varied nature. The fragment on Mt.3,1-16 is on folios 162^r-173^r. Cf. Add.14,649.

-
1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 955-967, esp. p. 960.
 2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 967-976, esp. p. 969.
 3. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 1003-1008, esp. p. 1007.
 4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 810-815, esp. p. 813.

Add.14,649, folios 180-205¹

Vellum, about 254 x 175 mm., 26 folios, two columns per page, 36-47 lines per column, written in a Serto hand of the 9th century, by a monk Joseph, from the convent of Mar Simeon at Kartamin, for the priest Simeon, of the convent of ——. It contains two letters of Philoxenus and, on folios 202^V-205^V, the fragment on Mt.3,1-16. The last folio, especially the verso side, is quite badly soiled. For the bulk of this fragment, i.e. pp. 9-33 of the text, the readings of this manuscript have been placed in the text and those of Add.14,613 in the apparatus, but that part of the text corresponding to f. 205^V, i.e. pp.33-37, has been based on Add.14,613 (f. 171^F-173^F), since parts of f. 205^V are illegible. In this latter section, from the legible portions, of Add.14,649 only one variant reading, and that a mere orthographical divergence, is to be found. In the rest of the fragment too, the two manuscripts present an almost identical text; the only significant variations are in the titles of the second and fourth extracts (Text, pp.14 ; 27) and a couple of omissions from Add.14,613 (Text, pp.18f ; 28).

The fragment on Mt.3,1-16 is not continuous but is in reality four fragments (Text, pp.3-14 ; 14-19 ; 19-27 ; 27-37).

Add.14,727²

Paper, about 266 x 172 mm., 177 folios, 18-25 lines per page, written in a Serto hand of the 13th century. It contains a collection of sermons by several writers. The fragment on Lk.2,24-39 is on folios 120-126. It is introduced as a sermon for the feast of the Presentation (cf. title, ad. loc.). The concluding section (Text, pp. 87, 1 - 90, 8) is probably a secondary, homiletic addition. Cf. Add.17,267.

1. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 533.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 886-890, esp. p. 887.

Add.17,126¹

Vellum, about 277 x 175 mm., 38 folios, 26-28 lines per page, written in a beautiful Estrangela hand, in Mabbug in A.Gr. 822, A.D. 510-1.² Attention has already been drawn to the singular importance of this manuscript,³ and also to the fact that its leaves present merely a number of disorganised fragments;⁴ leaves are wanting at the beginning and after folios 2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 29, 30, 31 and 32. Folios 11, 12 and 13 are in a different though contemporary hand, and probably belong to Add.14,534, Philoxenus' commentary on John.⁵ The reclassification of the folios adopted here is that proposed by De Halleux;⁶ folio 14 is attributed to the commentary on Lk.2,40, folios 17-18 to that on Lk.2,42-46, folios 15, 16, and 19-29 to that on Lk.2,51-52, folios 3-10 to that on Lk.3,22, folios 32, 31 and 30 to that on Lk.3,23, and folios 1-2 and 33-38 to that on Lk.3,23-38.

The codex originally contained, according to the colophon, the fourth book of the commentary, devoted to five chapters of Luke. We do not know, however, its original length. The eighth quire (∩) begins on folio 19^r, the ninth (∪) on f. 29^r, so the eighth quire comprises ten folios. Wright⁷ thought that the tenth quire began on folio 33^r, running through to the end of the volume, folio 38^v. What Wright read as a yodh, however, in the margin of folio 33^r, is more probably a very faint stain shaped ∩.⁸ Furthermore, if Wright's reading and De Halleux's reclassification of the folios were both correct, the ninth quire would have to contain more than fourteen folios (ff. 29, 3-10, 32, 31, 30, 1-2, and the missing folios

1. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 526.

2. Colophon of the manuscript on Text, p.179, note 1; Translation, p.155, note 52.

3. Cf. above, pp. ii - iv.

4. Cf. above, p. ii.

5. Cf. Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 526, note; De Halleux, *Philoxène*, pp. 150 f.

6. Cf. De Halleux, *Philoxène*, pp. 144-150.

7. Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 526.

8. Cf. De Halleux, *Philoxène*, p. 145, note 11.

between each of these fragments) and take the commentary from Lk.2,51-52, to Lk.3,23.¹ Wright's reading is therefore very probably mistaken, and we know only that folios 19-29 comprise the eighth quire and the first folio of the ninth. The original number of quires remains unknown. De Halleux suggests it may have been twenty-four, as in the companion codex, Add.14,534 (commentary on John);² this conjecture, while by no means impossible, would imply that out of quires nine to twenty-four (approximately one hundred and sixty folios?) only twenty leaves (folios 29, 3-10, 32, 31, 30, 1-2, 33-38) had survived.

Many of the folios of this manuscript are much stained and torn, particularly folios 1, 2, 14, 17, 18, and 32-38. Folios 35-38 are in an especially deplorable state and in many places quite impossible to read.³ This accounts for a number of lacunae in the text from Lk.2,40 onwards, including those two of the length of about a half-page of Add.17,126 (Text, pp.177, 11-17; 179, 1-6; Translation, pp.154; 155), corresponding to the upper part of folio 38, recto and verso.

Fortunately, most of the colophon (folio 38^v) is legible; the first two sections and the last are written with ink of a different colour (red?) from that of the rest of the manuscript, the third with the usual colour of ink (black) but in smaller characters. The manuscript is the earliest known dated Syriac manuscript with a single column text⁴ and those folios which have been well preserved are a joy to read.⁵

Add.17,193⁶

Vellum, about 254 x 172 mm., 99 folios, 31-38 lines per page,

1. Cf. *ibid.*

2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 145.

3. Cf. *ibid.* I may refer here to the preface of this edition, in which I have expressed my profound gratitude to Professor De Halleux for his generous assistance to me in this matter.

4. Cf. W.H.P. Hatch, An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts (Boston, 1946), p. 13.

5. Some of them are reproduced in the text. Cf. below, p.xviii.

6. Cf. Wright, Catalogue, pp. 989-1002, esp. p. 1001.

written in a partly Estrangela, partly Serto, script by a monk named Abraham, dated A.Gr. 1185 (873-4 A.D.), varied contents, entitled "A Volume of Demonstrations, Collections and Letters". The fragment on Mt.27,4^b-5³ is on f. 97^{v-v}.

Add.17,267, folios 13-22¹

Paper, about 267 x 172 mm., 38-41 lines per page, written in a Serto hand of the 13th century, containing (homiletic) extracts from several writers. The fragment on Lk.2,24-39 is on folios 20^r-22^v, and has been adapted in the same manner as in Add.14,727 (cf. above).

Selly Oak Colleges Manuscripts

Min. Syr. 9²

254 x 197 mm., 324 pages, two columns per page, twenty-three lines per column, written in Serto in Mosul on 10th October, A.D. 1925 by the deacon Matthew, son of Paul. It contains several works of Moses Bar-Kepha including (pp. 241-290) his treatise on the creation of the angels, in fifty-four chapters. The fragment on Mt.13,16-17 is cited on p. 267, immediately before the start of chapter 30.

Min. Syr. 69³

244 x 173 mm., 51 folios, two columns per page, 34-37 lines per column, written on vellum in an Estrangela hand, with some Serto characters, of the 7th century, incomplete, containing a Monophysite Catena Patrum. The fragment Introduction A is on folio 19^v.

Min. Syr. 105⁴

315 x 212 mm., 263 folios, two columns per page, 30-40 lines per

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 884 f.
 2. Cf. A. Mingana, Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, vol. I: Syriac and Garshuni Manuscripts (Cambridge, 1933), cols. 37-41, esp. col. 40.
 3. Cf. *ibid.*, cols. 173-178, esp. col. 176.
 4. Cf. *ibid.*, cols. 254-261, esp. col. 259.

column, written in Serto by the priest John Radwani and dated A. Gr. 2143-4 (A.D. 1831-3), varied contents. The fragment on Mt.16,16-17 is on folios 221^r-222^v and, as in Min. Syr. 480 and Marsh 101 (Oxford, Bodleian Library) (cf. below), follows a profession of faith of Philoxenus.¹

Min. Syr. 332, folios 2-11²

221 x 146 mm., written in Serto by a certain Hadaye, son of Shammo, about A.D. 1700, containing extracts from various writers on the gospels. The fragment on Mt.1,17 is on f. 7^r, among extracts on the genealogy of Christ from Ephraem and Eusebius.

Min. Syr. 480³

418 x 261 mm., 428 folios, two or three (three on ff. 400 and 401) columns per page, 40-50 lines per column, written in Serto in the church of the forty martyrs of Sebaste, in the town of Mardin, in A.Gr. 2024 (A.D. 1712-3) by the priest-monk 'Isa and the deacon Isho', copied from a MS executed by the monk Rabban Barsauma Ma'danaya for the Metropolitan of Aleppo, Dionysius Shukr-Allah. The contents are very varied, the fragment on Mt.16,16-17 is on f. 400^v-401^v. Cf. Min. Syr. 105 and Marsh 101.

Oxford (Bodleian Library)

Marsh 101⁴

Paper, 121 folios, folios 113-121 being the start of a Carshuni history of the world. Folios 1-112, undated and written in Serto, consist of various extracts from Monophysite authors. The fragment on

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1. The authenticity of this profession is questioned by De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 177f.
 2. Cf. Mingana, Catalogue, cols. 616-617, esp. col. 616.
 3. Cf. ibid., cols. 863-882, esp. col. 874.
 4. Cf. R. Payne Smith, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Syriacos, Carshunicos, Mandaeos Bibliothecae Bodleianae complectens (Oxford, 1864), col. 463.

Mt.16,16-17, is on f. 57^r-60^r. Cf. Min. Syr. 105 and 480.

Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica)

Syr. 100¹

Vellum, 137 folios, written in a fine Serto hand, two columns per page, about 40 lines per column, contains various works by John of Dara (fl. first half of the 9th century). On the initiative of a certain archimandrite named Mousa, this manuscript reached the famous monastery of St. Mary Dolpara in A.Gr. 1243 (A.D. 931-2).² The treatise "On the Resurrection of human bodies", in four books, is on folios 1-79. The fragment on Mt.22,29-32 forms chapter 14 of book 2, on folios 34^r-35^v, and bears the title, "Chapter 14, which shows what those of earlier times thought about the resurrection of bodies and about the manner of their resurrection. Of Saint Philoxenus, from the commentary on Matthew". Chapter 15, the last of book 2, consists of a summary by John of the extract from Philoxenus.

Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

Sachau 218³

Miscellaneous volume, written in a Serto hand in Modyad in A.D. 1847. Folios 4-100 consist of glosses on the four gospels (folios 4-41 on Matthew), which may be connected in some way with the commentary of Bar-Salibi, the author of which, however, must have lived after the death of Bar-Hebraeus (1286 A.D.).⁴ The fragment on Mt.26,26-29 is on f. 32^v.

1. Cf. S.E. and J.S. Assémani, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum Manuscriptorum Catalogus, 2 (Rome, 1758), pp. 530-545, esp. p. 534.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 544 f.

3. Cf. E. Sachau, Verzeichnis der Syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin, 1899), pp. 609-611, esp. p. 610.

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 609 f.

The fragments collected in the appendix are drawn from the commentaries on the gospels by Dionysius Bar-Salibi,¹ the commentary on the gospels and the "Candélabre" of Bar-Hebraeus,² and the commentary on Matthew by George of Be'eltan³ (fl. second half of the 8th century).⁴

The text is constructed from these manuscripts as follows:

Introduction A	Min. Syr. 69, f. 19 ^v
Introduction B	Add.14,529, f. 13 ^r -14 ^v
Mt.1,17	Min. Syr. 332, f. 7 ^r and Bar-Salibi, I, p. 52, 13-18
Mt.2,1	Add.12,154, f. 50 ^v -51 ^r
Mt.2,14-15	Add.12,154, f. 50 ^v
Mt.3,1	Add.12,154, f. 50 ^v
Mt.3,1-16	Add.14,649, f. 202 ^v -205 ^v ; Add.14,613, f. 162 ^r -173 ^r .
Mt.11,11	Add.12,154, f. 64 ^{r-v}
Mt.13,16-17	Min. Syr. 9, p. 267
Mt.16,16-17	Marsh 101, f. 57 ^r -60 ^r ; Min. Syr. 105, f. 221 ^r -222 ^v ; Min. Syr. 480, f. 400 ^v -401 ^v
Mt.22,29-32	Vat. Syr. 100, f. 34 ^r -35 ^v
Mt.26,26-29	Sachau 218, f. 32 ^v
Mt.26,36-44	Add.12,155, f. 78 ^v ; Add.14, 532, f. 74 ^r ; Add. 14,538, f. 113 ^{r-v}
Mt.27,45-53	Add.17,193, f. 97 ^{r-v}
Lk.2,7	Add.12,154, f. 50 ^{r-v}
Lk.2,21	Add.12,155, f. 78 ^r ; Add.14,532, f. 72 ^v ; Add.14, 533, f. 70 ^{r-v} ; Add.14,538, f. 113 ^r
Lk.2,24-39	Add.14,727, f. 120 ^r -126 ^r ; Add.17,267, f. 20 ^r -22 ^v
Lk.2,40	Add.17,126, f. 14

1. Dionysii Bar-Salibi, Commentarii in Evangelia, I (ed. I. Sedlacek and J.B. Chabot [CSCO 15 and 77 = Syr. II, 98], Paris, 1906 and 1915) and II (ed. A. Vaschalde [CSCO 95 and 113 = Syr. II, 99], Paris, 1931 and 1939).
2. Gregory Abu'l Faraj, commonly called Bar-Hebraeus, Commentary on the Gospels from the Horreum Mysteriorum, ed. W.E.W. Carr (London, 1925); Psychologie de Grégoire Aboulfaradj, dit Barhebraeus, d'après la huitième base de l'ouvrage : Le Candélabre des Sanctuaires, ed. J. Bakos (Leiden, 1948).
3. MS Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica), Syr. 154. Cf. Baumstark, Evangelienexegese, pp. 360-369; De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 140, note 11.
4. On George of Be'eltan, cf. Baumstark, Geschichte, pp. 269 f.

Lk.2,42-46	Add.17,126, f. 17-18
Lk.2,51-52	Add.17,126, f. 15, 16, 19-29
Lk.2,52	Add.12,154, f. 49 ^v -50 ^r
Lk.3,22	Add.17,126, f. 3-10
Lk.3,23	Add.17,126, f. 32, 31, 30
Lk.3,23-38	Add.17,126, f. 1-2, 33-38

The text of the appendix is derived from the following:

	Bar-Salibi	Bar-Hebraeus	George
Mt.1,17	I, p. 52, 13-18		
Mt.1,18	I, p. 69, 15-21		
Mt.3,1	I, p. 131, 17-22		
Mt.3,4			f.32 ^v -33 ^r
Mt.3,11	I, p. 153, 15-16		
Mt.4,1	I, pp. 170, 28-171, 1		f.45 ^r
Mt.4,3	I, p. 179, 17-18		f.48 ^r
Mt.4,5	I, p. 184, 1-3		
Mt.4,11	I, p. 190, 19-21		
Mt.8,13	I, p. 252, 19-22		f.96 ^r
Mt.8,24	I, p. 258, 12-23		
Mt.9,2	I, p. 263, 4-5		
Mt.9,6	I, p. 265, 6-8		
Mt.9,37	I, p. 280, 12-16		
Mt.26,23	II, p. 74, 23-28		
Mt.26,29	II, p. 81, 23-28	<u>Commentary</u> , p. 78, 18-20	f.219 ^r
Mt.27,56	II, p. 128, 21-26	<u>Commentary</u> , p. 90, 6-8	
Lk.1,35	II, p. 248, 17-29	<u>Candélabre</u> , pp. 18 - 19, 2	
Lk.3,21	II, pp. 303,31 - 304,24		
Lk.3,23	I, p. 48, 16-19		f.9 ^r

The citations in Bar-Salibi and George are probably derived from a common source, those in Bar-Hebraeus from Bar-Salibi.¹

1. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 140.

The usage in regard to pointing naturally varies a great deal between different manuscripts; no attempt has been made here to standardise this, the evidence of the manuscript(s) for a given portion of the text being presented as it stands. Add.17,126 is so elegantly and clearly written that it has seemed unnecessary to transcribe those pages which are well preserved; it has been felt that the reader may well prefer to have a picture of the manuscript itself before him. Folios 19^v-28^v, 3^v-6^r, 7^v-10^r of the manuscript have therefore been photographically reproduced and the reproductions form pages 107-125, 132-137, 141-¹⁴⁶ of the text.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS
EMPLOYED IN THE TEXT

- [] Square brackets indicate a lacuna in the manuscript, with or without a conjectural restoration.
- < > Angular brackets in the footnotes enclose, in the titles to the fragments, either words present in the manuscript(s) listed within the brackets but not in the other manuscript witness(es) to that fragment, or editorial explanations of references in the title of the fragment.

Manuscripts referred to merely by number are British Museum Additional Manuscripts.

Ox. Oxford (Bodleian Library), Marsh 101.

om. Omit(s).

add. Add(s).

trsp. Transpose(s).

TEXT

TEXT

Introduction

A

תתקן הקטע המודפס הבא
 כפי שאתה רואה: בלתי נכון ופגום
 מבחינה גרמנית ודקדוקית.
 כאשר אתה עובד על הטקסט
 הנכונת והפיקה הכללית של
 המשפט. אתה צריך לראות את
 המשפט כשורה: איך זה נראה
 על אף שיש שגיאות. חתום
 שאתה אכן אדם. להלן את
 המשפט הנכונת.
 הוציא מהדפוס

Introduction

B

○

כלב יחיד זה לא נמצא בתמונה
 המופיעת: אתה לא צוהר עליה
 רק אלה. זה צריך להיות מתחיל
 אתה. אתה צריך לראות את
 המשפט הנכונת.

1 Title: התמונה המופיעת היא לא של הכלב הזה.

2 Read ? התקן לבי?

3 Omit ?

4 Title: התמונה המופיעת היא לא של הכלב הזה. זה צריך להיות מתחיל אתה. אתה צריך לראות את המשפט הנכונת.

מאדן אל כעכעז קיזע אדלען: אל

האעא אדאן אפערען מע לבעד. אל

האעא ואל. אלע אדעלען. אלע דערען

אלע אעא אעזען מע קו הבעדען

אעזען אדאן קען אלע האעאן אלע אלע

אעא. אלע דערען אלע אלע אלע אלע

אעא אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע

אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע

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אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע אלע

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

בְּעֹשֶׂתוֹ אֵת הַיְהוָה וְהָיָה

כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב

מלך הגדול לבדל למן הלכות

אזכור האלה. ממחא בלל

הלכות הלל יבדא בעלמא.

הב מחא כי אללך עתך עבד

אב כן נעמ. חבלך אף כי עא

עבדא דחמא הסהגא. מן הכך

בעלמא. אדמחא כמ אף

אמחא. סחמ דך חללך חמא לך

לחלך האדשכ כמ כן בלל

מלחא. האלך אף כי עא לך

סחמא. אב לך השכמ עא הכך

אעא. אד מחא פחישא.

Mt. 1, 17

למך ללל כחך פלך² בלל

לעכמא. חללך האלה החק בלל

אכא לחלמא הל כזא³:

לכזמא הכוזך בלחמך⁴ למחך

עכמא: האדלך⁵ להחך האמבך לך⁶

¹ For the text transmitted by Bar-Salibi, cf. Appendix, Mt. 1, 17.

Title: כזא פללמחא אכזא ד

² Bar-Salibi: om.

³ Bar-Salibi: כזא

⁴ Bar-Salibi: om.

⁵ Bar-Salibi: om.

⁶ Bar-Salibi: לך

ללך ויזק: ה'אלה' כה נכח אשור:
 ה'יזק אמן דהס' ח'ג'ג' ח'ל'ח' ל'א
 י'ז' א'ז'ז' ח'ל'ח' א'ז'ז' ח'ז'ח'
 ח'ז'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
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 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'

○

Mt. 2, 1

ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'

○

¹ Bar-Salibi : ח'ל'ח'
² Read ח'ל'ח'
³Title: ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'
 ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח' ח'ל'ח'

לשך המורה ז' ונסא ד' ל' כנסא

ת'ה'ג' לה'ד' מ'ה' ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' ד'ג'ל' כ'ה' ג'ה'ס

ע'ג' ל'ה'ג'ג' ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' ד'ש'ע'ה'ג'ג'

ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ל'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ל'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

מ'ה'ג'ה'ג' ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . מ'ה'ג'ה'ג'



ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . מ'ה'ג'ה'ג'

ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . מ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ל'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

מ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג'

Mt. 2, 14-15



ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ל'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

ל'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . מ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ל'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . מ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ל'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

' Title: . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . מ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

² Title: . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג' . כ'ה'ג'ה'ג' . ה'ה'ה'ג'ה'ג'

Mt. 3, 1.

וְיֵשׁוּעַ בָּא בְּיַרְדֵּן לְיַחְזָקָא
 וְיֵהוּדָא וְיֵחֲסִיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא

○

Mt. 3, 1-16

וְיֵהוּדָא וְיֵחֲסִיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא

○

¹ Title: ... וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא

² Title: ... (לְיֵהוּדָא וְיֵחֲסִיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא) (14,649)
 וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא (14,649) [וְיֵחֲזַקִּיָּא]

חזקת המעשה נחלקת לשלושה חלקים. האחד
 חזקת המעשה בלבד. השני חזקת המעשה
 והמעשה. השלישי חזקת המעשה והמעשה
 והמעשה. חזקת המעשה והמעשה והמעשה
 חזקת המעשה והמעשה והמעשה. חזקת המעשה
 והמעשה והמעשה. חזקת המעשה והמעשה
 והמעשה. חזקת המעשה והמעשה והמעשה.

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המבנה הזה שגילא מחזק יגאל הן

המבנה הזה. לא הילף יבוא

למבנה זה. מה אם זה יגאל לבוא.

מן האש מן פלאהשג' אדשכום

5 כן המצא: המבנה בלגא. הוצא

המצא... אמת. לא המה כזה לעל

כן אכא זה מהא כושא. אמת

0 מצא² אף המה וכו' כש. אכא לך

הגוף. דב מה כש. חכה יבוא

10 אף השכו אש אלף. חף חתא

חלל. כה הן אדלוא. חף חלל

הוא חתן חלל. חכה מהא חתום. לכו

המלח כשש. לא האדנדל³ כח

כשהוצא המבנה. אף הלוח עה חצא

15 כה במהא היבוא המבנה.

חף חלל חלל

¹ 14,613: פלאהשג'

² Add לילוא?

³ Add חכה?

חללה. מימי הארץ היתה הנכס
 אלה מן. אף העלם לחלום
 מי אשילא: הלא האצטבה למ
 כל: מהק אף מן בוא בעלובה
 ליה הנצבה למ כל: הנמחה אלה
 כל כל. בעבורה קי לא קללה
 לקללה. אף האף אשילא לביא.
 בעבורה בלחה למ מהא בילא
 נהלא לבעבור. אף מהק ליהא.
 אצטבה אף בעבור בוא לאלה
 אלא. לא הנה אשילא בעבור
 אשילא בוא הלא אלה: אשילא
 אשילא: מהמחה זילא בה אשילא
 קיבלא: למחן האף ביהא כן
 בילא חלל בעבור בעבור.
 למחן בה אשילא העש אף
 האשילא מהמחה זילא לאלה קן
 בעבורה הנבערה. לא הכן
 בלוי האצטבה למ בלחה:
 בלוי אשילא מהמחה בלוי בלחה
 בעבורה מהמחה מהק ליהא.

אדעבער אד מ'לדע אדן ב'א.
כד מ'הא זעבד למ'ל. א
ה'לעכד כד אדעז אדענדע ב'ה
אדעבער לדע. אדעלד למ'
מלעכד אד הלל כד ב'לעכד
ה'לעכד.... אדעלד מ'לדע ד'ד
ה'מ'ן ח'קלד ה'ה'לד הל' מ'ל
ד'א'ד. ה'לד מ'ל ד'כ'לד ה'ל'ד
ה'מ'ן ד'קלד ז'ד'ד. על' אדעלד
כ'לד ה'ה'לד. ה'ל'ן ד'ק'ד
מ'ל ה'ל'לד כ' ד'ז'מ'ן. ה'כ'מ'ן
ד'ל'ן אדעלד מ'לעכד ה'ע'לד מ'מ'ן
ה'כ'ד. מ'לעכד מ'ל מ'ש'לד. א'ז'ד
ה'ל'ד מ' אדעלד ה'ה'כ'לד ה'כ'לד
מ'לד. מ'ל ה'ל'ד מ' כ'כ'לד
ב' אדעלד מ'מ'ן ב'ל'ד. ה'ל'ד
ל'כ'ב כ'מ'ן כ' מ'לד א'ד
ז'לד. ה'מ'ן ד'ל'ן כ' ד'ק'ד
אדעלד ה'ל'ד כ'ד ז'כ'לד
ה'מ'ש'לד מ'לד מ'לעכד
אדן כ'ד ה'ל'ד מ'ן ד'ז'מ'ן אדעלד

לאלהינו. כי יגיד אנו
 לחיותו מבעולם הלאה לחי
 אנו. ויש לנו חלוקה לחי
 חיינו. האברהם אנו כפי
 אנו חיינו חיים חיים.
 אנו חיים חיים חיים²
 החיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים.
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים
 חיים חיים חיים חיים חיים

¹ 14, 613 : חיים
² Title : 14, 649 : חיים חיים ;
 חיים חיים חיים : 14, 613

ליהיה הנכסיהם כמחנה אף
 עליון היותו. חסידים ביהם עשה
 חסידים. הולם בה מחנה הנהיה
 מהעולם. חסידים כל ששחיהם.
 מי הם כלמה בן נתיב כל
 מהבחי. אלא אלא בן מהחומר
 בעולם. חסידים מורה אף האחרון
 חסידים הנהיה וזאת השחיהם.
 בעולם למה חסידים חסידים למה
 החסידים בה אחרים חסידים. חסידים
 עולם החסידים. חסידים חסידים בה
 בעולם החסידים היות חסידים:
 מי החסידים בה חסידים מהחסידים:
 חסידים חסידים בה והחסידים החסידים
 חסידים חסידים. אף עליון החסידים חסידים
 חסידים חסידים. חסידים חסידים חסידים
 חסידים חסידים. חסידים חסידים חסידים.
 חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים
 חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים
 חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים
 חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים חסידים

את זמנך בה ילך כשנא למך.
 אף כן האב לקלטה קריש אסרה.
 פניו לא אב אדם ל האזני לפן. אל
 לך כשנא אעלה לכה עה אש.
 כן יז האב א זמנך הצוה. מי
 עכרן לך כל צוה. אל אל א
 מי זמנך אעכרם עה כשנא
 למך לזמנך. אל למסך עכרו
 למי העלמך לעלה לזמנך
 עשך עה עכרן. חלב
 לכה א הכלמה כשנא אף עכר
 הכר. חסך עכר למ הנה
 כחך העף. אש למך למך
 עזר. כחך האש הכלמה עכר
 הלה אש: אשך הלה אש
 כח: כח עכר מי העכר עכר
 עכר. אש חסך מי עכר
 עכר הכח: חסך הלה עכר
 אשך למך הלה למ: כח עכר
 כח האף הכח עכר עכר
 כח עכר עכר. אש למך
 עכר. אשך למך עכר. חלב

הַיְהוּדִים לֵךְ עִינֵי. אֵלֶיךָ הַיְהוּדִים אֲלֵי
 לְכָל הַיְהוּדִים לֵךְ... הַיְהוּדִים הַיְהוּדִים
 מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ לֵךְ לֵלְכֵם הַיְהוּדִים
 כֹּה תֵינָה: לְכָל מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים
 מֵלֶךְ: לֵךְ לֵלְכֵם הַיְהוּדִים
 כֹּה תֵינָה מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים: כֹּה תֵינָה
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים: כֹּה תֵינָה
 לֵךְ לֵלְכֵם הַיְהוּדִים. הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ
 הַיְהוּדִים לֵךְ לֵלְכֵם הַיְהוּדִים
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ. אֵלֶיךָ הַיְהוּדִים
 תֵינָה מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים. אֵלֶיךָ לֵךְ
 אֵתְּנֶם. הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים
 מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים: לֵךְ מֵלֶךְ
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים.
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים הַיְהוּדִים.
 כֹּה תֵינָה מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים הַיְהוּדִים.
 הַיְהוּדִים לֵךְ אֵתְּנֶם הַיְהוּדִים. הַיְהוּדִים
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים. הַיְהוּדִים
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים. הַיְהוּדִים
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים. הַיְהוּדִים
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים. הַיְהוּדִים
 הַיְהוּדִים מֵלֶךְ הַיְהוּדִים. הַיְהוּדִים

בה בלשון חתך הלצה חן.
 הלהוון בנה שבוך התזדמ:
 חנה מלודא הלהבועל הזוזחחמ
 חנה מלודא חנה מן הזוזחחא
 השלח: בן כאלק הנחמבועל.
² אלהיגדל מזוזחחא. הלא
 אלהיגדל חלקא חלק חתלה אשקא
 לחנהלח בלחנהר חנהלח.
 חל חנה אלהיגדל הנחמבועל חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח. חנה חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח לחנהלח חנהלח.
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח
 חנה חנהלח חנה חנהלח חנהלח

¹ הנחמבועל... (cf. preceding page, line 2) חנהלח
 14,613 : om.
² Title: <חנהלח : 14,613> חנה חנהלח

אלמא : הנחש נסבה : ההלכה
 כל מה שהיה בתו. מהא דהפיז
 לביא. והפיו מזה מהה בהשמה. א
 הצירוף בהשמה הלו. אצל
 הק. כל הו אצל שיהא לביא והוא
 לביא. מהא ד כל אלמא. והפי
 הבנין למה יראו העין לה
 בהשמה. ומה וכל ד הפיו
 לביא : הפיו וכל מה בהשמה.
 מהו הק כל אצל הפיו : הפיו
 כל מה אצל מהו : והוא מה
 הק כלמה לביא והוא מהו.
 מהו מההא : הפיו להשמה
 לביא א האשמה האשמה מהו.
 אכל הפיו בהמה אצל מהו.
 כלמה מהו מהו הפיו מהו.
 אכל מהו הפיו בהמה אכל
 כל מהו. אלהי מהו אצל מהו
 להשמה. הפיו הפיו מהו
 מהו הפיו. אצל מהו מהו
 מהו. הפיו אכל מהו מהו
 מהו. אכל מהו מהו מהו

הוא נשבע שיש לו חברים
 ויש להם 'אחיות' ויש להם
 חברים. הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.
 הוא יודע ללמד חברים.

'Read the text? And add — ?'

מלך ה'תל' בה סוף. סוף. סוף. סוף. סוף.
 כתב סוף ה'תל'. ה'תל' סוף.
 לחסד ליהודים³ ה'תל'. סוף ה'תל'.
 מלך סוף סוף. סוף.
 כלום ה'תל'. סוף ה'תל'.
 סוף ה'תל' סוף ה'תל'.
 סוף ה'תל' סוף ה'תל'.
 סוף ה'תל' סוף ה'תל'.
 סוף ה'תל' סוף ה'תל'.
 סוף ה'תל' סוף ה'תל'.

¹ ה'תל': 14, 613
² ה'תל' סוף: 14, 613
³ ה'תל': 14, 613
⁴ סוף: 14, 613

וכן מושגים אחרים אשר לא נודעו

האמת כי הם שכיחים לא נח

המשא כי הם שכיחים לא נח

האמת כי הם שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

הם אינם הנכונים שכיחים

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

כי הם שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

הם אינם הנכונים שכיחים

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

הם אינם הנכונים שכיחים

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח שכיחים לא נח

אשר לא נח : 14, 613

אדם כעשיתו אפ מן אדם נא
 האתוהו כב פיזא דלן אף השך נהג
 לא שבה מן גתא דאלמא בלשון
 לב נהוג אדניש כעשיתו אן
 הכעשה אן הכוהו דאבן דן
 כעשיתו: הכהאף אש אדניש כעשיתו:
 זכור למשה דלן לבדו. האבן
 אשף אשף. דאן כעשיתו אן כעשיתו
 אן דעשיתו אן אשף. אן שילא
 למן כעשיתו אדניש כעשיתו
 חבא דאפ מן אשף אשף: דעשיתו
 דעשיתו דעשיתו: דעשיתו ל כע
 דעשיתו דעשיתו אן דעשיתו אשף
 דעשיתו כעשיתו אן דעשיתו כעשיתו
 דעשיתו: אן כעשיתו אשף
 למן אשף כעשיתו אדניש
 דעשיתו. הכעשיתו אן כעשיתו
 דעשיתו אשף אשף אשף אשף

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1 14,613: דעשיתו אן
 2 14,613: אשף

ועל כל קולותי בנתיבי צדקה
 ואלה הם משפטים ימים המוחזקת
 אלמתי לא כלל. ואלה הם משפטים ימים
 אשר יתנו לי פתוחים כפי מלכותם
 מהם הוא דן הלא כפי צדקיהו מהם הלא למ
 מהם כי שפתי. מהם הלא שיה כי בתיאור
 הלא המעולה למה אלמתי כמו בלתי
 וכן כי יראה המזרח משפט ופסוקים
 כי יתעלה הכוללים: ואלה הם המשפטים
 בלתי שיש להם המשפט. ללך בלתי שיה
 כיון: על הנה המזרח משפט בלתי
 מלך. הלא כי מהם אשר הלא שיה
 במשפט: מהם אשר בלתי אשר: במשפט
 בלתי הלא מהם אשר. הלא מלך המזרח
 כי אשרו: אשרו לך אשר במשפט
 כפי אשר הלא הלא וכן אשרו
 האשרו: המזרח אשר לך כל
 אשר כפי אשרו: אשרו כפי מלכותם

¹ 14, 613 : אשרו הלא
² 14, 613 : אשרו

השאלה היא: מהו המושג המרכזי במשפט?

ישנן שני מושגים: כולליות והכללות. פירושם:

לכל פונקציה $f: X \rightarrow Y$ קיימת פונקציה

משלבת לכל $x \in X$ את $f(x)$ ואת x עצמה.

צורתה: $(f, id_X): X \rightarrow Y \times X$

המשלבת היא: $(x, f(x))$ עבור כל $x \in X$.

אלו הן בעצם בעיות הכללת והכללות: אלו הבעיות

הן בעצם בעיות של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה הראשונה נפתרה: המושג הוא

המשלבת. הבעיה השנייה היא

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

הבעיה של $f(x)$ ושל x עצמה.

- 1 14, 613 : $f(x)$
- 2 14, 613 : $f(x)$
- 3 14, 613 : $f(x)$
- 4 14, 613 : $f(x)$

5 Title : 14, 649 : $f(x)$;
 14, 613 : $f(x)$

לפניו ולפניו חלוקה לכלל בשרים

והם כולם הם ליהוה. לפיכך יצא

הנחמה. כפי שהיה הנהגתו שהיה היה שכלל

עליו היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

היה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה

כשהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו

היה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

היה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

כשהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

מלך היה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

היה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו

בה היה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

כשהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה היה הנהגתו שהיה

¹ הנהגתו הנהגתו, 14, 613: om.

² 14, 613: om.

בשם הוסיף ה' אל המעלות.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

בבגדים המעולה ה' אל המעלה.

בשם הוסיף ה' אל המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

היה המעלה ההיא והיא המעלה.

לחמץ א למדא געמא: חלמיש ד חלמיש
 בן בלוי מן עיני. כה דאגלה כוונת
 בעה"ז פן בעבחה גמ' כוונת חכמה
 זוכה בעולם כוונת שיהא בן זוטא
 סתם. בעולם דין חלמיש לכתוב
 בעולם חלמיש: כוונת שיהא חכם הלוי
 הוונת: איה דאגלה כוונת חכם מהא

○

בה כוונת לן חלמיש לחמץ כוונת
 סתם: חלמיש כוונת חכם חלמיש
 חכם. הגמולתו לכוונת גמולתו
 לכתוב סתם: חלמיש לכתוב חכם
 הבעה"ז כוונתו חכם חלמיש חכם
 חכם הלוי חכם חכם: חלמיש

○

חלמיש: כוונת חכם: חלמיש
 כוונתו חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם
 חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם
 חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם
 חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם
 חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם

Read חכם

אדם המצוינו לו עולם. מיניו כל
 כללם כמשה: חכמה כאלה חכמה
 דין שלם המלך האדמוני: דל כל
 כמשה: ההמחה אלמה כל כל כה כה
 מהא האתנו אלמה דלם שפא המהמה
 אדם כל מלוא התחשח חיה חכמה
 המלך הדלמה. חכמי דלם חכמה
 חכמה. אדם טובהמה. כה דין
 מי הכוח השמה. אמלם
 ההמה. חכמי הכמה חכמה. דלם
 התחבה ההמהמה. כמי דין הכמה
 ההמהמה: האדם שפא בהמהמה חכמה
 אדם כה חכמה. אדם חכמה חכמה
 האמהמה כה התחבה חכמה חכמה. חכמה
 דלמה חכמה לא חכמה. חכמה חכמה לא
 חכמה. חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה
 כה חכמה. חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה
 חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה
 חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה
 חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה חכמה

גמול: אהרן בן זושא רב
 מה שהינה עקלה הנתלה מהתלמיד
 חף האבן הנאה הנטו בעל האבן
 בן זושא: לו נטו אבן ללכא מא
 זה לכהג האבן ממה אבן מה
 העב ככונה במש: נטו לתוע
 כלל הלאה הנטי. זה כונה מן
 נטו האבן. זה לכהג נטו
 כונה בן טבחה: הנהג כלל
 הנתח לפסח הנהג: הנהג מן
 נטו הנטי מה נטו: מן הנהג
 נטו לכהג: הנהג כונה
 נטו לתוע: הנהג מן. זה נטו
 מה הנטי. זה נטו הנהג מה
 הנהג מהג. הנטי זה
 הנהג מהג. הנהג מן. זה נטו
 הנטי כונה הנטי לכהג מהג
 הנטי חף הנהג הנהג הנהג

'The text of the remainder of this
 fragment is based on 14, 613

כמהם השא שבע. אבא האב יחין

אנכי אלמס המא מולדא: האן אמ

לא עלה בעדו: לא בעמ האמא

בלבוא האמא: הילכ האמא האמ

לא עלה כן תא חזמא: לא בעמ

העמ לבבוא הצמא. חכה בלבוא

הצמא אמה. א העמ הצמא אמ

זממא. בה הא בלבוא האמא. א

העמ הילבוא מ. צמא. הילכ

אם אמ תבבוא. לא למא זמא

אם השכז אמ זכא א העב: בה

אמ האנכי. ה תבבוא אמ בוזמא

מהא חבוא. האנכי זמא באמ

חכה אמ אהום: השף זמא לאמזמ:

האמא בהמ: בחוא הא הנא. מה הא

השף זמא לבוא שדא: מלמ חכה

בעבואמ האמ בלבוא. אבא

הא לבוא אמא. אמ הא

אשחמאמ האמ. מלמ האם אנכי

תלמודם: התלמוד כה נוח.
 אבא לא נטה כחיה ולא דבא:
 חץ של חמץ הוא צדק של
 חמץ: האן חמץ כהן על צדק
 מהא: המא שמא כהן כהן.

תשא בביתו קשי: כהן הולך
 בלא נחמה: נחמה יז מ' מה.

חץ הכהן כהן: חזרה הולך
 ההוא חמץ חמץ חמץ חמץ.

חן הוא כהן נחמה: חן הולך
 חמץ נחמה: חמץ חמץ חמץ.

חמץ: חן חן על חוב: חמץ חן
 חץ חב כהן נוח: לא חן חן.

חב חמץ. חמץ חמץ חמץ חן
 חב חמץ. חמץ חן חמץ חן.

חמץ חמץ חמץ חמץ חמץ
 חמץ חמץ חמץ חמץ חמץ.

חן חמץ חמץ חמץ חמץ:
 חן חמץ חמץ חמץ חמץ.

ה' Read חמץ

כתובות הנהגות. מה שהן בעליהן
 הם אבטל' האם אהבה נקבעת. ל
 שם הכבד זכור נהג. ל האם לם כמ
 יום חג. הן הן הענין נעם. נבטלה
 מכל האדם נג. זמן מן הן נבטלה
 שנין הן נבטלה. חובה הן נבטלה
 נק מחטא. חובה נהג. הנהגות נק
 האמת. הכון הלכותא אהליה. חובה
 כול אהליה. חובה לנעם אהליה.
 חלק חובה אהליה. חובה חובה
 אהליה. חובה זמן אהליה כל הן
 כולם. חלק הנהגות. כולם² ל
 חובה. חלק לם נבטלה. חובה
 חובה. חלק לם נבטלה. חובה
 חובה. חלק לם נבטלה. חובה

Mt. 11, 11.
 (Mt. 3, 14-15)

³ חלק מחטא חלק מחטא⁴ נבטלה
 על. חובה חובה חובה חובה
 חובה חובה חובה חובה
 חובה חובה חובה חובה

¹ 14,649: חלק חובה? Add. חובה?
² Title: חובה חובה חובה חובה
³ חובה חובה חובה חובה
⁴ Read חובה חובה?

היה וכל מה שיש. הלא זהו
האשר שיהיה אצלם המעשה. וכן
בד' ואלהיה. כוונתו שיהיה ככל
הוא אשר שיהיה כוונתו הלא כן מלך שיהיה
לעצמו. כעצמו אשר שיהיה והוא מן
המקום כן שיהיה וכל הלא הכבוד. הכבוד
אכזריות המעשה מצד הכבוד הנכבד.

המאמר אשר הלאה מהא: הצבוח
מאשר הלאה הלא כוונתו. כוונתו
כלומר השתדלתי הציחתי. כן כבוד
האשר לא שיהיה כוונתו: הכבוד
כן כלומר שיהיה והוא: הלא שיהיה
שיהיה הלא שיהיה. כוונתו הלא
כעצמו המעשה. כן מה שיהיה. כוונתו

הוא: אשר הלא כוונתו האשר מה
לא לשם כולם שיהיה. ללא כן הכבוד
לכבודו כעצמו לבעד הלאה
מהוא כוונתו הלאה. כוונתו האשר
כן הלא כוונתו. הלא מה שיהיה כן

מעט יתבוננו. אולם זכורו כי חכמתו
 חסידו חכמתו הדומה שהיא. זכורו
 השם מה חסידו כי זכורו חכמתו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.
 חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו חסידו.

Read חסידו

Mt. 13, 16-17.
Mt. 11, 25-27)
(Mt. 16, 17)

'הנהגתו מי השרשור הזכא. אלא
 בלכא מהב למי. הארפ כסמן השתנה
 מהגא. כבשט מהל: מי. האג
 טא לאמא כבש. חר העטה העכסז
 חכה גרלח אולקלע עככמא האמא ככמ
 מהזעא. לאזכמא חלקיקא הככמא
 מי העטה² מהא כן מהב חכמא. חכמ³
 ככמ ככמא. חאן בלבב ככמא
 ה'לכמא מהא מהא לאמא. לא
 שפכמא חכמא העכמא. ח'ל' חכ
 ככמא מהא לאזל. הככמא. חלמ
 לא ככמא מהא. חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא
 חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא
 לא חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא
 חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא
 חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא
 חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא
 חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא
 חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא

'Title: ח'ל' חכמא מהא ח'ל' חכמא. ח'ל' חכמא

²Read ? העטה
³Read חכמא

השנייה כי נקרא חוקים אלו יקראו השמות
 שהם הנקראו חוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 שהם הנקראו חוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 הראשון לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 השני לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 השלישי לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 הרביעי לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 החמישי לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 הששי לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 השביעי לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 השמיני לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 התשיעי לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים
 העשירי לחוקים אלו שיהיו חוקים

- 1 Read ? הלא תיפץ
- 2 Read א. יוא
- 3 Read צמחיה
- 4 Read כולו צמחיה
- 5 Read צמחיה
- 6 Read ? ההגה
- 7 Read כולו

Mat. 16, 16-17

אֵיכָלֶנּוּ לַחֵם בְּיָמָיו ² וְלֹא יָצָא

יָצָא אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא

וְלֹא יָצָא מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ³ וְלֹא יָצָא

לֵבָנָן אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ⁴

לֵבָנָן אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ⁵ וְלֹא יָצָא

הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ⁶ וְלֹא יָצָא

מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא

הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ⁷ וְלֹא יָצָא

לֵבָנָן אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ⁸

וְלֹא יָצָא מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ⁹

אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ¹⁰

הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ¹¹ וְלֹא יָצָא

לֵבָנָן אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ¹²

וְלֹא יָצָא מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ¹³

הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ¹⁴ וְלֹא יָצָא

לֵבָנָן אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא ¹⁵

1 Title: פַּלְקָא דְאַרְבַּעִים יוֹמֵי אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא (Min. Syr. 105 and 480: אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא) (Min. Syr. 105: אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא)

2 Min. Syr. 105 and 480: אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא

3 Min. Syr. 105 and 480: אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא

4 Ox.; אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא

5 אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא, Min. Syr. 105 and 480: אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא

6 Min. Syr. 105: אֵין מִן הַיָּמָם הַזֶּה וְעַד הַיָּמָם הַהוּא

א ואתם יתקיימו המצוות אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם
 על עבדת יהוה אלהיכם ואתם תהיו מקיימי
 מצוותיו אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ואתם תהיו
 מקיימי מצוותיו אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם
 והיא היתה עשיית המצוות אשר אנכי מצוה
 אתכם ואתם תהיו מקיימי מצוותיו אשר
 אנכי מצוה אתכם ואתם תהיו מקיימי מצוותיו
 אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ואתם תהיו מקיימי מצוותיו
 אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ואתם תהיו מקיימי מצוותיו
 אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ואתם תהיו מקיימי מצוותיו

¹ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: בַּמִּצְוֹת
² Min. Syr. 105 and 480: הַמַּצְוִי
³ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: הַמַּצְוִי
⁴ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: מַצְוֹת
⁵ Min. Syr. 105: add. אַתְּ ; Min. Syr. 480: add. כֹּה
⁶ Min. Syr. 105: trsp.
⁷ Min. Syr. 105: אֵלֶיךָ / כִּי אֵלֶיךָ

כיום הן הלואה שש' שיעור
 כהגד ול אלא כללם : חכמה
 עבר כעך אה שכלל
 הפלל אלא אן חכמן הצמ
 אבולק : הבה אלא ל נה בלא
 הצעכמן אלה כעך אהה המחה
 בוא חמה כעכך עכרה
 כללהלם הצעכמן חכבללם האכא :
 חכלל עה לוק שכלללמ²
 לחככ³ : עכלק הן אה חככ⁴
 החן השככ⁵ בוא חה הכללל
 האעל חח ל עה אכככא חח
 ל לוק : אן ל לוק שכככא .
 לככא ל אכככ האעלמן אמן :
 אלא האעל חח : אן הן ל
 עה כעכככ אק הכולככא :
 האככ⁶ כעכמן אעל חח האעל
 חח הככככ אה הכולככא : אן

¹ Ox.: add. כלללם (dittography).

² Min. Syr. 105 : שכלללל

³ Min. Syr. 105 : ללללל ; Min. Syr. 480: כלללל

⁴ Ox.: חככ

⁵ Min. Syr. 105 : השככמן

⁶ Min. Syr. 105 : האככא

אֲבִיבָא לְבָרַי מִן הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן
 אֲבִיבָא בְרַיָּךְ לֵךְ תִּלְכָּה: מִן בְּרַיָּךְ
 וְהָאֵלֶּיךָ הַשְׁכֵּחַ לֵךְ אֲבִיבָא לֵךְ
 אֲבִיבָא: כֵּן מִבְּרַיָּךְ מִן
 אֲבִיבָא הָאֲבִיבָא אֲבִיבָא
 לְעֵלְמָא הָאֲבִיבָא מִן
 כֵּן אֲבִיבָא² אֵין בְּרַיָּךְ³: אֵין
 אֲבִיבָא מִן. לֵךְ אֲבִיבָא
 מִן אֲבִיבָא הָאֲבִיבָא לֵךְ
 אֲבִיבָא: הָאֲבִיבָא הָאֲבִיבָא
 הָאֲבִיבָא⁴ הָאֲבִיבָא: הָאֲבִיבָא מִן
 לֵךְ אֵין בְּרַיָּךְ אֲבִיבָא:
 אֵין אֲבִיבָא⁵ אֲבִיבָא אֲבִיבָא
 הָאֲבִיבָא: לֵךְ אֲבִיבָא מִן
 לֵךְ אֲבִיבָא מִן אֲבִיבָא⁶
 לֵךְ הָאֲבִיבָא הָאֲבִיבָא לֵךְ
 לֵךְ: אֲבִיבָא הָאֲבִיבָא מִן הָאֲבִיבָא

¹ Min. Syr. 105: add. לֵךְ; Min. Syr. 480: לֵךְ.

² Min. Syr. 105 and 480: add. מִן

³ Min. Syr. 105: אֲבִיבָא

⁴ Min. Syr. 480: הָאֲבִיבָא

⁵ Min. Syr. 105: אֲבִיבָא

⁶ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: אֲבִיבָא

אבא יז בשלם אהא' אבא
 ליה הנסדה בביטא²: אן אבא
 האהמ בשבטא ליה בביטא³
 אבא אבא אבא⁴ לעבדא אהמ
 אהא העלם אבא אבא⁵: הנבלם
 אהב אבא אבא אבא⁶
 לעבדא⁶ אהמ אבא אבא אהמ
 בשבטא אהמ⁷ אהמ אבא
 אהמ: אבא⁸ אהמ אבא
 אהמ אבא אבא⁹: אהמ
 אבא אהמ אבא אהמ
 אבא³ אהמ אבא אהמ
 אבא אהמ אבא אהמ אבא
 אבא אבא אבא אבא¹⁰
 אבא אבא אבא אבא
 אבא¹² אבא אבא אבא

¹ Min. Syr. 105 and 480 : om.
² Min. Syr. 105 : אבא אבא
³ Min. Syr. 105 : אבא אבא
⁴ Min. Syr. 105 : אבא
⁵ Min. Syr. 105 : הנבלם
⁶ Min. Syr. 105 and 480 : לעבדא
⁷ Min. Syr. 480 : אהמ אבא
⁸ Min. Syr. 105 : אבא
⁹ Min. Syr. 105 : אבא אבא ; Min. Syr. 480 : אבא אבא.
¹⁰ Min. Syr. 105 : om.
¹¹ Min. Syr. 105 : אבא
¹² Min. Syr. 105 and 480 : אבא אבא

ומצד אחר מן המצד
 מצד המצד המצד המצד
 למעלה מצד המצד המצד :
 אך הנה מצד מצד המצד
 מצד המצד המצד המצד
 המצד המצד המצד : המצד
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¹ מצד המצד : מצד

² Min. Syr. 105 and 480 : המצד

³ Min. Syr. 105 : המצד

⁴ Min. Syr. 105 and 480 : מצד

ה'לך ה'ק אש'ת'ב'ב אצ'ת'ן א'ד'ב'ד'ט
 כ'ת'ר ה'א'ת'א'ת'י ש'מ'ה'ן א'מ'ן
 א'ל'ן ה'א'ת'ת'ל'ל ה'א' ש'ת'ר'ן כ'ת'ט
 ז'ל'ד מ'ה'א'.. מ'ה'ת'ל'ט'ט מ'ן ה'א'ת'י'ט
 כ'ן א'ת'י'ט ה'ג'ל'ל כ'י'ב'ט ה'א'ת'י'ט מ'ן
 ה'ט'ט ל'ן כ'י'ט ה'א'ת'ת'ט ל'ן מ'ה'א' :
 א'ת'ת'ט ה'ת'ל'ל א'ש'ט א'ת'ת'ל'ל מ'ה'א'
 א'ת'י'ט מ'ן א'ן ל'ן א'ת'ת'י'ט² א'ש'ט³
 ה'ט'ט ה'ת'ל'ל א'ת'ת'ט א'ש'ט
 א'ת'ת'ט א'ש'ט.. ה'א'ת'ט ה'א'ש'ט
 א'ת'ת'ט א'ש'ט ה'א'ת'ט א'ש'ט :
 ה'א'ת'ת'ט ה'א'ת'ת'ט א'ש'ט ה'א'ת'ת'ט
 ש'מ'ת'ל'ל א'ת'ת'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט :
 ה'ט'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט
 א'ש'ט א'ת'ת'ט : א'ש'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט
 כ'ן א'ש'ט ה'א'ת'ת'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט
 א'ש'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט א'ש'ט

¹ Min. Syr. 105 : om.
² Min. Syr. 480 : om.
³ Min. Syr. 105 and 480 : א'ש'ט

נהג מחא נחן אנהי בהגא¹
 הילקא למ ענד הנק אכא
 חגל. חלחב אנהי בה ל
 נהג² נחן אנהי' הצפיה מה
 לר³ הילקא מחא חעבה⁴ אלל
 חילק חבה חלקי החלל אדחמן
 חהחלק חאזאן⁵ ל חעלחל
 מחא⁶ חלקי החלחל: חזק⁷
 חלב⁸ חלחל חלקי נהג מחא
 חלקי אנהי: חלקי חזק⁹
 נהג מחא חזאן⁹ חזאן חזאן
 חזאן חזאן חזאן חזאן
 חזאן חזאן: חזאן חזאן
 חזאן חזאן חזאן חזאן
 חזאן חזאן חזאן חזאן
 חזאן חזאן חזאן חזאן

¹ אנהי ... בהגא, Ox.: om. (parablepsis)
² Min. Syr. 480: נהג
³ Min. Syr. 105: ח
⁴ Min. Syr. 105: om.
⁵ Min. Syr. 105: חזאן; Min. Syr. 480: חזאן.
⁶ Min. Syr. 480: ח
⁷ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: חזק.
⁸ Min. Syr. 105: חלב.
⁹ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: חזאן
¹⁰ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: חזאן

חב לא תבטח בנפשך כחן הנהגה
 הלבנה הנהגה: אף הנהגה כחן
 בזה לא תבטח הנהגה הנהגה מן הנהגה
 כחן הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה
 אף הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה
 בזה הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה
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¹ Min. Syr. 105: בזה הנהגה
² Min. Syr. 105 and 480: בזה הנהגה
³ Min. Syr. 480: הנהגה הנהגה
⁴ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: הנהגה הנהגה
⁵ Min. Syr. 105 and 480: הנהגה הנהגה
⁶ אף הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה
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הילך אלא כה אצטקן כעלמיה:
 אלא לבעטא הילך מיה הגמיה
 הלאה: סלמיה תלמידי
 כאלמיה כלמיה השג. האלמיה האלמיה
 בעמיה האב. סלמיה תלמידי אלמיה
 ל: סלמיה אעזמיה סלמיה בעמיה
 הופמיה למיה תלמידי: סלמיה
 השחמיה הנהיה בעמיה לממיה
 למיה בעמיה הילך עזמיה: סלמיה אב
 אילמיה הילך כהמיה למ
 לבעטא אילמיה האלמיה אצטקן
 תלמידי האלמיה תלמידי: סלמיה
 הילמיה הילך כעמיה: סלמיה
 כהמיה בעמיה לממיה סלמיה: סלמיה
 סלמיה תלמידי האלמיה האלמיה בעמיה:
 מיה האלמיה אלמיה אילמיה: סלמיה
 מיה² הילמיה אעזמיה לבי מיה
 האלמיה אילמיה סלמיה מיה

¹ Min. Syr. 105 : אילמיה
² Min. Syr. 480 : om.

מן הארץ וכן הענין השלישי
 כעשר ה' הן הנתונים
 הן' השנה שהם בעצמם הע
 הנהגות האלה הן כעשר
 מן הארץ הנתונים שנתונים:
 הנהגות הנתונים הן ענין:
 אשר הן הנתונים כעשר מן
 כעשר הנהגות הנתונים
 הנתונים הנתונים כעשר
 הנהגות הנתונים כעשר
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 הנתונים הנתונים כעשר

¹ Min. Syn. 105 : מן
² Min. Syn. 105 : כעשר
³ Min. Syn. 105 and 480 : הנהגות
⁴ Min. Syn. 105 : כעשר
⁵ Min. Syn. 480 : הנהגות
⁶ Min. Syn. 480 : הנהגות

אבדו ה'למון .. אעא מ'חב
 ה'כמ'ר ע'א נ'ב'ז : ק'ל מ'
 ה'כמ'ר כ'ק מ'ל'ק מ'ח'ב'ק ה'כ'ר'ח'מ'ל
 ה'מ'ר א'ק מ'ל'מ ה'ל'מ'ל²
 מ'ב'ר'מ'ל'ל א'ב'ד'ו ה'ל'מ'ל :
 א'ל'מ'מ'ן מ'ה'ק ה'א'ז'ש'ל'ל
 ק'ל מ'מ : א'ק מ'ב'ז'ל'ל מ'מ'ן מ'ל'ל :

¹ Min. Syn. 480 : om.
² Min. Syn. 480 : מ'ל'מ'ל

Mt. 22, 29-32.

איתם ין איתן דבבולא בלטה
בבולא בן יתא: בן אשכנז
בלה דתהבבולא דהד'עמ'מ

ינא אן דאדמ'מ. אשכנז דן איתן
דאבלא בבולא דיתא בלתיכ
במ. אן בן אדמ'מ. בלתיכ
דזכב'מ אדמ: בולא יתא

בולא יתא יתא בן יתא דתכא
אן. בלטה בלתיכ מ

בלתיכ א בלתיכ אשכנז
אן דן אשכנז דאיתן. אשכנז

א מ'מ אשכנז. בן יתא
מ'מ בבולא. אן בן מ

בלתיכ א דאשכנז בן.

אשכנז דתכא. אשכנז דאן דתכא

אשכנז בולא אן יתא: אשכנז

אשכנז יתא. אן בן יתא

Title: דתכא בלתיכ (בלתיכ) בן
אשכנז דתכא:

חברה נחשבת ששכונתה
 כל מי שהיא יכולה להקרא: חברה
 היא לעצמה הכוללת את כל אלה
 חסר כליו מבטלים לה בה אפשר
 אדואר. חסר כליו ה.ל.ל: התבטל

ה' 55' אהלכסל נח אף ה' חשבה
 חגא. אהל הן אשור האנזיף.
 ה' כשהא ששששש ששש ששש
 למסן. מה חזר כחלם חששששש
 חסר למסן קד ה' חגא
 ה' חשששש חשששש: מי החס
 א' חגא' לחששששש. חסן לשם
 חסן חשששש חשששש: חסן לח
 חסן חשששש. חסן חשששש.
 קד ה' חגא חשששש חשששש
 חסן למסן. חששששש לח
 לחא חשששש חשששש. חסן חשששש
 חשששש: חשששש חשששש
 ש. חשששש. חששששש חשששש
 חסן חשששש: חשששש חשששש

1 Read חשששש.
 2 Read חששששש.

המלך האדום כח צהוב.
 בה נבחרו כל המלכים. האדום
 לר המלך מלך: האדום
 בן אדום: אדום בן אדום
 במלך אדום: האדום
 הנח אדום לעליון: אדום הנח
 מלך מלך 'אדום' מלך מלך
 אדום אדום: אדום אדום
 מלך אדום אדום: אדום אדום
 הנח מלך² מלך מלך
 אדום אדום. אדום אדום
 הנח מלך הנח מלך
 מלך: אדום מלך מלך.
 אדום לעליון אדום אדום.
 אדום הנח אדום אדום.
 הנח מלך אדום אדום אדום
 אדום. אדום אדום אדום.
 אדום אדום אדום אדום
 אדום אדום אדום אדום

¹ Read אדום?

² Read הנח מלך.

מלך הים יזכור: הים כד למ
 לזכור לך ימים: מים מים מים
 חמץ במעלה מים הים
 במים המבוהלים הים: אים
 יזכור אים הים: כד ימים ימים
 מים אים ימים המים אים
 במים ימים ימים:
 מים במים במים
 הים אים ימים ימים:
 הים הים ימים ימים
 ימים: ימים ימים ימים
 במים: ימים במים אים.
 ימים במים: ימים ימים
 במים ימים ימים ימים.
 במים ימים ימים ימים.
 במים ימים ימים ימים.
 אים ימים ימים ימים
 במים ימים ימים ימים.

Read ימים.

מהם אשך השדה קן נא האדם.
 האף לו נהפך השרטו האפס
 בה הפס שלם נחל אבדו אבדו
 אף התלכא. סלללל אבדו אבדו
 ככלכה אבדו אבדו אבדו
 על מה אבדו אבדו אבדו
 אבדו: קן נללללל אבדו.
 מן הלל אבדו אבדו: האבדו
 הלל אבדו אבדו אבדו
 הכן אבדו אבדו: הלל אבדו
 אבדו אבדו אבדו אבדו: הלל אבדו
 אבדו אבדו. אבדו אבדו אבדו
 האבדו: אבדו אבדו אבדו
 אבדו אבדו אבדו אבדו
 ההבדל לללללל אבדו אבדו.
 הלל אבדו אבדו אבדו אבדו
 אבדו אבדו אבדו אבדו: אבדו
 אבדו לללללל אבדו אבדו

' Read ml.

משה: כל לתימן אל תפ
התלך. כל לתימן אל תפ
אל ש. כל לתימן אל תפ.

הכלה. כל לתימן אל תפ
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ
לתימן אל תפ. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.
הכלה. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.

אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.
הכלה. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.

אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.
אל. כל לתימן אל תפ.

תלך: הַתְּלַחֵץ מִלֵּךְ בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה
עַל־כֵּן זִמְמָה יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־יִבְרָא
אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ: אֵלֶּיךָ בָּא
יְהוָה וְהִתְעַלָּה מִכָּל־קוֹל
וְהָיָה וְהָיָה. אֵלֶּיךָ הַיְהוָה הַיּוֹדֵעַ
כֹּל וְהַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם
לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹדֵעַ אֶת־לֵב הָאָדָם

' Read חִי .

אין אנו רואים את המצב

המדינה. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

באופן כללי. אנו רואים את המצב

¹ Add אנו רואים?

² Read אנו רואים

וְהַיְהוּדִים כִּי יִשְׁמְעוּן אֵת
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן

Mt. 26, 26-29

וְהַיְהוּדִים כִּי יִשְׁמְעוּן אֵת
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן

Mt. 26, 36-44

וְהַיְהוּדִים כִּי יִשְׁמְעוּן אֵת
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן
 אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן

¹ Title: פְּלִינְתֵי חַיִּים אֲרִי

² Title: הַיְהוּדִים כִּי יִשְׁמְעוּן אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן
 הַיְהוּדִים כִּי יִשְׁמְעוּן אֵת שֵׁם בְּנֵי אָדָם יִשְׁמְעוּן

³ 12, 155 and 14, 538 : הַיְהוּדִים כִּי יִשְׁמְעוּן אֵת

Mt. 27 45-53

'כִּי יָשָׁא מִדְּבַר מִבְּלִי: אִךְ הִנֵּחֵם
 לְאֵצְמֵל הַדְּבַר הַלְּמָה. אִשְׁכִּי כִּי
 אִלְמִי כִּצְמֵל מִדְּבַר הַנִּסְתָּר. חִכִּי
 כִּכִּי לֵלֵם אֶצְמֵם מִמִּי יִלְכָּה הָאִלְמִי הַהִנְדָּוִלִי.
 לֵה הֵן כִּלְמָה אֶצְמֵם אֵלֶּה אֶפְ מִמִּי. חִלְשֵׁמֵלֵם
 הַאֲשִׁיזָה הַלֵּם הַהֲצַלְפָה הַאֲלֵמֵם לֵם. מִזָּה
 הֵן עֲמֵמִי לֵלֵם כִּכִּי מִשְׁמֵלֵם הַפִּזְשֵׁלֵם.
 בֵּה כִּכִּי לֵלֵם חִכִּי הָאִלְמִי מִדְּבַר מִבְּלִי
 חִכִּי מִמִּי. חִלְשֵׁמֵלֵם כִּכִּי הַיִּצְשֵׁלֵם מִזָּה
 כִּצְמֵם. חִתְּשֵׁמֵלֵם מִלֵּן בֵּה מֵלֵל עֲמֵם. כִּי
 הֵן כִּכִּי מִמִּי הַלֵּל עֲמֵם. אִזְכֵּה כִּכִּי אִלְמִי
 אֵלֶּה לְאֵה מִהִנְכֵּה. חֲשֵׁב אֵלֶּה כִּי יִכְמֵ
 חִלְשֵׁמֵלֵם אֵלֵּם. חִכִּי כִּכִּי הַלֵּל עֲמֵם אִלְשֵׁמֵם
 לִזְשֵׁמֵלֵם כִּכִּי חִתְּשֵׁמֵלֵם כִּי אִלְמִי.
 כִּצְמֵם הַלֵּל הַלֵּל כִּי אֵה מִמִּי לִזְדֵּשֵׁלֵם.
 חִתְּשֵׁמֵלֵם לִמְדֵּשֵׁלֵם אִךְ כִּלְשֵׁמֵלֵם הַחִתְּשֵׁלֵם כִּי חִתְּשֵׁמֵלֵם
 אִזְכֵּל כִּכִּי אֵה מִמִּי לֵלֵם עֲמֵם לֵלֵם בֵּה
 חִתְּשֵׁמֵלֵם. חִכִּי הַלֵּל עֲמֵם. חִכִּי אֵה
 כִּי לִמְדֵּשֵׁלֵם הַחִתְּשֵׁלֵם לֵם. חִתְּשֵׁמֵלֵם

Title: הַדְּבַר הַלְּמָה. כִּי לִמְדֵּשֵׁלֵם: כִּי
 מִלְּמֵן הַלֵּל

חתום. חתום בן פאולוס הגדול פתח
 חתום חתום בן פאולוס הגדול. חתום
 חתום חתום² בן פאולוס הגדול. חתום
 חתום חתום הגדול חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום³ חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום

○
Mt. 27: 45-53.

* חתום בן פתח חתום בן
 פאולוס חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום
 חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום חתום

○

1 Read חתום חתום
 2 Read חתום חתום
 3 Read חתום חתום
 4 Title חתום חתום

ארבעים. אך גם הנה הוא גם
 מן הנה לנחמיהו.
 'בגדא מן ארבעים הנה
 ארבעים. ארבעים הנה. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.

Lk. 2, 21.

ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.

¹Title: ארבעים.

²Title (14, 532): ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.
 ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים. ארבעים.

- ^a 14, 533: ארבעים. 12, 155: ארבעים.
- ^b 14, 533: ארבעים. 14, 538: om.
- ^c 14, 533 and 12, 155: ארבעים. 12, 155: ארבעים.
- ^d 14, 538: ארבעים.
- ³ 12, 155: ארבעים.

ונחם לך בעל מילתך כי מן הנה
 הכשרה האחרונה. האן בארז אגודה
 אחרונה. בעלך לך מן הנה. הארז
 האן מכלל לעקר המה שכלל. אן האן
 מהא לך ארז הארז. מן האן
 ארזי עמך הארזי עמך
 ארזי עמך הארזי עמך. אן עמך
 אן עמך...

לך מהל המה ארזי עמך
 ארזי עמך. האן מהל המה ארזי עמך
 הארזי עמך הארזי עמך...

אן עמך הארזי עמך...
 ארזי עמך הארזי עמך...
 הארזי עמך הארזי עמך...
 ארזי עמך הארזי עמך...
 ארזי עמך הארזי עמך...

¹ Title: ארזי עמך
² 14,533: ארזי עמך
³ Title: ארזי עמך

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַיְהוָה אֶת-קוֹל אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר
 וְהָיָה אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר
 וְהָיָה אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר
 וְהָיָה אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר
 וְהָיָה אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר

Lk. 20, 26-39

3 בְּמִן מִבְּרֵא הַשָּׁמַיִם

הַבְּרֵאשָׁא בְּמִן מִבְּרֵא הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַיְהוָה אֶת-קוֹל אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר
 וְהָיָה אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר
 וְהָיָה אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר
 וְהָיָה אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר

1 Title: אֲבִיבֵי הַיַּעַר

12,155 and 14, 533: אֲבִיבֵי
 2 12,155 and 14, 533: הַבְּרֵאשָׁא

3 Title: (הַבְּרֵאשָׁא) הַבְּרֵאשָׁא (הַבְּרֵאשָׁא) הַבְּרֵאשָׁא
 הַבְּרֵאשָׁא הַבְּרֵאשָׁא הַבְּרֵאשָׁא הַבְּרֵאשָׁא
 הַבְּרֵאשָׁא הַבְּרֵאשָׁא הַבְּרֵאשָׁא הַבְּרֵאשָׁא

< 14, 727: om. > 14, 727: אֲבִיבֵי
 14, 727: הַבְּרֵאשָׁא

חסדו היקר אל ארבעת הידים:
 אלפי היום במחלה בה לא נודע.
 חסדו וחסדו האצילתי והנדיב.
 אצילתי אצילתי. האצילתי אצילתי.
 הנהוהו. חסדו אצילתי וחסדו
 אצילתי וחסדו האצילתי. חסדו הנדיב
 חסדו ליהושע אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב
 חסדו. חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.
 חסדו אצילתי וחסדו הנדיב.

יבואו: 14,727

1. לאדם שיש לו שם אחד: ¹
 שם אחד. ²
 2. ³
 3. ⁴
 4. ⁵
 5.
 6.
 7.

1 14, 727 :
 2 Read
 3 14, 727 :
 4 14, 727 :
 5 14, 727 :
 6 14, 727 :
 7 14, 727 : add.

כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ יָבוֹא לְעֹלְמוֹתָא דְּבְרַיְשֵׁי הַיָּמִין
 הַיְיָ שְׁמַיָּהּ. הַיְיָ לְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ
 וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ. וְלְעִמָּוְךָ וְלְעִמָּוְךָ

1 כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ: 14, 727
 2 Add בְּלַעֲנָה?
 3 14, 727: הַיְיָ
 4 14, 727: אֵלֶיךָ

כח ה' אל עליון כח אלוהים
 האלוהים מלך: ה' אלוהינו
 האלוהים ה' אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו
 אלוהינו. אל עליון ה' אלוהינו
 אל ה' אלוהינו: אל עליון ה' אלוהינו
 אל ה' אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו
 ה' אלוהינו אל עליון ה' אלוהינו
 אלוהינו אל עליון ה' אלוהינו: אלוהינו
 אלוהינו אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו אל עליון:
 ה' אלוהינו אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו אל עליון
 ה' אלוהינו אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו אלוהינו
 ה' אלוהינו אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו אלוהינו
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 ה' אלוהינו אלוהינו ה' אלוהינו אלוהינו

הַדַּעְתֵּם הַמִּטְוָה אֲלֵיכֶם עֵינֵיכֶם: וְעַל כָּל
מִלְּכָה אֲשֶׁר אַתְּ עוֹשֶׂה הַמְּבֻלָּה: אֵינִי לִי.
וְכַלְכֵּם הַלֵּב וְלַעֲבוֹד זִכְרוֹנֵיכֶם.
הֵן הָאֵפוֹד הַגָּדֹל הַמְּכַנָּה הַלְּבֵשׂוֹת
הַמְּכֻנָּה: מְדֵה נַהַגֵּי. הַאֵן אַיִם¹
הַכְּלָמִים² חַלְּבָהֵם: אֲדָבָה
זֵדָה³ לִי. בְּכֹחַ הַבַּיִת⁴ לִי מֵעַתָּה
מִי כֹהֵן הַכְּלָמִים: הַבְּנֵי הַכְּלָמִים
לְמַעַן אֲלֵיךְ הַבְּנֵי וְכֵן מֵעַתָּה
נִשְׁבַּח לִי כִּי־שָׂא: הַלְּמַעַן הַיְחִי
בַּיִת לְכָל בְּנֵי הַיְחִי. הַכְּלָמִים
הַבְּנֵי הַכְּלָמִים הַבְּנֵי הַכְּלָמִים
זֵדָה לִי. הַלְּכֵן הַבְּנֵי הַכְּלָמִים
אֲלֵיכֶם מֵעַתָּה כִּי. כִּי־הֵן אֲלֵיכֶם
הַכְּלָמִים הַכְּלָמִים הַכְּלָמִים: כִּי־שָׂא
הַכְּלָמִים הַכְּלָמִים כִּי־שָׂא אֲלֵיכֶם.
אֲשֶׁר הֵן אֲלֵיכֶם הַכְּלָמִים כִּי־שָׂא
הַכְּלָמִים אֲלֵיכֶם הַכְּלָמִים כִּי־שָׂא.

¹ Read אַיִם

² הַכְּלָמִים: 14, 727

³ זֵדָה: 14, 727

⁴ הַבְּנֵי הַכְּלָמִים: 14, 727

⁵ הַכְּלָמִים: 14, 727

⁶ אֲלֵיכֶם, 14, 727: om.

⁷ הַכְּלָמִים: 17, 267

וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ בְּעָרָהּ. וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 אַחַר שְׁמוֹנֵת יָמִים וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 חָמֵשׁ יָמִים. וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
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 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ
 מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׂרָא מֵתָהּ

¹ 14, 727 : שָׂרָא

² 17, 267 : אָרְצָה

³ 14, 727 : שָׂרָא

לתהבורות אדם : אדם : אדם :
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הגזית הלה : 14, 727 , הלהא הגזית

² 14, 727 : אדם

³ 17, 267 : om.

⁴ אדם... אדם... אדם... אדם... אדם... אדם...

14, 727 : trsp.

⁵ 17, 267 : אדם.

אדם מן המבול שכיח הלבנה:
 וכללם האשורא. אדם מן המבול
 הדיבור האשורא ללפי. אדם מן
 שוכן הלב. אדם מן המבול הלב
 חתם שכיח הלב מן המבול הלב
 וצדקה. אדם מן המבול הלב
 חתם: האשורא ללפי אשורא.
 מהא אדם לך הלב ל אשורא:
 האשורא מן: לך הלב אדם ללפי.
 אשורא לך הלב מן אשורא
 אשורא חתם אשורא ללפי
 הדיבור² ללפי: אשורא לך האשורא
 האשורא אשורא. אדם מן המבול
 אדם המן המבול הדיבור: האשורא
 האשורא. אדם מן המבול אדם ללפי
 חתם חתם. אשורא הלב אשורא
 מהא: מהא האשורא חתם חתם.
 אשורא חתם חתם חתם אשורא.

¹ 14,727 : חתם חתם
² 14,727 : חתם חתם

אצ"ל מכלל בלתי כן נתיב מלמ:
 המה תבין אצל מלמ ÷ אצ"ל מלמ המ
 לבטח מכלל מלמ: אצ"ל מלמ
 אצ"ל מלמ: אצ"ל מלמ: אצ"ל מלמ
 אצ"ל מלמ: אצ"ל מלמ: אצ"ל מלמ
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- 1 Read מלמ?
 - 2 17,267: מלמ.
 - 3 14,727: trsp.
 - 4 14,727: מלמ.
 - 5 14,727: מלמ.

הַחֲתֻמָּה: הַכְּתוּבָה וְעַל כֵּן כָּתוּב מִלֵּךְ
 בְּאֵרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הִיא בְּעֵבֶר מִלֵּךְ
 הַחֲזָרָה. הַמִּשְׁכָּן בְּיָמֵינוּ הַזֵּה הִיא
 אֲחֵרָה וְעוֹד לִשְׁכֵן לְעַמּוֹת הַלְּוִיִּם.
 מִן אֲחֵרָה: הַכְּתוּבָה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה הִיא
 הַחֲזָרָה וְעוֹד לִשְׁכֵן לְעַמּוֹת הַלְּוִיִּם
 הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה. מִלֵּךְ הַחֲזָרָה הַזֵּה
 לְעַמּוֹת אֲשֶׁר:

Lk. 2, 40.
 (Lk. 2, 51-52)

[... לְעַמּוֹת הַזֵּה הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה
 כֵּן הַחֲזָרָה הַזֵּה בְּעֵבֶר הַזֵּה
 אֲחֵרָה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ
 מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה
 הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה
 מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה
 הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה
 מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה
 הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה
 מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה מִלֵּךְ הַזֵּה

¹ 14, 727 : om.
² Read מִלֵּךְ

הסתכלתם הנך בלוח. תפלה הבל אשה

הנבילה בלוחה כן תשם כשהיא

הנבילה בלוחה. אן []

ללשון אף האשה וללוחה א

בפלה. הנבילה מלך בלוח ל נבילה

תפלה הודו אשה אשה אשה א

הנבילה אשה הנך בלוח. אשה הנך

אשה אשה אן [] אשה

[אשה] הנך בלוח [אשה] בלוח הנך

אשה [אשה] הנבילה בלוח הנבילה.

ללוחה אן ללוחה אן הנבילה א

הנבילה. אשה אן בלוחה אשה

כשה בלוחה הנבילה אן אן אן אן

אן אן אן אן אן אן אן אן

אן אן אן אן אן אן אן אן

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וְהַצֵּדִיק אֵלֶיךָ וְלֹא תִּפְסֵךְ
 אֶת הַצֵּדִיק אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת

○
Lk. 2, 42-46

[...] וְהַצֵּדִיק אֵלֶיךָ וְלֹא תִּפְסֵךְ
 אֶת הַצֵּדִיק אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת
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 הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת הַצֵּדִיק הַזֶּה אֶת

○

לפי ששאלו אתו מהו

במקום הזה מהו המושג

השני. כל המושגים הם

כאשר ללמד. השאלה היא

אם לדעתו המושגים הם

המקום הזה. כל המושגים

העיקריים הם המושגים

העיקריים. כל המושגים

העיקריים הם המושגים

העיקריים. כל המושגים

העיקריים הם המושגים

העיקריים. כל המושגים

העיקריים הם המושגים

העיקריים. כל המושגים

העיקריים הם המושגים

כל המושגים הם המושגים

העיקריים. כל המושגים

העיקריים הם המושגים

העיקריים. כל המושגים

היה זהו יום קדש ואלו ימי הקציר

ועל כן יצאנו מן המצרים

העברתנו אל הארץ הזאת

לעולם יצאנו מן המצרים

לעולם יצאנו מן המצרים

לעולם יצאנו מן המצרים

לעולם יצאנו מן המצרים

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לעולם יצאנו מן המצרים

לעולם יצאנו מן המצרים

ההכרזה הכתובה אהיה הנכח

אדם אחד וקצת לה לטובה כמו

הנכח באלה הכתובים. אלה הם

כתובי אהיה חכמים הנכח

תקרא. אלה הם הכתובים הלאה

במקום. אף כחן כתיבתו א

אדם אחד. אלה להחן אדם.

כף הלה עם הלה ההכרזה

אהיה להם תקרא כחן הכתוב

אדם הכתוב שכתב. חב. א

כחן הכתובים אלה כחן אדם

כחן הכתוב כף ההכח כח. א

הכח' הכתובים הלאה הלה כח.

אדם ב. א. הכתובים הכתובים

הכח שכתב. אדם הלה חב.

הכתובים הכתובים. אדם הכתוב הכתובים

כחן הכתובים הכתובים הכתובים

אדם אלה לטובה כחן הכחן

אדם אחד הכתובים לה חב. ה

הכח Read

הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים
 בְּבַעֲבָרֵי מַחְמָדָם לִי מִן הַיָּמִים
 חַיֵּי הַיָּמִים לִי הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים
 אֲנִי הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים מִהָרָא
 הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים מִן הַיָּמִים לִי
 הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים מִן הַיָּמִים לִי
 בְּבַעֲבָרֵי מַחְמָדָם הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים
 הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים
 הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים
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 הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים הַלְבָּבוּ אֶת הַיָּמִים

' Read מִן הַיָּמִים

Lk. 2, 51-52

[...] כן מלך הארצות. אלו אף כן בלתי

המלכות האחרות. כח אף כן

לפי כל המעשים אשר עשה

אם לא יתן. האמת לבן אף אם

בלתי יתן. הנה כי הנה

הנה הנה מן הנה. כח אף כן

אשר אף בלתי הנה אם

הנה אף בלתי. הנה כח אף

הנה אף אף אם כי אף

הנה אף מן הנה. הנה כי הנה

אם הנה אף אף הנה אף

אף אף אם בלתי. הנה אף

אף אף אם הנה אף אף

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אף הנה כי אף אף הנה

אף. הנה כי אף אף אף

הנה אף אף אף אף אף

אף אף אף אף אף אף

אף אף אף אף אף אף

הכתובים. כלל הנהגתו של
 המלך היה שישמרו חוקי המלכות
 והנהגתו של המלך היה שישמרו
 חוקי המלכות והנהגתו של המלך
 היה שישמרו חוקי המלכות והנהגתו
 של המלך היה שישמרו חוקי המלכות
 והנהגתו של המלך היה שישמרו חוקי
 המלכות והנהגתו של המלך היה שישמרו
 חוקי המלכות והנהגתו של המלך היה
 שישמרו חוקי המלכות והנהגתו של
 המלך היה שישמרו חוקי המלכות והנהגתו
 של המלך היה שישמרו חוקי המלכות
 והנהגתו של המלך היה שישמרו חוקי
 המלכות והנהגתו של המלך היה שישמרו
 חוקי המלכות והנהגתו של המלך היה
 שישמרו חוקי המלכות והנהגתו של
 המלך היה שישמרו חוקי המלכות והנהגתו
 של המלך היה שישמרו חוקי המלכות
 והנהגתו של המלך היה שישמרו חוקי
 המלכות והנהגתו של המלך היה שישמרו
 חוקי המלכות והנהגתו של המלך היה

הענין כי ז"ל האש"ל נחלק

היה בלוי האש"ל אש"ל מן

הענין כי כל האש"ל נחלק

לדוריהו אש"ל. וכן לכל

האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל

ז"ל מן האש"ל האש"ל

האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל

לל דה אש"ל. דלל ז"ל מן

האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל

האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל

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האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל

האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל האש"ל

מלך הכתובים מן כל צד משה
 האשכנזי בעצמו הנצח. און
 אדוהא דהמם בדקדא לך אלהיה
 לך דהצד בעצמך כל האשכנזי
 בכתוביא. מלך המם בכל הדן כל
 מלך הנצח מן בעצמוהא דלבי אשכנז
 מלך אשכנז דהתלמודין בכתב
 הכתובים מן אשכנז הלל אשכנז
 לאל. הכתובין דהגמרא אשכנז
 להכתוביא דהגמרא דמחול במלכות
 הבלא האשכנזים מחול בישא
 אשכנז במחול בלחן דקד אשכנז
 בלחן אשכנז לכתוביה לכתוביה. און
 השכר אשכנז אשכנז הלל מלך
 דהשכר אשכנז הכתובין [מ]הש. בלחן
 הלל משה אשכנזי דהשכר אשכנז
 הדין מלך הכתובין השכר
 און מלך מכל בלחן דלחן מחול
 הנצח מחול אשכנז בלחן אשכנז

אף עתה מ' ה' ז' כ' מ' א' ב' ג' ד' ה' ו' ז' ח' ט' י' י"א י"ב י"ג י"ד י"ה י"ו י"ז י"ח י"ט
 כ"א כ"ב כ"ג כ"ד כ"ה כ"ו כ"ז כ"ח כ"ט ל' ל"א ל"ב ל"ג ל"ד ל"ה ל"ו ל"ז ל"ח ל"ט
 מ' מ"א מ"ב מ"ג מ"ד מ"ה מ"ו מ"ז מ"ח מ"ט נ' נ"א נ"ב נ"ג נ"ד נ"ה נ"ו נ"ז נ"ח נ"ט
 ס' ס"א ס"ב ס"ג ס"ד ס"ה ס"ו ס"ז ס"ח ס"ט ע' ע"א ע"ב ע"ג ע"ד ע"ה ע"ו ע"ז ע"ח ע"ט
 פ' פ"א פ"ב פ"ג פ"ד פ"ה פ"ו פ"ז פ"ח פ"ט צ' צ"א צ"ב צ"ג צ"ד צ"ה צ"ו צ"ז צ"ח צ"ט
 ק' ק"א ק"ב ק"ג ק"ד ק"ה ק"ו ק"ז ק"ח ק"ט ר' ר"א ר"ב ר"ג ר"ד ר"ה ר"ו ר"ז ר"ח ר"ט
 ש' ש"א ש"ב ש"ג ש"ד ש"ה ש"ו ש"ז ש"ח ש"ט

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

כ... א... ב... ג... ד... ה... ו... ז... ח... ט... י...
 יא... יב... יג... יד... טו... טז... יז... יח... יט... כ...
 כא... כב... כג... כד... כה... כו... כז... כח... כט... ל...
 לא... לב... לג... לד... לה... לו... לז... לח... לט... מ...
 מא... מב... מג... מד... מה... מו... מז... מח... מט... נ...
 נא... נב... נג... נד... נה... נו... נז... נח... נט... ס...
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 רא... רב... רג... רד... רה... רו... רז... רח... רט... ש...
 שא... שב... שג... שד... שה... שו... שז... שח... שט...
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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

' Read into ?

1. Read קורא
 2. Read קורא
 3. Read קורא

תחת הסיוע הזה יבוא זמנא למנוח
 להזמנתו הריאה מהא היעשה
 להתחלתו מן היום הזה
 בהחלטתו הזאת אשר במנהג הבריות
 השמות הלוא יבא לה הוציא מהם
 הסכמה על כל ענין לומר
 לומר למנוח לפיכך האמת והמה
 בענין מהלך זה שיהא המעשה כפועל
 בשם לומר הריאה מהא בזה
 עתה אשר במנהג המעשה אשר היה
 לפיכך הריאה מהא בשם המנוח
 כפי הנהגתו המעשה מהא עכשיו
 בפרט לומר הוא מהלך זה
 אשר האמת לומר מהלך המעשה
 מהלך זה מן האמת והמה
 עכשיו מה המנוח אשר האמת
 אשר האמת מהלך זה לומר מהלך
 לומר מהלך זה האמת מהלך זה
 מהלך זה מהלך זה מהלך זה

אם כלל התעוררתי הייתי קודם

אשר היך בה מלך הזמן העליון

שעומן אם כהנחיה שילך תעשה

כא היך העליון אשר ההחיה ההללו

החיה מן הזוהר ההללו

כעשה עשה לך חיה מן

העליון אשר כהנחיה

התעוררתי החיה היך אשר

העליון כהנחיה אשר היך

העליון היך כהנחיה היך אשר

אשר לעליון היך כהנחיה

העליון מן הזוהר היך אשר

אשר היך אשר היך אשר

כהנחיה היך אשר היך אשר

מן הזוהר אשר היך אשר

לעליון היך אשר היך אשר

אשר היך אשר היך אשר

העליון היך אשר היך אשר

כמה היך אשר היך אשר

רחמי. אלך בלתי נשאר האדם
 כח חכמה. כח זה לא יתפסק כלום
 בקרא בלתי חכמה. חל
 הלא אעלה פה ופיה הנה אעלה
 הכלה' מזה המלך אלהים נעמו
 לבלתי. השכל זה אעלה
 הכח. אעלה אעלה נח מל
 אלא הנה כח אלהים. חכמה
 אעלה אלא עבד. חל. הנה
 בקרא בלתי עבד א הנה אלהים.
 אלא כאלה הנה עבד א
 הנה אעלה חכם כח.
 כח. לך אעלה. על עבד
 האלא. חל. חל חכם כח
 עבד א חל אעלה. כח
 חל אלהים כח אעלה חל
 האעלה בקרא. חל. הנה
 האעלה כח אעלה חל...

Read? הנה?

Lk. 2, 52

וְהָיָה אֵלָיו חָכְמָה וְעָזְרוֹת
 וְיִשְׁמְרֵהוּ יְהוָה מִכָּל
 מְחַלְשָׁתוֹ. וְהָיָה אֵלָיו
 חָכְמָה וְעָזְרוֹת וְיִשְׁמְרֵהוּ
 יְהוָה מִכָּל מְחַלְשָׁתוֹ.
 וְהָיָה אֵלָיו חָכְמָה וְעָזְרוֹת
 וְיִשְׁמְרֵהוּ יְהוָה מִכָּל
 מְחַלְשָׁתוֹ. וְהָיָה אֵלָיו
 חָכְמָה וְעָזְרוֹת וְיִשְׁמְרֵהוּ
 יְהוָה מִכָּל מְחַלְשָׁתוֹ.
 וְהָיָה אֵלָיו חָכְמָה וְעָזְרוֹת
 וְיִשְׁמְרֵהוּ יְהוָה מִכָּל
 מְחַלְשָׁתוֹ. וְהָיָה אֵלָיו
 חָכְמָה וְעָזְרוֹת וְיִשְׁמְרֵהוּ
 יְהוָה מִכָּל מְחַלְשָׁתוֹ.

Title: הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת הִיא הַתּוֹרָה
 הַזֹּאת הִיא הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת
 הַזֹּאת הִיא הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת.

וְהָיָה לְךָ כִּי תִּשְׁמַע
 לְדְבַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
 וְעָשִׂיתָ כְּכָל
 הַצִּוִּיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי
 אֹתְךָ לֵאמֹר וְלֹא
 תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת
 הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר
 אָמַרְתִּי לְךָ וְלֹא
 תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת
 הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר
 אָמַרְתִּי לְךָ וְלֹא
 תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת
 הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר
 אָמַרְתִּי לְךָ

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Grantha or Tamil. The text is organized into approximately 25 horizontal lines, with small circular characters positioned to the right of each line, possibly serving as a marginal key or index. The script is dense and characteristic of ancient South Asian epigraphy.

Read ேதா? (Ez. 14.)

כן לא כהרס כן על ארץ ארץ
 הנה שבת. אל עלה בלטה למי
 הנה. הנה כן כלל לא כלל
 על כבד. הנה על ק למי
 על אהבה. הנה על אהבה.
 הנה כהרס הנה אהבה אהבה
 אהבה על כל לא אהבה אהבה
 אהבה הנה הנה. הנה אהבה כן
 על אהבה אהבה אהבה. אהבה אהבה
 בהנה אהבה הנה. אהבה אהבה אהבה
 אהבה. אהבה אהבה אהבה
 הנה. אהבה אהבה אהבה אהבה
 הנה אהבה אהבה אהבה אהבה

¹ Read כה.
² Read אהבה.

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הַתְּשׁוּבָה אֶת עַל עֵתָא. הַתְּשׁוּבָה
 בְּתַרְתֵּי לְחַסְדֵי הַתְּשׁוּבָה הַזֹּאת
 חֲסִידֵי הַתְּשׁוּבָה הַזֹּאת. חֲסִידֵי
 אֵלֶּיךָ אֶת הַתְּשׁוּבָה בְּעֵתָא.
 הַזֹּאת הַתְּשׁוּבָה הַזֹּאת הַתְּשׁוּבָה
 בְּעֵתָא בְּעֵתָא הַתְּשׁוּבָה
 הַזֹּאת. הַזֹּאת הַתְּשׁוּבָה
 אֶת עֵתָא בְּעֵתָא בְּעֵתָא
 הַזֹּאת. הַזֹּאת הַתְּשׁוּבָה...

[.....] חלוקה קצרה מ

[.....] חלוקה חלוקה

[.....] חלוקה חלוקה

[.....] חלוקה חלוקה

[.....]

התקן העבודה של ארץ ישראל

בשנת 1948 חלוקה של הארץ

התבססה על חוקי חלוקה

התקין הוועד המרכזי

הממשלה. חלוקה זו

התבססה על חוקי חלוקה

התקין הממשלה. חלוקה זו

התבססה על חוקי חלוקה

התקין הממשלה. חלוקה זו

התבססה על חוקי חלוקה

התקין הממשלה. חלוקה זו

התבססה על חוקי חלוקה

התקין הממשלה. חלוקה זו

התבססה על חוקי חלוקה

חתום מהא ארבעה מן הדיו
 הנחה למן לה כתיבה התשובות
 אלה קראו [האלה]. הלה
 איזי מנהל מנהל אלה המנהל
 מ.מ. [מנהל] התשובות אלה בע
 ארבעה חלקי. כי אלה לא למנהל
 הנחה. התשובות [.....
 חתום]

[.....] התשובות בע מן הנחה התשובות
 מהא כי ארבעה מן הדיו התשובות
 התשובות מהא כי ארבעה לא התשובות
 התשובות אלה התשובות אלה
 אלה. התשובות חתום התשובות
 התשובות כי ארבעה מן הדיו למנהל
 כי ארבעה מן הדיו התשובות חתום
 האלה חתום התשובות התשובות
 כי ארבעה מן הדיו התשובות חתום
 מהא מנהל מנהל הלה חתום

וְשֵׁנִי בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
 לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְשֵׁנִי בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי
 מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
 אֲנִי בָרוּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
 לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְשֵׁנִי בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי
 מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
 אֲנִי בָרוּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

[... אֲנִי בָרוּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה ...]

וְשֵׁנִי בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
 לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְשֵׁנִי בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי
 מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
 אֲנִי בָרוּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

אֲנִי בָרוּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

אֲנִי בָרוּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

אֲנִי בָרוּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִיְּמֵי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

פקודת הכותב האלמא הנגד ארבעה
 המהותיות מן המהות כן בעצמה
 שלם למא עתה האוכל אמן
 לא אלמא. האוכל ארבעה המהות
 בעצמה ארבעה המהות ארבעה המהות
 ארבעה המהות מן המהות ארבעה המהות.
 המהות כותב היותו כותב
 לעצמה. המהותיות האלמא השלם
 המהות כותב. המהות המהות לכל
 המהות. המהות ארבעה המהות
 ארבעה המהות המהות המהות לכל
 המהותיות מן המהותיות. למא הלק ארבעה
 המהותיות ארבעה המהותיות למא.
 המהותיות. המהותיות למא המהותיות
 המהותיות למא למא המהותיות
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 המהותיות המהותיות למא המהותיות
 המהותיות המהותיות למא המהותיות
 המהותיות המהותיות למא המהותיות

וְיֵשׁוּעַ בִּישׁוּעַ מִתְחַלֵּם. אִם כִּי אֵשׁ
 כִּי הַשֶּׁשׁ זֶה אֵשׁ הַמְּתַהַדֵּם כִּי אֵשׁ
 כִּי אֵשׁ לְאֵלֶיךָ. הַשֶּׁשׁ הַכְּשִׁיחַ כִּי
 כִּי אֵשׁ וְיֵשׁוּעַ אֵלֶיךָ. כִּי אֵשׁ הַמְּתַהַדֵּם אֵשׁ
 כִּי אֵשׁ לְבִי אֵשׁ זֶה אֵשׁ הַמְּתַהַדֵּם.
 הַלֵּל מְהֵרָא לְאֵשׁ זֶה אֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ.

Lk. 3, 23-28

[...] הַמְּתַהַדֵּם. הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ. אֵלֶיךָ
 אֵלֶיךָ לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ.
 עַל כֵּן כִּי אֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ. הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ
 זֶה אֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ. הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ
 הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ. הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ
 לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ. הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ.
 אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ
 הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ. הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ
 אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ
 הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ. הַלֵּל לְאֵשׁ אֵלֶיךָ

התקום לו כן נשבע בישא ה' אלהים
לפי. לא הן מחסר לו מהא
האדם חסר הבלתי, מלפניו הן האצה
הוא האצה באיש הנש
משאצה. לא אדם המחוסר חסר
המלא עה בעתו. כולו פירוש
חשבונו. מלאה מהא בחלק
ישא. האם אצלו נשבע בישא
מבד שאין עליו חסר המלא. אם האצה
הדן בשוה בישא בה נשבע. אם
החוסר המלא לו כן אצד כ"החלוא
משוה לו. אם האצה בהישא ה' אלהים
מחסר לו נשבע בישא שוה כן
[חוסר הבלתי] מלפניו. אם הנן בשוה החסר הוא
מחסר אצלו [כ"ה] להנש. חסר
לבוש מרובתו. ה' אלהים לו
מהא בחוסר ה' אלהים מחסר נשבע
המלא אצלו לישא האישא אצד.
חוסר המלא אצדו נשבע. הנן

זעלבסט און אירע טאכטער. מיט זיך ווען
 די פאטער האט געזען אז זי איז געווען
 זעלבסט. און זי האט געזען אז זי
 איז געווען זעלבסט. און זי האט געזען
 אז זי איז געווען זעלבסט. און זי האט
 געזען אז זי איז געווען זעלבסט. און
 זי האט געזען אז זי איז געווען זעלבסט.
 און זי האט געזען אז זי איז געווען
 זעלבסט. און זי האט געזען אז זי איז
 געווען זעלבסט. און זי האט געזען
 אז זי איז געווען זעלבסט. און זי האט
 געזען אז זי איז געווען זעלבסט.

האהב בענין מחסא לבין כן צו השא
 באיזה הגהק. חסאן לבין כעוה.
 במוי הגלגליות חסול איוא הגה.
 חק כולו הגבו טאן באיזה חסא
 אולם למ בוא. חסומו. עסק.
 חסא חק כולו כנה עמא טהכאט
 בא. חסומו טאן לכה עמא על
 אכא הכומו. חבה אהב חסאן הכמו
 הגא הכחבא בענין חסו
 אטן האולם כן טאן כנה עמא
 כנה למן. אול] ה טלל א העוה א
 חהפא א] כמוי הגהק חסו
 כן כלל א האמא א על האמא
 איוא חסומו הכו טו כן חסאן
 הכו אול. אכא ה טאן עמא הא
 כל חסא חסא אול] ה כנה עמא
 חסומו חסומו טעוה כן אטן
 ה טו חסא טעוה אול] ה
 חסומו. כן חסאן ה חסומו חסומו

בבא הבהמה [אין סוף]

אין סוף. אין סוף. אין סוף.

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אין סוף. אין סוף. אין סוף.

חשבון הכנסות. סכום השקף אצות
 כספים שונים. סכום אצות אחר
 [אצות] [האצות] כן [אצות] [אצות]
 שמהם מן האוצר בני אצות. הכנסות
 האצות הן הן הן הן הן הן הן
 למסדות א. חשבון מהם מן האוצר
 כספים אצות. ההכנסות הן הכנסות
 כן הן הן הן הן הן הן הן הן הן
 הן הן הן הן הן הן הן הן הן הן
 בה אצות. הן הן הן הן הן הן הן
 ללכת האצות חשבון חשבון אצות
 אצות הן אצות אצות אצות אצות
 האצות כן כן כן כן כן כן כן כן
 כן כן כן כן כן כן כן כן כן
 האצות אצות. חשבון מן האצות
 אצות אצות. חשבון מן האצות
 אצות אצות אצות אצות אצות
 אצות אצות אצות אצות אצות
 אצות אצות אצות אצות אצות
 אצות אצות אצות אצות אצות

כבודו כח המלא אהב מחז ארץ
 עה כהן. חכך מן הדלפק שכב כן
 אילך הטיח סמכות הטעם ללב.
 כן מלך סדאכאמך לפי האדמפל
 כן אהב הכבוד האלמא כן בלוי
 מלפני. סדאכאמך כח מן הכבוד
 אשילך הורה מחל כפשמ.
 אדמפל כן מן הלא אדמפל
 כמלך בה אדמפל. כמלך כמלך כמלך
 בלוי. כהנן סדאכאמך המלך
 חמלמ. מן האדמפל ווא אדמפל
 למ. שמה מן האל אדמפל
 חמל מכות למלך. כמלך מלך
 שכי לבמלך כמלך הכמל. חמל
 חלך על האל מלך מלך מלך
 הדיכך למלך האדמפל למלך כמלך
 האהב. חמל מלך חמל חמל
 אשיל. חמל כמלך חמל חמל
 לאהב כמלך חמל חמל

מעבד גבד אמון. הנפל האדם

לגד חלואה אפוא האדם

בן אהרן. קלא הבלבן בל אפוא

החן אדם אפוא. חן אהרן

הכבוד אדם האדם אפוא. חן אהרן

הבלבן האדם אפוא. חן אהרן

אף אפוא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא. חן אהרן. חן אהרן

האדם אפוא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

לחן אהרן חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

הנפלא חן אהרן. חן אהרן

וטעם הנה לטעם הנכונה של האל
 מה של אל ואלא אלהים
 במה שיהיה באלהים. וכן
 הנה כבוד לאלהים הנלמד הנע
 שיהיה כבודו עם ישראל הנע
 ביהודה עם אלף הבהמות
 האל מה של אל. האל האל
 כבוד הנה עם בן ישראל. מי
 מה שיהיה האל האל הנלמד
 אלף אלף אלף אלף
 בשם הנלמד לאלהים הנע. כבוד
 הנע הוא הנע הנלמד אל
 כבוד אלף הנלמד בשם אלף
 לאלהים האל. הנלמד אל
 אלהים אלף אלף אלף אלף
 כבוד האל אלף אלף אלף אלף
 הנלמד אלף אלף אלף אלף אלף
 הנלמד האל האל אלף אלף אלף
 אלף אלף אלף אלף אלף אלף

בשם כללם אתה נכח
השם יתקן. אתה לא תכלה
השם נהגה שם נהגה. נהגה
השם בשם השם השם השם
בשם השם השם השם השם
השם השם. השם השם
כך לא השם. בשם השם השם
השם. השם [השם] השם
לא שם. לא השם השם השם
השם השם השם השם השם
כך השם השם השם השם
כך בשם השם השם השם
בשם השם השם השם השם
השם השם. לא השם השם השם
השם השם השם השם השם
השם השם השם השם השם
השם השם השם השם השם
השם השם [השם] השם השם
כך [השם] השם השם השם השם
השם השם השם השם השם

מ'ן העברה אשר אין עליה הלך
 חזק המעלה. ספק בלוי המה
 אהרן בהעברתו ה[אלה]ת [שכח]ם
 בעמ' ארץ אשר אין [האדם]ת
 עליו [האדם]ת אדם. ארץ
 בארץ. אדם הק' אדם הארץ
 המ'ן הארץ אלה העברה אשר אין
 עליה הלך חזק המעלה. אלה
 מ'ן סגולה מ'ן העברתו בלוי
 העברה אשר אין עליה מעלה
 המעלה. לא הק' העברה האדם
 מעלה. מ'ן האלה בלוי
 עברתו העברה אשר אין עליה מעלה
 העברה העברה מ'ן העברה אשר אין
 מ'ן הארץ אלה מעלה מעלה
 העברה העברה אשר אין עליה מעלה
 אלה מעלה אשר אין עליה מעלה
 העברה אשר אין עליה מעלה
 העברה אשר אין עליה מעלה

משה משה אף הזכיר ה
 אצטנטי בבה כן בללה. הלה
 כן בלוי מלך הזכיר העבטון בלוי
 ה[לוי] [על] איו בלוי שמה משה
 משה בלוי הבלוי. הזכיר
 בלוי הלה הזכיר. הבלוי בלוי
 משה בבה בללה הזכיר בלוי
 משה בלוי הזכיר הזכיר משה
 הזכיר בלוי הלה הזכיר משה
 הזכיר משה הזכיר משה
 משה [הזכיר] [משה] אף בלוי הלה
 הזכיר הבלוי. הזכיר הבלוי משה
 בלוי משה. הזכיר בלוי משה
 כן הזכיר ה[זכיר]. הזכיר לזכיר הזכיר
 הזכיר הזכיר משה הזכיר משה בבה
 כן בללה אף הלה בלוי משה
 כן משה בללה הזכיר משה. הלה
 הזכיר כן בלוי הבלוי משה.
 הזכיר לזכיר הזכיר משה

מלא הזקני העבה אפוא. חזן לבוא

צנה אלא העבה אע [אפוא] [הא]

לחמם אלהמן בבהא. האלה [הא]

מלא הזקני בנה חני האתני] לחם

אלה העבה. חן הק נק חני האתני]

נללה טשלהא לזמן הל סלףהא

אלעבה בויש. חלא [קרב טרא

הטלה חמנה אלהמן בבהא ל

טא חן טשלהא חמם אהם

חלא חיק. מרהטעם בנה חני

העבה חמם לזמן טלפח. חחיק

בני היל חמם לזמן חמם

נח חיק. חמם טרפח חמם

חמם. חיל האתני חני מרהטעם

חחח חח חיל חיל. האלה

לב חמם מרהטעם חמנה בבהח

לבויש חן חח חיל מרהטעם

חלא [אפוא] חח חיל. חן חח

חמם. חלא חח חח חח חח

אדם צדיק נשמה חכמה הנחה לו
בדעתו כי הוא חכם הלא חכם
אשר חכם כחכם העבה אשר
אין יגלה הלא חכם הנחלת
באשר הוסיף הלא חכם אשר
אדם צדיק [בבחינתו] חכם
האמת. חכמה הכוללת חכם אשר
אשר חכם חכם חכם אשר
במה היא חכם חכם חכם אשר
האמת. חכם חכם חכם אשר
בבחינתו חכם חכם חכם אשר
באשר חכם חכם חכם אשר
אשר חכם חכם חכם אשר
חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם
חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם
חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם
חכם חכם חכם חכם חכם

האתה האורח ביום אמר וכתב
 על אהרן הכהן. השב שיהי
 אצלם חסד בשם שלום ושלום
 ביום אמר לאלהי הים בן
 אהרן לאלהי. חבד חלם הים
 אשה אלהיהם שם חכמה
 ואל אהרן. חלם אהרן חכמה
 על בניהם. אן הן בתי האלהים
 כולם אלה השכיר חלם אשה האשה
 אלה העבד לאלה ביום אהרן.
 אלה אהרן אלהים האלהים
 חן כבוד ביהם. אף חלם ביהם
 החלם אשה חלם חלם השכיר
 חכמה חלם [חן] חלם חלם חלם
 חלם חלם. האשה חלם חלם
 אלה חלם חלם חלם חלם
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 חלם חלם חלם חלם חלם
 חלם חלם חלם חלם חלם

'Read חלם

השמות כדלקמן הדיקטום:

אדם ששמו משה יצא ששמו

הוא כן הוא הנהגה כדלקמן הדיקטום

מ. הנהגה הנהגה כדלקמן [ה. ה. ה.]

הנהגה הנהגה כדלקמן. הנהגה הנהגה

הנהגה [הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה]

[הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה]

הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה [הנהגה הנהגה]

הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה [הנהגה הנהגה]

הנהגה [הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה]

הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה [הנהגה הנהגה]

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הנהגה הנהגה הנהגה [הנהגה הנהגה]

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[התקנה] הנהלת בעי' בלומן. חי
 האדם באהב כה ובלומן. האדם
 כן בלומן באהב התקנה.
 הנהלת בלומן הנה ובלומן.
 האדם הנה אהב אדם לוח
 בלומן אהב אהב אדם לוח
 הנהלת אהב הנה ענה כה
 אדם בלומן אהב הנהלת
 אהב הנהלת. אהב הנה כה
 [הנהלת אהב אהב אהב לוח]

[הנהלת] אהב בלומן [.....]
 אהב הנהלת [הנהלת].....
 הנהלת אהב [.....]
 אהב הנהלת [.....]

[.....]
 אהב אהב [הנהלת] אהב אהב.
 אהב אהב [הנהלת] אהב אהב.

אני פה שלב [מ/מ] לב

הקשר אהב חגגה זעזע המוח

בקר הכחש הילכה הבזמ. כי ילכה

בשנה למעשה הזכיר. מחם וי

אזכיר ילכה שלשם האלמח

אכא. חקד הכחש [מ/מ] המחם [מ/מ]

מהיך יק רבבשה של א. הכחש

האצחח למכחש בילך האק מהה

אחבג למח אר מח זילך הכחש

אחמח. לב זילך הכחש הכן בשל

בילך. חלכב מח מחם הכחש

הזילך שלילך. אהשגש חביל

כן חלך האחשכו היל כלעה בהכחש

האלמח מחם כי אילך חר. כילך

אלך אר חבילך חבילך ההכחש

מח הן החמכחש הזכיר מחם האחמח

ילכה שלשם חבילך האלמח

אכא. הילמח אחבג לבך הכן בשל

עבדך... אברהם ה' ז"ל]
[מלפני המלך המשיח]

!

Colophon:

Red.

אשר כתיבתי לך ואלה המצוות ה' ז"ל
עשהו בשבתך כפי חוקי חוקיך ::

Red.

אלך בלתי הזדונוהו ה' ז"ל
האמת ואלו המצוות ה' ז"ל
לפני המלך המשיח ואלו המצוות
העבדך. אלה המצוות ה' ז"ל
העבדך. כאלו המצוות ה' ז"ל
העבדך. האלה המצוות ה' ז"ל ::

Black.

בן ה' ז"ל המשיח ואלו המצוות
העבדך ה' ז"ל המשיח ואלו המצוות

Red.

אברהם ואלו המצוות ה' ז"ל
[האלה המצוות ה' ז"ל]

* * * * *

APPENDIX

FRAGMENTS OF PHILOXENUS
PRESERVED IN THE COMMENTARIES
OF BAR-SALIBI, BAR-HEBRAEUS AND
GEORGE OF BE'ELTAN

Mt. 1, 17.

וְלֹא־תִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלִי לֵאמֹר לֵלֵל בְּחַיִּין
 פִּלְגֵי לַעֲבֹלָה. כִּי הַכֹּהֵל הַקָּדִים
 בָּרָא אֶת־הַלְלוֹת הַזֶּה בְּיָמָיו
 לְכַזְמוֹת. הַכֹּהֵן שֶׁבְּיָמָיו עֲבָדָה
 לַהֲמַת הָאֱמֵט לֵי לֵלֵל אֶת־יְהוָה
 חֹלֶב בְּהַת נִבְרָא אֶת־יְהוָה. הַיְהוָה
 אֶת־הַחַיִּים עֲבָדָה :

Mt. 1, 18

הַקָּדִים וְלֹא־תִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלִי לֵאמֹר
 כִּי־תִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלִי לֵאמֹר אֶת־יְהוָה
 בְּהַת הַקָּדִים אֶת־יְהוָה בְּיָמָיו
 אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה
 הַקָּדִים אֶת־יְהוָה. אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה
 אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה
 אֶת־יְהוָה. אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוָה

¹ For the text of this fragment as transmitted by Min. Syr. 332, and the variant readings of this text, cf. Text, Mt. 1, 17.

Mt. 3, 11.

אני אבא אל כל אדם ואלו לא יתנו
אדם הנותן לפי מ: :

Mt. 4, 1.

בבואו ה' אלן בנה בנה
א' ה' ב' א' א' א' א' א' א' א' א'
מ' א' א' א' א' א' א' א' א'
ה' ב' :

Mt. 4, 3.

ה' א' א' א' א' א' א' א' א'
ה' א' א' א' א' א' א' א' א'

Mt. 4, 5.

ה' א' א' א' א' א' א' א' א'
ה' א' א' א' א' א' א' א' א'
ה' א' א' א' א' א' א' א' א'

¹ George: add. א' א' א'

² George: א' א' א'

³ George: א' א' א'

⁴ George: om.

⁵ George: א' א' א'

⁶ George: om.

⁷ George: א' א' א'

⁸ George: add. א' א' א'

⁹ George: om.

¹⁰ George: א'

¹¹ George: א' א' א'

Mt. 4, 11.

רַבּוֹתַי אֵינִי (מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה) כִּי
אֲנִי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה. אֲנִי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה.
אֲנִי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה. אֲנִי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה.
אֲנִי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה.

Mt. 8, 13.

וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.

Mt. 8, 24.

וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.
וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה. וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה.

¹ Cf. George: ... וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה ...
... וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה ... וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה ...
... וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה ... וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה ...
... וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה ... וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם יְהוָה ...

וְהָיָה לָכֵן כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

Mt. 9, 2

וְהָיָה לָכֵן כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

Mt. 9, 6

וְהָיָה לָכֵן כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

Mt. 9, 37

וְהָיָה לָכֵן כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת הַבָּרָא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

אשר לא ידעו אלא אלהי אבי
 הרוח הקדוש. אשר יתן
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. :. אמר

Mt. 26, 23

הרוח הקדוש אשר יתן
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. אמר
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. אמר
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. אמר
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. :. אמר

Mt. 26, 29

אשר לא ידעו אלא אלהי אבי
 הרוח הקדוש. אשר יתן
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. אמר
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. אמר
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. אמר
 לכם את כל זאת אשר
 אתם רוצים. :. אמר

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

Mt. 27, 56

וְהַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת
 הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת
 הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת
 הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת
 הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת
 הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת
 הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

cf. George: הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

and Bar-Hebraeus: הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת הַיְהוֹדוּת

למלך יהודה אשור

Lk. 1, 35

ואלה המעשים אשר עשה
 ביהודה וירושלם. ויהי
 ביום אחד באו אליו
 מספר רב של אנשים
 וישאלוהו על המעשים
 אשר עשה. ויאמר להם
 כי לא עשה כן אלא
 אשר ראו עיניכם. ויאמרו
 לו איך יוכלו לראות
 את המעשים אשר עשה
 אם לא יאמרו לנו את
 המעשים אשר עשה. ויאמר
 להם כי לא יאמרו לנו
 את המעשים אשר עשה
 אם לא יאמרו לנו את
 המעשים אשר עשה.

Cf. Bar-Hebraeus :
 ואלה המעשים אשר עשה
 ביהודה וירושלם. ויהי
 ביום אחד באו אליו
 מספר רב של אנשים
 וישאלוהו על המעשים
 אשר עשה. ויאמר להם
 כי לא עשה כן אלא
 אשר ראו עיניכם. ויאמרו
 לו איך יוכלו לראות
 את המעשים אשר עשה
 אם לא יאמרו לנו את
 המעשים אשר עשה. ויאמר
 להם כי לא יאמרו לנו
 את המעשים אשר עשה
 אם לא יאמרו לנו את
 המעשים אשר עשה.

ההנהגה הלא ארוכה לצד הבריות

הנפשית הבהירה ודמותה הפכה למעט.

ובמקום ליצור בחיים היה שואב עדות:

מלך המלכות אשר למן זמנו הוקדשו

במחנה גליליהא. הכל אכסם היוצאות

הנוצרות לדת החדשה. צדק זמני

קרה. לא נבטחה למען הכוח הנדון. בה

השם לא ללגש כלום אלא להשם מן השמים

הלבוש היה אלו למען בעולם שיש

המיוחד לקחת ממנו תפארת

ההשואב נהיה. הנהגות מן השמים

בשם. הוא זמנו לא כלום אלא

להנצח:

Lk. 3, 23.

באמצעות ה' אברהם הנחמד הולך

לא יצאה בחיים. הולכים אנו:

¹ George: הולכים

² George: add. הנהגות בשם מן השמים
אנו ממנו אלא בשם הולכים

³ George: הולכים

⁴ George: הולכים

⁵ George: om.

⁶ George: הולכים

1977 '21st' 1977

George: 1977 1977 1977

George

¹ George: trsp.

² George: 1977

³ George: 1977

J. W. W A T T

PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG
FRAGMENTS OF THE COMMENTARY
ON THE
EVANGELISTS MATTHEW AND LUKE

VOLUME II:
TRANSLATION



Tu 8206

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EXPLANATION OF SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS
EMPLOYED IN THE TRANSLATION

- () Parentheses indicate an expansion made either to clarify the meaning or for the sake of English idiom. They also, occasionally, enclose an explanatory note of the translator or the Syriac word which the English word translates.
- [] Parallelogram brackets indicate a lacuna in the manuscript, with or without a conjectural restoration.
- ⊕ ⊖ Parallelogram brackets crossed by circles indicate an editorial addition correcting a conjectured scribal omission.
- [] Square brackets in the notes enclose, in the titles to the fragments, either words present in the manuscript(s) listed within the brackets but not in the other manuscript witness(es) to that fragment, or editorial explanations of references in the title of the fragment.
- | A raised vertical line indicates a new page in the corresponding passage of the Text, the number of which is placed in the outer margin. Where the vertical line is absent, the commencement of the new page of Text corresponds to the start of the line in the Translation against which the number is placed.

Manuscripts referred to merely by number are British Museum Additional Manuscripts.

Ox. Oxford (Bodleian Library), Marsh 101.

om. Omit(s)

add. Add(s)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- ACO: Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
- BO: J.S. Assémani, Bibliotheca Orientalis
- CSCO: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
- GSC: Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
- Mansi: Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima
Collectio
- PG: Migne, Patrologia Graeca
- PO: Patrologia Orientalis
- PS: Patrologia Syriaca

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I : GENERAL¹

The authenticity of the greater part of the text, presented in Volume One, of the fragments of the "Commentary on the evangelists Matthew and Luke" by Philoxenus of Mabbug is not subject to serious doubt. This judgement applies particularly to those portions of the text based on the British Museum manuscript Add.17,126, namely the fragments on Lk.2,40; 42-46; 51-52; 3,22; 23; 23-38, which together comprise approximately half of the extant text. The fact that this manuscript was written in Mabbug in 510/1 A.D.,² during the period in which the author was bishop of the city (485-519), virtually guarantees the authenticity of the text. Confirmation of this is provided by its content; the advocacy of a "moderate" (i.e. non-Eutychian) Monophysite Christology and the polemic against Eutychians and "Nestorians", as well as the exposition of the doctrines of "Syrian Evagrianism",³ are central themes in the thought of Philoxenus.⁴ The authenticity of the text of Add.17,126⁵ is therefore assured and it may be used as a test for that of the other fragments.

On this basis the fragment on Mt.3,1-16 may be confidently accepted as authentic. Like the latter part of the fragment from Add.17,126 on Lk.2,51-52,⁶ it deals with questions of cosmology and knowledge in the manner of "Syrian Evagrianism"; the parallels between the two fragments are sometimes very close.⁷ The greater part of the fragment on Lk. 2,24-39 is also free from serious objection. Although its subject matter is not rooted in the Christology or "Evagrianism" of Philoxenus, the exposition of the inadequacy of Mary's understanding of Christ before Pentecost⁸ finds a close parallel in a fragment from Add.17,126.⁹ The homiletic conclusion of this fragment,¹⁰ however, may be a secondary

liturgical adaptation.¹¹ The fragment on Mt.16,16-17¹² treats of the ignorance of Peter and the angels¹³ in a manner similar to that of Mary in the fragments just mentioned and combats a "dualistic" interpretation of Peter's confession¹⁴ with arguments also found in Add.17,126 directed against a "dualistic" interpretation of the growth of Jesus (Lk.2,52).¹⁵ The character of the remaining major fragment, that on Mt.22,29-32,¹⁶ is quite different. Here Philoxenus reviews eight ideas on the nature of the resurrection body and concludes by declaring them all to be speculative. There is, however, a formal parallel in the first fragment on Lk.3,23-38, from Add.17,126, where he lists various interpretations of the sentence of God upon Cain (Gen.4,15) and ends by saying that "everyone may think about these things just as he wishes".¹⁷

These four fragments together with those from Add.17,126 constitute the great bulk of the extant text; the remaining ones are all very short. That on Mt.13,16-17 takes up again, as in the commentary on Mt.16,16-17 and Lk.2,51-52,¹⁸ the theme of ignorance concerning the true nature of Christ, while the brief assertions of the fragment on Mt.26,36-44 are certainly succinct statements of topics treated at greater length at other points.¹⁹ The fragment on Lk.2,52 also displays some similarity to that on Lk.2,51-52,a.²⁰ De Halleux²¹ has, in addition, noted parallels from other writings of Philoxenus to the exposition of the miraculous nature of the acts of the risen Christ,²² the position in the economy of John the Baptist,²³ and Adam's creation, fall and expulsion from Paradise.²⁴ The remaining fragments²⁵ are so short and devoid of characteristic Philoxenian concepts that nothing can be said for or against their authenticity.

Among the fragments brought together in the appendix to this edition, that on Mt.8,24, which declares the passions of Adam to have been external to his nature and the body assumed by Christ to have been like that which Adam possessed before the fall, shows similarities to

others in the main part of the text.²⁶ The latter concept is also found in the appendix fragment on Mt.9,6. The idea found in the appendix fragment on Lk.1,35, that even when separated from its human soul the body of Christ was alive with the divine life, is also found in a fragment from Add.17,126, that on Lk.2,40,²⁷ while the theology of baptism set forth in the appendix fragment on Lk.3,21 is also paralleled in a fragment from Add.17,126, that on Lk.3,23.²⁸ The appendix fragment on Mt.4,1 reports Philoxenus as saying that Christ performed miracles before the temptation, but the fragment on Lk.2,51-52 from Add.17,126²⁹ shows him to uphold the idea that no miracles were performed before the baptism. Some suspicion must therefore be attached to the report of the appendix fragment. Although an open verdict must be recorded in the case of many minor fragments, the preceding considerations have nevertheless shown that the grounds for accepting the authenticity of the great bulk of the text are good.

Already from what has been said about the content of many of the fragments it will have become clear that this commentary is not rich in exegetical considerations of a literary or historical character nor in homiletic applications of the biblical text, but is closer in character to a treatise on dogmatics. The author elaborates, sometimes at great length, doctrinal points suggested to him by the biblical passage under consideration. The work is quite heterogeneous in content, "straight" interpretations of some passages alternating with "theological" interpretations of others.³⁰ It is therefore difficult to make any statements about the general character of the commentary, the more so as our knowledge of its text is so fragmentary. Nevertheless, the two areas of thought in which Philoxenus is especially famed, Christology and the spirituality and cosmology associated with Evagrius of Pontus, are both prominently represented and are indeed the two most constantly recurring themes. They merit special consideration and are discussed in section II below.

Given the varied character of the work, it is hardly possible to make a statement concerning its purpose which would account for all the material it contains. Clearly, however, one of the author's principal concerns in it is to attack the doctrine of the "Nestorians",³¹ and De Halleux³² is thus no doubt correct in his view that Philoxenus put forth this commentary as a counter to the "heretical" commentaries of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the "fathers of Nestorianism". Reference has been made in the introduction to Volume One³³ to the fact that some fragments of the work are introduced in the manuscripts as excerpts from the "Commentary of the chapters against the Nestorians"³⁴ or against Diodore³⁵ or Theodore,³⁶ the official "interpreters" of the Persian church whose writings Philoxenus must have read during his education at Edessa.³⁷ The writing of the commentaries³⁸ may have been part of Philoxenus' activity against the "Nestorians" at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries,³⁹ directed against the Antiochene theology in the areas where it found its strongest support, namely the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and especially the territories controlled by the Persian Empire, where the Monophysites were under attack.⁴⁰

In such an anti-"Nestorian" commentary one might have expected to find numerous borrowings from the commentaries of Cyril of Alexandria. I have, however, noticed only one passage in the present work⁴¹ which displays a striking similarity to the corresponding passage in Cyril's commentary on Luke.⁴² Philoxenus evidently wrote his commentary independently of his great predecessor⁴³—the exegetical works of both men became authorities for the later Monophysite commentators⁴⁴—but the influence of the theology of Cyril upon that of Philoxenus, and the other Syrian Monophysites, was of course immense.

The importance of Jewish exegesis of the Old Testament for that of Syriac Christianity is well known.⁴⁵ In three fragments of the present work Philoxenus offers an interpretation of passages from Genesis: in

the typological exegesis of the history of Adam in the fragment on Mt.27, 45-53,⁴⁶ in the exposition of the fate of Cain in the first fragment on Lk.3,23-38,⁴⁷ and in the interpretation of Gen.1,26-27 in the second fragment on Lk.3,23-38.⁴⁸ Only in the first of these fragments have I noticed a tradition which may have come to him, through the Syrian schools, from Judaism.⁴⁹ I have been unable to find among the numerous Jewish legends about Cain a story quite like that told by Philoxenus,⁵⁰ while in his exposition of Gen.1,26-27 he attacks the idea of a distinction between God's thought and deed, an idea which Syriac Christianity may owe to Judaism.⁵¹

In the absence of any historical allusion, the date of the work cannot be established precisely.⁵² A certain terminus ante quem is the year 510/1, the date of Add.17,126.⁵³ Reference has already been made⁵⁴ to the fact that the work combats the teaching of the "Nestorians" and is probably to be set within the framework of the author's activity against the Persian "Nestorians" rather than that against the adherents of the council of Chalcedon in Antioch and western Syria. The latter struggle began with the installation of Flavian as patriarch of Antioch in 498, but did not become bitter until after the Romano-Persian war (502-505) and especially so after 508.⁵⁵ As no trace of this dispute is to be found in the commentary,⁵⁶ it is unlikely to have been written after 505, or at the latest after 508.⁵⁷ An alternative approach to the problem is to consider the connection between this work and its companion, the "Commentary on John", and their relation to another enterprise, the Philoxenian version of the New Testament.⁵⁸

In an important passage from the "Commentary on John", to which De Halleux⁵⁹ has drawn attention, Philoxenus declares that on account of the inaccuracies in the current Syriac versions of the New Testament "there has therefore just now (*laxm*) fallen (*laxm*) to us⁶⁰ the task of retranslating the holy books of the New Testament from Greek into Syriac".⁶¹ The Philoxenian New Testament was therefore either complete

or in the process of creation during the writing of the "Commentary on John" and a number of Philoxenian readings in that work⁶² confirm this conclusion. If one assumes that the new version did not take many years to produce, then the "Commentary on John" cannot have been written much before 507/8, the date the Harklean colophons give for the appearance of the Philoxeniana.

An investigation of the New Testament citations in the present work also reveals a number of Philoxenian readings.⁶³ One cannot assume without question that these are taken from the completed Philoxeniana or from an early draft of the version given to Philoxenus by Polycarp, since Philoxenus himself may have drawn up some preliminary sketches, a possibility which merits serious consideration in view of the fact that it was his awareness of the inexactitudes of the earlier versions which precipitated the new translation.⁶⁴ However, it is reasonable to assume that the "Commentary on Matthew and Luke" was written at about the same time as the "Commentary on John", slightly earlier if the author followed the order of the biblical books. The present work is therefore unlikely to have been written many years before 508 or, as the preceding considerations concerning its content have shown, at any time after that date, and certainly not after 511.⁶⁵

Notes to Introduction 81

1. The general introductory questions treated in this section are also discussed by A. de Halleux, Philoxène de Mabbog (Louvain, 1963), pp. 128-134.
2. Cf. the colophon of the manuscript, the text and translation of which are given at the close of the text and translation of the commentary (on Lk.3,23-38).
3. Cf. below, pp. 11-30.
4. On the theology of Philoxenus, cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 311-505.
5. With the exception of the three alien folios. Cf. the description of the manuscript in Volume One, p. xi.
6. Translation, pp. 129-132.
7. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 86, 7 ff. (on Mt.3,1-16) with p. 131, 23 ff. (on Lk.2,51-52).
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 110f.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 117 f. (on Lk.2,51-52).
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 112f.
11. Cf. Volume One, p. X.
12. This fragment is one of those, the title of which merely states that it was written by Philoxenus. This question has been discussed in the introduction to Volume One, pp. iv ff. The present section is limited to the question of authenticity in relation to the content of the fragments.
13. Translation, pp. 96f.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-103.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
18. Cf. above, notes 13 and 9.
19. Cf. Translation, pp. 103 (Mt.26,36-44); 116, 25ff.; 133, 6ff.

20. Ibid., p. 118 . Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 147.
21. Philoxène, pp. 134, 137, 139.
22. Fragment, Introduction B.
23. Fragment on Mt.11,11.
24. Fragment on Mt.27,45-53.
25. Fragment, Introduction A, and the fragments on Mt.1,17; 2,1; 14-15; 3,1; 26,26-29; Lk.2,7; 21.
26. Cf. the fragments, Introduction A and on Lk.3,23 (Translation, pp. 76 and 143).
27. Translation, pp. 113f.
28. Ibid., pp. 142 - 145.
29. Ibid., p. 129.
30. Cf. the summary of contents in section IV below.
31. The Christology which is attacked is that of the Antiochene school, not that of the Chalcedonian confession. Cf. below, pp. 11 - 13. The designation "Nestorian" is here used for convenience; in theological discussion it should be replaced by "Antiochene". Cf. below, p. 11 , note 1 .
32. Philoxène, p. 132.
33. Cf. pp. ivf.
34. Cf. the titles to the fragments on Lk.2,24-39, and Lk.2,52.
35. Cf. the title to the fragment, Introduction A.
36. Cf. the title to the fragment, Introduction B.
37. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 29.
38. The present work and the "Commentary on John".
39. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 47-49.
40. Cf. J. Labourt, Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la dynastie sassanide (Paris, 1904), pp. 131-140.
41. Fragment on Lk.2,7. Cf. note 3 to the translation of this passage.
42. The letter appears to have been written after the outbreak of the

- Nestorian controversy (cf. A. Rucker, Die Lukas-Homilien des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien (Breslau, 1911), pp. 56, 59) and would therefore have been of use to Philoxenus in his attacks upon "Nestorian" teaching.
43. Cf. below, pp. 15 ; 69, note 21.
 44. Cf. A. Baumstark, Die Evangelienexegese der syrischen Monophysiten, Oriens Christianus, 2 (1902), pp. 153 f., 161 f.
 45. Cf. A. Levene, The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis (London, 1951), pp. 315-342. The manuscript edited by Levene in this volume is of Nestorian origin, but embodies many traditions which reach back at least to the time of Ephraem. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 6 f., 71.
 46. Translation, pp. 103 f.
 47. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-147.
 48. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-153.
 49. Cf. *ibid.*, fragment on Mt.27,45-53, note 8.
 50. Cf. *ibid.*, fragment on Lk.3,23-38, note 8.
 51. Cf. *ibid.*, note 31.
 52. Cf. on this De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 132 f.
 53. Cf. above, p. 1, note 2. Strictly speaking, this is the terminus ante quem for the commentary as far as Lk.3,38, but the extant text extends no further.
 54. Cf. above, p. 4.
 55. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 49, 55-59.
 56. Cf. below, p. 12.
 57. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 55-59, 132 f.
 58. Cf. below, pp. 58 f.
 59. Philoxène, pp. 121-124.
 60. He is doubtless referring to himself and the chorepiscopus Polycarp to whom, on the authority of Moses of Aghel (cf. below, p. 40, note 2), the version is traditionally attributed.
 61. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 122, note 6 (citing the relevant passage,

in the original, from British Museum Additional Manuscript 14,534, folio 39 verso).

62. Ibid., pp. 123 f. Cf. also the works of A. Vööbus referred to below, p. 45, note 13.
63. Cf. below, pp. 51-58.
64. Cf. below, pp. 58f.
65. The date of Add.17,126. Cf. above, p. 1, note 2.

II : CHRISTOLOGY AND EVAGRIANISM

The great fame of Philoxenus rests above all on his powerful advocacy of Monophysite teaching and his vigorous opposition to the Christology of the Antiochenes and Chalcedonians.¹ It is therefore no occasion for surprise that these themes play a prominent part in the present work. It is well known² that the Monophysite theologians of the "moderate school",³ including within their number Philoxenus and Severus, devoted almost as much energy to the refutation of the "extreme" Monophysites, or Eutychians,⁴ amongst whom they were numbered by their diphsite opponents, as to the attack on diphsite Christology itself. This is well illustrated in the commentary under consideration, in which Antiochene Christology comes under attack in two long sections on Peter's confession (Mt.16,16-17) and the growth of Jesus (Lk.2,51-52) and the docetic Christology of Eutychianism in that dealing with the descent of the Spirit on Jesus in the likeness of a dove (Lk.3,22). While many of the characteristics and emphases of Philoxenus' theology appear in these passages, their polemical nature renders them more instructive in regard to his conception of his opponents' teaching than in the detailed presentation of his own.

The picture of the Antiochene Christology which is given in the present work confirms all too well the inadequacy of Philoxenus' characterisation of the doctrine of his opponents. It has been summarised⁵ as "a gross adoptionism" in which a man is first created and then chosen to become son of God by grace from his conception, birth, baptism or resurrection. Over against the economy of the assumption or inhabitation of this man by God the Word he asserts the formula, "God became (man) without change," preserving, as he believes, the text of John 1,14 against

the "Nestorian reinterpretation", "a man became and the Word dwelt in him." Since he refuses to make any distinction in principle between the Antiochenes and the Chalcedonians, although he does occasionally designate the latter as "semi-Nestorians",⁶ it is often difficult to know to which of the two groups his polemic is directed, or if indeed his attack is directed at both.

At the beginning of the most significant section on diphysite Christology in this commentary,⁷ Philoxenus asks "the heretics who say that he who grew in stature and increased in wisdom and in favour (Lk.2,52) was an ordinary man like one of us" whether they say that Jesus is a natural man or "God and man". Subsequently⁸ Theodore and Nestorius are credited with believing that "Jesus is a righteous man", and the expression "God and man", "recently invented by the heretics" declared "an empty and stupid expression uttered in order to mislead the simple". It might therefore be thought that two groups of "heretics" are envisaged, Antiochenes and Chalcedonians, particularly since he elsewhere describes the Chalcedonians as "(semi-)Nestorians" who cunningly mislead the simple⁹ and "place Christ in the Trinity", while the "Nestorians" "understand Christ to be a man".¹⁰ However, it must be said that any polemic directed against the Chalcedonian theology, with which he was quite familiar,¹¹ is lacking and the subsequent description of these "heretics'" views clearly shows them to be Antiochene: "your doctrine confesses only the conjunction (*κἀνωμα, συνάφεια*) and nominal association (*κἀνωμα, κοινωνία, μετουσία*) of God and man";¹² "so if no place ... has been found where it is said that in him God and man became one authority, power and wisdom, then they were not, as you think, two and the association which you preach did not happen".¹³ It is the "classical" Antiochene theology which is being attacked and his opponents here are therefore probably adherents of this school rather than of Chalcedon.¹⁴ This conclusion has been assumed in section I above.¹⁵

It is, therefore, the Antiochene Christology that Philoxenus is attacking throughout this part of the commentary,¹⁶ but he first takes issue with the concept of a homo assumptus and then with the attempt to combine him with God the Word into one prosopon. The two possible variations of the "heresy" are confined to the question of nomenclature, i.e. whether the name Jesus applies to the homo assumptus or to the one prosopon. According to Philoxenus, Theodore and Nestorius apply it to the former, others ("you") to the latter. And in commenting on Peter's confession, he attributes to Theodore the view that "Christ" refers to a man, "for Christ is the name of a man", but "Son of the living God" refers to God the Word.¹⁷

One naturally asks whether Philoxenus is correct on this point, and one is forced to conclude that the distinction has an artificial and unreal character. It is quite true that in the case of Theodore, for example, there are countless statements to the effect that the name Jesus, or Jesus Christ, applies to the homo assumptus:¹⁸ "Jesus Christ ... is the name of the man whom God put on";¹⁹ "(God) ... for our sake clothed Himself with Our Lord Jesus Christ, a man";²⁰ "God the Word ... (brought) to perfection through suffering the leader of the salvation of all, namely Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the man assumed by Him";²¹ "... because it is this man (with whom God the Word clothed Himself) of whom the angel said that he would be called Jesus";²² "... Christ Our Lord, with whom God the Word clothed Himself ..."²³ And "Son of God" is for Theodore in the first place a title of God the Word: "For if God the Word is the perfect Son of God by nature ..."²⁴ Nevertheless, according to Theodore the homo assumptus, on account of his conjunction with the Logos, is the adopted Son of God,²⁵ and in many biblical passages, e.g. Ps.2,7, Mt.3,17 and Jn.1,49, it is he, not the natural Son, God the Word, to whom this title is applied.²⁶ For the same reason, "Christ" is a title of the homo assumptus and also of God the Word: "Christ Our

Lord ... is God the Word, he who assumed, but he is (also) the man who was assumed".²⁷ The position of Nestorius is the same as that of Theodore: "... since these three (Christ, Jesus, Lord) disclose two natures, sometimes one, sometimes the other, sometimes both."²⁸ Many of the Persians seem to have favoured the title "Christ" for the one prosopon; possibly Philoxenus was aware of this and had it in mind when he attacked "the heretics who confess Jesus [sic] to be God and man". The catholicos George I, writing in 680, declared: "What do we say that Christ is? The man anointed by the divinity and the divinity which anointed the manhood."²⁹ And the assembly of 612 A.D. proclaimed: "If under the name of Christ one understands his divinity and humanity together, he who calls the virgin Mother of Christ destroys and abolishes with one confession all impieties."³⁰ A clear exposition of the appropriate names is given by Babai. For him "Jesus" is the name of the homo assumptus, to whom the title of Christ also properly pertains in virtue of his anointing by the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, because the anointing produced the union, this title also serves to designate the prosopon of the union.³¹

Mention has been made above of the fact that Philoxenus attributes to Theodore the view that "Son of the living God" in the confession of Peter refers to God the Word. The exegesis of this passage is not among the fragments preserved from the commentaries of Theodore on the synoptic gospels, but he does discuss it in the first book of the De Incarnatione, in a passage included among the extracts condemned by the Fifth Council in 553.³² It bears no relation to the dualistic interpretation alleged by Philoxenus. According to Theodore in this passage, Peter, like Nathaniel and Martha, referred the title to a man honoured by God, while after the resurrection he was led by the Spirit into the knowledge that this man bore the title, in a manner different from other righteous men, "per unitatem ad Deum Verbum". Despite the objections which have been

made to the use of the extracts condemned by the Council in recovering the authentic teaching of Theodore,³³ there are no grounds for doubting the authenticity of the significant factor in this extract for our purposes here: Theodore related the title "Son of God" to the homo assumptus, which title he held not merely as with other men on account of his familiarity with God, but especially by his union with God the Word. The sharp division of the reference of the titles "Christ" and "Son of God" alleged by Philoxenus is lacking.³⁴ One may note that in his commentary on the Lucan parallel, Cyril attributes to the "mistaken innovators" the view that the title "Christ", like "Son", applies only to the Word³⁵—the reverse of the allegation of Philoxenus!

Theodore's interpretation of the other biblical passage which serves Philoxenus as a starting point for his criticism of Antiochene Christology, Lk.2,52, has also been preserved.³⁶ It contains no surprises. Theodore declares that not even the Apollinarians "are so rash as to say in their stupidity that the divinity grew in wisdom"³⁷ and clearly predicates the growth of the homo assumptus, who surpassed all other men "to the extent to which God, who united him to himself in his formation, supplied ... the greater part from himself".³⁸ Diodore too is explicit in his denial of the fact that God the Word grew, but surprisingly predicates the growth not of the man, but of the flesh.³⁹

The distortion of the Christological nomenclature of the Antiochenes by Philoxenus reflects an incomprehension or denigration of their whole Christology and it must be said of the present work that having erected a caricature of the Antiochene theology it simply sets over against it the formula, "God became man without change." While it should not be forgotten that by this time Diodore and Theodore were for the most part read only in florilegia which presented a grossly distorted version of their teaching,⁴⁰ Philoxenus claimed to have read their books more thoroughly than had their disciples.⁴¹ He does indeed on occasion show

himself to be familiar with aspects of the Antiochene theology. He correctly represents Nestorius as teaching that in the union the two natures possessed one strength, one will, one wisdom and one authority⁴² and is aware that Theodore teaches that Christian adoption puts men into a relationship with the Trinity and the divine nature.⁴³ He seems, furthermore, to appreciate that "the heretic" (doubtless Theodore) locates the act of adoption in baptism.⁴⁴ But his polemic manifestly fails to engage the genuine Antiochene theology which is hardly recognisable through his representation of it. For example, he attacks Theodore for teaching that men become sons of the divine nature and obliterating the hypostases of the Trinity and assimilating the adoption of Christians to that of the Jews.⁴⁵ But Theodore teaches that the three hypostases of the Trinity participate in the divine nature and for this reason the homo assumptus and men have, through the Logos, the natural Son, community (*κδνδω*) with the divine nature.⁴⁶ He teaches that men have a share in the divine nature, not that they become sons of it, that men do become sons of the hypostasis of the Father who begat one natural Son through whom alone men become adopted sons,⁴⁷ and far from assimilating Christian adoption to that of the Jews presents the latter as a type of the former, which is in turn a type of the full sonship of heaven.⁴⁸ The polemical reduction of Theodore's teaching to Judaism is so evident and malicious that one is obliged to consider the possibility that it starts not from an imperfect idea about Theodore's doctrine of the participation of men in the divine nature, to which reference has been made above, but simply from an assimilation of Antiochene theology to Judaism because the economy of assumption is held to be that of the Old Testament.⁴⁹ When Philoxenus writes against Nestorius and endeavours to show the absurdity of the conception of the one prosopon of God and man in wisdom, will, dignity and power,⁵⁰ he assumes that Nestorius is speaking of a union which destroys the idiomata, or natural prosopon, of each nature -- in this case the

idiomata are wisdom, power and authority (cf. Lk.2,52). This, of course, is what Nestorius is most concerned to avoid. By the unity of prosopon he means that each natural prosopon becomes the prosopon of the other nature and explains this in the Liber Heraclidis by the concepts of the mutual compensation and perichoresis of the prosopa.⁵¹ It is this fact, that Philoxenus ascribes to Nestorius a "confusion of prosopa", that makes this polemical section so irrelevant. He caricatures the Antiochene theology in turn for taking Jesus to be a mere man — a charge they rejected on the grounds of his conjunction with the Logos at his conception⁵² — and teaching a nominal association of God and man. Thus with the Cyrillian tradition he fails to do justice to the fact that the Antiochenes at least attempted to speak of a real union; when Theodore speaks of the association (κτάνδρα) of God and man, he means to express a reality,⁵³ not something nominal (κταη).⁵⁴ Thus Philoxenus can bracket them with Manicheans and Eutychians in denying the reality of the incarnation⁵⁵ and assert against them that "the association which you preach did not happen, but Christ, the power and wisdom of God, emptied himself by the will of the Father and became without change weak man".⁵⁶ He develops the positive aspects of this formula, the very core of his Christology, more fully in the context of his attack upon the Eutychians.

On this, the other front of his Christological controversy, that against the "extreme" or "real" Monophysites, it is again unwise to assume without question that the views attributed by Philoxenus to his opponents were indeed upheld by them. It is beyond doubt that the Monophysite opponents of Chalcedon did not form a single party and that there existed together with the group comprising Severus, Philoxenus, Timothy Aelurus, etc., a more extreme faction known under the name of Eutychians. The "moderate" Monophysites clearly regarded this other faction as a significant threat and were at pains to dissociate themselves from their doctrine. Philoxenus, Severus, Timothy Aelurus and Dioscorus all take issue with

this teaching which they associate with Eutyches.⁵⁷ In the period preceding and immediately subsequent to the Council of Chalcedon, the accusation levelled against the Eutychians was that they denied the consubstantiality of Christ with men⁵⁸ and in this respect they were correctly linked with Eutyches, who had denied that "the body of our Lord and God" was "homoousios with us".⁵⁹ From this the conclusion was drawn, by diphysites and "verbal" Monophysites alike, that the reality of the incarnation and of the body of Christ was here being denied and that the body of Christ was, according to the Eutychian teaching, a mere image or appearance.⁶⁰ Thus the Eutychians were assimilated to the Gnostics, Apollinarians and Manicheans and called Phantasiastae, and it was this accusation of docetism which was most commonly levelled at them by the time of Philoxenus.⁶¹ He declares there to be three forms of Eutychianism: that which affirms the Word to have brought down his body from heaven, as Bardesanes taught; that which says that Christ appeared as an image, as Mani and Marcion contended; and that which maintains that he became incarnate by a change of nature.⁶²

Since we know the teaching of the Eutychians only from the writings of their opponents, it is difficult to test the justice of the allegations against them. The charge of docetism levelled at all of them no doubt rests in the first place on a polemical inference: if the body of Christ is not consubstantial with us and did not come to him from Mary, through whom it only passed as through a channel, then it can only be an appearance and not a genuine body.⁶³ Nevertheless, while some of them appear to have argued that the body of Christ was created out of the Word itself, owing nothing to Mary, by a process analogous to condensation, solidification or human generation "which assumed nothing from the woman",⁶⁴ others taught that the humanity of Christ was purely an external form of the Word. The Eutychians with whom Timothy Aelurus found himself in controversy at Constantinople were clearly of this variety, likening the incarnation to

the imprint of a seal in wax.⁶⁵

It is doubtless against those of a persuasion similar to this that the commentary on Lk. 3, 22 is written.⁶⁶ They are clearly within the ranks of the Monophysites: "Because Eutychians, Marcionites, Valentinians and Manicheans hold his (Simon Magus') view about Christ, it is right that they should be regarded like him, especially those who are near us and with us and are reckoned to be sons of the church and disciples of the faith."⁶⁷ Philoxenus levels against them the usual charges of denying the reality of the humanity of Christ and believing his body to be a phantom and likeness (*κἀνάμα*) as opposed to a reality (*κἀνθρώπος*), but in addition he gives us what appears to be the teaching of the "heretics" — not what he attributes to them — in asking, "How can the corporality of Christ be compared with the likeness of the dove in which the Spirit appeared?"⁶⁸ and reporting, "You compare the embodying of the Word with the likeness of the dove in which the Spirit appeared, and you have handed down in writing that just as the hypostasis of the Spirit appeared in the likeness of a dove, so the Son appeared in the likeness of a man."⁶⁹ If the assumption is made that the "heretics" did not understand "likeness" in the sense of a phantom or image and thus did not oppose it to "reality", then this statement of Philoxenus concerning their teaching becomes quite credible, for it testifies not to an "unbelievably crude docetism",⁷⁰ but to a view of the incarnation similar to that encountered by Timothy Aelurus (cf. above), namely, that the humanity of Christ, although real, was external to the Word, like the imprint to a seal. Against this doctrine the charge of failing to do justice to "the Word became flesh" is doubtless quite legitimate.

These passages of the commentary bear a striking resemblance to a report in the Byzantine historian John Diacrinomenos⁷¹ according to which Philoxenus forbade the use of eucharistic doves on the grounds that it is inappropriate to represent the Spirit by a dove, since the gospel declares

not that the Spirit became a dove, but merely appeared in its likeness. The contrast between "appearance" and "becoming" is the central argument in both, but one cannot assume that it was the Eutychians who employed the eucharistic doves, nor that their employment is connected in any way with the Eutychian doctrine of the incarnation encountered in the commentary.⁷²

In the eyes of Philoxenus the fundamental error of both parties, "Nestorians" and Eutychians, was the same: the denial of the incarnation, that God the Word truly became without change man of Mary, who is consequently Theotokos. "For you (Eutychians) ... agree with him (Nestorius), for you do not first confess that God truly became man, by which also the birth would be established";⁷³ "if God did not truly become man but only assumed a likeness ... or if he assumed a man who came into being without intercourse and did not himself truly become man, ... the virgin cannot be called 'Mother of God'. This very thing is said by both heretics."⁷⁴ In so bringing the "heresies" of Nestorius and Eutyches together and opposing them by affirming the reality of the incarnation and the legitimacy of the title Theotokos for Mary, Philoxenus is merely following a common tradition.⁷⁵ Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the theology of Philoxenus is the emphasis he places upon the "becoming" and birth of the Word: "This very thing (cf. above) is said by both heretics about the beginning of the economy and it is clear that the same (applies) to the rest (of it). For if the birth is a likeness, so also are the needs and passions of our Saviour a likeness and he did not really fast or hunger, become weary or rest, lie down or sleep, suffer or die as the Scriptures teach, but all these are connected to the way in which he was born of the virgin."⁷⁶

Against the Eutychians he opposes a "likeness" to a reality,⁷⁷ seeing in the appearance of the Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove to John a momentary, individual and revelatory vision of the same character as the

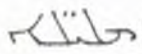
appearances of angels and the theophanies of the Old Testament.⁷⁸ He points to Jn.1,14, "the Word became flesh", which, referring as it does "to the genuine nature", excludes the idea of a likeness or the act of "becoming like",⁷⁹ but has to counter the use of the expression "likeness of a servant" (Phil.2,7) by effectively admitting that in this instance "likeness" is to be interpreted as "nature", because in the preceding verse Christ is declared to be "in the likeness of God".⁸⁰ He stresses the existence of Christ's soul (*ψυχή*),⁸¹ which implies a genuine body,⁸² and asserts that his "needs and passions" exceeded in intensity those of any other man, "lest his corporality be thought to be imaginary because of his divinity, his passions an illusion and his needs a likeness because of the majesty of his being".⁸³ Against both Eutychians and Antiochenes — the implication of whose doctrine is supposed to be that the adoption of Christians as sons of God is, like that of the Jews, in name only — he proclaims the dependence of the reality of the blessings of salvation upon the reality of the "becoming" of the Word, using the "classical Alexandrian" argument that "the Son of God became man that men might become sons of God".⁸⁴ The genuine corporality of the Word is assured above all by his birth of Mary.⁸⁵

Against the Antiochenes he affirms that faith accepts that "he became" does not imply that he was changed;⁸⁶ that Mary gave birth to the Word, not the temple of the Word, a man who came into being without intercourse;⁸⁷ that Jesus is the natural Son;⁸⁸ that "God and man" in the writings of the fathers means not "one and another" but that he became man without ceasing to be God;⁸⁹ and that, instead of asking "how it was possible for God, who is perfect and complete in his Being, to grow," Christians believe it because it is written and can be affirmed of him when his "becoming" is accepted.⁹⁰ This, however, does not completely explain his growth in wisdom, for that includes an element "from above",⁹¹ in growing, Christ, the wisdom of God, gathered to himself the wisdom

mixed into the works at their creation.⁹² Thus almost insensibly Philoxenus moves into the conceptual world of Origenism, or more precisely, "Evagrianism".

The deep influence which the teaching of Evagrius of Pontus exercised upon Philoxenus has long been recognised.⁹³ More recently, however, his attitude towards Evagrianism and his part in its dissemination among the Syrians have assumed greater significance in connection with the new insights gained into the history of the Syriac versions of the major doctrinal work of Evagrius, the "Kephalaia Gnostica". Guillaumont has shown⁹⁴ that the version discovered by him and published for the first time,⁹⁵ which has been preserved in only one manuscript, Add.17,167 of the British Museum, and designated by him "integral version" or S₂, preserves the authentic text of the "Kephalaia Gnostica" and contains precisely those features which were responsible for the anathematisation of Evagrius at the fifth ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553. The other Syriac version, preserved in several Syriac manuscripts and in the Armenian translation and called by Guillaumont "common version" or S₁, represents a drastic revision of the text of Evagrius designed to eliminate some of the characteristic elements and modify others. It was this "common version" rather than the "integral version", both of which were made from the Greek text although the latter borrowed extensively from the former, which achieved wide circulation among the Syrians and made it possible for them, both Monophysites and Nestorians, to venerate Evagrius while condemning Origen, the principal source of the teaching of the authentic Evagrius.⁹⁶ Philoxenus is the first witness to the "common version" and it has even been suggested that he may have been its author.⁹⁷ The present work reveals with particular clarity the close relationship between the cosmology and spirituality of Philoxenus and the "Syrian Evagrianism" of S₁; a brief summary of the doctrines of Evagrius and the

modifications introduced by the author of S_1 will allow this to be made clear.

In the system of Evagrius,⁹⁸ God created a unity of rational beings (logikoi, ) in order that as pure, bodiless intellects, equal among themselves, they might know him. On account, however, of their negligence in the contemplation of the "essential knowledge", i.e. the knowledge of God, there resulted a "movement" by which they not only lost their unity with God and the essential knowledge but also disrupted their own unity and became different among themselves. In proportion to their negligence and consequent ignorance of God they fell away from him. But he, wishing to restore them to their original state, created for this purpose bodies and gave to each fallen intellect, which had become a soul, a body appropriate to the measure of its fall. This second creation is that related by Genesis and comprises the bodies of angels, men and demons, all of which were originally pure intellects but became differentiated according to the degree of their fall and were placed in a world and a body designed for their state of ignorance. Thus there arose a multiplicity of worlds and types of bodies, demons being those intellects which had fallen farthest and having in consequence the "heaviest" bodies, angels those who had fallen least and possessing the "lightest" bodies. The bodies have a didactic and salvific purpose, for they are the means by which the fallen intellect may receive the knowledge or contemplation appropriate to its state. To each state there is a corresponding contemplation and the salvation of the intellect is accomplished by its passage from one body and contemplation to the next until it regains the essential knowledge.

In the process of redemption Christ plays an indispensable role. He is the creator of the secondary beings, i.e. the bodies and the worlds, and has placed in these created works his "manifold wisdom", which is the object of the contemplation appropriate to men. In addition he has himself

taken a body and revealed to the logikoi the means of redemption. When all they have achieved the angelic state, characterised by the spiritual body, the reign of Christ begins, ending however when they return to their original condition of pure intellects possessing the essential knowledge, for Christ himself is an intellect who never lost that knowledge. Thus they become his equals, sharing with him in the essential knowledge, both he and they being subjected to the Father (1 Cor.15,28).⁹⁹ All matter and bodies are destroyed and all intellects united, as at the beginning, in the knowledge of God.

The ascetic teaching of Evagrius is integrated into this metaphysical scheme. Man is a fallen intellect provided with a body that he might obtain that knowledge appropriate to his condition which will enable him to ascend to the angelic state. This he does by fulfilling the πρακτικῆ, the set of virtues to which he must attain for the realisation of impassibility. The πρακτικῆ begins with faith and involves the conquest not merely of the passions but also the thoughts (λογισμοί) and memories which, set in motion in the mind by demons, excite the passions. Impassibility leads to love and love to knowledge, first of the visible, then of the invisible natures and finally of the Trinity. The first is that appropriate to man, the second to the angels and the third to the pure intellects.

The author of the "common" Syriac version has removed and transformed some key elements in the cosmology of Evagrius¹⁰⁰ with the result that much in the "Syriac Evagrius" is unclear in itself and comprehensible only against the background of the original. He has removed the foundation of the whole system, namely, the concept of the two creations, that of the intellects and that of the bodies, separated by the "negligence" and "movement" of the intellects, and replaced it by that of a single creation of corporeal and incorporeal beings, identifying the "movement" with the sin of Adam. He has abolished the idea of the multiplicity of

worlds and bodies through which the intellects pass. The presupposition and implication of this idea, that angels, men and demons differ from each other only in the degree of their fall and that in the process of redemption one is changed into another, have been suppressed. The ascent of the intellect through the worlds has been reinterpreted as the mystical ascent of the soul¹⁰¹ and the "resurrection" from one body to another referred to a single resurrection in which men do not become, but become like, angels (Mk.12,25). The "two-period" eschatology and the apocatastasis are replaced by an insistence upon a "single-period" eschatology and the diverse fates of the good and the evil, and all mention of the destruction of the body is excised.

This is the doctrine which Philoxenus either read in, or wrote into, the "common" Syriac version of the "Kephalaia Gnostica" and which is the basis of a large part of the present work. In the long sections devoted to the baptism of Jesus (Mt.3,1-16)¹⁰² and his growth in wisdom (Lk.2,51-52),¹⁰³ the agreement between Philoxenus and the "Syrian Evagrius" can be seen to extend into fine detail. The name of Evagrius is nowhere mentioned, but the doctrine is said to be that "of the Fathers", an expression frequently employed by the author of S₁.¹⁰⁴

The importance given to knowledge and wisdom in the present work takes us directly into the world of the "Kephalaia Gnostica". Philoxenus follows Evagrius in attributing to the pure mind the capacity of direct apprehension of spiritual realities: "For that is its (the mind's) nature, when purified ... directly, without the mediation of bodies, to find spiritual things."¹⁰⁵ He repeatedly describes bodies as letters designed to teach men wisdom: "... in place of letters bodies have been appointed for rational beings that they might receive through them the knowledge of God";¹⁰⁶ "bodies are letters in which the knowledge of the truth was planted."¹⁰⁷ Yet, as in the "Syrian Evagrius", there is no double creation of primary and secondary beings, i.e. minds and bodies, and no

suggestion that the creation of the latter was designed to compensate for the fall of the former. On the contrary, God, "because he willed to make not only rational spiritual beings but also man, who is composed of soul and body, put wisdom in bodies for his instruction".¹⁰⁸ Neither in Philoxenus is there to be found the concept of the passage of the intellect through a multiplicity of worlds and bodies, but in common with the "Syrian Evagrius" he adopts the division of the contemplations, originally related to the multiplicity of worlds, into three: that appropriate to men, of which the object is the "manifold wisdom" of God placed in the created works, that appropriate to angels and that appropriate to the purified intellects, namely, "essential knowledge" or knowledge of the Trinity. The first he calls "the knowledge of the truth, which is what the Creator planted in bodies when he made them"; the second "spiritual knowledge, which is superior to bodies and interior to composition, (which) all angels exist by and see"; the third "essential, i.e. of the Holy Trinity, ... (of which) all rational beings who have been purified here are worthy in the world to come".¹⁰⁹ In his commentary on John he declares Adam before the fall to have been in possession of the first of these contemplations but to have lost it by his sin.¹¹⁰ This is in accord with the "Syrian Evagrius", in which the "movement" of the intellect is reinterpreted of the fall of Adam subsequent to the single creation of souls and bodies. The incarnation of the Word gives to men for the first time the possibility of having the two higher contemplations.¹¹¹

The eschatology of Philoxenus is in agreement with that of S₁. As in the original doctrine of Evagrius, the rational beings attain in purity of mind to the essential knowledge, the knowledge of the Trinity, and the advent of the kingdom marks the dissolution of composition: "when (desires and evil and error) have been removed, there is therefore nothing to prevent the mind from being fully in God and 'God will be all

in all' will be fulfilled in reality";¹¹² "but when the time of instruction and learning is ended and that of inheritance and kingdom is revealed, wisdom will be gathered into its place and will not be destroyed nor perish with the dissolution of composite things."¹¹³ But in accord with the "Syrian Evagrius" he reacts against the idea of the destruction of bodies: "Nevertheless, the bodies in which this knowledge is mixed are not destroyed as letters are erased when the knowledge contained in them has been absorbed, but they too are renewed ... as indeed none of the works of God will perish : [Eph.1,10]".¹¹⁴ Philoxenus is also careful to insist upon the diverse fates of the good and evil: "Thus body and soul, along with the rest of the spiritual orders, will ... be renewed, while error and evil and the demons ... destroyed."¹¹⁵ And in conformity with S₁ he has no concept of a "two-period" eschatology: "'Christ is all and in all' (Col.3,11) — for this is like 'God is all in all' (1 Cor.15, 28)."¹¹⁶ But an important difference between the author of the "common version" and Philoxenus emerges here. The former adapts Evagrius' citation of 1 Cor.15,28 in order to eliminate the subordination of the Son to the Father,¹¹⁷ but Philoxenus cites the verse correctly and indeed stresses the subjection of the Son to the Father.¹¹⁸ While Evagrius himself avoids the charge of subordinationism by positing a sharp distinction between Christ and the Word,¹¹⁹ and Marcellus of Ancyra by relating the subjection of Christ to his humanity, the Church, and ^{teaching} the absorption of the Word into the Father,¹²⁰ Philoxenus, following neither the author of S₁, Evagrius or Marcellus but accepting the verse in full and interpreting it as the subjection of the Word to the Father, leaves himself open to this charge.¹²¹

Like the "Syrian Evagrius", Philoxenus shares the view that men when purified become like angels: "they who take off their passions are like the spiritual powers."¹²² The doctrine of the authentic Evagrius and of Philoxenus are quite different in this respect. For the former,

angels are intellects with a more subtle body than that of men and men must become angels on their journey back to the essential knowledge. For Philoxenus, angels are "bodiless beings instructed in (the wisdom of God) without the mediation of bodies"¹²³ and God created both "rational spiritual beings and also man, who is composed of soul and body".¹²⁴ Thus both "holy angels ... and righteous men after they arise from death ... enter into the renewal",¹²⁵ which is the teaching of S₁ on the resurrection. The spiritual knowledge which angels contemplate becomes the possession of the purified man and both good angels and purified men will in the world to come receive the knowledge of the Trinity. What remains unclear in Philoxenus and the "Syrian Evagrius" is the reason for the creation of corporeal beings and the function of their bodies in the future world.¹²⁶

The object of the contemplation appropriate to man, Evagrius' "second natural contemplation" and Philoxenus' "knowledge of the truth", is in each case the "manifold wisdom" of God planted in bodies: "... no man knows how many variations, distinctions, degrees, levels and varieties of perception there are in the divine instruction and the wisdom which was placed in the embodied natures";¹²⁷ "... the knowledge of the truth, which is what the Creator planted in bodies when he made them".¹²⁸ In this context the soteriological role of the incarnate Christ is that of the doctor and teacher who reveals to the rational beings the way to knowledge by instructing them in the "manifold wisdom" of God. This idea is found in the authentic Evagrius but is even more prominent in the "Syrian Evagrius".¹²⁹ It is taken up by Philoxenus and forms the basis of his exegesis of Lk.2,42-46: by manifesting his wisdom at the age of twelve, Jesus shows that from this age men can begin to receive the divine wisdom which he transmits to them.¹³⁰

Finally, the influence of the ascetic teaching of Evagrius upon Philoxenus is repeatedly evident. He affirms that the *πρακτικῆ* begins

with faith and requires obedience to the commandments and conflict against the thoughts and passions and the memories of them stirred up by the demons, while it ends in impassibility, the fruit of which is love leading to knowledge: "The legitimate way which leads to true knowledge is this: that a man first believes and is baptised; and after baptism he begins to keep the commandments ... But the commandments are kept when a man conquers every desire which stirs either in the body or in the soul or is planted in the mind by demons. When desires and the thoughts of them have been conquered, the victor takes off the old man with his deeds, as Paul said, and puts on the new man who is renewed in knowledge according to the image of his creator and becomes the new and spiritual man ... who exists in an impassibility which is not only unconquered by passions but also undisturbed by the memory of them. Thereafter, as those who know the mystery of the act say, he attains to love ... And when he has taken into himself once again the likeness of his archetype ... as the image of God he comes openly upon the knowledge of everything that is."¹³¹ Philoxenus also takes over from Evagrius the distinction between knowledge gained by study and the spiritual knowledge of natures: "for it is of our own will that we believe in things which are incomprehensible and of our own effort that we gain knowledge by instruction and training, but the grace of God gives us to perceive spiritual things interior to word and thought, sometimes freely as with the apostles and sometimes after the purification of the mind which is gained by victory over the passions."¹³² The emphasis on the grace of God is reminiscent of the author of S₁.¹³³

The Evagrianism of Philoxenus as it has been thus far presented appears completely unrelated to the Monophysite Christology and associated "physical" soteriology which he championed. The soteriological role of Christ has so far been confined to that of a revealer of wisdom.¹³⁴ Yet

however great the tension between the two great elements in his thinking may appear to be, he moulds them into a synthesis which brings his doctrine of contemplation within the sphere of his "physical" soteriology. This can be seen most clearly in his doctrine of baptism. For Evagrius, faith is the first of the virtues which must be fulfilled in order to complete the *πρακτικῆ*; for Philoxenus too, "the legitimate way which leads to true knowledge is this: that a man first believes and is baptised; and after baptism he begins to keep the commandments."¹³⁵ But the rebirth effected in baptism is for him the decisive event which gives to men the possibility of knowledge: "... just as the natural babe cannot see this world or anything in it as long as it is in the womb, so neither can the mind which is confined in the old man perceive the power of the world to come or any of these knowledges which have been mentioned unless first the man is born of baptism, grows in those things which befit the status of his birth, is preserved from the damages of passion and sin ... and continues, when he has gained a pure mind, receiving, according to the measure of his growth in that stature, the knowledges and perceptions of that world ..." ¹³⁶ It is the "illusions of forms and compositions" which prevent the mind from seeing the knowledge of the truth, evil that of the spirit and error that of the Trinity,¹³⁷ but in baptism "composition is transformed through the renewal from the Holy Spirit but evil and error are completely destroyed and perish through the power of the same Spirit".¹³⁸

The baptism of Christ is the type of the eschatological fulfilment¹³⁹ and in the baptism of a man the wheat (the new man) is already, prior to the end, separated from the chaff (the old man).¹⁴⁰ Because the Son of God became man and was baptised, in baptism men are reborn as sons of God.¹⁴¹ The noetic aspect of salvation, therefore, depends upon the "physical"; knowledge comes to the new man "by nature", through his incorporation into Christ.¹⁴²

Notes to Introduction §II

1. An attempt has been made here to avoid designating the theology of Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius, which by the time of Philoxenus had become largely confined to the eastern borders of the Roman Empire and the church of the Persian Empire, as "Nestorian", except when it is clearly being so described from a Monophysite standpoint. This Christology is better described as "Antiochene" or "Theodorian". The Persian church only became "Nestorian" in the sense that it proclaimed two hypostases in Christ — which is perhaps the most satisfactory definition of Nestorianism from the point of view of the history of doctrine — early in the seventh century, perhaps under the influence of Babai. Cf. W. de Vries, *Die syrisch-nestorianische Haltung zu Chalkedon*, in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (editors), Das Konzil von Chalkedon, I (Würzburg, 1951), p. 614.
2. Cf. e.g. G. Krüger, *Monophysiten*, Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 13 (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 398-401.
3. They have also been called "nominal Monophysites", since they differed from the Chalcedonians in the last analysis only in the meaning they gave to the word physis, which they took to be identical with hypostasis. Cf. J. Lebon, Le Monophysisme Sévérien (Louvain, 1909), pp. xxii-xxiv, 508-511.
4. Also called "real Monophysites", for they denied the permanence of two distinct realities (physeis in the sense of the Chalcedonians) after the incarnation. Cf. *ibid.*
5. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 331-333.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 330.
7. Translation, p. 120.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
9. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 330.

10. Ibid., note 2
11. Cf. e.g. A. De Halleux, Philoxène de Mabbog, Lettre aux Moines de Senoun, CSCO 232 - Syr. 99 (Louvain, 1963), pp. 12-13.
12. Translation. p. 125.
13. Ibid., pp. 126f.
14. Thus they belonged to the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire or to Persia. The same may be said of the addressee of the "Volume against Habib". Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 228-237.
15. Cf. above, pp. 4f.
16. Translation, pp. 120-129.
17. Ibid., p. 95.
18. Cf. F.A. Sullivan, The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia (Rome, 1956), pp. 221-223.
19. R.M. Tonneau, Les Homélie Catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste (Vatican, 1949), p. 57, 17 f.
20. Ibid., p. 129, 28 f.
21. K. Staab, Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche (Münster, 1933), pp. 204, 37,- 205, 1. Translation cited according to Sullivan, Christology, p. 223.
22. Tonneau, Homélie, p. 59, 21 f.
23. Ibid., p. 175, 16.
24. E. Sachau, Theodori Mopsuesteni Fragmenta Syriaca (Leipzig, 1869), p. 39, 8 f.
25. Cf. Sullivan, Christology, pp. 265-271.
26. Ibid., pp. 272-276.
27. Tonneau, Homélie, p. 187, 6-10. Cf. Sullivan, Christology, pp. 279 f.
28. F. Loofs, Nestoriana (Halle, 1905), pp. 273, 18-274, 4. Similarly ibid., p. 269, 14-20.
29. J.B. Chabot, Synodicon Orientale (Paris, 1902), p. 500, 17 f.
30. Ibid., p. 589, 6-8.

31. Cf. V. Grumel, Un Théologien Nestorien, Babai le Grand, Échos d'Orient, 22 (1923), pp. 265 f.
32. ACO, IV, I, pp. 54 f.; H.B. Swete, Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii, II (Cambridge, 1882), p. 291, 1-12.
33. Cf. R. Devreesse, Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste (Vatican, 1948), pp. 243-258.
34. With Theodore's interpretation of the confession of Peter may be compared that of the confession of Nathaniel, for which we possess both conciliar extracts and the commentary on John. The falsifications in the former claimed by Devreesse (Essai, pp. 248-251) extend only to the ground on which, and the manner in which, the homo assumptus bore the title "Son of God". These objections cannot be made against the extract on Peter's confession. According to Devreesse, the compilers of the extracts intended to convey the impression that in the opinion of Theodore "the man" bore the title "Son of God" in the same manner as the righteous. Sullivan (Christology, pp. 110-112) notes that they have achieved this goal by the omission of some sentences of Theodore which make clear that Nathaniel's conception of Christ was inadequate. The extract on Peter's confession has not suffered this treatment; that the homo assumptus bore the title in a unique sense on account of his conjunction with the Logos is the authentic teaching of Theodore, cf. Devreesse, Essai, p. 251, note 2. Devreesse does not appear to doubt the authenticity of this extract, cf. *ibid.*, p. 248.
35. Cf. R. Payne Smith, A Commentary upon the Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria (Oxford, 1859), pp. 216-218.
36. Two passages: PG, 66, col. 980 = Swete, Theodori, II, pp. 297 f.; Sachau, Theodori, pp. 36-38.
37. Sachau, Theodori, p. 38.
38. PG, 66, col. 980 = Swete, Theodori, II, p. 298.
39. Cf. A. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition (London, 1965), pp.

- 264 f., who observes the "un-Antiochene" character of this statement and the presence of the Logos-sarx mode of thinking.
40. Cf. C. Moeller, *Le Chalcoëdonisme et le Néo-Chalcedonisme en Orient de 451 à la Fin du VI^e Siècle*, in Grillmeier and Bacht, *Chalkedon*, I, p. 643.
41. Cf. De Halleux, *Philoxène*, p. 29.
42. Translation, p. 125. Cf. Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 196, 15-17, p. 224, 12-15, etc.
43. Translation, pp. 120 f. Cf. Tonneau, *Homélies*, p. 243, 2-4, and L. Abramowski, *Zur Theologie Theodors von Mopsuestia*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 72 (1961), pp. 284 f.
44. Translation, pp. 123 f. Cf. Abramowski, *Zur Theologie*, pp. 281-283, [292f.]
45. Translation, pp. 120f.
46. Cf. Abramowski, *Zur Theologie*, pp. 284 f.
47. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 286.
48. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 270.
49. Cf. De Halleux, *Philoxène*, p. 358, note 26.
50. Translation, pp. 125-127.
51. Cf. A. Grillmeier, *Christ*, pp. 385 f., 441-445.
52. Philoxenus asks the Antiochenes whether the association of God and man in Christ occurred at conception, birth, twelve years of age, baptism, resurrection or ascension (Translation, pp. 126 f.). For Theodore, the conjunction took place at conception, the full adoption of the *homo assumptus* at baptism. Cf. Abramowski, *Zur Theologie*, p. 287.
53. Cf. Abramowski, *Zur Theologie*, pp. 274-276, 283 f.
54. Translation, p. 125.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 140 - 142.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
57. Cf. J. Lebon, *Monophysisme*, pp. 489-492.
58. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 492.
59. ACO, II, 1, I, p. 142, 516.

60. Cf. R.V. Sellers, The Council of Chalcedon (London, 1953), pp. 233 f.
61. Cf. Lebon, Monophysisme, pp. 492-494.
62. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 364, note 5.
63. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 364.
64. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 244, note 33; Lebon, Monophysisme, pp. 494-496.
65. Cf. Lebon, Monophysisme, p. 496.
66. Translation, pp. 132-142.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 134
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
70. Cf. Sellers, Chalcedon, p. 283, note 4, writing about the doctrine condemned in the Encyclical of Basiliscus.
71. Mansi, 13, 180 E-181 B. The similarity was recognised by De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 88-90, who also traced the tradition subsequent to John Diacrinomenos.
72. De Halleux, *ibid.*, suspects that the use of doves was derived from the old pagan cult of Atargatis, or at least was thought to be so by Philoxenus. The dove was the sacred bird of Atargatis.
73. Translation, p. 137.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
75. Leo, for example, argues in the same way. Cf. Sellers, Chalcedon, pp. 233-235. The assimilation of "Nestorianism" and Eutychianism is frequently found in Philoxenus. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 370, note 27.
76. Translation, pp. 141 f.
77. For Philoxenus these two may be opposed because the former does not correspond to the true nature of the being which appears. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 366-368. It is because he holds that an external manifestation of a being, i.e. one distinct from its true nature, can only be a phantom that he can assimilate Eutychianism to docetism. Cf.

- ibid., p. 368. One cannot assume, however, that the Eutychians either habitually spoke of Christ appearing in the likeness of a man or, if and when they did, excluded the idea of reality. Often they may simply have been using biblical language (Lk.3,22; Phil.2,7; cf. Translation, p. 142.) without implying the thought of an apparition.
78. Translation, pp. 134-138.
79. Ibid., pp. 139 f.
80. Ibid., p. 142.
81. Ibid., pp. 132 f.
82. Ibid., p. 136.
83. Ibid., pp. 133 f. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 471 f.
84. Translation, pp. 121 f., 134 f., 138. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 415-419.
85. Translation, pp. 136 f., 138 f., 141 f. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 368.
86. Translation, pp. 140 f. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 339-341.
87. Translation, pp. 127, 137.
88. Ibid., pp. 120 f.
89. Ibid., pp. 124 f. This argument is derived from "classical Alexandrian" theology. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 341-343.
90. Translation, pp. 128, 124.
91. Ibid., p. 129.
92. Ibid., p. 132.
93. Cf. I. Hausherr, Contemplation et Sainteté. Une Remarquable Mise au Point par Philoxène de Mabboug, Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, 14 (1933), pp. 171-195.
94. A. Guillaumont, Les 'Képhalaia Gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique (Paris, 1962), pp. 22-43, 124-170.
95. Idem., Les Six Centuries des "Képhalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique PO, 28, 1 (Paris, 1958).

96. Philoxenus joined in the condemnation of Origen. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, pp. 304-306.
97. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 207-213. As presented by Guillaumont, the decision turns on (i) the authenticity of the "Letter on the three degrees of the monastic life," cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 269-274; (ii) whether the Κατὰ which the author of this letter declares to have made of the Chapters of Evagrius is interpreted as a translation or commentary. I would add, however, that attention must also be paid to any differences there may be between Philoxenus and the author of S₁; I have noted one quite significant difference in the present work, cf. below, p. 27.
98. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, pp. 37-39, 103-119, 151-156.
99. Evagrius avoids the charge of subordinationism by making a sharp distinction between Christ and the Son, or Word, of God. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 117-119, 151-156, and below, p. 27.
100. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, pp. 231-258.
101. This becomes particularly clear in Babai's commentary on the "Kephalaia Gnostica". Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 276-278.
102. Translation, pp. 79-91.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-132.
104. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, p. 255.
105. Translation, p. 130.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 87f.
110. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 443.
111. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 441, note 46.
112. Translation, p. 88.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

115. Ibid., p. 91.
116. Ibid., p. 89.
117. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, p. 237.
118. Translation, pp. 80 f. A difference like this is important in relation to the question of the authorship of S_1 , cf. above, p. 22, note 97.
119. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, pp. 118 f., 152-156. It will be noticed that the subject in both S_1 and S_2 is Christ (cf. Guillaumont, Centuries, VI, 33) and not, as in Paul, the Son. Because the author of S_1 abolished Evagrius' distinction between Christ and the Son (cf. idem., Képhalaia, pp. 233-235), he felt obliged to adapt the citation.
120. Cf. R. Hübner, Gregor von Nyssa und Markell von Ankyra, in M. Harl (editor), Écriture et Culture Philosophique dans la Pensée de Grégoire de Nysse (Leiden, 1971), pp. 210-216. I owe the observation of the contrast with Marcellus to Professor L. Abramowski.
121. As did Ephraem, cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 358, note 26.
122. Translation, p. 131.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid., p. 88.
126. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 427 f.
127. Translation, pp. 93 f.
128. Ibid., pp. 87 f.
129. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, pp. 233 f.
130. Cf. Translation, pp. 115 f. Cf. also ibid., p. 132: "Because the discernment of men did not wish by reading these letters to find their writer and perceive the knowledge in them, God showed it another way by which it might proceed to him ... at the end of the times the wisdom of his nature ... has become flesh"; De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 426, 442, note 63.
131. Translation, pp. 81 f.
132. Ibid., p. 130.

133. Cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, p. 254, and Hausherr, Contemplation, pp. 193 f., where the difference between contemplation and sanctity, which explains the case of the apostles, is shown to rest upon the freedom of God.
134. Cf. above, pp. 26, 28.
135. Translation, p. 81.
136. Ibid., pp. 89f.
137. Ibid., p. 88.
138. Ibid., p. 89.
139. Ibid., p. 84.
140. Ibid., pp. 90f.
141. Ibid., pp. 135, 142-145. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 419 f.
142. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 444 f.

III : BIBLICAL TEXT

The biblical citations in the writings of Philoxenus are of particular interest in view of their relevance to the problems of the Philoxenian version of the Bible. This version has proved to be an elusive object to track down, in both Old and New Testaments. The very existence, indeed, of a Philoxenian Old Testament, or Psalter, has been contested.¹ The testimony of Moses of Aghel² mentions, in addition to the New Testament, only the Psalter and its value is debatable.³ The Old Testament section of the Enaton Bible, the Syro-Hexapla, did not, unlike the Harklean New Testament, depend upon a Philoxenian Vorlage and the witness of Philoxenus himself to a new biblical version found by De Halleux⁴ in the "Commentary on John" refers to a translation only of the New Testament. None of the passages, versions of which have been claimed to have been identified from the Philoxenian Old Testament — Is.9,6f.; 28,3-17; 42,17-49,18; 66,11-23⁵ — is cited in the present work and the problems connected with the alleged Philoxenian Old Testament go far beyond the examination of the Old Testament citations in this commentary. What is clear, however, in the history of the Old Testament text in Syriac is the influence of the Septuagint upon the Peshitta and the progressive assimilation of the Syriac to the Greek Old Testament.⁶ Any versions produced subsequent to the Peshitta would doubtless have shown the influence of the Greek even more strongly.

Leaving aside, therefore, the question of a revised version, it is still of interest to see how far the process of accommodation to the Septuagint had proceeded by the time of Philoxenus in comparison to the state represented in the manuscripts which form the basis of our present editions of the Peshitta, even although such an examination can only be of

limited use since critical editions of the Peshitta for the majority of the books of the Old Testament are lacking.⁷ I have used the editions of the Pentateuch (without critical apparatus) and Psalter by Barnes, that of the Wisdom of Solomon by Emerton, the critical apparatus to Isaiah by Diettrich and elsewhere the edition of the entire Old Testament (without critical apparatus) by Lee.⁸

The results of the comparison of the Old Testament citations in this work with the Peshitta and Septuagint are easily summarised. Sixteen passages outside of the books of Genesis and Isaiah are cited or alluded to and in none of these could any readings of the Septuagint over against the Peshitta be discerned. Among the twenty-six passages from Genesis and seven from Isaiah which appeared to call for examination, however, twelve (thirteen?) and three (four?) showed Septuagintal influence additional to that already present in our text of the Peshitta. These readings, detailed below, show that, at least in the books of Genesis and Isaiah, the Old Testament text used by Philoxenus in the present work represents a later form than that contained in the manuscripts upon which our present Peshitta text is based.

It may be mentioned at this point that the examples of the textual phenomena to which attention is drawn in this section, both those described immediately below and later in connection with the text of the New Testament, are taken from the early (510/1 A.D.) manuscript, Brit. Mus. Add.17, 126, and from the body of later manuscripts. It should also be noted that the citations of Gen. 39,4; 41,37; Is.6,1 are drawn from collections of testimonia referred to at the end of this section.

The readings deriving from the Septuagint are:-

Gen.1,26

Pesh.

Phil.154,9-10; etc.

LXX

ὁμοίωσιν καθ' ἑαυτὰς καὶ ἡμετέραν εἰκόνα καὶ'

Gen. 2,7

Pesh.

כמלכ קיט

Phil. 172, 12; 173, 13

כמלכ om.

LXX

ΘΕΟΣ ο om.*

* 135 C1 : X κυριος

Gen. 2,21

Pesh.

זכר

Phil. 174, 3.

זכר

LXX

ἀνεπλήρωσεν και

Gen. 3,24

Pesh.

כמלכ קיט מאדא

Phil. 160, 16-18

כמלכ om. מאדא

LXX

Αδამ τὸν ἐξέβαλεν* και

Pesh.

כע.ג.יג זכר פ קיטא

Phil.

כע.ג.יג זכר מ יטא

LXX

Παραδείσου τοῦ ἀπέναντι αὐτὸν κατέκτισεν και

Pesh.

כזר

Phil.

כזר

LXX

χερουβιμ τὰ ἔταξεν και τρυφῆς τῆς

* 72r : add. ο ΘΕΟΣ ; 53 : add. κυριος ο θ.

Gen. 4,15

Pesh.

זיג דו כזכר ז

Phil. 157, 17

זיג כזכר ז

LXX

παρὰ λῦσει ἐκδικούμενα ἑπτὰ

Gen. 4, 16

| | | | | |
|-----------------|----------|---------|----------|------|
| Pesh. | ... כִּי | om. | וְהָיָה | כִּי |
| Phil. 160, 9-11 | ... כִּי | וְהָיָה | וְהָיָה | כִּי |
| LXX | ... θεοῦ | τοῦ | προσώπου | ἀπὸ |

| | | | | |
|-------|--|---------|---------|-----------|
| Pesh. | | וְהָיָה | וְהָיָה | כִּי |
| Phil. | | וְהָיָה | וְהָיָה | כִּי |
| LXX | | ΕΔΕΜ | | κατέναντι |

Gen. 4, 24

| | | | | |
|------------------|------|----------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Pesh. | אֵת | לַעֲבֹד | לְחַדֵּשׁ | ... אֵת |
| Phil. 157, 12-13 | אֵת | לַעֲבֹד | לְחַדֵּשׁ | ... אֵת |
| LXX | ἑπτά | ἐβδομηκοντάκις | ἑπτὰ | δέ... ἐκ δεδίκηται... |

Gen. 4, 26

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| Pesh. | וְיָצְאָה |
| Phil. 165, 14 | וְיָצְאָה |
| LXX | ἤλπισεν |

Gen. 5, 1

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Pesh. | וְהָיָה | מִלְחָמָה | וְיָצְאָה |
| Phil. 165, 17-18; etc. | וְהָיָה | מִלְחָמָה | וְיָצְאָה |
| LXX | ἀνθρώπων | γενέσεως | βιβλος ἡ |

Gen. 28, 12-13 ?

| | | | | |
|----------------|--------|------|-------------|----------------|
| Pesh. | כִּי | אֵל | ... וְהָיָה | אֵל |
| Phil. 155, 8-9 | כִּי | אֵל | ... וְהָיָה | אֵל |
| LXX | κύριος | δέ ὁ | ... τοῦ | ἄγγελος οἱ καὶ |

Gen. 39, 4

| | | | |
|---------------|-------|---------|--------------|
| Pesh. | | וְהָיָה | |
| Phil. 123, 12 | | וְהָיָה | |
| LXX | αὐτοῦ | κυρίου | τοῦ ἐναντίου |

Gen. 41, 37

Pesh.

חֲסִידֵי

Phil. 123, 14

חֲסִידֵי

LXX

φαραω ἐναντίον

Gen. 42, 10

Pesh.

... מִלִּפְתֵי ... כְּסִידֵי ... כְּסִידֵי ...

Phil. 6, 15-7, 2

... מִלִּפְתֵי ... כְּסִידֵי ... כְּסִידֵי ...

LXX

... αὐτοῦ μαρῶν τῶν ... ἡγούμενος καὶ ... ἄρχων ...

Pesh.

כְּסִידֵי

Phil.

כְּסִידֵי

LXX

ἔθνων προσδοκία αὐτὸς καὶ

Is. 6, 1

Pesh.

מִלִּפְתֵי

Phil. 136, 1

מִלִּפְתֵי

LXX

αὐτοῦ δόξης τῆς

Is. 26, 16

Pesh.

יְהִי כִסֵּי נְשֵׁי כְּסִידֵי

Phil. 143, 11-12

יְהִי כִסֵּי נְשֵׁי כְּסִידֵי יְהִי כִסֵּי נְשֵׁי כְּסִידֵי

LXX

ἡμῶν σου παιδεία ἢ μικρᾶ θλίψει ἐν

Is. 53, 7?

Pesh.

כִּי

Phil. 74, 2

כִּי

LXX

κείροντος τοῦ

Is. 65, 2

Pesh.

יְהִי

Phil. 176, 13-14

יְהִי

LXX

μου ἅγιον τὸ ὄρος τὸ

The reading of Philoxenus here is found already in Aphraates.⁹

The New Testament citations in the writings of Philoxenus are of greater interest, for the existence of a Philoxenian New Testament and its use as a Vorlage for the Harklean are beyond reasonable doubt,¹⁰ although its extent¹¹ and the nature of the revision carried out by Thomas remain subjects of dispute. The studies of G. Zuntz,¹² A. Vööbus¹³ and A. de Halleux,¹⁴ however, give one every reason to believe that traces of it survive in the writings of Philoxenus and that it formed "something like a half-way house"¹⁵ between the Peshitta and the Harklean. The writings of Philoxenus employed in these investigations are the Tractatus,¹⁶ the "Commentary on John"¹⁷ and the Letter to the Monks of Senoun.¹⁸ One is naturally curious to know whether something similar can be found in this commentary.

The question of the New Testament version used by Philoxenus cannot, however, simply be posed as a straight choice between the Peshitta and the Philoxenian, for the Old Syriac continued to exert its influence even after the time of Rabbula, as A. Vööbus¹⁹ and M. Black²⁰ have shown. Vööbus, indeed, has reached the conclusion after a study of many of Philoxenus' writings, including the present work,²¹ that "the Peshitta was by no means the Gospel with which Philoxenus was familiar"²² but that "the Old Syriac Gospel text traditions had a decisive influence upon this famous Syriac writer"²³ and that his commentaries and letters show "how deep the influence of the Old Syriac text traditions was upon this illustrious author".²⁴ From an examination of the citations in the Discourses,²⁵ Black²⁶ has reached a different conclusion, namely that Philoxenus used a Peshitta text in which was embedded a small number of Old Syriac variants.

In any study involving the Old Syriac text of the New Testament, it is naturally the gospels which claim most attention, since no manuscript of the Old Syriac epistles survives. The non-Armenianist has had to depend upon the Latin version of Ephraem's Commentary on the Pauline

Epistles,²⁷ which apparently leaves much to be desired,²⁸ or Molitor's reconstruction of the Greek Vorlage,²⁹ which is of limited utility for the study of the Syriac text. We now possess, however, a collection of all the patristic citations of the Pauline epistles in Syriac prior to Rabbula,³⁰ and it is this collection which I have used in this investigation. Although it is naturally limited in extent, the fact that this material is in Syriac is a great advantage over an Armenian translation. I have only used this evidence, however, where it seems clear that the citation is not so free as to be useless for text-critical purposes. These restrictions are responsible for the fact that only four passages from the Pauline epistles — Rom.8,32; 1 Cor.13,12; Gal.4,4; Eph.1,10 — are cited below in the study of the relative influence of the Old Syriac and Peshitta upon Philoxenus.

I have been able to find in the present work very few, indeed only two (three?) certain Old Syriac variants from the Peshitta:-

Lk.2,50

Old Syriac (S and C)

Phil. 84, 14

Pesh.

ܟܕܒܐܠ ܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܠܝܢ ܕܠ
 " " "
 ܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܠܝܢ "

Lk.22,42

Old Syriac (S and C)

Phil. 132, 3

Pesh.

ܦܠܘܟܝܢ ܕܠܟܝܢ ܕܠܟܝܢ
 ܦܠܘܟܝܢ ܕܠܟܝܢ ܕܠܟܝܢ
 ܕܠܟܝܢ ܦܠܘܟܝܢ ܕܠܟܝܢ

* S : add.

ܠܟ

Eph.1,10?

Old Syriac (Kerschensteiner, Paulustext, p. 74)

Phil. 11, 13; 25, 4

Pesh.

ܕܝܘܠܝܢ ܕܝܘܠܝܢ
 ܕܝܘܠܝܢ ܕܝܘܠܝܢ
 ܕܝܘܠܝܢ ܕܝܘܠܝܢ

A further three readings may be Old Syriac variants but could equally well be Philoxenian revisions. Here, as later, I give the Harklean text (from the edition of White) as a guide to the Philoxenian, adding the Greek where different Greek bases have left their mark on the history of the Syriac tradition and in the rare instance where of the various Syriac readings presented the Harklean does not represent the closest rendering of the Greek.

Lk.2,32³¹

Old Syriac (S)

Pesh.

Phil. 77, 14

Hark.

ܡܢ ܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܘܢ

Lk.3,17 (Mt.3,12)³²

Old Syriac (S)

Pesh.

Phil. 34, 14

Hark.

Gr.

ܡܢ ܗܘܢ ... ܡܢ ܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܗܘܢ ... ܡܢ ܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܗܘܢ ... ܡܢ ܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܗܘܢ ... ܡܢ ܗܘܢ
αὐτοῦ ἀποθήκην τῆν εἰς ... αὐτοῦ ἄλωνα τῆν

Jn.3,16³³

Old Syriac (S and C)


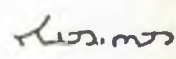

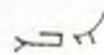
Pesh.

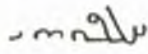



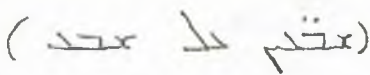
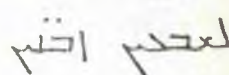

Phil. 137, 17; 145, 8

Hark.

ܟܡ
ܟܡ
ܟܡ³⁴
ܟܡ

There are a few further, more questionable, instances. The reading ܡܢ ܗܘܢ³⁵ in Lk.22,42 (cf. above; Pesh. reads ܡܢ ܗܘܢ) may be an Old Syriac variant (cf. Sinaiticus) but could be due to the Markan parallel (Mk.14,36). A similar consideration applies to the reading ܟܡ, instead of ܟܡ, in Mt.17,2 (Text, 60, 8) where one of the Peshitta manuscripts used by Gwilliam³⁶ also may have been influenced by the

synoptic parallel (Mk.9,3). In Jn.11,27, the  preceding  is dropped by Sinaiticus, Philoxenus (Text, 42, 7 and 48, 4) and one of Gwilliam's Peshitta manuscripts³⁷ and in Jn.12,27  rather than  is read by Sinaiticus, Philoxenus (Text, 130, 12) and a different one of Gwilliam's manuscripts.³⁸ In both these cases the rest of the verse as cited by Philoxenus clearly agrees with the Peshitta against Sinaiticus.

Vööbus³⁹ gives eight⁴⁰ examples of Old Syriac readings from this work. Four of these — Lk.2,32; Lk.22,42 (twice); Jn.3,16 — have been treated above. Of the remainder, three —  in Jn.3,16 (Text, 137, 17 and 145, 9),  in Mt.28,18 (Text, 118, 10) and  in Mt.28,19 (Text, 14, 3) — are found only in patristic sources.⁴¹ The fourth is not entirely convincing, for Philoxenus (Text, 157, 7 f.) is merely alluding to Mt.18,22 and the fact that he uses the idiomatic  () rather than the Peshitta's   is no proof that he is citing the Old Syriac.

Against this small number of Old Syriac readings, there are a great number of passages in the present work where Philoxenus clearly agrees with the Peshitta against the Old Syriac. Anyone examining even a small selection of these, listed below, will surely reach the conclusion that the version which had a decisive influence upon him was not the Old Syriac, but the Peshitta (or a revision of it):— Mt.1,21 (Text, 79, 10f.); 3,17 (Text, 163, 10f.); Lk.1,72 (Text, 78, 15f.); 76 (Text, 79, 6 ff.); 2,11 (Text, 79, 16f.); 25 (text, 75, 4f.); 29 (Text, 77, 10f.); 31 (Text, 77, 12); 33 (Text, 99, 8 f. [cf. 80, 5f.]); 34 (Text, 81, 18-82, 2); 35 (Text, 82, 12f; 85, 3f.); 40 (Text, 101, 8 f.); 41 (Text, 154, 6f.); 52 (Text, 101, 5 ff.); 22,43 (Text, 132, 11); 44 (Text, 132, 8 ff.); Jn.1,14 (Text, 143, 18f; 144, 23f.); 29 (Text, 74, 3f.); 3,5 (Text, 34, 4ff.); 6,69 (Text, 75, 19f.); 7,39 (Text, 100, 4ff.); 8,44 (Text, 158, 19ff.); 56 (Text, 141, 7 f.); 10,11 (Text, 130, 9f.; 137, 23f); 17 (Text, 130, 5 ff.);

18 (Text, 130, 7 ff.); 11,27 (Text, 42, 7 ff.; 48, 4 ff.); 12,27 (Text, 130, 11 ff.); 16,12-13 (Text, 17, 3 ff.); Rom. 8,32⁴² (Text, 145, 1 ff.); 1 Cor. 13,12⁴³ (Text, 27, 1 ff.); Gal.4,4⁴⁴ (Text, 137, 5 f.; 144, 21 f.).

It should be noticed that Jn.10,17; 18; 12,27 are drawn from collections of testimonia detailed at the end of this section.

The conclusion to be drawn from this investigation is thus the same as that reached by Black⁴⁵ with reference to the citations in Philoxenus' Discourses and generally to the text of Rabbula and post-Rabbulan authors of the fifth and early sixth centuries. The text quoted here by Philoxenus is, leaving aside the question of a Philoxenian revision, the Peshitta with a small Old Syriac element. This latter may be due to the fact that he occasionally drew on the Old Syriac⁴⁶ or, as Black⁴⁷ suggests, to the fact that, despite the formulation of a standard Peshitta before 489 A.D., manuscripts of the Peshitta continued to be produced and used about the end of the fifth century exhibiting a text still influenced by the Old Syriac.

The question now arises whether the new version issued by Polycarp has left any mark upon the text used by Philoxenus in this work. Reference has been made above to the fact that traces of the Philoxenian version have been claimed to have been found in the Tractatus,⁴⁸ the "Commentary on John"⁴⁹ and the Letter to the Monks of Senoun.⁵⁰ I have therefore compared the citations in the present work with those in the three just mentioned⁵¹ where the same passage is quoted. It transpires that in this writing (Phil. A) he cites a number of passages according to the Peshitta which in one of the other three (Phil. B) are quoted in a revised version, doubtless the Philoxeniana. They are:

Mt.1,21⁵²

Pesh.

ܡܬܘܟܘܠܘܢ

Phil. A⁵³

ܡܬܘܟܘܠܘܢ

Phil. B⁵⁴

ܡܬܘܟܘܠܘܢ

Hark.

ܡܬܘܟܘܠܘܢ

Lk. 1, 35⁵⁵

Pesh.

ה. ה. ל. ל. . . . om. א. ה. א. ה.

Phil. A⁵⁶

ה. ה. ל. ל. . . . om. א. ה. א.

Phil. B⁵⁷

ה. ה. ה. ה. א. . . . א. ה. א.

Hark.

ה. ה. ה. ה. א. . . . א. ה. א.

Lk. 1, 37

Pesh.

א. ה. א. ה. א.

Phil. A⁵⁸

א. ה. א. ה. א.

Phil. B⁵⁹

א. ה. א. ה. א. ה. א. ה. א.

Hark.

א. ה. א. ה. א. ה. א. ה. א.

Jn. 10, 11

Pesh.

א.

Phil. A⁶⁰

א.

Phil. B⁶¹

א. ה. א.

Hark.

א. ה. א.

Jn. 16, 12⁶²

Pesh.

א. ה. א.

Phil. A⁶³

א. ה. א.

Phil. B⁶⁴

א. ה. א.

Hark.

א. ה. א.

Rom. 8, 3⁶⁵

Pesh.

א. ה. א.

Phil. A⁶⁶

א. ה. א.

Phil. B₁⁶⁷

א. ה. א.

Phil. B₂⁶⁸

א. ה. א.

Hark.

א. ה. א.

Rom. 8, 32

Pesh.

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ

Phil. A⁶⁹

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ

Phil. B⁷⁰

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ om.

Hark.

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ... ܘܢܝܢ om.

1 Cor. 2, 8

Pesh.

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ

Phil. A⁷¹

" ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ

Phil. B⁷²

" ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ

Hark.

" ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܘܢܝܢ

It should be noted that Jn.10,11 is cited from one of the collections of testimonia referred to at the end of this section.

These readings clearly indicate that in this writing Philoxenus has cited several passages according to the Peshitta which elsewhere he has given in a revised, Philoxenian version. But it would be premature to conclude that the Philoxeniana was not used at all in this commentary. It has already been noted⁷³ that in the Tractatus, where many passages are cited according to the Philoxeniana, he quotes Lk,1,37 according to the Peshitta and Zuntz⁷⁴ postulates that he drew upon both versions alternately. The same procedure may have been adopted here, and indeed upon further investigation a whole series of revised readings emerges. Some of these are also found in the Tractatus or Senoun and some have already been noticed by Zuntz but the majority, being from passages not cited in these other two works, are put forward as possible new additions to our knowledge of the Philoxeniana:⁷⁵

Mt. 16, 17?

Pesh.

ܘܢܝܢ

Phil. 46, 17

ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ

Hark.

ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ

Mt. 24, 5; Lk. 21, 8 ?

Pesh. כנא
 Phil. 54, 3 כנא ה
 Hark. כנא ה

Jn. 3, 3: 5

3: Pesh. ... כנא ... ה
 Phil. 34, 3 ... כנא ... ה
 Hark. ... כנא ... ה

 5: Pesh. ... כנא ... ה
 Phil. 34, 5 ... כנא ... ה
 Hark. ... כנא ... ה

Pesh. כנא ה
 Phil. 34, 6 כנא ה
 Hark. כנא ה
 Gr. 1⁷⁶ Θεοῦ τοῦ
 Gr. 2⁷⁷ οὐρανῶν τῶν

Jn. 7, 39

Pesh. כנא ה
 Phil. 100, 4 f. כנא ה כנא ה
 Hark. כנא ה כנא ה
 Gr. 1⁷⁸ πνεῦμα
 Gr. 2⁷⁹ ἁγίου πνεῦμα

Acts 2, 31

Pesh. כנא ה
 Phil. 130, 1 f. כנא ה כנא ה
 Hark. כנא ה כנא ה
 Gr. 1⁸⁰ ἐγκατελείφθη
 Gr. 2⁸¹ αὐτοῦ ψυχὴ ἢ ἐγκατελείφθη

Rom. 5, 10⁸²

Pesh. אֲדִיגַר עַם אֲלֵמָא בְּחַיֵּי
 Phil. 144, 26 אֲדִיגַר לְאֵלֵמָא בְּחַיֵּי
 Hark. אֲדִיגַר לְאֵלֵמָא בְּחַיֵּי

Rom. 8, 29

Pesh. חַסְדֵּי לְמַהֲרֵי הַבּ הַיּוֹצֵר אֲנִי
 Phil. 178, 1f. חַסְדֵּי הַמַּהֲרֵי אֲהַבֵּי חַסְדֵּי יוֹצֵר
 Hark. חַסְדֵּי הַלְמַחֲרֵי הַמַּהֲרֵי הַבּ אֲהַבֵּי חַסְדֵּי

Pesh. בְּחַיֵּי אֲדִיגַר הַיּוֹצֵר הַבּוֹרֵא
 Phil. הַמַּהֲרֵי חַסְדֵּי הַיּוֹצֵר הַבּוֹרֵא
 Hark. חַסְדֵּי הַמַּהֲרֵי הַיּוֹצֵר הַבּוֹרֵא

Rom. 11, 33

Pesh. הַיּוֹצֵר לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי
 Phil. 86, 14f. הַיּוֹצֵר לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי
 Hark. לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי הַיּוֹצֵר

Pesh. אֲדִיגַר לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי
 Phil. אֲדִיגַר לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי
 Hark. אֲדִיגַר לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי

1 Cor. 1, 25 ?

Pesh. בְּחַיֵּי אֲדִיגַר הַיּוֹצֵר
 Phil. 102, 1 בְּחַיֵּי אֲדִיגַר הַיּוֹצֵר
 Hark. בְּחַיֵּי אֲדִיגַר הַיּוֹצֵר

1 Cor. 2, 2

Pesh. לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי הַיּוֹצֵר ...
 Phil. 18, 1 לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי הַיּוֹצֵר ...
 Hark. לְאֵלֵמָא חַסְדֵּי הַיּוֹצֵר ...

1 Cor. 3, 12-15

Pesh. ... ללף ... חלף ... עבא 5x א

Phil. 35, 4ff. ... נהב ... אסא ... מיה om.

Hark. ... נהב ... אסא ... מיה om.

Pesh. ... אסא הנחא ברה ...

Phil. ... אסא הנחא ברה ...

Hark. ... אסא הנחא ברה ...

Pesh. ... אסא הנחא ברה ...

Phil. ... אסא הנחא ברה ...

Hark. ... אסא הנחא ברה ...

Pesh. אף הנק ניה

Phil. " הנב "

Hark. " הנב "

1 Cor. 11, 3

Pesh. דב יבו זאז אסא אסא

Phil. 10, 16ff. אסא " זאז "

Hark. אסא " זאז "

Pesh. אסא הנחא ברה אסא

Phil. om. " " זאז

Hark. om. " " זאז

Pesh. אסא הנחא ברה אסא

Phil. om. " " זאז

Hark. om. " " זאז

1 Cor.13,12

Pesh.

Phil. 27, 2f.

Hark.

אָפּט אַלס אָפּט
אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל
אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל

1 Cor.15,24

Pesh.

Phil.22,16

Hark.

אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל
אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל
אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל אַזאַל

1 Cor.15,28

Pesh.

Phil.12,4

Hark.

אָמ אָמ אָמ
אָמ אָמ אָמ
אָמ אָמ אָמ

1 Cor.15,42-43

Pesh. 3 x

Phil. 61, 10ff. 3 x

Hark. 3 x

אָדער אָדער אָדער
אָדער אָדער אָדער
אָדער אָדער אָדער

2 Cor.5,16⁸³

Pesh.

Phil. 3,18

Hark.

אָדער
אָדער
אָדער

Eph.1,16-19

Pesh.

Phil.18,17 ff.

Hark.

אָדער אָדער אָדער
אָדער אָדער אָדער
אָדער אָדער אָדער

Pesh.

Phil.

Hark.

אָדער אָדער אָדער
אָדער אָדער אָדער
אָדער אָדער אָדער

| | | |
|-------|-------------|------|
| Pesh. | האבא... אבא | האבא |
| Phil. | האבא... אבא | האבא |
| Hark. | האבא... אבא | האבא |

Col.1,9

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----|-----|
| Pesh. | ... אבא... אבא | אבא | אבא |
| Phil. 18,14ff. | ... אבא... אבא | אבא | אבא |
| Hark. | ... אבא... אבא | אבא | אבא |

| | |
|-------|-----------------|
| Pesh. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |
| Phil. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |
| Hark. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |

Col.3,9-11

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----|
| Pesh. | ... אבא... אבא | אבא |
| Phil. 31,11ff. | ... אבא... אבא | אבא |
| Hark. | ... אבא... אבא | אבא |

| | |
|-------|-----------------|
| Pesh. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |
| Phil. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |
| Hark. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |

| | |
|-------|-----------------|
| Pesh. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |
| Phil. | " " om. אבא אבא |
| Hark. | " " om. אבא אבא |

| | |
|-------|-------------------|
| Pesh. | אבא אבא אבא אבא |
| Phil. | " om. אבא אבא om. |
| Hark. | " om. אבא אבא om. |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Pesh. | om | ܟܘܨܝܢ | ܬܘܨܬܐ | ܬܘܨܬܐ | ܬܘܨܬܐ | ܬܘܨܬܐ |
| Phil. | om. | " | ܬܘܨܬܐ | ܬܘܨܬܐ | " | ܬܘܨܬܐ |
| Hark. | om. | " | ܬܘܨܬܐ | ܬܘܨܬܐ | " | ܬܘܨܬܐ |

1 Jn.4,3?

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|-------|-------|
| Pesh. | ... | ܟܘܨܝܢ | ܬܘܨܬܐ |
| Phil. 133, 9f. | ... | ܟܘܨܝܢ | ܬܘܨܬܐ |
| Hark. | ... | om | ܬܘܨܬܐ |

It should be observed that Acts 2,31 is drawn from one of the collections of testimonia to which reference is made at the end of this section.

To these readings may be added the three — 1k.2,32; 3,17; Jn.3,16 — presented in the discussion of the Old Syriac variants which are explicable both as Old Syriac and Philoxenian readings.⁸⁴ In view of the restricted examination of the Old Syriac Apostolos,⁸⁵ it is possible that one or two readings from the Acts and the Epistles in the above list could also be Old Syriac variants but they could hardly affect the general pattern, especially since the Old Syriac text of the Epistles was in all probability a rather free rendering of the Greek⁸⁶ and very close to the Peshitta.⁸⁷

These readings are too numerous and too striking to be put down to chance. What they show is, rather, as in the Tractatus, the "Commentary on John" and Senoun, a text standing between the Peshitta and the Harklean which it is most natural to identify with the Philoxenian.

The reader will have noticed a few readings in the list above which do not represent an intermediate stage between the Peshitta and the Harklean but which nevertheless have a good claim to represent the Philoxenian.⁸⁸ Three of these — the addition of ܟܘܨܝܢ in Rom.8,29, the reading ܟܘܨܝܢ rather than ܟܘܨܝܢ ܟܘܨܝܢ in 1 Cor.3,13, and ܟܘܨܝܢ rather than a substantive from ܟܘܨܝܢ in Col.1,9 — could simply be inaccuracies in Philoxenus' citation. But two others — ܟܘܨܝܢ in Jn.3,5, where the

Greek tradition is split but the Old Syriac, Peshitta and Harklean all read $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\tau$, and the singular $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega$ in Lk, 3, 17, which may, however, be an Old Syriac remnant — are worthy of note.

The Harklean colophons state that the Philoxenian version was issued in 507/8 A.D. The most obvious inference from the evidence presented above is that this "Commentary on Matthew and Luke" made some use of the Philoxeniana and was therefore written after 507/8 A.D. But it is not the only possible one. It has been shown in section I above⁸⁹ that on the grounds of its polemical Christological orientation it is most likely to have been written before 506 A.D., or at least before 508 A.D., though precise limits can hardly be drawn from this sort of evidence. If, however, this work was indeed written before the completion of the Philoxeniana, then the evidence of the citations would require one to assume that Philoxenus used an early draft of the new version. That is not impossible, but it is also worth considering whether such a "pre-Philoxeniana" may not have been the work of Philoxenus himself.⁹⁰

The basis for this conjecture is the passage from the "Commentary on John" which discusses the fresh translation of the New Testament.⁹¹ In it he declares that because the current versions of the Syriac New Testament do not accurately render the Greek in many passages, "there has therefore now fallen to us the task of retranslating the holy books of the New Testament from Greek into Syriac."⁹² It was therefore Philoxenus' dissatisfaction with the current Syriac versions that led to the creation of the Philoxeniana, which was intended to render the Greek more accurately — a half-way house to the Harklean! Although he entrusted the new version to Polycarp, he was presumably anxious that those passages in which he was aware of a certain freedom in the renderings of the current Syriac versions should be more precisely translated and perhaps placed his own preferred renderings of them at Polycarp's disposal.⁹³

The possibility therefore exists that what we observe in the present

work are "pre-Polycarpian" readings, i.e. translations by Philoxenus himself which were utilised by Polycarp. In this connection two of the Philoxenian exhibits from above are worth noting — to claim that they support this conjecture would be rather an overstatement. Rom.5,10 and 2 Cor.5,16 are cited in the present work (Phil. A) in forms almost, but not quite, identical to those which have been identified as Philoxenian (Phil. B) by Zuntz:-

Rom. 5,10

Phil. A = Pesh.

Phil. B⁹⁴ = Hark.

ⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟ

2 Cor. 5,16

Phil. A = Pesh.

Phil. B⁹⁵ = Hark.

ⲕⲉⲙ ⲡ
ⲕⲉⲙ ⲟⲙ.

If, therefore, it cannot be decided with certainty whether Philoxenus used the completed Philoxenian version or early sketches of it, or whether these hypothetical sketches were his own work or that of Polycarp, the fact remains that the present work presents us with a number of readings which must be substantially those of the Philoxeniana. To sum up: the majority of the New Testament quotations in this commentary are cited according to the Peshitta, but there are a small number of Old Syriac, and a greater number of Philoxenian, readings.

One further point must be mentioned. It has been observed by De Halleux that Philoxenus "had at his disposal ... instruments analogous to modern concordances; certain methodical accumulations of biblical passages on a given verbal theme ... are best explained by collections of testimonia."⁹⁶ Three clear examples of this are to be found in the

present work, in which the passages are linked by the words ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲓ
(Text, 123, 11 ff.), ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲓ (Text, 130, 1 ff.) and ⲕⲉⲩⲧⲓ
(Text, 135, 23 ff.). In these cases the text cited may not be that

of Philoxenus, but that of the compiler. From the passages adduced as evidence in the above investigation, Gen.39,4; 41,37; Is.6,1; Jn.10,11; 17; 18; 12,27; Acts 2,31 are drawn from these collections. This fact has been noted at the ends of the lists of passages in which these verses occur.

Notes to Introduction BIII

1. Cf. J. Lebon, La Version Philoxénienne de la Bible, Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 12 (1911), pp. 413-415, 419-424.
2. BO, 2, p. 83.
3. Cf. Lebon, La Version, pp. 414 f.
4. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 120-124.
5. Cf. A. Baumstark, Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur (Bonn, 1922), p. 144; Lebon, La Version, pp. 419-423. Only the first of these passages is presented under the name of Philoxenus and it may have been extracted from his writings, cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 124 f. The version from which the remaining passages, preserved in British Museum Additional MS 17,106, stem has not yet been conclusively identified.
6. Cf. Baumstark, Geschichte, pp. 23 f.
7. Cf. S. Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study (Oxford, 1968), pp. 247 f.
8. Details of all the editions of biblical texts used in the present investigation will be found in the bibliography of biblical texts.
9. Cf. J. Parisot, Apbraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes (PS, I, 1-2, Paris, 1894-1907), 2, col. 40
10. This is admitted even by Lebon, La Version. His theses (ibid.), that the manuscripts used by White may not be Harklean codices and that Philoxenus played very little part in the production of the Harklean, are unconvincing. Cf. on the former A. Vööbus, Early Versions of the New Testament (Stockholm, 1954), p. 115, and on the latter De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 120-122, who shows, from the witness of Philoxenus himself, that it was he who took the initiative in the creation of the new version.
11. No citations from the minor Catholic Epistles or the Apocalypse are to be found in the present work. From the fact that none appears

- anywhere in the entire extant corpus of Philoxenus' writings, De Halleux (Philoxène, p. 123) concludes, following Lebon (La Version, pp. 428-435), that these books were not included in the canon of the Philoxeniana. Polycarp, however, may have been more interested in them than Philoxenus.
12. G. Zuntz, The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament (London, 1945), pp. 40-76.
 13. A. Vööbus, New Data for the Solution of the Problem concerning the Philoxenian Version, Spiritus et Veritas, Festschrift K. Kundzins (Eutin, 1953), pp. 169-186; idem., Early Versions, pp. 105-118.
 14. A. de Halleux, Senoun (Version), pp. xiv-xvi; idem., Philoxène, pp. 120-124.
 15. Zuntz, Ancestry, p. 41.
 16. A. Vaschalde, Philoxeni Mabbugensis Tractatus Tres De Trinitate et Incarnatione, CSCO, 9 = Syr. II, 27 (Paris, 1907).
 17. British Museum Add. MS 14,534.
 18. De Halleux, Senoun (Text).
 19. A. Vööbus, Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac, CSCO, 128 = Subsidia 3 (Louvain, 1951).
 20. M. Black, The New Testament Peshitta and its Predecessors, Bulletin of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, 1 (1950), pp. 51-62.
 21. Cf. Vööbus, Studies, pp. 197 f.
 22. Ibid., p. 89.
 23. Ibid.
 24. Ibid., p. 90.
 25. E.A.W. Budge, The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh, 2 vols. (London, 1894-5).
 26. Black, Peshitta, pp. 59 f.
 27. S. Ephraem Syri Commentarii in Epistolas D. Pauli (Venice, 1893).
 28. Cf. J. Molitor, Der Paulustext des hl. Ephräam (Rome, 1938), pp. 19*-24*.
 29. Ibid., II. Teil.

30. J. Kerschensteiner, Der Altsyrische Paulustext, CSCO, 315 = Subsidia, 37 (Louvain, 1970).
31. Cf. below, p. 57.
32. Cf. below, p. 57.
33. Cf. below, p. 57.
34. Elsewhere Philoxenus occasionally reads ܐܘܘܠܐ , cf. Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 215, 17.
35. The reading printed in Vööbus, Studies, p. 198, ܐܘܘܠܐܐܘܠܐܐܘܠܐ , is incorrect.
36. Tetraevangelium Sanctum iuxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem, ed. P.E. Pusey and G.H. Gwilliam (Oxford, 1901), ad. loc.
37. Ibid., ad. loc.
38. Ibid., ad. loc.
39. Vööbus, Studies, pp. 197 f.
40. Counting separately the two variants in both Lk.22,42 and Jn.3,16.
41. The first of these readings is not supported by S or C and none of the sources cited by Vööbus (Studies, p. 197) in support of it is pre-Rabbulan. Mt.28,18 and 19 are missing from S and C but the claims made concerning Old Syriac readings in these verses do have the support of pre-Rabbulan sources, cf. ibid., pp. 198, 160 f.
42. Kerschensteiner, Paulustext, p. 26.
43. Ibid., p. 53.
44. Ibid., p. 70.
45. Black, Peshitta, pp. 57-62. Cf. also idem, Zur Geschichte des Syrischen Evangelientextes, Theologische Literaturzeitung, 77 (1952), cols. 708-710.
46. Elsewhere he occasionally cited passages in the Old Syriac version, cf. Zuntz, Ancestry, p. 56, note 2.
47. Cf. above, note 45.
48. Cf. Zuntz, Ancestry, pp. 42-58.

49. Cf. Vööbus, New Data, pp. 178-184; idem., Early Versions, pp. 110-116; De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 121-124.
50. Cf. De Halleux, Senoun (Version), pp. xiv-xvi.
51. Using for the "Commentary on John" (British Museum Add. MS 14, 534) those passages cited in the works referred to above, note 49.
52. Cf. Zuntz, Ancestry, p. 56.
53. Text, p. 79, 11.
54. De Halleux, Senoun (Text), p. 30, 10; Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 49, 8 (ⲉⲙⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲓ); p. 216, 7.
55. Cf. Zuntz, Ancestry, pp. 42-44.
56. Text, p. 103, 1 f.
57. Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 55, 24f.; p. 58, 9f.; p. 95, 2f.; p. 236, 29f.
58. Text, p. 121, 5.
59. De Halleux, Senoun (Text), p. 61, 1. But Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 239, 10, reads as Pesh. and Phil. A.
60. Text, p. 130, 10.
61. De Halleux, Senoun (Text), p. 8, 27.
62. Cf. Vööbus, New Data, pp. 181 f.
63. Text, p. 174.
64. Cited according to Vööbus, above, note 62.
65. Cf. Zuntz, Ancestry, pp. 45-47.
66. Text, p. 147, 17.
67. Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 143, 17; p. 237, 8. The latter is incorrectly given in Zuntz, Ancestry, p. 46.
68. Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 215, 19; p. 248, 1.
69. Text, p. 115, 1.
70. Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 215, 15; De Halleux, Senoun (Text), p. 28, 13.
71. Text, p. 40, 14.
72. De Halleux, Senoun (Text), p. 70, 22.

73. Cf. above, note 59.
74. Zuntz, Ancestry, pp. 57 f.
75. As far as I am aware, the readings given above under Phil. B for Lk.1,37; Jn.10,11; Rom.8,32; and 1 Cor.2,8 have not been previously adduced as readings of the Philoxeniana.
76. P^{66.75} N^c A B pl.
77. N^{*} pc.
78. P^{66^c.75} N al.
79. P^{66*} B D al.
80. N A B D al.
81. E pl.
82. Cf. Zuntz, Ancestry, pp. 49 f.
83. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 66.
84. Cf. above, p. 47.
85. Cf. above, pp. 45 f.
86. Cf. Kerschensteiner, Paulustext, pp. 176-178.
87. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 191-193; Molitor, Paulustext, pp. 31*-38*.
88. Cf. Vööbus, New Data, pp. 185 f.
89. Cf. above, p. 5.
90. Cf. above, pp. 5f.
91. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 121-124.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 122, note 26.
93. This passage from the "Commentary on John" is one among other pieces of evidence which leave no doubt that Philoxenus knew Greek. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 21 f.
94. Vaschalde, Tractatus, p. 215, 14 f.; De Halleux, Senoun (Text), p. 28, 12 f.; cf. Zuntz, Ancestry, pp. 49 f.
95. Cited after Zuntz, Ancestry, p. 66 (from Michael the Syrian).
96. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 125.

IV : SUMMARY OF CONTENTS¹

Introduction A²

The body, although mortal by nature, was immortal in fact until sin entered from outside nature.

Introduction B³

Jesus is revealed in three orders: before the incarnation as God, after it as the new man and after the resurrection like the angels. The resurrection appearances are, like angelic appearances, supernatural and incomprehensible. He became man and then like the angels that men might become like angels.

Mt. 1,17⁴

The tripartite division of Matthew's genealogy relates to three messianic prophecies (Gen. 22,18, Ps. 89,5, Ez. 34,23) and the Trinity.

Mt. 2,1⁵

The reign of Herod, during which Christ was born, marks the fulfilment of the prophecy of weeks (Dan. 9) and of Jacob (Gen. 49,10).

Mt. 2,14-15⁶

- (a) The flight into Egypt fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah 19,1.
- (b) They remained there about three years.

Mt. 3,1⁷

Jesus was two when he fled to Egypt. He spent twenty-five years in Nazareth after his return and was therefore thirty when baptised by John.

Mt. 3,1-16⁸

- (a) The goal of the economy is the renewal of the creation, of rational

and irrational natures, and its unification with the creator. The knowledge of these mysteries is reserved for those who have become whole by the keeping of the commandments.

(b) Faith and baptism, the keeping of the commandments and the attainment of impassibility and love are the steps leading to knowledge, which is simple, not compounded, and therefore inexpressible in corporeal language.

(c) The baptism of Jesus is a type of the renewal of the creation. In the new creation there will remain only "the uncreated Being, the rational creation of spiritual and corporeal beings and the knowledge of spiritual things". The demons and error and evil will be destroyed, but bodies, which served as letters for rational beings, will not perish.

(d) The purified soul receives first knowledge of the truth, then spiritual, and finally essential, knowledge, i.e. knowledge of the Trinity. The old man, who is compared to chaff (Mt. 3,12 par.), is destroyed by the fire implanted in baptism, but the new man is compared to the wheat which will be gathered into the granary (ibid.).

Mt. 11,11⁹

Dying before the death and resurrection of Christ, John the Baptist is the greatest of those born of women, but lesser than those born of baptism.

Mt. 13,16-17¹⁰

The Spirit delivered to the prophets words concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, but not the meaning of them. Neither the angels nor the demons knew of the Incarnation. Only the Spirit can reveal how manifold is the divine instruction.

Mt. 16,16-17¹¹

The confessions of Nathaniel, Andrew, the Samaritan woman and Martha were, in accordance with the expectation of the Jews and the faith of the Nestorians, directed to a man exalted by God, but that of Peter to God the

Word, like that of the Orthodox. Theodore interprets "Christ" of a man, and "Son of the living God" of God the Word, but the confession was delivered in the singular. Peter himself did not understand the meaning of his confession nor perceive that the revelation came from the Father, and for this reason it was necessary for Jesus to bless him. Those who confess Christ in any other way are disciples of Antichrist.

Mt. 22,29-32¹²

Various ideas are held about the nature of the resurrected body:-

1. Its schemata remains but its solidity disappears.
2. Not even its solidity disappears, but subtlety is given to it, and
3. It receives power like that of Christ (Mt. 14,25-31, Jn. 20,26-27).
4. Men rise "compositely and bodily", remaining "in the same solidity of the elements".
5. The same body which falls rises, by a spiritual transformation (1 Cor. 15,37).
6. The righteous will shine with the glory that once shone from Adam, Moses, Elijah and Jesus (Mk. 9,2-7 par.).
7. The human body becomes entirely spiritual (1 Cor. 15,42-44), like the angels (Mt. 22,29-32), and
8. Within the spiritual world there are various ranks.

However, all this is mere conjecture.¹³

Mt. 26,26-29¹⁴

"Our Lord ate of his body and drank of his blood."

Mt. 26,36-44¹⁵

Christ's questions to the scribes (Lk. 2,46) give us the explanation of spiritual mysteries. His sweating (Lk. 22,44) delivers us from the curse of Gen. 3,19.

Mt. 27,45-53¹⁶

- (a) The chronology of the passion corresponds to that of the creation and fall.
- (b) Seeking to reverse the sentence of mortality, Adam was expelled from Paradise.

Lk. 2,7¹⁷

- (a) Christ was laid in a manger because men had become like the animals.
- (b) The cave was a type of the tomb, the manger of the cross and the swaddling clothes of the old man.

Lk. 2,21¹⁸

Christ was genuinely circumcised and the cut part "did not see corruption" but was united to the rest of his body at the resurrection.¹⁹

Lk. 2,24-39²⁰

The sacrifices of the law were a type of the sacrifice of Christ. Contrary to the opinion of the heretics,²¹ the "Nunc Dimittis" was addressed to Christ, not to the Father. Before the coming of the Spirit, Mary had an inadequate idea of whom she had borne and also took offence at him.

Lk. 2,40²²

The divine life does not leave the body of Christ, nor the bodies of the righteous, even in the grave. The growth of Jesus in spiritual stature and wisdom restores to those born of the Spirit the growth lost by Adam.

Lk. 2,42-46²³

Jesus manifested his wisdom in the temple at the age of twelve and so established this as the point at which men may attain, through him, to spiritual wisdom. This age was not for him, however, the beginning of spiritual wisdom, since "lust was not implanted in his embodiment".

Lk. 2,51-52²⁴

- (a) Before the coming of the Spirit, Mary marvelled at Jesus, but did not know that he was God incarnate.
- (b) The growth of God, being an aspect of his weakness and foolishness (1 Cor. 1,25), cannot be understood by men.
- (c) Christ grew to become again like the Father and to enable men to grow.

If the heretics follow Theodore in calling Jesus a man and a son by favour and the divine nature the Father of men, then they are contradicted by the Scriptures. To argue from the adoption of the Jews to the adoption of the new people is to overlook the fact that the former was merely a type and in name only. If however they call Jesus "God and man", they ignore the singular of the evangelist and misinterpret the doctrine of the fathers, while at no point in the economy can it be said that in him God and man became one authority, power, wisdom and will, as Nestorius said. Instead, Christ, the power and wisdom of God, became without change man, receiving a body and soul from Mary, and therefore grew in stature and wisdom. Because perception is different from faith and knowledge gained from instruction and is the gift of God to the purified mind, spiritual wisdom cannot be communicated nor perceived by heretics. In the beginning God placed the wisdom of his creatorship in bodies for the instruction of man, but now Christ, the wisdom of his nature, has been embodied and gathered to himself through growth the wisdom "mixed into the works".

Lk. 2,52²⁵

Luke shows what Christ did, what happened to him and on behalf of him, and what was said concerning him.

Lk. 3,22²⁶

Christ was true man, with a body and soul, and the heretical Eutychians,

Marcionites, Valentinians and Manicheans, especially those who are "with us", who proclaim that he appeared in the likeness of, but did not truly become, man and compare his corporality with the likeness of the dove (Lk. 3,22), adducing in support (mistakenly) Phil. 2,7 and Rom. 8,3, are rightly classed with Simon Magus, "the first of the apostles of Antichrist". Only the reality of the corporality guarantees the reality of the blessings obtained by it for men while the appearance of the dove was totally different from that of Jesus by being to John alone, to the mind rather than the eye, like the revelations to the prophets, and instantaneous. Nothing new or miraculous is involved in a phantasmic economy which is refuted by the genuine motherhood of Mary and the needs and passions of Christ. These heretics, who claim to be free of the error of Nestorius, like him interpret away — in a different manner — the plain meaning of "The Word became flesh" and deny to Mary the title of "Mother of God".

Lk. 3,23²⁷

- (a) Christ and his members both receive two births, that of nature and that of grace (baptism), but the first is only "supposed".
- (b) Jesus' "supposed" sonship to Joseph is like his members' "supposed" sonship to Adam (prior to the fall) and the "supposed" sonship of the Jews.
- (c) The perception of the mystery of the bodily birth of the Son of God and the rebirth of men as sons of God was transmitted from Adam and Seth "one to one", but is now given to all who "take off the old man". The blessing was formerly given "one to one", but is now given to all in baptism.

Lk. 3,23-38²⁸


- (a) Cain and his descendants lived outside the providence of God.
- (b) At his creation Adam not only became the likeness of God (Gen. 1,26) but received it. Christ, to be transmitted through his descendants (Gen. 1,27) to the virgin. The death of Abel, "which is a mystery", restored

both, which had been lost by Adam's sin and therefore not given to Cain. The interpretation of Gen. 1,26 and 27 as indicating the formation and subsequent realisation of God's plan is false. In Isaiah's parable of the cluster (Is. 65,8-9), the bunch in the cluster represents Christ in "the people of the patriarchs".²⁹

Notes to Introduction §IV

1. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 134-150, has also presented a summary of contents.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 134 (no. 2).
3. Cf. *ibid.* (no. 3).
4. Cf. *ibid.* (no. 1). The fragment is barely longer than its summary.
5. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 135 (no. 2).
6. Cf. *ibid.* (no. 3). The fragments are barely longer than their summaries.
7. Cf. *ibid.* (no. 4). The fragment is barely longer than its summary.
8. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 135 f. (no. 5).
9. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 137 (no. 9).
10. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 137 f. (no. 10).
11. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 138 (no. 11).
12. Cf. *ibid.* (no. 12).
13. The great Origenist controversy of the fourth century over the resurrection does not appear to come into view in this discussion. The central question of that controversy was the identity of the fleshly and resurrected bodies and the transformation of men *ὡς ἄγγελοι* or *ἔσονται ἄγγελος* (cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, pp. 95, 86 f.). Even the most "spiritual" of the views presented here (7 and 8) maintain only that men become like angels and are far removed from the doctrines of Origen and Evagrius. Some of the arguments employed in the controversy reappear here, however, notably the use of 1 Cor. 15,37 (5, cf. Guillaumont, Képhalaia, p. 115, note 153) and the differentiation of the spiritual orders (8, cf. *ibid.*, p. 87). Philoxenus regards none of the views he presents as heterodox — and therefore none as Origenist — but all as conjectural. The seventh would, however, appear to be that which he advocates in the context of his exposition of the doctrines of "Syrian Evagrianism", cf. above, pp. 27f.

14. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 139 (no. 14). The fragment is no longer than its summary.
15. Cf. *ibid.* (no. 15). The fragment is barely longer than its summary.
16. Cf. *ibid.* (no. 16).
17. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 143 (no. 3).
18. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 143 f. (no. 4).
19. It is possible that the opponents envisaged in this passage may be related to the Eutychians against whom he argues in the commentary on Lk. 3,22; it is doubtful if the passage should be interpreted in the context of the Julianist controversy, despite its (mistaken) use by an anti-Julianist compiler (cf. Vol. I, pp.viii f.). Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 503-505.
20. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 144 (no. 5).
21. Philoxenus may be thinking of the "Nestorians", but even Cyril (of Alexandria) does not say that Simeon addressed Christ! Cf. R. Payne Smith, Commentary, pp. 25 f.
22. Cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 144 f. (no. 6).
23. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 145 f. (no. 7).
24. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 146 (no. 8).
25. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 147 (no. 9).
26. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 147 f. (no. 12).
27. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 148 (no. 13).
28. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 149 f. (nos. 15 and 17).
29. The content of this last section appears to be without parallel among the extant writings of Philoxenus, with the exception of a fragment possibly drawn from this commentary preserved in an Arabic catena on the Pentateuch (cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 149 [no. 16]). De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 426, confesses these pages to be "assez obscures ... faute d'un contexte suffisant". It is, however, probably incorrect to relate the entry of Christ into Adam spoken of here to the concept of the

"incarnation" of the wisdom of God's creatorship in the works of creation (ibid.), not only because Philoxenus distinguishes between the wisdom of God's creatorship and that of his nature, i.e. Christ (ibid.; cf. Translation, p.132), but also because this presence of Christ in the world prior to his incarnation and birth of the virgin was confined to a single race. This suggests that Philoxenus is here not thinking in terms of Greek theology at all. De Halleux himself referred me (in a conversation) to the fact that Philoxenus may have found the parable of the cluster in Aphraates (cf. Parisot, Aphraatis, 2, col. 40). Furthermore, its interpretation there (ibid.) is as in Philoxenus: the bunch (blessing) in the cluster represents Christ in Israel, and from the beginning this bunch was kept () in Adam. Nevertheless, a point of contact with the "Evagrianism" of Philoxenus is to be found in the fact that this one race possessed the perception which is now given to all who live in the way of the new man (cf. Translation, p.145). Thus the inhabitation of Christ in this one race prefigures his incarnation which "showed (the discernment of men) another way by which it might proceed to him" (Translation, p.132). The weakness of Philoxenus' attempt to extract two ideas from Gen. 1,26 and 27 (Translation, pp.149-153) will not escape the reader: with the other works of creation (Gen. 1,3-24), the saying is repeated "to show that what God said came to pass" (Translation, p.153), but with man the repetition of the saying makes known a second idea! The addition of "male and female created he them" appears to be Philoxenus' justification for the second idea, the entry into Adam of Christ, the image of God, and his transmission through Adam's descendants.

TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION

Introduction A

Because¹ from sin, which is outside nature, the death of the body and actual² mortality received (their) foundation, actual² mortality **and bodily death are rightly considered to** have entered ~~from~~ outside nature, not because the body itself is immortal by nature, but because it was immortal in fact.³ If it were not so, how could it be the opposite of its soul?⁴

Introduction B

For¹ it is written that the angels ate in the tent of Abraham² but it is not said that they hungered and then ate, because they were not really men but only appeared in human likeness. And while indeed their appearance was a likeness and they were not revealed in a true 2 body, we are not able to know how they appeared and in what manner they ate and drank, because we are completely unable to grasp such things which are above nature. But our Lord ate in the sight of his disciples even after his resurrection, not because he needed to eat, but in order that by eating he might assure them that he had risen from the dead.³ It should not be asked how he who rose to become the first-born to eternal life, and was therefore in an order above flesh, ate and it cannot be explained. If any man confesses to be able to explain (it), he should not be believed. The same applies to how he was seen and touched and showed to his disciples his wounds, the positions of the nails and the hole of the spear even⁴ after he had risen,³ 3 things which, if they had appeared in his body before he died, would not have been miraculous, because his life from birth to death was one thing,

after he rose from the dead another and before he became incarnate yet another. Three types are to be seen in him: before he became man, incorporeal, uncompounded, invisible, untouchable, impassible and immortal; after he became man, when he was seen and touched, entered
5 into needs, was tempted by passions, tasted death and, as it is written, became like us in everything except sin;⁵ and after he rose from the dead, he entered that other order to which Paul indicated and said, "Even if we knew Christ in the flesh, we know (him thus) no longer."⁶ And although he has that body which he raised up from
10 death, it⁷ does not need (anything), is immortal, impassible and incorruptible and shines at all times in the divine glory, in an **inexpressible brightness** and overpowering light to which there is no equal, as it⁷ appeared on the mountain to his disciples.⁸ So Jesus is made known in these three orders which we mention: first as God, in
15 the second as the new man and in the third like the angels, because men are to enter into the life of the angels after they rise from the dead.⁹ The things which he promised to give to those for whom he became man he first manifested in his hypostasis when first he became like them in order that he might fittingly manifest in himself¹ those things which he
20 is to give to them. First he became man and was born, he became a foetus, a babe, a child and a grown man, and when he was thirty years old he was baptised by John,¹⁰ receiving anew as man the Holy Spirit which from eternity was in him as God. But he received it for us and restored it to us from whom it had been taken away on account of sin.
25 For if he had not as man received it, there would have been no way (by) which human nature could have received it.

Mt. 1,17

For¹ this reason Matthew² divided the generations into three parts, because in three places the Father revealed the promise

concerning the³ Son: to Abraham, "By your seed shall all⁴ the nations be blessed";⁵ second⁶ to David, "I will establish¹ your seed forever";⁷ (and) third⁸ through another prophet, "My servant David shall feed them".⁹ For Matthew does not say that all the generations were forty-two¹⁰ but divides it into three parts, pointing by this to the glorious Trinity which has been glorified by the new people. And it was also divided into six parts because the Jews loved the number seven.¹¹

Mt. 2,1

For¹ by many things it had become clear to the Jews that the time had come (in) which Christ would be born, particularly on account of the weeks which Daniel described,² for at that time they were fulfilled, but also by the prophecy of the patriarch Jacob which said: "A prince will not fail from Judah nor a ruler from between his thighs until¹ he to whom it is appointed comes; he is the hope of the nations."³

For until Herod, who was of the Philistine race and the son of the Antipater who was taken away from the temple of the idols of the said Philistines when he was a child, (Herod) who, as I said, was raised up king over the Jews by the Romans, those who were anointed according to the law were the leaders of the Jews. Up till the captivity those who were of the house of David reigned, and after they returned until the John who was named Hyrcanus, who held the kingship and priesthood together thirty-four years, the chief priests, who were also anointed, reigned over them. Herod received (the kingdom) from John and ruled over the Jews thirty-seven years. And in the thirty-third year of his reign, the forty-third⁴ of the Roman Emperor Augustus,¹ our Saviour Christ was born according to the promises in Bethlehem of Judaea.⁵

Mt. 2,14-15

But¹ to him who asks why Jesus fled to Egypt, we say: to dethrone the idols, break the graven images, banish the demons, remove from them the error of polytheism by which, more than anyone, they were gripped and fulfil that prophecy which foretold what he would do on his entry into Egypt.² Furthermore, it was fitting for him who truly became man that he should flee like a man.

But³ Joseph, as he had been commanded, led the child and his mother and fled to Egypt, and dwelt there till the death of Herod, about three years.

Mt. 3,1

Twenty-five¹ years after he returned from Egypt — for all this time elapsed in the interval, because when he was two the children were killed and he fled to Egypt and he returned from there after three years, so he was twenty-five years in Nazareth — then, as Luke said,² when he was thirty, he came to be baptised by John.

Mt. 3,1-16

Therefore¹ he who became man was with the Father Son, in the virgin a foetus, in the world a man, under the law a circumcised man, by baptism the first-born and the new man, on the cross a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,² in the grave a corpse, in Sheol a visitor of the souls,³ in Paradise a deviser, after he rose like the angels and the first fruits of those who sleep,⁴ where he ascended king of glory and with the Father God all in all⁵ and Christ all and in all.⁶ Thus the reason for the economy in the flesh is that the mystery hidden in the foreknowledge of God the⁷ Father might be fulfilled. So he who is begotten above the times became man at the end of the times, in

order that in this dispensation the creation might be united with the creator.

Therefore, that this inexpressible mystery might come to reality, the only-begotten God the Word became embodied. To this end the beginning of everything looked forward. That this renewal might be accomplished through the economy, he emptied himself and took the likeness of a servant.⁸ Now the all-wise apostle taught these things by writing: "I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ. But the head of woman is man and the head of Christ God."⁹

40 The head of man is Christ, because when he became man¹ he was counted among men and became the new Adam. But the head of woman is man, because in the position of man to woman he became the head of the church, which was mystically taken from his side¹⁰ and called the bride. And the head of Christ is God, because, when he became man, the Son

45 became subordinate to the Father, and brought himself ϕ into the world ϕ as if he were inferior to him: "My Father who sent me is greater than I."¹¹ Through man, I think, he taught about rational natures, but through woman about those which have no rationality, and through invoking the Son of God, Christ, because ϕ everything ϕ will be renewed and gathered

50 together in him,¹² as through the mention, concerning one body, of man and woman,¹³ (about) rational and¹irrational natures.¹⁴ And he said that the head of Christ is God to conform with that later¹⁵ saying of his that "when everything has been subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to him who subjected everything to him,

25 that God may be all in all".¹⁶ For irrational (natures) are subjected to rational ones, just as woman to man. In the new creation everything will be subjected to Christ, as members to the head, and Christ the Son will be subjected to God the Father, because when he was with him and like his Lord of all and God, he was embodied and became man and the

30 head, through a close kinship, of those above whom he is by nature exalted

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as creator above his creation. Of them, through kinship of race because he became man, he has become the head, but of the Father the obedient and subjected one, because after everything has been subjected to him, intimately and lovingly through natural closeness like members to the head.¹ He also as the Son will be subjected to the Father. Through this he will subject everything to him, because everything will have been gathered together and united in him when he is subjected to the Father, and he will deliver to him a kingdom in which there are no enemies and no opposition.

13

It is therefore necessary for those who desire to receive the knowledge of these mysteries that instead of acquaintance with words, especially those which engender controversy, they should persist in the labour of discipline and keep the commandments which were commended by our Saviour, for by them they can have wholeness of soul and a pure mind and can become impassible, which is the manifestation of the life of the new man, (the life) which Christ lived when he was in the world. Thereafter they are able to receive into themselves the knowledge of those things which are interior to the body, those things instruction about which we first accepted through the obedience of faith, just as our Saviour himself told his disciples when he sent them out to preach the faith about him to men, "Go, make disciples of all peoples, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit."¹⁷

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* * *

The¹⁸ legitimate way, therefore, which leads to true knowledge is this: that a man first believes and is baptised; and after baptism he begins to keep the commandments, holding within himself the fear of God, the memory of his judgement and the fear lest he by anything grieve him who is holy in everything. But the commandments are kept when a man conquers every desire which stirs either in the body or in the soul or is planted in the mind by demons. When desires and the thoughts of

then have been conquered, the conqueror puts off the old man with his death, as Paul said, and puts on the new, who is renewed in knowledge according to the image of his creator¹⁹ and becomes the new and spiritual man, in whom there is no memory of male or female²⁰ and who exists in an impassibility which is not only unconquered by passions but also undisturbed by the memory of them. Thereafter, as those who know the mystery of the act say, he attains unto love, which makes him who comes into it²¹ perfect and complete and the genuine image of God. And when he has taken into himself once again the likeness of his archetype, which was effaced by the first sin and restored by the righteousness of Christ, the second man, as the image of God he comes openly upon the knowledge of everything that is.²² He hears without fleshly ears, sees without bodily eyes and speaks in an unspeakable word which receives no sound from the throat nor literary structure from language. Instead of thoughts to which the impulse of the heart and the intelligence of the brain give rise,¹ he becomes full of wonder at the things which he has come to know, not only because he has been unable to bring them to sound or word or tell about them in fleshly language, but also because he has perceived knowledge. For there is no way in which the wisdom in them may be grasped nor they be expressed compositely by corporeal language, just as, rich in revelations, the apostle said, "he was caught up to the third heaven," and "He was caught up into Paradise and heard words which cannot be spoken, which man may not utter."²³ In their own place he called them words, but here with us he said that they were unutterable, as one who had perceived that they are not divided by means of the construction of language and the soul does not receive knowledge about them from outside through the sound of voice and the introduction of word, but either the mind sees them after it has been purified from passion,¹ or the Spirit shows them by revelation, as he made (them) known to the holy apostles: "I

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have (many things) to say to you, but you are not able to comprehend (them) now. But when the Spirit of truth comes, he will lead you to all truth."²⁴ But it is not the custom of the Spirit simply to show them to a man, but he first assists him that he may be able to put off the old man with his deeds and put on the new, who is renewed in knowledge according to the image of his creator,²⁵ and then he brings him to see those things which are hidden and interior to the body. For just as the beauty of this world and the sight of everything in it are hidden from the babe confined within the womb, so also are the things of the other world and the loveliness in it and the things which God has there prepared for those who love him (hidden) from everyone who, like (the babe) in the womb, is still confined within the old man. "Eye has not seen nor ear heard nor the heart of man conceived the things which God has prepared for those who love him."²⁶

18

So²⁷ because, according to the meaning of these words, the wisdom of this mystery is not revealed by doctrine, which is received through the senses, nor by thoughts, which are humanly set in motion by the intellect and exist through flesh and blood, Paul exhorted the disciples to request in prayer that the perception of such things might be given to them, just as he also prayed for them. For he said to some: "From the day that we heard of your faith, we did not cease to pray for you, asking that you may be filled with the knowledge²⁸ of the will of God in all spiritual wisdom and understanding."²⁹ And to others he wrote: "I remember you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give you a spirit of wisdom and of revelation in the knowledge of him, having the eyes of your hearts enlightened, that you may know what is the hope of his calling and the richness of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the abundance of his power in us who believe."³⁰

19

* * *

It³¹ was clearly shown that the angels and those other powers were not able to fulfil in everything the will of God, and for this reason it was necessary that his beloved Son, who alone was able to fulfil his will, should be revealed in the body. How then is it that
5 it was reckoned that the angels do his commandments and his ministers perform his will? Were they able to fulfil the whole of it? No! It was shown that they were only partially ministers of these divine things and of them insofar as they were revealed to them. But they were revealed to the extent that they were able to receive (them), and
10 not to the extent that God was able to give, while the restoration of everything to¹God, the ingathering and renewal, (the realisation of)
"everything might be in him and he in everything" **was preserved for the Son.** Its type came about in the baptism, its confirmation in his resurrection, but its fulfilment (will be) when everything has been
15 subjected to the Son and the Son to the Father, and God has become all in all. Now because men, including the Baptist himself, at that time could not see the mysteries which were present at the baptism, because they are hidden from every intellect and are interior to every mind, but were known only to the Father and the Spirit, there came from them
20 the testimony to make known the greatness of the service which was fulfilled by the Son. The Father revealed that he was pleased with it, for it alone was according to his will, and the Spirit, by resting upon the Son in the likeness of a dove, made known that he perfects the service and preserves inviolate and unaltered everything which came
25 about through the Son. He does not depart from them, as¹from those of the law, but here the Trinity too³² was manifested to show that it³³ had perfection and the heavens were opened to show that the things which took place there are related to those above, and all who are born of
baptism, that is, of the Trinity, are restored thither,³⁴ if they do not
30 neglect to come and enter through the gate which was opened at that

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time. But if this is not the case, why was it necessary that at that time the heavens should be opened? Was the Holy Spirit not able to come out from there without this? Because the opening of the heavens was not connected with the Father's voice nor with the exit of the Spirit, because it is clear that a solid cannot stop a spiritual nature if it wishes to pass through it — (this applies) not only to God but also to any of the spiritual powers — then the fact that the heavens were opened indicated that for him was removed the barrier which is set in the middle,³⁶ which is between fleshly and spiritual beings, this visible and changeable construction \varnothing and \dots , corporality and spirituality, everything which is composite and lack of structure, all visible things and the other order which does not fall under bodily senses. When everything has been renewed through the Son and gathered together in him as in one body — for the church, which is made up of the visible and invisible, was called the body of Christ — then everything will be in God the Father through the Son, except the rebellious demons and opposing powers and the error and evil which came about through them, because these, as Paul said, he does not renew but destroys: "after destroying every rule and every authority and power", and "... when he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death".³⁷ Therefore error and evil,¹ which came in through Satan and became a veil in front of the mind of man, so that he is unable to see the knowledge of the truth, will disappear, and after they have disappeared with their inventors, then only three things will remain: the uncreated Being, the rational creation of spiritual and bodily beings and the knowledge of spiritual things which the fathers say was deposited in bodies, just as also the apostle said, "There remain these three: faith, hope and love."³⁸ Through faith he made known about the renewal of bodies, through hope about the spiritual powers, but through love about the Being of God, as also one of the disciples said,

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"God is love,"³⁹ and it was written that "the greatest of these is love"⁴⁰ to show that God remains at all times in his completeness. Bodies (gushme'), therefore, when they have been renewed through the body (pagra'),⁴¹ will become spiritual and with the souls and incorporeal powers become "in God" in an inexpressible way and he will work in them like the soul in the members, according to the meaning of "God will be all in all". Because here bodies (gushme') have been appointed as letters for rational beings that they might receive through them the knowledge of God, nevertheless the bodies in which this knowledge is mixed are not destroyed as letters are erased when the knowledge contained in them has been absorbed,¹ but they too are renewed, as I have said, through our body (pagra'),⁴¹ as indeed none of the works of God will perish: "Everything will be renewed in Christ, in heaven and on earth."⁴² But how they will be renewed and in what form they will appear is beyond our mind to grasp. But the apostle said clearly: "Whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities or powers — all of them will be recreated through Christ."⁴³ And it is clear that also those other orders of Seraphim and Cherubim and angels which have been revealed to us through the books of the prophets, and any other created being there may happen to be,⁴⁴ either those which by men are called gods or every name which is named in heaven or in earth,⁴⁵ will all be gathered together and renewed in Christ, and through him be in God the⁴⁶ Father, in order that God may be in all, like¹ the soul, and all in God, like the body, and "God will be all in all" fulfilled in deed. Paul truly drew such a type for us in his saying that just as there is no member in the body which does not have life from the soul, so also there is not one of the servants who does not share the divine life in the world to come,⁴⁷ excepting the demons who here have cut themselves off from the bodies of the creation and become alien to invisible and visible beings — to the invisible because from angels

they have become demons, to the visible because from stewards they have been manifested destroyers. Those outside of the ingathering which will be manifested in Christ, and through him in God the Father, will be found in the place of judgement and torment. But those things
5 which at present are said by us to have appeared to us as in a mirror, according to the meaning of what the apostle said, which we have mentioned so many times, that God will be all in all, (we shall then see face to face,) as he clearly also¹ taught by his other saying: "Now we see as in a mirror dimly, but then we (shall see) face to face."⁴⁸

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10 For as a mirror shows a likeness, while indeed that likeness is truly made known in the hypostasis which it is in, if the mirror happens to be broken the likeness is not destroyed along with it but remains inviolate in its being, so also that knowledge about which Paul said that here it appears as in a mirror, when this composition through
15 which it appears to us as in a mirror is removed, will come together, all of it, to its place in Christ, and in him we, as members set in the body, shall see it face to face, while the nature of the bodies will not, as the Manicheans say, be destroyed along with sight and composition.

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(It is)⁴⁹ then fire and the Spirit which were planted in baptism,
20 because they regenerate¹ soul and body and give to each of them that which pertains to it: to the body abolition of death, destruction of passion, renewal from corruption, peace from lust and stability from propensity to sin; and to the soul healing of sinful passions which does not easily slip into evil, confirmation in the faith, knowledge⁵⁰
25 in which there is no error, purification of the mind,⁵⁰ sight for the intellect, destruction of suppositions and illusions and the first creation which it had before it received sin. When it has gained possession of such things and been purified and enlightened, it receives first, as the fathers say, the knowledge of the truth, which

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is what the creator planted in bodies when he made them, and then spiritual knowledge, which is superior to bodies and interior to composition. At present all¹ angels and spiritual orders and ranks in heaven breathe it, delight in it, exist by it and see it, because while the mind of man, when it has been purified, sees the knowledge in bodies, which has been called knowledge of the truth, the minds of the powers above, which are particularly subtle, see, as I said, and are sustained by that knowledge which is called spiritual. But of that third knowledge called essential, i.e. of the Holy Trinity, as those who brought us to perceive such doctrines say, all rational beings who have been purified here are worthy in the world to come. Holy angels, I say, and righteous men, after they arise from death and it and corruption are destroyed, enter into the renewal which is not composite, where they come to belong to Christ, who became our head for the sake of the body and members, and receive from him as members from the natural head an unchangeable system of taste, smell, sight, hearing and touch, remaining for ever eternal and incorruptible.

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The soul, then, receives the knowledge of the truth when the illusions of forms and compositions have been removed from before the mind, the knowledge of the spirit when evil has been blotted out, but that of the Trinity when error has been eliminated, because, as I have just said, this construction which is placed in the middle,⁵¹ through which also weakness is engendered, prevents (it) from seeing the knowledge of the truth, while evil (does the same) for spiritual knowledge⁵² and error for that of the Trinity. But when these have been removed, there is then nothing to prevent the mind from being fully in God and "God will be all in all" will in deed be fulfilled. Because, as was said,⁵³ bodies are letters in which the knowledge of the truth was planted and error and evil a veil before the mind which cannot¹ see this knowledge and those which are placed in order after it, when a man is born

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anew by baptism, in it and through it composition is transformed through the renewal from the Holy Spirit, but evil and error are completely destroyed and perish through the power of the same Spirit, which⁵⁴ is compared with fire. Paul, while encouraging us to attain to this by action and to perceive what we have become, says, "Put off the old man with all his deeds and put on the new, who is renewed in knowledge according to the image of his creator, where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave or free, but Christ is all and in all,"⁵⁵ which is like "God is all in all".

When therefore the Fathers looked into the meaning of these and similar words, they perceived and said that when these three, composition,¹ I say, evil and ignorance have been removed, the whole of rational nature will be in Christ and through him in God the⁵⁶ Father, according to the meaning of those (words) which we have mentioned: "Christ will be all and in all" and "God will be all in all", while through the apostle saying "neither Greek nor Jew" (they perceived that) he will abolish all necessity for natural and written laws and different religions, through "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision" (that) he will remove composition, through "barbarian or Scythian" different ways of life, through "slave or free" that there will not be ruler and subject and through "male and female"⁵⁷ (that) he will remove along with composition, for this is also affirmed in another place,⁵⁸ also marriage and propagation which are necessary as long as death reigns, for clearly they are not appropriate to those who have become immortal. Now these things will be revealed in reality after the resurrection, but are understood through perception and knowledge by the mind even in this life when it moves⁵⁹ outside the life of the old man and departs from it, like a babe from the womb, through the pangs of works and suffering. Because just as the natural babe cannot see this world or

anything in it as long as it is in the womb, so neither can the mind which is confined in the old man perceive the power of the world to come or any of these knowledges which have been mentioned unless first the man is born of baptism, grows in those things which befit the status of his birth, is preserved from the damages of passion and sin, which usually destroy the birth and cut off the members of the new man, and continues, when he has gained a pure mind, receiving, according to the measure of his growth in that stature, the knowledges and perceptions of that world, just as the natural man with this bodily stature, because the type of the manifest one¹ is set in the hidden one. As our Lord said about this birth: "Unless a man is born again he cannot see the kingdom of God,"⁶⁰ and "Unless a man is born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven."⁶¹ Through the kingdom of heaven he made known about the knowledge of the truth and spiritual (knowledge), but through the kingdom of God about the knowledge of the Holy Trinity. Also John the Baptist indicated to us, in my opinion, that we should understand this meaning by saying, "Jesus will baptise with the Holy Spirit and fire; the winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and gather the wheat into his granary and burn the chaff with unquenchable fire,"⁶² clearly calling the new men who are born through the baptism of Jesus wheat, but the old man, or rather his deeds,¹ about which he said that they would be destroyed by fire, chaff: "The chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire."⁶³

According to the meaning of what the apostle also wrote and said, if any one builds on the foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble — each man's work will become manifest; for the Day will disclose it, because it will be revealed with fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each one has done. If any man's work survives, that builder will receive a reward. But if any man's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, though he himself will be saved, but

only as through fire.⁶⁴

Human nature does not perish but is tried and renewed as through fire, but the old one, whose deeds are compared with wood, hay and stubble is destroyed. Thus body and soul, along with the rest of the spiritual orders, will, according to some other words of Paul,⁶⁵ be renewed, but error and evil and the demons who are compared with wood, hay, stubble and chaff destroyed. Body, soul and the powers who have not gone astray will be preserved, but evil, error and the rebellious powers will perish, while Jesus, of whom it is said that the winnowing fork is in his hand and he will clear his threshing floor and gather the wheat into his granary but burn the chaff with unquenchable fire, is the guardian of the former and the destroyer of the latter. Rightly will the wheat be gathered to the granary, for the sower sowed it, but sin took the chaff from the ground. The husbandman promised to gather his own into the granary, for he sowed the wheat and will gather it, but at the coming end, at the second revelation, which is from heaven. However for the present in his place baptism has been ordained, which by grace separates the wheat from the chaff, burning by means of the fire within it the chaff, but¹ renewing and regenerating the man who, if after he has been purified is preserved as he was born by baptism, does not need to be purified by the winnowing fork, because that from which he must be separated is not in him.

Therefore the baptism which Jesus fashioned is an inexpressible mystery, an unprecedented deed, an act unfathomed by the mind and the new womb which gives birth to the sons of God, for in it the Trinity was revealed, the creation renewed in power, the church united to Christ, the rebellious powers condemned and sin and evil destroyed. By it God is sacramentally in all and all in God, and everyone who is not born of it is not regarded as a man,⁶⁶ nor counted among the living, nor is he a member of the body of the church.

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Mt. 11,11

John,¹ therefore, desired to be born ~~of~~ this birth and to become a beloved member of the spiritual body of the bride and a son and heir with Christ the bridegroom. But it was said to him,¹ "Now is not the time. Yet if before you I die and rise, with my disciples you will baptise with the Holy Spirit and with power, but if you depart from this life before my death, you will be perfected along with the righteous ones who were before my revelation in the flesh, (those) of the house of Abraham and Moses and the rest of the righteous ones and prophets." Other words of our Saviour reveal that this is the meaning of the saying: "Let it be so now, that I might fulfil all righteousness."² For after he had said to the Jews about John that he was greater than all the prophets and righteous men and that among those born of women none had arisen greater than he, he went on to say, "The least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he,"³ calling "least", in terms of the gift which John had in this life, everyone who through grace is judged worthy to obey and become a member of the body of the church. For there is nobody among us who would not confess to be less in this world than¹ John the Baptist in terms of greatness, prophecy, honour and the grace of the Holy Spirit, which he received and by which he performed preaching and baptism and the other things which he did for Christ. But every one of the baptised, who is reckoned in this life to be less than John, that is, by the birth from woman, is manifestly greater than he in the kingdom of heaven, that is, in the order after baptism, for he has become a son of God the Father, a brother of Christ and a member of the body of the church. John the Baptist was greater than all those who were before him, who with him were born of women, but he is less than those who are afterwards born through baptism and whose honour will be revealed in the world to come, because he is

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the womb and they the body, he the prophet and they the sons, he the godparent and they the heirs.

Mt. 13,16-17 (Mt. 11,25-27) (Mt. 16,17)

Because¹ the Scripture says that it was announced that he would be great,² it shows on the other hand that even from the holy powers the fact that the natural Son of God would be made flesh was hidden: "through the church the manifold wisdom of God was revealed to the principalities and powers in heaven. That which he prepared in eternity he brought to pass in Jesus Christ."³ If it is written in the prophet that they hallowed God three times,⁴ that is not contrary to the saying of the apostle, because although they cried the Tersanctus, they did not understand in this manner the mystery, the meaning of which was hidden. Neither did the demons understand this mystery; "if they had known they would not have crucified the Lord of glory"⁵ testifies (to this). So you will find many words which were spoken by the Spirit through the prophets about the Trinity and the Incarnation but which the prophets did not understand, because the Spirit delivered only the statement and not the meaning of them. As our Lord said to his disciples, "Many prophets and righteous men longed to see what you see and they did not see and to hear what you hear and they did not hear."⁶ Now he who pleads to hear and see is clearly desirous because he does ~~not~~ perceive (them). Therefore the prophets learned from the Spirit the words of the mysteries⁷ but the explanation of the mysteries he did not reveal to them, because he shows to men everything which is right and necessary, delivering sometimes the saying, sometimes the memory of it, at one time the recitation of the saying, at another its perceptibility.

But he explains it afterwards and that is appropriate to the measure of our thinking, ~~since~~ there is no man, and doubtless no angel either, who knows how many variations, distinctions, degrees, levels

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and varieties of perception there are in the divine instruction and the wisdom which was placed in the embodied natures.

Mt. 16, 15-17

Christ¹ was confessed by Nathaniel: "Rabbi, you are the Son of God, you are the King of Israel;"² by Andrew: he announced to Simon his brother, "We have found the Christ;"³ by the Samaritan woman: "Come and see a man who told me everything I have done. Perhaps he is the Christ;"⁴ by Martha: "I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God who is coming into the world;"⁵ by Simon Peter not in the manner of these but by revelation he said, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God."⁶ For they confessed him Christ and Son by election and by grace, and not only they, but also all the Jews, regarded the Christ awaited by them as a righteous and perfect man, who would exceed and be more glorious and exalted than everyone in manner of life, in knowledge, in revelations and in honour and who more than all the righteous would truly be the dwelling-place of God. And as he was named Christ by Nathaniel, Andrew, the Samaritan woman and Martha, so today⁷ the Nestorians confess him, but we⁸ Orthodox confess and believe as Peter confessed. Therefore the disciples of Nestorius say against us, "Why do they hold a doctrine about Christ which is greater than that of the Jews?" If they say that he is more righteous and just than all (other) men, the Jews also think this. And if they say, "Because of the purity and holiness and sanctity of his thoughts and his members¹ he is the dwelling-place of God," they suppose the same about the righteous ones who have joined them⁹ and thus all of them consider themselves to be the temples of God about which the word of God¹⁰ was spoken. Now if all the prophets and righteous men who keep the commandments of God are the temples of God, what in particular do they attribute to that man that he might be named above them?¹¹ If they designate him Christ,

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everyone who was anointed to the kingship or the priesthood was called by this name. Or if they call him Jesus, then there were also Jesus (Joshua) son of Nun, Jesus (Jeshua) son of Jozadak¹² and many others.

Now the wicked Theodore says that "Thou art the Christ" refers to a man, for Christ is the name of a man,¹ but the designation "Son of the living God" refers to God the Word.¹³ Now who, I ask you, will accept from you (such) stupidity and folly except those who like you have gone mad? For as the Father revealed one and Simon confessed one who is Son and Christ, he would be rejecting the confession of Simon and the revelation of the Father and seeing Christ¹⁴ (as) two instead of one. You deceiver, we ask you: is the "Thou art" which is placed at the beginning of the saying said of one or of two? If it is said of two, why did he not say, "You (pl.) are" rather than "Thou art"? But if, as it is written, it is understood in the singular, of which of them is the "Thou art"? Of Christ or of the Son? If "Thou art" applies to Christ, then it does not apply to the Son. And if the Son should rightly receive it, it is not said about Christ.

What, therefore, is the Christ of whom Andrew said to his brother that he had been found by them? What is he? God or man? If he is God, why were his interrogation of his disciples, the revelation of the Father and the confession of Simon necessary, for they would have known this even before the revelation? But if with respect to a man Andrew said that he had found the Christ, why did Jesus bless Simon on account of this confession and say to him, "Flesh and blood has not revealed (this) to you, but my Father who is in heaven"?¹⁵ For how could a blessing be given to him who confessed a man? If he received a blessing because he confessed that man as Christ, this blessing should also have been given to the Samaritan woman, and he should also have given it before Simon to Nathaniel, for he so confessed Christ before Jesus, and Andrew and all the Jews, for in this manner even they confessed

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Christ and thought about him that he was a man who would be anointed and honoured by God and become Saviour and leader of their people. A blessing ought to have been given to Martha rather than Simon, for through (her own) wise¹⁶ and loving will, when asked by him if she believed that he would raise the dead, she said to him in a humble and obedient voice, "Yes Lord, I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of the living God, who is coming into the world."¹⁷ If one examines (it) closely, the confession of Martha is more correct and orthodox than that of Simon.¹⁸ And if the offering of the will is, as is written, more precious¹⁹ to God,²⁰ the confession of those whom we have enumerated is more worthy of blessing and honour before God than the confession of Simon, for they distinguished and recognised the Christ and Son of God by their own will and not by the operation of a revelation, as Simon perceived (him). Now doubtless even Simon himself thought in the same way about Christ as (did) Andrew and Nathaniel, because Simon's revelation and idea was not from his (own) mind but from a revelation of the Father, and because they did not consider the manner in which up to this time they called him Christ and Son of God and King of Israel — and Simon also called him in this way — he blessed him when he corrected their ideas that they might understand that the revelation of his confession which (had just) occurred did not come to him from flesh and blood. Neither²¹ Simon himself perceived the working of the revelation which he received from the Father nor did the disciples recognise (it).²¹ For the Father who gave it is unseen. As the disciples did not see nor Simon, the recipient, perceive, "Blessed art thou ..." ²² was necessary.

Everything that was said and done by him after this shows that Simon did not truly perceive what had been said. (This is shown) first (by) the fact that he acted rashly out of enthusiasm and rebuked his Lord, saying to him, "God forbid, Lord, that this should happen to

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you." ²³ speaking on account of ambition. But Jesus, rejecting his evil, said to him, "Get thee behind me, ²⁴ Satan!" ²⁵ to show that Satan had planted this saying in his heart. And just as Satan planted this doubt in the soul of Simon and caused him to utter a saying which was contrary to the whole economy and ruinous to the whole world, he not knowing what he was saying, so he received a revelation from the Father and proclaimed Christ God and the natural Son, not knowing what he was saying until ²⁶ Jesus revealed to him that he had received (it) from the Father. Also he said unknowingly, ²⁶ "It is good ²⁷ that we are here; let us make three booths." ²⁸ The words which he spoke being amazing and awe-inspiring and mysterious, he did not understand the meaning of his (own) words. Therefore ²⁹ it was written ³⁰ about him that he did not know what he said. ³¹ For even the demons did not at that time understand this mystery and from the angels also was hidden the knowledge that **there was a natural Son of God and he was destined to fulfil** in his hypostasis the mysteries ³² of the new economy of men. For men know nothing of spiritual things and knowledge of the world to come is entirely hidden from us, just as knowledge of this world is hidden from a new-born babe. Therefore, we are not amazed that a revelation came to Simon but he did not perceive its meaning though the truth was made manifest through the revelation and Christ shown to be not a man according to the thinking of the Jews, but the Son of God, as the Father revealed him. Therefore he who confesses him Christ as the Father taught about him is rightly called by his name, i.e. Christian. But if on the other hand he recognises him ³³ Christ according to the opinion of the Nestorians or Arians or as the Jews or heathen ³⁴ think about Christ, he does not know the Christ whom the Father revealed through Simon, but the Antichrist who is to come and of whom (this) saying of Jesus is rightly said: "I have come in my Father's name and you do not receive me. If another comes in his own name, him you will receive." ³⁵

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As the expectation of the Jews is directed to this very day upon the Antichrist, so also the heretics who do not confess him Christ as Simon confessed him by the revelation of the hidden Father clearly await the Antichrist, however much they may dispute this.

Everyone therefore who abandons the confession of the one Christ who is true God manifestly holds to another Christ who is the Antichrist or one of those about whom our Lord said, "False Christs and false prophets will come,"³⁶ and "Many will come in my name saying, 'I am the Christ.'"³⁷ Although they are many, nevertheless they all operate³⁸ with one appearance. For as they took the name "Christs" from the true Christ and placed (it) upon themselves, so also in their abominable deeds³⁹ and rites they imitate the Antichrist, that the name might be from one, the reality from the other.

Likewise also the demons gave themselves the name of the true God and taught men to regard them as gods, and although the name was taken from God, the evil of (their) works and the abomination of (their) deeds are their own. Therefore he who renounces this name manifestly believes in one of these and the coming of that one is, according to the saying of Paul, the work of Satan.⁴⁰ So Satan is the god of the heretics, even if (this) saying is hard to them.

Mt. 22,29-32

Some¹ say that only the solidity is taken away from the body while the whole schema of its members and senses remains as it is. But others say that not even the solidity of the body is taken away from it but, being like its construction now—flesh, sinews, hair and nails, along with the rest of the viscera—there is merely given to it subtlety, movement and swiftness. But there are others who, adding to this idea, say that, so remaining in its solidity, it receives power which it may use as it wills, entering through closed doors if it wills,

floating on air and walking upon the water. ¹ They model and erect (these) ideas on the basis of our Lord's walking upon the water and causing Simon also to walk like him. ² Furthermore, after his resurrection he entered through closed doors and, after he had entered, showed the marks of the nails and the spear, ³ as in a solid body.

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But there are others who say that all men rise in one measure, **i.e.** compositely and bodily, and all become like the stature of Christ, all mortals becoming like the stature of Christ, whether (when they die) they are below or above the stature into which they enter ⁴ at baptism. They perceive this, as they would have it, from what Paul said: "Until we shall all be one in the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, a man mature in the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." ⁵ They modelled their idea of solidity ⁶ on the spiritual saying of Paul and in accordance with the structure in which men rise, according to what they say they see with eyes, hear with ears, smell with the nose, taste with the mouth and touch ~~with~~ the corporality of the body, for on this idea which is being set forth they remain in the same solidity of the elements. ⁷ However, others do not accept the things which have been said but say that the same body which fell rises, because resurrection is promised to it in the Holy Scriptures. But it rises through a spiritual transformation and becomes a different likeness, for it is not (at present) like the angels. It does not remain like its former construction, but it appears that truly that same body which fell rises something else which differs from what it was before, like the example of the grain of wheat which Paul used when speaking about the resurrection. ⁸ For just as a grain of wheat when it has decayed in the earth becomes something other, by a marvellous transformation, which is not like its beginning or its end, and as neither the stalk ~~nor~~ the nodes nor the sight of green nor the insides nor the beards of wheat are like the nature of the grain which was sown, though it is that which appears

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in all these by a marvellous transformation, so also the bodies of men, which are sown in graves, like the grains of wheat in furrows, attain to a marvellous and exalting transformation and become a comely and handsome likeness which is far higher and more glorious than their former construction.

But others say, "All men rise compositely and with the appearance of stature, but the righteous¹ will put on the glory and brilliance which we have said that Adam had before the transgression of the commandment, which was spread upon Moses⁹ (and) in which Moses and Elijah appeared when they came to Jesus,¹⁰ as it is also written about our Lord that his face shone like the sun and his garments became white as snow."¹¹

But there are others who think differently from all these things and truly and sincerely confess the resurrection of bodies, but say that its former likeness is completely invisible in it, just as the likeness of the seed from which it came into being cannot be seen in its formation, construction and corporality. But just as from natural seed a body comes into being with all its members, sinews, bones, hair and nails and the sense of hearing, smell, sight and taste, all of these from the seed, which same seed they do not resemble — i.e. it becomes all of them by that transformation with the appearance of which there is no likeness nor image, or the structure of one of the senses or members — so also the human body comes through the resurrection to spiritual renewal and becomes in everything like the angels. As Paul said. "It is sown perishable, it rises imperishable, it is sown in dishonour, it rises in glory, it is sown in weakness, it rises in power, it is sown an animal body, it rises a spiritual body,"¹² while they were saying: that it becomes spiritual not only in its manner of life, but (also) by nature, just as also the holy angels in their manner of life and in their nature are spiritual. ¹ And because it does not rise

composite and embodied. they say that it sees with its entirety, hears with its entirety, tastes with its entirety and smells with its entirety, not dividing for it the function of the senses as it is in the present structure. For the angels do not see with one part, hear with another and speak with yet another, for where these¹³ are they reveal composition. Thus it is not shown to be part body and part soul, i.e. it is not a duality of body and soul, and the soul does not receive instruction and knowledge as it does here through the body's¹⁴ senses. But the body is in every way totally transformed and becomes like the nature of the soul, the soul itself receiving another total renewal, not only getting a change from evil to good and error to knowledge, but also its very nature receiving renewal that it might become something else greater than what it was and, even if we cannot say how, through gaining strength and power like the angels, and subtlety and brilliance, (become) in every way like them. Those who say this depend upon this meaning (which they take) from the sense of that saying of our Lord to the Pharisees and Sadducees: "Those who are worthy of the world to come and of the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, neither eat nor drink, but are like the angels of God because they have become sons of the resurrection."¹⁵ So from this saying and from others like it spoken by Christ, they say that not only in manner of life does the body become spiritual like the angels, there being no difference visible between it and the soul nor between both of them and the rank of angels, but (also that) body and soul become one spiritual nature and hypostasis, in every way changeless and invariable. So the man becomes like the holy angels.

But others, agreeing with, accepting and **subscribing to all the** things which have been said to this extent, that both soul and body become one man and one spiritual nature and in everything are like the holy angels, in spirituality and in manner of life, say that variation

is found in this spirituality and in the spiritual structure state is separated from state and rank from rank. As the angels are different from the cherubim, the cherubim from the seraphim, the seraphim from the thrones, the thrones from the dominions, the dominions from the authorities, the authorities from the principalities and the principalities from the powers, for although all of these are one spiritual nature and one glorious and exalted creation there are separations and differences within this spirituality, even if we do not know (how) to represent or express them, so also when in the renewal perfected and righteous men become like this spirituality, they say that their rank and office is different from that of the angels, though indeed they too are in every way like them spiritual and become with them spiritual and holy powers in the spiritual world. A world split (into) lower and higher, bodily and spiritual, does not come into being, but everything is gathered together and renewed and a spiritual world, neither composite nor embodied, comes into being, in which all holy and spiritual powers dwell, delighting eternally and without satiation in the revealed and unsatiating light of the Holy Trinity. Now these things are said by them about the righteous and perfected, but about the evil and wicked they say that they become in every way like the demons, their bodies and souls also becoming one spiritual nature, (the fact) that their spirituality becomes like the demons and not the angels (being) in order that henceforward they might receive the punishment which is eternally decreed for them, in order that they might be punished in the spiritual nature.

We mention all these (ideas), as we have found (them) and others supposed, with the many varieties of opinion. But the real truth, which is that portion of what has been said which is permanent and steadfast, is clear only to the knowledge of God. For truly the entire debate about spiritual things is carried on¹⁶ by everyone by surmise.

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If anyone seeks something more beyond what is clearly and openly stated in the Scriptures, he cannot know (it).

Mt. 26,26-29

Our¹ Lord ate of his body and drank of his blood.

Mt. 26,35-44

He¹ brought questions to the scribes and doctors,² and because of them gave to us the explanation of the spiritual mysteries. He sweated when the force of the fear of death ruled over him,³ and removed from us "in the sweat of your face you shall eat bread".⁴ For Christ hungered economically and naturally.

Mt. 27,45-53

Therefore¹ the first man was created by God, as the account of the Scriptures shows us, at the first hour² of the day. And at his creation he was named the image and likeness of God, though not only was he (so) named but also he (so) became. As a demonstration of the³ honour and authority which was given to him, he named all the cattle and living creatures and birds when, by the economy and will of God, they passed before him.⁴ He called each one of the kinds by its name and this lasted until the third hour. But at the third hour⁵ the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam and while he slept he took a rib from his side and formed woman.⁶ At the third hour they were both placed in Paradise and received the commandment from God. At the third hour, at which Adam and Eve entered Paradise and received the commandment, our Lord, according to the saying of the evangelist Mark, was crucified: "It was the third hour when they crucified him."⁷ At the sixth hour⁸ Adam turned aside from the commandment which had been laid upon him, stretched out his hand¹ and plucked and ate of the fruit.

Because he transgressed the commandment and knew his nakedness, the whole creation was saddened and grieved. Therefore, at the moment that Adam broke the commandment and knew that he was exposed, the whole creation mourned with him and for him, just as here the sun was darkened at the crucifixion.⁹

Adam,¹⁰ when he broke the commandment and ate of the fruit, immediately became mortal. Now he attempted and sought, if there had been a way, not to die, and planned to draw near and eat of the tree of life, which had been given to him with the promise of obedience to the commandment, and to remove from himself the sentence of death which had come upon him. This he desired to do presumptuously and at the wrong time. But when God saw what his presumption was designed to accomplish, he acted quickly and expelled him from Paradise, saying, "Lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever."¹¹

Lk. 2,7

But¹ why was Jesus Christ born in a cave and laid in a manger? Along with the fact that his humility and renunciation are made known, other things which are on the level of spiritual sight are shown. For because the human race by the first transgression of the commandment destroyed its honour and became like the animals, as the word of prophecy reveals,² there, in the place to which this race which had become like animals turned, Jesus was laid before them in the place of their food. For the manger is the place which receives the food of animals, just as the womb is the place of the generation of men and the gate through which they pass out into the world, swaddling clothes the garment of their infancy, arms and knees the raising and up-bringing of their childhood, breasts the source of their nourishment, etc. As

Jesus was familiar with all these aspects of human growth, so also¹ he was laid in an animal manger, as to this turned those for whose salvation he came.³

Therefore⁴ I perceive that the cave was made a type of the tomb of Christ, because it is also written about it that it was a cave,⁵ the manger a figure of the cross and of the altar and the swaddling clothes in which he was wrapped when he was laid in the manger the mark of the old man, who was nailed to the cross. As Paul (sic) said, "He bore all our sins and took them up in his body to the cross."⁶

Lk. 2,21

But¹ the blasphemers say, "If something was cut off from his body in circumcision,¹ they would have shown to us what became of the part of the flesh which was cut. For if it was thrown into the earth and suffered corruption, then that (saying) of the prophet would be falsified by it, for he said, 'Thou wilt not let thy Holy One see corruption.'"² But if this is not right, it is a fact that, as they say, it is deemed (by them) that Jesus was not circumcised. So they say things which are appropriate to the Manichaeans, as they are regarded by the church.

We³ do not therefore say that his body saw corruption, and we do not presume to inquire as to what became of the cut part of his circumcision.

For⁴ if they remain in the presumption, senselessly dependent upon the form of the saying of Scripture which declares that his body did not see corruption, they should learn from where it is written⁵

that it is said not about the circumcision but about the resurrection.

If⁶ thus this is the mystery of the⁷ economy, believe that also the cut part of the circumcision of Christ was united to his hypostasis in the resurrection and corruption did not reign over it, as the living and life-giving body of God! And do not seek out impiously where that portion was until the time of the resurrection!

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Lk. 2,24-32

All¹ the animal sacrifices, therefore, offered according to the law were a type and their offering pointed to the great sacrifice of Christ. For this reason the unyoked calf was sacrificed in which there is no blemish, for Christ too was called the fatted calf.² The male, the lamb and the sheep were also sacrificed because¹ Jesus too was called by these names: "Like a lamb he was led to the slaughter and like a sheep before the shearer he was dumb;"³ "Behold the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world."⁴ The scapegoat also was sacrificed, because it was a type of the sin which Christ slew on his cross, and also the turtledove and the young dove, (the latter,) however, rather for purification, for Jesus was called by the name of the turtledove and received the likeness of a dove: "The voice of the turtledove was heard in our land;"⁵ "I saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove and it came upon him."⁶ Thus before the sacrifice of his hypostasis, the names by which he was to be called were sacrificed for sin and purification. With the type,⁷ his names atoned, but with the reality, his genuine hypostasis. Therefore his hypostasis made contact with his name in the case of the turtledove because his hypostasis was to be sacrificed for sin, but in the case of the young dove because that sacrifice was sanctified by the Spirit, just as priests today sanctify through the Spirit the sacrifice which is

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offered.⁸

Now to these things the evangelist added what happened in the temple when Jesus entered and related the story of Simeon and Anna. About Simeon he said that he was just and righteous and was in expectation⁹ and prayed for the good of others, because benevolence towards men is allied to righteousness and requests of God the good of everyone. So on account of his merits and the goodwill which he possessed for his countrymen, that is, for the Israel of God, (as) a reward was given to him the Holy Spirit, who had previously revealed to him that he should not taste death until he had seen God revealed upon the earth and living among men, (God) whom the evangelist called in this place "the Lord's Christ",¹⁰ whom Simon too confessed in a revelation to be the Lord's Christ¹¹ and to whom all the apostles cried, "We have believed and have known that you are the Christ, the Son of the living God."¹² So to this righteous man in the hour that Jesus entered the temple was revealed by the Holy Spirit, "Your expectation has arrived, the Saviour of Israel has been revealed and the blessing of the world which you earnestly longed to see has come." So he rose and hastened diligently to the temple of God and went before and stood in the temple before him. Because he was a priest, and no doubt it was his time of service,¹³ with authority he took Jesus in his arms, since the priests were accustomed to receive the firstborn, who were offered to God. But he received Jesus not only as a priest, but also as a just and righteous man and a prophet. For this reason he had been bound by the Holy Spirit to this life, in order that he might preach about the Saviour, and hence be counted among the saved, that from everywhere the majesty of Christ might be seen and he might be revealed to be God, not only by the miracles which took place in his conception, birth¹ and growth, but also by the heralds who proclaimed him, as were Zechariah, Elizabeth and John and before them the angel who announced his conception,

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and as was Anna¹⁴ the daughter of Phanuel, who together with chastity and holiness was also filled with the Holy Spirit.

Thus, when Simeon took Jesus in his arms he blessed God and said, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy **mercy** which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel."¹⁵

If, therefore, we consider that these words are addressed to God the Father or to Jesus his Son whom Simeon bore, both could be true. Nevertheless, the heretics have no doubt that (they are addressed) to God the Father, for they say¹ that Simeon prayed to him and requested of him. Concerning the fact that they maintain that these words are inappropriate to the babe whom he bore in his arms, we ask them why they are inappropriate to Jesus. Is it because he said, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant ..."? Look, the apostle called himself his servant at the beginning of his book: "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ."¹⁶ But although (they say that) his (Simeon's) request that he might let him depart from life is not appropriate to him (Jesus), how did he who freely of his own command turned and turns men¹⁷ from death to life not have the authority to give release from life? But if "Mine eyes have seen thy **mercy**" is not of him, look, Zechariah said about him, "He acted mercifully with our fathers and remembered his holy covenants."¹⁸ And although they say that it is not¹ to him that the designation of a light which was given for revelation to the Gentiles applies, how did the prophecy foretell him (to be) a light?¹⁹ And if they say that he is not the Lord God of Israel, the saying of Zechariah confutes their ideas, for he prophesied about his son, "You, child, will be called the prophet of God. You will go before the Lord to prepare his way, to give knowledge of salvation to his people in the forgiveness of their sins."²⁰ And the angel said, "She will bear a

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son and you shall call his name Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins."²¹ But if they doubt the fact that he blessed the God whom he bore in his arms, as if the babe should not be believed (to be) God, the angel called him²² God^{23,24} after he announced to the shepherds, "To you is born a Saviour who is Christ the Lord."²⁵

Therefore everything¹ spoken by Simeon is truly appropriate to the babe Jesus who is God in his nature. And even if the hearing of the words was insufficient for the understanding²⁶ of them and the sight of the babe for faith in him — for it is written that Joseph and Mary were amazed at the things which were said about him²⁷ — and Simeon²⁸ did not say that they were spoken about him or (that) because of him they were addressed to God (the Father), nevertheless it is clear that they were spoken to him and applied to him and were his and he is the God who was blessed by Simeon and whom he requested to let him depart from life, because he had previously bound him to life. For "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word" shows this — he remembers him as one from whom he had previously heard something. "For mine eyes have seen thy **mercy**" means "I have seen thy corporality, by which thou redeemest the world," for he called it **mercy** because all¹ spiritual blessings, which, according to the saying of Paul, "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard,"²⁹ were prepared for men by the corporality of God. The priest said these things being more in wonder than anyone, for divinely and spiritually he had received from him the revelation that he would remain alive. So after Simeon said these great things to Jesus, he blessed Joseph and Mary his mother, benedicting him as God and blessing them as men, and gave them the blessing to which they were entitled as servants of this mystery. Because Mary was amazed at the things which she heard about her son, Simeon said to her, "Not only you (pl.) will be astonished at him and in various ways receive ideas about him, but everyone will be amazed at

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him and many will fall and others will rise through him. He is set for the falling and rising of many³⁰ in Israel, for behold, Jesus is a sign of dispute,³¹ for all tongues will speak about him and all will be conquered by him and fighting against him they will proclaim his greatness." For this sign which is placed in the midst teaches two things and because those who believe perceive that it shows these things, they do not fall into debates and quarrels, but those who do not believe fall into disputes against one another.

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Extending his saying and particularly making known the incomprehensibility of Christ, Simeon said to Mary, "A sword will pierce through your own soul also,³² i.e. he will become a sign of conflict not ~~only~~ to others, but also to you. You do not perceive him as he is, but as you are able you think about him, and not as he ought to be believed in. For if you had believed in him as is right, you would not have marvelled at my words because I called him God,¹ who has power over life and death." So indeed he called this inadequate conception which Mary had a sword and said that it would pierce her soul, because she did not remain until the end in this opinion which was inadequate to Christ but, together with the apostles, learnt through the coming of the Holy Spirit about the majesty of him whom she had borne. But this saying, "A sword will pierce through your soul," reveals two ideas: one is what has been said, and the other is that along with the apostles she too would be offended at him, **for she too is included** in the meaning of that saying, "All of you will be offended at me this night."³³ Therefore he called that offence which came about shortly afterwards a sword which pierces her, and made known their weakness and the inadequate conception which she had of Christ. ¹ Since she did not know at the time of his coming to the temple that she was offering the only begotten incarnate Son of God to his Father, just as every mother was accustomed to bring her firstborn she too brought up him whom she had

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borne to present him to God. Her rebuke (directed) at him, "Son, why have you treated us so? Behold, I and your father have been looking for you anxiously,"³⁴ shows that Mary did not possess at that time the faith appropriate to Jesus, for to this saying which was inappropriate to him he said, "Do you not know that I must be in my Father's house?"³⁵ It is written that they did not understand the saying which he spoke to them,³⁶ clearly because they did not know that he was the true Son of God. So Simeon makes known in his saying, as I have said, two things: the offence of Mary and the inadequacy of her faith. And because both of them received correction, for she was¹ to recognise him as true God and the offence which she took was to be **swiftly healed, he** said to her, "A sword will pierce your soul." But his saying, "The thoughts of many hearts will be revealed,"³⁷ means, "If you who conceived and gave birth to him do not yet know him, who knows at this time who he is?" Thus the saying is spoken against those who at that time and now regard him as a man and against those who seek to elucidate³⁸ his incomprehensibility, for the thoughts of all who are unworthy of him and do not believe in him as God, as he ought to be believed in, will be revealed and made known. Nevertheless, those who like Mary take offence on account of weakness will like her receive correction by grace, but the others who on account of an evil will blaspheme, like the Jews at that time,¹ are placed in their number. Thus this meaning in "The thoughts of hearts will be revealed" is made clear as one says, "A sword will pierce your soul, i.e. the doubt and offence which pierce you will clearly reveal the thoughts of the hearts of all men." For if they doubt or take offence from weakness or evil, this has indeed been seen with many. Therefore we have learnt these and similar things through what was said by Simeon about the doubt of Mary and the thoughts of many hearts, to which applies the saying of the apostle, "His judgements are unsearchable and his ways unfathomable,"³⁹ have

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been revealed to us. But when Joseph and Mary had heard these things from Simeon and completed everything as it was commanded in the law, they returned to their own city, Nazareth, simply and unwittingly serving¹ the divine economy.

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3 For⁴⁰ on this day the temple entered the temple. The temple which is the body of Christ entered the Jerusalem temple, the temple of God the Word entered this day into unity with another, the temple of Jerusalem. This day he who receives sacrifices and offerings from all offered a sacrifice, and he who bears everything in his power was this day borne in the arms of old Simeon. He asked him who appeared as a babe and infant that he might therefore let him depart in peace, he called the infant Lord and the babe God and asked him to have mercy upon him saying, "For mine eyes⁴¹ have seen thy great mercy which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples. Therefore let me now depart, because thou hast gladdened me with the sight of thee. Let me depart, O Lord, in peace because my soul has been satisfied by the sight of thee. Thou art the Lord's Christ,¹ thou art the expectation of Jacob and the hope of Israel, thou art the light of the Gentiles and the glory of thy people, thou art the hope of all. Therefore let me depart, for mine eyes have seen the hope which ages and generations awaited. Let me depart, because thou hast bound me to life that I might be counted worthy of the sight of thy divinity.⁴² I confess to thee that thou hast chosen my hands to bear thee, O Lord, who hearest all. Glory be to thee, who hast given me breath and bound me to life until the revelation of thy coming to the world! Glory be to thee, who hast counted me worthy to see thy glory! Let me now therefore depart in peace, for I have seen thee, the light of the Gentiles and the glory of Israel. Thou, O Lord, givest life and breath to all and thou hast bound me that I might not taste death until I had seen thee in this life. Thus thou hast fulfilled with thy servant thy promise.

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Let me therefore depart from this life in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy mercy."

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Anna the old prophetess was also counted worthy of the sight of this divinity⁴³ and came up at that very hour and praised the Lord and spoke by the Holy Spirit about the Saviour who had been revealed in her days and gives release from wearisome life to the old, for he, as is written, is our God. With Simeon let us bear in our hands his body from the altar and with him ask not only that he might release us⁴⁴ from life but (also) that he might deliver us from the bonds of sin, not that we might see him with bodily eyes but that we might bear him in our hearts⁴⁵ night and day, fix¹ our mind⁴⁶ on him, rejoice at the sight of him in this life in the sacrament and in the new world in the fullness of sight and deed. Before the throne of his majesty let us render confession of his love towards us, for he has honoured us to the extent of our becoming sons and partakers of his majesty. There let us praise him and his Father and the Holy Spirit, now⁴⁷ and for ever, Amen.

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Lk. 2,40

...] the souls of sinners which were held in Sheol, because it is written that the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God,¹ where he had previously committed their lives when they were in the body. But the souls of sinners remain in Sheol with the body. Because they loved the [] and pleasures of the body, they remain with it in corruption, not in it but with it. But the souls of the wicked who have rejected God or those who have completely disbelieved [God] are in the hands of the demons.

Therefore his body which was placed in the grave preached [] to the souls [of] sinners. Now it is clear [that no] dead body proclaimed the [resurrection], for a dead body belongs only to sinners

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and the wicked. How much more is the body of God confessed to be and to give life! But even today human life departs from the bodies of the righteous, but the miracles which happen to the bones show that the divine life does not leave them, (as do) the demons who cry out and make known that the divine life has remained with them. So if this is the case with the righteous servants, how much more with the Lord God!

So it is well said that the Spirit, who embodied Jesus, was marvellously joined to his body ... in stature ... he grew strong. He appoints stages to the subsequent growth of his stature in order that everyone born of water by the Spirit might increase in this stature, if worldly ..., as I have said, do not stop his growth. These things are justly written about Jesus, because for us he became the head of another race and instead of the man of dust the man from heaven was revealed² The first man, who is of dust, after the Holy Spirit had departed from him because he had broken the commandment, had no growth in spiritual stature, for how could he grow in that which he had once expelled from himself? Nor was he filled with wisdom, for wisdom does not remain where evil enters. Nor, furthermore, did he have the favour of God, which made him lovely and sweet to natures and to species, by which he named¹ and received authority over everything and by which he also became the likeness and image of God. As all species and irrational natures were subjected to him as the likeness of God, that immediately it departed from him everything revolted against him and instead of authority ...

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Lk. 2,42-46

... the age of twelve years for this behaviour. For if it is not too small for human thoughts, how should it be inadequate for divine thoughts? And if many at this age attain to participation ..., how

are they not able to acquire incorruptible fellowship with the Holy Spirit, which Jesus also [...]? As he grew and became strong in it, he showed the fruit of his [growth] and chose to be in the [temple] of God and to be the pupil and questioner of the doctors.

For the evangelist does not simply reveal in this passage what was Jesus' age but that the interior doctrine¹ comes through him to everyone. He shows (too) that from this point forwards he justifies those who [are faithful] in the choice of virtue. However for Jesus (himself) [this] age was not the beginning of good deeds, for there never stirred in him anything contrary to what is good, neither passion nor opinion. But what was in him and had not been manifested he manifested here in deed, for he remained in the temple of God, persevering in the study of doctrine. For although men receive the teaching of the world until this age, nevertheless there are those [whose ... seven] years and others [...] and so many times less than this, because they learn only the human voice and the composite word. But from the age of twelve years and above a man is able to receive divine thoughts also, to hear and speak uncompounded words and to attain to the sight of spiritual wisdom, which is above the world, (and) which, as it seems to me, was given in the [economy also] to John the Baptist, because [...] by the Holy Spirit he grew there, and along with the growth of stature his soul also increased in divine thoughts. This which we have not perceived in John, because his growth in spiritual things was not written down, we have perceived in the growth of Christ. How a man thinks nothing of a saying which is incapable of explanation while he gives heed to the things which grow within the world, for in the world there are many things which prevent him from arriving at the perception of spiritual things. For how can he perceive that in which he does not grow,¹ since it is clear that the manner of life of men is material and corporeal, not only by food and drink

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but also by human pleasures and the forms which arouse lust? Now although those who grow in the stature of childhood are not in these things, nevertheless they come to them,² because all intimacy with the world and human customs lead to lust, dull the mind and darken the thoughts. And although in the period of his infancy a man does not perceive desires because they are dormant in him, when he reaches³ the age of childhood they stir in him, even when he does not wish (it), exciting the members and provoking thoughts. So he whose growth and acquaintance is thus⁴ cannot perceive spiritual things at the age of twelve years but only those things in which he has grown and (to which) he has become accustomed. But with Jesus (it is)¹ the opposite since, because lust was not implanted in his embodiment, contacts from outside were not sources of growth for it and human sight did not blind it, but at this age of twelve years he revealed to everyone what the hidden growth of his thoughts was like and through this set a limit for those who would receive his Spirit and become his members. Although they [first] know evil and then good, because bodily desire first stirs in men and following it come doctors and teachers and the good growth of spiritual desire, with Jesus (it is) not so, but the desire and choice of good, which at this age which is mentioned was revealed, was first. He did not choose good after rejecting evil, for how¹ could he reject something which he did not know at all, as it is written that before the child knows to reject evil he chooses good?⁵ Therefore Jesus did not reject and then choose but clearly showed what was first with, and chosen by, him. He delivered the interior doctrine⁶ to all who are at this stage that they might henceforward reject evil and choose good, replace intimacy with the world by intimacy with God and not make a pretext of youth⁷ and lack of years for, as was once said, this age is found to supply everything that is of the world, or of thought, or of intercourse, or of other bodily pleasure — and therefore all the more

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the things which are spiritual! Now there are those who have thought that the first Adam at this age of twelve years [...]

Lk. 2,51-52

.../ from the things which we have said but also from the whole account of the gospel. But Luke added to "he went down to Nazareth and was obedient to them" that "his mother kept all these things in her heart".¹ Now it is clear, because they were not natural or customary, but in another place it is written that she kept and pondered all these things² and that Joseph and his mother were amazed at the things said about him,³ that if they had not seen that they were new and strange they would not have marvelled at them and Mary would not have kept and pondered them one by one. For if they had been natural, like (those) of everyone (else), she would not have needed to ponder them, but comparing the things (spoken) about him and the events which (happened) in his presence with themselves and all other men,⁴ she marvelled at these things of Jesus¹ as at new things, because the genuineness of the mystery, which was revealed after the coming of the Spirit — "The Holy Spirit had not (yet) been given because Jesus had not yet been glorified"⁵ — had not yet been made known to her. Mary knew that she had conceived and given birth without intercourse, but she was not aware that she had given birth to God, who had become embodied and had become man by her, because he became embodied by her not sensibly but miraculously, she not knowing it. For it is common also to those who conceive by seed that they are not sensible of the conception while it is being fashioned and formed in them; and if this is the case with nature, how much more can these things of the economy be understood (to be) above word, thought and sensibility! So because she did not at that time clearly understand that she had given birth to the incarnate God, she was amazed at the things which she saw in him¹ and heard from others⁶ about

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him. Now after the evangelist has narrated the things which happened in him and to him and by him until he was twelve years old, he gathers together all of them, the former and the latter, and says that Jesus grew in stature and in wisdom and in favour with God and men.⁷ Above he said that the child grew and became strong in spirit,⁸ while here that Jesus grew in wisdom and stature, to show that from this age upwards he no longer recognises him as a child, although from seven to twelve he is so recognised. So from this age upwards (he has) a different kind of stature. Furthermore, he did not write here that he grew and became strong in spirit, but that he grew in stature [∟...]

...∟ for the weakness of God is stronger than men and his foolishness wiser than men.⁹ So if his weakness is stronger than the strength of men, it cannot be grasped by them and his foolishness cannot be understood by their wisdom, for the majesty of rational beings is not able to understand the lowliness of God. So if you reckon it a weakness that he grew in his stature and a deficiency that he grew in his wisdom, then look, the apostle said that they cannot be grasped by men. Therefore it is sufficient for you to know who grew and you must not seek how. "Jesus grew in stature and in wisdom and in favour." Now I think that you believe that Jesus is Christ, and Paul proclaims to you that Christ is God's power and wisdom.¹⁰ Therefore the power grew in stature and the wisdom in itself. "The Holy Spirit will come and the power of the Most High will rest upon you."¹¹ The power which rested upon (her) became embodied and that which became embodied as weak flesh and received a rational soul grew in both the stature of its body and the wisdom of its soul. So unless we are able to see the mystery of its growth, we do not marvel, for inexplicable things are of God, not man. If his majesty cannot be investigated, how can his lowliness, for it is easier to speak about the majesty of God than to

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comprehend his lowliness,¹² since his majesty is of his nature, but his lowliness of the miracle which came about in his hypostasis? And if it is a miracle that God was brought low, everything connected with it is also a miracle. Now miracles cannot be explained, but (are) to induce the mind to marvel and be astonished, not only at the things which took place in God but also the others which he performed in the rest of the created works.¹³ And if the signs which took place in the created works, which happened in Egypt, in the desert, in all times, which Jesus manifested in things outside of himself, which happened in natures and in bodies from the beginning of the world until our time and are thought customary, are incomprehensible, how can a man seek to understand and explain the miracle which newly took place in the hypostasis of the Word who emptied himself and became man and perfected in his becoming (man) everything human? Anyone who applies himself to this is, in my opinion, irrational and not to be taken account of, because he has not foreseen what and of whom are the things which he is investigating.

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Therefore, if it is written that Jesus grew, and Jesus is God the Word as [...

...] but with him by whose will he emptied himself and became man, and to set us an example that first we should grow in favour with God and then with men. Furthermore, (he grew in favour) "with God" that he might become like the Father since, because he became man, he became inferior to him. And because men did not grow perfectly with God, except partially in the case of a few righteous ones and prophets, he first grew and prepared a way for everyone, who, as and as long as he is willing, may grow and attain to "they may be one in us".¹⁴ So if a man seeks to understand the saying according to its form and says that because he became man he grew in favour first with God and then with

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men, then this is not devoid of truth.

But to the heretics who say that¹ he who grew in stature and increased in wisdom and in favour was an ordinary man like one of us, I admit that here he employed few words. But I ask them first of all who they say that Jesus is: a natural man or God and man?¹⁵ If they say the former, they should attend to the Scriptures, for everywhere they call Jesus God, equal to¹⁶ and consubstantial with¹⁷ the Father, creator of ages¹⁸ and prior to all things.¹⁹ Either, (therefore), a man from this world is considered²⁰ to be the equal of God and the creator of all, or our (doctrine)²¹ stands, that Jesus is God the Word. Now as the Scriptures speak about him as about the natural Son, from whom do they²² say that the man received wisdom and favour? If from the Father, then he is the Son, but if from the Son, Jesus is not the Son of God. Or if from the Holy Spirit, like one of the prophets, why is he Son and they prophets? Or if from the Trinity he received wisdom and favour, he is reckoned as one of the servants, for all of them were created by the divine nature and exist and are sustained by it. But if he as a son by favour grew more than any man, of which of the hypostases is he reckoned son? If they say of the Father, because the name "son" is appropriate to "Father", then what is he of God the Word?²³ And if he is regarded son of the Father, Son and Spirit together, then all of the divine nature should be called Father, and where (then) is the knowledge of the hypostases and the difference of names? But if they say,¹ following the stupid opinion of Theodore, that the divine nature is the Father of men,²⁴ this is of his message and not the doctrine of the Scriptures, for everywhere they call "Father" the one hypostasis who truly brought forth one eternal Son, in relation to whom he is regarded as the natural Father, and us, the baptised, (sons) by favour because we have become, by baptism, brothers of the natural Son, that henceforward we might be called brothers of

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the Son and sons of the Father, as was said by the Son to his Father: "I proclaim thy name to my brothers;"²⁵ and "He was not ashamed to call them his brothers."²⁶

Therefore we are brothers of the natural Son and sons of God the Father, and (it is) not (the case) that, because Father, Son and Spirit are believed (to be) one nature, the term "Fatherhood" (is a term) of nature, just as the incarnation, virgin birth, suffering and death are not common (to each of them) because they are one essence. But if they argue from that of the Jews about our adoption and, as with them the (divine) nature and not the hypostasis of the Father was reckoned Father, think the same (applies) with us, they reject the economy of the Father, deny the salvation of the Son and reckon our benefits to be like the Jews'. For their adoption was a type, and all their benefits shadows which hastened towards the substance, but ours are the substance and reality.²⁷ For we are not recognised as sons outside the hypostasis of the Son, but he is the head and we the members of his body. He became man to make us sons of God, and as his incarnation was not in name only but in true deed, so too his making of us his members and sons of his Father is not in word only, as in the case of the Jews. For there he did not become man and therefore did not make sons. Not being brought low, he did not exalt, not being put to shame, he did not confer honour. But as he gave the name of God to Moses,²⁸ so he gave to Israel the name "son". Wishing to honour the people in the presence of its enemies, he told Pharaoh through Moses, "Release to me my first-born son, Israel, and he shall serve me."²⁹ So while he was making known to Pharaoh the glory of the people, to Moses he was showing its rejection and the election of others. For he did not call it simply "son", but he added "first-born", which shows that others would enter after it. So the word was a sign to Moses that as Ishmael and Esau and Reuben were rejected and others entered in their place, he would cast

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out Israel and the Gentiles would be received in its place. So if from the start of its election its expulsion was made known, how can its sonship be compared with ours?

Because, therefore, the first people was honoured in name only, it was reckoned son of God, that is, of the divine nature, not of the hypostasis of the Father. For neither Father, Son nor Spirit were known to them, because everywhere the doctrine of the nature was delivered to them, in the saying that "God is one".³⁰ But in our case, because along with the faith in the nature the confession of the hypostases has also been revealed, those who have been chosen for the honour of adoption are rightly regarded as sons of the hypostasis of the Father. For they have not simply received the name but, because they have become brothers by grace to the natural Son, and this not simply in word without deed, but the Son first became man and then made men sons, they are reborn and so (really) become (sons). "You were buried with him by baptism into death and in him you have risen with him."³¹ The apostle further said, "Do you not know that we who have been baptised into Christ Jesus have been baptised into his death? You were buried with him by baptism into death, so that as Jesus Christ rose from the dead by the glory¹ of his Father, we too might walk in new life."³² For we have become immortal and hence sons, since it was not right that dead persons should become members of the living body of Christ. His words testify that God does not accept that those who are subject to death should become his sons and friends, but those who are alive and immortal in his likeness. About his friends he said, "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob. He is not God of the dead, but of the living; for all live to him."³³ About the sons he also proclaims through the prophet, "I have said that you are all gods and sons of the Most High. So then like a man you will die."³⁴ Thus he showed that mortal men are not sons and those who are elected to

the dignity of sons are immortal. Therefore neither ordinary men nor angels are regarded by the Scriptures as sons of God, but only those who pass from being men to sons through death and resurrection.

Because they have become brothers to the Son who became man, by the new birth of baptism they are necessarily acknowledged sons of the Father. For if the fact of brotherhood is common (to both), so is the name "Fatherhood",¹ to the head and to its members, to the Word who became man and to the men who became sons. As we are truly born men of the natural womb, in truth and indeed we become sons by the womb of baptism, and the first one is instructive about the second, for neither is unreal.³⁵ 112

There is then no place for your new and strange idea that the divine nature is regarded as the Father of man, or (that) those who receive the honour of adoption become sons of the (divine) nature, not of the hypostasis of the Father. And the feigned adoption of the Jews is insufficient as an example of our privilege, for there only the word came: "I have said that you are gods and sons of the Most High."³⁶ The text is "I have said", not "I have made". He spoke and he promised, but he did not make, while in our case he promised before the foundations of the world and fulfilled his promise in the fullness of time. "He chose you in him from before the foundations of the world."³⁷ And Jesus said to his disciples, "You have been chosen by me from before the foundations of the world."³⁸ But if a heretic says that all believers together with that man³⁹ are sons of the hypostasis of the Father, he must be questioned as to who conferred¹ this privilege and from where and how it was received. If, as the apostle teaches, the baptized have received it by baptism, which is a type of death and resurrection, from where did that man receive it?⁴⁰ To say by his own death and resurrection has no sense,⁴¹ as man by their own death and resurrection are not deemed worthy of it.⁴² Therefore a man is 113

reckoned to become a son when he shares in the death and resurrection of others. So it follows, because God the Word experienced these, that through participation in his suffering and resurrection a man is raised to his dignity. And while the heretic removes God from suffering, the more does he subject himself to suffering because it follows, since (in his opinion God) did not become incarnate and was not bodily born and hence did not suffer, that this birth relates him to a man.⁴³

But if he avoids regarding Jesus as only a man and confesses him cunningly, as is his custom, God and man,⁴⁴ we ask him which of them grew. If he says that the growth was common because it is written that Jesus grew, then God was also deficient. Whether he grew alone or together with the man,⁴⁵ in each of them he is clearly not Christ. Furthermore, first it is written about him that he grew in stature, and if he did not become embodied and become man, how did he grow?

Look, we who believe that these words are written about God first confess that he became (man) and took a human origin, and therefore we attribute growth to him, but you say that in partnership with a man, as God not incarnate, he grew, which is clearly blasphemy. And because it is not written that they grew, but that Jesus grew, and the evangelist made transparently clear that the growth was singular, whether he is reckoned man or God, then your calling of Jesus "God and man" is an empty and stupid expression, uttered in order to mislead the simple, although the monstrosity of the doctrine is not hidden. For from here Jesus is shown to be either God incarnate, as we believe, or a righteous man, as Theodore and Nestorius think,⁴⁶ and this "God and man" which has recently been discovered by the heretics is senseless. If they are relying on the fact that this expression is found in the writings of the fathers, they should first believe like them that God became man without change, and then they may use their saying. For in "God and man" they did not perceive one and another but (they

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used it) to teach that he truly became incarnate, neither his divinity being changed in his incarnation nor his corporality destroyed or eradicated after he became incarnate; but as he is believed to be God, so he is confessed to have become man, and a change in either of them did not occur. If this is their doctrine, your different one is the contrary, for it confesses only the conjunction and nominal association⁴⁷ of God and man. Their doctrine is not like yours, for you unite not the natures but their properties. You preach that a man shared in the majesty of God, but deny that God the Word was united with the lowliness of man, and you follow senselessly the stupid doctrine of Nestorius, which proclaims two natures. He further says that they have one power, one will, one wisdom and one authority.⁴⁸ Now if he thinks in this manner, each of the natures which were united must have power, wisdom and authority. But what is the power, wisdom and authority of man? If he possesses none of these, for he was assumed by God that he might share these things which he does not have, (then it is) not (the case that) the acts of the two of them were one, but a man was united to the majesty of God. And if this is true and they became one wisdom, how did Jesus grow in wisdom? If they were one authority, how did he grow in favour? If they became one power, how is "the weakness of God stronger than men"?⁴⁹ Because God, as you say, did not participate in weakness and man, who possesses it naturally, became one power with God, how is "the weakness of God stronger than men"? For unless the weakness is first confessed, it is not clear that (it is) stronger, and removing God from lowliness, you rather cheat him of majesty. And again, if the two of them became one wisdom, how did Jesus grow in wisdom? If he was a man who grew, they did not, as you say, become ~~one~~ wisdom. And if they both grew, God was ignorant and even he needed to grow, because he was not complete. So where is the wisdom of God in which a man shared, for

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even it came about and was acquired through growth? Either, therefore, they did not, as you say, become one wisdom or if they did,⁵⁰ Jesus did not grow in wisdom. For in what wisdom did he who was once associated with God the Word and was manifested one wisdom with him grow? Where, when and how was it possible that the wisdom of God and of a man should become one? Did the man's increase to become level with God's,⁵¹ or God's decrease to become level with the man's? Furthermore, when and where did the man's wisdom become manifest and then become one with God's? If they say that the unification occurred in the womb, how can he who has not yet become a son have wisdom? If he was united to God at his very creation and the two of them became one, how is it written that Jesus grew in stature and wisdom? If when he was twelve, it is written¹ that he grew after this age. If he became one wisdom (with God) in baptism, after that it is said that "that day or that hour no man knows, neither the angels nor the Son".⁵² And if no man knows the hour of his coming but you see the Son in that passage as referring to him, how could ^{he} have become one wisdom with God? But if this association occurred after the resurrection, when he said, "All authority in heaven and earth has been given to me,"⁵³ how could he say to his disciples at the time of his ascension when "they asked him, 'Will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?'"⁵⁴ that, 'It is not for you to know the times and seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority,'"⁵⁵ and show that these things are known to the Father alone? And if they became one wisdom and one authority after he ascended, why did Paul say, "Christ died and rose and is at the right hand of God and intercedes for us"?⁵⁶ How can he intercede as one in need if they became one authority? Rather, because Paul said that Christ intercedes, whom you interpret to be God and man, both together would then be interceding with the Father, while if (he is) only a man, he did not become one¹ authority and one¹¹⁹ power with the Word. So if no place among all these has been found where it is said that in him God and man became one authority, power and wisdom, then

they were not, as you think, two and the association which you preach did not happen, but Christ, the power and wisdom of God, emptied himself by the will of the Father and became without change weak man. As it was appropriate to his body that it should grow in stature, so also to his soul that it should grow in wisdom and to his weakness that it should receive favour. While he appeared weak he was revealed strong, and as wisdom was added to him the source⁵⁷ of his wisdom became increasingly clear. These things are believed because they are written and not because those who attend to them understand them, for the economy of God is an unspeakable mystery. We are not ashamed to confess that our doctrine is incomprehensible and inexplicable, but rather we rejoice that we lay hold of a mystery which cannot be apprehended by the intelligence. While all (other) wisdoms and doctrines are open to investigation and comprehension, ours remain silent. Because they are incomprehensible, they can only be believed. To the perishing they are regarded as folly, but to those who believe, unspeakable wisdom: "The word of the cross⁵⁸ is folly to those who are perishing." By "cross" it is clear that he indicated the entire economy, for first the virgin birth is regarded as folly by those who are perishing, for they do not believe that God dwelt in the womb and became embodied (as) man and was born of woman. Heathen and Jews utterly reject the (virgin) birth and do not believe that Jesus was born of a virgin, while heretics, who are supposed to accept the confession of the mystery, make it (that) of a man instead of God, saying that a natural babe was conceived without intercourse and born without seed. So in another way they proceed to what is said by Jews and heathen. For if he who was conceived and born is not God, and a natural man does not come into being without intercourse, then they think about his birth from Mary like the Jews and the heathen and like them restrict him (to being) a natural man. And in this the blasphemy

is only transformed, for that of the one group is openly expressed while that of the other is veiled with cunning. For truly (it is a fact) that it is not consistent with the natural order that God should become man and be born of woman, for this is not in accord with it and human nature is **not fit for** this.⁵⁹ However much human thought contemplates the miracle, it eludes it. But Christians, who believe not because they understand it but because it is written, accept it and comparing the event with the power of God attribute it to his might, remembering the word of the messenger of the mystery that nothing is difficult for God.⁶⁰ But if the heretic is still contentious and asks how it was possible for God, who is perfect and complete in his Being, to grow, we reply to him that Paul called Christ the power and wisdom of God.⁶¹ Now it is clear that the Son is the power and wisdom of the Father. Therefore Christ is the Son of God. And because it is written that Jesus grew, but Jesus is Christ, it is the Son of God who grew in stature and wisdom. So if he says that God the Word is the power and wisdom of the Father, he must confess that Christ is God the Word. And if Christ is God the Word, but Jesus is Christ, these things which are written apply to God the Word. Now where (it is written that) he purposed the salvation of men and the renewal and perfection of everything that is, he is called Saviour by accomplishment.⁶² But if he says that **Christ is called God the Word** by imputation, then the same (applies to him being called) man. And if both by imputation, how is he genuine man? For look, it has been shown that Jesus, who is thought by you (to be) a man, is Christ and God the Word: "Jesus grew in stature and wisdom." And if he grew in stature, it is clear that if⁶³ he has no stature he has no growth, and if⁶³ he has no human soul he receives no increase in wisdom. Therefore grasp the bodily beginning and add to it the human acts! Do not take offence at the way of the economy nor, treating his nature on an equal basis

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with his economy and his divinity with his humanity,⁶⁴ renounce the common salvation! Stature, therefore, is of the body and corporality came to him from Mary, from where he also received a human soul. And from where he began to grow in stature he also began to increase in wisdom. Now he who says that wisdom was not added to him clearly also denies his growth in stature and with this his genuine corporality. So he is shown to be a disciple not only of Paul of Samosata and Sabellius, but even more of Mani and Marcion, for they reject the corporality of God and his economy for our salvation.

Therefore Jesus grew in those things which are written about him, first in his bodily stature and, according to his stages,¹ also in wisdom and, together with this, in the favour of God. And as the stages of his stature sprung up one from another, so also did his wisdom grow from itself. The growth (in stature) was manifested by appearance and by the other things connected with it, the wisdom by learning and the favour by signs and wonders. And if it is not written that wonders took place before the baptism, (that is) because he loved men and was moved with compassion by them; just as "Joseph was granted favour with his Lord,"⁶⁵ and "in the sight of the keeper of the prison;"⁶⁶ and as "it found favour with Pharaoh;"⁶⁷ and as "the apostles found favour with the whole people."⁶² However, we have said about "he grew also with God" (that it was) in part from above. Now if we are not able to write about it precisely, that is no cause for wonder, because not even the things which are held to be revealed can be made known by us. Not every spiritual sight comes to word and to the composition of sound, because **perception** is one thing and knowledge gathered from teaching another. Grace brings (one) to **perception**, but knowledge of ideas is gained by instruction and teaching. Along with these faith,¹ which is born of the firm will of the soul, is clearly the third. Two are our own, but the other is the gift of God. \

For it is of our own will that we believe in things which are incomprehensible and of our own effort that we gain knowledge by instruction and training, but the grace of God enables us to perceive spiritual things interior to word and thought, sometimes freely, as with the apostles, and sometimes after the purification of the mind which is gained by victory over passion. **Perception** of this sort does not come to word nor submits itself to psychic thoughts, because they cannot see it, but to the mind only it is shown by grace and it alone rejoices and delights in it. Now if this knowledge is not grasped by thoughts which are interior to words, how can it be comprehended by the composed word and by writings? And if they who perceive it are not able to transmit it in word, because **perception**, as I have said, does not come to word, how can heretics, who do not even hold the faith about it, arrive at the correct understanding of it? "Wisdom dwells not in the malicious soul, nor in the body guilty of sin."⁶⁹ But here, because not only are they subject to passion and practised in cunning but are also cut off from the true faith of God, how can they grasp the wisdom in which Christ grew? If the apostle said that his wisdom was spoken among the **mature** and revealed to them only,⁷⁰ how can that of Christ be understood by the heretics, for a simple reading of the Scriptures does not make known the wisdom which is in them, as neither does the sight of nature the knowledge hidden in them? By the sight of the (created) works everyone who wishes is able to know God, but the spiritual wisdom in them only they (know) who have been purified of passion, who first have found their mind and then that wisdom in which the mind grows. They see it not through the bodies (in) which it is clothed but in purity of mind, for that is its nature, when purified and when it has taken off the old man, directly, without the mediation of bodies, to find spiritual things. If rational corporeal beings had been able to perceive the knowledge of God without

the sight of bodies, he would not have made the visible things, but, because he willed to make not only rational spiritual beings but also man, who is composed of soul and body, he put wisdom in bodies for his instruction, in order that as he sees, hears,¹ tastes, smells and touches he might gather knowledge for himself — not spiritual, but that which is connected with things, for the former, as I have said, is not gained by instruction but only by purification of the mind.

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Instruction, reading and investigation into everything find the latter, but the grace of God shows the former to the mind. He who lives in the old man is able to gain the latter, but only the new man, who is revealed as such by grace and works, finds the former, the spiritual one, because when this wisdom was embodied in the works it appeared outside, not because of the spiritual beings but that it might gather to itself the mind of the corporeal beings. And while that⁷¹ was not able to see the wisdom from the works, it⁷² was not blotted out but will remain clothed in them⁷³ until the consummation of time. It is in the creator and in the works. Incorporeal beings are instructed by it¹ without the mediation of bodies, but men through them, although they who take off their passions are like the spiritual powers. But when the time of instruction and learning is ended and that of inheritance and the kingdom is revealed, wisdom will be gathered into its place and will not be destroyed or perish with the dissolution of composite things. Just as, if a man wishes to write in letters a part of the knowledge which is in him, and after he has written them blots them out, he destroys the sight and the composition of the letters but not the knowledge which is mixed in them, so also God, who inscribed his wisdom in the letters of bodies,⁷⁴ will not destroy his wisdom in them when he brings composition to an end, i.e. transforms it in the renewal, but likewise it also will be in him without change and in the renewal of bodies without damage, for when he mixed it into them it did not separate

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from him but is believed to be in him and in the works — in him un-compounded, with the works in compositions and in bodies. Because the discernment of men did not wish by⁷⁵ reading these letters to find their writer and perceive the knowledge in them, God showed it another way by which it might proceed to him and taught it wisdom in another manner. Whereas he incorporated in the works at the beginning the wisdom of his creatorship, now, at the end of the times, the wisdom of his nature has been embodied and become flesh: "Christ is the power and wisdom of God."⁷⁶ And as this embodied wisdom grew in stature, it gathered to itself through growth that wisdom which was mixed into the works. And [that which will be] in the Father at the end of the times [...]

Lk. 2,52

The¹ evangelist Luke shows what was done by Christ, (what happened) to him and on behalf of him and (what was said) concerning him. "He went up every year to the temple,"² his questions to the teachers,³ his speaking with Mary⁴ and his obedience to his parents by grace⁵ (were done) by him. "He was circumcised"⁶ and "he was wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in a manger"⁷ (were done) to him. "They brought him up to the temple and presented him before the Lord and offered sacrifices for him"⁸ (was done) on behalf of him. And the things which were spoken by Zechariah, Elizabeth, the angels, the shepherds, Simeon and Anna (were said) about him.

Lk. 3,22

... [the resurrection of Christ, that his soul (naphsha') was not left in Sheol, nor did his body see corruption.¹ And our Lord himself also teaches that he had not only a human body but also a soul (naphsha'): "Therefore my Father loves me for I lay down my life (naphsha') that I

may take it again";² "I have power to lay down my life (naphsha') and I have power to take it again;"³ "The good shepherd lays down his life (naphsha') for his flock."⁴ In another passage it is written that he said, "How is my soul (naphsha') troubled, and what shall I say? 'Father, save me from this hour'? No, for this purpose I have come to this hour."⁵ The gospels show that such things came from him at the time of his prayer, that when the time of his suffering arrived, he was afraid and trembled and was troubled just like a man and said to his disciples, "My soul (naphsha') is troubled unto death,"⁶ and that he departed from them¹ and fell down and prayed passionately to his Father like a man filled with pain and sorrow and gripped by the fear of death. So greatly did terror govern him that he did not desist from openly saying, "Father, if it is possible, **let this cup pass** from me,"⁷ not just once, but even twice and thrice. But when¹ he had ascertained the will of his Father, he said to him, "Not my will but thine be done,"⁸ because he desired this more than his own life.⁹ And although even he was afraid as a man, because the fact of death troubled him as (it does) every man, the will of his Father was dearer (to him) than (his) love of human life. And it is written in the same passage that being in agony he prayed earnestly and his sweat was like drops of blood. He fell upon the ground and there appeared to him an angel who strengthened him.¹⁰ So in order that it might be clear that Jesus was God become man, more than anyone he was brought down and tested by human passions. For with other men¹¹ nature herself suffices to establish their corporeality, but with Christ, together with sight and touch and the genuine nature of a body, (there were) also needs and passions by which he was tempted more deeply and extensively than anybody. Otherwise, who is there among men over whom the fear of death ruled to such an extent that his sweat fell like drops of blood upon the ground,¹² and likewise slept so deeply that he was not awakened by the disturbance of the storm nor the noise and clamour of the sailors and disciples nor the

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movement of the boat?¹³

Therefore lest his corporality be thought to be imaginary because of his divinity, his passions¹⁴ an illusion and his needs a likeness because of the majesty of his being, more than any natural man he was tested by these human things. The opinion of the heretics in fact shows that this provision was wise, for if after all these things they reject his corporality, what error might they not have introduced if any of the things which are written had been omitted, even although one of the apostles of our Lord openly said that every spirit which does not confess that Jesus came in the flesh is not of God but of Antichrist?¹⁴ Thus the spirit of the latter speaks through the heretics who deny the corporality of the Word and reject his genuine "becoming", by which men have become sons of God. Because the first of the apostles of Antichrist, Simon Magus, said about Jesus that he was not really man but appeared in the likeness of such, and because Eutychians, Marcionites, Valentinians and Manicheans hold his view about Christ, it is right that they should be regarded like him, especially those who are near us and with us and are reckoned to be sons of the church¹⁵ and disciples of the faith.

How then, O heretic, can the corporality of Christ be compared with the likeness of the dove in which the Spirit appeared¹⁶ since all these things and more the Scriptures teach about his corporality, and **the Holy Spirit only appeared as ~~by~~ revelation¹⁷ and look, as they say, nobody except John saw the likeness of the dove?¹⁸ Everybody, however, saw Jesus, all eyes observed his body, needs and passions, his stature, with its changes, was evident to a great number of Jews and, because of his long growth in their presence and the simplicity of his appearance, he was considered by them to be the son of Joseph. Furthermore, if the corporality of God was a likeness, the blessings which have been prepared for men by it¹⁹ are also likenesses. For he**

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became man to make us sons of his Father. He appeared as a corporeal being to transform us to his spirituality. He was born of woman to give birth to us of the Holy Spirit. He received circumcision and kept the law to free us from its tyranny and redeem us from its curse. He grew in stature to bring us to perfection and completeness. He was obedient to his parents by grace to make us kinsmen and companions of the natural Father. He was baptised by John as man to form for us the other wash which bears sons of God. He fasted and hungered and was tested to give us victory over all the passions of sin. He conquered Satan in the wilderness that we might not be his slaves but his conquerors. He endured passions and tasted death to give²⁰ (us) by his passions impassibility and by his death eternal life. He became a dweller on earth to make us inhabitants of heaven. He was numbered among men to join us to the spiritual hosts. So if the corporality which prepared these things for us is a likeness, so also are all the things which came about by it a mirage, the salvation of Christ is a deceptive appearance, the blessings which he promised are only words and, according to the saying of Paul, the preaching of the apostles and the faith of the Christians are empty.²¹ For if the basis of the blessings is a likeness, what then are they to be regarded as? Perhaps not even that, but something (even) lower and baser. But look, the Spirit did not appear to the eye of the body but to the mind by revelation, as the prophets of old were used to seeing (him): "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high, and the whole host of heaven standing above him:"²² "In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up. His glory filled his temple and the Seraphim stood above him;"²³ "I looked, and behold, a wind came from the north, a great cloud. Fire broke out and shone round about it;"²⁴ "I saw the Lord standing upon a wall of adamant, and in his hand was an adamant;"²⁵ "I looked, and behold, thrones were placed and the Ancient

of Days took his seat:"²⁶ In this manner of revelation the Holy Spirit appeared to John in the likeness of a dove. And as he appeared in various ways in these likenesses to the prophets, and not in one appearance to all of them, so also he appeared in another form to John. As in the former instances²⁷ the different likenesses taught something, even though it was not made known to everyone, so also (with) this vision in which the Spirit was revealed. The power of the appearances and revelations is not diminished by the fact that men are not able to understand them correctly, but rather through their incomprehensibility their greatness is seen. For it is clear to everyone that what can be understood and expressed is inferior to what is incomprehensible and inexpressible.

If therefore God appeared as man in a likeness and did not really become man while remaining God, there is¹ nothing which merits wonder and faith in the economy. Christ, the likeness and equal of the Father, did not empty himself as Paul taught.²⁸ He who is rich did not become poor nor we by his poverty rich.²⁹ God did not send his Son nor did he become (man) of woman.³⁰ It is not true that like the children he shared flesh and blood.³¹ We do not know him in unchangeable reality if the reason that he did not change was that he did not "become".³² It is not a miracle that he was conceived without intercourse and born of a virgin if the body which was conceived and born was only a likeness. And the fact that "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son for it"³³ does not make known anything worthy of praise if it was a likeness which was delivered to death and not the truly incarnate Son. Neither was death really manifested if a shadow and not a genuine body was afflicted by it. Furthermore, if there is no body, neither is there a soul (naphsha') and if this is not present, how is it that "I lay down my life (naphsha') for the flock"?³⁴ And again, if God did not truly become man, the virgin is not the mother of God, for what

was born¹ was a shadow and not God incarnate. So fleeing from the
snare of the doctrine of Nestorius you fall into the very same, for
he said that God was not embodied nor born but dwelt in a man who was
born. He regards it as the birth of a temple and not of the Word, of
5 a man and not of God. He seems to say this because he has first
rejected the "becoming" of God, since he who is born first "becomes"
and unless he "becomes", neither is he born. So because Nestorius
denied that God became man, he denied along with it that he was born
of the virgin and regards it as the birth, as I have said, in nature
10 and in truth of a man, and in name and by imputation of God. For you
also, if you look at your doctrine, agree with him, for you do not
first confess that God truly became man, by which also the birth would
be assured, but you compare the embodying² of the Word with the likeness
139 of the dove in which the Spirit appeared, and you have handed down in
45 writing that just as the hypostasis of the Spirit appeared in the
likeness of a dove, so the Son appeared in the likeness of a man.³⁵
But why were the womb of the virgin and the growth during pregnancy³⁶
necessary for him who did not really become embodied? And why did he
not take the likeness out of air or somewhere else, as the angels
20 sometimes appeared and as demons were accustomed to appear to men, or
like the Spirit quickly begin and end the vision of his revelation,
for it is clear that short and swift was the moment in which the Spirit
appeared to John in the likeness of the body of a dove? I reckon that
it was swifter than the twinkling of an eye. But it is not for us to
25 say where that likeness was from, nor is it right that we should think
that the hypostasis of the Spirit was changed into the appearance of a
dove, nor that he took that likeness out of air, nor that it was in
heaven, nor³ is it right that we should think he came suddenly out of
nothing. But we agree only with what is written and do not plunge into
30 the interior of the word by inquiry, lest we find in ourselves³⁷

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aberration instead of knowledge, error instead of truth. Now if Jesus also appeared to men in this likeness, why was the manner of his revelation not similarly that a man was suddenly revealed and then hid, like the Spirit in the likeness of a dove, the Father in various appearances and angels in the likeness of men? But he needed the virgin, to enter into her and remain in her womb nine months. ¹ The prophets foretold of him, the Spirit made him known through forerunners, types of him were formed and figures of him written down in the Old Testament, prophets and righteous men waited for the appearance of his birth and the fathers longed to see the mystery which was effected through him: "Abraham your father longed to see my day; he saw it and was glad;" ³⁸ "Many prophets and righteous men longed to see what you see, but they did not see, and to hear what you hear, but they did not hear." ³⁹ Not only did those of former times hope for and await the revelation of this mystery, but also the disciples who became obedient to his faith have in various ways died and are dying because of him. Through torture and suffering they confess him before princes and judges ⁴⁰ and preach without fear or shame the new thing unknown to custom, that God of his own will became embodied and was born of a virgin. For if, as (in) their teaching, his appearance was a likeness, the prophets were misleading and the apostles lying; and empty is the confession of those who died for him. ⁴¹ Not only is faith in the mystery empty and of no avail, but even the mystery itself and the things which have been prepared through it. So the saying of the apostle was spoken for it against those who deny it: "Then ¹ those also who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished." ⁴² 141

Why therefore do they marvel as if at a new deed that the virgin conceived without intercourse and remained a virgin even after she had given birth, if she conceived a likeness and gave birth to a phantom? For if a genuine, solid, thick and heavy body did not pass out through 142

the passage of the womb and it remained closed, the birth does not merit wonder, for a spiritual nature is accustomed to pass through places more restricted than the womb. It is not stopped by a solid, a body does not restrain its fineness and no composite thing stands in its way. Not only the holy angels but also the unclean demons are like this. So we are not amazed if we hear that an angel has passed through a body or a demon has entered through closed doors, where also sun and air, whose fineness is thicker than theirs, pass through so many times. They are not stopped by bodies and if this is the case with them, why should we be amazed that a spiritual Word left the virgin and the signs of virginity of her who bore him remained intact? For if, according to their view, it is a likeness, then he left spiritually and not bodily, and consequently he was also conceived spiritually. How therefore did the manifestation of conception appear in the womb of her who bore him? Unless, although he was a spirit, he grew little by little and expanded the womb in which he was conceived, then the virgin was among those of whom the prophet said, "We conceived and writhed like those who bring forth spirits,"⁴³ and her conception is a manifestation of evil, not of good. For this reason the prophet used this very manifestation and said, "Like them, for we conceived and brought forth spirits, the chastening of the Lord was upon us in vain,"⁴⁴ rather than, "Like them, for we conceived and brought forth empty thoughts." If the virgin like them conceived and gave birth to an incorporeal spirit, she is to be reckoned with them, and what then caused John to cry out in amazement at this mystery and teach that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us?⁴⁵ He did not say "the likeness of flesh", which is what he ought to have said if the incarnation was according to your doctrine. Furthermore, he did not write "he became like", but "he became", for this, and not "he became", was appropriate to "likeness". For "becoming" refers to the genuine nature, but

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"becoming like" to both.⁴⁶ John did not say that the Word became like flesh,¹ but that he became flesh, in order that by this word, which applies to all bodies because they come into being at a time when they do not exist, we might see that the Word truly became flesh. So by both words we are confirmed in the mystery: by "he became", and by "he became flesh".⁴⁷

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But if the heretics still persist in their opinion and say that if he "became", he was changed, it is sufficient for their condemnation that they use a heretical argument with which they do not agree. For everywhere they say that they contend against the Nestorians and fight against their error, but if they employ their words, then they are quarrelling among themselves. But if they say, "We agree that the Word became flesh," then they are called in question by that (word) "likeness". They should not confess the words but deny the realities, nor say one thing and interpret (it as) something other, for the words spoken about the faith do not admit of interpretation. "God sent his Son and he became (man) of woman:"⁴⁸ that is to be believed just as it is written and does not admit of another meaning. "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us:"⁴⁹ its reading is its interpretation and faith accepts it.⁵⁰ "We were reconciled to God by the death of his Son:"⁵¹ there is no other meaning to that saying. "If he did not spare his own Son but delivered him up for us all, will he not give us everything with him?"⁵²— we are amazed at the grace of the giver and do not divide his gift;⁵³ we rejoice that the Father delivered up his Son to death for us and do not introduce another hypostasis into the name.⁵³ "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son for it:"⁵⁴ we are astonished that the Father loved so much and do not inquire as to how the immortal Son died.

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If therefore you **subscribe to** "the Word became flesh", you will not see "likeness" instead of "flesh" and "he became like" instead of "he

became". Like the Nestorians who interpret the "becoming" (as) an assumption and say that the Word did not become flesh but assumed a man. If therefore the "becoming" is true for you, he became flesh and not a likeness, and if you believe that the virgin conceived and gave birth, a body went out from her and not a phantom. Therefore, the fact that after she had given birth she remained a virgin is believed to be a miracle, for if a likeness, which has no genuine body, had gone out from her and she had remained a virgin after the birth of it, it would not have been something new which happened to her, and it is not a miracle that she conceived if she conceived a likeness and not a genuine body. Now because everyone who is conceived and born is rightly related by nature to her who bore him — this is common to all who are born — the Son too, when he came to the second birth, first became man and related to his mother by nature, and was then born from her and called her son. For if he is not like her, neither is he her son, or if he is only believed to be a likeness, of necessity she who bore him must also be thus confessed. But if she is by nature a woman — and even with you I do not think there is any doubt about this⁵⁵ — he who was born from her is like her in every respect, and therefore he is son and she mother. The things which were rightly written by us against the Nestorians, your ignorance compels us to say to you, for while you agree with their doctrine, you speak against them. If therefore God did not truly become man but only assumed the likeness or "became embodied" by "becoming like", his mother is not the mother of God. Or if he assumed a man who came into being without intercourse and did not himself truly become (man), thus again the virgin cannot be called the mother of God. This very thing is said by both heretics about the beginning of the economy and it is clear that the same (applies) to the rest (of it). For if the birth is a likeness, so also are the needs and passions of our Saviour a likeness and he did

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not really fast or hunger, become weary or rest, lie down or sleep, suffer or die as the Scriptures teach, but all these are connected to the way in which he was born of the virgin. So his circumcision and growth in stature were unreal and he was never really twelve or thirty years old. But if they say, "Look, the apostle said that he took the likeness of a servant"⁵⁶ and that God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh for sin,"⁵⁷ they come to grief through their own opinion and not through the words of Paul. For in the first saying¹ he placed two likenesses side by side and first called Christ the likeness of God and then the likeness of a servant.⁵⁸ So he explained each likeness by the other one, so that he who like you falsifies his likeness to us might be proved wrong by the fact that he is the likeness of God, and he who like the Nestorians falsifies this might be refuted by "the likeness of a servant". Paul, therefore, in both likenesses [....]

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Lk. 3,23

[....] which are written about the book of Matthew let us pass on to the rest. We perceive that Christ is made known in two births, one in his incarnation from the virgin and the other by baptism. And like him are those who become his members, for first they are born men from the womb and then sons of God by baptism. He, being God, was born man from the natural womb and we, being by nature men, have become by that of baptism sons of God. Matthew went down through the list of the generations to the corporeal birth of the Word, while Luke went up from that of baptism through the succession of names to God. Thus he explained the word of the Father which he spoke concerning his Son, because he went through the list of names and brought him up through it to where he was, since it is written that he came from God into the world¹¹ [....] by baptism [....] true [....] because the womb which gives birth is incorruptible and those who are born from it do not perish but remain eternally spiritual members of the body which they have joined, for it is fitting

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for those who have become spiritual that they should remain for ever without change. Now when the evangelist compares natural birth with that of grace, he calls the first one "supposed": "he was supposed to be son of Joseph."² The expression applies to Jesus because he was not in reality son of Joseph, and to the men who have become his members because their first birth was not genuine¹ and the second was therefore necessary to make them not "supposed" men but sons and [....] of God. Together with nature the Scripture too teaches that our first birth is not genuine but [only] apparent and supposed: "Man is like a shadow and [his] days"³ [....]

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[....] along; with the fact that Jesus was supposed son of Joseph we perceive also that his members were supposed sons of Adam, because before baptism they supposedly exist (as) men and after it they are supposedly reckoned sons of Adam, because in reality they become members of Christ and sons of God. Furthermore, it should be said that they are supposed sons of Adam according to what he was before his sin, for he did not remain¹ as he was and those born of him are not like the first creation. Because in the beginning the human body lived and was sustained by the service of visible things, now they are sustained by it and it bestows on them the reward of their labour, for through its renewal from death to life and corruption to incorruptibility they also attain to renewal and wonderful transformation. Groans are transformed into gladness and corruption into incorruptibility. "The whole creation groans and travails until now,"³ while now he is proclaimed to this age in which, as long as it⁴ exists, the whole creation groans and travails. A type of its end is the baptism in which Jesus, when he was baptised, fulfilled the will of his Father and created anew all things visible and invisible. That is the mystery which was accomplished in the baptism¹ of our Saviour, which⁵ the Father confirmed through his

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voice and the Spirit through his descent. And after he had made his members new by his baptism, Luke brought them up through the succession of names which he related up to Adam, and instead of mortal and corruptible he showed them⁷ in a different rank and so brought them to the Father.

But let us affirm "he was supposed" in another sense: since the Jews were formerly supposedly reckoned sons of God but were in reality (as) men sons by grace, today (the members) are supposedly called men but are in reality sons of God, because the adoption which they have received can neither be removed nor changed but is as permanent as the hypostasis of which they have become members. Furthermore, (it is) in order that Christ might be described differently from us that, because with the Jews he was supposed son of¹ Joseph,² his mother spoke with him according to this supposition³ and Luke wrote in this manner the things which were related — "when his parents brought in the child Jesus"¹⁰ and "his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the Passover"¹¹ — to correct these Luke said here that he was supposed
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...] first [....], through "Let us make man in our image and likeness."¹² Because especially in baptism this likeness is revealed in us, from it he began the narration of names, from the point where we become like God and members of his Son. In the account of the two evangelists the ascent and descent have been shown to us. With the succession of the bodily race of men Matthew went down to the¹ bodily birth of the Son of God, but with the growth of their renewal, which comes about by baptism, Luke went up until he brought them to God. And indeed the ladder which Jacob saw was fore-ordained as a type of this descent and ascent: "it was set up on the earth and the top of it reached to heaven: and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it. And the Lord

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abound above it." ¹³ Now although somebody may equate that revelation with the descent of Jacob to the house of Laban and his [ascent] from there, in my opinion it suits these things of ours better. But it is clear that none of those who at the present time are counted worthy of this mystery, nor of those through whom at that time it was transmitted and passed, perceive it through baptism. For at first Seth perceived it after the perception had departed from Adam, and after him ¹Enoch, 156 and after him Noah, and then Shem, and after them Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the rest who were like (them) in their works and faith, while today, because it is given in common to everyone, they who through works and separation (from the world) take off the old man and live in the way of the new attain to the perception of it. And the blessing which formerly passed through one race — and not through the whole of it, but only one to another they delivered and transmitted it — through baptism has been freely given to all men. They receive the Holy Spirit and become sons of God because "the Word became flesh" ¹⁴ and received a soul. It was right that this should be ordained for him, for flesh needs a soul and both the Holy Spirit. And as flesh, when it receives ¹a soul, becomes a man, so a man, when he receives the Holy 157 Spirit, is declared a son of God. And because flesh receives a soul within the womb, in baptism the Holy Spirit, which he first received at the beginning, is given to man [....

Lk. 3,23-38

...] and of forgiveness, that we should forgive evil-doers not only seven times but seventy times seven, ¹ he showed in deed through his passion, for doubtless while pointing to his own he reminded Simon of that number pronounced by Lamech: "Because Cain has been avenged seven times, Lamech seventy times seven." ²

Cain therefore requested God that, because he had killed, he

might die. (But God) said to him, "Not so! For whoever kills Cain will pay seven penalties.³ For he who kills you does you a favour, because you are delivered from the punishment which I have placed upon you. But the fate⁴ of all killers — 'Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed'⁵ — will not happen to you, but because you have become the demonstrator of murder, you will be avenged seven times."⁶ This saying has been understood in the following ways:

either Cain, because he had killed, received seven punishments; or he remained alive seven generations during which time he was punished; or that he who kills him spares him from seven punishments; or that in the judgement to come his punishment will exceed [that of] all (other) killers; or that after he has been punished an [end] will come to his judgement and he will be judged worthy of mercy, which doubtless will happen to him because he was not the author of murder but served the will of that other about whom Christ said, "He was a murderer from the beginning and has nothing to do with the truth."⁷ referring either to the fact that Satan brought in death through the transgression of the commandment, or that he killed Abel through Cain. Whereas there he brought in death upon Adam through Eve, here through Cain he killed Abel. (However,) everyone may think about these things just as he wishes.

Therefore after Cain had killed, he received the punishments which are written and a mark was also placed on him lest he should be destroyed by anything, not simply by a man or animal, but also lest he be burned by fire or drowned by water. For it seems that he would throw himself either into fire or water to escape from the torments in which he was.⁸ So the sign was placed on him lest he should be destroyed by these, and irrational natures also recognised the sign upon him. For he¹ who besought God that anyone who found him might kill him could not terminate his life, and the sign which was placed on him was fittingly called

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"invulnerability". For how can it not be a miracle that flesh falls into fire and is not burned and into water and is not drowned and is thrown before animals and not eaten? After these things which were said about him, it is written that Cain went out from the presence of the Lord and dwelt in the land of Nod, opposite Eden,⁹ for he did not remain in the area of Paradise as Adam and the descendants of Seth dwelt there. The land in which Paradise was planted is called Eden and that in which Cain dwelt the land of Nod. About Adam it is said that God caused him to go out and live opposite the Paradise of delights,¹⁰ and about Cain that he dwelt in the land of Nod, opposite Eden,¹¹ that it might be clear by these¹ that Adam lived outside Paradise in the land of Eden and Cain outside of that in what was called the land of Nod. After Cain had lived in this land, a son was born to him, and he called him Enoch. He (it was) who afterwards first built a city, and Cain called the city by the name of his son.¹² And while it seems that Adam and those of his race lived in tents, those who were descended from Cain built for themselves a city [fear] of animals and of injury [either ...] because they had been expelled from the providence of God or because they loved the land and living in it more than those of the house of Seth, where we see that all the fabrication and elegance [of cities,] walls and decorated houses were invented by those who particularly possess [worldly] ideas, by those about whom¹ the prophet said that [they] go astray.¹³ For see, the patriarchs of the house of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob lived in tents; as the apostle said, "They looked forward to the city with [foundations whose builder and maker is God.]"¹⁴ So Adam and the race of Seth doubtless did not build for themselves a city in this sense like the house of Cain, for they were [made to inherit] the dwelling-place of Paradise, from [which] they departed, rather than the land in which they settled. The Scripture faults Hezekiah because

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he built and fortified the walls of Jerusalem and for the first time brought water into it.¹⁵ And it seems, because it is written about David that he built the stronghold of Zion and called it by his name,¹⁶ that he did not do this by human design but, because Solomon built the temple. he previously built the city¹ in which the temple was placed and in which that kingdom which was given to him was in like manner established. But if he had been forgiven by God, he would have built the temple also. And the city $\sqrt{\dots}$

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..... $\sqrt{\dots}$ the generations which are written. And from her it was embodied and was born bodily, and by baptism it was announced and openly made known through the witness of the Father and of the Spirit. And Luke, making known who he is who was revealed through the witness, added to "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased"¹⁷ that "Jesus was about thirty years old."¹⁸ And he went through the list of names and brought him up through it to God the Father, who planted the likeness¹⁹ in the beginning in the creation of Adam and descending bore witness to it in the Jordan that "This is my beloved Son."

For Adam, when he was first created by God, received two things: that he should be the likeness¹ and should transmit it, and after he sinned both of them were taken away from him. The following bear witness that he was not the $\sqrt{\text{image}}$ of God $\sqrt{\text{after}}$ his sin: he perceived his nakedness, for it is clear that there is nothing which merits shame in the image of God; he hid among the trees, for the likeness does not hide from its archetype; and he answered like a frightened and deceitful man when questioned, for none of these things is appropriate to the image of God. Through them Adam was shown not to be the image of God after his sin, and (this is clear) also from the punishment which he received, and from the following facts: he became mortal, the earth was cursed through his toil, in travail he gathered

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provision for himself, God²⁰ decreed for him, "Dust you are and to dust you shall return,"²¹ and God²⁰ said about him when he put him to shame, "Behold, Adam has become like one of us,"²² and "Lest he take from the tree of life and eat and live forever."²³ From these and similar things we learn that the likeness of God was effaced from Adam after his sin. And that that other likeness which continued through his race was carried by him was made clear by the fact that it²⁴ was not transmitted by Cain when he was born nor by Abel after him. But the fact that it was present with Seth and he gave it to Enosh and "henceforward he had confidence to call on the name of the Lord"²⁵ shows that it was [restored] to him by Abel's offering and death, which is a mystery. Along with these (that is also clear) because the Scripture here related words which are like those which were said at the creation of Adam: "This is the book of the generation of men;" and "On the day that God made Adam he made him in the image of God; male and female made he them."²⁶ For since the honour which was taken away from Adam was given back to Seth and Enosh, the words which were written about the former's honour were pronounced. That Adam became the likeness of God is clear from the fact that it is written that God said, "Let us make man according to our image and likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air."²⁷ And that the image of God came into him we perceive from the fact that "God created Adam in his image, in the image of God he made him; male and female made he them."²⁸ For since the sons who transmit this likeness come into being from the communion of both, it said, "Male and female made he them." And to teach us this idea it rendered the expression of it²⁹ twice and added to "God said, 'Let us make man according to our image and likeness'" that "God created Adam in his image." So it showed that he not only became the likeness of God, but also that God was planted in him to pass through

his generations, especially because it is not the custom of Scripture to repeat an expression which makes known (only) one idea. But here it clearly taught both that he came into being in the likeness of God and that he received the image of God that it might be transmitted by his seed. Through the first, "[God] said, '[Let us make] man according to our image and likeness,'" we perceive the hypostasis of the Father, but in the second, "God made man, in the image of God he made him," we perceive the Son of God, because not only the Father is God by nature, but also the Son. The Father as the archetype said, "Let there be man," and the Son as the fulfiller of his Father's will made man. And it was not sufficient that¹ the blessed Moses wrote this saying twice at the creation of man, but he also recalled it at the birth of Seth and Enosh and said, "This is the book of the generation of men: on the day that God made man, in the likeness of God he made him."³⁰ That is, when the Son made Adam he made him in the likeness of God the Father. And he repeated the saying [here] with Seth, not to show by it that Adam came into being in the likeness of God, but that the likeness of God came into him, that is, that the Son was present in his first creation to be transmitted through his generations. He said, "Male and female made he them," because by the communion of man and woman he who becomes the bearer of the likeness is born. Therefore where it is written that man [came into being] in the likeness of God, it is not [necessary] that "Male and female made he them" should be written, but only¹ "Let us make man according to our image and likeness." And after Adam came into being in the likeness of [God] and it was [taken away] from him, the same (happened to) Eve. [Just as he is] her foundation [in] formation, so also (is he that) in honour. But there are those who say that "God said, 'Let us make man according to our image and likeness,'" is the plan and the counsel and what is written afterwards, "God made man in his image," is the fulfilment of

the plan.³¹ But this does not appear to be the case, because everywhere God manifests the deed at the very moment of the word and does not need to consider and take counsel and (only) then act, as God said, "Let there be light," and at the moment of the word it is written that the light came into being.³² The act did not lag behind the command even the slightest moment, nor was it necessary that he should speak the word and then that which was to come into being would be manifest, but immediately he spoke the light came into being from nothing without delay. And what is written before it, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."³³ is also deemed to be like it, for at the moment that he willed to create these primary natures, instantaneously with his will the works appeared. And although he possesses without beginning the will by which he made the creation, the creation was made in the beginning. Immediately he willed that it should be, suddenly [...] it was, as he had willed to make it. It did not come after his word, for truly that word was a deed, in which there is figured a type of the Word who was to become the new man. So after God had created heaven and earth by his will and had made the light by his command, it is written that God said, "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters and let there be a separation between the waters."³⁴ And it came about as soon as he spoke, and the deed did not lag behind the word. After these things he said, "Let the waters be gathered together and let the land bring forth life, let there be lights in the firmament of heaven and let the waters and the earth bring forth."³⁵ Everywhere the act was joined to the word for the command of God has this power: "He calls the things which are not as if they were."³⁶ Because "Let us make man according to our image and likeness" is similar to them, man came into being at the moment of the word, even although the manner of his generation was different from the rest of the works. And if with the last he said, "Let us make," so neither

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here did the deed lag behind the word. As the light was not behind the word which I have mentioned, "Let there be," nor the firmament behind the command of his extending, likewise the formation of man (was) not behind the word which he spoke, "Let us make man." If the Father ordered the Son to make, the deed appeared without delay, and the hypostasis of the Son is revealed through the fact that the Father said to him, "Let us make." But if from the fact that the saying is repeated it is thought by some that man was not made immediately but first (came) the thought and counsel and then the deed appeared, it would follow that Adam came into being not once but twice, first through "God made man in his image" and second through "God formed man from the dust of the ground and breathed into him the breath of life."³⁷ Because they say that the first one was the plan and preparation, for "God first considered and then made man," (it is) **as if the previous things were created without consideration.** **Such, however, is not the case, but, because with "Let there be light" it was created immediately and with "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters" it was made without delay, so also with "Let us make man according to our image and likeness" it is clear that man was made in the likeness and image of God immediately and without delay, and in that which follows, "God made man in his image, in the image of God he made him," that the likeness of God was placed in him. That is, the Son of God was present in the creation of man in order to pass through and be transmitted by his generations. But by the third, "God formed man from the dust of the ground and breathed into him the breath of life,"³⁸ Moses showed from what the body was created and from where the life was breathed, as he did also in the formation of woman. For after he had written that he created them male and female, he taught how Eve was made and said, "The Lord God caused a sleep to fall upon Adam, and while he slept took one of his ribs and filled up**

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the flesh in its place. And the Lord God made the rib which he took from Adam into a woman." ³⁹ By this he made known from where and in what manner Eve was made, but he did not describe her creation twice. But if, because the saying was repeated, they go astray and suppose that God did not create Adam where he said, "Let us make man," but there he considered and prepared and afterwards he made him, they must suppose the same for the creation of the other things. [For] it is written concerning the generation of the living creatures and the firmament that God said, "Let the earth bring forth life according to its kind: cattle and beasts and creeping things of the earth according to their kinds." ⁴⁰ and after this that "[God made the beasts] of the earth according to their kinds and the cattle according to their kinds and all the creeping things of the earth according to their kinds." ⁴¹ And although it is clear that they were created by the first command, the saying was repeated to [teach us that] what God commanded came to pass. [Furthermore], about the lights it is written that [God] said, "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth," ⁴² and shortly afterwards it repeats the saying and says, "It was so, and God made the two great lights." ⁴³ So we find this type of expression with all the works, for although they were made by the first command it renders the saying concerning them twice and shows that what God said came to pass. Thus comparing with these the creation of man we learn that by the fact that God said, "Let us make man according to our image and likeness," he too was created. And if words are written which resemble this, ⁴⁴ they indicate something else, (namely) what they signified in the previous words. ⁴⁵

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Therefore the true image of the Father, the natural Son, was planted in the likeness which came into being for him and proceeded and was transmitted through all the [generations] as far as the [virgin]. Because of this they were preserved [... by the power] of his Father.

[...] clearly,] Isaiah [the prophet, "As] the bunch [is found] in [the cluster, and a man says to his neighbour, 'Do not] destroy it, for [there is a blessing] in it,' so I will [do for my servants' sake]. Therefore, I will not [destroy them all]. I will bring forth seed from Jacob [and from Judah to] inherit my holy mountain."⁴⁶ So according to the saying of the prophet [the cluster] was preserved [from] destruction and not [laid waste] because of the carried bunch which depended upon it. Now because the cluster went out from the vine and the bunch was dependent upon the cluster, we perceive (in) the vine the patriarchs of the race, the cluster their people and the bunch¹ Christ, who was transmitted through their race, who was planted in Adam through his formation and proceeded from the virgin in the fullness of time. All of the intermediate generations transmitted him, and just as he was transmitted from Adam to the virgin, so he came from her to baptism which, when he was baptised in it, he fashioned (as) the new womb which gives birth to the sons of God. And as he who at that very time [fulfilled] the mystery in deed and gained for himself members [here a large lacuna of approximately a half page] eternal and unchanging. ¹ Paul teaches that [this] was known to God the Father eternally: "Those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son,"⁴⁷ calling the hypostasis of the Son "the image". For he is truly the genuine image of God the Father and conformed to [him] (are) [all] who have become [his] members by baptism. Because they have been deemed worthy of such an adoption, he was called their beginning and first-born: "He is the beginning, the first-born from the dead;"⁴⁸ "that he might be the first-born of many brethren."⁴⁹ Thus it is evident from the things which have been said that the first man not only came into being in the likeness of God but also (became) the receiver and transmitter of the likeness, i.e. of the hypostasis of the Son who is the true and natural

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image of God the Father. For concerning him Lamech prophesied that
after [....] generations [....] the sin of the murder committed by⁵⁰
Cain⁵¹ [here a large lacuna of approximately
a half page].⁵²

APPENDIX

Fragments of Philoxenus preserved in the Commentaries of Bar-Salibi,¹ Bar-Hebraeus and George of Be'eltan.

Mt. 1,17²

Philoxenus said: He divided the generations into three parts because in 180
three places the Father revealed the promise concerning his Son: to Abraham, "By your seed shall the nations be blessed";³ to David, "I will establish for you your seed forever";⁴ and through another prophet, "My servant David shall feed them."⁵

Mt. 1,18⁶

Of Saint Philoxenus: It was called an anointing because the Father revealed about him through the Spirit that he is the natural Son and God like him, as he said, "Father, glorify me with that glory which I had with thee."⁷ And a voice was heard, "I have glorified and will glorify."⁸ 181 And about the Spirit he said, "When the Holy Spirit comes, he will glorify me."⁹

Mt. 3,1¹⁰

Philoxenus: He was baptised (with) our baptism because he was to give it to us, since it is a type of his death and resurrection. And just as he died and rose and became for us the first-fruits from the dead,¹¹ he was in a holy fashion baptised with our baptism and immediately gave it to us.

Mt. 3,4

Philoxenus says: John ate sweet herbs and the grass of the earth, which in the Syriac are called locusts and wild honey. For from a word which is like another in Greek, he who translated the Scripture into Aramaic

thought that the gospel said that John ate locusts, but the meaning of the word is that he ate herbs,¹² and he dwelt in the wilderness.

Mt. 3,11¹³

Saint Philoxenus: I am not worthy to serve his body.

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Mt. 4,1¹⁴

It is discussed¹⁵ whether Christ performed miracles before his¹⁶ fast or not. Saint Philoxenus and others say¹⁷ that he did.

Mt. 4,3¹⁸

Of Saint Philoxenus:¹⁹ Knowing that he was God, he attacked him.

Mt. 4,5²⁰

Of Saint Philoxenus: For it promptly came with the tempter in the appropriate places to a struggle.

Mt. 4,11²¹

Of Saint Philoxenus: A hard struggle is that of the desire for glory, more cruel and more difficult than all. And they are as Luke described them.

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Mt. 8,13²²

This centurion is that in Luke.²³ All commentators testify to this, especially Mar John, Philoxenus and bishop Moses.²⁴

Mt. 8,24²⁵

One ought to know that God the Word, when he became incarnate, assumed that body which Adam had before he sinned. For although the penal passions, which came in upon Adam when he sinned, appeared in his

hypostasis, they were not (present) in his formation, for he accepted them voluntarily¹ and therefore was not always tempted by them. For this reason he determined the times of his sleep, hunger, thirst, fatigue, suffering and death, and likewise when he slept, he slept voluntarily, and not by natural necessity. This understanding is (that) of Moses Bar-Kepha; Philoxenus, Jacob of Anath and the Armenians think likewise.

Mt. 9,2²⁶

John, Philoxenus and Moses Bar-Kepha say he is different from that one.²⁷

Mt. 9,6²⁸

Of Saint Philoxenus: He was called the Son of Man because he became the son of the new man who preceded the transgression of the commandment.

Mt. 9,37²⁹

Of Saint Philoxenus: The few labourers: that is the teachers and prophets of the old (covenant) who¹ were unable to gather the harvest into the granary of the kingdom, either because they were weak or because the commandments of the law were not capable of this.

Mt. 26,23³⁰

Of Saint Philoxenus: Even if all the disciples stretched forth with him their hands into the dish, nevertheless when Our Lord put forth his hand they withdrew their hands. Judas, however, did not do so, but presumptuously in equality with him stretched out his hand. And this is "He who dips his hand".

Mt. 26,29³¹

Philoxenus of Mabbug in the commentary on Matthew says: He did not make him a partaker of the elements, because Satan was entering into him at

that time. From this exposition of Philoxenus it has become customary in the church not to give the sacrament to those³² possessed by evil spirits.^{32/18}

Mt. 27,56³³

Cyril and Severus and Philoxenus say: Mary the mother of God and Mary the wife of Clopas were sisters, and he called the latter the sister of his mother.³⁴ Of Saint Philoxenus:³⁵ Joseph and Clopas were brothers, and Mary the mother of Christ and Mary (the wife) of Clopas sisters, so the two brothers married¹ the two sisters.³⁶

Lk. 1,35³⁷

Philoxenus says: God the Word and the flesh from Mary immediately came together into a unity, and after the Word became flesh, as John said,³⁸ and remained forty days in bodily organs and forms, it received a rational soul, as is the rule with men — for after a body is made mature in members and forms by forty days, it receives a soul — (that) being clear from¹ "the Word became flesh", for by "he became flesh" he says that he was united to flesh. And if anyone says that that flesh was lifeless during these forty days, one should reply that it was alive, because it was alive with the divine life of the Word. Even on the cross, when the soul was separated from the body, the body too was alive with his divine life, because (his divinity) was not separated from either of them.³⁹

Lk. 3,21⁴⁰

Of Saint Mar Philoxenus: Thus he prayed: I, Father, have, according to your will, become man, and from (the time) when I was born of the virgin until now, I have completed the things of human nature and kept and fulfilled the commandments, signs and types of the law. But now I have been baptised and have provided the baptism which will be a spiritual womb giving rebirth to men. Just as John was the last of the priests of

the law, so I have appeared as the first of the priests of the gospel. Through my prayer, Father, open heaven and send your Holy Spirit upon this new womb of baptism. As he dwelt in the womb of the virgin and indued me with a body from her, so may he dwell in this womb of baptism and sanctify it, form men and cause them to be born of it new men, making them your sons and my brothers and inheritors of the kingdom. May the priests of the new covenant, of whom I am the head and the first, 190 because of this prayer be able to do that which the priests of the law from Aaron to John could not do, and whenever they baptise and pray to you and petition, send the Holy Spirit upon the baptism in which they are being baptised. While now the Spirit is being openly manifest with me, may it be clear that with them too he descends, secretly, and fulfils through their hands the ministry of the new covenant, for which I have become man and as the high priest (of which) I am praying before you.

Lk. 3,23⁴¹

Philoxenus said:⁴² Matthew wrote about⁴³ the natural generations and therefore said¹ that so and so begat so and so, but Luke (did) the legal 191 ones and therefore wrote that "he was supposed".⁴⁴

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

The biblical references are to the Syriac versions, unless an indication to the contrary is given. In the case of references to the Old Testament, where a reading from the Septuagint which affects the translation is not to be found in the available editions of the Peshitta, attention is drawn to this fact. In these cases it is not to be assumed that the entire citation or allusion depends upon the Septuagint. A list of all the passages concerned will be found on pages 41-44 of the Introduction to this volume.

Introduction A

1. Title: Of Mar Xenaias, from the commentary of the chapters against Diodore.
2. ܕܟܪܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܟܝܢܝܐ
3. ܕܟܪܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܟܝܢܝܐ ܡܢ
4. Omitting the negative in the apodosis, which is doubtless a dittograph of that in the protasis. Philoxenus considers the body to be the opposite of its soul, i.e. to be mortal by nature, cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 492, note 31; 494 f.

Introduction B

1. Title: Of Saint Philoxenus, from the treatise which requires to be placed before the commentary of the chapters, against Theodore.
2. Cf. Gen. 18,1-8.
3. Cf. Lk. 24,41-43.
4. Cf. Jn. 20,24-28.
5. Cf. Heb. 2,17; 4,15.
6. 2 Cor. 5,16.
7. Or: he.
8. Cf. Mk. 9,3 par.
9. Cf. *ibid.* 12,25 par.
10. Cf. Lk. 3,23.

Mt. 1,17

1. For the text transmitted by Bar-Salibi, cf. Appendix, Mt. 1,17.

Title: Mar Philoxenus says:

2. Bar-Salibi: he.
3. Bar-Salibi: his.
4. Bar-Salibi: om.
5. Gen. 22,18.
6. Bar-Salibi: om.
7. Ps. 89,5.
8. Bar-Salibi: and.
9. Ez. 34,23.
10. Lit.: the generations forty-two to them all.
11. Lit.: the seventh number, or seven.

Mt. 2,1

1. Title: Of the same [Of Saint Mar Xenaias of Mabbug, from the chapters against the Nestorians, cf. Lk. 2,52] before these things [Commentary on Mt. 3,1], from the fifth chapter, concerning the time of the birth of our Lord.
2. Cf. Dan. 9.
3. Gen. 49,10 (cf. LXX).
4. The year of the nativity is usually given as the forty-second of Augustus. Cf. e.g. Eusebius in E. Schwartz, Eusebius Werke, 2: Die Kirchengeschichte (GCS, 9), Leipzig, 1903-9, 1, 5, 2. The impossibility of reconciling this chronology with that which places the nativity in the reign of Herod (37-4 B.C.) is well known.
5. Philoxenus may in this fragment be drawing upon Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte, 1, 5 and 6. However, he is evidently unaware of the separate identity of John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.) and Hyrcanus II (ethnarch, 63-40 B.C.).

Mt. 2,14-15

1. Title: Of the same, concerning "Christ fled to Egypt".
2. Cf. Is. 19,1.
3. Title: Of the same, from the sixth chapter, concerning "How long was Christ in Egypt?"

Mt. 3,1

1. Title: From the seventh chapter.
2. Cf. Lk. 3,23.

Mt. 3,1-16

1. Title: [14,649: Of the same] Of Saint Mar Xenaias, from the book of the commentary on Matthew [14,649: from the [seventh] chapter].
2. Is. 53,3.
3. Cf. 1 Pet. 3,19.
4. 1 Cor. 15,20.
5. Ibid., 28.
6. Col. 3,11.
7. Lit.: and.
8. Phil. 2,7.
9. 1 Cor. 11,3.
10. Cf. Gen. 2,21-23; Jn. 19,34.
11. Jn. 14,28.
12. Cf. Eph. 1,10.
13. Cf. Gal. 3,28?
14. The translation of this passage is uncertain.
15. 14,613: other.
16. 1 Cor. 15,28.
17. Mt. 28,19.
18. Title: 14,649: Shortly afterwards; 14,613: Long afterwards.
19. Col. 3,9 f.

20. Cf. Gal. 3,28?

21. Or: him into whom it comes.

22. ܘܢܝܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܩܡܒܐ . This expression is similar to one employed in the "common version" of the "Kephalaia Gnostica" of Evagrius which states that the purified intellect sees "the beings" (ܕܝܢܝܢܐ) and contemplates "all perceptible things" (ܕܘܠܝܝܢܐ ܩܡܒܐ), in contrast to "all evident things", (ܕܝܠܝܢܐ ܩܡܒܐ). Cf. A. Guillaumont, Centuries, V, 12 (S₁).

23. 2 Cor. 12,2-4.

24. Jn. 16,12 f.

25. Col. 3,9 f.

26. 1 Cor. 2,9.

27. 14,613 omits this paragraph.

28. (Pesh.: ܕܘܠܝܢܐ) $\text{ܕܠܗܘܐ ܩܡܒܐ ܩܡܒܐ} = \text{πληρωθητε}$
 τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν.

29. Col. 1,9.

30. Eph. 1,16-19.

31. Title: [14,613: Of the same] From the seventh chapter.

32. 14,613: om.

33. I.e. the service.

34. I.e. in the baptism.

35. I.e. to heaven.

36. Cf. Eph. 2,14.

37. 1 Cor. 15,24-26.

38. Ibid. 13,13.

39. 1 Jn. 4,8; 16.

40. 1 Cor. 13,13.

41. I.e. the body of Christ, the church.

42. Eph. 1,10.

43. Col. 1,16. By the addition of ܘܕܝܢܐ ("re-") to the biblical

text (cf. Eph. 1,10?), Philoxenus has changed the reference from the creation to the eschaton, since the Syriac perfect tense may here, as elsewhere, be construed as a future perfect.

44. Lit.: if there is any other which is a creature.
45. Cf. Eph. 1,21; Phil. 2,9 f.
46. Lit.: and.
47. Cf. 1 Cor. 12,4-30; Rom. 12,4-8.
48. 1 Cor. 13,12.
49. Title: 14,649: Long afterwards; 14,613: Shortly afterwards.
50. Knowledge ... mind, 14,613: om.
51. Cf. above, p. 85, note 36.
52. Lit.: that spiritual.
53. Cf. above, pp. 86, 87 f.
54. Or: who.
55. Col. 3,9-11.
56. Lit.: and.
57. Cf. Gal. 3,28?
58. Cf. Mk. 12,25 par.?
59. Lit.: becomes.
60. Jn. 3,3.
61. Ibid., 5 (cf. ~~N~~^M pc.).
62. Mt. 3,11 f. par. Lk. 3,16 f.
63. Ibid.
64. 1 Cor. 3,12-15.
65. Cf. Eph. 1,10; Col. 1,16 (cf. above, note 43)?
66. Read: new man?

Mt. 11,11

1. Title: Of Saint Mar Xenaias of Mabbug, from the commentary on the evangelist Matthew.

2. Mt. 3,15
3. Ibid. 11,11 (cf. ibid.,10).

Mt. 13,16-17

1. Title: Philoxenus of Mabbug taught thus in the commentary on Matthew, twenty-second chapter:
2. Cf. Lk. 1,32.

3. Eph. 3,10 f.
4. Cf. Is. 6,2.
5. 1 Cor. 2,8.
6. Mt. 13,17.
7. Text: mystery.

Mt. 16,16-17

1. Title: A section [Min. Syr. 105 and 480: or commentary] of Mar Philoxenus [Min. Syr. 105: of Mabbug].
2. Jn. 1,49.
3. Ibid., 41.
4. Ibid. 4,29.
5. Ibid. 11,27.
6. Mk. 8,29 par. Mt. 16,16.
7. Min. Syr. 105 and 480: om.
8. Min. Syr. 480: the.
9. Lit.: Min. Syr. 105 and 480: have come into their community or have come in with them; Ox.: have become their community or have become with them.
10. Min. Syr. 105 and 480: Jeremiah. Cf. Jer. 31,31-34?
11. Cf. Eph. 1,21; Phil. 2,9?
12. Cf. Ezra 3,2, etc.
13. Cf. Introduction, pp. 14 f.
14. Min. Syr. 105: the word; Min. Syr. 480: Christ the Word.
15. Mt. 16,17.
16. Min. Syr. 105 and 480: fervent.
17. Jn. 11,27.
18. Ox.: than Simon.
19. Min. Syr. 105: excellent.
20. Cf. Ps. 51,19? 1Sam. 15,22?
21. Min. Syr. 105 and 480: the disciples recognised (it).

22. Mt. 16,17.
23. Ibid.,22.
24. Min. Syr. 105 and 480: om.
25. Mt. 16,23.
26. Until ... unknowingly, Ox: om.
27. Min. Syr. 105: add. for you.
28. Mk. 9,5 par. Mt. 17,4; Lk. 9,33.
29. Ox.: However.
30. Min. Syr. 105: he wrote.
31. Mk. 9,6 par. Lk. 9,33.
32. Min. Syr. 105 and 480: mysteries.
33. Min. Syr. 105 and 480: it.
34. Min. Syr. 105: Nestorians or as the Arians, Jews or heathen.
35. Jn. 5,43.
36. Mk. 13,22 par. Mt. 24,24.
37. Mt. 24,5 par. Lk. 21,8.
38. Lit.: the operation of all of them.
39. Min. Syr. 105: deed.
40. Cf. 2 Thess. 2,9.

Mt. 22,29-32

1. Of Saint Philoxenus, from the commentary on Matthew.
2. Cf. Mt. 14,25-31.
3. Cf. Jn. 20,26 f.
4. Text: he enters. The subject, however, can hardly be Christ.
5. Eph. 4,13.
6. Lit.: that solidity of their idea.
7. *καὶ τῶν ἁγίων, τῶν στομάτων.*
8. Cf. 1 Cor. 15,37.
9. Cf. Ex. 34,29-35; 2 Cor. 3,7-18.
10. Cf. Lk. 9,31 f.

11. Mt. 17,2 (cf. Mk. 9,3).
12. 1 Cor. 15,42-44.
13. I.e. parts.
14. Lit: its.
15. Lk. 20,35 f.
16. Lit.: spoken.

Mt. 26,26-29

1. Title: Philoxenus said:

Mt. 26,36-44

1. Title: Of Mar Xenaias, from the second book of the commentary on Matthew, from the twenty-ninth chapter.

2. Cf. Lk. 2, 46.
3. Cf. *ibid.* 22, 44.
4. Gen. 3, 19.

Mt. 27, 45-53

1. Title: Of Saint Philoxenus, from the commentary on Matthew, twenty-ninth chapter.
2. Cf. below, note 8.
3. Lit.: his.
4. Cf. Gen. 2, 19 f.
5. Cf. below, note 8.
6. Cf. Gen. 2, 21 f.
7. Mk. 15, 25.
8. The tradition that Adam broke the commandment at the sixth hour was known among the Syrians. It is found in the Nestorian MS on Genesis edited by Levene, cf. *idem.*, Early Syrian Fathers, p. 78. Levene shows (*ibid.*, pp. 154 f.) that it may be derived from a Jewish tradition according to which the paradisiacal felicity of Adam lasted less than six hours, although the times of his creation and fall are variously recorded. Possibly the tradition among the Syrians was fixed in the form, presented here by Philoxenus, that Adam was created at the first and fell at the sixth hour, although the first is not encountered in the Nestorian MS. Also absent from the Nestorian MS are the creation of Eve at the third hour and the naming of the animals from the first until the third hour. One Jewish tradition places this last act at the sixth hour, cf. *ibid.*, p. 155.
9. Lk. 23, 45.
10. Title: After other things.

11. Gen. 3,22.

Lk. 2,7

1. Title: Of the same [Of Saint Mar Xenaias of Mabbug], before these things [commentary on Lk. 2,52], from the thirty-second chapter, commentary on "Our Lord was born in a cave and laid in a manger".
2. Cf. Gen. 3,14.
3. Philoxenus may here be dependent upon Cyril's commentary on Luke. Cf. R. Payne Smith, Commentary, p. 11.
4. Title: And further.
5. Cf. Mk. 15,46 par. Mt. 27,60; Lk. 23,53.
6. 1 Pet. 2,24.

Lk. 2,21

1. Title: Of Saint Philoxenus,^a bishop^b of Mabbug, from the discourse on "The time came for her to be delivered, and she gave birth to her first-born son" (Lk. 2,6 f.), speaking about the circumcision of our Lord.
^a 12,155: Mar Xenaias.
^b 14,538: om.
2. Ps. 16,10; cf. Acts 2,27.
3. Title: And further.
4. Title: And further.
5. Acts 2,31.
6. Title: And further, at the end of the discourse.
7. 12,155 and 14,533: his.

Lk. 2,24-32

1. Title: [17,267: From] The Commentary [17,267: of the chapters] on the gospel of Luke [17,267: against which (i.e. the chapters) the Nestorians stumble] written by Philoxenus [17,267: bishop] of Mabbug, to be read at the feast of the presentation (ὁπᾶντησις, cf. R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus (Oxford, 1879-1901), col. 3177) [17,267: or

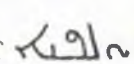
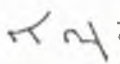
- entry (cf. *ibid.*, col. 2881)]. After a few things.
2. Cf. Lk. 15,23; 27; 30.
 3. Is. 53,7 (cf. LXX?).
 4. Jn. 1,29.
 5. Song of Solomon 2,12.
 6. Jn. 1,32.
 7. 17,267: his types.
 8. $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma$ is often, as here, used of the Eucharist. Cf. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 807.
 9. Lk. 2,25.
 10. *Ibid.*, 26.
 11. Cf. Mk. 8,29 par. Mt. 16,16; Lk. 9,20.
 12. Jn. 6,69.
 13. Lit.: his time of service came ($\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma$).
 14. 14,727: add. a widow and.
 15. Lk. 2,29-32.
 16. Rom. 1,1.
 17. 17,267: om.
 18. Lk. 1,72.
 19. Cf. Is. 42,6; 49,6.
 20. Lk. 1,76 f.
 21. Mt. 1,21.
 22. Lit.: the babe.
 23. Be believed ... him (lit.: babe, cf. above, note 22), 14,727: om (parablepsis).
 24. Cf. Lk. 2,14?
 25. *Ibid.*, 11.
 26. Lit.: meaning ($\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma$).
 27. Lk. 2,33.
 28. Lit.: he.

29. 1 Cor. 2,9.
30. 14,727: om.
31. Lk. 2,34.
32. Ibid., 35.
33. Mk. 14,27 par. Mt. 26,31.
34. Lk. 2,48.
35. Ibid., 49.
36. Ibid., 50.
37. Ibid., 35.
38. Seek to elucidate, lit.: pursue.
39. Rom. 11,33.
40. The concluding paragraphs of this fragment are probably a secondary homiletic addition for the feast of the presentation, cf. above, note 1.
41. 17,267: om.
42. Lit.: thy divine sight.
43. Text: thy divinity (lit.: thy divine sight, cf. above, note 42).
44. 14,727: me.
45. Lit.: heart.
46. Lit.: the mind of our thoughts.
47. 14,727: om.

Lk. 2,40

1. Wisdom 3,1.
2. Cf. 1 Cor. 15,47.

Lk. 2,42-46

1. I.e. the doctrine which is "interior to word and thought" (cf. below, p.130), "interior to the body" (cf. above, p.83) and "interior to composition" (cf. above, p.88). Other possible renderings of  are:  the doctrine of the church; the common doctrine.
2. I.e. the "things" come to "those who grow".

3. Text: they reach.
4. Lit.: this.
5. Is. 7,16.
6. Cf. above, note 1.
7. Lit.: fewness of days.

Lk. 2,51-52

1. Lk. 2,51.
2. Ibid., 19.
3. Ibid., 33.
4. Lit.: the rest of other men.
5. Jn. 7,39.
6. Lit.: the rest of others.
7. Lk. 2,52.
8. Ibid., 40.
9. 1 Cor. 1,25.
10. Ibid., 24.
11. Lk. 1,35.
12. Lit.: for the majesty of God to be expressed than his lowliness comprehended.
13. On the contrast in Philoxenus between that which takes place in God and that which happens outside of him, cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 413, 426.
14. Jn. 17,21.
15. Cf. Introduction, pp. 12-14.
16. Cf. Phil. 2,6?
17. Cf. Heb. 1,3 (*מִדְּרֵגָה אֶל מִדְּרֵגָה*)?
18. Cf. 1 Tim. 1,17 (*כִּי לֹא הָיָה לָהּ חַסְדָּא*)?
19. Cf. Col. 1,17?
20. Or: ... prior to all things, so that from this either a man is to be considered.

21. Lit.: ours ($\lambda\eta\mu\iota$).
22. I.e. "the heretics".
23. Or: then who is he? God the Word! or: then, God the Word, who is he? or: then, since God the Word (is Son of the Father), who is he?
24. Cf. Introduction, p. 16.
25. Ps. 22,23; Heb. 2,12.
26. Heb. 2,11.
27. Cf. Col. 2,17; Heb. 8,5; 10,1.
28. Cf. Ex. 3,13-15.
29. Ibid. 4,23 (cf. 22).
30. Deut. 6,4; Mk. 12,29.
31. Col. 2,12; cf. Rom. 6,4.
32. Rom. 6,3 f.; cf. Col. 2,12.
33. Lk. 20,37 par. Mk. 12,26 f.; Mt. 22,32. Cf. Ex. 3,6.
34. Ps. 82,6 f.
35. Lit.: for the former is not a falsehood ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\psi\eta$) nor the latter a pretence ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\psi\eta$). The idea is analogous to another found in Philoxenus: $\kappa\alpha\lambda\psi\eta$ reality of the divinity of the Word is appreciated through the reality of his humanity, cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, p. 365, note 11.
36. Ps. 82,6.
37. Eph. 1,4.
38. Jn. 15,16? Cf. Jn. 17,24; Eph. 1,4?
39. I.e. the "man Jesus" of "the heretics".
40. Feminine. Adoption ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\psi\eta$)? Privilege ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\psi\eta$) is masculine.
41. Lit.: order ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\psi\eta$).
42. Cf. above, note 40.
43. Lit.: takes ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\psi\eta$) him to a man (i.e. and not to God). On baptism in Philoxenus and Theodore, cf. Introduction, p. 16.

44. Cf. Introduction, pp. 12-14.
45. Lit.: the other man (i.e. the man other than God).
46. Cf. Introduction, pp. 12-14, 17.
47. *ܠܘܟܢ ܕܘܢܘܟܢܐ*
48. Cf. F. Loofs, Nestoriana, pp. 196, 15-17; 224, 12-15; etc., and Introduction, pp. 16 f.
49. 1 Cor. 1,25.
50. Lit.: became.
51. Text: God.
52. Mk. 13,32.
53. Mt. 28,18.
54. The *ܐܢܝܢܐ* of the Syriac versions translates the *εἶ* of the Greek (Acts 1,6) which, introducing a direct question, ought to have been lost in the translation.
55. Acts 1,6 f.
56. Rom. 8,34.
57. Or: action (*ܕܘܢܘܟܢܐ*).
58. 1 Cor. 1,18.
59. Lit.: it (i.e. that God should become man).
60. Lk. 1,37.
61. 1 Cor. 1,24.
62. *ܕܘܢܘܟܢܐ* *ܦ*. Cf. Eph. 1,9-11?
63. Lit.: where.
64. "Economy" is with Philoxenus virtually a synonym of "becoming", "nature" of "being", cf. De Halleux, Philoxène, pp. 320 f. The meaning of the injunction is that it must be realised that Jesus is God in his being and man in his "becoming", and that these two, God and man, are not to be treated equally as "one and another". Cf. above, pp. 124 f., and Introduction, p. 21.
65. Gen. 39,4 (cf. LXX).

66. Ibid., 21.
67. Gen. 41,37 (cf. LXX).
68. Acts 2,47.
69. Wisdom 1,4.
70. Cf. 1 Cor. 2,6.
71. I.e. the mind of the corporeal beings.
72. I.e. the wisdom.
73. I.e. the works.
74. Cf. above, pp. 86, 87 f.
75. Text: without. This reading appears to make no sense and I suggest emending ‏בלי (without) to ‏ב (by).
76. 1 Cor. 1,24.

Lk. 2,52

1. Title: Of Saint Mar Xenaias of Mabbug, from the thirty-fifth chapter against the Nestorians; commentary on the things written below.
2. Cf. Lk. 2,41.
3. Cf. ibid., 46.
4. Cf. ibid., 49.
5. Cf. ibid., 51.
6. Cf. ibid., 21.
7. Cf. ibid., 7.
8. Cf. ibid., 22; 24.

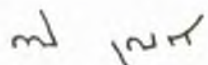

Lk. 3,22

1. Acts 2,31.
2. Jn. 10,17.
3. Ibid., 18.
4. Ibid., 11.
5. Jn. 12,27.
6. Mk. 14,34 par. Mt. 26,38.

7. Mt. 26,39 (par. Mk. 14,36; Lk. 22,42).
8. Lk. 22,42 par. Mk. 14,36; Mt. 26,39.
9. Lit.: than that he should not die.
10. Lk. 22,44; 43.
11. Lit.: the rest of men.
12. Cf. Lk. 22,44.
13. Cf. Mt. 8,24.
14. 1 Jn. 4,3.
15. *אין ה' אלהים*
16. Cf. Introduction, p. 19.
17. Cf. below, p. 136.
18. Cf. Jn. 1,32.
19. Text: him. Cf. below, p. 135.
20. Two verbs employed: *אמר* and *אמר*.
21. Cf. 1 Cor. 15,14.
22. 1 Kings 22,19 (cf. Is. 6,1).
23. Is. 6,1 f. (cf. LXX).
24. Ez. 1,4.
25. Amos 7,7.
26. Dan. 7,9.
27. Lit.: there.
28. Cf. Phil. 2,6 f.
29. 2 Cor. 8,9.
30. Gal. 4,4.
31. Cf. Heb. 2,14.
32. Lit.: if because he did not "become" he was not changed.
33. Jn. 3,16.
34. Ibid. 10,11.
35. Cf. Introduction, p. 19.
36. Lit.: of nine months.

37. Or: lest he find in us.
38. Jn. 8,56.
39. Mt. 13,17 (par. Lk. 10,24).
40. Cf. Mk. 13,9 par. Mt. 24,18; Lk. 21,12?
41. Cf. 1 Cor. 15,14 f.
42. Ibid., 18.
43. Is. 26,18.
44. Ibid., 16 (cf. LXX)?
45. Jn. 1,14.
46. I.e. to both "likeness" (ההתאמה) and to "genuine nature". The meaning appears to be that the act of "becoming like" (ההתאמה) refers to "the genuine nature" and "the likeness (ההתאמה) of the genuine nature", so that John would have required to write: he became like the likeness of flesh (להתאמה אלהות אדם).
47. Lit.: by that "he became" and by this "flesh he became".
48. Gal. 4,4.
49. Jn. 1,14.
50. Lit.: this (i.e. its reading/interpretation).
51. Rom. 5,10.
52. Ibid. 8,32.
53. Directed against the "Nestorians" who, according to the Monophysites, "divide Christ and preach two Sons".
54. Jn. 3,16.
55. Possibly an allusion to the well-known statement of Eutyches that the virgin is, although the body of the Word is not, consubstantial with us (cf. ACO II, 1, 1, p. 142, 516).
56. Phil. 2,7.
57. Rom. 8,3.
58. Cf. Phil. 2,6 and 7.

Lk. 3,23

1. Jn. 16,28.
2. Lk. 3,23.
3. Cf. Ps. 39,5-7?
4. Rom. 8,22.
5. I.e. this age.
6. I.e. the baptism.
7.  : he showed his ones (i.e. Christ's members)?; he showed them on account of him (i.e. Christ)?; dativus ethicus?
8. Cf. Lk. 4,22; Jn. 1,45.  is clearly not being used in this allusion (which is not to Lk. 3,23) with the same suggestion of unreality.
9. Cf. Lk. 2,48.
10. Ibid., 27.
11. Ibid., 41.
12. Gen. 1,26.
13. Ibid. 28,12 f.
14. Jn. 1,14.

Lk. 3,23-38

1. Cf. Mt. 18,22.
2. Gen. 4,24 (cf. LXX).
3. Ibid., 15 (cf. LXX).
4. Lit.: this which is.
5. Gen. 9,6.
6. Cf. ibid. 4,15 (Pesh., not LXX as in note 3 above). The entire response of God, not merely the biblical citations, has placed against it in the margin of the manuscript the asterisks denoting a biblical citation.
7. Jn. 8,44.
8. I have been unable to find this idea elsewhere in Jewish or Christian tradition. It is not found in the New Testament Apocrypha nor among

the principal Jewish legends concerning Cain (for which I have consulted, in addition to the standard works of reference, L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia, 1909-38), s.v. Cain).

9. Gen. 4,16 (cf. LXX).
10. Ibid. 3,24 (cf. LXX).
11. Ibid. 4,16 (cf. LXX).
12. Ibid.,17.
13. ?
14. Heb. 11,10.
15. Cf. Is. 22,9-11.
16. Cf. 2 Sam. 5,9.
17. Mt. 3,17 (par. Mk. 1,11; Lk. 3,22).
18. Lk. 3,23.
19. *אֱלֹהִים*.
20. Lit.: he.
21. Gen. 3,19.
22. Ibid.,22.
23. Ibid.
24. I.e. the likeness of God.
25. Gen. 4,26 (cf. LXX).
26. Ibid. 5,1 f. (cf. LXX).
27. Ibid. 1,26.
28. Ibid.,27.
29. I.e. the idea.
30. Gen. 5,1 (cf. LXX).
31. It is hardly possible to say if Philoxenus had any particular group of people in mind, but it is interesting to note, in view of the fact that Aphraates may have influenced him in this section (cf. Introduction, p. 72, note 29), that the latter does maintain a clear distinction between God's plan and his creative act, cf. Parisot, Aphraatis, 1, cols. 796 f.

Aphraates may owe much in his doctrine of Creation to Judaism, cf. F. Gavin, Aphraates and the Jews (Toronto, 1923), pp. 37 f.

32. Gen. 1,3.
33. Ibid., 1.
34. Ibid., 6.
35. Ibid., 9; 24; 14; 20; 24/11.
36. Rom. 4,17.
37. Gen. 2,7 (cf. LXX).
38. Ibid.
39. Gen. 2,21 f.
40. Ibid. 1,24.
41. Ibid., 25.
42. Ibid., 15 (cf. 14).
43. Ibid., 15 f.
44. I.e. "that God first considered and afterwards made".
45. On the rare construction of a noun in the absolute with attributive adjective in the emphatic state, cf. T. Nöldeke, Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 141 f. (paragraph 203).
46. Is. 65,8 f. (cf. LXX).
47. Rom. 8,29.
48. Col. 1,18.
49. Rom. 8,29.
50. Committed by, lit.: of.
51. Cf. Gen. 4,24.
52. Colophon:

There is in this book the commentary on five chapters taken from the evangelist Luke.

x x x x x x x x x x

Here ends the fourth book of the commentary on the evangelists Matthew and Luke written by the God-loving Philoxenus, bishop of

Mabbug. It was copied in the city of Mabbug in the year 822 of
Alexander of Macedon (i.e. 510-511 A.D.).

x x x x x x x x x x

Let everyone who desires to read also take care to perceive and
understand lest he be found to labour in vain.

x x x x x x x x x x

Glory to Christ Jesus, God [...] who became man. Amen.

x x x x x x x x x x

Appendix

1. Latin versions of the fragments preserved by Bar-Salibi are to be found in Dionysii Bar-Salibi, Commentarii in Evangelia, I (ed. Sedlacek and Chabot) and II (ed. Vaschalde). I give the reference to the Latin version in the case of each of these fragments.
2. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 39, 31-35. For the version of this fragment transmitted by Min. Syr. 332, cf. Translation, Mt. 1,17.
3. Gen. 22,18.
4. Ps. 89,5.
5. Ez. 34,23.
6. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 52, 13-19.
7. Jn. 17,5.
8. Ibid. 12,28.
9. Cf. ibid. 16,13 and 14.
10. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 98, 18-22.
11. Cf. Rom. 8,34; 1 Cor. 15,20.
12. Philoxenus has probably been led to this (untenable) assertion not by philological study, but by a comparison with 2 Macc. 5,27 (in Syriac *ܕܟܝܠܐ ܢܘܡ ܩܝܕܘܬܐ*).
13. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 114, 29-30.
14. Ibid., p. 127, 35-36. Cf. Introduction, p. 3.

15. George: add. here.
16. George: the.
17. Saint ... say, George: Philoxenus says.
18. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 134, 29-30.
19. George: Philoxenus says.
20. Bar-Salibi, I, pp. 137, 37 to 138, 1.
21. Ibid., pp. 142, 36 to 143, 2.
22. Ibid., p. 188, 30-32.
23. Cf. Lk. 7,1-10.
24. Cf. George: ... concerning the centurion ... whether he is that in Luke or another ... All commentators agree that he is, especially John and Philoxenus ...
25. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 192, 26-36.
26. Ibid., p. 196, 7-9.
27. I.e. the paralytic of Mt. 9,2 is different from that of Jn. 5,5-15.
28. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 197, 25-27.
29. Ibid., p. 208, 20-24.
30. Bar-Salibi, II, p. 59, 24-28.
31. Ibid., p. 65, 8-12.
32. Cf. George: ... Philoxenus who says in the commentary on Matthew: Our Lord did not give his body until Judas went out; but if (he did distribute the bread), he gave not from what he had **sanctified**, but from another ...; and Bar-Hebraeus (Commentary on the Gospels from the *Horreum Mysteriorum*, p. 63): Saint Philoxenus says: He certainly did not make him a partaker, because Satan had just entered into him. For this reason we do not make those who are possessed partakers.
33. Bar-Salibi, II, p. 103, 8-13.
34. Jn. 19,25.
35. The following statement is also found in a marginal note on Jn. 19,25 in the Harklean version.

36. Cf. Bar-Hebraeus (Commentary, p. 71): And Philoxenus of Mabbug says: John calls Mary the wife of Clopas, the brother of Joseph, "the sister of his mother".
37. Bar-Salibi, II, p. 201, 1-13.
38. Jn. 1,14.
39. i.e. soul and body. Cf. Bar-Hebraeus (Candélabre, p. 42): For Philoxenus says in the commentary on the gospel: Therefore the divine Scripture too, knowing this, commanded somewhere (Lev. 12,2-5) that she who gave birth to a male should rest forty days in the blood of the purification, and she who (gave birth) to a female (should remain in it) eighty days, as one who carried during all those days a dead body, which is without a soul.
40. Bar-Salibi, II, pp. 246, 22 to 247, 7.
41. Bar-Salibi, I, p. 37, 2-4.
42. George: Philoxenus of Mabbug wrote thus in the chapter, "Jesus was about thirty years of age".
43. George: om.
44. Philoxenus may be dependent here upon Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte, I, 7, 1-10. Cf. Translation, Mt. 2,1, notes 4 and 5 (p. 162 above).

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